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LITERATURE, NUMISMATICS, PHILOSOPHY, RELIGION, &c., &c.

EDITED BY

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THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY,
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JANGNAMA OF SAYYAD 'ALIM 'ALI KHĀN, A HINDI POEM BY SŪDĪSHṬ.

BY WILLIAM IRVINE, LATE OF THE BENGAL CIVIL SERVICE.

The original manuscript from which my copy of this work was made, was found a year or two ago by my agent, Maulvi 'Abd-al-'Aziz, in the library of the Mahārājā of Benares at Rāmnagar, access to which had been obtained for him through the kind offices of Leslie Porter, Esq., C.S., Commissioner and Agent to the Governor-General.

The book in question is in the Persian character. From the nature of the language, 'Abd-ul-'Aziz inferred a Panjābi origin. If this be correct, possibly the author was a native of the Upper Dūbābāh where the Bārāh Bahlis live; and the language there used would seem to a down-country man little, if at all, distinguishable from the Hindi of the Eastern Panjāb. The liberal use of Persian and Arabic, with the absence of Hindī imagery, suggests that the author, in spite of his Hindī appellation (Sūdīshṭ), was probably a Muhammadan. When writing in the vernacular, Muhammadans often adopted a Hindī name as their takhallaṣ, or pen-name. The abrupt way in which the poem opens, shows that some introductory lines have been lost.

For my own part, I am inclined to think that the author was a Muhammadan of the Dakhin, or one who had long lived there. The scene is in the Dakhin; and in lines 33, 112, and 113 we have the curious contraction bāj for ba-ja, which is certainly not known in Northern India, and, according to J. T. Platts (Dictionary, p. 118), is a word used by the poet Wali, and peculiar to Southern India. Māhrattā scholars may possibly detect forms borrowed from that dialect. The name of Sūdīshṭ does not appear in Grieson's Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindustān (Calcutta, 1889).

From internal evidence I believe that the poem is a contemporary effusion; and as Wali was then alive, it is not impossible that he was the writer. He lived in the Dakhin at Aurāngābād or Būrhanpur, and was in Dīlah in the year 1132 H. (1712-20) — see J. F. Blunt's Catalogue of Hindi and Hindīstāni Manuscripts in the British Museum, p. 5. The events recorded in the poem took place in 1132 H. (1720), and the few historical facts given in it are correct according to the prose chronicles. But the work is more a lament on the fate of young 'Alim 'Ali Khān, than
a record of events, which are not given in any detail. As it seems to me, the greater number of the lines are sweet and musical, many very striking, and some most pathetic.

Transliteration of Text.

[Opening lines are wanting.]

That: "Nizam-ul-Mulk with an army
"Is coming straight on the Dakhin road,
"He means to fight with thee, be on thy guard,
"Prepare forthwith for war."

He heard and wondered in his mind:
"To fight with me what can be the reason?"
Meanwhile they came with the news
That Nizam-ul-Mulk had crossed the Narbadá.
When the Sayyad had verified the fact,
Then sent he a summons to all his councillors;
Offerings to various places were presented,
Invocations to His Name were uttered unceasingly;

Poors of every sort began to be prepared,
Men were fed every instant from morn to night.
Elephants, camels, horses, were given in alms,
Whatever sacrifice could be done that did he.
Alms of every sort were presented.
Trays filled with rupees were held up before shrines,
Wherever there was a leader, a saint, a holy man,
Wherever there was a noted friend of God, or learned one,
Wherever there was one possessed of understanding.
A coverer up of this age's calamities,
Wherever there was one connected with any shrine,
Wherever there was one specially noted in the Way.
Help was asked from all, the question was put,
Wherever there was any reclus, of perfect qualities;
"I am a son of 'Ali, of the Prophet's race,
"Be pleased so far to accept my requests,
"This day there falls on me a desperate difficulty,
"All of you join together, find me a way of escape,
"I risk my reputation in the field of heroes,
"Unconquered while it breathes a breath of life;
"Besides God there is none my friend,
"His mercy is my only staff and stay."
Next he sent for astrologers, the stars were read;
"Say what is this uproar, what this crowd,
Say how is the day, what is its star,
Who gains the victory, who is put to flight,
This day consult jointly and make your report,
Good or evil, unfold to me every detail."

The astrologers said their words of flattery;
When held they full knowledge in their hand?
"Gifts will I shower on you, richly endow you,
Throw on your shoulders shawls, double and single."

Spoke all the star-readers: "It is altogether well,
The stars in their courses have many throbings,
We verily believe that victory will be yours,
Crowned with victory you will soon return."

He asked questions from certain recluses he had called;
"You, too, must say in this what is your advice."
Then said the mendicants: "Listen, your Honour,
To quit the city is devoid of all profit,
There is no noble who has an army;
What wisdom is there in such haste?
Untried your army and troops, all are raw soldiers,
Deception upon deception, deception in every case."

Out spoke his friends: "You hear, my lord!
What sort of action is this that these men counsel?
These know not your fighters, every one a tiger,
In battle rank they rage as one great fire,
What force exists that dares to stand and face us,
If such appear, we will put it to flight with sticks,
Ours is such an army, an army of enemy-breakers,
Let Hind assemble, let the whole Dakhan come,
Then by our valour, wielding the strength of our right arm,
Should even mighty mountains weigh the scales,
They shall be turned upside down by our swordblows,
With part of your army you will win the battle."

Then said the ruler, full of anxiety:
"Your protector is that Lord All-pure,
Be not displeased at this saying,
Confidence I have not in them,
Be the end victory or not, still it is a big fight,
Dear companions, God is your friend!"
75 Kahe sun-ke Nawâb maiñ itni bât
Kih: "Marnâ o jiwanâ hai sab Rabb ke kâth,
"Jo bâzi di, humâna koñ mil jëgâ,
"Ji, jå tak ūn dunyâ moñ bâchâega,
"Mûjhe 'âr-hi-'âr inkâr hai,
80 "Kih tañqâl marûn so yak bâr hai!
"Karûngâ jo kuchh mujh soñ ho ëwegâ,
"Yihi niñû dunyâ moñ rahi jëgâ."
Andesho so kul di koñ kholi kîyâ,
Nikal moñ kî begi, stâwali kîyâ,
85 "Útho begi soñ ghar moñ ga, Adab soñ khañe ho-ke mën so kahe
Kih: "Tum mâ, mañi farzand hoq, lârkâ,
"Baði mâñ kà aur baði piyâr kà;
"Suno tum, kih Dilli bahû dûr hai,
90 "Hamârâ ism jag meñ mabhûr hai,
"Huzm ho, to jà bâhar dârâ karû,
"Bûrânû[2] lag ek pherâ karû,
"Mîr moñ pota hûn us Shâh yadân kà,
"Huñ farzand Nûrû-d-dîn 'Ali Khân kà,
95 "Mîjhe bañîñ rahnàñ bañâ nang hai,
"Agar âj Rustam sete jang hai,
"Hasenge moñ dekh Qûba-l-mulk,
‘Dakhîn moñ kyâ thâ Niqamû-l-mulk,’

"Yih sun-ke kareñge tañjâb Nawâb,
100 "Kih farzand ‘Alîm ‘Ali, kâm-ûb,
"Dârâ jiju soñ, ur nikul nà sakâ,
"Shujûkrî kà nâmûs kuchh nà rakha,
"Dunyâ moñ do-bâra kûchh anà nahiñ,
"Bâh dunyâ janan lag thakânâ nahiñ,
105 "Agar hai bañyû, to phir ëwegne,
"Fâth ho, to mûkñ â-ke dikhâ denge;
"Apañ diñ meñ hamanà ûtaro na koî,
"Duñ moñ achhavat basâro na koî,
"Pâññ bâth sompo Khudâwând ko,

110 "Raho ‘aish, ëikm, wa ënand soñ,”
Kahe moñ meñ: "Mañ kyûñ rañ rañ dûñ tûjhe,
"Dakhîn moñ tere bâj hi kon mûjhe,
"Khudâ bâj koñ tûjh koñ sâthi nahiñ,
"Mûjhe mañlañat kuchho yih bûñû nahiñ,
115 "Nânhû yê bâj, ko tere sâth hi?
"Tûñ jàtî hao larñ, yah kyâ bât hai.”
Ba jadâm-jad mî koñ rañi kîyâ,
Ba har hûl chaine ke rukheñ liyâ,
Chhun nuwârû ës wañt Sayyad ke pûs,
120 Sîpâhî o chelah o kull ‘âm-o-khêb,

Having listened the Nawâb resumed:
"Death and life lie all in the hand of God,
"What part he allots will fall to us,
"While in the world he will preserve us,
"I abhor disgrace or ignominy;
"And of a truth, death comes only once!
"I will do whatever I am capable of,
"This renown will survive me in the world.”
Thus he thrust out all anxiety from his heart,
Suddenly he issued forth in haste,
He rose and as quickly as he could went home,
Reverently he stood and to his mother spake:
"You are my mother, I am thy son, thy boy,
"I respect you as mother and you love me;
"Listen to me, Dilli is very far away,
"Our name is in the world renowned,
"If you permit, I will bring forth my tents,
"As far as Burhânpur I will journey.
"I am descended from that God-like Lord,
"I am the son of Nûr-ud-dîn ‘Ali Khân.
"For me to sit idle is a great disgrace,
"Even if to-day the contest be against a Rustam:
"Looking at me Qûba-ul-Mulk will scoff and say,
"What a mere nothing was Niqam-ul-Mulk in the Dakhîn.’
"Hearing this affair the Nawâb will marvel,
"That his son, ‘Alîm ‘Ali, the fortunate,
"Trembled in his heart and could not come forth,
"His reputation for valour he could not maintain.
"Twice over we cannot enter the world,
"For life no reliance can be placed on this world:
"If destined to live I will return,
"If victorious, I will come to show my face;
"Never in your heart look down on me,
"Never in your prayers forget or overlook me,
"Take me by the hand and confide me to the Lord,
"May you live on in ease, comfort, and delight.”
His mother said: "Why should I grant consent,
"For with me in the Dakhîn who is there but thee,
"Besides God whom is there to be your Helper?
"This project is in no way agreeable to me,
"Young or old, whom have you to follow you,
"Yet you want to fight, what an idea is that?”
With great effort he obtained his mother’s consent.
In one way or another got leave to depart,
State and retinue went with the Sayyad,
Soldiers and slaves, servants private and public,
JANUARY, 1904 | JANGNAMAH OF SAYYAD 'ALIM 'ALI KHAN.

Tawakkal kiya, aur dil koq dijit:
"Maq Sayyad huq, ab kyaa dikhaayun so piqth."
Bulayy shitaabi son dwiyan koq,
Kahab: "Ab likho khat Amin Khan koq: —

125 "Dakhan meq tumaeq marh ho-ke meshehur,
"Shitaabi haman paa-sna qurur,
"Raafqat son mil, jaa-fishani karo,
"Jalal a-e sur mihraab karo,
"Kih yaq waqt hai waqti-kam kai,

130 "Tumhara shuqqaat nang-o-nam kai;
"Jo kuqha toq kahog, so hogaa qabul,
"Hai shahid hamaraa Khudaar sas Basul."
Chalney lage ja-ba-jai thar thar,
Rawwah ka-e qaasdaan ek bai,

135 Naghabdast kai khud garmi kitya,
Jah ne jo mungaa, so chah ukaa diya,
Kahab jaa deraa deo maidan mon,
Nasik Mahamdi Bahg, unchaay mon.
Aabi bairuq (12) maa-i-Rajab kai chand,

140 Chalai ghar tain, shameher o baktar koq bainhi:
Waise hoq uh sardar sriyaq mane
Kih jyoj chand hai kul satariyaq mane;
Naqaare, damnae, bajate chale,
Rupi, asharfyaa le lutawa chale,

145 Kiyaa jaeke deo mon chur-ek maqam,
Kare qevar, tadbir har subq-o-sham;
Jahab lag the sardar, jodhabal, hali,
Bulqar kahab Sayyad 'Alim Ali
Kih: "Tum ho sipahi, main sardar huq,

150 "Bhalaa ya buraa sabb kai gham-khor rahqun,
"Shahr ebarar derai qabbar kiya,
"Tawakkal khudaa-ee-muqtafsi par kiyaa,
"Sano bai, ik dil ke kahtaa hui man,
"Kih jeq fikr mon gharq raqtaa huq main.

155 "Kahab Hind, Bahrq, kahab hai Dakhan,

"Kahab kheeq, qurbat, kahab hai haman,
"Kahab son, kahab son, kidhar son, kahab,
"Kih Bahr-e son qismat le a, j yahaaq,

"Asraaq: Main 'Alim 'Ali Khan huq,

160 "Jawanti mon sakaliyaaq mon ba-jan huq;
"Jawanti jo kuchh dil mon gham nahiq mije,
"Maran aur jaa kai wahn nahiq mujhe,
"Mare jee koq sahmav o shyabge hai,
"Jawanti mon jiwan tadi aas hai,

Placing his hope on God, he braced his heart:
"I am a Sayyad, how can I turn my back."

In haste he sent for his chief man,
Was told to go and spend your life-blood,
"Verily this time is the time for deeds,
"For your valour, your name and fame,
"Whatever you demand shall be agreed to,
"Be witness our God and his Prophet."

Then began to set out strings of men to all parts,
Recruiting went on most busily,
Whatever anyone asked that he got,
Was told to go and spend your life-blood,
It was the twelfth of the moon Rajab.
He left his house clad in mail, his sword on hip;

Such amidst the throng was that leader
As is the moon amongst the stars.
Beating kettledrums, large and small, he marched,
Scattering gold and silver coin as he passed.
He went and rested some days in his tents,
Wherever there were leaders, brave and bold,
They were sent for, and told by Sayyad 'Alim 'Ali
"You are soldiers, I am the general,
"Let good or ill befal, I share the cares of all;
"I have quitted the city and put up my tents,
"Relying upon God and His Chosen One.
"Listen while I tell what is in my mind,
"The matter which keeps me plunged in thought.
"Where are Hind and the Bahrab? Far from the Dakhan!

"Where are my friends and relations, so far from me!
"O where and O where, whither gone, and where!
"For the Fates have brought me from Bahrab here.
"Friends! I am 'Alim 'Ali Khan,
"In the morn of youth, with all my powers.
"For the joys of youth in my heart I grieve not,

"As to life and death, I have no illusions,
"The soul after death receives mercy and praise,
"The young man has great longing for life,
"To live on is better while reputation lasts,
"That gone, what matters throne and crown!
"So long as the hearts of my friends are mine,
"In war-time all remain loyal to me,
"Finally wherever the strife and battle fall,
"There to the end with one heart they still strive.
"Be men and in your hearts resolve to be brave,
"By manly virtue a man gains renown.
"In all Hind is Bārshab well esteemed,
"I pray for strength and honour all day long,
"All mortals here below are doomed to death,
"We brought nothing here and shall carry
nothing away."

Hearing of these halts, his gracious mother
Became restless in her heart and soul,
She issued from the city, paid him a visit,
With exceeding love took him to her arms.
He said to his mother: "Mother, what can I say,
"If still in this world, I will certainly return,
"Why uselessly do you again worry yourself,
"I shall come back at once, without delay,
"Allow no anxiety to enter your heart,
"Mount and return towards the city."
Spoke his mother: "My heart is not at rest,
"What land shall I ever see, where you return,
"What shall I do, I cannot acquire patience,
"With you absent, there can be no pleasure for me.
"Each single day to me is like a year;
"God alone can know what is in my heart,
"What may be my lot I know not at all,
"This life I lead is to me like poison."
She called for robes of great weight,
Of gold brocade, lovely, of great price,
She sent for Lutf Khan and Umr Khan,
For Mirza Mahamdi and for Mathi Khan,
For so many of the chiefs as she knew by name.

Men were sent for them, they drew near,
She began to give robes to each one,
They made their obeisance and accepted them.
After that she said: "All must swear
"That to ‘Alim ‘Ali Khan they are loyal,
"They will behave as duty to their salt demands,
"Thus receiving at last the reward of the
true-hearted.

"May God keep you all under His gracious eye,
"Good faith is a great thing in the world,"
All pledged themselves, they swore an oath;
"The ruler of our hearts is God,
"While life remains, while breathing breath,
"We will stand firm-footed before our lord,
Foot set to foot, hand joining hand,
We stand fast so long as the enemy resists;
Heartily we offer ourselves a sacrifice and offering,
You may, lady, set your heart at rest.
She replied: "Bravo! you are true salt-eaters,
Faithful, without a doubt, and great of heart."
The loved one said farewell, he saluted his mother,
He marched at once, enough and there's an end.
He moved on and quickly descended the pass,
Took army and baggage, all kinds of soldiers.
He had in his army crowds of horsemen,
When counted he found them forty thousand;
There were so many camel-pieces, elephant guns,
rockets.
That hearing them discharged one's breath went,
Of field guns, siege guns, such a collection,
What shall we say? There is nothing can be said.
Nigām-ul-Mulk seeing certainly of a truth
That war was now on foot, without any doubt,
Sent his compliments and a prayer,
Saying: "To fight with me is devoid of profit,
They have made me governor of the Dakhin,
Think not of fighting with me,
Make your way straight to Hindūstān,
Join your uncle and be in safety.
How shall I use sword-play with a child,
It will be well whatever protest I make."
When the exalted Sayyad heard this message
He said: "Send forthwith this my answer:
Young in age I am, but not a boy,
Nothing can make my heart to flutter,
I am a Sayyad, what idea have you taken up,
Into my country why have you advanced?
I feel the ignominy, the slur on my reputation,
Come on at once, make no lingering.
If thousands on thousands of soldiers advance,
Whose tread makes the heavenly vault to shift,
I am that man who neither shrink nor flinches,
Who is there to whom my valour is not evident.
If life survives, I sorrow not,
If it be death, I treasure no illusion,
To what the pen has recorded as my fate
Nothing can be added, from it nothing taken
I am pleased and contented, whatever His pleasure,
That thing is best which God provides.'
In short that army crossed the river,
Cherishing in its heart great expectations;
Idhar soñ waho laškar, üdhar soñ òh fauj,

260 Pare ò naqš, jyûj samudar kt mauj,
Napâš dâb òbt la ge tab ahhâl,
Barane lagâ rât-din barchâl,
Katak dyûns gusarî thî is bêt koç.
Diyâ ko khâbar òñ òbi rat koç:

265 "Subh jang howegâ, yûn hâi khâbar,
"Yîhi aikr laškar móñ hâi ghar-ba-ghar."

Kahâ: "Jûnît hâi, yah nahî, kiyâ 'itibâr,
"Hamâr hain jasús bhi hoshâyâr."
Na jasû kib jasûs, qasûd, tamûn,

270 Ho râhe hain Niqâm-û-ul-mulk ke ghaâlâm.
Thî türîkch chuanq jo Shawwâl kî,
Badi najâs-tar, sahîq janjâl kî,
Athâ roz itwâr kâ nà-ba-kâr,
Gharî thî wah Mirîkch kî, ashâk-bâr,

275 Thî sâ't ûh sâ'taman khan-fishân,
Satûrâ Zuhal kâ thî wâh be-gumain,
Khâyâ ho kiyâ 'arq; "Ai Da斯塔îr!"
"Niqâm-û-ul-Mulk le-ke kashîr;
"Mângâ yû kamânûñ mere hâkî kiyûn."

280 "Jo hain rât-din wah mere sâth kiyûn.
Subh ko ûñlîa Sayyad-i-neknâm,
Bhâtî, anr laga bolne khûsh-kalâm :"

"Naqarı de âtâ hâi, ai Qiblah-gâh!"
"Hukm ho, to tayyûr howe sipiûn!"

285 "Mângâ yû sipar âhani, philû-dûr,"
"Sawârî món âjûn mën jo kam so piyûr."
Kab: "Kîây khair hâi aj, dostân!"
Úthâ bol begî seq Ghîyâs Kânî :
"Auî 'Alîm 'Alî! Sayyad, mibrânûn!"

290 "Shujiî'at món dhîrî jis kâ niğhân!
"Shitábî mîrû khol tora mangûo,
"Mere khîs ghore kûn pîkhar chadhûo,
"Hâthi kûn sari jâkâh sar sôn bandhûo,
"Jo handej hâi jangî, qulâbî lagûo,

295 "Lagû bar-kash üs kûn khûbî kharo,
"Hûá waqt ab, phir darrang mat karo."
Kiyâ jâ ghuî, sur òthâ-l de hâth,
Kahâ: "Ya nabî, sarwâre-be-kâmûnt!"
"Khâbar jang kâ âj hâi tûr tûr,

300 "Yahi ghuî hâi sabb fauj món ash-kâr."
Sûnâ soch baktar mangûay shîtâb,

Here was that camp, there was that army,
They drew near like the waves of the ocean,
It grew exceedingly overcast, rain threatened,
The rainy season began, it rained day and night,
The army endured discomfort from this cause.

A man came that night and reported:
"To-morrow the fight will be, that is the rumour,
"This is spoken of in the camp from place to place."

He said: "It is a lie, it cannot be, can this be trusted,
"Are not my spies, too, on the alert?"
He knew not that all his spies and messengers
Were entirely slaves of Niqam-ul-Mulk.

It was on the sixth of the month Shawwal,
A day most unfortunate, full of perplexity,
It was a Sunday, most unpropitious,
The hour was that of Mars, fraught with tears,
The moment chosen was one devoted to bloodshedding;
The star was Saturn without a doubt.

He stood up and prayed: "O Protector!
"Niqam-ul-Mulk comes with a huge army!
"Send for the bow that was put in my hand,
"The one which was given to keep day and night.

At day-break rose the well-famed Sayyad,
In pleasing manner he began to speak persuasively:

"He comes beating his drums, O venerated One!
"If orders issue, the army will prepare,
"Bring my shield, of iron, engraved with flowers,
"Let those who love me ride with me this day."

He added: "How fortunate is this day, O friends.
Up at once and cried out Ghiyâs Khân :
"O 'Alîm 'Alî! the lord, the gracious!

Whose valorous standard is far renowned:
"Let them bring at once my helm and gun,
"Array my choicest steed in armour,
"Go fix on my elephant's head his circlet,
"Get out my war canopy, bind it to its staples,
"See that its sureingle is well and tightly drawn,
"Now is the time, delay not any longer."

He cried aloud, he raised both hands on high,
He said: "O prophet, chief of all beings,
"Signs of battle on this day abound,
"This outcry is clear all through the army,"

His mind made up, at once he called for his hauberk,

He becomes eager of soul, does the exalted lord.
Then came a spy with harrying feet,
Pouring with sweat as if plunged in water.
He said: "Bring me all my harness,
"This day my business is with the enemy,
"Bring dagger and lance and acimeter,
"That special quiver bring to me quickly,
"On you alone depend my name and fame,
"No aider exists for me to-day unless it be you."
Round his waist he bound his weapons, and
adjusted them,
Applied châme to his face, using his handkerchief.
He said: "Bring a pipe, I long for a whiff or two,
"For I, too, am fond of smoking my pipe."
Then a scout brought in a report,
Saying: "O Sayyad! that mule tiger has appeared,
"Nigâm-âl-Mulk has brought with him his army,
"He has taken hold of your leader’s hearts,
"He has declared hostilities against you.
"May the All-Powerful now give you the victory!
"Although none can read the hidden record,
"Yet for all of us God’s hand is very near."
He listened and reflecting rebuked the scout,
His pipe lay before him, he took a pull,
And said: "My men are quite to be trusted,
I look on them not as servants but as friends,
We are all one soul, all one body,
All of them jewels from the mine of Bravery,
They are grains of a chaplet, I am the priest,
Strung on one thread they are ever united,
Wherefore should they abandon me,
By throwing me over why blacken their faces?
I have showered on them gifts of goods and
land,
"How further can Nigâm-âl-Mulk enrich them."
He up and spoke to all: "To horse!.
The world is a slight thing, stand by me heart
and soul,
"Play not the buffoon, living is an easy matter,
"Bring no stain on your high descent,
"On the mercy of God I place my reliance,
"The Provider will keep aloft my fame.
I am a Sayyad, he has attacked me,
"On my house unjustly bringing calamity!
"There is a God of Justice, as you will find out,
"If I win the day all this you will know."

(To be continued.)
NOTES ON THE INDO-SCYTHIANS.

BY SYLVAIN LEVI.

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(Concluded from Vol. XXXII. p. 426.)

PART III. — SAINT THOMAS, GONDOPHARES, AND MAZDEO.

What follows here is practically a translation of the whole of the third part of M. Lévi's Notes, in the Journal Asiatique, Jan.-June, 1897, pp. 27 to 42, slightly condensed in some places. As in Parts I. and II., the figures in thick type in square brackets mark the pages of the original.

M. Lévi first [27] reminds us how the name of the king Gondophares, which had been perpetuated through the Christian middle ages, as shown by the Golden Legend, was deciphered upon an ancient coin from Gandhāra (see Cunningham's paper, Coins of Indian Buddhist Satrap, with Greek Inscriptions, in J. A. S. Bengal, 23, 1854, p. 679 ff.). Thus, the legend and the coins form a bond between Indian and Christian antiquities. It is a curious fact that the tradition regarding the apostle St. Thomas should have preserved for eighteen centuries the remembrance of a comparatively obscure king, ruling about the confines of India, Iran, and Scythia. We ought, therefore, to examine the details of the legend, and see if we can get any real history out of it.

M. Lévi then refers to Gutschmidt's famous paper on the subject (Von Gutschmidt, Die Königsnamen in den Apocryphen Apostelgeschichten, in Rheinisches Museum für Philologie, 1864, 161-183 and 380-401; Kleine Schriften, II. 332-394).

He points out that though Gutschmidt discussed the question in a masterly way, his ingenious sagacity was exercised on insufficient materials, and his conclusions have since been shaken. We have now much additional valuable material, coins and inscriptions; moreover, the literature of St. Thomas and of the apocryphal Acts has been increased with new texts and important works.

Among these works M. Lévi cites the following: 1 —


M. Lévi mentions an Armenian version of the apocryphal Acts of Thomas, not yet printed. M. Carrière called his attention to the manuscript in the Berlin Library, and M. Frédéric Macler noted all the proper names for him, and translated several passages. The text appears to be identical with the Syriac, edited by Wright.

Having thus specified the new material available, M. Lévi proceeds to a new examination of the question:

[28] Two apostles, Thomas and Bartholomew, are said to have evangelised India. But if we compare the legendary accounts of the two saints, a marked difference appears. The legend of St. Bartholomew is founded upon vague and impersonal notions. The Greek compiler of the Martyrdom of Bartholomew, copied slavishly by Abdias, begins with a pedantic display of false science:

1 [For names of some additional works, see articles in Indian Antiquary, 1903, pp. 1 ff. and 145 ff., entitled The Connection of St. Thomas the Apostle with India. We may also point out that Malan's book is now out of date, being quite superseded by E. A. W. Budge, The Contendings of the Apostles, 2 Vols., London, 1901. — W. R. P.]
"Historiographers say that India is divided into three parts: the first, according to them reaches to Ethiopia; the second to Media; the third is at the end of the country; on one side it extends to the region of darkness, and on the other to the Ocean. It was to this India that Bartholomew the "went" (Acta Apostolorum apocrypha, ed. Tischendorf, Lipsiae, 1851, p. 243; Abdia Apostolica historia, ed. Fabricius, Hambourgh, 1719, p. 669). The other notions are of the same character; the scene of the Acts is so indefinite, that king Polymius, who put the apostle to death, has been taken for Polemon II., king of Pontus, and also for Pulumai, king of the Dekkan (Lipsius, op. cit., II. 2, 71; E. Kuhn, Basle, and Joaaph, Munchen, 1893, Abhandl. d. k. bayer, Akad. d. Wiss., XX. bd. I. aeth., p. 85). [29] The route of Thomas is, on the contrary, clear and logical. The king Gondaphoros has directed the merchant Abbanes, who was returning to Syria, to get him a skilful architect, for he wishes to have a magnificent palace built. Christ appears to Abbanes and sells Thomas to him as one of his slaves. The apostle, who hesitated to go so far, does not dare to resist his divine master, and embarks with Abbanes. A good voyage brings them to the port of Andropolis, capital of a kingdom. They disembark, continue their journey by land through the towns of India, and arrive at last at the residence of Gondaphoros. Then, at Christ's command, the apostle directs himself towards the east, and penetrates into Further India (Inde Ulteriure). He arrives at the capital of the king Mades, and suffers martyrdom upon a hill near the town. A Christian piouslly steals away the body of the saint and takes his relics to Mesopotamia.

Abbanes and his companion follow the regular trade route between the coast of Syria and the Pañjib. Pliny (Hist. natur. 6, 26, 103) and the author of the Periplus, who wrote soon after St. Thomas, trace in detail the same route. Passengers and cargoes which came to Alexandria from Mediterranean ports, were re-shipped on the Red Sea; thence direct services and coasting lines went from Myos Hormos and from Berenice, touched at Cape Syagros [30] in Arabia, and from this point reached, with or without stoppages (escales), the trading places (comptoirs) of the mouths of the Indus, Patala or Barbarikon; the ships remain there at anchor; the goods go up the river to "the capital, Minagar, situated quite inland, the metropolis of Scythia, governed by Parthians, who, troubled by internal dissensions, are constantly driving each other out" (Periplus mar. Erythri. 38-39). If the country was not safe, it was better to prolong the voyage to Barygaza, on the coast of Ariakes, at the mouth of the Narmada; a great caravan route led from this port, by Ozsen (Ujjayan), to Proklais (Pushkalavati) on the borders of Bactriana (Perip. mar. Erythr. 48). [31]

Carried away by the spirit of system, Gutschmid thought he must amend the apostle's route. So he makes Andropolis, the city where St. Thomas disembarked, a town of the Andhras; thus locating it on the Koakao coast, where the Andhra-Satarkarni dynasty ruled in the first century of our era. Then he makes the travellers take their course thence towards the north and

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[30] In connection with his rendering of India superior by Inde Ulteriure, Further India, M. Levi has here added a note as follows: "I have found exactly the same expression in a passage of Ammianus Marcellinus (XXXIII. 6, 32 sec.): Zorcoaster and Hydraspa, the father of Darias, developed magic; the latter of them "cum superioris Indiae secretis fidentius penetraret, ad nemorosam quandam veneral solitudo men et quiennis praecidisse Braomorum ingenia posuit." It is plain that superior India means here the most remote part of India. We may compare the expressions Germania superior, Massia superior, in which the word superior marks the province situated furthest up in going up the course of a river. In the same way, India superior should designate the upper basin of the Indus (of course, in India): in opposition to the lower course of the river, where there were India inferior with prima Indiae civitas, and India ulterior with the kingdom of Gudumasar.

[31] The tradition of the Christians of Malabar, the Christians of St. Thomas as they are called, apparently invalidates the data of the Acts. According to their tradition, the apostle came in 52 A. D. from Scoota to the island of Malankara, near Cranganar, Pulicat, north Parur, South Pallippuran, Naranam, Nellakkul and Quilon; having gone thence to Mallapur (suburb of Madras) in Coromandel, he converted the king Sagan; a Brahman put him to death with a thrust from a lance on a neighbouring mount. The body of the Saint was transported to Edessa, as in the other legend. But the antiquity of this legend has still to be proved; it does not rest upon any positive document. Most historians, including Lipsius, reject it. The precision of the Acts contrasts with this colourless story; the former contain the name of a true contemporary, forgotten by history; the latter borrows from local fable a dynastic name which symbolises the past. Paulinus a S. Bartholomewus saw in Sagan the Saraganes of the Periplus, a Satarkarni king, and in particular Sârilvâhana the Satarkarni; as a chronological indication, Sagan-Sârilvâhana has as much value as the Vikramaditya of the tales.
west to the kingdom of the Iranian Masdeos, otherwise Mazda. This amended route is absurd; in order to go from Syria to the Parthians, it was unnecessary to make a détour by the Dekkan. Gutschmidt, having thus gratuitously introduced absurdity into the narrative, proceeds to impute it to the compiler of the Acts, and makes it his text in order to prove what he thinks is the true origin of the story. He decides accordingly that the author had clumsily borrowed the legend of a Buddhist missionary, perhaps Nāgārjuna, who went from the Dekkan to preach to the Yavanas and Pahlavas. Then he makes all the details support his hypothesis: the frequent appearances of Christ (christophanies) are apparitions of the Budhā; the healing power of the relics is a Buddhist superstition; the miracles of Thomas correspond to the supernatural powers of the arhat; the demons driven out by the sign of the cross are only rākṣasas ill disguised; finally, the lion which tears to pieces and kills the impious attendant is the unintelligent realization of a consecrated name: Sakyasimha, the lion of the Sakys!

Gutschmidt's ingenious structure rests on disputable and false data. His geographical interpretation, founded on the name Andropolis, is upset by the Syriac and Armenian; the former writes Sandrik, the latter Sndrak; in the Greek the initial sibilant may have dropped, as, for instance, in Andragottos, a form used concurrently with Sandragottos. Thus the Andras, the Dekkan, and Nāgārjuna would all be struck out at once. However, let us even suppose the name Andropolis to be correct, and Gutschmidt's location right. But then how about the route? The Periplu marks out the way from the ports of Gujārat to Kalī as via Ujjainī. But, in order to bring the apostle to the Parthians, Gutschmidt is obliged to flatly contradict the unanimous testimony of the texts. In the Acts, the apostle on quitting the kingdom of Gondophares directs his course towards the east; in the Passio, he takes his way to Further India (Inde Ultrieure). The Ethiopian version, which represents an autonomous form of the tradition, also conducts St. Thomas to the east after the conversion of Gondophares; in that version the capital of the king Mastius (Masdeos) is called Quantarius, a name which suggests Gandhāra, occupied by Sakas, Kushānas and Parthians at different times. Another tradition, foreign to the Acts, but constant among the Greek fathers from the 5th century, gives the name Kalmāni to the town where St. Thomas suffered martyrdom. As to this name, Gutschmidt calls attention to a village Kalama upon the coast of Gorgias, opposite the island of Karbīn or Karmina; the name perhaps conceals, in a distorted form, the [33] town of Min, Minnagar, metropolis of Indo-Scythia.4

An exact knowledge of India appears in the episodes and details of the Acts. On disembarking at Sandrik-Andropolis, Thomas is obliged to take part in a feast; he there sings a mystical hymn in his mother-tongue. In the multitude which surrounds him, only one person understands him; she is only a flute player, like Thomas, a native of Palestine (Ephraim); the king of the country had engaged her to enliven the assembled guests with her music. This accidental meeting is not so removed from probability as to be surprising. According to Strabo (ed. Müller-Didot, 82, 18), young female musicians of western origin were articles of import certain to please in India; professionally they were not distinguished from “the young well-made girls intended for debauchery,” whom the Greek merchants offered together with musical instruments to the kings of the ports of Gujārat (Perip. mar. Eryth., § 49); the term μουσικ, which reappears in this passage, and is generally translated “musical instruments,” recalls at once the μουσικα ψαλτερια of Strabo.

4 The town of Gondophares has no name given to it except in the Passion, the manuscripts of which call it Ellfruit, Yrofruit, Hienfruit, Infruit, Hieropoli. [What is here briefly called the Passion is the second of the two Latin versions of the Acts of St. Thomas printed by Max Bonnet, op. cit. Its heading is Passionis Sancti Thomae Apostoli. The other version is headed De Miraculis Beati Thomae Apostoli. — W. D. R.]

5 M. Levi has here added a note as follows: — This occasion is a suitable one for drawing attention to a new illustration, as unexpected as it is striking, of the likeness which the wealthy Indians had for young people of the west. The 3rd fasciculus of the Oxyrhynchos Papyri, edited by Masius, Grenfell and Hart (London, 1899), contains a fragment of a Greek farse, played in Egypt, which has its scene laid in India, and has for its topic the adventures of a young Greek, Chariton, who finds himself in the power of an Indian king. By its importance for the history of the Indian theatre, this fragment calls for special study.
The forerunner of Columbus, Eudoxus of Cyzicus [about 130 B.C.], on setting out from Gades to go to India, shipped as cargo μονεκα πανδηκμαρα και ταρενος και αλοντι πειγε

The wild ass, which came of their own accord to be harnessed to the apostle’s chariot [34] and drew him to the town of Misdes, are in India found only upon the borders of the Indus, where Gondophares and his neighbour reigned (cf. Hunter, Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. 14, Index, s. v. Ascens, Wild).

We also find that monuments agree with nature and with the texts in attesting the accuracy of the narrator: the ruins of Gandhara, recovered from the dust of ages after a long period of oblivion, still bear the indisputable stamp of the Greek artist, who came, like the hero of the Acts, “to fashion columns (stélēs) in stone, and also temples and royal residences.” Did that unknown sculptor also dream of heavenly palaces, which cut upon a Buddhist pillar the image of the Good Shepherd, such as it is seen in the catacombs at Rome (Cole, Græco-Buddhist sculptures from Yeyyafai, 1885; cf. Grünwedel, Buddhistiche Kunst in Indien, Berlin, 1893; Pouchar, Les scènes figurees de la légende du Bouddha, in Bibliothèque de l’École des hautes-études, sciences religieuses, t. 7, 1890).

The Acts and connected literature do not include all the current traditions regarding the voyage of St. Thomas to the Indies; other legends, equally founded upon exact information, were also in circulation. The apocryphal writing, De Transitu Mariae, which is considered one of the most ancient Christian works, with surprising accuracy briefly alludes to one of these episodes. A Thomas, who has been brought by a miracle to the Blessed Virgin in her last [35] moments, converses with the apostle: “I was traversing the country of the Indians and, by the grace of Christ, I proclaimed the gospel there; the son of the sister of the king, called Labdanes, was on the point of receiving baptism, when the Holy Spirit said to me...” The nephew of Gondophares does not appear in the Acts; they name only God, brother of the king, but coins have shown the nephew. The bilingual legends on the coins of Abadagas declare his royal relationship: νεόπαρος απόδημος on one side, and gandolaphara-bhara-patram on the reverse.10 Abadagas, it is true, is the son of a brother of Gondophares; Labdanes is the son of a sister of the king; but, in spite of this slight divergence, it is difficult to separate the two personages, and even the two names. The initial lambda of Labdanes is perhaps the result of diacritography (AbADANH). Marquart (Beiträge zur Geschichte und Sage von Erân in Z. D. M. G., XLIX, 1895, 632) explains Abadagas by the wunder schön [wonderfully beautiful] from gā, “beautiful.” The employment of the hypocor. tice form is proved by a certain number of Parthian names.

36 As so many exact facts and positive notions have been thus preserved in the cycle of the apostle Thon as, we ought to search the real history of India for the king named in the Acts along with Gondophares. Though the date is doubtful, we have a useful mark in the Takh-i-Bahi inscription (Dow. m. J. R. A. S., N. S., 7, 376 ff. and 9, 144-46; Senart, J. A., Jan.-June, 1890, 118-153). This inscription, which commemorates a pious foundation, bears as date “the year 26 of the king Gudrophara. 103 [in letters and figures] of the continuous era (sambadīthā ?), the fifth day of the month Vaiśākh.” The reading and meaning of the epithet applied to the era are uncertain, and its starting point is indetermined. But there is no doubt about the identity of the king; on the bilingual coins of Gondophares, Gudrophara is one of the Indian forms into which the name is

8 Thedendorf, Apocalypses apocrpyphæ, Intr. p. xxxvi: “librum non pertinet ad mediis avi, sed antiquitatis christianæ monumenta certum est, quænamque ambigui potser strum seculo quarto a prius proderit.”

9 [The apocryphal work on “the Falling Asleep of the Holy Mother of God,” here cited as De Transitu Mariae, has been somewhat fully dealt with in the Indian Antiquary, 1905, pp. 152, 157, in respect of the proposed identification of Labdanenes with Abadagas, which seems to be not so probable as M. Lévi has thought. — W. E. P.]

8 Apocalypses apocryphæ, p. 131. The Syrian text No. 2 (quod 1 ibid. p. xxxvi, note), in consequence of some confusion, has “The nephew of Laden, king of India.” The Syro, Latin and Syrian No. 2 versions indicate simply that Thomas was in India.

9 Gutschmidt thought he had recovered the name of God, brother of Gondophares, in the legend bàndēn bēnā read by Longéper in a coin of Gondophares. But Longéper’s reading arose from an error, since notified by new specimens, and Gutschmidt’s explanation is thus struck out.

10 For the coins of Abadagas, besides Cunningham’s articles already mentioned, see Hucquart, Copper-coins of Abadagas, J. A. S. Beng., 1895, Proceedings, p. 52-54.
transcribed; this name only appears in the series called Indo-Parthian, and is there borne by only this one prince. If Gondophares had been reigning twenty-six years in the year 108 of the unknown era, his accession was in the year 77 of the same. An era also undetermined, but certainly pretty near the other, was in constant use among the Kushans beginning with Kanishka, whose name figures in an inscription of the year 5 (Bühler, Jaina Inscriptions from Mathura in Epigraph. Ind. 1, 381, No. 1). If we admit [37] hypothetically the identity of the two eras, then Vaśudeva, among [38] the Kushans, would be a contemporary of Gondophares; the latest actually known dates of Vaśudeva are from 74 to 98. The Sanskrit name Vaśudeva is only found in epigraphic monuments; on coins with Greek legends he is BAZOKO and BAZRO. No doubt these coins, intended for circulation in a vast dominion, were by preference inscribed with the current form of the royal name. But the name Bāzōko, when it came into Iranian territory, would fall under Mazdean influences, and easily be transformed into Mazdeo. The initial labials M and B were constantly confused; to confine ourselves to India only, we may recall the name Mumbi, transformed by the Portuguese into Bombay, and to go further back, the name Minnagar (Periplus, § 40), written Binnagor by Ptolemy.

All the numerous variants of the royal name in the Acts converge towards Mazdeo as the original form: the Greek floats between Misaioi, Msioi, Msdeo, Misdeo, altered into Smialo in the Menae [certain liturgical books of the Greek Church], and into Smialo in Nicephorus; the Latin of the Miracula and of the Passio gives Msdeus and Misdeus; the Syriac has [39] Mazdai; the Armenian Mšč; the Ethiopian Mastius. The name borne by the son of Masdeo suggests an identical solution. The Greek has Oxzanēs, Osanzes, Iouzanès; the Latin Zuzanes and Luzanes; the Syriac Wizan; the Armenian Vizan. Gutschmid, and Marquart after him, saw here the Pahlavi

11 Bühler has recently pointed out a new form "Gondaphana" discovered by O. Franks on coins at Berlin; W. Z. K. M. 1893, p. 53, note. [See also Indian Antiquary, 1894, p. 141. — W. R. P.]

12 The name of this king, so plainly Indian, comes as a surprise after the still barbarous names of Kanishka and of Huvsha. It is true, however, that a Sāškī inscription (Bühler, Ep. Ind. II. 330) gives an intermediate form Vāsudeva. The following explanation is suggested as to the origin of the name Vaśudeva. On the oldest coins of the dynasty, we have in Indian characters Kusan or Khuszana, in Greek KOPCNA (KOPCNO on the coins of the doubtful Mioar or Heraon); and XOPANO. The letters PC correspond to the attempt to represent a foreign sound in Greek characters, a sound which was reproduced afterwards by P and finally by a new form of P with the staff prolonged upwards. To an Indian ear the word would have sounded like the name Kishpa, which the Greeks have transcribed by Kōρανης. (The gloss given by Hesychius: Koxranēs ὃς ἡράκλης παρ᾽ Ἰδοῖς, corrects itself.)

The name of Kushana, then understood, might have been translated into Indian language by one of the synonyms of Kishpa. Vaśudeva, one of the most frequent names of the divine hero, could then be substituted for Kishpa, as a sort of synonym. The numerous coins struck during several centuries in the name of Vāsudeva would be the coinage of the Indianised Kushana kings. Moreover, if the equivalence of the rē, whether with or without the prolonged staff, with the Indian or Iranian š is incontestable, their identity remains to be established. In view of the names Kantrkēs, Ōrkēs = Kanishka, Huvsha, we may recall that Herodotus mentions a king of the Saka named Amorgian: the formation of these names presents a striking resemblance; the name given by Herodotus to the son of the famous queen Tomris, Šāpap, Šāpapēs, which recalls so closely the names of several kings claimed by numismatists after Gondophares, for instance Spalagadus, seems to show the same onomatopoeic formations in use among the Scythians, contemporary with Christ. The coins of Spalirion shows the floating state of the inscription; his name is there sometimes written Spalirion, sometimes Spalirion, and also Spalirion. The Scythian sound no doubt required a very strong aspiration. It is not impossible that the Scythian Chatranes of Ptolemy, with the town of Churna (VI. 15, 3-4), placed on the northern frontier of India, along the Emusis (Himilaya), may be the Kushana. The name in any case is externally identical with the form XOPANO = Kusana of the coins of Kujula Kadphises (cf. Vol. XXXII. above, p. 454).

13 Von Saller has already insisted upon the coincidence of the epigraphical dates of Gondophares and Vaśudeva: "If the era is the same, Gondophares comes at the end of the Indo-Scythians, perhaps even after Bāzōko, the last of them. But, from a numismatic point of view, this, in my opinion, is almost impossible, for Bāzōko cannot be far removed from the time of the Sasanides. Gondophares seems earlier. If, however, the eras are the same in both cases, a difficulty remains to be solved by Indianists. I should put Gondophares after Jesus Christ, but before the Turushkas" (Die Nachfolger Alexanders des Grossen in Baktrien und Indien, 52).

14 The forms Ouananes, Ouananes in Greek, Ouanae and Luzanes in Latin, perhaps preserve the trace of an initial letter, which has disappeared in Ouanes. Only a slight correction, perhaps only another reading of the manuscript, would be necessary to change Ouananes into Yooananes.

15 Marquart, Beiträge zur Geschichte und Sage von Dran, in Z. D. M. G. 49 (1905), 425-372. Marquart, in that article, also brings to notice the names of the kings (to the number of 3 or 12), whom tradition points out as contemporaries of Christ in the Iranian world. The king of Bahl (Bactra) is there called Akṣayavya or Sakhbān.
Wijen, Persian Bijn; but such a reconstruction would not account for the Greek and Latin forms; it might be admissible, if we located the kingdom of Mesdeo in Iran, but it is inexplicable when India is concerned. The compiler of the Acts knew too much about India to give to an Indian prince the name of a secondary hero of the Iranian epic. The remembrance of this personage, Behsan, son of Gav, son of Gudarz, may no doubt have had some influence on the Syriac and Armenian forms of the original name, but the Greek and Latin ones exclude the identity of the two names.

Comparison of all the forms leads us back to an original ouzaz, or rather gousan; in fact, the transformation of the syllable si into gu, which had been definitely settled by the time of the Sassanians, was in [40] progress a little after the Christian era and facilitated the substitution of one syllable for the other. On the borders of India and of Iran, the pronunciation at the same period was unstable, and thus oscillated between initial s and gu. The name of Gondophares affords a conclusive example of this; while the Takhht-i-Bahi inscription and the Indian legends of the coins have Gudupharxa, Gudupharaha, Gondophara, the Greek legends hesitate between three transcriptions: Gondapharou, Iuduphrha and Undopharrou. Thus it seems that at the time the forms Undopharres and Gudupharma were officially equivalent. We may, therefore, suppose Ouzanes and Usana to be also equivalent. Gushana is the official form of the name of the Kushanpas in two inscriptions, dated one in the reign of Kanishka, the other in the year 122. The second of these inscriptions, a century later than Kanishka, is only separated by an interval of twenty-four years from the last ascertained date for Vāsudēva-Bazdeo. It mentions a maharaya Gushana, but without specifying whether this indicates the dynastic or personal name of the king in question. The mahārāja Gushana, who came so soon after the Kushanpa Vāsudēva, was perhaps identical with the royal prince Ouzanes, son of Masdeo.

[41] If Gondophares and Vāsudēva were really contemporaries of St. Thomas, they both reigned about the middle of the first century of the Christian era. With regard to Gondophares, this hypothesis agrees with other data (see P. Gardner, The Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India, 1896, Introd.). In the Greek legends on coins, Gondophares takes the title autokrator, as did the Roman emperors beginning with Augustus. The coins of the Parthian kings, natural intermediaries between the Roman world and India, shew us plainly, when this title passed from the west to the east. Omitting the uncertain Sanotrokes, we find that Phraates IV., who reigned 8 to 11 A.D., was the only one who took the title autokrator. It is also from the time of Phraates IV. that we find the square moneta substituted for the round one in the Greek legends; the coins of Gondophares shew he change had been made in India by his time. Finally, Cunningham, relying upon the identity of names, considers Abdagases, nephew of Gondophares, [42] to be the grandson of the Parthian Abdagases, who was the ruling spirit at the court of Tiridates, in 38 A.D.; consequently he places the reign of Gondophares between 30 and 60 A.D.20

19 In view of future identifications, it may be useful to place together here the names of the other Indian personages mentioned in the legend of St. Thomas. The general of Masdeo is called in Greek Siphor, Suphor, Saphphor; in Latin, Sapor, Sipora, Sipora; in Syriac, Sifir; in Armenian, Siphor. The chief of the servants of Masdeo is Charisios (Gk.), Chrasius (Lat.). The queen, wife of Masdeo, is Tertias or Terrini; Teptia (Lat.), Tartabania (Ethiop.). The prince Ouzanes (named Maittham in Ethiop.) is married to Asinara (Sisara, Massara); Massahar (Syr.); Marna (Ethiop.). — (See also Indian Antiquary, 1905, pp. 7 and 153, where more precise lists are given. The texts hardly seem to justify the description (chef des serviteurs) applied to Charisios. — W. R. P.)
20 The Christians of St. Thomas date the martyrdom of the apostle 21 December, 68 A.D.
21 [Cunningham in 1854, in the paper referred to on p. 10 above, thought it "highly probable that the "Indo-Parthian Abdagases was the same as the Parthian chief whose revolt is recorded by Tacitus (Annal. XV. 2); "and Josephus (Antiqua, XXIII. 2). At the place named, Tacitus makes no mention of Abdagases or of the revolt. There is nothing elsewhere in Tacitus to lead us to connect his Abdagases with India and Gondophares (see Annals, bk. 6 [A.D. 32-37], ch. 35, 36, 43 and 44). As to Josephus, there are only twenty books in the Antiquities of the Jews. Abdagases is only named in bk. 18, ch. 9, sec. 4, and there merely incidentally as one of the generals of Artabanus III. He is not mentioned in connexion with any revolt. — Subsequently, 1880, Cunningham thought it "quite possible" that the Abdagases of the coins was the grandson of the Abdagases of Tacitus, not the same individual (see Coins of the Indo-Scythians, London, 1896, p. 17). The reason of the change from grandfather to grandson is not apparent. — W. R. P.]
The dates drawn from Chinese texts lead us also to place the reign of Vāsudēva about the same epoch. If the Kushāna dynasty was founded about 50 B. C., Vāsudēva should have reigned about 50 A. D. The ascertained dates of Kanishka run from the year 5 to the year 138, whatever be the starting point of the era; those of his successor, Huvishka, run from 33 to 51; those of Vāsudēva, from 74 to 93. Kanishka’s death then falls between 18 and 33; the accession of Vāsudēva between 51 and 74; an interval of eighteen years at the least, of fifty-six years at the most, of thirty-seven years as a mean, separates these two events. If the first conversion of a Chinaman to Buddhism is traced back to the time of Kanishka, the voyage, real or imaginary, of the Apostle Thomas to the Indies must necessarily be fixed in Vāsudēva’s time.

**NOTE BY THE TRANSLATOR.**

Some of the views stated by M. Lévi have been discussed by M. Specht in the *Journal Asiatique*, July-December, 1897, pp. 152 ff., in an article entitled *Les Indo-Sythes et l’époque du règne de Kanishka*. But he seems to be not quite fair to M. Lévi. After stating that the date generally taken by scholars for the crowning of Kanishka is 78 A. D., he goes on to say: — *Now M. Lévi, relying principally on the Acts of St. Thomas, thinks he can revise all this chronology, without having previously examined the historical value of the work, which has been placed by the Council of Rome of 494 among the apocryphal books.*

We do not read M. Lévi as relying principally upon the Acts of St. Thomas. Our readers may judge from the translations above. The use he makes of the Acts is merely supplementary to what he has drawn from Chinese sources. Having shewn reasons for believing that Kanishka’s reign must be dated from about B. C. 5, he comes to the Acts, and suggests — (he hardly does more) — that the Mādha mentioned in them is perhaps Vāsudēva.

In view of the literature on the subject quoted by M. Lévi, and the way in which he has treated it, it seems more than unreasonable to state that he did not previously examine the historical value of the work. M. Lévi has not treated the Acts as historical, but, like other scholars, as an ancient legend, which seems to have preserved some fragments of historical value. M. Specht’s reference to the “Council of Rome of 494” is singularly out of place. The condemnation of a book in the fifth century, on account of Gnostic or other false doctrine contained in it, is no evidence for or against its historical value for us nowadays.

Apart from this, we have no means of ascertaining if the work condemned with others in the Gelasian Decree, as it is called, to which M. Specht alludes, was really the Acts of St. Thomas, as we now have them. It may have been, or it may have been something like them; but all the information we have is the following words, in a list of 68 works not received by the Church and to be avoided: — *Actus nomine Thomae Apostoli, libri X. apocryphi* (see Migne, *Patrologia lat.*, Vol. 50, Paris, 1847, col. 162). None of the versions of the Acts we now have are divided into ten books.

Further, the true date and history of this decree are not at all settled, though probably the date 494 is not far out (see F. J. Hort, *Notes introductory to the study of the Clementine Recognitions*, 1901, p. 65).

M. Specht goes altogether too far when he adds: — *It is relying upon this datum, so fragile, of the identification of Mādhae with Vāsudēva, that M. Lévi thinks he is able to upset all the labours of his predecessors.* So, also, when he states that M. Lévi takes the date of the martyrdom of St. Thomas as 21 December, A. D. 68. M. Lévi does not do so: he merely mentions in a footnote that the Christians of St. Thomas so date the martyrdom.
AN ABSTRACT ACCOUNT OF THE SEARCH FOR HINDI MANUSCRIPTS
FOR THE YEARS 1900, 1901 AND 1902.

BY SYAM SUNDAR DAS, B.A.

Readers of the Indian Antiquary need not be reminded of the fact that it was in 1866 that the Government of India, at the suggestion of the late Pandit Râdhâkriśna of Lahore, decided to institute a search for Sanskrit Manuscripts in the different provinces of India; and the results regarding the ancient history and literature of India, which have been obtained by the consequent operations, sufficiently speak of the wise and far-sighted proposal of the Pandit and amply justify the action taken by the Government of India. The importance of this policy impressed itself on the minds of the founders of the Nâgâr-prachârini Sabha of Benares in the very year of its foundation (1893). The Sabha believed that a good deal of valuable information with regard to the history and literature of India, or at any rate of its northern portion, still lay buried in Hindi Manuscripts, which had not seen the light of the day, either through being jealously guarded by their owners or on account of the want of funds on the part of the latter to give the public the benefit of knowing their contents. In short, this Sabha, realising the difficulty it would have to face in overcoming the prejudices that still kept concealed the treasures of manuscripts, and being conscious that such an arduous undertaking could hardly be carried on without patience and tact, thought that if an attempt were made in Râjputâna, Bundelkhand, and parts of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, and the Panjab to catalogue the Hindi Manuscripts that could be found in those parts of India, sufficient data would be forthcoming to justify the carrying on of the operations on an extended scale under the authority and patronage of the Government. But the Sabha, being then in its incipient stage and but too conscious of its inability to take up so onerous and expensive a work upon itself, addressed a representation to the Government of India and the Asiatic Society of Bengal, praying them to publish a list of such Hindi Manuscripts as could be found in Sanskrit Libraries, which were being, or which might in future be, searched and examined. The Asiatic Society expressed a hope to be able to meet the wishes of the Nâgâr-prachârini Sabha. Later on a similar answer was received from the Government of India as well. The search was commenced by the Asiatic Society in the beginning of 1896, and, in all, some 600 manuscripts were noticed during that year. It is a matter of regret that the Society could not see its way to continue the search next year and to extend it further than Benares. It is a matter of still greater regret that the notices — nay, even a list of these 600 manuscripts — have not as yet been published.

The Government of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh was also approached by the Sabha on the subject, and it was pleased to instruct the Director of Public Instruction, United Provinces, to carry on the search of Hindi Manuscripts of historic value and literary merit simultaneously with and by the same agency as that employed in the search for Sanskrit Manuscripts. But these orders of the Government did not bring forth any appreciable results. The Sabha again approached the Government in March 1899 as to the necessity of doing something substantial towards the search and the cataloguing of valuable Hindi Manuscripts, with the result that it made an annual grant of Rs. 400 to the Sabha towards carrying on this work and undertook to publish the Report which the Sabha was to submit annually to the Government. The grant was commenced from the financial year 1900 and was increased by Rs. 100 in 1902. The Sabha asked me to supervise and carry on the search for Hindi Manuscripts, and I have been able to submit three Annual Reports to the Government, the first of which is now in course of publication. As it will be sometime before these Reports are published, I propose to give in the following pages a tabular account of the works I have been able to notice during the past three years, so as to inform scholars of the work that is being done and to solicit their co-operation and sympathy. I am, further, anxious to give publicity to my conclusions about several points connected with the history and literature of India, so that
they may receive due consideration at the hands of scholars and savants. I trust the publication of this paper in the *Indian Antiquary* will serve this purpose.

In the following list the letters A, B, and C, with the number of the notice, indicate that the books were noticed in 1900, 1901, and 1902, respectively. Where the date of the composition of a book could not be ascertained, the approximate date when the author flourished is given in brackets. Incomplete manuscripts are marked with asterisks.

In the *Reports* submitted to the Government I have given a somewhat detailed notice of each of the books (except Nos. 116 C to 302 C). It contains (1) the name of the book, (2) substance on which the MS. is written, (3) size, (4) lines per page, (5) extent, (6) appearance, (7) character in which the MS. is written, (8) place of deposit, (9) a short note in English, (10) extracts from the beginning and the end of the book, (11) subject-matter, and (12) a note in Hindi.

Besides this information, I have dealt with the salient points of each year's work in a short Report in English. As the *Reports* are either being printed or under the consideration of the Government, I am sorry I cannot give here any account of the conclusions arrived at by me. But I am sure a perusal of the following statement will give some idea of the work done, and persons interested in it will kindly await the publication of the *Reports*. I shall feel grateful if scholars will communicate to me their suggestions, if any, on this subject and point out any omissions and mistakes on my part that they may meet with while perusing the following statement or my full Report:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of Notice</th>
<th>Name of Author</th>
<th>Name of Book</th>
<th>Date of Composition</th>
<th>Date of Manuscript</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
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<td>Baghela-vanā-bargana</td>
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<td>Durgā-pūṭha bhāṣā</td>
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<td>Bhāwāni Sahasanāma</td>
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<td>Koka-sūra</td>
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<td>79 A</td>
<td>Ānandaghana</td>
<td>*Ghanānanda Kabita</td>
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</table>

He was the Guru of Nābā Dāsa, the celebrated author of the *Bhaktamāla*.

Probably this is in author's handwriting. Remained on the Gaddi of Mārwār from 1678 to 1724 A.D.

He was killed in 1739 in the capture of Mathura by Nādira Sāha. Contains 516 verses.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of Notice</th>
<th>Name of Author</th>
<th>Name of Book</th>
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<th>Remarks</th>
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<td>A collection of the poems of several Bhaktas.</td>
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<td>Pīpāji ki parachi</td>
<td>(1600) 1683</td>
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<td>Nāṭaka dipa, i.e., Pancha-dāśi bhāṣā.</td>
<td>1780 1724 1825</td>
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<td>He wrote these two books jointly with his brother Gāḍū Rāma.</td>
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<td>Ātama Dāsa</td>
<td>Hari rasa</td>
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<td>1724</td>
<td>Disciple of Dāḍū.</td>
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<td>1722 1745</td>
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<td>1699</td>
<td>1809</td>
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<td>1570</td>
<td>1560</td>
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<td>1564</td>
<td>1726</td>
<td>Wrote jointly with Rijhawara.</td>
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<td>Very old MS., contains 712 dohas.</td>
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<td>Prithiraja-raso Mahobakhandi</td>
<td>1190</td>
<td>1821</td>
<td>Only one canto.</td>
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<td>1822</td>
<td>Contains the first 18 cantos. (As. Soc. Beng. MS.)</td>
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<td>Prithiraja-chonhuusa rāso</td>
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<td>Contains 19th to 28th canto, (As. Soc. Beng. MS.) Continuation of No. 38 B.</td>
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<td>Contains 35 cantos, The first is Devagiri and the last Jangama Ka-thā. (As. Soc. Beng. MS.)</td>
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<td>Prithiraja-rāyasā, Part I.</td>
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<td>Contains 38 cantos. It seems to be an altogether new work written on the basis of Chanda's poem, (As. Soc. Beng. MS.)</td>
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<td>Prithiraja-rās o-Ka na-vaja Samayo</td>
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<td>Chatura Dāsa</td>
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<td>1635</td>
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(To be continued)

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BY CHARLES PARTRIDGE, MA.

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(To be continued.)

MATRICE ET S. MAHARAJANIKALEKHA.

To the article on Matrice et and the Maharajbankalekh, published in Vol. XXXII, above, p. 129 ff., I may be allowed to add the following notes, which it was not practicable to insert in the article itself:

1. In printing the text, I have preferred to follow the blockprint even where it is not quite consistent: thus I have given rjes-sou or rjes-sou, &c., indifferently.

2. In verses 9 (khyi), 19 (yi), 23 (bden), and 46 (mes) the translation follows the reading given in the notes.

3. To Professor L. de la Vallée Pousain, who kindly read the paper in proof, I am indebted for a number of suggestions adopted in the paper, and also for the following:

(a) Pp. 345-7: Prof. Pousain suggests that the passage from the Vargamahavarna proves not that Matrice et had been a heretic, but that he indulged in vain rhetoric. The further context will, I believe, decide this point.

(b) P. 349: Further references to the simile of the tortoise are to be found in Burnouf’s ‘Lotus de la bonne Loi,’ p. 431; Kern, Saddharma-pundarika, p. 429; Spence Hardy, ‘Manual of Buddhism,’ p. 442; Bodhicaryavrta-prajñikā (Bibl. Ind.), p. 94 and IV. 20.

(c) V. 3: Can gdam-kyi = those who have need of advice?'

(d) V. 4: ‘Having purified the quarters by their virtues, great men are nevertheless not ahammed to yield to their hearts, like friends’?

(e) V. 11: mēhas-pa-dag-bedu-bar-dgyes-pa = dīsparamadāya; but? We might certainly render mēhas-pa-dag-bedu-bar by ‘unite the learned.’

(f) V. 12: dpag-pa-la-mi, &c. = ‘exercise yourself wisely in reflection; but?’

(g) V. 21: de-yi-beam-pa, &c. = ‘whose respect is equal to his intelligence and who desires happiness.’

(h) V. 30: upon brag-bas depends all that precedes. Dbye = bhedā. [The translation of this verse is highly doubtful: probably chad-pas-bead must mean ‘to punish,’ and gas-dakāmi = na kādācit.]

(i) V. 54v: read ures-par ‘certainly’?

(j) V. 55b: ‘has attained the vaiskarmas (mi-bgyi-ba)?

4. I may add the following:

(a) V. 25: smra-ba may mean ‘speaker’ rather than ‘speech.’

(b) V. 53b: This line is too short by one syllable.

27th August, 1903.

F. W. T.

CALAMINA.

In Vol. XXXII, above, p. 149, some remarks were offered on attempts made by certain authors to localise ‘Calamina,’ the place at which St. Thomas the Apostle is alleged, in certain ecclesiastical writings, to have suffered martyrdom; and it was suggested, for reasons there given, that perhaps Carmana (Karmān) in Carmania might be the place really intended. The Right Rev. A. E. Medlycott, however, points out to me that, if there had been any tradition that the first burial-place of the apostle had been within Carmania, such tradition would have certainly been known to the Nestorians, who had churches
there in early times. That they had churches there, is shown by a letter "ad Simonem episcopum Ravardæcri metropolitam," written by Jesuab, Patriarch of the Nestorians 650-660, a Latin translation of which is given by Asemanii, Bibl. Or. t. 3, p. 130. The following passages may be quoted: —

"Ubinan ingens Munanitaram (citatiis Mara "[Merv]) populus qui quum neque gladium neque ignem aut tormenta vidisset, solo meditata "bonorum suorum amore capiti, velut amentes, "e vestigio in barathrum persidiae, hoc est, in "aeternam perniciem ruerunt." The writer goes on to say all denied the faith, except two priests, who, as he remarks, "instar perastarum titutionem "ex flamma impietatis evadentibus, etc."

"Ubinan etiam sunt Caramaniæ totinque "Persidis sanitaria? quae non per adventum "satanarum, aut jusum regnum terræ, aut mandatæ "praesidis provinciarum, excisa corruerunt, sed "exigui unus villissimi daemonis latu, etc."

W. R. P.

20th August, 1903.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

THE CHAUKANDU.

1. I am told that the custom of chaukandá (see ante, Vol. XXXI. p. 359) has the following local names in Kuldā, though I have never myself heard any of them used:

Mandi ... banjhary beftá
Saraj ... jhuyr beftá
Kulá ... dotáru.

E. A. JOSEPH, C. S. (Kuldā).

2. In Sirmur, if a widow living in her late husband's house, and being possessed of his estate, gives birth to a male child in her deceased husband's house, such child is legitimate and is called jhéd or jhatbárd. He succeeds the widow and is regarded as the son of his mother's deceased husband. Even more than one such child is legitimate. This custom prevails amongst the hill-men only and is not recognized in the Nahan Tahsil and the Dun.

3. In Chambá, the custom of chaukandá still exists in the Barmaur and Chaurház Wizards. The Barmauris recognize the legitimacy of the children born of a widow after the demise of her husband, provided the widow continues to reside in her husband's house and she has worn a red döré (tape) in the name of her husband's child (oven) or doré (axe). There are widows in the Barmaur Wizards who have not performed this ceremony, and are still in possession of their husbands' land and property, but the Gaddis consider that their rights are disputable. They can enjoy this privilege only as long as the bhowe does not make any fuss about it. In the Chaurház Wizards this practice also obtains, but no formal ceremony is necessary. It is, however, essential that the widow should continue to live in her husband's house and that the child is begotten in his house. In Barmaur such male issue is called chaukandá and in the Chaurház Wizards ranáp (widow's son) and raná-dhīla (widow's daughter) respectively.

H. A. ROSE,

Supdt. of Ethnography, Punjab.

Nov. 18th, 1903.

BOOK-NOTICE.

CATALOGUS CATALOGORUM, PT. III.¹

The second part of Professor Aufrecht's great work appeared in 1896, and the present one carries us forward to July, 1903. At this stage commendation of a book so well-known and so indispensable to all Sanskrit scholars would be superfluous. Sufficient it to say that it displays all the clarity and accuracy of its predecessors. Amongst many other entries based on lists of Sanskrit manuscripts which have been published since 1896, this part also includes the names of the works in the following important collections,—the Ashburner and Burnell MSS. of the India Office, the MSS. of the Indian Institute at Oxford, the Libraries of the Calcutta Sanskrit College and of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (so far as catalogues have been published), the Libraries of the Universities of Edinburgh, Würzburg, Leipzig, and Tübingen (1865—1899, including the famous Paippulāda-tákhā MS. of the Atharva-veda), and the Tod and Whish Collections of the Royal Asiatic Society. It is therefore of considerable interest in itself apart from its connexion with its valuable predecessors.

G. A. G.

Camberley, 7th Nov. 1903.


Cambridge, 7th Nov. 1903.
EPIGRAPHICAL NOTES.

BY H. LÜDELS, PH.D.; ROSTOCK.

The following notes, which I hope to continue from time to time, are a small contribution towards the reading and interpretation of the most ancient epigraphical records of India. For Nos. 6, 14, 22, and 23, I have been able to use a photograph kindly placed at my disposal by Prof. Kielhorn; the margin is written in Dr. Fleet's hand:—"Indo-Scythian stones which belonged to Gen. Sir Alexander Cunningham;" and it shows the front sides of the stones which bear the inscriptions mentioned above, and two other stones with inscriptions which will be dealt with later on. Except for that, I have had no fresh materials to work at, such as impressions, rubbings or photographs, but have had to rely on the reproductions published in the Archaeological Survey Reports, the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, the Indian Antiquary and the Epigraphia Indica. It is hardly necessary to point out that these reproductions are of very different values. Whereas the photo-lithographs in the Epigraphia Indica may be considered a fairly reliable base for a critical examination of the text, the reproductions published in the older works are of course more or less untrustworthy; and perhaps it will be wondered at that I should have commented at all on inscriptions of which only such imperfect copies were available. If nevertheless I have done so, this is largely due to an external reason. By advice of some friends interested in Indian epigraphy, and in analogy to the lists compiled by Prof. Kielhorn, I am preparing a list of the Indian inscriptions prior to about A.D. 400, which will contain also a short abstract of the contents of each inscription. It was chiefly in order to render this list as free from errors as possible, also with regard to inscriptions of the kind described above, that I have ventured at revising them and publishing the results in the present shape. I am fully aware that by a re-edition of these inscriptions most of my remarks will be superseded. The sooner this will happen, the better it will be, and I can only hope that the authorities of the Indian Museums, to whose care these precious documents of the ancient history of the country are entrusted, will find a way of making them accessible to scholars in a form satisfying modern requirements.

No. 1. — Mathurā Jaina image inscription of Samā 4;


The inscription is mutilated. The last words of the first line are transcribed by Bühler Vajanjāgarī[ñ]a. After a another akṣara is visible on the photo-lithograph, and there can be no doubt that a is to be restored to ākākāṭa, although both the ā and the kha seem to have somewhat abnormal forms. The editor, however, was certainly wrong in transcribing the third akṣara of the name of the ākākāṭa by na. As a comparison with the na in śānja in line 2, in Grahaṣṭiṇa and Grahaṇḍasena in line 3 will easily show, it is really na. The straight vertical at the top of the letter is nothing but the serif, whereas the lingual na has a slightly bent top-line; see the words Vārāntā gadā in line 1. The spelling of the word Vajanjāgarī would thus be quite the same as in another Mathurā inscription edited by Bühler, Ep. Ind. Vol. I, p. 387, No. 11.1 But it is just possible that the actual reading is Vajrantāgarī; in the photo-lithograph, at any rate, the first akṣara looks exactly like the first akṣara after the date which Bühler himself read a, and the stroke below the ja can hardly be a second ja, as Bühler thought, but seems to be the beginning of a subscript na. However, these strokes may after all be merely accidental just as the stroke below the na, and an examination of the impression or of the stone itself would be necessary to settle this point.

Nos. 2 and 3. — Mathurā Jaina image inscriptions of Samā 5 and 18;


The dates of these two inscriptions, which unfortunately are badly mutilated, read according to Bühler: . . . vya va 5 grī 4 di 5, and . . . sha 10 [a] va 2 di 10 1. Bühler considers the na

1 In a third inscription also, ibid. p. 397, No. 34, we find Vajranjaqṛt [ñ]a khaṣa with the dental nasal.
of the first inscription to be an abbreviation of varsha, and remarks in a note that in the second inscription also sha perhaps ought to be restored to varsha. If these views should prove correct, the two inscriptions would stand quite alone, no other inscription of this period at Mathurā employing the word varsha instead of sāhvat or sāhvatara in the date.

Under these circumstances it would not seem out of place to draw attention to the extreme precariousness of Bühler’s readings. If the supposed sha of the second inscription is compared with the sh and the s of the word Arishṣṭasādēṣṭya in line 2 of the same text, it will be seen that in its left portion it far more resembles the s than the sh. The small horizontal stroke at the lower end of the right vertical, which alone gives the letter the appearance of a sha, may be accidental, especially as the engraving of the whole inscription is rather carelessly done.² Sa, of course, would stand for sāhvatara as in Ep. Ind. Vol. I. p. 395, No. 28; Vol. II. p. 201, No. 11; p. 202, No. 13, &c.

In the case of the first inscription Bühler’s reading is even more objectionable. In my opinion there can be no doubt whatever that the akṣara immediately before the numeral is mé. Before mé stands a ligature, the lower portion of which cannot be a subscript ya, because in such case the curve would be open to the right, but clearly is cha. We thus are led to read . . . . cha mé 5, which entails almost without necessity the restoration [sāhvatara pāṇi] cha mé 5. However, the upper portion of the ligature does not look much like a ša,³ but it may very well be po, and pachmé may be an abbreviation for pachamé, just as svatāra in the inscription, Ep. Ind. Vol. I. p. 384, No. 5, is an abbreviation for sāhvatara. Other instances of this tachygraphic mode of writing in the Mathurā inscriptions are Dēśyā for Dēśadēśyā, Gupta Inscriptions (Corp. Inscrip. Ind. Vol. III.), p. 263, No. 63, and saha, Ep. Ind. Vol. I. p. 387, No. 9; śāhī, ibid. p. 392, No. 24; śāhī, ibid. Vol. II. p. 206, No. 26, for siddhān.

No. 4. — Mathurā Jaina image inscription of Sath. 5;

Bühler reads this inscription as follows:—

A. 1 . . . . dé[va]putrasya Ka[ṇ]ijahkasya saṁ 5 hō 1 di 1 ēṣasya pūrv[ā]yāyaṁ
    Koṭṭiyātā̄ gānātī Bahmaḍāsikā[ī]

2 [ku]jātā [U]bhāṣāgarītā uśākātā sēthī . . . ī ṣa ya . . i . i . isēṇasya sahachari—
    Khuḍāyē Dē[va] . .

B. 1 pālasaya dhi[ta] . . . .

2 Vadhāmānasya pratī[mā] ni

'A glance at the photo-lithograph will show that instead of sahachari we have to read saṭṭhachari. The same term is found in two other Mathurā inscriptions, Ep. Ind. Vol. I. p. 388, No. 11 (Daiśya kaśiṇīyō Mahanandīya saṭṭhacharīyō Balasmayō Nandayō cha kaśiṇīyō Akaccayō niśvarntana), and Vol. II. p. 201, No. 11 (Puṣyamitrasya itiśi Sathisahāyō itiśi Śahamitrasya saṭṭhchari . . . ), while its masculine counterpart appears in the form of śraddhacchara or shaḍha-


Dēśasya niśvarntana), and Vol. II. p. 203, No. 18 (včhacchako-aryayo-Gautakṣetassesya kaśiṇyō ganiṣya-

² Another instance of a sa closely resembling a sha is found in Ep. Ind. Vol. II. p. 204, No. 19, where Bühler himself reads ṣaya.

³ The letter ša occurs twice at Mathurā, in the inscription edited below, No. 33, and in Ep. Ind. Vol. II. p. 210, No. 33, which Bühler refers to the Gupta period.

⁴ Bühler considers the sign which I read m, to belong to the next line and transcribes it by sa, but this, at any rate, is impossible. Compare the siddhān in Ep. Ind. Vol. II. p. 206, No. 27, where the m is put below the dāhā in exactly the same manner. For a doubtful case, see Bühler, ibid. p. 209, note 7.
At the end of A, after Khudayē, Bühler reads Dēva ... and combining this with the beginning of B, pālasya dhita, translates: 'by Khuḍā, daughter of Dēva ... pāla.' Such a statement would be highly improbable by itself, no other Jainas inscription of this class at Mathurā containing a specification of the relationship of a monk or a nun. And on closer inspection it will be seen that the reading Dēva ... cannot be upheld. The first akṣara is not dē, but a ni, with the left half of the base-stroke effaced, and the second akṣara is not ra, but clearly tvā. After nīvṛta the photo-lithograph has a distinct ta, possibly with a superscription r. Nīvṛta[rjta], of course, is to be restored to nirvṛtaṇā, the last letter in the line having disappeared as in the preceding one. 7 It thus appears that the donation was made by a lay-woman, the daughter of Pāla, and that the nun Khuḍā only acted as her spiritual adviser, which in every respect agrees with the usual state of things.

There remain some minor points. The second akṣara of the name of the king is a little blurred, but what is still visible of it in the photo-lithograph decidedly points to its having been tvā, and not ni. There is altogether no certain instance of the spelling of the word with the dental nasal at Mathurā. In the two inscriptions edited by Bühler, Ep. Ind. Vol. I. p. 391, No. 19, and by Cunningham, Arch. Surv. Rep. Vol. III. p. 31, No. 4, the reading Kapīṭhakasya is beyond all doubt, and in the one edited by Cunningham, ibid. No. 5, the facsimile at any rate shows distinctly the same reading. 9

In the last line of the inscription Bühler seems to have overlooked the d-stroke in the tvā, which is quite distinct in the photo-lithograph. 10 On the other hand, I am unable to detect the d-stroke in tvā.

With these emendations the text will run as follows: —

A. 11 Dēraputraṇa Ka[ṇ]iḥaṃkṣaṇa sa[m] 5 hē 1 di 1 āṭasya puṛv[a]yān Koṭṭiyātō
gapāṭo Bahmadāśikāto [ku]-
2 lātō [U]chāṅgaratō śākhatō Sēthi[niha] ... sya śī[ṇ]ini Sēṇaṭya sadhachari
Khuḍāyē nīvṛta[rjta][m]ā

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8 See below, No. 16.
9 In his translation of the inscription he calls Khuḍā 'consort of alderman (sēthi) ... sēna.'
7 There is no reason why the ku should have stood at the beginning of line 1, as assumed by Bühler.
5 See below, p. 37, No. 6.
3 See below, No. 25.
10 The reading Paddhamānya is found also in the inscription, Ep. Ind. Vol. I. p. 390, No. 27, though Bühler gives Paddhamānya in his transcript.
11 Bühler wants to restore siddhaḥ in the beginning of the inscription, but no traces of the word are discernible.
B. 1 Pālasya dhita . . . . ya . . . . . û12 . . . .
    2 Vidhāmanasya prati[mā] . . . .

"In the year 5 of Dēvputra Kaṃśikha, in the first (month of) winter, on the first day, — on that (date specified as) above, — an image of Viḍhāmanasū (Viḍhāmanā) [was dedicated by] . . . .
the daughter of Pāla, the daughter-in-law of . . . . at the request of Kshudrā (Kshudrā), the sañkhaṭhāri of Sena, the female pupil of Sēthaniha . . . . out of the Koṭṭiya gaṇa, the Brahmadāsika (Brahmadāsika) kula, the Uchānāgari (Uchānāgari) sākhā."

No. 5. — Mathurā Jaina image inscription of Sam. 5;

Cunningham read this inscription, which is engraved on three sides of the pedestal of a Jaina statue: —

1. — . Bodila bhedha Vāsu Derā pravi . Siddha Sam 5 — He 1 — Di. 12 —
    Aṣya parvvarvya koṭ . . . . Ṣraghātā

2. — Sarvvasatāvātīta Sukhaya . . . ji-to Brahmadāsika to ubbhāca kārīta . . . . Sati.

Cunningham added no translation to his transcript, but simply stated that the inscription ‘records some gift by a lady named Brahmadāsī.’ In his re-examination of the inscription in the Vienna Or. Journ. Vol. I. p. 176, Bühler, with the help of a rubbing, corrected the reading of the middle portion of the first line to siddha = sa 5 hē 1 di 10 2 aṣya parvvarvya Koṭ[iya], and justly remarked that the sides had been wrongly numbered, and that the second ought to be the first, the third the second, and the first the third. And in Vol. IV. p. 171 of the same journal he corrected also the middle portion of the second line to [ku]dātā Brahmadāsitātā Uchaṉākāritā. This last correction admits of a little improvement. If Bühler’s reading were accepted, the word kula would stand before the proper name to which it belongs, whereas in all other inscriptions it invariably follows the proper name. And Bühler himself seems to have been not quite sure of his reading, as he thinks it necessary to observe that the la is slightly disfigured on the facsimile. The facsimile, however, shows as plainly as possible a pā, and not a lā, and there can be no doubt that sādī is to be restored to gaṇātā. The word gaṇātā must have immediately followed Koṭ[iya]dātā, the name of the gaṇa, and this proves that Cunningham has wrongly numbered not only the sides, but also the lines on each side. The first line of the first side is followed by the second line of the same side, after which comes the first line of the second side, &c.

The whole inscription reads: —14

A. 1 Siddha[m] 26 Sa 5 hē 1 di 10 2 aṣya[a] parvvarvya Koṭ[iya]dātā
    2 [gaṇātā] Brahmadāsitātā Uchānākāritā [sākhātā]
B. 1 [sr[i]griṅhātā sa[ṁbhūgātā] . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
    2 . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
C. 1 . . . . i bōdhīlabbā ṇ Vāsudērā puvi . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
    2 . . . . sarva-sat[yā]ūna[m] h[i]s-sukh[a]ya . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .

In this arrangement the general wording of the inscription in no way differs from the usual pattern. After the date follows the statement of the gaṇa, kula and sākhā of the monk at whose request the donation was made, and the phrase that it was made for the benefit of all beings, forms the conclusion. The only peculiarity of this inscription is the omission of the word kula after Brahmadāsitātā, which, undoubtedly, is due to a mere oversight of the engraver. The middle

13 Restore . . . . . sādī.
12 Or, possibly, ‘the sēthani (l), the female pupil of Ha . . . . ’
14 All signs which do not appear in the facsimile, but may be inferred from a comparison with the numerous similar inscriptions at Mathurā, have been included in brackets. The a which Bühler reads in Uchaṉākāritā is not warranted by the facsimile. On the other hand, the facsimile has distinctly a, although, of course, the d-stroke may be merely accidental.
portion, which contains the name of the donor, cannot be made out from the facsimile. The rest may be translated as follows:

"Success! The year 5, the first (month of) winter, the twelfth day, on that (date specified as) above, [at the request of] .......... out of the Kṣitiya gana, the Brahmadāsika [kula], the Ucchākari (Ucchākāri) idākā, the Sṛgriha (Sṛgriha) saṅkhēga, .......... for the welfare and happiness of all creatures."

No. 6. — Mathurā Jaina image inscription of Sahā. 9;
edited by Cunningham, Arch. Surv. Rep. Vol. III. p. 31, No. 4, and Plate,

Bühler's restoration of this inscription is excellent, and his text only wants a few small corrections. The photograph of the front side of the stone lent to me by Prof. Kielhorn shows that the reading of the king's name actually is Kuniśhāsya as in the facsimile, with the lingual ŋ. The facsimile, again, has clearly the correct form gaṇatō, not gaṇato, and .. ida, which is to be restored to kula, not kulatū. Of more importance is the reading of the name of the kula. Bühler transcribed Cunningham's facsimile as tamiba .., and, misled by the corrupt form Vaiṣṇava of the Kulapāta, corrected this to Vaiṣṇavatō. The facsimile, however, shows very distinctly a tha under the supposed ta. We are thus led to read Tāhāyatū, and although such a form would not be unaccountable in itself, I consider it unlikely, because the name is nowhere else spelt in this way, but exhibits in its beginning either ath (Tāhāyatū, Ep. Ind. Vol. I. p. 335, No. 7; p. 391, No. 21; Stānākitī, ibid. p. 386, No. 8, &c. (Stānākitī, ibid. Vol. II. p. 203, No. 18)), or th (Tāhāyatū, ibid. Vol. I. p. 383, No. 3; p. 392, No. 22; Thāhāyatū, ibid. p. 395, No. 28; Thāhāyatū, ibid. Vol. II. p. 202, No. 15).

Under these circumstances I think it more probable that the t is merely due to a fault of the designer, and that the real reading was Stāhāyatū.

No. 7. — Mathurā Jaina image inscription of Sahā. 25;

Bühler read the second portion of this inscription, after the statement of the nirvartana: —

(l. B. 2) ... Na ya[ri]ta Jabha[ka]ya vadhu Jaya[bha]ya kuniśṭhīnīya Raya-giniya [vu]ya

and translated: "a vasuṣya (?) (was dedicated) by Rayagini, the daughter-in-law of Jabhaka, from Nandigiri (?), (and) wife of Jayabhaṭṭa."

The photo-lithograph allows us to correct the first word with absolute certainty. Instead of arī the plate shows distinctly svadhi. The reading Nādiya dhiṭa is quite in accordance with the common practice of these inscriptions to describe the relationship of the donatrix in the order 'daughter of N. N., daughter-in-law of N. N., wife of N. N.;' see, e. g., Ep. Ind. Vol. I. p. 382, No. 2; p. 383, No. 4; p. 388, No. 11; Vol. II. p. 207, No. 32; p. 210, No. 37, &c. The town of Nandigiri therefore is to be struck out from the list of the towns of Ancient India.

Also with regard to the translation of the words rayaginiya vasuṣya I differ from Bühler. I think, it will be admitted that rayagini has not the appearance of being a proper name, and I would suggest to take it as an appellative in the sense of 'the wife of a rayaga,' in analogy to such terms as vihārasavini, 'the wife of a vihārasavīni' (Gupta Inscriptions, Corp. Inser. Ind. Vol. III. p. 263), māhādevīpati, 'the wife of a māhādevīpati' (Arch. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. IV. p. 114, No. 16), saṃvīti hiṇi, 'the wife of a śāmkardha' (Ep. Ind. Vol. I. p. 395, No. 29). Rayaga would be the true Prakrit equivalent of Sk. rajaka, 'washer man or dyer.'

13 Perhaps line B. 2 is to be restored to ṣya nirv[ran].
14 See below, No. 16.
16 The transition of j into y is found in the Mathurā inscriptions also in Śaṅkāyota (Sk. Śaṅkāyota), Ep. Ind. Vol. I. p. 383, No. 4.
are found among the donors of images in the Mathurā inscriptions, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 391, No. 21; Vol. II. p. 203, No. 18; p. 205, No. 23.\(^{19}\)

If it is admitted that *rayagini* is an appellative noun, it follows that the proper name must be contained in the following word which Bühler read *vusuya*. The ending -uya indicates that the word is the gen. sing. of an *u*-stem, which in these inscriptions generally ends in -uyē, and occasionally in -uyē or *aya*; compare *vadhyē*, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 337, No. 10; p. 392, No. 24; p. 396, No. 39; Vol. II. p. 207, No. 32; *vadhyē*, Vol. I. p. 388, No. 11; *vadhyē*, Vol. II. p. 208, No. 22. That the spelling -uya is not found hitherto, is certainly merely accidental, as the *d*- and *t*-stems show the corresponding forms in -uya, -iya by the side of the common forms in -uyē, -ayē, -iyē, -iyē; compare *oya-Saṅgamaikya iiśīśiśa*, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 388, No. 12; *Jitā♠mira ayā*, *ibid.* Vol. II. p. 203, No. 15; *Dēriya*, *ibid.* Vol. II. p. 210, No. 37. More difficult is the settling of the first syllable of the name. It would seem easy enough to correct *Vusuya* into *Vasuya*, especially as the diminutive *Vasuli* actually occurs as a woman's name in the Mathurā inscriptions, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 382, No. 2, and p. 388, No. 12, but the photograph does not seem to countenance such an alteration, and for the present it will perhaps be safest to rest satisfied with Bühler's reading.

There is still another point to command attention. Bühler thought *vusuya* to be the last word of the inscription; in my own interpretation one more word would be required to furnish the necessary supplement of the genitive *Vusuya*. Now, the photograph shows distinctly the upper part of the word *dānaḥ* below the syllables *gaṇa* in the beginning of line B. 2.

I therefore propose to read the second portion of the inscription:—

B. 2 . . . . . . . Naśiśya dhita Jabha[k]aśa vadhun Jaya[hast]a[y]a kuniştubinlya\(^{20}\) rayaginiyā\(^{21}\) [Vusuya]

3 [dānaḥ]

and translate:—

"... the gift of Vus (7), the wife of a dyer, the daughter of Nādi (Nanda), the daughter-in-law of Jabhaka, the wife of Jayabhāṣa."


As far as I see, it is generally assumed that Kañishka's reign extended until the year 28 of the era used in the northern inscriptions, and that in the following year he was succeeded by Huvishka. The evidence for these suppositions is chiefly derived from the inscription quoted above. In dealing with the intricate questions of the history of this period the greatest amount of exactness and discretion is indispensable, and it therefore seems to me not superfluous to point out that the assumption of the year 28 being the final year of Kañishka's reign is not only wholly unfounded, but in all probability actually wrong.

The latest reliable date of Kañishka is the year 18 in the Mānīkāḷa inscription (Journ. As. Ser. IX. Vol. VII. p. 8); the first indisputable record referring to Huvishka is a Mathurā inscription dated in Sanh. 33 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 217, No. 2). It is true, there is another inscription at Mathurā (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 206, No. 26) mentioning the mahārāja Dēvaputra Huksha as he is called here, and supposed to be dated in the year 29, but the inscription is in a pithily fragmentary state, and even if the reading *ekunaḥ[da] should prove correct, it would still be quite uncertain whether this word should be taken as referring to the number of the year or, e. g., of the day, so that for historical purposes the record is of no account. Of even less consequence is the Mathurā inscription, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 385, No. 6, the date of which reads mahārāja . . . . . . . shkvaḥ svah 20 9 ḍa 2 ḍa 30 nma kauṇeḥ. No trace has been left of the akeśaras preceding śkvaḥ, and these syllables may be restored to [Kañi]śhhasa as well as to [Huv]ishkasa. The state

\(^{19}\) Compare Bühler's remarks, *Vienna Or. Journ.* Vol. IV. p. 324.

\(^{20}\) Or, perhaps, kuniştubinlya.

\(^{21}\) Also the readings rayaginiyā or rayaginiyā would be possible.
of things is very similar in the case of the inscription of Sam. 23. It is only a very short fragment which reads:

... ahkasya räjya-sä[m]vatsarä 20 8 hémanta 3 di...

Here, too, there is no reason whatever why ahkasya should necessarily be restored to [Kapi]'ahkasya. The restoration [Huvi]'ahkasya or [Hu]'ahkasya would suit equally well, to say the least, and there is even one little point to recommend the last-mentioned reading as the most plausible one. Before ahkasya the photo-lithograph distinctly shows the remains of a letter, consisting of a stroke slightly bent to the right. It cannot possibly be the rest of a ni or 'ä, nor is it likely to be the lower end of the vertical of a k, because this is generally either straight, or, on the contrary, turned to the left. It looks exactly like a subscript n and therefore [Hu]'ahkasya, which closely resembles the Hukha-pi of the inscription mentioned above, appears to me the most probable reading. Of course, in that case we should have to read [Huvi]'ahkasya also in the inscription of Sam. 29. But until fresh materials are brought to light, I would myself not attach too much weight to these restorations, and I shall be satisfied with having shown that, as far as our evidence goes at present, we can safely claim only the years 5-18 for Kapiška and 28-60 for Huvishka, though the latter probably was on the throne already in 28.

No. 9. — Mathurā Buddhist image inscription of Sam. 33;

Although this inscription seems to be in a fair state of preservation, the editor has not succeeded in making out more of it than the date and the aksharas bhikṣuṣya... hāṣya... takṣasya... Buddha... Unfortunately the reproduction of the inscription on the accompanying plate is of such a small a scale as to make a complete deciphering of the text almost impossible. As far as I can see, the text runs:

2 bhāgīṇēryē bhikṣuṇīyē Dha... niyē Bōdhisat[tv]ō p[r]atithā[p][1]ō... sahā mātāpitihi...

"In the year 33 of maḥāraja Dāvaputra Huvishka, in the first (month of) summer, on the eighth day, a Bōdhisattva was set up by the nun Dha... ni, the sister’s daughter22 of the nun Buddha... who knew the trēpiṣṭaka, the female pupil of the monk Maha (?) who knew the trēpiṣṭaka, together with her father and mother."

The reading of the bhikṣu’s name, Mahāṣya, is very doubtful. On the other hand the restoration of trē... yē to trēpiṣṭikāyē seems to me pretty certain, though, of course, it cannot be asserted that this was the exact form of the word.24 The term trēpiṣṭaka or Sk. trēpiṣṭaka is found again in a Kanheri inscription25 and in the Set-Mahet inscription mentioned below, and nuns who were versed in the three piṭakas are spoken of also in the Dīparakṣa, XVIII. 13; 19; 33.

This inscription is of considerable importance for the history of Buddhist art. There are comparatively very few ancient Buddhist statues with inscriptions accurately stating the character of the represented person. In his valuable paper on an ancient inscribed Buddhistic statue from Sravasti,26 Dr. Bloch has collected all the cases known to him. He enumerates five inscriptions in which the figure is called an image of Buddha, of Sādhu, of Bhagavat, of Bhagavat Sākyamuni, or of

22 I would here acknowledge my indebtedness to Dr. Fleet for some of the above suggestions. He drew my attention to the improbability of the reading [Kapi]'ahkasya in the inscription of Sam. 28. But he differs from me in the final restoration of the word.
23 Compare the Kuṣā inscription No. 5 (Case-Temple Inscriptions, No. 10 of the brochures of the Archaeological Survey of Western India, p. 8), where a Buddhist nun is described as the bhāgīṇē of two monks.
24 It may have been also trēpiṣṭikāyē, trēpiṣṭikāyē or trēpiṣṭikāyē.
Bhagavat sanyak-sambuddha eva-mat-driveddha, and two — an inscription from Buddhagayā and the Set-Mahet inscription which forms the special subject of the paper — where the statue is described as that of a Bōdhisat tvā. To the latter class the present inscription is to be added.

A detailed comparison of the three Bōdhisattva statues is impossible for the present, as no photographs or drawings are available either of the Set-Mahet or of the Mathurā image, and Mr. Growse's remarks, moreover, are rather brief, yet I should like to draw attention to the following points. According to the statements of Growse, Bloch and Cunningham, the three figures are all of the same material. The Mathurā statue is 'in red sandstone,' the Set-Mahet statue is 'made of a sort of reddish sandstone, the same material which the Mathurā sculptures of the Kushan period are made of,' and the stone of which the Gayā statue is made is 'a sandstone like that of Mathurā, and not from a local quarry.' In size also the three figures seem to be similar. The seated Gayā figure is 3' 9" high by 3' 1" in breadth across the knees; the standing Set-Mahet figure is 11' 8" in height; for the Mathurā figure no exact measurements are given, but Mr. Growse speaks of a 'large' figure. Besides the three statues apparently agreed in attitude. Of the Mathurā figure only the crossed legs remain, which show — to use Mr. Growse's own words — that 'the left hand of the figure had rested on the left thigh, the right being probably raised in an attitude of admonition.' The Gayā figure is a little better preserved. Of the left arm only the upper portion is left, but its direction and remains of the hand, distinctly visible on the prototype, prove that it originally rested on the left thigh. The right arm is entirely gone, but from the absence of any marks on the body or the right thigh it may be safely concluded that it was raised up without touching the body. The Set-Mahet statue also has lost the right arm, but Dr. Bloch remarks that 'we may fairly well conclude from the analogy of similar statues that the missing right arm of the figure was represented lifted up in an attitude which is usually called that of "teaching," while the left hand rested on the hip, holding up the end of the long vestment.' Whether the Mathurā figure also had the right shoulder bare like the other two figures, cannot be decided. There would thus seem to be only one point of difference: the Mathurā and Gayā figures are seated, whereas the Set-Mahet figure is standing.

The close resemblance between the three statues sufficiently shows in my opinion that they are the work of the same school of sculptors, and that they cannot be very widely separated from each other in time. Probably the Set-Mahet figure is the oldest, as Dr. Bloch describes the characters of the inscription as belonging to the Northern Kshatrapa type. The Gayā figure, on the other hand, is certainly the latest of the three, though perhaps not so much later than the others as Dr. Bloch seems to think. At any rate, the advanced form of the sa in the Gayā inscription, which he takes as a criterion for its late origin, is found also in the Mathurā inscription; compare mahābhirājasya dēvayōtreyya and sam.29

Considering the scantiness of the evidence, the question which particular Bōdhisattva is represented by the three statues cannot be touched at present. But whether they be meant for Maitrēya or one of the numerous other Bōdhisattvas, they certainly bear witness to the wide spread of the Mahāyānist Bōdhisattva worship during the first century of our era.

No. 10. — Mathurā Jaina elephant capital inscription of Sam. 38;

edited by Cunningham, Arch. Surv. Rep. Vol. III. p. 32, No. 9, and Plates V. and XIV.,


This inscription is engraved on the base of the large figure of an elephant surmounting the bell capital of a pillar, and records the setting up of a Nandakeśīśā by the kṛṣṇaṇ Rucrādēśā, the son of the kṛṣṇaṇ Sivadēśā, for the worship of the Arhatas. The last phrase characterises the donor as a member of the Jaina community.

27 Cunningham, Mahābhārata, p. 33, and Plate XXV.

28 Mr. Growse adds that another mutilated figure of similar character, but without inscription, was found on the same spot, and that these were the only specimens he had with the hands in this position, in all the others the hands being crossed over the feet.

29 A more detailed examination of the Gayā inscription I reserve to some future occasion.
The only word in this inscription which presents any difficulty, is Nāṇḍīviśāla. Cunningham translated it by 'this elephant (or great Nandi)'; in Dr. Bloch's opinion it may mean that the pillar was 'as big as Nandin,' or it may be a technical term of unknown meaning. None of these suggestions seems plausible to me. Nāṇḍīviśāla can hardly be an appellative with the meaning of elephant, nor can it be rendered by the great Nandin; as this would be viśālā Nāṇḍī in the language of the inscription, and Nandin, moreover, is the name of Siva's bull and not of an elephant. Against Dr. Bloch's view it may be urged that it would scarcely be appropriate to compare the circumference of a pillar to that of a fabulous bull, and that such a fanciful comparison, at any rate, would be out of place in a record which for the rest is as dry and laconic as possible.

The placing of the inscription immediately below the elephant makes it highly probable, I think, that it has a special reference to that figure, and that Nāṇḍīviśāla therefore is the proper name of the elephant represented in the sculpture, and not a technical term for a sort of pillars. What makes me believe in the correctness of this interpretation, although I am unable to point out an elephant of that name in Jain literature, is the fact that Nāṇḍīviśāla occurs as an animal's name in the Pali canon of the Buddhists. In the Sutta-piṭaka, Pāc. I, the Buddha tells a story of a bull at Takkaśilā who could draw a hundred loaded cars, and the name of this extraordinary animal is given as Nandivisāla. The same story was made into a Jātaka (No. 28), called the Nandivisālajātaka after the name of its hero who is identified here with the Master in a former birth. In the present limited state of our knowledge about the Jaina Nandivisāla, it would be quite unsafe and useless, of course, to enlarge on his possible relation to his Buddhist namesake. But the name itself is of interest as proving the existence of Saivism in the fourth century B.C., for it seems to me beyond any doubt that the etymological meaning of the name is 'as big as (Siva's bull) Nandin,' and not 'Great-Joy,' as translated by Mr. Chalmers.

AN ABSTRACT ACCOUNT OF THE SEARCH FOR HINDI MANUSCRIPTS FOR THE YEARS 1900, 1901 AND 1902.

BY SYAM SUNDAR DAS, B.A.

(Concluded from p. 27.)

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28 Jātaka, transl. under the editorship of E. B. Cowell, Vol. I. p. 71. From the appellation Nāṇḍīviśāla and the donor's and his father's name in the Mathurā inscription Dr. Bloch draws the conclusion that 'Jainism apparently already in those early times was as much mixed up with Saivism as its greater rival Buddhism.' Perhaps this assertion goes a little too far. Red Śākhi may have been a convert from Śākhi to Jainism which would satisfactorily account for his name, and if my explanation of Nāṇḍīviśāla should be accepted, this name would presuppose the knowledge of Siva's sūkha, but in no way as an integral part of the Jain religion.
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<td>* Hafta gulaśana nāmā tāvārikha ki sankṣepa bhāṣā</td>
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<td>* Harichanda purāṇa</td>
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GLIMPSES OF SINGHALESE SOCIAL LIFE.

BY ARTHUR A. PERERA.

(Continued from Vol. XXXII. p. 437.)

(9) Black and White Magic.  

The occult practices in the Island can be classified under four heads: (1) minor charms and leechcraft; (2) the invocation and exorcism of demons; (3) the worship of demi-gods, tutelary spirits, and local deities; and (4) the adoration of planets. The influence of Buddhism led to the division of spirits into devils and demi-gods according to their more or less humane qualities, and to the latter were subsequently added the Hindu divinities modified in character.

1. — Minor Magical Practices.

Charmis are used for several trifling purposes, and any one who has the patience to learn them by heart dabbles in them. To find out a thief a coconut is charmed (pol-piti anaвед) and placed where a thief has made his escape; while the operator holds it with a stick attached to its end he is led along the track to where the thief is; or the persons suspected of it are made to stand with bare backs round an ash-plantain tree, and as it is struck with a charmed creeper the culprit gets an ashy streak on his back.

Love-philtres consist of rubbing a medicine on one's face and showing himself to a girl; mixing a herbal preparation with her food; causing a betel to be chewed; sprinkling oil on her or wearing a thread from her garment.

Some pretend to read the present, past and future by a betel smeared with a vegetable paste (anjananan eliya); a female elf (anjananan devi) appears on the leaf and shows what is wanted.

A juggler draws a magic veil over the eyes of his spectators (esenduma) to avoid detection.

Charmed ashes and sand are thrown to kill worms and other insects that destroy crops; and magical formulæ are used to guard against elephants, crocodiles, dogs, leopards, bears, buffaloes, wild cattle, &c.

This incantation makes a dog take to its heels, if muttered thrice on to the hand and stretched towards it, "On namu budum̄ gaevaḥ bailādyu bailā ḍhik. On sri past budunne pādīlā bat kipu bālīd kikkī bukkād namō situ. On Buddha namas sake situ."

Elephants are kept away by "On sri jālā nārā bāndūr atān situ."

As a preventative against possession a thread spun by a virgin (kanyā nāla) is charmed over live-coal with resin and turmeric and tied round one's arm, waist or neck; it has as many knots as the number of times the charm is repeated. Amulets (yantra), too, made of five kinds of metal,
GLIMPSES OF SINGHALESE SOCIAL LIFE.

The usual remedy for minor complaints is to cut a lime or two with an areca-cutter after an incantation or to mutter it over some water procured from a smithy in which iron has been cooled, or over a little oil, a betel-leaf or chunam and apply it to the affected part.

To cure a sprain, a mother who has had twins is made to secretly trample it every evening for a couple of days; and for whooping cough is given gruel made of seven grains of rice silently collected in a chunam receptacle (killôte) from seven houses on a Sunday morning. A touch with a cat's tail removes a sty; and a toothache is cured by biting a balsam plant (küdalu) uprooted with the right hand, the face averted.

2. — Invocation of Demons.

Divers diseases or death is inflicted by the Pilli, Angama and Huniam invocations, and to perform the ceremonial there is a special class of professional magicians (kattudi) who bind to themselves by the jieuma rite the demon who is to do their bidding (yaksabandana).

At dawn, noon or midnight he goes to a lonely spot where three roads meet or to a grave-yard, and, lying on his back, calls on the devil who is to aid him. Near him are (1) a platform made of gunella sticks (Leea sambucina) and of the inner bark of the boli pattâ shrub (hibiscus hiliacus) with nine kinds of flowers, powdered rosin, betel, a kanya mal coloured with turmeric and a copper coin — all on a plantain-leaf (mat-bululattuva); (2) another with five kinds of roasted seed, seven kinds of curries, boiled rice, fried grain, a roasted egg and a cock (pidenattuva); (3) an earthen incense-pan with live-coals, and a fire made of the wood of five kinds of lemon (pas-penjiri). The demon invoked tries at first to frighten the kattadiya, and if he succeeds, takes away the other's life as a forfeit.

A Pilli causes immediate death and is rarely practised. The kattadiya procures a whole corpse or only the skull, teeth, bones, nails, or hair of a man, woman, or child (a first-born is preferred) and takes it to the jieuma ceremony. In the course of it the demon assumes the form of a boy, girl, animal, bird, reptile or insect, is given the name of the intended victim and ordered by the magician to inflict the fatal wound: to stab, strangle, bite or sting him.

On the devil's return the magician lays him by sprinkling some water; only if the victim be himself a sorcerer can he ward off a Pilli; for by a counter-charm he can direct the operator to be killed instead.

An Angama affects within seven hours and causes throwing up of blood through the nose and mouth. The kattadiya takes some article that the victim had possessed or touched — a flower, a cocoanut-leaflet, a betel, a stick, &c.; performs the jieuma and touches him with it or fans him, or stretches it towards him or keeps it in the hand and looks at his face or blows so that the breath may fall on him or leaves it in some place that it may be picked up by him.

A Huniam takes effect within intervals varying from a day to several years. The kattadiya procures a lock of hair, a nail-paring, or a thread of the garment of the person to be injured. An image is next made to represent him, nails made of five metals are thrust at each joint and his name written on a leaf and inserted in its body. All these are buried after the jieuma, where the victim has generally to pass; and when he does so, he falls ill with swelling, or stiffness of joints, or burning sensation in the body or disfigurement of the mouth, legs, and arms.

3. — Exorcism of Demons.

Spirits who, of their own accord or with leave of superior spirits like their king Wesamunu Rajâ or by the aid of Huniam and Angam charms, have afflicted human beings are exorcised by
a devil-dance, which is almost the same in every case, but the charms, the masks, and the images used depend on the afflicting devil, and the elaborateness of the ceremony on the means of the patient and the gravity of the disease. The first duty of the kattadiya is to find out which particular devil has caused the illness, and Knox gives a quaint account of how this is done (page 76):

"With any little stick they make a bow, and on the string thereof they hang a thing they have to cut betel-nuts, somewhat like a pair of scissors; then holding the stick or bow by both ends they repeat the names of all, both gods and devils; and when they come to him who hath afflicted them, the iron on the bow-string will swing." A clay image of this demon is next made, and in the compound near the patient's house an octagonal figure (atamagala) of 20 or 30 sq. ft. is marked with ashes, and bounded with sticks of five different kinds of lemon or the stems of plantain-trees, which are connected with a thread, spanned with areca arches, decorated with palm-leaflets and cocoanut-shells containing oil and lighted wicks. At the corners of the enclosure are drawn figures of the trisila; on one side are erected mal bulat and pidesi sheds and, between them, a platform about 4 ft. high on which is placed the figure of the afflicting devil, or, in cases of special female diseases, a new earthen pot with an areca or cocoanut blossom. Split reeds are arranged at the centre of the mystic circle in different diagrams on which the kattadiya, with his attendants dressed in red and white jackets, masked and with gurulla leaves round the waist and head, go through a series of dances, drawing out a mournful chant and keeping time with their hands and bell-attached feet to the music of the tom-tom beaters.

The dance commences a little before midnight, and as it goes on, the magician raises the torch, which he carries in his right hand, to a flame by throwing in powdered rosin, or approaches the patient seated about 7 or 8 ft. from the circle, facing the clay image, with a white cloth covering from head to foot, rubs turmeric, water and oil on his head, makes some mesmeric passes, and all but suffocates him with the smoke of a potful of narcotics. A couple of hours after, the kattadiya retires to an ante-shed, sometimes carrying the patient with him; a short interval and he returns after a bath and a change of costume, but still masked. Dancing and music recommence, and towards dawn seven limes are placed between the patient's feet and the circle and cut one by one and thrown into a chatty full of water; as the magician cuts each lime he repeats a charm and the patient places his foot near the other. When this is over, the sick man is carried within the circle and seated facing the north with a rice-pounder, peddy, and a cocoanut by him. A coil of creepers is next put round his neck, shoulders and ankles and slit with an areca-cutter. The sacrifices (dola) due to the exorcised devil follow, and a pumpkin gourd (pulhor labu gediya) is kept on the breast of the kattadiya lying on his back and cut in two with a knife by the patient; the parts are thrown into the sea or a piece of water. Lastly, the earthen pot is broken or the clay figure carried with loud shouts to the haunt of the devil and left there with offerings.

Maha Sohonā transforms himself into Lō Sohonā and Amu Sohonā and afflicts with cholera and dysentery; is 122 feet tall, has the head of a bear, with a pike in his left hand, and in his right an elephant whose blood he squeezes out to drink; preys over graveyards and where three roads meet. Bīri Yaksaṇa causes a flux of blood, and is present at the death-bed; has a monkey-face, carries in one hand a cock and a club in the other, with a corpse in the mouth; and generally haunts fields. Kalu Kumāra Devatāwa or Kalu Yaksaṇa destroys conception, delays childbirth and causes puerperal madness; is a young man of a dark colour, and is always exorcised by breaking a new earthen pitcher. Samni Yaksa transforms himself into Oddi Takā and Huamam Takā; causes different forms of coma; has cobras twisting round his body with a pot of fire about him; holds a rosary (lakṣetīja) in his hand, rides on a horse, and is exorcised with the most elaborate of devil dances. Mandana Yaksaṇa is a she-demon, causes sensuality and resides near rivers and waterfalls. Balākri Yaksaṇiyō are the she-demons who afflict children.

Ayimaha Yaksaṇa or Mōlan Garavā, Dala Bākshayā, Yama Rākshaya, Purnikā, Ratna Kūtayā, Nila Giri, Nanda Giri, Chandra Kāwa, Mārakā, Asurayā, Nāta Giri and
Pel Madullā are the twelve Garā Yakku who haunt every nook and corner and destroy crops, make trees barren, new houses inauspicious, send pests of flies and insects, and reduce families to abject poverty. They are propitiated by a special dance called Garā Yakuma described above (ante, Vol. XXXII, p. 434).

Disembodied spirits who love the things they have left behind hover on earth and make their presence known by emitting different smells or by contaminating food (perētyāy), by destroying the plates and furniture of a house (gevelayād), by apparitions (anātāra), or by pelting stones and creating other strange sounds (holmara); they are afraid of iron and lime, and when over-boisterous a ēttadāyāa rides them from a house by nailing them to a tree or enclosing them in a small receptacle and throwing it into the sea; they are imprisoned till some one unwittingly sets them free, when they again commence their tricks with double force.

A woman who dies in parturition and is buried without removing the child becomes a Bōdirimār; she is short and fat and rolls like a cask and kills men whenever she can; the females chase her away with threats of beating her with an ikī- broom.

Nurses hush children by calling on the kidnapping goblin, indiscriminately named Billā, Gōnibilla, Guruhāliya, and Guruhāmi.

4. Worship of local deities.

The chief local deities are worshiped at their respective dēwālas, where the incumbent (kapurūla), after his morning ablutions, attends to the wants of the god: he lights a taper three times a day on the altar of the sanctuary, offers him food, performs some mystic rites, rings a bell and sprinkles water on the sacred vessels; the aid and protection of the tutelary spirits of the field, hill, wood, cave, tree or river are implored at their special haunts by lighting tapers, burning incense and offering flowers on temporary platforms or on raised granite slabs of rock. Annual festivals are held in the honour of the former, at all the dēwālas, between July and August; those at Kandy, Dondra and Kateragama are the most known.

Vishnu, a candidate for Buddhahood, is identified with the third of the Hindu Trimurti, and is the guardian angel of the island. Vows made to him at some anxious moment are always fulfilled by offering presents at his shrine.

Kateragama deviya is the son of the god of war who assisted Rāma in his great war with Rāvana. It is not uncommon to find an accused person or a chaste wife swear to his innocence or her fidelity before his image; they stand on the steps of the dēwāla, take the usual oath, cry out “deyiya sāicket” (god be witness) a dozen times, retire to a lonely hut by a river and remain there three days awaiting the consequences. He is also implored by husbands to cure their wives of sterility; they roll on the dust along the road, their feet tied and carrying a cocomut in their hands clasped above the head, and as they reach the entrance of the dēwāla, dash the cocomut to pieces. He has also power to cure a garden sometimes dedicates his trees to this god by tying cocomut leaflets round them and promises to offer him a share of the nuts; no one steals them fearing the avenging displeasure of the deity.

Before one starts on a journey he entrusts himself to the guardian deities of the four quarters (katarā varan deviya).

Nātha is to be the future Maitri Buddha and is now biding his time in the tusita heaven; Saman or Lakshman is the half-brother of Rāma and the guardian angel of Adam’s Peak; and Alut Yakinni has attributes similar to Pārvati.

Pattini is the goddess of chastity, and when incensed inflicts smallpox and other epidemics; to avert her displeasure and ensure protection to the inhabitants, a kapurūla or her special priest...
either travels, accompanied by a couple of musicians, from village to village, with a pot containing manga oil and a coconut flower on his head, or presides over the ceremonies known as Poropolgaanalava, An Edima and Ganmaduva.

In the first the villagers divide themselves into their hereditary factions: Yatipila (lower party) favoured by Pattini and Udupila (upper party) by her husband. The two leaders place themselves at a distance of 30 feet, and after a preliminary invocation by the officiating priest, the upper one bowls a ripe husked coconut (pol) at his adversary who meets it with another in his hand. This goes on till the receiver's nut is broken, when he begins to bowl. One side is declared winner when the stock of nuts of the other party is exhausted.

For the next religious game an open space of ground is selected and the trunk of a tree is buried at the centre of it. At the distance of a few yards is placed the log of a coconut tree, about 20 feet high, in a deep hole large enough for it to move backwards and forwards; and to the top of it thick ropes are fastened. The opposing parties bind two horns (an) together artfully, and, tying one to the base of the trunk and the other to that of the log, pull away at the ropes with all their might till one of them breaks. During the game the priest chants sacred hymns and burns incense in a shed close by.

At the end of both these ceremonies the conquering party goes in procession round the village, and the defeated side has to undergo a lot of abuse and insult which are said to remove the bad effects of their defeat.

The Gan-Maduva generally follows either of the above and lasts for a period of seven days. A temporary building, nicely decorated with flowers and fruits, is erected, in which an altar is placed containing the armlets (halaamba) of the goddess. A branch of the jack-tree is cut with great ceremony by the incumbent and is carried into it by his assistants (edaro) and kept on the east side with a little boiled rice, a coconut flower, two coconuts and a lamp. A pandal is next erected in front decorated with leaves and flags; and at the appointed hour the officiating priest carries to it the sacred insignia with music, and as he lays them there all present make obeisance. Water mixed with turmeric is sprinkled on the floor, resin is burnt and a series of dances mimicking village social life continues the whole night, varied by the priest walking on heaps of live-coals. The rites terminate with the ceremony of boiling milk, followed by a miniature representation of horn-pulling and sometimes by breaking the sacred earthen vessel at the nearest stream.

Pattini participates in the sacrifices made to her with Devol Yakka and Mangara Deviyō. The last-named is the twin-brother of Gopalu Yaksaya, who torments cattle at night and inflicts them with murrain.

Wesamunu Rajā is the devil-ruling god. Mahason is a deified king of Ceylon (B.C. 277-304) and worshipped as an incarnation of Kateragama Deviyō. Wira Munda Deviyō has an annual sacrifice ten or fifteen days before the Singhalese New Year. Hena Kanda Bisō Bandāra was born of a wood-apple (biti) and is invoked as the incarnation of Skanda Kumāraya's queen. Wahala Bandāra Deviyō and Malwattē Bandāra are the ministers of Vishnu and implored to cure possession. Kalu Bandāra is the god of the chase propitiated by hunters when entering into a strange district. Sundara Bandāra protects them who invoke him before sleeping. Malala or Gala Bandāra haunts precipices. Bahirawa Yaksaya lives on a hill and guards the metals and gems in the earth; a girl was formerly sacrificed to him every year.

The Kohomba Yakun steal the crops of a field and are propitiated by agricultural ceremonies. The Wali Yakun are three heroes, one the offspring of Vishnu, the other sprung from a lotus, and the third from grass. Baddarakallī is sought for winning law-suits and subduing rivals; and Ganēsa is invoked by children before reciting the alphabet for the first time.
5. — Adoration of Planets.

Sickness is not only caused by the displeasure of gods and demons but as well by the malignant influence of the stars; an astrologer for a handful of betel, bulat hurulla, and a few coins reads one's ola horoscope (handahana), and finds out which planet is the cause of the complaint. To counteract the evil, a Bali ceremony is performed or a stone sacred to the baleful planet is worn: a sapphire for Saturn, a topaz for Jupiter, a coral for Mars, a diamond for Venus, an emerald for Mercury, a moonstone for the waxing moon, a pearl for the full moon, a cat's eye for the waning moon, and a ruby for the sun.

For the Bali rite the seven planets are represented by painted clay images on a large platform of split-bamboo — measuring altogether 10 or 12 square feet. The tom-tom beaters stand behind and play their drums, while in front the astrologer and his assistants — all of the Beraraya caste — with torches in their hands, dance and recite some propitiatory stanzas. The patient sits the whole time opposite the images, holding in his hand a line connected by a thread with the chief idol; near him are strewn limes, flowers, betel, and dried paddy, and a stander-by throws portions of an areca-flower broken off at the end of each verse into a basin of water.

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEAE.

THE NAVAGRAHA OR NINE PLANETS, AND THEIR NAMES.

The Navagraha or "nine planets" of the Hindus are the five planets, properly so called, the sun and moon, with Bahu and Ketu — the moon's ascending and descending nodes. The worship of these appears to have originated in judicial astrology and in the belief that the planets had a great influence over personal destinies. Hence they are divided into subha-grahah or sad-grahah, — auspicious, and krava-grahah or pap-grahah, — those that are inauspicious. The first includes Brihaspati, Sakra, Budha, and Soma when in the second pahaka or fortnight; the second includes Sani, Mangala, Bahu, and Ketu.

The seven heavenly bodies are arranged, as by the Greeks, in the order (1) Saturn, (2) Jupiter, (3) Mars, (4) the Sun, (5) Venus, (6) Mercury, and (7) the Moon. The hours of the day were dedicated to these in succession, so that the 1st, 5th, 15th and 22nd hours of each day always fell to the same planet who also presided over the whole day. Thus, on Saturday, Saturn presided over the whole day and over these four hours specially, Jupiter over the 23rd, and Mars over the 24th hour. Hence the 25th hour or first of the next day has the sun — Surya — for its lord and so again the 49th hour gives Soma — the moon, as president of Monday, and thus Mangala presides over Tuesday, and so on. Sunday — as with western nations — is always regarded as the first day of the week.

Associated with these planets are their presiding divinities or lords. These are represented on paintings or carvings known as Râçchakras or zodiacs, of which three examples have been published; the first in Sir Wm. Jones's paper on the Indian Zodiac (Asiat. Res. Vol. II., at p. 309), the second in Moor's Hindu Pantheon (1810), plate 86; and the third in the Transactions of the B. Asiatic Society, Vol. III.

Jones's plate has Mount Saturn in the centre, with cities, &c., round it, and bordered by a narrow strip denoting an ocean; the upper side is marked pîrvadik, — east, the right dakshinadik, the left uttara-dik, and the lower pachimadik. Round this, beginning from the east and going round by the north, are representations of the Navagraha in circles, each bearing the name in Nâgar character: (1) Sûrya, (2) Vîrjaspati, (3) Bahu, (4) Budha, (5) Chandras, (6) Sanih, (7) Ketu, (8) Bhuma, and (9) Sûkra.

Surrounding the whole are the Râsîs or twelve

2 This plate has been reproduced in Breman's Hindu Astronomy, 1895, p. 14, but without a word of explanation or comment.
3 In the original plate, the first chakras in the sixth and ninth names are of unusual and inaccurate forms.
zodiacal signs, in ellipses, beginning on the left of the top with Aries (Mēṣa) and going round to the left, — each labelled in Nāgarī letters.

Moor's plate, from the collection of Colonel Stuart, differs in important details. In the central circle — in a cloud of glory — is Sūrya in his car driven by Aruṣa with a team of nine richly caparisoned horses; they are described as green, with black manes and red legs (p. 284). Round this is the circle of the planetary deities, divided into eight segments. These are named in Persian characters, and as the zodiacal signs are represented in the reverse order of the Jones's plate, we may also reverse the order of the grahas and read from right to left by the lower side of the circle. Thus, beginning on the right side under the horizontal diameter and opposite the signs Pisces and Aries, we have in succession (1) Chandra, (2) Maṅgala, (3) Budha, (4) Rāhu, (5) Ketu, (6) Brihaspati, (7) Śukra, and (8) Śani. It would thus appear that the grahas are here arranged in the order of the days of the week, but in such a position that Rāhu and Ketu fall behind the car of Sūrya.

The drawing of Moor's plate (which he supposed came from Jaipur) is more like Hindu work than Jones's, where the dress is more Moghol. The vahanas or vehicles of the divinities also differ, and will be noticed below: perhaps in the first plate the names of Budha and Śani should be transposed, for Budha is there mounted on a vulture, which is the appropriate vehicle of Śani.

The plate in the Transactions of the R. Asiatic Society, Vol. III, at p. 29, represents a "Hindu Zodiac: from a choultry in the Southern part of the Carnatic." This contains a central square divided into nine smaller ones containing figures of the Navagrahas, and is surrounded by a double border of compartments, — the inner of twelve squares, with figures of the Rāṣṭra or zodiacal signs, and the outer of twenty-eight squares with the Nakshatras or lunar mansions, — each represented as an animal, and beginning with Śāśiva as a horse, — Bharani, a male elephant, — Krittikā, a she-goat (?), — Rōhita, a cobra, &c.

The Navagrahas, occupying the central area, are all represented in cars of the same design, each with a driver and four horses, and within outline figures of various forms. The central graha is enclosed in a circle, and only one wheel appears on the near side of the car, whilst in all the other cases there are two: this can hardly be other than Sūrya. In the square to the right the car is in an equilateral triangle, and the figure is probably meant for Śoma; the figure to the left, or in front of Sūrya, is placed in an oblong, whilst the dēva in the car has a smaller nākṣatīra than the preceding. In the upper row, the first is enclosed in a figure like a pippala leaf; the second in what would be a star of six points, were not the lower point cut away to give a base line; and the third is in an oblong, nearly square. In the lower row, the divinities in the first and third squares have boars' heads, like Varāṇa — possibly representing Rāhu and Ketu — and the first is enclosed in a flag of the burgess shape; the second figure is placed in what seems meant for a bent bow; and the third, in a somewhat similar area. The divinities themselves are drawn on too small a scale to be separately identified.

The outer circles, in the first two plates referred to, contain representations of the twelve zodiacal signs which are clearly of western origin and possibly derived from the same sources as the figures on Jalāngir's coins.

Had we more representations of these planetary figures, from different parts of India, they would be of considerable interest. Over a door in the Wīde or great well at Adāla in Gujarāt, the nine grahas are represented, all as standing figures, except the third, where a representation of Buddha has been carved in place of Budha, but the figures are too much abraded to afford information respecting their proper adjuncts: only the seventh (Śani) has a bull couched at his foot. In the Jain temples the Navagraḥās are usually represented by nine small figures at the base of the āśana or throne of the image.

The lords of the seven planetary bodies have numerous epithets, which in turn give a variety of names to each day of the week, and occur in inscriptions and poetical compositions. These, so far as I have been able to collect them, are given below in the order of the days of the week over which they preside.

1. The Sun, — Ravi or Sūrya, is represented, separately in temples as standing, facing the east, his head surrounded with rays, usually with two arms holding a lotus in each, or — occasionally — a lotus and chakra, and — often underneath — are the foreparts of the seven horses that draw his chariot. Sometimes the horses are four, but often one which has four or seven heads. He is also represented as seated on a padamāna or lotus-
thron; his body of a deep golden colour, and occasionally with four hands,—holding the lāśākha in the upper right hand, and the front or lower left lying open with the palm upward.4 His car is sometimes said to have only one wheel and to be drawn by a Nāga: it is often represented, however, with two or four wheels.2 According to the Śabdaalāpadamra, Sūrya is of the Kṣatriya caste and Kāśyapa gṛta, belongs to the Kalinga country, and has for his rāha seven horses. Siva is the first presiding divinity, and water the second.6

His names are very numerous: Hemachandra has given seventy-two of them in his Abhidhana-Chintāmaṇī (verses 95-99); and in the Maḥābhārata (iii, 146-157) a hundred and eight names are enumerated. These have been supplemented from other sources, in the following list:

Aja; Aṇḍu, Aṇḍudhara, Amāṇipati, Amāṇibharta, Aṇḍumat, Aṇḍumālin, Aṇḍuvāla, Aṇḍusatha;
Abjadābhava, Abjadaha, Abjopi; Aruna; Arunāśarathi, Arunārchi; Arka, Arvam; Aśťakara or Aśťaruc, Aśṭamarchi; Aśvatthā;
Aharbābhava, Aharman, Aharpati, Aharpati, Ahaaguna; Ādiya; Inas;
Uṣṇikara, Uṣṇagov, Usṇidhikhi, Usṇaraśmi, Usṇarunuci, Usṇhāna;
Karmasākshin; Kapila, Kāmad, Kālachakrā, Kālādhyaksha, Kāśāyapa;
Kīraṇa, Kīranamālin; Kārīṭāntajana; Krisha;
Khakhölüka, Khaga, Khachara, Khadyōta or Khadyōtana, Khamani; Kharāṇā;
Gaganadhava, Gaganāvihārin, Gaganādvaga; Gabhānti, Gabhastipā, Gabhastimāt; Gabhastihasta; Gopol; Grahaṇi or Graharāja, Graharāja, Grahapusha; Grahas; Gharanamā, Gharanamā;
Chakrabābhava, Chañḍakrīrana, Chañḍadhit, Chañḍamarichi, Chañḍān; Chañḍaraśmi; Chitrabhānu;
Jagachakshus, Jagatākāhin, Jagaddipa; Jivana, Jivitēṣa; Jyotismat;
Taptāmapi, Tapana; Tamirahana, Tamūnd or Tamūnda, Tamōpaha; Tarāni; Tapana; Tāpana;
Tigamakara, Tigmadhikhi, Tigmarāśmi, Tigmarūc; Tigmāṇāśu; Timirnud, Timirari, Timirāri;
Tējaḥpuṣṭa; Trayitana; Tvashtṛ; Tvisāmīśa or Tvisāṃpati;
Dīnakara, Dīnakartṛ or Dīnakrit, Dīnapati, Dīnapradī, Dīnapaddhū, Dīnapamani, Dīnapatnā, Dīnapālā, Dīnapāśa or Dīnapāvara; Dīptāmāṇu;
Dīvakara, Dīvāpuṣṭha, Dīvāmaṇi, Dīvasakara or Dīvasakrit, Dīvasamāṇa, Dīvasaharct, Dīvasāsvara; Dīvakartṛ;
Dyupati, Dyumani; Dvādaśatman or Dvādaśatmaka; Dhākar; Dharmadhvajas; Dhvāntāśtrava, Dhvāntārtati;
Nabasāchakhsus; Nabhāmrni; Pachita, Pachēlim; Pataqa or Pataqag; Padmakara, Padmagarbha, Padmapam; Padmapartha, Padmalāśchhana, Padmāsana, Padmākānta, Padmānivala;
Pāt; Pāvaka; Pungala; Pāsān; Pragadhyaksha, Pragadvāra; Prabīhavat; Pradyotana; Prabhākara;
Bradhina or Bradhina; Bhaga; Bhāptāra; Bhākā, Bhānēmi, Bhānu, Bhānukēśara, Bhānumat; Bhākara; Bhāsavat;
Maṅkama; Maṅchimā, Marlema, Marlema, Mārtanda and Mārtanda; Mītra; Mīhira; Mokshadvāra;
Mārtanda; Mārtanda;
Yamunājanaka;
Ravi;
Lalāyanatapa, Lōkakṣakha;
Varuna; Viṅkata; Vibhākara, Vibhāvan; Vibhāvasa; Viyamam; Viročana; Vivasvat; Viśvakarman; Viśvakhās, Viśvāpi, Viśhū; Suchi; Sushita; Saptasapti or Saptāśa; Sasthāsara; Sarvā, Sarvitri; Sarvatōma; Sahasrakaraka, Sahasrmarichi, Sahasrarias; Sahasrāni; Sahasrārach; Sūrattana; Sūrya; Sūra; Svaragadvāra;
Hārises, Hari; Haridāsa; and Hēlī ('Hēla').

According to the Maḥābhārata (I. 259) his wife is Tṛ̣ntrī, and Suvacakā (XIII. 6251); his sister Surenā the wife of Mārtanda; and his daughter Surpurā.

2. The Moon.—Chandra or Soma, is represented as white, with two arms holding a club and a lotus; but sometimes with four hands—one of the right in the attitude of blessing. He is seated in a car with three wheels, drawn by ten horses as white as jasmine—five on each side of the yoke, and a deer in his lap; but sometimes it

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4 There is a white marble representation of Sūrya seated in his chariot, drawn by seven horses, in the Royal Museum at Berlin, brought from Bengal by the late Dr. F. Jago.
6 For this and subsequent references to the Sabdakalpadrama, I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. H. Consens of the Archeological Survey, who has procured them for me.
is drawn by a spotted antelope; or he is riding one. The *Sabdalakpadrama* addas, — that he was born of the ocean, and is of the Vaishya caste; that his right hand is in the *varadamudra*, i.e., bestowing blessing, and the left holds a *gadd* or club; that he sits on a white lotus, and has ten white horses to his *dvahana*; and he is clothed in white; Umá is the first presiding divinity, and water the second. He gives name to the second day of the week — *Sômavâra*, Chandrâvâra, Íc.

The names of Chandra are also numerous — many of course being synonyms: —

Atridriga, Atrinêraja, Atrinêtraprasûta, Atrinêtraprabhava, Atrinêtraprabhava, Abjas; Abhinivanteika;

Ampitadidhitii, Amritadyuti, Amritaśc;

Indu;

Ujupa, Udupati, Uduraj;

Eñahbrit, Eñatilaka;

Oshadhigambha, Oshadhinâthah, Oshadhipati, Oshadhisa;

Kalâmadhi, Kalâpatis, Kalâpinî,* Kalâpûra, Kalâbhrît, Kalâvat;

Kumudapati, Kumudapidriya, Kumudabandhu, Kumudâśabhadhava, Kumudâsahrid, Kumudâsah, Kumudinînâtha, Kumudinînâyaka, Kumudinîpati, Kumudâdhipati;

Kalânîrvin, Kâshâpâkara, Kâshâpânâtha;

Glau;

Chanda;

Chandra, Chandramas;

Oshadhâbhrit, Oshadhâsahrigadhara, Oshadhâsaka;

Jaivalîrika;

Tamoghana, Tamûnud, Tamûnuda, Tamôpaha, Tamôpara;

Târâdhîpa, Târâdhîpatis, Târâpatis, Târâpida;

Tûthâpira;

Tuhinakîrappha, Tuhinaguta, Tuhinadyuti, Tuhinarasmi, Tuhinâsthah;

Dakshâjapati and Dâkshâsyaînipati;

Dassavaj, Dassavâ, Dassavatha;

Dvijapati, Dwijara;

Naksatranâtha, Naksatrapa, Naksatranrâja, Naksatralâsa;

Nisâkara, Nisâktu, Nisâdhlâsa, Nisânnââtha, Nisâpatis, Nisâpaçêvâra, Nisâmañi, Nisâratna, Nisâvâs;

Nisâthinâtha;

Piyushahânîdi, Piyushahamahas, Piyusharuchi;

Pârvvadi; Pârvâyasaëmi, Pârvâyûnâs;

Bhagînâsman;

Mâa; Mrîgadhrâna, Mrîgarâja, Mrîgalaśchhâna, Mrîgâlôchhâna, Mrîgântâka, Mrîgarâja-dhârin (*), Mrîgalakasshâman;

* Tâmînîpati;

Rajaniçâha, Rajaniçhâranâtha, Rajanîpatis, Rajanîramana; Râjan, Râjara; Râtrakara, Râtrakâth, Râtrimañi, Râtrîkânta, Râtrîpatis, Râtrîpryâna; Râtrîpryamannya, Râtrîvallabha, Râtrîśâjâna;

Lakshamâyâha;

Vidhû;

Sârâhâra, Sârâbhrit, Sârâlakshma, Sârâ-lâçhâna, Sârâvindu, Sâsâka; Sâsîn;

Sîtagu, Sîtadidhitii, Sîtabhânu, Sîtavayûka, Sîtamarîchi, Sîtarasmi, Sîtunachi, Sîtanâsu;

Siyasëkhara;

Souchi, Suchiréchi; Subrasamî, Subrahânu;

Svetadâman, Svetadhyuti, Svetarâchîs, Svetarâjin, Svetavâhana;

Sîtaga; Sudhââsaka, Suddhâkara, Suddhânsiga, Suddhâbhrâna, Suddhâbhrâna, Suddhâsâspa, Suddhâsâspa, Suddhâsâspa, Sâma...

Sribahdâra;

Hari, Harîpinakalânâka, Harîpinadhâman, Harîpinâka;

Hima, Himakasa, Himaguta, Himididhitii, Himadhyuti, Himabhâsa, Himarasmi, Himâsânu.

3. Mars, — the Hindu Mangala or Bhanma, is the celestial war-god; that he is to be identified with Kârtikëya is an assumption that might not be found strictly accurate. He is said to be of red or flame colour, seated on a ram, or in a car drawn by a red ram, and with four arms holding spear, lotus, triêl, and club. The *Sabdalakpadrama* says he holds in the upper right hand a *vakti* or spear, the lower being in the *varadamudrâ*, the upper left is in the *abhayamudrâ* (offering protection), and in the lower left he has a *gadd* or mace; adding that he is of the Kahatriya caste and Bharadvaja gotra, and that Shkanda is the first presiding divinity, and the earth the second. Moor's plate gives him only two arms — with lotus-bud and rod or club; Jones's mounts him on a horse with a sword in his right hand; and Ward says he holds in one hand a *vakti* (spear or pike), with another he is giving a blessing, with a third forbidding fear, and in the fourth a club. His names are —

Aṅgâra, Aṅgâraka;

Ára (Gr. *Arar*); Ávânya; Áshâjhabhâvan, Áshâdhabhâva;

Bînântaka;

Kuva; Kâhititânta;

Kômuka; Gaganômuka;

Chapôkovâra, Chara;

Jî.;

*Noteworthy as a feminine appellation.*
Dharātmaja, Dhāraputra, Dhārasūna; Navadāhīti, Navārcis; Bhūṣata; Bhūṣija, Bhūṣimaputra; Bhauma; Māṅgala; Mahāsuta; Raktāṅga; Rudhira; Lōhita, Lōhitaika, Lōhitaṅga; Sivagharmaja.

4. **Mercury.** — Budha, is of a greenish-yellow colour, holding a club or sceptre and a lotus; or with four hands, having in the upper left hand a shield, in the lower a club, and in the lower right hand a sword, with the fourth — in the *varadāmsūrdra* — he is bestowing blessing. The *Sabdakalpadruma* adds that he is of the Vaiśya caste and Atri gōtra, and of the Magadha country; he faces the sun, sits on a lion, and has a yellow garment; Nārāyaṇa is the first presiding divinity, and Viṣṇu is the second. Sometimes he is represented riding on a winged lion, at others seated on a carpet or gaddī, or in a car drawn by four lions, with sword, shield, club and bow.

His names are — Ekadēha, Ektāngā; Jīna; Tūngā; Paśchāchris; Praharāha, Praharahula; Budha; Bōdhana; Rājaputra; Rōdhana; Rōhingbhava, Rōhinśuta; Rauhinśāya; Sravishṭāja, Sravishiṭḥādhū; Śyāmāṅga; Sōmaja, Somahē; Sāmya; Himna, Hēmnā ('Eśwīr).

5. **Jupiter.** — Brihaspati, the preceptor or Guru of the gods, sits in a car called *Nīghīśha*, drawn by eight pale horses. He is of a yellow or golden colour, dressed in white, with four arms, — in his upper right hand he holds a *rudrāksha-mallā* or rosary, in the upper left a water-pot (karakha), in the lower left a rod (daṇḍa), and, with the fourth in the *varadāmsūrdra*, he is giving a blessing; other accounts give the rosary, a lotus, and a sceptre. Sometimes, also, he is represented as seated on a gaddī (as in Moor’s plate), on a lotus, or on a horse.4 The *Sabdakalpadruma* adds that he is a Brāhmaṇ by caste, of the Āṅgirasa gōtra, belongs to the Sindhu country, wears a yellow robe, and sits on a lotus in a chariot drawn by a yellow horse (or horses); Brahmā is the first presiding deity, and Indra is the second.

His names are as follows: —

- Animishāchārya; Āṅgirasa;
- Ijya; Indrājya;
- Girīša; Giripati or Glaṇipati; Guru; Grahājya;
- Chakshus; Chitraśikhaṇḍiṣja;
- Jīva;
- Dīdīvi; Dvādaśa-kara, Dvādaśāṃśu, Dvādaśārcīs; Dhiśaṇa;
- Phālgunībhava;
- Brīhatkṛttī, Brīhaspati; Bhrusāṃspati;
- Vākpati, Vachasūropaṭi, Vāchasūropaṭi, Vāchaśapati;
- Suraguru, Suraprīya, Surāchārya, Surējya.

6. **Venus.** — or Śukra, the son of Bhrigu and priest of the Dāityas, is represented as of a white or bright appearance, blind of an eye, seated on a lotus, in a car drawn by a white horse (or horses), with four hands, and with the same symbols as Bṛhaspati; but Col. Delamaine ascribes to him a horse as *vīkasa*, and holding a rod, rosary, lotus, and bow and arrows. On Moor’s plate he rides an animal somewhat like a lynx, with rod and lotus-bud in his hands; on Jones’s he is on a camel, and holds a large ring or hoop. The *Sabdakalpadruma* states that he is a Brāhmaṇ by caste, of the Bhārgava gōtra, of the town of Bōjakṣa; sits on a lotus; faces the sun; has four hands with the same symbols as Bṛhaspati. Śakra or Indra is the first presiding divinity, and Sāchit, Indra’s wife, is the second divinity.

The names of Śukra or Uṣanas are as follows: —

- Asurāchārya; Āṣhapujit (Gr. Ἀσπουρια); Uṣanas; Kāvi; Kārya;
- Dāitya-guru, Dāityaparōdhas, Dāityaparōtha, Dāityapājya, Dāityāchārya, Dāityējya, Dāityēṛapājya; Dhiśhyna;
- Bhārgava, Bṛhiṇu, Bṛhiṇutanaya, Bṛhiṇusadvina, Bhṛiguputra, Bhṛigusuta, Bhṛigusūna;
- Maghābhava or Maghābhū;
- Šukra, Sūkṛacārya; Śvetā, Śvetaratha; Śbōdāśūna, Śbōdāśchāris.

7. **Saturn.** — Śani, Kopa or Kroja (Greek Ἐρετρος), as a divinity, is represented as black and in black clothing, old and ugly, with long hair and nails, four-armed — carrying a sword, two daggers, and an arrow, with a blue vulture for his vehicle (*niliagrigdrā-vīhara*). On Sir W. Jones’s plate he is mounted on an elephant, and Budha on

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4 Such as are represented at Sākāli; cf. Grünwedel, *Buddhist Art in India* (Eng. ed.), p. 34, fig. 19.

5 On Sir W. Jones’s plate it is hard to say whether the vīhara is intended for a horse or not.
a vulture; but possibly these should be transposed. According to the Sābda-kalpa-pradu, Sani is a Sudra by caste, of the Kāhāya gōtra, belonging to Sūrya, and born of the Sun; he sits on a vulture, holding an arrow in the upper right hand, the lower in the vara-damadur, a śūla or trident in the upper left hand and a bow in the lower. Yama is the first presiding divinity, and Prajāpati the second. Sani is a planet of illomen.

His names are given as, —
Asita; Āra;
Kopa; Kṛūrādriś, Kṛūralōchana, Kṛūrātman;
Krota;
Grahānyaka;
Chhāyā-tanaya, Chhāyātma, Chhāyāsūta;
Nilavasa, Nilavasa, Nilāmbara;
Pāṇu; Pātaği;
Brahmānya or Brāhmanya;
Manda, Mandaga;
Hāvatībhava;
Sani, Saniśechara; Sauri;
Saptānsupāngava, Saptārchiś, Saura, Sauri, Saurika.16

8. The ascending node, Rāhu, is painted black, with four arms, holding a sword, a spear, a shield, and bestowing a blessing, and the body ending in a tail; the Vaiṣṇu-Purāṇa says eight black horses draw his chariot, and, once harnessed, are attached to it for ever. Other representations give him a black lion, a tortoise, or a flying dragon as his vehicle. On Moor's plate he is represented as a headless man with two hands, holding a club and a lily and riding on an owl with a human face (? a female Kūmarī); and on Jones's plate it is an animal like a lynx. He is of Sūdra caste and of the Paithia gōtra, according to the Sābda-kalpa-pradu, and born of the Malayā mountain, black in colour and wearing a black garment, sitting on a lion, and having four hands, —in the upper right he holds a sword, in the lower a rāda, in the upper left a śūla, and in the lower a shield. Kālē is the first presiding deity, and Sarpa the second.

His names are these —
Abhraptāsachā; Graha; Kābandha; Kāyāna;
Tamasa; Bhagābhū; Rāhu; Vīdhuṅtuda; Saimhika or Saimhiķēya; and Svarbhānu.

9. The descending node is Kēṭu, who is represented as a head, painted green and placed on a frog or against the cushion of a gaddi. He is of the Sudra caste and Jaimini gōtra, and from the (?) Kraun̄chadvipa country, of the colour of smoke, wears a smoke-coloured garment, and sits on a vulture; one of his hands is in the vara-damadur, and the other holds a mace. Chitrāgupta is the first presiding deity, and Brahma the second. He is called —
Akaça; Aśāśābhava or Aśāśābhā; Kēṭu; and Muṇḍa.

J. BURGESS.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

SOME DISAPPEARING PREJUDICES OF THE PARIŚIS.

Considering the position that the energetic Parśis now hold in the very front of all Indian peoples in regard to education, progress and social freedom, the following extracts from some reminiscences of one of the pioneers of reform among the Parśis will be of interest to those who would mark down old customs and superstitions before they disappear. Mr. K. N. Kabrati is the writer, and he writes of "Fifty years ago."

1. — Medical Education.

What a wonderful change has been effected in the popular sentiment with regard to higher education, in the course of fifty years! In these days the Grant Medical College is overflowing with students of all communities. But when it was established in 1845, so intense was the prejudice of the natives against what they regarded as the contamination of dead bodies and human bones, that for a time it was very much feared that the public endowment fund, amounting to Rs. 1,25,000, for the institution had been simply thrown away. Inducements were therefore held out to students in order to set the institution going. Not only were they admitted free, but every one was given a stipend of Rs. 10 per month.

Some of the boys attended it in opposition to the wishes of their parents, who were gravely offended and deeply scandalized by their sons' violation, as they fancied, of the canons of their religion. I myself was a victim to this superstition. My father wanted me to go to the College;

16 Ḥūmakhaṇḍra (abhāṣṭās-Chittānāśa, sl. 116-121) gives a list of the names of the planetary divinities, which has been enlarged in the above. In fol. 121-22 he adds six names of Rāhu and four of Kēṭu.
but my mother would not, for a moment, entertain the idea of her son committing the grave sin of touching dead bodies. The first doctors were mostly Parsees and they employed Parsee compounders, because in those days the community had an ineradicable prejudice against taking food or water touched by a “heathen.” The first patients of these medical men were also chiefly Parsees, as the popular prejudice against European treatment was exceedingly strong amongst Hindus and Mussalmans. Even at the present day the ignorant masses prefer to die at the hands of a hakim rather than be saved by Western methods of treatment. Again, in maternity cases the doctors had to bathe in the patient’s house and change their clothes before leaving. After a time one or two medical men protested against the objectionable custom, which died out sometime ago.

2. — Lying-in Customs.

I wish I could say the same of the barbarous custom of consigning women, at a most critical period of their lives, to dark, damp, and noisome rooms on the ground floor of the house for forty days together. If there is no close room available in which to shut them out so long from heaven’s light and air, then a huge curtain, often made up of old rags, is put up, forming a dark and dismal enclosure for the unfortunate woman. Here she is doomed, in the name of religion, to live or die, as the Fates may direct; and although she may be very weak and ill, it is that same religion which absolutely forbids her better and healthier surroundings. Although this custom is not yet quite dead, it is dying fast enough and will have perished altogether before another fifty years have elapsed. The Parsee Lying-in Asylum has contributed largely towards the accomplishment of this beneficent reform.

As if these hardships contrived by superstition were not enough, delicate women were subjected to other trials at the risk of their lives. Sometimes, parents took a vow to leave their daughters after delivery without food and water for a whole week. The Rast Goftar, assisted by the able pen of the late Dr. C. F. Khory, led a crusade against this senseless practice and succeeded in abolishing it. Among other superstitious rites performed on the occasion was one called chokhtar, in which, as the name implies, rice formed the principal element. It was usually performed as a last resort when a woman felt dangerously ill and her recovery by means of human skill was despaired of. The children of neighbours and relatives were invited; they were washed and arranged in clean linen, and were treated to a dinner consisting of rice, milk, and pulse curry. A lamp, fed by ghf, was kept alight near the spot, and water-pots, coconuts, fruits, and flowers were placed near it, to which the friends and relatives of the patient made phajd. If any one’s children did not live to grow up, there was another ceremony for the invocation of divine grace on the unfortunate mother. It would take long to describe the various rites performed on such occasions. Suffice it to say that they have nearly all ceased to exist.

3. — The First English Doctors.

In the old days doctors went about in palanquins, which made a great impression on many of their patients. The early doctors, being the first in the field, had extensive practice, although at the commencement they had to contend against the prejudices of the people against Western methods of treatment. The people were mortally afraid of the application of a blister and regarded even the harmless mustard poultice with grave misgivings. Indeed, it was believed that the doctor applied a blister only in extreme cases, when all his resources had failed and when there were few chances of the life of his patient being saved. When this remedy was resorted to, there was mourning and lamentation in the house.

4. — The Importation of Ice.

Ice is now a blessing in many cases of sickness; but people looked askance at it when it first began to be imported from America.

In September, 1834, the first consignment of ice was sent from America to the firm of Jehanghir Nusserwanjee Wadia in Bombay. It was sold at 4 annas per pound. The native looked upon it as a great curiosity, and it was sometime before it made its appearance at the table of the rich. The first Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy introduced ice at a dinner given to some friends, and a few days afterwards it was gravely reported in the Bombay Samachar that both the host and his guests had fallen ill with cold. They had had the temerity to use an unknown foreign substance, and had to pay the penalty.

I was once taken by my father to the ice-house — the globular building next to the Great Western Hotel — and brought home a piece with me, and I remember the ladies viewed it as a strange substance with great wonder and curiosity. Aerated waters, too, were a novelty in the old days. When a soda-water bottle was first brought to my father’s house, on opening it, the cork flew up with a loud report, the ladies ran away affrighted, and they would not drink
the "smoking water" themselves, nor would they allow me to touch it.

5. — Social Reform.

Most unenviable was the lot of Parsi women fifty years ago. They could not freely walk forth in the street. They could not appear in public. If they went out in a rekîld, all the curtains were down, that bold bad eyes might not look at them. I remember that the community was deeply scandalized when the late Ardeshir Hormasjee Wadia began to drive out in an open carriage with his wife.

Those were days when boots and stockings were not worn by women. Many a bitter controversy has raged round the vexed question of shoe-leather. The first wearers of boots and stockings were malignantly reviled and abused. Nay, in the good old days of country shoes, it required no little courage on the part even for men to change them for English boots, nor was it considered proper to wear socks with country shoes. I remember that some gentlemen began wearing socks on the plea of ill-health, before they ventured to adopt them as a regular part of their dress. Now that English boots and stockings are so common among both sexes of the Parsei community, it seems quite a far-off age when the wearing of them provoked such rancour and resentment.

6. — Freedom for Parsei Women.

It was not without a long and prolonged struggle that rational freedom was obtained for Parsi women. Places of amusement were absolutely forbidden to them. When at last it was thought that it would be no crime to let them see a play or a circus, the performances were held exclusively for women. I remember one of such performances given by Romanini’s Circus forty-five years ago, when the male members of every family waited outside the tent till it was over at midnight. Not a few of them were wealthy Shethias, who complacently loafed about or enjoyed a comfortable doze in their carriages, awaiting the return of the ladies of their household. And what precautions and safeguards were then considered necessary, even in the case of such rigidly exclusive gatherings, at MacCallum’s Circus forty years ago. The tickets were sold by means of a private circular confined to families of known respectability, and the names of intending visitors were recorded in a special list in order that no persons of doubtful repute might smuggle in. All the preliminaries in connection with MacCallum’s Circus were carried out by the late Ardesheer Moos and Namabhai Ranina, and the assemblage of ladies in their multi-coloured dresses and dazzling ornaments was so splendid and magnificent that the circus proprietor, new to such sights, exclaimed, “Ah! if I could get up such a spectacle in London, my fortune is made!” Not that women were then too ignorant to appreciate the happiness of freedom. In my early days, I have often heard women, even old ones, say, on beholding Europeans of both sexes driving together in open carriages, “Alas, that it should not be our lot to be as happy as they are!”

7. — Early Mixed Gatherings.

Many more years elapsed before mixed gatherings became common among the Parseis. The first notable gathering of Parsei ladies and gentlemen was witnessed on the occasion of the festivities attending the birth of the late Prince Albert Victor. An entertainment to the school children of the town was given on the Esplanade, when a number of respectable Parseis appeared with their wives and walked arm-in-arm with them. The sight created quite a sensation. The movement in this behalf was led by the late Maneckjee Gursetjee, a sturdy old veteran in the cause of social reform. He was among the very first of those who freely went about with their wives and daughters arrayed in boots and stockings, and he manfully braved the vile scandals and objugations to which he was subjected for years by the foolish majority of his community.

Theatrical performances were ordinarily held for men only. When a special performance was advertised for families, it was carefully stipulated beforehand that no men unaccompanied by their female relatives would be allowed admission. As the promoter of theatrical companies in former days, I myself framed some strict rules in this behalf.

MUHAMMADAN WORSHIP OF FIRE.

Dr. (now Sir DISTRICT) BRANDER, when at Gorakhpur 30 or 40 years ago, visited a certain Miyan Sahib who kept a fire going as a religious duty — apparently a quasi worship of fire. He owned a sal forest; and this supplied fuel for his fire. He was most interesting man and charmed his visitor: a man of liberal and loyal spirit, for he protected Christians in the Mutiny, and he subscribed to the schools attached to the local Mission, of which the Rev. Mr. Stern was the head. The memory of such a man should be preserved. I wonder if it still lives in Gorakhpur.

W. COLDSTREAM.
JANGNAMAH OF SAYYAD 'ALIM 'ALI KHAN, A HINDI
POEM BY SUDISHT.

BY WILLIAM IRVINE, LATE OF THE BENGAL CIVIL SERVICE.

(Concluded from p. 9.)

345 Yakāyak dhundhūkār paidā hū,ā,
Niẓāmān kā laṯkha war huwa,ā,
Hū,ā hān khār moh chārōn kadān,ā,
Zamin tharthāri aur lārā gagan,
Kharā ho-ke jağa sēnā nikāl,

350 Kiyā josh mēn a-ke rukhiyā ko lāl:ā
"Naṣṣ kar-ke shokhi, wah chal ā,ā hai,ā
Mūjhe kyā, magar mom kā pā,ā hai,ā
"Zamin dhas-ke ghar ḍhār ho jāgē,ā
"Gagan tūt-ke sar pāb ā-jāgē,ā

355 "Lārūn yā marūṇ kār-i-faujān chalā,ō,
"Tū, Ālīm 'Ālī, lohū ki nadiyān bahā,ō,
"Ba-haqq-i-khudāand-i-parwardigār,ā
"Jab lajk jiū tan mōn, kariūn kāzar,ā"

Harāwāl kiyā Mutahāvvar Khān koṁ,
360 Diyā sang Salīm Khān, Mathī Khān koṁ,
Dālī Mahāṃdī Beg, Mīrāzā 'Ālī,
Jāhān talag the sardār jodbā, balt.
Khābā: "Tū āharāwāl ke sāḥ sāṭh jāo,
"Harāwāl ko un sāṭh beḷī milāo,"

365 Amin Khān ko bole, kiḥ: "Sun to tehū bāṭ,
"Tūmēn fauj kāmīl le āpne saṃghāt,
"Chalo mihrbān son sēthi taraī,
"Tūmēnāri ṣhijā'at mōn nāhiṇ ākuch hārā,
"Tūmēn mard-i-Dakhīn mōn ho be-miṣāl,

370 "Yihi bāṭ tahqīq be-qil-o-qāl,
"Khāre ho-ke rahne mōn dastā khalal,
"Gayā dūr harāwāl hamārā nikāl,
"Madad yo ā,ā ho, to kuchh kar dikhāo,
"Ho be-shak āpas dil mōn, khāndā bajāo,

375 "Tālo-ge, to sāḥ fauj fāl jāgei,
"Balā mējā akēle ke sar ā,āgē,
"Wahl howgāj jo hai Rabb kī raṣā,
"Maŋ būn sab 'asīzān son sāḥ sabā,ā
Kahā 'Umr Khān koṁ : "Rahā daat-ī-chap,

380 "Marhāṭān kī faujān koṁ le sāḥ sab,
"Tūmēnāri meri ākuch judā,ā nāhiṇ,
"Tūmēn khweśh ho, kuchh sipāhi nāhiṇ,
"Tūmēnāri meri shārm sabā ek hai,
"Karōge wahi jis mōn jo nek hai,

All at once a dust arose,
The Niẓam's army was descried,
There were shouts in the army on all sides,
The earth shook and the heavens trembled.
He arose and brought forth a raging army,
By his ardour his face was reddened:
"Full of insolence he has advanced,
"What care I, for he has feet of wax,
"The earth will give way, a hollow will form,
"The skies will melt and descend on his head,
"Let me fight or die, let the armies engage,
"Thou, 'Ālīm 'Ālī, cause bloody rivers to flow,
"By help of the Lord, who is the Cherisher,
"So long as I breathe, shall I prolong the battle."

He placed Mutahāvvar Khān in the vanguard,
Sent with him Salīm Khān and Mathī Khān,
Dālī Mūhamdī Beg, and Mīrāzā 'Ālī,
Whatever leaders he had, brave and bold.
He said: "Follow all of you the leader of the van,
"Delay not, quickly engage with their vanguard."
To Amin Khān he said: "Hark to my word,

"Take out a full force of your troops,
"Be pleased to move to the right wing,
"Against your valour no word can be said,
"You among Dakhinis have not your equal,
"This fact is admitted without contestation,
"Mere standing idle brings ruin on the squadron,
"My vanguard has advanced and is far off,
"You came to help, so show what you can do,
"Cast out doubt from your heart, ply your sword,
"If you yield ground, the whole army gives way,
"The calamity will fall on my friendless head,
"Whatever happens it is the Lord's will,
"I have no grievance against any of my friends,"

He said to 'Umr Khān: "Take place on the left,
"Make all the Mahrātās follow you,
"You and I can never have separate aims,
"You are a relation not a mere trooper,
"You and I shall be one in any reverse,
"You will perform whatever is right,"
385 "Duniyā do pahar ke yah jyūn jahanon hai,
"Janam lag kise kā nah abh thānon hai.
"Aagar hai sharm, to yah jivanā bhalā,
"Wagarnah zahr khā-ke, marnā bhalā;
"Khabardār ho, dil mōn kuchh ċaar nah lāo,
"This world is for a few hours, it seems more like hell,
"No one has any power to cling to life.
"If we come to shame this life is a mere fraud,
"In that case to take poison and to die is better;
"Be on the alert, let no fear enter into your heart,
"As duty demands, strike off and hard."

390 "Jyūn hai shart, tyūn khhūh hāthān chālā, o!
Līyā sāth apne rāhā so baṣhm,
Chale khhūh ho ċhāstah yak yak qadam.
So ċe mōn ċ-kar kahā ko suwār,
"Harāval pai Sīhūb ke hai rozgūr,
"Rahi fāuj jahan ke tahān sab haṭak,
"Chale hai ċūdhar ke ċūdhar sab haṭak,
"Parā ċhār jodhā barā par haṭhak.c"

Sūnā aur chilāyā jaīśi biḷli ċaṭāk;
Jo hote agar ċustām, Afrasāyāb,
400 To hargīz na karte wah aīsā ċhītāb.
Parā tūt ċaṭbī so aīsā ċaṭāk,

Kis-se mānā jō sambhāle dhaṛāk ?
Uṭhā fāuj, lāshkar mōn garī, ghabār,
Kīh jāhon qiyāmat hū, ċa saharā,
405 Hū, ċhor ċhūr ċhūr bhūgūlā fāuj mōn,
Sayūdat ke daryā yak fāuj mōn,
Maqābal hū, ċhūr, ur kahā hānī kār
"Waṭh hai sipḥī kā khanḍe kī dhār,

'Abād din, 'abād waqṭ hai, ċij kā,
Bhale mard ke qadr-i-mīrāj kā.
Kahā : "Kahān hai sardār ċhī fāuj kā,
Jo dekhe tamāshā ċerī manj kā,

"Mileṇ ham o tūm ham ko ċaṛān hai,
"Talō mat, yah mardōn kā maṇdān hai,
415 "Mūjhe bān golī soṭ tūm mat ċarā, o;
"Niṅgā hai to haṇḍaj son haṇḍaj milā, o."
Lāgā ċhārṇā tir kar-koṇ pe ā,
Diyā fāuj yakbārgī saḥh halā ;
Chalāṇe lagā tir par tir koṇ.
420 Hazār ċhīrīn mard-i-randhīr koṇ !
Gusār jā, ċhilla, aur baktar koṇ phoṛ,
Zirah kī kaṛiyan, dhāl ke phul tor ;
Jaisi tir mari karō mōt milā, ċe,
Sakat kiyā ċē jodh phīr sar ċūhā.
Hūā do ġharāt lak hasāroq kadhal,
Chalēn fauj mūnh par taĩn sārt nikał,
Jo handaj thi mūnh par seṅ sabb ġal gae,
Phirā āerī yakbāraqī chal gae.
Kahīn thā, 'āzaīnā, yah 'Ālim 'Ali!

Magār āi ḥāṣīr hūā hāi 'Ali,
Lāhī! yūh kis nūr kā nūr hāi,
Jawāni, ḥaṣa'at so ma 'mūr hāi!
Kiyā tab ḥukum: "Bog naḥbat bāja, o,
"Rakhō dil qawvā sur ghope chalā, o."

Baho Ḧyūn the tyūn, ho khare thār thār,
Hathī urbadī kul pī̄yāde, suwār,
Chaliyā ko māṣqīq, chaliyā koi jānūb,
Chaliyā ko ḥamāl, sur gāyā ko ḥarūb.
Bulāenē lage fānq kōp: "Ā, o, re!"

Fath hāi, fath, koi mat jā, o, re!
"Phiro, re, phiro, nang soq dūr hāi,
"Namak khā-ke bāgē, so maqūr hāi!"
Yah sun-kār kahī Sayyād-i-pāk-bār;

"Ayā, bas hāi ḥamanā madād-i-kārēās;

Jo bāqā, so kyā īskē bhar ās hāi,
"Yah mānā shahādat mūjē khāy hāi!
Khārā ram mōr Sayyād āpas gāz soq,
Ga'i fānq sārt nikał ḥāth soq.
Mahāwāt ko bolā kih: "Hāthī chalā, o."

Kahī tab Ghālīb 'Ali Khān soq yāhī yūn bulā, o:
"Mān is fauj koq āṣmāyā nāhin,
Kapāṭ in ke ðil kā maīn pāyā nāhin,
Dāghā de-ke mūjī ko nikālā ṣhīṭāb,

Qiyāmāt moq kyā dengo Ḥaqq kā jwāb?

Mūḥabbat ke kūchh kis mane yās nāhiq,
"Dekhō, dostāq ko mere pās nāhin,
"Ba-hari hāl, dunyā yah guzarān hāi!
"Ḥaṭṭūn kyā maīn! Ab kyā merā aśān
hāi!"
Ghālīb Khān yūn bolā: "Al Sayyād! Imām!

Nako kūchh karo di moq ab fīkr-i-khān!
"Jab lak tan moq hāi dam, laren jān-nīzār,
"Bahegā yah 'ālam mane yadgār."
Nāṣir Khān, Ghori, soq bole Nawāb:
"Mile mīl gā, sahb th khānāb-khārāb;
465. "Azizan! jo kuchh hai, so taqdir soq,
"Mitna sake ket tadbir soq."
Kiyaa Shekh Faisu ne a-kar fars,
Jo janaa kih marni hu, ha hai fars.
"Nawab! ab rahaa shahr ka dekhnaa,

470 "Lara, nahi, yah hu, dekhnaa."
The is guftgie mon, o thay bichara,
Phir fauj-i-Sayyad,pare gul ekbar,
Par a marka tir aur ban k,
Machh raq-kadban phir pareghan k,

475 Kiyaa qaad ik dil kahabi-gharur,
Kih chaadhe jyupa ake daryaa kai pur.
Hasaar aarin tuja ko, 'Alim 'Ali!
Kahun surya, btr, jodha, bali!
Baraa chohta asaan soq mahawat nikal,

480 Lagaa panw hathi dhakaya aakal
Ghiaa Khan kon itne mon golaa lagaa
Lagaa sooj hathi upar soq dhakai,
Paru morchhal hath soq chhuta-kar,
Rahaa dekh Sayyad to ho khund-kar.

485 Take the kam-o-behi kul sau jawan,
Hote karo Sayyad ke saab khun-fihan.
Hathi thaa, wa thaa ap, ya thaa Khudaa,
Hu-1 saath soq sabh sanghhti judia.
Do tarkash le ise moq khali kiyaa,

490 Sakal tan ko zakhmaa soq jali kiyaa,
Lagii tir bhar le usi tir kon,
Chalawee bharar kar baaja dhir soq,
Lagaa kar chille kon bi ainchhi kamian,
Lagawee jis-se sirhi Ala mian.

495 Yakayaak lagi mihp par a, panch tir,
Huu pari galiyan ke, pardin ko chit,
Liyaa aich kar aur kiyaa khab zor,
Rahaa so satja panch khaada maror.
Lagii tir phir anya gogh kon;

500 Satja kadh khe is kon, a hoqh moq,
Nagik ak-e fais fauj kah ko amir,
Lagiyaa peshani mo angekke i-ak,
Nikale to hargis nikalti nahi,
Kiyaa zor, pun zor chalait nahi.

505 Satja chur aur bharr kar wahan kah wahan,
Diyaa juwab ak-e tir kah dar zamun;
Par a age ghore soq jab wah amir,
Kahaa: "Kyaa jawaan-mard hai, be-naghir!"
So it is moq ko aur hasdaj-suwar.

510 Hu-ia samhna, dyl koq kart istwar;
He shot him, too, with an arrow so quickly,
That he had no time to give it an answer.
On this came someone grasping a spear,
With boldness advanced to attack the Sayyad.
Seeing this he sprang up and shot an arrow;
The man fell from his horse to the ground,
He reeled, showed his face, his eyes turned.
With a touch he urged on his elephant.

Thereupon one of a saintly line, a mendicant,
Absolutely peerless with bent dagger and rapier,
Driving his elephant came face to face,
You might take him for Nigām-ul-Mulk himself.
Of a sudden this man so struck him with an arrow
That he fell down on his seat and fainted:
From wound after wound he twisted and turned,
He was a little weakened, was the lofty Lord.
Comming to his senses, he used his sword,
With great force, with the greatest skill;
His friends had left him, all had bolted,
None was on the right hand, none on the left;
Wherever you look, there came “Strike, Strike,”
Hessa’d: “The pure will of the Cherisher be done!”
He laid hand with courage on his sword.

When, stooping, he brought it down on a haudah,
It pierced the shield and cut the haudah’s frame,
Wherever it fell, the woodwork broke to pieces.
The fighters came and stood round the haudah:
He held his breast, hardened his heart,
With both hands he wielded his sword;
Nay, he played out Karbalā in full.
On this there came a bullet and hit him,
It was not a ball, it was Fate itself.
He said: “Is there no one, give me water,
‘Where is the butler, bring him, call!’
No water was there, no butler to be found.
He fell to weeping, all hope of fighting o’er;
He had shot on, cut them into little bits,
So long as breath was left, and any sense;
From his eye much blood did flow,
He began wiping it, taking his handkerchief,
His face was all covered with streaks of blood,
That Sayyad and Priest could see no longer.
Friends have told us, clear of mind,
That on his single body were thirty-six wounds,
Nine were gashes of spear and sabre,
He paid no heed to these hurts.
Fountains of blood began to spurt,
Came out of the haudah and flowed onward.
This was one man, they a crowd of thousands,
In battle-field the head was severed from its case,
When there came a ball of a sudden
His soul fled from his body, he gave up vital breath,
His liver burst, and when blood came lightly
It began, alas! to run down from the body.
A Mughal climbed violently on to the handah,
Began once more to strike the face with his hanger.
There was no life, nor any sign of breath,
He breathed not, he had no movement of life.
The Khān was thrown down from the handah,
Thus they dealt with that life-befit jewel;
It was the 9th of the month of Shawwl.
News was brought to the city of this thing,
They went into the women’s rooms to tell them
That to-day all the city is in confusion,
It is said that ‘Ālim ‘Ali Khān,
King of the throne of the Sayyads,
Has been killed by an invading army.
Darkness has fallen on the Priestly house,
That blessed body is hidden from the world,
That choice jewel of the treasure house of ‘Ali.
In taking his army forth he was too quick and hasty,
Having taken it, see what harm has been done.
There was weeping and wailing throughout the palace,
All eating and drinking were forsaken.
His mother arose, with sadness and sighing,
She wept, knowing not where she was, poor soul!
The earth is hard, the heavens far away,
Behold the woe of the Khān’s mother, O Houri!
His mother sobbed: “O son of mine in youthful beauty!
““To see thee once more is not allowed me!
“Where art thou, O son, my ‘Ālim ‘Ali!
““For grief of thee I burn from head to foot!
“Oh cruel heavens, what violence have you done!
“Lost is my necklace’s most lovely jewel!
“Cast down the gateway-pillar of my house!
“My moon of heaven in a sky of light!
“Of all adornments he was the rose of roses,
“By pulling it the whole flower-bed is ravaged,
“O how are my ease and delight destroyed,
“To Resurrection Day this will stand an example—
““With a thousand desires and longings
“I have tended my ‘Ālim ‘Ali Khān,
“Whither is he fled, where has his youth vanished?
““Under the earth has his whole youth vanished,
“What shall I say when the Nawāb asks me:
“Where is that blessed son, O veiled one?
“From your hand why allow him to be lost,
“In youthful years why made you away with him,
“Wherefore did you not forbid his action,
“Have you lost for me that brave one?”
She ate not, she drank not, wept without ceasing,
Ever restless like a fish in its death-throes,
Out of her senses, tossing about, calling aloud;
“O Guardian! O Helper! O Cherisher!
“Taking his hand I made him over, O Lord, to Thee!

“Why have you not restored him to my sight?
“This hope I cherished in my heart, to see him,
“This leader of my army and forces;
“He said: ‘After the victory I will return,
“This form I will display to you anew.’
“For news of his return I bestowed much alms,
“Of this event I had not the least knowledge.
“Alas! Tell me the physic for this sorrow,
“Someone rescue me at once from this oppression.”
They lay senseless, all understanding eclipsed:
From the eyes of the young and lovely fell
torrents of tears,
All those dwelling in the palace were lost in grief,
With sobbing and sighing lying senseless,
What can I say, darkness fell on the palace;
Except it be God, who else is there now,
No one to complain to, no one to provide a winding-sheet.

Somehow or another they reached Daulatābād;
She under whose orders had been city and country
Went out thus, camped among the lonely hills.
No one had the spirit, nor was it feasible—
No one could say a word, or ask a question,
He was carried off in a moment to the skies,
Hurriedly, in one moment, he returned to dust.
Tūlā Rām, his diwān, a Kāyath, of long service,
Did his duty and followed him in this sudden calamity.
A bird had not the power to fliap its wings,
No one had the power to breathe a word;
Lasting fame no one can attain,
This world, behold, is nothing but a dream.
Lost by plunder was all his baggage,
It is not an idle tale, it is a strange true story;
He whose custom it was to speak truth,
He whose constant generosity was notorious,
Where are his big drums, kettle-drums, standards,
Where are his guns, where his cannon and rockets,
Hazārān the ghore, hāthi be-abhumār,
Hazārān jhārī dār the jinke duwār,
Ṣadr masnadān jā-bā-jā, thār thār,
Āgōn haug-i-lab-rez ur gul-i-bahār,

655
Kahān sālābat, kahān wāh ḥukm,
Kahān fanj, isarkar, kahān wāh ḥashm;
Hazārān so bakhshāgh kareñ the madām,
Sakal bidshāhī mōn 'izzat-i-tamām.

Sūdīštā! yah kyā kiyyā sitām! Hāe! hīe!

660
Yah dunyā hai aise koṅ, kiyyā koī na pāe,
Kahān hai wah daulat, kahān wah hāl,
‘Ajab qadrātān teriyān, gu,l-jalāl!
Kahā mil apas mōn apan ahā-i-rās,
Sīyādāt kā nā-haqq dubāyā hāsā,

665
Nabwati kā angushārī kā nagīn,

Jīgar goshah-i-Ṣāfīmāh bīl-yaqīn,
Parā gard lōhī manē lāl ho,
Gīrā ekālā ran mōn be-hāl ho;
Yah gham jag mōn jāb eqākārā hū,ā

670
Jīgar jōt ‘ālam kā, pārā hū,ā.
Hazār āṅ, afsos, ai doṣāān!
Chhipā, āhaaf!, dunyā tāṅ wāhū nau-jawān!

‘Ajab Sayyad, ‘ālā-nisbat, khān thā,
Farāsat ke daftar kā Sultān thā,

675
Kahān dhūndhiyān ab, kaho, Khān koṅ,
Risālāt ki moti paresān koṅ?
Nanhe ‘umr mōn kyūn khapāyā ēse?
Lo jā-kar, dekhō, dūkhā khāhāyā ēse.
Nah ārām dil koṅ, nah khatār qarār,

680
Jīgar jal dharakātā hāi, jāisā angār,
Jī, le lag naṅ ab kis tāṅ yārī kareň,
Yah gham dil mōn rakh, burd-bārī kareń;

Dunyā hai daghā-bāz, fānī-maṣqām,
Hai dil bāndhuṅā is son bi,l-kull ḥarām.

685
Qīla’h kā qīla’b-dār-i-ālā-qadr
Sayyādat ke nāte pe rakh kar nagr,
Līyā qīla’h mōn, ur kahā eqākār;
“Main momin, musalān, dīndār,
“Tamhāre mere lāj ik lāj hai.

690
“Merā qaul tūmānā sete āj hai,
“Rafāgat tamhārī ji ke sanghāt,
“Main jāgir, mansāb tāṅ dhwoen hain hāth,
“Jo kīchh hō thārā kareṅā so ho,
“Main biṣāhā hūng, sab bāt soŋ hāth dho,

Thousands of horses, uncounted elephants,
With their abundance of jerks and whirls,
Seats of authority spread out in rows,
Before him full fountains and the blossoms of spring,
Where is all that show, where all that splendour,
Where army and camp, where all that array;
For ever gave he thousands of gifts,
Throughout the Empire had he completest honour.
O Sūdīṣṭā! what crime is this? Alas! woe is me!
Such is this world, no one gets his due,
Where is that wealth, where that position,
Strange are Thy judgments, O Omnipotent!
Those in the secret say, gathered together,
The ship of the priestly line is wrecked,
The central stone in the signet ring of the Prophet’s house,
The heart in the bosom of Fātimah, the veritable,
He fell in the dust reddened with his blood,
He fell in single combat all exhausted;
When this grief became known to the world
Everybody’s heart broke and fell in pieces.
Alas! a thousand times alas! O friends!
Vanished from the world, O woe! is that comely youth!
A wonderful Lord of high degree, a Khān was he,
King in the council of the sagacious.
Where now shall we seek, tell me, for that Khān,
That scattered pearl of heavenly mission?
In tender age why have you destroyed him?
He was taken, you see, and beheld sorrow,
No peace for my mind, the heart never at rest,
My liver on fire, blazing like a hot coal,
All my life long no further friend have I,
Hiding this grief in my heart I will silently suffer;
The world is but a deceiver, a passing show,
Attachment to it is altogether wrong.
The fort-commander of high degree
Looked with favour on the Prophet’s descendant,
Took her into the fort and said openly:
“I am orthodox, a believer, a religious man,
Your desires and mine are one and the same.
This day I pledge you my word,
I take your side with heart and soul,
I wash my hands of rank and lands,
Come what may,
Here I sit, having washed my hands of everything,
695 "Rakho dil-jama', aur khâṣîr qarâr,
"Lâûngâ, jo chal ûwenge lak swâr."

Dilâsâ diyâ, aur kahâyâ salâm,
Diya khib rhane ko, khasâ maqâm.
Mutârik terâ naqâwâ tijâr par sechho!

700 Yah nîyâ terû tijâr rhabar acheny!
Shujâ'at ke tâure mën tân mard hai,
Bahâdur, shujâ', sâhib-i-dard hai,
Mârîb soñ mardi ke hae be naqîr,
Muhammad so nit ûchho dastgîr!

705 Jo bolâ bachen so rakhi bar qarâr,
Acheny shah mardun kâ tis din ahdâr,
Dî jag moq naajâh baâda pàega.
Dunya sâbal hae, nû tân raBJâgâ.
Hunîa ba'd-az-ân ghi Hindîstân moh,

710 Hûwâ jang Mughal ur Miâyân Khân soñ,
Shahâdat kare Khân tain ikhtiyâr,
Kare maghfarat Khân ko Parwardigâr!
Hû, jâb khabar jâ yah Nawâb koñ,
Riâûat ke mîmbar kî mîrûb koñ,

715 Kih 'Allim 'Ali, Sayyad bâ-khâr,
Kiyû 'âluma ma'nâvi par safar,
Sûnâ ur parâ gham ke ja âl moq,
So 'Allim 'Ali Khân ke bairûg moq.
Kahâ: "Khod dârin Dakhin ki zamîn,

720 "Yah kîy bêt hamânâ pah âwe kamin,
"Ba baqq-i-Khudâwand-i-gun-o-makân
"Nah Mughalân koñ cchudhûn nah Mughâle kû nân."
Mangâ topkhàûnâ bâde dâb kà,
Bangalâ, Pûrab, aur Panjâb kà,

725 Mangâs kahâk bân sabh Hind ke,
Dili, âgare, aur Sahrînd ke,
Jazâil, ghutarnâl, ka, e hazard;
Kî, e saf doh-dhâ-ke sabh ko tayâr,
Ghilâîn kî, e sabh koñ bûnât ke,

730 Surkh, sabz, aur zard ke khûnt ke.
Hazârân jawn-mard, shamsher-zan,
Mile â-ke Bârhe soñ, sat de waâtan,
Liyyâ sâth aghâm chaunsaath hazâr,
Apas the shujâ'at moq ik nâmâr,

735 Úthe bol: "Agar hai mere tan moq jân,
"Lâgâ kar Lânkâ 'lag karûngû ûdân."
Kahâ jâgab soñ: "Ai Khudâwandigâr!
"Nîgâman soñ mujh ko milâ ek bâr!
"Agar mujh-kî dushman merâ pâe to,

740 "Nikal jâwën, jo sâmhne â, e to."
THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY.

785

Zamin dandnâne lage, khauf khâ,
Pařā ḍhâk mulkâ-mulkâ, jâ-ba-jâ,
Amiri-miri fauj sab sâth le
Chalâ hai Dakhin par, damâme ko de.

745 Chale the do manzil Dakin ke kadhan
Hûjâ ús moh taqdir kâ ek fann,
Daghâ se liyâ mûr Nawâb koñ
Liyâ lût sâmân wa asbâb koñ.
'Aznâân! Jo kuchh hai so taqdir hai,

750 Ba-ghair az reghâ kuchh na taâbir hai,
Yah dunyâ daghâ-bâz wa makkâr hai,
Wahi bûjhtâ hai jo hoâyâr hain;
Wâhm be-khabar, 'aql haîrân hai,
Dekho, dostân, kyâ yah tûfân hai!

755 Dunyâ ki mûhabbat hai bi,kull kharâb,
Yah jiwanâ hai pâni pañh jaisâ bâbâb,
Agar mâl, dhan lâkh dar lâkh hai
Samaj dekh, âkhir wañh khâk hai!

Yah jiwanâ khatam hai, nah daulat khatam.

760 Are! Jâg soya hai, kiyâ be-waâm!
Jaise kuchh samajh bûjh aâdrâk hai.

Dunyâ ke alâish soñ wah pâk hai!
Maregâ, maregâ, re, mar jâegâ!
Jo kuchh yahûn kiyâ hai, so wâhûn pœgâ;

755 Agar bâdghâh hai, agar hai amîr,
Ajall ke pânjoñ meñ hain sâre astr.
Kabûn ga,e, kabûn ga,e, kabûn hai, bata?

Athâ mâl, dhan jin-kâ lâ-intiâh.
Nah ghar kâm ãwâ, nah khar châr râbâ,

770 Nah mâ-nû bâb, bhâi, nah ko yâr râbâ :
Jo âyâ hai jag moq, so mihnâm hai,
Yah jiwanâ, so jyôn phûl aur pân hai.

The earth began to quake from fear,
Clouds covered the kingdoms from place to place,
The Noble of Nobles, taking all his army,
Has set out for the Dakhin, his big drums beating.
He had gone two stages on the Dakhin road,
Then came to pass one of Fate's slycrafty tricks,
By treachery the Nawâb was struck down,
All his goods and equipage carried off.
My friends! whatever comes is decreed,
Against God's will no plan prevails,
This world is a traitor and a deceiver,
He understands it who is on his guard;
Imagination faints, and reason reels,
Behold, beloved, what a whirlwind it is!
Love of this world is out-and-out sinful,
This life is but a bubble on the water,
If wealth and goods amount to lakhs upon lakhs
Overlook not this truth; — our last home is the grave!
This life has an end, but wealth remains behind.
Ah! we woke, we went to sleep, we doubted not;
We ought to have weighed things, ought to have perceived.
By the world's stains he is unpolluted!
All die, all die, woe is me, we all must die!
What we have done here, we there must receive;
Whether it be an Emperor, or a great noble,
In the claws of death we are all captive.
Where went he, where went he, where is he now,
O tell me?
He whose wealth and pelf were beyond compare,
No house avail nor is a demon of any help,
Nor parent, nor brother, nor friend is left:
Whoever enters this world is only a guest,
This life here, no more than a flower or a leaf.

Notes.

Line 2. — Nîgamâ-l-mulk crossed the Narbâdâ early in May 1720, and defeated the Sayyads' officer, Dîlûwar 'Ali Khân, to the east of Burhânpûr on the 19th June 1720. The person addressed is Sayyad 'Alî Khân, Bârbâh, a young man of twenty years of age, nephew and adopted son of Farrukhshyân's Wazîr, Sayyad 'Abdullah Khân, Qutbul-mulk. He had been left at Aurangabhâd as deputy governor of the six Dakhin provinces, on the departure of his other uncle, Sayyad Husein 'Ali Khân, for Dîlû (Dec. 1718). Line 139. — The 12th Rajab 1132 H. (19th May 1720) is rather too early a date for 'Alî Khân to receive orders to take the field, since the news that Nîgaṃâ-l-mulk had left Mâlîwâh for the Dakhin did not reach Dîlû until the 16th May 1720. But the date is not impossible; instructions may have been sent to 'Alî Khân in anticipation of Nîgaṃâ-l-mulk's movement. Line 220. — The pass referred to is that of Fardâpûr between Aurangabhâd and Burhânpûr. It was crossed early in July 1720. Line 257. — The river meant is the Pûrnâ; it was crossed by Nîgaṃâ-l-mulk about the 20th July 1720. Line 271. — The
date for the battle, the 6th Shawal 1132 H. (10th August 1720), is right according to the authorities, but my tables make it a Saturday instead of a Sunday. Line 273. — According to the Berar Gazetteer, p. 163, the site of the battle lies between the villages of Kolhar and Pimpri Gauni, close to Balsupur town (Akola District), Lat. 75° 50', Long. 20° 40'. Line 274. — Mīrāgh or Mars is unpropitious, and known as Jallād-i-falak, or Headman of the Skies. Line 276. — Saturn (Zuhāl) is also an unlucky planet. Line 312. — The word, which I read ʻehīne, has completely puzzled me. Line 494. — Alah is meant for the Chandel hero of the ballad of Albā and Udal. Line 632. — Khān Khan, II., 896, tells us that the Sayyad's family took refuge in Daulatabad. Line 725. — The obscure expression kāhak bān is also found, as Mr. H. Beveridge has pointed out to me, in the Akbarnāmah (Lucknow edition, iii, 19, line 9). I take it to be some kind of noisy rocket named from kūhuk, the cry or scream of the peacock. Line 747. — Sayyad Husain Abū Khān, Amīr-ul-umārā, was assassinated on the 10th October 1720, at the entrance of the Imperial camp, when it was between Jiund and Bīund, about two kos to the east of Todh Bhiim, a place now in Jaipur territory, about 75 miles south-west of Agra and about 60 miles east of Jaipur.

THE KHAHOSHTRI WRITING AND ITS CRADLE.

BY SYLVAIN LÉVI.

Translated, with the author's permission and under his direction, from the "Bulletin de l'École Française de l'Extrême Orient," Vol. II., 1902, pp. 246 to 253,

by CHRISTIAN A. CAMERON.

[In the north-west of India, and in some neighbouring territories, there was in use, in ancient times, an alphabet, — best known perhaps from its occurrence in some of the records of Asoka and on certain coins, — the characters of which were written from right to left, instead of from left to right as was the case with its contemporaneous Indian script, and to which there has been attached the name Kharoṣṭhī. There has been a divergence of opinion regarding the original home of this alphabet, and the exact form and meaning of its name. And a discussion of these points was started by M. Sylvain Lévi's article of which a translation is given below. It is intended to follow up this translation by translations of certain articles published by other scholars, whose views in this matter differ from those of M. Lévi. And the discussion will then be summarised and reviewed by M. Lévi, who now has some important new matter to adduce from both Chinese and Sanskrit sources in support of his own conclusions. — EDITOR.]

The name of the Kharoṣṭhī or Kharoshti writing was early familiar to Indianists from being placed second, immediately after the Brāhmī, in the list of 64 forms of writing in the Lalitavistara; but nothing definite was known about it. In 1856, M. Terrien de Lacouperie pointed out a passage in the Fa-yuan-shu-li in which the Kharoṣṭhī (ţhtri), a form of writing reading from right to left, is contrasted with the Brāhmī writing which reads from left to right. Savants, relying on this information, applied the name Kharoṣṭhī writing to the alphabet "employed in the Gandhāra country from the 3rd century B. C. to the 3rd century A. D."

Specialists for some time hesitated between the two forms: Kharoṣṭhī and Kharoṣṭhā. Bühler, who had used and popularised the name, finally decided in favour of Kharoṣṭhī; and, on the authority of his Indische Palaeographie, the name Kharoṣṭhā has the likelihood of henceforth obtruding itself as the accepted form.

The traditional interpretation, preserved by the Chinese compilations and commentaries, where Kharoṣṭhī is always translated "ass-lip" (Sanek. khara-ţhtha; kharoṣṭhī) seemed to justify this preference. In support of this etymology, Chinese tradition traces the invention of the Kharoṣṭhī
to a Rishi called Kharōṣṭha. The name is certainly not flattering, but there are analogies among the names of saints. On the other hand, European savants have made ingenious comparisons to Kharōṣṭha, particularly with such names as Zardusht, Zarathushtra.

Other information, also of Chinese origin, seems to open up fresh theories as to the source of the name Kharōṣṭha. This is independent of the schools of the Siddhām, where the Sanskrit characters were studied with regard to their mystic value. It is not offered in support of any theory, but as an independent fact, so that critics may accept it without any doubt as to its honesty and correctness.

I borrow from the Sin-yi Ta-fang-kuang Po-hua-yen-king yin-yi of Hui-yuan. This is one of the texts, which have fortunately been preserved in the Korean collection, and which, in the excellent Japanese edition of the Tripitaka, are now at the service of science. The author, Hui-yuan, according to the catalogue, lived under the T’ang Dynasty. The biographical dictionary of celebrated monks, which I brought from Japan, confounds him with the priest Huian-yuan, also called Fa-yuan and Hui-yuan, whose biography may be found in the Sin-yi ko-seng-ch’oan, ch. xxviii.; but this priest flourished in the Cheng-kuan period (627-649) and lived in the Monastery of P’u-kuang, whilst the author of the Sin-yi resided at the Monastery of Taing-fa; besides, the Sin-yi is, as its complete title indicates, an explanation of the difficult words of "the new translation of the Avatārāñiśvara," by Sīkṣānanda, 695-699. The work cannot be earlier than the 8th century.

In the 45th chapter of the new translation of the Avatārāñiśvara (Jap. ed. I. fasc. 3, p. 229), which corresponds to the 29th chapter (Jap. ed. I. fasc. 8, p. 46b) of the old translation by the Indian monk Buddhahadra, of the family of the Sākyas (between 399 and 421), the Buddha enumerates the localities destined to serve for all time as residences for the Boddhisattvas, and the Boddhisattvas destined for all time to preach the law in each of these localities.

The list opens with a series of imaginary mountains, situated at the cardinal points, at the intermediate points, and also in the sea; then comes the real world.

To the South of Pi-che-li (Vaśāl) is a place called Good Resting-place (Sūsthāna ?); from earliest antiquity the Boddhisattvas live there.

In the town of Po-luen-yu (Pataliputra) is a place named the Seng-kia-lan of the Lamp of Gold (Suvāra-dipa-saṃghārāma); from earliest antiquity, &c.

In the town of Mo-t’u-lo (Mathurā; Buddhahadra writes Mo-yu-lo: Mayūra) is a place named the Grotto of Abundance (Man-tsu-k’u; Buddhahadra says: “the Merit of the Upkeep which yields Increase,” Ch’ung-yang-kong-tō); from earliest, &c.

In the town of Kiu-chen-na (Buddh.: Kiu-chen-na-ya, Kuoqina) is a place named the Seat of the Law (Dharmāsana); from earliest, &c.

4 M. Lövi has here added a note, as follows: — I have since ascertained that the edition of the Ming contains still another recension of the same work; it is entered under No. 1565 in Nanjio’s Catalogue. The author’s name, written Hwui-wān by Nanjio, figures in Appendix III. of the same Catalogue, under No. 32: “Hwui-wān, a priest who in about A.D. 700 compiled 1 work, viz., No. 1565.” The Sung-kiao-seng-ch’oan, compiled in A.D. 988, gives a biographical notice of that person (Japanese ed. XXXV., 4, 94); it does not contain any precise date; but it is inserted between two biographies, of which one refers itself to A.D. 766 and the other to A.D. 722. We might thus be tempted to place Hui-yuan about that same period. But he is certainly earlier, because his name and his book are mentioned in the K’ai-yu-yan shi-ku to (Japanese ed. XXXVII., 4, 39a), a catalogue compiled in A.D. 720, Hui-yuan is there shown after I-ling and Bodhiruci, — of whom the former died in A.D. 718 and the latter in A.D. 727, — and immediately before T’o-fe-ya and Vajrabōdi, of whom the former began to translate in A.D. 721 and the latter in A.D. 723. Hui-yuan, then, composed his work in the first quarter of the eighth century.

5 This is wanting in the translation of Sīkṣānanda.
In the town of Tsing-tsing-pi-nga (Pure-Pure this border?) is a place named the Grotto (Buddhahaddra says: "the Men") of Mu-che-lin-to (Muchilinda); from earliest, &c.

In the kingdom of Mo-tan-to (?) (Buddhahaddra says: in the Land of the Wind) is a place named the Institution of the King of the Dragons without Obstacle (apratigha); from earliest, &c.

In the kingdom of Ken-pu-che (Kamboja) is a place named Supreme Benevolence (Uttama-maitri?) from earliest, &c.

In the kingdom of Chen-t'an (China-thani) is a place named the Grotto of Na-lo-yen (Buddhahaddra writes: the Mountain of Na-lo-yen: Nārāyaṇa-parvata); from earliest, &c.

In the kingdom of Shu-le (Buddhahaddra says: of the Neighbouring Barbarians: Pien-yi) is a place named Head of the Cow (Gō̂sīrsha); from earliest, &c.

In the kingdom of Kua-she-mi-lo (Kuśāra; Buddhahaddra: of Kūpin) is a place named the Series (Buddhahaddra: the Mountain Wu-ti-shi; Uddīṣa); from earliest, &c.

In the town of Intense Joy (Buddhahaddra: Nan-ti-po-tan-na, Nandipattana) is a lake named the Grotto of the Honourable (Buddhahaddra: Yi-lo-feu-ho); from earliest, &c.

In the kingdom of Ngan-feu-li-mo is a place named the Splendour of a Hundred-thousand Treasures (Yi-tsong-kuang-ming; Buddhahaddra says: Straight and Oblique); from earliest, &c.

In the kingdom of Kien-t'o-lo (Gandhāra) is a place named the Grotto of Shen-po-lo (Jambhala; Buddhahaddra says: of the Pure Retreat); from earliest, &c.7

Huei-yuan's Yin-yi gives very few comments on this passage: among so many interesting names, he glosses only: Vaiśāli, Mathurā, Kuṣāna, Uti, Nārāyaṇa, Shu-le, Ngan-feu-li-mo, and Gandhāra. We learn nothing from him, except with regard to Shu-le: "The correct form," he says, "of the name Shu-le is K'ie-lu-shu-tan-le.8 We have for a long time accepted the abbreviated Shu-le and it has become customary to substitute the sound šū for the sound šū. This is the name of a mountain of this kingdom, whence it is derived. It is said also to mean 'Evil Nature,' and to refer to the temperament of the inhabitants.'"

This gloss is found word for word in the commentary on the Aṣṭasahasrika-sūtra, composed at the end of the 8th century by Ch'eng-kuan, the fourth patriarch of the Avataṃsaka school, who died at over seventy years of age, between 809 and 820. He has copied his predecessor's work, without the slightest alteration, in the 47th chapter of his commentary, the Tu-fang-kuang Fo-hua-yen-king-shu (Nanjio, No. 1589; Jap. ed. XXVIII. fasc. 4, p. 89). In his enormous sub-commentary to the

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7 In this as in the preceding case Buddhahaddra seems to have read the last term of the phrase yu, whereas Sikhṣṭānanda reads yu.

8 In this as in the proceeding case Buddhahaddra seems to have read the last term of the phrase yu, whereas Sikhṣṭānanda reads yu.
Sūtra, the Tu-jang . . . shu-yen-yi-ch’ao (Nanjio, No. 1590; Jap. ed. XXVII. Fasc. 9, p. 800, chap. 77) he again speaks of Shu-le and Ki’ia-ju-shu-tan-le as being equivalent. The same gloss on the name Shu-le, d prop of the same passage, is found in the excellent Yü-tei-king yin-yi (chap. 22) of Hwei-lin, a contemporary of Ch’eng-kuan, who also died in the Yuan-ho period (806-920), aged eighty-four years; this colossal compilation, which was not included in the Chinese canon, forms part of the Corean collection, and it is again to the editors of the Japanese Tripiṭaka that Western science owes this precious document. Hwei-lin was a native of Kashgar; it was there, [249] without doubt, that he acquired the knowledge of Sanskrit, which he has utilized in his Yin-yi; in identifying Shu-le and Ki’ia-ju-shu-tan-le, and in tracing the traditional interpretation of the name, he seems to recognize and prove the value of it (Jap. ed. XXXIX. Fasc. 8, p. 1442).

Hi-lin, author of the Siu-yi-te-k’ing yin-yi, who continued Hwei-lin’s work, repeats exactly the notice of his predecessor, with regard to Shu-le, in the itinerary of Wu-k’ang (Jap. ed. XXXIX. Fasc. 8, p. 118). I do not know the precise date of Hi-lin, but it can easily be inferred. Hi-lin represents his work as a supplement to the Yin-yi of Hwei-lin, and the last of the texts which he glosses is the Ta-’ang cheng-yuan siu k’oi-yun shu-k’iao lu or Supplementary Catalogue edited by Yuan-ch’ao who flourished in 778. The Siu . . . . yingh of Hi-lin therefore belongs to the first half of the 9th century, and is immediately posterior to the Yin-yi of Hwei-lin.

Thus the identity of Shu-le and Ki’ia-ju-shu-tan-le was accepted and taught in the Buddhist schools of China, during the 9th century. The transcription Ki’ia-ju-shu-tan-le leads directly back to an original Kharoṣṭhī. The use of shu in this case exactly corresponds to the only example which Stan. Julien gives in his Méthode (No. 1632). In the transcription “Pushpa: Pu-shu-pa,” as in that of “Kharoṣṭhī, Ki’ia-ju-shu-tan-le,” shu serves to represent the cerebral sibilant immediately followed by a consonant, and placed after a syllable with a labial vowel: u in the one case, ŏ ( = o + u) in the other.

The value of Shu-le itself is well known. It is the name which has been regularly employed since the time of the first Han Dynasty to denote the town of Kashgar. The Kharoṣṭhī is therefore the country of Kashgar, and the Kharoṣṭhī is very probably the writing of this country.

A few years ago this hypothesis would have seemed a very rash one. In his Indische Palaeographie, 1896, p. 19, Bühler wrote: “The Kharoṣṭhī, as at present known, is an ephemeral alphabet, almost purely epigraphic, of the North-West of India. Its proper domain lies between 60° and 73° 30’ E. long. and 33°—35° N. lat.” The Kharoṣṭhī manuscript of the Dhammapada, discovered in the environs of Khotan, and acquired partly by the mission of Dutreuil de Rhins, partly by M. Petrovski, at once confused these two assertions; the Kharoṣṭhī was a writing of scribes and copyists, and was employed, exactly as the Brāhmī was, to reproduce literary or religious texts; and the limits of its domain extended at one leap to 77° E. long. and 37° N. lat. The districts of Khotan and Kashgar have continued ever since then to supply new documents. In a recent communication, M. Stein, who has explored the region of Takla Makan, announced that, on the old banks of the Niya River, 37° N. lat. and 82° 20’ E. long., he had found five hundred inscriptions on tablets of wood in Kharoṣṭhī characters. It appears more and more evident that the Kharoṣṭhī was the writing of Central Asia, [250] of the country of Kharoṣṭhī. Henceforth it would be wise to abandon the incorrect form Kharoṣṭhī and to return to the authentic form Kharoṣṭhī, set aside by mistake.

Can this name Kharoṣṭhī be explained? The Chinese interpretation, which renders it “evil-nature,” recalls the interpretation of the name Ki-pin, also supplied by Chinese tradition. Ki-pin would signify “miserable race.” On all sides there is the same tendency to give a contemptuous etymology to names of barbarian countries. The name Kapiśa naturally evoked the Sanskrit kapśa, “monkey color,” and kapī “monkey”: the temptation to apply such an etymology to barbarians was too grateful to be resisted. Kharoṣṭhī could also be analyzed in Sanskrit: kha, “sea,” + uṣṭrā, “camel.” The facetious monks, who came from India, would spread this false etymology, and the
Chinese admitted that the name of the country was explained by "the natural perverse temperament of the inhabitants."

The first term indeed of the name may be "Kara," which enters into the composition of so many geographical names in Turki countries. From this point of view it may be interesting to notice that according to the Sūrya-garha-sūtra (Je-tsong-khing; Nanjio, No. 62; Jap. ed. III. fasc. 3, p. 55a) the name of Khotan (Yau-t'ien) under Kāśyapa Buddha, — that is to say the most ancient known name of Khotan,—was Kio-lo-sha-mo, where the element Kara again seems to appear. Because of its singular sonority, I again recall the name of the Prince Royal "Kharastha Yuvaraja," son of Mahādhvaria Rajula, and brother of Chhatrava Sūdasa, whose name is on the famous lion-pillar of Mathura. Is it possible that the name of this Yuvaraja is a souvenir of the origin of this family with foreign names, which, coming into the heart of India with the Scythian conquest, was elevated to the dignity of Satraps?

The name of the country, Kharosthāra, met with in the Chinese texts, sheds an unexpected light on a long description by Ktesias. The résumé of the Greek Doctor, incorporated in the Bibliotheca of Phoebus, gives a long description of the singularities of an Indian population called the Kālystriori, which is equivalent to the Greek Kyno kephalois, otherwise the "Dog-heads." The Kālystriori live in the mountains, in which the Hyparkhos (or Hypobares) has its source. This river flows from the north to the Eastern Ocean; its name means "the bearer of all good things" (phereō panta ta ago-tha). The form and the meaning recall the Swāstā of Sanskrit geography, designated by the pilgrim Hiun-tsa by the name Subhavastu (sic) which becomes the Svāt of modern geography. Buddhist tradition places the abode of the Nāga Apalās, one of the most popular and important of the Nāgas, at the source of the Svāt. The Eastern Ocean, which receives the waters of the Hyparkhos, means for Ktesias nothing more definite than the seas to the east of Persia. Whether we have to do with the Svāt or another stream, the country of the Kālystriori is to be found in the Hindu Kush, as their mountains "extend to the Indus." The Greek Kālystriori leads directly to a Sanskrit Kaluṣhṛṣṭa; from Kaluṣhṛṣṭa to Kharosthāra the path is too simple for us to refuse to accept it, especially when one considers the route that this name must have traversed to reach Ktesias.

Greek tradition, it is true, does not take any notice of the real or supposed elements in the Sanskrit word Kharosthāra; but the Chinese interpretation on the other hand is not more literal. The generic parentage of the two glosses is evident. "Dog-heads" or "evil-natures" indicate the disagreeable tendency to depreciate one's neighbour; the "natural coarseness" which the Chinese commentators lay to the credit of the Kharosthāras to justify their name, is a counterpart of the wild roughness of the Kālystriori of Ktesias. But there is no need to search far from the country of the Kālystriori or Kharosthāras to meet "Dog-heads" in the classic geography of India. The astronomer Varāha-Mihira (6th century), in his description of India (Brihat-Saṃhīta, xvi. 29), places the Tunγāṇana, "Horse-faces," and the Svamukhas, "Dog-heads," in the North, in the region of the Himalayas, between Trīgarta (Jalandhar) and Takshaśilia (the town of Taxila). These two peoples are found together in a modern work, derived from an original Persian, the Rōmāvartīdhānta (Cat. MSS. Oxon. 3404, 16); after them come the Kimnara-mukhas, "Kimnara-faced," other monsters with horse-heads who are usually placed on the borders of China. Lastly, the "Dog-heads" are again mentioned in a long list of populations of Central Asia which I intend to publish shortly: there, also, they are classed near the "Horse-headed," between the people of Khotan and Nepal, that is, in the Tibetan Himalayas. The Tibetan populations have exactly the traits of the Kālystriori mentioned by Ktesias: mountaineers, hunters, eaters of meat, herdsmen, rich in sheep, above all dirty, with a dirtiness which is rendered still more striking by contrast with the regular and frequent ablutions of the Hindus. Their physiognomy, and their harsh language, bristling with monosyllables, also correspond with the description of the Kālystriori.

Separated by an interval of a thousand years, the Greek and the Chinese evidence by their agreement show that the name Kharosthāra was used, from the 6th century B.C., to denote the
barbarian peoples, Turks or Tibetans, who lived on the North-North-West confines of India, scattered among the Hindu Kush and the Himalayas, and on the slopes of the Pamirs. Having thus established the antiquity of the term, the antiquity of the name applied to the writing would seem to follow: the Kharaśhtra must have received this name at a time when the name of Kharaśhtra was in ordinary use. Ktesias' passage proves that this name was known in the Iranian world, in the Persia of the Achemenides, four hundred years before the Christian era.

I think it will be useful to reproduce the notice of Ktesias here. The precise and natural details, while contrasting advantageously with his usual love for the marvellous and fabulous, are a warrant of the truthfulness of his evidence as to the Kalystriotai, which is not to be despised:

[352] (20) "On these mountains, he writes, live men having the heads of dogs, wearing the skins of wild beasts, and using no articulate language; they communicate with each other by barking like dogs. Their teeth are larger than the teeth of dogs, and their claws resemble those of dogs, but are larger and rounder. They live in the mountains, and are found as far as the Indus. They are swarthy, and, like all other Indians, very erect. They can communicate with the Indians, for, though they cannot answer in words, they understand what they say; and by barking, and making signs with their heads and fingers, like deaf-mutes, they make themselves understood. The Indians call them Kalystriotai, which means in Greek Kynokephalois (that is, "Dog-headed"). They live on raw meat. The whole tribe includes no less than 120,000 men."

(22) "The Kynokephalois, dwelling in the mountains, practise no art, and live on the products of the chase. They kill their prey, and roast the flesh in the sun. But they rear sheep, goats, and asses, in great numbers. They drink the milk of sheep, and the whey which is made from it. They eat also the sweet fruit of the sphaikhora, the tree which produces amber. They dry this fruit, and pack it in baskets, as the Greeks do the grape. They construct boats, load them with baskets, as well as with the blossoms of the purple flower, after having cleaned it, and with a weight of 260 talents of amber and an equal weight of the pigment which dyes purple, and 1,000 talents more of amber. They send all this cargo, which is the product of the season, annually, as tribute to the King of the Indians. They also take quantities of these same products to sell to the Indians, from whom they receive in exchange, bread, flour, and material made from a substance which grows on a tree (cotton). They sell swords similar to those which they use for hunting wild beasts, also bows and javelins, in the use of which they are expert. They cannot be conquered, owing to their mountains being rugged and without roads; the king also sends them, once in six years, as presents, 300,000 arrows, as well as javelins, 120,000 shields and 50,000 swords."

(23) "These Kynokephalois have no houses, but live in caves. They hunt wild animals with the bow and boar-spear, and run so quickly that they can catch them. Their women bathe only once a month, at their periods. The men do not bathe at all, but simply wash their hands. Three times a month, however, they anoint themselves with an oil which they extract from milk, and dry themselves with skins. Dressed skins are the costume of the men and women. Rich men, however, who are few, wear cotton clothing. They have no beds, and sleep on litters of straw and leaves. Sheep constitute the only wealth, and the richest man is he [359] who possesses the greatest number of them. The men and women have a tail behind like dogs, but it is larger and more hairy. They copulate like quadrupeds, after the manner of dogs, and any other mode is considered shameful. They are erect, and live longer than any other men, attaining the age of 170 and sometimes of 200 years." — Cf. also fragm. XXI. (Tzetzes, Chil. vii., v., 716); XXII. (Pliny, Hist. Nat. vii. 2); XXIII. (Aelian, iv. 46)."
SOME ANGLO-INIAN TERMS FROM A XVIIth CENTURY MS.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, BART.

(Continued from Vol. XXXII. p. 470.)

GUDGE.

Fol. 94. They measure timber, planks brick or stone walls, Callicoes, Silks &c p the Guz: each Guz doth containe 27 inches.

See Yule, s. v. Gudge, with hardly any quotations.

GUNDA.

Fol. 94. One Gunda is 4 Cowries . . . 5 Gundas is one burrie or 20: Cowries.

Not in Yule. [Vide ante, Vol. XXVII, p. 171 ff., for the system of counting by gangás or quartettes. See also Vol. XXVII, p. 226.]

GUNJA.

Fol. 39. but they find means to besott themselves Enough w Bangha and Gangah.

Fol. 40. Gangah is brought from y Island Sumatra and is ofteentimes Sold here [Metchlipatam] at Very high rates. It is a thing y resembles hemp Seed and Groweth after y same manner . . . Gangah being of a more pleasant Operation . . . They Study many ways to use it, but not One of them y faileth to intoxicate them to admiration.

See Yule, s. v. Gunja, who, however, gives no history of the word.

HALACORE.

Fol. 8. Soe that this very party is a most Scandalous person and accempted but a Holocore untill he hath regained his cast.

See Yule, s. v. Halacore: a very low-caste man, a "sweeper," scavenger.

HARsapore.

Fol. 59. from Point Conjugates to Palmeris y? River is called Haraspoore.

Not in Yule: a very early Factory and the first landing-place of the English in the Bay of Bengal: but see Yule, s. v. Factory, where he gives it doubtfully as Arspore, on the Eastern or Coromandel Coast. [There is, however, no doubt about it: Harapuri or Haraspur was perhaps the earliest Factory in the "Bay": earlier even than Balasore and Piplip. See Wilson, Early Annals of Bengal, Vol. I p. 1 ff. The quotation above is very valuable.]

HAUT.

Fol. 94. They measure . . . Callicoes, Silks &c . . . by y? Covet w conf 18 inches and is called haut.

See Yule, s. v. Haut, who gives, however, no quotations.

HINDOSTAN.

Fol. 25. Nietes (for see y? Hindoo Governours are Entitled).

Fol. 59. Severall Radjas who before (? Mahometan Conquest of y? Hindoos) possessed this Kingdome.

Fol. 71. always kept in his Court Sharpe witted fellows, y? made it there businesse to prye into y? Estates of y? Hindoo Merchants.

See Yule, s. v. Hindoo.

HINDOSTAN.

Fol. 61. Bengal: It is one of y? largest and most Potent Kingdoms of Hindostan . . .

Chah Jehan (then Emperor of Hindostan . . . The great Emperor of Hindostan . . . In the Thron of y? Vast Empire (of Hindostan).
Fol. 62. wp Soon after caused bloody Civil warrs in Hindostan.
Fol. 63. Molt-barock-bad, Hazarot, Salamet, El-hand-ul-ullah, viz! God Save your Majestie, you have Obtained the Victories, why Stay ye longer Upon your Elephant, in ye name of God come downe, he hath made ye the great Kinge of Hindostan [!!].
Fol. 77. The Elephants of Ceylon are best Esteemed here and all Hindostan over.
Fol. 84. Most Mahometans &c. of accombt in Hindostan Vse them [Gonges] at their doors in ye Street where they have generally a Porch built . . . The English and Dutch have them at ye Gates of all these Island factories; in this Kingdom and Others in Hindostan: Veritieinge ye Old Proverbe; Cum fueris Roma, &c.
Fol. 97. Patana: A very large and potent Kingdom, but longe since become tributarie to ye Emperor of Hindostan (or great Mogol).

See Yule, s. v. Hindostan. [Yule's earliest quotation in the restricted sense of the text is 1803.]

HINDOSTANEE.

Fol. 35. y? Hindostan ore Moors Language.
Fol. 41. fancyinge himselfe to be at ye Gates of the Pallass at Agra, Singinge to that purpose in ye Hindostan Language.

See Yule, s. v. Hindostanees.

HOBSON-JOBSON.

Fol. 54. Of a great Giant called Jansa Bainse . . . They place him in a great Chaire made for ye? Same purpose runninge Vpon 4 Wheels for ye? Easier drawinge of him through ye? townes, he is called Jansa Bainseh; made of pasteboard leather &c. Stuffed with Straw and Other Combustible ingredients; covered with blew cloth, his head and face painted with Redd and White, Severall Rosbutes and Others dancinge Round him with great drawne Swords, after ye manner of fancyinge, callinge Vpon him by his Name, with many torches flaggs, Pipes and drums, and in this Posture he is drawne through the Principall Streets of ye? townes [Golconda]. They burne him to dust in the Open Street about ye? 12th hour in ye? night.

See Yule, s. v. Hobson-Jobson. [There is, however, a doubt as to the ceremony in the text relating really to the much corrupted ceremony of the Muharram, though it might well be so.]

HOOGLY.

Fol. 73. he wold Every yeare Send downe to ye? Merchants in Hugly.

Fol. 75. in ye? very place where ye? Dutch factory stood wee ride with our Ships and Vessels in noe lesse then depth 16 fathom and it is called Hugly hole.

See Yule, s. v. Hoogly. [The quotations are valuable, and the Hugly Hole, though it exists, is not mentioned in Yule.]

HOOKA.

Fol. 45. Often Smoakeinge their Hoocars as they call [them] of tobacco.
Fol. 49. Hoocar or hubble-bubble.

See Yule, s. v. Hooka, where earliest quotation is, however, 1768.
Hoolak.

Fol. 77. My Parcer Mr. Cleivit Jordan was just then come downe with a Small Oloko.

Fol. 99. This is called an Oloko; they row Some w\(\text{w}\) 4; Some w\(\text{w}\) 6. Owers and ply for a faire as wherries doe in y\(\text{r}\) Thames.

See Yule, s. v. Woclock.

Hubble-Bubble.

Fol. 46. Hooors: commonly called hubble-bubble.

See Yule, s. v. Hubble-bubble. See ante, Vol. XXIX. p. 60.

JACKAL.

Fol. 96. Infinite Number of Wild hogge in this country as also a creature called a Jackall, resembling both dogge and fox, and are as large as good ordinary hounds in Engeland.

See Yule, s. v. Jackal.

Jaggery.

Fol. 40. another Sort from y\(\text{r}\) Jaggere or Very Course Sugar.

See Yule, s. v. Jaggery.

Jafna.

Fol. 77. They are bought [in Ceylon] from y\(\text{r}\) Dutch \ldots in Gals or Colomba or Japhnapatam.

See Yule, s. v. Jafna, in the north of Ceylon. [Yule's quotations stop at 1566. N. and E. p. 47, has Japhnapatam, for 1680.]

Jambur.

Fol. 159. There are Severall Radjas upon Sumatra \ldots Especially those of Jambur.

Not in Yule. [Jambi is a Malay State on the North-East of Sumatra.]

JAN PERDO.

Fol. 76. now beinge got into y\(\text{r}\) reach called Jap\(\text{n}\) Perdo.


Java.

Fol. 97. Y\(\text{r}\) Elephant is not found wild there nor dare y\(\text{r}\) tame ones frequent the Woods [for fear of the Rhincoceros] As for instance Patamna: Bengala: & Java Major.

Fol. 157. Many Ships and Vessels doe \ldots arrive in this Port [Achin] from \ldots

Java Major.

Fol. 159. This City (Achin) is y\(\text{r}\) fairest and most populous of any that Ever I saw or heard of that is inhabited by Malayars or Iavas.

See Yule, s. v. Java. [The use of the word for the people as well as the country is remarkable.]

JESSORE.

Fol. 78. he wold Every yeare Send down to y\(\text{r}\) Merchants in \ldots Jessore.

Not in Yule. [A town in Lower Bengal, still well known under the same name and spelling.]

JOHORE.

Fol. 142. but doe rather wish they were Served soe in \ldots Johoro.

Fol. 143. as in Achin Johor &c: Malay Countries.

Not in Yule. [A well-known Malay State in the neighbourhood of Singapore.]

JUHGURNAUT.

Fol. 4. these they often bow to in representation of their God Jn? Gernacet, being as he is Upon Some festivals carried about in a large triumphant Chariot.

Fol. 7. Of all ye false gods these idolatrous people worship (save John Gernacet) a Cow is held in greatest reverence.

Fol. 8. must take his travaile to ye great Pagod Jn? Gernacet: ye remotest part of ye Golconda Kingdom North Eastwards from fort S't George; near 1000 English miles.

Fol. 9. In this there Cathedral Pagod.

Fol. 11. In that great and Sumptuous Diabolical Pagod, there Stands the their greatest God Jn? Gernacet, whence ye Pagod receive its name also.

Fol. 12. to behold their graven God Jn? Gernacet . . . . . In ye Middle of that great Diabolical Chariot is placed their great Patron Jn? Gernacet.

Fol. 13. he being very rich had Vowed to bestow liberally on ye Pagod Jn? Gernacet.

See Yule, s. v. Jugurnaut. [This is the most interesting variant I have come across of this much-corrupted name. The word is Jagan-nath, by metathesis such as is common in India, Janga-nath; hence, of course, John Gernacet. See ante, Vol. XXX, p. 352.]

JUNK.

Fol. 78. ye Danes: who might have ruined all their floreign Commerce with their owne Ships or Junks.


JUNK-CYYLON.

Fol. 131. Oedjange-Salange commonly called Janselone Is an Island that lyeth to the Southward of all the Isles of Tanassaree; nearest midway between ye and Queda: ye North End of these lyeth in Latt'; North 08° 50': ye South End in 07° 35': Latt'; North. It is almost in ye forme of ye Island Ceylone but not more then a Sixth part soe large.

Fol. 131. The Saleeters are absolute Pirats, and often cruiseing about Janselone & Pullo Sambelon &c Isles neere this Shore.

Fol. 132. When I was in Janselone, Employed by Mr William Jarsey an Eminent English Merchant att sflort Marian.

Fol. 139. Soe longe as they were Vnder ye Bada of Janselone's protection killed two of ye Janseloners.

Fol. 148. The tallest and best Sett Elephant ye ever I beheld was in Janselone.

See Yule, s. v. Junk-Cyylon, the European name for an Island off the West Coast of the Malay Peninsula. [The quotations are valuable as showing the origin of the name, which is a corruption of Ujang Salang, or Salang Head, the most prominent point on Salang, the real name of the Island.]

KIRMAN.

Fol. 97. Pattana . . . . . is a Countray of Very great Traffike & Commerce . . . into most parts of Indi: Viz: from ye Northne Kingdoms or Empires (by land) namely Persia: Carmania: Georgia: Tartaria: &c:

Not in Yule. [The portion of Persia nearest to India.]
KISTNA, RIVER.


Not in Yule.

KITTYSOL.

Fol. 42. Sumbareros or Catysols, are here very Vasefull and necessarie for y? Same purpose, wch are carried 3 or 4 foot or more above a mans head and Shade a great matter, beinge rather more Convenient then y? Other [roundel] but not soe fashionable or Honourable.

See Yule, s. v. Kittysol. [An umbrella, especially the Chinese variety of paper with a bamboo handle. See ante, Vol. XXX. p. 347.]

KORAN.


Yule has no entry for Koran.

LAC.

Fol. 56. with infinite quantities of butter and Lacca.

Fol. 61. affording great plenty of . . . Lacca.

See Yule, s. v. Lac. [Crawford, Dict. of the Indian Archipel., s. v., says the term is used for a red-wood used in dyeing: and it may be important to note this for the history of the word in old writers.]

LACK.

Fol. 67. his revenue came to a lack Viz: 100000 rupees pf diem wch is 12 thousand 500 pounds Sterline: . . . he Sent the Empeour 80 lacks of rupees.

Fol. 70. The Nabob (Smileinge Vpon him) demandeth wth all Speed one lack of rupees i.e: 100000.

Fol. 71. now thought he had another Opportunity fallen into his hand of acquireinge one lack or two of rup: . . . demanded noe lese then 2 lack of Rupees as a present.

See Yule, s. v. Lack. [It is to be noted that about 1675 one lack = £12,500: nowadays it = £650.]

LADAS, ISLANDS.

Fol. 149. Vpon an Island about 30 or 40 English miles in circuit called Pullo Ladda: viz:

Pepper Jeland Pullo in y? Malay tonge Signifieth Jeland and Ladda pepper, it is 8 leags to y? NW: of Queda River's mouth.

Not in Yule.

LANDOCK.

Fol. 158. y? Diamonds of Landock (upon Bornaco) are accompted y? best in y? World.

Not in Yule. [Landak is on the western side of Bornaco.]

LAXIMANA.

Fol. 143. next to whom [the Sultan] are y? Leximana.

Fol. 161. y? Leximana the Lord Generall.

See Yule, s. v. Leximana: no quotation after 1553. [The word is usually translated by "admiral" in the old books.]

(To be continued.)
THE TULA-KÄVERI-MAHATMYA.

BY G. R. SUBRAMIAH PANTULU.

(Continued from Vol. XXXI. p. 446.)

CHAPTER III.

O King! I shall narrate to you in detail the glory of the Tulā Kāveri, which is pleased to hear with rapt attention. Those who bathe in its waters will be purged of all sin and would attain riches of all sorts. Those who commit matricide, patricide, cow-killing, abortion, adultery with a guru's wife and other similar horrible deeds, those who do not study the Vedas, those who do not pursue a time-honored correct custom, liquor-drinkers, eaters of food not consecrated to the deity or used by guests, non-performers of āgnihotra, upāsana, vaisnavadāsa and other similar sacrificial rites, and other doers of various sorts of sinful deeds, would be adored in the Brahmaloka by bathing but once in the sacred waters of the Kāveri. Those who cannot bathe in its icy-cold waters, can do so at least by boiling it. And those who cannot do even that must at least hear the Tula-Kāveri-Mahātmya. He who cannot do even that must amply renumerate the reader. If poor, he must with a good heart extol the reader and make others reward him. As women, Sūdras, boys, and lower orders have no Vedic rites, they must rise very early in the morning and must do a tāhāsīm bath. He will be blessed with long life who, after bathing at dawn in the Kāveri, offers libations to the ādīvās, ṛajās and pītrīs with sesame seeds and rice. Sūras, Naras, Uragas, Yaksas, Kimpurushas, Rudras, Ādītvas, Marata and others would be well pleased with him. Everyone must hear the Kāveri Mahātmya as far as he is able, after prostrating to Sūrya, the sun-god, the witness of all the worlds. He would become Vāchaspāti, at whose house a manuscript of the Mahātmya is kept and worshipped. If a Mahātmya kōsa is reserved for a man (Brāhmaṇa) of letters, he would be rid of all sin and would attain Vaikuntha.

O King! I shall narrate the charities that can be offered in the month. Whoever with a good heart offers libations to men, ādīvās, ṛajās and pītrīs, and feeds Brāhmaṇas with things of the season, will enjoy all temporal happiness and will be adored in Brahmaloka. Whoever in the month of Tulā keeps lights of ghū or oil before Hari and Hara will go to Suryaloka and thence come back to the world as a jīvān. Whoever offers a cloth to a poor Brāhmaṇa will be blessed with long life and prosperity, and finally attain Chandraloka. Whoever, while bathing in the Kāveri in the month of Tulā, bestows on a poverty-stricken, wayfaring, intelligent Brāhmaṇa with a large family, a gift of a plot of ground or a house, will enjoy all sorts of terrestrial comforts and then the comforts of Brahmaloka, and then come back to earth as a king. Whoever gives money or grain to the poor will become the friend of Kubera, and will be blessed with long life. He who gives honey in the month of Tulā will have plenty of children, though he be barren at present. Whoever gives a pair of oxen to a poor Brāhmaṇa agriculturist will enjoy all the pleasures of Gōlākha, and will regenerate on earth as king. Whoever gives a cow with a calf, will be blessed with children, will become great, will be rid of the three sorts of loans, will reach the world of pītrīs, and his family will live long. A giver of a buffalo has no reason to fear untimely death and his family will live for one hundred years. A giver of grain to a poor Brāhmaṇa, will live in peace and plenty and be blessed with offspring. He would then live with an excellent woman for the period of fourteen Indras, and then become a land-owner on the Earth. Kūll will not live in the house of a man who offers rice to a poor man. Rambhā's (an angelic woman) breasts will be sucked by the man who gives Rambhāphala (plantain-fruits) as charity; and her lips by the bestower of cocomuts and pāṇusūpāt. The giver of camphor, sandal, musk and other scents to a Brāhmaṇa, will enjoy the company of apanasāsas in Searga and then regenerate on earth as lord paramount. The bestower of cow's milk, cow's ghi, cow's curd will have cattle and children in plenty, and will be blessed with long life. The offerer of myrbbolān powder will become a metaphysician and an excellent theist. Whoever in the month of Tulā gives sesame to a Brāhmaṇa as an obligation to the pītrīs, will attain the same position as one
who performs _ardha_ at Gaya. He who gives to a poor cold-stricken family man a cot, a soft cushion, a mat, a pillow, _etc._, will enjoy the sweet soft embrace of a lovely woman. An umbrella-giver will live in a storied house. Whoever offers lotuses and other flowers of the season for the adoration of Vishnu with _bhakti_ will enjoy all the pleasures of this life, live for a length of time in Brahmâlaka, and thence return to earth as a wealthy Vishnu _bhakta_ with plenty of children. The giver of a pair of _yagnoparidâs_ (sacerdotal threads) will regenerate ten times as a Vedic seer. O king! whoever offers deer's skin (_maunjâ)_ to a bachelor will be rid of disease of any sort or kind, and will become a great intellect; and one who gives cotton for the preparation of the sacerdotal thread will not be attacked with leprosy, _etc._ He who gives the best _tulasi_ to a Vishnu _bhakta_ will live in the best possible way in all the worlds, and eventually become a _sâdvyâhuma_. The giver of sacrificial sticks (_pâlda_., _etc._) will become an intelligent performer of sacrifices. Whoever feeds sumptuously with various sorts of vegetables, _dal_, fruits, sweet-scented viands, will undoubtedly attain god-head. The gift of Bengal gram, honey, oil, pepper and other pungents, jaggery, sugar, _ghee_, _etc._, as far as practicable, will lead one not only to heaven, but will make him a resident of the other happy worlds in succession. Even Hari is unable to say the value of bathing in the Kâvâri in the month of Tûlâ in the presence of the god Rûganâthâ. In days of yore an _unchaste Brahman woman_ rode sublime upon the seraph wings of ecstasy, and saw the living throne by bathing in the sacred waters of the Kâvâri. O greatest of kings! the three millions and a half of _tirthas_, with the Ganges in front, commingled with the Kâvâri in the month of Tûlâ by Kâsava's orders. Whoever maintains the bath in the Ganges as a strict religious observance for one hundred years, it is only he who would be able to bathe in the Kâvâri in the month of Tûlâ. The world-purifying Ganges went to Brahmâ and wept bitterly and asked how best she would be rid of the sins which have been transferred from her bathers. To which Brahmâ replied, that the best solution of the question is by bathing in the waters of the Kâvâri, which is accordingly done down to the present day.

Sins for seven generations will be removed by bathing in the Kâvâri like a pestle; and by doing so with a settled mind one million families will prosper. A bath in the month of Tûlâ will feed the body and annihilate the soul. Who in the three worlds is equal to the task of extolling the glories of the Kâvâri? Is there anyone better than Sûsha to speak about it or to hear it? Whereupon Hariśchandra said, "O Agastyâ! who was that Brahman woman? Whose wife? How did she become a prostitute? How did she, who should have gone to the regions of hell, enjoy the kingdom of Heaven? I prostrate before you. O greatest of Rishis! be pleased to narrate all these in detail. The chief of Rishis of your stamp, who bless the world, being swayed by purely altruistic motives, will teach the greatest secrets to disciples like me. I request, therefore, that you will have mercy on me." Whereupon Agastyâ said, "O King, you have asked me excellently, being intent on hearing a good story. I shall tell you the glory of Kâvâri and the Brahman prostitute reaching heaven. On the borders of the Vrishabha mountains and on the banks of Krtamâlî river was the large beautiful city of Mathurâ, filled in with charioteers, elephant drivers, cavalry and infantry, hemmed in on all sides with lofty parapets, with storied houses of Brahmanas, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Sûdras, with ramparts, towers, porticos, shops, busy centres, bowers, _etc._ In the city was a Brahman, Vedârâsi by name, deeply learned in the _Vedas_ and Vedangas, a subduer of Indrias (senses), external and internal, the friend of everybody, far above the agitation of pairs of opposites — cold and heat, wet and dry, profit and loss, victory and defeat — unenvious, a Vishnu _bhakta_, a _gûyi_, an incessant adorer of guests, a bather at the early moon, an observer of the five sacrifices and the foremost of the wise. He had a pure chaste wife, Chandrakânta by name, with the face resembling the moon, breasts like the frontal lobes of fattened elephants, the body of a golden hue, the tone of the fattened swan, the pace of the fattened elephant, slight laugh, red lips, mask-mark, pearl necklace, diamond ornaments, the body smeared all over with sweet-scented sandal paste. This lady, intent on attaining eternal bliss, was doing the greatest amount of good service to her deary-cherished lord. Close by was Vidyâvati, a Brahman woman, who slew her husband. She was the most abject, fickle-minded, the spoiler of feminine chastity. This prostitute, intent on schooling the lady in her ways of life, approached her, and said,
My dear Chandrakánta, my mother, O lotus-eyed, I am your best friend. If you have any secrets, you can freely communicate them to me. Does your husband obey your orders? The man of feminine life is ephemeral. So are time and place. Do you enjoy sexual happiness independently? If not, I shall put you in the way of your doing so.' The lady, hearing the poisoned horrible words of the woman, was overcome by shame and said, 'How dare you talk such trash before me with an evil heart? If I do not reply to you, you will ruin me by spreading all sorts of fabricated rumours against me.' Thinking thus, and fearing the consequences of silence, she replied. 'The best period for copulation is from the fifth day after menstruation till the sixteenth, and my husband, well versed in arûta and smrîta, will cohabit with me during these twelve days, exclusive of the days unenjoined by law. We are enjoying temporal felicity as ordained by the śāstras, and are paving the way for celestial bliss. The wise say that if conception is formed on a good day of copulation, the son that will issue forth from such an act, will be intelligent, live long, and be rich; while those born at other times will be short-lived and sickly, and will be a source of woe to the parents. The following days are excluded for copulation: the sixth, eighth, tenth, twelfth, fourteenth, new moon, full moon, the passage of the sun into the various signs of the zodiac, the annual ceremony (avâdha) days for parents, the star of birth, star by the name of Srâvana, vrata period, morning, twilight, &c. During the abovementioned period, the person that shaves, copulates, anoints or cleans his teeth, though he be well versed in all the four Vedas, will assuredly become an outcaste. Thus have I briefly told you the ordinances enjoined for a grhastha (a family man)." To which Vidyâvatî, intent on bringing Chandrakánta to her own level, replied, "O madcap, you have spoiled all your happiness. Hear my word, therefore. As this sickly coil is dear to all animate existences, why do you waste your flush of womanhood? Why not enjoy sexual happiness? In old age the constitution will be shattered by disordered breasts, and abstinence will bring on its attendant evils — premature old age and disease. You are practically unaware of the humbug of your husband. He is keeping himself engaged with the maid-servant from morn to night. You are too plain, unhypocritical and pure-hearted, whereas your husband is a firebrand and pretends to be a good man externally. I heard too well of his misdeeds from an intimate prostitute-friend of mine. I have told you all this as I am a sharer in all your joys and sorrows." After hearing the sinful words of Vidyâvatî, Chandrakánta said, "A husband is a god to women, be he a mischievous, hot-tempered, sickly, irreverent, vile, pudding-headed fellow. Apart from the adoration of the husband, there are no observances or free-will offerings of any sort or kind enjoined by the Vedas. To those women who aspire after Srava, a husband is the greatest of gods. The woman who abuses her lord will be born a dog." The vile wretch of a Vidyâvatî, determined on outraging the chastity of Chandrakánta, replied, "O mad fool! Have not Urvâ, Mênakâ, Rambha, Gritâchâ, Punjikasthalâ and other angelic women acted independently and cohabited with innumerable hosts of men, and yet have been coveted by the greatest of Rishis, and yet for all that remained happy? The wise, considering the ephemerality of this mortal coil, enjoy happiness, terrestrial and celestial. All must covet felicity. Who has seen heaven or hell? Whatever we actually enjoy is heaven. I am aware of the truth of happiness and misery. Independence is happiness. I became independent and rid myself of all fear by murdering my husband. The free man is the happiest being. He alone is filled with tapas. He alone is fortunate. Is there any happiness for a servile wretch?" With illustrations like these which would abuse the mind and make it as sickle as possible, with thoughts hard as adamant which would lead one to hell-gate in no time, with breasts resembling the frontal lobes of fattened elephants, Chandrakánta set at naught all hereditary acharás and remained a prostitute in private for a month, owing to the strange irony of fate, feminine fickleness, mental unrest and a hankering after perceptible happiness, being overcome by the finely-pointed darts of Cupid. Then her lord found out by her questionable reputation, conduct in life, foul tongue, &c., that she was immoral, ejected her out of the house, was wonder-struck at what happened even to his wife, made gifts of cattle, money, grain, houses, &c., to the deserving, was sore dismayed for illicit intercourse with a prostitute-wife, and, as an expiation for the sin committed, went and reached the banks of the Kâveri.

(To be continued.)
A COMPLETE VERBAL CROSS-INDEX TO YULE'S HOBSON-JOBSON OR GLOSSARY OF ANGLO-INDIAN WORDS.

BY CHARLES PARTRIDGE, M.A.

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(To be continued.)
FAMILY GODLINGS AS INDICATORS OF TRIBAL MIGRATIONS.

It is an accepted principle that local godlings were from time to time introduced to the family altar as divine fathers, mothers, protectors, or deified faithful servants. The following remarks show that family godlings may also indicate the migrations of the tribe to which the family belongs.

In one family of the Prabhus of Thana, near Bombay, there is a godling Mārtanḍ ātis Khandērāv. He is shown riding a horse, and attended by a dog, his faithful companion, and represents the sun. Sir Thomas Wardle traces its seat in Kashmir. Another godling is Bhairav or Bahirī, also on horse-back (the Kāl-bhairav of Ujjain); a third is Ekṣira of the Western Ghāta near Poona; a fourth, the Bādpī (from bāp = father, and dēv = god) of Cuddapa, on the slopes of the same mountain range at the southern end of what is known as the Madras Deccan, or that part of the Deccan plateau which is under the jurisdiction of the Madras Government: a fifth is a “group” of goddesses called the Parshik-karnīs, or residents of the Parshik Hill near Thāna, 21 miles from Bombay. There was besides one attendant sub-godling with a human body and equine head, which stood in front of the altar with folded hands, but is said to have been thrown into the sea by one of the ancestors of the family five generations ago, whose pāddaka (foot-prints) are still placed before the altar on the Kuladāhara day, once a year. The family is called Guptē, and belongs to the Chāndraseṅti subdivision of the Prabhus.

As the name Guptē is derived from gup = a cave, vale, or valley, or gup to protect, and pati, ruler or lord, the above facts seem to show that the Guptēs came from some mountainous valley or were its protectors. They are Chāndraseṅti Prabhus, and this seems to show that they came from the valley of the river Chandra, now known as the Chenāb in the Punjab, the suffix ērinī being possibly derived from Sanskrit ēreṇī, a clan, tribe.

The Guptēs have, further, a tradition that they were defeated and disarmed by the ubiquitous conqueror Parāurāma, but Puruṣī is also a name of the river Rāvī, and as the Chenāb and the Rāvī are both the affluents of the Indus, and form a dūkā or enclosed tract, it is more probable that the tradition preserves a recollection of the fact that the Rāvī, or people of the Rāvī Valley, and the Chandra, or people of the Chandra or Chenāb Valley, lived in constant warfare, and that the latter were ultimately defeated and driven out. This conjecture is supported by the fact of the establishment of a Rāmnagar on the banks of the latter, just as Alexandria towns were established along the route of the great Greek conqueror. From the valley of the Chenāb to that of the Gharī or Hyphasis, into which it flows, would be a natural line of flight. Hence southwards to the Ēbu mountains and the Chambal Valley was possibly a further progress, as these people have a tradition that their forefathers performed an āśramādha, or horse sacrifice, in that tract. Wandering along the Chambal Valley they may have established themselves at Ujjain on the Shhipārā, where Vikramaditya, the last of the Gupta, established the Samvat Era. Here they would naturally have acquired, as a godling, Kālbhairav, to whom they still make vows when taken ill, having shortened his name into Bhairav. In the Bhānpur District of the Indore State, there is a god Guptēśwar, and at Māndū, or fort of Māndu, in the Dīār State, there are traces of their ascendancy (vide Enthoven’s Monograph). Further south at Mandalēśwar, on the banks of the Narbāda, there is another god Guptēśwar. Further westwards southwards would seem to be marked by the godlings Ekṣira and Mārtanḍ of the Deccan, and the southernmost point of the migration by Bādpī, or father-god of Cuddapa. Then there seems to have been a return northwards towards Thāna or Thanēswar, a name the wanderers carried in their heads from the great Thānēswar temple of the north. The flourishing condition of Sāpāra, the Ophir of ancient trade as Sir James Campbell believes from the valuable relics he found there, followed by the more modern trade due to the connection of that coast with the Portuguese and the British, seems to have finally settled the Guptē clan in and near Bombay with one

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1 The leak Post, Saturday, June 13, 1903. (Second letter from Sir Thomas Wardle.)
2 Elliot’s History, but there are many Chāndraseṅti Rājpūtas.
3 Vide RāENA Mahāmya, Kānda-Purpāna.
4 Hewitt’s Ruling Races of Prehistoric Times, p. 113.
5 Enthoven’s Monograph on the Prabhus.
6 It may be noted that Enthoven mentions Yinnāl, another mountain-mother of the Vindhyēshāl, by which route a portion of the Prabhu tribe may have come to the Deccan vid Benares, another eminent seat of Kālbhairav, the God of Death.
7 Sir J. Campbell’s Soorā Relics.
offshoot at Māval near Poona, and another at Damān, also on the Western coast. The Parshik-karṇ goddesses were introduced within the memory of the oldest living representative of the clan. Thus, the father of the present head of the family was the son of a woman from a village at the foot of the Parshik Hill, and she induced him only 60 years ago to admit these goddesses, the family deities of her mother, a Pradhān, into that of her son, a Guptē, a resident of Thāna, only three miles from the hill.

These facts and speculations show that local godlings may supply valuable links of evidence when taken with the traditional history of a clan, and the results of British archaeological researches in the East.

The horseman godling Mārtanj, worshipped with his horse and dog, recalls in this case the Turkish horsemen or cavalry mentioned at page 307 of Hewitt's *Ruling Races of Prehistoric Times*, and the ancient system carried on to quite modern times of burying 3 alive the servants and favourite animals of the chiefs, involving the desecration of the animals so sacrificed, accompanied by their transformation into mythological beings, "half man, half beast," such as Garudā (the eagle), Hanumān (the monkey), and even Muhammad's mate.

The worship of the mother-mountain by the Northern Races is described at p. xxxii in Mr. Hewitt's preface, and thus the name Parshik as a sacred hill of the Prabhus, whence godlings come, may throw light on the history of the race. Parshik may possibly mean Persian, if Pariska be taken to mean "belonging to or occupied by the Persians." The Prabhus are fairer than the generality of the local residents. MacCringle's *Ancient India*, p. 46, mentions the marriage of a Gupta chief with the Macedonian bride that Alexander gave him, and further possibility of the absorption of foreign blood on the coast is mentioned in Vol. II., p. 27, of Ratzei's *History of Mankind*, and "girl traffic" at p. 438 of Vol. I. The Macedonian colonies of Koh-Daman, and the existence of a Damān on the Western coast, with Davae or Dammā Prabhus as its residents at the present day; the mention of the Prabhus among the pre-historic Ruling Races by Mr. Hewitt (p. 310); Dr. Hove's description of a "Parvo" 10 (misapelt for Prabhu) caste at Bājāpur, near Limri in Gujarāt; Ratzei's 11 mention of bride-servants as a favourite commodity, his description of their treatment as poor 12 relations; Hove's colony of "remarkably fair" slaves from 13 Mghītā (Mahākā) at "Jahana," only 5 days' voyage from Bombay; Mr. Edwards' mention of "handsome young women of Hellas 14 destined to attend on the kings of the country and carry chauris in his court"; Ratzei's mention of "women 15 as merchandise" and "tendency to accumulate it," as also his description of the desire for owning slaves as "insatiable"; 16 his mention of "women willing prices of whoever can catch them"; Mr. Edwards' description 17 of the early Jews who brought (to Bombay) a living freight of women, and the existence of the Parsis in that locality, — taken with the name of the hill Parsik, may all indicate the infusion of Western blood into the more powerful of the Bombay coast tribes, including the Prabhus (lit., Lords, Masters), in the days when inter-marriages were freely allowed between different races, and the hard and fast rules of caste had not yet been conceived.

Again, coming from the Indo-Aryan tract in the North, under the name Chándrasēnī, and perhaps marrying fair Western maids purchased at high prices, the Prabhus may have also acquired a tinge of the local Dravidian blood from Southern tracts like Cuddapa, and this would account for their forming a caste midway between the accepted types of the Indo-Aryan and Scytho-Dravidian races, and their present average cephalic index 79.9 (medium), average nasal index 75.8 (medium), and average orbito-nasal index 113.4, and also their "hereditary dexterity" 18 and intelligence. These qualities proved to be of value to Sivājī, the founder of the Marāṭhā Empire, as he found among the Prabhus a material at once literary, martial, and loyal, and made the best use of it. So also has the British Government found in them a people, whom Sir James Campbell describes thus in his Thana and Poona volumes of the *Bombay Gazetteer*:

"As a class the men are middle-sized, and slightly built, fair with regular features and handsome, intelligent faces. Their women are refined and graceful. Sivājī on one occasion dismissed all the Brāhmans, who held financial posts, and engaged (Chándrasēnī) Prabhus in their places. In reply to the complaints of Māropant..."
Pingle and Nilopant, his two Brāhmaṇ advisers, he reminded them, that while all Musalman places of trust held by Brāhmaṇs had been given up without a struggle, those held by Prābhus had been most difficult to take, and that one of them, Rājpur, had not yet been taken. They are generally richly and most carefully and neatly dressed. They are hardworking, hospitable, orderly and loyal, but extravagant and fond of show. They send their children to school and hold their own in spite of the competition of Brāhmaṇs and other non-writer classes."

Valuable, therefore, to ethnographers may be a study of the family godlings, who have clung to the family altars of the Hindus through generations and through many stages of evolution.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

- NICK-NAME OF VILLAGES AND FAMILIES IN KURRAM, GIVING DOUBTFUL TRACES OF TOTEMISM.

Among the Tūrī and Bangash Tribes there are several sept which derive their names from some act or incident, of which somewhat paucile accounts are often given. Such are the Magak Khel or Rat Sept in Dūparzāi, so called because their first ancestor was once sitting in a jirga, and seeing a rat (magak) running about he killed it. The Ghilār Khel, whose ancestor killed a jackal (gftar). The Lūwā Kūl or ‘Wolf Family’ of the Musthū Khel, whose ancestor once killed a wolf with his stick. The Kunriak Kūl or ‘Ant Family’ in Pāwār, so named because their beds contained many of those insects when a guest was once sitting at their house. The Parkhari family in Zaran, so called because their ancestor once shot a bird, and, though he missed it, boasted that he had knocked some of its feathers out. The Spāgan Kūl or ‘Lice family,’ so nick-named because their beds were full of those insects. The Sūlān Kūl, so called because their ancestor once declared that he had seen 100 hares when out shooting, but meeting with no credence he reduced the number to 50 and finally to one, and so his descendants are called the ‘Hare Sept’ to this day. The Spān Khel of Mālaŋ, so named because a man of a poor family once killed a dog belonging to a rich one, whereupon the rich family demanded a damsel from the poor one in compensation, and her descendants are still called the ‘Dog Sept.’

The Dagh Kalai hamlet of Shingak Village, so named because its founder only gave the workmen rice with very little ghī in it when he built the hamlet. The Urkharī Kalai, so called because its founder only gave his workmen urkharī (a kind of vegetable) when he built it.

A village in Shingak is called Tarwo Kalai because its inhabitants used to mix taref with the food given to their guests; taref is water mixed with curds (called dohī in Urdu), and the food made from this mixture is called ldsī or taref in Pashtu. A family in Pāwār had many sparrow’s nests in their house and so their descendants are now called Chānchārī Kūl: chānchārī in Pashtu means a sparrow. A village in Shingak is called Khowarā Kalai because the villagers did not feast their guests there one night: khowar means poor. A village near Kunj Abzai is called Shibi Kalai: shibi means a shower: during the Afghān rule the Mughal used to attack the Tūrī villages, and this village, being the first in their way, was so constantly besieged that it became known as Shibi from the attacks ‘showered’ on it.

A woman of a family in Shalozān once made a skirt for her child from cloth which was then used by Hindus only: a Hindu in Kurram is always called chèhdi, and so the family is now called Chāchā Kūl. Another family in Shalozān, from their constant quarrels, is called Shaukh Kūl: shaukh means bad-tempered. A third family in Shalozān is called Pāt Kūl: pāt means one who does not do things thoroughly: the founder of the family was a big malik, but any dispute referred to him by the people was never properly settled and so he was called Pāt and his family Pāt Kūl.

A village is called Ghala Kalai: ghala means ‘thief,’ because its inhabitants were all thieves during the period of the Afghān rule.

A family in Kaj Kina is called Kharporān Kūl: kharporān means ‘donkey-like’: the founder of the family once got a nail stuck in the sole of his foot, but instead of taking it out he walked home and there showed it to his wife: she found that he had a big nail stuck in his foot and so called him donkey: since then the family is called Kharporān Kūl.

These derivations are specimens of Pathān humour rather than attempts to account for relics of totemism.

H. A. ROSE.

Simla, 6th August 1903.

1 When a little ghī is boiled and put into rice, broth, &c., it is called dohī.
2 Shalozān is a very ancient place, and was once called Sankurān apparently.
3 Cf. Ghulzai or Ghilzai.
EPIGRAPHICAL NOTES.

BY H. LÜDECKE, PH.D.; ROStock.

(Continued from page 41.)


Cunningham's transcript of this inscription, which is engraved round the base of a pillar, is on the whole correct. It differs, however, from the facsimiles in reading Dévaputrasya Huvishkasya and sukham, for which the facsimiles distinctly show Dévaputrasya, Huvishkasya and sūkha[si]. The form of the king's name with the long vowel is found also in the Bombay University Library inscription edited by D. R. Bhandarkar in the Journ. Bo. Br. Roy. As. Soc. Vol. XX. p. 269.

Another difference between the transcript and the facsimiles occurs in the description of the donor. Cunningham, following Dowson, read bhikshusa Jivakasya Udeepakasya,[31] but if there is any trust to be placed in the facsimiles, the last word is really Udiyanaka. As Jivaka is said to have been a monk, Udiyanaka cannot be a term denoting a caste or profession, but most probably is the name of some nation or tribe and corresponds to a true Sk. Audhyanaka, a derivative of Udiyana. I am unable to point out such a name in the earlier Sanskrit or Prakrit literature. But perhaps it is connected with Udhiyana, mentioned after Sindhu, Saurāshtra and Pańchala in a list of different countries in the Śrīkārsabhyāṣa, a portion of the Rāmakirdhānta.[32]

With these corrections and some changes in the transliteration Cunningham's text runs as follows:—

Sam 40 7 gi 4 di 4 mahārājasya rājāṭirājasya Dévaputrasya Huvishkasya viharē dānāṁ bhikshusya Jivakasya Ūdiyanakasya ku[m]bhako 20 5 sarva-satva-hita-sūkhā[ti] bhavatu sa[m]ghaḥ ch[A]jutudise.[34]

"In the year 47, the fourth (month of) summer, the fourth day. Gift of the monk Jivaka, the Udiyanaka (native of Udiyana?), to the vihāra of mahā-rāja rājāṭirāja Dévaputra Huvishka. Base of pillar 25. May welfare and happiness of all beings prevail in the community belonging to the four quarters."[35]


Of this inscription Rajendralala Mitra offered the following text:—

Datana ra sarā (44?) divasa 5 prabu[ti]ddhyā dānāṁ bhikshusya Dhammadattasya.

Unsatisfactory as the facsimile is, it makes it pretty certain that the true reading is:—

Sainvatarē 40 7 va., divasa 5 asya purvayē dānāṁ bhikshusya Dhammadēvasya.[36]

"In the year 47, in the . . . (month) of the rainy season, on the fifth day, — on that (date specified as) above — the gift of the monk Dhammadēva."

[31] Rajendralala Mitra read bhikshusya Jivakasya Udiyanakasya in the text and 'the mendicant (Bhikshu) Jivaka Udiyanaka' in the translation.
[33] The bracketed letters are not visible in the facsimiles. The third 4 in rājāṭirājasya is distinct in Dowson's facsimile.
[34] Cunningham read chatudise.
[36] The ese of the last word looks more like ta, but this is the case also in the preceding inscription where the reading aubedly is Dhammadēvasya.

Saṁvataśa 40 7 gṛi 3 divaś[ē] 5 asya purvayē dānaṁ bhikshaya Dharmanādēvasya.

It cannot be denied that the close agreement of the two inscriptions is rather suspicious and apt to lead to the supposition that the sa in Rajendrala Mitra's facsimile is merely a mistaken gṛi, and the whole facsimile nothing but a second copy of Cunningham's No. 11 and his own No. 17. On the other hand, Rajendrala Mitra expressly states that the originals of both inscriptions were deposited in the Museum of the Asiatic Society, and it is not impossible, after all, that Dharmanāda presented more than one pillar and at different times.

**No. 13. — Mathurā inscription on base of pillar of Sam. 47;**


Rajendrala Mitra's transcript of this inscription reads:

Dānaṁ Dévilasya Dadhikurṇāpadēvikulikasya saṁ 59 divasa 80.

Dowson reads:

Dānaṁ Dévilasya Dadhikarnna-devi-kulikasya San 40 7 gri 4 Divaśe 20 5.

Cunningham reads:

Dānaṁ Dévilasya Dadhikundi . . Devi-kulikasya, Sam. 47, Gr. — 4, Divase 25.

To judge from the facsimiles published together with the three editions, the actual reading appears to be:

Dānaṁ Dévilasya Dadhikarṇapadēvikulikasya saṁ 40 7 gri 4 divaśe 20 9.

There is some doubt attached to the last figure of the date which, as Dowson remarks, is partly defaced. The *i* of the aksara *vi* in *dēvikulikasya* is quite distinct in the facsimiles of Rajendrala Mitra and Cunningham, but wanting in that given by Dowson. As, however, the latter also reads *vi* in his transcript, I think it almost certain that it is really found in the text.

With regard to the purport of the inscription my three predecessors substantially agree in considering it to record 'the gift of Dévila of the race (or of the family) of Dadhikarṇapadēvi.' There are two objections to this translation. Firstly, Dadhikarṇapadēvi would be a name unparalleled in the Mathurā inscriptions, and secondly, there is no other instance of a man being described in this way as belonging to the family of some woman. In my opinion Dadhikarṇapadēvikula means 'the servant (or priest) at the shrine of Dadhikarpā.' Dadhikarpā is the name of some Nāga, and we know from an inscription edited by Bühler, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 390, No. 18, that there was a shrine or temple dedicated to him at Mathurā. That inscription records the setting up of a stone slab *bhogavatō nāgēndrasya Dadhikarṇapāstaṁ,* and although Bühler translated this *in the place sacred to the divine lord of snakes Dadhikarpā,* he added himself that stāna, which stands for Sk. sthāna, might also mean 'temple.' The word *dēvikulika* is derived from *dēvakula,* and in correct Sanskrit ought to show *vidāddhi*-strengthening of the first syllable. The *i* of the second syllable is striking, but an exact parallel is furnished by the Mathurā inscription edited by Bhagvanal Indraji in the *Actes du Sixième Congrès International des Orientalistes à Leide,* Part III. p. 143, where the drawing plainly shows the words *drākatī dévikulā,* 'a shrine for the Arhats.' Similar instances of the transition of *a* into *i* will be found in Prof. Pischel's *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen,* par. 101-103.

I translate the whole inscription:

"The gift of Dévila, the servant (or priest) at the shrine of Dadhikarpā in the year 47, in the fourth (month of) summer, on the twenty-ninth day."
This and the inscription mentioned above are valuable evidence of the great antiquity of serpent-worship in India, although unfortunately neither of them contains any hint as to the creed which the worshippers of Dadhiṣṭaṃ at Mathura professed. That Dadhiṣṭaṃ is invoked in the ākṣamāṇa of the Hariṇaśāsana, was pointed out already by Bühler, loc. cit., p. 381. It may be added that his name is also found in a list of Nāgas quoted by Hāmchaṇḍra in his own commentary on the Abhibhūmacintāmaṇi, verse 1311.


Cunningham read this short fragment:—
1. Mahārājasya Huvisakṣaṇa Samh. 48 — He. 4 — Di. 5
2. Bama Dāsākula ukonākṣya Śīvaṇa dharā.

The photograph of the stone belonging to Prof. Kielhorn shows that the true reading is:—
1. Mahārājasya Huvisakṣaṇa sa 40 8 hā 4 ṛ 5

The only difficult letter is the ninth of the second line. There can be little doubt that it is meant for śkā, and that the tail at the base is merely accidental, but it is easy to see how Cunningham came to read kō. The Brasadāśiśya kuṭa and the Ucchāṇāgari śīkṣa are mentioned together in numerous Mathūra inscriptions; see, e. g., Ep. Ind. Vol. I. p. 381, No. 1; p. 383, No. 4; p. 384, No. 5; p. 389, No. 14, &c.


Bühler read in line C.1 ḍṛṣṭa-Ḥatiṣṭāya kulatō, but the second akeśera of the name is wrong. It cannot be ṝi, because the curva denoting medial i is always open to the left, whereas this sign, on the contrary, shows a curve open to the right. The akeśera is therefore to be read ṝi, and, leaving aside the short vowel of the first syllable, the spelling ḍṛṣṭaṇa agrees with that of two other Mathūra inscriptions edited by Bühler, Ep. Ind. Vol. II, p. 201, No. 11 (ṛṣṭa-Ḥatiṣṭāya kulatō), and Vol. I. p. 397, No. 34 (ṛṣṭa-Ḥatiṣṭāya kul).

The last three lines, which contain the description of the donatrix and her gift, are transcribed by Bühler as follows:—

A. 8 — [ṛṣṭa] dhīṭu grami[ka]-Jayadēvasya vadhūyē
e. B. 8 — mīkō Jayaṇāgāsa dharmmapatniyē Śīhādatā[yē]
C. 8 — [lathāṃbh]ō danaṁ.

The reading Śīhādatā[yē] is impossible. What is still visible of the last akeśera of the line is the left portion of a sa, and the correct reading apparently is Śīhādatāsa. This word must have been followed originally by mātā, which probably stood at the beginning of line C.8. The description of a female donor in her fourfold character as daughter, daughter-in-law, wife and mother is exactly the same as in the inscription, Ep. Ind. Vol. I. p. 382, No. 2, and probably also in two others edited ibid. Vol. I. p. 393, No. 28, and Vol. II. p. 208, No. 34.

The akeśeras lathāṃbhō Bühler wants to restore to Śīhādatāś, which would be a very peculiar term for the object which it is meant for. The inscription is incised on the four faces of the pedestal of a quadruple image consisting of four erect naked standing Jinas, placed back to back, and in all other instances (Ep. Ind. Vol. I. p. 382, No. 2; Vol. II. p. 202, No. 18; p. 203, No. 16; p. 210.

39 The unit of the date is illegible.
40 Possibly aya-Ḥatiṣṭāya, the 4-stroke being not clear in the photo-lithograph.
41 Compare the same letter in ḍṛṣṭaṇa in line A. 8.
No. 37) statues of this sort are termed pratimā sarastraḥbhadrīkā in the inscriptions. Bühlér's reading is therefore a priori improbable. But quite apart from this consideration, I own that I do not see how these letters can possibly be read lathaḥbāḥ, even assuming, as Bühlér did, that the last two consonants are only half formed. The last sign can hardly be anything but ya, which would seem to indicate that the word is the name of the donatrix, but unfortunately neither the vowel-sign above the ya nor the preceding letters are distinct enough in the photo-lithograph to allow any positive reading on this authority alone.

Nos. 18 and 17. — Mathurā Jaina image inscriptions of Satm. 52 and 54;

Bühlér's transcripts of these two inscriptions, placed side by side, read as follows:—


. . . . . dham savā 50[43] 4 hēmanta-

māśe chusturthē 4 divas 10 aṣya sarvavāṁ Koṭṭīyātā [ga]ṇatā Shānī-
yātā kulātā Vairatā śakhatā Srigrih[āt]ātā saṁbhūgatā vāchakasya-Śrīy-[a]-Hastīsya śīṣyā gaṇisyārya-Māgyuḥastīsya śādhascharā vāchakasya arya-Dīvīsya nirvartanā Gūvasya Śiha-puṣrasa lūhikā-kāraksya dānāṁ sarvasatvānāṁ hita-sukhā ēka-Saṁavati prathishṭāvatē rañghapā-


The two records so closely agree with each other as to leave no doubt about the identity of the persons mentioned in the first portion. Ghastūkāstī and Hasṭākāstī, Maṇguhastī and Māgyuhaṣṭī, are nothing but various spellings of the same names. A very similar case occurs in two other Mathurā inscriptions, Vienna. Or. Journ. Vol. I. p. 172, and Ep. Ind. Vol. II. p. 204, No. 19. They contain the name of a preacher which in the former is spelt Kaññaghasṭī, while in the latter it reads Kākaviṣṭha. However, I am not quite sure that Bühlér was right in reading Maṇguhaṣṭī. The unāsēdṛa is very indistinct in the photo-lithograph, and the true reading may be Maṇguhaṣṭī, which would come nearer to the form used in the other inscription.

Bühlér's reading "Dīvīsya in the first inscription cannot be upheld. Neither the first nor the second vowel-sign can be i, as the i-sign is much more rounded in this alphabet, and Bühlér appears to have been aware of it himself, as in a note he quotes "Dēvēsya as a possible reading. The correct reading undoubtedly is arya-Dēvō tasya, and I think I can discern the traces of the second d-stroke in the photo-lithograph. The spelling of the name therefore is the same in both inscriptions. As for the construction of the inscriptions, Ep. Ind. Vol. I. p. 382, No. 3 (arya-Dārjākānāh tasya nirvartana), p. 383, No. 4 (vāchakārārya-Siḥā tasya nirvartana), Vol. II., p. 204, No. 19 (Graha-balolātāpiḥ tasya nirvartana), p. 209, No. 37 (arya-Kahērakō vāchakārārya nirvartana), &c.

In the second portion of the first inscription Bühlér translated the words Sūrasya Śramanakapuṭrasya Goṭṭikāsya lūhikākārakasya dānāṁ by "the gift of the worker in metal Goṭṭika, the Sūra, the son of Śramanaka," taking the word Sūra as the name of Goṭṭika's family or clan. But from the parallel description of the donor in the second inscription as Gūvasya Śhaptusraya lūhikākārakasya it is evident that, on the contrary, Sūra is the real name and Goṭṭika a qualifying epithet. The meaning of this word is difficult to ascertain. It may be a proper name characterising Sūra as the

41 Compare the analogous term sarvābhadrā, applied to a śāmasaṇaśa khaṭharas edition of which, if written twice on the squares of a chessboard, yield the same text from whatever side they may be read. For examples, see Kurāṭkānāya XV. 25; Śrīdevīśvadehā XIX. 27, &c.
42 The figure is quite distinct.
43 The bracketed signs of the last two words are distinct in the photo-lithograph.
member of some tribe or as the native of some country or town, but no such name is known to us, and I venture to suggest a different explanation. Bühler has shown\textsuperscript{44} that in the dialect of these inscriptions the aspiration of conjunct hard aspirates is frequently neglected; in the present inscription also the photo-lithograph shows Stānikiyāta\textsuperscript{45} instead of Stānikiyāta, as transcribed by Bühler. Gotikā may therefore possibly stand for gotikā, the Prakrit equivalent of Sk. goṣṭikā, which means the member of a Pañch or committee entrusted with the management of religious endowments and in this sense occurs, e.g., in the Peherā inscription from the temple of Garibnāth.\textsuperscript{46}

With regard to the last words of the second inscription I am unable to offer any explanation, though it will be readily admitted, I think, that neither Bühler’s reading nor his translation of them are satisfactory. The date also of this inscription has been called in question, but, as it seems to me, without sufficient reason. Bühler originally took the date of the year to be 54,\textsuperscript{47} but changed it into 54 on comparing Growse’s inscription No. 5,\textsuperscript{48} where the date 57 is given both in words and figures. Lately Mr. V. A. Smith, in his monograph on “The Jain Stūpa and Other Antiquities of Mathurā,”\textsuperscript{49} has asserted that the plate clearly reads 44. I own that I cannot discover any resemblance between the first figure of the date and the numeral sign for 40, whereas, on the other hand, I do not see how that figure differs from the signs for 50 occurring in the Mathurā inscriptions, \textit{Ind. Ant.} Vol. VI. p. 219, No. 11; \textit{Ep. Ind.} Vol. II. p. 203, Nos. 17 and 18. And the date Sam. 54 is also in perfect keeping with the facts to be derived from the first inscription. If Dēva was acting as the spiritual adviser of a member of the lōhikākāraka caste in Sam. 52, it is quite natural to find him in exactly the same capacity in Sam. 54.

\textbf{No. 18. — Mathurā Jaina inscription of Sam. 60;}


Bühler read the numeral sign indicating the year of this inscription as 40, adding 60 in brackets and with a note of interrogation, but from his remark in \textit{Ep. Ind.} Vol. II. p. 204, note 61, it may be gathered that he would have adopted the second alternative himself, if he had had an opportunity of reverting to this inscription. As to the rest, I only want to point out that instead of ayya-Vēriyāna śākhāyā, the plate clearly reads ayya-Vēriyāna śākhāyā.

Vvyūddhahasti, the pāchaka in the Koṭṭiya gana, the Stānikiya kula and the śākhā of the venerable Vēriyās, mentioned in this inscription, is probably identical with the person of the same name and vocation referred to in the Mathurā inscription of Sam. 79, \textit{Ep. Ind.} Vol. II. p. 204, No. 20.

\textbf{No. 19. — Mathurā Jaina image inscription of Sam. 62;}


This inscription appears to record the dedication of a statue by the Jaina lay-woman Vaihikā at the request of some ascetic. The phrase containing the latter statement was first read by Bühler Rājākanyā Aśvakarasabhaśeṣāya śīṣyā Ātapiśāhābārasya nirvartana, and translated “(this being) the nirvartana of Ātapiśāhābāra, the pupil of Aśvakarasabhaśēṣa, a native of Rājā (Rādhā).” But when he had got another Jaina inscription from Mathurā, dated in the same year and recording some donation vāchakāsya āga-Kārkhaṣhita[sa] Vārṇagāni-

\textsuperscript{44} \textit{Ep. Ind.} Vol. I. p. 376.

\textsuperscript{45} Compare also the 3rd edition of the Aśkāla edicts, VI. 4; also dhamma-nāmāśaṃsita III. 3; “pañcālī IV. 5; “pañcālī VIII. 4; “saṃśita XIII. 9; “saṃśita IV. 9; “saṃśita VI. 13; dhamma-nāmāśaṃsita V. 4; “saṃśita IV. 10; “saṃśita V. 5, and below, No. 51.

\textsuperscript{46} \textit{Ep. Ind.} Vol. I. pp. 186, 188, 190, note 50. See also gotikā in the Bhaṭṭiprāṇa inscriptions Nos. 3, 5 and 9, \textit{ibid.} Vol. II. p. 327 ff.

\textsuperscript{47} \textit{Vienna Or. Journ.} Vol. III. p. 299.


\textsuperscript{49} \textit{Arch. Surv. of Ind.} New Imp. Ser. Vol. XX. p. 59 f. Mr. Smith also thinks that the number of the day, according to the plate, is either 11 or 13 than 10, and this he may be right.
yana śīlāh Grahañ ṣṭapiṅkā ṭasa nićaratah.\(^{20}\) he recognised at once that the persons referred to in the two inscriptions were identical, and that ṣṭapiṅkā Grahañ ṣṭapiṅkā Grahañ ṣṭapiṅkā was to be altered into ṣṭapiṅkā Grahañ ṣṭapiṅkā Grahañ.\(^{21}\) Another correction seems to be equally certain. The facsimile makes it quite sure that the second akeśara of the word read by Bühler Raṛakṣya cannot be r. What appears in the facsimile, evidently is nothing but the right and lower portion of a ka, and as Kaṣagahasta or Karkuṣastha is called a vāchaka in the inscription quoted above, I have no doubt that also the supposed rā of the word is simply a mistake for rā. With these emendations the phrase reads: vāchakaṣya arya-Kaṣagahastasya iśhyā ṣṭapiṅkā Grahañ ṣṭapiṅkā Grahañ ṣṭapiṅkā Grahañ nićaratah, 'at the request of the ṣṭapiṅkā Grābhala, the pupil of the preacher, the venerable Kaṣagahasta.' The epigraphical evidence for a country of the name of Raṛthus falls to the ground. As to the rest of Bühler's transcript, Cunningham's facsimile suggests some minor alterations, such as agraṣhtānaḥ for arahṣhtānaḥ, aśiddhānaḥ for aśiddhānaḥ, but, of course, these are not certain.


The upper right corner of the slab which bears this inscription, is broken off, so that the first two lines of the text are mutilated. But the next three lines are complete, and a transcript of what is actually preserved of the first five lines would therefore read as follows:\(^{22}\) —

1 Mahārājājasya rājan 
2 sya Dēvaputrasya Vāsū . 
3 saṁvęśaś 70 \(^{24}\) 4 varaha-maṇi- 
4 sē prathamaṇi dvāsa 
5 tri[m]a[ḥ] 30 sasya purvvyād.

The three editors agree in restoring the first lines as

1 Mahārājājasya rājan[ā[rāja]-
2 sya Dēvaputrasya Vāsū[devaṛya].

However, if one takes the trouble to measure the available space, it will appear that the restoration of the second line is highly improbable. There is room for two akeśaras at the most, especially as the letters are cut pretty carefully and of uniform size. Under these circumstances we are forced, I think, to restore the name of the king to Vṛṣṇi[ākṣya], and this is exactly the name that is to be expected for the time to which the inscription belongs.

The last epigraphical date of Huvishka is the year 60 (Ep. Ind. Vol. I. p. 386, No. 8; see above, p. 105). The inscriptions which refer to the reign of Vāsudeva are dated in the years 89 (Ep. Ind. Vol. I. p. 392, No. 24), 88 (Arch. Surv. Rep. Vol. III. p. 34, No. 16, and below, No. 21), 87 (ibid. p. 35, No. 18, and below, No. 22), and 86 (ibid. No. 20, and below, No. 23). From the period between 60 and 80 we have only two records mentioning a king's name, besides the present one, a Mathurā inscription dated in 76 and recording repairs in the reign of Vāsushka, and another from Sālsī,\(^{24}\) dated [mahārāja]ṣya rajāditirājaṣya [Dēva]putraṣya Śabh[a] Vāsushkaṣya sans [70] hē 1 [di 5] [e]laṣya[daḥ] [u]ra[ṃ]ṣya[dyāna].

One is accustomed to look upon Vāsushka as a mere variant of the name of Vāsudeva, because the inscriptions dated in his reign seemed to be mixed up with inscriptions referring to the reign of

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\(^{22}\) The correct reading, however, is possibly ṣṭapiṅkā Grahañ ṣṭapiṅkā Grahañ.  
\(^{23}\) Of the next lines I can make as little as the former editors.  
\(^{24}\) The first figure of the date was originally read 60, but Cunningham corrected it to 70; see Num. Inscriptions, Sec. III. Vol. X. p. 30, note 6. Compare the sign for 70 in the Mathurā inscription, Ep. Ind. Vol. II. p. 199, No. 2, and in the Kaman inscription, ibid. p. 218, No. 62.  
\(^{25}\) Führer, Progress Report, 1906-07; according to V. A. Smith, Journ. Roy. As. Soc. 1908, p. 12.  
\(^{26}\) Ep. Ind. Vol. II. p. 309; compare also Bühler's note 10, ibid.
Vāsudēva. From the facts collected above it will appear that this is not the case, and I see no reason whatever why Vāsushka should not be treated as an individual name and different from Vāsudēva. In that case we should have four Kushāna rulers at Mathurā, whose dates would be according to the inscriptions: Kapisha 5-18, Huviśka 33-60, Vāsushka 74-78, Vāsudēva 80-88. But even those who should prefer to adhere to the belief in the identity of Vāsushka and Vāsudēva, will probably admit that the difference in the use of the two names cannot be due to mere chance, and they will have to assume that about the year 79 Vāsushka, in order to please his Hindu subjects, adopted the name of one of their national heroes.  

No. 21. — Mathurā Jaina image inscription of Samh. 83;  
edited by Dowson, Journ. Roy. As. Soc. New Ser. Vol. V. p. 184, No. 6, and Plate,  

Cunningham's transcript of this inscription is a great improvement on Dowson's tentative reading, and taking no account of the inaccuracies of his transliteration, his reading of the first line may be called correct. The second line he transcribes:

... tridattasya vegrayeva cha sya gaddhikasya... vichitiye Jina-dāsya pratima.

Bühler has already suggested (Vienna Or. Journ. Vol. IV. p. 324) to alter gaddhikasya into gandhikasya, and from Cunningham's facsimile it appears that we have to read tu instead of tri, and yra instead of yro, which perhaps is only a misprint. Before the tu in the beginning of the line there are traces of another akṣara which cannot be anything but dhi. The yra looks rather queer, and I have no doubt that in reality it is dha. Finally, I am convinced that the word between gandhikasya and Jina-dāsya is to be read kuṣumbinīya. The tu is quite distinct, and that the next sign in fact is kṣi and not vichī, is proved by Dowson's facsimile which in this case is the more accurate of the two. Besides, the latter facsimile has some letters omitted in Cunningham's drawing. On the right, almost between the first and the second line, it shows a dha, and on the left, at the beginning of the first line dną, which certainly is to be restored to dānā. Of course, the text cannot have commenced with this word. Apparently the inscription runs in a circle round the pedestal of the statue, and [d]ānā is to be read at the end of the first line. And this also cannot have been its proper place, but it was probably placed there only for want of space in the second line. A similar disarrangement of the words of the text is found in the inscription, Ep. Ind. Vol. II. p. 202, No. 15. The dha which I take to belong to the second line I would hesitatingly restore to dharma and connect with [d]ānā. With these corrections the whole text reads:

1 Siddham mahārāja Vasudēvasya saṁ 80 3 gri 2 di 10 6 étasya pūrvvayē  
Sēnasya

2 [dha]tu Dattasya vadhurye Vya... cha... sya... gandhikasya kuṣumbinīya Jina- 
 dāsya pratimā dha[rma]dānā.  

"Success! In the year 83 of mahārāja Vāsudēva, in the second (month of) summer, on the sixteenth day, — on that (date specified as) above, — an image, the pious gifts of Jina-dāsi (Jinādāsi), the daughter of Sēna, the daughter-in-law of Datta, the wife of the perfumer Vya... cha... "

The description of the donatrix agrees with that of the inscriptions quoted above, p. 37.

37 Probably Huviśka was already on the throne in 33; see above, p. 30.
38 I would state that it was Dr. Fleet who first expressed his doubts about the identity of Vāsushka and Vāsudēva in a letter to me, but his arrangement of the list of the Kushānas kings is different from mine. I should like to add that these notes were written before Dr. Fleet's paper on the subject had appeared in the Journ. Roy.  
As. Soc. for 1903, p. 325 ff.
39 According to Dowson's facsimile the reading would rather be Vasudēvasya.
40 Dowson's facsimile seems to read Firdadāsya, which cannot be correct.
41 The last two syllables stand at the end of line 1.
No. 22.—Mathurā Jaina image inscription of Sam. 87;

The photograph of this stone which Prof. Kielhorn possesses, enables us to supplement and
to correct Cunningham’s reading of the date, though, unfortunately, it is not sufficient to restore
the rest of the inscription. The first lines read: —

1 Siddhāḥ 62 Mahārājasya rājātirājasya Shāhīr—Vāsudēvāsya
2 saṁ 90 7 hē 2 dī 30 ētasyā purvāyā . . . 63

“Success! In the year 87 of mahārāja rājātirāja Shāhī Vāsudēva, in the second (month of)
winter, on the thirtieth day,—on that (date specified as) above . . . .”

No. 23.—Mathurā Jaina image inscription of Sam. 98;

In his paper on this inscription Bühler first gave a revised transcript of Cunningham’s
facsimile, and then tried to emend the first two lines in accordance with the statements of the
Kalpavīra. I have compared his corrected text with the photograph of the front of the stone
in the possession of Professor Kielhorn. It is not large and distinct enough to allow a thorough
reading of the inscription, but it is sufficient to show that not all of Bühler’s emendations can
be accepted. The facsimile reads as follows:—

1 Siddha 6 namō arahatō Mahāvirāyē dévanāsasya rājā Vāsudēvāsya saṁ-
vatsarē 90 8 varsha-māsē 4 divasē 10 1 ētasyā
2 purvāyā aryā—Dēhinīyatō64 gaṇa . . . Puridha . . . kā kulava Pētaputrikātē
  śākhatō gaṇasya aryā—Dēvadatā . ya65 na
3 ryya—Kshēmasya
4 prakṣagirīṇah (? )66
5 kihadiyē praṇa
6 tasya Pravaraśaśa dhitu Varaṇasya gandhakāsya67 ma . . uya Mitrasa . . . . . . . .
   . . . datta gā . .
7 yē . . . . . . . vatō maha . . .

In the first line Bühler corrected siddha 6 to siddham, but the photograph shows that the
supposed 6 or m is the peculiar stop mentioned above, No. 22, followed here by two vertical strokes.
Above the dākha, I think, I can discover the sign of an anusvāra. The word dēvandīsāya was taken
by Bühler as an epithet of Mahāvīraśa in the sense of ‘destroyer of the gods,’ but he had grave
doubts about the correctness of the word. On the photograph the dē is faintly visible, whereas no
trace is recognisable of the second and third ākṣaras. The last ākṣara is distinctly y śa, and the
last but one may be grā or śra, only the subscript ēr being quite certain. Under these circumstances
I fail to see which word can possibly be meant here.68

62 The stop is expressed by a curve open to the left with a horizontal bar in the centre, which sign is found
also in the Mathurā inscription, Ep. Ind. Vol. I. p. 307, No. 9, and in the Kāman inscription, ibid. Vol. II. p. 212,
No. 43; see Bühler’s note on the latter passage.
63 Three ākṣaras after purvāyā are uncertain.
64 Bühler: *Rāhinaṇīdāya.*
65 Bühler: *Dēvadatā. va.*
66 Bühler: *prakṣagirīṇah.*
67 Bühler: *gandhakāsya.*
68 The restoration Dē[kaputr]āsya, which at first sight would seem natural, becomes improbable by the one, or
perhaps even two, horizontal strokes after the word, which apparently are meant as a sign of punctuation.
Of greater importance are the names of the gaña, the hula, and the šākhā. Instead of aryya-Dēhiyiyātō Bühler read Aryya-Rēhiyiyātō which he at first proposed to correct to Aryya-Rēhānyātō and afterwards to Aryya-Dēhiyiyātō or Aryya-Dēhiyiyātō. The photograph proves that he was right in his last conjecture, though which of the two forms is to be accepted, is here just as doubtful as in the other inscription which contains the name of this gaña, Ep. Ind. Vol. I. p. 391, No. 19. The words Puridha ... kā kulava were correctly read by Bühler to Prīdhaka; but the photograph has Puridha[j]eikidō kulastatō. The form Prīdhahānaka shows that the Purāddhahāsya of the Kalpasūtra must be rendered in Sanskrit by Prīdhahāsaka, and not by Prīdhahaka as done in the Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XXII. p. 290. We next come to the name of the šākhā, which Bühler altered from Pētapatrikātō to Pēnapatrikātō in order to conform it to the Pēnapatrikā of the Kalpasūtra. But the reading Pētapatrikātō is beyond all doubt in the photograph, and the various readings of the Kalpasūtra, Pāṇaḥ, Pānā, Śunaḥ or Swaṇṇapatiyā, must be considered as corruptions. Such distorted names are by no means rare in the 'List of the Stāhīrīs,' other examples being Čārāna for Vārana, Vānija for Thānija, Pīṭhaṇaṇija for Pīṭhamṇija, &c., and the fact and even the reason thereof was known already to the Jain theologists of the fourteenth century. Thus Jainaprabhamuni says in his Saṇḍhivahinakhaudhatō: bahavo 'tra vācandhiḥādāi lātāhakavayayāyāj jānāhū tattastha-vinānāh cha sākhāh kulānāh cha pradyah sāpyarathā sanvarantarā nāmāntararādhīdāni var bhaviṣhyantu ati nāmāyāh kartāh na pṛtyat gāthēsah.82

Bühler's corrections of Mahāvīrānyma to Mahāvīrasya, of puruvayaj to puruvayé, and of gañasya to gañiiyasya are confirmed by the photograph. In line 6 the photograph has Varūṇasya gandhikasya vadhūyē and in line 7 bhagavatō Mahā[vira]aya, as conjectured by Bühler. With these emendations the text will run as follows:—

1 Siddha[V]aḥ 72 Namō arahatō Mahāvīrasya dē ... rasya j rājā Vāsudēvasya saṃvatsaraḥ 90 8 varshā-maśē 4 divasē 10 1 ētasyā.
2 puruvayē aryya-Dēhiyiyātō 74 ga[V]a[tō] Parīdhah[a]ikidātō kulātō Pētapatrikātō sākhātō gañiiyasya aryya-Dēvadattas[y]a na-
3 ryya-Kēbēmasya76
4 prakargiriṇaḥ(?)
5 kibadīyē praja
6 ... tasya76 Pravarakasaya dhītu Varūṇasya gandhikasya vadhūyē Mitrasa ... ... ... ... ... ... datta gā(?)
7 yē ... bhagavatō77 Mahā[vira]aya.

"Success! Adoration to the Arhat Mahāvīra (Mahāvīra) the ... ... ! In the year 98 of rājā Vāsudēvā, in the fourth mouth of the rainy season, on the eleventh day, — on that (date specified as) above, [at the request of] ... the gañi (gañin) the venerable Dēvadatta (Dēvadattas) out of the venerable Dēhiyā (Dēhiyā72) gaña, the Parīdhahāsa kula, the Pētapatrikā (Pētapatrikā?) šākhā, [the gift of] ... ... of the venerable Kēbēma ... the daughter of Pravaraka, the daughter-in-law of the perfumer Varūṇa, ... Mitrasa ... ... [Adoration] to the holy Mahāvīra (Mahāvīra)!"
FURTHER NOTES ON THE INDO-SCYTHIANS.

BY SYLVAIN LÉVI.

Extracted and rendered into English, with the author's permission,
by W. R. PHILPES.

The articles which were written and published by M. Lévi under the express title of "Notes on the Indo-Scythians" have been presented to the readers of this Journal in Vol. XXXII. above, pp. 381 and 417, and at p. 1 ff. of the current volume, with a few supplementary notes and remarks. The present article brings together, under a title which has been adopted to mark the connection prominently, some more contributions on the same subject, found in other articles written by M. Lévi, which could not be conveniently incorporated in the "Notes on the Indo-Scythians."

A. — The relations between China and Kanishka.


The Fa-yuen-tchou-lin [already mentioned in Vol. XXXII. above, p. 420] enables us to complete and correct one of the data furnished by Hsiouen-tsang as to the relations between China and Kanishka. The compiler took his information from an official collection, the Si-yu-tschih, "Memoirs on the Western Countries," drawn up in A. D. 666 by the Emperor's orders, and divided into two sections, the text in 60 chapters, and the illustrations (maps, &c.) in 40.

The Si-yu-tschih says: — "In the kingdom of Ki-pin (Kapiṣa) the doctrine of the Buddha is very wide-spread. In the interior of the capital there is a monastery (vihāra) called Han-sou " (monastery of the Han). Formerly an envoy of the Han, yielding to his own inclination, "erected a Fous-tou (Buddha, pagoda). He made it of stones laid together, a hundred ch'ou " (feet) high. The practices of worship there differ from the ordinary. In the monastery there is a bone of the skull of the Buddha and there is a hair of the Buddha: the colour of it is deep blue, and it is twisted like a shell. They have deposited them in the seven jewels, and they have placed them in a casket of gold. To the north-west of the capital there is the monastery of the king. In the monastery there is a milk-tooth of the infant Sākya Dōhissattva. It is an inch long. On going from there to the south-west, one finds the monastery of the king's wife. In the monastery there is a Fous-tou of copper, a hundred " ch'ou high; in this Fous-tou there are relics. Every six days, it diffuses during the night a luminous effulgence; the brightness spreads all around from the base to the cupola; it re-enters the interior when the dawn appears."

Hsiouen-tsang (Mémoires, 1, 58) describes the monasteries mentioned in this passage. He gives to the convent which possessed the milk-tooth the same name and the same location; but, according to him, the convent which had the skull-bone and hair was called the "convent of the ancient king."

The Itinerary of Ou-k'ong (J. A., July-Dec., 1895, p. 537) also points out this monastery "which has as reliæ a bone of the skull of Sākyas the Tathāgata." He calls it the "monastery of Yen-ti-li of the king Ki-ni-tch'au." It is therefore certain that the person styled "the ancient king" is Kanishka. Under the enigmatical name Yen-ti-li is perhaps hidden the solution of the problem set by the text of the Si-yu-tschih; perhaps the name in some way refers to the Chinese envoy who came to Kanishka's court. To this, however, M. Lévi, in revising this abstract, has now added a remark, as follows: — Compare, now, Marquart, Erânahkak in der Geographie des P. Moses Xorenac, Berlin, 1901, p. 282. We must read Yen-ti chai, instead of Yen-ti-li. The character chai transcribes exactly the title which the Sanskrit denotes by Śāhi, and which the kings of Kapiṣa bore regularly from the time of Kanishka. The reference therefore is to "the monastery of Yen-ti śāhi of the king Kanishka."

1 [For a later translation, presumably a revised one, see further on, p. 112 f. — W. R. F.]
Moreover, while the Si-yu-tiḥi places this convent inside the capital, Hionen-tsang seems to put it outside. The disagreement of the two texts makes one think that the "monastery of the Han" of the Si-yu-tiḥi really corresponds to the convent which Hionen-tsang calls by the enigmatical name Jin-hia-lan, "the monastery of the men," which had been founded by Chinese hostages in the time of Kaniska (Mémoires, I, 42). The Si-yu-tiḥi version recalls in a striking manner the history of King-lou or King-hien already discussed (Vol. XXXII. above, p. 419). It confirms the coming of an envoy (cheu) from the Han to the country of the Indo-Scythians; and, as the foundation of the convent goes back to Kaniska's time, the Chinese envoy, who is said to have founded it, must have come to Ki-pin during the reign of Kaniska. This is one reason more for believing that King-lou's mission belongs to Kaniska's reign, and that this reign must be placed about the beginning of the Christian era.

On the identity of Ki-pin and Kapiṣa, M. Lévi has an interesting footnote, and refers to the Journal Asiatique, July-December, 1895, 371-384, and January-June, 1896, 161. The passage in Hionen-tsang (Mémoires, I, 41 ff.), corresponding to the one in the Si-yu-tiḥi quoted above, is another testimony to the identity. Moreover, the political state of Kapiṣa in the time of On-k'ong was still as it had been described by Hionen-tsang.

In the time of Hionen-tsang, Gandhāra had already "fallen under the domination of the kingdom of Kapiṣa" (p. 371, 104), and the capital of Gandhāra, Ou-ta-hiu-han-tsi' e (Udābhikṣaṇa: cf. Stein, Zur Geschichte der Cāhas von Kabul) was one of the residences of the king of Kapiṣa (Vte, 263). Nagarāhāra (Mém. 98), Lampaka (Mém. 95), &c., a total of a dozen kingdoms, belonged to Kapiṣa (Mém. 91). The city of Takṣašālī had passed recently from Kapiṣa to Kashmir (Mém. 152).

As the identification is now well established, the name of Kapiṣa becomes of great historical importance, and we may ask if the names of the Scythian princes given on coins as "Kuja-la-Kapsa" and "Hims-Kapiṣa" do not contain the name of their capital city.

It is of interest to note that the Chinese character used to transcribe the first syllable of Kapiṣa is employed to designate hair-cloths which came from Si-heu, i.e. from the western barbarians. According to Couvreur's dictionary the word has that value in The History of the First Han.

A note appended to the Na-sien-king (Milinda-paraṇa) in the Ming edition, says:—Ki-pin is a fun, i.e. Indian, word, meaning "a race without value."

The name Kapiṣa, though so rarely mentioned by western authors, is found unexpectedly in the Midrasch, Vayyikra Rabbah, ch. 5, where Kapiṣa is represented as the most distant country (Neubauer, Géographie du Talmud). There a commentator on Isaiah 22, verse 18, "he will toss thee like a ball into a large country: there shalt thou die," says of the "large country":—"It is Kapiṣa." The Vayyikra Rabbah is a Palestinian work of the 7th century.

B. — The missions of Wang Hien-ts'e in India.


Wang Hien-ts'e was a contemporary of Hionen-tsang. He had been prefect of Hoang-choei in the district of Young. Afterwards he was attached as second to the mission of Li I-piao, who started for India in the third month of 643 with an escort of twenty-two men. The object of the mission was to escort back to India a brahman, an official guest of the empire, or to convey to the king Harsha-Siladitya a reply from the emperor. The brahman no doubt was an ambassador of this king. After a journey of nine months, the mission arrived at Magadhā in the twelfth month of 643. It remained some time in India. In 644, at the end of the first month, it was at Rājagriha; it ascended Gridhrakūṣa, and left an inscription there. Fifteen days after, it was at Mahābodhi, and there also left an inscription. In going to or returning from India, it passed through Nepal, where the king Narēndradēva treated Li I-piao with honour.
Wang Huien-tse's was soon again sent to India. In 648 apparently, he received the title "chief of the guard and archivist," and was sent again to Magadha, with Tsang Cheu-jeen as second, and an escort of 30 horsemen. While the mission was on its way, the king Harsha-Siladitya died. His minister Na-tson-ti O-lo-na-choen had usurped the throne, and he received Wang Huien-tse's as an enemy. His escort was murdered; but he and his assistant escaped into Nepal, where Narendradāra was still reigning. The king of Tibet, Srong-tsan Gam-po, was an ally of China, and in 641 had married a princess of the imperial family. These two kings gave Wang Huien-tse's their aid. With 1,200 Tibetans and 7,000 Nepalese horsemen, he fell upon Magadha, took the capital, and carried off the king to China, where he arrived in 648, the fifth month, on the day keng tson. Wang Huien-tse's was promoted to the dignity of tokh'o-san-ta-fou. Afterwards, when the mausoleum of the emperor Tai-t'soung, who died 649, was built, the statue of O-lo-na-choen was placed in the avenue leading to the tomb, along with the statues of Srong-tsan Gam-po, and of the kings of Kou-tche, Kao-tchéng, &c.

In 657, Wang Huien-tse's with the title of wei-tchk'ang-chou was sent again by imperial order to the western countries. This time, it was to offer a kashūya at the holy places. The object of the mission was also to bring back to China a certain Huien-tchao, whom Wang Huien-tse's had previously met in India, and whose eminent virtue he had pointed out in his report. We know some of the stages of this journey. The mission passed through Nepal in 657; in 659 it was in the kingdom of Fo-li-che; in 660 it was at the convent of Mahābodhi, which it left on the first day of the tenth month; and in 661 it was at Kapiṣa, returning to China. Vaiśāli had also been visited on the way, and a grand entertainment had been there given by the emperor of India in honour of Wang Huien-tse's.

We know no more of the life of Wang Huien-tse's, but he must have written his memoirs regarding his journey before 666.

The memoirs written by Wang Huien-tse's have been lost. Some fragments have been preserved in the Fa-yuen-tchou-lin, the famous encyclopedia of Buddhism, compiled by Tao-chou and finished 668. The memoirs of Wang Huien-tse's and of Huien-tsang served also as a basis for the official compilation, the Si-yu-tch'i (or Si-kou-tch'i), written in 666.

M. Lévi, in the present article, has given a translation of all the fragments contained in the Fa-yuen-tchou-lin, together with much connected information. He has also given several extracts from the Si-yu-tch'i, which are of interest to Indologists. The entire article seems well worth their attention, but here we are necessarily only concerned with what may serve to complete or correct M. Lévi's Notes on the Indo-Scythians, viz., with the 5th and 11th fragments given by him from the Fa-yuen-tchou-lin.

The 5th fragment is from Chap. 29, p. 93 b, col. 10, where the compiler, summing up the journey of Huien-tsang, mentions the convent of the Ancient King in Kapiṣa (cf. Huien-tsang, Mém. 1, 53). "At this very time, at the beginning of the spring of the first year "Loung-so (661) of the Great T'ang, the envoy Wang Huien-tse's returning from the kingdoms "of the West, officially makes offerings there."

The 11th fragment is from Chap. 33, p. 62 a, col. 9: — "The Si-yu-tch'i says: — In the "kingdom of Ki-pin (Kapiṣa) the doctrine of the Buddha is very wide-spread. In the interior "of the capital there is a monastery called the convent of the Han. Formerly an envoy of the "Han came into this country and erected there a Fou-t'ou (stūpa); he made it of stones "heaped up a hundred tohwu (feet) high. The practices of the worship there differ from "all the other rites. In the convent, there is a bone of the skull of the Buddha, and also a "hair of the Buddha which is deep blue and twisted round in the manner of a shell. They "have deposited it with the seven jewels, and they have inclosed it in a little casket of gold.

"To the north-west of the capital there is the convent of the king. In this convent there "is a milk-tooth of the infant Sākya Bōdhisattva; it is an inch long."
"On going from there to the south-west, one finds the convent of the king's wife. In this convent there is a Feou-t'ou of copper, a hundred teh'sou high. In this Feou-t'ou there are relics. On the six days of abstinence it diffuses in the night a luminous effulgence; the brightness spreads all round it from the base to the cupola, then re-enters the interior at the break of dawn."

On pp. 447-468, under the sub-heading Les monastères du Kapisa — Les Han et les Yue-tchi, M. Lévi comments upon these passages.

The monastery of the Ancient King, where Wang Huien-ts'e was in 661, is mentioned by Hionen-tsang (Mém. 1, 53). The other monasteries named in the Si-yu-tchi are also described by Hionen-tsang; the pilgrim Ou-k'oung, who visited the same region between 760 and 764, gives the names of several monasteries; but these names are not Sanskrit: they are probably Turki. The convent of the Ancient King is the monastery of the king Yen-t'li (read Yen-ti chai; see page 110 above) of Ou-k'oung (J. A., July-Dec., 1895, 357). The convent of the king with the milk-tooth of the Buddha is described under the same name by Hionen-tsang (1, 53). The convent of the wife of the king (ibid.) is the convent Pin-tcheou of Ou-k'oung (loc. cit. 356), a designation which recalls the title of Pin-tcheou given to the queen of the Kingdom of the Women, Niu-Wang (History of the T'ang, quoted by Bushell, Early History of Tibet, in J. R. A. S., 1880, N. S., 12, 532).

There remains the monastery of the Han. The relics deposited there, according to the Si-yu-tchi, are exactly those which Hionen-tsang saw in the convent of the Ancient King. But the origin which is here attributed to it, closely recalls the tradition related by Hionen-tsang, regarding a convent enigmatically designated in the Memoirs by the name Jin-kia-lan (1, 42), and Cha-lo-kia in the Biography (1, 71 and 75). Neither of these names can be reduced to Sanskrit originals.2

It is probable that the name "Monastery of the Han" given in the Si-yu-tchi, corresponds to the T'chen-t'un-hou-li of Ou-k'oung. "Hou-li" seems to be the Tartar translation of "vihara" (J. A., July-Dec., 1895, 389). As to Tchen-t'an, M. Lévi has shown (Mélanges de Harles, 182 seq.) that it corresponds to China-sthāna, China(sthān(a), "China," and subsidiarily to the title devaputra, "Son of Heaven" [see also Vol. XXXII. above, p. 421]. In fact, the Chinese origin of the monastery is hardly doubtful: the disagreement between Hionen-tsang and the Si-yu-tchi does not even imply two divergent traditions. The official compilers of the Si-yu-tchi would have had a repugnance to relate the history of a Chinese prince kept as a hostage by the Yue-tchi, and would have transformed the prisoner into an official envoy. Perhaps also they borrowed from Wang Huien-ts'e, or some other traveller, the tradition they adopted.

Founded among the Yue-tchi, whether by a Chinese hostage or by a Chinese envoy, the monastery of the Han links together the Indo-Scythians and the Chinese. It brings forcibly to mind the journey of that enigmatical "King," who passes as the first propagator of Buddhist texts in China. M. Lévi's discussion of this tradition has been given above (Vol. XXXII. p. 419). M. Specht, in the J. A., July-Dec., 1897, p. 166, disapproved of his translation and interpretation; and M. Lévi here meets these criticisms, and publishes new texts which he has since collected.

The dispute is essentially about a passage in the Wei-luao, "Abridged History of the Wei," quoted in an annotation in the San-houo-tchi and other compilations. The text, as it has come down to us, is full of uncertainties and obscurities. Its author, in dealing with the introduction of Buddhism into China, relates that a person named King entered into communication with a king of the Yue-tchi in 2 B. C. But did this Chinaman receive Buddhist sūtras from the Yue-tchi, or did they from him? The question may seem idle; it is really of

2 On the convent of Cha-lo-kia, compare, now, also Marquart, op. cit. (page 110 above), p. 283. — S. L.
great importance. The conversion of the Yue-tchi is involved, and this conversion dominates the history of Buddhism. It marks a new phase.

To solve the difficulties of the text, M. Specht called to his aid the redaction given in three works later than the Sun-kou-tchi, and dated respectively in the 9th, 10th, and 12th century. M. Lévi has discovered four new citations in works of the 7th century. Their testimony is weighty, as they are not far from the epoch when the existence of the Wei-lao was still attested; the annotations of the Sun-kou-tchi belong in fact to the 6th century. The original still existed, or the tradition regarding it was still solid and precise.

The four new citations given by M. Lévi are from:
1. The K'oung-k'oung-ming-t'ai by Tao-siun (founder of the Vinaya school in China), compiled 650-667 (K).
2. The Ts'ai-cha-men-p'ou-ing-pai-siu-tang-chou by Yen-ts'oung, in 662 (T).
3. and 4. The Pi'en-tcheng-loen by Fa-lin, between 624 and 640 (T and P).

These four citations, K, T, P and P', all differ from the Sun-kou-tchi. They also differ among themselves.

The following translation shows the variations:—"The abridgment of the Wei, in the "chapter on the Countries of the West, says:—The king of Lin-i had no son. He therefore "sacrificed to the Buddha. His wife Mo-ye (Mâyâ) saw a white elephant in a dream and "became pregnant. And a son was born to her. He came out from her right side, and came "to the world spontaneously. He had a roll of hair [chignon] at the top of the head; shaking "the earth he was able to walk seven paces. As he had the appearance of a Buddha, and as "he had been obtained thanks to a sacrifice to the Buddha, they gave to the prince the same "name of Buddha. In the kingdom (of Lin-i: T, P', K) there was a holy man named Cha-liu. (Here "is what they tell of him: P', K.) Being very aged, he had white hair and resembled Lao-"tao-tzu. Constantly he instructed the people (the men: T, P', K) on the subject of the Buddha. "If heaven sent a calamity on men, if for example they had not sons, he bound them to "practise the penances and the observances of the Buddha, and to part with what they "possessed in order to redeem their faults. It is not long ago, the Yellow-Caps, on seeing that "he had an entirely white face, have substituted for this Cha-liu the designation of Lao-tan; "they have been able in security to cheat and deceive China. In the time of Ngai-ti of the "First Han (in the period Yuen-cheou: T), Ta'in King went (was sent: T, P', K) to the king-"dom of the Yue-tchi. Their king ordered his son, the heir presumptive, to communicate "(so in the four texts, not "receive") orally the holy books of Buddha (to King: T, P', K). "On returning into China, that which he reported of Buddha was in sum altogether in "accordance with the books of the Tao. (And it is thus that the doctrine of the books of the "Buddha came early among the First Han: T, P', K)."

In order to fix the text of this important passage, the redaction cited in the Sun-kou-tchi is also given. The following is a translation from the French:—

"Kingdom of Lin-i. The sacred books of the Buddha say:—The king of this kingdom "begot the Buddha. The Buddha was heir presumptive. His father was called Sia-teou "(Suddhodana); his mother Mo-ye (Mâyâ). The Buddha had the body and the garment of "yellow colour, the roll of hair [chignon] blue like blue silk, the breast blue, the hair "[of the body] red like copper. First Mâyâ saw in a dream a white elephant and she became "pregnant; afterwards she brought forth a child. He came out in being born from the right "side of his mother and he had a knot. Shaking the earth, he was able to walk seven paces. "This kingdom is in India; the capital is the centre of India.

"Moreover, there is a holy man named Cha-liu. Formerly, the first year of the period "Iouen-cheou of Ngai-ti of the Han, King-lou, titular student of the imperial college, was "sent on a mission among the Great Yue-tchi; having received them orally, he preserved
"sacred books of the Buddha, which said: — 'The second founder, it is this man.' In the
'sacred books which he brought,' lin pou se (?), sang men pe wên chou wenn pe chou wenn pi-
'ku cheng men, are all the titles of the disciples. The books of the Buddha which he brought,
'agree completely with the Chinese books of Lao-tzen.'

Compared with the others, the text annexed to the San-kouo-tchi appears clearly as altered
and truncated. It has preserved some details which are wanting elsewhere regarding the
person of the Buddha, the name of his adoptive parents, the precise year of King-lou's journey,
and the alleged situation of Kapilavastu at the centre of India. But it omits the information, curious
but nevertheless correct in the main, regarding the worship of the Buddhas before the Buddha
Sâkyamuni, the propitiatory sacrifice offered by Buddhâdana, and the origin of the name of the
Buddha. It preserves the mention of Cha-liu, but omits the curious episode which justifies
such mention, and which attaches the remembrance of this person to the history of the internal
dissensions of China in the 2nd century. The passage telling of the relations between King(lou)
and the Yue-tchi is so obscure, that it apparently lends itself to contradictory interpretations.
The disorder seems to increase gradually, and towards the end is very obvious.

The kingdom Lin-sî (? = Lin-sî), or Lin-i by a slight modification of the second Chinesee
character, has its name from the garden of Lumbini, where the Buddha was born. M. Lévi
here makes some observations on the Chinese forms of the name (Loung-pî-nî, Lu-fa-nî,
Lin-pi-nî, Lin-pî), and afterwards remarks that the author of the Wei-leao seems to have
mistaken the name of the garden for the name of the kingdom (Kapilavastu).

M. Lévi has already shewn (see Vol. XXXII. above, p. 425) that Cha-liu may be the com-
mon translation of Sâriputra (Prakrit Sariyut). Here he adds that, according to Fu-hien
(ch. 16), the Buddhist monks of India, wherever they established themselves, put up towers
in honour of Sâriputra, Mandagayâyana and Âmdana, and parcellily in honour of the Abhidharma,
the Vînaya and the Sûtras. Sâriputra and the Abhidharma, which corresponds to him, are
put in the first rank. As to the use, in the name Cha-liu, of the Chinese character cha to
represent an Indian non-cerebral sibilant, compare ping-cha for the name of the king Bimbisâra
in a translation by Toci just at the time of the Wei (223-255). The traditional forms cha-men,
pi-cha-men for "îramaṇa," "Vâsâvaraṇa," shew also the same character used in the same way
before the time of scholastic transcriptions. It happens also that in these various examples
the cha uniformly represents sibilant + hr, the r being moveable within the Sanskrit syllable
cf. savares with âramaṇa, dhârma and dharna, &c.

The different titles of the disciples of the Buddha given in the text can only in part be
brought back to Sanskrit originals. Pi-k'iu and ch'eng-men and sang-men, are the ordinary
transcriptions of "bhikshu" and "sramaṇa." The expressions containing the word wenn "to
hear" (pe-wenn, pe-chou-wenn) probably equal "śrāvaka" (the hearer).

M. Lévi adds some further information he has collected about the Yue-tchi.

The L-tei-king-in-i of Hsien-ing, composed about 649, in the notes upon the Mi-tei-king-kang-
lî-chow-kîng (sûtra on the Malla [or Licchavi] Guhyapada-vajra [?]') has the following note: —
"Yue-tchi. It is the kingdom of Pou-hia-lo; it is situated to the north-west of the mountain
of the Snows (Himalaya)."

Pou-hia-lo is clearly Pûkkhatalâvatâ, Paâkharâvatâ (Παχάκα of the Greeks), mentioned as
capital of the Yue-tchi in the passages quoted in J. A., Jan.-June, 1897, pp. 9 and 42 (see
Vol. XXXII. above, p. 423). The compiler Hsien-ing no doubt reproduced a gloss in the
translation, but we do not know when the sûtra was translated, or what sûtra it was. The

*) I have since established that this sûtra is in fact the third sûtra of the Râmakîśâ, Japanese edition,
II, 1, 479. The corresponding Sanskrit title is Tathâgata-guhya-nârâdâ (Manjû, 23, 3). — E. L.
Li-chow-king, annotated by Hious-en-ing, was in five chapters, and referred to the Yue-tohi, and also to Yn-tiea (Khotan) and Kiu-tse (Koutahe). There is nothing of the sort in the Li-chow-king of our collections.4

The Kiu-che-loun-soung-chou, commentary on the Abhidarma-kosa, mentions in its historical introduction, the name of Kanishka (Kia-ni-tsha-wia), and cites the interpretation given by Hoesi-hoei, a learned commentator at the end of the 13th century. Hoei-hoei explains the name by tsing kin-che, “colour of pure gold.” It is curious to note that this translation adapts itself equally to the Sanskrit form, and to the Chinese. Kanishka might easily be from kana, “gold,” while the Chinese words [tsing] kin-che, “colour of [pure] gold,” sound like an echo of Kanishka.

M. Levi’s concluding observations are to the following effect.

The texts he has collected seem to him to leave no doubt that the Buddhist authors or compilers of the 7th century expressed the information about the Buddha and about King’s journey contained in the Wei-lao, without borrowing it from the extract inserted in the annotations of the San-kouo-tchi. We have there an independent translation, direct or indirect as it may be. Whether taken immediately from the Wei-lao or borrowed from intermediaries, our citations suppose the existence of at least two recensions, near enough, and also different enough at the same time, to serve to control each other. The comparison of these recensions enables us to definitely solve the problem of the enigmatical King. Thus: — In 2 B. C. a Chinaman went to the country of the Yue-tchi; the king of the Yue-tchi caused some of the Buddhist texts to be communicated to him by his own son, the prince, his heir; the Chinaman, having returned to his country, made them known there. The comparison of the different redactions leaves no place at all for any other interpretation.

After having established the fact, we can follow the gradual modifications of the tradition.

The Chew-kia-fang-tchi of Tao-siuen (650 A. D.) and the Fa-yuen-thou-lin (668) mention in identical terms the journey of King-hien (J. A., Jan.-June, 1897, pp. 19-20; see Vol. XXXII, above, p. 420). So does the Po-tiee-loun, by Fa-lin (624-640). But by the end of the 7th century the recension of the San-kouo-tchi tends to prevail. Hizen-i, just about 700, in the Tchien-tcheng-loen has the very text preserved in the San-kouo-tchi, and he understands it, not as M. Specht, but as M. Levi does, for he adds: — “It is to start from this moment that the law of the Buddha began gradually to spread itself towards the east,” i.e. towards China. Moreover, before relating the journey of King-hien he says: — “One began to learn the existence of the doctrine of the Buddha under Ngai-ii.”

Thus Hizen-i, who adopts the same text as that used by M. Specht, and also Fa-lin, Tao-siuen and Tao-cheu, all make King a Chinaman, who went on a journey or mission among the Yue-tchi, and brought back from their country the Buddhist doctrine.

From the 8th century the San-kouo-tchi recension alone seems to be found, to the exclusion of the others. M. Specht has pointed out three compilations, of the 9th, 10th, and 12th centuries, which reproduce it. The author of the Soung-kaow-tsh’oen, composed in 988, while avowing the resemblance between the teachings of the Buddha and of Lao-tseu, expressly refers to the San-kouo-tchi (ch. 3, p. 84 b).

To sum up: — Whatever be the recension adopted as a basis, criticism and tradition allow only one interpretation: — In 2 B. C. the king of the Yue-tchi was a Buddhist, and his zeal laboured to propagate the religion in the direction of China. The consequences which M. Levi has thought can be drawn from this fact, remain intact.

4 In reality, this stria was translated by Tchou Fa-hou under the Western Thien, between 265 and 316 A. D. — S. L.
As Vindhyachal is an ancient rock-temple of the primitive type, which is said to have been the "place-name" of a goddess worshipped by some of the families of the Chándraseni-Kāyasth Prabhús of Bombay and Poona, I was requested by the Poona Club of that Society to avail myself of the opportunity of examining this place on a journey to Calcutta. The temple has been separately described for the monograph of the Provincial Superintendent of Ethnography, but a few notes on the local tattooing collected simultaneously are given here: —

A Kahār woman, who said that her people serve as domestics or menials, had the lūḍā or curry-pestle or stone-hammer marked on her left arm thus ʃ. On the right arm were four fish, with dots, showing that she was originally of the fisher-caste, as the Kahārs are. She had also Shā's rasi or hearth. These women, as domestic servants, have to pound the curry-stuff and to help generally in cooking operations by cleaning the domestic hearth, the cooking pots, &c. The profession and caste of the woman were therefore both shown in her tattoo marks.

A Govalā or Cow-herd woman examined was also a domestic servant, but instead of the fish of the Kahār woman she had a group of five dots • • • • •, which she called "the five milkmaids of Krishnā." The lōḍā or lūḍā, curry-stone, was there all the same. On the dorsum of her hand she had a figure of the yoni, which she did not like to name.

But her great ambition, a faithful husband, was shown in the Rām's mādīd, or cot. That Rām was so faithful to his wife as to be called vādy, or one who 'slept on one bed only,' is a well-known tradition, and every woman naturally considers him a model-husband. The proximity of Oudh, the birth-place of Rām, seems to have influenced the religion of the half-cultured tribes of Vindhyachal to a marked degree, because a Raids woman and three Ahir women, examined on the same day, all had the Rām's bed and Sītā's hearth tattooed on their arms, although they differed in shape in each case. The following reproductions will show the variations:

Rām's faithful bed and Sītā's tabooed hearth seem to be the greatest ambition of these women. One of the Ahir women refused to admit that she had anything like a name on her arm, but in the midst of a blurred and confused design, scarcely visible, was the distinct name राम in an incomplete state as given here. Three local priests, who were sitting with me, were asked to read the legend, and they all agreed that it was the name of Rām.

One great peculiarity in all the specimens seen here was, that about two inches below the elbow-joint was a row of confused designs resembling bangles in some shape or other. This belt ended just where the last of the bangles reached the arm from the wrist-joint. Even a Gadarā or Shepherd woman examined, who had no other symbol, had a broad band running round her arm in fantastic curves, zig-zags, lines, and dots.

The most important point to be noted was the statement "that no girl in this locality is tattooed before marriage, and that the operation is performed as soon after marriage as possible." This statement was corroborated by the local priests.
SOME CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARDS A GLOSSARY OF RELIGIOUS AND OTHER TERMS USED IN THE PANJAB.

[The “Proposals for a Glossary of Indian Religious Phraseology” (Ind. Anth. 1903, pp. 278-80) have so far been justified by results, as the following contributions are only a part of the material already collected, and it is certain that in the remoter parts of the Panjâb a large number of words relating to local customs, beliefs and practices, and local words relating to orthodox beliefs, &c., will be found to exist.

I am indebted for many useful contributions to L. Chela Râm, Revenue Assistant in the Dera Ghâzi Khân District, in which Western Panjâb is the dialect of the Hindû population. For this dialect reference may be made to Juke’s Dictionary of Western Panjâb (Kegan Paul, Trench and Trübner, 1900), in the South-West Panjâb the customs of the people differ markedly from those in the rest of the Province, and many of the words now given relate to customs as yet undescribed.

It is hoped that in a subsequent note much fuller and more interesting contributions will be given, including some of the many words to be found in Temple’s Legends of the Panjâb and other works.

It remains to notice the wide meaning given by many of my contributors to the term ‘religious.’ It is characteristic of India that it is taken to include social observances and much else. — H. A. Rose.

ACHHAR, achhârâ. — See tichhar.

ÂGÂ. — Songs sung by Hindu women at weddings and similar occasions. (Dera Ghâzi Khân.)

ÂGÂMAT. — The words recited in the ear of a new-born child. (Dera Ghâzi Khân.)

ÂRPAH, offering; karnaâ, to offer (Sansk.).

ÂRHTH. — A coffin.

ÂNKHÂ. — A Hindu holiday in which the Gowardhan mountain is worshipped, and rice, pulse, and sweetmeat distributed. (Dera Ghâzi Khân.)

ÂYA, period of life (Sansk.).

ÂU, — Equivalent to halâtt, q. v.

ÂUL. — The money passed round the head of a religious leader or deity and given to a priest: karnaâ, to perform the above ceremony. Also called murchchâtawar.

ÂHÂJÂT. — Anything distributed by Hindus among brethren in a marriage or other ceremony. The word literally means cooked vegetables or lentils, but some Hindus by it denote meat or flesh. (Dera Ghâzi Khân.) Cf. Panjâb Dictionary, p. 118.

ÂHÂT. — Money or things offered to a deity. Also called Âhât pâyâ.

ÂHÂT. — Lit., ‘a door,’ in Pûtobhrâ, acc. to the Panjâb Dictionary, p. 138. In Dera Ghâzi Khân it means ‘the abstention from touching others for several days after a birth or death.’

ÂHÂTTÂ. — From bhitaan, to touch or to be touched. A woman in her menes is so termed because she is supposed to have been touched by a low-caste woman.

ÂHÂGÂ, — (1) Any good eatable thing offered to a deity. (2) Sexual intercourse.

ÂBÂHÂ. — Equivalent to kundâ, q. v.

ÂBIWÂN. — Lit., ‘air-car.’ The Hindus believe that the spirits of good ancestors are carried to heaven in biwâns. Therefore, when a Hindu man or woman dies at a very advanced age, having grandsons or great-grandsons, the death is regarded as an occasion for rejoicing. The body is placed in a sirkh, or board adorned with paper-flowers, &c., and made in the form of a boat, and the whole structure, which is covered with silk-cloth, is called the biwân. A feast is given to all the relatives, and the women of the family, dance and sing as if at a wedding. (Ferozepur.)

ÂBÂR. — Equivalent to sâgâ, q. v.

ÂBUÀRI. — See under kujât.

ÂBU, — Lit., a plant. Also a woman who believes in spirits. The followers of a shrine or religious institutions are also called Âbâ. (Dera Ghâzi Khân.)

ÂCHÂKÂT. — The case enclosing a rakh, q. v. Equivalent to lakhtâ, q. v.

ÂCHÂLÂ, s. m., fem. chelât, fem. dim. chelât. Ex., a little girl is the chelât or young disciple of a gurâ. In Dera Ghâzi Khân chelât means a believer in the existence of evil-spirits, and chelât, a woman possessed by an evil-spirit.

ÂCHÂTÂZÈ, pl. â, — The hair kept by Hindus after the jhând ceremony.

ÂCHÂTÂT. — The hair of a child which is kept after the jhând (q. v.) or first shaving.

ÂCHÂHÂNÂNA. — Lit., dried dates. Also the ceremony of sending the barber or parshît of the girl’s parents to those of the boy, with a present of seven dates, a rupee and a lump of gur. The boy’s parents collect their relatives and friends to witness the betrothal and the messenger receives a cloth as a present. Also called shogas.

ÂCHÂLÂ. — The ceremony of clothing a child for the first time, among Hindus. (Dera Ghâzi Khân.)

ÂCHÂUNG. — Lit., a handful. The ceremony of grinding corn at a marriage among Hindus. Also dues paid to village menials and beggars. (Dera Ghâzi Khân.) Cf. jhindât.

ÂCHÂUPEL. — The malignant evil spirit of a woman who has died in childbirth.
Dakini. — A female evil-spirit. Also called chaurdāl.
Dākel. — Scented articles sprinkled on a corpse before burial, by Muhammadans.
Dōd-kāj. — Re-marriage with the wife after the birth of the first son of the marriage.
Dēwān Dhāmat. — Ancestor-worship, among Hindus, at a wedding, to impair their protection of bride and bridegroom. (Derā Ghāz Khan.) Cf. idāmatu.
Dhāgā. — A thread of black wool tied round a limb near a sore, after it has been breathed upon by a man who also resists a secret charm over it.
Dhāmā. — A feast given to Brāhmans in the name of deceased ancestors. (Derā Ghāz Khan.)
Dhāwānā. — The bathing on the 3rd day after a death among Muhammadans, performed by the deceased's family. (Derā Ghāz Khan.)
Dhūnti. — See dhūndī. Dhūnsī also means the things, such as chillies, burnt before a person possessed by an evil-spirit, to expel that spirit. Also a place where fire is kept burning night and day. Dhūnsī and fagōra keep a fire burning at a fixed spot in order to extort charity.
Dhūnra. — A heap of ash. Certain orders of fagōra accustom themselves to remain near a fire as a penance. This fire is called in Panjabī dāhā or dhānā, and the followers of a fagōra are said to belong to his dhānā.
Dhūrā. — The playing in the dust on the last day of the Holi.
Fastā. — The popular inverted form of paillā, q. v. in Maltani Glossary, p. 50.
Gandā. — An enchanted thread worn round the neck or waist to remove disease or other evil.
Gandhā. — Lit., knotted. Dealings at marriages and other ceremonies. (Derā Ghāz Khan.)
Gāudhār. — The dust thrown up by the passage of cows at the Gopāshājī festival. It is considered sacred by Hindus. (Derā Ghāz Khan.)
Ghōrt. — Lit., mare. During the night of the wedding the boy must ride a mare. He then becomes a bridegroom. This is called the ghōrt ki raṃ or mare's custom.
Halād. — The ceremony of cleansing the body of the bride or bridegroom with halād or turmeric. (from halād- and ḫath, hand.) Also called ḫanā.
Hāq. — Equivalent to halādāt, q. v.
Handa. — Bread given to a Brāhman.
Hom. — Cooked rice and milk offered to Dēvī. Also a ceremony for propitiating the gods. (Derā Ghāz Khan.)
Hitwā. — A coffin of extraordinary size.
Jādū. — A spell. Also called kartātā.
Jānāqā. — See swāntātī.
Jhāṇ. — The ceremony or rite of shaving a child's head for the first time. It is usually performed at a shrine or temple with various observances.
Jindōrtī. — The ceremony of grinding wheat at marriages, among Hindus. Cf. chungā.
Jōgt. — s. m., fem. jōgan. The form jōgan (fem.) expresses abhorrence or anger, and it also means a goddess, countless evils, such as sickness and evil-fortune, being termed jōgan.
Jun. — Establishes distributed among the brotherhood and to the poor at a wedding, by Hindus. (Derā Ghāz Khan.)
Kaj. — (1) A feast given to Brāhmans and members of the caste on the death of an aged member of the family. Also called karī and in villages mālā. (2) A wedding, cfr. dēd-kāj.
Kaj-girnyā. — The fixing by the brotherhood of the dates for the various rites at a wedding, among Hindus. (Derā Ghāz Khan.)
Kanjī. — A ceremony performed in the 7th or 9th month of the first pregnancy. Also called bāyā. (Derā Ghāz Khan.)
Karni. — (1) See under kaj. (2) An assembly of the brotherhood on the 13th day after death, when water is thrown on a cow's tail. (Derā Ghāz Khan.)
Kartūt. — A spell. Equivalent to lōg, q. v., and jādū, q. v.
Kupri. — A sweet kind of bread given to a daughter soon after her marriage, among Hindus. It is called bārī by Muhammadans. (Derā Ghāz Khan.)
Lāg. — Something given to an enemy to eat which causes his sickness or death. Also called karī.
Lāpān. — Sweetmeats and clothes given by women to brotherhood at weddings, among Hindus. (Derā Ghāz Khan.)
Lōlā. — A small, thick loaf, fried in ghōrt, made on certain festivals. (Derā Ghāz Khan.)
Lōhrī. — Worshipping of fire on the last evening of the month of Pōh. (Derā Ghāz Khan.)
Mahā Nandīt. — A Hindu festival. (Derā Ghāz Khan.)
Mān. — Coarse bread, cooked on a fire of dry cowdung and made of dā, gur, and ghōrt. It is used at Hindu festivals. (Derā Ghāz Khan.)
Mandha. — The ceremony of hanging a piece of cloth over the place where the marriage ceremony is to take place. (Cf. maṇḍākā, to cover.)
Māshā. — Lit., a water-carrier. Also food given to a cow on the 13th day after a death, and on the date of the death according to the moon in each month, among Hindus. (Derā Ghāz Khan.)
Mātā. — See under kajī.
Mākh. — Lit., price. During the funeral ceremonies the deceased's heir should give furniture and clothes to an Achāryā Brāhman to convey to the dead person in the next world, but when the donors are too poor or stingy, the Achāryā supplies all the articles for a small sum, mākh, agreed upon, on hire, to make it appear that the articles have been actually purchased and given to him.
Mundan. — The ceremony of cutting a child's hair for the first time. Equivalent to pihīgā, q. v.
Māth. — Māth māraya is 'to send an evil-spirit to kill an enemy.'
Nānapaṭṭ. — The śrīṭhād ceremony performed by a daughter's son of a sonless man for the benefit of his soul on the first day of the nausūdrā after the śrīṭhād. (Dera Ghāzī Khān.) Cj. paṭṛ.
Nančhāwār. — Equivalent to bēl, q. v.
Naqsh. — An amulet. Also called ṭawāf.
Nānḍa. — Equivalent to tambōl. (Dera Ghāzī Khān.)
Paṇā Bāłkā. — A fast observed by girls in honour of Dēvī, for five days, food being eaten once a day only and lamps lighted in a Dēvī temple. (Dera Ghāzī Khān.)
Paṇjēlā. — A fast observed for five days, usually in the dark half of the lunar month of Kāṭik, from the Tārātās (10th) to the Pāramahasam, during which no food, except the paṇj garbhā, is taken. (Dera Ghāzī Khān.)
Parīch. — Delicacies given to Brahmans for the benefit of departed souls. (Dera Ghāzī Khān.)
Parīṇ. — Marriage. (Dera Ghāzī Khān.)
Paṭa. — A plank of wood or a stone on which a corpse is washed. (Dera Ghāzī Khān.)
Paṭṭ. — The flowers, rice and a ḥanḍān, or stick for clearing the mouth and teeth, placed in front of the house on the śrīṭhād day by Hindus. (Dera Ghāzī Khān.)
Pul pānkhār, an insignificant offering.
Pīryājan. — Equivalent to wānḍaṇ, q. v.
Pīshkārā. — The worship and recitation of mantras by the Brahmans of both parties when the bridegroom arrives at his father-in-law’s house. (Dera Ghāzī Khān.)
Prān. — Soul (Sansk.)
Prānt. — A corpse. (Dera Ghāzī Khān.)
Pūra. — Sugar sent among Hindus by the husband’s family to his wife in the fifth month of pregnancy. Also sweet bread roasted in ght. (Dera Ghāzī Khān.)
Pūranā. — Burial, among Muhammadans.
Rākh. — A piece of paper on which figures or words are written in small squares by gurus or spiritual guides to ward off evil, among Hindus. Almost every child has a rākh enclosed in a copper, silver, or gold case, chaukt or takt, usually worn round the neck.
Rīt. — The ceremony of cutting the hair of a child for the first time. It is considered sinful to cut it before this ceremonial cutting. Some families do it on the completion of the child’s fifth year, but the time varies. If a second child be born before the rīt of the first has been performed, then the rīt of both is performed before they are five years old.
Rittān. — Pl. of rīt. Custom. The first or chhōṭ rītān is held in the fifth month of pregnancy, when salt food (pakṣāvārī) is placed in the woman’s lap (jhaṭā) and distributed to the brotherhood and relations. The second or bāṛī rītān in the seventh month, when sweetened rice is similarly distributed.
Rōṭī kaurā ṭaṭṭā. — Food given among Muhammadans by the brotherhood to the family of a deceased on the day of the death. (Dera Ghāzī Khān.)
Rōṭī sīhā karāk. — Bread given among Muhammadans after sunset, by the deceased’s relatives, for the benefit of his soul for forty days after death.
Sagā. — A piece of cloth given by spiritual guides to followers as a charm. Hindus also call it bār.
Sagāt. — Betrothal. Also called rōśnā, vishat, ṭaṅg-bāṅlā.
Sattī. — Equivalent to chhāṭ, q. v.
Shagān. — (1) Omen. (2) Equivalent to chhāṭān, q. v.
Sīrī. — See bīneā.
Sukhānā. — Sweetmeats and clothes given to those from whom tambol is received at a wedding, among Hindus.
Sunā’nī. — Lit., a thing heard. The news of a death, on hearing which the women gather together to perform the sidpde, or ‘mourning,’ and men sit apart together on a blanket. Relatives and friends are expected to pay a visit of condolence, but must be dismissed after a short time to make way for others. Also jandā’nī.
Sūṭā. — A string worn on the wrist by Hindu women: a kind of silver bracelet. (Dera Ghāzī Khān.)
Takhtī. — The case in which a rāk (q. v.) is enclosed. Equivalent to chaukti, q. v.
Tarājwān. — The third visit of the bride to her father-in-law’s house. (Said to be connected with titre, ‘three.’)
Tawzī. — See nāsh.
Thān. — A place where evil-spirits are supposed to play. (Hindus.)
Thandī. — Lit. cold. A festival held in Bhāde. Hindu women prepare cakes, sweets, and salt bread the day before, and on this day, taking a small quantity of these things, go to worship Sitā Mātā in a mandar or Brahmans’s house. Only stale food is eaten on this day, nothing fresh being cooked. This is believed to protect children from small-pox. (Ferrozpur.)
Tal-wēṭā. — A ceremony at marriage, when salt is placed in the hands of the bridegroom and bride. (Dera Ghāzī Khān.)
Tottā. — A rite to get rid of a disease or other evil, or to cause it to an enemy. E. g., if a man has fever, he rises very early and goes to a pālp tree, which he embraces. By so doing he transfers the fever to the tree.
Uchhār. — A cover or quilt. The covering put on the Granth Śikh by the Sikhs. A connected word is achhārī, or achhār, the cloth spread over the body of a Muhammadād when carried to the grave. It is usually given to the grave-digger as his wage.
Vishat. — Cf. sāgāt.
MUNDAS AND DRAVIDAS.

BY STEIN KONOW, OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHRISTIANIA, NORWAY.

IT is now an established fact that the various tribes known as Kols, Mundás, Santals, and so forth, do not differ in anthropological features from the Dravidians. Mundás and Dravidas belong to the same race. Mr. Risley has called the type represented by those tribes Dravidian.

The languages spoken by the Dravidian race fall into two distinct groups, Dravidian and Mundá. The Dravidian languages have been the vehicles of an old civilization, and the most important of them are known from an early period. Our knowledge of the various Mundá dialects, on the other hand, only dates back to the middle of the nineteenth century.

Some notes on the language of the Hos of Singhbhum were published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal as early as 1840. The author was the well-known ColonelTickell. The indefatigable Hodgson also extended his investigations to the Mundá dialects. In his paper on the Aborigines of Central India in the Bengal Journal for 1848, he communicated vocabularies of Bhumi, Mundári, Ho, and Santál. He considered those dialects as Tamulian, and, together with Kurúk, as "dialects of the great Kol language."

Mr. J. R. Logan, in the Journal of the Indian Archipelago for 1852 and 1853, also considered the Mundá dialects as Dravidian. He says:—

"The Kol is Dravidian considerably modified by ultra Indo-Gangetic, particularly in its glossary, and very slightly by Tibetan. The latter element is so small as to render it certain that the Kol was originally a pure Dravidian language, which was deeply influenced by the ancient Mon-Gangetic. The phonetic basis of the language and many particles and words are Dravidian, but the pronouns, several of the numerals, and a large portion of the words, are Mon-Anam."

The first who clearly distinguished between the Mundá and Dravidian languages was Prof. Max Müller in his Letter to Chevalier Bunsen on the Classification of the Turanian Languages. He states that he is unable to see any coincidences between Santál, Mundári, Bhumi, and Ho on one side and the Dravidian dialects on the other. In the former dialects he sees "traces of a language spoken in India before the Tamulian conquest." That old language he calls Mundá, and I have retained that denomination, because it will be adopted in the Linguistic Survey, and is far more suitable than the phantastical Kolarian proposed by Sir George Campbell.1

Max Müller's view that the Mundá and Dravidian languages belong to different philological families has been adopted by most scholars in Europe. The Revd. Ferd. Hahn, on the other hand, in his Kurúk Grammar, Calcutta, 1900, tried to show "that the Mundári grammar bears a genuine Dravidian stamp on its brow." Mundári is a typical Mundá language, and if Mr. Hahn's view is correct, we must infer that the Mundá and Dravidian languages are related to each other. The question is of some importance, and I have therefore thought it worth while to examine Mr. Hahn's arguments.

In the first place, he gives a list of words which are common to Mundári and Kurúk. The list contains several Aryan loan-words, and also some comparisons which do not correctly represent the real state of affairs. Thus Mundári énga, mother, is compared with Kurúk íngi. The latter word, however, means "my mother," and íngi is the personal pronoun of the

1 The Rev. L. Strefarud has proposed to call the family Kherwarian, and that name has been adopted by Prof. Thomsen of Copenhagen. Kherwar is used in the traditional tales of the Santals as a common designation of the Santals, Mundás, Hos, Bhumi, and Birbé. It does not, however, include the western and southern tribes such as Korkú, Jang, Kharí, Savara, and Gaddá, and I cannot therefore see the advantage of adopting it for the whole family. — S. K.
first person singular. Moreover, a comparison of the vocabularies of Munḍârī and Kurukh cannot prove anything whatever, because it is a well-known fact that the former has largely influenced the latter. The comparison would have to be extended to other languages of both families, and even in that case it would not prove much. Dravidian and Munḍâs must have had early intercourse with each other, as well as with the Aryans; and coincidences between them in vocabulary cannot prove any philological connexion, just as we do not class the Aryan dialects with the Dravidians on account of their having several words in common.

Mr. Hahn himself does not appear to attach much importance to the correspondence in vocabulary, and I therefore pass at once to his principal arguments which are based on assumed correspondence in grammar. It will, however, not be sufficient to confine ourselves to those features which have been discussed by Mr. Hahn. It will be necessary to extend the comparison of Munḍâ and Dravidian grammar so as to comprise the most characteristic features of both.

Phonology. — The phonetical system of both families differs in many important characters. It is much more complicated in the Munḍâ languages than in Dravidian.

The vowels are mainly the same in both, though the Munḍâs possess some shades of pronunciation which do not appear to exist in Dravidian. Thus the short a in Dravidian is pronounced as the u in English 'but.' The Munḍâ a is usually the short sound corresponding to the e in 'father.' It also has, however, another sound, which is much more indistinct. It can be compared with the short indistinct e in French quatre-vingt, but is pronounced much farther back.

The Dravidian e has only one sound, that of e in English 'ember.' Santal e, on the other hand, has two, or rather four, different sounds. It is sometimes pronounced as the a in English 'hat,' and sometimes as the short sound corresponding to the e in German 'Segen.' There are, besides, two neutral vowels corresponding to the two full e-sounds.

Similar remarks can be made with regard to e, and so forth.

The vowels of consecutive syllables in Santal are made to agree with each other according to a well-defined law. If one syllable contains an open sound, the vowel of the other syllables must also be open, and vice versa. Thus, sâm-bò, go; but bò-yô', become. In those instances a denotes the open e-sound of a in "hat," and ã the open sound of o in "hot."

E and o are changed to i and u, respectively, when the following syllable contains an i. Thus, kóra, boy; kuri, girl: bheda, a ram; bhêdi, an ewe.

It will be seen that these changes are quite different from the interchange between i and u in some Telugu and Canarese suffixes.

With regard to consonants, it should be noted that the Munḍâ languages possess complete sets of soft and hard consonants, with and without aspiration. Thus Santal has k, kh, g, gh, and corresponding series of palatals, cerebrals, dentals, and labials. The Dravidian languages, on the other hand, are mostly devoid of aspirates, and even the unaspirated sounds are not freely used, but interchange according to fixed rules.

Moreover, the Munḍâ languages possess another set of consonants, or rather semi-consonants, which are usually written k̄, ch̄, t̄, and p̄.

"These sounds are not pronounced like other consonants by successively 'closing and opening,' and allowing the breath to touch the respective organs at their reopening, but by partly inhaling the breath and simultaneously closing the throat and the respective organs, and not allowing the breath to touch them at their reopening, but letting it pass unarrested out of the throat: thus an abrupt half consonant is produced." (Skrefarud.)
The semi-consonants can accordingly be described as checked consonants without the off-glide.

Those sounds are almost exclusively used at the end of words. It will be seen that their existence is in thorough disagreement with the phonetical laws prevailing in Dravidian. In those latter forms of speech the common tendency is to protract the off-glide of final consonants so that it becomes a short indistinct vowel.

The phonetical systems of the Mundā and Dravidian forms of speech differ also in other respects. Thus the semi-vowels $y$ and $w$ are in the Mundā languages only used in order to avoid the hiatus between concurrent vowels, and there is nothing to correspond to the many cerebral $r$ and $l$ sounds of the Dravidian languages. There is only one cerebral $r$ in addition to the ordinary $r$, and one $l$-sound.

The difference in phonetical system is of some importance, because we often find that even languages which have nothing to do with each other agree phonetically when they are spoken in the same neighborhood.

**Formation of words.** — The Mundā languages, like the Dravidian ones, make use of suffixes in order to form new words from already existing bases. The Mundā suffixes are, however, almost exclusively pronominal, and the Mundā languages do not, so far as I can see, possess anything which corresponds to the various formative additions of the Dravidian forms of speech. On the other hand, the inflexions which play so great a rôle in the formation of Mundā words, are not a feature of Dravidian grammar. The Mon-khmer languages, on the other hand, and the dialects spoken by the aboriginal tribes of the Malay Peninsula, in this respect agree with Mundā.

**Nouns.** — Dravidian nouns can be divided into two classes, those that denote rational beings, and those that denote irrational beings respectively. These classes differ in the formation of the plural, and partly also in the declension of the singular. Moreover, such nouns as denote rational beings often have different forms to denote male and female individuals, respectively. Compare Tamil $maga\mathfrak{m}$, son; $ma\mathfrak{g}a$, daughter. There is, however, some uncertainty as to whether this latter feature is originally Dravidian. The facts are as follows.

Tamil, Malayalam, and Canarese, have different forms for the masculine and feminine singular of such nouns as denote rational beings, the so-called high-caste nouns. In the plural, on the other hand, both genders have the same form, but differ from such nouns as denote irrational beings and things. The latter class of nouns I shall hereafter call neuter. The suffixes of the masculine and feminine singular are $an$ and $af$, respectively.

Brāhmi does not distinguish the genders, even in the case of rational beings. Most other languages of the family, Kurukh, Malto, Kui, Gōḍi, Kōla, and Telugu, have no feminine singular, but use the neuter form instead. Kai and Gōḍi also use the neuter gender in the feminine plural of high-caste nouns.

There are, however, several indications which make it probable that a separate feminine singular is an old feature of the Dravidian languages.

Kūmarīla Bhāṣṭa (probably 7th century A.D.) mentions $\tilde{a}$ as a sāri-pratyaṣa, i.e., feminine suffix. Bishop Caldwell further compares the Tamil suffix $af$ with the termination in Telugu $kōdetu$, daughter-in-law; Kui $ku\tilde{a}li$, a Kui woman, and also with Telugu $\tilde{a}du$, female. Compare, however, Kurukh $\tilde{a}li$, woman. Traces of a feminine suffix $\tilde{a}li$ or $\tilde{a}r$ are also occasionally met with in Gōḍi verbal forms such as $mad\tilde{a}li$, she, or it, is; $k\tilde{a}dr$, she, or it, does. Telugu forms such as $\tilde{a}divē$ and $\tilde{a}ma\mathfrak{m}$, she; $\tilde{a}k\tilde{a}la\mathfrak{m}$, one woman, also point to the conclusion that the distinction of the masculine and feminine genders is not an innovation of Tamil and Canarese.
The state of affairs in Munḍā is quite different. Here we find the difference of nouns denoting animate beings and inanimate objects, quite a different system of classification, prevailing the whole grammatical system. The plural, however, is formed by means of the same suffixes in both classes. There are no different forms used to denote the masculine and feminine genders. Couplets such as kọra, boy; kari, girl, are formed under Aryan influence.

Dravidian languages have two numbers, the singular and the plural. In Munḍā there is, in addition to those two, also a dual.

The cases are formed according to widely different principles in both classes. The Dravidian languages possess an accusative and a dative, as the cases of the direct and indirect object. In the Munḍā languages, on the other hand, there are no such cases. The direct and indirect objects are expressed by means of pronominal infixes in the verb. Mr. Hahn, it is true, states that the dative-suffix is practically the same in Munḍā and Kurukh, ri, ké and gé, respectively. Now there are in fact some corrupt forms of Munḍā in which the Aryan suffix ké is used to denote the dative and the accusative. That is, however, only the case where the language has come so much under Aryan influence that it begins to abandon the most characteristic Munḍā features. Mr. Hahn was probably not aware of this fact. His study of Munḍā dialects has apparently been limited to Nettrott’s Munḍā grammar, which is very far from giving a reliable account of the language. Even a philologist might have been mistaken under such circumstances.

Mr. Hahn further compares the ablative suffixes Kurukh ti and Munḍāri te. The comparison does not, of course, prove anything whatever. The similarity is probably accidental. The Kurukh suffix has two forms ti and nft, and the latter is probably the original one. Compare Tamil inda, Köravā nde, Canaree inda, &c.

The case suffixes are, in Dravidian languages, commonly added to a modified base, the so-called oblique base, in the singular. The oblique base has various forms, and we can, with some right, distinguish different declensions according to the different additions used in order to form it. There is no such thing as an oblique base in the Munḍā languages, and all nouns are treated in exactly the same way.

Adjectives. — Mr. Hahn remarks that adjectives are of the same character in Kurukh and Munḍāri. True, but the same is for instance the case in Indo-Aryan and Tibeto-Burman languages. Most agglutinating languages form their adjectives in the same way, and correspondence in that respect cannot seriously be urged as a test of philological connexion.

Numerals. — There is no connexion between the numerals in both families. Mr. Hahn, it is true, compares Munḍā wīt, mōjät, one, with Kurukh muntā, first. Compare Tamil muḍal, Telugu modaja, first. The comparison is, however, based on insufficient knowledge of the nature of the Munḍā semi-consonants. It is of course quite possible that some word for “first,” “beginning,” might be common to Dravīdas and Munḍās. Even in that case, however, it would be rash to infer a common origin for the languages of both. They must have had intercourse with each other from a very ancient date, and must certainly have borrowed from each other.

Higher numbers are formed in a different way in both families. The Dravīdas count in tens, the Munḍās in twenties.

Pronouns. — Also the pronouns differ in most points. Attention has often been drawn to the fact that both families possess a double set of the plural of the personal pronoun of the first person, one including, and one excluding the party addressed. I have already pointed out in another paper (see above, Vol. XXXII. p. 458) that the state of affairs in Dravidian languages points to the conclusion that the Dravīdas may have adopted this grammatical feature from without, i.e. probably from the Munḍās. Even if the double set originally belongs to both
families, that cannot prove much. The same peculiarity is found in many other languages. The forms in actual use among Munḍās and Dravidias are, moreover, quite different. Mr. Hahn, it is true, compares Kurukh ēn, oblique ēk with Munḍārī ē, I; Kurukh ēk̑, with Munḍārī ēk̑, who! He forgets, however, that a comparison of other dialects shows that the Dravidian base of the pronoun "I" is ē or nē, while the characteristic element of the Munḍā form is ē; the base of the Dravidian interrogative pronoun is ē or ē, but the corresponding Munḍā form is ēk̑.

No sane philologist would, of course, draw any conclusion from the fact that the Munḍā languages, like the Dravidian ones, have no relative pronoun. The same is the case in so many quite different families of languages that it can almost be represented as the rule, the development of a real relative pronoun being considered as the exception.

Verbs. — Every trace of analogy between the Munḍā and Dravidian families disappears when we proceed to consider the verbs. Mr. Hahn, it is true, compares quite a series of suffixes in Munḍārī and Kurukh. It is not, however, necessary to show in detail all the mistakes he has made in those comparisons. None of them would have been possible if he had really known Munḍārī. I shall take two typical examples.

The suffix of the present tense in Kurukh is ē; thus, ēn ca-da-n, I break. The final ē of ca-da-n is the pronominal suffix of the first person singular. Mr. Hahn, however, does not hesitate to compare dā, the tense suffix plus the personal termination, with the Munḍārī copula tan, which corresponds to Santāli ̕an, and is used to form a present, not, however, as a tense suffix but as an auxiliary.

Mr. Hahn further compares what he calls the perfect suffixes Munḍārī j̑an-d, Kurukh j̑an. Munḍārī j̑an-d contains the tense suffix j̑an and the so-called categorical a. We need only consider the former. J̑an corresponds to Santāli ̕an and is the suffix of the simple past passive. The final ē is kept through all persons and numbers. Kurukh j̑an is the suffix of the first person singular feminine of the past tense. It is apparently only used in such verbs as end in ē. The initial j̑ has developed from a c̑, and the final ē is the personal termination.

I hope that it is not necessary to show in detail that Mr. Hahn’s remaining comparisons are just as superficial.

On the other hand, the whole conjugational system is quite different in the Dravidian and Munḍā languages. The Dravidian system, is very simple, only comprising two or three tenses; in Munḍā, on the other hand, we find an almost bewildering muster of conjugational forms. The Dravidian verb can be characterised as a noun of agency; the Munḍā verb and its various tense bases are indefinite forms which can be used as nouns, adjectives, and verbs. The most characteristic features of the Munḍā verb, the categorical a and the incorporation of the direct and indirect object in the verb, are in entire disagreement with Dravidian principles. The Munḍā languages, on the other hand, do not possess anything to correspond to the Dravidian negative conjugation.

I hope that the preceding remarks will have shown that Mr. Hahn’s arguments for the hypothesis of a common origin of the Munḍā and Dravidian families are quite insufficient. The analogies which can be said to exist between both families are of a general kind, and such as can be traced between most languages of the earth.

Mr. Hahn is of opinion that there can be no doubt about the classing of Munḍārī as belonging to the Dravidian family. I think it would be easy to show, with just as good arguments, that Munḍārī is a Negro language, or a Indo-Chinese form of speech, or what not. It is time to protest energetically against the tendency, which appears to be gaining ascendency, of combining different languages on the score of accidental similarity in unessential features.
RAMABHADRA-DIKSHITA AND THE SOUTHERN POETS OF HIS TIME.

BY T. S. KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI; TANJORE.

Ramabhadra-Dikshita is well known to students of Sanskrit literature as the author of the Jñānakāparinayaka, the first drama read by the majority of students in the indigenous Sanskrit schools of Southern India. This drama has repeatedly been printed in Telugu and in Grantha characters at Madras and in Dēvanāgari at Bombay. It is known also among those who do not read Sanskrit through its translations into Tamiḻ, Malayāḷam, Marāṭhi and other vernacular languages. Even its translations in some of the South-Indian vernaculars have been more than once prescribed as text-books for University examinations in the Madras Presidency. But like most other Indian publications this work never issued from the press with any account of its author. I therefore wrote a short Sanskrit memoir of Ramabhadra-Dikshita as a preface to his Putānjālcharita when I despatched a Nāgari transcript of it for publication in the Kāvyamālā in 1894. This account was based on facts collected from written records, which, though few, could be safely relied on. The present paper is little more than a reproduction in English of what I have already published in Sanskrit.

Ramabhadra-Dikshita, the author of the Jñānakāparinayaka-nāṭakam, was a great South-Indian poet and grammarian. He was born in the family of Chaturveda-Yajvan in the village of Kanḍaramañikyam near Kumbhakonam in the Tanjore district, as testified to by the subjoined verse of the Śrīṅgadāśrīkabhāṣa composed by the poet:—

यथातुर्वेदयज्ञव्रत्वाग्निध्वारारिषिकान्तोः ।
स्य इतद्वर्तानियामनी भवति जनम्भूः || 6 ||

This village, which is now almost in ruins, had once a very high reputation as the birth-place of distinguished Sanskrit scholars. Of these were: (1) Dharmarājāvibharindra, the author of the Vēddantaśākhāh and Tarkaśākhām; (2) his son Rāmakṛishna, the author of the Vēddantaśākhām and Nyāyaśākhām; (3) Vaidyanātha-Dikshita, the author of the Śārīrakāvitya and of the Dīpikā, a commentary on the Rāmdagam; (4) his son Sivarāmā-Dikshita, the author of a compendium of the Śārīrakāvitya calledĀṅkika, from which the following verse is taken:—

निजस्वमित्राधिकारिसानां
स्मृतिमुक्तमति बेल्लांकेश्वरसानाम्।
प्रवरामकसिंहिताकसिंहश्रवव्
कुस्ते श्री भिष्णुविनायकसूरुः ॥

(5) the pious Chokkanātha-Dikshita, the author of the Sabdakauumudī and Bhāṣyaratnendrata mentioned in the sequel, as the preceptor and father-in-law of Rāmabhadra; (6) Raṅganātha-Yayvan, a kinsman of Rāmabhadra-Dikshita and the author of the Mānjāramakaraṇa, a commentary on Haradattaśrīmān's Podāmaṇi; (7) Nallā-Dikshita, the author of the beautiful drama Subhadrāparinayaka, the Śrīṅgadāśrīkabhāṣa and the Parimala, a commentary on his own Advaitamāṇi.
(8) Srinivasa alias Ikkiri Appa Sastri, afterwards known by the name of Purananda-Yati, the author of the Prayagchittadipika and Upagranthadipa, and the pupil of Brahmmana-Sarasvati.

Rambhadra-Dikshita was a Rigveda Brahmana of the Kausikiya gotra and Asvalayana sūtra. This follows from the drama Raghuvardhanyakaya by Bhagavanaraya, a contemporary of Rambhadra-Dikshita and the youngest brother of Narasimha, the minister of Ekaji of the Maratha dynasty of Tanjore.

1 For further information about this Srinivasa, see extracts from his son's Upagranthadipika below.
Again, in the land-grant of Sāhajirājpuram for the support of learned pandits by Sāhajī I, a description of Rāmabhadrā-Dikshita is given in the following terms in Maṭhi: — "Four shares were given to Rāmabhadrā-Dikshita, a Rīgvedī Brahmaṇa of the Kaunḍinya gōṭra and Āsvatthāyana sītra, son of Yajñārāma-Dikshita and grandson of Nallā-Dikshita."

Rāmabhadrā-Dikshita was the eldest of the four sons of Yajñārāma-Dikshita and a kinsman of Raṅganātha-Yajvan, already mentioned as a native of Kaṇḍaramaṇīyam.

The following pedigree clearly shows his relationship to the latter: —

```
        Bhūminallā
         |    
        v   
       /     
    Aśvatthānārāyaṇa  |
       /   
  Nallā-Dikshita —
   /  
  Nārāyaṇa-Dikshita
   /  
 Raṅganātha-Dikshita
   (author of the Maṇjarimakaranda).
      /   
     3rd son Kūnjallā
     /  
    2nd son Venkaṭēśvara
    /  
   Dākshānāmūrti
   /  
 Vēṅkaṭēśvara-Kāvi
   (pupil of Rāmabhadrā-Dikshita
     and author of the Undiṅīghanṭu).
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Maṇjarimakaranda.

Rāmabhadrā-Dikshita
   (author of the Jñānūpariṇāya, &c.)
There is no descendant in the male line of Rāmabhādrea-Dikshita, as his son Vaidyānātha-Dikshita died childless. His vernacular was Tamiḻ. His father was a man of moderate circumstances. His preceptor, Chokkanātha-Dikshita, who was better circumstanced, brought him up from a boy and bestowed great care on his education. In due time he became an adept in all the six dāsīmanas. He made a critical study of the whole of the Mahābhādhaśya under his preceptor, as is known by the following passages:

वर्णामाणि वर्णामाणि वर्णामाणि वर्णामाणि
कल्येत शान्तकौशिकः कल्येत गुरुवे नमः

Rāmabhādrea-Dikshita's ShaddarśanisiddhaṇtaśŚyatra.

अमतवपक्षियसमस्तदुःखानात्मा
विश्रवानुपकृतिनिर्मातिततात्माः
श्रीष्चित्तीविद्या शादिकसर्वायां
श्रीवाचीनायांविन मुहानात्मोऽः

Rāmabhādrea-Dikshita's commentary on the Parīkṣadatrītiśa.

The subjoined extract from Rāmabhādrea-Dikshita's Śrīprabhaṭilakabhāgā shows that Chokkanātha not only taught him Sanskrit grammar thoroughly, but also gave his eldest daughter to him in marriage.

स एवावै निति निमित्तक्षिप्तमालनायवेद्यश्चित्ती
वदावदनी
वचीनायां मुहामनायांमुहान्यामयां पुनर्वर्गः
श्रीवाचीनायां

gāpāti. This sounds rather strange as the name of a woman. But that she actually bore the name Gaṇapati is evident from the subjoined passages.

धातारं सूक्ष्मकारं शिववृत्तिवृद्धिं पार्श्विन वाक्यतयाम
विष्णुं कार्यायतं ते मितसमाहिरस्तीविर भावायाम
ततः नारायणं श्रीगणपातिनमवत तातातातायस्तर्यवत्तित्य]
सत्ततपत्त्यवत्तित्य]

Bhāṣyaratāpayati by Chokkanātha-Dikshita.

* See also the passage from his pupil Veṣaṭāvāra-Kari's commentary on Patañjaliśāstra, quoted below.
* Compare the speech of the Śrī-padāvāra quoted on p. 128 above from Bhagavantarkya's Rādjadīśyadālāka.
Nor is this the only instance of this name being given to a woman in that family. Even to this day instances can be quoted from families connected with Chokkanātha’s descendants. Chokkanātha-Dikshitā, the author of the Kāntimati-parinanyāntaka and of the Rasavadana-bhagā, should not be mistaken for the poet's father-in-law. As will be seen from the following extracts, the author of the Kāntimati-parinanyāntaka lived at a much later period. He was the fifth son of Tippā-Dikshitā, one of the donees of saçramānyā lands, i.e., lands free of all taxes, in the village of Sahajimahārjaparam alias Tiruvaisainallūr, and the youngest brother of Kuppā-Dikshitā, who was likewise a donee of that village.

Further, the author of the Kāntimati-parinanyāntaka was a Brāhmaṇa of the Bhāradvāja gōtra and Āsvalāyana sūtra and a student of the Rigvēda. He was a Telugu Brāhmaṇa, as may be seen from his mother’s name Narasāmbā—a name to be met with only among the women of that community in the South. His pedigree is as follows:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ahūbala-Sōmayājīn.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lakṣmaṇa-Bhaṭṭa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tippā-Dikshitā, married Narasāmbā.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The subjoined passage from his Sriyogratilakahadha shows that Rambhadra-Dikshita was also the pupil of Nilakantha-Dikshita, well known for his simple, lucid style of composition and for his most popular works, Nilakanthavijaya, Kalivijayamba, Nalacharitamraka and several others.

* * * नीलकण्ठमधिना सदस्य सुकुष्मविद्वार्द्धिः समुद्रसति सरस्वदन्द्वनि कालिवात्रयमिः अर्थः युन: केशतदीशिशुस्य विशिष्य तद्नन्तानुरक्ष्य किंव विश्वस्यरः * * *

Rambhadra-Dikshita’s Sriyogratilakahadha.

His Nilakanthavijaya is dated

अद्वितियापक्षःकर्मवाक्यविवेचनंहस्तेषु |
कलित्वेषु गतित्वं प्राप्त: किं नीलकण्ठदिजन्यस्य ||

Nilakantha-Dikshita’s Nilakanthavijayaachampulkasya.

i.e., in the Kali year 4738, corresponding to A.D. 1638, and thus enables us to fix approximately the date of his disciple Rambhadra-Dikshita. It was at the instance of Nilakantha-Dikshita that our poet wrote his Edmabapastava.

यो रामस्य च नीलकण्ठमधिना भागसत्वः कारित: * * *

Patañjalidharitavyādhyaṇa by Venkaṭāvara-Kavi.

The subjoined pedigree of Nilakantha-Dikshita is based on the extracts printed below it:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Appaya-Dikshita (A.D. 1554-1626)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Achā-Dikshita.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nārāyaṇa-Dikshita, married Bhūmidāvī.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd son Nilakantha-Dikshita (A.D. 1637).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

आर्यसूत्रपति च तुपार्श्विकादायिकर्षित हति श्रीघटस्वरोचयः ||

चैतन्यमहापापाधिकारिण नमोऽमहेश्वरस्वथितिमयः पद्यः ||

वन्वमुखसा विविधानयिष्ठस्य श्रीराज्जितकाव्यानि विताधिश्च भवते। ||

Harivimagdharitavyādhyaṇa by Appaya-Dikshita.

विद्वेदेरिष्ठितविविधानयिष्ठस्य श्रीराज्जित कथा महानमार्शविषयः। ||

विद्वेदेरिष्ठितकाव्यानि विद्वेदेरिष्ठितकाव्यानि विद्वेदेरिष्ठितकाव्यानि ||

Siddhāntiśāhasraśrigraha by Appaya-Dikshita.

* This is the second pada of the verse from the same work quoted below.
Rāmabhadrā-Dikshita was a pupil of Bālakrishna-Bhagavatpāda in the Vēdānta philosophy.

Though Rāmabhadra-Dikshita was born in the village of Kandaḍaramāṇikyam, he afterwards removed from that village and became permanently settled in Sāhajārājapuram alias Tiruvissainallur in A. D. 1693. It was after he took his permanent residence in this village that he wrote his commentary on the Parībhāṣērīti entitled Parībhāṣādhērītiyādyāṅyādyāṅa.

A beautiful description of this village, which is situated on the banks of the river Kāverī at a distance of about four miles from Kumbhakonam, is given in the Dharmaṇjaya, a Champū-kīvya by Bhūminātha-Kavi, a pupil of Rāmabhādra-Dikshita.
मन्दसंवर्धनसामस्तर्यान्तरभाषानि-
खेललाल मुकुन्दानुकृतिसुप्रस्तावनगर्भः
एषोष्ट्रपरमधिक निर्वय सहस्रं महाशयमन्यायः
हन्तान्नद्र्भरं तनोति विवुधस्थारीयं हुदि

विविधसृष्टिपरिपूर्वसमस्तविविधांधिभवति
भिन्निषु दिशां मुखरेकृते ते
एकत्रन्दनविषयविज्ञानिधेयायम्
व्याह्यायते हि सुहुए भास्यां हि

अथमांशि-लोकभाषासामस्तपदमहारः
स्वयम्भितं संग्रहं गाहमती-निर्ण
नानादिग्नाति: क्रमेण समयतं सुपराणीति
हृदरूपत्यावृत्तिः सकलदिनानिवन्दितं
मणिभिन्निधिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणिभिन्नमणि-
Dharmavijayachampukāvya by Bhūminātha-Kavi.

Dr. Burnell, in identifying this village with the town of Tanjore in his Tanjore Catalogue, p. 21a, has evidently fallen into a mistake. He had not perhaps facilities for knowing that the benevolent Rāja Sāhāji I, caused a Brāhmaṇical village to be founded on the banks of the river Kāverī, on a site best fitted for the performance of the religious ceremonies of the Brāhmaṇas, and called it after his own name Sāhājirājapuram. The boundaries of the village on all its four sides have been thus mentioned in the gift-deed by the Rāja: — Vēppattūr on the east, Tribhuvanapuram on the south, Maṇḍājēri on the west, and Anākkūḍi on the north. Further, Tanjore does not appear to have been known by any secondary name at any time. An indirect proof of this fact is furnished by the following passages:

तब तङ्कापुरी नाम राजस्थानम् सुतमम् ||
राजान् प्रतिवासल भोसलीवाण्वावर्जयः ||

Hiranyakēśīyasūtravidyākhyāna, composed in A. D. 1815 by Vānchhēśvara.

अप कविवच: पुरस्वैर-गोविन्दविभिषिषित सुहरितसुपुरूषं श्राहमभोधवीहस्व ||
शुविगुप्तानाश्चायानन-लक्ष्मीरिन्त्य: सक्तुकणसै धर्मस्ताद्वारा समुपासम् ॥

Dharmavijayachampukāvya, chapter 2, verse 1.

अमृतानामिभस्तरजुलहलकेशस्वरभोध-करिभ: सीधञ्ज्ञायामुद्ग: जनिभिः सत्काराणंद्रागम ||
आयुबास्वाराग्मभृतिपरिभाषितो भुव्यम ||
संज्ञातपमस्क चलन निरागवस्त्वारीती करिः: ॥

नारायण काचन घोड़देवो रामान्तिन्तरवत्रज्ञगालाः
तङ्कापुरी नाम देवी हरिनां धर्मम् जासुजां राजाः राजाः नायाः

Sāhityaraṇānākatāvya by Yajñanārāyana-Dikshita, son of Gōvinda-Dikshita, the prime-minister of Achyuta-Nāyaka and of his son Raghuṇātha-Nāyaka of Tanjore.

Again, in attributing the authorship of the Jānakaparīṇayayāntaka to Chokkanātha, Dr. Burnell is far from correct. Probably he misconstrued the following line which is found in it. "सों सं श्रीस्वाते श्रीकात्मकमवस्मिनकात्सम कविः" meaning, "be — the son-in-law of Chokkanātha-Dikshita — is the famous author of this work." He seems to have mistaken अकल for अक्तु

* See also verse 5 of the extract from Vēppattʊr-Kāvi’s Gūḍ̄ăṅghana quoted below.
and चीङ्कीःपापिन्याणां for चीङ्कीःपापिन्याणां. Such mistakes are not of uncommon occurrence in Dr. Burnell’s Tanjore Catalogue, and I take advantage of this opportunity to note a few of them:

(1) P. 55, Rasiṇaṣṭhāṇṇya, a śāh, "by the author of the text, Appayadikshita" for "by Gaṅgādhara-dhavārin on Appaya-Dikshita’s Kverauśyanāraṇa."

(2) P. 172, Vidyāpārīṣṭṣāṇḍākṣa by Ānandarāyamahān, "son of Nārāyaṇa" for "son of Nārāyaṇa’s dhavārin."

(3) P. 170, Mallīśāmṛta, a prakaraṇa "by Rāgmanātha of Lātpura" for "by Uddāna, son of Rāgmanātha of Lātpura."

(4) P. 174, Sahāyati śāta, a nāṭaka in 5 akṣaras "by Dharmarāja" for "by Veṅkaṭēśvara, son of Dharmarāja."

(5) P. 168, "Harivamśadraśṭaratva by Appayadikshita" for "Harivamśadraśṭaratva by Appaya-Dikshita."

(6) P. 158, Tripravaiśyačanda "by a son of Nārāyaṇadikshita" for "by Nārāyaṇadikshita."

(7) P. 171, Raghunātharāṇḍa, a modern play in 5 akṣaras, "founded on the Rāmdēyana by Yajñānārāyaṇa" for "founded on the exploits of Raghunāthā-Nāyaka, one of the (Nāyaka) rulers of Tanjore, &c."

(8) P. 173, Śriyāgāravasavaśāha, a śāpāka "by Kaṇāka Nallābuddha, son of Nallābuddha son of Rāmacandra" for "by Kaṇāka-Nallābuddha, son of Bālāchandra."

(9) P. 158, Dharmarājya. "Anon." for "by Bhūminātha-Kavi."

(10) P. 58, Sāhitaktivāra. "Examples illustrating the rules of poetry in ten sargas. This work is called a Mahākavya, but there does not appear to be any continuous story in it." Dr. Burnell is totally incorrect. Sāhitaktivāra by Yajñānārāyaṇa-Dikshita is a Mahākavya and is about Raghunāthā-Nāyaka of the Tanjore Nāyaka dynasty.

(11) P. 57, "Rasīravaṇa, a similar treatise, by Siṃhamahāpati. The nominal author is said to have been a Tanjore prince of the last century. The work does not seem to have been ever finished, and it is certainly not a matter for regret that such is the case." Here, again, Dr. Burnell is unfortunately wrong. The name Siṃhamahāpati or Siṅgabhūpāla, as he is otherwise called, does not occur in the lists of the Nāyakas or the Marāṭha Bājas of Tanjore. The name Siṅgabhūpāla and his work Rasīravaṇa are often quoted already by Kumāraśāmīn, son of Mallānātha, in his Ratnāpaṇa, a commentary on the Pratīpaḥrūḍāraśāśābhūṣāṇa.

(12) P. 162, Sarabhōjirāja of Tanjore (1796-1833) by Jagannātha, "a history of Sarabhōjirāja of Tanjore (1796-1833) by Jagannātha."

The work begins: — अक्षरमीलकाञ्चिकरणमुग्धानुमाणीस्मिततोक्षरमीलकाञ्चिकरणमुग्धानुमाणीस्मिततो

* * * * * त्रित्वस्वरूपलितो भिन्नमालंतरसामलक्षो नाम प्रसारधिवाचः

* * * * * * * * * * ज्ञात्रित विज्ञात्रिते विज्ञातेः

अदित्यनिशाचर्म: प्रममन्तरम: शुभमहाराजः इ।
Ends:— कल्याणी गतत्वायकरादिकलिन्यः (४८२२) तद्वा जया ।

कस्ते श्रमक्रृत्राम्य व्यस्विदेः ग्यर्नन्यः ॥

(13) P. 161, Rādha-vaccharitm by (or rather attributed to) “Sarabhōji Rāja of Tanjore (nineteenth century)” for “Sarabhōji I. Rāja of Tanjore (eighteenth century).”

Introduction to the Rādha-vaccharitm:—

रत्नेशु कुशलकेतव्रक्षेत्रु शिवायुक्त-कल्याणानुवयः ॥
अभासित-हायकभवच धीमानीकोंजनाचा नृपसार्वभोगः ॥
विधाय शाशु-विनिवाचनेन सन्ताध्यमः सौधममुलकेजः ॥
स्वभक्त-मार्गिष्ट-सर्वथ्यें गृहपुत्र कि स्वयं सेवक लोके ॥
विश्वेश्वरो नामार्थ दीप्यसिती स्वयं केवलीन्ततीयं मूलोः ॥
दीपालस्ये किरीति प्रथिता पति समाजी-दिनेशु किल सहिष्णू ॥
तस्माद-जयायन्तु मुनास्लोक्यः शाश्वेत च गृहस्तेऽर च निकामदक्षा: ॥
तेषुप्रजायम् जयति प्रतीति: शाहेन-ग्रामाः जितभूक्तकिरीति: ॥
तस्यानुजनमा तपनातित-मंडलताप्तमुखा-मानलकाः ॥
जमलदारोतित-जयासपत्ना जयादेशः शाखेष्ट्रानाः ॥
प्रैपः: रत्नेश्वरो नामार्थार्थार्थान्यभाषास्मिन् ॥
करोति काव्याय स्वच्छोरागायाविन्दितं सैव मुदे वृधान्याः ॥

(14) Jāmbavatālīkāya, “by Krishnēraya” for “by Krishnēraya, king of Vijayanagara (A. D. 1510 to 1529).”

At the end of the work:—

भमे: पादचतुर्येन कृतत्वस्यें समालम्बः ॥
चादृशयुक्ते कर्म सत्त्वमस्यां सत्त्वधाराकरोतितमः ॥
धोषसाधरणयक्ष्मया कुप्या समत्रसामस्यां ॥
रक्षनागमं कृत्याय-नुपपत्तीयामयास्यां संमा: ॥

Colophon:— समासमिदेः राजाराजराजपेण-वरसकालेश्वरांजनिन्नवमुहूर्त-गण्डग्रीमकृत्यायामहाराजविकास्यां जांवनस्त्रीकीयणां नाम नावः ॥

(15) P. 173, Śrīviradhāsthana, a bhaṣā by Vāmanabhāṣa-Bāṇa, composed for the Virā-पाकशा-चादिरायात्रा “āṣa Tanjore” for “on the banks of Tūṇgabhadrā.”

Introduction to the Śrīviradhāsthana:—

सूवार्थः:—मार्गाधिक धातु चादिरायनूर्ध्वकुलक्क्रमब्रह्म-ब्रह्मकालासहीकारूपितयामयान-संध्याकालप्रसंस्मयेन हैमगीरिकोस्त्रीकाल्पकेनुकंकुलक्ष्ठि-विहित-कलावस्य कामाक्ष-मान्यतामामास्य वैभवीमुक्तिनित्यानु-शक्तिस्य भविष्यति विद्याचारामहोऽदि
In religion, Ramabhadrada-Dikshita was a Smārta Brahmāṇa and a votary of Rāma. His works, poetical or philosophical, always begin with an invocation to Rāma, or have Rāma for their subject. In his Śrīgṛīvatilakabhāṣā, we come across the following sentence, put into the mouth of the Pāripāṭa - "कथमसद श्रविहस्सरसाहसरस्तलवर्गितरसस्तलथा नामान्तरायुखितम् हुथ क्रृ" — meaning "how is it he (Ramabhadrada-Dikshita) whose thoughts are ever bent on meditating on Rāma, has undertaken to write a bhāṣya?" The following verse addressed to Kṛṣṇa and believed to have been composed by the author one night in his dream, occurs in his Rāmakarparatāyana and clearly shows his unshaken attachment to Rāma and Rāma alone.

मैली मिंठे मकुट स्पज बाहरहैं
वांछ गृहरण धनुष तह गुल स्वेच्छाम
शाखामृगेकर स्वर्ण गोपावल्ला
समेत युद्ध केश त्वम त्वमत्रन्यम त्वम

meaning "Remove the peacock's feathers and wear the crown on thy head; drop the flute and grasp the bow with arrows; abandon the cowherd boys and associate with monkeys; O, the brightest of the Yadus, transform thyself into Rāma and then will I be attached to thee." The following note is added after the verse in the manuscript — स्त्राश्चारायं श्रीक — i.e., "the verse which he composed in his dream."

I now turn to Ramabhadrada-Dikshita's works. The following is a list of them so far as they are known to me: (1) Jñānakarparinavaṇyāda, (2) Śrīgṛīvatilakabhāṣā, (3) Pariḥbhaktiśārti-vedākhya, (4) Śādārśanātadhidānānaisukraha, (5) Patañjaliḥaritakāyā, (6) Bhāṣātab, (7) Āchārīyakāya, (8) Tūṣṭrastava, (9) Pradādastava, (10) Viśvangekaraśādu, (11) Rāmāstavakarparatāyana, (12) Asjalāraśa, and (13) Āchārīyastavāśādāraśāduha (a review of "Āchārīyaśādāraśāda", a work by Brahmānandamuni in praise of his preceptor Kṛṣṇaṇandamuni). A critical
study of them would convince any reader that they were all written by the same author. As regards the first four, the author himself, in the introductory portion, gives his name and some details of his life. The next two are pronounced to be the works of Rāmabhadrā-Dikshita by his pupil Vēṅkaṭāvaṇḍara-Kavi in his commentary on the Patañjali-charita-kalpa.

Besides, there is sufficient internal evidence in these six works to show that they were composed by the same author. Similarity of style and sentiments, recurrence of the same words and phrases, and occasionally even of a couplet or a verse with a slight change, prove clearly that they are the works of the same person. I shall here quote some instances:

(1) किमिद् प्रभोतमा राजा संपूर्ता यदीदार्याः * * *

(2) भाणोऽपि प्रभोतमा राजा संपूर्ता यदीदार्याः * * *

(3) हर्शव्याप्तिः प्रभोतमा राजा संपूर्ता यदीदार्याः * * *

Sriṅgāratilakabhāga.
दिशायवा वसुमली तमसा धैन पिन्नयोक्त्राणि भूजि तेन समीक्षानि।
द्रष्यादेशानि: कुलटाजनस्त्र जाता तदा सदिन्त्वन विना हेर्चयम || ४ || ६० ||

पताक्ष्यालिचरिता।

(4) आरक्षयुक्त चदपाण्डुकृतम्भसमेधानाम्रविश्वसनमुद्रांकृतम्भसवावम्यम्।
नीकारक्षुक्तियवस्तितनाभिन्दां निपांवर्तकन्तु नूतनेकृतम्भसम्यम् || ६६ ||

स्रिंग्वरतिलकाभ्या।

विरधं—(स्वगतम) अस्या: खंड
उतसनिष्ठाननसोदःकृतम्भसमेधानाम्रविश्वसनमुद्रांकृतम्भसवावम्यम्।
विशेष्यनथार्थं बुधान्तिलितामपार्थ चितेर मार्गितामध्ये स्थितमुद्रावश्यक्याः। ||

जानकिपरियायंतंका, V. Act.

स्तानगिनिनिन्यन्य ब्रह्ममोहं ब्रह्मविश्वकृतम्भसम्यम्यम्।
पाणिनि विप्रामाणस्वस्त्तिनि पहलवानस्त्र भारवाह्यत काचन तासू || २ || ६५ ||

पताक्ष्यालिचरिता।

(5) आरक्षयुक्त समुद्रसर्वस्य सैनिकसमयम्यजनानो।
नायक मुख्यनि पादमुखमुज्ज्वति विचेषं विचेषं गिराम्।
प्रेमावर्तकस्तरार्थं श्रीनृस्त्रीकृतम्भसशुष्या
कामगोष तवानताद्रः पुरात: केक्सी मुदा त्रित्यति || ६५ ||

स्रिंग्वरतिलकाभ्या।

मा किष्कं मम सैनिकसम्येयह: कर्जुणम कर्जुणे।
क्षि त्येति पुराणे तत्त्वमः चुम्भेति सम सुकृति नन्दु वहिते” || २ || ६२ ||

पताक्ष्यालिचरिता।

(6) अभिज्ञाननमहोस्वलक्षणानि शीतांशुकान्नितिदिविशेषकृतिसुहृतकानि।
आन्तर्वाचमि सिद्धार्थो श्रीमृतहसिद्धां कुकुत्तानि चरणायुपकृतेनालाव। || ६४ ||

स्रिंग्वरतिलकाभ्या।

अभिज्ञाननमहोस्वलक्षणानि शीतांशुकान्नितिदिविशेषकृतिसुहृतकानिः।
तांत्रिकास्त्रो चरणायुपकृतिनां राजनाहो जन्यस्माय न जार्यमुम्यम || ८ || ४२ ||

पताक्ष्यालिचरिता।

(7) आते कुत्रवि दम्मः हिमकार: कादिबिनी च कार्की-
द्रपी कापि चकास्ति मीनमिथुनं कौकृत्यं चाच्यन्त्।
किंचाः पुलिन्दस्य तोडाकालाद्वारः प्राप्रियपति
तत्सन्ये चुरस्य पुपाध्युपः गाॅम्यमन्याद्रेः || २२८ ||

स्रिंग्वरतिलकाभ्या।
विराम:—(उद्या स्वगतम्) एवी निरुत्तम्युपयोग्या स्त्रीका। (साधर्मः)
अपूर्वं खलिप्यं वेभी किशोरा। अथवा।
कर्त्तव्य मीरदासदेवहसे विन्यं विन्यं निर्मितिः
व्यवहार: प्रशोभानिरतस्य निर्मितिः शैलाकुपलितः।
किशोर स्वामिनिरस्य कदाचारकापिकापितो
तन्मयं चतुरस्य पुरुषपुरुषः। समाधानमयादिः। || २२ ||

Jñānātiparīṣayadaksaka, V. Act.

(८)
कालिष्ककाण्डश्चन्ध्विनिकारपरं कुर्वतोरहस्तः
सारोपयस्यस्तपादक्रममद्विव भायतबर्मणेति।
निर्धोक्षमुद्धििहत्वृहुस्तारा्साकाराशिरोऽस्तरम्।
धृतरथभा हिमवानििवतवतवत्योज्योिहसन्तः। || १४८ ||

Śṛṅgārādilakabhāga.

(९)
कालिष्ककाण्डश्चन्ध्विणिकारपरं कुर्वतमद्विव
सारोपयस्यस्तपादक्रममद्विव भगवानुपलमणाम्।
निर्धोक्षमुद्धििहतृहुस्तारासाकाराशिरोऽस्तरम्।
युध्ये निर्देशलक्ष्यां रघुसिविशिष्यं नौम स्वतःस्वभाति। || ५२ ||

Ednabhaśastava.

विशुज्ज्वः—अहो रामणीयं मुनेिद्राध्यमस्य। इह हि
पकानि प्रचयं क्रमकाविनिमासैवतिनां फलानि
स्यन्देशे राजर्भ: फल्भरणमिता बादि मन्दाविदवि।
संदृश्यन्ते विप्रकार्यतन्त्रस्मृत्तयमतिहरस्ताः। भृगुरावमी फलानि
युवतिकारस्थपिधे नालिके:। || २०५ ||

Śṛṅgārādilakabhāga.

विशुज्ज्वः—अहो रामणीयं मुनेिद्राध्यमस्य। इह हि
पकानि प्रचयं क्रमकाविनिमासैवतिनां फलानि
स्यन्देशे राजर्भ: फल्भरणमिता बादि मन्दाविदवि।
संदृश्यन्ते विप्रकार्यतन्त्रस्मृत्तयमतिहरस्ताः। भृगुरावमी फलानि
युवतिकारस्थपिधे नालिके:। || ५ ||

Jñānātiparīṣayadaksaka, II. Act.
निहर्ष्य सुधि तान्त्रका सह बैः सुचाइः तथा
करालमणि राष्ट्रो यमपरीमणापीदिति ||
यममहितवाचिैंक निद्रामयन्‌नृपा मन्यते
निद्रात्ववनान्तकर्तमं भूमिकोरहस्य || १० ||

Jñānakiya-nāḍa, IV. Act.

चेन प्राणेन मध्येमाहै तरसभारङ्गियाकल्पेन
शेखौराराधियाः रजनिषारुकुलोपि नातान्तकस्य ||
न्यस्त प्रस्तवनाया: सपदि किंन भिक तल्पे ताण्य तात्तकाया:
सोप्रांक रामबाण: सुलखितरचना सुक्रिमविकोरस्तु || ११ ||

Rāmacāṇastava.

करोभ हर्यामुके कमपि वीरमध्येनि-निवन्धनमविन्धनजलतनन्धुनृणिश्रीव्यम् ||
न काशिदपि दृष्टि जगति यस्य शक्तिः ज्ञाते
संमर ग्रहितजानन्दीनमयनष्ठवायि विना || २ ||

Pariharādārtīvyūkhyāna.

The above verse occurs as the 12th verse in the 1st Nishyanda in the Rāmacāṇastava-kāraṇaratāyana.

घुलालेन सतीलमेव करभो वक्तामुणलोवेन
ज्ञाबरमध्यविकस्तवर्म्मगतेतहुदुहरण्यकर्षिति ||
एषा वस्ततिः च मातिः तृणान्यतुः गतायाः कश्चि-
श्रीपिन्या वरमतरस्तिप्रज्ञा: सत्यं पयवृषिति || १२ ||


यव काननचरो गजारो वीतकार्तम्रणालबिक्यः ||
ज्ञभेषी चहुलेन करेण व्यापरं किंत केरसिद्धाम् || २ || २ ||
यव वधरमपरस्य तदन्ते चार्वाँ गवः तृणानि गतायाम्
श्रीपिनी सत्यया परिलिख्या सत्यमपेर्य्यति वस्तततरस्य || २ || ४ ||

Patañjalīcharīta.

खेलेरेमान्यालं शाक्तितरणकुस्तुंभ भिक्षुसः
कक्षमहितिरक्षं परिविधुतातिष्ठ: भाष्ट्रपावतस्मान्तम ||
तारावक्षेत्रभारस्थुलस्य वाचिनो वाहुमध्ययं
विध्यावाणो विद्यायनम् शुभमाणि समतुष्णराधामा || ६७ ||

Jñānakiya-nāḍa, VI. Act.

Vide 59th verse in the Bāpastava.
(14) यावद्वाणसमीरवारसिमहापाराजोद्विधि
तन्न कस्तूणवालेन बलिगा हृदा पुरस्ताकाम्
हन्त बीति गुरुप्रया शिखिलतो मौर्यविकर्षी करो
वेगादूसितितेन ताटदिशुणा सा च स्वर्य चिचिदे || ३ ||

Jñānakāpariprāyanāṭaka, III. Act.

यज्ञी ने भवितेरि केसल पति दृशे सुतेचाणये
वृद्धस्तात्रकिर्षि वर्मिनि रजश्वेपुष्टि सुजनया भुगमा
वले बीति पराबुखेष्युदधि धाराम्: स्वर्यां कार्पुका
दिन्त्रा तेन भुजान्ते महति सा गीत्य जाहवज्ञसा || ५ ||

Jñānakāpariprāyanāṭaka, IV. Act.

पाट्यावुलामभिषालकुशिकुलकुबलस्तापास्कोपसारे
स्त्रामिन्युभीकामिभुगुतिभिमित्यन्तरकिर्षिचितः ||
कंचिकां विलयम् स्मृतानिकिलब्रणशस्त्रकर्णम् य
संतापताकाया धुरित कुण्डत तमेवावऽः सापवाणम् || ५ ||

Rāmadāṇastava.

(15) परम्परनमकुट पतितासिखेन विश्वस्ताकामभिस्तातपाणिपादम्
मारीमारवेच चण्डमहिषुः वस्त्रिण्ये कविवशुकितोस्वरः कोणेन || ६ ||

Jñānakāpariprāyanāṭaka, III. Act.

मौलिक्यविकर्षी गळ्प परिवतिगल्बारमुकाकलापरः
सांस्कृतिकिलहिन्य्यकंस्कारांगलस्मानासिखेन || १२ ||
कलन्धालोकके वरीधरणमुद्धितावशवारो || १६ ||
किंसचन्द्रात्रिनेत्रमर्ह इव गाणे * * || १९ ||

Rāmadāṇastava.

(To be continued.)
GLIMPSES OF SINGHALESE SOCIAL LIFE.

BY ARTHUR A. PERERA.

(Continued from p. 61.)

(7) Relationship and Rights of Property.

Seven generations of family descent is a matter of pride, and each link of the chain has a name of its own: (1) appā, (2) atā, siyā or muttā, (3) mi-muttā, (4) nattā, (5) panattā, (6) kittā, and (7) kirikittā (father, grandfather, &c.); these terms are used for the direct as well as collateral ancestors.

The next-of-kin to a father (appā) or mother (ammad) and brother (sahodarayā) or sister (sahodari) are the father's brothers and mother's sisters, and mother's brothers and father's sisters; of these the first pair has a paternal rank and is called 'father' (appā) or mother (ammad), qualified by the words big (lova), intermediate (maddunuma), or little (punchi, kudd or billa), according as 'he' or 'she' is older or younger than one's parents; their children are brothers (sahodarayā) and sisters (sahodari), who are, in their turn, styled 'father' and 'mother' by the speaker's children. The second pair becomes 'uncle' (mamā) or aunt (nendi); and their children male cousins (massinā) and female cousins (nendi), who are themselves addressed 'uncles' and 'aunts' by the next generation.

These are not confined to the relationships mentioned, but are used to friends and elders as expressions of endearment, familiarity or respect, and also to denote other forms of kinship. Appā, qualified as before, is applied to a mother's sister's husband or a step-father; ammad to a father's brother's wife or a step-mother; mamā to a father's sister's husband or a father-in-law; nendi to a mother's brother's wife or a mother-in-law; sahodarayā to a wife's or husband's brother-in-law or a maternal cousin's husband; sahodari to a wife's or husband's sister-in-law or a maternal cousin's wife; massinā to a brother-in-law or a paternal cousin's husband; nendi to a sister-in-law or a paternal cousin's wife.

Those who are related as 'brothers' and 'sisters' rarely marry; and a husband's uncles, aunts, and cousins of the one class are to his wife uncles, aunts, and cousins of the other. The terms son, nephew, grandson, and great-grandson, with their female equivalents, also stand for several forms of kindred. A son (pudā) is one's own son, the son of a 'brother' (male speaking) or of a 'sister' (female speaking). A daughter (duva) is one's own daughter, the daughter of a 'brother' (m. s.) or of a 'sister' (f. s.). A nephew (benda) is a son-in-law, the son of a 'sister' (m. s.) or of a 'brother' (f. s.). A niece (lēfr) is a daughter-in-law, the daughter of a 'sister' (m. s.) or of a 'brother' (f. s.). A grandson (munupuru) and granddaughter (minipiri) are a 'son's' or 'daughter's' or a 'nephew's' or 'niece's' children; their sons and daughters are great-grandsons (mi-munupuru) and great-granddaughters (mi-minipiri).

The ancestral holding of a field and garden devolves, according to the old Singhalese Law, which is still in force, with modifications, in the inner provinces of the island, on the sons, unless ordained as Buddhist priests, or adopted out of the family, and on those daughters who are unmarried or have not moved from their parents after marriage. Matrimony is of two kinds: diga when the husband takes the wife to his own home, or binna when he settles down at her father's house. To keep a plot of ground intact the males have had recourse to polyandry.

 Authorities:—

(a) Thomson's Institutes of the Laws of Ceylon (1860), Vol. II. pp. 597-672.

(b) Phear's The Aryan Village in India and Ceylon (1882), pp. 173-203.

(c) Nihit Niganvaya, or A Vocabulary of Kandyen Law (1889).

(d) The Orientalist, Vol. I. (1884) p. 217, and Vol. II. (1885) p. 64.


18 Elder brother is ayyā. Elder sister is akkā. Younger brother is malaya. Younger sister is nangi.
The co-owners work together (hawalata) and share the produce or divide the property into their respective lots (hetra or pangu) before cultivation, or hold it on the following complicated system called Tattumāru (alternating). A field belongs to A and B in equal shares and is possessed in alternate years. If on their death two sons of A and three of B inherit it, then their possession for 14 years is A-1, B-1, A-2, B-2, A-1, B-3, A-2, B-1, A-1, B-2, A-2, B-3, A-1, B-1. In case of A-1 surviving, A-2 leaving two sons, B-1 three sons, B-2 four sons, and B-3 five sons, the tenure for 30 years is A-1, B-1a, A-2a, B-2a, A-1, B-3a, A-2b, B-1b, A-1, B-2b, A-2a, B-3b, A-1, B-1a, A-2b, B-2c, A-1, B-3c, A-2a, B-1a, A-1, B-2d, A-2b, B-3d, A-1, B-1b, A-2a, B-2a, A-1, B-3e.

When there is no male in a family or the proprietor is old or employed elsewhere, the fields are rented out for cultivation for half the crop (andē), or for a portion equal to one and a half or double the extent sown — about \( \frac{1}{16} \) of the produce (otu).

A cultivator who converts, with the owner's consent, a temporarily abandoned highland or waste ground (kēna), into a field or garden becomes entitled to it and pays a small rent (aswedda or pandurū mula), or has his trouble and expense made good, before the possession of the land is resumed, as his improvement right.

Lands are acquired by inheritance, paternal (pax uruma) or maternal (maw uruma), by bequests (thēgī) made orally or in writing, by purchase (milata) or by prescription (butiyag). The mother is the heir of an intestate child (daru uruma), and failing her the father becomes entitled to the property (jātaka uruma), but they cannot dispose of it. The rule of succession is children, parents, brothers and sisters, nephews and nieces, uncles and aunts and children of uncles and aunts; only on failure of the whole-blood descendants, do the half-blood succeed.

Deeds of gift, which generally had an imprecation against all future claimants, were revocable by the grantor except those to temples (pidaeviti) and to public officers in lieu of a fee; and an usurpation was valid if the proprietor did not recover possession within twelve months.

Service property held by hereditary tenants reverted to the landlord by abandonment (pālu), by failure of heirs (mala-pālu), or by forfeiture due to non-performance of personal services (nitā-pālu).

Children who are ungrateful to parents or have been cruel to them or have brought disgrace on the clan by contracting inferior marriages are disinherited; the father, in presence of witnesses, declared his child disinherited, struck a hatchet against a tree or a rock, and gave to his other heir an ola, blank, or written with the disinheritance formula. There is no prescribed form for the adoption of a child, but it is necessary that he is of the same caste as the foster-parent and that he is publicly declared to the relatives as the adopted son and heir of the estate.

Minor differences about property were settled or compromised in the village councils (Gansabha) held in the ambalama or under the village tree. Appeals from them and the more important disputes were heard in the court of the provincial governor (Dissāva Maduva or Ratē Sābha) who was assisted by his high officials acting as assessors. He was empowered to give ola as titles to lands (staha) and direct anyone but those who had Royal grants (anmā) to quit possession. The Final Court of Appeal was presided over by the king or one of his ministers (Adikārama) and its decisions were final. The three ancient tribunals are now represented by the village assembly of the Chief of a district, by the Appellate Court of the Agent of a province, and by the Governor in Council. If a Dissāva or an Adigar found after inquiring into the evidence — no relatives were competent witnesses — that the issue was doubtful, he ordered a trial by oath or ordeal. The villages were summoned to the spot (dinapala) by showing them a cloth tied in three knots and they were bound to be present.

The oaths were either a mere assurance (atanka venada) or swearing upon one's eyes (penda sōpā) or on one's mother (ammapā) or by striking the ground (polaitē atagāta), or by throwing up a handful of sand (etli udadamā) or by lifting the hand towards the sun (irata ṣata nigā) or by
touching a pebble (kota aili) or by the image of Vishnu or some other deity, or by the sacred scriptures (bana) or by Buddha's mandopla (tirisdraya). In all the above, punishment followed in this life itself, except where the Great Master was concerned, when the perjurer person suffered in a future existence. There were five common forms of ordeal; that by hot oil required the adversaries to put their middle finger in boiling oil and water mixed with cowdung, and if neither or both were burnt the land was equally divided. The other four modes consisted of the disputants partaking of some rice boiled from the paddy of the land in question; breaking an earthen vessel and eating a coconut that were placed on the portion claimed; removing the rushes laid along the boundary; or striking each other with the mud of the disputed field; the claim was decided by any misfortune which fell to either party or his relatives within seven or fourteen days. There were two other forms which had fallen into disuse even in ancient times owing to the severity of the tests, viz., carrying a red-hot iron (ripotlla) seven paces without being burnt and picking some coins out of a vessel containing a cobra (nayd) without being bitten.

(8) Industries.

The several occupations in which the people are engaged have already been hinted at; agriculture and fishing require more detailed reference, as well as hunting, which is followed both to protect the crops from the depredation of wild animals, and as a means of sustenance in districts where cultivation is not possible.

Rice is sown three times a year — for the Maha crop in July, for the Yala in January, and for the Medakanna in October — in fields irrigated by tanks, or by rivers dammed up near their mouths: a row of piles is fixed in the bed of the stream and mats made of grass tied to them with jungle creepers; sufficient sand silts up against the framework for a dam. Each owner surrounds his claim of the communal tract of fields with an embankment (piyara), mounds it with buffaloes (madavanara), removes the surplus water with a long wooden ladle (yotumana) hung up on a cross beam at the edge of the field, and sows it with seed-paddy (bittara ri) which had been soaked in water till they had germinated. From a cadjan-shed (petra), erected on four trestles, the ganaara takes watch his field by day and night. The neighbours assist each other in reaping the grain (goyan lapanaara), tying the sheaves, threshing (goyan padanara), fanning the chaff in winnowing baskets (kalila) and stacking the straw; and are entertained with a mid-day meal. The harvest time is eagerly looked forward to by the villagers, those employed in towns taking leave of their masters to participate in these rural joys. When water falls, yams and fine grains are cultivated in terraces along hill-slopes, in beds of dried-up tanks, or in clearings (hên) of the communal forests which surround each village: a village consists of a group of hamlets (gans).

The capture of elephants (ali) is effected either by pitfalls, female decoys, nosing or by large stockades (etadin); leopards (kota) are taken "in traps and pitfalls, and occasionally in spring cages formed of poles driven firmely into the ground, within which a kid is generally fastened as a bait; the door being held open by a sapling bent down by the united force of several men, and so arranged as to act as a spring, to which a noose is ingeniously attached, formed of plaited deer's hide. The cries of the kid attract the leopard, which, being tempted to enter, is enclosed by the liberation of the spring, and grasped firmly round the body by the noose."

Bears (valasa) are very greedy of honey, and this is taken advantage of by woodmen, who "suspend a heavy wooden mallet before the mouth of the fissure in which the hive is built, and a cross-bar to the trunk below at such a distance that when the bear sits on it the end of the mallet will be on a level with his head. Should, as is expected, the bear climb the tree, he makes himself comfortable on the seat provided for him, but no sooner has he done so then he finds the mallet in his way and he pushes it away, when the next moment it comes back and cracks him over the head.

29 There is quite a literature on the subject; consult Modder's Hand Book to the Elephant Kraal (1902).
31 Tennant's Natural History of Ceylon (1831), p. 27.
This irritates him of course, and he pushes the mallet with greater force but only with the effect of increasing the weight of the returning blow. The bear never thinks of changing his position, and as blow after blow, each succeeding one severer than the other, follows his attempts to thrust the offending log aside, the end soon comes, when, stunned by a blow stronger than the rest, he drops into the pitfall or is impaled on the stakes planted to receive him.23

Porcupines (ittëna) are caught by setting up in an opening “a framework of sticks about 3 ft. square, one side of which rests on the ground, and the other is held up at an angle of about 45° by a cord attached to a stick bent down and intended to act like a spring. The frame is weighted with heavy stones, and underneath it, right in the way of the animal, is a trigger the slightest touch against which releases the spring and brings down the weighted frame with crushing effect.”24

Buffaloes (mbarak) keep in herds in their rutting season (December and January) and are caught with “a stout elk-hide rope, with a running noose at one end and a piece of elk-horn with the foretine tine at the other. Several nooses of this kind are suspended from bushes on the path of the buffaloes and the herd is driven from its feeding grounds with shouts and the clanging of sticks. The animals in their rush generally thrust their heads into the nooses and run away with the rope until pulled up by the elk-horn catching against a root. Here the animal is left struggling for a day or two, when it becomes sufficiently subdued to be yoked to a tame one and driven off to the kraal or pond prepared for the purpose.”25

Hunters either surround a herd of deer, prevent them from feeding and knock them down when they are unatt to run away by sucking in a large quantity of air; or lie in ambush by a pool, a tank or along a deer-path, and when the animals approach sharply break off a twig from a tree, and as the sound brings them to a halt, shoot down the fastest of the herd. Hunting at night to shoot wild hogs, elk, deer and leopards is called yakmini atulla. “The expedition consists of two men, one carrying a gun, the other a chatty of live-coals on his head, and a hatchet with a bell attached to the handle. The former carries in addition powdered rosin in a bag with which he produces a blaze on the chatty on the companion’s head.”26 The bell and chatty are sometimes attached to the neck and sides of a sporting buffalo, and the sportsmen follow in the dark and bring down the animals attracted by the light.

The Sinhalese generally angle in streams with a rod 12 ft. long, made of the dried mid-rib of the leaf of the Carya volva (kitul); but in the rainy season he traps by placing long baskets (keman) in the crevices between stones and rocks where fish enter and are caught. In the dry season, when a piece of water is very shallow, fishing is done with a funnel-shaped basket open at both ends (karak), which the fishermen, to quote Knox (p. 27), “jibb down, and the end sticks in the mud, which often happens upon a fish; which, when they feel beating itself against the sides, they put in their hands and take it out, and drive a ratan through their gills, and so let them drag after them.”

Sluggish rivers are “fenced with strong stakes, diagonally to which are attached bamboo tarts or screens. At certain distances, square chambers (jékotsu), made of the same material, are attached to the fence, having an open end opposed to the stream, and the interior is so constructed that a fish once entering cannot find its way out again. This mode of fishing is not practicable in large rivers owing to the strong currents which carry away the stakes.”27 In some seasons of the year, at night, fishes spring up out of the water as they ascend the river, and to catch leaping fish the fishermen place two poles upright in a boat at some distance from each other, spreading a net between them. One man, seating himself at the stern of the boat, paddles it from one side of the river to the other; the fishes as they spring out of the water strike against the net and fall into the cavity of the boat.”28

23 Illustrated Literary Supplement to the Examiner (1875), p. 85.
24 Ibid. p. 230.
25 Ibid. p. 20.
26 Ibid. p. 164.
27 Ibid. p. 120.
28 The Ceylon Friend (1879), Vol. IV. p. 120.
Fishing in the open sea is carried on by three kinds of outrigger canoes: the small boat (kudda oru) keeping close in shore, the single-masted larger one (ruval oru) venturing further out, and the largest (yaddra oru) constructed for stormy weather and carrying an oblong sail on two masts. The nets used vary from a drift net (madala) to one with meshes so small that only a darning-needle-sized twig can pass through (kudda oru).

(To be continued.)

FEMALE TATTOOING AMONGST GHILZAI.

BY GANGA SAI, Assistant Settlement Officer, Kohat.

The following notes were taken from the members of a family of Tarakki Ghilzais, whose camp was visited by me at Chichina. Their story was as follows:—

The great Ghilzai tribe formed two-thirds of the population of Afghanbistan, the remaining one-third being Tajiki. Their ancestral home lay on the other side of the Shutfargardan Range and extended as far as Khurosthan. They were also called Kuchis, probably owing to their migrations to British territory in winter. As a rule they are a well-to-do class of people and trade in ghût, carpets, sheep and horses. They live in kishkais or small tents made of blankets and carry their goods about on camels. In winter they settle in groups of families in British territory in villages, where by old custom they are allowed to graze their cattle on payment of a fixed tax. Some of the tribesmen look after the cattle on the hills, while others use the camels in collecting wood and the carrying of salt trade. They intermarry among themselves at mature age, between 20 and 25, and alliances with Pathans in British territory are rare occurrences and even then only due to poverty or love. They have the reputation of being a set of well-behaved people with a good moral character.

Of the various sections of the Ghilzai Tribe, some have a fancy for picturesque tattooing, others like only one dot on the forehead, while the rest did not tattoo at all. My informant gave the following detail:—


Násir, Shinnawâl and Mallâ Khel, Nââsâl,

who live about Hazâristân and use only one dot. [Some of the Malla Khels, however, have told me that they were originally Sayyids and that tattooing did not prevail amongst them.]

The Bahrâm Khel, who live about Hazâristân, and the Taghar Ghilzais, who live about Lôgar, have no taste for tattooing.

The object in view is purely attraction. The operation is done when the girl is between 12 and 14. Three or four needles are taken and pricked into the flesh, and then collyrium (ranja) and soot collected by burning gum of a kind of tree called musu are rubbed over it.

The tattooing is done on the chin, forehead, cheeks, and backs of the hands. The following forms were common among the women of the family I visited:—

\[\text{Between the eye-brows.}\]

\[\text{Chin.}\]

\[\text{Cheeks.}\]
While I was drawing the specimens on paper the Ghilzais, men and women, were astonished at the resemblance of the copy to the original and were amused at my interesting myself in the matter. They asked me the object of the inquiry, and I explained to them that efforts were being made to trace how far forms of tattooing adopted by people scattered over the surface of different countries resembled each other, and to what extent the aims and the origin of this practice were common to different tribes. But they did not seem to realise the importance of the affinity of races, and thought that I was wasting their time as well as mine.

I also noticed that although black or grey was the favorite colour with the Ghilzais, the women of the family I visited wore clothing of a red colour—a colour assigned to Hindus on the Frontier.

I was also told that tattooing was also considered good for curing pain in the joints. One of the Ghilzais showed me a dot on the left wrist and a circle of dots on the right knee cut into the flesh to rid him of trouble in the parts affected, but most likely the cure was due to faith rather than to the treatment.

Other forms of tattooing stated to be in vogue by some of the Ghilzais passing through Ibrahim-zai on their way home are:

1. Suleimán Khel.
2. Suleimán Khel.
3. Suleimán Khel.
4. Suleimán Khel.
5. Chin.
6. Forehead.
7. Forehead.
8. Ahmadzai.
10. Ahmadzai.
11. Ahmadzai.
15. Ahmadzai.

NOTE.

By H. A. Rose.

The fact that tattooing is prohibited in the Qorân makes its survival among the Ghilzais, who are, as far as I am aware, orthodox Sunní Muhammadans, of some interest. As strict Musálman architects, the Sayyid septs, it will be observed, do not practise tattooing. The pictures do not appear to be those commonly used in the Panjáb (ante, Vol. XXXI. pp. 293 et seqg.), though No. 2 of the Suleimán Khel is like the world-sign figured on p. 294 in the left-hand bottom corner of the drawing above quoted.

The Ghilzais are a peculiarly interesting race. Though now Patháns or Afgháns, they claim to be descended from Bibí Mátó, the daughter of Shekhi Bait (Qais-Abdu’r-Rashid), by her paramour (and subsequently husband) Sháh Hussain, a Shamsábání Tájik of Ghor, so that they are half Afghán and half Tájik by origin.

I take this opportunity of correcting an error in the article referred to above. The note on female tattooing on pp. 297-8 was by Mr. Gupta, except the last 5 lines on p. 298.
EPIGRAPHICAL NOTES.

BY H. LÜDEKS, P.A.; ROstock.

(Continued from p. 109.)

No. 24. — Mathurā stone-slab inscription of the time of svāmin mahākṣatrapa Sōḍāsa ;

Dowson read this inscription:—

... svāmiṣaya mahā-kṣatrapasya Sāṇḍāsasya Gajavarena Brahmanena Sangravasagotrena.
... rāṇi. Imā māyahaṃ pashkaranainām paschimā pashkaranim udapano ārāmo stambhaḥ.

Cunningham differs from Dowson only in reading Sāṇḍāsasya, Brahmānena Segrava Sagarotrena, and Ima kahāyaṃ pashkaraninam paschimā.

Fortunately the two facsimiles allow us to improve these transcripts to some extent, and to add the third line entirely left out by the two editors. The facsimiles read as follows:—

1 ... svāmiṣaya mahā-kṣatrapasya Sāṇḍāsasya ... ja Virōṇa brahmāṇena Segrava sagotrena ... 
2 ... rāṇi imā shāyaṃāpapashkaraṇaṁ paschumapashkaraṇi udapanārāmā stambhaḥ i ... 
3 ... bilaṇṭā cha !

The slab is damaged on both sides, and it is impossible to say how much of the text may be lost on either side. The name of the mahākṣatrapa was read correctly already by Bühler, who also proposed to restore the ... ja after the name to rāṇi, “during the reign.” The reading Shērava is quite distinct in both facsimiles, but I am unable to point out a gotrā of that name in Brahmanical literature. Nor can I offer any explanation of the term shāyaṃā, provided that it be not the name of the tanks. In the last line bilaṇṭā certainly is a mistake for bilaṇṭā. The erection of Shēravata is recorded also in the Mathurā inscriptions, Ep. Ind. Vol. I. p. 390, No. 18, and Actes du Congrès des Orientalistes à Léo, Part III. p. 143.

The fragment is to be translated:—

“During the reign of svāmi (svāmin) mahākṣatrapa Sōḍāsya, ... the following (things), the hindmost tank of the Shāyaṃā ( ? ) tanks, a reservoir, a grove, a pillar, ... and stone-slabs (were dedicated) by the brahmāṇa Vīra, who belonged to the Shērava gotrā.”

No. 25. — Mathurā image inscription of the time of mahārajātiṛkā Kaṇiṣhka ;

This inscription is so much obliterated that it is impossible to make out any continuous sense. Cunningham transcribed it:—

1 ... ghosha karaṇaśālikā vairakasāpā vataḥ ... 
2 ... (ma)ḥārajātirajyasya Kanishkasya Samvatṣa(re). ... 

The facsimile is rather in favour of the following reading:—

1 ... gitagā ... lētaṃṣe ... ghoshakaraṇaśālikavairakasāpētavatūḥ radatu ... 
2 ... (ma)ḥ[ā]rājātirajyasya Kanishkasya samvatṣa[re] ...
As long as no trustworthy reproduction of the inscription is obtainable, I consider it rather hopeless to attempt any restoration of the first line. But I wish to draw attention to another point. In the Journ. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. XXXIX. Part I. p. 129, No. 16, Rajendralala Mitra has brought to notice a Mathura inscription engraved on the pedestal of a seated figure and consisting of two lines, the first of which is said to be illegible, while in the second he reads the words mahārājasya varājaya Dāsopatrasya Vama... The last two syllables he wants to restore to Vāsudev. vamsa. A look at the facsimile added to the paper, however, reveals a curious fact. The first line of his inscription is exactly the same as the first line of Cunningham's inscription No. 5 given above, while in the second line the facsimile indeed agrees with the transcript. The identity of the first lines makes it quite sure, of course, that the two facsimiles are meant to reproduce the same original, and we are therefore forced to decide the question which of the two deserves the greater credit. I do not hesitate for a moment to declare myself in favour of Cunningham's facsimile. Rajendralala Mitra tells us that his facsimiles are taken from General Cunningham's transcripts, with such corrections and emendations as a careful examination of the original and comparison with Mr. Bayley's transcripts would warrant, leaving all doubtful letters as they were read by the General. How little these words are in accordance with the facts, has been shown long ago by General Cunningham himself. The total want of care and criticism displayed by Rajendralala Mitra here, as in every other work of his pen, fully justifies my opinion that in this inscription also the reference to Vāsudeva is nothing but a product of his own imagination.

No. 20.—Mathurā Buddhist stone inscription;


This inscription originally ran round the margin of an oblong slab, but when the stone was utilised for a new purpose, the edges on the two smaller sides of the slab were cut away together with a portion of the inscription. Dowson has recognised the initial letters of the word Samvatsara (year), the word dīvara, followed by the numeral 10, and the words aya purvayā, dānam bhikshurya buddha sarvasya; Rajendralala Mitra's transcript is more complete, but his readings are for the most part wrong. I read the inscription from Dowson's facsimile:

1. Saṁ...  
2. se '10 aya purvayā dānam bhikshurya Buddhārāja[n]ya...
3. ............
4. ... sarvavastv[ā]n[ān]... 'suḥ kart[ā]th[a[m] bhavatu.

The year ..., the tenth day, on that (date specified) above, the gift of the monk Buddhārāja (Buddhārājandin). May it be for the ... welfare of all beings.”

No. 27.—Mathurā Jaina tablet inscription;


Bühler transcribed this inscription:

1. [Tā]... rusanaṁdikāsas putrēna Naṇḍīghāṭēna [Tā]vaprākika a... ta... alē... 
2. pāṇām bhanadīr [ā]yāgaptā pratipātā[ā] ...

The photo-lithograph enables us to make a few corrections. Instead of Naṇḍikāsas and Naṇḍīghāṭēna in line 1 and pāṇām in line 2 the plate distinctly shows Naṇḍikāsas, Naṇḍīghāṭēna, and pāṇīna. With the first two words compare such spellings as dāntēdvin in Ep. Ind. Vol. II. p. 198, No. 1, and dāntēdvin, ibid. p. 199, No. 4. Tēvārika was considered by Bühler to be a derivative

81 Loc. cit. p. 120.
84 There are two akṣaras before sarvya and two before sukhārtha which I cannot make out.
from the name of a nation or country called Trāvaṇa or Trāvarṇa. From the mentioning of a Tēravāputra in the Pabhōś inscription No. 2 I think it highly probable that there really once existed a country of that name, but I cannot admit that there is any allusion to it in the present inscription. The reading of the plate is unmistakably śhaṇikēna, corresponding to Sk. saṃvaraṁkēna. The synonym hairayaka is found, e.g., in the Mathurā inscription, Ep. Ind. Vol. II. p. 205, No. 23. A difficult term is the word which Bühler transcribes as bhāṇḍīrē. A comparison of the second akṣara with the dī in Nāṇḍikāsa and Nāṇḍighōsēna will show at once that Bühler’s reading cannot be upheld. The correct reading is bhāṇḍīrē, but whether this means ‘at the bhāṇḍīra tree,’ or possibly stands for Sk. bhāṇḍīrē, ‘at the storehouse,’ I do not venture to decide at present. I read and translate the whole text as follows:

1. ruṣa\(^a\) Nāṇḍikāsa putrēna Nāṇḍighōsēna sūvaṇkēna a...ta
alē...

2. nāṇām bhāṇḍīrē āyāgpēta pratiṭhāpita pita\(^b\)...

"By the goldsmith Nāṇḍighōśa (Nāṇḍighōśa), the son of the... Nāṇḍika (Nandika), tablets of homage\(^c\) were set up at the bhāṇḍīra of the..."

No. 28. — Mathurā stone inscription;


Of this inscription, which is engraved on a slab found at the Kaṅkāll Tila, Mr. Growse published a tolerably good reproduction, but his reading is confined to a single word which he inaccurately transcribed as Mūgali-putas. Unfortunately the left portion of the stone, which contained the beginning of the inscription, is lost. The characters are of the archaic type, and the language is not the usual mixed dialect of the Mathurā inscriptions, but pure Prakrit. My reading is as follows:

1. ye Mogaliputass Puphakaśa bhāyaye
2. Ashyē pasādō.

"The gift of Asā (Asō?), the wife of Puphaka (Pushpaka), the son of Mogall (a Maudgalyā mother)"

My rendering of the last word calls for a few remarks. At first sight, one might feel inclined to alter pasādō into pasādō and to translate, with an implicit understanding of some word like ādāna or putthāpita or kārīta: ‘a temple, (the gift of, or erected or caused to be built) by Asā, the wife of Puphaka.’ But I think, that such an alteration is unnecessary, and that we may rest satisfied with the text as it stands. It is well known that in classical Sanskrit prasāda is used in the sense of ‘present,’ especially in the very common term prasādikārī: the Subhākalpataruma gives it the special meaning of dēva-nirēdita-dārayam.\(^d\) We are justified, therefore, to take also the pasādō of the inscription as a synonym of the more usual dāna. In this case the object of the donation would be the slab which bears the inscription, and which probably was a so-called āyāgpēta.

About the name of Asā’s husband I feel not quite sure. The second syllable may possibly be read dha.

Although this inscription is not dated, it may be safely assigned to the period before Kaṅkāll Tila it may be further inferred that it is a Jaina record. Why Mogaliputa should be a distinctly Buddhist appellation, as Mr. Growse thinks, I am unable to see.

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\(^b\) I am unable to make out any of the akṣaras before ruṣu, but I believe that the word ending in ruṣu was the genitive of a stem in u, qualifying Nāṇḍikāsa.
\(^c\) These two akṣaras are pretty clear in the photo-lithograph.
\(^d\) Possibly, however, āyāgpēta is the nom. sing. of a feminine noun; compare the remarks, above, p. 149, note 81.
\(^e\) See the Peterob. Dict. where numerous examples are quoted.
No. 29.—Mathura Buddhist rail inscription;

Of this archaic-looking inscription, which is between two bas-reliefs on a broken Buddhist rail from the Chaubara mounds, Mr. Growse deciphered only the last word dānām. I tentatively read the whole:—

Abhyaṁtiṁṭha ayakāsa Kaṭhikasa dānām.

Below the first sign of ayakāsa there is a circle, which, at first sight, makes the word look like etbhayakāsa, but a closer examination and comparison of the upper sign with the sa of Kaṭhikasa will show that it cannot be sa. The circle therefore seems to be accidental or to form part of the sculpture below. As to the meaning of the inscription, I own that I can make nothing of the first word. The rest may be translated by 'the gift of the venerable Kaṭhika.'

No. 30.—Mathura Jain inscription on sculptured slab;

This inscription was read and translated by the Pandit as follows:—

1 Namā arahatā Vadhāmānasa Daṇḍyā ṣaṇkā—
2 yē lēpāḥbhikāyē dhītu śamaṃṣa saṃkāyē
dā
3 Naṇḍyā ṣaṇkāyē vāsāyē arahatādevakūrṇa
4 āyaśagasmāraṇapāśāptā pātācchāptaṃ nīgamā—
5 nā arahatāyantena saha mātarē bhaginīyē dhītarē putrēṇa
6 savina cha paramanā arahatapujāyē.

"Salutation to the Arhant Vardhamāna. The courtezn Nandā, daughter of the courtezn Daṇḍā, built in the Arhat temple of merchants for the residence of the assemblage of Sramaṇas and for the worship of Arhant a small Arhat temple, seats for dhārīya, a reservoir and a slab of stone, with (the merit of the building to be enjoyed with) mother, sister, daughter, son and all relations."

The anomaly of the construction in the first portion of this sentence apparently did not escape the attention of the Pandit, who remarks that the syntact of the record is not smooth, and adds in a note: 'The original has nikāya, but unless it be read nikāya, the inscription does not make good sense.' However, such an alteration seems to me very bold, without removing the difficulties. If the genitive nikāyas were dependent on vāsāyē, the insertion of the words Naṇḍyā ṣaṇkāyē between nikāyas and vāsāyē would be quite unaccountable, their proper place, of course, being after dhītu. Secondly, it is true that in Sanskrit and Prakrit the singular of a noun is often employed to denote the jāti even in cases where the usage of other languages, but I doubt that a singular of this kind could ever be used in connection with a collective noun, such as nikāya. Considering all these difficulties, I feel quite sure that the Pandit has misread the passage, and that the correct reading is śamaṇasāvikāyē, corresponding to Sk. iśramapairēvikāyē, 'by the āry-pupil of the ascetics.' Precisely the same term occurs in two other Mathurā inscriptions, Ep. Ind. Vol. I. p. 390, No. 17 (śramaṇapairēvikāyē) and Vol. II. p. 199, No. 2 (śamaṇasāvikāyē), while in a third inscription, ibid. Vol. I. p. 395, No. 28, the shorter expression ērīvikāyē is used. That sāvikā should appear here with the dental s by the side of śamaṇa with the palatal sibilant, will not be surprising to anybody familiar with the total want of regularity in the spelling of the Mathurā inscriptions. An exact parallel is offered by the inscription, Ep. Ind. Vol. I. p. 396, No. 39, where we find saṇkasaṇa = Sk. ērīvaṃśaṇa by the side of śaṇasaṇa = Sk. śaṇasyaṇa. The correctness of my reading is partly confirmed also by the drawing accompanying the Pandit’s edition, for although the fifth akṣara looks more like ni than like ri, the fourth akṣara is distinctly ṣ, not sa.

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26 A second circle appears to stand below the ye.
21 Ayakāsa = Sanskrit ēryakāsa.
After what has been said above, it will be obvious, I think, that vāsāvāga cannot possibly mean 'for the residence.' I take it to be an inaccurate spelling for Vāsāvāga and look upon it as a surname of the donatrix standing in apposition to Nāḍāyā gaṇikāyā just as Lēnasābhikāyā stands in apposition to Dāndāyā gaṇikāyā.

Also with regard to the following words I differ from the Pandit's interpretation. I have pointed out already above, p. 102, that instead of arahatādevakulā the drawing has arahatā dēvikulā, and that this is a nom. sing. corresponding to Sk. arhaṇa dēvakulam.\(^{22}\) With the feminine dēvikulā compare the term dēvakulā frequently found in the meaning of 'shrine' in later Jaina inscriptions.\(^{23}\) As to dāyasābbha, which the Pandit renders by dāyasābbhā in Sanskrit and by 'seats for achāryas' in English, I am inclined to adopt Bühler's view,\(^{24}\) who thought the first member of the compound to be possibly identical with dāya occurring several times in the term dāyasāppaṭa in the Jaina inscriptions at Mathurā.\(^{25}\) As dāyasāppaṭa means 'a tablet of homage,' a slab put up in honour of the Arhats, dāya[ṣ]asābbhā also would be an appropriate term for some hall erected in honour of the Arhats. The dāyasāppaṭas themselves are mentioned here in the list of gifts under the name of śilāpāṭa.\(^{26}\)

The drawing again suggests some minor corrections. In line 1 it reads arahatā Vadhāmnāṣa; compare arahatā Mahāvīraha, Vienna Or. Journ. Vol. X. p. 172; arahatā Parīśvaṇa, Ep. Ind. Vol. II. p. 207, No. 29; arahatāvajaj, ibid. No. 30, and, according to the photo-lithograph, also arahatāpratimā, ibid. p. 203, No. 16. In line 4 the drawing shows patiṣṭhāpītaḥ, and in line 5 sa[h]ā, which form is found also above, p. 39, No. 9; Ep. Ind. Vol. II. p. 199, No. 2; p. 201, No. 11; Journ. As. S. VIII. Vol. XV. p. 119, &c.

With these emendations the text reads:

1 Namē arahatā Vadhāmnāṣa Daṇḍāyā gaṇikā-
2 yē Lēnasābhikāyā dhita śāmaṇasāvākāyē
da Nāḍāyā gaṇikāyā Vāsāvā arahatā dēvikulā
4 dāyasābbha pripa śilāpāṭa patiṣṭhāpītaḥ\(^{27}\) nīgamā-
5 nā arahatāyanē sa[h]ā mātarē bhaginiyē dhitarē putrēṇā
6 savina cha parījānēna arahatāpajajāyē.

"Adoration to the Arhat Vadhāmnā (Vardhamāna)! By the lay-pupil of the ascetics, the courtesan Nāḍā, the Vāṣa, the daughter of the courtesan Daṇḍā, the Lēnasābhikā (or the adornor of caves), a shrine for the Arhat, a hall of homage, a reservoir, and stone-slab\(^{28}\) were set up in the Arhat temple of the merchants, together with her mother, her sister, her daughter, her son, and all her retinue, for the worship of the Arhat."

No. 31. — Mathurā Jaina inscription on sculptured tārāṇa;

At the end of the second line of this inscription Bühler read pratiṣṭ[ā]ptiḥ. The photo-lithograph, however, has very distinctly pratiṣṭ[ā]ptiḥ, which is to be restored to pratiṣṭāptiḥ. This is not the only instance in the Mathurā inscriptions of the occurrence of the dental sibilant in combination with a lingual mute. I have already pointed out above, p. 105, that in the inscription, Ep. Ind. Vol. II. p. 203, No. 18, we have to read śīdhānīyāyō instead of śīdhānīyāyō as transcribed by Bühler, and in another inscription edited above, No. 30, we find patiṣṭhāpītaḥ.\(^{29}\)

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\(^{22}\) The Pandit translated it by arhatā dēvakulā in his Sanskrit version and by 'a small Arhat temple' in English, so that it is impossible to say what he really meant.

\(^{23}\) See, e.g., the Śrīśāhaja inscriptions, Ep. Ind. Vol. II. p. 48 ff., Nos. 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, &c.


\(^{25}\) Ep. Ind. Vol. L. p. 306, No. 33 (ṣāgāpāṭa); p. 307, No. 35; Vol. II. p. 209, Nos. 5 and 8; p. 207, Nos. 30 (ṣāgāpāṭa) and 32.

\(^{26}\) Perhaps śilāpāṭa is the nom. sg. of a feminine noun; comp. the remarks above, p. 149, note 81.

\(^{27}\) Read patiṣṭhāpītaḥ.

\(^{28}\) Or, possibly, 'a stone-slab.'

\(^{29}\) Compare also the forms quoted from the Gīrūr Aśoka edicts, above, p. 105, note 46.
In the third line Bühler twice read *saha*, whereas the photograph leaves no doubt that in both cases the correct reading is *saḥḍ*. This spelling of the word is not uncommon in the Mathurā inscriptions; see above, p. 153.

No. 32.—Mathurā Jaina image inscription;

This inscription is only a short fragment transcribed by Bühler as:

\[ \ldots \text{ṣō ṇa[ṣyāṁ] pūrṇvāyāṁ Koṭṭiyatō gaṇatō} \ldots \]

The reading *ṣō* is badly warranted by the photo-lithograph, the *e*-stroke and the cross-bar of the *mātrikā* being hardly discernible, while the right down-stroke of the *mātrikā* is much longer than it ought to be. In a note Bühler adds that *ṣō* must be the remnant of either *vināśe* or *trīṇāśe*, but this again is not supported by the photo-lithograph. What is still visible of the sign preceding the supposed *ṣō* cannot possibly have formed part of either *ri* or *tri*, but looks exactly like the right half of the figure 10. In that case the next sign also must be a figure, and I think, there can be little doubt that it is 7; compare this figure in the Mathurā inscriptions, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 383, No. 4; p. 387, No. 10; p. 391, No. 19; p. 396, No. 30, and especially p. 391, No. 20. I therefore read the fragment:

\[ \ldots 10 \text{ṣō[aṣyāṁ] pūrṇvāyāṁ Koṭṭiyatō gaṇatō} \ldots \]

and take the 17 to be the number of the day.

No. 33.—Mathurā Jaina image inscription;

According to Rajendralala Mitra, on whose authority Mr. Growse relied, this short fragment reads:

Siddhājñvikasya datta-bhikhusya vilārasya

and means: "Of the monastery of Dattabhirshya, who had accomplished the object of existence." The real purport of the record has been recognised long ago by Bühler, who referred to it, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 383, note 60, but his transcript is not quite accurate. The inscription reads:


The last word is to be restored to *nirantarā*, and the meaning of the words is: "Success! At the request of the preacher Sīḥa (Śīṅhā), the pupil of Datta." Bühler has already noticed that this Sīha is mentioned again as the spiritual adviser of a lady-women in a Mathurā inscription probably dated in Saṅ. 20 (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 383, No. 4). The present inscription therefore is to be referred to about the same time.

Nos. 34, 35, and 36.—Mathurā pillar inscriptions;
p. 128, Nos. 5*, 5b, 6, and Plate; and by Dowson, *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*

The first and second of these inscriptions are on the base and plinth of a pillar, and the third is on the base of another pillar. If any trust can be put in Rajendralala Mitra’s facsimiles, they are, for palaeographical reasons, to be placed in the time of the Kushana rule at Mathurā. As Rajendralala Mitra’s and Dowson’s transcripts differ in many respects, and the facsimiles are very poor, all that can be said is that the first inscription refers to the son of a certain Vasiṣṭha, while the second and third mention a person who was the son of Śīṅhā, and whose own name ended in *mihira* and probably was Vasiṣṭha as given by Dowson. At the end of the second inscription Rajendralala Mitra read *vāna dēvadharmāya ri trīṇē, Dowson īmena devadharmā pariṣṭyā, and at the end of the third Rajendralala Mitra *dhammabhikṣhuka*, Dowson *deva dharma pu*. There cannot be the slightest doubt that in both cases the correct reading is *imēna deyadharmā-pariṣṭyā* and that these words are to be completed in analogy to a phrase used in another Buddhist inscription from Mathurā:
The facsimile, as far as it goes, conforms with the reading suggested.

Nos. 37, 38, and 39. — Mathurā Buddhist inscriptions on bases of pillars;
p. 128, Nos. 8 and 9, and Plate; and by Dowson, Journ. Roy. As. Soc.

Of these three inscriptions only the beginnings seem to be legible. Dowson's No. 21 is transcribed by him as \( \text{dānam Sangha-sthāvirasya Bhadatta,} \) which, of course, is to be corrected to \( \text{dānah saṅgha-sthāvirasya bhadanta . . .} \). "The gift of the elder of the congregation, the venerable . . ." Dowson's No. 16 corresponds to Rajendralal Mitra's No. 9. According to the former it reads \( \text{dānam Sanghapravirasya pu . . .} \), while Rajendralal Mitra renders it by \( \text{dānah Saṅghapravirasya} \). I have no doubt that here again the correct reading is \( \text{dānah saṅgha-sthāvirasya} \), and that the rā in the facsimile results from leaving out the small curve to the left of the sā and not closing the circle and omitting the dot of the thā.

Very little has been left of the third inscription. Dowson (No. 15) reads \( \text{dānam Saṅgha . . .} \), Rajendralal Mitra (No. 8) \( \text{dānah Sāgha} \), but \( \text{putra} \) is not warranted by the facsimile, and I think it highly probable that this inscription also began with the words \( \text{dānah saṅgha-sthāvirasya} \).

Owing to the paucity of the distinct akṣaras and the miserable condition of the facsimiles, it is difficult to pronounce a judgment on the characters of the inscriptions, but it seems that they are of the Kushāṇa type.

No. 40. — Mathurā Buddhist inscription on base of pillar;

Rajendralal Mitra read this fragment: \( \text{dānah bhikṣhuya Buddhahākinīsāya mabhikṣhuya} \), but there exists neither such a name as Buddhahākīma nor such a designation as mabhikṣhuyu, 'the unworthy bhikṣhu.' From the facsimile it appears that the inscription commenced:


The monk Buddhakāshita mentioned here is undoubtedly identical with the person of the same name and title referred to as the donor of pillars in two other fragments from Mathurā, the first of which begins like the present one: \( \text{dānah bhikṣhuya Buddhahākinīsāya} \), while the second reads: \( \text{dānah bhikṣhuya Buddhaḥākinīsāya Sākyabhikṣhuya Sa . . .} \). The characters of the three inscriptions are of the Kushāṇa type.

No. 41. — Mathurā Buddhist image inscription;

This inscription is engraved on the base of a seated Buddha, and is much worn, because the stone has long been used by the dhābi as a washing-stone. Mr. Grose read the words daya-

100 Journ. Be. Br. Roy. As. Soc. Vol. XX. p. 269, note 2. Mr. Bhandarkar reads "parīṭhṇāna and sarvavedabhi, but the long i in the former word is just as distinct as in Sarīyasya and prabhāṅkaṃ, and though the reading sarvavedabhi perhaps is not impossible, I should prefer sarvavedabhi which is in accordance with the spellings bhikṣhunāḥ and prabhāṅkaṃ. The words anēna dhyādharma-parītyāgaṇa are found also in the Mathurā Buddhist pillar inscription, Journ. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. XXXIX. Part I. p. 129, No. 20, where Rajendralal Mitra reads . . . dhyā-

1 Or, properly, Sadhā, which, however, is a misprint.
2 The facsimile distinctly has saṅgha, not saṅgha.
4 According to the facsimile the reading is perhaps bhikṣhuya Buddhaḥākṣitaṃya.
5 This is Dowson's reading, which certainly is correct, though the facsimile has ma.
7 Properly Sadhā.
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_dharama_ and _Buddha_ in the first line, and _sacred_ and again _Buddha_ at the end of the second. A few more syllables can be made out with the help of the photo-lithograph, though a deciphering of the whole seems to be out of the question. I read:

1. Dēyadharmōyaṃ Saṅgharakhi-
2. tasya "This (is) the votive offering of the Sākyā mendicant Saṅgharakshita. Whatever religious merit (there is) in this (act), it (belongs) to all sentient beings."

Rajendralala Mitra, No. 12; Dowson, No. 19:

1. Dēyadharmōyaṃ Sākyabhikshōh Saṅgharakshi-
2. tad-bhavatu sarva-sat[18]*[vānāṁ] [18]*

"This (is) the votive offering of the Sākyā mendicant Dharmadāsasa. Whatever religious merit (there is) in this (act), it (belongs) to (his) parents and all sentient beings."

Rajendralala Mitra, No. 11; Dowson, No. 18:

Dēyadharmōyaṃ Sākyabhikshōh-bhadanta-Brahmasāmasa [18]* Yad-stra puṇyaṁ
tad-bhavatu sarva-sat[18]*[vānāṁ] anuttara-jaśān-āvāptayē "This (is) the votive offering of the Sākyā mendicant, the venerable Brahmasāma. Whatever religious merit (there is) in this (act), let it be for the attainment of supreme knowledge by all sentient beings."

The form of the letters, especially of the _ma_ and _sa_, point to the period of the Gupta rule at Mathurā as the time of the engraving of these inscriptions.

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10 I admit, however, that a similar _ma_, by the side of an older _ma_, is found already in a Mathurā inscription dated in Sam. 33 of mahādīya Dēnaputra Huvishka; see above, p. 39, No. 9.
SOME ANGLO-INDIAN TERMS FROM A XVIIth CENTURY MS.
BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, BART.

(Continued from p. 89.)

LONGCLOTH.

Fol. 31. Very Considerable quantities of these followings Commodities are here [Pettipolee] wrought and Sold to foreign Merchants viz! Longecloths.

Fol. 134. The most Proper and beneficall Commodities they are for this place [Janselone]: blew Calicoes Vis! Longecloth.

Fol. 159. From you Coast of India and Choromandell are brought hither . . . Longecloth Salampe's, white and blew.

See Yule, s. v. Longecloth.

[N. and E. p. 17, for 6th May 1680: — "8000 Pagodas in Long-Cloth and Salampe for England." P. 24 for 19th June 1680: — "Long cloth, ordinary; Long Cloth, fine."]

LOONGHEES.

Fol. 31. Very Considerable quantities of these followings Commodities are here [Pettipolee] wrought and Sold to foreign Merchants viz! . . . . Lungesees.

Fol. 49. This part of you Country [Narsapore] affordeth plenty of . . . . Lungesees.

Fol. 91. The Oorias . . . are very poore, weare noe better habit then a Lungoe, or a white cloth made fast about their waste.

Fol. 172. wth a Sharpe Knife cutteth a hole in his drawers or lungoe.

See Yule, s. v. Loonghee. [This word is worth pursuing much further. In Burma it is now a woman's petticoat, as well as man's dress. In the Army it means a turban: "50 Blue Lungis a c Rs. 2-4-0 each : Rs. 112-8-0"— in a bill of the Port Blair Military Police for 30th Sept. 1900.]

LUPPOONE.

Fol. 181. There are 3 Sea Ports Upon this Island [Janselone] viz! . . . . Luppoone.

Fol. 132. our answers are all written downe in the King’s booke, as alsoe you Commander’s name, and is Sent Vp to Luppoone (y? place of you Radja’s Residence) Which is you Chiefe towne and in you very middle of you Island).

Fol. 133. When wee come Vp to Luppoone, y? King’s Servants that are appointed to waite upon us carry us to a house y? . . . . is indeed their temple of Jdols.

Fol. 135. Once when I was up att Luppoone.

Not in Yule. [I have not been able to trace the place in modern maps.]

MACAO.

Fol. 144. A Portugeese Shipp bound from Goa to Macau In China.

See Yule, s. v. Macao.

MACASSAR.

Fol. 158. The Borneo and Macassar Prows, for you most part brings Slaves both men, women, and Children.

See Yule, s. v. Macassar.

MACE.

Fol. 55. The Mace of Achin 5 fannams 20 cash or 00l. 01s. 03d.

Fol. 162. (In Queda) 4 Copans is one mace : 16 mace is one Taile.

Fol. 173. and if he wanted a mace or two at any time he wold Supply his wants.


MADAPOLLAM.

Fol. 47. The English East India Company have a Very good factor[y] [at Narsapore] called Madapollum from y name of y Village adjoyninge to it.

See Yule, s. v. Madapollam. [This quotation is valuable.]

MALABAR.

Fol. 157. Many Ships and Vessels doe att all Seasons of the yeare arrive in this Port from Several places, namely Suratt: Malabar Coast or Coast of India: fort S' Georg's: . . . .

See Yule, s. v. Malabar. [This quotation is very valuable.]

MALABAR.

Fol. 3. The Native inhabitants are for y most part . . . . . and Mallabars, many of which live within y Outermost walls of this place called fort S' Georg's.

Fol. 23. A poor Sort of heathens call'd Mallabars . . . . for y most part of a very black colour not Unlike in that to y Ethiopians, but much counther.

Fol. 26. The Mallabars . . . . doth much vary both in Customs of Idolatry Language and what else, . . . . besides they are a more dull headed people, few of them ingenuous in any art whatever, vizt.: y Mallabars that reside Vpon this [Choromandel] Coast, but those Natural Mallabars y inhabit Vpon y? Mallabar Coast (commonly called y? Coast of India) are a very briske, ingenious folke, but too bloody minded, . . . . but of no gentile Occupations, neither are they admitted into y Society of y Banjans or Gentuas.

See Yule, s. v. Malabar. [These quotations are valuable for the history of the term Malabar, as applied to the inhabitants of both the East and West Coasts of Southern India.]

MALACCA.

Fol. 144. but they (the portuguese) did not longe remaine in Slavery before they tooke a sitt Oppoportuniteit to make their Escapce, in a Prow well fitted: they tooke her in y night & ranna away to Malacca a Dutch Garrison Vpon y? South Side of this Coast.

See Yule, s. v. Malacca.

MALAY.

Fol. 131. but downe att y? Sea Ports most of y? Inhabitants are Malayars, a very roguish Sullen ill natured people . . . . Villanies, when I my Selle have knowne it to be y? Malayars themselves that dwell here,namely in Banquala . . . . have many cunning places to hide themselves . . . . (Vpon y? Maine of y? Malay Shore).

Fol. 138. Whereupon y Malay inhabitants (a Very resolute people) stood up for y? Aechiners for y Malayars overpowered them.

Fol. 143. Queda: A Kingdome (soe called) Vpon y? Malay Coast . . . . as in Aechia Johor &c; Malay Countries.


Fol. 157. with infinite Numbers of Prows from y? Malay Shore.

See Yule, s. v. Malay. [The quotations above given are usefull showing that the "Malay y? Coast" extended on both East and West sides of the Malay Peninsula.]
MALDIVES.

Fol. 49. Cayre . . . . y† best Sort of weh is brought from the Maldiva Isles . . . .
Cayre of y† Maldiva grows Vpon a very brakeish Soyle.

Fol. 77. y† rest 6 or 7 yearly goe to y† 12000: Islands called Maldiva.
Fol. 79. Hee found 5 Saile of Bengal Ships in y† roade newly arrived from Ceylone and Maldivae Ins†.
Fol. 86. Cowries . . . . are Small Shells brought from y† Islands of Maldiva.
Fol. 94. [Cowries] seldome rise or fall more then 2 Pone in one Rupee and y† onely in Balasore at y† arrivall of the Ships from Ins†: Maldivae.
Fol. 95. neare y† mouth of y† Ganges, vpon my returne of a Voyadge to y† Maldivae I lost 3 men by theire [tygers] Salvagensse.
See Yule, s. v. Maldives.

MANGO.

Fol. 29. y† Groves consistinge of Mangoe and . . . . The Mangoe is a very faire and pleasant fruit.
Fol. 69. [Cuttack] adourned with . . . . delicate Groves of Mango . . . .
Fol. 82. They (Portugals) make many Sorts of Sweetmeats vis† Mangoe . . . .
Several Sorts of Achar as Mangoe.
Fol. 150. They have Several Sorts of very good fruit in the Countrey [Qued] . . . .
Mangoe.
See Yule, s. v. Mango.

MANGOSTEEN.

Fol. 175. This Countrey [Achin] affordeth Several Excellent good fruitful, Namely . . . .
Mangastinos.
See Yule, s. v. Mangosteen.

MANIKPATAM.

Fol. 56. being a Very Secure Coast to harbour in, namely in . . . . Manichapatam.
Not in Yule. [On the Coromandel Coast.]

MANILLA.

Fol. 3. great Stores are transported and Vended into most places of note in India, Persia, Arabia, China, and y† South Seas [Indian Archipelago], more Especially to Moncoa one of y† Molucca Isles, belonginge to y† Kinge of Spaine.
Not in Yule.

MANNISON.

Fol. 153. they carry hence . . . . Mannison (a Sort of honey).
Not in Yule. [The Malay word is mansan.]

MARTABAN JAR.

Fol. 41. y† Other terrised w† feare did runne his head into a great Mortavan Jarre.
Fol. 93. wee had Severall Mortavan Jarre on board.
Fol. 158. FROM Pegu . . . . Motavan Jarre.
See Yule, s. v. Martaban. See also ante, Vol. XXII. p. 364.

MASULIPATAM.

Fol. 24. in my journey Anno Do† 1672 from fort S† Georgs toward Metchlipatam overland.
Fol. 35. Metchlipatam Soe called from y’ Hindostan ore Moors Languadge word Metchli signifying fish and patam or Patanam a towne, first given to it by reason of y’ Abundance of fish caught here for y’ Supply of many country Cities and inland towns, for y’ wch it still doth retaine y’ Said name, but of late years much increased by Merchandize, soe that y’ fishinge trade is Very inconsiderable and not at all followed, more then by y’ poore Mallabars or Gentues, whose doe as yet in great plenty Supply this place and all y’ Ships that frequent y’ Roade.

Fol. 38. Our flactory here [Metchlipatam] is but a Subordinate One to flort S’l Georg’s: As that of y’ Dutch is to Pollicat.

Fol. 49. Metchlipatam. . . . being a great market place and indeed y’ Great Bazar of these parts, for above 100 miles in Circuit.

See Yule, s. v. Masulipatam. [The quotations are curious as exhibiting the false etymology of the name from “fish.” See ante, Vol. XXX. pp. 354, 397 f., for some of the many forms this place-name has assumed.]

MATT.

Fol. 94. They alsoe Coyne Rupees here . . . called Gold Moors . . . beinge gold of y’ highest Matt.

See Yule, s. v. Matt. Matt meant the “touch of gold.” N. and E. has (n. 17) a good quotation for 6th May 1680: — “The payment or receipt of Battar or Vatum upon the exchange of Pollicat for Madras Pagodas prohibited, both coines beinge of one and the same Matt and weight, upon pain of forfeiture of 24 Pagodas for every offence together with loss of the Battar.” For Battar, see ante, Vol. XXX. p. 340.]

MAUND.

Fol. 53. The Usual Weights on this Coast [Choromandel] are . . . the Maund . . .

A Maund Cont: 3 Veece 1/3: or 025 Idem [pounds].

Fol. 82. 6: 7: and sometimes 8 maund of rice for one Rupee [at Hugly].

Fol. 94. They weigh p: y: Maund . . . but their weight in most places of accompt differ, although not in name yet in quantitie. The Ballasore Maund cont 75 pound weight. The Hugly Maund cont but 70 pound w. Cosumbasar maund cont but 68 pound w. Graine, butter, Oyle, or any liquid things all the Riner of Hugly over allows but 68 p: to y: maund. The Maund bigg or little is Equally divided into 40 Equall parts.

Fol. 98. Patellas, each of them will bring down 4: 5: 6000: Bengal maunds.

See Yule, s. v. Maund. [The quotations above are valuable for descriptions and weights of some of the old varieties of the maund.]

MECCA.

Fol. 51. y’ last queen Mother that deceased, whose Bones after 7 years interred, were taken Vp and Sent to Mecha, there againe interred in y’ Land of their Vngodlie Patron.

Not in Yule.

MEER RAJA.

Fol. 161. The Men in Office y’ (Vnder their Queene) governe this Kingdome (Aehin) are Entitiled as followeth: The Moor Raja: y’ Lord Treasurer.

Not in Yule. Compare Moor Moonahee, also not in Yule.

MERCALL.

Fol. 53. Measures: . . . The Para cont [?] Markalls The Markall cont [?] [on the Choromandel Coast].

See Yule, s. v. Mercall. [It is a great pity that the text is incomplete here. The Mercall as a Madras measure of capacity varied a good deal.]

(To be continued.)
THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE KAUPİŅA PANCHAKA OF SRİ
SANKARĀCHĀRYA.

BY G. R. SUBRAMIARH PANTULU.

I. — Text.

Vedasata vikṣeyu uddā ramantraḥ, bhūkṣyāma mātrēṇa caubhushti mantaḥ,
Visokamantraḥ karanēramantaḥ, kaupinavantaḥ khalubhāgyavantaḥ.

Sense.

Those that are earnestly occupied in examining the deeper recesses of the Upaniṣads are satisfied
with begging. As they are not pestered in this mortal penfold, their minds are ever engaged with
things nobler and extra-mundane. They are therefore completely free from all cares and inquietudes.
Such unalloyed freedom has become the monopoly of these men and could not possibly be attained
by those who are given up to the weaknesses of the flesh and the peculiar temptations of puberty.

Note.

The term kaupina, though in common parlance used to mean 'a piece of cloth which covers
the genital organs,' is here used in the sense of a terrestrial being who understands the dīnam thoroughly.
Cf. the saying of the Nīrṇāṇopaniṣad: "Uddāsīnā kaupinam," and the saying of the Gītā:
"Śrīya bhūkṣyam bhāsaśa mapiha līkhaṃ.

II. — Text.

Mīloṣthathāḥ kēvāla māryantaḥ, paścitayam bhūkṣthu maṁthrayantaḥ,
Śrīyamed hānēṭhāva kūhāyantaḥ, kaupinavantaḥ khalubhāgyavantaḥ.

Sense.

They are rich, who, wholly void of desire of any sort or kind, follow the path of nil admirari, care
not for any temporal wealth and spread themselves up under the umbraeous branches of trees.

It is within everybody's experience that the sordid lust of self emanates from the imperious
sensations of hunger and sex. And people who have risen 'far above the madding crowd's ignoble
strife' cease to be enamoured of these brittle and transient joys, which the world can neither give nor
take away.

Notes.

(1) Cf. Mundakoṣṭhā: "Samāna vrikṣā purushōnimagnō antaḥvā hāčāhi mukhyamānāh
jutkrtaṇa yaśātyāthāy antē śīśya mahimāno witho viśtha sōkṛān."

(2) "Let none admire that riches grow in Hell,
That soil may most deserve the precious bane."—Paradise Lost, Book I.

(3) "This man is freed from servile bands,
Of hope to rise, or fear to fall.
Lord of himself, though not of lands,
Having nothing yet hath all."—Sir Henry Wotton's Happy Life.

III. — Text.

Dhāthāḥ bhāvat parimārjyantaḥ, dīnāṇamūnaṇa maṇvāldhā yantaḥ,
Ndūnākapudānyam naḥkhi smarantaḥ, kaupinavantaḥ khalubhāgyavantaḥ.
Sense.

He is called a jātī (wise man), who has completely purged his mind of egoism and who identifies his internal self with the beginningless, endless, causeless Reality (i.e., Parabrahma).

Note.

Cf. the saying: “Sarvaṃkhalīvidmabhāma, Aham brahmāsmi.”

IV. — Text.

Svānanda bhāve parīthahuprīyatam, saśānta sarvendriyathārupātāntā,
Aham niṣam brahmaṇi yiratam, kauśīnapaṇah khalubhāgyavantāḥ.

Sense.

They are rich who feel and realize eternal bliss in a state of laya (introspective analysis), who know well how much the pleasures of this life deceive and betray their unhappy votaries, and who therefore “week in, week out, from morn to night,” concentrate their thought on Parabrahma.

Note.

“As men who climb a hill behold
The plain beneath them all unrolled,
And thence with searching eye survey
The clouds that pass along the way,
So those on Wisdom’s mount who stand
A lofty vantage-ground command:
They thence can scan the world below,
Immersed in error, sin, and woe,
Can ask how mortals vainly grieve,
The true reject, the false receive,
The good forsake, the bad embrace,
The substance flee, and shadows chase;
But none who have not gained that height,
Can good and ill discern aright.”—Sir Monier Monier-Williams’
Indian Wisdom.

V. — Text.

Pūnchiksharam pāvane mučheṣarantāḥ, pathām paśuṣānām krutāḥ bāhva yanthatāḥ.
Bhikshāsano thikṣho pariḥramantāḥ, kauśīna vaṇtāḥ khalubhāgyavantāḥ.

Sense.

They are jātīs (wise men), who pervade the universe, who with unalloyed mind rivet their attention for ever and a day on that Grand Master of all animate existences from protoplasm to man, — on Īśvara, who eke out their livelihood by begging.

Note.

Cf. “Aduita bhāvānta bhāikesha наблюдаḥmaṇyataṃ dhāvaṇam, guru adstraṭā bhaevāna bhīr-
kṣārkhaikesyaṇa viśkhyataḥ.” — Mātrīdyōpanishad.
ON SOME TERMS EMPLOYED IN THE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE KSHATRAPAS.

BY SYLVAIN LÉVI.

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[The question as to the period when Sanskrit came to supersede the Prakrits for secular purposes, and as to the influences under which that happened, is one of considerable interest, from the historical as well as the literary point of view. Amongst the epigraphic records of India, the earliest known composition of appreciable length in pure literary Sanskrit is the Gîrîr inscription of A. D. 150 of the king Rudradāman, a member of a dynasty, ruling in Kāthiawār and neighbouring parts, which is conveniently known as that of the Kshatrapas. In its leading characteristics, that inscription is unique, even amongst the records of that dynasty. But, other records of the Kshatrapas, and some of the legends on their coins, exhibit a tendency in the direction of the employment of Sanskrit. On the other hand, in the records of other dynasties contemporaneous with the earlier Kshatrapas, Sanskrit exhibits itself in only isolated expressions of a religious or a ceremonious nature; for the same period, it is elsewhere met with only in short votive inscriptions of private individuals, which similarly belong to the religious category, and even in them in only a hesitating and uncertain form; and it is only when we come to the Imperial Gupta period, from A. D. 320 onwards, that we find Sanskrit of the well-established literary type in general use for public purposes. The conclusions are, that, curious as it may seem, the development of literary Sanskrit, and the supersession of the Prakrits by Sanskrit for official and other purposes, were brought about, not by indigenous Indian rulers, but by foreign invaders, the Kshatrapas; and that the explanation is to be found in a liberal-mindedness in matters of religion, which led those invaders to support a popular movement in the direction of utilising for general purposes a language which previously had been held so sacred that it could be employed only in connection with religion. This is the theme of the article by M. Sylvain Lévi, of which a translation is now offered. In revising the translation, M. Lévi has made a few additions to his original remarks. And, with these additions, the article may be regarded as an up-to-date exposition of a topic which is of very leading importance in connection with the early history of India. — Editor.]

The Kshatrapa kings who ruled over Kāthiawār and the country beyond, from the year 78 to the end of the IVth century A. D., employ singular titles in their epigraphic protocol which demand attention. Beginning with Naḥapāna, the founder of the dynasty (inscription of the minister Ayama at Junnar), they regularly take and receive the title of svāmi in epigraphic documents, which title, however, figures in the legends on their coins only after Yāsōdāman (294 of the Kshatrapa era). The inscription of Rudrādāman at Gîrīr (72 Kah.), in mentioning the name of Svāmi-Chashṭana, grandfather of the reigning prince, adds thereeto the epithet sugrihatta-nāman. And the Jassan inscription (127 Kah.), stating the genealogy of rāja mahākshatrapa svāmi Rudrasena, joins to the name of each of his royal ancestors (Chashṭana, Jayadāman, Rudradāman, Rudrasintha) the epithet bhadramukha. With the exception of the Mahākṣaṣa inscription, mentioned further on, I do not know another instance, elsewhere in Indian epigraphy, in which any of these three titles [96] is applied to a royal personage. But all three are found in a special category of literary productions where, on the contrary, their use is absolutely definite.

Bharata, the legislator of the theatre and everything pertaining to the same, treating of those appellations in use in dramatic language, prescribes:

svāmi tu yuvārāja tu kumārō bhartṛidārakah!
svamya bhadramukhāty evam hēpūrvam vādhamāṃ vādēt

[Nāṭya-śāstra, xvii. p. 75.]
But this text, borrowed from the Nirṛata-sāgar edition (Kāvyamālā collection), is almost inexplicable. The Duṣka-rūpa, which follows and sums up Bharata, says:

\[ \text{dēvāḥ svāṃti nṛṣpatir bhṛtayair bhṛtēti chādhamaib} \]

[\text{ˈiː. 64.}]

And the Sāhitya-darpaṇa, § 431:

\[ \text{svāṃti yuvārjas tu kumārō bhāṛtridārakāh} \]
\[ \text{saumya bhāḍramukhītyā evān adhamaī tu kumārakāh} \]
\[ \text{... ... ... ... ... ...} \]
\[ \text{rājā svāṃti dēvēti bhṛtayair bhṛtēti chādhamaib} \]

The comparison of the texts enables us to obtain some clear sense. Evidently the reading svāṃti of the Sāhitya-darpaṇa must be substituted for Bharata's inadmissible svēmī tu, and the obscure precept "hāpurvah vādhamah vādēt" must be interpreted by the aid of the words: "adhamaī tu kumārakāh" supplied by the Sāhitya-darpaṇa. From this we arrive at the following rule:

"The crown-prince must be addressed as svāmin, a prince of the [97] royal family as saumya or bhāḍramukha; with the addition of kē, one may also in the same way address a personage of inferior rank" (Bh.). But the Sāh.-D.-modify the latter precept: "People of inferior rank may also address children in this manner." The English translation of the Sāhitya-darpaṇa gives a different interpretation to the latter part of this line: "A prince is addressed by low men — 'Saumya' (gentle sir) or 'Bhāḍramukha' (you of benign face);" and I have followed this interpretation in my Théâtre Indien (p. 129). It was at that time impossible to refer to the then unpublished text of Bharata; but in fact, in this interpretation, the word kumārakāh became superfluous and unjustifiable; it repeated the kumārō of the first half line, with the addition of a suffix of which no notice was taken. The modification introduced by the Sāhitya-darpaṇa into Bharata's traditional text, as attested by manuscripts of various origin, is doubtless founded on the use of the words saumya and bhāḍramukha in certain passages in dramas, e. g., Mṛchchhakaṭīkā, Act X. p. 160, l. 14. (Stenzler's ed.), where the vidūshakās, addressing the little Rūhsēvana, says to him: tuvāradu tuvāradu bhāḍdamuḥō. Pidā dē māridum ptāṭī. On the other hand, Bharata's precept is applicable to a use equally attested by the Mṛchchhakaṭīkā, and in the same passage (p. 161, l. ult.) the vidūshaka addresses himself this time to the Chāndāla who are conducting Chānḍadatta to torture: bhō bhāḍdamuḥēmu mahāčhēṭhāḥ ptvāṃsvaṃ. We [98] here obtain a clear idea of the processes of minute and persistent observation which serve as a basis to the general formulae of the theorists of Hindū literature.

The Duṣka-rūpa, slavishly followed by the Sāhitya-darpaṇa, gives yet another use of the appellation svāmin which Bharata appears to have ignored. According to this, courtiers should employ it in addressing the king.

If we follow the more important indications of Bharata, the two titles of svāmin and bhāḍramukha are confined to personages who come immediately after the king in rank, i. e., the crown prince and royal princes. The extension of the latter title to persons of inferior rank, and the application of it to children by people of inferior rank, are casualities which threaten titles of high nobility in all societies and in all times; the people sneer at them, turn them into ridicule till the moment when, deprived of their primitive dignity, they become definitively degraded. It is enough to recall in classic language what happens in the case of the word kēre, "Herr," and in popular dialect the value of the expressions: "My Prince!" and "My Emperor!" Without leaving India, the history of the word dēvānā śrīmaṇaḥ which I have already had occasion to study, constitutes a notable precedent; the majestic title which sufficiently designated the powerful Aśoka, master of the whole of India, has, in classic Sanskrit, taken the sense of "silly fellow, imbecile."
In neither of the editions of the Petersburg dictionary, is there a single passage quoted from dramatic literature in which the appellations **svāmin** and **bhadrāmukha** are employed in their proper sense as defined by Bharata. It does not even mention the particular function of the vocative **svāmin**. As for **bhadrāmukha** used as an apostrophe, the first edition refers: 1st, to the scholiast on Pāṇini, vi. 2, 167, who certainly, in support of the rule laid down for the accentuation of **mukha** in compounds, cites the word **bhadrāmukha**; but Pāṇini does not mention this word himself, and the **Māhābhāṣya** passes the sūtra over in silence; — 2ndly, in the **Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa**, 15, 57, where it is a king who uses this expression in addressing a messenger of death (Yāma-purusha), with the probable intention of neutralising by an euphemism the unfortunate character of this funereal personage: — 3rdly, in **Sakuntalā**, 108, 10 and 17 (and add 104, 15); the old anchorite, who accompanies the little Bharata, salutes the king Dushyanta with this word, but without knowing whom she is addressing, and taking him for a casual guest. The word **bhadrāmukha** has equally the value of a formula of common politeness in the passages of the **Dasa-kumāra**, 74, 20, = ed. Nirṇaya-sāgara, c. 1, and of the **Kādambara**, 2, 100, 5; 127, 21; 128, 24 = Peterson’s ed., 328, 13; 354, 10; 355, 13, which the second edition of the Petersburg dictionary quotes; the translation given by M. Böhtlingk: “dear friend, dear friends,” is sufficiently exact. We may cite also the **Dīvyavādaṇa** (ed. Cowell and Neil), p. 431, where the king Asoka, near death, fallen and powerless, and having at his disposal nothing more than half a myrobalan fruit, calls a man of low rank (**purusha**) in order to ask him to take that last present to the Kukkuṭārāma: — **Bhadrāmukha** purvagruññavṛṣag ṇ hraṣhtaiavaryasyāpi mama imāṃ tāvad asāśīrmanvāyāpāram kurum. And the index of the **Dīvyavādaṇa**, presenting the word **bhadrāmukha** as “a vocative addressed to any inferior,” gives a variety of other references for its use in that way in that work.

The title **sugrītta-nāman**, applied in the **Gīrṇār** inscription to Chāṣṭḍana, there forms the counterpart to the formula: “**gurukhi-rabhyastānāman**, applied to Rudradāman himself, and which has the advantage of rhyming with the name of the king. Bühler (**Die Indischen Inschriften und das Alter der Indischen Kunstpoesie**, p. 53) translates the latter expression by: “the venerable ones pronounce his name (in praying for salvation).” The expression seems to imply a still more precise sense. The verb **abhyas** evokes in a certain way the study of the Vēdas: cf., *e.g.*, **Manu**, iv. 147; vi. 95; **Yājñavalkya**, iii. 204. And the mention of the **gurus** determines the sense more certainly; namely, the name of the Khatusra Rudradāman is for holy personages like another Vēda which demands assiduous study, absolute veneration, and which assures the most precious results. The idea, thus disengaged, harmonizes as we shall see with the general data of our inscriptions. As for **sugrītta-nāman**, Bühler translates it as a general term by “the utterance of his name brings salvation,” agreeing with Böhtlingk’s interpretation of this word (P. D.): — “the simple utterance of his name brings happiness.”

**Sugrītta-nāman**, like **svāmin** and **bhadrāmukha**, belongs to the formulary of the theatre and things relating to it. As a matter of fact, the definition of the word is not found in the actual text of Bharata; but the **Dasa-rūpa** [101] and the **Sāhitya-darpaṇa** mention this expression and agree as to the interpretation:—

rathī sūtēna chāyushman pūjyāḥ śīhāyāmājanuñjuḥ
vateśti tāṭāḥ pūjyōpi sugrīṭtādhihas tu tāb hi
apiśabdōt pūjyeṇā śīhāyāmājānā ṭatēti vācyāḥ | saḥpi tais ṭatēti sugrītitanāma chēti

**[Dasa-rūpa, ii. 68.]**

sugrīṭtādhihas pūjyaḥ śīhāyādyair vinigadyatō

**[Sāhitya-darpaṇa, § 431.]**

“**Sugrītta-nāman** is an expression used by a disciple, a son, or a younger brother to designate a person to whom he owes respect,” consequently to name respectively the master, the father, the elder.
The first edition of the Petersburg dictionary cites a very different definition of the same word borrowed from the Trīkaḍa-śeṣa, ii. 7, 27:

"yah pratāh smaryata subhakāmyaya i sa sugrīhitanaśī aṣṭāt.

"The sugrīhitanaśī is a person whom one recalls in the morning with a kindly intention." But examination of the examples which I am about to cite, proves beyond doubt that the text of the Trīkaḍa-śeṣa is faulty, whoever may be responsible for the fault, and that it must be corrected thus:

"yah pratāh smaryata . . . .

"The sugrīhitanaśī is a deceased person whom one remembers with favour."

The interpretation given by the Dauṣ-aṇḍa and the Sākhyā-darpana on the one hand, and by the Trīkaḍa-śeṣa on the other, are both [103] justified in literature. The author of the Mṛīchchhakaṭākā adopts the first. In Act ii., p. 28, l. 33, Stenzler's ed., the courtseran Vasantasena demands from her servant Madanikā the name of a person whom she has met: Madanikā replies:

sō kkhu ajjua sugahidonaṁahā bijajāraudattā īnāma.

"His name is Chārundatta," accompanying the mention of this name by the word sugrīhitanaṁ as a title of respect. We find it used again in the same manner in Act ix., by the mother of Vasantasena when the judge asks her the name of the friend of the courtseran:

Sārarattassa taṇā sugahidonaṁahā ajja Chārundatto (142, 10).

"It is the son of Sāgaradatta, the noble Chārundatta sugrīhitanaṁ."

The author of the Mūḍrā-rākhana, who is inspired by the Mṛīchchhakaṭākā, has borrowed this title from him with the same import. Telang's ed., Bomb. Ser. p. 35; the disciple of Chāṇakya, who has been asked the name of the master of the house, replies:

asmākam upādhyāyaṇa sugrīhitanaṁ ārya Chāṇakṣyaya.

"It is our master, the noble Chāṇakya sugrīhitanaṁ."

And, p. 111, the chamberlain, in proclaiming the royal command, expresses himself thus:

sugrīhitanaṁ dēvāḥ Chandragupto vaḥ samajjāpayaḥ.

"His majesty Chandragupta sugrīhitanaṁ desires it."

[103] The authentic works of Bāṣa show a preference for the (so to say) funereal meaning of the title.

Kādambari, Peterson's ed., Bomb. Ser. 35, 12:

ōvam uparatā 'pi sugrīhitanaṁ tātē yad aham . . . prāñjima !

"If I breathe when my father sugrīhitanaṁ is dead."

And p. 309, 18 and 22, Mahāvītā, recalling twice her dead husband, designates him by these words:

dēvaḥ sugrīhitanaṁah Pudāroaḥ (amaranti) dēvaḥ sugrīhitanaṁ Pudāroaḥ.

In the Hārsha-čarita, Rājyavardhana, citing to his brother, as an example, their father's conduct at the death of their grandfather, expresses himself thus:

tatēnaiva . . . sugrīhitanaṁ ni tattabhavati paraśatūm gatai pitari kiṃ nākārī rājaṃ.

(Nirṣaya-sāgar ed., 200,1.)

"And our father [tāta, in conformity with the prescriptions of Bharata], did he not take the government in hand on the death of his father [pitār] sugrīhitanaṁ."

In the present instance, the use of the word sugrīhitanaṁ coincides exactly with its function in the inscription of Badradāman. In both cases it is a question of designating honourably a grandfather who has possessed royal power.
So, also, the king Harsha himself, remembering his deceased brother-in-law, in the same way attaches the epithet to his name:

\[ \text{tatrabhavatah sugrihitānāmāh svargatasya Grahadarmanāh bālamitrām} \quad (\text{p. 201, bottom}). \]

"The boy friend of the dead Grahadarman sugrihitānāmān."

And epigraphy gives, for the period of Bāna, an instance precisely parallel with that of its function in the inscription of Rudradāman. In the Mahākūta pillar inscription of A. D. 662, the genealogy of Māngalāśa, the reigning king, allots the title to his grandfather Rājarāja, and to him only: \[ \text{sugrihitānāmadhēgho Rājarāja đhāraṇapīthu; see Ind. Ant. Vol XIX, p. 16, text line 8.} \]

Meanwhile, the Harsha-charita offers some examples of the same word, used simply in the honorific sense without any funereal idea:

\[ \text{mām api tasya dūvasya sugrihitānāmāh Saryātasya jātakārīpiṇām . . . avadhārayati bhavati (30, 6).} \]

"Know that I am the servant of the king sugrihitānāman Saryāta."

So, again, Bāna connects the title with Harsha himself, when his hearers press him to relate the history of that king:

\[ \text{asya sugrihitānāmāh panyārāśaḥ . . . charitam ichchhāmah śrotuṁ} \quad (\text{p. 101}). \]

"We wish to hear the achievements . . . of this sugrihitānāman, rich in merit."

And he does the same in the speech of Rājaśri, when she is on the point of mounting the funeral pile, in introducing the unexpected arrival of Harsha:

\[ \text{Kuruṅgikā kēna sugrihitānāmānā nāma gṛhitām amṛتamayam āryasa} \quad (\text{p. 278}). \]

"O Kuruṅgikā! is it that has uttered the ambrosial name of our lord, sugrihitānāman?"

The poet of the Rāja-tarāṅgiṇī couples the title sugrihitānāman with the name of a king (Lalitāditya), who has just died, in a passage where the author does not speak in his own name but where he quotes the words of the prime minister of the dead king. Chāikuṇa assembles all the subjects and proclaims to them (iv. 362):

\[ \text{sugrihitābhiδūṣa rāja gataḥ sa sukṛiti divam.} \]

"The king, sugrihitābhiδūṣa, the beneficent, has gone to heaven."

The exact sense of this expression, too, often rendered by rather vague formulae (of auspicious name, auspiciously named, &c.), seems capable of being more clearly expressed. The verb graha, which generally signifies "to take," signifies when associated with words such as nāma, &c.: "to use, mention, cite." We have one instance of that usage in the last passage quoted above from the Harsha-charita. And in the Uttara-Rāmācharita of Bhavabhūti, Rāma, who has just resolved to put away Śiśa, invokes the Earth, Janaka, Sugriva, the gods, the heroes, and adds:

\[ \text{tē hi manuḥ mahātmaḥ kṛitaḥkāme durātmānān! mayā gṛhitānāmāḥ aprīṣyanta iva pāpmanān} \quad (\text{Act I., near the end}). \]

"But indeed I think that those great ones are contaminated by having their names mentioned by me so ungrateful and wicked."

The idea attaching to the "mention of the name" is clearly manifested by a prescription of Maṇu, viii. 271: "An iron nail, ten inches long and red-hot, must be driven into the mouth of him who mentions insultingly the names and castes of the twice-born." (For example, say the [105] commentators, if the culprit has said: re Yaṇuvātta, or again: You are the outcast of the Brāhmaṇa!)

\[ \text{nāma-jāti-grahaḥ tv śaḥṁ abhidṛkṣaṇo kurvataḥ.} \]

The sugrāhaha is the contrary custom; it is to mention the name of a person, more especially a dead person, accompanied with qualifications which bring good fortune and which, thanks to their value as omens, may have a happy influence on the posthumous destiny of the deceased or on the future destiny of the living.
The official value of the expression bhadramukha, as a title addressed to royal princes, seems to assign respectable antecedents to this common formula. In fact it appears difficult to separate this appeal to the “propitious face” from an analogous title illustrated by a famous example. Bhadramukha is without doubt only another form of the idea expressed by the word Priyadarśi, Prakrit Piyaḍasi, that is to say “he who shews himself amiable, who has an amiable aspect.” While the Kaśtrapas are granted the epithet of bhadramukha, the king Sūtakraṇi Gōtāmiputra, the contemporary, neighbour, rival, and conqueror of the Kaśtrapas, receives in a posthumous panegyric the epithet, still surviving, of piyaḍasana (Skr. priyaḍarśana) [Nāsik Prañati, l. 4]. The formula dēvinaṣṭiya piyaḍasi lāja of the Aśoka inscriptions would then be solely made up of general designations assumed in the protocol, without a word relating individually [108] to the author of the inscriptions, and there would be no more cause, in spite of custom, to speak of a king Piyaḍasi than of a king Dēvinaṣṭiya. Aśoka, whatever may have been his motives, must have intentionally avoided inserting his own name in the text of his inscriptions.

Besides the three terms which I have just noticed, the inscriptions of the Kaśtrapas contain yet another characteristic expression which has passed into the dramatic and literary language. Rudradēmaṇi, recalling the origin of the reservoir which he had repaired, attributes its foundation to Pushyagupta, the rākṣīra of Chandragupta the Maurya. The rākṣīra is cited by the Mahā-Bhārata, xii., 3205 and 3269, among the high functionaries who assist the king. The dictionary of Amara, however, does not consider this word as a term in actual use; he defines it as a title of the king’s brother-in-law, in dramatic language; —

[nātyoktan] rajasāyās tu rākṣīryaḥ [I., vii., 14].

Hömachandra repeats this definition; —

rākṣīryō nripateḥ śyālāḥ (v. 333).

In fact the word rākṣīra is found, with the sense indicated, in the Sakuntalā and in the Mrichchhakaṇṭhā. In Act vi. of Sakuntalā the king’s brother-in-law appears in the prologue with two policemen who are his subordinates. The stage directions simply [107] bear: tataḥ praviśati nāgarikāḥ śyālāḥ . . . . When the police speak to him, they give him the title of āvutta which, in dramatic terminology, equivalent to bhagini-pati, “the husband of the sister” (of the king). But, in the scene following, when the two servants of the palace mention him in their conversation (Böhtlingk, 79, 2), he is designated as Mittāsaṇa rākṣīra, “the rākṣīra Mittārasu.” In the Mrichchhakaṇṭhā also, where the saṁkara is mentioned either with honour or contempt, he is designated as the rākṣīra (Stenzler’s ed., 66, 23; 154, 11; 175, 5). After the downfall of king Pālaka, the men who drag the saṁkara before Chārudas to receive his punishment, combine rākṣīra and śyālaḥ in addressing him; —

arē ro rākṣīra-śyālaḥ | eby ehi | svasyaśinayasya phalam anubhava (175, 10).

There are then, these four words: svamāmin, bhadramukha, sugrihitānāman, rākṣīra, which, by the formal avowal of the legislators of the Sanskrit literature and language, are classed in the particular category of words foreign to current custom and maintained solely in the formula accepted by dramatic and romantic etiquette; and, with the exception of the use of sugrihitānāmadhāya in the Mahābhārata, in the Mahābhārata inscription, these four words are met with, set apart to an actual positive use, in the Sanskrit inscriptions of the Kaśtrapas, and of the Kaśtrapas only. The title of svamāmin, it is true, is to be found in another series of epigraphical documents; besides the inscriptions where it is [108] sporadically joined to the name of the princes of another dynasty of Mahā-kaśtrapas, those of Mathurā (Mora, Arch. Survey, Vol. XX. p. 48; mahākaśtrapasa Rajubutas putra svamāma . . . ; Mathurā, Epigr. Ind. Vol. II. p. 199; svamāma mahākaśtrapasa Soñāsaka); it is joined to the names of the
Sātakarṇis from Gōtamiputra onwards: svāmi Gōtamiputra siri Sadakapi, Nāsik 11; sāmi siri Pulumāya, Nāsik 12, Karli 17; Amaraśīvali, pl. ivi. 1; svāmi Vāsiṣṭhiputa, Nāsik 15; sāmi siri Yañca, Nāsik 16, Kanheri 4 and 15; Madjariputa sāmi Sakasena, Kanheri 14, 19. But from Gōtamiputra onwards, the Sātakarṇis are in close relation with the Kshatrapas; I have already pointed this out and I shall return to it. The simultaneous use of the same title in the edicts of the two dynasties, far from weakening the conclusions which I hope to establish, confirms the same. Before becoming fixed, with the stiffness of dead forms, in the vocabulary of theatrical and literary conventions, these titles have, of necessity, done duty in actual life. The first writers who transported them into the domain of fiction, did not invent them, thanks to the miracle of a chance coincidence; nor did they go and exhume them out of the past, with an archeological care which India has never known; they borrowed them from current language and bequeathed them to their successors who have preserved them with pious fidelity, whilst political events were transforming the official protocol around them.1

[109] But the literary language of politeness is, in Sanskrit at least, inseparable from literary language itself; they are one; the same inflexible code rules both. The dramatic forms which gathered and perpetuated these appellations must therefore have been established at the time when these appellations themselves were in force in official etiquette. It is in the time of the Kshatrapas, and at the court of the Kshatrapas, that we acknowledge their simultaneous existence; it must therefore have been in the time and at the court of the Kshatrapas that the vocabulary, the technique and the first examples of the Sanskrit drama and everything connected with it were established; or, in other words, those of the really literary Sanskrit literature.

The facts which I have stated, even if my interpretation of them be correct, are in danger of appearing insufficient as a foundation for conclusions of so large an extent. But a group of important signs tends, on the other hand, to equally assign the foundation of literary Sanskrit to the epoch and court of the Kshatrapas. All Indianists know that the first inscription in literary Sanskrit is precisely the inscription of the mahā-kshatrapa Rudradāman at Girnār, of which I have several times made mention in the course of this article; it is dated in the year 73 of the Kshatrapa era, = 150 A. D. The inscription of Ushavadāta, son-in-law of the kshatrapa Nahapāna, which is earlier than the year 46 Kah. (= 124 A. D.) contains, it is true, a long panegyric by way of introduction, in which the prayers and pious [110] works previously due to the zeal of Ushavadāta (Nāsik, 5), are celebrated in Sanskrit; but on arriving at the precise announcement of the new gift commemorated by this inscription, the language changes; Sanskrit disappears and is replaced by Prākrit. The other inscriptions of the time of Nahapāna, those of Ushavadāta at Nāsik, 7, 8, 9, dated 42 Kah. (= 120 A. D.) and 45 Kah. (= 123 A. D.), those of Dakshamitra, wife of Ushavadāta and daughter of Nahapāna (Nāsik, 10), that of Ayama, minister of Nahapāna (Junnar, 11), are all in Prākrit. After Rudradāman the known inscriptions of the Kshatrapas are all in Sanskrit: those of Rudrasinha at Gunda, 102 or 103 Ksh. (= 180 or 181 A. D.), and at Jūnagadh, and of Rudrasena at Jasdān, 127 Kah. (= 205 A. D.) and in Ókhamandāl, 122 ? Ksh. (= 200 A. D.).

1 If I am reproached with extending to all the literature conclusions based on the employment of certain words which the Sanskrit lexicon class under the language of the theatre, I content myself with referring to Śivarāma, the commentator of the Dāsa-kumārā-Charita, who, meeting in Daśapeśu's text (rāmāvāna i., ed. Nṛpaya-śagar, pp. 30, 179) with the word vāśi, remarks as follows: —

bhūnaya vāśiḥ ity Amaraḥ yat tv aṣya nāyā yā prāyaśca uchītā nāyavargaprābāt tam na !
fatrāyayogāyavacakhaḥ sakāśkāś i nāya śāhūmām ēva, prāyaścā nāyāśūmīm iti ! ata ēva kavyāpi nāyā-
vargasthāṁ dāyādihubhūṁ prāyaścita Kālidāsaḥ
brāhme mūrtiḥ kila taṣya dēvī
kumārakalpaṁ uṣhūvé kumārām iti !

"It may perhaps be said that the word vāśi is reserved for the language of the theatre, since Amara classes it in the section treating of the dramatic art. But that would be a mistake. Amara only betokens by that the words of that category ought to be employed in the theatre, to the exclusion of others. Thus we see that Kālidāsa employs in poetry (kāvyā) such words as dēvī, śc, which with Amara figure in the section treating of the dramatic art."
By a striking contrast and one which gives cause for reflection, the dynasty of the Sātakarnis, so closely mixed up with the history of the Kshatrāpas, their neighbours and rivals, has all its epigraphy inscribed in Prākrit. From the inscriptions of Nāṇāghāṭ, which date back to the beginning of the Christian era or further still, down to the last princes of the dynasty, Śrī Yaśa Gōtampuṭa, Mādhariṣuṭa, Sakaśaṇa, Hārita[ṣuṭa], towards the third century A. D., Prākrit is the only language admitted into the epigraphic documents of the Sātakarnis. There is only one exception, but it is significant: an inscription of Kaṇheri (11) is written in excellent Sanskrit; it is due to the minister of a [111] princess married to Vāsiṣṭhiputra Sātakarni, and daughter of a mahākshatrāpa, probably the mahā-kshatrāpa Budradāma whom I have named so often already ([V]āsiṣṭhiputrapravāya śrīnāṭi[ka]riṣṭiṣyā dēvyā Kārkanavāja[va]vāhāprahlāpatyā mahākṣatrapa[pa]ku. putrāḥ ... iya ... r[ī]vānayaḥ; amātyasya kānta-rakasya pāṇīyabājanāḥ dēyadharāṃṇa[ma]ḥ[ḥ]). It is the intervention of a daughter of a Kshatrāpa, introduced by a political marriage into the family of the Sātakarnis, which makes in their epigraphy an opening for Sanskrit which immediately closes again.

The linguistic opposition between the two dynasties is still further established by their literary role. Budradāma, in his inscription, praises himself, or lets himself be praised, for his ability to compose, in prose as in verse, works which satisfy all the exigencies of rhetoric (eṣṭu-āyam-mahābhāsa-dūtpa-samayogambodhīthaute-kāśicaryagandhyā-pada ... ); and the evidence of the inscription itself leads us to believe that Sanskrit compositions are referred to. The Sātakarnis, on the contrary, are the traditional patrons of Prākrit literature. Hāla or Sātavāhana, one of the kings of the dynasty, is believed to have compiled the polite anthology in seven 'hundreds' which has preserved for us the charming remains of ancient Mahārashṭrī poetry. It is a minister of Sātavāhana, Gūṇādhyāya, who is supposed to be the author of the original Bṛhatkāṭā, written in paśāči Prākrit. Another minister of the same prince, it is true, is said to have composed one of the classical Sanskrit grammars, the Kātantra; [112] but the details of the legend seem to represent the historical reality with tolerable exactness. King Sātavāhana, playing with his wives, is spoken to by one of them in Sanskrit; not knowing this language, he makes a mistake which occasions humiliating laughter; mortified, he demands of his ministers a Sanskrit grammar less difficult to study than Pāṇini; and Sarvavarma, to please him, composes the Kātantra. This anecdote, shewing the king ignorant of Sanskrit and the queen speaking this language, recalls the anomaly observed between the Sanskrit inscription due to the minister of the princess married to Vāsiṣṭhiputra and the Prākrit inscriptions of king Vāsiṣṭhiputra himself. The name of the king Sātavāhana is, as it were, a sort of symbol, adopted and consecrated by tradition to sum up the whole dynasty of the Sātakarnis.

The pretended ignorance of Sātavāhana is an arbitrary invention of the legend. If they did not personally cultivate Sanskrit, it was easy for the Sātakarnis to attract to their court of Prathāṭhāna, men of letters practised in the use of the Brahmanic language; there was no lack of Brahmanas around a dynasty which paid them the magnificent salaries registered in the great inscription at Nāṇāghāṭ; the scribes who wrote in Prākrit the royal panegyrics such as the inscription of Gōtami at Nāsik, needed but a small effort to turn their praises into Sanskrit; they touched so closely upon Sanskrit that they seem rather to guard against it than [113] to try to write it; but they resolutely avoid overstepping the precise limit which separates their Prākrit from classical Sanskrit. The first infractions upon this reserve is found outside the real domain of the Sātakarnis, among the Pallavas, settled immediately to the south of the Sātakarnis. The early Pallavas, Sivaskandavarman and Viṣayabuddhavarman, used Prākrit in their epigraphs; but Sivaskandavarman, who rivals in Brahmanic zeal the Sātakarnis of the Nāṇāghāṭ inscription, and who, like them, flatters himself with having offered the great āsīvāmīdha-sacrifice, admits at the end of his Prākrit charter a formula in Sanskrit: Svaṁti gō-brāhmaṇa-cāčaka-brāhmiṇa iti (Epigr. Ind. Vol. I. p. 3; Vol. II. p. 489). The accuracy of it is irreproachable; the peculiar character of it is evident; this benediction pronounced over Brāhmaṇas and cows, &c., has a religious character which contrasts with the real
of the gift. Vijayabuddhavarman, at the end of a donation, equally set forth in Prākrit (Ind. Antiq. Vol. IX. p. 101), inserts two verses in Sanskrit and concludes with a Prākrit formula; these two verses are those so often met with under the name of Vyāsa in all succeeding epigraphy; Bakabhir vasyadhya . . . and śeṣātīnāḥ pradaśitān vu. Here again, the authority of Vyāsa gives these two verses a religious character, independent of the context. And more recent contributions to epigraphy only confirm my conclusions. In the Köpālamudi plates (Epigr. Ind. Vol. VI. p. 315) of the prince Jayavarman, a contemporary of Sivakandavarman, the chariot is in Prākrit, but the names of the god Mahāvra and of the brahmanical gōtra Brhatphalāyana are in pure Sanskrit and so also is the legend on the seal: - Bṛhatphalāyana-śaṅgōtrasya mahārāja-śri-Jayavarmanｐ. And, like his Hirahālagulī plates, the Mayadōṇi plates of Sivakandavarman (Epigr. Ind. Vol. VI. p. 84) are in Prākrit, and the name of the king is written Sivakhaṇḍjavadāmū; but the seal presents Sivaka . . . . , which suffices to establish the purely Sanskrit character of its legend. It is as a religious language that Sanskrit makes its appearance in the official epigraphy, apart from the epigraphy of the Kshatrapas. It is met with also, but hesitating, uncertain and [114] very brief, in the votive inscriptions of the time of the Kshanas and the Kshatrapas of Mathurā; but these inscriptions, of Buddhist and Jain inspiration, emanating from private individuals, reduce themselves to brief formulae, and, when, by accident, they happen to be correct, they only succeed by dint of their extreme brevity and their entire commonplaceness.

The presence of phrases and formulae in correct Sanskrit, inserted in Prākrit inscriptions or added to them, expressly contradicts the interpretation given by the legend to the linguistic preferences of the Śātakarpīṣa. Even when confined to their own direct testimony without recourse to any outside control, the documents of the Kshatrapas suffice to prove it in error. Whereas, by a revolutionary innovation, their inscriptions are set forth in literary Sanskrit, the legends of their numerous coins are uniformly written in Prākrit, as in the case of the Śātakarpīṣa. It is only when we come down to the Gupta emperors, in the IVth century A.D., that we meet with the first legends on coins in authentic Sanskrit (e.g., Kāchā jām avajīya kar-mabhīr uttama-jjugatī). One only of the Kshatrapas, in advance of the time, coined money in Sanskrit, about the beginning of the second century of the Kshatrapa era, at the end of the second century A.D.; the legend reads: rājā [ma]hākshatrapo-śeṣāyo Dāmaudāsīrya[h] putraṣya rājāḥ kshatrapasya Satyādāmaḥ. The only inaccuracy bears upon the application of an euphonic law: [115] rājāḥ kshatrapasya instead of rājāḥ. But the innovation, which however does not appear very daring in a dynasty which regularly uses Sanskrit in its epigraphy, does not seem to have been a success; it called forth no imitations, and, whereas the coins of the Kshatrapas are generally rather numerous, that of Satyādamān is known by but one specimen (Rapson, J. R. A. S. 1899, p. 379). Without the formal testimony of epigraphy, one would be tempted to recognize in the numismatic usage of the Kshatrapas the same tendency to Sanskrit that has been observed in the inscriptions of Mathurā. Two centuries after Satyādamān, in 304 Ksh. (= 382 A.D.), the coinage of Śiṅhāsenā, known by several specimens, bears a legend where Sanskrit and Prākrit alternate curiously in the same inscription: Mahārāja-kshatrapa-raṇi-śaṅgōtrasya[k] rājāḥ mahākshatrapayā pada śiṅhāśena [Rapson, ib. p. 398-400]. And besides, the simultaneous occurrence of Prākrit genitives in śa and the Sanskrit forms rājāḥ and kshatrapa in the whole monetary series of the Kshatrapas without exception, the sporadic appearance of the most delicate inflexions of Sanskrit in certain proper names (c.g., Rudrādāmānaḥ parallel with RudrādāmāSa, Dāmaudāsīryaḥ parallel with DāmaudāSa), still place under different aspects the pressing problem of the real relation between Sanskrit and Prākrit, — or, in other words, the positive incipient of its Sanskrit.

The religious element which dominates all the phenomena [116] of Hindu life seems to suffice to settle all these apparent contradictions. The opposition observed in linguistic usage between the Kshatrapas and the Śātakarpīṣa reappears in the religious attitude of the two dynasties. There can be no question, assuredly, in ancient India, of determined, absolute,
uncompromising convictions; the avowed and officially proclaimed predilection does not amount to a passion, still less to intolerance. Although they profess themselves fervent worshippers of Bhagavat, of Mahēśvara, of Sugata, &c. (parama-bhāyavata, pā-māheśvara pā-sugata), the Gupta kings, those of Valabhi, the race of Haraha, and many other royal families, distribute none the less their eclectic favours among all the clergy and all confessions (see, e. g., my Donations religieuses des rois de Valabhi, in the Mémoires de la section des Sciences religieuses, 1896, pp. 75-100). Without refusing to Buddhism the freedom of circumstance, the Śātakarṇi proclaim their pretensions to Brahmanical orthodoxy. Their epigraphy opens at Nāmīghat with a long nomenclature of grand Vedic sacrifices and magnificent salaries paid to Brāhmaṇs by a prince of their family. From Gūtāmiputra onwards, at least, each of the kings is careful to affirm his relationship to the great Brahmanic clan: Gūtāmiputra, Vāsishthiputra, &c. Gūtāmiputra, the hero of the Nāsiṃ prāśasti, is exalted as the “Brahmaṇ par excellence” (śa-praṇava); he has increased the prosperity (117) of the families of the Brāhmaṇas (dījāva-katābā-viśeṣhna); he has accomplished the fundamental and essential work of Brahmanism, by putting an end to confusion among the castes which is the abomination of desolation in society governed by Brahmanic law (vinimaśita-chātuśra-sakara); the models which he recalls are the heroes of the Brahmanic epic: Rāma, Kṛiṣṇa, Arjuna, Bhimaśeṇa, Janamejaya, Sagara, Yayāti, Nakshe. The Purāṇas also have faithfully enrolled the list of Śātakarṇi kings in the succession of the dynasties which represent across the dislocation of Indian history the orthodox transmission of sovereign power.

The Khaṭrīs, on the contrary, are strangers, chance-masters imposed by the conquest; of Scythian origin, they have introduced into India the great religious indifference which characterises their race, which manifests itself in the Helleno-Indo-Indian pantheon of the gods of the Kushānas as well as in the universal religiousity of the Mogul Akbar. It is not upon them that the Brahmans must count for the restoration of their influence; their mere presence in power is an insult to orthodoxy. Buddhism, on the other hand, greets and welcomes with favour these curious and childish barbarians, always ready to adopt a new faith without abandoning their ancient gods, happy and flattered to naturalize their families and their gods in the classical soil of fabulous riches and of the (118) all-powerful magi; it satisfies therewith its thirst for propagation, its ardour for apostleship; it preaches its holy truths to them, its ideal of gentleness and charity. Rudrādama flatters himself to have “kept his promise to respect human life, except in combat” (purusa-vadha-nirvṛtti-krt-tvta-satya-pratijñāna anugraha samyakpuṣṭam). The innumerable glory of Kanishka, still spread over all oriental Asia, attests at what price the Church knew how to pay for the adherence of these barbarians.

Sanskrit has remained for the Hindu of the present day a sacred language, of magic power, powerful by its syllables, its sounds and its particles; it is a superhuman language which commands the forces of nature. Buddhism itself has in time placed itself at the service of this superstition. The priests who still study the rudiments of Sanskrit in Tibet, China, and Japan, believe the combinations of the alphabet to possess mysterious forces. An object decorated with the Sanskrit character is sacred; to use it outside of religious observance is to commit sacrilege. The Sakas must have found the same prejudice in force when they penetrated into India; but, exploited by the Brahmans for their own profit, the prejudice must have had for adversaries the other rival confessions of Brahmanism, such as Buddhism and Jainism, which keep their canonical and traditional scriptures in Prākrit editions. Two or three centuries earlier, (119) Aśoka doubtless had not so much as thought of borrowing Sanskrit from the Brahmanic schools to use in his inscriptions; but India, unchangeable only in appearance, had changed since then; continued relations with the Hellenic world had introduced new ideas; the invasion of the Sakas and the Turushkas had established barbarian dynasties in the very heart of the country, at Mathurā, at Ujjaini. Buddhists and Jains aspired to appropriate the language of which the Brahmans had kept the official monopoly.
Protected by the benevolent neutrality of the Kshatrapas of the North (Soçësa, &c.) and the Kushànas, but held either by the remains of superstitious scruple or by imitations of the consecrated forms of their canonical dialects, they combined Sanskrit and Pràkrit in their private inscriptions.

More anacritic and happier than their neighbours of the North, the Kshatrapas of Suràsa, and Malàva took up the direction of the movement which displayed itself in favour of literary Sanskrit. Local circumstances favoured it; carried by invasion to the confines of the Dákhan, the dynasty of the Sakas was soon isolated from its parent tribes which occupied the North-west of India; the Kharásàtri writing, an expressive indication of a political orientation towards central Asia, disappears from the Kshatrapa coins immediately after the second of their princes Châshasta; the only trace of foreign influence which remains is the presence of the Greek or [120] quasi-Greek characters, the interpretation of which remains more or less an enigma. The Indian legend, which is the counterpart of it, is traced in Brahmanic writing, the real Hindu script. Its language is, as I have said, Pràkrit; and the purpose, deliberate, and obstinate retention of this numismatic dialect, parallel with epigraphic Sanskrit, seems to me to define clearly the problem of the two languages. If the Kshatrapas who engraved Sanskrit on the rocks and columns, have excluded it from their coins, without being led away by the example set by one of themselves, Satyasàman, it is because the two categories of documents had a very distinct destination: the royal inscription, on rock and column, borrowed from its origin a sort of sacred character; the almost divine majesty of the kings reflected its glory directly upon them; it was still a sort of hymn to the grandeur of a god (Çiva, the official designation of the king in learned literature). The money had a vulgar function; mixed with the most trivial and ordinary practices of daily life, it passed from hand to hand, without respect of birth or caste, exposed to the most impure contact; the Greek, the Pràkrit, accommodated themselves to it without difficulty; the Sanskrit would have given offence, and the political sagacity of the Kshatrapas, proved by their long standing, understood how to spare the strong scruples of the conquered Hindus. The Sanskrit, just descended from the heights of heaven, was averse to treading altogether on the earth. The distribution of dramatic parlance, as [121] fixed by the theorists of the theatre and as practised with docility by its writers, seems to correspond with this phase of unsettled equilibrium between the invading Sanskrit and the Pràkritis in a state of possession. The convention which has introduced and maintained upon the scene the usage of four languages concurrently with one another, is a fact not so simple as to explain itself; it would be difficult to find outside of India another theatre where the language regularly and necessarily changes in its vocabulary and grammatical forms, with each category of personages. The hypothesis which would attempt to justify this singularity as an exact reproduction and voluntary imitation of the social condition, would be in contradiction to the essential genius of Hindu art in all its manifestations; Hindu art keeps away, on principle, from the real, which contaminates and spoils the creations of fancy and the pleasures of imagination. Besides, it is sufficient to observe, in order to do away with this supposition, that in all other kinds of literature, unity of language is an absolute rule; in the tales, as in the learned epics, kings and valets, Brahmanas and Parias, speak the same language. But, in the theatre, Sanskrit is reserved for the gods, kings, monks, great people; others share divers languages according to a minute technique. From this it appears,—and it is the conclusion to which we have been led by the study of the words with which we commenced—that the Sanskrit theatre must have been constituted at [122] that epoch when Sanskrit, secularised, was not yet vulgarised, under the auspices of these Kshatrapas who realised for a moment in the history of India the particularities of language and protocol which dramatic conventions afterwards perpetuated. Situated behind the port of Bhurukrackha (Broach, on the Narmadà, the classical Baçoéra), which Hellenic commerce had adopted as an entrepot since the discovery of the periodical monsoons, Ujàyini commanded the three highways required for importation and exportation: in the North, the Mathurà (Mejà) road, where there reigned over the Sûrañjas (Sùrâscàtes) a dynasty related to the Kshatrapas (Soçësa, &c.); in the
North-East, the road to Pāṭaliputra (भोजपुरा), the old capital of Magadha and the central market of the Ganges; in the South, the Dekhan (दक्षिण) route, and that of Pratishthāna (कर्नूल), the capital of the Sātakārgi princes of Mahārāṣṭra. The three great literary Prākrits, Saunarāṇī, Māgadhi, Mahārāṣṭri, radiate like a fan round Ujjaini, the capital of Mālava, where Sanskrit had for a long time tended to emerge. The style of the edicts of Piyadası engraved on the rocks of Girnar, side by side with the first inscription in Sanskrit of Rudradāman, distinguishes itself among all other parallel writings by its tendency to Sanskrit. In a now old work on the Indian theatre I have called attention to the Sakāra, the illegitimate step-brother of the king, and to the Šakāri parlance, which has fallen to him as to all the Sakas, [123] his congeners. Among a people so indifferent to the memory of their past as the Hindus are, the Sakāra and Šakāri can only be explained as a sacred legacy inspired by tradition. The Sakāra and the Šakāri come into existence either with a prince hostile to the Sakas, or immediately after the fall of the Sakas, while the memory of the personage and his language still lived among his contemporaries. The Mṛcchakatvāka, if it did not borrow from several of its forerunners, now lost, must date back still further than the rest of the Hindu theatre. Must we return to the theory of Wilson, w]...thought that the political events described in the piece were not pure fiction, and that Pālaka, by his inclination towards Buddhist doctrines and his disdain for Brahmanic privileges, had actually raised the rebellion related by the drama and which ends in a change of dynasty upon the throne of Ujjaini? (Theatre, ed. Rost, Vol. I. p. 158). The tradition contained in the prologue to the drama, attributing the authorship of the drama to king Śudraka, may have its origin in actual facts, but tangled and confused. A group of legends studied by Bhan Daji, Mandlik, and Jacobi, represent king Śudraka as the adversary of Sātavāhana and of his dynasty; to avenge an insult received, he allies himself with the son of the king of Ujjaini whom Sātavāhana had dethroned; he conquers the son of Sātavāhana, takes Pratishthāna and Kollāpura, but spares the inhabitants. We seem to hear an echo of these combats between the [124] Kṣatrapas and the Sātakārgi: the ruin of Nahapāna and of his race, exterminated by Gōtāmpūta, then the revenge of Rudradāman who triumphed twice over Pulumayi, son of Gōtāmpūta, reconquered the lost territories, and won glory by sparing the vanquished. The more we study the tradition in the light of historical documents, the more we feel the bonds tighten, which unite legend and history. Great names and great facts, imprinted on the imagination of the people and preserved also in documents, in inscriptions and on coins, which did not cease suddenly, between one day and the next, to be intelligible and intelligible, have been altered and transformed in the course of time without entirely disappearing.

If the Sanskrit theatre came into existence at the court of the Kṣatrapas, the theory of Greek influence seems to gain probability. The country of the Kṣatrapas was doubtless the most Hellenized of India, because of its being the most important market for Hellenic commerce. But there is nothing to lead us to believe that Greek influence could have extended to literature: the Greek characters engraved on the coins of the Kṣatrapas still resist all attempts at interpretation and seem to prove that the Hellenized remained very superficial.

The sum of the facts I have gathered here, leads me to admit that the Kṣatrapas Sakas played a decisive role in the final constitution of Sanskrit literature; these rough Scythian invaders, carriers of civilization through the world, [125] precipitated by their sudden intrusion the slow development of India. Varished, through the chances of their adventurous existence, by Iranism, Hellenism, Brahmanism and Buddhism, they burst the bonds of the Brahmanic organisation, still too rigid, in introducing themselves within them; these barbarian conquerors, condemned by orthodoxy, prepared the unity of India. In wrestling from the schools and liturgy of the Brahman their mysterious language, they raised up against the confused variety of local Prākrits an adversary which alone was capable of triumphing over it. India, in guarding faithfully the era of the Sakas as its own era, has been, without knowing it, grateful and just. Their accession opens a new and lasting epoch. The conquered Sanskrit gives to India a common literature, in default of a national literature.
DEPOSIT OF SUTRAS IN STUPAS.

BY VINCENT A. SMITH, M.A., L.C.S. (Barn.).

When Dr. Hoey and I described the find of inscribed bricks, as yet unique, at Gōpālpur in the Gōrakhpur District (Proc. A. S. B. 1896, p. 100) we failed to understand the nature of the ruined building in which they were enshrined. The bricks were inscribed with the sūtra of the 'Twelve Nīdānas,' or the 'Chain of Causation,' and had been deposited on a brick stand or platform in a small chamber, about eight feet square and about eight feet below the surface, which was built of huge bricks, about a foot and a half long, and some three inches thick... On a ledge in the chamber Dr. Hoey himself found a small earthenware saucer containing eleven copper coins, which had evidently been undisturbed since they were deposited." Ten of the coins belonged to the Kūhān kings, Kadphises II. (Hima), Kanishka, and Huvishka, while one was a specimen of the 'Cock and Bull' series of Ajodhya, with the name Auyu, or, as Mr. Ranson reads it, Ayaa (or Arya), Mitra.

Apparently, therefore, the deposit was made in the reign of Huvishka, the latest of the four kings represented. Possibly the number of coins, eleven, may be intended to signify the years of his reign. If so, the date, according to my chronology, which assumes the Kūhān inscriptions to be dated in the Lankika era, would be A.D. 164. Even if my theory of the early use of the Lankika era should not be sustained, and it should be proved that the great Kūhān kings employed a special 'era of Kanishka,' the date named would still, I am convinced, be approximately correct. The reasons for placing both Kanishka and Huvishka in the second century A.D. seem to me to be overwhelming.

A passage in It-sing's work, Records of the Buddhist Religion (transl. Takakusu, p. 150), proves clearly that the chamber at Gōpālpur opened by Dr. Hoey was the reliquary chamber of a stūpa. "The priests and the laymen in India," It-sing observes, "make chaityas or images with earth, or impress the Buddha's image on silk or paper, and worship it with offerings wherever they go. Sometimes they build stūpas of the Buddha by making a pile and surrounding it with bricks. They sometimes form these stūpas in lonely fields, and leave them to fall in ruins. Anyone may thus employ himself in making the objects for worship. Again, when the people make images and chaityas which consist of gold, silver, copper, iron, earth, lacquer, bricks, and stone, or when they heap up the snowy sand (lit. sand-snow), they put in the images or chaityas two kinds of sarīras [reliefs]: (1) the relics of the Great Teacher; (2), the Gāthā of the Chain of Causation. The Gāthā is as follows:

"All things (Dharmas) arise from a cause."
"The Tathāgata has explained the cause."
"This cause of things has been finally destroyed;"
"Such is the teaching of the Great Sramana (the Buddha)."

If we put these two in the images or chaityas, the blessings derived from them are abundant."

In a note Mr. Takakusu cites Professors Oldenberg and Rhys Davids as remarking that this famous stanza, the so-called 'Buddhist creed,' doubtless alludes to the formula of the twelve Nīdānas, which explains the origination and cessation of what are called here 'dhānamahāṁputta bhāsa.' Instances may be quoted of this stanza having been either enshrined in a stūpa or incised upon the building, but as yet the full sūtra of the twelve Nīdānas has not been found in any stūpa, except that at Gōpālpur.1

1 Compare the late Mr. Carlyle's discoveries in the great mound near Kaśi in the Gōrakhpur District, which was for a long time erroneously believed to be the site of Kuṇinagara. He writes:—"This sitting figure of Buddha... was actually found inside and in the centre of the base of a small brick votive stūpa." In clearing away another similar, but ruinous, little stūpa, he found in the centre of its base a fragment of sculpture exhibiting a female figure, apparently broken off from a group. "This placing of religious sculptures, or small statues," Mr. Carlyle observes, "inside small brick votive stupas was something new to me; and I thought this circumstance to be very curious and worthy of record." In a deep excavation in front of the temple of the Uying Buddha, he obtained a small plate of copper, about four and a half inches in length by an inch in width, inscribed with the usual Gāthā, Ye dharmas, &c. The script was judged to be of the fifth century A.D. I have no doubt that this plate also had been used as the sanctifying deposit placed inside either an image or votive stūpa. (Cunningham, Reports, XVIII. 20.)
I may add that Dr. Hoernle has for long entertained the intention of publishing a complete edition of the Göpālpur inscribed bricks, but has not yet found an opportunity of doing so. A small scale photograph of one side of one of them is given in Prof. Rhys Davids' latest book, Buddhist India (p. 123, fig. 27). The fact is also worth noting that bricks of huge dimensions were still used as late as the second century A.D.; but it is possible that they were taken from an earlier building. Bricks of such size are commonly associated with buildings of greater antiquity.

RAMABHADRA-DIKSHITA AND THE SOUTHERN POETS OF HIS TIME.

BY T. S. KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI; TANJORE.

(Concluded from p. 142.)

Pupils of Rāmabhadra-Dikshita were also eminent scholars. They all acknowledge him as preceptor in very respectful terms in their works. They were (1) Brīṇāvīśā-Dikshita, the author of the Svarasiddhāntachandrākṣa, a well-known work on Sanskrit grammar.

(3) Venkatesvara-Kavi, the commentator on Rāmabhadra-Dikshita's Patañjaliścharita and the well-known author of the Uḍḍānighaṇṭa compiled under the patronage of Sāhāji I. of Tanjore.

वन्दे धाम विनिधेन तपासूर्याहान्तशान्त्ये |
यत्रातितदाराकां ताल्यं वामर्थाजालिना || 8 ||
शालकोटिकनकरकुटीरसर्वकृतिवाक्यमिति |
आदित्याह्रिशिपकर्तवीरसर्वाभ्ये || 9 ||
अति तद्द्वारे नाम हस्ताधारिकुक्तात्मकम् |
अघोषोब्धरणीविद्वेषकस्थलम् || 10 ||
* * * * * * * * * * || 11 ||

* * * * * * * * * * || 12 ||

* * * * * * * * * * || 13 ||

(Notes and annotations follow in Sanskrit script.)
Commentary on the Patanjali-charita.

(3) Bhūminātha-Kavi, who wrote the Dhārma-viñayasaḫampā, a romance from which extracts have already been made above on p. 132 ff.
धर्मविजयाचूक्षमालेवा

वैध्यानाथ, यो वैध्यानाथोऽपि न वैध्यानाथोऽपि न वैध्यानाथोऽपि न वैध्यानाथोऽपि न वैध्यानाथोऽपि

मृत्युस्तप हि पाणिनि: पदममात्यपरायण तथा

वायकानां कुदिः स्वयं विन्युते वायस्य दास्यं सदा व 

रिद्धश्य यस्य विरोधाबिदमकुदिःक्वचापार्थिकाः

समुद्रमात्यमवस्त्रलिखिते भृत्यों नामो नै भवन्तं।

प्रणम्य परमेवं भवानीपिरस्पग्यं।

किये वैठनायेन परिभाषा: स्मृतं।

परिभाषा: स्मृतं।

(4) वैध्यानाथ, दौर्गिक, अन्य अनुकुल रामाभद्रा- दिखिता।

श्रीधरानाथसामग्री।

प्राप्ति नित्यमूल्य दुनायेन भूषन।

सुधारितस्वयं नाम भाण विषयमृत्यु:।

(5) राघुनाथ, यस्य राघुनाथविना रामाभद्रा दिखिता।

सुधारितलकाभाद्या।

कथायुक्तां कृतस्य नाम भाण विषयमृत्यु:॥

The following names of Rāmabhadrā-Dikṣita's contemporaries are given in his Shādā
darantirteddhāantasamgraha : (1) Rāmanāthamahakīn, (2) Naraharyadhvarin, (3) Periyappā-Kavi
alias Vināyak, (4) Srīvenkata, (5) Taijāsvardhvarin, and (6) Śrīnivāsamahakīn.
All of them flourished in the reign of Sāhajī I, A.D. 1684-1711. Further, the learned men to whom the grant of the village of Tiruvāisaiṇallur was made by Rāja Sāhajī I were his contemporaries. Including Rāmabhādra-Dikshīta himself they were 46 in number, the most prominent of them being (1) Bhāskara-Dikshīta, the author of the Ratnatālīkā, a commentary on Krishṇānanda Sarasvatī's Siddhānta-Siddhānta, a general treatise on Vedānta.

Ratnatālīkā.
वेन्द्राक्षरीभुवने दिक्षितेन नाथ्याविजयायण्यायः

अहिती श्रीभोजगणिकानिन्दुविक्रमः
आनाचंदी विभोरश्च राजामुखस्वेतकाः
श्रीभोजस्वरूपमाधविकामिनि शाहिराज विहुः
मेंकुमरभुवनसेन विदिता शुभरिखिका बृहस्पूतः
यास्यं श्री सुविद्यारतिरि यस्मादोऽद्य तैः
ि सोब्रजीविजयश्रीगुजारिकाय सरस्वतिकविभूतः
ि सरस्वतिजुगानिशतब्रह्मेयोपलेनतनेन
ि स्वर्णशंकुविवेकानन्दश्रीरस्योपाध्यायः
ि श्रीभोजश्रीअग्निश्रीकृष्णमुखे
ि साधनेयोऽन्तस्य साधुप्रसीति स्वरूपः
ि कवित्यायणस्यकाव्यार्थयूक्तिः
ि कृष्णवात्स बहिः बहिः किल स्वच्छः

Veṅkaṭaśaṅkara-Dikṣitā next wrote, in the following order, the Śrīrāmāchandrasekhaṇḍa, the Uttarachampā and the Kuśāleśvāryaṇḍaka.
At the end—

गंगायणिमि वेदेवतात्विकीयो मध्यमिकायां गुणे:।
संज्ञाति विदर्शस्तुसम्वन्दने कथ्यपुष्पबंधे कुले:।
कार्तिकेयाः वेदेकुपर्णाणां विज्ञायिनिर्मणसम:।

Uttarachampa.

आदिश्च तत्त्वोपसमावेशभवोजाजन भोसलकुलकललिपिः च। अर्थात् खलुसमस्ततप्तवादस्तापानिलोकेष्य

चालूक्कुलविकीष्ठान् अद्वितीय विद्वज्ञानाथप्राचीनस्य वेदेवतात्विकीयो मध्यमिकायाः गुणायां:।

विद्वानं: कामः।।

स किं वटाकर्मि वर्तमानस्तथविविधाः।
ज्ञानमकुटसाहादुःशयावरीन्नाशि:।
अध्यायविधियं वियत्तक्षेत्रस्थितिः।
गुहययात्रोविषयमानविन्दानियतां:।

श्रीमुकुटलघुकोशपरिचितोऽसाठुः।
श्रीवर्षमात्रायं विषयमात्रानि च।
उत्सर्जनानादिपमित्रानि च।

राज्यं सुभं श्राहिनाज्येष्ठेऽप्नाशी:।

* * *

वायुष्मी निजतत्वपादिनकटाद्यस्तसाक्ष्मुः।
सम्यकक्षिताभन्तकात्लकालसांकारभावः।

केक काश्युगं नदेयश्रीलिङ्गश्रीमानन्तदेशाः।
भिन्नो गोत्रचर्म प्रसंसर्वस्य यन्ति: कियानुः।

In the Prastāvanā of the Kaśīalavijayaṇyāstaṇa.

(3) Vēdakavi, who wrote the Jīvāñadaṇāntaṇa, Vīdyaparīṇaṇyāṣṭaka and its commentary and who attributed his works to his patron Anandāraṇyāmakhīn. Mention is made of Anandāraṇyāmakhīn, minister of Śāhajī I, in the Pariśīhādīpītyāvyākhyāna by Rāmabhadrā-

Dīkṣita.
Anandarâyamakhin continued as minister and general during the reigns of Sarabhôji I. and Tukkôji. He defeated in A. D. 1725 the combined forces of the Nâyaka of Madura and the Togdâmân of Pudukkôttai, both of whom espoused the cause of Tanţatévan, a claimant for the Marava Chiefship of Râmnâ in opposition to Bhavâniankarâ. This fact is borne out by the subjoined extract from the Tanjore District Manual, p. 771 f., paragraph 14:—

"In 1725, on the death of Vijayaraghunâthâ, the adopted son of the infamous 'Kilavan' (old man) who persecuted and brutally murdered the Portuguese Jesuit Missionary, John D. Britto (1698), the right of succession to the Maravan Chiefship became the subject of violent contest, attended with bloodshed, between two rival claimants, Tandatevan, a descendant in a collateral branch of a former Chief, and Bhavaniankarâ, an illegitimate son of Kilavan. The latter's cause was espoused by the Raja of Tanjore, while the Nâyak at Madura and the Tondaman of Pudukkottai (Poodooocottâ) supported the former. The troops of Madura and Pudukkottai, however, were put to flight by the Tanjore general, Ánanda Râo Peahâva, who having seized and slain Tanda, put Bhavanîcankara in possession of the country."

Ánandarâyamakhin died probably in the latter part of Tukkôji's reign and was succeeded by Ghanâyâmapûdîta, generally known as Ghaundâjîpân. The Jâdânandanântaka was composed during the reign of Sâhaji I. (1694-1711).

**Sūtrabhâs:—नन्विशति मय वशी सहद्यजनबन्धनं जीवानन्दन नाम तिनी नाटकम्।
パリパリक्षेत्र:—कस्यात प्रवृत्तस्त्य कवि:।

**Sūtrabhâs:—विविक्तविकर्षतरागतरागमथि। य एष इह

युद्देश्विनिमतिः। वैभिषतनिमतियययीयमच्य:।

देवजनाधीनदेवी विहरति समरे च विक्रम इव।

यः स्नातोस्वाम विध्वंसिनिध्विशिद् यः स्नायविधायतो

एनाकारी सहलदक्षिणमही यः सत्त्राभिषेती।

सत्वः चतुर्वनारायणवतितकों विविक्तीकीनां प्रभो:।

सत्वास्य नृसिंहरायाम्यभिन्नमुदयमभावोऽनुजः।

* *

**Sūtrabhâs:—(विविक्त) मारिय, ल्ये न जानामी त्य एवं व्रीथिय।

**Sūtrabhâs:—अ बलायामी पोलिस्मानि मय रेम्प्या तथा लालित:

सत्से निससम्पूर्व कुष्टिमानद्रायायाश्च।

इथेककिस्मिति तथागातर्गजाभिः। गिरां आयाधिया

श्रीशाहार्यानिस्वायकाकृतिमृत्वा नून भसाद: कृत:।

Jâdânandanântaka by Ánandarâyamakhin.
The Vidyapariṇāyantaka and its commentary by the same author were written during the reign of Sarabhojī I (1711-1729), the younger brother and successor of Sāhajī I.

Certainly Vēḍakavi must have lived during the reign of Sarabhōjī I, if he wrote the Vidyaparīṇāyantaka. Mahāmāhāpādhyāya Paṇḍit Durguṇaśāstri, in identifying Sāhajī with Sarabhōjī, in his edition of the Śrīvānandaśāntaka, p. 108, has evidently made a mistake. Likewise Dr. Burnell’s supposition in his Tanjore Catalogue, p. 172, that the Vidyaparīṇāyantaka was composed about A.D. 1750 is not free from error. Another work by, or rather attributed to, Anandarāyamakhin is the Āśvalyānagrihyasūtragātriti.
That Anandarayamakhin was dead, when Pratapasiṅhha (Pratapasing) ascended the throne in 1741, is beyond all doubt, as the name of the former is mentioned among the benevolent men of the past in the subjoined verse of the Mahiṣaṇakata, which was composed at that time by Vāṇcīkākrīvarī.

Therefore, the Aśvalyānagriṇīkhyāvatāvatītī by Anandarayamakhin could certainly not have been written so late as 1770 A. D. as Dr. Barmell supposes (see his Tanjore Catalogue, p. 13).

The following pedigree of Anandarayamakhin is based on the extracts quoted below it:—

Bāṇājī
t (of the Bāṇājīgastra).

Gaṅgādhara-dvarīn alīs Kākōjīpaṇḍita
(minister of Ekōjl).

Narasiṃhādhvarīn
(minister of Ekōjl and Sāhajī; and author of the Tripurāvayajīchampī).

Tryambakādhvarīn
(author of (1) Śrīdharmā, (2) Dharmakītā, &c.).

Bhavantarāya
(step-brother of Narasiṃhādhvarīn and Tryambakādhvarīn and author of the Mukundavilāśakāyā, Rāghavābhujadandakāya, and Uddarachampī).

Anandarāya (minister of Sāhajī, Barabājī, and Tukkōjī; and author of the Hādīnandānandākāya, &c.).
बहुकथाकथाकथाकथाविषयक वर्णन

रामधर्मकथाकथाकथाविषयक वर्णन

उत्तराचार्या भगवंतराया

मुकुन्दविल्हासिक्या भगवंतराया

(4) महादेवाकरी, वांशीकरण: अद्वंतवादी, वांशीकरण:

(5) पैरियाप्पा-कवि अद्वंतवादी, वांशीकरण: अद्वंतवादी,
Mahādevavājapeyin was the father of Vāsudeva-Dikshita, the author of the Bālamānabhratam and Adhvaramadeśikadīñakātaraṇī. His commentary on the Siddhāntasāhasrika is called the Bālamānabhratam in contrast with the Praṇakamānabhratam of Bhāṣṭrī-Dikshita, the author of the text. According to the colophon, the Bālamānabhratam was composed during the reign of (the Marāṭha king) Tukkōji of Tanjore. Tukkōji ascended the throne in A.D. 1729. Therefore this commentary must have been written between that date and 1736, the last year of his reign. Vāsudeva-Dikshita was the pupil of his elder brother Viśvēvara-Dikshita. This Viśvēvara-Dikshita's grandson, Bālā-Dikshita nāma Yaṭṭēsvara-Dikshita, wrote the Bōdhyanamahāyogin chayanaprayoga, Srvastaprabhadhāsangrahavijñāni, Sādāhāryaprayoga, Agraḥyanaprāyaṇa, Darśānprāyaṇa, and several other works on Bōdhyanasyatikā.

Introduction to the Bālamānabhratam:

अतु नमः पाणिनिः भूयो सुन्दर सरस्वती वरस्वते ।
किं चालु पत्तुलाय स्मले विशेषायाराय गुरवे च ॥

Colophon of the Bālamānabhratam:—इति श्रीमस्ततसन्नगुणायमालयमयान्यं जयेश्वरांगीरां रघुराजकारादिवसातुतुम्बुमात्रमस्य श्रीदेवजीविशेषेनि भूतात्मकां भूतात्मकां अवश्य भूतात्मकां प्रभाताँ विशेषायाराय गुरवे च ॥

Introduction to the Bōdhyananadariśupradhyaprayoga:—

हारभिः सोमसन्यासपि त्वेत् दुर्ग्रामसमिः ।
सुव्रहण्यार्थवृद्धिः पौत्रं सौतसगरम ॥
श्रीवल्लभावर्तीकृतसंवर्धनालमणिर्यभुः
स्वर्णाभस्मातः सूतः किलमहादुर्गिर्यभस्मः ।
श्रीनारायणदेविनिविवे यदुनुजस्यभुवनमुन्व
भवात् पदवक्यमाननिगुण वेदादिमूर्ता इव ॥
श्रीनारायणविवे क्षेत्रविवे विविधाय वाकुदेवधरीनः
ह्यताः श्रीसमन्तान्तरोक्षक्षुद ततः श्रीविनालधरीनः ।
नेतीवेवस्य पूर्वो विशेषत्वानेकसन्ध्यसारसः
श्रीप्रभाषाययम नम पितुरंगुण साङ्गहवका ॥
श्रीवोधयानकरुपालिनिन्य यायादिविश्वास्त्री
श्रीलक्ष्मीकारिकाकालकतास्यकानि वानी स्वटुम ।
अस्तात्तनादिनित्यार्थानि श्रीवायुदेवार्थाः
ह्ये तत्त तत्त कल्ये सूक्ष्मां वजस्थाः ॥

[Page 186] [July, 1904.]
At the end of the above work—

राजाधिशास्त्रविद्वानानीयता(सरङ्खोपल्र II)यथा नागेश्वरस्वामिनी विध-
भी-विनायकसंकल्पत: कल्पकर्तिकेश्वर मम ।
देशो दयानि नो भवंतर पुनः स्वामीश्वरस्मृय तः
जोश्यपरिवर्धयनु दयया सन्तो विद्वानोहस्तम् ॥)
श्री प्राचीन भाषागारारम्भ ग्रन्थादीसत्ताबंधना कृता धोभा-
यन्यायज्ञानन्दर्मचारसाधनाविवृत्ति: संपूर्णाः ॥

The subjoined pedigree shows the descent of Mahâdevavâjapyâyin and his relationship to Bála-Dikshita:

Mahâdevâvâjpurâni.

Vâryâvarâdhvirin.

Mahâdevâvâjpurâni (contemporary of Râmabhâdra-Dikshita and the author of the Subâdhanâ, &c.) mt. Annapûrpâ.

Nârâyanapâ-Dikshita (author of the Sâdabhâsâka and Bhâttanâyâdhyâta).

Viârâvarâdhvirin.

Vâsudèvâvâdharin (tutor of Vâsudèvâvâdharin).

Râmaçandrâdharin. Srisâvâsadhvirin.

Vâsudèvâvâdharin (author of the Bâlanâmâmand, &c.).

Subrahmanya-Dikshita (alias Subâvâjapyâyin).

Bâla-Dikshita (alias Yajñâvarâdhvirin).

(7) Sridharavasukatâ, known as Ayyâ Avâj throughout Southern India and celebrated for his piety and devotion, was the author of several religious lyrics. The following are his works:— (1) Akhyâdhâshita, (2) Dayâalkata, (3) Mûdrikâsatâka, (4) Stutipadâhati, (5) Sivâbhaktiâjâpalalâ, (6) Sivâbhaktulâkhâ, (7) Târâlîgâlîâ, (8) Ârthavasûtra, (9) Kûlirâsâhâ, (10) Dâdamûrtanâmundâkâ, &c., published in one volume in Grantha character in the Srâvidyâ Press, Kumbakâm, (11) Sâhândrasâvishâdmânya in 8 cantos describing the exploits of his patron Sâhaji of Tanjore. The following events referred to in it are of historical interest. Ékâj, the founder of the Marâthâ dynasty of Tanjore, came on an excursion to the south accompanied by a large body of cavalry and his eldest son Sâhaji I, the hero of the poem. On his way he overthrew many chieftains that were hostile to him and left in power those that were well-disposed towards him. On reaching the banks of the Kâvâr, his second son Surphôjî was born. The then ruler of the Chôla country in great apprehension sent an army against him; but it was completely defeated and Ékâj easily took possession of the country. After some time, he got his son Sâhaji crowned as sovereign of Tanjore. In the reign of Sâhaji, the Nâyakas of Madura made frequent encroachments upon the territories of the Sêtupati of Râmâd, who had declared himself a feudatory of Tanjore. The army sent to help the latter defeated the Nâyakas of Madura and strengthened the position of the Sêtupati. Râjârâm, the illegitimate son of Sivâjî the Great and therefore a cousin of Sâhaji I, was at this time the regent of the Marâthâ dominions in the North on account of the minority of Shâhâ and seems to have been on very friendly terms with him. In 1690 Shâhâ was taken prisoner by the Muhammadans and Râjârâm escaped to Gingi in South Arcot, where he was besieged. Sâhaji despatched an army from Tanjore, which compelled the Muhammadan troops to raise the siege for a time. But the fort was eventually taken by Zulfiqar Khân, who allowed
Rajaram to escape. The details of Ekjoli's accession to power in Tanjore have not been fully stated in this work.
विपिनं करितिश्रिष्टं परानं नीत्यं परिश्लायं चापरान् 
परिश्रभुजं अवयं नृपति: पैक्षतं सहस्यञ्जात्तिमम् ||
उदभूतं तव नदनं शरणोपिन्यं श्रीदेव

निपुणं परिश्रमिष्टं समरस्तासं ववकृतसं वहनं ||
अथ चतुर्भितमौशब्धं व बिकालपापमेक्षुभूतिम् ||
समरायं भयादिष्टुरं पुनरं प्रवाहस्य सम समयं ||
बनवन्तिहस्तमुख्षुष्ठेऽविभिन्नाः रिषुवर्गसङ्क्रेत ||

कुपितस्य तदेकभूतेऽरचल्कुलनया सम स चमू: ||
रत्नो रथिधिः शुभेत्रिवंशां हृदिष्ठितसङ्क्षां हस्तिणे: ||
भिन्नाः सुन्दरवर्णिनिः सा: परित: सुशुब्धवर्णिः: ||
अथ भोजविकानां चोलरकारां भवद्वास्य: भद्दच्छया ||

नरवति सम समज्पति सुदुःक्रमत्विगतिया वहता का दरका ||
अथ शास्त्रसुविचारसैनिकेऽ निर्ममायम् चौलभूपते: ||

वरणस्वभावितोजिन्हेः पि कि साहित्यस्य दुरसदम् ||
महां निधिरत्मेक्षुभूतमण्डलयमित्वं निरस्य तम् ||

लोकरेऽस्तरा चालिनीमि: तल्लानगरं तदसदम् ||
उदपादि वतस्तुभंभवसुलक्षण रत्नं भक्षानं ||

परिवर्तितसुपाण्यं-सुदुः परिसूचि च रथसति च निने: ||
धरणीपरिवर्तितसूर्यंताम ध्रुवाहार्षितसुर्यादशे: ||

प्रत्यक्ष सर्वभूतोत्साहात्र च पुरुषार्थ: ति हि तत्कालविदः ||
गुणभूतस्य भन्नकार्यधारी: भेयायुद्धकार्याभिवाचितकः ||

defnia विज्ञानात्ययशा महीनेर्देवताः यमामायमायमायात्माः ||

भयंकरस्यं गुर्जुकाराः वृसिन्हानास्य तदपन्नय ||
आनन्दयतमुखं महाराजाः माकोण्ठरिक भगवंदं त्रिमणे: ||

लेखेनेश्वरुप्या विपिनिशाकारांश्च यवमेनश्वरप्य: ||
राजामनवे विविधते विविधं तदइत्यं सुदुः सहम ||
भापकं तदविन्यामस्युरोरास्थवर्य नयत्तस्याविदः ||

अभिवाचितस्यं महोहंस्यवंहरस्य स्म गिर्यं मितालास्मात् ||
लेखेनेश्वरसिद्धो विभिन्न लां परं हि शारणं न हुञ्चयते ||

नैप योगिक्षमिः प्रजाभिनं संधिक्षमं तु न वेदश्रव्यते ||
करुणहास्यं तदन्नाम पञ्चदस्तपरिश्रितम्यान्वितम् ||

रक्षणं हि शारणाभिकारिण्यं वस्तुलस्य सहजं गुणं विदु: ||
हर्मान्यवचन सा वाहीनीप्रयण नर्तयिन्द्रवाशिष्टः।
अज्ञानिविक्ष्टं च मुँहं संविषत्व अंगवशिष्टः।
दरुसंहरणं च नमो दधिभयायासभमं माधुर्य बलम्।
प्रस्तुतितेष्विनिविग्रहितां सुमदलंहनिन्धारिश्च।
रंसा द्वृत्ती संहितैः ग्राममुखराषुदुद्रज्ञवनं।
माधुर्यपुनरुत्सन शाश्वेत शामभूमित्वमूत्सदारं।
शामभूमित्वमुनित्रष्ट्रद्विजित्वमधुर्याभिर्ययुज्ञम्।
सेतुतामतनिमो हर्मान्यवसुपंतेनबधिश्च।
तेन सेतुपतिनार्थतां मग्नानेमानो च किरितोमी प्रकाशितम्।
शामभूमित्वमः न्यायवेदन्युपायः पुरुषाः पतिः।
श्रुव्य तदारात्मन्ििनितितिर्विपलुदा हर्मान्यश्रीः।
श्री-श्री-श्री-श्री-श्री-श्री-श्री-श्री-श्री-श्री-श्री-श्री-श्री-श्री-श्री।
सैन्यानि सैन्यानि सैन्यानि सैन्यानि विद्वेरित्वान।
हुम्पानि स्थापत्यानि सुतमात्रिविद्वेरित्वमानः।
अथ कितीप्रेमी रुप्यनास्ते शामभूभास्तविडित्राणमेव:।
निवेद्यमाणः पुरुषामायाने धेरूः पारम्पिन मृतमेव।।
सनात: पशौनै सनातो विधिना स रामकाण्डकोटिज्याक्षपुंजः।
तत: कितीप्रेमी रुप्यनास्ते शामभूभास्तविडित्राणमेव।
पतन्त्ये स्मारुपायानेऽहेमातलीकालोकारः।।
पैरे: समुक्षितमुरुगमानस्त्रजापुरीं माविश्वरुकीग्रीः।
पुराणसुन्दरीवीरार्थमानि माविश्वरुकेशिपि।
लोकायामः।
ततो निदित्तस्य विद्वेरित्वानि राजारामात्मादारपुणः।
उपायन्यांशवरः। पवृत्तिः सिंहानोक्तिसिनं शामभू॥
बैरमहाइति विद्वेरित्वानि विद्वेरित्वानि।
स राजामद्व तथरसुवद्वत्तात्त्व त्व भलीं यवः।।
दिक्षोपत: संस्कितमुपुपाला: केविन्त्रृहीता दलितापुष्करूपिः।
विद्वेरिताः केविन्त्रृहीता वस्तूचितयोगिः।
स्वविता युज्ञविवेकितः स्वस्वविता स्वस्वविवेकितः।
सत्यसत्यात्त्व यथाश्रावार्थात्व चतुर्वर्णोऽवस्था:।
स मन्वते भुस्वमभृत्तस्य वर्णविवेकस्वहं भास्त्रः।।
मार्गिदान्तः कितिवित्ततद्व: शुभेति वाणिज्यसघति तेतामः।
संसारात्मान्यहतं हार्षां चतुर्वर्णमानि निः हि जातु वन्यः।।
प्राप्तजुहुपुराणमन्त्रितिर्महाभाष्यामितिधितिमव:।
सान्ति विवृत्तमालक्यत: शाहिबिपु: कांत्यः।।
Sahéndradvídásāvāya.

(5) Sámavēda Veśkaśvara Sāstrin, who wrote the Upagranthabhāṣya and several other works in connection with the Sámavēda. He was the son of Ikkiri Appā Sāstrin already mentioned among the learned men of the village of Kaṇḍamāṇīkāyam.

अस्ति प्रभागाधिपथयम न: पद्म मूलयिन बिजजयसिद्धि
तन्नुसारसो विद्वन्तस्तति श्रुत्यादि देह महिमाम। 
लं वै शिक्ताको नाम बेचन्यायासेवनात ।
कौशिकसस्य येयां साड़ृष्टियवचनात ।
बहुतुल्लानां साहृतस्य सुविदा नृत्याम।
अध्यात्मविद्वर्धतात तुल्यानाम।
श्रीनिवासाश्रमकेषाः बिजन्यसत्यसाधनात विशु:।
पूर्णान्त्यतिरं च पायथ्यानु तहतं गत:।
तस्या मानान्त नास्तिक साधों वदन्ति भि।
बेदाण्यानुसायित्य कायायनमहायुः।
उपवनयमुन्य सतपदासर्वाद्यं वालिः।
गायकानां निर्णयस्त रक्षसस्यापि निर्णय:।
सुवर्णवर्णस्तिर्यापि निर्णयय: शाख:।
सामविद्वारणस्पायति व्याहरितस्वादिकृतः।
सामविद्वारणस्य सामविद्वारणत:।
यकेशु चमरायां बहसाय च निर्णय:।
आपरस्मुर्नीवनस्य तान्यालयस्त नत: परस्म:।
आपरस्मुर्नीवनस्य सूक्ष्म्यायान्यां च निर्णय:।
ज्ञानोघंभयं बिच्यायु: कृतकाल्नात् च यन्तसम:।
श्रीतपायार्थं चस्यमय संस्याकृति भववत्।
सामस्तविद्वारणस्य सामस्तविद्वारणस्य स्वेदम्।
व्यात्मति गणनायो ने कुट्यान्वदयानात:।
Another contemporary of Rāmabhadrā-Dīkṣita was Appā Dīkṣita or Appādharvarin of Māyāvaram, who wrote his Āchāraṇyanītta between A.D. 1696-1704, in the reign of Sāhaj I. Other works by the same author are the Madanabhūṣanabhidya and the Gaurīndradharmapū. He belonged to the Srivatsa gotra and his father’s name was Chidambaram-Dīkṣita of Kīlayūr. In A.D. 1696, in the Cyclic year Dhātri, during the reign of Sāhajī, he went to Tanjore to attend the yūga (sacrifice) performed by Tryambakāmātya-Dīkṣita (i.e. Tryambakaraṇa Peshva). The latter was then officiating as minister in place of his elder brother’s son Anantarāyamakha (Ānandarao Peshva), who was still a youth. After the sacrificial ceremonies were over, the king detained Appā Dīkṣita at Tanjore for about three months in order to hear him recite the Mahābhārata. On his departure after three months, he was desired by the king to write a digest on the law, religion, and customs of the country. He, accordingly, began the Āchāraṇyanītta in A.D. 1696, and together with his son completed it after a lapse of eight years in A.D. 1704.

It begins as follows:

वन्दे गुरु-दुर्योगमृत्युभाधिभिधान—
न्योशिक्षमभमहेजगापात्मोस्मु तु।

तानिस्यवास्यभिभिभोऽिगुरुः पुराण-
पुण्यसुम्भूतमुष्मितज्ञवतिराने ॥

गौरींद्रायान्यायांक्वेन्द्रदिनियस्मात: ॥
अपाध्यायो विन्युंते सदाचारस्य संग्रहम। ॥

आचार्यान्यनात्यधिवसय पिष्ठाशितस्रुवेठित: ॥
आचारयन्तीनात्यत्विनिद्वादित्वुपारल: ॥

किविद्य: काहमाध्यमविचारविदो भ्रमानस्य क वेदे वेदेय: मेहूं मन्नयुस्मुसुनिविभेदत्वार्थविहित: ॥
कितु स्वाधीनन्त्वेत्रविविधि सेरमानस्य शाखाये- दैवे: समरसस्य पक्षितदिवास: पदयत मौडार्यभ्यः ॥
धौकानिविभित्तिनात्यानावदानान्यर्गोपासन- 
हुतुक्षमिभावभिभ्विभिन्नस्यस्यपरमाष: ॥
स्मानन्त प्रमादय साधिष्यान्न्यान्त्वष्ठानयोगोऽरा- 
न्नाल्न्यान्ति वितेव: पैदेश्वस्मानायप्यम्याध्वरः ॥

* This author has been already mentioned on p. 137 above.
भारवे यदा यज्ञस्वार्थमहामागतः
श्रीमहाराजस्य मानिन्दश्यथकर्मोः
महाराजस्तु मां श्रीमाय स्वनभायमहासाधूतः
भारतवर्णार्य सागीदिवसरिपे
यदा मातब्यादृशः त्यायातुतां महीपते
गन्धुमिच्छामि च तदा धर्मग्राहानिविवधने
महाराजेन चात्मातो गौरीमायुमहामागतः
तस्मान्यन्य वृद्धिन्याचे धर्मात्मासुमधानि
एकादेश मया पुल्लुकेन गावः कृते
वुद्दिविदेन मयेन सागीदिवसङ्कूळे
अयत्तस्थित्वानिस्म सत्क्षेत्रसूक्ष्महि
आचार्यगीतिः लमृदु सत्यसाहिनहसूः
महाराजस्य दया तस्मात्मासमत्रुटि
समातं भज्जदागि: सहे लैखिनमुक्याया
महाराजस्य महाराजाशी एव हि देवस्या
अहम्पाध्वरी नाम्ना महाराजेन सादसम्
द्वारं महीं समाधाय * * * * दिःशमुते:
पञाहे: परमसिद्धे प्रामे कृत्या समाचिते
कुवंदुकुद्रकर्षण पुलिलिक्षे: समाधूः
श्रेय: श्रार्यमान: समाहाराजस्य सन्ततम्
आपु: द्रोणं मुख वस्तुमिच्छामयनिन्नियान्ति
मनोरथो महाभुज महाराजेन पूर्वताम
dक्षमापतिः भवत्वयुक्तेन लघोऽदयाय
दीपमाघित्वासम्भायमाहिममाहिमस्यंवतुषोऽयः
श्रीमहाराजस्य भवास्यु वसुधामाचायमस्याध्वरी
यहनात्रवेलेन धर्मविविधं शास्त्या समग्रन्वयन
श्रीमाहाराजस्य श्रीमायुमहामागत्
वंशामुराविश्विन्या विधिवशास्त्रमाने
सन्तारिनियमहिसा सकलार्योऽधधी
माताराष्ट्रनीतिसङ्गीतमृतम्
In conclusion, I give a revised pedigree of the Marāṭha Rājās of Tanjore, based partly on the extracts printed below it:

```
Varāṭhakshitindra.
  ↓
  Ekanarādhipa.
    ↓
    Parasājī.
      ↓
      Bhājīt alias Vira Bāvājī.
        ↓
        Mallōjī alias Vira Mālōjī.
          ↓
          Sāhajī alias Sābendra.
            ↓
            Sambhājī.
              ↓
              Sivājī.
                ↓

2. Sāhajīt, 1684 A. D. Rudhirādgārīn.
4. Tukkājīt alias Tulājājīt, 1729 A. D. Kilaka.
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5. Ekōjī alias Bāvā Sāhib, 1736 A.D.
Rākhāsa (his widow).
6. Mātu-Srī Suganā Bāyī Sāhib, 1737 A.D.
Raudra.

3. Tulajājī,
1765 A.D.
Tāraṇa.

8. Pratāpasīhīla,
1741 A.D.

10. Amarasīhīla
1788 A.D.
Plavaṅga.

(His adopted son)
11. Surphōjī II., 1800 A.D.
Kālayuktā.

12. Sivājī, 1833 A.D. — 1855 A.D.
Nandana.

Kātturāja or Sāhāj II., whose relationship is still uncertain, reigned as the seventh prince for about a year.

Amarabhadrā-dikshita and the southern poets.
BOOK-NOTICE.


The Jaina of India are not a very large community; but there are several points of interest connected with them. We are glad to receive the translation by Dr. James Burgess of a valuable paper read by the late Dr. Bühler at a meeting of the Imperial Academy of Sciences at Vienna, in May 1897. It extends to 79 pages.

Dr. Bühler was a very careful and accurate scholar; and it is very satisfactory to have this subject discussed up to date. The translation has been carefully executed and runs in simple natural English. Some useful footnotes have been added by the translator.

The relations of Jainism to Buddhism have not always been properly understood even by professed Orientalists. There are singular resemblances and singular differences between the two systems; and there are approximations of Jainism to Brahmancial doctrine. More than any other creed the Jaina is opposed to the taking of animal life. The Jaina have not taken to agriculture, but mainly to commerce; the former would have involved the death of living creatures. They have built the most splendid temples in India; and they have largely cultivated literature both Sanskrit and popular. Like Buddhism, Jainism is decidedly atheistic.

J. M. M.

1 Compare also verse 4 quoted on p. 186 above from Yeṣāvataṁśi-Dharmas's Uttararāmasūtra, where Tulāja is called Takkollī.
FROM some time in A. D. 814 or 815, to about A. D. 877-78, there reigned in Western India a king of the great Râshtrakûta dynasty, whose proper name has not yet come to light, and who is best known by his princely title bhûda or secondary appellation, as Amôghavârsha I. That he began to reign in A. D. 814 or 815, is shown by the Sûrya inscription of A. D. 866, as explained in Ep. Ind. Vol. VII. p. 204 f. His latest known record is the Kannâri inscription which is dated, without any further details, in the Saka year 799 (expired), = A. D. 877-78. And a literary statement, noticed in page 199 below, indicates,—if it is applicable to him, as most probably it is,—that he brought his long reign to an end by abdicating.

Other bhûdas of Amôghavârsha I., established by records of his own time, were Atithâyadhavals, Laksâmâyallabha, Mânîrâjasrava, Nripatunga, and Prithivirâballa. Subsequent similar records present for him the bhûdas of Mâhârâjasrava, Sûryavallabha, and Vîrânârâyana, and apparently Durlabhâ. And a literary work entitled Kavirâjamârga, which was composed during his reign and under his patronage, and which is the subject of my next Note, puts forward for him the further bhûdas of Kârakrîtyamallâla, Narolôkachandra, Nîtnirântara, and Nîtyamallavallabha.

There are literary references to a Nripatunga, which most probably allude to Amôghavârsha I., though that same bhûda belonged to also his successors Gûvinda IV, and Kâkka II. Thus, the Kanarese writer Nâgavarman,—the second author of that name, who, as has been shown by Mr. R. Narasimhachar, flourished about A. D. 1150,—has presented, in illustration of sûtra 74 of his Kâryâdâlêkana, a stanza in the Kanda metre which, with the reading Nripatungâna in preference to the various reading nripa-patunâ, runs:—Kâri-vâl bhadrâ-gunaṃ kâsari-vôl nirvâya-sauryyan=ubbôndihi-vôl sâraṇ-âgata-rak菩萨-pataṇ giri-vôl nishkaṃpa-chittanâ Nripatungâna:—Possessed of auspicious good qualities like an elephant (of the bhadrâgâya class); possessed of unfeigned courage like a lion; capable like the ocean of protecting those who sought refuge with him; and immovable as a mountain in his intentions; (such war) that (well-known or famous) Nripatunga.' So, also, the Kanarese writer Kâsirâja,—who has been placed by Mr. Rice about A. D. 1225,—has presented in his grammary entitled Sâbdamâsadarpunga, as a reference to sûtra 140, part of a stanza in the same metre which runs:—Vîrânârâja sâchi gambhîraṃ naya-sânti kaldu-vottera deśayam-dhâraṇgar Nripatungaṃge:—Who will not make obeisance to Nripatunga, who was brave and generous and pure and profoundly sagacious and conversant with polity, and who was a very god among those who carry weapons?" And another Kanarese writer, Bhaṭṭâkalaṅka, in his grammary entitled Kârântaka-abhâdâmaścanda, which with its glossem named Bhâdhrâmajjari and the commentary thereon named Mânîjârimakarna he finished in A. D. 1604, has put forward in

1 Regarding some indications that we may expect to find that it either was Nârâyana, or else was a name beginning with Vînâ, see Ep. Ind. Vol. VI. p. 105.
2 Vol. XII. above, p. 135, No. 43 A.
4 See ibid., p. 175.
5 On the points that there were two Kanarese writers named Nâgavarman, that the first of them, the author of the Châkramârâ saktri and probably of also the Kanarese Kâdhambari, is to be placed about the close of the tenth century A. D., and that of the second of them, the author of the Kâryâdâlêkana, the Kârântaka-abhâdâmaścanda, and the Bevâkela, flourished about the middle of the twelfth century, see Mr. R. Narasimhachar's remarks in his Nâgavarman's Kâryâdâlêkana and Kârântaka-abhâdâmaścanda, Bangalore, 1893. Introd. pp. 1 to 7.
6 See the Kârântaka-abhâdâmaścanda, in the preceding note, p. 36, verse 335.
7 Kârântaka-abhâdâmaścanda (see note 9 below). Introd. p. 33.
8 The Rev. Dr. Kittle's Sâbdamâsadarpunga, Mangalore, 1871, p. 121.
9 The full details of the date, which seems to apply strictly to the completion of the Mânîjârimakarna, as given in Mr. Rice's Kârântaka-abhâdâmaścanda, Bangalore, 1890, pp. 297, 291, are the Sôbhakrit avaditgara, Sûryâsîkâ,Sûryâsîkâ, and Kârântaka-abhâdâmaścanda, 1823 (current), Mâgra sakla 5, Guruvâra, the Bârânta kâshââna, the Kumbhâ pû追溯, and the rising of Sûkra (Venus). And these details are correct for Thursday, 29th January, A. D. 1604. On that day, the given âtâti ended at about 9 hrs. 55 min. after mean sunrise (for Ujjain); and, accordingly to all the three systems of the kâshââna, the moon was in Bârânt at sunrise and up to about 12 hrs. 19 min. after mean sunrise.
illustration of sūtra 352, a stanza in the same metre which runs:—Irmināqi Balige Dadhibhīga mūrmāqi Jumūtavāhanaṅgaṅa bagoyal nūrmāqi Sībīgaṅ diṭa sāsirmāqi migilisēga chāgadeṅ Nripatungaṅga:—‘Nripatungaṅga excelled Bali twice, and Dadhichi three times, and, when you think it over, even Jumūtavāhana a hundred times, and Sībi certainly a thousand times, in liberality in the world.’

The three allusions quoted above do not in any way indicate that the Nripatungaṅga who was the subject of them was an author. One of them simply praises him for his liberality. And the other two merely eulogise him for various other qualities, amongst which literary attainments are not mentioned. But another passage in the Kṣurāṭakasembāḻamūṣādana does plainly indicate a Nripatungaṅga who was, or was believed to have been, an author. It is found in Bhāṭakalaṅka’s commentary on sūtra 288, where, in referring to a certain point of difference between the northern and the southern poets, he has said:—Dakṣiṇa-ottara-mārga-bhūda-bhūma-prāyog-ahātūr-prapaṅkṣā Nripatungaṅ-granthi drasṭārāyaḥ:—‘A clever disquisition on the different usages of the varying styles of the south and the north, is to be seen in the book of Nripatungaṅga.’ The bearing of this allusion will be explained further on.

We thus have four literary passages, all presenting the name Nripatungaṅga, and one of them tending to indicate its Nripatungaṅga as an author. Two of them, those which are contained in the Kṣurāṭakasembāḻamūṣādana, are probably to be quite correctly taken as referring to one and the same person. And we may, without prejudice, take the other two also, those which are contained in the Kṣurāṭakalokaṇa and the Sabdamaṇidarpaṇa, as most likely referring to the same person. But there is nothing in any of them to show explicitly who that person was. From the second of them, however, the passage in the Sabdamaṇidarpaṇa, we may infer that he was a king. And we know that the appellation Nripatungaṅga was a birūla of a king, namely Amōgavasarha I., who had reigned for a long time in that part of the country to which the works themselves, from which these passages have been quoted, belong. Also, we know, as will be shewn in my next Note, that that king had been represented as patronising and being personally versed in a certain line of study, to such an extent that a particular work came, and not unreasonably, to be spoken of, in much later times, as ‘the book of Nripatungaṅga’ in one of the passages quoted from the Kṣurāṭakasembāḻamūṣādana. And there is, therefore, no objection to assuming that the Nripatungaṅga of all these four passages is that king, namely, the Rāṣṭrakula king Amōgavasarha I. In this, we agree, partially at least, with Mr. Rice, who has already, in 1850, identified with Amōgavasarha I. the Nripatungaṅga who is mentioned in the two passages quoted from the work of Bhāṭakalaṅka, without, however, assigning any reasons for the identification. And there is at any rate this to be said; namely, that the identification cannot apparently do any harm, inasmuch as it does not entail anything opposed to what we know about the history, both political and literary, of the periods to which belonged Amōgavasarha I. and the authors of the Kṣurāṭakalokaṇa, the Sabdamaṇidarpaṇa, and the Kṣurāṭakasembāḻamūṣādana.

Evidence that Amōgavasarha I. was, or was believed to have been, an author, has been found in the following fact. There is a small Sanskrit tract, of about thirty verses, consisting of questions and answers on moral subjects, and entitled Batnamālikā or Praṇottaramālikā. Among the Brāhmaṇa, some claim that the author of it was Saṁkarāchārya; while others assign

10 Kṣurāṭakasembāḻamūṣādana (see the preceding note), p. 194. This verse helps to illustrate further my remarks on the title Mūvaṭṭi-Chōja and similar appellations; see Ep. Ind. Vol. VI. p. 51, note 4.

11 Kṣurāṭakasembāḻamūṣādana, p. 161. The word Nripatungaṅga is there printed in italics. I presume that that was done either to emphasise it, or to mark it as a proper name, and not to indicate that it is in any way a doubtful reading.

12 Kṣurāṭakasembāḻamūṣādana, Introd. p. 7.

13 For the matter stated in this paragraph, except in respect of the fuller reference to the Tibetan translation, for the basis of which I am indebted to Mr. F. W. Thomas, see Vol. XII. above, p. 218, and Vol. XIX. p. 378 ff., and Dr. Bhandarkar’s Report on Sanskrit MSS. for the year 1883-84, Notes, p. 2, and his Early History of the Dakkan, in the Governor of the Bombay Presidency, Vol. I. Part II., p. 360 ff.
it to a certain Sāmkarā guru. And the Śvetāmbara Jains attribute it to Vimala, by presenting in their recension of it a verse which runs: — Rachāṭā sitapaṇa-gurunā vimāla Vimalaṁ raṁna-māle-ya Prasūttarāmaṁ-layāṁ kaṁha-gatā kiṁ na bhūsāyiati: — “This pellucid Prasūttarāmaṁ, or string of questions and answers, has been composed by Vimala, a preceptor who wore the white garment; when it is in the throat (for recitation), does it not adorn a man, just like a string of jewels placed on the throat?” On the other hand, the Digambara Jain recension of the work presents, at the end, a verse which runs: — Vivēkāḥ-taṇḍa-tāraṇyāṁ rājaṁ-śaṁkāhin Ratnamalikā rachit-Amogha-varshaṇa śu-dhīyaṁ sad-alambāṇīth: — “This Ratnamalikā, or string of jewels, an excellent ornament for the learned, has been composed by king Amogha-varsha, who laid aside the sovereignty through discrimination,” or, as Dr. Bhandarkar has translated, “through the growth of the religious sentiment,” or “in consequence of the growth of the ascetic spirit in him.” Now, the appellation Amogha-varsha belonged, among the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, to also Vaddiga, a great-grandson of Amogha-varsha I, and, amongst others of his descendants, to a member of the family who is known only as Amogha-varsha II, and to Kakkā II. And it was not confined to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa; it was, for instance, also another name of the Paramāra king Vākpati-Muṇja. However, Amogha-varsha II. did not reign at all. Kakkā II did reign; but he did not abdicate; he was overthrown by the Western Chālukya Taila II. We do not know of any grounds for thinking that Vaddiga terminated his reign by abdicating. And Vākpati-Muṇja was killed in fighting against Taila II. But Amogha-varsha I. may well have brought his long reign voluntarily to an end, in order to obtain, in his old age, peace and quiet in religious retirement; as was done, just about a century later, though after only a comparatively short period of rule and with the object of apparently at once securing a refuge from all worldly troubles in death, by the great Western Gaṅga prince Mārasimha II. And, in these circumstances, we may understand that it was the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Amogha-varsha I., to whom the Digambara Jains sought to point as the author, in their opinion, of the Ratnamalikā or Prasūttarāmaṁ. It is to be added that there is a Tibetan translation of this tract. This translation has been mentioned on previous occasions, in connection with Amogha-varsha I. And the essential point in it may as well be now stated more fully and definitely. The Tibetan translation exists in two versions. Dr. Schiefner edited one version in 1858. And in his remarks on it he gave a translation of a final verse which stands in only the other version. His German translation of that verse, rendered into English, runs thus: — “This jewel-wreath, made by Amoghoḍāya, of the king who abandoned his inly established sovereignties, is the best ornament of the wise.” In respect of this, Mr. F. W. Thomas has explained to me that the name of the author is expressed by the words don ṣod haḥar, in which don ṣod is a well-established equivalent of the Sanskrit amōḍha, and haḥar means the Sanskrit udaya. From this it follows that Dr. Schiefner was quite justified in restoring the name as Amoghoḍāya: that name was distinctly suggested by the text; and, at that time, the Sanskrit original of the work had not been made known, and little, if anything, was known about any Amogha-varsha. Mr. Thomas, however, has kindly examined a block-print of that Tibetan version, which is in the Library of the India Office. He remarks that, with the Sanskrit original to guide us, the actual reading haḥar, = udaya, may be reasonably corrected into char, ‘rain’, = varsha, varshī, which gives at once the name Amogha-varsha. He also finds that, with one or two other equally slight and justifiable emendations, the Tibetan verse reproduces exactly the whole meaning of the original Sanskrit verse of the Digambara recension. And he has further shown me that both the Tibetan versions include a colophon, wherein the author is again mentioned as don ṣod haḥar, for don ṣod char, = Amogha-varsha, and is described in terms which represent the Sanskrit Mahārāja, Kāruvra, and Mahākāruvra. Thus we may safely and finally substitute the name Amogha-varsha for Dr. Schiefner’s Amoghoḍāya. It must, however, be remarked, though it should hardly be necessary, that even the understanding that the Tibetan translation also indicates an Amogha-varsha as the author of the work.

14 The text, however, might possibly be taken to mean “by the pure preceptor Sitapaṇa.”


16 See Vol. XXI. above, p. 168.

does not add anything to the value of the Sanskrit verse. The Tibetan translation, being a translation of the Digambara recension, has naturally repeated the assertion made in that recension. It does not prove the assertion, any more than it would have disproved it if it had happened to present another name through being a translation of, for instance, the Svētāmbara recension. And all that we can say, is, that, according to the Digambara the work was composed by an Amoghavarsha, and he was most probably Amoghavarsha I., but other sects attribute the work to other authors. We may, however, accept the Digambara recension as indicating that Amoghavarsha I., most probably, was remembered as having ended his reign by abdication.

So far, we have been dealing only with possibilities. We now come to something definite, which does not, indeed, show that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Amoghavarsha I. was himself an author, but which does exhibit him as interested in a certain line of study, and as a patron of literature in connection with it.

There is a Kanarese metrical work entitled Kavirājamarga, which deals with alankāra or the art of ornate poetical expression. This work forms the subject of my next Note. The composition of this work has been attributed to Amoghavarsha I. That attribution, however, is a mistake. The author of the work was a person who has made himself known to us by the name of Kaviśvara. But Amoghavarsha I. was his patron. The author of the work has made that point quite clear. But, further, he has credited his patron with inspiring at least part of the work, and has also represented himself as expressing his patron’s views more or less throughout the whole work. And what we gather from it, is, that Amoghavarsha I. took, or was credited with taking, a special interest in the subject of alankāra, and directed, or was credited with directing, the composition of this work. This is the work which Bhāṇḍākara, in the seventeenth century, came to mention, in the passage in his Karpūpakasabdādīmysa which has been given on page 198 above and will be referred to again in my next Note, as Nṛpatuṅgagrantha, “the book of Nṛpatuṅga;” being, no doubt, led to do so from recognising the meaning of the real author of the work, and from noticing the prominent place given in the colophons to the name Nṛpatuṅga, which is further mentioned so conspicuously in the opening verse in addition to being introduced in various other passages.

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SOME ANGLO-INDIAN TERMS FROM A XVIIth CENTURY MS.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, BART.

(Continued from p. 160.)

METCHLI.

Fol. 35. Metchipatam, Soe called from y? Hindostan ore Moors Languadge word Metchli signifieinge fish and patam or Patanam a towne.

Not in Yule. [The word is for Hindostani machhāti.]

MOCHA.


Fol. 98. I saw a horne of about 13: or 14: inches longe, in y? Very forme and Shape y? wee picture or carve a Unicorn’s horne it was of a very darke gray colour, I happened accidentally both to see and handle y? Same wee gave me more Satisfaccon as to y? Unicorne then I had before, we? Shall be spoken of more at large in y? accent of Mocho in the Red Sea [unfortunately there is no such “accompt” in the MS.]

Not in Yule [This is a pity, because there is a Moca in Sumatra, easily to be mixt up with it in reading the old books.]
MOGUL

Fol. 140. The Kinge of Syam . . . . Sent a New Radja (a Mogol bred and borne) [to Janselone].

See Yule, s. v. Mogul. [An Indian Muhammadan of the ruling class.]

MOGUL, GREAT.

Fol. 8. .. these mighty Kingdoms .. . . brought Tributary to the Great Mogol.

Fol. 25. .. . and condescending Obedience to y? Mogol.

Fol. 50. y? Ancestors of y? family of this present Kinge revolted from y? Mogoll.

Fol. 57. As for their Idolatrous way of worship, they Enjoy it as fully as in any Other place in y? Empire of the Grand Mogoll (or territores of Golcondah).

Fol. 59. Orix: This Kingdom .. .. Subject to y? Great Mogoll for y? most part but not altogether.

Fol. 66. .. however y? Mogoll was Extraordinary kind to him [Emir Jemla’s Son] in all Other respects.

Fol. 97. Pattana .. .. longe Since become tributarie to y? Emperours of Hindostan (or great Mogol).

See Yule, s. v. Mogul, the Great.

MOHUR, GOLD.

Fol. 68. he laded 60 Patellas with Silver and by credible report tenne wth Gold Moors.

Fol. 72. Whereupon he gave in his present of .. . . Some Gold Moors.

Fol. 94. They alsoe Coyne Rupees here of y? finest refined Gold wth are called gold Moors, they are of y? same Stame, magnitude and weight the Silver ones are . . . . . . they passe very currant at 16½ and 15 : ½ rupees each . . . . . . . The Gold Moore is Valued att 01 ½ 14s 10½d.

See Yule, s. v. Mohur, Gold.

MOLUCCAS.

Fol. 3. great Stores are transported and Vended into most places of note in .. . . y? South Seas, more Especially to Molucca one of y? Molucca Isles.

See Yule, s. v. Moluccas. [Quotation valuable as the earliest yet made of the modern spelling.]

MONSOON.

Fol. 31. most Chiefely y? East India Company’s goods that were to be Sent that Monsoone for England.

Fol. 38. but at Some time of y? Monsoone I have knowne them to be at Sea one month.

Fol. 75. y? great rainess y? fall here Sometime before y? breakeinge up of the Monsoone.

Fol. 81. & then (the Monsoone being shifted) to goe away with their Ship and Sloope where they pleased.

See Yule, s. v. Monsoon. For a full discussion of this word in all its senses, see ante, Vol. XXX, p. 333 ff.

MONSOON PLUMS.


Not in Yule. [masjna, manjna, Malay, through Portuguese mação, is the ziziphus jujuba or Indian plum, the commonest North Indian term for which is āt.]
MONTAPOLY.

Fol. 31. Salt pester, Iron, Steele, wch is brought downe from y? high land Over this place wch is called Montapolee.

Not in Yule. [But see his Marco Polo, Vol. II. p. 297. It is on the Madras Coast near Masulipatam.]

MONTHLY PAY.

Fol. 41. I have knowne Some persons . . . . keep above 300 [punes] in constant Salary, wch is Ordinarily 2 rupees every Moone.

Not in Yule. [A valuable reference to the old Indian custom of payment by the month, still obtaining for every kind of servant, from highest to lowest; official, commercial, and private.]

MOOLLAH.

Fol. 171. those taken alive were put to death every man Save One who Vpon his Examination was found to be a Mola: or Mahometan Priest.

Fol. 172. att wch one Mola or Other Vittereth 2 or 3 Sentences.

See Yule, s. v. Moollah.

MOOR.

Fol. 8. these mighty Kingdoms were in a Short Space wholy Subdued by y? Moors . . . .

. . . . all of them now in generall wholly Submitting to y? Mahometan yoke.

Fol. 29. y? frence who in y? yeare 1672 tooke y? Citty S'thome from y? Moor's forces.

Fol. 36. The frence had a factory in this place [Metchlipatam] not many years agoe, but since these troubles of S'thome, A City 3 English miles Southward of ffort S'th Rome's (they binne Ambitious of honour & Conquest in these Eastern parts of y? World) tooke that Citty from a Small handful of Moors . . . . . . . . they tooke S'th Rome wth much Ease, and kept it but 3 years and with much Trouble and Losse.

Fol. 37. The frence Chiefes Resident in Metchlipatam was killed by y? Moors, what more of them there made their Escape by Sea.

Fol. 39. Most Eminent Men that inhabit Metchlipatam and Guddorah are Mahometans viz! Moors and Persians.

Fol. 41. The Governor of Metchlipatam is a Moore.

Fol. 44. The Moors have wth in a Very few years put many grievous Affronts, both Vpon y? English and Dutch.

Fol. 49. there are many Moors, binne y? Retinue of y? Governor.


Fol. 59. Orixa . . . Subject to y? Great Mogoll for y? most part but not altogether by reason of Severall Radijas who before (y? Mahometan Conquest of y? Hindoos) possessed this Kingdom some of wth are not as yet Subdued and brought Vnder y? Moorish Yoke.

Fol. 73. y? Moors Governours haveinge Strict Orders to see them finished with all Speed and ganned and well manne.

Fol. 80. The Commandore mentioned y? treaty of Peace, att wth y? Moors Governour Seemed to be Struck wth an admiration.

See Yule, s. v. Moor, an Indian Muslemman. [See ante, Vol. XXX. p. 396 f.]

MOOREES.

Fol. 31. Very Considerable quantities of these following Commodities are here [Pettipolee] wrought and Sold to foraign Merchants viz! . . . . . . Murrees.

See Yule, s. v. Piece-Goods, ed. 1908. [N. and E. p. 25, for 13th April 1680,— has “Moorees ordinary: Moorees fine. ? a loin-cloth.”]
MOORS.

Fol. 35. Metchlipatam, See called from y? Hindostan ore Moors Language word Metchli signifieing fish and patam or Patnam a towne.

See Yule, s. v. Moors, the Hindustani Language. [The above quotation is a century earlier than any of Yule's.]

MOSQUE.

Fol. 8. the Mosques or Tombs of y? Mahometans.

Fol. 40. They Congregate y? people to their Mosques 4 times a day by Voice of man.

Fol. 51. y? Mosques and Tombs of y? deceased Kings and Queens.

Fol. 174. all that piece of land whereon Standeth the Pallace y? great Mosque.

See Yule, s. v. Mosque = Masjid. [N. and E. p. 14, for 28th March 1680,—"was a Mussleman and built a Mussoot in the Towne to be buried in." With reference to this quotation it is interesting to note that it relates to the death of the great Broker "Cassa Verona" [Kāš Virūga] and the dispute among the Natives as to whether he was a Hindu or a Muslem: a dispute that has arisen over other well-known personages, e.g., Kābr, the reformer.]

MUCOA.

Fol. 27. fishermen or y? like, those are called Moquaes.

See Yule, s. v. Mucoa, a fisherman on the Malabar and Coromandel Coasts. [N. and E. often refers to them. P. 3 for 9th Feb. 1680: "The 7 Muckwars or Mussulamen (whereof one since dead) that have been imprisoned ever since July last about a man then drowned were now discharged of their imprisonment." P. 37 for 27th Oct. 1680: "the Muckwas, Cattamarn-men and Cooleys had left the Town privately upon a combination." P. 39 for 26th Nov. 1680: "25 Muckwas captured by the peons at St. Thomas." P. 40 for 7th Dec. 1680: "The Chief men of the Muckwaes being captured and committed to prison, all the rest came in and submitted themselves." The "Mussulamen" above means Mussools-boatmen.]

MULMUL.

Fol. 158. from Bengal . . . Mulumls.

See Yule, s. v. Mullmull, muslin.

MULTAN.

Fol. 62. to the Eldest Dara he gave Cabul and Multan.

Not in Yule.

MUSK.

Fol. 61. This Kingdome [Bengala] most plentifully doth abound with . . . Muske in Codd and out of it.

Fol. 101. with a Considerable investment of each Nation in Codde Muske, w? is here [in Pattana] found to be very good, it is in generall taken from a Small deere of about 2 foot high, of w? this Countrie doth mightily abound . . . a muske deere . . . Great quantities of Muske brought from Cochin-China and China it selfe.

See Yule, s. v. Musk. [The quotations above are useful.]

MUSLIN.

Fol. 8. provideinge great quantities of Muslinge Callicoes &c.

Fol. 66. great Store of Callicos are made here most Especially beteles (w? wee call Muslin).

Fol. 101. from Dacca: The Chiefe Commodities brought are fine Cossat, commonly called Muslinge.
Fol. 162. And there wee pay for y? Chopp 2 pieces of very fine callicos or Mustinge.
See Yule, s. v. Muslin. [All the above quotations are useful for the history of this word. See ante, Vol. XXVIII. p. 196.]

MUSSOOLA.

Fol. 27. The boats they doe lade and Valade Ships or Vessels with . . . . . are called
Massoolas.
See Yule, s. v. Mussoola. [N. and E. p. 3, for 9th Feb. 1680, has "Muckwars or Mussula-
men."

MUSULMAN.

Fol. 39. Mahometans viz? Moors and Persians, a Sort of most Insolent men, Entitleinge
themselves Musselmen viz? true believers although very Eronomously.

Fol. 57. little or no justice is to be acquired where y? Mahometans are Lords Over them, for
if complaint be made to y? high Court of Justice, y? Musselmen as they call themselves, Shall
Certainly carry it (if he appeare in Person). Onely wth this one Saying Ka Musselmen jute bolta:
Will a true believer lye.

Fol. 65. it is against y? laws of God and his Prophet Mahomet he not being a Musselmen,
rgo begg'd of him to de sist such his desires.

Fol. 81. And now the Moors come Vpon them for Satisfaction for a great Number of
Musselmen they had killed and taken Prisoners.
See Yule, s. v. Musulman. [The last quotation is an interesting early example of a mistake
still sometimes made. See ante, Vol. XXII. p. 112.]

MYLAPORE.

Not in Yule. [It is now a part of Madras itself.]

MYROBALAN.

Fol. 82. They [Portugals] make many Sorts of Sweetmeats viz? . . . . mirabolins.

Fol. 175. This Country [Achin] affordeth Severall Excellent good fruities, Namely
. . . . Mirabolins.
See Yule, s. v. Myrobalan. [A variously spelt and pronounced term for astringent dryed fruities
of several species.]

NABOB.

Fol. 65. Emir Jemla; hath now y? Government of Bengala Orixa and Pattana firmly by
Phyrmund Setled Vpon him with an absolute Power and title of Nabob.

Fol. 66. they lost the best of Nabobs [in Emir Jemla].

Fol. 69. The Governour herof [Cutack] . . . . . . is y? next in place to the Prince
himselfe and hath y? title of Nabob. Hee is put into place by y? Prince of Bengala and his councell
. . . . . . I remember in y? yeare 1674 . . . . a new Nabob was Sent from Dacco to
Settle in Cutack.

Fol. 70. he passed y? Vseual Ceremonie holding Vp both hand and downe Vpon his heels

Fol. 71. The Old Nabob of Cutack beinge Sent for to the Court at Dacco.

Fol. 73. Some few days afterwards the Nabob rode through y? townes of Ballasore in his
greatest State mounted upon a Very large Elephant and thus proceeded towards the City Cutack.
See Yule, s. v. Nabob; a Muhammadan Viceroy.
NAIK.

Fol. 25. The richer Sort more Especially those in Office, as Naikes (for see y? Hindoo Governours are Enititled) . . . . A Naike that luted neare Mylapore . . . . where y? Countrey is Governed by y? Gentues Naikes.

See Yule, s. v. Naik, in its sense of a nobleman.

NARASAPORE.

Fol. 37. and there [the French] Sent 4 or 5 men On Shore for Spies to Narasapore, who were very Suddenly Surprized in y? English factory where y? Moors cut off theire heads Vpon y? doore thrashold [May 1672].

Fol. 46. Narasapore: Is y? lowest [most Northerly] towne of any Vpon this Coast, it lieth Some 40 : or 45 miles below [i.e. to the North of] Metchipatam, haveinge the benefit of an Excellent Rierun, w? addeth much to the benefit of the place, and is called Narasapore river.

Not in Yule. [An important Factory in the early days of the European trade. See ante, Vol. III. p. 354 f.]

NEGAPATAM.


See Yule, s. v. Negapatam.

NIPA.

Fol. 40. another Sort there is y? distillass from Neepp toddy and y? is commonly called Nipa de Goa.

See Yule, s. v. Nipa. [The thatching palm of the estuaries East of the Hugli River, and the liquor distillass from it. It is now known as the Dhami [Dunnie] palm.]

OMRAH.

Fol. 25. and condescendinge Obedience to y? Mogol and his Omrahs.


Fol. 67. he kept him at his owne Court, made him one of his Chiefeast Omrahs and associates.

See Yule, s. v. Omrah. [It is the plural smard of amr (ameer, emir), and signifies a high official, a court grandee.]

ORIYA.

Fol. 59. These inhabitants [of Orixa] are called Ourias, and be a very poore Idolatrous people.

Fol. 85. y? Sufferers y? Ignorant Gentues and Orizas . . . . of all Idolaters in India y? Orizas are most ignorant.


Fol. 87. and thus all y? Ouria Sicke folke are served . . . the Orihas bury not theire dead, nor burne them as y? Gentues doe, but heave them naked into y? Riers.

See Yule, s. v. Ooriya, who however gives no quotations. [An inhabitant of Oriissa.]

OPIUM.

Fol. 61. This Kingdome [Bengala] most plentifully doth abound with . . . . Opium (the best in Indis).

Fol. 77. In Exchange for . . . . Opium.
Fol. 170. 600 warre Elephants diligently attended and Opium 3 times a day given them to animate them in yf highest degree.

See Yale, s. v. Opium.

**ORAMMALL.**

Fol. 101. sfrm Hugly and Ballasore . . . . Orammalls.

Fol. 158. sfrm Bengala . . . . Oromals.

Not in Yale. [? for rámāl, a kerchief; or cloth for a kerchief.]

**ORANKAY.**

Fol. 143. next to whom [the Sultan] are yf Leximana: Oronkays: and Shbandars.

Fol. 146. yf Cape Merchant when he cometh Vp to tovne visiteth yf Orang-kay.

Fol. 161. yf great Orongkay is Lord Chief of Justice, there are other Oronkays &c: under this . . . . the great Oronkay or Some of yf Others doe come into yf Palace and declare their business: . . . . who applyeth himselfe to yf Great Orongkay.

Fol. 162. he must goe and pay his respects to yf Orongkay and wth noe Small reverence, first Observing to pull off his Shoos (although never see cleane) and leave them att yf doore or in yf Court Yard . . . . Here must he waite an hour or two before yf Orongkay will appears . . . . Here yf Orongkay must be presented with one piece of Baflos to yf Value of 2 tailes.

Fol. 165. they Straight ways give yf Orongkay Notice of it . . . . but for what is given to the Orongkay there is little lost by it . . . . and the Orongkay &c: Officers accompany us . . . . taketh leave of yf Orongkay, beinge the chief man concerned in all yf Affaires of Shippes and Commerce.

Fol. 173. carried him (and his purchase) before yf great Orongkay . . . . and in yf presence of yf Orongkay.

See Yale, s. v. Orankay. [A personage, noble, high official among the Malaya.]

**ORISSA.**

Fol. 3. The Kingdom of Orissa.

Fol. 59. Orissa: This Kingdom is of noe great Extent, but is an indifferent pleasant Countrey.

See Yale, s. v. Orissa. [He gives very few quotations and never the direct Portuguese form above.]

**FADRE.**

Fol. 29. yf Portugal Patres whose dependance is meerly upon tellinge faire tailes.

See Yale, s. v. Padre, a Christian priest.

[N. and E. p. 13, for March 19th, 1680, has "would now be buryed by the French Padrys." And N. and E. p. 37, for 28th Oct., shows that the still existing difference between international courtesies as understood by the English and Continental nations is an old story: "It is observed that, whereas at the Dedication of a New Church by the French Padrys and Portugey in 1675 guns had been fired from the Fort in honour thereof, neither Padry nor Portugey appeared at the Dedication of our church nor so much as gave the Governor a visit afterwards to give him joy of it."

(To be continued.)
GLIMPSES OF SINGHALESE SOCIAL LIFE.

BY ARTHUR A. PERERA.

(Continued from p. 147.)

(9) Amusements and Pleasures. 27

During the New Year and other festive days strolling players (men and women) amuse themselves at open places in the village; they skillfully twirl metal-plates (netti) or small tambourines (raban) on their fingers or pointed stakes; they keep time to a merry dance by striking together sticks (likeliya), by tossing pitchers up in the air and catching them (kalagedi nettma), or by thudding their arms against the sides (dingi gahanae); and they clogize the hamlet and its people in extempore verses (viridu kiyanae) with the meaningless refrain, "Tana tanamda tänđed, tänd, tampa tänđed, tana tanamda, tana tanamda, tana tanamda, tana tanamda, tana tanamda, tana tanamda, tänđed."

The people also enjoy themselves on the merry-go-round (kathuru onchildewa) — a large revolving wheel on a tall wooden superstructure with seats attached; at theatrical representations called kolan nettum, rukada nettum, and nadagam; and at divers forms of out-door games.

Kolan nettuma is a series of dances of a ludicrous character by actors dressed like animals and demons, wearing masks and sometimes perched on high stilts; and the rukada nettuma is a marionette show of village life.

The nadagama is the drama, and for its performance a circular stage is erected with an umbrella-shaped tent over it (karalada); booths are erected all round for the audience, who, though admitted free, willingly contribute something into the collection-box brought by the clown (kawauqiyaa) at the end of the play. Before the drama begins, each of the actors, in tinselled costume, walks round the stage singing a song appropriate to his character, and the subject usually represented is either the landing of Vijaya, the Conqueror of Ceylon, or the tragic and insane deeds which led to the deposition of the last of the Royal line.

Buukeliya (playing at ball, a kind of stump cricket) is a popular out-door game; the youngsters take sides, choose their captains, and each party places at a distance of 20 or 30 yards a piece of stick on two cocoanut-shells; a member of one team bowls an unripe citrus decumana (jambolaya) to knock down the opposite wicket and the opponents try to catch the ball, above the knee-cap, as it comes past the wicket; if the bowler knocks the wicket over, one of the other side has to retire, while the bowler himself goes out if the ball is caught; this goes on alternately till one or other of the teams is all dismissed, and the victory is celebrated with a pleasant mixture of railery and wit.

For the game of mutt̄ (rounders) a post is erected as a goal, and one of the players stands by it and has a preliminary conversation with the others:

Q. — Kkhiyaa.
A. — Muddarē.
Q. — Dehikatwada batukatuwada — Is it a lime-thorn or a brinjal-thorn?
A. — Batukatuw — Brinjal-thorn.
Q. — Man endada umba endula — Should I come or would you come?
A. — Umbana, en — You yourself had better come.

As soon as the last word is uttered, he gives chase, and they dodge him and try to reach the post without being caught; the one who first gets out succeeds the pursuer.

27 For other out-door and in-door games not described in this article, vide Ceylon Asiatic Society's Journal, Vol. V. No. 18 (1878), p. 17.
Hâlmedá is somewhat different; there is no saving post, and the area that the players have to run about is circumscribed; the pursuer hops on one leg and is relieved by the person that first leaves the circle or is first touched. Before starting he cries out — Hâlmedá. A. — Kanakabaré. Q. — Enda hondé? (May I come?). A. — Bohoma hondy! (All right).

In hâran panínârâd (the hare’s jump) the players hold their hands together forming a line, and one of them (hâran) or hare) comes running from a distance and tries to break through it.

To play mahasop panínârâd (Mahason’s leap) a figure in the shape of H is drawn; a player guards each line and the others have to jump across them and return without being touched; it is optional to leap over the middle line and is only attempted by the best players, as the demon Mahason (Mahâsâura) himself is supposed to guard it.

The children, in addition to their tops (bombara), bamboo pop-guns (bata tewakkhu), cut-water (rânpetta), bow (dunu), and water-squirts (wutâruvedilla), have their own nursery games; when wearied, hide and seek (kengin muttan) they sit in a circle and play at less tiring amusements. They hold the backs of each other’s palms with their thumb and forefinger, move them up and down singing “kâpuru kâk kâk kâk, goraka dên dên dên, amatu vâven vâven, dorakada gahî puvak puvak, bataparurâ bulat bulat, uis kâpurâ uis,” and let go each other’s hold at the end of the jingle, which probably means that “crows swinging on a gamboge-tree (goraka) take to their wings when chased away (uis, uis), and there are nuts in the areca-tree of the house and betel-creepers in the bamboo-grove.” Or they close their fists and keep them one over the other, pretending to form a cocoanut-tree; the eldest takes hold of each hand in turn, asks its owner, “Achhiyâ dáchhiyâ hondâ poz geyyak tiyânaëd kadannoda!” (grandmother, grandmother, there is a good cocoanut, shall I pluck it?) and, when answered “Oh, certainly” (bohoma hondy!), brings it down. A sham performance of husking the nuts, breaking them, throwing out the water, scraping the pulp and cooking some eatable follows this. Or they twist the fingers of the left-hand, clasp them with the right, leaving only the finger-tips visible and get each other to pick out the middle finger (meda engilla).

Or they keep their hands one over the other, the palm downwards, and the leader strokes each hand saying; “Aturu muturu, demita muturu Râjâkapuru ahi’ét ida gend manamâti hâl etak gorâld, hîyala geftet beddia pahala geftet beddi, usu us daramiti pêlîyayi, miti miti daramiti pêlîyayi, kukalid kapalid dora pil, kikili kapalid teva mulî, sangan pallâ” (Aturu muturu demita muturu; the new bride that the merchant, Râjâkapuru, brought, having taken a handful of rice, cleansed it and divided it to the upper and lower house; a row of tall faggots; a row of short faggots; the cock that is killed is on the threshold; the hen that is killed is near the fence; sangan pallâ); one hand is next kept on the owner’s forehead and the other at the stomach and the following dialogue ensues: —

Q. — Natâle monaëdda — What is on the forehead?
A. — Lé — Blood.
Q. — Eiwauren hëduwëdda — Did you wash it in cold water?
A. — Or — Yes.
Q. — Giyâdda — Did it come off?
A. — Né — No.
Q. — Kireh hëduwëdda — Did you wash it in milk?
A. — Or — Yes.
Q. — Giyâdda — Did it come off?
A. — Or — Yes.

(The hand on the forehead is now taken down)
Q. — Badé inne mokada — What is at your stomach?
A. — Lamayá — A child.
Q. — Èyi andanné — Why is it crying?
A. — Kiri bangu na néruwa — For want of milk and rice.
Q. — Kó man dawma kiri bangu — Where is the milk and rice I gave?
A. — Bulaya bérali bâwá — The dog and the cat ate it.
Q. — Kó ballya bérali — Where is the dog and the cat?
A. — Lindé vëtna — They fell into the well.
Q. — Kó linda — Where is the well?
A. — Géda korved — It was filled up.
Q. — Kó geda — Where is the spot?
A. — Andiyé pëla kitewa — There andiyé plants were planted.
Q. — Kó andiyé pëla — Where are the andiyé plants?
A. — Dëwd — They were burnt.
Q. — Kó alu — Where are the ashes?
A. — Tampalé vattata isá — They were thrown into the tampalé (nothosarwra brochiata) garden.

Then the leader pinches the other’s cheek and jerks his head backward and forward singing “Tampalé kápu hossa genen (give me the mouth that ate the tampalé),

Or they solve in rivalry intricate riddles, e. g. —

Q. — Tan-tan-gànná tóra evápan,
Tin-tin-gànná tóra evápan,
Moja-seini-nisinná tóra evápan,
Degambada rajé tóra evápan.

“Tell me who it is that makes a tan-tan sound, who it is that makes a tin-tin sound, who it is that scratches the sand in the road, and who it is that is king on both banks of a river.”

A. — Tan-tan-gànná gond nevédé,
Tin-tin-gànná lond nevédé,
Moja-seini pisiinná kabud nevédé,
Degambada rajé kimbuld nevédé:

“Is it not the elk that makes a tan-tan sound; the squirrel a tin-tin sound; the cock that scratches the sand in the road, and the crocodile that is king on both banks of the river.”

The Singalese are musical and always-inclined for a song. Their popular music is now confined to the rabána played by ear, and to the violin and its accompaniment the hand tambourine, which have replaced the stringed vënde, formed of a polished cocoanut-shell, a goana skin, and a long handle, and the udakkáa, an hour-glass-shaped drum covered with deer-skin. The ancient war music is at present used for temple processions, and the instruments consist of the dama, a cylindrical drum beaten only on one side with a stick; the beraya, a longer drum beaten with the hands; the tammatama, a kettle-drum beaten with two sticks curved at the end; the taïya or cymbals, the korandëna, a clarionet with seven holes, resembling the bagpipe in tone, and the habgédiya, a conch-shell trumpet.
As regards songs, the farmer labouring on the field or watching his crop at night, the driver as he goes with his heavy-laden cart, the idle cow-boy at even, the toddy-drawer engaged in his morning occupation, the boat-man busy at his tasks in the moonlight—all sing some primitive verse to lighten their labour, e. g.:

"Pun sando sêma páyâla rata meddê,
Ran kendi sêma pirâl pita meddê,
Mâra senaga rata karagona yama yuddê,
Levkê meindu ada taniyama vela meddê."

"Like full-orb'd moon his glory shone, its radiance filled the world,
His loosen'd hair-knot falling free, in smoothest threads of gold;
Mâra's host bested him—no thought was there to yield;
To-day Lord Levkê's body still holds the lonely field."

(To be continued.)

A COMPLETE VERBAL CROSS-INDEX TO YULE'S HOBSO-JOBSON
OR GLOSSARY OF ANGO-INDIAN WORDS.

BY CHARLES PARTRIDGE, M.A.

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*The translation is from Ceylon Archaeological Survey (Kegalle District), 1898, p. 44.*
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NOTES AND QUERIES.

LADAKHI STONE-IMPLEMENT.

To my article on ‘A Collection of Stone- implements from Ladakh,’ ante, Vol. XXXII., p. 389 ff., I wish to add the following:

1. I have since received two sharp-edged stone-axes of a different shape from those illustrated on Plate I., Fig. 2, Nos. 8 and 9. The shape of the new kind is triangular, thus: The material is a hard kind of slate.

2. A short time ago, Dr. F. E. Shawe, of the British Charitable Hospital at Leh, discovered a new type of stone- implement in one of the houses there, which is still in use, so the owner said. This kahaw-like implement is used for stamping down the clay between a mould made of boards in use for the erection of rough mud-walls.

3. In my paper there is no mention of the use of stone-hammers in Ladakh; because, though iron-hammers have hardly been introduced as yet, the Ladakhis have not yet attempted to make real stone-hammers. Ordinary stones are used instead. But Thar-ryed Choos-aphal, a native of Trashilhumpo (now a Christian evangelist), informs me that stone-hammers with a wooden handle are largely in use at his native place.

A. H. FRANCHE.

HOBSON-JOYSON.

Here is a valuable quotation for this Anglo-Indianism.

1632. There are certain Customs or Ceremonies used here (Agra) as also in other parts of India via Shawen, Hooly, Dewally. Shawen by the Moores in memory of one Shawen a great Warrior slain by the Hindoos at the first conquering this country. So that they do not only solemnize his funerals, by making representative Tombs in every place, but as it were promise to revenge his Death, with their drawn Swords: their hair about their Ears; leaping and dancing in a frantic manner with postures of fighting, always crying Shawen, Shawen: Others answering the same words with the like gestures: it is dangerous then for Hindoos to stir abroad; this they do 9 or 10 Days; and then he is as it were carried to burial.—Relation Of Agra what notable there, and thereabout, 1632. MS. Travels of Peter Munday. Extracted from the copy at the India Office Library.

R. C. TEMPLE.

18th April 1904.
THE MOST SOUTHERN HOARD OF BACTRIAN COINS IN INDIA.

BY VINCENT A. SMITH, M.A., I.C.S. (Retd.).

ALTHOUGH it is rather late in the day to describe a discovery made more than twenty-five years ago, yet, inasmuch as no detailed account of it has ever been published, a description of the contents of a small hoard of Bactrian coins unearthed in Bundelkhand in 1877, and brought to notice by the local officials in 1878, may still be of interest.

A Chamā labourer, while digging for dhāk roots in a gram-field belonging to Rāmātān Singh, nephew of the lāmbardār, or headman, of the village of Pachhura Buzurg in Pargana Samēpur of the Hamirpur District, to the south of the Jamnā, disclosed a pot full of silver coins at a short depth below the surface. The vessel was probably an earthen pitcher, but, according to some accounts, it was of brass. The coins recovered in 1878, through the agency of the police, were as follows:—

Eukratides.

Circular, hemidrachmæ, bilingual —

Obr. — Bust of king, helmeted, to r. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΤΑΒΟΥ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ.

Rev. — The Dioskouroi, standing to front with lances. Kharoṣṭhī legend, which I read at the time as rajasa maharajasa Eukratidasas, but is given by Von Sallet (Nachfolger, p. 99) as maharajasa mahatasa eukratidasas.

Three specimens only were found, of which two had an incomplete border line outside the legend on obr., and mon. The third had no border line, and a different mon. (Gardner, B. M. Catal. Supplement, p. 165, pl. xxx, 9). Prof. Gardner notes that "on a coin of this class in Gen. Court's collection, the inscription begins rajasa (Von Sallet in Zeit. f. Num. 10, p. 157)." I presume, therefore, that I read the legend correctly. I did not obtain a specimen of this rare type.

Apollodotos Sōtēr.

I. — Hemidrachmæ, circular. 4 specimens —

Obr. — Elephant to r. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ.

Rev. — Indian bull to r. Kharoṣṭhī legend, Mahārajasa Apaladatasa tratarasas. (Gardner, p. 34, pl. ix., 8.)

II. — Hemidrachmæ, square. 29½ specimens. Devices and legends as on the circular coins. Five specimens had no mon.; the others had various mon.; as in Gardner, p. 34, pl. ix., 9. I obtained a specimen of the circular variety, which is now in the cabinet of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

Menander.

I. — Hemidrachmæ, circular —

Var. 1. Obr. — Bust of king, helmeted, to r. 5 specimens. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ MENANDΟΥ.

Rev. — Pallas, standing l., with aegis in r., and thunderbolt in l. hand uplifted. Kharoṣṭhī legend, Maharajasa tratarasa Mandrasas. Mun., as in Gardner, No. 10, p. 44.

Var. 2. — As above, but king bare-headed. 14 specimens. I obtained an example.

Var. 3. — As var. 2, but king to r. 12 specimens.
II. — Didrachmae, circular —

Var. 1. Obv. — Bust of king, helmeted. 1 specimen.

Var. 2. Obv. — Bust of king, bare-headed. 8 specimens.

Legends and reverse device as on hemidrachmae. (Gardner, p. 44.) These didrachmae are very rare. I secured a specimen of the bare-headed variety, which is now, with all the choice coins of my small collection, in Paris.

**Antimachos Nikephoros.**

Hemidrachmae, circular. 20½ specimens —

Obv. — Niké to l.; holds palm and wreath. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΜΑΧΟΥ.

Rev. — King, helmeted, on horseback, to r.; Kharoshthi legend, वहाराजस्य जयद्विहरस्य अन्तिमांकस्य. (Gardner, p. 55, pl. xiii., 3.)

**Summary.**

<p>| | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Eukratides</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Apollodotos Sōter</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Menander</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Antimachos Nikephoros</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>98</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is, of course, possible that the number of coins found may have been larger than the number recovered. The hoard was divided, under orders of Government, among the cabinets of various public institutions and private collectors.

**Eukratides** was undoubtedly the earliest of the four kings whose coins are represented, and, in my opinion, the date of his accession may be assumed as B.C. 175. He reigned about twenty years, when he was murdered by one of his sons, while returning from a successful struggle with Demetrios, "king of the Indians." I agree with the view ably supported by Cunningham (Num. Chron. 1869, pp. 241—243) that Apollodotos was the parricide, and further agree with him in regarding Apollodotos Sōter and Apollodotos Philopator as one person. The British Museum Catalogue distinguishes them as two separate kings, although many of the coin legends include both titles. The murder of Eukratides, and the accession of Apollodotus to independent power in the Indian borderland, may be dated in B.C. 156.

**Menander** was king of Kābul. His invasion of India may be dated with a near approach to accuracy in the years B.C. 155—153, during the reign of Pushyamitra Sunga.

The position of Antimachos Nikephoros is uncertain, and there is nothing definite to show whether he lived earlier or later than Menander.

Sufficiently good evidence warrants the belief that in the course of his invasion Menander besieged both Madhyamikā (now Nāgāri) in Rājputāna and Sāketa in Southern Oudh, and that he threatened Pātaliputra. If Antimachos Nikephoros was earlier in date than Menander, it is possible that the Pachkura hoard may have been brought into the interior by some member of Menander’s army. **Bactrian coins have never been discovered to the south of the Jamnā on any other occasion.** The coins of all the four kings were in good condition, and many of the specimens were fine.

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1 The authorities for the invasion of Menander will be discussed in my forthcoming work, *The Early History of India*, which will be published by the Clarendon Press in October.
TATTOOING IN CENTRAL INDIA.

BY CAPTAIN C. E. LUARD, M.A.,
Superintendent of Ethnography in Central India.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

I am afraid that the information I am at present able to give on this subject is somewhat sketchy, but I hope to be able to communicate further details when the work of the Ethnographic Survey is taken up in the States of this Agency. I have decided, however, to publish such notes as I have collected, in the hope that they may be of use for comparative purposes. Before actually turning to the subject-matter, I would remark that we can roughly divide Central India into three groups:

I. — The Bundelkhand, or Eastern Section. — Tattooing is restricted to females, and the breast and abdomen are not tattooed.

II. — The Malavā, or Western Section. — Tattooing is less restricted to females, and the breast is almost invariably adorned, the abdomen only occasionally.

III. — The Wild-tribe Section. — In this group men are often tattooed, though with fewer instances than the women, the breast, abdomen, thighs and even back being adorned.

Origin of the Custom. — There is, so far as I am aware, no mention of the custom of tattooing in the Sāstras, and there are no definite legends as to its origin, though it is said generally to be an invention of the "Drāpar (Third) Age." I am inclined to think that it is here primarily nothing more than a form of decoration, and is used to increase the attractiveness of the female in the eyes of the other sex, a common use for it among savage tribes in all parts of the world. ¹ A few instances of its use for talismanic purposes have come to light, but they seem to me to be modern inventions. One thing is certain, and that is that the wearers of these devices only look upon them as ornamental and decorative devices, with no deeper significance. The only legend I have gathered is a modern one, which states that Kṛṣṇa once disguised himself as a Nātā in order to tattoo Rādhā. In this connection there is a verse advocating the tattooing of Kṛṣṇa's names on the body:

1. दे दिव्यावनः मे ब्रजचं होन रसित पुनः कुण्डविनार.
2. यों विद्यमानम् हृदये हरि गोस्विद गोरे निरणार.
3. या विषये नवनी लिखे लिखे हरि अर्नत भवे लिखे नारी.
4. इत्यार्थकीं रंग गोरे दे गात हे युद्धनानी गोदन्नार.

1. Write on arms Braj Chandра (and) on round cheeks Kunjbhārī.
2. Padamākara⁴ says, likewise inscribe (on) the bosom Hari⁴ (and on other particular parts) Gointa⁵ (and on the neck). Girdhārī.⁷

¹ See Chapter IX. in Westermarek's History of Human Marriage.
² Lit., moon of Brajmanḍal (present Mathura district), or light of Braj, a name of Śri Kṛṣṇa.
³ Lit., one who dispersed in the groves.
⁴ A poet who wrote much about the Central India people.
⁵ A common name of Vishnu, and hence applicable to Śri Kṛṣṇa, who was an incarnation of Vishnu.
⁶ A name of Śri Kṛṣṇa. This name was used by Indra in addressing him when apologising for his conduct in pouring the tremendous rain-storm over Brajmanḍal. See Chapter XXVI. of Capt. Holin's translation of Prānaśīgar.
⁷ Lit., lifter of the mountains, from his lifting of the Govardhan hill on his little finger.
3. In this way from head to foot write* out, O dear one, the innumerable names known in the world.

4. Oh Tattooer! get my body tattooed (with) the dark blue colour of Śrī Krisna.

Classes that Tattoo. — Tattooing is practically confined to Hindus and the jungle tribes; the lower classes of the former and all the latter decorating themselves profusely in this manner. The higher classes of Hindus are employing tattooing more and more sparingly I am told, and the designs are not only less numerous but also drawn on a smaller scale.

As regards the sexes, men are practically never tattooed in Bundelkhand, the Eastern Section; it is less uncommon in Mālavā; and quite common among the wild tribes. But even when men are tattooed, they are less profusely adorned with marks than women are. I am told that the Gahlot Rājpats (of Bhōpāl) have a clan device, but I have been unable to verify this.

I have come across no instance of the use of tattooing to mark male puberty, nor have I been able to trace the least connection between this custom and religion, although it is supposed that women are better fitted to do acts of worship when they have certain marks upon them. The habit is certainly not declining, and new marks are still devised, as, for instance, the "Enginé" used by Railway employés.

Methods of Tattooing. — (a) General. — Tattooing amongst Hindus is done by the females of the wandering tribes, such as Nāps, Dhūḍas, Kanjara, Banjaras, &c., who make regular cold weather tours. In Bundelkhand Bāojis and Bhangis are tattooed by Parkis, a degraded caste who can feed with them. Although tattooing is usually done by these tribes, others are by no means prohibited from doing it, but as a rule the skill is lacking.

Among the jungle tribes it is done by any old woman of the tribe. In no case is tattooing ever done by men. These professional tattooers on entering a village have a regular cry — "Ohē! Ohē! a lovely scorpion, or beautiful peacock, for a pice, Ohē"! The women-folk at once gather round and trade begins.

(b) Process. — The instrument used is a bundle of four (or six) needles tied together in the middle, or made into a kind of comb. The jungle tribes often use Bābūl (Acacia arabica) thorns instead. The operator, on arrival, shews all her designs, drawing them in lamp-black on the part of the body where they will be stamped. When a design is approved of, it is at once executed. I may mention that it is usual for a young girl to have one device copied from among those her mother wears, but there is no rule whatever as to this, nor does any special significance attach to such a copy. The design selected, the operator seats herself before the patient and draws the device in lamp-black in the proper place. She then seizes the skin under the design with the left hand and stretches it, and, while doing so, strikes the needles sharply along the lines of the device, dipping them in the pigment each time, and then rubbing more pigment in with her hand.

In Bundelkhand, when the design is finished, the operator, in order to avert the evil-eye, takes a handful of flour (gram) mixed with salt and casts it into the fire. In these parts it is also considered a good thing that the patient should make her blood circulate briskly; it is said to "settle" the design. Poor women are set to grind for half an hour or so, while the rich carry pots of water about. Dieting is not common. I have noted its use in a few individual cases.

(c) Pigments. — Various pigments are used, but it may be remarked that only two colours are employed in Central India, blue-black and green; the latter is commonest in Mālavā. The dark-black seen in the United Provinces is not met with in Central India.

(1) Dharba (Poa cynosuroides) grass juice and turmeric; gives a dark-green colour.

* Lit., from nails to hair on the head.
The bark of the Biyan tree (?) soaked in the water from a hukka and mixed with turmeric and lamp-black; gives a green colour.

Bark of the Sisam (Dalbergia sissoo) tree soaked in water with turmeric; gives a green colour.

Cow’s milk mixed with the juice of the Karila plant (Capparis aphylla); this is used only by Malavi Mhāras.

The juice of Nim-tree (Melia azadirachta) leaves mixed with lamp-black; gives a green colour.

In Bundelkhand a “blue-black” is produced by mixing lamp-black with the bark solution of the Biyan tree.

The juice of Māhuā (Bassia latifolia) and lamp-black; gives a green colour.

Juice of the Karila mixed with that of Balur (?) ; gives a green colour.

Age of Tattooing. — The process of tattooing commences at about five or six years of age, the designs being added to gradually. In Bundelkhand unmarried girls are as a rule only tattooed on the hands, other parts being done after marriage. Tattooing thus becomes a sign of marriage, but not of puberty. The Sarwariyā Brahmas, however, tattoo their married girls only. Widows are only tattooed in the lower classes where widow remarriage is allowed, and then only on re-marriage.

Tattoo marks and their meanings. — On this point the reader must refer to the attached diagrams. Generally it is the parts exposed to view that are dealt with, the practice within certain limits varying in the three groups into which I have divided Central India. I have come across no special devices.

We may arrange the parts adorned thus: — Decorated by all three groups — (1) Forehead, between the eyes. (2) Arms — upper, fore. (3) Hands — back, palms, rare; fingers, wrists. (4) Feet and ankles. (5) Calves. (7) Neck.

In the Malavi group add, —

(a) Breast, usual. (b) Abdomen, rare.

In the jungle-tribe group add, —

(a) Breast. (b) Abdomen, usual. (c) Thighs. (d) Back, rare.

As to what the signs mean I have been able to discover little; all that the people could tell me was what the sign was intended to represent. I could nowhere discover that any deep meaning was supposed to be attached to the symbols; increase of attractiveness was, as I have already said, the principal reason assigned for undergoing the process. The designs, moreover, are the same practically among high and low, probably because the operators in each case are the same people, the only difference being that of quantity, which varies inversely with social position. Symmetry there is none, nor are marks hereditary, though a daughter as a rule adopts some one of the designs her mother has worn. As a rule, any part of the body may be done first, except in the case of unmarried girls in Bundelkhand, and a few others which will be found under the particular instances which I have given. The devices representing bracelets, necklaces, &c., are designed to give the wearer the wherewithal to appear in the next world; these jewels she is supposed to be able to take with her.

The following Dohā refers to this: —

Dohā. दोहा।
चतुर्नार वहनो वही सुगड़ लियो अपने अंग ||
उतारे से उतारे नरों से गयो जीविके संग ||

* Bālor (?) is a vegetable, I am informed.
which may be translated as follows:—

An intelligent woman executed (some) ornaments, which a decent one put on her person. (They are such) ornaments as cannot be put off, but which will accompany the soul (to the other world).

I know of no case of tattooing idols or cattle.

THE TATTOO MARKS.

I will now proceed to discuss a series of marks actually taken down off people. Many are repeated — indeed, the actual number of designs is not really large, but the variation in the forms is considerable, and I will therefore give the whole collection as it stands. It has not been everywhere possible to give an English equivalent.

I.

THE BUNDELKHAND OR EASTERN SECTION.
(Collected by Rai Sahib Kashi Prasad.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Designs or marks</th>
<th>Names of designs</th>
<th>English names</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>![Design 1]</td>
<td>माझी (? fish)</td>
<td>Māchhi (? fish).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>![Design 2]</td>
<td>पुरेनकाफूल</td>
<td>Purēn kā phūl (the lotus-flower).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>![Design 3]</td>
<td>चालनी (sieve)</td>
<td>Chalnī (sieve).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>![Design 4]</td>
<td>जावा (Hibiscus rosa-sinensis)</td>
<td>Java (Hibiscus rosa-sinensis).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>![Design 6]</td>
<td>हिला (deer)</td>
<td>Hinnā (deer).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>![Design 7]</td>
<td>मथानीकाफूल (name given to the bottom of a churning rod)</td>
<td>Mathānī kā phūl (name given to the bottom of a churning rod).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>Designs or marks</td>
<td>Names of designs</td>
<td>English names</td>
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<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="Design" /></td>
<td>बीघ्हु (scorpion).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="Design" /></td>
<td>चापेहडा (impression of palm of hand).</td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="Design" /></td>
<td>पिड़ी (native stool).</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="Design" /></td>
<td>लाऊंग (clove).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="Design" /></td>
<td>चुरियां (an ornament).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="Design" /></td>
<td>मौर (peacock).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="Design" /></td>
<td>पापिरा (a kind of musical pipe).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="Design" /></td>
<td>बटासा (a kind of sweetmeat).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="Design" /></td>
<td>बातुव्वा (small bag).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>English Names</td>
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<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td><img src="image1" alt="Design" /></td>
<td>भूमर</td>
<td>Jhumar (an ear-ring).</td>
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<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td><img src="image2" alt="Design" /></td>
<td>महबाबी हाँध</td>
<td>Bhaiya ki chhān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td><img src="image3" alt="Design" /></td>
<td>हिन्हिनी</td>
<td>Hinni and Hinni (buck and doe).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td><img src="image4" alt="Design" /></td>
<td>सपी</td>
<td>Sakhi (female companion).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td><img src="image5" alt="Design" /></td>
<td>पाँच पंडवा</td>
<td>Five Pândavas of the Mahābhārata.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td><img src="image6" alt="Design" /></td>
<td>रेल</td>
<td>Rēl (supposed to represent an engine; instance of modern type of mark).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td><img src="image7" alt="Design" /></td>
<td>सरमनकी कॉडर</td>
<td>Sarman ki kūwar (two baskets tied by ropes suspended on each side of a straight bamboo; the one tattooed here is that in which Śrāvan carried his parents).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td><img src="image8" alt="Design" /></td>
<td>संप-भाजर</td>
<td>Sankh-jhālar (shell-cymbals).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td><img src="image9" alt="Design" /></td>
<td>सीत</td>
<td>Sīt (?).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Designs or marks</td>
<td>Names of designs</td>
<td>English Names</td>
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<tr>
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<td>26</td>
<td><img src="image1.png" alt="Designs" /></td>
<td>सीताकी रसुः</td>
<td>Sitā ki rasūya (Evidently Sitā’s cooking-place)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td><img src="image2.png" alt="Designs" /></td>
<td>चरन...</td>
<td>Charan (feet)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td><img src="image3.png" alt="Designs" /></td>
<td>मुकत...</td>
<td>Mukaṭ (crown or crest of Krishna)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td><img src="image4.png" alt="Designs" /></td>
<td>भारसी कचल...</td>
<td>Plan of Jhānsī Fort</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td><img src="image5.png" alt="Designs" /></td>
<td>चकई चकवाड़ी</td>
<td>Chakai-Chakwā Brahminy ducks (Cascaea rutile)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td><img src="image6.png" alt="Designs" /></td>
<td>चोरस्त्र का मंड</td>
<td>Orṛhā kā Gundā (the bean (top) of Orṛhā)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td><img src="image7.png" alt="Designs" /></td>
<td>कागला...</td>
<td>Kāglā (crows)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td><img src="image8.png" alt="Designs" /></td>
<td>कनहायाजु चुट</td>
<td>Kanhāiyājū (Śri-Krishna)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td><img src="image9.png" alt="Designs" /></td>
<td>सेपा...</td>
<td>Gopā (female cowherd)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td><img src="image10.png" alt="Designs" /></td>
<td>गुरुल...</td>
<td>Gurāla (male cowherd)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td><img src="image11.png" alt="Designs" /></td>
<td>हाथी...</td>
<td>Hāthī (elephant)</td>
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<td>No.</td>
<td>Designs or marks</td>
<td>Names of designs</td>
<td>English names</td>
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<td>-----------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td><img src="image1.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td>रामलसनकी बोटी</td>
<td>Rāma and Lak-shman together.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td><img src="image2.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td>मानप्रकाशुक्ली</td>
<td>Būndā (spangle on the forehead, or spot called tukli — article of ornament).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td><img src="image3.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td>बेसर नाकपेर</td>
<td>Bēsar (spot on the nose).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td><img src="image4.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td>बुंदा परका बुंदा</td>
<td>Būndā on chin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td><img src="image5.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td>Galchūnā or Būndā worn on the cheek.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td><img src="image6.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td>Dāibūndā (worn on the ribs; only tattooed on women who have lost a child in childbirth, supposed to be due to a defect in her milk).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td><img src="image7.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td>पुसरैण्या (dolls).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td><img src="image8.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td>Vījaurā (ornament on forehead).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td><img src="image9.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td>Mahāwar kā phūl. (Mahuā perhaps? It cannot be connected with lac.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td><img src="image10.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td>Sātiyā (cross of mystic properties).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td><img src="image11.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td>Būndā (worn on the fifth toe).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td><img src="image12.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td>माई की भोग (the present offered to the goddess ?).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Description of the positions of the marks.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Design or marks</th>
<th>Names of designa</th>
<th>English names</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td></td>
<td>खण्ड ...</td>
<td>Suvā (paroquet).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td></td>
<td>सगर ...</td>
<td>Savār (horsemen).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td></td>
<td>ककई ...</td>
<td>Kakai (comb).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td></td>
<td>ककवा ...</td>
<td>Kakva (large comb).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td></td>
<td>मकरी ...</td>
<td>Makari (spider).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td></td>
<td>चकाँटी (?) ...</td>
<td>Chakantī (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td></td>
<td>वरा ...</td>
<td>Varā (an article of ornament).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td></td>
<td>नाहर ...</td>
<td>Nahar (tiger).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

**No. 1. Māchhi** ... ... ... On the back of the finger of the left hand, above and below the second joints, and also on the back of the thumb.

**No. 2. Purān kā phal; No. 3. Chahi; No. 4. Javā; No. 5. Chinhī; No. 6. Hinā; and No. 8. Bichhū.**

**No. 9. Chapāṭā** ... ... ... On the palm of the left hand.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Names of marks or designs</th>
<th>Names of the parts of body where marks are made</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. 10, Piṭi; No. 11, Lauṅg; No. 12, Churyā; No. 13, Mūr; No. 14, Papiṭ; No. 15, Batāṣā; No. 16, Bāṭuvā; No. 17, Jhūmar; No. 18, Bhaiyā ki Chhāhī; No. 51, Kakaī; No. 52, Kakva; and No. 53, Makari.</td>
<td>On the middle of the front and back of the fore-arm of the left hand.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 19, Hinnā, Hinnā; No. 20, Sakhī; No. 21, Pālch Pāṇḍavās.</td>
<td>On the front of the elbows of both arms — about an inch down towards the fore-arm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 24, Sānkh-jhālār</td>
<td>On the middle of the outer and inner surfaces of the left arm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 25, Sīt</td>
<td>On the back of the third finger of the right hand, below the first joint.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 26, Sītā ki rasūiyā; No. 27, Charan; No. 28, Mukāt; No. 15, Batāṣā; No. 29, Jhūmi ki nakal; No. 30, Chakai-Chakavā; No. 32, Kāglā; No. 54, Chakari.</td>
<td>On the front of the wrist of the right hand. (Note. — Some are of opinion in connection with this “Sīt,” that a woman wearing it is able to touch her husband’s elder brother’s clothes, &amp;c., which, as a rule, she cannot touch.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 33, Kanhiyāju; No. 34, Gōpi; No. 35, Guvāl; No. 36, Hathī; No. 37, Rām Lachman ki jīrī.</td>
<td>On the back of the palm of the right hand.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 38, Būḍā or Tukli</td>
<td>On the middle of the front and back of the fore-arm of the right hand.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 39, Bēsar</td>
<td>On the middle of the outer and inner surfaces of the right arm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 41, Gachumā</td>
<td>Between the eye-brows on the forehead.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 40, Būḍā</td>
<td>Close to the hole of the nose-ring on the left side.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 42, Dhaibuḍā</td>
<td>At the centre of the right cheek.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 43, Pataraṇiyā</td>
<td>Just above the centre of the chin under the lower lip.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 13, Mūr; No. 56, Nāhar</td>
<td>On the side of the body over the middle of the lower ribs of the right side.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 45, Mahāwar kā phūl</td>
<td>On the calves of both legs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 44, Viṣurī</td>
<td>Instead of No. 43 on the calves of both legs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 46, Sātīyā</td>
<td>Over the centre of the top of both feet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 47, Būḍā</td>
<td>Scattered around No. 45.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 12, Churyā; No. 15, Batāṣā; No. 16, Bāṭuvā; No. 18, Bhaiyā ki Chhāhī; No. 81, Orchā kā Gungā; No. 49, Mai ki bhēngī; No. 49, Suvā.</td>
<td>On the big or first toes of both feet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 23, Sarman ki kaṅwar; No. 22, Rāl; No. 17, Jhūmar; No. 12, Churyā; No. 50, Savār.</td>
<td>On the fifth toe of both feet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Can be made on the middle of the front and back of the fore-arm of either arm (right or left) as desired by the person to be tattooed.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Can be made on the middle of the outer and inner surfaces of either arm (right or left) as desired by the person to be tattooed.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(To be continued).
Left Hand.

No. 25
No. 3
No. 8

No. 6
No. 5
No. 2

Right Hand

No. 24
No. 3
No. 2
No. 5
No. 4

(BUNDELKHAND.)
Plate V.

Indian Antiquary.
GLIMPSES OF SINGHALESE SOCIAL LIFE.

BY ARTHUR A. PEKER.

(Concluded from p. 210.)

(10) Folk-Tales and Legends. 20

The Island's folklore consists of nature myths, place-legends, and other traditions; riddles, proverbs, and versicles; and nursery tales which tell of speaking animals and of some village anecdote or rural character of the good old communal days.

The Story of the Sky.

Once upon a time the sky was very close to the earth and the stars served as lamps to the people. A woman who was sweeping her compound was so much troubled by the clouds touching her that she gave them a blow with her ikle broom (idala), saying, get away, get away (pala, pala). The sky instantly flew away far out of the reach of man.

The Sun and Moon and their Eclipse.

A poor widow had three sons, who, one day, attended a wedding, leaving their mother at home; they returned late and she enquired what they had brought for her to eat. The eldest angrily replied that he had brought nothing, and the second threw at her the torch which had lighted them on the way. But the third asked for her mother's rice-pot (hattiya) and put into it ten grains of rice which he had brought concealed under his ten nails. The few grains miraculously filled the vessel, and the mother, in return, blessed him and cursed the other two, consequently the youngest became the pleasant and cool moon, the second the fierce burning sun, and the eldest the dragon-plant (Rāhu) who tries to destroy his brothers by swallowing them and causing their eclipse.

Origin of Earthquakes.

The goddess of the earth (Mibikut) supports the world on one of her thumbs, and, when weary, shifts it on to the other, causing an earthquake.

The Horse and the Ox.

In the olden times the horse had horns but no teeth in his upper jaw, while the ox had no horns but teeth in both its jaws. Each coveted the other's possession and effected an exchange; the ox has the horns now and the horse the two rows of teeth.

The Cheetah and the Cat.

The cheetah was taught by the cat to climb up a tree but not to come down. In revenge he always kills his master, but is grateful enough to keep the body on an elevation and worship it, instead of making a meal.

20 Vide —

(1) Steele's Kusa Mitaka (1871), p. 247.
(4) " V., No. 17 (1871-72), p. 25.
(5) " V., No. 17 (1871-72), p. 35.
(6) " VII., No. 25 (1888), pp. 208 and 225.
(7) " VIII., No. 26 (1883), p. 1.
(8) " XII., No. 42 (1891-92), p. 113.
(10) " II. (1885), pp. 26, 55, 162, 147, 150, 174.
(11) " III. (1887), pp. 31, 78, 159.
The Cheetah, the Lizard, and the Crocodile.

Once upon a time three brothers, who were shepherds, became skilled in necromancy; as the animals they were after refused to yield milk, the eldest transformed himself into a leopard, the evil nature of the beast came upon him and he began to destroy the flock. The youngest took refuge on a tree and became a lizard, and the other, who had the magical books, jumped into a river and was turned into a crocodile. These three have, ever since, lived in friendship, and a person who escapes one becomes a prey to the other. The crocodile's victim can free himself by tickling its stomach and trying to take thence its books.

The Crocodile, the Crab, and the Jackal.

A jackal once deceived a crocodile by promising him to get a wife, and got himself carried across a river for several days till he had consumed the carcass of an elephant on the other banks. The crocodile vainly tried to take revenge, when a crab undertook to assist him. The latter prepared a feast and invited the jackal; after the meal, the host who had purposely not kept a supply of water, proposed to go to the river for a drink. The jackal consented, but managed to see his old enemy lying in wait for him. The crab was killed for his treachery, and this feud is still kept up between jackals and the crabs.

The Jackals and the Wild Fowls.

The jackals, assisted by the denizens of the forest, long, long ago, waged war against the wild fowls (velikuval), who called to their aid a party of men, and one of them seized the king of the jackals and dashed him on a rock and broke his jaw. As the animal received the blow, he raised the shout " Apoi maya hakka, hakka hakka" (Oh! my jaw, my jaw, my jaw). This cry and the enmity between the jackals and wild fowls are still preserved.

The Crow and the Drongo.

In a previous birth, it is said —

(a) The king-crow or drongo (karudu paniksiyag or kapittu bnda) was a barber and it now pecks its dishonest customer the crow.

(b) The crow and the drongo were uncle and nephew; and they laid a wager as to who would fly the highest, each carrying a weight with him. The winner was to knock the loser on the head. The drongo selected some cotton, and his nephew a bag of salt as he noticed the clouds were heavy with rain. On their way up a shower came and made the crow's weight heavier and impeded his flight, while it diminished the other's burden, who won the day.

The Scar on the Cock-sparrow.

Once upon a time a house, where a pair of sparrows (kikurullu) had built their nest, caught fire. The hen flew away, but the male bird tried to save his young and scorched his throat. This scar can still be seen.

The Water-fowl, the Geese, and the Woodpecker.

The water-fowl once went to his uncle's and got areca-nuts to sell. He engaged some geese to carry them to the water-side and hired a woodpecker's boat to ferry them over. The boat capsized and the cargo was lost. The geese deformed their necks by carrying the heavy bags, the woodpecker (korrundu) is in search of wood to make another boat, and the water-fowl (korukah) still complains of the nuts he had lost.

The Peacock and the Brachyura Pitta.

The peacock once fell in love with the swan king's daughter (hanso rjaya), and, when going to solicit her hand, borrowed the pitta or avichkiya's beautiful tail. He succeeded in winning her,
but refused to give up the plumes to the owner, who always is crying "avichchi mavichchi" (I shall complain when he (Maitri Buddha) comes). The peahen, angry at her mate's deception, pecks at her train during the pairing season. Another story says that the peacock stole the plumes while the pitta was bathing, and that the latter's cry is "ayittam, ayittam" (my garment, my garment). A third legend makes the pitta a sorrow-stricken prince mourning for his beautiful bride, Ayittā.

The Spotted Dove.

A woman put out to dry some flowers of the Bassia longifolia (minal) and asked her little son to watch them; when they got dry they stuck to the ground and could not be seen. The mother found them missing and killed the child for his negligence. A shower of rain just then showed to her the parched herbs, and in remorse she killed herself and was born a spotted dove (alukobeyiyā) who now laments, "minal latum daru notalin pubbaru putē pāpu" (I got back my mi-flowers but not my child; O my young son, my young son).

The Devil Bird.

A husband who suspected the fidelity of his wife killed his child and made a curry of its flesh and gave it to the mother. As she was eating it, she accidentally found the finger of her infant; she fled into the forest, where she killed herself and was born the ominous and death-presaging devil-bird (ulumā).

The Viper and the Cobra.

During a certain hot season a child was playing inside a tub full of water and a cobra drank of it without hurting the child. A viper (polongā) met him on his way home and was told where he had quenched his thirst, on the condition that the infant was not to be injured. As he was drinking, the little child playfully struck him with his hand and was bitten to death. The cobra killed the polongā for breaking its promise, and this hatred is maintained to this day.

The Cocosnut and Areca Tree.

An astrologer of the Beravāya caste once told a king that a particular day and hour was so auspicious that anything planted then would become a useful tree. Thereupon the king directed the astrologer's head to be severed and planted, and this grew into the crooked coconut-tree. The king was so pleased with it that he got his own head also planted and it became the straight areca-tree.

The Jack-fruit.

That this fruit may be eaten by the people, Sakkarayā (Indra) came to earth as a Brahman, plucked a fruit and asked a woman to cook it without tasting. The smell was so tempting that she stealthily ate of it and was called Herālia (Hera, thief, + liya, woman) by the stranger. Hence the fruit is also named Heraliya.

The Club Moss.

A king directed a jeweller to work in gold a design similar to the club-moss. The goldsmith found this so hard that he went mad, and the moss is now styled badal vanassa (badal, jeweller, + vanassa, curse).

Proverbs.

There are very many proverbs in daily use, and the following are a few specimens:

1. Dennd demailangē sanduwa bathēliya pakenakan vitarayi — The quarrel between husband and wife lasts only till the rice-pot is boiled.

2. Eha pansalē inna mahanumānāsdēt kudamiti haravā gannavāli — Even priests that live in the same monastery turn their umbrellas at each other.
(8) Rajek ambu ganitnam dugiyek kāta parayi — When the king takes the wife to whom is the poor man to complain.

(4) Kandata ballād biravata kanda mitivāda — Though a dog barks at a hill will it grow less.

(5) Kēbēvi bitara siyagananak id hīsi sabdayak nokaratat kikili eka bitarē id gam kēpēkata ēhentā sabdakaranāvaḍu — Though the tortoise lays a hundred eggs and makes no noise, the hen crows over her one egg for several villages to hear.

(6) Atīśātētā amuda gehwēvagey — It is like wearing a crupper to cure dysentery.

(7) Gaha uda miya dekalē engili levakanavāvažey — It is like licking your finger on seeing a beehive on a tree.

(8) Kētē muvō kēdētā geda ra gōna hamata tādēvūvagey — It is like flogging the elk-skin at home to avenge on the deer who trespassed in the fields at night.

(9) Angurak kiren södd sudu karanta bērilu — It is not possible to make a charcoal white by washing it in milk.

(10) Puhul hord karen denyei — Who steals ash-pumpkins will be known from his shoulder.

The Hare and the Jackal

Once upon a time a hare and a jackal were sweeping a compound (mīchula) and they found two pumpkin-seeds (labueta); these they planted, but only one grew, as the jackal nourished his with his urine, while the hare did so with pure well-water. The hare agreed to kindly share the pumpkin with his friend, and the jackal proposed a ruse to obtain the other requisites for preparing their meal, viz., firewood, coconuts, salt, rice, and earthen utensils. The hare laid himself on the high road as if dead, and when any pingo-bearer carrying what they wanted appeared, the jackal cried out, “keep the pingo down and kindly take away that dead hare.”

As the foolish peasant did as he was requested, the jackal carried away his pingo and the hare scampered away. After the meal was kept on the fire, the wily jackal asked the hare to procure for him some stalkless Macaranga tomentosa leaves (kōṇa kōla) and stones with roots. The hare wandered far and wide to find them without success; he returned home late, tired, and asked for his share of the meal. He was directed to the rice-pot, but he only found there a few grains of rice. The insatiate jackal asked for half of that, too; and then ordered the hare to stroke his back. The hare noticed a cocoanut huak (pōtmuduwa) acting as a stopper underneath his tail, and, at the jackal’s request, pulled it out and was besmeared with his excretion. He ran to a neighbouring mead, rolled himself well on the grass and came back “as white as wool,” determined to revenge himself on the jackal, who wanted to know how he was so clean.

The hare told him that the dhobi washed him, and the jackal, for once foolish, ran to the riverside and requested the washerman to wash him. The dhobi took him by his hind-legs and thwacked him, till he died, on the washing-stone, saying, “This is the jackal who ate my fowls.”

The Story of Hokhd

Once upon a time there was a Gamarāla who had contracted such an abhorrence to the expression “Aniccan dukkan” (this is a phrase in every-day use among the Singhaleses; it means literally “sorrow is not eternal,” and is used to express surprise or astonishment) that he formed a resolution to cut off the nose of any person, no matter who, that would dare utter it in his hearing. In

29 This is the first tale told to a child, who is never tired of hearing it repeated.
30 From the Orientalist, Vol. I. (1894), Part VI, p. 181. This is an entertaining specimen of a Ceylon folk-story. The range of Singhaleses tales is not yet fully explored.
order to carry out this extraordinary resolve, he always had in his pouch a sharp knife, and, as soon as ever he heard the words in question fall from anybody's lips, he would rush madly upon him, seize him by the throat and cut his nose completely off. Many of his servants, and others, too, with whom he had to do, had their noses cut off, for no other fault than for uttering these words in his hearing. Some did so through ignorance of his resolution, others by not having a sufficient guard over the door of their lips.

The story goes on to say that, not far from the Gamarâla's village, there lived two brothers, the elder of whom was a dullard — obtuse and foolish — while the younger was sharp as a needle, and had all his wits about him. The elder brother set out one day in search of work, and, happening to come to the Gamarâla's house, was lucky enough to be taken into his service. He worked away hard as he could, and the Gamarâla was so pleased with him that he treated him more kindly than he ever did any of his other servants. One day, however, being astonished at some strange behavior on the part of a fellow-servant, the man let the words "Anicca dukkan" escape his lips in the hearing of the Gamarâla, who immediately rushed upon him with frantic rage, seized him by the throat, and mercilessly cut off his nose. No sooner was he out of the clutches of the eccentric Gamarâla than he made off as fast as he could, and reaching home, covered all over with blood, related to his brother the sad and strange adventure which had befallen him. Hokkâ (for that was the name of the younger brother) was sensibly affected by the recital of the story, and he made up his mind to pay off the Gamarâla in his own fashion. So he said to his brother, "Be not sad, my brother, at the misfortune that has overtaken you, as the fruit of your actions in a former birth. Stay at home till I go, in my turn, and earn some livelihood for us." So saying he consoled his brother, dressed his wound, and set out for the house of this very Gamarâla, who, after a few preliminary inquiries, took him readily into his service, telling him at the same time, that, if he conducted himself well and performed his duties satisfactorily, he might rely on being handsomely rewarded.

Hokkâ then reverently approached him, and said to him, "Will your honor be pleased to set apart some special work for me, so that I may give it my undivided attention." "Go then and look after my cattle" (chena gohin magō harak bāli piya) replied the Gamarâla. These words mean literally, "Go then and look at my cattle." Pretending to take the cattle for pasture, Hokkâ drove them to the wood, tied them to some trees in such a way that they could not graze, and, sitting down at a place from which he could have a sight of them, he kept on gazing at them all day long. This he did for several days, and during all the time the poor cattle had neither grass to eat nor water to drink.

It was customary with the Gamarâla to examine his cattle periodically. So one morning he ordered Hokkâ to bring them up for inspection. The famished beasts were loosened from the trees by Hokkâ, but not having strength to move, they fell down at the foot of the trees, and lay there more dead than alive. Thereupon Hokkâ hastened into the presence of the Gamarâla and said to him, "The cattle refuse to come or even to rise, so may it please your honor to accompany me to the wood." When the Gamarâla got there, he found, to his great horror, that the poor animals were about to expire. Turning round, his whole frame quivering with rage, he said to Hokkâ, "Did I not bid you to look after (literally look at) the cattle." "And does your honor mean to say that I did not look at them?" replied Hokkâ. "I was looking at them incessantly; meal-time and night alone excepted." The Gamarâla very naturally concluded that the man was dull as a beetle and took the words "look at" in their literal sense, and was thus the innocent cause of the destruction of his cattle. He therefore did not wish to turn him out, but retained him in his service, resolving, however, to be very precise, for the future, in the orders he would give him.

Some days after, the Gamarâla found that his large house (for he had two, one large and the other small) required to be thatched. So he said to Hokkâ, "Mahdgâ, piduwusahapiya." The word
"mahághā" means "the large house," and also "the old woman." Hence the order may mean, "cover the large house with straw," or "cover the old woman with straw."

This was sufficient for Hokká. As soon as the Gamarála left home on his daily business, Hokká collected a large heap of straw near the house, and carrying thither the Gamarála's mother, laid her prostrate on the ground and covered her with the whole heap, so that she was suffocated to death. "Now lie there comfortably, you old hag," said he, and went away to attend to his ordinary work. When the Gamarála returned home in the evening, he found only a heap of straw near the house, and the house itself unhatched. So he said to Hokká, "How is it, you vagabond, that you have not obeyed my orders?" "Not obeyed your orders?" said Hokká, "why, what makes you think so? Come and see whether the old lady is not under the straw as snug as ever." So saying he removed the straw, when the Gamarála to his great horror beheld the corpse of his poor mother. On this occasion, too, the Gamarála forgave the man, for he attributed the mistake to his natural deficiency of intellect, and was, moreover, unwilling to part with so hardworking a servant.

Some time after this sad occurrence, the Gamarála received the mournful intelligence of the death of his son-in-law, who was living in a village about a day's journey from the Gamarála's house. So he made up his mind to pay his widowed daughter a visit of condolence, and ordered Hokká to hold himself ready for the journey. At dawn, the next morning, the Gamarála and his man left home, after taking a hearty meal, and continued their march till noon, when, finding themselves weary and hungry, they sat down to rest under the shade of a large tree. Having nothing with them in the shape of food, the Gamarála handed some money to Hokká, and bade him go and buy something for them to eat. After going a great distance, Hokká found a bunch of ripe plantains exposed for sale in a hut, and bought sixteen plantains with the money. He then reflected thus: "If I take these sixteen plantains to my master he will assuredly give me half the number, contenting himself with the other half. I do not see, therefore, any reason why I should wait until he gives me my share. I may as well eat it here at once." So he ate up eight plantains and started afresh with the remainder to get to his master. After proceeding a short distance, he was sure that the Gamarála would give him half of the eight remaining plantains, and he therefore ate four more of the number. After going a little further, he ate two more, and still a little further he swallowed one more, reasoning on each occasion as he had done before. There was only one plantain left for the Gamarála, which Hokká, on his return, respectfully offered to him. "Is it only one single plantain," said the Gamarála, "that you have been able to buy for so much money, you big ass" (literally, "you big bullock," ali gosó). "No, your honor," answered Hokká. "I bought sixteen plantains with your money." "Where then are the other fifteen?" rejoined the Gamarála. "I ate them" was the innocent reply. "How did you dare eat them, you dog?" (literally, "How did you eat them, you dog?") said the famished Gamarála. Upon this Hokká held the plantain in his left hand, peeled it with the right, and suiting the action to the words, he said, "This is the way I ate the plantains, your honor," and slipped the plantain down his throat.

The Gamarála now suspected, and with good reason too, that the man was more a knave than a fool, although he looked very innocent, but suspended his judgment till further experience would enable him to get at the truth. He was very weary and hungry, and having no more money with him, was altogether in a sad plight. Resolving, therefore, to continue his journey, he went on and found himself towards evening within a few yards of his daughter's house. As customary with the Singhalése, he sent Hokká beforehand to inform his daughter of his arrival. On reaching the house Hokká said to her, "Your father iscome to pay you a visit of condolence, and is already within a few yards of your house. He is under medical treatment, and the physician has desired him to eat nothing else but seven-years-old kada" (the dust of the paddy found between the husk and the seed). So saying Hokká returned to the place where he had left the Gamarála, and, in the meantime, the
Gamarâla's daughter set about collecting *kudu*, as old as she could get from her neighbours, and prepared a kind of pulp with it. The Gamarâla was soon at his daughter's house. After the exchange of the customary salutations the *kudu* pulp was served up. The surprised Gamarâla could not guess at the cause of all this, for he had given no offence to his daughter to deserve such treatment at her hands. He felt exceedingly slighted and insulted, but concealing his feelings, he ate the pulp merely because he had nothing else to satisfy his hunger with, and resolved on quitting the house without a word to his daughter.

When the night wore on, the Gamarâla set out with Hokkâ to return home. He trudged on as well as he could, and on the following evening he was within a few yards of his own house. Here he sat down on the stump of a tree, and sent Hokkâ forward to inform his wife of his return and of the miserable situation he was in. Hokkâ ran up to the house, and, rushing into the presence of his mistress, said to her, "Your husband is back almost exhausted with hunger and fatigue. To show your sympathy with him in his present unhappy condition, you had better put on sooty rags and meet him on the *sadanda* (a small narrow bridge over a canal or stream, constructed with single logs) sitting on the middle of it, like a half-starved dog (*belli*)." He then returned to the Gamarâla and led him over the *sadanda*, and coming up to the spot where the Gamarâla's wife was seated, kicked her down into the deep stream below saying, "Get away you filthy dog (*belli*), what business have you here?" Of course, the poor creature tumbled down into the canal and met with a watery grave. The Gamarâla knew nothing about it, as it was dark, but he went on (poor wretch) fully believing that what Hokkâ pushed out of the way was really a dog (*belli*).

Not finding his wife at home when he got there, he thought she had gone on a visit somewhere. He then ordered Hokkâ to prepare a tepid bath for him, but Hokkâ made the water as hot as possible, and, taking the Gamarâla to the bath, poured on him a pot of the boiling water, which so scalded him as to make him scream out pitifully. Being now fully convinced that Hokkâ was not the innocent greenhorn he had always taken him to be, the Gamarâla involuntarily gave vent to his surprise by exclaiming, "*Aniccan dukkan nu mata karana ședyê heti*" (dear me, see what this fellow is doing to me). Searcely were the words "*Aniccan dukkan*" out of the Gamarâla's mouth, when Hokkâ seized him by the throat in the same manner as he had heard he had seized his brother, and drawing out of his pouch a sharp knife with which he had provided himself before he left home to seek employment at the Gamarâla's, he cut the Gamarâla's nose clean off, so that not a vestige of it remained on his face. Without losing a single moment he ran as fast as his legs would carry him, with the Gamarâla's nose safe between his fingers, and got home quite out of breath. Finding his brother squatted at the hearth and warming himself, he gave him such a kick on the hind part of the head, as brought his face in contact with the *big-gala* (hearth-stone) and made the wound in his face bleed. He then made his brother rise, and taking the Gamarâla's nose, he fixed it on the spot where his brother's own nose stood before, in such a way as to make it fit the place exactly. He then bandaged it, after applying to it the juice of a plant which has the power of healing cuts. In a short time the Gamarâla's nose became a part of his brother's face, and he was able to breathe through it freely and to perform with it all the functions of a nose just as he had done before the Gamarâla had chopped his nose off.

National Tradition.

In simple faith, from sire to son, are handed down two national traditions that a Lion and a lascivious Royal Princess were the progenitors of the Sinhalese race (*singha*, lion, + *lu*, blood); and that there will be born among the people a great emperor, Diya Sêna by name, who will free them from their bondage, extend his sway over the continent of India, and enable them to perform their ceremonies and festivals once again under the shadow of their own flag.
There is reason to believe that the Singhalese are a highly mixed race, and it may be stated as a working hypothesis that the several castes, except the predominating Govi or Grahapatia caste, formed tribes of a pre-historic settlement in Ceylon, intermarrying with an earlier people the autochthonic Veddas; that they were displaced by the Govi race, the Singhalese proper, who, while imposing on them the Aryan language and Buddhism, adopted and developed the existing animistic ideas and the rude social organization. Of course, their blood freely intermingled, though not by regular marriages, and, at a later date, the frequent intercourse with the South Indian kingdoms led to the incorporation of Dravidian captives and emigrants with the thinly populated castes and to a further development in their beliefs and practices.

CORRESPONDENCE.

NAVAGRAHA.

Sir,—In connexion with Mr. Burgess's Article on the Navagraha, ante, p. 61 ff., I wish to invite attention to the Singhalese representations of the heavenly bodie and their presiding deities in Upham's History and Doctrine of Buddhism, published with coloured plates in 1838. The Sun rides on a horse, Mercury on an ox, Mars on a peacock, Râhu on an ass, Saturn on a crow, Venus on a buffalo, Kêtu on a swan, Jupiter on a lion, and the Moon on an elephant.

ARTHUR A. PERERA.

Flower Road, Colombo,
17th May 1904.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

HOBSON-JOBSON.

IGNORANCE in English writers of common Indian things takes a lot of killing; witness the latest literary contribution to Hobson-Jobson. It is from the Daily Mail of Saturday, April 2, 1904, and contains about the usual number of complete errors made whenever that annual feast is discussed in the Press.

Hobson-Jobson, Hindu Religious Festival.

During the past few days the Hindu workers on the various vessels in the London docks have been celebrating their annual religious festival, commonly known in Western countries as Hobson-Jobson.

The last four days of March are always set apart (!) by the Hindoos (!) for the observance of one of their principal religious rites. This year, however, there were not many vessels in the Royal Albert and Victoria Docks (London), and consequently the celebration was shorn of some of its pomp and ceremony.

To the uninitiated the outward "show" appears a ridiculous farce, but apparently the Hindoo regards it as a most solemn festival. It would be almost impossible to describe the dresses and adornments of the principal characters taking part in the ceremony.

The procession was preceded by a crude representation of a horse. To make up this a Hindoo was encased in a wooden skeleton of a horse with a movable head, which was held under control by reins.

No little consternation was caused among the crowd assembled to witness the celebration when this strange creature charged into them. Following the horse were several gaudily dressed Hinduos, bearing aloft strange devices. Behind these came several tom-tom players, and musicians discoursing on whistles, accordions, and cornets. Following these were dancers, persons who appeared to be engaged in a scuffling match. Some were padded abnormally; whilst others were made up to represent bears and dogs.

Then came the "well-conducted" Hinduos, walking in a steady manner, reciting various prayers and exhortations. Even these had gone to the trouble to decorate themselves for the occasion with ear and nose rings. Last of all came the temple, which was carried on the shoulders of four stalwart Hinduos. It resembled a large doll's house, and was decorated with gaudy ribbons.

This procession has marched several times round both the Albert and Victoria Docks, a distance of several miles, and at the close of the festival the temple was burned, the Hinduos present making a great display as the last vestiges of the construction were destroyed.

R. C. TEMPLE.

4th April 1904.
TATTOOING in central India.

By Captain C. E. Luard, M.A.,
Superintendent of Ethnography in Central India.
(Continued from p. 228.)

II.
THE MAŁAVĀ OR WESTERN SECTION.
1. Tattooing among Mōchis in Mālavā.
(Collected by Mr. D. F. Vakil of Ratlām.)

Tattooing is confined to the female sex. The following parts of the body are tattooed: — The forehead, the part between the eye-brows, the left side of the nose, the breast or chest, the upper arms, the forearms between the elbow and the wrist, the backs of the hands and the calves of the legs. Tattooing is generally commenced at the sixth or seventh year of age, and may be done at various periods, sometimes even after the twentieth year. The designs are generally ornamental, and little or no significance is attached to them. Only one of two colours, black or green, is employed.

The designs.

(a) On the back of the hand a figure called Sāthia —

(b) On the fingers of the right hand —

(c) Between the wrist and elbow of the right arm —
(d) On the right arm a pair of peacocks—

(e) On the left hand (just below the elbow)—

(f) On the left arm the figure of a Barā or armlet—

Also the Dehli Darwājā, as it is called—

(g) On the breast or chest a pair of peacocks and a cuckoo below them—
(h) On the left side of the nose spots —

( i ) On the chin a spot —

2. Tattooing among Labhānās in Mālavā.

(Collected by Mr. D. F. Vakil of Ratlam.)

Among Labhānās males and females are both tattooed. Among Banjārās tattooing is confined to the female sex only. In the case of Labhānā males, it is confined to the part between the elbow and the wrist, hands, chest, thighs and feet. The marks are found more commonly on the face and the hands. Tattooing is generally commenced before marriage between the eighth and fifteenth year of age.

Men tattoo on their hands a dagger —

Women tattoo on the back of their hands —

Between the wrist and elbow a Svāstika —

On the cheeks a circle —

On the chin a dot —

Between the two eye-brows —

Round the neck —
3. Tattooing among Bhils in Mālavā.
(Collected by Mr. D. F. Vakil of Ratlam.)

Tattooing may be said to be wholly confined to the female sex, the males being tattooed in rare cases only, the custom differing from that in Bhōpāwar. The forehead, the backs of the hands, and the legs are generally tattooed. The marks are found most commonly on the legs. Tattooing is commenced at the age of nine or ten, and it is done at once and not at various periods. No ceremony is connected with it. No professional tattooers are employed; the women tattoo their own relatives or friends. On the back of the hand a flower or the figure of a woman with a water-pot on her head, and on the calf of the leg a mango-tree, are the usual designs. Black is the only colour used.

On the forehead a spot —

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On the hands spots or flowers —

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...
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On the calf of the leg a mango-tree —

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A Paniārī, i.e., a female with a water-pot on her head —
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4. Tattooing among Mhārs of Mālavā.
(Collected by Mr. D. F. Vakil of Ratlam.)

Tattooing is invariably confined to the female sex. Males are never known to tattoo. It is confined to forehead, chin, cheeks, and the part between the wrist and elbow. These parts are most exposed to view, and as the main object of tattooing is decoration, parts which are covered by garments are generally not tattooed. It is commenced at the age of seven or eight years and always before the marriage ceremony takes place. The designs employed are figures of the Tulsi, the lotus-flower, the ornamental border of Sītā's sūrī, the crescent, &c. Sometimes the words राम नाम, Rām-nām, and श्रीनाम, Sṛ-नām, are pricked on the hand. The forehead is generally tattooed first. The Mhār women here do not get themselves tattooed on the breast or abdomen.

On the forehead the crescent with wheat-grains above and below —

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Spots on the chin and cheeks —

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...
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Between the wrist and the elbow, flowers, trees, words, border of Sītā's sari, &c.

\[\text{Names.} \]

5. Tattooing among Mālavā Brāhmaṇas, Chhānyatis, Sarvariyaśas, &c.

(Collected by Mr. D. F. Vakil of Ratlam.)

Tattooing is confined to the female sex only. Tattoo marks are generally made on the following parts of the body: — Forehead, nose, chin, hands, arms, breast, legs and feet. Among the local Sarvariya Brāhmaṇas, who are a branch of the Kanyākubja Brāhmaṇa, a girl is tattooed immediately after her marriage. Virgins are not tattooed. Among the other Brāhmaṇas tattooing is commenced at about the seventh or the eighth year, irrespective of whether the girls are married or unmarried. No ceremony is connected with it, but molasses and sweets are distributed among the women present. Among Sarvariya Brāhmaṇa Naṭnīs (female acrobats) are employed, but among others the elderly female members of the family tattoo the young girl. Only one colour is employed — green. The marks are chiefly made on hands, chin, cheeks and forehead.

- On the back of the palm —

- On the fingers —

- On the feet —

- On the hand
  \[\Delta, \text{ and the figure of Sītā cooking} \]

- On the cheeks —

- On the chin —

- On the lower lip —

- On the forehead —
6. Tattoo Marks from the Dhār State.
(Partly Mālavā, partly Jungle Section.)
(Collected by Mr. W. T. Kapre of Dhār.)

**Males.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Parts of the body</th>
<th>Design</th>
<th>Name of Design</th>
<th>Meaning of Design</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>On both the temples</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Akhyā, आख्या</td>
<td>The temples.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ghūḍā, गोड</td>
<td>Horse.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>On the chest</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Mōra, भूर</td>
<td>Peacock.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bichhū, चिंचू</td>
<td>Scorpion.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>On the shoulders</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Amba, अंब</td>
<td>Mango-tree.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>On the arms</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Katyār, कड्यार</td>
<td>Dagger.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Phūl, फूल</td>
<td>Flower.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Between the elbow and the wrist.</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Chaupāṣa, चूप</td>
<td>A piece of cloth on which the game of सूगात्ति, Soṅgatī, is played with two or three dice.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Parts of the body</td>
<td>Design</td>
<td>Name of Design</td>
<td>Meaning of Design</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
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<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>On the wrist</td>
<td></td>
<td>Javardānē, ṛjava-ṛjava</td>
<td>Barley grains.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Chank, चोक</td>
<td>A square (in marriages thread investitures, &amp;c.) formed with wheat, rice, &amp;c.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>spread on a cloth which covers a stool (पीठ) prepared as a seat for the boy or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>girl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Between the eye-brows...</td>
<td></td>
<td>Chaṅdракूर, चंडकूर</td>
<td>The new moon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Angāra, ṛangāra</td>
<td>A talismanic mark to avert the influence of the evil eye.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Chaṅḍrakōra ṛangāra, चंड्रकूरत्व रगार</td>
<td>The new moon, with the ornamental mark.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>On the left side of the nose</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tipka or Dāṣa, तिपका-रणा</td>
<td>Dot.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>On the right cheek</td>
<td></td>
<td>Do. do. Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>On the lower lip</td>
<td></td>
<td>Do. do. Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>On the chin</td>
<td></td>
<td>Do. do. Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Between the shoulder and the wrist</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sita ka ḍatu, शीताका हात</td>
<td>The hand of Ṣita.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Nisarna, निसर्नि</td>
<td>Ladder.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bāvala, बावला</td>
<td>The bābul tree (Acacia arabica).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Parts of the body.</td>
<td>Design</td>
<td>Name of Design</td>
<td>Meaning of Design</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
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<td>-------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Chand, चंद</td>
<td>♒</td>
<td>The moon.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Sūrāja, सूरज</td>
<td>☀</td>
<td>The sun.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Rāmnām, रामनाम</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>The name of Rāma.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Panayārav, पनवारव</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>Women fetching water-pots.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Pāneche, पाँचे</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>Five square coloured pieces made of lac for girls to play with.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Chakra, चक्र</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>A discus.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Gāda, गदा</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>A mace.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Chālanī, छालनी</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>A sieve.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Putli, पुतली</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>A pair of dolls.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Sītā Mātā ki Rāndhani, शीतामाताकी रांधणी</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>Sītā's kitchen.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

12 Between the shoulder and the wrist—(contd.).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
<td><img src="image" alt="Design" /></td>
<td>Bāvalyā, शाबल्या...</td>
<td>The bābūl tree (Acacia arabica).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td><img src="image" alt="Design" /></td>
<td>Tulsi Kayāřī, हुलसी कवारी.</td>
<td>Tulsi plant in a pot.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
<td><img src="image" alt="Design" /></td>
<td>Görbasnyā, गोर्गस्न्या.</td>
<td>The throne of Gaurī or Pārvatī.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
<td><img src="image" alt="Design" /></td>
<td>Rāmnāma ...</td>
<td>The name of Rāma.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
<td><img src="image" alt="Design" /></td>
<td>The Gavalapi. गवालापी.</td>
<td>Milkmaids.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
<td><img src="image" alt="Design" /></td>
<td>Rāma Lakhsmaṇ ki Jōōī, रामलक्ष्मण की जोूई.</td>
<td>Rāma and his brother Lakshmaṇa together.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
<td><img src="image" alt="Design" /></td>
<td>Bōdā, बौदी ...</td>
<td>Water-pots.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
<td><img src="image" alt="Design" /></td>
<td>Pāḷāṇa, पलरण ...</td>
<td>Infantry.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
<td><img src="image" alt="Design" /></td>
<td>Sātyā or Svāstika, सत्या.</td>
<td>Svāstika.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Parts of the body</td>
<td>Design</td>
<td>Name of Design</td>
<td>Meaning of Design</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
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<td>--------</td>
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<td>------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td></td>
<td><img src="image29" alt="Design Image" /></td>
<td>Kanhayā kā Mu-gu, कन्हाया के मुग्गल</td>
<td>Kanhayya (Krishna's crown).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td></td>
<td><img src="image26" alt="Design Image" /></td>
<td>Chhō dānē, चहो दाने</td>
<td>Six dots.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
<td><img src="image25" alt="Design Image" /></td>
<td>Tulsi Kayārā, तुलसी कावारा</td>
<td>Bed of Tulsi plants.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
<td><img src="image24" alt="Design Image" /></td>
<td>Mōra</td>
<td>A peacock.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td></td>
<td><img src="image23" alt="Design Image" /></td>
<td>Chudiyā or Bāju-bānda, छुड़िया या बांजूबंद</td>
<td>An ornament on the arm or bangles.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
<td><img src="image22" alt="Design Image" /></td>
<td>Ḥirān ki Jōdī, हीरान की जोड़ी</td>
<td>A couple of deer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
<td><img src="image21" alt="Design Image" /></td>
<td>Chaupat, चौपत</td>
<td>Cloth on which the game of Sōngati is played.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
<td><img src="image20" alt="Design Image" /></td>
<td>Ḥāṭhī, हाथी</td>
<td>An elephant.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
<td><img src="image19" alt="Design Image" /></td>
<td>Bāvātī, बावाती</td>
<td>A well with steps.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

12 Between the shoulder and the wrist — (contd.)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Parts of the body</th>
<th>Design</th>
<th>Name of Design</th>
<th>Meaning of Design</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>[Diagram of Sitā Mātā ki Kaḍhai, Sītāmātāki Kābe]</td>
<td>Sitā's frying-pan.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>॥ ककी नारायण करमरकर ॥</td>
<td>Lakshmi</td>
<td>The name of the woman, her husband and his surname.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>[Diagram of Mahādev Rāv]</td>
<td>Nārāyaṇ</td>
<td>Mahādev Rāv - The name of husband in two characters. (A modern innovation is the use of English character.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Between the shoulder and the wrist—(contd.)</td>
<td>Karmarkar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>On the wrist</td>
<td>[Diagram of Piyar ki Vāt, Piyar kī Chāṭ]</td>
<td>The way to a mother's house (lit., the way of love). (This is always more pleasant than the one which leads to the mother-in-law's house! Hence its name.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Jāya, जाय</td>
<td>Barley grain.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sankha, शंख</td>
<td>A conch-shell.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Parts of the body</td>
<td>Design</td>
<td>Name of Design</td>
<td>Meaning of Design</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>On the wrist—(contd.)...</td>
<td></td>
<td>Triśūla, तिर्सुल</td>
<td>Tridents.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Görbasnyā, सोरबसन्या</td>
<td>A throne of the goddess Gauri or Parvati.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Chālni, चलनी</td>
<td>Another variety of sieve.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Phūl, फूल</td>
<td>Another variety of flower.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Kūi, कूई</td>
<td>A well.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Dāṇḍa, दांडा</td>
<td>A dot.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Chānd, चांद</td>
<td>Moon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Java, जव</td>
<td>Barley.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>On the fingers</td>
<td></td>
<td>Lavaṅgō, लवंग</td>
<td>A clove.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Parts of the body</td>
<td>Design</td>
<td>Name of Design</td>
<td>Meaning of Design</td>
</tr>
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<td>-----</td>
<td>------------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>On the abdomen</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tarājvā, सताज्ञा</td>
<td>A balance, scale.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>On the legs</td>
<td></td>
<td>Satyā, सत्या, or Svastika.</td>
<td>Svastika.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>On the feet</td>
<td></td>
<td>Phūl</td>
<td>A flower.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Jhūḍa, जठुड्ढ</td>
<td>A tree.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Phūl, पूल</td>
<td>A flower.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Dāṅga, डांगे</td>
<td>Dots.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
SOME ANGLO-INDIAN TERMS FROM A XVIIth CENTURY MS.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, BAR.

(Continued from p. 206.)

PAGODA.

Fol. 4. theire Chiefe God of all is in forme of a man Somethinge deformed, & is Set up in theire great Pagods, or temples, . . . . theire many Others Set up in theire Pagod Courts.

Fol. 9. In this theire Cathedral Pagod.

Fol. 57. they have . . . . large fabricks of Stone called Pagods . . . . their most holy and Esteemable Pagod Jn? Gernaet.

Fol. 84. The Bengalas (viz! y? Idolatrous people of y? countriey) have very Strange ways of worshippinge their Gods (or rather Devils) they Set up in their Pagods, as aseen in their owne houses.

Fol. 87. Durenge y? time of Sickness y? Brachmans, some of them are very diligent to sitt by them and pray, Seldom leavinge off Vntill y? Party be quite dead, Especially to put y? party in mind of y? Pagod, to leave to it accordinge to his abilitie.

See Yule, s. v. Pagoda: also ante, Vol. XXII. p. 27.

PAGODA.

Fol. 20. Noe man is admitted to marry Vnlesse he can purchase moneys to y? Value of 20 or 25 pagods a coin very Current here [Choromandel].

Fol. 31. much moneys 10 or 20: thousand Pagodos, (each Value 9?).

Fol. 32. this very Commodity Salt draweth into y? King's Exchequer two Million of Old Pagodos yearly.

Fol. 51. y? Merchant gineinge 8: 10: 20 thousand Pagodos for a Small Spot of land [containing diamonds].

Fol. 53. Currant Coynes in this Kingdome [Golconda], frict S? Georg's, viz! New Pagods here coynd passe all y? Kingdome over att y? Rate of 00/0 08s 00d. Pullicat and The Pagod Valueth 00 08 06. Golconda. The Old Pagod Valueth 00 12 00. Porto Novo & Trincombar. The Pagod there Coynd Valueth but 00 06 00.

See Yule, s. v. Pagoda. [The quotations in the text are valuable.]

PAINTINGS.

Fol. 31. Very Considerable quantities of these following Commodities are here [Pettipolee] wrought and Sold to foreigne Merchants viz! . . . . Painted Callicos of divers Sorts.

Fol. 49. This part of y? Countrey [Narsinghe] affordeth plenty of . . . . Paintings.

Fol. 51. This Kingdome [Golconda] . . . . affordeth . . . . paintings.

Fol. 157. Th. Chief Commodities brought hither from Suratt: are . . . . course Paintings.

[This useful word is not, though it should have been, in Yule. He quotes Fryer for 1673, s. v. palempore, thus: "Callicuts white & painted." See also s. v. Pintado. It meant what are now known as "prints" and "printed callicoes." N. and E. p. 55, for 5th Oct. 1680: "Advice received from Conjeveram that Lingapa had given leave for Paintings and Bantam goods to be brought into Town," p. 37, 27th Oct. : "Upon the discovery being made that
Pedda Yenkadry's relatives, the Pedda Naigue, the Chief Painter with other painters had left the Town privately.” P. 42, 23rd Dec.: “The Malabar painters Tasherift.”

PALANKEEN.

 Fol. 18. his Retinue were as followeth . . . Six Palanchinos.
 Fol. 19. the Bridgroom and bride are carried in a Palanchino.
 Fol. 41. his Retinue of Attendants and Menial Servants are in great number, he keeps Several Palanchinos.

 Fol. 48. A Palanchino is of ye forme above described [drawing], beinge a longe Square frame about 6 foot in length and 3 or 3½ foot broad, very neatly inlaid wth Ivory and Turtle Shell of Excellent Workman ship plated with Silver . . . . with a large Bambo of about 15 or 16 foot longe, crooked in ye middle for ye conveniencie of settinge upright, or may ly downe and Sleep in it.

 Fol. 68. his lumber of travellinge Necessaries viz Tents, Palanchinoes, Servants Souliery &c.

 Fol. 80. and thus with many faire wheeldes, and comeinge downe (in person) to ye barre with Store of Elephants, Palanchinoes &c pretendinge to wait for ye kissinge of ye Commodore’s hand.

 Fol. 88. a Gentue in Hugly died and was brought downe to ye Riner Side, his Widdow was brought downe in a Palanchino with very great attendance after their manner.

 See Yule, s. v. Palankeen. [The quotations are good for the form of the word. N. and E. p. 25, for 28th June 1680, affords a valuable quotation here: “In consequence of a duty of Dustoor or Baratta having been exacted without authority by the Governour’s Pallenkeen Booy from all the coolies that carry Pallenkeens, it is resolved to let this right to receive the said Dustoor for one year for the sum of 20 Pagodas.” See ante, Vol. XXX. p. 398 f.]

 PALEMPORES.

 Fol. 37. Metchlipatam. Affordeth many very good and fine Commodities, viz all Sorts of fine Callicoeplaine and colourd, more Especially fine Pallamores for Quilts.

 Fol. 49. This part of ye Country [Narsapore] affordeth plenty of Pallamores.

 See Yule, s. v. Palempore. [A chinta bed-spread.]

 PALMITO.

 Fol. 29. ye Groves consistinge of . . . Palmito . . . ye Palmito is noe more then a rough sort of Wood . . . they beare Some bunches of fruite very lucious, but noe way pleasant beinge noe better then wild dates, they afford liquor alseoye ye drop from ye top of it viz from ye yonge branches and is called date Toddy.

 Fol. 69. [Cuttack] adorned with . . . delicate Groves of . . . Palmito.

 Not in Yule, though he quotes s. v. Toddy: “1611. Palmitti Wine, which they call Toddly.” [In the text the palmito is the date-palm in contradistinction to the palmiera or toddy-palm.]

 PALMYRA.

 Fol. 18. they write Vpon ye leaves of Palmero trees wth a Sharpe pointed iron (for the penne) an antient (yea I suppose of ye greatest antiquitie) custome, whence I doe suppose wee had that Vsual word a leafe or paper.

 Fol. 23. when they are yonge (yea in their infancy) they have Small Ones [rings] made of palmero leafe thrust in [their ears].
THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY.  

Fol. 25. throwinge on much more combustible things, to wit . . . . . . dried palmero leaves or the like.

Fol. 29. ? Groves consistinge of . . . Palmero . . . . the Palmero tree affordeth that rare liquor formerly termed Palmo-Wine, now vulgarly called Toddy.

Fol. 69. [Cutack] adorned with . . . delicate Groves of . . . Palmero.

See Yule, s. v. Palmyra. [The quotations above are nearly all valuable.]

PALMYRA, POINT.

Fol. 59. Point Palmeris y? Entrance into y? Bay of Bengala . . . . . . a very wild Open bay that extends it selfe from Point Conjugare to Palmeris.

Fol. 61. the Sea or Gulph of Bengala: viz? between Point Palmeris (the Entrance thereof). See Yule, s. v. Palmyra, Point. [The quotations above are valuable.]

PARA.


Not in Yule. [N. and E., p. 23, for 3rd June, 1680, has a very valuable quotation here: "Eight small measures make one Tomb [= Mercall], Five Tombs make one Parra, eighty Parras make one Garce." It is a pity that the text has a blank just here.]

PARIAH.

Fol. 27. there are another Sort of inhabitants about this [Choromandel] Coast that are y? Officium of all y? rest they are called Parjars, they are of noe Cast whatever.

See Yule, s. v. Pariah. [N. and E., p. 34, for 21st Sept., 1680, has "every village has a Canopy [clerk] and a Parjar [servant] who are imploied in this office which goes from Father to Son."]

PATAM.

Fol. 35. Metchlipatam : Soe called from y? Hindostan ore Moors Languadge word Metchli signifieinge fish and patam or Patanam a towne.

Not in Yule.

PATANL.


Fol. 152. Pattanie, a Kingdom that is near neighbour to this [Queda] lyinge on y? East Side of this great Neck of Land called y? Malay Coast.

Not in Yule.

PATNA.

Fol. 64. y? Governement of the 3 kingdoms (namely) Orixa: Bengala: & Pattana: was Established Vpon Emir Jemla.


Fol. 68. Many of the Grandees of these 3 Kingdomes mett their Prince at Pattana and the rest at Radja Mehal.

Fol. 97. Pattana : A Very large and potent Kingdom . . . . this is a Countrey of very great Traffike & Commerce & is really y? great Gate y? Openeth into Bengala and Orixa . . . . The Chief Citty called Pattana: a very large and Spacious one indeed and is Scituate neare to the River of Gainges: many miles up.
SOME ANGLO-INDIAN TERMS.

Fol. 98. The English East India Company have a factory in Pattana, adjoyninge to the City. The English Chief (by name) Job : Chanock : hath liued here many years.

See Yule, s. v. Patna.

PATTULLO.

Fol. 68. he laded 60 Patellas with Silver and by credible report tenne wth Gold Moors, each Patella not carrying lesse one with another ... then 25 or 30 tunns of Plate.

Fol. 98. great flat bottomed Vessels, of an Exceedinge Strength wth are called Patellas, each of them will bringe downe 4: 5: 6000: Bengala Manuds ... Many Patellas come downe yearly laden wth Wheat and Other graine and goe Vp laden with Salt and bees wax y? Kings owne commodities.

Fol. 101. Patella: The boats that come downe from Pattana wth Saltpecter or Other goods built of an Exceedinge Strength and are Very flat and burthensome.

See Yule, s. v. Pattello. [The quotations are valuable.]

PAWN.

Fol. 45. often chawinge Beteloe Areca wth they call Pausn.

See Yule, s. v. Pawn.

PECUL.

Fol. 171. they carried away above 100 Piooul of fine Gold out of y? Treasury.

See Yule, s. v. Pecul. [The Malay cat.] See also ante, Vol. XXVIII. 37 ff.

PEGU.

Fol. 84. [Gong] made of fine Gams of Pegu.

Fol. 148. y? Kings of Syam ... haveinge a warre of greater consequence in hand namely wth y? Kings of Pegu.

Fol. 157. Many Ships and Vessels doe ... arrive in this Port [Achin] from ... Pegu.

See Yule, s. v. Pegu.

PEON.

Fol. 41. his Retinue of Attendants and Menial Servants are in great number ... 2 or 3 hundred Punes ... Punes are noe Other thane waiting men ... they runne by his Palanchino or Elephant as foot boys.

Fol. 91. to Suppresse y? Leachery of him and his Punes.

See Yule, s. v. Peon. [The "boy" in "foot-boys" above is probably also an Anglo-Indianism: see Yule, s. v. Boy.]

PERAK.

Fol. 153. about 30 or 40 Prows they have y? belonge to Queda y? constantly trade to Bangaree: Ianselone: and Pera, some few to Achin.

Fol. 158. from ... Pera &c: on y? Malay Coast little Save Tinne.

Not in Yule. [Perde is a Malay State having about 100 miles of coast line on the west of the Malay Peninsula.]

PESHUSS.

Fol. 71. She a most mannish woman of these ages courageousely sends him word she owed him nothinge, nor had she ever rec? any Piscash from him whereby to make retaliation.
According to his Expectation ye English and Dutch Agents and their counsellors went out in State to waite upon him carrying considerable Piscashes with them to present him with.

See that they were forced to Piscash them according to their own demands.

Two of ye Grandees of his Counciull must alsoe be Piscashed wth 6 pieces of fine Callicoes or Chint each of them:

ye English Merchant presenteth him wth a piscash notst Valueinge lesse then 50 pound Sterlings. When ye Said Merchant cometh downe to Queda he Piscaseth ye younge Kings alse wth almost soe much [in Value] as he did ye Old one.

See Yule, s. v. Pashcaus. [An obligatory gift to a high official.]

PETTAPOLY.

Ye Next English factorie wee have is Pettipoole. it lyeth to the S Ward of Point Due in a Sandy bay called Pettipoole Bay, ye English and Dutch have Each of them a factory in ye town.

Great Abundance of White Salt is made in ye Valleys of Pettipoole.

Anno Dom. 1672 I stroke downe to Pettipoole in a journey I tooke Overland from S't Georg's to Metchilipatam.

Not in Yule.

Fol. 31. in Narsypore & ye Villages 2) or 3) miles off they have a Small Sort of moneys made of lead like Swan Shot and are called Picanes many hundreds of them passe for One Rupee.

Not in Yule.

PINE, PINE APPLE.

They have Severall Sorts of very good fruit in the Countrey [Queda].... Pines, of wth last they have in great abundance more then in any Other Countrey ye I was in ye Figure of ye Pine Apple as followeth [illustration].

Yule has no quotations for Pine-Apple, but see those s. v. Ananas.

PINJREE.

With a Scarlet or broadoth coveringe (called a Pinjree) Stretched out Square [over a Palanchine].

Not in Yule. [Pinjrd, pinjrd, is ordinary Hindustani for a cage.]

PINTADO.

alsoe very ingenious in workinge Cotton Cloath or Silks, pantados.

See Yule, s. v. Pintado. [The Portuguese form of "paintings" (q. r.) or prints.]

PIPLY.

he wold Every yeare Send downe to ye Merchants in piplo.

The Nabob and Some Merchants here and in Ballasore & Pipo.

These Vae for the most part between Hugly & Pyplo & Ballasore.

Not in Yule, though it certainly should be. [One of the earliest Factories in Bengal.]

PLANTAIN.

Each of these huge Animals [elephants], must have at ye least 70: plantan trees laid in for his provender. They never let them drinks any water at seas, a Plantan tree beinge a Very liquorish thing Naturally and will not dry up much in lesse then 2 months.
Fol. 134. doth often Send us . . . plantans . . . . all the fruites this countrey [Jana:Jone] affordeth is Coconut Plantan . . . . but noe fruit se seen plENTE here as the Plantan.

Fol. 147. hauinge yf tame E'phants by them, and good Store of victuals, as plantrees [contemporary form of "plane-trees"], yonge bambooes and yf like.

See Yule, s. v. Plantain [The last quotation is valuable.]

POLICULL.

Fol. 49. The Dutch have a factorie 4 English miles above ours, & is called Policull: after yf name of a Village there unto adjoyninge.

Not in Yule. [Near Madapollam or Narsapore (q. v.).]

POMELO.

Fol. 175. This Countrey [Achin] affordeth Severall Excellent good fruites, Namely . . . . Pumplie Mooses &c: and yf trees beare fruites both green and ripe all yf years alinge

See Yule, s. v. Pommelo: the largest variety of orange.

PONICHERRY.

Fol. 142. yf Southernmost parts of yf Choromandell Coast, Viz . . . Pullicherry.

See Yule, s. v. Pondicherry. [The above is a most valuable quotation for the history of this name. N. and E. has, p. 29; for 23rd May, 1680, Puddicherry, and p. 25, for 28th June, Puddicherry.]

POSE.

Fol. 94. 4 burries make 1 Pone or 80: Cowries. 16 Pones make 1 Cawne or 128: Cowries . . . . They seldeone rise or fall more then 2 Pones in one Rupees.

Not in Yule. [It is for p. 29; see ante, Vol. XXVII, p. 170.]

POONDI.

Fol. 56. bringe a Very Secure Coast to harboor in namely in . . . Pondi.


PORE.

Fol. 83. when he hath Strucke a Seven: he then Striketh 1: viz: One Pore . . . . and then Striketh 2 vis: 2 Pores: vis: midday or midnight, as 9 in yf moruenge Is one Pore, 12 att Noon is 2 Pores, 3 in yf afternoone 3 Pores, 0 Settinge 4 Pores and se of yf night.

[For pahre, a watch.] See Yule, s. v. Puhur, Ghurry, and Gong.

PURGOO.

Fol. 100. A Purgo: These Vse for the most part between Hugly & Pyplio and Balleasore: with these boats they carry goods into yf Roads On board English & Dutch &c: Ships, they will liuie a looge time in yf Sea: being brought to anchor by yf Sterne, as therfor Vusal way is.

See Yule, s. v. Porge: but see also ante, Vol. XXX, p. 160.

PORTO NOVO.

Fol. 41. yf Kinge of Golcondah, Sole Lor.l and Kinge of all this Coast seavinge to yf Southward of Porto Novo.

Fol. 53. Porto Novo & Tricombar.

Fol. 142. yf Southernmost parts of yf Choromandell Coast, Viz Porto Novo.

See Yule, s. v. Porto Novo; who doe not, however, trace the history of the place. [The following quotations from N. and E. are very valuable in this connection. P. 13, 20th March 1680:
"Intelligence received from Porto Novo that the Dutch have leave to settle a Factory there."
P. 44, 6th January 1681: "Accordingly it is resolved to supply to the Soobidar of Sewagee's Country of Chingy for a Cowle to settle Factories at Cooraboor and Coonemorro and also at Porto Novo, if desired, the Company's Merchants engaging to deliver cloth there at the same rates as here."

PORTUGESE.

Fol. 82. A great Multitale of Portugals inhabit y' Kingdome of Bengala, Especialy in Hugly and Some Other Creeks or Rivolets of y' Riuier thereof, many of them are filias de Lisbon (as they, call them selve) viz] European's borne, but many more of them are filias de Indies . . . .

The Portugals are admitted to live in any part of the Kingdome [of Benga'a], with freedome Enough, but not see much as Some of their richest men, flidalges, as they call them viz] Gentlemen doe Expect.

Fol. 83. The Portugueeses haveing collected a good Sum of moneys to y'] End they might build a very large & decent Church.

Not in Yule. [By Portugals and Portugueeses were meant Portuguese half-breeds and also Roman-Catholic converts, often pure Natives of the country. N. ant E. p. 33, for 1st November 1680, has a valuable quotation here: "It is resolved to Entertain about 100 Topasses or Black Portuges, the better to guard the washers."

PROW.

Fol. 131. Piratts . . . . have many cunninge places to hide themselves and their men of warre Prows in.

Fol. 128. A great prow of about 40 tunas in burthen had gott in privately and traded for time . . . . the Dutch . . . . by order of thire Chiefe Merchant there Seized y'] Prow . . . . therefore that Prow and her goods were thire Lawfull Prize . . . . tooke y'] Prow and her goods by Violence out of y'] hands of y'] Dutch.

Fol. 139. each of the 3 Sea Ports Shold build and fit out to Sea 2 men of warre Prows, each to carry 10 gunns and Pattereros, & well manned and fitted with Small arms.

Fol. 144. they Sent away y'] Other Seamen in a Prow bound for Achin.

Fol. 144. but they [the Portugueeses] did not longe remaine in Slavery before they tooke a fit OPPORTUNITIE to make their Escape in a Prow.

Fol. 153. 5 or 6 great Prows yearly from Borneo, and about 30 or 40 Prows they have y'] belonge to Queda.

Fol. 157. with infinite Numbers of Prows from y'] Malay Shore.

Fol. 161. there is Sent off from y'] Custome-house a Small flyinge Prow . . . . y'] Prow goeth on Shore again.


PRAVAMAN.

Fol. 159. There are Severall Radjas Vpon Sumatra . . . . Especially those of . . . . Pryaman.

Not in Yule.

PULICAT.

Fol. 31. Some twenty or twenty two miles to y'] Northward of S't Georg's the Dut[e]h have a towne and Garrison called Pullicatt.

PULO.

Fol. 149. Pullo in y? Malay tongue Signifieth Island.

Not in Yule.

PULO GOMUS.

Fol. 157. [Achin Road] almost land locked wth y? head of Sumatra: Pullo Way: and Pullo Gomus: and 2 or 3 Small Islands and rocks, y? land is all Mountaneous and woody Save where y? City Standeth: more Especially the 2 Islands Way and Gomus, haveinge noe low land about them, nor are they inhabited more then wth Some banished Cripples Sent from y? City.

Not in Yule, but see his quotation s. v. Penang.

PULO SAMBELONG.

Fol. 131. The Saleeters are absolute Pirats, and often cruiseinge about Ianselone & Pullo Sambelon &c Jales neare this Shore.

Not in Yule. [Off the South-West Coast of the Malay Peninsula.]

PULO WAY.

Fol. 157. [Achin Road] almost land locked wth y? head of Sumatra Pullo Way: and Pullo Gomus . . . . Especially the 2 Islands Way and Gomus, haveinge noe low land about them, nor are they inhabited more then wth Some banished Cripples Sent from y? City.

Not in Yule.

PUTTA.

Fol. 132. They have noe Sort of Coyned monies here [Ianselone] save what is made of time, wth is melted into Small lumps . . . . One Small lump or Putta valuethe here 3\frac{1}{3} Eng. One great Putta is 2\frac{1}{2} Small ones Val: 7\frac{1}{4} penny En\$ is their Currant monies and noe Other . . . . . when a Small parcel then for soe many Vieces: or soe many great or Small puttas: 4 great puttas make a Viece 10 Small ones is a Viece.

Not in Yule.

QUALA.


Not in Yule: the estuary of a large river. See also Yule, s. v. Calay.

QUEDA.

Fol. 77. The Elephants of Ceylon are best Esteemed of here . . . then those of T. saree Queda: or Syam.

Fol. 143. Queda: A Kingdome (soe called) Vpon y? Malay Coast, the Chiefe Riuers called of y? Same from the Chiefe towe or City thereof. It is y? largest and most Navigable Riuers in this Kingdome . . . . and Navigable att any time up to y? towne of Queda: wth is not lesse then 60 English miles above y? barre thereof.

Fol. 144. But many rogues lye Sculkinge about y? Islands of Queda and about y? Riuers of Old Queda . . . . came boldly Vp to Queda and Sold the goods to Sarajah Cawn: a Chulyar & chiefe Shabandar of Quedah.

Fol. 145. This Kingdome hath luted Vnder a happy Goverment in peace many years with all Nations Save y? Hollander, whoe have ware wth Queda (through their owne Seekinge).

Fol. 146. feasteth them very Nobly, (s Royally accordinge to y? Custome of Queda).
The King of Queda is Tributary to him of Syam, although y" tribute he payeth be but inconsiderable in it Selfe, beinge noe more then annually a gold flower, not Exceedinge 20 pieces of 8 in Value, yet he must Send or incurre his displeasure, y" like all y" Kings Upon y" Malay Coast must doe.

This River of Queda is a Very good Riever and see is that of Old Queda y" lyeth to y" Southward of this.

See Yule, s. v. Queda. [The quotations are good.]

(To be continued.)

NOTES ON INDIAN HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY.

BY J. F. FLEET, I.C.S. (RETD.), PH.D., C.I.E.

Kavirājāmārga

There is a Kanarese metrical work, entitled Kavirājāmārga, — or, by slightly free translation, the Path of Poets Laureate, — which deals with alamkāra or the art of ornate poetical expression. It appears to have been first brought to notice in 1890, in Kāryādakabābdawādañsanam, Introd. pp. 7, 23, by Mr. Rice, who wrongly attributed the composition of it to the Rāṣṭrākūṭa king Nṛpatuṅga-Amogha-varsha I. It has been "edited" by Mr. K. B. Pathak, B.A., in the capacity of Assistant to the Director of Archeological Research in Mysore, as a volume of the Bibliotheca Carnatica, entitled Nṛpatuṅga's Kavirājāmārga, published in 1898 at Bangalore under the " direction " of Mr. Rice. And, in the opening words of the editor's Introduction, — which, it may be remarked, has been also issued, without its last four or five paragraphs, as an article in the Jour. Bo. R. As. Soc. Vol. XX. pp. 22 to 39, — it is indicated as the oldest Kanarese work that has as yet been discovered. It may well be such; though it is not by any means the earliest specimen of the Kanarese language, as we have Kanarese records of the Western Chalukya kings, of the Rāṣṭrākūṭa kings, and of the Western Gāṅga princes of Mysore, which are of earlier times. And it is also of interest in having a bearing upon the date of the Sanskrit writer Dāṇjin, whose treatment of the same topic has been, partially at any rate, followed, whether by direct adaptation or by second-hand borrowing, in it. And it is, therefore, worth while to consider carefully what the period and circumstances of the composition of this work really were. The work is not dated. But it contains statements and allusions, by means of which the points in question can be determined.

As may be gathered even from the title given by him to his volume, the editor of this so-called Nṛpatuṅga's Kavirājāmārga has followed Mr. Rice in assigning the composition of it to the Rāṣṭrākūṭa king Nṛpatuṅga-Amogha-varsha I. He has primarily based

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1 It may be thought that this Note, which is practically a review of a book that was published in 1898, makes a rather late appearance. And so it does. But, for a long time after the book in question reached me, in 1899, I was unable to write about it, partly through being very much engaged in more important work, and partly because of the difficulty of obtaining in England some other Kanarese books which it was necessary to examine and quote. And now, for more than a year, the Note has lain among my papers, finished except for the final reading that was of course necessary before sending it out, but a constant pressure of affairs has prevented me from giving it that final reading. I do not, however, regret the delay; because recent receipt of Mr. B. Narasimhachar's edition of the Kīlayādakāmba (see note 5 on page 197 above), — one of the other works which I particularly wanted to see, — has enabled me to make some very appropriate improvements, especially in connection with the fact that there were two Kanarese writers, and not simply one, named Nāgavarna. — J. F. F.; November, 1903.

2 The editor of the Kāvīrājāmārāja has said, almost at the beginning of his Introduction, that the Kavīrājāmārāja was first introduced to Oriental Scholars by Mr. Rice in a paper contributed to the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. And to this remark he has attached the footnote "For July 1888," without specifying any page. I have had occasion to read, more than once, Mr. Rice's article on "Early Kannada Authors" in the Jour. E. As. Soc., N.S., Vol. XV., 1883, pp. 295 to 314. With nothing to guide me beyond the vague and slovenly reference given by the editor of the Kavīrājāmārāja, I can only say that, in that article by Mr. Rice, I cannot find any mention of the work in question, or detect anything that can be recognised as an allusion to it.
that conclusion upon three expressions in the work itself, which he has quoted on page 2 of his Introduction. According to the text of the book, those expressions are, in chapter 3, verse 98. — Nripatunagadēva-matadinde, — "by the opinion of Nripatunagadēva;" in chapter 3, verse 11, — Atisayadhavaṇa-dharadhipa-matadindain, — "by the opinion of the king Atisayadhavaṇa;" and in chapter 3, verse 1, — akhila-dhāra-vallabhan . . . Amoghavarsha-ñripendran, — "the great king Amoghavarsha, the favourite of the whole earth." The editor, — who, it may here be remarked once for all, has for the most part abstained from presenting translations of passages relied on by him or even indicating the meaning of them, and so has avoided facilitating an understanding of the matter by those who do not know Kanarese, — has not said anything about the context of these expressions, which he has thus detached from their surroundings. Nor has he attempted to show how these three separate expressions are to be combined with each other. But, from the simple citation of them, he has proceeded to say: — "From these expressions it is manifest that Nripatunag composed the Kavirajamārga, that he had the titles of Amoghavarsha and Atisayadhavala, and that he was a paramount sovereign. And since he writes in Kannada, it may be further inferred that the Karṇata formed part of his dominions. Two verses" — (a footnote specifies chapter 1, verse 90, and chapter 3, verse 18), — "which praise Jina, reflect the religious opinions of the writer. These facts enable us to identify him with the Rāsahārīkē emperor Nripatunag or Amoghavarsha." A more feeble way of asserting a result, without any attempt at explanation or argument, could hardly be conceived. But that is not all. Having started by enunciating that result, the editor has proceeded to tell us (Intro. p. 2) that there are "one or two expressions," in the colophons and elsewhere in the work, which are "apt" to lead us into a belief opposed to it. He has then explained away, to his own satisfaction, in a manner which will be exhibited further on, the obstacle raised by the colophons. He has not attempted to explain away the obstacle presented by another passage (chapter 2, verse 53), mentioning the name of Atisayadhavala but not of Nripatunag, which, he has admitted, "cannot be so satisfactorily explained," and "is calculated to give one the impression that the writer of the work was different from Nripatunag." But, stamping it as a solitary instance, he has proceeded (Intro. p. 3) to set off against it four other passages (chapter 1, verses 24, 147, chapter 2, verse 27, and chapter 3, verse 1), in respect of which it is sufficient to say, here, that neither does any one of them, nor does the context of any one of them, mention the name of Nripatunag; they mention only the names Atisayadhavala and Amoghavarsha. He has then cited two passages which do not mention either of the two names which are mentioned in those four passages. Of these two passages, one (chapter 3, verse 225) simply compares some person, who the editor says is Nripatunag, and whom we may take to be Nripatunag though his name is not mentioned in it, to a flight of steps leading to the sacred waters of "Sarasvati." And the other (chapter 3, verse 230) says, according to the editor's rendering of it, that "knowledge contained in Nripatunagadēva-mārgga or Kavirajamārgga is a ship which safely carries a high-souled person across the ocean of Kannada poetry." We need not lay any stress upon the fact that the original of this passage does not contain anything answering to the words "or Kavirajamārgga and Kannada, which are gratuitous insertions by the editor. The editor has then proceeded to tell us that those facts — (namely, the six passages thus presented by him) — prove that Nripatunag composed the present work. He has then cited two verses, which, he has said, tell us that "Nripatunagadēva-mārgga means the path indicated by the great Nripatunag." Of these, one is verse 105 of chapter 2, from which he has quoted the words, — mahā-Nripatunagadēvan-ādudaroḍa pēlṇa mārgga, — which would mean literally "the path very kindly (or encouragingly) declared by the great Nripatunagadēva;" the other is verse 106 of chapter 3, which does not mention the name of Nripatunag, and from which he has quoted the words, — Atisayadhavala-ārādē śāmārgga, — which mean literally "the path of the teaching of Atisayadhavala." And he has arrived at the conclusion (Intro. p. 3) that the title of the work, Kavirajamārga, is thus "easily explained" as meaning "the path indicated by the king of poets who is no other than Nripatunag himself."
Having thus followed the editor through a series of mere assertions which do not present anything in the way of discriminative reasoning, we may now proceed to deal with the matter in a methodical manner. As, unfortunately, so often happens in correcting a wrong assertion, the misleading result propounded by the editor in respect of the author of the work cannot be replaced by the correct result by an equally brief process. But the longer inquiry has this advantage, that it leads us ultimately to some interesting points which the editor has overlooked altogether, — the name of the real author of the work, the name of the earlier authority whom he followed, and the way in which he proceeded in composing his work.

In trying to discover the person by whom any particular ancient work has been composed, we must naturally look, in the first place, to any colophon which that work may have. And we, therefore, turn first to the colophons of the Kavirajamārga, of which there are three, one at the end of each of its three parichhēdās or chapters.


And the colophon of the third chapter runs: — Idu parama-Sarasvatī[tīrtha-vātara- Nripatunāgadē-ānumatam-appa Kavirajāmārgada] satīdālāṃkāraṃ triptīya-parichhēdām samāptaṃ II Kavirajāmārga-alāṃkāraṃ samāptaṃ II.

For the information of Sanskritists who may not know Kanaresā, it is to be explained that the word Kavirajāmārgadē is the locative singular, and that appa is a form of the relative present participle of āyu, ‘to become,’ and has the effect of placing the word which precedes it in apposition with that locative. 4 The exactly corresponding Sanskrit expression, for the colophon of the first chapter, would be parama . . . . ānumatē Kavirajāmārgā. And the literal translation of that colophon is: — ‘Ornate prose. This is the first chapter, (entitled) the description of those things which are faults and those which are not faults, in the Kavirajāmārga which is approved of (or concurred in) by the most glorious Nripatunāgāvā.’ The colophons of the second and third chapters, which deal with embellishment of sound and embellishment of sense, have exactly the same purport in respect of the point under consideration.

It seems almost absurd, to have to point out that, if there had been an intention to indicate actual composition of the work by the Nripatunāgā who is thus mentioned in the colophons, there would have been used, instead of ānumata, ‘assented to, concurred in,’ some such word as rachita or virachita, ‘composed,’ or krita, ‘made.’ Nothing could be plainer than the fact that the colophons distinctly show that the Kavirajāmārga was not composed by Nripatunāgā, and that it was composed by some other person who represented himself as simply putting forward views concurred in by Nripatunāgā. The editor, however, while admitting (Intro. p. 2) that the colophons are some of ‘one or two expressions occurring in the present work, which are apt to

1 I have felt some doubt as to the best way of presenting those passages of the original which I quote. The editor’s transliterated text does certainly not represent the original exactly as it stands. And there is no guarantee that his Kanaresā text does so. I have taken the latter as my guide. But I have replaced the anuvṛtta by the proper nasals, wherever the use of the latter is more correct. And I have followed a frequent custom of Native books, in omitting to show sāndhi between a word ending with r, l, or l, and a following word commencing with a consonant.

2 We may compare in this detail, and contrast in the use of virachita instead of anumata, the latter part of the colophon of, for instance, the first canto of the Pampa-Badāyana, a work to which we have to refer for other purposes further on: — Idu parama-Jina-samaya-kamadini-Śarachandra-Bālasandramulindra-charpa-nakkha-kiraṇa-chandrikā-chakravrin Bhārata-Karapādātī Abhinava-Pampa-virachitam-appa Rāmavadharatita-purāṇaḥ, pūñkhi-prakarasam prathama-dvīnam.
"lead one into the belief that Nripatunga may not have been the real author of the work," has had the assurance to follow up that admission by the assertion that "the word 'anamatam' is obviously intended to express the author's approval"—(that is, according to his representation of the matter, the approval of Nripatunga-Amoghavasara I)—"of those views of his predecessors, which are summarised in the present work." That assertion is nothing but a gratuitous misrepresentation of the meaning of the colophons, which do not contain any allusion of any kind to views of predecessors. And there is not anything in the body of the work, which could justify any such tampering with the plain meaning of the colophons.

The next most natural step is to turn to the opening verses of the work. The first two verses run as follows:

Sri tāl=uradol| kaustubha-
jaṭa-dyuti balasi kāndapadantire saḥ-1
pratiyin=āvaman-agala]  
Nitinirantarān=adāran=a Nripatunga-2
Kritakṛityamalaś=apraṭi-
hata-vikraman=osodu Viranāraṇyaṇa-3
pp=Atisayadhavala namagālg-
ataṛkṣitopasthita-pratāp-ādayamāna-1 2.

Translation: (Verse 1) "Let Fortune, clinging to (his) breast, with the lustre, born from the kaustubha-jewel, lying round (her) like a screen surrounding a tent, — not abandon with (her) affection him (literally, whom?); (namely) the noble Nitiniranta ("he who never ceases to display statesmanship"), that (famous, or well-known) Nripatunga!" (Verse 2) "Let Atisayadhavala, who is Kritakṛityamala ("the wrestler, or the most excellent, of those who have done their duty"), and who, possessing prowess which has not been checked (just as the god Vishnu-Nārāyaṇa had three strides which were not obstructed), has pleasingly become Viranāraṇyaṇa, — give us a development of power that comes quite unexpectedly!"

In respect of the next two verses, it is sufficient to state that, in them, the author has given utterance, in expanded terms, to the prayers: — "Let the goddess Sarasvatī lovingly take up her abode in my thoughts!" and: — "Let those supreme great poets, from whose jaws compositions, properly adorned by the most excellent embellishments, have made their appearance, be our aid in this work!"

The real nature of the first and second verses is quite unmistakable. In the first of them, the author of the work prays that good fortune may never desert a person, Nripatunga, whom the expressions employed by him mark as a person of exalted rank. In the second, he asks Atisayadhavala, — whom, in this stage of the inquiry, we might, or might not, be inclined to identify with the Nripatunga who is mentioned in the preceding verse, — to inspire him with a power, in dealing with the subject lying before him, which he himself, unaided, could not hope to display. And the true nature of the second verse, at any rate, was rightly understood by Mr. Rice, when he said: — "Commencing with reverence to Atisayādhavala, i.e. his father Gōvinda or Prabhūta-varsha, 'to whose court only learned and skilful poets were admitted,' "Nripatunga goes on to mention," &c." That exposition of the verse, indeed, involved the mistakes of taking Nripatunga-Amoghavasara I. to be the author of the work, and of taking Atisayadhavala to be his father Prabhūtavarsha-Gōvinda III., though it had been made known from the Sirur inscription, published seven years before that sentence was issued, that Atisayadhavala was Nripatunga-Amoghavasara I. But Mr. Rice was so far correct, in that he properly understood this verse as containing a prayer or request addressed by the author of the work to Atisayadhavala. On the other hand, the editor of the Kaviṛḍjāmārga could not, and did not, ignore the fact that

1 Kavīṛḍjāmār-ga, Introd. p. 23.
Atiśayadhavala was Nripathaṅga-Amoghavasrśha I. But, in order to uphold the assertion that
Nripathaṅga-Amoghavasrśha I. was the author of the work, he was obliged to misrepresent the real
nature of these two verses. And he has asserted (Intro. p. 3) that “Kannadā authors sometimes
transfer their own titles to the god whose aid they invoke in their works;” and, for some reason
or other omitting at this point the appellation Atiśayadhavala, he has followed up this assertion by
the amazing statement that “it is therefore not surprising to find that the god who is praised in
the opening verses of the Kavirājamārga is called Nripathaṅga, Nītīnirantarā, Kritakārtiyamalla
and Vira-Nārāyaṇa.” This statement, which simply means that Nripathaṅga-Amoghavasrśha I., as
the (alleged) author of the work, invented a god, and invested him with four of his own appellations,
merely in order to invoke him in the opening verses of his work, cannot be characterised, mildly, as
anything but a most indecorous attempt by the editor to abuse the confidence of his readers.

In support of his general assertion that Kannarese authors sometimes transferred their
own titles to gods whose aid they invoked in their works, the editor has put forward only
one alleged specific case. He has said (Intro. p. 3):—“Abhinava-Pampa may be cited as an
instance in point.” And for this he has given, in a footnote, the hopelessly vague reference
“Pampa-Rāmāyaṇa, edited by Mr. Rice.” It would be a large order, to persuade the whole of the
Pampa-Rāmāyaṇa on the strength of such an assertion and reference. And it is, really, unnecessary
to attempt the task; because, whatever might have been done by Abhinava-Pampa or any other
writers, it would not upset the plain meaning of the references to the author’s patron, and not to any
god, as Nītīnirantarā, Nripathaṅga, Atiśayadhavala, Kritakārtiyamalla, and Vira-Nārāyaṇa, in the first
two verses of the Kavirājamārga. But this much may be said, as the result of an examination of
those parts of the Pampa-Rāmāyaṇa or Rāmacanḍarācārlapurāṇa, according to the revised
edition, published as a volume of the Bibliotheca Carnatica at Bangalore in 1892.7 In which we might
hope to find anything tending to support or excuse the assertion made by the editor of the
Kavirājamārga. The author of the Pampa-Rāmāyaṇa has not invoked any god at all in the
introductory stanzas of his work, namely, verses 1 to 41 of the first dūdesa or canto. Nor has he
invoked any god in the colophons, of which there are sixteen, one to each canto; his only allusion to
a god there (see, for instance, note 4 on page 260 above) is in his description of his preceptor,
Bālachandra, as “the autumn moon of the group of water-lilies that was the doctrine of the supreme
Jina.” He has presented his own personal name, Nāgachandra, in the two concluding stanzas of the
work, verses 97, 98 of canto 16; but he has not there alluded to any god named after himself;
in those two verses, he has simply sounded his own praises, asserting8 that he was the only real
poet upon whom Sarasvatī had conferred the boon of being able to do justice to the story of Rāma,
and that no poets, past or contemporaneous, had dealt with it so ably.9 In each of the sixteen
colophons, he has described the work as “composed (vīra-chīta) by Bāhāratkārpapātra, the famous

7 The title-page marks this volume as edited by Mr. Rice. But on page 13 of the Introduction we are told
that his Senior Pandit, Mr. Baradāpurā Śrīnivasa Ayyangar, corrected this revised edition throughout, and “may
be considered its editor.” — I had to obtain this book, in order to investigate the assertion made in connection with
it. And it took a long time to procure a copy. Eventually, a copy reached me in June, 1902.
8 See, more fully, the abstract translation of these two verses on page 96 of the Introduction to the Pampa-
Rāmāyaṇa. In the text given there in a footnote, the word Jaima-kathayati, in the last line of verse 97 (= 98),
does not agree with the Kannarese text of the work itself, which presents Rāma-kathayati.
9 Those two verses illustrate a habit which various Kannarese authors had, of singing their own praises on
every possible occasion, and sometimes in very high-flying language. The following other samples of these “not
unfrequent but strange verses,” as Dr. Kittel has termed them, may be brought together here.

In the concluding verses of his Embodānīskaparaṇa, Kādāja has declared that, recognising the
abundance of charms in it, all learned people will do honour to his work as a tasteful ornament to Śrīj and a second
inte to Sarasvatī.

In verse 10 of the first canto of his Pampa-Bhārata or Viśramdarṣayavara, the original Pampa has proclaimed
himself pre-eminent in poetry just as his patron Guṇapāra-Arikēśvarī II. was pre-eminent in virtue; and, in
verse 59 of the last canto, he has asserted that his Bhārata and Aśīpūrāṇa had thrust down and trampled on all
previous poets.

And, in his Chandāmbuddhi or Chhandaṁmbudhān, the earlier Nāgāvarma has “gone one better still;” 10 in the first
verse, speaking of himself as Kavirājahanśa, he has announced that his extensive command of the choice of words
Abhinava-Pampa; and he has thus shewn that he had the secondary appellations of Abhinava-Pampa, by which he seems to have been best known, and of Bhāratkarnapūra. He has introduced the appellation Abhinava-Pampa in the first verse of each canto after the first. He has introduced the appellation Bhāratkarnapūra in the last verse of each of cantos 2, 3, 7 and 8. And he has similarly introduced an appellation Kavitāmanohara in the last verse of each of cantos 1, 10, and 12 to 15, and an appellation Sāhitivyādyādāra in the last verse of each of cantos 4 to 6, 9, and 11; whereby he has established for himself the further appellations Kavitāmanohara and Sāhitivyādyādāra. In all these passages, however, the author has distinctly alluded to himself, and not to any god named after himself. The real nature of these allusions by the poet to himself, was properly recognised by the editor of the Pampa-Rāṇāyana, who, on page 19 of his Introduction to the work, has, in his analysis of the poem, summarised verse 1 of canto 2 as “invocation praising himself,” to which he has attached the note: — “It is a peculiarity of the poem that the concluding and opening stanza of each ā śā s, in continuing the action described in the narrative, introduces the author’s name in place of the hero’s.” But, as a sample of what the poet actually did, we will examine the passages which first introduce the appellations Kavitāmanohara and Sāhitivyādyādāra. Verses 122 to 130 of canto 4 take the narrative to the point at which Janaka, mounted on the magic horse, actually, on a Vidyādāra (see the prose after verse 102) who had assumed the guise of a horse for the purpose, arrived at the town of Rathaṇḍpurachakravāla, and found, in a grove near it, a very charming temple of Jina; then comes a prose sentence, which says: — “Having seen this most excellent temple of Jina, and having circumambulated it;” then comes verse 181, which says, in expanded terms, that Sāhitivyādyādāra entered the Jain temple in order to sing a hymn of praise to the Jina; then verse 1 of canto 5 says, similarly in expanded terms that Abhinava-Pampa entered the temple of Jina; and then the action is carried on by a prose sentence, which says: — “Thus having entered, and having adorned the central hall with the rays of light from the water-lilies that were his feet, and having faced the lord of the three worlds, bringing his hands together like a water-lily closing a bud;” and so there is introduced the prayer, beginning in verse 2, addressed by Janaka to the god. Here, the name Sāhitivyādyādāra plainly denotes, from one point of view, Janaka, as having in company with him (adhitya) the Vidyādāra in the guise of the horse, and, from the other point of view, Abhinava-Pampa, as being a very demigod or master of learning (vidyādhara) in literary composition (adhitya). And thus the author here brought himself distinctly into the action of the narrative, by identifying himself, through the appellation Sāhitivyādyādāra, with the hero of this part of it. Again, verse 138 of canto 1 brings an earlier part of the narrative to the point at which, — two sons, Vijayabahu and Purandara, having been born to Surēndramanyu, son of Vijayaratha, — the latter, Vijayaratha, having thus “three eyes,” had made to bow down to himself all the three worlds, the desires of which, directed towards himself, were multiplied to a three-fold extent; and verse 139 recites that, having given to the Earth the gratification of all her desires, — with the goddess Speech displaying herself as the flamingo on the water-lily that was his mouth, and with his Fame reaching so far and wide as for what is to be expressed by them, and of the use of qualitative expressions with what is to be qualified by them and of the employment of metaphors, had thrown into the shade even Kālidāsa; in verse 3, he has spoken of himself, again as Kavitābha, as “the only man on earth” who knew how to speak (compose) with elegance and sweetness; and in verse 249, given to illustrate a certain metre, he has mentioned himself as Nāgavarma, and has described himself as matching the gods Brahman, Indra, and Vishnu in his possession of surpassingly excellent speech and other attributes, and as not having any match (apart from them).

For some Sanskrit verses of the same class, attributed to Samantabhadra and Akalanka, reference may be made to Dr. Hultzsch’s translation of the Śrīvata-Belgola epistle of Mallahēsa; Ep. Ind. Vol. III. p. 199, verse 8, p. 260 f., verses 21 to 23.

We find a tendency towards this southern habit of bombastic self-praise in even the A śohe inscription of A. D. 684-85; Bāvīkirti, the composer of that record, has therein described himself as having “by his poetic skill attained to the fame of Kālidāsa and of Bhāravi;” see Ep. Ind. Vol. VI. p. 12, verse 57.

The habit contrasts remarkably with the modesty of the illustrious poet Kālidāsa himself, who, in the second verse of his Bhāgavatā, has intimated that he felt at least considerable doubt whether he could do justice to the great topic that he then had in hand, the history of the Solar Race.

10 See, for instance, page 220 above, note 4.
to become ornaments over the tusks of the guardian elephants of the distant regions, and with the title Jagajjanaśakāṭhabhūṣāṇa, "ornament of the throats of mankind," having become his own title, descriptive of his attributes. — Vijayaratha shone out as Kavītāmanāhara; verse 1 of canto 2 says that Abhinava-Pampa became famous, having caused Fortune to abound excessively in liberality, and Speech in the display of gentleness, and Fame in promoting the welfare of the Jain scriptures; and the action is then taken up again by a prose sentence, which says: — "When that same king Vijayaratha was, on a certain day, holding a public darbār; at that time;" and so there is introduced verse 2, which proceeds to narrate that there came in hurriedly a doorkeeper, and so on. Here, from one point of view, the appellation Kavītāmanāhara certainly means "he who charms the mind with his poetry," and denotes the poet; while, from another point of view, it must in some way or another have such a meaning that it denotes also Vijayaratha. And thus, at this point again, though not in so dramatic a fashion, the author has certainly again introduced himself into the action of the narrative, by identifying himself with the hero of this part of it through the appellation Kavītāmanāhara.

In these two passages of the Pampa-Rāmdyaṇa, and in all the similar ones, the author of that work has distinctly referred to himself, and not to any god named after himself. In not one of them is there to be found, nor can I detect anywhere else, the slightest shadow of a basis in fact for the assertion, made by the editor of the Kavīrājamārga, that Abhinava-Pampa, in his Pampa-Rāmdyaṇa, transferred his own titles to a god whose aid he invoked. And there is not the slightest shadow of a basis in fact for the editor's assertion, or suggestion, that, in the first two verses of the Kavīrājamārga, Nṛpatuṅga-Amoghavarsha I., as the (alleged) author of the work, praised a god mentioned, after himself, by the names of Nṛpatuṅga, Nitinirantara, Kṛitiṇirantara, Viraṇārāyaṇa, and Atiśayadhavala. Those two verses embody requests made by the author of the work. The first of them prays for the welfare of a person, mentioned as Nṛpatuṅga and Nitinirantara, whom he has marked as a person of high rank and has most distinctly indicated as his patron. In the second of them he has asked a person, whom he has mentioned as Atiśayadhavala, Viraṇārāyaṇa, and Kṛitiṇirantara, to inspire him with ability to perform the task lying before him. And, even apart from the colophon, the first of these two verses is sufficient to prove that the author of the work was not Nṛpatuṅga.

11 The original says, — tana kirtti diggaja-radanaakte kirtimukhabhavo, "with his own fame becoming a kirtimukha to the task(s) of the region-elephant(s)." In dictionaria, I can find the word kirtimukha in only Molsworl’s and Cundy’s Marathi Dictionary, where it is given as meaning ‘an ornamental head of a rākhasa or rākṣasa carved over the doors of temples dedicated to Śiva, Gaṇapati, &c.’ But such decorations are not confined to the doors of temples. And the purport of the text seems to be that Vijayaratha’s fame became ornaments on the lintels of the doors of the stalls of the elephants, where the elephants were standing with their heads and tusks projecting out through the doors.

In Burgess and Cousins’s Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujerat (Archaeological Survey of Western India, XXI., 1903, p. 35 f.), it seems to be indicated that the kirtimukha is rather to be found in the lower courses of buildings and on the thresholds of doors; and an instance of the ornament on the threshold of a shrine may in fact be seen in Archaeol. Surv. West. India, Vol. II. Plate 61, the illustration on the right hand, where it seems to be rather curiously combined with part of the Buddhist trikuta-symbol. But Ferguson and Burgess’s Cave Temples of India, 1886, p. 506 f., describes it as a grinning face in the centre of a Śiva, and so tends to agree with the Marathi Dictionary which places it on the tops of doors.

Burgess and Cousins have referred (loc. cit.) to the Pātimapurāṇa, as purporting to account for the architectural kirtimukha by relating that Kṛitiṇirantara was the name given to a certain demon, created by Śiva, who at the god’s command devoured himself, leaving only his head.

12 It may be said that the various attributes, — the power of satisfying all the desires of the Earth, and the possession of Speech and Fame, — belong both to poets and to kings; and that, as a poet is certainly to be styled Kavītāmanāhara, a king may be spoken of by that same appellation. And, underlying the whole comparison, there seems to be the idea, used in the verse Rāchid aśeṣaparṇa-mukhāḥ, &c., given on page 199 above, that a necklace is an ornament on the throat, and poetry is an ornament in the throat. But it would seem that we ought to find two distinct meanings for kavīdha here, as for aśtiya in the other case. And I am inclined to think that, in the case of the king, Kavītāmanāhara may have been intended to mean “he who charms the mind by his state of being Ka = Kaḥpāṭhabhūṣāṇa (in the title Jagajjanaśakāṭhabhūṣāṇa; see above), and Vi = Vijayaratha; compare, in the Kavīrājamārga, I. 16, tāvādhauḥ, which means from one point of view “at (the mention of) thy name,” and from another “at (the mention of the spell with) the names Ta, = Tārkaḥ, and Va, = Vāṃk.”
We look next to see what other notices there may be, in the body of the work, of the personal apppellations presented in the two opening verses, and what may be the purport of any such notices.

There are the following other allusions to Nripatuṅga. In chapter 1, verses 44, 146, chapter 2, verses 2, 43, 98, 105, and chapter 3, verses 98, 107, 207, 230, we have references to the method (krama), the path or style (mārga), and the opinion (mata) of Nripatuṅga, and statements that such and such things are, or are to be declared or settled, in accordance with that method, &c. Three of these passages have been cited by the editor in his Introduction. Two of these, — verses 98 and 203 of chapter 3, — have been sufficiently noticed on page 259 above. The third is verse 105 of chapter 2, in which we have the words, — nirātisāy-ānuhāva-bhavano-appa mahā-Nripatuṅgadēvan-ādaro. pājja mārgga-gatiyā, — “according to the course of style very kindly (or encouragingly) declared by the great Nripatuṅgadēva, who stands out with an authority which is unsurpassed.” The others, likewise, are all complimentary to Nripatuṅga. Miscellaneous references to Nripatuṅga are as follows. In verse 42 of chapter 2, the text of which is given for another purpose on page 272 below, it is said that: — “Nripatuṅgadēva, who displays excessivey pure fame, (and) to whom the entire mass of (his) enemies has bowed down, has further always borne with grace the possession of a widely spread glory (or good fortune).” And, in verses 219 and 224 of chapter 3, mention is made, by the word sabhāsāda, of “members of the assembly or court of Nripatuṅga.”

There are complimentary allusions to Nittinirantara in verse 147 of chapter 1 and verse 99 of chapter 2. And verse 148 of chapter 1 expressly cites, — Nittinirantara-krama, — “the method of Nittinirantara.”

There are the following other allusions to Atissayadavala. In chapter 1, verse 24, chapter 2, verses 2, 53, 151, and chapter 3, verses 11, 106, we have references to the method (krama), the path or style (mārga), the opinion (mata), and the teaching (upādāya), of Atissayadavala, and statements that such and such things are, or are to be declared or settled, in accordance with that method, &c. Four of these passages have been cited by the editor in his introduction. Two of these, — verses 11 and 106 of chapter 3, — have been sufficiently noticed on page 259 above. The third is in verse 24 of chapter 1, from which we, like the editor, need quote here only the words, — Atissayadavala-ākta-kramade, — “according to the method declared by Atissayadavala.” And the fourth is in verse 53 of chapter 2, where we have the statement, — Atissayadavala-ākta-kramadāra-pūruve, — “I will make known (a certain matter) according to the method of expression of Atissayadavala.” Other allusions to Atissayadavala are as follows. In verse 5 of chapter 1, mention is made, by the word sabhāsāda, of “members of the assembly or court of Atissayadavala;” and they are referred to as people who would shew reverence to anyone displaying good intimacy with the usages of the best poets. In verse 147 of chapter 1, mention is made of, — Atissayadavala-vrivar-vid-viśeṣ-āṇaṁkṛiti, — “the embellishments declared by (or sprung from) king Atissayadavala;” with which expression we have to compare the point that Atissayadavala is spoken of as a king (dharmādhipa) in also verse 11 of chapter 3 (see page 259 above). And, in verse 27 of chapter 2, we have the expression, — endav-Atissayadavala, — “Atissayadavala has said (such and such a thing).”

There are the following other allusions to Kritakrityamalla, presenting this name, with the ending vallabha, as Kritakrityamallavallabha, “the Vallabha who is the wrestler, or the most excellent, of those who have done their duty.” Verse 61 of chapter 1 specifies four things as faults in literary composition, — Kritakrityamallavallabha-matadām, — “according to the opinion of Kritakrityamallavallabha.” And verse 28 of chapter 2, the text of which is given for another purpose on page 272 below, introduces the subject of prīsa or alliteration, and says: — “According to the views of Kritakrityamallavallabha, the expansion of it (that is, the treatment of this topic) is in this manner (as follows).” As will be seen when we come to consider this verse in detail.

it was probably from the original of it that there was taken the idea of the appellation Kṛitakṛtya-
mallā.

And there is another allusion to Vīranārāyaṇa in verse 180 of chapter 3, where the
sahādāhana or 'yard of the assembly or court' of Vīranārāyaṇa is likened to the sky, studded with
stars, because there were scattered about in it so many pearls from the broken strings of pearls of the
enemies who there bowed down before h.m.

In tracing out the above allusions, we find references of much the same kind to two other names.
One is Nāralīkachandra, in verse 23 of chapter 1, we are introduced to the two things which
constitute the substance of poetry,—Nāralīkachandra-matadīn,—"according to the opinion of
Nāralīkachandra;" and, in verse 180 of chapter 3, the mandira or 'stable' of Nāralīkachandra
is described as being always in a state of mire from the streams of rut flowing from the captured
elephants of hostile kings. And the other is Nītymallavallabha; verse 11 of chapter 2 intro-
duces a certain topic,—Nītymallavallabha-matadīn,—"according to the opinion of Nītymallava-
llabha."

And we find mention made of one other name, Amoghavarsha, which is perhaps of more
importance than any of the others, except Atiṣayadhavala. Verse 1 of chapter 3, the title of
which is specified in its colophon as arthāsthakāra, runs:—Sri viditārdhālaśākārāvalīyām vividha-
bhēda-vibhav-āśpadaman bhāviṣa besaidan-aśkhitā-dhara-vallabham-nt-Amoghavarsha-na-pāda-
dram:—"Having thought over the famous and well known series of embellishments of sense, which
is a receptacle of the display of various kinds of distinctions, the great king Amoghavarsha,
the favourite of the whole world, commanded (the treatment of it) thus (as follows)."14 And verse 217
of the same chapter runs:—Intu mekka varṇanegañ samajam-bhajaye ṭaya kāvyaṁ
dhareyōj samajī kojade niṅkumā-kalpantam-baram- Amoghavarsha-yāṣāṁ-bol:—"The poetry
thus declared, always accompanied by descriptions of surpassing excellence, shall endure in the
world to the very end of the aeon, without any break of continuity, like the fame of Amoghavarsha."

In respect of those passages in the body of the work, there are the following observations
to be made. The references to the method, style, opinions, and teaching of the persons or person
whose names are mentioned, would, according to western practice, suffice to show that the work had
composed by some one else. They might, however, if there were nothing to the contrary, be other-
wise interpreted in accordance with a custom, prevalent among some Hindū authors, of introducing
their own names in the third person, not only in introductory passages reciting their pedigrees and
in colophons, but also in other parts of their works.15 And with a particular amount of plausibility
might such an interpretation be placed on the expression "Atiṣayadhavala has said (such and such a
thing)," in verse 27 of chapter 2. But it would be difficult, to say the least, to reconcile with such
an interpretation the statement, in verse 53 of chapter 2:—"I will make known (a certain matter)

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14 Bhdeim is from the Sanskrit bheda, with the Kannarese verbal suffix is. It is given in the Rev. Dr. Kittel's
Kannada-English Dictionary as meaning (1) to occur, to appear; (2) to conceive, imagine, fancy, suppose; to
think, consider; to observe, to know; to have in mind, think of, meditate on; to treat with respect. Besau is
formed in the same way from besa, which is treated as a sadhara-corruption of viḍha, like besa = viḍham. Besau
is explained as meaning — to order, command, tell; to declare, communicate; to request; to grant. In the
commentary on Subhadraśākṣaraṇa, sūtra 3, besau is explained by nirūpya, 'to order, command, tell; to make
known, to tell; to define; the pṛṇendu besau of the sūtra is explained by pṛṇendu nirūpya, "on ordering
(me) to relate."

15 There is a rather curious instance of this, if the text is authentic, in the Chhindamābdhi of the earlier Nāga-
varma, who, by the way, in addition to mentioning himself as Nāgarvarma in verses 27, 121, 173, 198, 229, 243, and
249, happens to have used the expression Nāgarvarma matadīn, "according to the opinion of Nāgarvarma," in
verse 229, and perhaps Nāgarvarmanusmatadīn in verse 245. By his opening and concluding verses, Nāgarvar-
ma has shown that he had also the appellation Kaviṛjāhadi, and verse 194-195 claims that the Mallaśekhara
(otherwise known as Mallaśākili, see Dr. Kittel's Introd. p. 32) was invented by Kaviṛjāhadi, that is by Nāga-
varma on page 197 above), that metre is found in an epigraphic record (Inscriptions of Sravasti-Begada, No. 17, Bhūdra-
dāhra-Chandragupta, &c.) which was engraved very closely about A. D. 800. It is to be presumed that the expla-
nation may be that, like apparently various other verses in the Chhindambhādi, this verse 194 is an interpolation.
according to the method of expression of Atisayadhavala." This statement is the one in respect of which the editor, who recognised the identity of Atisayadhavala with Nripatuṅga, has said (Intro. p. 2) that it "cannot be so satisfactorily explained" as the colophons, which admittedly "are apt to lead one into the belief that Nripatuṅga may not have been the real author of the work," can, according to him, be explained away. And he has said that this passage "is calculated to give one the impression that the writer of the work was different from Nripatuṅga." In reality, of course, it contains an unmistakable intimation that the author of the work was not Atisayadhavala, but was someone else who was endorsing and presenting views attributed by him to Atisayadhavala. However, all the various allusions to the method, style, opinions, and teaching of Nripatuṅga, Atisayadhavala, &c., have, of course, to be interpreted in accordance with any specific information that we can find elsewhere. And, in the colophons, we have the plainest possible indication that the author of the work was at any rate not Nripatuṅga. And the colophons explain, in the clearest manner, the real nature of the various references in the body of the work to the method, style, opinions, and teaching of Nripatuṅga, Atisayadhavala, &c.

Not in any of the above-mentioned passages is there any statement that Nripatuṅga, Atisayadhavala, and Amoghavarsha were one and the same person. The similar nature of the complimentary allusions made by the author of the work in connection with the three names, may be suggestive that those allusions all refer to one individual. But it is not conclusive on that point. We note, however, that Nripatuṅga is indicated as a king, by the mention of sabhāśaṅkar or 'members of his assembly or court.' We also note that, in addition to being indicated as a king in that same way, Atisayadhavala is expressly marked as a king, by the words uṛupā and dhāraṇīyā. And we note that Amoghavarsha is expressly marked as a king by the epithets abhiruḍhara-vārāhaka and nripāntra. Now, like various other secondary names, the appellations Nripatuṅga and Amoghavarsha were by no means confined to one person. We know, from the epigraphic records, that they both belonged to Kakka II., the last Rāṣṭrakūta king of Mālakṣā. He had also the appellation Viraṇāraṇya. And, if we were guided by simply these three indications, we might select him as the patron of the author of the Kavirājāmārga. The name, however, which determines the individualisation of the author's patron, is Atisayadhavala. This appellation has been established in connection with only the Rāṣṭrakūta king Amoghavarsha I.; and it is established by, among published records, the Sirur and Nilgund inscriptions of A. D. 866, without which the identity of the author's patron could not have been determined. These two records of the time of this king himself establish for him the appellations Nripatuṅga, Amoghavarsha, and Atisayadhavala, and also Lakshmīvallabha. Later records allot to him the appellation Viraṇāraṇya. He had a long and famous reign. And his kingdom included that part of Western India to which belonged the language, Kanaarese, in a suitably archaic form of which the Kavirājamārga was written. And thus, though the work does not include a date, and though there is not anything in it specifying the dynasty or family to which the author's patron belonged, we do not hesitate to decide, on the basis of the allusions to Atisayadhavala, that the patron of the author of the Kavirājāmārga was the Rāṣṭrakūta king Nripatuṅga-Atisayadhavala-Amoghavarsha I., and that the work was composed in the period A. D. 814-15 to 877-78. The work shows that Amoghavarsha I. actually had, during his life, the appellation Viraṇāraṇya, which at present has been found connected with him in only records of later times. And it tends to establish for him the other formal appellations of certainly Nātinaratā and Kṛtakṛtyamanāla, and most probably Nāralokasandra and Nityamallavallabha. None of these last four appellations, however, has as yet been found in epigraphic records. And it is practically certain that one of them, Kṛtakṛtyamanāla, was simply an invention of the author, made in the manner indicated on page 278 below. As such, perhaps it may have been confined, and the others like it, to this particular work.


So far, we have made it clear that Nripatunaga-Amoghavarsha I was not the author of the Kasirajamarga, but was the patron of the author of it. Unless, however, we are to assume that simply an empty compliment was paid to him by a mere parasite, he did play a part of some kind in the composition of it. The author has done more than simply refer to his views as authoritative on various details. In chapter 1, after the two opening verses which have been explained on page 202 above, and after the prayers in verses 3 and 4 that the goddess Sarasvati and the great (earlier) poets would help him, and after the reference in verse 5 to the courtiers of Atisayadhavala (Amoghavarsha I.) as people who would pay honour to anyone well versed in the usages of the best poets, the author has proceeded to indicate the aloskara of kavya, or the embellishment of poetical composition, as his topic. After some remarks of a general kind, he has in verse 22 explained that kavya includes the arrangement of discriminative words or sounds, and embellishment by means of the display of various meanings. Then in verse 23 he has said that, “according to the opinion of Naralokachandra-(Amoghavarsha I.),” the substance of kavya is two-fold, namely, the iṣṭra or bodily form in which it becomes manifest (meaning, as we learn from the Sanskrit original, the paśadwiti, or series of words, the text), and the paramālaśākara or choice embellishments with which it is ador-si, just as a man has a body and the fine ornaments which decorate it. In verse 24 he has said that, “according to the method declared by Atisayadhavala-(Amoghavarsha I.),” the iṣṭra takes two shapes, namely, pada or ornate or rhythmic prose; and pada or verse. He has followed this up by some special remarks about pada in verses 25 to 29, and about pada in verses 30 to 35, mentioning certain authors and works in each division, both in Sanskrit (Sanskrit) and in Kanarese (Kannada). He has then introduced in verses 36 to 42 a short disquisition on the various languages, wh.ch he has named Saṃskṛita and Sakhana, Pāgada (Praekrit), and Kannada, mentioning also Pā-la-Ganāda (Ancient Kanarese) in subsequent verses. And it is thus that, starting with the references to Amoghavarsha I.as Naralokachandra and Atisayadhavala, he has led up to the special subject of this chapter, the exposition of those things which are faults and those which are not faults, which commences with the statement, in verse 43, that ever so small a fault will spoil the whole of a poetical work, “just as a speck of dirt, which has found a place on it, will spoil a flitting rolling eye.” In chapter 2, after a statement in verse 1 that the characteristics which adorn the iṣṭra are the nīrattīśāyālaśākāras (paramālaśākāras), known to the ancient poets, the author has recited in verse 2 that, “in the reckoning of the manner of the method of investigation of the handsome and glorious Nripatunaga-(Amoghavarsha I.),” the paramālaśākāra has two divisions, namely, śabda or ‘sound,’ and artha or ‘sense.’ And it is thus that he has introduced his treat-ment, commencing in verse 3, of the special subject of this chapter, which is sūbodhālaśākāra or the embellishment of sound. In chapter 3, the subject of which is arthālaśākāra or the embellishment of sense (by poetical figures, &c.), the author has started the topic by saying at the very outset, in verse 1, that “the great king Amoghavarsha thought over the famous and well known series of embellishments of sense, and commanded (the treatment of it)” in the manner which the author then followed. This last statement perhaps indicates a closer connection of Amoghavarsha I. with this chapter, than with the rest of the work. And it might, with but a slight stretching of the meaning of words, be interpreted as implying that Amoghavarsha I. actually dictated this chapter. But it is clear that, whether as a mere compliment or not, the author has sought to represent his patron, not simply as an ordinary patron, or as a mere authority whose views were being cited as a guide, but as the inspirer of the whole work. And it was, no doubt, a recognition of that intention, coupled with a noticing of the prominent place given in the colophons to the name Nripatunaga which is mentioned so conspicuously in the opening verse in addition to being introduced in various other passages, that led Bhāṣṭākalaśka, in the seventeenth century, to speak of the work as Nripatunagarantha, “the book of Nripatunaga,” in the passage, in the Kāṇḍākāśabhaṇḍaṇa, which has been given on page 198 above and will be referred to again on page 278 below.

18 Sanskrit scholars will recognize the ultimate source of all this matter. It is not within the scope of my Note to go into this.

19 He has omitted the third shape, sastra, the dramas, &c., as if it did not exist in Kanarese.
We may pass over pages 4 to 10 of the editor’s Introduction to his so-called Nripatunga’s Kavirajamarga; where he claims to have “placed before the reader all the information concerning ‘Nripatunga, which recent research has made accessible to us.” The matter there set out has no connection with the subject of the present Note; and all that is necessary about it, has been said by me elsewhere, in some brief remarks in the Ep. Ind. Vol. VI. p. 197, note 6. 20 We pass on to points which the editor has missed altogether; namely, the name of the real author of the work, the particular earlier authority which he used as the basis as the basis of his work, and the way in which he proceeded in composing his work.

The author of this Kavirajamarga has mentioned and indicated a fairly large number of writers earlier than himself. In verse 26 of chapter 1, he has referred to the Harshacharita and Kadambari (of Bana) as being the very heart or core (kridaya) of good, pure, and even Sanskrit (saud-amala-sama-Sanskrit), in the division of gadya or ornate or rhythmic prose. In verse 29, he has mentioned Vimaśa, Udaya, — (or, possibly, Vimalődaya), — Nāgārjuna, Jayabandhu, Durvinita, and “others” (not specified by name), as having “in this order (kramadāt)’ attained fame in gadya; meaning, apparently, Kanarese gadya. In verse 31, he has mentioned Guṇasūri, Nārāyaṇa, Bhāravi, Kālidāsa, Māgha, and “others” (not specified by name), as having written mahākāvyas or great classical poems, in the department of padya or verse. And, in verse 33, — under apparently the same department of padya, but of Kanarese padya, — he has referred to the adāya-kāvya or earlier poetry of “the supreme Śrīvijaya, Kāvīvara, — or Śriwijaya, the Kavisvara, or lord of poets, — Pañcitsachandra, 21 Lokāpāla, and others (not specified by name),” and has stated that the aim of it was always the contrivance of an unsurpassed expansion of the topic.

The important point is the reference to -parama-Śrīvijaya, “the supreme Śrīvijaya.” The editor has not omitted to notice this mention of Śrīvijaya (Intro, p. 11). And he has told us that “Śrīvijaya is named by Kēśirāja and Maṅgarasa and is mentioned in an inscription at Sravanabelgola.” 22 But in a footnote, in drawing attention to the occurrence of the name Śrīvijaya in also verse 19 of chapter 1, verse 153 of chapter 2, and verse 236 of chapter 3, of the Kavirajamarga, he has said that the name “may also be a title of Nripatunga;” that is, according to his representation, of Amoghavarsa I. as the author of the work. And he has said that “this view is correct if Durgesaṁīna means the Kavirajamarga when he speaks of Śrīvijaya Kavimārga.” These last two words indicate a work known as “the Kavimarga of Śrīvijaya.” And, for Durgesaṁīna’s mention of such a work, the editor has referred us to “Pañcchatrastra in Kārṇišakačārya’sarni, Nov. 1896.” This latter work is not accessible to me; and I am, therefore, not able to say what Durgesaṁīna may have said about Śrīvijaya’s Kavimarga.

In citing this reference Durgesaṁīna of the Kavirajamarga of Śrīvijaya, the editor seems to have had the real facts regarding the Kavirajamarga within reach. But either he was unable to

20 It must, however, be noted that Mr. R. Narasimha has pointed out (Kāvyahādīkānas, Introd. p. 50, note 2) that Mr. K. R. Pathak, in finding in verse 620 of the Kāvyahādīkānas a reference to “Dantīga, the Mēra of the Raftas or Rāštṛakūṭas” (Kavirajamarga, Introd. p. 4, and Jour. Be. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. XX. p. 22), made the mistake of taking as a nominative the copulative dative dantīgaṃ of dantī ‘an elephant;’ and, now that we have the whole verse for reference, we can see that is certainly the case. Accordingly, the latter part of my note 6 in Ep. Ind. Vol. VII. p. 218 to be cancelled. This verse 620 of the Kāvyahādīkānas, we now find, presents another instance of the name Rafta being written with the Dravīdian r, Rafta, on which point see Ep. Ind. Vol. VII. p. 219.

21 But this may be yet another appellation of Śrīvijaya; or it may qualify Lokapāla.

22 The editor, however, has not told us what Kēśirāja and Maṅgarasa said, in naming Śrīvijaya. — Regarding Kēśirāja, see page 277 below. — Maṅgarasa has been placed by Mr. Rice about A. D. 1240; see Kārṇaśaḥadīśālasaṅga, Introd. p. 37.

The Sravanabelgola inscription has been edited, and very fully dealt with, by Dr. Hultsch. And reference may be made to his translation of verses 45, 46, in Ep. Ind. Vol. III. p. 204, for the allusion in it to Śrīvijaya. But it is not at all certain that that Śrīvijaya, whom the record marks as a pontiff and mentions between Vādīrāja and Kamalabhadrā, is the one who is spoken of in the Kavirajamarga. However, Dr. Hultsch has remarked (loc. cit. p. 185) that the account given in the inscription “is not a connected and complete account, and cannot “even be proved to be in strictly chronological order.”
follow up the clue, or else he had not sufficient independence to present the results to which it leads. We will do what he ought to have done, namely, exhibit fully the other three passages of the Kavirajamarga, in which mention is made of Srivijaya.

Verse 149 of chapter 1, the last verse of that chapter, runs: —
Sakaj-āḷāpa-kaḷā-kaḷāpa-kathita-vyāvrittityoj kūḍi chi-
trakarah-bol para-bhāga-bhāva-vilasad-varṇa-kram-āvrittityam ā
prakāśa-mād-ire pējda chitra-kritiyam vyāvarṇṇisuttam kavi-
prakaraṇ Śrīvijaya-prabhūtaman-sidaṁ kai-kolvad-ā mājkeśīṁ II 1,149.

Translation: — “Receiving with praise (this) vividly descriptive work (literally, picture-work) which (I have) declared in such a way, combining a selection of the sayings of the whole art of speech, as to display the use of the series of the letters which gleam by (their) nature of superior merit, just as the painter of a picture displays the use of the series of colours which gleam by (their) nature of superior merit, the multitude of poets will accept this product of Srivijaya in this (new) guise (literally, by this doing, performance, or manner).”

The last verse, 153, of chapter 2 runs: —
Bhāvīsa śabda-tattva-samaya-sthitiyam kurit=ond=aśeṣha-bhā-
sh-vishay-ōktyai bagedu nojī purāṇa-kaviprabhun-prayō ā
g-āvilasad-guṇ-ādayam-āyārāri samed-ondu kāvyādīṁ
Śrīvijaya-prabhūta-mudamaṁ tanag-āgisidoṁ Kaviśvaranaṁ II 2,153.

Translation: — “Having thought over the established condition of the conventional settlement of the essential nature of sounds, (and) having given attention to (that) one (thing) expression which is the object of all language, (and) having considered and seen the development of the good qualities which shine in the usage of ancient great poets, (and) having culled from them, (and) having carried out (the result) by (this) one poetical composition, Kaviśvara has created for himself a joy which took its source from Srivijaya.”

And the concluding verse of the whole work, verse 236 of chapter 3, runs: —
Niravady-āṇvayaṇa=udgham=uddhata-ma[hā-kahi]rābdhī-śindra-pā-
ṇjaram-ākrānta-si[su]sailsa-sāgara-dhar-āśeṣhakrāval-āmbaram ā
parama-Śrīvijaya-prabhūti-ja-yaśā[jīn] stri-bāla-rjiddh-āhitāṁ
paramāṇūndita-lōkam-opp nele-golā-ā-chandra-tārān-baraṁ II 3,236.

Translation: — “Let the fame which was born from the source that was the supreme Srivijaya, — which is unlimited (and) imperishable (?) — which is the model (of what all fame ought to be); which is white like the bones of the cuttle-fish of the agitated great ocean of milk; (and) which has pervaded the beautiful mountains, the seas, the earth, the whole horizon, and the sky, — firmly endure, with the approbation of the supremely happy (whole) world, comprising women and children and old men, as long as the moon and stars shall last!”

By these three verses, the author of the work has most distinctly acknowledged that this Kavirajamarga was based on an earlier work by an author named Srivijaya. In all three

25 The exact force of the word ondu here is not clear; however, it does not affect the real point of the verse.
24 The word deśaṇi seems to have been used here for the ordinary word vilasat for the sake of the metre.
23 We might render the text as meaning “Kaviśvara made to belong to himself the great joy of Srivijaya (that is, the great joy which Srivijaya felt in his own work).” I have preferred to present a translation which assigns to prabhūta a meaning which agrees exactly with the meaning that that word plainly has in verse 149 of chapter 1, and also with the meaning that is to be attached to prabhūti in verse 236 of chapter 3.
26 There seems to be something wrong with the published text, which presents a nominative or genitive singular masculine of a compound ending with onya, instead of a nom. sing. neuter in apposition with yaṁ. It is difficult to recognise anything appropriate in a description of the name as niravady-āṇvayaṇa, “of unblamable lineage,” which would result from obtaining the nom. sing. neuter by simply altering the s into m. And it hardly seems permissible to take the genitive niravadya-āṇvayaṇa, and understand something like “of (me who am of) unblamable lineage.” I suspect that a better manuscript would show niravadya-āṇvayaṇa, which I have selected for my translation.
of them, he has very plainly expressed his appreciation of the merits of Srivijaya. And, in the first of ther, he has explicitly stated that his own work was simply the work of Srivijaya in a new guise. It can hardly be doubted that the Srivijaya thus referred to is "the supreme Srivijaya" who is mentioned as an earlier poet in verse 33 of chapter 1 (see page 269 above), and that the work thus dealt with was the Kavimarga of Srivijaya, which, according to the editor, is mentioned by the writer Durgasimha (see page 269 above), who appears to have been a contemporary of the Western Chalukya king Perma-Jagadidekamalla II. (A.D. 1138-39 to 1149).

For the rest, in verse 153 of chapter 2, the author of this Kavirajamarga has distinctly introduced himself to us by the appellation of Kavishvara. This appellation, which simply means 'lord of poets,' was, of course, not his personal name but only a secondary designation. It was plainly adopted in imitation of the earlier Kavishvara who is mentioned in verse 33 of chapter 1. And it seems very probable that it was a secondary appellation of Srivijaya himself, whose work was thus presented in a new guise in the Kavirajamarga. The text of the verse mentioned above, — parama-Srivijaya-Kavishvara-Panditaachandra-Lokapal-advigal, — fully permits of our understanding Kavishvara as a secondary name of Srivijaya, instead of as the name of a separate individual. And, whereas Keshiraja has in verse 5 of the preface to his Subhamasa-pada-pada mentioned Srivijaya (see page 277 below), but not Kavishvara, in the list of authors whose good style it was his aim to follow, in sutra 169 he has spoken of a certain usage as being, — Kavishvara-matadiva, — "according to the opinion of Kavishvara."

We come now to the subject of certain passages in the Kavirajamarga, which are alleged to have been introduced as quotations in other works. The examination of them is interesting, because they shew the way in which Kavishvara proceeded in presenting the work of Srivijaya in its new guise; namely, not by quoting it wholesale, but by making certain alternations, of which some were trivial, but others are decidedly important and instructive.

The editor has said (Introd. p. 1) that "most of the verses, in which Nripatunga speaks of "prasa, are quoted in the Chhandombudhi." He has specified (ibid. note 2) verses 22 to 43 of chapter 2, and verses 232, 233 — (by mistake for 231, 232) — of chapter 3, of the Kavirajamarga. He has made it clear that the Chhandombudhi he means the work on Kanaresse prosody, entitled Chhandombudhi and Chhandombudashi in its colophons, of the earlier Nagavarman, in respect of whom Mr. R. Narasimhachar has shewn that he flourished at the close of the tenth century A.D. And he has referred us to pages 17 to 21 of the Rev. Dr. Kittel's edition of that work. This was published at Mangalore, in 1875. And, examining the work in that edition, we find that verses 50 to 65 of it answer, more or less closely, to verses 28, 29, 31 to 33, and 35 to 43, of chapter 2, and verses 231 and 232 of chapter 3, of the Kavirajamarga; verses 30 and 34 of chapter 2 of the Kavirajamarga are not found there.

Now, it is to be remarked that it is not certain that verses 50 to 65 of the Chhandombudhi belong to the real version of that work at all. They occur in the treatment of prasa or alliteration, which commences with verse 41 and ends with verse 66. Dr. Kittel arrived at the conclusion that "Nagavarman did not include the subject of alliterations in his prosody." And it is, therefore, doubtful, whether we are dealing with Nagavarman himself, or with someone who made

27 To this he has attached the remark: — "That these verses cannot have been composed by Nagavarman and that they must have been borrowed from an older author is pretty clear to any one who remembers the fact that the author of the Chhandombudhi addresses his verses to his wife." How that conclusion is to be deduced from the stated fact, which is a fact, has not been made evident. But the editor probably had in view the point that whereas in verse 22 of the Chhandombudhi the author of that work has represented himself as expounding the subject of prosody to his wife, verse 65, — an illustrative stanza, commencing araasarojooli hit, which will be referred to again further on, and which stands in a very similar form as verse 232 of chapter 3 of the Kavirajamarga, ends with the word maal, "O daughter!"
28 See note 3 on page 197 above.
29 See his Nagavarman's Canarese Prosody, Intro. p. 5.
interpolations in his work. However, the question simply is, whether certain verses which we find in the Chhandodbudhi, whether they are original or interpolated, were taken into that work from the Kavïrâjâmârâ.

We need not examine verses 29, 31 to 33, and 35 to 41, of chapter 2 of the Kavïrâjâmârâ. Two of them, namely, Kavïrâjâmârâ, chapter 2, verses 32, 35, and Chhandodbudhi, verses 53, 55, stand in precisely the same form in the two works, which, however, does not prove that it was from the Kavïrâjâmârâ that they were taken into the Chhandodbudhi, whether originally or by interpolation; and, while in the others there are differences, greater or less as the case may be, in the actual readings given in the two works, but without affecting the general meaning of the verses, that fact would not necessarily prove that they were not taken into the Chhandodbudhi from the Kavïrâjâmârâ. Nor need we examine verses 231, 232 of chapter 3 of the Kavïrâjâmârâ, which stand as verses 64, 65 in the Chhandodbudhi. Here, again, there are certain minor discrepancies, which, however, in this case also, would not necessarily prove that the verses were not taken into the Chhandodbudhi from the Kavïrâjâmârâ. But, whereas in one direction Dr. Kittel has rendered it at any rate doubtful whether verses 64, 65 belong to the real version of the Chhandodbudhi, in another direction Mr. R. Narasimhachar has told us that the corresponding verses, which stand as verses 231 and 232 of chapter 3, and the three verses which stand next after them, do not belong to the Kavïrâjâmârâ at all. And neither these two, nor the other verses in respect of which I have said that it is not necessary to examine them, are of any importance, or in any way helpful; because the originals of them did not happen to offer the facilities for adaptation of which Kavïsvara availed himself in forming the three verses which are important and instructive. The important verses are the following ones, which I present side by side for the purpose of easy comparison, marking by thick type those portions of them to which particular attention is to be directed:

**Kavïrâjâmârâ of Kavïsvâra.**

Nuta-sâbdâmâ karmañÇ kârâdolÇ
atîâyamÇ I Kannâdakke satataM prásaM I
Kritakritiyamalavallabha-
matâdindâdâra prapanâchamÇ I tejan-
akkumÇ II 2, 28.

Atiãvâda-yasâ-vrittaM
nata-sakal-ârâtijana-viãtânam mattâM I
vitata-ârê-saMpattaM
satataMÇ Nripaã tÇgadâvanâã jâvaM
pottamÇ II 2, 42

**Chhandodbudhi of Nâgavarman.**

Nuta-sâbdâmâ karmañÇ kârâdolÇ
atîâyamÇ-adu Kannâdakke satataM prásaM I
kriÇ-kriÇiyamÇ-appuÇ-âlara
matâdindâdâru tappe kâveyamÇ
sobhipudâ II p. 17, v. 50.

Atiãvâda-yasâ-vrittaM
nata-sakal-ârâtijana-viãtânam mattâM I
vitata-ârê-saMpattaM
Satamakha-sadriÇ-anubhâva-vibhavâM
bottamÇ II p. 20, v. 62.

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30 See the preceding paragraph.
31 See his Kâvédaâlâmâkâram, Introd. p. 13, note 2. And it is at any rate obvious — (and it ought to have been so even to the editor of the Kavïrâjâmârâ) — that, if they do belong to the Kavïrâjâmârâ, they do not stand in their right place, which would be somewhere in chapter 2. Mr. Narasimhachar has also told us (ibid.) that verse 232 is a quotation from the Lâlâviti of Nāmâchandra, of the twelfth century A.D. And Dr. Kittel has expressed the opinion that verse 65 of the Chhandodbudhi, Kavïrâjâmârâ, verse 232 of chapter 3, was taken from verse 29 of chapter 2 of the Kârivihânâchânâ (see his Nâgavarman’s Cannara Padya, p. 21, note 4, and Introd. p. 6) of Lâvânakâr (see ibid. p. 61), whom he has referred to the beginning of the sixteenth century A.D. (ibid.), and who, as he has written, Kâvîrâjâgobhanâ (see Mr. Rice’s Kâvîrâjâgobhanâ, Introd. p. 41), was at any rate later than the original Kâvîrâjâ (about A.D. 1223; see page 197 above).

The editor of the Kavïrâjâmârâ has said, in respect of verse 65 of the Chhandodbudhi, that “this verse which begins with the words ‘arasarol ēla’ is therefore not a later interpolation in the Chhandodbudhi” (see his Introd. p. 1, note 5); namely, because the Kâvîrâjâgobhanâ mentions it and appeals to Nripatunga as a standard authority on alankâra on these points (see page 278 below). But there is nothing in that; the Kâvîrâjâgobhanâ mentions Nripatunga, not in connection with the stanza in question, but in a quite separate passage.

32 It would appear, from a footnote, that one of the three manuscripts used in preparing the text of the Kavïrâjâmârâ, presents the reading — Satamakha-sadriÇ-anubhâva-padamaã vettam.

33 We require pottam, to govern saMpattaM; not bottam in composition with the word ending in vbhavâM.
Kaviřajamārga of Kaviśvara.
Prāś-ānuprāś-ānta-
prāśaṅga mūruga-atiṣayaṅga prāś-ā-
bhāsana-ulida mūruga
bhāsura-Nripatunāgāra-viditā-
kramadīh || 2, 43

Chandōmbudhi of Nāgarvarma.
Prāś-ānuprāś-ānta-
prāśaṅga mūruga-atiṣayaṅga mattaṅga
prāś-abhasa mūruga
bhāsura-kaṃjaya-atākahi keś-adān-
orevam || 21, v. 63

Now, we see at once that the editor's statement, that the above verses of the Kaviřajamārga were quoted in the Chandōmbudhi, is at any rate not literally accurate. At the best, these three verses were taken from the Kaviřajamārga into the Chandōmbudhi with alterations. We learn more, however, about the matter, when we examine the details of the discrepancies.

The first of these three verses recites in its first two pādhas, in both versions, that, in the matter of embellishment of sound, in Kanarese the most important detail is the alliteration. The second two pādhas say, in the Kaviřajamārga: — "According to the views of Kritakrityamallavallabhā (''the Vallabha who is the wrestler, or the most excellent, of those who have done their duty''), the expansion of it (that is, the treatment of this topic) is in this manner (as follows).'' In the Chandōmbudhi, the same two pādhas say: — "According to the views of all people, it (namely, the alliteration) realizes the object that is to be attained; when it is faulty, how shall poetry appear to any advantage at all?''

Now, we know that this verse, as given in the Kaviřajamārga, was certainly not adapted from the Chandōmbudhi. Kaviśvara wrote his Kaviřajamārga in the period A.D. 814-15 to 877-78. Whereas, the Nāgarvarma who wrote the Chandōmbudhi flourished in the period A.D. 975 to 1000.\(^{35}\)

And any interpolator of Nāgarvarma was, naturally, not earlier than Nāgarvarma himself. If there was any interchange of the verse between the Kaviřajamārga and the Chandōmbudhi, it was, of course, taken from the Kaviřajamārga into the Chandōmbudhi. But, if that was done, there is not any acceptable reason why Nāgarvarma or his interpolator should vary the text, so as to suppress the name of the authority cited by Kaviśvara. On the other hand, if the verse came into both works from another source, it is easy to see how Kaviśvara may have ingeniously altered a portion of an original text, without in any way interfering with the chief part of it, the dictum pronounced in it, so as to introduce an appellation of his patron as the authority on the topic to which the verse refers. And it may be incidentally remarked that it seems very likely that it was this particular verse, in its original form, which suggested the idea of the appellation Kritakrityamalla for Amoghasvaraha I., established by adaptation of the original verse.

The second of these three verses does not pronounce or lead up to any rule. It is simply a stanza put forward to illustrate final alliteration. As it stands in the Kaviřajamārga, the meaning of it is: — "Nripatunāgāra, who displays excessively pure fame, (and) to whom the entire mass of (his) enemies has bowed down, has further always borne with grace the burden of the possession of a widely spread glory (or good fortune).'' As it stands in the Chandōmbudhi, it does not specify any individual by name; and it means: — He who displays excessively pure fame, (and) to whom the entire mass of (his) enemies has bowed down, (and) further who possesses a development of authority similar to that of Satamaka (Indra), has obtained the possession of a widely spread glory (or good fortune).'' Here, if Nāgarvarma or his interpolator took the verse from Kaviśvara, he spoilt a very apt illustration, by substituting something altogether indeterminate in the place of words which introduced an opposite and well-known name. On the other hand, here, again, it is easy to see how very simply Kaviśvara may have adapted a verse, not composed by himself, by altering the last line of it, without in any way spoiling the applicability of it, so as to introduce the name of his patron.

\(^{35}\) This appears to be a conjecture, in the place of mūruga or mūdga.

\(^{35}\) See note 5 on page 197 above.
The last of these three verses introduces, as explained by Dr. Kittel in his edition of the *Chhandōmbudhi*, "the four kinds of alliteration of the third class, occurring along with the ten simple "alliterations (prāśa), and the successive (anuprāśa) and final one (anta-prāśa)." As it stands in the *Kavirājāmṛgā*, the last *pāda* asserts that the master introduced in the verse is "according to the well known method of the splendid Nṛpatunā." As it stands in the *Chhandōmbudhi*, the same *pāda* is an address to some lady, and means: — "Listen, O thou who hast splendid long eyes resembling a water-lily!; I will declare it." Here, again, there is not any acceptable reason why, if Nāgavarma or his interpolator took the verse from Kavīśvara, he should have altered the text, so as to suppress the name of Nṛpatunā. And, on the other hand, here, again, it is easy to see in how simple a manner Kavīśvara may have adapted still another verse, not composed by himself, so as to name his patron as the authority for the matter stated in it.

Taking these three verses together, we can see most plainly that Nāgavarma or his interpolator did not either quote or adapt them from Kavīśvara; but Kavīśvara on the one side, and Nāgavarma or his interpolator on the other side, used standard verses which they took independently from some third writer. A simple comparison of the texts given on page 272 f. above is sufficient to show that the assertion, that the versions of these verses standing in the *Chhandōmbudhi* are quotations from the *Kavirājāmṛgā*, is absolutely opposed to fact. And it is altogether incredible that Nāgavarma or his interpolator, adapting verses from the *Kavirājāmṛgā*, should gratuitously, and in the most objectless manner, spoil them by striking out references to an authority made by appellations of which one at least, presented in two of the verses, was a well known and famous one, and by substituting words which add neither force nor beauty to the verses. There was a difference in treatment; namely, that Kavīśvara adapted the original verses of the third writer, whereas Nāgavarma or his interpolator quoted them, and probably quoted them with absolute exactness. And those were the two different methods by which the verses standing in the *Kavirājāmṛgā* and the *Chhandōmbudhi* were obtained; namely, respectively by adaptation and by quotation.

There remains the point as to the source of these verses. From what Kavīśvara, the author of the *Kavirājāmṛgā*, has told us, it was certainly from the *Kaviṃdraga* of Sṛvijaya that he adapted his verses. The earlier Nāgavarma or his interpolator may have taken the corresponding verses into the *Chhandōmbudhi* directly from that same work, the *Kaviṃdraga* of Sṛvijaya, or indirectly by obtaining them from some other writer who had taken them from that work. On this latter point, we can only submit the following remarks for further consideration. In his introductory verse 22, Nāgavarma has told us that his *Chhandōmbudhi* or *Chhandōmbudhī* was based to a great extent on a work by Pīngala, which he seems to mention by the name of Maṅgalachanda. It seems to be uncertain whether he refers to the Sanskrit Pīngala, or to the so-called Prākrit Pīngala, or perhaps both of them.36 But there cannot have been obtained from either of those writers any of the Kanares characteristics, of which the prāṣa or alliteration, exhibited in the *Chhandōmbudhi* whether originally or by interpolation, is emphatically one. On the other hand, the *Chhandōmbudhi* does not present any mention of the name of Sṛvijaya. But verse 252 exhibits an Anupachchhandasikā metre which it describes as, — Kavīśvar-āktām, — "declared by Kavīśvara." There is no reason for thinking that this use of the name Kavīśvara is a reference by Nāgavarma to himself; his own ṛvuda was not Kavīśvara but Kavirājahamsa. And it certainly does not carry any reference to the Kavīśvara who wrote the *Kavirājāmṛgā*, which does not deal with metres. But it may easily denote Sṛvijaya; for we have seen, on page 269 above, that it is quite possible that he had the appellation Kavīśvara.

The editor has further said (Intro. p. 1) that "the Kavirājāmṛgā is also alluded to in the "Kāvyāvalokana." This work is the *Kāvyāvalokana* of the second Nāgavarma, who, as has

36 See Dr. Kittel's Nāgavarma's *Kanares Prose*, Intro. p. 7.
been shewn by Mr. R. Narasimhachar in his recently published edition of it, flourished about A.D. 1150. The editor of the Kadvidjamrdga has not specified any particular passage in the Kedyavalokana for this asserted allusion to the Kadvidjamrdga. And, as a matter of fact, it would seem that his authority for his assertion is nothing but an assertion made by Mr. Rice that the Kadvidjamrdga "is cited as a standard authority by Ngarvarma in his Kedyavalokana." There can, however, be no doubt that the intended reference is to verse 521 of the Kedyavalokana, which does present the expression kavirajamrdga-mrdgyadol. But, as Mr. R. Narasimhachar has told us on p. 16 of his Introduction to the Kedyavalokana, the context clearly shows that the expression does not denote any particular work, but simply refers to "the path of excellent poets." Beyond that, Mr. R. Narasimhachar has said (loc. cit. p. 17 f.) that there are many striking coincidences in the Kadvidjamrdga and the Kedyavalokana; in respect of which, he considers, it may be presumed that verses in the Kedyavalokana were suggested by verses in the Kadvidjamrdga, or the explanation may be "the identity of the source from which both the works have derived their ideas." But he has also told us (loc. cit. p. 16) that, in the Kedyavalokana, "strange as it may appear, Ngarvarma "makes no allusion to the earlier work Kadvidjamrdga, nor does he quote a single verse from it."

The editor has further said (Introd. p. 1) that "Kotirdja quotes three verses from the "Kadvidjamrdga," and he has specified those verses (Jatad. note 4) as 32 and 58 of chapter 1, and 7 of chapter 2. His reference to the other work is to the Kanarese grammar entitled Sabdamanidarpana of Kotirdja, who has been placed by Mr. Rice about A.D. 1225. And he has referred us to the Rev. Dr. Kittel's edition of the Sabdamanidarpana, which was published at Mangalore in 1872. Here, the facts are as follows: —

In verse 32 of chapter 1 of the Kadvidjamrdga, Kadivvara has mentioned, in the department of Kanarese padaya, two classes of poetical composition named chattadga and bedanq. His verse runs: —

Nudig-ella'm salla'da Kan-
na'da'dol chattadga'm bedanqyem-end-l-1
gagina ne'gala'y kabbadol-
ojamba'ama mda'idar-apparatana-kaviga H 1, 32.

As an illustration to sutra 98, of his Sabdamanidarpana, which teaches the use of the suffix ar to form, for instance, the verbal form madidar, Kotirdja has presented a stanza (see Dr. Kittel's edition, p. 121) which stands in exactly that same form, syllable for syllable, except in the use of j instead of ch, in jaddagamu instead of chattadgama.

In verse 57 of chapter 1 of the Kadvidjamrdga, Kadivvara has recited a mixture of Sanskrt and Kanarese in compounds destroys the flavour, "just like mixing drops of buttermilk with boiling milk." In illustration of that, he has given verse 58, which runs: —

Aras-kumadarna-amayata-
tara-ka'ge-ga'gininde nadi kaladi-sameta'ain
parigata-nagayind-irddein

guru-nau-bharadindam-sragu mukha-tavareyain H 1, 58.

And, to show how that verse ought to have been framed in proper language, he has followed it up by verse 59, to the same purport, which commences with narapati-tanayanan, where it presents a suitable Sanskrt word for the word aras, and which further puts forward a correct Kanarese expression instead of the hybrid compound kaladi-sametoin, and appropriate Sanskrt words, in the other compounds, instead of the Kanarese ka'ge-ga'gininde, nagayinde, nda, and tavareyain.

Under sutra 80 of his Sabdamanidarpana, which defines the term sama-Sanskrtita as meaning pure Sanskrt crude nouns which are used in Kanarese without any alteration, Kotirdja has said that

37 See note 5 on page 197 above.
such words must not (as a rule) be used in composition with pure Kanarese words; and, as an instance of violation of that rule, he has used that same verse arasu-kumāran, &c., with, however (see Dr. Kittel’s edition, p. 98), the differences of gāde for kāde, irdān for irdēn, and nāt-dharādin for nāt-dharādindam.

In opening the topic of śabdāntākāra or embellishment of sound by rhymes, &c., Kaviśvara has said, in verse 4 of chapter 2 of his Kaviirājamārga, that soft and flexible words should be used, exactly according to their appropriateness, in order to avoid any such effect as “mixing together rice in its husk and cards;” in verse 5, that, even though the meaning may not be spoilt, the use of unsuitable words would be like “stringing together pearls and pepper-corns;” and, in verse 6, that the use of ponderous words, pressing upon light ones that precede them, would have the same unhappy effect as “placing a heavy burden on the head of a child.” And, as an instance of bad style (dāshya), exhibiting faults such as those against which he has warned his readers, he has given verse 7, which runs:

Barisi kahiṭipatiyāṃ sa-
yt-iṛisi priya-kuśala-vārtteyāṃ besa-gondu;
sthiraṃ-irddu prabhu nudiye
prāṇāha-mudan-ādanta-ātan-embudu dūshyaṃ II 2, 7.

And, to show how the meaning of that verse ought to have been expressed in good style (mārga), he has followed it up by verse 8, which commences kahiṭipatiyāṃ barisi, and runs to practically the same purport as verse 7, except that it introduces an epithet jagan-nuta, which is not represented in verse 7.

Sātra 59 of the Sabdamāṅidarpāṇa, as explained by Dr. Kittel (see his edition, p. 71, and now also his Kannada Grammar, p. 198, § 241, and a remark at the bottom of p. 197), teaches that it is a mistake to treat as isthila or slack, that is as not lengthening a preceding short vowel, a double consonant the second component of which is r, and also that in writing out verses it is bad to leave no space between the different words unless they come under the rules of sanāṭhi. And, in illustration of the sātra, Kēṭirāja has presented a stanza which runs (see Dr. Kittel’s edition, p. 71): 41—

Barisi pradhānaraṇa ku-
līrīsī priya-kuśala-vārtteyāṃ nṛgo kēlū;
sthiraṃ-irddu prabhu nudiye
prāṇāha-mudan-ādanta-ātan-embud-amārggaṃ II

Of these three verses thus presented in the Sabdamāṅidarpāṇa, the first, nudi-g-ellāṇ, &c., might certainly be taken as a quotation from the Kaviirājamārga; the only difference between the two versions is in a quite unimportant detail. And the second of them, arasu-kumāran, &c., might well pass for a quotation, from that same work, with three various readings, in details of no special

40 This simile is presented in the words muttam-melana-gōda-nte. It is presented, in the same words, in another verse which was first brought to notice by Mr. Rice, who, however, chiefly through confusing gōda, = kēda, the past relative participle of kē (3), “to string upon a thread,” with gōda, “wheat,” failed to understand it; see Jour. R. As. Soc., 1883, p. 296, and Kavirājamārga, Introductory, p. 9. That verse is to be found in Dr. Kittel’s Sabdamāṅidarpāṇa, p. 78, where it is given in illustration of sātra 65, which teaches the changes of k to g, &c., in forming compounds. But the text there, using another variant of mēnaṇa, gives melānsaṇa, by mistake for melānsaṇa, which is probably the chief reason why even Dr. Kittel did not recognise the meaning of the simile; see Introd. p. 17f. That same text also presents, before mutta, the unintelligible reading jāṇa-ede. The correct reading in that point, — namely, jāṇa-gōda (or jāṇa-gōda), “on knowledge being destroyed or impaired,” — has been supplied by Dr. Kittel in his Kannada-English Dictionary, under jāṇa; whereas, however, with still another variant of mēnaṇa, melānsaṇa is presented, instead of melānsaṇa. That verse means: — “The poetry of (these) wretched poets, who, taking an Old-Kannarese word, and, taking and joining to it a Sanskrit (word), ignorantly express themselves just in the same fashion as if they were stringing together pearls and pepper-coins, — how can it please the hearts of learned people?”

41 In transcribing Dr. Kittel’s text of the verse, I have added the consonants which ought to have been given by repetition after a preceding r; that detail has been disregarded in Dr. Kittel’s book, throughout.
importance, which could easily be accounted for. But the third verse, barisi pradhānarath kullaśiśi, éc, can hardly be accepted as a quotation of the verse barisi kahitipatiyam saiy-irisi, éc. The differences go beyond anything in the way of any ordinary various readings. They alter the sense in certain well marked features. The verse in the Kauriśjamārga speaks of a "king" being "summoned (literally, caused to come)" and "made to feel at ease," whereas, the verse in the Sābadamaṇḍarapaya speaks, much more appropriately, of "ministers" being "summoned" and "caused, or allowed, to sit down." It might be said that Kesīrāja, not satisfied with having in this verse already three instances of the combination pr after a short vowel, introduced a fourth by adapting the verse of the Kauriśjamārga by substituting pradhānarath for kahitipatiyam. But, even so, there was no necessity of any kind for him to substitute kullaśiśi, 'having caused to sit down,' for saiy-irisi, 'having caused to feel at ease,' nēr kāldu, 'having made full inquiries,' for benn-gondu, 'having demanded, or questioned,' and amādyanu, 'bad style,' for dūshyam, 'to be censured.' And, more to the point still, if he so introduced an additional and quite superfluous instance of the combination pr after a short vowel, he gratuitously destroyed another instance of bad style, objected to by him, which was to be found in connection with the combination ksh after a short vowel. The explanation is to be found in the following facts. It appears that Kesīrāja has not anywhere mentioned the name of any Kaviśvarā, or any work called Kauriśjamārga. He has mentioned Nripatāṇga; but only in the illustrative stanza quoted on page 197 above, which does not attribute to him any literary attainments or any connection with literature, and does not tend in any way to connect him with the Kauriśjamārga. On the other hand, in verse 5 of the introduction to his Sābadamaṇḍarapaya he has expressly mentioned Srīvijaya among the writers whose good style was to be kept in view in his own work. It can hardly be doubted that Kesīrāja took the verse barisi pradhānarath, éc, not from the Kauriśjamārga, but from Srīvijaya. We naturally decide that it was from Srīvijaya that he took also the verses nudiś-ellha, éc, and arasun-kumārana, éc, and that these verses, again, were taken by Kaviśvarā into his Kauriśjamārga from Srīvijaya's work. And it is tolerably certain that Kaviśvarā's verse barisi kahitipatiyam, éc, was another case of adaptation, which was probably made because Kaviśvarā found it easier to compose his next verse with an alliteration of the t of kahitipatiyam, than with an alliteration of the dh of pradhānarath.

The editor has further said (Intro. p. 1, note 5) that Īvaraṇa, — a writer referred both by Dr. Kittel and by Mr. R. Narasimhachar to the sixteenth century A. D. — has quoted "from Nripatāṇga" verse 232 of chapter 3 of the Kauriśjamārga, which is a stanza, commencing arasun-kumārana, in illustration of the double prāsa or alliteration of the second and third syllables of each pāda of a verse. He has, in fact, said that "both Nāgavarma and Īvaraṇa quote it from Nripatāṇga." And, as has been indicated on page 272 above, in verse 65 of the Chhandomūbdhi we have that same stanza, with certain unimportant differences in detail. As to what form the verse may present in Īvaraṇa's work, I am not able to say anything. But the selection of the verse as an instance of quotation of the Kauriśjamārga by Nāgavarma and Īvaraṇa, is peculiarly unfortunate. As has already been remarked on page 272 above (see also note 31), Dr. Kittel has rendered it at any rate doubtful whether verse 65 in the Chhandomūbdhi belongs to the real version of that work.

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43 He has, perhaps, even mentioned Srīvijaya's Kauriśjamārga; namely, in śātra 235 (Dr. Kittel's edition, p. 231), where he has said that he has to the best of his ability elucidated the subject of compounds as they occur in Kauriśjamārga. The commentary, however, explains this word as meaning keśvara mārasudali, 'in the style or usage of poets.' And so we may have here only an use of kariś-jāra, analogous to the mention of keś-vāja-jāra in the Kāṇḍeśuḷam, regarding which see page 275 above.

44 The same stanza barisi pradhānarath, éc, has been given in precisely the same form by Bhāṭṭākāśka in his course of his commentary on śātra 67 of his Kauriśakabhadālanuśāsa; see Mr. Ricci's edition of that work, in which, while the transliterated text (p. 80) presents barari, the Kārese text (p. 80) shows barisi. Bhāṭṭākāśka has introduced the stanza as "used as an example (udākṣaṇa) by him (Kārāra)," meaning "by Kesīrāja," as is shown by his immediately preceding quotation of śātra 33 of the Sābadamaṇḍarapaya. And thus, while not helping us by attributing the stanza to Srīvijaya, — whom, so far as the Kauriśakabhadālanuśāsa goes, he seems to not to have known at all, — he has at any rate plainly implied that he knew that it was not composed by Kesīrāja.

45 Nāgavarma's Ācaraṇa Prasacdy, Intro. p. 61.

and has expressed the opinion that it was taken into it from the *Kavijjhidambhana* of Ísvarakavi; and, in another direction, Mr. R. Narasimhachar has told us that the verses which stand as 231 to 235 in chapter 3 of the *Kavirddjamarga*, do not belong to that work at all. So far, therefore, from it being the case that Ísvarakavi quoted the said verse 232 from the *Kavirddjamarga*, it is tolerably obvious that the verse was introduced into the Kaviradjmarga, by interpolation, from the work of Ísvarakavi.

Finally, the editor has asserted (Intro. p. 1) that "the *Saññanapada* cites one verse" from the *Kavirddjamarga", and appeals to Nripatuña as a standard authority on Alañkāras." We will take first the latter assertion, which is more or less correct. As has been already stated on page 198 above, in his own commentary on sūtra 288 of his *Karnatjavasabdānuśasana*, which he finished in A.D. 1604, 46 in referring to a certain point of difference between the northern and the southern poets, Bhātājakalāṅka has said that "a clever disquisition on the different usages of the varying styles of the south and the north, is to be seen in the book of Nripatuña." And there can be no doubt that his allusion is to verses 49 to 108 of chapter 2 of the *Kavirddjamarga*, written by Kaviśvara under the patronage of Nripatuña-Amoghaśvaradeva I., which does have a disquisition on the differing styles of the northern and the southern poets. As regards the asserted instance of citation, however, the facts are as follows. The verse in question has been specified by the editor (Intro. p. 1, note 5) as the verse *arasaroṣeṣa niṁ, ṯe*, which stands as verse 232 of chapter 3 of the *Kavirddjamarga* in illustration of the double *śrūṣa* or alliteration of the second and third syllables of each *pāda* of a verse. And below sūtra 292 of his *Karnatjavasabdānuśasana*, in illustration of his statement that *araṣi, 'a queen,' and other words classed with it, are irregular feminine, Bhātājakalāṅka has presented that same verse, except that, with an unimportant difference, with him it begins *arasaroṣeṣa elagāt*, instead of *arasaroṣeṣa niṁ.* 47 If we knew no better, this, taken in connection with Bhātājakalāṅka's reference to Nripatuña-grantha, "the book of Nripatuña," might certainly be taken as a quotation from the *Kavirddjamarga*. But, as has been said on page 273 above, Mr. R. Narasimhachar has told us that the verses which stand as verses 231 to 235 in chapter 3 of the *Kavirddjamarga*, do not belong to that work at all. It was, therefore, not from the specified verse 232 of the *Kavirddjamarga* that Bhātājakalāṅka took his illustration of the use of the word *araṣi, 'a queen,' unless, of course, the interpolation of the five verses in question into the *Kavirddjamarga* had already been accomplished before A.D. 1604; and the probability is that Bhātājakalāṅka obtained the verse from Ísvarakavi.

The conclusions at which we arrive in respect of the composition of the Kaviradjmarga are plain and simple. The work was written during the period A.D. 814-15 to 877-78. And the author of it was a person who has made himself known to us by the name of Kaviśvara,—a secondary appellation which he must have adopted in imitation of an earlier Kaviśvara who has been mentioned by him. But he wrote his work under the patronage of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Nripatuña-Amoghaśvaradeva I. And he has credited his patron with inspiring so much of it, and has otherwise introduced his patron's names and quoted his views so often and so prominently, that the work came to be known, in later times, as *Nripatuña-grantha*, "the book of Nripatuña." Kaviśvara based his work on the Kavimarga of a writer named Śrīvijaya, who was very probably the earlier Kaviśvara himself, in imitation of whom the author adopted the appellation by which he has made himself known to us. 48 Kaviśvara has distinctly told

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46 See note 9 on page 197 above.
47 See Mr. Rice's *Karnajānakālidānuśasana*, transliterated text, p. 122, as specified by the editor of the *Kavirddjamarga*. The Karnarese text (p. 112) presents *arasaroṣeṣa niṁ*; but that has been indicated in the table of corrections as a mistake for *arasaroṣeṣa elagāt*.
48 Mr. R. Narasimhachar has expressed the opinion that "in spite of the arguments advanced by Mr. Pathak " on p. 8 of his Introduction, there is room for supposing that Śrīvijaya may have written the work in the name of "his royal patron" (*Kādyānātikānām*, Intro. p. 13, note 2). But, if he had gone fully into the matter, he would certainly have arrived at the conclusions reached by me; the specification (see page 299 above) of the writings of Śrīvijaya as *deṣya-kāsa*, 'early poetry,' that is, earlier than the time of the writer of this *Kavirddjamarga*, is sufficient to show that Śrīvijaya was not the author of this *Kavirddjamarga*. 
us that his own work was the work of Srivijaya in a new guise. We can see how, in certain places, he fashioned that new guise, by adapting verses of Srivijaya with the introduction of certain alterations to suit the patronage under which he wrote. And, if Srivijaya’s Kavirāmārga is ever recovered, we shall probably find that practically the whole of Kaviśvara’s Kavirāmārga is simply an adaptation of it, and that it was Srivijaya, and not either Kaviśvara or Amōghavarsha I., who made the translations from the Sanskrit writer Daṇḍin which underlie so much of the Kavirāmārga.49

The conclusions to be formed regarding the nature of the edition of Kaviśvara’s Kavirāmārga under the name of Nripatunga’s Kavirāmārga are neither so simple to arrive at, nor so pleasant to express. The book possesses, indeed, one good feature, in presenting, in addition to the text in Kanarese characters which is of course requisite for Native students, the transliterated text which makes it so much easier for others to investigate its contents without any unprofitable waste of time; and it would be a material enhancement of the value of all the publications of the series in which this book has found a place, if every one of them, without exception, were cast on the same lines in that respect. Also, it gives us, we presume, a reliable version of the text, as far as it could be settled by the manuscripts which were available. Beyond that, however, it does not place before us anything that can be taken as a topic of commendation. The editor has given us but few, if substantially any, of the explanatory and illustrative notes which are an essential part of an up-to-date edition of any ancient work, and particularly of such a work as the one under notice. He has not given us any index, either to the text or even to his own Introduction. He has not furnished any such general account of the scheme of the work and the arrangement of its contents, as would have been of use to anyone wishing to explore any particular part of it. He has not even taken the trouble to mark or arrange the text in such a way as to distinguish between the principal parts of it and those which are simply of the nature of examples. And his aim seems to have been simply to spend a short time on the compilation of the text, which is a brief one, and in the settlement of which only three manuscripts had to be consulted, and then to devote a long time to the elaboration of a treatise, published by way of an Introduction, which advertises him as anxious to try his hand at anything rather than the proper work of an editor. We can hardly attribute to him inability to understand the meaning of the work. Still, it must be remarked that in another essay, in composing which he ought to have been more than usually careful to be correct,50 he has shown himself unable to recognise the real import of a very simple Kanarese verse, which does not say that Srutakirti-Traividyam composed a Rāghavapāṇḍariya which was to be read both forwards and backwards and would give sense when read in either direction, but does say that he performed the feat of reciting both forwards and backwards an ordinary work of that name (composed by someone else). And thus it is, perhaps, in some similar failure that we may find the reason for which he has dealt in so misleading a manner with the question as to who was the author of the Kavirāmārga. But, whatever may be the explanation of that detail, his results are anything but

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49 On this matter see Kavirāmārga, Introd., pp. 19-20. — In connection with the question of the age of Daṇḍin, the editor (Introd. p. 20, and note 1) has cited the riddle adisaya-madhyām puritaḥ, &c., given by Daṇḍin in his Kārgyddarśa, 3, 114; and, rejecting the solution Kāśche and Chāḍarāja given by the commentator Vījayaśrāva, has adopted the solution Kāśche and the kings whose name was Puṇḍika which is given by the editor of the Kārgyddarśa (Bibliotheca Indica edition, p. 390). But he has not attempted to show what connection, if any, the Puṇḍikas ever had with Kāśche.

By way of an answer to the riddle, an eight-letter word is required, to denote the kings of Kāśche, if that is the city intended. And the nominative plural Palladē would answer the requirement better than the base Puṇḍika, in addition to connecting with Kāśche a line of kings who really did rule that city in the time to which Daṇḍin is sometimes referred, the 6th century A.D. But it may be remarked that, if the riddle is behedāpin, and not anterūdpī, — that is to say, if for the city we are not restricted to Kāśche by the words kāśche-prat in the verse, — then an equally good answer is Vṛndā and Chāḍarāja. No doubt, other answers also could be found with a little thought. And it would be possible that adisaya-madhyām has a double meaning, and indicates secondarily some town in the Nāsik country.

eritable to him in this particular matter, or calculated to inspire confidence in him in other
directions. He has misled us in respect of the identity of the author of the Kavirajamarga. And,
whereas he has on several occasions taken the position of being competent to write with authority
on questions of ancient Indian literature, in the settlement of which a great deal depends upon the
extent to which authors have quoted one another, now, by his assertions of quotation of the Kavi-
rajamarga in other works, and especially in connection with the three verses exhibited side by side on
page 272 f. above, he has shewn that he is not able to distinguish between, on the one side, a case in
which one author does really quote from another, with or without any slight alteration, and, on the
other side, a case in which two authors obtain a passage, or the basis of a passage, independently
from a third writer. In the last paragraph but one of his Introduction, the editor has somewhat
naively indicated that there might be "a more satisfactory edition of the Kavirajamarga."
Whatever else may be uncertain, there is no room for any doubt about that.

TATTOOING IN CENTRAL INDIA.

BY CAPTAIN C. E. LUARD, M.A.,
Superintendent of Ethnography in Central India.

(Continued from p. 249.)

7. Tattoo Marks from Maksudangarh State.

(Collected by Babu Kedar Nath.)

1. A Sitaphal tree, Custard apple
(Anona squamosa) — marked on the legs
of a female.

2. Kitchen of Sitaji — marked on the
fore-arm.
3. Sabālis (young girls) dancing together — marked on the leg.

4. Scorpions — marked on the wrist...

5. A sieve — on the back of the hand.

6. Barā (armlets) — on the arm ...

7. Chauk — on the leg ...

8. Peacocks — on the chest ...

9. Pāpīḥā (Falco nisus), a bird—marked on the back of the hand below the thumb.

10. Pīrīḥ (a four-legged stool to sit on) — on the fore-arm.

11. The lower part of the Ārī (churn) — on the fore-arm.

12. Deer — on the fore-arm...


14. Būḍī — on each temple...

15. Būḍī — on the chin...

17. Mukaṭ (crown) — on the arm.

18. Gajari (milkmaid) — on the leg.

19. On the temples ... ... ...

20. Sāliyā — on the back of the hand.

S. Tattoo Marks on Mālayi Women.
(Collected at Indore.)

On the nose (left side).

On the back of hand.

On the right hand (contd.).

On the right arm.

On the right hand.

On the left hand.

N.B.-Designs were sent without any explanation, but it is easy to trace most of them from examples already given.
On the breast.

9. Tattoo Marks on Sudra Women from the Dakhan.
(Collected at Indore.)

Forehead

Nose (left side)

On the Left cheek

Between eye & ear

On the chin

Forearm

Side

On the right.

On the wrist

On fingers

Bijore

Soga

Sita's apron

Moon

Flies
10. Tattoo Marks from Bhopal State.
(Sent without comment.)

Marks on Face:

Nose \[\bullet\bullet\bullet\]
Cheek \[\begin{array}{c}
\{\begin{array}{c}
\mid
\end{array}\end{array}\]
Chin \[\begin{array}{c}
\mid
\end{array}\]
Forehead \[\begin{array}{c}
\mid
\end{array}\]

Marks on Chest:

[Diagram of various tattoo marks and symbols related to agriculture and nature]
Marks on arms:

Wrist

Back of the forearm:

Mark on hands:

Fingers:

On the calves of the legs:

Back of the chest:
II. Tattoo Marks from the Narsinggarh State.
(Collected by Lālā Pauhan Lāl.)

Worn by Chāmar caste:

No. 1.

Ram.

Lakshman.

No. 2.

Armiṣṭ (Bara).
No. 3.

Sitā's kitchen.

No. 4.

Sitaji.

No. 5.

Line of soldiers.

No. 6.

Ranighollar ornament for the feet.

No. 7.

Conch-shell.

No. 8.

Ghantā or Gong.

Worn by Ghori caste:—

No. 1.

Ornament.

No. 2.

Peacock.

No. 3.

Flower.

No. 4.

Line of men.

(To be continued.)
A COMPLETE VERBAL CROSS-INDEX TO YULE'S HOBSON-JOBSON OR GLOSSARY OF ANGLO-INDIAN WORDS.

BY CHARLES PARTRIDGE, M.A.

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*(To be continued.)*
A NOTE ON THE KURUKSHETRA.

The famous battle-field of Kurukshetra, where the Kurus and Pandavas fought for eighteen days, is situated on the south side of Thanesar, 39 miles south of Ambala in the Panjab, and an account of its antiquities will be found in Cunningham's Archæological Survey Reports, Vol. XIV, p. 86. The following note by L. Raghubir Das, Superintendent of Ethnography to the Jind State, relates to that part of the Kurukshetra which lies in that State and forms the southern border of the sacred territory, lying west of Panipat and including Safidod and Jind, the two ancient towns, which are the most important places in the south, as Thanesar and Peli are in the north, of the Kurukshetra. The details of the various temples, shrines, and places of pilgrimage in this tract do not lend themselves to Cunningham's suspicion that both Krishal and Jind have been included in the holy circuit in recent times to gratify the Sikh Rājīs of those places. The archæological remains of the southern Kurukshetra do not appear to have ever been examined by an expert, though the whole territory would probably repay systematic exploration.

H. A. Rose.

July 20th, 1903.

At Baraud in the Safidod 'idga, and 3½ miles to the north-east of the town of Safidod, is a temple of Mahadeva, which is said to date from the Satya-yuga. It is visited by the people on the śrīva-vītris, and as there are no pujārs, the villagers here perform worship themselves.

At Safidod itself there are three ancient tīrthas and temples, supposed to have been built towards the close of the Dvāpara Yuga, namely, Nāgēśvara Mahadeva, Nāga-damani Dēvi (or Bhawan Dēvi) and Nāgakshetra. The legend goes that at the end of the Dvāpara Yuga Rājā Parikshit was bitten by a serpent, Takshaka. To avenge him, his son Rājā Janamējaya established the images of Nāgēśvara Mahadeva and Nāga-damani Dēvi (the goddess who slaughters serpents) in the temples and invoked them. He then made a havana vēdi, or place of sacred fire, and held a holocaust of the snakes with their saukāra (powers).

(i) Nāgēśvara Mahadeva. — This temple, which lies on a tank, contains an idol of Nāgēśvara Mahadeva, and fairs are held here on the 13th and 14th of Sāwan and Phāgūn in the dark half of the month. The worshipper here is believed to obtain Nāga-lōka.

(ii) The Bhawan Dēvi or Temple of the Goddess. — This temple contains an idol of Nāga-damani Dēvi. Fairs are held on the 7th and 9th of Asan and Chet suddi. The temple was rebuilt by Rājā Raghubir Singh of Jind in Saumāvat 1943.

(iii) The Nāgakshetra Tīrtha. — The tank here was rebuilt by Rājā Raghubir Singh in the same year. The tīrtha of Nāgakshetra is the place where the snakes were slaughtered and hence is called Sarpa-damāni. Bathing in it is believed to set one free from the fear of Nāgas (snakes).

(iv) Sri-Krishna. — This temple was also erected by Rājā Raghubir Singh in the same year. Its fair is held on the 8th of Bhādōn bādi.

The administration of the above temples is in the hands of the State authorities, three Gaṅgh Brahmans of the Kusika gōtra being nominated as pujārs and paid by the State.

(3) Mahādeva. — There is also a temple of Mahadeva at Pājū Kalān in the Safidod 'idga, 3 miles north-west of Safidod. It is on the Pārśāra tank, so called because Pārśāra Rāshi performed penances here. It also dates from the Satya-yuga, and its fairs are held on the 13th and 14th of Sāwan and Phāgūn bādi. People also bathe here on every Sunday in Sāwan. It is in charge of a Śāhul Bairāgī of the Rāmānandī Order, who must remain celibate.

(4) The Singh-Rikh Tank at Sanghānā, 4 miles west of Safidod, owes its name to Singh-Rikh, the Rāshi who worshipped there. Bathing in it on a parab or fete-day is meritorious.

(5) There is also a temple of Mahādeva at Hāṭ, 6 miles south-west of Safidod in the same 'idga on the Pancha Nada. It has been in existence since the Satya-yuga, and to bathe in its tank is equivalent in spiritual efficacy to performing 5 yajnas. There are fairs here on the same dates as at Pājū Kalān, but no regular pujārs are appointed, though occasionally a Śāhul (Bairāgī), a Brihmachārī, a Gosādī or a Śādhu may halt here in his wanderings. Two

1 Pancha Nada, the place where all 5 Kīrkas were connected with 5 channels by Hāṭ Kaish Mahādeva (Bāwan Patīn).
miles from Hát is the Aranbak Yahaka, one of the four yakshas or monsters, who guarded the four corners of the battle-field.

The Sūraj Kund Tank at Kālwa, 9½ miles south-west of Safidōn in the same ḍāqā, is believed to owe its origin to Sūraj Narain, and bathing in it at any time, but more specially on a Sunday, is held to avert the sūraj-grah or evil influence of the Sun-god.

The old temple of Sūraj Bhagavān at Sūraj Kund, the ruins of which are still to be found, having been demolished, a new temple of Kṛiṣṇa and Rādhikā was built by a Bairāgi of Brij, whose chelās hold it in succession from him.

At Jāmni, 12 miles west of Safidōn, are a temple and tank of Jamadagni, father of Parāsisrāma. People b. the in the tank on Sundays and the 15th, or 16th of every month. The temple is in charge of a Shāmi of the Bhāmānandī Order and has a mūnī of 80 bighās of land attached to it.

At Aṣān, which is at a distance of 14 miles in the south-west of Safidōn, is an ancient tank, called Aźvinī-Kumārā after the god in whose honour a Rishi did penance there. The legend in the Vāman Purāṇa goes that an ugly Rishi, being laughed at in the assembly of the sages, did penance and invoked the god Aźvinī-Kumārā, who appeared before him and bestowed on him beauty, saying, “Be beautiful after bathing in this tank.” Hence bathing in it on Tuesday is believed to enhance one’s beauty.

At Barāh Kalāh, which is 17 miles south-west of Safidōn, are the tank and temple of Barāhīt Bhagwān, commemorating Vishnu’s vardha or boar incarnation.

The fair is held on the 11th and 12th of Bhādōn sudī. Bathing in the tank and worshipping the god Barāh are believed to secure the highest place in heaven.

(iii) The Chandra-kūpa or Moon-well Tirtha, built in honour of the Moon (Sōmā Dēvī), is an ancient cave in which water collects in the rainy season, and in this water the Moon is supposed to have bathed. His evil influence is averted by bathing here on the 11th and 12th of Bhādōn sudī or on a Monday.

(iii) The Sapt-Rishi Kund or Tank of the Seven Rishis. The legend in the Tīlak Gītā granth is that the seven Rishis, Ranbukā, &c., came here after visiting the tirthas or tanks of Kurukshētra, and made their hūti (resting-place) and hawān-kund here. After a time they went to Pindārak (Pindāra). It is of spiritual benefit to bathe in it on the days mentioned above or on any sacred day.

(iv) A Sūraj Kund, bathing in which is as meritorious as performing worship at an eclipse of the sun. The bathing day is Sunday.

(v) A Chandra Kund, to bathe in which is equal to worshipping at an eclipse of the moon. The bathing day is Monday.

(10) At Pindāra, which is 20 miles south-west of Safidōn, is another Sōmā Tirtha, with a temple of Sāmēsvara Mahādēva, sacred to the moon and the planet Sukra (Venus). This tank is visited by many thousands of people, often from distant places, at a sāmēsvati amuṇas or a Monday which falls on the day before a new moon, and a fair is also held on the 13th and 14th bādi both in Phāgūn and Sāwan.

At a sāmēsvati amuṇas pilgrims offer pīyās, balls of rice-flour, for the benefit of deceased ancestors, which is as efficacious as a pilgrimage to Gayā. Alms offered on such an occasion are also equal in merit to the performance of a Bādī anything Yapīnā.

The temple of Jayanti Dēvi or Goddess of Victory at Jind, which owes its name to this temple, and which is 22 miles south-west of Safidōn, was built by Yudhishthira and his brothers, the Pāṇḍavas, before their fight with the Kauravas. A tank called the Sūraj Kund lies in front of the temple and is now filled with canal water. On the tank of Sūmanāthā, in the town of Jind, are the temples of Mahādēva, called the Sāmēsvara Sivālaya and Mānā Dēvi. The tank derives its name from the Moon-god, Sōma, and by bathing in it one can reach the moon. On another tank, called the Jawalī Dēvā, is another Sivālaya of Mahādēva bearing the same name as the tank. Bathing here is believed to free the soul from the door (bonds) of transmigration.

The Asankhya Tirtha is an ancient tank, so called because countless (asankhya) rishis are
said to have worshipped there. To bathe in it on a sacred day (parab) is equivalent to a pilgrimage to Badrī Nāth. Washing in the Asāni Dhārā Tīrtha, also an extremely ancient tank, cleanses from sin if performed on a Thursday.

In Sanvat 1903 Rājā Sarb Singh built the Rāj Rājēśvarī or Lord of the State Temple at Jind. The fair is held on the 1st to the 9th of Chait and Asauj sudi.

(12) At Barh-ban² is a temple to Grahi Dēvi, who was a yākshaṇī, of Grahi Riahi. A fair is held on the 7th and 8th of Chait and Asauj sudi. It is believed to avert sins.

This village also contains a very old tank called the Kirt Saun or place of hand-washing, so called because Narasimha, the lion incarnation of Vishnu, killed the dāitya or demon Hiranyakāśi at this spot and washed his hands and feet in it. It is beneficial to bathe in it on a parab, and to do so is equivalent to performing a purāṇa yajna.

Here, too, is an ancient tank called the Pun-punyā, so called because Narasimha washed his hands in it a second time after killing Hiranyakāśa. Bathing in it is as efficacious as bathing in the Kirt Saun, while it also makes the bather more prudent.

(13) At Ikas, which is 25 miles off Saftīdān in the south-west direction, is the Hamas, or Swan tank, also called the Dhūmdā or ‘seeking,’ because here Kṛishna, after escaping from the Gopīs, concealed himself in the guise of a Swan (Hamas is a symbol for soul), while they sought him in the same shape. It is customary to bathe in it on a Sunday in Sāwan, or on any parab. Bathing in it is believed to equal in merit a gift (punya) of 1,000 cows.

(14) Rām Rai, which is at a distance of 28 miles in the south-west direction, is also a village of peculiar sanctity.

It contains:

(i) A temple to Parasurāma, adjoining which are the Rām Hrid,² Sūraj Kund and San Hitha. The Rām Hrid or Temple of Parasu Rāma marks the spots where that hero destroyed the Kshatriyas. The legend in the Mahābhārata goes that Parasurāma killed Sahāra Bāhū (thousand-armed) with all his sons and nāga, ‘army,’ and filled five Kunds with blood, bathed himself in them and offered til-anjali to his deceased father, Jamadagni, saying, ‘It is the blood of those who killed you and took away your kāmadhēnu cow.’ Then Parasurāma took up his axe, and began slaughtering Kshatriyas, while the San Hitha is midway between it and Sūraj Kund.

People bathe in these tanks on the 15th sudi of Kārtik and Baisākh, after which they worship in the temple which contains images of Parasurāma and his parents Jamadagni and Rambūkā, feed Brāhmaṇas and give alms to the poor. Also at the eclipse of the sun they bathe in the San Hitha tank and at the eclipse of the moon in the Rām Hrid, by doing so they believe that they will reach Śvarga (paradise).

(ii) The temple of Kapila Yakshe is in the south-west of Rām Rāi. The Yakshe was a doorkeeper of the Kuruṣahētra. The temple is worshipped on the same days, and is in the charge of a Kaṇphatā Jōgī.

(iii) The temple of Anākhāl Mākhala Dēvi, who was the yaksheṣo of Kapila Yakshe, is in the charge of a Gaur Brāhmaṇ. A fair is held on the same days.

(15) At Pōhkar Khārt, which is 29 miles south-west of Saftīdān, in the south-west of the village is a tank of Pushkarīj, with a temple of Mahāđēva. The name Pōhkar is from Pushkara, meaning ‘great purifier.’ It is related that Parasurāma collected all the ṣaṅkis (powers) of gods and influences of all the Tirthas.

Here Brahmā, Vishnu and Mahāśe worshipped, and there is a special worship of Mahāđēva on the 10th and 14th bādi of Phāguna and Sāwan, while bathing here on 15th sudi of Kārtik or Baisākh (each sūrāj-parab, or day sacred to the sun) is equivalent to performing an ādūvamēśa or horse-sacrifice.

² Barh-ban is 24 miles south-west of Saftīdān.
² Rām Hrid is a place where Parasurāma was pleased to the heart, Rām standing for Parasurāma, and hrid meaning heart.
TATTOOING IN CENTRAL INDIA.

BY CAPTAIN C. E. LUARD, M.A.,

Superintendent of Ethnography in Central India.

(Concluded from p. 289.)

III.

THE JUNGLE SECTION.

1. Tattoo Marks from the Jobat State.

(Collected by Rai Bahadur Vamon Rao Bapuji of Jobat.)

A. — Female Marks.

(1) Worn on calves:—

- Peacock

- Stitches

- Mango tree

- Baori (well)

(2) Worn on the wrists:—

- Papaya

- A claw

- Sitā's kitchen

- Sitā's granary

- The "Mauda" — a high hat worn by the bridegroom at a wedding.

(3) Worn on the hands:—

- Flower of avaly tree (Phyllanthus emblica)

- Stitcher

- Flower

- Water vessel

(4) Worn on the fingers:—

- Mauj

- Mauj

(5) Worn on the thumbs:—

- Cloves

(6) Worn on the Chin:—

- Grain

- Grain
Women's Marks — (contd.)

(7) Worn on the cheeks:

• •
Grain

(8) Worn at the corners of the eyes:

û
Eyes

(9) Worn between the eyebrows:

•
"Tika"

(10) Worn on the toes:

• •
Grain.

B. Male Marks.

(1) Worn on the wrists:

क्षणी
Dagger

(2) Worn on the hands:

मछली
Fish.

(3) Worn on the fingers:

+ + +

(4) Worn on the arms:

मोर
peacock

(5) Worn on the chest:

खोल
Horse

कथणी आही का नाम
Man's name.

(6) Worn on the corners of the eyes:

Eyes.
2. Tattoo Marks from Barwāni State.
(\textit{Collected by Mr. K. M. Phatak of Barwani.})

(a) \textit{Khandesh Bhils}.
\textit{(Plate VII.)}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Signs</th>
<th>Caste</th>
<th>Part of the body</th>
<th>Male or female</th>
<th>Name of the sign</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>♦️</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>On shoulder</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Chauk, चौक</td>
<td>Square.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>♦️</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Iši, इशी</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) \textit{Māli Bhils}.
\textit{(Plate VIII.)}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Signs</th>
<th>Caste</th>
<th>Part of the body</th>
<th>Male or female</th>
<th>Name of the sign</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>♦️</td>
<td>Māli Bhil</td>
<td>On the shoulder</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Katiyār, कातियार</td>
<td>Dagger.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>♦️</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Near the eye</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Triśūl, त्रिशूल</td>
<td>Trident.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>♦️</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>On cheek</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Kallā, कल्ला</td>
<td>Bangle.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>♦️</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>On forehead</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Kamānp, कमान्प</td>
<td>Bow.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(c) \textit{Charans}.
\textit{(Plate IX.)}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Signs</th>
<th>Caste</th>
<th>Part of the body</th>
<th>Male or female</th>
<th>Name of the sign</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>♦️</td>
<td>Charan</td>
<td>On forehead</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Māllā, माल्ला</td>
<td>Rosary.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>♦️</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>On wrist</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Katiyār, कातियार</td>
<td>Dagger.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>♦️</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>On forehead</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Hār, छार</td>
<td>Wreath.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(d) **Ningwäl.**  
*Plate X.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sign</th>
<th>Caste</th>
<th>Part of the body</th>
<th>Male or female</th>
<th>Name of the sign</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><img src="image" alt="Ningwäl" /></td>
<td>Ningwäl</td>
<td>On forehead or arms</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Am kā Jhād, चामका हाव</td>
<td>Mango-tree.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Between wrist and elbow</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Dānk, टांक</td>
<td>A sort of drum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Kūwā, कूवा</td>
<td>Well</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(e) **Soliā Bhīls.**  
*Plate XI.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sign</th>
<th>Caste</th>
<th>Part of the body</th>
<th>Male or female</th>
<th>Name of the sign</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><img src="image" alt="Soliā Bhīls" /></td>
<td>Soliā Bhīl</td>
<td>On forehead</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Ĥār, हार</td>
<td>Garland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Near the eye</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Kamāq, कमाप</td>
<td>Bow</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>On the chest</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Ghōḍā, घोडा</td>
<td>Horse</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Near the eye</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Khaṭā, स्वता</td>
<td>A mark placed for beautifying the face</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(f) **Bhilāīs.**  
*Plate XII.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sign</th>
<th>Caste</th>
<th>Part of the body</th>
<th>Male or female</th>
<th>Name of the sign</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><img src="image" alt="Bhilāīs" /></td>
<td>Bhilāī</td>
<td>On forehead or between wrist and elbow</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Am ka Jhād, चामका हाव</td>
<td>Mango-tree.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Near the eye</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Chirliyā, चिरलिया</td>
<td>Feathers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>On the chin or on the chest</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Phūl, कूल</td>
<td>Flower</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>On any part of the body and by any caste</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Tipkā, टिप्का</td>
<td>Spots</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(f) Bhilālas—(contd.).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Signs</th>
<th>Caste</th>
<th>Part of the body</th>
<th>Male or female</th>
<th>Name of the sign</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bhilāla</td>
<td>On the front portion of the leg near the ankle.</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Kājār, काजार</td>
<td>Dagger.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Mauḍ, मौड</td>
<td>Coronet worn by bridegroom.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(g) Kachis.
(Plates XIII. and XIV.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Signs</th>
<th>Caste</th>
<th>Part of the body</th>
<th>Male or female</th>
<th>Name of the sign</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kāchi</td>
<td>On either side of the portion between elbow and wrist.</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Sitā ki Rādāni, सीताकी राधनी</td>
<td>Boiler of Sitā.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Sitā kā hāth, सीताका हाथ</td>
<td>Sitā’s hand.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Rām and Lachhman, राम व लछमन</td>
<td>Rāma and Lachhman.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(h) Taḍvi Bhilālas.
(Plate XV.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sign</th>
<th>Caste</th>
<th>Part of the body</th>
<th>Male or female</th>
<th>Name of the sign</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Taḍvi</td>
<td>Near the eye</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Chirliyā, चिरलिया</td>
<td>Feathers.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Signs</td>
<td>Caste</td>
<td>Part of the body</td>
<td>Male or female</td>
<td>Name of the sign</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tadvi...</td>
<td>Between wrist and elbow</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Chōinmal, चोईनमल</td>
<td>A cloth wound round the head for carrying weights.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do...</td>
<td>Near the eye</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Chirliyā, चिरिया</td>
<td>Feathers.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do...</td>
<td>Between wrist and elbow</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Chauk, चौक</td>
<td>Square in the form of stitches.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do...</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Chauk, चौक</td>
<td>Square.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do...</td>
<td>On the leg near the ankle</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Maud, मौड</td>
<td>A coronet for the bridegroom.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do...</td>
<td>Near the eye</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Chirliyā, चिरिया</td>
<td>Feathers.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do...</td>
<td>On the back of the palm</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Chauk, चौक</td>
<td>Square.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do...</td>
<td>Near the eye</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Chirliyā, चिरिया</td>
<td>Feathers.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do...</td>
<td>Between wrist and elbow</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Bakhiyā, बक्खिया</td>
<td>Stitch.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do...</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Chauk, चौक</td>
<td>Square.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do...</td>
<td>On the back of the leg</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Chauk, चौक</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do...</td>
<td>Between wrist and elbow</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Chōinmal, चोईनमल</td>
<td>A cloth wound round the head for carrying weights.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do...</td>
<td>On forehead</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Jhād, जहाद</td>
<td>Tree.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Cohān Bhils.

*(Plate XVI.)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Signs</th>
<th>Caste.</th>
<th>Part of the body.</th>
<th>Male or female.</th>
<th>Name of the sign.</th>
<th>Meaning.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>🍀</td>
<td>Chohān Bhil</td>
<td>On arms or chest</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Ādmi, डाझी</td>
<td>Man.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>🍀</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>On forehead</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Āmkā Jhād, जामक्क-हाड़।</td>
<td>Mango-tree.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>🍀</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Near the eye</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Khatā, खत्ता</td>
<td>A line or mark for beautifying the face.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Meghwāls.

*(Plates XVII., XVIII., and XIX.)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Signs</th>
<th>Caste.</th>
<th>Part of the body.</th>
<th>Male or female.</th>
<th>Name of the sign.</th>
<th>Meaning.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>🍀</td>
<td>Meghwāl</td>
<td>On the back of hand between wrist and elbow.</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Ka'āri, काडारी</td>
<td>Dagger.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>🍀</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Dānī, दाना</td>
<td>Beads.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>🍀</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>On wrist or elbow.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Mahādā or Mōḍūḍā, मोडूढ़।</td>
<td>A seat for Mahādev.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>🍀</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Mōḍ, मोड</td>
<td>Wheel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>🍀</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Mākhī, माखी</td>
<td>Fly.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>🍀</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Phūl, पूल</td>
<td>Flower.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Signs</td>
<td>Caste</td>
<td>Part of the body</td>
<td>Male or female</td>
<td>Name of the sign</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><img src="image1.png" alt="Sign" /></td>
<td>Meghwāl</td>
<td>On the back of the palm</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Choñbal, चोन्भल</td>
<td>A cloth wound round the head for lifting weights.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><img src="image2.png" alt="Sign" /></td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>On the back of the thumb</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Bakhiyā, बक्षिया</td>
<td>Stitch.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><img src="image3.png" alt="Sign" /></td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Choñbal, चोन्भल</td>
<td>A cloth wound round the head for carrying weights.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><img src="image5.png" alt="Sign" /></td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>On the back of the foot, near the ankle</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Bārdī, बार्डी</td>
<td>Well.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><img src="image6.png" alt="Sign" /></td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>On elbow; neck; between wrist and elbow; on back of hand; or near the ankle.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Mānas, मानस</td>
<td>Man.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><img src="image7.png" alt="Sign" /></td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>On elbow</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Wēpā, वेपा</td>
<td>Waterstand.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><img src="image8.png" alt="Sign" /></td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>On wrist</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Kāṭhrā, काथरात</td>
<td>Flower of Lotus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><img src="image9.png" alt="Sign" /></td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>On fingers of hands or elbows.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Mākhī, माखी</td>
<td>Fly.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><img src="image10.png" alt="Sign" /></td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Between wrist and elbow; on back of the hand.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Pūrdī, पूर्दी</td>
<td>An ornament for the head.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><img src="image11.png" alt="Sign" /></td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>On wrist</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Sākaḷ, साकळ</td>
<td>Chain.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><img src="image12.png" alt="Sign" /></td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Near the ankle</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Lāḍvā, लाढवा</td>
<td>Cross.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Kāchī.
Plate XIV.

Back of Leg.
CHOHAN BHILS.
Plate XVI.
Indian Antiquary.

K. M. Phatak, Del.
B. E. S. Press, Létho.
MEGHWALS.
Plate XVIII.

Left Hand.

Right Hand.
### (j) Meghwāls—(contd.).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Signs</th>
<th>Caste</th>
<th>Part of the body</th>
<th>Male or female</th>
<th>Name of the sign</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>🦚</td>
<td>Meghwāl</td>
<td>Between wrist and elbow</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Maur, मैर</td>
<td>Peacock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>🦚</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>On the foot</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Bājūṭ, बाजूट</td>
<td>A sort of stool</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>🦚</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>On front portion of the leg</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Mōgūdū, मोगूदू</td>
<td>Sent for the God Mahadev</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>🦚</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Near the ankle</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Jalō, जलो</td>
<td>Leeches</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### (k) Chokhariā Mankars.

*(Plates XX. and XXI.)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Signs</th>
<th>Caste</th>
<th>Part of the body</th>
<th>Male or female</th>
<th>Name of the sign</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>🦚</td>
<td>Chokhariā Mankar</td>
<td>Between the two eyebrows</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Rōkh, रोख</td>
<td>Line</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>🦚</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Near the eye</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Nāimā, नैमा</td>
<td>Eye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>🦚</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Between wrist and elbow</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Bakhīyā, बखीया</td>
<td>Stitch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>🦚</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>On cheek, chin or between brows</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Dānā, दाना</td>
<td>Beads</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

**HOW THE TEMPORAL POWER OF THE DALAI LAMA WAS FOUND.**

**BY L. DE MILLOUÉ.**

Translation of a Lecture at the Musée Guimet, 21st January 1900.¹

It need neither startle us, nor is it an exaggeration to state, that everywhere and always, the priesthood has been led to lay its hand on the temporal power and to subordinate the lay-government to the religion. The most important exception to this assertion is that of Greece, where it has never since historic times played or attempted to play what seems a leading part. But of all the countries of the world, the one where sacerdotal power is most deeply and firmly established is Tibet. No other place in the world could be so favorable to a theocracy, given the profound ignorance of the people, their misery, their eminently religious character, and their inveterate leaning to superstition.

Since its introduction into this country in 630 of our era, under the reign of Sroh-tsan-eGam-po, to the middle of the 17th century, the existence of the Buddhist clergy has been simply a continued

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¹ From *Conferences au Musée Guimet*, 1899–1901, par L. de Milhoué, Paris, 1905, pp. 71-88. — J. B.
struggle for supremacy, a struggle from which it arose conqueror, instituting an absolutely theocratic government, which offers curious resemblances to the principles and organisation of the old Roman pontifical government. I am about to try to sketch the various phases of this struggle which are as instructive as they are interesting.

But first, it is necessary to say a word on the Tibetan monk — the Lama, his character, and where it differs from other Buddhist monks.

Buddhism, when it penetrated into Tibet, was very different from the philosophic sect, with theistic tendencies, without gods, without cult or rites, formerly founded by Buddha Sākyamuni. Not only had it become an actual religion, in consequence of the deification of its master, and of the cult instituted in his honour and the adoration of his relics; not only had it been penetrated by mysticism and blind devotion to the Yoga and the Vedānta; not only had it invented the eternal Buddha — essence and being of all things — the Adi-Buddha conceived on the model of the Brāhma Svayambhu, the crowd of Buddhas past, present, and future, as well as the Bodhisattvas “of three thousand thousands of worlds,” but it had also received into its bosom all the male and female divinities of Brahmanism, especially of the Saiva sect, and, under the unfortunate influence of the Tantric doctrines, had given a predominant place to divination, astrology, sorcery, and magic. Thus exploiting the superstitious ignorance of the Tibetans, and their terror for demons, by which they believed themselves to be surrounded, it was as exorcists and expert magicians, rather than as apostles of a pure morale, that the first fathers of Buddhism are represented, and it was by sorcery rather than by preaching of the Good Law that they conquered and dispossessed their rivals, the Shamans of the indigenous religion or Bonpas, of the confidence of the people.

Lama (in Tibetan bLa-ma, “superior”) is a title equivalent to the Sanskrit term Guru or Āchārya, which ought to be regularly applied only to a religious person renowned for his knowledge and his sanctity, but which is frequently given by courtesy and respect to all the members of the Tibetan and Mongol clergy (the real titles of the different classes being: lama, “superior”; dGé-slo, “ordained priest”; dGé-thub, “deacon”; and dGé-bsnyen, “novice”) as with us that of abbot.

The Lama then, to give him the title by which he is habitually known, differs from the Bhikṣhu or Indian devotee, in that he is not simply a contemplative monk, but really a priest, invested as he is by ordination obtained, after a long novitiate and serious studies, which confer upon him special powers, notably that of taking part at ceremonies of the cult, at the initiation and ordination of new monks.

But the Lama is not only a priest. In the midst of this ignorant people who surround him with a superstitious veneration and fear, he is the universal man, the servant par excellence: he is educator, teacher, (the monasteries are the only schools,) doctor, literary man, astrologer, sorcerer, architect, sculptor, painter, printer, and even merchant. He is not, indeed, compelled, like the Bhikṣhu, to take the vow of poverty, but may possess a personal fortune and can increase it by all possible means, even by usury.

The Lamas are divided into two classes: the orthodox ones or dGe-lugs-pas, also called yellow Lamas from the colour of their costume, and the rNyig-ma-pas or red Lamas; these again are subdivided into several sects, of which many permit marriage among their adherents. They are extremely numerous in consequence of the custom of dedicating at least one son from each family to the religious life, a custom which is explained by the fact that the Lamas hold all functions — in fact, if not by right. It has been said that, by themselves, they constitute a seventh or eighth part of the entire population of Tibet.

For the most part they live in monasteries, vast conglomerations of houses surrounded by walls, some of which accommodate several thousand monks; veritable universities, where the people come from all parts of the country to study the religious sciences under renowned masters. These
monasteries, enriched by royal donations, and by the pious gifts of the lay-population, possess large tracts of rich land, managed by their steward or treasurers, which they increase, not only by trading with the produce of their lands, but also by devoting themselves to all kinds of commerce; almost all the export, import, and transport trade is thus in the hands of the Lamas.

It is easy to understand what importance such wealth gives to the superiors or abbots of the great monasteries, even from a political point of view. Thus the ecclesiastical history of Tibet is entirely filed with tales of rivalries and struggles, sometimes sanguinary, between the abbots of the more important monasteries, especially when they belong to different sects. But although they are jealous of one another, they are wise enough to cease tearing one another to pieces in order to seize any scrap of power from the civil authority and afterwards to divide the booty.

Toward the commencement of the 13th century, the leading position was held by the sect named Sa-skya-pa, from the name of its principal monastery. A monk of this sect, named Phags-pa, sent as a missionary to Mongolia, finding himself by chance on the route of the illustrious Kublai Khan, when he was about to invade China, prophesied that he would gain the victory and the empire. Becoming master of the Chinese empire, and emperor, Kublai remembered the monk and his prediction and called him to his court (Taranatha, the official historian of Tibetan Buddhism, says that, Phags-pa, being dead, it was his nephew and successor Lo-dai Gyaltsan, who came to the court of Kublai). It is from this epoch that the expansion of Lamaism in China dates. But the emperor's recognition was not limited to empty honours. By decree he conferred on Phags-pa and his successors, as superiors of the Sa-skya sect, the religious and political sovereignty of Tibet, but without suppressing the king of that country, who continued to govern it under the authority, more nominal than real, of the Sa-skya-pa priests.

Besides a doubtful recognition, political causes may be assigned to the act of Kublai: on the one hand, the desire to flatter his Mongol subjects, for the most part Lamaists; on the other, the hope of putting an end to the continual incursions of the Tibetans into Chinese territory. In fact, from this moment dates Chinese influence in Tibet.

The successors of Kublai continued his policy with regard to Tibet and Lamaism, but do not appear to have attained the desired end, for, under their rule, the incursions of the Tibetans were more frequent and more audacious than ever, to say nothing of the difficulties stirred up by the tyranny of the Sa-skya-pa sect, over their rivals, and notably the burning of the Kargyupa monastery of Dikung in 1320. Thus the dynasty of the Mings (1368–1610), which succeeded them, changed its policy with regard to Tibet. It set itself to diminish the power of the Sa-skya-pa sect, which was much too great, by giving to the abbots of the monasteries of Dikung (of the Kargyupa sect) and of Ta'al (of the Khampa sect), a rank and authority equal to those of the Grand Lama of Sa-skya by cleverly exciting their rivalry, by covering with honours and by granting pensions to the chief men of the country in order to bind them to themselves.

About this time, in 1355 at Khum-bum, in the district of Am-do, was born the celebrated 6Tso-n-kha-pa, who, indignant at the vice and corruption of the monks of his time, at the superstitious practices, and the rites of sorcery, which degraded Lamaism, undertook to re-call it to the purity of primitive Buddhism, promptly gathered together, under the name of the dGe-legs-pa sect, a number of disciples, to whom, in order to distinguish them, he gave a yellow costume (the other Lamas were dressed in red) and founded in 1409 the monastery of dGa-ldan, of which he remained superior until his death in 1417.

It is commonly, though erroneously, said, that 6Tso-n-kha-pa was the first Dalai Lama. He never had any title but that of dGa-ldan, as also had his successor dGe-dun-grub. This title and dignity only appeared during the pontificate of Nag-dbah 6Lo-bzan the fourth successor of the latter (1617–1630).
Profoundly ambitious, a clever politician, marvellously advised by his old teacher the abbot of Tashi-lhunpo, ṇag-dbaṅ ḍLo-bzaṅ knew how to exploit with acuteness the growing power of the dGe-lugs-pa, and the popularity of ṇTsön-kha-pa was kept alive in all classes of society. Taking vigorously in hand the interests of his sect, which he identified with those of religion, he did not hesitate to enter into open conflict with the king of Tibet, and, under pretext of the safety of religion, menaced in its purity by the tyranny of this king, the protector of the red Lamas, he asked assistance from Guchi-Khün, prince of the Koshot Mongols, who, after having vanquished and deposed the king, made a present of Tibet to the astute ṇag-dbaṅ ḍLo-bzaṅ.

The latter then assumed the dignity of rGyal-ba Rin-po-che, “Precious Majesty,” and the Mongol title Sala, “Ocean (of Grandeur),” in Tibetan rGya-mtsho, which Europeans have transformed into “Dalaí-Lama,” titles which, in order to create for himself a sort of genealogy, he extended to ḍGe-dun-grub, who thus became the first Dalaí Lama, and at the same time he gave his counsellors, the abbot of Tashi-lhunpo, the first place after himself in the ecclesiastical hierarchy, with the title of Paq-chhen Rin-po-che, and handed over to him in appanage the vassal sovereignty of the province of Tsang.

Thus it is believed that ṇag-dbaṅ ḍLo-bzaṅ was the inventor of the fiction of the perpetual incarnation of the Dhyāni-Buddhāvata Chánrēśi (Avalokiteshvara) in the person of the Dalaí Lamas and that of the Dhyāni Buddha ‘Od-dpag-med (Amitābha) in the Paq-chhen Rin-po-che, thus giving to these great persons a sort of divine relationship, an example which was immediately followed by all the superiors of the larger monasteries except that of dGa-ladan, who called themselves perpetual incarnations of the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, the god or saint, patron of their sect or of their convent.

The theory of incarnation was not in itself a novelty. From time immemorial it has been said in India, perhaps simply as a manner of speech, that illustrious men, especially in the religious order, were incarnations of such or such a god or saint, personifying the chief qualities by which they were known (a metaphor borrowed, doubtless, from the avatāras of Viṣṇu), and in Tibet even the king Sroṅ-sbaṅ-sgam-po, who introduced Buddhism into that country, was considered as an incarnation of Chánrēśi and his minister Thu-mi Sambhoṭa passed as an avatar of 'Jam-dpal (Mañjuśrī), the patron Bodhisattva of Science. What is new is the ingenious idea of the perpetuity of incarnation. It may surprise us that ṇag-dbaṅ ḍLo-bzaṅ made himself the incarnation of a simple Bodhisattva, while he attributed to his counsellor that of an eternal Buddha. But it must not be forgotten that Chánrēśi is the usual patron of Tibet; the clever Dalaí Lama thus benefited by the popularity of this divine person and at the same time created for himself a divine relationship with the first sovereign of the country, which justified his pretensions to royal power. On the other hand, if we remember, that all the sacred books of India call the counsellor the “spiritual father” of his disciples, it becomes quite natural that ṇag-dbaṅ ḍLo-bzaṅ should make his instructor the incarnation of ‘Od-dpag-med the spiritual father of Chánrēśi.

In consequence of the doctrine of perpetual incarnation, the Dalaí Lamas, the Paq-chhen Rin-po-che and the other incarnated Lamas never die. When the body of a Dalaí Lama is worn out by sickness or old age, the god, whose spirit animates it, quits the body to seek for another in better health; in other words, becomes incarnate in the course of from one to four years in some young infant, who, by miracles, reveals his divine nature and thus manifests himself. As soon as informed of the re-incarnation of Chánrēśi, the sacred college of the mKhan-pos send a commission to the dwelling of the parents of the infant, charged to subject him to a series of trials, such as, for example, to recognise, from among other similar objects, those made use of by preference by the former Dalaí Lama, and if he comes successfully out of it he is carried in great pomp to the pontifical palace, where he receives an education befitting the high rank which he is to occupy. Matters take place naturally in the same way in the case of Paq-chhen Rin-po-che or of any other incarnated Lama or living Buddha.
But to return to ْنَقَدْبَنِ ِلوُبَزَانَ. The gift, which Guchi-Khán had made to him of Tibet conquered by his arms, constituted merely a possession in fact, not by absolute right, and he might with reason fear, that he would be dispossessed of it, either by a revolt stirred up by the dethroned king, or by an intervention of his powerful neighbour, the Chinese empire. Thus he hastened, at the risk of compromising the independence of Tibet, to send an ambassador to the emperor Sai-tsung Qen-Hoang, to recognize him as spiritual and temporal sovereign of Tibet, as a tributary title, and on the condition that henceforth the election of the Dalai Lamas should be confirmed by the court of Pekin. On his side Guchi-Khán received the title of viceroy, with charge of the political administration of the kingdom (1642). Some years later, in 1662, this official acknowledgment was confirmed anew by the emperor Khang-hi, after the suppression of several revolts, which necessitated the intervention of the Chinese armies.

ْنَقَدْبَنِ ِلوُبَزَانَ died in 1680. His death was kept secret for 16 years by the viceroy of the time, who used this interregnum in order to attempt to seize the sovereign authority. But this becoming known, provoked the intervention of the Mongol chief Lhasang-Khán, who proceeded to elect the sixth Dalai Lama, soon deposed however, in consequence of indignity and irregularities in his election, following close upon the revolt, raised under pretext of restoring religion, by a chief of a tribe named Tas-Oang Arabdan. These disorders provoked another interference on the part of the emperor Khang-hi, who proceeded, with the help of his army, to the proclamation and definite enthronement of the sixth Dalai Lama — ْلوُبَزَانِ ِكَلْبَنْ (1705–1758).

In 1750 a new revolt against the authority of the Dalai Lama, incited by the viceroy Gyurmê Namgyal, rendered the intervention of the emperor Kien-lung necessary, upon which the title and function of viceroy was suppressed, and the country entirely submitted to the absolute authority of the Dalai Lama, 1751, the Chinese Government always reserving to itself the right of supervision and the direction of foreign relations entrusted to two Chinese functionaries invested, as a mark of honour, with the title of ambassador.

From this time the spiritual and temporal authority of the Dalai Lamas is no longer disputed and, except for small revolts of no consequence, they exercise in peace their double sovereignty under the protectorate of China; but for this tranquillity they paid the price of their independence. Little by little the Chinese Government has mixed more in the affairs of Tibet and has exercised an influence more and more marked on the elections of the Dalai Lamas and the Pán-chhen Rin-po-chés who are no longer chosen only in uninfluential, local and pious families in China. Under colour of showing his profound respect for them, the emperor grants them an annual sum, and they end by being merely docile instrument in the hands of China, of the functionaries of the Empire.

It is unnecessary to call attention to the striking resemblances existing between the two institutions of the Catholic Papacy and the pontificate of the Dalai Lamas. Like the Pope the Dalai Lama is a religious leader, whose decisions and orders, from a dogmatic and moral point of view, ought to be blindly accepted without discussion. He is infallible in virtue of the infallibility of the divine spirit, of whom he is the representative, the incarnation on earth. Like the Pope's, his jurisdiction extends to the boundaries of his kingdom, in Ladakh, Nepal, Bhutan, Sikkim, China (in Pekin alone there are thirteen Lama monasteries), Mongolia, Siberia among the Burjats, even in Russia among the hordes of Kirghises, — and he claims the universal imposition of it. He is invested with temporal power, as also was the Pope for long; and finally, another curious resemblance, — it was

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2 The Dalai Lamas in succession to ْلوُبَزَانِ ِكَلْبَنْ (1705–1758) were (Grönwede, Mythol. des Buddhamus in Tibet, S. 206) as follows:—

ْلوُبَزَانِ ْجوُيْدَبَنِ (1753–1803); ْلوُبَزَانِ ْلَبْوُدَا (1806–1818); ْلوُبَزَانِ ْتْابْوُدَا (1817–1837); ْلوُبَزَانِ ْدَجَكمِ (1836–1835); ْلوُبَزَانِ ْتَبْيَبَ (1858–1874); ْنَقَدْبَنِ ْثوُدَا (1875). — J. B.
a conqueror, Charlemagne, who founded the temporal power of the Papacy; it was two conquerors, Khubilai-Khan, and, later Guchi-Khan, who gave temporal power to the Dalai Lama.

It remains to say a word on the actual situation of the Lamaist pontificate, the existence of which now appears to be threatened. In Tibet and Mongolia persistent rumours are circulated of the approaching cessation of the re-incarnations of the Dalai Lama, and of the next re-incarnation of the Pan-chchen, which, contrary to the invariable custom, is to take place in Mongolia. Are these rumours the echo of dissent among the Dalai Lamas and the Pan-chchen Kin-po-chës? Have they not, as a starting point, the ambition of the latter, to take the place of the Dalai? Are they propagated by the Tibetan party, hostile to China, or perhaps by the Chinese Government, in quest of an excuse for interfering further in Tibetan affairs?

For my part, I incline to the latter theory, for it seems that the government of the Dalai Lama inclines to Europeans, to the detriment of China. I see in it the index to the repeated assertions, of high Tibetan functionaries, to our travellers, of their willingness to open wide the frontiers of the country to strangers, a willingness thwarted, they say, by the checking policy of China, and still less heard of, by the official envoy at St. Petersburg of a very high functionary of the court of Lhasa, the former counsellor of the present Dalai Lama, the Lharamba Tsanit Khaspo-Lama Aguan Dorji, sent to make a pastoral tour among the Burias of Siberia and the Kirghis of Southern Russia. This emissary took advantage of his mission to make a tour in Europe for his personal information, and, no doubt, to be able on return to render an account to his Government of his impressions and observations; you might have seen him in Paris, and even in the Musée Guimet, where he took part in a function in the library on 26th June 1899.

And in this connection, permit me to say, in conclusion, that perhaps the Musée Guimet was not strange to him in coming to Paris, as M. Aguan Dorji told me, that his curiosity was awakened by reading at Lhasa the reports of the Japanese priests who took part at two Buddhist ceremonies at the Museum in 1891 and 1893.

SOME ANGLO-INDIAN TERMS FROM A XVIIth CENTURY MS.
BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, BART.
(Concluded from p. 258.)

RAJA.

Fol. 25. where y? Country is Governed by y? Gentue Naikes or Radja’s as some terms themselves w? signifeth Vice Kinge.

Fol. 50. but many of y? Gentues and Brachmans hold lands there [in y? Golconda Kingdom] and call themselves Badjas.

Fol. 59. Oria: This Kingdome . . . . Subject to y? Great Mogoll for y? most part but not altogether by reason of Severall Radjas.


Fol. 131. he hath a Governour here [Janselone] whom y? Natives Entitle Radja (Viz?)

Kinge, as indeed he is a Vice Kinge to the great Kinge of Syam.

* For an account of these spiritual guides, see Jour. As. Soc. Beng. Vol. Li. pp. 19 ff., where portraits are given of them. From the 18th century the list is as follows:—

Sa-skya Pasjita, born in 1182.

*Yun-ston rDo-rie dpal, b. 1384, d. 1376.

mkhas-grub dGe-legs dpal bsna, b. 1485, d. 1492.

bsod-nams phyogs laN, 1492—1506.

rGyal-ba dben-sa-va bLo-bsna-don-grub, 1565—1570.

Pan-chchen bLo-bsna chhos-kyi rgyal-mtshan, 1569—1602.

Pap-chchen bLo-bsna ye-she dpal-bsna-po, 1683—1737.

Pap-chchen bLo-bsna dpal-ladan ye-she, 1737—1779.

rJe bTan Pal nyi-ma, 1781—1854.

rJe dPal-ladan chhos-kyi-grags-pa bTan-pal, 1854—1882.

dGe-legs rNam-rgyal, 1883. — J. B.
SOME ANGLO-INDIAN TERMS.


Fol. 139. yet not Sooner then y? Radja and counsel of Ianselone . . . to y? Radja and all Officers whatsoever upon y? Jaland of Ianselone.

Fol. 140. the Kinges of Syam . . . . Sent a New Radja (a Mogol bred and borne) by name Mahomed Beake: and his Brother Jhamsel: Beake to be his Secound [to Janselone].

Fol. 159. There are Severall Radjas Vpon Sumatra, that doe take Vpon them y? absolute Title and assume the absolute Governement of Kings.


See Yule, s. v. Raja, whose quotations, however, are poor. [The above are valuable as showing that in the 17th Century the true position of a Raja was understood by the merchants and traders of the time: a point that is missed by Yule.]

RAJMAHAL.

Fol. 65. Hee makes Dacca y? Metropolitan beinge a faireer and Stronger City then Radja Mohal the antient Metropolis.

Fol. 68. Many of the Grandees of these 3 Kingdomes mett their Prince at Pattana and the rest at Radja Mehall . . . . . . . he left Dacca before y? Prince came from Radja Mehall.

Fol. 78. y? English Nation, whose Chiefes here by name Mf Matt: Vincent went up to Radja Mehal before he [the Nabob] arrived at Dacca.

Not in Yule. [Once a place of great importance in Bengal.]

RAJPOOT.

Fol. 13. his retinue were as followeth . . . . 500 Bashboot Soldiers.

Fol. 41. his Retinue of Attendants and Menial Servants are in great number . . . . .

. Resbutes.

Fol. 41. Resbutes are of another Cast, they are accompted a most Valiant people that live by y? Sword . . . . but these are but Scarecrowes to y? poore ignorant nationes, for I have Seen them take themselves to their heels, and make a Raminge fight, when a Small number of Frenchmen not Exceding one dozen, drove above 200 of them before them.

Fol. 54. Severall Resbutes and Others danceinge Round him with great drawne Swords after y? manner of fenceinge.

See Yule, s. v. Rajpoot. [The above quotations are valuable as showing that by "Rajpoot" the old British trader meant the squalid "military" retinue of the petty chiefs and dignitaries he came across in his work.]

RAMBOTANG.

Fol. 175. This Countrey (Achin) affordeth Severall Excellent good fruites Namely . . . .

. Ramastines.

See Yule, s. v. Rambotang.

RAMDAM.

Fol. 46. it beginneth on y? New Moone in y? Month of October and continueth y? whole Moone, they doe call it y? Ramzan.

See Yule's, s. v. Ramdam. [Anglo-Indians, however, usually call it Ramzan, as the author did no doubt. N. and E. for 27th September 1880, p. 53, has: — "Intimation is also given of the King's intention to take his parts after their Ramasan moone is over.']

RATTAN.

Fol. 38. Onely his legges Seized a foot asunder w? Rattans.

Fol. 137. Most of their houses both here [Janselone] and all this Coast over all [are] wholly built w? them [bamboos] and Rattans to Seize y? pieces togeather.
Fol. 150. There buildings in this Generall are but of a very meane Sort built of bamboos and rattans, and Stand for ye most part Vpon Stilts of wood.

Fol. 158. from ye West Coast of this Island [Sumatra] . . . . Rattans.

Fol. 172. the Executioners frapp the sticks togethther wth Split rattans.

See Yule, s. v. Rattan.

RINGO ROOT.

Fol. 82. They [Portugals] make many Sorts of Sweetmeats viz. . . . . Ringo Roots.

Not in Yule. [A very obscure form: probably means some form of ginger.]

ROOMAILS.

Fol. 61. This Kingdom [Bengala] most plentifully doth abound with . . . .

Ramnals.

See Yule, s. v. Roomails, kerchiefs. [N. and E. has for 19th June, 1680, p. 24: "Cotton Romalls, n.]

ROUNDELS.

Fol. 41. his Retinue of Attendants and Menial Servants are in great number, he keeps . . .

Roundels.

Fol. 42. Roundels: Are in these Warme Climates very Necessarie, to keep ye Q from Scorchinge a man, they may alsoe and are Serviceable to keep ye raine off, most men of accoempt maintaine one 2: or 3 roundeliers, whose office is onely to attend there Masters Motion, they are Very light but of Exceedinge Stiffnesse, beinge for ye most part made of Rhinocerots hide, very decently painted and Guilded, with what flooris they best admire, on ye inside exactly in ye midst thereof is fixed a Smooth handle (made of wood) by wth ye Roundelier doth carry it, holdinge it up with one hand a foot or more above his Masters head directinge ye Centre thereof as Opposite to ye Q as possibly he may . . . . any man whatever, that will goe to ye Q. Charge of it wth is noe great Matter may have one or more Catysols to attend him, but not a Roundell: Vnlesse he be a Governour or One of ye Q. Council: The Same Custome ye English hold good amongst their own people whereby they may be distinguished by ye Natives.

See Yule, s. v. Roundel. [A state umbrella, and a constant source of bickering in the old Anglo-Indian days. N. and E., p. 15, for 5th April 1680, has a valuable quotation here: — "To Verona's adopted son was given the name of Muddoo Veroona and a Rundell to be carried over him in respect to the Memory of Verona."]

RUPEES.

Fol. 53. 4fl 3s 6d. . . . . Rupees are worth 00l 6s 2s 03½d. . . . . The Syam Ticull Values one rupee ½ or 00 03 07.

Fol. 64. great Store of treasure viz. Gold and Silver Rupees.

Fol. 67. his revenue came to a lack viz. 100000 rupees . . . . he Sent the Emperor 80 lackes of rupees.

Fol. 70. his demands of Some were 10: 20: 30: 40: 50: thousand rupees. . . . . The Nabob (Smileinge Vpon him) demandeth wth all Speed one lack of rupees i.e. 100000. . . . . for he was robbed of 150000: rupees in this his journey into ye Country. . . . . he made many Apologies and feed Some of ye Nabob's counsell: whereby he got off for 50000 Rupees.

Fol. 71. now thought he had an Opportunity fallen into his hand of acquireinge one lack or two of rupef. . . . . demanded noe lesse then 2 lack of Rupees.

Fol. 80. with an addition of 100000: rupees towards Satisfaction for their great injuries received at ye hands of this Governour's son.
Fol. 82. A Very good Cow is Sold [at Hugly] for foure Shillings Six pence Vis! 2 rupees, a good hogg for of a Rupee, 45 or 50 fowls for one Rupee, 6:7: and Sometimes 8 maund of rice for one Rupee.

Fol. 86. y poor Orixas, who Indeed I may well call poore . . I have often been in their Villages, and where there have been more then 20 families of them, they sold not all change one Rupee into cowries, whereby to be paid for a little milke or fish (or what else wee had of them) in y currant moneys of this Kingdome & Orixas: and Arakan.

Fol. 86. [Cowries] accord quantitie passe for one Rupee not leesse then 3200.

Fol. 94. The Coyne Currant moneys of this Kingdome [Bengala] are rupees, halfe rupees and quarters . . . They alsoe Coyne Rupees here of y? finest refined Gold, wth are called Gold Moors . . . . The Rupee att 00lb 02s 03d.

Fol. 102. yet they are as good here as ready Rupees.

See Yule, s. v. Rupee. [The above quotations are interesting as additional evidence that the form “rupee” had become fixed by the last quarter of the 17th Century.]

ST. THOMAS’S MOUNT.


Not in Yule.

ST. THOME.


Not in Yule. [Now a part of Madras town. N. and E., 1680, has St. Thoma throughout pp. 38, 39, 43.]

SALAM.

Fol. 24. This Silly Creature . . . Salam’d to all her friends, Especially to y? Brachmans.

Fol. 73. and this he accomtied a Salam.

Fol. 91. before whom they doe and must dance and Singe and make many Salams.

See Yule, s. v. Salam. [I know of no earlier instance of the use of “Salam” as a verb.]

SALEMPOORY.

Fol. 31. Very Considerable quantities of these followings Commodities are here [Pettipole] wrought and Sold to ffloraign Merchants vis: . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . Salampores.

Fol. 134. The most Proper and beneficall Commodities wth are for this place [Janselone]: be . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . Salampores.

Fol. 158. from y? Coast of India and Choromandell are brought hither . . . . . . Longcloth Salampore’s, white and blew.

See Yule, s. v. Salempoory. [Divinity. N. and E. p. 16, for 22nd April 1680: — . . . . . . Salampores Blew, at 14 Pagodas per corce [score]—P. 17 for 6th May, “in Longcloth and Salampores for England.” P. 24 for 19th June, “Salampores, fine: Salampores, ordinary.” The Salampoory was probably therefore an article of a definite size, like the Palempore, or bed-spread.]

SALLEETER.

Fol. 131. immediately they give it out that y? Saleeters came up to y? towne in y? night and committed that and many more Villanies . . . . . . The Saleeters are absolute Pirats and often cruiseings about Janselone & Pullo Sambelon &c. Jales neare this Shore [Malay Coast].
Fol. 144. Anno Domini: 1675: A Small Vessell belonging to ye English was Sent from Achin hither [Queda] laden with very fine goods and was met with ye Pirates commonly called Salt-letters near to ye Roade of Queda.

Not in Yule. [No doubt the Cellares of the Portuguese writers. See Crawford, Dict. of Indian Archipel., s. v. Malacca, p. 242 ff.]

SAMCAU.

Fol. 135. All the fruite this countrey [Janselone] affordeth is . . . Samcau . . . but noe fruit sse plenty here as the Planzett and Samcau whose figure here follow: [illustration]. The Samcau is not a whit pleasant to ye tast Vnlesse it be boyled in fish or flesh broth or else stewed.

Not in Yule. [De la Loubère in his Historical Relation of the Kingdom of Siam, ed. 1693, p. 23, has: — “Amongst the sweet Oranges the best have the Peel very green and rough; they [the Siamese] call them Scum-kou, or Crystal Oranges . . . . They give of these Scum-kou to their sick.” Compare also Sir John Bowring’s Journal in his Kingdom and People of Siam, under date 30th March, 1855, Vol. II. p. 155: — “They gave us the Siamese names of the fruits on the table; — Som, orange ; Som-koun-wang, small orange . . . .”

SANAS.

Fol. 101. From Hugly and Ballasore: Sanas.

See Yule, s. v. Piece Goods. He has no quotations. [A cotton cloth of the class now known as sash.]

SAE LASHKAR.

Fol. 56. [Chicaol] is ye residence of St Lascare ye Kings deputy or Viceroy, Who bears as great Sway Over this Coast in Generall as ye King doth in Golcondah.

Not in Yule. [The General (Sar-i-Lashkar) or Viceroy of the “Golcondah Coast,” constantly mentioned in the records of the period. N. and E., p. 20, for 25th May and 27th May 1680, has characteristic entries: — “One Sheake Ahmad came to Towne slyly with several peons dropping in after him, bringing letters from Futton Chana at Chingulpatt and Rucaes [notes] from the Ser Lascar Nabob Mahmud Ibrahim, and pretending that he had the king’s Phyrm and warrant his beating his drum and carrying his flag as Avaldar of the Towne, and that he was ordered to take the government thereof on the plea that the Towne produced more than formerly and that Verona the Dubass was dead: whereupon he was ordered to remain outside the Towne until his business was known: In the evening three files of soldiers were sent to bring him into the Fort where he was examined and produced his letters.” “The person that came to be Avaldar is sent away with a letter in answer to Futton Chana.”]

SASH.

Fol. 101. From Cossumbazar . . . fine Sashes.

Not in Yule. [Probably fine muslin made up into sizes for sashes round the waist.]

SAUGOR ISLAND.

Fol. 91. The Riner of Ganges is of large and wonderful Extent: . . . and came into ye great River wê, rather deserves to be called the Sea of Ganges: ye breadth of it there I cannot certainly affirm, but judge it is not lesse than 10 English leagues broad, wê is about 40 miles within Ganga Sagar: or ye mouth of it.

See Yule, s. v. Saugor Island, at the mouth of the Hugli. [The quotation above is unique for accuracy of description and correctness of the form of the name.]

SCARLET.

Fol. 48. With a Scarlet or broadcloth covering.

Fol. 71. Where-Vpon he gave in his present of fine Scarlet.
Fol. 102. The Staple Commodities brought into these 3 Kingdomes (namely Orixa: Bengal: & Pattana) are Scarlet.

Fol. 158. Some Commodities from England; viz: Scarlet.

See Yule, s. v. Scarlet and Suelat. ["Scarlet" in old English was "broadcloth" of any colour.] N. and R. for 5th April 1680, p. 15: "It being necessary to appoint one as the Company's Chief merchant (Verona being deceased), resolved Bera Pedda Vincadtry do succeed and that Nashefah be given to him and the rest of the principal Merchants, viz., 3 yards scarlett to Pedda Vincadtry and 2½ yards each to four others, the ceremony being for the better grace performed before the rest of the merchants in the Council Chamber."

SCREETORE.

Fol. 37. Metchlipatam. Affordeth many very good and fine Commodities, viz:

Screitore finely wrought inlaid with turtle Shell or ivory.

Fol. 158. from Syam...

Screitore both plaine and lackared, &c:


SEEDY.

Fol. 171. he was by y? Siddy or Bishop of Achin freed from y? death his consorts [comrades] died.

See Yule, s. v. Seedy: a corruption of Saiyyid. [The quotation is valuable for the history of the Anglo-Indian term: now in common parlance an East African negro.]

SEEER.

Fol. 94. They weigh p: y? Mauud, Seere, ½ Seere, and ¼ Seere.... The Mauud bigg or little is equally diuided into 40 Equall parts and are called Seers, wth alsoe are halved and quartered.

Fol. 99. Notw?standinge Pattana be soe fertile to afford graine to Such a plentiful full countrey as Bengal: yett in y? yeares of our Lord 1670 they had as great a Scarce in soe much y? one Pattana Seere weight of rice (y? plentifulest graine in y? countrey) was Sold for one rupee, y? Seere cont. onely 27 Ounces [i. e., 6 oz. short weight].

See Yule, s. v. Seer, the well-known Indian weight, standardised nowadays at roughly 2 lbs. In the text the big munda [Bengal] was 82 lbs. and the little munda [Madras] 25 lbs.: so the seer should have varied between 10 and 33 oz.]

SHABUNDAR.

Fol. 132. as Soone as wee come Vp wee are invited into a house where Speedily come to waite Upon us y? Shabandar.

Fol. 133. The Shabandars and what Others of y? Chiefe of y? King's Officers wee invite doe very Sociably sit downe and eat and drinke wth us.

Fol. 134. Two of y? Grandees of his Counciell must alsoe be Piscashed wth 6 pieces of fine Callicoes or Chint each of them: and y? Shabandar of Banquala wth 3 pieces Jdem.

Fol. 140. Anno Dom: 1677: I Voyaged once more to Iansefone, and was kindly Entertained.... Especially by Some of y? Old Shabandars and merchants.

Fol. 139. All wth Orders if not most Strictly and Speedily put in Execution y? Radja and 2 of his chiefest counsellours wth y? 3 Shabandars Shold loose their heads.... weh Startled him and his Counciell soe much that they immediately Sent y? 3 Shabandars.

Fol. 141. he immediately turned out of Office most of y? Syamers both Counsellours Secretaries Shabandares.

Fol. 143. next to whom [the Sultan] are y? Leximana: Orongkays: and Shabandars.
Fol. 144. Sold the goods to Sarajah Cawn: a Chulyar & chiefe Shahbandar of Quedah: (and rogue Enough too).

Fol. 153. y? Kinge giueth positive Order to y? Shahbandare.

Fol. 161. y? great Orongkay is Lord Chiefe Justice, there are other Orongkays & under this, as alsoe Shahbandara under them . . . . . . and acquaintheth one of y? Shahbandares.

Fol. 162. but in y? interim y? Shahbandar & Dubashee and one or Other belonginge to this great man the [Orongkay] doth accompanie him and discorse most friendly.

See Yule, s. v. Shabunder. [The above quotations show clearly that in the Malay States the Shahbandar was a high officer of State controlling the seabeare trade.]

SHROFF.


See Yule, s. v. Shroff. [N. and E. p. 31, for 5th Aug. 1680, has:—"Report of the weight of 2 chests of gold and 2 Bags of Ryalls of $ delivered to the Sharoff's for alloy."

SIAM.

Fol. 77. The Elephants of Ceylone are best Esteemed of here . . . . and Endowed with more Sense and reason then those of Tana saree Queda or Syam.

Fol. 131. [Jangleone] wholly belongeth to y? Kinge of Syam . . . . . . . . . . The Inhabitants Vp in y? Countrey are Natural Syamers.

Fol. 134. The English Nation in Generall is free from all Such duties in y? Kingdome of Syam.

Fol. 140. A few Months afterwards y? Kinge of Syam, tooke it into consideration, that an Austere man, one that had been bred a Warrior was a fitter person to Governe this Island (then the Syamer that now did).

Fol. 148. y? Kinge of Syam . . . . haveinge a warre of greater consequence in hand namely w? y? Kinge of Pegu [1677].

See Yule, s. v. Siam.

SOLLA.

Fol. 143. but y? Old Kinge taketh vp his residence att Solla: a very large town in y? very middle of his Kingdome [of Queda].

Fol. 145. Save a Very handsome and well favoured boy of about 11 years of age, whose for his good countenance y? Kinge kept in his Pallace att Solla.


Fol. 148. This good Old Kinge . . . . Anno Dom: 1677 . . . . fledd up to y? Mountains and left Queda: Solla: and many Other places destitute of inhabitants, for Some time.

Not in Yule.

SOMBRERO.

Fol. 42. Sumbareros or Catysols.

See Yule, s. v. Sombrero. [An umbrella, not a hat.]

STICKLACK.

Fol. 158. from Bengal . . . . . Sticklash . . . . . . . . . from Pegu . . . very Excellent Sticklash.

Not in Yule. [But see Yule, s. v. Lac.]

STIPES.

Fol. 7. alsoe very ingenuous in workinge . . . . Striped Cloath of Gold and Silver.

Fol. 101. from Cosumbazar . . . . . Stripes interwoven w? gold and Silver.
December, 1604.

Some Anglo-Indian Terms.

Fol. 158. are brought hither. . . . . . Striped Stuffs of Golconda & Pettipolee. Not in Yule. [Cotton cloth interwoven with gold and silver.]

SULTAN.

Fol. 143. y^r King's Son (by y^r Natives stiled Sultan) [at Queda] . . . . . There are Severall men in Office y^r doe governe here, and beare great Sway over y^r people (Vnder y^r Sultan or Younge Kinge).

See Yule, s. v. Sultan. [The above is a valuable quotation as showing that in the Malay States it sometimes meant the heir-apparent, "second king," Skr. yura-rāja, Pali upa-rāja [corrupted by the way into Upper-Roger by old writers on Burma, a term which should be in Yule]: the Eng-shē-him of Burma, the Jun-rāj of Manipur and so on.]

SUMATRA.

Fol. 157. The Citty Achin is Vpon y^r North End of y^r great Island Sumatra, w^b Extendeth from 05° 40' South Latitude, to 05° 40' North Latitude, see y^r the Equinoctial Line divided the Island into 2 Equall parts . . . . . [the Road of Achin] almost land locked w^b y^r head of Sumatra . . . . . with infinite Numbers of Prows from y^r Malay Shore and West Coast of this Island Sumatra.

See Yule, s. v. Sumatra. [The above quotation is valuable for description.]

SUMBRA.

Fol. 165. he must receive them with great reverence Standinge Vp and makeinge a Sumbra to y^r Queen's Windows.

Not in Yule. [Malay, a salutation.]

SURAT.

Fol. 142. and tell them in private what our goods cost upon y^r Coast: or in Suratt: or Bengala: or elsewhere, w^b doth many Christians a great Prejudice.

Fol. 146. When y^r Companie's Shipp arriveth from Suratt as generally there doth one every yeare (if not more).

Fol. 153. There are not above 4 or 5 Ships and Vessels [to Queda] p^r Annum from Suratt Choromandell and Bengal that Vse this Countrey.

Fol. 157. Many Ships and Vessels doe att all Seasons of the yeare arrive in this Port [Achin] from Severall places, namely Suratt . . . . . . . . The Chief Commodities brought hither from Suratt.

Fol. 166. When a Present is Sent to y^r Queen [of Achin] from y^r President of Suratt: or Agent and Governour of fort S^r Georg's.

See Yule, s. v. Surat. [The last quotation shows the accuracy of the writer's information. The "Presidency" was not transferred to Bombay till 1687.]

TAEL.

Fol. 152. 16 mace is one Taile [in Queda].

Fol. 162. And there wee pay for y^r Chopp . . . . 4 tailes in moneys viz: four pounds Sterlinge . . . . . Here y^r Orongkay must be presented w^b one piece of Baftos to y^r Value of 2 tailes . . . . . The Contract been [? between] us and the Court of Achin hath been of longe Standinge 50 tailes p^r Ship, if laden w^b fine goods (admitt y^r Ship be great or Small) . . . . . they are to make an abatement of 10: 15: or 20 tailes, accordinge as y^r quantitie is.

Fol. 173. gave y^r fellow 5 tailes Vis: five pounds Sterlinge.
See Yule, s. r. Tael: see ante, Vol. XXVII. p. 37 ff. The quotations are remarkable as to values. The tael was roughly an ounce and in silver was worth 5s. to 6s. 8d. sterling. The writer must mean a tael in gold, and if the gold tael was worth £1 sterling, as he more than once states, then gold valued in the Malay States at £1 the oz. and the ratio of silver to gold there varied between 4 and 3 to 1. A remarkable but by no means impossible occurrence, vide ante, Vol. XXVI. p. 309 and footnotes.

TAMARIND.

Fol. 17. One Old flacker I very well remember, that tooke up his habitation Vnder y? Shade of a great tamarin tree in Hugly (in Bengala).

Fol. 69. [Cattack] adorned with . . . delicate Groves of . . . tamarin.

Fol. 153. they carry hence [Queda] . . . . . Tamarin.

See Yule, s. v. Tamarind.

TANK.

Fol. 4. the great Pond or tank where they frequently wash themselves all over, before they assume to enter the Pagod.

Fol. 22. went wth all Expedition into a great tank of water wth was very nigh.

Fol. 57. they have many delicate groves, tanks of water . . . . .

See Yule, s. v. Tank.

TARRA.

Fol. 139. y? Kinge of Syam . . . . . Sent a Tarrah to y? Radja and all Officers whatsoever upon y? Island of Janselone: wth gave a most Severe and Strict charge unto them never to come to any composition wth the Dutch . . . . Hee likewise in y? generall letter to y? Radja &c: gave positive Orders . . . . I was discouraging wth y? Radja when this Tarrah arrived.

Fol. 148. untill a Tarra came from Syam wth letters and a Gold Cappe for a present to him [King of Queda], after a friendly but Monarchiall manner biddingge him line poore Slave and Enjoy his Countrye in peace.

Not in Yule. [Frequently used in old books about Indo-China for letters-patent, the Indian firman [firmaun, phyrmaund, &c.]

TARRA.

Fol. 152. Noe Other Coynd moneys in this Kingdom [Queda], Save Small Coppar moneys tinned over called Tarra: 96 of wth make one Copan.

Not in Yule. [The small tara, tare of Yule, is another coin altogether.]

TENASSERIM.


Fol. 77. that annually trade to Sea, Some to Ceylon Some to Tanassaree, those fetch Elephants . . . . . . The Elephants of Ceylon are best Esteemed of here . . . . then those of Tanassaree.

Fol. 181. [Janselone] Is an Island that lyeth to y? Southward of all the Isles of Tanassaree: nearest midway between y? and Queda.

See Yule, s. v. Tenasserim.

TICAL.

Fol. 53. The Syam Ticull Values one rupee ? or 0016 03s 06d.

See Yule, s. v. Tical. [See ante, Vol. XXVI. p. 258 ff. for an exhaustive treatment of this word, weight and coin.]
TOOTTY.

Fol. 29. the Palmero tree affordeth that rare liquor formerly termed Palme-Wine, now vulgarly called Tody, y| Palmito . . . . afford liquor alsoe . . . . called date Tody, not soe good as y| Other, more lucious but soon Eager.

Fol. 40. another Sort there is [of arack] y| distilled from Neep toddy and y| is commonly called Nipa de Gos.

See Yule, s. v. Tody. [The quotations are valuable for the different kinds.]

TOMBOLEE RIVER.

Fol. 76. beinge timorous of driveinge too farre down vis| upon the Shoals of y| River Tombolee (where y| Riner [Hugly] is most crooked).

Not in Yule. [But see Yule, s. v. Tomloom] [Now the Rupnarain running into the Hugli at the James and Mary Shoal.]

TOOTNAGUE.

Fol. 88. [The Orixa}s] withall soe ignorant that they know not Silver from Tootnanagga.

Fol. 158. from China . . . . Totanagga.

See Yule, s. v. tootnague: spelter. [The “white copper” of China is meant in the text. The same trick as that hinted at in the text is still played upon the Nicobarese, who cannot usually distinguish between silver and tootnague, i.e., German silver.] See also ante, Vol. XXVI. p. 229 f., for a similar trick on Java by the Chinese in the 17th Century.

TRANQUEBAR.

Fol. 53. Porto Novo & Trincombar.

Fol. 78. That very yeares y| Danes came from Trincombar : (a fine Garrison of y| King of Denmarkes) the onely place they have in Asia 40 English leag to the Southward of fort S| George’s . . . . . . . The Danes finding Small gains to Jesus from this warre, did Anno Dohn 16 -4: come downe from their Castle of Trincombar . . . . . All through y| Simplicite of a Mechanick fellow y| the Danes Entituled their Comadore, who rendred himselfe as he was really a most ridiculous man to y| mightie disgrace of there whole Nation & fortification of Trincombarre.

Fol. 81. untill they heard farther from the Castle of Trincombar.

See Yule, s. v. Tranquebar.

TRESSLETEORE.

Fol. 4. Here followeth y| fig| of y| Pagod called Tressletore, 5 & ½ miles to y| N ward of fort S| Georg’s.

Not in Yule. [An old pagoda, once famous, near Madras, known under various forms, of which Trivitore in Wheeler’s Old Madras, p. 528, is as near as may be expected to the correct form.]

TURAN.

Fol. 70. he had pulled off his gold Turbant.

Fol. 165. and from her is Sent to y| English Commander a Silke Suite of cloths w| a Turbant after the Malay fashion.

Fol. 176. Each of them wore his Turbat after the Arabian mode.

See Yule, s. v. Turban.

TUTICORIN.

Fol. 91. many of them have y| Shackles on their arms made of Chanke, a great Shell brought from Tutanacree (a Dutch factorie neare y| Cape Comorin).

See Yule, s. v. Tuticorin.
VISS.


Fol. 132. [Janeselone] when a small parcel then for so many Vecco or so many great or small puttas: 4 great puttas make a Vecco 10. Small ones is a Vecco.


VIZAGAPATAM.

Fol. 56. being a Very Secure Coast to harbour in namely in ... Vizagapatam.

Not in Yule, but should be, as it turns up in all sorts of queer forms in the old books. [See ante, Vol. XXX. pp. 357, 400.]

WALTAIR.

Fol. 56. being a Very Secure Coast to harbour in namely in ... Wattara [? Waltara]. Not in Yule: practically part of Vizagapatam.

YAM.

Fol. 19. they feed for y? most part upon that which is very good, as ... yamms.

See Yule, s. v. yam.

YAVANASATAKAM:
A HUNDRED STANZAS TRANSLATED FROM GREEK POETS.
BY PROFESSOR C. CAPPELLER, Pr.D., JENA.

HOMER.

1

न राज्यं चहुः: जायेमेक: शास्तु मजम विभुः।
लोकाराय यो देवे: स्थापित: परमे चढे ||

Cf. Pañchat. III. 80.

2

वाद्रायणति हि पत्राणि तावद्यं सति माधुपा:।
यथा पत्राणि वृङ्गेऽयो नित्यानि महीलने।
रसहनिति च पुन्नवार्ता: प्रेयणायाणि माधवे:।
एवं कुनानि जायते विनयसन्नितिः च देहिनाम्।

B 204, 205. Z 146—149.

3

न हि क्षिप्रस्तो देयमकर्मितं तुसमतः।
शूर: स्थिदुर्गो वा जन्म यो जन्धवान्युविः।

Z 488, 489. 163, 64.

4

अनाध्यनिषेतं च कुलानि विंधि तं नरम्।
यो च ते रसते कुर्वेन्द्राध्यानिवासिनम्।
न हि शायि परेषु सहतत्वलविन्दुः ।
शोचनीयतर: काथिन्मात्रायिदति में माति ॥

Cf. v. 38.

प 446, 447.

सूक्ता जिहा बहुक्यास्त्रा विविधाणे वचारसि च ।
यादृशं हु भवेदुंक्त पश्चायस्तापि ताह्राम ॥

Cf. Subhāshitarṇa 192, 193.

Y 248—250.

एतद्वाति मत्याना देवे: पूर्वविनिर्भितम् ।
द्रुढ़ाण्ततिदु दुर्घो तेष स्वयं सुखमाते ॥

a 525, 526.

तद्रीवं स्वर्गीयानां प्राप्तस्ति हि मानुषः ।
येनापूर्वक कार्यानि हियन्ते हुद्यान्ति च ॥

a 351, 352.

वहुमन्यमधीश्वमचारानि महावै: ।
पूर्वेऽति भवनं रात्रो यझादैव विवर्ज्जने ॥

Cf. v. 96.

a 392, 393.

समाः कातिस्ये सन्ति पापीयांशी न दुर्लभः ।
श्रेयस्यस्तु पिनुे: पुज्या विचयने यदि पञ्चाः: ॥

β 276, 277.

न प्रशास्तस्मं विचिन्त कालकुम्भकारकम् ।
वा भरती च भार्या च श्रवन्योक्त्वशाहुगी ।
दुर्जीवानां मनःश्र्यां सुहो तन्नयनेस्वक: ।
भूयिभ्य हु महावैया सुखमाति परस्त्रम ॥


i 182—185.

विविधा प्रेषितं विहर्ष यहांकं चातिस्य च ते ।
सत्करोग प्रवचनाम दानमस्तमादित्यम ॥

i 207, 208.
13
न तथाण्यवचो भाषि यात्राजीविति भूते ।
यथा यथायते हसते: पाठभाजिनां जित्वे: ॥

Cf. M. Bh. V. 1256. 147, 148.

14
न सर्वं भव्यां सर्वं देव दुर्गमार्गः ।
स्वाक्तिः च सिध्यं च निर्द्वानं चापि सर्वत्र लीः ॥
एककुस्मदुर्बलेषयं वैहृत्येषयं च योगितः: ॥
प्रायं भावभुना वेजस मृत्युवयाणी हर्षानि ॥
अन्यों हृपवित्सेषयं सर्वं भव्यां भ्यातिरिच्यते ॥
न यस्मि ददिरे देवा हत्रां मधुजिन्धताम ॥


15
पितुपैतामहे स्थाने यशके प्रदिः जाते ।
न तहुश्न्याते वन्यं बिवीनां महत्वसि ॥

Cf. v. 93; Pañchat. III, 92; V. 49. 34—36.

16
क्षेषं कर्तु वर मन्य नरस्यानन्दो भुवि ।
न तु सर्वकुलं शास्त्रं भेतानां यथमन्दिरे ॥

17
तं हि पात्रसिक नित्यं भयान्वा मनसा नरस ।
यो गुहे प्रतिज्ज्रह पूजययामास चादरातः ॥

18
दुल्योपायायुम्भ्यो निपदं योक्तार्थं गुहे ।
निप्प्यायितमिमचेत पियासुं च निरोधेेतुं ॥

19
भिनतापन मन्य यत्वः चयं चयं च शुचारम् ।
सहान्यो महाक्षरसांतस्मित्यो हस्तिदरः ॥

न हि काथितुपायोवस्तित जूंगें विनिग्रहितुप्रपि
वद्य हेतुरीतिविक्ष्णेन भ्रमान्बहुविधाचरः ||
नाभो दृष्टज्ञायं ध्यावयनं वृत्तवयः ||
तिलिपेन्तु उद्यस्वतं राजेनु च धृष्टस्वः || $286—289.

न ज्ञा यं मार्गं पुंसः हेतु यो निहतः बुधेः ||
रसस्ते स्वकुणक्रस्य गवांक्रस्य च पालने || $470—472.

HESIOD.
(Opera et Dies.)

कुलाचर कुलाचार बनिः वृक्षगीर्धपति ||
दरित्रचर दरित्राय गायनाय च गायन: ||

Cf. Mālav. v. 19.

भयानां पृथिवी पृथिवी पृथिवी विविधः पशसन्ति च ||
व्याधय: परिते जनून्वं अज्ञाता: पदे पदेः ||

Cf. v. 60.

नाना धुनु: पितुर्महो न च पुनरी सर: पिता ||
निम्र नारित्रेयं निम्र नारित्रिष्ण प्रतीमकम् ||
न भलेपि मित्रो भले नुपर्वतपतेय पयाश्रवत् ||
विजुरुभं मनोमादं नुपर्वतपतेय पयाश्रवत् ||
नष्ठि धनति माता जजा विसर्गवर्तवस्तिः सज्जनानां ||
पूर्ति बन्धुगते मृत्तिम: पद्मिनि: शपस्तव ||
इत्यदी निन्विविग्ये मर्यादस्कुन्वो धोररुपिणी ||
पररद्धसङ्क्ष्प हिन्दुवत्स्य दृष्टा ||

Cf. Subhāṣītār. 3070.

मूहाययो वल्लेयांनिरोहुऽ यो व्यक्तित ||
स परक्षव्यमातों दु:सहां च वििमानानां ||


v. 101—103.

v. 182—196.

v. 210, 211.
26 ये नरोष्कःरूपरूपः स्वयम् आयुर्विधायति।
धूम्बलश्च योगदेवता दुर्मिल्लेन्ति निन्यति॥

Cf. Kat'has, XX. 213; Mārkaṇḍa, CXVIII. 17, 18.

27

लोकाम हुन्महस्तात वहुभिभाषाधिगम्यति।
तस्य संस्कृतम् वर्णम् मार्गम् निरुपप्रज्ञा।
गौराक्षसामसा देवाः स्वेदं वल्लभपन्थन।
तत्रातिष्ठानं पथं प्राप्यं विषयं सौख्याध्यायं॥

v. 257—290.

28

श्रेष्ठो मां निन्यत श्री कुष्ठ्यार्यस्याम्मो विनितम्।
य: भृजौक्ति सतां मलं शोकं शािरेष्यो न संशयः।
यस्तु नासित स्वयं श्रान्तो न च कर्त्ये व्यवस्थित।
हितवक्ष्यानि मित्राभाम्मम् विद्यां तं जनम॥

v. 293—297.

29

भोजयेः स्वग्नहं निमोजित्वं च निवारसेः।
भूषिं तु निमर्यासे य आस्वर्णविवसिनः।
ज्ञातवी गृहवृत्तानि वान्यवर्धितिभिः।
वस्त्रां परिकोण वन्यरावधन्योंविभाषवति।
हुच्चल्यं कुष्ठीविशिः साधू रक्षमुत्तमम्।
विभोंशो शरणीभूंतौ सौहयं कीर्तिवर्मम॥

Cf. Pañcata. V. 60; 70.

v. 342—348.

30

भीति: श्रीयो भतिमाया दर्षने च दर्षनम्।
दातः दानपरे भावमदवा दानोदिनन॥

Cf. M. Bl. V. 1449; Pañcata, V. 84.

v. 354, 355.

31

बल्ललं श्रेष्ठेऽयं तय कार्यं दीने दिने।
चिन्तो रक्तस्वात्मने भूमि भूमि भविष्यति॥

v. 361, 362.

32

हस्ति ग्रहीयुगाति भगवतसन्तस्मृतिकर्म।
नासीति सुभुवं खमिदं तात प्रमुक्तवाम॥

v. 356, 357.
33
उपरिषादवस्तुष्य गतीत्वेऽयथावचि। भागदमध्याहिः सवयं वुँइरूपमिनीयम्॥

34
न ते सीमालिनी चेतो मधुजिज्वा विलोभितः। अभिभूतिः स्मरकुञ्जा पीनांश्रीकेशयोऽर्थः॥

35
न वहराविना भाव्यं न चानलिना लया। न च पूर्वसहायेन न च साधुविरोधिना॥

36
न देशिवालयंत्यमार्किन्यं मनस्तिना। देशदेवं हि धारियमन्नेत् हुमयुक्तम्॥

MIMNERMUS.

37
भास्मभास्मात यूप्युभेजेद्विति वरो मम। व्यायामायेत्तं व्यायामायं ताहिरिन्द्रिना॥

SOLON.

38
न काठिकमयसंसेवे तुःव्याभोर्या पीड़ेत। यी मनुच्चकूले जातः सर्पति वसुधाते॥

39
धर्मि भक्तिः पापा वरिष्ठिः च सज्जनाः। एतदशिवहति लोके वर्यं तु न वृषीमेव॥
पुष्यारुङ्गुदयं तेषां वसाम्यं सामायं। विनानि तु मनुद्यायां गवस्यासि चचेचे चचेचे॥

40
नाहं पञ्चमुखीवेदयङ्गायमुक्तिमिश्रिताम। चाहो दुःखमिति बुर्याद्धत्वं मुते मायं॥

THEOGNIS.

41
धर्मि एष्टमं द्वस्य वर्षिषा तु निरोग्नाम। कि तु स्यमयं वस्तु तहद्ध्वं यदहिःसि॥

Cf. v. 51; Subhāshītam. 92; 115.
SOME NOTES ON DIGAMBARA JAINA ICONOGRAPHY.

Sir,—With reference to an article on Digambara Jaina Iconography by Dr. J. Burgess, ante, Vol. XXXII. pp. 459 ff., I beg to point out the following few inaccuracies, which may lead your readers to misunderstand some customs of the Digambara Jaina:—

1. It is said that the Jaypår Khandarwâls are Viśpanths or Thérâpanths, and that the former worship standing and the latter sitting. First, this might lead one to think that the division into Viśpanths and Thérâpanths is confined to the Digambara Khandarwâl Jaina only. As a matter of fact, the Srîtâmbara and some of their sub-classes also may be Viśpanths. Also the Agarwâls and other minor classes of the Digambara Jaina may be Viśpanths and Thérâpanths. By the way, the term should be Târâ (i.e. 13) Panthas and not Thérâpanths. Secondly, the attitude of worship of the two classes is quite reversed. It is the Viśpanths who worship sitting; whereas the Thérâpanthis worship standing, and sit only when they propose to meditate or repeat their mantras on the beads of a rosary in a very low, almost inaudible, tone of voice.

It must, however, be said here that a class of Jaina laymen, who profess to be much more learned and spiritual than their other Jaina Târâpanthis brethren, and who are called Bhâtârakas, worship in a sitting posture. But these Bhâtârakas are a less than microscopic minority and their practice, therefore, is the exception to the rule, which is recognized by the majority of the orthodox Digambara Jaina.
2. Again, it is said that "they (the Terapanthis) object to bathing themselves or the images, and worship with water, cocoanut-water or panchamrita." In this connection it is enough to say that it is one of the most important factors of the ritual connected with every Digambara Jaina temple, that some one—a male—should get up early in the morning, should bathe, and at sunrise, or only a little, not much, before it, should go to the temple and bathe the images of the Tirthankaras that are placed there. Also it must be noted that the bathing is generally—almost exclusively—done on the premises of the temple, to guard against the risk of the worshipper's body being again contaminated after bathing, if he bathes at his house and then goes to the temple.

3. As to the "eleven grades of Jainas" enumerated by Dr. Burgess, I think these are the eleven stages in the life of a householder, which lead up from a simple belief in Jainism to an almost complete renunciation of the world, in perfect agreement with the essential teachings of the Jaina religion. These stages are called pratimās, and in Digambara books are enumerated as follows:—

1. Dārṣṭa, or Vaṅgh in the true God, true teacher, and true religion.
2. Vṛata, various kinds of abstinence and vows.
3. Sāmādyik, saying prayers three times a day for fixed periods.
4. Prasūthīpadeṣa, keeping fast for sixteen pahars on the eighth and the fourteenth days of each half of the month as reckoned in India.
5. Saṃkhita-tyāga, abstaining from eating green vegetables.
6. Nishkṣaṇ-tyāga, abstaining from four kinds of food at night, and from providing others with the same.
7. Brahmacharya, keeping aloof from sexual intercourse altogether.
8. Ārāmbha-tyāga, abandonment of all engagements and occupations.
9. Prājñā-tyāga, renunciation of the two sorts of Prājñās, external and internal.
10. Aṣamādhama-VRATA, vowing not to take part in any worldly or household concern. Also vowing not to take food uninvited.

11. Uḍḍhāśā-VRATA, becoming unclothed and living in a jungle with a langotī and komandāla (alms-bowl); or retaining a dhoti (a waist-cloth), a piece of cloth to cover the body and an alms-bowl, and living in a temple or a mandapa, or in some lonely and unfrequented place, other than a mandir or temple.

Obviously the eleven grades of Jainas, as Dr. Burgess is informed, are inaccurate. Either he has been given wrong information, or he has misunderstood the explanations of his informant. The statement that the fourth-grade Jainas "observe all the Jaina precepts but are guilty of adultery" is altogether misleading. Perhaps in the above enumeration it corresponds to the sixth pratimā, the Nishkṣaṇ-tyāga. For sometimes a part of its observance is said to be abstinence from sexual enjoyment in the day-time, which, of course, implies freedom of the enjoyment at other times. Now this implied permission to enjoy one's wedded spouse at night is misconstrued as adultery; and the inaccuracy of the statement in the article is obvious.

The fifth-grade Jainas are said to be 'dishonest.' But this is misleading, for dishonesty is neither enjoined nor permitted to the Jainas. Only they do not have to take a religious vow expressly to abstain from it at a certain stage of their life as a householder. Otherwise it is a part of the details of the second pratimā VRATA, even of the details of the first pratimā Dārṣṭa, that the Jaina householder shall not commit theft, and theft surely includes many kinds of dishonesty.

The misleading nature of the sixth statement that the Jainas "abet crimes, but do not commit them personally," is quite akin to the fifth. It is well known that the Jainas view their morality, and their asceticism also at times, from three points of view, i.e., as they relate to the body, mind or tongue, i.e., to act, thought or words. Now it is not abetting of crimes that is enjoined upon or allowed to a householder of the sixth grade; it is the absence of express prohibition of committing deeds by words or by the instrumentality of others that is mistaken for permission to abet crimes.

As to the distinctions that the article draws between the Digambara and the Svetāmbara Jainas, the fifth distinction, on p. 461, is inaccurate. The Svetāmbara light lamps in their

[1 Compare H. Jacoby's Introduction to Jaina Sutras, Part II, Vol. XLI. S. B. E. p. viii, where he institutes a comparison between some Jaina doctrines as referred to in the Majjhima Nikāya, with certain corresponding statements in the Śūtrakritāgama and Siddārthas Silasas.]
temples and worship their images at night. The Digambaras, particularly the Térāpanthis, do not worship at night, although they light lamps in their temples for the purpose of reading their scriptures there.

As to the sixth distinction, it is not the Digambaras, especially Térāpanthis, who bathe their images with puñahāṃvita. It is the Svētāmbaras who do so, or else the Bhāttārakas, reference to whom has already been made above.

5.

As to the Yakshas and Yakshinis, general references to them in the body of the article, p. 463, ll. 29—32, are not in keeping with the plates given at the end of the article. Both Yakshas and Yakshinis do not, in all cases, hold their right hand up with palm foremost in front of the chest, and the left hand closed. As a matter of fact, (i) Trimukha Yaksha (31) has his left hand closed and up with a tendency to show the palm outwards; (ii) Iśvara and Gaurī (11) both hold up the left hand with their open palm outwards and the fingers hanging down; (iii) Kumāra (12) Yaksha holds the left hand as above—his Yakshini has it closed; (iv) Yakshini Kusumapīnī (22) has two children in her two arms and places both her hands before her near her thighs and with the palm inwards; (v) Yaksha and Yakshini (24) both hold up their left hand open, with its fingers hanging down and the palm inwards.

6.

Similarly, with regard to the feet of the Yakshas and Yakshinis, the general remark in the article is at variance with the figures on the plates. A complete classification would be as follows:—(i) Yaksha and Yakshini (1) have their left foot down and right tucked up in front; (ii) Yaksha (2) has his left foot down and right tucked up in front, and Yakshini (2) has her right foot down and left in front; (iii) Yakshas and Yakshinis (from Nos. 3 to 12) all have their left foot down and right tucked up in front; (iv) Both Yakshas and Yakshinis (Nos. 13 to 22) hold their right foot down and the left tucked up in front; (v) Yaksha (23) has his right foot down and left in front; Yakshini (23) has her left foot down, and right in front; (vi) Yaksha and Yakshini (24) both sit as above.

April, 1904.

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MISCELLANEA.

FURTHER NOTES ON SOME DOUBTFUL COPPER COINS OF SOUTHERN INDIA.

Since the publication of my paper on Doubtful Copper Coins in Southern India in one, Vol. XXXII. p. 313 ff., I have been able to identify a few of the coins there figured, and I now submit the following notes.

No. 17 E. — I am inclined to think that this is a Pāṇḍya coin, and that the symbol at the top of the rev. is not a līñgam and altar as I supposed. Above the back of the Nandi is a battle-axe.

The symbol above the axe seems to be separated by dotted lines from the axe and the bull. It may represent a mountain. One of my “Koneri Rāyan” series, which seems to be certainly Pāṇḍya, has a figure of a standing bull with a battle-axe above.

Nos. 43, A to D, are coins of the Dutch, and the legend on the reverse is Paduchārī (Pondicherry). Count Maurin Nahus has described them (pp. 13, 14) and figured them (Plates 6, 7, 8) in his paper on the “Numismatique des Indo-Néerlandaises,” published in the “Revue Belge de Numismatique,” 1897.

No. 56 belongs to a South-Indian Bull-andtriāḍa series of which I have several. Sir Walter Elliot has figured one (Plate IV., 174) and described it (p. 134) in his “Coins of Southern India,” but he was unable to place it with any accuracy. I overlooked this point when preparing my List.

I take this opportunity of submitting for identification by experts, another coin from South India that has long been a puzzle to me.

It was omitted from my List accidentally, being, at the time my paper was prepared, in custody of Mr. Rason of the British Museum, who, however, was unable to classify it. The horse is somewhat similar to that on No. 56 of my “Doubtful” List which may be a coin of Māsīr. But the Tamil letter ர on the reverse seems to show that the present coin has no connection with that principality.

R. SEWELL.
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- tál or tálá, Corypha umbraculífera, its leaves as a writing material
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- Tael, taile, a weight
- T'ai-t'soung, emperor
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INDIAN PALEOGRAPHY

BY

JOHANN GEORG BÜHLER.

EDITED

AS AN APPENDIX TO

THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY,

VOL. XXXIII, 1904,

BY

JOHN FAITHFULL FLEET,
INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE (RETD.), BOMBAY PRESIDENCY.

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BOMBAY EDUCATION SOCIETY'S PRESS, BYCULLA.
INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

PROFESSOR BÜHLER'S Indische Palaeographie, consisting of 96 pages of letter-press, with a portfolio of 9 plates of alphabetical characters and numerals and 8 tables of explanatory transliteration of them, was published in 1896 as Part 11 of Vol. I. of Dr. Karl J. Trübner's "Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde," or "Encyclopædia of Indo-Aryan Research," which was planned and started by Professor Bühler himself, and was superintended by him up to the time of his death, in April, 1898.

There was always the intention of issuing the letter-press of the work in English also. The English version was made by Professor Bühler. And his manuscript of it was on its way to the Press at the time of his death. Steps were taken towards having it printed and published under the direction of Professor Kielhorn, who succeeded to the editorial management of the Grundriss. At that time, however, owing partly to the great interruption of business in India caused by the plague, partly to the manner in which the manuscript was written, and partly to a natural difficulty in the way of doing what had been contemplated, namely, of issuing the English version in such a form as to resemble the German original exactly in type and in arrangement page by page, the preparation for publication could not be taken far, and eventually had to be abandoned.

Feeling, myself, the want of the English version, and knowing that there must be others placed in the same position, in 1902 I made some inquiries and proposals about it. The result, with the consent and help of Professor Kielhorn, was a generous public-spirited response by Dr. Trübner, who, after consultation with Mrs. Bühler, agreed to transfer the copyright of the English version on practically nominal terms, subject to certain conditions as to the method of publication. Dr. Trübner's terms and conditions were accepted in a similar spirit by Colonel Sir Richard Temple, the proprietor of the "Indian Antiquary." And thus it came to me to take the work through the Press, and to arrange the issue of it in its present form as an Appendix to the "Indian Antiquary," Vol. XXXIII, 1904.

As far as the commencement of the second paragraph of § 16, A, on page 33, the English version has been produced from an advanced proof of 1900, prepared in the circumstances indicated in paragraph 2 above, and revised by Professor Kielhorn. From that point onwards, it has been done from
Professor Bühler’s manuscript, written by himself. In order, however, to set
the printers fairly at work, it was necessary, because of the very numerous and
sometimes rather perplexing abbreviations to which Professor Bühler had had
recourse, to furnish them with a fair copy. The copy was, of course, closely
compared by me with the original manuscript. And it is hoped that no mistakes
have been introduced, in interpreting any of the abbreviations in passages which
are not in the German original.

A perusal of a very few pages of the English work, thus issued, will
suffice to shew that it is not altogether a literal rendering of the German original.
It is, therefore, sent forth as an English version, not as an actual translation.
At the same time, the English version does not in any way supersede the
German original. In the first place, as the stones were not preserved, it has not
been practicable to issue with the English version the plates and tables which
form so important a part of the whole work; however, there is available, for
separate purchase, a limited number of copies of the plates and tables, printed off
in excess of the number required for issue with the German original. In the
second place, in writing his English version, Professor Bühler made here and
there certain deviations, sometimes by insertion, sometimes by omission, from
the German original. But these deviations, made chiefly in connection with the
second edition, published in 1898, of his Indian Studies, No. III, on The Origin
of the Indian Brāhma Alphabet, are in points of detail, and do not in any way
amount to a revised edition of his Indische Palaeographie.¹ The German
original is still the text-book, as much as is the English version. The latter is
for the benefit of those, interested in any way whatsoever in the subject, who
are not able to utilise the German text.

This work of Professor Bühler has brought to a climax, for the present,
the palaeographic line of Indian research. And it would be impossible to speak
in too high terms of the manner in which he has handled the subject, and of the

¹ A final paragraph on page 96 of the German work mentions “some recent publications,
amongst them Dr. Grierson’s examination of the Gayā alphabet of the stone-masons,” which could
not be considered then, but were to be noticed in the second edition of Indian Studies, No. III.
A treatment of them in that way explains the omission of that final paragraph in Professor Bühler’s
English manuscript. And it also, no doubt, accounts for the omission of the Brāhma character for
the guttural nasal, न, in line 14 of col. VI. of the table on page 11, as compared with the same
table on page 12 of the German text, and for the introduction of an inset illustration of that
character in an additional remark made on page 35, under § 18, C, (12), in connection with which
there is to be taken an observation made on page 14, under § 4, B, (4), (6). In a reference to the
Gayā alphabet on page 29, in line 5 from the bottom, for ना read नाय.
value of the results which he has placed before us. In the palæographic line, however, as also in the historical line, on which it is largely dependent, and, in fact, in every line of Indian research we are steadily accumulating more facts and better materials, and making substantial progress, every year. I venture, therefore, to draw attention to a few details, which already might now be treated, or at least considered, from other points of view.

A notable point, regarding which I differ from the opinions of Professor Bühler as expressed in this work, is that of both the relative order and also the actual dates of the varieties of the Kharōṣṭhī alphabet, indicated on page 25 under § 10, (3) and (4), which are found in the epigraphic records and on the coins of — (following the order in which, in my opinion, they should properly be placed) — Kanishka and Huvishka, 'Suḍāsa-'Soḍāsa and Patika, and Gondophernes. Kanishka certainly founded the Mālava-Vikrama era, commencing B. C. 58. And in that era there are certainly dated, in addition to records of the times of him and his direct successors, the dated records of the times of 'Suḍāsa-'Soḍāsa, Patika, and Gondophernes, and of Vāsudēva, who was a contemporary of Gondophernes.\(^2\)

A similar remark applies to the order and dates of the varieties of the Brāhma or Brāhmī alphabet, indicated on page 32, under § 15, (8, 9), from records of the times of Kanishka, Huvishka, 'Suḍāsa-'Soḍāsa, and Vāsudēva.

As regards the nomenclature of those same varieties of the Kharōṣṭhī alphabet, it is now certain that it is erroneous to describe one of them, mentioned there and discussed on page 27 ff., as a 'Saka variety. 'Suḍāsa-'Soḍāsa and Patika were not 'Sakas, or Sakas, if that should be the correct expression according to the original form of the name.\(^3\) None of the Sakas, 'Sakas, ever played a leading historical part in Northern India.

In respect of the Eraṇ coin, mentioned first on page 8, which presents a reversed Brāhmī legend running from right to left, we must not lose sight of the possibility that the explanation is to be found, as has been suggested by

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\(^2\) See J.R.A.S. 1905, 223 ff. Regarding Vāsashka, Vāsushka, whom it has not been necessary to mention by name above, see ibid. 357 ff.

It may be observed here that on page 40, line 7 from the bottom, in the words "or of the 4th century of the Seleucid era," and in the corresponding place on page 41, line 10, of the German text, there must be a slip of the pen. The alternative proposed initial date of Kanishka which Professor Bühler had in view, is certainly A. D. 89. And in that year there began the Seleucidan year 401; that is, the first year of the fifth (not fourth) century of that era.

\(^3\) For the real meaning of the inscription P. on the Mathurā lion-capital, which has been supposed to mark them as Sakas, i. e. Sakas, see J.R.A.S. 1904, 703 ff., and 1905, 154 ff.
Professor Hultsch in the "Indian Antiquary," Vol. XXVI, p. 336, in a mistake of the engraver of the die, who, like the die-sinker in the case of a certain coin of Hōkar of the last century, may have forgotten that he ought to reverse the legend on the die itself. We have one instance of such remissness in ancient times in a coin of Rājula-Rājuvula, the reverse of which presents a monogram, formed of the Greek letters E and Y, facing in the wrong direction; see Professor Gardner's Catalogue of the Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India, p. 67, No. 5. And we have another in the legend on a bronze stamp for making seals, where the engraver omitted to reverse the syllable šṛṇ; see J.R.A.S. 1901, 98, plate, No. 9.

On page 67, under § 29, B, (2), there is a statement about the strongly cursive Kanarese kā, which is calculated to be misleading, and on the strength of which some erroneous assertions have already been made.

In the plates and tables there are some selections that might have been avoided, and some incorrect details, which are due to two causes: partly to the fact, the explanation of which has been indicated in some remarks made by me in the "Epigraphia Indica," Vol. VI, p. 80, that, owing to the nature of the only available materials, the plates have sometimes been based upon reproductions of original records which are not actual facsimiles; partly to the fact, which we learn from the Concluding Remarks on page 102, that some of the details of the plates were not selected and filled in by Professor Bühler himself.

And in any revision of the work there would have to be added, in connection with § 20, D, on page 44, a notice of the more recently discovered peculiar variety of the southern alphabet which is illustrated in the Mayidavolu plates of the Pallava king Śiva-Skandavarman and the Kondamudi plates of Jayavarman, edited by Professor Hultsch in the "Epigraphia Indica," Vol. VI, pp. 84 ff., 315 ff.

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* See, for the present, my remarks about them in EI. 6, 77 ff.
* For three instances of incorrect details, see some remarks by Professor Kielhorn, in EI. 8, 38, note 1, below the introduction to his edition of the Junāgad inscription, or Girnār Prāśastī, of Rudradāman.

As instances of the other kind, I may mention the following. Col. IV. of plate VIII. is from a reproduction (IA. 13, 186), which is not an actual facsimile, of a record the authenticity of which is open to question. And col. VII. of the same plate is mostly from a lithograph (IA. 6, 188) which was made, at a time when our methods of dealing with the original records were still decidedly primitive, from a plain uninked estampage, made by myself, the ground of which was painted in by my own hand, with results which cannot exactly be taken as furnishing a thoroughly typical illustration of the Western Chālukya alphabet of the eleventh century A.D.
It would, however, have been contrary to the spirit of the arrangement with Dr. Trübner, to introduce any comments and additions of my own, either in the text or in footnotes. And I do not find it convenient or appropriate to present them here, beyond the extent of the indications given above. Anything of that kind must be left for other occasions.

My editorial functions in the issue of this English version of Professor Bühler's work have thus been confined to details of a formal kind: chiefly in the matter of giving more prominence to the titlings of the sections and the divisions of them; in transferring to a more convenient position, as separated footnotes at the bottom of the pages to which they belong, the notes which in the German original stand massed together at the end of each section; and in marking, by figures in square brackets in thick type, the commencement of each page of the German original, as closely as has been found convenient. Following, however, an example set by Professor Bühler himself in his manuscript, I have gone somewhat further still in breaking up some of the very long paragraphs of the original. Following his lead in another direction also, I have endeavoured to present everywhere the correct spelling, as far as it can be ascertained, of all the place-names which occur in the work; but, in conformity with his practice in this work, without discriminating between the long and the short forms of a and o. And I have corrected a few obvious mistakes; for instance, under § 29, A, in line 18 on page 66, I have substituted "Bāḍāmī" for the "Aihole" (properly Aihole) of the German original and of the manuscript translation.

In § 29, page 65 ff., and anywhere else where the word may occur, I have taken the liberty of substituting the word "Kanarese" for the "Kāñara" of the German original and of the manuscript translation; and similarly, on page 46, line 4, and page 51, lines 21, 27 f., I have substituted "the Kanarese country" for the "Kāñara" of the original and of the manuscript. The form "Kāñara," with the lingual n, is nothing but an imaginative advance upon the official figment "Kānara," with the dental n, for which, itself, there is no basis in the Kanarese language, nor any necessity. I had thought at first of using, like the late Rev. Dr. Kittel and some other writers, the original vernacular word "Kannāḍa,"—the source of our conventional "Canara, Kanara," which, however, do not mean the whole of the Kanarese country. And that word, which denotes both the country and its language and also their alphabetical characters,

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6 In doing this, I have corrected a few wrong references which came to notice, and have added a very few new references which seemed likely to be of use.
would have been appropriate enough. But I decided eventually on "Kanarese:" partly because, though this term, also, is conventional, it is so well-established, familiar, and definitive; and partly because it was practically used, alongside of the word "Kānara," by Professor Bühler himself, in the "Kanaresische" and "Altkanaresische" of the original German work (e. g., page 66, lines 4, 6), and in the "Canarese" and "Old Canarese" of corresponding passages in his English version.

Except, however, in such details as the above, and in the abolition of the inconvenient abbreviations of which mention has been made on page 2 above, the English version is simply a reproduction of Professor Bühler's manuscript.

In bringing this somewhat intricate work to a successful issue, I have been greatly indebted to the zeal and ability of Mr. J. S. Foghill, the Head Reader of the Bombay Education Society's Press. But for the extreme care with which he disposed of the first rough proofs before any proof was sent out for revision by me, I should certainly not have been able to take the work through, as has actually been done, on only one proof and a revise of it.

J. F. Fleet.
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<tr>
<td>AB or As. Bes.</td>
<td>Asiatic Researches.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BASRSI</td>
<td>Burgess, Archeological Survey Reports, Southern India.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BASRWI</td>
<td>Burgess, Archeological Survey Reports, Western India.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BESIP</td>
<td>Burnell, Elements of South-Indian Palaeography, 2nd ed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIS</td>
<td>Bühler, Indian Studies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BOR</td>
<td>Babylonian and Oriental Record.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BBW</td>
<td>Böhtlingk and Roth, Sanskrit-Wörterbuch.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BW</td>
<td>Böhtlingk, Sanskrit-Wörterbuch in kürzerer Fassung.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CASR</td>
<td>Cunningham, Archeological Survey Reports.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCAI</td>
<td>Cunningham, Coins of Ancient India.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCAI</td>
<td>Cunningham, Coins of the Indo-Scythians.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCM</td>
<td>Cunningham, Coins of Medieval India.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CIA (CII.1)</td>
<td>Cunningham, Inscriptions of Asoka, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. I.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CMG</td>
<td>Cunningham, Mahābodhi-Gayā; i.e., Mahabodhi or the Great Buddhist Temple under the Bodhi Tree at Buddha-Gaya.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DWA</td>
<td>Denkschriften der Wiener Akademie.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EI</td>
<td>Epigraphia Indica.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ETSA</td>
<td>Euting, Tabula Scripturarum Aramaicae.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.GI (CII.8)</td>
<td>Flent, Gupta Inscriptions, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. III.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IA</td>
<td>Indian Antiquity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IP</td>
<td>Inscriptions de Piyadasa, Senart.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J</td>
<td>The Jātaka, ed. Faurebül.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JA</td>
<td>Journal Asiatique.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JASB</td>
<td>Journal, Asiatic Society of Bengal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JBBRAS</td>
<td>Journal, Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JAS</td>
<td>Journal, Royal Asiatic Society.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIA</td>
<td>Lassen, Indische Altertumskunde, 2nd ed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MBh</td>
<td>Mahābhāṣya, ed. Kielhorn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MM.HASL</td>
<td>Max Müller, History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MM.RV²</td>
<td>Max Müller, Bṛhamā-Samhitā with Sāyana’s Commentary, 2nd ed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PIA</td>
<td>Pinney’s Indian Antiquities, ed. Thomas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SBE</td>
<td>Sacred Books of the East.</td>
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<tr>
<td>SB. WA</td>
<td>Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SII</td>
<td>South-Indian Inscriptions, ed. Hultzsch.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIP</td>
<td>Senart, Inscriptions de Piyadasa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SNEI</td>
<td>Senart, Notes d’Épigraphie Indienne.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W.AA</td>
<td>H. H. Wilson, Ariana Antiqua.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WIS</td>
<td>Weber, Indische Studien.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WZKM</td>
<td>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes; i.e., the Vienna Oriental Journal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZDMG</td>
<td>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
CORRECTIONS AND REMARKS.

Page 24, line 7 from the bottom; read JA. 1883, II, 280.

25, line 5; Kaldawa seems to be a mistake for Kaldarra (WZKM. 10, 327) or Kaladara Nadi (J.R.A.S. 1003, 14).

29, line 5 from the bottom; for गा, read गास.

32, line 5, and in some subsequent places; for Ghasundi, read Ghasundi.

33, line 2 of the notes, and page 41, § 20, A; for another reproduction of the Girnār Praśasti, or Junāgadh inscription, of the time of Rudradāman, which is the basis of col. VI. of plate III, see, now, EI, 8, 44.

40, line 9; for Suḍasa, read Sudasa.

41, line 7 from the bottom; regarding the words "of the 4th century of the Seleucid era," see Introductory Note, p. 3, note 2.

61, note 1; for another reproduction of the Vakkalōri plates of A. D. 757, which are the basis of col. XVI. of plate VII, see, now, EI, 5, 202.

64, note 10, end; read Sāntivarman (see, now, Ep. Carn. 7, Sk. 176, for one reproduction of this record, and EI. 8, 32, for another).

69, line 9; it may be remarked that the original identification of Kalinganagara with Kaligapattanam (Kaligaapattam), on the coast, has been superseded; the ancient city is represented by the site now covered by the villages Mukhaliṅgam and Nagarakaṭakam and the ruins between them, inland in the Gaṅjam district; see, e. g., EI. 4, 187 f.

81, line 8 from the bottom; the German original (p. 77, line 35) has "50, 60, 70;" in his English manuscript, Professor Bühler wrote "50, 60, 70," and then corrected the 50 into 10.

86, bottom; it may be remarked that this system of numeral notation is commonly called the Kaṭapayādi system, from the initial consonants of the four lines.
INDIAN PALEOGRAPHY
FROM ABOUT B. C. 350 TO ABOUT A. D. 1300

BY

G. BÜHLER.

I. THE ANTIQUITY OF WRITING IN INDIA AND THE ORIGIN OF THE
OLDEST INDIAN ALPHABET.

§ 1. — The Indian tradition.¹

This tradition of both the orthodox and the heterodox sects of India ascribes the invention of
writing, or at least of the chief script, to the creator Brahmā, and thereby claims it as a
national invention of the remotest antiquity. The former view is found in the Nārada-Smrtyi,²
a redaction of the Manusmṛtī (mentioned by Bāṣa about A. D. 620), and in Brhaspati's
Vārttika on Manu,³ as well as in Huan Teang⁴ and in the Jaina Samavāyāga-Sūtra (tradi-
tional date about B. C. 300), the account of which latter work is repeated in the Paññavaṃśa-
Sūtra (traditional date B. C. 168).⁵ The story is also indicated in the representations of
Brahmā at Bādāmi of about A. D. 580, where the deity holds in one of his hands a bundle of
d-palm-leaves,⁶ for which in later representations an inscribed sheet of paper is substituted.⁷

The story, according to which in particular the Indian script running from the left to
the right is an invention of Brahmā (Prakrit), is told in full in the Chinese Buddhistic Fawanshulin.⁸
The two Jaina works mentioned above, and the Lalitavistara,⁹ indicate its existence by naming
the most important script bhumī or bhūmi.¹⁰ These traditional statements make it advisable to
adopt the designation Brāhmī for the characters in which the majority of the Aśoka edicts are
written, and for their later developments.

Beruiri¹¹ mentions a slightly different story. He says that the Hindus once had forgotten
the art of writing, and that through a divine inspiration it was rediscovered by Viṣṇa, the son
of Parāśara. Accordingly, the history of the Indian alphabets would begin with the Kāliyuga,
in B. C. 3101.

While these myths tend to show that the Hindus had forgotten the origin of their alphabet
in early times, — perhaps already about B. C. 300, but certainly before the beginning of our
era, — there are some other portions of their traditions which possess a greater and a positive
value. The two Jaina Sūtras referred to above, contain a list of 18 separate alphabets; and
the Lalitavistara¹² enumerates 64 scripts which are said to have existed in the time of Buddha.
Several among the names of the two lists agree, and there are in particular four which, as
may have been already recognised, have a claim to be considered authentic and historical.

Ber. Böhm. Ges. d. Wiss. 1896, IX., and the works quoted by Dr. BURNELL.
² SBE. 23, 55 f.
³ SBE. 23, 304.
⁴ Syunik 1, 77 (Beal).
⁵ W.I.S. 16, 286, 399.
⁶ IA. 6, 366, Pl.
⁷ Moon, Hindu Pantheon, Pl. 3, 4; AR. 1, 243.
⁸ W.ESIP. 6; A. LUDWIG, Yavanāmi, Sitz.
⁹ B.ESIP. 6; A. LUDWIG, Yavanāmi, Sitz.
¹⁰ SBE. 23, 304.
¹¹ IA. 6, 366, Pl.
¹² Moon, Hindu Pantheon, Pl. 3, 4; AR. 1, 243.
Besides the brāhmī or bāmbhī, which is the parent of all the still existing alphabets of India, two more can be identified with known scripts. The kharoṣṭhī or kharoṣṭha is, as the Fawanshuin states, the writing running from the right to the left, invented by one Kharoṣṭha, "Ass.-lip.," and is the same character which European scholars formerly used to call Bactrian, Indo-Bactrian, Bactro-Pali, Ariano-Pali, &c. The dhrāviḍi or dāmilt of the lists is very [3] probably the partly independent variety of the Brāhmī, which recently has become known through the relic vessels from the Stūpa of Bhaṭṭiprola in the Kistna district. Besides, the name puskaraśāri or pukkharasāriyā is certainly historical, as it is evidently connected with the nomen gentile Puskaraśādi or Paukaraśādi (with the Northern Buddhists Puskaraśāri) by which one or several ancient teachers of law and grammar are mentioned in Pāṇini's grammar, Āpastamba's Dharmasūtras, and other works. It appears not incredible that a member of the family of Puskaraśādi may have invented a new alphabet or modified an existing one. The list of the Jainas includes also the name yavanasī or yaragāniyā, which is identical with yavanāṇi, "the writing of the Yavanas or Greeks," of Pāṇini (traditional date about B.C. 350). An early acquaintance of the Hindus with the Greek alphabet may have been brought about by the expedition of Skylax to North-Western India in B.C. 509, or by the fact that Indian and Gandharian troops took part in Xerxes' war against Greece, and even by an ancient commercial intercourse. At all events, finds of Indian imitations of Attic drachmes with Greek inscriptions tend to prove the use of the Greek alphabet in North-Western India before the time of Alexander.

As some names of the Jainas list are thus shown to be ancient by the results of epigraphic researches and by Pāṇini, as well as by the agreement of the independent tradition of the Northern Buddhists, the list is not without historical value. And it may be considered at least highly probable that a fairly large number of alphabets was known or used in India about B.C. 300. The exact number, 18, which the Jainas mention, must however be taken merely as conventional, as it frequently occurs in traditional statements.

An extract from the lost Drṣṭivāda of the Jainas also gives some further account of the ancient Brāhmī. It states that this alphabet contained only 46 radical signs, instead of the usual number of 50 or 51. The letters intended are without a doubt: A, A, I, I, U, U, E, A, O, A (10). Am, A; ha, ka, ga, gh, ṣa, sa, ca, cha, 20), ja, ṣa, ṭa, ṭha, ta, da (30), dh, na, pa, pha, ba, bha, ma, na, r, la (40). sa, sa, sa, sa, ha, ja; while the mātrās R, Ṛ, Ṭ, חלק, and the ligature ka, which in later times was often erroneously considered a mātrā, were excluded. The four liquid vowels are wanting also in the alphabet of the Lālitavistara, and in that of the modern elementary schools. In the latter the instruction is based on the so-called Bārakhaṭi (Skt. drvdākhaṛi), a table of the combinations of the consonants with the twelve vowels mentioned above, e.g., ka, kā, to kau, kauḥ. The antiquity of the Bārakhaḍi, which from its Maṅgala Om namah siddham is at present sometimes called Siddhabhārapasamānnāya or Siddhamātrā is attested by Hui-lin (A.D. 788-810), who mentions it as the first of the twelve ān or 'cycles' (evidently Huen Tsang's twelve chang) with which the Hindu boys began their studies. Further evidence for the omission of the vowels R, Ṛ, Ṭ, Ṭa, L is furnished by Huen Tsang's remark that the Indian alphabet of his time contained 47 letters (the last one being probably as the ligature kau), and by the fragments of the incomplete alphabet of Aśoka's stone-masons at Gaya, which may be restored as follows: A, *A, *I, *I, *U, *U, *E, *AI, *O, *AU (10), *Am or *Ah, ka, *kha, *ga, *gha, *ha, *ca, *cha, *ja, *ja (20), *ṣa, *ṭa.

1 BOE, 1, 59.
2 Comp. WZKM. 9, 66, and B.I5. III, 119 f.
3 Harođotus, VII, 65, 66.
4 Mahābārata 2, 220 (KIRKHORIIJ)
5 B. V. Head. Cat. of Greek Coins: Attica f. 1, pp. 25-27.
6 Sans. text. Bibl. Ind. 145; LEPEMANN, 127.
7 W.I5. 14, 231.
8 B.I5. III, 30.
9 Siyuki I, 72 (BEZAL). St. JULIEN, Mémoires des pèlerins Bouddhiques 1, 72, and note.
10 Siyuki I, 77.
§ 2. — Literary evidence for the use of writing.

A. — Brahmanical literature.

Among Vedic works, the Vāsiṣṭha Dharmaśūtra, which according to Kumārila (about A. D. 750) originally belonged to a school of the Rgveda, and which is younger than the lost Māṇava Dharmaśūtra but older than the existing Maṇusmṛti, offers clear evidence for the widely spread use of writing during the "Vedic" period. Vāsiṣṭha in XVI, 10, 14—15, mentions written documents as legal evidence, and the first of these sūtras is a quotation from an older work or from the traditional lore. Further, Pāṇini's grammar, which belongs to the Vedāṅgas, contains, besides the term yas, viśeśa mentioned above, the compounds līpikā and lībikā, "writer" (III, 2, 21), which sometimes have been rendered erroneously, against the authority of the Kośas, by "maker of inscriptions." In addition to these few certain passages, the later Vedic works contain some technical terms, such as abhara, kāṅda, paṭāla, grāmaḥ, &c., which some scholars have quoted as evidence for writing. But others have explained them differently, and it is indeed not necessary to consider them as referring to written letters and MSS. Similarly, opinions are much divided with respect to the force of some other general arguments for the early use of written documents and MSS., drawn from the advanced state of Vedic civilisation, especially from the high development of trade and the complicated monetary transactions mentioned in Vedic works, from the use of prose in the Brāhmaṇas from the collection, the methodical arrangement, the numeration, and the analysis of the Vedic texts, and from the grammatical, phonetic, and lexicographic researches in the Vedāṅgas. Though some of these points, especially the first and the last, undeniably possess considerable weight, they have yet not gained general recognition, as will always happen if an argumentum ex impossibiliti is used, even if it should be supported by fuller special enquiries than Sanskrit scholars have hitherto devoted to these subjects.

While this kind of evidence will probably not be generally accepted very soon, it is to be hoped that the argumentum ex silentio, — the inference that a Vedic work which does not mention writing must have been composed when writing was unknown in India, — will be dropped. The argumentum ex silentio is certainly not conclusive, because the Hindus even at present, in spite of a long continued use of writing, esteem the written word less than the spoken one, because they base their whole literary and scientific intercourse, in the form of letters, and because, especially in scientific [4] works, writing and MSS. are mentioned very rarely. Though MSS., being Sarvasvatamakha, "the face of the goddess of speech," are

3. SBE. 14, XVII ff.
4. M. M. RV. 4, LXVII.
held sacred and are worshipped, the Veda and the Sāstras exist, even for the modern Hindu, only in the mouth of the teacher, whose word has more weight than a written text, and they can only be learned properly from a teacher, not from MSS. Even in our days, the Hindus esteem only the mukhastikā vidyā, the learning which the Pandit has imprinted on his memory. Even in our days, learned discussions are carried on with reference to living speech, and even the modern poets do not wish to be read, but hope that their verses will become “ornaments for the throats of the learned” (śāmān kāṛyābhūṣaṇa). As far as our observation reaches, this state of things has been always the same since the earliest times. Its ultimate cause probably is that the beginning of the Hindu Sāstras and poetry goes back to a time when writing was unknown, and that a system of oral teaching, already traceable in the Rgveda, was fully developed before the introduction of written characters. The reasons just stated do not permit us to expect many traces of the use of writing in the works of the schools of priests or Pandits, or to look in them for frequent references to letters and written documents. But, on the other hand, there is nothing to bar the conjecture, repeatedly put forward, that, even during the Vedic period, MSS. were used as auxiliaries both in oral instruction and on other occasions. And, as an argument in favour of this conjecture, it is now possible to adduce the indisputable fact that the Brāhmī alphabet has been formed by phonologists or by grammarians and for scientific use.

But such Brahmanical works as the Epics, Purāṇas, Kāvyas, dramas, &c., which describe actual life, or the metrical law-books which fully teach not only the sacred but also the civil and criminal law, as well as compositions such as the Niti, Nāya, and Kāma-sāstras which exclusively refer to worldly matters, contain numerous references to writing and to written documents of various kinds, and likewise evidence for the occurrence of MSS. of literary works. Unfortunately, however, it is not possible to assert of any of the existing books of these classes, — excepting the two Epics, — that they are older than the period to which the oldest inscriptions belong. And even the evidence of the Epics may be impugned, since we cannot prove that every word of their texts goes back to a high antiquity. Professor Jacobi’s examination of the several recensions of the Rāmāyaṇa has shown that the greater part of the verses, now read, did not belong to the original poem. As far as is known at present, the MSS. of the Mahābhārata do not show equally great variations. But the existence of the majority of its chapters can be proved only for the eleventh century A.D. Though the testimony of the Epics can, therefore, only be used with due reserve, yet it is undeniable that their terms regarding writing and writers are archaic. Like the canonical works of the Southern Buddhists, they use the ancient expressions likhā, lekha, lekhaba, and lekhana, not the probably foreign word lipi.

The most important passages of the Epics, concerning writing, have been collected in the St. Petersburgh Dictionary under the words mentioned, and by J. Dahlmann, Das Mahābhārata, 185 ff. Regarding the passages on writing in Manu, see the Index in Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XXV, under “Documents,” and for the legal documents, described in the later Smṛtis, see Vol. II. of this Encyclopedia, Part 8, Recht und Sitte, § 35. An interesting collection of statements regarding MSS. in the Purāṇas is found in Hemadri’s Dānakhandim, Adhy. 7, p. 544 ff. (Bibl. Ind.). The Rāmāyaṇa I. 3 (p. 33, Dāgāprāśad) enumerates ṁustakaracāna, “the reading of MSS.,” among the 64 kalās.

B. — Buddhistic literature.

[5] More important than the testimony of the Brāhmans is that of the Ceylonese Tripitaka, where numerous passages bear witness not only to an acquaintance with writing, but also to its extensive use at the time when the Buddhist canon was composed. Lekhā, “writing,”

1 See below, page 17. 2 Jacob, Das Rām. 3 f. 3 Kirste in B. I. II. 7 f. 4 See below, under B. 5 B. I. III., 7—16; Oldenberg, SBE. 13, XXXII ff.; D’Alwis, Intro. to Kosāyana’s Gram. XXVI f., CXV f., 112—105; Wetter, Ind. Streifen 2, 387 ff.
and lekhaka, "a writer," are mentioned in the Bhikkhu-Pācittiya 2, 2, and in the Bhikkhuni-Pācittiya 49, 2; and the former work praises writing as a branch of knowledge that is honoured in all countries. The Jātakas repeatedly speak of private and official letters. They also know of royal proclamations, of which Mahāvagga 1, 43 likewise mentions an instance; and they narrate that important family affairs or moral and political maxims were engraved on gold plates. Twice we hear of debtor's bonds (inapaṭa), and twice even of MSS. (potthaka). A game called akkharañka is mentioned repeatedly in the Vinaya-piṭaka and the Nikāyas; according to Buddhaghoṣa, its main feature was that letters were read in the sky. The Parājika section of the Vinaya-piṭaka (3, 4, 4) declares that Buddhist monks shall not "incise" (chind) the rules which show how men may gain heaven, or riches and fame in the next life, through particular modes of suicide. From this passage it follows (1) that the ascetics of pre-Buddhist times used to give their lay-disciples rules, incised on bamboo or wooden tablets, concerning religious suicide, which the ancient Brahmans and the Jainas strongly recommended, and (2) that the knowledge of the alphabet was widely spread among the people.

Finally, Jātaka No. 125, and Mahāvagga 1, 40, bear witness to the existence of elementary schools, in which the method of teaching and the matter taught were about the same as in the indigenous schools of modern India. The Jātaka mentions the wooden writing-board (pālaka), known (as well as the varana or wooden pen) also to the Lalitavistara and to Berūni, and still used in Indian elementary schools. The passage of the Mahāvagga gives the curriculum of the schools, lekhā, ganana and rūpa, which three subjects, according to the Hāthigumpha inscription of the year 155 of the Maurya era, king Kāravela of Kaliṇḍa learnt in his childhood. Lekhā, of course, means "writing," and ganana, "arithmetic," i.e., addition, substraction and the multiplication-table formerly called akṣa and now ān̥k, while rūpa, literally "forms," corresponds to applied arithmetic, the calculations with coins, of interest and wages, and to elementary mensuration. These three subjects are still "the three R's" taught in the indigenous schools called gāmiṭ niśā, pāṭhā, lekha or toll.

These very plain statements of the Ceylonese canon refer certainly to the actualities of the period between B.C. 500—400, possibly even of the sixth century. Their antiquity is proved also by the fact that all the terms for writing, letters, writers, — chindati, likhati, lekha, lekhaka, akkhara, — as well as nearly all the writing materials, wood or bamboo, pāṇa or leaves, and suvaṇṇapattā or gold plates, point to the oldest method of writing, the incision of the signs in hard materials. All traces of the use of ink are wanting, though the statements of Nearchos and Q. Curtius regarding the writing materials used at the time of Alexander's invasion (see below under C) make it very probable that ink was known in the fourth century B.C., and though an ink-inscription of the third or second century B.C. is found on the inner side of the lid of the relic vessel from Stūpa No. III. at Andher. Moreover, the Ceylonese books are not acquainted with the words lipi, likā, dēpi, dipati, dipapati, lipikara and dibikara for "writing," "to write," and "writer," of which the first six are found in the [6] Aśoka edicts and the last two, as stated above, in Pāṇini's grammar. Dipi and lipi are probably derived from the Old Persian dēpi, which cannot have reached India before the conquest of the Pañjāb by Darius about B.C. 500, and which later became lipī.
C. — Foreign Works.

To the last quarter of the fourth century B.C. refer the statement of Nearchoes,¹ according to which the Hindus wrote letters on well beaten cotton cloth, and the note of Q. Curtius,² which mentions the tender inner bark of trees as serving the same purpose, and clearly points to the early utilisation of the well known birch bark. The fact that, according to these two writers, two different indigenous Indian materials were used in B.C. 327—325, shows that the art of writing was then generally known and was nothing new. To a slightly later time belongs the fragment No. 36 a of Megasthenes,³ which speaks of mile-stones indicating the distances and the halting places on the high roads. In another often discussed passage,⁴ Megasthenes says that the Indians decided judicial cases according to unwritten laws, and adds in explanation that they knew no γράμματα and settled everything ἀπὸ μνήμης. According to the now usual interpretation, this statement has been caused by a misunderstanding. Megasthenes took the term smṛti, used by his informants, in the sense of μνήμη, “ memory,” while they meant it in the sense of “ the sacred tradition concerning law,” or “ the lawbooks,” which, according to Indian principles, can only be explained orally by one who knows the Dharma.

§ 3. — Paleographic evidence.⁵

The results of a paleographic examination of the most ancient Indian inscriptions fully agree with the literary evidence, which bears witness to the widely spread use of writing during the fifth century B.C. and perhaps even during the sixth. The characters of the Aśoka edicts, which have to be considered first, prove very clearly that writing was no recent invention in the third century B.C. The alphabet of the edicts is not homogeneous. All the letters, with the exception of U, jha, Ṉa, ṇa, thā, wa, tha and na, have several often very dissimilar forms, which are partly local and partly cursive varieties. The number of the variants of one letter sometimes amounts to nine or ten. Thus plate II, 1, 2, cols. II—XII, shows for Ṛ, Ṛ, no less than ten forms, among which the eight most important ones may be placed here side by side: —

�� searcher

The first sign has hardly any resemblance to the last. But the sequence in the row shows their connection and their development. The first seven owe their existence to a predilection partly [7] for angles and partly for curves, — two mutually contradictory tendencies, which find their expression also in the forms of other letters of pl. II, such as ḍha, ḍa, ḍa, la, &c. The signs Nos. 1, 2, 3 of the series given above, are due to the first tendency, and Nos. 6, 7 to the second. Nos. 4, 5 show the transition from the angle to the curve, and No. 8 is a cursive simplification of No. 6. These eight signs are not found in all the versions of the Aśoka edicts, but are divided locally as follows. The angular forms Nos. 1, 2, 3 appear only in the south, in Gīrār, Siddārpa, Dhauli, and Juṅgada, side by side with Nos. 4 to 7. And it must be noted that the latter are rare in Gīrār and Siddārpa, but in the majority in Dhauli and Juṅgada. In the versions discovered north of the Narmadā or the Vindhya, we find mostly only Nos. 4 to 7, but in Kālī No. 8 also is common, and it occurs a few times in Rāmpūra. Hence the angular forms of Ṛ, Ṛ, appear to be specially southern ones, and they are no doubt also the most ancient. The first inference is confirmed by a comparison of the most nearly allied inscriptions. The relic vessels from Kolhāpur⁶ and Bhāṭṭiprol (pl. II, cols. XIII—XV), and the oldest Andhra inscription from the Nānāṅgāṭ (pl. II, cols. XXIII, XXIV) again show the angular Ṛ, Ṛ, either exclusively or

¹ Strabo, XV, 717.
³ C. MÜLLER, op. cit. 430.
⁴ Frag. 37; C. MÜLLER, op. cit. 421; SCHWANERCK, Megasthenes, p. 59, n. 46; M.M.HASL, 515; B.ESIP. 1; L.IA. IV, 724; WERNER, Ind. Skizzen 183 f.
⁵ B. ASRWI. No. 10, 39, plate.
together with the mixed forms Nos. 4, 5, while the numerous inscriptions found further north on the Stūpas of Sāñci and Bharhut, in Pabhosa and Mathurā (pl. II, cols. XVIII—XX) on the coins of Agathocles, and in the Nāgārjunī cave (pl. II, col. XVII), offer either pure curved letters or mixed ones. An exception in Mahābodhi-Gaya is probably explained by the fact that pilgrims from the south incised records of their donations at the famous sanctuary. Similar differences between northern and southern forms may be observed in the case of kha, ja, ma, ra and sa, and they are all the more important as the circumstances under which the Aśoka edicts were incised did not favour the free use of local forms. But the existence of local forms always points to a long continued use of the alphabet in which it is observable.

Equally important is the occurrence of apparently or really advanced and cursive types which for the greater part reappear or become constant in the later inscriptions. The subjoined table shows in line A the most important modern looking signs from the Aśoka edicts, and in line B the corresponding ones from later inscriptions.

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccccccc}
A & H & H & \hat{a} & a & \hat{a} & gu & gh & \hat{a} & ja & \hat{a} & da & u \\
B & H & H & \hat{a} & a & \hat{a} & gu & gh & \hat{a} & ja & \hat{a} & da & u \\
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 & 9 & 10 & 11 \\
12 & 13 & 14 & 15 & 16 & 17 & 18 & 19 & 20 & 21 & 22 \\
\end{array}
\]

Four among these signs, Nos. 2, 7, 10, 21, are, as will appear farther on, really archaic, but the remainder are partly secondary, partly tertiary cursive forms. To the last-mentioned belong in particular Nos. 4, 8, 11, 15 and 19. [8] Among the letters from the later inscriptions in line B, Nos. 9, 11, 18 and 19 appear in the Nāgārjunī cave inscriptions of Aśoka’s granddaughters Dāsarathā; Nos. 2, 6—8, 10, 11—13 and 21 in Khāravēla’s Hāthigumpha inscription and in the oldest Andhra inscriptions, Nāsik No. 1 and Nāṇāgṛha, as well as in the archaic Mathurā inscriptions, all of which documents belong to the period between about B. C. 170 and 150. Nos. 1, 3 and 22 are still later, and occur first in the inscriptions of the Kusānas from Mathurā and in the Andhra and Ábbhira inscriptions from Nāsik of the first and second centuries A. D. Occasionally the Aśoka edicts show also the short top-stroke, the so-called Serif, which is so characteristic for the later alphabets and causes numerous modifications. Very commonly, too, appear the upward strokes for medial ā and e, the cursive rounded ś (in Gīrṇār sometimes not distinguishable from ą), more rarely the later straight o-stroke, and once a looped o. Finally, the Anuvāra sometimes stands, as is generally the case in later times, above the letter after which it is pronounced.

The existence of so many local varieties, and of so very numerous cursive forms, proves in any case that writing had had a long history in Aśoka’s time, and that the alphabet was then in a state of transition. The use of the cursive forms together with archaic ones may possibly be explained by the assumption that several, partly more archaic and partly more advanced, alphabets were simultaneously used during the third century B. C., and that

1 C. MG. pl. 10, 2. 2 See below, § 16, C. 3 See below, § 16, B. 4 See below, § 14, A. 5 See below, § 16, C. 6 See below, § 16, C. 7 See below, § 16, D.
the writers, intending or ordered to use lapidary forms, through negligence mixed them with the more familiar cursive letters, as has also happened not rarely in later inscriptions. It is possible to adduce in favour of this view the above-mentioned tradition of the Dr̥ṣṭivāda, according to which a larger number of alphabets was in use about B.C. 300. The conjecture would become a certainty, if it could be shown that the word seto, “the white (elephant),” which has been added to Dhauli edict VI. in order to explain the sculpture above the middle column, was incised at the same time as the preceding edicts. The two characters of seto show the types of the Kuṣana and Gupta inscriptions. Though it is difficult to understand that, in later times, anybody should have cared to add the explanation of the relief, keeping exactly the line of the edict, the possibility of the assumption that this was actually done, is not altogether excluded.

The Eraṇ coin with the legend running from the right to the left, offers a contribution to the earlier history of the Brāhmī. It shows the ancient sa with the straight side-stroke, but the later ma with the semicircular top, and the dha turned to the left. The coin probably dates from the time when the Brāhmī was written both from the right to the left and from the left to the right. Even if one makes due allowance for the fact that coins often reproduce archaic forms long gone out of fashion, one can only agree with Cunningham (C.A.I. 81), who thinks that the coin is older than the Maurya period; and one must allot it, if not to B.C. 400, at least to the middle of the fourth century. The time when the Brāhmī was written is probably a somewhat before the Maurya period, since the Asoka edicts show only few traces of the writing from right to left, in the O of Jaugada and Dhauli and in the rare dha of Jaugada and Delhi-Sīvalik (plate II, 8, VI, and 26, V, VI). In connection with this coin it is also necessary to mention the Patnā seals (C.A.S.R. 15, pl. 3, 1, 2), which very likely are older than the time of the Mauryas. The first with the legend Nadaya (Nandāya), “(the seal) of Nandā,” shows a da open to the right, [9] and the second with the inscription Agapalaśa (Agapalaśa) shows an A in its original position (pl. II, 1, 1). More important results for the history of the Brāhmī may be obtained from the Drāviḍi of the relic caskets of Bhaṭṭiprolu, already referred to above. This alphabet contains, besides various characters agreeing with the southern variety of the Asoka edicts, (1) three signs, dh, d and bh, in the position of the writing running from right to left; (2) three signs, c, j and s, which are more archaic than those of the Asoka edicts and of the Eraṇ coin; (3) two signs, l and ḷ, derived independently from the old Semitic originals; (4) one new sign, gh, derived from g, the madrka ḷha of the Brāhmī being at the same time discarded. The reasons for the assertions under 2 and 3 will be added in the next paragraph. But if the assertions themselves are true, it certainly follows that, whatever the age of the inscriptions may be, the Drāviḍi alphabet separated from the main stock of the Brāhmī long before the Eraṇ coin was struck, at the latest in the fifth century B.C.

This estimate carries us back to the period for which the Ceylonese canon proves the general use of writing in India, without however giving the name of the current alphabet. It seems therefore natural to conjecture that the alphabet known to the earliest Buddhist authors was a form of the Brāhmī; and there are some further facts which favour this view. Firstly, recent discoveries have made it evident that the Brāhmī has been commonly used since the earliest times even in North-Western India, and that it was indeed the real national script of all Hindus. In the ruins of Taxila, the modern Shāh-Deri in the Pañjab, coins have been found which are striking according to the old Indian standard, and some of which bear inscriptions in Kharoṣṭhī, while the majority show legends in the oldest type of the Brāhmī, sometimes

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1 B. ASRSI. 1, 115.
2 C.CAI. pl. 11, 19, and plate II, col. I, of this work.
3 If according to C.CMI. 27, as Mr. A. V. SMITH points out to me, some coins of Mihirakula show inscriptions running from the right to the left, this peculiarity must be ascribed to Sassanian influence.
4 Plate II, cols. XIII—XV.
5 C.CAI. 38 f.
together with transcripts in Kharoṣṭhī. These coins are certainly not later than the third century B.C. Perhaps they even date, as Cunningham thinks, from a much earlier time about B.C. 400. Some of them have been struck by megamā or guilds, those of the Dojakā or Dojakā, of the Tālātātā and of the Atakatātā (?), and one with the inscription Vāsasvāka probably was issued by a section of the tribe of the Ājakās (Assakēna), named after the vata-tree, the Ficus religiosa. These finds decidedly establish the popular use of the Brāhmi in the Pañjāb, side by side with the Kharoṣṭhī, at least for the third century B.C. Mr. Rashon’s discovery of Persian sigloï with letters in Kharoṣṭhī and in Brāhmi proves that both alphabets were used together much earlier. For, in all probability these sigloï were current during the rule of the Akkadianians over North-Western India, or before B.C. 331.

Secondly, Dr. Taylor’s view regarding the origin of the Kharoṣṭhī has become more and more probable, and it must now be admitted that this alphabet was developed out of the later Aramaic characters after the conquest of the Pañjāb by Darīa, which happened about B.C. 500. And it becomes more and more difficult to refuse credence to the conjecture of A. Weber, E. Thomas and A. Cunningham, according to which the principles ruling the already developed Brāhmi have been utilised in the formation of the Kharoṣṭhī. According to our present information, the Kharoṣṭhī is the only alphabet, besides the Brāhmi, to which the Buddhists possibly could refer. But as it was only a secondary script even in Gandhāra, and as it was developed only in the fifth century, the possibility suggested becomes improbable, and the Brāhmi alone has a claim to be considered as the alphabet known to the authors of the Ceylonese canon.

§ 4.—The origin of the Brāhmi alphabet.

[10] Among the numerous greatly differing proposals to explain the origin of the Brāhmi, there are five for which complete demonstrations have been attempted:—(1) A. Cunningham’s derivation from indigenous Indian hieroglyphics; (2) A. Weber’s derivation from the most ancient Phœnician characters; (3) W. Deuc’s derivation from the Assyrian cuneiform characters, through an ancient South-Semitic alphabet which is also the parent of the Sabæan or Himyaritic script; (4) L. Taylor’s derivation from a lost South-Arabian alphabet, the predecessor of the Sabæan; (5) J. Halévy’s derivation from a mixture of Aramaic, Kharoṣṭhī and Greek letters of the last quarter of the fourth century B.C.

Cunningham’s opinion, which was formerly shared by some eminent scholars, presupposes the use of Indian hieroglyphic pictures, of which hitherto no trace has been found. On the other hand, the legend of the Eran coin, which runs from the right to the left, and the letters seemingly turned round in the opposite direction which appear rarely in the Asoka edicts and more frequently in the Bhaṭṭiprola inscriptions, point to the correctness of the view taken as granted in all the other attempts at explanation, viz., that Semitic signs are the prototypes of the Brāhmi letters.

Among the remaining four proposals, J. Halévy’s a priori improbable theory may be at once eliminated, as it does not agree with the literary and paleographic evidence just discussed, which makes it more than probable that the Brāhmi was used several centuries before the beginning of the Maurya period, and had had a long history at the time to which the earliest Indian inscriptions belong. It is more difficult to make a choice between A. Weber’s derivation from the oldest North-Semitic alphabet, and the view of W. Deuc and L. Taylor, who derive the Brāhmi from an ancient South-Semitic script. Neither the one nor the other derivation can be declared to be a priori impossible; for, the results of modern researches make

1 C.CAI, pl. 2, 3. 2 WZKM, 9, 65; B.III, 113. 3 See below, § 8. 4 See below, § 9, B, 4.
5 B.III, 505, 513-52. 6 B. N. Cour. Ling. and Oriental Essays, 2nd Ser., 27-32. 7 C.IA (CIL 1), 52 ff.
8 ZDMG, 10, 389 ff.; Ind. Skizzen 125 ff. 9 ZDMG, 31, 458 ff.
10 The Alphabet, 2, 514 ff.; restated with some modifications by F. Müller, Mélanges Harles 212 ff.
a high antiquity probable for also the Sabean script, and point to the conclusion that this alphabet not only is older than the oldest Indian inscriptions, but that it existed at a period for which no evidence for the use of writing in India is available. But according to these results, the question has to be put in a manner somewhat differing from that in which Deecke and Taylor have put it. The point to be ascertained is no longer, whether the Brāhmī can be derived from an unknown predecessor of the Sabean alphabet, but whether it can be derived directly from the actually known Sabean characters.

In all attempts at the derivation of alphabets, it is necessary to keep in mind three fundamental maxims, without which no satisfactory results can be obtained:—

(1) For the comparison of the characters to be derived, the oldest and fullest forms must be used, and the originals from which they are derived must belong to the types of one and the same period.

(2) The comparison may include only such irregular equations as can be supported by analogies from other cases where nations have borrowed foreign alphabets.

(3) In cases where the derivatives show considerable differences from the supposed prototypes, it is necessary to show that there are fixed principles, according to which the changes have been made.

If one wishes to keep to these principles in deriving the Brāhmī from Semitic signs, neither the Sabean alphabet, nor its perhaps a little more archaic variety, the Liyanian or Thamudic, will serve the purpose, in spite of a general resemblance in the ductus and of a special resemblance in two or three letters. The derivations proposed by Deecke and Taylor do not fulfil the absolutely necessary conditions, and it will probably not be possible to obtain satisfactory results, even if all the impossible equations are given up, and the oldest Indian signs in every case are chosen for comparison. It would be necessary to assume that several Sabean letters, such as Aleph, Gimel, Zain, Teth, Peh, Qoph, Resh, which show strong modifications of the North-Semitic forms, had been again made similar to their prototypes on being converted by the Hindus into A, ga, ja, tha, pa, kha and ra. In other cases, it would be impossible to show any connection between the Sabean and the Indian signs. These difficulties disappear with the direct derivation of the Brāhmī from the oldest North-Semitic alphabet, which shows the same type from Phoenicia to Mesopotamia. The few inadmissible equations which Weber's earlier attempt contains, may be easily removed with the help of recently discovered forms, and it is not difficult to recognise the principles, according to which the Semitic signs have been converted into Indian ones.

An examination of the old Indian alphabet in plate II. reveals the following peculiarities:—

(1) The letters are set up as straight as possible, and, with occasional exceptions in the case of ḥa, ḫa and ḫa, they are made equal in height.

(2) The majority consist of vertical lines with appendages attached, mostly at the foot, occasionally at the foot and at the top, or rarely in the middle; but there is no case in which an appendage has been added to the top alone.

(3) At the top of the letters appear mostly the ends of verticals, less frequently short horizontal strokes, still more rarely curves on the tops of angles opening downwards, and, quite exceptionally, in ma and in one form of ḫa, two lines rising upwards. In no case does the top show several angles, placed side by side, with a vertical or slanting line hanging down, or a triangle or a circle with a pendant-line.

The causes of these characteristics of the Brāhmī are a certain pedantic formalism, found also in other Indian creations, a desire to frame signs suited for the formation of regular lines, and an aversion to top-heavy characters. The last peculiarity is probably due in part to the

circumstance that since early times the Indians made their letters hang down from an imaginary or really drawn upper line, and in part to the introduction of the vowel-signs, most of which are attached horizontally to the tops of the consonants. Signs with the ends of verticals at the top were, of course, best suited for such a script. Owing to these inclinations and aversions of the Hindus, the heavy tops of many Semitic letters had to be got rid of, by turning the signs topsy-turvy or laying them on their sides, by opening the angles, and so forth. Finally, the change in the direction of the writing necessitated a further change, inasmuch as the signs had to be turned from the right to the left, as in Greek.

[12] The details of the derivation, for which, with the exception of the evidently identical Nos. 1, 3—7, 9, 12, 16, 17, 19—22, only a greater or smaller degree of probability can be claimed, are shown in the subjoined comparative table, which has been drawn by Mr. S. PEPPER of Vienna. Cols. I, II, showing the oldest Phoenician characters and those from Mesa’s stone, have been taken from Pr. BEERNA’S Histoire de l’Écriture dans l’Antiquité, pp. 185, 202. Col. III comes from EURYN’S Tabula Scripturae Aramaicae of 1892. And cols. IV—VI, with the exception of the signs marked by asterisks as hypothetical, are taken from plate II. of this work. With respect to the single letters, I add the following explanatory remarks, brief abstracts of those in my Indian Studies, III", p. 58 ff.

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1 Compare Berlin’s India, I, 173 (SACHAU).
A. — Borrowed signs.

No. 1, $A$, col. V, $=$ Aleph, cols. I, II (Weber doubtfully), [13] turned from right to left except on the Patna seal (above, § 3, and pl. II, 1, 1), with transposition of the vertical line to the end of the angle. — No. 2, $b$, col. V, $a$, $b$, $c$, $=$ Beth, cols. I, II (Weber); the opening of the triangular top produced first a sign like that in col. IV, next the rhombus, col. V, $a$, and finally the square and the oblong, col. V, $b$, $c$. — No. 3, $g$, col. V, $=$ Gimel, cols. I, II. — No. 4, $d$, col. V, $a$, $b$, $=$ Daleth, cols. I, II (Weber), set up straight with rounded back (compare the half-angular forms, pl. II, 26, IX, XIX, XXIII, and the triangular, pl. III, 24, VII—XIII), with or without the turn from right to left. — No. 5, $h$, col. V, $=$ He (Weber doubtfully), the Siddapura form, col. V, $a$, being probably derived from the $He$ of col. III, $a$ (Mina of Salamanseer, before B. C. 725), which was turned topsy-turvy and from right to left. The more similar $He$ of the sixth century B. C. (col. III, $b$) cannot be the prototype, because it occurs in the period when the Brāhmī had been developed, and because then the Semitic Aleph, Daleth, Cheth, Theth, Waw, and Qoph had become cursive and had been changed so much that they could no longer have produced the Indian forms. — No. 6, $w$, col. V, $a$, $b$, $=$ Waw, col. II (Weber doubtfully), turned topsy-turvy and with the lower end shut. — No. 7, $j$, col. V, $=$ Zain, cols. I, II (Weber); a displacement of the two bars produced the Dravīḍa letter, col. V, $a$; from this was derived, the letter being made with one stroke of the pen, the $ja$ of the northern Brāhmī, col. V, $b$, with a loop, for which, owing to the use of ink, a dot was substituted in the $ja$ of col. V, $a$. The usual Ginār form, col. V, $d$, was also derived from the Dravīḍa form, the letter being made with two strokes of the pen.

No. 8, $gh$, col. V, $a$, $b$, $=$ Cheth, cols. I, II (Taylor), the Semitic sign being laid on its side, col. IV (on account of its often sloping position), and the upper horizontal bar being changed into a vertical. — No. 9, $th$, col. V, $=$ Theth, col. I (Weber), with the substitution of a dot for the cross in the centre, just as in the Assyrian letter, col. III. — No. 10, $y$, col. V, $=$ Yod (Weber), the $Yod$ of cols. I, II, being laid on its side, col. IV, the central stroke being lengthened; and, the pendant on the right being turned upwards, hence first the $ya$ of col. V, $a$, and later the cursive forms in col. V, $b$, $c$. — No. 11, $k$, col. V, $a$, $b$, $=$ Kaph, the upper side-bar of a form like that in col. II, having been converted into the top of the vertical, and the sign being then set up straight. — No. 12, $l$, col. V, $=$ Lamed, cols. I, II (Weber), preserved in its original position in the slightly differentiated $l$ of the Dravīḍa, col. VI (see below, $B$, 4, $c$), and in the Erin form, col. IV, with the Serif on the top of the curve, turned from right to left in the usual form of the Aśoka edicts, col. V, $a$, and turned with a tail on the right, but without the Serif, in the Dravīḍa $l$, col. V, $b$. — No. 13, $n$, col. V, $=$ Mem (Weber), derived from a form like that in col. II, with the change of the bent pendant into a loop, as in the hypothetical form in col. IV (analogous development in Euting, TSA. col. 58, $a$), and with superposition of the angle on the loop, col. V, $a$ (analogous development in Euting, TSA. col. 59, $c$), whence the cursive form with semicircle at the top in col. IV, $b$. — No. 14, $m$, col. V, $=$ Nun (Taylor), the Nun in cols. I, II, being turned topsy-turvy as in col. IV, and the hook at the foot being converted into a straight stroke, for which development the ñ in col. VI, $a$, formed out of the hypothetical sign by a regularisation of the hook and the addition of a differentiating bar at the top (see below $B$, 4, $d$), appears to be a witness.

No. 15, $s$, $s$, cols. V, IV, $=$ Samekh (Weber doubtfully); a Samekh like that of col. I, $b$, being made cursive by the Hindus, as shown in col. IV, and turned topsy-turvy, [14] whereby the Dravīḍa $s$, col. V, was obtained, which originally served both for $s$ and $g$. Later, this sign was divided into the signs for the etymologically connected $sa$ and $sg$. By transferring the cross-bar to the outside of the curve, arose the $sa$ of the southern Brāhmī in col. VI, $a$, and (turned round) that in col. VI, $b$, while the removal of the bar to the inside of the curve produced the $ga$ of the same script, col. VI, $c$. The Dravīḍa adopted the new $sa$ for its $s$, and retained the old sign for $g$. The northern Brāhmī developed out of the southern $sa$ that with
the curve, col. VI, d, and out of this a new ṣa, col. VI, e. An immediate derivation of the Dravida ẓ from the Samekh of the sixth century B.C. in col. III is not possible, for the reasons stated under No. 5, and because the characteristic ancient cross-bar is wanting in it. — No. 16, E, col. V, = Ass, cols. I, II (Weber), the Indian sign being changed slightly or not at all in the ancient forms of Kālai, col. IV, and col. V, 2, as well as in that of Sācī and Hāthigomphā, col. V, a, but later made triangular, col. V, c, d, e, in order to avoid a confusion with ḍha and ṣha. — No. 17, ps, col. V, = Phā, cols. I, II (Weber), turned topsy-turvy; in its original position in the Eraś form, col. IV; turned sideways in col. V.

No. 18, ca, col. V, = Ṵade, cols. I, II, turned topsy-turvy, the second hook on the right being bent at the same time towards the vertical as in the hypothetical form of col. IV, whence arose, with the turn sideways, the angular or round 2a of the Brāhmī in col. V, a, b, and the tailed one of the Drāviḍi, col. V, c. — No. 19, kha, col. V, = Qoph, cols. I, II, turned topsy-turvy with the addition of a curve at the top, col. V, a, in order to distinguish the letter from ṣa. Owing to the use of ink, the circle at the foot was converted into a dot, col. V, b. — No. 20, ra, col. V, = Reesh, cols. I, II (Weber), the triangular head of the letter being opened and the vertical attached to the base of the former triangle, whence arose the forms in col. V, a, b, and later the ornamental ones, col. V, c, d, in which the angles were repeated. — No. 21, śa, col. V, = Shin, cols. I, II (Weber), the two angles, standing side by side, being placed the one inside the other, and the sign being then turned topsy-turvy, col. V, 2, e. The more closely resembling Aramaic Shin of the sixth century B.C., col. III, cannot be the prototype of ṣa, for the same reasons as those stated above under No. 5, and is merely an analogous transformation, which the Aramaeans, Phoenicians and Ethiopians have made independently at various periods. The older form with two angles has been preserved in the western sign for 100 = ṣa (see my Indian Studies, III, 71, 117). — No. 22, ta, col. V, = Taw, cols. I, II (Weber); from a form like that of Sinjirli, col. III, b, or the Assyrian of the time of Salmanassar, col. III, a, was derived the 2a of col. V, a, b, and hence the regularised form of col. V, c.

B. — Derivative consonants and initial vowels.

The derivative signs, invented by the Hindus themselves, have been formed by means of the following contrivances:—

(1) One of the elements of a phonetically cognate letter is transposed: (a) in ṣa and 2a, where the cross-bar of the oldest sign has been displaced (see above, A, No. 15); (b) in da, which has been derived from 2ha (Weber) by dividing the vertical stroke, and by attaching the two pieces to the upper and lower ends of the curve, whence the da of the Drāviḍi and of the Patnā seal, No. 4, col. VI, a, was derived, and, with the turn to the left, the ordinary form of the Brāhmī, No. 4, col. VI, b, and further the angular da, No. 4, col. VI, f.

(2) A borrowed or derivative letter is matilated in order to obtain one with a similar phonetic value: (a) from da, No. 4, col. VI, a, comes [18] by the removal of the lower end the half round da of Kālai and the later southern inscriptions, col. VI, e; similarly, from the angular da, col. VI, a, the ordinary angular da, col. VI, b, of the Asoka edicts (Weber); (b) from tha, No. 9, col. V, comes ṭha, col. VI, a, by the removal of the central dot; and from the latter again ṛa, col. VI, b, is derived by bisection, the round ṭha being considered as the product of an unaspirated letter and a curve of aspiration, which appears (see below, 5) in various other letters (Weber); (c) from the triangular E, No. 16, col. V, b, d, e, comes the I with three dots, col. VI, A, b, d, e, which just indicate the outlines of the older sign (Prinsep), the derivation being suggested by the fact that grammatically e is the guṇa-vowel of i, for which therefore a lighter form of ṛ appeared suitable; (d) through a bisection of the lower portion of ra, No. 6, col. V, 2, and a straightening of the remaining pendant, is derived ṩ, col. VI, a (see
my Indian Studies, III, 74), the derivation being suggested by the fact that it commonly represents in weak grammatical forms (samyasudrṣaṇa); (e) if the later small circle (pl. IV, 38, VI) is the original form of the Anusāra, No. 13, col. VI, a, b, and the dot a cursive substitute, the sign may be explained as a mutilated small ma, which has lost the angle at the top, and has been thus treated like the small vowelless consonants appearing in the inscriptions of the first centuries A.D. (see, e. g., pl. III, 41, VIII); compare also the derivation of the Kharoṣṭhī Anusāra from ma (see below, § 8, B, 4).

(3) Short horizontal strokes, which originally, before the change in the direction of the writing, stood on the left, are used to derive the long vowels A, No. 1, col. VI, and U, No. 6, col. VI, d, from short A and U. On account of the peculiar shape of I, a dot is used instead for the formation of Í, No. 16, col. VI, B, g.

(4) Short horizontal strokes, originally added on the right, denote a change in the quality of the sounds: (a) in O, No. 6, col. VI, f, g, derived from U, col. VI, a (with the bar in the original and the later position), because grammatically e is the guna-vowel of u; (b) in AI, No. 16, col. VI, A, b, derived from E, because grammatically ai is theṛddhi-vowel of e; (c) in the I of the Drāviḍi, No. 12, col. VI, from the original form of la (Lamed), cols. I, II, in which case the bar still stands on the right, because the letter has not been turned; (d) in nā, No. 14, col. VI, a, from the original inverted Nā, col. IV; compare above under A, No. 14; (e) in na (see my Indian Studies, III, pp. 31, 76; also page 35, below, § 16, C, 12) from na, No. 14, col. V, with a displacement of the lower horizontal stroke towards the right, the letter being kept in its original position; (f) in nā, No. 14, col. VI, b, from na, the bar protruding at both sides of the vertical in order to avoid the identity with nā, ne and O.

(5) The aspiration is expressed by a curve in the gh of the Drāviḍi, No. 3, col. VI, formed out of g, and in the ordinary Brāhmi gh, No. 4, col. VI, d, from da, col. VI, c, in pha, No. 17, col. VI, from pa, col. V, and in cha, No. 18, col. VI, a; in the last sign the curve has been attached to both ends of the vertical, and this proceeding led to the development of the cursive cha of col. VI, b. More rarely a hook is substituted for the curve, and then the original sign is mutilated; thus bha, No. 2, col. VI, is derived from ba by omitting the base-stroke, and jha, No. 7, col. VI, from the Drāviḍa j, col. V, a, by dropping both bars at the ends of the vertical. Both the hook and the curve are cursive substitutes for ha, which in the Tibetan alphabet is used again in order to form gh, bha, &c.

(6) [16] The la of the Brāhmi, No. 4, col. VI, c, has been derived, by the addition of a small semicircle, for which we have an open angle in Sāsci (pl. II, 41, XVIII), from the half round da of col. VI, c, the derivation being very probably suggested by the phonetic affinity of da to la, which two letters are frequently exchanged in Vedic and classical Sanskrit and in the Prākrit dialects.

C.—Medial vowels and absence of vowel in ligatures.

(1) The system of the Brāhmi.

In accordance with the expressions of the Sanskrit phonologists and grammarians, who take into account the spoken language alone and who call the k-sound ka-kāra, the g-sound ya-kāra, &c., the medial a is inherent in all consonants, and consequently medial ā is expressed by the stroke which distinguishes A from Ā.

The other medial vowels are either the full initial vowel-signs or cursive derivatives from them, which are placed mostly at the top or rarely at the foot of the consonants. The identity of the medial o with the initial O is distinctly recognisable in all letters with verticals at the
top, as in ķo, No. 6, col. VI, ḳ, ṵ, where, on the removal of the dagger-shaped k below the second cross-bar, the signs in col. VI, ḱ, g, reappear; compare also go in mago, Girñār edict I, line 11, where an initial ō has been placed above g. In the Jangada edicts, where only the O of col. VI, ḱ, occurs, the medial ō has invariably the same form. But in Girñār we have both forms of Ṽ, though there is only the O of col. VI, ḱ. Similarly, the full initial Ū is recognisable in the combinations with consonants ending in verticals, as in ḷu, pl. II, 9, V; ḏu, 20, VII; ḏu, 25, V; ḷu, 31, II, V (compare § 16, D, 4); and in the ḷu of Kālō, No. 6, col. VI, ḳ: more usually œ is represented cursorily, either by the horizontal stroke of Ū, as in ḷu, No. 6, col. VI, ḳ, or by its vertical as in cu, pl. II, 13, III, and ḷu, 26, II, &c. Medial ū is identical with Ū, if combined with consonants ending in verticals; elsewhere it is cursorily expressed by two lines, commonly placed horizontally, as in ḷu, No. 6, col. VI, e: but in the later inscriptions we occasionally find the Ū of the period used for the medial vowel.1 Medial Ṗ was probably at first expressed by the three dots of the initial Ṛ (ṛi, No. 16, col. VI, B, ṕ), which afterwards were joined cursorily by lines and converted into the angle used in most of the Aśoka edicts (ṛi, col. VI, B, ṕ). The medial ṕ has been developed out of the latter form by the addition of a stroke, indicating that the vowel is long (ṛi, col. VI, B, ṕ; see above, under B, 3). In order to express medial ū, the triangle of the initial Ū has been reduced cursorily first to an angle, open on the left, as in g, pl. II, 11, III, and more commonly to a straight line (ṛe, No. 16, col. VI, A, a). In accordance with the form of the initial Ṯ, which consists of E and a horizontal bar, medial ai is expressed by two parallel horizontal strokes (ṭhai, No. 16, col. VI, A, ṽ).

The absence of a vowel is indicated by interlacing the sign for the consonants immediately following each other, and in such ligatures the second sign is often mutilated; see below, § 16, E, 2. This proceeding appears to be a practical illustration of the term saṃgukāṭakara, “a joined or ligature syllable,” by which the phonologists and grammarians denote a syllable beginning with more consonants than one.

(2) — The system of the Drāviḍi.

The notation of the medial vowels in the inscriptions of Bhatṭiprolū differs from the usual one in so far as medial a is marked by the Brāhmi sign for ā, and medial ū by a horizontal stroke from the end of which a vertical one hangs down; see ku, pl. II, 9, XIII; ḷa, 9, XIV. Hence the consonants have no inherent a. The device is no doubt of later origin, and has been invented in order to avoid the necessity for ligatures.

§ 5. — The time and the manner of the borrowing of the Semitic alphabet.2

[17] According to the preceding discussion, the great majority of the Brāhmi letters agree with the oldest types of the North-Semitic signs, which are found in the archaic Phoenician inscriptions and on the stone of Mesa, incised about B.C. 890. But two characters, ḵa and ḵa, are derived from Mesopotamian forms of He and Tau, which belong to the middle of the eighth century B.C., and two, sa-sa and ḷa, resemble Aramaic signs of the sixth century B.C. As the literary and epigraphic evidence leaves no doubt that the Hindus were not unlettered during the period B.C. 600—500, and as the other signs of the Aramaic alphabet of this period, such as Beth, Daleth, Waw, &c., are too far advanced to be considered as the prototypes of the corresponding Brāhmi letters, it becomes necessary to regard the seemingly modern forms of sa, sa and ḷa as the results of an Indian development, analogous to that of the corresponding Aramaic characters. This assumption, of course, remains tenable only as long as the two Aramaic letters are not shown to be more ancient by new epigraphic discoveries, which event, to judge from the results of the Sinjirli finds, does not seem to be impossible. But, for the present, they must be left out of consideration in fixing the terminus a quo.

1 See below, § 21, B, 3; pl. IV, 30, XII, XIV; pl. VII, 30, XII, XX, XXI.
2 B. I. B. II, 83—91.
for the importation of the Semitic alphabet into India; and this termínus falls between the time of the incision of Meas’s inscription and of those on the Assyrian weights, from about B. C. 890 to about B. C. 750, probably a little more towards the lower than towards the upper limit, or, roughly reckoning, about B. C. 800. And various circumstances make it probable that this was actually the time when the Semitic letters became known to the Hindus.

As the ha and the ta of the Brânmi are derived from forms of He and Taw not found in the Phoenician inscriptions but only in Mesopotamia, it appears probable that this is the Semitic country from which the letters were brought over. It agrees with this inference, that the most ancient Indian works speak of sea-voyages in the Indian Ocean at a very early period, and sea-borne trade, carried on by Hindu Vâñjas in the same waters, is mentioned in later, but still ancient, times. The well-known Bâven Jâtaka bears witness to an early export trade of the Vâñjas to Babylon; and the form of the word, in which the second part ite is represented by eru, points to its having arisen in Western India, where ra is occasionally substituted for ita, as in the Gîrâmar and Shâhâmphar form Tûramaya for Ptolemaicos. Several other Jâtakas, e. g. No. 463, which describe sea-voyages, name the ancient ports of Western India, Bharukaccha (the modern Broach) and Sûrphûka (now Supâra), which were centres of the trade with the Persian Gulf in the first centuries A. D. and much later. As according to the Jâtakas the Vâñjas started from these towns, it is probable that these trade-routes were used much earlier. Two of the most ancient Dharmasûtras likewise bear witness to the earlier existence of trade by sea in India and particularly on the western coast. Baudhâyana, II, 2, 2, forbids Brahmanas to undertake voyages by sea, and prescribes a severe penance for a breach of the rule. But he admits, I, 2, 4, that the “Northerners,” were not strict in this respect. As the other offences of the “Northerners,” mentioned in the same passage, such as dealing in wool, selling animals with two rows of teeth, i. e. horses and mules, show, the term applies to the inhabitants of western and north-western India. It naturally follows that the sea-voyages referred to were made to western Asia. The same author, I, 18, 14, and the still older Gautama Dharmasûtra, 10, 33, mention the duties payable to the king on merchandise imported by sea. In accordance with my estimate of the age of the Dharmasûtras and of the materials out of which the Jâtakas have been made up, I look upon these statements as referring to the 8th—6th centuries B. C. From still earlier times dates the well-known Vedic myth of the shipwreck of Bhujyu “in the ocean where there is no support, no rest for the foot or the hand,” and of his being saved on the “hundred-oared galley” of the Ashvins. The scene of action must of course lie in the Indian Ocean, and the story points to the inference that the Hindus navigated these waters during the earliest Vedic period. As, in addition, Semitic legends such as that of the Flood and of Manu’s preservation by a miraculous fish occur in the Brânmañas, we have a sufficient number of facts to furnish some support for the conjecture that Hindu traders, who probably learnt the language of the country, just as their modern descendants learn Arabic and Swahili and other African languages, may have imported from Mesopotamia not only the alphabet, but perhaps also other technical contrivances, such as brick-making which was so important for the construction of the ancient Brahmanical altars. With this assumption, which under the circumstances stated appears at least not quite unfounded, the Indian Vâñjas are credited with having rendered the same service to their countrymen which Sambhota or Thon-mi did to the Tibetans, when he fetched the elements of their alphabet from Magadha, between A. D. 630 and 660.7

1 According to BENNET, Indien 254, the Semitic alphabet came to India from Phoenicia; according to A. WERNER, Ind. Skriven 137, either from Phoenicia or from Babylonia.
2 No. 329, FABRIS, 3, 132; compare also FICK, Die soziale Gliederung im nordöstl. Indien, 173 f.
3 SBB. 2, 223; 14, 145, 230, 217; comp. MANU, 3, 158; 8, 157, 465, and DÂHLKAMM, Das Mahâbharata, 176 f.
4 B. 18. 111, 18 ff.
5 B. 1. 116, 5; comp. OLDESTENBERG, Veddische Religion, 214.
6 OLDESTENBERG, op. cit. 276.
7 J. ASB. 37, 41 f.
In any case, it is a priori probable that the Vānas were the first to adopt the Semitic alphabet; for they, of course, came most into contact with foreigners, and they must have felt most strongly the want of some means for recording their business transactions. The Brahmins wanted the art of writing less urgently, since they possessed, as passages of the Rgveda show, from very early times a system of oral tradition for the preservation of their literary treasures.

Nevertheless, the oldest known form of the Brāhmi is, without a doubt, a script framed by learned Brahmins for writing Sanskrit. This assertion is borne out not only by the remnants of the Gayā alphabet of Aśoka’s stone-masons, which must have contained signs for the Sanskrit vowels $AI$ and $AU$, and which is arranged according to phonetic principles, but also by the influence of phonetic and grammatical principles which is clearly discernible in the formation of the derivative signs. The hand of the phonologist and grammarian is recognisable in the following points: (1) the development of five nasal letters and of a sign for nasalisation in general from two Semitic signs, as well as of a complete set of signs for the long vowels, which latter are very necessary for the phonologist and grammarian, but not for men of business, and are therefore unknown in other ancient alphabets; (2) the derivation of the signs for the phonetically very different, but grammatically cognate, $sa$ and $sa$ from one Semitic sign (Samētā); (3) the notation of $U$ by the half of $sa$, from which the vowel is frequently derived by $sanyāsa$; (4) the derivation of $O$ from $U$ (o being the guṇa-vowel of $u$) by the addition of a stroke; of $I$ by a simplification of the sign for its guṇa-vowel $E$; of $AI$, the vṛddhi-vowel, from $E$ the guṇa-vowel of $I$; and of $jā$ from $ja$, the former consonant being frequently a substitute for the latter, as in $tāe$ for $tē$; (5) the non-expression of medial $a$, in accordance with the teaching of the grammarians who consider it to inhere in every consonant; the expression of medial ā by the difference between $A$ and $Ā$, and of the remaining medial vowels by combinations of the initial ones, or of cursive simplifications of the same, with the consonants, as well as of the absence of vowels by ligatures of the consonants, which apparently illustrate the grammatical term $sanyukta$ṇa. All this has so learned an appearance and is so artificial that it can only have been invented by Pandits, not by traders or clerks. The fact that the Vānas and the accountants of the merchants, until recent times used to omit all medial vowels in their correspondence and account-books, permits even the inference that an Indian alphabet, elaborated by such men, would not possess any such vowel-signs. And it is immaterial for the correctness of this inference, whether the modern defective writing is a survival from the most ancient period or is due to the introduction of the Arabic alphabet in the middle ages.

A prolonged period must, of course, have elapsed between the first introduction of the Semitic alphabet by the merchants, its adoption by the Brahmins which probably did not take place at once, and the elaboration of the 46 radical signs of the Brāhmi together with its system of medial vowels and ligatures.

As, according to the results of the preceding enquiry, the elaboration of the Brāhmi was completed about B.C. 500, or perhaps even earlier, the terminus a quo, about B.C. 800, may be considered as the actual date of the introduction of the Semitic alphabet into India. This estimate is, however, merely a provisional one, which may be modified by the discovery of new epigraphic documents in India or in the Semitic countries. If such a modification should become necessary, the results of the recent finds induce me to believe that the date of the introduction will prove to fall earlier, and that it will have to be fixed perhaps in the tenth century B.C., or even before that.

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1 Comp. WESTERGAARD, Zwei Abhandlungen 37 ff.  
2 Comp. WACKERNAGEL, Altind. Grammatik 1, LVII.  
II. THE KHAROŠTHI SCRIPT.

§ 6. — How it was deciphered.

The Indian alphabet running from right to left, the Kharašthī liptī,¹ has been deciphered exclusively by European scholars, among whom Masson, J. Pinsep, Ch. Lassen, E. Norris, and A. Cunningham must be particularly mentioned.² The coins of the Indo-Grecian and Indo-Scythian kings with Greek and Prākrit inscriptions furnished the first clue to the value of the letters. The results, which the identifications of the royal names and titles seemed to furnish, were partly confirmed, partly rectified and enlarged, by the discovery of the Shāh-bāzgarhī version of the Aśoka edicts and E. C. Bayley’s Kāṅgārā inscription in Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī. The characters of the Aśoka edicts are readable with full certainty, with the exception of a few ligatures (see below, § 11, C, 3, 4). Similarly, the inscriptions of the Sakas offer no difficulties, and the new MS. of the Dhammapada from Khotan³ is in general not difficult to read. But considerable portions of the inscriptions of the Parthian Guduphara and of the Kuṣana kings Kaṇiṣka and Huvishka, still resist the attempts of decipherers and interpreters.

§ 7. — Use and characteristics.

In its form, known to us at present, the Kharašthī is an ephemeral, chiefly epigraphic, alphabet of North-Western India. The majority of the inscriptions written in Kharoṣṭhī have been found between 69°–73° 30′ E. Long. and 33°–35° N. Lat., in the ancient province of Gandhāra, the modern eastern Afghanistan and the northern Paḥjāb; and the oldest documents are confined to the districts the capitals of which were Taxila (Shāh-Deri) to the east of the Indus, and Puskalavati or Tarsīdā (Hashtnagar) to the west of the river. Single inscriptions have turned up further west-south-west in Bāhawalpur near Multān, south in Mathurā, and south-east in Kāṅgārā, and single words or letters in Bharahut, Ujjain and Maisār (Siddāpura Aśoka edicts).⁴ Coins, cameos and MSS. with Kharašthī characters have been carried much further north and north-east. The period during which, according to the documentary evidence at present available, the Kharašthī seems to have been used in India, extends from the fourth century B. C. to about the third century A. D., the earliest letters occurring on the Persian sigloi (§ 8) and the latest perhaps on the Gandhāra sculptures and the Kuṣana inscriptions.⁵ As the note in the Fawanshūfin of A. D. 668 (see above, § 1) shows, the Buddhists preserved a knowledge of the existence of the alphabet much longer.

Hitherto, the Kharašthī has been found (1) in stone-inscriptions, (2) on metal plates and vessels, (3) on coins, (4) on cameos, and (5) on a longer known small piece of birch bark from a Stūpa in Afghanistan⁶ and on the Bhūrja MS., of the Dhammapada from Khotan. The latter MS. has probably been written in Gandhāra during the Kuṣana period. The dialect of its text shows characteristic affinities to that of the Shāh-bāzgarhī version of the Aśoka edicts, and

¹ Regarding the name, see § 1 above, and B.I.S. III', 113 ff.
³ See the next paragraph.
⁴ B.I.S. III', 47–53; C.ASR. 2, 22 ff., pl. 59, 60; 5, 1 ff., pl. 16, 29; W.AA. 55 ff.; C.CAI. 31 ff.
⁵ B.I.S. III', loc. cit.; the question of the lower limit of the use of the Kharašthī is difficult on account of the uncertainty regarding the dates of Kaṇiṣka and his two successors, all of whom E. Lévi now places in the first cent. A. D. (JA. 1897, 1, 1 ff.). The limit given above is based on the assumption that Kaṇiṣka’s dates refer to the Saka era or to the fourth cent. of the Seleucid era. I still make use of it, not because I consider it to be unassailable, but for; the reasons stated in WZKM., 1, 169. The letters in the inscriptions of Sanyat 290 and 276 or 296 (Hashtnagar image) look more ancient than those of the Kuṣana inscriptions. According to a communication from Dr. Th. Bloch, Prof. Hoernle has read dates of the fourth cent. of the same unknown Sanyat on recently found Gandhāra sculptures.
⁶ W.AA. pl. 3 at p. 54, No. 12; similar twisted have been found in other Stūpas, see op. cit. 60, 94, 94, 105; but the fragments in the British Museum, said to belong to them, show no letters.
its characters agree very closely with those of the Wardak vase. On the metal plates and vases, [20] the letters frequently consist of rows of dots, or have been first punched in in this manner and afterwards scratched in with a stilus. On stone vases they are sometimes written with ink.

In spite of its frequent utilisation for epigraphic documents, the Kharoṣṭhī is a popular script, destined for clerks and men of business. This is proved by the throughout highly cursive character of the letters, by the absence of long vowels, which are useless for the purposes of common daily life, by the expression of groups of unaspirated double consonants by single ones (ka for kka), and of unaspirated and aspirated ones by the latter alone (kha for kkha), and by the invariable use of the Anuvāra for all voiceless medial nasals. The discovery of the Khotan MS. makes it very improbable that there existed another form of the script which, being more similar to the Brāhmī in completeness, would have been more suitable for the Brahmanical Sāstras.

§ 8. — Origin.

The direction of the Kharoṣṭhī from right to left made it a priori highly probable that its elements had been borrowed from the Semites; and the almost exact agreement of the forms for na, ba, ra and pa with Aramaic signs of the transitional type induced E. THOMAS to assume a closer connection of the Kharoṣṭhī with this alphabet. His view has never been disputed; but of late it has been given a more precise form by J. TAYLOR and A. CUNNINGHAM, who assign the introduction of the Aramaic letters into India to the first Akhaemenians. The reasons which may be adduced for this opinion are as follows: — (1) The Aśoka edicts from the western Pānjab use for "writing, edict," the word dipi, which evidently has been borrowed from the Old Persian, and they derive from it the verbs dipati, "he writes," and dipapatiti, "he causes to write," see above, § 2, B. (2) The districts where Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions occur, especially in earlier times, are just those parts of India which probably were subject to the Persians, or with or without interruptions, from about B. C. 500 to 331. (3) Among the Persian sigloz, there are some marked with single syllables in Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī, whence it may be inferred that they were struck in India during the Persian period, and that the Kharoṣṭhī was current during a great part of the fourth century B. C., certainly before the fall of the Persian empire in B. C. 331. Some considerable variations in the Kharoṣṭhī letters of the Aśoka edicts, as well as the strongly cursive forms of several ligatures, such as sta, spa, &c. (see below, § 11, C, 2, 3), likewise point to the conclusion that the alphabet had had a long history before the middle of the third century B. C. (4) Recent discoveries in Semitic epigraphy make it extremely probable that the Aramaic, which was used already in Assyria and Babylon for official and business purposes side by side with the cuneiform writing, was very widely spread during the rule of the Akhaemenians. Numerous Aramaic inscriptions of this period have been found in Egypt, Arabia, and Asia Minor, and one even in Persia. Besides, Egypt has furnished a number of official Aramaic papyri, and Asia Minor many coins with Aramaic legends, struck by Persain satraps. In addition, there is the curious statement in the Book of Ezra, IV, 7, according to which the Samaritans sent to Artaxerxes a letter written in the Arami script and language. Taking all these points together, there are sufficient reasons to warrant the assertion that Aramaic was commonly employed.

1 See S. V. OLDENBURG, Predvaritelnae samjetskoe Buddhistskoi rukopisi, napisyannoi pisanenami Kharoṣṭhī, St. Petersburg, 1897, and SEMANT, Acad. des Inscr., Comptes rendus, 1877, 261 ff.
2 IA, 19, 225.
3 W.A.A. 111.
4 B. IS. III, 97 ff.
5 B. IS. III, 52 ff.
6 J. B. AS, 1835, 345 ff.; regarding Kharoṣṭhī legends on late coins running from left to right, see Proc. J. ASB. 1895, 54 f.
7 J. TAYLOR, The Alphabet, 2, 261 f.; C.CAI. 33.
8 CLERMONT-GAMS, Revue Archéologique, 1873-75; F. BERGER, Hist. de l’Écrit. dans l’Antiquité, 214, 218 ff.
not only in the offices of the satraps, but also in the royal secretariate at Susa. The ultimate cause for the official use of the Aramaic script and language during the Achaemenian period was, no doubt, that numerous Aramaeans held appointments as clerks, accountants, mint-masters and so forth in the Persian Civil Service. [21] When the Persian empire was rapidly built up on the ruins of more ancient monarchies, its rulers must have found the employment of the trained subalterns of the former governments, among whom the Aramaeans were foremost, not only convenient, but absolutely unavoidable. In these circumstances, it is but natural to assume that, after the full organisation of the administration by Darius, the Persian satraps introduced Aramaean subordinates into the Indian provinces, and thereby forced their Indian subjects, especially the clerks of the native princes and of the heads of towns and villages, to learn Aramaic. At first, the intercourse between the Persian and the Indian offices probably led to the use of the Aramaic letters for the north-western Prākrit, and later to modifications of this alphabet, which were made according to the principles of the older Indian Brāhmi,1 and through which the Kharoṣṭhī finally arose. The adoption of the Arabic alphabet, during the middle ages and in modern times, for writing a number of Indian dialects, is somewhat analogous, as it likewise happened under foreign pressure, and as its characters were and are used either without or with modifications. (5) With these last conjectures agrees the general character of the Kharoṣṭhī, which is clearly intended for clerks and men of business; see above, § 7. (6) Finally, they are confirmed by the circumstance that the majority of the Kharoṣṭhī signs can be most easily derived from the Aramaic types of the fifth century B.C., which appear in the Saqqārah and Teima inscriptions of B.C. 452 and of about B.C. 500, while a few letters agree with somewhat earlier forms on the later Assyrian weights and the Babylonian seals and gems, and two or three are more closely allied to the later signs of the Lesser Teima inscription, the Stele Vaticana, and the Libation-table from the Serapeum. The whole dactus of the Kharoṣṭhī, with its long-drawn and long-tailed letters, is that of the characters on the Mesopotamian weights, seals and cameos, which re-occurs in the inscriptions of Saqqārah, Teima and the Serapeum. Others2 have compared the writing of the Aramaic papyri from Egypt, which partly at least, like the Taurinensis, belong to the Achaemenian period. But it does not suit so well. Many of its signs are so very cursive that they cannot be considered as the prototypes of the Kharoṣṭhī letters, and its dactus is that of a minute current handwriting. Some special resemblances appear to be, on a closer investigation, the results of analogous developments. Taking all these points together, the Kharoṣṭhī appears to have been elaborated in the fifth century B.C.

§ 9. — Details of the derivation.

The subjoined comparative table illustrates the details of the derivation. The signs in col. I. have been taken (with the exception of No. 10, col. I, a) from Eutin’s Tabula Scripturae Aramaicæ, 1892, cols. 6, 8, 9, 11 and 12; those in col. II, from the same work, cols. 13, 14, 15, 17, 19, and those in cols. III, IV, from plate I of this manual; and all have been reproduced by photolithography.

A. — Borrowed signs.3

Preliminary remarks. — The changes of the Aramaic signs have been caused chiefly by the following principles: (1) by a decided predilection for long-tailed signs with appendages at the upper end, the foot being left free for the addition of w, rā and the Anusvāra, and by an aversion to appendages at the foot alone; (2) by an aversion to signs with heads containing

1 Wehrl, Ind. Skisser, 144 f.; E. Thomas, P.I.A. 2, 146; C. Cal. 33; and below, § 9, B, 4.
2 J. Halévy, J.A. 1888, 2, 243-267, believes the Kharoṣṭhī to have been derived about B.C. 330 from 16 signs of the papyri and of a Cilician coin, and Revue Sémittique, 1895, 372 f., from the script of the papyri and of the satraps from Egypt.
more than two lines rising upwards, or with transverse strokes through the top-line, or with pendants hanging down from it—all of which peculiarities would have been awkward for the insertion of the vowels i, e and o; (3) by a desire to differentiate the signs which, altered according to these principles, would have become identical.

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No. 1, A, col. III, = Aleph, col. I, a (Saqqārah), with a cursive change of the head to a curve; the position and the size of the letter make a connection with the forms in col. I, b, or col. II, improbable. — No. 2, ba, col. III, = Beth, col. I, a, b (Teima, Saqqārah), with a cursive curve for the angle at the right; the cursive forms of the Beth of the papyri, [23] col. II, b, c, are further developed than the Khareṣṭi signs. — No. 3, ga, col. III, = Gimel, derived from col. I or a similar form (compare col. II, and Euting, TSA. 1, a), with a cursive loop on the right and a curve on the left; similar loops are common in later ligatures, see pl. I, 33, 35, 36, XII; 34, XIII; and they occur even in ja, pl. I, 12, XII. — No. 4, da, col. III, = Daleth, derived from a form like that in col. II, b, which, according to col. I, a, occurs already about
B.C. 600 on Assyrian weights. — No. 5, ha, col. III, = He, derived from a form like that in col. I, a (Teima), with the transposition of the pendant in the middle of the curve to the right end of the foot in order to facilitate the insertion of i, e and o (see preliminary remarks, 2, page 20 f., above, and below under No. 17). — No. 6, ea, col. III, = Waw, col. I (Teima, Saqqarah); the papyri in col. II show more advanced forms.

No. 7, ja, col. III, a, = Zain, derived from a form like those in col. I, a, b (Teima), the left corner being turned upwards still further, whence the usual Kharoṣṭhī letter in col. III is derived by omitting the stroke at the foot; the papyri, col. II, show more advanced forms unsuitable for comparison. — No. 8, ia, col. III, = Cheth, col. I (Teima), the sound of the Indian ia being very similar to a palatal xa, as in the German ich. — No. 9, ya, col. III, = Yod, derived either from a form like col. I, b, or directly from one like col. I, a (Assyrian weights), with the omission of the bar on the right (see preliminary remarks, 1); analogous forms occurring in later Palmyranian and Pahlavi (E.T.S.A. cols. 21—25, 30—32, 35—39, 38). — No. 10, ka, col. III, = Kaph, derived by a turn from right to left from col. I, b (Assyrian weights, Babylonian seals, &c.), and with the addition of a top-stroke, in order to distinguish the new sign from ha (No. 11, col. III) and from pa (No. 15, col. III); the signs of the papyri, col. II, differ entirely. — No. 11, la, col. III, = Lamed, a form like those in col. I, a, c (Teima) being turned topsy-turvy owing to the aversion to signs with appendages at the foot alone (preliminary remarks, 1), and the curved line being broken and attached lower in order to distinguish the new letter from A.

No. 12, ma, col. III, a, b, = Mem, derived from a form like that in col. I, a, b (Saqqarah) with a curved head, by the omission of the transverse line and a rudimentary indication of the vertical standing originally on the right, whence the development of the semicircular ordinary ma of the Aśoka edicts, col. III, c, still more mutilated on account of the vowel-signs; the forms of the Mem of the papyri, col. II, are unsuited to be considered the prototypes of the Kharoṣṭhī ma. — No. 13, na, col. III, a, = Nun, col. I, a, b (Saqqarah), a later derivative being the na of col. III, b; the Nun of the papyri, col. II, is again unsuited for comparison. — No. 14, sa, col. III, = Samekh, col. I (Teima), with transposition of the slanting bar to the left end of the top-stroke from which it hangs down, and with connection of its lower end with the tail of the sign, which has been pushed forward towards the left (see the figures in B.I.S. III, 105); analogous developments appear in Nabataean (E.T.S.A. cols. 46, 47) and in Hebrew. — No. 15, pu, col. III, a, = Phe, col. I (Teima), turned from right to left to distinguish it from A; in the more usual pa of col. III, b, the curve has been pushed lower down. — No. 16, ca, col. III, = Tavit, derived from an acute-angled form like col. I, a, b (Teima), with the omission of the second hook on the right (see preliminary remarks, 2) and with the development of a hook below the head, because the vertical was made separately; the analogous Tawde of col. II, b, has been developed, because the right stroke of the head was made separately and drawn to the vertical.

No. 17, kha, col. III, = Qoph, derived from a form like col. I, a, b (Serapeum) with the conversion of the central pendant into an elongation of the top-stroke on the left; similarly, the pendant has been transferred to the right end of the letter in the Teima form (E.T.S.A. col. 10). — No. 18, ca, col. III, = Reh, col. I, a, b (Saqqarah), with complete removal of the angular protuberance on the right. — No. 19, sa, col. III, = Shin, col. I (Teima), turned topsy-turvy owing to the aversion to tops with more than two strokes rising upwards (preliminary remarks, 2), and with a lengthening of the central stroke owing to the predilection for long-tailed signs. — No. 20, ta, col. III, = Ta, derived from a form like that in col. I, a (Assyrian weights) or in col. I, b (Saqqarah), with the transposition of the bar to the top of the [24] vertical, as in col. II, a, the new sign at the same time being turned from right to left in order to avoid the resemblance to pa (No. 15), and being broadened in order to distinguish it.
from əa and ra (Nos. 6, 18); the older form and the intermediate steps appear in tha (No. 20, col. IV, a) and fa (No. 20, col. IV, b) where the original Taw has been preserved, and in fa (No. 20, col. IV, c) where the bar stands at the top; compare below, B, 1, c, and B, 2.

B. — Derivative signs.

(1) Aspiration. — The aspiration is expressed by the addition of a curve or a hook, which probably represent a cursive ḫa (Taylor), and for which cursively a simple stroke appears; at the same time, the original mūrkhā is sometimes simplified, — (a) A curve or a hook is added to the right of the vertical of əa in ḡha, No. 3, col. IV, to the top of da in ḍha, No. 4, col. IV, a, and to the end of the second bar of ḍa, No. 20, col. IV, c, from which it rises upwards, in ḍha, No. 20, col. IV, d (properly ḍho). — (b) A hook, a curve, or cursively a slanting stroke, appears to the right of əa in ḍha, No. 2, col. IV, a, b, the head of ḍa being converted at the same time into a straight line and pushed somewhat more to the left, in order to avoid the identity with ḫa, No. 10, col. III. — (c) In the following aspirates appear only cursive straight strokes, added on the left in ḍha, No. 7, col. IV, and pha, No. 15, col. IV, and on the right in cha, No. 16, col. IV, ḍha, No. 4, col. IV, c, and tha, No. 20, col. IV, a, all of which letters show, however, additional peculiarities. In cha, the little pendant on the left of ca has been made horizontal and combined with the stroke of aspiration to a cross bar. In ḍha, the head of ḍa has been flattened into a straight line. Tha has been formed out of the ancient Aramaic Taw, No. 20, col. I, ə, turned from right to left, and the stroke of aspiration continues the bar of Taw towards the right.

(2) Linguals. — ḍa has been formed out of the older Taw, turned from the right to the left, by the addition of a short bar, which in the Asoka edicts usually stands on the right and lower than that on the left, as in No. 20, col. IV, b. In col. IV, ḍa, the sign of lingualisation stands on the left, below the ḍa with the bar at the top. This form of ḍa, which appears rarely in the Asoka edicts, must formerly have been common, as the ḍha has been derived from it (see above, B, 1, a). The ḍa of No. 4, col. IV, b, exactly resembles the common Aramaic Daleth in col. I, b (Teima) and may be identical with it. If the alphabet imported into India contained two forms for ḍa (col. I, a, b), both may have been borrowed, and the more cumbersome one may have been used for the expression of the fuller sound. It is, however, also possible that the ḍa has been formed out of the ḍa of No. 4, col. III, a, by the addition of the bar of lingualisation, placed vertically on the right. The ḍa, No. 13, col. IV, a, is likewise derived from na, col. III, a, b, by the addition of a straight stroke going downwards; compare what has been said above, § 4, B, 4, regarding the use of a short stroke for denoting the change of the quality of a borrowed or derivative sign in forming the Af, 0, ḍa, ūa and ḍa of the Brāhmi.

(3) The palatal ūa, No. 13, col. IV, b, c, consists of two na (col. III, a) joined together (R. Thomas), and illustrates the modern Indian name for ūa and ḍa, which the Pandits often call the big nakaras. The sign, which is really not necessary for a clerk's alphabet, has perhaps been framed only because it existed in the Brāhmi, the Pandit's alphabet.

(4) Medial vowels, absence of vowel in ligatures, and Anusvāra. — Long vowels are not marked, and a inheres, just as in the Brāhmi, in every consonant. Other vowels are marked by straight strokes. In the case of ə, the stroke passes through the left side of the top-line or top-lines of the consonant; in ə, it stands to the left of the foot; in c, it descends on the left side of the top-line; in a, it hangs down from this line, see pha, No. 20, col. IV, d; for further details see below, § 11, B. Joined to A, the same strokes form l, U, E and O (No. 1, col. IV, a—d). The absence of a vowel between two dissimilar consonants, except nasals, is expressed, as in the Brāhmi, by the combination of the two signs into a ligature, in which the second letter is usually connected with the lower end of the first. But ra stands invariably at the foot
of the other consonant, whether it may have to be pronounced before or after it. Double [25] consonants, except nasals, are expressed by single ones, and non-aspirates and aspirates by the aspirates alone. Nasals immediately preceding other consonants, are always expressed by the Anusvāra, which, in the Aṣoka edicts, is attached to the preceding mātrkā.

The non-expression of a, and the rules regarding the formation of the ligatures, no doubt, have been taken over from the Brāhmi, only minor modifications being introduced. And it seems probable that the use of straight strokes for i, u, e and o comes from the same source. For, already in the Brāhmi of all the Aṣoka edicts, u, e and o are either regularly or occasionally expressed by simple strokes, and in Gibrār i is represented by a shallow curve, often hardly distinguishable from a straight stroke; moreover, i, e and o stand in Brāhmi, just as in the Kharoṣṭhī, at the top of the consonants, and u at the foot. A connection of the two systems of medial vowel-signs is therefore undeniable, and that of the Brāhmi must be regarded as the original one, since its signs, as has been shown above, § 4, C, 1, evidently have been derived from the initial vowels.

The notation of I, U, E and O by combinations of A with the modal vowel-signs is peculiar to the Kharoṣṭhī, and is attributable to a desire to simplify the alphabet. Among the later Indian alphabets, the modern Devanāgarī offers an analogy with its क and क, and the Gujarāti with its ग, ग, गए, and गए, and गए. Several among the foreign alphabets derived from the Brāhmi, as e.g. the Tibetan, show the principle of the Kharoṣṭhī fully developed.

The Anusvāra, which is used, as in the Brāhmi, for all vowelless nasals, is derived from ma (E. Thomas). In ma, No. 12, col. IV, it still has the full form of ma, but usually it undergoes cursive alterations; see below, § 11, B, 5.

§ 10.—The varieties of the Kharoṣṭhī of Plate I.

According to plate I, the Kharoṣṭhī shows four chief varieties, viz. :—(1) the archaic one of the fourth and third centuries B.C., found in the Aṣoka edicts of Shāhābāgarh (photolithograph of edict VII, in ZDMG. 43, 151, and of edict XII. in EI. 1, 16) and of Manshehra (photolithograph of edicts I—VIII in JA. 1888. 2. 330 = SEN ART, Notes d’Épigraphie Indienne, 1), with which the signature in the Aṣoka edicts of Siddāpura (photolithographs in EI. 3. 138—140), the legends on the oldest coins (autotypes in C.CAI. pl. 3, Nos. 9, 12, 13) and the syllabics on the Persian sigloi (autotypes in J.RAS. 1895. 865) fully agree.

(2) The variety of the second and first centuries B.C. on the coins of the Indo-Grecian kings, which is imitated by some later foreign kings (autotypes in P. GARDNER’s Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum, pl. 4—21).

1 Preparation of Plate I:—
1—37, cols. I—V, and 38, 39, cols. I—XIII, traced by DR. DIDERKIND from DR. BURGES’s impressions of the Aṣoka edicts of Shāhābāgarh and Manshehra, and reduced by photography.
1—37, cols. VI, VII, and 38, 39, cols. XIV, drawn by DR. W. CASTELLINI from P. GARDNER’s autotypes of Indo-Grecian coins.
1—37, cols. VIII, IX, and 22—25, col. XIII, traced from DR. BURGES’s impressions of the Mathurā lion capital and the photograph of the Taxila copper-plate of which a coloiotype has since then been published in EI. 4, 53 (10 and 14, col. VII, and 25, col. XIII).
1—37, cols. X—XII, and 31—37, col. XIII, traced or drawn according to DR. HÖRNER’s facsimile of the Taxila inscription, supplemented by some signs from the Manikāya stone and gelatine copies of the Wardak and Bimārān vases by DR. S. VON OLDENBURG.
23—36, col. XIII, drawn according to P. GARDNER’s autotypes of the older Kutab coins.
1—20, cols. XIII, XIV, numerals drawn according to the impressions and facsimiles of the Aṣoka edicts and later inscriptions.
Older tables of the Kharoṣṭhī alphabet, in P.IA. 2. 166, pl. 11; W.AA. 282; C.IIA(III. I), pl. 37; P. GARDNER, Cat. I. C. Dr. Muse. p. LXX. f.; VON SALLET, Nachfolger Alex. d. Gr. (end); G. H. OSWAL, The Ind. Pal. pl. 26.
§ 11. — The archaic variety. 3

A. — The radical signs.

(1) [26] A small stroke, rising upwards at an acute angle, may be added at the foot of every letter ending with a straight or slanting line, in order to mark its end (plate I, I, II; 6, II, V; 7, II; 8, II; &c.). If a letter ends with two slanting lines, like it and 4a (34, II), the upstroke may be added to the left. In the Aûka edicts of Manshehr, 4a receives instead occasionally a straight base-stroke (18, V).

(2) Ca has three varieties, (a) head with obtuse angle (10, I, II, IV); (b) head with curve (10, V); (c) head with curve, connected by a vertical with the lower part (10, III). — (3) The head of cha is likewise sometimes angular (11, I, IV) and sometimes round (11, II), and loses occasionally the cross-bar below the head, as in the later types. — (4) The full form of ja occurs at least once in Shâbbâgharî (12, I, V) and oftener in Manshehr, where once (edict V, l. 24) the bar stands to the left of the foot. The left side-stroke of ja is often curved (12, III). — (5) In 4a, the second shortened sa (see above, § 9, B, 3) is sometimes added on the right (14, I, V) and sometimes on the left (14, III, IV). Occasionally, the right side of the letter is converted cursorily into a vertical, as in the later inscriptions (14, IX).

(6) The normal form of 4a is that of 15, I, II; but the bar on the left stands occasionally lower than that on the right (15, V; 38, II), or both bars stand on the left (38, VI), or the bar on the right is omitted (commonly in Manshehr) (15, III).

(7) Te (20) is mostly shorter and broader than ra (31), and either its two lines are of equal length, or the vertical one is shorter. Forms like 20, V, are rare. — (8) Dh (22, II) shows twice, in Shâbbâgharî edict IV, l. 8, and Manshehr edict VII, l. 33 (where the transcript in ZDMG. has erroneously dvi), a curve to the right of the foot, which is probably nothing but an attempt to clearly distinguish da from na. — (9) Dha with the left end turned upwards (23, V) is rare and a secondary development (see above, § 9, B, 1). In the abnormal dha of 38, VIII (dvra), from Manshehr, the second bar is a substitute for a very sharp bend to the left (23, V). — (10) The na with the bent head (24, III) occurs not rarely in the syllable ne.

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1 Other facsimiles of Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions: — (1) Aûka edicts in J.R.A.S. 1856, 153; C.I.A.(CHI. I), pl. 1, 2; C.ASR. 5, pl. 5; S.I.P. 1 (end): IA. 10, 107; — (2) later inscriptions in P.I.A. 1, 96 (pl. 6), 144 (pl. 9), 163 (pl. 18); W.A.A. 54 (pl. 2), 252; C.ASR. 7, 124 (pl. 59), 169 (pl. 63); 6, pl. 16, 28; J.R.A.S. 1863, 222 (pl. 3), 228 (pl. 4), 250 (pl. 9), 250 (pl. 10), and 1877, 144; J.A.S.S. 33, 57, 31, 176, 538; 39, 65; IA. 18, 257; S.NEI. Nos. 3 (JA. 1890, I, pl. 1, No. 2) and 5 (JA. 1894, II, pl. 5, Nos. 34, 36). All useless except the last three.

2 Compare ZDMG. 43, 125 ff., 274 ff.
(11) The greatly mutilated ma (29, I) is more common than the forms with remnants of the old pendant (compare above, § 9, A, No. 12). It appears invariably in connection with vowel signs and owes its existence to such combinations.

(12) La with a curve on the left, as in the later inscriptions (32, VIII), is rare in the Aśoka edicts, but occurs in Mansehra edict VI, l. 29.

(13) The cursively rounded ka of 34, III, is rare; but once, in Shāhībāīgari edict XIII, l. 1, appears a ka hardly distinguishable from ya. — (14) The sa with a triangular head (36, II), and that with a rounded head (36, I, III, IV), are cursive developments from the old polygonal form (36, V). The vertical stroke of sa is occasionally omitted, as in Mansehra [27] edict VI, l. 27.

(15) The common forms of ha with a curve (37, I, IV) or a short hook (37, III, V) at the foot, are cursive developments of the ha of 37, II; see above, § 9, A, No. 5.

B. — Medial vowels and Anusvāra.

(1) The i-stroke goes regularly across the left side of the horizontal strokes of the consonants (6, III, 7, III; 15, II, III; with); in letters with two horizontal or slanting top-strokes, it passes through both (14, III, 16, III; 38, III, VI; with), likewise through both the top-strokes of na (19, X). In I (2, I), di (22, II), and ni, it stands just below the head, and in yi (30, II) it hangs in the left side.

(2) The e-stroke corresponds in form and position to the upper half of the i-stroke (4, I, 6, IV; 12, II, 19, III; with), in E (4, II) it may also stand straight above the head of a.

(3) The o-stroke mostly corresponds in its position to the lower half of the i-stroke (5, I, 12, IV; 14, IV; with), but it stands further to the right in the angle, formed by the upper part of the letters, in go, gho (9, II) and so (36, IV).

(4) The u-stroke stands regularly at the left lower end of the consonant (3, I, 8, III, 10, IV, 12, III; with), but a little higher up if the foot of the consonant is curved to the left (U, 3, II), or to the right (du, 22, IV), or has a hook on the right (pru, 25, V, ku, 37, IV). In mu it stands to the left of the top of ma (see mru, 29, V).

(5) The Anusvāra has the full form of ma (see above, § 9, B, 4) only occasionally in mam (29, IV). More commonly it is represented cursively by a straight stroke as in mam (38, XI), or by two hooks at the sides of ma as in mam (38, X). In combination with other consonants ending in a single slanting or vertical line, the Anusvāra is marked by an angle, opening upwards, which the foot of the consonant bisects (8, IV, 11, IV, 17, V, 19, V; with), or, rarely in Shāhībāīgari, oftener in Mansehra, by a straight line, a substitute for the curve of ma, as in tham (21, V). If the foot of the consonant has some other appendage, the Anusvāra is attached higher up to the vertical, as in nām (14, V); dām (18, V); vram (33, V); hám (37, V). The angular Anusvāra is always divided in yau (30, V) and in kau, and the one half is added to the right end of the māthkā, and the other to the left. This may also be done in kau and in bham (38, IV).

C. — Ligatures.

(1) Bhīṣ (38, IX), mma (38, XII) and mya (38, XII, b) show no changes or only very slight ones in the combined letters. In other cases, one or the other is usually mutilated.

(2) For ra, which must be pronounced sometimes before and sometimes after its māthkā (exception: in ra in Mansehra edict V, l. 24), appears, besides slightly mutilated forms (in rāi, 38, IV, and res, 31, I), (a) a slanting line, with or without a bend, which goes through the middle of the vertical of the combined consonant (as in grā, 38, I; ra, 38, II; rāi, 38, III); (b) also a curved or straight stroke at the foot of the combined sign (rāi, 38, V; bra, 6, V; grā, 8, V; tra, 20, V; dhā, 23, V; 38, VIII; pru, 25, V; bra, 27, V; vram, 33, V; śru, 34, V; stri, 39,
In combination with ma, the ra-stroke stands invariably at the right top, as in mru (29, V), and in kru and bhru (28, V), occasionally at the right end of the hooks of those letters. Sometimes, especially in Manushr, a curve open above, as in thra (21, IV), is substituted for the straight stroke. The stroke and the curves, of course, are cursive substitutes for a full ra, attached to the foot of the combined consonants.

(3) In mru (39, III) the two consonants have been pushed one into the other, so that the vertical does duty both for the ra and the sa. The same principle is followed in the formation of the ligature sta (which consists only in Shāhābāzgarhī edict I, I, 2, srestamati, of sa with a ta hooked into the vertical, 30, IV). At the same time sa is mutilated, the middle of its top remaining open and the hook on the left being omitted. This is clearly visible in sī (39, V) and stri (39, IX), while sta (38, III), stri (39, VI), stī (39, VII), and stri (39, VIII) are made more negligently. The ligature of sa and pa is formed according to [28] the same principles, but the sa is mutilated still more and merely indicated by a little hook at the top of the vertical of pa in spā (39, X) and spī (39, XII). In spā (39, XI) the hook stands on the side-limb of pa.

(4) The ligature in 38, VII, seems to have two different meanings. In Shāhābāzgarhī edict X, 1, 21, the sign appears in the representative of the Sanskrit tattvādya, which in the dialect of the Asoka edicts might be either tātattvāya or tātattvāya, and in Manushr it occurs frequently in the representative of the Sanskrit tīman. As the Kuṣāṇa inscriptions offer a similar sign (31, XIII) in the representative of the Sanskrit sattvānām, we have probably to read tēva in Shāhābāzgarhī edict X, 1, 21, and to assume that the curve at the foot of teva represents a ra, just as it stands in thra (21, IV) for the similar ra. This explanation is confirmed by the ligatures 30, XIII, and 37, XIII, which most probably are equivalent to ēva (cīvāra) and sva (visharavāmini). In Manushr (especially edict XII) the sign 38, VII, has to be read tma.2

§ 12. — Changes in the later varieties.3

A. — The radical signs.

(1) The meaningless upward stroke connected with the foot of the verticals occurs only occasionally on the Indo-Grecian coins (7, VI; 20, VI; 36, VI). More frequently it appears detached to the left of the signs, as in A (1, VI), and even with ha (37, VI). A cursive substitute is the very common dot, as in ha (37, VII); compare also ma (29, VII). Finally, various letters, like ha (20, VII) and ma (34, VII), receive on the Indo-Grecian coins a horizontal base-line (see above, §§ 11, A, 1). In the variety of the Saka period, the ends of the verticals show sometimes a meaningless hook, as in sa (10, VIII) and in sa (36, IX), or a straight stroke on the right, as in sa (35, VIII). The same hook appears also in the cursive script of the Kuṣāṇa period (sa, 35, X), or a horizontal stroke to the left, as in A (1, XI), ka (6, X), dha (23, XI), ma (24, XII), bi (27, XI), ya (30, X), as well as curves both to the right and left, as in kha (7, X), ca (10, XII), dhi (16, XI), ghi (9, X), ha (27, X), mi (29, XI), where the curve has been added to the vowel-stroke.

(2) In the Saka and Kuṣāṇa varieties, the head of ka is commonly converted into a curve (6, VIII), and in the Kuṣāṇa variety this curve is connected with the side-limb of ka

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1 O. Frank, Nachr. Gött. Ges. d. Wiss., 1895, 340, and ZDMG. 50, 663, proposes to read fa and št for the signs which I read spā and spī.

2 The MS. of the Dharmapāda shows this same sign both in the terminations of the absolutes in teva (tēva) and in astāma (āstāna), and thus further confirms the explanation proposed.

3 Regarding the characters on the Indo-Greek coins, see WZKM. 8, 193 f.; regarding the script of the Saka and Kuṣāṇa inscriptions, see J. B. B. 1865, 258, pl. 4 (where, however, in l. 1.2 the second ch must be deleted, in l. 2.5 must be substituted for s, and ška for št, and in l. 3 ōma for ōt, and the signs for spr in l. 4 are doubtful), and O. Frank, ZDMG. 50, 662 f.
In all the later varieties, the top of ḷa is made longer and curved to the right (7, VI—XI; 39, XIV).

(4) In the Saka type, we have a cursive form of ṛa, derived from 10, III, in which the left end of the lower portion of the sign is attached to the short vertical below the top. Similar, still more cursive, forms are common in the Kuśana variety; see 10, X, and XII. — (5) All the later varieties show the ṛa without the cross-bar, and the vertical is occasionally made to slant so that the sign looks like mo. — (6) In the later varieties, the left side-limb of ja is nearly always rounded, and in the Kuśana variety the head of the sign often consists of a shallow curve, from the left end of which the vertical hangs down (12, XI). Hence is developed the looped ja (12, XII) of the Bimaran vase. The full ja with the bar across or to the left of the foot occurs on the Indo-Greekian coins (12, VII). — (7) In all the later varieties, one side of ṭa invariably shows a vertical (14, VIII, IX).

(8) The only known ṭa of the Saka period in the ligature ṭe (22, XIII) shows the archaic form with one bar on the left; compare 15, III. In the Kuśana variety, the two bars to the right and left (15, I) are converted into a straight line, whereby ṭa becomes tha (15, X—XII). The small strokes at the top of ū (15, XI) are, as Fleer's impression of the Sue Bihār inscription shows, due to rent in the copper. The correct reading of the word, in which it occurs, is kusubin instead of kishubin (Hoenle). — (9) In all (29) the later varieties, tha (16, VIII, X, XI) loses the hook at the end of the second bar.

(10) On the Indo-Greekian coins, ṭa (20) is very similar to ṛa; in the Saka inscriptions, it is only one-third of the size of ṛa, and in the Kuśana variety the two letters are again very similar. — (11) The Saka da of do (24, IX) is derived from the form 22, II, while the signs 22, VIII, and X, come from the ordinary da of the Aśoka edicts. The Kuśana form (22, XI) shows an inverted curve at the head.

(12) The inscription of Gondophernes, and some coins of that king and of Azilises (P. Gardner, Cat. Ind. C. Br. Mus. p. 94, No. 22), show — the first in the king's name — a peculiar sign (26, X) usually read pha, but possibly meant for ṭa, as O. Franke proposes, ZDMG. 50, 603. — (13) In the Kuśana variety, the right end of the horizontal top of ḷa is occasionally connected with the vertical (29, X), and sometimes the top-stroke is connected with the side-limb, just as in ku (6, XI). — (14) The fuller ma (29, VIII) is common on the Indo-Greekian coins, and for its slanting stroke the later coins often show a dot (29, VII). In the ma of the Saka and Kuśana varieties (29, IX, XII), ma is laid on its side, the right part of the semicircle rises high up, and the left is bent downwards; compare the late sūṃ (32, XIII).

(15) In the Kuśana inscriptions, ya often becomes a curve or rhombus-like figure, open below (30, XI, XII). — (16) In the later varieties, the left limb of la (32, VIII, X) is invariably round, and in the Kuśana type it is often attached to the top of the vertical (32, XI, XII). — (17) In later times, the head of sa (33, VIII, X) is invariably rounded.

(18) Equally, fa (34, VIII, X) is often made round and similar to ya. — (19) In later times, sa (36, VII—XI) invariably loses the line connecting the left side of the head with the tail, and the new form becomes in the Kuśana inscriptions often highly cursive; see 36, XII.

### B. Medial vowels and Anusvāra.

(1) Medial ṭ often crosses the vertical low down; see ṭ (3, VII, VIII, X), ṭi (22, XI), ṭe (22, XI), ṭe; and in the Kuśana variety it gets a hook in ṭi (29, XI). Medial a likewise is occasionally attached low down to the vertical, see ṭa (31, XI); ṭo (37, XII).

(2) The e-stroke stands in ṭe invariably on the right of the a (4, VI—VIII), and it may sink down as low as the foot. The short stroke is then converted into a long bent line (4, X,
(3) On the Indo-Grecian coins, medial u keeps its old form; but in ju (12, VII) the stroke rises upwards on account of the base-line of ja, likewise in pu (25, VII) on account of the bend in the pu. In later times, u is represented by a curve or a loop, as in U (3, VIII), hu (6, XI), khu (7, XI), &c.; in mu (29, IX, XII), the curve opens to the right.

(4) The Anuvāra is marked by a ma, laid on its side, which either is connected with its mārka, as in Am (1, VII), jau (2, VII), thim (16, XI), or stands separate to the left, as in yam (30, VII), or may be placed below (see mahottasa in the Taxila copper-plate, line 1).

C. — Ligatures.

(1) The ligatures of the Indo-Grecian coins, such as kra (6, VII), khre (39, XIV), stva (38, XIV), and those of the Saka inscriptions, ste (22, XIII), ksha (25, XIII), sta (23, XIII), show only small changes. The same remark applies to the ligatures on the coins of the Saka kings.

(2) Among the ligatures of the cursive Kuśana inscriptions, some, like gau (8, XI), bhra (28, XII), exactly agree with the archaic forms, and [30] during this period we still find even the old era (rea) (39, I) in the word sare. The ligatures tra (31, XIII), tha (32, XIII), often misread as ste, the (35, XIII), and stv (36, XIII), show the new Kuśana forms of the component parts. But the sa of sva (37, XIII) is badly mutilated, and the loops of nya (34, XIII), rea (33, XII), sva (35, XIII), and nya (36, XII) are new cursive formations.

III. THE ANCIENT BRAHMİ AND DRAVIDI FROM ABOUT B. C. 350 TO ABOUT A. D. 350.

§ 13. — How it was deciphered.

The first scholar who read, in 1836, an inscription in the oldest Brāhma characters, the legend on the coins of the Indo-Grecian king Agathocles, was Ch. Lassen. But the whole alphabet was deciphered by J. Prinsep in 1837-33. His table is, with the exception of the signs for U and O, quite correct, as far as it goes. Since his time, six missing signs have been found, among which I, E, s, sa, a and s have been given in plate II. of this manual, while se, discovered by Grierson in Gayā, is figured in my Indian Studies, III, pp. 31, 76, and on page 35 below. The existence of AU in the third century B. C. is assured by the Gayā alphabet of Asoka’s masons. One form of sa has been first pointed out by Senart; and another by Hoernle. I have found sa in the Śānci votive inscriptions. Regarding I, compare below, § 16, C, 4.
§ 14. — Common characteristics of the ancient inscriptions.

The forms of the Brāhmī and Drāviḍi, used during the first 600 years, are known at present only from inscriptions on stones, copper-plates, coins, seals and rings, and there is only one instance of the use of ink from the third or second century B. C. The view of the development of the characters during this period is, therefore, not complete. For, in accordance with the results of all paleographic research, the epigraphic alphabets are mostly more archaic than those used in daily life, as the very natural desire to employ monumental forms prevents the adoption of modern letters, and as, in the case of coins, the imitation of older specimens not rarely makes the alphabet retrograde. The occurrence of numerous cursive forms together with very archaic ones, both in the Aśoka edicts (see above, § 3) and also in later inscriptions, clearly proves that Indian writing makes no exception to the general rule. And it will be possible to use the numerous cursive letters for the reconstruction of the more advanced alphabets, which were employed for manuscripts and for business purposes.

The full recognition of the actual condition of the Indian writing is obscured also by the fact that the inscriptions of the earliest period, with two exceptions, are either in Prākrit or in a mixed language (Gāthā dialect), and that the originals, from which they were transferred to stone or copper, were drafted by clerks and monks who possessed little or no education. In [31] writing Prākrit these persons adopted nearly throughout — (in writing the mixed dialect less constantly) — the practically convenient popular orthography, in which the notation of long vowels, especially of e and u, and of the Anuvāra, is occasionally neglected as a matter of small importance, and in which double consonants are mostly represented by single ones, non-aspirates are omitted before aspirates, and the Anuvāra is put for all vowelless medial nasals. This mode of spelling continues in the Prākrit inscriptions with great constancy until the second century A. D. The constant doubling of the consonants appears first in a Pāli inscription of Hārītputta Sātākaṇṭa, king of Benavāsi, which has been recently found by L. Ricci.

The longer known inscription of the same prince (IA. 14, 331) does not show it. Besides, we find in some other, partly much older, Prākrit documents, faint traces of the phonetical and grammatical spelling of the Pandita. Thus, the Aśoka edicts of Shāhībāzgarh offer some instances of mma (see above, § 9, B, 4), the Nāsik inscriptions Nos. 14, 15, and Kudā No. 5, have the word siddhā, and Kaṅheri No. 14 ōyakaba. Such deviations from the rule indicate that the writers had learned a little Sanskrit, which fact is proved also for the writer who drafted the Kālāi edicts by the, for the Pāli absurd, form baṃhmene for baṃbhane (Kālāi edict XIII, 1. 39).

With the exception of the Ghasundi (Nagari) inscription, which contains no word with a double consonant, all the documents in the mixed dialect offer instances of double consonants which sometimes even are not absolutely necessary. Pabhosa No. 1 has Baharātanittraya and Kāśapīyānā, No. 2 has Tevarāttrasya, Nāsik No. 5 has siddḥam, and Kārle No. 21 has Setapharātaputtaśya. And the Jainas inscriptions from Mathurā furnish numerous analogous cases. The only known Sanskrit inscriptions of this period, the Ginnār Prasasti from the reign of Rudradāman and Kaṅheri No. 11, in general show the orthography approved by the phonologists and grammarians, with a few irregularities in the use of the Anuvāra, e. g., pratānapā (Ginnār Prasasti, 1. 2), saṅbhadhā (1. 12), which have been caused by the influence of the popular orthography, but are found in the best MSS. written by Pandits. The orthographic peculiarities, just discussed, have therefore nothing to do with the development of the alphabet, but merely show that in ancient, as in modern, India the spelling of the clerks differed from that of the learned Brahmans, and that both methods, then as now, mutually influenced each other and caused irregularities.

1 J. B. R. A. 10, XXIII. 3 See above, § 2, B (end).
2 B. I. S. III, 40—43. 5 According to an impression and a photograph kindly sent by Mr. L. Ricci.
4 See above, § 7. B. A. S. W. I. 4, pl. 45 and 52; 5, pl. 51.
5 El. 2, 242; B. A. S. W. I. 4, pl. 52 and 54.
6 El. 1, 371 ff.; 2, 196 f. B. A. S. W. I. 2, pl. 14; 5, pl. 51.
A second peculiarity, found in many inscriptions in Prākrit and in the mixed dialect, is the frequent erroneous employment of the signs for the sibilants. In the Āśoka edicts of KālŚi, of Siddāpira, and of Bairāt No. II, on the Bhaṭṭiprolu vases, in the cave inscriptions of Nāgarjuni and of Rāmnāth, and in the Mathurā inscriptions of the Kuśana period, may even in the two oldest Ceylonese inscriptions, s or š are used often for š, and ša for š, and sa for ša and ša. The reasons for this promiscuous use of the sibilants are, first, the circumstance that the school alphabet, which the clerks learned, was originally intended for Sanskrit and contained more sibilants than the ancient vernaculars possessed, and secondly, the negligent pronunciation of the classes destitute of grammatical training. The western and southern Prākrits very probably possessed, then as now, both the palatal and the dental sibilants, and it was probably the custom, as is done also in our days, to exchange the two sounds in the same words. The natural consequence was that the feeling for the real value of the signs for š and ša disappeared among the Prākrit-speaking classes, while the š of their school-alphabet, for which there was no corresponding sound in their vernaculars, must have appealed to them as a sign suitable to express sibilance. The Sanskrit inscriptions of all centuries, especially the land-grants which were drafted by common clerks, the MSS, of works written in the modern Prākrit, and the documents from [32] the offices of modern India, with their countless mistakes in the use of the sibilants, offer abundant proof for the correctness of this explanation of the errors in the old inscriptions. The explanation is also confirmed by the occasional occurrence of ša for sa, once in the separate edicts of Dhūli and once of Jaugada, though sa alone is permissible for their dialect. In these cases, too, the error seems to have been caused by the fact that the school alphabet contained both ša and sa. The clerks, who had learned it, each made once a slip, and put in the, for them, redundant sign. The different opinion, according to which the exchange of the sibilants in the Āśoka edicts indicates that the values of the Brāhma signs were not completely settled in the third century B.C., rests on the, now untenable, assumption that the Brāhma was elaborated, not for writing Sanskrit, but for the Prākrit dialects.

§ 15. — The varieties of the Brāhma and Drāviḍi in Plates II. and III.

Plates II. and III. show the following fifteen scripts of the first period:

1. The variety of the Eran coin, running from the right to the left (pl. II, col. I), which probably dates from the 4th century B.C.

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Col. I: drawn according to a cast of the Eran coin: compare C.CAI. pl. 11, No. 18: 4 from Patna seal, C.ASR. 15, pl. 2.

Col. II, III: cuttings from facsimile of KālŚi, El. 2, 447 ff.

Col. IV, V: cuttings from facsimile of Dālhi-Siśālik, IA. 19, 363 ff.

Col. VI, VII: cuttings from facsimile of Jaugada, F.ASRSL, 1, pl. 67, 68, 69: 30, VI, from Radha, El. 2, 245 ff.; and 44, VII, drawn according to impression of Sakaśīram.

Col. VIII-X: cuttings from facsimile of Girnā, El. 2, 447 ff.: 34,ITO, between VII, VIII, from Bīpānā, IA. 6, 162.

Col. XI, XII: cuttings from facsimile of Siddāpira, El. 3, 194 ff.: 44, XII, drawn according to impression of Bairāt, No. I, 43, XI, according to facsimile of Bharabhat, ZDMG. 40, 33 ff.

Col. XIII-XV: cuttings from facsimile in El. 2, 233 ff.

Col. XVI: traced from the facsimile in J.ASR, 55, 77, pl. 5 a.

Col. XVII: cuttings from facsimile in IA. 20, 301 ff.

Col. XVIII: traced from the facsimile in IA. 14, 139: 8 from facsimile of Bharabhat, No. 98, ZDMG. 40, 38, and 41 from impression of Sāteśi Śātā, No. 199.

Col. XIX: cuttings from facsimile in El. 2, 240 ff.

Col. XX: cuttings from facsimile in El. 1, 335, No. 38, and El. 2, 195, No. 1.

Col. XXI, XXII: drawn according to Cunningham’s photograph of the Hākhganāma inscription of Kāhāvāla.

Col. XXIII, XXIV: cuttings from facsimile in F.ASRW, 5, pl. 51, No. 1, 2.

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Plate III.

Col. I, II: cuttings from facsimile in El. 2, 199, Nos. 2 and 3, and Cunningham’s photograph of the ora well inscription: compare C.ASR. 20, pl. 5, No. 4. — (Note continued on the next page.)
(2) The older Maurya alphabet of the Aśoka edicts\(^1\) (pl. II, cols. II—XII), which occurs also with local variations on the Persian siglo\(^2\) and the old coins from Taxila, \&c.,\(^3\) in the majority of the inscriptions on the Bharahut Stūpa (pl. II, 6, XVIII; 45, XI), in Gayā,\(^4\) Sāñci,\(^5\) and Parkham,\(^6\) on the Patnā seals, on the Sohagura copper-plate,\(^7\) and on the stone of Ghasundi or Nagar (pl. II, col. XVI), and probably prevailed at least in the latter half of the 4th and in the 3rd century B. C.

(3) The Drāviḍi of Bhaṭṭiprul (pl. II, cols. XIII—XV), which is connected with the southern variety of the Maurya type, but includes many very archaic signs; about B. C. 200.

(4) The later Maurya alphabet of Daśaratha's inscription (pl. II, col. XVII), closely related to the characters on the coins of the Indo-Greco-Saudian kings Agathocles and Pantaleon;\(^8\) about B. C. 200 to 180.

(5) The Suśita alphabet of the Torāṇa of Bharahut (pl. II, col. XVIII), which agrees with that of the Pabhośa inscriptions (pl. II, col. X IX), of the later votive inscriptions on the rails of the Bharahut and Sāñci Stūpas,\(^9\) of the old Mathurā inscriptions\(^10\) (pl. II, col. XX), of the Rīvā inscription,\(^11\) and so forth;\(^12\) 2nd to 1st centuries B. C.

(6) The older Kaḷiṅga alphabet of the Kaṭak (Hāthigumpha) caves (pl. II, cols. XXI, XXII): about B. C. 150.

(7) The archaic alphabet of the western Dekhaṇ in the Nānāgāḍ inscription (pl. II, cols. XXIII, XXIV), which is found also in Nāsik No. 1, in Pitalkhora, and in Ajaṇṭa Nos. 1, 2;\(^13\) from about B. C. 150 to the 1st century A. D.

(8, 9) The precursors of the later northern alphabets, the alphabet of the inscriptions of the Northern Kaṭārapa Śodāsa and of the archaic votive inscriptions from Mathurā (pl. III, cols. I, II), 1st century B. C. to 1st century A. D. (?), and the Kuṣana alphabet of the reigns of Kanishka, Huvishka and Vāsudeva (pl. III, cols. III—V), 1st and 2nd (?) centuries A. D.

(10—15) The precursors of the later southern alphabets, the alphabet of the Kaṭhāvād from the time of the Western Kaṭārapa Ruradāman (pl. III, col. VI), about A. D. 150; the archaistic type of the western Dekhaṇ from the time of the Kaṭārapa Nāhapāṇa (pl. III, col. VII), beginning of the 2nd century A. D. (?); the more modern-looking alphabet of the same district (occasionally with only faint traces of southern peculiarities) from the time of Nāhapāṇa (pl. III, cols. VIII, IX), of the Andhra king Gotamiputra Sākaṇa (col. X), of the Andhra king Puṣumāyī (col. XI), of the Andhra king Gotamiputra Sīriyāṇa Sākaṇa (col. XII), of Nāsik No. 20 (col. XIII), and of the Abhira king Iśvarasena (col. XIV), 2nd century A. D.;

Col. VI: drawn according to facsimiles in B.ASBWI. 2, 125, pl. 14.
Cols. VII—XVI: cuttings from facsimiles in B.ASBWI. 4, pl. 31, No. 19; pl. 32, Nos. 9, 10, 18, 19; pl. 33, Nos. 13, 14; pl. 55, No. 22; pl. 48, No. 3; and tracings for col. XV, from pl. 45, Nos. 6, 6, II.
Cols. XVII, XVIII: cuttings from facsimiles in B.ASBWI. 1, pl. 62, 63.
Cols. XIX, XX: cuttings from facsimiles in EI. 1, 1 ff.
The backgrounds of all the cuttings, and indistinct strokes, have been touched up.
Seals of Plate II. = 0 of the cuttings; except X, 11, and the signs in cols. VI, VII, XII, XXX, XXXI, which have the same size as in the facsimiles. Seals of Plate III. = 0.7.

\(^1\) Compare the following trustworthy facsimiles of Aśoka edicts not mentioned in note 6 on page 31 above:—B.ASBWI. 2, 98 ff., Girnar; IA. 13, 366 ff., Allahabad; IA. 19, 122 ff., Delhi-Mirāt, Allahabad Queen's edict, Allahabad Kusamba edict; IA. 20, 334, Barabāri caves; IA. 22, 299, Sahasrām and Bālpāth; EI. 2, 245 ff., Mathura and Śāmāvipura; EI. 2, 366, Sāṣā; JA. 1897, 1, 468, Bājārā No. 1; and the table of letters in B.ASBWI. 4, pl. 5.

\(^2\) J. B.A.S. 1895, 385 (pl.).

\(^3\) C. M. G. pl. 10, Nos. 2, 3.

\(^4\) C. M. G. pl. 2, 3; pl. 5, Nos. 1, No. 20.

\(^5\) Facsimiles in EI. 2, 366 ff.

\(^6\) C. A. R. 20, pl. 6.

\(^7\) Proc. ASR. May-June, 1894, pl. 1.

\(^8\) P. G. A. R. Cat. of Ind. Coins Br. Mus., pl. 3, 4.


\(^10\) Compare plate in Sixth Oriental Congress, 3, 2, 142.

\(^11\) JA. 9, 121.

\(^12\) Compare also C. A. R. pl. 4, Nos. 8—15; pl. 5; pl. 8, No. 2 ff.; pl. 9, Nos. 1—5; C. M. G. pl. 10, No. 4.

\(^13\) B.ASBWI. 4, pl. 44, Bājārā, Nos. 1—5, Konāḍe.

\(^14\) B.ASBWI. 4, pl. 44, Pitalkhora, Nos. 1—7; pl. 51, Nāsik, No. 1.
the ornamental variety of the same district with more fully developed southern peculiarities, from the Kurdu and [33] Junnar inscriptions (cols. XV, XVI), 2nd century A. D.; the highly ornamental variety of the eastern Dekhan from Jaggayapeta (cols. XVII, XVIII), 3rd century A. D. (?) and the ancient cursive alphabet of the Prakrit grant of the Pallava king Sivakandavarman (cols. XIX, XX), 4th century A. D. (?).

§ 16. — The older Maurya alphabet; Plate II.

A. — Geographical extension and duration of use.

The older Maurya alphabet was used over the whole of India, and it seems to have found its way into Ceylon at the latest about B. C. 250. For, the two oldest Ceylonese inscriptions, from the time of the king Abaya Gamihi, which probably belong to the end of the 2nd or the beginning of the 1st century B. C., show characters which appear to have been developed from those of the Asoka edicts. And the close relations between Asoka and Tissa of Ceylon, reported by the Southern Buddhists, make an importation of the Brahmi from Magadha into Ceylon not improbable. It is, however, possible that the Brahmi alphabet was introduced even earlier into Ceylon by Indian colonists.

The upper limit of the use of the older Maurya alphabet cannot be fixed with any certainty. But the shape of some of the characters on the Persian siglot (above § 15, 1) makes it probable that even its more advanced forms existed before the end of the Akhaemenian rule in India (B. C. 331). Its oldest primary forms, no doubt, go back to much earlier times, as also the statements of the tradition, discussed above, tend to show. [34] The lower limit of the use of this type cannot be very distant from the end of Asoka's reign (about B. C. 221), and must fall about B. C. 200. This estimate is supported by the character of the writing in the inscriptions of Asoka's grandson Dasa-ratha, which were incised “immediately after his coronation” (amanu-atiyan abhitisena), i. e., probably just about the end of the 3rd century B. C., and of the legends on the coins of the Indo-Grecian kings Pantaleon and Agathocles, who ruled in the beginning of the 2nd century B. C. The letters of the Nagarjun cave inscriptions (pl. II, col. XVII) are sharply distinguished from those of the Asoka edicts, partly by the far advanced forms of ja, ta, da, la, and partly by the invariable and considerable reduction of the vertical strokes. The second peculiarity re-occurs on the coins of the two Indo-Grecian kings, which show also a further development of the northern ja of pl. II, 15, III. Though the shortened letters were by no means unknown to the writers of the Asoka edicts (see table on p. 7), their constant use for epigraphic documents is, to judge from the available materials, a characteristic of the types of the second and subsequent centuries. And I believe that all inscriptions showing long verticals must be assigned to the third century B. C., and those with short ones to later times.

B. — Local varieties.

The peculiar circumstances, under which the Asoka edicts were incised, were most unfavourable to a full expression of the existing local varieties. First, the fact that all of them were first drawn up in the imperial secretariate at Pataliputra and then forwarded to the governors of the provinces, must have proved a serious obstacle. As the differences in the grammatical forms and small alterations in the text indicate, the edicts were copied by the provincial clerks before they came into the hands of the stone-masons. It is a matter of course that the scribes of the Rajukas, in copying them, were influenced by the forms of the letters in the originals, and that they imitated them, be it involuntarily or out of respect for the head office. Further, it is probable that the provincial clerks were not always natives of those districts in which they

1 Compare B.III. III, 49 ff.
2 E. MÜLLER, Ann. Inschr. from Ceylon, pl. 1.
3 Compare M. De ZILVA WICKRAMASINGHE in J. RAS., 1895, 895 ff.
5 VON SALLER, Nachfolger Alex. d. Gr., 31; P. GARDNER, Cat. of Ind. Coins Br. Mus., XXVI.
served; and this circumstance must have contributed to efface or to modify the use of the local varieties. Most of Asoka's governors will, no doubt, have been sent from Magadha, the home of the Maurya race, and many will have been transferred in the course of their service from one province to another. Those acquainted with the conditions of the Civil Service in the Native States of India, which still preserve the ancient forms common to the whole of Asia, will regard it as probable that the governors, on taking charge of their posts, imported their subordinates, or at least some of them, be it from their native country or from the districts which they formerly governed. The case of Paça, the writer of the Siddāpura edicts, confirms this inference. As he knew the Kharoṣṭhi, he probably had immigrated, or been transferred, to Maisūr from the north of India.

In spite of these unfavourable conditions it is possible to distinguish in the writing of the Asoka edicts at least two, perhaps three, local varieties. First, there is a northern and a southern one, for which, as in the case of the later alphabets, the Vindhya or, as the Hindus say, the Narmadā, forms the dividing line. The southern variety is most strongly expressed in the Gīnār and Siddāpura edicts, less clearly in the Dhauli and Jangada edicts, by differences in the signs for A, Ā, kha, ja, ma, ra, sa, the medial i, and the ligatures with ra (see below, under O, D). A comparison of the characters of the most closely allied northern and southern inscriptions confirms the assumption that the differences are not accidental. If the characters of the Siddāpura edicts do not always agree with those of Gīnār, the discrepancies will have to be ascribed to the northern descent of the writer Paça or to his service in a northern office.

Even the writing in the northern versions is not quite homogeneous. The pillar edicts of Allahabad, Mathia, Nigliva, Paḍeria, Radhia, and Rāmpūrvā, form one very closely connected set, in which only occasionally minute differences can be traced, and the edicts of Bārāit No. I., Sahasrām, Barābar, and Sāeci, do not much differ. A little further off stand the Dhauli separate edicts (where edict VII. has been written by a different hand from the rest), the Delhi-Mirat edicts, and the Allahabad Queen's edict, as these show the angular da. Very peculiar and altogether different is the writing of the rock edicts of Kālsī, with which some letters on the coins of Agathocles and Pantaleon (but also some in the Jangada separate edicts) agree. Perhaps it is possible to speak also of a north-western variety of the older Maurya alphabet. 1

C.—The radical signs or Matrākas.

Signs beginning with verticals show already in the Asoka edicts occasionally a thickening or a very short stroke (Serif) at the upper end, as in kha (pl. II, 14, 11), pa (pl. VII); compare the cases noted El. 2, 448, and B.ARSRI, 1, 115.

(1, 2) In addition to the eight forms of A, Ā, given on page 6 above, the plate shows a ninth in col. XI. with an open square at the top (compare ma, 32, XI, XII); a tenth, with the angle separated from the vertical, occurs in No. 1 of the Siddāpura inscriptions, edict I, line 2, 3. The forms with the bent vertical (cols. VII, XI) have been caused by writing the upper and lower halves of the letter separately. The addition of the stroke, marking the length of the vowel, to the right top of the vertical (cols. VIII, IX), is a peculiarity of Gīnār.

(3) The forms of I in cols. III, IV, are the common ones; that in col. X, which agrees with the I of the Gupta period and later types, is rare. (4) The rare Ī, which, as may be inferred from the Gayā alphabet of the masons, existed already in the 3rd century B.C., occurs also in the Mahābodhi-Gayā inscriptions, pl. 10, Nos. 9, 10, where Cunningham reads Im, because it appears in the representative of the Sanskrit Indra. Though this reading is possible, I consider it improbable, as it would be necessary to assume for I a not traceable form,

1 Compare B.18-111, 36 ff.
2 The bracketed Arabic figures of section C. correspond with those of plate II; for 1 10, C to E, compare also B.18. 12, 36 ff.
consisting of two dots side by side with a third dot above on the left, thus... In later times (see pl. VI, 4, V, VII) the angles of the square are turned towards the top and the bottom lines.

(5, 6) HULTZSCH (ZDMG. 40, 71) admits that the sign 6, XVIII, looks like ุ, but prefers to read O for linguistic reasons, which seems to be unnecessary according to E. MÜLLER, Simplified Pāli Grammar, 12 f. The existence of ุ in the 3rd century may be inferred from the Gayā alphabet of the masons.

(7) Add the horseshoe-form of E (Kāśi edict V, 16, &c.) from the comparative table on page 11 above, No. 16, col. V, 6. The half-round E of col. XXII. occurs also in Śāci Stūpa I, No. 173. The A followed by a full round E of col. XXI, existed in the 3rd century, as may be inferred from the Gayā alphabet of the masons. — (8) Regarding the O of Dhauli and Jaugada in col. VI, see above, § 4, B, 4, a.

(9) The dagger-shaped ka occurs occasionally in all versions of the Asoka edicts, most rarely in Girnār. — (10) The oldest among the seven forms of kha is that in col. II (Kāśi) and col. VI (Jaugada separate edicts and Bharahut Stūpa inscription). Hence come first the northern kha, with the loop on the right, col. III (Kāśi and Bharahut), and a form, nearly identical with that of col. XVIII, in Jaugada separate edict I, l. 4. The next derivative from this is the kha with a bent vertical and a dot at the foot, in cols. IV, V. Likewise of northern origin is the kha with the triangle at the foot, in kha or 43, V.; compare Mahābodhi-Gayā, pl. 10, No. 3, and Bharahut. Another derivative from the primary form in the alphabet is the kha of cols. VII, IX—XII, with a point at the foot of the perfectly straight vertical, and it occurs both in the south in Girnār, Siddipura, Dhauli, and Jaugada, and in the north in Allahabad, Delhi-Mirat, Mathia, Radhia, Rāmpūrā, and Bairāt No. I. The kha, consisting of a simple hook with the omission of the dot, in col. VIII, is confined to the southern versions and is particularly common in Girnār. — (11) The ga, which is originally pointed at the top, is sometimes slightly rounded, in cols. IV, VI, X—XII. — (12) The primary angular gha appears occasionally in Kāśi (col. III) and in the Jaugada separate edicts. I add here the figure of ง from the Gayā alphabet of the masons, which has been discovered after the preparation of the plates; compare my Indian Studies, III, pp. 31, 76.

(13) The primary ca with tail (see above, § 4, A, 18) occurs also in Śāci Stūpa I, Nos. 269 and 284 (EI. 2, 368). — (14) The primary cha with unequal [33] halves in cols. VI, VII, becomes first a circle, bisected by the vertical, cols. III, IV, and hence is derived the later usual form with two loops in col. II, and in the Gayā alphabet. — (15) The forms of ja, all of which have been derived from the j of the Drāviḍi (cols. XIII—XVI) may be divided (a) into essentially northern forms with a loop in col. III (Kāśi and Mathia), or with a dot in cols. IV, V (Allahabad, Delhi-Sivālik, Delhi-Mirat, Bairāt No. I, Nigliva, Pādēra, Dhauli, Jaugada, and Siddipura), or with a short central stroke in col. II (Kāśi, Jaugada separate edicts, Sabhasrām, and Rānpūrā), and (b) into southern forms, those in cols. VII, X, XI, XVI (Girnār, Dhauli, Jaugada, and Ghasuni) and that in col. IX (Girnār).

(16) In addition to the semicircular fa, we often find secondary forms, flattened above or below or at both ends, as in cols. II, XI, XVI. — (20) With the round-backed ฉ of Kāśi in col. III, compare also the similar ฉ in the Allahabad Queen’s edict, line 3.

(23) From the primary ta in col. III, and 43, III (ta), which is often turned sideways (see comparative table at page 11 above No. 22, V, 6), comes (a) the form with the round side-limb in cols. IV, V, XVI, as well as that in col. VI, and 43, col. II (t), and (b) the very common ต with the angle just below the vertical in col. XI, from which finally the tertiary form with the semicircle for the angle in col. XII (common in later times) appears to be derived. — (25) From the primary rounded ฉ in cols. II, III, comes (a) the angular form in cols. IV, V (Delhi-
(28, 29) The angular pa and pha of col. XII. and col. VI. occurs here and there in various versions. — (30) Add the ba of the comparative table, page 11 above, No. 2, V, a, which is not rare in Kālāi and other versions. — (31) The secondary bhā with the straight stroke on the right, col. XVI, and that with the rounded back, col. VI (Jangada separate edicts), appear also in Bharahut (constantly), Sānci (often), Barabar, and Kālāi. — (32) The secondary ma with the semicircle at the top occurs throughout in the northern inscriptions, except in the Sohgauna copper-plate, which offers a ma with an open square, similar to that of Siddāpura, cols. XI, XII. The older ma with the angle above the circle, cols. VIII—X, is a southern form, and is confined to Girnār (exclusively) and Dhauli and Jangada (rarely).

(33) The notched ya in cols. IV, V, VII, XI, is used either constantly or chiefly in Delhi-Sivālīk, Delhi-Mirat, Mathia, Radhia, Rāmpūrvā, Niglīva, Paḍeria, and Kālāi. It is also very common in Dhauli, Jangada, and Siddāpura. But in Girnār the ya with the curve below is the usual one, cols. VIII, X, XII, besides which that with the angle, col. IX, is found occasionally. In writing the notched ya, the left half of the sign has been made first, and the right half has been added afterwards. In the ya with the curve below, the vertical and the curve have been drawn separately, as may be seen from y-a in No. 1 of the Siddāpura inscriptions, edict I, line 4. — (34) Add the forms of ra from Girnār given in the comparative table on page 11 above, No. 20, V, a and c. The cork-screw-like ra of Ghasundi, col. XVI, and the tertiary, almost straight-lined, form of Rānpūrā (between cols. VII, VIII), seem to be northern cursive forms of the letter. — (35) The angular la of cols. III, V, appears occasionally in most versions, whereas the highly cursive form in col. VII. is confined to the Jangada separate edicts. — (36) Add the modern-looking va of the comparative table on page 7 above, No. 19 (Kālāi). The va of Siddāpura in col. XII, flattened below, and the triangular one of Ghasundi in col. XVI, appear occasionally in other versions. The va of col. IX, which resembles a ca turned round from right to left, is found also in Vesagane, Sohgauna, line 2.

(37) Add the broad-backed əs of the comparative table on page 11, No. 21, V, c; and compare the sa in Kālāi edict XIII, I, lines 35, 37, 38; 2, lines 17, 19. — (38) The conjectural reading of the signs of Kālāi in cols. II, III, is based on Senart’s Inscriptions de Piyadasi, I, 38 f. The sa from which the later forms have been derived is that of col. XVI. — (39) The primary sa with the straight side-limb has been preserved only in the south (Girnār and Siddāpura). The cursive form in col. VII. occurs also in Kālāi.

(40) Add the probably primary ha of Siddāpura in the comparative table on page 11 above, No. 5, V, a, which [37] is found also in Kālāi. The cursive ha of col. VII. is confined to the Jangada separate edicts; a somewhat different cursive occurs in mahāmāta, Allahabad Kosambi edict, line 1.

(41) A certain la is not found in the known inscriptions of the 3rd century, as the ḍi of Sānci, in col. XVIII, belongs without doubt to the 2nd century B.C. But it is possible that the ḍa with the dot, 20, col. VI (Radhia), has to be read la. The sign appears in Delhi-Sivālīk, Mathia, and Radhia (edict V) in the representative of the Sāskrit duṭī or duṭi, and in Mathia and Radhia in the representative of devāśṭa, which in Pāli usually becomes duvāśṭa. The dot may be, as in kha and ja, a substitute for a circle. If such a modification of ḍa was really used for la, the sign must have been derived from the angular ḍa nearly in the same manner as the later la was framed out of the rounded-back ḍa (see above, § 4, B, 6).
D. — Medial vowels and Anuvāra.

(1) The originally straight stroke for ā is often turned upwards in Kālāi (see, for instance, ā, 37, III) and occasionally in other versions, after the manner prevalent in later times. In khā (10, V, VI), jā (15, VI, &c.), tā (18, II), ṭhā (19, II), thā (24, II), the ā-stroke is added to the middle of the letter. Bharahut offers also a jā like that of 15, XXI.

(2) The angular ī (see, for instance, khī, 10, II; becomes, regularly in Gīrānā (see dī, 21, IX) and rarely in the Jangada separate edicts (see khī, 10, VIII), a shallow curve, which in khī (10, VIII), in ni (27, IX), and other letters ending in verticals, may be attached to the middle of the consonant, and which frequently is very much like ā. In Kālāi edict XII, 2, 10, the medial ī of tī (43, II) stands twice to the left of its consonant, likewise in ni in Allahabad edict I (end), and in ḫ in the Sohgaara copper-plate, line 4. — (3) The medial ī of Gīrānā usually consists of a shallow curve bisected by a vertical (dī, 25, IX); but in ī (18, IX) it is marked by two vertical strokes, and in thī (24, IX) by two slanting ones.

(4) The full u which is identical with U occurs in the dhu (26, III) of Kālāi several times. It is also recognisable in ku (9, V), gu (11, IX), du (20, VII), and other letters ending in verticals, which latter have to do double duty as parts of the consonants and of the vowel; see below, the remarks on some ligatures under E, I. Elsewhere we have secondary forms: (a) such as omit the horizontal, in dhus (26, II), pu (28, III), &c.; (b) such as omit the vertical, in tu (23, V), &c. In tu the u-stroke is occasionally turned upwards, as in 23, VIII, and 43, III; compare the later tu of pl. III, 21, XIX. — (5) The identity of medial ō with ǭ is still recognisable in letters ending in verticals, as in ḫā (31, X), &c., where the vertical again does double duty. But mostly the vowel is expressed by two strokes, either parallel as in ḩū (26, X) and in yū (23, VII) or placed otherwise as in yū (28, VIII, XVI).

(6) Signs like ge (11, IV) perhaps offer still remnants of the hook-form of medial e, into which the originally super-imposed triangle no doubt was reduced at first (see above, § 4, C, I); and the e-strokes of khe (10, III), ge (11, III), and gye (42, VII), which slant downwards from the left to the right, may have to be interpreted in the same way. In je (15, VII), ē (18, V), khē (19, XII), and the (24, XII), the vowel stands opposite to the middle of the consonant; in khe it is often attached to the left end of the hook. — (7) Medial ai occurs only in tray (23, IX) and that (24, X), both in Gīrānā, and in ma (32, XII; Siddāpura).

(8) Medial o preserves mostly the original shape of O very faithfully (see above, § 4, C, I). The later nāsive o with the two bars at the same height appears however in ge (11, V; Delhi-Sivālik) and ho (40, V; Delhi-Sivālik), as well as in the ge of the Persian sigloj. In ma (32, VII, X; Jangada separate edicts, Mathia, Radhia, and Gīrānā), the o has been formed in a similar manner. In the second form, the bars stand opposite the middle, and indicate that analogous mā and me existed already in the 3rd century B. C., just as later; see pl. III, 30, X, XVII. In the no of Kālāi edict V, line 14 we have a looped o, similar to that in lo of pl. III, 33, XX, and in later signs.

(9) The Anuvāra mostly stands opposite the middle of the preceding Mātyā, as in mā (32, VIII). But in connection with i it is placed regularly in Delhi-Sivālik, Delhi-Mirat, Mathia, Radhia, Jangada, and Dhauli, inside the angle of the vowel, as in īma (18, VI). There are also other cases in which it occasionally appears, as in the later scripts, above its Mātyā, and sometimes, as in mā (32, II), it sinks to the foot of the letter; see above, § 4, B, 2 c.

E. — Ligatures.

(1) In the ordinary ligatures of the Aśoka edicts (42, II—VII, X—XII; 43, V—VIII, XI, XII; 44, III—VII, XI, XII; 45, IV, V, X), in those of Bharahut (45, XI) and of Ghasundi (42, 43, XVI), the consonants are placed below each other in their natural order and
suffer no material changes. Occasionally, however, as in kyā (42, II, IV), kye (42, III), gyā (42, VI), and gye (42, VII), a single vertical stroke does duty both for the upper and the lower consonant, just as in the modern ligatures र, र, and so forth; compare also the Kharoṣṭhī ligatures, § 11 above, C, 3.

(2) But there are cases of greater irregularities, especially in Gīrnār, where (a) the second sign is sometimes greatly mutilated or made cursive, as in sya (44, II), mya (44, VIII), sti and stu (45, VIII, IX); (b) the sign for the second consonant is sometimes placed first (Gīrnār and Siddāpura) for convenience sake, as in stā, sti (42, VIII, IX), ṭpa, ṭpā (43, IX, X), ṭya (44, X, ?) and (c) in ligatures with ra, this sign is either (both in Gīrnār and Siddāpura) inserted in the vertical lines of the other consonant (kra, 9, X; tram, 23, X; dra, 25, XII; brā, 30, X; sra, 36, X; sru, 39, X), or (in Gīrnār alone) is indicated by a small hook at the top of the combined sign (brā, 23, IX; pra, prā, 28, IX, X; &c.). The position of ra always remains the same, whether it is to be pronounced before or after the combined consonant, and thus sra, 36, X, has the value both of res and of vra. The insertion of ra in the left vertical of ba in brā (30, X) probably goes back to the period when the writing went from the right to the left. Otherwise it ought to stand in the right vertical.

§ 17. — The Drāviḍi of Bhāṭṭiprolu; Plate II.

To the remarks on the value of the Drāviḍi of Bhāṭṭiprolu for the history of writing in India (above, page 8), and to the explanations of its peculiar signs (above, § 6, A, 3, 7, 12, 15, 18; B, 4, c, 5; and C, 2), I have now to add the reasons for the assumed reading of the sign in pl. II, 88, XIII—XV. It seems to me certain that originally it had the value of s. For there can be no doubt that it expresses a sibilant, and that the Drāviḍi is, like the Brāhmī, an alphabet invented in order to write Sanskrit (see above, § 6, C, 2). As signs for two of the three Sanskrit sibilants are easily recognisable, — the palatal in 37, XIII, XIV, and the dental in 39, XIII, XIV, XV,— the third sign can only have been intended to express the lingual sibilant. But it is a different question, whether in the words of the Pārāśikṛ Bhāṭṭiprolu inscriptions, in which the sign occurs, the lingual sibilant was actually pronounced, or whether, owing to the negligent orthography of the clerks, the sign has been put where the pronunciation was s or s. A certain answer to this question is for the present impossible. It could be given only if we knew more about the ancient Pārāśikṛ of the Kistna districts [39] than is actually the case. But the correct use of s in 37, XIII, XIV, XV indicates that the dialect possessed two sibilants; and it can only be doubted, whether s has been put erroneously for s, as often happens in the Jain inscriptions from Mathurā (compare E 1, 37*), or whether it was still the lingual sibilant. Another point in the character of the Drāviḍi, which requires special mention, is, that its signs, which agree with those of the Brāhmī, in several cases present characteristic peculiarities of the southern variety. This may be seen (1) in the angular A, I; (2) in the kh (10, XIII, XV) consisting, like that of Gīrnār, merely of a vertical, with a hook at the top; (3) in the dh, which has the same position as that of the Jangara separate edicts and the Nāṅgāḷi inscriptions; (4) in m, which, though turned topsy-turvy, retains the angle of the va of Gīrnār; and (5) in s, which mostly has the straight side-limb, as in Gīrnār and Siddāpura.

As the inscription on the crystal prism (No. X), found with the stone vessels, shows the ordinary Brāhmī except in the da opening to the right, it follows that the Drāviḍi was not used exclusively even in the Kistna districts, but together with the common old Indian alphabet. The small number of the inscriptions hitherto found, makes it impossible to say anything definite regarding the spread of this alphabet. And it is equally difficult to fix with certainty the time and the duration of its use. As king Kuberaka or Khubiraka (Kubera) is not known from other sources, we can only fall back on the never absolutely certain palaeographic indications.

1 O. FRANZ, Goompjākanmudi 39, thinks that these groups should be read ṣa, sa, as the are written.
The signs, which agree with the Brāhmī, point to the time immediately after Aśoka, or about B. C. 200. In favour of this estimate is particularly the occurrence of the long verticals, the invariably round ś, and the r, which is always represented by a straight line.

§ 18. — The last four alphabets of Plate II.

In addition to the inscriptions of Dāsaratha (col. XVII), which very probably belong just to the end of the 3rd century B. C. (see above, § 16, A), only those of the Ceta king Kharavela of Kaliṅga (cols. XXI, XXII) and those of the Andhra queen Nāyaniṅka in the Nāṇāghāṭ cave (cols. XXIII, XXIV) can be dated approximately. Kharavela's inscription must have been incised between B. C. 157 and 147, as the king's thirteenth year is said to correspond to the year 165 of "the time of the Muriya (Mauriya) kings,"¹ and it fixes also the time of the Nāṇāghāṭ inscription. For, according to line 4, Kharavela assisted in the second year of his reign a western king called Sātakaṇi. This Sātakaṇi probably is identical with the first Andhra prince of that name mentioned in the Purāṇas, whose inscribed image is found in the Nāṇāghāṭ cave. Hence the date of the large inscription, which was incised during the regency of Sātakaṇi's widow Nāyaniṅka, cannot be much later than B. C. 150.²

Paleographic evidence is almost the only help for fixing the time of Dhanabhūti's inscription on the torāya of the Bharahut Stūpa (col. XVIII), which was incised "during the rule of the Suṅgas," as well as that of the Fabhosa cave inscriptions (col. XIX) and of the oldest votive documents from Mathurā (col. XX), all of which offer (see above, § 15, 5) the Suṅga type of the ancient Brāhmī. To judge from the evidently close connection of their characters, partly with the younger Maurya alphabet and partly with the Kaliṅga script, the signs of cols. XVIII, XIX, probably belong to the second century B. C. Those of col. XX may date from the first century B. C., as the elongation of the lower parts of the verticals of A, ṛ (1, 2), the broad back of ṣa (37), the cursive ja (41) and the subscribed ra in dra (42), which is twisted to the left, point to a later time.

The tendency to shorten the upper vertical lines, mentioned already above (§ 18, A), is, though here and there not fully carried through, common to all the four scripts. The broadening of the letter or of the lower parts of ya, ta, pa, bha, ya, la, sa and ha, is found only in the last [40] three alphabets; and the thickening of the tops of the upper verticals, and the use of the so-called Serif, are particularly remarkable only in the Suṅga and Kaliṅga alphabets. Tendencies in the direction of later developments are found, not only in the letters of col. XX, already mentioned, but also in the round ṣa (20, XXII, XXIII), so characteristic for the later southern alphabets, in ṛa with the curved upper horizontal line (22, XVIII, XIX) in the partly or entirely angular mā (32, XIX, XXII) in the semicircular medial f of kṛ (9, XXII), ṛ (30, XXII), and vi (36, XXIV), as well as in the detached o of yo (11, XXII), tho (16, XXIV) and tho (24, XXIV). The single medial au of the plate, in pau (28, XVIII), deserves to be noted.

As regards the geographical distribution of these types, the younger Maurya alphabet belongs not only to the north-east (Bihār), but also to the north-west, where its ja and sa are found on the coins of the two Indo-Grecian kings, mentioned above (§ 15, 4). The Kaliṅga alphabet is of course that of the south-eastern coast, and the type of the Nāṇāghāṭ inscriptions that of the western Dekhan. Finally, the Suṅga type probably represents the script of the centre of India. It, however, extends also to the west, as the same or very similar characters are found in the caves of the Marāṭhā country; compare § 15 above, 5, note 3.

Very little can be said regarding the duration of the use of these scripts. The Indo-Grecian coins show that the younger Maurya characters were used in the first half of the 2nd

¹ Sixth Oriental Congress, 3, 2, 149; compare Österreichische Monatsschr. für d. Or., 1884, 231 ff.
² Sixth Oriental Congress, 3, 2, 146; differently Bhāṣājīkar, Early Hist. of the Dekkan, 34, who assigns Sātakaṇi to the period B. C. 40 to A. D. 15.
century B.C.

The Kalinga script is visible also in the inscriptions of Khāravela’s next descendants. If Burgess has correctly fixed the time of the Pitalkhora caves, it would follow that the script of the Nānagāhā inscriptions continued to be used in the first century A.D.

§ 19. — The precursors of the northern alphabets.

A. — The alphabet of the Northern Kṣatrapas; Plate III.

Immediately connected with the latest forms of the Śuṅga type in the oldest Jain inscriptions from Mathurā (pl. II, col. XX) is the alphabet of the Northern Kṣatrapas on the coins and in the inscriptions of the Mahākṣatrapa Rājuvula or Rā ṣābulu and of his son Soḍāsa or Suḍāsa, who ruled in the first century B.C. or A.D. (?) over the same town. And some “archaic” votive inscriptions from Mathurā, as well as legends on certain Indian coins, exhibit the early letters of the same type.

The characteristics of this type (plate III, cols. I, II) are the equalisation of all the upper verticals, except in ṛa (33, I); the constant use of the ṣr in; occasionally replaced, as in bha (29, I), by a nail-head or wedge; and the constant use of angular forms for gha (10, I), ja (18, I, II), pa (26, I, II), pha (27, I), ma (30, I, II), la (33, I), sa (36, I), and ha (38, I, II). Other, mostly cursive, innovations are found in the peculiar ca (11, I); in the slanting angular da (18, I); in ṛa (23, I); in the broadened bha (29, I, II); in ṛa with the curve at the end (32, I, II), which occasionally reappears also later (see pl. IV, 33, IV) in northern inscriptions; in the medial vowels a (which in ṛa, 38, II, rises upwards, but in ṛa, 32, I, keeps its ancient form), i (in ḍi, 23, I), o (in ṛho, 10, I, and so, 35, II); and in the position of the Anuvāra above the line (in Ṛi, 20, I). The ṛa shows, besides the old form in 7, I, II, the later one with the bent bars in ṛa (40, I). The upper part of the abnormal ṛa (34, II) with two triangles, which sometimes is found also in the Kuṣana inscriptions and elsewhere, [41] probably represents a hollow wedge. The inscriptions of this class for the first time show the medial ṛ which consists, exactly like that of the Kuṣana inscriptions in ṛ (34, III), of a straight line slanting towards the left.

B. — The alphabet of the Kuṣana inscriptions; Plate III.

The next step in the development of the Brāhmī of Northern India is illustrated by the inscriptions from the time of the Kuṣana king Kaniṅka, Huvāṅka and Vāsudeva or Vāsudeva (plate III, cols. III—V), the first among whom made an end of the rule of the older Sākas in the eastern and southern Paṇḍjaḥ. The inscriptions with the names of these kings, which run from the year 4 to the year 98 (according to the usually accepted opinions, of the Śaka era of A.D. 77-78, or of the 4th century of the Seleucid era), are very numerous in Mathurā and its neighbourhood, and are found also in eastern Rājpura and in the Central Indian Agency (Śāñcī). In spite of great variations in the single letters, which occasionally exhibit the more modern forms in the older inscriptions and the earlier forms of the Northern Kṣatrapa type in the later documents, the alphabet possesses a very characteristic appearance, and nobody who has seen the squarish and broad letters of the Kuṣana period will ever mistake them to other times.

1 Compare above, § 16, note 4.  
2 Sixth Oriental Congress, 3, 2, 179; Udayagiri inscription, Nos. 3, 4.  
3 Buddhist Cave Temples, 246.  
4 See above, § 10.  
5 Comp. also facsimiles in CASR. 3, pl. 13, Nos. 7, 12, 13; pl. 16, Nos. 25, 26; pl. 20, Nos. 27, 28; pl. 21, Nos. 29, 30.  
6 See above, § 16, note 4.  
7 In 1951, pl. 5, line 2.  
8 I.e., 10, 213; C.C.I., 51, 57; B. R. R. R. E., 35, note 1, thinks that Kaniṅka ruled later; but B. S. Lüd, J.A., 1897, 1, 5 ff., places even Vāsudeva in the first century A.D.; the years 4 and 5 of this era occur in 2, 201, Nos. 11, 12; Kaniṅka, the year 7, 1, 201, No. 15.  
9 See facsimile, 2, 369.
As regards the details, the following innovations deserve special mention:—(1) Side by side with more ancient signs, the A of col. IV. shows a form leading up to the modern A of the Nāgarātr of Western India; compare also pl. IV, 1, IX, XI ff. (2) The bar denoting the length of A is attached low down (2, III, IV); compare pl. IV, 2, VII ff. (3) Three strokes, one of which is set up vertically, take the place of the three dots of I (3, III). (4) The horizontal stroke of U occasionally shows a curve at the left end (4, IV). (5) The base of the triangular E (5, IV, V) is mostly at the top; compare pl. IV, 5, X ff. (6) The ḫa (8, III—V) is mostly triangular below, and its hook is often small. (7) One of the two originally horizontal strokes of ga is always turned into a curve notched in the middle, and sometimes both are changed in this manner, as in 20, III, IV; occasionally the vertical is split up into two lines, which are attached to the ends of the left horizontal line, each bearing a portion of the curved top-bar (20, V). (8) The ta shows sometimes, but rarely, a loop, as in sī (43, IV). (9) The lower end of da (23, III—V) is drawn further to the right, and the bulge on the right becomes larger. (10) The dha (24, III, IV) becomes narrower and pointed at the ends. (11) The horizontal stroke of sa is curved (25, III) or looped (25, IV), whereby the still more modern looking form in 25, V, is developed. (12) The ya (31, III—V) mostly has a hook or circle on the left limb, and in ligatures is either looped as in ryya (42, III), or bipartite as in ryya (41, V). (13) The va is occasionally rounded on the left (34, V), or becomes similar to ca, as in reva (42, IV). (14) The qa (35, III—V) becomes narrower, and its middle stroke lies horizontally across the interior; sometimes the left down-stroke bears a Strif at the end, or the right one is made longer, just as in ga (9, V); compare pl. IV, 36, I ff. (15) The central bar of qa (36, III—V) goes straight across the interior of the letter. (16) The left limb of sa is occasionally, but rarely, turned into a loop (37, IV); compare plate IV, 38, I ff.

All these peculiarities, as well as the advanced forms of the medial vowels, of s in vṛ (32, IV), of u in ku (7, IV, V) and in sū (43, V), and of o in to (21, IV), reappear constantly in the northern alphabets of the next period, those of the Gupta inscriptions (pl. IV, cols I—VII) and of the Bower MS (pl. VI, cols. I—III), or are precursors of the forms of those documents. The literary alphabets used in Marhur during the first two centuries A.D., very likely were identical with or closely similar to the later ones, and the admixture of older forms observable in the inscriptions of the Kaśiana period, may be due purely to an imitation of older votive inscriptions.

Attention must be called to the medial r in tr (21, IV) and [42] in vr (34, III), for which we have also once the form of pl. IV, 3, III; likewise to the rather common final m, which resembles that in ddham (41, VIII), and to the Visarṣa, which looks exactly like the modern one (compare 40, 41, IX) and first appears in these inscriptions. The broad strokes of the letters and their thick tops indicate that they imitate an alphabet written with ink.

§ 20. — The precursors of the southern alphabets.

A. — The alphabet of the Kaśtrapas of Mālva and Gujarāt; Plate III.

While the inscriptions of Northern India thus show in the first and second centuries A.D. the beginning of the development of a new local variety of the Brāhmī, we find in the documents from Western and Central India, as well as from the Dekhaq, the first steps leading up to the later southern alphabets. The inscriptions and coins of the Kaśtrapa dynasty of Mālva and Gujarāt, descended from Caśiana or Tiṣhanes, illustrate the western writing, and col. VI, taken from the Girmār Prāṇi of the reign of Rudrasāman (about A.D. 160), gives a specimen of it. This script agrees with the later southern alphabets (§ 27, below) in the following characteristic points: — (1) in the curves at the ends of A and Ā (1, 2), ḫa (7),

1 Compare my remarks, EL 1, 371 ff.; 2, 197.
2 EL 1, 268, No. 18.
3 Compare, for instance, vṛb, EL 1, 382, No. 3.
The letters on the somewhat older coins of Rudradāman’s grandfather Cašāna and of his father Jayadāman, which probably were struck in Ujjain, exhibit no material differences. Among the later Kṣatra inscriptions,⁵ that from Junagāh, incised during the reign of Rudradāman’s son Rudrasinха, fully agrees with the Girnār Prāśasti. The Gunda inscription of the same prince from the year 103 (or, according to the usual assumption, from A. D. 180), and the Jasdan inscription of Rudrasinха’s son Rudrasena from the year 127 (?) or A. D. 204-205, show a few more advanced characters. Both of these documents offer the bipartite subscribed yu; and the second has several times the northern ma of the Gupta period (pl. IV, 31, I ff.), as well as the e standing above the line (compare, for instance, ne, pl. VII, 27, V). The same ma, or a similar sign with a straight base-stroke, appears also frequently on the coins of the later Kṣatra. Its occurrence probably indicates a northern influence, perhaps that a northern alphabet was used at the same time; compare § 28 below, A.

B. — The alphabets of the cave-inscriptions of the western Dekhaṇ and the Konkaṇ; Plate III.

[33] The writing of the western Dekhaṇ and the Konkaṇ in the caves of Nāsik, Junnar, Kārle, Kāshērī Kuṭjī, &c., shows three varieties, an “archaistic” or retrograde type, a more advanced one with mostly faint traces of southern peculiarities, and an ornamental one. The first two appear in the oldest dated inscriptions of the Saka Uṣavāda or Usabhada (Rṣabhadasa),⁴ the son-in-law of the Kṣaharata king and Kṣatra Naḥapāna from the years 41 to 45 of, according to the usual assumption, the Saka era,⁶ or from A. D. 118 to 122. The Kārle inscription No. 19 (col. VII) offers the “archaistic” or retrograde type, among the letters of which gh (10), ja (13), da (23), bh (29), yu (31), la (33), sa (37), and ha (38) come close to modern forms of the older alphabets of pl. II, especially to those of the oldest Andhra inscriptions in cols. XXIII, XXIV. The same variety is found in some other, partly older, inscriptions of the same caves,⁶ and must be regarded as a direct development from the ancient Andhra type. It shows only very faint traces of the southern peculiarities enumerated above. The curves at the ends of the verticals are only rudimentary. The vertical of la is curved, but to the right. The triangular da (24), which appears here for the first time, is found also in other alphabets of this plate (see col. XI ff.); the abnormal kha (8) is confined to Kārle No. 19.

Against this rather clumsy alphabet, we find in Uṣavāda’s inscriptions from Nāsik (cols. VIII, IX) very neatly made letters, the ductus of which resembles that of Soḍa’s inscriptions (col. I) and of the Girnār Prāśasti (col. VI). They show no trace of archaic forms, and the traces of the southern peculiarities are faint or entirely wanting. Only the southern da (18) is distinct and constant. Noteworthy are sa (35, 42, VIII), which agrees with that of col. VI, the final m in dharm (41, VIII), and the bipartite subscribed ya in bhay (41, IX).

1 C. M. I. pl. 1; J. B. AS. 1896, pl. 10, p. 338; B. AS. W. I, pl. 7.
2 Compare facsimiles in B. AS. W. II, pl. 29; J. B. AS. 9, 234; Sanskr. and Prakr. Insers. Bhaumapal, pl. 17-19 (unreliable).
3 See the plates cited in note 1 above.
4 Usabhada only in Kārle No. 19, B. AS. W. I, pl. 51.
5 T. S. B. A. 1896, no. 19, p. 334; B. AS. W. 1, pl. 10; B. AS. W. II, pl. 29; J. B. AS. 9, 234; Sanskr. and Prakr. Insers. Bhaumapal, pl. 17-19 (unreliable).
6 See also note 2 above.
7 K. N. B. 1890, 223; B. AS. W. II, pl. 29; J. B. AS. 9, 234; see also B. AS. W. I, pl. 10, 227, places Naḥapāna between A. D. 15 and 100. The name Naḥapāna appears in the Māya era of B. C. 57-36, and Oldenburg, IA. 10, 227, places Naḥapāna between A. D. 15 and 100.
8 Kārle, Nos. 1-14, B. AS. W. I, pl. 47, 48; Naṣik, No. 4, op. cit., pl. 51.
Very similar to this script is that of the Nāsik inscriptions (No. 11, a, b, = col. X) of the Andhra king Gotamiputra Sātakarni, who destroyed the Kṣatrapa dynasty,—possibly just Nāhāpāna and Uasavadāta,—and of his son Siri-Pulmapīry, Pulmapīr or Pulmapīry (Nāsik No. 14, = col XI), who is mentioned by Ptolemy as Siri-Polemos or Polemos. The only material difference occurs in the triangular dhā (24, XI; compare col. VII), which however is by no means constant. Nearly of the same type are the alphabets shown in col. XII. from the Nāsik inscription of the somewhat later Andhra king Gotamiputra Siriyāṅa Sātakarni, in col. XIII. from the undated inscription Nāsik No. 20, and in col. XIV. from Nāsik No. 12, incised during the reign of the Abhirā king Īvārakāna. In col. XII, however, we have a peculiar form of ta (31) developed from a looped form, a looped na (25) somewhat differing from the northern form in col. IV, a ra (32) with a stronger curve, and a ṛa (33) with the vertical bent towards the left; further, in col. XIII, a looped ta (31), and in col. XIV, a ta (21) and a na (25) derived from looped forms, a ya (31) with a curve on the left, a la (33) bent towards the left, a cursive subscript ṛa in jīvaḥ (40), and a peculiar, r-like, medial u in du (23), which reappears in later southern inscriptions; compare, for instance, bhu, pl. VII, 30, XII, and the ० in ṛā, pl. III, 21, XVII, XIX.

Cols. XV, XVI, give two somewhat differing specimens of the ornamental variety of this period according to the undated inscriptions of Kuṣā (Nos. 1—6, 11, 20) and of Jumnar (No. 3). Both agree in the ornamental treatment of medial i and u. But the Kuṣā inscriptions extend it to the curves at the ends of all verticals, and show notches in the left [44] strokes of pa (26) and la (28; compare col. VI). In col. XVI. there are two other noteworthy signs, the bipartite subscript ya in yya (40), and the ṛa with the horizontal bar in śrī (41; compare 35, III—V). Ornamental forms, resembling those of cols. XV, XVI, are found also in the approximately datable inscriptions of Pulmapīry in Kārī Nos. 20, 22, and of the minister of the queen of his successor Vasiṣṭhiputra Sātakarni in Kaṇheri No. 11. The first two of these documents show a looped ta and a ṛa like that of col. XVII; the third exhibits the neat characters of Western Kṣatrapa inscriptions. It is, therefore, certain that during the 2nd century A.D., all these three varieties were used promiscuously in the western Dekkhaṇ and the Koṅkan, and the inscriptions from the Amarāvati Stūpa prove that they occurred also on the eastern coast of India. The contemporaneous employment of more advanced types and of more archaic ones with an admixture of more modern signs will have to be explained in this, as in other cases, by a desire to select archaic and monumental forms for epigraphic purposes and a failure to completely carry out this intention.

C. —The alphabet of the Jaggayyapeta inscriptions; Plate III.

In the Kistnā districts of the eastern coast, a still more ornamental alphabet, found in the Jaggayyapeta inscriptions from the time of the Ikṣvetāku king Sirivira Purisaḍatta (cols. XVII, XVIII), as well as in some Amarāvati inscriptions, was developed out of the ornamental variety just discussed, probably somewhat later, in the 3rd century A.D. One of its most prominent characteristics is the very considerable elongation of the verticals of A, A, ka, ṛa, ra and la, as well as of the medial i, i and u. To a later time point the cursive forms of tha and ha, which latter agrees with the northern Gupta form (pl. IV, 39, I, VI), and the medial e of me (30), which, with its downward curve, agrees with the e of the later southern inscriptions (compare 30, XIX, XX, and pl. VII, 35, XII), and the medial ० in ṛa (21; compare col. XIX, and pl. VII, 30, XX). The medial ० of ṛa (40), in which the stroke expressing the length of the vowel has been attached to the head of the consonant, is entirely abnormal.

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1 See the works quoted in note 5 on page 42 above.
2 According to Bhāravallī's estimate, J.BAS. 1894, 657, "somewhat later than Nāhāpāna."
3 Compare facsimiles in BASRl. Vol. 4, pl. 45, Kuṇḍa Nos. 12—18; pl. 46, Kuṇḍa Nos. 22—25; Mahād. Nos. 1—4; Kol Nos. 3, 5; pl. 47, Bējā Nos. 1—3; pl. 48, Kārī Nos. 15—18; Śālavarāja No. 19; Jumnar Nos. 1, 3; pl. 49, Jumnar Nos. 4—34; pl. 52, Nāḥā Nos. 8; pl. 54, Jumnar Nos. 38; pl. 55, Nāṇik Nos. 17—19, 21—24; and Vol. 3, pl. 51, Kārī Nos. 2—5, 16, 13—14.
4 B.ASRI. 1, pl. 51, 57; pl. 58, Nos. 28—34; pl. 59, Nos. 3, 43; pl. 60, Nos. 44, 45, 47—50; pl. 62, Nos. 51—56, 56; and the antitypes of the Andhras coins, C.CAI. pl. 15, and J.BRAS. 13, pl. 3.
5 B.ASRI. 1, pl. 66, Nos. 35, 36; pl. 56, Nos. 33, 40—42; pl. 60, Nos. 46; pl. 61, Nos. 54; pl. 62.
D.—The alphabet of the Pallava Prakrit land-grants; Plate III.

The highly cursive writing of the Prakrit land-grants of the Pallava kings Vijayabuddhavarman and Sivakandavarman from Kāṭe (Conjeevaram) in the Tamil districts,1 shows in its ductus a certain relationship to the Jaggayaṣṭha inscriptions. But it is not doubtful that these documents are much later, though it is for the present impossible to fix their dates exactly. The use of Prakrit for official purposes perhaps indicates that they are not later than the first half of the 4th century A.D. The broad E (5, XX) with the rudimentary vertical to the right (compare pl. VII, 6, XI ff.), the ḍa with a tail in ṣḍha (40, XX; compare pl. VII, 19, IV f.), the subscribed ṭha open on the right in ṭha (41, XIX; compare pl. VII, 45, XX), and the constantly looped o in lo (33, XX; compare pl. VII, 34, III f., XIII, XVII) point to the later period.

IV. THE NORTHERN ALPHABETS FROM ABOUT A.D. 350.²

§ 21.—Definition and varieties.

[45] By the term "northern alphabets" I understand with Burgess, Fleet,³ and others, that large group of epigraphic and literary scripts, which from about A.D. 350 conquers the whole

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1 Compare facsimiles in IA, 9, 100; EI, 1, 1 ff.
2 Preparation of Plates IV, V, and VI:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PLATE IV</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cols. I, II, III; from Fleet, Gupta Inscriptions (CII. 3), pl. 1.</td>
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<td>Col. IV; from F.G.I (CII. 3), pl. 5.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cols. V, VI; from F.G.I (CII. 3), pl. 9, A.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cols. VII; from F.G.I (CII. 3), pl. 9, B.</td>
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<td>Cols. VIII; from plate at EI, 1, 295.</td>
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<td>Cols. IX; from F.G.I (CII. 3), pl. 13.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cols. X; from F.G.I (CII. 3), pl. 22.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cols. XI, XII; from F.G.I (CII. 3), pl. 30 B, and 31, A, B.</td>
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<tr>
<th>PLATE V</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>Col. I; from photolithograph of impressions of EI, 1, 97.</td>
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<tr>
<td>The other columns cut from facsimiles:</td>
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<td>Col. II; from plate at EI, 1, 100.</td>
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<td>Col. III; from plate at EI, 1, 242.</td>
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<td>Col. IV; from plates at IA, 6, 67, and 11, 138.</td>
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<td>Col. V; from unpublished facsimiles of IA, 13, 134.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Col. VI; from plate at IA, 17, 310.</td>
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<td>Col. VII; from unpublished facsimiles of EI, 1, 182.</td>
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<td>Col. VIII; from plate at EI, 1, 77.</td>
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<td>Col. IX; from plate at EI, 2, 120.</td>
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<td>Col. X; from plate at IA, 5, 50.</td>
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<tr>
<th>PLATE VI</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cols. I, II, III, IV; from plates in Horner’s Bower Ms., parts 1, 2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cols. V, VI, VII, and IX; from Anecd. Oxon., Ar. Sér., 1, 3, plate 6, cols. 1, 2, 3.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Col. VIII; from plate at Vienna Oriental Congress, Aryan Section, 127 ff.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Col. IX: see above, with cols. V, VI, and VII.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Col. X; from Bendall, Cat. Buddh. MSS., pl. 2, 4, and Berlin Oriental Congress, Indian Section, pl. 2, 1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Col. XI; from Bendall, op. cit., pl. 3, 1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Col. XII; from Berlin Oriental Congress, Indian Section, pl. 2, 2, 3.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Scale of the three plates as two-thirds of the facsimiles.

1 F.G.I (CII. 3), 3 f., and passim.
wide territory north of the Narmadâ, with the exception of Kâshiavāj and northern Gujarât, and which, spreading in the course of time more and more, finally is used in a number of varieties for nearly all the Aryan languages of India. Their origin is to be found in the cursive forms, which first appear in the addition to the Asoka edict VI. of Dhauli, and in a number of signs of the Kâlî version (see above, page 6 f.), and later are found, occasionally or constantly, in some of the Jaina votive inscriptions of the Kuśana period (see above, § 19, A). Their general type is that of a cursive alphabet with signs reduced at the top to the same height, and made throughout, as much as possible, equal in breadth. As the occurrence of ancient MSS. and various peculiarities of the letters, such as the formation of wedges out of the Serif’s at the ends of the verticals, clearly prove, they were always written with a pen or a brush and ink. Their most important common characteristics are:—

1. The absence of curves at the lower ends of the verticals of A, Æ, ku, ā, &c. (with occasional exceptions for ra); (2) the use of the Serif at the left down-strokes of kha, ga, and iva; (3) the division of the original vertical of ga and of its upper bar; (4) the use of a looped na and of a a without a loop; (5) the transformation of the lower portion of ma into a small knob or loop attached to the left of the letter; (6) the shortening of the vertical of la; (7) the turn of the medial i to the left, which is soon followed by the twist of medial i to the right; (8) the development of curves, open to the left, at the end of the originally horizontal medial u; and (9) the use of a curve, open to the right, for medial r.

While all the alphabets represented in plates IV, V, VI, show these common characteristics or further developments from them, they may be divided, according to other peculiarities, into seven larger groups, most of which again comprise several varieties:—

1. The epigraphic North-Indian alphabet of the 4th and 5th centuries, commonly called the Gupta alphabet, which, according to Hoernle’s researches, has an eastern and a western variety, among which the second again has two branches, and with the western variety of which the literary alphabet of the Bower MS. and of some other documents from Kashgar is closely connected.

2. The acute-angled or Siddhamâtrikâ (5) alphabet with wedges at the verticals of the letters, which is first found in the palm-leaves of Horusi, and towards the end of the 6th century in the Mahânâman inscription from Gayâ and in the Lakhâmanjâl Prâasti.

3. The Nâgarî with its long-drawn, tailed, letters, and long top-strokes, the first certain traces of which occur in the 7th century.

4. The Sâradâ alphabet, a northern variety of the western Gupta type, first found about A. D. 600.

5. The eastern Proto-Bengâlî alphabet with much rounded, cursive letters, and with hooks or hollow triangles at the tops of the verticals, first traceable in the 11th century.

6. The hooked alphabet of Nepal. (49) which is closely connected with the Proto-Bengâlî and occurs in MSS. from the 11th century onwards.

During the 4th and 5th centuries, the rule of these alphabets to the north of the Narmadâ is by no means undisputed. In the west we find, as far north as Bijayagâj (Bharatpur), inscriptions in southern characters, or with an admixture of southern letters (see below, § 27). In the 6th and 7th centuries this mixture no longer occurs. Only the so-called “arrow-head” type (see below, § 26, C), the seventh variety on plates IV—VI, which appears in rather late times in Bengal and Nepal, offers an instance of the importation of a southern script into Northern India.

1 J. Asian. 60, 80 f.; and IA. 21, 2 f.
On the other hand, we meet, from the 7th century, with inscriptions in northern characters first on the coast, in the west in Gujarāt, and in the east even beyond Madras. Documents of this kind appear from the middle of the 8th century also in the central Dekhāṅ, and during the 12th and 13th centuries they penetrate as far as Vijayanagara in the Kanarese country (see below, § 23). But they never come into sole use beyond the northern limit of the Dravidian districts.

The ancient MSS. hitherto found in Kashgar, Japan and Nepāl, the oldest of which probably were written in the 4th century, show only northern letters. The palm-leaf MSS. of Western India, which begin in the 10th century, agree with the inscriptions of the period, and prove that the northern Nāgari was generally used in Rājputāna, Gujarāt, and in the northern Dekhaṅ as far as Devagiri (Daññābīhā). The gradual advance of the northern characters towards the south probably is explained by the predilection of many southern kings for northern customs, and by the immigration of northern Brahmans, castes of scribes, and Buddhist and Jain monks, to which facts the statements in various inscriptions and the historical tradition bear witness.

§ 22. — The so-called Gupta alphabet of the 4th and 5th centuries A. D.; Plate IV.

A. — Varieties.

The differences between the eastern and western varieties of the so-called Gupta alphabet appear in the signs for la, sa and ha. In the eastern variety the left limb of la (plate IV, 34, I—III, V, VI) is turned sharply downwards; compare the la of the Jangada separate edicts (see above, § 16, C, 35). Further, the base-stroke of sa (IV, 37, I—III, V, VI) is made round and attached as a loop to the slanting central bar. Finally, the base-stroke of ha (IV, 39, I—III, V, VI) is suppressed, and its hook, attached to the vertical, is turned sharply to the left, exactly as in the Jaggayyapeta inscriptions (see above, § 20, C). In the western variety these three letters have the older and fuller forms.

The specimens of the eastern variety in plate IV. have been taken from the oldest Gupta inscription, Hariseṣa’s Allahabad Prāṣastī (cols. I—III), which certainly was inscribed during the reign of Samudragupta, probably between A. D. 370 and 390, and from the Kāhabā Prāṣastī of A. D. 460 (cols. V, VI) of the time of Skanda-gupta. It appears, besides, in Fleet’s Gupta Inscriptions (CII. 3) Nos. 6—9, 15, 64, 65, 77; in Bhaṅganlai’s inscriptions from Nepāl, Nos. 1—3; and in Cunningham’s Gayā inscription of Sañvat 64. The fact that Fleet’s No. 6 is found far west, near Bhilsa in Māla, may be explained by its having been incised, during an expedition of Candragupta II, to Māla, at the command of his minister, who calls himself an inhabitant of Pāṭali putra. Nothing is known regarding the origin of Fleet’s No. 77, which is incised on a seal, purchased in Lahore, but possibly manufactured in Eastern India.

1 Fragments of inscriptions with northern characters of this period, from Valabhi, are preserved in the Museums of Bombay (the Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society) and Rājkiṭ. Compare also the sign-manuals on the Gaurjā laṅga-grānta, J. R. A. S., 1835, 247 ff.
2 B. EiSP., 38, and plate 25 a; IA., 15, 151, 172.
3 I agree with Hornbí, who considers certain portions of the new Godfrey collection from Kashgar to be older than the Bower MS.; J. A. S. 66, 238.
5 J. R. A. S., 1895, 247.
6 Compare B. EiSP., 30, 33 ff.; Fleet in El. 3, 2.
7 Compare Hornbí, J. A. S. 66, 81, who mentions sa alone, because his remarks refer also to the type discussed below in § 23.
8 Srw. 122, XI, 32 ff.
9 IA., 9, 153 ff.; in my opinion the era is not, as Fleet holds in Gupta Inscriptions (CII. 3), Introduction, 196, 177 ff., that of A. D. 319-19, but one peculiar to the Nepalese, the exact beginning of which has still to be determined.
10 C. M. G. pl. 25; the era may be that of the Guptas.
The western variety of the Gupta alphabet again appears in two forms, a cursive round-hand and an angular, monumental, type. The second form, which shows very characteristic thick top-lines and a hooked ra (33), is represented in plate IV, col. IV, by the alphabet of the Bilsa Prastasi of A.D. 415. Another fine example is found in Fleett's No. 32, from the Meharauli iron pillar near Delhi. Specimens of the cursive form are given in col. VII, from the Indor copper-plate of A.D. 463, in col. VIII, from Toramiṣa's Kura inscription, probably of the second half of the 5th century, and in col. IX, from the Kārītalī copper-plate of Jayanātha of Ucacakalpa dated the year 174 or probably A.D. 423. The same type is found in Fleett's Nos. 4, 13, 16, 19, 22—31, 36, 61, 63, 66, 67, 69, 73, 76, and in the Jaina votive inscriptions from Mathurā, new series, Nos. 38, 39. It deserves to be noted that Fleett's No. 13 from Bhitari is found in a district where one would expect the eastern variety. Fleett's No. 61, the Jaina inscription from Udayagiri in Mālva, shows a mixture of the northern characters with southern ones, as it offers throughout A, Ā, with a curve, and once a southern r. Perhaps the same may be said of Fleett's No. 59, the Bijayagadh inscription from Bhartpur in Rājputāna, where ra shows a curve at the end and medial t and i resemble those in plate III, col. XVI. The characters on the Gupta coins are frequently retrograde, and offer, e.g., the angular ma of the Kuṇāna period.

B.—Characteristics of the epigraphic Gupta alphabet.

The following particularly important or characteristic peculiarities of the Gupta inscriptions deserve to be noticed in detail:

1. The lower parts of the right-hand verticals of A, Ā, ga, da, ta, bha and ṣa are so much elongated, and those of ks and ra remain so long, that these eight signs have about double the length of those without verticals. This is particularly visible in the older stone inscriptions; on the copper-plates they are often shortened.

2. The right-hand portion of gha, pa, pha, sa and se was an angle, whereby later the development of tails or verticals on the right of these signs has been caused.

3. Since the middle of the 5th century, the lower portion of the left limb of I (1, IX, XI) shows the curve, open to the left, which appears in all the later forms of the letter; the sign of the length of Ā (2, VII—IX) [48] is attached to the foot of the right vertical.

4. In addition to the I of the Kuṇāna period (3, 1, V), there occur, owing to the predilection for letters flattened at the top, the also later frequent I with two dots above (3, VII), and that consisting of a short horizontal line with two dots below (3, IX), which latter is the parent of the later southern I (plates VII, VIII, and § 23 below) and of that of the Nāgari (below, § 24, A, 4).

5. The rudimentary curves at the left end of U, Ū and O are more fully developed in the 5th century; compare above, § 19, B, 4.

6. The guttural ṣa begins to appear instead of the Anusvāra before ṣa and ks (11, VII), perhaps in consequence of the faulty pronunciation, blamed in the Siksās.

7. The third horizontal line of ja (14, I—I, VII, VIII) begins to slant downwards, and occasionally shows a curve at the end, whereby later the new forms of coi. XXI—XXIII. are caused.

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1 IA. 18, 223.
2 According to Fleett, IA. 19, 227 f., the kings of Ucacakalpa probably dated according to the Cedi or Kalasuri era of A.D. 242.
4 J.A.S.B. 53, pl. 3—4; J.R.A.S., 1889, pl. 1—4, and p. 14 ff., and 1893, pl. 2.
5 Hau̇g, Wedisher Accent, 84.
(8) The palatal ā (16, I, II; 42, I, VI, VII, XI) is frequently made cursive and round, and is occasionally laid on the side in order to save space; compare also ṯāḥ, plate III, 40, XIV. But older, angular, forms likewise occur (42, V).

(9) The ṣa (17, I—III, IX) is often flattened down at the top.

(10) The ṭa of 21, I, II, shows a little stroke at the right end, caused by an inexact formation of the hook on the right, and in the second sign a cursive loop on the left; in 21, III, the letter has been laid on the side and somewhat resembles the Nāgarī ṭa.

(11) The ṭha (23, I, V—IX) is mostly elliptical or flattened on the right, and a cross-bar often replaces the dot in the centre; but the old form likewise survives (23, I, III).

(12) The ṭa (32, I—IX) is mostly tripartite, but sometimes, particularly in ṭe, ṭe and ṭa, transitional forms with the loop, like the later ones in 32, XIII, XVI, appear, which lead up to the bipartite trīḥa. The oldest instance of the independent looped ṭa is found in Flek's No. 59 of A. D. 371, but the Kuśana inscriptions show the looped subscript ṭa even earlier (see above, § 19, B, 12).

(13) The left limb of sa (38, I—III, V, VI, VIII) often becomes a loop, as happens already in some Kuśana inscriptions (§ 19, B, 16). A substitute for the loop is the triangle (probably giving the outlines of a wedge), which occurs in the three most ancient inscriptions from Nepal; compare the later sa of 38, XII. But the older hook is equally common.

(14) The rare ṭa (40, I—III) is found also in Flek's No. 67, line 1.

(15) The signs for the medial vowels agree in many particulars with those of the Kuśana period. But the open semicircle for ā in ṭa (17, II), which is found also in ṭa, is an innovation. Further, the medial ā in, for instance, of ṭhā (8, III, VI, IX), is drawn further to the left than in the later inscriptions. In some inscriptions like Mathūrā, new series, Nos. 38, 39, the medial ā consists merely of a curve, going to the right, though the form with two horns (as in āti, 24, I), and a looped one (as in bhā, 30, IV), are more common. Medial ā is mostly represented by the still used curve, which in ra (33, III, VI) appears abnormally at the end of ra; but in gu (8, II, VI), ṭu, bhu (30, I) and ṭu (36, I), the vowel rises upwards. For medial ā there are, besides an old form in gu (9, IV), other combinations in bhā (30, II, VI) and tū (42, II) and a later very common, cursive form in ṭhā (25, II, VI). One of the Mātrās is ā, and o is often placed vertically, as in gāi, 32, III; in go, 9, III; and in ṭa, 21, III.

(16) The desire to save space causes the cursive ṭa, ṭa (see sṭa, 45, IX) and ṭha (see sṭha, 45, V; sṭha, 46, IX) to be laid on the side, in case they form the second elements of ligatures. From the 5th century, rga (45, VII) is expressed by a full ra with a subscript ṭa.

(17) The first certain Virāma (see dha, 43, VII), consisting of a horizontal stroke above the small final, dates likewise from the 5th century; the northern Jīvāmāliya (kha, 46, I) and the Uṣpadhāma-śri (ṛpā, 46, III) occur already in the 4th century.

C.—The Gupta alphabet in manuscripts.

Among the types of the Bower MS., which belongs, according to Hoenkle's and my own opinion, to the 5th century, I have given [49] in plate VI, cols. I—IV, only the alphabet of the portion which Hoenkle marks A, since the published parts of his B and C are not sufficiently extensive for a paleographic enquiry. Its characters differ very little from those of the epigraphic documents of the Gupta period, especially from the copper-plates. The serif at the tops of the vertical strokes, however, are more made carefully and nearly throughout worked...
up with the latter into real wedges. If a letter like əha (plate VI, 13, I–IV) has several upstrokes, the serifs are added regularly to all of them. Similarly, the lower ends of vertical strokes more regularly bear serifs or are converted into wedges or little buttons. The greater regularity of the writing is what may be expected in a good MS., the material of which offers fewer difficulties than stone or copper. The invariable use of the serifs has led to the formation of the ka (15, IV) with the loop on the left (compare 15, I, III), which appears occasionally in the Bowr MS., but is noticeable only later, since A.D. 588–89 (see plate IV, 7, XIII), in the inscriptions. Further, the Bowr MS. offers in rare cases, e.g. in prayojayet (fol. 31a, II), an archaic form of the bipartite yd. Finally, it makes us acquainted with some signs which, owing to the rarity of the sounds expressed by them, cannot occur frequently in the inscriptions and hitherto have not been traced in those of the 4th and 5th centuries. To these belong the long ḷ (4, I), in which the upper and lower dots of the ancient sign (compare plate VI, 4, V, VII) have been converted into a straight stroke, and further the short ḷ, which clearly consists of a ḷa and a medial ṛ (compare above, § 1; and below, § 24, A, 7), also the AU (14, I, II), which fully agrees with the epigraphic character of A.D. 633 (plate IV, 6, X), and the subscript ṛ of nf (34, III) which consists of two ṛ, placed horizontally side by side.

§ 23. — The acute-angled and Nāgari types; Plates IV, V, VI.

About the beginning of the sixth century we find in the northern inscriptions, both of Eastern and Western India (plate IV, cols. X–XI), distinct beginnings of a new development, which first leads to the forms of the Gayā inscription of A.D. 538–89 (plate IV, cols. XIII, XIV) and of the probably not much later Lakhkhamāñjāl Prāssatī (plate IV, cols. XV, XVI). Their chief characteristic is that the letters slope from the right to the left, and show acute angles at the lower or at the right ends, as well as that the tops of the vertical or slanting lines invariably bear small wedges, and their ends either show the same ornaments or protuberances on the right. These peculiarities are observable in a large number of inscriptions of the next four centuries, and it seems to me advisable to class the characters of the whole group as those of the "acute-angled alphabet." Formerly the term "nail-headed" was frequently applied to them. Of late this has been given up and no new generic name has been proposed. Thus Fleet says, in his edition of the Gayā inscription,6 only that the letters belong to the northern class of alphabets. Possibly the Indian name may have been Siddhamānyāka (lipi). For Berüni6 states that an alphabet [50] of this name was used in his time (about A.D. 1030) in Kashmir and in Benares, while the Nāgari was current in Mālwa. If the usual writing of Benares resembled that of Kashmir, it cannot have had the long horizontal top-strokes which always characterise the Nāgari. Berüni's note is, however, too brief and vague for a definite settlement of the question.

The two inscriptions, mentioned above, which, like the other contemporaneous cognate documents, are connected with the western Gupta alphabet, mark the first step in the development of the acute angled alphabet during the sixth century. And to the same subdivision belong, among the MSS., the Harinizi palm-leaves, which according to the Japanese tradition certainly existed in the second half of the sixth century.7 If fourteen years ago, when I wrote my paleographical essay on these leaves in the Anecdotum Oxoniense, the facsimiles of the Gayā and Lakhkhamāñjāl inscriptions had been accessible, it would have sufficed to compare their letters in order to prove the correctness of the statements of the Japanese.

1 Anecdotum Oxoniense, Aryans Series, 1, 9, 78.
2 Compare also the facsimiles in Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions (CIL. 3), Nos. 20, 24, 33, 31, 33, 87, 47, 51, 79, 75, and of the seal of Kumāragupta II., J.A.S.B. 59, 84.
4 Gupta Inscriptions (CIL. 3), 374.
5 Anec. Oxo 2., Ary. Series, 1, 3, 64.
6 India, 1, 173 (Sachau).
The characters of An̄̄śuvarman's inscription of A.D. 635 (plate IV, col. XVII) and of the nearly contemporaneous Aphisad Praśasti of Adityasena (plate IV, cols. XVIII, XIX) show the further progress of the acute-angled alphabet during the 7th century. It must, however, be noted that An̄̄śuvarman's inscriptions and other Nepalese documents of the same time have the round sa and thus are allied with the eastern Gupta character, while the Aphisad Praśasti and its allies from India proper are connected with the western variety of the old northern alphabet. Fleet calls this second variety, on account of the more marked twist of the lower ends of the strokes, "the Kuṭila variety of the Magadha alphabet of the 7th century." I feel disinclined to adopt the term "Kuṭila," which was first used by Pricker, and since has been employed by many other writers, because it is based on an erroneous rendering of the expression kuṭila aśvara in the Deval Praśasti. I would remove it from the paleographic terminology. Kielhorn likewise avoids it in his paleographic remarks on various inscriptions of this period.

During the 8th—10th centuries, the development of the acute-angled or Siddhamārka alphabet progresses more and more in the direction of its successor, the Nāgari alphabet, which latter in its old North-Indian form is distinguished merely by the substitution of straight-top strokes for the wedges on the verticals. Documents with a mixture of wedges and straight-top strokes are also found; and occasionally it becomes difficult to decide how a particular inscription is to be classed.

To this third and last variety of the acute-angled alphabet belong the characters of the Multā copper-plates (plate IV, col. XX) of A.D. 708-709, of the Dīghvā-Dubauli plate, probably of A.D. 761 (plate IV, col. XXI), of the Gwalior inscription of A.D. 876 (plate V, col. II), and of the Ghośrāva inscription of the 9th or 10th century (plate V, col. VI), as well as, among the MSS., those of the Cambridge MS. No. 1049 (plate VI, col. VII), dated in the year 252, probably of An̄̄śuvarman's era of A.D. 594, or in A.D. 846. An intermediate position between the acute-angled and the Nāgari alphabets, is occupied by the letters of the Pehoa Praśasti of about A.D. 900 (plate V, col. III), of the Deval Praśasti of A.D. 992 or 993 (plate V, col. VIII) and of the copper-plates of the Paramāra king Vākpati II. of A.D. 974 (plate V, col. X). They, no doubt, show the wedges; but these are so broad that they produce the same effect as the long straight top-strokes, and that, e.g., the open tops of A, gha, pa, &c., are closed, just as in the Nāgari inscriptions. Specimens of the mixture of wedges and straight-top strokes, mentioned above, are found in the Rādhāpur and Vānī-Diglori copper-plates of the Rāṣṭrapati king [61] Govinda III. of A.D. 807-808 (plate V, col. IV), and the Harṣa inscription of the Cāhāmāna Vīgraha II. of A.D. 973 (plate V, col. IX).

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1 Compare also the facsimiles in IA. 9, 163 ff., Nos. 4—10, 12; Bendall, Journey in Nepal, 72, Nos. 1, 2; and Hoernle's remarks in J.A.S.B. 60, 85.
2 Guptā Inscriptions (CII. 3), 201, 284; EI. 3, 328, note 1.
3 J.A.S.B. 6, 778, pl. 41.
4 EI. 1, 76. In confirmation of my explanation of the phrase kuṭilayakṣṭarṣu vidūṣā, "by him who knows crooked letters," i.e., letters difficult to read, I would point to Vikramāditya, 18, 42, where we have the statement that queen Śrīyamatī did not allow herself to be cheated kuṭilākṣṭa kuṭila-piṭhibh, "by writers using crooked alphabets."
5 Compare his remarks on inscriptions of this class, IA. 17, 208; 19, 55; 29, 123; 21, 199; EI. 1, 179; 2, 117, 169.
6 Compare, for this and the preceding varieties, the facsimiles at IA. 2, 208; 5, 190; 9, 174 ff., Nos. 11, 13, 14, 15; 10, 31; 17, 310; 19, 58; Bendall, Journey in Nepal, pl. 10, 11, 13; EI. 1, 179; 4, 21; C.A.S.B. 17, pl. 9; and the autotypes of coins in C.C.M.I. pl. 3, Nos. 7—14; pl. 6, No. 24; and pl. 7.
7 According to Fleet, IA. 15, 231, "transitional type from which the North-Indian Nāgari alphabet was soon after developed."
8 According to Fleet, IA. 15, 106, "North-Indian Nāgari."
9 Compare IA. 17, 208.
11 S. Lēvi, JA. 1894, 11, 65 ff.
12 EI. 6, 59; 11, 158; compare also facsimiles in El. 3, 163, and IA. 14, 200.
13 EI. 6, 59; 11, 158; compare also facsimiles, IA. 16, 174.
The last-mentioned two inscriptions are, however, by no means the oldest documents, in which Nagari letters occur. The first undoubtedly genuine specimens are found in the signatures of the Gurjara princes on the copper-plates of Kaira (of A. D. 628 and 633), of Dabhoi (A. D. 642), of Nausari (A. D. 705), and of Kavi (A. D. 786), the texts of which are written in a southern alphabet. In the first-mentioned three signatures, the Nagari letters are in the minority, as most of the signs show either more archaic northern or southern forms. Only in the fourth signature the Nagari is used throughout and is fully developed. But the most ancient document, written throughout in Nagari, is the Sāmānagād grant of the Rāṣṭrākūṭa king Dantidurga of A. D. 754 (plate IV, col. XXII). Much of the same type are the characters of the Kañheri inscriptions Nos. 15 and 43 (plate V, col. V), which were respectively incised in A. D. 851 and 877 during the reigns of the Sālavāra princes Pulāśakti and Kapardin II.

The Sāmānagād and Kañheri inscriptions, together with some others of the 9th century, show the archaic variety of the southern Nagari, the fully developed form of which is exhibited in the copper-plates of Kañheri (plate V, col. XVIII), which were incised during the reign of the Cālukya king Vikramāditya V in A. D. 1009-10. The southern Nagari, of the 8th—11th centuries, which differs from its northern sister of the same period chiefly by the want of the small tails slanting to the right from the ends of the verticals, and in general by stiffer forms, besides occurs in numerous inscriptions of the Sālavāra and Yādavas from the Marāthā country and the Koṅkana, as well as of a Raṭa prince from the Belgaum collectorate. Its latest development during the 13th—16th centuries is found in the inscriptions of the kings of Vijaynagar or Vidyānagar in the Kanarese country. It still survives in the Bālbodh or Devanagari of the Marāthā districts, and in Southern India it has produced the so-called Nandinagari which is still used for MSS.

In Northern and Central India, the Nagari appears first on the copper-plate of the Mahārāja Vināyakapāla of Mahodaya (plate IV, col. XXIII), probably of A. D. 794, which however exhibits some archaisms and peculiarities in the signs for kha, ga, and na, found also in later inscriptions from Eastern India. The fact that an earlier inscription from the Kanarese country, the incision of which is due to a Brahman from Northern India (see El. 3, 1 ff.), shows a mixture of Nagari and acute-angled letters, makes it probable that the northern Nagari was in use at least since the beginning of the 8th century. From the next century, we have only a few inscriptions in northern Nagari. But after A. D. 960 their number increases, and in the 11th century the script becomes paramount in nearly all the districts north of the Narmadā.

The characters of the Siyaṉaṅa inscriptions from Central India (plate V, col. VII), the dates of which run from A. D. 968, and those of the copper-plate of the first Cālukya of Gujarāt, incised in A. D. 987 (plate V, col. XI), show the forms of the northern Nagari of the 10th century. The copper-plates of the Rāṣṭrākūṭa (Gāhaṇa-śaśi) king Madanapāla of Kanauj in Northern India, dated A. D. 1097 (plate V, col. XII), the Ua ypur Prāsasti of the Pārāvatas of Mālva (probable date about A. D. 1060) in the west of Central India (plate V, col. XIII), the Nanyurā inscriptions of the Čandella Devavarman of A. D. 1090 (plate V, col. XIV) and of

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1 The genuineness of the earlier Umētā and Bagumā plates (IA. 7, 63; 17, 199) is disputed (IA. 18, 91 ff.).
2 Their Nagari letters have been given in Aunc. Oxon., Arv. Series 1, 3, pl. 6.
3 See the facsimile, J. B. S. 1835, 245 ff.; El. 5, 49; IA. 5, 113; 13, 78; and the remarks in SB. WA. 135, 8, 2.
4 IA. 11, 93.
5 Compare, e. g., the Ambarānā inscription, J. B. S. 19, 219; 12, 324; IA. 19, 242.
6 IA. 12, 16, 15 ff.
7 Compare also the facsimiles, IA. 7, 304; 9, 32; 14, 141; 17, 122; J. B. S. 13, 1; 15, 350; El. 3, 272, 500 ff., 306 ff.
8 Compare the facsimiles, El. 3, 38 f., 132 ff.; B. ESIP. pl. 30, and the alphabet, pl. 20.
9 B. ESIP. 53 (where the Nandinagari is derived erroneously from the Siddhamārtkā), and pl. 21.
10 IA. 13, 146.
11 See the facsimile, IA. 13, 64.
12 See above, § 21, p. 44, note 2; compare also the facsimiles at IA. 12, 256, 263; 16, 262; El. 1, 122; J. B. S. 18, 239.
the Kalacuri Karṇa of Tripura, dated A. D. 1042 (plate V, col. XV), both from the eastern part of Central India, and the plates of the Caniknya Bhīma I. of Gujarāt, dated A. D. 1029 (plate V, col. XVI), give specimens of the northern Nāgārī of the 11th century. Finally, the northern Nāgārī of A. D. 1100—1207 is illustrated by the alphabets of a plate of Jayacakandra, the last Kṛṣṇa Rāja (Bāndhavīlā) king of Kanauj, dated A. D. 1175 (plate V, col. XX), of the plates of the last Caulukya of Gujarāt, Bhīma II., dated A. D. 1199 and 1207 [52] (plate V, col. XXI), of the plate of the Paramārā Udayavarman of Mālva, dated A. D. 1200 (plate V, col. XXII), and of the Ratnapur stone inscription from the reign of the Kalacuri Jājalla of Tripura, dated A. D. 1114 (plate V, col. XXIII).3

With the characters of these Nāgārī inscriptions, agree those of the now numerous ancient palm-leaf MSS. from Gujarāt, Rājпутāna and the northern Dekhān, the dates of which run certainly from the 11th, and possibly from the 10th century. Cols. XV—XVII. of plate VI. exhibit their alphabet chiefly according to Leumann’s photographs and tracings of the Viṣṇuśaṅkabhiṣnagati, dated A. D. 1061, together with some supplements from the Royal Asiatic Society’s Gujarātanāmahodādhi, of A. D. 1229. But a number of MSS. from Nepāl, belonging to the 11th and 12th centuries, show the northern Nāgārī of the preceding century. And col. XIII of plate VI. offers a specimen from No. 866, the oldest Cambridge MS. of this class, which is dated A. D. 1008. Of the same type is the alphabet of plate VI, col. XIV, taken from the reproduction of col. 1 of Wylie’s copy of the Vajracchedikā in Anecdota Oxoniensia, Aryan Series, 1, 1, plate 4.

§ 24.—Details of the changes in the acute-angled and the Nāgārī alphabets.5

A.—The Mātrakās.

Among the numerous changes, which the letters of the acute-angled and Nāgārī scripts undergo in course of time, the following more important ones, affecting the Mātrakās or radical signs, deserve special mention:

(1) The signs for E, gha, ca, tha, dha, pa, ba, ma, ya, la, va, sa and sa, develop gradually,—the later the more distinctly,—shorter or longer tails, which first slant off towards the right below the bottom-line of the letters, but later, in the Nāgārī, become vertical strokes, except in the case of E. [53] From the 10th century similar pendent lines appear in the middle of cha (plate V, 16, II, III, &c.), and of dha (plate V, 23, II), of pha (plate V, III, &c.) and of ha (plate V, 42, II—IV, &c.), which the Nāgārī, too, retains in cha and ha and converts into a medial vertical in the case of pha. In the acute-angled script, kha, ga, tha, dha, and sa frequently show on the right a small horn-like protuberance or an elongation of the vertical, which, owing to the flattening of the tops, the Nāgārī again discards except in the case of dha. Both the last-mentioned peculiarities are due to the circumstance that the writers drew the left and right portions of the letters separately and neglected to join carefully the two halves.6 In course of time these irregularities became characteristic features of most of the letters.

1 See above, § 21, p. 4; note 2; compare also the facsimiles at IA. 6, 53, 54; 5, 40; 12, 126, 202; 15, 36; 16, 208; 18, 34; El. 1 2 6, 316 3, 50.
2 See above, § 21 p. 44; note 2; compare, e.g., the facsimiles at IA. 11, 72; 17, 226; 18, 130.
3 Kielhorn, Report on Sanskrit MSS. for 1880-81, pp. VII, 87; J. RAS, 1895, 247, 504; compare also the facsimiles, Pal. Soc., Or. Series, pl. 1, 2, 3, 5; Cat. Berlin Sanskr. und Prakr. Handschr., Band 2, 3, pl. 1. In the marginal glosses of the Viṣṇuṇaṇaka and other MSS., frequently appear other cursive alphabets; see Leumann’s edition, pl. 35.
4 Bynade, Cat. Buddh. Sanskrit MSS. from Nepāl, pp. XXIV f., 1 f.; compare also the facsimile, Pal. Soc., Or. Series, pl. 13. According to S. V. Oldenburg (letter of 7th April, 1897), the alphabet of these Nepalese MSS. is the so-called Laṣja script, in which is written a complete MS. of the Saddharmapuṣpajātaka, preserved in St. Peterburg.
5 Compare, for this paragraph, Bynade, Cat. Cambridge Buddhist MSS. from Nepāl, XLIII—LI; Anecd. Oxon., Aryan Series, 1, 3, 73—87.
6 Anecd. Oxon., Aryan Series, 1, 3, 70.
(2) In consequence of the elongation of the ends of the wedges and of the use of long straight top-strokes, the heads of \( \text{A}, \bar{\text{A}}, \text{gha}, \text{pa}, \text{pha}, \text{ma}, \text{ya}, \text{sa}, \) and \( \text{sa} \) are gradually closed, both in the acute-angled and the Nāgarī scripts.\(^1\)

(3) The lower portion of the left half of \( \text{A} \) and \( \bar{\text{A}} \) almost invariably consists of a curve, open towards the left, which first appears occasionally in the Kūdana inscriptions (see above, § 19, B, 1) and later regularly on the Ucacakalpa plates (plate IV, 1, IX). It is preserved in the Bālboha of the Marāthīs and is common in the Bombay editions of Sanskrit works. In other late specimens of the Nāgarī, it is replaced by two slanting strokes (plate V, 1, 2, XVI) to which a third, a remnant of an earlier wedge at the foot of the vertical, is added lower down. This form is the parent of the \( \text{A}, \bar{\text{A}} \), used in the Benares and Calcutta prints. Up to the 8th century, the long \( \bar{\text{A}} \) is invariably differentiated by the addition of a curve to the right end of \( \text{A} \). Later, its mark is a downward stroke, which is attached either to the right of the top (\( \text{e.g.} \), plate IV, 2, XXI) or to the middle (plate IV, 2, XXII) and thus reoccupies the same positions which the corresponding horizontal bar has in the Ashoka edicts.\(^2\) In the MSS., the downstroke at the top is found even earlier (plate VI, 2, VI).

(4) The sign for \( \text{I} \) is mostly derived from the Gupta form of Indor (plate IV, 3, VII) by the substitution of a curve for the third dot (plate IV, 3, XI—XXIII; V, 3, II—IV, &c.; VI, 3, V—IX). But in addition there is (plate V, 3, V, XII, XIII, &c.; VI, 3, XII—XV) a derivative from the \( \text{I} \) of the Ucacakalpa plates (IV, 3, IX), in which the upper dot is replaced by a straight line; and this \( \text{I} \) is the parent of the modern Devanāgarī \( \text{I} \), in which the two lower dots have been changed into curves and finally have been connected. In Jaina MSS., the \( \text{I} \) with two dots above and a curve below occurs occasionally as late as the 15th and 16th centuries. The unique early forms of the long \( \text{I} \) (plate VI, 4, V, VII), as well as their later development (plate VI, 4, XV), which has followed the analogy of \( \text{I} \), deserve attention.

(5) \( \text{U} \) and \( \bar{\text{U}} \) invariably show at the lower end a tail, drawn towards the left, which in course of time is developed more and more fully.

(6) The curve of \( \bar{\text{R}} \), attached to the right of the \( \text{ra} \), becomes very shallow and long in the Horuzi palm-leaves (plate VI, 7, V), and this shallow curve is the precursor of the vertical line of the later palm-leaf MSS. of Western India (plate VI, 7, XV—XVII). In the Cambridge MS. No. 1049 (plate VI, 7, VII) and in No. 1691, the \( r \)-curve is attached to the lower end of the \( \text{ra} \).

(7) Among the signs for \( \bar{\text{R}}, \bar{\text{L}} \) and \( \bar{\text{L}} \), which are first traceable in the MSS. of this period (plate VI, 8—10, V, VII, X), the long \( \bar{\text{R}} \) is clearly formed by the addition of a second \( r \)-curve to the short \( \text{R} \). In the Cambridge MSS. Nos. 1049 and 1691, \( \bar{\text{L}} \) is represented by a cursive southern \( \text{la} \) (see plate VII, 34, VI—IX), just as the oldest medial \( \text{i} \) in \( \text{k} \) (VII, 42, XIV) is identical with another form of \( \text{la} \); and the long \( \bar{\text{L}} \) is derived from the short vowel by the addition of a second \( la \), turned in the opposite direction. In the \( L \) and \( \bar{\text{L}} \) of the Horuzi palm-leaves (plate VI, 9, 10, V), the \( la \) has been turned round towards the left, and respectively one and two \( r \)-curves have been attached to the foot. And the combination \( l(\text{s})-r \) remains [\(^3\)] also in the Nāgarī both of the palm-leaves from Western India (plate VI, 9, 10, XV) and of our days, the reason being no doubt the pronunciation \( lr \), which is customary both there and in other parts of India. These paleographical facts agree with the tradition of the Chinese Buddhists, who, as S. Lévi has discovered,\(^4\) ascribe the invention of the signs for the liquid vowels to a South-Indian, either to Sarvaravarn, the minister of the Andhra king Sātavāhana, or to the great Buddhist teacher Nāgārjuna.

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1. See above, § 23, page 50.
2. See above, § 16, D, 1, 2; and plate II, 2, II—X.
3. Communication by letter.
(8) E and I invariably turn the base of the triangle upwards, and this innovation is found already in the inscriptions with transitional forms (plate IV, 5, X, XI).

(9) Ka shows almost invariably on the left a loop, caused by the connection of the end of the bent cross-bar with the serif or wedge at the foot of the vertical, except in combinations with the subscribed vowels a and r (see, e.g., plate IV, 7, XV; V, 10, III; VI, 15, XVI, XVII) or with other consonants (see, e.g., plate IV, 41, XVI; V, 43, II, III; VI, 49, V, XV, XVII). In the Nāgari inscriptions, the looped form occurs; however, not rarely also in the latter cases (see, e.g., plate IV, 7, XX, XXII; V, 43, VII, X—XIII).

(10) The loop or triangle of kha, which represents the ancient circle (plate II, 10, VI, and above, § 3, A, 19), stands, in all the greatly varying forms of the letters, at the left of the verticals. The very considerable differences in the shape of the left limb are partly due to the flattening of the top of the letter and still more to the various ornamental changes of the wedge, which first was added to the lower end of the ancient hook.

(11) The dot to the right of a, which is so characteristic in the modern Devanāgarī letter, appears already on the Benares copper-plate of Kāraṇa of A.D. 1042 in the word jānāma (line 11, end),2 while our plates offer only an example from a much later document (see plate V, 14, XIX). The dot may possibly have been derived from the protuberance, which is often found at the end of the top-stroke of the letter (see, e.g., plate V, 14, V, VI, VIII).

(12) The central bar of ja first is made to slant downwards (plate IV, 14, XXI—XXIII, &c.) and then changed into a vertical (V, 17, XIII, &c.; VI, 22, XII, &c.). At the same time, the upper bar becomes the top-stroke of the letter, and the lowest is gradually converted into a double curve.

(13) The right limb of the independent a of the HorMZ palm-leaves (VI, 24, V) is turned upwards, and the same form occurs occasionally in ligatures. But in the latter the sign is usually laid on its side, its angles are converted into curves and the right limb is attached to the end of the greatly shortened vertical. Hence it often looks like a (see plate IV, 16, XI, &c.; V, 19, IV, V, &c.). In the Nāgari of the 11th and later centuries, the subscript a is attached to the left limb of ja (plate V, 10, XII—XIV; VI, 24, XVI), and the cursive ji of the modern Devanāgarī, which the Hindus now consider to be a Mātrākā, is due to a simplification of this form.

(14) Since the 6th century, a wedge is often placed above the lingual ja (plate IV, 17, XVII; V, 20, II, VI; VI, 25, VI); and in the Nāgari a horizontal line with a short vertical or slanting stroke appears in the place of the wedge (plate IV, 17, XXI, XXII; V, 20, XIII, &c.; VI, 25, XV).

(15) Similar additions appear above the lingual aha since the 10th century (plate V, 21, X, &c.; VI, 26, XV).

(16) Since the 9th century, the round-backed lingual da of the southern alphabets, ending with a curve open to the left, comes into use (plate V, 22, II, VIII, &c.).

(17) The suppression of the original base-stroke of the lingual an occurs in ligatures (ana, plate IV, 21, XIX) since the 7th century, and in the uncombined sign since the 8th century (plate V, 24, III); compare also above, § 22, B, 10, and plate IV, 21, III. The sign seen after assumes the modern form and consists of a straight top-stroke with three lines hanging down from it (plate V, 24, VII, &c.; VI, 29, XV, &c.).

1 An exception is, e.g., the Jhālāra inscription, I. A. V, 180, which shows throughout the old dagger-shaped form.
2 B I. 2, 297.
(18) The modern form of ta with the vertical on the right, which occurs already in the Asoka edicts, reappears in the 8th century (plate IV, 22, XXI) and becomes the regular one in the 19th century.

(19) The modern form of tha, which has been derived from the notched one of the 7th century (plate IV, 23, XVII), is found already in the inscriptions of the same period (plate IV, 23, XVIII, &c.).

(20) [55] In the 7th century, the lower end of da is more clearly defined by a serif (plate IV, 24, XVII, &c.), which soon after is changed into the characteristic tail of the modern letter.

(21) Already in the 7th century, the right side of ma becomes occasionally a vertical, to the left of which the loop is attached (plate IV, 26, XVIII, XIX); compare also below, § 30.

(22) On the transformation of pha by the development of a central vertical (see above, under 1), the curve of aspiration is attached first to the top of the new sign (plate IV, 28, XXII; V, 31, III, &c.). But in the 11th century it sinks lower down (plate V, 31, XII), and it occupies already in the 12th century the position which it has in the modern Devanagari letter (plate V, 31, XX—XXIII). Retrograde archaic forms, like those in plate V, 31, II, XIV, are, however, not rare. Their occurrence has probably to be explained by the influence of the popular cursive alphabets.

(23) As ma was very generally pronounced ba, the ancient sign for ba was lost in Northern, Central and Western India, and it was replaced by ma in the inscriptions of the 7th and later centuries (plate IV, 29, XX; V, 32, II, &c.). In the MSS. the substitution occurs even earlier (plate VI, 37, V, VI). A new ba, consisting of ma with a dot in the centre of the loop, occurs since the 11th century (plate V, 32, XVI), and this form is the parent of the modern Devanagari letter.

(24) The left limb of bha, mostly an inverted wedge with the point towards the right, is frequently changed into a triangle, open at the apex, from which the lower portion of the original vertical hangs down (plate IV, 30, XI, &c.; V, 33, II, &c.). The modern Devanagari bha appears in the 12th century (plate V, 33, XX, &c.) and seems to be derived from the form with the wedge, for which latter a serif was substituted.

(25) Since the 8th century, ma usually has on the left a cursive loop (plate IV, 31, XX, XXI), which in the MSS. is mostly filled in with ink (plate VI, 39, XV—XVII).

(26) Both the MSS., and most inscriptions, with the exception of one from Udaypur (above, page 48, note 3) and some from Nepal (page 50), offer exclusively the looped or the bipartite ya, which latter occurs already in the inscriptions of the Kuṣana period,¹ and has been derived from the looped form.² In the Nepalese inscriptions of the 7th century, which show the eastern ya,³ we find a tripartite ya with a small circle at the top of the first stroke (plate IV, 32, XVII); the Udaypur inscription has both the ordinary tripartite ya of the Gupta period, and also the bipartite letter.

(27) The right extremity of the wedge at the lower end of ra is often greatly elongated in the inscriptions of the 7th and later centuries (plate IV, 33, XVIII—XXI, &c.), and sometimes only the outlines of the wedge are marked. These forms are the precursors of the modern tailed ra.

(28) Since the 7th century, we find a cursive ia (plate IV, 36, XVIII; 42, XIX; V, 39, II, III, &c.; VI, 44, XV—XVII), the left half of which has been turned into a loop with a little tail on the right.

¹ See above, § 19, B, 12.
² J. ASB. 60, 87.
³ J. ASB. 60, 85.
B. — Medial vowels and so forth.

(1) Medial ś, ē, ə, au, as well as one of the Mātrās of ā, are placed very frequently above the line, and are then, particularly in the stone inscriptions, treated more or less ornamentally (see, e.g., plate IV, cols. XIII—XVIII). More rarely, medial ē and ī are treated in the same way.

(2) The tails of the curves of medials ē and ī are regularly drawn down low, respectively to the left and the right of the Mātrā, while the differences in the curves at the top disappear. These forms lead up to the ī and ē of the modern Devanāgarī.

(3) Medial s is expressed very frequently by the initial ū of the period (plate IV, 30, XII, XIV, XVI, XX; VI, 44, VI). But an older form, found, e.g., in pū (IV, 27, VI), is also common and appears to be the parent of the modern s, which occurs already in the western palm-leaf MSS. (see pū, plate VI, 35, XVI).

(4) Since the 7th century, — first on the Banashkērā plate of Harṣa, — the Jihvāmōliya is occasionally expressed by a cursive sign, consisting of a loop under the wedge of kṣ (plate V, 47, III).

(5) Since the 7th century, the Upadhmānyā is occasionally expressed by a curve open above, with curled ends and sometimes with a dot in the centre. This sign is attached to the left side of the Mātrā (plate IV, 46, XXIII; V, 48, VII). It seems to be derived from a sign like that in plate VII, 46, IV.

(6) In the older inscriptions, the Virāṇa is still frequently placed above the vowelless consonant, for which invariably a final form is used; and it receives a tail, which is drawn downwards to the right of the Mātrā (see, e.g., plate IV, 22, XIV). But even more commonly it stands below the consonant, and it occurs in this position already in the inscriptions with transitional forms (plate IV, 22, XI).

C. — The ligatures.

(1) Both in the inscriptions and in the MSS. of the 6th and later centuries, we find occasionally ligatures, in which the second consonant is placed to the right of the first, instead of below it (see, e.g., plate IV, 45, XI; V, 47, II; VI, 51, VI).

(2) For the stone inscriptions of the acute-angled alphabet, the subscript ya frequently is made ornamental and drawn far to the left. Since the 7th century, and occasionally even earlier, the right-hand upstroke of ya is drawn up as far as the upper line of the whole sign (see, e.g., plate IV, 46, VIII, XIX; 43, 45, XIII; VI, 51, VI).

(3) Ra, being the first part of a compound consonant, usually stands above the line and is expressed by a wedge, or by an angle or a curve open to the right. But in rmas the left side of ma is shortened, and the top of the wedge, which is placed on this shortened line, does not protrude above the upper line (plate VI, 49, VI). Similar depressions of the superscribed ra are found in connection with other consonants in the Ahśad inscription, on Harṣa's copper-plates, and in some MSS. (plate VI, 51, XIII, XIV). Until the 9th century, rya is often expressed by a full ra with a subscript ya (see, e.g., plate IV, 44, XVIII; 45, VII; and compare EI, 3, 108).

1 Compare the facsimile of the Jhārāpāṇ inscription, IA, 5, 180; see also IA, 13, 162.
2 This is the regular form since the 9th century.
4 FLEET, Gupta Inscriptions (OII. 8), 202; KIELHORN, KI, 1, 179 ff.
§ 25. — The Sāradā alphabet; Plates V. and VI.

A. — The Sāradā script, which is easily recognised as a descendant of the western Gupta alphabet, appears since about A. D. 800 in Kashmir and in the north-eastern Pālāh (Kāngra and Chambā). The oldest known Sāradā inscriptions are the two Baijnāth Prāśastas from Kiraghrā (Kāngra), dated A. D. 804; see plate V, col. I. Not much later are the coins of the Varma dynasty of Kashmir, where the Sāradā forms are likewise fully developed. And it is not improbable that the Bakshāli MS., found in the Yusufzai district (plate VI, col. VIII), belongs to the same or even a somewhat earlier period. The third specimen of the Sāradā in plate VI, col. IX, which ultimately is derived from Burkhard’s plate I. in his edition of the Kashmirian Sākuntala, dates perhaps only from the 16th or 17th century; it has been given merely because at present no reproductions of more ancient MSS. are accessible. In consequence of the frequent emigrations of the travel-loving Kashmīrian Pandits, Sāradā MSS. are found in many towns of North-Western India and farther east in Benares, and marginal glosses in Sāradā characters are found even in ancient Nāgarī MSS. from Western India. A modern cursive variety of the Sāradā is the so-called Ṭakkari or Ṭākari of the Dogras in Jammū and the neighbourhood, which of late has been imported also into Kashmir.

B. — A general characteristic of the Sāradā of all periods is found in the stiff, thick, strokes, which give the characters an uncoated appearance and a certain resemblance to those of the Kuṣana period. The following signs show, already in the earliest period, peculiar developments —

1. The I, which consists of two dots, placed side by side, and (compare the I of the Bower MS.) a re-like figure below, which represents the other two dots (plate V, 4, I; VI, 4, IX).

2. The quadrangular ca (plate V, 18, I; VI, 20, VIII, IX).

3. The lingual da, which shows in the middle a loop, instead of an acute angle, and a wedge at the end (plate V, 22, I; VI, 27, VIII, IX).

4. The dental ta, which, being derived from a looped form, has lost its left half, while the right has been converted into a curve (plate V, 25, I; VI, 30, VIII, IX).

5. The dental dha, which is flattened at the top and is below so broad that it resembles a Devanāgarī pa.

6. The sa, which, owing to the connection of the left side of the curve with the top-stroke, closely resembles dha (plate V, 38, I; VI, 43, VIII, IX).

7. The quadrangular ṣa, which exactly resembles a Nāgarī sa (plate V, 39, I; VI, 44, VIII, IX).

8. The angular medial o (plate V, 43, I; VI, 43, VIII), and the detached o, which stands by itself above the line (plate V, 24, I; VI, 31, IX), and without doubt is derived from the Gupta o (plate IV, 34, IV).

9. The r̥, which, as a first part of ligatures, is inserted into the left side of the second letter, just as in the Apsaḍ inscription.

The other letters of the earlier documents differ very little from those of the western Gupta alphabet, and the changes, which are found, all occur also in the acute-angled script.

1 Compare, for this paragraph, Kashmir Report (J.BBRAS. 12), 31; J.ASB. 60, 83.
2 C.MI. pl. 4, 5.
3 Seventh Oriental Congress, Aryan Section, 153; IA. 17, 33, 276.
4 SR.WA. CVII.
5 A good facsimile from a Sāradā MS. of the same period is found in the Catalogue of the Berlin Sanskrit and Räkritis, Vol. 2, 3, pl. 2; an inferior one, from the India Office MS. 8176, together with a table of the letters and ligatures, in Pal. Soc., Or. Ser., pl. 44.
6 SR.WA. CXVI, 394.
7 Kashmir Report (J.BBRAS. 12), 32; for the alphabet, see J.BAS. 1891, 862.
8 See above, § 24, C. 3.
The constant use of the bipartite \( ya \), of the \( sa \) with the suppressed base-stroke (see above, § 24, A, 17), of the \( i \) and \( i \), drawn down respectively to the left and the right of the consonant (§ 24, D, 2), and of the simplified Jihvāmūlīya (plate V, 47, I), indicates that the separation of the Sāradā from the Gupta alphabet did not take place before the 7th century.

In the later Sāradā (plate VI, col. IX), further abnormal developments are noticeable in \( Û, E, AI, O, AU, ja, i sû, bha, rtha \) (which latter occurs also in plate VI, col. VIII), and owing to the use of long top-strokes the heads of several letters, such as \( A, A \) and \( ya \), are closed.

§ 26. — Eastern varieties of the Nāgari alphabet and the arrow-head script.

A. — Proto-Bengāli; Plates V. and VI.

Towards the end of the 11th century, the Nāgari inscriptions of Eastern India show such distinct traces of changes leading up to the modern Bengāli writing, and these changes become so numerous in the 12th century, that it is possible to class their alphabets as Proto-Bengāli.

An approximate idea of the development of the Proto-Bengāli may be obtained by comparing the characters of the following documents, represented in our plates: — (1) of the Deopāra Prāśati1 of about A. D. 1080-90 (plate V, col. XVIII), which includes the Bengāli \( E, kha, i sû, ta, tha, ma, ra, la, and sa \); (2) of Vaidyadeva's land-grant2 of A. D. 1142 (plate V, col. XIX), with the Bengāli \( E, AI, kha, ga, i sû, ta, tha, dha, ra, and va \); and (3) of the Cambridge MSS. No. 1699, I, 23 of A. D. 1198-99 (plate VI, col. X), which offers the Bengāli \( A, \bar{A}, U, R, \bar{I}, I, E, AI, AU, ka, kha, ga, ta, tha, na, ma, ya, ra, va, and sa \), as well as transitional forms of \( ghä, ñä, \) and \( ñä \).

Only a few among the Proto-Bengāli letters are new local formations. The great majority occurs already in other older scripts, being in exactly the same or in similar shape. [58] Thus, its \( R, \bar{R}, L \) and \( \bar{I} \) agree closely with the corresponding characters of the Horuzi MS. (plate VI, 7—10, V), its \( Û \) with that of the oldest MS. from Nepāl (plate VI, 6, VII; compare also the Sāradā, VI, 6, IX), and its \( AU \) with that of the Bower MS. (plate VI, 14, I, II). Its signs for \( A, A, \bar{k}a, na, ma, ya, va, sa, \) and \( sa \) occur repeatedly in various alphabets of the 8th—10th centuries, given in plates IV, V. Its \( kha \), opened on the right, finds an analogy in that of the Bower MS. (plate VI, 16, I), and its \( tha \), likewise opened on the right, somewhat resembles that of plate V, 26, IX. Finally, the \( ga \) and \( \bar{sa} \) with the verticals, rising on the right above the line, have precursors in the letters of the 9th and 10th centuries with horn-like protuberances (plate V, 12, 24, II—IV, VI; compare also above, § 24, A, I). Even the \( ra \), resembling \( sa \) (plate V, 36, XIX; VI, 41, 49, X), may easily be recognised as due to a slightly abnormal development of the wedge at the end of the letter, for which, forms from Western and Central India in plate V, 36, XIII, XIV, offer more or less close analogies. Only the \( E \) and \( AI \) open on the left, and the peculiar \( ña \) in \( ñea \) (plate V, 19, XVIII) and in \( ña \) (plate VI, 24, X), appear to be purely local new formations. And this may be true also of the \( ta \) (plate V, 25, XVIII, XIX; VI, 30, X), which, however, does not differ much from the Sāradā sign and from the final \( t \) of some other alphabets.

The most striking and important among the peculiarities of the Proto-Bengāli, discarded in the modern Bengāli script, are the small triangles with the rounded lower side and the "Nepalese hooks," which are attached to the left of the tops of various letters. The triangle is found in \( kṣi \) (plate V, 47, XVIII) and in very many letters of plate V, col. XIX; while the hook occurs in the \( ka \) and \( ia \) of plate V, 25 and 43, XVIII.4 If further we compare theTarpan-Dighi inscription of Lukanaśana,5 where the triangles and hooks frequently appear alternately in connection with the same letters, it becomes evident that the "Nepalese hook"
is a cursive substitute for the triangle. The triangle itself is a modification of the top-stroke with a semi-circle below, occasionally met with in ornamental inscriptions from Northern and Central India, as, e.g., in Viniyakapala's plate (letters with this peculiarity have not been given in plate IV, col. XXIII and in the Candella inscription in Cunningham's Archaeological Reports, Vol. 10, plate 38, No. 3. This last-mentioned form again is connected with, and gives the outlines of, the thick top-strokes, rounded off at both ends, which are not rare in ornamental MSS. like that figured by Bendall, Catalogue of Sanskrit Buddhist MSS. from Nepal, plate 2, Nos. 1, 2, and in the alphabet of plate VI, col. XIV (see particularly lines 5, 7, 15, 30, 34, 37, 49).

Among the abnormal single signs, not received into the modern Bengali, the following deserve special remarks:—

(1) The forms of I in plate V, 3, XVIII, and VI, 3, X, are cursive developments of the ancient I in plate IV, 3, IX, &c. But the I and I of plate V, 3, 4, XIX, appear to be southern forms; compare plate VII, 3, IV—VI.

(2) The curious sa of plate V, 20, XIX, seems to have been produced by an abnormally strong development of a "Nepalese hook" with a serif at the end, placed above the ancient round ta, which is represented by the second lower curve on the left; compare the ta of col. XVIII, and that of the Cambridge MS. No. 1693 (Bendall, op. cit. plate 4).

(3) The sa of plate V, 29, XIX, without a connecting stroke between the loop and the vertical, is due to the strongly developed predilection for cursive forms, which is visible also in other letters of Vaidyadeva's inscription, such as A, A, sa and the ligature tkr (plate V, 47, XIX).

(4) The triangular medial u, for instance of ku (plate V, 10, XIX), which appears also in Lakshmanasa's Tarpan-Dighi grant and other eastern inscriptions, gives the outline of the older wedge-shaped form, found, e.g., in tku (plate V, 26, XVIII) and in su (plate VI, 45, II).

(5) The Anusvara of sau (plate V, 38, XIX) and of kau (plate VI, 15, X) has been placed on the line, as in the Old-Kanarese (see below, § 29, C, 5) and the modern Grantha, and a Virama stands below it.

(6) In the Om of plate V, 9, XVIII, we have the oldest example of the occurrence of the modern Anusatika. In this case, it shows a little circle instead of the more usual dot, which is found in the Om of plate VI, 13, XI. Both forms are rather frequent in the eastern inscriptions of the 12th century, whereas in the west they are more rare and are confined to the word Om. The Anusatika, which I have not found in any Indian inscription older than the 11th century, probably is an intentional modification of the Anusvara, invented because in Vedic MSS. the Anusatika must be substituted for an Anusvara followed by liquid consonants, sibilants and ha.

(7) [69] The Visarga of sau (plate V, 38, XVIII) carries a wedge at the top, which addition appears also in other ornamental scripts (see, e.g., plate VI, 30, XIV); in the a of plate VI, 31, X (compare also VI, 41, XI, and the Gayā inscription), it has been changed cursively into a form resembling our figure 8. In the Gayā inscription (IA, 10, 342), as well as in MSS. of this period, it receives also a small tail (compare tah, plate VI, 30, XIV).

1 Compare the Gayā inscriptions in C.A.R. 3, pl. 37, No. 12; pl. 38, No. 13.
2 See the Mahoba inscription, C.A.R. 21, pl. 21.
3 Compare the inscriptions of Bengali MSS. in Pal. Soc. Or. Series, pl. 38, 32, 69; Rājendrālaś Mitra, Notices of Sanskrit MSS., Vol. 3, pl. 5, 5; Vols. 6 and 8; and the Proto-Bengali inscription, J.A.R. 43, 318, pl. 18.
B.—The Nepalese hooked characters; Plate VI.

According to Bendall's careful examination of the MSS. from Nepāl, the hooked characters first occur in the 12th century and disappear towards the end of the 15th. The facts, stated above, which prove the occurrence of the "Nepalese hooks" in Bengal inscriptions of the 12th century and explain their origin, leave no doubt that the introduction of this modification of the top-strokes is due to the influence of Bengal, which, as Bendall has recognised, makes itself felt also in other points.

The first of the two specimens of this character in plate VI, col. XI, which is derived from the Cambridge MS. No. 1691, of A. D. 1173, shows in the majority of the letters the forms of the Horinii palm-leaves and of the Cambridge MS. No. 1049 (cols. V—VII), with a few small modifications, such as might be expected in a much later document. Irrespective of the hooks, special Bengali peculiarities are observable only in I, Í, E and AÍ. Generally speaking, these remarks hold good also for the second specimen in plate VI, col. XII, from the British Museum MS., Oriental No. 1439, of A. D. 1285. But in this script the Bengali influence is visible in E, ña, ḍha and śa (compare the transitional forms of V, 39, XVIII, XIX), while its I is very archaic.

Nepāl and Tibet seem to have preserved a number of other, mostly ornamental, alphabets of Eastern India, hand-drawn tables of which have been given by B. Hodgson (Asiatic Researches, Vol. 16) and by Sarat Candradès (J.A.S.B., Vol. 57, plates 1 to 7). But up to the present time no reliable materials are available, on which a paleographical examination of these scripts could be based.

C.—The arrow-head alphabet; Plate VI.

The arrow-head alphabet, plate VI, cols. XVIII, XIX, which C. Bendall, its discoverer, is inclined to identify with Berūni's bhaitukī īpi, appears to be confined to Eastern India. It, of course, has no connection with the Nāgāri, but, as Bendall points out in his very careful description, is the immediate offspring of an ancient form of the Brāhmī. It would seem that the A, Ā, ka, ṣa, ṛa and perhaps also the jha of the present alphabet have curves at the lower end. This peculiarity, as well as the peculiar E, noted by Bendall (compare plate VIII, 8, VIII) and the absence of a difference between ṛ and ṛa, seem to indicate that the present alphabet belonged to the eastern scripts, for which these points are characteristic (compare plate III, cols. X—XX, and plates VII, VIII). Its pointed kha, qa, and śa likewise occur in southern alphabets (see plate III, 8, VII; VII, 9, XI, XIV; VII, 11, XVII; 36, IV, XVI, XX). And the forms of pṛa, ṭa, and nā perhaps point rather to the south-west than to the south (compare plate VII, cols. I, II, &c.). Only in the case of the looped sa it is possible to think of northern (Gupta) influence; but the possibility that it is an independent new formation is not excluded. An inscription in the same alphabet, and shewing wedges instead of arrow-heads at the top of the letters, has been discussed by Bendall in IA. 19, 77 f.

1 Bendall, Cat. Sankr. Buddhist MSS. from Nepāl, XXII ff.
2 Op. cit. XXXV, XXXVII.
4 Pal. Soc., Or. Ser., pl. 32; Berlin Oriental Congress, Indian Section, pl. 2, 3, 3.
5 For facsimiles of MSS. with Nepalese "hooked characters," see Bendall, Cat. Sankr. Buddhist MSS. from Nepāl, pls. 3; Pal. Soc., Or. Series, pl. 43, 57; Cowell and Eggeling, Cat. Buddhist MSS. of the Royal Asiatic Society, J.A.S.B. 1876, 1, ff.; for the alphabet, see Bendall, op. cit. pl. 4; J. Klatt, de CCC Cāpakyaśaṃsententiṣa, pl.
6 Compare also Fleet's remarks on ornamental characters, IA. 15, 384.
7 Seventh Oriental Congress, Aryan Section, 111 ff.; and Tenth Oriental Congress, Part II, 151 ff.
§ 27. — Definition and varieties.

[00] With Burnell and Fleet, [I understand the term “southern alphabets” - the scripts of plates VII. and VIII.1 which, developed out of the characters of the Andhra period, have been generally used since about A.D. 350 in the territories south of the Vindhyas, and most of which still survive in the modern alphabets of the Dravidian districts.

Their most important common characteristics are:

1. The retention of the ancient forms, open at the top, of ḡba, ṗa, pha, ṣa and ṣa, of the old ma, and of the tripartite ya which is looped only occasionally, especially in the Grantha.

2. The retention of the long stroke on the right of lā, which however is mostly bent towards the left.

3. The ᵇa with the round back.

4. The curves, originally open at the top, at the ends of the long verticals of A, Ṇ, kṣa, ṛ, and ṭa, as well as of the subscript ra and of medial ū and ū.

5. The medial ṛ with a curled curve on the left, with occasional exceptions occurring in kr.

1 Preparation of Plates VII. and VIII.:

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**PLATE VII.**

Cuttings from faesimilis.

Col. I: from Fleet, Gupta Inscriptions (CII. 3), No. 5, pl. 3 B; with E from No. 62, pl. 38, B.
Col. II, III, from F.GI (CII. 3), No. 30, pl. 11.
Col. IV: from plate at IA. 7, 35.
Col. V: from plate at IA. 5, 205, with ḍa, Ṇa, ṛ, Ṣa, ṛ, ṛ, ṛ from plate at IA. 6, 9, and ṛa from plate at IA. 7, 63.
Col. VI: from F.GI (CII. 3), No. 38, pl. 24.
Col. VII: from F.GI (CII. 3), No. 39, pl. 25.
Col. VIII: from plate at El. 2, 29, No. 1; with I, Ṣa, ṛa, ṛa, ṛ, ṛ, ṛ from plate at IA. 7, 63.
Col. IX: from plate at IA. 13, 78.
Col. X: from F.GI (CII. 3), No. 55, pl. 84; with U and AV from No. 41, p. 27, and U from Ajaśīa No. 8, B,SBRI. 4, pl. 57.
Col. XI: from F.GI (CII. 3), No. 56, pl. 35.
Col. XII: from plate at IA. 7, 35.
Col. XIII: from plate at IA, 7, 37; with I, Ṣa, ṛa, śa, lā, ṛa, from plate at IA. 6, 24.

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**PLATE VIII.**

Cuttings from faesimilis.

Col. I: from plates at IA. 12, 158 ff.
Col. II: from plate at IA. 11, 126, Fleet’s No. 123.
Col. III: from plates at IA. 12, 14.
Col. IV: from plates at IA. 13, 180 ff.
Col. V: from plate at IA. 7, 18.
Col. VI: from plates at IA. 14, 30 ff.
Col. VII: from plate at IA. 6, 195; with A, U, Ṇa, and ṛa from plate at IA. 9, 75.
Col. VIII: from plates at IA. 11, 12 ff.
Col. IX: from plate at El. 3, 62.
Col. X: from plate at IA. 13, 275.

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Col. X: from plate at IA. 13, 275.
Col. XI: from plate at IA. 18, 144.
Col. XII: from plate at El. 3, 18.
Col. XIII: from Hultsch’s SII. 2, pl. 13.
Col. XIV: from plate at El. 3, 76.
Col. XV: from plate at El. 3, 14.
Col. XVI: from Hultsch’s SII. 2, pl. 12.
Col. XVII, XVIII: from Hultsch’s SII. 2, pl. 4.
Col. XX, XXI: from plate at El. 3, 72, the lower part.
Col. XXI, XXII: from plate at El. 3, 72, the upper part.
According to other peculiarities, the southern alphabets may be divided into the following varieties:

(1) The western variety, which, being strongly influenced by the northern alphabets, is the ruling script between about A. D. 400 and about A. D. 900 in Kāśi and Gujārāt, the western portion of the Marāṭhā districts, i.e., the Collectorates of Nāsik, Khāñdesh and Sātārā, in the part of Haidarābād (Ajañṭā) contiguous to Khāñdesh, and in the Kōṅkañ, and which during the 5th century occasionally occurs also in Rājputāna and the Central Indian Agency, but altogether disappears in the 9th century in consequence of the inroads of the Nāgarī alphabet (see above, § 21).

(2) The Central-Indian script, which in its simplest form closely agrees with the western variety, but in its more developed form, the so-called “box-headed alphabet,” shows greater differences, and which from the end of the 4th century is common in northern Haidarābād, the Central Provinces and parts of the Central-Indian Agency (Bundelkhaṇḍ), but appears also occasionally further south in the Bombay Presidency and even in Māsūr.

(3) The script of the Kanarese and Telugu districts of the Dekhan, i.e., the southern portion of the Bombay Presidency (the Southern Marāṭhā States, Shōlāpur, Bijāpur, Belgaum, Dhārwar and Kārwar), of the southern territory of Haidarābād (roughly speaking south of Bidar), of Māsūr, and of the north-east portion of the Madras Presidency (Vizagapatam, Godāvāri, Kistna, Karnāl, Bellary, Anantpur, Cuddapah, Nellore), which appears first in the Kadamba inscriptions of the 6th and 6th centuries, and after a long development leads to the very similar and temporarily identical Kanarese and Telugu round-hand.

(4) The later Kalinga alphabet of the north-eastern coast of the Madras Presidency between Cacacole and the frontier of Orīssa (Gañjām), which is strongly mixed with northern letters and in later times also with Grantha and Kanarese-Telugu characters, and which occurs in inscriptions of the 7th—12th centuries.

(5) The Grantha alphabet of the eastern coast of Madras, south of Pulikat (North and South Arcot, Salem, Trichinopoly, Madura and Tinnevelly), which first appears in the ancient Sanskrit inscriptions of the Pallava dynasties, and survives in the modern Grantha and its varieties, the Malayāḷam and the Tului.

The Tamil alphabet of the same districts and of the western coast of Madras (Malabar) probably is derived from a northern script, imported in the 4th or 5th century, but greatly modified by the influence of the Grantha. A cursive variety of the Tamil alphabet is found in the Vaṭṭelatu (the “round-hand,” BURNEILL) or Cera-Pañḍya (Hultsch), which is known through inscriptions from the western coast and the extreme south of the Peninsula, and according to BURNEILL [61] has fallen into disuse only in recent times. Though these two alphabets come from a different source, they have been included in this chapter, because they occur in the same districts as the other five.

§ 28. — The western script and the script of Central India; Plates VII. and VIII.

A. — The western script.

The western variety of the southern alphabets is found in the inscriptions of the Imperial Guptas and their vassals since the time of Candragupta II., of the kings of Valabhi, of the Gurjaras of Broach, of some of the Calukyas of Bādāmi (Pulakesin II. and Vijayabhaṭṭā—

1 Compare B.ESIP, 14.
2 IA. 29, 296.
3 Compare the facsimiles in FLIEKIS Guptas Inscriptions (CIII. 3), Nos. 5, 14, and 62, plates 3 B, 8, 38 B, and FLIEKIS’s remarks.
4 Compare the facsimiles in F.GI (CIII. 3), Nos. 38, 39, plates 24, 25; IA. 1, 17; 5, 204 ff.; 6, 14 ff.; 7, 66 ff.; 8, 302; 9, 238; 14, 328; J. BEERS, 11, 363; K. 3, 330.
5 Compare the facsimiles at J. BAS. 1865, 247; IA. 13, 78; [7, 62; 13, 116; 17, 200; disputed]; E. 2, 19 ff.
rikā), and of Nāsik and Gujarāt and their vassals, of the Traikūṭakas, of the Aṣmakas (?) of Khāndesh, and of the Rāṣṭrakūtās of Gujarāt, as well as in numerous votive inscriptions in the caves of Kanheri, Nāsik and Ajañṭā. Ordinarily, its characters no doubt were written with ink, just like those of the northern alphabet (see above, §21). This is made highly probable by the use of wedges on the tops of the letters during the Gupta period (see plate VII, cols. I—III) and by the thick, frequently knob-like, heads of the signs of the Valabhi, Gurjara and Rāṣṭrakūta grants (plate VII, cols. IV—IX, and plate VIII, col. I), both of which ornaments can only be drawn with ink. Another argument is furnished by the fact that all the copper-plates from Gujarāt have been cut according to the ordinary size of the Bhūrja leaves (Burnell), on which it is not possible to write with a stilus.

The finds of nearly or quite contemporaneous inscriptions with northern characters in Rājputāna, the Central-Indian Agency, and Valabhi, as well as the Nāgari signatures of the Gurjara princes, prove that northern scripts were being used simultaneously with this southern alphabet. And this circumstance is no doubt the cause of its showing traces of northern peculiarities in the following letters: — (1) in the kha with a large loop and a small hook (plate VII, 9, I—IX; VIII, 12, I), instead of which the true southern form appears only very rarely; (2) in the as, rounded off on the right (plate VII, 13, I—IX; VIII, 16, I); (3) in the ancient ta without a loop (plate VII, 22, I—IX; VIII, 25, I); (4) in the narrow dha (plate VII, 25, I—IX; VIII, 28, I; compare plate IV, 25, I—III); (5) in the looped na (plate VII, 26, I—IX; VIII, 29, I), which agrees more exactly with the northern forms of plate IV, 26, than with the southern one of VII, 26, XIII (compare below, §29, A); (6) in the Mārās often placed above the line in medial e (plate VII, 26, V), at (plate VII, 10, IV) and o (plate VIII, 33, I), which latter, however, has a peculiar looped form in ọ (plate VII, 34, III, IV); (7) in the medial au, consisting of three strokes above the line (VII, 25, V; 36, III); and compare plate IV, 47, IV); (8) in the subscript ā, which occasionally, as in plate VII, 42, VII, shows the northern cursive form. The inscriptions Nos. 17 and 62 of Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions (CII, 3), plates 10, 38 B, which are not represented in plate VII, show, besides, the northern A and kā without the curve at the foot. A kā of this description occurs also sometimes in the Valabhi inscriptions (plate VII, 8, V).

Irrespective of these northern peculiarities, which throughout remain almost unchanged, the characters of this script show three stages in their development, that of the 5th century (plate VII, cols. I—III), that of the 6th and 7th centuries (cols. IV—VI, VIII), and that of the 8th (col. IX) and 9th centuries (plate VIII, col. I) which last is very markedly cursive.

Among the single letters the following deserve special remarks:

(1) The I (plate VII, 3, IV, ff.; VIII, 3, I), which here, as in most southern alphabets, consists of a curved line with a notch in the centre and of two dots below, and which appears to be a modification of a form like that in plate IV, 3, IX.

(2) The I (plate VII, 3, I; VIII, 4, I), which, like that of the Bower MS. (plate VI, 4, I), has been developed by the transformation of two dots into a line, but in addition has the curved tail, characteristic of the southern alphabets.

(3) The E, which usually consists of a triangle with the apex at the top, and is irregularly broadened on the left (plate VII, 6, I; and compare Ai in VII, 6, VII), and which from

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1 Compare the facsimiles at El. 3, 52; IA. 7, 164; 8, 45; 9, 124; J.B.B.R.A.S. 16, 1; Seventh Oriental Congress, Aryan Section, 238; IA. 19, 310.
2 Compare the facsimiles at B.A.S.B.W.I. No. 10, 58.
3 Compare the facsimiles at I.A. 12, 158; J.B.B.R.A.S. 16, 105; El. 3, 56.
4 Compare the facsimiles at B.A.S.B.W.I. 4, pl. 52, 9; pl. 56, 5 and 9; plates 59, 60; vol. 5, pl. 51, 6—9.
5 Compare the facsimiles in F.G.I. (CII. 3), No. 6, 17, 61, plates 4 A, 10, 38 A.
6 Compare above, §21 end.
7 Compare, for instance, līthās, facsimile at IA. 7, 72.
the end of the 6th century frequently, especially in Gurjara inscriptions, is opened at the top (plate VII, 6, VI) and finally resembles a northern ła (plate VIII, 8, I).

(4) The ā, which in its oldest form (plate VII, 19, II), as mostly in the southern alphabets, is indistinguishable from āa, but from the 6th century develops a little tail (plate VII, 19, IV—IX), or, in some inscriptions of the 8th and 9th centuries, a loop at the end (plate VII, 43, VII; plate VIII, 22, I).

(5) The tha with a ringlet on the base-line (plate VII, 28, III, IV, VI) instead of the cross-bar (plate VII, 23, I, II), developed out of the ancient dot, or since the end of the 6th century with the southern notch in the base (plate VII, 23, VII—IX; plate VIII, 26, I).\footnote{Compare IA. 6, 10, and facsimile at 14, 328.}

(6) The la with the diminutive main portion of the original sign and the enormous tail (plate VII, 34, VI, VIII), which latter since the 7th century frequently becomes the sole representative of the letter (plate VII, 34, VII, IX).

(7) The śa, which shows regularly in the Gurjara inscriptions (plate VIII, 39, I) and the Nāsik Calyana inscription,\footnote{Compare IA. 6, 10, and facsimile at 14, 328.} and occasionally in the Valabhi inscriptions,\footnote{Compare IA. 6, 10, and facsimile at 14, 328.} a cursive combination of the cross-bar with the vertical on the right, which occurs also in the north.\footnote{Compare IA. 6, 10, and facsimile at 14, 328.}

(8) The sa, which occasionally shows (plate VII, 38, V) a cursive combination of the left limb with the Serī occurring also in southern scripts (plate VIII, 41, XI).

(9) A number of cursive forms in ligatures, thus: — (a) The prefixed āa which often loses the hook on the right and looks like ę (compare also plate V, 19, V, VII. (b) The prefixed na, which especially before ta, tha, dha and na (see the nā of annamantavā, plate VII, 42, V) consists of a horizontal or bent stroke and looks like āa.\footnote{Compare IA. 6, 10, and facsimile at 14, 328.} (c) The subscript ka, which occasionally, as in āka (plate VII, 46, VIII), is looped on the left (compare IA. 11, 305). (d) The subscript ca of āca (plate VII, 41, VIII, IX), which since the 6th century remains open on the right and bears the hook of āa on its base. (e) The subscript ęa, which already since early times is merely indicated by a loop (see ęna, plate VII, 41, IV). (f) The subscript tha, which, as in other southern alphabets (compare, e. g., plate VII, 45, XX), is changed to a double curve open on the right (plate VII, 45, IV; plate VIII, 49, I).

B. — The script of Central India.

The Central-Indian script is found fully developed in the inscriptions of Samudragupta at Eran and of Candragupta II, at Udayagiri,\footnote{Compare IA. 6, 10, and facsimile at 14, 328.} on the copper-plates of the kings of Sarabhapura,\footnote{Compare IA. 6, 10, and facsimile at 14, 328.} of the Vākṣṭakas,\footnote{Compare IA. 6, 10, and facsimile at 14, 328.} and of Tivara king of Kosala;\footnote{Compare IA. 6, 10, and facsimile at 14, 328.} and in two early Kadamba inscriptions.\footnote{Compare IA. 6, 10, and facsimile at 14, 328.} In all these documents, the heads of the letters bear small squares, which are either hollow (plate VII, col. XI) or filled in (plate VII, col. X). These squares, to which on account of their resemblances to small boxes the script owes the name "box-headed," are, like the wedges, artificial developments of the Serīs. The solid, filled in, squares probably have been invented by writers who \[83\] used ink, and the hollow ones by persons writing with a stilus, who feared to tear their palm-leaves. Both varieties of "box-heads" occur occasionally or constantly in other districts and in connection with other alphabets (see, e. g., the Valabhi

\footnote{F.G.I. (CII. 3), Nos. 2, 3, pl. 2, A, B.}
inscription of plate VII, col. V, the archaic Kadamb inscription of plate VII, col. XII, the Pallava inscription of plate VII, col. XX), and even in Nos. 21 and 21, A, of the Campā inscriptions from Further India.\footnote{BERGAINDE-BARNY, Inscriptions Sanskrit du Campā et du Cambodge, 2, 23; the Campā inscriptions show the northern ka and na without curves at the end. 2 FLEET and KIRKORN assume that the writers by mistake put na for in and vice versa.} But the very peculiar appearance of the Central-Indian inscriptions of this class is due to the more or less rigorous modification of the letters by the contraction of their breadth and the conversion of all curves into angular strokes. This is best visible in the grants, figured in E1. 3, 260, and in FLEET’s Gupta Inscriptions (CIII. 3), Nos. 40, 41, 56, 81, plates 26, 27, 35, 45, among which No. 56 is represented in col. XI. of our plate VII, while col. X. offers the less carefully modified characters of F.GI (CIII. 3), No. 55, plate 34. Both these inscriptions were issued in the same year from the Dharmādhi Kararaṇa of the Vākṣaka king Pravarsena II.

Traces of the influence of the northern alphabets are visible in this script just as in the western variety, and particularly in the letters ṭa, dhā, na, and in the Mātrās of medial e, ai and u, which in F.GI (CIII. 3), No. 81, plate 45 (not in our plate), shew the peculiar tailed northern form of the 7th and 8th centuries. But in the ligatures (see, for instance, nta, plate VII, 43, X), we meet repeatedly with the looped ṭa and with the na without the loop, and even an independent looped ṭa appears exceptionally\footnote{Compare facsimiles of Sālākāyana inscriptions at B.ESIP. plate 24; IA. 5, 176; EL. 4, 144; of Kadamb inscriptions at IA. 6, 23 ff.; 7, 36 ff.; J.BBEBAS. 12, 896; of Western Calukya inscriptions at IA. 6, 72, 75; 8, 44, 237; 9, 100; 10, 58; 19, 68; and of Eastern Calukya inscriptions at B.ESIP. pl. 27.} in the word svatānām (No. 55, line 7; No. 56, line 6). Medial ou has the tripartite western and northern form in F.GI (CIII. 3), Nos. 2, 3, 40, 81, plates 2, A, B, 26, 45, but the southern bipartite form (see daú, plate VII, 24, XI) in the Vākṣaka inscriptions. The kha, which has a big hook and small loop, and the oblong ca with the vertical on the right, likewise agree with the southern forms. But F.GI (CIII. 3), No. 2, line 17, offers once, in sullkō, the northern ka without the curve at the foot.

The other letters of this script frequently show greater or smaller variations. Our plate offers a few in the case of ā, ja, thā, ba and la. More have been pointed out by FLEET and KIRKORN in their editions of the inscriptions in F.GI (CIII. 3) and in EL. 3. I may add to FLEET’s remarks, that his Nos. 40, 41, and 81 have the angular form of na of the later Kanarese-Telugu alphabet (see below. § 29, B, 6).

§ 29. — The Kanarese and Telugu alphabet; Plates VII. and VIII.

A. — The archaic variety.

[64] The archaic variety of this script is found: — (a) In the west, in the inscriptions of the Kadambas of Vaijayanti or Banavasi (plate VII, cols. XII, XIII), and of the early Calukyans of Vātāpi or Bādāmi, e.g. of Kirtivarman I. and Maṅgaleśa (plate VII, col. XIV), Pulakesin II., and Vikramaditya I. (sometimes). (b) In the east, on the Sālaikāyana plates, and on those of the first two Calukyans of Veigī, Vīṣṇuvardhana I. and Jayasimha I. (plate VII, col. XVII).\footnote{B.ESIP. 15, pl. 1.} The date of the Sālaikāyana plates, which used to be assigned to the 4th century,\footnote{FLEET, IA. 20, 54.} is uncertain.\footnote{Academy, 1896, 229.} The Kadamb grants probably belong partly to the 5th and partly to the 6th centuries; for, Kākusthavarman, who issued the oldest known record, was the contemporary of one of the Imperial Guptas, probably of Samudragupta,\footnote{See FLEET’s dates of the Calukyas, EL. 3, table at p. 2; IA. 20, 96 ff.} and his descendants all ruled before the overthrow of the Kadamba kingdom by Kirtivarman I., between A. D. 566-67 and 586-97. The archaic Calukya inscriptions fall between A. D. 578 and about 660.\footnote{B.ESIP. pl. 1.} During this period, the characters of the western and eastern documents do not differ much. The alphabet of the Sālaikāyana plates\footnote{Compare facsimiles of Sālaikāyana inscriptions at B.ESIP. plate 24; IA. 5, 176; EL. 4, 144; of Kadamb inscriptions at IA. 6, 23 ff.; 7, 36 ff.; J.BBEBAS. 12, 896; of Western Calukya inscriptions at IA. 6, 72, 75; 8, 44, 237; 9, 100; 10, 58; 19, 68; and of Eastern Calukya inscriptions at B.ESIP. pl. 27.} agrees very closely with that of plate VII,
col. XIII; and in the first half of the 7th century the letters of the Calukya inscriptions from Vatapi and from Vengi show an almost perfect resemblance. But the more considerable differences between cols. XII and XIII, which both are derived from grants of the Kadamba Mgeśavarman issued within a period of only five years, have to be explained by the assumption that the letters of col. XIII, with which nearly all the other Kadamba inscriptions agree, imitate writing with ink, and those of col. XII, writing with the stilus. This explanation is suggested by the thinness of the signs of col. XII, and by the much greater thickness of those in col. XIII, and by the wedges and solid squares at their heads (compare above, § 28, B).

The letters of the older documents of this period remain very similar to those of the Andhra inscriptions of plate III, the so-called "cave-characters." In the Śālaṅkāyana grant, and in those of the Kadambas Kāṇkṣṇavarman, Śāntivarman, Mgeśavarman and Ravivarman, we find only few, and by no means constant, traces of the development of the last characteristic round forms. Thus, col. XII, no doubt offers rather far advanced signs for A and ras, but at the same time a more archaic A, and the facsimile frequently shows even an angular ras with a not very long upward stroke. In the grants of the last Kadamba king Harivarman and in those of the Calukyans between A. D. 578 and 660, the A, A, kr and ras, characteristic of the next stage of development, occur not rarely, but never constantly. Thus col. XIV, derived from the Bādami inscription of Kirtivarman I, and Maṅgaleśa, has the kr closed on the left. But this form is the only one used there, and it never appears on Maṅgaleśa's copper-plate, nor on the Haidarabad plates of his successor Pulakeśin II. Further, this kr, as well as the closed ras of 33, col. XV, occurs on the Nerūr plates of Pulakeśin II. Finally, the Aihole stone inscription, of the time of Pulakeśin II, has exclusively the older kr and ras, but occasionally the later A of col. XV. This vacillation indicates that between A. D. 578 and 660, and perhaps even earlier, the round-hand forms of the middle Kanarese alphabet existed, but that they either had not completely displaced the older ones, or that they were not yet considered as really suitable for inscriptions, though the clerks occasionally introduced them by mistake into the official documents (compare above, § 3, page 8).

Among the other signs, the following may be noted especially:

1. The ras (plate VII; 21, XII—XIV, XVII) which is never looped, but looks as if it were cursorily developed from a looped form similar to that of col. I, if.

2. The ta, which keeps the old form of the western inscriptions without a loop in 22, XIII, but shows in cols. XII, XIV, XVII, a cursive development from the looped ta of cols. XX—XXIII, which likewise is not rare in Kadamba and Calukya inscriptions of this period.

3. The tailed da (24, XIV, XVII) agreeing exactly with the western form [65] of da (19, XIV—IX).

4. The na, which sometimes has the looped form (26, XIII), and more frequently that without the loop (26, XII, XIV—XVII); the latter being, however, apparently derived from the looped one.

5. The very exceptionally looped ya (in yā, 45, XIV), which thus is identical with the much older northern form.

6. The medial vowels: — (a) ā in yā (27, XIII), a cursive substitute for the ś of yā (32, VI), ca. (13, IV), etc.; (b) the subscript r of kr (8, XII, XVII; 41, XIV), somewhat resembling a northern r (which latter actually occurs once on the seal figured in IA. 6, 24, in Mgeśa), but probably independently derived from a not uncommon r in the shape of an.

1 Compare also the facsimile at IA. 6, 72, and B. ESI P. pl. 27.
2 IA. 6, 72.
3 IA. 8, 44.
4 See the plates at IA. 8, 241; EI. 6, 6.
unconnected semicircle before ka; (c) the exceedingly rare \( \text{kl} \) (42, XIV), which, differing from the northern subscript \( \text{kl} \) (plate VI, 35, XVII), but agreeing with the northern initial sign of the Cambridge MS., consists merely of a cursive \( \text{la} \); (d) the Mātrā of e (in xe, 21, XII), of ai (in ca, 13, XI; and aai, 35, XIII), and of o and au (in thau, 23, XII), which, except in connection with le (see le, 34, XII, and lo, 34, XIII, XVIII), frequently stands at the foot of the consonant; (e) the au (in pan, 27, XII, XIV), the right-hand portion of which invariably and in all southern alphabets consists of a hook, formed by a cursive combination of the second Mātrā with the ś-stroke (compare yau, plate III, 31, VI).

B. — The middle variety.

This second variety is found from about A.D. 650 to about A.D. 950: — (a) In the west, in the inscriptions of the Calukyas of Varāpa or Bādami, of their successors the Rāṣṭrakūtas of Mānyakaheśa (in cases when they did not use the Nāgari, see above, page 51), of the Ganges of Māisūr, and of some smaller dynasties; (b) in the east, on the copper-plates of the Calukyas of Veṅgi and of their vassals. During this period, some marked differences are observable in the ductus between the several classes of documents. The copper-plates of the Western Calukyas (plate VII, col. XVI) mostly show carelessly drawn cursive signs sloping towards the right, and their stone inscriptions (plate VII, col. XV) upright, carefully made, letters, which especially in the ligatures are abnormally large. With the characters of the latter agree those of the inscriptions of the Rāṣṭrakūtas (plate VIII, cols. IV, V), with the exception of the sign-manual on the Baroda copper-plate of Dhruva II. In this royal signature and in the inscriptions of the Calukyas of Veṅgi (plate VIII, cols. IV, V), the letters are broader and shorter, and in this respect resemble very closely the Old-Kanarese.

In addition to the above-mentioned rounded forms of \( \text{A} \), \( \text{A} \), \( \text{ka} \) and \( \text{ra} \), which become constant during this period, the following letters deserve special remarks:—

(1) The very rare \( \text{R} \) (plate VII, 5, XVI; compare also the earlier letter in the facsimile at IA. 6, 23, end), which seems to be a modification of the northern form of plate VI, 7, I, II.

(2) The strongly cursive \( \text{kha} \) (plate VIII, 12, III—V), which is identical with the Old-Kanarese letter, and which according to FLEET never occurs before about A.D. 800, but actually appears in the cognate Pallava inscriptions (plate VII, 9, XXIII; compare below, § 31, B, 4) already since the 7th century.

(3) The ca, which from the 9th century begins to open in \( \text{iaca} \) (plate VII, 41, XIX; plate VIII, 19, III, IV).

(4) The da (plate VIII, 27, II, IV, V) the tail of which begins to turn upwards since the 9th century.

(5) The ba, opened above (plate VIII, 32, V), which according to FLEET first occurs about A.D. 850.

(6) The ma (plate VII, 31, XVII; VIII, 31, II—V), the upper part of which is drawn towards the right and placed nearly on the same level as the lower one, and which thus becomes the precursor of the Old-Kanarese \( \text{ma} \).

(7) The abnormal cursive \( \text{la} \) (plate VII, 34, XVI), which elsewhere appears only as the second part of ligatures (as in \( \text{iła} \), plate VII, 44, XVIII).

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1 Compare the facsimiles at IA. 6, 36, 88; 7, 300; J. BBRAS. 16, 233 ff.
2 Compare the facsimiles at IA. 10, 61 ff., 104, 166, 170; 11, 192; 30, 70; Ep. Carn. 3, 80, 87, 92 (for the last of these see also EL. 6, 55).
3 See the facsimile at IA. 14, 200.
4 Compare the facsimiles at IA. 12, 22; 13, 214, 248; EL. 3, 104.
5 EL. 3, 162 f.
6 HI. 3, 163.
(8) The Mātrās, which occasionally stand below the consonant (as in dhē, plate VIII, 28, V).

(9) The vertical Virāma, above final m (plate VII, 41, XVIII ; plate VIII, 46, V) and final n (plate VIII, 45, V).

(10) The Dravidian ra (plate VII, 45, XV, XVIII ; 46, XVI ; plate VIII, 47, II, III) [66] and la (plate VII, 46, XV, XVIII ; plate VIII, 49, II, V), which first appear in the 7th century. The first of them, ra, may possibly represent two round ra, and ja may be a modification of a la like that in plate VII, 40, XIV, XVI. The occurrence of these signs proves that the Kannarese language had a literature already in the 7th century.

C.—The Old-Kannarese alphabet.

The third last variety of the Kannarese-Telugu alphabet, which Burnell calls "the transitional" and Fleet more appropriately "Old-Kannarese," does not differ much from the modern Kannarese and Telugu scripts. In the east, it first appears in the Veigis inscriptions of the 11th century; in the west, a little earlier, in a Gaṅga inscription of A.D. 978 and in a not much later Calukya inscription. Some of its characteristics, like the opening of the loop of ma and of the head of ra, appear however in the sign-manual of Dhrurā on the Baroda plates, mentioned above under B. The specimens of this script in plate VIII, among which cols. VI and VII, date from the 11th century, col. VIII, from the 12th, and col. IX (according to Huitema, Telugu) from the 14th, show the gradual progress very distinctly.

One of the most characteristic marks of the Old-Kannarese consists in the angles over all Mātrās which do not bear superscribed vowel-signs. These angles, which in col. VI, resemble those of the modern Telugu and in cols. VII, VIII, those of the modern Kannarese, probably are cursive representatives of wedges, and have been invented because the latter did not suit the writing with the stilus. Since the 6th century, they occur more or less frequently in single inscriptions from other districts, such as Guhasena's grant of A.D. 559-60 (plate VII, col. IV) and Ravikirti's Aihole Praśasti, sometimes together with wedges. But it is only in this alphabet that they become a constant distinctive feature.

The most important among the changes in the several signs are:—

(1) The opening of the heads of E (plate VIII, 8, VI, VIII), of ma (16, VI—IX), of bha (33, VI—IX), which in col. IX, becomes identical with ba by the connection of the two base-strokes, and of ca (38, VII—IX), as well as of the loop of ma (34, VI, VIII) and of the right limb of cha (17, VI—IX ; compare also col. V).

(2) The cursive looped forms of A, Ā (1, 2, VII—IX), and of I, Į (3, 4, VI—IX ; compare their precursors in 3, II, and 4, III, V), and of sa (39, VII—IX), the central cross-bar of which is connected with the curved end of the right side.

(3) The conversion of the long drawn loops of ka (11, VI—IX) and of ra (36, VI—IX) into much smaller circles.

(4) The cursive rounding off of the angles of sa (24, VI—IX), ha (29, VI—IX), and sa (41, VI—IX).

(5) The development of new loops or ringlets to the right of the top of R (7, IX), ha (15, VIII, IX) and ja (18, VI—IX ; compare col. V).

1 Burnell and Fleet, Fīlī, Sanskrit, and Old-Canarese inscriptions, Nos. 271, 214; see also, for the Gaṅga record, IA. 8, 102.
2 Compare also the facsimiles at IA. 9, 74 ; 14, 56 ; EI. 2, 26, 88, 194, 228 ; Ep. Cam. 3, 116, 191 ; BAS. No. 16, 160 ; and J. R. As. 1891, 135 (the original of 'Parvīn's' Kistna alphabet, which is archaic and retrogressed A, ka, ra, la).
3 IA. 8, 241 ; EI. 6, 6.
(6) The exclusive employment of the medial u turning upwards on the right (see, for instance, ps, 30, IX), which in earlier times is restricted to qu, eu, bu and ku, but later appears also in su (plate VIII, 41, II, III).

(7) Finally, the appearance of the Anusvāra on the line (see resu, 36, VIII), which cannot be a survival from ancient times, but must be an innovation intended to make the lines more equal (compare page 59 above, § 26, A, 5).1

§ 30. — The later Kālīṅga script; Plates VII. and VIII.

[67] This script has been found hitherto only on the copper-plates of the Gaṅga kings of Kālīṅga, the modern Kaliṅgapattanam in Gaṅjam, which in olden times was the residence of the Ceta king Khārvela and his successors (see page 39 f. above). The dates of these documents run from the year 87 of the Gaṅgeya era. Though its exact beginning has not yet been determined, Fleure has shown that the oldest Gaṅga grants probably belong to the 7th century.2

The signs of these documents resemble, up to the Gaṅgeya year 87, partly the letters of the Central-Indian script (above, § 28, D) and partly those of the western variety, which exhibits the medial au of the Ajaṅga inscriptions (above, § 28, A), and they show only a few peculiar forms. A specimen of the Kaliṅga script of the latter kind has been given in plate VII, col. XIX, from the Cicacole grant of the Gaṅgeya year 148, in which only the Grantha-like _AST (2, XIX), and the ga (10, XIX) and sa (36, XIX) with curves on the left, differ greatly from the corresponding Valabhi letters. The alphabet of the Aycutaparam plates3 of the Gaṅgeya year 87, which exhibits angular forms with solid box-heads, closely resembles the Central-Indian writing; but its na is identical with that of the modern Nāgari. The Cicacole plates4 of the Gaṅgeya year 128 show in general the same type; but they offer the ordinary looped na of the north and west, and the looped ta of the archaic Grantha (22, XX, ff.). Finally, the Cicacole plates5 of the Gaṅgeya year 183 come close to the script of plate VII, col. X; but their na is again that of the late Nāgari, and their medial ä mostly stands above the line, as in various northern and also Grantha documents of the 7th and 8th centuries.

In the grants of the 3rd and 4th centuries of the Gaṅgeya era, and in a late undated inscription, the mixture of the characters is much greater, and the same letter is often expressed by greatly differing signs. In plate VIII, col. X, from the Cicacole plates of the Gaṅgeya year 51, that is 251,6 and in col. XI, from the Visagapatam plates of the year 254, and in col. XII, from the Alamaḍa plates of the year 304, we find a northern _AST (1, 2, X—XII), I (3, XI), U (5, X), ka (44, XI, XII), kha (12, XI), nga (15, X), ṣka (15, XII), ja (18, XII), śa (in jāśa, 19, X), ṣa (22, XII), _TEXTURE (24, XI, XII), ṭha (28, 45, XI), na (48, X), and pra (47, XII). The other letters are of southern origin, and belong partly to the middle Kanarese, partly to the middle Grantha, or are peculiar developments. The restricted space available in plate VIII. has made it impossible to enter all the variants for each letter. But the three different forms of ja (18, 46, and 47, X) show how very great the variations are.

Still stronger are the mixture and variations in the Cicacole plates of the Gaṅgeya year 351,7 and in the undated grant of Vajrabhāsta from the 11th century (Kielhorn),8 neither of which is represented in our plate. In the first-named document each letter has, according to

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1 Compare for this paragraph B.E.S.I.P. 15 ff.
2 El. 3, 128.
3 IA. 14, 274; 15, 133.
4 IA. 13, 120; compare 16, 131 f.
5 El. 3, 132.
6 The words śaṇḍa-gopa probably have been left out by mistake after saṇḍasura.
7 IA. 14, 10 f.; Hultsch's undoubtedly correct reading of the date has been adopted by Fleure in his Dynastic of the Kanarese Districts, Bombay Gazetteer, vol. 1, part 2, p. 297, note 8, the printed sheets of which I owe to the author's courtesy. Fleure declares this inscription, as well as those represented in plate VIII, cols. X, XII, to be suspicious, — in my opinion, without sufficient reasons.
8 El. 3, 220.
Fleet, at least two, but sometimes three or four forms. The majority of the signs belong to the southern Nāgārī. But Old-Kanarese and late Grantha signs likewise occur. In Vajrapātha's grant there are, according to Kielhorn's calculation, 320 Nāgārī letters and 410 southern ones of different types, and each letter again has at least two and sometimes [68] four or more forms. Kielhorn points out that the writer has shown a certain art in the grouping of the variants; and he is no doubt right in hinting that the mixture is due to the vanity of royal scribes, who wished to show that they were acquainted with a number of alphabets. For the same reason, the writer of the Cicasals plates of the Gāṅgeya year 1833 has used three different systems of numeral notation in expressing the date (see below, § 34). The kingdom of the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga lay between the districts in which the Nāgārī and the Kanarese-Telugu scripts were used, and it was not far from the territory of the Grantha. Its population was probably mixed, and used all these scripts,1 as well as, in earlier times, those employed in the older western and Central-Indian inscriptions. The professional clerks and writers of course had to master all the alphabets.

§ 31. — The Grantha alphabet; Plates VII. and VIII.

A. — The archaic variety.

For the history of the Sanskrit alphabets in the Tamil districts during the period after A. D. 350, we have only the Sanskrit inscriptions of the Pallavas, Colas and Pāṇḍyaśas from the eastern coast, among which only those of the first-named dynasty can lay claim to a higher antiquity. Corresponding inscriptions from the western coast are hitherto wanting. For this reason, and because only a small number of the eastern documents have been published with good facsimiles, it is as yet impossible to give a complete view of the gradual development of the letters.

The most archaic forms of the Sanskrit scripts of the Tamil districts, which usually are classed as "Grantha," are found on the copper-plates of the Pallava kings of Pallakkada and (? or) Daśanapura2 (plate VII, cols. XX, XXI) from the 5th or the 6th century (?), with which the ancient inscriptions, Nos. 1 to 16, of the Dharmarājaśastra (plate VII, col. XXII)3 closely agree. These inscriptions, together with a few others,4 exhibit what may be called the archaic Grantha, the latest example of which occurs in the Baddāmi inscription, incised, according to Fleet's newest researches,5 by the Pallava Narasimha I, during his expedition against the Calukya Pulakeśin II, (A. D: 609 and about 642) in the second quarter of the 7th century; and it seems to have gone out soon after, as the Kūra plates of Narasimha's son Paramēśvara I. show letters of a much more advanced type. It is met with also in the stone inscription from Jambu in Java; see IA. 4, 356.

The characters of the archaic Grantha in general agree with those of the archaic Kanarese-Telugu (see above, § 29, A), but show a few peculiarities which remain constant in the later varieties: thus:

(1) The tha, the central dot of which is converted into a loop, attached to the right side (plate VII, 23, XXI); compare the tha of col. XX, where the straight stroke of the Kanarese-Telugu script appears.

1 The use of northern characters is proved by the Bugujita plates, El. 2, 41; compare also B.ESP. 83, and plate 22 b.
2 IA. 5, 50, 154; compare B.ESP. 36, note 2.
3 I owe the facsimile of this inscription and of those used for pl. VII, col. XXIV, and pl. VIII, col. XIII, to Hultsch's kindness; see now his SII. 2, part 2.
4 IA. 9, 106, No. 32, 123, No. 85; 13, 46; El. 1, 337.
(2) The śa with the cross-bar converted into a curve or loop and attached to the right side (plate VII, 36, XX—XXII, 45, XXII); compare also the cursive śa of the western script, mentioned above, § 28, A, 7.

(3) The ṣa with the cross-bar treated similarly (plate VII, 37, XX); compare the ṣa of col. XXI, which shows the older form.

The characters of plate VII, cols. XX, XXI, show no closer connection with those of the Prākrit inscriptions of the Pallavas, discussed above in § 20, D.

B. — The Middle variety.

The earliest inscription of the much more advanced forms of the second variety or the middle Grantha, is found on the Kūram copper-plates (plate VII, col. XXIV) of the reign of Parameśvara I., the adversary of the Western Cakrawa Vikramāditya I. (A. D. 655—680).\(^1\) Compared with this document, which appears to offer a real clerk's script, the monumental inscription of the Kailāsanāthā temple (plate VII, col. XXIII), built according to Fleure\(^2\) by Narasimha II., the son of Parameśvara I., is retrograde, and shows more archaic forms for several paleographically important letters. On the other hand, the Kasākūṭa copper-plates (plate VII, col. XIII), incised in the time of Nandivarman who succeeded Mahendra III., the second son of Narasimha II., and warred with the Western Cakrawa Vikramāditya II. (A. D. 732—749),\(^3\) agree more closely with the Kūram plates, and offer, besides some archaic forms, also much more advanced ones.

The most important innovations, either constantly or occasionally observable in this second variety of the Grantha, are:

(1) The development of a second vertical in आ, आ, शा and श (plate VII, 1, 2, 8, 33, XXIII, XXIV; plate VIII, 1, 2, 11, 36, XIII), as well as in medial श and श (plate VII, 31, 38, XXIV; plate VIII, 34, 40, XIII), out of the ancient hook; compare the transitional forms in the facsimiles at IA. 9, 100, 102.

(2) The connection of one of the dots of इ with the upper curved line (plate VII, 3, XXIII, XXIV; plate VIII, 3, XIII, अ, ऋ).

(3) The opening of the top of ऋ (plate VII, 5, XXIV), which however shows closed up forms in col. XXIII, and in plate VIII, 8, XIII.

(4) The development of a loop to the left of the foot of का, and the opening up of the right side of the letter (plate VII, 9, XXIII), as in the Kanarese-Telugu script (see above, § 29, B, 2).

(5) The upward turn of the से and the left-hand lines of गा and शा (plate VII, 10, 36, XXIV; plate VIII, 13, 39, XIII; not in plate VII, col. XXIII).

(6) The opening up of the loops of चा (plate VIII, 17, XIII), and perhaps also in the indistinct चा of the Kūram plates, i, line 5.

(7) The transposition of the vertical of जा to the right end of the top-bar, and the conversion of the central bar into a loop connected with the lowest bar (plate VII, 15, XXIV; plate VIII, 18, XIII; not in plate VII, col. XXIII).

(8) The incipient opening up of the tops of धा and शा (plate VII, 23, 25, XXIII, XXIV; plate VIII, 26, 28, XIII).

(9) The opening up of the top of ठा, and the transposition of the original top-line to the left of the left-hand vertical (plate VII, 29, XXIV; plate VIII, 32, XIII; not in plate VII, col. XXIII).

\(^1\) HULTSCH, XII, 1, 144 ff.; Fleure, op. cit. (preceding note), 323 ff.
\(^2\) Fleure, op. cit., 319 ff.
\(^3\) Fleure, op. cit., 323 ff.
(10) The adoption of the later northern bha (see above, § 24, A, 24), or the development of an exactly similar sign (plate VII, 30, XXIV; plate VIII, 33, XIII; not in plate VII, col. XXIII).

(11) The combination of the left-hand vertical of a with the left end of the old side-limb, and of the right end of the side-limb with the base-stroke (plate VII, 38, XXIV; a transitional form in col. XXII, and a different cursive form in plate VIII, 41, XIII).

(12) The frequent separation of medial ā, ā, ai, o, au from the Mātrkā (constant in plate VIII, col. XIII), as well as the use of the ā standing above the line, as in the northern alphabet of this period and in the Central-Indian script (compare plate VII, 17, 19, 21, 31—33, XXIII; 8, 24, XXIV).

(13) The expression of the Virāma (as in the Kanarese-Telugu script) by a vertical stroke above, or in the Kaśikūḍi plate also to the right of, the final consonant (plate VII, 41, XXIII; plate VIII, 47, XIII; and compare the facsimiles).

(14) The transposition of the Anusvāra to the right of the Mātrkā (plate VII, 38, XXIV) below the level of the top-line, as in the Kanarese-Telugu script.

(15) The occasional development of small angles, open above, at the tops of the verticals, for the left part of which a dot usually appears in plate VIII, col. XIII.

The fully-developed and very constant characteristics of the alphabet of the Kūram plates make it probable that they have not arisen within the period of twenty to thirty years, which lies between the issue of the Kūram grant and the incision of the much more archaic Bādami inscription of Narasimha I. (see above, under A). Very likely the Kūram alphabet had a longer history.

C. — The transitional Grantha.

The series of the published datable Pallava inscriptions of the 8th century ends for the present with the Kaśikūḍi plates; and facsimiles of documents of the next following centuries [70] are not accessible to me. I am, therefore, unable to exactly fix the time when the third or transitional variety of the Grantha, BURNELL's Coḷa or middle Grantha, came into use, which is found in the inscriptions from the reign of the Bāgā king Vikramaditya1 about A. D. 1150 (plate VIII, col. XIV) and of Sundara-Pāṇḍya,2 A. D. 1250 (plate VIII, col. XV), as well as in other documents.3 It would however appear, both from the Grantha signs occurring in the Ganga inscriptions (plate VIII, cols. XI, XII) and from BURNELL's Coḷa-Grantha alphabet of A. D. 1080,4 that the new developments originated partly towards the end of the 8th century and partly in the 9th and 10th, about the same time when the Old-Kanarese script (above, § 29, C) was formed.

The most important changes, which the transitional Grantha shows, are as follows:

1. The suppression of the last remaining dot of I (plate VIII, 3, XIV, XV; compare 3, XIII, a).

2. The formation of a still more cursive E (8, XIV) out of the Kūram letter (plate VII, 6, XXIV).

3. The formation of a still more cursive kha (plate VIII, 12, XIV, XV), closely resembling the later Kanarese-Telugu sign (plate VIII, 12, III, ff.), out of the letter of plate VII, 9, XXIII.

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1 E. H. 3, 75.
2 E. H. 3, 8.
3 Compare facsimiles at IA. 6, 142; 8, 274; 9, 46 (E. H. 3, 79 ff.); E. H. 3, 228; Ep. Carn. 3, 166; S.II. 3, pl. 2; the last inscription and the last but two are older than the 11th century.
4 R. E. S. I. P. plate 13.
(4) The development of a single or double curve to the left of gha (plate VIII, 14, XIV, XV).

(5) The opening up of the top of ca, and the conversion of its left side into an acute angle (plate VIII, 16, XIV, XV).

(6) The addition of a curve to the right end of da (plate VIII, 22, XIV, XV).

(7) The development of an additional loop in va (plate VIII, 24, XIV, XV), in accordance with the practice of the Tamil alphabet (see below, § 32, A).

(8) The complete opening up of the tops of tha and dha (plate VIII, 26, 28, XIV, XV).

(9) The development of a curve at the left side of pa (plate VIII, 30, XIV, XV).

(10) The closing up of the top of ma (plate VIII, 34, XIV, XV), found already in the Gaṇga inscription of about A. D. 775 (plate VIII, 46, XI).

(11) The suppression of the circle or loop on the right side of ya (plate VIII, 35, XIV, XV), whereby the letter obtains a very archaic appearance.

(12) The opening up of the top of ra, and the addition of a curve to its left side (plate VIII, 38, XVI, XV).

(13) The complete separation of medial s, e, ai, o from the Mātrikas, and the formation of a separate sign for the second half of au, consisting of two small curves with a vertical on the right.

It is worth of note that the later alphabet of col. XV has some more archaic signs than the earlier one of col. XIV. The reason no doubt is that the latter imitates the hand of the clerks of the royal office, while the former shows the monumental forms, suited for a public building. All the Grantha inscriptions imitate characters written with a stilus.

§ 32. — The Tamil and Vaṭṭeluttu alphabets; Plate VIII.

A. — The Tamil.

The Tamil, as well as its southern and western cursive variety, the Vaṭṭeluttu or ‘‘round-hand,’’ differs from the Sanskrit alphabet by the absence not only of the ligatures, but also of the signs for the aspirates, for the medias (expressed by the corresponding tenues), for the sibilants (among which the palatal one is expressed by ca), for the spirant ha, for the Anusvara and for the Visarga, as well as by the development of new letters for final n, and for ra, ja and la, which latter three characters do not resemble those for the corresponding sounds in the Kanarese-Telugu script. The great simplicity of the alphabet fully agrees with the theories of the Tamil grammarians, and is explained by the peculiar phonetics of the Tamil language. Like all the older Dravidian dialects, the Tamil possesses no aspirates and no spirant. Further, it has no ja, and only one sibilant, which, according to CALDWELL, lies between s, ra and ca, and which, if doubled, becomes a distinct cca. [71] The use of separate signs for the tenues and medias was unnecessary on account of their mutual convertibility. The Tamil uses in the beginning of words only tenues, and in the middle only double tenues or single medias. Hence, all words and affixes beginning with gutturals, linguals, dental and labials, have double forms.1 A knowledge of these simple rules makes mistakes, regarding the real phonetic value of ka, ta, ma and pa, impossible. The use of ligatures probably has been discarded because the Tamil allows even in loan-words no other combinations of consonants but repetitions of the same sound, and because it seemed more convenient to use in these cases the Virāma.2

1 CALDWELL, Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages, 21—27.
2 Differently BURNELL, ESIP, 44, 47 ff, who considers the Vaṭṭeluttu as independent of the Brāhmi, but likewise of Semitic origin, and declares the Tamil alphabet to be the result of a Brahmanical adaptation of the Grantha letters to the phonetical system of the Vaṭṭeluttu. This view has already been characterised “as hardly in accordance with the facts” by CALDWELL, op. cit., 9.
The occurrence of signs for the Dravidian liquids, which, though the sounds correspond with those of the older Kanaresi and Telugu, differ from the characters of the Kanaresi-Telugu script, indicates that the Tamil alphabet is independent of the latter and has been derived from a different source. Hultzsch's important discovery of the Kūrāṃ plates, with a large section in the Tamil script and language of the 7th century, confirms this inference. The Tamil alphabet of these plates agrees only in part with their Grantha, and many of its letters offer characteristics of the northern alphabets.

Specific Grantha forms occur in $U$ (plate VIII, 5, XVI; compare plate VII, 4, XXIV); in $O$ (plate VIII, 9, XVI; compare col. XV); in $a$ (plate VIII, 25–28, XVI; compare plate VII, 22, XXIV); in $n$ (plate VIII, 29, XVI; compare plate VII, 26, XXIV); in $y$ (plate VIII, 35, XVI; compare plate VII, 32, XXIV); in medial $u$ in $ku$ (plate VIII, 14, XVI; compare 44, XIII); in medial $e$ (in $te$, plate VIII, 28, XVI; compare $khe$, plate VII, 9, XXIV); and in the vertical Virāma, which mostly stands above the vowelless consonant but to the right of $n$ and $r$ (compare $n$, plate VIII, 15, XVI; $m$, 34; $l$, 43; $n$, 49). The Tamil $ai$ (for instance, $na$, plate VIII, 39, XVI) appears to be a peculiar derivative from the Grantha $ai$, the two Mātrās having been placed, not one above the other, but one behind the other.

Unmodified or only slightly modified northern forms appear in $A$ and $A$ (plate VIII, 1, 2, XVI), with the single vertical without a curve at the end (compare plate IV, 1, 2, I ff.), and with the loop on the left, which is found in recently discovered inscriptions from Śvāt as well as in the Grantha; in $ka$ (plate VIII, 11–14, XVI; compare plate IV, 7, I ff.); in $ca$ (plate VIII, 14–18, XVI; compare plate III, 11, III); in $ka$ (plate VIII, 20–22, XVI; compare plate IV, 17, VII, VIII); in $pa$ (plate VIII, 30–33, XVI; compare plate IV, 27, I ff.); in $ra$ (plate VIII, 36, XVI; compare plate IV, 33, I ff.); in $la$ (plate VIII, 37, XVI; compare plate IV, 34, VII ff.); in the medial $u$ of $pu$, $mu$, $yu$, $vu$ (plate VIII, 32, 40, XVI; compare plate IV, 27, II); and of $ru$ (plate VIII, 36, XVI; compare plate IV, 33, III); and in the medial $u$ of $ju$ and $ju$ (plate VIII, 44, 46, XVI; compare $ra$, plate IV, 27, IV).

The $a$ (plate VIII, 15, XVI) is more strongly modified, as it has been formed out of the angular northern $\acute{a}$ (plate IV, 11, I ff.) by the addition of a stroke rising upwards on the right; and the $ma$ (plate VIII, 34, XVI) is probably a cursive derivative from the so-called Gupta $ma$ (plate IV, 31, I ff.).

The signs for the Dravidian liquids, too, may be considered as developments of northern signs. The upper portion of the $\acute{a}$ (plate VIII, 43, 44, XVI) looks like a small curvilinear northern $\acute{a}$, to which a long vertical, descending downwards, has been added on the right. The $ra$ (plate VIII, 47, 48, XVI) may consist of a small slanting northern $ra$ and a hook added to the top. And the $\acute{a}$ (plate VIII, 45, 46, XVI) is perhaps derived from a northern $\acute{a}$ (plate IV, 46, II), the end of the horizontal line being looped and connected with the little pendent stroke below; compare also the looped $\acute{a}$ (read erroneously $\acute{a}k\acute{a}$) in the Amaravati inscription, J.R.A.S. 1891, plate at p. 142.

The origin of the remaining signs is doubtful. Some, such as $va$ (plate VIII, 38–40, XVI) and medial $\ddot{a}$ (see $ka$, plate VIII, 12, XVI), occur both in northern and in southern scripts. Others are modifications of letters common to the north and the south. The final $n$ (plate VIII, 49, XVI) is evidently the result of a slight transformation of both the northern and the southern $na$ with two hooks [72] (plate III, 20, V, XX; plate IV, 21, VII f.; plate VII, 21, IV ff.); and from this comes the Tamil $\eta$ (plate VIII, 24, XVI) by the addition of another curve. The parent of the peculiar $E$ (plate VIII, 8, XVI) may be either that of plate IV, 5, X ff., or that of plate VII, 5, XXIII. Similarly, the angular medial $u$ in $\acute{a}$ (plate VIII, 27, XVI) and in $ru$ (plate VIII, 48, XVI) is due to a peculiar modification of the curve, rising upwards on the right, which is found in connection both with northern and with southern letters (see $\acute{a}$, plate IV,

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1 SII, 1, 147; compare 2, plate 12; the characters of the Vallam Cave inscription, op. cit., 2, plate 10, fully agree.
38, III, XVII, and plate VII, 36, II, IV). Finally, the greatly cursive I (plate VIII, 3, XVI) appears to be the result of a peculiar combination of three curves, which replaced the ancient dots. But an I of this kind has hitherto not been traced.

This analysis of the Tamil alphabet of the 7th century makes it probable that it is derived from a northern alphabet of the 4th or 5th century, which in the course of time was strongly influenced by the Grantha, used in the same districts for writing Sanskrit.

The next oldest specimen of the Tamil script, which is found in the Kañkūḍi plate¹ of about A. D. 740 (not represented in plate VIII), shows no essential change except in the adoption of the later Tamil ma.

But the inscriptions of the 10th, 11th and later centuries² (plate VIII, cols. XVII—XX) offer a new variety, which is more strongly modified through the influence of the Grantha. The ta, pa and sa have now the peculiar Grantha forms. Besides, in the 11th century begins the development of the little strokes, hanging down on the left of the tops of ka, ia, ca, ta and na. In the 15th century (plate VIII, cols. XIX, XX) these pendants are fully formed, and ka shows a loop on the left. It is worthy of note that in the later Tamil inscriptions the use of the Virāma (Pulli) first becomes rarer and finally ceases,³ while in the quite modern writing the Virāma is again marked by a dot.

B. — The Vaṭṭelutta.

Among the Vaṭṭelutta inscriptions, the Sāsanas of Bhāskara-Ravivarman in favour of the Jews (pl. VIII, cols. XXI, XXII) and of the Syrians of Kocin,⁴ as well as the Tirunelli copper-plates of the same king,⁵ have been published with facsimiles. Trusting to rather weak arguments, Burnell ascribes the first-named two documents to the 8th century.⁶ But the Grantha letters occurring in the Sāsana of the Jews belong to the third and latest variety of that alphabet, and the Nāgarī ā or ī (probably for īris) at the end of the document, to which Hultsch has called attention,⁷ resembles the northern forms of the 10th and 11th centuries (compare plate V, 39, 47, VIII; 48, X).

From a paleographical point of view, the Vaṭṭelutta may be described as a cursive script, which bears the same relation to the Tamil as the modern northern alphabets of the clerks and merchants to their originals, e. g., the Moḍī of the Marāṭhās to the Bābodhi and the Taṅkari of the Doṅgrās to the Sāradā.⁸ With the exception of the I, probably borrowed from the Grantha, all its letters are made with a single stroke from the left to the right, and are mostly inclined towards the left. Several among them, such as the ā (plate VIII, 15, XXI) with the curve and hook on the left, the sa with the open top and the hook on the left (plate VIII, 38, XXI, XXII; compare cols. XVII—XX) and the round ṣa (plate VIII, 45, 46, XXI, XXII; compare 47, XVII—XX), show the characteristics of the second variety of the Tamil of the 11th and later centuries. And with the usage of the later Tamil inscriptions agrees the constant omission of the Virāma. Some other characters, such as the round ṣa (plate VIII, 20—23, XXI, XXII; compare col. XVI), the ma with the curve on the right (plate VIII, 34, XXI, XXII; compare col. XVI), and the sa with the loop on the left (plate VIII, 35, XXI, XXII; compare col. XVI), seem to go back to the forms of the earlier Tamil. And three, the rounded U (plate VIII, 5, XXI), the pointed E (plate VIII, 8, XXI) and the sa with a single notch (plate VIII, 26, XXI, XXII), possibly show characteristics dating from a still earlier period.

¹ SII, 2, plates 14, 15.
² Compare the facsimiles, of 10th and 11th centuries, at El. 3, 284; SII, 2, plates 2—4; of the 15th century, at SII, 2, plate 5; uncertain, at SII, 2, plate 8; IA, 6, 146; alphabet, B.ESIP. plates 18, 19.
³ Compare Vrīṇkāta, El. 3, 275 ff.
⁴ Madras Journ. Lit. Soc. 13, 2, 1; IA, 3, 333; B.ESIP. pl. 32 a; El. 3, 73; alphabet, IA, 1, 229; B.ESIP. pl. 17.
⁵ IA, 20, 292.
⁶ El. 3, 67.
⁷ IA, 1, 229; B.ESIP. 49; disputed by Hultsch, IA, 20, 289.
⁸ Compare above, § 25, note 8.
Perhaps it may be assumed that the "round-hand" arose already before the 7th century, but was modified in the course of time by the further development of the Tamil and the Grantha scripts. Owing to the small [78] number of the accessible inscriptions, this conjecture is however by no means certain.

The transformation of the Vaṭṭeluttu ka (plate VIII, 11—14, XXI, XXII), which seems to be derived from a looped form, is analogous to that of the figure 4 in the decimal system of numeral notation (compare plate IX, B, 4, V—VII, and IX). The curious ta (plate VIII, 25—28, XXI, XXII) has been developed by the change of the loop of the Tamil letter (compare cols. XVII, XVIII) into a notch and the prolongation of the tail up to the head. The still more extraordinary na (plate VIII, 29, XXI) may be explained as a cursive derivative of the later Tamil na with the stroke hanging down from the top.

VI. NUMERAL NOTATION.

§ 33. — The numerals of the Kharoṣṭhī; Plate I.1

In the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions of the Sakas, of Gondopheres, and of the Kuṇanás, from the 1st century B. C. and the 1st and 2nd centuries A. D., as well as in other probably later documents, we find a system of numeral notation (plate I, col. XIV)2 which Dowson first explained with the help of the Taxila copper-plate.3

Its fundamental signs are: — (a) One, two and three vertical strokes for 1, 2, 3. (b) An inclined cross for 4. (c) A sign, similar to the Kharoṣṭhī A, for 10. (d) A double curve, looking like a cursive combination of two 10 (Bayley), for 20. (e) A sign, resembling a Brāhmī ta or tra, for 100, to the right of which stands a vertical stroke, whereby the whole becomes equivalent to 1C.

The numbers lying between these elements are expressed by groups, in which the additional ones invariably are placed on the left. Thus, for 5 we have 4 (+) 1; for 6, 4 (+) 2; for 8, 4 (+) 4; for 50, 20 (+) 20 (+) 10; for 60, 20 (+) 20 (+) 20; for 70, 20 (+) 20 (+) 20 (+) 10. Groups formed of the signs for 10 (+) 1 to 10 (+) 9, and 20 (+) 1 to 20 (+) 9, and so forth, are used to express the numerals 11 to 19, and 21 to 29, &c.

The higher numerals beyond 100 are expressed according to the same principle; thus, 103 is 100 (+) 3 or IC III. The sign for 200 consists of 100, preceded on the right by two vertical strokes. And the highest known number is IIC XX XX X IV, which means 274.4

The few numeral signs in the Aśoka edicts of Shāhbaẓgarhī and Mansehra (plate I, col. XIII)5 show that in the 3rd century B. C. the Kharoṣṭhī system of numeral notation differed from the later one at least in one important point. Both in Shāhbaẓgarhī, where the signs for 1, 2, 4, 5 occur, and in Mansehra, which offers 1, 2, 5, the inclined cross for 4 is absent, and 4 is expressed by four parallel vertical strokes, and 5 by five. It is as yet not ascertainable, how the other signs looked in the 3rd century B. C.

Burnell and others6 have stated long ago that the Kharoṣṭhī numerals are of Semitic origin. And it may now be added that probably they have been borrowed from the Aramaeans.

1 Compare E. C. Bayley, the Genealogy of the Modern Numerals, J. R. A. S., N. S., 14, 335 ff.; 15, 1 ff.
2 The signs of col. XIV have been drawn according to S. N. E. I, 3, pl. 1 (JA, 1896, 1, pl. 15); J. A. S. B. S, pl. 10; Fleet's photograph of the Taxila copper-plate (El. 4, 56); and a gelatinine copy of the Wardak vase, kindly presented by S. von Oldenburg.
4 Thus Cunningham: Senart, op. cit., 17, reads 84, doubting the existence of 200 (which however is plain in the autotype of J. A. S. B. S, pl. 10), while Barth reads 284. There is at least one unpublished inscription with 200, and, according to a communication from Bloch, also one with 300.
5 Drawn according to Burgess' impression of Shāhbaẓgarhī edicts I—III, XIII.
6 R. E. S. I. 64; J. A. S. B. S, 32, 190.
and that, with the exception of the cross-shaped 4, they have been introduced together with the Aramaic letters. According to [74] Eutin's table of the ancient Aramaic numerals, 1 to 10 are marked, as in the Aṣṭa edicts, by vertical strokes, which however, contrary to the Indian practice, are divided into groups of three. The Kharoṣṭhī 10 comes close to that of the Teima inscription, 7, and the 20 resembles the sign of the Satrap coins, 3, which is also found in the papyrus Blacas 2 (5th century B.C.), and somewhat modified in the papyrus Vaticanus. Both the Aramaeans and the Phoenicians used the signs for 10 and 20 in the same manner as the Hindus, in order to express 30, 40, and so forth.

For the Kharoṣṭhī 100, Eutin's table offers no corresponding Aramaic sign, and that given in his edition of the Saqqārah inscription is, as he informs me, not certain. Hence, there remain only the Phoenician symbols $\angle$, $\&$, which are suitable for comparison. But the close relationship of Phoenician and Aramaic writing makes it not improbable that the latter, too, possessed in earlier times a 100, standing upright. The Kharoṣṭhī practice of prefixing the signs for 1 and 2 to the 100 is found in all the Semitic systems of numeral notation.

The inclined cross, used to express the 4 in the later Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, is found only in Nabataean inscriptions incised after the beginning of our era, and is used there only rarely for the expression of the higher units. The late occurrence of the sign both in Indian and in Semitic inscriptions makes it probable that both the Hindus and the Semites independently invented this cursive combination of the original four strokes.

§ 34. — The numerals of the Brāhmī; Plate IX.

A. — The ancient letter-numerals.

In the Brāhmī inscriptions and coin-legends we find a peculiar system of numeral notation, the explanation of which is chiefly due to J. Stevenson, E. Thomas, A. Cunningham, Bhāū Dājī and Bhagvanālā Indrājī. 6 Up to the year A.D. 594-95 it is used exclusively, and later together with the decimal system. 6 It appears also exclusively in the Bower MS. and in the other MSS. from Kashgar, 7 as well as together with the decimal system, — chiefly in the pagination, — in the old MSS. of the Jainas of Western India and of the Buddhas of Nepal as late as the 16th century. 9 And the Malayālam MSS. have preserved it to the present day. 8

In this system, 1 to 3 are expressed by horizontal strokes or cursive combinations of such; 4 to 9, 10 to 90, 100, and 1000, each by a separate sign (usually a Mātrkā or a ligature); the intermediate and the higher numbers by groups or ligatures of the fundamental signs.

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1 Nabatāisiche Inschriften, 96 f.
2 Corp. Inser. Sem., P. Aram. 145 A (pointed out by Eutin).
3 Palæographical Society, Or. Ser., plate 63.
4 Compare Bhagvanalāl, IA. 6, 42 ff.; B.ESIP. 59 ff., and pl. 22; C. C. Bayley, On the Genealogy of the modern Numerals, J. RAS. N.S., 14, 335 ff.; 15, 1 ff.
5 J. BRAS. 5, 35, and pl. 13; P. IA. 2, 90 ff.; C. ASR. 1, XLII, and J. ASR. 33, 38; J. BRAS. 8, 225 ff.; the results of the last article belong chiefly to Bhagvanālāl Indrājī, though his name is not mentioned.
6 * * Compare below, § 34, B. The latest epigraphic date in letter-numerals is probably the Newār year 259 in BENDALL's Journey in Nepal, 81, No. 6; compare also Fleet, GI (CII. 3), 209, note 1.
7 See Hombnhr, "The Bower MS.," WZKM, 7, 260 ff. The Bower MS. occasionally has the decimal 3.
8 Compare Bhagvanalāl's table, IA. 6, 42 ff.; KIRKBEAN, Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS., 1880-81, VIII, ff.; PETERSON, First Report, 57 ff., and Third Report, App. I, passim; Lehmann, Śīríka's Commentary on the Bṛhaspatya-sūtra (especially table 33); Cowell and EGGINSON, Cat. Sanskrit Buddhist MSS., 52 (J. RAS, 1873); BENDALL, Cat. Cambridge Sanskrit Buddhist MSS., LI, ff., and the tables of numerals, in BENDALL's Nos. 1048 and 1161, the letter-numerals are used for dates. The latest date in letter-numerals from Nāpāl (BENDALL's tables of numerals) is A.D. 1583. Letter-numerals are usually only found in Jaina palm-leaf MSS. up to about A.D. 1450; but the Berlin paper MS. No. 1709 (WECHT, Verzeichniss d. Skt. und Prak. Hdschr., 2, 1, 268; compare DWA, 37, 250) shows some traces of them.
9 BENDALL, J. RAS. 1806, 789 ff.
order to express figures consisting of tens and units, or of hundreds, tens and units, and so forth, the symbols for the smaller numbers are placed either unconnected to the right of, or vertically below, the higher ones. The first principle is followed in all inscriptions and on most coins, the second on a few coins\(^{1}\) and in the pagination of all manuscripts. In order to express 200 and 2000, one short stroke is added to the right of 100 and 1000. Similarly, 300 and 3000 are formed by the addition of two strokes to the same elements. \(^{[75]}\) Ligatures of 100 and 1000 with the signs for 4 to 9 and 4 to 70, stood for 400 to 900 and 4000 to 70000 (the highest known figure), and the smaller figures are connected with the right side of the larger ones.

The Jaina MSS. offer, however, an exception in the case of 400. In the pagination of their MSS., both the Jainas and the Buddhhas use mostly the decimal figures for 1 to 3 (plate IX A, cols. XIX—XXVI), more rarely the Aksaras E (eka), dri, tri, or sva (1), sti (2), ātri (3),\(^{2}\) the three syllables of the well-known Maigala, with which written documents frequently begin. Occasionally the same documents combine the naught and other figures of the decimal system with the ancient numeral symbols. Similar mixtures occur also in some late inscriptions. Thus, the year 183 of Devendravarman's Cicusale plates is given first in words and next expressed by the symbol for 100, the decimal 8, and the syllable lo, i.e. loka = 8 (see below, § 35, A), while the day of the month, 20, is given only in decimal figures.\(^{3}\)

In the MSS., the signs of this system are always distinct letters or syllables of that alphabet in which the manuscript is written. They are however not always the same. Very frequently they are slightly differentiated, probably in order to distinguish the signs with numeral values from those with letter values. In other cases there are very considerable variants, which appear to have been caused by misreadings of older signs or dialectic differences in pronunciation. The fact that these symbols really are letters is also acknowledged by the name aksarapalli, which the Jainas occasionally give to this system, in order to distinguish it from the decimal notation, the ankapalli.\(^{5}\) A remark of the Jaina commentator Malayagiri\(^{6}\) (12th century), who calls the sign for 4 the ṭukaśoṣa, "the word ṭuka," indicates that he really pronounced, not catuh, but ṭuka.

The phonetical values of the symbols in plate IX A, cols. XIX—XXVI,\(^{7}\) and of some others, given by BENDALL (B.), BHAOGANILAI INDIJAI (Bh.), KIELHORN (K.), LEUMANN (L.), and PETERSON (P., see note 8 on page 77 above), are:—

\(4 = ṭuka\) (XIX; compare L., p. 1); with intentional differentiation, ṭhaka (L., p. 1.) and rūka (XXV); with ṭa for ṭa and additions, ṭha (XXVI; B., Bh.), ṭhā (XXIV; compare K.), or ṭha (XX, XXI), or ṭhā (XXIII; B.).

\(5 = ṭīṭ\) (XIX, XXI, XXV, XXVI; B., Bh., K.); with intentional differentiation, ṭīṭ (Bh., K.); with a mistaken interpretation of the top-stroke as ṭ, ṭīṭ (XXIV); with

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\(^{1}\) Compare J.R.A.S. 1889, 128.

\(^{2}\) IA. 6, 44; KIELHORN, Report for 1886-87, X; PETERSON, First Report, 57.

\(^{3}\) KIELHORN, loc. cit.; BENDALL, Catalogue, LIII.

\(^{4}\) Compare facsimiles in EL. 3, 183, and see the Additions and Corrections of that volume; the signs have been given in pl. IX, col. XV, under 2, 3, 8, 9, 100 a. For other cases of mixtures, see FLEET, G.I (CII. 3), 292, and IA. 14, 351, where the date is, however, 800 4 9 = 849.

\(^{5}\) Oral information.

\(^{6}\) IA. 6, 47.

Col. XXIV; drawn according to the tables of BHAOGANILAI, KIELHORN, and LEUMANN.

Col. XXV; drawn from the same sources; but 8, 9, 100, are cuttings from ZACHARIAS's photograph of the Śāhānākharazas of the Royal Asiatic Society.

Col. XXVI; see above, under cols. XX—XXIII.
a misinterpretation of the curved ta (compare the sign of B.'s No. 1645 ff.) or ḫa (XXIII).

6 = ṛpha (XIX, XXI, XXVI; B., Bh.) or phu (K.); and with intentional differentiation, ṛphu or ṛphu (XXIV; K.); with a misinterpretation of an old pha, also ghra (XXII); and with dialectic softening of the tenuis, bhra (XXIII; compare B., p. LIV).

7 = ḍra (XIX, XXI, XXVI; Bh.) or ḍrā (XXV; B., Bh., K.); with intentional differentiation and misinterpretation of the ra-stroke, ṛṛgā (XXIV; P.); with misinterpretation of ga, bhra (XX; compare B., p. LIV) or ṛṇa (XXIII; compare B., LIV).

8 = ḍra (XIX, XXI, XXIII, XXVI; B., Bh.; partly with irregular addition of the ra-stroke to the hook of ḍa) or ṛṛā (XXV; B., Bh., K.); and with intentional differentiation, ṛḥra (K.) or ṛṛā (XXV; K.);

9 = O (XIX, XXI, XXIII, XXIV, XXVI; B., Bh.) or Oū (XXV; K.).

10 = ṛṛ (XIX), formed out of the ancient ṛa (cols. IV—VI) through the opening of the circle of ṛa; or ṛa (XX, XXIII; B., Bh.), the Nepalese representative of older ṛa (cols. X, XI; compare IA. 6, 47), which likewise is a derivative from ṛa; or, especially in Nāgari MSS., if (XXI, XXV, XXVI; Bh., K.), through a misinterpretation of ṛa; and with intentional differentiation, rṛ (XXIV; K.).

20 = ṛṭha or ṛṛā (XIX—XXI, XXIII, XXIV, XXVI; B., Bh., K.); with intentional differentiation, ṛṭha and ṛṛā (XXV; K.).

30 = ṛa or ṛā (XIX—XXI, XXIII, XXIV, XXVI; B., Bh., K., P.); with intentional [78] differentiation, ṛṬa and ṛṬā (XXV; K.).

40 = ṛṭa and ṛṬa (XX, XXI, XXIII, XXIV, XXVI; B., Bh., K.); or with intentional differentiation, ṛṭa and ṛṬa (XXV; K.).

50 = Anuśāsika (? bhavānālā), but corresponding only in col. XXIV to an actually traceable form of this nasal (IA. 6, 47); occasionally turned round (XX; B.: XXIII; K.).

60 = eu, frequent in Nepalese MSS. (XX, XXI, XXIII.), or thu, regular in Nāgari MSS. (XX, XXVI; Bh., K.); and with intentional differentiation, rṛhu (XXIV; K.).

70 = eu, frequent in Nepalese MSS. (XX, XXI, XXIII; B., Bh.) or thu, regular in Nāgari MSS. (XX, XXVI); and with intentional differentiation, rṛhu (XXIV; K.).

80 = Upadhāmniya with one central bar (XXII, XXVI; B., Bh.: compare plate IV, 46, III), or later modified forms of that sign (XXI, XXIV; B., Bh.), which appear also in MSS. (K.) and in inscriptions (plate IV, 46, XXIII).

90 = Upadhāmniya with two cross-shaped bars (XXI, XXIII, XXVI; compare plate VII, 46, V, VI), and cursive forms of that sign (XXIV), or perhaps Jhivāmūliya (XXV; Bh.) derived from the ma-like sign of plate VII, 46, III, XIII.

100 = eu in Nāgari MSS. (XXIV, XXV; Bh., K.); or A in Nepalese MSS., owing to a misinterpretation of eu (XX, XXIII, B., Bh.); or ṛa in Nepalese and Bengāli MSS., the result of another misinterpretation (XXI, XXVI; B., Bh.).

200 = eu in Nāgari MSS. (XXIV, XXV; Bh., K.); or ā in Nepalese MSS. (XX, XXIII; B., Bh.), or ṛa in Nepalese and Bengāli MSS. (XXVI; Bh., B.).

300 = eu-ā in Nāgari MSS. (XXIV, XXV; Bh.: read stā by K.), or ā-ā in Nepalese MSS. (XX).

400 = eu (XXV; read stā by K.) in Nāgari MSS.

1 For this pha, compare plate VI, 33, V.
2 Common also in the Bower MS. Peterson's pha is due to a misreading of the old thā.
3 Peterson's rpha is a misreading.
In the inscriptions, the phonetical values of the signs often differ from those in the MSS. and vary very considerably, and almost every one of the vertical and horizontal columns (plate IX, A, I—XVIII) shows at least some, occasionally a great many, cursive or intentionally modified forms, which possess barely any resemblance to letters:

4 = ka (I), ki (III, in 400, 4000; IV, A; V, A; VI, B), kri (V, B; IX, A), pka (III, A; VI, A; VIII, A; IX, B), naka (X, A), lka (fascimile IA. 5, 154), yka.

5 = tra, mostly with irregular addition of the ra-stroke to the vertical of ta (V, A; VIII, A, B; IX, B; X, A; XV, A), trd (VII, A), ta (IX, A), nu (IV, B), na, nā (XI, A, B), lr (XIII, A), hra (XIII, B; XIV, A; XVII, A), hra (XVI, A), together with two cursive signs without phonetic value in V, A, B.

6 = ju, sa (I, II; compare plate II, 15, III, 39, VII), phra (III, in 6000; IV, V), phra (IX, XI), phā (XII, pha (XIV), together with four cursive signs (VI—VIII, XV), among which the first is probably derived from j, the second from sa, and the other two from phra.

7 = gra or gu (IV—VI, IX—XI, XIII, XV), ga (VII) with a cursive sign (XII) derived from a gra like that in XIII.

8 = hra with irregular addition of the ra-stroke to the end of ḥa (IV, A, B; VI, A), ḍa (VI, B), ḍa (VII, A; X), hra (XI, XVII, XVIII) or in eastern inscriptions pu (VIII, A; IV, B; XV, A; XVI) probably a cursive derivative from hra, together with five cursive signs without phonetic value (V, A; VIII, A; IX, A, B; XV, B), among which the second and the fifth are derived from pu, the first from hra, the third from ḍa, and the fourth from ḍa.

9 = o; really occurring letter-forms in col. V (compare plate IV, 6, IX), in col. VI (compare A, 7, plate VII, 7, X), in col. IX (compare plate VI, 13, I), in cols. XI, XIII (compare plate V, 47, IX), in col. XIV (compare plate V, 9, XV), in col. XVII (compare plate VI, 13, V ff.), different from the most ancient form (III, IV) in cols. VII. and XIII, cursive in cols. X and XVI.

10 = ṭhā (III, in 10000; IV, A, B; V, A; VI, A), hence a cursive sign, derived by the opening of the circle of ṭha (V, B; VI, B; VII A; VIII, IX), which later is converted into a (X, XI, A, B), or into rya (XVI, A), or, as in the MSS., into ṭ (XIII, A, B; XVII, A), or into ḍa and ce (XV, A, B).

20 = ṭha (III, in 20000; XV), or, as in the MSS., thā, ṭhā, of the type of the period.

30 = la, as in the MSS., occasionally with small modification.

1 Preparation of Plate IX, A, cols. I—XVIII:
Col. I: the 4, cutting from Bodhisattva's facsimile of the Kālā edict XIII, El. 2, 455; the 6, 50, 200 drawn according to facsimiles of the Old and New edicts, IA. 6, 155 ff.
Col. II: cuttings from facsimile of the Śīdāpura edict, EL, 3, 188.
Col. III: cuttings from facsimile of the Nānagāppī inscriptions, B.ASIWLI 5, pl. 51.
Col. IV: cuttings from facsimiles of Nānagāppī inscriptions, B.ASRLWI 4, pl. 52, Nos. 5, 9, 15, 19; pl. 53, Nos. 12—14; the 70 drawn according to the Göta Pālāsāi, B.ASIWLI 2, pl. 14.
Col. V: cuttings from facsimiles of Kṣatrapa coins, J.RAS 1890, plate 639.
Col. VI, VII: cuttings from facsimiles at El. 1, 381 ff., 2, 201 ff.
Col. VIII: cuttings from facsimiles at B.ASRLI 1, pl. 62, and El. 1, 2 ff.

2 Probably to be read thus; not as a modification of phra or pha.

3 Thus Bayley, doubtfully; for the ū of the sign in IV, B, compare sī, plate III, 25, 6.
§ 34, A. ]

Indian Paleography.

40 = pta, as in the MSS., for which occasionally a cursive cross (V, A) or a sa through a transposition of the ta (V, B; XI, B; XV).

50 = [77] Anunāśika (? Bhagvānlā), as in the MSS., facing either the right or the left, occasionally with small modification.

60 = pu (IX), together with four different cursive signs without phonetic value.

70 = pū (IV—V; IX; XI, A), or pū (XII), together with a cursive cross (VII) and another cursive sign (X, B), both possibly derived from pū.

80 = Upadhmāniya with a diagonal bar, and cursive forms of the Upadhmāniya exactly as in the MSS.

90 = Upadhmāniya with the central cross, as in the MSS.

100 = either sa (I, in 200; III; IX, A, B; X; XII, in 300; XIII, in 400; XIV, in 400), for which, through a misreading, appears A in the Nepāl inscriptions of the 7th and 8th centuries (XIII, A, B; XIV, in 300), and sa in eastern inscriptions1 of the 6th and later centuries (X, in 200; XVII, in 200), or su (probably owing to the dialectic permutation of sa and su) in the western2 and Kaliṅga inscriptions (IV; V; X; XII; in 400; XV, A, B), for which, through a misreading, O (XVII, A, B) appears in late northern inscriptions.

200 and 300 are formed by the addition of respectively one and two horizontal bars to the right of the aksara for 100; but in the Rūpānā sign (I) by the prolongation of the vertical of sa. A distinct s, as in the MSS., appears only in the 200 of col. XVIII.

400 = su-la (III), or su-phā (X; XIII; XIV), but su-phā (IX). 500 = su-tra (IV). 600 = su-tra (XII). 700 = su-tra (III).

1,000 = ro (III), or su (probable in IV, distinct in XV, in 8,000), or dhu (IV, in 2,000; IV, in 70,000). 2,000 and 3,000 = dhu with one or two horizontal strokes (IV). 4,000 = ro-ki (III), or dhu-ki (IV). 6,000 = ro-phra (III). 8,000 = dhu-phra (IV), or su-ph (XVI).

10,000 = ro-thā (III). 20,000 = ro-thā (III). 70,000 = dhu with the cursive sign for 70.

The above details show: — (1) That the inscriptions of all periods, even the Aśoka edicts in the case of 100, differ from the MSS. by offering, side by side with distinct letters, numerous cursive or intentionally modified forms, and that, in the case of 50 and 60, just the older inscriptions show no real Aksaras.

(2) That, excepting 7, 9, 30, 40, 80, 90, the phonetical value of the letters varies already since the earliest times, and that in many cases, as in those of 6, 10, 60, 70, 100, 1000, the variations are very considerable.

(3) That occasionally, as in the case of 10, 60, 70, the distinct letters, used in the later inscriptions and the MSS., are derived in various ways from cursive signs without a phonetical value.

These facts, as well as the incompleteness of our knowledge of the most ancient forms, make an explanation of the origin of the system for the present very difficult. Bhagvānlā Īndraṇī, who first attempted the solution of the problem, conjectured that the numeral symbols of the Brāhmī are of Indian origin, and due to a peculiar use of the Mātrākṣas and certain ligatures for numeral notation. But he declared himself unable to find the key of the system.

1 Earliest instance in the inscription of Mahānāman, F.GI (CII. 3), No. 71 ; 200 in col. X.
2 Compare also the date of the Gujānāl Calukya inscription, Seventh Oriental Congress, Aryan Section, 211 ff.; and the facsimile at J.B.B.E.A.S., 15, I, ff.; and the Valabhi form at El. 3, 229, 1, 14, where a sa of the period, mutilated on the left, is used; and the date of the Kota inscription, IA. 14, 361, with a distinct sa of the 9th century. The form sa occurs in a western inscription, lately found at Udepur by G. H. Ojha, in the numeral sa-w or sa-sa, = 900.
In 1877, I agreed with him, and KERN\(^1\) likewise concurred, but explained the 4 and 5 as combinations of four and five strokes, arranged in the form of letters. But BURNELL differed entirely. He denied that the older "cave-numerals," with the exception of rare cases, resemble letters, and dwelt strongly on the impossibility of finding a principle, according to which the Akṣaras of the MSS. have been converted into numerals. He further pointed out the general agreement of the principles of the Indian system with those of the Demotic notation of the Egyptians. From this fact, as well as from the resemblance [78] of the Demotic signs for 1 to 9 to the corresponding Indian symbols, he inferred that the "cave-numerals" have been borrowed from Egypt, and after further modifications have been converted into Akṣaras. Finally, E. C. BAYLEY tried to show in his lengthy essay, quoted above, that, though the principles of the Indian system have been derived from the hieroglyphic notation of the Egyptians, the majority of the Indian symbols have been borrowed from Phoenician, Bactrian, and Akkadian figures or letters, while for a few, a foreign origin is not demonstrable.

Bayley's explanation offers great difficulties, *inter alia* by the assumption that the Hindus borrowed from four or five different, partly very ancient and partly more modern, sources. But the comparative table of the Egyptian and Indian signs given in his paper, and his remarks about the agreement of their methods in marking the hundreds, induce me to give up Bhāgavānāś's hypothesis, and to adopt, with certain modifications, the view of BURNELL, with whom also BARTH concurs.\(^2\) It seems to me probable that the Brahma numeral symbols are derived from the Egyptian Hieratic figures, and that the Hindus effected their transformation into Akṣaras, because they were already accustomed to express numerals by words (compare below, § 35, A).

This derivation, the details of which, however, still present difficulties and cannot be called certain, has been given in Appendix II. to the 2nd edition of my Indian Studies No. III. But two other important points may be considered as certain: — (1) That the varying forms in the Aśoka edicts show these numerals to have had a longer history in the 3rd century B.C.; and (2) that the signs have been developed by Brahmanical schoolmen, since they include two forms of the Upadhmāniya, which without doubt has been invented by the teachers of the Sīkṣā.

### B. — The decimal notation,

For the decimal notation, now occasionally called aṅkāpalī, the Hindus used originally the aṅkās or the units of the ancient system, together with the cipher or naught,\(^3\) which originally consisted of the śānyaśū, the dot (marking a blank, see below, § 35, E), called by abbreviated names śānyā and śū (see BW). Very likely this system is an invention of the Hindu mathematicians and astronomers, made with the help of the Abacus (BURNELL, BAYLEY). If HOERNLE's very probable estimate of the antiquity of the arithmetical treatise, contained in the Bakhshali MS., is correct,\(^4\) its invention dates from "the beginning of our era or even earlier. For, in that work the decimal notation is used throughout. At all events, it was known to Varāhamihira (6th century A. D.), who employs the word aṅka, "the decimal figures," in order to express the numeral 9 (Pañcasiddhāntikā, 18, 33; compare below, § 35, A). Its most important element, the cipher or naught, is mentioned in Subandhu's Vāsavadatta, which Bāṇa (about A. D. 620) praises as a famous book. Subandhu compares the stars with "ciphers (āṅgāvalī) which the Creator, while calculating the value of the universe, on account of the absolute worthlessness of the Śāṃsāra marked with his chalk, the crescent of the moon, all over the firmament which the darkness made similar to a skin blackened with ink,"\(^5\) The cipher, known to Subandhu, of course consisted of a dot, like that of the Bakhshali MS. (plate IX, B, col. IX.).

\(^{1}\) IA. 6, 143.

\(^{2}\) ESIP, 65, note 1.

\(^{3}\) Compare HOERNLE's explanation, Seventh Oriental Congress, Aryan Section, 122; IA. 17, 35.

\(^{4}\) IA. 17, 33.

\(^{5}\) Vāsavadatta (ed. F. E. HALL), p. 182.
The earliest epigraphic instance of the use of the decimal notation occurs in the Gurjara inscription of the Cedi year 346, or A. D. 595, where the signs (plate IX, B, col. I) are identical with the numeral symbols of the country and of the period (compare the Valabhī column of plate IX, A). The same remark applies to the 2 in the date of the month of the Cicacoel plate mentioned on page 78 above, in which document we find also the later circular cipher and [79] a decimal 8 in the shape of a cursive sign derived from pu. Another inscription of the 8th century, the Sāmāṇḍral plates of Sakasaṃvat 675, or A. D. 754, offers only strongly modified cursive signs (plate IX, B, col. II).

In the specimens (plate IX, B, cols. III—VIII, XIII) from inscriptions of the 9th and later centuries, when the use of the decimal figures is the rule, we have likewise only cursive signs, which in the 11th and 12th centuries (compare cols. VII, VIII, and XIII) show local differences in the west, east and south. But all their figures have been derived either directly from the letter-numerals of the older system, or from letters with the same phonetic value. The last remark applies to the 9 of cols. II, V, VI ff., which is identical with the signs for O used in later inscriptions in the word Oµ (compare, e.g., IA. 6, 194 ff., Nos. 3—6).

Among the specimens from MSS. (plate IX, B, cols. IX—XII), the decimal figures of the Bakhshali MS. show the ancient letter-numerals for 4 and 9.

The Tamil numerals, which greatly differ from the usual ones and preserve the old signs for 10, 100 and 1000, have been given by BURNELL, ESIP. plate 23 (compare id. page 68). Those from Kabul are contained in the table accompanying E. C. BAYLEY'S paper, Numismatic Chronicle, 3rd Series, 2, 128 ff.

§ 35. — Numeral notation by words and letters.

A. — The word-numerals.

[80] In many manuals of astronomy, mathematics and metrics, as well as in the dates of inscriptions and of MSS., the numerals are expressed by the names of things, beings or ideas, which, naturally or in accordance with the teaching of the Sāstras, connote numbers. The earliest traces of this custom have been discovered by A. WEBER in the Sūtras of Kātyāyana and Lāṭyāyana. A few examples are found in the Vedic Jātis and in the arithmetic of the Bakhshali MS. More numerous instances occur in Pāṇḍaga's manual of metrics, and from about A. D. 500 we find, first in Varāhamihira's Pañcasiddhāntika, a system of this description, which, gradually becoming more and more perfect, extends to the cipher or naught, and to nearly all the numbers between 1 and 49. During this latter period any synonym may be used for the words expressing numbers, and in some cases the same word may be used for different numbers. If the words are compounds, they may be represented by their first or second part.
This system of numeral notation, of course, has been invented in order to facilitate the composition of metrical handbooks of astronomy and so forth. The most important words, used to express numbers, are as follows:

1 is expressed by (a) rūpa (Jyot., Bakh., Piṅg., Var.), "one piece;" (b) inā, āsas, īṣtarasmi, &c., (Var., Ber., Bro.), or abbreviated into āsmi (Ber.), "the moon;" (c) bhū, mātt, &c. (Var., Ber., Bro., Bur.), "the earth;" (d) ādi (Ber.), "beginning;" (e) pātāmaha (Ber.), "Brahman;" (f) nīyaka (Bro.), "the hero" (of a play); (g) tānu (Bro.), "the body."

2 is expressed by (a) yama, yamala (Var., Ber.), "twins;" (b)  āsīn, āsra (Var., Ber.), "the two Asvins;" (c) pāka (Var., Ber.), "the two wings, or the halves of the body;" (d) kara, &c. (Var., Ber., Bur.), "the hands;" (e) nāyana, &c. (Var., Ber., Bur.), "the eyes;" (f)  ṛkhu (Bro.), "the arms;" (g) karna (Bro.), "the ears;" (h) kuṭumha (Bro.), "the family, i.e., husband and wife;" (i) raviśṝkṣuṇa (Ber.), "sun and moon."

3 is expressed by (a) agni, ṛṣṭry, &c. (Var., Ber., Bro., Bur.), "the sacrificial fires;" (b) rāmā (Var., Bro.), "the three Rāmas" (of epic poetry); (c) yugā (Var.), triyuga (Ber.), "the qualities of matter;" (d) triyugata, loha (Ber.), "the three worlds;" (e) trikōla (Ber.), "the three times;" (f) trikāta (Bro.), "sounds, &c., with three meanings;" (g) sahodaraḥ (Bro.), "the three uterine brothers;" (h) trinetrav (Ber.), "the three eyes of Siva."

4 is expressed by (a) aya, āya (Jyot.), kṛṣṇā (Var., Ber.), "the (four) dice;" (b) vedap, śruti (Piṅg., Var., Ber.), "the Vedas;" (c) abāli, jalaśli, &c. (Piṅg., Var., Ber., Bur.), abbreviated jāja (Var.), daṭṭhi (Ber.), "the oceans;" (d) diś (Ber.), "the cardinal points;" (e) yugā (Bro.), "the (four) ages of the world;" (f) landāku (Bro.), "the (four) brothers;" (g) koṭhā (Bro.), (h) varṇa (manuscript), "the (four) principal castes."

5 is expressed by (a) indriya, &c. (Piṅg., Var., Bur.), "the organs of sense;" (b) artha, āsaya, &c., (Var., Ber.), "the objects of the senses;" (c) bhūta (Piṅg., Var., Ber.), "the elements;" (d) īśu, &c. (Var., Ber., Bur.), "the arrows of Kāma;" (e) pūrṇa (Ber.), abbreviated (pūrṇa)-aṅga (Piṅg., Var., Bur.), "the (five) Pūrṇa sons;" (f) prāṇa (Bro.), "the vital airs;" (g) rātman (Ber.), "the (five) jewels."

6 is expressed by (a) rasa (Bakh., Piṅg., Var., Ber.), "the (six) flavours;" (b) rūḍa (Piṅg., Var., Ber.), "the seasons;" (c) aṇa (Ber.), "the auxiliary sciences of Vedic studies;" (d) māsādha (Ber.), "one half of the (twelve) months;" (e) darśana, &c. (Bro.), "the (six) philosophical systems;" (f) sūgā (Bro.), "the (six) principal tunes;" (g) ari (Bro.), "the (internal) foes of men;" (h) kāyā (inscription), "the bodies.""

7 is expressed by (a) rśi, muni (Piṅg., Var.), "the (seven) seers;" or by atri, the first among them (Bro.); (b) svara (Piṅg., Var., Bro.), "the notes" (of the octave); (c) aśva

---

1 The abbreviations mark the sources from which the words have been collected, as follows:—
Bakh. = the Bakhshali MS., HORNBLE, 130.
Ber. = Berūm’s India, SACHAU, 1, 178.
ESIP. = C. F. BROWN’s list, as quoted by BURNELL.

2 For Varāhamihra’s Pañcachājiddhāntikā. THIBAULT’s edition.

3 See Pañcachājiddhāntikā, § 6. This is equivalent to āgni, because Agni is the Hot-priest of the gods.

4 Compare § 34, B.

5 See BURNELL’s additions, ESIP. 77 f.

6 Jyot. = the Jyotisa, WEKER’S edition, 6
Piṅg. = Piṅgala, WEKER’s Indische Studien, 8, 167 f.

7 Śvetā is a regular form of śvet, etc., but may possibly be formed on the analogy of śvetādī, i.e., "the empty place on the Abuana," or be an abbreviation of śvetābuddhi (see above, § 34, B).
§ 35. A.] INDIAN PALEOGRAPHY.

(Var., Bro.), "the horses" (of the sun); (d) agra, &c. (Var., Ber., Bur.), "the (primeval) mountains;" (e) dhātu (Bro.), "the elements" (of the body); (f) chandras (Bro.), "the (classes of the) metres;" (g) dī (Ber.), (?); (h) kalatra (Bro.), (?).

8 is expressed by (a) anuśtubh (Pīṅg.), a metre with octo-syllabic Pādas or lines; (b) vasu (Pīṅg., Var.), "the Vāsu gods;" (c) āhi, &c. (Ber., Bur.), "the (eight classes of) snakes;" (d) geja, &c. (Ber., Bur.), "the elephants (guarding the eight points of the horizon);" (e) maṅgala, bhūti (Ber., Bro.), "the (eight kinds of auspicious things);" (f) siddhi (manuscript), "the supernatural powers."

9 is expressed by (a) aṅka (Var., Bro.), "the decimal figures;" (b) nanda (Var., Ber.), "the (nine) Nandas;" (c) chidra, &c. (Ber.), "the cavities of the body;" (d) go, graha (Ber., Bro., Bur.), "the planets;" (e) nīkhi (Bur.), "the treasures (of Kubera);" (f) paccana (Ber.), (?).

10 is expressed by (a) diśā (Ber.), (b) rāsaṃkīr (Ber.), "the (ten) points of the horizon;" (b) rāvaṇaśiras (Ber.), "the heads of Rāvaṇa;" (c) avatāra (Bro.), "the incarnations of Viṣṇu;" (d) karmāṇa (Ber.), "the (ten Grhya)-ceremonies;" (e) khendu (Ber.), cipher (9) and moon (1), i.e. 10.

11 is expressed by (a) rudra (Pīṅg., Var., Ber.), "the (eleven) Rudras," or by ibi, śiva, &c. (Var., Ber.), the first of the eleven Rudras; (b, c) akṣauḥśīśa, lābhā (Bro.), (?).

12 is expressed by (a) udītya, arka, &c. (Pīṅg., Var., Ber.), "the (twelve) sun-gods," or "suns;" (b) vṛṣya (Bro.), (?).

13 is expressed by (a) viśvedevāḥ, abbreviated viśva (Var., Ber.), "the (thirteen) all-gods;" or by kīmā, the most famous among them (Bro.); (b) atijagat (Var.), a metre with thirteen syllables in each Pāda; (c) aghoṣa (Jagadūcarita), "the surd consonants."

14 is expressed by (a) manu (Var., Ber.), "the (fourteen) Manus;" (b) indra (Var., Ber.), "the (fourteen) Indras;" (c) loka (Bro.), "the (fourteen) worlds."

15 is expressed by (a) tithi (Var., Ber.), "the lunar days (of a half-month);" (b) ahaṇa (Bro.), "the solar days (of a half-month);" (c) pakṣa (Bro.), "half a month (fifteen days)."

16 is expressed by (a) asṭi (Var., Ber.), a metre with sixteen syllables in the Pāda; (b) bhāya, &c. (Var., Ber.), "the (famous sixteen) kings;" (c) kalā (Bro.), "the digits of the moon."

17 to 19 are expressed by atyaśi (Ber.), dhṛiti, atidhṛiti (Var., Ber.), metres with seventeen to nineteen syllables in the Pāda.

20 is expressed by (a) kṛṣi (Var., Ber.), a metre with twenty syllables in the Pāda; (b) nakha (Var., Ber.), "the nails (of the hands and feet)."

21 is expressed by (a) utkṛṣṭi (Ber.), (b) svarga (Bro.), "heaven."

22 is expressed by jāti (Bro.), (?).

24 is expressed by jīna (Var., Ber.), "the (twenty-four) Tirthankaras of the Jainas."

25 is expressed by tatvā (Ber.), "the principles of the Sāṅkhya philosophy."

26 is expressed by utkṛṣṭi (Var.), a metre with twenty-six syllables in the Pāda.

27 is expressed by bhasamūha (Jyo.), nakṣatra (Bro.), "the lunar mansions."

32 is expressed by dāna, &c. (Var., Bro.), "the teeth."

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1 Compare astamaṇḍala.
2 STERN KONOW, Deutsche Litt., Int., 1897.
3 Compare F. E. HALL, Vīṇasparūga, 3, 192.
4 SB.WA. 126, 5, 58.
5 Described in the saṁcārya-panam of the Mahābhārata, 7, 63—71 (CARTELLIERI).
6 Probably a mistake for prakṛti, a metre with twenty-one syllables in the Pāda.
33 is expressed by sura, &c. (Var., Bro.), "the gods."
40 is expressed by naraka (Var., Pañcasiddhāntikā, 4, 6), "the hells."
49 is expressed by āsna (Bro.), "the notes."

[82] In the Jyotisa and in the arithmetic of the Bakshali MS., only single words are used to indicate numbers.

In Pūgala's and other metrical manuals, the words with numeral meanings often form (sometimes together with ordinary numerals) Dvandva compounds, which must be dissolved by "or." Thus, vedārtasamudrāḥ means "4 or 6 or 4."

In the works of Varāhamihira and other astronomers, we find, in addition, longer Dvandva compounds, consisting of such word-numerals (be it alone, or associated with ordinary numerals), which have to be dissolved by "and," and then yield long rows of figures to be read from the right to the left. Thus, in the Pañcasiddhāntikā, 4, 44, we have:

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
0 & 0 & 4 & 4 \\
& & & 1 \\
\end{array}
\]
\text{ka-ka-veda-samudra-haraśmayāḥ} = 14,400;

and in 9, 9 of the same work, we have:

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
0 & 0 & 1 & 6 \\
& & & 2 \\
\end{array}
\]
\text{ka-ka-āṣṭi-yamāḥ} = 21,600.

Such Dvandva compounds, which presuppose the existence of the decimal notation, are used also for the dates of inscriptions. Dates expressed in this manner, are found in the Kamboja and Campā inscriptions of the 7th century. In Java they occur in the 8th century. And about the same time appears the first trace of such a notation in an Indian document, the Ciceole copper-plate inscription mentioned on page 78 above, where lo = 8, is an abbreviation of loka. Next follow the dates of the Kadab plates of A.D. 813, and of the Dholpur stone inscription of A.D. 842, which are expressed in word-numerals; and, in the next century, the plates issued by the Eastern Calukya Amma II, in A.D. 945. In later times the epigraphic instances become more frequent, and the ancient palm-leaf MSS. of the Jainas, as well as the later paper MSS., offer a good many. The notations of this kind have been caused sometimes by the vanity of the clerks and copyists, who wished to prove their acquaintance with the methods of the astronomers, and perhaps still more frequently by metrical reasons in the case of dates given in verse.

B. — Numeral notation by letters.

Two systems of numeral notation, according to Burnell originally South-Indian, which both employ the phonetically arranged characters of the alphabet, have still to be described, as they are not without interest for paleography. In the first system, only the vowelless consonants have any importance, and their numeral values are:

\[
\begin{align*}
k & = 1 \\
k & = 2 \\
g & = 3 \\
g & = 4 \\
h & = 5 \\
h & = 6 \\
h & = 7 \\
h & = 8 \\
h & = 9 \\
0 & = 0
\end{align*}
\]

1 According to Burnell, in some modern inscriptions the word-numerals are placed in the usual order of the decimal figures.
2 A. Barth, Inscs. Sansk. du Cambodge, No. 5 ff.; Bergaigne-Barth, Inscs. Sansk. de Campā et du Cambodge, No. 22 ff.
3 IA. 21, 48, No. 2.
4 IA. 12, 11; declared to be suspicious by Flett, Kanarese Dynasties, Bombay Gazetteer, i, ii, 339, note 7.
5 ZDMG, 40, 42, verse 22; pointed out by Kirlhorn.
6 IA. 7, 18.
8 Compare B. E. S. P. 79, W. 18, 8, 160; IA. 4, 267.
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The consonants are, however, not used by themselves, but for the formation of chronograms, containing any vowels and also compound consonants, of which the last element alone has numerical value. In the figures, resulting from those chronograms, the units invariably stand on the left, and the whole sum has to be turned round. An interesting instance of this notation, probably the most ancient hitherto discovered, occurs at the end of Ṣāḍguruśīvya’s commentary on the Sarvāṅukramaṇi (MacDonald, page 168), where the chronogram, according to Kielland’s undoubtedly correct emendation, is 1

\[
2 \ 3 \ 1 \ 5 \ 6 \ 5 \ 1
\]

\[
ka\hat{a}o-nty\hat{a}=maNe=\hat{a}p\hat{a}.
\]

As the author himself adds, this has the value of 1,565,132. And this figure corresponds, as the author likewise says, to the number of days elapsed since the beginning of the Kaliyuga, and yields the vernal equinox, 24th March, A.D. 1184, as the date of the completion of the work. The equinox is indicated also by the verbal meaning of the chronogram: — “(Coming) from the last (sign of the Zodiac), the sun reached Aries.”

The second system to be considered, 2 which is still used in Ceylon, Siam and Burma for the pagination of MSS., and according to Burnell formerly also [83] occurred in Southern India, utilises the Brahmanical Bārūkhādī (see page 2 above). According to Burnell, the Aśkaraś ka to la are equivalent to 1 to 34; kā to īla = 35 to 68; ki to ī = 69 to 102; and so on. But in the Pali MSS. of the Viennese Court Library from Burma, I find ka to kāh = 1 to 12; kha to khaḥ = 13 to 24; and so on: and in those from Ceylon, where the Bārūkhādī includes the vowels r, ū, i, and ī, ka to kāh = 1 to 16, and kha to khaḥ = 17 to 32, whereby a somewhat different employment of the Aśkaraś results. 3 Fausböll has kindly informed me that the last two methods alone (not that mentioned by Burnell) are used in the Pali MSS. known to him. And he goes that, after the exhaustion of the whole Bārūkhādī, the Ceylonese MSS. begin again with 2 ka, 2 kā, and so on, and further that the pagination of Siamese MSS. agrees exactly with those from Burma.

VII. THE EXTERNAL ARRANGEMENT OF INSCRIPTIONS AND MANUSCRIPTS.

§ 36. — The lines, grouping of words, interpunctuation, and other details.

A. — The lines.

Already in the earliest inscriptions incised on smoothed stones, the Hindus have tried to form regular straight lines and to make the upper ends of the Mātrkās of equal height. Asoka’s masons, however, have rarely succeeded, even in the pillar edicts and in the rock edicts of Girnār, Dhaulī and Juangada, to keep the line in more than a few consecutive words, mostly those of one group (see below, under B). But in other documents of the same period, as in the Ghasundī stone inscription (see page 32 above), the later 4 and still valid principle has been more carefully observed, according to which only the vowel-signs, the superscribed ra and similar additions may protrude above the upper line. This regularity probably has been attained by marking the upper line with chalk, as is still done, or by other mechanical appliances.

The lines of the MSS. are always very regular, even in the oldest specimens, such as the Dhammapāda from Khotan, and probably have been made with the help of a ruler (see below, § 37, J). In the ancient palm-leaf MSS. and in many later ones on paper, the ends of the lines are marked by vertical double strokes, running across the whole breadth of the leaves.

1 IA. 21, 40 ff., No. 4.
2 B.ESIP. 80.
3 Compare Gurupājñākumāṇa, 110.
4 Thus already in most of the inscriptions from the western caves, and at Amaravāti, Mathurā, &c., compare the facsimiles in B.ASRI, vol. 4 and 5; B.ASRS. vol. 1; EI. 2, 195 ff.; and others.
In the MSS., the lines always run horizontally, and from the top to the bottom; and this is also the case in most inscriptions. But there are a few inscriptions which have to be read from below.1

Vertical lines sometimes occur on coins, especially on those of the Kuṣanās and the Guptas.2 The cause of the latter arrangement of the letters was probably the want of space.

B. — The grouping of words.

[84] In addition to the still usual method of writing the words continuously without a break, up to the end of a line, of a verse, half-verse or other division, we find already in some of the oldest documents, such as certain Aśoka edicts,3 instances of the separation of single words, or of groups of words which belong together, either according to their sense or according to the clerks' manner of reading. A similar grouping of the words occurs also in some prose inscriptions of the Andhras and the Western Kāratpās at Nāsik; compare Nos. 5, 11 A, B, and 13. In the carefully written metrical inscriptions of the later times, the Pādas or the half-verses occasionally are separated by blank spaces,4 and each line contains a half verse or a verse.5

Similarly, in the Kharoṣṭhī Dhammapada from Khotan, each line contains one Gāthā, and the Pādas are divided off by blanks. In other old MSS., as the Bower MS., single words and groups of words are often written separately, apparently without any certain principle.

In inscriptions, the Maṅgala, especially when it is the word siddham, often stands by itself on the margin.6

C. — Interpunction.7

Signs of interpunction are not found in the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions. But the Dhammapada from Khotan offers at the end of each verse a circular mark, often made negligently, but resembling the modern cipher.6 At the end of a Vagga appears a sign, which is found at the end of various inscriptions, e. g., F.GI (CII. 3), No. 71, plate 41 A, and which probably is intended to represent a lotus.

In connection with the Brāhmī, signs of interpunction occur since the earliest times, and the signs employed are the following:

1 A single vertical stroke (danda) is used (irregularly and sometimes wrongly) in some Aśoka edicts,6 for the separation of single words or of groups. In later times it serves to separate prose from verse,9 or occurs at the end of portions of sentences,10 of sentences,11 of half-verses12 or verses,13 and occasionally even marks the end of documents.14 In the inscriptions of the Eastern Calukyas,16 the danda has occasionally a small horizontal top-bar; thus, T.

1 WZKM. 5, 339 f.; add a lately discovered Kharoṣṭhī inscription from Swat.
3 Thus in the pillar edicts (excepting Allahabad), and in Kāli edicts I—XI (see facsimiles El. 2, 324), and in Nigliva and Pajéria.
4 Compare, e. g., facsimiles, F.GI (CII. 3), No. 59, pl. 21 B; Ajanta No. 4; Ghalchok inscription; &c.
5 Compare, e. g., facsimiles, F.GI (CII. 3), Nos. 1, 2, 6, pl. 4 A, and 10, pl. 5.
6 Compare, e. g., facsimiles, F.GI (CII. 3), Nos. 6, pl. 4 A, and 15, pl. 9 A.
7 Compare, B. ESIP. 82, § 3.
8 Compare facsimile in S. v. Oldenburg's Predvaritāno zamjetkāo Buddhākāo rukopisi, napisanāi pisanamāi Kharoṣṭhī, St. Petersburg, 1897.
9 Kāli edicts XII, XIII, 1; Saharsāra.
10 See, e. g., facsimile, F.GI (CII. 3), No. 21, line 16.
11 See, e. g., facsimile, F.GI (CII. 3), No. 42, pl. 28.
12 See, e. g., facsimile, F.GI (CII. 3), No. 88, pl. 24, line 35.
13 See, e. g., facsimile, F.GI (CII. 3), No. 19, pl. 12 A.
14 See, e. g., facsimile, IA. 19, 92; 13, 213.
(2) A double vertical stroke, ||, appears in the Junnar inscriptions Nos. 24—29 after numerals, and once after the name of the donor. Later it occurs at the end of sentences, half-verses, verses, larger prose sections and documents. From the fifth century, a hook is often added to the top of the first stroke; thus, ⌜. Or both strokes receive such additions; thus, ⌝. Curves and hooks are added also to the foot of one of the strokes or of both. From the end of the 8th century, a bar is attached on the left, to the middle of the first stroke; thus, ˩. In the inscriptions of the Eastern Calukyas, bars stand at the top of the strokes; thus, ⌄ and a Kaliyuga inscription has similarly ⌄. A triple vertical stroke marks occasionally the end of inscriptions.

(4) A single short horizontal stroke, placed on the left below the first sign of the last line, marks in the Asoka edicts of Dhanali and Jangada the end of an edict. From the 2nd century B.C. to the 7th century A.D., this sign, which is often curved or bears a hook at one of its ends, serves the same purposes as the single vertical stroke.

(5) A double horizontal stroke, often bent, appears from the 1st to the 8th century A.D. in the place of the double vertical. The Kusana inscriptions and some later ones offer in its stead a double dot, which looks exactly like a Visarga.

(6) A double vertical, followed by a horizontal stroke, occasionally marks the end of inscriptions.

(7) A crescent-like stroke, ☞, marks the ends of the Asoka edicts at Kalsi, Nos. I—XI.

(8) A crescent-like stroke with a bar in the middle, ☞, stands twice in Kusana inscriptions after the Maingala siddham.

Besides, numeral figures alone occasionally mark the ends of verses, see, e.g., F.GI (CIL 3), Nos. 1, 2, and similarly Maingala-symbols (see below, under D) stand at the end of inscriptions or of sections of the text, especially in ancient MSS., such as the Bower MS.

Finally, it is necessary to call attention to the frames surrounding the Asoka edicts in the Girnar version, the Jangada separate edicts, and the Dhanali separate edict No. I.

What the inscriptions teach us regarding the history of the Indian interpunctuation may be briefly summed up, as follows. During the earliest period up to the beginning of our era, only single strokes, either straight or curved, are used, and their use is rare. After the beginning of our era, we find more complicated signs. But up to the 5th century their use remains irregular. From that time onwards, we have, especially in the Praastis on stone, more regular systems of interpunctuation. And the Mandasar Praastis of A. D. 473-74, F.GI (CIL 3), No. 18, plate 11, first proves the existence of the still valid principle, which

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1 See, e. g., facsimiles, Amarāvatī, No. 28; IA. 6, 23, l. 9 (Kakusthavarma's copper-plate).
2 See, e. g., facsimile, F.GI (CIL 3), No. 17, pl. 10.
3 See, e. g., facsimiles, F.GI (CIL 3), Nos. 17, pl. 10, and 18, pl. 11.
4 See, e. g., facsimiles, F.GI (CIL 3), No. 23, pl. 19, l. 24; No. 33, pl. 21 B, l. 9.
5 See, e. g., facsimile, F.GI (CIL 3), No. 17, pl. 10, l. 32, l. 38; No. 35, pl. 22, last line; Bower MSS., passim.
6 See, e. g., facsimile, Nepal inscription No. 4, IA. 9, 168, last line.
7 See, e. g., facsimile, IA. 9, 100, last line.
8 See, e. g., facsimiles, IA. 12, 362, f. 1 ff.; 13, 65.
9 See facsimile, EL 3, 128, last line.
10 See, e. g., facsimile, IA. 7, 72.
11 In the Nānaghāt inscription, B.ASBWI. 5, pl. 31, line 6, after space.
12 See, e. g., facsimiles Nāak, No. II A, B, after siddham and siddha; F.GI (CIL 3), No. 1 (end); Nos. 3, pl. 2 B, 9, pl. 4 D, and 10, pl. 5.
13 See, e. g., facsimiles, EI. 1, 389, No. 14; F.GI (CIL 3), Nos. 3, pl. 2 B, 40, pl. 23, 41, pl. 27, and 55, pl. 34; IA. 6, 17 (after Siddhi).
14 EI. 1, 393, Nos. 28, 29 (after Śūkṣma); F.GI (CIL 3), No. 39, pl. 24, l. 35; No. 55, pl. 34 (end); IA. 5, 299 (end); in these and other cases the sign has been wrongly read as a Visarga.
15 See, e. g., facsimiles, IA. 6, 76; EI. 3, 290.
16 EI. 2, 212, No. 42, and note.
requires one stroke after a half-verse and two strokes at the end of a verse. But up to the 8th century there are various copper-plates and stone inscriptions, especially from Southern India, without any interpunctuation. Its methodical development is due to the Brahmanical schoolmen. In the officers, interpunctuation apparently never became a favourite. As a comparison of the documents of one and the same dynasty easily shows, the degree of regularity with which the signs are used, depends not upon the age of the Śiṣṇunas, but on individual qualities of the writers, their learning and their carefulness.

D. — Maṅgalas and ornamentation.

In accordance with the ancient Brahmanical maxim, which requires a Maṅgala, a benediction or an auspicious word, at the beginning, in the middle and at the end of a composition in order to insure its completion and preservation, sacred symbols of auspicious import are found at the beginning and the end of two Aśoka edicts and of many inscriptions of the next four centuries. The most common Maṅgala-symbols, employed in this way, are the well-known Svاستika, the trident or the so-called Triratna symbol resting on the Dharmacakra, and the conventional representation of a Cāyita tree. But there are also others, the names of which are as yet unknown. Once the Svastika appears after the word siddham.

In later times, we find also Maṅgala-symbols with greatly modified forms, partly in the texts at the end of larger sections and partly at the end of documents or literary works. A very common sign of this description is a large circle with a smaller one, or with one or several dots in the middle. This may be a conventional representation either of the Dharmacakra which is still distinctly visible in front of F.GI (CHL. 3), No. 63, plate 39, A, or of the lotus, which likewise occurs. As a circle with a dot, O, corresponds to the ancient tha, other signs, closely resembling or identical with later forms of tha, are used as substitutes. And the modern MSS. finally offer the well-known ॐ, which corresponds to one of the medieval forms of tha, but is now read cha.

Since the 5th century, we find also new symbols, consisting of highly ornamental forms of the ancient O of the word om (plate IV, 6, XVIII; plate V, 47, IX), which latter is a great Maṅgala. They are used both at the beginning and at the end of inscriptions and occasionally even on the margin of copper-plates.

Many of the sculptures, found in connection with stone inscriptions, appear to have the same meaning as the Maṅgala-symbols just mentioned. Of this kind are, e.g., several of the reliefs above Bhagvanlal's Nepāl inscriptions, such as the Saṅkhas (No. 3), the lotuses (Nos. 4, 15), the bull Nandi (Nos. 7, 12), the fish (No. 9), the sun-wheel and the stars (No. 10). It is however possible that the lotus of No. 15 may refer also to the donation of a silver lotus, the dedication of which the inscription records. Again, the sun-wheel and the stars of No. 10

1 See, e.g., facsimiles, IA, 6, 63; 7, 163; 8, 23; 10, 62—64, 164—171.
2 See the facsimile of the separate edicts of Jangada.
3 See, e.g., facsimiles of the Sohagura plate; of Bāka Nos. 2, 3, 7; of Kujā Nos. 1, 6, 11, 15, 18, 20, 22, 24, 25; of Mahāś; of Belkā No. 3; of Kālī Nos. 1—5, 20; of Jumna Nos. 2—5, 17, 19; of Nāśik Nos. 1, 11 A, B, 14, 21; 24 of Kanheri Nos. 2, 12, 13; El. 2, 232, Śiśura I, No. 26; and Bhagvanlal, Sixth Oriental Congress, 3, 2, 136 ff.
4 On the non-śaiva character of these symbols, see Bhagvanlal, loc. cit.; and El. 2, 312 ff.
5 Nāśik No. 6.
6 See, e.g., "The Bower MS.," pt. 1, pls. 3, 5; pt. 2, pl. 1 ff.; facsimiles, IA, 6, 17; 9, 138, No. 4, 17; 310; El. 1, 10 ff. In the Śiśura inscription, El. 1, 173 ff., Viṣṇu's Kanauṭha seems to be used repeatedly; compare El. 2, 124.
7 Compare, e.g., facsimiles, F.G (CHI. 3), No. 71 (end); IA, 6, 67, pl. 2, line 1 (wrongly read as 20); IA, 6, 192, pl. 2, line 10; El. 1, 77 (end); 3, 273, line 30; 3, 376, Veravāl image inscription (end).
8 See, e.g., facsimiles, F.GI (CHI. 3), Nos. 11, pl. 6 A (also p. 46, note 2); 29, pl. 12 B, 23, pl. 18, &c.; IA, 6, 32 (five times); El. 3, 22 (end); "The Bower MS.," pt. 1, pl. 1; compare also Berūni, India, 1, 173 (SACHAU).
9 IA, 9, 135 ff.
may also be intended to indicate the wish, often expressed explicitly in words, that the donation, to which the inscription refers, may last "as long as sun and stars endure."

Similar illustrations of the contents of the inscriptions and symbolical representations of the wishes and of other matters expressed in them, are not rare. Corresponding engravings on the copper-plates are less common. But on these the royal coat of arms is sometimes engraved below or by the side of the text, instead of on a separate seal, and the stone inscriptions, too, occasionally exhibit such devices. Among the MSS., those of the Nepalese Buddhists and of the Jainas of Gujarāt are often richly ornamented and perfectly illustrated. Specimens of illuminated Brahmanical MSS. are, however, not wanting.

E. — Corrections, omissions, and abbreviations.

In the earliest inscriptions, as in the Aśoka edicts (see, e. g., Kāśi edict XII, line 31) erroneous passages [86] are simply scored out. Later, dots or short strokes above or below the line are used to indicate clerical errors. The same signs occur in MSS., where, however, in late times the delenda are covered with turmeric or a yellow paste. On the copper-plates, they are frequently beaten out with a hammer, and the corrections are then engraved on the smoothed spot. We possess even entire palimpsests of this kind.

In the Aśoka edicts and other early inscriptions, letters and words, left out by mistake, are added above or below the line without any indication of the place to which they belong, or they are also entered in the interstices between the letters. In the later inscriptions and the MSS., the spot of the omission is indicated by a small upright or inclined cross, the so-called kāka-pada or kausapada, and the addenda are given either in the margin or between the lines.

A Svastika is sometimes put instead of the cross. In South-Indian MSS., the cross is used also to indicate intentional omissions, made in Sūtras with commentaries. Elsewhere, intentional omissions, or such as have been caused by defects in the original of the copy, are marked by dots on the line or by short strokes above the line. The modern sign for the elision of an initial A, the so-called Avagraha, has been traced first on the Baroda copper-plate of the Rāstrakūṭa king Dhrūva, dated A. D. 834-35. A kṣānta, "ring," or a Svastika, served to mark unintelligible passages; see Kāshmir Report, 71, and KIELHORN, Mahābhāṣya, 2, 10, note.

In Western India, abbreviations are found first in an inscription of the Andhra king Śirī-Puḻumāyi (Nāṣik, No. 15) of about A. D. 150, and in the nearly contemporaneous one of Śīrīsaṇa- or Sakasena-Mādhārīputra (Kāsheri, No. 14). In the north-west, they are very common in the inscriptions of the Kuṣaṇa period. The commonest instances are: — same, sae, saa, sae and sa for saṃvatsara; gri, gr or gi for gṝ̄māh or gṝ̄māna; ra for ṝsra; ke for hemanṭaḥ; pa for pakha; and diva or di for divasa; and they are only found when the dates are expressed by figures. In this connection, they are used regularly in the later inscriptions and even in our days. But in these later times we find usually samvats, which.

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1 Thus, the wish for the duration of the grant is expressed by representations of the sun and moon.
2 See, e. g., B. ASEWI, No. 10, "Cave-temple Inscriptions," facsimile at p. 161, and KIELHORN's remarks, El. 3, 367; coats of arms are found in facsimiles at IA. 6, 49 ff., 162; El. 3, 114.
3 See, e. g., WIRER, Verzeichn. d. Berlin Sank. und Prak. Hschriften, 2, 3, pl. 2; Fifth Oriental Congress, 2, 2, 159 ff., pl. 2; Pal. Soc., Or. Soc., pl. 18, 31; RIJENDRALAL MITRA, Notices of Sansk. MSS. 3, pl. 1; compare also B. ESI. 52, § 4.
4 Compare B. ESI. 83, § 5.
5 IA. 7, 251 (No. 47); 13, 84, note 20; El. 3, 41, note 6.
6 See, e. g., Kāśi edict XIII, 2, line 11; thus also later, see, e. g., facsimile at El. 3, 314, line 5.
7 See, e. g., facsimiles, El. 3, 32, pl. 2, line 1; El. 3, 278, line 11.
8 Facsimile, IA. 6, 62, pl. 3.
9 Āpastamba Dharmasūtra; p. II (10).
10 Compare, e. g., IA. 6, 19, note, line 33; 20, note, line 11; very common in Kashmir MSS.
11 IA. 14, 193; compare FLEET, El. 5, 339; and KIELHORN, El. 4, 214, note 7.
sometimes even is inflected, before the dates of the years; but, before the dates of the month falling in the bright half, śu or su di for śuddha- or śukla-pakṣa-dīna, or in Kashmir śu or su ti (tīthi), and before those falling in the dark half, ba or va di for bahula- or vahula-pakṣa-dīna, or in Kashmir ba ti.

From the 6th century, the inscriptions of Western India offer here and there abbreviations of other words, such as dā for dātabha, dei for devitiya.†

Later, especially since the 11th century, abbreviations of titles and the names of tribes, castes and so forth become very common. In the MSS. they are noticeable since the earliest times. Thus, the Khotan Dhammapada (Paris fragment) has, at the end of a Vagga, ga 30 for gāthā 30; and in the Bower MS., plate II, ilō for īpāka and pā for pāda often occur in connection with figures at the end of a section. In the inscriptions and MSS. of the 12th century we find with names, not with dates, the small circle or bindu, which is still used to indicate abbreviations; e.g., s̐ for śahkura. The same sign is used in Prakrit MSS. to indicate the omission of one or several letters that can be easily supplied; e.g., aṭṭhabhavas, diṭṭhā for diṭṭhā.‡

F. — Pagination.

The Hindus number only the leaves (pattra), not the pages (prastha), of their MSS.; and in the Dravidian districts the figure stands on the first page of each leaf, in all other parts of India on the second (āniṣapprastha).§ The same rule holds good in the case of copper-plates, the sheets of which sometimes (but rarely) are numbered.¶

G. — Seals.

According to the law-books, all Śāṅgas [87] must bear the royal seal. Consequently, seals, welded to the plates or to the rings connecting the plates, or attached to them by pins, are found with the majority of the grants. They show the royal coat of arms (mostly the representation of an animal or of a deity), or, in addition to such emblems, a shorter or longer inscription, giving the name of the king or of the founder of the dynasty, or the whole pedigree, and sometimes merely an inscription.¶

VIII. WRITING MATERIALS, LIBRARIES, AND WRITERS.

§ 37. — Writing materials.¶

A. — Birch-bark.

[88] The inner bark of the Bhūra tree (Baetula bhojpatta), which the Himalaya produces in great quantity, probably is alluded to already by Q. Curtius (see above, page 6) as a writing material used by the Hindus at the time of Alexander’s invasion, and later it is frequently named as such in Northern Buddhist and Brahmanical Sanskrit works. It is even called lekhana, “the writing material,” and written documents go by the name of bhūra. According to Berūni,† pieces, one ell in length and one span in breadth, were prepared for use

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† According to a letter from Kielhorn.
‡ IA. 7, 73, pl. 2, line 29; 13, 84, lines 37, 40; 15, 546, line 57.
§ See e.g., IA. 6, 194 ff., No. 4 ff.; EI. 1, 317, line 9.
¶ Compare S. K. Pandit, Mālaviṅgāmira, p. V, who, as also Burkill, makes diṭṭhā stand for diṭṭhā; see also Pischel, Nachr. Gött. Gel. Ges., 1873, 203.
|| On an apparent exception, see WZKM, 7, 231.
|| Compare, e.g., B. ESIP, pl. 24: facsimiles at EI. 1, 1 ff.; 3, 156, 306.
|| Jolly, Recht und Sitte, Grundrisse, II, 6, 114.
|| See e.g., the collections of seals in plates of B. ESIP, 106, and EI. 3, 164; 4, 244: see also F. GI (CII, 3), plates 30, 32, 33, 37, 43.
† BRW, sub voce bhūra.
‡ India, 1, 171 (Sachau); the description seems to fit the Kharaṭṭhi Dhammapada from Khotan.
by rubbing them with oil and polishing them. The art of the preparation has however been lost in Kashmir, when the introduction of paper during the Moghal period furnished a more convenient material.\footnote{Kashmir Report, J.BRAS. 12, 12, App., 29 ff.} But a not inconsiderable number of old birch-bark MSS. still exist in the libraries of the Kashmir Pandits. According to a statement made to me by Buñū Dījī, birch-bark MSS. occur also in Orissa, and amulets, written on Bhūrja, are still used throughout all the Aryan districts of India.\footnote{RAJENDRALLAP. MITRA, Gough’s Papers, 17: Kashmir Report, 29, note 2.} The use of the bhūrjapatra of course began in the north-west; but it seems to have spread in early times, as the copper-plates of Central, Eastern and Western India appear to have been cut according to the size of the Bhūrja, which in Kashmir mostly corresponds to our quarto (BURNELL). As stated in many classical Sanskrit works and by Berūnī, all letters were written on Bhūrja at least in Northern, Central, Eastern and Western India.

The oldest documents on Bhūrja, which have been found, are the Kharoṣṭhi Dhammapada from Khotan, and the inscribed "twists," tied up with threads, which MASSON discovered in the Stūpas of Afghanistan (see above, page 18, and note 6). Next come the fragments from the Godfrey Collection and the Bower MS., the leaves of which have been cut according to the size of palm-leaves, and, like these, are pierced in the middle in order to pass a string through, intended to hold them together.\footnote{J. ASB. 66, 225 ff.; facsimilies in HUNNELL’s Bower MS.; WZKM. 5, 104.} Next in age is the Bakhshālī MS., and then follow after a considerable interval the birch-bark MSS. from Kashmir in the libraries of Poona, London, Oxford, Vienna, Berlin, \textit{etc.}, none of which probably date earlier than the 16th century.

B. — Cotton cloth.

The use of well-beaten cotton cloth is mentioned by Nearchos (see above, page 6), and some metrical Smārtis, as well as some inscriptions of the Andhra state, state that official and private documents were written on paṭa, paṭikā or kāṛpasīka paṭa.\footnote{J. ASB. 66, 225 ff.; facsimilies in HUNNELL’s Bower MS.; WZKM. 5, 104.} According to BURNELL, and Rice (Mysore Coorg Gazetteer, 1877, 1, 408), the Kanarese traders still use for their books of business a kind of cloth, called kaḍatam, which is covered with a paste of tamarind-seed and afterwards blackened with charcoal. The letters are written with chalk or stelatite pencils, and the writing is white or black. In the Bhājṣyānakoṣa at Jaisalmir, I found a silk band with the list of the Jaina Śūtras, written with ink. Recently PETERSON (Fifth Report, 113) has discovered at Anhilvād Pāṭaṇ a MS., dated Vikrama-Samvat 1415 (A. D. 1361-62), which is written on cloth.

C. — Wooden boards.

The passage of the Vinayapitaka (see above, page 5), which forbids "the incising" of precepts for religious suicide, bears witness to a very early use of wooden boards or bamboo chips as writing materials. Equally, the Jātakas, and also later works, mention the writing board, used in the elementary schools. Chips of bamboo (kaḷāka), with the name of the bearers, served as passports for Buddhist monks (BURNELL, Introd. à l’histoire du Bouddhisme, 259, note). An inscription from the time of the Western Kṣatrapa Nahapāna\footnote{J. JOLLY, Recht und Sitte, Grundrisse, II, 8, 114; Nāsiṅ inscription No. 11, A, B, in B.ASBWI. 4, 104 f.} speaks of boards (phālaka) in the guildhall, on which agreements regarding loans were placarded, and Kātyāyana prescribes that plaintiffs are to be entered on boards with pāṇḍulekha, i. e., with chalk.\footnote{Nāsiṅ inscription No. 7, line 4, in B.ASBWI. 4, 102.} Danṭhin narrates, in the Daśakumārakacarita, that Apahāravarma wrote his declaration, addressed to the sleeping princess, on a varnished board.\footnote{B.EISP. 97, note 2.} MSS. on varnished boards, which are common in Burma, have hitherto not been discovered in India proper; but there are indications that the Hindus, too, used boards for literary purposes. WINTERKRIJT informs me that the Bodleian...
D.—Leaves.

According to the canon of the Southern Buddhists (see above, page 5), leaves (pālsa) were in ancient times the most common writing material. Though the texts do not mention the plants which furnished these leaves, it is not doubtful that they came then, as in later times, chiefly from the large-leaved palm-trees, the tāḍa or tālu (Borassus flabelliformis) and the tāḍī or tāḷ (Corypha umbraculifera, or C. taliera), which, originally indigenous in the Dekhan, are found at present even in the Pañjab. The earliest witness for the general use of palm-leaves throughout the whole of India is Huen Tsiang (7th century). But we possess clear proof that they were used even in north-west India during much earlier times. The Horinzi palm-leaf MS. certainly goes back to the 6th century, and some fragments in the recently discovered Godfrey Collection from Kashgar belong, as Hoernle has shown on the palaeographical evidence, at least to the 4th century, and are older than the Bower MS. Again, the bharjapatta leaves of the Bower MS. are cut according to the size of palm-leaves, and that is also the case with the Taxila copper-plate (see above, page 25), which certainly is not later than the 1st century A. D. As the coppersmith then chose a palm-leaf for his model, it follows that palm-leaves must have been commonly used for writing, even in the Pañjab. A Buddhist tradition, preserved in the Life of Huen Tsiang, asserts that the Canon was written on palm-leaves at the first Council held immediately after Buddha’s death. And the story regarding Sanghabhadra’s “dotted MS. of the Vinaya,” published by Takakusu in J. R.A.S. 1896, 436 f., shows that this tradition is at least two centuries older; one inference, which may be drawn from it, is, that about A.D. 400 the Buddhists believed palm-leaves to have been used for writing since immemorial times.

According to Rājendralāl Mitra, the palm-leaves, to be used for writing, are first dried, next boiled or soaked in water, then again dried, and finally polished with stones or conch-shells and cut to the proper size. It agrees with this statement, that the leaves of the ancient MSS. from Nepal and Western India frequently show traces of an artificial preparation. Their length varies between one and three feet, and their breadth between one and a quarter and four inches. Against this, Burnell asserts that the people of Southern India take no trouble with the preparation, and mostly even neglect to trim the leaves properly. The last assertion is not borne out by the appearance of the South-Indian MSS. known to me, though it is no doubt true of the leaves used by clerks and men of business in offices and for letters.

The Horinzi MS., and the fragments in the Godfrey Collection, as well as the numerous palm-leaf MSS. of the 9th and later centuries from Nepal, Bengal, Rājputāna, Gujarāt and the northern Dekhan, prove that since ancient times the palm-leaves were written on with ink all over Northern, Eastern, Central and Western India. Since the introduction of paper, they are no longer used in these districts, except in Bengal for MSS. of the Caṇḍipāṭha.

In the Dravidian districts and in Orissa, the letters were, and still are, incised with a stylus and afterwards blackened with soot or charcoal. The oldest MS., found in the south, dates according to Burnell from A.D. 1428.

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1 B.I.S. III, 7 ff., 120.
2 Siyuki, 2, 225 (Bral).
3 J. A.S. 65, 225 ff.
4 Life of Huen Tsiang, 117 (Bral).
5 Rājendralāl Mitra, in Gough’s Papers, p. 17.
7 B.ESIP, 83.
8 Rājendralāl Mitra, Gough’s Papers, 102.
9 B.ESIP, 87; further researches in Southern India will probably show that older MSS. exist.
All palm-leaf MSS. are pierced either with one hole, usually in the middle, more rarely, in specimens from Kashgar, on the left, or with two holes on the left and the right, through which strings (sūtra or sarayanastra) are passed in order to keep the leaves together.

In Southern India, raw palm-leaves were, and still are, commonly used for letters, for private and official documents, as well as in the indigenous schools. For the latter purpose they are also employed in Bengal. According to Adams, the pupils of the tolls write also with lamp-socket on the large Banānā and Sāl leaves.

E. — Animal substances.

D'Alwis asserts that Buddhist works mention skins among the writing materials, but neglects to quote the passages. It is possible to infer from the passage of the Vāsavadattā, quoted above (page 82, § 34, B) that in Subandhu's time skins were used for writing. But the fact that leather is ritually impure makes the inference hazardous. And hitherto no MS. on leather has turned up in India, though pieces of leather from Kashgar, inscribed with Indian characters, are said to exist in the Petersburg collections. A blank piece of parchment [90] lay among the MSS. of the Jesalmir Brhajñānakośa.

Manuscripts on thin plates of ivory occur in Burma, and the British Museum possesses two specimens.

F. — Metals.

The Játakas state repeatedly that the important family records of rich merchants, and verses and moral maxims, were engraved on gold plates, and Burnell mentions that they were used for royal letters and for land-grants. A gold plate with a votive inscription in Kharoṣṭhī has been found in a Stūpa at Gāngu near the ruins of Taxila. Specimens of small MSS. and official documents on silver likewise are preserved, and among them is one from the ancient Stūpa at Bhaṭṭiprola. In the British Museum there are also MSS. on gilt and silver plated palm-leaves.

It is a matter of course that the precious metals were used only in rare and exceptional cases. But, as the exceedingly numerous finds prove, copper-plates (tāmarapata, tāmarapattra, tāmarakīsana, abbreviated tāma) were since ancient times the favourite material for engraving various kinds of documents which were intended to last, and especially land-grants, to the donees of which they served as title-deeds.

According to Fa-hian (about A. D. 400), the Buddhist monasteries possessed grants engraved on copper, the oldest of which dated from Buddha's time. Though this statement requires confirmation, the Sohaṃura plate (see above, page 32) teaches us that during the Maurya period official decrees were committed to copper. Another Buddhist tradition, preserved by Hiuen Tsiang, asserts that Kaniṣka caused the sacred books to be engraved on sheets of copper. And a similar story, which Burnell declares to be untrustworthy, is told regarding Sāyana's commentaries on the Vedas. But it is undeniable that copper has been used also for the preservation of literary works, as plates with such contents have been found at Tripatty, and specimens from Burma and Ceylon (some of which are gilt) are now in the British Museum. Photographs of quite modern copper-plates with lists of goods in Gurumukhi and Nagari, sent from Kashgar to St. Petersburg, have reached me through the kindness of S. von Oldenburg.

1 Vāsavadattā, 210 (Hall).
2 Burnell, ESIP. 89, 93, Rajendra Lal Mitra, Gough's Papers, 17.
3 Reports on Vernacular Education, 20, 98 (ed. Lowo).
4 Introduction to Kācāryana, XXVII.
6 B.I.S. III. 10 f.
7 B. ESIP. 90, 93.
8 C. AsI. 2, 129, pl. 59.
10 Siyorki (Bral) 1, XXXVII.
11 See B. ESIP. 86.
12 R. V. (Max Müller), I, xvii.
As regards the technical preparation, the oldest tāmrajātana known, the Sohaguna copper-plate (see above, page 32), has been cast in a mould of sand, into which the letters and the emblems above them had been previously scratched with a stīla or a pointed piece of wood. Hence both the letters and the emblems appear on the plate in relief. All other copper-plates have been fashioned with the hammer, and many among them show distinct traces of the blows. Their thickness and size vary very considerably. Some are very thin sheets, which could be bent double and weigh only a few ounces; others are exceedingly massive and are eight or nine pounds in weight or even heavier. Their size is partly determined by the nature of the writing material commonly used in the districts where they were issued, and partly by the extent of the document to be engraved, the size of the clerk’s writing, and so forth. The smiths always imitated the originals given them. If these were written on palm-leaves, the plates were made narrow and long. If the material was birch-bark, the plates became much broader, often almost square. Of the first description are all the copper-plates from Southern India, with the exception of those of the Yādava of Vijayanagara, which imitate stone steles. To the second class belong all the Sāsanas issued further north, with the exception of the Taxila plate, which, as stated already, is the size of a palm-leaf. A comparison of the numerous plates of the Valabhi kings shows very clearly how their size gradually grows with the increasing length of the Prāsasti.

If, as is mostly the case, several plates were required for one document, they were usually connected by copper rings passed through hole in the plates. The single ring is usually found in Sāsanas from Southern India, and then the hole is usually made in the left side of the plate. If there are two rings, the holes go through the lower part of the first plate, the upper part of the second, and so on alternately. The rings correspond to the threads which keep the palm-leaves together, and they make of many tāmrajātanas small volumes, which can be opened quite conveniently. The lines run always, except in the Vijayanagara plates, parallel to the broadest side of the plate. The letters have mostly been incised with a chisel, rarely with a graver (compare above, page 19). In order to protect the writing, the rims of the plates are usually thickened, and slightly raised, and the first side of the first plate, as well as the second side of the last, is left blank. The copper seals attached to the plates seem to have been cast, and their inscriptions and emblems are raised on a countersunk surface. According to Bāg, the state seal of king Harça was made of gold.

Various copper statues show votive inscriptions on their bases. A single inscription on iron, that on the iron pillar of Mehrarauli, near Delhi, has become known. The British Museum possesses a Buddhist MS. on tin.

G. — Stone and brick.

Stones of the most various kinds, rough and artificially smoothed blocks of basalt or trap, as well as artistically carved columns of sandstone, or even prisms of crystal, have been since the most ancient times the most common materials for making documents, as Aśoka expresses himself, ciraṭhiśṭha, “such as to endure for a long time.” And it is indifferent whether the documents are official or private, whether they contain royal proclamations, treaties between kings, or agreements between private individuals, grants and donations or poetical effusions. There are even some instances of the incision of larger literary works; large fragments of

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1 The Taxila plate weighs 34 ounces and was found bent double; the Alīnā plates of Śilākārī VI. of Valabhi weigh together 17 pounds, 32 ounces, see F.GI (CII. 3), 172. But there are still heavier plates, see B.ESIP. 92, where however the historical notes require correction.
2 B.ESIP. 92; compare the facsimiles at EI. I, 26, 28, 40.
3 The Kāraṇḍūji grant (8th century) is written on eleven plates, the Hirdayaṇagallī grant (4th century), EI. I, 1 ff., on eight.
4 See FLINT, GI (CII. 3), 65, note 6.
5 F.GI (CII. 3), 139.
6 Harṣaṭārīta, 227 (Nirūpayaśāgar Press ed.).
7 See the list, J. Pali T. Soc. 1883, 134 ff.
plays by the Cāhamāna king Vīgrahā IV., and by his poet-laureate Somadeva, have been found at Ajmīr,1 and a large Jaina Sthalapuruṣa in a number of Sargas, impressions of which (unpublished) I owe to Führer and G. H. Ojha, exists in Biholli (Rājputāna).

Bricks, showing single or a few letters, have been known for some time, as specimens have been found by Cunningham, Führer and others in various parts of India, and even in Burma. But recently a set has been discovered in the North-West Provinces by Hoey, on which Buddhist Sūtras are inscribed, the characters having apparently been scratched on the moist clay, before it was baked.3

H. — Paper.

During the period to which this work refers, paper was hardly known or at least little used in India, as its introduction is only due to the Muhammadans. Rājendralal Mitrâ, however, asserts that a "letter-writer" by king Bhoja of Dharâ proves its use in Mâlva during the 11th century. The oldest paper MS. in Gujarât is said to date from A. D. 1223-24.5

Paper MSS. dated Vikrama-Samvat 1384 and 1394 (A. D. 1327-28 and 1337-38), the leaves of which are cut according to the size of palm-leaves, have been discovered by Peterson at Aghilvād Pâtan.6 It is very doubtful if any of the ancient MSS. from Kashgar, which are written on a peculiar paper, covered with a layer of gypsum, are of Indian origin; hoopel believes that all of them were written in Central Asia.7

I. — Ink.

The oldest undoubtedly Indian term for ink is maṣi or maṣṭ, frequently spelt mași or maṣṭi. The word, which occurs as a varia lectio already in a Gṛhyaśūtra, is derived from the verb maṣ (himūṣyaṃ), and means etymologically "powder." Further, it serves to denote several kinds of pulversed charcoal, which were mixed with water, gum, sugar and so forth, and used for the preparation of ink.9 Burnell is mistaken when he asserts that in classical Sanskrit literature maṣṭi, "ink," occurs only in late works; it was known to Bāṣa (about A. D. 620) and to his predecessor Subandhu.10

Bentley, HINCKS AND WEBER have derived melā, another word for "ink," from the Greek μέλας. But it is, no doubt, the feminine (es., maṣṭi) of the common Prakrit adjective maida, "dirty, black," which cannot have been borrowed from the Greeks.11 Melā, likewise, was known to Subandhu, who uses the denominative melānudgūyate, "becomes an inkstand."12 The Koṣas offer for "inkstand" also melāmandū, melāndhu, melāndhukā, and maṣīmaṣṭi, and the Purāṇas maṣṭpatra, maṣṭbhāṣyā and maṣṭkupikā.13

The statements of Nearchus and Q. Curtius (see above, page 6), according to which the Hindus wrote on cotton cloth and on the inner bark of trees, i. e., Bhirja, make it very probable that they used ink already in the 4th century B. C. To the same conclusion points the fact, that in some letters of the Asoka edicts dots are occasionally substituted for loops.14 The oldest specimen of writing with ink, on the relic-vase of the Śālīka [92] of Andher (see

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1 IA. 20, 201 ff. — [Now edited by Kielhorn in Göttingen Festschrift, 1901.]
2 C. ASR. 1, 97, 5, 102.
4 Gough’s Papers, 16.
5 See my Catalogue of MSS. from Gujarāt, &c., 1, 226, No. 147.
6 Fifth Report, 123, 123.
7 WZKM. 7, 201; J. ASR. 66, 215 ff., 223 f.
8 BRW. and BW., sub voce maiśī.
9 Indian prescriptions for preparing ink are found in Rājendralal Mitrâ’s notes, Gough’s Papers, &c., 16 f.; Kashmir Report, 90.
10 See, e. g., Vayavatadatt.’s, 187 (HALL) ; Harshavarita, 95.
12 Melā, and maṣṭi, ‘water-vessel’ (compare also nandīkī, nandinī, ‘well,’ and nāndīpatā, ‘cover of a well’), are derived from nandesati and nandesati, ‘to cause to rejoice, to refresh.’
13 BRW., sub hac vocem.
14 B. IS. III., 61 f., 62.
above, page 5), is certainly not later than the 2nd century B.C. From the first centuries A.D. dates the Kharoṣṭhī Dharmapada from Khotan, as well as the stone vessels with Kharoṣṭhī letters in ink from the Stūpas of Afghanistan. Somewhat later are the ancient Bhūrja and palm-leaf MSS. with Brāhma characters. Painted inscriptions occur still in the caves of Ajanta.\(^1\)

Coloured ink, which in later times the Jainas especially have used extensively for their MSS.\(^2\) is mentioned also in Brahmanical works, e. g., in the sections of the Purāṇas on the donation of MSS.\(^3\) Besides chalk (see above, page 82, § 34, B), red lead or minium (ḥīṅgula) was used, already in ancient times, as a substitute for ink.\(^4\)

**J. — Pens, pencils, &c.**

The general name of “an instrument for writing” is ḍhūrni, which of course includes the stilus, pencils, brushes, reed and wooden pens, and is found already in the epics.\(^5\)

The varṣaka, mentioned in the Lalitavistara, no doubt refers to the little stiic without a slit, with which the school-boys still draw the letters on the writing-board (see above, page 5). The Kośas offer the variant varṣkā. The varṇavartikā, which occurs in the passage of the Daśakumāracarita referred to above (see page 38 above, and note 7), must be a brush or coloured pencil, as, according to other passages, the vartikā was used for drawing or painting.\(^6\) Tūl or tūlikā probably denoted originally “a brush,” though it is explained also by the modern sūl, “graver,” a stilus.

The most usual name of the reed pen is the word kaḷama, καλαμος, Calamus, which occurs in all eastern languages; the rarer indigenous Indian name is ṭikā or ṭīkā, literally “reed.”\(^7\) Pieces of reed, bamboo or wood, cut after the manner of our pens, are used in all parts of India where the use of ink prevails,\(^8\) and all the existing ancient MSS. on palm-leaves and Bhūrja probably have been written with such pens.\(^9\) The Sanskrit name of the stilus used in Southern India is ṭālikā, in Marathi sālāi.

Regarding the now very generally used “ruler,” a piece of wood or cardboard with strings fixed at equal distances, and regarding its probable predecessors, see Anecdota Oxyoniensia, Aryan Series, 1, 3, 66, and Anzeiger d. W. Akademie, 1897, No. VIII, where photographs of two specimens have been given. According to a letter from C. Klemm (April 21, 1897), the Ethnological Museum of Berlin possesses two specimens, one from Calcutta with the inscription śvetādanapattāra and one from Madras called kūḍugu.

\(§\ 38.

**The preservation of manuscripts and copper-plates, and the treatment of letters.**

**A. — Manuscripts and libraries.**

[93] Wooden covers, cut according to the size of the sheets, were placed on the Bhūrja and palm-leaves, which had been drawn on strings, and this is still the custom even with the paper MSS.\(^11\) In Southern India the covers are mostly pierced by holes, through which the long strings are passed. The latter are wound round the covers and knotted. This procedure was usual already in early times\(^12\) and was observed in the case of the old palm-leaf MSS.

\(^1\) B.A.S.R.W.I. 4, plate 36.
\(^2\) See, e. g., the facsimiles in Rājendrālāl Mitra’s Notices of Sanskrit MSS., 3, pl. 1.
\(^3\) Hemākī, Dānakaṇḍa, 54 ff.
\(^4\) D’Alvis, Intro. to Kācīryāya, XVII; Jātaka No. 569 (4, 429), pointed out by S. von Oldenburg.
\(^5\) See BBW. and BW., sub hac voc.
\(^6\) See BBW. and BW., sub hac voc.
\(^7\) See Mahāvīra on Amarakoṣa, p. 246, verse 35 (Bo. Gov. Ed.).
\(^8\) See BBW. and BW., sub hac voc.
\(^9\) This is the case in all the parts of India known to me; compare also Rājendrālāl Mitra, in Gough’s Papers, 15.
\(^10\) Anecdota Oxoniensia, Aryan Series, 1, 3, 66.
\(^11\) Berhāṇ, India, 1, 171 (Sachau).
\(^12\) Compare Harṣacaritä, 95, where the śūramāljanaṃ of a MS. is mentioned.
from Western and Northern India. But in Nepal the covers of particularly valuable MSS. sometimes are made of embossed metal; the MSS. (pustaka) which have been prepared in this manner are usually wrapped up in dyed or even embroidered cloth. Only in the Jaina libraries the palm-leaf MSS. sometimes are kept in small sacks of white cotton cloth, which again are fitted into small boxes of white metal. The collections of MSS., which are catalogued and, occasionally, in monasteries and in royal courts, are placed under librarians, generally are preserved in boxes of wood or cardboard. Only in Kashmir, where in accordance with Muhammadan usage the MSS. are bound in leather, they are put on shelves, like our books.

The ancient Indian name of a library, bhārat Beckham, "treasury of the goddess of speech," occurs frequently in Jaina works; more rarely the modern synonym, sarasvatibhāttagāra, Such Bhārata were and, still are, found in temples,1 colleges (vidyāmātha), monasteries (maṭha, upāsaya, vihāra, saṅghārāma),2 at the courts of princes and in the houses of many private individuals. The Puraṇas declare it to be the sacred duty of the wealthy to make donations of books to temples and so forth.3 Equally, such donations are obligatory on the Jaina and Buddhist laymen, and the Praśasti of the old MSS. prove that the obligation was fulfilled in the most liberal manner. A famous royal library of the middle ages was that of king Bhōja of Dhārā (11th century); on the conquest of Mālva, about A. D. 1140, Siddhārāja- Jayasimha transferred it to Aṅkhilvād;4 there it seems to have been amalgamated with the court library of the Caukukyas, which is repeatedly mentioned in works of the 13th century. The bhārat Beckham of the Caukukya Vīsīladeva or Vīsīvamalla (A. D. 1242—1262) furnished, according to an unpublished Praśasti, the copy of the Naishadhiyā, on which Vidyādara wrote the first commentary of the poem, and the MS. of the Kāmasūtra, according to which Yāsodhara composed his Jayamsiṇī.5 One of the manuscripts of the Rāmāyaṇa in the library of the University of Bonn has been derived from a copy of Vīsīladeva's collection.6

The search for Sanskrit MSS., instituted by the Government of India, has shown that there are still a good many royal libraries in India, and the catalogues of several, such as those of Alwar, Bhāker, Jammu, Mysore, and Tanjore, have been published. The documents, published in connection with the search, have brought to light also a surprisingly large number of private libraries. And various notes in older Sanskrit works make it apparent that considerable private libraries existed in early times. Thus, Bāṣa (about A. D. 620) tells us that he kept a particular reader (pustaka-rācaka), whose manipulation of the MS. of the VŚyupurāṇa he describes in his Harṣacarita.7 Burnell's remarks,8 regarding the bad treatment of the MSS. by the Brahmans, do not hold good for the whole of India, perhaps not even for the whole of Southern India. In Gujarāt, Rājputāna and the Marāṭhā country, as well as in Northern and Central India, I have seen, besides some ill-kept collections, very carefully preserved libraries in the possession of Brahmans and Jaina monks. The treatment of the books usually depends only upon the worldly circumstances of the owner.9

B. — Copper-plates.

The way in which private individuals kept their copper-plate grants, seems to have been very peculiar. In many places, e. g., in the ruins of Valabhi, near the modern VAś, they have been found immersed in the walls or even in the foundations of the houses of the owners. In

1 Compare the remarks on donations of MSS. in inscriptions; e. g., Inscriptions of Cambodge, 38, 31; Hultsch, SII, 1, 154.
2 Compare the remark in a Jaina inscription of A. D. 558 (IA. 7, 67) regarding a donation in order to enable the monks of the Bāndha monastery of Duṇḍā to buy MSS. (pustakapakrege) of the saddharma.
3 Hemāvī, Dīnākhanda, 54 ff.
4 Compare D. Leben des J. M. Hemasaṅdra, D. WA. 182, 231.
5 Kāmasūtra, 331, note 4 (ed. DURGAPRASAD).
6 Werte, die westl. Rec. des Rāmāyaṇa, 17 ff.
7 Nirpayaśāgar edition, 95.
8 Compare RĀJENDRALAL MITRA, in Gough's Papers, 21.
many other cases [94] the grants have turned up in those fields to the donation of which they refer, often hidden in small cachen constructed of bricks.

The finders or poor owners often sell or pledge plates to the Viṣṇus, and this custom explains why they frequently come into the hands of European collectors at great distances from the places of issue. The originals of the grants, according to which the plates were prepared, probably remained in the royal Daftar, the keeper of which, the keśapatālīka, is frequently mentioned.1

C. — The treatment of letters.

The Jātakas already mention the custom of wrapping up important letters in white cloth and sealing the packet.2 At present, official or ceremonial letters often are sent in bags of silk or brocade. In the case of ordinary letters on palm-leaves, the proceeding is simpler; the leaves are folded, their ends are split and joined, and the whole is tied up with a thread.3 It is probable that letters on Bhūrja were treated similarly.4 According to Bānā,5 the postal runner (jirghādhvaga, lekhāvaraka) tied each separately to a strip of cloth and wound this round his head.

§ 39. — Writers, engravers, and stone-masons.

Though the oldest Indian alphabet is a creation of the Brahmanical schoolmen (see above, page 17), and though the instruction in writing has remained even in recent times chiefly in the hands of Brahmans, there are yet indications that professional writers, and perhaps even castes of professional writers, existed already at an early period. The oldest name of these men is lekhaka, used in the canon of the Southern Buddhists and the epics (see above, page 5). In the Sānci inscription, Stūpa I, No. 143,6 it is clearly used to designate the profession of the donor; it may, however, be doubted if it means, as I have translated it, “copyist of MSS.” or “writer, clerk.” In various later inscriptions,7 lekhaka undoubtedly denotes the person who prepared the documents to be incised on copper or stone. But in the present day a lekhak is always a man who copies MSS., and this profession is usually the resource of poor Brahmans, and sometimes of worn-out clerks (Kāyasthas, Kārkūns). Such men were, and are, employed also by the Jainas. But many Jain MSS. have been copied, as their Prāsātis show, by monks or novices, and even by nuns. Similarly, we find, among the copyists of the Baudhā MSS. from Nepūl, Bhikṣus, Vajrāryas and so forth.8

Another name of the professional writers, which was used already in the 4th century B.C., is the word lipikara or libikara, discussed above, page 5. In the Kosā,9 it is given as a synonym of lekhaka, and in the Viśavavatā1 it means “writer” in general. Aśoka uses it in the 14th rock edict as a designation of his clerks. Similarly, Pāṇḍa, who copied the Siddhāpura edicts, calls himself lipikara, and in the Sānci inscription, Stūpa I, No. 49,10 the donor Sabhāhita-Gotipata takes the higher title rujalipikara, “a writer of the king.” In the earlier times, lipikara probably was an equivalent for “clerk.”

In a number of Valabhi inscriptions of the 7th and 8th centuries, the writer of the documents, who is usually “the minister for alliances and war” (sanāṭhīcivraṅghādhikara),

1 Compare Strin’s translation of the Rājatarangini, V, 249, 257, and notes.
2 B. ESI, 89.
3 El. 2, 398, 372.
4 Compare, e. g., the Pallava grant, El. 1, 1 ff. (end); F. G. (CH. 3), No. 18 (end), No. 80 (end), and Fleet’s remarks in the Index under lekhaka.
5 Kashmir Report, 33; RAJENDRA LAL MITRA, in Gough’s Papers, 22; KIELENHORN’s and PETERSON’s Reports on the Search for Sanskrit MSS., passim; and BENDALL’s Catalogue of Sanskrit Buddhist MSS. from Nepūl, passim.
7 Fleet’s edition, 239.
8 B. ESI, 89.
9 B. ESI, 89.
10 El. 2, 162.
receives the title divirapati or divīrapati, and the simple word divīra occurs even earlier in a Central-Indian inscription of A. D. 521-32.\footnote{1}{F. G. O. (OIL 8), 122, line 7.} Divīra or divīra is the Persian déhir, “writer,” which probably became domesticated in Western India during the time of the Sassanians, when [95] the trade and intercourse between Persia and India was greatly developed. Divīra appears also in the Rājatarangīṇi, and in other Kashmirian works of the 11th and 12th centuries. Kṣemendra’s Lokapakāṣa mentions even various sub-divisions, gaṇadīviṣa, “bazaar-writers,” grāma-divīra, “village-writers,” nāga-ra-divīra, “town-writers,” and khaṇḍadīviṣa (?).\footnote{2}{IA. 6, 10.}

The two works just mentioned, as well as other contemporaneous ones, designate the writers also by the term kāyastha, which first occurs in the Yajñavalkya-Sūtrī, 1, 335, and even at present is common in Northern and Eastern India. The Kāyasthas, however, form a strictly separate caste, which, though according to the Brahmanical account it is mixed with Śūdra blood, yet claims a high rank,\footnote{3}{IA. 6, 10.} and in reality frequently has possessed a great political influence. In the inscriptions, the Kāyasthas occur since the 8th century, first in the Kaśyapa inscription of A. D. 788-39 from Rājputāna.\footnote{4}{IA. 6, 10.}

Other designations of the writers in the inscriptions are karoṇa,\footnote{5}{IA. 6, 10.} karaṇīka\footnote{6}{IA. 6, 10.} or more rarely karaṇī,\footnote{7}{IA. 6, 10.} śāsana\footnote{8}{IA. 6, 10.} and dharma-lekhika.\footnote{9}{IA. 6, 10.} Karaṇa is perhaps only a synonym of kāyastha,\footnote{10}{IA. 6, 10.} as the law-books mention the Kāracas as one of the mixed castes. The other terms, among which karaṇīka has to be rendered, according to KELHORN, by “writer of legal documents (karaṇa),” appear to be merely official titles without any reference to caste. The development of the Indian alphabets, and the invention of new forms of the letters, no doubt is due partly to the Brahmins and the Jains and Baudhāya monks, but much more to the professional writers and to the writer castes. The opinion, according to which the modifications have been introduced by the stone-masons and the engravers of the copper-plates, is less probable, because these persons were not suited for such work by their education and their occupation.\footnote{11}{IA. 6, 10.}

As the remarks at the end of many inscriptions show, it was customary to make over a Prāśāti or Kārya, which was to be incised on stone, to a professional writer, who prepared a fair copy, and to set the mason (sūtrādhāra, śīlākūta, viṇakūra, śīlōu) to work according to the latter.\footnote{12}{IA. 6, 10.} This custom was observed also in a case which fell under my personal observation. The mason received a sheet with the fair copy of the document (the Prāśāti of a temple) exactly of the size of a stone on which it was to be incised. He first drew the letters on the stone under the supervision of a Pandit, and then incised them. In some exceptional cases, the authors of the poems assert that they have done the work of the masons,\footnote{13}{IA. 6, 10.} and in others the masons say that they have made the fair copies of the inscriptions.\footnote{14}{IA. 6, 10.}

The statements regarding the preparation of the copper-plate Śāsanas are less accurate and explicit. Usually, the inscriptions mention only the person who drew up or wrote the document. And they mostly name as such either a high official (amātya, śāṃkhīvigrasāhika, ...
vahāsīka) or a general (svāpāti, balādāhāria). Occasionally, they assert that the drafting was done by a stone-mason, a svāradhāra or watsi, who, however, in reality merely engraved the grant. According to Kalhaṇa, the Kashmirian kings kept a special official for this work; he bore the title pawapādhyāya, "the teacher (charged with the preparation) of title-deeds," and belonged to the aksapātaka office, which Stein believes to be the Accountant-General's Office, while I take it to be the Record Office or Court of Rolls (Dafdar).

The Śāśānas name only rarely, and in late times, the person by whom the plates were engraved (ūtikṣa, usamālītia). The engravers mentioned are various artisans, a pītalahāra, lobahāra or apyabha, i.e., the Kasaś or coppersmith of the present day, a svāradhāra, stone-mason, a hemahāra or sunara (probably equivalent to snāra), "goldsmith," a śilpa or viṣṇānīka, "an artisan." In the Kaliṅga Śāśānas, we find in their stead an aksapātaka, aksāśāta, or āksamāla, whereby a member of the goldsmith caste, now called Aksāle, is meant.

Finally, the existence of manuals for clerks and writers must be mentioned. We still possess several works of this kind, among which the Lekhaśāśāti gives the rules for drafting not only private letters, but also land-grants and the treaties between kings, while a section of Kṛṣṇendra-Vyāsadbha's Loksahākṣakā shows how the various kinds of bonds, bills of exchange (huṣṭi) and so forth ought to be done.

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

[96] Dr. W. Cartellieri, whose name appears at the bottom of the Plates, is responsible for the drawing and tracing of the letters for which no cuttings from facsimiles were available, as well as for the arrangement and the retouch of the cuttings, except in the case of plates VII—IX, which were finished by a young lithographer, Mr. Böhm. I have also to acknowledge Dr. Cartellieri's assistance in the selection of the signs, which in a few cases he has made independently, and in others has been influenced by a revision of my proposals; and I have to thank him for various ingenious remarks on the Indian alphabets, as well as for a collection of the variants in the Aksā edicts.

If I have been able to illustrate most of the Indian alphabets by cuttings from facsimiles, instead of by hand-drawn signs, I owe this chiefly to my friend Dr. J. Burgess, who during many years has kindly furnished me with separate copies of his excellent reproductions of Indian inscriptions. Some other donors of facsimiles or photographs, Dr. E. Holtzschu, Professor E. Lehmann, and Dr. S. von Oldenburg, have already been mentioned in the notes.

1 IA. 19, 248; J.BBRA. 13, 4.
2 EB. 5, 125, 126, where it is said that the śrivaśa Viraṇāśīya wrote the grants of Asvastārya and Vedahāra, as well as that of Sudhaṃśāva dated A. D. 1596.
3 Rājataśāṣṭi, V. 397 f. (Stein).
4 EB. 3, 316; IA. 16, 17.
5 IA. 15, 220.
6 IA. 16, 263; the lobahāra Kikko is likewise called viśñānīka, i.e. viṣṇānīka, IA. 17, 219.
7 IA. 18, 133; 18, 143; EB. 5, 19, 213, and the correction of the translation (p. 21) at the end of the volume.
8 Raina, Imperial Census Report, 2, 8, where the Aksās of Mādara are mentioned. They are found, however, also in the Kanarai districts of the Bombay Presidency.