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THE
INDIAN ANTIQUARY,

A JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH

IN

ARCHAEOLOGY, HISTORY, LITERATURE, LANGUAGES, PHILOSOPHY, RELIGION, FOLKLORE,
&c., &c., &c.

EDITED BY

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METRICAL TRANSLATION OF THE VAIRĀGYA ŚATAKAM,
OR HUNDRED STANZAS ON ASCETICISM, BY BHARTRIHARI.

BY PROF. C. H. TAWNEY, M.A., CALCUTTA.

THE stanzas of Bhartṛihari on *Vairāgya* (*Le Renoncement*, as the word is translated by M. Regnaud) strike a note familiar to all students of Sanskrit literature. The *Moha Mudgara* and other poems (many of which are referred to in the commentary of Mr. K. T. Telang) treat in much the same style the same topic of the vanity of all earthly enjoyments, and the duty of retiring into a forest and meditating on the Supreme Soul, or some favourite individualization of that all-pervading divinity. But it is perhaps scarcely an over-refinement to detect in these stanzas something more than this. It is hardly possible to read them without being struck by the reflection that the traditional account of Bhartṛihari explains the fact that so many of his bitterest taunts are directed against kings and their courtiers. Even if we had no tradition of the kind, we should be inclined to invent one for ourselves, and it is quite possible that the one we possess has been so invented. All we contend for is that many of these stanzas were written by one who, if not a king himself, had been brought into intimate relation with kings, and thoroughly understood the tricks of the trade. The account which is given in the *Vetālapanchavinsati* is—that Bhartṛihari had a fruit presented to him which conferred immortality. This he bestowed on his favourite wife, who gave it to her paramour, the head of the city

police, and thus it eventually returned into the king's hands, who in a fit of disgust quitted his throne and retired into the forest. This story, whether true or not, is entirely in harmony with the spirit of the stanzas on asceticism, of which we are now attempting a metrical rendering. There is nothing to our notions very meritorious in a king who had felt the "sad satiety" of pleasure, and was as weary of the joys as of the cares of empire, exchanging them for grass and the fruits of the jungle. But similar retirements have taken place in European history, though perhaps of a less sincere character.

The *Vairāgya* of the Hindu ascetic differed little from that of the Greek cynic. Mr. Lewis tells us that "Diogenes ate little, and what he ate was of the coarsest. He tried to live upon raw meat and unboiled vegetables, but failed. His dress consisted solely of a cloak. When he asked Antisthenes for a shirt, he was told to fold his cloak in two; he did so. A wallet and a large stick completed his accoutrements. Seeing a little boy drinking water out of his scooped hand, he threw away his cup, declaring it superfluous. He slept under the marble porticoes or in his celebrated tub. Decency of any kind he studiously outraged." We shall find many expressions in the following stanzas strangely in harmony with this description of the habits of the dog-philosophers, and may perhaps be re-

mind of Socrates' remark to Antisthenes, "I see your vanity peering through the holes in your cloak." Even those who take no interest in the ideas of Greek moralists may find something familiar in these stanzas of *Bhartṛihari*. It would perhaps be going too far to accuse the author of *Welt-schmerz*, but he certainly has something in common with European poets and philosophers of the present day.

Eternal, Holy Spirit, free from bonds of space
and time,
Whose essence is self-knowledge, thee I call to
bless my rhyme.

Against the desire of worldly things.

Envy possesses those that know,
Great men are drunk with pride,
The vulgar no discernment show;
Who shall for bards provide?

I tremble at my merit gained in this revolving
world,
Bitter shall be its aftertaste, when back to life
I'm hurled,
Those carnal pleasures won by long-continued
acts of right,
Lay heavy burdens on the soul and check its
upward flight.*
I've boldly crossed the stormy brine, I've
striven kings to please,
In grave-yards plied my midnight spells, nor
cured that fell disease,
Earth's bowels have I searched for wealth, and
melted stones with fire,
Thou see'st, no dole rewards my pains, then
leave me now, Desire!
I've wandered over many lands, and reaped
withal no fruit,
I've laid my pride of rank aside, and pressed
my baffled suit,
At stranger boards, like shameless† crow, I've
eaten bitter‡ bread,
But fierce Desire, that raging fire, still clamours
to be fed.

* It must be remembered that according to the Vedantic system the acquisition of Heaven or Svarga itself is nothing comparable to *moksha*.—K. T. Telang.

† Cf. Homer, *Odyssey* VII. 216 :—
οὐ γὰρ τι στυγίῃ ἐπὶ γάστρεϊ κύντερον ἄλλο.

‡ Cf. Dante, *Paradiso*, canto XVII :—
*Tu proverai sì come sa di sale
Lo pane altrui, e com' è duro calle
Lo scendere, e'l salir per l'altrui scale.*

Much have I borne rich hosts to please
Who love to taunt their guests,
I've laughed with spirit ill at ease,
And praised their vapid jests;
I've mastered wrath with strong control,
And bent the supple knee;
Then, hopeless hope, why rack the soul,
Proof against all but thee?

Morn after morn dispels the dark,
Bearing our lives away;
Absorbed in cares we fail to mark
How swift our years decay;
Some maddening draught hath drugged our souls,
In love with vital breath,
Which still the same sad chart unrolls,
Birth, eld, disease, and death.

What man of sense e'er craves the means of life,
To feed himself alone? His ragged wife,
With starving children clinging to her side,
And wistful looks, o'ercomes his selfish pride;
Sooner than see his babes with hunger pine,
He rushes forth prepared to fawn and whine.

The joys of life have ceased to please,
Honour and fame are fled,
The dear-loved friends of early youth
Are numbered with the dead,
Propped on a staff I limp along,
Dim mists obscure my sight,
But this frail flesh still dreads the doom
Of everlasting night!§

God satisfies the snake with air,
Grass to the cows is food and bed,
Man's nobler soul is clogged with care,
Struggling to gain his daily bread.

I've never sought release from births by honour-
ing Śiva's feet,
Nor oped by merit huge the gate of Indra's
heavenly seat,
Nor wandered with my youthful feres in Plea-
sure's giddy maze,
Then vain my mother's cares and woes, and
profitless my days.

§ Cf. the verses of Mæcenas :—

*Debilem facito manu,
Debilem pede, coxa;
Tuber adstrue gibberum
Lubricos quate dentes,
Vita dum superest, bene est.
Hanc mihi, vel acuta
Si sedeam cruce, sustine.*

Seneca, *Ep.* 101.

I have not wasted life, but life hath wasted me,
 I have not chosen pain, but pain hath been my
 lot,
 Some men make Time their fool, but here
 Time's fool you see,
 I've long been dead to joy, but passion dieth
 not.

Insults I've borne, but not with patient mind,
 Pleasures forborne, to which my heart inclined;
 Put up with hunger, nakedness, and cold,
 Not for the love of God, but love of gold;
 Thought much on wealth, but not on Śiva's feet,
 And broke my slumbers not to pray, but cheat;
 I've lived a hermit's life without his creed,
 Made earth a hell, but gained no heavenly meed.

Wrinkles deform my face,
 And hoary hairs my head,
 Withered my youthful grace,
 But avarice blooms instead.

The joys of sense will vanish soon, what do we
 gain thereby?
 Those only store up merit who in all themselves
 deny;
 When pleasures flee, they leave behind a never-
 ending smart,
 But he who hurls them from him fills with hea-
 venly peace his heart.

As knowledge grows, content expands, and fell
 desire abates;
 But worldly joys, if long embraced, a baneful
 influence gain;
 Thus Indra, like a mortal king, hopes, trembles,
 loves, and hates,
 From having held through endless years an
 undisputed reign.

Of worldly enjoyments.

I'm forced to beg my loathsome daily mess,
 My couch the earth, myself my only guard,
 Of filthy patched unseemly clouts my dress,
 And yet these worldly longings press me hard.

Against the love of beauty.

The moth unwitting rushes on the fire,
 Through ignorance the fish devours the bait,
 We men know well the foes that lie in wait,
 Yet cannot shun the meshes of desire.

Of evil men and oppressors.

My drink is of the crystal brook, of fruits my
 banquet's spread,
 My frame is swathed in strips of bark, the
 earth's my sumptuous bed,
 Thus happier far, than forced to bear the
 upstart insolence
 Of those the new strong wine of wealth hath
 robbed of every sense.

Of vain-glory.

By mighty sages' will this world first saw its
 natal day,
 Others have conquered it, and thrown with
 scorn its wealth away,
 Others rule fourteen higher worlds all happier
 than ours,
 Why then should lords of some few towns thus
 vaunt their petty powers?

Of indifference to worldly things.

Thou art a king, I grant, but we are famed for
 boundless lore,
 Thy wealth's renowned, our skill by bards pro-
 claimed on every shore,
 Between us no vast gulf is set: what though
 thou scorn our name,
 Yet we, to all indifferent, heed not thy praise
 or blame.

This world still groans 'neath many hundred
 kings
 All emulous to snatch their neighbour's share,
 Each paltry gain some fresh enjoyment brings
 To fools whose greed should fill them with
 despair.

This earth is but a lump of clay girt with a
 briny ditch,
 Where hosts of squabbling kings contend, all
 striving to be rich,
 One cannot blame these grovelling slaves for
 clinging to their store,
 But out on those who stoop to beg at any
 royal door!

The misery of a courtier's life.

What can I do in princely courts,
 Unskilled in vice, and idle sports,
 Nor singer, actor, rogue, nor clown,
 Nor bent on pulling others down?||

Of old time learning courted saintly bliss,
 Then stooped to be the slave of base desire,
 But now that kings 'gainst intellect conspire
 Each day she plunges deeper in th' abyss.

|| Cf. Burke, vol. II. p. 106, l. 33 (Bohn's ed.): "Kings are naturally lovers of low company," &c.

NOTES ON SOME PARTS OF THE AHMADNAGAR COLLECTORATE.

BY W. F. SINCLAIR, Bc. C.S.

Kopargâm lies sixty miles north of Ahmadnagar on the Malegâm road, on the north bank of the Gaṅgâ or Godâvarî river, and, though itself a small place, of no particular importance except as the head-quarters of a talukâ, it possesses some historic and legendary interest, and has in its neighbourhood some valuable remains.

Kopargâm itself was the favourite residence of the famous Raghunâth Rao Bhat, commonly called Raghobâ Dâdâ, the brother of the Peshwâ Bâlâji Bâji Rao, and father of the last of the dynasty, Bâji Rao II. The Mâmlatdâr's *kacheri* is now established in a palace built by or for him, which is, however, remarkable for nothing but a very pretty carved wooden ceiling in one of three rooms reserved for the accommodation of district officers on tour. The building itself, like most Marâthâ palaces, is constructed of the worst possible stone and brickwork, concealed by showy carpentry and cut-stone facings, and will probably have to be abandoned next year, when I hope the decoration referred to above will be preserved from the wreck, as one of the few samples of really good decorative art which remain to us from a period and dynasty of generally unmitigated barbarism.

Opposite this, in a grove of trees in an island of the Gaṅgâ, was formerly another palace, which has been pulled down and sold, as has also a third at Hingani, three miles off, and need not be lamented. But at this last-named place still stands the tomb, or rather cenotaph, of Raghobâ himself, which is worthy of some remark. In an elbow of the Gaṅgâ, and surrounded on three sides by its bed, here dangerous and rocky, stands a fortified enclosure of cut stone, 65 paces long by 58 wide. I had no way of measuring the height of the walls, but they must be at least sixty feet high. There is only one gate; but the side towards the river is quite open, and it appears to me, from the way in which the corner towers are finished, that it was never intended to build it,—at any rate to the height of the other sides. In the centre is the cenotaph or *thadki*, a very small and rude erection of timber and brickwork

upon a coarse stone plinth, with no inscription or ornament whatever,—unless a small marble *liṅga* may be so called. Yet the surroundings—the black massive walls of the *vâdâ*, and the boiling current of the sacred river—make it no unfit place for the ashes of a man who, with all his follies and crimes, was certainly the first soldier (though not the greatest general) of his time and nation, and is still remembered as having “watered the Dekhani horses in the Attak.”

Near the site of the old palace in the island stands the temple of Kacheśvara,—a set of buildings of little beauty and no antiquity, but extremely sacred, and possessing a *Mâhâtmya* or chronicle of their own, which might yield some information to a scholar able to read it. The following legend is said to be contained in it, but it was told to me by word of mouth:—

“In former days the Gaṅgharî (plain of the Gaṅgâ) was inhabited, like the rest of the Dekhan, by Daityas, whose great *gurû*, Śukra Achârya, resided in this island. The gods were not able to deal with them, and consulted Brihaspati, who undertook their conversion, and despatched his son, named Kach, on the pious errand. Kach went to Śukra Achârya* and enrolled himself as his *chêlâ* or disciple. Now Śukra Achârya had ‘one fair daughter,’ who was much taken with the good looks and good manners of the new comer. But the Daitya disciples were jealous of him, and suspected that he meant no good; so one day they slew him in the jungle, and came home and reported him missing. The lady, however, with her wits sharpened by love, was not long in conjecturing the truth; and she went to her father and induced him to repeat for the benefit of Kach a *mantra* which should restore him, if dead, to life again; and shortly after the dead man walked in and proceeded to prepare his supper. Three times the Daityas made away with Kach, in one way or another; but still the lady coaxed the words of power out of her fond parent, and still the objectionable intruder ‘came to time.’ Then they devised cunningly together, and having knocked Kach on the head yet once more, they burnt him to

* In the story of Wâman (*Ind. Ant.* vol. IV. p. 243) Śukar or Śukra Achârya appears as the chief priest of king Ball.

ashes, which they mixed with Śukra Āchārya's evening draught, and then told him what he had swallowed. The gurū's daughter, missing the object of her affections, returned to the charge with entreaties for his restoration to life. 'But,' said Śukra Āchārya, 'the man is in my belly; and if he comes to life there he'll certainly burst me, and you'll lose me in recovering him.' She, however, answered that she 'was bound to have both,' and required her father to teach her the necessary spell, by means of which, she said, she would revive him in his turn, if the resurrection of Kach should lead to such unpleasant consequences. The Āchārya said 'it was absurd; no woman could be admitted to the knowledge of such mysteries.' However, she gave him no peace till he consented. But as he was teaching her the mantra a new complication occurred: for Kach—who appears to have retained his presence of mind through the processes of slaughter, combustion, and deglutition—overheard the lesson from his place of confinement in the gurū's belly, and forthwith availed himself of the knowledge by repeating it himself. At once he emerged safe and sound from the interior of the Āchārya, who, however, as he had predicted, did not survive the operation. His daughter promptly made use of her newly acquired knowledge to restore him to life, and then proceeded to offer her hand to Kach. But he, being more scrupulous than grateful, replied that, inasmuch as he owed life to her, she was his mother; and further, being the daughter of his gurū, she was his spiritual sister; and under either view of their relationship the match was impossible. The lady rejoined, and words rose so high between them that Kach cursed her, and declared that for her unmaidenly forwardness, and for presuming to learn things forbidden to woman, she should never have a Brāhman husband at all, but must take up with some one of inferior race. Śukra Āchārya was converted to orthodoxy by his words (one doesn't quite see why), and he and all the Daityas became good Hindus. To this day he and Kach sit side by side in stone upon the island, and are the objects of much piety, and enjoy a good fat *devasthān indām*.† I asked what became of

the daughter of the Daitya, but my informant did not know, "only there is a great stone that represents her."

It was at Kōpargām that Bālāji Lakshman Sarsubedār and Manohargir Gosavi† inveigled 7000 Bhills into their power in the year 1804, and threw them, it is said, into wells,—which last detail I doubt, not finding, myself, enough wells about the place for a tenth part of the number; but there is a fine deep pool of the river convenient for the purpose. The place was occupied by Madras troops in 1818 and following years, and a few European tombs then erected remain near the ford.

About four miles down the river, at Kōkam-thān, there is a temple of Mahādeva which must be very old, and is remarkable for the beauty of its internal carved stone-work, especially of a pendant in the central dome, representing a sort of large flower, or rather bunch of flowers, suspended by its stone stalk from the keystone of which it forms a part. The external decorations, though worn by weather and defaced with the plaster dear to churchwardens in all climates, are worth remarking: the principal pattern is one of wreathed snakes, which develop in some places into a foliage pattern; the transition is easily seen by looking at a sufficient number of examples. The combination of vegetable and animal forms in decoration is common enough in Indian art. There are many examples of it in the Ajantā ceilings, and the *makara*, or monstrous head ending in foliage, is a favourite at Ambarnāth and elsewhere, and to this day popular in both houses and temples, in stone and wood; but I never saw this snake-plant pattern before.

The temple is of the form common in ancient Śaiva buildings in the Chālukya and derived styles,—a shrine and maṇḍap, each upon a plan originally square, but with so many projections added to each side that the figure eventually becomes a lozenge with porches at three corners of the maṇḍap, and the door of communication with the shrine at the fourth. In this temple the eastern side door is replaced by a sort of transept of quite different work from that of the rest of the building, being covered with square panels of stone carved in geometrical and other fanciful

† Grant of land for the service of a temple.

‡ Misspell 'Manohargir' in *Ind. Ant.* vol. III. p. 189. See also Grant Duff's *Hist. of the Marāṭhas*, vol. III. p. 240,

and Mr. Loch's *Account of Ahmadnagar, Nāsik, and Khāndesh*, p. 10.

patterns, very like the stone lattice-work of the windows in many modern temples. This transept is the shrine of a village goddess, who has, the villagers say, no name (which is probably untrue), and is powerful to cure the itch,—not an uncommon disease among her votaries. Their gestures in describing her virtues were equally appropriate and amusing.

There are several other temples in this village, apparently of great age, but of no beauty; one of Mahādeva formerly stood upon a mound west of the village, which may possibly be a barrow, but I had no time to open it. There are still lying there a large *liṅga* and a *Nandi*, or bull, which the villagers neglect, "because," they say, "the divinity is gone out of them." This village has a much cherished custom, which is that upon the *Akshatritya*, or third day of the waxing half of the month *Vaiśākh*, which fell in 1875 on the 8th of April, the little boys go out and engage the youngsters of the village of *Saṁvatsar*, across the *Gaṅgā*, with slings and stones. If this be not observed, rain will not fall, they say, in the ensuing season; or if it does, it will fall under such a *nakshatra* as to engender multitudes of field rats, who eat up the crop, and this is called 'rats' rain' (*undirāñchī pāñī*). If, however, the stone fight be waged with due spirit, it is followed by plentiful '*mānjaryāñchī pāñī*,' i.e. rain falling at an astronomical conjuncture favourable to the development of *cats*, and a plentiful crop is safely harvested. Some busybody wrote and assailed this ancient and laudable practice in the native papers, and caused a reference from a paternal government, and much anxiety on the part of fussy policemen; but this year, at any rate, I have been able to secure the due observance of the *Akshatritya* from officious or official disturbance.

About six miles up the *Gaṅgā* from *Kopargām*, at *Kumbhāri*, there is another ancient and curious temple of Mahādeva. The spire is gone, and the exterior, unlike that of the *Kokamthān* temple, is plain and massive; except at the porches the only external ornaments are niches for statues, which last have disappeared so long ago that the villagers deny that they ever existed. The stone, however, at the backs of the niches shows where they were plain enough. The spire also is utterly gone, but the interior is

as rich as that of the *Kokamthān* temple, and evidently of the same school. One rather curious ornament characteristic of both is a concave quarter-sphere crossed by two intersecting ribs. The wreathed snake-plant also appears on the west porch. Other ornaments are the sun and a very long and narrow lozenge or lance-head. This last has been copied upon the gateway of the funereal *vāddā* at *Hingānī*, where there is a little sculpture unusually good for so modern a work,—in the *Dekhan* at least. In this temple, as at *Kokamthān*, a transept takes the place of the last porch. Here, however, it is uniform with the rest of the building, and evidently part of the original design. It is occupied by *Lakshmi Devī*. A *morī*, or pipe, in the east wall of the shrine, is said to be for the purpose of admitting the earliest rays of dawn to light up the *liṅga*. It looks more like a drain, but is at a higher level than the top of the *liṅga*, and was perhaps made for the purpose of bathing it with water, or, as has sometimes been done, with milk or other fluids.

There are a few remains of two other temples of the same class at *Malegām* and *Mahēgām*, a couple of miles higher up the river, but in not one of them is there a single inscription, nor could I pick up any legend which might throw some light on the history of these buildings. The villagers have '*Hemād Pant*' at their tongues' end, of course. One gets rather tired of the name of him in Western India. However, at *Kokamthān* the *kulkarnī* (village accountant) actually knew who the historical *Hemād Pant* was; and it is just possible that where so much of the truth had lingered, there may be some in the belief that he had some connection with the school of architecture which evidently once flourished in the plains of the *Gaṅgā*.

At *Ranjaṅgām* *Deshmukhāche*, about ten miles south-west of *Kopargām*, on the road to *Saṅgamer*, is an ancient *bārao*, or reservoir, which I conceive to be one alluded to by Drs. Gibson and Wilson in the *Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. III. pt. ii. p. 87, under the head of structural Buddhist remains coeval with the caves. There is nothing Buddhist about this, however, and no reason to suppose it coeval with any Buddhist cave.

The plan and structure are the same as those of modern works of the same sort, abundant in the district; and the only ornament consists

in a series of little niches about two feet high, which doubtless once held images. § As I have above referred to the supposition of Drs. Wilson and Gibson that this and some other structural buildings may be Buddhist and coeval with caves, I may observe once for all that in several years' wanderings in the Western Dekhan and Konkan I have found only three relics which I would even conjecture to be of that character. The first is the Dickinson Stone, now in the possession of Government at Junnar, in the Punā district. || It has evidently formed part of the frieze of a large building, and has on one side five squatting figures in low relief,—representing, apparently, ascetics in the attitude of contemplation. What is curious about it is that the artist appears to have had some idea of caricature. The second is a stone in the ruins of a small temple just at the head of the Nānā Ghāt, about fifty yards from the Dharmśālā cave, ¶ which bears a suggestive resemblance to a *dahgoba*. The third is an old temple of Saṅgameśvara Mahādeva near Pārner, in the district of Ahmadnagar, in the external decoration of which occurs something like a *dahgoba*. * The temples of Añkolē and Harichandrāgaḥ, which I have presently to describe, are both mentioned by Dr. Gibson in the paper referred to as belonging to this class of remains, and Dr. Wilson (who never saw them, I fancy) appears to endorse his opinion. What I have said above will save me from the necessity of frequent quotation.

Saṅgamer is a pretty and thriving town of 7,000 souls, upon the Prāvara river, (called by Grant Duff the Paira), an affluent of the Gaṅgā. It is not remarkable for anything except the beauty of the wood-carving on some of the houses. There is a small but pretty domed tomb over a Muhammadan saint, who has some hazy connection with the emperor Ālamgir. I procured indifferent copies of some inscriptions on it. † Near the Assistant Collector's bungalow are some of the finest

tamarind trees in the Dekhan, and an old Muhammadan cemetery, one of the headstones in which is a pillar apparently taken from the door of some Hindu temple of the class of those already described. No other remains of this temple exist, but there are plenty of modern ones; and a Muhammadan shrine in a queer place,—the *hammam-khāna*, or hot-bath room, of the old town fort. At some period,—probably under the Marāṭhās, whose constant immersion in metaphorical hot water is consistent with a great contempt for the use of that fluid in the concrete,—a *fakīr* turned this bathroom from a temple of cleanliness to one of godliness,—qualities which, however closely connected in our proverbial philosophy, are highly antipathetic in Saṅgamer. His memory is still kept up there by a green flag, and an ever-burning light, which is attended to by the *kacheri* peons as *ex-officio* ministrants, and allowed for out of the petty supply fund of the Māmlēdār's office. ‡

A few years ago Saṅgamer was honoured by the presence of a curious person,—a sainted Māmlēdār. Indian readers, accustomed to look upon our native officials as very useful and industrious, but seldom particularly pious, will probably be surprised to hear that such a post was occupied by a man who might easily, had he chosen, have become the leader of a numerous sect, and occupied a place in religious history like that of Kabīr Pant or Svāmi Nārāyaṇa. This gentleman (he is still alive, though retired from the service) early distinguished himself by a great respect for human and animal suffering. Like the bishop of Blois—

“A pitiful man was he:—

He wept and he pined for the woes of mankind,
And of beasts in their degree;

He would rescue a rat from the claws of the cat,
And set the poor captive free;

Though his cassock was swarming with various
vermin,

He'd not take the life of a flea.”

pt. ii. p. 64.

* I shall have occasion to describe it more particularly in a later part of these notes.

† Published in *Ind. Ant.* vol. IV. p. 349.

‡ For the benefit of readers in Europe I should explain that a Māmlēdār (properly Māmlatdār) is the native official in charge of a *tālukā* or sub-division of a district. He has considerable power as head of the local revenue administration, and is generally a magistrate of the second class,—i.e. can inflict fine, whipping, and imprisonment up to the limit of six months.

§ If the reader will turn to No. XV. of the *Amparnāth* plates in vol. III. of the *Antiquary*, he will find a drawing of a similar niche containing a shattered figure of Gaṇapati, the ornamentation of which is identical with that at Rañjāgaḥ.

|| Mentioned by me in *Ind. Ant.* vol. II. p. 43, and by Mr. Burgess at p. 11 of his *Memorandum on Junnar*, addressed to the Government of Bombay on the 21st of November 1874.

¶ The cave is full of Pāli inscriptions—vide *Ind. Ant.* vol. II. pp. 11, 12, and *Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. III.

I well remember the tragic indignation of a police officer who had bestowed much pains upon the education of a sucking pig, when he heard that the 'deva,' as he was commonly called, had met the animal on the road, travelling to the common bourne of pigs upon a Mahār's head, and had actually bribed the cooly to release the intended victim. It required all the intercession of the much-amused District Magistrate, who thought the 'deva's' influence worth retaining in the service of Government, to prevent the victimized owner of the pig from bringing the holy man to martyrdom in a criminal court. All Mahārāshtra believes firmly that a deficiency in my friend's treasury, caused by his drawing on it for charitable purposes, was miraculously made up just before the arrival of an unsympathizing Collector to examine the balances; and when I lay upon the Panā passes, in 1874, the answer of almost every traveller who passed up and was examined as to his business and destination was that he was going to fall at the feet of the 'deva' at Saṅgamner. Many of these pilgrims came from great distances, and by the most toilsome paths.

The old gentleman's visits to Panā or any other large town were always the signal for the assemblage of a crowd of votaries, and for a general petition in all the offices for a day's leave to go and worship him; and once a railway accident was attributed to the crowd pressing to the carriage in which he was making a journey. He was, to do him justice, very modest and unassuming himself, and served out his time for pension without ever incurring serious censure. One remarkable point about the matter was the utter indifference with which the Hill Kolis treated his divinity. They are nominally Hindus, and do occasionally visit the well-known *tirthas*, but of the hundreds of pilgrims that I have seen passing through their hills to visit the 'deva' not one was a Koli. The bear and tiger are still their favourite *living* divinities.

A few miles south of Saṅgamner the Panā road ascends to a lofty plateau by a difficult pass, called Hanmant Nayak's Bari. Near the top, upon the ridge of a natural trap-dyke, is a stone pillar raised to commemorate the death of the eponymous Hanmant Nayak himself, whose story, as told to me on the spot, was as follows:—

"Hanmant Nayak was chief of all the Bhills in these parts, and made war upon the Moghuls. They came fighting and fighting from Panā (about seventy miles), and the Bhills lay in the *nallā*, and Hanmant Nayak bent his bow to shoot. Then a *sawār* shot at him with a matchlock from this place, and hit him right in the breast-bone and slew him, but as he fell he loosed his shaft and killed that *sawār*. And after the battle the Bhills brought him up here and buried him, and set up this stone. And all the Bhills love to be buried here. And once a year they come and slay cocks, and get exceedingly drunk. And, further, if any man have a broken arm or leg, he makes him the likeness of it of *bel* wood (*Orateva religiosa*) and offers it with a cock to Hanmant Nayak, and recovers of his injury." The tomb is covered with little wooden legs and arms, and close by are two or three other tombs of the same sort, square platforms surmounted by little obelisks, and others more modest. The distance from the tomb to the ambush in the *nallā* is about 150 yards,—a good range for either bow or matchlock, if the story be true. A more educated authority told me that the action was fought in the time of Bālaji Bāji Rao Peshwā, and against his troops, not the Moghuls. The practice of offering up these wooden limbs is not peculiar to this place. I saw them on a tomb near Tākli Dhokeśvara, in the Pārner Tāluka, a few days afterwards.

From Pārner to Aṅkolē is fourteen miles. On the road, at Thūgām, are a few remains of another 'Hemād Pantī' temple. Indeed they seem to have been common all along the Caṅgā and its affluents; much less so, however, in the country whose waters flow into the Bhimā. Here, however, the Muhammadan occupation appears to have been more complete and systematic, and perhaps they destroyed what existed on their arrival. At Aṅkolē itself there is a very fine one. It is said to have been discovered about a hundred years ago by the plough of a Kunbi striking the *kalas*, or finial of the spire, which in this instance means the uppermost part of the remaining building, for spire and *kalas* have long been gone,—swept away probably by the same flood which buried the remainder of the building in the deep alluvium beside the Prāvara, which

still conceals probably a third of the exterior. The upper part of the central dome appears also to have suffered, and to have been rebuilt at a time when the restorers were unable to emulate the skill of the original decorators, but probably previous to the re-discovery mentioned above, as they used no mortar, though modern piety has 'pointed' their work with chunam, and covered the ruins of the spire with a coat of plaster, surmounted by three absurd little gilt pinnacles, which make the whole oddly resemble a huge wedding-cake. § The plan is in some respects peculiar; we find the normal maṇḍap and shrine, set like two broken squares touching at angles, but it has a porch and door behind the liṅga-shrine,—a thing I never saw anywhere else,||—and the two side porches of the maṇḍap appear never to have been used as entrances, nor even as shrines. They are supported on short pillars, and must have been partly open to the light, but are surrounded by a continuous parapet, which seems to have been surmounted by a dwarf wooden or stone railing about fifteen inches high, judging from the mortice holes in the stone-work, and the peculiar bases of the pillars which rest upon the parapet, and are quarter-shares of a truncated pyramid inverted, with only the outer sides ornamented. Unfortunately, the front porch has been restored, by some pious blockhead, in the Saracenic style of a handsome modern temple in the village, so that it is not available for purposes of comparison. More than that, the Vandal threw away the ruins of the old porch, on one of which was a long Sanskrit inscription, observed, but not copied, by Dr. Gibson twenty-five years ago. After long search I found that the fragment on which it was had been turned face up under a *nimb*-tree, and used as a seat by the idlers of the village, who had with their barbarous hinder parts obliterated the inscription (never very deep or clear cut) beyond all hope of transcription or estampage, though it is possible that a competent Sanskrit scholar, with time and the stone itself before him, might decipher a few words. I believe Bhāu Dāji got a rubbing when it was in not quite so bad a state, and perhaps this has been read; if not, what might have furnished a key to the history

§ A relief on a small ancient grave-stone south of the temple seems to represent a Dravidian roof,—perhaps copied from this or some neighbouring building.

|| Possibly this was originally the shrine, and that now

of the now dumb ruins of this class in Ahmadnagar has probably been irrecoverably lost, for the stone is much too heavy to move, and scholars are as plenty in Añk olé as lawyers are said to be in heaven. Those of the town professed to be much puzzled over an inscription on the threshold of the shrine, which a little scrubbing revealed as modern Marāṭhi, and bad at that,—recording the name of a *kulkarni* who engraved it there in the hope of acquiring *post mortem* spiritual benefit from the feet of the worshippers, who must step or kneel upon it to adore the liṅga.

The carving of the temple resembles to a certain extent that of the Kokamthān and Kumbhārī temples, but is enlivened much more than either with small standing figures of various Hindu divinities. The *hansa*, or sacred goose, appears both on the rear porch and on the central pillars. Almost all the figures appear to have been wilfully defaced. The best parts are the four great architraves forming the first course of the central dome of the maṇḍap. Two of these are adorned with battle-pieces; the third with a representation of Vishṇu lying upon the folds of the great serpent. Right and left of him the "naked Nāga folk"—quaint figures, half-human half-snake¶—squat upon their curled tails, and outside of them common mortals. Opposite this is a spirited representation of the churning of the ocean by the gods and demons to obtain the *Amṛita*. The great Nāga's long body is curled in a round turn upon the top of the mountain Mandhār,—shaped something like the finial of a temple spire. Three or four comparatively large figures represent the gods, who have just let go, one only retaining hold of the snake's head, against their turn comes to haul again; while a lot of little Asuras are running off with the tail with a stamp-and-go motion that reminds one irresistibly of sailors at a hawser—

"With a yeo-heave oh! and a rumbelow,
And a heave! my mariners all! oh!"

The great snake, through it all, with his head just sufficiently raised to look about him, maintains an air of the most solemn indifference. The architraves of the other domes are ornamented with a pattern of blade-like leaves,

occupied by the liṅga its ante-chamber; its pillars resemble those of the central dome, not those of the surviving lateral porches or transepts.

¶ Vide Ind. Ant. vol. IV. plate facing p. 5, fig. 4.

set as it were in a double row, so that the points of the rear rank appear in the intervals between the shoulders of those in front. The rest of the nine interior domes, and of the lateral porches or transepts, is modern work; but the porch behind the shrine, though much injured, preserves its original ceiling, resembling those of the temples above described. Dr. Gibson mentions "Bacchus-looking figures" as forming the capitals of the pillars; but these are merely the four-handed figures which are found as brackets at Ambarnāth* and other places in the Kōṅkan, though this is the first place where I have seen them above ghāt. A comparison with these pot-bellied monsters would, I fear, have been odious to the graceful Dionusos; but doubtless the doctor was thinking of Silenus. He also mentions some "mounds of earth round the town" as possibly containing other remains, but upon examination they turned out to be the spoil-heaps of modern quarries.

Twenty miles from Añkolê by the nearest road lies the mountain of Harichandrāgaḍh, the culminating point of the ridge which divides the drainage areas of the Bhimā and the Gañgā or Godāvari; nor is it unworthy to crown the most important watershed of the Dekhan. The crest, occupied by a small fort, attains an elevation of 4700 feet above sea-level; and the scarps which overlook the Kōṅkan on its north-western face are estimated by Colonel Sykes at three thousand feet of sheer descent. I should say less; but they are certainly the finest cliffs in the Northern Sahyādri (probably one of the most precipitous ranges in the world), and the views are magnificent. The west wind striking with great force against these cliffs produces such an up-draught that branches of trees, or the like, thrown over, descend only a few feet, then, hesitating in mid-air, suddenly reascend, and fly far inland over the head of the astonished experimentalist. It is an article of belief with good Hindus that a man jumping over with proper faith in the local divinity would return in like manner safe and sound; but no one has tried the experiment in these days of infidelity. The top of the mountain is what, for want of a better name, I must call a

plateau, though it presents inequalities sufficient in some countries to make a very respectable mountain and a valley or two. It is about four miles in diameter any way you take it, and about the centre there is a group of Brahmanical caves, as follows:—

No. 1. A dharmasālā, with bench all round.

No. 2, "The house,"—a large cave, or rather group,—has a verandah, supported on stout square pillars ornamented only with a capital composed of "thin slab-like members" increasing in size upwards. This opens at one end into a long cell, with a small well or cistern beside it, and at the other into one somewhat similar but smaller. Behind the verandah is a large hall with three cells. Unfortunately it was occupied at the time of my visit by an English lady, which prevented my examining it very closely; but *en revanche* her kindness enables me to accompany these notes with a sketch of the façade. The hall is lighted only by one large door and two small embrasures or windows.

Nos. 3 and 4. A large double cave, occupied when I was there as a kitchen: divided by a partition, on which, in high relief, is a figure of Gaṇapati, about life-size (assuming Gaṇapati to be of human stature).

No. 5 is a large double cell.

No. 6 a dharmasālā, with bench, inner room, and well.

No. 7 is similar, though not exactly on the same plan as No. 6, with which it communicates by a window in the thin partition left between them.

No. 8 is a double cell, with a bench, upon the front of which are carved a few figures and ornaments, including a sort of diamond-shaped flower found also on the temples described above.

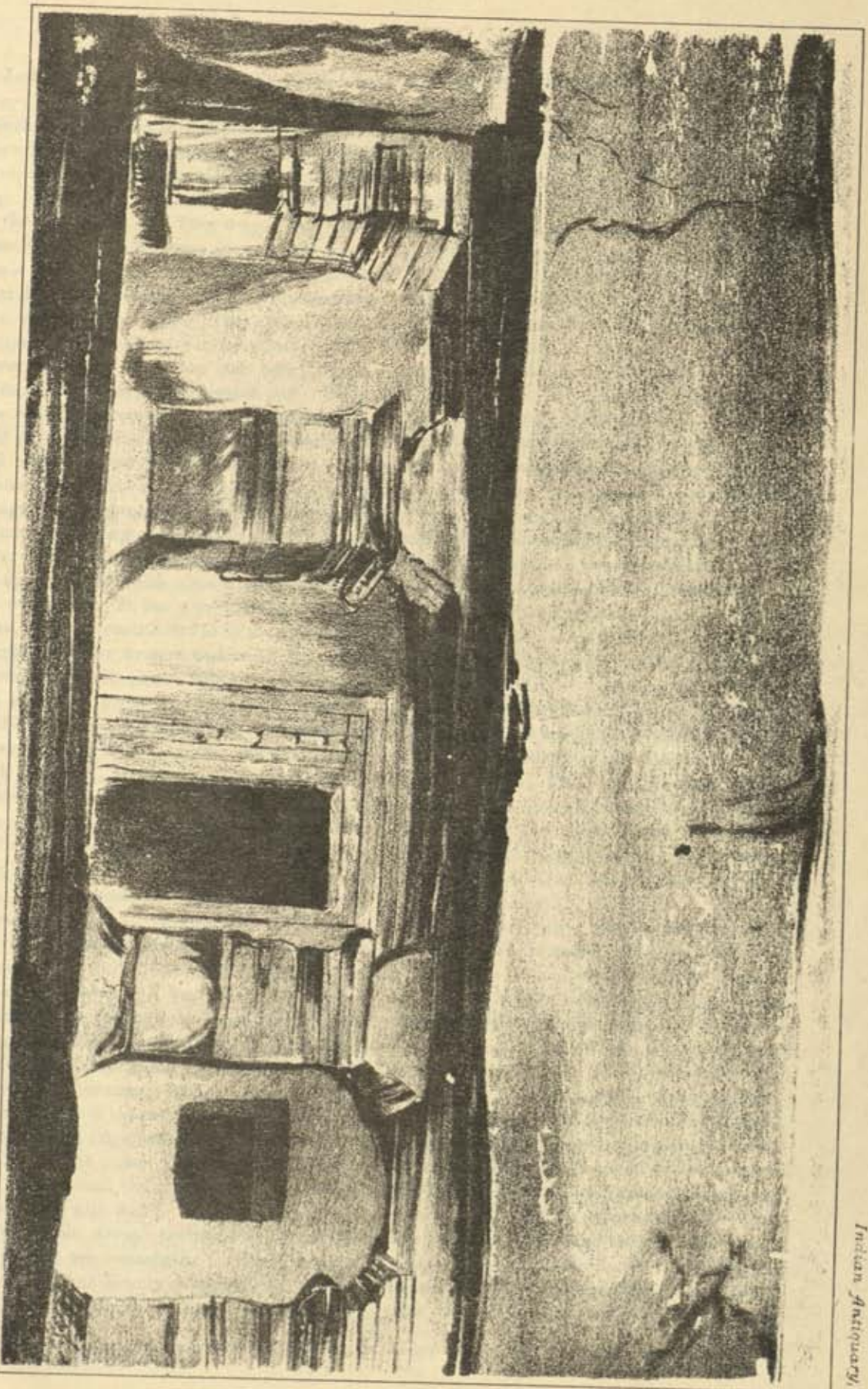
No. 9 is the same, with a well.

These form one range in a low scarp looking north-east, and the numbers are from the east westwards. The last two or three are much ruined, a vein of soft red stone cropping out here.

A little below this row of caves is a large reservoir, along the southern side of which is a row of little niches or shrines, some still occupied by images. This is surrounded by small temples and *thadkīs* or cenotaphs, some of

* Vide Nos. VII., XI., XII., and XXIII. of Ambarnāth plates in *Ind. Ant.* vol. III. They only appear on the

pillars of the central dome and rear porch. The others have 'fiddle-headed' brackets with the cobra's hood.



PRINCIPAL CAVE IN THE UPPER RANGE HARICHANDRAGADH.

From a sketch by Mrs. Beesell

which show a return to first principles in their resemblance to kistvaens, being constructed of three or four upright slabs with one laid over the top. This pattern is not uncommon either in this or the P u n ā district. They are generally about two feet high, sometimes very rough, sometimes built of slabs carefully hewn, and decorated by cutting the top slab into something like the roof of a temple. They are, of course, comparatively modern, but the exact date is never attainable; and they are not, I think, often constructed at the present day. Below the reservoir again is a small temple in a pit, half cave half building, consisting merely of a cell with a shrine at each side, one of which contains the socket of a departed līṅga. Below it again is a deep hollow or pit, seemingly formed by cutting away the rock at the head of a ravine, so as to leave a small level space, in the centre of which rises a structural temple with spire. It has a very ancient appearance, probably contributed to by the tremendous rainfall of these western highlands, but is also remarkable for its plan. There is no maṇḍap; the shrine is under the tall spire, which is of the 'Northern' form; and the līṅga within is worshipped from any one of four doors with porches. Another shrine, containing the image of some goddess, is half built, half hewn out, in the south-eastern corner of the hollow; the western side is occupied by caves used as dharmaśālās, two or three in number, as you like to count them, for they are much mixed up together. About fifty yards down the ravine is the best cave in the place,—a great cistern about forty feet square, the centre of which is occupied by a huge līṅga surrounded by four pillars (or the remains of them) something resembling in pattern those of the chief cave at Elephanta, but much more slender,—about one foot in diameter. There is a good relief on the left side of the cave,—three or four figures worshipping a līṅga, and a small chamber above the level of the water. The worshippers swim and wade round the great līṅga in the centre, splashing it with water.

The whole group except No. 2 and the Līṅga cave are remarkable for their want of symmetry or uniformity of design, and also for the large size of the cells, as compared with

those of Buddhist caves. I am not sure whether No. 2 was intended for residence or worship, but suspect the latter. The Līṅga cave and principal structural temple are the only ones now used for religious purposes. There can be no doubt that the whole group is Brahmanical. There is nothing throughout them which can be taken for a Buddhist symbol; while Hindu ornaments and images abound. The dharmaśālā caves beside the temple, I fancy, were constructed along with or after it,—they are so completely subservient to it; indeed, it was probably built of the stone excavated from them and from the pit in which it stands. The decoration is in a style much resembling that of the temples already described, except that small figures of animals are sculptured outside the spire and walls, which is not the case with any of them. The pit is enclosed on the approachable side by a massive stone wall, outside of which, and on the pillars of the dharmaśālā and līṅga caves, are two or three very rude and fragmentary inscriptions, apparently in rather modern Maṛāṭhī characters; but I had not time to stamp or read them, nor could I get a copy taken. I fancy they are merely the work of visitors or idlers. I could hear of no other caves in the neighbourhood. The nearest,—those of the N ā n ā G h ā t, about fifteen miles due south as the crow flies, and thirty by the nearest way practicable to the *bipes implumis*,—are Buddhist, as also those of J u n n a r, at about the same distance south-east.†

In the same range, however, are two other groups of Hindu caves. The first, those of D h o k e ś v a r a, are on the east side of one of two rugged hills that rise from a stony plateau about two miles from the village of T ā k l i, a well-known camping-ground on the road from Saṅgamner to Pārner, twelve miles from the latter town, and sixty from Harichandrāgaḍh.

There are two caves, approached by a flight of steps leading to a built-up masonry terrace; whether coeval with the caves or not I cannot say, but think not. The largest is a big temple, twenty yards deep by fifteen wide, the front open, and supported by two massive square pillars and two pilasters. A little inside of these, another row supports a massive quasi-joint or architrave running right across the

† Two small caves are mentioned in the reports for the Bombay Gazetteer as existing in the mountain of Mahākālī, near Ekdare, in this tālukā.

temple; and within these again is the shrine, hollowed out of a great rectangular block left standing from floor to roof of the cave. Behind this again is a dark passage or *pradakshina*. The chief object of worship is a mean little *līṅga* in the central shrine, but there is another to the right of it (as you enter) faced by a large Nandi, or bull, carved in *sitā*. On the same side, but nearer the entrance, in a sort of chapel or niche, is a four-armed figure grasping several weapons; one a live cobra; another, looking like the head of a mallet, perhaps represents the *damru* or drum; the others are indistinguishable by reason of age, oil, and red lead plentifully bestowed by the worshippers, who honour this gentleman under the name of Kāl Bhairava, though I fancy he started in life under another title. Of several cobras about him, some seem to have been cut at a comparatively recent period. Opposite him are a row of eight ladies called the *Aṣṭa Mātra*,—Yoginis I suppose; one has the head of a pig or horse—probably a *kinnara*. Besides these there are giant *dwarapāls*, animals of all sorts on a smaller scale, and a multitude of other figures, some cut in *sitā*, others on detached or even imported stones,—in fact the cave is a regular gallery of Hindu sculpture “from the earliest times to the present day,” and the collection is still increasing. The other cave is a triple cell a little higher up the rock, the inner division separated from the outer by a low partition wall without a doorway, so that one must stride or scramble over this to get in. It is approached by a risky stair in the rock, south of the big cave. There is no inscription except a modern Marāṭhī one on a small *thadkī* outside the chief cave. I heard of a cave at Virole, seven miles from Pārner, and the identity of the name with that by which the Marāṭhās know Elura tempted me to hope great things; but it is a mere hole in a rock by a modern though very sacred Hindu temple. There are, however, real caves at Wadgām-daryā, four miles from the large village of Kānhūr and twelve from Pārner, but I had not time to examine† them.

Most of the places referred to in the foregoing notes are in the Kopargām, Saṅamner, and Aṅkolē tālukās, drained by affluents of the Godāvarī. The caves of Dhokeśvara and

Wadgām only are in the Pārner tālukā, which lies partly in the wide open valley of the Ghor river, and partly in the hills which form its northern boundary, and belong to the great dividing ridge of the Dekhan. The tālukā is tolerably rich in remains, but none are of the ornate character of those already noticed.

At the junction of two small streams near the town of Pārner itself is a temple of Mahādeva Tryambakeśvara (called also, from the site, Saṅgameśvara), of considerable age and interest. The ground-plan is the normal double broken diamond or square, but not quite so elaborate as at Ambarnāth; for while there we have four superior re-entering angles between porch and porch on each side, and the salient angles also have each a double notch, here there are only three superior re-entering angles, and one small one next the porch. The roof is supported by four pillars standing in the centre of the floor, supporting, with the help of the walls and surviving pilasters, nine small rough domes. As far as can be made out, this was the original arrangement, but the whole building has been destroyed (tradition says by the first Muhammadan invaders), and rebuilt from a height of about nine feet from the ground, as can be seen by the use of mortar in the upper part (the lower being of dry stone-work remarkable for the size of the blocks), and by the inverted position of the decorations. The three porches are all in ruins,—the front one least so. Its door strongly resembles the inner door of temple No. II. Belgaum (figured in plate V. of the *Archæological Report of Western India* for 1874), but has not the pierced panels at the sides. The pillars, however, rather resemble those of temple No. I. Belgaum (*ibid.* plate II.). Perhaps the most curious feature of the temple is a decoration repeated on almost every stone of the exterior, with slight variations,—that, namely, which I have alluded to above (p. 7) as suggesting a derivation from Buddhist forms. The face of each of the large stones forming the walls is chiselled out to a depth of about one-fourth of an inch, a band one inch wide being left at its original place to serve as a border or frame. Within this is left in the same manner the figure in question. In some instances only the surface between it and

† On a subsequent visit I found them to be natural caves, rather spoiled by bad modern masonry, and of no archi-

tectural interest, though the natural beauty of the little glen in which they are makes it well worth going to see.

the bordering band is chiselled out, and then it resembles the exterior of a *dahgoba* in low flat relief, with 'ears' at the spring of the dome on each side. On other stones the surface is again cut away inside, leaving a very fair representation of the *chaitya*, or some similar arch. In every case the top of the device is carried up to, and joins, the border, so that one cannot tell how the object represented was finished above. The original roof of the temple is entirely gone; no image remains but the *liṅga* in its pit-like shrine, and a broken bull in a pit lined with modern rubble masonry, over whom the villagers have piled, in the form of a rude dome open at the top, some fragments either of his former pavilion or of the ruined porches. One of these, now called a *liṅga*, seems to represent a bunch of grapes turned point upwards, and may have been a finial of the roof. Another is a piece of a cornice, and corresponds with one or two others lying about, and with some built upside down into the wall by the Junnar Gate of the town, half a mile off.

A large *bārao*, or reservoir, at the other side of the town also shows the *chaitya*-like decoration; and a shrine at one side of it has pillars like those of the temple. It now belongs to a mean-looking mosque. Probably it was formerly part of the surroundings of another temple, for the number of columns and cornices lying about the town, or built into various structures (some themselves of respectable age), is greater than could have been furnished by the porches of Tryambakeśvara.

A wretched little modern temple in the centre of the town has several,—some corresponding to those of the surviving temple, others much plainer, more slender, tapering, and showing in section the broken square.

In front of this temple, under a *pīpal*-tree, several fragments of sculpture are heaped together. One is a gargoyle in the shape of a monster's head, and must have belonged to a large building, as it is three feet long by two deep from poll to chin. Beside it is a great stone *rānjana*, or vase, of a form familiar to modern Dekhani potters,—that of an egg truncated at both ends. It is 4 feet 6 inches high,

and the same in maximum diameter, and formed of two pieces, the upper fitted over the lower. This vessel is said to have been found in a Brāhman's stackyard, and brought to its present place by a former Māmlatdār. It is very rough, and its simple decorations do not correspond with any of the other remains, and it might have been made at any period by the stone-cutters who hew out oil-presses. But it probably had sacred uses, for no domestic purpose could be assigned to it; and I found the lower half of a similar vessel among the ruins of a small temple (apparently of the same style as Tryambakeśvara) four miles off on the Kānhūr road. § The few remains of another temple of the same class lie under a tamarind-tree halfway on the road to Supé, in the opposite direction; and at Palshi, twenty miles to the northward, some stones built into, and lying in front of, a small rude temple between the town-gate and the river, show the same scanty ornaments (especially the peculiar dome or arch) as the temple and reservoir at Pārner.

The only evidence supplied by these ruins themselves as to the external form of the roofs is that given by the few pieces of cornice remaining about Pārner; but some clue is afforded by the *golkhes*, or niches, in a large reservoir at Nighoj, twelve miles west by south of Pārner. These appear to represent the exterior of a temple of Drāviḍian style, with cornices which resemble those at Pārner. It is permissible to suppose that the architect imitated in them some larger building, a conjecture which is strengthened by the form of the reservoir. Its surface-plan is the ground-plan of a *maṇḍap*,—the regular broken square; three large staircases replace the porches; and the pier of the *moṭ* (leathern irrigation-bucket) occupies the position of the shrine. In short it is a *maṇḍap* turned upside down. The construction is highly archaic. Each course of the large blocks of hewn stone is set a little back from the next below, and firmly imbedded in a hollow cut for it. There is no mortar anywhere, and the use of a few iron clamps in the steps is probably a piece of modern repairs. || There are no decorations except the niches mentioned above, from

§ Something like the upper half of such a vessel appears in the foreground of plate IX. of the *Archæological Report on West India* for 1874.

|| A better example of this sort of work is to be found in a reservoir at Belhe, in the Junnar tālukā of the Puna district, but in the same valley as Nighoj, and

only twelve miles distant from it. This *bārao* is larger than that of Nighoj, and differs in surface-plan, being rectangular; but the structure of the masonry in receding courses, each firmly imbedded in its inferior, is the same, and can be better seen here, as the sloping site necessitates an exterior as well as interior exposure of the walls on

which the images have disappeared, and been replaced by round stones painted red. But on one stone of the *mof-pier* are scratched two quatrefoils, as if marked out to be cut deeper; on another two more, and something like a short broad sword or dagger. The villagers say that this represents the shears of a tailor, who in days gone by built the well in fulfilment of a vow to *Mālāi Devī*, to whom it is still sacred.

There are no other remains in *Nighoj*, but several of the villages around contain fragments of ancient sculpture, the most noticeable being, perhaps, a great seven-headed *Nāga* on a grave-stone at *Mouje Chincholi*, with his tail tied in a true-love knot, and some pillars and a small cornice in the *Pärner* style, built into and lying about two small temples at *Shirapur*, five miles up the *Kukri* river. The place has, however, a natural lion in the falls of the *Kukri*, called *Kuṇḍ Māwali*, where the river, falling about thirty feet over a sheet of trap, has in course of time cut for itself a narrow and deep channel through the rock, of a kind well known to the geologists of the trap area, but marked beyond any that ever I saw by the elaborate potholes and honeycombs worn by the stream. This place is sacred, of course; and so are the fish which lurk in the deep pools, and are said to attain the size of a man! There are one or two small modern temples, which are objects of pilgrimage in the month *Chaitra*.

Pärner, which seems to have been always a place of importance, is not altogether without Muhammadan remains. There are built into the bastions of the *Junnar Gate*, inscriptions "of *Sangram Khān Gori*, *Faujdar* of *Pärner*," and of his sons, *Abdul Karim Khān*, who was *Faujdar* in 1009,—of what era he does not say; and *Yamān Khān*, 1008 or 1088, it is not clear which, but I prefer the latter reading, in spite of the enormous longevity which it would assign to him. He was the last of his house, I suppose, who ruled in *Pärner*, for an inscription on the *Nagar Gate* bastion is in the name of *Karim Khān*, *Faujdar* for the emperor *Ālamgīr*, and bears date 1091. All these inscriptions are in *Marāṭhī* characters, but over the last, in the

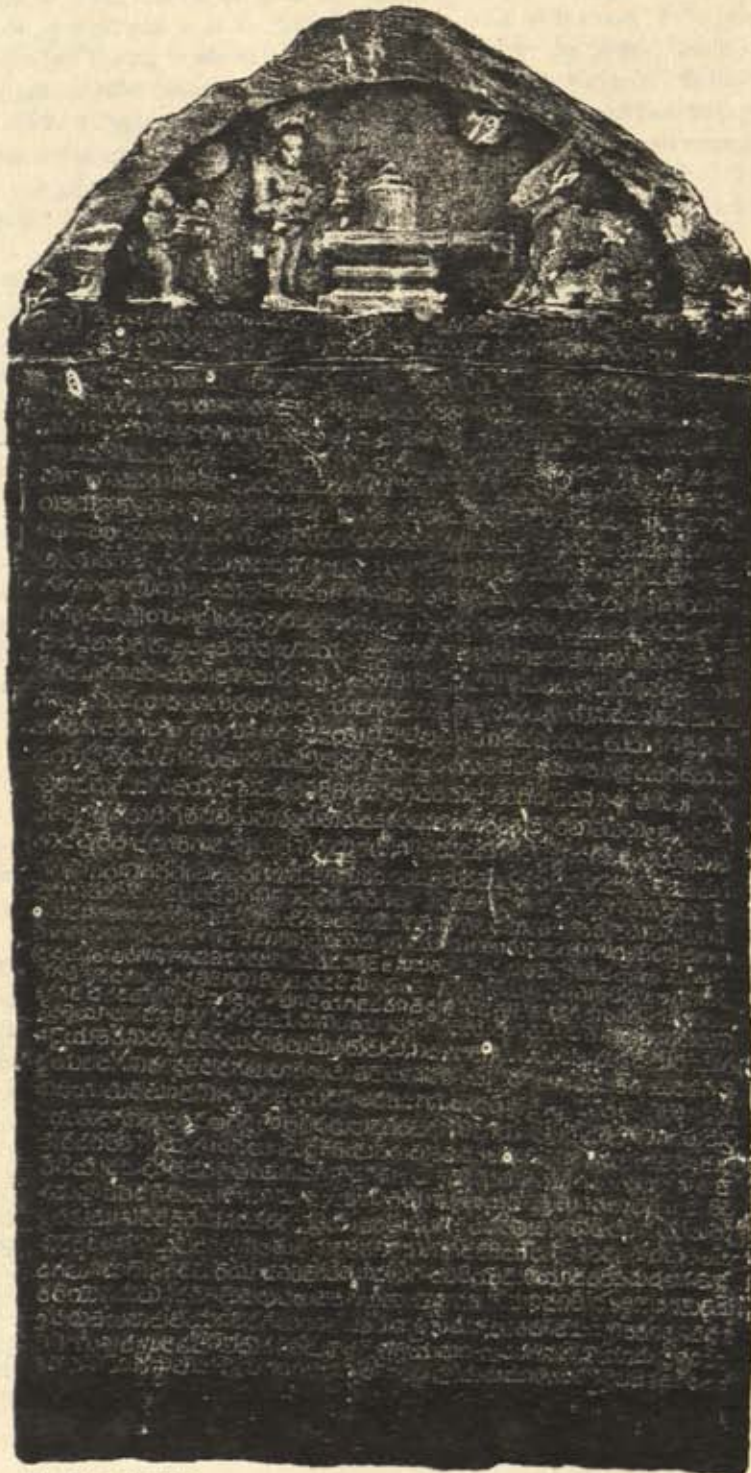
same bastion, is one in Persian or Arabic, of which I could only get a very indifferent stamp; and a small ruined mosque under a tree opposite has two, one in *sitā*, and one transferred to the tomb of a *fakīr* just before it, within living memory. I could make nothing at all of them. A small mosque at *Rānjangām Masjidi-chi*, in the east of the *tāluka*, is much thought of by 'the faithful' as having been built by the emperor *Ālamgīr*. It has a date over the door, which I had not time to copy, and only remember now that it did not contradict the tradition. A small tomb on the hill of *Dasābāi* near *Pärner*, is said to be that of *Chānd Bibī*, the fighting princess of *Nagar*, who seems to have "bestowed on every air a limb," for this is the fourth place of sepulture I have heard assigned to her. This story, at any rate, may be put aside as improbable and unconfirmed by any respectable evidence. Hindu women offer glass bangles to a jasmine bush which covers the tomb. Considering how little the Muhammadans of *Nagar* built on their own account, it is astonishing how much they influenced the architecture of their Hindu neighbours, whose later religious edifices are almost all servile copies of Muhammadan designs, and sometimes only to be distinguished from mosques and tombs by the hideous occupants of the interior. The only good modern temples in the part of *Ahmadnagar* to which these notes refer are that of *Śrī Rāṅga* at *Ankole*, which furnished a model to the misguided restorer mentioned above (p. 9), and two at the village of *Palshi-Māṇḍave* (the same village which contains a few ancient remains). One of these, the temple of *Vīṭhobā*, is really a very handsome building, with a fine domed *maṇḍap* supported entirely on pillars, though these are rather stiff in outline, and the internal dome is disfigured with ugly painted figures. The *vimāṇa* is graceful, and shows some fine stone-cutting. The small modern temple in the town of *Pärner*, already once mentioned, has one curious piece of the Hindu art of our day,—a clay representation of *Chandikā Devī* killing the buffalo-devil, executed with

three sides. It strongly resembles the plinth of the temple at *Konnur* figured in plate IX. of the *Archæological Report*, 1874. The temple-like niches (*gokales*) are more elaborate than at *Nighoj*; their little pilasters are decorated with monstrous faces (*kirttimukha*, *grāsda*), and with birds,—whether *haṇsa*-geese or peafowl the red paint of modern devotion makes it difficult to say. The quasi-

roofs show also, below the urn-like finial (*kāśa*), the ornament called *amla sila*,—here so much flattened as to resemble a cog-wheel more than anything else.

¶ Only the name is intelligible, though the rest of the inscription is legible enough. I submitted the stamp to both Persian and Sanskrit scholars without getting any interpretation.

STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE KADAMBA FAMILY AT BALAGAMVE.



considerable spirit by a living artist, a *pañi* of the village of Renawañi, who "learnt to do these things in Bombay,"—I hope not at the School of Art. It is gorgeously coloured and gilt, and so much thought of that the cupboard-like shrine

is kept under padlock. At Supe, on the Pupā-Nagar road, some black and white marble gods, included by a former jāghirdār in the plunder of some Central Indian raid, are equally venerated and admired, with about as much reason.

SANSKRIT AND OLD CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, B.C.S.

(Continued from vol. IV. p. 334.)

No. IX.

This is another Kādamba inscription, from plate No. 72 of Major Dixon's collection. The original, in the Old Canarese characters and language, is on a stone-tablet 4' 6" high by 2' broad at Baḷaḡāṃve. The emblems at the top of the stone are:—In the centre, a *linga* and priest; on its right, a second standing figure, probably of a worshipper, above which is the moon; and on its left, a cow and calf, with the sun above them.

The inscription belongs to the time of the

Chālukya king Jayasimhadēva,* whose local representative in charge of the Banavāse Twelve-thousand, the Sāntālior Sāntālige Thousand, and the Hayve Five-hundred, was the Great Chieftain Kundama, the son of Irivabedāṅgadēva. It records repairs and grants made to the temple of the god Nandikēśvaradēva of the original local shrine, and grants made to the god Chaturmukhadēva, which was connected with the preceding, in the Śaka year 941 (A.D. 1019-20), being the Siddhārthi *saṃvatsara*.

Transcription.

[1] †ಶ್ರೀಪತಿ ಚಕ್ರಧಾರಿ ಗರುಡಾಸನನಂಬುರುಹಾಕ್ಷನದ್ರಿಜಾಪಾತಿ ತೂಳಧಾರಿ ವಿ(ವೃ)ದ್ಭಾಸನನಭೃದಿಕೇಕ್ಷಣಂ
ವಜ್ರ(ಬೃ)ಶ್ರೀ[2]ಪತಿ ಪಾತಧಾರಿ ಕವಹಂಸಗನಪ್ಪಮಿಹಾಕ್ಷನಿ(?)ರವಂ ಶ್ರೈಪುರುಷಶ್ರೀಕೋಕಜನಪತಿತರಗೇಮ-
ಗದ್ವಸಿದ್ಧಿ(ದ್ವಿ)ಯ || 3 || [3]ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಸಮಸ್ತಭುವನಾಶ್ರಯ ಶ್ರೀವಿ(ವೃ)ದ್ಭೀವಲ್ಲಭ ಮಹಾರಾಜಾಧಿರಾಜ
ಪರಮೇಶ್ವರ ಪರಮಭಟ್ಟಾರಕ ಸತ್ಯಾಶ್ರಯಕುಳ[4]ತಿಳಕಂ ಜಾಳುಕ್ಕಾಭರಣಂ ಮಲ್ಲಿಕಾರ್ಜುನಂ ಮಾಪ್ಪುಡಿಭೀಮಂ
ರಾಯಗಜಕೇಸರಿ ಗಂಧರ್ವಶೈ ಗಂಧ(ದಂ) ಗಂಧುಂಗಾಹಂ ಚೋಳೋಗ್ರಕಾಳಾ[5]ನಕಂ ಚೋಳಚಂಡೇಶ(ನೋ)-
ಲಕ್ಷ್ಮವಿದ್ಗುರಾಯಪವಿತ್ರಚೂಡಾಮಣಿ ಅರಿರಾಯಕಲೆಯ ಕರನತ್ತಂ ಅರಿರಾಯಸೇವಂ [6]ರಾಯಪ್ರತಾಪದಿತ್ಯಂ
ಶ್ರೀಶೋಮಾತ್ಮಂಕಂ ಕೌರ್ಯ್ಯನಾರಾಯಣಂ ರಾಯಮುಂದೀರುಡವಾನಕಂ ಜೌವಾಣಸಹಸ್ರಪಾ[7]ದು ರಾಯ-
ಜಗದ್ಗುಪಿ ಕೇರ್ತಿವಿದ್ಯಾಧರಂ ಕೋದಂಡರಾಮಂ ಶ್ರೀಮುಕ್ತಳುಕ್ಕವಂಕೋದ್ಭವಂ ಶ್ರೀಮತ್ಪ್ರ(ಪ್ರೈ)ಲಸದೇವರ ವಿಜ-
ಯ[8]ರಾಜ್ಯಮುಕ್ತಕೋತ್ತರಾಭಿವಿ(ವೃ)ದ್ಧಿ(ದ್ವಿ)ಪ್ರವರ್ಧ(ದ್ವ)ಮಾನಮಾಚಂದ್ರಾರ್ಯಕಾರಂ ಖರಂ ಸಲುತ್ತಮಿರೆ ||
ಧರೆಯು ಜಾಳುಕ್ಕಾನ್ವಯದಗನುಗ[9]ಳೇಕೋ(ಕೋ)ನದ್ವಪ್ಪಿಸಿಂಹಾಸನಮಾಳ್ವರಯೋಧ್ಯಾಪುರವರದೇಶ್ವ ಪರನೋತ್ಪ-
ವದಿಂದಮಿದ್ವು ತದ್ವಂಕಳವಂ || ಜಯವನಿಕೇಶಂ ಸತ್ಯಾ[10]ಶ್ರಯಧೇ(ದೇ)ವಂ ಬ್ರಂ(ಬ್ರ)ಹ್ಮಕುಳಮನೋಳಪಿನ
ಸತ್ಯಾಶ್ರಯಕುಳವನೇ ಸತಧರಿಶ್ರಿಯನಾಳ್ವಂ ಸಾಪ್ಪು(ವ್ವ)ಘಾಮವೆಸರೆವಿನೇ[11]ಗಂ || ಆ ಸತ್ಯಾಶ್ರಯಕುಳ-
ವೋಳಗುಸುರತೇಶಂ ಪ್ರತಾಪಿ ನೂಮ್ಮಡಿತ್ಯಲಂ ವಾನದವಿಭವಂ ರಿ[ಪ್ರ] ಸಂಪ್ರಸಿಯ ಕೋಳಾ[12]ನಿ ಸಕ-
ಳಧಾಶ್ರಿಯನಾಳ್ವಂ || ರಟ್ಟರ ಕೈಗೆವಿರ್ದೇ(ರ್ದೇ)ಳಿಯುಂ ಪಟ್ಟಮುಮಂ ರಟ್ಟರಾಜ್ಯದರಗುಗಂಮುಂ ಬಿಟ್ಟು ತೋಪೊಟ್ಟ
ರಟ್ಟ[13]ಳರಟ್ಟಂ ಜಾಳುಕ್ಕರಾಜ್ಯಪಟ್ಟಮನಾತಂ || ಆ ಜಯಸಿಂಧವಿ(ವೃ)ಪಾಳಂ ಭೋಜನಿ(ವೃ)ಪಾಂಭೋಜ-
ರಾಜನಿನನಿಭೇಜಂ ರಾಜೇಂದ್ರಚೋ[14]ಳಗಜಮಿ(ಮೈ)ಗರಾಜಂ ರಾಜಾಧಿರಾಜನೆನಿರ್ದದು ವಿರದೇಶ್ವ(?) || ಪಸರಿನಿ
ಪ್ಪೇಗೇಸಿಂದಳನಿ ನಿಂದ ತಮಸ್ತಮುಮಂ ಕರಳ್ಳು ಐಂದೇಸದಿ[15]ನನೇಜುನಂತುದಯಪ್ಪು(ವ್ವ)ತಮಂ ಕಲಿ-
ಕಾಲದೇಳಿಯಂ ವೆನೇಗದೇ ತೂಳ್ಳ ತಾಳ್ಳ ಶ್ರೀ(ಕೈ)ತಲಕ್ಷ್ಮಿಯನೋಳಪಿನ ತೇಳುಗಳ [16]ಜಗತ್ಕೇನಿರೆ ಸಿಂಧ-

* Śaka 940 ? to 962 ?; Sir W. Elliot.

† The lines of this inscription being too long for the page,

the commencement of each line has been marked by a numeral in brackets.—Ed.

ವಿಧ್ಯರಮನೇಷಿದನಾ ಜಯಸಿಂಧವಲ್ಲಭ || ಮಾಳವಮೀಳುಮುಂ ಪುರುಕೆ ಗಟ್ಟಿಸಿ ಪ(ದ)ಕ್ಕೊ[17]ಜೆಯಟ್ಟಿ ಚೇರನುಂ
 ಚೋಳನುಮುಂ ಸಮುದ್ರದೊಳಗರ್ದಿದುದರ್ದಿದ(ದು)ದಂದು ತೇಜದುರ್ವೈಳುಸಮುಂ(ಮು)ದ್ರಮುಂಗಳಾಯಿ ಪ[18]-
 ಲ್ಲಿ ಘೋರವು ದಿಗ್ಗಜಯು ದಿಗ್ಗವಾಳರನಳ್ಳಿಸಿ(ಸು)ತ್ತಿದಿರಲಾಂಪವರಾಜ್ಯಯಸಿಂಧವೇವನ || ತತ್ಪದವದೊಳಿ-
 [19]ಪಜೀವಿ [1] ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಸಮದಿಗತಪಂಚಮಹಾಬ್ಬಮಹಾಮುಂಡಳೇಂ(ಳೇ)ತ್ವರಂ ಖನವಾಸಿ(ಸೀ)ಧರವಾಧೀಶ್ವರಂ
 ಣಾಮುಂಡಾಲ್ಪವರಪು[20]ಸಾದಂ ವೈರಿಘಟಾಕೇಸರಿ ಸುಜನಕ್ಕೆವಾರನಾರೋಹಕತ್ತಿನೇತ್ರಂ ಮದದಾನೇಧವಳಂ ಬ್ಯಾ-
 ಳಗಜಮಲ್ಲಂ ಮತ್ತಮಾತಂ[21]ಗಭೀನುಂ ಕರ್ಣಾಗತವಜ್ರಪಂಜರಂ ರಿಪುಕಂಜರಾಂಕುಕ ಅರಿಬಳವಿರಮಾತ್ಮರಂದ
 ನುಡಿದಂತೆ ಗಂಡ ಸ(ಸಂ)ಗ್ರಾಮಾಮನ[22]ಭಿವಾಸಮೇರು ಜಗದೇಕವೀರಂ ವೀರವಿದ್ಯಾಧರಂ ಕಟಕದೋನ-
 ನಚಳಕೈ[ಯ್ಯಂ] ಸುಭಟಾರಿದ್ರವುರವನಂ ವೈರಿಘರ[23]ಟ್ಟಂ ಮಂಡಳಕಲಾಟಪಟ್ಟಂ ಸತ್ತಿಗನಟಟ್ಟಂ ಶ್ರೀ-
 ಮದಿಹಿನಪೆಂಡಂಗದೇವರ ಮಗಂ ಶ್ರೀಮನ್ಮಹಾಮಂಡಳೇಶ್ವರಂ ಕುಂದಮರಸುಂ ಖನ[24]ವಾಸಂನಿರ್ವಾಸಿರಮುಮು
 ಸಾನ್ವಳಸಾಸಿರಮುಮುಂ ಹಯ್ಯಿಯಯ್ಯಾಟುಮನುಭಯಸಾಂ(ಸಾ)ಮ್ಯುಧಿಂ(ದಿಂ) ಪಶ್ಚಿಮಸಮು[25]ದ್ರಪಯ್ಯಾಂತಂ ಬರಂ
 ಸುಖಸಂಕಥಾವಿನೋದದಿಂ ಬಲಪುರದ ನೆಲವೀಡೆನೋ ರಾಜ್ಯಂಗೆಯ್ಯುತ್ತಮಿರ್ದು ಕಕವರ್ಧ ಗಳ್ಳಂನೆಯ ಸಿದ್ಧಾ-
 [26]ರ್ಥಿಸಂವತ್ಸರದ ಪುದ್ಯ ಕುದ್ಡ ಬಿದಿಗೆ ಅದಿತ್ತೈ(ತ್ಯ)ವಾರದಂದಿಸುತ್ತರಾಯಣಸಂಕ್ರಾಂತಿಯ ಪರ್ವ(ವರ್ವ)-
 ನಿಮಿತ್ತದಿಂ ಮೂಲಸ್ಥಾನನಂದಿ[27]ಕೇಶ್ವರದೇವರ ದೇವಾಲ್ಯ(ಃ.ಲಯ)ಮುಂ ಜಿಗಣ್ಣೋದ್ಧಾರಂ ಮಾಡಿಯಾ ದೇವರ
 ನಿವೇದ್ಯಕ್ಕಂ ಖಂಡಸ್ಸ(ಸ್ಸು)ಟತಜೀರ್ಣೋದ್ಧಾರಕ್ಕಂ ಮುಂನ ಸತವ ತಳ[28]ವೃತ್ತಿಯಾ ಪುರದ ನೈರಿಕ್ಕದ
 ಸರವೆಯಕೋಣಬಯಲ ಗದ್ದೆ(ರ್ದೆ) ರ(ಇ)ತ್ಸವಿಯಳೆಯೋಳೆ ಸಿ ಮತ್ತರುಮನೇರದುಮನಾ [29]ಗರ್ದೆಯ ತೆಂಕಣ
 ಹಳ್ಳದಿ(ದಿಂ) ತೆಂಕಲ್ ಹಕ್ಕಲ್ ಮತ್ತರೊಂದುಮನಾ ಹೊಲಕ್ಕೆ ಸೀಮೆ ಪಡುವಲ್ ಹಳ್ಳವೇ ಮೇರೆಯಾ
 ಗ[30]ರ್ದೆಯ ಬಡಗಣ ಹಳ್ಳದಿಂ ಬಡಗಲ್ ಹಕ್ಕಲ್ ಮತ್ತರೊ(ರೊ)ದುಮನದಕ್ಕೆ ಸೀಮೆ ಬಡಗಲ್ ಕರಿ-
 ಯಕೆಡೆಯ ಬಡಗಣ [31]ಕೋಡಿಯೇ ಮೇರೆ ಮೂಗಣ ಸೀಮೆ ಬಳ್ಳಯಹೊಲದ ಕೆಳಗಣ ಕೊಳಂ ಮೇರೆ
 ಮತ್ತವಾ ದೇವರ ಭೂಮಿ ಬಳ್ಳಯ[32]ಬಯರೊಳಗಣ ಬಳ್ಳ ಎರಡು ಗರ್ದೆಯ ಮತ್ತರೆದು ಆ ದೇವರ
 ಬಡಗಣ ದೇವರ ಹೂದೋಟ ಕೆಂನು ಮೂವತ್ತು ಮತ್ತ[33]ವಾ ದೇವರ ತೆಂಕದೆಯುಂ ಮೂಡಲ್
 ನಿಮಿರ್ದು ಕೇರಿಯರು ಮತ್ತವಾ ಕೇರಿಯ ಮೂಡದೆನೆಯಲ್ ತೆಂಕ ನಿಮಿರ್ದು [34]ಕೇರಿಯರು ಮತ್ತ-
 ವರಕೆಡೆಯ ಕೆಳಗಣದಕೇರೋಟ ಮತ್ತರೊಂದು ಮತ್ತವಾ ಕೆಡೆಯ ಬಡಗಣ ಕೋಡಿ[35]ಯ ಹದಿದಳ-
 ಸಿಡಿಯ ತೆಂಕಣ ಹೂದೋಟ ಕೆಂನುನಯ್ಯತ್ತು [||] ಮತ್ತನಲ್ಲಿಂ ಮೂಡಲಾ ದೇವರ ಪ್ರತಿಬ[36]ಧ್ಧ(ಧ್ಧ)
 ಚತುರ್ಮು(ಚತುರ್ಮು)ಖದೇವರ್ಗೆ ಮುಂನ ಸತವ ತಳವೃತ್ತಿಯರಕೆಡೆಯ ಘಡ್ವೆ ಮೂಡಲ್ ಮತ್ತರೊಂದು
 ಕೆಂನುನಯ್ಯತ್ತುಮ[37]ವಾ ದೇವರ ಸುತ್ತಣ ಹೂದೋಟ ಕೆಂನು ನಾಲ್ವತ್ತುಮನಾ ದೇವರ ತೆಂಕಣ
 ಛಾಗದ ಕೇರಿ ಎರಡುಮನದಕ್ಕೆ ಸೀಮೆ ಪಟುವಲುಂ ಬ[38]ಡಗಲುಂ ನಿಡುಗೊಳಂಗಳೇ ಮೇರೆಯಾ ದೇವ-
 ರ(ರಿಂ) ತೆಂಕಲ್(ಲುಂ) ಮೂಡಲುಂ ರಾಜವೀರಿಯೇ ಮೇರೆಯಾ ದೇವರಿಂ ಪಡುವಲ್ ನಿಮಿರ್ದು [39]ಕೇ-
 ರಿಯರುಮನದಕ್ಕೆ ಸೀಮೆ ಪಡುವಲುಂ ಬಡಗಲುಂ ವಾಯ್ವು(ವ್ಯ)ದ ಕೋಣೆಂ ಮೂಡ ನಿಮಿರ್ದು ಬಳ್ಳ-
 ಗೊಳನೇ ಮೇರೆಯ[40]ಲ್ಲಿಂ ಪಡುವಲ್ ಬಾಡುಂಪೆಯನಿಂ ಬಡಗಲ್ ಹೂದೋಟ ಕೆಂನು ನಾಲ್ವತ್ತುಮನಾ
 ದೇವರ ಘಡ್ವೆ ಧನಸ್ಯಾರಕ್ಕಂ ನಿತ್ಯನಿವೇದ್ಯಕ್ಕಂ [41]ವ(ಲ)ಲ್ಲಿಯ ಬ(ಖ)ಂಡಸ್ಸುಟತಜೀರ್ಣೋದ್ಧಾ(ದ್ಧ)ರ-
 ಕ್ಕನೆಂದು ಕೊಟ್ಟರ [||] ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಯಮನಿಯಮಾಸನವ್ವಿಣಯಾಮಪ್ರತ್ಯಾಹಾ[42]ರಧಾರಣಾಸೀ(ಮ)ನಾಸುಡಾ-
 (ಬ್ರಾ)ವಜಪಸಮಾಧಿಶೀಲಸಂಪಂಸರಪು ಶ್ರೀಮತ್ ಮೂಲಗಕಿವಶಿ(ಶ)ಕ್ತಿಪಂಡಿತದೇವರ ಕಾಲಂ*

† The consonant is distinctly legible, but it is hard to say whether the vowel is 'e' or 'o'.

§ 'Ghale' is either a clerical error for, or another form of, 'gale', a staff; see No. I, line 16, vol. IV. page 180.

¶ Either ಘಡ್ವೆಯ, the Canarese genitive, should be read, or we must correct the text and read ಘಜಾಪುನಸ್ಯಾರಕ್ಕಂ as a compound.

* The inscription ends here abruptly. The first word of the next line, if continued, must be ಕಟ್ಟೆ or ಕಟ್ಟೆ. The tablet itself does not terminate here; but the remaining portion of it, equal to five or six lines of writing, is quite blank, and no traces are discernible, in the photograph, of the inscription having ever been finished.

Translation.

May the three Spirits†, who are worshipped by the people of the three worlds‡, give us success in our desires,—the lord of Śrī, who carries the discus, whose seat is Garuḍa§, and whose eye is like the lotus; the lord of the mountain-born, who carries the trident, whose seat is the bull, and who has one eye more than the usual number||, and the lord of the goddess¶ of speech, who carries the noose**, who rides upon a Kaḷahaṃsa †† bird, and who has eight eyes! ‡‡

Hail! While the victorious reign of the glorious Tailapadēva §§, who was born in the glorious family of the Chālukyas,—the asylum of the universe; the favourite of the world; the supreme king of great kings; the supreme lord; the most venerable; the glory of the family of Satyāśraya; the ornament of the Chālukyas; he who had the fragrance of jasmine; he who was terrible if any one opposed him; he who was a very lion towards the elephants which were the (hostile) kings; he who was a hero among heroes; the router of heroes; he who was a fierce blast of death to Chōḷa; he who was a pure crest-jewel among kings who despised the wrath of Chōḷa; he who squeezed with violence the heads of hostile kings; he who castigated hostile kings; a very sun in respect of his kingly splendour; a very sun in respect of his radiance; a very Nārāyaṇa ||| in respect of his valour; a very submarine fire to the oceans which were the (hostile) kings; a very Thousand-armed ¶¶ to Chauvaṇa; he who was victorious among kings; he who was a demigod in respect of his renown; he who was a very Rāma with the bow,—was flourishing with perpetual increase, so as to endure as long as the moon and sun and stars might last:—

The kings of the Chālukya family governed the earth, which consisted of fifty-nine thrones*, with the greatest happiness at the excellent city

of Ayōdhyāpura; and Satyāśraya†,—who was born in that race, and who was the lord of the lovely woman Victory,—ruled the whole world, so that he acquired the title of a universal emperor, and the family of Brahma‡ was called the excellent Satyāśrayakuḷa.

In that same Satyāśrayakuḷa, the valorous Nūrmaḍitaḷa §, the lord of the lovely woman the Earth, armed with a sword which was his splendour, governed the whole world, distressing his enemies, but possessed of prowess that afforded a refuge (to those who applied to him for protection). Having slain in numbers the Raṭṭa kings, and having acquired the earth which had fallen into the hands of the Raṭṭas, together with their crown, he himself, a very handmill to the Raṭṭas, became the diadem of the Chālukya sway.

That famous king Jayasiṅgha||,—a moon to the lotus which was king Bhōḷa; glorious as the sun; a very lion to the elephant which was Chōḷa, the greatest of kings,—was esteemed the supreme king of kings. Like the sun which climbs the mountain of dawn, when it has spread its rays abroad after chasing away the thick darkness, so that same Jayasiṅghavallabha, having diffused over all the regions the prosperity of the Kali¶ age, and having enjoyed the good fortune that he achieved, ascended the throne in such way that an excellent purity shone over the whole world. Having searched out and beset and pursued and ground down and put to flight the confederacy of Mālava, the expansion of his glory, conquering the regions, again and again immersed Chēra and Chōḷa in the ocean, and then, spreading so that the seven oceans were left behind it, it rose up, causing fear to those (gods) who are the guardians of the points of the compass; who are they who can withstand Jayasiṅghadēva?

He who subsisted, (as if he were a bee,) on

† Vishṇu, the preserver, Śiva, the destroyer, and Brahma, the creator, whose leading characteristics are given in order in this verse.

‡ Heaven, and earth, and the infernal regions.

§ The man-bird, the chief of the feathered race, the servant and vehicle of Vishṇu.

|| The third eye being in his forehead.

¶ Sarasvatī.

** Properly the noose is the weapon of the god Varuṇa, and Brahma carries the 'kamandala,' or earthen or wooden water-pot used by ascetics and religious students.

†† A kind of duck or goose.

‡‡ In consequence of his having four faces.

§§ Śaka 895 to 919,—Sir W. Elliot.

||| Vishṇu.

¶¶ Either Śiva, or the Purāṇic hero Kārtavīryārjuna.

* i.e., 'which was divided into fifty-nine countries.'

† The eldest son and successor of Tailapadēva; Śaka 919 to 930?,—Sir W. Elliot.

‡ The Chālukyas derive their origin from the god Brahma.

§ This must be another name of Vikramāditya I or Vibhu-Vikrama, the eldest son of Satyāśraya; Śaka 930? to 940?,—Sir W. Elliot.

|| Jayasiṅghadēva, or Jagadēkamalla, the third and youngest son of Satyāśraya; Śaka 940? to 962? —Sir W. Elliot.

¶ The present and last of the four ages of the world.

the lotuses which were his feet, *vis.* the fortunate Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara king Kundama, the son of the fortunate Irivabedaṅgadēva, —the Great Chieftain who attained the five *Mahāsabdas*; the supreme lord of the city of Banavāsīpura, which was the best of cities; he who acquired the excellent favour of (the goddess) Chāmuṇḍā*; he who was a very lion towards the troops of elephants which were his foes; he who had the applause of good people; he who was a very Trinētra† to those who attain eminence; he who was as beautiful as an elephant in rut; he who was as mighty as a deadly serpent or an elephant; he who was as terrible as an elephant mad with passion; he who was a cage of thunderbolts to (protect) those who came to him for refuge; he who was an elephant-goad for the elephants which were his enemies; he who was as the sun to (disperse) the darkness of the array of his foes; he who was true to his promises; he who was a very Rāma in battle; he who was a very Mēru‡ in haughtiness; the bravest man in the world; he who was a demigod among brave men; (he who had the name of) Kaṭakadagōva§; he whose resolution was not to be shaken; he who subdued the pride of brave warriors and enemies; he who was a handmill to his foes; he who was the diadem of chieftains; (he who had the name of) Sattiganachatta,—while impartially governing, with the recreation of pleasing conversations, at the capital of Balipura, the Banavāse Twelve-thousand, the Sānta|| Thousand, and the Hayve Five-hundred, up to the borders of the western ocean,—on the occasion of the festival of the sun's commencement of his progress to the north on Sunday the second day of the bright fortnight of the month Pushya of the Siddhārthi *saṁvatsara*, which was the year of the Śaka era 941,—repaired the temple of the god Nandikēśvaradēva¶ of the original shrine, (and gave), to be continued for the future, for the oblation of that god and for the purpose of repairing whatever might become broken or torn or worn-out through

age, a plot of ground consisting of five *mattars* of rice-land, by (the measure of) the staff called Ratsaviyaghale*, in the rice-land called Saraḍeyakōṇabayal, and one *mattar* of corn-land to the south of the rivulet which is to the south of that same rice-land; and the boundary of this field is,—On the south, the rivulet itself is the boundary. To the north of the rivulet, which is to the north of that same rice-land, there is one *mattar* of corn-land, the boundaries of which are:—On the north the weir to the north of the tank called Kariyakere; the east boundary is the pond which is below the field called Baḷḷiyahola. And the land of that same god is two *mattars* out of the two *baḷḷis*† which are included in the rice-land called Baḷḷiyabayal. The flower-garden, to the north of (the temple of) that same god, consists of thirty *kammas*.‡ And two streets were laid out to the south of (the temple of) that same god, and two streets to the south, on the east of those same streets. And (there was given) a betelnut-garden of one *mattar* below the tank called Arakere; and a flower-garden of fifty *kammas* to the south of the tank called Aḷagere, which was dug out below the northern weir of the same tank.

And to the east of that place (they gave), to be continued for the future, to the god Chaturmukhadēva §, which was connected with that same god, a plot of ground consisting of one *mattar* and fifty *kammas* to the east of and near to the tank called Arakere; and a flower-garden of forty *mattars* lying round (the temple of) that same god; and two streets to the south of that same god. The boundaries of this are:—On the west and the north, the large tanks themselves are the boundary; and on the south and the east of the god, the king's highway is the boundary. The boundary of two streets that were laid out to the west of (the temple of) that same god is:—On the west and north the boundary is the tank called Baḷḷigoḷa, which was made to the east of the north-west quarter. To the west from there (they gave)

* A form of Durgā or Pārvatī.

† 'The three-eyed' Śiva, as the destroyer of Tripura.

‡ The golden mountain in the centre of Jambūdvīpa or the inhabited world.

§ See No. 1 of the Banavāsi inscriptions at page 206.

|| Or Sānta||ge; see note || at vol. IV. page 210, col. 2.

¶ Śiva,—the lord of the bull Nandika or Nandi',

of whom Baṣava, the founder of the Liṅgāyat religion, is supposed to have been an incarnation.

* See note § to line 28 of the text.

† 'Baḷḷi',—the meaning of this word as a land-measure is not known.

‡ 'Kamma',—an ancient land-measure the value of which is not now known.

§ 'The four-faced',—Brahma.

a flower-garden of forty *kammas* to the north of (the place called) Bādumbe.

(These things) they gave, saying that they were for the repeated worship of that god, for the perpetual oblation, and for the purpose of repairing whatever might become broken or torn or worn-out through age there.

Hail! Having washed the feet of the holy Mūliga-Śivaśaktipāṇḍitadēva, who was endowed with the characteristics (of the performance of) the greater and minor religious observances, sitting in the postures of devotees, holding the breath, withdrawal of the senses from external objects, immovable abstraction of the mind, silence, the muttering of prayers, and profound meditation

No. X.

This is another Vijayanagara inscription of the time of Achyutarāya, from Plate No. 22 of Mr. Hope's collection. The original, a fragment, is a stone-tablet at the temple of Banaśaṁkarī, which is about three miles to the south-east of Bādāmi* in the Bādāmi Tāluka of the Kalāḍgi District. The inscription is in the Canarese character and language. The emblems at the top of the stone are:—In the centre, a *linga*; on its right, the sun, and on its left, the moon.

The inscription records that in the year of the Śālivāhanaśaka 1455 (A. D. 1533-4), being the Nandana *saṁvatsara**, at the command of

Chinnappanāyaka, who was the general of Achyutarāya, Chikka-Chinnappanāyaka repaired the fort of Bādāvi and the temple of the goddess Śrī-Banada-Mahammāyi and other shrines which were in the same fort.

The forts of Bādāvi, or in its modern form Bādāmi, are of some renown in these parts. The town lies at the mouth of a ravine, and is guarded in front by what was formerly a tolerably strong fort of its own, and at the back by a tank of considerable size. On the hill overhanging the north side of the town there is the Bāvan-baṇḍē-kōṭi, or 'Fort of the fifty-two large rocks', and on the hill overhanging the south side of the town there is the Raṇamaṇḍala-kōṭi, or 'Fort of the field of battle'. I failed to ascertain the origin of these names. In the *émeute* of the blind Brāhmaṇ Narasiṅgrao and his Arabs in 1841, the fort of the town was taken with tolerable ease by the military force sent out from Belgaum; but the other two, and especially the Bāvan-baṇḍē-kōṭi, gave considerable trouble. All three were then more or less dismantled and rendered useless.

No shrine at Bādāmi itself seems to be now known by the name of Banada-Mahammāyi; the goddess is, of course, the same as Bana-śaṁkarī, of the temple at which is the tablet containing the present inscription.

Transcription.

- | | | | | |
|--|-----------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|
| [1] ಕುಭಮಸ್ತು | [] | ನಮಸ್ತುಂಗಕಿರಕ್ಕುಂಟಿಚಂದ್ರಚಾಮರಚಾರವೇ | [] | ಶ್ರೀ |
| [2] ದೀಕ್ಷಾಕೃತ್ಯನಗರಾರಂಭಮೂಲಸ್ತಂಭಾಯ | ಕಂಭವೇ | () | ಅಂತರಾಯಕಿಮಿರೋ | |
| [3] ಪಾಪಾತಯೇ | ಕಾಂತಪಾವನಮಹಿಂತ್ಯವೈಭವಂ | ತಂ | ನರಂ | ವಶ್ಯಮಿ ಕುಜರಂ |
| [4] ಮುಖೇ ಮನ್ಮಥೇ ಕಮಲ ತುಂದಿಲಂ | ಮಹಾಃ | () | ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ | ಶ್ರೀಜಯಾಭ್ಯುದಯಶಾಲಿವಾಹನಕವ |
| [5] ರ್ಷ ಲಂಕಾಜನೆಯ ನಂದನನಂವತ್ಸರದ ಜೇ(ಜ್ಯೇಷ್ಠ)ದ್ಧ | ಕು(ಕುಬ್ಧ) ೫ | ಗುರುವಾರದಲೂ | ನಕಲನಮಂಕಚಕ್ರಕು | |
| [6] ಚಿಮಣಿಮರೀಚಮಂಜರೀವಿರಾಜಿತಚರಣಕಮಲ | ರಾಜೇಂದ್ರಕೇಳುರ | ಶ್ರೀಮನ್ಮ | ಹಾಜಾಧಿರಾಜ | |
| [7] ರಾಜರಮೇಶ್ವರ | ಶ್ರೀವೀರಪ್ರಕಾಶ | ಅಚ್ಯುತರಾಯಮಹಾರಾಯರೂ | ಸುಖಸಂಕಥಾ | |
| [8] ವಿನೋದದಿಂ | ಪು(ಪೂ)ರ್ವಾಜ್ಯಂಗೇಯಿಲು(ವ)ತ್ತಂ | ಯರಲು | ಮಹಾರಾಜಿಕದಿಂದಲೂ | ಬಾದಾವಿಯ |
| [9] ದುರ್ಗಲಾ(ವಂ) | ಶ್ರೀಬಸದಮಹಂನಾಯಿ | ಮೊದಲಾದ | ಬೇವತಾಸ್ತಾ(ಸ್ಥಾ)ನಗಲೂ | ಬಿಲವಾಗಿಯರಲಾ |
| [10] ೧ | ಅಚ್ಯುತರಾಯಮಹಾರಾಯರ | ನೇನಾಧಿಪತಿ | ಜೆಂನವನಾಯಕರೂ | ಬಾದಾವಿಯ ದು |
| [11] ೧೯೯೦೦ | ಅ(೮) ದುರ್ಗದೊಳಗಾದ | ಶ್ರೀಬಸದಮಹಂನಾಯಿ | ಮೊದಲಾದ | ಬೇವತಾಸ್ತಾ(ಸ್ಥಾ)ನಗಲೂ |

* See note * to line 42 of the text.

† Not Bādāmi, with the first 'a' short, as laid down in the

Government list for the orthography of vernacular names.

* See note § to the translation.

- [12] ಜೀರ್ಣೋದ್ಧಾರವಾಗಿ ಪುನಃಪ್ರತಿಷ್ಠೆಯ ಮಾಡ ಹೇಳಿ ತನು ಕುಮಾರ ಚಿಕ್ಕಜಿಂನವನಾಯಕರನೂ
 [13] ಕಳುಹಲಾಗಿ ಅ(ಅ) ಚಿಕ್ಕಜಿಂನವನಾಯಕರನೂ ತನು ಸ್ವಾಮಿಯ ನಿರೂಪದಿಂದಲೂ ಬಾದಾವಿ-
 [14] ಯ ದುರ್ಗದ ಕೋಟೆಯನೂ ಯಕ್ಕಿಸಿ ಅಚ್ಯುತರಾಯಮಹಾರಾಯರಿಗೂ ತನು ಸ್ವಾಮಿ
 [15] ಜಿಂನವನಾಯಕರಿಗೂ ಅ(ಅ)ಯುರಾರೋಗ್ಯಲಯ(ಗ್ರಂಥ for ಗೃಹಲಯ)ತ್ವರ್ಯಾಭಿರು(ಪ್ರ, &c. ವೃ)ದ್ಧಿಯಾಗ
 ಬೇಕೂ ಯಂ-
 [16] ದು ಶ್ರೀಮನ್ಮಹಾಮಾಯೆ ಚತುರ್ದಶಭುವನಾಧೀಶ್ವರಿಲು(ಯು) ದುರ್ಗಾಕ್ಷ ಸಕುಲಸಂಹಾ-
 [17] ರ(ಇ)ಭಂ(ಇ)ಗಧೈರೈಕೋಳಾಹಾ(ಹ)ಕಿ ಶ್ರೀವನಪುರಸತಿ ಶ್ರೀವನದಮಹಂನಾಯಿ ಮೊದಲಾದ
 [18] ಸಮಸ್ತದೇವತಾಸಾಧನಗಳನೂ ಜೀರ್ಣೋದ್ಧಾರವಾಗಿ ಪುನಃಪ್ರತಿಷ್ಠೆಯನೂ ಮಾಡಿ ಅ ಪ್ರತಿಷ್ಠಾಪ-
 [19] ಗಳನೂ(ಇ) ಅಚ್ಯುತರಾಯಮಹಾರಾಯರಿಗೆ ಪುಂ(ಪು)ಣ್ಯ.....ಅಚ್ಯುತ-
 [20] ರಾಯಮಹಾರಾಯರ ಸೇ[ನಾಧಿಪತಿ] †

Translation.

May it be auspicious! Reverence to Śambhu, who is made beautiful by a *chowri* which is the moon that lightly rests upon his lofty head, and who is the foundation-pillar for the erection of the city of the three worlds! In order to dispel the darkness of obstacles, I meditate on him† who is tranquil and pure, who is possessed of inconceivable glory, who is in body a man but in face an elephant, and who is a very corpulent glory!

Hail! On Monday the fifth day of the bright fortnight of the month Jyēsthā of the Nandana *sahvatsara*, which was the year of the victorious and glorious Śālivāhanaśaka 1455§, while the brave and puissant great king Achyutarāya,—whose lotuses, which are his feet, are adorned by the clusters of blossoms, which are the jewels in the diadems of all chieftains; the most eminent among kings; the glorious supreme 'king of great kings; the supreme lord of kings,—was governing the earth with the recreation of pleasing conversations:—

The fort of Bādāvi and the shrines of the goddess Śrī-Banada-Mahammāyi|| and other gods having fallen into ruin even under

the great king,¶ — Chinnapanāyaka, the general of the great king Achyutarāya, having given orders to repair and reestablish the fort of Bādāvi and the shrines within it of Śrī-Banada-Mahammāyi and other gods, sent (for that purpose) his son** Chikka-Chinnapanāyaka:—††

And that same Chikka-Chinnappanāyaka at the command of his master restored the fort of Bādāvi, and, with the object that the great king Achyutarāya and his master Chinnappanāyaka might obtain an increase of life and health and riches, repaired and reestablished the shrines of all the gods commencing with Śrī-Banada-Mahammāyi, who is the holy Mahāmāye; who is the mistress of the fourteen worlds; who is courageous in utterly destroying the race of the demons.....‡‡; and who is the mistress of the city of Śrī-Vanapura§§,..... those same shrines to the great king Achyutarāya..... holy.....

The general of the great king Achyutarāya..... |||

† The remainder of the inscription is lost, the tablet being broken here.

‡ Gaṇapati. With the exception of reading 'kim api' for 'tam api', this verse occurs word for word in Malinātha's introductions to his commentaries on the *Raghuvansha* and the *Kumārāsahāsava*.

§ According to the table in Brown's *Carnatic Chronology*, the Nandana *sahvatsara* is Śaka 1454, and Śaka 1455 is the Vijaya *sahvatsara*.

|| sc. 'Mahammāyi, (i.e. Mahāmāyi, or more properly Mahāmāye), of the forest'. 'Mahāmāyā', the Great Illusion, is Durgā, Śaṅkarī, or Pārvatī, as the personification of the illusory nature of worldly objects. Banada-Ma-

hammāyi is evidently the same goddess as Bana-Śaṅkarī, 'Śaṅkarī of the forest'.

¶ 'Mahārājikadindalā',—but the meaning to be given to this word is somewhat doubtful.

** 'Kumāra',—perhaps 'deputy', though a free translation, would be more in accordance with the meaning.

†† i.e., 'Chinnappanāyaka the younger'.

‡‡ The meaning to be given to the word 'daṇḍa', before 'rākṣasa', is not apparent.

§§ 'The city of the forest'; all this part of the country formed in ancient times part of the great forest called Dandakāraṇya.

||| See note † to line 20 of the text.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES.

BY M. J. WALHOUSE, LATE M.C.S.

(Continued from vol. IV. page 305.)

IX.—Folk-lore—Omens, Spells and Charms,
Popular Beliefs and Superstitions.

Occasion is here taken to collect such instances as would fall under the above heading as came to my notice in the Madras provinces and on the western coast. Most of these are commonly known, and prevail widely over India. The list might doubtless be greatly increased were inquirers to record the odds and ends of popular notions that chance to come before them.

Omens (*śakuna*) form quite a wide and important subject, and are the twenty-fourth on the list of the sixty-four Hindu sciences.* The following are some of the *evil omens*, on encountering any of which, Hindus about to start on a journey or begin any undertaking will often desist:—Seeing, on issuing from the house, a crow on the left hand (*sinistra cornix*) or a Brāhmaṇi kite on the right. Seeing or meeting a monkey, a sick man, an oil-man, a leper, a snake, a hare (as formerly in Scotland), a Brāhmaṇ widow, a Brāhmaṇ alone, a mendicant, a man with dishevelled hair, a quarrel, buttermilk, any empty vessel, a smoky fire, a bundle of sticks. It may be noted how many of these objects are just the things likely to be encountered on coming out early in the morning.

Amongst *good omens* are a virgin, a cow, the sound of a drum, the sound of a horn, milk, curds, fruit, flowers, a clear-blazing fire, two Brāhmaṇs, a horse, an elephant, a bullock, two fishes, two vessels full of water, spirituous liquors, cooked food, meat, a dancing-girl, hearing kind words, a parrot.

The little familiar house-lizard (*bālī*) that runs up walls often utters a chirping cry; this proceeding from the east wall of a house is very lucky, but from any of the other three walls extremely bad, and sufficient to break off any enterprise. Readers of Aristophanes will remember how the meditations of Socrates, as he lay with mouth open, pondering on the paths and changes of the moon, were disturbed by a *bālī* from the roof. Sneezing is a serious affair all over the East, as well as in

Europe, ancient and modern. In Southern India sneezing once is a good sign, twice a bad sign; more than twice is not regarded. Gaping, as amongst the old Jews, is held to be a moment when Bhūtas and evil spirits effect an entrance into the body: hence most Brāhmaṇs on gaping snap their fingers as a preventive.

In dangerous sickness the hair is sometimes cut off and offered to a deity, as in old Greece. Childless women often go to anthills, where snakes dwell, and place offerings of milk with prayers and invocations, hoping thereby to remove their barrenness, which they believe to be due to an injury done to a snake in a former life. Besides barrenness the following evils are ascribed to offences done in a former life, by which malignant spirits gain power over mortals:—The death of children whilst the parents are alive, brotherly hatred, conjugal discord, undutifulness of children, being reduced to beggary, moodiness of temper, impiety and neglect of ceremonies, bad luck in trade or farming, constant ill-health, loss of employment.

Amongst charms and spells the following are considered good against Bhūtas or evil demons, whose worship is so widely spread:—The tooth or claw of a tiger worn on the neck or near the loins, wearing an iron ring set with pearls (iron and steel have everywhere and at all times since the days of Ulysses (*Odyss.* XI.) been powerful against ghosts and bad spirits), a lime placed in the turban, a figure of Hanuman graven on any ornament. When any mischief has been set on foot, repeating the name Govindā! Govindā! is held materially to assist its progress: once before me a man was convicted of arson against whom suspicion was first aroused by being overheard repeating Govindā! Govindā! whilst watching from a distance a fire that he had kindled. I know not the origin of this belief.

The old classical† and mediæval superstition that the death of an enemy may be effected by making a waxen image of him and causing it to melt gradually before a fire with certain ceremonies, still flourishes in India,—indeed is

* Much curious matter may be found in Professor Kern's translation of the *Bṛihat-Saṁhitā* in the *Journal of the*

Royal Asiatic Society N. S. vols. V. to VII.

† Theocritus, *Pharmaceutria*; Virgil, *Bucol.* VIII.

hardly extinct in Europe. This is the manner prescribed:—"Make an image with wax in the form of your enemy, take it in your right hand at night and hold your chain of beads in your left hand, then burn the image with due rites, and it shall slay your enemy in a fortnight." Another strong spell for evil is to take a human bone from a burial-ground and recite over it a thousand times the powerful Malayâla *mantra*, namely, "Om! Hram! Hram! Swine-faced goddess, seize him, seize him as a victim! drink; drink his blood! eat, eat his flesh! O image of imminent death, Bhagavati of Malayâla, *glaum! glaum! Om!*" The bone thrown into an enemy's house will cause his ruin. Again, if a paste be formed of human bones, the above spell recited over it a hundred times, and the paste then mixed with food or drink, it will cause death in a week. This recalls the famous *Unguentum Mirificum*, or Wondrous Ointment, of which Sir Kenelm Digby relates several surprising instances; the moss of a dead man's skull and man's fat were the principal ingredients: but it was used to heal, not to kill. Necromancy, as practised by mediæval magicians and sorcerers, respecting which Agrippa's *Occult Philosophy* and Solomon's *Key to Magic* may be consulted, is familiar to the Hindus, and the rites used by them much the same. Here is a specimen:—Let a sorcerer obtain the corpse of a maiden, and on a Sunday night place it at the foot of a Bhûta-haunted tree on an altar, and repeat a hundred times, "Om! Hrim! Hrom! O goddess of Malayâla, who possessest us in a moment! come! come!" The corpse will then be inspired by a demon and rise up, and if the demon be appeased with flesh and arrak, will answer all questions put. This is called the Virgin Spell, and came from Malayâla. Be it noted that Malabar is the land *par excellence* of sorcery and magic; the most powerful Bhûtas and demons reside there. As in mediæval belief, they can be bought, carried about, and transferred from one sorcerer to another. The following story, truly mediæval in its wildness, is copied from a Madras newspaper of the present year:—"Some Bhûtas have human mistresses and concubines, and even outrage the modesty of their occasional fair worshippers. At Bodinaikanûr, near Palanei, in the Madura district, a certain Chetî bought of a magician a Malabar demon, for ninety rupees, it is said; but ere a

day had passed since the transfer, the undutiful spirit fell in love with its master's wife, and succeeded in its nefarious purpose. A pious Hindu assures me that the woman still lives, leading a very unhappy life with the demon, the husband being long dead and gone." The notion of demoniac intercourse with mortal women is of extreme and general antiquity, ranging from *Genesis* (vi. 2) and the reputed prædiluvian *Book of Enoch* to Merlin and Mother Shipton: see *Ind. Ant.* vol. I. p. 283 for an account of the stones sold at the Dharmasthâla Temple in South Kanara, the residence of seven most dreaded and malignant Bhûtas; these stones carry the powers of the Bhûtas with them, and can be used by their purchasers against enemies with dire effect. One of the native notions respecting *pāṇḍu kulis* or kistvaens—is that men of old times constructed them for the purpose of hiding treasure: hence it is that antiquaries find so many have been already ransacked. It is also believed that spells were placed over them as a guard, the strongest being to bury a man alive in the cairn, and bid his ghost protect the deposit against any but the proprietor; the ghost would conceal the treasure from all strangers, or only be compelled to disclose it by a human sacrifice being offered. Compare this with Bertram Risingham's account of the practice of the old Buccaneers:—

Seek some charnel when at full
The moon gilds skeleton and skull,
There dig and tomb your precious heap,
And bid the dead the treasure keep,—
Sure guardians they; if fitting spell
Their service to the task compel.
Lacks there such charnel? Kill a slave
Or prisoner on the treasure-grave,
And bid his discontented ghost
Stalk nightly on his lonely post.

Rokeby, Canto II. 18.

Some speculative physicists make a point of sleeping north and south, that the magnetic currents may course freely through their systems; but Hindu mothers do not allow their children to sleep with heads northwards, the reason assigned being that after Śiva had cut off Ganeśa's head, it was determined to replace it with the head of the first animal found sleeping with its head to the north, which happened to be an elephant. Again, Hindu mothers prevent their children from smelling a lime or lemon;

because Parikshit, the grandson of Arjuna, having been forewarned that he should die of a snake-bite, retreated to a barren island, hoping no serpent would cross the water; but one, having assumed the form of a very fragrant lemon, swam over, and, on Parikshit's smelling it, bit his nose, of which he died.

Hindus have some curious notions of natural repulsions or anti-sympathies (*virātam*) existing between certain animals: such are said to exist between a peacock and a chameleon, a mouse and a scorpion, besides others which I do not remember. There is also a belief that when a bear seizes a man it tickles him to death without biting or violence; it is popularly believed, too, of bears that they gain an additional pair of kidneys each year of their life; and on opening a bear I have certainly seen appearances that seemed to bear out the notion. The hyæna is also believed to beat to death, or strangle, with its tail, people whom it seizes. A tiger's whiskers chopped up small are held to be a most potent poison:† hence when one is killed the whiskers are often immediately singed off, to prevent possible mischief.

The origin of the word 'Fairy' is doubtful. Some have plausibly derived it from the Persian *Peri* (پری *Pari*); and Keightley, still more probably, from the Italian *Fata*, through the old French *Faëe*, *Fée*, *Féerie*,—English *Fay*, *Faëry*, *Fairy*. Dr. Caldwell in his *Comparative Grammar* has suggested the Tamil *Pēy*—'devil or goblin,'—the objects of the devil-worship so characteristic of Tinneveli. The primary meaning would be some supernatural being, with infinite gradations between the beautiful creations of Persian and European fancy and the ugly malignant demons worshipped by South Indian *Shānārs*. Mr. Fergusson (*Tree and Serpent Worship*, p. 79) thinks that "all dwarfs and magicians—all the Fairy Mythology of East and West—belong to the Turanian races, which underlie the Aryan races, and crop up at times through them, but are really antagonistic to the genius of the latter." Considering how intimately the Fairy mythology is blended

with the popular beliefs and romance systems of most of the European nations which are held to be of Aryan descent, the position that such mythology is alien to Aryan genius seems debatable. If it were specially characteristic of a Turanian race, we ought to find it well developed amongst the Dravidian peoples, who are typically Turanian; but—which discredits the Tamil origin of 'fairy'—I have never been able to find that those peoples know of any diminutive beings corresponding to the Elves and Fairies of English and Irish legends, the little underground people, the *Duergar*§ or *Dwarfs* of Scandinavia, or the *Trolls*, *Elle* people, and *Elves* of Germany. In the Madras districts, though green circles are not uncommon on grass after rain, no little beings dance round them by moonlight or creep into flower-cups; no *Trolls* or *Dwarfs* haunt rocks and caves and have wondrous places within the hills; trees are frequented by hideous *Bhûtas*,—not, as in Denmark, by delicate *Elves*. Sometimes I have thought I had fallen upon a trace. The *Pāṇḍu kūtis* or *kistvaens* are in many places believed to have been built by a dwarf race a cubit high, who could nevertheless lift the huge stones with facility. I have heard, too, of a large mound near *Chingalpat*, not far from Madras, surrounded by *kistvaens*, and inhabited by a bearded race of *Pāṇḍa yars* three feet high, ruled by a king who lives in the top of the mound: this seems very like a Norwegian folk-story of the hill-dwarfs. *Śiva*, apparently a non-Aryan god, has a train of dwarfs, amongst them the three-legged *Bhringi* who dances nimbly; and *Vishṇu* once appeared as a dwarf, *Vāmaṇa*. Dwarfs are sculptured profusely on *Saiva*, *Vaishṇava*, and *Jaina* temples. The great Muni of the south, *Agaṣṭya*, seems also to have been a dwarf, and dwelt on a mountain. Some think him to have been the prototype of *Tom Thumb*, *Jack the Giant-killer*, and *Hop-o'-my-Thumb*. Still I could not find any organized popular belief in races and communities of beings resembling the European. Such, however, may exist,—the primitive forest

† "Which, like the courser's hair, hath got but life,
And not the serpent's poison."—*Shakespeare*.

§ The *Edda* says that the *Duergar* became animated in the clay below in the earth, like maggots in flesh: they were very wise and strong, skilful in all metal-work and smithcraft, small of stature and long-armed. Analogies have been sought for them in the *Devas* and *Devatas* of *Indra's Paradise*, called *Devergar* in the South;

also in *Durga*, an aboriginal deity, and in one aspect mistress of mountain caves and underground places. Akin to the *Duergar* also may be the *Yakshas*,—like them the warders of hidden hoards, and the servants of *Kuvera*, the god of riches and treasures in the earth,—himself, moreover, of deformed and dwarf-like appearance, and the maker of self-moving chariots, as the *Duergar* were of wonderful things and weapons.

tribes of Gonds, Kôlhas, &c. would be no unlikely field; and it would be particularly interesting to ascertain whether cognate legends are current amongst the nations beyond India, Kabul, Afghanistan, &c.]

It is necessary to distinguish between the little beings of the popular creeds—the cunning Durgar and night-tripping Elves or popular Fairies, and the Fays and Fairies of romance, the full-sized fairy knights and ladies of Middle-Age romance and the “Faërie Queene,” such as were in Milton’s mind when he wrote

“Of Faëry damsels met in forests wide
By knights of Logres or of Lyones,
Lancelot, or Pelleas, or Pellinore,”

are utterly different in appearance and attributes to the pygmy

“Faëry elves

Whose midnight revels by a forest side
Or fountain some belated peasant sees.”

This confusion is chiefly owing to Shakspeare, since whose time the name and attributes of the real Fays and Fairies of romance have been transferred to the still more poetical and exquisite little beings of village popular imagination. But the fairy ladies of the romances of chivalry—of ‘Haon de Bordeaux,’ ‘Perceforest,’ and ‘Parthenopex’—approach much nearer the lovely Peris of Persian story and the amiable Jinni ladies of the Arabian Tales; and, allowing for difference of scene and associations, the Apsaras of Sanskrit mythology seem to be of the same lineage, and so do the Vanachâris or forest-nymphs, and Khanadachâras of the *Mahâbhârata*.

Still more nearly allied must be the beings described in the following extract from an account of Indian village superstition printed in a Madras newspaper of the present year by a native contributor:—

“The spirits of the air are so numerous and of such different classes, that I cannot expect, in the compass of a single article, to treat of them with anything like fulness. Foremost in their aerial ranks, and somewhat detached from all the rest, stand those good-natured celestial vestals which frequent cool shades and limpid streams, which while away the live-long night in innocent frolic and joyous dance, doing no ill to man or beast. To help the sick, to succour women in travail, to guide the benighted traveller who has lost his way, to shower blessings and flowers alike on

happily married couples,—in fact, to do anything that is good or graceful,—is the delightful vocation of the village *kannimdr* or virgins, as they are felicitously styled in ordinary country parlance. With the blooming grace of perpetual maidenhood, they are patrons of the village lassie afflicted with the ‘tender passion,’ and watch with a motherly interest the progress of steadfast honourable loves; while, on the other hand, there is nothing which they hate so intensely with their righteous hatred as the violation of matrimonial vows or the infringement of maidenly honour. Rude statues of potters’ work representing these fair champions of virtue and youthful rewarders of conjugal fidelity may be seen invariably under some pleasant shade by the side of a rippling rivulet, or the placid surface of the village tank. When the sun is at its greatest height, and man and beast seek some friendly shelter to indulge in their midday *siesta*, languid and enervated by the burning heat, these fair celestials, screened from profane mortal sight, quietly perform their ablutions in the tank or brook close by, divesting themselves of their flowing ethereal robes. Their appearance to mortals in bodily form always portends something extremely good or evil; but as they are naturally inclined to acts of kindness and mercy, such interviews prove, in the majority of cases, harbingers of prosperity and conjugal felicity. Instances are not wanting of these sylvan beauties, through forgetfulness to bind the wood with their magic spell, allowing themselves to be surprised by the strolling cowherd ere they have risen from their midday bath. Every year, as the husbandman sows his grain after the precursory showers of the rainy season, he vows to set apart so much a *kalam* (twelve *markals*) as a thank-offering if the out-turn should prove as abundant as he prayed for. True to a farthing, the sale-proceeds of the virgins’ share is religiously laid by, to be made use of a month or two after the harvest, when the ryot, now at leisure, thinks of redeeming his vow at the shrine of the celestial fair one. At the appointed time, generally at night, the whole village wends in solemn procession to the sacred grove, with banners flying and drums beating, and with all the paraphernalia of Eastern worship. Rice is boiled, sheep are slain, amateur theatricals improvised, and the light hearts of the multitude rendered still lighter by potions of arrak, the country-prepared and country-bottled brandy, the ‘black house’ as it is fondly termed by these rustic votaries of Bacchus.”

Nothing else so poetical exists in Hindu folk-lore. I was never so fortunate as to hear anything of the belief and beings so pleasingly

described. The contributor does not mention what region he writes of, but the name *kannimār* indicates a Tamil district; neither does he say anything of their size, but they would appear to be of ordinary human stature. They are seen in the daytime, and, like the nymphs of Greece, love streams and baths, but, like the nymphs and the fairies, may not be rashly looked upon. ¶ Very notable, too, is their beneficent disposition, so different to that of the demons and *Bhūtas*, who absorb so large a portion of Indian village worship. In them Āryan and Turanian attributes are strangely mingled, and their origin

would seem rather assignable to the poetic instincts latent in all races that have risen above mere savagery, and to the desire of explaining natural or extraordinary appearances. The *kannimār* seem much to resemble the Fairy ladies of romance, and further accounts of them would be very acceptable, especially if the ingenious contributor or others could collect and give some of the stories and instances alluded to, taken down from actual recital of the villagers: such stories would be the best information, and most interesting to mythologists.

CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEA.

KARHĀDA BRĀHMANŚ.

Mr. Nairne, at page 135 of his book *The Konkan*, states that the Rājāpur Tāluka is the native district of the Karhāda Brāhmanś. It may be so with regard to the Ratnāgiri Zillā, but the real district from which these Brāhmanś, scattered over different parts of India, originally came is different. The *Sahyādri Khaṇḍa* of the *Skanda Purāṇa* supplies very clear information on this point. It states that the country named Kārāśṭra (काराष्ट्र) was the original place of residence of this section of Brāhmanś. This country, the *Purāṇa* says, extended forty *kos* between the Vedāvati (most probably the Vārnā river) on the south, and the Koyanā on the north. It appears that the country was known under the name of its chief town, which is the present Karhād, at the junction of the Koyanā with the Kṛishṇā in the Satārā district. This account makes it clear that the name Karhāda applied to a division of Brāhmanś is derived from the name of their original country, in the same manner as the names Deśastha and Konkanastha are derived from the countries of Deśa or Mahārāṣṭra and Konkan.

ŚRĪKRISHNA ŚĪSTRĪ TALEKAR.

Queries.

1. Is Thākur a pure Sanskrit, i.e. Vedic word?
2. It has been said that this is a Kolarian, and not a Sanskrit term. Is this assertion capable of proof?
3. At present it is used in two principal senses:—1st, an idol; 2nd, a lord or landholder. Which of these two is probably the primary meaning of the word?

¶ "He has seen a nymph" was the ancient explanation of sudden insanity.

"They are fairies; he that speaks to them shall die, I'll wink and cough: no man their work must eye," exclaims Falstaff.

Any information whatever respecting these questions will be most thankfully received, and the more so as we want to adopt one and the proper title for the Supreme Being in our several Missions.

At present three words are used by the Sāntāl missionaries when speaking of God:—

1, Chando; 2, Thākur; 3, Parmesvara.

F. T. COLE.

Taljhari, near Rājmahal, November 23rd, 1875.

GAUḌIYA DEŚA OF THE ANCIENTS.

It is generally supposed nowadays that Gauḍiya Deśa was the same as Bengal, because Gauḍa was the ancient capital of this province. But the ancient name of Bengal was Banga, and not Gauḍa, as the following śloka from the *Skanda Purāṇa* will clearly show:—

सरसताः कान्यकुब्जा गौडमैथिलचौकलाः

पञ्च गौडा इति ख्याता विन्ध्यस्योत्तरवासिनः

It is therefore evident from the Pauranic accounts that the place which went by the name of Gauḍa is not Bengal, but a country north of the Vindhya hills, and the people thereof were called Pancha Gauḍa.

RĀM DĀS SEN.

Berhampur, 26th November 1875.

MALABAR CHRISTIANS.

To the Editor of the *Indian Antiquary*.

SIR,—Mr. Collins has again (vol. IV. p. 306) returned to the discussion of some matters which he connects with the so-called Syrians of the Malabar Coast. The real point at issue is the credibility or not of the legend which makes the Apostle St. Thomas visit India, which is understood to mean

The *Mahābhārata* relates that the Rāja Yayāti, whilst hunting, surprised Sarmisthā, the daughter of the Daitya Rāja or demon-king, and her nymphs, while bathing; but no good came of it.

the Malabar Coast. Mr. Collins first accepted it as credible and trustworthy; he now says: "My object is not primarily to contend that St. Thomas came to India—though I have something more to say about that too—but that the early" [?earliest] Christian sects "I suppose "in India" is to be supplied] "were orthodox, and not Gnostic or Manichæans," &c. Mr. Collins's "something more" is an assertion that it is quite possible that an Apostle with "the gift of tongues" could have gone to India, and he quotes several passages (already well known) to show that there were Christians in India in the fourth century and afterwards. I am not prepared to discuss what the Apostles might have done; I only ask for evidence as to what they did. Still less can I enter upon a question of the orthodoxy of sects that may have existed in India, but of the existence of whom Mr. Collins does not appear to me to give any proof: for I can hardly accept as such their discovery in the eighth century in consequence of a dream, whatever opinion I might wish to have of Mr. Collins's translation from a Malabar-Syrian fable. He does not appear to see that the existence in Malabar of Christians (whom Cosmas recognized as such) in the sixth century proves nothing as regards the first, second, or third century. Again he says: "Dr. Burnell revives an objection which has been used only too recklessly by Dr. Barton amongst others. . . . that India was in the early centuries A.D. the name of nearly the whole East, including China. . . . According to this argument, Megasthenes, for instance, though he called his book *India*, may have visited Fuh-chau. The same argument may be used as successfully against Al Nadim's account," &c.

Now if there is any recklessness it is surely on Mr. Collins's part who has managed to compare the meaning of a Greek name of the fourth century B.C. with the same name as used 500 or 600 years later by Romans, Greeks, and Syrians, as if geographical discovery had made no progress during this period. If Mr. Collins will look at the beginning of Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde* he will find the origin of the name *India*, and if he will look out the word in a Latin Dictionary with references he will see how with the progress of discovery the meaning changed, and how far he is in the wrong. If this will not do, I can only refer him to any history of geographical discovery (e. g. the Abbé Vivien de St. Martin's); and, as regards the use of the term 'India' at different periods, to pp. 313, 416, and 417 ff. of vol. II. of the second edition of Col. Yule's magni-

ficent *Marco Polo*. Nor is there any ambiguity about the Arab term *Hind*—it means South India.

Mr. Collins says: "The epithet Manichæan . . . was a term that had got to be used indiscriminately for any Christians who were not at the feet of the great Bishop of Rome." All I can say is that I should like to see it proved that Muhammadan Arabs of the ninth century did so, or indeed that there is any foundation for the assertion that this was the case in Europe.

Mr. Collins still adheres to the assertion that Pahlavi is an Aramaic language* and was used at Edessa. About one word in three in Pahlavi is Chaldean, and there is no evidence that it was the language of Edessa.

Passing over minor matters, I shall only refer to Mr. Collins's note on page 314. He says: "If the name *Mānigrāmam* be spelt more correctly with the dental than the cerebral n (Dr. Burnell spells it with the latter), then in the purest and most primitive Tamil it would describe a village ceded as a free gift by royalty," &c. Now Mr. Collins should first have ascertained that the Syrian grants have the word *Māpikkirāmam* (i.e. *Mānigrāmam*) as plainly written as possible, and more than once, and that there can be no doubt about the word. Secondly he should know that there is no such word as *Mānigrāmam* in Tamil of any period;† there is a Sanskrit-Tamil word *mdniyam* (abridged from the Sanskrit phrase, common in the later South Indian grants—*Sarvamānya*, which means free of all taxes), but *mdni* is not to be found.

As regards Mr. Whitehouse's *Manigramakar*, I cannot find the slightest proof given by him (or even a hint of his authority) for the extraordinary statements he makes. Anyhow, they have nothing to do with the present matter.

A. BURNELL.

Tanjore, 19th October 1875.

[We must close this discussion for the present.—ED.]

FUNERAL CEREMONY AT BOMBAY.

To the Editor of the "Indian Antiquary."

SIR,—When I commenced travelling in India, I was prepared to expect much perplexing variety in the religious and social usages of the different castes, but the actual reality far outdoes my anticipations. One great use of the *Indian Antiquary* is that it enables scholars and antiquarians living in different parts of India to exchange ideas with each other, and to profit by each other's knowledge and experiences.

I have printed, he may see that the greater part is Persian.

† How can Mr. Collins suppose that *grāmā* is a Tamil word?

* Prof. Max Müller is, of course, correct as regards the few Sassanian inscriptions and coins, but these constitute a very insignificant part of the Pahlavi documents that are in existence. If Mr. Collins will look at the inscription

I lately paid a visit to the Hindu burning-ground on the shore of Back Bay at Bombay, and witnessed a curious funeral ceremony there. The body of a man about forty years of age had been burnt the day before. On the morning of my visit about twenty-four men, his relations, gathered round the ashes to perform what appeared to be a kind of *śrāddha*. They offered no objection to my standing close to them, nor even to my asking them questions. The ceremony commenced by one of their number examining the ashes, and carefully separating any portions of the bones that had not been calcined by the flames on the previous day. These he collected in his hands and carried outside the burning-ground, with the intention, I was told, of throwing them into the sea near at hand. This being done, the whole party gathered round the ashes of the pyre in a semicircle, and one of the twenty-four men sprinkled them with water. Then some cowdung was carefully spread in the centre of the ashes so as to form a flat circular cake of rather more than a foot in diameter, around which a stream of cow's urine was poured from a metal vessel. Next, one of the men brought a plantain-leaf and laid it on the circle of cowdung so as to form a kind of dish or plate. Around the edge of the leaf were placed five round balls, probably of rice-flour, rather smaller than cricket-balls, mixed with some brown substance. I presume these balls are what in the regular *śrāddha* ceremonies are called *piṇḍas*. Sprigs of the *tulsi*-plant and fresh leaves of the *betel*, with a few flowers, were inserted in each ball, and a coloured cotton cord loosely suspended between them. Next, one of the relations covered the five *piṇḍas* with the red powder called *gulā*. Then five flat wheaten cakes were placed on the plantain-leaf inside the circle of the five *piṇḍas*, and boiled rice was piled up on the cakes, surmounted by a small piece of ghee mixed with brown sugar. The ceremony being so far completed, the deceased man's nephew, or sister's son, took an earthenware vase, filled it with water and held it on his right shoulder. Starting from the north side, he commenced circumambulating the five *piṇḍas* and the five wheaten cakes, with his left shoulder towards them, while one of the relatives with a sharp stone made a hole in the jar, whence the water spouted out in a stream as he walked round. On completing the first round and coming back to the north, a second incision was made with the same stone, whence a second stream poured out simultaneously with the first. At the end of the fifth round, when five streams of water had been made to spout out from five holes round the five *piṇḍas*, the earthenware vase was dashed to the ground

on the north side, and the remaining water spilt over the ashes. Next, one of the relatives took a small metal vessel containing milk, and, with a betel-leaf for a ladle, sprinkled some drops over the rice piled on the wheaten cakes. After which, taking some water from a small *lotā*—or rather making another relative pour it into his hand—he first sprinkled it in a circle round the *piṇḍas* and then over the cakes. Finally, bending down and raising his hands to his head, he performed a sort of *pūjā* to the *piṇḍas*. This was repeated by all twenty-four men in turn. After the completion of the ceremony, the balls and cakes were left to be eaten by crows.

Will you permit me to ask whether similar funeral rites have been witnessed by any of your correspondents? The men were said to have come from some neighbouring Marāṭhī district. To what caste do these usages belong? and why should there be five *piṇḍas* and five flat cakes?

MONIER WILLIAMS,

Boden Professor of Sanskrit.

Belvedere, Calcutta, Dec. 26, 1875.

NOTE ON THE ABOVE.

The instance described was probably performed by Ghāṭīs: it is not quite in accordance with either the Brāhman or Marāṭhī customs. The water-jar is carried round the pyre by the nearest relative or heir, and the holes made by the repeater of the *mantras* with a stone—the *śalī*—picked up where the body is rested, halfway between the deceased's house and the burning-ground. The *piṇḍas* are at first four—for the deceased, and the *pitṛis* of father, grandfather, and great-grandfather; they are then made into a single mass, as the deceased has joined the *pitṛis*. This is then divided into three—for the deceased as the father of the performer, and his grandfather and great-grandfather; but additional *piṇḍas* are sometimes added for gurn, uncles, &c.—Ed.

SANSKRIT MSS.

Extract from Dr. G. Bühler's preliminary Report on the results of the search for Sanskrit MSS. in Kāśmīr.

Bābū Nīlāmbar, Chief Justice to H. H. the Mahārāja, had had prepared before my arrival a list of about seven hundred Sanskrit works known to exist in Kāśmīr, which was forwarded to me by Major Henderson. I at once went over it with the compiler, and selected some seventy works for copying. At the same time the principal Paṇḍits of Śrīnagar came to visit me, by order of the Mahārāja, and brought me the lists of their books.

As at first it seemed doubtful whether I should be able to acquire an old MS. of the *Rājatarangīnī*, and

as I knew that it would not be of much use to get a fresh Devanāgarī transcript made, I borrowed an excellent annotated old copy of the work, which had been transcribed by one Gaṇakāk Paṇḍit from the *codex archetypus* belonging to Keśavram Paṇḍit, and began to collate it with the printed edition. This work of collation occupied me for four to five hours a day until September 29th, when the 8,000 ślokas were finished. Several particularly important passages were also collated with Keśavram's copy. I found that the published editions contain a very large number of mistakes, most of which seriously affect the meaning of the text, the form of the names, &c. To give one example only, the name of the oldest Kāśmīrian dynasty is not, as usually read, Goṇarda, but Goṇanda.

In order to clear up the numerous geographical and other questions connected with the *Rājatarangīnī*, I had frequent meetings with some of the Paṇḍits best acquainted with the antiquities of Kāśmīr, and I made several excursions to ancient sites in the western half of the Valley. These inquiries resulted in the identification of a considerable number of the sacred and historical places mentioned in the *Rājatarangīnī*, e.g. of the Pradyumnapīṭha with the Hariparvat or Śārikāparvata in Śrinagar, of the Mahāpadma with the Wollur lake, of Jayavana with the village of Zevan, of Shaḍarhadvana with the village of Hārvan, of Jayāpīṭha's Dvāravatī with the village of Bahirkūt near Sumbal,* of Chakradhara with the Chakdhar hill or mound, &c.

They also led to the discovery of the real nature of the Kāśmīrian era which has been used by Kalhana in the last three books of his chronicle, and is still in use among the Brāhmins of Kāśmīr. Its true name, derived from the supposed secular procession of 'Ursa major, is the era of the Saptarshis. It began on Chaitra Sudi 1st of the 26th year of the Kaliyuga, or March-April 3076 B.C. In using it the Kāśmīrians usually leave out the hundreds, though there are instances in which they have been added. The year 24, stated by Kalhana to be equal to Śaka 1070, is really the year 4224† of the Saptarshi era. With this key it will become possible to fix the chronology of the later Kāśmīrian kings with perfect accuracy. I may add that General Cunningham's dates very closely agree with those obtained by reducing Kalhana's Saptarshi years to years of the Christian era.

Very soon after the beginning of my search, a great many ancient MSS. were offered to me for sale, out of which I selected upwards of 160,

more than forty of which are written on birch bark. As I also increased the number of MSS. to be copied to more than one hundred, the total of books which I finally took with me from Kāśmīr is considerably over 270.

All the old MSS., with two or three exceptions only, are written in Śāradā‡ characters. This alphabet, and not the Devanāgarī, is commonly used in Kāśmīr, and must be of great antiquity, as it occurs also on the coins of the 9th century.§ Like all Indian alphabets, it has been derived from the old Pāli alphabet of the Aśoka inscriptions. It preserves, however, more ancient forms than any other modern alphabet which I have seen. MSS. written in Śāradā characters are mostly pretty correct. But nearly all old Kāśmīrian MSS. are more or less mutilated. Very frequently the end and the beginning are missing, or at least single lines, words, or letters. The cause of this state of things is chiefly that the birch bark, which before Akbar's time was the only material used for writing on, is exceedingly fragile. As soon as birch-bark MSS. reach any considerable age or are used frequently, they begin to split and to tear in all directions, and the surface of the pages begins to slough. Of course letters, words, and even whole lines are lost or become illegible. The destruction of the first and last pages is owing to the custom of having the MSS. bound in rough country leather, without inserting blank leaves for protection.

Modern MSS. are mostly complete, but in many cases, where few copies only of a book existed, it is very probable that the lacunae have been filled up at random. One Paṇḍit confessed to me that he had restored more than twenty-four pages of the *Vishnudharmottara*. Another Paṇḍit asked me if the copies to be prepared for myself were to be made complete or not. I do not believe, however, that this course has been adopted for those works which are to be found in a great number of copies. There it is likely, and I have heard it asserted as a fact, that complete copies are obtained by comparing a number of mutilated MSS.

As to the contents of the acquired books, Poetry, Poetics, Grammar, and Śaiva Philosophy are best represented, as these subjects have been since time immemorial the specialities of the Kāśmīrians. But there are also curious and rare works from all branches of Hindu learning.

In Poetry the historical works take the first place. I am happy to state that I have been able to secure a complete set of the four known *Rāja-*

* Not Andarkūt, as conjectured by General Cunningham, whose mention of the site in his *Geography*, however, led me to visit the place.

† i.e. 3076 + 78 + 1070 = 4224.

‡ Śāradā or Śāradā is a name of Sarasvatī, and Śāru-

śārdā may be translated by 'characters sacred to Sarasvatī.' Similarly Kāśmīr is sometimes called Śāradā-deśa, 'the country of Sarasvatī.'

§ Toramāna's coins show characters nearly identical with those of the Gupta inscriptions.

tarangīnīs, written in the Śāradā character, and about fifty to sixty years old. As already stated, the present editions are not trustworthy,—least so in the 7th and 8th books,—because they have been based on Devanāgarī MSS. I am confident that with the help of my collation and of the new Śāradā MS. it will be possible to produce a readable and reliable text. There are also two works of the late Sāhibrām Paṇḍit, both entitled *Rājatarangīnīśaṅgraha* which explain difficult passages in Kalhaṇa's chronicle, and a third bearing the same title, which treats Jonarāja's *Tarangīnī* in detail. A collection of *Mahātmyas* describing many famous Kaśmīr *Ārthas* will further assist in elucidating the *Rājatarangīnī*. Among the sources from which Kalhaṇa compiled his work, I have obtained the *Nīlamatapurdāna* in five copies, four written in Śāradā characters, and one in Devanāgarī. Just before I left Kaśmīr three copies of Kshemendra's *Rājāvalī*, a work which Kalhaṇa criticizes very sharply, were discovered. Two of these have been promised, and are probably already on their way to Lāhor. I think there is still a hope that some more of the old chronicles will turn up. One Paṇḍit certainly assured me that he had news of the existence of Śankuka's *Bhuvanābhyaśudaya*. Besides, a great many old birch-bark volumes are in the hands of Brāhmanas, who, themselves unacquainted with Sanskrit, had learned ancestors. The learned Paṇḍits find it hard to make such men give up their books, but in course of time they will no doubt succeed in extracting all that is valuable, since they have become fully alive to the importance of searching the 'garas.'

Of other historical books I have acquired three copies of Bāṇa's *Harshacharita* and an imperfect copy of its commentary, the *Saṁketa*. The latter is, however, not of much use, as its compiler, Śaṁkara, knew little of Sanskrit and less of history. There is, finally, a curious work on the history of the great Chahavāna prince Prithvirāja, entitled *Prithvirājaviṃśaya*, with a commentary by Jonarāja, the author of the second *Rājatarangīnī*. The MS. is a very old and very dilapidated birch-bark volume, and in so bad a condition that I fear it will not be possible to decipher the whole of its contents. It contains portions of the twelve Sargas. The name of its author is not given in the colophons of the Sargas, but it would seem that the work belongs, like the *Harshacharita*, the *Gaṇavādha* (of Vākpati), and the *Vikramānakaśya*, to a protégé of the hero. It will be interesting to compare its contents with Chand Bardāi's great Hindi *Rāso*.

Besides these historical works there are eight larger new Kāvya:—

1. The *Haravijaya* of Ratnākara,

2. The *Dakṣatāracharita* of Kshemendra,
3. The *Rāmīyaṇamanjari* of Kshemendra,
4. The *Samāyandīpikā* of Kshemendra,
5. The *Śrīkanthacharita* of Mankha,
6. The *Rāvandrajuntya*? (incomplete),
7. The *Stutikusumānjali*,
8. The *Haracharitchintāmani*,

and some smaller productions. The oldest of these poems is the first, which dates from the beginning of the 9th century; next come the works of Kshemendra, who wrote in the first half of the 11th; and last Mankha's, who flourished in the beginning of the 12th century.

Bābū Nīlāmbar has already forwarded copies of the *Haravijaya* to Paṇḍit Śvarachandra Vidyāśāgara in Calcutta, and an edition of the book may be expected. In order to make the collection as useful as possible, I have secured for nearly all these poems both Devanāgarī and Śāradā copies, and, in the case of Nos. 1, 2, 5, 6, and 7, commentaries.

Among the known but rare poetical works are copies of Kshemendra's *Bharatamanjari* and of the *Yudhishthiravijaya*, whose author the Kaśmīrian MSS. state to be Vāsudeva. There is also a commentary on the latter work. An old copy of Bilhana's *Panchdśikā* definitively settles the question as to the authorship of the little poem, and explains the origin of the literary anecdotes current regarding it. Several ancient birch-bark MSS. of Somadeva's *Kathāsaritgāra*—which the Kaśmīrians usually call *Vṛihatkaṭha*—will, I trust, enable us to correct the errors of the Devanāgarī MSS. on which the published edition is based.

A large *Subhāshitāvalī*, or collection of elegant extracts, by Śrīvara, the author of the third *Rājatarangīnī* (second half of the 15th century), is important for the literary history of Kaśmīr.

In Poetics or *Alaṁkāra* there are, besides the well-known *Kāvya-prakāśa*—of which, however, the Kaśmīrian MSS. differ from those used in Hindustān—and its commentary the *Ānandī*—

1. The *Alaṁkārasarvasva*, see *Oxf. Cat.* p. 210,
2. The *Alaṁkāravimarśinī*, see *ibid.*,
3. The *Dhvanydīpāpanjikā* of Ratnākara,
4. The *Dhvanydīpāpanjikā* of Abhinavagupta with the *Uddyota*,
5. The *Alaṁkārasaṁkha*,
6. The *Alaṁkārasatnākhya*,
7. The *Chandrarūpa* of Jayadeva, with a commentary,
8. The *Kāvyadīpikā*, attributed to Rudrata,
9. The *Abhidhāpittimātrikā* of Mukula,

and a few minor works.

If No. 8 really belonged to Rudrata—a statement which I very much doubt—it would be the oldest work in the collection. For Rudrata or Rudrabhaṭṭa, like Udbhata, was one of the Paṇḍits

of Jayāpīḍa; next in age come Ratnākara and Mukula, which latter was the son of the famous Śaiva philosopher Kallaṭa and lived under Aṇṭivarman (9th cent. *Rāj.* v. 66).

For Grammar I have obtained the *Paribhāṣha*, attributed to Vyāḍi and to Chandra, and a small fragment of Chandra's grammar treating of the letters. The first work has also a commentary. Vyāḍi and Chandra are two of the old grammarians, and the recovery of small portions even of their writings would be of great importance for the history of grammar. But I am not as yet prepared to decide on the genuineness of my acquisitions.

Three incomplete Śāradā paper MSS. of Patanjali's *Mahābhāṣya* have been bought, and just at the time of my departure a slightly mutilated birch-bark MS. of the same work turned up, which the ignorant owner and his friends had worshipped as a MS. of the *Kaṭhāsaritāgāra*. This MS. also will eventually be added to the collection. Dr. Kielhorn considers it a matter of great importance to have genuine Kāśmīrian copies of the *Mahābhāṣya*, in order to decide the question if the work has been really recast by the Kāśmīrian Paṇḍits, as has been alleged on the strength of statements made in the *Rājatarangīnī*. It is to be hoped that these MSS. will help to settle the question.

A small portion of a MS. of Kaiyaṭa's *Pradīpa*, written in Śāradā characters, has also been obtained.

Among other new or rare works connected with Pāṇini's system, I may mention Bhartṛhari's *Vākya-padīya*; an excellent birch-bark MS. of the *Kāśikāśrīti*; copies of portions of Śhāvira Jīnendrabuddhi's *Nyāsa*—Jīnendrabuddhi was an inhabitant of Bārnūla or Vārāhamūla; of Kshīra's *Dhātutarangīnī*; of the same author's *Aṣṭayaspīti*; of Harṣadeva's and an anonymous *Līṅgānuśāsanaśrīti*; of Māṇikyadeva's *Uṇādiśrīti*, called the *Daṭapādī*; and of the *Rāpāvatāra*. A complete birch-bark MS. of the *Nyāsa* has been promised.

The grammar now chiefly studied in Kāśmīr is, however, not Pāṇini's, but the *Kaṭṭpa* or *Kātantra*. Kāśmīr furnishes, therefore, a number of commentaries on the *Kātantra*, which have been compiled by Kāśmīrian Paṇḍits, and are rarely if ever met with out of the Valley. The works falling under this head, which I have secured, are:

1. *Laghuvṛtṭi*, by Chibuchhukabhaṭṭa,
2. *Kātantrakānūmudī*,
3. *Bālābodhīnī*,
4. *Bālābodhīnīnyāsa*,
5. *Śiṣhyahitānyāsa*.

The number of MSS. containing works on Śaiva philosophy and the rites of the Śaivas amounts to more than forty. Among them are the famous *Spandasūtras*, with a variety of commentaries, and the huge works of Abhinavagupta and Kshema-

rāja, such as the *Tantriloka* with its *flā* and the *Pratyabhijñānāmśīnī*.

The oldest Śaiva authors are Vasugupta, who is said to have received the *Spandasūtras* from Śiva, and Avadhūta, who, according to *Rāj.* I. 112, lived under Jaloka, the son of Aśoka. Next come Kallaṭa (9th century), Abhinavagupta (10th century), and Kshemarāja (10th and 11th centuries).

There are also a few important additions to Vedic literature, though the chief prize, the old birch-bark MS. of the *Paippalādaśākhā* of the *Atharvaveda*, did not fall to my share, as H. H. the Mahārāja had bought and forwarded it to Sir W. Muir before my arrival.

The most important Vedic MS. of my collection is a complete birch-bark MS. of the *Rigveda Samhitā*, written in Śāradā characters. It professedly contains the *Śākhāśākhā*, but its accentuation differs from that of all known MSS. While the latter mark the *anuddīta* and *śrūta* by horizontal and vertical lines, this MS. marks the *uddīta* alone by a vertical line placed above the accentuated syllable. The volume contains also other pieces referring to the *Rigveda*.

Next comes a modern copy of the greater portion of the first *grantha* of the *Kāthaka*, which belongs to the *Charakaśākhā* of the Black Yajurveda. The *Kāthaka* has hitherto been known through a single MS. belonging to the Berlin library. The newly acquired fragment shows also traces of accentuation.

To the same redaction of the Veda belong also two Angas or supplementary works which have now been first recovered. The more important of the two is the *Kāthaka Gṛhyasūtra*, or 'handbook of domestic ceremonies according to the Kāthaka school,' which is attributed to the Rishi Laṅgākṣī. It is accompanied by a commentary of Devapāla, and is universally used by the Kāśmīrian Paṇḍits. From this fact it would seem that, though the Kāśmīrian Brāhmins usually call themselves Chaturvedis, 'students of the four Vedas,' and declare that they belong to no particular Vedic school, they were originally followers of the *Kāthakaśākhā*. My collection contains several Śāradā copies of the *Devapāla*, as the whole book is usually called, one of which (incomplete) is written on birch bark.

The other Anga is the *Chārdyanīyā Śikṣā*,—also, so far as I know, a novelty.

The *Paippalādaśākhā* of the *Atharvaveda* has been secured in a modern transcript made according to the old birch-bark MS. mentioned above. A second birch-bark MS. was not to be heard of.

Several Prayogas or handbooks used by the Kāśmīrian Bhāṭṭas have also been acquired.

Among acquisitions referring to other *Śāstras* deserve to be mentioned a commentary on the *Bhagavadgītā* by Abhinavagupta; the *Nyāyā-kandall*; the *Nyāyākalikā*; two birch-bark MSS. of Aparārka's commentary on Yājñavalkya; Brahmagupta's *Karāṇa* with Varuṇabhaṭṭa's and Prithūdakasvāmin's commentaries; and *Kośas* by Mankha and Kshemendra deserve to be mentioned.

I have finally to call attention to some works in the Kāśmīri language which will have a special interest for students of the Indian Prakrits. The oldest amongst these is the 'song of Lalīā,' *Lālīāvalīyāni*. It contains stanzas on the Śaiva creed, and is attributed to a poetess named Lalīā. The poem is accompanied by a full Sanskrit commentary.

Another work, the *Bāṇḍuravādha*, is of consider-

able extent. It was composed in the time of Zaiṇu'l Ābidin (1417—1467 A. D.) who, according to the statements of the Paṇḍits, caused many Sanskrit and Persian works to be translated into Kāśmīri.

I have also secured a modern poem treating of the loves of Nāgārjuna and Hiyamālā. Nāgārjuna, the great snake-king, who is enumerated among the rulers of Kāśmīr, and the Barbarossa of Kāśmīr, — Lalitāditya, are to the present day the favourite heroes of the bards.

These acquisitions are so much more interesting as Kāśmīri was supposed to be destitute of an ancient literature. But it appears now that it was a written language quite as early as any of the Indian Prakrits.

BOOK NOTICES.

THE TANJORE MARATHA PRINCIPALITY: the Land of the 'Chola, the Eden of the South. By WM. HICKEY. Madras, 1875.

The greater part of this work is purely political, but Mr. Hickey does not consider himself bound by unities of place or subject. Immediately after the statistics of population of the interesting tālukās of Kumbakonam and Negapatam, he gives us an essay upon "statue-sculptured idolatry," which is illustrated by a description of the caves of Elephanta. These our author considers to be "probably the most ancient temple raised by human ingenuity in perpetuation of religious truth," "tallying strangely with the symbolism of Egypt," and connected, as far as we can comprehend his not very lucid argument, with Freemasonry! The great Trimurti is to him "the High Altar"; and various figures in relief are identified with "the I Am of the Holy Writ," and with Him "described as Jehovah by penmen of inspiration." One group of what Mr. Hickey calls "sculptury" "portrays," in his opinion, "the Mosaic account of the Fall," and another suggests to his mind the Last Judgment. This farrago of nonsense is a fair sample of his archæological attainments. In modern history, by dint of extracts (not always in inverted commas) from standard authors, he gets on rather better, though he will find it rather difficult to prove his assertion that "while the Mahārāja Rājārām of Kolhāpūr was but a collateral and adopted descendant of the great Śivāji, the Princess of Tanjore is his direct lineal surviving descendant, and has a claim not only to Tanjore, but also to the kingdoms of Satāra and Kolhāpūr, *de facto de jure*" (sic)! A claim *de facto* to kingdoms two of which have disappeared for a generation, while the third is in the adverse occupation of a very lively and healthy young prince, is a novelty in political law, but not much more extraordinary than the greater part of this writer's eloquence.

LES STANCES ÉROTIQUES, MORALES ET RELIGIEUSES DE BHARTṚHARI, traduites du Sanscrit par Paul Regnaud. Membre de la Société Asiatique. (Paris: Ernest Leroux, Éditeur. 1875.)

This is apparently the first of a series of Indian classics for French readers. The object of the series is sufficiently indicated by the motto *Humani nihil alienum* which the translator has inscribed on his title-page. As the *Academy* observes, the number of students of Sanskrit literature, considered as one of the most interesting pages in the intellectual history of the world, is increasing every day, and M. Paul Regnaud no doubt hopes to do for this class among his countrymen what the late Dr. Horace Hayman Wilson so successfully accomplished for English readers.

He seems to us to have acted wisely in selecting Bhartṛhari's *Stanzas on Love, Morality, and Religion* as the first volume of his series. The writings of that Indian Solomon contain many shrewd reflections which are quite as applicable to European as to Asiatic humanity; and, if a foreigner may be permitted to make the remark, they retain in the prose version of M. Regnaud much of the neatness and epigrammatic point which characterizes them in their Sanskrit dress.

M. Regnaud is no bigoted Indianist. His remarks on the value of Sanskrit studies seem to us to be so eminently just, that we cannot deny ourselves the satisfaction of quoting them:—

"The importance, from the point of view of linguistic science, of philosophy, and even of history in its inorganic state, of the great Indian literary monuments, especially of those of the Vedic period, is no longer doubted by scholars; but though when regarded in this light they rival the most precious records which classical antiquity has bequeathed to us, we cannot affirm the same with regard to their literary value.

There can be no doubt that in this respect they cannot be compared with the masterpieces of Greece and Rome. Not only is it true that the special character of Indian civilization is opposed to the development of eloquence and history, whether of the picturesque or philosophic type; not only is it the case that no Demosthenes, Thucydides, Cicero, Livy, or Tacitus has arisen on the banks of the Ganges; but even in those provinces of literature which have been cultivated equally in the East and West the advantage has always remained on the side of the Western nations, and Vālmiki is as clearly inferior to Homer as Kālidāsa to Virgil. In spite of all this I cannot help boldly declaring my opinion (as a detailed discussion of the point would take up too much time) that the classical Sanskrit literature deserves the careful study of Europeans more than any other that the East has produced. Sanskrit literature is rich, varied, and original; it is the expression of the intellectual life of a people of the same origin as the natives of Europe; it embraces in its development a long course of centuries, and it reveals to us a form of human civilization which otherwise would be unknown to us. I may add that besides these various characteristics, which cannot but make the Sanskrit classics interesting to what it is the fashion to call the general public, they have sufficient elegances—I might even say beauties—to please the taste of *dilettanti*, sufficient striking peculiarities and unsolved problems to stimulate the appetite of the curious, and sufficient resemblances or contrasts to Western literature to occupy critics. I purposely put out of sight *savants*, philosophers, and professed literary students, to whom all the products of the human intellect are in themselves interesting and instructive."

This sober estimate of the literary value of Sanskrit compositions seems to us more calculated to put Sanskrit studies upon their true footing than all the hysterical rhapsodies of professed Indianists. At the same time there can be no doubt that M. Regnaud would by no means sympathize with the "studied neglect" which it is now fashionable for Englishmen to exhibit with regard to the sacred language of the majority of the inhabitants of India.

Equal good sense characterizes M. Regnaud's remarks with regard to the date of Bhartṛihari. There can be no doubt that many of the stanzas must be subsequent to the great development of modern Vedantism in the times of Śaṅkara Āchārya. Of course they may be interpolations.

We learn from M. Regnaud an interesting fact with regard to our poet:—

"A Protestant pastor, by name Abraham Roger, who came to India in 1640, brought back the materials of a work which he published in 1651, under the title of *A History of the Religion of the Brāhmanas*, and in which were contained two hundred proverbs of the sage Bhartṛihari, translated into Dutch from the version of the Brāhman Padmanāba. These were the stanzas on *Ntī*, which Roger translated "The Reasonable Conduct of Men," and those on *Vairāgya*, which he rendered by "The Road which leads to Heaven." The Brāhman Padmanāba was prevented by a feeling of delicacy from explaining the *Śringdṛa Satakam* to Roger. The pastor's work was subsequently translated into French under the title of *Théâtre de l'Idolatrie, ou la porte ouverte pour parvenir à la connaissance du Paganisme caché, &c.* Amsterdam, 1670."

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In some instances M. Regnaud seems to us to have abandoned literal accuracy. *Bhujalata* is a troublesome expression to translate into any Western language, but it seems to us that *les tiges de liane* (*Le Renoncement*, st. 93) is an unnecessary concession to European prejudices. Stanza 61 of *Le Renoncement*, corresponding to 29 of Mr. K. T. Telang's edition, seems to us to be wrongly translated. The true explanation is given by the Bombay editor in an extract from Rāmarshi.

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M. Regnaud has acknowledged the principle for which we contend, by leaving out some objectionable expressions; but we think the pruning-knife might have been applied a little more liberally.

The next translation to be issued is apparently that of the *Myrichchakatikā*, the most interesting of all the Sanskrit dramas to a student of social history, and we shall look forward with impatience to its publication.

A CHRONICLE OF TORAGAL.

BY J. F. FLEET, B. C. S.

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The original record, being in the modern Canarese dialect, has no special interest of its own. It is, therefore, unnecessary to publish the text; the translation alone will suffice.

I have not at hand the necessary books wherewith to verify the historical references. The chronicle, accordingly, must be taken for what it may be found on examination to be worth. Probably it is not to be accepted as entirely true and accurate. But papers of this kind are not often to be met with, and, when found, they are at least of interest in showing how far history can be correctly dealt with by the natives of this country.

Translation of the Chronicle.

Reverence to Śrī-Gaṇēśa! May there be prosperity! The succession of the great astrologers of the Bhāradvājagôtra; the details of the astrologers of Hūli.

After that in former times Mudgala*, Nārasimha and Venkaṭēśa, who were the heads of the family† of astrologers of the village of Kaṇakālurudige on the banks of the Gôdāvari, had come to these parts, on the occasion of a great famine they came to this district; and, having obtained an audience

of the universal emperor Virabukka and of king Jayaśekhara, and having undergone an examination as to their knowledge, they obtained the office of astrologers‡ within the boundaries of Toragal§ and the office of village-priests|| of Belagāṇve. The original representatives¶ of the family were:—Mudgalabhaṭṭa; Śrīdharaśarmā; his son, Bhāskara-bhaṭṭa; his son, Gōvindabhaṭṭa of Hūli*; Śrīdharaśarmā; Gaṇapatijōyisa; Viṭṭhalajōyisa; Vṛiddhaśaṅkarabhaṭṭa, the younger brother of Viṭṭhalajōyisa: these two were sons of one husband by different wives, and, as to their shares, the office of the boundaries of Toragal belonged to Viṭṭhalajōyisa, and the office of village-priest† to Vṛiddhaśaṅkarabhaṭṭa; Viṭṭhalajōyisa's sons, Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa and Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa; Venkaṭādrijōyisa of Toragal; Purushōtamabhaṭṭa; Dēvaṇajōyisa; Banadibhaṭṭa; Timmanabhaṭṭa; Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa; his son, Mudibhaṭṭa; and his son, Narasinhabhaṭṭa.

Hail! In the Kshaya saṁvatsara, which was the year of the Śālivāhanaśaka 1008, king Jayaśekhara, who belonged to a noble Kshatriya family, gave to Śrīdharaśarmā and Sahasraśarmā, with libations of water, the office of astrologers in the boundaries of Toragal.

After that king died, the names of the kings who succeeded him are:—The king Virabukka‡, the universal emperor: Mādhavāmatya-Vidyāraṇya was his minister;—the years of king Naraśiṅga are 593§; the years of king Harihara are 560; the years of king Prabhuḍadēva are 310||; the years of king Naraśiṅga are 470; the years of king Vīranaraśiṅga are 440; the years of king Rāmadēva are 390;—the years of king Kṛishṇa are 340; the years of king Achyuta are 275; the years of king Sadāśiva are 222;

* Mudgal, the chief town of the district of the same name in the territories of the Nisām of Haidarābād, is about ten miles to the east of the eastern border of the Hungund Tāluka of the Kālēgi District.

† Kuladēvaru.

‡ Jyōtisha-vṛitti.

§ Toragal is the chief town of the Native State of the same name, about fifty miles east by north of Belgaum. The old form of the name was Toragale, and under the Yādava kings of Dēvagiri Toragale was the chief town of the district known as the Toragale Six-thousand.

|| Grāmapurōhita-vṛitti.

¶ Mālapurusharu.

* About twelve miles south by west of Toragal.

† Grāmopādhyāya-vṛitti.

‡ According to copper-plate inscriptions, Virabukkarāya, or the brave king Bukka, of Vijayanagara, succeeded his elder brother Harihara I, whose predecessor was their father Saṅgama of the Yādavakula. I have not anywhere else as yet met with the name of Jayaśekhara. If his date is correctly given here and below as Śaka 1008, many kings intervened between him and Virabukkarāya, whose date is about Śaka 1290.

§ Calculated, evidently, backwards from the time when this document was written. It would seem to have been drawn up in the end of the last century.

|| Probably we should read 510 instead of 310.

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† Kuladēvaru.

‡ Jyōtisha-vṛitti.

§ Toragal is the chief town of the Native State of the same name, about fifty miles east by north of Belgaum. The old form of the name was Toragale, and under the Yādava kings of Dēvagrī Toragale was the chief town of the district known as the Toragale Six-thousand.

|| Grāmapurushita-vṛitti.

* Mūlapurusharu.

* About twelve miles south by west of Toragal.

† Grāmōpādhyāya-vṛitti.

‡ According to copper-plate inscriptions, Virabukkaraṇya, or the brave king Bukka, of Vijayanagara, succeeded his elder brother Harihara I, whose predecessor was their father Saṅgama of the Yādavakula. I have not anywhere else as yet met with the name of Jayaśēkhara. If his date is correctly given here and below as Śaka 1008, many kings intervened between him and Virabukkaraṇya, whose date is about Śaka 1290.

§ Calculated, evidently, backwards from the time when this document was written. It would seem to have been drawn up in the end of the last century.

|| Probably we should read 510 instead of 310.

the years of king Rāma are 167. In the year Raktākshi, in the month Māgha, on Friday the fifth day of the bright fortnight, at noon, Rāmarāja was slain in battle.

After that, on the tenth day of the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra of the Krōdhana *sauvatsara*, which was the year of the Śālivāhanaśaka 1487, the king of the city of Pāṇḍōnagara laid siege to Toragal.

On Tuesday the third day of the bright fortnight of the month Vaiśākha of the Dhātu *sauvatsara*, which was the year of the Śālivāhanaśaka 1478‡, under the constellation Rōhiṇi, at sunrise, Alli-Adal-Śāh, having given a promise of safety to the younger brother of the kept-mistress of Nāgarāja, (and having so enticed him) from the sally-port of Hūli, treacherously took him captive.

Then follow the names of the kings of Vijapura. The duration of the reign of Alli-Adal-Śāh was 26 years, 7 months, and 25 days; he ruled for three years after he took Toragal. After that, the duration of the reign of Ibharām-Adal-Śāh was 47 years, 4 months, and 17 days, (beginning on) Friday the tenth day of the dark fortnight of the month Chaitra of the Vikrama *sauvatsara*. The duration of the reign of Sultān Mahamad-Śāh was 27 years, 2 months, and 12 days, (beginning on) Wednesday the thirteenth day of the bright fortnight of the month Bhādrapada of the Pṛabhava *sauvatsara*. The duration of the reign of Adal-Śāh was — years, 1 month, and 1 day, (beginning on) Tuesday the thirteenth day of the bright fortnight of the month Kārttika of the Dūrmukha *sauvatsara*. The duration of the reign of Sultān Śikhēndra-Śāh was 13 years, — months, and 21 days, (beginning on) Wednesday the fifteenth day of the bright fortnight of the month Mārgaśīrṣa of the Paridhāvi *sauvatsara*. Adal-Śāh perished on Monday the seventh day of the bright fortnight of the month Āsvija of the Kshaya *sauvatsara*. The Tāmra-rājya* commenced then.

The names of those who held the post of Havaldār of Toragal after the Turukast

took Toragal are:—Ali-Āga, Sultān-Āga, Rāmaji-Pant, Kṛishnaji-Pant, Abdulla-Vaḍeru, Baḍe-Malik, Śidi-Yākōt, and Śidi-Sālim. On the fourth day of the bright fortnight of the month Pushya of the Kshaya *sauvatsara*, Kāśim-Khān came, and the reign of the Mōgals extended over the people of Toragal. The names of the Killēdārs of the Mōgals are:—Kādirād-Khān, Mahajā-Khān, Lachhīrāma, and Rāmasinga. On the thirtieth day of the dark fortnight of the month Māgha of the Vyaya *sauvatsara*, Avarangajib died‡, and Rāmasinga died. In the Sarvajit *sauvatsara*, Kuvarajit.§ On the fifteenth day of the bright fortnight of the month Vaiśākha of the Sarvadhāri *sauvatsara*, the illustrious Subhēdār Śiddi took Toragal and Rāmadurga|| by parley. The Haveldārs of Toragal were Sōsindō and Karanara-Sōsindō.

May it be well! Reverence to Śambhu, who is resplendent with a *chotri* which is the moon that lightly rests upon his lofty head, and who is the foundation-pillar for the erection of the city of the three worlds! May there be all kinds of auspicious omens! Hail! On Sunday, the tenth day of the bright fortnight of the month Pushya of the Kshaya *sauvatsara*, which was the year of the victorious and glorious era of the Śālivāhanaśaka 1008, under the constellation Bharanī, when the sun was commencing his progress to the north,—having washed the lotuses which were the feet of Śrīdharaśarmā and Sa-haraśarmā and one thousand other Brāhmanas, who were intent upon the six rites of sacrificing of their own accord, causing sacrifices to be performed, study, instruction, giving gifts, and receiving gifts, and who were the diamonds of the tiara of learned men, and who belonged to the ritualistic school¶ of Āśvalāyana and were born in the lineage* of Bhāradvāja,—king Jayaśekhara,—who was possessed of all good qualities; who was the chief of those who abound in affability; who was the cherisher of gods and Brāhmanas; who every day enjoyed the blessings of Brāhmanas; who was adorned with perfect good fortune; who was the supreme

* In copying, some mistake must have been made between the numerals 3 and 7, which are very similar in Canarese. By the table in Brown's *Carnatic Chronology*, the Dhātu *sauvatsara* was Śaka 1488, and Śaka 1478 was the Nala *sauvatsara*.

[According to Firishtah, however, A'li A'ḍil Shāh reigned from A.D. 1557 to 1579 (Ś. 1478 to 1500); Ibrahim A'ḍil Shāh II. from A.D. 1579 to 1626; and Muhammad Shāh, A.D. 1626 to 1659.—Ed.]

* The rule of the copper-coloured people,—the Musalmāns.

† Turuka, or Turushka, a Turk, or Musalmān.

‡ 3rd March 1707 A.D.

§ Probably the word 'died' is to be supplied here; in the original there is a lacuna.

|| The chief town of the Native State of the same name about five miles to the east of Toragal.

¶ Śātra.

* Gōtra.



W. G. G. Lith. (From a Photo.)

COLOSSAL JAINA STATUE AT YÊNÛR.

king of kings; who was the king of great kings; who was the receptacle of glory; who was a very sun among kings; who was worshipped by kings; who was a very lion of a king; who was resolute in the warfare of kings; who was the supreme lord of the throne which, located on the summit of the mountain of Pārāśaraparvata, extends over the Kaṛṇāṭaka and other countries up to the southern bank of the river Narmadā, — gave a charter as follows to one thousand and two Brāhmins:—

Our mother and father obtained final emancipation in the neighbourhood of the sacred shrine of Agastyēśvara of Nāgātirtha of Pāvallī† and became residents of Kailāsa. On their account, and for the sake of religious merit, we have given, as an *agrahāra* grant, the village of Pāvallī, including (a radius of) five *kos*. The details of this grant are as follows:— We have specified separately the names of those who hold the eight offices.‡ We have given the two posts of astrologers and of village priest to Śrīdharaśarmā and Sahasraśarmā, who are the astrologers and priests of the boundaries of Toragal. We have given the duty of superintending religious matters § to Anantabhāṭṭa of the lineage of Viśvāmītra. We have given the post of village-headman || to Sōmalayya and Vallabhayya and Tirmalayya of the lineage of Bhāradvāja. We have given the post of accountant¶ of the *agrahāra* to Śaṅkara of the lineage of Kāśyapa. We have given the post of director of sacrifices** to Chāmararasayya of the lineage of Maunabhārgava. We have given the astrologership of the boundaries of Toragal and the village priestship of Haralāpura, of the Chandriya Tarph, of the Śindōgi Tarph, of the Kaḍakōlāda Tarph, of the Gōvanakop Sammat, of the Hāli Tarph, of the Sugandhipattana†† Karyāti, of the Asuḍi Tarph, and of the boundaries of the Belagāṁve Tarph, to Śrīdharaśarmā and Sahasraśarmā. The details of the ownership of land given to them are:—(The share of) each post consists of four *mārus* less by a fourth; in this way 3756‡‡ *mārus* have been given to one thousand and two Brāhmins.

And the rent-free service-lands of the village-headmen and the accountant§§ and the others of the eight officers are 252 *mārus*. Thus we have given, with libations of water, 4008 *mārus* of land. The boundaries of this land are:—On the east, *his* share; on the west side, a stone with emblems on it near the road; on the south-east, a stone called Khajjigallu in front of the village of Alāṅgavāḍi; on the south, (the village of) Gummagoḷi; on the north, (the god) Basavaṅṇa of Kalakēri; on the south-west, (the big rock called) Navalaphadi on the east side of Bettasura; between the south-west and the west, the spring called Nāgajbari; after that, the gate called Kaṇavivāgilu of Sugandhipattana; on the west the altar of (the god) Hanumanta of Kadehalli on the bank of the Malāpahāri; on the north-west, the god Hanumantadēva on the road to the Navalatirtha near the bank of the river; in the centre of the north, the hill called Ratnamēkaliparvata; between the north and the north-east the god Brahmādēva of Kaṇavi; on the north-east, the temple of (the goddess) Kālakaṇṭamma. Thus, placing (as boundary-marks) at the eight points of the compass the peaks of the hill of Mōnēśidda, and having made this land, marked out by a circle of five *kos*, to be enjoyed by sons and grandsons in succession as long as the sun and moon may last, and having effected for our mother and father final emancipation by means of identification with the divine essence, we shall acquire universal sovereignty. We have written this stone-inscription close to the god Lakshmi-Nārāyaṇa in the Śaiva temple of Agastyēśvara. Those of our royal lineage who may injure it, shall incur the crime of having slain a mother or a father at Kāśī. If Brāhmins injure it, they shall incur the crime of having slain a cow at Kāśī. And if Śūdras and others injure it, they shall incur the crime of slaying a spiritual preceptor. May prosperity attend this deed of gift! With a religious object we have concealed treasure in the treasure of Nāgarakiṇḍi. (This is) the embellishment of the writing!

† i.e., the modern Hubballi. There are several places of this name in the Belgaum and Dhārwad Districts; apparently Mughatkaṇa-Hubballi, on the Malāpahāri or Malaprabhā near Belgaum, is intended here.

‡ Aśtādāhikāripala.

§ Dharmādhikāra.

|| Gauḍakiya-vṛitti.

¶ Śinabhāga-vṛitti.

** Yajamāna-vṛitti.

†† A corruption of Sugandhavarti, the old form of Savandhatti or Saundatti, the chief town of the Paragaḷ Tāluka of the Belgaum District.

‡‡ The correct calculation is 3757½ *mārus*; in modern Canarese 'māru' is equivalent to a fathom.

§§ Gauḍaśāradhāra mānya.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES.

BY M. J. WALHOUSE, LATE M.C.S.

(Continued from p. 25.)

No. X.—*The two Kanara Colossi.*

At page 353, vol. II. of the *Indian Antiquary* there is an account by Dr. Burnell, accompanied by a drawing, of the great Jaina statue at Kârkaḷa in South Kanara, and at page 129 an account and drawing of the still greater statue at Śrāvāṇa Belgōḷa, in Maisur. As Dr. Burnell observes, these monolithic colossi are of truly Egyptian dimensions, and though, owing to the inferior stone from which they are cut, unequal in point of execution, are far from wanting a certain lofty and expressive though rigid dignity. The Kârkaḷa statue stands upon a rounded rocky hill some three or four hundred feet high, in general appearance like a slop-basin reversed; and seen from a distance on this elevation it has a very remarkable aspect, towering waist-high above the crenellated wall that surrounds it, like a giant over the rampart of an enchanted castle. The spot is shown where it was excavated and cut into shape,—on the western declivity of the hill,—and now appears as a long irregular trench overgrown with herbage and bushes. A considerable depression or hollow runs transversely between this spot and the summit of the hill; this is said to have been filled with earth, and the colossus, when finished, raised on to a train of twenty iron carts, furnished with steel wheels, on each of which ten thousand propitiatory cocoa-nuts were broken, and covered with an infinity of cotton. It was then drawn by legions of worshippers up an inclined plane to the platform on the hill-top where it now stands, the transit taking many days. However legendary, this is at least intelligible; but how, when arrived at the top,—where the area is small, and entirely occupied by the platform and enclosure, with the sides falling steeply all round,—the enormous bulk, 80 tons in weight and $41\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, was raised safely upright on its stand, is diffi-

cult to conjecture. There it stands, uninjured, though darkened with the monsoons of centuries,—its calm fixed gaze directed eastward toward the magnificent mountain-wall of the Ghâts, that, mantled with forests and covered with green domes and peaks, stretches north and south some dozen miles distant.

The Buddhist and Jaina faiths have always tended towards the production of gigantic images, but the two above referred to, as well as a third in South Kanara of which more will be said presently, are the largest *monolithic free-standing* statues I have heard of in India, or indeed in Asia. The enormous statue at Bamian, in Kabul, is 180 feet high, excavated in high relief on a mountain-side, and in the fort at Gwalior there is a Jaina statue 57 feet high, hewn out of the solid rock, to which it is still attached at the back; there are still larger in Burmah, built up of brick and mortar. In Japan there is an image of Buddha 95 feet high, made of brass plates and hollow within. The Chinese pilgrim Fah-Hian* saw at To-li, the present Dardu or Dhir, an image of sandalwood 94 feet high, to make which the sculptor was by spiritual power thrice transported up to the Tushita heaven to observe the size and appearance of Maitreya Bodhisatwa. At Bangkok, in the Wat P'o monastery, there is a gilt metal image of Buddha 135 feet long; it reclines on the right side, with the head resting on the right hand.† General Cunningham describes a colossal figure of Buddha from 20 to 24 feet high at Mathura,‡ and remarks: "Stone statues of this great size are so extremely difficult to move that they can be very rarely made;" what, then, must have been the difficulty of moving the far more colossal Kanara statues, one to a hill-top, the other, as will be described, for some miles over rough ground!§

* Beal's *Travels of Fah-Hian*, p. 19.

† There is a bas-relief of the death of Buddha in cave No. XXVI. at Ajantā, in the left aisle, in which the figure of Buddha measures about 23½ feet long.—Ed.

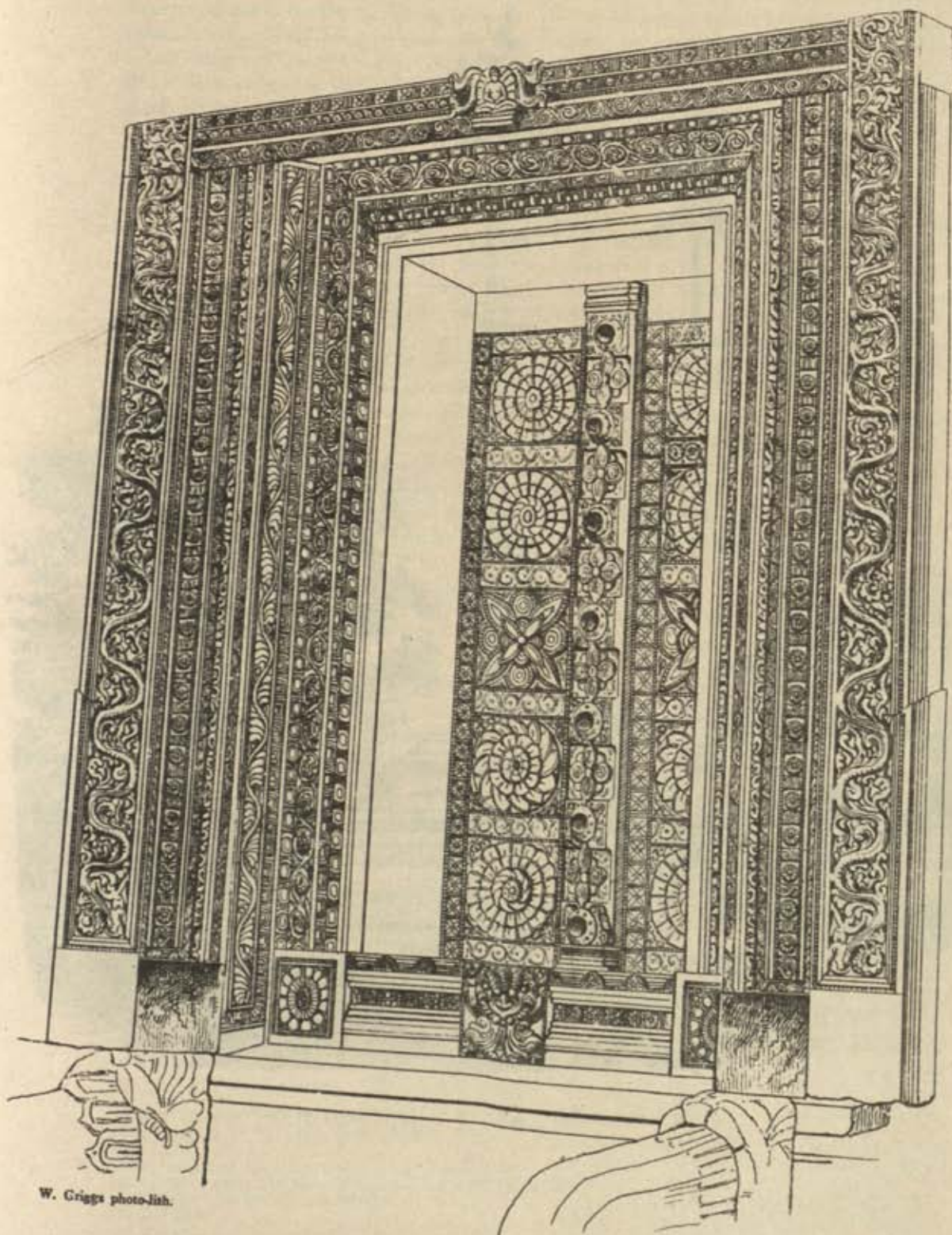
‡ *Archæological Survey*, vol. I. p. 239.

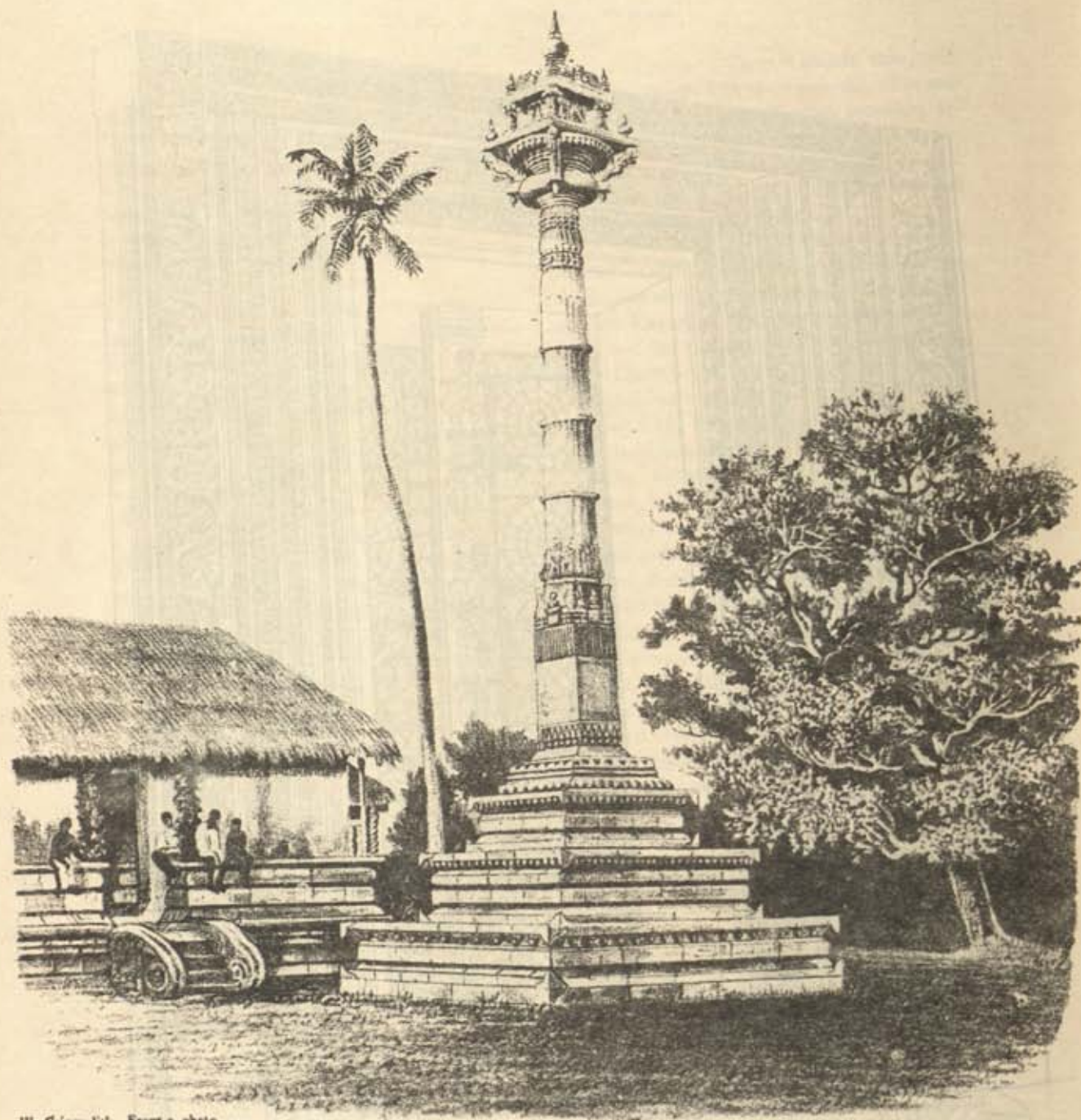
§ The completion and setting up on the Gothenburg, in the Tentoberger Forest, of a gigantic statue of Hermann, the deliverer of Germany and destroyer of the Roman legions, 9 A.D., has just (August 1875) been observed as an event of national importance. Like the Indian statues, it is placed on a hill, and raised on a substructure to clear the tree-tops; but, though fifty feet from foot to top of head,

it is made up of pieces of beaten copper weighing together only ten and a quarter tons. Yet it has taken thirty-seven years to construct. The petty Indian rajas probably took far less time in completing their much more ponderous statues of solid stone. Amongst other recorded great monolithic statues in India is a red granite image, evidently Buddhist, at a place called Santo Madhub, in Katāk; it is half buried in the ground: the upper half visible is nine feet in length, the head from chin to top four and a half feet. The image of Somanāth at Jagannāth is said by Maurice to have been wrought from a single stone, seventy-five feet in height; and his marble image in Gujarāt, said to have been broken

DOOR FRAME OF BLACK MARBLE, YÊNÛR.

Indian Antiquary.





W. Griggs lith. From a photo

JAINA PILLAR AT YENUR.

Yênûr, about twenty-four miles east of Kârkala, is one of the few remaining Jaina villages,—now very small, but must once have been a flourishing and splendid centre, judging from the remains of palaces and buildings, and the third colossal statue which still stands there. This statue is not, like the other two, placed on a hill, but on an elevated terrace on the south bank of the Gârpûr river, which meets and unites with the more southern river, the Nêtvâvati, at its mouth: so that the two rivers half enclose and separate the town of Mangalur by a broad watery girdle from the sea-beach. Yênûr is some forty miles inland, and the river there a swift clear stream about twenty yards broad running over a rocky bed. Approaching from the west, over an undulating well-wooded country, the first glimpse of the statue is very striking. One sees rising in the distance a gentle tree-clad slope on which a huge dark giant seems to stand, towering full height above the tree-tops, that just conceal the terrace. So seen, starting out in profile against the clear sky, it has a most strange, unearthly appearance. The terrace rises about fifty feet above the river's bed, and the image is enclosed by a square wall seven or eight feet high, with massive covered entrance, forming a good-sized quadrangle, in the midst of which it stands on a stone plinth of two stages placed on a platform four or five feet in height. It is lower than the Kârkala statue (41½ feet), apparently by three or four feet, but has never, that I know of, been measured: indeed, as at Śrâvâṇa Belgôla (but not at Kârkala), the people at Yênûr object to the statue being touched or approached too closely, or even to mounting the stone platform it stands on. It resembles its brother colossi in all essential particulars, but has the special peculiarity of the cheeks being dimpled with a deep grave smile. I could get no explanation of this, and regret not having been able to ascertain what particular Tīrthaṅkara it may be intended to represent. The people only knew it by the vulgar name of Gumtâ Râja or Gômâteśvara.¶ Two fine black-stone *stelēs* bear-

ing long inscriptions stand in one corner of the quadrangle,—probably containing all particulars, but I was unable to read or copy them. The salient characteristics of all these colossi are the broad square shoulders, very massive at the setting on of the arms,—perhaps from the exigencies of the material; the thickness and remarkable length of the arms themselves, the tips of the fingers, like Rob Roy's, nearly reaching the knees;¶ the hands and nails very full, large, and well-shaped. Considering the great massiveness of the upper part of the bust, the waist appears unnaturally slender; the legs are well proportioned. In the Yênûr image I noted at the time that the forehead was medium, neither high nor retreating; the nose slightly hooked, with broad nostrils; the lips full, especially the upper, and the cheeks remarkably broad, widening towards the bottom; the chin moderate. The neck is short and thick, with three creases across it; the same across the belly. All the colossi are distinguished by crispy, close-curved hair and pendulous ears: and their entire form and aspect appeared to me very unlike anything Hindu. Like its brother at Kârkala, the Yênûr giant looks eastward towards the prodigious slopes of the Kudîre Mâkh mountain, the highest part of the Western Ghâts, which rises abruptly more than six thousand feet about twelve miles in front.* In general effect this great statue is not so impressive as its brethren,—the smile, perhaps, weakens the expression. Like the others, it has the lotus entwining the legs and arms; or, as Dr. Bunnell suggests, it may be jangal creepers, typical of wrapt meditation. A triple-headed cobra rises up under each hand, and there are others lower down. The foot is eight feet three inches long, and the whole statue (when I saw it) much covered with lichen. Once in sixty years the Jains assemble, clean, and wash it with milk, &c.: many years must run at present before the next ceremonial cleansing. The plain archaic pillars behind will be noted.

The natives say that this statue was cut and wrought at a spot three or four miles distant from where it now stands and on the other side

by Muhammad of Ghazni, is reported to have been five ells (thirty feet) high. In the Abhayagiri convent in Ceylon, Fah-Hian saw a jasper image of Buddha twenty-two feet high.

¶ The same appellation is applied to both the Kârkala and Śrâvâṇa Belgôla statues (see *Indian Antiquary*, vol. II. 129); it does not occur in the list and account of the

Tīrthaṅkaras, pp. 134 to 140. [But it is perhaps intended for Gotama Indra bhūti, p. 140.—ED.]

¶ These long-armed figures appear in the Bâdâmi caves in Kâlidgi; see Burgess's *Archæological Survey of Western India*, 1874, plates xxxvii. and xlv.

* The accompanying drawing is from a photograph by Captain Ross Thompson, kindly lent by Mr. Ferguson.

the river; if so, its transport to its present site must have been a marvel of engineering skill. Both this and the Kārkaḷa image are traditionally said to have been sculptured by Jakkanāchāri, a kind of Hindu Wayland Smith, around whom numbers of legends have gathered, and to whom remarkable works in stone are popularly ascribed: probably he was a workman of extraordinary excellence. He is traditionally said to have wrought the Yēnūr statue with a single hand, one being disabled; hence its lesser size.† The legend goes that a bitter dispute having arisen between him and his son respecting an image in a temple at Yēnūr, he and his wife committed suicide and became Bhūtas or demons; and to this day, under the appellation of Kalkatti, i.e. 'stone-mason,' he is the most powerful, dreaded, and malignant Bhūta in South Kanara, where the principal popular cultus is really Bhūta-worship.

There are two or three Jaina temples in the village of Yēnūr, of no great size nor specially distinguished for architecture or sculpture; one, just without the colossus enclosure, contains a life-sized brass image‡ erect, and enshrined in burnished silver and brass work variegated with red ornaments. In another temple, further down the village, there is a large black marble image§ about eight feet high, the head surrounded with a broad golden aureole, precisely like the glories depicted round the heads of saints.

Adjoining this there is a small building or sacellum containing the twenty-four Tirthaṅkaras, in a row, all of the same size, each resembling each, about two feet high, cut in black stone, each under a horse-shoe-shaped

arch elaborately wrought from the same material. This long dark row of doll-like figures has a curiously quaint appearance. The building containing them is poor and mean with a thatched roof, but is entered by a doorway quite a wonder of exquisite and beautiful workmanship set in a common rough stone wall. The doorway is square-headed, its sides and top framed with long narrow slabs of black serpentine, of almost steely hardness and lustre, carved with a luxuriance and delicacy of ornament absolutely marvellous. A band of most elegant wavy foliage is succeeded by another bearing a line of rosettes bordered and separated by tasteful beading; and several other bands rich with foliage, moulding, and rosette-work fill up the deeply recessed entrance. The inner door-step bears in the middle a lion's head, and a large rosette at each end, the spaces between being finely worked; and the massive door itself is admirably carved in compartments, several bearing rosettes not unlike the Tudor rose, but sharper-edged. In the wall over the doorway is a line of six seated figures with hands laid on their laps. Opposite, in a small plain covered shrine, sits a cross-legged image of Adivāra, the primal god, grave, calm, and earnest-looking.

In front of the temple stands one of those wonderful Jaina pillars which, so far as I can hear, are of a type peculiar to South Kanara, where about twenty exist. On a pedestal formed of four stages rises a monolithic shaft about thirty feet high, exclusive of capital, quadrangular at base and for nearly a third of its height, each face bearing a different design of such

† Herr von Baudel, the sculptor of the vast image just raised to the national hero Hermann in Germany, beat out the two hundred pieces of copper of which it is constructed with his own hands, and without a model to guide himself by.

‡ A śāsanam referring to this temple mentions that the image is that of Śāntiśvara, the sixteenth Tirthaṅkara, and that part of its revenues was given over to the service of the great statue, which it styles Gōmateśvara, by its setter-up, whose name and date it records. The śāsanam is thus translated:—

"Śāsanam of the great and holy Jina, the most high; renowned for eloquence; conqueror and master of the three worlds: a śāsanam to all. The work carried out on Sunday the second of Mina of Sōbhakrit, 1526 of the Śālivāhana era (i.e. A.D. 1604)—this would make the Yēnūr colossus later by 172 years than the one at Kārkaḷa, 1432 A.D.—if there be no mistake). Blessed Vira Timma Rāja, the sovereign Ajlar (?), the beloved disciple of the gods, resplendent with glory, established the royal Gōmateśvara on Yēnūr hill, and gave over the charitable endowments of the śaśṭīlaya of the holy Śāntiśvara, on its (Gōmateśvara's) right hand, to Pandiappa Arasu,

the Binnani (minister) of the queen Padileva Devi. Whereupon the Binnani built the basti, and devised to the royal Gōmateśvara in perpetuity the following two lands (details given) producing eighty-two mōḍḍas of rice in aggregate rent; besides forty-nine āḍas (gold pieces) to be collected from Sanku Narnaya, forty-nine āḍas from Appāji, and one hundred and eighty for continually anointing the Gūmtanātha with milk under the superintendence of the Binnani, to be collected from . . . Whoever destroys this bequest shall be guilty of the sin of destroying a multitude of holy cows on the banks of the Gaṅgā."

§ The Jains delight in making their images of all substances and sizes, but always with the same features and attitude. I may mention that in the large village of Mūdubidri, between Kārkaḷa and Yēnūr, the stronghold and head-quarters of surviving Jainism in Kanara, there is, in one of the twenty-two temples there, an image of grey marble apparently about twelve feet high; the material is said to have come from Europe, and the image has a strangely shadowy, mysterious appearance in the dim recess in which it stands. Small portable images are made of crystal, alabaster, soap-stone, blood-stone, various red and green stones, &c.

intricate interlacement as only Jains could contrive and execute. Above this the shaft rises in four sections,—the first octagonal, the next sixteen-sided, the fourth plain, with arabesque enrichments on every alternate, third, or sixth side, and an ornamental band between each section. Over the fourth section the shaft passes into a bell-shaped necking, reeded and enriched with elaborate mouldings, the upper one spreading out circularly with downward curving edge, toothed with pendants, and supporting a square abacus on which a stone canopy, ending in a flame-like finial, rests on four colonnettes. The canopy covers a square block bearing in relief on each side a long-armed, curly-headed Tirthankara. From a moulding below the capital, four (*grāsāḍā*) griffin-like monsters stretch upward, meeting each corner of the abacus with their heads. The whole capital and canopy are a wonder of light, elegant, highly decorated stone-work; and nothing can surpass the stately grace of these beautiful pillars, whose proportions and adaptation to surrounding scenery are always perfect, and whose richness of decoration never offends.

Fine shafts are sometimes found before Brāhmanical temples: a remarkably handsome monolith, fluted throughout its length, stands before the temple at Perūr, near Koimbatūr, but in rich and beautiful adornment of capital, and delicate laborious decoration of shaft, the Kanara columns seem to be unapproached; General Cunningham || figures a pillar at Kahaon, in Gorakhpur, something in the same style, with the base square, followed by octagonal, sixteen-sided, and plain sections: it is without platform or pedestal, and the capital comparatively plain. It also resembles the western coast pillars in bearing on one face of the base "a naked standing figure with very long arms reaching to its knees." Whether this feature, as well as the close, crisped, curly

hair, was a personal peculiarity of Buddha himself, may be matter of surmise, but both features ¶ seem to have been handed down from very early days, and to have been accepted by the Jains in portraying their Tirthankaras. Mr. Beal, in his *Travels of Fah-Hian*, gives at the end a figure of Buddha erect and mantled,—said to be the best traditional likeness, having a history attached to it dating from the first century A.D. It was brought from a Lama temple near Pekin; and though the arms, which are partly mantled, do not seem unusually long, it exhibits the constant most un-Āryan characteristic of the close curly hair.* There appears some reason for thinking that these personal peculiarities, so rare in India, may have marked the bodily appearance of that greatest and most wonderful of mere mortals that ever wore flesh, Buddha Gautama,—greatest—if greatness be measured by long-continued and far-extended influence over the minds of successive generations and millions.

XI.—A Jain Temple and Śāsanaṃ.

The north-eastern declivity of the hill, on which the Kārkaḷa Colossus stands, descends steeply for a third of its height, and then spreads out into a broad irregular platform or spur, sinking very gradually to the level of the plain. On the upper part of this platform, under the gaze of the Colossus, stands a remarkable and beautiful temple, of a style very novel to those accustomed to the Drāviḍian temples of the south. It is four-square, half of each front filled with a projecting portico with pillars and pediments profusely sculptured; many of the blocks of stone in the walls are also ornamented with grotesque or fanciful designs, such as two snakes inextricably intertwined, geometrical figures, flowers, grinning faces, &c. The temple is roofed with immense sloping slabs or flagstones overlapping like tiles and projecting in deep eaves, and in the centre there appears to have

handsome, with a calm countenance, and arms reaching down to the knees: his breast is marked with the Śrīvatra figure." This is the symbol assigned to Sitala, the tenth Tirthankara, and is delineated at page 136, vol. II. of the *Indian Antiquary*. We know that when Buddha determined to forsake the world and turn Arhat, he cut off his hair with his sword as superfluous; thenceforward his hair never grew longer, but always curled to the right hand. It is for the Jains to explain how the attributes of their deified sages are mingled with those of Buddha, whom they profess to renounce and despise. Nor do Buddhists say why, after the hair had been cut short, it should have curled like a jaṅgal-man's or a Habshi's; nor why, as the Ceylon chronicles hand down, Buddha's eyes should have been blue,—a trait so foreign to Hindus.

|| *Archæological Survey Reports*, vol. I. p. 92.

¶ So far as I know, the genuine statues of Buddha are never represented naked; neither are the Tirthankaras of the Svetāmbara Jains. On the other hand, the Digambara Jains always represent their larger images as naked: thus they appear in the caves at Bādāmi, Aihole, Dhārāsira, and Elora.—En.

* In the *Bṛihat Saṁhitā*, the 58th chapter, devoted to the description and manufacture of idols, lays down the appearance of Buddha and the Jain god thus:—

"44. Buddha should be represented seated upon a lotus, and looking as if he were the father of mankind; with hands and feet marked by lotuses, with a placid countenance and very short hair.

"45. The god of the Jainas is figured naked; young,

been some sort of dome or tower—now in ruins. On the large heavy folding doors in one of the porticos being rolled back, a striking—almost startling—sight is revealed: for as the daylight penetrates the interior, three tall images, each about six feet high, of burnished copper, are seen standing side by side in a square gloomy recess, where they almost seem to start into life as the sunshine suddenly lights them up. Each resembles each, and they are the counterpart of the great statue on the hill above. An exactly similar triad stands within the entrance of each portico. Mr. Fergusson,† in describing a square temple of Ananda, in Burma, with projecting porticos on each face, observes that it is remarkably dissimilar to anything on the continent of India, and, with its seven-storied tower, more of a Babylonian than Indian type. What rose on the centre of the Kārkaḷa temple, whether dome or tower, is not clear; there are the ruins of some construction, but the square form and projecting porticos are there, and it is on the coast of India nearest ancient Babylonia.

The temple is beautifully situated, overlooking a wide panoramic landscape, well wooded, and diversified during the rains with all the luxuriant vegetation and vivid tints of the western coast; and an extensive hollow under the hill to the south is filled with a very picturesque miniature lake of deep blue water with a sharply winding shore, many little headlands, and a tree-covered islet in the middle, much haunted by white egrets. At one corner of the lake there are steps and a paved landing-place, whence, it is said, the old Jaina kings launched to disport themselves with boating. In those days Kārkaḷa must have been a centre of great stir and magnificence: half a mile northward of the hill may be seen the vestiges of a grand bazar street running in a straight line for a mile, and popularly declared to have contained 770 shops. It is now a hollow way, worn deep by the tread of vanished generations, and bordered on each side by mounds of earth and masses of disjointed masonry. It is still known as Hiriyā-Āṅgaḍi—Old Bazar, and its long vista is closed at the top by the grandest and tallest of the splendid decorated pillars spoken of in note No. X., standing

in the midst of a semicircle of three much-ruined temples. Between the Old Bazar and the hill I observed a small pillar of unusual appearance, a little to one side, on a waste open maidan, and, going up to it, found an obelisk-like stone pillar six or seven feet high, with something like a furnace at the foot. I could not for some time comprehend the explanations offered of its intention, but at last discovered it was the impaling pillar—the Tyburn or place of execution—where criminals were impaled, and a socket on its top marked where doubtless a long spike had been fixed for the purpose, on which many a miserable wretch must have expired in horrible agonies under the burning sun.

Returning to the fourfold temple, a fine black stone stelē stands beside the steps of its northern portico, bearing an inscription which I had copied; it is as follows ‡:—

Sāsana of the Jain Temple at Kārkaḷa.

Transcription.

ಚತುರ್ಮುಖಿಬಸ್ತಿಯು ಶಾಸನಂ.

ಶ್ರೀವೀರರಾಯನಮಃ || ಶ್ರೀಮತ್ಪರಮಗಂಧೀರಸ್ಯಾ-
ದ್ವಾದಾಪೋಫಲಾಂಭನಂ | ಜೀಯಾತ್ಪ್ರೀತೋಕ್ತನಾಥಸ್ಯ
ಶಾಸನಂ ಜಿನಶಾಸನಂ || ಅಚಂದ್ರಾರ್ಕಸ್ಥಿರಂ ಭೂಯಾದಾ-
ಯುಃಶ್ರೀಜಯನಂದನಃ | ಭೈರವೇಂದ್ರಮಹೇಶಾಂಕಃ ಶ್ರೀಜಿ-
ನೇಂದ್ರಪ್ರಸಾದತಃ || ಅವಿಘ್ನಮಸ್ತು || ಭದ್ರಮಸ್ತು ||
ಶೀರ್ಧಾಫಲಂ ಸುಖಮತ್ಯಯಂ ಚ ಕುರುತೇ ಶ್ರೀಪಾರ್ವ-
ತಾಢೀ ಬಲಂ ಕೀರ್ತಿಂ ನೇಮಿಜಿನಃ ಸುವೀರಜಿನಶಾಸ್ತ್ರಾಯಃ
ಶ್ರೀಯಂ ದೋರ್ಬಲಃ | ಕಲ್ಯಾಣಾನ್ಯರಮಲ್ಲಿ ಸುವ್ರತಜಿನಾ-
ಕೇಂಬುಜ್ಜ ಪದ್ಮಾವತೀ ಜಾತಂದ್ರಾರ್ಕಮಭೀಷ್ಟದಾಸ್ತು ಸು-
ಚಿರಂ ಶ್ರೀಭೈರವಸ್ವಾಸ್ತವತಃ || ಶ್ರೀಮದ್ಭೀಶಿಗಣೇ ಖ್ಯಾತೇ
ಪನಸೋಗಾವಲೀಕೃತಃ | ಯೋ ಭೂಲಲಿತಕೀರ್ತ್ಯಾ-
ಖ್ಯಸ್ತುನ್ಮನೀಂದ್ರೋಪದೇಶತಃ || ಶ್ರೀಮತ್ಪೋಷಣಮಕುಲಾ-
ಮೃತಾಂಕುಧಿವಿಧುಃ ಶ್ರೀಜೈನದತ್ತಾಸ್ತುಯಃ ಶ್ರೀಮದ್ಭೈರವ-
ರಾಜಕುಂಗಭಾನೀಶ್ರೀಗುರುಮಹಾಂಬಾಸುತಃ | ಶ್ರೀಮ-
ದ್ಭೀಶಿಗಣಸುರೇಂದ್ರಪ್ರಸಾದಮಹೇಶ್ವರೇಭೈರವೇಂದ್ರಪ್ರಸಾದಃ ಶ್ರೀ-
ರತ್ನತ್ರಯಭದ್ರದಾಮಜಿನಶಂ ನಿರ್ವಾಪ್ಯ ಸಂಸಿದ್ಧಿಫಾಕಃ ||
ಶ್ರೀಮಜ್ಞಾನಕಾಪ್ತಕೇ ಚ ಗಲಿತೇ ನಾಗಾಭಬಾಣೇಂದುಭಿಃ
ಕಾಪ್ತೇ ಸದ್ವಯನಾಮ್ನಿ ಚೈತ್ರಸಿತಪತ್ನೇ ಸಾಮ್ಯವಾರೇ

† *History of Architecture*, vol. II. pp. 516-18—ed. of 1867.

‡ This text and translation have been carefully revised

and corrected by Mr. J. F. Fleet, B.A., whose accurate knowledge of such inscriptions is so well known to our readers.—Ed.

ವೃದ್ಧೇ | ಲಭ್ಯೇ ಸ್ವಸ್ತಗತೀರ್ವಕೇ ಜಿತತರಂ ಶ್ರೀಭೈರ-
ವೇಂಪ್ರೇಣ ತಪ್ಪೀರತ್ತಯಧಧಧಮಜಿನಃ ಛಾತು
ಪ್ರತಿಷ್ಠಾಪಿತಃ || ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಶ್ರೀಕಾಲವಾಹನಕವರ್ಧ ೧೩೦೨-
ನೆಯ ವ್ಯಯಸಂವತ್ಸರದ ಚೈತ್ರ ಶುದ್ಧ ೫ಯ ಬುಧವಾರ
ಮೃಗಶಿರನಕ್ಷತ್ರ ವೃಷಭಲಗ್ನದಲ್ಲಿ ಕಲಿಯುಗಾಭಧಾನಭ-
ರತೇಶ್ವರಚಕ್ರವರ್ತಿ ಗುತ್ತಿಹನ್ನಿಬ್ಬರ ಗಂಡಪಟ್ಟ ಘಂಟು-
ಪುರಮಾಧೀಶ್ವರ ಮರೆಹೊಕ್ಕರೆ ಕಾವ ಮಾಂಕರೆ ವೈರಿ
ಮಂನೆಯ ಗಾಯ ಮಸ್ತಕಮೂಲಕ ದರ್ಶನಸ್ಥಾನಾಚಾರ್ಯ
ಸೋಮವಂಶತೀರ್ಮಣಿ ಕಾಶ್ಯಪಗೋತ್ರವಿಶ್ವೀಕರಣದತ್ತ
ಘಂಟುಪದ್ಯವತೀಲಬ್ಧವರಪ್ರಸಾದ ಸಮ್ಯಕ್ತ್ವಗುಣಗಣಾ-
ಲಂಕೃತ ಗಂಧೋದಕವಿಶ್ವೀಕೃತೋತ್ತಮಾಂಗ ಅರವತ್ತು-
ನಾಲ್ಕು ಮಂಡಲಕರ ಗಂಡ ಹೊನ್ನಮಾಂಬಿಕಾಪ್ರಿಯಕುಮಾರ
ಭೈರವರಸವದೆಯರಳಯರೆನಿಸ ಶ್ರೀಮಜ್ಜಿನದತ್ತರಾಯಪಂ-
ಕಾಡುಧಿಧಾರಣಚಂದ್ರ ಶ್ರೀಮದ್ವೀರನರಸಿಂಹ ವಂಗನಗ-
ರೇಂದ್ರ ಶ್ರೀಗುಂಮಟಾಂಜಾಕುಲದೀಪಪ್ರಿಯಸೂನು ಅರಾ-
ಯರ ಗಂಡಚೂಡಾಮಣಿ ಶ್ರೀಮದಿಂದುಡಿಭೈರವರಸವದೆಯರು
ತಮಗೆ ಅಭ್ಯುದಯನಿಶ್ರೇಯೋಲಕ್ಷ್ಮೀಸಂಪ್ರಾಪ್ತಿ ನಿಮಿತ್ತವಾಗಿ
ಕಾವಕಳದ ಪಾಂಡ್ಯನಗರಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಶ್ರೀಗುಂಮಟಜಿನೇಶ್ವರನ
ಸಂನಿಧಾನದಲ್ಲಿ ಕೈರಾಸುಗರಿಸಂನಿಭತೆಕ್ಕವೆಟ್ಟದಲ್ಲಿ || ಶ್ರೀ-
ಕಾಂಕಾಕುಲವೇಶ್ವ ಕೆಂ ವರಯುತಃಕಾಂಕಾಪ್ರವೀರಾಕರಂ ಭೂ-
ಕಾಂಕಾರಶಿಸದ್ವ ಸಜ್ಜಯವಳೂಶ್ರೀದಾಸ್ತದಂ ಕೆಂ ಪುನಃ |
ದಟ್ಟಾ ರೋಜ್ಜ್ವಲಸಂನಯದ್ವಯಮಯಾ ಶ್ರೀಭಾರತೀರಂಗ-
ಭೂಃ ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಶ್ರೀರಮಣಾಸ್ವಯಂವರಗೃಹಂ ಶ್ರೀಜೈನಗೇಹಂ
ವ್ರಜೇಕ || ಯಂತಪ್ಪ ಸಕಲಜಿಹಾಸಂದಮಂದಿರವಾದ ಸರ್ವ-
ತೋಭದ್ರ ಚತುರ್ಮುಖ ರತ್ನತ್ರಯರೂಪ ಶ್ರಿಭುವನಿಲಕ
ಚೈತ್ಯಾಲಯವಂನು ಗೋವನಿಕಲಂಕಪಲ್ಲಿ ಬಂಟರ ಭಾವ
ಪರವಾರೀಸಹೋದರ ನುಡಿದ ಛಾಪಿಗೆ ತಟ್ಟುವ ರಾಯರ
ಗಂಡ ಸುಮರ್ಗಕಲಕಸ್ಥಾನಾಚಾರ್ಯರಾದ ಕಾರಣ ಭರ್ಮ-
ಸಾಮ್ರಾಜ್ಯನಾಯಕರಾಗಿ ನಿಜಪ್ರತ್ಯಾಸುಖಂಧಿಪ್ರಣ್ಯಪ್ರಸಗಿ-
ಯಿಂದ ತಮಗುತ್ತಮಜಿನಭವನವ್ರಜೈಕರಾದ ಸಕಲಶೀಲಗು-
ಣಸಂಪನ್ನರಪ್ಪ ಚತುಃಸಂಘಕ್ಕು ಸಾಕ್ಷಾತ್ಪನ್ನೋಕ್ಷಲ-
ಕ್ಷ್ಮೀಸ್ವಯಂವರಸಾರೋಪಮವಾಗಿ ನಿರ್ಮಾಪಿಸಿ ಅನಂತ-
ಸುಖಸಂಪ್ರಾಪ್ತಿ ನಿಮಿತ್ತವಾಗಿ ಆ ನಾಲ್ಕು ದಿಕ್ಕಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಅರಮ-
ಲ್ಲಿ ಮುನಿಸುವ್ರತಶೀರ್ವಕರ ಪ್ರತಿಮೆಗಳನ್ನು ಸ್ಥಾಪಿಸಿ ಆ
ಪಟ್ಟಿ ಮದಿಗ್ಗಾಗದಲ್ಲಿ ಚತುರ್ವಿಂಶತಿಶೀರ್ವಕರ ಪ್ರತಿಮೆಗಳಂ-
ನು ಆ ಬಹಿರ್ವಳಯದ ಗುಂಠುಗಳೊಳಗೆ ಜಿನಬಿಂಬಗಳನ್ನು

ಯಿತಬಲದಲ್ಲಿ ಬ್ರಹ್ಮಪದ್ಮಾವತೀಸಹಿತವಾಗಿ ಸ್ಥಾಪಿಸಿ ಸವಿ-
ಧಾನದಿಂದ ಪ್ರತಿಷ್ಠಾಪಿಸಿ ಆ ನಾಲ್ಕು ದಿಕ್ಕಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಹದಿನಾಲ್ಕು
ಪೊಕ್ಕಲು ಸ್ಥಾನಿಕರು ನಡಿಸುವ ಅಭಿಷೇಕಭಜೆ ಮುಂತಾದಕ್ಕೂ
ಮೇಲೆ ನಡೆವ ಅಂಗರಂಗವೈಭವಾದಿಕಂಗಗಳೂ ಆ ಭೈರವ-
ರಸವದೆಯರು ನಿಜಸಂತೋಷದಿಂದ ರಾಜ್ಯವಂಶಾಳುವಾಗ
ಆ ಶ್ರಿಭುವನಿಲಕಜಿನಚೈತ್ಯಾಲಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಆ ಪ್ರತಿಷ್ಠಾಪನಾ-
ಮಯದ ಪುಣ್ಯಕಾಲದಲ್ಲಿ ತಮಗೆ ಪುಣ್ಯಾರ್ಥವಾಗಿ ಮೂಡ
ಮುಕ್ಕಡವ್ವಿನಹೊಳೆ ಕೆಂಕ ಯೋಗೈಯಹೊಳೆ ಪಡುವ ಪುಳಕ-
ಯದಹೊಳೆ ಬಡಗ ಬಲಮೆಯಹೊಳೆ ಈ ನಾಲ್ಕು ಹೊಳೆಗಳನ್ನು
ಮೇಲೆಯೊಳಗೆ ನಿಧಿ ನಿಕ್ಷೇಪ ಅಕ್ಷಿಣಿ ಆಗಾಮಿಜಲ ಪಾಡೂಣ
ಸಿದ್ಧ ಸಾಧ್ಯಂಗಕೆಂಬ ಅದ್ವೈತೋಗಂಗಗಳೊಳಗಾದ ಕಿರ್ಲಾ-
ರುಗ್ರಾಮವಂನೂ ಕದರೊಳಗೆ ಅಕ್ಕಿ ಮುಡಿ ೭೦೦ನೂ
ಕಂಜಾಳನಲ್ಲರ ಸಿದ್ಧಾಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಗ ೨೫೨ನೂ ಭಾವಾರ್ಥ-
ಕವಾಗಿ ಆಚಂದ್ರಾರ್ಕಸ್ಥಾಯ ಯಿಬ್ಬಂತ್ರಿ(?) ವೇವರ್ಗಿ ಮಾಡಿ
ಕೊಟ್ಟ ಭರ್ಮಕ್ಷೇಮದ ವಿವರ | ಆ ಕ್ಷೇತ್ರದ ಚತುಃಸೀ-
ಮೆಯೊಳಗುಳ್ಳ ಹರಾವರಿ ಮುಂತ್ರಾದವರಲ್ಲಿ ಸಲುವ ಗೊನಿ
ಸಿದ್ಧಾಯ ಬಡ್ಡಿಯ ಭತ್ತ ಹುಳ ಯಾಲಕ್ಕೆ ಜೋಳಕ್ಕೆ ಕಟ್ಟಿದ
ಅಕ್ಕಿ ಹೊನ್ನ ಬಡ್ಡಿ ಅಕ್ಕಿ ಸಹಾ ಸಲುವ ಅಕ್ಕಿ ಹಾನೆ ೫೦ರ
ಲಿಬ್ಬದ ಮುಡಿ ೭೦೦ಕ್ಕಂ ನಲ್ಲರುಂಜಾಳದಲ್ಲಿವಕ್ಕಲು ಕಾಕ-
ಣೋಯಾಗಿ ಬಿಟ್ಟ ಸಿದ್ಧಾಯ ಗದ್ಯಾಣ ೫೨ ವರಹಾಕ್ಕು ಸಹ-
ವಾಗಿ ನಡದ ಭರ್ಮ ಪಡುವಣ ಬಾಗಲ ವಕ್ಕಲು ೨ಕ್ಕೆ
ಮೂರು ಹೊತ್ತಿನ ವೇವರ ಛಾಜೆಗೆ ಬರು ಹಾನೆ ೫ ಮೆಲೆ ಬರು
ಹಾನೆ ೫ ಅಕ್ಕಿ ತೆ ಅಕ್ಕಿ ಹಾನೆ ೧ ಕೋಯ ಪಾಯಸ ತುಪ್ಪ
ಕಲಸು ಮೇಲೋಗರ ತಾಳದ ಮುಂತಾದ ಪಂಚಭಕ್ಷಕ್ಕೆ ಅಕ್ಕಿ
ಹಾನೆ ೨ ಕುದ್ದೆ ೨ ಅಂತು ಅಕ್ಕಿ ಹಾನೆ ೧೫ ಕುದ್ದೆ ೨
ಆ ಲಿಬ್ಬದಲ್ಲಿ ವರುಷ ೧ಕ್ಕೆ ಅಕ್ಕಿ ಮುಡಿ ೧೧೦ ಉದಯದ
ಪಂಚಾಮೃತಾಭಿಷೇಕಕ್ಕೆ ಗ ೭೬೨ ಪಂಚಬಿಜ್ಜಾಯಕ್ಕೆ ಗ
೭೭೫ ಸಿದ್ಧಪ್ರಾಣಾಧನಿಗೆ ಗ ೧೨ ಫಲಸಮುದಿಗೆ ಗ ೧೨
ಬೈಗನ ಹಾಲ ಧಾರಿಗೆ ಗ ೧೫೪ ಗಂಧಧೂಪಕ್ಕೆ ಗ ೧೫೫
ಯೋಣಿ ಹಾಡ ೧೨ಕ್ಕೆ ಗ ೨೮೪ ಅಮೃತದ್ವೈತ ೫ಕ್ಕೆ ಗ ೫
ವರ್ಷಾಭಿಷೇಕಕ್ಕೆ ಗ ೬ ಅಂತು ಗದ್ಯಾಣ ೪೭ ಬಡಹಾಗಲ
ವಕ್ಕಲು ೨ಕ್ಕೆ ೫ ಹೊತ್ತಿನ ನಡವ ಛಾಜೆಗೆ ದಿನ ೧ಕ್ಕೆ ಬರುವಿಗೆ
ಅಕ್ಕಿ ಹಾನೆ ೫ ಮೇಲೆ ಬರುವಿಗೆ ಅಕ್ಕಿ ಹಾನೆ ೫ ಅಕ್ಕಿ ತೆ ಅಕ್ಕಿ
ಹಾನೆ ೧ ಕೋಯ ಪಾಯಸ ತುಪ್ಪ ಕಲಸು ಮೇಲೋಗರ
ತಾಳದ ಮುಂತಾದ ಪಂಚಭಕ್ಷಕ್ಕೆ ಅಕ್ಕಿ ಹಾನೆ ೨ ಕುದ್ದೆ ೨
ಅಂತು ಅಕ್ಕಿ ಹಾನೆ ದಿನ ೧ಕ್ಕೆ ಹಾನೆ ೧೫ ಕುದ್ದೆ ೨ ಆ

ಲಿಖಿದಲ್ಲಿ ವರ್ಷಕ್ಕೆ ಮುಡಿ ೧೦೦ ಉದಯ ಬೈಗಿನ ಹಾಲು-
 ಧಾರಣೆ ಗ ೧||೪೪ ಪಂಚಬಜ್ಜಿಯಕ್ಕೆ ಗ ೭||. ಫಲವಸ್ತುವಿಗೆ
 ಗ ೧೪೨ ಗಂಧಫಲಕ್ಕೆ ೮೦ ಯೆಂಣೆ ಹಾಡ ೧೨ಕ್ಕೆ ಗ
 ೮೪೪ ಅದ್ವೈತಕ್ಕೆ ೪ಕ್ಕೆ ಗ ೪ ವರ್ಧಾಭಿದೇಶಕ್ಕೆ ಗ ೬
 ಅಂತು ಗ ೨೮೪೭||. ಯಾ ಲಿಖಿದಲ್ಲಿ ಮೂಡ ಬಾಗಿಲ
 ವಕ್ರಲು ಅಕ್ಕೆ ಅಕ್ಕೆ ಮುಡಿ ೧೦೦ ಗ ೨೮೪೭||. ಆ ಕೆಂಕಬಾ-
 ಗಲ ವಕ್ರಲು ಅಕ್ಕೆ ಅಕ್ಕೆ ಮುಡಿ ೧೦೦ ಗದ್ಯಾಣ ೨೮೪೭||.
 ಅಂತು ಬಾಗಿಲ ಏಕ್ಕೆ ವಕ್ರಲು ೮ಕ್ಕೆ ವರ್ಷ ೧ಕ್ಕೆ ಅಕ್ಕೆ
 ಮುಡಿ ೪೪೦ ಗದ್ಯಾಣ ೧೪೪೪೧||೪||. ಪತುವ ಬಾಗಿಲ
 ಯೆಡುಲದ ಗುಂಟು ಅಕ್ಕೆ ವಕ್ರಲು ೧ಕ್ಕೆ ಚರುವಿಗೆ ಅಕ್ಕೆ
 ಹಾನೆ ಇರ ಲಿಖಿದಲ್ಲಿ ಮುಡಿ ೪೬ ಅಕ್ಷತೆ ಅಕ್ಕೆ ಮುಡಿ ೪
 ಉಭಯಂ ಮುಡಿ ೪೦ ಹಾಲುಧಾರೆ ಏಕ್ಕೆ ಗ ೪||೪೦ ಫಲವ-
 ಸ್ತುವಿಗೆ ಗದ್ಯಾಣ ೧೪೨ ಗಂಧಫಲಕ್ಕೆ ೪೪ ಯೆಂಣೆ ಹಾಡ
 ಇಕ್ಕೆ ಗ ೪||. ಅದ್ವೈತಕ್ಕೆ ೪ಕ್ಕೆ ೪೪||. ವರ್ಧಾಭಿದೇಶಕ್ಕೆ
 ಗ ೧ ಅಂತು ಗ ೧೦೪೧|| ಯಾ ಲಿಖಿದಲ್ಲಿ ಐದಗ ಮೂಡ
 ಕೆಂಕ ಗುಂಟು ಗಳಗೂ ಆ ಪತುವಣ ಶೀರ್ಷಕರ ಬ್ರಹ್ಮಪದ್ಯಾ-
 ವತಿಗಳಗೂ ಸಹಾ ವಕ್ರಲು ಇಕ್ಕೆ ಅಕ್ಕೆ ಮುಡಿ ೨೦೦ ಗ
 ೪೦೪೭||. ಉಭಯಂ ವಕ್ರಲು ೬ಕ್ಕೆ ಅಕ್ಕೆ ಮುಡಿ ೨೪೦ ಗ
 ೬೦೪೪ ಬ್ರಹ್ಮಪದ್ಯಾವತಿಯರ ಚರುವಿಗೆ ಅಕ್ಕೆ ಮುಡಿ ೪
 ಅಂತು ವಕ್ರಲು ೧೪ಕ್ಕೆ ಅಕ್ಕೆ ಮುಡಿ ೬೮೪ ಗದ್ಯಾಣ
 ೧೪೪೪|| ದೋಲು ನಾಗನರ ಕೊಂಬಿನವ ಜನ ೬ಕ್ಕೆ ಗ ೪೬
 ಅಡವಿನಮುಲಿತ್ತಿಯ ಜನ ಅಕ್ಕೆ ಅಕ್ಕೆ ಮುಡಿ ೧೬ ಬಸ್ತಿಯ-
 ಲ್ಲಿಹ ತಪಸ್ವಿಗಳ ತಂದ ಏಕ್ಕೆ ಶೀತನಿವಾಣಿಯ ಹೆಜ್ಜೆ
 ೮ಕ್ಕೆ ಕೈಯಕ್ಕೆ ತುಂಮವ ಸೂಸುವ ಹೆಜ್ಜೆ ೧ಕ್ಕೆ ಸಹಾ
 ಹೆಜ್ಜೆ ೪ಕ್ಕೆ ಗ ೪೪೨ ಮಂದೆಯ ತೋಳವರೆ ಯೆಂಣೆ
 ಹಾಡ ಅಕ್ಕೆ ಗ ೨ ಅಡಿಗಟ್ಟು ಶೀಗೇಗೆ ಸಹಾ ೪೮ ಅಂತು
 ಗ ೮ ಅಂತು ಅಕ್ಕೆ ಮುಡಿ ೭೦೦ ಗ ೨೪೪ ಧಾರ್ಮ
 ಅರಮನೆಯ ೪ ಜಾರಕದ ವಳಗೂ ಬಸ್ತಿಯ ಚಂದ್ರನಾಥ-
 ಸ್ವಾಮಿಯ ಅಮೃತಪದಿಗೆ ಆರು ರಜಜಕದಲ್ಲಿ ಬಳಯರನರ
 ಗುತ್ತ ಬೆಂಸ್ತವಿನಿಂದ ಅಕ್ಕೆ ಮುಡಿ ೨೦ ಬಾಗಿಲರನರ
 ಗುತ್ತ ಮಾಂಡರ್ಪಾಡಿಯಿಂದ ಅಕ್ಕೆ ಮುಡಿ ೧೦ ಉಭಯಂ
 ಮುಡಿ ೪೦ ನಲ್ಲುರು ಚಿಕ್ಕರಪಾಂಡಿಯವಾಳನಲ್ಲಿ ಗ ೭||. ಜ-

ಶ್ರೀಕೋಟಿಯವಾಳನಲ್ಲಿ ಗ ೪ ಪಂಚಾಳದಲ್ಲಿ ಕಂಠುವವಾಳನಲ್ಲಿ
 ಗ ೭|| ಅಂತು ಗ ೧೨||. ಗೋವರ್ಧನಗಿರಿಯ ಬಸ್ತಿಯ
 ಪಾರ್ವತನಾಥಸ್ವಾಮಿಯ ಅಮೃತಪದಿಗೆ ಮಲ್ಲಿಲದಕಂಬದಲ್ಲಿ
 ಅಕ್ಕೆ ಮುಡಿ ೪೦ ಆ ಮೇಳಣ ದಡೆ ಮಾರುಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಮುಡಿ ೪
 ನಲ್ಲುರುನಂಗಬೆಟ್ಟನಾಳದಲ್ಲಿ ಅಕ್ಕೆ ಮುಡಿ ೬ ಅಂತು ಮುಡಿ
 ೪೦ಕ್ಕೆ ಕೆರವಕೆಬೆಟ್ಟನ ಹಿತ್ತಲ ಫಲದಲ್ಲಿ ಗ ೮೪೨||.
 ಇದು ಪಂಚಸಂಸಾರಕಾರೋರಗದದ್ದು; ಗೋರುಂಮೋರ್ಚಿ-
 ತನಾನಾಸಂಸಾರಜೀವಪ್ರಭೋಧನಕರಪಂಚಮಹಾಶಾಸ್ತ್ರಾಣಾಥಿ-
 ಜ್ಞಾನಪಮವಾದ ಜಿನಮಂತ್ರಘಾತಕ್ಕೆ ಶ್ರೀವೀತರಾಗ ಯೆಯ
 ಪಂಚಾಕ್ಷರಿಯು ಪಂಚವಿಂಶತಿ ಮಲವಿಧುರಪರಸಮ್ಯಗದೃ-
 ಷ್ಟಿಗಳಾದ ಕಾರಣ ಆ ಭೈರವ ರಸನಡೆಯರೇ ಸ್ವಹಸ್ತ-
 ದಿಂದನವು ಬಿಟ್ಟುದಕ್ಕೆ ಇಂದ್ರನಜ್ಞಾಪೃತ್ತದಿಂದ ಚತು-
 ವಿಂಶತ್ಯಕ್ಷರಲಿಖಿತಪಂಚಾಕ್ಷರರೂಪವರ್ತೋಭದ್ರ ಜಿ-
 ತ್ರಪ್ರಬಂಧದಿಂದ ರಚಿಸಿದ ಜೆತ್ರಕ್ಕೋಕ || ಶ್ರೀವೀತವಿರಗಾಕ-
 ವಿಗವಿತಂ ಶ್ರೀರಾಗವೀತಂ ಗತಾಗಂ ಶ್ರೀಗಂಪತಂ ರಾಗಶ-
 ರಾಗರಾಗಂ ಶ್ರೀವೀತಾಗಂ ತತಃ ವಿರಗಂತಂ || ೦ ||
 ಶ್ರೀ || ಶ್ರೀ ||

Translation.

The charter of the Jain temple with four fronts.

Reverence to the saint by whom all his passions have been brought under control! Victorious be the scripture of the lord of the three worlds, the scripture of Jina, which has, as an efficacious distinguishing appellation, the glorious and most excellent and profound doctrine of the assertion of possibilities! Through the favour of Śrī-Jinēndra, may the king Bhairavēndra continue, as long as the moon and sun may endure, possessed of long life and good fortune and victory and prosperity! May there be no obstacles! May it be auspicious!

Śrī-Pārśvanātha|| confers abundance of salutary advice; and Nēmiḥina, strength and fame; and Suvirajinapa, long life; and Dōrbali, good fortune; and the Jaina saints Ara and Malli and Suvrata, prosperity: and may (the goddess)

§ The curiosity of this verse consists in its being composed of combinations of the five syllables śrī vi tā ra ga. I cannot at present propose any further emendations, or suggest a translation.—J. F. F.

|| This personage, as well as the six enumerated immediately after, belongs to the Jain hierarchy of Tīrthāṅkaras, with the exception of Bāhubali or Dōrbali, who, not one himself, was the son of Vṛishabha, the first Tīrthāṅkara,

and is represented by the Colossus on the hill above—vide *Ind. Ant.* vol. II. pp. 134 and 353.

¶ Another form of this name would be Bāhubali, the son of Vṛishabha (conf. *Ind. Ant.* vol. II. pp. 134, 353), and a Jain saint of this name, belonging to the sect called Kāṇḍāragana, is mentioned in lines 23, 24, and 35, No. III (dated Śaka 908) of my Raṭṭa Inscriptions, published in *Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. X, and was at that date alive.—J. F. F.

Padmāvati* of Pōmbuchcha † grant all the desires of the king Śrī-Bhairava for a very long time, as long as the moon and sun may endure!

At the advice of that greatest of sages, Lalitakīrti, the lord of the lineage of Panasaōgā, ‡ who was born in the glorious and famous sect called Dēśigaṇa,—the lord Śrī-Bhairava,—possessed of the greatness of the glorious emperor who is the king of the serpent-gods; the moon of the nectar-ocean which is the glorious Sōmakula; born in the lineage of Śrī-Jinadatta; the son of Śrī-Gummatāmbā, who was the noble sister of the glorious king Bhairava,—caused to be constructed (an image or temple of) Jinapa, whose glory is made auspicious by three excellent qualities,§ and thus enjoyed complete success.

May (the image or temple of) Jinapa, whose glory is made auspicious by three excellent qualities, be beautiful for a long time;—(that image or temple) which was established by Śrī-Bhairavēndra when the year of the glorious era called Śālīśaka, having the excellent name of Vyaya and to be expressed in words|| by “the elephants, the sky, the arrows, and the moon,” had expired, in the bright fortnight of (the month) Chaitra, on Wednesday under the sign of the Bull, and under the excellent astronomical conjunction of Mrigaśīrsha.

Hail! On Wednesday the fifth day of the bright fortnight of (the month) Chaitra of the Vyaya *samvatsara*, which was the year of the Śrī-Sālīvāhanaśaka 1508 ¶, under the astronomical conjunction of Mrigaśīra and under the sign of the Bull, in order that he might obtain prosperity and happiness and good fortune, the glorious sovereign, king Immaḍi-Bhairava*,—who was the universal emperor of the Kaliyuga; like to Bharatēśvara; who was the greatest hero of the twelve (heroes or kings) of Guṭti; who was the supreme lord of the city of Pōmbuchchapura, which is the best of cities; who

protected those who took refuge with him; who was the enemy of such as withstood him; who was the supporter of honourable kings; who was the priest to establish the systems of philosophy; who was the ornament of the Sōmavaṃśa; who was expert in purifying the lineage of Kāśyapa; who had acquired the excellent favour of (the goddess) Padmāvati of Pōmbuchcha; who was adorned with all the virtues of propriety of conduct; whose head was purified by perfumed water; who was the greatest of sixty-four chieftains; who was the beloved son of (the queen) Honnamāmbikā; who was considered to be the son-in-law of the sovereign, king Bhairava; who was the full-moon of the ocean which was the lineage of the glorious king Jinadatta; who was as glorious and as brave as Narasimha; who was the king of the city of Vaṇṇanagara; who was the beloved son and the glorifier of the family of (the queen) Śrī-Gummatāmbā; who was the greatest of all those who punish hostile kings,—at the city of Pāṇḍyanagari of Kāpēkaḷa, in the presence of (the Jain god) Śrī-Gummaṭa-Jinēśvara on the hill called Chikkabetta†, which resembles the mountain of Kailāsa caused to be built a Chaityālaya,‡—of such a kind as to answer to the description “What is the family-abode of the lovely woman Śrī?; what is the mine of the happiness of the lovely woman Excellent Fame?; what is the house in which the lovely woman the Earth enjoys the pleasures of love?; and what, again, is the place in which the bride Excellent Victory disports herself?; it is the arena of Śrī-Bhārati, consisting of both the six letters§ and excellent morality: Hail!, then, (to find this place,) a man should betake himself to the temple of Śrī-Jina, which is the house in which the lovely woman Śrī makes her choice of a husband”; the happy habitation of all the Jinās; auspicious in every respect; having four fronts; resembling the form of the three excellent things; the ornament of the three

* Padmāvati is the divine being who executed the orders of the twenty-third Arhat of the present *Avastarpiṇī* (a long period of time, or age, with the Jainas). As used by other sects it is an epithet usually of Lakshmi.

† This seems to be the name of a place which cannot at present be identified. (Possibly the reading in the original may be Pombetta, ‘the mountain of gold’,—Mahāmēra.)

‡ In Canarese the form of this name is Panasōge or Hanasōge, and the sect is mentioned in line 45 of No. V of my Ratta Inscriptions referred to above.—J. F. F.

§ The *ratnatraya* or three excellent things among the Jainas are,—1, *samyakchēdritra*, correct conduct; 2, *samyagjñāna*, complete knowledge; and 3, *samyagdarsana*, accurate perception.

|| These words denote the numerals 8, 0, 5, 1, the order of which has then to be reversed to give the date. According to the text in this passage the year 1508 had expired, and consequently the date was Śaka 1509, A.D. 1587; by the Table in Brown’s *Carnatic Chronology* Śaka 1508 was the Vyaya *samvatsara*, and Śaka 1509 was the Sarvajit *samvatsara*.

¶ According to the text here, the Śaka year 1508 was still current.

* i.e. ‘Bhairava the second’.

† i.e. ‘the little hill’.

‡ A Jain temple.

§ I am unable to explain this.

worlds,—which was like the house in which the goddess Final Emancipation visibly chooses her husbands, for the (members of) four religious bodies who were possessed of all good qualities and who,—because they were, and behaved like brothers to the wives of other men, and punished kings who failed to keep their promises, and were the establishers of (temples with) golden pinnacles,—had become the principal men in the kingdom of religion, and who, at the instigation of piety which was the consequence of their own piety, had become his superintendents of the most excellent temples of Jina. And then, in order that he might obtain endless happiness, he set up images¶ of the Tirthakaras Ara and the saint Malli and Suvrata at the four points of the compass of that temple, and images of the twenty-four Tirthakaras in the western side of it, and images of Jina in the corners of the outer enclosure of it, together with (images of) Brahma and Padmavati on the left and right hand. Having established these with the proper ceremonies, that same sovereign, king Bhairava, while governing the kingdom to his own contentment, at the holy time of establishing those same images in that same Chaityālaya of Jina, which was the ornament of the three worlds, in order that he might acquire religious merit, gave to the god,—with libations of water, and to last as long as the moon and sun might endure, for the purpose of the Abhishēkapūje and the other rites which were to be celebrated at those same four points of the compass by the fourteen local fixed servants of the god, and for the purposes of the *Āṅga*-(*bhōga*) and the *Raṅga*-(*bhōga*) and all the other glorious ceremonies,—the village of Tēlyārū,—within the boundaries of four streams, which are on the east, the stream called Mukkaḍappina-hoḷe; on the south, the stream called Yenneya-hoḷe; on the west, the stream called Puḷakaliyada-hoḷe; and on the

north the stream called Balimeya-hoḷe,—including the *Aṣṭābhōgas*,* which are buried treasure, deposits, *Akṣhiṇi*, *Agāmi*, water, stones, that which has become property, and that which may become property,—and 700 *muḍis* of rice within that village, and 238 *gadyaṇas* out of the fixed revenues of (the villages of) Rēṅjāla and Nallura.

And the details of this religious grant are:— (Here follows the specification of the sums of money and the grain-allowances given for the support of the priests and servants of the temple and for the performance of various ceremonies. It does not appear necessary to translate this in detail; and, in fact, the transcription is in many points too doubtful to permit of this being done. The inscription then continues:—)

Because the five letters which constitute the word 'Śrī-Vitarāga,' and which are a sacred charm of Jina which resembles that which conveys an understanding of the five most holy things which convey a knowledge of many excellent existences which are like a water-melon bitten by the serpent which is the period of five existences, are the twenty-five means of accurate perception of Jain religious mendicants†, that same sovereign, king Bhairava, in token of his having allotted (the above grants), with his own hand composed, in the Indravajrā metre, a curious verse, by a most auspicious and curious arrangement which was written in twenty-four syllables but had the form of (those same) five syllables. (Here follows the verse, commencing *Śrīcītaviragā*, &c., the explanation of which is not at present apparent.) * * *

One of the grand massive pillars in the propylæum of that cathedral of existing Jaindom in Kanara—the great temple at Mūdubidri, ten miles from Kārkaḷa—has one side of its quadrangular base covered with a riddle-sentence in twenty-five compartments, separated by orna-

¶ I cannot explain or emend *Govanikaṅkamalla* *baṇṇa* *bhāva*.

¶ The images at the four entrances identically resemble one another. Each Tirthaṅkara appears to be distinguished only by his particular symbol or cognizance, and not here,—nor elsewhere in South Canara where complete sets of the twenty-four exist, nor at Yēnūr,—to be marked by gradation in size. Jina is a general appellation of those saints, apparently often applied *par excellence* to the first: it is also a name of Buddha. I was not allowed to enter the temple, and whether the images mentioned as being in the middle still exist I cannot say. Before the entrance to the enclosure of the great image on the hill above the temple there is a low stone pillar bearing on its capital, not covered by any canopy, a seated image of Brahmā,

excellently cut in some fine white stone. A figure on horseback is cut in relief on the base of the pillar, which is surrounded by a plain stone three-barred "Buddhist rail." A pillar and an image of Brahmā, but of inferior execution, stands also before the entrance of the Colonnade at Yēnūr.

* Eight conditions or privileges attached to landed property.

† *Mahāvīdhura* would seem to be the same as *Mahādārin*, a religious mendicant, especially one of the Jain sect. The sense of the whole of this passage, or rather the correctness of the transcription, seems to me very doubtful. Where the transcription has *gōdamūrchita*, I have substituted *gōdumbūrchita* as the only correction that suggests itself to me.

mental bands, and the whole enclosed with an elaborate border. The inscription, it is said, may be read as verses in any direction, and appears

to be a song of praise consisting of ingeniously varied epithets, somewhat resembling the Orphic Hymns: a copy is given in conclusion:—

Smarahara† Urutara Suruchira Varakara	Karmalôpa Barharôpa Śarmasadma Dharmavartma	Bhuvanêśa Bhuvanêśa Savinîta Savinîta	Haṭṭhabhrama Natabhrama Dhṛitôdgama Yutakshama	Ninavīranai Ninasūranai Ninasāranai Ninadhīranai
Bhayamada Dayavidha Jayadhṛita Dayakṛita	Pāthihāra Jātidūra Nītiyôga Vitarāga	Niravadya Varavaidya Surabarmya Giridhairyā	Nirālījana Chirantana Dhṛitānvita Varānvita	Ninaganyanai Ninapūryanai Ninadhanyanai Ninasūranai
Vilasita Balayuta Khalagata Malagata	Bhūrichakra Chārunakra Mārachaitra Sārabhūta	Chamarīja Samurōja Samudāya Ramayīya	Mahānvita Mahānvita Maharddhika Sahāyaka	Nīlasiddhanai Nīnabuddhanai Nīnasaukhyanai Nīnamukhyanai
Suranata Parivṛita Parahita Parichita	Chārumāuli Bhūrinīla Sārabhadra Māraraudra	Maṇirāja Phaṇirāja Gaṇayukta Rajajaitra	Parīksbaka Surakshaka Sunishita Vinishkṛita	Nīnānāthanai Nīnājīhvanai Nīnakantṭhanai Nīnāsāntanai
Ghaṇadhṛita Vinibita Muninuta Janapati	Yuktisāra Śaktisāra Bhuktidharmya Muktiramya	Nirapēksha Varadaksha Charamāṅga Paramāṅga	Janāśrita Manōjita Ghaṇāśrita Mahipati	Nīnaramyanai Nīnagamyanai Nīnaharmyanai Nīnasamyanai

SANSKRIT AND OLD CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, B.A. C.S.

(Continued from page 20).

Through the kindness of Sir W. Elliot there has been lent to me a copy of his collection of Old Canarese stone-inscriptions, belonging to the Library of the University of Edinburgh, and Mr. Burgess has made over to me a set of 57 excellent facsimiles of Sanskrit and Old Canarese copper-plates. I hope to make valuable additions to the present series from these two sources.

No. XI.

This is another *Kaṭachuri* inscription, to be read in connexion with No. III. of this series, from Plate No. 38 of Major Dixon's collection. The original, in the Old Canarese characters and language, is on a stone-tablet, 4' 7" high by 1' 11" broad, at *Baṭagāmve*. The emblems at the top of the tablet are:—In the centre, a *linga*; on its right, a standing priest,

with the sun above him and a cow and calf beyond him; and on its left, a representation of *Basava*, with the moon above it.

The inscription commences with the mention of *Tribhuvanamalla-Bijjanadēva*, and his eldest son, *Sōma* or *Sōvidēva*, and second son, *Saṅkamadēva* or *Saṅkamadēva*. The titles applied to them are those of paramount sovereigns.

It then mentions *Lakmidēva*, *Chandūgidēva*, *Rēchanayya*, *Sōvanayya*, and *Kāvanayya*, the chief ministers of *Saṅkamadēva*, and the royal spiritual preceptor, *Vāmasaktidēva*, the priest of the temple of the god *Dakṣiṇakēdārēśvara-dēva* at *Baṭṭigrāme*, which was the chief town of the *Banavase* Twelve-thousand.

It then proceeds to record how, at the suit

† These words, being read along the lines from left to right, constitute five stanzas in the *Champakamālā* metre. By means of the metre and the *Pīṭhas* or alliterations, for which the stanzas are intended to be regarded as a curio-

sity, I have corrected such mistakes as were obvious in the transcription, by substituting real for unreal words. I cannot at present suggest any further improvement or offer a translation.—J. F. F.

of the above-mentioned ministers, Saṅkama-dēva, in the fifth year of his reign, or Śaka 1102-3 (A. D. 1181), the Vikīri *saṁvatsara*, granted the village of Kiru-Baḷḷigraṁe, for the purposes of that same temple.

It further records grants made to the same temple, on the same occasion, by the Great Chieftain Tailahadēva or king Tailapa, and the Great Chieftain king Eṛaha, the son of king Ekkala, who, also, must apparently be looked upon as the subordinates of Saṅkama-dēva.

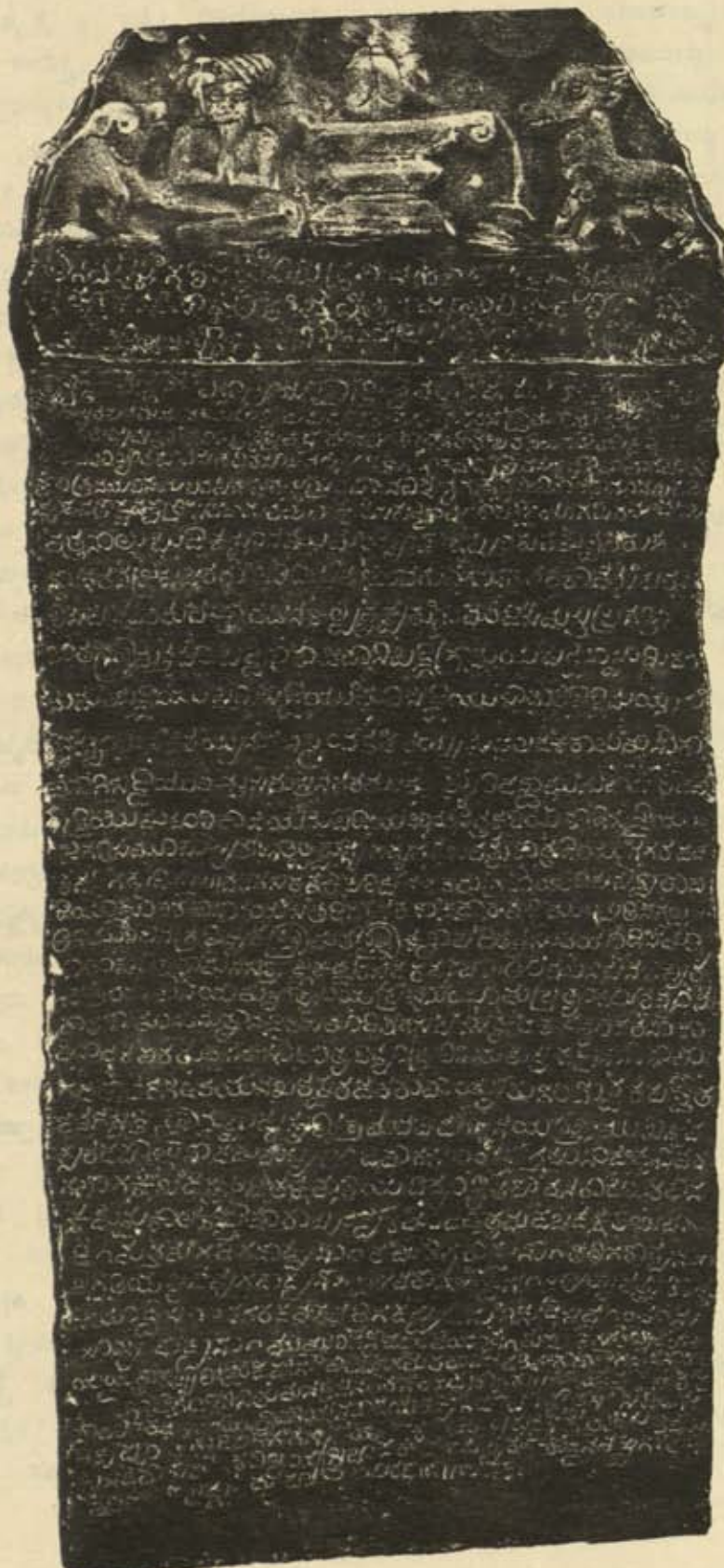
Finally it records a grant of land, in the Śaka year 1108 (A.D. 1186-7), the Parābhava *saṁvatsara*, to three persons named Bisadōja, Bāvōja, and Siṅgōja. By whom this grant was made is not apparent; at that time Saṅkama-dēva had, according to Sir W. Elliot's list, ceased to reign.

In line 50, in characters of a larger and inferior standard, another portion of the inscription, intended to record a grant of the village Siruvēgal, was commenced, but seems to have been left unfinished.

Transcription.

[1] * నమః శివాయ || నమస్తుంగతీర్థంబిచంద్రజామరజారవీర్ శ్రీశైలేశ్వరగౌరవం-
భమలస్తంభాయ కంభవీ || [2] నమః శాస్త్రకీశానందజ్ఞాన్యైశ్వర్యమయత్యనే సంతల్పసభ-
బుద్ధస్తంభారంభాయ కంభవీ || నమో రాజగురవీ || [3] * స్వస్తి సమస్తభువనాశ్రయ
శ్రీశైలేశ్వరవల్లభ మహారాజాధిరాజ పరమేశ్వర పరమభక్త్యురక కాంజరధ [4] రమంధిశ్వర సువర్ణ-
వృద్ధభద్రజ డమరుకతలయ్యునిశ్శిష్యుడణ కళయ్యురకుళమలనాత్మకం కదన [5] ప్రదం మా-
నకనకాడళ సుభజరాదిత్య కలిగళంకుక గజనామస్త తరణాగతవజ్రహంజు ప్రకాశంశేశ్వర [6] ప-
రనారీసఙ్గేదర కనివారసిద్ధి గిరిమగ్గమల్ల కలదంకరామ వీరభక్తకంఠిరవ నిశ్చలమల్లాది యథార్థ-
నామ [7] శ్రీమద్భజులచక్రవర్తిశ్రీభువనమల్లబిజ్జణచేచం మహేంద్రభయనమదిననాభవిదనేందే ||
* [8] వృ || పృథ్వీ యా పృథునా పురా జీరతరం మూఢేన గోత్రం గతా సోయం
బిజ్జణచేచపట్టమహిషీవృత్తా జీరం శ్రీదేవీ [1] ర [9] త్తం చేచ తత్తేచ భంతి జగద్రధా
వీరభద్రాచార్యశ్రీ విద్యోత్తమశ్రీ శాస్త్రభం నృపవర పురీషేదేన సాక్షాత్ (పు)తా || వ ||
అస్తే [10] నిగద రాజాధిరాజప్రియతనయప్రకాశమూ వీర్యదే || వృ || రిద్రభాపాలకమాభవీదే
కుముదూ (వ్రా)తం [11] కరం పట్టి తద్విరూపాకాముఖపంకజం కోరగే నక్తశ్శ్రీదేవీశం కళాశర-
భ్రాజితసునకశీంసతయ (క) శ్రీదేవీకార్య [12] రం నృపనే నీలమనెనై బిజ్జణమహిషాబ్ధియోశ
పుట్టద || వ || అస్తే పుట్టి క్షీణేతలవల్లవనేకట్టత్రదిందా [13] వ్ద రాయమురారి సోవిదే-
వానుజ్ఞానంకందే || క || తత్సమస్తరదోశ ధరేగుత్సవసుం మాది [14] సత్వకౌట్య (ప్ర)తద
సరిత్వతనీశయం నవపురుకుత్సం సంకమదేవనాత్మం ధరేయ || లుత్పర || గౌరగజస్మరుద్మ-
తురగం వ [15] రసింహనాశమాత్రికం జీలకసుధాంబరం మగధకత్తురియుం మలయీశదండనం లాలన
బాలక (కం) నశంబిర్యం (ర్య)దు జరసరే బింసం [16] గళం కేళసుతీర్థరేలగదోళం విభుసంకమదే-
వభావన || అస్తనేకప్రకాశదిం వసుధావళయనం నిఃకంఠం మాది [17] దా మహారాజాధిరాజచక్ర-
శ్వరన రాజ్యప్రధానంగంగళి మహాప్రధానాదరేనిసద పిరియ దండనాయకం లక్ష్మీదేవ [18] సుం |
వాతత్తరనివీలగాధియకం చండుగదేచసుం | వసుధ్యేకబాంధవం రే (రే) శ్రీదేవ్యదండనాయకసుం |
స [19] వ్యాధికారి నీలవలయ్యదండనాయకసుం | సమస్తశీలనాగ్రేసరం కావలయ్యదండనాయకసుం |
చోల [20] గాగ సమస్తప్రధానో సహితం వినోదదిం దక్షిణదిశావరకే వం (బం) దు బననీసంని-
జ్ఞానీరదేదియసా [21] బుల్లగ్రామీయ శ్రీమద్దక్షిణకేదారేశ్వరదేవర శ్రీకృష్ణప్రసాదముం లతా-
మంబ (రే) చముం రత్నభావనీక [22] స్వర్ణకళకంగళం విద్యాదానానానాద్యనేకశ్రీకార్యమం నోది
యథార్థం దక్షిణకేదారవిల్లి నావీనాసుం ధ [23] మ్మకార్యమం మాదేవ్యునందు తదియనానా-

STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE KALACHURI DYNASTY AT BALAGAMVE.



[50]ಮತ್ತನಾ ಜಿತು(ದ್ವೈ)ಗೇಯಪ್ರಶ್ನಾ ಬಳಮಾ ಮಾಡು ಸಿರುತ್ತೇ(ವೈ)ಗಲಮಂ ಸರ್ವಸಮ[51]ಶ್ಲ-
(ಸ್ಯ)ವಾನ್ ಶ್ರೀಭೋಗಾಭ್ಯುತರಾ ನದಿನ(ವಂ?)ತವ(ವಾ)ನ್ ಕೇಶ್ವರಃ.....

Translation.

Reverence to Śiva! Reverence to Śambhu, who is made beautiful by a *chowri* which is the moon that lightly rests upon his lofty head, and who is the foundation-pillar for the erection of the city of the three worlds! Reverence to Śambhu, who is composed of eternal and infinite knowledge and power, and who undertakes the support of religion which is fruitful through the exercise of mental determination! Reverence to the royal spiritual preceptor!

Hail! The glorious *Tribhuvanama-lā-Bijjanādēva* †,—who was a universal emperor by reason of the strength of his arm, and who possessed the appropriate titles commencing with "The asylum of the universe; the favourite of the world; the supreme king of great kings; the supreme lord; the most venerable; the supreme lord of the city of *Kāḷaṅjarapura*, which is the best of cities; he who has the banner of the golden boar; he who has (to proclaim him abroad) the sounds of the musical instrument called *Damaruka*; he who is as the sun to the white lotus which is the *Kāḷachurya* family; he who is impetuous in war; he who is a very golden mountain‡ in respect of his haughtiness; he who is the best of good warriors; he who is a very elephant-goad to brave men; *Gajasāmanta* §; he who is a very cage of thunderbolts to (protect) those who come to him for refuge; he who is a very lord of *Laṅkā* in respect of his prowess; he who behaves like a brother to the wives of other men; he who attains the accomplishment of his objects (even) on a Saturday ||; he who is the conqueror of hill-forts; he who is like *Rāma* in the fierce contest; he who is a lion to the elephants which are his foes; he who is a hero free from any apprehension,"—day after day

* The rest of this line, about nine letters, is illegible in the photograph. It is not clear in the photograph whether this is the last line of the original or not.

† Śaka 1078 to 1087,—Sir W. Elliot.

‡ *Mēru*, the central point of *Jambūdvīpa*, with the loftiness of which the pride of *Bijjanādēva* is compared.

§ The explanation of this title is not apparent; but perhaps it is analogous to 'Gajapati', a title of another dynasty of kings.

|| The planet *Śani*, Saturn, and consequently his day, Saturday, is looked upon as very inauspicious for success in undertakings.

¶ An ancient king, in whose time all the mountains,

enjoyed his mistress, which was the earth. That same earth, which formerly was made by the foolish *Prithu* ¶, to be for a very long time in the condition of a cow, now for a long time disports itself in the function of the royal consort of *Bijjanādēva*; O lord!, O best of kings!, O mighty lord!, being possessed of the right to be praised, it shines upon the ocean, which has the shore above its water, just as the jewel *Kaustabha* shines on the chest of *Vishṇu*.

To describe the prowess of the beloved son of the supreme king of kings who has thus been mentioned:—While the darkness which was the hostile kings was fleeing away, and the blue lotuses (which were his friends) were blooming luxuriantly, and the white lotuses which were the faces of the lovely women of his enemies were fading,—a king,—who was to be called *Sōma* **, because he was the lord of splendour as the moon is the lord of the constellations, and because he was made brilliant by his accomplishments just as the moon is made radiant by its digits, and because he was the lord of the moonlight which was his fame that became ever greater and greater,—was born from the ocean which was king *Bijjanā*.

The younger brother of *Sōvidēva*, the greatest of kings, who, having thus been born, governed the whole earth under one umbrella, reigned:—Immediately after him,—*Saṅkāmādēva* ††, who was like to the son ‡‡ of the river in respect of his truth and his purity and his religious vows, and who was a second *Parukutsa* §§, governed the earth, causing joy to the world. Having been selected as his emissaries, the elephants of *Gauḷa*, the horses of *Turushka* |||, the pearls of the excellent

using *Himālaya* as a calf to induce the flow of milk and *Mēru* as the milkman, milked forth from the earth, as from a cow, all manner of precious things and medicinal herbs.

** Śaka 1087 to 1098,—Sir W. Elliot.

†† Śaka 1098 to 1104,—Sir W. Elliot. The name is usually spelt *Saṅkama*; the 'm' is doubled here for the sake of the metre.

‡‡ *Kārttikēya*, the god of war, the son of the *Amara-gaṅgā*, or heavenly *Ganges*. He was generated from the seed of *Śiva*, which was received by the *Ganges* when the Fire was unable to retain it.

§§ A king of old times, the son of *Māndhātā*.

||| 'Turushka',—a Turk or Musalmān.

lord of *Siṃha* *la* *ṣa* *ṣa*, the fine raiment of *Chō* *la*, the musk of *Magadha*, the sandalwood of the lord of *Ma* *ṣa* *ṣa*, and the young damsels of *Lā* *la*, used to proclaim the commands of the lord king *Saṅkama* *dēva* in public assemblies.*

All the chief ministers,—the leading men of the kingdom of that same supreme king of great kings, the universal emperor, who had thus in many ways made the earth free from trouble,—*viz.*, the chief *Daṇḍanāyaka*, *Lakmi* *dēva*, and *Chāṇḍuṅgidēva*, who superintended the seventy-two functions †, and the *Daṇḍanāyaka* *Rēchaṇayya*, who was the best friend of the world, and the *Daṇḍanāyaka* *Sōva* *ṇayya*, who was entrusted with general superintendence, and the *Daṇḍanāyaka* *Kāva* *ṇayya*, who was the leader of the whole army,—came in company, by way of recreation, on a tour to the south, and beheld the temple with three pinnacles, and the pavilion covered with creepers, and the numerous votive golden balls embellished with jewels on the top of the temple, of the god the holy *Dakṣiṇakēdārēśvara* *dēva* of *Ba* *ḷ* *ḷ* *ig* *rā* *me*, which was the chief town of the *Banavase* Twelve-thousand, and the imparting of instruction and the giving of food, and all the other sacred rites,—and said “Verily the *Kēdāra* ‡ of the south is here; we must celebrate some religious rite,”—and regarded with great astonishment the power of the efficacy of the devotion and the other qualities of those who had seen§ the holy royal spiritual preceptor, who was the priest of the shrine of that god. The learned *Pāṇini* occupies himself in grammar, and *Śrī-Bhāṣa* *ṇa* *chāryaka* in works relating to politics, and the saintly *Bharata* in dramatic representations, &c., and *Māgha* in poetry, and *Nakulīśvara* in dogma, and *Skanda* in the affairs of *Śiva*; but this same royal spiritual preceptor, the ascetic *Śrī-Vāmaśakti*, is ever resplendent with good qualities that are inherent parts of his nature. ||

King *Saṅkama*, who excelled in goodness,

¶¶ Ceylon.

* *i.e.*, all these things were habitually sent by him as presents to other courts.

† *Bilhattara-niṣṭh* †; the first part of this compound is *Prākṛit*. What the seventy-two functions referred to are, I do not know.

‡ *Kēdāra* is the name of part of the *Himālaya* mountains, or of *Śiva*, worshipped under the form of the *linga* at that place.

§ *i.e.*, ‘who had been the disciples of’.

having met with him, the beloved son of *Gautama*, who was thus possessed of many good qualities;—

Hail!;—When the sun was entering the sign of the Bull, on Monday the day of the new-moon of the month *Vaiśākha* of the *Vikāri* *sau* *vatsara*, which was the fifth of the years of the glorious *Saṅkama* *dēva* ¶, the glorious universal emperor *Saṅkama* *dēva*, having washed the feet of the holy royal spiritual preceptor *Vāmaśakti* *dēva*, who was the priest of the shrine of that god, gave, with libations of water, to be respected by all as long as the moon and sun and stars might last, the town of *Ki* *ru* *Ba* *ḷ* *ḷ* *ig* *ā* *ve* **, a town which was near to†† the *Ji* *ḍ* *ḍ* *alige* *Kampana*, for the *aṅga* *bhōga* ‡‡ and *raṅga* *bhōga* of the god the holy *Kēdārēśvara* *dēva*, and to repair whatever might become broken or torn or worn-out through age, and for the purpose of feeding devotees and *Brāhmaṇs*. Whosoever preserves this act of religion, is as one who performs a hundred sacrifices; he, who destroys this act of religion, shall go to hell, like one who destroys a hundred sacrifices and the *Brāhmaṇs* connected with them!

Hail! The fortunate Great Chieftain *Ta* *ila* *ha* *dēva* and the fortunate Great Chieftain king *Era* *ha* came, and, having had regard to religion, brought (themselves into) a pious frame of mind, saying “This is the locality of a family of spiritual preceptors dependent on our race; we must perform here some act of religion.” To describe their prowess:—King *Tailapa*, the son of the mighty king *Ek* *kala*, being ever very happy through his pride and his affection and the tenderness of his heart, bestowed the world of the gods §§ if his enemy wished for war, but gave the wealth which was his property to any one who came and regarded him with affection, and to any one who said “See now!, verily he causes no unhappiness to the timid.” From excessive fear because the fresh lustre of the scimitar of king *Era* *ha* has flashed forth over the world, men look no longer upon the beauty

|| In contradistinction to the acquired qualities of the persons named in the text.

¶ *i.e.*, the *Saka* year 1102-3. According to the table in *Brown's Carnatic Chronology*, the *Vikāri* *sau* *vatsara* was *Saka* 1101, and *Saka* 1102 was the *Sārvara* *sau* *vatsara*.

** *i.e.*, ‘the smaller *Ba* *ḷ* *ḷ* *ig* *ā* *ve*’.

†† *Ba* *ḷ* *ḷ* *ig* *ā* *ve*; see vol. IV., page 181, col. 2, note.

‡‡ I have not been able to obtain a satisfactory explanation of these terms as used in connexion with the worship of idols.

§§ *i.e.*, ‘slew his enemies’.

of the side-glances of the queens of the hostile kings who flee away in the battle.

Being thus the abiding-places of manifold praise and renown, the fortunate Great Chieftain Tailahadêva and the fortunate Great Chieftain king Eṛaha, having, on the auspicious lunar day that has been written above, washed the feet of the holy royal spiritual preceptor Vāmaśaktidêva, who was the priest of the shrine of that god, gave as a grant to be respected by all and to continue as long as the moon and sun and stars might last, some rent-free land, together with some miscellaneous dues, at Kiru-Balligāve, which was a town near to ||| the Jiddulige district, for the great oblation and for the perpetual lamp of the god the holy Kêdârêśvaradêva. Those, who without fail preserve this act of piety, obtain the reward of fashioning out of gold and jewels the horns and hoofs of a thousand tawny-coloured cows at Vârâṇasi and Kurukshêtra and other sacred places of pilgrimage and bestowing them upon a thousand Brâhmanas well versed in the Vêdas; whosoever destroys this act of piety shall go to hell, like one who with his own hand slays those same Brâhmanas and those same tawny-coloured cows at those same sacred places of pilgrimage! And by way of witness as to this assertion, there is the scripture:—He is born for the duration of sixty thousand years as a worm in ordure, who confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself or by another!

Hail! On the fifth day of the bright fortnight of (the month) Vaiśākha of the Parâbhava *saṁvatsara*, which was the year of the glorious Śaka 1108, having carefully built the pavilion of the god the holy Kêdârâdêva, with the approval of their holy royal spiritual preceptor they gave, as a grant to be respected by all and to continue as long as the moon and sun might last, one hundred and fifty *kammas* of the cultivated land called Hâligôtada-keyi, to the south of the tank called Bâvaregere, in the lands of Kiru-Balligāve, to Bisadôja and Bâvôja and Siṅgôja.

And they gave, to be continued as a grant to be respected by all and including the *Tribhōga*, the town of Siruvôgal, which was a town near to that same Jiddulige seventy.

No. XII.

This is a Sanskrit copper-plate inscription from Sir W. Elliot's facsimile collection made over to me by Mr. Burgess; I have no information as yet as to where the original was found or in whose possession it is. The plates, four in number, are marked with numerals, and, contrary to the usual custom, the writing commences on the outside of the first plate and covers also the outside of the fourth plate. The seal connecting the plates bears the representation of what seems to me to be a dog, but is, in native opinion, a lion. The characters are the old Sanskrit, which I know, and have always spoken of, as the Cave-alphabet.

The inscription is one of the Pallava dynasty, and mentions in genealogical order the names of four kings,—Skandavarmā; his son, Viravarmā; his son, Skandavarmā; and his son, Vishṇugôpavarmā. As Vishṇugôpavarmā is spoken of as the Yuvamahârāja, it is probable that Siṅhavarmā, who is referred to as the reigning monarch in the last two lines, was his elder brother.

The age of these kings must be early; but, beyond stating that the copper-plate was bestowed by Vishṇugôpavarmā in the eleventh year of the reign of Siṅhavarmā, the inscription contains no information as to its date. As far as we may judge from the forms of the letters used, I would allot the inscription to the fifth century A.D.

But little is known as yet regarding the Pallava family, beyond that it was one of the dynasties that ruled in the Dekkan anterior to the Châlukyas. At the time of the present inscription Palakkada would seem to have been the capital of the Pallava kings; but it was from them that the Châlukyas acquired Kâñchi. Some information regarding them has been given and quoted by Mr. Rice at p. 156 of vol. II of this journal. To this I have now to add the following. In the old Kâdamba copper-plate inscriptions of unknown date, published by me in *Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. IX (No. XXVII), Mrigêśa is spoken of as being "a fire of destruction to the Pallavas," and Ravivarmā as "having conquered the whole earth by slaying Śri-Vishṇuvarmā* and other kings." And in

||| 'Baṣiṇya'.

* Possibly the Vishṇugôpavarmā of the present

inscription, part of his name being omitted for the sake of the metre.

a large Cave-alphabet inscription at Aihole, dated Śaka 507 (A.D. 585-6), which I hope to publish very shortly in this series, we are told that the Chālukya king Pulikēśi II, who was like "the sun to melt the frost which was the army of the Pallavas," "caused the lord of the Pallavas, who had aimed at the eminence of his own power, to hide his prowess within the ramparts of the city of Kāñchī." As regards the family in later times, a stone-tablet inscription† at Galaganāth in the Kōḍ Tālukā of the Dhār wāḍ District, dated

the fifth year of the Chālukya Vikramāditya-Tribhuvanamalla, i.e. Śaka 1002-3 (A.D. 1081), seems to deserve to be carefully copied and studied, as containing references to the Pallavas as the subordinates of the Chālukyas. And finally, in a stone-tablet inscription at Munōḷi in the Parasgaḍ Tālukā of the Belgaum District, dated Śaka 1145 (A.D. 1223-4), photographed by Mr. Burgess in his archaeological tour of 1873-4, they are included‡ among the kings said to have been conquered by the Dēvagiri-Yādava king Singhanadēva.

Transcription. First plate; first side.

- [1] जितं भगवता [11] श्रीविजयपलकदस्यानात् परमब्रह्मण्यस्य स्व-
[2] बाहुबलाजितो जितक्षात्रतपोनिधेः विहितसर्वमर्थ्यादस्य
[3] स्थितिस्थितस्यामितात्मनो महाराजस्य श्रीस्कन्दवर्मणः
[4] प्रपौत्रस्याश्चितशक्तिसिद्धिसम्पन्नस्य प्रतापोऽनतराज-

First plate; second side.

- [5] मण्डलस्य महाराजस्य वसुधातलैकवीरस्य श्रीवीरवर्मणः पौ-
[6] त्रस्य देवद्विजगुरुवृद्धोपचायिनो विवृद्धविनयस्यानेकगोहि-
[7] रण्यभूम्यादिप्रदानैः प्रवृद्धधर्मसञ्चयस्य प्रजापालन-
[8] दक्षस्य लोकपालानां पञ्चमस्य लोकपालस्य सत्त्वात्मनो महा-

Second plate; first side.

- [9] त्मनो महाराजस्य श्रीस्कन्दवर्मणः पुत्रस्य भगवद्वक्तिसद्भाव-
[10] संभावितसर्वकल्याणस्य प्रजासंरञ्जनपरिपालनोद्योगसत्त-
[11] तसत्रवतदितक्षितस्य § अनेकसमरसाहसावमर्दल-
[12] ध्वविजययशःप्रकाशस्य कलिगुगदोषावसन्नधर्मोद्धरणनित्यस-

Second plate; second side.

- [13] अद्वस्य राजपिगुणसर्वसन्दोहविजिगीषोर्द्धर्मविजिगीषोर्भगवत्पादा-
[14] नुद्धया(ध्या)तस्य वप्पभट्टारकमहाराजपादभक्तस्य परमभागवतस्य
[15] भारद्वाजसंगोत्रस्य स्वविक्रमाक्रान्तान्यनृपश्रीनिलयानाम् यथ(था)-
[16] वदाढताश्वमेध(धा)नाम् पलवानाम् धर्मयुवमहाराज(जस्य) श्रीविष्णुगोपव-

Third plate; first side.

- [17] र्मणो वचनेन मुण्डराष्ट्रे उरुवुपल्लिये ग्रामेयकाः(का) वक्तव्याः [11] एतस्मिन्ग्राम-
[18] सीमे दिशतं सिमनिवर्त्तनानि [1] एतेषां निवर्त्तनानाम् अवधयः [1] अप-
[19] रं(र)दिशि के(क?)ण्डुकूरग्रामस्य सीमावधिः [1] दक्षिणं(ण)दिशि सुप्रयोगनदी
[20] अवाधिः [1] पूर्वो(र्व)न्दि(दि)शि अवाधिः [1] पूर्वदक्षिणा(णो)क्त(त्त)रं महापथपाश्वे(श्वे) शिला [1]

† Page 289, vol. I. of Sir W. Elliot's book now with me.

‡ But perhaps only by self-laudatory custom.

§ The letters are clear in the original; the emendation must be either जनादितक्षितस्य, or, more probably, जतदीक्षितस्य.

Third plate ; second side.

- [21] एतस्याः(स्या) उत्तरं गत्वा चिञ्च(ञ्चा)वृक्षः [1] ततः(त) उत्तरं गत्वा कु(कु)रूपुरग्रामस्य क(के)ण्डुक-
 [22] रग्रामस्य च पथि शिला [1] ततः उत्तरं गत्वा शिलोपलयम् [1] ततः उत्तरं ग-
 [23] त्वा क(कु)रूपुरग्रामे ब्र(ब्रा)ह्मणानाम् हलक्षेत्रस्यावधौ शिला [1] उत्तरां(र)दि-
 [24] शि अवधिः शिले,पलयवृत्तो महाचिञ्च(ञ्चा)वृक्षः [1] ततः अपरदिशं गत्वा

Fourth plate ; first side.

- [25] कोण्डमुरुवुदु(?)ग्रामस्य सीमान्तमवधिः [11] एवं चतुर्णाम् सीमावधीनाम् मध्ये(भ्य)सी-
 [26] मस्य तद्वि(द्वि)शत(तं) निवर्त्तनानि क(के)ण्डुकूरे विष्णुवर्म्मसेनापतिकृतविष्णुहारदेवकु-
 [27] लाय देवभोगं कृत्वा अष्टादशजातिभिः परिहरैरुपेता(तं) अस्मदायुर्वल-
 [28] वद्वैनीयमस्माभिः सम्प्रदत्तं [11] तदवगम्य तस्मिन्विषये सर्वायुक्तकाः सर्वैर्नै(नि)ध्या(यु)काः(क्ता)
 [29] राजवल्लभाः सञ्चरन्तकाश्च तत्सीमम् सर्वपरिहारैः परिहरन्तु परिहारयन्तु च [11]

Fourth plate ; second side.

- [30] यथेदमस्मच्छासनमतिक्रामेत्स पापशरीर[द॥]ण्डमर्हति [1] अपि चापि श्लोकाः [1]
 [31] भूमिदानायरु(रं)न्दानं न भूतन्न भविष्यति तस्यैव हरणपाप(पान्) न भूतं न भविष्यति [11]
 [32] स्वदत्ता(त्ता) परदत्ता(त्ता) वा यो हरेत वसुन्धराम् गवां शतसहस्रस्य हन्तुः पिबति दु-
 [33] ष्कृतम् [11] सिंहवर्म्ममा(म)हाराजस्य विजयसत्त्वसरे एकादशे पौष्यमासे कृष्णपक्षे
 [34] दशम्याम् मया दत्ता ताम्रपट्टिका [11]

Translation.

Victory has been achieved by the holy one! ¶ From the glorious and victorious locality of Pa-lakkaḍa*, at the command of Śrī-Vishṇu-gôpavarmā, the pious Yuvamahārāja† of the Pallavas, who are the receptacles of the royal glory of other kings that have been overcome by their valour, and who have prepared for celebration horse-sacrifices according to the proper rites,—of him who is the great-grandson of the Great King Śrī-Skandavarmā, who was an excellent worshipper of the supreme spirit, who acquired by the strength of his arm a great abundance of the penances‡ peculiar to those who belong to the caste of warriors, who conformed to all such injunctions as are prescribed, who was firm in steadiness of conduct, and who was broad-minded; of him who is the grandson of the Great King Śrī-Viravarmā, the bravest man upon the surface of the earth, who

was endowed with honoured power and success, and who subjugated by his prowess the assemblage of kings §§; of him who is the son of the Great King Śrī-Skandavarmā, who nourished the gods and the twice-born and spiritual preceptors and old men, who was of great affability, who acquired much piety by many gifts of cows and gold and land and other things, who was skilful in protecting his subjects, who was the fifth Lōkapāla of the Lōkapālas||, who was true-hearted, and who was high-minded; of him who is possessed of all prosperity produced by his devotion towards the holy one and by his goodness; who is always initiated into the charitable vows of the occupation of pleasing and protecting his subjects; who is possessed of the radiance of the fame of his victories acquired by impetuous assaults in many battles; who is always zealous in supporting religion

¶ This letter, ॠ, is omitted altogether in the original.

¶ 'Bhagavān' is an epithet of Vishnu, Śiva, or Jina. Judging from the proper names of the kings, the god Vishnu would seem to be intended here.

** The position of this place is not known to me.

†† 'Yuvamahārāja' denotes an heir-apparent associated in the government with the reigning Mahārāja or great king. Analogously to these two terms, we have in other instances 'Rāja' and 'Yuvārāja.'

‡‡ sc., bravery, skill in the use of weapons, good government, charity to Brāhmins, &c.

§§ Or, if preferred, 'the countries or courts of (other) kings.'

|| The four Lōkapālas, or presiding deities of the cardinal points of the compass, are,—Indra, of the East; Yama, of the South; Varuṇa, of the West; and Kuvēra, of the North. Usually the Lōkapālas are spoken of as eight in number, viz. the above four together with the regents of the intermediate points of the compass, who are, Agni, of the South-East; Nirriti, or Śūrya, of the South-West; Vāyu, of the North-West; and Īśāna or Sōma, of the North-East.

which had been brought to death's door by the sins of the Kali age; who is desirous of surpassing all the collection of meritorious qualities of kingly saints; who is desirous of surpassing religion itself; who meditates on the feet of the holy one; who is the disciple of the feet of the venerable great king Bappa; who is an excellent worshipper of the holy one; and who belongs to the lineage of Bhāradvāja,—those who dwell in the village of Uruvupalli¶¶, in the country of Muṇḍa*, are to be addressed:—

In this village there are two hundred entiret *nicartanas*‡. The limits of those *nicartanas* are:—On the west, the boundaries of the village of Kaṇḍukūra are the limit; on the south, the river Suprayōga is the limit; on the east, (the same) is the limit; to the north by south of the east, there is a rock on the side of the great road; proceeding thence to the north, there is a tamarind-tree; proceeding thence to the north, there is a rock on the road to the village of Kurupūra and to the village of Kaṇḍukūra; proceeding thence to the north, there is a heap§ of rocks; proceeding thence to the north, there is a rock on the limit of the cultivated field of the Brāhmins in the village of Karupūra; on the north, the limit is a large tamarind-tree surrounded by a heap of rocks; proceeding thence to the west, the limit is the

edge of the boundaries of the village of Kōṇḍamuruvudu. Having made those same two hundred *nicartanas* of area which is in the centre of these four boundary-limits a possession of the gods at Kaṇḍukūra for the family of Viṣṇuhārādēva which was founded by || the general Viṣṇuvarmā, it has been given by us, invested with immunity from taxation by the eighteen castes, and to be increased by us as long as our life may last and according to our strength. Bearing this in mind, let all the functionaries and all in authority in that district, and the favourites of the king, and travellers ¶, treat that same area with immunity from all taxation, and cause it to be treated in the same way by others. But any wicked man who transgresses against this our charter is deserving of corporal punishment. Moreover, are there not verses (as to this)? There has not been and there shall not be any gift better than a grant of land; verily there has not been and there shall not be any sin greater than the sin of confiscating such a grant! He incurs the guilt of one who slays a hundred thousand cows, who confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself or by another! This copper-plate is given by me in the eleventh of the victorious years of the Great King Siṃhavarmanā, in the month Paushya, in the dark fortnight, and on the tenth lunar day.

OMKĀRA MĀNDHĀTĀ.

BY RĀVAJĪ VĀSUDEVA TULLU, M.A.,

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Omkāra Māndhātā is an interesting place in Central India, on the banks of the Narmadā, about five miles from Badhwāi and Sanāvād, both stations on the Holkar State Railway. It is visited by hundreds of pilgrims from all parts of India at all seasons of the year. The place is thus noticed by Major-General Sir John Malcolm in his *Memoir of Central India*:—Māndhātā is “a small town containing one hundred houses, situated on the south side of an island in the Narmadā, and famed for the sanctity of its pagoda. Lat.

22° 14' N.; Long. 76° 0' 17" E. The Narmadā here is confined between rocks, and not more than one hundred yards broad, but very deep...

“The island of Māndhātā is a hill of moderate height, and was formerly fortified, but there are now only the remains of a few gateways and old pagodas all covered with jungle. The town stands on the slope of the hill. The neighbouring country consists of a succession of low hills, deep ravines, and watercourses, the whole covered with high thick forests, which for seven or eight miles from the river are only

¶¶ In ‘palli’ we have the old form of the Canarese ‘hālī’, a small village, hamlet.

* The locality of this district is not known to me.

† ‘Sīma’, all, every, whole, entire, is, on Prof. Mon. Williams’ authority, only a Vedic word; but the reading here is distinct.

‡ ‘Nivartana’,—a measure of land, 20 rods or 200 cubits or 40,000 ‘hastas’ square.

§ This would seem to be the meaning of ‘upālaya’, but neither in Westergaard’s nor in Prof. Mon. Williams’

Dictionary can I find the prefix ‘upa’ in composition with the root ‘li’. Perhaps ‘vilāpalaya’ is equivalent to the Canarese ‘guddē’, a heap of stones above a grave, used very commonly in the Canarese country as a landmark; see Note 17 to No. III of my Raṭṭa inscriptions, *Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. X, No. xxix, p. 211.

|| ‘Kṛita’;—but my translation here may be objected to. ¶ ‘Sañcharantakāḥ’;—the reading is clear, but the formation is rather a peculiar one.

passable on foot. The pagoda here is dedicated to Omkāra, the phallic emblem of Mahādeva. . . . This is one of the twelve celebrated places where, according to the followers of Śiva, the god is most peculiarly present. Here he is known under the form of the mystic syllable om."

The origin of Omkāra is thus given in the Śiva Purāṇa, chapter 47 :—

सूत उवाच ॥

ॐकारं च यथा ह्यसीत्तथा च श्रूयतां पुनः ॥
कस्मिंश्चित्तमये चात्र नारदो भगवांस्तदा ॥ १ ॥
गोकर्णस्थं शिवं गत्वा भागतो विध्यके स्वयम् ॥
तत्रैव पूजितस्तेन बहुमानपूरःसरम् ॥ २ ॥
मयि सर्वं च विद्येत न न्यूनं हि कदाचन ॥
इति मानं तदा श्रुत्वा नारदो मानहा ततः ॥ ३ ॥
निःश्वस्य संस्थितस्तच्च श्रुत्वा विध्योऽब्रवीदिदम् ॥
किं न्यूनं च त्वया दृष्टं मयि निःश्वस्य कारणम् ॥ ४ ॥
तच्छ्रुत्वा नारदो वाक्यमुवाच श्रूयतां पुनः ॥
त्वयि च विद्यते सर्वं मेरुचक्षतरः पुनः ॥ ५ ॥
देवेष्वपि विभागोऽस्य न तवास्ति कदाचन ॥
इत्युक्त्वा नारदस्तत्र जगाम च यथागतम् ॥ ६ ॥
विध्यश्च परितप्तो वै भियेवं जीवितदिकम् ॥
विश्वेश्वरं तथा शंभुं समाराध्य जगामहम् ॥ ७ ॥
इति निश्चित्य तत्रैव ॐकारं यंत्रके स्वयम् ॥
कुत्वा चैव पुनस्तत्र पार्थिवी शिवमूर्तिकाम् ॥ ८ ॥
आरराध तदा शंभुं षण्मासं च निरंतरम् ॥
न च चाल तदा स्थानाच्छिवध्यानपरायणः ॥ ९ ॥
प्रसन्नश्च तदा शंभुर्ब्रूहि त्वं मनसेऽस्मितम् ॥
तस्मै च दशायमास दुर्लभं योगिनामपि ॥ १० ॥
रूपं यथोक्तं वेदेषु भक्तानामीप्सितं च यत् ॥
यदि प्रसन्नो देवेश ब्रूहि भेदि यथेप्सितम् ॥ ११ ॥
किं करोमि यदा तेन विद्यते दीयते मया ॥
न युक्तं परदुःखाय वरदानं समाशुभम् ॥ १२ ॥
तथापि दत्तवांस्तत्र यथेप्ससि तथा पुनः ॥
एवं च समये देवा ऋषयश्च तथा उमलाः ॥ १३ ॥
संपूज्य शंकरं तत्र स्थातव्यमिति चाबुवन् ॥
तथैव कृतवान्देवो लोकानां सुखहेतवे ॥ १४ ॥

"Sūta said :—Hear the origin of Omkāra. Once upon a time the god Nārada came from Gokarṇa Mahābaleśvara to the Vindhya mountain. Here Vindhya received him with all due honours; but Nārada had heard of Vindhya's pride in his belief that he had everything with him and that he wanted nothing. For this Nārada breathed heavily. When Vindhya heard this, he said, 'What defect have you seen in me that you now breathe so?' Nārada replied, 'You have everything in you, but Meru

is taller and has a place among the gods; such is not the case with you.' So saying Nārada returned to the place from whence he came. Vindhya thus got disgusted with himself and worldly things, and went to the spot where Omkāra now is, with the design of worshipping Śiva. Here he constructed an earthen image of the god, and, being all motionless and lost in meditation, worshipped it for six months, not stirring from his seat. The god was pleased and said, 'Ask thou thy desire.' So saying, he revealed to him his bright appearance as described in the Vedas, which is difficult even for devotees to see. Vindhya replied, 'If thou art pleased, O god of gods, ordain an increase in my bulk as I desire.' The god complied with his request, and gave him his desire,—although he thought that an ill-boding gift injurious to others was not proper,—being persuaded that a desire asked must be granted. At this time the gods and the pure sages worshipped Śiva and requested him to stay there, and the god did so for the comfort of the people."

Such is the Paurāṇic account of the origin of Omkāra. Whatever may be thought of this mythical origin of the shrine, this much is certain, that it is one of the oldest in India. Even a casual visitor is sure to be inspired with a feeling of admiration for its situation. The laud waters of the Narmadā are seen flowing between two high embankments, the surface of the waters below being reached by ghāṭs. As the shrine itself is situated on an island, it has to be approached by crossing the stream in a boat. On alighting at the other bank, a flight of steps leads up to the level of the temple. The temple itself has no grandeur about it; it is a small building of massive stone. The front hall is divided as it were into three, by two rows of carved stone pillars supporting the stone roof. The inside of the temple is wider, and projects more in one direction. It is divided by a partition into two apartments. The one half is empty, merely leading into the other half, on the right-hand side, where is the līṅga with its appendages. On entering this shrine we descend some three steps to the level of the līṅga. Those who have seen the shrines of Hindu temples are aware that no ventilation is provided for, and no orifice allowed. But no Hindu temple is worse in this respect than this of Om-

kāra: as the līṅga has been placed, so to speak, in a cell within a cell, ventilation is carefully prevented. This temple has a gilt finial.

On leaving the temple, the stranger is conducted a few steps higher up, almost to the top of the hill, to a place known as the palace of the Māndhātā Rāja, which is an ordinary building, the residence of the high-priest of the

temple, who is said to be worth a lākh of rupees a year. There are small temples of less importance in the vicinity. But there is nothing which so much strikes the eye from a distance as the hilly eminence whose base is washed by the Narmadā, and whose area is studded with temples and buildings rising in terraces one over another.

COPPER-PLATE GRANT FROM KAPĀLEŚVARA, IN ORISSA.

FORWARDED BY JOHN BEAMES, B.C.S., M.R.A.S., &c.

The transcription and translation of these plates have been made by my friend Bābu Rāṅgālal Banerjia, a well-known Sanskrit scholar.

The plates are three in number, size $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $5\frac{1}{2}$, and are connected by a thick copper ring with a boss on which was apparently the seal of the king, which, however, is now effaced. The two outer sides are blank, and there are thus four sides, engraved in the ordinary *Kutīla* character. It was found last rains by a cultivator who was ploughing at Kapāleśvara, a village on the north bank of the Mahānadi river opposite the city of Katakā, and only about four miles distant from that station. The village stands near the site of the ancient city of Chaudwār, the former capital of Orissa, which has been abandoned for Katakā for the last three hundred years. The ruins of this city cover a very large area, and consist of walls of laterite stone, which are largely quarried for metallurgy roads. It is surprising that so few relics of any value have been found, but as the quarrying goes deeper down more will probably come to light.

I am not responsible for the interpretation or translation, though I have carefully compared the transcription with the original, and I am not quite satisfied as to interpretation of the date, which would make this copper-plate nearly 1900 years old (Samvat 34 = A.C. 23)*. It seems to refer to the year of the king's reign. Nor do I understand how the Guptas came to be paramount lords of Kalinga, or how Kalinga came to claim lordship over Orissa. However, as my own line of research has been linguistic rather than antiquarian, I am content to leave the discussion of those questions to the experts in such matters, and merely to supply the facts. It remains only to add that no villages called either Dāraṇḍa or Khalāṇḍala now exist in Katakā, but that the "district of Yodha" is traceable, as there is still a parganā of that name (now pronounced Jodh) a few miles north of Katakā. The use of the modern word "Sudi" for the light half of the month is somewhat suspicious also.

Plate I.

स्वस्ति श्रीमहाराजसमावासिनः श्रीमते विजयकटकात् । परमभट्टा-
 रकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर श्रीशिवगुप्तदेवपादानुध्यात परममहेश्व-
 र परमभट्टारक महाराजाधिराज परमेश्वर सोमकुलतिलक त्रिकालिगाधिपति
 महाराजाधिराज श्रीमहाभवगुप्तदेवः कुशली । कोशलदेशे योधाविषयी दा-
 रण्डाग्रामे तथा खलण्डलग्रामे । ब्राह्मणान् संपूज्य तद्विषयीयान् यथाकाला-
 ध्यासिनः समाहूय सन्निवीत नियुक्ताधिका मरिक् दाण्डमाशिक नाट-
 भट्टपिशुनविधिकारोऽध्वनराणक राजवल्लभादीन् सर्वान्

* No one can suppose from the style of the alphabet used in these plates that they are older than the tenth century A.D. Possibly Samvat 1034 = A.D. 978 may be meant.—Ed.
 † This is evidently a repetition.

‡ In the original } occurs, which is incorrect.
 § In the original it is राव; this correction is made in accordance with other plates found in the district.

समाज्ञापयति । विदितमस्तु भवतां यथास्माभिरयं ग्रामस्सनिधिस्तो-
पनिधिश्च तशोपराधस्सर्वबाधाविबर्जितस्सर्वोपरिकर्तृत्वदानसहितश्चतुः-
सीमाधायत्तस्सामन्नकस्सगत्तौपरजलस्थलसहितः प्रतिनिधिदनाटभट्टमवे-
शः णटङ्करीविनिर्गताय । कोशले उर्वरावास्तव्याय । भारद्वाजगोत्राय । बा-
हस्पत्यागिरसप्रवराय वाजसेनशाखाध्यायिने भट्टश्रीमहत्तमसाधारणा-
य भट्टश्रीशोभनसुताय । सलिलधारापुरस्सरमाचन्द्रतारककंव्योतिः सम-

Plate II,—1st Side.

कालोपभोगार्थं मातापित्रोराल्मनश्च पुण्ययशोऽभिवृद्धये ताम्रशासनेनाकरी-
कृत्य प्रतिपादितमित्यवगत्य सम्भरितभोगभागकरहिरण्यादिप्रत्ययमुपनय-
द्विर्भवद्विस्सुखेन प्रतिवस्तव्यमिति भाविभिश्च भूपतिभिर्हत्तिरियमस्मदीया धर्म-
गौरवादस्मदनुरोधात् स्वदत्तिरिवात्र पालनीया । तथाचोक्तं धर्मशास्त्रे । बहुभि-
र्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं । माभू-
दफलशंका वः परदत्तेति पार्थिवाः । स्वदत्तात्फलमानस्य परदत्ता-
नुपालने । षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः । ** क्षितिपात्राह-
त्तारद्वितयं नरकं व्रजेत् । अमेरपत्यं प्रथमं सुवर्णं भूरौषधीः
सूर्यसुताश्चगावः । यः काञ्चनं गां च महीं प्रदद्यात् दत्तास्त्रयस्तेन भवन्ति लोके ।
आस्फोटयन्ति पितरः प्रवल्गन्ति पितामहाः । भूमिदाता कुले जातः स मस्त्राता भ-
विष्यति । भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णाति यश्च भूमिं प्रयच्छति । उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्मणौ नि-
यतं स्वर्गगामिनौ । तडागानां सहस्राणि वाजपेयशतानि च । गवां कोटिप्र-
दानेन भूमिहर्ता न शुष्यति । हरेत हारयेत् यस्तु मत्तबुद्धिस्तु मोहतः । सर्वशो

Plate II,—2nd Side.

वारुणैः पाशैस्तिर्यग्योनिं स गच्छति । सुवर्णमेकं गामेकां भूमिं तामप्यर्द्धमङ्गुलीं ।
हरन्नरकमाप्नोति यावदाभूतसंज्ञवं । स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्ध-
रं । स विष्टायां कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिः सह पच्यते । आदित्यो वरुणो विष्णुर्ब्रह्मा
सोमो हुताशनः । शूलपाणिश्च भगवानभिनन्दति भूमिदं । सामान्यो-
यं धर्मसेतुं नृपाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः । सर्वानिव भाविनः पार्थि-
वेन्द्रान् भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः । इति कमलदलाम्बुविम्बलो-
लां श्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितञ्च । सकलमिदमुदाहृतञ्च बुद्ध्या
नहि पुरुषैः परकीर्तयो विलोप्याः ॥ सकलभूपालमौलिमालावि-
लम्बमाणिक्यमयूखपादाभिरञ्जिताङ्कितं । लब्धवर्णैः प्रचण्डदोर्दण्डमण्ड-

* This appears to be the name of a village inhabited by a class of Brāhmins of the Bharadvāja gotra, having the family name of Taṅgkār, for, in a plate found in the Kāṭhaka Collectorate Records, the reading टङ्कारपूर्वभरद्वाजगोत्राय occurs.

** The reading is obscure here. Perhaps a correct reading may be expected from scholars who are well versed in the Sāmhitās. The word *ashiti* is doubtful.

†† Instead of म here, there is र, which is a grammatical mistake.

लाग्रखण्डितारातिमत्तमातङ्गविमुक्तमुक्ताकलप्रसाधिताशेषबलं मही-
मण्डलं । यस्साधारणान्नि मन्त्रितिलके विन्यस्य सर्वागमं चौर्व्योदञ्चति ती-
व्रतेजसि धुरं राष्ट्रस्य विप्रोत्तमे । ॥ नानाख्यानकवीश्वरामृतरसास्वादाद-
मर्त्यस्फुरत् सन्तोषात् सुखमन्वभूदविरतं पृथ्वीशचूडामणिः । ॥ ज्ञाताशेषार्थ-

Plate III.

शास्त्रस्मृतिविमलधिया वेदवेदाङ्गविद्याशिक्षाकल्पेतिहासप्रकट ॥ सुरस *वा-
क्त्राभूयिष्ठधाम्ना । नाम्ना साधारणेन द्विजवरविधिना मन्त्रिणा यस्य राज्ये नि-
ष्ठागम्भीरमूर्तिस्त्रिजगति विदितो धर्मकन्दर्पदेवः । परममाहेश्वर परम-
भट्टारक महाराजाधिराज परमेश्वर सोमकुलतिलक त्रिकलङ्गाधिपति श्री-
महाभगवन् देव पादपद्मवर्द्धमानविजयराज्ये । एकत्रिंशत्तिमे साम्बत्स-
रे मार्गसुदि त्रिंशो त्रयोदश्यां यत्राङ्केनापि सम्वत् ३४ मार्ग-
सुदि ३ लिखितमिदं त्रिकलीताम्नशासनं महासान्धिविग्र-
ही राणक श्रीमहदत्तप्रतिबद्ध इकायस्थ श्रीमाहूकेन दयदर्श-
ङ्कितं स्वेनेति ॥ प्रणीतं कोशलेन्द्रेण प्रतिबोध्यमहत्तम । श्रीदत्तपुण्डरीका-
क्षः शासनं ताम्निर्णिणतं । तन्निर्मितं माधवेन वा सृष्टं तेनेति ॥

Translation.

May it be propitious! Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Mahābhava Gupta Deva, the beneficent. He who is a devout adorer of Maheśvara, the great Bhaṭṭāraka, the Supreme lord, the pre-eminent among the Lunar race, the ruler of Trikaṇṇa, the meditator on the feet of the great Bhaṭṭāraka and the lord Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Śiva Gupta Deva, makes it known to all the inhabitants around His Majesty, from the glorious and victorious Kaṭaka, after worshipping the Brāhmaṇs invited (and) congregated, who are duly invested with the sacred thread, and living at the time in the district of Yodha: Be it known to you all, (namely) the appointed ministers, the Dānda Prāsikas (literally the men armed with clubs and bearded arrows), the dramatic performers, the bards, the spies, the law-makers, the chief of the guard of the seraglio, the beloved men and women of his Majesty, (that) the villages of Dāraṇḍa and

Khalāṇḍala, in the district of Yodha and province of Kośala, with its treasure-troves, sealed or enclosed deposits of valuables, with absolution of a hundred sorts of transgressions (committed in it), and all let and hindrances removed with its sovereign authority, given over all, with its hidden utensils and vessels, with its hollows, wastes, waters, and land bounded on four sides, in which entry is prevented to dramatic performers and bards, (is given) to Bhaṭṭa Śrī Mahottama Sādhārana, the son of Bhaṭṭa Śrī Sobhana, who came from Tamkāri and settled in the (village of) Urvarā in the (province) of Kośala, who is of the Bharadvaja gotra (clan) and Vārhaspatya Āngirasa pravara (family), and a reader of the Vājasena Śākhā (of the Vedas), (this gift is made) by pouring water and by inscribing it in this copper plate for augmentation of the merit and fame of my father and mother and self, that he will enjoy it so long as the sun, moon, and stars shine;

†† In the original, 'Kavi' is written with a Hrasva-ikar, and the dental s is used; both are evidently mistakes committed by the engraver. The rules of Sandhi, Versification, and Orthography point out that the Hrasva-ikar ought to be Dirgha-ikar, and the s must be palatal instead of dental.

§§ There is omission of ए in the original.

¶¶ The ए is omitted in the original by a mistake.

* In the original : (Visarga) occurs instead of the Halanta mark after क.

† It is curious that this Hindi form of the Sanskrit 'Sudha,' or bright half of the moon, occurs in all the plates.

‡ It is a noticeable fact that the 'Sandhi,' 'Vigrahi,' or Minister of War and Peace, and the Secretary, were always Kayasthas, or men of the writer-caste. This not only occurs in the Kataka plates, but in grants or inscriptions found in Ceylon and Central India.

and do you live here in happiness, having a firm belief that I have foregone all enjoyments of this village, with the power of dividing it, its rents and gold, &c. Future kings will consider this gift of mine, for the sake of my merit, as a gift of their own, and so protect it. For it is stated in the *Sāstras* that Sāgara and other kings have given many a piece of land, but subsequent kings have enjoyed the merits of such gifts. Do not apprehend that there is no good in preserving the gift of another, for the benefit is greater from protecting the gifts of other men than from gifts made by ourselves. The giver of land resides happily for sixty thousand years in heaven. Both he that robs land and he that spoils victuals served in a dish will go to hell. (Whereas) gold was the first product of fire, (next) were the earth and vegetation, (then came) the sun, whose offspring were horses and kine, hence he who gives either gold, cows, or land becomes a giver of threefold in this world, and his parents and forefathers emulate and exclaim, "A giver of land is born in our family, for our salvation." He that bestows and he that accepts land are both of them workers of merit, and are sure to go to heaven. If the spoliator of land (given by another) digs a thousand deep tanks and performs a hundred *vājapeya* sacrifices, and gives ten millions of cows in expiation, yet will he not be absolved. He that takes away land or causes it to be taken, intoxicated with power or passion, out of folly, is sure to be born as a bird or a beast, after having been bound in the fetters of Varuṇa. The person who robs a gold coin, a cow, or land to the extent of half an inch will remain in hell till the dissolution of this world. He that seizes land given by himself or another will rot in ordure as a worm with his forefathers. A giver of land is made happy by Āditya, Varuṇa, Viṣṇu, Brahma, Chandra, Agni, and Mahādeva. This is a common bridge of merit,—hence, ye future kings of earth! preserve this bridge for ages evermore, and this has been repeatedly prayed for by Rāmabhadra. For man's property and life are transitory like a drop of water on a lotus-leaf. Pondering on this and comprehending all these illustrations, it behoves not man to destroy the good works of other men. The feet (of the king) are tinged with the beams shooting forth from the ruby circlets on the

crowns of all (prostrate) rulers, he who is ever famous, and by the prowess of his excessively strong army cut to pieces the heads of elephants belonging to his enemies, whence issued innumerable pearls, which adorn his illimitable power and the world. This crown-jewel of kings having cast the burden of the state and finances upon his chief minister, named Sādhārana, the dispeller of robbery, and of unlimited energy, appears like an immortal and enjoys happiness from the delight caused by constantly-tasting the nectar (of poesy) from many a tale composed by eminent poets. In whose kingdom the said minister Sādhārana has his understanding purified by studying the endless sciences of political economy and law, and his speech sweetened by quotations from the *Vedas*, the *Vedāṅgas*, *Śikṣā*, *Kalpa*, and *Itihāsa*—and hence he has attained the highest degree of dignity. He (the king) is distinguished in the three worlds as unrivalled by his austere deportment on account of his uniform practice of religion. (Given) in the thirty-first year (*Sukhvatsara*) of the glorious reign and under the extended (shadow) of the lotus-feet of the great Bhava Gupta Deva, who is a devout adorer of Maheśvara, the great Bhaṭṭāraka, Māhārājā-dhirāja, the Supreme lord, the pre-eminent among the Lunar race, (and) the ruler of Trikaṭiṅga, in the month Mārga, the 13th of the bright half of the month, or, expressed in figures, Samvat 34, 13th bright fortnight, (when) this threefold copper plate was written. (The witnesses thereof) are the Minister of War and Peace, Malla Datta, and the Secretary, Kyastha Mahuka, who have inscribed these letters. This has been written for the comprehension of Mahottama, engraved by Pundarikaksha Datta, formed or composed by Mādhava.

REMARK ON THE ABOVE, BY BĀBUS
RĀṄGALĀL BĀNERJIA, DEPUTY COLLECTOR,
KĀTAKA.

The plates were found by a *rayat* in July 1874, in ploughing his land adjoining his house, in Chaudwār, Parganā Tapankhand, 4½ miles north-east of the Kāṭaka post-office.

Chaudwārā, or the four-gated city, though now reduced to a mean bazār and village, was once the proud *rājdhāni* or capital city of Orissa. According to records kept by astrologers of Orissa, this city was built by Janamejaya, Emperor of India, after the performance of

the Nāga sacrifice, or extermination of the Nāga or serpent race. Apart from the mythical story of its foundation, it is believed that Kāṭaka Chaudwār was the first city of Orissa in point of age. Jājpur, Sārangaḍh, Kāṭaka-Bijānāsī (the modern Kāṭaka) and Bhuvāneśvara, were all built in much more recent times. Besides the city of Chaudwār, there was a very strong fortress hard by, called Kapāleśvara, or 'lord of fortune.' Some years ago, Government made over a portion of this fort at the instance of the now defunct East India Irrigation Company, who used the greater portion of the cut-stone of its ramparts to build the Birupā ānikāṭ and other works. Vandalism could go no further: but much may yet be found to repay the labour of exhumation.

Though the seat of the kingdom was removed elsewhere, Chaudwār still retained some of its grandeur in subsequent ages, for we find a large tank was dug within the fort in the reign of Chorgaṅgā, the founder of the Gaṅgā-vaṁśa family, who reigned between 1132 and 1152 A.D. The tank is still called by his name. An entry has been recently found in the *Mādlā Panji* to the effect that money was sent from Puri for army expenses; this was after the revetment of modern Kāṭaka was built, in 1006 A.D.

But how came a copper-plate grant of the great Guptas to be in the old metropolis of Orissa? The country where the grant is made is called Kośalā; one of the names of ancient Oudh is Kośalā, which is also called Uttara or Northern Kośalā; the Dakshinā or Southern Kośalā is identified by some authorities with the country round Kānpur; but neither of these Kośalās can be the Kośalā of the grant, as the former is always written with a long ā at the end, whereas the final letter in the grant is a short one. Again, one of the titles of the royal donor is Trikaṇḍādhīpati, or 'lord of the three Kāṇḍas,' and this king gives it out on the plate that the grant was made from the great and glorious city of Kāṭaka. The most ancient name of the country bordering on the western shore of the Bay of Bengal, stretching from the Suvarṇarekhā river to Madras, appears to be Kāṇḍa: the upper region was called Utkāṇḍa, and the other two were the middle and the southern Kāṇḍas; the word Utkal is perhaps a shortened form of Utkāṇḍa, and occurs in comparatively

modern *Parāṇas* and *Kācya*s. The word Kośalā is still known in parts of Orissa; tracts of country in Puri and in Aṅgul are still known by this name. A species of pot-herb, peculiar to Orissa is called Kośalā Sāk; and perhaps any country between two rivers—such as the Doāb of the Ganges and Saraju, which was generally called Kośalā—or any country in the shape of a *kośa*, the sheath of a fruit, may have borne this name. Now the country where this plate and others have been found falls exactly within the description of such a country: for first we have the country between the Baitarni and Kharasua, then that between the latter and the Brāhmaṇi, third that between the Brāhmaṇi and Birupā, fourth between the Birupā and the Mahānadi, fifth between the Mahānadi and the Kātjuri, and so on. It is well known also that the great Guptas had their seat of empire first in the Doāb, and perhaps a branch of the family establishing themselves in Trikaṇḍa named parts of it after their own parent country.

Then the question resolves itself into another shape. If the Guptas indeed held sway in Orissa, how is it that there is no mention of their names in the royal *vaṁśāvalis* kept by the astrologers of Orissa, or in the well-known palm-leaf records called *Mādlā Panji*. By a reference to another plate, in the Kāṭaka Collectorate records, we find that a king named Yayāti ruled in Orissa when Śiva Gupta, the son of Bhava Gupta, was the king of Trikaṇḍa: hence it follows that the Orissa Rājas were foundatories of the Guptas, and all lands granted by the former were made in the name of the paramount power.

We have indeed a Yayati, or Yayati Kesari (i.e. Yayati the Lion), in the *vaṁśāvalis*; according to Stirling, he reigned from 473 to 520 A.D. Again, Śiva Gupta, according to the Chaudwār plate, was the father of Bhava Gupta: so that it appears from the two plates that both the father and son of Bhava Gupta had the same name.

It is noteworthy that these Guptas of Trikaṇḍa had among their titles the honorific one of Bhaṭṭāraka, like the Guptas of Saurāṣṭra or Valabhi.

Is then the year 34, given in the plates, that of the Valabhi era, or is it of the local era of the Guptas of Trikaṇḍa? § Again, we have two dates of different eras,—the one is called the

§ It is distinctly stated that it was in the 31st year of the reign.—Ed.

Saṁvatsara, and the other Saṁvat. As the character is common Kutila, the plate cannot be very ancient. But this much is proved—that the plate is found in the old capital city of Orissa; that the grant recorded by it was made from Kaṭaka, the old Kaṭaka Chaudwār,

and by Bhava Gupta, the lord paramount of Trikalīṅga, whose son Śiva Gupta we suppose to have been a contemporary of Yayāti Keśari, who reigned between the years 474 and 526 A.D., and that the Keśaris of Orissa were feudatories of the kings of Trikalīṅga.

MISCELLANEA.

WILD JUNGLE FOLK.

Mr. Bond had the good fortune to procure an interview with a couple of the wild folk who live in the hill-jungles of the Western Ghāts, to the south-west of the Palanei Hills, and took the opportunity to observe and note on the spot some of their peculiarities. We had often heard of the existence of some strange dwarfish people who occasionally frequented the jungles near our station of Pēmalei, a few miles west of Strivilliputtūr, at the north-west corner of the Tinneveli district, but none of us, when visiting the Pēmalei hills for the purpose of selecting, building, or observing at this station, had seen any trace of them, except that whilst observing the final angles we noticed some fires burning at night far off in the distant valleys commonly stated to be entirely devoid of villages and civilized inhabitants. When returning afterwards to Pēmalei, in order finally to close and deliver over charge of the station to the local officials, Mr. Bond having heard that the wild men of the woods occasionally came to Strivilliputtūr with honey, wax, and sandalwood to exchange for cloth, rice, tobacco, and betelnut, induced three of the *Kāvalkārs*, or hill-watchers, through whom principally this barter is carried on, to attempt to catch a specimen of this strange folk. What follows is Mr. Bond's account:—

"Knowing a locality they frequented, whence they could easily steal the remains of food and pots left by the herdsmen, the three *Kāvalkārs* went there to look for them, and on the second day sighted a couple, who at once made off through the jungle for the rocks, with great fleetness and agility, using hands and feet in getting over the latter.

"After a difficult and exciting chase and a very careful search they were again caught sight of, crouching between two rocks, the passage to which was so narrow that it cost their captors a severe scratching to reach them and drag them out one at a time by the legs. They were brought to me in a state of great fear—a man and a woman—as I was descending the hill, and began to cry on being

led to my camp at a large village a few miles out in the plains. After some coaxing, however, with promises of rice and tobacco, they consented to accompany me willingly. On reaching my tent in the evening I gave the man some clothes, and offered them a little money in small silver and copper coins. Each of them selected the latter, refusing the silver pieces of ten times the value, saying that they could get rice with the copper, and apparently had no idea of the value of the former. I gave the woman some pieces of cloth and a few small things, for which they both showed their thanks by repeated prostrations on the ground before me.

"The rest of the day was spent in taking notes on this strange pair, and in getting from them all the information I could through the hill-watchers, who were able to converse with them to a slight extent. They seemed as great a curiosity to the villagers themselves as to myself; and a crowd assembled to watch them, expressing their surprise at the ease and freedom with which they sat in my tent without showing any fear or any desire to run away. The following observations were noted on the spot:—

"The man is 4 feet 6½ inches in height, 26½ inches round the chest, and 18½ inches horizontally round the head over the eyebrows. He has a round head, coarse black, woolly hair, and a dark brown skin. The forehead is low and slightly retreating; the lower part of the face projects like the muzzle of a monkey, and the mouth, which is small and oval with thick lips, protrudes about an inch beyond his nose; he has short bandy legs, a comparatively long body, and arms that extend almost to his knees: the back just above the buttocks is concave, making the stern appear to be much protruded. The hands and fingers are dumpy and always contracted, so that they cannot be made to stretch out quite straight and flat; the palms and fingers are covered with thick skin (more particularly so the tips of the fingers), and the nails are small and imperfect; the feet are broad and thick-skinned all over; the hairs of his moustache are of a greyish white,

|| The alphabets in use during the early centuries of the Christian era markedly differ from the Kutila, and only gradually approximate to it in a later age, when it arose

out of preceding forms: hence there is no reason to suppose that the alphabet was in use very long before the date of the earlier inscriptions in that character.—ED.

scanty, and coarse like bristles, and he has no beard.

"The woman is 4 feet 6½ inches in height, 27 inches round the chest (above the breasts), and 19 horizontally round the head above the brows; the colour of the skin is sallow, or of a nearly yellow tint; the hair is black, long, and straight, and the features well formed. There is no difference between her appearance and that of the common women of that part of the country. She is pleasant to look at, well developed, and modest.

"There are said to be five or six families living about the Pēmalei hills, men and women being about the same height, all the men having the same cast of features and being built as the specimen above described.

"The dress of the man consists of a *langot*, or small piece of cloth tied round the loins. The women when they cannot procure cloth wear only a skirt of leaves.

"They both believe themselves to be a hundred years old, but judging from their appearance I suppose the man to be twenty-five, and the woman about eighteen years of age. They say that they have been married four years, but have had no children.

"Their marriage custom is very simple,—a man and woman who pair off, mutually agree to live together during their lifetime, the conditions being that the man is to provide food, and the woman to cook it; and the marriage is considered to be binding after these conditions have been carried out for the first time, i.e. after they have eaten their first food together.

"They eat flesh, but feed chiefly upon roots and honey. The roots, of which the man next morning went to the jungle and fetched me two kinds, are species of wild yam. I tasted both when cooked and found them far from unpalatable.

"They have no fixed dwelling-places, but sleep on any convenient spot, generally between two rocks or in caves near which they happen to be benighted. They make a fire and cook what they have collected during the day, and keep the fire burning all night for warmth and to keep away wild animals. They worship certain local divinities of the forest,—Rākas or Rākāri, and Pē (after whom the hill is named, Pē-malei).

"When one of them dies, the rest leave the body exposed, and avoid the spot for some months. Whenever the herdsmen, wood-cutters, or hill-watchers come across a corpse and tell the *grām munsaf*, or head village official, he sends men to bury it, and reports the circumstance to the Tahsildār. The *grām munsaf* of this place (Mam-sāpuram and Śiventipatti) told me that six had been buried under his orders.

"As I detained this couple in my camp till late in the evening, they begged to remain all night, as they were afraid to enter the jungles so late, for fear of wild beasts, unless they had a torch with them. I then offered them food if they would cook it near my tent, and gave them what they asked for,—rice; but when a fowl and curry-stuff were suggested they took them also. The man would have killed the fowl by cutting off its head between two stones, but I told my people to give him a knife and show him how to cut its throat, which they did, but he evidently disliked to use the knife, and begged my servant to do it for him, and turned away his head, as if he did not wish to see it done.

"Whilst the woman cooked the rice, the man cut up the fowl, by placing the knife between his toes and drawing the meat along the edge of it. They seemed ignorant of the use of salt and curry-stuff, as they did not use the condiments till told to do so. Moreover, they wanted to eat the food when only half cooked.

"The man having washed his hands remained squatting on the ground till his wife served him, which she continued to do, without eating anything herself, till he signed to her that he had had enough: she then brought him water to wash his mouth and hands, and afterwards ate her own food.

"The fingers alone were used in eating: some rice mixed with the curry was collected into a lump and thrown into the mouth, and I noticed that they did not mix any of the meat with the curry. What remained of their food was put carefully away and carried off next day into the jungle.

"Next morning I sent the man to fetch specimens of the roots they ordinarily feed on, whilst the woman remained at my camp. On his return, soon after midday, I dismissed them, apparently not ill pleased with their involuntary visit."—*General Report Gt. Trig. Survey of India, 1873-74.*

WINE AMONG SUFIS.

A favourite metaphor with the Sufi poets of Islām is wine; the knowledge of God is compared to wine, but no sooner is the wine drunk than drunkenness ensues. The sense is absorbed in the enjoyment, and the union is complete between the seeker and the sought. Maulavi Rūmi has in a few lines given the gist of these speculations, and, curiously enough, succeeded in combining both metaphors, while at the same time he enunciates the esoteric doctrine of Sufism, that Existence is Light, and that Light is the manifestation of God.

"Tis we who steal the sense of wine,

Not wine that robbeth us of wit;

Life is of us, not we of it,

But who shall such a thing divine?

'What is our secret when 'tis told?
A loved one, and nought else beside;
A lover who himself doth hide
The loved one he would fain behold.

'The loved one lives for evermore,
The lover dies a living death;
Till quickened by the loved one's breath
The lover cannot upward soar.

'About us all His sunbeams play:
On right, on left, below, above,
We revel in the light of love,
Nor yet reflect a single ray.
'For though the soul of man they call
A mirror that reflected grace;
A mirror with a dusty face
Reflecteth not the light at all.'

—*British Quarterly Review.*

BOOK NOTICE.

THE LAND OF THE TAMILIANS AND ITS MISSIONS, by the Rev. E. R. Baierlein. Translated from the German by J. D. B. Gribble, F.R.A.S., M.A.I., M.C.S. (Madras: Higginbotham & Co., 1875.)

"A portion of this book," the translator tells us, "has already appeared in a German missionary publication. A considerable portion is here translated from the original manuscript, and the whole has been subjected to the revision of the author." The result is a book that deserves a wide circulation, and will be read by many with great interest. We cannot say much for the printing, and the proofs have not been read with over-much care, but the book is written in a very clear, simple, and often fascinating style, and never wearies the reader by too minute details, or by dwelling long on one subject: indeed some of the chapters would well bear enlargement; what is given whets the appetite for more.

The book is in two parts. In the first we have the Land and its products; the People, their history and literature. Manners, Customs, and Domestic Life; the Ethnology and Religion, the Temples and Temple-worship,—all treated of briefly, but in an interesting and instructive way. In the second, we have short accounts of the various Missions—of the Ancient Church, the Romish, Lutheran, English Episcopal, and Nonconformist Churches,—that of the Lutheran Mission, to which the author belongs, naturally occupying the largest space, as does the account of Rhenius and his work in the shorter chapter on the English Church Mission.

We shall make a few extracts: Here is the author's estimate of the Tamil race:—"The most important of the Dravidian races is that of the Tamilians. They occupy not only the [Tamil] country . . . but also the north of Ceylon and the south of Travankor on the western side of the Ghâts. There is a Christian congregation of Tamilians at Bombay and at Calcutta; and Tamu-

lians are to be found in Burma, Pegu, Singapur, and in the islands of Mauritius, Bourbon, and even in the West Indies . . . In short, wherever there is a lazier and more superstitious people to be shoved aside, there will Tamilians be found, for they are the most enterprising and movable people in India.* Their numbers, according to the last census, amount to sixteen millions." This characteristic has been remarked before in other branches of the Dravidian race, and if once the scattered fragments of that race were brought into full participation of the advantages of our education and civilization, they will probably, to a large extent, supplant the more orthodox Brahmanical races in offices requiring enterprise and energy.

There is a short notice of Tiruvalluvar,† the author of the *Kural*, from which we give the following anecdote of his most dutiful wife:—"This same good wife as she lay dying begged her stern husband to explain what to her was a matter of great mystery, and had puzzled her since the day of her marriage: 'My lord, when for the first time I cooked your rice and placed it before you, you ordered me always to put a jug of water and a needle by your side; why did you order me to do this?' Whereupon her loving consort replied: 'If, my dear one, a grain of rice should fall to the ground, the needle is to pick it up with, and the water to wash it.' Then the wife knew that her husband had never dropped a grain of the rice she had cooked for him, and died happy.

"Deeply moved, Tiruvalluvar sang:—"O loving one, sweeter to me than daily rice! Wife, who failed not in a single word! Woman, who gently stroking my feet lay down after me to sleep and arose before me! And dost thou leave me? How shall I ever again be able to close my eyes at night?"

There are some interesting translations from the early Tamil poets also, but we can only find space

instances are to be found of any foreign language, such as Telugu, &c., spreading in Tamil land. Telugu aboves Canarese on one side, and in its turn is displaced by Tamil. A hundred years hence the whole of the Madras Presidency will be a Tamil-speaking country."

† Conf. Ind. Ant. vol. I. p. 299.

* "It is remarkable how the Tamil language has gradually spread, with the spread of railways and roads. Take, for instance, the district of Kadapa. Seventy years ago Canarese was the predominant language; now it is Telugu; but since the railway was opened, seven years ago, Tamil is spoken by many thousands near the line of rail. But rare

for one,—a translation by Dr. Grant from the war-like poetry of Paraporal:—

The King goes to battle.

"Like a sea surges up the terrible host,
As by wind by its fury now goaded,
And the Monarch storms past through the opening ranks,
In a chariot with gold overloaded;
And there flies round the host, in its front and its rear,
In circles still growing more narrow,
A flock of black demons, whose wide-gaping maws
Will feed on the fallen one's marrow.

The Queen's Sorrow.

"Who once filled the throne lies stretched on the field,
And foes of his valour are singing;
But 'Husband, O husband!' exclaims the wife
Of the smile so tender and winning;
And weeping and moaning she puts next her heart
His wreath all faded and gory,
And clings to the breast which, pierced by a dart,
Is covered with heavenly glory.

A Hero's Death.

"As the lion who roams thro' the forest glade wild,
His eye with majesty flashing,
Yields his life without murmur when struck by a rock
That comes through the valley down dashing;
So the hero, with sword all dripping with blood,
Looks round on the hosts that surround him,
Then flashes his eye, he raises his hand,
And falls with his foes all around him.

Self-sacrifice of the Royal Wives.

"And now the great kings of the mighty sword
On the field stark and cold are all lying,
And see! the proud king with the giant-like arm,
Where the slain lie the thickest, is dying:
The world too is weeping, and now the sad wives
Themselves in the flames are all throwing,
But, horror! the death-god is not yet content,
But gloats o'er the death-piles still growing.

At the conclusion of the chapter on Religion and Worship, the author adds,—“I should, however, be doing these idol-worshippers an injustice if I did not expressly say that among them there are many pious and earnest minds. These do not remain floundering in the quagmire of idolatry, but regard it as a mere outward husk, and reject it indeed in words, but still as far as their actual daily life is concerned they cannot disconnect themselves from it, for the whole life of the people is entwined with it. Many of this kind rely in

spirit on the truth and good which the Vedanta has brought to light. They seek to grasp God as the most perfect Being, as the most perfect Intelligence, and as the most perfect Bliss (*Sat, Chit, Ananda*), and endeavour to find union with him by the path of self-contemplation. . . . I cannot describe them better than Tayumanaver, one of themselves, has described them in a poem full of tenderness and longing for God, and which reminds one of the 42nd Psalm. The following is taken from Dr. Graul's translation, in his *Indische Simpflanzten*:—

A modern Tamil Hymn.

"Thou standest at the summit of all the glorious earth,
Thou rulest and pervadest the world from ere its birth,
O Supreme Being!
And can the pious man find out no way to thee,
Who melting into love with tears approaches Thee,
O Supreme Being?
Already on the way is he who takes as guide,
An earnest, loving heart, and self-discernment tried,
O Supreme Being!
Who'd gaze at heaven, first climbs the mountain-height,
Self-contemplation's wings towards Thee aim their flight,
O Supreme Being!
Thou throned above the ether's pinnacle, O Lord,
'Tis thou who art the spirit, and thou who art the word,
O Supreme Being!
Untouched thyself, the mind of him thou gently movest
Who pondering, bewildered, the word and spirit loseth,
O Supreme Being!
Things heavenly thou showest unto the wondering sight,
Reflected in a mirror, thou mountain of delight,
O Supreme Being!
He dies, O Lord Supreme, who loves thee to perfection,
And slumbering ever rests in blissful contemplation,
O Supreme Being!
The object thou of love, of every heartfelt pleasure,
Of souls that prize alike the potsherd and the treasure,
O Supreme Being!
A madness there possessed me to kill the 'Self and Mine';
In need I wandered helpless, seeking help divine,
O Supreme Being!
My pride became then softened and touched by thee above,
To water ran my bones, and I dissolved in love,
O Supreme Being!

O thou, of all the weary and heavy laden, Rest !
Henceforth thy name by me for ever shall be blest,
O Supreme Being !

Grant, thirsty, I may plunge in thy fresh stream
of bliss,
Or else o'erwhelmed I sink within the deep
abyss, O Supreme Being !

Knowing all my thoughts, for ever and again
Thou comest to refresh me, thou grace-bestow-
ing rain, O Supreme Being !

Thou nectar never cloying, thou stream of
heavenly bliss,
O thou the good that dwells in perfect loneliness,
O Supreme Being !

All things pervadest thou, O sweetest honey-dew !
My inward self possessing thou sweet nest through
and through, O Supreme Being !

My coral thou, my pearl, my mine of purest gold,
My beam of brightness, spirit light, my priceless
wealth untold, O Supreme Being !

My eye, my thought, my tree, my heavenly
stream,
Thou art my ether-ray, my joy and wonder-
dream, O Supreme Being !

Lost in myself, my spirit lies here helpless,
Like dried-up wood—and thou wilt leave me
sapless, O Supreme Being !

O sea of bliss, may I not plunge in Thee,
Nor quench the thirst which now destroyeth me,
O Supreme Being ?

When will my sorrow cease, my fountain spring,
And flow again with joy, my Prince and King,
O Supreme Being !

Why turn thy face away ? All that I knew,
To get a closer view of Thee, away I threw,
O Supreme Being !

My tears of grief my soul seem to destroy ;
When wilt thou change them, Lord, to tears of joy,
O Supreme Being ?

To thee in silent worship I ever cling and twine,
And, like an orphan child, I long and pine,
O Supreme Being !

Though free and joyful I myself may boast,
I still must ever wander in a dreary waste,
O Supreme Being !

Like to a stalk of straw in whirlwinds blown and
tossed,
So is thy wretched slave within this desert lost,
O Supreme Being !

But earthly powers and kings are nought of worth
to me
If they not humbly raise their hand in prayer
to thee, O Supreme Being !

The cow bestows upon its helpless offspring love ;
Show me, O gracious mother, thy pity from above,
O Supreme Being !

However guilty I, whatever wrong I do,
I ask thee, mother-like, thy pitying love to show,
O Supreme Being !"

Lastly, from the second part, we extract the following :—"The bishop of the Thomas Christians, Mar Gabriel, gave to the Dutch, at the commencement of the 18th century, a long account of their circumstances, from which I will only extract the following :—" Fifty-five years after the birth of the Messiah, the apostle Thomas came to Mylapur (near Madras), on the Coromandel coast, and preached the Gospel. From thence he came to Malabar, preached the Gospel, collected congregations in several places, and fixed their pastors. He then returned to the Coromandel coast, where he was stabbed by a heathen with a spear, and thus ended his life. After some time all the pastors whom St Thomas had appointed died off, and a false doctrine arose which was followed by many. Only 160 families remained true. But in 745 (A.D.) there arrived from Bagdad Christians and Priests who settled down in Malabar. King Perumal, to whom the new arrivals addressed themselves, received them kindly and gave them land in order to build shops and churches. He also bestowed upon them many marks of honour, and the right to trade throughout the whole country as long as the sun and moon should shine, as may be read to this day on tablets of copper.† Thus the Christians lived happy and prosperous, and the Christian Patriarch of the East sent them many shepherds and teachers from Bagdad, Nineveh, and Jerusalem. After the Portuguese had come to Malabar, the Patriarch sent four more bishops, Mar Mardina, Mar Jacob, Mar Thoma, and Jene Allay, who ruled the Christians and built many churches. After their death there came to Malabar, about the year 1550, another, Mar Abraham. But the Portuguese, resolved that no more teachers should be allowed to come, and guarded all the roads by which the Syrian priests could come. When now the Christians had no instructors, the Portuguese spent much trouble in endeavouring to draw them over, &c.

We are surprised to find expressions in this translation like "the Rev. Schwartz;" as also to find on both covers a figure of that unsightly abortion of a hideously diseased imagination,—Ganēśa with the invocation *Śrī Ganēśa namaḥ*. In what state of intellectual nightmare the mind must have been that first used so ugly a vignette on an English book, we can hardly conceive : by what accident it has now got on the cover of a missionary's work we may guess, but do not excuse.

† Conf. Ind. Ant. vol. I. p. 229, and vol. III. p. 334, where the date is given as A.D. 774.—Ed.

METRICAL VERSION OF BHARTRIHARI'S VAIRĀGYA ŚATAKAM.

BY PROF. C. H. TAWNEY, M.A., CALCUTTA.

*(Continued from page 3.)**Of the proud man.*

THOSE men may boast of being born, whose
 skulls gleam white on Śiva's head,
 The final meed of holy saints, and chiefs whose
 souls in battle fled;
 But oft I muse how men can swell with pride
 at causing those to bow,
 Who, if they save their precious lives, care
 little for the when and how.

You are a lord of acres,
 But we are lords of song;
 And we subdue the subtle,
 If you subdue the strong;
 The rich of you are speaking,
 In me the wise believe,
 And if you find me irksome,
 Why then—I take my leave.

Of Self-reunciation.

The day of pleasure's past and gone,
 Long through this world we've wandered on,
 And weary reached the brink:
 By Gangā's stream shrills forth our cry,
 "O Śiva, Śiva, Lord most high,
 Help, Śiva, or we sink."

When honour fades, and wealth departs, and
 boons are craved in vain,
 And friends are dead, and servants fled, and
 joy exchanged for pain,
 This course alone becomes the wise—to seek
 those mountain caves
 Whence softly flow through woods below the
 sanctifying waves.

Why suffer endless woes in vain
 The favour of the great to gain?
 Let false ambition's longings cease,
 Learn to possess thy soul in peace,
 And thou hast won the wishing-cap
 That pours earth's treasures in thy lap.

Of the terrors that beset the path of Pleasure.

In happiness men fear disease, the haughty
 shrink from scorn,
 The rich, the wise, the men of might, dread
 princes, critics, foes;

Envy blights virtue, eld good looks, death
 threatens all things born,
 The hermit's humble life alone gives undisturbed
 repose.

For life fast slipping from my hold
 I've borne the last and worst disgrace,—
 I've sat 'mongst wealthy fools, and told
 My merits with unblushing face.

We speak with awe of glorious kings, of haughty
 lords, and knights,
 Of courtiers ranged in glittering rows, of tri-
 umphs and of fights,
 Of tuneful bards that hymn their praise: who
 honours as he ought
 That "eloquent and mighty Death" that sweeps
 them into nought?

Of Time the Destroyer.

Our parents long have passed away,
 All old familiar faces fled,
 Destruction nears us day by day,
 Like trees in sandy river-bed.

Where many dwellers once were seen, one only
 now survives,
 Again that house is filled with store of joyous
 human lives,
 Then all are swept away again; thus wielding
 Night and Day
 As dice, destruction's wedded powers* with
 helpless mortals play.

Shall we retire to Gangā's brink,
 Or cull the sweets of honeyed lays,
 Or court a wife whom all men praise?
 Life's short—we know not what to think.

O for those days when I shall dwell alone
 Among the snowy hills by Gangā's stream,
 In stony torpor stiffened on a stone,
 Inly conversing with the One Supreme,
 Rapt in devotion, dead to all beside,
 And deer shall fray their horns against my
 senseless hide.

* i.e. Śiva and Pārvatī.

When shall we, sick of life's entangling bands,
Sit on the holy river's moonlit sands,
Through windless nights, with rapture-stream-
ing eyes,
And thrice on Śiva call with plaintive cries?

Still Śiva's arm is strong to save,
Still may we plunge in Gangā's wave,
Still one blue heaven bends over all,
Still Time sees mortals rise and fall,
Still poverty's our best defence,
Enough—renounce the joys of sense.

Hope is a stream, its waves desires, by stormy
passions tossed,
With cruel longings lurking deep, by light-
winged visions crossed,
Resolves like firmly planted trees its floods up-
rooting bear,
Its madness swirls in eddying rings beneath its
banks of care;
But those, who in devotion's bark attain its
further shore,
Rejoice, for this unstable world enslaves their
souls no more.

I've searched for years through earth and air
and sky,
Nor yet one perfect saint hath met my eye,
Nor have I heard of one who could restrain
Desire's fierce elephant with reason's chain.

The days seem long to those who drudge for
pay,
And short to those who fritter life away;
When shall I sit and think how vain their
moans,
A hermit pillowed on a bed of stones?

When all our wealth is wasted, we'll seek some
calm retreat,
And spend the night in thinking on Śiva's
holy feet,
When streams the autumn moonlight into our
melting hearts,
How false that world will glimmer where once
we played our parts!

Bark garments satisfy my needs,
But you are pleased with silken weeds,
Who counts you better off than me?
But woe to him whose wants are great!
Contentment equals men's estate,
And makes the rich and poor agree.

Unfettered wandering, and meals from degrada-
tion free,
The friendship of the wise and good; and sober
piety,
A heart that beats not for the world—none, that
my thoughts can trace,
Not e'en by strictest discipline hath gained this
heavenly grace.

The hand's a lordly dish,
The mouth with alms is fed,
The sky's a glorious robe,
The earth's a sumptuous bed,
Those live in high content
Who're free from passion's chain,
And works with all their brood
Of ignorance and pain.

Kings' fancies swiftly pass like coursers in the
race,
In vain to them we look for favour, wealth, and
place,
Eld robs our frame of strength, Death slays us at
a blow,
None but the hermit's life can happiness be-
stow.

Our joys are short-lived as the flash
That cleaves the cloudy veil,
Our life is fleeting as the mists
That drive before the gale;
Youth's pleasures fade—then fix your minds
On that untroubled peace
Which patient meditation brings
To those whose longings cease.

To roam some woodland hermitage where Brāh-
mans' chants resound,
And smoke of sacrificial fires blackens the trees
around,
Begging one's bread from cell to cell, plants in
the breast no thorns,
Like flattering men of equal birth whose sym-
pathy one secrns.

While gaping idlers turn the head and say,
"What stamp of man can yonder pilgrim be,
"Saint, sophist, outcast, Brāhman, slave or
free?"
Nor pleased nor wroth the hermit wends his way.

Happy are those who've ceased to walk by
sight,
Slain passion's snake, and make good deeds
their stay,
Who spend in woodland nooks the tranquil
night,
Illumined by the moon's autumnal ray.

Be still, my fluttering heart, and leave this crowd-
ed show
Of worldly toys 'midst which thou eddiest to
and fro,
Abandon fleeting forms, and seek that settled
state
Of grounded peace enthroned above the storms
of fate.

Pillowed on banks of moss, with roots and
berries fed,
Enwound with strips of bark, our wants shall
all be sped—
Off to the woodland shades, and gladly leave
behind
These men of stammering speech, with wealth-
bewildered mind.

Abandon empty hopes, and place thy trust, my
breast,
In Gangā, and in him who bears the moony
crest;†
Whoe'er confides in snakes, waves, women,
bubbles, flames, *
Lightnings or mountain streams, his want of
sense proclaims.

SANSKRIT AND OLD CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, B.C.S.

(Continued from page 53.)

No. XIII.

This is an inscription in the Cave-alphabet character and the Sanskrit language from a stone-tablet let into the outside of the east wall of a temple called *Mēguti** on the top of the hill at *Aihole* on the *Malaprabhā*, about five miles to the south-west of *Amīnāḍ* in the *Hungund Talukā* of the *Kalāḍgi District*. The tablet is 59½" broad by 26" high; the average size of the letters is half an inch. A photograph of this inscription, but on a small scale and very illegible, is given in Plate No. 3 of Mr. Hope's collection. I have edited the text from a personal inspection of the original, and have also taken a paper estampage of it.

This inscription is one of the *Chālukya* dynasty, and is the oldest but one of known date†, and the most important, of all the stone-

tablet inscriptions of these parts. It mentions the following kings:—

(Jayasimha I, or)
Jayasimhavallabha.

↓
Rajarāga.

↓
Pulikēśi I.

↓
Kirttivarmā (I).

↓
Pulikēśi II, or

Satyāśraya.

Maṅgalīśa,
(or Maṅgalīśvara).

○

And the object of it is to record the erection of a stone temple of *Jinendra* by a certain *Ravikīrtti*, during the reign of *Pulikēśi*

† i.e. Śiva.

* 'Mēguti' is the rustic pronunciation of 'Mēgudi,' sc. *Mṛlīna-guḍi*, the temple which is up on high.

† The exception is the stone-inscription, in Cave No. III at *Bādāmi*, of *Maṅgalīśa*, dated Śaka 501 ('five hundred years having elapsed since the installation of the Śaka king'), the twelfth year of his reign,—published in facsimile, with transcription, &c., by Prof. Eggeling, at Vol. III, p. 305 of the *Indian Antiquary*, and at p. 23 of Mr. Burgess' *Archæological Report* for 1873-4. My own version, differing in some minor points from that of Prof. Eggeling, is to be published in the Appendix to Mr. Burgess' *Second Report*. At *Aminābhavi* in the *Dhārwad Talukā* there is, indeed, a stone-tablet inscription, which refers itself to the time of *Satyāśraya* (or *Pulikēśi II*), the son of *Kirttivarmā*,

who was the son of *Pulikēśi I.*, and has the date of Śaka 488 (A.D. 566-7); a transcription of it is given at pp. 672 et seqq. of Sir W. Elliot's M.S. vol. I. now with me. But this part of the inscription is not original. For, the inscription commences by referring itself to the time of *Vikramāditya the Great*, A.D. 1076 to 1127; then follows a portion in Old Canarese; and then comes the passage containing the mention of *Pulikēśi II* and the above date, in Sanskrit, and copied manifestly from a copper-plate inscription. That this portion of the inscription is not original and genuine is also shown conclusively by the fact that it states that the Śaka year 488 was the *Sarvajit sambhutsara*; at that time the use of the cycle of sixty *sambhutsaras* had not been introduced. And Śaka 488 was not the time of the second *Pulikēśi*.

II, in the Śaka year 507† (A. D. 585-6), which the inscription makes equivalent to the year of the Kaliyuga 3551§, and to the year of the era of the war of the Mahābhārata 3731.|| Dr. Bhau Dāji has already noticed this inscription, from the photograph, in the *Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.*, No. xxvii, Vol. . . . but he varies in his interpretation of the date; at page 315 he takes it as Śaka 506, the 3855th year of the Kaliyuga and the 3730th year of the war of the Mahābhārata, and at page xcix, as Śaka 506, the 3506th year of the Kaliyuga, and the 3855th year of the war of the Mahābhārata. The passage containing the dates is distinctly legible in both the original and the photograph, and I see no way of interpreting it but as I have done.

This inscription abounds in historical allusions. As affecting the history of these parts, the most important are the mention of the Kadambas and the Kaṭachchuris¶ and the references to Vanavāsi, to the Mauryas in the Koṅkaṇa, who were ejected by Chāṇḍaṇḍa as the agent of Pulikēśi II, and to Āppāyika-Gōvinda, who was probably of the Rāshtrakūṭa family. In line 12 we have perhaps the earliest mention of this part of the country under its name of Mahārāshṭra. Vātāpipurī, or Vātāpīnagarī, which was made the capital of the dynasty by Pulikēśi II, has not yet, I believe, been localized. There can, however, be no doubt that it is the modern Bādāmi, the well-known remains at which are quite enough to show that it was in former times a place of much importance. Taking the old form of the name, 'Bādāvi', which we meet with as far back as Śaka 622* (A. D. 700-1), the interchange of letters,— 'vā' with 'bā'; 'tā' with 'dā'; and 'pi' with 'vi',—is natural enough, whether we take 'Bādāvi' as a Prākṛit corruption of the Sanskrit 'Vātāpi', or whether we take 'Vātāpi' as a name already known in Sanskrit literature and

therefore used as the nearest approach towards Sanskritizing a Dravidian name. But further confirmation of my proposition is forthcoming. There are two local *Māhātmyas*†; one connected with the shrine of Banāśankari‡, and the other connected with Mahākūṭa, also called Dakṣiṇakāśī because of the innumerable *lingas* around it, a shrine about three miles away in the hills to the east of Bādāmi; I have examined them both. The *Banāśankarīmāhātmya* contains nothing of importance, beyond mentioning the name of Bādāvi. But the *Mahākūṭamāhātmya* transfers to Mahākūṭa the destruction of the demon brothers Vātāpi and Ilvala by Agastya, which myth is allotted in the *Purāṇas* to some unspecified place in the Vindhya mountains. The worthlessness of *Māhātmyas* as historical records is proverbial; but, in a matter of this kind, they involuntarily furnish valuable testimony. At whatever time the *Mahākūṭamāhātmya*, necessarily a somewhat modern production, may have been written, the writer of it was manifestly well aware that in some way or other the name of Vātāpi was connected with the locality, and that, in writing such a record as he was desirous of producing, it was incumbent on him to explain the fact. He has given the only explanation that suggested itself to him, or that it suited his purpose to give; and, as usual, the explanation is incomplete and at first sight worthless. But the true inference to be drawn is clear; viz., that the name of Vātāpi, however derived, is really and historically connected with the neighbourhood of Mahākūṭa, and, in fact, that Vātāpi and Bādāvi are one and the same name and place.

Dr. Bhau Dāji has already drawn attention to the literary importance of this inscription, as showing, by mentioning the poets Kālidāsa and Bhāṛavi, that by this time their names were already well known and their fame established.

† According to the original, "five hundred and six years of the Śaka kings having elapsed".

§ According to the original, "(three thousand) five hundred and fifty years having elapsed". By the table in Brown's *Carnatic Chronology*, and by the table in Thomas's edition of Prinsep's *Antiquities*,—both of which follow the usual computation, according to which the Kaliyuga commenced on the equinox of March, 3102 a.c.,—Śaka 507 was the year 3886 of the Kaliyuga.

|| According to the original, "three thousand seven hundred and thirty years having elapsed".

¶ See note ¶, page 71.

* Vide a subsequent inscription in this series, from a stone-tablet in the Kallamatha at Bādāmi. 'Bādāvi' occurs therein in a passage which is prefaced by the words "After that, these verses were given in the Prākṛit language". This points rather to 'Bādāvi', and thence 'Bādāmi', as a corruption of a Sanskrit 'Vātāpi', than to 'Vātāpi' as a Sanskritized version of a Dravidian name. But it should be remarked that Prof. Monier Williams suggests only a doubtful etymology for 'Vātāpi', and none at all for 'Ilvala'.

† 'Māhātmya',—a work giving an account of the supposed history and merits of a holy place or object.

‡ Vide No. X of this Series, p. 19 of the present volume.

Transcription.

[1] जयति भगवान्नि(ञ्जि)नेन्द्रो § र(क्ष)णजन्मनो यस्य ज्ञानसमुद्रा-
न्तर्गतमखिलज्जगदन्तरीपमिव ॥ (॥) तदनु चिरम्परिचेयश्चलक्यकुलविपुलजलनिधिर्जयति ॥ (॥)
पृथिवीमौली(लि)ललामो यः* प्रभवः पुरुपरत्नानाम् ॥ शूरे विदुषि च वि-
भजन्दानम्मानञ्च युगपदेकत्र ॥ (॥) [२] अविहितयायातथ्यो जयति च सत्याश्रयस्सुचि-
रम् ॥ पृथिवीवल्लभशब्दो येषामन्वयताञ्जिरञ्जातः† तदंशेषु जिगीपुषु तेषु बहु-
ष्वप्यतीतेषु ॥ नानाहेतितशताभिघातपतितभ्रान्ताश्वपत्तिदिपे नृत्यद्वीमकबन्धस्त्रङ्गकिरणज्वालासहस्र(स्ते)
रणे [३] लक्ष्मीर्भावितचापलादिव कृता शौर्येण येनात्मसात् राजासीज्जयसिद्धवल्लभ इति
ख्यातश्चलक्यान्वयः ॥ (॥) तदात्मजो भूद्र(द) रणरागनामा दिव्यानुभावो जगदेकनायः
अमानुषत्वं किल यस्य लोकः स्सु(सु)प्तस्य ज्ञानाति वपुःप्रकर्षात् ॥ (॥) तस्याभ-
वत्तनुबः पुलकेशि(शी) यः(यः) श्रितेन्दुकान्तरपि [४] श्रीवल्लभो प्ययासीद्वातापिपुरीवधूव-
रताम् ॥ * यन्निवर्गपदवीमलं क्षितौ नानुगन्तुगधुनापि राजकम् भूश्च येन हयमे-
धयाजिना मापितावभूयमञ्जना वभौ ॥ (॥) नळमौर्यैकदम्बकाळरात्रिः(त्रि)स्तनयस्तस्य वभूव
कीर्त्तिवर्मा परदारविवृत्तचित्तवृत्ते§§रपि धीर्यस्य रिपुश्री[६]यानुकृष्टा ॥ रणपराक्रमलब्धजय-
श्रिया सपदि येन विरुघ(ण)मशेषतः नृपतिगन्धगजेन महौजसा पृथुकदम्बकदम्बकदम्ब-
कम् ॥ (॥) तस्मिन्सुरेश्वरविभूतिगताभिलाषे राजाभवत्तदनुजX¶¶ किल मङ्गलि(ली)शः यः
पूर्वपश्चिमसमुद्रतटोपिताश्व(श्वः) सेनारजःपटविभिर्मितदिग्वितानः ॥ (॥) स्फुरन्मयूखैरसिदीपिकाशतैः
[६] व्युदस्य मातङ्गतमिच्छसञ्जयम् अवाप्तवान्यो रणरङ्गमन्दिरे क(के)ट(ळ!)चुरिश्रीललनापरिग्र-
हाम् ॥ पुनरपि च जिघृक्षोस्तेन्याक्का(क्रा)न्तसालम् रुचिरबहुपताकं रेवतीदीपमागु(शु)
सपदि महदुदन्वत्तोयसंक्का(क्रा)न्तविम्बं वर(रु)णबलमिवाभूदागतं यस्य वाचा ॥ तस्या-
ग्रजस्य तनये नहुपानुभागे(वे) लक्ष्म्या किलाभि[७]लपिते पुलकेशिनाम्नि सामूयमात्म-
नि भवन्तमतः पितृव्यम् ज्ञात्वापरुद्धचरितव्यवसायबुद्धौ ॥ (॥) स यदुपचितमन्त्रोत्सा-
हशक्तिप्रयोगक्षपितबलविशेषो मङ्गलि(ली)शो(श)स्समन्तात् स्वतनयगतराज्यारम्भयत्नेन सार्द्धं नि-
जमतनु च राज्यञ्जीवितञ्चोद्भति स्म ॥ तावत्तच्छत्रभङ्गे जगदखिलमरात्यन्धकारोपरु-
द्धं [८] यस्यासद्यप्रतापशुतिततिभिर्वाक्का(क्रा)न्तमार्सीन्प्रभातम् नृत्यद्विद्युत्पताकैः प्रव्रविनि मरु-
ति क्षुण्णपर्यन्तभागेर्गर्जन्त्रिभुर्विवासे(है)रलिकुलमलिनं व्योम यातं कदा वा ॥ लब्ध्वा

§ Two letters here are almost illegible and very doubtful. The first seems to be 'da', 'di', 'ei', or 'ei', and the second some compound letter the first part of which is 'u'.

* Two letters are illegible here.

¶ We have here, and in several places further on, the old form of the Visarga, called in this case Upadhamāya, before 'p' and 'ph'. The sign is identical with the letter 'r', and is called by Vopadeva 'Gajakumbhākṛiti', 'that which has the shape of the two projections on the forehead of an elephant which swell in the rattling season'. It is used sometimes where in classical Sanskrit 'h' is written, e.g. 'parpa' for 'pachpa'.

† The original here is quite distinct. 'Jita', born, is written by mistake for 'yāta', went to; the date of the inscription is, I think, too early for this to be taken as even an early instance of writing and pronouncing 'y', considered as a single letter, for 'y'.

‡ This letter, — 'ya', — was at first omitted in the original and then inserted above the line.

§§ The original has 'chitta' in the line and 'vitta' inserted below.

¶¶ We have here, and in several places below, the old form of the Visarga, called in this case Upadhamāya, before 'k' and 'kh'. This sign is of frequent occurrence in the older inscriptions, and is identical in form with the letter 'u'. Dr. Barnell, though referring to it as being called by Vopadeva 'Vajrakṛiti', 'that which has the shape of a thunder-bolt', does not notice it further in his South-Indian Palaeography. It occurs in line 5 of Plate 20 of his book; where he reads 'anant-kula-gāta-dharmar-yamkanti-kṛiti', &c., and proposes as a correction 'sankṛānti', 'passage of the sun from one sign of the zodiac into another'. The proper reading is 'yā-jah-j-kānti', &c., the engraver having omitted the 'sa' of 'yānti' fame.

कालं भुवमुपगते जेतुमाप्यायिकाख्ये गोविन्दे च द्विरदनिकैरुत्तराभोधिरथ्याः(थ्यः) य-
 स्थानीकैर्युधि भयरसज्ञत्वेमेकः प्रयातस्तत्रावाप्तफलमुपकृतस्या[9]परेणापि सद्यः ।[11] वर-
 दातुङ्गतरङ्गरङ्गविलसदंसानदीमेखलां वनवासीमवमृद्धतस्सुरपुरप्रस्पर्दनीं सम्पदा महता यस्य
 वलाण्वेन परितस्सञ्छादितोर्वीतलं । स्थलदुर्गञ्जलदुर्ग*तामिव गतं तत्तत्क्षणे पश्य-
 ताम् [11] गङ्गाम्बु पे(पी)त्वा व्यसनानि सप्त हित्वा पुरोपाञ्जितसंपदो पि
 गस्यानुभावोपनतासदासजा[10]सन्नसेवामृतपानशौण्डः(ण्डाः) [11] कोङ्कणेषु यदादिष्टचण्डदण्डाम्बु-
 वीचिभिः उदस्तास्तरसा मौर्यपत्न्याम्बुसमृद्धयः ।[11] अपरजलधेर्हर्षां यस्मिन्गुरीगुरभि-
 त्पभे मदगजघटाकरैर्बावां शतैरवमृद्धति जलदपटलानीकाकीर्णन्नवोत्पलमेचकुञ्जलनिधिरिव व्यो-
 मव्योन्नस्त[11]मो भवदम्बुभिः(धिः) [11] प्रतापोपनता यस्य लाटमाळवगूर्जराः दण्डो-
 पनतसामन्तचर्या वर्या इवाभवन् ॥ अपरिमितविभूतिस्फीतसामन्तसेनामुकुटमाणिमयूखाङ्गा(का)-
 न्तपादारविन्दः युधि पतितगज(जे)न्द्रानीकवी(वी)भत्सभूतो भयविगळितहर्षो येन चाकारि
 हर्षः ॥ भवमुहभिरनीकैश्शा[12]सतो यस्य रेवा विविधपुलिनशोभा बन्ध्य(न्य)विन्ध्यो-
 पकण्ठा अधिकतरमराजत्वेन तेजोमहिम्ना शिखरिभिरभवर्ज्या वर्ष्म(र्ष्म)णा(णां) स्पर्द्धयेव [11]
 विधिवदुपचिताभिश्शक्तिभिश्शङ्कु(क)कल्पस्तिमृभिरपि गुणैश्चैस्वैश्च महाकुलोदोः अनमदाधिप-
 तित्वं यो महाराष्ट्रकाणां नवनवतिसहस्रग्रामभाजां त्रयाणां [11] गृहिणां स्व-
 [13]स्व†गुणैस्त्रिवर्गवृक्षा विहितान्यक्षितिपालमानभङ्गा(ङ्गाः) अभवन्नुपजातभीतिलिङ्गा यदनीकेन सको-
 [स†]लाX कलिङ्गा(ङ्गाः) [11] पिष्टं पिष्टपुरं येन जातं दुर्गमदुर्गमञ्जितं यस्य
 कलेर्वृत्तं जातं दुर्गमदुर्गमम् ॥ सन्नद्धवारणघटास्थगितान्तराळम् नानायुधक्षतनरक्षतजाङ्ग-
 रागम् आसीज्जलं यदवमार्दितमभ्रगर्भाकैण(णा)ळम्[14]म्बरमिवोज्जितसान्ध्यरागम् ॥ उद्धूतामल-
 चामरध्वजशतच्छत्रान्धकारैर्वृलैः शौर्योत्साहरसोद्धतारिमयैर्म्मौलादिभिर्ध्वजैः आङ्गा(का)न्तात्मबलोन्न-
 तिम्वलरजस्सञ्छन्नकाञ्चीपुरः प्राकारान्तरितप्रतापमकरोद्यः पल्लवानाम्पतिम् / ॥ कावेरी दृत्-
 शकरीविलोलनेत्रा चोळानां सपदि जयोद्यतस्य यस्य प्रश्रयोतन्मदगजसे[15]तुरुङ्गनीरा
 सस्यर्शं परिहरति स्म रत्नराशेः ॥ चोळकेरळपाण्ड्यानाम् यो भूतत्र महर्द्धये
 पल्लवानीकनीहारतुहिनेतरदीधितिः ॥ उत्साहप्रभुमन्त्रशक्तिसहिते यस्मिन्समन्ता दिशो जित्वा
 भूमिपतीन्विसृज्य महितानाराद्धय(ध्य) देवदिजान् वातापीन्नगरीम्प्राविश्य नगरीमेकामिवोर्वीमिमाम्
 चञ्चुरीराधिनीलनीरपरिखां [16]सत्याश्रये शासति ॥ त्रिशत्सु त्रिसहस्रेषु भारतादाह-
 वादितः सप्ताब्दशतयुक्तेषु शतैश्चन्द्रेषु पञ्चसु [11] पञ्चाशत्सु कलौ काले षट्सु
 पञ्चाशतासु च समासु समतीतासु शकानामपि भूभुजाम् ॥ तस्याम्बुधित्रयनिवारि-
 तशासनस्य [17]सत्याश्रयस्य परमाप्तवता प्रसादं शैलञ्जिनेन्द्रभवनम्भवनम्हस्त्रान्निर्मापितम्म-
 तिमता रविकीर्त्तनेदम् ॥ प्रशस्तेर्वृत्तेश्चास्याः(स्या) जिनस्य त्रिजगद्गुरोX कर्त्ता का-

* Between 'duryga' and 'tāmicā' the original has 'ta-
 mitaya', engraved by mistake and then partially erased.

† This second 'set' is redundant and unmeaning.

‡ This letter, —'sa',—is omitted altogether in the original.

रयिता चापि रविकीर्त्तिः कृती स्वयम् ॥ येनायोजितवेष्टम् स्थिरमर्त्यविधौ वि-
वेकिना जिनवेष्टम् स विजयतां रविकीर्त्तिः कविता[18] श्रितकाळिदासभारविकीर्त्तिः [11]
ಮುಖ ಶ್ರೀ(?) ನೃಪೇಂದ್ರ(?) ರವಿವರ್ಮನುಳ್ಳ ಪೂರ್ವಾಭಿಷೇಕನು(ಮಾ) ಇತಿ ಅನ್ಯ ಭುಕ್ತಿ-
(ಶ್ರೀ:) [1] ೧೦(೧೬) ಸ್ವಪಿಪ್ಪತ್ತಿ ಮಾಭಿಗತ(ತಂ) ಭೀಮವಾರಿಯ್ಯನ(ವತಿಃ) ಮಹಾಭಾಸ್ವರಸ
ಸೀಮಾ ಉತ್ತರತಃ(ಶೋ) ದಕ್ಷಿಣತಃ [11] [19][ಅ?]ನ(?)ನಾಸ [11]

Translation.

Victorious is the holy one, Jinêndra; the whole world is as it were an island in the centre of the sea which is the knowledge of him, who was born from

And after that, victorious for a long time is the mighty ocean which is the Chalukya family, a thorough acquaintance with (the greatness of) which is not to be attained; being the ornament of the diadem of the earth, it is the origin of jewels of men.

And victorious for a very long time is Satyâśraya*, who conforms to the truth even though it is not ordained by precept, bestowing charity and honour upon the brave and the learned at the same time and at the same place.

Many members of that race, desirous of conquest, whose title of 'favourite of the world' enjoyed for a long time the condition of being a title the meaning of which was obvious and suitable, having passed away:—

There was the descendant of the Chalukyas, the famous king Jayasîṃhavallabha, who, with his bravery, won for himself the goddess of fortune, as if it were through the fickleness that is known to exist in her, in warfare in which the bewildered horses and foot-soldiers and elephants were felled by the blows of many hundreds of weapons, and in which there flashed thousands of the rays of the swords of dancing and fear-inspiring headless trunks.

His son was he who bore the name of Rāṇarāga, of god-like dignity, the sole lord of the world; verily, through the excellence of his body, mankind recognized, even while he was asleep, that he was of more than human essence.

§ In the original 'ja' was at first written, then the 'j' was erased and 's' inserted above the line and 'v' below it.

¶ The characters here are of the same original type as those of the rest of the inscription; but they are larger and not so neat; in fact, they are fully developed Old Canarese letters, as if this portion was added later. Accordingly, I have here transcribed in the Canarese characters.

* Pulikēśi II.—first mentioned under his proper name in line 7 of the text,—the reigning monarch at the time of this inscription.

† It is therefore to be inferred that it was Pulikēśi I. who first made Vātāpipurī the capital of his family, probably acquiring it by conquest from some other dynasty.

His son was Pulikēśi, who, even though he had attained the lustre of the moon, and though he was the favourite of the goddess of fortune, aspired to become the bridegroom of the bride which was the city of Vātāpipurī.† Even now no kings upon the earth can imitate his practice of the three pursuits of life‡; and the earth became radiant in being endowed by him, who performed horse-sacrifices, with the purificatory ablutions that are performed after sacrifices.

His son was Kirttivarmā, the night of death to the Nāḷas and the Mauryas and the Kādambas; though he withheld his thoughts from the wives of other men, yet his mind was attracted by the goddess of the fortunes of his enemies. Straightway the mighty Kādamba-tree which was the confederacy of the Kādambas, was broken to pieces by him, the mighty one, a very choice elephant of a king, who had acquired the goddess of victory by his prowess in war. When he had concentrated his desires on the dominion of power and dignity of the lord§ of the gods||:—

His younger brother Maṅgalīśa, whose horses were picketed on the shores of the oceans of the east and the west, and who covered all the points of the compass with a canopy through the dust of his armies, became king. Having with hundreds of scintillating torches, which were swords, dispelled the darkness, which was the race of the Mātāṅgas, in the bridal pavilion of the field of battle he obtained as his wife the lovely woman who was the goddess of the fortunes of the Kaṭachchuris.¶ And again, when he wished quickly to capture the island of

‡ The 'trivarga' or three pursuits of life are 'dharma', religion or virtue, 'kāma', pleasure, and 'artha', wealth or that which is useful. Another 'trivarga' is the three conditions of a king or kingdom, viz., progress, remaining stationary, and decline.

§ Indra.

|| i.e., 'when he died'.

¶ The second letter of this word is distinctly 'fa' in the original. But most probably Kaṭachchuri, by poetic license for 'Kaṭachuri', is intended,—'fa' and 'ja' in this inscription being not very dissimilar in form, so that the engraver, if engraving from a copy, may perhaps have written 'fa' by mistake for 'ja'. Or, perhaps, Kaṭachchuri may be a second form of the original name. In the Yēwūr

Rêvatîdvîpa*, straightway his mighty army, which abounded in splendid banners, and which had beset the ramparts,—being reflected in the water of the ocean,—was as if it were the army of Varuṇa, that had come at his command. When his elder brother's son, named Pulikêśi, of dignity like that of Nahusha, was desired by the goddess of fortune†, and had his actions and his determination and his intelligence perverted by the knowledge that his uncle was enviously disposed towards him,—he, Maṅgalîśa, whose advantage of power was completely destroyed by the use of the faculties of counsel and energy that were accumulated by him‡, lost his mighty kingdom and his life in the attempt to secure the sovereignty for his own son.

The whole world, which then, in this interruption of the succession, was enveloped by the darkness of enemies, was lit up by the masses of the lustre of his unendurable splendour; otherwise, when was it that the dawn (again) bespread the sky, which was as black as a swarm of bees, by reason of the thunderclouds which had the glancing lightning for their banners, and the edges of which were bruised (by striking against each other) in the rushing wind? And when, having obtained an opportunity, Gôvinda, who bore the title of Âppâyika, came to conquer the earth with his troops of elephants§, then at the hands of the armies of him||, who was straightway assisted even by the western (ocean), the warrior, who was the ocean of the north, acquired in war a knowledge of the emotion of fear, the reward which he there obtained.¶ When he was laying siege to Vanavâsi, girt about by the river Hamśânadi which disports itself in the theatre which is the high waves of the Varadâ**, and surpassing with its prosperity the city of the gods,—the fortress which was on the dry land, having the surface of the earth all round it covered by the great ocean which was his army, became as it were,

in the very sight of those that looked on, a fortress in the middle of the sea. Even those, who, having drunk the water of the Gaṅgâ and having abandoned the seven sins, had already acquired prosperity, were always eager in drinking the nectar of close attendance upon him, being attracted by his dignity. In the countries of the Koṇkaṇa, the watery stores of the pools which were the Mauryas were quickly ejected by the great wave which was Chaṇḍaḍaṇḍa, who acted at his command. When he, who resembled the destroyer of cities††, was besieging that city, which was the goddess of the fortunes of the western ocean, with hundreds of ships that had the resemblance of elephants mad with passion, the sky, which was as blue as a newly opened lotus and which was covered with masses of clouds‡‡, became like the ocean, and the ocean was like the sky. Being subdued by his prowess, the Lâṭas and the Mâlavas and the Gûrjaras became, as it were, worthy people, behaving like chieftains brought under subjection by punishment. Envious because his troops of mighty elephants were slain in war, Harsha,—whose lotuses, which were his feet, were covered with the rays of the jewels of the chiefs that were nourished by his immeasurable power,—was caused by him to have his joy melted away by fear. While he was governing the earth with his great armies, the Rêvâ, which is near to the venerable (mountain of) Vindhya and which is beauteous with its varied sandy stretches, shone the more by virtue of its own glory, though it was deserted by its elephants from envy of the mountains in the matter of their size. Being almost equal to Śakra§§ by the three constituents of kingly power that were properly acquired by him, and by his own virtues which were his high lineage and others, he acquired the sovereignty of the three countries called Mahârâṣṭraka, which contain ninety-nine thousand villages. The Kalîṅgas and the Kôsa-

inscription given in Sir W. Elliot's *Essay on Hindu Inscriptions*, Maṅgalîśa is described as "seizing upon the princes of the earth, and ravishing the power of the Kaśchuris like a thunder-bolt".

* An unknown locality. But Baiyata is a patronymic of Kakudmî, the ruler of Anarta, a country in the peninsula of Gujarat the capital of which was Dvārakâ or Kusasthali. (Rêvatî is also a name of Mount Gîrnâr, in Kâthîawâl, and perhaps Rêvatîdvîpa is the peninsula.—Ed.)
† i.e., "was preferred by the people to Maṅgalîśa and his son".
‡ Pulikêśi.

§ The Gôvinda here referred to was in all probability a Râshtrakûṭa monarch. The Râshtrakûṭas were famous for the possession of elephants; thus in the Yêwûr inscrip-

tion reference is made to a force of five hundred elephants belonging to Krishṇarâja destroyed by Jayasimhavallabha.

|| Pulikêśi.

¶ The meaning would seem to be that Gôvinda was the lord of the northern ocean, and that Pulikêśi in opposing and defeating him was helped by allies dwelling on the west coast.

** The Varadâ, modern Wardâ, flows close under the walls of the present town of Banawâsi; and Hamśânadi is probably the old name of a tributary stream of some size that flows into it about seven miles higher up.

†† Śiva, or Indra.

‡‡ Compared to the ships on the ocean.

§§ Indra.

las,—who by possessing the good qualities of householders, had become eminent in the three pursuits of life, and who had effected the humbling of the pride of other kings,—manifested signs of fear at (the appearance of) his army. Being reduced by him, the fortress of Piśhāpura became not difficult of access; the actions of this hero were the most difficult of all things that are difficult of attainment. The water which was stirred up by him, having its interstices filled by his dense troops of elephants and being coloured with the blood of the men who were slain in his many battles, was like the sky, which has the hues of evening much intensified by the sun among the clouds. With his armies, which were darkened by the spotless *chouris* that were waved over them and hundreds of banners and umbrellas, and which annoyed his enemies who were inflated with valour and energy, and which consisted of the six constituents of hereditary followers, &c., he caused the leader of the Pallavas, who aimed at the eminence of his own power, to hide his prowess behind the ramparts of the city of Kāñchīpur, which was concealed under the dust of his army. When he prepared himself speedily for the conquest of the Chōlas, the (river) Kāvêrī, which abounds in the rolling eyes of the carp, abandoned its contact with the ocean, having (the onward flow of) its waters obstructed by the bridge formed by his elephants from whom rut was flowing. There he caused the great prosperity of the Chōlas and the Kēralas and the Pāṇḍyas, but became a very sun to (melt) the hoar-frost which was the army of the Pallavas.

While he, Satyāśraya, possessed of energy and regal power and good counsel, having conquered the neighbouring countries, and having dismissed with honour the (subjugated) kings, and having propitiated the gods and the Brāhmanas, and having entered the city of Vātāpīnagarī, was governing the whole world, which is girt about by a moat which is the dark-blue water of the dancing ocean, as if it were one

city,—three thousand seven hundred and thirty years having elapsed since the war of the Bharatas, and (three thousand) five hundred and fifty years having elapsed in the Kali age, and five hundred and six years of the Śaka kings having elapsed,—this stone-temple of Jinendra, the abode of glory, was constructed by the order of the learned Ravikīrtti, who had acquired the greatest favour of that same Satyāśraya whose commands were restricted only by the three oceans. |||| The accomplished Ravikīrtti himself is the composer of this eulogy and the person who caused to be built this abode of Jina, the father of the three worlds. Victorious be Ravikīrtti, who has attained the fame of Kālidāsa and of Bhāravi by his poetry, and by whom, possessed of discrimination in respect to that which is useful in life, the firm abode of Jina has had a dwelling-place allotted to it.

The hamlet of Mūśrivallī, and the town of Bhēṭtikavāḍa, and the village of Parvanūr, and the village of Gaṅgavūr, and (the village of) Pūligere, and the village of Gaṇḍavagrāma,—such is possession of this (god). To the south of the slope of the mountain, as far as Bhīmūvāri extends, there is the boundary of the city of Mahāpathāntapura, on the north and on the south. (This is) the termination.

No. XIV.

This is from Plate No. 32 of Mr. Hope's collection. The original is a stone-tablet at Hampi or Vijayanagara on the Tungabhadra in the Ballāri District. The characters are Canarese, differing from the modern forms only very slightly, and chiefly in the absence of marks to denote the long 'ē' and 'ō'. Down to line 26 the language is Sanskrit; from line 27 to the end it is Canarese. There are no emblems at the top of the tablet.

The inscription is one of the Vijayanagara dynasty, of the time of Kṛishṇarāya, and records the grant of the village Siṅgēnāyakana-halli to the god Virūpākṣadēva, in the year of the Śālivāhanaśaka 1431 (A.D. 1509-10), the Śukla saṃvatsara.

Transcription.

[1] ಕಾಂಚೀಪುರೈ ಕೈಲಕೋಣಾಪಲಕನಕನಭಾನಿಕಪಾದಿ ಪ್ರಮುಖೈಃ ಪ್ರಾಪ್ತವತ್ಯಾ ವತ್ಯಾ ಸ [2] ಸ್ವೀಕೃತ್ಯ ತನುತ
ವಿಧವತ್ (ದ) ಭೂಯಸೇ ಕೈಯಸೇ ಯಃ [1] ದೇವಸ್ಥಾನೇಷು ಕೀರ್ತೈಃ ಪ್ರತಿ ಕನಕತುಲಾ

||| i.e., 'who was the king of the whole of the country bounded by the eastern, the western, and the southern oceans'.

¶¶ According to the original, "the year of the Śālivāhanaśaka one thousand four hundred and thirty having expired".

ಘ[8]ರುದಾದೀನಿ ನಾನಾಧಾನ್ಯೈಃಪೋಷದಾನ್ಯೈರಪಿ ಸುಮಮಿಲೈರಾಗಮೋಕ್ತಾನಿ ತಾನಿ || ಕೋಡಕೃತ-
 ಪ್ರತಿ[4]ಪಾರ್ಥಿವದಂತಃ ಕೇಡಭುಜಃ ಕ್ಷಿತಿರಕ್ಷಣಕೌಂಡಃ | ಛಾಪ್(ಪ್ರ)ಗೆ ತಪ್ಪುವ ರಾಯರ* ಗಂಧ್ಯಃ-
 (ಠ)ಸ್ತೋಡಕೃ[5]ದರ್ಶಿಮು ಯೋ ರಣಚಂಡ್ಃ(ಠಃ) || ರಾಜಾಧಿರಾಜ ಇತ್ಯುಕ್ತೋ ಯೋ ರಾಜ-
 ಪರಮೇಶ್ವರಃ | ಮೂಱುರಾಯ[6]ರ ಗಂಧ್ಯ(ಠ)ಪ್ಪ ಪರರಾಯಭಯಂಕರಃ || ಹಿಂದುರಾಯಸುರಶ್ರಾಣೋ
 ದುದ್ಧಕಾದ್ವೈಲಮುದ್ಧನಃ | ರಾ[7]ಜಾಘಗಂಧ್ಯ(ಠ)ಭೇರುಂಡ(ಠ) ಇತ್ಯಾದಿಉದಾನ್ವಿತಃ || ಅಶೋಕಯು
 ಮಹಾರಾಜ ಜಯ ಜಿನೇಶಿ ವಾ[8]ದಿಭಿಃ | ಅಂಗವಂಗಕಳಂಗಾಚ್ಯೈಃ(ದೈವೈ) ರಾಜಭಿಃ ಸೇವ್ಯತೇ ಚ
 ಯಃ || ಸ್ತುತೌದಾಯ್ಯಸ್ತುಧೀಭಿಃ[9]ವಿಜಯನಗರ ರತ್ನಸಿಂಹಾಸನಸ್ಯಃ ಕ್ಷ್ವಾಪಾಲಾನ್ ಕೃಷ್ಣರಾ-
 ಯಕ್ಷಿತಿಪತಿರಧಿರಾತ್ಮನಿ ನಿಶ್ಯಾ ನೃ[10]ಗಾದೀನ್ | ಅ ಛಾವ್ವಾಪ್ರೇರಥಾಸ್ತಕ್ಷಿತಿಧರಕಟಕಾಢಾ
 ಹೇಮಾಚಲಾಂತಾ†ದಾ ಸೇತೋರರ್ಥ(ರ್ಥಿ)ಸಾ[11]ರ್ಥ(ರ್ಥ)ಪ್ರಿಯಮಿಹ ಒಪಲೇಕೃತ್ಯ ಕೀರ್ತ್ಯಾ ಸಮಿಂಧೆ ||
 ಇದಃ ಕಿಲ ಜಗತಿ ನಿಖಿಲೇ ಕವಿಕುಲಾಭಿನಂ[12]ದ್ಯಮಾನಾದಾಯ್ಯಧೈರ್ಯಕಾರ್ಯಾದಿಜನಿತಯುತಃಪುರ-
 ಕರ್ಣ್ಯರಥಾತಿಪ್ರಾಪ್ತ(ಬ್ರ)ಹ್ಮಾಂಡ(ಠ)[13]ಕರಂಜೇನ ಸಮರಚಂಜೇನ ವಿಹಸಿತನ್ಯಗನಳನಯಮನಾಭಾಗದುಂ(ಧುಂ)ಧು-
 ಮಾರಮಾಂಧಾತ್ಮಭರತಭ[14]ಗೀರಧದಕರಘರಮಾದಿಪರಿಶೇನ ಕೃತಭೂಸುರಶ್ರಾಣೇನ ಪರಿಭೂತಸುರಶ್ರಾಣೇನ ಗಜಪ-
 ತಿಗಜಕೂಟ[15]ಪಾಕಲೇನ ವಿದಿತನಾನಾಕಲೇನ ವದನವಿಜಿತಾಂಭೋಜೇನ ಭೋಜೇನಾಪರೇಣ ಕಾವ್ಯನಾಂ(ನಾ)ಟಕಾ-
 ಲಂಕಾರಮುರ್ಮ[16]ಜ್ಞೇನ ಧರ್ಮಜ್ಞೇನ ಪ್ರತಿವರ್ಧಪ್ರವರ್ತಿತಕನಕವಸಂತಮಹೋತ್ಸ[17]ನಸವೇನ ಕೃತಾರ್ಥಿ-
 (ರ್ಥಿ)ತವಿಪ್ರ(ಪ್ರ)ಸಾರ್ಥೀ(ತ್ಥೀ)[17]ನ ಸಾರ್ಥೀ(ತ್ಥೀ)ನ ನಿಖಿಲನ್ಯಪತಿಮೂರ್ಧ್ವ(ರ್ಧ್ವ)ವೈನ ಧನ್ಯೇನ ನಾಗಾಂ-
 ಬಿಕಾನರಸನ್ಯಪನಂದನೇನ ನಿ[18]ಖಿಲಹೃದಯಾನಂದನೇನ ಸಮರಮುಖವಿಜಯೇನ ವಿಜಯೇನ ದಿಶಾಂ ವಿಜ-
 ಯ[19]ನಗರೇ ಸಿಂಹಾಸನಮಾರುಹ್ಯ ಕಾಸತಾ ಸಕಲಾಂ ಭುವಂ ಭುಜವಿಜಿತಸಾಂಪಾಯೀ[20]ಣ ಕೃಷ್ಣ-
 ವೇವಮಹಾರಾಯೇಣ ಭುವನಭರಣಸಾವಧಾನಾಯ ಶ್ರೀವಿರೂಪಾ[21]ಕ್ಷಾಭಧಾನಾಯ ವಿಶೀರ್ಷ್ಯ(ಣ್ಣ)ವಿನತಜನ-
 ಹೇಮಕೂಟಾಯ ಹೇಮಕೂಟಾಯತ[22]ನಕಾಲನೇ ತಾಲನೇ ಮಧುರಫಲಘಾಟಾದಿಹೃದ್ಯಾಯ ನೈವೇದ್ಯಾಯ
 ಸಿಂಗೇನಾಯಕ[23]ನಹಳ್ಳೀತಿವಿಖ್ಯಾತನಾಮಾ ಚತುಸ್ಥೀಮಾಧರಾಮೋ ಗ್ರಾಮೋ ದತ್ತೋ ವಿಕೃತಪರಾಜಿತಾ [24]ರ-
 ವಿತನಯಾನುಕಾರಣಾ ರಂಗ(ಗ)ಮಂಡ(ಠ)ಪೀಠೇ ಪಿ ವಿರಚಿತಸ್ತಸ್ಮೈವ ವೇವಸ್ಯ ತೇವೈವ ಪ್ರಕಟತ[25]ನರ-
 ಜನುಧಾ ಪು(ಪ್ರ)ಸೂನದ(ಠ)ನುಧಾ || ತದಿದಮವನೀವ ನೀಪಕವಿಸುತಧರಾ ಯಸ್ಯ [26]ಕೃಷ್ಣರಾಯಸ್ಯ |
 ಶಾಸನಮತಿಖಲಾಸನತರುತರದಾಸ್ಯ ಸಾಪದಾಸ್ಯ || [27]ಸ್ತಸ್ತಿ ಶ್ರೀವಿಜಯಾಭ್ಯುದಯಕಾಲವಾಹನತಕವರ್ಧ
 ೧೪೩೦ ಸಂದು [28]ಮೀಲಿ ನಡವ ತುಕ್ಲಸಂವತ್ಸರದ ಮಾಘ ತು ೧೪೩೦ ಶ್ರೀಮನ್ಮಹಾರಾಜ[29]ಧಿರಾ-
 ಜಾಜಪರಮೇಶ್ವರಶ್ರೀವೀರಪ್ರತಾಪಶ್ರೀವೀರಕೃಷ್ಣರಾಯಮಹಾ[30]ರಾಯರು ಪಟ್ಟಾಭಿಷೇಕೋತ್ಸವಘೃಣ್ಯಕಾಲದಲು ಶ್ರೀ-
 ವಿರೂಪಾ[31]ಕ್ಷ ವೇವರ ಅಮೃತಪದಿನಾ(ನೈ for ಸಾ)ವೀವ್ಯ(ಧ್ಯ)ಕ್ಕೆ ಸಿಂಗೀ(ಗೀ)ನಾಯಕನಹಳ್ಳಿಯನೂ ಸ[32]ಮು-
 ಖ್ವಿಸಿ ವೇವರ ಸಂಮುಖದ ಮಹಾರಂಗಮಂಟಪವನೂ ಆಮುಂದ[33]ಣ ಗೋಪುರವನೂ ಕಟ್ಟಿಸಿ ಆಮುಂ-
 ದಣಿ ಹಿರಿಯ ಗೋಪುರವನೂ [34]ಜೀನೇರ್ಷ್ಯ(ಣ್ಣೀರ್ಷ್ಯ)ಧಾರವನೂ ಮಾಡಿಸಿ ಶ್ರೀವಿರೂಪಾಕ್ಷ ವೇವರಗೆ
 ನನ[35]ರತ್ನಖಚಿತವಾದ ಸುವರ್ಣ(ಣ್ಣ)ಕಮಲವನೂ ನಾಗಾಭರಣವನೂ [36]ಸಮುಖ್ವಿಸಿದರು ವೇವರ
 ನೈವೇದ್ಯ(ದಾ for ಧ್ಯ)ರೋನ(ಪ)ಣಿ ಮಾಡುವದರೆ(ಕೆ) ಸಮ[37]ಪ್ರಿ(ಪ್ರಿ)ಪ್ರಸಾದಿ ಚಿಂತದ ಹರಿವಾಣ ೧
 ಆರಶೀಹರಿಗೆ ೨ ಬೆಳೆಯ [38]ಆರತಿ ೨೪ ಇದ್ದನೂ ಸಮುಖ್ವಿಸಿದರು || ೦೨೨ ಧರ್ಮಕೆ
 [39]ತಪ್ಪಿದವರುಗಳು ಸೋಹಶ್ಯಾಬ್ರಹ್ಮಹಶ್ಯಾದಿಮಹಾ[40]ಪಾತಕಗಳ ಮಾಡಿದ ಪಾಪಕ್ಕೆ ಹೋ(ಹೊಂ)ದಲುಕ-
 (೪)ವರು [11]

* These three words are Canarese.

† A mark of punctuation,—|,—is unnecessarily placed in the original between the letters ತಾ and ದಾ.

‡ This passage is an instance of Gadya or ornate aliterative prose.

Translation.

Again and again, for the sake of supreme happiness, at Kāñchi and Śrīśaila and Śōṇāchala and Kanakasabha and Veñkatādri and all other shrines and sacred places of pilgrimage, heṣ performed according to due rite those many charities, commencing with gold weighed out against men, which, together with all propitiatory offerings, are prescribed by tradition. He punished the angry hostile kings; his arms were like (the coils of) the serpent Śēsha||; he was earnest in protecting the earth; he was the punisher of kings who broke their promises; he satisfied those who begged of him; he was fierce in war. Being called the supreme king of kings, and being invested with the titles that commence with 'The supreme lord of kings; the punisher of the M ū r ā y a s ¶; he who is terrible to other kings; he who is a very Sultān among Hindu kings; he who destroys the tigers that are wicked people; he who is a very Gauḍabhērūṇḍa to the assemblage of (elephants which are) the kings',—he is served by the kings of A Ņ ga and Va Ņ ga and Ka ṭ i Ņ ga and other countries, who say "Look upon us, O great king; be victorious and live long!" He, king Kṛishṇarāya,—seated on a jewelled throne at the city of Vijayanayagara, and possessed of generosity, that was worthy to be praised by the learned, and ever surpassing in the art of government Nṛiga and other kings,—having increased abundantly the possessions of both poor and rich men, shone radiantly with fame from the mountain of the east to the slopes of the mountain of the setting sun, and from the golden mountain to the Bridge (of Rāma)*.

By the great king Kṛishṇadēva,—who, over the whole of this world, had filled the bas-

ket, which is the mundane egg, with the camphor of his fame, which was produced by his pride and generosity and firmness and bravery and other qualities, which were worthy to be applauded by poets; who was impetuous in war; who put to scorn the achievements of Naja and Nahusha and Nābhāga and Dhundhumāra and Māndhātā and Bharata and Bhagīratha and Daśaratha and Rāma and other kings; who effected the protection of Brāhman; who subdued Sultāns; who caused the fever of the elephants of (the king) Gajapati; who had learned many accomplishments; who surpassed the Lotus-born† in power of speech; who was a second Bhōja‡; who was deeply versed in the drama and poetry and rhetoric; who was acquainted with religion; who every year celebrated the sacrifice of the lord§ of the great festival of the golden season of spring; who conferred contentment upon Brāhman and merchants; who was opulent; who was the highest of all kings; who was fortunatē; who was the son of Nāgāmbikā and king Narasa; who gladdened all hearts; who was victorious in the van of battle; and who, by conquest of the regions, had ascended the throne at the city of Vijayanagara, and, having put down warfare by (the strength of) his arm, was governing the whole earth,—the village that has the celebrated name of Si Ņ g ē n ā y a k a n a h a ṭ ṭ i ||, and which was pleasing with its four boundaries, was granted, for the purposes of the oblation that is to be made with pitcherfuls of the fruit of the Madhura and other ingredients, to (the god) who has the name of Śrī-Virūpāksha¶, who is diligent in supporting the world, who has golden pinnacles bestowed by people who bow down before him, whose abode is on the altars of Hēmakūṭa**, and who is armed with the pike††; and by that

§ I have two long copper-plate inscriptions of the Vijayanagara dynasty,—one of Harihara II, dated Śaka 1301 (A.D. 1379-80), and one of Kṛishṇarāya, dated Śaka 1434 (A.D. 1512-3),—and another of the same kind, of Kṛishṇarāya, dated Śaka 1444 (A.D. 1522-3), is to be found in No. 6 of the photographs of copper-plate inscriptions at the end of Major Dixon's collection, and another, also of Kṛishṇarāya, dated Śaka 1449 (A.D. 1527-8), is given at pp. 39 et seqq. of Vol. III of the *Asiatic Researches*. The language of these is so similar, that they seem to have been taken from some handbook for the ready composition of inscriptions. The first six stanzas of the present inscription are drawn from the same source; hence the abruptness with which it opens, and the use in the original of the relative pronoun without an antecedent.

|| The thousand-headed serpent, the emblem of eternity, which forms the couch and canopy on and under which Vishnu sleeps during the intervals of creation.

¶ See Vol. IV, p. 332, note 1. In line 8 of No. I. of

this series we have the phrase 'Mūrāyasthāna', which I then translated, doubtfully, by 'he who has three royal halls of audience'. I am now inclined rather to take the expression as equivalent to 'Mūrāyasthāpānāchārya', 'the establisher of the M ū r ā y a s'.

* The modern 'Adam's Bridge'.

† Brahma, who was born in the lotus that grew from the navel of Vishnu.

‡ A sovereign of Malwā, who flourished, it is considered, about the end of the tenth or the beginning of the eleventh century, and was a great patron of learning.

§ Kāmādēva.

|| i.e., 'the hamlet of Si Ņ g ē n ā y a k a'.

¶ Śiva, 'who has an irregular number of eyes', the third eye being in his forehead.

** 'The golden-peaked',—one of the ranges of mountains dividing the known continent into nine plains, and supposed to be situated north of the Himālayas.

†† The usual weapon and emblem of Śiva.

same king,—who conferred benefits by means of his wealth; who imitated the conduct of the son† of the sun; and who, (though) manifestly of human birth, was verily like him whose bow is formed of flowers,—the assembly-hall of that same god was constructed. This is the same charter of Kṛishṇarāya, whose charities (acting like rain) produce the tree which is a most potent charter, who is of approved conduct, and for whom the earth is the famous bearer of Nīpaka-trees.

Hail! The year of the glorious and victorious and prosperous Śālivāhanaśaka 1430 having expired, on the fourteenth day of the bright fortnight of (the month) Māgha of the Śukla *saṁvatsara*, which was then current, the great king, the brave and puissant Śrī-Vīrakṛishṇarāya, the glorious supreme king of great kings, the supreme lord of kings, at the

holy time of the festival of his installation on the throne§, bestowed the hamlet of Singināyakanahalli for the purposes of the oblation called *Amṛitapaḍi* of the god Śrī-Virūpākshadēva, and caused to be built a great hall of assembly with a *Gōpura*|| in front of it before the god, and caused to be repaired the older *Gōpura* which stood in front of that one, and bestowed upon the god Śrī-Virūpākshadēva a golden lotus, inlaid with jewels of nine kinds, and an ornament called *Nāgābharana*¶. And he gave, for the offering of the oblation of the god, one golden dish and two (golden) drums to be used in the ceremony of the *Ārati**, and twenty-four silver lamps to be used for the *Ārati*.

Those who transgress against this act of religion, fall into the sin of the slaughter of a cow, or the murder of a Brāhmaṇ, or the other great crimes!

THE DHĀRĀSĪNĪVĀ ROCK TEMPLES.

BY THE EDITOR.

The town of Dhārāsīnīvā,** 140 miles E. by S. of Puṇā and 12 miles north of Tuljāpur, stands on the brow of the ghāts that separate the Solāpur Zillā from Haidarābād, and which form the watershed between the basins of the Sena on the west, and the Tērnā, a large feeder of the Mānjirā, on the east. It is fully 2,000 feet above the sea-level, and is the chief town of the tālukā of the same name. To the north-east of this town, in a ravine facing the west, is a group of caves known as Dabar Lena or Torlā Lena, of some interest, though but very little known, and probably never before described.

There are six or seven of them,—four on the north side of the ravine, and three opposite to them facing the north-east. Beginning at the last to the west, on the north side of the gorge we shall take them in order.

The first cave is evidently only subsidiary to the next one, and does not seem ever to have been finished. It consists of a verandah 26 feet long by 7 wide, with two pillars in front each about 2' 10" square. Three doors pierce the back wall, and lead into what seem to have been intended for three apartments which have

never been finished: the end ones are about 6' 8" wide each, and the extreme length of the one is 16' 5", and of the other 19' 7". The central room appears to have been meant for a shrine, but the dividing walls have been broken down.

On a level eight or ten feet higher we come to the great Lena of the group. Unfortunately, being cut in a reddish, loose, trap rock which has split down from above, the whole front, with the exception of a small fragment, has fallen down and now chokes up the entrance. Roughly speaking, the excavated area of this cave and its surrounding cells measures 105 feet in width by 115 in depth. It had in front a verandah nearly 80 feet in length by 10 feet wide, but all the pillars in front of it have fallen under the mass of rock from above, and only the pilaster at the east end remains: it had probably originally eight square pillars with massive bracket capitals. On the lower members of the bracket capital of the pilaster that still remains there is a good deal of leaf and roll ornamentation; the neck has twenty-four shallow flutes 6½ inches in length and 1½

† Karna, who was celebrated for his generosity.

§ Whether the anniversary day is intended, or whether this was the actual day of the coronation of king Kṛishṇarāya, is not clear.

|| *Gōpura*,—the ornamented gateway of a temple.

¶ An ornament fashioned like a cobra capella.

* *Ārati*,—the ceremony of waving lamps before an idol. This is usually a hereditary privilege, and frequent and violent disputes occur from time to time as to who is entitled to perform the ceremony.

** Latitude 16° 11' N., longitude 76° 6' E.

wide, with a small half-flower at each end, and a row of beading above and below. Under this is the usual belt of rich floral sculpture,—of a line of leaves, a second of arabesques, and a third of festooned garlands,—the three rows being divided from one another by lines of small beads. This style is found also at Bādāmi, Ajantā, Aurangābād, and other places. The central pillars in this verandah were doubtless also richly carved.

From the verandah five doors entered the great hall: of these all have disappeared in the ruin except one at each end, and the jamb of a third: the central and largest door was probably the only one with any sculpture upon it. The hall, now about three feet deep in mud and cowdung, is not quite square, but measures through the centre about 82 feet across by 79' 3" deep, and is about 10' 2" high in the middle, but 12½ feet in the black aisle, the roof being supported by thirty-two columns, arranged in two concentric squares. The inner square of twelve columns,—all octagonal, with square bases—measures very nearly 23½ feet each way inside. The outer twenty columns enclose a square measuring 55' 2" wide in front, and 59' 2" at the back, by 53' 4" deep, the pillars being all square with bracket capitals and carved necks, except four in front of the shrine which are round and with circular capitals. The spacing on the sides of this square, too, is unequal,—four pillars on each face, ranging with those in the inner square, are about 6 feet apart, while those at the corners are 13 feet each from the next in the line. The front aisle is not flat-roofed like the rest of the cave, but slopes upon each side to a ridge 5' 9" above the level of the roof.

On each side of the great hall are eight cells each about 8½ feet square, and at the back are six more and the shrine. In the cell in the north-west corner is a small hole in the floor, which is constantly filled with water. The second to the left of the shrine contains a small image which is worshipped as Hari Nārāyaṇ, and that next the shrine contains a black standing image of a nude Jina 6' 1" high, in a recess, with a triple plaster *chattra* above his head. The recess and figure have all been carefully done up, some ten years or so ago, with plaster and paint (or pitch); and, without injuring it, it was impossible to say whether it belonged originally to the cave or not.

The shrine measures 19' 3" wide by fully 15' deep, and 13' high, and is occupied by a large black image seated on a *śiṅhasana* with a passage five feet wide all round it. This image has also been carefully repaired with plaster and paint. It is exactly of the sort found in the larger Vihāra caves at Ajantā and Aurangābād, and in one of those at Nāsik. The seat or throne is about 4 feet high and 6' 10" wide, supported at the corners by lions, and with antelopes or deer facing a wheel in the centre turned edge-ways to the seat: this wheel, however, has been entirely broken away in this instance, but as it occurs in the next two caves there can be no doubt that it once occupied the same position here. Over the front of the seat hangs what is intended for the border of a rich cloth. The image sits with the legs turned up in front of the body, and the hands laid over them with the open palm turned upward: there is a large cushion behind his back, from behind which again issues the conventional griffin or *makara's* head. At each end of the *asana* and overlooking these figures stands a *chauri*-bearer with richly jewelled headdress and necklaces, and above each a fat cherub. All this, and the whole arrangements of the temple, answer exactly to the description of a Bauddha Vihāra. The image and attendant figures have been plastered and painted by Jains: it measures about 6 feet from knee to knee, 4' 2½" across the shoulders, 3' 6" from the palm of the hand to the chin; the face is about 2' 5½" from ear to ear over the eyes, and 1' 5" in length to the hair, which is in curled folds with a topknot, and the ears are 7" in length. But the body is—now at least—represented without the robe which can almost always be traced on Bauddha figures,—though this might have been obliterated by the black composition with which it has been covered, as it has probably altered the character and expression of the features,—but behind the head, instead of the nimbus, is a seven-hooded cobra with little crowns on each hood, all carefully painted to represent the natural colour of skin and spots. If this and the nudity of the figure are original,—then how came the Digambaras to imitate so closely the details of Bauddha images?

At a cistern, to which there was once access by a door in the west end of the verandah, now built up, and with a brick and lime basin in

front of the blocked-up door, are three loose sculptured stones, apparently of great age. The largest is a standing figure of a nude Jina with a serpent twisting up behind him, its seven hoods projecting behind his head.† The second, a short square pillar of very compact-grained stone, has a standing nude Jina on each face with a rude representation of triple *chattris* over their heads, and a couple of flowers or stars on the breast-bone. The third, a small slab of the same stone as the last, bears a seated Jina with canopy, a worshipping figure at each knee, and four in front of the seat, engaged apparently in music and worship, but rather time-worn. These and some other figures all seem to support the idea that this has for long, if not originally, been a Jaina temple.

The chamber in which these figures now stand is about 17 feet by 12, with two pillars in front, and two openings in the floor into a large cistern of water.

The fragment of the façade of the cave that is left, shows it to have been elaborately carved to a height of 7' 4", with the *chaitya* window ornament in the upper course, little imitations of temples with Jinās sitting inside, and other figures between, in the next; under them a line of lattice-work—such as occurs on the bases of some of the Nāsik caves,—then some smaller figures at intervals, and the usual quadrantal projecting member as the lower course.

Twenty-seven feet in advance of the cave, and on a considerably lower level than the floor, there has been a massive doorway 10 or 11 feet wide with carved pediment—cut apparently out of the rock *in situ*; but it is now buried up to the lintel in the earth, and could not be excavated without giving trouble to the Brāhman attending on the modern temple of Mahādeva that has been built just in front of it, and who seem to profit both by Śaiva and Śrāvaka visitors to the place. On the centre of the pediment can be traced the almost obliterated lineaments of a seated Jina with a nimbus behind the head; on each side has been a large Nāga-headed figure with hands clasped in adoration, and the lower extremities carried out in wavy floral lines to the ends of the lintel;‡ there are also some subordinate figures almost quite obliterated.

† A similar figure is carved on the wall of the Jaina Cave at Biddam.—See *Archæol. Report for West. India*, 1874, Pl. xxxvi, fig. 3.

From the west side of the water-cistern a passage enters the rock and, ascending, passes along above the front aisle of the cave; and another seems to have entered high up in the west gable end of the front aisle, and to have turned round and passed along above the front wall. What the object of these passages was I cannot conjecture, but by weakening the rock, they probably were the principal cause of its splitting along the line of the first, and falling down.

The second large cave is a little to the east of this, and, like it, faces the south. It is smaller, however, and, though in fair preservation, has been so long occupied, and is so cut up by stone and mud walls that it is not easily examined. It is about 59 feet square and 11 feet 3 inches high, the roof being supported by twenty columns, leaving an open hall of 35 feet square in the middle surrounded by an aisle. Two of the columns on each side are round, and somewhat of the pattern of those at Elephanta, but without the bracket, and flutings of the capital, and with a thinner and less projecting torus. The capitals are 3' 7" high, and round the neck of the shaft is a band of floral sculpture and festoons a foot in depth. The shafts taper from about 2' 10" to 2' 7½" in diameter, and stand on a low plinth. The square pillars have also square capitals very similar to those just described. On each side the cave and in the back are four cells, each about 8½ feet square. The shrine in the back is about 18 feet square, and contains a sitting Jina of very nearly the same dimensions as that in the first cave. An attempt has been made to cover and restore it with some black composition, but apparently this has been stopped after an abortive attempt on the face. And here again we have the attendant figures and the snake-hoods, exactly the same as in the other cave but without the plaster, and with the wheel in front of the *sinhasana* almost entire.

In the cell to the left, or west, of the shrine is a figure of a sitting Jina on a high throne, with figures behind, similar to those already described, only the place of the cobra-heads is supplied by a plain *nimbus*; the wheel in front of the throne rests on a lotus-flower, the deer appear to have been omitted, while the lions are much damaged.

‡ Compare the *makara* figure on the old Jain temple at Pattadakal in *Archæol. Rep.* 1874, Pl. xlv, fig. 2.

In the cell at the east end of the back wall a similar figure has been begun but never finished.

The verandah in front is 8' 8" wide, and supported by six plain octagonal pillars with bracket capitals, and the cave is entered from it by a central and four smaller doors. At the east end of the verandah a rough excavation has been made, leaving a large rough square block in the centre, perhaps intended for an image. Outside is a chamber 18½ by 8½ feet. The façade of the verandah has been ornamented by a line of *chaitya* windows enclosing circular flowers, with *fleur de lis* finials, and a flying figure at the side of each. The member on which these are projects, and is supported by elephants' heads with floral scrolls between.

Cave IV,—the third large one (close to this on the east side) is a hall 28 feet deep by from 26 to 27 wide, of which the roof has been supported by four round columns, now all gone except the capitals, which have supported a sort of square canopy. There is one cell on each side near the front of the cave—one of them unfinished; two in the back, but the partition between that on the east and the shrine has been broken through; and the door of a cell has been commenced on the right side. The shrine is about 9 feet 6 inches deep, and the Jina is very much disfigured by the crumbling away of the rock and the soot of ages. The floor is filled up, I know not how deep, with earth and cowdung, and the walls are encrusted with soot. The central door is surrounded by three plain facias, a roll moulding, and a border of leaves, while above it is a semicircular recess such as is also to be seen over the door of one of the *chaitya* caves at Junnar.

Crossing the head of the ravine, where there is a small torrent during the rains, and in the course of which there is a water-cistern cut in the rock, we come to the fourth cave, § the front broken away, and the first compartment measuring 13' 10" by 9', with the roof slanting up at an angle of about 30°. A door in the back leads into an inner room 9 feet square, very roughly hewn out; on the right side of it is a cell about 7 feet square, while on the left a similar one has been begun but left unfinished.

Cave VI., at some distance to the south-west from the last, is a large unfinished excavation nearly filled up to the roof with earth. The

verandah is 44½ feet long by 8' 8" wide, and has had four octagonal pillars with bracket capitals in front. Inside, the cave is about 43½ feet wide and 38 deep; but the pillars are only roughly blocked out. In the shrine, however, is a Jina with snake-hoods behind the head.

Cave VII. is well to the south of this, at the turn of the hill, and is only a verandah, fully 60 feet long, but quite choked up with earth. On the frieze over the front pillars, however, are several compartments containing scenes that seem to identify it as a Vaishnava rather than a Jaina excavation. In one compartment are a group of cows with milkmaids, one churning, and Kṛishṇa with his brother. In another is a person of consequence seated on a low platform, with a story-teller in front relating some narrative, while a little behind is a rather corpulent *danseuse* making her habiliments fly up behind her head like the tail of a peacock; an attendant leans on a staff a little farther back; and behind the principal figure are three women and a child. In another an elephant appears as the rear figure, whilst two figures on a raised seat occupy the other extremity, but the seven or eight intermediate figures are too much decayed to be recognizable. *Makaras* with floral terminations occupy the intermediate divisions.

Near the base of a hill to the south of this, crowned by a temple of Hātālā Devī—a form of Bhavānī—I found the trace of a cave on the east side; but after two days' excavation it turned out to be a water-cistern. I had been assured that thirty or forty years ago there was a large cave in this hill with cells, and was in hopes I had found it here. Some of the natives thought it was on the south side, but could not point it out when I took them all over that part of the hill.

To the east of this hill and south-west of Dhārāsīnva are the Chāmar Lena, excavated in a low ledge of rock. Of the largest cave, or group—for it is difficult to say which, the front having all fallen down—only irregular fragments remain. At the west end, and facing east, is a cell with moulding round the door, at each side of which there has been a figure with a high cap, and on the façade has been a line of figures, of which the right-hand one—Gaṇeśa—only can be made out. A little east from this is another cell that has once been at the back of a larger:

§ That is, reckoning the first-mentioned small one as an appendage of the largest one, which may be called Cave I.

it has three plain facias round the door, and a thin partition, now broken through, divides it from a larger apartment apparently intended for a four-pillar cave, but the two on the west side are scarcely separated from the walls. Crawling along between the *débris* of the fallen front and the remaining walls we find two more cells, in one of which is a broken linga, and separated from it by a thick wall is another fragment of a four-pillared chamber. All the pillars are square with bracket capitals roughly blocked out. At the east end, facing west, is another cell but without any figure sculptures. The whole frontage is about thirty-five yards.

To the east of this and also facing north is another cave, varying in width from 26' to 31' 7", and in depth from 25' to 28' 6",—for none of its walls are straight nor at right angles. The front is supported by two octagonal pillars and corresponding pilasters, and the roof inside by eight pillars in two rows across, the four at the ends of the rows being unfinished square masses, the intermediate pair in the front row of sixteen sides, and in the back row octagons. The bracket capitals are only about 7" deep, and but roughly finished. The door of the shrine has a moulded architrave with pilasters on each side, very similar to the doors to the shrines at Bādāmi, or to the fourth cave at Elephanta. The shrine measures 7' 10" by 7' 8", and contains an altar 4' 5" by 2' 8" with a hole a foot square in the middle, and with the spout to the west. This is sufficient to decide that the cave is Brāhmanical, and, judging from analogies with other instances, I have little doubt but this was a Vaishnava shrine. And it may be remarked here that all over this part of India we find Śaiva, Vaishnava, and Jaina caves closely

grouped together, as at Elora, Mominābād, Karusā, Aihole, and Bādāmi.

At Nāganāth, a few hundred yards to the north-west of this, a fragment of an old cave or caves has been so built over by a Bhairāgi that it is impossible to make out what it has originally been. Outside stand a snake-stone and a bearded figure seated cross-legged with the palms of the hands placed together in front of his breast,—both very old.

A little up the river from this, and just above a pool at the foot of a small waterfall, is the Lāchandar Lena, consisting of two rude cells, and on the opposite bank, a cave nearly filled up, consisting of three chambers one behind the other, the first two about 20 feet from end to end and from 7' 3" to 8' 4" deep, and the innermost measuring 9' 1" by 8' 1". It is impossible to say what these small plain caves have been—probably the dwellings of Jogis of olden times, without much regard to sects.

The question of age is still a difficult one with regard to rock-excavations. As yet almost the only fixed date we have found on a Brāhmanical cave is that of Maṅgallīśa on the great cave at Bādāmi.¶ On the Dhārāsīnva caves I could not find any inscription except a trace of a few letters on a pilaster of the well at the Nārāyaṇ Bhau or Torlā Lena first described: but of these the only syllable legible was the initial *Śrī* with the long downstroke found at Bādāmi, Paṭṭadkal, and Aihole of the sixth and seventh centuries. On architectural grounds I would tentatively assign the Jaina caves in Dābarwālī or Torlā Lena to a date not later than the middle of the seventh century, and the Chāmar Lena caves to the early half of the sixth, if not earlier.

Karusā, 1st January 1876.

NOTICE OF A SCULPTURED CAVE AT UNḌĀPALĪ, IN THE GAṆṬŪR DISTRICT.

BY SIR WALTER ELLIOT, K.C.S.I.

In looking through an old portfolio of drawings I came upon some sketches of a sculptured cave-temple in the Northern Sarkārs, which, as such works are rare in Southern India, may prove interesting to readers of the *Antiquary*.

Unḍāpalī, or Vundapalle as it appears in the Gt. Trigonometrical Survey 4-inch

scale sheet No. 94, is situated at the foot of a low range of rocky hills running nearly north and south opposite Bezvara (Bejavadā) and the *ānikāṣ* across the Kṛishṇā, from which it is distant about one and a half miles. The cave, which is easy of access, is excavated in the face of the rock about half-way up the hill, and appears to have been intended to consist of two stories. On the



From a drawing by Lady Elliot.

UNDILLE CAVES NEAR BEJWARA.

W. Griggs lith.



W. Griggs photo-lith.

SCULPTURE IN THE CAVE-TEMPLE AT UNDAVALLE. THE BIRTH OF BRAHMA.

wall of the lower chamber is a representation of Nārāyaṇa with Brahmā seated on a lotus issuing from his navel. There is nothing remarkable either in the design or execution of the group, which is one not unfrequently met with in figures of Hindu mythology. The sculpture has suffered somewhat from age, the connection of the lotus on which Brahmā is seated with the recumbent figure being hardly perceptible. No inscription was found from which an opinion could be formed of the period to which the work might be assigned.

On the destruction of the Warangal State by the Muhammadans, in the middle of the 14th century, a local family of note—the Reddis of Koṇḍāviḍu—seized on the lower valley of the Kṛishṇā, and exercised independent authority over it for some seven generations, until it fell under the sway of Viḍyānagar, about the end of the 15th century. Remains of buildings and

other works on the hill-fort of Koṇḍāpalli exhibit considerable architectural merit, and a *maṇṭapam* at Bejavāḍā, of which I possess a sketch, claims attention for its elegance of design. But I am disposed to refer the cave to an earlier period. In style and general character it bears a striking resemblance to the sculptures at Mamallāipuram, commonly called the Seven Pagodas, on the sea-shore to the south of Madras. One of the caves there* contains a representation of the same subject as that at Uṇḍāpalli, and treated much in the same manner. In another place† I have stated reasons for assigning a date anterior to the sixth century to the works at Mamallāipur. But where no direct evidence can be brought to bear on the subject I am unwilling to hazard dogmatic assertion. This notice will serve to direct attention to the place, and further investigation may be rewarded by the discovery of more certain data.

CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEA.

ŚRĀDDHA CEREMONIES AT BANĀRAS AND GAYĀ.

An account of some śrāddhas I saw performed at Banāras and Gayā may possibly be acceptable to those who were interested in my description of a funeral ceremony at Bombay, [in the present volume of the *Indian Antiquary* (p. 26)]. At Banāras śrāddhas are constantly performed near the Maṇi-karnikā-kuṇḍa—a well, or rather small pool, of fetid water, not more than three feet deep, and perhaps not more than twenty feet long by ten broad, lying at a considerable depth below the surface of the ground, and declared in the *Kāṇḍa* of the *Skanda Pārāṇa* to have been originally created by Viṣṇu from the perspiration which exuded from his body. Its highly sacred character in the eyes of the orthodox Hindū may therefore be easily understood. It is said to have been named Maṇi-karnikā because Mahādeva on beholding Viṣṇu's well was so enraptured that his body thrilled with emotion, causing an earring to fall from his ear into the water. It is also called Mukti-kṣhetra, 'holy place of emancipation,' and Pārṇa-sūbhakara, 'cause of complete felicity.' This wonderful well is on the ghāt, called from it, Maṇi-karnikā, and is resorted to by thousands of pilgrims, who may be seen all day long descending the flight of steps by which the shallow pool is surrounded on

all four sides. Eagerly and with earnest faces they crowd into the water, immersing their whole bodies repeatedly, while Brāhmanas superintend their ablutions, repeat and make them repeat *mantras*, and receive handsome fees in return. In a niche upon the steps on the north side are the figures of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva, to which the pilgrims, after bathing, do honour by bowing down and touching the stones underneath with their foreheads. The bathers, though manifestly much dirtier from contact with the foul water, go away under the full conviction that they are inwardly purified, and that all their sins, however heinous, have been washed away for time and for eternity. There is another well of almost equal sanctity, named the Jñāna-vāpi, or 'pool of knowledge,' situated under a handsome colonnade in the interior of the city between the mosque built by Aurangzeb on the site of the original Viśveśvaranāth temple and the present Golden Temple. It is a real well of some depth, and not a pool, but the water is so abominably offensive, from the offerings of flowers and rice continually thrown into it and left to putrefy, that I found it impossible to do more than take a hasty glance into the interior of the well, or even to remain in the neighbourhood long enough to note all the particulars of its surroundings. All the day long a Brāhman stands near this well and ladles out putrid water from a receptacle

* No. 19 in the plan of Mamallāipur given in vol. XIII. of the *Madras Jour. of Lit. and Sc.*

† *Madras Jour.* XIII. p. 52. It should be added that

the notes made at Uṇḍāpalli in 1851 were lost with my other papers, and these observations written from memory may not be accurate in all particulars.

before him into the hands of pilgrims, who either lave their faces with the fetid liquid, or drink it with the greatest reverence. The supposed sanctity of this well is owing to the circumstance that the idol of Śiva was thrown into it when the original temple of Viśveśvaranāth was destroyed by the Musalmāns. Hence the water of the pool is thought to be the habitation of Mahādeva himself, or at least to be permeated by his presence.

Close to the pool of Maṇi-karnikā, on the day I visited the ghāt, a man was performing a *śrāddha* for his mother, under the guidance of a nearly naked and decidedly stout Brāhman. The ceremony was the *daśmaśrāddha*, performed on the tenth day after death, and was evidently *ekoddiśṭa*. The officiating Brāhman began by forming a slightly elevated piece of ground with some sand lying near at hand. This is supposed to constitute a small *vedi* or altar. It was of an oblong form, but only about eight or ten inches long by four or five broad. Across this raised sand he laid three stalks of *kūśa* grass. Then taking a number of little earthenware platters or saucers, he arranged them round the *vedi*, putting *tila* or sesamum seed in one, rice in another, honey in a third, *areca* or betel-nut in a fourth, *chandana* or sandal in a fifth. Next, he took flour of barley (*yava*) and kneaded it into one large *piṇḍa*, rather smaller than a cricket-ball, which he carefully deposited in the centre of the sand *vedi*, scattering over it jasmine flowers, *khaskhas* grass, and wool, and placing on one side of it a betel-leaf with areca-nut and a single copper coin. Then having poured water from a *loṭa* into his hand, he sprinkled it over all the offerings, arranged in the manner I have just described. Other similar operations followed:—Thus, for instance, an earthenware platter, containing a lighted wick, was placed near the offerings; ten other platters were filled with water, which was all poured over the *piṇḍa*; another small platter with a lighted wick was added to the first, then some milk was placed in another platter and poured over the *piṇḍa*, and then once more the *piṇḍa* was sprinkled with water. Finally the Brāhman joined his hands together and did *pūjā* to the *piṇḍa*. The whole rite did not last more than ten or fifteen minutes, and while it was proceeding, the man for whose mother it was performed continued to repeat *mantras* and prayers under the direction of the officiating Brāhman, quite regardless of much loud talking and vociferation going on around him.

The *śrāddha* ceremony was concluded by what is commonly called the *Brāhmaṇa-bhojana*, or feeding of a Brāhman,—that is to say, another Brāhman was brought and made to sit down near the oblations, while the man for whose mother

the *śrāddha* was celebrated fed him with flat cakes, *ghṛt*, sweetmeats, vegetables, and curds placed in a plate of *pāṇḍa* leaves. I observed that these eatables were devoured with the greatest avidity by the man for whom they were prepared, as if he had been nursing his appetite with the intention of doing full justice to the feast.

MONIER WILLIAMS.

PHALANDI, JODHPUR, JESALMER, AND POKRAN.

The town of Phalandi is an interesting place to come across in such a desert country. The stone tracery of the houses in its principal streets is very beautiful, and it possesses a large and well-built fort, the walls of which are over forty feet high. This fort has a small garrison, and its armament consists of a few antiquated field-pieces, which seemed quite unserviceable from rust and general neglect: in the centre of it there is a deep and capacious reservoir for water. The fort is commanded, but at a distance of 5600 yards, by the Ekka Hill, on which one of my stations is situated.

The city of Jodhpur lies at the foot of the hill on which the fort is situated, and at its southern side; the greatest length from north to south is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles, and the greatest breadth $\frac{1}{2}$ of a mile. It is closed in on the north side by the fort, and on the east, south, and west by a high wall capable of mounting guns, having six gateways. It is a good specimen of a native city, and is kept fairly clean; there are many wells and three tanks: one of the latter, an artificial one (only completed last year), is very fine and large, its bed and sides being of *pākā* masonry.

The fort is built on a hill, the highest in the neighbourhood, rising 420 feet above the surrounding country. There are two roads leading up to the fort, which unite a few yards distant from the gateway, and turn a sharp corner before reaching the gate; both roads are well protected by guns. Besides this there are two other gates to be passed before the fort is gained,—the first a small yet strong one in a narrow pass between two rocks, and the second a large one approached by a steep ascent, well commanded by guns, and, like the outer one, made difficult by being placed round a corner. Access to the fort from any other direction would be impossible, as the sides are sheer precipices of from two to three hundred feet. The country below is commanded on all sides by the guns of the fort. There is a good-sized tank in the fort.

The city of Jesalmer is much smaller than Jodhpur, its reported number of inhabitants being 10,000; but, from all I could see and hear, the place was once in a far more flourishing state, and the ruins of its former greatness are yet to be seen.

The water-supply for the city is obtained from an adjoining lake, and when this fails, which is generally the case early in June, good water has to be brought from the small village of Kisan Ghât, which is about three miles distant. There are numerous wells in the city, but the water is not good. The city used to be closed in by a rampart, now useless, as the wall is rapidly crumbling to pieces, and has fallen in in many places.

The fort, once strong, is now in a dilapidated state, and would ill stand an assault; it contains no tank, but many wells. The Jaina temples in the fort are very fine, the carving in stone being exquisite: in fact this may be said of most of the houses in the city,—the doors, windows, and walls having more or less carving about them. The greater number of the inhabitants, who reside within the walls of the fort, consist chiefly of a mixture of Bhâti Râjpûts and Jains, and are, as a rule, great opium-eaters.

The town of Pokran is on low ground, closed in by hills to the north, south, and west, and high ground to the east. Water is very plentiful in the neighbourhood, and very good; the town possesses three tanks, fine large ones, reported to contain water throughout the year; besides these there are many wells. There is a small fort in the town, well built and strong in appearance, but quite commanded by the adjacent hills.

Close to the town is a large salt marsh about five or six miles in diameter, into which the drainage of the surrounding hills finds its way during the rains. From the water of this marsh, as also from that of another, somewhat larger in dimensions, near the village of Lowa (eight miles south-east), a small quantity of salt is reported to be obtained.—Mr. C. P. Torrens in *Genl. Report, Gt. Trig. Survey*, 1873-74.

BHILLS IN THE DÂNGS.

The aboriginal Bhills are now very few in number, and rarely met with except in the retinue of their chiefs: since, if warned of the approach of a stranger, they will desert their habitations at once,

and if surprised in the woods will flee and hide, almost before one is aware of their presence. They are slighter and smaller than the other races, and are chiefly noticeable from their extreme blackness, wild appearance, and scantiness of clothing. They live chiefly in bough huts, which may often be met with deserted, the Bhills having strange superstitions, and at once migrating if they think their locality is unlucky or haunted. They will seldom remain a fortnight in one place. They feed on all sorts of vermin and garbage,—many roots, and all fruits, coming with them under the head of food. They are a dirty and most degraded race, having no notions of equity or honour. Their one happiness is to get drunk. At Pimpri I saw the Bhill Râjâ or Nâyak of that Dâng. He is said to be the best of the lot, but even he is only sober in the early morning; he possesses an elephant, but the state he keeps up is very small. Besides the inhabitants proper, there are parties of Hindu and Musalmân traders, called Banjârâs, who are continually bringing in salt and taking out rice, *nâglâ*, and the like, carried in double bags by large droves of bullocks. The whole of a family marches together, and they encamp at night within walls built up with the bags. The women are very well dressed, and have a sort of head-dress peaked at the back, over which the *stâf* passes.—Lieut. T. E. Gibbs, R.E., in *Genl. Report, Gt. Trig. Survey*, 1873-74.

TIBETAN FESTIVAL.

It is the custom in Tibet for every monastery to have once a year a commemoration festival, during which all the Lamas attached to it go through a performance which rather oddly combines the most seriously religious worship with great theatrical display, and even a certain amount of comic acting. On these occasions the Lamas wear a series of costly costumes, usually rich Chinese silks, curiously and handsomely embroidered, which they continually change as the performance progresses. They also disguise themselves in masks to represent the heads of various animals.

BOOK NOTICE.

LA LANGUE ET LITTÉRATURE HINDOUSTANIES EN 1875. Revue Annuelle, par M. Garcin de Tassy, Membre de l'Institut, Professeur à l'École Spéciale des Langues Orientales vivantes, &c.

This year the Annual Review is, as usual, replete with useful and interesting information. Lahor, Dehli, and Laknau are the principal centres of Hindustâni literature; and the *Mushd'ara*, or poetical section of the *Anjuman*, in the first-mentioned place, where a committee of men skilled in grammar and rhetoric has been appointed to examine the

productions submitted to the *Anjuman* of the Panjâb (whose patron is the Prince of Wales), has considerably increased its activity by holding numerous meetings where poets recite *ghazals*, which are printed.

A debt of gratitude is due to the Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjâb, as well as to Major Holroyd, the Director of Public Instruction, both of whom have zealously encouraged the establishment of this *Mushd'ara*. To prepare and to keep up

this poetical *réunion* the Maulawi Husain Azád, Professor at the Government College of Lahor, has, by the vigour and purity of his compositions and by the energy of his efforts, contributed more aid than any one else. Although Dehli is no longer the capital of India, it retains considerable literary importance; still that of Laknau is at present greater, because since the end of the last century the decadence of the Mogul empire attracted to that city numerous poets and men of letters to obtain the patronage of the Nawab of Oudh. Hence the boast of the inhabitants of Laknau that their language is more pure than that of Dehli, and that their poets are more eminent.

Urdú poets are as numerous as ever,—there are seventy-four in the Panjáb alone. New works likewise abound, which are not, however, all poetic: one of the most important is the *Nazm ulmamalik*, a translation from the Arabic on "The organization of States," made at the desire of the Patialá Government and printed at Laknau. Religious literature is well represented, not only from the Muhammadan, but also from the Christian point of view, by devotional and polemic writings; and the Sháhzádah Mirza Naqir-uddin Haidar of Dehli will soon publish his *Tárikh-i Panjáb*, an historical work of some pretensions, with detailed accounts of the successive governments. The *Mirát us-sulátin*, or "Mirror of Sultans," has been carefully printed in Dehli. Minor works on different subjects have also been published, and the list of Urdú newspapers is as copious as in former years. Old works are being republished, e.g. the Hindi version of the *Mahábhárata*, the *Yajur-veda*, &c.

The latest Hindustáni books published in the Bombay Presidency were all printed in the city itself, except two Hindu mythological pamphlets—the *Śivarātri Māhātmya*, "Greatness of the night of Śiva," printed at Ahmadábád, and the *Kīṣa-i Śrī Yal* at Paná. M. Garcin de Tassy is justly indignant at the fantastic edition of the *Diwán* of Wali published at Bombay in 1290 (1873-74) by Kázi Ibráhim and Nuruddin, who, he says, were apparently not aware of his edition, printed at Paris in 1833, and, as he believes, the only one ever published before theirs. "In their preface they state that the copyists of this *Diwán* have committed many errors, but that this edition has been produced from several MSS. (from two to four, دو تا چهار), and that the text has been corrected," that is to say altered, as may be easily seen. This pretended correction is in part owing to the opinion of the new editors that the *Diwán* of Wali contains obsolete expressions, which, considering its date, is not surprising, and is incorrect, which may be true with reference to the present dialect of the north, but is certainly false with respect to the

archaic dialect of the Dekhan, or *Dakhanf*. It is precisely this archaic style which imparts to the poetry of Wali a philological interest that adds to the intrinsic value of these *ghazals*, resembling those of Háfiz, as much on account of the mystic thoughts abounding in them as on account of the frequently extravagant but varied figures of speech accompanying them. The editors seem, moreover, to have confounded the Wali surnamed *Babai rekhta*, "the father of piebald poetry" (i.e. mixed with Indian and Persian words)—i.e. Sháh Wali ullah, *Dakhanf* of Aurangábád—with Wali uddin of Ahmadábád, a poet not mentioned by the original biographers whom M. de Tassy consulted in his *Histoire de la Littérature hindoui et hindoustanie*.

"When I produced my edition of Wali," he says, "I had at my disposal six MSS. of his *Diwán*, some of them very good, and I have given *facsimiles* of them. Since that time I have acquired four more, one of which is excellent, coming from the imperial library of Dehli, and bears the seal of the Moghul emperor Muhammad Sháh. These last MSS. agree with the first, and confirm the lections adopted by me. Thus my edition may be said to be authentic: for, contrary to the proceedings of the new editors, I was careful not to change anything in the text, and to assure myself of its exactness by an attentive scansion of each verse; and I have scrupulously retained the archaisms and peculiar expressions of the south; the Hindustáni of the Dekhan is, moreover, a distinct dialect, the peculiar rules and expressions whereof are given in special grammars.

"The new editors have followed a method entirely opposed to mine; they wished to *modernize* and to *septentrionalize* the original text, and thus denaturalized it. Not only have they adopted modern grammatical forms, but they have supplanted a great number of Indian words by Persian ones current in the north. They have left not a single verse without some change, and but few pieces in the order generally adopted in my MSS. They have also omitted many pieces, my edition containing 453, whilst theirs has only 373, so that they have 80 less, although there are some which do not occur in my edition." M. Garcin de Tassy then proceeds to give three pages of the new and of his own edition, and shows how impudently the new editors have altered the original to suit their own notions.

Like so many others, M. Garcin de Tassy is displeased with the wholesale importation of English words into Hindustáni where there is not the least necessity for them, e.g. "It is time for you to go to office," rendered by *Tumhari ofis* (for *daftar-kháná*) *jdneki fāim* (for *wakt*) *hai*. Natives ought to be like the ancient Arabs, who retained

only those Greek words which they could not render exactly; nevertheless Sayyid Ahmad Khân and some other writers in journals use many English expressions, just as if Arabic and Sanskrit could not in the sciences and arts supply many words not existing in the colloquial, and even the formation of Persian or Sanskrit compounds would be better than to borrow from English. It is rather surprising that this intrusion of English words has not met with any resistance yet, and thus neither the Aligāh, the Bihār, the Panjāb, the Ajmir, nor other literary societies have taken measures to stop this torrent, which may ultimately so overwhelm Hindustāni (Hindi and Urdū) that the labour of purification will be insurmountable, but which, if now undertaken, would not be more arduous than that of the Germans, who have, since the last war, redoubled their efforts to extirpate French words from their language, and have well-nigh succeeded, at least in books.

The Review terminates, as usual, with obituary notices of the past year, and the first of them is naturally devoted to M. Garcin de Tassy's personal loss in his own wife, an amiable and virtuous lady, a true *patieratā*, whose unchanging gentleness and attachment, proof against all trials, constituted his happiness during more than fifty-two years. After this little tribute to the memory of his spouse, the mortuary notices of a few scholars follow:—The poet Mir Babar-i Ali Anis died at Laknau in Dec. 1874, at the age of about eighty years. Iltudus Prichard died Jan. 1875 at Dhera

Dhun, aged 49; he was the son of the celebrated ethnographer, but himself produced several works to facilitate the study of Hindustāni, and co-operated in the translation of a work on *The Roman Laws*. His career was at first a military one,—he fought in the campaign of the Panjāb,—and afterwards he became editor of the *Dehli Gazette*; he wrote *The Administration of India from 1859 to 1868, the first ten years of administration under the Crown*, 2 vols. 8vo, 1860. Mirzā Salāmat 'Alī Dabir of Laknau, known as a wit and poet, died there in March 1875. Lord Hobart, the patron of Muhammadan education, and General John Briggs, editor of the Persian text of Ferishtah, and translator of it, as well as of several other works, died on the same day, April 27, 1875. F. G. Eichhoff, a distinguished Indianist, author of *Parallèle des Langues de l'Europe et de l'Inde*, and of many more books, died May 10, 1875, aged 76 years; and on the 26th of the same month Dr. R. Sinclair, Director of Public Instruction in Berār, expired. His zeal in the cause of education was so great that during six years he raised the number of schools from 33 to 500, and his memory will long be cherished in Berār. Lastly, M. A. Sédillot expired in Paris on Dec. 2, aged 67. He occupied various positions at the Collège de France, as the administrator of which he died, but his works on the sciences, and especially on the astronomy of the Arabs, secured him many admirers in France as well as abroad, among whom the celebrated Alexander von Humboldt was one.

E. R.

TRANSLATION OF THE INDICA OF ARRIAN.*

BY J. W. MCCRINDLE, M.A., PATNA.

I. The regions beyond the river Indus on the west are inhabited, up to the river Cophen, by two Indian tribes, the Astaceni and the Assaceni, who are not men of great stature like their brethren on the other side of the Indus, nor so brave, nor yet so swarthy as most Indians. They were in old times subject to the Assyrians, then after a period of Median rule submitted to the Persians, and paid to Cyrus the son of Cambyses the tribute from their land which Cyrus had imposed. The Nysæans, however, are not an Indian race, but descendants of those who came into India with Dionysus,—perhaps not only of those Greeks who had been disabled for service in the course of the wars which Dionysus waged

against the Indians, but perhaps also of natives of the country whom Dionysus, with their own consent, had settled along with the Greeks. The district in which he planted this colony he named Nysæa, after Mount Nysa, and the city itself Nysa. But the mountain close by the city, and on the lower slopes of which it is built, is designated Meros, from the accident which befell the god immediately after his birth. These stories about Dionysus are of course but fictions of the poets, and we leave them to the learned among the Greeks or barbarians to explain as they may. In the dominions of the Assaceni there is a great city called Massaca, the seat of the sovereign power which controls the whole realm. And there is an

* From Teubner's edition—Leipzig, 1867.

other city, *Pencelaitis*, which is also of great size and not far from the Indus. These settlements lie on the other side of the river Indus, and extend in a westward direction as far as the *Cophen*.

II. Now the countries which lie to the east of the Indus I take to be India Proper, and the people who inhabit them to be Indians. The northern boundaries of India so defined are formed by Mount *Taurus*, though the range does not retain that name in these parts. *Taurus* begins from the sea which washes the coasts of Pamphylia, Lycia, and Cilicia, and stretches away towards the Eastern Sea, intersecting the whole continent of Asia. The range bears different names in the different countries which it traverses. In one place it is called *Parapamisus*, in another *Emodus*, and in a third *Imaus*, and it has perhaps other names besides. The Macedonians, again, who served with Alexander called it *Caucasus*,—this being another *Caucasus* and distinct from the Scythian, so that the story went that Alexander penetrated to the regions beyond *Caucasus*.

On the west the boundaries of India are marked by the river Indus all the way to the great ocean into which it pours its waters, which it does by two mouths. These mouths are not close to each other, like the five mouths of the *Danube*, but diverge like those of the Nile, by which the Egyptian delta is formed. And so in like manner does the Indus make an Indian delta, which is not inferior in area to the Egyptian, and is called in the Indian tongue *Pattala*.

On the south-west, again, and on the south, India is bounded by the great ocean just mentioned, which also forms its boundary on the east. The parts toward the south about *Pattala* and the river Indus were seen by Alexander and many of the Greeks, but in an eastern direction Alexander did not penetrate beyond the river *Hyphasis*, though a few authors have described the country as far as the river *Ganges* and the parts near its mouths and the city of *Palimbothra*, which is the greatest in India, and situated near the *Ganges*.

III. I shall now state the dimensions of India, and in doing so let me follow *Eratosthenes* of Cyrene as the safest authority, for this *Eratosthenes* applied himself to descriptive geography. He states, then, that if a line be drawn from Mount *Taurus*, where the Indus has its

springs, along the course of that river and as far as the great ocean and the mouths of the Indus, this side of India will measure 13,000 stadia. But the contrary side, which diverges from the same point of *Taurus* and runs along the Eastern Sea, he makes of a much different length, for there is a headland which projects far out into the sea, and this headland is in length about 3,000 stadia. The eastern side of India would thus by his calculation measure 16,000 stadia, and this is what he assigns as the breadth of India. The length, again, from west to east as far as the city of *Palimbothra* he sets down, he says, as it had been measured by *Schaeni*, since there existed a royal highway, and he gives it as 10,000 stadia. But as for the parts beyond they were not measured with equal accuracy. Those, however, who write from mere hearsay allege that the breadth of India, inclusive of the headland which projects into the sea, is about 10,000 stadia, while the length measured from the coast is about 20,000 stadia. But *Ctesias* of *Cnidus* says that India equals in size all the rest of Asia, which is absurd; while *Onesicritus* as absurdly declares that it is the third part of the whole earth. *Nearchus*, again, says that it takes a journey of four months to traverse even the plain of India; while *Megasthenes*, who calls the breadth of India its extent from east to west, which others call its length, says that where shortest the breadth is 16,000 stadia, and that its length—by which he means its extent from north to south—is, where narrowest, 22,300 stadia. But, whatever be its dimensions, the rivers of India are certainly the largest to be found in all Asia. The mightiest are the *Ganges*, and the *Indus* from which the country receives its name. Both are greater than the Egyptian Nile and the Scythian *Danube* even if their streams were united into one. I think, too, that even the *Acesines* is greater than either the *Danube* or the Nile where it joins the Indus after receiving its tributaries the *Hydaspes* and the *Hydraotes*, since it is at that point so much as 300 stadia in breadth. It is also possible that there are even many other larger rivers which take their course through India.

IV. But I am unable to give with assurance of being accurate any information regarding the regions beyond the *Hyphasis*, since

the progress of Alexander was arrested by that river. But to recur to the two greatest rivers, the Ganges and the Indus. Megasthenes states that of the two the Ganges is much the larger, and other writers who mention the Ganges agree with him; for besides being of ample volume even where it issues from its springs, it receives as tributaries the river Cainas, and the Erannoboas, and the Cossoanus, which are all navigable. It receives, besides, the river Sonus and the Sitocatis, and the Solomatis, which are also navigable, and also the Condochates, and the Sambus, and the Magon, and the Agoranis, and the Omalis. It further receives the Commenases, which is a very considerable stream, and the Cacouthis, and the Andomatis, which flows from the dominions of the Madyandini, an Indian tribe. In addition to all these, it is joined by the Amystis, which flows past the city Catadupa, and the Oxymagis from the dominions of a tribe called the Pazalæ, and the Errenysis from the Mathæ, an Indian tribe. Regarding these streams Megasthenes asserts that none of them is inferior to the Mæander, even at the navigable part of its course; and as for the Ganges, why, it has a breadth where narrowest of one hundred stadia, while in many places it spreads out into lakes, so that when the country happens to be flat and destitute of elevations the opposite shores cannot be seen from each other. The Indus presents also, he says, similar characteristics. The Hydraotes, flowing from the dominions of the Cambistholi, falls into the Acesines after receiving the Hyphasis in its passage through the Astrybæ, as well as the Saranges from the Cecians, and the Neudrus from the Attaceni. The Hydaspes, again, rising in the dominions of the Oxydracæ, and bringing with it the Sinarus, received in the dominion of the Arispæ, falls itself into the Acesines, while the Acesines joins the Indus in the dominions of the Malli, but not until it has received the waters of a great tributary, the Tountapos. Augmented by all these confluent the Acesines succeeds in imposing its name on the combined waters, and still retains it till it unites with the Indus.

The Cophen, too, falls into the Indus, rising in Peucelaïtis, and bringing with it the Malantus, and the Soastus, and the Garroia. Higher up than these, the Parenus and Sapparnus, at no great distance from each other, empty themselves into the Indus, as does also the Soanus, which comes without a tributary from the hill-country of the Abissareans. According to Megasthenes most of these rivers are navigable. We ought not, therefore, to distrust what we are told regarding the Indus and the Ganges, that they are beyond comparison greater than the Danube and the Nile. In the case of the Nile we know that it does not receive any tributary, but that, on the contrary, in its passage through Egypt its waters are drawn off to fill the canals. As for the Danube, it is but an insignificant stream at its sources, and though it no doubt receives many confluent, still these are neither equal in number to the confluent of the Indus and Ganges, nor are they navigable like them, if we except a very few,—as, for instance, the Inn, and Save which I have myself seen. The Inn joins the Danube where the Noricans march with the Rhætians, and the Save in the dominions of the Pannonians, at a place which is called Taurunum. Some one may perhaps know other navigable tributaries of the Danube, but the number certainly cannot be great.

V. Now if anyone wishes to state a reason to account for the number and magnitude of the Indian rivers let him state it. As for myself I have written on this point, as on others, from hearsay; for Megasthenes has given the names even of other rivers which beyond both the Ganges and the Indus pour their waters into the Eastern Ocean and the outer basin of the Southern Ocean, so that he asserts that there are eight and fifty Indian rivers which are all of them navigable. But even Megasthenes, so far as appears, did not travel over much of India, though no doubt he saw more of it than those who came with Alexander the son of Philip: for, as he tells us, he resided at the court of Sandracottus, the greatest king in India, and also at the court of Porus, who was still greater than he.* Well, then, this same Megasthenes informs us that the Indians neither

* The original cannot be otherwise rendered. The following slight emendation of the text, however (suggested by Schwanbeck), removes at once the bull, and the error in

chronology whereby Porus and Sandracottus are made contemporaries—καὶ Πόρου ἐπὶ τούτῳ μέγιστον—"who was a greater king even than Porus."

invade other men, nor do other men invade the Indians: for Sesostris the Egyptian, after having overrun the greater part of Asia, and advanced with his army as far as Europe, returned home; and Idanthyrsus the Scythian, issuing from Scythia, subdued many nations of Asia, and carried his victorious arms even to the borders of Egypt; and Semiramis, again, the Assyrian queen, took in hand an expedition against India, but died before she could execute her design: and thus Alexander was the only conqueror who actually invaded the country. And regarding Dionysus many traditions are current how he also made an expedition into India, and subjugated the Indians before the days of Alexander. But of Hercules tradition has but little to say. Of the expedition, however, which Bacchus led, the city of Nysa is no mean monument, while Mount Meros is yet another, and the ivy which grows thereon, and the practice observed by the Indians themselves of marching to battle with drums and cymbals, and of wearing a spotted dress such as was worn by the Bacchanals of Dionysus. On the other hand, there are but few memorials of Hercules, and it may be doubted whether even these are genuine: for the assertion that Hercules was not able to take the rock *Arnos*, which Alexander seized by force of arms, seems to me all a Macedonian vaunt, quite of a piece with their calling *Parapamisus*—*Caucasus*, though it had no connexion at all with *Caucasus*. In the same spirit, when they noticed a cave in the dominions of the *Parapamisadæ*, they asserted that it was the cave of *Prometheus* the Titan, in which he had been suspended for stealing the fire. So also when they came among the *Sibæ*, an Indian tribe, and noticed that they wore skins, they declared that the *Sibæ* were descended from those who belonged to the expedition of Hercules and had been left behind: for, besides being dressed in skins, the *Sibæ* carry a cudgel, and brand on the backs of their oxen the representation of a club, wherein the Macedonians recognized a memorial of the club of Hercules. But if anyone believes all this, then this must be another Hercules, for he can neither be the Theban Hercules, nor the Tyrian, nor the Egyptian, nor even any great king† who belonged to the upper country which lies not far from India.

VI. Let me here digress to show that the accounts seem to be incredible which some other writers have given regarding the Indians beyond the *Hyphasis*, for the information about India up to the *Hyphasis* given by those who were in Alexander's expedition is not to be altogether distrusted: *Megasthenes*, for instance, tell us this wonderful story about an Indian river:—that the name of it is the *Silas*; that it flows from a fountain called after the river through the dominions of the *Silæans*, who again are called after the river and the fountain; that the water of the river manifests this singular property—that there is nothing which it can buoy up, nor anything which can swim or float in it, but everything sinks down to the bottom, so that there is nothing in the world so thin and unsubstantial as this water. But to proceed. Rain falls in India during the summer, especially on the mountains *Parapamisus* and *Emodus* and the range of *Imaus*, and the rivers which issue from these are large and muddy. Rain during the same season falls also on the plains of India, so that much of the country is submerged: and indeed the army of Alexander was obliged at the time of midsummer to retreat in haste from the *Acesines*, because its waters overflowed the adjacent plains. So we may by analogy infer from these facts that as the Nile is subject to similar inundations, it is probable that rain falls during the summer on the mountains of *Æthiopia*, and that the Nile swollen with these rains overflows its banks and inundates Egypt. We find, at any rate, that this river, like those we have mentioned, flows at the same season of the year as they, with a muddy current, which could not be the case if it flowed from melting snows, nor yet if its waters were driven back from its mouth by the force of the *Etesian* winds which blow throughout the hot season,‡ and that it should flow from melting snow is all the more unlikely as snow cannot fall upon the *Æthiopian* mountains, on account of the burning heat; but that rain should fall on them, as on the Indian mountains, is not beyond probability, since India in other respects besides is not unlike *Æthiopia*. Thus the Indian rivers, like the Nile in *Æthiopia* and Egypt, breed crocodiles, while some of them have fish and monstrous creatures such as are found in the Nile,

† The words would bear another rendering—"or possibly he may be some great king." ‡ Cf. Herodotus, II. 20-27.

with the exception only of the hippopotamus, though Onesicritus asserts that they breed this animal also. With regard to the inhabitants, there is no great difference in type of figure between the Indians and the Æthiopians, though, to be sure, the Indians who live in the south-west bear a somewhat closer resemblance to the Æthiopians, being of black complexion and black-haired, though they have not the nose so flat nor the hair so curly; while the Indians who live further to the north are in person like the Egyptians.

VII. The Indian tribes, Megasthenes tells us, number in all 118. And I so far agree with him as to allow that they must be indeed numerous, but when he gives such a precise estimate I am at a loss to conjecture how he arrived at it, for the greater part of India he did not visit, nor is mutual intercourse maintained between all the tribes. He tells us further that the Indians were in old times nomadic, like those Scythians who did not till the soil, but roamed about in their wagons, as the seasons varied, from one part of Scythia to another, neither dwelling in towns nor worshipping in temples; and that the Indians likewise had built neither towns nor temples of the gods, but were so barbarous that they wore the skins of such wild animals as they could kill, and subsisted on the bark of trees; that these trees were called in Indian speech *tala*, and that there grew on them, as there grows at the tops of the palm-trees, a fruit resembling balls of wool; that they subsisted also on such wild animals as they could catch, eating the flesh raw,—before, at least, the coming of Dionysus into India. That Dionysus, however, when he came and had conquered the people, founded cities and gave laws to these cities, and introduced the use of wine among the Indians, as he had done among the Greeks, and taught them to sow the land, himself supplying seeds for the purpose,—either because Triptolemus, when he was sent by Demeter to sow all the earth, did not reach these parts, or this must have been some Dionysus who came to India before Triptolemus, and gave the people the seeds of plants brought under cultivation. It is also said that Dionysus first yoked oxen to the plough, and made many of the Indians husbandmen instead of nomads, and furnished them with the implements of agri-

culture; and that the Indians worship the other gods, and Dionysus himself in particular, with cymbals and drums, because he so taught them; and that he also taught them the Satyric dance, or, as the Greeks call it, the *cordax*; and that he instructed the Indians to let their hair grow long in honour of the god, and to wear the turban; and that he taught them to anoint themselves with unguents: so that even up to the time of Alexander the Indians were marshalled for battle to the sound of cymbals and drums.

VIII. But when he was leaving India, after having established the new order of things, he appointed, it is said, Spatembas, one of his companions and the most zealous of his imitators,§ to be the king of the country, and that when Spatembas died his son Boudyas succeeded to the sovereignty; that the father reigned over the Indians fifty-two years, and the son twenty; that the son of the latter, whose name was Cradeuas, duly inherited the kingdom, and that thereafter the succession was generally hereditary, but that when a failure of heirs occurred in the royal house the Indians elected their sovereigns on the principle of merit; but that Hercules, who is currently reported to have come as a stranger into the country, is said to have been in reality a native of India; that this Hercules is held in especial honour by the Sourazeni, an Indian tribe possessing two large cities, Methora and Cleisobora, while a navigable river called the Iobares flows through their country. But the dress which this Hercules wore, Megasthenes tells us, resembled that of the Theban Hercules, as the Indians themselves admit. It is further said that he had a very numerous progeny of male children born to him in India (for, like his Theban namesake, he married many wives), but that he had only one daughter; that the name of this child was Pandæa, and that the land in which she was born, and with the sovereignty of which Hercules entrusted her, was called after her, Pandæa, and that she received from the hands of her father 500 elephants, a force of cavalry 4000 strong, and another of infantry consisting of about 130,000 men. Some Indian writers say further of Hercules that when he was going over the world and ridding land and sea of whatever evil monsters infested them, he found in the sea an ornament for women, which even

§ Or 'the most conversant with Bacchic matters.'

to this day the Indian traders who bring their wares to our markets eagerly buy up as such and carry away, while it is even more greedily bought up by the wealthy Romans of to-day, as it was wont to be by the wealthy Greeks long ago. This article is the sea-pearl, called in the Indian tongue *margarita*. But Hercules, it is said, appreciating its beauty as a wearing ornament, caused it to be brought from all the sea into India, that he might adorn with it the person of his daughter.

Megasthenes informs us that the oyster which yields this pearl is there fished for with nets, and that in the same place the oysters live in the sea in shoals like bee-swarms: for oysters, like bees, have a king or a queen, and if any one is lucky enough to catch the king he readily encloses in the net all the rest of the shoal, but if the king makes his escape there is no chance that the others can be caught. The fishermen allow the fleshy parts of such as they catch to rot away, and keep the bone, which forms the ornament: for the pearl in India is worth thrice its weight in refined gold, which is a metal Indian mines produce.

IX. Now in that part of the country where the daughter of Hercules reigned as queen, it is said that the women when seven years old are of marriageable age, and that the men live at most forty years, and that on this subject there is a tradition current among the Indians to the effect that Hercules, whose daughter was born to him late in life, when he saw that his end was near, and he knew no man of equal rank with himself to whom he could give her in marriage, had incestuous intercourse with the girl when she was seven years of age, in order that a race of kings sprung from their common blood might be left to rule over India; that Hercules therefore made her of suitable age for marriage, and that in consequence the whole nation over which *Pandæa* reigned obtained this same privilege from her father. Now to me it seems that, even if Hercules could have done things so marvellous, he must also have made himself longer-lived, in order to have intercourse with his daughter when she was of mature age. But in fact, if the age at which the women there are marriageable is correctly stated, this is quite consistent, it seems to me, with what is said of the men's age,—that those who live longest die at forty; for where men so much

sooner become old and die, it must needs be that they attain their prime sooner, the sooner their career of life is to end. It follows hence that men would there at the age of thirty be turning old, and young men would at twenty be past the season of puberty, while the stage of full puberty would be reached about fifteen. And, quite compatibly with this, the women might be marriageable at the age of seven. And why not, when Megasthenes declares that the very fruits of the country ripen faster than fruits elsewhere, and decay faster?

From the time of Dionysus to *Sandracottus* the Indians counted 153 kings and a period of 6042 years, but among these a republic was thrice established * * * and another to 300 years, and another to 120 years. The Indians also tell us that Dionysus was earlier than Hercules by fifteen generations, and that except him no one made a hostile invasion of India,—not even Cyrus the son of Cambyses, although he undertook an expedition against the Scythians, and otherwise showed himself the most enterprising monarch in all Asia; but that Alexander indeed came and overthrew in war all whom he attacked, and would even have conquered the whole world had his army been willing to follow him. On the other hand, a sense of justice, they say, prevented any Indian king from attempting conquest beyond the limits of India.

X. It is further said that the Indians do not rear monuments to the dead, but consider the virtues which men have displayed in life, and the songs in which their praises are celebrated, sufficient to preserve their memory after death. But of their cities it is said that the number is so great that it cannot be stated with precision, but that such cities as are situated on the banks of rivers or on the sea-coast are built of wood instead of brick, being meant to last only for a time,—so destructive are the heavy rains which pour down, and the rivers also when they overflow their banks and inundate the plains,—while those cities which stand on commanding situations and lofty eminences are built of brick and mud; that the greatest city in India is that which is called *Palimbothra*, in the dominions of the Prasians, where the streams of the *Erannoboas* and the *Ganges* unite,—the *Ganges* being the greatest of all rivers, and the *Erannoboas* being perhaps the third largest

of Indian rivers, though greater than the greatest rivers elsewhere; but it is smaller than the Ganges where it falls into it. Megasthenes informs us that this city stretched in the inhabited quarters to an extreme length on each side of eighty stadia, and that its breadth was fifteen stadia, and that a ditch encompassed it all round, which was six hundred feet in breadth and thirty cubits in depth, and that the wall was crowned with 570 towers and had four-and-sixty gates. The same writer tells us further this remarkable fact about India, that all the Indians are free, and not one of them is a slave. The Lacedæmonians and the Indians are here so far in harmony. The Lacedæmonians, however, hold the Helots as slaves, and these Helots do servile labour; but the Indians do not even use aliens as slaves, and much less a countryman of their own.

XI. But farther: in India the whole people is divided into about seven castes. Among these are the Sages, who are not so numerous as the others, but hold the supreme place of dignity and honour,—for they are under no necessity of doing any bodily labour at all, or of contributing from the produce of their labour anything to the common stock, nor indeed is any duty absolutely binding on them except to perform the sacrifices offered to the gods on behalf of the state. If anyone, again, has a private sacrifice to offer, one of these sages shows him the proper mode, as if he could not otherwise make an acceptable offering to the gods. To these sages the knowledge of divination among the Indians is exclusively restricted, and none but a sage is allowed to practise that art. They predict about such matters as the seasons of the year, and any calamity which may befall the state; but the private fortunes of individuals they do not care to predict,—either because divination does not concern itself with trifling matters, or because to take any trouble about such is deemed unbecoming. But if anyone fails thrice to predict truly, he incurs, it is said, no further penalty than being obliged to be silent for the future, and there is no power on earth able to compel that man to speak who has once been condemned to silence. These sages go naked, living during winter in the open air to enjoy the sunshine, and during summer, when the heat is too powerful, in meadows and low grounds under trees of such vast size that, as

Nearchus tells us, the shadow which but one of them casts, has a circumference of five hundred feet, and is capable of sheltering ten thousand men. They live upon the fruits which each season produces, and on the bark of trees,—the bark being no less sweet and nutritious than the fruit of the date-palm.

After these, the second caste consists of the tillers of the soil, who form the most numerous class of the population. They are neither furnished with arms, nor have any military duties to perform, but they cultivate the soil and pay tribute to the kings and the independent cities. In times of civil war the soldiers are debarred by use and wont from molesting the husbandmen or ravaging their lands: so that while the former are fighting and killing each other as they can, the latter may be seen close at hand tranquilly pursuing their work,—perhaps ploughing, or gathering in their crops, pruning the trees, or reaping the harvest.

The third caste among the Indians consists of the herdsmen, both shepherds and neat-herds; and these neither live in cities nor in villages, but they are nomadic and live on the hills. They also are subject to tribute, which they pay in cattle. It may be added that they scour the country in pursuit of fowl and wild beasts.

XII. The fourth caste consists of handicraftsmen and retail-dealers. These have to perform gratuitously certain public services, and to pay tribute from the products of their labour. An exception, however, is made in favour of those who fabricate the weapons of war,—and not only so, but they even draw pay from the state. In this class are included shipbuilders, and the sailors employed in the navigation of the rivers.

The fifth caste among the Indians consists of the warriors, who are second in point of numbers to the husbandmen, but lead a life of supreme freedom and jollity. They have military duties, and these only, to perform. Others make their arms, and others supply them with horses, and they have others to attend on them in the camp, who take care of their horses, clean their arms, drive their elephants, prepare their chariots, and act as their charioteers. But they fight as long as there is need to fight, and when peace returns they abandon themselves to enjoyment,—the pay which they receive from the state being so liberal that they can main-

tain not only themselves, but others also, and that with ease.

The sixth class consists of those called superintendents. They oversee what goes on in country and town, and report everything to the king where the people have a king, and to the magistrates where the people are self-governed, and it is against use and wont for these to give in a false report;—but indeed no Indian is accused of lying.

The seventh caste consists of the councillors of state, who advise the king, or the magistrates of self-governed cities, in the management of public affairs. In point of numbers this is a small class, but it is distinguished by superior wisdom and justice, and hence enjoys the prerogative of choosing governors, chiefs of provinces, deputy-governors, superintendents of the treasury, generals of the army, admirals of the navy, controllers, and commissioners who superintend agriculture.

The custom of the country prohibits inter-marriage between the castes:—for instance, the husbandman cannot take a wife from the artizan caste, nor the artizan a wife from the husbandman caste. Custom also prohibits any one from exercising two trades, or from changing from one caste to another. One cannot, for instance, become a husbandman if he is a herdsman, or become a herdsman if he is an artizan. It is permitted that the sage, and the sage alone, be from any caste: for the life of the sage is not an easy one, but the most miserable of all.

XIII. The Indians hunt all wild animals in the same way as the Greeks, except the elephant, which is hunted in a mode altogether peculiar, since these animals are not like any other animals. The mode may be thus described:—The hunters having selected a level tract of arid ground, dig a trench all round, enclosing as much space as would suffice to encamp a large army. They make the trench with a breadth of five fathoms and a depth of four. But the earth which they throw out in the process of digging they heap up in mounds on both edges of the trench, and use it as a wall. Then they make huts for themselves by excavating the wall on the outer edge of the trench, and in these they leave loopholes, both to admit light, and to enable them to see when their prey approaches and enters the enclosure. They then station within the trap some three or four

of their best-trained she-elephants, and leave only a single passage to it by means of a bridge which they throw across the trench, and the framework of this they cover over with earth and a great quantity of straw, to conceal the bridge as much as possible from the wild animals, which might else suspect treachery. The hunters then go out of the way, and retire to the cells which they had made in the earthen wall. Now the wild elephants do not in the daytime go near inhabited places, but in the nighttime they wander about everywhere, and feed in herds, following as leader the one who is biggest and boldest, just as cows follow bulls. As soon, then, as they approach the enclosure, on hearing the cry of the females and catching scent of them they rush at full speed in the direction of the fenced ground, and being arrested by the trench they move round its edge until they fall in with the bridge, along which they force their way into the enclosure. The hunters meanwhile, perceiving the entrance of the wild elephants, hasten, some of them, to take away the bridge, while others, running off to the nearest villages, announce that the elephants are within the trap. The villagers, on hearing the news, mount their most spirited and best-trained elephants, and as soon as mounted ride off to the trap; but though they ride up to it they do not immediately engage in a conflict with the wild elephants, but wait till they are sorely pinched by hunger and tamed by thirst; but when they think they have been reduced to feebleness, then they set up the bridge anew and ride into the trap, when a fierce assault is in the first place made by the tame elephants upon those caught in the trap; then, as might be expected, the wild elephants, through loss of spirit and faintness from hunger, are overpowered. On this the hunters, dismounting from their elephants, bind with fetters the ends of the feet of the wild ones, which are by this time quite exhausted. Then they instigate the tame ones to chastise them with repeated blows, until, worn out with their sufferings, they fall to the ground. The hunters meanwhile, standing near them, slip nooses over their necks and mount them while they are yet lying on the ground; and, in order to prevent them shaking off their riders, or doing mischief otherwise, they make an incision all round their neck with a sharp knife and fasten the noose round in the

incision, so that they keep their head and neck quite steady by means of the wound, for if they become restive and turn round, the wound is galled by the action of the rope. Thus they shun all violent movements, and, knowing that they have been vanquished, are now led in fetters by the tame ones.

XIV. But such as are feeble, or through viciousness not worth keeping, their captors allow to escape to their old haunts; while those which they retain they lead to the villages, where at first they give them green stalks of corn and grass to eat. The creatures, however, having lost all spirit, have no wish to eat; but the Indians, standing round them in a circle, soothe and cheer them by chanting songs to the accompaniment of the music of drums and cymbals, for the elephant is of all brutes the most intelligent. Some of them, for instance, have been known when their riders were slain in battle to have taken them up and carried them away for burial; others have covered them, when lying on the ground, with a shield; and others have borne the brunt of battle in their defence when fallen. There was one even that died of remorse and despair because it had killed its rider in a fit of rage. I have myself actually seen an elephant playing on cymbals, while other elephants were dancing to his strains: a cymbal had been attached to each foreleg of the performer, and a third to what is called his trunk, and while he beat in turn the cymbal on his trunk, he beat in proper time those on his two legs. The dancing elephants all the while kept dancing in a circle, and as they raised and curved their forelegs in turn they too moved in proper time, following as the musician led.

The elephant, like the bull and the horse, engenders in spring, when the females emit breath through the spiracles beside their temples, which open at that season. The period of gestation is at shortest sixteen months, and never exceeds eighteen. The birth is single, as in the case of the mare, and is suckled till it reaches its eighth year. The elephants that live longest attain an age of two hundred years, but many of them die prematurely of disease. If they die of sheer old age, however, the term of life is what has been stated. Diseases of their eyes are cured by pouring cows' milk into them, and other distempers by administering draughts

of black wine; while their wounds are cured by the application of roasted pork. Such are the remedies used by the Indians.

XV. But the tiger the Indians regard as a much more powerful animal than the elephant. Nearchus tells us that he had seen the skin of a tiger, though the tiger itself he had not seen. The Indians, however, informed him that the tiger equals in size the largest horse, but that for swiftness and strength no other animal can be compared with it: for that the tiger, when it encounters the elephant, leaps up upon the head of the elephant and strangles it with ease; but that those animals which we ourselves see and call tigers are but jackals with spotted skins and larger than other jackals. In the same way with regard to ants also, Nearchus says that he had not himself seen a specimen of the sort which other writers declared to exist in India, though he had seen many skins of them which had been brought into the Macedonian camp. But Megasthenes avers that the tradition about the ants is strictly true,—that they are gold-diggers, not for the sake of the gold itself, but because by instinct they burrow holes in the earth to lie in, just as the tiny ants of our own country dig little holes for themselves, only those in India being larger than foxes make their burrows proportionately larger. But the ground is impregnated with gold, and the Indians thence obtain their gold. Now Megasthenes writes what he had heard from hearsay, and as I have no exact information to give I willingly dismiss the subject of the ant.¶ But about parrots Nearchus writes as if they were a new curiosity, and tells us that they are indigenous to India, and what like they are, and that they speak with a human voice; but for my part, since I have myself seen many parrots, and know others who are acquainted with the bird, I will accordingly say nothing about it as if it were still unfamiliar. Nor will I say aught of the apes, either touching their size, or the beauty which distinguishes them in India, or the mode in which they are hunted, for I should only be stating what is well known, except perhaps the fact that they are beautiful. Regarding snakes, too, Nearchus tells us that they are caught in the country, being spotted, and nimble in their movements, and that one which Peitho the

¶ Cf. Herod. III. 102, and Ind. Ant. vol. IV. (August 1875) p. 225.

son of Antigenes caught measured about sixteen cubits, though the Indians allege that the largest snakes are much larger. But no cure of the bite of the Indian snake has been found out by any of the Greek physicians, though the Indians, it is certain, can cure those who have been bitten. And Nearchus adds this, that Alexander had all the most skilful of the Indians in the healing art collected around him, and had caused proclamation to be made throughout the camp that if anyone were bitten he should repair to the royal tent; but these very same men were able to cure other diseases and pains also. But with many bodily pains the Indians are not afflicted, because in their country the seasons are genial. But in the case of an attack of severe pain they consult the sages, and these seemed to cure whatever diseases could be cured not without divine help.

XVI. The dress worn by the Indians is made of cotton, as Nearchus tells us,—cotton produced from those trees of which mention has already been made. But this cotton is either of a brighter white colour than any cotton found elsewhere, or the darkness of the Indian complexion makes their apparel look so much the whiter. They wear an under-garment of cotton which reaches below the knee halfway down to the ankles, and also an upper garment which they throw partly over their shoulders, and partly twist in folds round their head. The Indians wear also earrings of ivory, but only such of them do this as are very wealthy, for all Indians do not wear them. Their beards, Nearchus tells us, they dye of one hue and another, according to taste. Some dye their white beards to make them look as white as possible, but others dye them blue; while some again prefer a red tint, some a purple, and others a rank green. Such Indians, he also says, as are thought anything of, use parasols as a screen from the heat. They wear shoes made of white leather, and these are elaborately trimmed, while the soles are variegated, and made of great thickness, to make the wearer seem so much the taller.

I proceed now to describe the mode in which the Indians equip themselves for war, premising that it is not to be regarded as the only one in vogue. The foot-soldiers carry a bow made of equal length with the man who bears it. This

they rest upon the ground, and pressing against it with their left foot thus discharge the arrow, having drawn the string far backwards: for the shaft they use is little short of being three yards long, and there is nothing which can resist an Indian archer's shot,—neither shield nor breast-plate, nor any stronger defence if such there be. In their left hand they carry bucklers made of undressed ox-hide, which are not so broad as those who carry them, but are about as long. Some are equipped with javelins instead of bows, but all wear a sword, which is broad in the blade, but not longer than three cubits; and this, when they engage in close fight (which they do with reluctance), they wield with both hands, to fetch down a lustier blow. The horsemen are equipped with two lances like the lances called *saunia*, and with a shorter buckler than that carried by the foot-soldiers. But they do not put saddles on their horses, nor do they curb them with bits like the bits in use among the Greeks or the Celts, but they fit on round the extremity of the horse's mouth a circular piece of stitched raw ox-hide studded with pricks of iron or brass pointing inwards, but not very sharp: if a man is rich he uses pricks made of ivory. Within the horse's mouth is put an iron prong like a skewer, to which the reins are attached. When the rider then pulls the reins, the prong controls the horse, and the pricks which are attached to this prong goad the mouth, so that it cannot but obey the reins.

XVII. The Indians are in person slender and tall, and of much lighter weight than other men. The animals used by the common sort for riding on are camels and horses and asses, while the wealthy use elephants,—for it is the elephant which in India carries royalty. The conveyance which ranks next in honour is the chariot and four; the camel ranks third, while to be drawn by a single horse is considered no distinction at all.¶ But Indian women, if possessed of uncommon discretion, would not stray from virtue for any reward short of an elephant, but on receiving this a lady lets the giver enjoy her person. Nor do the Indians consider it any disgrace to a woman to grant her favours for an elephant, but it is rather regarded as a high compliment to the ladies that their charms should be deemed worth an elephant. They marry without either

¶ Or perhaps "is considered a disgrace."

giving or taking dowries, but the women, as soon as they are marriageable, are brought forward by their fathers and exposed in public, to be selected by the victor in wrestling or boxing or running, or by some one who excels in any other manly exercise. The people of India live upon grain, and are tillers of the soil; but we must except the hillmen, who eat the flesh of beasts of chase.

It is sufficient for me to have set forth these facts regarding the Indians, which, as the best known, both *Nearchus* and *Megasthenes*, two men of approved character, have recorded. And since my design in drawing up the present narrative was not to describe the manners and customs of the Indians, but to relate how *Alexander* conveyed his army from India to Persia, let this be taken as a mere episode.

XVIII. *Alexander*, then, as soon as the fleet had been built for him upon the banks of the *Hydaspes*, having selected all the Phœnicians and all the Cyprians or Egyptians who had followed him in the previous part of the expedition, manned the ships with them, and chose the hands that were skilled in seamanship to be sailors and rowers. There were also islanders not a few in the squadron who had been bred to a seafaring life, together with men from *Ionía* and the *Hellespont*. The following officers were appointed to the command of triremes in this fleet:—

Hephæstion, the son of *Amyntor*; *Leonnatus*, the son of *Anteas*; *Lysimachus*, the son of *Agathocles*; *Asclepiodorus*, the son of *Timander*; *Archon*, the son of *Clinias*; *Demonicus*, the son of *Athenæus*; *Archias*, the son of *Anaxidotus*; *Ophelas*, the son of *Silenus*; and *Timanthes*, the son of *Pantiades*. These all belonged to *Pella*.

From *Amphipolis* came—*Nearchus*, the son of *Androtimus*, who wrote a narrative of the voyage; *Laomedon*, the son of *Larichus*; and *Androstenes*, the son of *Callistratus*.

From *Orestis* came—*Craterus*, the son of *Alexander*; and *Perdiccas*, the son of *Orontes*.

From *Eordæa* came—*Ptolemæus*, the son of *Lagus*; and *Aristonous*, the son of *Pisæus*.

From *Pydna* came—*Metron* the son of *Epicharmus*; and *Nicarchides*, the son of *Simus*.

There were in addition to these—*Attalus* the son of *Andromenes*, from *Tymphæa*; *Peucestas*,

the son of *Alexander*, from *Mieza*; *Peithon*, the son of *Cratenas*, from *Alcomenæ*; *Leonnatus*, the son of *Antipater*, from *Ægæ*; *Pantauchus*, the son of *Nicolaus*, from *Alorus*; and *Mylleas*, the son of *Zoïlus*, from *Berœa*.—These were all of them Macedonians.

The following commanders were Greeks:—*Medius*, the son of *Oxythemis*, from *Larissa*; *Eumenes*, the son of *Hieronymus*, from *Candia*; *Critobulus*, the son of *Plato*, from *Cos*; *Thoas*, the son of *Menodorus*, from *Magnes*; *Mæander*, the son of *Mandrogenes*, also from *Magnes*; and *Andron*, the son of *Cabelas*, from *Teos*.

There were two commanders besides from *Cyprus*—*Nicocleës*, the son of *Pasicrates* of *Soli*; and *Nithaphon*, the son of *Pnutagoras*, of *Salamis*.

There was also one Persian commander—*Bagoas*, the son of *Pharnouchas*.

The pilot of the ship which carried *Alexander* himself was *Onesicritus*, an *Astypalæan*, and the general secretary of the expedition was *Euagoras*, the son of *Eucleon*, a *Corinthian*, while *Nearchus*, the son of *Androtimus*, was appointed admiral of the whole fleet. He was by descent a *Cretan*, but settled in *Amphipolis*, which is on the river *Strymon*. And when all these arrangements had been made by *Alexander*, he sacrificed to the gods of his country, and those to whom the oracles had directed him to sacrifice, and to *Poseidon* and *Amphitrite*, and the *Nereids*, and *Oceanus* himself; and to the river *Hydaspes*, from which he was setting forth on his enterprise; and to the *Acesines*, into which the *Hydaspes* pours its waters; and to the *Indus*, which receives the waters of both; and he also gave an entertainment at which prizes for skill in music and gymnastics were contended for, and a distribution was made, to all the divisions of the troops, of the victims sacrificed on the occasion.

XIX. But when every preparation had been made for departing, *Alexander* ordered *Craterus*, with a force consisting of horse and foot, to go to the one side of the *Hydaspes*; while *Hephæstion*, in command of a still larger force, marched in a parallel line on the other side. *Hephæstion* took with him the elephants also, which were two hundred in number. *Alexander* himself took under his immediate command the body of footguards called the *hypaspists* and all the archers, and those called the

companion-cavalry,—a force consisting in all of 8,000 men. Orders had been given to the troops under Craterus and Hephæstion prescribing where, after marching in advance of the fleet, they were to wait its arrival. And Philip, whom he had appointed Satrap of this part of the country, he despatches to the banks of the Acesines, sending with him also a numerous force; for by this time 120,000 fighting men followed his banner, including those whom he had led up from the sea into the interior, and also the recruits who from time to time were sent to his levies when he began to receive all sorts of barbaric tribes, however diversely armed. Then he weighed anchor and sailed down the Hydaspes as far as to its junction with the Acesines. Now the ships numbered altogether 1800, including the long narrow ships of war, the round-shaped roomy merchantmen, and the transports for carrying horses and provisions to feed the army. But how the fleet sailed down the rivers, and what tribes Alexander conquered in the course of the voyage, and how he was in jeopardy among the Malli, and how he was wounded in their dominions, and how Peucestas and Leonnatus protected him with their shields when he fell,—all these incidents have been recorded by me in the separate narrative written in the Attic dialect. My present object is, therefore, but to describe the voyage made by Nearchus, with the expedition which sailed under his command, from the mouths of the Indus through the great ocean as far as the Persian Gulf, or, as others call it, the Erythræan Sea.

XX. Now of this voyage the following account has been given by Nearchus. He states that Alexander had a great desire to have all the coast of the sea which extends from India to Persia circumnavigated, but that he hesitated to take the necessary steps, as he reflected on the length of the voyage, and feared lest the fleet coming, as might happen, to some desolate coast either destitute of harbours or incapable of furnishing adequate supplies, might thus be destroyed, and a great stain attaching itself thereby to his mighty deeds might tarnish all his good fortune; but that his eagerness to be ever doing something new and marvellous prevailed over all his scruples; that he was, however, at a loss what officer to choose as not an incompetent hand to execute his designs, and at a loss, too,

about the men put on board the fleet,—how, on their being despatched on such an enterprise, he could take away their fear that they were recklessly sent into open peril. Here Nearchus tells us that Alexander consulted with him whom he should select to lead the expedition, and that when Alexander had mentioned one officer after another, rejecting them all, some because they did not show readiness to face danger; some because they were of a weak, irresolute temper; some because they were yearning after home,—making this and that objection to each in turn,—he then proffered his own services in these terms:—"I, then, O king! undertake to lead the expedition, and, if God but help me, I will conduct the ships in safety, and the men, all the way to Persia, provided of course that the sea is navigable that way, and the task not beyond human capacity." To this, we are told, Alexander answered, in mere pretence, that he did not wish to expose any one for whom he had an affection to so much hardship and so much danger, but that Nearchus did not on that account withdraw his offer, but pressed its acceptance with the greater urgency; that Alexander was, of course, much pleased with the ready devotion of Nearchus, and appointed him to take the chief command of the expedition; that then, too, the troops destined for the voyage, and the oarsmen, alike were still more cheered in heart, feeling assured that Alexander would not send into palpable danger *such a favourite as Nearchus* unless he was to be restored to him in safety. At the same time the great splendour with which the preparations were conducted, the gallant trim of the ships, and the obvious rivalries between the captains about their oarsmen and their crews, had roused to energy even those who formerly altogether shrunk back, and also inspired them with more salutary hopes of the whole enterprise. And it much helped also, he adds, to give the men good heart, that Alexander himself, taking the ships from both the mouths of the Indus, sailed out into the open main, and slew victims to Poseidon and all the other sea-deities, and presented magnificent gifts to propitiate the sea; and so the men, trusting to the immeasurable good fortune which had attended all the other projects of Alexander, deemed there was nothing he might not dare, nothing but would to him be feasible.

XXI. Now when the south-west monsoon calmed,—which prevails throughout all the hot season, blowing from the sea towards the land, and rendering navigation in these seas impracticable,—it was then that the expedition started on the voyage in the year when Cephisidorus was Archon at Athens, on the 20th day of the month Boëdromion, according to the Athenian mode of reckoning, but as the Macedonians and the Asiatics reckoned * * * in the 11th year of the reign of Alexander. But Nearchus, before putting to sea, sacrifices to Zeus the Saviour, and also, as Alexander had done, celebrates a gymnastic contest. Then clearing out of harbour, they come the first day to moorings in the Indus near a great canal; and there they remain for two days. The place was called Stura, and was distant about 100 stadia from the harbour they had left. Clearing from this on the third day, they sailed on till they came to another canal, 30 stadia further down, in which the water was salt: for the sea, it seems, ran up into it, especially in flood-tides, and its waters at ebb-tides still remained mixed with those of the river. This place was called Canmara. Sailing thence a distance of 20 stadia down the stream, they reach Coreëstis, and anchor, being still in the river. After clearing from this, they did not make much way, for a sunken reef revealed its presence at that part of the mouth of the Indus, and the waves were heard dashing with loud roar upon the beach, which was wild and rugged. They dug, however, a passage five stadia long through the reef where it was found to be soft, and through this steered the ships when the flood-tide came in from the sea. Then by a winding course of 120 stadia they gain Crocala, a sandy island, where they anchor and remain till next day. Near this place dwells an Indian tribe called the Arabii, whom I have mentioned in my larger narrative, stating that they derive their name from the river Arabis, which flows through their country to the sea parting them from the Oritæ. On launching from Crocala they had on their right hand a mountain which the inhabitants called Iros, and on their left a flat island. As this island lay near the mainland shore it helps to form a narrow bay. Having quite cleared this passage they come to moorings in a harbour of great security, which Nearchus, on finding it to be both spacious

and otherwise convenient, designates 'Alexander's Haven.' There is an island at the mouth of the harbour, about two stadia off. Its name is Bibacta, but the entire district is called Sangada. That the place makes a harbour is all due to the island, which shelters it by forming a barrier against the sea. Here strong gales blew from seaward for a long time continuously, and Nearchus, fearing lest some of the barbarians might combine with a view to plunder the camp, fortified his position with a stone wall. Here they had to tarry four-and-twenty days. The soldiers—so Nearchus tells us—fished for mussels and oysters, and what is called the razor-fish, all of these being of extraordinary size as compared with the specimens to be found in our sea. He adds that they were here obliged to drink salt sea-water.

XXII. As soon as the stormy weather was over they again put to sea, and having run fully 60 stadia they drop anchor off a sandy beach, not far from which lay a desert island, and here they anchored in such a position that they were sheltered by this island, the name of which was Domæe. Water was not procurable on the beach, but the men on going into the interior about 20 stadia found very good water. The voyage was resumed next day towards evening, when they sailed 300 stadia and reached Saranga, where they anchor near the beach, and find water some eight stadia inland from it. Making from this they put into Sacali, a desert place, and anchor there. When again under weigh they sailed through between two cliffs which were so near each other that the blades of the oars grazed the rocks on either side, and then they drop anchor in Morontobari, having run 300 stadia. The harbour here was roomy, circular in shape, deep and well sheltered, but the entrance to it was narrow. It was called, in the language of the country, 'Women's Haven,' because a woman had been the first sovereign of the place. But when they were steering between the rocks we have mentioned they encountered heavy waves and a boisterous sea: for indeed it appeared a great feat to have steered their way through between the rocks and got safe beyond them. When they put to sea they sailed on till the next day, having on their left hand an island making a barrier against the sea and lying so close to the shore that the channel between the

shore and the island looked like a canal. The length of this passage was altogether 70 stadia. Thickets of trees grew all along the beach, while the island was well shaded with wood of every description. Towards morning they were clearing the island, having but scanty sea-room, as it was still ebb-tide. After running 120 stadia they drop anchor at the mouth of the river Arabis. At its mouth there was a spacious and very fine haven, but the water was not drinkable, for where the Arabis discharges itself its waters become mixed with brine. They went therefore about 40 stadia higher up, and came upon a tank from which they supplied themselves with water, and then returned. The island near the harbour is high and bare. All round it oysters and fish of every kind are caught. This place marks the border where the dominions of the Arabii, the last people of Indian descent settled in this direction end, and where those of the Oritæ begin.

XXIII. On sailing away from the mouth of the Arabis they coasted along the shores of the Oritæ, and after making a way of 200 stadia drop anchor at Pagali, near a surf-beaten shore, where, however, a place was found affording good anchorage. Here while one part of the crew was told off to remain on board, another part went on shore to fetch water. Next day they unmoored at dawn, and making 400 stadia drew to shore as evening fell, at Cabana, where they anchor off the beach, which was quite barren. Here there was a heavy surf, and the ships were tossed up and down by great surging billows. In the course of this last voyage the fleet had been caught in a heavy gale which blew from seaward, when two ships of war and one of the light craft were totally lost. All the hands on board, however, saved themselves by swimming, as the vessels at the time of the disaster were closely hugging the shore. They cleared from Cabana about midnight, and sailed on till they gained Cocaia, 200 stadia distant from the last port. The ships rode at their moorings off shore, but Nearchus having ordered the crews to disembark allowed them to bivouac on the beach, for as they had suffered much distress at sea they longed for some repose. The camp was fortified for defence against the barbarians. It was in this part of the country that Leonnatus, whom Alexander had appointed to reduce and govern the Oritæ, overcomes

these barbarians, and the neighbouring tribes who helped them, in a great battle, wherein he slew 6,000 of them, and all their leaders. But fifteen of the horsemen who were with Leonnatus, and some of the foot-soldiers, though not very many, were slain. Among the number was Apollopheanes, the Satrap of the Gedrosians. But all this has been recorded in my other history, and also how Leonnatus for this service was crowned by Alexander with a golden crown in presence of the Macedonians. In this place grain was, by Alexander's orders, distributed to victual the fleet, and sufficient stores were put on board to last for ten days. Here also the ships damaged during the voyage were repaired, while all the sailors that Nearchus considered to be too slack at their work he made over to Leonnatus to be led on foot into Persia; but at the same time he made good his complement of hands by taking in exchange efficient men from the troops under Leonnatus.

XXIV.—From this port they bore away with a fresh breeze, and having run 500 stadia drop anchor near a river much swollen with rain. This river was called the Tomerus, and there was an estuary at its mouth. The flats lying near the shore were peopled with men, who lived in close stifling huts. The savages when they saw strangers sailing towards them were filled with astonishment, and spreading along the beach marshalled themselves as if to repel by force any who should attempt to land. They carried thick spears about six cubits in length—which were not tipped with iron heads, but were hardened at the sharp end by being charred, which served the same purpose. The number of the enemy was about 600. Now when Nearchus saw them keeping their ground and arrayed for battle, he ordered the ships to keep riding at anchor within shot of them, so that the arrows discharged from on board might carry to land; for the spears of the barbarians, which were thick, were evidently adapted for close fight, but not at all formidable if used as missiles. Then he gives orders that such of the soldiers as were lightest and most lightly equipped, and expert in swimming, should swim to shore at a preconcerted signal. Orders were given that when any one had swum so far that he could stand in the water, he was to wait for his next neighbour, and not set forward to attack the barbarians, until a phalanx could be

formed of three men deep. That done they were to rush forward shouting the war-cry. Then those who were told off for this service at once threw themselves from the ships into the sea, and swam fast, and stood in order, and forming themselves into a phalanx rushed to the charge with loud shouts; while those on board shouted in concert and attacked the barbarians, with arrows and missiles shot from engines. Then the barbarians, terrified by the bright flashing of the arms and the rapidity of the landing, and hit by the arrows and other missiles, since they were half-naked, fled without making the least attempt at resistance. Some perished in the flight, others were taken prisoners, and some escaped to the mountains. Those captured were thickly covered with hair all over the body as well as the head, while their nails resembled the claws of wild beasts, for they were said to use their nails like iron, and to be able to rip up fish with them, and split the softer kinds of wood. Harder things they cut with sharp stones, for they had no iron. As clothing they wore the skins of wild beasts, and some even the thick skins of large fishes.

XXV. After this action they haul the ships to shore, and repair all the damaged ones. On the sixth day they launched again, and sailing 300 stadia reach a place which lay on the furthest confines of the Oritæ, called Malana. Now the Oritæ who dwell in the interior dress like the Indians, and use similar weapons, though they differ from them in language and customs. The length of the voyage along the coast of the Arabii was 1000 stadia, reckoning from the place from which they had started; and the length of the voyage along the coast of the Oritæ was 1600 stadia. Nearchus informs us that the shadows of those who sail along the Indian coast (for after this Indians are no longer met with) fall differently, for when they happened to sail a great distance southward their shadows were observed to fall to southward also. But when the sun had gained the meridian, nothing was seen to cast any shadow at all. And of those stars which they had seen before high above the horizon, some vanished altogether out of sight, while others—that is those which had always before

been visible—seemed to be near the earth, now setting, and, immediately after, rising again.* And Nearchus here appears to me to be stating what is not unlikely: for at Syene also, which is in Egypt, a well is shown where at the time of the summer solstice no shadow is cast at noon; and in Meroë, too, objects are shadowless at that season of the year. It is therefore likely that similar phenomena occur also among the Indians, as they live to the south, and this would be more especially the case in the Indian Sea the further south it goes. This may be taken as the real truth of the matter.

XXVI. Next to the Oritæ in the interior live the Gedrosians, through whose country Alexander had the greatest difficulty in leading his army, and where his sufferings surpassed all he had experienced in all the rest of his expedition. But all the details concerning this I have set down in my larger work. Below the Gedrosians and along the sea-coast lives a people called the Ichthyophagi. Along their coasts they were now steering. On the first day, about the second watch, they set sail, and put into Bagisara. The distance run was 600 stadia. In the place they found a harbour with good anchorage, and a small town called Pasira, distant 60 stadia from the sea, the people living thereabout being called Pasirians. But unmooring early next morning they double a headland which projected far out into the sea, and was high and precipitous. Here having dug wells and found but a scanty supply of water which was bad, they rode at anchor that day, because there was a high surf along the shore. They leave the place next day and sailed till they reached Colta, having run 200 stadia. Weighing thence at morning-tide they made Calybi, after sailing 600 stadia, and there cast anchor. There was a village near the beach, around which grew a few palm-trees, the dates on which were still green. There was an island about 100 stadia off the shore, called Carnine. The villagers, by way of showing their hospitality, bring presents of sheep and fish to Nearchus, who says that the mutton had a fishy taste, like the flesh of sea-birds: for the sheep fed on fish, there being no grass in the place. Next

* As Nearchus could not possibly have witnessed this phenomenon, and yet is a writer of unquestionable veracity, the passage is a puzzling one, and various explanations of it have been offered. One is to the effect that Arrian may

have had before him a text of the work by Nearchus interpolated or otherwise corrupted by the Alexandrian geographers, who, following Eratosthenes, believed that India lay between the tropics.

day, having sailed 200 stadia, they cast anchor near the shore, where there was a village 30 stadia off, named Cissa. The coast was, however, called Carbis. There they find little boats such as might belong to fishermen of scanty means, but the men they did not see, for they had taken to flight on seeing the ships anchoring. There was no grain in the place, and the stock of provisions for the expedition had run short. So they put some goats on board and sailed away. After doubling a steep promontory which projected about 150 stadia into the sea, they drew to land and cast anchor in a well-sheltered haven. They found water in the place, which was inhabited by fishermen. The harbour was called Mosarna.

XXVII. From this place they took on board, Nearchus tells us, as pilot of the fleet, a Gedrosian called Hydraces, who undertook to conduct them as far as Carmania. Thenceforth until they reached the Persian Gulf their course was not difficult, and lay in parts more spoken of. Departing at night from Mosarna they sail 750 stadia, and reach the coast of Balomon. They touched next at Barna, a village which lay at a distance of 400 stadia. Many palm-trees were found there, and a garden wherein grew myrtles and other flowers, from which wreaths were woven by the villagers. Here for the first time they saw trees under cultivation, and the people somewhat better than mere savages. Leaving this they reach Dendrobasa, by a circuitous course of 200 stadia, and anchor out at sea. They sailed again about midnight, and running about 400 stadia made the haven of Cophasa. The inhabitants were fishermen, and the boats they used were small, sorry things. They did not row in the Greek style with oars fixed to the side by means of thole-pins, but, as in a river, with paddles which they thrust into the water, now on this side and then on that, like men digging the ground. There was much water in the haven, and it was quite pure. But about the first watch they bore away from the place, and having run a course of 800 stadia put into Cyiza, where the strand was bare and rugged. They did not, therefore, land, but dined on board ship. They set forth again, and having sailed 500 stadia came to a little town built on a rising ground not far from the beach. And Nearchus having observed that the land bore signs of cultivation,

he turns to Archias (the son of Anaxidotus of Pella, who was accompanying Nearchus on the voyage, being a Macedonian of high rank) and says to him that the place must be captured, for the inhabitants, he thought, would not of their own free-will supply the fleet with provisions, while it would not be possible to take what they required by open force, but a siege would be necessary, which would cause delay, and they were already short of provisions. He added that the land must undoubtedly produce corn, as they could see a luxuriant crop growing not far from the beach. When this proposal was agreed to, he orders all the ships except one to be made ready as if for sailing, and Archias made all the arrangements for this; but he himself being left behind with a single ship went to take, as he pretended, just a look at the town.

XXVIII. But when he approached the walls the inhabitants hospitably brought out to him a present of tunny-fish broiled in pans: for though they were the last of the Ichthyophagi, yet they were the first of them they had met who did not eat fish raw; and they brought also little cakes and dates. He told them that he accepted their gifts with much pleasure, but wished to have a look at their town, and they accordingly gave him leave to enter. But when he was within the gates he ordered two of his archers to seize the postern by which they had entered, while he himself, with two others and an interpreter, mounting to the top of the wall, made thence a signal to Archias and his men, for it had been arranged that the one party should make a signal, and the other, on seeing it, execute the given orders. Now the Macedonians, when they saw the signal, at once ran their ships ashore and quickly jumped into the sea; while the barbarians, alarmed at these movements, ran to arms. The interpreter thereupon who was with Nearchus ordered them to give provisions to the army if they wished to save their town. But they said they had none, and at the same time attacked the wall. But the archers who attended on Nearchus kept them in check by shooting down arrows upon them from above. When they came to know, however, that their town was already occupied, and could in a short time be pillaged, they then entreated Nearchus to take the corn they had, and go off without destroying the town. But Nearchus orders Archias to take

possession of the gates and the adjacent parts of the wall, while he himself despatches men to look after the grain, and see whether the people would show it without any attempt at evasion. And they showed a great quantity of flour made by grinding roasted fish, and also a little wheat and barley, for they dieted upon fish, to which they added wheaten loaves by way of a relish. But when they showed their stores the soldiers supplied themselves therefrom. They then returned to the ships, put out to sea, and cast anchor near a promontory which the people of the place considered sacred to the Sun, and the name of which was Bagia.

XXIX. They set sail from this place about midnight, and after a voyage of 1000 stadia put into Talmena, where they found a harbour with good anchorage. They sailed thence to Canasis, a deserted town 400 stadia off, where they discover an artificial well, and where palms were growing wild. These they cut down, and used the pith as food, since provisions were short in the fleet; and being now sore pinched with hunger they sailed all day and all night, and then drop anchor off a desolate coast. But Nearchus, fearing lest the men, if they landed, would in despair desert the fleet, ordered the ships to be moored at a distance from shore. From this they sailed away and reached Canate, when they anchor, after making 850 stadia. This place has a spacious beach and some small canals. They sailed again, and having made 800 stadia reach Troës, where they anchor. They found in the place some miserable little villages. The inhabitants deserted their huts, and the soldiers found a little food and dates of the palm-tree. Seven camels had been left behind, which they killed for food. Launching again about the dawn of day, they made 300 stadia, and come to anchor at Dagasira. The people thereabouts were nomads. Putting again to sea, they sailed all night and all day without taking any rest. Having thus accomplished a voyage of 1100 stadia, they left behind them the shores of the Ichthyophagi, where they suffered greatly from the want of necessary food. They did not anchor on the beach, on account of the heavy surf, but rode at anchor out in deep water. The length of the voyage along the coast of the Ichthyophagi was not much short of 10,000 stadia. These Ichthyophagi subsist on what their name is derived from,—fish.

Yet only a few of them fish out in the deep, for boats to do it with are scarce, and the art of fishing is unknown. Generally speaking, they are indebted for their fish to the ebb-tide. To take advantage of it, they make for themselves nets which are mostly two stadia in length. These they weave from the bark of the palm-tree, twisting the fibres like flax. Now when the sea retires from the land, the parts left dry are generally found to be without fish, while the hollows, which of course retain some water, swarm with them. The fish are generally small, though some are of considerable size: these they catch with their nets. The more delicate kinds they eat raw as soon as they are taken out of the water, but the large and coarser kinds they dry in the sun, and when sufficiently dried grind into a sort of flour, from which they make bread. They bake also cakes from this flour. The cattle, as well as the men, eat the dry fish, for there are no meadows in the country, nor grass at all. But in many parts they fish also for crabs and oysters and mussels. Natural salt is found in the land * * * from these they make oil. Some of the tribes inhabit desolate tracts which are so utterly sterile that they bear neither trees nor even wild fruits. These poor wretches have nothing but fish to live on. A few of them, however, sow some part of their land, and use the produce to eat for zest along with their fish, which forms the staple of their diet. The better classes build houses of whale-bone, which they collect from the carcasses of whales cast ashore, and use instead of wood. The doors are formed of the broadest bones they can find. The poorer members, who form the great majority of the population, construct their houses with the backbones of fish.

XXX. Whales of vast size frequent the outer ocean, and other fish larger than those kinds which are found in the Mediterranean Sea. Nearchus gives this relation: when they were bearing away from Cyiza, the water of the sea was seen one morning about dawn blown up into the air as if forced up by a violent gust of wind; being greatly alarmed, they asked the pilots the nature and cause of this phenomenon, when it was explained that the whales in swimming through the sea spout up the water into the air; on hearing this the rowers, through terror, let the oars drop from their hands, but he himself coming up to the men

allayed their fears and reanimated their courage, and then gave orders that the prows of such ships as were sailing near him should be turned towards the point of danger, as in a sea-fight, while the rowers should at the same time raise the battle-cry, and swell the sound by pulling quick strokes as noisily as possible. The men, thus emboldened, sailed as they were directed, when the signal agreed on was given, and when they were now nearing the monstrous creatures they shouted as loud as they could bawl, and blew the trumpets, and made all the noise they could with the oars in rowing; the whales, accordingly, which were seen near the prows of the ships, being terror-struck, dived down into the abyss, and then soon after rose again to the surface, emerging behind the fleet, all the while spouting up the waters most lustily. There was great exultation among the men at their unexpected deliverance, and Nearchus was praised for his boldness and presence of mind. He adds that whales are sometimes stranded on many parts of the coast where the ebb-tide leaves them in shallow water, preventing their escape; but that some are also forcibly cast out on land by violent storms, and so perish and rot away, till their flesh gradually drops off, and leaves the bones bare, which are applied to building purposes. Their larger ribs make suitable bearing-beams for houses, while the smaller ones serve for rafters; and as for the jaw-bones, doors are made of them, as they are often found so big as to measure five-and-twenty cubits.

XXXI. When they were sailing along the coast of the *Ichthyophagi* they hear a report about an island which is distant from the mainland about 100 stadia and uninhabited. The people in the parts about said that it was sacred to the Sun and called *Nosala*, but that no one was willing to go to the island and land on it, and that whoever was unawares carried to it was never more seen. But Nearchus mentions that one small boat belonging to his fleet, manned with an Egyptian crew, disappeared not far from this island, and that the commanding officers thereupon declared that they had disappeared, because they had landed on the island in ignorance of the danger of so doing. Nearchus, however, despatches a galley of thirty oars to sail round the island, ordering the men not to land upon the island, but to sail as close by the

shore as they could, and to call out to the men, shouting aloud the name of the steersman or any one else they chanced to remember. Nearchus then tells us that, as no one answered to their call, he sailed to the island and compelled the sailors, much against their will, to land, and that he landed himself, and proved that the story about the island was an empty myth. He states also that he heard another story about the island.—It had been at one time the abode of one of the Nereids, whose name, he says, he could not learn. It was her wont to have intercourse with any man who approached the island, when she changed him from a man to a fish and then cast him into the sea. The Sun, however, being displeased with the Nereid, ordered her to remove from the island, and she agreed to do so, but begged to be cured of her malady, and the Sun granted her request. Thereupon she took pity on the men whom she had changed to fish, and changed them again from fish into men, and from these men the race of the *Ichthyophagi* descended in unbroken succession down to the time of Alexander. Now Nearchus, to my thinking deserves no credit for expending so much time and talent in proving the falsehood of these stories, which is no hard thing to do, aware as I am what a sorry task it is to select old-world stories for the purpose of refuting them.

XXXII. Beyond the *Ichthyophagi*, in the interior, the *Gedrosians* inhabit a region which is a baleful desert of sand. Here the army of Alexander, and Alexander himself, suffered many hardships, as has been already related in my other narrative. But when the expedition reached the first port in *Carmania*, after leaving the *Ichthyophagi*, they rode at anchor out at sea, when they moored for the first time in *Carmania*; because a violent surf spread along the shore and far out to sea. Thereafter they no longer sailed as before, towards the setting sun, but the prows were pointed rather to the north-west. *Carmania* is better wooded and produces better fruit than the country of the *Ichthyophagi* and the *Oritæ*, and is more grassy and better supplied with water. They anchor next at *Bados*, a place in *Carmania*, with inhabitants, where grew many sorts of cultivated trees, though not the olive, and where also the vine thrived well and corn was

produced. Sailing thence they ran a course of 800 stadia, and anchor off a barren coast, whence they descry a headland projecting far out into the sea. The extreme point of this seemed to be about a day's sail off. Those who knew these parts said that this cape belonged to Arabia and was called *Maceta*, whence cinnamon and similar products are exported to the Assyrians. And from this coast where the fleet was now riding at anchor, and from the headland which they saw right opposite projecting into the sea, the Gulf (in my opinion, which is also that of Nearchus) extends up into the interior, and is probably the *Erythræan Sea*. Now when they saw this headland, Onesicritus, the chief pilot, advised that they should direct their course towards it, so that they might not be exposed to hardships in making their way along the Gulf; but Nearchus replied that Onesicritus had but little sense if he did not know for what object Alexander had despatched the expedition: for he had not sent it because it would be impossible for him to preserve the army if the whole of it marched by land, but because he wished them to examine the shores which the ships would visit in the course of the voyage, and the harbours also, and the islets, and to sail round the coast of any bay that might be discovered, and to ascertain how many seaport towns there were, and whether any parts were fertile, or any desert. They ought not, therefore, to lose sight of this object, considering that they were now near the end of their toils, and especially that they were no longer ill provided for the voyage. He feared, moreover, since the headland stretched towards the south, lest they should find the country there a mere desert, without water, and scorched with a blazing sun. This argument prevailed, and it appears to me that by this counsel Nearchus saved the expedition, for by all accounts that headland and the regions adjacent are desert and without water.

XXXIII. So then they quitted that shore and kept sailing close to land, and after they had made about 700 stadia they came to anchor on another shore called *Neoptana*, and towards morning they put again to sea, and after sailing 100 stadia anchor at the mouth of the river *Anamis*. The surrounding country was called *Harmozia*. It was a charming place, and bore every product except only

the olive. Here they disembarked and gladly reposed from their manifold toils, bethinking them of what they had suffered at sea, and on the coasts of the *Ichthyophagi*, and recalling the utter sterility of the region, and how savage the inhabitants were, and the straits to which they had themselves been reduced. And some of them, leaving the shore, advanced into the interior, straggling from the main body, in search one of this thing and another of that, when lo! a stranger appeared in view wearing a Grecian mantle and dressed in other respects as a Greek, and who spoke the Greek tongue. Those who met him declared that on first seeing him they actually wept, so strange did it appear to them, after so many sufferings, to see once more a man from Greece, and to hear the speech of Greece. Thy asked him whence he came, and who he was. He replied that he had straggled from the army of Alexander, and that the army and Alexander himself were not far off. This man they lead with shouts of exultation to the presence of Nearchus, to whom he told everything, and reported that the army and the king were a five days' march distant from the sea. He stated also that he would introduce the governor of the district to Nearchus, and he introduces him accordingly. And Nearchus consults with him how he can go up to meet the king. Then, before setting out, he returned to the fleet, and next morning ordered the ships to be hauled up on the beach, partly that such as were damaged might be repaired, and partly as he thought of leaving here the greater part of his squadron. He therefore fortified the roadstead with a double palisade, and also with a rampart of earth, and a deep trench extending from the banks of the river to that part of the beach where the ships had been hauled up.

XXXIV. But while Nearchus was making all these arrangements, the governor having learned that Alexander was very anxious about the fate of this expedition, made no doubt that he would receive some great boon from Alexander should he be the first to bring him the news that the fleet was safe, and that Nearchus would soon appear in person before him. Accordingly he rode off by the shortest route, and announces to Alexander that Nearchus is on his way from the ships. Then Alexander, though he doubted the report, naturally enough rejoiced to hear such tidings; but as day after day passed

by *without bringing Nearchus*, and Alexander, on comparing the time since the news was brought, no longer thought the tidings credible, while those that were sent out one after another to the rescue of Nearchus, after going a short distance and finding nothing, had returned without news, and those who had gone further and had missed Nearchus and his companions had not yet returned, then Alexander, forsooth, orders the man to be put under arrest, on the ground that he had brought baseless intelligence, and raised joyful hopes only to disappoint them. But Alexander, as his looks evidently showed, was struck to the heart with great sorrow. In the mean time, however, some of those who had been despatched in search of Nearchus, taking with them horses and wagons for the conveyance of himself and his escort, fall in on the way with him and Archias and five or six others, for he had taken so many to accompany him. And when they met the band they recognized neither Nearchus himself nor Archias, so much changed did they appear: for their hair had grown long, they were filthy, and all over encrusted with brine, shrivelled in body and sallow in complexion from want of sleep and other severe hardships. But when they asked where Alexander was, they replied, giving the name of the place. But Archias, perceiving who they were, says to Nearchus, "I fancy, Nearchus, these men are riding through the desert by the same road as ourselves, for no other reason than that they have been sent in search of us. True, they did not know us, but that does not at all surprise me, for we are such miserable-looking objects that we are past all recognition. Let us tell them who we are, and ask them why they are travelling this way." Nearchus thought there was reason in what he said. So they asked the men whither they were bound. They replied that they were searching for Nearchus and the fleet. Then he said, "Here is your man: I am Nearchus, and this is Archias. But do you be our guides, and we will give Alexander all the news about the expedition."

XXXV. So, having mounted the party on the wagons, they ride back *the way they came*, and some of them, wishing to be beforehand in carrying the tidings, run on before and tell Alexander that the man they sought for—Nearchus—and with him Archias and five others,

are being brought on to him; but about the expedition generally they had no information to give. Alexander, concluding from this that while those who were coming had been in some extraordinary way saved, all the rest of the expedition had perished, did not so much feel joy at the safety of Nearchus as he was afflicted to think of the total loss of the expedition. Before all the inquiries had yet been made, both Nearchus and Archias were seen approaching. But Alexander had great difficulty in recognizing them, and as he saw them long-haired and dressed in miserable rags his grief was the more vehement for his lost fleet. At length, grasping Nearchus by the hand and leading him apart both from his attendants and his guards, he gave way to a long fit of weeping. At last after a long time, having recovered himself, he said, "Ah, well! since you have returned to me safe, and Archias here along with you, that should be to me some consolation after the loss of all; but tell me now in what manner the ships and the troops on board perished."—"O king!" he replied, "the ships are safe, and the troops also, and we have come in person to report their safety." Alexander now wept all the more as the safety of the squadron was un hoped for, and then inquired where the ships were detained. "They are hauled up," he replied, "for repairs, on the beach of the river *Anamis*." Then Alexander swears by Zeus of the Greeks and Ammon of the Libyans that in all sincerity he rejoices more at these tidings than in being the master of all Asia, since his grief for the loss of the expedition (*had it happened*) would have counterbalanced all his other good fortune.

XXXVI. But the governor, whom Alexander had arrested for bringing idle news, seeing Nearchus present, falls down at his knees and says, "I am the man who announced to Alexander that you had arrived safe. You see how I am situated." Nearchus thereupon entreated Alexander to let the man go, and he is let go accordingly. Then Alexander presents thank-offerings for the safety of the expedition to Zeus the saviour, and Heracles, and Apollo the averter of evil, and Poseidon, and all the other sea-deities, and he celebrated a contest in gymnastics and music, and conducted a solemn procession. A foremost place in the procession was assigned to Nearchus, who was

pelted by the army with fillets and flowers. When the king had brought all these demonstrations to an end, he says to Nearchus, "I wish you not, Nearchus, to incur again any risk of your life, or to be exposed to hardships, and some other officer will conduct the expedition from this to Susa." But Nearchus answered and said, "I wish, O king! in all things to obey you, and it is only my duty; but if you wish to do me any favour, pray do not so, but permit me to lead the expedition all throughout, until I bring your ships safe to Susa. Let it not be that while the difficult and dangerous part of the enterprise has been entrusted to me, the easy part which fame is now ready to crown, is taken from me and given into the hands of another." Alexander stops him while he is still speaking, and acknowledged the debt of gratitude which he owed him. And so he sends him down to the coast, giving him but a small escort, as one whose road would be through a friendly country. But neither was his march to the sea made without toil and trouble, *any more than the former march*: for the barbarians, having mustered from all the parts around, possessed themselves of all the strongholds in Carmania, which they did because their satrap had been put to death by Alexander's orders, and Tlepolemus, who had but recently succeeded, had not yet secured his authority. And so they had to fight twice or thrice the same day, with successive bands of barbarians who came suddenly in view. And thus, without any respite from fighting, with pain and difficulty, they reached the coast in safety. Nearchus there and then offers a sacrifice to Zeus the saviour, and celebrates a gymnastic contest.

XXXVII. But when the religious ceremonies had been duly performed they put out again to sea, and after coasting along a desolate and rocky island anchor on the shores of another island, a large one with inhabitants, and distant 300 stadia from the last port. The desert island was called Organa, and the island where they anchored Oaracta: it produced vines and palm-trees and corn. The length of the island is 800 stadia, and the chief of the island, Mazenes, sailed along with them to Susa, having volunteered to be pilot of the fleet. In this island they professed to point out the tomb of the very first sovereign of the country, and said that his name was

Erythres, from whom the sea receiving its name was called the Erythrean. Weighing thence they sailed along the shores of the same island and anchor on it again, and descried another island distant from this large one about 40 stadia. It was said to be sacred to Poseidon and inaccessible. Next morning they were putting out to sea, when the ebb-tide caught them with such violence that three of the ships were stranded on the beach, while the rest of the fleet escaped with difficulty from the surf into deep water. But the stranded vessels were floated off at the return of the tide, and on the second day put into the port where all the other ships had anchored. This was in another island, distant from the mainland somewhere about 300 stadia, which they had reached after sailing 400 stadia. They departed thence towards morning, passing a desert island which lay on their left. It was called Pylora, and they drop anchor off Sisidone, which was a mere hamlet, and could supply nothing but water and fish. The people subsisted on fish, for the barrenness of the soil left them no choice of diet. After taking water on board they bore away, and after running 300 stadia anchor at Tarsia, which is a projecting headland. They touch next at Catæa, an island both bare and flat. It was said to be sacred to Hermes and Aphrodite. The distance run was 300 stadia. To this island every year sheep and goats are sent by the neighbouring tribes as sacred offerings to Hermes and Aphrodite, and these were to be seen running about in a wild state,—the effect of time and the barrenness of the land.

XXXVIII. Up to this point they were in Carmania, and the realms beyond belonged to the Persians. The length of the voyage along the Carmanian coast was 3700 stadia. The people live after the manner of the Persians, who are their next neighbours, and their military system is quite similar. Weighing anchor they bore away from this sacred island, and now sailed along the coast of Persis, and first drew to land at a place called Ila, where there is a harbour in a small and desolate island known by the name of Cæcander. The distance run was 400 stadia. Towards morning they reached another island, which proved to be inhabited, and there dropped anchor. Here, as Nearchus tell us, pearls are fished for, just as in the Indian Sea. Having sailed along the ex-

tre part of this island for a distance of about 40 stadia, they anchored upon it. The next place where they cast anchor was near a lofty mountain (called Ochus), in a secure haven. The inhabitants of the place were fishermen. And sailing thence, after running 450 stadia they anchor at Apostana. Many boats were riding there at anchor, and there was a village at a distance of 60 stadia from the sea. Having left this place during the night, they sail into a bay where the shores were studded with numerous villages. The distance they had run was 400 stadia. They moored at the base of a hill where palm-trees grew, and all kinds of fruit-trees which are found in Greece. Launching thence they sail along the coast somewhere about 600 stadia and reach Gogana, an inhabited part, where they anchor at the mouth of a mountain-stream swollen with rain, called Areon. Anchoring there proved a matter of some difficulty, for the passage by which the mouth of the river is entered is a narrow one, the tide at ebb leaving shallows in every direction. They left this and anchor next at the mouth of another river, after a long run of 800 stadia. The name of the river was Sitacus. Here also they found it difficult to anchor. Indeed, the whole of this voyage along the coast of Persis was amid shoals and shallows and breakers. There they take on board a large stock of provisions, which had been sent thither by order of the king to victual the fleet. They remained in this place one-and-twenty days in all, and having hauled up on shore such of the ships as had been damaged, they repaired them, and the others they put into proper trim.

XXXIX. Sailing thence they came to Hieratis, a place containing inhabitants. The distance they had made was 750 stadia. They anchored in a canal filled with water, which was drawn from a river and flowed into the sea, and which was called Heratemis. But at sunrise they sail away and come at length to a mountain-stream called Padagron. Here the entire district formed a peninsula. In this there were many gardens wherein grew all manner of fruit-trees. The name of the place was Mesambria. But launching from Mesambria and making about 200 stadia, they come to anchor at Taöce, on the river Granis. Inland from this place lay the royal city of the

Persians, situated at a distance of 200 stadia from the mouth of the river. Nearchus relates that on the way a whale had been seen cast up on the strand. Some of the sailors rowing up to it took its measure, and reported that it was fifty cubits long, that its skin was armed with scales about the thickness of a cubit, and that great quantities of shells and sea-weeds were clinging to it. He states also that dolphins were to be seen in great numbers swimming around the whale, which were larger than the dolphins of the Mediterranean Sea. After leaving this they put into the Rogonis, a mountain-stream swollen by rain, where they anchor in an excellent haven. The distance they had sailed was 200 stadia. Having sailed thence and run 400 stadia, they bivouac on the banks of another torrent, which bore the name of Brizana. Here they found difficulty in anchoring, because there were shoals and breakers and sunken rocks which showed their ridges above the surf. They succeeded, however, in anchoring when the tide was full, though the ships were left high and dry when it ebbed again. But with next high-water they sailed out and anchored in the stream. The name of this river was the Oroatis, the greatest of all the rivers, as Nearchus tells us, which he found in the course of this voyage falling into the outer ocean.

XL. Up to this point the inhabitants were Persians; beyond it Susians. Beyond the Susians, dwells an independent tribe called the Uxii, whom I have described in my other narrative as freebooters. The length of the voyage along the shores of Persis was 4400 stadia. According to general report, Persis has three different climates, for that part of it which is formed by the peopled district lying along the Erythrean Sea is sandy and barren on account of the heat; while the part beyond this enjoys a delightful temperature, as the mountains there stretch towards the pole and the north wind, and the region is clothed with verdure and has well-watered meadows, and bears the vine, which is widely cultivated, and all fruits except the olive, while it blooms with all manner of pleasure-gardens and parks, and is traversed by clear streams and studded with lakes, and lake and stream alike are the haunts of aquatic birds in endless variety; and it is also a good country for horses, and affords

pasturage to these and other beasts of burden, while it is also everywhere well-wooded, and abounds with wild animals. The part, however, which lies still further to the north is said to be bleak and cold and covered with snow, so that, as Nearchus tells us, certain ambassadors from the Euxine Sea having gone a very little way met Alexander going on to Persis, who was surprised at seeing them, when they explained to him how short the road was. I have already stated that the next neighbours to the Susians are the Uxians; just as the Mardians, who are a set of robbers, are neighbours to the Persians, and the Cossæans to the Medes. And all these tribes Alexander subdued, falling upon them in the winter-time, when they considered their dominions were inaccessible; and he founded cities with a view to wean them from roving habits and attract them to the plough and agricultural life, and put rulers over them to deter them from inflicting injuries on each other. The fleet sailed away from the Oroatis, and so left behind the dominions of the Susians. The rest of the voyage Nearchus says he cannot describe with such minuteness as before, for he has nothing to record but the names of the havens at which they touched, and the length of the voyage from one of them to another: for the land along the coast was covered with shoal-water and the surf extended far out to sea, rendering it a dangerous matter to seek the shore for anchorage, so that the rest of the voyage lay mainly in the open sea. They sailed away, he also tells us, from the mouth of a certain river where they had landed, and bivouacked on the borders of Persis, taking there on board a supply of water to last for five days, as the pilots informed them that no water would be found on the way.

XLI. After having sailed on for 500 stadia, they drop anchor at the mouth of an estuary which abounded with fish, the name of which was *Cataderbis*, having an islet lying at its mouth called *Margastana*. They sailed from this at dawn of day, with the ships in single file through shallow water. The existence of the shoal was indicated by stakes fastened on this side and on that, in the same way as sign-posts are exhibited in the isthmus between the island of *Leucadia* and *Acarnania*, to

warn seafarers against running their ships aground on the shoals. But the shoals of *Leucadia* are sandy, and on that account stranded vessels can be readily floated again. In the present case, however, there was mud both deep and tenacious on both sides of the passage, so that if vessels were once stranded they were hopelessly lost: for it was of no avail to thrust poles into the mud to move them away, nor could the men jump out and push them into navigable water, for they would themselves sink in the mud up to the very waist. Having thus with great difficulty made their way for 600 stadia, they came to anchor, each crew remaining in its own ship, and then thought of dining. But during the night and all the next day, even till eventide, they were sailing in deep water, and completed a course of 900 stadia, anchoring at the mouth of the *Euphrates* near a village in *Babylonia*, called *Diridotis*, which was the emporium of the sea-borne trade in frankincense and all the other fragrant products of Arabia. The distance from the mouth of the *Euphrates* up to *Babylon*, as Nearchus gives it, is 3300 stadia.

XLII. Here word is brought that Alexander was marching towards *Susa*; so they sailed back from this place to join him by sailing up the *Pasitigris*; and they sailed back, with *Susis* on their left hand, along the shores of the lake into which the river *Tigris* empties itself, which, flowing from *Armenia* and passing the city of *Nineveh*—so great and flourishing in the olden times—encloses a region between itself and the *Euphrates*, which is on that account called *Mesopotamia*. The distance from where they entered the lake to where they entered the river was 600 stadia. This was at a point where a village belonging to *Susis* is situated called *Aginis*, the same being 500 stadia distant from *Susa*. The length of the voyage along *Susis* to the mouth of the *Pasitigris* is 2000 stadia. They sailed thence up the *Pasitigris* through a well-peopled and fertile country, and having proceeded 150 stadia drop anchor, and there wait the return of messengers whom Nearchus had despatched to find out where the king was. Nearchus then sacrificed to the gods who had preserved their lives, and celebrated games, and great was the rejoicing of all who

belonged to the expedition. When word was brought back that Alexander was approaching, they sailed again up the river, and anchor in the neighbourhood of the bridge by which Alexander intended to lead his army to Susa. In that same place the troops were reunited, when sacrifices were offered by Alexander for the safety of his ships and his men, and games were celebrated. Nearchus, whenever he was seen among the troops, was pelted with flowers and fillets. There also both Nearchus and Leonnatus were crowned by Alexander with golden crowns,—Nearchus on account of the safety of the expedition by sea, and Leonnatus for the victory which he had gained over the Oritæ and the neighbouring barbarians. It was thus that the expedition which had started from the mouths of the Indus was brought in safety to Alexander.

XLIII. Now the parts which lie to the right of the Erythræan Sea beyond the realms of Babylonia belong principally to Arabia, which extends in one direction as far as the sea that washes the shores of Phœnicia and Syrian Palestine, while towards sunset it borders on the Egyptians in the direction of the Mediterranean Sea. But Egypt is penetrated by a gulf which extends up from the great ocean, and as this ocean is connected with the Erythræan Sea, this fact proves that a voyage could be made all the way from Babylon to Egypt by means of this gulf. But, owing to the heat and utter sterility of the coast, no one has ever made this voyage, except, it may be, some casual seafarers. For the troops belonging to the army of Cambyses which escaped from Egypt and reached Susa in safety, and the troops sent by Ptolemy the son of Lagus to Seleucus Nicator to Babylon, traversed the Arabian isthmus in eight days altogether. It was a waterless and sterile region, and they had to cross it mounted on camels going at full speed, while they carried water with them on camels, travelling only by night, for by day the heat was so fierce that they could not expose themselves in the open air. So far are the parts lying beyond

this region, which we have spoken of as an isthmus extending from the Arabian Gulf to the Erythræan Sea, from being inhabited, that even the parts which run up further to the north are a desert of sand. Moreover, men setting forth from the Arabian Gulf in Egypt, after having sailed round the greater part of Arabia to reach the sea which washes the shores of Persis and Susa, have returned, after sailing as far along the coast of Arabia as the water they had shipped lasted them, and no further. But those adventurers whom Alexander sent from Babylon with instructions to sail as far as they could along the right-hand coast of the Erythræan Sea, with a view to explore the regions lying in that direction, discovered some islands lying in their route, and touched also at certain points of the mainland of Arabia. But as for that cape which Nearchus states was seen by the expedition projecting into the sea right opposite to Carmania, there is no one who has been able to double it and gain the other side. But if the place could possibly be passed, either by a sea-route or a land-route, it seems to me that Alexander, being so inquisitive and enterprising, would have proved that it could be passed in both these ways. But again Hanno the Libyan, having set out from Carthage, sailed out into the ocean beyond the Pillars of Hercules, having Libya on his left hand, and the time until his course was shaped towards the rising sun was five-and-thirty days; but when he steered southward he encountered many difficulties from the want of water, from the scorching heat, and from streams of fire that fell into the sea. Cyrene, no doubt, which is situated in a somewhat barren part of Libya, is verdant, possessed of a genial climate, and well watered, has groves and meadows, and yields abundantly all kinds of useful animals and vegetable products. But this is only the case up to the limits of the area within which the fennel-plant can grow, while beyond this area the interior of Cyrene is but a desert of sand.

So ends my narrative relating to Alexander the son of Philip the Macedonian.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM KĀVĪ.

BY G. BÜHLER.

Some months* ago Rāosāheb Gopālji G. Desai, Deputy Educational Inspector, Bharuch, sent me impressions of two copper-plates, of which he had obtained the temporary loan, when visiting on his official tour the ancient town of Kāvī, situated not far from the Gulf of Cambay, a few miles to the south of the river Mahī. He informed me that, besides the two specimens sent, there were several other grants in the possession of the Kapila Brahmans of that town. I soon ascertained that one of the impressions had been taken from the second half of a grant issued by king Jayabhata of the Gurjara dynasty, the father of Śrīmat Dada or Dadda, whose grants have been deciphered by Professors Dowson and Bhāṇḍārkar; while the second showed the well-known genealogy of the Chālukya kings of Aṇahillapāṭhaka or Aṇhīlvaḍ-Pāṭhan. As shortly afterwards I was obliged to visit Āmod and Jambūsar in the course of my official tour, I used this opportunity for spending a day at Kāvī, and for looking personally after the plates and the antiquities of the place. After a considerable amount of palavering, and a certain show of resistance, which are *de rigueur* in dealings between inquisitive antiquarians and Orientals, the Bhaṭṭas of the Kapila Brahmans allowed themselves to be persuaded by Rāosāheb Gopālji and myself to hand over five copper-plates, viz. :

1. The second half of a grant of Jayabhata of Bharuch,
- 2, 3, and 4. Three plates (the second of which is inscribed on both sides) with a grant of a Rāshtrakūṭa king, called Govindarāja,
5. A grant of one of the Chālukya kings of Aṇhīlvaḍ-Pāṭhan, probably of Abhayapāla.

The history of these plates is stated to be as follows:—Five or six hundred years ago a small *ṭānk*, or receptacle for water, attached to the outside of a house behind a temple of Gaṅgeśvara Mahādeva at Kāvī was cleaned, and, among the rubbish at the bottom, seven inscribed copper-plates were found. These were taken pos-

session of by the caste of the Kapilas. During the times of the Musalman rule, in the reign of Mahmud Bigarhā, the Kapilas were sorely oppressed. A portion of the community fled to Gangāsaḡara in Bengal, and took away two of the plates. The others remained in Kāvī. A few years ago, when a late Munsiff of Jambūsar and Rāosāheb Mohanlāl Raṇchoḍās, Deputy Educational Inspector of Surat, visited the town, some of them were lent to the former gentleman, and were forwarded for inspection to Mr. Justice Newton.†

The plates are now held in great reverence. Their possessors refuse to sell them at any price. But it would seem that formerly they were not esteemed so highly. For No. 2 has lost a large circular piece out of the centre, which, the owners say, was cut out in order to mend a copper pot that had lost its bottom. The Kapilas suppose that all the plates were issued by a king called Mūnjor or Mūnja, who, according to their tradition, was cured of leprosy by bathing in the water of the Pātāla Gangā, raised by their *heros eponymos* Kapila, and that they contain something in their favour. In confirmation of their statement they appeal to their *Māhātmya*, which celebrates the glories of the Kapila Kshetra, the coast between the Narmadā and the Mahīsaḡara. The latter work, of which I got the loan for a few hours, confirms, however, a portion of their story only. It describes the foundation of the Kapila caste by the Rishi, who is said to have assembled two thousand learned followers of each of the four Vedas, and to have thus established a new caste. It also contains the story of the raising of the water of the Pātāla Gangā, which is said to have been brought to the Rishi in a small cup by the king of the Nāgas, and afterwards to have increased through the power of Kapila's *tapas*. It finally mentions that by its means a king was cured of leprosy; but his name appears to have been Karkatāka (or something like it, the MS. being nearly illegible in the passage), and there is no mention of his having granted Śāsanas to the Kapila community. The sequel will show

* Written in June 1875.

† From Rāosāheb Mohanlāl's statements I gather that Nos. 2 and 5 only were produced and sent to Bombay. They

are the least interesting and worst preserved pieces in the collection. No. 2 bears traces of having had the letters filled in with ink to make them more legible.

that the contents of the inscriptions are still more than the *Māhātmya* at variance with the tradition current in our day.

I.—The Grant of Jayabhata.

The plate recording a grant of Jayabhata contains, as stated above, its second half only. Originally it measured ten inches in height by thirteen in breadth. But not inconsiderable pieces have been broken off from the right and left hand sides, so that the latter have assumed a nearly semicircular shape. The losses, fortunately, fall chiefly on the unimportant honorific epithets of the grantor, and on the well-known verses from the *Mahābhārata* which pronounce blessings on those who give lands, and curses on those who resume them. It is, however, to be regretted that the date, the name of the writer, and the signature of the grantor have suffered mutilation. The plate seems to have undergone very rough treatment, as it is full of indentations. A few letters of the 20th and 22nd lines have been incised with such violence that the punch has penetrated to the other side of the plate. At the back some lines of illegible letters appear, as if the engraver had first begun his work there, but had afterwards abandoned his attempt. The plate is free from verdigris and oxidization.

The letters resemble both those of the grants of the later Valabhi kings, *e.g.* Dharasena IV, and of the Gurjara plates published by Professors Dowson and Bhāṇḍārkar. With the former they agree in the prevalence of round strokes instead of angular ones, and in the size of the letters. They bear a resemblance to the latter in many details, viz. in the immoderate length of the *mātrās* in the superscribed *e*, *ai*, *o*, and *au*, which curl over three and even four *aksharas*; in the shape of the initial *i*, which consists of two little united semicircles with the open end turned downwards and two dots below; in the peculiar way in which the *ṛi* is attached to the horizontal stroke of the letter *k*, instead of to the vertical one; in the exclusive use of the form *ṣ* for the uncombined *l*; and in the peculiar forms of the letters used in the grantor's signature, regarding which more will be said below. They are distinguished from the cognate plates

by the extreme slovenliness of the execution, which, especially towards the end, makes the work of deciphering very troublesome; by a peculiar form of the letter *t* (𑀮), which occurs in the word *anvito* (l. 3), *mātd* (l. 9), [*pati*]ta (l. 11), and by the modern form of *n* 𑀭 in the groups *ndh* and *nth* 𑀭 in *gandha* (l. 10) and in *panthd* (l. 12). The disregard displayed by the engraver of the rules of Sanskrit grammar is as profound in this plate as in all other Gurjara śāsanas.

In spite of its mutilated state, Jayabhata's grant is one of the most important inscriptions which have turned up of late. For, besides giving authentic information regarding the second chief of the Gurjara dynasty known to us, it connects the history of the Gurjara kingdom with that of Valabhi; it contains most interesting geographical information; it goes far to discredit the speculations regarding the origin of the era of Vikramāditya, which of late have obtained the sanction of some of the most eminent antiquarians, and it affords an important contribution towards the history of the Indian alphabets.

As regards the first point, there can be, I think, no reasonable doubt that the grantor, Jayabhata, belonged to the Gurjara dynasty, which ruled over Bharuch during the 5th century after Christ. For the two Gurjara grants of Dadda published by Professor Dowson,† as well as the grant published by Professor Bhāṇḍārkar,‡ and a new grant of the same king discovered lately by the Rev. J. Taylor at Umetā, in the Kheda Zillā, || all state that Dadda or Dada I. was succeeded by Jayabhata, whose son was Dadda or Dada II, the grantor of the four śāsanas. If, therefore, in the Bharuch districts a grant is found which shows the name Jayabhata, a strong presumption arises that it belongs to the father of Dadda II, even though its genealogical portion may be missing. To this conclusion point also several other circumstances. Firstly, Jayabhata's grant shows several of the phrases which are peculiar to those of Dadda, *e.g.* *punṇayāsobhivṛiddhaye* (l. 9), *utsarpanārthan* (l. 11), *ajñānatimiraṇṇāśvṛitamatiḥ* (l. 18). The fragment of the śloka *yāniha dattāni purā nare*

† *Jour. R. As. Soc. New Series*, vol. I. pp. 248 et seqq.

‡ *Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. X. pp. 19 et seqq.

|| The Umetā Śāsanā, which nearly literally agrees with Professor Bhāṇḍārkar's Ilāo plates, has considerable inter-

est, as it is apparently the prototype of a forged Valabhi grant ascribed to Dharasena, the son of Guhasena, which is preserved in the collection of the Asiatic Society of Bombay.

(l. 22) allows us to conclude that it contained the reading *narendrairdānāni dharmārthayaśaśkarāni*, and agreed thus with Dadda's plates,* while it differed from the version of the Valabhi plates, *yañiha dāridryabhayānnarendrairdānāni dharmōyatanīkṛitāni*. It also shows, like the other Bharuch grants, in the second half-verse of this śloka the incorrect reading *nirbhuktamālya*°, instead of *nirmālyacānta*°.

Secondly, Jayabhata, the grantor of the Kāvī plate, shows that he, like the two Daddas, held his dominions under a supreme ruler, and not as an independent king. In Professor Dowson's plates Dadda II does not call himself Mahārāja, but simply states that he had received the five great *śabdās* or titles. On Professor Bhāṇḍārkar's and the Umetā plates, which are considerably later than the former two, Dadda II assumes the title Mahārāja, but retains the epithet *adhigatapanchamahāśabda*. Many years ago Bāl Gangādhara Śāstri already observed that this epithet is used only by dependent chiefs, not by lords paramount. As far as my knowledge of inscriptions goes, he is right. It would also seem from the manner in which the term *mahāśabda* is used in the *Rājataranginī*, e.g. IV. 143-44, IV. 684, that it meant not simply 'great title,' but 'title of a great court official,' and could therefore not be applied with propriety to an independent sovereign.* In the case of Dadda I, the first ruler of the family, it is even more evident that he was nothing but a *Thākur*. For in Professor Dowson's plates he is simply called *Sāmanta*, 'the feudal chief,' and in the other plates he receives no epithet at all beyond the customary *Śrī* or *Śrīmat*, 'the illustrious.' On the Kāvī plate Jayabhata gives to himself the epithets *sama-dhigatapanchamahāśabda* and *mahāśāmantādhipati*, 'the lord of the great feudal chiefs,' which prove that his position was not different from that of Dadda I. and Dadda II.

Thirdly, it seems that Professor Bhāṇḍārkar's grant, as well as the Umetā plates, con-

tain an allusion to the war with the Lord of Valabhi which is mentioned in our grant. For in the description of Jayabhata's virtues the first grant calls him (according to Professor Bhāṇḍārkar's corrected reading) *payonidhikṛita ubhayataṭaprarūḍhavanalekhāvīṛitanirankuṣādānapravāhapravṛittadigdantivibhramagunāsamūhaḥ*; which compound Professor Bhāṇḍārkar renders by "who by his diversions on both sides of the sea, and the unstinted flow of his bounty, realized in himself the qualities of the guardian elephants of the quarters." This translation is in the main correct, though a various reading given by the Umetā grant makes the connexion of the parts of the compound clearer.† Now if it is said of a ruler of Bharuch that he made expeditions on both shores of the sea, the obvious interpretation is that he fought on the eastern and western shores of the Gulf of Cambay. But that is just what the Kāvī plate alleges Jayabhata to have done, when it is stated that "he quieted the impetuosity of the lord of Valabhi."

If it is thus evident that the Jayabhata of Dadda's grants and of the Kāvī plate are one and the same person, it follows that the date given in the latter cannot be referred to the same era as those of the former. Dadda's plates are dated *Saivatsara* 380, 385 (Dowson), *Śakanripakāla Saivatsara* 400 (Umetā), *Śakanripakāla Saivatsara* 417 (Bhāṇḍārkar).

Professor Bhāṇḍārkar has shown that the Śakanripakāla of his plate is the Śaka or Śālivāhana era, which begins 78-9 A.D., and that Professor Dowson's dates have to be referred to the same era. Now as Jayabhata, the father of Dadda, dates his grant in *Saivatsara* 486, it is evident that he used some era which begins earlier than the Śālivāhana Śaka. It appears, therefore, natural to assume that the Vikrama era is meant; and this conjecture is, as Professor Bāpudeva Śāstri of Banāras informs me, confirmed by the astronomical data contained in the grant, viz. the statement that Ashāḍha Śudi 10

* *Jour. R. As. Soc. loc. cit.* 270.

* The *Mahāśābdās* seem to have been usually five, but not always the same. In the first passage of the *Rājataranginī*, quoted above, the offices are stated to have been *Mahāpratihara*, *Mahāsandhivigraha*, *Mahāvaśīṣā*, *Mahābhāṇḍagīra*, *Mahāśādhanaśbhāgya*, and *Kālīhana* distinctly says that these names were invented by *Lalitāditya*. In the grant of *Dhruvasena I.* published in the *Ind. Ant.* the titles partly differ.

† The Umetā grant reads *payonidhikṛita*, etc., and the text should be corrected to "*payonidhikṛitobhayata-*

ṭaprarūḍhavanalekhāvīṛitanirankuṣādānapravāhapravṛittadigdantivibhramagunāsamūhaḥ." The exact translation of the compound would be "who made an ocean of, i.e. possessed in the highest degree, the sportive qualities of the guardian elephants of the quarters, that roam in the jungles on both shores (of the ocean) and are engaged in shedding copious streams of ichor." The king's resemblance to the elephants consists in his 'roaming on both shores of the ocean,' and in his *dāna*, which word, as Professor Bhāṇḍārkar has pointed out, contains the usual pun.

of 486 fell on Sunday, and that on that day the sun entered the sign of Karkatā.† Professor Bāpūdeva states that the grant must have been issued on July 10, 429 A.D. This result agrees perfectly with what we know of the time of Dadda II. For as the earliest grant of the latter is dated Śaka 380, or 458-9 A.D., the interval between this and the date 429 in his father's grant is by no means too long.

The discovery of a grant older than the year 445 A.D. and dated in the Vikrama era is fatal to the theory, now held by some Orientalists, that the Vikrama era is (*sit venia verbo!*) a forgery, and has been invented after the battle of Korur,§ by a Vikramāditya who wished to add the glories of a more ancient hero to his own. I, for my part, must confess that I have never doubted that the Vikrama era, which begins 57 B.C., was really established by a king of that name who lived before the beginning of the Christian era, though I do not think that any reliance can be placed on the legends told by the Hindus regarding him, or on the modern attempts at reconstructing the history of his times. As regards the use of his era, Dr. Bhāṭ Dāji's statement, that it does not occur before the tenth century, is certainly erroneous. One of the Rāshtrakūṭa plates|| of the eighth century is dated both in it and in the Śālivāhana Śaka, and the Pāṭhaṇ inscriptions of Samvat 802,¶ recording the accession of Vanarāja, can be referred to no other era.*

The geographical data of Jayabhāṭa's inscriptions are as interesting as the chronological ones. As in the case of Professor Bhāṇḍārkar's grant, it is possible to identify almost all the villages mentioned. The village of Kemajju is the present Kimōj or Kimaj.† Straight to the west from Kimaj at a distance of five or six hun-

dred yards there is the temple of Āsamedēvar, the Āsramadeva of our grant. The present temple is a small brick building erected a few years ago; but it contains an ancient Linga, and near it to the east are an old well and a depression in the ground which looks like the remnant of a small tank. To the west of the village lies Sīgām or Śīgām, the Sīhugrāma of the grant; towards the south-west there is the village of Jāmaḍi,‡ called also Sāmaḍi, which corresponds to Jambhā; and to the north we have the ruins of Golel (on the Trigonometrical map erroneously called Galol), the Goliavali of our plate. Chhīrakaha is not to be traced. Solepur Sagari occupies the position assigned to it.§ The old roads mentioned in the grant, or rather their representatives (for every monsoon effaces them completely), still exist, and it is not difficult to find the limits of the field assigned to the temple in the śāsana. Golel, which has been entirely deserted of late years in favour of Degām, as well as Kāvī, Ruṇāḍ, and four other villages show remnants of ancient brick walls of a very peculiar construction. These structures, whose distinguishing marks are double front-walls adorned with fighting lions and elephants, and with peacocks in chunam reliefs, further attest the great age of the villages. The people ascribe them to the king Mūnj or Munja, who has been mentioned above. The whole district abounds in ancient temples, lingas, and mūrtis, and would, I think, repay a visit of our Archaeological Surveyor.||

Jayabhāṭa's grant shows, also, that the whole of the coast country up to the Mahi belonged to the dominions of the Gurjara chiefs, and that the northern part of the Bharuch Zillā, probably comprising the tālukās of Bharuch, Vā-

† I must state that Professor Kero L. Chhatre of Puna, who kindly calculated the date for me, and a Joshi of Surat, dissent from Professor Bāpūdeva's statement. Both assert that in 486 Vikrama the Karkasankrānti fell on the 13th of Ashādha Sudi, and that Ash. Śu. 10 fell on a Tuesday. Both agree, also, that the calculation for 486 Śālivāhana Śaka gives even less satisfactory results. Tatra bahuvidah pramāṇam. But, even if the Bombay authorities should prove to be right, the error in the grant's statements is so small that it may be put down to negligence.

§ Or Korūr—vide Mr. Fergusson's Notes on the Śāka Samvat, and Gupta Eras, in *Jour. R. As. Soc.* vol. VII, pp. 8-19.—ED.

|| The Sāmangadh plate of 754 A.D.: see *Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. II, pp. 371 seqq.

¶ See Report on Sanskrit MSS. 1873-74.

* Having examined this latter, I am in doubts of its

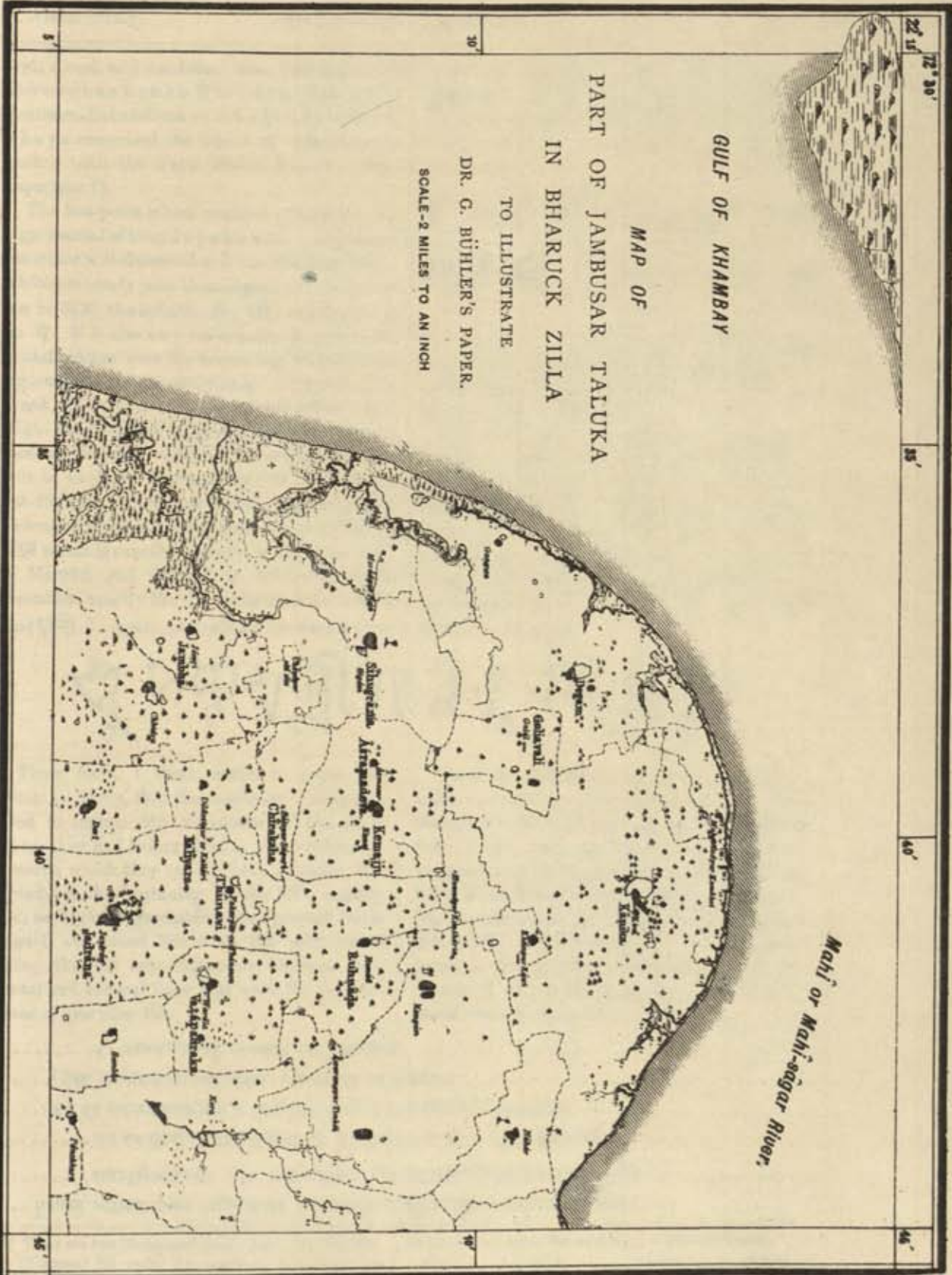
genuineness: possibly, however, it may be a copy of an older one; but if a copy, may the mode of dating not possibly be an interpolation?—ED.

† The first form occurs on the maps, the second I heard used by the villagers themselves. On an old Pāliā situated to the north of the village on the road to Golel, it is called Kemaj.

‡ Jāma-di consists of Jambhā (with assimilation of mbh) = Jammd, and with lengthening to compensate for the loss of the second m = Jāma and the diminutive affix di = Sanskrit ri, or lā.

§ See the accompanying map.

|| Besides Kāvī and its neighbourhood, the Jaina ruins of Gandhār, as well as Chānchwell and Būa, the ancient seats of the Yādava Thākurs, and Sajodra near Hāmsoṭ, are well worth a visit if the visitor is prepared to spend some money on excavations.



grā, Āmod, and Jambūsar, were included in the Bharukachchha Vishaya, just as the southern Ankuleśvara or Akrūreśvara Vishaya comprised the tālukā of Ankuleśvar together with the Peṭṭā Mahāl Hāmsoṭ (Hāmsapattaka?).

The last point which requires attention is the sign-manual of king Jayabhata. Any casual examiner will observe that it contains four letters which are nearly pure Devanāgarī, viz. the double *ma* in मम, the syllable śrī श्री, and the letter *ya* य. It is also very remarkable that the horizontal strokes over the remaining letters of the sign-manual are unusually long. If Jayabhata's grant alone showed these peculiarities, they might be used as an argument against its genuineness, or they would, at all events, be difficult to explain. Fortunately this is, however, not the case. Professor Dowson's grant of 380 shows in the sign-manual three times a form of य which is exactly the same as that now used in Mārvād, and the *noḥ* in Śrīvītarāgasūnoḥ resembles exactly the Devanāgarī form now in use (ज्ञोः). Again, in Professor Dowson's plate

of 385 the śrī श्री and *ga* of śrīvītarāgasūnoḥ come also nearer to the Devanāgarī than to the forms of the so-called cave-characters. Further, in the Umetā grant the sign-manual is as below :—

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
श्री गणेशाय नमः

and exhibits a large number of perfectly and imperfectly formed Devanāgarī letters, as well as the horizontal and vertical strokes which are characteristic of that alphabet.

The same peculiarity may also be observed in the Kāvī grant of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Govindarāja, dated 827-28 A.D. and translated below, where the sign-manual is engraved with a stylus, while the body of the grant has been punched in as usual. There also the letters of the signature are highly ornamented half-formed Devanāgarī, and about twice the size of the letters of the grant.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
श्री गणेशाय नमः

These facts, I think, suffice to prove two things :—firstly, that the engravers of the plates tried to imitate the signatures of the kings which they had before them in the written documents which they copied; and, secondly, that already, in the beginning of the fifth century A.D., an alphabet resembling the present Devanāgarī, and based like it on the principle of fitting the old cave-characters between horizontal and vertical lines was used for the purposes of everyday life.

There are other points, such as the existence of a few inscriptions of the eighth and ninth centuries written in Devanāgarī characters, which make it very probable that the alphabet now in general use throughout the greater part of India is much older than is commonly supposed. But the subject is too important to be treated incidentally, and I must reserve its fuller consideration for another opportunity. For the present I only wish to draw the attention of Sanskritists to this point.

- 1 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
- 2 [सिंहा] मे चकितदक्षिणवाहुशिखरः पद्माकर इव प्रकटनेकलक्ष
- 3 कर इव सकलकलापान्वितो न पुनर्दोषकर सागर इवान्तः प्रवेशितविषमभूम्युपल
- 4 चण इव सुदर्शनचक्रपितविषयो न पुनः कृष्णस्वभावः हर इवाङ्गीकृतभूतिनिचयो
- 5 बालेन्दुविभ्रमप्रतिमेन येन प्रवर्द्धमानस्वतनूदयेन प्रणामकामोत्पकरणेन लोककृतानि [लि]
- 6 .. कृतोस्ति असिधाराजलेन शमितप्रासमं बलभीपतेयुदे यो नृशेषलोकसमापकलापदस्तान्धिकानल

¶ There are two Devanāgarī inscriptions dated in Samvat (Vikrama) 802 under the images of Umā-Mahēśvara and Gaṇapati at Anhilvād-Pāṭhan, and Major Watson has

found a third, dated Samvat 900, on a Pālīā at Waghel.

* In line 1 read गलितं 1. 3—सकलकलाकलाप; दोषाकरः 1. 5—लोकः 1. 6—शमितं, युदे, लोकः—लिं uncertain.

- 7 [कल]द एष सविभियंति† देवभूकदम्कैर्नृपशतमकुटरल्लिकिकावलिरंजितपादपङ्कजः समभिगतपंचम[हाश]
- 8 [क्रोम] हासामन्ताधिपतिश्रीजयभटः कुशली सर्वांनेव राजसामन्तभोगिकुविषयपतिराष्ट्रधाममहत्तराधिकारिकाद [१]
- 9 [न]नुदशयत्यस्तु वस्संविदितं यथा मया मातापित्रोकात्मनश्चैहिकामुष्मिकपुण्यशोभिषुद्धये केमकृतुया [म]
- 10 [नि]विष्टाश्रमदेवपादेभ्यः गन्धधूपपुण्यदीपप्रदातसंशीतकसजप्रवतनसम्भार्जनोदयेन देवकुलस्य खण्डस्फुटित]
- 11 [प]तितनिसंस्कारनवकर्माकाशुत्सर्पणार्थं श्रीभरुकच्छविषयान्तर्गतकेमकृतुधामे ग्रामक्यापरदक्षिणसीम्नि पञ्चाशजि]
- वचनप्रमा—
- 12 गो भूखण्डः यस्य पाटनानि पूर्वतः छीरकहधामगामिपन्था दक्षिणतः जम्भाधामसीमासन्धिः अपरतः जम्भाधामएगोलिअवलि—
- 13 ग्रामगामी पन्था उत्तरतः केमकृतुधामसीहुग्गाम वतामीपन्था वटवापी च एवं चतुरापाटनोपलक्षितं क्षेत्रं सोपरिकदर.....
- 14 सभूतवातप्रत्यायं सधान्याहिरण्यादेयं सदशापरध सोत्तवमानविष्टिकं अचाटभटप्रादेश्यं सर्वराजकीयनामहस्तप्र—
- 15 क्षेपणीयं पूर्वापरदेवव्रजदापरहितं भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेनाचन्द्राक्षौण्वक्षितिसरित्पर्वतसमकालीनमथापादशुद दशम
- 16 कर्कटकरशो सकान्ते रवौ पुण्यातिथावुदकाविसर्ग्येण देवदयत्वेन प्रतिपादितं यतोस्याचितया तपोवनाचारस्थित्या भुंजतः कु-
- 17 पतः कर्षयतः प्रतिदिशतो वा न कैश्चिद्वापेधे वाचतव्यमागामिभिद्रनुपतिभिः अस्मद्वैश्यैरन्यैर्बुधैर्ममहापोनुमन्त्यः परिपा-
- 18 लयितव्यश्च यथाज्ञानतिमिरपटलावृतमतिराच्छिन्नादाच्छिद्यमानं वानुमोदित स पञ्चभिर्महापातकैस्सोपपातकैः
- 19 संयुतिस्स्यादित्युक्तं च भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन पण्डितैरसहस्राणि सर्गैर्लिखितं भूमिदः आच्छेत्ता चानुमे-
- 20 ता च तान्येव नरकं वसेत् । विन्ध्यादवीरवतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः कृष्णाहयो हि जायन्ते भूमिदयं हरन्ति ये । बहुभिर्ल्वे-
- 21 सुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः यस्ययस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्यतस्य तदा फलं अप्रेरपत्यं प्रथमं सुवर्णं भूवैष्ण]
- 22 [त्री सूर्यसुता]श्च गावः लोकत्रयं तेन भवेद्वि दत्तं यः काचनं गौ च महीं च दद्यात् यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरे.....
- 23 निर्मुक्तमाल्यप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधुः पुनराददीत । स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यत्रा.....
- 24 नाच्छेद्योनुपालनमिति ॥ श्रीकण्डकणकदूतकं ॥ संवत्सरे शतचतुष्टये च ॥
- 25 (१५०५ 486)† अषाढसुदि आदित्यवारे ॥ निबद्धे लिखिते चेतं..... ॥
- 26 स्वहस्तो मम श्रीजयभट [दे] ॥

Translation.

(His son is) the Lord of the great feudal chiefs, the illustrious Jayabhatta..... who (is covered) with showers of pearls fallen from the split temples of the elephants (of his enemies)....., whose uplifted right arm trembles in battle....., who like a lotus-pool many tens of thousands of opened....., who resembles the (full) moon since he is master of the multitude of all the fine arts (*kald*), just as the full moon includes all the digits (*kald*), but is not affected by any blemish,—who resembles the ocean since he protects the crowd of hostile kings§ (*vipakshabhūbhṛit*), just as the ocean received the multitude of wingless mountains (*vipakshabhūbhṛit*),—who resembles Kṛishṇa,

since he destroys his enemies with his army placed in a well-looking circular battle array (*sudarśanachakra*), just as Kṛishṇa slew his foes with his war-disc Sudarśana (*sudarśanachakra*), but has not a black heart (*kṛishṇasvabhāva*),—who resembles Śiva, since he is covered with a great quantity of ornaments (*bhūtinichaya*), just as Śiva is covered with a great quantity of ashes (*bhūtinichaya*).....,—who resembles the new moon, since whilst the splendour of his body is increasing he causes the people to worship with folded hands on account of the lightness of the taxation (*alpakara*), just as the new moon when she is on the increase and sheds slender rays (*alpakara*) still causes the people to salute.....,—who by the edge of

† In l. 7 read—सर्वैर्गयते. कदम्बकैः; मुकुटैः; किरणैः; रंजितैः; 1. 8—भोगिकैः; 1. 9—विशेषैः; 1. 10—प्रदानसंगीत.....प्रवर्तनसंभार्जनोः; 1. 11—पतितप्रतिसंस्कारं मस्याः; 1. 12—यस्यापाटं पूर्वतः; ॥ मीः; संधिः; ग्रामात् गोलि. 1. 13—केमञ्जुधामासीहुग्गामगामी. 1. 14—सधान्यहिः; दशापरधं; राजकीयानाम्; 1. 15—Possibly शुद्ध; possibly दशमी or मा. 1. 16—राशौ संक्रां; देवदायं; 1. 17—व्यासेधे; वर्तितव्यः;

॥ गामिभिर्भद्रः; 1. 19—संयुतः; वषैः; स्वर्गैः; 1. 20—विन्ध्याद-वीरवतोः—भूमिदायं; 1. 23—निर्मुक्तमाल्यप्रतिमानं.

‡ The lower part of the mark for 400 is broken off. I owe its restoration to Mr. Bhagvānlāl Mādharji, who has lately found it on a Valabhl plate.

§ i.e. when they have made their submission.

॥ This refers to the Hindu custom of saluting the new moon on its first appearance.

his sword quieted in battle the impetuosity of the lord of Valabhi,—who quenching the fire of the desires of the great Paṇḍits of the whole world and giving (them the fruits of their wishes) is praised in songs by the whole crowd of the wives of the gods,—whose lotus-feet are reddened by the rays of the crest-jewels of a hundred princes,—(and) who has obtained the five great titles.¶

(He being) in good health addresses these commands to all kings, feudal chiefs, governors of provinces, governors of zillās,* chiefs of tālukas and villages, (his) officials and (all) others:—

Be it known unto you that, in order to increase the fame and the spiritual merit of my parents and of my own self in this world and in the next, I have given, (confirming the gift) by a libation of water, on the tenth day of the bright half of Ashāḍha, when the sun entered the sign of the Scorpion on an auspicious day, to the worshipful Āśramadeva, established in the village of Kemajju, in order to defray the expenses of perfume, frankincense, flowers, lamps, of a perpetual musical service, of the cleaning of the temple, and of the repairs of its broken, rent, and fallen (portions), of new works, of painting (it), and the like, a piece of land measuring fifty *nivartanas* and situated on the south-western boundary, in the village of Kemajju, included in the province of Bhārūkachchha, as a gift to the gods—this field being marked by the following four boundaries:—to the east by the road leading to Chhīrakaha, to the south by the extremity of the territory of Jambhā, to the west by the road from Jambhā to Goliavali, to the north by the road to Sihugrāma and the well near the *Vaḍ* tree—according to the analogy of the reasoning from the familiar instance of the ground and of the clefts therein, together with its . . . together with its green and dry produce, together with its income in grain and gold, together with its ten faults,† together with the right of forced labour arising therefrom,

¶ Regarding the correct interpretation of the word *mahāśabda* see above.

* In the Gujaraṭ inscriptions the *viśayapati*s are always placed before *śaśtrapatis*,—contrary to the practice of other grants. The *viśaya* in Gujaraṭ must have been a larger territory than the *śaśtra*.

† Several eminent Śāstris whom I have lately consulted regarding the term *śaśtraparādha* have independently arrived at the conclusion that the ten faults refer to the ten actions about land possible under the *Śimśvedda-prakaraṇa*. I had made the same conjecture.

‡ I now translate the word *chāḍa* by 'irregular soldiers.'

the same being not to be entered by the regular or irregular soldiers,‡ nor to be meddled with by any royal officers, (the grant being made) under exclusion of all ancient and recent gifts to gods and Brahmans, and to last as long as moon, sun, sea, earth, rivers and hills endure.

Wherefore nobody is to cause hindrance to him who by virtue of his following the rule of conduct of this hermitage enjoys it, cultivates it, causes it to be cultivated, or gives orders regarding it.

The future gracious kings, be they of our race or another, should respect this our grant and protect it, and he who—his mind being obscured by the dark cloud of ignorance—resumes it or allows it to be resumed, shall be guilty of the five mortal sins and of the minor sins.

And the venerable Vyāsa, the compiler of the Vedas, has stated as follows:—

"The giver of land resides sixty thousand years in heaven, but he who resumes it or abets its resumption resides as long in hell."

"Those who resume grants of land are born again as black cobras, and live in dry holes in the waterless jungles of the *Vindhya*s."

"Many kings, as Sagara and others, have enjoyed the earth; the fruit of the earth belongs to him who possesses it."

"The first-born of Fire is Gold, (from Vishnu comes the Earth, from the Sun are born) the Cows; he who presents gold, a cow, or land has given the three worlds."

"What pious man would resume the gifts of former kings . . . which resemble leavings?"

"He should protect, according to his power, grants of land made by himself or others Protecting is better than giving."

The illustrious Kaṇḍakapaka is the executive officer. In the year four hundred and eighty-six (486), in the bright half of Ashāḍha, on a Sunday. Composed and written by . . . My own sign-manual, (that) of the illustrious Jayabhāṭa (d) e (va).

(To be continued).

In the treatises on law it is usually explained by *stena*, 'a thief,' and in some cases it is combined with *krūra*, 'cruel men.' Bāḷ Gaṅgādhar Śāstri renders it by 'followers of the king,' and comes, I think, very near to the truth. For the enumeration of the component parts of an Indian army, as given in Kāmandaka's *Niśāra*, XVI. 6-7, includes, besides the *dhavikash balaṃ*, 'the men of the forest,' i.e. Bhils, Kols, &c., who never were much better than thieves, especially the *aganitān krūrān lubdhakān dushakarmas*, 'the uncounted cruel ones, hunters, doers of evil deeds or outcasts,' i.e. the whole rabble of irregular soldiery and camp followers, who in our days, too, always swell the train of a native prince.

THE NĪTIMANJARĪ OF DYĀ DVIVEDA.

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At a time when both in Europe and in India much attention is paid to the study of the Vedas, a short account of the *Nītimanjari*, composed by Dyā Dviveda, may not be altogether void of interest, the more so because MSS. of it appear to be rare,* and because the title describes the contents of the work very vaguely and imperfectly. The *Nītimanjari* is a collection of moral maxims in verse which differs from similar collections in this, that the maxims propounded in it are in every case illustrated by some story told or alluded to in the *Rigveda*. Indra's battles with the demons, the many legends told about the Āsṛins and Ribhus, the prayers addressed to the rising sun, interest the author only in so far as they appear to him to inculcate some moral truth,—that the wicked are sure to meet with punishment, that kindness towards all beings is the true sign of nobility, that father and mother should be honoured, &c. &c. For illustrations of such maxims he has searched through the whole of the *Rigveda*, and in making the Vedic legends serve his purpose he has shown no small amount of ingenuity.†

The *Nītimanjari* contains about 200 verses; it is divided into eight chapters, each of which contains those verses of which the illustrations are taken from the corresponding *Ashtaka* of the *Rigveda*. The whole is accompanied by a commentary, which not only explains the original verses, but also cites the Vedic passages referred to in the latter and comments on them at great length. Both the text and commentary are composed by Dyā Dviveda, the son of Lakshmidhara, grandson of Atri, and great-grandson of Mukunda Dviveda. Nothing certain is known to me regarding his age, but as in the interpretation of the Vedic verses cited by him he closely follows and often copies the commentary of Śāyana-chārya, it is clear

that he cannot be older than the latter. The large number of Vedic and other writings quoted by him‡ give to his work at first sight some appearance of originality, which it loses as soon as one discovers that in this, as in everything else, the author has simply followed Śāyana. The only work of which he does cite long passages that are not to be found in Śāyana's commentary is the *Bṛihaddevatā*, a fact from which a future editor of the latter may be able to derive some advantage.

On the whole, the *Nītimanjari*, together with its Bhāṣya, appears to me to be of little value, and not to deserve a complete edition. To give the reader some idea of the way in which the author has accomplished his task, I publish, below, the verses contained in the first chapter. They are generally so simple and easy to understand that an English translation would be superfluous; but in order to show at once what Vedic passages are alluded to, I have quoted under each verse the verse or verses of the *Rigveda* on which the author professes to have based each maxim.

बहुमन्त्रस्यापत्यस्य दारिद्र्यं सूचयति

बहुमन्त्रस्य पुत्रस्य सुवाचो ऽपि सदा विपत् ।

सीदन्निन्द्रे मधुच्छन्दा वस्वयाचदृचोतः नः ॥ १ ॥

(Rv. I, 4, 6.)

याचकानां धैर्यं कुत इत्यर्थ आह

याचकानां कुतो धैर्यं यत्तस्याज पुरंदरः ।

अभूत्सोममनाः सानौ दृष्ट्वा तमिधमानसम् ॥ २ ॥

(Rv. I, 10, 2.)

निन्दावादचौर्यानिवृत्तिः कार्येत्यर्थ आह

निन्दावादरतो न स्यात्तेषां नैव तस्करः !

निन्दावादाद्दि गोहर्ता शक्रेणाभिहतो बलः ॥ ३ ॥

(Rv. I, 11, 5.)

* The only copy which has ever reached Europe is, if I am not mistaken, in the possession of Prof. M. Müller. One copy I bought some years ago and a few others are mentioned in the catalogues of Sanskrit MSS. that have lately been published in India.

† It is hardly necessary to remind the reader that the Homeric poems have been treated similarly by the Greeks. Anaxagoras is said to have been the first who maintained *τῆς Ὀμήρου ποιήσεως εἶναι περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ δικαιοσύνης*, or who considered the Homeric poems to be *ποιήματα περὶ διαπορίας δικίων τε καὶ ἀδίκων*. See Bernhardt's *History of Greek Literature*, vol. II. 1, p. 66.

‡ In the commentary on the first chapter the author quotes the following:—Anukramanī, Āvalāyana-sūtra, an Upaniṣad, Riglakṣhaṇa or Vaidikalakṣhaṇa of Śaunaka (Rigveda-prātisākhya), Rigvidhāna of Śaunaka, Kaushitaki-brāhmaṇa and grīhyasūtra, Tāpdyam, Panchavinīśa-brāhmaṇa, Bṛihaddevatā, Brāhmaṇa, Bhāṣya (sometimes Śāyana's commentary on the Rigveda, but perhaps also some commentary on the Bṛihaddevatā), Yāska, Viṣṇupurāṇa, Śatapatham, Śātyāyanam, and Śātyāyaninibh.

§ MS. दचोत नः.

सोमसुदन्यः^१ इत्यर्थ आह
 कुयोनित्रोऽपि सर्वेभ्यो धन्यो भवति सोमसुत् ।
 ऐच्छन्मेधातिथिः साम्यमुशिक्षुवस्य सुन्वतः ॥ ४ ॥
 (Rv. I, 18, 1.)

पित्रोर्भक्तिपरेण भाव्यमित्युद्घृष्टान्तेनाह
 मातरं पितरं भक्त्या तेष्वेयः स भात्युरु ।
 पितरावृभवश्चकुरुभासो नवावतः ॥ ५ ॥
 (Rv. I, 20, 4.)

कृतसंविभागो भुङ्क्ते इत्याह
 विभज्य भुञ्जते सन्तो भक्ष्यं प्राप्य सहाभिना ।
 चतुरश्वमसानृत्वा तं सोममृभवः पपुः ॥ ६ ॥
 (Rv. I, 20, 6.)

पितरौ वन्द्यावित्याह
 पितरौ हि सदा वन्द्यौ न त्यजेदपराधिनी ।
 पित्रा वदः^{*} शुनःशेषो ययाचे वितृदर्शनम् ॥ ७ ॥
 (Rv. I, 24, 1.)

देवानामपि स्तुतिः प्रियेत्याह
 ऐश्वर्यपरिपूर्णाऽपि दद्यात्स्तुत्यापि चेप्सितम् ।
 शुनःशेषाय सौवर्णं रयमिन्द्रः स्तुतो ददौ ॥ ८ ॥
 (Rv. I, 30, 16.)

बहुभिःस्पर्धा न कार्येत्याह
 हिंसाकूरतराचारिर्न ब्रजेद्विश्वशत्रुताम् ।
 विश्वशत्रुहंतो वृत्र इन्द्रेणापां निरोधकः ॥ ९ ॥
 (Rv. I, 32, 11.)

यज्जनां ये स्पर्धिनस्तेवामिन्द्र एव शास्तेत्याह
 यज्वभिर्नास्तिको भूत्वा स्पर्धां कुर्यान्न बुद्धिमान् ।
 स्पर्धमाना अयज्जानो हता इन्द्रेण तैः सह ॥ १० ॥
 (Rv. I, 33, 5.)

देवतापि कृतं कर्म भुङ्क्ते इत्याह
 शुभाशुभं कृतां कर्म भुञ्जते देवता अपि ।
 सविता हेमहस्तोऽभूद्रयोऽन्धः पूषकोऽद्विजः ॥ ११ ॥
 (Rv. I, 35, 9.)

कया प्रजया प्रजावान्भवतीति प्रश्न आह
 अन्य इच्छन्ति यत्साम्यं प्रजावान्प्रजया तया ।
 ब्रह्मा स्वसूनुसाम्येष्टेः काण्वस्यातः प्रजापतिः ॥ १२ ॥
 (Rv. I, 45, 3.)

यात्रा रूपहानिकरी भवतीत्याह
 प्रभोरपि धिगर्थित्वं रूपहानिं करोति यत् ।
 मेधातिथिं यदायाचदिन्द्रो मेवोऽभवत्ततः ॥ १३ ॥
 (Rv. I, 51, 1.)

निःस्पृहदातारं स्तुवन्नाह
 स इन्द्रादधिको दानं यो दद्यान्नस्पृहः पुमान् ।
 इन्द्रोऽदाहृचयां पूर्वां[†] सुन्वते सोमवल्लभः ॥ १४ ॥
 (Rv. I, 51, 13.)

नृणां धनदो धन्यो महानित्याह
 नृषु यो धनदो धन्य इन्द्रतुल्यैः प्रशस्यते ।
 सुष्टुत्या द्रविणोदसु सव्यो नाहेति दुःश्रुतिः ॥ १५ ॥
 (Rv. I, 53, 1.)

विमलेन मनसा भाव्यमित्याह
 देवा रक्षन्ति तं नित्यं यस्य स्याद्विमलं मनः ।
 ररक्षेन्द्रोऽमलाञ्श्रोणतुर्वीत्यदुर्बुशान् ॥ १६ ॥
 (Rv. I, 54, 6.)

द्विजो रक्ष्य इत्याह
 इन्द्रः स्याद्वज्रहीनोऽपि द्विजरक्षां करोति यः ।
 पुरेन्द्रः सूर्यसंग्रामे ररक्ष द्वैतशं द्विजम् ॥ १७ ॥
 (Rv. I, 61, 15.)

तत्त्वविदापि संसारान् मुच्यत इत्याह
 तत्त्वविदापि संसारं मूढो भवति लोभतः ।
 तत्त्वज्ञा सरमायाचदिन्द्रमन्नं गवां ग्रहे ॥ १८ ॥
 (Rv. I, 62, 3.)

महान्मृतोऽप्युपकारीत्याह
 महान्मृतितकायोऽपि करोति सुखिनं परम् ।
 दधीचोऽश्वशिरोऽस्थेन्द्रो हत्वा वृत्राण्यभून्मुखी ॥ १९ ॥
 (Rv. I, 84, 13.)

सतामुपकाराय यः श्रमस्तत्सुखमित्याह
 सतां परतृषां[‡] हन्तुं यः श्रमस्तत्सुखं भवेत् ।
 मरुतः कूपमुत्क्षिप्य गोतमायाम्बु शं ददुः ॥ २० ॥
 (Rv. I, 85, 10.)

साधव उपकर्तुमकृत्यमपि कुर्वन्तीत्याह
 अकृत्यमपि कुर्वन्ति परकार्याय साधवः ।
 दीर्घाञ्जिर्हो मनुष्येभ्यः दुस्तो हत्वाभयं ददौ ॥ २१ ॥
 (Rv. I, 97, 1.)

उक्तं कर्तव्यमित्याह

उक्तं चैव प्रकृतव्यं हिंसायुक्तं भवेद्यदि* ।

पश्चादिहिंसनं कुत्समृषिराह तमध्वरम् ॥ २२ ॥

(Rv. I, 101, 8.)

अनुक्तं सुखरूपमपि हिंसेत्याह

अनुक्तं च न कर्तव्यं सुखरूपं भवेद्यदि ।

परस्त्रीणां हि संभोगाकुत्स* आहंति निष्यपी ॥ २३ ॥

(Rv. I, 104, 5.)

द्वेषदुष्टं मनो न कार्यमित्याह

द्वेषदुष्टं मनः कार्यं पुंसां नात्महितैषिणा† ।

इन्द्रोऽवधीक्षिपः पिमुक्यवशुष्णशम्बरान् ॥ २४ ॥

(Rv. I, 103, 8.)

यदि भ्राता द्विद् स शत्रुरित्याह

अन्यः सुहृज्जनो भ्राता शत्रुर्भ्राता सहोदरः ।

अश्विभ्यां तारितो भुग्युस्त्रितः कूपे निपातितः ॥ २५ ॥

(Rv. I, 105, 17.)

श्रुतिस्मृत्युक्ते कृते देवत्वमाप्नोतीत्याह

श्रुतिस्मृत्युक्त आचारः कर्तव्योऽमृतिमिच्छता ।

नरोऽमृतत्वमापन्ना ऋभवः कर्मणा तयोः ॥ २६ ॥

(Rv. I, 110, 4.)

सन्त उपकारनिरता इत्याह

सन्तः प्रभुत्वमापन्ना नोपकारं त्यजन्ति हि ।

ऋभवः प्राप्य देवत्वमृषेर्वैत्समजीवयन् ॥ २७ ॥

(Rv. I, 110, 8.)

सन्तो लीलयोपकुर्वन्तीत्याह

दृष्ट्वा परव्यथां सन्त उपकुर्वन्ति लीलया ।

दितेर्गोव्यथां हत्वा रुद्रोऽभून्मरुतां पिता ॥ २८ ॥

(Rv. I, 114, 6.)

महतामुदयः सुखकर इत्याह

महतामुदयो धन्यो येन विश्वं प्रकाशयते‡ ।

पूर्यते तेजसा विश्वमुदये जगदात्मनः ॥ २९ ॥

(Rv. I, 115, 1.)

उपकारात्समृद्धिं सार्थकीं कुर्यादित्याह

समृद्धिं सार्थकीं कुर्यात्सूपकारेण सत्यवान् ।

वैमथा जाहुषाज्जातं नासत्यानो हि सार्थकम् ॥ ३० ॥

(Rv. I, 116, 1 and 20.)

यादृशः पिता तादृशः पुत्र इत्याह

यादृशाज्जायते जन्तुर्नाम कर्मास्य तादृशम् ।

‡अश्विनावश्वजावश्वं ददतुःपेदेवे सितम् ॥ ३१ ॥

(Rv. I, 116, 6.)

विदुषां स्तुत्या वैदुष्यं भवतीत्याह

वैदुष्यमिच्छता कार्यं विदुषां गुणवर्णनम् ।

अश्विनोर्विदुषोः कीर्त्या कक्षीवानभवत्सुधीः ॥ ३२ ॥

(Rv. I, 116, 7.)

ब्राह्मणान् पीडयेदित्याह

विप्रपीडाकरो दैत्यो विप्ररक्षाकः सुरः ।

दैत्यैर्वद्वस्तमस्यविरश्विभ्यां मोचितो वधात् ॥ ३३ ॥

(Rv. I, 116, 8.)

यो ऽम्बुदः¶ स सत्यवान्भवतीत्याह

नासत्यं विद्यते तस्य यो ऽम्बु दद्यात्सिपासते ।

नासत्यो ददतुः कूपाद्रोतमाय शराय वाः ॥ ३४ ॥

(Rv. I, 116, 9.)

वरया सर्वं पीडयत इत्याह

सर्वेषामेव जन्तूनां सर्वदुःखाधिका जरा ।

च्यवनोऽप्यश्विनोः स्तुत्या ययाप्तोऽभूत्पुनर्युवा** ॥ ३५ ॥

(Rv. I, 116, 10.)

दोषयुक्तस्याश्रयो†† न कर्तव्य इत्याह

न दद्यादोषशीलानामाश्रयं‡‡ क्रूरकर्मणाम् ।

दैव्या दत्ताश्रयाः कूपे §§प्राक्षिपन्नेभवन्दनौ ॥ ३६ ॥

(Rv. I, 116, 11 and 24.)

विद्या देयेत्याह

शीर्णोऽपि कर्तेन सहां विद्यां दातुं प्रबुद्धिभिः ।

दध्यङ् मधुगदानार्थं तत्याज शिरसो हयम् ॥ ३७ ॥

(Rv. I, 116, 12.)

रूपादिपञ्चकं सत्कारार्थं भवतीत्याह

रूपदिक्कुलविद्यते सत्कारात्सार्थमश्वित् ।

विश्वके वघ्निमत्या यत्पुत्रदानात्स्वभूतयोः ॥ ३८ ॥

(Rv. I, 116, 13 and 23.)

साधवो निर्गुणेष्वपि दयां कुर्वन्तीत्याह

निर्गुणेष्वपि सत्त्वेषु दयां कुर्वन्ति साधवः ।

अश्विभ्यां मोचिता मृता पक्षिणीवार्तिका शुना¶¶ ॥ ३९ ॥

(Rv. I, 116, 14.)

* MS. तस्यो हिंसायुक्तो भवेद्यदि. * MS. संयोगाकुत्स.

† नात्महितैषिणा. ‡ MS. प्रकाशते. § MS. अश्विभ्याम्.

¶ MS. यो ऽम्बुदः. ** MS. पुनर्युवा. †† MS. दोषहकुस्याश्रयो.

‡‡ MS. श्रयः. §§ MS. प्राक्षिपन्ने. ¶¶ MS. शुभा.

रात्रौ निःशङ्कुमनसा न संचरेदित्याह

न संचरणशीलः स्यान्निति निःशङ्कुमानसः ।

विश्वला छिन्नपादासीत्खेलस्यात्रौ यतो निशि ॥ ४० ॥

(Rv. I, 116, 15.)

हितकारी पितेत्याह

यो हितो ऽन्यः पिता ज्ञेयो अहितो ऽपि* पितापिता ।

†ऋत्राश्चो ऽन्धःकृतःपित्रानासत्याभ्यां सुलोचनः ॥ ४१ ॥

(Rv. I, 116, 16.)

सत्येन जयतीत्याह

प्राप्त्यादिजयं सत्यात्तस्मात्सत्यं समाचरेत् ।

‡ऋत्यावश्विनौ सूर्या देवेभ्यो जियेतुः पुरा ॥ ४२ ॥

(Rv. I, 116, 17.)

पौरुषे कारणं बीजमित्याह

पौरुषे कारणं बीजं योनिरिव न कारणम् ।

अश्विभ्यां नासिकाज्जाभ्यां दोग्धीकृता शयोर्हिगौः ॥ ४३ ॥

(Rv. I, 116, 22.)

मनस्विनां लक्षणमाह

‡स्वीयपीडामपि घ्नन्ति कृत्वा कार्यं मनस्विनः ।

चक्रतुः सुभगां घोषां प्रविश्य भगमश्विनौ ॥ ४४ ॥

(Rv. I, 117, 7.)

कुलधर्मौ न त्याज्य इत्याह

कुलक्रमागतो§ धर्मौ न त्याज्यः प्रभुभिः सह ।

कण्वो ऽश्विभ्यां भिषग्भ्यां हि सुवक् सुश्रुतः

सुदृक् ॥ ४५ ॥

(Rv. I, 117, 8.)

CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEA.

THE KA-THEORY AND MR. BEAMES'S COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR.

SIR,—Will you be so good as to allow me space in your valuable journal to make a few remarks regarding one or two points raised by Mr. Beames in the second volume of his excellent *Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India*, which I have read with much interest and profit. The second volume fully sustains the high reputation of the able author as a comparative philologist which he gained for himself by the first volume of his grammar. The arrangement and treatment of the subject are admirable. None but those who themselves pursue scientific inquiries in the isolation of an Indian station and under the pressure of official work can fully appreciate the difficulties of such a work under such circumstances.

On pp. 4-30 Mr. Beames discusses what he very happily calls the Ka-theory: namely, my theory of explaining the fact that of the Gaurian nouns which have a base in *a*, some end in *d* (resp. *o* or *au*), others in *ā* (resp. *ū*), with the help of the (Prākṛit) suffix *ka*; holding that those bases which added *ka* form nouns in *d*, while those which did not add that suffix form nouns in *ā*. Mr. Beames himself, I am glad to see, in the main agrees with this theory. But he thinks at the same time that that fact is capable of a different explanation, viz. by the theory that *oxytone* bases form nouns in *d*, while *barytone* bases form nouns in *ā*. This accent-theory is certainly the only

other that deserves consideration, and cannot be disposed of merely by a sneer. To explain the fact by 'caprice' and 'lawless license' is clearly inadmissible.

I will briefly state the principal reasons why it appears to me the accent-theory fails satisfactorily to account for the facts of the case. *Firstly*, it is extremely doubtful whether the old Aryan accent was at all any longer felt at such a late period as the 10th or 11th century A.D., about which time, I presume, we must place the commencement of the development of the *modern* dialects. The only accent whose influence at the *present* time is felt, and may be observed to affect the form of words, is the *rhythmic* accent; and I believe there is no reason to suppose that it was different at that earlier period when the *modern* dialects originated. But, however that may be, I do not think the evidence of the languages itself supports the accent-theory. If there are many barytones which form nouns in *ā*, and many oxytones that form nouns in *d*, there are as many from which just the opposite conclusion might be drawn. Mr. Beames has collected a large number of examples bearing on this point, and he has marshalled them, with that great ability of arrangement which forms one of the charms of his book, in such a way as to lend the greatest possible support to the accent-theory. But, even under these favourable circumstances, it seems to me the theory fails to make good its ground. Let us

* MS. om. ऽपि.

† MS. ऋत्राश्चोः कृतपित्रा.

‡ MS. स्वपी°

§ MS. °क्रमागतौ.

see. In the following remarks *B* means barytone, *O* oxytone, *pro*—examples making for the theory, *con*—those against it. On pp. 7, 8, there are quoted 23 *B pro*; on pp. 8, 9, are 17 *O pro*; on p. 10 are 11 *O con*; pp. 11, 12, are 7 *O con*; pp. 12, 13, are 5 *B con*, 8 *O pro*, 1 *O con*; on p. 14 are 8 *O con*; p. 15, 2 *B con*; pp. 15, 16, 4 *O con*; pp. 16, 17, 11 *B pro*, and again 9 *B pro*; on p. 18 only one example of the infinitive is quoted, because they are too numerous to cite all; they are all and every one *con*; but I will content myself with counting only as many as instances *pro* are quoted on pp. 16, 17, that is, 20 *B con*.* on p. 21 are 6 *O con*, 2 *O pro*, and 1 *B pro*; p. 22 are 6 *O con*, 2 *O pro*, 1 *B pro*; pp. 23, 24, are 3 *B pro*, 1 *O pro*, 6 *O con*, and again 3 *O pro*; on p. 25 there are 6 examples: of these one is a *tatsama*, another does not occur in Hindi, and of two more the accent is not mentioned; of the remaining two 1 is *B pro* and 1 *B con*; on p. 26 are 2 *B con*, 2 *B pro*, 4 *O con*, 1 *O pro*. Now adding up these examples, it will be seen that they are altogether 168, among which there are 85 (i.e. 51 *B* and 34 *O*) which make for the accent-theory, and 83 (i.e. 30 *B* and 53 *O*) which make against it. Mr. Beames himself says that his rule does not apply to *Tatsamas*: hence, strictly, about 16 examples ought to be excluded (e.g. *vikh*, p. 8; *dīpā*, p. 9, unless this is a misprint for *dīpā*; *may*, *kay*, *āyā*, p. 10; *kaṭin*, p. 13; *jātan*, *prān*, *ayān*, *darpan*, p. 16; *daṣan*, *brodhan*, *vaṣan*, *śaṣan*, p. 17, &c.). But as they are about equally (9 *pro*, 7 *con*) divided for and against, this slight inaccuracy may be passed over as not affecting the general result. The latter is that as many instances (83) may be cited against the accent-theory as there are in support of it (85). There is no reason to suppose that any more extended collection of examples would alter this result materially; for all practical purposes Mr. Beames's collection of examples is quite sufficient, and it is a perfectly fair one. But I may be allowed to point out that so far I have confined myself to a consideration of Hindi alone; if I had taken into the range of the present examination the other Gaupian languages too (Marāṭhi especially), the result would have gone (as Mr. Beames himself seems to feel, see p. 9) still more decidedly against the accent-theory. But even taking the result as we have found it above,—unless it can be accounted for in some way—it is, to my mind, fatal to that theory; for it is founded on an induction which is not only partial, because it only includes about 50 per cent. of phenomena, but one-sided, because it has the other 50 per cent. directly against itself. Mr. Beames indeed makes an attempt to account for this adverse result; but I think on reconsi-

* The examples quoted on pp. 16, 17, and the infinitives, have alike, according to Mr. Beames's theory, bases in

deration he will see that his explanation involves a *petitio principii*. For example, on p. 10 a list of eleven words is given which, being oxytones, ought to terminate in *d*; but in reality they end in *ā*, as if they were barytones. Mr. Beames accounts for this failure of the accent-theory by the conjecture "that though the learned accentuated the last syllable of stems of this small class, the masses did not at any time observe this distinction, but treated them as barytones." But what ground is there for this supposition? Is it not merely the fact that those words end in *ā* instead of *d*? That is, the fact of their ending in *ā* is explained by their being supposed to have been used as barytones, and the supposition of their having been thus used is based on the fact of their ending in *ā*.

Thirdly, all words formed with the suffix *aka* have the heavy termination *d* (p. 29). The Ka-theory explains their termination and that of the previously considered words by the same phonetic process; whereas, if the accent-theory be accepted, two different causes must be assumed to account for an identical result. This offends against the logical rule of economy. For example, from the stem *ghofaka* is derived in Hindi *ghord*, and from the stem *asṛā* (oxytone) the Hindi word *asṛd*; according to the accent-theory the identical Hindi termination *d* is accounted for by *ghofaka* ending in *ka* and *asṛā* being oxytone; the Ka-theory, on the other hand, derives *asṛd* not directly from the stem *asṛā*, but from the—as regards meaning—identical stem *asṛaka*, and thus accounts for the identical termination *d* by an identical cause, viz. both *ghofaka* and *asṛaka* ending in *ka*.

Fourthly, even if it be allowed that the accent-theory accounts for the difference of some nouns ending in *d*, and others in *ā*, it affords no help—so far as I can see—towards understanding the origin of the termination of the oblique form of Gaupian nouns in *d* (i.e. Hindi *d* or *e*; Marāṭhi *ya* or *ra*, &c.). On the other hand I contend that the Ka-theory explains both. I cannot ask for space to prove this here, and therefore must refer to my Essays (IV., V.) in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* But, if my contention is well founded, this is clearly another point in favour of the Ka-theory.

But I am confronted with the demand, "If all nouns might and did take this *ka*, why do not all nouns of the *a* stem end in *d*? why do some end in *ā* (pp. 30-37)?" I admit the question is legitimate. It cannot be ascribed to 'caprice.' There must be a reason for it, as for everything else in the world. But I do not see that this question, whether or not it can be answered, affects at all the truth of the Ka-theory. I suppose it will

and; if my theory of the infinitives be accepted, they make equally against the accent-theory.

be admitted that whether or not the *Ka*-theory be true, it at least easily and naturally explains all the phenomena of the case; i.e. that if we assume that, for some reason or other—whatever it may have been—the suffix *ka* (though it might have been added to any noun, yet as a matter of fact) was only added to one class of nouns and not added to another class, then the former would naturally end in *d*, and the latter in *ā*; if, I say, this is so, why should the *Ka*-theory be questioned merely because it may be impossible to ascertain the reason why in one case *ka* was added, but in another omitted? But in truth the question after this reason is one of historical import rather than of linguistic. Take an illustration. In the *Saptasāfaka* the addition of *ka* to stems in *a*, *i*, *u*, is extremely common. Many words are found with stems ending in *aa*, *ia*, *ua*, and as many ending in *a*, *i*, *u*; the former are explained by the so-called *Ka*-theory (see Weber, pp. 69, 52). But it may be asked, if *ka* can be added to any base in *a*, *i*, *u*, why did the author of the *Saptasāfaka* add it in some words and omit it in others? What can I answer? He must have had some reason for his practice; but it is not likely that we shall discover it. But we do not make that a reason for doubting the claim of the *Ka*-theory to explain the difference between the words in *aa*, *ia*, *ua*, and those in *a*, *i*, *u*. Now what is true in regard to the language of the author of the *Saptasāfaka*, is equally true, on a larger scale, with regard to the language of the peoples of North India at the time when the modern vernaculars were formed. There must have been some reason for their using some words with *ka*, others without it; but what reason or reasons may have guided this 'popular selection,' possibly we may not be able to ascertain. My belief is that towards the end of the *Prākṛit* period, in the popular speech of the masses, the suffix *ka* could be, and was, sometimes added, sometimes not added, to any noun (in *a*, *i*, *u*) whatever; and that gradually (during the time the modern vernaculars were being slowly evolved), in the struggle for existence between the words, by a sort of popular selection, the conditions of which I do not pretend to know, some nouns became established in their *ka*-form, others in their simple form, while others again became fixed in both forms simultaneously. It should be remembered that this result is a fully established one really only in the present literary languages. In the colloquial dialects (e. g. the eastern Low Hindi or Gāhwarī) even at the present day the limits of those three classes are not strictly defined. There you may hear, still now, the same noun (especially adjectives), which has become fixed in the literary

language either in one class or the other, used by the common people sometimes with one termination, sometimes with the other. There is nothing strange in this view of the case. Exactly parallel cases have happened again and again in the history of language. I will only mention one, a well established case—that of the Infinitive. The so-called Infinitive, it is now well known (see Max Müller, chap. IV. p. 30), is really the Dative (rarely the Locative) case of a verbal noun. From the Vedas it may be seen that in ancient Aryan times the dative of any kind of verbal noun might be, and was, used as an infinitive. But when we come down to Latin, we see that here one class of verbal nouns was so used (as those in *as*, like *vivere*, Sanskrit *īve*), while in Greek other classes were so employed; nay, in Greek itself we find one class of verbs using verbal nouns in *man* (as *δομεναι*, Sanskrit *dāmane*) for their infinitive, another class verbal nouns in *van* (as *είναι* = *ioFēvai*, *αεσθαι*), a third class verbal nouns in *an* (as *τίθεσθαι* = *tiFēvai*, Sanskrit *tidhane*), while another class still uses several of them simultaneously (as in Homer both *ἔμεναι* = *imane*, with *man*, and *ἔειναι* = *eeane*, with *ra*). It might be said, if any verbal noun could be, and was, originally used as the infinitive of any verb, why have not all verbs in Greek the same kind of infinitive? No doubt there was a reason for the difference; and if we knew all the circumstances under which the Greek language was evolved, perhaps we might be able to recognize the reason. But though we do not now know the reasons which guided the popular selection of infinitives for the different classes of verbs, we do not consider that want of knowledge a reason for rejecting the dative-theory of the infinitive. Analogously, our present want of knowledge of the reasons which guided the popular selection of the *ka*-form for one class of nouns, and the simple form for another class, does not appear to me to justify our rejecting the *Ka*-theory of the terminations of nouns. It might be suggested that the accent-theory, though it cannot account for the difference of termination, might explain the principle of choice in adding or omitting *ka*. I will not undertake to say absolutely that it does not do so; but, at least, it seems to me very doubtful. For, the same reasons which militate against the accent-theory as explaining the difference of termination are equally strong against its claim to explain the choice of *ka* for one class of nouns in preference to another class.

This explanation has run to a much greater length than I had expected. But I hope I may be allowed to add a few remarks with regard to another difficulty, viz. the proper derivation of the infinitives in *nd* (*na-ko*). On p. 19 Mr. Beames

points out an objection to my theory of deriving them from verbal nouns in *anfyā*, viz. the existence of a weak form of infinitive in *na* in the mediæval poets. I am glad that Mr. Beames has called attention to it. He is quite correct in saying that I had overlooked these mediæval forms; for, though I was aware of their existence, I had overlooked their bearing on my theory. I also admit that the objection seriously militates against my theory,—unless I can meet it. I believe I shall be able to do so, though, where I am now, I have not the necessary means at hand to examine the question. The difficulty, I think, lies here: Mr. Beames calls them *intermediate* forms; but are they strictly *intermediate*? If they are, it will be difficult to maintain my theory; for it does seem very improbable, not to say impossible, that a form, e. g. *karaṇtyam* ('to be done') should become in the first instance *karan*, and afterwards *karand* (or *karane*). But it appears to me the fact, if it is one, would make equally strongly against Mr. Beames's own theory (that the modern final *d* or *aum* is owing to the original *anusedra* in *am*): for the mediæval or so-called intermediate form never has the *anusedra* or *anundsika*. Even if the original of the infinitive, e. g. of *karand* (or *karanaum*), is the Sanskrit verbal noun *karaṇam*, still at first this form (i. e. *karaṇam*) becomes *karan* (or *karana*), but never *karaṇam*; and there is no room for *karan* turning into *karaṇam* (or *karand*) by the force of any *anusedra*. If, then, the intermediate form is *karan* (or *karana*), whatever its Sanskrit original may have been (whether *karaṇtyam* as I believe, or *karaṇam* as Mr. Beames believes), I do not see how it could now have become *karanaum*. I believe, therefore, that it will be found (or, in any case, that we must assume) that such forms as *karan* are not intermediate; that is, not intermediate as between the original form *karaṇtyam* or (according to Mr. Beames) *karaṇam* and the modern form *karand* (or *karanaum*): in other words, not intermediate *phonetically*, though of course they may be intermediate *historically* as being found in mediæval poets. Though even this latter fact I do not believe to be quite correct; for the *weak* forms in *na* of the infinitive are, at least in Hindi, still often used in the present day in poetry, and sometimes in vulgar speech. For the present, therefore, we must assume that in the mediæval times there were *two* forms of the infinitive in use side by side (as indeed, it is the case even now in Hindi, as I have remarked already): viz. 1, one in *nam* (as I suppose Mr. Beames would say), or in *niam* (for Prākṛit *ṇam*) or perhaps *naam* (*nayam*) as I should say, being the parent of the common modern infinitive in *naum* or *neum* or *nd*; 2, the other in *na*, confined more or less to poetry.

Can we prove the existence of such a double form? Here, I think, lies the other difficulty. Mr. Beames says (p. 18), "in old Hindi the infinitive of this class ends *always* (the italics are mine) in the short vowel." But is it so? Is it *always* so? If it is so, it would put us all, I fear, into very great straits as to explaining the modern form at all. The work, then, which lies before us is to see whether evidences of the existence of such a double form of the infinitive as I have indicated cannot be discovered in mediæval literature. I do not despair yet of our finding the necessary evidence; though, not having the needful means with me here, I cannot just now contribute to the search. But even seeing that all, or almost all, extant mediæval literature consists of poetry, which would naturally prefer the use of the *weak* infinitival form, even if the unfortunate case should happen that no evidence of the existence of a double form is forthcoming, still I think we should be driven, by the necessities of the case, to assume the existence, in the common speech of the people, of some such intermediate form as could be phonetically the parent of the modern infinitival form. In any case, whether or not evidence of a double mediæval form be found, the theory which derives the infinitive from a verbal noun in *anfyā* stands an equal chance with that which derives it from a verbal noun in *ana*, even barring all other considerations which make in favour of my theory and against the alternative one.

Only one word more. It might be said that, supposing two forms did exist in mediæval times, and admitting that one of these forms was either *karaṇam* or *karaniam*, still it is easier to derive phonetically the undoubtedly existing form *karan* from a Sanskrit or Prākṛit original *karaṇam* than from *karaṇtyam*; and if so it is simpler to consider the verbal nouns in *ana* to have been the originals of all mediæval and modern forms of the infinitive. I admit the derivation would be easier—at least so far as regards forms like *karan*—and there would be no reason to look for any other, if there were no other considerations which, on the whole, in my opinion, far outweigh that one consideration. Into these I cannot enter now; they are discussed in my 4th Essay (*Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*). They have reference chiefly to the difficulty of the final syllable *am* becoming *aum* (or *em*), to the existence of simultaneous infinitive-forms in *aum*, *baum*, and to the various gerundival meanings of the so-called Infinitive. But, further, there is not wanting direct evidence that the affix *anfyā* may become curtailed into *an* in the modern languages. For example, I suppose it will not be denied that in such words as *pānpatr* (drinking-

vessel), *pdnchakkī* (water-mill), the element *pdn* (or *pan*) is a corruption of the Sanskrit *pdntya* (water). So, again, in Hindi such simultaneous forms as *dharanāḥ* and *dharanāḥ* are very common. It will not be disputed that *dharan* and *dharane* must be the same word, and have the same derivation, whatever that be. If so, *dharan* is but a corruption of *dharane*; and if there is, phonetically, no objection to *dharane* being a contraction of Sanskrit *dharantya* and Prākṛit *dharanta* or *dharantia*, there can be no objection to *dharan* being a corruption of *dharantya* through the intermediate form (*dharantia* or) *dharane*; and so in the case of all infinitives in *an*.

A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE.

Donnington, 15th January 1876.

THE QORĀN.

Could any of your readers supply information on the following points?—

1. When, and by whom, were the chapters (*sūra*) of the Qorān arranged in their present order?

The edition now chiefly used throughout the Muhammaḍan world is the one that was prepared by Zeid bin Thābit, during the Khalīfate of Othmān, and under his orders; and the arrangement, referred to in my inquiry, is commonly regarded as the work of Abu Bigar, the first of the Khalīfs. But is this explanation a satisfactory one to the more enlightened of the Moslems?*

2. Is it possible to arrive at a sound conclusion as to what was the principle which regulated that arrangement of the *sūras* which was eventually adopted?

Why the portion which was 'delivered' first in the order of time, viz. some of the earlier verses of *Sūra e-ALAK* should have been put almost at the end of the book (chap. xcvi), and the *sūra* that was last in the order of time (viz. *TANRA*, or, as some hold, *MAIDA*) should be found almost at the beginning (chapters ix. and v., respectively), is not at all apparent from anything in the subject-matter.

3. These same inquiries might be put in reference to the verses or texts (*dyat*).

This point seems the more important when we bear in mind that in the case of most of the chapters, the *dyat* first 'revealed' occurs, not at the beginning of the *sūra*, but somewhere in the body of it, and often far on.

4. Is it possible to decide when, and by whom, the vowel-pointing was done?

5. What is the ground of the Moslim's objection to the Qorān being edited with some regard to chronological order?

An impartial reader, who attends to the sense rather than to the cadence, is simply palled and distracted by the sheer absence of order; though he would fain discover something that should, instead, appeal to his sense of reverence. It is unfortunate when a book that demands credence succeeds in merely awakening criticism. One can hardly help surmising that if the Qorān had been arranged on some principle tending to one uniform result—viz. the producing conviction,—a different effect might have issued from reading it: and one would suppose that a man inspired of God with a revelation designed for the acceptance of all mankind, would himself have desired, above all things, that the revelation should be chronicled and handed on to posterity in exactly the order in which the Divine Being communicated it.

My points, however, are purely of a literary nature; and inasmuch as the same inquiries, if put in reference to the Jewish and Christian Scriptures, could be readily answered, it seems only reasonable that they should, in the case of the Qorān also, meet with some satisfactory response.

J. D. BATE.

Allahabad.

SANSKRIT MSS.

Bābū Rājendraśāstra Mitra says that Sanskrit MSS. are mostly written on country paper sized with yellow arsenic and an emulsion of tamarind seeds, and then polished by rubbing with a conch-shell. A few are on white Kāśmīri paper, and some on palm-leaf. White arsenic is rarely used for the size, but he has seen a few codices sized with it, the mucilage employed in such cases being acacia gum. The surface of ordinary country paper being rough, a thick coating of size is necessary for easy writing, and the tamarind seed emulsion affords this admirably. The paper used for ordinary writing is sized with rice gruel, but such paper attracts damp and vermin of all kinds, and that great pest of literature, "the silver-fish," thrives luxuriantly on it. The object of the arsenic is to keep off this insect, and it serves the purpose most effectually. No insect or worm of any kind will attack arsenicated paper, and so far the MSS. are perfectly secure against its ravages. The superior appearance and cheapness of European paper has of late induced many persons to use it, instead of the country arsenicated paper, in writing *puṭhā*; but this is a great mistake, as the latter is not nearly so durable as the former, and is liable to be rapidly destroyed by insects. We cannot better illustrate this than by referring to some of the MSS. in the library of the Bengal Asiatic Society. There are among them several volumes written on fools-

* For a discussion of this and other points, see the lives of Muhammad, by Sir W. Muir, Sprenger, and others.—Ed.

cap paper, which date from 1820 to 1830, and they already look decayed, mouldering, and touched in several places by silver-fish. Others on letter paper, which is thicker, larger, and stouter, are already so far injured that the ink has quite faded and become in many places illegible; whereas the MSS. which were originally copied on arsenicated paper for the College of Fort William in the first decade of this century are now quite as fresh as they were when first written. There are many MSS. in private collections which are much older and still quite as fresh. The ordinary yellow paper sold in the bazâr is dyed with turmeric, and not at all proof against the attack of insects. The oldest MS. Bâbu Râjendrâlâla Mitra has examined is a copy of the *Bhâgavata Purâna*, bearing date Sâhvat 1367, or A.D. 1310. It is consequently 565 years old. It is written on paper of very good quality. The oldest palm-leaf MS. seen bears date Sâhvat 1189, or A.D. 1132; but "such records are extremely rare, and the general run is from 150 to 250 years."

FROM THE XVIIth CANTO OF THE BHAGAVAD-GITÂ.

By Prof. C. H. Tawney, M.A.

Nor to act, nor to abstain, do those of devilish nature know,
Not one seed of truth or virtue in their stubborn breasts can grow;
Say they "Soul-less, unsubsistent is this world, a mere pretence,
"Sprung without divine causation for the pleasure of the sense;"*
Clinging fast to this opinion, doltish, of perverted mind,
Still they practise evil actions for the ruin of mankind;
Harbouring lust that's never sated, full of folly, pride and guile,
Blindly nursing wrong conceptions, following courses that defile,
Hugging this supreme delusion, that death ends the spirit's strife,
Glorying in sensual pleasures, crying "Let us live our life,"
Bound with hundred cords of longing, slaves of anger and desire,
Piling up ill-gotten riches, fuel for their passions' fire;
"This my object is attained now, this to-morrow I'll attain;
"So much wealth I've heaped together, so much more I'll strive to gain,

* Or perhaps created by Kâma (love). So the Greeks connected Eros with the creation of the universe.

"This foe, from my path I've swept him, others also I will slay;
"I am king, and I'm enjoyer, wealthy, powerful, and gay,
"High-born, evermore successful; who on earth can vie with me?
"I will offer, give, and squander."—Thus insanely they decree,
Lost in vain imaginations, as in folly's net they fell,
Clinging fast to foul indulgence, down they sink to murky hell.
Stiff-necked, self-esteeming madmen, swoll'n with lawless pride of purse
Offer they unholy offerings which shall turn unto a curse.
Self-conceit, and lust, and anger o'er their souls dominion claim,
Me they hate and torture present in their own and others' frame;
These I hold my bitterest foemen, lowest in this circling world;
These by my almighty fiat into devilish wombs are hurled;
Born again in devilish natures, at each birth they downward tend,
Never finding me, till hopeless they to deepest gulfs descend.
Three-fold is the gate of Tartar, soul-destroying gate of woe,
Anger, lust, and greedy avarice, all these three thou should'st forego,
He who shuns these three temptations, gloomy mouths of the abyss,
He achieves his own salvation, and attains to sovereign bliss.
He who scorns the law of scripture, and is led by blind caprice,
Never shall behold perfection, heaven, nor the soul's release:
Then be thou by scripture guided, take it for thy rule of right,
Whate'er deed's enjoined by scripture, do that deed with all thy might.

—From *Calcutta Review*.

UNKNOWN GODS.

We worship the great gods and worship the small ones,
We worship the young gods and worship the old ones,
We worship all gods to the best of our power,
Nor may I forget to worship the gods of old times!

Rig-Veda, I. 2-4.†

† From Baierlein's *Land of the Tamulians*, by J. D. B. Gribble, M.C.S.

ÂTMA BÔDHA PRAKÂŚIKA.*

BY REV. J. F. KEARNS, MISSIONARY, S.P.G., TANJORE.

Introduction.

THE Divine Śankara Achârya, a gracious teacher, desirous of imparting instruction, has composed the following work for the better confirmation and security of the excellent scholar of the three classes of Vedânta works; and also for the benefit of those who are unable to study those works for themselves—i.e. the unlearned. This work, entitled Soul-knowledge, contains the sum total of the Vedânta system.

ÂTMA BÔDHA PRAKÂŚIKA.

1. This Soul-knowledge is set forth as something worthy the consideration of (1) those whose sins have been expiated by austerities, (2) of those who are tranquil, (3) of those who are free from desire, and (4) of those who long for liberation.

2. Amongst the other means, knowledge† is manifestly the only means to intuitive liberation.

Commentary.

1. The commentator finds in this strophe the four *śāddanas*, or preliminary means of salvation.

2. The commentator remarks: "The four preliminary means are related to the attainment of beatitude in the same manner as fuel is to the cooking of food; whilst knowledge resembles fire, which is absolutely necessary thereto.

3. Ignorance is the product of former works, and it seeks removal through new works; therefore works are not inimical§ to it: but as mud cannot be washed away with mud, so no one can by works blot out work-ignorance.

4. The sun is separated from the clouds by an immense distance, and is immeasurably larger than the clouds, yet the clouds appear to envelope

Without knowledge, resembling fire for cooking, liberation cannot be accomplished.

3. Works† are not inimical to ignorance, therefore they cannot remove ignorance. Knowledge, however, overcomes ignorance, as sunlight darkness.

4. By ignorance|| the soul is ruined, but when this cause succumbs, the soul shall, of itself, shine forth as the sole one (i.e. as Universal Brahma)—like the sun when the clouds disappear.

5. After that knowledge has, by means of the exercise of knowledge, purified *Jiva*¶ which was depressed by ignorance, it itself (even that knowledge) succumbs: just as the powder of the *Strychnos potatorum* acts upon water,—first purifies it, and then with the impurities commingles itself.

6. The world is like the creation of a dream; troubled by inclination, aversion, &c. &c., so

it. It is, however, only, in appearance that they do so: *Vṛitti-judha* (the discursive and therefore imperfect knowledge which is brought about by the power of the mental faculties) is the cause of the soul—divided among many bodies—appearing as a manifold thing, and not as a single thing, i.e. *Advaita*.

5. The plant here named is in Tamil called *Tetthamaram*, and the seed of it *Tettham Kottai*; the botanical name is that given in the translation. In Taylor's translation as rendered into French by Pauthier, it is called *Ketaka* (*Pandanus odoratissimus*).

6. The Tamil commentary on *Sapta Prakaraṇa* mentions eleven other passions into which the two

* A few years ago I translated this treatise and published it for private circulation. Perhaps it may be of more service to give it a wider and more extensive publication, and with this object I consign it to the *Indian Antiquary*.

† According to the Vedânta philosophy nothing exists but Brahma: consequently there is no object of knowledge, and hence the knowledge mentioned in the strophe is not the knowledge of a thing or things, for this would imply a contradiction to the dogma that nothing exists except knowledge. This knowledge is attained by detaching the thoughts from outward objects, attending the teacher's instruction, and meditating on the great saying "Hoc tu es"—thou art that (i.e. Brahma). Next, the qualified student perceives that the duality is an illusion, that all the objects in the universe are all Brahma, that he is himself Brahma. Getting beyond this, he ceases to assert even that as a separate thought: subject, object, all disappear; his knowledge is perfect—there is then left nothing but the One, who is knowledge and bliss. It is two-fold—(i.)

transcendent, invident; (ii.) non-transcendent, evident.—Vide Ballantyne and Mullens.

‡ "Karma, work, ceremony 'is threefold':—(i.) the demerit formerly collected by works, (ii.) the consequences of former works still being enjoyed or suffered, (iii.) future works."—*Grasul*.

§ "Works, instead of being inimical to sinful ignorance, rather benefit it."—*Kaivalyanavani*, Pt. II. 70.

|| Ignorance, according to this philosophy, is a something not positively real and not positively unreal, something in the shape of an entity, the opponent of "knowledge," corresponding with Plato's *ὁν καὶ μὴ ὂν* as distinguished from the *ὅτι ὂν*. It has two powers,—that by which it envelops soul, giving rise to the conceit of personality or individuality: and that by which it projects the phantasmagoria of a world which the individual regards as external to himself.—See Ballantyne and Mullens.

¶ *Jiva* is "life," the individual soul—the reflex of the Universal Spirit in the single individual.

long as it (the dream) lasts, it (the dream, creation) appears real; when the dreamer awakes, however, it becomes but a phantom.

7. So long as the world appears a reality—like the silver thread in the oyster-shell—we cannot know Brahma as the All-pervading One, without a second.

8. The Supreme Lord is the base of all (*matter*), being the entire cause of the world, its origin, continuation, and dissolution; but only as the bubble in the water.

9. In the *Sachchidâtman* (the self which is Reality and Spirit) appears the imaginary, and all the various species and individual developments of the All-pervader in Eternity, but only as golden bracelets and jewels.

10. He, the guide of the organs of sense, like the æther entering various *Upâdhis*, pervading all, appears in consequence of these differences

as divided; but when these (differences) have ceased to exist He will be the undivided One.

11. In consequence of the variety of *Upâdhis*, sex, name, condition, &c. &c. are ascribed to the absolute spirit, just as the varieties of taste, colour, &c. &c. are ascribed to water.

12. By the five-fold operation of the elements, through works (in the previous life guilty ones), the body was formed, and it is a dwelling-place for the enjoyment of pleasure and the endurance of pain.

13. The *Sūkṣma-Śarīra** is undoubtedly formed of the five airs, mind, under standing, and the ten organs—Hearing, Feeling, Seeing, Tasting, Smelling (as organs of intelligence), with Voice, Feeling, Motion, Excrement, and Genital (as organs of action); but with the five separated elements above described it has no connection. It is the organ of all sensations, agreeable and

Commentary.

principal ones, Desire and Aversion, are divided: so that in all there are thirteen, viz.:—1. *Rāga*, desire (*i.e.* according to the commentary, illicit sexual love); 2. *Deveśa*, hatred; 3. *Kāma*, covetousness (*i.e.*—according to the commentary—after increase of children, friends, houses, lands, money, &c. &c.); 4. *Krodha*, anger; 5. *Lobha*, ambition; 6. *Moha*, passionate attachment; 7. *Māda*, arrogance (*i.e.*—according to the commentary—on the score of wealth, power, &c. &c.); 8. *Matsara*, envy; 9. *Ired*, malicious exultation; 10. *Asujā*, desire to disparage others; 11. *Dambha*, vain ambition; 12. *Darpa*, presumptuous pride; 13. *Ahankāra*, egotism.

7. The white colour in the oyster-shell, at first sight, appears to be silver; on close inspection, however, we become conscious of the unreality. So, at first sight, the world appears a reality; but close investigation shows that it is utterly unreal, and, like the deceptive silver cord in the oyster-shell, clings to the highest spirit.

8. Bubbles, foam, billows, &c. &c., though apparently differing from water, are really not so; they are but water. As, therefore, water is their origin, &c. &c., so the Supreme Lord is the base of all (*matter*).

9. Bracelets, rings, and other jewels, though bearing distinct names, are not distinct from the gold of which they are made, but are contained in it. In like manner the varied species, and in-

dividual development of the All-pervader, repose in the *Sachchidâtman*.

10. The commentator remarks: "As one æther pervades all things, and, entering various modifications—as air into vessels, houses, &c. &c.—appears thereby to be divided, but when these modifications—vessels, houses, &c. &c.—disappear, it is again one undivided whole: in like manner the One Spirit, pervading all things, appears, by entering various modifications—as, for instance, by entering this or that individual—to be divided (whereas it is not); for when these modifications disappear it becomes one undivided spirit."

11. The commentator remarks: "Water is naturally white and sweet (also really colourless and tasteless), but, modified by the admixture with it of various kinds of earth, it assumes—by way of accident—red, black, and other colours; salt, bitter, and other tastes. In like manner the Supreme Spirit is naturally without sex, name, or condition; but, modified by the three kinds of matter (see the following strophe), it acquires—by way of accident—sex, name, and condition."

12. The commentator remarks: "*Panchikarāṇa* is the division of each of the five elements into five parts, and the reciprocal combination of them with one and other again." Each of the five elements (æther, air, fire, water, earth) is divided into *halves*, one of which is set aside, and the other half

* According to the Vedānta philosophy there are three *Śarīras*, or corporeal forms:—(i.) the *Kāraṇa Śarīra* (*corpus causans*); (ii.) the *Sūkṣma Śarīra*, the fine material body form; and (iii.) the *Sthūla Śarīra*, the gross body, made up of the limbs which we perceive. The latter two are the

corpora causata. The *Sthūla Śarīra* perishes at death; but the *Sūkṣma Śarīra*, the immediate organ of the soul, is said to accompany it through all its transmigrations, and is capable of sensations of enjoyment and suffering. The *corpus causans* is the original type or embryo of the body as existing with the soul in its original state.

disagreeable; whilst the gross material body is the only seat of them.

14. Beginningless, Unconsciousness, the In-

describable is said to be causal—*Upādhi*. That, however, which is diverse from the third *Upādhi* (i.e. lies over beyond it), is known as the *Ātman*.

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is divided into four parts, and these latter are combined with the halves of the elements previously set set aside." The combination may be represented by

$\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{2}$. In this manner, mind and the other faculties are produced, as set forth in the following chart:—

Panchākarana.

Soul.				
<i>Æther—Antakarana.</i>	Mind.	Intellect.	Will.	Individuality.
Wind in the throat. Securing due proportions throughout the body.	Wind pervading the body and distributing chyle.	Wind in the navel and causing hiccoughs.	Wind in the heart and causing respiration.	Wind which divides excretory matter; seated in the top of the head and flowing downwards.
Hearing Sense.	Feeling Sense.	Fire. Seeing Sense.	Tasting Sense.	Smelling Sense.
Sound.	Tangibility.	Form.	Water. Savour.	Odour.
Voice Organ (Mouth)	Touch Organ. (Hand).	Motion Organ (Feet).	Excrement Organ (Anus).	Earth. Pudenda viri aliquando et feminae.

In like manner, proceeding as above, the following Formations are obtained:—

1—Æther and Earth = Individuality, i.e., the saying "I."

Æther and Water = *Chitta* or Will.

Æther and Fire = Intellect.

Æther and Wind = Mind (*mens*).

Pure Æther = *Antakarana* (Internal Agency).

2—Wind and Earth = Wind in the intestines (is produced).

Wind and Water = Wind in the heart.

Wind and Fire = Wind in the navel.

Wind and Æther = Wind in the throat.

Pure Wind = Wind pervading the body.

3—Fire and Earth = Smelling Sense.

Fire and Water = Tasting Sense.

Fire and Wind = Feeling Sense.

Fire and Æther = Hearing Sense.

Pure Fire = Seeing Sense.

4—Water and Earth = Odour.

Water and Fire = Form (Light).

Water and Wind = Tangibility or Palpability.

Water and Æther = Voice or Sound.

Pure Water = Savour.

5—Earth and Water = Excrement Organ (Anus)

Earth and Fire = Motion Organ.

Earth and Wind = Touch or Feeling Organ.

Earth and Æther = Voice Organ.

Pure Earth = Genital Organs.

The various Formations are arranged in families or classes, as follows, viz.:—

I.—Æther Formation.

Antakarana.—Wind in the throat, Hearing Sense, Sound, Voice Organ.

II.—Wind Formation.

Mind.—Wind pervading the body, Feeling Sense, Tangibility, Feel Organ.

III.—Fire Formation.

Intellect.—Wind in the navel, Seeing Sense, Form, Motion Organ.

IV.—Water Formation.

Will.—Wind in the heart, Tasting Sense, Savour, Excremental Organ.

V.—Earth Formation.

Individuality.—Wind in the intestines, Smelling Sense, Odour, Genital Organs.

13. The commentator remarks—"The Soul: for the perception of pleasure and pain, requires the above-mentioned seventeen principles:—i.e. 1. The five airs, Mind, Intellect; the five senses and the five organs." These constitute the fine material body: some, however, substitute *Ahankara* for Intellect. Elsewhere they are spoken of as the five gross elements, the twice five organs, the five airs, the four faculties—Mind, Intellect, Will, and Individuality:—in all, twenty-four, and they constitute the gross material body; but omitting the five coarse elements (smell, light, palpability, sound, and taste) together with Will and Intellect, the remaining seventeen constitute the fine material body.

14. The "Causing-body form" bears this name because it serves as a cause or basis for each of the other body-forms. The commentator uses the word *Māyā* instead of "Unconsciousness" (that is,

15. The pure soul through its connexion with the five *Kośas*,† &c. &c. appears as though it partook of their form or nature,—in this, however, merely resembling the pure crystal in proximity with dark-coloured cloth.

16. The *Ātman*, the inner, the pure one, which is enclosed in those *Kośas*, may be threshed out of them by philosophical study, like the rice-corn.

17. *Ātman*, although always All-pervading, does not shine forth in all. In the understanding, however, it is very manifest,—like the reflection of a mirror upon a pure surface.

18. *Ātman* may be considered as one who has no part in the nature of the body, senses, mind, or understanding; and yet, though distinct from them, he is always quietly overlooking their activity,—(in this) resembling a king.

19. To fools the Spirit appears to be active, when the senses only are really active: just as the moon appears to move when the clouds only are passing.

20. Through ignorance the quality and activity of the body and of the senses are attributed to the pure soul which is essence and spirit, just as blueness, &c. &c. is attributed to the ether.

21. In consequence of ignorance, form, activity, &c. &c.—the essential *Upādhi*‡ of the mind,—are copied by the soul; like the moon, in the water, partaking of the motion of the waves, &c. &c.

22. Inclination, desire, pleasure, pain, &c. &c. are intensified when *Buddhi* is present (i.e. present in the waking state as well as in the dreaming state); but in the profound dreamless sleep,§ when it (i.e. *Buddhi*) exists not, these are not intensified. Therefore this is the property of *Buddhi*, and not of the *Ātman*.

23. As brightness is inherent in the Sun, coolness in Water, and warmth in Fire in a natural manner: so existence, spirituality, bliss, and eternal purity belong to the soul (in a natural manner).

Commentary.

the condition resulting from ignorance). *Māyā* is undefinable, because it is neither *Sat*, real, nor *Asat*, unreal.

15. There are extraneous causes which lend to the Spirit the appearance of various forms: it is, however, perfectly pure, and uncontaminated by them,—just as the crystal, which permits the colour of the cloth to be seen through it, without becoming in any way mingled with it or defiled by it.

16. *Yukti*, or philosophical study, consists of three parts, namely, Hearing, Meditation, and Systematic Contemplation. The commentator quotes the following aphorism:—"For the Lordly-life-Spirit are the five *Kośas* and the five cavities, and these five cavities are the five elements."

18. In obedience to the King's mandate his ministers transact affairs of state; and, although the king takes no part with them in these transactions, he is perfectly cognizant of their doings.

19. It is as if one were to say when water is falling, "The sun (reflected therein) moves." It is as if one were to say when the clouds are hurrying along, "The cool shining moon moves on." The *Upādhis* of the bodies, &c. &c. are but imaginatively joined to the changeless Spirit. The *Jiva*-idea is the gross-world activity. Know this!

22. The commentator remarks: "The author in this strophe confutes the logic of the Atomic School, which considers desire, anger, pleasure, and pain, to be the natural conditions (*Dharma*) of the Spirit."

23. Existence belongs to the soul because it stands the test of the three states (i.e. waking, dreaming, and dreamless sleep). Spirituality belongs to it because that in those three states it recognizes objects which appear. Bliss is a peculiar rapture with freedom from all pain. Some, however, explain the last peculiarity thus, "Happiness belongs to the soul," because the soul is the object of pleasure. Eternity belongs to it, because it exists undivided through the three times. Others, however, claim this attribute for it because the soul does not enter into the four negative categories.

These are as follows:—

1. That category according to which there was nothing prior = *Prāgabdhā*.

2. That category according to which something that was ceases to be = *Pradvandbhā*.

3. That category according to which nothing was or shall be = *Atjantabhā*.

4. That category according to which something is a separate thing (from other things) = *Anjon-jabhā*.

world.

† The soul is said to have five *Kośas*, coverings or sheaths, e.g. (i.) *Annamaya Kośa*, or the covering of corporeal form which is supported by food; (ii.) *Prāṇamaya Kośa*, the vital, external organs, or sphere of breathing; (iii.) *Manomaya Kośa*, the mental organs; (iv.) *Vijñānamaya Kośa*, the organs of perception, with intellect; (v.) *Anandamaya*, sphere of supreme happiness, unconscious of all but self.

‡ *Upādhi* is the illusive form of *Brahma* within the

§ During life the soul is considered to occupy one or other of three states, i.e. waking, dreaming, and profound sleep. While awake, the soul, associated with the body, is active, and has to deal with a real creation; in the dreaming state an illusory world is created; but in the profound sleeping state the soul is absent, having retired by the channel of the arteries to the bosom of the Supreme.

24. Through want of discerning understanding, people connect the essential and spiritual, *particula*, of the *Ātman*, with the Activity of the understanding,—these two into one,—and then are accustomed to say "I know."

25. No change takes place in the Spirit (in consequence of Activity). In the understanding (by and for itself) there never is wisdom. (These two must not be confounded one with the other, for Wisdom belongs to Spirit, and intellectual activity to the understanding; the former is the Sun (by whose light the mental faculties work). The *Jiva* (the reflex of the universal Spirit, in the single individual) foolishly says "I am the doer," "I am the spectator," whilst he acknowledges all the filth (*i.e.* the elementary mental faculties and the organs of sense, &c. &c. which perform that activity) as belonging to himself.

26. When one takes *Jiva* for *Ātman*, in re-

spect of its nature, as a man might mistake a rope for a snake, he may well become fearful. If a man, however, knows "I am not *Jiva*, but the Supreme Spirit," he becomes free from fear.

27. The Spirit, the One, illumines the senses, at whose head stands the understanding, &c. &c., just as a lamp illumines a vessel, &c. &c.; it, however, the self-essential-spirit, is not illumined by these gross (elementary formations).

28. As the self is essential knowledge, the soul requires the aid of no other knowledge to enable it to recognize its own proper knowledge: just as a flambeau, which is in itself a shining light, requires not the aid of another flambeau to render it visible.

29. Having by the aid of the words "It is not so, it is not so," removed all the *Upādhis*, one will easily recognize, by the aid of the "great saying," the oneness of the (individual) living Spirit with the (Universal) Supreme Spirit.

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24. The commentator remarks: "It may perhaps be objected, 'How comes it that when the soul is perfectly inactive one ventures to say 'I know'?' This objection the author here meets: *e.g.* When the sunbeam and the burning-glass are brought in contact, fire arises: in like manner ignorance arises when the Spirit-reflex (which resembles the sunbeam) and the understanding (which resembles the burning-glass) are twisted into one, and in consequence of this ignorance it happens that the Living-Spirit is caught in such sayings as 'I know.' When, however, the Spirit is separated from the activity of the understanding, no object appears, and it is then the Self recognizing itself, without activity.

25. The Tamil commentary, which reads *ala*, 'much,' instead of *mala*, 'dirt,' and joins the former word with *muhjati*, gives the literal meaning of the strophe thus:—"Change (or activity) never (belongs) to the Spirit." Wisdom never (belongs) to the understanding, nevertheless the Living-Spirit beguiles itself with the thought that it is "the doer," "the spectator," &c. &c.,—taking the totality of the mental faculties for itself.]]

26. The commentator remarks: "This strophe shows that if the Spirit takes upon itself heterogeneous qualities—while imputing to itself (as in the preceding strophe) activity, which belongs only to the elementary mental faculties, senses and organs—it is preparing trouble for itself."

27. Here the author points out why the Spirit is not recognized by means of the understanding,

the faculties and senses, although they are so closely allied with it.

28. The commentator remarks: "Here the author meets the objection arising from the latter part of the previous strophe, namely, 'If the soul cannot be known by means of the mental faculties, &c. &c., how then shall it be recognized?'"

29. The commentator includes the entire *Upādhis* in Universal Knowledge and partial knowledge. He explains the words "It is not so," by "it (the real substratum of the unreal world of phenomena) is without name and form." The "great saying" is "*Tat tvam asi*," *i.e.* "Hoc (*i.e.* Brahma) tu es."—If amongst a quantity of stones picked up there was a precious stone (discovered), perhaps then one would examine them all closely, and discover that they were not (all) precious stones. So here with reference to the Spirit which is associated with the various *Upādhis* (the three-fold body-form) the Vedas explain that "these (phenomena) are not it," and sets them aside. In this manner one learns to know the Spirit (by means of *Śrī-vaṇa*, hearing the Vedas). Now, although in everyday life, one attributes greatness and smallness to rivers and seas, in consequence of the peculiarities of the land, yet when one divests his ideas of these peculiarities, the entire *water* appears as one, and the idea of size (large and small) vanishes. So is it with Universal Knowledge; and the partial knowledge of the universal world, and the individual Living-soul: the difference between them exists only in the phenomena and habits of the

|| Dr. Graul observes here that Taylor doubted whether this strophe could be translated in a sensible manner; the doctor considers the Tamil commentary satisfactory.

30. The Body, &c. &c. is known to have arisen through ignorance, visible and transient as the bubble upon the water; that, however, which in this quality is free, is recognized saying "I (am) Brahma,"—as the Pure.

31. Because I am diverse from the Body, &c. &c., I am free from birth, old age, decay, death, &c. &c., and being independent of the senses I have no connexion with the (sense) things (fashioned out of the Tanmātras or elementary Atoms), as sound, &c. &c.

32. Because I am without *Manas* (mind), pain, desire, aversion, and fear, &c. &c. do not affect me—according to the words of Revelation, (e. g.) "without life, without *manas*, pure," &c. &c.

33. I am without quality (*Guna**), without activity, eternal, without will or conception, without stain, without change, without form; for ever saved—pure.†

34. I am like the *Æther*, pervading all within and without, imperishable, in all alike-abiding, the perfect, the independent, unspotted, immovable.

35. That (*Being*) which appears eternal,

pure, emancipated (from all things), which is undivided bliss, one without a second;—existence, knowledge, endless, the Supreme Brahma—"that am I."

36. Perfect Self-consciousness, "I am Brahma," removes all false appearance of ignorance, just as the elixir of life removes sickness.

37. Sitting in a secluded place, without passion (or desire), with senses curbed, let one set before him the One Spirit—the Unending—with undisturbed meditation.

38. Well instructed by wisdom, denying all visible (matter) in the Spirit—let such an one always set before him the One Spirit, which resembles the pure *Æther*.

39. He who knows the Supreme Truth (or essence), rejects all (distinction) of form, sex, &c. &c., and unites himself with the All-perfect Spirit-blest, Self-existence.

40. The distinction of "Knower," "Knowledge," and "Object of Knowledge" is not known in the Supreme Spirit: (rather) it (Brahma) through its own self is enlightened, in consequence of its own essence, which is Spirit and Bliss.

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world, and not in the Supreme Spirit which is in the *Susupti* state. One may discover that by the "great saying" which removes all difference between the "thou" and the "that."

30. The commentator remarks: "Strophes from 15 to 30 treat of *Śravana*, the hearing of the Vedas, as the first stage on the road to Salvation. The five following strophes treat of *Manana*, the meditating upon what has been heard, as the second stage on the road."

31. The commentator remarks: "These are deductions from the Vedas, which the scholar, who has studied the Vedas, has now thoroughly to think upon."

32. The commentator remarks: "According to the Vedas the Soul does not possess Mind or any other faculty.‡ It is an Eternal blessed One—this is to be believed."

35. The commentator uses the plural of *Viksepa* in a narrower sense, and then in a wider sense than *Āvaraṇa*—two common artifices of Vedānta. Ac-

cording to it, *Āvaraṇa* (concealing or covering) is the cause that after one has got rid of the *duality* in himself, it nevertheless again emerges, and he thus becomes at the same time a being who knows himself to be Brahma, and a being who is ignorant of it: *Viksepa*—false appearance—brings, according to it, a divided (i.e. contradictory) knowledge into the waking and dreaming condition. On the other hand, according to others, *Āvaraṇa* is the concealment of the true self, so that one takes the (elementary) categories for it, and *Viksepa* is the state of pleasure in sensual things. *Āvaraṇa* is more intellectual, and *Viksepa* more ethical. Moreover, *Āvaraṇa* is the anxiety which exclaims, "The Spirit does not appear to me;" and *Viksepa* is the illusion which takes the individual living-self depending upon corporeity, for the true self. Finally *Āvaraṇa* is the double error; "the truth does not exist, it is invisible," and *Viksepa* is the grief because "it has died in the river."

‡ *Manas* is the faculty of imagination and excitation according to this philosophy.

* There are said to be three *gunas* or qualities; they are mentioned in the *Kaivaljanavanita* thus, viz. :—

"They are excellent white, black and red, that partakes of each, and are denominated pure essence, darkness, and impure nature. But although these *gunas*, which are called essence, filth, and gloom, as *three*, are equal, one among them may preponderate."—Graul's Translation.

† "Do not say, 'Attributing qualities to the being void of qualities is equivalent to saying—a sterile mother.'"

The qualities, mentioned by the excellent Vedas to the end that for the sake of obtaining the emancipation, of this life the knowledge of Brahma may be brought about, are by no means qualities of Brahma, but the very substance of Brahma."—*Kaivaljanavanita*, Graul's Translation.

41. The flame of knowledge, which blazes forth when the contemplation is unceasingly rubbed upon the fuel of the Soul, consumes all the stubble of ignorance.

42. When, by means of knowledge, as by a ray of morning light, the full darkness has been dispelled, the Spirit shall shine forth of itself on high, like the Sun.

43. The Spirit is alway attainable, notwithstanding through ignorance it becomes unattainable; when this has been destroyed, it shall shine forth, from thence, attainable, like the (forgotten) jewel upon the neck.

44. The *Jiva-Atma* erroneously appears in the *Brahma*, just as (the form of) a man in a pillar of timber; when, however, the true form of the *Jiva-Atma* is understood, this (error) will vanish.

45. By the knowledge which springs from an experimental grasping of the Supreme substance, the ignorance which says "I" and "mine" is quickly dispelled; just as the rising sun removes embarrassments (with reference to the region of the heavens).

46. The Wise, having attained perfect discernment, perceives the totality of things to rest in himself, and with the eye of knowledge he perceives All as the one Self.

47. All this world is the Spirit, and distinct

from the Spirit nothing exists; just as one knows that earthen pots, &c. &c. are (essentially) earth, so All is the essential Spirit.

48. He who knows this, is the Life-emancipated-self. He layeth the qualities of the former *Upādhis* altogether aside: and through the inner essence-spirit, &c. &c. he is a participator of the condition of *Brahma*:—like the bee, (which from being an insect at first) has arrived at what now it is.

49. Having crossed the sea of fascination, and having slain the giants "Inclination," "Aversion," &c. &c., the Wise shall forth, married to Tranquillity, delighting in the Spirit.

50. Extinguishing his inclination for external changeable pleasure, and securely reposing in Spirit-pleasure, (such a one) shall alway shine forth clearly therein, like the light which stands in a vessel secure.

51. Although still involved in the *Upādhi* (i.e. corporeity), the *Muni* (i.e. wisdom-perfected sage) may remain uncontaminated by its natural qualities, (just like the ether, which, although it pervades the most unclean things, is nevertheless uncontaminated). And although he knows all, yet like a (disinterested) imbecile will he stand aside, and clinging (to no sensual thing) (he) passes through (them) like the wind.

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41. The commentator remarks: "The soul, with reference to the mental faculties bound up with it, is here compared to very inflammable wood† (here contemplation). This fire consumes not only the contemplation, but also the mental faculties (or Spirit-powers); then *Aparōkṣa-Jñāna* or pure Intuition arises."

43. The commentator remarks: "A simile for the *Brahma*, which, though forgetting itself, is not separate from it, is found in the words of the poet, viz. —

'Where is the Lord?' say'st thou, my Soul,
Like those who go about demanding
'Where am I?'"

45. *Anūbhava* (empirical grasping) is the third part of Salvation-lore (*Śruti, Yukti, Anūbhava*); one arrives at it by the three means to salvation, i.e. Hearing, Meditation, and Methodical Contemplation.

† Which emits fire by friction with other wood.

§ "The undeveloped energy of the clay is developed (in the pitcher formed from it). In common life they will call that clay, 'pitcher.' This is a mere phrase, and so is the 'distinction of the pitcher.' Whenever you forget the cur-

47. As out of the same clay vessels of different kinds and names are made, so out of the same *Brahms* are produced the variously named and variously formed things of this world. The clay is *Kāraṇa* (cause, and even material cause); the vessels are *Kārja* (effects, things formed). So is *Brahma* the material cause of the world, and therefore proceeding from it, as the thing made of it, and of various forms.‡

49. This strophe refers to the history of *Rāma*, which is here symbolically explained. *Sitā* calls up in our mind the *Sānti*—Tranquillity—and the kingdom of *Ayodhyā* ("the Unconquerable"), in which *Rāma* subsequently rules happily; according to the commentator the (impalpable) Spirit in which the Life-freed-being rejoices.

51. The commentator remarks: "Here the teacher meets the scholar's question, 'In what condition, then, is the freed-life-Soul until the guilt

rent names and shapes, and see (in a vessel formed from the clay) nothing but clay, then this is true reality; forgetting the different *Jiva*-fictions, you will assume the share of Spirit."—*Kaivalyanavānta*, Gaul's Trans.

52. By the dissolution of the *Upādhi*, the *Muni* (wisdom-perfected-Sage) unites inseparably with the (All-)pervading One, just as water mixes inseparably with water, air with air, and fire with fire.

53. That gain, than which there is no greater gain,

That pleasure, than which there is no greater pleasure,

That knowledge, than which there is no greater knowledge,

That is Brahma.—Let this be believed!

54. That, which One having perceived, there is nothing else to perceive,

That, which One having attained, there is nothing else attainable,

That, which One knowing, there exists nothing else to be known,

That is Brahma.—Let this be believed.

55. That which is thorough, above, below, complete, perfect, existence spirit and bliss; the one without a second, endless, ever-existing and one—that is Brahma.—Let this be believed!

56. That which is in the form of rejecting whatsoever is “not this”—i.e. not Brahma—is, in the Vedānta writings, shown to be the imperishable, the perfectly happy, the One—that is Brahma.—Let this be believed.

57. Having access to a portion of the bliss of the Being|| of all-perfect Bliss, Brahmā and the other (popular deities), become, by degrees, partially happy beings.

58. With this (i.e. Brahma) the Universality

of things is connected, and the (worldly) Activity is Spirit-affected: hence Brahma is a being, everywhere all-pervading, like butter¶ everywhere in milk (i.e. the material which originates butter is diffused throughout the entire quantity of milk): in like manner is Brahma throughout the Universe.

59. That which is neither coarse nor fine, neither short nor long, without birth and imperishable, without form, unbound by place, without sex and name: that is Brahma.* Let this be believed!

60. That by which the sun, &c. &c. shines, but which is not illumined by any light, that by which all these are effulgent, is Brahma. Let this be believed!

61. Of itself pervading everything within and without, and the entire world illumining, the Brahma shines forth, like the iron-ball glowing with fire.

62. Brahma shares not the qualities of the world; besides Brahma there exists nothing; when any other than Brahma appears it is false—like the mirage in the desert.†

63. That which is always seen and heard is (in the most profound essence) not different from Brahma: and by means of the true knowledge (in which all modifications, as well as the illusive, perish) these pertain (directly) to Brahma, to the Being full of Reality, Spirit, and Bliss, the One without a second.

64. The eye of Wisdom discerns the all-pervading Soul, which is Being and Spirit; the

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(accumulated during a prior existence) is completely expiated, and incorporeal Bliss succeeds the extinction of the threefold corporeality.”

52. An annotation of Taylor (or Pauthier) refers the dissolution of the *Upādhi* merely to the gross and fine material forms. The Tamil commentator rightly refers it to the causal form. The commentator remarks: “In the three following strophes the teacher describes the sublimity of the Brahma as regards extent, place, and time.”

57. The commentator remarks: “The teacher here disposes of the objection (of the popular faith),

‘Undivided Bliss is ascribed to Brahmā, Vishnu, &c. &c., and those who would attain the happiness of these Godheads perform horse-sacrifice.’”

58. The commentator here makes a very characteristic observation, i.e.: “The author wishes to meet the objection, ‘As it is a notorious fact that great desire for sense-things exist, how can it be said that the Spirit is in a high degree the object of (human) desire?’ And he meets the objection, showing, by means of the above example, that the Spirit is, equally with butter, an object worthy the desire of all.”

|| Brahma is the Supreme Deity, the *causa materialis* and *causa efficiens* of the illusive world.

Brahmā is the chief god of the Hindu Triad, and it is he who is mentioned in this strophe.

¶ Butter has a totally different signification to the non-flesh-eating Hindu than to us. Therefore the first published Tamil Vedic writing bears the interesting title, “The fresh Butter of Happiness.”

* Some of the negative attributes of the Brahma are given in this strophe; for them more at length see *Kaivalyananda*, Part II. 137.

† “Everything is false which is not Brahma.”

Vedānta Paribhāṣa.

Nothing exists but he (i.e. Brahma).

Sūtras, iii. 2, 29.

eye of ignorance, however, cannot perceive it, just as the blind cannot see the shining sun.

65. Aglow with the fire of knowledge which has been kindled by the study of the Vedas, &c. &c., the Living-Soul, free of all impurity, shines forth of itself, like the gold (refined in the fire).

66. The self, rising in the Æther of the heart,—the sun of Wisdom, scatters the darkness, and pervading all, bearing all, it appears. It illumines all.

67. Whoever undertakes the pilgrimage of himself, regardless of the region of the heavens, place, or time, &c. &c., passing through all:—having overcome cold, heat, and all other varieties of opposition—obtains eternal happiness, and is free from all toil—as one without works activity: i.e. as one who does not seek his happiness in the ceremonies of the popular belief, or in any activity whatever—and becomes omniscient, all-pervading, immortal.

TWO KONGU OR CHERA GRANTS, OF A.D. 454 AND 513.

BY LEWIS RICE, BANGALORE.

Two grants were produced in court here by a resident of Mallohalli, about 25 miles north-west of Bangalore, and referred to me for a knowledge of their contents. They will be found of considerable importance in throwing light upon the history of the Kongu kings. One dates, as I shall show, from A.D. 454, and the other from 513: the former is therefore 12 years older, and the latter 47 years later, than the Merkara plates.*

The first is engraved in small characters on three thin narrow plates of copper ($7\frac{1}{2}$ in. \times $1\frac{1}{2}$ in.), which are strung together on a metal ring secured with the stamp of an elephant, and are a good deal worn. The second is well and deeply cut in bold characters on five stout plates (9 in. \times $3\frac{1}{2}$ in.) which are in good preservation. It exhibits with great distinctness the formation of the letters of the Hale Kannaḍa alphabet at the opening of the 6th century. Whether due to superior skill in the engraver or to a regular process of development, the characters, which in the two earlier grants seem to be in a transition state, have here acquired a more settled form;† which, again, in the Nāgaman-gala plates‡ of the 8th century attains to some degree of elegance.

The language, likewise, employed in the older of these two grants, as in the Merkara plates, seems to be transitional in style, veering between Sanskrit and Hale Kannaḍa, with an evident effort after the former, but powerfully, if not predominantly, under the influence of the latter.

In the second of our present grants, however, the Sanskrit is of a decided character and more accurate. Other evidence deduced from these inscriptions renders it probable that towards the end of the 5th century Sanskrit and Brāhmaṇical influence were, in the south of Maisur, gradually displacing ancient Kanarese, and with it the power of the Jains, its most eminent professors.

The first of the inscriptions now published records a grant by Koṅgaṇiś Mahārāja to a Brāhmaṇ named Tippūr Kāda Svāmi of certain land under the Melūr tank, in the year Jaya, the 29th of his reign. The second is the record of a grant by Koṅgaṇi Vṛiddha, named Avinīta or Durvvinita, the son of the foregoing, of a village named Keḷale and of certain lands east and west of the river Penna to a Brāhmaṇ named Deva Śārmmaṇa or Mahādeva, in the year Vijaya, the 35th of his reign. Assuming that the inscriptions are genuine, which I see no reason to question, there was an interval of 59 years between them, for in the Hindu cycle of 60 years Vijaya immediately precedes Jaya. It therefore follows that Koṅgaṇi II. ruled for 53 years. But this extreme period does not invalidate the accuracy of the dates, as might hastily be supposed, for the second of the grants discloses the interesting fact that Koṅgaṇi II. was crowned either immediately on, or soon after, his birth. The period of 53 years does not, under such circumstances, seem an exaggerated length

* Ind. Ant. vol. I. p. 363.

† The signs of punctuation are deserving of notice.

‡ Ind. Ant. vol. II. p. 155.

§ Regarding the different forms in which this name is found, I regret that I have yet had no opportunity of re-

ferring to the original inscription to confirm my reading of Kodgini. But at Nīrgunda I saw a stone in which it is written Koṅgaṇi, and the Rev. F. Kittel has pointed out to me that the latter is the form in the Kāvyaśālokaṇa 5, 85: cf. Introd. Nāga Varmma's Conqueror's Prosody, xxvi.

to assign to his reign.¶ Thus much being premised in support of the figures as contained in these grants, we must resort to the *Merkāra* plates, which belong to the same period, in order to fix the year of the era. They were dated in Śālivāhana Śaka 388, which corresponds with the year Parābhava. To arrive at Jaya we must go back 12 years, and thus obtain the date Ś. Ś. 376 for the first grant, or A.D. 454, and by consequence Ś. Ś. 347, or A.D. 425, for the birth and commencement of the reign of Koṅgaṇi II. and the termination of that of Mādhaba II., his father. The calculation for the second grant is now easy, and we get the dates Ś. Ś. 435, or A.D. 513, for the grant itself, and Ś. Ś. 400 or A.D. 478 for the end of the reign of Koṅgaṇi II. and the beginning of that of Avinita or Koṅgaṇi Vṛiddha. There is only one objection which, it occurs to me, might be urged against this computation. It is the advanced age to which Avinita must, according to these figures, have arrived when he made the second of our present grants. For this is 57 years later than the *Merkāra* grant, which was also made by him, but at a time when, apparently, he was his father's minister, and must therefore have already arrived at manhood. But say he was then 20, he would now be 67, an age quite within the bounds of reason. And that he could not have been much over 20 at the former period is evident from this, that his father was only 41. Having thus, as I trust conclusively, established the dates in question, and by proving their credibility vindicated that of the remaining contents of the inscriptions, we may now proceed to examine these more closely.

To begin with the oldest. The first thing to be remarked is the curious differences in the string of descriptive phrases attached to each king, differences which might be set down as errors on the part of the composer or transcriber, but that this being the oldest of the grants the expressions may here be in their original form, afterwards altered and improved upon.¶

The three others agree, for instance, in

¶ From the *Nāgamangala* plates we learn that Prithvi Koṅgaṇi reigned at least 50 years; while, if the *Kongu-deśa Rājaka* is to be relied on, Koṅgaṇi I. reigned 51 years.

¶ Observe also the *ghana gavana* of the first line, in place of the *gata ghana gavana* of the other inscriptions.

* Mr. Taylor's version of the *Kongu-deśa Rājaka* says, "This king, in going out to conquer hostile kings, was

ascribing to Koṅgaṇi I. the feat of dividing with one stroke of his sword a *mahā śīlā stambha*, or great pillar of stone, but here this figures as *anila* or *nīla stambha*. What either of them means it is difficult to say. The *śīlā stambha* might have been a *linga*, like the historical one of Somanāth which was broken by Māhmūd of Ghazni, or it might have been a pillar of victory erected by some rival prince*; but the new version, meaning either wind-post or blue (sapphire) post, seems inexplicable, as it is hardly possible that the reference can be, by a wildly bold metaphor, to a conquest of the *Nīla-giri*. The ornament of a wound, again, with which Koṅgaṇi I. is decorated in the other grants, is here bestowed upon the next king, Mādhaba I.; while instead Koṅgaṇi is described as a wild-fire in consuming (*ba... ti*, a word I cannot make out,—it may be a proper name). Further on, we find none of the religious devotion attributed here to Viṣṇu Gopa, which in the other three appears as his principal attribute. On the contrary, he is credited with uncommon mental energy, unimpaired to the close of life. All the grants agree in stating that Mādhaba I. was very active in promoting works of merit, but here this is expressed without the figure employed in the formerly published grants, and in terms which seem to imply something like a Brāhmaṇical revival. Our second grant states this in even stronger language, and expressly adds that it was fostered by Koṅgaṇi II. and Avinita. Lastly Koṅgaṇi II. is simply styled the son of Mādhaba, without any allusion to his mother's being a *Kadamba* princess, as mentioned in the three other grants.

The second of our present inscriptions contains a much fuller account of most of the kings than is given in either of the others. But especially with reference to Koṅgaṇi II. and Avinita. The former, we thus learn, as already stated, was crowned at his birth. He appears to have made many conquests and to have reigned with great glory. Brāhmaṇical

accustomed to cut a stone asunder with his sword, and then to vow that this was a pattern of what he would do to the king's enemies" (*Mad. Jour.* XIV. 7)—a statement which does not appear to throw much light on the subject.

Sir Erskine Perry states that the pillars erected by Asoka were called by him *śīla stambha*; virtue-pillars, because he had engraved upon them his laws and exhortations to good conduct: *Jour. Bo. Br. E. As. Soc.* vol. vi. p. 158.

influence was evidently by this time paramount in the state. It is Avinita, however, regarding whom most information that is new is obtained. His names of Avinita and Durvinita evidently conveyed no disagreeable associations, but we find that he had also the royal title of Koṅgaṇi Vṛiddha. Another interesting fact is that he was married to the daughter of the Punnāḍ rājā, Skanda Varmma. This is the name of two Pallava kings mentioned in Sir Walter Elliot's grants examined by Prof. Eggeling;† and, in connection with the known proximity of the Pallava kingdom to that of the Kongus, it would be important to ascertain whether we have here a clue to the period of any of the Pallava kings. The locality of Punnāḍ was certainly the south of Maisur, for it is clearly the same as the Pūnāḍ of the Merkāra plates, in a sub-division of which, named Eḍenāḍ, was situated the village of Badaneguppe, still known by that name, and about 30 miles south-south-east of the city of Maisur. This is farther south, I fear, than we have any evidence of the Pallavas; and had this princess who conceived such a romantic attachment for Avinita,—whether at a *svayamvara* or as her captor in war (for he is afterwards described as the ruler of Punnāḍ), and, throwing off the husband intended for her, asserted her own choice—been of a distinguished royal line, it would probably, under the circumstances of her introduction here, have been mentioned. But if this Skanda Varmma was not the Pallava king of that name, he may have been a feudatory who adopted his patron's name by way of compliment; as we find in the Nāgamangala plates Pṛithivi Nirgunda Rājā named after Pṛithivi Koṅgaṇi, and in more modern times Sadāśiva Nāyak of Keladi after Sadāśiva Rāya of Vijayanagar. The kingdoms subdued by Avinita are the same as those mentioned in the Nāgamangala inscription, but here the names are more distinctly recognizable. It is very possible that Ālantūr or Ālattūr is the present village of that name in Hadināḍ (the cradle of the

Maisur royal family), about ten miles south of Maisur city. The others I am unable to identify, though they were doubtless in the Maisur, somewhere between the Nilagiris and Nandidurga, the neighbourhood of the gift. Besides Punnāḍ he is described as ruling a country whose name I have read Pānnāḍ, though it is not clear. It looks like Pākḥāḍ.

Some of the places connected with the donations may, I think, be identified. In the first grant, land under the Melur tank is presented to Tippūr Kāda Svāmi. Tippūr is in the north of the Doddā Ballāpura tālukā, whence the grant has been produced, and there is a Melur in the neighbouring tālukā of Devanahalli. The mention of the river Penna in the second grant fixes the land given as in the same locality. This river is the Northern Pennār of European geographers, *ār* being the Tamil for river, as in Pāl-ār (*Kshīra-nadi*). The Northern and Southern Pennār are generally known in the Maisur country by the Parāṇic names of Uttara Pinākinī and Dakshina Pinākinī. But the latter, below the Ghāts, is called the Ponn-ār or Ponī-ār ('golden river').‡

Referring to the lineage of the grantee in the second inscription, it would be interesting to know who the Vālmiki was that is so highly praised. There is a tradition of a Vālmiki at Āvani (Avāntika Kshētra) near Kolar, and from the name he is declared to have been the author of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and of course in consequence the protector of Sītā and teacher of her sons Kuśa and Lava, &c. The Canarese *Rāmāyaṇa* is by a Kumāra Vālmiki, but this is a much later composition || than the period of this grant.

In conclusion the information obtained from the four grants that have now been published of this line of kings may be summed up as follows:—

Kings of the Gangāvaśa and Kānvāyanasa gotra.

Koṅgaṇi Varmma Dharma, reigning from 188? to 239 A.D. ¶

† *Ind. Ant.* vol. III. p. 152.

‡ A "Ten-thousand country," as Dr. Burnell has pointed out: *S. Ind. Pal.* 51.

§ It would be a great convenience were geographers to agree upon different names for the two streams, say, Pennār for the northern, and Ponn-ār for the southern. There is at present much confusion regarding their names, and I

have seen attempts made to distinguish between them by calling one Pennaur and the other Pennair. The latter is the Telugu form (*eru*, river), and therefore belongs to the northern stream.

|| Mr. Kittel assigns it to the 16th century; *Introd. to Nāga Varmma's Canarese Prosody*, lxi.

¶ The dates marked ? are from the *Kongudēśa Rājatal*.



Mādhava I. reigning from 239 ?
 Hari Varmma (or Ari Varmma),
 reigning in 247 and 288 ?
 Vishṇu Gopa.
 Mādhava II. (married the sister of the Ka-
 damba king Kṛishṇa Varmma) reigning to 425.
 Koṅgaṇi II. reigning from 425 to 478.
 Avinīta, Durvvīnīta, or Koṅgaṇi
 Vṛiddha (married the daughter of the Pun-
 nād king Skanda Varmma), reigning from 478.
 Mushkara.
 Śrī Vikrama.

Bhū Vikrama, reigning from 539 ?
 Vilanda, Rājā Śrī Vallabhākhyā.
 Nava Kāma (? Rājā Govinda Rāya).
 (? Sivaga), reigning in 668 ?
 Prithivi Koṅgaṇi (married to Śrījā),
 reigning from 727 in 777.


The above list gives an average of 42 years to a reign, and even omitting three Koṅgaṇis who ruled over 50 years each the average is 39 years to a reign. Some more names have probably to be introduced between Rājā Govinda and Prithivi Koṅgaṇi.*


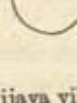
No. I.


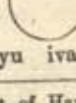
[I.] Svasti. Jitam bhagavatā ghana gaganābhena Padmanābhena, Śrīmaj-Jāhnaviya kulāmala vyomāva-
 bhāsa-

māna bhā  skarasyasva bhuja balājjitojjita rājya śrī vibhavasyanila stambha prahāra prakhyāta
 kirtteha . .
 ti gaha  na kaksha pradāha davāgne śrīmat Koṅgaṇi Varmma Dharmma mahādhīrājasya.
 Putrasya piturā-
 gata guṇasya dattaka sūtra vyākhyā pranetu aneka samarāvagāhanopalabdha vṛṇa vibhūshāsya
 bhagavad rakshi-

[II.] ta bhā vibhavaśya śrīmat Mādhavādhīrājasya. Putrasya aneka chaturddantavāpta chatur udadhi
 salilāsvādita (ya)-
 śasah pravara kari turaga varārohaṇa dakshasya kshapitāri pakshasya śrīmad-Hari Varmma mārā-
 jasya. Putrasya

pitri pi  tāmahātāvāga guṇa gaṇa yuktasya narendra nītau Bṛīhaspati tulyasya yāvad āyu.
 khaṇḍita manotsahasya Śakra tulya parākramasya śrīma(d) Vishṇu Gopa rājasya. Putrah varayudiva.

[III.] ravinda puṇye dhanapa vṛitta taruṇa divākara amṛita visha sama prasāda kopa aneka go hirinya
 bhūmyādi pradā-
 na dīkshā  kshapita kalmasha chiropahṛita brahmādeya pradāna prakhyāta yāsah aneka yud-
 dhadhvara yājakaika
 śakra ivā  pratihata vikramah dhanadha ivākshīṇa kośakoṣṭha śārah yama ivāyisha vāritāṅka
 varuṇa
 pravara vijaya vikramasya Mādhava rājasya. Puttah Koṅgaṇi rājasyah datta Kāda svamiśva Taitti-
 riyaśa brahma-

[IV] nasya Hiranyakeśi sūtrebhya makkāgareyarāldu Tippūra Kāda svāmigalge brahmādeya kramadena
 Melūra  kere kiḷe padhi kaṇḍugam vṛīhi bhūmi dattavya ashtādaśa jātibhih sarvva parihāraiḥ
 sapā  niyya pāta brahmādeikratya punyārogyabhih vṛiddhaye dattarān tad anugamya
 sarvvayu iva dharanitalepratihata balah parama brahmanyah Hara charaṇaravinda prāṇipāta

and that of Hari Varmma from Prof. Eggeling (*Ind. Ant.* vol. iii. p. 152.) With regard to the date 668 for the last but one, given in the former, the following is the note in Mr. Taylor's translation:—"The date S. S. 591 is introduced apparently by a specimen of the mode of using words for numbers—*casthu-greṇu* 500, *banne* 90, *yuddha* 1."

I should be very glad to see some explanation of this, according to all such cases I have met with, the figure should have been read backwards. I conjecture that *casthu* should have been read *varsha*.

* Cf. Nāgamangala inscription.

4
II b.
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 एतत्प्रमाणं दत्तं राजा श्रीमद्विजय-
 नारायणः ॥ अथ विप्रः ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 एतत्प्रमाणं दत्तं राजा श्रीमद्विजय-
 नारायणः ॥ अथ विप्रः ॥

5
III a.
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 एतत्प्रमाणं दत्तं राजा श्रीमद्विजय-
 नारायणः ॥ अथ विप्रः ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 एतत्प्रमाणं दत्तं राजा श्रीमद्विजय-
 नारायणः ॥ अथ विप्रः ॥

6
III b.
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 एतत्प्रमाणं दत्तं राजा श्रीमद्विजय-
 नारायणः ॥ अथ विप्रः ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 एतत्प्रमाणं दत्तं राजा श्रीमद्विजय-
 नारायणः ॥ अथ विप्रः ॥

[V.] pravṛitta eva kiṇḍhah Kānvāyanasa gotra śrīmaṇ Koṇgaṇi mähārājasya ātmanah pravarddhamāna
vipula

vi[ja]yai ○ svaryya ekona trimśato Jaya sabatsare śataya * nakshatre mādelasa gotrebhya Kāda
svamiśva sarvva
taiyyi ○ bhi madala vallabhāścha Kāda svāmintyata bhūmi tathaiva parihārantyaparihā-

rayantya va-
ya etad asmachchāsanam akramet sa pāpā śarīran daṇḍam arahati. Apichātranugita ślokā

[VI.] svadattam paradattam vā yo hareta vasundharām gavām śata sahasrasya hannyarpivati dush-
krita. Svandātu
sumachchhakya dumkham [duhkham] anyātt palana danam vā pālanam vetti dāna chehreyonupā-
lanam. Bahubhir vasudhā da-

tta rāja ○ bhih Sagarādibhih yasya yasya yadā bhūmi tasya tasya tathā palam. Mahārājasvāmanuja
ke-
pya divākare ka
paddo naṇama ā alne-
galdā satvaparaśarāgata

Translation.

May it be well! Success through the adorable Padmanābha, resembling (in colour) the cloudy sky.

A sun illumining the clear firmament of the Jāhnavi *kula*, possessed of the wealth of the glory of the kingdom conquered by the might of his own arm, of distinguished fame through striking down the *anila* (or *nīla*) *stambha*, a wild-fire in consuming the stubble of the forest the *ba. āi*, was Śrīmat Koṇgaṇi Varmma Dharmma Mahādhirāja.

His son, inheriting the qualities of his father, author of a treatise on the law of adoption, adorned with the wound acquired by entering into many wars, of a wealth and glory protected by Bhagavat, was Śrīmat Mādhava Ādhirāja.

His son, whose fame acquired by (his) many elephants had tasted the waters of the four oceans, skilled in riding on the best elephants and the best horses, the destroyer of hosts of enemies, was Śrīmad Hari Varmma Mārāja.

His son, endowed with the group of qualities inherited from his father and grandfather, in kingly police the equal of Brihaspati, his mental energy unimpaired to the end of life, of a valour equal to that of Śakra (Indra), was Śrīmad Viṣṇu Gopa Rāja.

His son, like Kubera in the merit of smiting his enemies in great wars, a young (or rising)

sun, his favour and his anger like nectar and like poison, his sins destroyed by religious rites and numerous gifts of cows, gold, lands, and other things, of widespread fame for his renewal of Brāhmaṇ endowments long since destroyed, as performing the sacrifice of many wars, the sole sacrificer (in the world), like Indra of valour invincible, like Kubera wonderful in the possession of heaps of treasure inexhaustible, like Yama in his arrows which destroyed the battlements of the neighbouring chiefs, of mighty victorious valour, was Mādhava Rāja.

By his son Koṇgaṇi Rāja was given to Kāda Svamiśva, a Taittiriya Brāhmaṇ, chief of the Hiranya-keśi *sūtra*

. to Tippūra Kāda Svāmi was given, in the manner of a Brāhmaṇ endowment, 10 *kaṇḍuga* of paddy land below Melūr tank, freed from all dues of the eighteen castes, and formed into a Brāhmaṇ *vr̥tti* with pouring of water; for the increase of merit and health was it given.

In pursuance of which, in the year Jaya, the 29th of the wealth of the great victories increased by himself, (namely by) Śrīman Koṇgaṇi Mahārāja, of the Kānvāyanasa *gotra*,—of a might invincible by any in the world, chief in affection for the Brāhmaṇs, devoted to the worship of the lotus feet of Hara (Śiva),—the moon being in the Śataya *nakshatra*, to Kāda Svamiśva of the Mādelasa *gotra*

. Let this land be

continued without hindrance to Kāda Svāmi, the beloved of the Madala (*gotra*): such is our command, which whosoever transgresses is a sinner worthy of corporal punishment.

Moreover thus is the śloka delivered:—Whoso seizes upon land presented by himself or by another will incur the guilt of slaughtering a hundred thousand cows. To give much oneself is easy, to maintain another's gift is difficult; but of giving or maintaining (an-

other's gift) the maintenance (of another's gift) is more meritorious.—The earth has been enjoyed by Sagara and many kings; according to their (gifts of) land so was their reward.

Whoso is a follower of the Mahārāja . . . 12 kaṇḍuga; this all should respect and preserve . . . those famed for their adherence to virtue.

No. II.

[I.] Jitam bhagavatā gata ghana gaganābhena Padmanābhena. Śrī-Jāhna-eya kulāmala vyo-
māvabhāsana bhaskarasya sva khadgaika prabhāra khaṇḍita mahā śilā stambha labdha bala
svastih parākrama yaśasah dāruṇārigaṇa vidāraṇa raṇopalabdha brāṇa vibhū-
shaṇa vi bhūshitasya Kāṇvāyanasa gotrasya śrīmat Kōṇgaṇi Varmma Dharmma mahā-
dhirā jasya. Putrasya pituranvāgata guṇa yuktasya vidyā vinaya vinfi-
tasya samyaprajā pālana mātrōdhigata rājya prayojanasya nānā śāstrārta
sadbhāvādhigama prāṇita mati viśeshasya vidvat kāñchana nikashopa-

[II.] la bhūtasya viśeshatopy anavaśeshasya niti śāstrasya vaktṛi prayoktṛi kuśa-
lasya suvibhakta bhakta bhṛitya janasya dattaka sūtra vṛitteh pranetuh śrīma-
t Mādhaṇa mahādhirājasya. Putrasya pitṛi paitāmaha guṇa yuktasya
aneka chaturddantā yuddhāvāpta chatur udadhi salilāsvādita yaśasah
samada dvirada turagārohanātīśayotpam. tejaso dhanur abhiyo-
ga sampādita sampad viśeshasya śrīmad-Hari Varmma mahādhirājasya.
Putrasya guru go brāhmaṇa pūjakasya Nārāyaṇa charaṇānūdhyaṭa-

[III.] sya śrīmad Viṣṇu Gopa mahādhirājasya. Putrasya Tryambaka charaṇāmbho-
ruha rajah pavitrikritottamāṅgasya vyayāmodvṛitta pīṇa kathina bhuja dva-
yasya sva bhuja bala parākrama kraya kṛita rājyasya kshut shāmoshṭha piṣitā-
śana pri tikara nīṣita dhāra se | chira pranashṭa deva bhoga brahmādeya vi-
sargga ayaṇa kāriṇa kali yuga bala pankāvasanna dharmma vṛishoddhara-
ṇa nitya sannaddhasya śrīman Mādhaṇa mahādhirājasya. Putrasyāvi-
chchhinnāśvamedhāvabhṛitābbhishikta śrīmat Kadamba kula gagana gabhasti mā-



[IV.] linah śrī Kṛishṇa Varmma mahādhirājasya priya bhāgīneyasya janani devatān-
ka paryyāṅka evādhigata rājyābbhishekasya vijṛimbhamāṇa śakti trayasya pa-
rasparānavamaddinopabhujyamāna trivargga sārasya asambhr. nāvanamita sa-
masta sāmanta maṇḍalasya nirantara prema bahumānānurakta drākṛati [prākṛiti] vargga-
sya vidyā vinayātīśaya paripūtāntarātmana | kārta yugīṇa rāja charitāvala-
mbina aneka samara vijayopājjita vipula yaśa kshīrodaikārnnavi krata bhu-
vana trayasya niravagraha pradāna śauryyasya avishahya parākramā-

[V.] krānta pratirāja mastakāppitāpratihata śāsanasya aneka mukhābhivarddhamāna
vibhavodaya parājita dravinapateh pratitāneka guṇa nidhāna bhūtasya vidva-


CHERĀ COPPER-PLATE OF S. ŚAKA 435.


ಶಿವಶ್ಯಾಂ ಪಶ್ಚಿಮದಿಗ್ಗಿರಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಪೂಜಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟ
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 ವರ್ಷಗಳಿಂದ
 ಹಳೆಯದಾಗಿದೆ

ಈ ಶಾಸನವು
 ದತ್ತಾತ್ರೇಯ
 ಪುತ್ರಿಯಾದ
 ಪುಷ್ಪವತಿಗೆ
 ವಿವಾಹವಾದ
 ದಿನದಿಂದ
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
tsu prathama ganyasya pranayi jana hridaya nandanasya maryyādālungghanālan-
krata ra  tnākara vrittasya yathārha daṇḍitayānukrata vaivasvatasya pra-
tapāti  śayānugata vivasvato Vaivasvatasya vā Manorvvarṇāśramā-
bhirakshine dakshināndiśam abhigoptum paryāpsuvatah prātijaninasya supraja-
sah śrīmat Koṅgaṇi mahādhirājasya. Avinīta nāmna putreṇa Punnāda rāja Ska-

[VI.] nda Varmma priya putrikā janmanā svagorutānugāminā pitrā parasuta samāvajji-
tayāpilashshyā svayam abhipratīyālingita vipula vaksha stalena vijimbamāṇa śakti
trayopanamita samasta sāmanta maṇḍalena Andari-ya Ālantūr-a Paurulāre-a

Pernna  garādy aneka samara makha mukhāhuta prapāta śūra puruṣa paśūpa-
hāra vighasa vihasikracāntāgni mukhena śrīmat Koṅgaṇi Vriddha rājena Durvvinī-
ta nāmadheya samasta Pannāda (Pākhāda) Punnādhīpatinā Vaivasvateneva Manunā varnā-
śramābhirakshanāndakshipāndiśam abhigoptum pariyāptavatā prātijanitena suprajasa

[VII.] ātmanā pravarddhmāna vijayeśvarye pañchatri[m]sad Vijaya saṁvatsare pravarttamāne
śrīmat Vālmiki nāmni jagat sūryya varhṣa khara Mahādevākya Kāsyapasa goa
trā vājasainya vādeya śrīmad Deva Śārmmanām Kelale nāmna Bempurīśvar-
stā  nam udaka pūrbba datta isānya diśā āpakshetram chatāri khaṇḍi

Kṛishṇa tāṭākam āpakshetram ūrdhva tri kaṇḍi adha āpakshetram
shaṭ khaṇḍi Penna nadi pūrvva diśām kshetram pañchadaśa khaṇḍi dakshinā diśa
mahā briksham agni āsvattam isānyāndiśā jambu briksham puna puna

[VIII.] isānyāndiśā nakule tāṭaka vārura diśām kshetram dvādaśa khaṇḍi vāyavya diśa mahā tāṭaka ā-
pakshetram sapta khaṇḍi etan Mahādeva divya dattam. Apichātra Manu gito śloko
svadattam paradattam vā yo hreti vasundharām shasṭim varisha sahasrāṇi ghore tamasi
varttate. Bahubhirvasudhā bhuktā rājabhis Sakarādibhi yasya yasya yada bhūmi tasya tadā palam.
Svandātum  sumahat ohakyam dukkham [dukkham] anyārta pālanam dānam va pālanam veti
dānā-

chchhreyonupālanam. Abbhī dattam tribhir bhuktam shaḍbhischa pratipālanam etāni na
nivarttante pūrvva rāja kritāni cha.

Translation.

Success through the adorable Padmanābhā,
resembling (in colour) the cloudless sky.

A sun illumining the clear firmament of the
Jāhnavi *kula*, distinguished for the strength
fortune and valour acquired by the great pillar
of stone divided with a single stroke of his
sword, adorned with the ornament of the wound
received in battle while cutting down the hosts
of his terrible enemies, was Śrīmat Koṅgaṇi
Varmma Dharmma Mahādhirājā of the
Kānvāyanasa gotra.

His son, inheriting all the qualities of his
father, with a character for learning and mo-
desty, having obtained the honours of the king-
dom only for the sake of the good government
of his subjects, of great understanding improved

by acquaintance with the best principles of the
substance of various sciences, a touchstone for
(testing) gold the learned, skilled among those
who thoroughly expound and practise the science
of politics, maintaining a due distinction between
friends and servants, the author of a treatise on
the law of adoption, was Śrīman Mādhava
Mahādhirājā.

His son, possessed of all the qualities inher-
ited from his father and grandfather, having
entered into war with many elephants (so that)
his fame had tasted the waters of the four
oceans, of wide-spread renown sprung from his
riding on lusty elephants and horses, of great
wealth acquired by the use of the bow, was
Śrīmad Hari Varmma Mahādhirājā.

His son, devoted to the worship of *gurus*,

cows, and Brāhmāṇs, praising the feet of Nārāyaṇa, was Śrīmad Viṣṇu Gopa Mahādhirāja.

His son, with a head purified by the pollen from the lotuses the feet of Tryambaka, with two arms grown stout and hard with athletic exercise, having purchased his kingdom by his personal strength and valour, bearer of a sharp...? beloved by Rākshasas whose lips were black with hunger, a reviver of the custom of donations for long-ceased festivals of the gods and Brāhmaṇ endowments, daily eager to extricate the ox of merit from the thick mire of the Kali yuga in which it had sunk, was Śrīman Mādhava Mahādhirāja.

His son, the beloved sister's son of Śrī Kṛishṇa Varmma,—the sun in the firmament of the auspicious Kadamba kula, (and) anointed with the final ablutions of continual *asvamedhas*—who received his royal (or coronation) anointing on the couch of the lap of his divine mother, possessed of the three powers of increase, enjoying the essence of the three objects of worldly desire* without one interfering with the other, fearless though surrounded with all the bands of tributary chiefs whom he had subjected, having parties of councillors attached to him by continual affection and gifts, having a mind purified with the increase of learning and modesty, follower of the lives of the kings of the Kṛita yuga, his wide-spread fame acquired by victory in many wars covering the three worlds like the unbroken expanse of a milk ocean, bold to give without stint, his inviolable commands placed upon the heads of foreign kings subdued by his invincible might, surpassing Kubera in the growth of his wealth increased in many ways, a mine of many glorious qualities, reckoned the first of the learned, the joy of the hearts of his beloved ones, in not transgressing the bounds of respect resembling the ocean adorned with gems, like Yama in punishing according to desert, like the sun in the greatness of his glory, like Vaivasvata Maṇu devoted to protecting the South in the maintenance of castes and religious orders, the friend of all, of high birth, was Śrīmat Koṅgaṇi Mahādhirāja.

By his son named Avinīta, whose broad chest was embraced by the beloved daughter of the Punnādrāja Skanda Varmma,—who

herself had chosen him, though from her birth assigned by her father, according to the advice of his own *guru*, to the son of another,—having by the growth of the three powers of increase brought into subjection all the bands of tributary chiefs, having brought anxiety to the face of Yama on account of the smallness of the residue left from the animals offered up by him as a tribute, (namely) the brave men consumed in the sacrifice of the face of the many wars waged for Andari, Ālantūr, Pauruḷare, Pernnagara, and other places; by (this) Śrīmat Koṅgaṇi Vṛiddharāja, having the name of Durvinīta, the ruler of the whole of Pānnāḍ (?Pākhāḍ) and Punnāḍ, like Vaivasvata Maṇu able for the protection of the castes and religious orders which prevailed in the South, the friend of all, of high birth:—the year Vijaya being current, the 35th of the victories and wealth increased by himself; was given,—to Śrīmad Deva Śārmmaṇa of the Kāsyapasa *gotra* and follower of the Vājasaṇeyi, (also) called Mahādeva, promoter of the race of that sun of the world named Śrīmat Vālmiki,—the Bempurīśvara-stāna named Keḷale, with pouring of water.

(Moreover) on the north-east, wet land, 4 *khaṇḍis*; of the wet land of the Kṛishṇa pond, above—3 *khaṇḍis*, below—6 *khaṇḍis*; of the land east of the Penna river 15 *khaṇḍis*, (bounded) on the south by a big tree, south-west by an *asvatta* (tree), north-east by a *jambu* tree, further north-east by the Nakule pond; of the land on the west 12 *khaṇḍis*; on the north-west, of the wet land of the big pond, 7 *khaṇḍis*: thus much did he piously give to Mahādeva.

Moreover by Maṇu hath the śloka been delivered:—Whoso seizes upon land presented by himself or by another shall be cast into terrible darkness for sixty thousand years.—The earth has been enjoyed by Sagara and many other kings: according to their (gifts of) land so was their reward.—To make a gift oneself is easy, to maintain a gift made by another is difficult; but of giving or maintaining (another's gift) the maintenance (of another's gift) is more meritorious.

A gift made with pouring of water, one enjoyed for three generations, one maintained for six generations, such may not be resumed; neither the gifts of former kings.

* The Canarese call them *hennu*, *honnu*, *mannu*—woman, gold, and land. But the third should probably be *dharma*, religious merit.

REMARKS ON THE ŚIKSHĀS.

BY DR. F. KIELHORN, DECCAN COLLEGE, PUNA.

Since the publication of Professor Haug's valuable essay on the nature and value of the accents in the Veda, I have been enabled to collect from various parts of India a large number of *Śikshās*, some of which appear to be very little, if at all, known to Sanskrit scholars, and it was my intention to publish critical editions of such of them as seemed to deserve to be made more generally accessible. Unfortunately most of the MSS. which I have collected, even the best and oldest of them, are so incorrect that I feel inclined to postpone the task of editing any of them for the present. What I cannot but consider as wrong readings occur with such uniformity and, if I may say so, regularity in the several copies of one and the same work as to render it probable that the text has been corrupt for several centuries; and although it would no doubt be possible, by conjecture and by means of such corrections as might be suggested by a comparison of other *Śikshās*, to produce in many cases a readable text,* I much doubt whether the adoption of such a course would be likely to meet with the approval of careful and conscientious scholars, and whether the result would be satisfactory.

There is another reason which makes me

* An example will illustrate my meaning. My copy M of the *Māṇḍūkī Śikshā* reads verse IV. 9 as follows:—

शनैरञ्चतु वक्त्रेण न परं योजनाद्वृजेत् ।

न हि पाणिहता वाणी प्रयोगान्वकुर्महेति ॥

A copy of the original of my MS. M was sent to Berlin, and from it Prof. Weber gave an account of the *Māṇḍūkī Śikshā* in an appendix to his essay on the *Pratijñāsūtra*. Professor Weber saw that the verse as given above must be corrupt, and after consulting Professor Roth he adopted the conjectures of the latter and printed the verse as follows:—

शनैरञ्चतु मार्गेण न परं योजनाद्वृजेत् ।

न हि म्ताहिता वाणी प्रयोगान्वकुर्महेति ॥

This is no doubt readable Sanskrit, but it certainly is no longer a verse of the *Māṇḍūkī Śikshā*.

As the compound letter वक्त्रेण in MS. M is always written वत्र, the third word of the first line is really वक्त्रेण, a reading which is given by both my MSS. C and B, but which I at present do not understand; if I considered it right simply to admit the reading of another *Śikshā*, I should adopt that of the *Nāradya-śikshā* शनैरञ्चतु वक्त्रेण, but I cannot yet bring myself to believe that वक्त्रेण should in the *Māṇḍūkī Śikshā* have been altered to वक्त्रेण.

The case is less hopeless with the second line; here C reads पाणिहता and B पाहिहता; which readings, to-

hesitate to publish the materials which I have collected, and one which mainly induces me to write these lines. The chief object of nearly all the *Śikshās* accessible to me is no other than to lay down rules for the proper recitation of the Vedas. They not only state in a general way the qualities, both bodily and mental, of which he who wishes to recite the Vedas should necessarily be possessed; they not only tell us how the reciter of the sacred texts should prepare himself for his task; but they also lay down the most minute rules for the pronunciation of certain sounds and combinations of sounds, for the musical modulation of the voice, for the right postures of the body, for the motions of the hands and fingers which must accompany and which form an essential part of the recitation, &c. These rules it may be easy enough to understand when one has seen them illustrated in practice, but I doubt whether any one who has not actually and repeatedly heard and seen the Vedas recited would be able not merely to translate, but to explain them satisfactorily. For a European scholar, aided by the bare texts or even by commentaries, to do so, appears, so far as my own experience goes, to be impossible.†

gether with that of M, point to पाणिहता; this actually does occur in the *Nāradya-śikshā*, and this I do adopt for the *Māṇḍūkī Śikshā*.

† As Professor Weber (*On the Pratijñāsūtra*, p. 76) wishes to know whether the *Śikshās* lately discovered in India throw any light on the verse describing the pronunciation of the nasal sound called *ranga* which occurs in the *Pāṇinīyā Śikshā*, I may venture to select his interpretation of that particular verse as an instance of how things occasionally may be misunderstood.

The verse itself is as follows:—

यथा सौराष्ट्रिका नारी अरौ (v. R. तर्क) इत्यभिभाषते ।

एवं रङ्गं विज्ञानीयात्स्वि अरौ इव खेदया ॥

and it was originally translated by Prof. Weber thus:—

‘Just as the women of Saurāṣṭra address (?) with the word (?) अरान् ।

‘Just so one ought to know the *ranga*, e.g. खे अरौ इव ॥’

At p. 270 of vol. IV. of the *Indische Studien* a second translation is proposed, which we may omit here; but we cannot altogether disregard the third interpretation at p. 380 of vol. IX. of the same periodical, chiefly on account of the note appended to it, the sense of which is shortly this:—that both the readings अरौ and तर्क in the first line give no sense; that we have to read खेरा इत्यभिभाषते; that खेरा is the Greek word *χαίρει*; that the Saurāṣṭra women of old used to greet one another with the Greek word *χαίρει*;

Professor Haug has been present at the recitation of one or two Vedas, and he has in consequence been able to correct several erroneous views conceived by other scholars in Europe and America, and I have myself had opportunities of becoming acquainted with the recitation of the *Rigveda*. But this is not sufficient. What we want is an accurate, minute, and intelligible description of the manner in which the several Vedas are recited in the different parts of India, and this can only be given by native scholars. The subject is not one of very great importance, and the task by no means an easy one, but only when it has been accomplished can we hope to be able to explain all the details of the *Sikshās* as they ought to be explained, if it should be considered worth while to explain them at all.

Professor Haug, in the essay mentioned above, has arrived at the conclusion that the *Sikshās* are decidedly older than the *Prātisākhya*s, and that the doctrines contained in the former were incorporated and further developed in the latter. Dr. Burnell (*On the Aindra School of Sanskrit Grammarians*, p. 47) has adopted the same view, and, if I understand him rightly, has ascribed the *Sikshās*, or at any rate their doctrines, to a school of grammarians which is said to have preceded that of Pāṇini. My own investigations, and the perusal of a larger number of treatises than were accessible to Prof. Haug or Dr. Burnell, have led to the conclusion that the views expressed by both scholars require to be considerably modified before they can be accepted.

To disprove the view taken by Professor

and that finally their manner of pronouncing the final letter of this particular Greek word $\chi\alpha\pi\epsilon\upsilon$ or $\chi\alpha\pi\epsilon$ is prescribed by the *Sikshā* to be the right way of pronouncing the *raṅga* sound of the Vedas.

Years ago, when conversing with a native friend of mine who was to have been a reciter of the *Rigveda*, I asked for his explanation of the above verse, and what I learnt from him was that the *raṅga* ought to be pronounced like the final sound of the word रङ्गम् when shouted by dairy-women in the street. Had I had any doubt as to the correctness of this explanation it would have been removed by the following passage from the commentary on the *Sarvasammata-sikshā* which I subsequently received from Maisur:—

सौराष्ट्रदेश उत्पन्ना श्रीतकविक्रयणार्थं यथा तर्क इति कांस्य-
धनिसमं भाषत एवं वेदे ऽपि रङ्गः प्रयोजकः । वेद उदाहृत्य
दर्शयति । खे अरं इव खेदयेति ॥ See *Rigveda* viii. 77, 3.

I could quote many instances to show that I do not exaggerate, but one must suffice here. Several *Sikshās*

Haug that the *Sikshās* (i.e. all the *Sikshās* which are known to exist) are older than the *Prātisākhya*s, it would suffice to state that one of the most important *Sikshās*, and one the value of which appears to have been considered sufficiently great to ensure for its author the title of *Sikshākāra kar'it'ox'ya*,—I mean the *Vyāsa-sikshā*—follows the *Taittirīya-prātisākhya* so closely as to be in many respects little less than a metrical version of the latter, and that 'Śannaka and the rest,' the authors of the *Prātisākhya*s, are actually quoted in the *Yājñavalkya*, or, as it is also called, *Kātyāyana-sikshā*.§

I might also point to passages of the *Sarvasammata* and other *Sikshās* in which the *Prātisākhya*s are likewise cited, and in which their authority over that of the *Sikshās* is extolled, as in the following lines:—

शिक्षा च प्रातिशाख्यं च विरुध्यते परस्परम् ।
शिक्षैव दुर्बलेत्याहुः सिंहस्यैव मृगी यथा ॥

But it appears to me that such distinct references to the *Prātisākhya*s are by no means required to prove the comparatively recent date of all the *Sikshās* that have up to the present been discovered. A perusal of the more important treatises of this branch of Sanskrit literature, and a comparison of their form and contents, have ended, so far at least as I am concerned, in the conviction that, notwithstanding the high-sounding and ancient names which most of them bear, they are modern compilations, as a rule executed with very little skill.

Had Professor Haug confined himself to state that the contents of the *Sikshās* may in the main be as old as those of the *Prātisākhya*s, I

contain a verse in which the reciter is warned against seven different wrong positions of the hands or fingers:—

षट्सुर्नाम स्फुटी दण्डी स्वस्तिको मुष्टिरेव च ।
एते वै हस्तदोषाः स्युः पशुच्छेदस्तु सतमः ॥

To know the exact meaning of each of the terms contained in this verse is of course a matter of very small importance; but conjecture in a case like this would, in my opinion, be worse than useless.

§ The *Vyāsa-sikshā* actually refers to the *Prātisākhya*s in the following lines:—

मध्यमां वृत्तिमालम्ब्य चैवं कालाः मुनिविताः ।
प्रातिशाख्यादिषु षड्वृत्तिः साध्यबलम्बिता ॥

The verse from the *Yājñavalkya-sikshā* alluded to in the above in my MSS. reads thus:—

मुष्टे नकारे यत्स्वारं रज्जन्ति सौनकादयः ।
एवं रङ्गं विजानीयात् त्वा भीरिव विन्दति ॥

See *Rigveda*, X. 146, 1.

should have felt little hesitation in agreeing with him; for there are traces in the latter to show that the principal doctrines embodied in our present *Śikshās* were not unknown at the time when the *Prātiśākhya*s were composed. But I am again obliged to differ from Professor Haug when he maintains that the teachings of the *Śikshās* have been more fully developed in the *Prātiśākhya*s. On whatever point I have compared the doctrines of both classes of works, I have almost in every instance been driven to the conclusion that the teachings of the *Śikshās* are fuller and more minute than those of the *Prātiśākhya*s,—that the former give much of detail which, if not unknown, has at any rate found no place in the latter. What do the *Prātiśākhya*s teach us regarding the denotation of the *svaras* by means of the hands and fingers, about which the *Śikshās* have so much to say, and about which they give such minute rules? All I can find are one or two short rules in the *Vājasaneyi-prātiśākhya*, which contain hardly more than ten words. Why was Professor

|| That *Śikshās* in verse were in existence when Patanjali composed his great commentary on Kātyāyana's *Vārttikas*, seems to me very probable; for the verse which he quotes when explaining the term *संवृतादि* of the *Vārttika* आकृत्युपदेशान्तिद्विमिति चत्संवृतादीनां प्रतिषेधः in the introductory *Āhnika*

मस्तं निरस्तमर्बिलम्बितं निर्हत-
मम्बुक्तं ध्यातमथो विकम्पितम् ।
संदष्टमेणीकृतमथेकं द्रुतं
विकीर्णमेताः स्वरदीपभावनाः ॥

has all the appearance of being a *Śikshā*-verse, even in this particular that the first line violates the metrical rules.

¶ Loc. cit. p. 57, note 1. In my own copies of the *Māṇḍūkī Śikshā* the optional name for *Pākaṭī* is not *Mādhyā*, but *Vamādhyā*.

उभाभ्यामेव दृष्याभ्या यवमभ्यां विनिर्दिशेत् ।
ताभ्यामेव तु दीर्घाभ्यां विज्ञेया सा पिपीलिका ॥

The *Sarasammatā-śikshā* has for *vatānusritā* 'vatānusriti,' which is also found in the *Vyāsa-śikshā*.

* Instead of the term *kariṇā* (loc. cit. note 2) of the *Māṇḍūkī* and *Vājasaneyi-śikshā*, other *Śikshās* have *kareṇa*. See, e.g., *Sarasammatā-śikshā* :—

करेण रहयोयोगं कविणी लङ्कारयोः ।
हरिणी रसनायां च हारिता लङ्कारयोः ।
या तु हंसपदा नाम सा तु रेफकारयोः ॥

and *Vyāsa-śikshā* :—

स्वरभक्तिः करेण ये होर्ध्वां लः कविणी भवेत् ।
हरिणी शपसोर्ध्वां रे लङ्कारो हारितोऽप्येत् ॥

† A knowledge of the *Śikshās* might have rendered assistance to the editors of the *Prātiśākhya*s, excellently as the latter have been edited, or it would at any rate

Haug himself the first to point out the different kinds of *vivṛitti* ¶ and of *svarabhakti** so accurately described and classified in nearly every *Śikshā*? Is there any *Prātiśākhya* which more accurately or more fully treats of the *svarita* than the *Śikshās* do, any one which tries to describe the relation of the so-called four accents to the seven musical notes in the manner in which this is done in the *Śikshās*? The *Prātiśākhya*s do teach much that is not to be found in the *Śikshās*, but on no one point do they teach more on what it is the object and the business of the latter to give information.†

The *Śikshās* are manuals intended to teach the proper manner of reciting the Vedas, and inasmuch as the compiler of a manual has to adapt himself to the capacities and previous mental training of those for whom his work is designed, it is natural that the *Śikshākāras* should have given to their teachings the simplest possible form, that they should have illustrated them by examples which even the uneducated might be supposed to be familiar with, and

have guarded them against occasional rash statements. The commentary on the *Taittir. Prāt. XIX. 3* states that the word यम is synonymous with स्वरित, upon which Professor Whitney remarks: "In yama as a synonym of *svarita*, and meaning 'circumflex,' I cannot in the least believe." Indian, like other commentators, are not infallible, but in this instance the commentator was right, for in defining the *Prātiśākhya svarita* the *Vyāsa-śikshā* says—

दशोत्तरीय उन्ते स्यान्मल्लिष्टः संधितो यमः

The commentator is right, too, when he states that मयन (not merely describes the nature of the *svarita*, but) is actually another term for स्वरित; this likewise can be proved from the *Śikshās*.

That the term धृत, by itself, is synonymous with पञ्चय appears from the following verse of the *Vyāsa-śikshā* :—

स्वारः शीर्षे मुखे ऽप्युपपञ्चयौ निहतौ हृदि ।
नीचोऽवस्वारधृताश्चैव विज्ञेयाः प्रजापतौ ॥

This passage will show that the reading of the MSS. of the *Pāṇinīya-śikshā*, v. 43, धृतं च, ought not to have been altered to धृतश्च, and that the word उपान्तमभ्य should have been translated by 'the ring and the middle fingers.' (Ind. Stud. vol. IV. p. 365.) The following verses of the *Bharatashākhya* called *Sarasvatīkṛīḍyābhāṣana*, the author of which professes to have studied the *Śikshās* of Pāṇini, Nārada, and Āpīśali, are evidently based on the verse of the *Pāṇinīya-śikshā* referred to in the above :—

अङ्गुष्ठस्य मुखापेण तर्जनीमूलसारणात् ।

उदात्तः स स्वरौ नाम वेदविद्विस्तादतः ॥

कनिष्ठमूलसंस्पर्शादनुदात्त इति स्मृतः ।

स्वरितो ऽनामिकांमूलसंस्पर्शः स्वरौ भवेत् ॥

मध्यमामूलतो विपात्यन्तितं स्पर्शनादपि ।

that as a rule they should have avoided, so far as it was possible, the strict terminology and the concise forms of the grammatical schools, even when the temptation of employing the latter was by no means a slight one. The simpler their treatises, the more homely their illustrations,—the better they would serve their purpose. For it can hardly be doubtful that in the recitation of the Vedas, as in a thousand other things, India of old did not differ greatly

from India as we find it at present, and that the ancient *Vedapāṭhakas* were as ignorant in everything except their own profession as their successors are to-day. To adduce the less strict or less technical terminology of the *Sikshās* as a proof for an antiquity higher even than that of Pāṇini, or at all to consider these treatises as the production of a school of grammarians, appears to me to be misunderstanding their nature and the purpose for which they have been composed.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM KĀVĪ.

BY G. BÜHLER.

(Continued from page 115.)

II.—The Grant of Govindarāja.

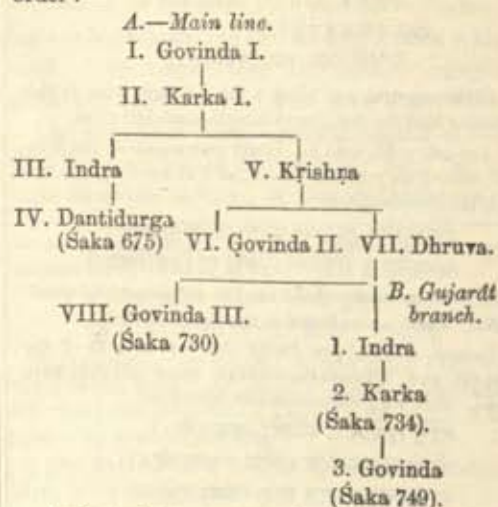
The three plates containing a grant of Govindarāja originally measured 12' × 10' each, and were held together by one ring passed through holes in the middle of their left sides. The ring has been lost. The first plate has suffered, besides the loss of a circular piece out of the centre,* considerable injuries at the left-hand corner. The obverse of Plate II. has been subjected to rough treatment, and the first line has been obliterated by blows with a hammer. The third plate has lost small pieces at the four corners, at the top, and on the left side above the ring-hole.

The characters of the inscription exactly resemble those of the facsimile of the Baroda plate published in the *Jour. Ben. As. Soc.* vol. VIII. p. 302. They are mostly deeply and well incised, except in some lines of Plate I. and on the reverse of Plate II. (II. B). Plate I. is, owing to its losses and the faulty execution of the letters, in so bad a state that neither a photograph† nor an impression could be taken. It could hardly have been deciphered if the greater portion of its contents had not been a mere repetition of the Sāmangaḍh inscription. On the reverse of Plate II. (II. B) the incisions are so superficial, especially in the centre, that the wear and tear which the surface has undergone, and some accidental scratches, have made the deciphering very troublesome and difficult. Thus in verse 32 *viśvajānina* was only recognized in the photograph; and *balah*, which, owing to two accidental scratches, looks like *balena*, was made

out only by the reading of the Baroda plate, *kulañh*. The latter, though otherwise a misreading, proved the existence of a *visarga* and of a dissyllabic word which the metre required.

As regards the contents of the inscription, its chief importance lies in this, that, besides carrying the history of the Rāshtrakūṭas further down than the Baroda inscription, it gives a complete view of the genealogy of the older Rāshtrakūṭas, which the hitherto known plates of the 8th and 9th centuries gave very imperfectly, and helps us to define more accurately the position of the Rāshtrakūṭa kingdom in Gujārāt.

According to the Kāvī grant the Rāshtrakūṭas succeeded each other in the following order:—



Against this enumeration the Sāmangaḍh inscription‡ names Nos. I.—IV. of the main line only, and the Baroda inscription Nos. I, II, V,

* See *Ind. Ant.* vol. V. p. 109.

† Plates II. and III. have been photographed (half size),

and copies of the photographs have been sent to the various Asiatic Societies.

‡ *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. II. p. 371.

VII. VIII. of the main line, and Nos. 1, 2 of the Gujarāt branch. When speaking of Kṛishṇa (V.) the Baroda inscription states (v. 8) "that he destroyed his relation, who followed an evil course, and himself assumed the sovereignty for the good of his race." With the help of the Kāvī inscription it is now easy to see that the dethroned relative was no other than Dantidurga. It also becomes explicable why the writer of the Baroda grant should have left out Indra and Dantidurga. According to his own statement, he considered the latter a wicked prince. He therefore confined himself to the righteous branch of Karka's family. It is not necessary to assume with Lassen§ that the Rāshtrakūta empire split up into two parts after the death of Karka I.

From v. 29 of our inscription it is also clear that a separate kingdom of the Rāshtrakūtas|| was established only by Govinda II., and that this prince made over the Lāṭeśvaramaṇḍala to his brother Indra, a statement which is supported by the amended reading of the Baroda grant. Lāṭeśvaramaṇḍala obviously means 'the kingdom or province of the ruler of Lāṭa.' I infer from the phrase 'Indra received the realm of the ruler of Lāṭa from his brother' that the latter had newly conquered it. For, had it been an old possession, it would probably have simply been stated that Lāṭadeśa or Lāṭamaṇḍala had been made over to Indra. As the Van Dindori inscription of Govinda II. is dated in Śaka 730, the Rāshtrakūta invasion of Gujarāt must have taken place at the end of the 8th or the beginning of the 9th century. During this period the kingdom of the Chāpotkatas or Chaudas of Āṇhilvād, which was established by Vanarāja in 746 A.D., was probably still weak and unable to defend an outlying province like Lāṭa. Lāṭa corresponds to what we now would call 'Central and Southern Gujarāt'—to the country between the Mahi and the Konkana. According to Lassen,¶ the *Latiké* or *Loriké* of Ptolemy included a somewhat larger tract of country. To judge from the position of the traceable localities mentioned in the Kāvī and Baroda

inscriptions, Lāṭa was confined in the ninth century by narrower boundaries. For Govinda III. resided, when making his grant, in Bharūch; and the village given by him, as well as those surrounding it, are nearly all to be found in the Jambūsar Tāluka. Kāpikā is, of course, Kāvī; Vaṭapadraka, Ruhnāda, Jadrāna, and Kāliyara are now called Wardla, Ruṇād, Jantrān, and Kālier.* Thūṛṇavihas become Thanavi.

Among the places mentioned in the Baroda grant, Ankotṭa and Jambuvāvikā exist now as Ankūt and Jambavā, and are situated five or six miles to the south of Baroda.

Besides we find at the present day Rāthor girassās in the Bharūch district and in the Gaikvāḍi villages on the northern bank of the Tāpti—a certain sign that these districts were once under Rāthor, i.e. Rāshtrakūta, rule.

How long the rule of the Rāshtrakūtas in Lāṭa lasted, and whether they kept up any connexion with the main branch of their house, is at present difficult to decide. Two circumstances bearing on the latter point deserve, however, to be mentioned. Firstly, both Karka in the Baroda and Govinda in the Kāvī inscription call themselves simply *mahāsāmantādhipati*, 'lords of the great feudal chiefs,' or 'great lords of the feudal chiefs,' and state that they had obtained 'the great titles.' As I have stated on former occasions, it may be inferred from these indications that they were not lords paramount, but vassals of some greater power. Secondly, the names of the successors of Govinda II. in the main branch, as given in the Karda and Kharepatan inscriptions,† differ from those of the Gujarāt inscriptions. I am therefore inclined to consider the Rāshtrakūtas of Gujarāt vassals of those of Mālket.

Plate I.

स बोध्यादेधसो धाम जनाभिकमलं कृतं ।
हरश्च यस्य कान्तेन्दुकलया कमलकृतं ॥ [१॥] ‡
भासीद्विष[नि]मिरमुद्यतमण्डलापो
धुस्तार्थ[य]जमिमुखो रणशङ्करीयु ।
भूपः शुचिर्बुधुरिवाप्तदिगन्त[को] [नि]-
गोविन्दराज इति राज इति राजसु राजसिद्धः ॥ [२॥]

Kharepatan, and Salotgi plates discussed, *Ind. Ant.* I. 205.

¶ *Ind. Ant.* vol. III. p. 170.

* *Vide* the map at p. 112. † See *Ind. Ant.* vol. I. p. 207.

‡ V. 1, read यजमि^०. V. 2, l. 2 begins मिरमु^०; l. 3 begins 'चिगोवि^०'; *delete* the first इति राज^०; read राजसिद्धः

§ *Ind. Ant.* vol. III. p. 540.

¶ Lassen, *loc. cit.*, assumes that the main branch of the Rāshtrakūtas also ruled in Gujarāt. There is no evidence warranting such an assumption. But there is a good deal of evidence to show that they were a Dakhanī race whose capital was Mānyakhetā or Mālket. See the Karda,

दृष्ट्वा चमूमभिमुखी सुभटादहासा-
मुन्नादितं सपदि येन रणेपु नित्यं ।
दष्टाधरेण दधता भुक्तुं ललाटे
खड्गं कुलं च हृदयं च निजं ससत्वं ॥ [३॥] §
खड्गं करामान्मुखतश्च शोभा
मानो मनस्तस्ममेव यस्य ॥
महाहवे नाम निशम्य सदा-
स्वयं रिपूणां विगलत्यकाण्डे ॥ [४॥]
तस्यात्मनो जगति विधुतशुभकीर्ति-
रात्तोत्तिहारिहर्षिकमभामधारी ।
भूपस्त्रिविष्टपनृपानुकृतिः कृताज्ञः
श्रीकङ्कैराज इतिगोत्रमणिर्भूत ॥ [५॥]
[तस्य प्र] भिन्नकरटच्युतदानदन्ति-
दत्तप्रहाररुचिरोज्जितानन्सपीठः
श्मापः क्षितौ क्षपित[शत्रुर]भूत्तनूज-
स्सद्राष्ट्रकूटकनकाद्रिनिबन्धराजः ॥ [६॥]
तस्योपास्त्रिजतमहस्तनयश्चतु[रुदधि]बलयमालिन्या
भोक्ता भुवः शतकृतसदृशः श्रीद[न्तिदुगेरा]जोभूत् ॥ [७॥]
कांचीशकेरलनराधिपचौलपाण्ड्य-
श्रीहर्षवज्रदविभेद[विधानदध] ।
[कणीट]कं बलमचिन्त्यम[जि]यमल्यै-
र्भूयैः कियद्विरपि यः सहसा[जिगाय ॥ ८॥]
[सभूविभेदमगु]हीतनिज्ञातशस्त्र-
मश्रान्तमप्रतिहताक्षमपेतयर्त्न ।
यो व[ज्रभे] सगादे दण्डलकेन जिह्वा]
[राजा]धिराजपरमेश्वरनामवाप ॥ [९॥]
आ सेतोधिपुलोपलावलि
...लये कलङ्कितमलशिलाजालात् तुषाराचला ।
स्वपुत्रोपरवाति
स्येनेयं जगति स्वविक्रमबलानीकातपतीकृता ॥ [१०॥]
तस्मिन्दिते[गते]
श्रीकङ्कैराजसूनुर्महोपतिः कृष्णराजोभूत् ॥ [११॥]
यस्य स्वभुज कवकं ।
कृष्णस्यैवाकृष्णं चरितं श्रीकृष्णराजस्य ॥ [१२॥]

§ V. 3, line 4 begins °जादितं, and ends with निजं; the first s in ससत्वं is uncertain. V. 4, l. 5 ends with सप°. V. 5, l. 6 ends with °धाम°; V. 6, तस्य प्र° and शत्रुर° restored according to the Sāmangadh plate; line 8 begins with निज°, and l. 9 with भूत्तनू°; read तसिपीठ. V. 7, l. 10 begins with °बलय°. The circular cut alluded to in Ind. Ant. vol. V. p. 100, begins in this verse. V. 8, l. 10 ends with °नराधिप°, and l. 11 with °मल्यै°, which latter syllable is very indistinct. The restorations have been made according to the Sāmangadh plate. V. 9, l. 12 ends with °श्रान्त°, and l. 13 with °धरता°; restoration according to the Sāmangadh plate. V. 10, l. 14 ends with °जिह्वा°, and l. 15 with स्ववि°. There must be a fault in the beginning of the second pāda. V. 11, l. 16 ends with सनु°. V. 12, l. 17 ends with °स्यैवाकु°.

शुभतुङ्गुङ्गु.....[यु]द्धरविरणश्री-श्मेपि नभो
निखिलं प्रावृङ्गुलाय सृष्टं ॥ [१३॥] ¶
दीनानायप्र ष्टि चेष्टे संमीहितमजस्त्रं
णमकालव.....व.....वृत्तिनिर्गुणं ॥ [१४॥]
पाह्यमात्मभुजजातबलावलेपमा
.....शिजाव-शुभामचिरेण यो हि
राजाधिराजपरमेश्वर[तामवाप ॥ १५॥]
.....भासमाने समन्ता-
दाजानुद्धत

Plate II A.

..... प्रकटगज.....[1]*
..... दृष्ट्व सद्यो
दर्पोधमातारिचक्रपकरमगमशस्य दोर्दण्डरूपे ॥ [१६॥]
पाता यक्षतुरमुराशिरशानालङ्कारभाजो भुव-
स्त्वप्याक्षापि कृतद्विजामरगुरुप्राख्याक्यपूजादरः ।
दाता मानस[म]प्रणीमृणवतां योसौ श्रियो वल्लभो
भोक्तुं स्वर्गफलानि भूरितपसा स्थानं जगामामरम् ॥ [१७॥]
येन श्वेतातपजप्रहतरविकरजातपापात्सलीलं
जग्मे नासीरभूलीधवलितशिरसा दल्लभाख्यस्तदाज्ञौ ।
श्रीमद्रोविन्दराजो जितजगदहितस्त्रैणैर्वैधव्यदक्ष-
स्नस्यासीत्सुनुरेकक्षणरणदलितारातिमचेभकुम्भः ॥ [१८॥]
तस्यानुजः श्रीधुवराजनामा
महानुभावो प्रहतप्रतापः ।
प्रसाधिताशेषनरेन्द्रचक्रः
कमेण बालाकैवभूत् ॥ [१९॥]
जाते यत्न च राष्ट्रकूटतिलके सद्रूपचूडामणौ
गुर्वित्युक्तिरथाखिलस्य जगतः सुस्वामिनि प्रत्यहम् ।
सत्यं सत्यमिति प्रशसति सति श्मामासमुद्रान्तिका-
मासीद्धर्मपरे गुणामृतनिधौ सत्यव्रताधिष्ठिते ॥ [२०॥]
हृष्टोन्वहं योऽस्थिजनाय सर्वं
सर्वस्वमानन्दितबन्धुवर्गः ।
प्रादात्प्ररुष्टो हरतिस्म वेगा-
त्प्राणान्यमस्यापि निनान्तवीरः ॥ [२१॥]

¶ V. 13 l. 18, ends with श्मेपि. These two letters, as well as the end of the verse, are very doubtful. V. 14, l. 19 ends with °मजस्त्रं; the metre appears to be Aryā. V. 15, l. 20 ends with °लेप°, and line 21 with परमेश्वर°; the metre is varāṣṭha.

* The beginning appears to be corrupt. V. 16, l. 2 of II. A begins with दृष्ट्व. The metre is Śragdhara, and it would seem that the second pāda begins with °दाजानुद्धत°. In this case °द्ध° must be corrected °द्ध°, or at least the syllable must be made long. V. 17, l. 2 ends with राशि°. l. 3 with मानस°, and l. 4 with °मामरम्. V. 18, l. 5 ends with शिरसा व°, and l. 6 with °त्सुनुर°. V. 19, l. 7 ends with °भावोत्र°. V. 20, l. 8 ends with यत्न, l. 9 with प्रत्य°, and l. 10 with °निधौ. V. 21, l. 11 ends with प्रा°.

रक्षता येन निःशेषचतुरम्भोभिसंयुतं ।
 राक्ष्ये धर्मेण लोकानां कृता हृदिः परा हृदि ॥ [२२ ॥] †
 तस्यात्मजो जगति सम्प्रथितोऽकीर्ति-
 र्गोविन्दराज इति गोबललामभूतः ।
 त्यागी पराक्रमधनः प्रकटप्रतापः
 सन्तापिताहितजनो जनवल्लभोऽसौ ॥ [२३ ॥]
 पृथ्वीवल्लभ इति च प्रथितं यस्यापरे नाम ।
 यक्षतुरुदधिसीमामेको वसुधां वशां चक्रे ॥ [२४ ॥]
 एरोप्यनेकरूपो यो ददुशे भेदवादिभिरिवात्मा ।
 परचललधिमपारन्तरं स्वदोर्भां रणे रिगुभिः ॥ [२५ ॥]
 एको निर्हेनिरहं प्रतीतशस्त्रा इमे परे बहवः ।
 यो नैवेविभमकरोच्चितं स्त्रमेपि किमुताजौ ॥ [२६ ॥]
 राक्ष्याभिषेककलशैरभिषिच्य दत्ता
 राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरतां स्वपिता ।
 भन्यैर्महानृपातिभिर्वृद्धभस्ममेत्य
 स्तम्भादिभिर्ध्वजबलादवलुप्यमाना ॥ [२७ ॥]
 एकोनेकनरेन्द्रवृन्दसहितान्यस्तान्समस्तानपि
 श्रोत्रांतसिलताप्रहारविधुरां बद्धा महासंयुगे ।
 लक्ष्मीमप्यचलां चकार

Plate II. B.

विलसन्सञ्चारमरग्राहिणी

संसीदद्गुरुविप्रसज्जनसुहृद्भूषणयोग्या भुवि ॥ [२८ ॥] ‡
 भ्रा तु तस्येन्द्रसमानवीर्यः
 श्रीमान्भुवि श्मापतिरिन्द्रराजः ।
 शास्ता बभूवाहुतकीर्तिसुति-
 स्तदचलाटेश्वरमण्डलस्य ॥ [२९ ॥]
 यस्याङ्गमात्मजयिनः प्रियसाहस्य
 श्मापालवेशफलमेव बभूव सैन्ये ।
 मुक्त्वा च सर्वभुवनेश्वरमादिदेवं
 नाबन्दतान्यममरेषुपि यो मनस्वी ॥ [३० ॥]
 सुनुवृभूत खलु तस्य महानुभावः
 शास्त्रात्यंशेषसुखलालितचित्तवृत्ति-
 र्यो गौणनामपरि[वा]रमुवाह पूर्व
 श्रीकङ्कुराजसुभगव्यपदेशमुचैः ॥ [३१ ॥]

सौराक्ष्यजल्ये चतिते प्रसङ्गा-
 न्निदर्शने विश्वजनीनसंप- ।
 प्रक्षयं बलेः पृथ्वीमहो बभूव
 क्षिताविदानिन्तु नृप यस्य ॥ [३२ ॥]
 इच्छातिरेकेण कृपीवलानां
 पयो याथा मुञ्चति जातु मेघे ।
 भवेदानस्तद्विरतां तथाभू-
 दास्मिन्भनं वर्धति सेवकानां ॥ [३३ ॥]
 कल्पक्षयक्षणसमुद्भवताणोला-
 दोलायमानकुलशैलकुलानुकारं ।
 यन्मुक्तचण्डशरजालयवप्रणुजा
 युद्धागता रिगुमजेन्द्रपटा चकार ॥ [३४ ॥]
 तस्य भ्राता कनीयान्प्रथितपुत्रयुवा निर्विजतारातिचक्रः
 श्रीमान्गोविन्दराजः पतिरवनिभुजा ख्यातकीर्तिर्बभूव ।
 नानाद्रीपार्णवादिद्रुमगहनमहासन्निवेशामपीमां
 प्रादेशाल्यप्रमाणाममनुवृत्तिर्वा यः प्रदाने जये च ॥ [३५ ॥]
 कः प्रत्यर्थिपु दानमाप न यतः को वार्त्तिपु प्रत्यहं
 जग्मुर्ज्ञापचितिञ्च के च न सतां मध्येसतां वा भृशं ।
 नाथ्यैः काश्च न भूयिताः स्वपरयोर्ध्वज प्रभौ पक्षयोः
 सञ्चारकृतार्थमित्यमभवद्यस्योर्जितं चैष्टितं ॥ [३६ ॥]
 विशुद्धात्मभिरत्यन्तमलब्धगणनैरपि ।
 दारैरिव गुणैर्यस्य नेक्षितोपपराश्रयः ॥ [३७ ॥]
 यद्विक्रमस्य परिमाणविदः किमन्य-
 दाप्याविमास्तुलितरामपराक्रमस्य ।
 सर्वप्रतीपदमनक्षमबाहुदण्ड
 लीलाजयाधिकरणं ककुभो बभूवुः ॥ [३८ ॥]
 तेनेदम (१६)
 खिलं विशुद्धञ्चलमालोक्य जीवित-
 मसरं क्षितिदानपरमगुण्यः प्रवर्त्तितो धर्मदायोयं (१७)
 स च समभिगतोऽपमहाशब्दमहासमन्ताधि-
 पतिप्रभूतवर्षश्रीगोविन्दराजदे[वः] १८]
 सञ्चारोपयासंभ्रमानकान्द्राष्ट्रपतिविषयपति
 ग्रामकूटायुक्तनियुक्ता[धिकारि] १९]
 महत्तरादीन्समनु दर्शयन्तु वः संविदितं यथा
 मया श्रीमरुक्छनिवासि[ना] २०]

Plate III.

† [मातापि] लोरात्मनश्चैहिकामुष्मिकफलाप्तये धर्मयशोभिद्वयार्थं कापिकान्तर्वाचिभूते कोटिपु[रे] §

‡ भगवत्सिम्हरश्मये श्रीमन्जयादित्याभिधानाय खण्डस्तुटितसंस्कारार्थं गन्धगुणभूषदीपनेवेशार्थं

† V. 22, line 12 ends with निःशेष°. V. 23, l. 13 ends with सत्य°, and l. 14 with प्रता°. V. 24, l. 15 ends with परे°. V. 25, read एकोप्य° and तरन्व°. l. 16 ends with रूपो°. V. 26, l. 17 ends with रहं°. V. 27, l. 18 ends with विच्य°. V. 28, l. 19 ends with न्यस्तान्सम°.

‡ V. 29, read भ्राता तु; l. 1 ends with समा°, and l. 2 with मण्डलस्य; V. 30, read प्रियसाहस्य and मरेष्वपि; l. 3 ends with सर्वभुव°. V. 31, l. 4 ends with महानुभा°, and l. 5 with सुभग°. V. 32, read शज्यं, विदानीं तु and नृपस्य; l. 6 ends with महो°. V. 33, read यथा; l. 7 ends with मेघे°.

V. 34, read हेल° and जव°; dele 1 after प्रणुजा; l. 8 ends with दोला°, and l. 9 with चकार°. V. 35, l. 10 ends with ख्या°, and l. 11 with ल्यप°. V. 36, l. 12 ends with वार्त्ति°, and l. 13 with मुयिता°. V. 37, l. 14 ends with गणनैरपि°. V. 38, read दाज्याविमा°. l. 15 ends with पराक्रमस्य; anasāra in चिकरण° uncertain; l. 17 read मसरं; l. 20 नि in निवासि[ना] not quite clear, and वा looks like व.

§ Line 1. Only portions of aksharas 4-13 remain.

- ३ भूगविनामा ग्रामो यस्यपाटनानि पूर्वतो वटपद्रकं दक्षिणतो जद्रागग्रामस्तथा पश्चिमतः—
 ४ ...मङ्गलकालीयग्रामौ उत्तरतो रुक्माडनामा ग्रामः । एवं चतुराष्टानोपलक्षितः सोदङ्गः स [१]
 ५ [परि]करः समुत्पन्नप्रत्यायस्सदण्डदशापराधः सोत्पन्नमानविष्टिकः सभान्यहिरण्यादेयो
 ६ [अचा]टभटप्रवेशः समस्तराजकीयानामहस्तप्रक्षेपणीयो भूमिच्छिद्रान्यायेनाचन्द्राक्षाण्यवक्षितसरि-
 ७ [त्य]जैतकालीनः पूर्वदत्तदेवदायव्रद्धादायराहितोऽभ्यान्तरसिद्ध्या शकनृपकालातीतसंयत्सर [सप्त]शतैवेकाग्रप-
 ८ चाशस्तमधिकेषु महावैशाख्यो नर्मदासरिति स्नातोदकानिसर्गेण प्रतिपादितः । यतोऽस्योचित-
 ९ या देवदायस्थित्या भुञ्जतो भोजयतः कार्ययतः प्रतिदिशतो वा न कैश्चित्परिपन्थना कार्यो । त-
 १० यागामिन्पतिभिरस्मद्देश्यैरन्यैर्जा सामान्यं भूमिदानफलमप्येयं विशुद्धोलान्यनेयिष्वर्थाणि नृण-
 ११ लनजलविन्दुचञ्चलं च जीवितमकलय्य स्वदायनिश्चिन्नेषामस्मदायोनुमन्तव्यः परिपालय-
 १२ तव्यथ । यथाज्ञानदाटलात्तमविराच्छिन्नादाच्छिद्यमानं वानुमोदते स पञ्चभिर्महापा[त-]
 १३ कैरुपपा[त]कैश्च संयुक्तः स्यादिति । उक्तं च । भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन व्यासेन व-
 १४ ष्टिर्बृहस्पतिस्तथा स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः । आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरकं वशेत । विन्ध्या-
 १५ टवीजतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः । कुण्यायो हि जायन्ते भूमिदायापहारिणः ॥ अग्रेरपत्यं प्र-
 १६ थमं सुवर्णं भूवैष्णवी सूर्यसुताश्च गावः । लोकत्रयं तेन भवेद्धि दत्तं यः काञ्चन गाञ्च महीञ्च दद्यात् ।
 १७ बहुभिर्बुधैर्भुक्ता राजभिः समरादिभिर्धर्म्यस्यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्यतस्य तदा फलं ॥ यानीह दत्तानि पुरा
 १८ नरेन्द्रैर्हानानि धर्मात्यैश्चक्रराणि निम्नोत्पन्नान्तप्रतिमानि तानि कौ नाम साधुः पुनराददीत । स्व[द]
 १९ चा परदत्ता वा यन्नाद्रक्ष नराधिप । महीं महीभृता श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छेदोऽनुपालनं ॥ इति कमलदलामुविन्दु-
 २० लोला श्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितं च । अतिविमलमनोभिरात्मनीनैर्नहि पुरुषैः परकीर्तयो विलोप्याः
 २१ स्वहस्तोयं श्रीगोविन्दराजस्य लिखितं चैतन्मया श्रीगोविन्दराजस्यादेशान्म-
 २२ हासन्निविष्टाधिकृतकुलज-
 २३ श्रीमदवलोकितसुनुना श्रीयोगेश्वरेण दूतक्रौञ्च भटश्रीकुमुद[द] इति ॥

Translation.

1. May he protect you, the lotus on whose navel is the dwelling-place of Brahmā and Hara, whose forehead is adorned by the lovely moon-sickle !*

2. There was a prince, called Govinda-rāja, a royal lion among kings, whose fame pervaded the universe, and who, (of) pure (splendour), at the head of his trained army dispelled his enemies in battle just as the moon, the leader of the host of rising (stars), dispels the darkness at night.†

3. When he saw an army flashing with gallant warriors coming to meet him, biting his

lip and knitting his brow, clutching the sword, and planting courage in his clan and his own heart, he always raised forthwith the loud battle-cry.‡

4. When his enemies heard his name pronounced in the fight, three things unseasonably at once slipped from them,—the sword from the hand, animation from the face, and pride from the heart.§

5. His son, the illustrious Karkarāja, whose resplendent glory was famed throughout the world, who stilled the pain of the distressed and supported the abode of Hari's steps, who resembled the king of heaven, and whose orders

* Line 3, first akshara uncertain,—may be भू or दू, or possibly द्या. L. 7, the restoration of सप्त is perfectly certain, as the Baroda grant, which was made by Govinda's father, is dated 734. L. 9 read कार्ययतः प्रतिदिशतः ; L. 10 read न्यनित्यैः ; L. 11 read वसनं ; माकलय्य ; L. 12 read ज्ञानपटला ; L. 13 delete the third व्यासेन ; L. 14 read पट्टि यद्वै ; वसेत ; L. 20 read पुरुषैः

* The two gods intended are Vishnu and Śiva. This stanza is found at the head of the Baroda and Sāmangadh and Van Dindori inscriptions also. Pandit Kāmalakānta appears to have misread it badly.

† Regarding the meaning of udyota, 'rising' or 'risen,' compare Pet. Dict. s. v. 'yam' and 'ud.' The verse occurs

in the Sāmangadh inscription. Bāl Gangādhār Śāstri's reading, dhvastatinnayana, is nonsense, and not warranted by the facsimile, which, though not very clear, may be read, as I have done, dhvastārthayan. The latter word must be taken as a denominative from dhvastārtha, 'annihilated,' or 'dispelled.' I am unable to say how Bāl Gangādhār Śāstri got the 'son,' instead of the 'moon,' out of vidhu.

‡ The verse is also the third of the Sāmangadh inscription. Bāl Gangādhār Śāstri's readings, unadmitam and cha satam, are, I think, preferable to ours. But the di in unadmitam appeared to me quite clear. His translation of subhāṣṭāhāsām is utterly mistaken.

§ The verse stands fourth on the Sāmangadh plate also. Bāl Gangādhār Śāstri's variants are owing to mistakes in deciphering, and his translation is faulty.

found obedience, became (after him) the gem of the (Rāshtrakūṭa) race.¶

6. His son was Indrarāja, as it were the mount Meru of the Rāshtrakūṭa race, a prince whose shoulders shone with the ichor flowing from the split temples of (hostile) elephants, and were scratched by the blows of their tusks, who destroyed his enemies on earth.¶

7. The son of him who had earned greatness was the illustrious Dantidurgarāja, who, resembling Indra, ruled the whole earth that is girdled by the four oceans.*

8. He conquered quickly, with a handful of dependents, the countless unconquered host of Karnaṭa, which was expert in defeating the lord of Kāncī, the Kerala, the Chola, the Pāṇḍya, Śrīharsha, and Vajraṭa.†

9. He, contracting his brow, swiftly conquered by his bow Vallabha—untired, obeyed by all, who had not taken up his sharp weapons, and made no effort—and thus obtained the titles 'king of kings' and 'supreme lord.'‡

10. §

11. When he had gone to heaven
 . . . Kṛishṇarāja, the son of the illustrious Karkarāja, became lord of the earth.

¶ The verse stands fifth in the Sāmangaḍh plate also. Bāl Gangādhara Śāstri's variants in the first and second pādas, as well as *kṛitajnaḥ* in the third, are supported by the facsimile; the rest are misreadings. 'Arttārttiḥārī' may be referred to Hari, as Bāl Gangādhara Śāstri has done.

¶ This verse stands seventh on the Sāmangaḍh plate. Bāl Gangādhara Śāstri's translation of *prabhīna* *pīṭhaḥ* is wrong, as he has not taken into account the word 'ruchira' which must be taken with 'dāna.' In the second pāda he paraphrases instead of translating.

* Metre *gṛīti*. The restoration of the name of the king is made certain by the genealogy as given in other plates.

† The verse stands last in the poetical portion of the Sāmangaḍh plates. To judge from the facsimile, Bāl Gangādhara Śāstri's reading *ajeyarathyaḥ*, instead of our *ajeyam alpaiḥ*, is by no means certain. He has left it out in his translation. The synonyms *alpaiḥ* and *kiyadbhiḥ* are, I think, both used in order to give force to the statement that Dantidurga's army was small. Bāl Gangādhara Śāstri has also left out Vajraṭa (*Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* vol. XXXII. p. 97) in the list of conquered kings.

‡ In the Sāmangaḍh inscription this verse stands just before the preceding one. But its text appears to be very corrupt. It is also difficult to say how Bāl Gangādhara Śāstri arrived at his translation. He appears to have taken *agrikṣitavidhantasastram* and *apraṇihitāntram* (his reading for *apratihitāntram*) as *avyayabdhāvas*, and to have referred them to the action of Dantidurga. But *apraṇihitāntram* can certainly not mean 'without sending armies.' *Antra* or *entra* means 'bowels,' and nothing else. Again, *agri-*

12. The life of the illustrious Kṛishṇarāja was blameless as that of Kṛishṇa.

13.

14. ||

15.

He soon obtained the auspicious titles 'king of kings' and 'supreme lord.'

16. His strong arm quickly destroyed the multitude of his enemies inflated with pride, as soon as he saw them (?).

17. He was the protector of the earth that is adorned with the girdle of the four oceans, and also of the threefold (sacred science); he gave much *gṛīti* to Brahmans; he worshipped the immortals and honoured his *gurus*; he granted (to supplicants) their hearts' desires; he was the first among the virtuous, the favourite of fortune, and in consequence of his great penance he went to the immortal abode to enjoy the rewards of heaven.

18. His son was the illustrious Govindarāja, called (also) Vallabha,¶ who was expert in making widows of the wives of the conquered world's enemies, who in one moment split in battle the temples of the *maṣṭ* elephants

hṭavidhantasastram, 'without wielding [his brilliant] weapons,' is contradicted by the statement that Vallabha was conquered by the *daṇḍalaka*. The latter word, which Bāl Gangādhara Śāstri leaves out in his translation, I take to be a synonym of *daṇḍāra*, 'bow,' though I do not find it in any dictionary. It certainly is a derivative of *daṇḍa*, and designates some kind of weapon. Finally Bāl Gangādhara Śāstri's translation of *apetayatndī*, his reading for *apetayatnam* is wrong, as the ablative of the compound cannot mean "without any effort." I have thought it preferable to take the second compound of the first pāda and all those of the second pāda as accusatives *masc.*, and to refer them to the conquered Vallabha, whose former greatness and sudden loss of energy and courage they appear to indicate. But I will not deny that they may be taken as *avyayabdhāvas* adverbs by any one who can get over the contradiction contained in *agrikṣitavidhantasastram* and *daṇḍalakena jīte*.

§ This verse, on account of its mutilation, admits of no certain rendering. But its general meaning seems to have been that Dantidurga conquered the whole of India.

¶ vv. 13 and 14. I am not able to make out the general sense, even, of these fragments.

¶ There are two difficulties in the first two pādas. Firstly, it is remarkable to find that the "warded-off heat" is given as the reason for the king's sportive gait, instead "of the warding off of the heat." Secondly, on account of the exigencies of the metre, *vallabhaḥkṛyaḥ*, which must be construed with *Govindarājaḥ*, has been introduced into the sentence beginning with *yena*.

of his enemies, and who, his head whitened by the dust of the vanguard, ever walked in battle with sportive gait, since the heat of the sun's rays was warded off by his white parasol.

19. His younger brother was the illustrious Dhruvarāja, of great dignity and unchecked prowess, who, conquering all kings, gradually became (in fierce brilliancy) like unto the morning sun.

20. When that gem among good princes had become the chief of the Rāshtrakūṭas, the whole world called him the good lord, daily its spiritual preceptor. When that righteous lover of truth was ruling the earth from ocean to ocean, then (people agreed that) in truth the age of truth (had returned).*

21. Gladdening his relations, he daily gave, when pleased, all his wealth to the crowd of suppliants. When angered, the great hero impetuously took the life-breath of Yama even.

22. Highest joy filled the hearts of men when he righteously ruled the earth together with the four oceans.

23. His son, the ornament of his race, was Govindarāja, a liberal (prince), dear to mankind, keeping fortitude as his only riches, endowed with notorious valour, who harassed his enemies, and whose fame was celebrated far and wide by the virtuous.

24. His second famous name was Prithvivallabha. He, alone, made subject to himself the earth that is bounded by the four oceans.

25. As the Universal soul, though one, appears manifold to those who maintain the existence of individual souls, so did he, when by (the strength of) his arm he crossed the boundless ocean of this foemen's host, appear multi-form to his enemies in battle.

26. "Alone am I and lacking arrows, well armed and numerous are the foes"; such

thoughts did never come to him even in a dream, much less in battle.

27. When many other great kings Stambha and the rest, allied together, were tearing from him by the strength of their arms the dignity of king of kings and supreme lord, which he had received from his father, being consecrated with (the water of) the coronation urns,

28. Then, destroying them all together with crowds of kings, he fastened that (title) in a great battle, though it had become loosened by the blows of Yama's sword, made Fortune stable and serviceable to his suffering gurus, to Brahmans and virtuous men, to his friends and relations, and forced her to hold his excellent, glittering *chauri*.†

29. But his brother, the illustrious Indrarāja, equal to Indra in valour and of wondrous fame, became ruler on earth, and sovereign of the province of the ruler of Lāṭa, which he received from his (elder brother).‡

30. To him who conquered single-handed, and was fond of deeds of hazard, his army served merely as a mark of royalty. That proud (prince) did not bow to any of the immortals even, excepting the first-born god, the lord of the whole world.§

31. His son was (a prince) of great power, whose mind revelled in the pleasure of the knowledge of the Śāstras' meaning, and who carried openly the ancient auspicious appellation Śrī Karkarāja, together with other secondary names.||

32. When a dispute about good government incidentally arose, it was formerly (the custom to cite) the kingdom of *Bali* as an instance of a realm where prosperity affected all subjects. Now (we give as an example) on earth (the kingdom) of this ruler.¶

33. At his death his servants felt towards him

* The phrase *satyam satyam iti* may be taken in various ways,—either, as I have done, *satyam nissahakryam satyam satyayugam (punaḥ pravartata iti śeṣaḥ) iti jagata uktih* or *satyam idānīm satyam (na tvasatye satyam tadmadhyāropayate) iti lokānām uktih*, &c. The general sense remains the same.

† *Sah* *śdot* properly refers to the Brahmans, friends, and relations, just as much as to the gurus. If the reading *विजय* were not quite clear, I should prefer to write *विजय*, and to refer the adjective to the vanquished kings.

‡ This verse occurs as No. 21 on the Baroda plates. Pandit Kamalakānta, the decipherer, has, however, wrongly changed the *tadattatā* *civaramaṇḍalasya* of the facsimile

(a slip for *tadattatā*) to *tadātā*. The translation is very inaccurate.

§ This verse stands third on the Baroda plates, and is there applied to Govinda I. The first and second *pādas* have been badly read by the Paplit; the third shows a valuable *varia lectio*, '*śaṅkaramadhyāvaranī* *civaram*'. The deity intended is, of course, Śiva.

|| The last two *pādas* of this verse occur in the 4th verse of the Baroda inscription, where, however, *mukhyam* is substituted for *pūrvam*. Pandit Śrīrāda-prasāda Chakravartī has utterly misunderstood them. He thinks that *gaṇanānāparidraṇam* means "all good qualities"! In the Baroda inscription the verse refers to Karkarāja I.

¶ This verse stands fifth in the Baroda inscription.

who had been showering wealth on them just as husbandmen feel towards the cloud that has sent more water than is desired, when it stops (raining).*

34. Struck by the fierce impetus of the numerous arrows shot by him, the herd of hostile elephants that had come into battle, imitated (in its movements) the great mountains when they are rocking to and fro in consequence of the fury of the storms that arise at the moment when a *kalpa* expires.†

35. His younger brother, whose fame spread far, and who entirely vanquished the multitude of his enemies, was the illustrious Govindarāja, the celebrated lord of kings who considered this earth, though it includes many continents, oceans, mountains, forests, and large towns, diminutive like the span of his hand for purposes of gifts and conquest.

36. What enemy did not find his destruction through him, or what suppliant did not daily receive gifts from him? What good men did not obtain honour, or what bad men did not suffer injury through him? Whilst he was lord, were not the wives of his adherents adorned with ornaments, and were not the wives of his enemies couched on the ground? Thus his mighty deeds bore fruit in every respect.‡

37. His pure and countless virtues never knew any other location (than him), just as his pure and countless wives never saw any other house (but his).

38. The Universe alone knew the limits of his prowess, which in battle equalled the valour of Rāma, and it became the scene of the sportive victories gained by his strong arm that was able to subdue all foes.

He, seeing that this whole life is unstable as a flash of lightning and worthless, has made this charitable grant, the sanctity of which is

greatly enhanced by (its being) a gift of land. And he, the ruler of the great feudal chiefs, the illustrious lord Govindarāja, (called also) Prabhūtavārsha, who possesses all the great titles, addresses these commands to all his officials, functionaries, and persons in authority to the governors of provinces and zillahs, to the heads of villages, heads (of castes) and others, whatever their connexion (with him) may be:—

“Be it known to you that in order to obtain benefits in this life and the next for my parents and for my own self, and for the increase of spiritual merit and glory, I, dwelling in Bhārūkachhā, have given, confirming the gift with a libation of water, after bathing in the river Narmadā, on the full moon of Vaiśākha, when [seven] hundred and forty-nine years of the Śaka kings had passed, to the (temple of the) divine Sun, called (that of) the illustrious Jayāditya and situated in Koṭi-pura, which is included in Kāpikā, for the restoration of its broken and rent parts, and (in order to defray the expenses) for perfumes, flowers, frankincense, lamps, and food-offerings, the village of Thūrṇavi—the boundaries of which are, to the east *Vaṭapadraka*, to the south the village of *Jadrāṇa*, to the west the villages of . . . -*mangana* and *Kāliyara*, to the north the village of *Ruhādā*,—together with together with together with its green and dry produce, together with the (right of) fine and (deciding cases arising out of) the ten faults, together with the right of forced labour arising therefrom, together with the income in grain and gold, to the exclusion of all former grants to gods and Brahmins, according to the analogy of the reasoning from the familiar instance of the ground and the clefts therein—(this same village), being not to be entered by the

and refers there to Karkarāja I. The variants *jālye* for *jāpe*, *viṭvajanaikāśampad* for *viṭvajanaśampad*, and *kulāṇa* for *bāṇa*, are doubtless misreadings. The variant *lectio* ‘*patite*’ for ‘*chatite*’ in our text is probably right, as the latter gives no good sense. Possibly, however, the correct reading may be *chāṭite*. Some word meaning ‘arose’ is evidently required. Pandit Śrādaśrāda had not the slightest notion of the meaning of the verse. His mistranslation of the verse has given rise to various unfounded inferences regarding the history of Gujarat, vide, e.g. Cunningham’s *Anc. Geog.* p. 317.

* This verse stands ninth in the Baroda inscription, and refers there to Krishnarāja. The Pandit has caught and rendered its general meaning, but has not given a close translation.

† See Baroda plate, v. 20. The nonsensical various reading *pramāṇa* for *pramāṇa* is a mistake of the decipherer, as the facsimile shows. Śrādaśrāda’s transla-

tion is not very intelligible, and not close.

‡ The *kulāṇa* or ‘chief mountains’, which are seven in number—vide, e.g. *Viṣṇup.* p. 147—are supposed to survive the general destruction of the world at the end of a *kalpa*.

§ Each of the first three *pādas* of this verse contains a pun, the verb or verbal noun denoting both an action tending to benefit and to injure. *Dāna* in the first *pāda* means ‘destruction’ if derived from the root *dā*, and ‘gift’ if derived from the root *dā*. *Apachiti*, in the second *pāda*, means both ‘honour’ and ‘injury’. *Bhūṣhitāḥ*, in the third *pāda*, may either be derived from the root *bhūṣh*, ‘to adorn,’ or be taken as a compound of *bhū*, ‘earth,’ and *uṣhitāḥ*, past part. pass. of the root *uṣh*, ‘dwelling.’ The statement that the wives of the king’s enemies were sleeping on the ground is meant to indicate that they had been made widows. For it is ordained for the latter that the ground shall be their couch.

irregular or regular soldiers, nor to be meddled with by any royal officers, (and the grant to hold good) as long as moon, sun, earth, oceans, rivers and hills endure §

This is the sign-manual of the illustrious Govindarāja. And this has been written by order of the illustrious Govindarāja by me, the noble and illustrious Yogeśvara, the son of the illustrious Avalokita, the minister of peace and war. The executive officer here is the illustrious Kumuda.

Postscript.

An additional proof for the early use of the so-called Vikrama era of 56-7 B.C. is furnished by the corrected version of the Aihole inscription of Pulakesi II, published by Mr. Fleet in the *Antiquary* (ante, pp. 67 et seqq.). There it is stated that the Śaka year 507 corresponded to the year 3551 of the Kaliyuga. Mr. Fleet has pointed out that the Śaka year 507, if the latter era be taken to be that beginning 78-9 A.D., and for the Kaliyuga the usual, beginning the vernal equinox of 3102 B.C., be accepted, corresponds to the Kali year 3686. He offers, however, no explanation for the curious statement of the inscription. It seems evident to me that the Śaka year has been referred by the writer of the inscription, either intentionally or

through inadvertency, to the *Vikrama era*. For the difference between the beginning of the Kaliyuga and that of the Vikrama era is . . . 3044
Add years of the inscription . . . 507

The total gives the Kali year 3551 mentioned in the inscription.

I do not think that the writer of the inscription, though calling the era in which he dated Śaka, *really meant* the Vikrama era. For the Chālukya inscriptions are all dated Śaka, and there can be no doubt that the later ones are dated in the era beginning 78-9 A.D. Besides, the author, Ravikirti, belonged to the Jaina sect, and the Jainas have more than once committed errors in respect to the two eras. I believe that he simply made a mistake, and put down the equivalent of 507 Vikrama, for that of 507 Śaka. But, however that may be, in any case it must be allowed that he knew the era beginning 56-7 A.D., which it is customary to call that of Vikrama, and it may be asserted that the Aihole inscription furnishes another instance of its early use.

As regards the sign-manuals of the Gurjara and Rāshtrakūṭa kings, I have to add that Prof. Dowson|| has already called attention to those of the former, and has drawn inferences from them similar to those made by myself.

MAXIMS AND SENTIMENTS FROM THE MAHĀBHĀRATA.

BY J. MUIR, D.C.L., LL.D., &c., EDINBURGH.

1. *Union fait la force; mutual help.*
Book v., 1321 ff.

The forest tree that stands alone,
Though huge, and strong, and rooted fast,
And braving long the storm, at last
By furious gusts is overthrown;

While trees that, growing side by side,
A mass compact together form,
Each sheltering each, defy the storm,
And green from age to age abide.

So too the man alone who stands,
However brave himself, and wise,
But lacking aid from stout allies,
Falls smitten soon by hostile hands.
But those sage kinsmen ever thrive,
Like lotus flowers in blooming pride,

Who firmly each in each confide,
And each from each support derive.

2. *The same.* v. 863.

By woods unsheltered, tigers fall
Beneath the hunter-troop's attacks;
And stripped of tigers, forests tall
Soon sink before the woodman's axe.
Let tigers, therefore, woods defend,
And woods to tigers shelter lend.

3. *Caution in dealing with a crafty enemy.*
i. 5563, and xii. 5264.

When with a crafty foe thou wagest war,
Ne'er rest secure because he dwells afar;
For, know, the arms of such a man are long,
When stretched to wreak his wrath on those
who've done him wrong.

§ The portion left untranslated contains only the usual injunctions on future kings, and the comminatory verses

against the resumption of land grants from the Mahābhārata. || *Jour. R. As. Soc. N. S.* vol. I. p. 265.

4. *Machiavellian counsel*, i. 5563
and xii. 5264.

Whilst thou dost watch thy chance,—with seem-
ing care
Thy mortal foe upon thy shoulder bear;
Then down to earth thy hated burden dash,
As men against the rocks an earthen vessel
smash.

5. *Poverty lends relish to food*. v. 1144.
The poor man daintier fare enjoys
Than e'er his wealthy neighbours taste;
For hunger lends his food a zest,
While plenty pampered palates cloy.

6. *The Divine Sovereignty* (compare
St. Matt. xi. 25). v. 916f.
The Lord all creatures' fortunes rules:
None, weak or strong, his might defies;
He makes the young and simple wise;
The wise and learn'd he turns to fools.

7. *Loss of Virtue the only real loss*. v. 1289.
Thy virtue guard at any cost.
Wealth none can trust; it comes and goes;
The good survive misfortune's blows;
But virtue lost, and all is lost.

8. *Ill-gotten gains fail to benefit*. v. 1251f.
When men unjustly-gotten gains
Employ unsightly rents to hide,
Each ancient rent unveiled remains,
While new ones gape on every side.

9. *Good to be drawn from everything*.
v. 1125.
From madmen's ravings, e'en, the wise,
And children's prattlings, good may gain:
As workmen skilled extract the vein
Of gold in rocks that bedded lies.

10. *Evil Men to be avoided*. v. 1164.
Let good men ne'er with bad themselves ally:
Whene'er a friendly bond the two unites,
The guiltless share the doom the knaves that
smites:
Moist wood takes fire and burns when mixed
with dry.

11. *Honest Advice*. v. 1348f.
Bland courtly men are found with ease
Who utter what they know will please;

But honest men are far to seek,
Who bitter truths and wholesome speak.
So, too, those thoughtful men are rare
Who blunt and sound advice can bear.
A prince's best ally is he,—
The man from servile truckling free,—
Who faithful counsel gives, nor fears
With truth to wound his patron's ears,—
Not he who spares him present pain
At certain cost of future bane.

12. "*The tongue can no man tame*."
(James iii. 8.) v. 1170.

'Tis very hard to curb the tongue:
Yet all this needful power should seek;
For who much useful truth can speak,
Or charm with brilliant converse long?

13. *Study beforehand the consequences of
action*. v. 1112.

If I now take this step, what next ensues?
Should I forbear, what must I then expect?
Thus, ere he acts, a man should well reflect;
And weighing both the sides, his course should
choose.

14. *Means do not always lead to the desired
ends*. xii. 831.

Friends cannot always bring us bliss,
Nor foes suffice to work us ill;
Wealth is not always gained by skill;
And rich men oft enjoyment miss.

15. *The best remedy for grief*. xi. 184.
Nor valour, wealth, nor yet a band
Of friends, can bring such sure relief
To mortals overwhelmed with grief,
As strong and steadfast self-command.

16. *The wise superior to circumstances*. xi. 67.
No day arrives but, as it flies,
Of fear a hundred sources brings,
Of grief a thousand bitter springs,
To vex—the fool, but not the wise.

17. *Marks of a wise man*. v. 993.
The men too high who never aim,
For things once lost who never mourn,
By troubles ne'er are overborne,—
Such men the praise of wisdom claim.

18. *Sanctity leads to knowledge.* v. 1382.

The man who every sin forsakes,
Whose breast with love of goodness glows,
He Nature's primal essence knows,
And all the changing forms she takes.

19. *The true Brâhman.* xii. 9667.

The man who Nature knows, and all
The changing growth that from her springs,
And all the fates of living things,—
That man the gods a Brâhman call.

20. *Appearances not always to be trusted.*
xii. 4148f.

A bounded vault the æther seems,
With fire the firefly seems to shine;
And yet no bounds the sky confine,
'Tis not with fire the firefly gleams.

So other sense-perceptions, too,

Which else might cheat, should first be
tried;
And those which every test abide
Should only then be deemed as true.

21. *Desire insatiable.* xii. 6713.

When men grow rich, for something else they
pine.
They would be kings; were kingly rank at-
tained,
They fain would gods become; were godship
gained,
They'd long to rule o'er all the race divine.
But should'st thou wealth and royal power
acquire,
And, soaring higher yet, become a god,
Yea, rule all Svarga by thy sovereign nod,
E'en then unsated, thou would'st more desire.*

SANSKRIT AND OLD CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, B.A. C.S.

(Continued from p. 76.)

No. XV.

This is another Pallava copper-plate inscription, in the Cave-alphabet characters and the Sanskrit language, from Sir W. Elliot's facsimile collection. The plates are six in number, and in this instance, again, contrary to the usual practice, the inscription, to judge by the numerals on the plates, commences on the *outside* of the first plate and ends on the *outside* of the last plate. The seal connecting these plates seems to bear no device; at least, none is given in the facsimile.

The inscription records the grant of the village of Māṅgaḍūr, in the country of Vēṅḡḍ-rāshṭra, to certain Brâhmanas, in the eighth year of the reign of Siṃhavarṃā. In this case, also, the date is not referred to any era.

If my suggestion be accepted, that, Viṣṇugōpavarṃā being styled 'Yuvamahārāja'† in No. XII of this series, the Siṃhavarṃā, in the eleventh year of whose reign the copper-plate recording Viṣṇugōpavarṃā's grant was bestowed, must have been Viṣṇugōpavarṃā's

elder brother and the reigning Mahārāja,—the Pallava genealogy will stand for the present thus:—



At the time of this second grant the capital is stated to be Daśanapura§; the locality of this town is not known to me. As regards Palakkada, which in No. XII of this series is given as the capital, I see that Dr. Burnell|| gives 'Pālakkādu' as the old form of 'Pālghāt' in the Cochin territory; perhaps the two names may be one and the same, but in the first line of No. XII the last letter is distinctly 'd', not 'd.'

* Compare the *Phænissæ* of Euripides, pp. 503 *et seqq.*, where Eteocles says: "For, I, O mother, will declare, concealing nothing: I would go to the place where the stars and the sun rise, and beneath the earth,—if I were able to do these things,—in order to possess royal power, the greatest of the deities."

† Also 'Yuvārāja' in line 9 of the present inscription.

‡ See note *, page 50.


§ Possibly only a Sanskrit translation of some such Canarese name as 'Hallūr', 'the village of the tooth'. See the remarks on the Sanskritizing of Dravidian names at p. vii, note 5, of Dr. Burnell's *South-Indian Palaeography*.

|| *South-Indian Palaeography*, p. 36, note 1.

[illegible][illegible][illegible][illegible]

COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF THE PALLAVA DYNASTY.

III. a

(11)  ಶ್ರೀನಿವಾಸಾಯ ನಮಃ ಪುಷ್ಪಕಂ
ಶ್ರೀನಿವಾಸಾಯ ನಮಃ ಪುಷ್ಪಕಂ

III. 6.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥

IV. c.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

IV. 6.

[illegible]

TRANSCRIPTION.

First plate ; first side.

- [1] जितम्भगवता [11] स्वस्ति श्रीविजयदशनपुराद्यथाव-
 [2] दम्भचित्तदेवताब्राह्मणगुरुवृद्धस्य शक्तित्रय-
 [3] वृद्धस्य महात्मनस्स्वभुजद्रविणार्जितोदारभोगभुजः

First plate ; second side.

- [4] पृथिवीतलैकवीरस्य महाराजश्रीवीरवर्मणः प्रपौत्रः
 [5] समरशतकरणसमधिग* ताडुतप्रतापस्य विद्यावृद्ध-
 [6] स्यान्तकल्पप्रदायिनो नन्तकल्पस्य गुणमहतो महाराज-

Second plate ; first side.

- [7] श्रीस्कन्दवर्मणः पौत्रो न्येषां यशोभिरग्रथितैर्निशाकर-
 [8] करनिकरगौरैर्यशोभिर्व्याप्तलोकस्य विद्याविनीता-
 [9] त्मनो महानुभावस्य गुवराजश्रीविष्णुगोपस्य पुत्रस्तप्तसा-

Second plate ; second side.

- [10] मन्तमण्डलेनाप्रतिमाभिस्सज्जनेष्टाभिश्चेष्टाभिरहरहरेध-
 [11] मानेन महता प्रतापेन व्याप्तलोको लोकोपचयप्र-
 [12] वृत्तसर्वारम्भस्तमग्रवसुधातलैकविजिगीर्षुर्भगवत्यादानु-

Third plate ; first side.

- [13] ध्यातो वप्पभट्टारकपादभक्तः परमभागवतो
 [14] भ(भा)रद्वाजः परमोदात्तान्वयानाम् स्वभुजद्रविणा-
 [15] र्जितप्रथितप्रतिष्ठिताडुतयशसां यथावदाहृतानेक-

Third plate ; second side.

- [16] क्रतूनां शतक्रतुकल्याणाम् श्रीवल्लभानाम्पल्लवानाम्
 [17] र्म्ममहाराज(जः) श्रीसिंहवर्मा वेङ्कोराष्ट्रे माङ्ग-
 [18] डू(डू)ग्रामे ग्रामेयकान्तर्द्धीक्षवल्लभशासनसञ्चा-

Fourth plate ; first side.

- [19] रिणश्चाज्ञापयत्येतद्भाममात्रेयायापस्तम्भीयाय
 [20] रुद्रशर्म्मे वात्स्यायापस्तम्भीयाय तू(तू)र्कशर्म्मे
 [21] कौशिकायापस्तम्भीयाय दामशर्म्मे भारद्वाजायाप-

Fourth plate ; second side.

- [22] स्तम्भीयाय यज्ञशर्म्मे पाराशर्यायापस्तम्भीयाय
 [23] भवकोटिगोपाय काश्यपाय वाजसनेयिने
 [24] भर्तृशर्म्मे औदमेघये छन्दोगाय शिवदत्ताय च

* The vowels of these two letters,—श्रीवि,—are just discernible in the facsimile copy with me, but will probably be lost in printing.

* This letter,—ग,—was at first omitted in the original and then inserted below the line.

Fifth plate ; first side.

- [24] गौतमाय हिरण्यकेशाय षष्ठीकुमाराय च सई-
 [26] प रि हा रो पे त न्दे वे भा ग ह ल व र्ज्ज म् स मे ध-
 [27] मा न वि ब य रा ज्या छ म सं व त्स र चै त्र मा स शु क-

Fifth plate ; second side.

- [28] प क्ष प ज्व म्या मा यु बं ल वि ज या भि वृ द्ध ये ब्र ह्म दे यी कृत्य
 [29] व स द्रो ग म र्प्या द या 'सम्प्रादा म' [11] त दे त द व ग म्ये म द्वा म म्
 [30] सई परि हरिः परि हर त (नु) परि हार य त (नु) च [1] य च्छे (थे) द म स्म च्छ (च्छा) स न मा ति-

Sixth plate ; first side.

- [31] क्रामे त्स पा प शरी र न्द ण्ड म र्हे त्य पि चा त्रार्पाः श्लोकाः । भूमि दा-
 [32] ना त्प र न्दा न न भु (भू) त न्न भ वि ष्य ति त स्यै व हर णा त्पा प न (त्र) भु (भू) त-
 [33] न्न भ वि ष्य ति ॥ बहु भि र्बु सु धा दत्ता बहु भि श्वा नु पा लि ता यस्य यस्य

Sixth plate ; second side.

- [34] य दा भूमि स्त † स्य तस्य तदा प (फ) ल म् । (11) स्व दत्ता म्प र दत्ता वा यो हरे त व सु-
 [35] न्ध रा म् ग वा श त स ह स्र स्य ह न्तुः पि ब ति कि न्चि प मि ति [11]
 [36] म भो स्स्व मु खान्ना प्स्या ने मि ना लि खि त म् ॥

Translation.

Victory has been achieved by the holy one !
 Hail ! From the glorious and victorious city of Daśanapura,—the great-grandson of him, the Great King Śri-Viravarmā, who honoured according to the proper rites the gods and Brāhmaṇs and spiritual preceptors, and old men ; who was made prosperous by the three constituents of royal power ; who was high-minded ; who enjoyed great happiness acquired by the strength of his own arm ; and who was the bravest man upon the surface of the earth ;—the grandson of him, the Great King Śri-Skandavarmā, who achieved wondrous rank and power in a hundred battles ; who grew old in respect of learning (beyond his years) ; who gratified endless desires† ; who performed an endless number of rites ; and who abounded in good qualities ;—the son of him, the Yuvarāja Śri-Vishṇugōpa, who pervaded the whole world with his fame, which, white as the rays of the moon, was not interwoven with the fame of others ; whose mind was refined by his learning ; and who was most dignified,—Śri-Simhavar-

mā,—the pious Great King of the Pallavas, who are a most exalted race ; who are possessed of wondrous fame, which has been acquired by the strength of their arms and has become celebrated and established ; who have prepared for celebration many sacrifices according to the proper rites ; who are almost equal to Śatakratuṣ ; and who are the favourites of the goddess of fortune,—he, who has pervaded the world with his great glory, which has scorched up the assemblage of chieftains, and which day by day is increased by actions that have no counterparts (in the behaviour of others) and are such as are desired by good people ; whose every undertaking is actuated by (a desire for) the prosperity of mankind ; who is eminently desirous of conquest on the whole surface of the earth ; who meditates on the feet of the holy one ; who is the disciple of the feet of the venerable Bappa ; who is a most excellent worshipper of the holy one ; and who belongs to the lineage of Bhāradvāja,—issues his commands to the villagers at the village of Māṅgaḍūr, in the country of Vēṅgōrāśṭra, and to all

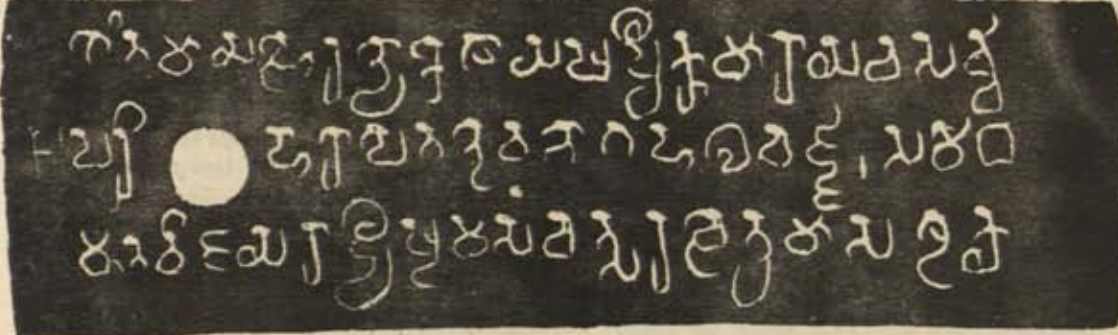
† After this letter,—स्त,—the letter त, the first letter of तस्य as a separate word, was repeated in the original and then erased.

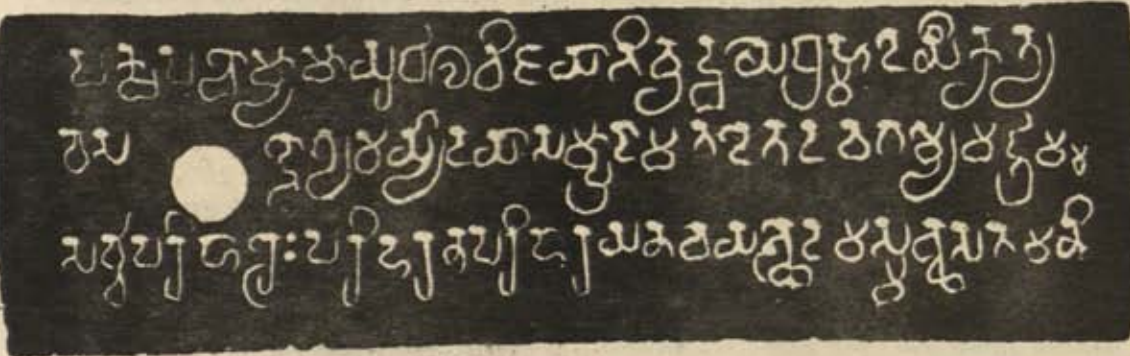
‡ In this and the following epithets there is a play on


the word 'kalpa'; in 'anantakaipaṇḍyinaḥ' Skandavarmā is compared with the 'Kalpadruma', or tree of paradise, which gratifies all desires.

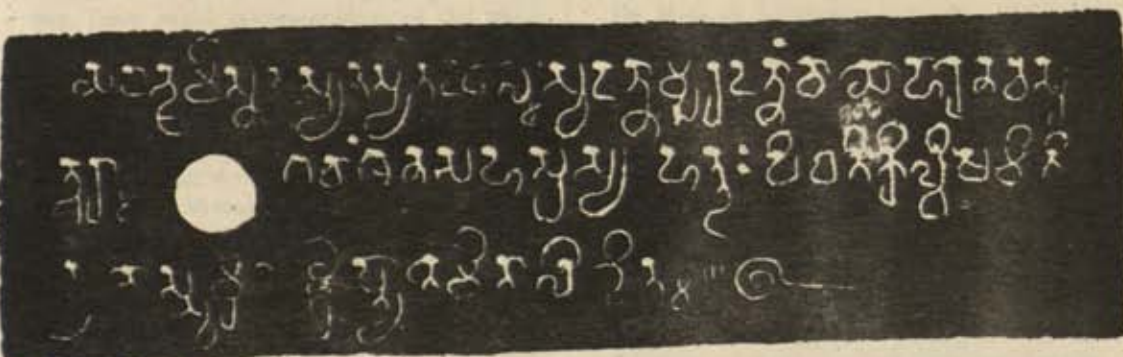
§ 'He who has, or is honoured by, a hundred sacrifices',—Indra.

COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF THE PALLAVA DYNASTY.

V.a. 

V.b. 

VI.a. 

VI.b. 

the authorities and the favourites and those who carry out his orders :—

On the fifth day of the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra of the eighth year of our victorious reign, to increase our life and power and victory, we constituted this village a grant to Brāhmaṇs and gave it, free from all liability to taxation, and with the exception of the plough of the possession of the god||, on the condition that it is to be enjoyed (only) by those residing in it¶, to Rudrasarmā of the Ātrēya gōtra and the ritual of Āpastambha, to Tūrkaśarmā of the Vātsya gōtra and the ritual of Āpastambha, to Dāmaśarmā of the Kauśika gōtra and the ritual of Āpastambha, to Yajñaśarmā of the Bhāradvāja gōtra and the ritual of Āpastambha, to Bhavakōṭigōpa of the Pārāśarya gōtra and the ritual of Āpastambha, to Bhartrīśarmā of the

Kāśyapa gōtra and the ritual of Vājasaneyā, and to Śivadatta of the Andamēghī gōtra who chants the Sāmavēda hymns, and to Shashthikumāra of the Gautama gōtra and the ritual of Hiranya-kēśi. Recognizing this, let them treat this village with immunity from all taxation and cause it to be so treated by others. And he is deserving of corporal punishment, who transgresses against this our charter. Moreover, are there not verses of the saints as to this? There has not been, and there shall not be, any gift better than a grant of land; &c.! Land has been given by many, and has been continued in grant by many; &c.! He incurs the guilt of one who slays a hundred thousand cows who confiscates land, &c.!

This has been engraved by Nēmi at the personal command of the king.

NOTES ON THE SOUTH-INDIAN OR DRĀVIDIAN FAMILY OF LANGUAGES.

By THE REV. G. U. POPE, D.D., M.R.A.S.,

Member of the German Oriental Society, and Fellow of the Madras University.

It seems presumption to intrude into a field of research which my valued friend and fellow-labourer for years in missionary work, Dr. Caldwell, has made his own; but I am afraid that students of Indian languages are a little in danger of neglecting the principles of the Inductive Philosophy, and I desire to record my conviction that much has yet to be done before the great question of the affinities of the vernaculars of Southern India in particular can be considered as settled. Our most important business at present is to collect and classify the facts, to observe accurately, to note similarities, to group analogous facts together, and to examine carefully the documents of each language. Theories, those rapid generalizations of the philosophic mind, have in India, I fear, preceded in many cases a careful study of the facts, and have even prevented a fair and full examination of these facts.

In preparing a slight sketch of the Tuda grammar, and in making collections for a similar paper on the real Kūrgi dialect, I have felt impressed with the conviction that we must begin with the less cultivated dialects of the family before we can judge fairly of the more

cultivated members of it. I may hazard the assertion, *in limine*, that Tuda, Kūrgi, and Old Kanarese differ far less widely from the Indo-European languages than the cultivated Tamil does.

My object in writing, then, is to put on record a few of the facts that I have collected during thirty years of study, and to suggest the inquiry whether certain things have not been taken for granted rather too suddenly in reference to the so-called Drāvidian dialects. I have not carefully examined the second edition of Dr. Caldwell's Grammar, which is a monument of labour and genius; but I anticipate no controversy with him.

Dr. Muir, in the preface to his *Sanskrit Texts*, Part II., says that "the Tamil, Telugu, Malayālim, and Kanarese tongues are *originally* and *fundamentally* quite distinct from and independent of Sanskrit," and that consequently "the people by whom these languages are spoken originally must have belonged to a race which had no affinities to the Sanskrit-speaking Āryas, and could not, therefore, as Manu asserts, have been degraded Kshatriyas."

It is rash, perhaps, for me to say that I can-

¶ The meaning would seem to be, that the grant did not carry with it the right to some cultivated land in the same village, which had already been given to the village-god.

¶ 'Vasaddhagamaryādaya';—but the meaning is rather doubtful.

not so easily receive the authority of Muir as superior to that of Manu. It often happens that more accurate research tends to rehabilitate the despised writers of the olden times. My contention is (1) that between the languages of Southern India and those of the Âryan family there are many very deeply seated and radical affinities; (2) that the differences between the Drâviḍian tongues and the Âryan are not so great as between the Keltic (for instance) and the Sanskrit; and (3) that, by consequence, the doctrine that the place of the Drâviḍian dialects is rather with the Âryan than with the Turanian family of languages is still capable of defence. I cannot hope for leisure, amid the weary and continuous labours of a school, to work out the subject in detail; but the few facts here adduced may set at work others who are younger and have more leisure.

In this paper I will confine myself to one point.

I. In preparing a Wordbook of the "Grund-sprache" of the Drâviḍian dialects (a work which I am compelled, reluctantly, to leave un-

finished), a curious fact came to my notice. I will state it in the form of a rule, which I believe to be only a part of a law not less useful in treating of the Drâviḍian tongues than Grimm's law has been in the comparison of the recognized languages of the Âryan family.

This is the rule:—*Initial P of the Tamil and Telugu is often H in Kanarese,* and a corresponding root exists in the Âryan beginning with V, F, or φ—with an aspirate.*

I give a few examples, taken quite at random. If these are coincidences, they are at least curious, and students may be glad to have them pointed out.

I believe, indeed, that a close examination will establish it as a truth that every word which in Kanarese begins with *H* (a letter not used in Tamil at all) has a corresponding root in the Âryan. I may indeed, in the sequel, extend the area of the statement, and lay it down as a fact that every root in the "Ursprache" of the Drâviḍian languages has a corresponding root in the Âryan.

I must now ask attention to the table.

TAMIL.	KANARESE.	ÂRYAN.
1. pād, <i>sing.</i>	hād.	? vad (Fick, p. 159); vates (L.), bardd (§1, W.), barz (B.).
2. palli, <i>village.</i>	halli.	? villa (L.), † baille (balla) (Gael.)
3. pen, <i>female.</i>	hen.	fem-ina, (L.), hen; bean [benn], (Gael.). ‡
4. pag-ai, <i>hate.</i>	hag-e.	feog-ean (A.-S.), foe.
5. pō-g-u, <i>go.</i>	hō-g-u.	vag-or (L.), βa (Gr.).
6. pal-a, <i>many.</i>	hal-a.	fel-o (A.-S.) [fæl-].
7. pā, <i>flower.</i>	hā.	φλν-(Gr.), phal (S.), flor. (L.), bloom.
8. pull-u, <i>grass.</i>	hull-u.	φύλλον (G.), feur (Gael.).
9. pul, <i>small, trifling.</i>	hul-u.	φαυλ (G.), vil-is (L.).
10. pēth-ai, <i>fool.</i>	hedar-u.	fatu-us, (L.). §
11. porr-u, <i>bear a burden.</i>	hor-u.	φερ (G.), fer (L.), b'hri (S.)
12. { perr-u, <i>bear a child.</i>	her-u.	bear,—beir (Gael.).
{ pērru, <i>child.</i>		bairn.
13. pall-am, <i>hollow.</i>	holl-u.	hollow, hole;—vall-um (L.).
14. pul-ai, <i>defilement.</i>	hol-ai.	poll-u-o (L.), de-file-ment, fyll (A.-S.) filth.

The general belief is that the substitution of *h* in Kanarese for *p* of the Tamil is a modern corruption. On the contrary, the *h* is found in many ancient words not existing in the present Tamil.

I suppose that all words found in Tamil with an initial *p*, and in Kanarese with an initial *h*, were originally written with an aspirate *p'h*. The Tamil has retained the *p*, and the Kanarese the *h*.

* The Kanarese have the same dislike to initial *P* that our Saxo ancestors had.

† If villa = vic-ula, this must be removed from the list.

I have noticed in my *Outlines of Tuḍa Grammar* that the Tuḍas retain the *f* and the *χ*, and are as partial to those sounds as any son of the Cymri or of the Gael.

In another paper I shall have something to say about other roots common to the "Grund-sprache" of the Âryans and that of the Drâviḍians.

Bangalore, January 3rd, 1876.

‡ If femina is from fe-o (= produce), compare 12 in the list.

§ How many words there are in the best Latin dictionaries of which the derivation is "doubtful"!

CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEA.

DOLMENS IN THE COROMANDEL COAST.

SIR.—Some months ago, being on a tour in the district, I determined to visit some curious stone structures of which I had heard, which were supposed to be of very great antiquity, and to have been inhabited by a now extinct race. Those that I first visited were situated about four miles from Tirukovilûr, or the left bank of the Ponnîâr, near the village of Kollûr. Only two or three were visible, and of these only one was fairly above ground. It consisted of four large granite slabs forming a chamber 4' 3" high, 6' 4" long, and 3' 6" broad, and was covered over with a huge slab nearly a foot thick, and 10' 6" long by 8' 9" wide.* The entrance was by means of a space about a foot wide, where two of the vertical stones did not join. The flooring appeared to be of stone. There was nothing whatever in this hut, so I proceeded to examine another, which was half underground, and after a considerable amount of digging excavated the whole of the space within the four upright stones. This I was able to do without much difficulty, as the top stone had been moved. On examining the side stones I found a circular aperture in the eastern one, about eighteen inches in diameter.† In the interior of the chamber were arranged a number of vases of different sizes, about sixteen or eighteen in all, varying from one capable of holding several gallons to one not much bigger than a large marble. The vessels were of red and black colours, and were nearly all glazed or polished, outside and inside. They were very well made, the clay being of excellent quality. Besides the vases, I found a singular kind of couch or vessel about four feet long and fifteen inches wide, with rounded ends, and about nine inches deep—something like a bidet. It was of great weight, having fifteen heavy legs, and being quite an inch thick. In trying to transport it to my camp it was broken in pieces. I found nothing in this vessel, but one thing about it struck me as very curious; all the legs, though forming part and parcel of the vessel, were stuffed with earth. This must have been crammed into them before the vessel was placed in position, and every vessel I found was similarly crammed full of earth. I was told that when an *anikat* was building in the neighbourhood, some years ago, the stone contractors had broken up and carried off numbers of the stones of these buildings, which would account for the one I examined having no covering stone; but the state of affairs as I found them seemed to me to leave little room for doubt that, though the covering stone had been carried away, no attempt

had been before made to touch the contents of the chamber, in which case it must have been filled with earth when the vessels were placed in it. My surmise in this respect was strengthened by some other excavations which I carried out a day or two afterwards, at a spot where a great number of these structures exist, about three-quarters of a mile due north of the Araikandanallûr Pagoda. This Pagoda is a striking object, about 1½ miles from Tirukovilûr, and on the opposite bank of the river. It is built on a rock on the river's edge, and is remarkable on account of the existence of five very singular cells cut in the solid rock, where local tradition says the five Pāṇḍavas lived when expelled from Ayodhya. I had two or three of the structures opened, to which I have alluded. They were situated within the limits of the village of Devanûr. In one of them I found two of the couches, one much smaller than the other, and the larger of the two about 4½ feet long. In this one I found some fragments of bones and some scraps of iron. One of the latter resembled a small knife-blade. I also found in one of the chambers a piece of iron which might have been part of an iron plate. In every case the singular opening in the eastern stone was found. The bones were rather small, and from a fragment which might have been part of a skull I concluded they were human. When cleared to the stone floor these chambers were about 7½ feet high by 6½ broad and 8 long. As at Kollûr, so at Devanûr there were slabs of granite sunk in concentric rings around the structures. At Devanûr these structures are scattered over a space of three or four acres of ground, and in their midst is a huge upright slab fourteen feet high above ground, eight wide, and about six inches thick. It has a rounded top like a gravestone, and is called the *Kacheri kol*, or 'stone of office.'

These structures so closely resemble those described by Capt. Cole as found by him in Coorg and Maisur‡ that I fancy they must both have been the handiwork of the same class of people, though this is the first time I have heard of their being found so near the sea, Tirukovilûr being only forty miles from it.

Capt. Cole assumes that these are prehistoric structures, but while I think it is evident that their antiquity is respectable, I find they are alluded to in the *Sthala Purāṇa* of Tirukovilûr, the antiquity of which may perhaps go back five or six hundred years. In that *Purāṇa* they are alluded to as being inhabited by Mahārishis called Vālikhilya. Local tradition says they were

* See *Ind. Ant.* vol. III. pp. 306 ff.† See *Ind. Ant.* vol. III. p. 277.‡ See *Ind. Ant.* vol. II. pp. 86 ff.

a dwarfish race, and that there were sixty thousand of them. In the jungles of Trinomalai, close by, are still to be found a few people called Viliyans. I had two or three of them brought to me, and one was a little man only 4 feet 8½ inches high, but perfectly proportioned. The others were as tall as the general run of natives. Whether these are remnants of the former race it is difficult to say, but the similarity of name is at least curious. These people told me that their custom was to abandon a hut in which a relative died. Whether the structures I have described were used as dwellings or not, it is not easy to say, but there is good ground, I think, for presuming that they were used as burial-places.

J. H. GARSTIN, M.C.S.

Porto Novo, 7th February 1876.

GAURĀ.

I do not understand Bābu Rām Dās Sen's argument (*Ind. Ant.* vol. V. p. 25). He quotes two lines which run thus:—

"Sāraswatas, Kānyakubjas, Gauras, Maithilas, and Otkalas are dwellers north of Vindhya known as the five Gauras."

The allusion is to the five northern septs of the Brāhman caste. The Vindhya range, running from sea to sea, is the natural boundary between north and south India. It is surprising that a Hindu should require to be reminded by an Englishman of the five great Brāhman septs—the Sāraswata, Kānyakubja (modern Kanaujia), Gaurā, Maithila, and Otkala (from Utkala = Orissa). The context clearly shows that the Gaurā sept must have inhabited Bengal. How the passage shows that Bengal was anciently called Bānga does not appear.

Gaurā is the country south and west of the Padma, or present main stream of the Ganges, i.e. central and western Bengal; while Bānga is that north and east of the same river, i.e. eastern Bengal. The Paurānic accounts of things in general are not very trustworthy, least of all in matters of history or geography.

Cuttack, February 5, 1876.

JOHN BEAMES.

QUERY—AN EXTINCT RACE.

I append a passage I lately came across in Col. Welsh's *Military Reminiscences** (vol. II. p. 54), referring to an aboriginal tribe in the Madras Presidency, apparently near Arcot. Can any of the readers of the *Indian Antiquary* give any information about this tribe? If these people are, or were till recently, extant, and were in the habit of

building such houses as that depicted in the engraving from Col. Welsh's sketch, many of the stone remains discovered in the Madras Presidency and elsewhere are possibly of recent, instead of being of prehistoric date, as they are generally supposed to be.

The passage in question is as follows—

"Returning by the Pedenaig Durgam Pass, I must make mention of a race of Indians, now supposed to be extinct, who formerly inhabited certain strongholds in the country, and appear to have been entirely different from every other tribe in their habits, manners and customs. Approaching Naikenary from the top of the Pass, the road winds along the base of a rocky hill, which leaving on the left hand it crosses by the *bānd* of a tank, within a few hundred yards of the wretched bungalow of that name. On the top of this hill are the remains of a stone village† formerly inhabited by the Paundway; there may be forty or fifty ruins, and a description of one will answer for all. They are generally a square of eight feet and about five in height; the walls, roof and floor being formed of single stones, with two stones set in perpendicular and rounded at top for the entrance—door it cannot be called, the only passage being cut in a small circle in them, exactly opposite each other; the two stones being set two feet asunder, and the whole strengthened outside by a buttress of loose stones, with others of four feet high above the earth or rock in which they are set nearly perpendicular. I have added a sketch of the one I found most entire, to explain this incoherent description. Every endeavour to get some authentic account of these people failed; all I could learn was that they inhabited the hill-country, had laws and kings of their own, never mingling with other natives, but plundering them and retiring to their strongholds whenever they were pursued or successfully opposed. The whole in a body were called Pāundway or Pāndwēh, and one was styled a Pāndwar. I have twice met with sepulchres on the Malabar coast which appeared to me to have some connexion with the owners of these deserted hamlets."

E. W. W.

M. Garcin de Tassy, Professor of Hindustāni at the School of Oriental Languages, has just received the Cross of Commander of the Portuguese Order of St. Diago, which is only conferred on men of high reputation in science or literature. —*Galignani*.

* *Military Reminiscences* extracted from a *Journal* of nearly forty years' active service in the East Indies, by Col. James Welsh. London: Smith Elder, & Co. 1830.

† Can this be now identified? and, if so, is Col. Welsh's curious sketch even approximately correct? It is, I suspect 'too good to be true.'—Ed.

NOTES ON VILLAGES IN THE HIMĀLAYAS, IN KUMAON, GARHWĀL,
AND ON THE SATLEJ.

BY THE LATE C. HORNE, B.C.S.

THE following notes are the results of observations made during a tour of many months in the mountains, and of a residence of some five or six years in Kumaon, and as they chiefly refer to races who have retained their primitive habits and customs unchanged for many centuries they may be found of interest. I propose to touch on agriculture and the implements employed in it, and such manufactures as came under my notice, on architecture, as well as general matters.

A Himālayan village generally consists of a cluster of houses, sometimes connected in ranges, but more generally separate, and mostly perched on a hill-side in terraces. In the higher ranges where firs abound, these are often built of stones and mud, with alternate layers of squared timbers crossing one another and projecting at the corners, with wooden balconies supported on wooden projections from the walls, in which are placed pierced carved wooden windows, or solid wooden shutters with slits in them.

Each floor is boarded with rough planks hewn out of a single fir-tree by cutting it on either side, and mud plaster is used. The walls exteriorly are often plastered with mud and then whitewashed. On this whitewash I often observed patterns roughly painted in red ochreous earth. The roof varies but little. When stone is procurable, huge blocks are made as thin as possible and used as slates. Thus I have seen slabs twelve feet in length and of prodigious weight. In other parts trees are cut in lengths of one foot or more, and their shingles are split off with wedges. As usual in all countries, the poor thatch how they can, although in these regions there are but few real paupers, the village system caring for all; and we therefore find nearly every hovel either stone or timber roofed.

The lower part of the houses, which are often of two storeys, is generally devoted to the live stock of sheep, cows, and cattle generally; and only the upper floor is inhabited by the family, who appear utterly reckless of the horrid fumes arising from the dung-heap below. Occasionally—generally about once a year—the dung-heap which has collected at the door from the removal

of the filth of the sheds is taken away to the fields in *kiltas*, or baskets, on the backs of women; but it is always disagreeable to pass through a hill village, however picturesque it may look from a little distance. They have no sanitary arrangements whatever, so that when marching or shooting I never, if I could avoid it, passed through or to leeward of a native village; and when, from positive absence of room to pitch my little tent, eight by six feet, I was obliged to lodge in the village, I had to lodge in the small village square or space in front of the temple, which was the only clean place to be found. There is no arrangement for a chimney, saving a hole in the roof, and scarcely any for light, so that the state of an interior can be better imagined than described. Owing to the coldness of the climate, the people are more clad than in the plains; but as they never wash they are very filthy, their abodes being mostly full of smoke. Some of the houses extend to a great length, and I was told that several generations often lived under one roof-tree, additions with separate entrances from a common front verandah having been made from time to time.

The above remarks apply pretty generally to all Kumaon and Garhwāl.

The roofs are nearly flat, and upon these in fine weather many may be seen sitting. They also use them for spreading out their grain, corn, and fruit to dry, as well as clothes when rarely they wash them, and over these they often train their gourds and cucumbers. The shorings are very low, but solidly built, and the whole edifice will stand for a long time, as it is solidly constructed, and the smoke appears to preserve the timber of the roof.

One peculiarity runs through all their houses, viz. the wood-carving. This is particularly noticeable in the temples in the Satlej valley, where the Chinese or Tatar influence displays itself; but it is seen more or less everywhere, notably in the little projecting balconies with their carved wooden pillars and pierced open work, and it is curious to see how handy the hill carpenter is with his tools, few and rough as they are.

In Kumaon the Jaina influence shows itself in the *vināna*, or square temple. Here the worship is of Śiva and the *linga* and bull, although I am bound to say this is very much neglected. There, or crossing the hills by Gaṅgutri to the Baspā and Karnāwar valleys, we come to a strange mixture of Buddhism and Lama-worship. But more of this hereafter. Almost every village has some sacred spot, where prayer is wont to be made, be it much or little frequented on ordinary occasions, and must have a temple or building of some kind.

There are also many forts on the Baspā and Satej rivers. These are merely keeps perched on some high rock, and most commonly built of stones and timber in alternate layers, like so many of the houses. They are of many storeys, with but few windows, and the only wonder is how they contrive to hold together. All are commanded by heights near, and, although looking formidable from below, are of no real strength. In fact they are now but residences of the headmen of the villages in which they are placed, or rather which have grown up at their feet for the sake of their protection.

But there is one most important point, to which I have not yet alluded. This is the bridges. Torrents and ravines abound in every path; hence their constant occurrence. Please to remember that there is no cart-road in the country under notice, and therefore no great breadth or strength is needed. 1st, there is the primitive bridge, consisting of a tree (often a fir) cut down and thrown across. This, worn to a polish and often wet, is very trying to a European, and it is marvellous how sheep and goats cross it. (2) Next I have observed two or three boughs tied together and put across. This is even worse, as being generally very weak. It is, however, only used over very small streams. (3) Over larger streams we have put the single stem, generally a noble tree,—one I measured being over ninety feet in length—flattened on the upper side. (4) Next is the regular *sanga*, in which beams of timber counterpoised by a heavy lading of stones overlap each other till they nearly meet, when straight pieces are laid across, and all is planked.* These are good bridges if well constructed with sound timber, and often last many years. (5) We next have a simple rope hanging high over the river, to which is fixed

a cradle in which one is drawn over by a smaller cord. (6) Sometimes this rope is double, as it used to be at Śrinagar, and a footway is suspended to it of pieces of bamboo and rope, forming a most shaky and unpleasant footing, and used for man only. (6) But the unsafest bridge I remember was one in which the double rope was constructed of twisted birch twigs, which being old were very rotten, and one took every step in fear. The whole bridge was of birch.* The ordinary rope is made from the fine fibre found at the base of some of the *Andropogon* grasses. (7) The best bridge, which has been introduced by the European, is the light iron suspension bridge. Of these there are many in our territory, and they suit the scenery well.

Roads there are none; there are merely sheep, pony, and cattle tracks. Sometimes, however, a ladder is placed, or sticks are driven into the face of the rock, or steps are even cut in it. This is, however, rare, and laden sheep could not pass by these contrivances. Of course I do not refer to our territory, in which we have very much improved the means of communication.

But few know how that, within a very limited distance from our hill settlements, polyandry prevails. I had heard of it, and as I passed from village to village on the banks of the Satej near to the confines of Chinese Tataria I looked out for it. I did not, however, actually meet with it till I had passed Morang, at the village of Nisang. I will therefore quote from my diary a little about these villages and their people:—

"July 17.—Leaving behind me one tent, two servants, half my flock, and all heavy baggage, I started for the frontier of Tibet. The path wound along the steep and somewhat bare mountain-side, until after three miles some fields swarming with pigeons came in sight, proclaiming the vicinity of a village, which proved to be Porabñi, a small collection of houses, over many of which, by way of standard, floated—attached to a pole—a yak's tail, or *chauṛi*. After a rest we here commenced a most villainous climb over a smooth face of rock, and then a descent to my halting-place, Ribā, a cluster of villages containing above 180 houses. On a terrace before the temple, commanding a beautiful view, my tent was pitched. On my right was the river Satej, far below, with rocks

* See the accompanying plate for examples of these bridges.



SANGLÛ, SANGA OR BRIDGE ON THE BASPÂ RIVER.



From drawings by the late Colborne.

ROPE BRIDGE OF BIRCH TWIGS AT NAMJÂ ON THE SUTLAJ RIVER.

W. Briggs, del.

rising perpendicularly from it for several hundred feet. On my left rose some high and snow-capped peaks, whilst before me the river seemed to climb amongst the mountains. Next morning at 8 A.M. reached Rispa by a gradual descent, and found the grain nearly ripe, and the barley falling under the sickle. Halting for breakfast, pushed on for Morang, our resting-place.

"Crossing the Terong stream by a frail bridge, renewed every year, we kept above the Satlej, which here presents a curious sight. From a wide smooth stream it suddenly contracts and leaps down in a series of fierce bounds, splashing the banks with its muddy foam, so that Macaulay's description of the bridge of Horatius came forcibly to mind. But now we ascend gently for a mile or two, when the fort of Morang comes into view, perched on a nearly insulated heap of rock in the river-bank, and almost commanded, even by musketry, on every side. Two men only lived in it, and it looked utterly deserted. Here I remarked large flights of goldfinches busy with the grain, together with numbers of butterflies looking like Painted Ladies and Meadow-Browns. A little further and we reach a deep gorge cut out by a small stream flowing for ages. Along the sides of this we wind, until crossing by its head we arrive at the encamping-ground under the village of Morang, which consists of four or five scattered groups of houses on the hill-side, facing south, surrounded with terraced fields and vineyards. The place swarmed with wild pigeons, of which I shot a good supply for the camp.

"*July 19th.*—At early dawn commenced the steep ascent behind the village by a most villainous road of loose stones and sand. This till 8 A.M. I wearily climbed. The clouds lay low on the hills all round, and there was a raw, cold feeling in the air, and not a tree was to be seen for a long distance. At last one willow appears, and a feeble spring of water, the secret of its being there. Here the whole party halted, water being very scarce in these parts. After a short halt and smoke we all pushed on, but it was 1 P.M. before the crest (14,000 feet) was reached,—Morang, our last resting-place, having been 8760 feet above the sea-level. Below 11,000 feet I noticed very few flowers, but above that limit I found many, some of which were new to me. The road was in

many places a mere path or staircase of rocks, and the descent on the other side, if possible, worse from its steepness. The village of Nisang, my halting-ground for this day, was 10,110 feet above sea-level, so that I had 4000 feet to descend, and it was 5 P.M. ere I reached the village. This consisted of one compact mass of houses, intersected with narrow lanes, one half of which acted as watercourses, whilst all were used as latrines. Small fields of barley were to be seen in every quarter, and for a long time I could not find a spot twelve feet square on which to pitch my tent. At last I was offered the use of a yard, some fifteen feet in size, on which I settled for the night.

"Next day I halted in order to draw a few of the lovely flowers found the day previous, for as a rule my halts and marches were regulated by the number of new flowers I met with. Of these I had accomplished thirteen by 3 P.M. In this pent-up valley the sun was very hot, but the heat was tempered by a delicious breeze from the north-west. In the centre of the village was an empty space, and, as my custom was, I went thither to see the people, who meet here to gossip. It was a curious sight. Most of the women were dressed in red blankets, and adorned with a profusion of brass ornaments, huge silver earrings and bracelets, together with bead necklaces, in many of which I observed malachite and turquoises in huge rough lumps, as well as amber. Their hair was plaited in a multitude of fine plaits hanging down the back, when all were brought together and plaited in with wool in one pigtail, which terminated with little red or blue worsted tassels. These plaits reached to the loins. Many had both arms bare, some only one; none had both covered. Amongst the countenances I remarked some of the ugliest and most repulsive Tatar cast. Hill-women (i.e. of Kumaon) looked handsome beside them. These Tatar women had their dirty dishevelled hair hanging about their shoulders, without the least attempt at dressing it. The little tassels worn by some hill-women in their caps were very tasty, yet simple—a number of grains of wheat strung crosswise on a thread, with a little coloured tassel at the end of each string. I had meanwhile sent in my demand for food, &c. for my camp, and each villager had to contribute his or her quota. The flour

was of every kind, some bringing wheaten, others that of barley, a third of "*phaplun*," buckwheat, &c. All were then mixed up together for the purpose of making cakes, which were of a most unsatisfactory quality. I could not ascertain how the assessment was apportioned, but it must be done by some rule; the prices, however, were settled by the headman of the village (*muktiyār*), and all supplies were paid for on the spot. We often found the villagers unwilling to part with a pound of flour, the supply barely meeting the local demand. Only two or three men were to be seen in the village, the rest being absent and engaged in carrying salt, grain, wool, &c., or in herding the sheep on the hill-side. Strange to say, these women were not afraid of Europeans, nor did they make any attempt to conceal their features, so that by means of an interpreter I managed to obtain much information from them. I suppose the cold in winter is too great for grapes, as I saw none here; but the barley, some species of which (the *cærulean*) I have seen at nearly 13,000 feet at Nako, waved luxuriantly in the little fields. A little way from my tent lived a 'Lama,' or Buddhist priest. He had a queer little tent pitched on the top of a house, in which he sat the livelong day, continually turning a small *männi* or inscribed cylinder, which at each revolution on its axis struck a little bell. He was an old wizened man, flat-faced, with high cheekbones, his hair in long thick plaits twisted round his head. During my stay of two days I did not see him visited by any one. What a strange life to lead!

"Strange noises are often heard near this, amongst the mighty Raldang peaks, and I have often lain awake at night hoping to hear them. Last night I did so. The sound at one time was like distant thunder, at another like what one would fancy the breaking up of ice at sea would be, at another like an avalanche, and again like huge stones bounding from rock to rock. They may have really been compound-

ed of all these. Sometimes it sounded like an explosion, which is one of the assigned causes, said to be caused by the spontaneous combustion of gases generated in the mountains. I do not, however, think much of this last suggestion. Whatever they were, they lasted only during the early morning, and had entirely ceased by 8 A.M.

"It was in this village that I met with the first woman who had more than one husband. She whom I addressed very simply told me that she had four!—all brothers. I asked her how they managed, and she said that they were never at home together. One would be absent with sheep, bringing salt from Tibet; another with a consignment for disposal in the Ram Serai valley; a third attending to the cultivation of some distant outlying fields, or tending sheep on the far-off hill-side: so that all went on very amicably. The woman herself appeared to be the common drudge of all, working at household tasks and performing the cultivation at the village like the veriest slave, whilst the present husband sat against his stone wall, or on the sunny roof, smoking his pipe with all becoming dirt and dignity.* These people seldom use water or change their clothes: for, as they often said, "If we bathe and take cold and get fever, who is to cure us?" The water generally is indeed cold, and even the Hindus of the hill eat and cook clothed, on account of the climate,—a practice which would not be allowed for a moment in the plains, where only the waist-cloth is retained, and that after bathing.

"Respecting domesticated animals it may be noted that it is customary to hang large tassels of worsted from holes bored in the bullocks' ears. Asses are extensively used near the junction of the Baspā and the Satlej; and dogs are highly valued, specially the Bhūtan breed.

"My tent is pitched looking out to the north-east, and before me rises, as nearly perpendicularly as a mountain can rise without being

* The polyandry described resembles that of the Todas on the Nilgiri Hills. A form of polyandry prevails commonly in the extreme south of India amongst the Vellāls, a race of well-to-do farmers. Grown women are there married to very young boys, and have children by the fathers of the boys, who when they come to maturity find a family ready for them, and themselves do as their fathers did! It is curious and striking, however, to find the very same practice obtaining amongst the peasantry in Russia. The following is quoted from a late report on Russian village communities:—"Labour being scarce and dear, it has been

the practice of the father to marry his sons in their childhood to young women, for the purpose of securing the services of the latter as members of the family. Boys of eight or ten are married to women of twenty-five or thirty, and it is not uncommon for a bride to carry her husband in her arms. The wife is thus at a period of decline when the husband reaches adult manhood; and it seems, too, that during the earlier years of the marriage the father too often incestuously abuses his power over the person of his daughter-in-law."—M. J. W.

one precipice, a solid mass of rock to the height of 4000 feet, with apparently scarcely a blade of grass or a single tree; yet up this lies my path to-morrow, although from my point of view it looks inaccessible. Around the village, in the terrace fields, *chukor* (*Caccabis chukor*), a large partridge, abounded, and I secured some of them in the evening. They are noble birds, and a great addition to the larder.

"July 21.—Off at 5 P.M., descending to the bed of the torrent, lying perhaps 1000 feet below. This I crossed by a very dirty much-melted snow-bridge. No path had been followed in the descent, which, like the ascent now to be made, consisted of loose broken stones, chiefly slate. It took me till 10 A.M. to climb to within about 1000 feet of the summit, and here all rested for a little water. By the water were lovely flowers amongst the barren rocks, and I caught by the tail and killed a fine snake, as he was slipping away, which measured 4 feet 2 inches. Forward again and the crest (some 14,000 feet) is gained. Here all join in building a pillar of stones, and I, sitting down, draw and colour one or two of the more perishable of my flowers. The descent was easier for perhaps 2000 feet, but after this it was really fearful,—all loose stones; no trees, no grass, no water, and scarcely a little shrub. At last all reach safely the bed of another torrent, blocked with dirty snow and huge rocks. From this an ascent of 500 feet led me to a little terrace scooped from the hill side, perhaps eight feet by fifteen in area. Here I pitch my little tent, and am glad to rest after my weary walk of twelve miles only."

But enough from my diary. What I have extracted will show the character of the country, which of course modifies that of the people in a great degree. It will also give an idea of what travelling in these parts means. There are no roads, but only footpaths, and these are often more fit for the mountain goat than for a man; and this brings me very naturally to the traffic carried on by these villages in the necessities of life.

When halting at Kāmṛū, in the valley of the Baspā river, an affluent of the Satlej, I prepared the following statistics, which, ap-

proximately correct, will give a good idea of the resources of a large and prosperous community in these valleys:—

Kāmṛū was once the residence of the Rājas of Bissehīr, and is situated in the beautiful valley of the Baspā. It is built of wood and stone mixed, at the end of a rocky spur overlooking its own fields, and contains about—

25 zamindārs, *i.e.* taxpayers and landholders; say, 25 brothers to ditto, *i.e.* not paying taxes;

22 or 23 women,† and about 40 children;

6 coolies or artizans holding no land, paying no taxes, and feeding generally on grain for their services;

2 musicians, for temple worship.

Next a rough estimate of crop—400 *mans* of 80 lbs. each.

Cattle—including oxen, cows, and calves—150.

Sheep, *i.e.* rams and ewes, 250; goats 400.

Sheep for lading (wethers), 250.

Say, eaten in one year at festivals, 50 sheep; sick 25; leaving 225 sheep fit for work at one time. Now let us see what profit there will be on these same sheep.

1. Home wool: each sheep gives 2 lbs. at each shearing = 4 lbs. each.

Sold in Rāmpūr at 5 lbs. for 2s. = £9 10s.

Less the cost of carriage, 8s. leaves £9 2s.

Foreign wool purchased in Tibet: 2 sheep = 1 rupee or 2s. = £1 2s. *plus* cost of carriage, 6s., for 400 lbs. weight.

Salt and grain:—

1a. Salt is bought in Tibet:	} = 4 lbs. of salt.
6 lbs. of wheat.	
1b. Salt sold in Rāmserāi Valley: 5 lbs. of rice.	

At the rate of 1 lb. of salt = 9 lbs. of wheat = 4½ rice = 12½ barley.

2a. *Plus* carriage 1½ months = 11 men to 225 sheep = 33 days.

2b. *Plus* carriage, 18 days = 22 men to 450 sheep = 33 sheep.†

Leaving clear for profit 159 sheep.

Cost of sheep (original) 6s. each, value £4 7s. 10½d.

Cost of sheep's keep for 9 months (unemployed), 5 months at 4s. per annum—say, criples and casualties 25 sheep = £9.

† Although polyandry prevails, I hold the women, as calculated by my native friend, at too low a figure.

† This apparent difference arises from food for man and

beast having to be carried in either case, in the one case for 18 days, and in the other 45 days!

Say, then, that half the salt of one journey to Tibet, viz. 2250 lbs., is bartered for rice; each sheep carrying *now* 22 lbs., we shall require 460 sheep to carry 10,125 lbs. of rice; but there are only 225 sheep, carrying 4950 lbs., the remainder having to be carried by men in leather bags, 80 or 90 lbs. to each man.

Say that half the salt of one journey is bartered for wheat, viz. 2250 lbs., at 22 lbs. weight for each sheep; we should need 947 sheep to carry 20,850 lbs. of wheat; but there are only 225 sheep, carrying 4950 lbs. The balance, therefore, 15,900 lbs., is carried by men.

Hence we see 30, 40, or 50 per diem coming in with loads of wheat and rice from the Râmserâi valleys, whither they make repeated journeys; and it should be borne in mind that both salt and rice, as well as wheat, are largely consumed by the villagers, as well as by their flocks and herds.

The money prices in Râmserâi are generally about—wheat 60 lbs. for 1s., rice 36 lbs. for 1s.; whilst at Sanglâ, not many marches distant, wheaten flour sells at 12 lbs. for 1s.

The crop was roughly estimated at 400 *mans* of 80 lbs. each, and of this one-tenth goes to their government, besides the cash-taxes imposed upon them.

Cultivation is therefore not much attended to, and what little is done on every bit of available land is done by the women. The villagers of Bissehir have the monopoly of the barter between that province and Tibet, so that the inhabitants of the Râmserâi valleys are in the habit of supplying themselves with salt from them. Hence several thousands of sheep come from below, and thus the balance is maintained.

The sheep of Kâmrû have 23 owners, so that comfort appears general, and good woollen dresses—the cloth for which is woven by the coolies, or artizans, the thread being spun by the men from Tibet wool as they saunter idly about—are worn by all.

Add to this—many vegetables, large crops of peaches, apricots, and walnuts. The apricots and peaches are eaten fresh and dried, whilst quantities of beautiful oil are extracted from the kernels. Many of the walnuts find their way to the hill-stations, where they sell at from two to four hundred for a shilling.

From the above it will be seen that the constitution of the village is on the Hindu plan, the

only persons not agricultural being paid by all the others, generally in kind, and by fees on certain occasions.

Foremost amongst these ranks the Lama or priest. On the Satlej, as well as in Kumaon and Garhwâl, this man often cultivates and holds land. Still, as head of the village, he gets offerings on new year festivals, on certain great religious days, on births, marriages, &c. Then there is the village barber, or *hajjâm*. This man in large villages does no other work, and takes fees in a similar way, each villager giving him so many handfuls of grain from his heap on the common threshing-floor.

The musicians occupy an important place on the Satlej, and here they never cultivate, but live by offerings and presents, hire for officiating at weddings, &c. In Kumaon and Garhwâl they are more peripatetic, and less attached to particular villages,—in fact, many villagers can and do play the tomtom, or hand-drum, which is all they here seem to need.

The *dhobi*, or washerman, who plays so important a part in the village economy of the plains, is less needed in Kumaon and Garhwâl, and is scarcely ever heard of on the Satlej.

Few villages are without a man or men of the sweeper or lowest caste. They go by various names, and perform the lowest offices. They generally keep pigs, and assist at the burial of the dead. They very seldom hold any land, and they are paid by fees, chiefly in kind.

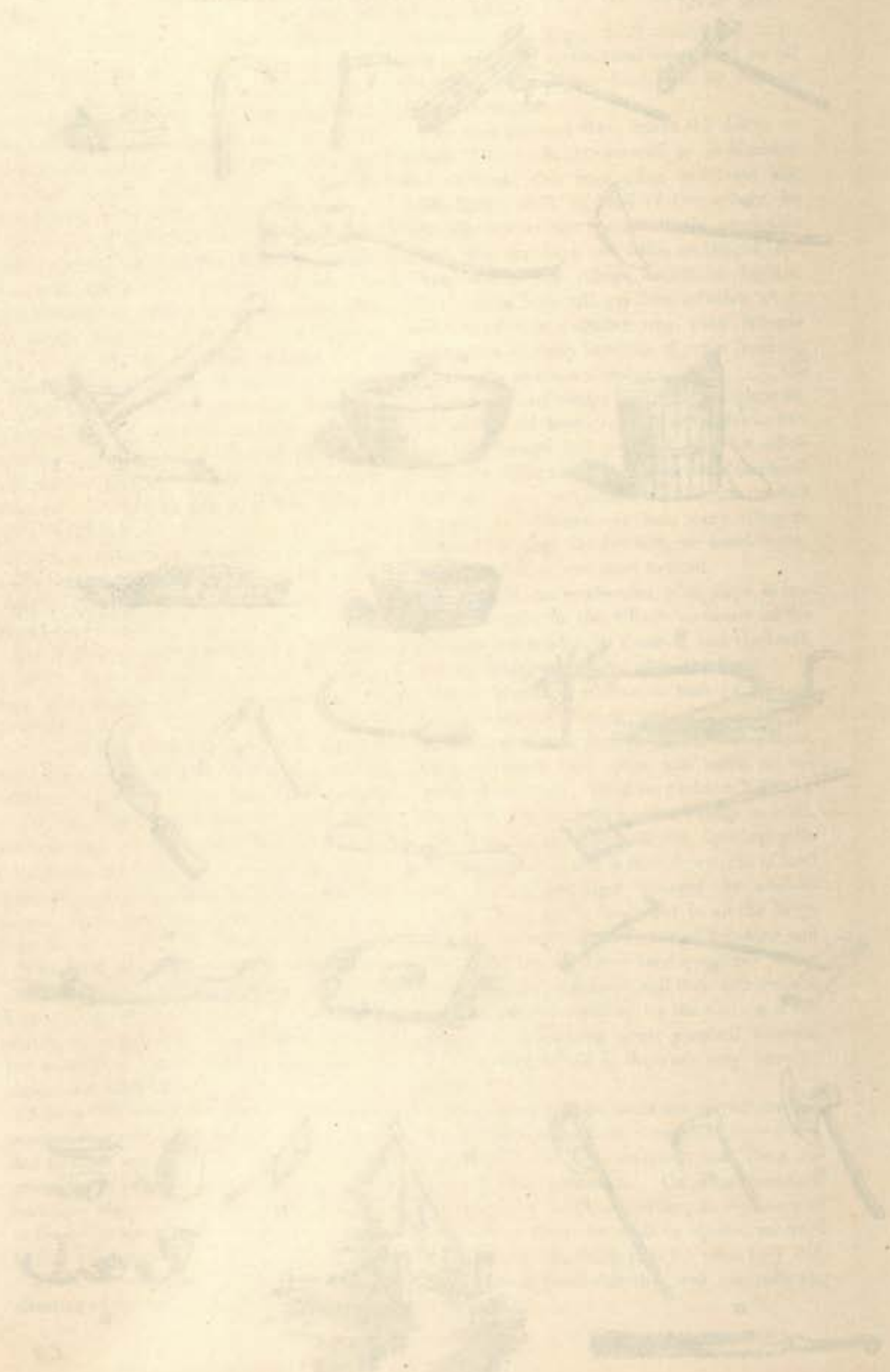
In Kumaon and Garhwâl the dancing-girls are an institution, and hold endowments of land with certain privileges granted by ancient rulers. They are to be found in all the large villages, as well in the towns of Śrinagar and Ālmorâ, which are their head-quarters. They are the regular prostitutes, and their children are held in great estimation by the natives of the plains, as possessing great personal charms, and the villages held by them are very thriving ones.

In all large villages there are carpenters and blacksmiths, as well as occasionally jewellers, but I was not able to ascertain that these refrained from cultivation. On some occasions the carpenter and the jeweller, as repairers of the village deity, or idol, or shrine, received offerings, besides being paid for what they did, but I do not think that this was generally the case.

IMPLEMENTS USED IN HIMALAYAN VILLAGES.



THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS



In some of the villages weavers were settled, and people brought them materials to weave from long distances, but more generally they went about from village to village, setting up their looms as they needed, so that they can scarcely be held to be constituent parts of the village community. Potters were still rarer, and in all my higher hill-wanderings I only once met a man pursuing his calling of making pots. Clay is very scarce, and earthenware very little used. For storing grain, pits are used; for small quantities vessels made of wood, called *thākts*, made of birch and other woods, and vessels of

brass or iron. Large baskets made of twisted grass and plastered with earth are also used.

Clarified butter (*ghī*) and curds, &c. are always carried in these wooden vessels, which are turned out of solid blocks of wood, both in the Terai at the foot of the hills, and also in the higher regions, from the comparatively small birch-trees.

The accompanying drawings of implements used in Himālayan villages were all made at the time, being a few that escaped at the Mutiny, when the labours of years in the shape of hill-drawings were destroyed.

CASTES AND TRIBES IN KACHH.

BY DALPATRĀM PRĀṆJIVAN KHAKHAR, INSPECTOR OF SCHOOLS, BHUJ.

The greater portion of the inhabitants of Kachh seem to have come from Sindh and Mār wād; Thul Pārkar followed next, and Kāthiāwād and Gujarāt were the last to send their quotas. Most of the inhabitants were, and still are, Rājput of the Sammā tribe, the progenitors of the Jāde jās, who have assumed different names, from such of their ancestors as distinguished themselves. Hence we find a number of tribes originally descended from the same stock. Dedā, Hothi, Otha, and Gajan, who were the sons of Jām Rāyadhān, 'the Red,' gave names to the clans of Dedās, Hothis, Gajans, &c. Again, Gajanji had a son named Jioji, who had also two sons, Abdā and Moḍ, whose posterity are the Abdās and Moḍs; and Hāloji, another son of Gajanji, gives name to the Hālās. These all are, properly speaking, Jādejās, but the name Jādejā is chiefly applied at present, in the province at least, to the descendants of Jām Hamirji, who had four sons,—Alliyā, Khangār, Sāheb, and Rāyab. The second among these founded the city of Bhuj, and his descendants are distinguished by the name of the Khangār branch; the posterity of the second are the Sāhebs, and of the third the Rāyabs. Most of those that preceded Khangārji are regarded as Dhangs or *Mulgrāsids*. A number of those

who came from Sindh have become Muhammadans, but still indicate their Rājput origin in their *nukhs* or family names.

Saraswat Brāhmins, Lohānās, Bhātiās, Pokarnas, Kshatris, Bhānsālīs, Oswāls, and most of the Muhammadan tribes, came from Sindh, and afterwards spread into Kāthiawād and Gujarāt. Most of the Vāniās came at different periods from Mār wād and Pāhlanpur, and a few from Gujarāt—who speak the Gujarāti language. The province is thus peopled by the most heterogeneous races. The following is a list* of the chief:—

Abdās (अबडा)†—These are the descendants of Jām Abdā, who was fourth in descent from Jām Lākha, who gave the name Jādejā to the tribe. Abdā and Moḍ were two brothers who gave name to the two districts of Abdāsā and Moḍāsā, in Kachh, where they reigned. The Abdās profess the Muhammadan religion; whilst there are Hindu Abdās in Wāgaḍ, descended from the Dedās.

Āgariyās (आगरीया)—Muhammadan converts from Rāthoḍ Rājputs originally from Agrā. They are found in Bhuvāḍ, Matbodā, Khokharā, and Māndavi. They are cultivators.

Āgās (आगा)—A very small clan of Muhammadans found in Abdāsā and Kaṇḍ.

5 References to the plate—Fig. 1 Dīankma; 2 Gehebig; 3 Lāvū; 4 Sūrā; 5 Tray; 6 Karū; 7 Khimū; 8 Tang; 9 Wooden vessel for carrying water on the back; 10 Earthen jar for stores; 11 Bamboo basket; 12 Shallow basket for grain, apricots, &c.; 13 Cul; 14 Kūf; 15 Goling; 16 Jhītaug; 17 Chapron; 18 Māshang; 19 Ukhar, of stone; 20 Gotūng; 21 Garhwāl, clod-crusher; 22 Lāstā; 23 Bāsing;

24 Rāmbī; 25 Saw at Nisang; 26 Lathe turned by Water Power; 27 Rest; 28 Turned articles.

* This paper has been drawn up at the request of the Editor, who supplied a list of most of the castes to the writer, and he very kindly wrote out the paper on this basis, supplying several additional castes.—ED.

† Conf. *Bom. Lit. Soc. Trans.* vol. II. pp. 219, 223.—ED.

Âhers (अहिर)†—Hindus, generally cultivators. When there is no cultivation they maintain themselves by keeping a cart and a pair of bullocks, which they lend on hire. They are worshippers of Mâtâ, and Vâcharâ—a Râjpût saint. They are divided into five sub-tribes:—(1) *Ma-chhûâ*, from *Maehhukânâ*, living about Dhorî, Kunariâ, &c.; (2) *Prânthaliâ*, in the district of Prânthal, in Kachh; (3) *Borichâ*, in Kânthi; (4) *Sorathîâ*, who came from Sorath and are scattered over Wâgaḍ; and (5) *Chorâdâ*, from Chorâd, living about Âdesar, Palânsâwâ, Sanwâ, Umiyu, Jâtâwâdâ, Belâ, &c. The other sub-tribes do not hold any intercourse with the *Sorathîâs*, because when the latter were in political importance under Râo Naughan of Junâgaḍh, one of them is said to have betrayed him to the Emperor of Dihli, who killed him. Family-names—*Hâpâ*, &c.

Ajânis (अजाणी)—A branch of the earlier *Jâdejâs*, and the descendants of *Ajâji*. They hold lands in Suthri, Tappar, Tanwânâ, Kûkdâo, Desalpur, &c.

Âmars (आमर)—Descendants of *Âmarji*, one of the earlier *Jâdejâs*.

Atits (अतीत)§—These people are known under many appellatives in Kachh. Some marry, and some do not, whence they are called *Gharbâris* (family men) and *Mathdâris* (ascetics or monks). These are again divided into ten tribes:—1 *Gir*, 2 *Parvat*, 3 *Sâgar*, 4 *Pûri*, 5 *Bhârthi*, 6 *Van*, 7 *Ara*, 8 *Saraswati*, 9 *Tirth*, 10 *Âshram*. The Atit of any one of these sects attaches to his name the name of his sect as a termination, to make up his full name, as *Karan-gar*, *Hirâ-pûri*, *Chanchal-bhârthi*, &c. By this he is distinguished as a member of a particular sect. A member of any of these sects can be a *Gharbâri* or *Mathdâri*, who, again, may hold intercourse with each other. Most of them are professional beggars, but they take up any profession. They are found as ordinary *sipâhis*, bankers, or merchants, and also taking a prominent part in the affairs of state at native courts. *Bâwâ Rewâgar Kuvargar* is one of the greatest bankers of Kachh, and his firm is held in great repute throughout Hindustân for its

credit; and *Bâwâ Savâigar* was highly trusted by the late *Thâkur* of *Bhâunagar*. There are three heads of the *Atits*, who are called *Pirs*; one is the *Pir* of *Kalyâneswar*, another that of *Ajepâl*, and the third of *Koteswar*. The *Atits* are also called *Gosâins*.

Audich (औदिक)—These people are generally from *Gohelwâd*, *Hâlâr*, and *Gujarât*, and appear to have come to Kachh at different times within the last 250 years. Those living in *Wâgaḍ* cultivate land, smoke the *hukâ*, and allow remarriage of widows; while the others are priests, reciters of *Purâṇas*, beggars, cooks, &c.

Balôchas (बलोच)—Originally from *Baluchistân*; chiefly found in the district of *Pâvar*.

Bâphans (बाफण)—*Miyânâ Muhammadans*.

Bârâchas (बाराच)—A branch of the earlier *Jâdejâs*, descendants of one *Bârâchji*, the son of *Mulvâji*. They are now regarded as *mulgrâsias*, and live about *Nâgrecha*, *Tehra*, &c., chiefly cultivating lands.

Bâraḍs (बारड)—Originally *Râjpûts*, but now degenerated into *Khavâs*.

Bhalotâs (भलोटा)—Degenerated *Râjpûts*, almost like the *Khavâs*; principally to be found in the village of *Bhalotâ*.

Bhambhiyâs (भंभीया)—*Râjpûts* degenerated into *Khavâs*.

Bhaṇḍâris (भंडारी)—*Muhammadans* in *Bhuj*.

Bhansâlîs (भनसाली) were originally *Râjpûts* of the *Solanki* race, but have long ago ceased to have any intercourse with them. They put on the sacred thread and consider themselves *Kshatriyas*. Most of them cultivate lands, and are said to have come with the *Jâdejâs* and become their first *rayats*. Some of them are merchants. They are to be found in the southern and western parts of Kachh. They are also called *Vegus* (वेगु).

Bhâṭs (भाट)—see *Chârâns*.

Bhâṭîâs (भाटीआ)—Originally *Bhâti Râjpûts*, to which tribe the Chief of *Jesalmer* belongs. Like the *Jâdejâs*, they are said to be *Yâdavas*. After their migration to *Sindh* they degenerated, it is said, into fishermen, but the *Mahârâja* of the *Valabhâchâryas* gained them over to wear

† *Trans. Bom. Lit. Soc.* vol. I. p. 287; vol. II. p. 232; *Tod's Rajasthan*, vol. II. p. 443; *Trav. in W. India*, pp. 358, 421; *Lassen, Ind. Alt.* (1st ed.) I. 539; *Ind. Ant.* vol. III. pp. 86, 227; *Elliot's Races of N. W. P.* vol. I. pp. 2, 102, 136, 180, 388, 396.—Ed.

§ *J. R. As. Soc.* vol. V. p. 268; *Mrs. Postans's Cutch*, p.

120; *Trans. R. As. Soc.* vol. III. pp. 570, 579, 587; H. H. Wilson's *Rel. Sects*, Works, vol. I. pp. 18, 206, 213, 216 ff.
|| *Tod's Rajasthan*, vol. I. pp. 85, 534, vol. II. pp. 186, 211, 213, 260; *Ind. Ant.* vol. III. p. 74; *Elliot's Races*, vol. I. p. 37; *Trans. Bom. Lit. Soc.* vol. II. p. 230 ff.—Ed.

the sacred thread, and to follow the rules of his sect with much strictness. They have of late greatly risen in the social scale, and consider themselves almost equal to Vāṇiās and Brāhmans. They are among the most enterprising merchants, trading with Bombay, Arabia, &c., and some of them have gone as far as the coast of Africa.

Bhaṭṭīs (भट्टी)—Originally Rājput, but have become Hindu *Khavās* or Muhammadan; they are found chiefly in *Bhuj* and *Māṇḍavi*.

Bhojades (भोजदे) are mulgrāssiās, an early branch of the Jāḍejās.

Bhumḍās (भुमडा)—A branch of the *Sangars* residing near *Gedi* and elsewhere in *Wāgaḍ*.

Bôhās (बोहा)—Mulgrāssiās in *Abḍāsā*, chiefly to be found in the village called *Bôhā*.

Bohorās (बोहोरा) are found in the large towns of *Māṇḍavi*, *Bhuj*, *Anjar*, and *Muṇḍrā*. From *Gujarāt*, they were originally Hindus, chiefly Brāhmāns, but about 700 years ago were made converts by some Arab. They are Shīahs, and their High Priest or *Mullā* lives in *Surat*, who has great authority over them.

Buttās (बुटर)—Originally Hindu, but at present Muhammadan mulgrāssiās; chiefly to be found in *Abḍāsā* and *Gurdā*.

Chāraṇs (चारण)—There are three divisions of these:—1, *Kāchhelā* (Kachhis); 2, *Māruvā* (from *Mārwaḍ*); and 3, *Tāmbels* (from *Sindh*). The last two are the family bards of the Jāḍejās, and enjoy several villages as *gīrās* given by *Jām Rāval* and the *Darbārs* of Kachh. The *Māruvā* and *Kāchhelā* reside in *Māk*, and the *Tāmbel* in *Kāṇṭhi*. The *Kāchhelās* are money-lenders, and trade by caravans of bullocks. The *Chāraṇs* in general are on the decline. The difference between a *Bhāt* and a *Chāraṇ* lies chiefly in the latter being a simple reciter of a Rājput's praise in short rude poetical pieces, while the former is a regular genealogist, and sometimes the historian of the family.

Chāvaḍās (चावडा)*—Once a very powerful ruling race in Kachh,—probably came from the neighbouring *Panchāsar* of *Jayashekhəri*. One of their kings named *Wāgam Chāvaḍa*, who ruled in *Pātgaḍh* in *Gardā*, was killed by

Mod, the first *Sammā* from *Sindh*. We find traces of their rule here and there in small townships till the end of the 14th century. There is a temple of *Māhadeva* at *Bhuvāḍ* which bears an inscription containing the genealogy of one *Vaṇrā* or *Vaṇrāja*, and the date *Saṁvat* 1346. At present the *Chāvaḍās* have degenerated into *Khavāsas*, or Muhammadan sipāhis, and one house of pure Rājput descent can scarcely be found in Kachh.

Chuchiṇās (चुडीया)—Muhammadans of the *Miyānā* tribe.

Chugars (चुगेर)—Degenerated Rājputs, a branch of the Jāḍejās, and reside in *Dhang* or the district about *Lakhpāt* and *Korā*.

Chuvāns (चुवाण), **Duḍiās (डुडीया)**, and **Dābhīs (डाभी)** are *Khavāsas*.

Dals (दल)—Hindus and Muhammadans of Rājput descent.

Dārāḍs (दाराड)—Originally Hindus, but now Muhammadan converts.

Dedās (देदा)—An earlier branch of the Jāḍejās, from *Dedā*, the second in descent from *Jām Lākha Jāḍejā*. They are in large numbers in *Wāgaḍ*, in *Chorād*, *Machhukāṇṭhā*, and *Hālār*. The chief town of their head is *Kaṇṭhkot*. They are also styled *Virbhādra*. They are proud of the martial and enterprising spirit of their ancestors. *Dedās* residing near *Shikārpur* are called *Kārās*.

Dhangs (धंग)—This is not a particular tribe, but the name given to earlier settlers descended from *Rao Rāyadhan*, the son of *Lākha Jāḍejā*, and who have either become poor peasants on account of their lands having been sold, or divided among the fraternity, or encroached upon by their powerful brethren of more recent descent from *Rao Khangārji*, the founder of *Bhuj*. The following are among the principal *Dhang* tribes:—*Abḍā*, *Āmar*, *Bārāch*, *Bhojde*, *Buttā*, *Gāhā*, *Gajan*, *Hothi*, *Jāḍā*, *Jesar*, *Kanadde*, *Kāyā*, *Koret*, *Mokalsi*, *Pasayā*, *Reladiā*, *Varamsi*, &c.

Dheds (देड)†—The lowest caste among the Hindus, and found in every town and village. From their *nukhs*, or family names, most of them appear to have been originally of Rājput de-

* *Malcolm's Cent. Ind.* vol. II. p. 132; *J. R. As. Soc.* vol. I. pp. 239, 247; vol. II. p. 281; *Tod's Rajasthan*, vol. I. p. 702; *Tr. B. Lit. Soc.* vol. II. p. 232; *Elliot's Races*, vol. I. pp. 17, 271, 304, 321, 327; *Johnston's Selections from the Mahābhārata*, p. 207; *Ind. Ant.* vol. III. p. 226.—Ed.

* *Ind. Ant.* vol. IV. p. 145; *Tod's Rajasthan*, vol. I. p. 101; *Elliot's Hist. of India*, by *Dowson*, vol. I. p. 268.—Ed.

† *Ind. Ant.* vol. III. pp. 130, 226, 229; *Elliot's Races*, vol. I. p. 80.—Ed.

scout. For instance, we find among them Solankis, Chāvādās, Jhālās, Vaghelās, &c. The Hindus consider themselves polluted by their touch. Their profession is that of weavers, cobblers, wood-splitters, and tanners. They also take the hides and entrails from the carcasses of dead animals. They are also called Meghvāls, and serve as guides to government officers.

Gagdās (गगडा)—Miyānās.

Gāhās (गाहा) are said to belong to Dhang, and reside in Abdāsā.

Gajans (गजन)—An offshoot of the earlier Jādejās, descended from Gajanji, the fourth in descent from Lākha Jādeja. Originally mulgrāssīs, but at present Muhammadan converts.

Ghesā (घेसा)—A sub-tribe of Miyānās.

Girnārās (गिरनारा)—A large and wealthy class of Brāhmans, originally from Junāgadh.

Gohels (गोहिल)†—There are only two houses in Kachh of pure Gohel Rājput blood, the rest being Khavāsas.

Gujar Rājput (गुजर राजपूत)—When the Vaghelās came into Kachh the Gujar Rājputs accompanied them, and it was chiefly through their assistance that they became masters of that part of the country, as a reward for which they obtained the right of tilling the land. They subsequently defended the Vaghelās from invasions from without. They are found in the Vaghelā towns of Goḍi, Palāswā, Jātāvādā, Belā, Lodrāni, Umio, Sanvā, &c., where they live by cultivating lands. They are of the following races:—Makvānā, Chanesar, Khod, Chāvādā, Chahuvān, Gohel, Umat, Dūḍiā, Dābhi, Pādariā, Chānd, Parmār, Tank (Tuar), &c. They have no objection to the remarriage of their widows, as also to the appearance of their women in public.

Hālās (हाला)—An earlier offshoot of the Jādejās, descended from Gajanji, fourth in descent from Jām Lākha the Jādeja. Hālāji was the second son of Gajanji, who, after a long struggle with the descendants of Mauūi (who are called Kers, from his having killed his brother Unād in Sindh), subdued all the villages in the south, middle, and west of Kachh. Jām Rāval was

descended from this Hālāji, who conquered the western part of Kāthiāwād from the Jethvās, and gave it the name of Hālār, where he founded the town of Nowānagar and made it his capital. The Jām of Nowānagar is descended from him. Those who remained in Kachh are in enjoyment of some villages as their *gi* in the districts of Kānṭhi and Hālāchov i.

Halepotrā (हालेपोत्रा), Narangpotrā (नारंगपोत्रा)—Sindhi Muhammadans in Banni.

Hiṅgorā (हिगोरा), Hiṅgorjā (हिगोरजा)—Muhammadan tribes from Sindh.

Hotḥis (होथी)§—Descendants of Hotḥiji, the brother of Gajanji. They are Mulgrāssīs, and reside in villages about Lakhpat, as also in Rehā, Jāmbudi, Tumbadi, &c., in Kānṭhi.

Jādās (जादा)—An offshoot of the earlier Jādejās, now reckoned among the Dhangs.

Jādejās (जादेजा)||—The chief ruling race, who claim to be descended from Kṛishṇa, who belonged to the Yādava tribe. They were probably driven or went out of India after the Yādavāsthali, or civil war among the Yādavas, and after many adventures, as they allege, in Egypt and Arabia, came to Ghazni, where they killed the reigning emperor Feruzshāh, and ascended the throne. They were, however, deposed by Sultānshāh, the son of Feruzshāh. After wandering for some time they settled under Jām Lākhiār in Nagar Samai, in Sindh, whence Mōḍ and Manāi, after killing their brother Unād in order to obtain the throne, were obliged to flee into Kachh, where their relative Wāgam Chāvādā was reigning; here also they killed Wāgam Chāvādā, reduced the seven Vaghelā tribes (सात सांध वाधेला), and obtained possession of the province. After five reigns the line became extinct, and Kachh was in the hands of the rulers of Anahillapātan for some time; but about Samvat 1204, Lāk hā, the son of Jādā (whence the name Jādējās), came into Kachh, and gave name to the reigning tribe.

Jats (जट)¶—A pastoral tribe originally from Aleppo in Turkey. Once they held some part of Kachh as rulers, but were driven by the Jādejās into Warai and Bajānā, where they rule

† Tod's *Rajasthan*, vol. I. p. 114.—Ed.

§ Wilson's *Infanticide*, pp. 313ff.—Ed.

|| Tod's *Rajasthan*, vol. I. p. 85; Elliot's *Hist.* vol. I. pp. 217, 405; Burnes's *Narrative*, &c. pp. 147, 232; Postans's *Outch*, pp. 131ff; *Trans. Bom. Lit. Soc.* vol. II. pp. 220, 224; Wilson's *Infanticide*, &c.—Ed.

¶ Conf. *Ind. Ant.* vol. III. p. 227; Tieffenthaler's *Desc. de l'Inde*, II. 206; Elliot's *Races*, vol. I. pp. 130, 179, 290ff., *Hist.* vol. I. pp. 104, 119, 151, 190; Tod's *Rajasthan*, vol. I. p. 106, vol. II. pp. 370, 431; Cunningham's *Arch. Rep.* vol. II. pp. 50, 54ff.—Ed.

at present. They are in the north and west of Kachh.

Jesars (जिसर)* are mulgrāssiās regarded as Dhangs, residing about Navināl and Berājā.

Jhālās (झाला)†—There are very few of this tribe in the country.

Kanaḍes (कनडे)—Mulgrāssiā Dhangs residing in Wāgaḍ.

Kāṇḍāgarās (कांडागरा)—Early Rājput settlers residing about the village of that name.

Kāthīs (काठी)—There is not a single Kāthi to be found in Kachh.

Kāyās (काय) —Mulgrāssiā Dhangs residing about Vadvā.

Kāyasths (कायस्थ)—Chiefly from Kathiāwād and Mār wād, about 100 families. They are priests, writers, and also sepoys.

Kērs (केर)—Descendants of Manai, who killed his brother Unāḍ. At present landholders in Pipar, Polāi, &c., in Gardā. (See Hālās.)

Khāravās (खारवा) is the name applied to native sailors who are generally Wāghers and Miyānās.

Khoḍas (खोड)—Gujar Rājputs.

Khojās (खोजा)—Shiāh Muhammadans found in every part of Kachh, but chiefly in Nāgalpur, Bhadrēswar, and Bhārāpur. Most of them were originally Hindus of the Bhātia caste. They have a separate religion of their own, consisting of the *Das Avatāras* of the Hindus grafted on the Shiāh tenets of the Muhammadans. Their high priest is His Highness Agā Khān of Bombay, to whom they pay extraordinary reverence. They do not go to the masjid, but have a separate place of worship called the Khānā. There are some reformers of late among them who, rejecting the mixed creed, have become Sunnis. They are chiefly cultivators in Kachh, but are enterprising merchants in Bombay and Zanzibar, China, &c.

Kolis (कोली)‡—These are aborigines in Wāgaḍ and Anjār Chovisi, and live by robbery, though now they find it hard to carry on this profession, and have become cultivators.

Kuṇbis (कुणबी)—An agricultural tribe. They are subdivided into Kadvā, Ānjanā, and Lēvā, chiefly residing in Wāgaḍ, Prānthāl, Māk

and Kāṇthi. There are Momnās but no Kadvas in Kachh. They are from Gujarāt.

Kshatris (क्षत्री) call themselves Brahma Kshatris, and consider themselves the descendants of those who survived from the persecution of Paraśurāma. After the persecution they are said to have ruled in Sindh. They were ousted from Sindh by a race of foreigners called *Barbars*. They then went to the goddess Hingliāj, who gave them certain professions. These people are a numerous class in every part of Kachh, and are generally dyers, printers, carpenters, turners, silk-weavers, traders, and Kārbhāris. The celebrated Sundarji Śivji, who aided Col. Walker and others in reducing Kāthiawād and Kachh to tranquillity, belonged to this caste.

Lohānās (लोहाना)§—Originally Rājputs of the Rāṭhōḍ race who were driven from Kanauj into Sindh, whence they migrated into Kachh about the 13th century. At present they wear the sacred thread like the Bhānsālīs, and call themselves Kshatris. Once they took a leading part in the affairs of Kachh, and were its most able kār bhāris and generals. They take up any profession that suits them. They are porters, menial servants, vegetable-sellers, shopkeepers, cultivators, clerks, and kār bhāris. Some of them are as handsome as the Rājputs of the purest blood. They are to be found in every part of Kachh.

Māhājans (महाजन) is not the name of a particular tribe, but that given to the higher classes of Hindus as a guild or public body. It is also applied to Vāṇiās and other mercantile classes exclusively, on account of their acting as leaders of the public.

Makwānās (मकवाणा)||—Hindus as well as Muhammadans. Also a family name among the Miyānās.

Mañdhārās (मंधरा)—Hindus and Muhammadans in Abḍāsā.

Maṅgariās (मंगरीआ)—Muhammadans.

Māyaḍās (मायडा)—A low sort of Rājputs.

Memans (मेमन) are Sunni Muhammadan converts, chiefly from Lohānās, originally from Sindh, found in every part of Kachh. They follow all sorts of professions. They are enterprising merchants in Bombay and elsewhere.

* *Ind. Ant.* vol. III. p. 76; *Elliot's Races*, vol. I. p. 144.—Ed.

† *Wilson's Infanticide*, p. 159.

‡ *Elliot's Races*, vol. I. p. 155.

§ *J. R. A. Soc.* vol. I. p. 239, 247ff.; *Trans. R. A. Soc.*

vol. III. p. 564; *Trans. Bom. Lit. Soc.* vol. II. p. 232; *Elliot's Hist.* vol. I. pp. 145, 151, 192.—Ed.

|| *Asiat. Res.* vol. IX. p. 200; *Tod's Rajasthan*, vol. I. p. 113.—Ed.

Miyānās (मीयाणा) ¶ reside chiefly in the district of Miyāni, which receives its name from them. They serve as sepoy, and also live by robbery. They are of the following family and sub-tribal names, some of which indicate their Rājput origin, though they came originally from Sindh and have long been Musalmāns:—Bānthā, Bāphan, Bāpū, Bhaloṭa, Bhāmdā, Bhukerā, Chālāngā, Chāniā, Chāvādā, Chhuchhiā, Dāndbi, Dhusā, Gagadā, Hoḍā, Jām, Jesā, Jesar, Jhābai, Kakal, Kandechar, Katiā, Kechā, Kevār, Khārā, Kbirā, Khod, Lāḍak, Lūniā, Makwānā, Malak, Maṅkā, Mathadā, Mayāntrā, Mayātrā, Meḍ, Mendhā, Mokhā, Nāngiā, Notiār, Pādā, Padehār, Parit, Patrā, Pehā, Rājā, Rāyamā, Rochā, Sād or Sāl, Sāndhāni, Sannā, Sayechā, Sedōt, Siāriā, Sīrāchās, Sisoliā, Sodhā, Trāyā, Trilāngā, Vārā.

Moḍh Brāhmaṇs (मोडब्राह्मण) are from Machhū-Kānthā in Kathiāwād. They do the duties of other Brāhmaṇs, and are also reciters of Purāṇas, copyists, priests, cooks, &c.

Moḍs (मोड) are the descendants of Moḍ, the grandson of Gajanji, son of Jioji and brother of Abdā. They are at present mulgrāsīs, and are to be found in the Moḍāsā district. Moḍ became a Muhammadan, and worshipped one Bau-ddin-Pir. He undertook an expedition to Hālār, where he died.* His body was transferred to Moḍāsā, where he was buried according to his directions, at Moḍ-Kubā. There is at present at Moḍ-Kubā a masjid in the shape of a four-sided temple with pyramidal roof, which contains his sepulchre. He is worshipped there by the Moḍs as a *pir*, or saint.

Mokās—An offshoot of the Mokalsi Rājput.

Nāgars (नागर) do not figure among the early settlers. The first among them came to Kachh from Ahmadābād in the time of Rao Khangārji, A.D. 1550. One or two families followed him from Pāṭṭan and Dholkā; but they did not muster strong till the time of Lakhpāṭji. They do not seem to have played a prominent part in the affairs of the state, except one Lakshmidās. There are about 465 families, including their priests, in the whole of Kachh. They are well known as a political race. They are divided into Vadnāgara and Visalnāgara. The latter are landholders.

Nandwānās (नंदवाणा) are from Marwād. They are found about Anjār, and are chiefly traders.

Ners (नेर) and **Nodes (नोडे)** are Muhammadans from Sindh.

Notiyārs (नोतियार)—Originally Samās, but now Muhammadans; scattered throughout Kachh. Jamādār Fateh Muhammad belonged to this tribe.

Oṭārs (ओटार)—Muhammadans about Suthri.

Padyārs (पडयार)—Muhammadans about Tehra and in Māk.

Pāērs (पाएर)—Mulgrāsīs about Roha; reckoned among the Dhangs.

Pals (पल)—Muhammadan converts from Bhatī Rājputs.

Pasāyās (पसाइया)—A branch of Kanadde Rājputs among the Dhangs in Wāgaḍ.

Pehās (पेहर)—Rājputs near Nakhatrānā.

Phuls (फुल)—Muhammadans near Bitta, Tehra, &c.

Poārs (पोअर)—Sindhi Muhammadans.

Pokarnās or Pushkarnās (पोकरणा) are a numerous class of Brāhmaṇs, chiefly from Mār-wād and Sindh, and are the priests of the Bhātīs.

Rājads (राजड)—Muhammadans.

Rājgars (राजगर)—Brāhmaṇs of the Andich stock, so-called from their accepting the priestship of the ruling race. They are at present cultivators as well as priests of the Jādejās.

Ramdepotrās (रामदेपोत्रा)—A branch of Sodhā Rājputs residing in Khāvādā.

Rāymās (रायमा)—Muhammadans originally from Mokalsi Rājputs in the north of Kachh.

Rebāris (रेबोरी)†—also called Bhopās (भोपा) from their being the priests of Mātā. They chiefly tend flocks of sheep, goats, and camels. Their women make wool yarn, from which they get blankets and their *sadīs* woven by the Dheḍs. They are from Mār-wād, but most of them have the peculiar Persian physiognomy. One of their family names is Āgā, which seems to support their Persian descent. They are tall and robust, and have an oval face and aquiline nose. They live for days almost solely on the milk of camels.

¶ Burnes's *Narrative*, p. 236; Postans's *Cutch*, p. 135; Wilson's *Infanticide*, p. 349; *Trans. Bom. Lit. Soc.* vol. II. p. 239.—Ed.

* Perhaps he was the same who destroyed Ghumli about Sah. 1309.—Ed.

† *Jour. Bom. Lit. Soc.* vol. II. p. 232.

Relaḍiyās (रेलडीया)—Rājputs about Nironā.

Sāchorās (साचोरा)—Brāhmaṇ cultivators in the Wāghelā towns, originally from Mārwaḍ.

Samās (समा)†—Descendants of Jām Samā, the son of Jām Narpāt, who built Nagar Samai in Sindh and ruled there. His posterity came into Kachh and settled in Pachham, it is said, about a thousand years ago, where they are still to be found as Muhammadan grāssiās.

Samejās (समेजा)—A branch of the Samās, herdsmen in Banni.

Saṅghārs (संघार)§ were one of the tribes that accompanied the Samās from Sindh. They were subdivided into four castes when they entered Kachh. Other tribes of Rājputs, such as Chāvaḍa, Chāhuvān, &c., joined them, and there are at present seventy-two *nukhs* or family names. Some are Muhammadans and some Hindus, but all worship the *Jakhs* (जख), which are supposed to be Romans or some foreign race that saved them from the oppressions of Puvārā the brother of Lākḥā Phulāni, by killing him. The Hindus are to be found in Kāṇṭhi, and the Muhammadans in Abḍāsā, Moḍāsā, and Māk. They are originally from Arabia.

Sāraswats (सारस्वत)—Brāhmaṇs chiefly from Sindh, but some have come from Hindustān and Gujarāt. They once held important posts under the state, and appear to have played a prominent part in the early history of Kachh. They are a very numerous class in every part of the province, but are fast degenerating. They are the family priests of the Kshatris, Lohānās, &c., with whom they eat, and follow any other employment. They have no objection to go to Arabia, Mozambique, &c. They are priests, shopkeepers, merchants, sipāhis, and gunners.

Seḍāts (सेडात)—Muhammadans in Bhuj and the village of Śerāt.

Sindhāl (सिंदल)—A branch of Sodhā Rājputs in Khadir and Kāṇṭhi. They are regarded as Dhāngs because they were once the rulers in Pachham. The name is patronymic.

Sirāchas (सीराच)—Degenerated Rājputs.

Sodhās (सोडा)||—Hindu and Muhammadan

Rājputs in the north of the province. They cultivate lands and serve as sepoyas.

Solaṅkis (सोलंकी)—Except the Wāghelā grāssiās in Wāgaḍ, there are no Rājputs of this race in Kachh; but there are many among the Khavāsas bearing this name.

Śrāvaks or Jains (श्रावक) are Wānias mostly of the Oswāl and Śrīmālī castes. The former are cultivators, and are chiefly in Abḍāsā and Kāṇṭhi. They were originally Rājputs, but were converted to the religion of the Jains by their missionaries.

Śrīmālīs (श्रीमाली)—Chiefly from Kathiāwāḍ and Mārwaḍ, mostly cultivators in Wāgaḍ.

Sumarās (सुमरा)¶—Muhammadans from Sindh, where they once ruled. Now they serve as sipāhis, and also cultivate land in Pāvar and Gardā.

Trāyiās (त्राया)—Hindus and Muhammadans.

Ustiyās (उस्तीया)—A branch of the Jāḍejās, and hold lands as Hindu Grāssiās. Also a clan among the Miyānās.

Wāghelās (वाघेला)*—Originally from Sardhār, near Rajkot. Once they were very powerful in the east of Kachh, but they were subjugated by Moḍ, the first Samā who came to Kachh, and by his successors. They still hold some towns of importance in Wāgaḍ and Prānthāl, such as Gheḍi, Belā, Jatawāḍā, Lodrani, Bhimāsar, Palāswā, &c., and are tributary to the Bhuj Durbār.

Wāghers (वाघेर)—The term has nothing to do with Wāgaḍ. They are both Hindus and Muhammadans, and serve as sailors. They are also fishermen.

Wānias (वाणिया)—There are nine subdivisions among these,—Śrīmālī, Oswāl, Moḍh, Mesri, Kandoi, Soni, Bhojak, Sorathiā, Vāidā. Of these, the Oswāls, Bhojaks, and Śrīmālīs are Jains, and the rest are Vaishṇavas. They are also subdivided into Visās and Dasās. Most of the Oswāls are cultivators, and are found in those parts of Kachh where the best soil is available. Śrīmālīs are from Thal and Mārwaḍ, and are generally engaged in trade. They are chiefly found in the eastern part of Kachh, and Wāgaḍ.

† Barnes's Narrative, &c. p. 147; Jour. R. As. S. vol. I. pp. 204, 233, 242ff.; Elliot's Hist. vol. I. pp. 145, 191, 215, 266, 272.—Ed.

§ Trans. E. A. Soc. vol. III. p. 583; Jour. R. As. S. vol. I. pp. 203, 212.—Ed.

|| Tod's Rajasthan, vol. I. p. 93; Elliot's Hist. vol. I.

p. 217; Postans's Cutch, p. 136ff.; Tr. Bom. Lit. Soc. vol. II. pp. 238 ff.—Ed.

* Elliot's Hist. vol. I. pp. 216, 266ff., 343; Jour. R. As. Soc. vol. I. p. 24, 43, 233.—Ed.

¶ Elliot's Races, vol. I. p. 49; Tr. Bom. Lit. Soc. vol. II. p. 224.—Ed.

The Modhs are a political race, and are from Modherâ, in Gujarât.

Waramsis (वरमसी)—Dhang Râjpûts in Gardâ and Pâvar. They are an off-shoot of the Samâs.

Wens (वेण्)—Muhammadans who serve as sipâhis.

Wirârs (वेरार)—Dhang Râjpûts about Pâvar and Lakhpat.

SANSKRIT AND OLD CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, B.O. C.S.

(Continued from p. 156.)

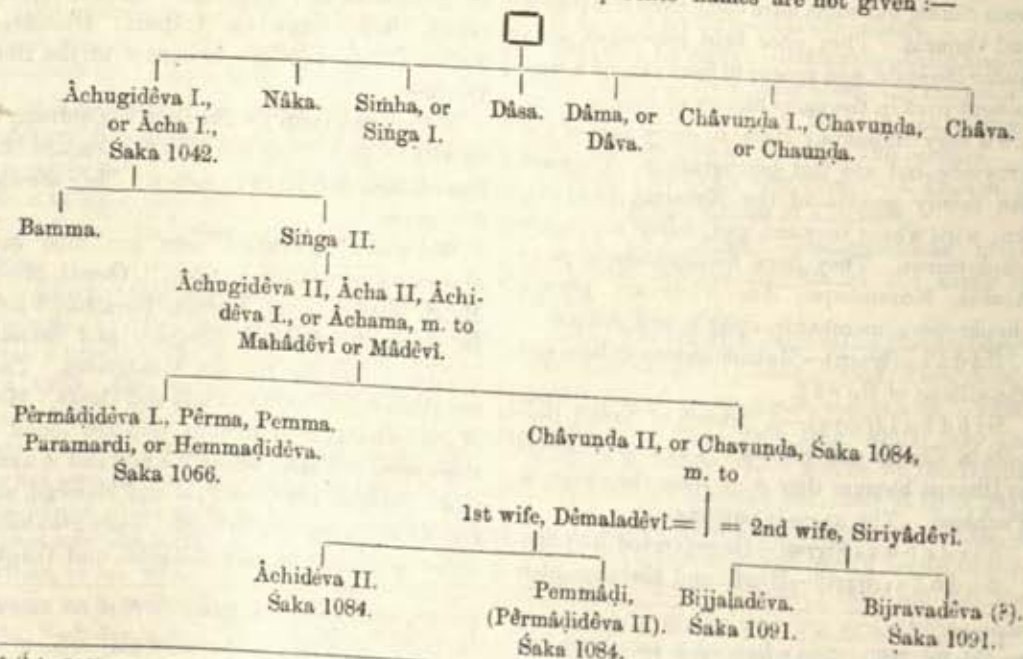
No. XVI.

No. 16 of Mr. Hope's collection is an inscription in the Old Canarese characters and language on a stone-tablet in a temple at Paṭṭadakaḷ, the ancient Paṭṭadakisuvolaḷ, on the Malaprabhâ, about eight miles to the east of Bâdâmi in the Kalâgi District. The emblems at the top of the tablet are:—In the centre, a *lînga* and priest in a shrine; on their right, a figure of Basava, with the sun above it; and on their left, a cow and calf, with the moon above them. The inscription consists of seventy-four lines, of about thirty-eight letters each. At the bottom of the tablet there is another short inscription of ten lines; but it cannot be read in the photograph.

The inscription is one of the family of the Great Chieftains of the *Sindavaṃśa*, who were the local representatives of the Châlukya kings, and is of the time of Châvunḍa II, the subordinate

of Nârmaḍitaila or Tailapadêva II.* It records grants made to the god Vijayêsvara-dêva in the Śaka year 1084 (A.D. 1162-3), the Subhânu *saṃvatsara* †, by Châvunḍa's chief wife, Dêmaladêvi, and his eldest son, Âchidêva II, who were governing, apparently during Châvunḍa's lifetime and as his representatives, at the capital of Paṭṭadakisuvolaḷ.

The text of this inscription, with a translation, has been published by me in the *Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.* (vol. XI, No. xxxi, pp. 259 *et seqq.*) Together with the following, and with four other *Sindavaṃśa* inscriptions at Narêgal and Koḍikop in the Rôṇ Tâluka of the Dhârwad District, published by me in the same volume, it establishes the following genealogy and dates of the family. Nâka and his younger brothers were the uterine brothers of Âchugidêva I.; their parents' names are not given:—



* Śaka 1072 to 1104,—Sir W. Elliot.

† According to the table in Brown's *Carnatic Chro.*

nology, Śaka 1084 was the Chitrabhînu *saṃvatsara*, and the Subhânu *saṃvatsara* was Śaka 1085.

These six inscriptions contain many historical allusions, but not all of them can be explained at present. The government of Âchugidêva I. included at first only the Kisukâḍa† Seventy and the Nareyaṅgaḷḡ Twelve, and his capital was Rambarage or Rambirage.‡ Afterwards he acquired, in the conquests achieved by him at the command of his master, the Châlukya emperor Vikramāditya the Great, the Kēlavāḍi¶ Three-hundred and the Bāgaḍage or Bāgaḍige* Seventy, and also took, probably from one of the later Kādambas of Goa, Gôve and the Koṅkaṇa. A certain Bhôja, with whom he came in contact, is probably Bhôja I., of the family of the Śilāhāra Mahāmaṇḍalêśvaras of Vaḷavāḍa near Kôlhāpūr, whose date is about Śaka 1050 (A.D. 1128-9). A Jayakēśi, who was driven back, perhaps in an attempt to recover Goa, by Pērmāḍidêva I., would seem to be the Kādamba Jayakēśi III, whose date is about Śaka 1060 (A.D. 1138-9). The same prince repulsed and pursued Bittiga of Dhōrasamudra, i.e. the Hoysala king Viṣṇuvardhana or Bittidêva of Dvārāvatipura, whose date is about the same. Sir W. Elliot has shown that the Hoysala kings first obtained a permanent footing to the north of the Tuṅgabhadra in the person of Viṣṇuvardhana's grandson, Vīraballāḷa, whose date is about Śaka 1113 (A.D. 1191-2). It would seem, therefore, that it was the Great Chieftains of the Sindavaṁśa who held them in check for the Châlukyas up to that time, and that the Sindavaṁśa finally succumbed to and disappeared in the conquests of the Hoysala dynasty.

No. XVII.

No. 1 of Mr. Hope's collection is another Sindavaṁśa inscription, a fragment, in the Old Canarese characters and language, on a stone-tablet in an old temple, now used as a house by Rājyā Pūjāri, at Aihole. The emblems at the top of the tablet are:—In the centre, a standing figure of some god or goddess; on its right two seated figures, with the sun above them; and on its left, a cow and calf, with the moon

above them. The fragment consists of twenty-four lines of about thirty letters each. The text, with translation, has been published by me in the above-mentioned volume of the *Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.* pp. 274 et seqq. Since publishing it, I have seen the original and have ascertained the date, which cannot be deciphered in the photograph; lines 23-4 run "[23] * * * rājyaṅga(ge)-yuttamire || Svasti śrīmachchālukya[-vikramādēvavarsha] 94neya [24]virōdhisaṁva[-tsarada]", &c. Accordingly it is an inscription of the time of the princes Bijjaladêva and Bijravadêva (?), the sons of Chāvūḍa II by his second wife Siriyādêvi, who were governing the Kisukâḍa Seventy, the Bāgaḍage Seventy, and the Kēlavāḍi Three-hundred, and the date of it is the ninety-fourth year of the era of the Châlukya Vikramāditya the Great, or Śaka 1091 (A.D. 1169-70), the Virōdhi saṁvatsara. The portion containing the grant which the inscription was intended to commemorate is lost.

No. XVIII.

This is another copper-plate inscription, in the Cave-alphabet characters and the Sanskrit language, from Sir W. Elliot's facsimile collection. The plates are four in number, marked with numerals; and in this instance the inscription commences on the *inside* of the first plate and ends on the *inside* of the last plate. Dr. Burnell has already published† a transcription of this inscription and a facsimile, which in some respects is better than Sir W. Elliot's; in preparing my transcription, I have made use of both.

It records a grant of the Great King Vijayanandivarmā, the son of the Great King Chāḍavarmā, of the family of the Śālaṅkāyanas.‡‡ No era is referred to, nor is even the year of Vijayanandivarmā's reign given. In Sir W. Elliot's facsimiles I have another copper-plate inscription§§ of Vijayanandivarmā and his Yuvamahārāja, whose name seems to be Vijayatūṇ-

† Locality not known.

‡ Or * Narayaṅgaḷ, Nareyaṅgaḷ, Narayaṅgaḷ, or Narigal. The etymology is probably 'variya-kal(kallu)', the stone of the jackal.

¶ Locality not known.

* Perhaps Kēlavāḍi, about ten miles to the north of Bādāmi.

† Locality not known.

‡ *So. Ind. Paleo.*, p. 86, and Pl. xx. and xxi.

‡‡ Descendants of Viśvāmitra. Perhaps these are the 'Solankis' of Colonel Tod, who are included in catalogues

of the thirty-six royal races, and who for a long time ruled over 'Anhilvālapattana' in Gujārat. Colonel Tod identifies the 'Solankis' with the Châlukyas; but this identification is rejected by Sir Walter Elliot, on the grounds that "The 'Solankis' were one of the four Agnikulas, whereas the Châlukyas always profess themselves of lunar origin." The Śālaṅkāyanas, however, being descendants of Viśvāmitra, were of lunar extraction.

§§ Probably the second one mentioned by Dr. Burnell himself, and found, even by him, to be "almost entirely illegible."

gavarmā or Vijayabuddhavarmanā ||; but in this, also, I cannot discover any date, and the characters are, in fact, so rude and indistinct, that I doubt whether a transcription of it can be made. The language, even, is doubtful, but seems to be Prākṛit or Pāli, as the first line commences '[Sva]-sti śrīvijayanandivarmanmahārājassa', and in line 2, again, we have the genitive 'yuvamahārājassa.'

As regards the date of these kings and the locality of their capital, Vēṅgi, I can only quote from Dr. Burnell[¶], who, on palæographical grounds, refers the present inscription to about the fourth century A.D.:—"That the dynasty, to which the inscription given in Plates xx and xxi belongs, preceded the Chālukyas, was first pointed out by Sir W. Elliot in the *Madras Journal* (vol. XI, pp. 302-6). The capital (Vēṅgi) appears to have entirely vanished; it is said to have been the place now called Pedda Vēṅgi or Vegi in the Krishna District, but there are several places of the same name in the

neighbourhood. As in the Telugu *Mahābhārata*, which belongs to the twelfth century A.D., Rajamundry is called the *Nayakaratnam* of Vēṅgi dēśa, the old capital must have been deserted long before that time. Hienou Tshang (iii, pp. 105-110) calls the small kingdom that he visited 'Ān-ta-lo' (Andhra), and the capital 'Ping-ki-lo'. It appears to me that this is intended for Vēṅgi; the 'lo' being merely the locative suffix '-lo' of the Telugu nouns, naturally mistaken by the worthy Chinese pilgrim monk for a part of the word. Julien's suggestion 'Viñkhila' only fails in there not being the slightest trace of such a place. The 'f' in Vēṅgi is uncertain; it occurs both short and long in the inscriptions.* * * * "The origin of this kingdom does not probably go back beyond the second century A.D." * * * "This dynasty was supplanted, in the latter half of the seventh century A.D., by a branch of the Chālukyas established at Kalyāṇa about the beginning of the fifth century A.D."

TRANSCRIPTION.

First plate.

- [1] स्वस्ति [11] विजयवैङ्गीपुराद्वगच्चित्रयस्वामिपादानुदया(ध्या)तो वण्णभ-
[2] शरकपादभक्तः परमभागवतशालङ्कयनो महाराजा(व)च-

Second plate; first side.

- [3] षडवर्मणस्सुनुज्यैष्ठो महाराजश्रीविजयनन्दिवर्मा कुडु(?)हारविषये
[4] विदेनूरपालिकाग्रामे मुन्यदसहितान्नाम्य(म्या)समाज्ञापयति [11] अस्ति [1]

¶ The original has, l. 3, 'Vijayabūgavarmmaassa,' and in the margin, a little above the line, there is the character 'ddha'—differing not much from 'nga', as there written,—apparently intended to be introduced somewhere in the line as a correction.


* *So. Ind. Palæo.*, p. 14, and note 2 below the same.


* In his table of Addenda and Corrigenda, Dr. Burnell, on Mr. Kittel's information, gives reasons for considering 'Vēṅgi', with the 'i' short, to be the correct form; but, unless there is a misprint, he finally prefers Vēṅgi, with the final long, as the correct form, on the analogy of the Tamil form in a Tanjore inscription. In the present inscription the final vowel is distinctly long. In metrical passages in Canarese books, which must of necessity be more or less modern, the final vowel might be made either long or short as might be found most convenient; compare 'Kūṇḍi', the final vowel of which, everywhere else short, is made long for the sake of the metre in line 3 of No. VII of my *Ratta Inscriptions*, *Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.*, No. xxix, vol. X.


† The vowel 'i' is hardly discernible in Sir W. Elliot's facsimile, but is distinct in Dr. Burnell's.

‡ Dr. Burnell reads मुन्यद as a proper name, but the third letter is not the same character as that in the syllable which he reads with certainty, and I doubtfully, as ड in the

preceding line, north: same character as that in the syllable which he reads as ड, and I as दे, in this same line. For मुन्यद or मुन्यदे as a common noun, I can find no meaning; as a proper name, it is out of place here. Some correction of the text is evidently required. Now, the second syllable may be either न्य or न्य. For, the characters न and न, the former with a loop at the lower part, and the latter without a loop, are constantly interchanged in the older inscriptions; so constantly that such instances can scarcely be regarded as mistakes of the engravers. There are instances of this in the original of No. XV of this series. In the present case, compare the incorrect form of न, with the loop, in the syllables न, line 3; न, and न्या, l. 4; न, once in l. 5, four times in l. 6, and twice in l. 7; न, l. 9; and न, l. 11, with the correct form of the same letter, without the loop, wherever else it occurs in this inscription; and compare the incorrect form of न, without the loop, in the syllables न, l. 1; न्क and न्ति, (the first न्), l. 5; and न्, l. 10, with the correct form of the same letter, with the loop, wherever else it occurs in this inscription. The corrected reading, which I would suggest as most in accordance with the letters engraved and the sense of the passage, is [अ]मात्यादि, which I adopt in the translation.

I

 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 इति श्रीमद्भगवद्गीतायां अष्टाध्याय्ये अष्टमोऽध्यायः ॥

IIa.

 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 इति श्रीमद्भगवद्गीतायां अष्टाध्याय्ये अष्टमोऽध्यायः ॥

IIb.

 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 इति श्रीमद्भगवद्गीतायां अष्टाध्याय्ये अष्टमोऽध्यायः ॥

COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF THE KINGS OF THE VENGÛ COUNTRY.

III a

ਸਪੁਰਕ ਸਦ੍ਯੁਕਤ ਸ੍ਵਾਮੀ ਸ੍ਵਾਮੀ ਸ੍ਵਾਮੀ ਸ੍ਵਾਮੀ ਸ੍ਵਾਮੀ

III B.

ਪੰਨਾ ੧੫੬ ਵਿਚ ਪੁਸਤਕ ਦਾ ਹਿਸਾਬ ਲਿਖਿਆ
ਪੁਸਤਕ ਦਾ ਮੁਲ ਪੁਸਤਕੀ ਵਿਚ ੧੧ ਰੁਪਏ

IV

[illegible]

Second plate ; second side.

- [5] अस्माभिरस्मत्कुलगोत्रधर्मयः(यशः)कान्तिकीर्तिप्रवर्द्धनाय एतेषां(वां) कुरव-
 [6] कश्चीवराग्राहारवास्तव्यानाम् नानागोत्रचरणस्वाद्धया(ध्या)यानाम्

Third plate ; first side.

- [7] सप्तपञ्चाशदुत्तरशतानाम्ब्राह्मणानामेष यामः प्रत्तः [11] तदवेत्य
 [8] देशधिपत्यायुक्तकवल्लभराजपुरुषादिभिस्सर्वपरिहारैः

Third plate ; second side.

- [9] परिहर्तव्यो रक्षितव्यश्च [11] प्रवर्द्धमानविजयराज्यसप्तमस(सं)वत्सर-
 [10] स्य पौष्यमासकृष्णपक्षस्याष्टम्यामष्टिका दत्ता ॥ तत्राज्ञातिः

Fourth plate.

- [11] मूलकु(क)रभोजकः(का) ॥ बहुभिर्भुक्ता दत्ता बहुभिश्चानुपालिता
 [12] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमः(मिः) तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् ॥
 [13] षष्टि वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे की(की)डति भूमिद(दः) आश्लेष्ता चाभिमन्ता च तान्येव न[रः]के वसे[त् ॥११]

Translation.

Hail! From the victorious city of Vēṅgi-pura, the Great King Śrī-Vijayanandivarmā,—who meditates on the feet of the holy Chitrarathasvāmī; who is the disciple of the venerable Rappa; who is a most excellent worshipper of the holy one; who belongs to the family of the Śālaṅkāyanas; the eldest son of the great king Chaṇḍavarmā,—commands the villagers, together with the ministers and others*, at the village of Vidēnūrapallikā in the country of Kuṇḍahāra :—

(Thus) it is. In order to increase our family and *gōtra* and piety and fame and splendour and renown, this village has been given by us to those one hundred and fifty-seven Brāhmanas, belonging to various *gōtras* and *charaṇas*† and branches of private study, who reside in the

excellent *agrahāra*-village of Kuravaka. It is to be treated with immunity from all taxation, and is to be preserved, by the governors of the country and the ministers and the favourites and the servants of the king and others, bearing this in mind. This charter has been given on the eighth day of the dark fortnight of the month Pausa of the seventh year of our victorious reign. The command confers the enjoyment of the original royal dues there.‡ Land has been given by many, and has been continued in grant by many; he, who for the time being possesses the earth, enjoys the fruit of it! The giver of land disports himself for sixty thousand years in heaven; but he who confiscates land, or even he who assents (to such confiscation), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell!

ON SOME REMAINS OF ANTIQUITY AT HÂNAGAL, IN THE DHÂRWÂP COLLECTORATE, SOUTHERN MARÂṬHÂ COUNTRY.

BY SIR WALTER ELLIOT, K.C.S.I.

In many parts of India we meet with deserted sites presenting indications of former importance in the shape of mounds strewn with fragments

of sculptured stones or broken pottery, which local tradition connects with some ancient dynasty or family, or with some abandoned line

§ This letter,—र,—is omitted altogether in the original.

¶ This letter,—ऋ,—and the mark of punctuation after it, are omitted altogether in the original, through want of space at the end of the plate.

* See note ‡ to the transcription.

† 'Charaṇa',—sect, school, branch of the Vêdas.

‡ 'Tatra śrīśāptiḥ mūlakarabā'jaka',—but the mean-

ing is somewhat doubtful. Dr. Burnell says,—*South-Indian Palaeography*, p. 87, note 4,—“The grant is, therefore, of the royal dues from the village. The village itself (or the proprietary right to the ground) could not be given by Hindu law, as it belongs to the occupants; all the king could give, is his right to certain shares of the produce, &c. (See the discussion which settles this point in *Mīmāṃsāśāstra* vi, 7, 3).”

of trade, or, failing these, has recourse to mythological legends or fabulous narratives.

A knowledge of the existence of such neglected and now forgotten places may prove useful to the archæologist investigating points of early history or geography, or if not may serve to elucidate the habits and condition of the prehistoric population.

The following notice refers to such a spot. I can give no explanation of its origin, but I desire to put it on record, in the hope that it may prove useful and interesting to others. The first of the accompanying plates is a rough sketch of the Kaṣba of Hānagal, in the south-western tālukā of the Dhārwad Collectorate.*

In the course of several visits during successive revenue settlements between 1825 and 1832, my eye was attracted by lines of earthwork surrounding an old fortified centre, which, though no longer conspicuous for their magnitude, yet exhibited a regularity of plan that showed them to have been the work of design, whilst their extent indicated that they were not constructed for a temporary purpose.

The main work, or citadel (if it may be so called), is situated on the left bank of the Dharmā river, which flows round its southern and western faces, and then, turning more to the west, falls into the Wardā near Nerigal, about twelve miles farther down the valley.

The south-eastern corner rests on a large tank—the Anikere—after which the single outer wall is developed on the eastern face into three lines of defence, which, sweeping round the north side, join the works on the river, where it diverges to the westward.

The citadel (A, A) is called the Halēkôtē, or old castle, and contains, besides the old town (C), a modern fort (B), of which, though now in

ruins and deserted, the walls and bastions remain. The interior of this is filled with trees and brushwood, among which is a temple of Virabhadra (No. 14).

On the north-west side of the Halēkôtē is the modern village (D), outside of which is a very fine temple of cut stone (E) dedicated to Tārakēśwara, of which a plan and elevation is given in the second Plate.

Besides the outer defences above mentioned, the exterior line of the triple wall is carried onward, from the point where it turns to the west, to a low range of hills, through which a ditch has been cut to the *chauki*, or shed, near a large tree (No. 23), from which the wall is continued round to the river.

But as it appears to have been found that the hill still commanded the place, a further work can be traced, though very faintly in some parts, to a trench excavated through the hill to the Dargah (No. 24), from which point the rampart is continued till it joins the fourth wall, making in all five lines of defence, exclusive of the walls of the Halēkôtē.

Traces of other mounds are perceptible beyond these, stretching eastward towards the hamlet of Mallegar, but whether connected with the defences of Hānagal is not apparent.

The diameter of the Halēkôtē is between 700 and 800 yards, and the modern or inner fort about 350 yards; but the circuit of the whole area is upwards of four and a half miles. The lines are obliterated in several places, and can only be traced with difficulty, but in others they are well marked.†

I was unable to discover any reasonable or probable account of the place, either traditional or historical. According to old inscriptions, which are tolerably numerous, it bore the same

* References to the first plate.

- A. The Halēkôtē or old Castle. B. The modern Fort.
- C. The old town, within the walls of the Halēkôtē.
- D. The modern village of Hānagal.
- E. Temple of Tārakēśwara dēva.
- F. Kuntina-dibba, 'Kuntl's hillock.'
- G, G, G. A low range of hills extending in a north-westerly direction from the earthworks towards the Sudda frontier.

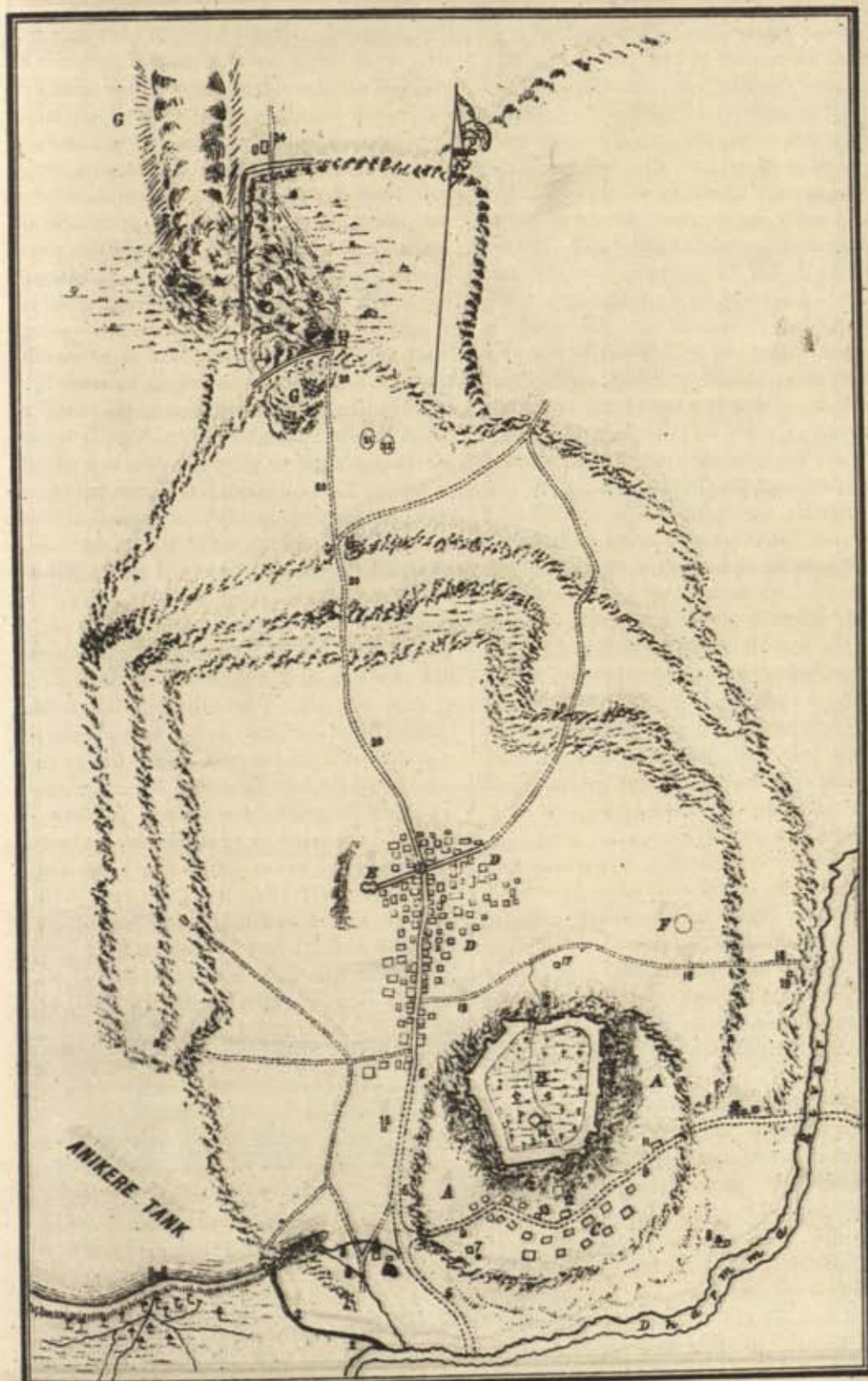
1. The sluice of the Anikere.
- 2, 2, 2. Waste channel, by which the overflow of the tank is discharged into the river.
- 3, 3. Broken watercourses or little nalds.
4. Ruined temple.
5. Temple of Hanumān.
- 6, 6. Road from the modern village to Gejahalle and other villages across the river.
7. Temple of Nārāyaṇa.
8. Temple of Virūpākṣhīwara, near a tree.
- 9, 9, 9. Road to Dauleśwara, Alār, and villages to the west.

10. Temple of Durgā.
11. Temple of Hanumān.
12. Site of ruined temple of Kichak-ājīt.
13. Temple built by Gopāl Rāj Dēvai.
14. Temple of Virabhadra.
15. Lingayat Matha.
16. North gate of the Fort, and temple of Śīwara.
17. Bungalow.
- 18, 18. Road from the village to Saralēśwara.
19. Small temple and a tiled shed over Rāma-līga.
- 20, 20, 20. Road to Bomanhalla.
- 21, 21. Two ponds, or small tanks.
22. A *chauki* near a large tree.
23. Dargah.
24. Hamlet of Pillankatte and temple of Hanumān.

† The plan was roughly drawn by one of Major Jervis's native revenue surveyors, on a scale of 400 feet to an inch, from which the present illustration has been reduced.

PLAN OF THE FORTS AND WORKS OF HANAGAL.

Indian Antiquary



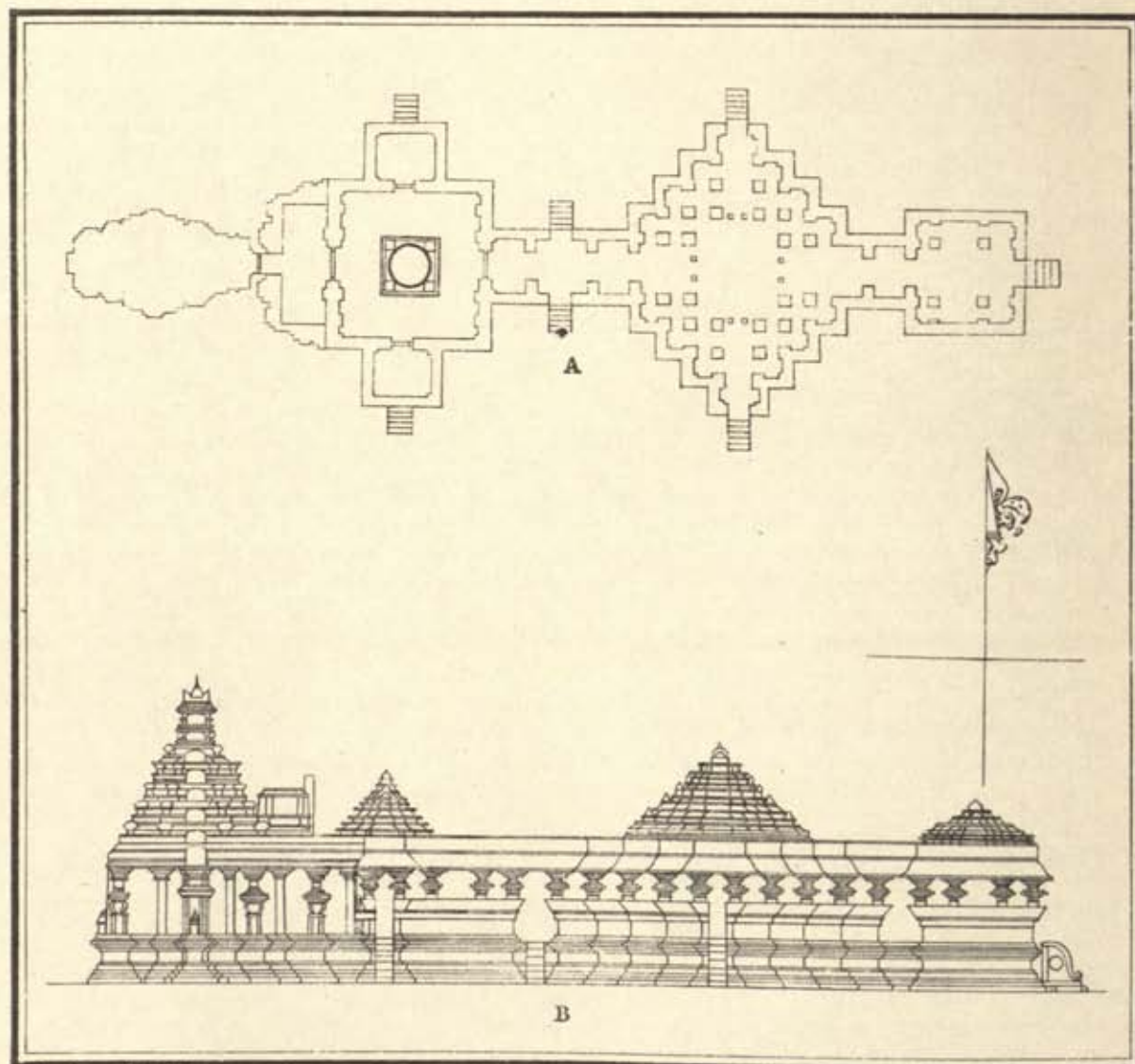
W. Griggs photo-lith.

Scale 1 inch to 1200 feet.



PLAN AND ELEVATION OF THE TEMPLE
OF TÁRAKESWARA DÉVA
AT HANAGAL.

Indian Antiquary



W. Griggs photo-lith.

Scale 1 inch to 36 feet.

name as at present in the 11th and 12th centuries, viz. Panagal, a sub-division "of the Banavâsi Twelve-thousand," the Hale-Kannadâ *P* being equivalent to the modern *H*. By the inhabitants it is supposed to have been the Virâtanagara of the *Mahâbhârata*, where the Pândava princes resided during their exile from Indraprastha, as related in the fourth book of the epic. On the right side of the enclosure, near the western wall, is a remarkable conical mound (*F*) exactly like the Teutonic mottle-hills (of which many examples remain in Great Britain and elsewhere), which goes by the name of 'Kuntî's hillock,' and is said to have been formed of the husks of the grain ground by her for her sons, the three elder Pândava princes, during their twelve years' residence in the city.

Thinking this might have been formed from the *débris* of a ruined building, I ran a trench nearly into the centre at the base, and also dug down a few feet from the top, but it appeared to consist entirely of earth heaped up.†

In connection with the same local tradition, the small ruined temple (No. 12) seems to have been dedicated to Bhima Pândava as Kichak-âjit.

The position of the city of Virâta has not been satisfactorily ascertained. Professor Wilson (*s. v.*) says it was "one of the midland divisions of India, probably Berâr." General Cunningham identifies it with Bairât, a place in the North-West Provinces between Jayapûr and Alwar, on an affluent of the Bân-gangâ. He states it to have been the capital of the ancient kingdom of Matsya, which, however, Wilson (*s. v.*) places far to the south-east—about Dinajpûr and Rangpûr. From the General's description it must have been a place of importance, and some of its ruins are associated with the name of Bhima.§ But every place in India to which no other origin can be assigned is attributed to the Pândavas; and Bairât, being only a hundred miles south-west of Dihli, is somewhat near to have afforded a safe refuge to the exiled family.

† I do not recollect to have met with similar tumuli in India, except where serving for sepulchral purposes, like those on the Nilagiri Hills described in the *Transactions of the International Prehistoric Congress for 1868* (p. 250, fig. 10).

§ *Archæol. Rep.* (1862-5), vol. II. p. 244; *Ancient Geog. of India*, p. 337.

|| These were Kirata, Virâta, Mahârâta, Koṅkara, Haiga, Tulava, and Kerala.

¶ In three or four villages of that tîlukâ, the names of

According to South-Indian writers, Virâta is one of the seven Koṅkara|| which Parâśurâma peopled when he recovered them from the sea. This accords better with the pretensions of Hânagal, but the attempts to build anything like a probable theory on such slender foundations is evidently futile.

The position of Hânagal—on the edge of the *Malnad*, or forest region, bordering the Sahyâdri mountains, and on the frontier between the ancient Châlukya and Chêra kingdoms—may have given it some value as a military post when these two powerful states were in the ascendant. But the absence of compactness and solidity in the character of the defences is unfavourable to such a hypothesis. After these the Yâdavas of Devagiri (now Daulatâbâd) and Dwârasamudra, in Maisur, became the ruling powers in the 12th and 13th centuries, and the latter established their authority in the districts north of the Tungabhadra, of which they have left lasting monuments in the neighbouring tîlukâ of Koda.¶

In the inscriptions Hânagal is described territorially as a subdivision of "the Banavâsi Twelve-thousand." Banavâsi was the seat of the chiefs of the Kâdamba family, but these were nothing more than feudatories during the eight or nine centuries of Châlukya supremacy. Tradition, however, states them to have exercised sovereign power before they were reduced to subjection under Kalyân. The town is situated higher up the valley, about twenty or thirty miles south-west of Hânagal, on an affluent of the Wardâ, and is encompassed by lofty grass-grown walls. It contains some fine temples and other remains, which I had not time to examine on a very hasty visit, during which, however, I was fortunate enough to pick up some fine old coins.*

It was known to the Greeks, and is mentioned by Ptolemy in the 2nd century as *Barasura*, *Barasura*, "in the middle of the Pirates' country" (VII. 1, 174). To whomsoever pertaining, therefore, it may be safely inferred that it had

which I forget, but I think Raṭṭahalle is one, there are temples with groups of statuary on the roof, in front of the *gopura*, representing Hoysala Bejjala, the founder of the dynasty, in the act of slaying the tiger from which he derived his name. The figure of the hero is generally bold and spirited, but the tiger is in the form of the mythological *sardula*. I do not recollect to have seen detached groups of statuary in action in other parts of India.

* *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, vol. XIX. O. S. (or III. N. S.) plate VIII. fig. 28, 29.

risen to eminence before the Christian era. Failing to discover the relations of Hānagaḷ with any of these powers, or to conjecture what probable circumstances could have led to the construction of such extensive yet rude works, I am inclined to hazard the conjecture that they indicate the location of a prehistoric pastoral tribe, rich in flocks and herds, who were tempted by ready access to the abundant pasturage of the open country during the monsoon and cold weather, and by the close vicinity of the shelter and grazing-ground of the forest during the hot season, to make it their principal station, while a large enclosed area would be required for the protection of the cattle, as well as the herdsmen and their families in times of danger.

Plate II. is a ground-plan and architectural elevation of the temple of Tārakēśvara,†

one of the finest *Sivālayas* I have seen, drawn by Vināyaka Rāndēsava, the Assistant Revenue Surveyor.‡ If I recollect right, a photograph of it is given in the collection of Drs. Pigou and Neill and Colonel Biggs, published at Bombay, but by no means doing justice to it. It has much the character of the temples in the Fort of Belgaum figured by Mr. Burgess in his first *Archæological Report*, but is finer than any of them. The roof of the central chamber is in the form of a lotus,§ and round the walls of the interior of the same compartment are figures of the guardians of the eight quarters, in bold relief. Two or three remarkable *virgals*, or monumental battle-stones, rest against the outer wall, near the south entrance. They are very large and containing many figures. One of them represents the storming of a fortified place.

TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM JHĀLRĀPĀṬHAN.

BY G. BÜHLER.

The transcripts of the subjoined two inscriptions have been made according to photozincographs prepared by the Editor.*

Colonel Tod† professes to give an analysis of the first. But his Paṇḍits have served him in this instance as badly as usual. The date, as well as the names of the king, of the donor, of the poet, and of the stone-mason, have been given incorrectly. The former is, according to Tod, 748, while the inscription reads *śateshu saptaśu śatśatvāriṃśadadhikeshu*, 746. The name of 'the chief of kings' Tod's Paṇḍit read *Durgāṅga*, while it is plainly *Durgagaṇa* in No. I., and *Durgagaṇa* in No. II., the latter being, no doubt, a mistake. The name of the donor is not *Kayak* (Kyuk), son of *Takyak*, but *Voppaka*, brother of *Deva*. The poet who composed the inscription was not *Gupta*, grandson of *Bhaṭ Ganeśvar*, lord of the lords of verse of *Munda*, and son of *Haragupta*, but simply *Bhaṭṭa Sarvagupta*. The engraver was not *Olak*, but probably called *Vāmana*. The inscription, finally, contains nothing about "the Panda Arjun, and his encounter with the demon

Virodhi," nor any of the other touching sentiments and facts given by Tod. If it were worth the while, it would not be difficult to show how some of the errors committed by Tod's Paṇḍit arose, on which Tod himself further improved.

The inscription No. I., though on the whole well preserved, is in many respects unsatisfactory. We obtain the name of a king about whom I, at least, can ascertain nothing, and his date, which latter offers difficulties on account of the want of an indication of the era. *Saṃvat* 746 *may*, as Tod concluded, have to be referred to the *Vikrama* era of 56-7 a.c., and correspond to 689-90 a.d. But there is no reason to prevent any one from referring the date to the *Śaka* or *Gupta* eras. Again, the rank of the person who built the temple is not clearly stated. I don't think that he really was the keeper of a gambling-house for rich kings. It seems to me much more likely that he was a great court-officer or general who played an important part in the political games of the *Thākurs* or feudatories of *Durgagaṇa*. But what his office precisely was must for the present remain doubtful.

† Tārakēśvara, lit. the lord of Tāra; the *asura* or demon destroyed by Kārtikēśa, the son of *Siva*, hence called Tārakājit.

‡ References to the second plate.—Plan of the temple of Tārakēśvara Deva at Hānagaḷ. A. The ground-plan. B. Elevation, on a scale of one inch to twelve feet.

§ Like that figured in the same Report Plate VI.

* These zincographs were prepared from photographs forwarded to the Editor by Capt. W. Muir of Deoli, and had been taken for him by a local photographer, who white-washed the stone and blackened the letters; and it is just possible a careful examination of the original by a competent scholar might lead to the addition of a few more letters or words, not quite obliterated, at least in the second. Both inscriptions are on one slab—on opposite sides of it.—Ed.

† *Annals of Rājasthān* (Madras ed.), vol. II. p. 672.

[illegible]

The most interesting point about the inscription is the character of the letters. On the whole they show the Gupta type. But the mason has mostly taken out the *kāpas*, i.e. the vertical strokes for the long *d*, and placed them above the letters after which they are to be read,* converting each, in compliment to Śiva, into a diminutive trident. The medial *i* is also highly ornamented. The form of the *jihvāmūliya* which occurs in lines 6 and 7 also deserves attention, as it consists simply of a loop above the *ka*, and exactly resembles the sign still used in the Kāśmīrian Śāradā alphabet.

The inscription No. II. is, unfortunately, in too bad a condition to be translated or to be read entirely.

Transliteration of No. 1.

ओं नमः शिवाय ।†
 रोषकोधप्रवृद्धस्वलदनलशिखाकृतदिकुक्कुरालं
 तेजोभिर्द्वादशाक्षप्रतिराविराभु ।
 ब्रह्मेन्द्रेपिन्द्ररुद्रैः प्रलयभयमूर्तेरीक्षितं भ्रान्तदग्नि-
 ब्रालाटं वः पुनातु स्मरतनुदहनलोचनं विश्वमूर्तेः ॥ [१॥]
 सन्ध्या वासरकामिनी तृपथगा पत्नी तयाम्मोनिधे-
 स्तत्सक्तो न विभेष्यपादपि कथं निर्दग्धकामव्रतिन् ।
 इत्थं वाक्यपरंपराविगर्हणेनोक्तो भवान्या भवो
 भूयाद्वत्कचतुष्टयेन विहसन्नुच्चैर्धरं वः श्रिये ॥ [२॥]
 श्रीदुर्गागणे नरेन्द्रमुख्ये सति संपादितलोकपालवृत्ते ।
 भवदातुगुणोपमानहेतौ सर्वाधर्यकलावि [५] क्षितीह ॥ [३॥]
 यस्मिन्प्रजाः प्रमुदिता विगतोपसर्गाः
 सैव × कर्मभिर्विदधति स्थितिमुज्ज्वरेण ।
 सत्त्वबोधविमलीकृतचेतसस
 विप्राः पदे विविदिषन्ति परं स्मरारेः ॥ [४॥]
 यः सर्जोवनिपालविस्मयकरः सत्त्वप्रवृत्त्युज्ज्वल-
 ब्वालादभ्यतमाक्षतारितिमिरः प्राब्यप्रचेष्टोजसा ।
 शंकामन्धकविद्विषश्च कुरुते तुल्याकृत्स्नित्वादहो ।

* In this respect, as well as in the form of the letters, the inscription resembles the seal of Śārvavarman published in *Jour. R. As. Soc.* vol. III. p. 377.

† V. 1, read with No. II शिवाकान्त°. End of line 1, before राविगुशु°; read दहनं; end of line 2—लोचनं वि°; the first letter of line 3 doubtful. V. 2, read तृपथगा. End of line 3—कामव°, end of line 4—श्रिये. V. 3, °ला° in कला° very indistinct, ° in विपक्षितीह gone. Both restored according to No. II; end of line 5 before क्षितीह. V. 4, end of line 6—सत्त्वव°;—read सत्त्वाव°.

‡ V. 5, read °त्युज्ज्वल°; °प्रचेष्टोजसा°; °कृत्स्नित्वाद° म-
 न्ययः °क्ष° in °तमाक्षतारि° doubtful. End of line 7—विस्म°;
 and of line 8—°विद्वि°. V. 6, perhaps अत्युपायेषु and read
 विविदिष°; end of line 9—आसी°. V. 7, read °सभापतिवृ°;

दग्धोप्येष विशेषविग्रहरूपिर्जात × कथं यन्मयः ॥ [५] ‡
 आसीत्कृतज्ञस्थिरवागनायासितवान्धवः ।
 देवनामान्ययायेषु चित्तस्यादृष्टविक्रयः ॥ [६] ॥
 तस्यावरजः प्रवृद्धकोशक्षितिपशूतसभा-तिज्वदान्यः ।
 विदुषामपि बोध्यकामिधानः स्वगुणैः प्रीतिमुपादधान्यजिह्वः ॥ [७] ॥
 तेनेदमकारि चन्द्रमौलेभवनं जन्ममृतिप्रहाणहेतोः ।
 प्रसमीक्ष्य जरावियोगदुःखप्रतिदेहभूतामनुप्रसक्ताम् ॥ [८] ॥
 धर्मे एव सखाभ्यभिचारी रक्ष-कृतिनस्खलितेषु ।
 प्रायणेप्यनुगतिं विदधाति प्रयं यन्ति सुखदः किमुताभो ॥ [९]
 काले प्रकानमकरन्दसमीतिमत्त-
 भ्रान्तद्विरेफकुलकेलिविरावरम्भे ।
 हृष्टान्यपुष्टमधुरातिकलप्रलापे
 शम्भोज्ञविष्टमिदमल्पपश्मभामं ॥ [१०]
 संवत्सरशतेषु सप्तसु पदवत्सारिद्रादधिकेषु [1]
 प्रणहितसायनमिदं समग्रलोकेश्वरोधिपते ॥ [११]
 रम्यैर्जुनप्रतीतैरथानुगतैरकंकुशैश्च ॥ [12]
 रचितेयमनभिमानाप्रशस्तिरपि भद्रशङ्खगुप्तेन ॥ [१२॥]
 अच्युतस्य सुतेनैव सुवधारेण धीमता ।
 उक्तीर्णा-मणेनेह पुष्टविज्ञानशालिना ॥ [१३]

Translation.

Om! Adoration to Śiva.

1. May that (third) eye in the forehead of the multifarious (Śiva) purify you, the flame of whose blazing fire, when increased by anger and fury, fills the universe, which in splendour resembles the twelve suns which Brahma, Indra, Upendra, and Rudra, filled with the fear of a universal destruction, eye with amazed looks, and which consumed the body of Cupid. §

2. "Sandhyā is the wife of the Sun, Gangā is the spouse of the Ocean; O ascetic, consumer of Cupid, art thou, though thou cleavest to them, not afraid of sin?" Thus chided Bhavāni in successive sentences. May Bhava, who (there-

°त्यजिह्वः; end of line 10—तस्यावर°; and line 11—स्वगुणैः. V. 8, read तेनेदमकारि; end of line 12—प्रस°. V. 9, perhaps रक्षणापि कृतिनः; read प्रेत्य यन्ति; सुखदः °ताभो°. End of line 13—रक्ष°. V. 10, का in प्रकाम and ल in °लतिकलप्र° indistinct. Perhaps मल्पकपदम् to be read, as an additional syllable is required. End of line 14—काले प्र°; and of line 15—हृष्टान्यपुष्ट. V. 11, read संवत् शतेषु as required by the metre; प्रणहितमा°; लोकेश्वरोधिपते°; end of line 16—रम्यैर्जुनैः. V. 12, end of line 17—प्रतीते°.

V. 13, end of line 18—अच्युतस्य सु°; ते in सुतेनै° very indistinct; perhaps सुतेनैव to be read. Read सुवधारेण; धामनेनेह.

§ Metre *śraddhārd*. Twelve suns shine in terrible brilliancy at the end of a kalpa. Upendra and Rudra are avatāras of Vishnu and Śiva.

upon) loudly laughed with his four mouths, long give you prosperity !]

3. When Durgagana was chief of kings, who performed the deeds of a Protector of the world, who caused (all) brilliant virtues to be compared (with himself), who was skilled in the performance of all kinds of deeds exciting wonder in this (world)¶.

4. During whose reign his subjects, in consequence of (the merit of) their actions, lived joyful and free from misfortunes, while the Brahmans, whose minds were purified by the knowledge of Truth, strove for the highest abode of the foe of Cupid,*

5. Who astonished all rulers of the earth, who, strongly and swiftly acting, utterly destroyed the dark cloud of his unhurt foes by the brilliant flame of his bravery, who caused (Śiva) the foe of Andhaka, to doubt on account of his resemblance (to Cupid and to ask), "How is it that Cupid has recovered brilliant beauty, though he was consumed by the fire (of my eye) ?"†

6. Then lived a grateful, truthful man called Deva, who did not oppress his kindred, and who did not lose his presence of mind even in great misfortunes.‡

7. His younger brother was called Voppaka, a bank-holder during the gaming-parties of rich kings, who, being a liberal man and upright, gladdened even the learned by his good qualities.§

8. He, seeing that a chain of sufferings, produced by old age and separation, clings to embodied beings, built this temple of the god who wears the moon on his crest, in order to avoid (future) births and deaths.||

9. Spiritual merit alone is a constant friend, protects the steps of the pious, and follows them even in death. After men die, friends and—how much more!—their possessions leave them.¶

|| Metro śārdūlavikrīḍita. Sandhyā is the goddess of morning, midday, and evening. In Śaiva mythology the jealousy of Pārvatī against this rival and against Gaṅgā, who comes out from the braided locks of Śiva, plays a great rôle, and it is a favourite subject with the poets.

¶ Metro āśvapaṇiparivṛtṭa. The true reading is āśvapaṇa, though under this supposition two letters would have to be changed. The sense remains the same.

¶ Metro āśvapaṇiparivṛtṭa. Sampādita-lokapaṇavṛtte means both 'who acted as protector of the world' and 'who imitated the behaviour of the Lokapālas,' the eight guardian deities of the points of the horizon. Āśvapaṇa—lit. 'who was the cause of the comparing of brilliant qualities'—means that his excellence caused him to be spoken of in the hyperbole called pratipāśāhāra, e.g. that the lion was said to be possessed of courage similar to his, or the moon to possess a brilliancy similar to that of his fame.

* Metro vasantatilaka. Sattatvabodha means, of course,

10. In the season which is delightful on account of the noise made in their sports by roaming bees drunk with copious streams of honey, in which sweet and loud resound the voices of rejoicing Koils, this dwelling of Śambhu was consecrated.*

11. In Śaṃvat 746 this house of the king of the rulers of the Universe was erected.†

12. Bhaṭṭa Śarvagupta composed this laudatory inscription, without any arrogance, in sweet and easy terms understood by the people and pregnant with meaning.‡

13. Vāmana, the son of Achyuta, the clever mason who was able to understand the original, has incised it (in the stone).§

Transcript of No. II.

..... रूपकोभप्रवृद्धबलदनलशिखान्त
दिकुक्कालं तेजोभि ॥ द्वादशाक्षं प्रति विह

..... — १ —

... इन्द्रोपेन्द्ररुद्रेः प्रलयभयमूरीक्षितं
भान्त..... गः झालाटमः पुनातु स्मर-
तनुदहने लोच..... २

..... गा पत्नी तथामोनिधे-
स्तस्के न विमेष्यगाधपि कथं निर्द-
म्भकाम व्रतिन् इत्यं वाक्यपरंपराविग-
हणे..... ३

..... येन विहसन्नुच्चैर्धिर वः श्रिये ॥
श्रीदुर्गागणे नरेन्द्रमुख्ये सति संपादित-
लोकपालवृत्ते..... ४

वधयंकलाविपक्षितीह ॥ यस्मिं प्रजाः
प्रमुपिताः विगतोपपत्ताः सै × कर्मभि
विदधति स्थिति..... ५

..... विप्राः पदे विविदिशति परं स्मरारे
..... सर्वापारि विस्तुयलरः सत्प्रवृ

स्तुब्धलब्धालदग ... ६—

..... स... क विद्विषय कुरुते तुल्य

brahmanjñāna, 'the recognition of the unity of the individual and universal souls.'

† Metro śārdūlavikrīḍita.

‡ Metro anushubh.

§ Metro gityaryā.

|| Metro āśvapaṇiparivṛtṭa. To avoid births and deaths, i.e. to obtain mukti, or final salvation.

¶ Metro gityaryā. 'Protects the steps of the pious' might also be rendered, 'protects the pious (śrīṭinaḥ) when they fall, or fall into danger or sin.'

* Metro vasantatilaka. The season meant is, of course, spring. If āśvapaṇiparivṛtṭa is the correct restoration, it may mean 'to which small wings are attached.'

† Metro upagiti.

‡ Metro giti or udgithā.

§ Metro anushubh. 'Pārvatījñāneśīlāḥ,' lit. 'who is able to completely understand the preceding,' apparently indicates that the mason was a person versed in Sanskrit.

हु...वादहः यडेः पविशेषविषयहृत्ति
 शोननं कथमम ७-
 ८-
 शरणागतानेदीनानि ९

..... समर्थेयि ॥ तस्य वरजः कृ
 ते पितृदेवाचनविप्रपूजा १०-
 भिपूजिता सुतार्थी प्रयातः स्वगृहान्कदमी ११
 प्रहगत १२-

THE WASHERMAN VĪRASENA: A LINGĀYTA LEGEND.

BY THE REV. F. KITTEL, MERKARA.

The following legend is taken from the *Vīra māheśvara Tantra*, which belongs to the *Vīra-gama*, i.e. the Āgama of the *Lingāyatas* or *Lingavantas*. The *Tantra* is composed in Sanskrit verse. Our copy of it is accompanied with a Kannada (Canarese) commentary by Kāśikāṇḍa Channavīra of Kuṇṭikāpura, which, judging by its language, may have been executed in the 15th or 16th century A.D. Regarding the age of the *Tantra* I can only say that it has been written after the time of Basava of Kalyāṇa,* the founder of the *Lingavanta* sect, which is called also the sect of the *Vīraśaivas* or *Vīra-māheśvaras*. The legend adduced forms the 33rd Paṭala (chapter), and immediately follows the *Pañchākshari mantra varṇana*. Among other things it will be seen from it in connection with its commentary that *Lingavanta* nomenclature is rather peculiar. It is further to be remarked that the whole work bears the form of an instruction given by Śiva to Pārvatī.

The Washerman Virasena.

(Gauri says:) God of the gods, lord of the world, thou who givest thy *bhaktas* the desired fruits, what is the fruit of the service (*sevā*) of the *Vīraśaivas*† who use the *mantra* (just described by you)? Tell me all that, O Śambhu, pure one who exceedest the Vedas! (Śiva says:) Dear wife with beautiful brows!

* Mr. Fleet, the publisher of the texts of so many interesting inscriptions of the North Kannada country, would oblige the writer, and certainly many others also, if he would be kind enough to edit, in this journal, all the Śāsanas in his possession that have any reference to this Basava, who revolutionised a large portion of India. The *Channava Basava Purāṇa* (of 1585 A.D.) makes him die 785 A.D.—a circumstance that militates, for instance, against what has been stated by Sir Walter Elliot (*Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, No. 18, January, 1838).

† Commentary: *Lingavantas*.

‡ C.: *kāyaka*, a favourite *Lingāyta* term.

§ C.: who was the grandfather of Mācha. This Mācha, also a *madivāla*, i.e. *raja*, washerman, is one of the old *gana* (host) to which Basava, Channa Basava, and others belong. See Śabdamañi Totaḍeva's *Asaṅkhyāta gana*, v. 84.

|| Āgama-overseer. C.: *śivabhakta*.

¶ C.: a person to whom the *linga* had been tied at his very birth.

There is a story which concerns thy question, forms the basis for the service (*sevā*) ‡ of the *munis*, and pleases the whole world. I shall tell it. Listen!

In Āryāvarta on (the hill) *Svarṇa-khaṇḍa* there shone the town *Ratnamālā-pura*. In that town lived *Virasena*, § a *gaṇādhyaaksha*, || who had overcome the objects (of the world). He was a *prāṇa-līṅgin*, ¶ his body consisted of the *prasādas*,** he was performing a *clean āchāra*, †† was doing (good) works, was an *aṅga* ‡‡ of *Rudrabhadra*, §§ and bore all the characteristics. |||| He was full of glory, ¶¶ possessed much riches, had conquered the three worlds, was a guru,* used to put on *rudrākshas*, protected the true law, and bedaubed himself with ashes. He honoured the *śaṭsthala brahmins*, † knew the meaning of the six circles (*chakra*), ‡ was able to overcome the speeches of antagonists, and had worthy members (of the body). He had attained emancipation (*moksha*), his body consisted of the fundamental science, § he had performed all the vows that become them who desire emancipation, and scrutinized the ceremonial works of them who were engaged in the sixty-three śīlas. || He had got rid of the wrong notions regarding the fetters of the *māyā* life and lust, knew the *mantra*, ¶ was

** C.: the eleven *prasādas* are—*juddha*, *siddha*, *prāsiddha*, *bhakta*, *śamaya*, *viśiṣṭa*, *vikīra*, *ghṛāta*, *pāta*, *bhrīta*, and *āyata*.

†† C.: he attended to the *kāyaka* connected with clean clothes (*maḍi*).

‡‡ C.: *avatāra*.

§§ C.: *Virabhadra*, who was born of the sparks of the eye in Śiva's forehead.

|| C.: he had the 32 *puruṣa lakṣaṇas*.

¶¶ C.: in his body.

* C.: he was an elder amongst the *Vīraśaivas*.

† The *śaṭsthala brahma* comprises the six forms of Śiva called *śadyojāta*, *vāmaḍeva*, *aghora*, *tatpuruṣa*, *līṣa*, and *gopya*.

‡ C.: the six *ādharma chakras*.

§ C.: i.e. *om namaḥ śivāya*.

|| C.: *niyama*.

¶ C.: the *manu* called *om namaḥ śivāya*.

intelligent, and had overcome the eight self-conceits (*garva*). He was the spirit himself (*ātmavant*), ** had a perfect knowledge of the essence (*sāra*), †† and despised all the sciences. ††

Goddess! He had taken upon himself the vow only and solely to wash the trowsers, sashes, coats, jackets, turbans, mattresses, covers, clothes of females, bodices and other clothes of the bhaktas, §§ Bhūrudras, ||| munindras, ¶¶ amala brahmachārins, * Māheśvaras, † prasādins, ‡ prāṇaliṅgins, § śaraṇas, || and aikyas, ¶ (to be short) of all those who attended to the various (*śaiva*) ordinances. Be it in Svarga, Satyaloka, or on earth, the excellent cleverness in cloth-washing** of Virasena, †† of the prasāda brahmachārins, †† of the stern one, §§ was the wonder of the worlds. My dear! The washermen (*raṣaka*) ||| in Svarga, Satyaloka, and on earth desired to see him daily delivering the clean clothes of the Pramathendras, ¶¶ Viraktas, * and Mahātmanas. † Venerable one! in continually washing the various garments of the gurus † in the town § he was serving. The Gaṇanāyakas || perpetually used to stay in the house of stern Virasena, as they were anxious to see his service. All the gaṇādhipas ¶ on my mountain ** heard of the stern one's faithfulness in his vow of clothes-washing, and rejoiced. Gauri! I also, together with thee, was always in his house, and longed continually to see the (*performance of the*) vow which was worthy of the vratins, †† and rest-

** C.: *śivasvarāpī*.

†† C.: he knew the saṅkalpas and viklāpas.

‡ C.: śabda, tarka, vedānta, mīmāṃsā, sāṅkhya, yoga.

§§ C.: the bhaktasthālas, i.e. simply bhaktas.

||| C.: Ārādhyas.

¶¶ C.: Atitis. This is probably a Tadbhava of *atithin*, a person wandering about, = *jaṅama*.

* C.: viraktas and ghaṇa liṅgas.

† C.: māheśvarasthālas.

‡ C.: prasādasthālas.

§ C.: prāṇaliṅgasthālas.

|| People that have taken refuge with Śiva, dependents. C.: śaraṇasthālas.

¶ C.: aikyasthālas. Here is seen the peculiar use that the Liṅgāyats make of the term *sthāla*; in these cases it is simply expletive. As one list of their six *sthālas* (in this case the word is neuter) we have here—bhakta *sthāla*, māheśvara *sth.*, prasāda *sth.*, prāṇaliṅga *sth.*, śaraṇa *sth.*, and aikya *sth.*

** C.: kāyaka.

†† C.: of the maḍivāla (washerman) who was an avatara of Virabhadra.

|| C.: a person who has the firm belief that the ten tirthas and the eleven śeṣas are Śiva.

§§ C.: who was stern on account of the liṅga-box (*koṣṭh*) being tied to his neck, on account of the dangling ends of the sash of the short breeches round his loins, on account of the bundle of washed clothes on his back, on account of the drawn sword in his right hand, and on account of the bell in his left.

ed upon the thought of overcoming the world (*lokajaya*), †† (to see) the virtuous vow (*śilavrata*) §§ of the Mahātman, which (vow) was world-pure, presenting all riches, and glorious.

Thou with the handsome face! When the people and the rulers of the people heard that he did not desire anything mean (*prākṛitānirmoha*), ||| but washed the clothes of the Virasāivas, ¶¶ Gurus, * and Yogins, † they said: "Virasena, at once abandon the talk about refusing to wash the garments of the world, † and wash our garments too!" When Virasena heard the words of these persons of mean bodies (*prākṛitadehin*), § he, who alone was honoured by the world, || was silent for a moment, and then said to the people and the heads of the people ¶: "I am one who is occupied in Virasāiva works, ** am honoured by the world, †† and have a vow. †† How do you dare to ruin my virtuous work among these people §§?" As soon as the people and the princes of the people ||| heard that, they became blind from pride, full of delusion, tormented with immense selfishness, and subject to sinful nature and great wrath. (*But*) thou with the handsome face, what shall I say regarding the ruin of those rulers of the earth who in the world try to ruin the vows of the good? What did the yogin ¶¶ care for the bad language and the power of them who were seized by the darkness of pride?

||| C.: the maḍivālas who have been born of thy rays, O Gauri.

¶¶ C.: bhaktas. The pramathas, with the Liṅgāyats, form a number of primitive divine beings around Śiva, and their gaṇa is different from the gaṇa of the Rudras.

* C.: nirbhādrins. † C.: mahants.

† C.: bhaktamāheśvaras.

§ C.: in the maṭhas and ghaṇas of the town.

|| C.: Liṅgavantas.

¶ C.: pramathanāyakas. ** C.: Rajatagiri.

†† C.: Liṅgavantas of a kāyaka.

|| C.: of overcoming the bhavins (bhavis, i.e., people subject to transmigration, worldlings, non-Liṅgāyats).

§§ C.: kāyaka.

||| C.: that he did not desire to wash the clothes of the bhavins.

¶¶ C.: Liṅgavantas.

* C.: Ārādhyas.

† C.: of the viraktas, atitis, and ghaṇaliṅgas.

‡ C.: of the bhavins.

§ C.: of these people who had bhavitra tanus.

|| C.: by the Liṅgavantas.

¶ C.: who were all bhavis.

** C.: i.e., a Liṅgavanta.

†† C.: am a well-known man among the Liṅgavantas.

||| C.: the śila of the kāyaka connected with clean clothes.

§§ C.: the Liṅgavantas of Ratnamālāpura.

||| C.: who were bhavis.

¶¶ C.: liṅgāṅgasāṅgin.

The princes of the earth, thinking of their power and being full of wrath, wanted to fetter the śivayogin* washerman with a rope, and to bring in forcibly the pure gaṇas (vimalān gaṇān)† that were in his house, and the clothes,‡ all the princes of the earth, in delusion as to their own glory, overlooking the power of Virasena yogin, and becoming angry precipitately and without cause. Thou with the handsome face! Vratins in connection with Śambhu (śāmbhavāḥ)§ certainly ruin the riches, the army and the great power of the princes of the earth who are blind from anger and ungrateful. The enmity which the wicked princes of the earth had against him concerned me too. Because the yogindra of washing|| had mastered the mantra (om namaḥ śivāya) of gurus,¶ he could not listen to the bad advice of the princes of the earth. Everywhere listen to the valid order also of that gaṇādhyaḥksha! **

Hill-born one! The mercenaries of the princes and the followers of the princes; like sparks of fire, fell on Virasena. All the princes,†† with their sharp weapons, overlooking his pure and brilliant glory that consisted in his having mastered the mantra, came to attack him with bows and arrows, accompanied with troops of elephants, many horses and chariots. When the gaṇanāyaka saw the moving of the leaders and soldiers, he spoke jokingly: "A moving of what people is this like a vimāna of the earth?"‡‡ The glorious Virasena, the gaṇādhyaḥksha,§§ all at once took a resolution, made a whip of a washed cloth, and beat the ground with it. They did not pay any attention to the lashes of the whip, which were given by the strong fist of the gaṇādhyaḥksha and were well known and the seat of heroism, but led on the furious elephants, the bodies of which were like mountains, and which ran driven by the hands and feet of the riders. The gaṇeśvara||| thoughtfully looked at the elephants, putting his feet in position and bearing the pure

liṅga on his body. He became full of the wrath of the world-destroying Bhairava,¶¶ quickly struck them with his fists, and put to flight the hundred thousands of elephants. Māheśvari! The mountain-like elephants fell to the ground by his blows as if by Jambhāri (Indra). He pounded with his feet the troop of swooned elephants as if it had been a mass of clouds. Gauri! The intelligent and glorious Virasena without delay pulled out two elephant-tusks, and beat down with them the swift horses. They fell to the ground with their heads cut off. When they saw the horses all fallen, the chiefs of the people and the foot-soldiers moved their feet, and covered him, O Hill-born one, as dark clouds cover the sun, with swords, mallets, lances, sharp spears, darts, clubs, discuses, and hatchets. But he lashed the powerful warriors with his whip. Pārvati! When the god-honoured man saw how the warlike, proud in their Cupid-resembling lustre, low-minded warriors tumbled from their seats on the necks of the elephants, he beat them furiously as the storm beats the clouds. The full-armed warriors with bows, arrows, and many badges of honour, seeing the crowned,* shining,† lordly (vibhu),‡ wind-swift liṅgān-gaṇaṅgin who was boxing with a fist like a thunder-bolt, lost their courage and fled, Śive! Then the warriors on the huge chariots, who were expert in the use of all earthly weapons for cutting and thrusting, and were filled with the intoxication that arises when stepping on the battle-field, covered the washerman as darkness at night covers the moon, him, the gaṇādhyaḥksha,§ who was whooping, dispersing the army, and faithfully keeping his vow, Gauri! O thou with the handsome face! they let a rain of arrows and other weapons fall on him.

This washerman of the śaraṇyas,|| the agent of the pure Brahman (vimalabrahma śādhakaḥ),¶¶ Vira,** the washerman of the Bhārudras,†† beat the army with the points of his

* C.: Liṅgavanta. † C.: Liṅgavantas and Jaṅgamas.

‡ C.: which they had laid down there.

§ C.: Śivaśaraṇas.

|| C.: the ayya (master) of the maṇivāṇas (washermen).

¶ C.: bhaṭṭāśakas.

** C.: the avatāra of Virabhadra.

†† C.: that had come from the 56 countries to do homage (to the ruler of Ratnamāṇḍapūra).

‡‡ C.: like frameworks or biers (māṇḍa) for the corpses of the town.

§§ C.: the master of them who had the kāyaka of washing clothes.

|| C.: Virasena.

¶¶ C.: pralaya Rudra.

* C.: who had a crown of rudrākahas.

† C.: who had a kavacha of rudrākahas.

‡ C.: who was an avatāra of Virabhadra.

§ C.: Liṅgavanta.

|| C.: Śivabhaktas.

¶ C.: nirāṇjana jaṅgama dhātṛi.

** C.: the avatāra of Virabhadra.

†† C.: Liṅgavantas. Compare "bhāṣurvas" as a title of the Brāhmaṇas.

hands as if he were beating clothes, he Virasena, †† who was a lion to the elephant-like furious enemies, a lord of the gods, whose body was purified on account of the cloth-washing, who longed to conquer the world-births, §§ was firm (*sandhana*), ||| consisted of essence (*sārabhūta*), ¶¶ was completing all virtuous acts, was faithful to his vow, possessed great power, had the *śaḍbaindava kriyās*, * was the full-moon for the sea of the bhaktas, † whose members were strewn over with ashes, to the feet of whom Brahmā and Viṣṇu used to make obeisance, who was a Virūpākṣha, † incomprehensible and above the sciences, had mastered all the Tantras, § was consecrated through the everlasting mantra (or *mantras*), had burned Cupid's weapons, used to say over his beads (*akṣhamālājapopetaḥ*), || shone by the greatness of the mantra, possessed a body in which the nine bhaktis had taken refuge (*navabhaktiśaraṅgah*), whose form was a new spectacle, who had the lustre of a crown of honour, wore his sash after the fashion of a boxer, had rid himself of the eight kinds of pride, and possessed bow and arrows in his hands. Gauri! when the men, enraged at the frustration of their desire, saw the calm guru who stood above the guṇas, they said to the gaṇādhīpa: ¶ "Hollo, washerman of the Bhūrudras! ** Thou standest on the head of the worthy people! †† Thou bearest a śaranyaka janma that is highly praised by the world! The furious elephants, warriors on chariots, horses and foot-soldiers that appear in the front, we shall cause to disappear (*līna*) †† in thy body within a moment, certainly!" When the gaṇā-

dhīpa §§ Virasena heard these words of the warriors and the assembled princes, he answered with the following words, which pleased all the good:—"I am under a vow. Without inquiring into my vow, from groundless wrath, you princes of the earth ||| oppose me to the ruin of all." To be sure he did not care for the inimical behaviour of the kings with their elephants, horses, chariots and soldiers, for their inimical behaviour on account of the vows of men under a vow ¶¶ and of mahātmanas, * who may be compared to the wick of the lamps of knowledge. Daughter of the hill-king, devotedly look at the pair of feet that destroys (*even*) victors and bears pure and worthy sandals of wood, (*at the pair of feet*) of them† who offer their bodies, † of the glorious (*prabhāva*), § of the vratins || who belong to the very excellent Viraśaivas! ¶ I shall come with thee.

When the rulers of the earth heard the words of Virasena, who had made the vow of washing the various garments of them whose mind was rooted in the sensible works (*viveka*) ** of which the first one is the piṇḍa†† and the last one the śūnya, †† (*of them*) who desired to overcome the world by means of the beauty of their self-lustre, §§ of the great, ||| of the guṇins ¶¶ and of the best of the gurus, * O Gauri, they blazing up like streams of ghee which fall on flaming tongues of fire, with their bows, arrows, shields and swords, began to beat the gaṇādhīpa† with their fists and hands. As soon as the chief of the washermen† observed that, he began joyfully to fight as if Kāmahara's son

†† C.: Virasena, the father of Kalideva (i.e. hero-king). This Kalideva, like the above-mentioned Mācha, belongs to the old gana-list at the head of which Basava of Kalyāṇa stands. Śabdamañi Toḷadeva's list, verso 59. §§ C.: the bhavins.

||| C. had sthira buddhi.

¶¶ C.: possessed the saṃsārapañcamahābhūtas.

* C.: was united with the arpanas of sadyojāta, vāmadeva, ghoṣa, tatpuruṣa, līna, and gopya, that are united with the six saktis which are called parāchits, e.g. kriyechhāḥṇā.

† C.: Liṅgavantas.

† C.: was a person by whom the objects (of the world) had been dismissed.

§ C.: whose śāhara was the śivaśaktikūmaragurūṣhyāgamavidhāna.

|| C.: who performed japa by means of the rudrākṣa-string. ¶ C.: Liṅgavanta.

** C.: Liṅgavantas.

†† C.: Liṅgavantas.

||| C.: baṇal (Kannaḍa).

¶¶ C.: pramathanāyaka.

§ C.: you kings of the jinamata near the Pāṇḍava at Ratnamālīpura.

¶ C.: e.g. Basava and (his nephew) Channa Basava.

* C.: (Allama) Prabhu, Siddharāma (both of whom are contemporaries of Basava) and other jaṅgamas.

† C.: the Māheśvaras.

|| C.: Their bodies, minds, and riches, on account of śāhara.

§ C.: the viraktas, śrādhya, atitis, and ghaṇaṅgias.

|| C.: the bhaktas, māheśvaras, prasādas, prācāṅgias, śararas, and aikyas (i.e. persons who belong to the six sthalas).

¶ C.: to the Liṅgadhārāsamaya, and stand highest among the thirty Śaivas.

** C.: śila.

†† C.: piṇḍasthala (adding again the expletory sthala).

||| C.: jaṇasūrya sthala. The piṇḍasūryanta sthala form the 101 sthalas of the Liṅgāyatas; see, e.g. Viveka-chintāmaṇi, 2nd prakaraṇa.

¶¶ C.: which is their śāhara.

|| C.: mahants like Ghaṭṭivāṣa, Mudda, and others. Ghaṭṭivāṣa occurs, v. 56, in the Basava gana list mentioned above.

* C.: those who have aṅgagūṇas and liṅgagūṇas.

† C.: of the Ārādhyas.

† C.: Liṅgavanta.

† C.: who was the father of (the above-mentioned) Kalideva, and the grandfather of (the above-mentioned) Mācha.

played with ball. When they saw his glorious form they ran at him as owls at the sun. They who had mounted horses, elephants and chariots, and the foot-soldiers and princes who had escaped with their lives, whilst encouraging one another, fell to the ground under the lashes of the whip in his hand, which was formed of the damp garment, just as doves fall under the strokes of a falcon. The lords of the earth, who were masters (*guru*) in the art of archery, stood with bows bent and arrows put on, and had bodies like Cupid, seeing how he threw down, remained himself unhurt, and destroyed the wicked people,§ how he showed a glorious and terrible fortitude, how his whole body, like that of virágins, had a dark-red lustre, and how

the ends of the bundle which contained the washed clothes of the Bhûrudras|| were tied round his shoulders, became afraid indeed, and all who were assembled there did homage to the sword-bearer, with his pair of arms and thighs that belonged to a body which consisted of an essence glittering like poison, to the figure which was purified through Indra's hymns of praise. And the gods (*sura*) praised him who was endless, without a second,¶ an undivided form (*akhaṇḍamūrti*),** had red hairs as the sun drawn by seven horses, resembled Somakalādhara (*Siva*), bore an umbrella (-like bundle of clothes on his shoulders which was white) as the moon, and was Svayambhu himself.

LEGENDS AND NOTES ON CUSTOMS.

BY THE REV. JOHN CAIN, DUMAGUEDEM.

Legend of Kukkakākāni, Krishna District, S. I.

In the village of K u k k a k ā k ā n i, which is situated between Ganṭur and Mangalagiri, in the southern part of the Krishna District, is a stone very rudely carved. The top part of the stone is broken off, but any one can see at a glance that the figures cut on the stone were a horse-man and two dogs pursuing what seems to be a pig. There is an interesting legend connected with this stone and the village, which, as told at the village itself, is as follows:—

Some two hundred years ago a man went to the village of Koṇḍapalli to borrow some money from a merchant residing there. He promised to repay the money within two or three months. The merchant, however, naturally asked for some better security than his bare word, and to his great astonishment the borrower proposed to leave his favourite hound in pawn. To assure the merchant that the security was good, he turned to the dog and gave it several orders, which were instantly executed. Looking at the dog he then said, "Now I have put you in pawn for two months, and you are *not* to return till the money is paid; so go now and sit down by the merchant." Fully understanding all that was said, the dog immediately left his master and took up his station by the side of the merchant. The latter, now fully trusting the applicant for money, paid it over at once, and the

dog remained with him. Before the two months had elapsed, one night the merchant's house was plundered excepting the room where the dog was tied up. In the morning when the merchant arose he discovered his loss, but going to the dog he unloosed him, and saw to his astonishment the dog set off as if following the scent of the rogues. Thinking that he could not do better than follow the dog, he likewise set off in pursuit, and at last, searching carefully the place where the dog came to a stand-still, he found all his property carefully concealed. On returning home he called the dog, and having written a note saying that he considered that the dog's intelligence and faithfulness had fully cleared off the debt, he tied the note to the animal's neck and sent him off to his master. The latter happened to have been able to procure a sum of money, and was on his way to redeem his favourite, when he met him on the road. Angry at what he thought a breach of honour on the part of the dog, he hastily raised his spear and killed him on the spot. He had no sooner done this than he spied the note, and on opening and reading it he discovered the terrible mistake he had been guilty of. Deep remorse now filled his mind, and turning round he slew his horse and then himself. A very short time after this a *muni* who was living near happened to come by, and saw the corpses, the money, and the note.

§ C. : the army of the Pāṇḍavānvaya.

|| C. : Liṅgarantaa.

¶ C. : had the ekavrataniśthā of being a śivabhakta kulaja.

** C. : had a shoḍaśavarahaprāya.

Being a man of great understanding, he comprehended the whole in an instant, and taking up the money, called in certain masons and had the above-mentioned stone carved in commemoration of the event. He also built a small mud tower around the stone. For some time the spirit of the dog assumed the shape of a *piśāchi* and troubled the passers by, but before very long this ceased. The former name of the village close by was *Kākāni*, but after the above-related event occurred it was changed to *Kukkākāni*: *kukka* is the Telugu name for a dog.

The Razu and the Tiger.

Near Dumagudem a stone with a rudely carved figure of a man seizing a tiger and killing it, was shown to me some three months ago. It was said to have been put up two hundred years ago to commemorate one of the former petty *razus* of Pedda Nallapalli being attacked by a tiger on his way home. A fierce struggle ensued, which ended in the death of both the man and the tiger. Whether similar stones are often to be met with or not I do not know.

Notes on Customs.

After the days of ceremonial uncleanness consequent upon the birth of a child are over, it is the custom amongst many women of the Śūdra caste in the Northern Sarkārs to repair to the banks of a river, or to a tank or well. There they take a lump of mud, and the happy mother shapes it into something like the form of a frog; she then places on its forehead the *boṭṭu* (spot), and having adorned it with turmeric offers the *naiḍvedyam*. This done, she distributes to the friends who have accompanied her a number of small cakes, &c., and then they return home.

I have not been able to find out the reason of this ceremony.

Worship of the Cobra.

Whilst I was living in Ellore Fort, in September 1873, a large crowd of people, chiefly women and children, came in, and visiting every white-ant hill poured upon each their offerings of milk, flowers, and fruit, to the intense delight of all the crows in the neighbourhood, who thereby had a feast which lasted them all the afternoon. The day was called the *Nagula Chaturdhi*—Chaturdhi, the fourth day of the eighth lunar month—and was said to be the day when Vāsuki, Takshakā, and the rest of the thousand *nagulu* were born to Kaśyāpa-Brahma by his wife Kadruva. See the *Skanda Purāṇa*.

The other chief occasions when these ant-hills are resorted to are when people are afflicted with ear-ache, or pains in the eye, and certain skin diseases. They visit the anthills, pour out milk, cold rice, fruit, &c., and carry away part of the earth, which they apply to the troublesome member, and if they afterwards call in a Brāhmaṇa to repeat a *mantra* or two they feel sure the complaint will soon vanish. Many parents first cut their children's hair near one of these hillocks, and offer the first-fruits of the hair to the serpents residing there.

The Erikelavandlu.

The Erikelavandlu women (see *Ind. Ant.* vol. iii. p. 151) are accustomed to honour their lords and masters with the dignified title of 'cocks.'

The Vaddevandlu.

The women of the Vaddevandlu section of the tank-digger caste only wear the glass bracelets on the left arm, as in years gone by (according to their own account) a seller of these bracelets was one day persuading them to buy, and leaving the bracelets on their left arms went away, promising to return with a fresh supply for their right arms. As yet he has not reappeared.

16th March 1876.

CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEA.

To the Editor of the Indian Antiquary.

SIR,—As I was perusing the other day Mr. B. V. Tullu's interesting account of Maheśvara, published at p. 347 of vol. IV. of the *Indian Antiquary*, I found that one of Malhārrao Holkar's attributes (महाराजगणपतयः), occurring in the second śloka of the inscription transcribed from the temple of Ahalyabai (?), was translated thus:—"Hav-

ing an umbrella white as the skin of the snake."

I beg to propose another interpretation of the passage as follows:—"Having the expanded hood of a snake for his umbrella."

I dissolve the *bahūvrihi* compound thus:—

मोगिमोगः (Tip. 6) आतपत्रं यस्य सः

Referring the word मोग to Dr. Benfey's *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, I find that it also means

"a snake's expanded hood;" and in support of this meaning the learned lexicographer refers the reader to *Panchatantra* 53, 6. Bhavabhūti also uses the word in the same sense in his *Nandi* to the *Malati Mādhava* (śloka 1, line 2).

नानावायवर्गं विशति कणिपतौ भोगसङ्कोचभाजि,

where, according to the celebrated commentator Jagaddhara, the word may mean either the *body* of a snake or its *hood*, in support of which he quotes an authority from *Vishva Kōśa*, which is this:—

भोगः मुखे स्थादितवहेष कणकादयोः

The interpretation which I propose above exactly corresponds to the popular tradition indissolubly associated with Malharrao Holkar's name, and running thus:—

Once upon a time as the shepherd-boy Malhārī was tending his flock of sheep, he fell asleep at noon. A serpent seeing the future king of Mālwa suffer from the scorching rays of the sun, immediately crawled out of its hole and expanded its hood over the face of the boy, thereby foreshadowing his future greatness.

The above tradition has also been referred to by Major-General Sir John Malcolm, in his *Memoir of Central India*, chapter VI., on the Holkar family.

In the interpretation which Mr. Tullu puts upon the compound it is necessary to get the word 'white' from without. Besides, I am not sure that the word भोग means 'the skin of a snake.'

Allow me, as I conclude, to thank Mr. Tullu for the service he has rendered to the antiquities of Mahēśvara by visiting them personally and committing to paper his remarks thereon, thereby attracting the attention of the antiquarian to the famous city of the great Sahasrārjuna in times of yore, and of the venerable Ahalyābāi in modern times!

April 13th, 1876.

B.

BUDDHIST MANUSCRIPTS IN CEYLON.

The Ceylon Government has just published a report by the Chief Translator, Louis de Zoyza Mudliar, on four official visits paid by him to the temple libraries in Ceylon for the purpose of estimating the value of the literary treasures of the island. The Mudliar, though a Christian, met on the whole with a very favourable reception from the heads of the various Buddhist monasteries, though we regret that in three or four instances he appears to have been received with a good deal of mistrust, the monks evidently suspecting Government of some design upon their collections. Thus at Galkanda monastery, the librarian, an exceedingly learned Buddhist priest, "politely refused" to allow the Mudliar to inspect the books under his charge, on the plea (which, however, appears to be a just one) that he had already furnished

Government with a complete catalogue of the library. At two important monasteries known to possess wealthy libraries only a few common books were produced, and the Government representative was informed that there were no others. On the other hand, at Mulgirigal temple, from which Turnour obtained his famous MS. of the commentary on the *Mahāvamsa*, the priest in charge "was exceedingly civil and frank, and seemed highly to appreciate the object of Government in wishing to preserve the manuscripts of Ceylon." At a temple near Tangalle the librarian not only produced all his books, but helped the Mudliar to make a catalogue of them. At the Ridi Vihāra, or "Silver Abbey," the manuscripts, some of which were of extraordinary beauty, were preserved in a large box curiously painted and set with precious stones, and from the depths of this box the monks produced "with some pride" a copy of the first volume of Professor Childers's "Pali Dictionary"! At Madawela it turned out that a once magnificent library had been destroyed by the British troops in the Kandyan rebellion of 1818. At Tissawa the monk ruefully exhibited "a heap of fragments of books, of which nothing could be made, said to have been destroyed by the white ants." It is reassuring to hear that they also possessed "a good collection of valuable manuscripts." Mr. de Zoyza—who, it must be remembered, is a Sinhalese, though, like many of his countrymen, bearing a European name—appears to have carried out the task entrusted to him with tact and energy, and his report is interesting reading. The results of his mission are not inconsiderable. Some seventy or eighty rare or unknown MSS. were examined, many of which are likely to be of much historical and philological value. Probably the greatest "trouvaille" is a copy of a Sinhalese gloss on the *Dhammapada*, which, with the exception of the rock inscription at Mahintale, is now the oldest known specimen of Sinhalese prose. It is to be hoped that the Ceylon Government will order the publication of this unique work, which, apart from its literary value, may be expected to throw much light on the growth and history of the Sinhalese language. Incidentally he gives some interesting archaeological notes, and he describes his discovery of several rock inscriptions, one of which has enabled him to correct an error of thirteen years in Turnour's "*Chronology of the later Sinhalese Kings*."—*Pall Mall Gazette*.

DR. GOLDSCHMIDT'S REPORT ON THE CEYLON INSCRIPTIONS.

The following is the text of Dr. Goldschmidt's Report on the Inscriptions in the North-Central

Province. Dr. Goldschmidt's services have been engaged for two years, and he has as yet only examined the inscriptions in a single district of Ceylon.

"In giving a general report of my work on Ceylon inscriptions during the last six months, I cannot attempt yet to connect the data to be derived from them into an historical account.

"A comparatively small portion of the inscriptions has come down to us in perfect preservation, the great majority of them being more or less considerably damaged, partly from natural causes, partly by wilful destruction, the natives supposing the ancient Sinhalese letters, which by a curious misnomer they invariably style 'Nāgara,' to indicate some hidden treasure; thus, at Maṇḍagala (thirteen miles from Anurādhapura, in the jungle near the Kurunegala road), a long inscription was, for this reason only, completely destroyed some twenty years ago.

"My collection now contains eighty-three copies, comprising about one-half of all the inscriptions to be found in the North-Central Province, among which there are three in Tamil, and these not very ancient ones, the remainder being Sinhalese of various ages.

"No inscription of the pre-Buddhistic period having been discovered, we may infer from this fact that the custom, and perhaps even the art, of writing was unknown to the Sinhalese as late as the reign of Devānampiya Tisso; from that time to the present day Sinhalese has always been written in the same alphabet, made known to us in its original shape by J. Prinsep, the decipherer of King Aśoka's inscriptions, but so changed in the course of nearly 2,100 years as to exhibit hardly any trace of resemblance between the ancient characters and the letters now in use.

"By finding out the links between the old Indian alphabet and the modern Sinhalese, I was enabled after a short time to decipher inscriptions of all ages.

"The general squarish or angular character of the old letters is maintained as far down as to the third century A.D., while in the beginning of the eighth century we already meet with an alphabet similar to the rounded modern Sinhalese in its whole aspect. It is in the intermediate time that Sinhalese and Pāli literature seems to have flourished most; this circumstance accounts for the rapid change of the letters, as well as for the great development we find the language to have undergone simultaneously.

"As for the places where inscriptions are found, the old *Vihāras* rank foremost. The most ancient and a very numerous portion of them is seen in

caves, with no more contents, generally, than the dedication by some king or private person of the cave to the priesthood.

"There are nine such caves at Mihintale, two at Wessagiri near Anurādhapura, four near the village Nettukaṇḍa (eighteen miles from Mihintale, in the jungle towards Trinkamali), and some at several other places I have visited.

"The inscriptions at Wessagiri refer to the donation of two caves by the wife and son, respectively, of the Brāhman Halikada, who seems to be the identical Brāhman mentioned in the *Mahāvamsa* as one of the ambassadors sent by King Devānampiya Tisso to King Dharmāśoka. These, together with many other cave-inscriptions in which Brāhman appear as donors, furnish us with the interesting fact that originally the Brāhman caste must have been a powerful and zealous member of the Buddhist community of Ceylon, while later every trace of them is lost among the Sinhalese. Short though they are, and generally devoid of historical interest, these inscriptions are highly valuable as being the oldest specimens of the Sinhalese language; and by comparing them with the contemporary languages of India, known to us by the inscriptions of King Aśoka, as well as with the other Āryan dialects, we obtain the first foundation for a history of the Sinhalese language and an explanation of its grammar.

"There is another large class of inscriptions engraved on huge rocks, generally in the immediate vicinity of ancient *Vihāras*, to which particularly my above remark about wilful destruction of the old letters applies. They also mostly refer to donations to the priesthood, supply of the four requisites (*pratyayas*), construction of a *Vihāra*, *Chaitiyas*, &c., the relationship of the donor being often mentioned. King Gajabāhu (113-125 A.D.), to whom I have reason for ascribing the numerous inscriptions I have found bearing the name of Gāmini Abhaya (while King Duṣṭagāmini, who is known to have styled himself Gāmini Abhaya, must have used a more ancient form of the alphabet), tells us, as far as I have made out, nothing of his wars in India. One inscription found on the Ruwanweli Dāgoba at Anurādhapura, and containing the full name of the king ('Gayabāhu Gāmini Abhaya'), refers to *Vihāras* constructed for the Dakṣiṇa and Abhaya divisions of the priesthood. The names of several tanks are given in another inscription of the same king, engraved on an enormous rock at the entrance to the *Vihāra*, Mihintale, and covering a space of 27' x 14' 6"; but this is unfortunately defaced in too many places to admit of an explanation of the contents. The successor of King Gajabāhu, Malaka Nāga, states on the rock of Mahā Ratnala

(three miles from Anurādhapura, towards Kurunēgala) that he supported the priesthood with rice-gruel (*yāku*) and boiled rice (*bata*). There are inscriptions belonging to King Bātiya Tisso, probably the second of this name, at Galgirikāṇḍa (eight miles from Mādawachhiya, near the road to Jaffna), to Sirināga at Anurādhapura, and to others, written in the same characters.

"I have met with no inscription of the most famous king of the earlier centuries of the Christian era, Śrī Saṅgabo I.; but his murderer and successor, Meghavarna (Golu) Abhaya, has left us an inscription on a rock at Debelgalpansala (about three miles from the road to Trinkamali, eleven miles from Mihintale), and the minister of king Mahāsena, son of Gothābhaya, also called Meghavarna Abhaya, appears in a long but defaced inscription on the Ruwanwēli Dāgoba, Anurādhapura. Then follows a long period, inscriptions of which I have not seen as yet, before we meet with the name of Śrī Saṅgabo III. on several stones. A long inscription of his at Mihintale, written on fourteen broken slabs of stone, refers, as far as it is preserved, to several weights of gold, the use of which I have not been able to make out. A stone pillar at Anurādhapura contains an edict of this king about fishing in Abbayawāwa; another one, found at Mahākalattēwa (six miles from Anurādhapura, on the road to Galkulam), grants freedom from taxation to the place where the king had built a nunnery in honour of his mother; a fourth one was lately found at Goṃkollēwa near Mādawachhiya.

"The four last-mentioned inscriptions are dated, giving the year of the king's reign and the day of the lunar month. It is a matter of surprise to find, in the inscription at Anurādhapura, the king reigning in his nineteenth year, while, according to the *Mahāvamsa*, the time of Śrī Saṅghabodhi III.'s reign did not exceed sixteen years (702-718 A.D.). The full date of this inscription is the thirteenth day of the lunar month Māṇḍindina (March), in the nineteenth year; the date of the inscription at Mihintale, the full day of the lunar month Hihila (i.e. the 'cold' month, November), in the twelfth year; the date of the inscription at Mahākalattēwa, the tenth day of the lunar month Nawaya (February), in the fifteenth year of the reign of Śrī Saṅgabo. The date of the inscription at Goṃkollēwa, which is much defaced, I am not able to make out, except that it was written on a *poya* or full-moon day.

"Besides these, I have copied a great number of other stone-pillar inscriptions of the same and later periods. Often we meet with such pillars having a crow and a dog engraved on one side. This, according to the interpretation of the natives,

means a curse, viz., whoever shall violate this property of the priesthood shall be punished by being re-born in the low condition of one of these animals; often the same pillars show also the signs of the sun, a half-moon, a priest's fan.

"As the inscriptions latest in date copied by me, I have to mention one long one of King Nissanka Malla, the same king whose three inscriptions at Pollanaruwa have been published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (April 1874), found on the Ruwanwēli Dāgoba at Anurādhapura, and one inscription of Lag Vijayasingukit, general to King Salamevan of the Okāka branch, husband to the (famous) queen Līlāvatī, written in the third year of the king's reign, according to which the general had built near Abhayawāwa (now generally called by its Tamil name, Bassāvakkulam) a golden palace (*ruwan-pāya*), which word perhaps may only imply a palace called so after the Ruwanwēli Dāgoba for the use of the priesthood, and furnished them with the four *prayatya*s. The alphabet in which these last-named inscriptions are written is in many letters already almost identical with the modern Siṃhalese alphabet.

"I have examined and copied until now the inscriptions at Anurādhapura, at Mihintale, in the jungle in the direction of Trinkamali, Puttalam, Kurunēgala, near Mādawachhiya on the Central road, and at a few other places.

"Of the ancient and famous Dāgobas at Anurādhapura, only the Ruwanwēli Dāgoba (the Mahāthūpo of the *Mahāvamsa*) exhibits a considerable number of inscribed stones, most of which I have mentioned above; the Thūpārāmo has two short old inscriptions without special interest. The Abhayagiri Dāgoba contains one of the longest inscriptions in the island (written about the tenth century), which is, however, so much defaced that little of its contents can be guessed. The other Dāgobas, the Marichavattī, the Jatavanārāmo Dāgoba, have not yet been cleared. I have not seen as yet, in the inscriptions found near the ancient tanks, any notice concerning the means by which they were constructed.

"As the history of the Siṃhalese kings is comparatively well known from the chronicles, and statements about the culture and the development of the people are rarely met with in the Orient, either in historical books or in inscriptions, the chief result to be derived from a compilation of the Siṃhalese inscriptions will be a linguistic one, as we shall have the rare advantage of tracing out from the inscriptions a continued history of the Siṃhalese language. Siṃhalese is now proved to be a thorough Āryan dialect, having its nearest relations in some of the dialects used

in King Aśoka's inscriptions, as well as in the Mahārāṣṭrī Prakrit of the Indian middle age, while it differs from Pāli in very essential points; many of the difficulties of Sinhalese grammar can already be explained by the help of the ancient inscriptions.

"For the reproduction of inscriptions I have applied paper copies (squeezes) wherever it was possible, but a great number of the inscribed stones, rough, worn out, and defaced, do not admit of this; in many cases the restoration of the old letters is left to conjecture.

"P. GOLDSCHMIDT.

"Anurādhapura, Sept. 2, 1875."

(From *The Academy*, Nov. 20, 1875.)

THE TEXT OF TABARI.

Mr. H. W. Freeland, of Chichester, has forwarded to us the enclosed letter for publication. Mr. Freeland will be happy to receive and transmit to the proper quarter any contributions which the friends of Oriental literature may be willing to make:—

Leyden, November 2, 1875.

"DEAR SIR,—Allow me to give you some more particulars about a great literary undertaking at which I just hinted during your visit to our town: the publication of the large original *Chronology of Tabari*, the greatest historical work of the Arabic literature. The labour being too great for a single person, it has been divided between several scholars, under the superintendence of my friend and colleague, Professor de Goeje. Dr. Barth, of Berlin, will give the introduction and the Biblical history; Professor Nöldeke, of Strassburg, the Sassanides; Professor Loth, of Leipzig, the Prophet and the four first Khalifs; Dr. Müller and Dr. Grünert, of Berlin, and Professor Thorbecke, of Heidelberg, the Omayyades; Professor de Goeje himself the Abbassides. 'It will be,' as Professor Sprenger writes, 'the task of this age to publish a critical edition of Tabari's history, just as well as to explore the interior of Africa and the Polar regions.' In comparison with the two last-named undertakings the expenses of the first will be small. But expenses there will be—not for the printing, Messrs. Brill of this town being quite ready to do that at their own risk, but for the copying of those MSS. which are inaccessible to the editors. In Constantinople those parts have been copied already which are not to be found in Western Europe, with the exception of a fragment, which will still cost 42l. In the British Museum one part has been copied, and another collated. Mr. de Goeje has been able to defray those expenses

by a donation, of 210l. from Professor Stähelin, of Basle, and by a subsidy of 125l. from our Government. What remains is to obtain a copy of the other MSS. in Constantinople and the British Museum, which are to be collated with those we have, and a copy of a complete MS. which exists in Medina. Mr. de Goeje cannot state precisely the sum he wants for all that, but it certainly will be more than what has been already expended. The money is hard to find, and it would be a pity if the splendid undertaking miscarried through a merely pecuniary hindrance. Perhaps you and your friends in England will be disposed to lend a hand towards its realization. English gentlemen have shown very often that to large fortunes they join the love of science and the will to promote it; so I come to you as a beggar, the more confidently as I have no personal interest in the matter, my time being wholly taken up by quite another work. Believe me, dear Sir, yours very truly, R. DOZY."—*The Academy*.

CUSTOM AMONG THE LAMAS OF THIBET.

The following strange custom of the Lamas of Tibet is related in the Report of the Yarkand Mission. At the yearly festival held at Joh, the bones of defunct Lamas, brought from all quarters, are boiled in a huge cauldron. On this occasion two or three aged Lamas always sacrifice themselves by jumping into the boiling liquor, and become converted into soup which is called *sholandrshan*. At the conclusion of the festival, this soup is distributed amongst the attendant Lamas, who fill it into copper vessels covered with red cloth: these copper vessels are called *lonkha*, and are carried about the person, suspended on one side from the girdle. When all these Lamas disperse and return to their own homes, they distribute their store of *sholandrshan* to the other Lamas, who receive it in little copper vessels the size of a thimble, and similar in shape to the *lonkha*. They are always worn slung at the waist from the girdle; and when he eats, the Lama first dips a wood pencil into the little copper bottle, and passes it across his tongue.

THE SNAKES.

The Heaven is your Father, and the Earth is your Mother,
Soma your brother, Aditi your sister, O serpents!
Unseen but all-seeing, remain in your holes, and hiding
Enjoy and amuse yourselves there in your fashion.

Rig-Veda, II. 5. 12.*

* From *Baierlein's Land of the Tamulians*, by J. D. B. Gribble, M.C.S.

REMARKS ON THE ŚIKSHĀS.

BY DR. F. KIELHORN, DECCAN COLLEGE, PUNĀ.

(Concluded from p. 144.)

I NOW proceed to give a short account of the Śikshā treatises which I have been able to collect up to the present. Owing to the imperfect condition of my MSS., this account will not in every case be as accurate or complete as I could wish it to be. I nevertheless venture to hope that it will not be considered entirely useless or void of interest.

1. The AMOGHĀNANDINĪ ŚIKSHĀ belongs to the *Mādhyandina Śākhā* of the *Yajurveda*. My MS. of this work contains 57 ślokas, which, so far as I can make out from the very incorrect text, treat of the pronunciation of certain letters. The treatise begins :—

प्रणम्य शिरसा स्यापुं त्रिलोकेशं त्रिलोचनम् ।

त्रिपुरघ्नं त्रयीमूर्तिं शिक्षेयं क्रियते मया ॥ १ ॥

यथाबुद्ध्या यजुर्वेदे सोमेश्वरप्रसादतः ।

माध्यंदिनस्य शाखायामुदाहरणसंयुता ॥ २ ॥

पाणिनीयादिशिक्षाभ्यो यत्साक्षात्प्रेषलभ्यते ।

शिष्याणामुपदेशाय तदशेषं मयोच्यते ॥ ३ ॥

and it ends :—

लक्षा [लक्ष्या ?] नुसारिणी ह्येषा कृता वाजसनेयिनाम् ।

अमोघनन्दसंज्ञेयं पूजनीया मनीषिभिः ॥ ५७ ॥

The Library of the Asiatic Society at Calcutta possesses a work entitled *Amoghānandini Śikshā*, which contains only 17 ślokas, all of which are found in my own copy. Dr. Rājendralāl Mitra (*Notices of Sanskrit MSS.* No. I. p. 72) mentions another work which bears the same title, but contains 120 ślokas.

2. The ĀPIŚALĪ ŚIKSHĀ treats of the classification and pronunciation (*sthāna* and *prayatna*) of the letters of the alphabet. It is written in prose, but ends with three ślokas which give a résumé of the preceding prose portion. My MS. contains 44 lines each of about 42 aksharas.—A very large portion of this Śikshā is quoted by Hemachandra in the commentary on his Sūtra तुल्यस्थानास्ययत्नः स्वः

* See also Jinendrabuddhi's *Kāśikā-vivaranapanjikā* on P. I, 1, 9, where the *Āpīśalī Śikshā* has likewise been made use of.—Patanjali, in his comment on the *Vārttika* सिद्धमनस्येति on P. I, 1, 10, appears (in the words सृष्टं करणं स्वशानाम् । इष्टसृष्टमन्तस्थानाम् । विवृतमृष्टमन्तः

(तथा चापिशलिः शिक्षामधीते । नाभिपदेऽन्त्ययत्नपेरितः प्राणो नाम वायुरित्यादि), and its contents are given in the *Śikshādhyāya* of the *Bharatabhāṣya* mentioned above.*

3. The ARANYA-ŚIKSHĀ treats chiefly of the peculiar accentuation of Vedic passages met with in the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*: it professes to have been based on nine other Śikshās. It begins :—

गणपतिमभिवन्द्यावदुजातामयघ्नं

स्वरपदमिति वर्णोद्बोधनं (?) शीलनेन ।

क्षितिसुरगणहेतोरेतदारण्यशिक्षा-

मृतमिह नवशिक्षावारिधेरुद्धरामि ॥

आद्युदात्तानि वाक्यानि चैकद्वित्र्यादिसंख्यया ।

विविधानि तु वृन्दानि विस्पष्टान्त्र कृत्स्नशः ।

उदाह्रियन्तेऽध्येतॄणां संदेहानां निवृत्तये ॥

आदिमध्यान्तग्रहणं क्रियते यत्र तत्र तु ।

वाक्यानामिति मन्तव्यं श्रुतिस्त्वेकश्रुतेरिति ॥

भवेतामाद्युदात्तौ च यत्तच्छब्दौ तु सर्वतः ।

योषित्प्रतिमया चेम इमे निसं परं न चेत् ॥

and it ends :—

इत्थं निरूप्य सकलं स्वरवर्णजालं

प्रश्नेषु पञ्चसु मुदे निगमे पठूनाम् ।

आरण्यके यदिह किञ्चन न न्यरूपि (?)

तद्द्विमादिरखिलं स्वयमूहनीयम् ॥

This Śikshā is accompanied by an anonymous commentary. Both the text and the commentary fill in my MS. 60 pages, each of which contains 9 lines with about 35 aksharas in each line.

4. The KEŚĀVA-ŚIKSHĀ belongs to the *Mādhyandina Śākhā* of the *Yajurveda*. It treats, like the *Pratijñāsūtra* 9-27, of the pronunciation of the letters क्, ख्, ए (to be pronounced as क्ख, e.g. इवे = इक्खे), र् (to be pronounced as रे, e.g. दशत = दरेशत), ल् (to be pronounced as ले, e.g. शतवल्स = शतवले-श), Anusvāra, the doubling of consonants, the

स्वराणां च विवृतम् ।) to quote a Śikshā which may have resembled the *Āpīśalī*,—unless indeed the rules given by him should have been quoted from the *Ātharvaveda-pratīśākhya* I, 29-32 (सृष्टं स्वशानां करणम् । इष्टसृष्टमन्तः-स्थानाम् । उष्मणां विवृतं च । स्वराणां च ।).

pronunciation of क (to be pronounced as रे, e.g. कृष्ण = क्रेष्ण), and the somewhat prolonged pronunciation of short vowels. Altogether this treatise contains nine sūtras called *Mādhyandiniyaveda-paribhāṣāṅkasūtraṇi*, which are accompanied by a full commentary and the contents of which are repeated in six kārīkās. The following are the two first sūtras and the first kārīkā:—

पदादौ पूर्वाहल्योर्द्वयोर्च्चारौ. संपूर्वयोश्च च्छन्दसि

॥ १ ॥

e.g. व्यावः । यज्ञपतिः । संयौमि ॥

पदादान्तमध्य ऋहरेफयुग्यस्य यश्च ॥ २ ॥

e.g. सामान्युग्भिः । मद्यम् । धुर्यौ ॥

पूर्वाहल्योः पदादौ च वेदे संपूर्वयोर्द्वयौ (?) ।

यस्यर्हरेफयुक्तस्य यः पदादान्तमध्यके (?) ॥ १ ॥†

My MS. begins:—

नन्वा गणपतिं देवं परिभाषाङ्कसूत्रकम् ।

उच्यते केशवेनेदं वेदाध्यायिसुखाप्तये ॥

and it ends:—

इति माध्यंदिनीयवेदपरिभाषाङ्कसूत्राणि ॥ इति

केशवशिक्षा समाप्ता ॥

The Calcutta MS., however, which I have compared, ends as follows:—

इति माध्यंदिनीयवेदपरिभाषाङ्कसूत्राणि समाप्तानि । इति केशव-
कृतनवसूत्रव्याख्या समाप्ता ।

It thereupon repeats the nine sūtras, and concludes with the words इति कात्यायनाचार्यकृतनवसूत्राणि समाप्तानि, ascribing thereby the nine sūtras to Kātyāyana, and only the commentary and the six kārīkās to Kēśava.

5. The CHĀRĀYAṆĪYA-SIKSHĀ or *Chārāyaṇī Mahāśikshā*, or, as it is several times called in the body of the work, the *Chārāyaṇīyākam*, consists of 10 adhyāyas with 335 ślokas, if my calculation be correct. The expression एतच्चारय-

† Instead of य a Calcutta MS. which I have compared reads everywhere क. —I am enabled to state on the best authority that all the rules laid down in the *Kēśava-sikshā* are strictly observed by the followers of the *Mādhyandina Śākhā*.

‡ Adhyāya III, 2:—

तथा सनत्कुमारः ।

स्वरेऽक्षरमिति प्राहुराचार्याः शब्दचिन्तकाः ।

समुदायः पदे तेषां तच्चतुर्था व्यवस्थितम् ॥

नेमैतम् which occurs in the second adhyāya shows that this treatise professes to have been composed by Chārāyaṇi. It quotes Vasishtha and Sanatkumāra,† and its contents are as follows:—

Adhyāya I, 64 ślokas: On the classification and pronunciation of the letters.

A. II, 57 śl.: On the combination of letters.

A. III, 37 śl.: On the combination of words; ends:—

संहितायां विधिः प्रोक्तः कवीनामनुकम्पया ।

पुरा सकृद्बुधैर्जुष्टः सैनिकैरिव केशवः ॥

A. IV, 28 śl.: On the study and recitation of the Veda.

A. V, 18 śl.: On the different Svaritas, &c.

A. VI, 19 śl.: On Virāma, the Mātrās, and Vivṛittis (containing an enumeration of metres used in classical Sanskrit: Vasantatilaka, Mālini, Mandākrānta, &c.).

A. VII, 8 śl.: On the Vṛittis (drutā, &c.).

A. VIII, 46 śl.: On the Piṇḍas, Svара-bhakti, and Ranga.

A. IX, 18 śl., and A. X, 40 śl.: On Krama, &c.

The MS. which I have used was procured by Dr. Bühler in Kāshmir; it begins:—

ओं नमो नारायणाय ।

ओं प्राक्प्रपद्ये विभुं भक्त्या सर्वलोकपितामहम् ।

शिक्षां साक्षात्प्रवक्ष्यामि तेनैवालपितामहम् ॥

चारायणीं महाशिक्षां प्रवक्ष्याम्यनुपूर्वशः ।

निबोधत बुधैर्जुष्टां नित्यं बाह्मलशान्तये ॥

वर्णानां चैव संख्यानं संज्ञा स्थानं पृथग्विधम् ।

स्वराः सव्यञ्जनाश्चैव तेषां भेदमशेषतः ॥

and it ends:—

षट्पञ्चाशत्प्रथमे वै त्रिंशच्छ्लोका द्वितीयके ।

तृतीये त्रिंशच्चैवोक्ता एकेनोनाश्वतुर्यके ॥

षट्त्रिंशत्पञ्चमे प्रोक्ताः सप्त चत्वार एव हि ।

चत्वारिंशदष्टमे वै नवमे तु त्रयोदश ॥

नासिकाख्याभिके (!) चोमे नैपातिकमनन्तरम् ।

उपसर्गश्चानिष्पत्तिः पदमेवं चतुर्विधम् ॥

नासिके (!) सविता व्योम वृत्तिव्याख्यातिकं स्मृतम् ।

पर्युपेन्युपसर्गश्च चर्वाहते निदर्शनम् ॥

नाम वायव्यमैन्द्रं वा सौम्यमाख्यातमिष्यते ।

आग्नेयस्तूपसर्गः स्यान्निपातो वारुणः (!) स्मृतः ॥

भारद्वाजकमाख्यातं भार्गवं नाम गोलतः ।

वासिष्ठा उपसर्गास्तु निपाताः (!) काश्यपाः स्मृताः ॥

चत्वारिंशत्तु दशमे श्लोका वै परिकीर्तिताः ॥
 एकत्रैव तु संख्यातं श्लोकानां तु शतत्रयम् ।
 चत्वारिंशदधिकं वो (!) शास्त्रं चारायणीयकम् ॥
 अमत्सर इदं देयं मत्सरे न कदाचन ।
 मत्सरे तु भवेदन्नं न्युप्तं बीजमिवोषरे ॥
 य इदं पठते निश्चयं यश्च बाध्यापयेद्दिनम् ।
 अस्यायं बुध्यते यो वै ब्रह्मलोकं स गच्छति ॥
 इति चारायणीयशिक्षायां दशमोऽध्यायः ॥

6. The NĀRADĪ ŚIKSHĀ has been described by Professor Haug, l. c. p. 57, and by Dr. Burnell, *Catalogue of a Collection of Sanskrit MSS.*, p. 42. It belongs to the literature of the *Sāmaveda*. It consists of two prapāthakas, each of which is divided into 8 chapters. At the end of my MS. the number of ślokas is stated to be 240, which will be found to be fairly correct when one counts the prose portions which occur in the 3rd chapter of the first prapāthaka in the way native writers do. The authorities quoted are :—Nārada, Kāśyapa, Tambura, Somaśarma, Vasishta, and the old (?) Audavraji (Prāchinavavraji).

I do not think that there is anything to prove the existence of two different recensions of this Śikshā. All that appears from Dr. Burnell's description of the work is that in his MS. the first chapter of the second prapāthaka is omitted. The end of the first prapāthaka shows that the second prapāthaka must commence with the verse with which Prof. Haug's and my own MS. make it commence, and which my MS. gives correctly thus :—

सयकारं सर्वं वापि अक्षरं स्वरितं भवेत् ।
 न चोदात्तं पुरस्तस्य जायः स्वरः स उच्यते ॥

I have not been able yet to procure a copy of Śobhākara's *Nāradyāsikshā-vivaraṇa*, although several MSS. of it seem to be in existence. That it cannot be a very modern work would appear from the fact that a *Nāradyāsikshā-vivaraṇa* is quoted already in the *Bharatabhāṣya* (p. 166 of my MS.).

7. The PĀNINIYA-ŚIKSHĀ has been edited by Professor Weber. I have procured a very modern and worthless anonymous commentary of the so-called Yajus version of this Śikshā, entitled *Śikshā-panjikā*, which commences thus :—

पातु वो निकषग्रावा मतिहेमः सरस्वती ।
 प्राज्ञेतरपरिच्छेदं वचसैव करोति या ॥ १ ॥
 छन्दःकल्पनिरुक्तानि विवृतानीह सूरिभिः ।
 शिक्षा ल्विवृता यस्मात्तस्मात्तां विवृणोम्यहम् ॥ २ ॥

Verses 6 and 15-22 the author has left unexplained; the authorities he quotes are :—Andavraji (to judge from the quotations, author of a Śikshā), Nārada (the *Nāradyā Śikshā*), Pāṇini, a *Prātisākhya*, the *Bhāṣyakāra* (Patanjali), Manu, a *Vishṇupurāṇasthasahasranāmabhāṣya*, Vyāsa, the *Śabdakaustubha*, the *Śabdendusekhara*, Śaunaka, Śrīdhara, and Suyajna.

8. The BHĀRADVĀJA-ŚIKSHĀ, which belongs to the *Taittirīya-veda*, differs altogether from the Śikshās described above. It has nothing whatever to do with the classification and pronunciation of the letters, nor with the manner of reciting or accentuating the Vedic texts, but, like the *Siddhānta-śikshā*, it lays down empirical rules by which to distinguish, and to employ in their proper places, words of similar sound or form. It teaches, e.g., where to read वृजन and where वृजिन, where सुवृत्त and where सुवृति, आहुत and आहुति, परश्च and पश्च, अकारिणम् and अकारिणम्, वधाति and वधति, विट्कृ and विट्कृ, ददाति and दधाति, सौम्य and सौम्य, &c. The object of this, as well as of the *Siddhānta-śikshā*, appears to be no other than to keep the text of the *Taittirīya-saṃhitā* free from wrong readings.

The number of ślokas contained in this Śikshā is stated in my MS. to be 133; the text is accompanied by an anonymous commentary which together with the text fills 152 pages, each containing 8 lines of about 38 aksharas.

My MS. begins :—

ओं गणेशं प्रणिपत्याहं संदेहानां निवृत्तये ।
 शिक्षामनुप्रवक्ष्यामि वेदानां मूलकारणम् ॥

श्रीगणाधिपतिमानस्य वेदानां सन्ध्यायसहितानामादिकारणम्
 एषु पदेषु संदेहा वृत्तान्ते तेषां संदेहानां निवारणाय शिक्षां प्रवक्ष्यामीति भारद्वाजमुनिना प्रणीतम् ॥

वृजने [MS. वृजने] ज उदात्तश्चेदकारेण सहोच्यते
 [MS. सहाच्यते] ।

एतदारभ्य अस्वरसहितानि पदानि कमेण कथ्यन्ते । वृजनशब्दे
 [MS. वृजन०] जकार उदात्तश्चेत् जकारोऽकारसहितो
 भवति । यथा । वृजन [MS. वृजिनं] दीहसे ।...जकार उदा-
 त्त इति किम् । वृजिनमनृतं दुर्धरितम्.....॥

and it ends:—

यो जानाति भरद्वाजशिक्षामर्यसमन्विताम् ।
स ब्रह्मलोकमाप्नोति गृहमेधी गृहं यथा ॥ १३३ ॥

9. The MĀNDŪKĪ ŚIKSHĀ has been described by Professor Haug, *loc. cit.* p. 55, and by Professor Weber in the appendix to his essay on the *Pratijñāsūtra*, p. 106. It forms part of the literature connected with the *Atharvaveda*. It contains 16 chapters with altogether 184 verses, and cites, besides Maṇḍūkā (मण्डूकस्य मतं यथा), Kāśyapa.

10. The MĀDHYANDINĪ ŚIKSHĀ contains 25 verses. V. 1-14 lay down the same rules which are given in the *Keśava-śikshā*, and the remaining verses treat of the pronunciation of Visarga and the motions of the fingers which are to accompany its pronunciation.

My MS. begins:—

अथ शिक्षां प्रवक्ष्यामि माध्यंदिनमतं यथा ।
वकारस्य खकारः स्यादक [MS. °दुक°] योगे तु नो
भवेत् ॥ १ ॥

and it ends:—

दीर्घो (!) ऽपि चोभयो (!) क्षेप इति शास्त्रव्यवस्थितिः ।
इति चोष्मा प्रयोक्तव्या (!) हीहुहेहो निदर्शनम् ॥ २५ ॥

11. The YĀJNAVALKYA, or KĀTYĀYANA-ŚIKSHĀ. Of this work I possess three different MSS., of which two generally agree with each other, while the third appears to contain a somewhat different recension of the text. In the last the work is described as *Yājñavalkyoktā Śikshā*, while in the first it is called *Yājñavalkyavirachitā Erihachchhikshā*, and in the second, which is slightly defective, *Kātyāyana-śikshā*. Both as regards its contents and the number of ślokas, this treatise resembles the *Māṇḍūkī* more than any other Śikshā. Yājñavalkya himself is cited at the beginning, and other authorities quoted are Somaśarma and Śaunaka and others.

The MS. of the *Yājñavalkya-Śikshā* begins:—

श्रीयाज्ञवल्क्याय नमः ॥

अथातस्त्रैस्वर्यलक्षणं व्याख्यास्यामः ।

उदात्तश्चानुदात्तश्च स्वरितश्च तथैव च ।

लक्षणं वर्णयिष्यामि दैवतं स्थानमेव च ॥

That of the *Bṛihadīyājñavalkya-śikshā* :—

अथातस्त्रिस्वरलक्षणं व्याख्यामः ।

उदात्तश्चानुदात्तश्च . . . स्थानमेव च ॥

That of the *Kātyāyana-śikshā* :—

याज्ञवल्क्य उवाच । अथातस्त्रैस्वर्यलक्षणं व्याख्यास्यामः ।

उदात्तश्चानुदात्तश्च . . स्थानमेव च ॥

12. The LOMASĪ ŚIKSHĀ or *Lomasīnyā*, as it is also called in my MS., appears to belong to the *Sāmaveda*. It is said to have been composed by Gargâchârya, and it cites Tumbura (तुम्बुरस्य मतं यथा). It consists of 8 khaṇḍas with altogether about 80 verses. The incorrect state of my MS. prevents me from giving an accurate account of the contents of this treatise, but I may state that it treats in the usual fashion of the Mātrās, the doubling of consonants, Kampa, Ranga, Svarabhakti, &c. It refers distinctly to the Sāmāni, Sāmāgās, and Ārchika.

My MS. begins:—

ओं लोमशिण्यां प्रवक्ष्यामि गर्गाचार्येण चिन्तिताम् ।

साभिधानां यथोक्तां त्वाचार्यवचनं यथा ॥ १ ॥

हस्त्वं दीर्घं तथा वृद्धमभिगीतं तु सामगाः ।

मुहुर्मृदङ्गवत्कुर्युः सांपातोत्थानसंज्ञवत् ॥ २ ॥

and it ends:—

शून्यगृहे पिशाचस्तु गर्जते न च दृश्यते ।

एवं यकारा वक्तव्या धियग्निर्ज्म निदर्शनम् ॥

13. The VĀSISTHA-ŚIKSHĀ.—Of this treatise I have not been able to procure more than a few ślokas, which together with an anonymous commentary fill 7 pages each containing 8 lines with about 30 aksharas in each line, and which treat of the doubling of consonants and of Svarabhakti.

My MS. begins:—

परं [MS. स्वरं] स्वराच्चानुस्वाराद्व्यञ्जनं व्यञ्जने परे ।

स्वरात्परं [MS. स्वरात्स्वरं] व्यञ्जनं व्यञ्जने परे द्विरूपमिष्यते ।

अनुस्वाराच्च परं व्यञ्जनं व्यञ्जने परे द्विरूपमिष्यते ॥

द्विरूपमिष्यते रेफात्स्वरपूर्वात्परं च तत् ॥

स्वरपूर्वादेरेफात्परं च तद्व्यञ्जनं द्विरूपमिष्यते ॥

14. The VĀSĀ-ŚIKSHĀ is the longest and certainly one of the most important and in several respects most interesting Śikshās which I have examined. I have stated already above that it so closely follows the *Taittirīya-prātisākhya* as to be little less than a metrical version of the latter, and I trust that my statement will be borne out by the following short description of its contents. To facilitate a comparison

with the *Taittirīya-prāṭisākhya*, I have cited, after the several verses quoted below, the rules of the *Prāṭisākhya* on which they appear to have been based.

The first chapter of this *Śikshā* treats of *Samjñās*, or technical terms, and begins as follows:—

श्रीवासुदेवं वरदं प्रणम्य

श्रीमद्रणेशं वचसां च देवीम् ।

शिक्षां प्रवक्ष्ये श्रुतिकारणाङ्गं

सुबोधकं लक्षणशीर्षभूषाम् ॥ १ ॥

अथ स्वरादिसंज्ञाश्च तत्प्रयोजनमेव च ।

तत्फलं च प्रवक्ष्यामि विदुषां प्रमुदे यथा ॥ २ ॥

अवर्णवर्णानुवर्णं ऋवर्णावृत्तमेत्त्वमेत ।

ओदौद्रङ्गौ क्रमादौ तु स्वराः स्युर्व्यञ्जनान्यथ ॥ ३ ॥

(I, 5-6.)

कादिमान्ताः स्मृताः स्पर्शा अन्तस्था यदिवात्तराः ।

जिह्वामूलादिहान्ताश्च षड्भूमाण उदीरिताः ॥ ४ ॥

(I, 7-9.)

स्पर्शानां पञ्च पञ्च स्युर्वर्गा वर्गोत्तरो ऽस्य च ।

तत्प्रथमादिसंज्ञाः स्युः पञ्चमस्योत्तमः क्रमात् ॥ ५ ॥

(I, 10-11 ; 27.)

अघोषाः स्युर्विसर्गोष्मद्वितीयप्रथमान हः ।

गजडाद्या दबाद्याश्च घोषवन्तः परे हलः ॥ ६ ॥

(I, 12-14.)

सविशेषस्तु यस्तस्य ज्ञेयं वर्णान्तरं बुधैः ।

तुल्यरूपं सवर्णं स्यालोपः स्यादप्यदर्शनम् ॥ ७ ॥

ऋवर्णस्य लृवर्णस्य ष्टकसंज्ञाः प्रकीर्तिताः ।

अवसाने ऽन्यवर्णाश्च नादा इति बुधैः स्मृताः ॥ ८ ॥

आख्यानेकस्य वर्णोऽथः स्वरस्य कारतोत्तरः ।

भवेदकारः कारेज्जं हलां रस्त्वेकगो भवेत् ॥ ९ ॥

(I, 16-21.)

अदन्तं ग्रहणं वा स्यात्संदेहे संनिधिं तयोः ॥ (I, 22, 25.)

निर्देशाः कारमुख्याश्चान्वादेशावपि चेत्यथः ॥ १० ॥

(XXII, 4-5.)

त्वयैवेति निवृत्तिस्यो ऽधिकारश्चावधारकः ।

अनमान निषेधे स्युर्वेति वैभाषिको भवेत् ॥ ११ ॥

(XXII, 6-8.)

संमिश्रः स्यादथैकत्वं संबन्धः श्रवणे द्वयोः ।

अनेकव्यञ्जनश्चिष्टः संयोगश्च प्रकीर्तितः ॥ १२ ॥

वर्णभावो विरामश्चावसानं सार्धमावकः ।

नानापदवद्विज्ञं चासंख्याने चाद्यग्रहः ॥ १३ ॥

(I, 48-49.)

A large portion of this first chapter treats of *Pragrahas*, and the rules which are given on this subject agree entirely with those contained in chapter IV. of the *Taittirīya-prāṭisākhya* ; the introductory verse reads thus:—

अथ प्रग्रह एवान्त उच्यते ऽवग्रहो न चेत् ।

उकारः स्थित ओकारो ऽप्यकारव्यञ्जनोत्तरः ॥

(IV, 1-6.)

The first or *Samjñā-prakaraṇa* is followed by several chapters which treat of the relation to each other of the *Pada* and *Samhitā-pāṭhas* and contain rules of *Sandhi*. These again are followed by the *Svara-dharma-svarūpa-prakaraṇa* and the *Svara-samhitā-prakaraṇa*, on the accents and particularly the different *Svaritas* ; and by the *Svara-nyāsa-prakaraṇa*, on the denotation of the accents by means of the fingers, which last chapter has nothing to correspond with it in the *Prāṭisākhya*. The following chapters treat of the doubling of consonants, and of augments ; the first of them begins:—

स्वरपूर्वमियादित्वं व्यञ्जनं व्यञ्जनोत्तरे ।

लपूर्वे च वपूर्वे च द्वित्वं स्पर्श उपानुयात् ॥ (XIV, 1-2.)

Then follows a chapter on syllabication (*Taitt. prāt. XXI*), called *Anga-samhitā-prakaraṇa*, with a full description of *Svarabhakti*. This again is followed by the *Sthāna-prakaraṇa*, corresponding with *Taitt. prāt. II*, and this by the *Kālanirṇaya-prakaraṇa*, on the *Mātrās*, on *ओन्*, and on the three *Vṛttis*. The two following chapters, with which the treatise concludes, appear to be called *Savarṇa* (?) and *Uchchāraṇa-prakaraṇa*.

The *Vyāsa-śikshā* appears to me to be a work of very great importance for two reasons : firstly, because it shows to us, more clearly than this is done by any other *Śikshā*, how *Śikshās* are based on and have their origin in the *Prāṭisākhyas* ; and, secondly, because, being older than the *Tribhāṣhyarutna*, it cannot but be of great value for the interpretation of the *Taittirīyaprāṭisākhya*.

The text of this *Śikshā* is accompanied in my MS. by a full commentary, called *Vedatāijasa*, which begins thus:—

वागीशप्रभृतिस्तुयं प्रणम्याहं गणाधिपम् ।

करोमि व्यासशिक्षाया व्याख्यानं वेदतैत्तिषम् ॥

Bhāradvāja, Vyāsa, Pāṇini (?), Śambhu, Kauhala, Vāsishtā, Vālmiki, Hārta, and Baudhāyana, besides the *Taittirīya-prāśākhya* with the *Tribhāshya-ratna* and other works. The commentator on his part quotes the *Bhāradvāja* and the *Sarvasammata-śikshā*, the *Vaiṣṇavābhīdhānakōśa*, *Gangeśa*, &c.

The two first verses of this Śikshā, together with the commentary on the second verse, are as follows:—

संप्रणम्य सकलैककारणं

ब्रह्मरुद्रमुखमौलिभूषणम्।

लक्षणं श्रुतिगिरां विलक्षणं

श्रीनिवासमखिना प्रणीयते ॥ १ ॥

पूर्वशिक्षाः परामर्श्य प्रातिशाख्यं च सर्वशः।

सिद्धान्तशिक्षां वक्ष्यामि वेदभाष्यानुसारिणीम् ॥ २ ॥

भारद्वाज्यासपारि (!) शंभुकौहलवासिष्ठवाल्मीकिहारीतवैभा-
यनोक्तशिक्षानवकं परामर्श्य तदनुक्तसंदिग्धपदानि पर्यालोच्य
विभाष्यरवैदिकामरणादिव्याख्यानपुरःसरतया कृत्स्नं प्राति-
शाख्यं च परामर्श्य वेदभाष्यानुसारिणीं भट्टभास्कराद्यादि-
शोधनजन्यतया विश्वसनीयां दुष्पाठपरित्यागे निष्क्रम्यप्रवर्ति (!)
हेतुभूतां च सिद्धान्तशिक्षां वक्ष्यामि । सिद्धान्तशिक्षेत्यन्वयसं-
ज्ञाविज्ञानात्प्राचीनप्रवचनानां पूर्वपक्षत्वं सूचितम् । न रेफे वा
हकारे वा द्विर्भागे जायते इतिदिग्वादिशिक्षावचनानां प्राति-
शाख्यविरोधो ऽस्ति नेह तथेति भावः ॥

The Śikshās or works on Śikshā which are mentioned in the above, but copies of which I have not yet been able to procure, are—

18. The *Ātreya-śikshā*.

19. The *Andavrajī-śikshā* (?).

20. The *Kālanirnaya-śikshā*; this is probably the work quoted in the *Tribhāshya-ratna*, XVIII. 1.

21. The *Kauhala-śikshā*.

22. The *Parāśara-śikshā*.

23. The *Baudhāyana-śikshā*.

24. The *Lakshmi-kānta-śikshā*.

25. The *Vālmiki-śikshā*.

26. The *Śambhu-śikshā*; I believe this to be the title of the so-called Rig-version of the *Pāṇiniya-śikshā*.§ The lines quoted in the commentary on the *Vyāsa-śikshā* from the *Śambhu-śikshā* are—

मनः कायाभिमाहन्ति स प्रेरयति मारुतम् ।

मारुतस्तूरसि चरन्मन्द्रं जनयति स्वरम् ॥

§ See the expression शम्भुमते in v. 3 of the Rig-version of the *Pāṇ.* §, and compare with it expressions such as

27. The *Śikshā-chandrikā*.

28. The *Hārta-śikshā*.

Dr. Burnell (*On the Aindra Grammar*, p. 46) enumerates besides—

29. The *Kauṣikī Śikshā*.

30. The *Gautamī Śikshā*.

From the above short description of the Śikshā-treatises which I have collected, it will appear that the term Śikshā, or, as it is occasionally spelt in MSS. from the south of India, Śikshā, is applicable to any work which treats of the classification and pronunciation of letters, and that in particular it denotes such works as profess to teach the correct pronunciation and recitation of the Vedic texts; lastly, the term Śikshā has been applied, as it would seem to me, somewhat improperly, also to works composed for the purpose of keeping the Vedic texts free from incorrect readings. The 17 works described above may be classified thus:—

A. Works which teach the classification and pronunciation of letters without special reference to the Vedic texts:—The *Āpīśālī Śikshā*.

B. 1. Works which profess to lay down all the rules to be observed in the pronunciation and recitation of the Vedic texts,

(a) Without, so far as I can judge, reference to any particular Veda:—The *Chārāyaṇīya*-, *Pāṇiniya*-, *Māṇḍūkī*-, *Yājñavalkya*-, and *Vāsishtā* (?) *Śikshās*.

(b) With particular reference to the *Taittirīya Veda*:—The *Vyāsa-śikshā*.

(c) With particular reference to the *Sāmaveda*:—The *Nārādī* and *Lomaśī Śikshās*.

(d) Professedly compilations:—*Śikshāsamuchchaya* and *Sarvasammata-śikshā*.

B. 2. Works which lay down particular rules to be observed in the pronunciation and recitation of Vedic texts:

(a) Works teaching the peculiar pronunciation of certain letters only, as adopted by the followers of the *Mādhyandini Śikshā* of the *Yajurveda*:—The *Anoghānīndinī* (?), *Keśava*-, and *Mādhyandini Śikshās*.

(b) Works teaching the peculiar accentuation of Vedic passages in the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*:—The *Āraṇya-śikshā*.

C. Works composed with the object of keeping the Vedic texts free from wrong words:—The *Bhāradvāja*- and *Siddhānta-śikshās*.

मंदूकस्य मते यथा । एतद्वारायणेभ्यस्तम् in the *Māṇḍūkī*, *Chārāyaṇīya*, and other *Śikshās*.

Concerning the relation between the *Prātisākhyas* and such *Śikshās* as are enumerated under B, which may be called the *Śikshās* *kar'* *ἔξοχόν*, my views are, shortly expressed, as follows :—

Much of what is taught in these *Śikshās* was taught before them in the *Prātisākhyas*, but as the latter were found to contain many rules with which the reciter of the Vedic texts had no concern, manuals—such as the *Śik-*

shās are which are known to us—had to be composed which professed to give only the rules required for the correct recitation of the Vedas, and to give them in both an intelligible and an easily remembered form; the composition of such manuals became the more necessary when the recitation of the Vedic texts had become so artificial that it no longer was sufficiently accurately described by the comparatively simple rules of the *Prātisākhyas*.||

ŚRĀDDHA CEREMONIES AT GAYĀ.

BY PROF. MONIER WILLIAMS.

The city of Gayā is most picturesquely situated on the river Phalgū, about 60 miles southwest of Patna, near some isolated hills, or rather short ranges of hills, rising abruptly out of the plain. The town itself crowns two low ridges, whose sides, covered with the houses of its narrow, tortuous streets, slope down to an intervening hollow occupied by the temple and sacred tank dedicated to the Sun. But the most sacred temple, and the great centre of attraction for all Hindus who wish to perform once in their lives a Gayā-śrāddha for their forefathers, is the *Vishnupada* temple, situated on one of the ridges, and built of black stone, with a lofty dome and golden pinnacle. It contains the alleged footprint of Vishṇu in a large silver basin, under a silver canopy, inside an octagonal shrine. *Pinḍas* and various kinds of offerings are placed by the pilgrims inside this basin round the footprint, and near it are open colonnades for the performance of the *śrāddhas*. About six miles from the city is the well-known place of pilgrimage called *Bodh-Gayā*, celebrated for a monastery and numerous temples, but chiefly for the ancient tower-like structure said by the natives to be more than 2200 years old, and originally a Buddhist monument. It has near it other alleged footprints of Vishṇu (probably once assigned to Buddha), under an open shrine. Behind the tower, on an elevated stone terrace reached by a long flight

of steps, is the sacred *pīpal* tree under which, according to popular belief, the Buddha attained supreme knowledge. The tree must be many centuries old, but a succession of trees is secured by planting a new one inside the decaying stem of the old. In a chamber at the bottom of the tower-like Buddhist monument—now used as a temple—a substitute for the original figure of Buddha (carried off by the Burmese about a hundred years ago) has been placed, for the sake of the Buddhist pilgrims who come to repeat prayers and meditate under the tree; and in the same place a *linga* has been set up, to which the Hindus do *pūjā*. When I visited the spot many persons were in the act of worshipping, and several members of the Burmese embassy, who had come to meet the Prince of Wales at Calcutta, were to be seen reverentially kneeling, praying and meditating under the sacred tree.

Before describing the *śrāddhas* at Gayā, I may state that I asked several paṇḍits in different parts of India to give me the reasons for attaching special efficacy to the celebration of religious rites for ancestors in that locality. The only reply I received was that in the *Gayā-māhātmya* and *Gayā-śrāddha-paddhati* it is declared that a powerful demon (*asura*), named *Gaya*, formerly resided there and tyrannized over the inhabitants. Vishṇu took compassion on them, fought and killed the demon, and

|| I cannot conclude these remarks without a word of thanks to the gentlemen whose kindness has enabled me to collect the treatises described in the above. The Secretary of the Asiatic Society at Calcutta has placed at my disposal all the *Śikshā* MSS. which belong to the Society. Dr. Rājendralāl Mitra has, with his usual kindness, furnished me with copies of the *Amoghānandinī*, *Kātyayana*, and *Lomaśī* *Śikshās*. My friend Dr. Bühler has collected

for me, on his travels in Gujarāt, Rājputana, and Kāshmir besides the *Śikshāganjikā*, no less than eight *Śikshās*: the *Amoghānandinī*, *Āpīśāl*, *Keśava*, *Chārāyapīya*, *Nārādī*, *Māpūḍī* (3 copies), *Mādhyanḍinī*, and *Yājñalkya*. And to the kindness of Colonel Malleon of Mairat I owe copies of the *Āraṇya*, *Bhāradvāja*, *Vāishṭha*, *Vyāsa*, *Sarvasamāta*, *Siddhānta-śikshā*, and of the *Śikshā-samuchchaya*, together with their commentaries.

left a print of his foot (*Vishṇu-pada*, commonly called *Bishanpada*) on the spot where the fight occurred, ordaining that it should be ever after called Gayā and consecrated to him, and that any *śrāddha* performed there for fathers, forefathers, and relatives should be peculiarly efficacious in securing the immediate conveyance of their souls to his own heaven, Vaikuṇṭha.

It is also stated in the *Gayā-māhātmya* that the great Rāma, hero of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (himself an incarnation of Vishṇu), and other heroes set the example of performing *śrāddhas* to their fathers at Gayā. Brahmā is also said to have performed an *āsvamedha* there, and to have consecrated the whole locality by this act. The plain truth probably is that as the Indo-Āryans proceeded southwards, the Brāhmanas found it necessary to invent reasons for attaching sanctity and attracting pilgrims to other spots besides those already held sacred in the North-West.

It was on this account that the *Māhātmyas* of various places were gradually written and inserted in the *Purāṇas*. Some of these additions, intended to exalt the importance of places like Gayā, are comparatively modern, and the *Māhātmyas* of one or two *tīrthas*, such as Paṇḍharpur in the Dekhan, are said to have been added during the last fifty or a hundred years. I was even told that Paṇḍharpur has become of late years a kind of rival to Gayā. Alleged footprints of Vishṇu like those at Gayā are shown, and the Viṭhobā sects perform *śrāddhas* there. Models of the Gayā *Vishṇupada* are made in brass and in black stone, and sold for worship. Several were presented to me. They are often placed, like the Śālagrām stone, in the houses of the natives, for domestic *pūjā*.

With regard to the *śrāddha* ceremonies generally, there seems to be much confusion of thought and obscurity, besides great inconsistency, in the accounts given by paṇḍits of the exact object and effect of their celebration. It may be useful to explain to those who have not made the subject their study that a distinction is made between *śrāddhas* and funeral ceremonies (*antyeshti*). The latter are *amangala*, 'inauspicious,' while the former are *mangala*, 'auspicious.' To understand the reason for this, it should be borne in mind that when a man dies his *sthūla-sarīra* or 'gross body' is burned, but his soul quits it with the *linga-sarīra* or 'subtile body,' sometimes described

as *angushṭha-mātra*, 'of the size of a thumb,' and remains hovering near it. The deceased man, thus reduced to the condition of a simple individual soul invested with a subtile body, is called a *preta*, i.e. a departed spirit or ghost. He has no real body capable of enjoying or suffering anything, and is consequently in a restless, unsatisfactory and uncomfortable plight. Moreover, while in this condition he is held to be an impure being. Furthermore, if he dies away from his kindred, who alone can perform the funeral ceremonies, and who are perhaps unaware of his death, and unable therefore to perform them, he becomes a *piśācha*, or foul wandering ghost, disposed to take revenge for its misery upon all living creatures by a variety of malignant acts. I heard it remarked not long ago by a paṇḍit that ghosts are much less common in India now than formerly, and, on my inquiring the reason, was told that communication was now so rapid that few die without their deaths becoming known and without having funeral rites performed very soon afterwards. Besides, he added, it is now so easy to reach Gayā by rail and by good carriage roads. The object, then, of the funeral rites, which are celebrated for ten days after death, is not only to soothe or give *sānti* by libations of consecrated water to the troubled spirit, but to furnish the *preta* with an intermediate body, between the *linga* or 'subtile' and the *sthūla* or 'gross' body—with a body, that is to say, which is capable of enjoying or suffering, and which, as leading to another future gross body, is sometimes called the *kāraṇa-sarīra* or 'causal body.'

In this manner only can the *preta* obtain *gati*, or 'progress' onward through the temporary heaven or hell (regarded in the Hindu system as a kind of purgatory) to other births and ultimate emancipation. On the first day after death a *piṇḍa*, or round ball (generally of some kind of flour), is offered, on which the *preta* is supposed to feed, and which endows it with the rudiment or basis of the requisite body, whatever that basis may be. Next day another *piṇḍa* is offered, which gives it, perhaps, limbs, such as arms and legs. Then it receives hands, feet, &c. This goes on for ten days, and the offering of the *piṇḍa* on the tenth day gives the head. No sooner does the *preta* obtain a complete body than it becomes a *pitrī*, when, instead of being regarded as impure, it is held to be a *deva*, or 'deity,' and

practically worshipped as such in the *śrāddha* ceremonies. Hence a *śrāddha* is not a funeral ceremony (as some have described it), but a *worship of departed ancestors*; which worship, however, is something very different from *pūjā* to a god, as it is continued at stated periods with a view to accelerate the *gati*, or 'progress,' of the *pitris* onwards to heaven, and then through the various stages of bliss, called *sālokya*, *sānīpya*, and *sārūpya*, and thence through future births to final union with the Supreme (*sāyujya*). And the efficacy of *śrāddhas* performed at Gayā is this, that wherever in this progress onwards departed relatives may have arrived, the *śrāddhas* take them at once to Vaikuṇṭha, or Viṣṇu's heaven. The departed relatives especially entitled to benefit by the *śrāddha* rites are as follow:—1. Father, grandfather, great-grandfather. 2. Mother, mother's father and grandfather. 3. Step-mother, if any. 4. Father's mother, grand-mother, and great-grandmother. 5. Father's brothers. 6. Mother's brothers. 7. Father's sisters. 8. Mother's sisters. 9. Sisters and brothers. 10. Fathers-in-law.

An eleventh person is sometimes added, viz. the family spiritual teacher (*guru*).

Let no one suppose that the process of performing *śrāddhas* at Gayā is either simple or rapid. To secure the complete efficacy of such rites, a whole round of them must be performed at about fifty distinct places in and around Gayā, besides at the most holy spot of all—the Viṣṇu-*pada* temple—the time occupied in the process being at least eight days, and sometimes protracted to fifteen, while the money spent in fees to the officiating priests (who at Gayā are called Gaywāls = *Gayā-pālas*, regarded by some as an inferior order of Brāhmins), is never less than Rs. 40. But only the poorest are let off thus easily. The Mahārāja of Kashmir, who is a very strict Hindu, and performed *śrāddhas* at Gayā the other day on his way to Calcutta, is reported to have distributed Rs. 15,000 to the Gaywāl Brāhmins.

When I was recently staying with Mr. Halliday, the Collector of the district, I obtained, through his kind influence, from the principal Gaywāl, named Choṭā Lāl, a detailed account of all the ceremonies connected with the Gayā *śrāddhas*—which, considering the important position they hold in the Hindu religious system, and considering that no trustworthy description

of them has, so far as I know, hitherto appeared, it may be worth while to place on record.

FIRST DAY.—The ceremonies begin near the sacred river Phalgū. The first duty is to make a *sankalpa*, or 'religious vow,'—that is to say, a promise to perform all the rites in regular course. This is done by repeating *mantras* and pouring out water on the banks of the sacred river. The pilgrims bathe in the Phalgū and perform *tarpaṇa*, or homage to the spirits of departed ancestors, with water, *kusa* grass, and sesamum seed. Then comes the first full *śrāddha*, consisting of offerings of balls made of rice or barley flour with milk, water, flowers, sandalwood, fragrant gum, betel-leaves, areca-nuts, sesamum seed, honey, coagulated milk, and small lighted lamps. All this is done in or near the Phalgū river, which in the dry season dwindles to a narrow stream, leaving a dry sandy bed on each side. 2. The second place is called *Preta-Silā* or *Rāma-Silā*. Here the *piṇḍa śrāddha* only is performed, i.e. balls of rice-flour with milk are offered to the *pitris* and afterwards thrown into the river or given to the cows. 3. *Rāma-kunḍa*. Here they bathe and make both *tarpaṇa* and *piṇḍa-dāna*, 'presentation of the balls.' 4. *Kā-kābālī*: here they perform three *piṇḍa-dānas*.

SECOND DAY.—5. *Brahma-kunḍa*. Here they only bathe and perform *tarpaṇa*. 6. *Preta-parvata*. Here they make *piṇḍa-dāna* and scatter round upon the ground parched barley reduced to meal or made into a paste.

THIRD DAY. 7. *Uttara-mānasa*. Here they bathe and make *tarpaṇa* and *piṇḍa-dāna*. They also do homage (*pranāma*) to the Northern Sun. Pilgrims pass from this station to the next without uttering a word. 8. *Udāchi*. 9. *Kanakhala*. At these two stations they bathe, make *tarpaṇa* and *piṇḍa-dāna*. 10. *Dikshina-mānasa*. Here, after *tarpaṇa* and *piṇḍa-dāna*, they do homage to the Southern Sun. 11. *Jihvā-lola*. Here, after bathing in the *Pancha-tīrtha* (five different sacred places near each other), and after *tarpaṇa* and *piṇḍa-dāna*, they do homage to Mahādeva (as *Pitri* and *Maheśvara*). They also do homage to Gadādhara with *pañcām-rita*, i.e. with coagulated milk, clarified butter, milk, honey, and sugar, and adore him with flowers, sandalwood, fragrant gum, cloth, ornaments, and lamps.

FOURTH DAY. 12. *Matanga-vāpī*. Here they bathe with *tarpaṇa* and *piṇḍa-dāna*, as well as

perform *prañāma* to Matangeśvara. 13. *Dharmāranya*. Here they offer *piṇḍas* in the *Chup-kūpa*, and do homage to Dharma and Dharmesvara Mahādeva. 14. *Bodha-taru* at Bodha-Gayā. Here they do homage to the Bodh-tree.

FIFTH DAY. 15. *Brahma-saras*. Here, after bathing, *tarpaṇa*, and *piṇḍa-dāna*, they sprinkle water over a mango-tree, go round the *Brahm-kūpa*, and make *prañāma* to Brahmā. 16. *Kā-kibīli*. Here they offer three *piṇḍas*. (N.B. There seems to be here a repetition of No. 4.)

SIXTH DAY.—On this day they present *piṇḍas* at the following stations, near the *Vishṇu-pada* temple:—17. *Rudrapada*. 18. *Vishṇupada*. Here there is adoration, as well as *piṇḍa-dāna*. 19. *Brahmapada*. Only *piṇḍa-dāna* here and at the following stations, where footprints, or marks like them, are supposed to be found:—20. *Gārhapatyapada*. 21. *Ahavanīyapada*. 22. *Sabhyapada*. 23. *Āvasathyapada*. 24. *Dakshin-āgnipada* (only one *piṇḍa*). 25. *Indrapada*. 26. *Sūryapada*. 27. *Kārttikeyapada*. 28. *Agastyapada*. 29. *Kraunchapada*. 30. *Gaṇeśapada*. 31. *Chandrapada*. 32. *Matangapada*. 33. *Karṇapada*. 34. *Dīdhitapada*. 35. *Kaśyapapada*. 36. *Gayā-sira*. (Here two *piṇḍas* are offered.)

SEVENTH DAY.—37. *Rāma-Gayā* (*piṇḍa-dāna*). 38. *Sitākunda* (three *piṇḍas* made of sand). 39. *Gṛyakūpa*. One *piṇḍa* and often three *piṇḍas* are presented at this and the following five stations:—40. *Muṇḍa-prishtha*. 41. *Kraunchapada* or *Ādi-Gayā*. 42. *Dhautapada*. 43. *Bhīma-garta* or *Bhīma-gayā*. 44. *Goprachāra*. 45. *Gada-lola*. Here they bathe, perform *tarpaṇa* and *piṇḍadāna*. 45. *Akshaya-vaṣa*. Here, after the regular *śrāddha*, particular gifts are presented, which strictly ought to consist of the following articles:—gold, silver, copper, brass, a cow, an elephant, a horse, a house, land, a bullock, cloth, a bed, an umbrella, shoes, money, grain. Here also they feed the Gaywāls and do homage to the Bar-tree and to Mahādeva and Mahādevī.

EIGHTH DAY.—47. *Gāyatrī-tīrtha*. Here in the early morning they bathe, perform *prātah-sandhyā*, or morning devotions, with *tarpaṇa* and *piṇḍa-dāna*. 48. *Sāvitrī*. Here they perform *mādhyaṇḍina-sandhyā*, midday devotions, with *tarpaṇa*. 49. *Sarasvatī*. Here they perform evening *sandhyā*. 50. *Vaitaraṇī*. Here, after bathing and *tarpaṇa*, they present gifts, technically called *godāna*, which ought properly to

consist of the following articles:—a cow, a calf, a cloth, a vessel for holding milk, a silver hoof, a golden horn, a tail made of pearls and copper, and gold.

The above sacred places are the most famous, but there are others where the pilgrims perform ceremonies, such as—1. *Viśālā*, 2. *Leliḥāna*, 3. *Bharatāsrama*, 4. *Akūṣagangā*, 5. *Devanadī*, 6. *Yamunā*, &c., to the number of about twenty-two.

With regard to the *śrāddhas* I myself witnessed at Gayā, they were all performed in colonnades and open courts round the *Vishṇu-pada* temple. One example will suffice. The party celebrating the rite consisted of six men, who were of course relations, and one Gaywāl. The men sat on their heels in a line, with the officiating Gaywāl (sometimes called *Paṇḍa*) priest at their head. Twelve *piṇḍas* were formed of rice and milk, not much larger than the large marbles used by boys (called 'alleys'). They were placed with sprigs of the sacred *tulsi*-plant in small earthenware platters. Then on the top of the *piṇḍas* were scattered *kūśa* grass and flowers. I was told that the *piṇḍas* in the present case were typical of the bodies of the twelve ancestors for whom the *śrāddha* was celebrated. The men had *kūśa* grass twisted round their fingers, in token of their hands being perfectly pure for the due performance of the rite. Next, water was poured into the palms of their hands, part of which they sprinkled on the ground, and part on the *piṇḍas*. One or two of the men then took threads off their clothes and laid them on the *piṇḍas*, which act is alleged to be emblematical of presenting the bodies of their departed ancestors with garments. Meanwhile *mantras*, or Vedic texts, were repeated, under the direction of the Gaywāl, and the hands were sometimes extended over the *piṇḍas* as if to invoke blessings. When all the *mantras* were finished, and one or two added to pray for pardon if any minute point in the ritual had been omitted, the whole rite was concluded by the men putting their heads to the ground before the officiating Brāhmaṇ and touching his feet. Of course the number of *piṇḍas* varies with the number of ancestors for whom the *śrāddhas* are celebrated, and the size of the balls and the materials of which they are composed differ according to the caste and the country of those who perform the rite. I saw one party in the

act of forming fourteen or fifteen *piṇḍas* with oatmeal, which were of a much larger size than large marbles. This party was said to have come from the Dekhan. Sometimes the *piṇḍas* were placed on betel-leaves with pieces of money (afterwards appropriated by the priests), and sometimes the water used was taken out of little pots with stalks of *kuśa* grass, and with these sprinkled over the balls. At the end of

all the ceremonies the earthen platters employed were carried to a particular stone in the precincts of the temple and dashed to pieces there. No platter is allowed to be used a second time.

Amid this crash of broken crockery, the tedious round of rites, ceremonies, and vain repetitions, which, if they effect nothing else, certainly serve to enrich a goodly company of Brāhmanas, is perhaps not inappropriately concluded.

GRANTS FROM VALABHĪ.

BY G. BÜHLER.

Two of the three Valabhi grants of which transcripts are given below (B and C*) were sent to me by Mr. Burgess, and A by Major J. W. Watson, Acting Political Agent, Revākāṇṭhā. The contents of all three so nearly agree with the *śāsanas* already published, that it would be a waste of paper to give a translation. For the future historian of Valabhi and for the Sanskritist it will be sufficient to be put in possession of the facsimiles and transcripts, and to have notices of the particulars in which the new inscriptions add to our knowledge of the Valabhi kingdom.

A.—The Grant of Dhruvasena I.

This grant is inscribed on two plates measuring 13 inches by 8 each. The rings with which they had been fastened together in the usual manner, as well as the seal, have been lost, otherwise their preservation is perfect. They were found in the Bhaunagar State. The letters closely resemble those of the grant of Dhruvasena I. published in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. IV. p. 106.

The grant is dated from Valabhi. As regards the *vanśāvali*, or the portion giving the genealogy, it is to be noted that the five titles occurring in the grant first published last year are here not given to Dhruvasena. But it is stated that he meditates on the feet of the Paramabhāṭṭāraka, the Supreme Lord. The grantee was a Brahman Sachitīśarma, of the Droṇāyana gotra, and a student of the Ātharvaṇā Veda (Pl. II. ll. 3-4). This last particular is of some interest, as there are few proofs for the early existence of the Atharvaveda, or for the age of the small colonies of Atharvavedis now found in Western India. The donee resided at Hastakavapra—probably the modern

Hāthab in the Bhaunagar territory, which is held in great esteem by the Nāgar Brahmanas on account of its temple of Nilkāṇṭh. The objects given to him appear to be two,—a well (*kūpa*) and *śada*, i.e. the wild growing produce, roots, fruits, grass, &c., of a certain locality (Pl. II. ll. 2-3). The latter word occurs in the compound *yotilapratyayasitāpādāvarttasadanā*. Two portions of this word, *yotila* and *sitāpāda*, evidently are proper names, and *yotilapratyayasitāpādāvartta* must therefore designate the place where the grass and other natural produce grew. *Pratyaya* occurs in the grant of Dharasena II. (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. XI. p. 361), repeatedly placed after the names of persons and before words, like *kshetra*, 'field,' *vāpi*, 'reservoir.' Rao Sāheb V. N. Maṇḍlik renders it 'held by,' and this rendering may be defended by the statement of the *Kośa* that *pratyaya* means, among other things, *ādhyā*, 'dependent.' I am inclined to translate the whole by 'the pasture and wild growing produce in the *sitāpādāvarta* held by *Yotila*.'

Both the pasture and the well are further stated to be situated *hastakavaprāharanyān kukkaṭāgrame*, which I am inclined to render by 'in the village of Kukkaṭa, (situated) in the Hastakavapra Āharanyā.' Kukkaṭa is the modern Kūkaḍ, in the Gogo Tālukā, which lies a few miles from Hāthab.

Hastakavaprāharanyān cannot be correct as it stands. The compounds standing in the Valabhi and other grants before the names of villages contain usually the territorial division, i.e. the zilla or tālukā, to which the villages belonged.† A locative is therefore required, and *āharanyān* should be changed to *āharanyān*. An *āharanyān* must have been—like the *sthālī* which so often occurs in the Valabhi grants, like *bhukti*,

* The grant B was kindly lent me by Mr. Wait of Bhaunagar; and C was borrowed from the Darbār for me by Major J. W. Watson.—Ed.

† Conf., e.g., below—Grant C.

vishaya, and *rāshtra*—a territorial division. I am, however, not aware that the word occurs anywhere else.

The wording of the second part of our grant differs not inconsiderably from that usually adopted on the Valabhi śāsanas. Thus we have (Pl. II., l. 2) *anudarīyati* for *samājūpayati* (Pl. II., l. 6), *anujñātām* for *atisriṣṭām* or *pratipādītām*, the Prakrit-like form *karshāpayaṭaḥ* (Pl. II., l. 7) instead of *karshayataḥ*, &c. Two terms, *dhrūva* and *sthānādhikarāṇa*, which occur in the enumeration of the officials and functionaries to whom the king addresses himself (Pl. II., l. 1), deserve a word of explanation. In translating formerly the grant of Gubāsenā† I rendered the equivalent *dhruvādhikarāṇika*, which occurs there, by 'faithful judges,' adding, however, that *dhrūva* might be a technical term. I have since found that this is really

the case. 'Dhrūva' or 'Dhrus' are actually at the present day employed in Kāthiāvaḍ and Kachh, and are persons who on the part of the Rājā superintend the collection of the royal share of the produce in grain, which is made by the farmers of revenue. Their duty is to see that he does not collect more than his proper share.‡ *Dhrū* is also not uncommon as a family name among Gujarātis. In such cases it has, no doubt, come down from an ancestor who held the office. The 'Sthānādhikarāṇas' appear to correspond to the 'Thānadārs' of the present day, who in Kāthiāvaḍ and Rājputāna combine police and magisterial functions.

Lastly, the date of the grant—the seventh day of the bright half of Kārttika, of Sāmvat 207, which is very distinct, deserves attention. It makes the plate the oldest Valabhi grant known.

Transcript.

- 1 स्वस्ति वलभीतः प्रसभप्रणतामित्राणां मैत्रकाणामतुलबल-
- 2 सपन्नमण्डलाभोगसंसक्तसंप्रहारशतलब्धप्रतापः प्रतापोपनतदा §
- 3 नमानार्ज्वोपाज्जितानुरागानुरक्तमौलभृतमित्रश्रेणीबलावाप्तराज्यश्रीः प-
- 4 रममामाहेश्वरः श्रीसेनापतिभट्टकः तस्य सुतस्तत्पादरजोरुणनतप-
- 5 विव्रीकृतशिरः शिरोवनतशत्रुचूडामणिप्रभाविच्छुरितपादनखपाङ्क्तिदीधि-
- 6 तिः दीनानायजनोपजीव्यमानदिभवः परममाहेश्वरस्सेनापतिधर-
- 7 सेनस्तस्यानुजस्तत्पादाभिप्रशस्तविमलमालिमणिर्मन्वादिप्रणीतविधिवि-
- 8 धानधर्मा धर्मराज इव विहितविनयव्यवस्थापदतिरखिलभुवनमण्डलाभोग-
- 9 स्वामिना परमस्वामिना स्वयमुपहितराज्याभिषेकमहाविश्राणनावपूतरा-
- 10 जश्रीः परममाहेश्वरो महाराजद्रोणसिंहः सिंह इव तस्यानुजस्त्वभुजबलघ-
- 11 टानीकानामनेकविजयी शरणैषिणां शरणमवबोद्धा शास्त्रार्थतात्वानां कल्पतरु-
- 12 व सुहृत्प्रतयिनां यलाभिलषितफलोपभोगद परमभागवतः परमभट्टा-
- 13 रकपादानुध्यातो महाराजध्रुवसेन × कुशली सर्वानेव स्वानायुकक-

Plate II.

- 1 विनियुक्तद्रुगिकमहत्तरचाटभट्टध्रुवस्यानाधिकरनदण्डपाशिकादीनन्याश्च य- ¶
- 2 थासंबध्यमानकाननुदर्शयत्यस्तु वस्तुविदितं यथा मया हस्तकवप्राहरणं कुक्कटधा-
- 3 मे योतिलप्रत्ययसीतापादावर्तशदं कूपश्च हस्तकवप्रावास्तव्यब्रह्मण सचितिशर्मणे
- 4 द्रोणयनसगोत्रायार्थपूज्यसन्नसन्नचारिण मातापित्रोः पुण्याप्यायान्मनश्चैहिकामुष्मि-

† Ind. Ant. vol. IV. p. 175.

‡ I owe this explanation to Mr. Dalpatram Khākhar, Deputy Educational Inspector, Kachh.

§ Line 2, read प्रपन्न° with the other plates. L. 4, delete first मा°, read भट्टाङ्कः. L. 6, read विभव. L. 7, read मौलि.

L. 10, read °ज्यश्री. L. 11, read °तत्त्वानां. L. 12, read °पुण्य-
वि°; यथा°; दः.

¶ L. 1, read °द्रुगिक°; °धिकरण° न्याय. L. 2, read °वस्तुवि-
दितं°. L. 3, read °ब्रह्मण°. L. 4, read °द्रोणयन°; °चारिण°;
°पुण्याप्यायानाया°.

- ५ कयथाभिलषितफलावासिनिमित्तमाचन्द्रार्कोर्णवक्षितसरित्पर्वतसमकालीनं पुन-
 ६ पौत्रान्वयभोग्यं ब्रह्मदेयमनुज्ञातं यतोऽस्योचितया ब्रह्मदेयस्थित्या भुञ्जतः प्र-
 ७ दिशतः कर्षापयतः कृषतो वा न कैश्चित्स्वल्पाप्याबाधा कार्यास्मद्भक्षजैरागाभिनृप- *
 ८ तिभिश्चानित्यानैश्चर्याप्यस्तिरं मानुष्यं चावेक्ष्य सामान्यं च भूमिदानफलमवगच्छद्भि-
 ९ इयमस्मदनुमतिरनुमन्ताव्या यश्चाच्छिन्नादाच्छिद्यमानं वानुमोदेत्स पचभिर्महाप-
 १० तकैस्तोपपातकैस्तंयुक्तस्यादिपि चात्र व्यासगीतः लोको भवति षष्टिर्वयसहस्रा-
 ११ णि स्वर्गो मोदति भूमिदः आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेदिति
 १२ सहस्तो मम महाराजध्रुवसेनस्य दूतकः प्रतीहारमम्मकः लिखितं किककेन
 सं ७ ७ (२०७) कार्तिक सु ७ (७)

B.—The Grant of Guhasena.

The grant of Guhasena is inscribed on two plates 14" by 9" each. The ring and seal which held them together are preserved, and the latter shows the usual cognizance, the reclining bull with the inscription *Sribhātārkkah*. As the seal has been forcibly torn out of its place, the parts of the plate adjoining the ring-holes have been damaged. Both plates are thickly covered with verdigris. Very few words only on Plate I. are legible. But these suffice to show that the grant was dated from Valabhi, and that the first plate gave nothing but the *vanīśāvali* from Bhātārka to Dharapattā, such as it is known to us from the grants of Dhruvasena I. and Dharasena II. Plate II. begins with the last portion of the description of the grantor, Guhasena. There it is that the most interesting statement occurs. For in line 2 the illustrious king Guhasena is called *Paramopāsaka*, 'the ardent devotee of Buddha,' whence it appears that this ruler was actually converted to Buddhism. In the grant formerly published (*Ind. Ant.* vol. IV. p. 174) he still professed Śaivism and called himself *Paramamāheśvara*.

The donee is (ll. 6-7) the "community of foreign monks belonging to the eighteen schools (of the Hinayāna) and living in the *Abhyanatārikā* Vihāra or monastery, which had been built by the venerable *Mimma*, and was situated close to the monastery of Bhātārka presented to the *Rājasthāniya Śūra*" (l. 7). If the reading *Bhātārka* were quite certain, it would be of some interest, as it would prove that the founder

of the Valabhi dynasty already favoured the Bauddha faith. This Bhātārka Vihāra must afterwards have been alienated from its original destination, as the phrase *rājasthāniyasūraya prasādīkṛita* shows.

Mimma was, no doubt, like the venerable *Dudḍā*, whose name occurs in the formerly published grants of Dhruvasena I. and Guhasena, a Bauddha nun.

The object granted is *Vaṭasthalikāprāyiyabāhumūlāgrāme kutumbīśāmanāragopakachhendavakadāsakāstrāyaḥ* (l. 5), which I translate tentatively by "the income (*āya*) (to be paid) by the Kaṇabi Syāmanera, the herdsman Chendavaka, and the Dāsaka Astra in the village of Bahumūla belonging to Vaṭasthalikāprāya (?)."

The date is the 14th day of the dark demilunation of Āsvayuja of Samvat ७८५, which possibly may be 268. The second sign is, however, read 40 by General Cunningham† and Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl Inderji, and 50 by Professor Bhāṇḍārkar.‡ I have given the reason which inclined me to read it 60 in the *Ind. Ant.* vol. IV. p. 174. I think that the question does require further consideration, but that more plates are required in order to decide it. The last sign has been taken for 6 by Professor Bhāṇḍārkar. But the sign for six is ७. My reading was suggested by a remark on the subject which Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl made to me last year.

Among the officers to whom king Guhasena addresses his commands there are two not

* L. 7, read वंश°. L. 9, read रियम°; मन्तव्या पंचभि°; महापा°. L. 10, read दिव्यापि; श्लोको; वषे°.

† *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*

‡ See *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. X. p. 69.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ श्रीकृष्णार्जुनसंवा
 दप्रथमोऽध्यायः ॥ १ ॥ धर्मक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे
 समवेता युयुत्सवः ॥ मामकाः पांडवश्चैतानि
 मायासृष्टा विना ॥ २ ॥ अर्जुन उवाच ॥ द्रुपद
 गुरुवर्य ॥ त्वमेव मे प्रियं वक्तव्यं शृणु ॥
 ३ ॥ पांडवस्य हृदि स्थितं धर्मं त्वया हि मे
 ४ ॥ ५ ॥ ६ ॥ ७ ॥ ८ ॥ ९ ॥ १० ॥ ११ ॥ १२ ॥ १३ ॥ १४ ॥ १५ ॥ १६ ॥ १७ ॥ १८ ॥ १९ ॥ २० ॥ २१ ॥ २२ ॥ २३ ॥ २४ ॥ २५ ॥ २६ ॥ २७ ॥ २८ ॥ २९ ॥ ३० ॥ ३१ ॥ ३२ ॥ ३३ ॥ ३४ ॥ ३५ ॥ ३६ ॥ ३७ ॥ ३८ ॥ ३९ ॥ ४० ॥ ४१ ॥ ४२ ॥ ४३ ॥ ४४ ॥ ४५ ॥ ४६ ॥ ४७ ॥ ४८ ॥ ४९ ॥ ५० ॥ ५१ ॥ ५२ ॥ ५३ ॥ ५४ ॥ ५५ ॥ ५६ ॥ ५७ ॥ ५८ ॥ ५९ ॥ ६० ॥ ६१ ॥ ६२ ॥ ६३ ॥ ६४ ॥ ६५ ॥ ६६ ॥ ६७ ॥ ६८ ॥ ६९ ॥ ७० ॥ ७१ ॥ ७२ ॥ ७३ ॥ ७४ ॥ ७५ ॥ ७६ ॥ ७७ ॥ ७८ ॥ ७९ ॥ ८० ॥ ८१ ॥ ८२ ॥ ८३ ॥ ८४ ॥ ८५ ॥ ८६ ॥ ८७ ॥ ८८ ॥ ८९ ॥ ९० ॥ ९१ ॥ ९२ ॥ ९३ ॥ ९४ ॥ ९५ ॥ ९६ ॥ ९७ ॥ ९८ ॥ ९९ ॥ १०० ॥

found in the other grant—the *anutpannādānasa-muḍgrāhaka* and the *śaulkika*. The latter are probably custom-house officers, who collect the *śulka* or dues? § Regarding another officer, the *rājasthānīya*, whom our grant mentions twice, some information is found in the *Lokiprakāśa*

of Kshemendra. There it is said—Prak. IV. (beginning)

यजापालनार्थमुद्रहति रक्षयति स राजस्थानीयः॥

“He who carries out the object of protecting subjects and shelters them is called a *Rājasthānīya*, i.e. ‘a viceroy.’

Transcript.

Plate II.

- 1 ! नाधिकार्यप्रदानानन्दितविद्वत्सुहृत्प्रणयिहृदयः पादचारीव सकलभुवनमण्डलाभोग
2 प्रभोदः परमोपासकः महाराजश्रीगुहसेन × कुशली सर्वानेवायुक्तकविनियुक्तक महत्तर
चाट-
3 भटभुवाधिकरणिकदाण्डपाशिकचोरोद्वरणिकानुत्पन्नादानसमुद्राहकशौलिकसजस्थानीयकुमारान-
मात्यादिकान्यांश्च यथा
4 संवध्यमानकान्तमानापयस्यस्तु वस्संविदितं यथा मया मातापित्रोः पुण्याप्यायनार्थमात्मनश्चैहिकामु-
ष्मिकययाभि-
5 लषितफलावाप्तये वटस्यलीलाप्रायीयबहुमूलग्रामे कुटुंबिश्यमणेरगोपकछेण्डवकदासकास्त्रायस्तोद-
ङ्ग सोपरि-
6 करास्तभूतवातप्रयायः सर्वधान्यहिरण्यदेया सोत्पद्यमानविष्टिकः राजस्थानीयशूराय प्रसादीकृत-
7 भटार्कविहारप्रत्यासन्नमिम्मापादकारिताभ्यन्तरिकाविहारे नानादिगभ्यागताष्टादशानिकायाभ्यन्तरा-
र्यभिक्षुसङ्घाय
8 ग्रासाच्छादनशयनासनग्लानभेषज्यादिक्रियोत्सर्पणार्थमाचन्द्रार्काणवसरिक्षितित्थितिसमकालीनभू-
मिच्छिद्रन्यायेन प्रति.
9 पादितं यतोस्य न कैश्चित्परिपन्थना कार्यागामिभद्रनृपतिभिश्चास्मदंशजैरनित्यान्यैश्चर्याण्यस्थिरं
मानुष्यं सामान्यं च
10 भूमिदायफलमवगच्छद्विरयमस्मदायोनुमन्तव्यः परिपालयितव्यश्च यश्चैनमाच्छिन्दादाच्छिद्यमानं-
वानुमोदेत स पञ्चभि-
11 र्महापातकैस्तोपपातकैस्तंयुक्तस्पादपि च । बहुभिर्जसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्तगरादिभिः यस्ययस्य
यदा
12 भूमिः तस्यतस्य तदा फलम्॥यानीह दारिद्र्यभयान्त्रेन्द्रेन्द्रेनानि धर्मायतनीकृतानि निर्माल्यवान्त-
13 प्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधुः पुनराददीत॥लक्ष्मीनिकेतं यदपाश्रयेण प्राप्नोति
14 पक्षेन्येव च पुण्यान्यभिबद्धा यथा न कर्शनीयो ह्युपकारिपक्ष इति
15 स्वमुखाज्ञा ॥ लिखितं सन्धिविग्रहाधिकरणाधिकृतस्कन्दभटनेति सं आश्वयुजवदि ७ ८ ९

C.—The Grant of Śīlāditya III.

The grant of Śīlāditya III. is written on two plates of large size, 16 inches by 13. They are in perfect preservation, and the ring and seal belonging to them are in their proper place. The characters resemble those of the two grants of Śīlāditya IV. published by the Hon'ble Rao Sāheb

V. N. Maṇḍlik in the *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. XI. p. 334. The greater portion of its contents agrees closely with the other grant of Śīlāditya published in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* and the above-mentioned two śāsanas.

The grant is dated (Pl. I. l. 1) from the ‘camp of victory fixed at the tank of Bālāditya,’

§ See also the *Pet. Dict. f. v.*

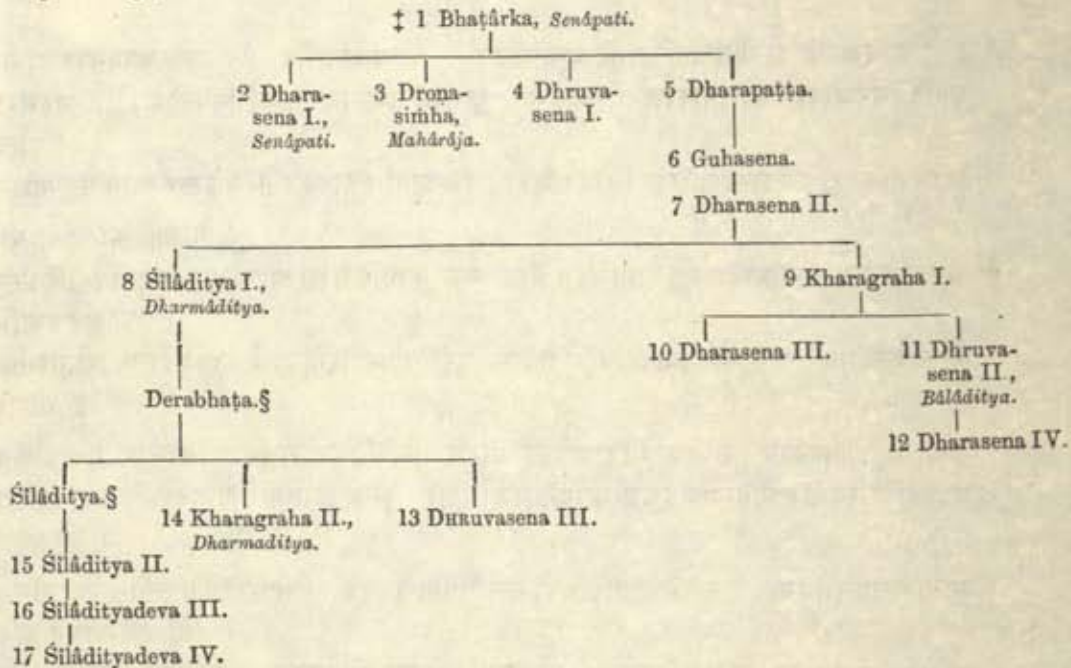
¶ Line 2, महत्तर indistinct. L. 5, वटस्य° doubtful.

L. 6, read करस्; देयः . . L. 7, भटार्क° doubtful. L. 14, except the last five words, all indistinct and doubtful.

and was therefore issued during a royal progress.* The Bālāditya after whom the tank was named is probably king Dhruvasena II. of Valabhi, who, according to Pl. I., ll. 25-26, bore that surname.

The *vanśāvali* teaches us absolutely nothing new. But it may be as well to extract from it and the preceding grants a correct list of the kings of

Valabhi. For the Hon'ble Rao Sâheb's pedigree of the Valabhi dynasty, given *loc. cit.* p. 331, is disfigured by an error regarding his No. X., which probably is due to the printer. Dr. Bhâu Dâji's list,† though it gives the names correctly, does not distinguish between actual rulers and princes who, though not kings, were fathers of kings.



The last two Śilādityas II. and III. of our grant are said 'to meditate on the feet of the supreme Bhaṭāraka the king of kings the supreme lord Bāva (Pl. II., l. 27), and of the supreme Bhaṭāraka the king of kings the su-

preme lord Bappa" (Pl. II., l. 21), respectively; and in the grant of Śilāditya IV. that king also professes his devotion to Bappa. The Hon'ble Rao Sâheb V. N. Maṇḍlik expresses his belief (*loc. cit.* p. 355) that Bāva and Bappa were

* The Valabhi and Gurjara grants begin always, and those of other dynasties sometimes, with a statement of the place where the grant was issued. They are in fact dated just like our documents and letters. Sometimes we find simply the name of the town, as Valabhī, from 'Valabhi.' But frequently we find the expression *jayaskandhāvart*, 'from the camp of victory,' which in every case is followed by a compound ending in *visakāt*, 'fixed at . . .'. Thus we have in the grant of Dhruvasena (*Ind. Ant.* vol. IV. p. 106) *jayaskandhāvart Khudāvedīya-visakāt*, 'from the camp of victory fixed at Khudāvedīya,' in the grants of Śilāditya IV. *jayaskandhāvart Śrīkhetaka-visakāt*, 'from the camp of victory fixed at Śrīkhetaka,' &c. All such grants dated from a camp were evidently issued during royal progresses, or whilst the king was on a warlike expedition. This long note may appear unnecessary to many; but the mistranslation of the beginning of the grant of Śilāditya IV. given in *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. IX. p. 346 will show that mistakes on so simple a matter are even now not impossible.

This inscription disproves also the assertion made in *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. XI. p. 352, note, that 'all copper-plates since the time of this Dhruvasena (IV.) are dated from Khetaka'—which must be identified not with Khedā in Gujārat, but with one of the homonymous villages in Kāśhīāvat. The assertion made in the

same note that Khedā in Gujārat became the capital of the Valabhi kings has, hitherto, not been proved.

† *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. VIII. p. 245.

‡ The numbers prefixed to the names show the order of the succession. The names without numbers marked ṣ are those of princes who, according to the grants, did not actually reign at Valabhi.

Kings Nos. 1-4 are to be found on the plates of Dhruvasena I. (see above), Nos. 5-6 on the plates of Guhasena (see above), and Dharasena II. (*Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*); for the remainder there are the plates of Dharasena II., of Śilāditya I. (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. XI. p. 359), Dharasena IV. (*Ind. Ant.* vol. I. p. 14), Śilāditya III. (the one under discussion), and Śilāditya IV. (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. XI. p. 335).

The extreme limits between the dates known at present are 196 years (Dhruvasena I., Sahrāt 207, and Śilāditya IV., Sahrāt 403), which have to be divided among nine generations. As regards the spelling of the names, Bhaṭārka and Derabhaṭa ought not to be spelt with two f's, as is sometimes done on the plates and by antiquarians. For it is inappropriate to make a ruler a *bhatta* or priest. *Bhaṭa*, i.e. 'warrior,' on the other hand, is a fitting appellation. We owe the *bhatta* in the grants merely to the carelessness of the engravers, who usually did their work no better than bad copyists do it nowadays.

the *gurus* or religious teachers under whom the three kings sat, and appeals to the Vengī grant of Vijayānandivarmā, as well as to unpublished Nepāl inscriptions, where a Bhattāraka Bappa is mentioned. I regret that I have to enter my protest against this explanation. For as the *Bāva* and Bappa of the Valabhī grants are both styled 'kings of kings' and 'supreme lords'—in fact receive exactly the same epithets as the rulers of Valabhī—they cannot, it seems to me, have been mere priests or *gurus*, but must have been real kings. At least I should like to see a well authenticated instance where a *guru* receives exactly the same titles as a king.

Secondly, the Bappa of Vijayānandi could not have been the Bappa of our grant—even if the latter were a priest. For Vijayānandivarmā styles himself *paramabhāgavataḥ*, 'the great or ardent worshipper of Viṣṇu,' while our kings call themselves *paramamāheśvaras*, 'great or ardent worshippers of Śiva.' The *gurus* must be of the sect of the worshipper, and the Valabhī Bappa must therefore have been a Śaiva, whilst the Vengī Bappa must have been a Vaiṣṇava.

In the present stage of our knowledge of the history of the kings of Valabhī, I do not think it advisable to hazard any conjecture as to the country of king Bāva and king Bappa, or regarding their relations to those of Valabhī, though Hiwen Thsang's account of the kingdom does seem to furnish us with materials for them.

The donee of our grant is Bhātakumāra, son of Droṇaputra, a Brahman of Valabhī, an emigrant from Gomātrikā, who belonged to the Bharadvāja gotra and studied the *Maitrāyaṇīya* redaction of the Black Yajurveda. He also receives the epithet *tachchāturvīdya-trāividyasāmānya*, which is not quite clear to me. (Pl. II., l. 23.) The object granted is the village of Loṇāpadraka, which is described as situated in the Loṇāpadrakasthali, and is qualified by a further unintelligible epithet, *khodasthalakoparipatakasahita*.§

The date of the grant is the ninth day of the dark demi-lunation of Śrāvaṇa of Sāmvat 342. The second sign of the Sāmvat is doubtful; I read it tentatively as 40 on the strength of Dr. Bhāu Dāji's statements, *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. VIII. p. 230.

Transcript.

- १ स्वस्ति जयस्कन्धावारात् बालादित्यतटाकवासकात् प्रसभप्रणतामित्राणां मत्रकाणामतुलवलसंप-
न्नमण्डलाभोगससक्तप्रहारशतलव्यप्रतापा प्रतापोपनतः॥
- २ दानमानार्ज्जवोपाज्जितानुरागादनुरक्तमौलभृतश्रेणीबलावातराज्यश्रियः परममाहेश्वरश्रीभटा-
र्क्षादिव्यवच्छिन्नराजवशान्मातापितृचरणारविंदप्रणतिप्रविधौताशे-
- ३ पकल्मषः शैशवात्प्रभृति खड्गद्वितीयबाहुरेव समदपरगजघटास्फोटनप्रकाशितसत्त्वनिकपस्तप्रतापप्रण-
तारातिचूडारत्नप्रभाससक्तपादनख-
- ४ रश्मिसंहतिः सकलस्मृतिप्रणीतमार्गाः सम्यपरिपालनप्रजाहृदयरंजनान्वर्त्यराजशब्दो रूपकान्तिस्ये-
र्यगांभीर्यबुद्धिसंपद्धिः स्मरशशाङ्कद्रिराजोदधिनिदश-
- ५ गुरुधनेशानतिशयानः शरणागतभयप्रदानपरतया तृणवदपास्ताशेषस्वकार्यफल प्रार्थनाधिकार्थप्र-
दानानंदितविद्वत्सुहृत्प्रणयिहृदयः प-
- ६ दचारिसकलभुवनमण्डलाभोगप्रमोदः परममाहेश्वरः श्रीगुहसेनस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादानखमयूख-
संतानविसृतजान्हीजलौघप्रक्षालिताशेषकल्मष
- ७ प्रणयिशतसहस्रोपजीव्यमानसंपद्रूपलोभादिवाश्रितः सरभसमाभिगामिकैर्गुणैः सहजशक्तिशिक्षावि-
शेषविस्मापिताखिलधनुर्धरः प्रथमनरप-
- ८ तिसमतिसृष्टानामनुपालयित धर्मदायानामुपकर्ता प्रजोपघातकारिणामपप्रवानां दर्शयिता श्रीसरस्व-
त्योरेकाधिवासस्य संहतारातिपक्षलक्ष्मीप-

§ "With cultivated land and salt marsh."—ED.

¶ L. 1, read मैत्रकाणां;—संसक्तः प्रतापः. L. 2, read राजवंशा. L. 3, read संसक्त. L. 4, read मार्गसम्यक् प.

L. 5, dele anusvāra over धनेशान;—read कलः. L. 6, read पादपासीव;—पादनख; कल्मषः. L. 8, read पालयिता;—मुपप्रवानां.

- 9 रिभोगदक्षविक्रमो विक्रमोपसंप्राप्तविमलपार्थिवश्रीः परममाहेश्वरः श्रीधरसेनस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादानु-
ध्यातः सकलजगदानन्दनाल्यदुतगुणसमु-
10 दयस्थगितसमग्रदिङ्मण्डलः समरशतविजयशोभासनाथमण्डलाग्रश्रुतिभासुरररांसपीठो व्यूढगुरुमनो-
रथमहाभारः सर्वविद्यापरापरविभागा *
- 11 धिगमविमलमतिरपि सर्वतः सुभाषितलवेनापि सुखोपपादनीयपरितोषः समभालोकागाधगांभीर्यहृद-
योपि सुचरितातिशयसुव्यक्तपरमक-
12 ल्याणस्वभावः खिलीभूतकृतयुगनृपतिपयविशोधनाधिगतोदग्रकीर्तिर्दमनपरोधोज्वलतरिकृतास्यासुख-
संपदुपसेवानिरूढधर्मादित्यद्वितीय-
13 नामा परममाहेश्वरः श्रीशीलादित्यस्तस्यानुजस्तत्पादानुध्यातः स्वयमुपेद्रगुरुणेव गुरुणात्यादर-
वता समभिलषणीयामपि राजलक्ष्मीं स्कन्धासक्तां परम-
14 भद्र इव धुर्यस्तदाज्ञासंपादनैकरसतयैवोद्वहन्खेटसुखरतिभ्यामनायासितसत्त्वसंपत्तिः प्रभावसंपद्वशीकृ-
तनृपतिशतशिरोरत्नच्छायेपगूढपादपी-
15 ठोपि परावज्ञाभिमानरसानालिगितमनोवृत्तिः प्रणतिमेकां परित्यज्य प्रख्यातपौरुषाभिमानैरप्यराति-
भिरनासादितप्रतिक्रियोपायः कृतनिखिलभुवनामोद-
16 विमलगुणसंहतिः प्रसभविघटितसकलकलिविलसितगतिनीचजनाधिरोहिभिरशेषैर्दोषैरनामृष्टान्म-
तद्वदयः प्रख्यातपौरुषास्त्रकौशला-
17 तिशयः गणतिथविपक्षक्षितिपतिलक्ष्मीस्वयंग्राहप्रकाशितप्रवीरपुरुषप्रथमसंख्याधिगमः परममाहेश्व-
रः श्रीखरग्रहस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादानुध्यातः
18 सर्वविद्यागमविहितनिखिलविद्वज्जनमनपरितोषातिशय सत्त्वसंपदा त्यागौदार्येण च विगतानुसंधा-
नासमाहितारातिपक्षमनोरथाक्षिभंगसम्यगुप-
19 लक्षितानेकशास्त्रकलालोकचरितगव्हरविबाधोपि परमभद्रप्रकृतिरकृत्रिमप्रश्रयविनयशोभाविभूषण-
समरशतजयपताकाहरणप्रत्यलोदय-
20 बाहुदण्डविभ्रंसनखिलप्रतिपक्षदप्यौदय स्वधनुःप्रभावपरिपूतास्त्रकशलाभिमानसकलनृपतिमण्डलाभि-
नंदितशासनः परममाहेश्वरः श्रीधरसेन-
21 स्तस्यानुजस्तत्पादानुध्यातः सचरितातिशयितसकलपूर्वनरपतिरतिदुःसाधानामपि साधयिता विषया-
णां मूर्तिमनिव पुरुषकारः परिवृद्धगुणानुरागनिर्व्वरचितवृ-
22 त्तिर्मनुरिव स्वयमभ्युपपन्नः प्रकृतिभिरधिगतकलाकलापः कान्तिमान्निव्यतिहेतुरकलंकः कुमुदनाथः
प्राग्यप्रतापस्यगितदिगन्तरालप्रध्वंसितध्वान्तराशि-
23 सततोदित सविता प्रकृतिभ्यः परं प्रत्ययमर्थवन्तमतिबहुतिथप्रयोजकानुबन्धमागमपरिपूर्णां विदधानः
सन्धिविग्रहसमासनिश्चयनिपुणः
24 स्थानेनुरूपमादेशं ददद्गुणवृद्धिविधानजनितसंस्कारः साधूनां राज्यशालातुरीयसूत्रयोरुभयोरपि विष्ण-
तः प्रकृष्टविक्रमोपि करुणामृदुहृदयः श्रुत-
25 बान्यप्यगर्व्वितः कान्तोपि प्रशमी स्थिरसौहृदयोपि निरसिता दोषवतामुदयसमयसमुपजनितजनतानुरा-
गपरिपिहितभुवनसमर्थितप्रथितबाला-

* L. 10, read श्रुतिभासुरररांस. L. 12, read तरीकृ-
ता. L. 13 read मुपेन्द्र (""). L. 15 read लि-
गितः. L. 16, read गतिर्नाच. L. 18, read विषा-
धिगम with other plates, पातिशयः, क्षभंगः. L. 19,
read विभागोपि, प्रश्रयः, विभूषणः. L. 20, read परिमृता;

विध्वंसितनिखिलं — दप्यौदयः — कौशला. L. 21, read
मूर्तिमानिव; निर्भरविचः. L. 22, read चिभिर्भः, शि-
वृतिः, — दिगन्तरालः, राशिः. L. 23, read सततोदितः
प्रयोजना, परिपूर्णे. L. 24, read निष्णातः. L. 25, read
वान.

- 26 दित्यद्वितीयनामा परममाहेश्वरः श्रीध्रुवसेनस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादकमलप्रणामधराणिकषणजनित-
किणलांछनललाटचन्द्रशकलः शिशुभा-
27 व एव श्रवणनिहितमौक्तिकालंकारविभ्रमामलश्रुतविशेषप्रदानसलिलक्षालिताग्रहस्तारविंदः कन्याया
इव मृदुकरग्रहणादमदीकृता †
28 नन्दविधिर्वसुधरायाः कामुके धनुर्वेद इव सभाविताशेषलक्ष्यकलापः प्रणतसामन्तमण्डलोत्तमांग-
धृतचूडा-
29 रत्नायमानसाशनः परममाहेश्वरः परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरचक्रवर्तिश्रीधर-
सेनः

Plate II.

- 1 तत्पितामहभ्रातृश्रीशोलादित्यस्य सार्ङ्गपाणरिव गलन्मनो भक्तिबन्धुरावयवकल्पितप्रातरंतिधवलया
दूरं तत्पादाराविन्दप्रवित्तया नखमणिरुचा मन्दाकिन्येव नित्यममलितोत्तमांगः
2 देशस्यागस्यस्येव राजर्वेदाक्षिप्यमातन्वानस्य प्रबलधवलिल्ला यशसां वलयेन मण्डितककुभा नभसि
यामिनीपतेर्विदलितखण्डपरिवेषमण्डलस्य
3 पयोदश्यामशिखरचूचुकरचिरसह्यविन्ध्यस्सनयुगाया क्षितेः पत्युः श्रीदेरभट्टस्यांगजः क्षितिपसं-
हतेरनुरागिण्याः शुचियशोभुकभृतः स्वयंवरमा-
4 लामिव राज्यश्रियमर्षयन्त्याः कृतपरिग्रहः शौर्यमप्रतिहतव्यापारमानमितप्रचण्डरिपुमण्डलमण्डला-
ग्रमिवावलंबमान शरदि प्रसभमाकृष्टशिलीमुखबाणासना-
5 पादितप्रसाधनानां परभुवां विधिवदाचिरितकरग्रहणः पूर्वमेव विविधवर्णोज्ज्वलेन श्रुतातिशयेनोद्भासित-
श्रवणपुनःपुनःपुनरुक्तेनैव रत्नालंकारेणालकृतश्रोत्रः
6 परिस्फुरत्कटकत्रिकटकीटपक्षरत्नकिरणमविच्छिन्नप्रदानसलिलनिवहावसेकविलसनवशैवलांकुरमिवा-
ग्रपाणिमुद्बहन्धृतविशालरत्नवलयजलधिवेलातटाय-
7 मानभुजपरिश्वक्तविश्वभरः परममाहेश्वरः श्रीध्रुवसेनस्तस्याग्रजोपरमहीपतिस्पर्शदोषनाशनधियेव
लक्ष्म्या स्वयमतिस्पष्टचेष्टमाश्लिष्टांगयष्टिरतिरुचिर-
8 तरचरितगतिगरिमपरिकलितसकलनरपतिरतिप्रकृष्टानुरागरसरभसवशीकृताप्रणतसमस्तसामन्तच-
क्रचूडामणिमयूखस्यगितचरणकमलयुगलः प्रोद्भा-
9 मोदारदोर्दण्डदलितद्विषद्वर्गदर्प प्रसप्तपटीयः प्रतापशेषिताशेषशत्रुवंशः प्रणयिपक्षनिक्षिप्तलक्ष्मीकः
प्रेरितगदोक्षितमुदर्शनचक्रः परिह-
10 तबालक्रीडोनधःकृतद्विजातिरेकविक्रमप्रसाधितधरित्रीतलोन्गीकृतजलशय्योपूर्वपुरुषोत्तमः साक्षा-
द्वर्म इव सम्यग्यवस्थापितवर्णाश्रमाचारः पूर्वैरप्यु-
11 र्वपतिभिस्तृष्णालबलुब्धैर्योन्यपट्टतानि देवब्रह्मदेयानि तेषामप्यतीसरलमनःप्रसरमुत्सङ्गलनानुमोद-
नाभ्यां परिमुदितत्रिभुवनाभिर्नन्दितोच्छ्रितोत्कृष्ट-
12 धवलधर्मध्वजप्रकाशितनिजवंशो देवद्विजगुरुन्मति ययार्हमनवरतप्रवर्तितमहोद्रेगादिदानव्यसनानुप-
जातसंतोषोपात्तोदारकीर्त्तिपंकिपरंपरा-

† L. 27, read विशेषः; † मन्दीकृता. L. 28, read वसुधरायाः
कामुके;—सभाविता, चूडा. L. 29, read शासनः.
‡ L. 1, read सार्ङ्गपाणेरिव गलन्मनो; † प्रणतेरतिधः. L. 2,
read † गस्यस्येव. L. 3, read † रुचिरः; युगायाः. L. 4,

read लंबमानः. L. 5, † दाचरितः; † श्रवणयुगलः पुनःपुनरु-
त्कृत. L. 6, read † विलसन्नवः. L. 7, read † परिष्कृतः.
L. 8, read वशीकृतम. L. 9, read † दर्पः प्रसर्पः. L. 11,
read † लज्जलवन्धुब्धैर्योन्य. Line 12, read † गुरुन्मति.

- 13 दन्तुरितनिखिलदिक्कृत्वा स्वष्टमेव यथार्थं धर्मादित्यापरनामा परममाहेश्वरः श्रीखरग्रहस्त-
स्याग्रजन्मनः कुमुदघण्डश्रीविकासिन्या कलावतश्चन्द्रिकयेव §
14 कीर्त्या धवलितसकलदिङ्गुण्डलस्य खण्डितागुरुविलेपनपिण्डश्यामलविष्यशैलविपुलपयोधराभोगाया
क्षोण्याः पत्युः श्रीशीलादित्यस्य सूनुर्वप्रालेय-
15 किरण इव प्रतिदिनसंवर्द्धमानकलाचक्रवालः केसरीन्द्रशिशुरिव राजलक्ष्मीमचलवनस्थलीमिवालकु-
वृणः शिखण्डिकेतन इव रुचिमच्छूडामण्डनः प्रचण्ड-
16 शक्तिप्रभावश्च शरदागम इव प्रतापवानुलसत्पयः संयुगे विदलयनभोधरानिव परगजानुदयतंचतपन-
बालातप इव संयामे मुष्णन्निविमु-
17 खानामांषि द्विषतां परममाहेश्वरः परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीवावपादानु-
ध्यातः परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीशीलादित्यस्तस्य
18 सुतस्तत्पादानुध्यातः क्षुभितकलिजलधिकलोलाभिभूतमग्नन्महीमण्डलोद्धारैर्यैः प्रकटितपुरुषोत्त-
मतया निखिलजनमनोरयपरिपूरणपरोपर इव
19 चिन्तामणिश्चतुर्भागरावरुद्धसीमापरिकरां च प्रदानसमये तृणलवलवधीयसी भुवमभिमन्यमा-
नोपरपृथ्वीनिर्माणव्यवसायासादितपारमेश्वर्यैः कोपाकृ-
20 णिनिखिलशिविनिपातविदलितारिकरिक्तुंभस्यलोलसत्प्रसृतमहाप्रतापानलप्राकारपरिगतजगन्मण्डलल-
ब्धस्थितिः विकटनिजदोर्दण्डावलंबिना सकलभुवनाभो-
21 गभाजा मन्यास्कालविधुतदुग्धसिन्धुफेनपिण्डपाण्डुरंयसोवितानन पिहितातपत्रः परममाहेश्वरः
परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीवप्यपादानुध्यातः
22 परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीशीलादित्यदेवः सर्व्वेनेव समाज्ञापयत्यस्त वः
संविदितं यया मया मातापित्रोः पुण्याप्यायनाय गोमूत्रिकाविनिर्गतश्रीवल-
23 भीवास्तव्यतच्चातुर्विधवैविद्यसामन्यभरद्वाजसगोत्रमैत्रायणीयसब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणद्रोणपुत्रब्राह्मणभूतकु-
माराय सुराष्ट्रेषु लोणापद्रकस्यव्यां खोडस्थलकोपरिपट-
24 कसहितलोणापद्रकग्रामः सोदंगः सोपरिकरः सभूतवातप्रत्यायसधान्यहिरण्यादेयशदशापराधः सोत्प-
दमानविष्टिकः सर्व्वराजकीयानामहस्तप्रक्षेपणीयः पूर्व्वप्रत्तदेवब्रह्मदेयरहितो भूमिच्छिद्रन्या-
25 येन चन्द्रार्क्षार्णवक्षितिसरित्पूतसमकालीनः पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोग्य उदकातिसर्गेण धर्मदायोतिसृष्टः
यतोऽस्योचितया ब्रह्मदेयस्थित्या भुंजतः कृषतः कर्षयतः प्रदिशतो वा न कैश्चि-
26 दव्यासेधे वर्त्तितव्यमागामिभद्रनृपतिभिरप्यस्मद्भक्षजैरन्यैर्वा अनिलैश्चर्याण्यस्थिरं मानुष्यं सामान्यं च
भूमिदानफलमवागच्छद्विरयमस्मदायोनुमन्तव्यः परिपालयितव्यश्चेत्युक्तं च
27 बहुभिर्बुधैः सुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः यस्यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्यतस्य तदा फलम् । यानीह दारि-
द्र्यमयान्त्रैर्दैनानि धर्मायतनीकृतानि निर्भुक्तमान्यप्रतिमानि तानि को
नाम साधुः पुनराददीत ॥
28 षष्टीं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः आच्छेत्ता चानुमंता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥ दूतकोत्र
राजपुत्रखरग्रह ॥
30 लिखितमिदं बलाधिकृतवप्यभोगिकपुत्रदिविरपतिश्रीहरगणेनेति ॥ सं ७५ ८ श्रावण व ७ (९)
स्वहस्तो ममः ॥ (३०)

§ L. 13, read 'वालः'. L. 16 read 'विदलयनभो'; उदयतपनः;
मुष्णन्. L. 19, read लघीयर्षी. पारमैश्वर्यैः. L. 21, read
परममाहेश्वरः; पाण्डुरयसोवितानेन. L. 23, read सामान्य

सदशापराधः. L. 29, read षष्टिं. Line 30, खरग्रहः; the ७ in
हरगणेने is doubtful.

TRANSLATION OF AN EPISODE IN THE 1ST BOOK OF THE
RÂMĀYAṆA OF TULSI DÂS.

BY F. S. GROWSE, M.A., B.C.S., Fellow of the Calcutta University.

The Hindi *Râmāyaṇa* of Tulsi Dâs is by far the most popular, and for other reasons also the most important work in the vernacular of Upper India. But though three centuries have now elapsed since the year 1575 A.D., when it was written, no portion of it has ever yet been translated into any European language. This singular neglect is to be explained by two causes. In the first place, the colloquial idiom and homely allusions would form insuperable difficulties to any foreigner who had not some local experience and personal acquaintance with native usages; and therefore no philologist at home would essay the task. Secondly, here in India the Hindu side of popular speech has always been viewed with a certain amount of disfavour by the English Government, and this has so much discouraged its study among official residents that, as a rule, the only Europeans in the country who have acquired an accurate knowledge of Hindi are the Protestant missionaries, who find it indispensable for bazar preaching. I had long hoped that some of these very able scholars might be induced to supply a want which they unanimously deplore: but they plead the length of the work and their own little leisure as an excuse. At last, after ascertaining that there is no prospect of my hope being realized by their labours, I have myself commenced the translation, of which the following episode is a specimen. It relates the story of Pârvatî's penance and her subsequent marriage with Śiva, which was the boon she had begged, and is a fair example of the author's unaffected narrative style. The *chhands* which are introduced here and there, whenever the interest of the plot thickens, or the poet feels himself carried away by an access of religious fervour, are metrically rendered as an indication of their peculiar character. The only other remark to be made is that the division into *dohās*, *chaupāi*, &c., which in a prose translation seems at first sight altogether unnecessary, has been retained for the special reason of facilitating a critical reference to the original, and eliciting suggestions for an improved rendering of doubtful passages.

Translation.

But Umā, cherishing in her heart the feet of her dear lord, went into the forest and began her penance. Though her delicate frame was little fit for such austerities, she abandoned all food and became absorbed in prayer, her devotion so growing day by day that all bodily wants were forgotten, and her soul was wholly given to penance. For a thousand years she ate only roots and fruit; for a hundred years she lived on vegetables; for some days her only sustenance was water and air, and on some she maintained a yet more absolute fast. For three thousand years she ate only dry leaves of the *bel** tree that had fallen to the ground, and at last abstained even from dry leaves, whence she acquired the name of *aparna* ('the leafless'). At the sight of her emaciated frame, Brahmā's deep voice resounded through the heavens:—

Dohā 84.

"Hear, daughter of the mountain-king! your desire is accomplished; cease all these intolerable afflictions: Tripurārî will soon be yours.

Chaupāi.

"Though there have been many saints both resolute and wise, not one, Bhavānî, has performed such penance as this: accept now the divine oracle as ever true and ever good. When your father comes to call you, cease to resist, and go home with him; and when the seven sages meet you, know this to be the sign of the heavenly prediction." When she heard Brahmā's voice thus speaking from on high, Girijā thrilled with delight. Now with her we have done for a time, while we turn to Śambhu. From the day when Sati's spirit left the body he became a rigid ascetic, ever telling his beads in Râma's honour, and attending the public recitations in his honour:

Dohā 85.

Even he, Śiva, the pure intelligence, the abode of bliss, exempt from lust, frenzy, and delusion, wanders about on earth with his heart fixed on Hari, the joy of the whole world,

Chaupāi.

Now instructing saints in wisdom, now ex-

* The *bel* tree (*Egle Marmelos*) is specially sacred to Śiva.

pounding Rāma's praises, and though himself the all-wise and passionless Lord God, yet saddened by the sadness of a bereaved disciple. In this way many ages passed, while his love for Rāma daily increased. Then the generous and merciful god, full of grace and benignity, seeing his steadfastness and affection, and the unchangeable stamp of devotion on his soul, became manifest in all his glory and lauded him highly, for none other had ever accomplished such a vow. In divers ways he instructed him, telling him of Pārvati's birth and of her virtuous deeds, all at full length, in his infinite compassion.

Dohā 86.

"Now, Śiva, if you have any love for me, listen to my request: go and marry the mountain-maid and do as I ask you."

Chaupāī.

Said Śiva, "Though it is scarcely seemly, yet when a master speaks he is not to be gainsaid. I must needs bow to your order, for obedience is the highest duty. If a man would prosper, he must do, without thinking, as he is told by his parents, or his confessor, or his superior: you are in every way my benefactor, and I bow to your commands." The lord was pleased when he heard Śaṅkara's reply so full of faith, knowledge, and religious feeling, and said, "Hara, your vow stands good; take to heart what I have told you." So saying he vanished, but the vision remained impressed in Śaṅkara's soul. Then came the seven Rishis to visit him, and he addressed them thus in pleasant wise:—

Dohā 87.

"Go to Pārvati and make trial of her love, and then send her father to fetch her home and remove all his doubts."

Chaupāī.

When the Rishis saw Gaurī, she seemed to them like Penance personified, and they cried, "Hear, O daughter of the mountain! why prac-

tise such grievous self-mortification? What has been the sin, or what is the aim? Tell us the whole secret truly." When Bhavānī heard their speech she replied in strangely moving terms:—"I greatly shrink from telling my secret, for you will smile at my folly when you hear it; but my soul is obstinately set and refuses to hear instruction, though I am like one building a house upon the water, or as one who would fly without wings, relying only on the truth of Nārada's prophecy. See, O saints, the extent of my madness. I long for the unchangeable Śaṅkara as my husband."

Dohā 88.

The Rishis smiled on hearing her speech, and said: "You are moulded like the parent rock; but tell me who has ever listened to Nārada's advice and had a home?"

Chaupāī.

"Did he not advise Daksha's sons? and they never saw their father's house again. It was he, too, who ruined Chitraketu's family, and also Hiranya Kasipu's.† Whoever listens to Nārada's advice, be it man or woman, is certain to become a houseless beggar. Seeming pious, but deceitful at heart, he would make every one like himself. And now you are led away by his words, and are longing to marry a very outcast, a worthless, shameless, tattered wretch, with a necklace of serpents and skulls, and without either family, or house, or even clothes. Tell me, now, what pleasure is to be had from such a bridegroom as this? Better forget the ravings of the impostor. For he married Satī only because other people suggested it, and soon abandoned her and left her to die.

Dohā 89.

"And now he never gives her a thought, but goes about begging, and eats and sleeps at his ease. What respectable woman could ever stay with such a confirmed solitary?"

† It was by Nārada's advice that the sons of Daksha were dissuaded from multiplying their race, and scattered themselves all over the world in the hope of acquiring knowledge. Not one of them ever returned, and the unhappy father, thus deserted by all his children, denounced as a curse upon Nārada that he, too, should always be a homeless wanderer on the face of the earth.

King Chitraketu was childless, though he had a thousand wives. At last, by the blessing of a saint, one of them bore him a son; but when it was a year old they all conspired together and poisoned it. The king was weeping sorely with the dead child in his arms, when Nārada came and after much persuasion consented to restore it to life. It at once sat up and began to speak, saying that in a former state of existence it had been a king, who had retired from the world into a hermitage. There one day a woman in charity gave him a cake of fuel, which he put on the fire without

perceiving that there were in it a thousand little ants. These innocent creatures all perished in the flames, but were born again in a more exalted position as Chitraketu's wives; while the woman who gave the fuel, and the hermit who used it, became the mother and the child, whom inexorable fate had thus punished for their former sinful inadvertence. After finishing this explanation, the child again fell back dead; and Chitraketu, giving up all hope of an heir, abandoned the throne and began a course of penance.

When Kayādhu, the wife of the demon-king Hiranya-Kasipu, was about to bring forth, she received instruction from the sage Nārada, whose words reached even to the ears of the child in her womb. Accordingly, from the moment he was born he devoted himself to the service of Vishnu, and thus provoked his impious father to the acts of persecution which resulted in his own destruction and the extinction of his royal line.

Chaupâi.

"To-day if you will hear my words, I have thought of an excellent bridegroom for you, so beautiful and honourable, so pleasant and amiable, that even the Veda hymns his praise—the faultless and all-perfect lord of Lakshmi, who reigns at Vaikuṇṭha. He is the husband that I will bring you." On hearing this Bhavāni smiled and replied, "You said true that I inherit a rock-nature, and would sooner die than yield. Gold, again, is another product of the rock, that cannot be changed by any amount of burning. Nor will I change my faith in Nārada's word; whether my house be full or desolate I fear not: whoever doubts the word of his spiritual adviser must never dream of obtaining either happiness or riches.

Dohā 90.

"Mahādeva is full of faults, while Viṣṇu is all-perfect; but love is governed by caprice.

Chaupâi 91.

"If, reverend sirs, I had met you sooner, I would have submitted to your advice; but now that I have given my life for Śambhu, it is too late to weigh his merits and defects. If you are firmly resolved and cannot rest without making a match, there is no dearth of lovers, the world is full of young men and maidens; but as for me, though I hold out for a million lives, I will either wed Śambhu or remain a virgin. I will not forget Nārada's admonition, who told me again and again of Mahādeva. I, who am styled the mother of the world, fall at your feet and bid you return home; your time is lost." When the sages beheld her devotion they cried, "Glory, glory, glory to the great mother Bhavāni,

Dohā 91.

"United as Mayā to the god Śiva, the parents of the universe!" then bowing their heads at her feet and thrilling with rapture they left,

Chaupâi.

And sent king Himavant, and with many entreaties brought Girijā back. When they returned to Śiva and told him Umā's whole history, he was delighted to hear of her affection, and they went gladly home. Then the all-wise Śambhu, firmly directing his intention, began a meditation on Rāma. Now at that time was a demon Tāraka, of gigantic strength of arm and high renown, who had subdued the sovereigns of every region, and despoiled the

gods of all their happiness. Knowing neither age nor death, he was invincible; and the powers of heaven were vanquished in innumerable battles. At last they all went and cried to the Creator, and he seeing them so dismayed,

Dohā 92.

Reassured them, saying, "The demon shall die when a son is born of the seed of Śambhu, who shall conquer him in fight."

Chaupâi.

"Having heard what I say, devise a plan by which such a lord may arise and assist you. After Satī quitted the body at Dakṣha's sacrifice, she was born again as the daughter of the Himālaya, and has been practising penance in the hope of obtaining Śambhu to husband. He, on the other hand, has left all, and sits absorbed in contemplation. Though the disparity is great, yet list to what I propose. Send Kāma, the god of love, to Śiva, to agitate his soul, and then I will approach with bowed head and arrange the marriage, and in this way your object will be attained." All exclaimed that the plan was good, and heartily applauded it. Then came the god with the five arrows and the fish-standard.

Dohā 93.

And they told him their distress. He heard, and after reflecting a little replied with a smile, "Śambhu's displeasure will work me no good.

Chaupâi.

"Yet I will do you this service. The scriptures say charity is the highest of virtues, and one who gives his life for another is ever the praise of the saints." So saying he bowed and took his leave, he and his attendant,† with his bow of flowers in his hand. And as he went he thought within himself: Śiva's displeasure will surely be my death. Therefore he hastened to exhibit his power, and for a time reduced to subjection the whole world. If Love is provoked, the stepping-stones of the law are swept away in a moment; religious vows and obligations, self-control, ceremonial observances, knowledge and philosophy, virtuous practices, prayer, penance, self-mortification, the whole spiritual army, is panic-stricken and put to flight.

Chhand 3.

Virtue's grand force is routed in panic and dismay,

And in dark nooks of holy books her champions skulk away.

† Kāmadēva's attendant is Riturāja, or Basanta, the spring season.

Great god of fate! in this dread state what saving power is nigh?
'Gainst man's one heart Love's five-fold dart wins easy victory.

Dohā 94.

Every creature in the world, animate or inanimate, male or female, forgot natural restraint and became subject to love.

Chaupāi.

In every heart was a craving for love: the tree bent its boughs to kiss the creeper; the overflowing river ran into the arms of Ocean; lakes and ponds effected a meeting. And when such was the case with inanimate creation, what need to speak of man? Beasts on land, and birds in the air, under the influence of love, were unmindful of time and season; all were agitated and blind with desire, and the swan regarded neither night nor day. § Gods, demons, men, *kinaras*, serpents, ghosts, witches, goblins and imps, were all at once enslaved by love; even saints and hermits, sages and ascetics became again sensual under his influence.

Chhand 4.

When saints and hermits own his sway, why speak of serf and thrall?
God's whole creation, recreant grown, swore Love was all in all;
Each jocund dame, each amorous swain, found heaven in love's embrace:
Two hours sped past, Love still stood fast and reigned in Brahmā's place.

Soratha 8.

None is so bold but Love steals his heart, and only they whom Rāma protects can then escape.

Chaupāi.

For two hours this triumph lasted, till Kāmadeva drew nigh to Śambhu. On seeing him Love trembled, and the whole world returned to itself. Every living creature at once grew calm, as when a drunkard recovers from his drunkenness. When Love looked at Śiva, the invincible and unapproachable god, he feared; then returned shame too strong for words, and, resolved upon death, he formed his plan of attack. Forthwith lusty Spring stepped forth, and every tree broke into blossom; wood and grove, lake and pond, every quarter of the heaven,

gladdened and overflowed as it were with love, and even the dearest soul was quickened at the sight.

Chhand 5.

At Love's touch the dead were quickened, blossomed all the wood so dark,
While a breeze soft, cool, and fragrant fanned the love-enkindled spark.
Laughs the lake with many a lotus, hum the bees with drowsy sound,
Swans and parrots chatter gaily, gladly dance the nymphs around.

Dohā 95.

Though he tried every trick and manifold device, and triumphed over host and all, yet Śiva's unbroken trance still continued, and Love grew furious.

Chaupāi.

Seeing a mango-tree with spreading boughs, he in his folly climbed up into it; then fitted a shaft to his flowery bow, and in his great passion taking aim and drawing the string home to the ear he let fly and lodged the five arrows in his breast. Then the trance was broken and Śambhu awoke. In the lord's soul was great agitation; he opened his eyes and looking all round saw Kāmadeva in the mango-tree. At his wrath the three worlds trembled. Then Śiva unclosed his third eye, and by its flash Kāmadeva was reduced to ashes. A confused cry went up through the universe from the gods in their dismay, from the demons in exultation; the rich were sad when they remembered love's delights, while saints and hermits felt relieved of a thorn. ||

Chhand 6.

The saints were freed from torment: but Rati swooned for woe,
And in sad guise with weeping eyes at Śiva's throne fell low,
Sore wailing and lamenting her dear lord's hapless fate;
Till quick to pardon spoke the god in words compassionate:

Dohā 96.

"Henceforth, Rati, your husband's name shall be called *Anang* (the bodiless), and thus etherealized he shall pervade all things. But hear how you will again find him hereafter:—

§ The male and female *chakras* (swan, or rather Brāhmanī duck) are doomed for ever to nocturnal separation, and are said to pass the night on the opposite banks of a

river, vainly calling to each other to cross. During love's brief triumph the curse was for once removed.

|| With this whole narrative compare that in the *Kumara Sambhava* of Kālidāsa.—Ed.

Chaupāi.

"When Kṛishṇa becomes incarnate in the family of Jadu to relieve the world of its burdens, your husband shall be born again as his son (Pradyumna): this my word shall not fail." On hearing this prophecy of Śaṅkara's, Rati retired. Inow turn to another part of my story. When Brahmā and the other gods heard these tidings they first went to Vaikuṇṭha, and thence, with Viṣṇu, Brahmā, and all the rest, into the presence of the merciful Śiva, and each of them separately sang his praises. Then the gracious power whose crest is the moon and whose standard a bull said, "Tell me, ye immortals, why ye have come." Said Brahmā, "My lord, you can read our hearts, but as ordered I speak.

Dohā 97.

"In the mind of all the gods is one idea. Śaṅkara is love-smitten, and we would fain with our own eyes see his marriage.

Chaupāi.

"O destroyer of the pride of love, let us feast our eyes on this glad event. In granting a husband to Rati after Kāmadeva had been consumed you have done well, O sea of compassion, in punishment remembering mercy; the great have ever an easy temper. Accept now the interminable penance that Pārvatī has endured." On hearing Brahmā's speech and perceiving its purport, he exclaimed joyfully, "So be it!" Then the gods sounded their kettledrums, and rained down flowers, and cried "Victory, victory to the King of Heaven!" Then, perceiving it was the proper time, the seven sages came and were despatched by Brahmā to the Himālaya, where first they sought Bhavāni, and addressed her in mild but deceptive terms:—

Dohā 98.

"You would not listen to us, but rather took Nārada's advice; now again is your vow proved vain, for the god of love has been consumed by Mahādeva."

Chaupāi.

Bhavāni replied with a smile, "O wisest of sages, you have said well. Your words 'Love has been consumed by Mahādeva' imply a belief that aforetime Śambhu was liable to change. But I know him to be from everlasting an ascetic, faultless, loveless, passionless: and if,

knowing him to be such as he is, I have served him devotedly in heart, word, and deed, so gracious a lord (be assured, O sages) will bring my vow to accomplishment. Your saying that Hara has destroyed Love betrays great want of judgment. Fire, my friend, has an unalterable nature, and ice cannot exist near it; if brought near, it must inevitably perish; and so must Love in the presence of Mahādeva."⁸

Dohā 99.

On hearing this speech and seeing her love and confidence, the sages were delighted and bowed the head before her, and went to king Himāchal,

Chaupāi.

And told him the whole history. When he heard of Love's destruction he was much distressed, but was again comforted when told of Rati's promised husband. After pondering on the majesty of Śambhu he reverently summoned the wise men, and at once had the day fixed according to Vedic prescription, selecting an auspicious date, and planet, and hour: Then he gave the letter to the seven sages, humbly falling at their feet, and they took it to Brahmā, who could not contain himself for joy on reading it, but at once proclaimed it aloud. The whole company of heaven was delighted: there was music and a shower of flowers, and in every quarter festive preparations were commenced.

Dohā 100.

All the gods began adorning the different vehicles on which they ride abroad; the Muses sang for joy, and all was bliss and happiness.

Chaupāi.

Śiva's attendants began to dress their lord, arranging his serpent-crest and crown of matted locks; with snakes for his earrings and bracelets of snakes for his wrists; his body smeared with ashes, and a lion's skin about his loins; the moon on his brow, the lovely Ganges on the crown of his head, his eyes three in number, and a serpent for his Brāhmanical cord; his throat black with poison, a wreath of dead men's skulls about his breast: in such ghastly attire was arrayed the great god Śiva. With trident in hand he advanced riding on a bull, while the drums beat and instruments of music were played. The female divinities all smiled to see him,

⁸ The line thus translated stands in the original *Asi Man-matha Maheia ko nāi*. There is an entirely different reading in some copies, *jini Sampāti nij pachchh ganevāi*,

"like Sampāti who lost his wings;" Sampāti being the brother of Jatāyu who gave Hanumān information of Rāvana's rape of Sītā.

and said, "The world has no bride worthy of such a lover." Vishnu and Brahmā and all the company of heaven followed in the procession, each on his own carriage; they formed a wondrous sight, but were nothing compared to the bridegroom.

Dohā 101.

Then Vishnu with a smile cried to all the heavenly warders and said, "March separately each one with his own retinue,

Chaupāi.

"Otherwise on going into a strange city it will be a joke against us that the procession is a failure after the bridegroom." The gods smiled to hear this speech, and marched separately, each at the head of his own followers. Mahādeva smiled too, not understanding Hari's joke, but taking it as a most friendly suggestion, and sent Bhṛīṅgi to bring all his own company together. On receiving Śiva's order they all came and bowed the head at his lotus-feet. Then Śiva laughed to see the host in their motley attire, riding every kind of vehicle; some with monstrous heads, some with no head at all; some with many hands and feet, and some with none; some with great eyes, some with no eyes; some very stout, some very slim.

Chhand 7.

All, stout or slim, or foul or trim, in gruesome panoply,
With skulls for wine-cups filled with blood, from which they quaffed with glee,
With head of dog, or ass, or hog, a host no tongue can tell,
Ghosts, goblins, witches, every kind of denizen of hell.

Soratha 9.

All the demons went singing and dancing with wonderful contortions, such as never were seen, and uttering all sorts of strange cries.

Chaupāi.

Like bridegroom, like procession—an extraordinary sight as it went along the road. There king Himāchal erected a canopy more splendid than words can tell; and every hill in the world, small and great, more than man can count, and every wood and sea, river, stream and lake, all were invited to attend; and assuming forms of exquisite beauty, with all their retinue, male and female, they flocked to the palace, singing songs of gladness. First of all, the king had built a number of guest-houses, and so tastefully

arranged them that after a glance at the beauty of the city the Creator of the world seemed a contemptible architect.

Chhand 8.

Little seemed the world's Creator, and his skill of nothing worth;

Lake and fountain, grove and garden, shone more fair than aught on earth.

Wreaths and arches, flags and banners, made each house a goodly show;

Gallant youths and lovely maidens set a saint's heart all aglow.

Dohā 102.

The city in which the Great Mother had taken birth surpassed description; joy, prosperity, and abundance were ever on the increase.

Chaupāi.

When it was known that the marriage procession was close at hand, the stir in the city and the brilliancy of the decorations grew more and more. With numerous carriages and all due equipment the heralds started for the formal reception. When they saw the army of gods they were glad of heart, and yet more so when they beheld Hari. But when they perceived Śiva's familiars, every beast they rode started back in affright. Grown men summoned up courage to stand, but the children all ran for their lives straight back home, and when their parents questioned them could only reply, trembling all over, "What can we say? it is beyond telling; it is no marriage procession, but the army of death: the bridegroom a maniac, mounted on a bull, with snakes and skulls and ashes to adorn him."

Chhand 9.

"Skulls and snakes and streaks of ashes, matted locks and body bare,

Witches, imps, and frightful goblins, and appalling ghosts are there.

Happy man who sees such horrors nor dies at once of fright!"

So from house to house they babbled on Umā's wedding night.

Dohā 103.

The fathers and mothers smiled, for they recognized Śiva's familiars, and reassured the children in every possible way, saying, "Do not be afraid, there is no cause for fear."

Chaupāi.

The heralds brought in the procession, and assigned them all pleasant quarters. And Maina,

having prepared an elegant sacrificial lamp, and lustrous water in a golden bowl, proceeded with much gladness to move it round and round over Śiva's head, while her attendants sang festive songs. When they saw his terrible attire the women feared greatly, and ran inside the house all of a tremble. Mahādeva advanced to the guest-room, and Maina, sorely grieved at heart, called her daughter and in the most loving manner took her into her lap, while her lotus-eyes overflowed with tears:—"To think that the Creator should have made you so beautiful, and then given you such a raving fool for a bridegroom!"

Chhand 10.

"How can God send such a raving groom for such a lovely bride?
What a thorn-bush is our wishing-tree, the fruit for which we cried!
From mountain-top, in sea or fire, I cast me down with thee:
Welcome disgrace, so they be gone; this wedding ne'er shall be."

Dohā 104.

All the ladies were distressed when they saw the queen so sad, who in her deep affection for her daughter began to weep and make great lamentation.

Chaupāi.

"What harm had I done to Nārada that he should make my home desolate, and give Umā such advice, to undergo penance for the sake of a mad bridegroom? In good sooth he is fancy-free and passionless, an ascetic who wants neither money, nor house, nor wife, and therefore is destroying another's home; he has neither shame nor compunction; for what does a barren woman know of the pangs of childbirth?" When Bhavāni saw her mother's distress, she answered thus placidly and discreetly, "Be not troubled, my mother, with these thoughts, for God's plans are unalterable. If Fate decrees me a mad husband, then why should any one be blamed? can you blot out the handwriting of the Creator; then refrain from profitless reproaches."

Chhand 11.

"Cease from profitless reproaches, nor in vain bemoan my fate;
I must go where'er my destined joys and sorrows for me wait."

Hearing Umā's pious answer, all her ladies felt surprise,

Much they talked of God's injustice, while the tears bedewed their eyes.

Dohā 105.

At that time came Nārada, and with him the sages (for they had heard the news), and at once betook themselves to the king's palace.

Chaupāi.

Then Nārada instructed them all, and recited in full the past history, saying, "Hear, O Maina! my words are true; your daughter is Bhavāni, the mother of the world, the everlasting Female Energy; without birth or beginning; Sambhu's inseparable half; the creator, supporter and destroyer of the universe; who at will assumes the semblance of human form. First she was born in Daksha's house, Satī by name, of excellent beauty. Then as Satī she married Saikara, and her story is famous throughout the world,—how once with Śiva she met the son of Raghu's lotus-line (*i.e.* Rāma), and in her infatuation was not obedient to Śiva, but was beguiled into assuming the form of Sītā.

Chhand 12.

"For the crime of this assumption she was widowed many a day,

Till in the fire before her sire her sins were burnt away.

Now, born your daughter, for her lord in penitence she stayed;

And Śiva aye shall be her lord; know this, nor be dismayed."

Dohā 106.

On hearing Nārada's explanation, the sadness of all was dispersed, and in a moment his words were spread from house to house throughout the city.

Chaupāi.

Then Maina and Himavant were glad and fell again and again at Pārvatī's feet. All the people of the city, whatever their age, men and women alike, were equally delighted. Songs of joy began to sound in the streets; golden vases were displayed; meats were dressed in various ways according to the rules of gastronomic science. But the banquet-table of Bhavāni and her mother was altogether beyond description. The marriage guests—Vishṇu, Brahmā, and all the heavenly orders—were courteously entreated, and took their seats line after line. Then the skilful servers began to serve, and the women,

when they found the gods were sat down, began to jest and banter in pleasant strain.

Chhand 13.

In pleasant strain with dark refrain they hint at love's delight:

Charmed with the song, the gods sit long, nor heed the waning night.

With growing zest each jovial guest prolongs the festive hour:

At last they rise; each bids adieu and seeks his separate bower.

Dohā 107.

Then the sages came and, declared to Himavānt the marriage proposal, and, seeing the time was fit, sent to summon all the gods,

Chaupāi.

Whom he courteously addressed, and assigned to each an appropriate seat. An altar was prepared according to Vedic ritual, while the women chanted festal strains; and a divinely beautiful throne was erected, the handiwork of a god, beyond description. Then Śiva, after bowing to the Brāhmanas, took his seat, remembering in his heart his own lord, Rāma. Then the sages sent for Umā, who was brought in by her handmaids, richly adorned. All the gods beholding her beauty were enraptured. What poet in the world could describe such loveliness? The divinities, who recognized in her the universal mother, the spouse of Mahādeva, adored her in their inmost soul,—Bhavanī, the crown of beauty, whose praises would still be beyond me even though I had a myriad tongues.

Chhand 14.

A myriad tongues were all too few to sing her matchless grace;

Where gods and muses shrink abashed, for Tulsi's rhyme what place?

With downcast eyes the glorious dame passed up the hall, and fell,

Bee-like, at Śiva's lotus-feet, the lord she loved so well.

Dohā 108.

At the injunction of the priests, both Śambhu and Bhavanī paid divine honours to Gaṇeś. And let no one be perplexed on hearing this, but know well that they are gods from everlasting.

Chaupāi.

The whole marriage-ceremony was performed by the priests in accordance with Vedic ritual,

and the father, with *kusa* grass in his hand, took the bride and gave her to Śiva. When the two had joined hands, all the gods were glad of heart; the chief priests uttered the scriptural formulæ, and the cry went up of "Glory, glory, glory to Śaṅkara!" all kinds of music began to play, and flowers were rained down from heaven. Thus was accomplished the marriage of Hara and Girijā, amidst general rejoicing. The dowry given defies description—men-servants and maid-servants, horses, carriages, elephants, cows, raiment, jewellery, things of all sorts, and wagon-loads of grain and golden vessels.

Chhand 15.

Thus great and more the dowry's store that King Himauchal brought;

Yet falling low at Śiva's feet he cried that all was nought.

The gracious lord cheered his sad sire in every way most meet.

Then Maina came, most loving dame, and clasped his lotus-feet:—

Dohā 109.

"Umā, my lord, is dear to me as my own soul; take her as one of your servants, and pardon all her offences: this is the boon I beg of your favour."

Chaupāi.

After Śambhu had in every possible way reassured his wife's mother, she bowed herself at his feet and went home, there called for Umā, and taking her into her lap gave her this excellent instruction:—"Be ever obedient to Śaṅkara: to say 'My Lord and my God' is the sum of all wifely duty." At these words her eyes filled with tears, and again and again she pressed her daughter to her bosom:—"Why has God created woman in the world, seeing that she is always in a state of subjection, and never can even dream of happiness." Though utterly distracted by motherly love, she knew it was no time to display it, and restrained herself. Running to her again and again, and falling on the ground to clasp her feet, in a transport of affection beyond all words, Bhavanī said adieu to all her companions and then again went and clung to her mother's breast.

Chhand 16.

Still clinging to her mother's breast she cheered her weeping train,

Then with her handmaids sought her spouse, yet oft looked back again.

'Midst beggars' blessings, richly bought, forth
rode the royal pair :
The glad gods rained down flowers, and sounds
of music filled the air.

Dohā 110.

Then went Himavant most lovingly to escort
them, till with many words of consolation Mahā-
deva bid him return.

Chaupāi.

Then he came speedily to the palace, called
all the gods, entreated them courteously with
words and gifts, and allowed them to depart.
They proceeded each to his own realm, and
Śambhu arrived at Kailāsa. How shall I tell
its delights when thus occupied by Śambhu
and Bhavānī, the father and mother of the world,
and their attendants? They began to indulge
in sport and dalliance, and every day was some
new pleasure. Thus a length of time was passed

and the six-headed child (Kārtikeya) was born,
who vanquished in battle the demon Tāraka.
His fame is sung by all the sacred books, and
his deeds are known throughout the world.

Ohhand 17.

All the world knows the story of the birth and
the glory of Mahādeva's six-headed son ;
And this is the cause why so briefly I pause on
the generous deeds he hath done.

Man or maid who shall tell or sing true
and well how Śiva took Umā to wife,
Shall be happily wed, and, with blessings be-
stead, live at ease all the days of his life.

Dohā 111.

The amorous deeds of Girijā and her beloved
are an ocean-like depth that not even the Veda
can sound ; how then can an ignorant clown,
such as Tulsi Dās, succeed in describing them ?

THE RĀJMAHĀL HILLMEN'S SONGS.

BY THE REV. F. T. COLE, TALJHARI, RĀJMAHĀL.

Colonel Dalton, in his interesting work
The Ethnology of Bengal, says : " I nowhere find
any description of the dances or of the songs of
the Paharis." This suggested to my mind the
idea of sending a few specimens, with rough
sense-translations appended. I have collected
them chiefly from the Pahari young men who
are being trained as school-masters in the Tal-
jhari Church Mission school.

A great many of their songs are extempore,
composed by the singer on the spur of the
moment. Supposing a friend should invite the
poet to a feast, the latter thinks it the correct
thing to celebrate his host's praises in song
after dinner. The Paharis are very clever at
composition, and one chorus, with very little
alteration, will answer the singer's purpose on
many occasions.

It is very noticeable that the Paharis of the
Rājmahāl district are not nearly so fond of
singing and dancing as those of the south. In
the villages near Rājmahāl I have not seen any
special places set apart for dancing, as are to
be found to the south-west.

1. " Sonani sajani chicheken,
Rupani sajani chicheken,

Lele kalen, ania,
Indire anriso mala."

" A necklace of gold I have given to her,
A necklace of silver I have given to her.
She said, I will go to him to-morrow ;
Why has she not arrived ?"

2. Raji majiye gandi thi* sariwa.

Sona ti banja tayan.
Qegho lero sona ti,
Banja tayan.
Kero kero kerojuri,
Sona ti banja tayan.

" The nobles of the land have little bodies,
But they deck themselves with gold.
We will deck you out with gold,—
Yes, indeed, we will deck you out with
gold."

3. " Bamaṇa menoti dinon thi bechiya,
Oya moqi ki mundaṇiya.
Qegho lero oye moqi ki mundaṇiya.
Ino juraṇ ano maṇo,
Oye moqi ki mundaṇiya."

" There was a man who wished to be a
Brāhmaṇ,
He abstained from meat for many days,

* *Tā* in Pahari is pronounced the same as in the English word "the."

- But on the last day (of probation) he saw
a cow,
And being tempted broke his vow.
What a pity! he ate a cow and was defiled!
Yes, my brother, yes, my sister,—
He ate a cow and was defiled!"
4. "Guiyare, Guiyare Mesi, adiro toqoti ekiya,
Nadahi ugali menja adiki oyoka Chandire.
Nadahi ugali menja adiki oyoka Mesire."
- "Mesi, Guiyar's daughter, went forth to
gather herbs;
The keeper of the garden said to her,
Come and pick whatever you please,—
The keeper said to Chandi, Pick where'er
you please."
5. "Ithikid dame panch ana raniko,
Koliken chicheken.
Ochekeni tūḍino sihayapa dure menjado.
Jare panch ana paisa muḍiken anure,
Surajire!
Jare panch ana paisa muḍiken anure
Surajire!"
- "He told me the price of this was five annas,
Then I opened my purse and gave it to
the (cloth-merchant);
I took it home and opened it, and to my
great surprise
I found it nothing else but rotten rags
neatly sewn together.
Ah me! I spent five annas for nought, O
Surja!"
- Ah me! I spent five annas for nought, O
Surja!
6. "Guiyar Mesire tok token jarath ekiya,
Tanase ambiya namato kudetore chaqe-
tore, Chandire."
- "O Guiha's daughter Mesi, the rain is falling
on the hills around,
The clouds depart leaving our own un-
watered;
But sorrow not, O Chandi, we will hoe
our ground, and hope for better times."
7. "Aiyore keyetande, kiretar malaiye,
Enu keyen atha ngileo malekenne.
Ore Gosaiṇi engeni ambo makkore."
- "Woe to us two, we shall die, and never
return to meet again."
(Companion answers) "I shall die, but I do
not grieve at the thought,
O God, do not forsake me!"
8. "Chilimili † Sahibe dene;
Feringhi gole dene.
Javira Suraja."
- "Be like Cleveland Sahib,
Be like a Feringhi,
O Suraja, son of Javira!"

This song is sung in honour of Mr. Cleveland, a Collector of Bhāgalpur. He it was who reduced the Paharis to order. Before his time they were great robbers, and a terror to all the surrounding country. Now they may be reckoned as one of the most peaceful tribes in India. Mr. Cleveland died A.D. 1784.

MISCELLANEA.

A BUDDHIST JĀTĀKA FROM THE CHINESE.

From the xivth Kiouen of the "*Mahāpari Nirvāna Sūtra*."* Translated by the Rev. S. Beal.

Illustrious youth, in years gone by, before the Sun of Buddha had come forth, I was born as a Brāhman. I practised in this birth the conduct (or mode of life) of a Bôḍhisatwa. I was thoroughly conversant with all heretical teaching; well versed in the knowledge of final deliverance; my heart at perfect rest, &c. Yet after all, though I inquired and searched through all the Books of the Great Development, I knew not nor heard of the name of *Vaipulya Sūtras*.

At this time I was dwelling in the Snowy Moun-

tains, surrounded by every kind of pleasant scenery, and with fruits and edible roots in every variety. Thus dwelling alone, and feeding solely on the fruits of the earth, I passed many years in the practice of religious meditation, and so through all this time I neither heard of a Buddha having been born, nor of the Scriptures of the Great Vehicle having been delivered. At this time, whilst I was going through such mortification as this, Sakra and all the Devas assembled in mass, their hearts greatly affected with awe, and spoke thus one to another:—

"On every hand there are portents

That in the midst of the quiet Snowy Moun-
tains

† *Chilimili* is a perverted form of 'Cleveland.'

* This *Sūtra* is probably one of the first of the *Vaipulya*

class. It was translated into Chinese by Dharmaraksha in the 5th century A.D.

There is a Master who is practising the way
of self-control and the destruction of selfish
desire,—

An illustrious and highly virtuous King.

Already has he banished covetousness and
anger,

Eternally separated himself from folly and
doubt;

His mouth has not yet uttered a word

Either of base or false language."

At this time in the Congregation there was a
Devaputra named "Joy and Gladness," who
spoke as follows:—

"This practiser of asceticism,

Advancing so resolutely in purity,

Why does not Sakra look for him,

With all the Devas?

If he be a heretic

Practising these austerities,

Much more should this man's abode

And birthplace be known by Sakra."

At this time there was a Rishi who, on behalf of
Sakra, spoke as follows:—

"Lord of Devas, Kusika,

Let not such contradiction as this be yours;

For a heretic practising austerities

Let not your Majesty seek."

Having uttered this *gāthā* again, the Rishi said:
"Kusika, there is a great Sage in the world, who
for the sake of all flesh, not caring for his own
body, desiring to benefit others, practises every
kind of penance; without a remnant of covetous
desire, so that if the earth, mountains, and seas
were filled with gems, he would behold them as
seeing spittle, without the least desire. He has
given up all—wealth, wife and child, head, eyes,
marrow, hands and feet, bit by bit, house and
possessions, elephants, horses, chariots, slaves,
even a desire to be born in heaven, if only he might
give true happiness to all flesh. His only aim is
if at last he may reach the condition of Anutara
Samyak Sambōdhi."

The Sakra Devānam replied: "According to
your words, this man is aiming at the control of
all living creatures. Great Rishi, if in the world
there be any room for a Buddha (*lit.* tree or off-
spring of Buddha), then he will be able to clear
away all Devas and men, and also to counteract
all sorrows, whether in the condition of an Asura
or a poisonous snake. And so all creatures under
the shadow of this Salvation will be freed from all
woes and misery. Great Rishi, if this man at
some future time obtain a good deliverance, then
I and others ought thoroughly to get rid of the
endless toils of care and trouble that now molest
us. But this is difficult to believe, for there is a
difference between the beginning and the end of a

thing. The moon's image may for a time be re-
flected in placid water; but let the water be dis-
turbed, and how the reflection also is broken! It
is difficult to complete a picture, but how easy to
destroy it! So also is it with the heart (or the
state) of religious conviction—difficult to mature,
easy to destroy. Great Rishi, as there are many
men who put on a bold front with their weapons
when they go to meet the robbers who threaten
them, but afterwards turn their backs and are
overcome with fear, so is it with the heart of know-
ledge (Bōdhi). So I have seen it with countless
mortals; at first their hearts full of confidence and
courage, but afterwards what a change and falling
away! So I am unable to believe that this man
who is practising austerities will be able to con-
tinue! I will therefore go and ascertain for myself.
For as the two wheels to a chariot and the two
wings to a bird, so, Great Rishi, is it in this
matter: the devotee may have great constancy in
suffering self-inflicted mortification, but has he also
wisdom? If he has deep wisdom, he will accomplish
his aim. Just as the fish in the sea, whose spawn
is great in quantity, and the fish born from it few;
or the *Amra* tree, its flowers many, and its fruit
few;—so of mortals, those who undertake the at-
tainment of wisdom are many, those who reach it
few. But, Great Rishi, I will go with you and try
this man! Great Rishi, it is as the gold thrice
tried, and thus known to be good,—by fire, by
hammer, by rubbing; so is it with penance,—it
must be tried and tested before it be really known."

At this time Sakra Devānam, changing his body
into the shape of a Rākshasa horrible to look at,
descended to the Snowy Mountains, and not very
far from them took his seat, and then, with a soft
and pleasant voice, repeated this half-stanza of a
Buddha gone before:—

"There is no permanent result from religious
exercises.

Birth and death are universal laws."

Having uttered this half-*gāthā* he remained fixed
in his place, stern and with unmoved face. Then
the ascetic, having heard this half-stanza, con-
ceived the highest heart-joy. Just as a strange tra-
veller, who in journeying along some difficult and
precipitous mountain-pass towards evening loses
his companions, is afflicted with fear, when sud-
denly he comes on them again—what joy! Or as
an invalid who suddenly finds the relief which his
physician prescribed for; or as a man perishing in
the sea who meets with a boat; or as a thirsty
man who finds cool and refreshing water; or as a
prisoner who hears of his pardon; or as a hus-
bandman who watches the rain falling on his
dried-up crops; or as the wanderer who finds
himself at home again; so, illustrious youth, it was

with me when I heard this half-*gāthā*; and as I arose from my seat and saluted the four quarters, and said, "Who is he that uttered this half-verse?" Then, seeing no one except the Rāksha, I said, "Who is he that opened this door of Salvation? who is he that is thus able to declare the words of all the Buddhas? Who amongst the slumbering crowds that pass through life and death is the wakeful one, leading the victims of life and death to the highest participation of Bōdhi? Who is the master of the vessel,—the good physician? Who has repeated this half-*gāthā*, as refreshing to my understanding as the waxing moon to the opening lily?"

Seeing only the Rāksha, I thought, "Could it be this Rāksha who uttered this half-verse?" And then I doubted, and said, "It cannot be so, for no such word can proceed from such a form. Is the lotus produced from the fire? Freezing water comes not from the solar heat." And then I thought again, "I am but a fool, perhaps this Rāksha may have remembered from long ago this half-*gāthā*. I will ask him." And so, going up to him, I said, "Where, O Great Sage, did you in former days obtain the knowledge of this half-*gāthā*, the half of this precious gem? for this verse is in truth the true wisdom of all the Buddhas, past, present, and to come." Then he answered and said, "Great Brāhman, ask me not such a question; and why, because for several days I have had no food. Everywhere have I sought it, but in vain. Parched with thirst, my mind is confused, and I can answer nothing. There is no food for me in earth or heaven." Then I said, "Rāksha, do but finish this *gāthā*, then for ever I will be thine, and my body thine. That which you just now uttered was only half-said, and had no meaning in it; only finish it, and I am thine for aye." Then the Rāksha replied, "The utmost knowledge you possess goes not beyond your present body; but the pangs of hunger which possess me who can describe?" Then I said, "What food do you eat?" The Rāksha said, "Ask me not, for the answer is a fearful one!" But I said, "There are none to frighten here, and I have no fear of you; speak out then!" The Rāksha said, "That which I eat is the hot flesh of men, and I drink only their warm blood. Everywhere have I sought for this food in vain, for men now-a-days are so good that the gods protect them, and I can do nothing." Then I said, "Finish only this *gāthā*, and my body is thine." The Rāksha replied, "What reliance can I place in thee? Who will believe that for eight words you will be ready to give up your body?" To whom I replied, "Surely you are a fool, for what is it? Would not a man gladly give another an earthen pot to obtain a gemlike vase? And so I, sacrificing this feeble body,

obtain an imperishable body. And yet you say, Who can trust you? I call Brahmā, Sakra, the four kings, and all the Bōdhisatwas, and all the Buddhas, to witness that I am ready thus to give up my body for the sake of these eight words." "Listen then, listen then," said the Rāksha, "if it be so, and I will repeat the other half of the verse." Oh, what joy was mine as I prostrated myself before the Rāksha, and besought him to proceed! Then the Rāksha added,

"Birth and death, destroyed,

(This) is the joy of Nirvāṇa."

The Rāksha, having uttered this *gāthā*, added, "Oh! Bōdhisatwa Mahāsatwa, you now have heard the full meaning of this stanza; and now before you give yourself up as a sacrifice to my body, you wish to benefit the world by proclaiming the truth you have heard. Do so." Then, having well considered the meaning of this *gāthā*, I went from place to place, and on every stone and wall, on every tree and road, I wrote this stanza. Then, carefully arranging my clothes, so that after death my naked body should not be needlessly exposed, I ascended a high tree, purposing to fulfil my vow and put an end to my life. Then the Tree Deva asked me the following question, "Venerable one, what are you doing?" To whom I replied, "I am about to sacrifice my body in return for the knowledge of a *gāthā* given me." "And what use is this knowledge?" added the Tree Deva. To which I replied, "This *gāthā* contains the mysterious doctrine of all the Buddhas, past, present, and to come, compared with which there is nothing of value in the world, and for the knowledge of which I now give up my life," &c. Then casting myself down, such sounds came from mid-air and ascended even to the Akaṇiṣṭha heaven! Then also the Rāksha returned to his true form as Sakra Devānam, and in a moment arrested the fall of the Bōdhisatwa in the air, and placed him harmlessly on the ground. At this time Sakra and all the Devas, with the Great Brahmā, came and prostrated themselves at the feet of this Bōdhisatwa, and in terms of commendation sang, "Well done! well done! Thou art a true Bōdhisatwa, able to benefit the world, deserving to hold the torch of the Great Law in the midst of the darkness of the world! Oh, would that in future ages, when you attain the perfection of Buddha, you would think on me and acquit me of all my sins!" &c. And so by the virtue of this *gāthā*, for which I gave up my life, I was able (by anticipation), to pass over twelve Kalpas, and in the presence of Maitreya to attain perfection as Buddha.

Such merit attaches to the love of the true Scriptures of the Great Vehicle.—*Trübner's Record*, Jan. 1873.

THE TWELVE EMÂMS.

BY E. REHATSEK, M.C.E., Hon. Mem. B.B.R.A.S.

BEFORE the dynasty of the Çefâvis the Emâmites began gradually to strengthen their position all over Persia. Already during the time of A'bâs the Great the Emâmite Faith (*athna-a'sharite*, i.e. of the twelve) became dominant, and has continued so to this day. It asserted itself, however, much earlier in some countries, where the followers of A'li had better and safer opportunities for developing their tenets. A'li was only the fourth Khalif, whereas according to his partizans he ought to have been the second, i.e. the immediate successor of the Prophet. This is the origin of the difference between the sects of the Sunnis and the Shia'hs, who were secretly organized immediately after the murder of A'li, and added to the profession of faith the words "and A'li is the Vely of God." The meaning of the word *Vely* was afterwards amplified into that of "vicar," and gave rise to various theories about A'li's divine nature. Some even exalted A'li to the highest grade of divinity, and called him Allah; but, whatever differences may exist at present on that point, not only do the Emâmites, but all the Shia'hs, agree that the title of Emâm belongs to his family only. In fact, besides himself and his son Hasan, all the other Emâms—ten in number—are the descendants of his son Husain, and the ancestors of the many thousands of Sayyids now living in the Muhammadan world. The names of the twelve Emâms are:—I. A'li; II. Hasan; III. Husain; IV. Zain ul-'abedin; V. Muhammad Bâqer; VI. Ja'fer-es-Sâdeq; VII. Mûsa el-Kâsem; VIII. A'li Mûsa er-Rîza; IX. Muhammad Taqi; X. A'li Naqi; XI. Hasan al-A'skari; XII. Mohdi.

I. A'li the son of Abu Tâ'leb, being the son of the prophet's uncle, was his cousin. He was born at Mekkah in the thirtieth year 'of the elephant,' and became the first convert of Muhammad, who afterwards gave him his own daughter Fâtemah to wife. He might have become the immediate successor of Muhammad, but the prophet's favourite wife A'ayshah managed to keep him away, and to get her own father, Abu Bakr, elected Khalif. A'li, however, became Khalif after the murder of O'thmân, and was thus the fourth instead of the second

Commander of the Faithful. Soon, however, A'ayshah, "the Mother of the Believers," raised opposition under her own auspices, by leaving Madinah with Tolhah and Zobayr and proceeding towards Boçra, and proclaiming everywhere that O'thmân had been slain with the consent and by the command of A'li. The latter, no doubt apprehensive of the dangers in store for him, also left Madinah, and sent his son Hasan to Kufah; but Abu Mûsa, the governor of the town, at first prevented the people from manifesting any feelings of loyalty; afterwards, however, some thousands of them marched out and joined A'li Zî Kâder, whence he marched with them towards Boçra, and encamped in the vicinity of the town, but A'ayshah with Tolhah and Zobayr came out of it with 30,000 men and took up a position in front of him; they also sent letters to him demanding the extradition of the murderers of O'thmân, to avert hostilities. The latter, who were several hundreds in number, detached themselves from A'li's army and made a night attack upon A'ayshah's army, which appears to have been a mere skirmish; a short time afterwards, however, the people of A'ayshah assailed the army of A'li, which gained the victory. The leaders Tolhah and Zobayr lost their lives, and the very camel on which A'ayshah rode was cut down, so that she escaped with difficulty. This was 'the battle of the camel,' in which 17,000 of the followers of 'the Mother of the Believers,' and nearly 3,000 of the 'Commander of the Faithful,' are said to have fallen. Hereupon A'li entered Boçra, harangued the people in the great mosque, and sent A'ayshah to Madinah under a guard of honour.

After overcoming these difficulties, new ones arose for A'li; certain parties who also considered him to be an accomplice in the assassination of O'thmân went to Syria in order to instigate Moa'viah to avenge it. The latter most readily accepted the invitation, and immediately began hostilities. He despatched insulting letters to A'li, who was at Kufah, wherein he accused him of aspiring to the Khalifate as soon as the prophet had died, and of complicity in the murder of O'thmân; and, lastly, he threatened that he would chastise those who had a hand

in it, wherever he could find them. After this the real warfare between the parties began; A'li assembled an immense army to combat Moa'viah Ben Sofiân. The latter with his troops arrived first at Çaffin, and at once so arranged ten thousand of them that when A'li approached the river Euphrates his army could not quench its thirst. There many combats of an indecisive character appear to have occurred, but no real battle, in spite of the marvellous verbiage expended by Persian historians about the victory there gained; since after these so-called defeats Moa'viah was so strong that he was able to send troops in various directions, to Mesopotamia, Yemen, Hejâz, and E'râk, to establish his supremacy, which A'li was unable any longer to contest, being assassinated by three malcontents while entering the mosque at Kufah, about the middle of the month Râmân A.H. 40 (began Jan. 8, A.D. 661).

II. When Moa'viah heard that Hasan the son of A'li had been proclaimed Khalif, he marched with 60,000 men to conquer Arabian E'râk, and Hasan left Kufah with 40,000 men, who not only proved to be cowards, but mutinied against him instead of attacking Moa'viah, whom he was compelled to acknowledge as Khalif on the promise of a pension from the treasury. For this act of submission he had to suffer the reproaches of some of his more turbulent adherents, by whose advice also a clause was inserted in the act of pacification that no Khalif after Moa'viah should be appointed without Hasan's consent; and Moa'viah being some time afterwards desirous to nominate Yazid his successor, but being persuaded that he could not get Hasan to agree, put him out of the way by despatching Mervân Ben Hakam, a disgraced attendant on the prophet, to Ja'dah, the spouse of Hasan, with a poisoned towel, and instructing her through this wretch to wipe the limbs of her husband therewith, on condition of receiving after his death 50,000 dirhems from Moa'viah and becoming enrolled among the wives of Yazid. He died at Madinah in the middle of the month Râmân A.H. 53 (5th September A.D. 673), and was buried there.

III. The *kunya*t (sobriquet) of Husain was Abu A'bd-ullah, and his *lakab* (honorific title) was 'the Martyr' and 'the Prince by birth.'

He was born at Madinah on the 4th Sha'bân A.H. 4 (10th January A.D. 626). His tragic end took place at Kerbellâ during the khalifate of Yazid, A.H. 41 (A.D. 661), at the age of 37 years. He was overwhelmed by his foes and slain without mercy. The *Rouzat-al-Shahdâ* treats largely on the disaster of Kerbellâ.

IV. A'li, the son of Husain, bears the *kunya*t (or epithets) of Abu Muhammad, Ab-ul-Husain, and Ab-ul-Qâsem, or Abu Bakr; his *lakab* is Sayyid-ul-a'âbedin ('prince of the servants of God') and Zain-ul-a'âbedin ('ornament of the servants of God'). He was of royal descent, as his mother Sheheriân or Sheherbânû was the daughter of Yazdegerd the son of Sheheriâr, son of Khosru, son of Parviz, son of Hormuz, son of Nushirvân the Just. He was born A.H. 38 (A.D. 658-59). There is a tradition of Zohry stating that A'li the son of Husain wore a yoke on his neck and heavy bonds on his feet, by order of A'bd-ul-malak Mervân. He was thus kept prisoner in a tent. On being compassionated by Zohry about his condition, he stated that he could at any moment get rid of his shackles, and that he would go no further than two stages from Madinah with his guardians. This actually took place, for when they were at some distance from the town on their journey to A'bd-ul-malak Mervân their prisoner disappeared miraculously. This Emâm is said to have worked numerous miracles, and was, on account of his great piety, named Zain-ul-a'âbedin ('the ornament of the servants of God'). How he again re-appeared in Madinah is not stated, but the author of the *Rouzat-al-Qafa* mentions that he died there on the 18th Muharram A.H. 95 (14th October A.D. 713), and was buried in the Bakî' cemetery.

V. Muhammad, the son of A'li, the son of Husain, was born in Madinah on the 1st Rajab A.H. 57 (10th May A.D. 676). His *kunya*t is Abu Ja'fer, and his *lakab* is Bâker. To describe his miracles a volume would be required. He died A.H. 104 (A.D. 722), at the age of 57 years.

VI. Ja'fer, the son of Muhammad, the son of A'li, son of Husain. His *kunya*t is Abu A'bd-ullah, and his well-known *lakab* is Çâdeq. He was born at Madinah A.H. 133 (A.D. 750-51). He was a great divine, and wrote five hundred treatises on religious subjects. Muham-

mad Ben Eskandar, a courtier of the Khalif Mañçūr, who reigned from A.D. 753 to 775, says:—"One day I waited upon Mañçūr, and finding him melancholy I asked, 'O commander of the Faithful! what is the cause of your sadness?' He replied, 'O Muḥammad! I have slain many of the descendants of A'li, but have left their chief guide.' I continued, 'Who is he?' He replied, 'Ja'fer, the son of Muḥammad.' I said, 'He is a pious man constantly engaged in the worship of God, and abhors the world with all its ways.' He continued, 'O Muḥammad! I was aware that you believe in his Emāmship." Hereupon I swore an oath that I would set his mind at ease on this point before the night set in; then he called in a negro and said, 'When Ja'fer Ben Muḥammad comes, and I place my hand on my head, thou art immediately to kill him.' Afterwards he issued orders that the Emām Ja'fer should be brought, and when he made his appearance I perceived that his blessed lips were moving, but could not understand what he said. I felt the kiosk shaking like a vessel among the waves, whilst Mañçūr hastened with bare head and feet to meet him, and all the members of Mañçūr's body quaked. Taking hold of his arm he seated him on the throne and addressed him as follows:—"O descendant of the prophet! what is the reason of your coming?" He replied, 'You have sent for me, and so I came.' Mañçūr continued, 'Express your wish!' He answered, 'My wish is that you should not send for me any more, so that I may pay you a visit of my own accord whenever I feel inclined.'

"As soon as Ja'fer Çadek had departed, Mañçūr went to his bedroom and slept till midnight, so that his prayers were forgotten. When he awoke, he called for me and said, 'Remain till I finish my omitted orisons, and inform you of what has happened to me.' After he had terminated his prayers he said, 'When Ja'fer Ben Muḥammad was present I saw a dragon the tail of which was coiled around my castle, and the upper jaw of which was on the top, whilst the lower one touched the base of it. This dragon uttered distinctly the following words:—"Allah has sent and commanded me

to swallow thee, with thy house, if anything should befall his servant!"' Muḥammad states, "I said to Mañçūr that this was a sorcery, but he replied, 'Do not say so! It is the force of the ineffable name, which was revealed to the prophet, and by the blessing of it he could, if he was so minded, transform a bright day into a dark night, or make the night as shining as the day, and could do whatever else he liked.'"

Ja'fer had said that A'li the Commander of the Faithful left two books, called *Jāmi'*, from which the events of the world till the day of resurrection could be ascertained, and that he had seen one leaf of it in Egypt from which the history of the kings of that country had been extracted, and had in course of time been verified. The Emām Ja'fer Çadek also said, "Our science is the *Ḡhāber*, the *Mazbār*, the *Nuṭṭah fi al kulūb*, and the *Naḡsh fi allistimā'a*; we possess, moreover, the red and the white Jeḡr, the book of Fātemah, and also the *Jāma'h*, which contains everything men stand in need of. On being asked for an explanation concerning these books, he replied, "The *Ḡhāber* is the science of what has happened; the *Mazbār* is a knowledge of past events; the *Nuṭṭah fi al kulūb* is divine inspiration; the *Naḡsh fi allistimā'a* are the words of angels whom we can hear, but whose essences we cannot see; as to the red Jeḡr, it is a vessel which contains the weapons of the apostle of God, but they are not taken out until one of us who are of his family arises; the white Jeḡr is a vessel containing the *Pentateuch* of Moses, the *Evangel* of Jesus, the *Psalms* of David, and all the inspired books;* the book of Fātemah contains everything which happens, and the name of every king or governor until the resurrection; the *Jāma'h* is a book, seventy cubits long, dictated by the prophet of God, and written by the hand of A'li; it contains everything mankind are in need of till the day of resurrection.

This Emām died A.H. 148 (A.D. 765), at the age of 65 years, and was interred at Madinah in the Baḡi' cemetery, where also his father, the Emām Muḥammad Bāker, his grandfather the Emām Zain-ul-a'ābedin, and his uncle the Emām Hasan are buried.

VII. Mûsa, the son of Ja'fer-al-Çadek, was

* In my *Catalogue Raisonné de la Bibliothèque de Mulla Firâz Library*, VIII. 55, p. 203, I describe a book in which through Jeḡr various things can be obtained, e.g. "How to obtain divine inspiration by means of the canon of the blessed Jeḡr." "How to obtain a favourable response to prayer, by recit-

ing the ninety-nine names of God, through the science of the blessed Jeḡr," &c. There is nothing mentioned, however, about this Emām and supposed possessor of the white and the red Jeḡr.

born at Abwa, a place between Mekkah and Madinah, in the month Çafar A.H. 128 (A.D. 745, November). His *kunya*t is Ab-ul-ḥasan, Abu Ebrâhim, and Abu A'bd-ullah, and on account of his extreme gentleness and restraint from anger he obtained the *laqab* Kâsum. He had already during the khalifate of Almohdi been called to Bagh'dad, and his friends entertained apprehensions that his life would be taken. These fears were, however, not realized until a considerable time after, when Hârûn-al-Rashid again called him to Bagh'dad from Madinah during his own reign, where he caused poison to be administered to him in an assembly by Yahia Ben Khâled the Barmekide, from which he died A.H. 183 (A.D. 799-80), and was buried there in a place called the Koraish cemetery. According to the author of the *Rabi'-allabrâr* he lived 54 years.

VIII. A'li, the son of Mûsa-al-rezâ. His *kunya*t is, like that of his father, Emâm Mûsa Ab-alḥasan, and his *laqab* is Rezâ and Murtaza. He was born in Madinah A.H. 148 (A.D. 765). It appears that this Emâm had a presentiment concerning his death, which was so strong that he made all the arrangements for it, and gave directions to Abu-al-çalt, who continues his narrative on the matter as follows:—"The next day when the Emâm Rera had finished his prayers, put on his clothes, and was sitting in a state of expectation, a slave of the Khalif Mâmûn came in search of him. He rose, departed, accompanied by me. On arriving in the reception-hall of Mâmûn, the latter was sitting with dishes of fruit placed before him, and eating a bunch of grapes which he held in his hand. As soon as he caught sight of the Emâm, he leapt up, embraced him, and, after kissing him between the eyes, handed the bunch of grapes to the Emâm and said, 'O son of the apostle of God! did you ever see finer grapes than this bunch?' The Emâm replied, 'In paradise are good grapes.' Hereon Mâmûn handed a bunch of grapes to the Emâm, saying, 'Eat of these grapes.' The Emâm begged to be excused, whereupon the Khalif asked whether he had any suspicions concerning him; and taking back the bunch he ate some from it himself, and then again returned the bunch to the Emâm, who swallowed two or three but threw the rest away. After that he arose, and on Mâmûn's asking him where he was going

he replied, 'Whither you have sent me.' He went home, lay down on his bed and died. He was then 55 years old. This happened A.H. 203 or 208 (A.D. 818 or 823) in Tous, and he was buried in the same spot where Hârûn Al-Rashid was interred; at present, however, his mausoleum is at Mashhad, which has become a great resort of pilgrims, not only from Persiâ and Arabia, but also from Turkey and India. They expect the greatest temporal and spiritual blessings from visiting the tombs of the various holy personages there.

IX. M u ḥ a m m a d was the son of A'li, son of Mûsa-al-reza. His *kunya*t, like that of the Emâm Muḥammad, is Bâker, and for this reason he is also called Abu Ja'fer the second; his *laqab* is Taçy, Jowâd, and Murtaza. He was born at Madinah on the 18th Ramzân A.H. 195 (16th June A.D. 811). This Emâm was so distinguished both for piety and learning that the Khalif Mâmûn gave him his own daughter to wife; but the noble lady was unhappy with him, and complained to her father in letters that she could not enjoy connubial bliss alone, as she was compelled to share it with other women, with whom likewise her husband cohabited; all the reply, however, she could get from her father was the reproof that she required him to consider that illicit which the prophet himself had made lawful. How this Emâm fell afterwards into disgrace and misfortune does not appear, but it seems that he laid claim to being a prophet and was carried in chains to Syria; but in the tradition of an anonymous writer, who boasts of having been miraculously transported in a very short time to various holy places, it is recorded in the *Rouzat-al-Çafa*, that he met the same individual in whose company he had made the supernatural voyage on another occasion, and that on adjuring him to say who he was he made the following reply:—"I am Muḥammad the son of A'li, son of Mûsa, son of Ja'fer; one day when I narrated my case in the company of friends and acquaintances, the news spread, and reached the ear of the governor of Syria, who suspected me of wishing to be a prophet, and imprisoned me in this place, as you see me." The same narrator states that he immediately wrote a letter detailing the case to the governor of Syria, who, however, contented himself with endorsing the following words thereon:—"Tell the person who wishes

this man to be liberated that he is to request him to transport him again in one night from Syria to Kafah, thence to Madinah, thence to Makkah, and thence to Syria." The narrator was greatly distressed at this reply, and when he again went to pay a visit to the imprisoned Emām, in order to inform him of the answer, he perceived that his watchmen and soldiers were in great confusion and fear, and on being asked for the cause they replied, "The man who had been confined for being a prophet has disappeared. It is not known whether the earth has swallowed him, or whether birds have taken him up into the sky."

There is no doubt that this Emām was put to death; about this, however, the author of the *Rouzat-al-Qafa* says nothing, and merely states that he was snatched away in Bagh'dad at the end of the month Dilkā'dah A.H. 220 (began on the 27th October A.D. 835), at the age of 25 years.

X. A'li Ben Muḥammad Ben A'ly Ben Mūsa Al-reza. His *kunyat* was Abulḥasan, and his *laqab* Hādī, but he is chiefly known by the name of A'skari; they also call him Zaki and Taḳī. He was born at Madinah in the month Zilhejjah A.H. 212 (began Feb. 21, A.D. 827). He was sent to Sermenrāi, now called Sāmerah, by the Khalif Motawakkel, where he spent his whole life as a prisoner, though he was allowed his own house. He perished during the khalifate of Muntaser, at the age of 41 years, at the end of Jomāda II. A.H. 254 (towards the end of June A.D. 868).

XI. Ḥasan Ben A'li Ben Muḥammad Ben A'li Ben Mūsa Al-reza. His *kunyat* is Abu Muḥammad, and his *laqab* Zaki and Khāliq; he was, like his father, known also by the name of A'skari. He was born in Madinah during the month Rabi' II. A.H. 232 (December A.D. 846). He is said to have worked numberless miracles, and, as in the case of Muḥammad Bāqer, the phrase "he was snatched away" is used in the *Rouzat-al-Qafa*, instead of saying that he was killed, at the age of 28 years, A.H. 260 (A.D. 873).

XII. Muḥammad Ben Ḥasan Ben A'li. His *kunyat* is Abu-alkāsem, and the Emāmites call him Hajjat, Kā'im, Mohdi, Moutazir, and Čāheb al-zemān. He was born at Sāmerah in the middle of Sha'bān A.H. 255 (30th July 868), and was consequently five years old at his father's death. According to the traditions of the Athna-a'sher-Emām-

ites (Faith of the twelve Emāms), the Čāheb al-zemān, i.e. 'lord of the period,' entered a house in Sāmerah, and, though his mother waited for him long, he never came out again. This happened A.H. 265 or 266 (A.D. 878 or 879), and he is believed to be up to this time still alive in his concealment. He was only a boy of ten or eleven years of age when he disappeared. The Muhammadans in general believe that the re-appearance of the Mohdi, the director, and the Čāheb-al-zemān, the lord, of the world, will be one of the signs of the approach of the end of the world and of the resurrection, and the Emāmites in particular state that the absence of the Mohdi from the world is divided into two periods—namely, the *Gh'ybat kaṣry* or short absence, and the *Gh'ybat ʿuly* or long absence. The former comprises the time from his birth until the termination of the ambassadorship, and the latter the period from the termination of the ambassadorship until the time decreed by the Eternal Will for his final reappearance begins. It is asserted that during the period of the short absence his ambassadors succeeded each other through many generations, and conveyed to him the needs and demands of all human beings, and also brought back his answers to them, and that the last of these ambassadors to mankind was a man named A'li Ben Muḥammad, who died A.H. 327 (A.D. 938). Six days before his demise this A'li produced a document which he said had been written by the Emām Muḥammad Ebn Alḥasan Ala'skari, and which contained also the following words:—"O A'li, son of Muḥammad! May God magnify the reward of your brothers in you; for you will die after six days. Terminate all your affairs, and delegate your office to no one after your death." He died at the specified period, after which all communications with the Emām ceased. The Emāmites keep records of numerous miracles performed by Muḥammad Ben Ḥasan Ben A'li during the period of the short absence; they believe him to be the Mohdi (director) of the last times, and that after his appearance Jesus will descend from heaven; but all sects of Muhammadans have collected traditions about the Mohdi.

Of the twelve Emāms not one died a natural death. Eleven were killed or poisoned, and the fate of the twelfth being unknown, he is supposed to have miraculously disappeared from the world.

ŚILPA ŚĀSTRA.

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There is in Tamil a treatise on *Śilpa Śāstra*, said to have been originally composed in Sanskrit by Myen, who, according to mythology, was a son of Brahmā and architect of the gods. The original work appears to have been disseminated far and wide, and to have suffered by omissions as well as by additions. The work under consideration seems to have been formed from selections of existing editions of the original work under the superintendence and guidance of persons having a practical knowledge of *Śilpa Śāstra*, or at least of persons professing to have such knowledge. It has passed through a second edition, from which we may infer that the work is in demand. It were greatly to be desired that a future edition should have a competent Tamil scholar to carry it through the press, for the errors in the present edition are numerous beyond all precedent; and this, added to a bad style, renders the perusal of the book anything but a pleasant recreation. There are, besides, frequent repetitions, and many things that might be omitted without in any way impairing the value of the book as a work of art. The book is dedicated to the glory of Śiva, and after the usual ślokas in praise of the deities the need of a *Śilpan* is thus stated:—

"Temples, towns, seaports, houses,

Tanks and wells, these require the *Śilpan*'s hand;

Construct them by the hand of another?

This is said to be equal to the sin of murder."

The study of the *Atharvāṇa Veda*, the 32 *Śilpa* treatises, a perfect knowledge of the Vedic *mantras*, by which images are inspired with the indwelling presence of deity, are necessary to the *Śilpan* who desires to understand his profession thoroughly.

The book next gives the cubit measure as follows:—

"Eight atoms make one cotton fibre (in thickness),

Eight fibres make one hair (in thickness),

Eight hairs make one grain of sand,

Eight grains of sand make one mustard seed,

Eight mustard-seeds make one bamboo-seed,

Eight bamboo-seeds make one finger,

Six fingers make one quarter-cubit,

Twelve fingers make half a cubit,

Eighteen fingers make three-quarters of a cubit (this latter is termed *matthibam*),

Twenty-four fingers make one cubit.

This measure is also called *Jāthi* and *Māman-gulam*. It is used by Brāhmanas, Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas, and Śudras."

But although this is the *standard* of measurement for all four castes, the *instrument* itself is constructed of a different material for each. The rule is as follows:—

For Brāhmanas the measure should be of bamboo,

For Kshatriyas it should be constructed of ebony,

For Vaiśyas it should be of teak,

For Śudras of the red *vengai* (*Atropa Mandagora*).

As a preliminary to all work, the exact position of *Vasthū-purusha* (the god of the earth) must be accurately ascertained. He is represented as sleeping, standing, walking, reclining, &c., and the exact time of each of these is of the utmost importance, for each duration of time has an influence for good or evil towards the man who wishes to build. His sleeping-time is very unlucky. To ascertain these times, a marvellous amount of astrological calculation has to be got through. In the months of Sitterai, Vaykasi, Ādi, Avarni, Aipasi, Kārtika, Tai, and Masi he is "standing or up." But having ascertained so much, it is still necessary to ascertain the lucky days in these months. Accordingly we are told—

The 10th of Sitterai, the 21st of Vaykasi, the 11th of Ādi, the 6th of Avarni, the 8th of Aipasi, the 8th of Kārtika, the 21st of Masi, and the 12th of Tai—on these days *Vasthū-purusha* is up: these are proper days.

Having gone so far, we have still further to go, for we have to ascertain the auspicious hours of these days. Here they are:—

The 8th Indian hour of the day in Tai, the 10th of Kārtika, the 2nd of Ādi, the 5th of Sitterai, the 21st of Avarni, and the 8th Indian hour of the day in Aipasi.

There is very much more to be ascertained regarding *Vasthū-purusha* before the house-post is set up; and to deter people from venturing to build before ascertaining everything about *Vasthū*, and, having ascertained all necessary knowledge, to compel them to build accordingly, we are told—

"Knowing all that is necessary about Vasthū, if one does not construct his house accordingly, his substance shall be consumed, he shall lose his life, the goddess of misfortune shall be with him, his women shall waste away, and the designer of his house shall perish by disease."

Having ascertained all that is necessary about Vasthū, we still have much to do before ascertaining the site for the contemplated house. We must ascertain the earth upon which to build. The rule is as follows:—

Sweet earth is for Brāhmanas,
Bitter earth for Kshatriyas,
Sour earth for Vaiśyas,
Pungent earth for Śūdras.

"Upon earth that smells like curdled milk, like clarified butter, honey, blood, hair, fish, birds, or buttermilk, sow no grain, for it will yield nothing, neither upon such land erect a house."

As correct time is a very necessary matter in this science, the author gives directions for the construction of sundials, but the preliminaries are many. He directs as follows:—

"First determine the auspicious day; then the northern solstice, the right ascension of the rising point, or the arc of the equator that passes the horizon with each sign of the ecliptic, and the star or constellation at the time.

"Dials made of elephants' tusks are proper for Kshatriyas, of blackwood for Brāhmanas, and of heart of tamarind for others."

Here, though not in the order of the book, we may give two very simple methods for ascertaining the time of day before the sun has reached the meridian:—

Rule I.

Stand with the sun to your right, join your hands horizontally—reject the thumbs—erect the index-finger from the middle. If the shadow of the erect finger extends to the outer edge of the finger next adjacent—to the index finger of the left hand—it denotes 48 minutes past sunrise, and so on.

When the sun has passed the meridian, the position must be altered accordingly.

Rule II.

Take a straw eleven fingers in length, place it on the ground, bend it, raising one part to serve as a gnomon, the gnomon being erected against the sun, east or west of the meridian. The height of the gnomon is found by raising the end of

the bent portion no higher than suffices exactly to throw its shadow to the extreme point of the recumbent portion of the remainder of the straw. The gnomon so found gives the time of day. Ascertain how many fingers it contains: the sum is the time in Indian hours.

N.B.—If the time is taken before twelve o'clock, the sum shows the number of Indian hours since sunrise; if after twelve o'clock, the sum denotes the number of Indian hours to sunset.

"Omens" are largely used in this Śāstra: thus, on your way to select a site—

"Should a person with a broad head, or a bald head, should a snake, a *sanyāsi*, a single Brāhmaṇ, a woman with no breasts, a new pot, a person without a nose, a bundle of firewood, a sick person, a barber, a blind person, an oil-merchant, should these or any of them meet you, it is an omen of evil."

"Should the architect, or the master about to build the house, meet a young handsome virgin, the sign is most auspicious."

Omens are ascertained also by cocoanuts, and this form appears to be in great demand:—

"If the crown of the coconut is large, and the opposite side small, this denotes wealth (in the proposed house); if on throwing it upward three parts fall on the head, and two on the foot, this denotes joy; if it break in pieces of five twos and five threes, this also denotes wealth; if a piece is attached to the inner fibre, this denotes long life; if it is dashed to pieces, diamonds will be discovered; if it fall splitting in the middle, great affliction will befall the householder."

Before commencing a building or wedding *pañḍāl*, a ceremony termed *mūkārthan*, or the fixing the auspicious hour, is performed in a small hole or pit in the ground, and to the omens that may be obtained in this hole or pit much importance is attached:—

"If a black ant, a scorpion, a white ant, a red ant, or a hair be seen in the pit, the house built on such a site shall be consumed by fire.

"If a bit of gold, a frog, a cow's horn, grains of any kind, a brick, or a bit of silver be seen in the pit, all happiness, prosperity, and pleasure, together with long life and boundless wealth, shall ever be found in the dwelling erected on such a site."

There are also omens obtained from flowers:—

"In the centre of the proposed site, make a pit one cubit in length, depth, and width. Fill it with water. Take a flower in your hand, meditate upon the deity, then cast it into the water, and if it floats round by the right-hand side to face the sun it is a sign of great happiness, wealth, fame, and honour. If, however, the flower should float by the left-hand side, it is a sign of great affliction, continual anxiety, and unheard-of misery. A house should not be built on such a site."

There are many more omens derived from flowers thrown into the pit, with reference to the point of the compass at which the flower remains motionless:—

"If the flower remains motionless at the north-west, the eighteen kinds of pulmonary disease shall seize the builder of a house on such a site; his wealth shall be taken by others, death shall carry him away, and demons shall convert the site into a place for burning the dead!

"If the flower remains motionless at the north point, the builder will become rich, he shall have the blessing of sons and of long life, he shall be revered by the venerable, and being charitable, reverencing him who is called a 'Refuge,' he shall be esteemed a saint!"

One might well suppose that now, at least, the *yajamāna* might commence to build his house; but the very spade that is used to mark off the site of the proposed building, and the pegs and lines, must give forth their omens:—

"If the edge of the spade bends at the first delve, if the peg flies out of the ground (as the blow is made upon it), or if the marking-line snaps in two, these are inauspicious omens. The man who builds on such a site, besides affliction and anxiety, must also endure never-ceasing trouble, and eventually become the prey of the god of death."

In the foregoing quotation the "marking-line" is mentioned, but it must not be supposed that any cord will suit the purpose. The rule is as follows:—

"For the gods (i. e. temples) the line must be of silk and of three twists; for Brāhman's (houses) it must be of *dharba* grass and of two twists; for Kshatriyas it must be of the feelers of the banyan and of three twists; for others it must be of cotton thread and of two twists. This much is declared."

The site at length having been decided upon,

it is divided into, first, four equal parts, and these again into sixty-four parts. The four parts in the centre are regarded as Brahma's, and the four points are regarded as the region of Ruthiran; other four points are regarded as Vishnu's, and all the remaining parts are regarded as pertaining to the gods of Svarga. Here the author remarks that there is in the universe and the body an apparent fitness, and that the same fitness should be discernible between the body and the house; and he then adds that the man who, having regard to this analogy, builds a house, shall secure its existence for a hundred ages; he shall possess calves, bullocks, and milch cattle, increasing day by day, and he shall join in the celestial dance with the glorious Lakshmi, who sits on the cool lotus-lily."

The following will throw some light on this passage:—

The Eight Points and their properties.

"Indra's place (the east) is the proper conjugal abode of the householder; Revati's place, S. E. $11^{\circ} 29' 5''$ (ζ Piscium), is the proper place in which to eat food; Yama's place (south) is the proper place in which to keep clothes; in Niruti's place (south-west, Canis?) is the proper place in which to keep water; Varuna's place (west) is the place proper for devotional exercises; Vayu's place (north-west) is the place proper in which to store grain; Kuvera's place (north) is the place proper to keep gold, &c. &c.; and in Esani's place, N.E. (γ or δ Corvi?), is the place proper for women of the household to give birth to children."

The author then gives us the rule regarding the dwellings of the four castes:—

"The south for Brāhman's, the west for Kshatriyas, the north for Vaiśyas, and the east for Śūdras."

We next have a rule with reference to the disposition of the householder's property:—

"Put your ashes to the south (of your house), your straw to the south-west; keep your buffaloes to the west, and in the north-west keep your grain and your cows."

"To the north of your house erect your kitchen, to the east keep your sheep, in the south-east of your house keep your children. This is ordered."

According to this Śāstra every house should have a box, technically termed *garbha*, in which to keep the family plate and jewels; and this

box is kept in a certain part of the house, astrologically determined upon. The rule regarding the construction of the box is as follows:—

"Take clay from a crab's hole, clay from the horn of an elephant—i.e. clay that an elephant has on its tusk after butting the earth—clay from an anthill, clay from the horns of a bull—i.e. after butting the earth; mix them well together and form the box. Divide the box into nine parts, put diamonds into it, reverence it, and then bury it in the north-east point of your house, and happiness will ensue."

The next order pertains to "Doors":—

"If the door of the house closes of itself, having been opened, it is a sign of long life to the householder. If it closes with a creaking noise, it is a sign that the house will perish. If it stands as one leaves it, it is a sign of long life and happiness.

"If it moves like the two pulses *vatham* and *pittham*, it is as though one said, 'Drive a nail in the centre bar:' disease without end shall dwell in that house.

"If the door makes a noise like an oil-mill, the happiness of having sons shall not be found in that house. The householder's wife shall die, and distraction of mind shall ensue."

The author next passes on to the consideration of trees, of which he gives us three classes:—

"Male Trees.

"A tree that is strong and thick like a pillar—that is long, straight, and regular—is a male tree.

"Female Trees.

"A tree with a thick base, a pointed, narrow trunk, and small at the top, is a female tree.

"Hermaphrodite Trees.

"Slender and long in the middle of the trunk and having a thick head, this without doubt is an hermaphrodite tree."

"Male trees serve for pillars; female trees for wall-plates, beams, and capitals; hermaphrodite trees serve for cross-joists, joists, and rafters."

"The mango is proper for temples, the *margosa* for Brāhman's houses, the teak for Kshatriyas, the *illupai* for Chettis, and the *vengai* for Vellalārs' houses."

Our author now proceeds to treat of trees.

Concerning Trees.

"For houses there are trees proper for their construction, and trees that are unsuitable; we shall now declare the trees that are suitable for gods and men.

"Trees from a place of public resort, trees from a village or from the precincts of a temple, trees that have been burnt, trees in which are birds' nests, trees growing on anthills, trees in which are honeycombs, trees fruiting out of season, trees supporting creepers, trees in which maggots dwell, trees growing close to tanks or wells, trees planted in the earth but reared by constant watering, trees broken by elephants, trees blown down by the wind, trees in burning-grounds, in forsaken places, or in places which had been *paracheris*, withered trees, trees in which snakes live, trees in places where there are hobgoblins, devils, or corpses, trees that have fallen down of themselves,—these are all bad trees and to be avoided: if one uses such trees in his house, evil shall befall him.

"The *Ficus racemosa*, *Ficus indica*, *Ficus virens*, the Silk-cotton tree, the *Butea frondosa*, the *Abrus*, the *Jujuba*, the first leaf of a Palmyra, the *Makirla* (?), the Woodapple*—all these are to be avoided: for if any of them are used in the construction of a house, the wealth of the householder will decrease, his children will die, and poverty and affliction will be his lot."

Our author now gives us the auspicious days for setting up the posts, rafters, &c.:—

"On Monday set up the posts, on Wednesday place the rafters, on Friday thatch the house, and on Thursday take up residence. Like Indra, the householder will have long life and happiness."

Our author next treats of certain astrological observations that are necessary in order to ascertain what the ground selected as a site may contain within itself, and on the discovery then made the person who intends to build is expected to act. He commences irregularly by at once stating what observations are to be made, while a little further on he gives a complete list of the things that may be found and which affect the *śilpan*.

We shall commence with the list; meantime

* The three trees here classed under *Ficus* are now all referred to genus *Urostigma*. There are two Silk-cotton trees, *Bombax malabaricum* and *Cochlospermum gossy-*

plum. *Butea frondosa* is commonly known as 'Dhāk' or 'Palka,' *Jujuba* as 'Bher'; and the Wood-apple is either *Egle marmelos* or *Feronia elephantum*.—Ed.

we would observe that this portion of the book is designated *Bhumi-Sallium*.

"There are sixteen kinds of *sallium*, viz. skulls, bones, bricks, potsherds, dry sprays of timber, demons, ashes, charcoal, a corpse, grains of corn, gold (includes all metals), black stone, frogs, cows' horns, dogs' bones, urns in which the dead have been buried."

We shall now show our author's rules for discovering the *sallium* in the selected site:—

"If in the seventh mansion from the rising sign (at the time of consultation) there are planets, and if at the same time the moon should be found in the fourth, seventh, or tenth mansion from that, there are hindrances most certainly in the proposed site; and should a man build a house upon it, his women will be murdered, his family will perish, his wealth and happiness will vanish, and to his own life danger will accrue. There can be no happiness in a house on such a site.

"If in the seventh mansion there are planets (at the time of consultation), and if at the same time the moon is in their *kindras*,† in the proposed site ashes and bones shall be found. If one builds on such a site, he will become lazy, he will live in the constant fear of snakes, his wife will hate him, his wealth will vanish, and misery and affliction will seize him.

"If in the tenth mansion there are planets (when the observation is made), black stone, bones, dry sprigs, lead and brass shall be found in the site. Now to build upon land where even but one of these is found would be to ensure the entire loss of one's property, the destruction of men, as well as of the house, and the householder shall have most horrible dreams: so saith Myen."

There is much more of this sort, but what we have given will suffice. The author next treats of the mode of discovering treasure that may be concealed in the selected sites, thus:—

"If Jupiter or Mercury at the time of observation is in the fourth, seventh, or tenth lunar mansion from the moon, or if the sun is in the third, sixth, or eighth mansion from it, there is treasure in the site.

"If Venus and Mercury are in conjunction, and Jupiter in opposition without retrogres-

sion, Saturn being in the leg of Jupiter, in the selected site treasure will be found; anyhow silver will doubtless be found.

"If you desire to discover the exact place where money, enchantments, charcoal, bones, &c. are concealed, divide the selected site into twenty-eight parts exactly, then ascertain what mansion the moon is in; in the part corresponding with the number of this mansion, the wealth, &c. &c. is concealed." Having given us these and many more, the author passes on to the consideration of *times* that are auspicious for various purposes. The first thing to do is to ascertain the time of the star Kulikan.‡ The rule is as follows:—

"On whatever day you wish to ascertain Kulikan's time, from that day to the next Saturday count up the number of Indian hours; multiply this by $3\frac{1}{4}$, and the sum thus obtained is Kulikan's time."

To ascertain an auspicious hour:—"From the day you desire to ascertain the auspicious hour, to the fifth day following (at sunrise), deduct from each day two and a half Indian hours; if the remainder equals the sun's aphelion distance, death will be the result of anything undertaken that day. If, however, the remainder gives the distance of Venus, it is auspicious; if it gives Mercury's, children will increase; if the Moon's, praise; if Saturn's, death; if Jupiter's, clothes; if Mars', unrelenting hate, will be respectively the consequences."

Our author next introduces to us the days of the week upon which it is considered unlucky to travel in certain directions, viz.:—On Mondays and Saturdays eastward, on Tuesdays and Wednesdays northward, on Fridays and Sundays westward, on Thursdays southward. On these days to journey towards the prescribed points is not only unlucky, but positively disastrous.

To know the unlucky days, however, is not enough,—we should know the propitious hours in which to commence an undertaking: accordingly our author gives them:—On Mondays and Saturdays it is propitious to undertake a journey any time up to the 8th Indian hour; on Thursdays it is propitious to set out on a journey southward up to the 12th Indian hour;

† *Kindras* are found by subtracting the place of the planets from their aphelion; the remainder is their *kindra* or anomaly.

‡ An imaginary planet in Hindu astronomy, but perhaps *Coput Draconis*.

on Fridays and Sundays it is propitious to the 12th Indian hour; on Tuesdays it is propitious to the 12th Indian hour to journey northward; and on Wednesdays it is propitious to the 16th Indian hour.

The author next gives the various points, their regents, together with the astrological points, and their signs, &c. &c., and then proceeds as follows:—"In the following four months, namely, Auni, Purattasi, Margali, and Punguni, § if one builds a house, endless sickness and poverty shall be his lot. Even the gods themselves would suffer should they build in these months." In proof of what has just been stated he adduces the following examples:—"On a Monday in the month Adi, || Rāvaṇa lost his head; in the month Margali the Bhārata war and other wickedness took place; in the month Purattasi Hyrānia died; in Punguni Śiva drank the poison; in the month Auni Mapelasakkiravarthi fled from his town: therefore, in the months Auni and the others aforesaid, to commence a house, or to take up residence, is dangerous. Persons who do so will not only be obliged to desert the house; they will further become beggars. The gods themselves cannot prevent this taking place.

"If Sunday and the tenth lunar asterism occur together, Monday and the sixteenth, Tuesday and the sixth, Wednesday and the ninth, Thursday and the twenty-fourth, Friday and the fourth, Saturday and the twentieth asterism, do not build on these days: if you do, the house will be consumed by fire.

"When Sunday and the second lunar asterism occur together, Monday and the fourteenth, Tuesday and the twenty-first, Wednesday and the twenty-third, Thursday and the eighteenth, Friday and the twentieth, Saturday and the twenty-seventh, these days are unlucky for the performance of anything.

"On these days if one marries, his wife shall soon be a widow, the newly built house shall soon be a ruin.

"If on those days one sets out on a journey, death shall overtake him, and though he perform the *nideka* ceremony, his wife shall be barren, but should a child be born it will die.

"When one is building his house, he should present the *śilpan* with a new cloth, money, sandal-wood powder, and garlands; he should

further salute him and make respectful inquiries regarding his health: so decreed Myen."

Auspicious signs when visiting the selected site:—"When the householder and the excellent *śilpan* set out to inspect the newly selected site, if on the way they should meet with a handsome damsel, or a damsel whose skin resembles gold in colour, build the house immediately.

"When the excellent *śilpan* and the householder arrive and are standing on the site, if a lizard chirps on the right side it is a good sign; if on the left the sign is excellent, the householder will have good fortune; let him finish the house rapidly and neatly: those that dwell in it will obtain riches and never lose them."

The Site.

"If one finds a piece of land the east and west of which are low but the south-west high, there he should build his house, for all kinds of prosperity will attend him. If the site should be low on the western and the northern sides, or should the western be high and the northern side low, in a house built on such sites the family will increase: they will have long life and live prosperously.

"If one should build a house on a site crossed by a pathway common to the people, his wealth will perish, his cattle will die, his wife and children will die, and the house will become equal to a burning-ground for the dead.

"Land at the side of a temple or in front of one, land frequented by devils and hobgoblins, land on the right side of a temple sacred to Kālī, or land belonging to the highroad, are not suitable for building-sites. Should, however, a man be so far lost to decency as to build upon such sites, his wife and children shall die, his cattle and all that he has will perish, and, alone in the world, he will wander from place to place, a beggar living upon alms.

"The site of an old or ruined church, land in which snakes dwell, land upon which Pariahs resided, land upon which sages have resided, burning grounds, battle-fields, these are unsuitable for building-sites. Should a man build upon them, he and his relatives will perish, and the house will become a jungle."

In the first portion we mentioned the author's division of the site into sixty-four parts. In the second part he recurs again to it, but with

§ i.e. Āshāḍha, Āśvina, Pāṣa, & Chaitra respectively—Ed.

considerable difference, and as it may interest the reader we produce it here.

The rule for building a house.

"Divide the site into sixty-four parts: the four central portions constitute Brahmā's place (*sthānam*), the four portions or rooms at the corners of Brahmā's *sthānam* are for guardian demons, the eight portions or rooms adjoining these latter are for guardian deities, the remaining forty-eight portions are for the use of people." The author illustrates this with the following chart:—

Chart of a house, or ground-plan.

		Guardian Demons.	Guardian Deities.	Guardian Demons.	
		Guardian Deities.	These four places are Brahmā's <i>sthānam</i> .	Guardian Deities.	
		Guardian Demons.	Guardian Deities.	Guardian Demons.	

The author next treats of the *śilpan* himself, his dress and character, and the extent of his professional knowledge, as follows:—

The Śilpan.

"One adorned with a necklace of sacred beads, the sacred thread upon him, a ring of *dhārba* upon his finger; delighting in the worship of God, faithful to his wife, avoiding strange women, true to his family, of a pure mind and virtuous, he is a *śilpan* indeed.

"Girded with silk-like cord made of fibre, chanting the Veda, constant in the performance of ceremonial acts, piously acquiring a perfect knowledge of various sciences, the *śilpan* follows his profession.

The Śilpan's Art.

"The *śilpan* should perfectly understand the cubit measure, the level, the gnomon,† the jewel (proper for him to wear), the box for keeping jewels), the part of the house named *garbha*, the line, the peg, the floor, the various kinds of trees, the mode of hewing timber, the characteristics of trees, the places where each are to be found, the plumb-line and morticing."

Concerning the Gnomon.

"In building temples great attention is paid to the gnomon: therefore we shall declare what is the proper length and thickness, &c. &c. of this instrument. It should be twelve fingers in length; three-fourths of this should be absorbed by the head (or the thickest part of the instrument), and the remaining one-fourth should taper off to a point like a needle, the whole being turned in a lathe and resembling in shape a conch-shell.

"Gnomons for the use of men should be made of the timber of milk-producing trees, as, for instance, the *Artocarpus integrifolia*, the *Ficus indica*, *Ficus religiosa*, *Ficus racemosa*, and the *Ficus virens*. For temples, however, it must be of *Acacia Sundra*."

Concerning the Peg.

"The pegs should each be eleven fingers in thickness, twenty-four fingers in length. Ascertain the position of *Vāsthu*: then in the south-west corner of his belly, the south-east, the north-east, and the north-west corners drive home your pegs."

Concerning the Site.

"When required to build houses, palaces, private apartments, &c. &c., first ascertain the centre of the site by the line, form there a pit one cubit square and one cubit in depth, and pour water into it until it is quite full. This water should then be made to flow over the sides of the pit in the directions of the cardinal points; by so flowing, it will discover the deflections in the site; stretch the line accordingly and make it level.

"Houses built with black stone, or with black stone and bricks, are proper for gods, for Brāhmanas, and for hermits; for others than these to dwell in such houses is unbecoming."

† The word in the original is *songu*, a conch; the *śilpa* *Asaris* have an instrument resembling it made of wood, by which they make some astrological observations.

Concerning Trees.

"When about to build houses, halls, palaces, or *mandapas*, the injunctions of Myen with reference to trees—which are good, and which are bad—may not be neglected.

"Having performed the necessary *mūkūtham*, proceed to the forest, taking with you various kinds of sweetmeats; offer these as a sacrifice to the god of forests, standing close to a male tree.

"On the south side of the tree* deposit *dharba* grass, on the west place your axe; then, meditating on the *mantra* for the expulsion of demons and hobgoblins, drink some milk, dip your axe in milk, and, devoutly looking upwards, strike the tree with the axe a clear cubit† from the ground."

(To be continued.)

ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES.

BY M. J. WALHOUSE, LATE M.C.S.

(Continued from p. 45.)

XII.—*Aqua Marina Gems, ancient and modern.*

In Koimbatūr, an inland district of the peninsula, situated between the Madras and Malabar coasts, and overlooked on the northern border by the Nilgiri mountains, there is a spot once, and probably immemorially, famous as producing the delicately beautiful transparent sea-green gem known as the *Aqua marina* or beryl. In the Kāngyam Tālūkā of the above-named district there is a small village called Padiur (Pud-door of Sheet 61, Great Trigonometrical Survey Map), or more usually Pattiāli, forty miles east of the town of Koimbatūr; the aspect of the country is that of a vast undulating plain bounded by the highest mountain ranges in Southern India,—the Nilgiris, Anamallis, the Palanis in Madura, and the Shevarais in Salem. Mountains and plain consist of primary rocks, gneiss, hornblende-slate, granite, and basalt; and dykes and beds of quartz, serpentine, porphyry and basalt are frequent, and form a peculiar feature, great milk-white masses of quartz sometimes cropping out conspicuously, or traversing the country in veins or reefs for long distances, accompanied by parallel reefs of serpentine. Kāngyam lies nearly in the centre of the great plain, and is the driest and stoniest tālūkā of a preëminently dry and stony district; but its rough and arid fields nevertheless produce the best breed of cows in the south, for which high prices are paid. On the east side of the village of Pattiāli there is an extensive dyke of crystalline porphyritic granite in the gneiss rock: the dyke abounds with masses of

quartz, with large crystals of the same, as well as of felspar, cleavelandite, and garnets. The crystals of cleavelandite are remarkably fine, and it often occurs in large masses, in the cavities of which the aquamarine is found in six-sided prisms. The dyke is throughout divided by seams and fissures, generally filled with whitish limestone deposit, and the various minerals are mostly arranged in laminae, often interrupted and passing into nests and lumps.

The mine last worked was sunk through this dyke, and originally intended for a well. It was dug in 1798 on the ground of the *monigār*, or village head-man, and intended for irrigation; in the course of excavation the gem was discovered by the diggers, who kept the secret, and for eighteen years secretly sold the gems to the itinerant jewellers and merchants, who bought them for a mere trifle, and sold them at an enormous profit in the various European stations and cantonments. At length Mr. Heath, an enterprising and energetic planter and merchant in the adjoining district of Salem, obtained a clue by which he was enabled to trace the gems to their *situs*; and, with the consent of Government,—who, it seems, were to have a royalty of half the proceeds,—he arranged with the *monigār*—who, entirely ignorant of the treasures contained in his well, had for eighteen years been thus robbed by his own people—to rent the well and its contents. Mining operations were accordingly carried on for little more than two years, and discontinued on account of the mine becoming exhausted

* The tree to be cut down.

† In which is to be observed the bad forestry of the Hindus. It is easiest for a short man to cut at this height, but the rules of European foresters are that such trees as

coppice (i.e. grow again from the "stool" or stump) must be cut close to the ground, in order to secure a round and straight second growth, while trees which do not "coppice" should be "stubbed up" (eradicated).—Ed.

and water breaking in. The well has since reverted to its original purpose of irrigation, and is about twenty-four feet long by twenty broad, and thirty-two feet deep to the bottom, with seven feet of water. Some idea of the productiveness of the mine, and the amount of gems that was probably taken from it during the years of fraudulent excavation, may be obtained from the subjoined return for one of the years of Mr. Heath's operations, from June 1819 to June 1820, taken from the books of the district,—the *ser* employed is a weight of 24 rupees, and a "star pagoda" = $3\frac{1}{2}$ rupees:—

Return of Aqua marina stones found in the Well at Pattiāli in Fasli 1230.

	Stones.	Sers' Weight.	Value in Star Pagodas.
1st sort	(1)	66 = 18	= 1,440
	(2)	318 = 12	= 760
	(3)	309 = 9	= 462½
2nd "		510 = 8	= 358
3rd "		311 = 7	= 210
4th "		682 = 6	= 62½
Small pieces not included		... =	140
Total...	2,196	60	3,433 = £1,201-11s.

It is highly probable that most of the best aquamarines of the true sea-green colour used in modern times in Europe, including the largest known—weighing six ounces and valued at £500, which was supposed to have come from Ceylon, where it is not found—came from this well; and some considerations will now be offered endeavouring to show the probability, at least, that its produce reached Europe even in classical times, and may have been the object of Roman barter. The gem was known and prized in remote antiquity: Ezekiel (xxviii. 13) enumerates it amongst the precious stones that covered the prince of Tyros. Pliny first conjectured, what science has since proved, that it is but a variety of emerald, and says especially of it (*Nat. Hist.* bk. xxxvii. cap. v.), "the best beryls are those which have the greenness of pure sea-water (*viriditatem puri maris*) and come from India, seldom found elsewhere (*raro alibi reperti*)." He also remarks that they are most lustrous when artificially polished hexagonally (*sexangulā figurā artificum ingenius*),—not being aware, seemingly, that they occur in six-sided crystals.

One of the most beautiful and exquisite arts

of antiquity was that of engraving on gems, which appears to have reached its fullest development under Alexander the Great, and was patronized by all the luxurious and refined monarchs of the East and the West, many of whose portraits it has handed down in the wonderful intaglio which are the pride of so many royal, national, and celebrated private collections. A long list of ancient artists famous for skill in gem-engraving has been preserved; but the examples that can be safely ascribed to them are few and priceless. Mediæval and modern art has been skilful in imitating the subjects, and even the signatures, of the antique Greek engravers; but amongst the few genuine works which can with confidence be referred to the artist whose name they bear are some engraved on aquamarines. Conspicuous amongst these is the Julia Titi of Evodus, the masterpiece of Roman portraiture, engraved on an immense and lovely aquamarine, signed by the famous artist. The history of this gem can be traced up to Charlemagne; it was in after years presented by Charles the Bald to the abbey of St. Denys, and is now at Florence, where also is an aquamarine bearing the head of Sextus Pompeius, or perhaps Hadrian, signed by Agathopus. Another aquamarine engraved with a Giant, signed by the most celebrated of all the antique engravers, Dioscorides, is in the Turin collection. In the magnificent collection of engraved gems in the British Museum there is a true antique intaglio of a Cupid bestriding a Dolphin on a beautiful aquamarine; and one, by Anteros, of Hercules carrying the Bull, in the Devonshire cabinet. Amongst mediæval works the Bacchanalia, once in the Bessborough cabinet, engraved on a fine aquamarine after an antique original, may be specified. These examples, out of many, must suffice.

Now whence came the aquamarines known to Pliny, and on which the Greek and Roman engravers exercised their skill? In modern times the gem, besides the Indian well, has been found in America, both North and South, in Siberia, and at a few places scattered over Europe, particularly at Limoges, in France. America and Siberia may be excluded from the sources of ancient supply. The localities in Europe are in regions little known to the Romans, and unmentioned by Pliny, who had the best means of information. It is unknown

in Ceylon. Its ancient origin seems therefore limited, as Pliny says it was, to India, and there it is only known to occur at the locality in Koimbatūr described in this Note, where, moreover, the gem is distinguished by the true clear sea-green colour specified by Pliny; elsewhere it is often blueish or muddy in tint.

In the neighbourhood of Pattiāli there are numerous excavations in the cleavelandite dyke; and that mineral, which is the matrix of the gem, can be traced in the rocks and strata for more than thirty miles, east and west. Lumps and masses of it, evidently broken up in search of the contents, lie about the pits and hollows in very large quantities; and the excavations are generally too shallow, and situated too high and dry, for wells. In that stony soil and almost rainless climate centuries would cause little change in the state and appearance of such pits, and the antiquity of many may reach back to almost any conceivable date. There can be little doubt that in ancient times, when the surface veins were unexhausted, the gem was obtained in abundance.

Roman coins have been found not unfrequently in Southern India, but nowhere in such large hoards as in Koimbatūr. At Palāchi (Polachy of Sheet 62, Gt. Trig. Survey Map), forty miles S.W. of Pattiāli, in 1800 a pot was dug up containing a great many Roman coins of Augustus and Tiberius: they were of two kinds, but all of the same weight and value. (Hamilton's *Gazetteer*.) In 1806 five fine gold coins of the Cæsars were found at Karūr, a considerable town (mentioned by Ptolemy) forty-five miles east of the beryl tract. In 1842 an earthen pot containing 522 Roman denarii was dug up near Vellalūr, a small village four miles from the town of Koim-

batūr; and, remarkably enough, out of so large a number, all but a dozen, like the "great many" of the Palāchi find, were coins of Augustus and Tiberius, the exceptions being of Caligula and Claudius.* In 1856 sixty-three very beautiful gold coins, bearing the heads of Augustus and other early Roman emperors, in excellent preservation, were discovered packed in an earthen pot, about the size of a large mango, near the boundary of the Madura and Koimbatūr districts, about forty miles south of Kāngyam. The southern half of the Koimbatūr district, in which all the places referred to in this Note are situated, lie just in front of the great Pālghāt Gap, where alone, from Bombay to Cape Comorin, the long line of the Ghāts is interrupted, and a level communication exists between the plains of the interior and the western coast. It is but 110 miles from Pattiāli to the sea, and we know that from Phœnician to Byzantine times an intercourse, perhaps unsuspectedly extensive, existed between Red Sea ports and ancient emporia on the Malabar sea-board. I do not know whether it would be deemed extravagant to connect the aqua marina mines of Koimbatūr with the hoards of Roman coin found in their vicinity; there is no other product of the district likely to have been the object of Roman purchase. It is, of course, only conjecture, but taking the express declaration of Pliny that sea-green stones came almost exclusively from India, and knowing that there they only occur at Pattiāli, there seems some ground for thinking that the beautiful gems so much admired and used by the engravers of antiquity, some of which still ornament the cabinets of Europe, came from an obscure village far down in the south of India.†

* This discovery took place just before I joined the district. I took casts of some of the coins, which by order of Government were sent to Madras,—whether there melted in the Mint or reserved in the Museum I know not. The coins were doubtless all of well-known and 'edited' types; a short description may, however, be archaeologically interesting. Of the 522 there were 134 bearing the head of Augustus with inscription CAES. AVGVSTVS. DIVI. F. PATER. PATRIAE.; on the reverse a trophy of arms between two standing figures and legend C. L. CAESARIS. AVGVSTI. F. ; and 378 bore the head of Tiberius with inscription TI. CAESAR. DIVI. AVG. F. AVGVSTVS.; on the reverse the emperor seated, with PONTIF. MAXIM. Of the remainder, two bore the head of Claudius, and legend TI. CLAVD. CAESAR. AVG. P. M. TR. VI. IMP. XI.; on the reverse a winged figure pointing with a wand to a snake, and inscription PACI AVGVSTAE. Another bore the head of Claudius with DIVVS CLAVDIVS AVGVSTVS; on the reverse a chariot

drawn by four horses abreast, with letters EX. S. C. There were two other types of Claudius, one bearing on the reverse a female seated, the other a wreath enclosing letters; and two coins of Caligula bearing the emperor's head,—on the reverse of one a head surrounded with rays. A single example bore a head of Augustus with AVGVSTVS. DIVI. F., and on the reverse Diana carrying a spear accompanied by a deer or hound, and legend IMP. X. Two remaining types were indistinct, one bearing a sort of arch. The hoards of coin referred to were all discovered in the first half of the present century; how many may have been found in the same neighbourhood in bygone ages, and how many may yet rest undiscovered, any one may conjecture.

† Corundum stones, used by jewellers, and of which the sapphire and ruby are only blue and red varieties, abound in the Koimbatūr district. 'Corundum' is surpassed in hardness only by the diamond, and belongs to the same class of mineral; the word, whose origin has caused some doubt, is pure Tamil, Kūrrāndām. Fine rubies have

XIII.—Wigs, ascetic and ancient.

In a previous Note (X.), at page 39 of this volume, some remarks were ventured upon the close curly hair that distinguishes Jain images and statues of Buddha, and an allusion made to the Siñhalese tradition that when Buddha determined to turn *Arhat* he cut off his hair with his sword, which thenceforward never grew longer, but always curled to the right hand. The same story is found in the *Legend of the Burmese Budha*, by the Right Reverend Bishop Bigandet, where at p. 60 the prince, having resolved to become a *Rahan*, is represented saying, "These long hairs that cover my head, and my beard too, are superfluities unbecoming the profession of a *Rahan*! Whereupon with one hand unsheathing his sword, and with the other seizing his comely hairs, he cut them with a single stroke. What remained of his hairs on the head measured about one inch and a half in length. In like manner he disposed of his beard. From that time he never needed shaving; the hairs of his beard and those of his head never grew longer during the remainder of his life." On this passage the learned bishop observes in a footnote, "This explains one peculiarity observable in all the statues representing Budha. The head is invariably covered with sharp points resembling those thorns with which the thick envelope of the *durian* fruit is armed. Often I had inquired as to the motive that induced native sculptors to leave on the heads of all statues these sorts of inverted nails, without being able to obtain any satisfactory answer; only from this passage I was able to account for this singular custom, which is designed to remind all Budhists of the ever-continued wonder whereby the hairs that remained on Budha's head never grew longer from the day he cut them with his sword." Nevertheless a doubt may remain whether these stories may not be classed amongst "myths of observation,"—that is, stories suggested by the appearances they pretend to account for.

I have, however, lately met with a passage which suggests another explanation of the per-

plexing close-curled hair. Very possibly it may have been discovered by other writers, but not to my knowledge. In Sir T. Stamford Raffles' *History of Java*, vol. II., there is an account of the antiquities at Brambanam, and an abstract given of a Report made by "Capt. George Baker, of the Bengal Establishment, employed in the provinces of the native princes to survey, measure, and take drawings of all buildings, images, architectural remains, &c." Captain Baker was accompanied by a Brāhman *sipāhī*, who was greatly astonished at the temples and sculptures at Brambanam, and declared they must be the work of the gods, and that "India could in no respect furnish a parallel to them." Captain Baker remarking "certain figures in a sitting cross-legged posture, with long-extended ears and short-curled head of hair," considered they must be Jaina or Buddhist, but the *sipāhī* maintained they were simple Hindu devotees in the act of making *tapās*, and that Brāhman frequently placed such images in their temples before their own gods; and he asserted, moreover, that what Captain Baker called curled hair was nothing more than a peculiar kind of cap (*topī* he called it) worn by devotees when in the most sacred act of *tapās*, which caps, he said, were common in Bengal and Hindustān, and made for the purpose by a particular class of people. (Vol. II. p. 11, ed. 1830.) It is the more particular object of this Note to draw attention to the foregoing passage, and inquire whether any such cap or wig imitating curled hair is now in use anywhere in India, or known by tradition, in any class. I have never met with anything of the sort myself in Madras, but have a vague impression of having somewhere read of a sort of skull-cap by *Jogīs* performing penance. Supposing for a moment that the *sipāhī's* idea had any foundation, and regarding the curly hair simply as an ascetic cap, it would throw some light on the puzzling circumstance that, whereas the Jainas to-day despise and revile Buddha, they represent their own *Tirthankaras* wearing the same very peculiar curly locks. It might indeed be

now and then been discovered in the Koimbatūr district, and there are records of diamonds having been found in Kāngyam. Aquamarines are now occasionally obtained in the Salem and Trichināpalli bazārs, and probably still procured secretly in the Pattiāli neighbourhood. A company has been formed for working the gold diggings under the Nilgiri and Kundā slopes, that rise in full view of the Koimbatūr plains; perhaps search

on the latter, scientifically directed, might be rewarded by returns still more valuable than gold. The *Times of India* of March 31 and April 3 contains a most interesting account of the diamond mines of Haidarābād (Golconda), by Capt. R. F. Burton. The celebrated traveller is of opinion that these mines have been prematurely abandoned, and that, so far from being exhausted, they have been scarcely touched.

objected that had any such wigs been in use or known, the story—certainly very ancient—of Buddha's having cut his hair with a sword, and its never afterwards growing longer, could not have arisen; but there is no appurtenance of man so liable to frequent, rapid, and extreme changes as the head-dresses and the fashion of the hair and beard: consequently none more liable to be forgotten or confused. It is certain that wigs of the most ample and elaborate style were in use in Egypt and Assyria, even long before the time of Buddha,—curious specimens have been found in tombs; and Jaina sculptures abound with figures wearing full-bottomed wigs, though shaven heads are rather now the fashion, except amongst *Sanyāsīs* and ascetics.† In Java, at Chandi Sewu, or the Thousand Temples, Captain Baker saw two gigantic janitors kneeling with uplifted clubs before a temple, "wearing large full-bottomed wigs in full curl all over, which the Brāhmaṇ *sipāhī* said was the way in which the *Munis* dressed their hair" (p. 17).

When a fashion drops out of use, legends like the cutting of Buddha's hair with a sword might easily arise to account for any surviving representation of it; and how rapidly and completely fashions may change, all may realize who look upon portraits of worthies who lived in the earlier part of last century, and reflect that the wonderful flowing wigs depicted were habitually worn by the grandfathers of men now

living. Were the last traces of the once general custom, surviving in barristers' and coachmen's wigs, to be represented in statuary,§ perhaps the effect might not be greatly unlike the Jain and Buddhist curly heads, or some conventional indication would be adopted and maintained, which in after-ages might conceivably become a cause of perplexity, and give rise to myths and legends. It is curious to look back upon the various lights in which long hair in men has been held by different nations and ages. Now regarded effeminate, it was not so in Homer's time, and when the Persian host caught sight of the Six Hundred in Thermopylae the Spartans were engaged in dressing and arranging their long hair. The fierce Norse sea-kings when taken captive disdained to ask any other boon than that no slave should touch their hair, and the grim Earls of the Heptarchy strode about, "Their beards a foot before them, and their hair A yard behind."

Later the Cavaliers, with their 'long essenced hair,' were not less keen than their opponents, the Roundheads, to whose 'crop-eared' style the youth of to-day, both English and French, seems to incline. Beards, the preëminent mark of manhood, were held craven by the warlike tribes of Germany, and no young warrior was allowed to shave till he had slain a foe. We, too, have witnessed how little more than a generation can bring a change in all classes from shaven lips and chins to beard and moustache.¶

ON THE MAHĀBHĀSHYA.

BY DR. F. KIELHORN, DECCAN COLLEGE, PUNA.

When last year I wrote for this journal (vol. IV. p. 107) a note on a passage of the *Rājataranginī*,

† Mr. J. Fergusson—after remarking, "It has ever been one of the puzzles of Buddhism that the founder of the religion should always have been represented in sculptures with woolly hair like that of a negro. That the prince Siddhārtha had flowing locks is certain, but how and when the change took place is the difficulty" (*Tree and Serpent Worship*, p. 122, ed. 1868)—thinks that a woolly-haired people, apparently not Hindus, represented in the Sānci sculptures (*Ibid.* plate XXVIII.) may have been the first to make images of Buddha, and endowed him with their crisp locks. But what if the woolly hair and foreign garments represented in the sculptures should have been close-fitting curly periwigs and particular vestments worn by ascetics at some penitential stages, but since as much fallen into disuse as the fashion of sitting on couches and seats, which the sculptures show to have been then general? See, too, page 132 of the same work. It may be observed, also, that Buddha was not everywhere represented with woolly hair; the gigantic bronze image of ancient Japanese work (which it is said could not be produced now) at present in the South Kensington Museum, shows Buddha with the hair straight, and brushed back from the forehead. Engraved gems of Roman imperial

I had just been reading, later perhaps than I ought to have done so, Prof. Weber's valuable article

times represented ladies wearing immensely thick *chevelures*, covered with close short curls, much of which must have been artificial, delineated in engraving just like Buddha's hair. The curly-headedness characterizing all Assyrian sculptures needs only be mentioned; it must indicate a universal wearing of wigs in Old Egypt. All classes seem to have shaved the head and worn wigs, the poorer people even using perukes of sheep's wool, very Buddha-like. Sir W. Jones, in several of the Discourses in the third volume of his Works, favours the idea of Buddha having been a stranger from northern or western countries.

§ I venture to refer to the apparently peruked equestrian statue of George the Third, hat in hand, in Cockspur Street, Charing Cross.

¶ Mr. Bryan Hodgson (*apud* the late Dr. J. Wilson in *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Jan. 1853, p. 359) was informed by a Buddhist priest that curled hair was introduced into statues of Buddha simply because it was esteemed a beauty.—Ed.

¶ This note should not close without referring to the instructive and interesting *Observations on the Kudumī or hair-tuft*, by the Rev. Dr. Caldwell (*Ind. Ant.* vol. IV. p. 166).

on the *Mahābhāṣya* (*Indische Studien*, vol. XIII. p. 293), and as there I had found some statements regarding the history of the text of that work for which there appeared to me to be little foundation, I deemed it advisable to conclude my note as follows:—

"I cannot conclude this short note without protesting against the statement, which I find repeated over and over again, that at some time or other the text of the *Mahābhāṣya* had been lost, that it had to be reconstructed, &c. All we know at present amounts to this, that for some period of time Patanjali's great work was not studied generally, and had consequently ceased to be understood. We may perhaps allow a break so far as regards its traditional interpretation, but for the present we are bound to regard the text of the *Mahābhāṣya* as given by our MSS. to be the same as it existed about two thousand years ago."

My object in writing these lines was no other than to induce Professor Weber to reconsider the grounds for his assertions. From a note on p. 242 of the second edition of his lectures on *Indische Literaturgeschichte* I now learn that he has done so, but that he has seen no reasons to change his views. For Professor Weber, in reply to my remarks, sums up his own views in the following words:—

"On the other hand it follows, not only from the statements of the *Rājataranginī*, but also particularly from those at the end of the second book of Hari's *Vākyapadīya*. . . . that the *Bhāṣya* has suffered manifold fates, that it has been several times *vichchhinna* and newly rearranged, so that the possibility of considerable alterations, additions, and interpolations cannot be denied, and that in every case it remains *a priori* uncertain whether a particular example belongs to Patanjali himself, or is owing only to these later reconstructions. . . . Kielhorn, it is true, has strongly protested against the statement that 'at some time or other the text of the *Mahābhāṣya* had been lost, that it had to be reconstructed, &c,' and will only 'perhaps allow a break so far as regards its traditional interpretation,' while for the present he considers us bound 'to regard the text of the

Mahābhāṣya as given by our MSS. to be the same as it existed about 2000 years ago.' Let us await, then, his proofs; for the protest alone might, in opposition to the statements handed down to us by tradition (on three different occasions the terms *viplāṣita*, *bhrashṭa*, *vichchhinna* are employed regarding the work), not be sufficient. It must, besides, be added that the South-Indian MSS. of the text, according to Burnell's testimony (see Preface to the *Vāṇabr.* p. xxii., note), appear to differ considerably."

So far as I am aware, the question at issue between Professor Weber and myself is, clearly stated, this:—

According to Professor Weber there are grave reasons for doubting the text of the *Mahābhāṣya*, as we find it in the existing MSS., to be the original text of that work. At the time of king Abhimanyu of Kāshmir the original text of Patanjali's work existed only in fragments,* from which a new text of the *Mahābhāṣya* was reconstructed by Chandrāchārya and others. This second text underwent in its turn the same fate as the original, and a new (third) text was accordingly prepared, under king Jayāpīḍa of Kāshmir. This third text is the one given by our MSS.

According to my own view no evidence has yet been adduced to prove that the text of the *Mahābhāṣya* as known to us from MSS. is not the original text of that work, and the only one that ever existed; and I shall now attempt to show why the reasons which have been brought forward to the contrary appear to me invalid. In the note from his lectures quoted above, these reasons are clearly implied by Professor Weber to be the following:—

(1) According to the testimony of Dr. Burnell, the South-Indian MSS. of the text of the *Mahābhāṣya* differ considerably from those found in other parts of India.

(2) From the verse IV. 487 of the *Rājataranginī* we learn that a new (what I have called above *third*) text of the *Mahābhāṣya* was prepared, under king Jayāpīḍa of Kāshmir.

(3) In another verse (I. 176) of the same work and in the concluding verses of the

* In his later articles Prof. Weber employs, so far as I remember, only the Sanskrit words *viplāṣita*, *bhrashṭa*, and *vichchhinna*, but I believe that the above represents his views correctly. From a note on p. 297 of vol. XIII. of the *Ind. Stud.* I infer that the word *vichchhinna* is taken in the sense of 'incomplete'; on p. 315 Prof. Weber

speaks of 'remodellations' (*Bearbeitungen*), on p. 320 of 'reconstructions,' but on p. 331 distinctly of 'fragments' out of which a new text was constructed. On p. 160 of vol. V. *viplāṣita* is translated by 'devastated' or 'destroyed' (*verwüstet*), on p. 161 *bhrashṭa* by 'lost,' and on p. 167 *vichchhinna* by 'split into pieces.'

second book of Bhartṛihari's *Vākyapadīya* we are told that at the time of king Abhimanyu of Kāshmir all that remained of the original text of the *Mahābhāshya* were fragments, from which Chandrachārya and others reconstructed a new (or second) text.

To the first reason Professor Weber himself does not appear to attach any very great importance; but it may be admitted that if the South-Indian MSS. really did contain a text considerably different from that which is given by MSS. from other parts of India, a fact such as this might prove, at any rate, the existence of different recensions of the *Mahābhāshya*. All, however, I find Dr. Burnell to have stated regarding the difference of the text in the South-Indian MSS., is this: that in the introductory *Āhnika* the latter "omit the quotation from the *Atharvaveda*;" moreover, on p. 91 of his essay *On the Aindra School of Sanskrit Graminarians*, the same scholar deliberately states "that the Northern and Southern MSS. of the *Mahābhāshya* differ to no great extent, though various readings occur." I may add that in the course of the last ten years I have examined MSS. from nearly every part of India, and that I have not been able to discover any traces of the existence of several recensions of Patanjali's great commentary.

I now proceed to verse IV. 487 of the *Rājataranginī*, which in the Paris edition is given thus:—

देशान्तरादागम्य व्याचक्षाणान्धमापतिः ।

प्रवर्तयत विच्छिन्नं महाभाष्यं स्वमण्डले ॥

On p. 167 of vol. V. of the *Indische Studien* this passage has been translated—"The king (Jayāpīḍa) caused interpreters to come from other countries, and set the split Bhāshya again going in his realm;" and from the remarks which immediately follow this translation it is clear that Prof. Weber, when first quoting and translating the passage, understood it to relate the 'introduction' or 're-introduction' of the *Mahābhāshya* into Kāshmir, and not a 'reconstruction' of the text of the work. This view has been abandoned in vol. XIII. of the *Ind. Stud.*, for in the latter Prof. Weber speaks on p. 315 of a 'remodelling,' and on p. 320 (where the word व्याचक्षाणन् is rendered by 'knowing' or 'expert men') of a 'reconstruction'

of the text, as having been brought about at the instance of Jayāpīḍa.

If, for argument's sake, we were to admit that the word विच्छिन्न did convey the sense of 'incomplete' or 'existing in fragments,' which has been ascribed to it, and that under Jayāpīḍa fragments were all that was to be found of the text of the *Mahābhāshya* in Kāshmir, would there be any reason for assuming the same to have been the case all over India? Do we not know of numbers of works of which fragments only exist in one part of India, while complete copies are to be found in others? And supposing that fragments only of the text existed in Kāshmir, what possible good could Jayāpīḍa have done when he desired to encourage the study of the *Mahābhāshya* by sending for interpreters? For as to the meaning of व्याचक्षाण there can, I presume, be no doubt whatsoever.

In reality the context in which the term विच्छिन्न is employed in the above passage, as well as the manner in which विच्छिन्न and विच्छेद are used elsewhere, show that the former cannot in the above convey the meaning which has been assigned to it. Sanskrit writers frequently speak of अप्रयत्नस्य विच्छेद, and call the study of a text विच्छिन्नसंप्रदाय; and in accordance with this usage I maintain that विच्छिन्नं महाभाष्यम् can only mean "the *Mahābhāshya* which had ceased to be studied" and was no longer understood in Kāshmir, and that the whole verse must therefore literally be translated thus:—"The king, having sent for interpreters from another country, brought into use in his realm the *Mahābhāshya*, which had ceased to be studied" (in Kāshmir, and was therefore no longer understood).

Before I proceed, I find it necessary to point out two slight inaccuracies in Prof. Weber's remarks concerning the history of the *Mahābhāshya*. Prof. Weber has stated more than once (see above, and this journal vol. IV. p. 247), and has apparently laid great stress on the fact, that the *Mahābhāshya* on three different occasions has received the epithets *viplāvita*, *bhrashṭa*, and *vichchhinna*. In reality *vichchhinna* occurs in the verse of the *Rājataranginī* quoted above, and the words *viplāvita* and *bhrashṭa* are found, as will be seen below, in one and the same sentence of the *Vākyapadīya*, although not in one and the same verse. Moreover, the epithet

bhrashṭa has been applied by Bhartṛihari not to the text of the *Mahābhāṣya*, but to the *vyākaraṇāgama*, the traditional knowledge of grammar as handed down from teacher to pupil,† a fact by which alone the force of Prof. Weber's argument would be considerably lessened. The terms *भट्ट* and *भञ्ज* are indeed used occasionally with reference to the text of a work (*ग्रन्थ*), and when they are so used it must be admitted that the writer who employs them desires to state that such text is lost, either completely, or at any rate partly. But it does not follow that because the *आगम*, i.e. traditional interpretation of a text, has become *भट्ट*, or because a work is no longer studied, its text must necessarily have been lost too. P u n y a r ā j a,‡ the commentator of the *Vākya-pāṭīya*, when accounting for the fragmentary state of the third chapter of that work, brings forward, as one of the probable reasons, the *आगमभञ्ज*, the fact that part of Bhartṛihari's work had ceased to be studied,§ and his doing so sufficiently proves that although *आगमभञ्ज* may in course of time lead to 'the loss of a text,' the former is not equivalent to the latter. There exist at the present day numbers of works in the libraries of this country, though their *आगम* has been lost, I am afraid, beyond the hope of recovery.

The passage of the *Vākya-pāṭīya* from which Prof. Weber concludes that (at the time of king Abhimanyu) fragments only of the original text of the *Mahābhāṣya* were in existence, and that from these a new text of the work was prepared by Chandrāchārya and others, was first pointed out by the late Prof. Goldstücker; it was republished with corrections by Prof. Weber himself in vol. V. of the *Indische Studien*, and subsequently again reprinted, together with the commentary of Pūnyarāja, by myself on pp. 285-7 of vol. III. of this journal. After having stated

† From the way in which Pūnyarāja subsequently in the commentary on the verse *वृत्तमामल* (see above, vol. III. p. 287), as well as in his *résumé* of the contents of the second book of the *Vākya-pāṭīya* (*प्रणीतो विधिवचायं मम व्याकरणागमः*), employs the term *व्याकरणागम*, it is evident that *व्याकरणागम* cannot possibly mean 'the text of the *Mahābhāṣya*,' but can only mean 'the doctrine or the traditional knowledge of grammar.'

‡ The name of this scholar is spelt both Pūnyarāja and Pūñjarāja in my MSS.

§ एतेषां च वित्त्य सौपपत्तिकं सनिदर्शनं स्वकपं पदकाण्डे लक्षणसमुद्देशो विनिर्दिष्टमिति ग्रन्थकृतैव स्ववृत्तौ प्रतिपादितम्। आगमभञ्जान्नेकप्रमादादिना वा लक्षणसमुद्देशश्च पदकाण्डमध्ये न प्रसिद्धः ॥

the reasons which induced Patanjali to compose his great commentary, and that the latter, on account of its difficulty, was not generally understood, Bhartṛihari proceeds thus :—

वैजिसीभवहयंस्तैः शुक्तकानुसारिभिः ।

आर्षे विज्ञाविते ग्रन्थे.....॥¶

यः पातञ्जलिशिष्येभ्यो भट्टो व्याकरणागमः ।

काले स दाक्षिणात्येषु ग्रन्थमात्रे व्यवस्थितः ॥

पर्वतादागमं लब्ध्वा भाष्यबीजानुसारिभिः ।

स नीतो बहुशास्त्रत्वं चन्द्राचार्यादिभिः पुनः ॥

Prof. Weber's translation of these lines on p. 160 of vol. V. of the *Ind. Stud.* is this :—

"Vaiji, Saubhava, and Haryaksha, addicted to dry reasoning, . . . destroyed the Rishi's work."

"The grammar-text, lost to Patanjali's pupils, existed for a while among the Dākṣiṇātyas, in one MS. only."

"Thereupon Chandra and others, searching for the seed (i.e. the original) of the *Bhāṣya*, received the text from Parvata, and made many branches of it."

From the remarks which follow this translation it appears that the words 'destroyed the Rishi's work' are not to be taken literally, but must be understood to convey the sense (see p. 163) that Vaiji, &c. "rose up against the work of Patanjali and caused it to fall into disuse (*verdrängten es*) for a while." Moreover, from pp. 166 and 167 we learn that Chandra and the others recovered the *Mahābhāṣya*, and that they did not establish a new text. Whether Prof. Weber was justified by his own translation in speaking, on p. 168, "of the reconstruction (by Chandra and others) of a text which had been lost for a time,"—a view which, so far as I am aware, he has upheld in all his later writings,—I leave for the decision of the reader. But the translation itself—which was prepared

¶ I purposely have omitted the last word of this line, because both its reading and signification appear to me somewhat doubtful. The Pūṇa, Benares, Lahore, and Dr. Burnell's Malayālam MSS. read *संप्रहृतिकञ्चुकैः*. Colebrooke's MS. has *कञ्चुकैः* and Pūnyarāja appears to have read *कञ्चुकैः* for he seems to explain it by *संप्रहृतिपल्लवैः* 'enemies of the *Samgraha*,' on which, according to Pūnyarāja's statement, the *Mahābhāṣya* has been based. If *संप्रहृतिकञ्चुकैः* be correct, it must, as was pointed out by Prof. Stenzler, be an adjective qualifying *ग्रन्थे*, and its meaning may possibly be 'preserving the (contents of the) *Samgraha*.' The meaning of the whole passage, so far as we are concerned with it here, is not affected either way.

without the assistance of any commentary—is open to objections, for some of which I may refer to Prof. Stenzler's remarks in the *Ind. Stud.* vol. V. p. 448. Following Puṇyārāja's commentary I venture to render Bhartṛihari's words thus:—

"When the book of the Ṛishi had been perverted by Vaiji, Śaughava, and Haryaksha, because (in attempting to explain it) they had followed their own unaided reasoning,*

"The traditional knowledge of grammar, lost to the pupils of Pātanjali, in course of time existed only in books, amongst the Dākshinātyas.

"It was again widely diffused by Chandrāchārya and others, who, after they had received the traditional knowledge from Parvata, followed (by its means) the principles laid down in the Bhāshya."

After a careful consideration of Bhartṛihari's statement and of all that has been written about it (see also Burnell, *loc. cit.* p. 91), I am unable to perceive that it contains any allusion to the history of the text of the *Mahābhāshya*. What the author of the *Vākyapadīya* really tells us, so far as I understand his meaning, is this:—There were certain scholars, mentioned by name, who in the explanation of the *Mahābhāshya* rejected the assistance of the traditional interpretation handed down to them, and trusted each to his own unaided reasoning. Their attempt, as might have been expected, proved unsuccessful. The meaning of Pātanjali's work became perverted; its text, indeed, continued to exist, but as its true meaning was no longer understood, this existence was a sham (आभास, as Puṇyārāja says,) rather than a reality. The traditional interpretation having been once neglected ceased to be handed down orally from teacher to pupil, and remained only written down in books, which I understand to mean in the shape of written commentaries,† among the

Dākshinātyas. Chandrāchārya and others got hold of these commentaries which gave the traditional interpretation, and made it again generally known; they developed and diffused the science of grammar after, by means of the traditional interpretation, they had mastered the principles laid down in the *Mahābhāshya*.

For the sense in which I understand verse I. 176 of the *Rājataranginī*, I may refer the reader to p. 108 of vol. IV. of this journal, and I may add that even according to Prof. Weber's own interpretation, as given in *Ind. Stud.* vol. V. p. 167, the verse must not be understood to refer to a 'reconstruction,' or, as Dr. Burnell, *loc. cit.* p. 91, has expressed it, a 'revision,' of the text of the *Mahābhāshya*, but relates only the 'introduction' of the work into Kāshmir.

The above are, I believe, all the reasons which Prof. Weber has ever brought forward to prove that the text of the *Mahābhāshya* has been 'several times newly rearranged.' The more important of them were examined at length, after the publication of Prof. Goldstücker's *Pāṇini*, in vol. V. of the *Indische Studien*, and the conclusion to which they appeared to point then was, to use Prof. Weber's own words (p. 169), "that there existed no cogent reasons to doubt the authenticity of the text, so far as it was known," fourteen years ago. Since then, it is true, the whole text of the *Mahābhāshya* has been made generally accessible; but, as I fail to perceive how thereby its authenticity should have become more doubtful than it was before, I consider myself still justified in maintaining "that for the present we are bound to regard the text of the *Mahābhāshya* as given by our MSS. to be the same as it existed about two thousand years ago."

But I shall be told that even if all I have maintained in the preceding were correct, there would still remain sufficient internal evidence

* Instead of the epithet शुकतकानुसारिभिः Puṇyārāja in his *résumé* uses the expression आवेशविषयः 'overpowered by conceit,' i.e. Vaiji, &c. were too conceited to follow the traditional interpretation. विभावित is explained by आभासकृत, literally 'reduced to a semblance,' i.e. after the treatment which the *Mahābhāshya* had received from Vaiji, &c. it indeed looked still like the *Mahābhāshya* (just as a *Hetvābhāsa* looks like a *Hetu*), in reality however it had ceased to be the *Mahābhāshya*, because its true meaning had been perverted and was no longer understood.

† If it be objected that no such commentaries are known at present, I can only answer that commentaries

of which we know nothing must have existed even in Kaiyata's time, because he frequently introduces interpretations that differ from his own by अन्ये, अपरे, केचित्. And there is no reason why commentaries on grammatical works should not have been lost, as well as others. The commentaries on Pāṇini's *Sūtras* by Chulibhatti and Nallāra, which are mentioned by Jinendrabuddhi, are, so far as I am aware, not known to Sanskrit scholars even by name. And that commentaries on Kātyāyana's *Vārtikas* were in existence when Pātanjali composed his own *Mahābhāshya* no one will deny who is acquainted with the latter.

to prove that what we are accustomed to call the *Mahābhāṣya* is but a modern compilation, prepared probably during or after the 7th century of our era. This at least is the view to which Dr. Burnell has given expression in his essay *On the Aindra School of Grammarians* (p. 91), and which has been approved of by Prof. Weber in his review of Dr. Burnell's book. As it is desirable that the case should be stated to the reader as fairly as possible, I am obliged to quote Dr. Burnell's opinion and arguments in full, the more so because it would seem as if the views of that scholar have been somewhat misrepresented by his reviewer.† "But," writes Dr. Burnell, "it appears to me that the form of the *Mahābhāṣya* is in itself a convincing proof that the text is not in its original form. That it is highly controversial has already been noticed, but I think that, as it now stands, it may be rather taken as a synopsis of arguments for and against the details of Pāṇini's system, and as a controversial manual. No doubt, Kātyāyana criticized Pāṇini, and Patanjali replied in justification of the former, but the *Mahābhāṣya* goes further than this. The first *āhnika*, which contains a long argument as to the utility of grammar, &c., and which fills no less than 27 pages in the splendid India Museum facsimile edition, has no parallel in the older commentaries, and certainly is not to be expected in a book of the second century before our era, but is just what we find in the controversial literature of the 7th and the following centuries A.D. How is it possible to believe that Patanjali himself found it necessary to furnish arguments which would justify the study to which he had devoted his life? Again, the whole arrangement and the matter are too systematic and copious for a mere refutation of Kātyāyana, whereas the epigrammatic forms of Kātyāyana's criticisms on Pāṇini point rather to an abridgment of Kātyāyana's words than to quotations. It must not be forgotten that Vārttikas of others besides Kātyāyana are occasionally given. Is it likely that these critics of Pāṇini merely stated their corrections, real or presumed, in the fewest possible words, and did not assign full reasons for

their opinions? It thus appears to me that the *Mahābhāṣya*, as it stands, is rather a skilful compilation of the views of Pāṇini's critics, and of their refutation by Patanjali, than the real text of the original works, and that it has been made with a view to practical polemics."

If I rightly understand these words, Dr. Burnell maintains that some time before the 7th century A.D. there existed certain works composed by Kātyāyana and others in which these scholars stated their criticisms on Pāṇini, assigning full reasons for their own opinions; that at the same time there existed another work by Patanjali which was exclusively devoted to a refutation of those criticisms; and that the *Mahābhāṣya*, as it stands, is rather a skilful compilation (prepared during or after the 7th century) of the views of Pāṇini's critics, and of their refutation by Patanjali, than the real text of the original works of Kātyāyana, Patanjali, &c. To corroborate this assertion, it is stated that the *Mahābhāṣya* looks like a manual of controversy:—

(1) Because the views of Kātyāyana and other critics of Pāṇini are given in it in an abridged form, the reasons which those critics must have assigned for their views having been omitted.

(2) Because what we are accustomed to consider as Patanjali's remarks are not confined to a refutation of Kātyāyana, as may be seen—

(a) From the long argument as to the utility of grammar, &c., filling no less than 27 pages; this argument is out of place in a refutation of Kātyāyana; it is not in keeping with Patanjali's date (the second century B.C.), nor in keeping with his devotion to the study of grammar.

(b) From the whole arrangement and the matter, which are too systematic and copious for a mere refutation of Kātyāyana.

I have examined these statements with that care and attention which Dr. Burnell's scholarship and wide range of reading are always sure to command from a fellow-worker, but I have been unable to convince myself of the truth of his premisses, or the fairness of the conclusion

† Prof. Weber in quoting from Dr. Burnell's book makes the latter say that the *Mahābhāṣya* is not 'the real text of the original work,' whereas in reality Dr. Burnell speaks of original works. This difference between the singular and plural shows clearly that Prof. Weber's and Dr. Burnell's views regarding the *Mahābhāṣya* are by no means the same. According to Prof. Weber some

such work as the *Mahābhāṣya* which we possess was actually composed by Patanjali, but had to be reconstructed when its original text in course of time had been reduced to fragments. According to Dr. Burnell our *Mahābhāṣya* has been compiled from several original works, and may therefore be called an original compilation from works which have been altogether lost. See below.

which has been derived from them. Whether the late Prof. Goldstücker was right in describing the nature and the object of the Vārttikas as he has done, I may have occasion to examine hereafter; but allowing for the sake of argument that the Vārttikas contain nothing but criticisms on Pāṇini, and that it was the sole aim of Kātyāyana 'to find fault' with that grammarian, it certainly appears to me that in the *Mahābhāṣya* those 'criticisms' have in every case been given as fully as could be expected, that they are supported by reasons whenever their nature admits of or necessitates such support, § and that the term 'abridgment' is as little applicable to them as it would be applicable to the Sūtras of Pāṇini. As regards Patanjali, it has nowhere been shown that he was bound to confine his remarks to a refutation of Kātyāyana, nor has it been proved that the justification of Pāṇini

§ A few examples must suffice here. On P. I. 1. 1 the two first vārttikas are:—

- (a) संज्ञाधिकारः संज्ञासंप्रत्ययार्थः ॥
(b) इतरथा संप्रत्यययो यथा लोके ॥

Here the reason for which Kātyāyana demands a Samjñādhikāra is given in संज्ञासंप्रत्ययार्थः, and the fault which is said to arise from the non-adoption of such an adhi-kāra is stated in vārttika (b). It is unnecessary to state here how Kātyāyana himself subsequently shows that in reality no Samjñādhikāra is required.

On P. I. 1. 4 we read the vārttika (a) वृद्धकृद्बलोपे प्रतिषेधः, the reason for the adoption of which is stated in (b) नुस्तीपस्तिन्यनुबन्धलोपेऽप्रतिषेधार्थम्;

On P. I. 1. 5 the vārttika (a) कृति प्रतिषेधे तन्निमित्तप्रहणम्, the reason for which is stated in (b) उपभारोत्वीत्यर्थम्;

On P. I. 1. 9 the vārttika सर्वसंज्ञायां भिन्नदेशोच्चारितप्रसङ्गः प्रयत्नसामान्यात्, where the reason for the objection raised is given in the last word.

On P. I. 1. 12 in the vārttika मत्प्रगुणसंज्ञायां तस्यासिद्धत्वादयावेकादेशप्रतिषेधः the reason is given in the words तस्यासिद्धत्वात्.

On P. I. 1. 20 in the vārttika घुसंज्ञायां प्रकृतिप्रहणे सिद्धयेऽपि the reason for the correction is stated in the word सिद्धयेऽपि.

See also the vārttikas on P. I. 1. 23:—

- (a) संख्यासंज्ञायां संख्याप्रहणम् ॥
(b) संख्यासंप्रत्ययार्थम् ॥
(c) इतरथा संप्रत्ययोऽकृषिमत्वापथा लोके ॥
(d) उत्तरार्थं च ॥

|| I need quote only Vākyapadīya, I. 23:—

नित्याः शब्दार्थसंबन्धास्तत्वाभाता महर्षिभिः ।

संज्ञायां सानुतन्वाणां भाष्याणां च प्रणेतृभिः ॥

on which the commentator remarks:—

अनुतन्वं शार्त्तिकम् । तत्राप्युक्तं सिद्धे शब्दार्थसंबन्धे इति ॥

was the main object of his work. Moreover, so far from having attempted to bring forward anything in favour of the assertion that what we know of Patanjali's views has been compiled from a more extensive work of that grammarian, Dr. Burnell appears rather inclined to regard the *copiousness* of the matter in the *Mahābhāṣya* as inconsistent with the idea of its being an original work. The long argument as to the utility of grammar, which to Dr. Burnell appears to be so much out of place in a refutation of Kātyāyana, fills in reality by far the smaller number of the 27 pages of the introductory *Āhnika*: for as early as the 12th page we read the words सिद्धे शब्दार्थसंबन्धे, which, by the unanimous consent of all grammatical works known to me, form the first of Kātyāyana's Vārttikas. I too am inclined to believe that the reasons in favour of the study of

and Īśvarānanda's Bhāṣyapradīpavivaraṇa वारुचं वार्त्तिकम् । तद्धि मंगलाचरणपूर्वकं सिद्धे शब्दार्थेत्यादि ॥

The vārttikas commented on by Patanjali in the first āhnika are the following:—

सिद्धे शब्दार्थसंबन्धे ।

लोकतोऽर्थप्रयुक्ते शब्दप्रयोगे शास्त्रेण धर्मनियमः ।

यथा लौकिकवैदिकेभ्यः ॥

अस्त्यप्रयुक्त इति चेन्नार्थे शब्दप्रयोगात् ।

अप्रयोगः प्रयोगान्यत्वात् ।

अप्रयुक्ते दीर्घसत्त्वत् ।

सर्वे देशान्तरे ॥

ज्ञाने धर्म इति चेत्तथाधर्मः ।

आचारे नियमः ।

प्रयोगे सर्वलोकस्य ।

शास्त्रपूर्वके प्रयोगेऽभ्युदयस्तत्तुल्यं वेदशब्देन ॥

सूत्रे व्याकरणे षड्वर्षोऽनुपपन्नः ।

शब्दाप्रतिपत्तिः ।

शब्देऽप्युदयेः ।

भवे ।

प्रोक्तादयश्च तद्धिताः ।

तद्व्यत्ययस्य व्याकरणम् ॥

वृत्तिसमवायार्थे उपदेशः ।

अनुबन्धकरणार्थं च ।

इष्टबुद्धयर्थेवेति चेदुदात्तानुदात्तस्वरितानुनासिकरीयंभुताना-

मनुपदेशः ।

आकृत्युपदेशात्सिद्धमिति चेत्संज्ञादीनां प्रतिषेधः ॥

The so-called Vārttika-pāṭha, of which I possess a MS., appears to me to be a modern compilation, and does not decide the question of what are vārttikas and what not.

¶ रकोहागमलप्लवसदेहाः प्रयोजनम्, and तेषुः up to सुदे-वोऽसि वरुण. That Patanjali has not himself collected the passages तेषुः, &c. appears to follow from the fact that he understands the eighth of them, चत्वारि, to indicate *Rigveda*, IV. 58. 3, while at the same time he informs us

grammar, by which this *Vārtika* is preceded, have not been invented by Patanjali; but, so far from allowing them to be an addition made during or after the 7th century A.D., I would rather maintain that those arguments must have been current long before Patanjali, and that all he has done himself is to comment on them, and to quote the interpretation of another scholar which differs from his own. When a scholar of Yāska's antiquity has thought it desirable to bring forward arguments in favour of the study of *his* science,* the presence of such arguments cannot, surely, furnish any just cause for casting doubts on the authenticity of a work supposed to have been composed during the second century before our era, and it is accounted for, rather than rendered suspicious, by Patanjali's devotion to the study of grammar. To my mind the language and the style in what we are accustomed to call the *Mahābhāṣya* are a sufficient proof that that great work must have been composed a very long time before the 7th century. In the *Vākyapadiya* native grammarians have given to us a specimen of such a compilation or controversial manual as has been described by Dr. Burnell, but I am unable to admit that the terms used by that scholar are fairly applicable to what tradition has taught us to regard as the original work of Patanjali.

And this leads me to touch upon one more question raised by Prof. Weber,—the question, namely, whether the *Mahābhāṣya* ought not to be considered the work of the *pupils* of Patanjali, rather than the work of their master.

"It is true," says Prof. Weber on p. 322 of vol. XIII. of the *Ind. Stud.*, "one of the arguments which I have brought forward in favour of this view, viz. that Patanjali in the *Mahābhāṣya* is *always* spoken of in the *third* person, and that his opinions are several times introduced with *तु*, or rather with *पश्यति त्वाचार्यः*, is no longer strictly valid. For, on the one hand, we several

times find in it also statements in the *first* person . . . on the other hand, according to Bhāṇḍārkar, we have to understand by the word *आचार्य* in such phrases as *पश्यति त्वाचार्यः* not Patanjali at all, but Pāṇini! As regards some passages, Bhāṇḍārkar appears to be strictly correct; by no means, however, as regards *all*: for on the one hand this would form too glaring a contrast with Nāgārjuna's distinct statement to the contrary* that in the *Bhāṣya* *आचार्य* denotes *only* Patanjali,† *भाष्ये आचार्यपदेन शास्त्राचार्यको भाष्यकारो एव विवक्षितः*, on the other hand, in many of those cases the reference to the statements of the *Bhāṣya* (and *not* to the wording of Pāṇini's *Sūtras*) is perfectly clear and distinct. How matters really stand will still have to be specially investigated. But, in spite of these two corrections of my former statements, so much at any rate remains certain, that on the whole the cases in which the views of the *Bhāṣyakāra* are stated in the first person are *comparatively* rare, and that, *as a rule*, his statements, on the contrary, are made in the third person."

I was, I confess it, somewhat startled when first perusing these lines; for I also had studied portions at least of the *Mahābhāṣya*, and during that study it had always appeared to me that the word *आचार्यः*, in cases where no other *Āchārya* was particularly specified, denoted either Pāṇini or, though much more rarely, Kātyāyana; and, moreover, I could not remember to have found Patanjali, if I may say so, speaking in the third person. I was sorry, too, that a man of Nāgajibhatta's vast learning and scholarship, whom I had found cause to regard as one of the greatest grammarians of modern times, should have been thought capable of making a statement the falseness of which could be demonstrated from almost every single page of the *Mahābhāṣya*. The first thing I had to do was to examine Nāgajibhatta's remark for myself, and here I found that it admitted of a very different explanation.

that another understands by it *Rev. I. 164. 45*. I may add, too, that by (6) *विभक्तिं कुर्वन्ति*, (11) *सारस्वतीम्*, and (12) *दक्षस्यां पुत्रस्य* some other passages appear to have been intended than those which have actually been quoted by Patanjali.

* See Nirukta, I. 15. अथापीदमन्तरेण मन्त्रेष्वर्थप्रत्ययो न विद्यते ऽर्थमप्रतिपत्तौ नान्यन्तं स्वरसंस्कारोद्देशस्तदिदं विद्यास्थानं व्याकरणस्य कान्त्यर्थं स्वार्थसाधकं च ॥ (Compare herewith Patanjali's explanation of असंदेहायं चाप्यध्येयं व्याकरणम्.)

I. 17. अथापीदमन्तरेण पदविभागो न विद्यते ॥

अथापि याज्ञे दैवतेन बहवः प्रदेशा भवन्तीत्यादि ॥

अथापि ज्ञानप्रशंसा भवत्यज्ञाननिन्दा च ।

स्थानुरयं भारहारः ॥

यद्रहीतमविज्ञातम् ॥ (See Patanjali.)

उत त्वः पश्यन् ॥ (See Patanjali.)

उत त्वं सस्ये ॥

† Nāgajibhatta says भाष्यकृदेव.

Nāgojibhaṭṭa's declared object in composing his *Bhāṣyapradīpodyota* was to elucidate Kaiyata's *Bhāṣyapradīpa*, but he did not thereby regard himself as prevented from commenting on the text of the *Mahābhāṣya* as well, in cases where he deemed Kaiyata's commentary insufficient; and, to show the student at first sight that he was explaining the text of the *Mahābhāṣya*, and not that of Kaiyata's commentary, he adopted the practice of prefixing to such explanations the word भाष्ये (see Ballantyne's ed. pp. 3, 4, 6, 9, 10, 11, 13, &c.). This is exactly the case in the passage quoted by Prof. Weber (*loc. cit.* p. 36), भाष्ये आचार्यपदेन शास्त्राचार्यको भाष्यकृदेव विवक्षितः. Nāgojibhaṭṭa considers that Kaiyata ought to have given a note regarding the meaning of the word आचार्य in तेन एवं विवक्षितपदविशेषोऽप्येत्युक्तः सुहृत्वाचार्य इदं शास्त्रमन्वाचष्टे, because in this particular passage आचार्य does not appear to him to convey its ordinary meaning; and to supply this defect he is good enough to tell us that (in his opinion) आचार्य denotes, in this particular passage of the *Mahābhāṣya*, exceptionally the author of the *Bhāṣya* himself, and not those whom it denotes generally (Pāṇini or Kātyāyana).

Accurately to determine whether Prof. Weber was right in maintaining that in the *Mahābhāṣya* आचार्य in such phrases as पश्यति त्वाचार्यः (by which I understand Prof. Weber to mean the phrases पश्यति त्वाचार्यः, आचार्यपदवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति, and ज्ञापयत्वाचार्यः) denotes in the majority of cases Patanjali, and that the latter, as a rule, is spoken of in the third person, or whether I was correct in believing that आचार्य (with possibly the one exception pointed out by Nāgojibhaṭṭa) did not denote Patanjali, and that the author of the *Mahābhāṣya* in the body of the work ascribed to him (with perhaps the exception of those five passages in which, according to Professor Weber, the terms गोनर्दाय or गोजिकापुत्र occur) was not spoken of in the third person, I should have had

to read through the whole of the *Mahābhāṣya*. Though I had not the time for doing this, I thought it right to study once more at least part of the work, with the view of testing, so far as was in my power, the truth of Prof. Weber's statements and of my own impressions. Accordingly I read through carefully the first 240 pages of the text of the *Mahābhāṣya* as given in the lithographed Benares edition, and the results at which I arrived by doing so were the following:—

(a) *As to the word आचार्य.* On the first 240 pages this word is found sixty times, and among those sixty passages in which it occurs there is only one, viz. that pointed out by Nāgojibhaṭṭa, in which it denotes Patanjali himself, provided Nāgojibhaṭṭa's statement be strictly correct. The phrase आचार्यपदवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति occurs twenty times, ज्ञापयत्वाचार्यः nine times, and पश्यति त्वाचार्यः seven times, and in them आचार्य always means Pāṇini. Besides, Pāṇini is denoted by आचार्य nine times (on pp. 11b, 12a, 40a, 46a, 47b twice, 94b twice, and 112b).

Four times आचार्य denotes Kātyāyana, viz. twice on p. 13a, once on p. 18b, and once on p. 75b (see his *vārt.* on P. VI. 1. 129).

The Āchārya Śākalya is mentioned on p. 82a.

The Āchāryas generally are spoken of six times; Āchāryas other than Śākalya once; and the Āchāryas mentioned by Pāṇini likewise once, viz. in the *vārt.* आचार्यदेशशौलनेन च तद्विषयताः on p. 112a.

(b) *As to whether Patanjali is, as a rule, spoken of in the third person.* Since Patanjali (with the possible exceptions already pointed out) is not mentioned by name, the question to be decided is really this: whether for verbal forms such as पठति, वक्ष्यति, in cases where their subject has not been particularized in the *Mahābhāṣya*, and where it is impossible to supply the subject Pāṇini,§ we have ever to supply the nominative पतञ्जलिः.

p. 24b, यदयं.....कराति p. 25a, 31b, &c.

Do. उच्चारयेत्.

p. 31a, अयमुपदिशेत्.

p. 34b, यदयं बुभुक्षति (P. VII. 4. 39) नूनमनशब्दं पठति.

p. 55b, किति प्रतिषेधं वक्ष्यति (P. I. 1. 5), &c.

As in all these and similar cases the context would show at once and beyond doubt that the subject of the verbs शास्ति, &c. can be no other than Pāṇini, it was unnecessary for Patanjali to tell the student that it was Pāṇini who had taught something by the rule अ अ, Pāṇini who had

† This *vārt.* and Patanjali's remarks on it are of some importance, for we learn therefrom that at any rate in P. IV. 1. 160 the word भाष्यम् does not denote former grammarians, but has the sense of भाष्या देशे. For the different view taken by Dr. Burnell see his essay *On the Aindra School*, pp. 24 and 26.

§ It is hardly necessary to state that we are very often required to supply the subject Pāṇini. For instances I refer to—

p. 22b, यदयम् अ अ (P. VIII. 4. 68) इति...शास्ति; p. 32a, 33a, &c.

On the first 240 pages the verbal forms that have to be considered are the following :—

- p. 22a, वक्षति; supply *Kātyāyana*. See his *vārt.* on P. I. 1. 9, सिद्धं त्वास्ते तुल्यदेशप्रयत्नं सवर्णम्, and the way in which it has been paraphrased by Patanjali on p. 69b.
- p. 27b, (अत उत्तरं) पठति; supply *Kātyāyana*. His *vārt.* is given immediately after the word पठति.
- p. 30a, वक्षति; supply *Kātyāyana*, *vārt.* on P. VI. 4. 133.
- p. 40a, वक्षति; supply *Kātyāyana*, *vārt.* on P. I. 2. 45.
- p. 40b, वक्षति; supply *Kātyāyana*, *vārt.* on P. VIII. 2. 6.
- p. 55b, (अत उत्तरं) पठति; supply *Kātyāyana*; his *vārt.* follows immediately upon the word पठति.
- p. 59b, वक्षति; supply *Kātyāyana*, *vārt.* on the same page.
- p. 66b, वक्षति; supply *Kātyāyana*, *vārt.* on P. I. 1. 47.
- p. 69a, वक्षति; supply *Kātyāyana*, *vārt.* on the next page.
- p. 72a, वक्षति; supply *Kātyāyana*, *vārt.* on P. VI. 1. 101.
- p. 77b, वक्षति; supply *Kātyāyana*, *vārt.* on P. I. 4. 14.
- p. 86b, वक्षति; supply *Kātyāyana*, *vārt.* on P. VI. 1. 1.
- „ वक्षति; supply *Kātyāyana*; see his *vārt.* on P. VIII. 3. 59.
- p. 88a, वक्षति; supply *Kātyāyana*, *vārt.* on P. I. 1. 72.
- p. 99a, वक्षति; supply *Kātyāyana*, *vārt.* on P. II. 2. 35.
- p. 99b, l. 3, वक्षति; supply *Kātyāyana*, *vārt.* on P. II. 2. 35.
- p. 102a, वक्षति; supply *Kātyāyana*, *vārt.* on P. VI. 2. 2.
- p. 106b, वक्षति; supply *Kātyāyana*, *vārt.* on P. VIII. 2. 3.

prohibited the substitution of Guṇa and Vriḍhi by his rule कृति च, &c.

On the other hand, when, as has been shown in the above, Patanjali speaks of *Kātyāyana* without particularizing him, his doing so is in my opinion accounted for by the fact that *Kātyāyana*'s is the work on which he is commenting (or, as other scholars would say, the work which he is refuting), and in speaking of him in the third person without mentioning his name Patanjali has done what numbers of commentators have done besides him. On p. 101a, where

p. 117a, वक्षति; supply *Kātyāyana*, *vārt.* on P. VI. 4. 72.

The only verbal forms of this kind which remain are वक्षति on p. 24a, on p. 52a, and on p. 99b, line 1. As regards the two latter, it might indeed at first sight appear as if we had to supply for them the subject *Patanjali*; but to do so would in my opinion be incorrect. For in reality the statement which follows upon the word वक्षति on p. 52a is not of Patanjali's invention, but it must, as we are told by Patanjali on P. V. 2. 4, be ascribed to *Pāṇini*; similarly the statement which follows the word वक्षति on p. 99b is not Patanjali's, but is implied in *Kātyāyana*'s *vārt.* on P. II. 2. 35, and belongs therefore to him. Finally, not even the one remaining वक्षति on p. 24a is likely to support Prof. Weber's view, for the best copy of the *Mahābhāṣya* accessible to me does in this case not read वक्षति, but वक्षते (see the lith. ed. of the India Office, p. 31).

As, then, the perusal of the first 240 pages of the text of the *Mahābhāṣya* does not appear to furnish any argument in favour of Prof. Weber's views, it will not, I trust, be thought unreasonable when for the present I venture to doubt their correctness, and when I continue to regard the supposition that the *Mahābhāṣya* may have been composed by the pupils of Patanjali, as void of foundation. The longer I study that great work the more I feel convinced that from beginning to end it is the masterly production of one and the same individual scholar, and that few works in the whole range of Sanskrit literature have been preserved to us as complete and intact as the text of the *Mahābhāṣya*.

I may be wrong, and when I find my views refuted by cogent arguments I shall be the first to say so. The *Mahābhāṣya*, besides being one of the most interesting works for the student of language, is in many respects also one of the most difficult, and every attempt to facilitate

Patanjali adduces both *Pāṇini* and *Kātyāyana* as authorities for one and the same thing, he does consider it necessary to inform us that he is quoting the *Vārttikakāra* : आचार्यवृत्तिज्ञोपयति.....वार्तिककारश्च पठति.

That no subject whatever need be supplied for the phrase इत्याह when it occurs in such sentences as नेत्याह, उभयमित्याह, लभ्यमित्याह, गतमित्याह, &c., which give answers to questions that have been previously raised, those who are acquainted with the style of the *Mahābhāṣya* need hardly be reminded of.

the understanding of it, or to solve the problems to which it gives rise, must be received by all scholars with gratitude. But we ought never to forget that little will be gained by conjecture, or by a perusal of the bare text of

Patanjali's work, and that no attempt at understanding the true nature of the *Mahābhāṣya* is likely to be successful unless it be based on a careful study of what the Hindu commentators themselves have written about it.||

ON THE NOUBAT.

BY SIR WALTER ELLIOT, K.C.S.I., OF WOLFLEE.

In translating old inscriptions, terms denoting ancient titles or honorific distinctions are sometimes found which have either become obsolete, or which are expressed by words that do not convey the same meaning as formerly.

One of these is *pāñcha-mahāśabda*. It occurs occasionally in the string of titles describing donors of land or other benefactions. The prince or noble conferring the grant is said to be *samadhigata-pāñcha-mahāśabda*, literally 'he who has obtained five great sounds or words.' Unable to find an intelligible meaning, I contented myself with rendering it 'Lord of the Pāñch-Mahāśabdas' in a grant made by a chief of the Kalachuri family at Ingaleśvara, in the Solapur district, observing in a note that it was a title conjoined with that of *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara*, the ordinary designation of subordinate nobles, but not usually assumed by a sovereign prince, although it does occur among those of Pulakesi I., one of the earliest Chālukya kings of Kalyān, in a copper *śāsana* dated A.D. 489. (*Jour. R. As. Soc.* vol. IV. p. 33, 1836.)

Mr. Shankar Pāṇḍurang Paṇḍit, translating a Nāgari grant of a chief of the Sinda family in the Kaladgi district, makes it 'one who has obtained the five great words,' adding that "it had been usual to render it as meaning 'who has obtained the five great sounds,' viz. of certain musical instruments; but it seems more probable," he continues, "that *mahāśabda* refers to certain five titles, though I am not

certain what these were, * * * probably to five words or titles beginning with *mahā*, as *mahārāja*, *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara*, &c." (*Ind. Ant.* vol. I. p. 81.)

Mr. Fleet's opinion is to the same effect with reference to its occurrence in certain inscriptions of the Kadamba lords of Banawāsi. (*Ind. Ant.* vol. IV. pp. 180, 204.)

A passage in Ferishta's *History of the Rise of the Muhammadan Power in India* has suggested a more probable and, I think, a more satisfactory explanation. Describing the splendid ceremonial introduced into the court of Kalburga by the second prince of the Bāhmani dynasty, Muhammad Shāh I., who succeeded his father in A.D. 1358, he says, "the *noubat* or band of music played five times daily at stated hours," and one of the great officers of the household was styled the Mir Noubat, and held the command of the bodyguard, which consisted of 4,000 men. (Briggs's *Ferishta*, vol. II. p. 299.)

In a later part of his history he again alludes to the custom, and records that Sultān Qūli Qutb Shāh of Golkondā, who threw off the Bāhmani yoke in A.D. 1512, "contrary to the practice of India, introduced the customs of Persia at his court, among which was that of beating the *noubat* or imperial band five times daily:" *ibid.* vol. III. p. 323. Ferishta forgets, however, when he derives the *noubat* as a novelty from Persia, that he had stated it to have been a well-known usage nearly two centuries before.*

* May I venture to request Professor Bhāṇḍārkar to reprint his articles on Goldstücker's *Pāṇini* which were published in *Native Opinion*, so as to make them more generally accessible? Some of Prof. Goldstücker's views are being repeated and used as arguments although they have been refuted many years ago. I allude particularly to his explanation of Patanjali's remarks on P. I. 2. 53.

* Briggs derives the word *noubat* from *bat*, 'a musical instrument,' and states "the *noubat* was originally a band composed of nine different instruments." But this is mere conjecture. Neither by Meninski nor Johnson is such a meaning given. It is true, as he says, that the syllable is found in such words as *barbut*, *sackbut*, but the derivation of these names does not appear to be known. The *sackbut* is said by some to be a stringed, by others a wind instrument, and a representation of it in the

latter character is given in Knight's *Old England*, taken from a MS. in the Cottonian Library (*Cleopatra*), where it has the form of a huge trombone. See, too, *Notes and Queries*, 5th Series, vol. I. p. 123.

The *barbut* (*باربوت* *Barbutos*) was certainly a kind of lyre, but its etymon is equally obscure.

The meaning of *noubat* according to Meninski is a large kettledrum (*ahneotympanum*), which, he adds, "in the time of Alexander was beaten three times a day"—a tradition derived from Persian authorities, for the *Bārhāni* Qiti, *sub voce*, after stating that the *noubat* was played three times during the reign of Sikandar s'ul Qarnain, who afterwards added a fourth time, goes on to relate that when Sultān Sanjar was fleeing before his enemies he fell ill, and being unable to proceed, he ordered the *noubat* to be beaten a fifth time, in the hope that his persecutors might

That it was equally in use by Hindu princes appears by the following passage from the 19th book of Chând's *Prithirâj Râsau*, where the poet describes Padam Sin, the father of the fair Padmâvatî, as translated by Mr. Beames:—

"With many standards very splendid,
Song, and music playing *five times* a day,†
Mounting ten thousand horses
With golden hoofs and jewelled trappings,
&c. &c.

But, whether originating in India or Persia, it seems to have been an ancient Âryan institution, and is probably referred to in the 3rd chapter of the *Book of Daniel*, where the people were commanded to fall down and worship the golden image at the time when they heard the "sound of the cornet, flute, harp, sackbut, psaltery, dulcimer, and all kinds of music."

In the course of investigating the titles of

indâm lands on the first occupation of the Southern Marâthâ Country, instances occurred of grants, sometimes of whole villages, originally made in behalf of favoured individuals to support the dignity of the *noubat*. It is still enjoyed by several Sardârs in the Dakhan, and is now usually played only twice or thrice a day in a chamber called the *noubat-khând*, over the outer gateway of the *mahâl*,‡ or palace-court.

A touching incident connected with the *noubat* occurred during the Cabul disaster. When the news of Sir William Macnaghten's assassination reached Madras, the Nawâb of the Karnâṭak wrote to Lord Elphinstone, on the 30th January 1844, to say that "His Highness had ordered the Sirkar Noubat to cease for the usual period, according to the Musalmân custom, observed in cases of calamity."

✓ NOTES ON SOME LITTLE-KNOWN BAUDDHA EXCAVATIONS IN THE PUNÂ COLLECTORATE.

BY G. H. JOHNS, B.A. C.S.

Nânoli—Shelârwaḍi—Bhâmchandra.

A short time ago I visited the groups of caves at Nânoli, Shelârwaḍi, and Bhâmchandra, in the Punâ collectorate; and, though the excavations of the last named are alone of special merit, it may not be uninteresting to give a short account of all the three sets.

The two first mentioned are in the Mâwal tâlukâ to the north and south of the town of Talegâm, and the Bhâmchandra hill is in the tâlukâ of Khed, a few miles to the north-east of Nânoli.

The village of Nânoli lies three miles to the north of Talegâm on the left bank of the Indrâyanî, and the caves are in the escarpment of the hill a mile north of the village. A steep climb three-fourths up the hill brought me to the base of a high scarp facing south-west, skirting which I passed first a cistern and cell, and then reached a high flight of steps rudely cut;

ascending them I entered a flat-roofed cave about eighteen feet square, with a height of upwards of seven feet; this excavation is now used as a temple to Feringabâi; a small cell is caverned out of the south wall or side. Further on, the escarpment is hollowed out into two small cells.

The Shelârwaḍi excavations are high up in the hill about two miles to the south-east of Talegâm, and are most of them in the village limits of Gahunje, and facing south-west.

The north-west caves are in Shelârwaḍi, which is a hamlet of Talegâm, and consist of two or three cells only; they are nearly inaccessible, and have some fine *champaka* trees (*Michelia Champaca*) at the entrance. The south-west excavations possess more merit; at the base of the scarp out of which they are hollowed is a narrow footpath, pursuing which a two-

believe that it betokened his death and the accession of his successor. The ruse succeeded. So he continued the practice during the remainder of his reign, and it was adopted by his successors. But this narrative rests on no good authority, and is evidently apocryphal. *Noubat* also signifies 'time, period, change,' and is applied, *inter alia*, to the change of a sentry, or the relief of a post. Among the examples given by Meninski is the Turkish *noubat chalmaq* = the flourish of military music at mounting or relieving guard.

† At his palace gate, as is the custom with Indian

princes: *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* vol. XXXVIII. p. 145. Another phrase, *turiya nirghorhanam*, frequently occurs in connection with *mahâsabda*, clearly referring to instrumental music.

‡ When a prisoner in Kitûr in 1824, my companion and myself were confined in a house close to the *Noubat-khând*, which resounded with the clang of the instruments three times a day, the performers not producing the slightest approach to a tune, but merely making as much noise as possible.

celled cave high up in the cliff is first passed, and then a fine cistern: two cells succeed, one with an inscription of five lines cut on its outer face, close to which, but further south, is a large excavation consisting of a nave or vestibule 24 feet by 18 feet, with four cells on either side, and of an inner shrine near the end of which are what would seem to be the remains of a *dāhgobā*, viz. an abacus of four slabs, the lower the smaller, pendent from the roof, and an indistinctly traced foundation of the drum; the latter is now occupied by a *śālunkha* and *līnga*. The roof is flat and about nine feet from the ground. The entrance to this cave is now walled up with two round-arched doorways as means of ingress. Further on are a cistern and a cell. The cave being flat-roofed and the top of the *dāhgobā* being an abacus would induce the opinion that it is an unfinished excavation, which would have been converted into a circular-roofed temple with a *chhatrī* *dāhgobā* on completion.

The Bhāmhachandra excavations are hollowed out of a hill seven miles west of Chakan, within the village limits of Sindé, close to the boundary of Bhāmboli. The hill rises steep from the plain on the south and west, and in the escarped southern side are the caves in question. After a somewhat arduous climb from the base of the hill a cistern is passed on the right; the villagers call it 'Sitā's Bath.' A little further on, after rounding a promontory, the principal cave is reached; it is small and faces south-west, and is now dedicated to Bhāmhachandra Mahādeva. There is a cistern on the left as one enters; the entrance, which is 8 feet high by 13 wide, is now built up, having a small arched doorway in the centre. The temple is very nearly square, rather more than 14 feet long by 15 broad, the height being 7 feet; the roof is flat; four pillars, two on either side, divide the cave into three compartments (it would be a straining of terms to say

into nave and aisles), the side compartments being each adorned with two pilasters similar to the pillars, and having each a niche with pillared jambs and canopy. There is a trace of a *dāhgobā* in the centre,—a circular base five feet in diameter within a square mark where it once stood; and the *chhatrī* carved in the roof confirms the view that a *dāhgobā* once occupied the cave. The pillars are massive and square, but halfway up are twice chamfered off so as to be octagonal; the capitals have massive projections on their four sides.

There is an inner shrine occupied by the phallic symbol, and a figure of Buddha: the latter is carved on a detached stone, and may originally have adorned the *dāhgobā*. The inner is separated from the outer cave by an elaborately sculptured doorway, the opening being two feet wide by four feet high; the carvings are mostly of human figures. There are no horse-shoe arch or Buddhist rail ornaments discernible in the cave,—contrasting in this respect with almost all the other *chaitya* excavations in the collectorate; and were it not for the *dāhgobā* I should hardly suppose it to be a Buddhist temple. Perhaps it is a Buddhist *chaitya* of the Chālukyan era. The rock of which this hill is composed is of a soft nature, and the screen or doorway dividing the two shrines (the presence of the *dāhgobā* in the outer prevents my calling that a mere nave) has had to be cemented or mortared by the villagers to be kept in its place. Further on is a cell, or rather cavern; and at some little distance, in the middle of the escarpment, and therefore reached with difficulty, is a cave at the end of which is a winding cavernous road low and narrow, said to permeate the hill, and to be many *kos* in length. There are one or two inaccessible holes or caves higher up, and beyond, on the west, is also a small cave.

The *guru* of the temple is supported by a grant of *inām* land in Bhāmboli.

CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEA.

To the Editor of the Indian Antiquary.

DEAR SIR,—I have read with particular interest Prof. Kielhorn's remarks on the *Śikshās* in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. V. pp. 141 *seqq.* I am very sorry to hear that he has to complain of the great incorrectness of most of the MSS. which he has collected, even the best and oldest of them, which goes so far

that he feels inclined to postpone the task of editing any of them for the present. On the other hand I am glad to see that he coincides thoroughly with my own views regarding the age of these phonetic treatises, maintained by me, in opposition to those expressed by Prof. Haug (whose untimely death, on the 3rd instant, is a heavy blow

and severe loss to science) and adopted by Mr. Burnell, in my reviews of their respective works in the *Jenaer Literatur Zeitung*, 1875, p. 316 (1st May), and 1876, p. 203 (March 25). I am, moreover, very thankful to Prof. Kielhorn for different corrections of my explanations of several Śikshā passages. But there is one passage among them, regarding which I cannot yet surrender my former position; and it is the particular object of these lines to defend it,—at least to maintain its relative merits, as opposed to the explanation proposed by Prof. Kielhorn himself. I mean the passage in the *Pāṇintya Śikshā* about the women of Surāshṭra.

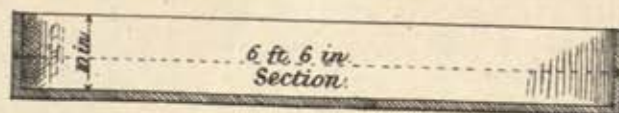
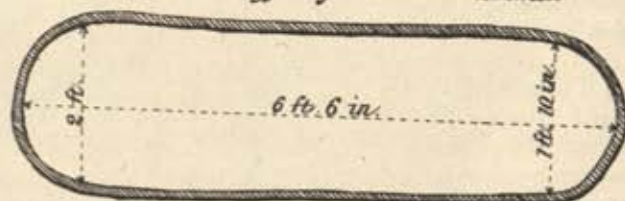
First, I beg to remark that Prof. Kielhorn is not quite correct in his statement that I proposed three interpretations of the verse in question, and particularly that on p. 270 of vol. IV. of the *Indische Studien* I did propose a second translation, 'which we may omit here' and pass to the "third." In reality I have treated the verse first on p. 209, and secondly on p. 350 of that volume (1858), and both times I have given the VERY SAME translation. On p. 270 I add only the alternative option to take the words in the second hemistich खेअराइव खेदया not only as a quotation from *Āṭik*. VIII. 66, 3, but at the same time also as figuratively descriptive of the minute exactness of the phonetic process itself ("as the spokes in the nave with a hammer, thus you ought to contrive the raṅga"). And when I return to the passage the third time, on p. 380 of vol. IX. (1865), I propose only, while fully adhering to the translation itself given at first, a conjectural reading for the words in the first hemistich: अरा or तक्र before इत्यभिभाषते. Both readings I state to be equally senseless, and I propose therefore to draw the word खे standing in the second hemistich also to the first, and to read खेरा (इत्यभिभाषते). The author would seem to have selected from amongst the numerous Vedic instances of खे just this passage खे अरा इव खेदया, in order to adduce an instance as similar as possible in its phonetic sound to the formula of greeting खेरा of the Surāshṭra women. In course of time this word (खेरा), having become unintelligible to the copyists, changed to अरा (as given in the quoted passage), and तक्र (on other grounds, see below). Now in this Surāshṭra formula of greeting खेरा I propose to recognize a form, adapted to the Hindu ear, of the Greek formula of greeting, χαίρω, and to take this either as the infinitive itself, or as the imperative form χαίρε. For the adoption of such a Greek phrase I call to account the predominance of Greek influence in Surāshṭra lasting for some centuries, as I had pointed to the possibility of some such contingency already the very first time when I

touched upon the subject (*Ind. Stud.* vol. IV., p. 269, note). Now there is certainly nothing so uncommonly strange in the adoption of foreign greeting formulas. We Germans, for instance, use constantly, when parting, the French formula adieu, changed to Adje, Adjes, Ade (as well as bon jour, merci, bons dies, prosit, gratias, and other words of the same stamp). And French influence has not been predominating in Germany for so long a period as the Greek, in all probability, has done in India.

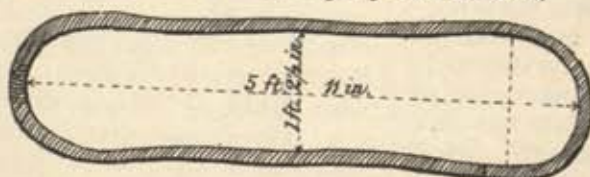
But what is it particularly with these Surāshṭra women? I asked formerly (*Ind. Stud.* vol. IV. p. 269), "Is there to be concluded from this verse a particular occupation of the Surāshṭra women with declamatory representations?" I may add now that tradition has really preserved some traces of that kind, for we read already in Wilson's *Hindu Theatre* (1835), vol. I. p. xix: "The *lasya* (a style of dancing) was taught by Pārvatī to the princess Ushā, who instructed the Gopīs of Dvārakā; the residence of her husband, in the art; by them it was communicated to the women of Surāshṭra, and from them it passed to the females of various regions." See the text of this passage from the *Nṛitdādhya* of Śārṅgadeva's *Samgītataratnākara* in Aufrecht's *Catalogue of the Sanskrit MSS. of the Bodl. Library*, p. 200a (1859). Now it appears to me à priori as really very likely that a statement like that contained in our verse should refer to this very dancing *métier* of the Surāshṭra women, and not to their "shouting the word तक्र as dairy-women in the street," as Prof. Kielhorn proposes to read and to translate in accordance with the commentary on the सर्वसंमतशिक्षा; for we know nothing at all about their particular proficiency as "dairy-women," while we do know about their excellency in *lasya*.

The explanation adopted by Prof. Kielhorn accounts, after all, only for the reading तक्र in the one recension of the text, not for the reading अरा in the other; and I should think it highly probable that the former reading really owes its very origin to that explanation itself, proffered for the dark passage by some scholiast—maybe already a long while ago—but wrongly, as far as I can see. For the root भाष with अभि is used in general only in the sense of addressing,—at least never in that of shouting. The proper words for shouting would be the roots कृश, घृश, नद alone or with different prepositions, or उच्चारयति, उद्गदति (compare दीक्षितोऽयं), उद्गादयति (comp. हविष्कृतं), प्रवाचयति (comp. भूतमिति, सोमप्रवाच), प्राव्यति (comp. सुव्रणयां हविष्कृतं). Whichever reading, therefore, we may adopt, अरा तक्र or what I conjecturally propose खेरा, its purport certainly must be in harmony with the verb

Terra-cotta Coffin of Pinduvâram, Dêmal.



Terra-cotta Sarcophagus from Gehrâreh.



अभिवाचते "addresses," as the word of the text about whose reading and meaning there is no doubt; and we must accordingly recognize in अर्क, &c. some formula of addressing either each other, or particular persons, or people in general; and this, moreover, either generally or on particular occasions,—for instance, at the performance of a *Idya*.

I have the honour, &c.,

PROF. DR. A. WEBER.

REMARKS ON THE COMMUNICATIONS OF MR. J. H. GARSTIN AND E. W. W. RESPECTING DOLMENS AND EXTINCT RACES (*Ind. Ant.* vol. V. pp. 159-160).

The singular kind of couch-like vessel—really a terra-cotta coffin mounted upon legs—found by Mr. Garstin in a *kistvaen* in the South Ārkaṭ district has been described by Captain Newbold in vol. XIII. of the *Jour. R. As. Soc.* p. 90. Ancient sepulchres such as were examined by Mr. Garstin abound in all the southern districts of Madras, often in extensive cemeteries; those in Koimbatūr have been described at length in *Jour. R. As. Soc.* vol. VII. In 1852 Captain Newbold visited a remarkable assemblage of tombs at Pāṇḍuvāram Dēwal, 3½ miles east-north-east of Chittūr, in North Ārkaṭ, and in one of them discovered a sarcophagus, which he thus describes:—"It was a coffin-shaped trough, rounded at the extremities, and deeply rimmed at the edges, 6½ feet long, 10 inches deep, and from 1 foot 10 inches to 2 feet broad. It was filled with hard earth and human bones, and stood on eight terra-cotta legs, which rested on the floor, 1 foot 3 inches long, and about 3½ inches in diameter at top, tapering gradually at the bottom, which terminated in two convex rims." I have never heard of this sort of coffin having been discovered since till Mr. Garstin's exhumation of them in South Ārkaṭ, nor of their being found anywhere out of the two Ārkaṭs, though numbers of the tombs have been opened by myself and others in all the southern districts.* Of those lately found, one is remarkable as, though much shorter and broader (4 feet long × 1½ wide) than Captain Newbold's example, possessing no fewer than fifteen legs, and the other two as having been found together in one sepulchre.

In the year of Captain Newbold's discovery some sepulchral remains from the mount of Gehrāreh, near Bagdad, were forwarded by Commander Jones, of the Indian Navy, to the Bombay Government, and amongst them a terra-cotta coffin

very closely resembling the Indian sarcophagus, as will be seen from the annexed outlines of both, taken from a plate in the *Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. IV. (January 1853) p. 378.

In the British Museum amongst the most archaic Greek pottery there is a remarkable painted terra-cotta coffin from a tomb at Camirus, in Rhodes. It is 6 feet long by 1 foot 10 inches broad, not rounded but angular at the extremities, and the edges flattened and overlapping; the ends are covered in, one for about a foot, the other about six inches; on the flat surface of the former a bull is delineated between two lions in very rude archaic style, the lions strongly resembling the conventional Hindu representation of them; the surface of the latter end has two similar lions, and a scroll pattern is painted along the side rims. In the same museum is the extraordinary Etruscan terra-cotta coffin-tomb of the same general shape, but covered, and bearing on its lid life-sized painted figures of an Etruscan man and his wife, and on the sides processional and ceremonial scenes in relief, all the figures strikingly Hindu in appearance; this—one of the latest and most unique acquisitions of the museum, though more elaborate in ornamentation, and of priceless value as displaying in full size the colour, feature, garb and habit, as they lived, of the Etruscan couple whose bodies it contained—is but a development of the plainer earthen coffin-troughs of Babylonia and India, which in the Rhodes example shows the first rude application of ornament in coloured design. More will ere long be heard of the important discovery and identification by Mr. George Smith of the ancient port of Carchemish, near the mouth of the Euphrates, by which the long sought-for link or stepping-stone between the civilization of antique Egypt and Babylonia will be supplied, and an explanation at last obtained of the marvellously full stage of development and grandeur in which Assyrian remains are found, with no indication of ruder beginnings, or progress, and of their similarity to Egyptian art. It is conjectured on the highest authority that the race inhabiting that vast city, almost rivalling Nineveh and Babylon, were of Turanian stock, and the same with the Biblical Hittites, the chief aborigines of Canaan, who were also the mysterious Rasenna or Etruscans. Whatever affinities may be shown to exist between the Dravidian dialects and the Āryan family of languages, which still seem slender, all other racial affinities point to a Turanian rather than an Āryan origin of the Dravidian peoples. Amongst other points of resemblance it is certainly noteworthy that

* Of course they may yet be found elsewhere; but it is probable these great many-legged earthen coffins of North and South Ārkaṭ are exaggerated varieties and expansions

of the urns with three and four legs common in these tombs throughout the Peninsula: see *Ind. Ant.* vol. IV. p. 13.

the peculiar custom of interment in earthenware coffins identical in shape, dimensions, and material should have obtained in India, Assyria, and, with a Mediterranean island as a stepping-stone, in Italy,—always in regions where the presence of Turanian races is suspected, and where alone in Italy (see *Ind. Ant.* vol. III. p. 277) the rude stone or megalithic monuments so characteristically Turanian have hitherto been found. Let it also be added that these monuments, kistvaens, cromlech-dolmens, and stone circles abound in Palestine and the Sinaitic peninsula, where mountain-sides and valleys are scattered over with huge dolmens “each constructed of four large slabs from six to ten feet long, standing with their edges in the ground, yet rising upright five feet above it. On top the capstone is always the largest and heaviest of all, being nearly as broad as long, and from one to three feet in thickness: it projects over sides and ends,”—exactly corresponding to megaliths in Southern India.

Returning to Mr. Garstin's account, it may be remarked that there is nothing unusual in dolmens being found much nearer the sea than Tirukovilūr; at the Red Hills, near Madras, they occur close to the beach, and are there peculiar as being formed of *laterite*, the only instance known to me. On the other coast there is a remarkable collection of dolmens, called Topēkals, at Chātāparambal, on the Bēypūr river, seven miles from Calicut. As to the use of these structures Mr. Garstin is assuredly right in concluding they were used as burial-places, never as dwellings for any living race: the traditions told him and Colonel Welsh (whose “stone village, formerly inhabited by the Paundway,” doubtless exists, and could be identified—they are numerous all over the Peninsula) of their having been the abodes of extinct races are all “myths of observation,” i.e. stories suggested by the appearances for which they pretend to account; the hut-like shape with the singular hole so uniformly found, door-like, in one of the side stones, and the vessels, often of culinary shape and marked with fire, placed within, have always led the natives to regard and designate them as *houses*. The Rev. W. Taylor, in his *Analysis of the Mackenzie Manuscripts*, has enumerated the following curious series of popular legends as to their origin and use, all purely “myths of observation”:—

(1) In very ancient times the astrological books predicted that all mankind would be destroyed by a shower of fire: so the then existing men took counsel together and constructed solid impenetrable houses of stone, to which they retreated with their families and household utensils. One day, however, a rain of gold fell, which lured them

forth, and whilst they were gathering up the gold the predicted fire-shower descended and destroyed all except a few who had remained at home, by whom the human race was perpetuated.

(2) In remote ages there was a race of pygmies who, although so diminutive, possessed the strength of elephants, and could with ease lift large rocks and split them asunder: this dwarf-people constructed the stone huts and dwelt in them till destroyed by the flood that closed the cycle.

(3) The stone houses were built by the Pāṇḍavas whilst wandering from place to place to escape the persecution of Duryodhana.

(4) After the flood the world was covered with forests abounding with ferocious beasts, and these stone structures were built by hunters as places of safety for their wives and children whilst they were absent on the chase: hence they are often called (*Veddr-kudi*) ‘hunters’ huts;’ others say they were raised by Rākshasas for the same purpose.

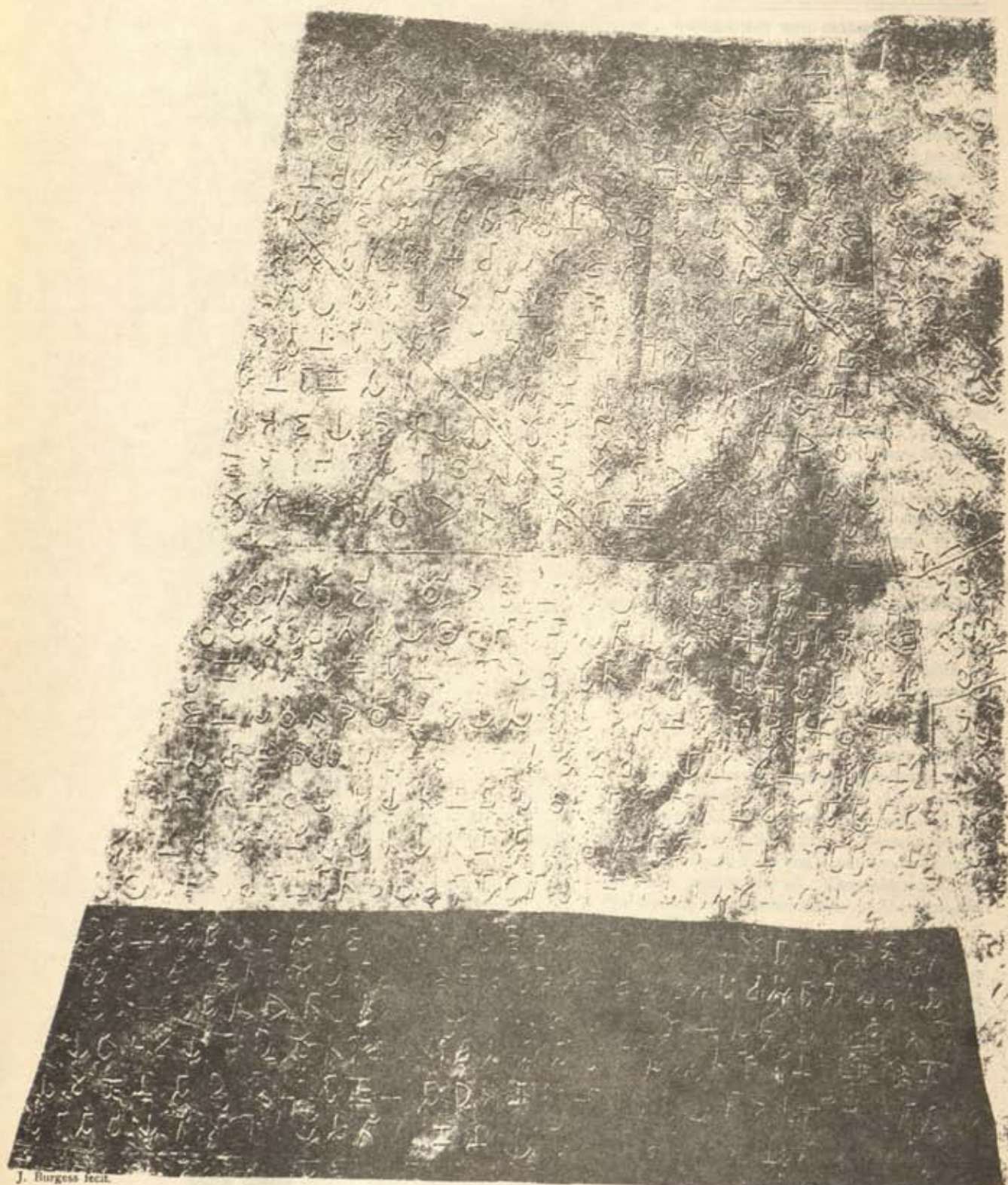
(5) In the reign of Rāma there were tribes of men having tails like monkeys, and very ferocious and strong; they could cleave rocks and carry huge stones. They built these stone caves for their own use, and were destroyed by the Yuga deluge.

(6) In long-past ages the lives of men were far more prolonged than now, reaching even to many centuries, and even then they did not die, but when feeble through age they lay in the house like huge ripe fruits, breathing but unable to move and helpless, to the great inconvenience of the younger generation. At last, to get these pumpkin-like encumbrances out of the way, and to prevent the pollution of their possibly dying in the house, the younger people constructed stone sepulchres underground, in which the ripe-fruit-like ancients were placed with food and pots, and tended daily whilst they lived. When at length they died, the door of the sepulchre was closed, and earth heaped over all. Thus the men of old time escaped the inconvenience of the fruit-like stage of their forefathers.

(7) Some regard these stone houses as repositories of treasure, and affirm that vast sums were buried in them, and men often killed upon them, whose ghosts are bound by spells to guard and conceal the treasure. (See *Ind. Ant.* for last January, vol. V., p. 22.)

M. J. W.

NOTE.—In some parts of the Bombay Presidency, especially in Tālukā Panwel of the Thānā collectorate, the *shivara*, or stool on which the winnower stands to shake his basket of grain, is constructed of three or four rough vertical slabs surmounted by one horizontal. When the circular enclosure of the threshing-floor is also of the same materials, the resemblance to the megalithic monuments of prehistoric ages is very striking.—Ed.



PROFESSOR KERN'S VERSIONS OF SOME OF THE AŚOKA INSCRIPTIONS.*

I.

Letter to the Assembly of Magadha, found near Bābhra.†

DR. KERN gives the following revision of the transcript of the 'Letter to the Assembly of Māgadha' found near Bābhra†:—

† Piyadase (Piyadasi) kījā Māgadham (Māgadhe) saṅgham abhivādetā nam āha apābādhatattha phāsuvihāsatattha. † Viditeva, bhaṁte! āvatake hamā Budhasi dhammasi saṅghasiti gālavecha paśādecha. E-kechi, bhaṁte! † bhagavatā Buddhena bhāsite save se subhāsīteva, echa kho, bhaṁte! pamiyaya disiyā; hevaṁ sadhamme † chilasatitike hosatiti alahāmi hakam tāvatavā imāni, bhaṁte! dhammapaṭṭiṣāyāni: Vinaya-samākase, † Aliyavasāni, Anāgatabhayāni, Munigāthā, Moneyasūte, Upatisapasina, evā Lāghulo-
vāde musāvādam adhigichya bhagavatā Buddhena bhāsite. Etāni, bhaṁte! dhammapaliyāyāni ichhāmi † kitibāhuke bhikkhāpāye(?)cha bhikkhuniyechā abhikhiṇaṁ sunayucchā upadhālayeyūchā; † hevaṁ heva upāsakāchā upāsikāchā. Etena bhaṁte! imaṁ likhāpayāmi, abhimati me chā ntāti.

This he then renders into Sanskrit thus:—

† Priyadarśo (: śi) rājā Māgadham (Māgadha) saṅgham abhivādya tam āpābādhatattha sukhavihārātāttha. Veditam eva, bhavantaḥ! yāvad asmākam Buddhē, dharma saṅgha iti gauravaṁcha prasādaścha. Yat-kiñchit, bhavantaḥ! bhagavatā Buddhena bhāsitam, sarvaṁ tat subhāshitam eva, yachcha khalu, bhavantaḥ! pramāṇyena drīṣyeta; evaṁ saddharma chīrsthitiko bhaviṣyati arhayaṁ ahaṁ tāvataivaibhir bhavato dharmapariyāyāni: vinayasamākarṣa, āryavaśa (?), anāgatabhayāni, munigāthā, mauneyasūtram, Upatishyaprasāna, yaścha Rāhulāvavādo mṛṣhāvādam adhikṛitya bhagavatā Buddhena bhāsitā. Etāni, bhavantaḥ! Dharmapariyāyāni ichchāmi kirtibāhulāya bhikṣavaścha bhikṣuṇyaśchābhikṣuṇāni śrīṇuyāschopadhārayeyuścha; evaṁ evopāsakāschopāsikāścha. Etena, bhavantaḥ! idaṁ lekhaṁyāmi abhimatiścha madīyokteti?

This he then renders thus:—

"King Priyadarśin (that is, the Humane) of Magadha greets the Assembly (of Clerics)†

and wishes them welfare and happiness. Ye know, Sirs, how great is our reverence and affection for the triad which is called Buddha (the Master), Faith, and Assembly. All that our Lord Buddha has spoken, my Lords, is well spoken: wherefore, Sirs, it must indeed be regarded as having indisputable authority; so the true Faith shall last long. Thus, my Lords, I honour (?) in the first place these religious works:—*Summary of the Discipline, The Supernatural Powers (?) of the Master (or, of the Masters), The Terrors of the Future, The Song of the Hermit, The Sūtra on Asceticism, The Question of Upatishya, and The Admonition to Rāhula concerning Falsehood*, uttered by our Lord Buddha. These religious works, Sirs, I will that the monks and nuns, for the advancement of their good name, shall uninterruptedly study and remember, as also the laics of the male and female sex. For this end, my Lords, I cause this to be written, and have made my wish evident."§

The Bābhra inscription is the only one in which Buddha's name is mentioned. The reason of that name not occurring on any of the other inscriptions is easily seen: they were intended for the whole empire, for all without distinction of creed, and it would have been unbecoming if the prince, in his admonitions, had appealed to a Master who was not known as such to the majority of his subjects. Besides which, Aśoka speaks as the administrator of the realm, and not as a religious preacher. In one other place only—I mean the signature of the Girnār inscription—the following words have reference to Buddha. Of this signature there remains—

... va sveto hasti savalokasukhābaro nāma.

What has to be supplied at the beginning I leave to the ingenuity of others to determine, but what is left means "the white elephant whose name is Bringer of happiness to the whole world." That by this term Śākya is implied

* In vol. III. pp. 77-81, Dr. J. Muir has given an analysis of the first part of Dr. Kern's essay *Over de Jaartelling der Zuidelijke Buddhisten en de Gedenstukken van Aśoka den Buddha*; the translation now given of the versions of the inscription has been kindly supplied by the Rev. Adam Milroy, of Moneydie, Perthshire, to which a few additions have been made by Prof. Childers, who intended, had his health permitted, to have translated the whole Essay. The colotype plates attached are from my estampages made in 1875.—Ed.

† *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* vol. IX. p. 618.

‡ Or "greets the Assembly of Magadha."

§ *Over de Jaartelling*, &c. p. 37.

|| *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* vol. VII. p. 241: compare Westergaard's copy in the *Jour. R. As. Soc.* vol. XII. opposite p. 153. Prinsep has wrongly assigned the signature to No. 13 of the Girnār inscription: it is true that it stands right underneath it, but that is because No. 13 is in the middle. One has but to look at Westergaard's facsimile to see how the matter stands. Wilson's transcript is inaccurate.

there can be no doubt, since the legend says that the Bodhisattva, the future Buddha, left heaven to bring happiness to men, and entered his mother's womb as a white elephant. Thus we read in the *Lalitavistāra*, 63:—

“Pushyanakshatrayoge Bodhisattvas Tushita-varabhavanāch chyutvā smṛitah samprajānan pāṇḍuragajārūpo bhūtvā, jananyā dakṣiṇā-yām kukshāv avākramata.”

With regard to *sarvalokasukhāhara*, we may compare the *gāthā* at *Lalitavistāra* 111, in which allusion is made to the happiness which the birth of Buddha was to bring into the world:—
apāyāścha yathā śāntāḥ sukhi sarvaṁ yathā jagat |

dhrūvaṁ Sukhāvaho jātaḥ sukhe sthāpayitā jagat ||

Even if the signature is not to be attributed to the scribe, the custom evidently even then prevalent, and still in use at the present day, of naming at the end of the inscription the divinity worshipped by the writer or scribe, can offer no serious difficulty. In the short inscription No. XIV., which is neither more nor less than a postscript addressed to the reader, we find apologues which recur word for word in the postscript of modern manuscripts and even printed books. When we read at the end of the Bombay edition of the *Mahābhārata* “*asmin parvaṇi ślokavaishamyaṁ lipikarapramādaḥ bodhyam*,” we can almost fancy we have before us Aśoka's warning against the negligence of his scribes, against *lipikarapamādo*, as his own words express it:—so tenacious is Indian tradition! Later on we shall return to the postscript of the Gīrnār inscription. The ascription of homage to the White Elephant—that is, to the Buddha—corresponds to the *Śrī-Rāmārpaṇam astu*, and similar expressions, of the Indian MSS. of the present day.

Though the king's edicts, or rather written addresses to his subjects, contain nothing which could give offence to the adherents of other forms of belief, they are nevertheless more or less Buddhist in their style. They are composed in a preaching tone, full of repetitions. Just as

Buddhaghosha commends the sacred writings for their prolixity, so Aśoka informs us that he has intentionally repeated some things on account of their sweetness, in order to impress them favourably upon the people, and cause them to meet with the greater acceptance.

In making these remarks on a certain littleness in his style we have no intention of being unjust to the memory of a good prince. The following pages will afford proofs that we do justice to the king's noble aspirations, to his toleration, to his merits as a ruler.

All the discovered inscriptions of the king of Magadha fully merit, on more than one account, the attention of every Indian scholar, though the text of most of them is in such a condition that I have hitherto not ventured to undertake a reproduction of all. I shall therefore confine myself to such as are in great measure, or in essentials, intelligible. I will begin with two inscriptions in which the king speaks of his conversion, namely, Nos. IV. and VIII. of Gīrnār.

Of No. IV. in the Gīrnār series there are three versions:—one in the dialect of the country in which Gīrnār lay, which dialect we may perhaps venture to call Gujarāṭī, or more generally Marāṭhī; the second in Magadhī at Dhaulī; the third in Āryan writing at Kapurdigiri, in the language of North-Western India, or Gāndhāra.¶ The language of the last-mentioned version is nearest to Sanskrit, inasmuch as it has retained various conjunct consonants, such as *pr*, *tr*, &c., as well as the three sorts of sibilants. Not much further from the Sanskrit is the Gīrnār dialect, in which the groups *st* and *śt* occur regularly. The Magadhī presents all the characteristics of a fully developed Prakṛit. This inscription was the last dealt with by Burnouf, and the most carefully analysed by him (*Lotus de la Bonne Loi*, pp. 730 ff.). He has taken the text of Gīrnār as his basis, and rightly so, because it has suffered least, and has been most carefully written and revised. It runs as follows:—

¶ Atikātaṁ antaraṁ bahūni vāsaṭāni vadhito ēva pāṇārāmbho vihimsācha bhūtānam śātisu

* asaṁpatipatiḥ bamhaṇasamaṇānaṁ asaṁpatipatiḥ; ta sja Dēvānāmpiyasa Piyadasino rāṇo

¶ The two first were published by Prinsep in the *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* vol. VII. p. 236; a facsimile of the Dhaulī series faces p. 434. A revised copy of the Gīrnār Series by Wes-

tergaard and Gen. Jacob will be found in the *Jour. R. As. Soc.* vol. XII. opposite p. 153, also a facsimile by Masson of the text of Kapurdigiri.

- * dhammacharaṇa bhērighosa* aho dhammaghosa, vimānadasaṇācha hastidasaṇācha
 * agikhamdhānicha añānicha divyāni rūpāni dasayiptaṭ janam. Yārise bahūhi vāsasatēhi
 * na bhūtapuvē tārisē aja vadhitē Devānampiyasa Piyadasino rāño dhammānussasiyā anāram
 * bho pānānam avihimsā bhūtānam ūtīnam sampatipati bāmaṇasamaṇānam sampatipati mātari pitari
 * susūsa thaira susūsa ēsa añēcha bahuvīdhe dhammacharaṇē vadhatē vadhayisaticheva Devānampiyo
 * Piyadasi rājā dhammacharaṇam idam putācha potācha papotācha Devānampiyasa Piyadasino rāño
 * vadhayisanti idam dhammacharaṇam āva savatākapa dhammamhi sīlamhi tistamto dhammam
 anusāsasanti
 10 esa hi seṣeṭ kamme ya dhammānussāsanam dhammacharaṇēpi na bhavatiṣ asilasa ta|| imamhi
 athamhi
 11 [va] dhīcha ahinīcha sādhu etāya athāya ida lekḥāpitaṁ imasa atha(sa) vadhi yujamtu hini chā ¶
 12 lochetavyā dvādasavāsābhisitena Devānampiyena Piyadasiṁ rāṇā idam lekḥāpitaṁ.**

Of this tablet Burnouff† has given the following version :—

" Dans le temps passé, pendant de nombreuses centaines d'années, on vit prospérer uniquement le meurtre des êtres vivants et la méchanceté à l'égard des créatures, le manque de respect pour les parents, le manque de respect pour les Bāmaṇas et les Samaṇas (les Brāhmanes et les Çramanas). Aussi, en ce jour, parce que Piyadasi, le roi chéri des Dēvas, pratique la loi, le son du tambour [a retenti]; oui, la voix de la loi [s'est fait entendre], après que des promenades de chars de parade, des promenades d'éléphants, des feux d'artifice, ainsi que d'autres représentations divines ont été montrées aux regards du peuple. Ce que depuis bien des centaines d'années on n'avait pas vu auparavant, on l'a vu prospérer aujourd'hui, par suite de l'ordre que donne Piyadasi, le roi chéri des Dēvas, de pratiquer la loi. La cessation du meurtre des êtres vivants et des actes de méchanceté à l'égard des créatures, le respect pour les parents, l'obéissance aux père et mère, l'obéissance aux anciens (Thēra), voilà les vertus, ainsi que d'autres pratiques de la loi de diverses espèces, qui se sont accrues. Et Piyadasi, le roi chéri des Dēvas, fera croître encore cette observation de la loi; et les fils, et les petits-fils, et les arrière-petits-fils de Piyadasi, le roi chéri des Dēvas, feront croître cette observation de la loi jusqu'au kalpa de la destruction. Fermes dans la loi, dans la morale, ils ordonneront l'observation

de la loi; car c'est la meilleure des actions que d'enjoindre l'observation de la loi. Cette observation même de la loi n'existe pas pour celui qui n'a pas de morale. Il est bon que cet objet prospère et ne dépérisse pas; c'est pour cela qu'on a fait écrire cet édit. Si cet objet s'accroît, on n'en devra jamais voir le dépérissement. Piyadasi, le roi chéri des Dēvas, a fait écrire cet édit, la douzième année depuis son sacre."

"Let us," he says, "in the first place examine the state of the Girnār text as it has come down to us. Thus much we can see, that, while there are no gross errors, there is much carelessness and irregularity in the spelling. The system of sounds of a dialect cannot be too carefully considered, if firm ground is to be obtained for the settlement, and thereby for the interpretation, of the text. The pronunciation *vāsa*, Sanskrit *varsha*, is as good as *vassa* (spelt *vasa*), since it is in Prākṛit a matter of indifference whether a syllable is long by position or by the natural length of the vowel. Consequently the developed Prākṛit does not admit a vowel long by nature in a syllable which is long by position. The spelling *bāmaṇa* in line 2 transgresses this rule, while *bamaṇa* in line 6 is correct. The same inconsistency is seen elsewhere—now *a*, then *ā*. In the second line *paṭi* (= *pati*), with the dental *t*, occurs twice; in line 6 it is twice written with the lingual. These forms are both quite correct, but they should not have been interchanged in the same document. From

* The mark before *bhe* is half effaced, though the reading is settled by the two other texts.

† Burnouff usually renders this group by *tp*. The pronunciation is uncertain; perhaps the symbol is nothing more than a mode of expressing *tt* in cases in which it answers to a Sanskrit *tp*. It is worthy of notice that the Sanskrit *chitta* is usually spelt *chipta* in Javanese, where the *pt* is merely used to represent the Sanskrit sound of the double *t*, since Javanese has a *tt* of its own, though pronounced like a single *t*.

‡ This is clearly the reading, and not *sette* as Burnouff reads: not only can *sette* be clearly distinguished, but the form is required by the dialect.

§ How Burnouff can maintain that the facsimile admits of a reading *tīṭhāti* is to me a riddle. The reading is clearly *bhāpati*, besides which *tīṭhāti* is contrary to the dialect, which requires *tīṭhāti*, as may be seen abundantly in Series IX.

¶ Burnouff reads *thā*, but there is nothing like it; the mutilated letter looks like a *hu*, but the stroke of the *u* has somehow or other strayed away on this side to the *vadhi* which stands below, and which with this accessory stroke becomes *vadhi*.

¶ Burnouff reads *mu*: the letter is uncertain, I can make nothing of it but *chā*.

** The new readings here supplied by the estampage taken by me in 1875 are :—

In line 1, *vadhito* for *vādhiti*, and *ātāna* for *ātāna*.

„ 3, *bherighosa*, the *bh* was only partially shown in Westergaard and Jacob's copy.

„ 4, *yārise* for *yārisa*, and *vāsa* for *vāsa*.

„ 10, *esa hi* for *sahi*; and *ta imamhi* for (P) *imamhi* doubtfully read -*sa imamhi*.

„ 11, *idam* for *ida*, and *hini cha* for *hini mi*.

†† *Lotus de la Bonne Loi*, p. 731.

the Sanskrit *prati* there is produced on the one hand, by the dropping of the *r*, *pati*; on the other, first, the form *priti* (*pēti*): an *r*, as well as an *s*, serving to effect the transition to an immediately following *t* in the class of dentals. In the oldest Indian of all, this sometimes takes place, in the Sanskrit still more frequently, while in the Prākṛits it is the rule. Thus the Sanskrit *kṛita* becomes pretty generally in the Prākṛits *kata*; *pēti*, *pati*, and thence later *paḍi*, *paḷi*, and *pari*. We find the same inconsistency in *vadh* along with *vadh*. The distinction between the dental and lingual *n* has not yet died out, but the author or transcriber continually confuses them; thus *dasand* should have the dental; *rāpāni*, on the contrary, the lingual *n*. A carelessness of frequent occurrence in the majority of Indian MSS., even the most recent, is the use of the *ḥ* after *s*, instead of the aspirated *th*, as in *tistānto*, *seṣṭe*. This is not the only point which shows clearly that the habits of the Indian transcribers all existed at that time;—the custom of indicating every nasal sound with which a syllable closes by a spurious *anusvāra*, simply to save trouble, is another example. In general, those documents of 258-257 B.C. present exactly the same kind of errors that we are accustomed to find in Indian MSS. The *s* before *ḥ*, though as a sign the same as the dental *s*, cannot, for a simple physiological reason, possibly have been the dental. Before a lingual, and above all an Indian lingual, no man can bring out anything but a lingual. The reason why the *sh* was not used to indicate the required lingual must have been, that while the *sh* is indeed a lingual, it possesses, besides that, a characteristic of its own, so that it comes near to the lingual sound of a liquid *s*.

"Two forms occur which I see no chance of explaining from the dialect of Gīrnār, viz. *dva* and the neuters in *e*, as *charaṇe*, *kaṇṇe*, &c. That *dva* *avatakapāḍi* corresponds to a Sanskrit *ydevat samvartakalpāḍi* has been correctly perceived by Burnouf, and admits of no doubt; but *dva* for Sanskrit *ydevat* is regular Magadhi, not Gīrnārī. Let it serve for proof of this assertion that the Magadhi *ḍalise*, Sanskrit *yādṛṣṭam*, is in our document, line 4, *yāḍisa*. The termination also of the neuter in *e*, in *seṣṭe*, *kaṇṇe*, is Magadhi; so also is *ḍalise* as respects the termination; in like manner *bahuvīdhe dhammacharaṇe* in line 7. It would be presumptuous to assert positively that an *e* = Sansk. *am* and neuter *a*, was absolutely unknown to the Gīrnārī; but we have doubts on the point, and that because in Magadhi the *a* stems in general, whether masculine or neuter, have *e* in the nominative, and so forth. Thus Mag. *piye* is as much

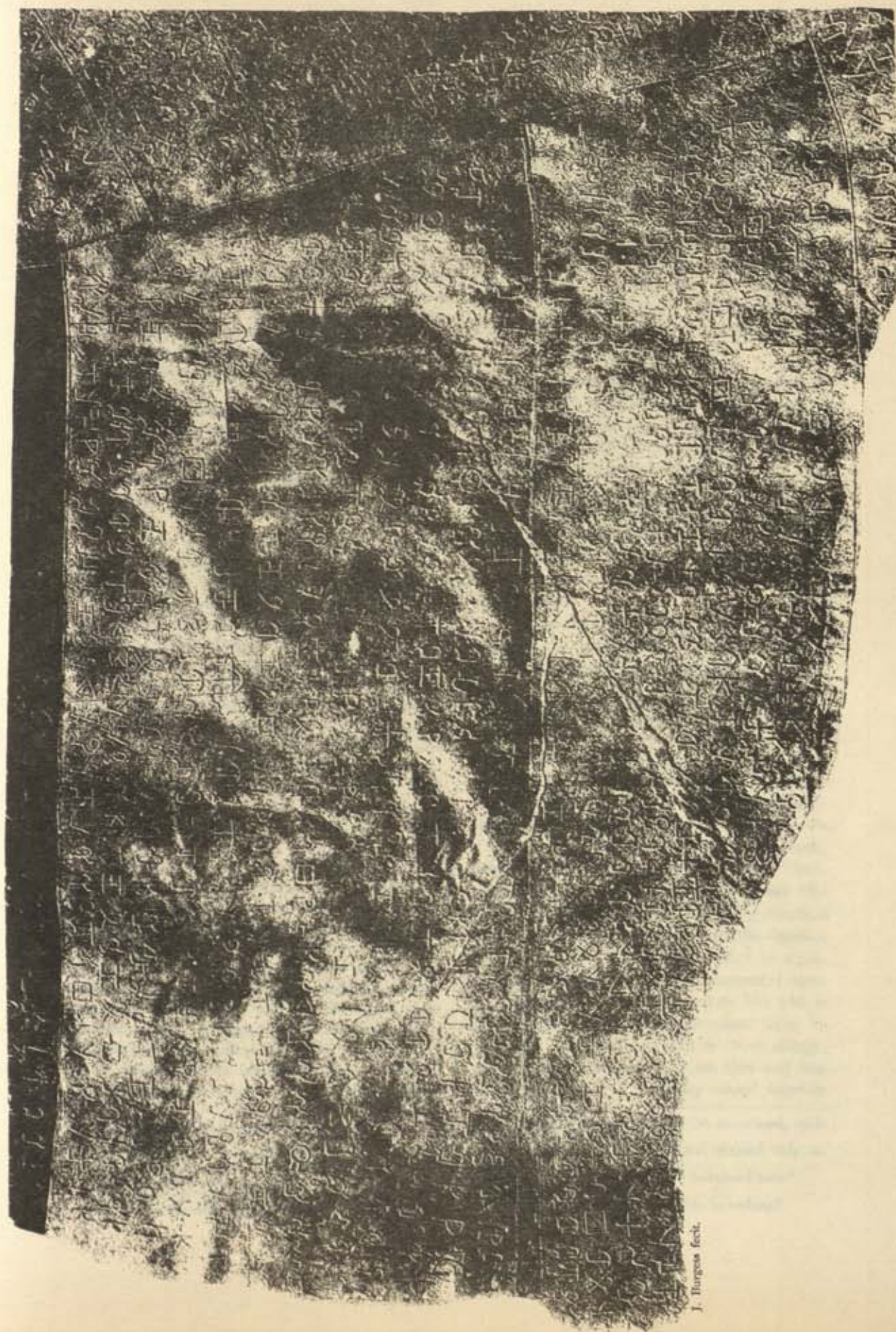
equal to the Sansk. *prīyah* as to *prīyam*; but in the western dialect the masculine has always *o*. There is no explanation whatever to be given of *dva* instead of *ydeva*. Briefly, however hazardous it may appear, we will not refrain from expressing the conjecture that the text had been written originally in the language of the king himself, the Magadhi; that the other redactions are translations thereof, more or less successful; and that Magadhi forms have crept into the versions. We cannot, however, regard the word *thaira*, Sansk. *sthavira*, as a Magadhiism, for *st* becomes *th* at the beginning of a word in the Gīrnārī as well. This much is certain, that the Magadhi text of Dhauḷi, which, alas! has suffered most, and has been the most hastily transcribed—is throughout the most consistent with itself in spelling and word-formation, is the best written, and excels the two other redactions in the correct use of the connecting particles.

"It is also of importance to inquire in how far any irregularities may admit of being explained from the condition of an original text, because all those three redactions agree in the reading of a very suspicious word, viz. *hāni* (and *ahāni*) in line 11. Sans. *hāni* means clearly enough 'diminution,' and *ahāni* 'non-diminution.' Now if it even should be supposed that the form of the participle *hāna* had exercised some influence on that of the monster *hāni*, yet in no single Prākṛit, including the Pāli, has such a *hāni* been found, but, on the contrary, *hāni*. The fact that the three redactions agree tends in this particular case not to establish, but to weaken the reading. Because the existence of such a monstrosity as *hāni* might be in some slight degree conceivable as a sporadic instance in a single dialect, but that such a thing should appear in three widely diverging dialects or languages would be altogether too singular. If, however, all the redactions are from one source, then it might be possible that there was at first an error in that source.†† It is fortunate that the meaning is not obscured in the redactions by the manner of writing.

I shall now give the text of Gīrnār with the slight modifications which appear to me justified by comparison with the Kapurdigiri version:—

¹ Atikātaṁ aṁtaraṁ bahūni vasasatāni vadhito
ēva pāpāraṁbho, vihiṁśācha bhūtānaṁ, ātisu
² asampatipati, bamhaṇasamaṇānaṁ asampatipati;
ta aja Dēvaṇāmpiyasa Piyadasino rāṇo ³ dham-
macharaṇēna bhērighoso aho dhammaghoso, vi-
mānadasatācha hastidasanācha ⁴ agikhaṁdhānichā

†† The difference between *ḍ*, *ḥ*, and *t* is so slight in writing, that it may after all be a question whether *hāni* really stands in all places where the transcripts have it.



J. Burgess fecit.

aśānicha divyāni rūpāni dasayiptā janāni. Yāri-
sam bahūhi vasasatēhi * na bhūtapuṣaṁ, tārisam
aja vadhito Dēvānāmpiyasa Piyadasino rāṇo dham-
mānussasīyā anāram⁹ bho pānānam, avihiṁsā bhū-
tānam jātīnāṁ saṁpaṭipati, bamhanasamaṇānam
saṁpaṭipati, mātariṭipati⁷ susūsa, thaira susūsa;
ēsa aśācha bahuvidham dhammacharanam vadhī-
tam, vadhayisaticheva Devānāmpiyo⁸ Piyadasi
rājā dhammacharanam idam, putācha potācha
papotācha Devānāmpiyasa Piyadasino rāṇo⁹ va-
dhayisamti idam dhammacharanam; (y)āva sava-
takapā dhammamhi¹⁰ ellāmihi tistamto dhammam
anusāsisaṁti; ¹⁰ sahi sēṣam kammam ya dham-
mānussānam, dhammacharāampi na bhavati
asīlāsa. Se imamhi athamhi ¹¹ vadhīcha aśānicha
sādhu; etāya athāya idam lekhāpitam; imasa
atha(sa) vadhī(m) yu(m) jantu, hānicha ¹² (nd-)
lochitavyā. Dvādasavasābhisitena Devānāmpi-
yena Piyadasinā rāṇā idam lekhāpitam.

The Gīrnār inscription may thus be put back
into Sanskrit, with the exception of all that is
positively at variance with the rules of Sanskrit
syntax:—

Antikrānte 'ntare, bahūni varshaśatāni, vārdhita
eva prānāmbho vihiṁsācha bhūtānāṁ, jātīshv
asampratipattir, brāhmaṇāramaṇānām asampra-
tipattir. Tad adya Devānāmpriyasya Priyadarśino
rājno dharmacharapena bherighoṣho 'bhavad dhar-
maghoṣho, vimānadarśane cha hastidarśane chagni-
skandheshuchānyeshucha divyeshu rūpeṣu darśi-
tavatsu janāni. Yādriśam bahubhir varshaśatair
na bhūtapūrvāṁ, tadriśam adya vārdhito Devā-
nāmpriyasya Priyadarśino rājno dharmānussāstyā-
nalambhaḥ prānānām, avihiṁsā bhūtānām, jātīshu
sampratipattir, brāhmaṇāramapeṣhu sampratipa-
tīr, mātāpitroś śuśrūṣā, stavire śuśrūṣa. Etad
anyachcha bahuvidham dharmacharanam vārdhi-
tam, vārdhayishyati chaiva Devānāmpriyaḥ Priya-
darśi rājā dharmacharanam idam, putrāścha pa-
utrāścha prapautrāścha Devānāmpriyasya Priyadar-
śino rājno vārdhayishyantīdām dharmacharanam,
yāvāt samvartakalpād dharmaḥ śīle tisthanto dhar-
maṁ anusāsishyanti; §§ etaddhi śreṣṭhām karma
yad dharmānussāsanam dharmacharanam api na
bhavaty aśīlasya. Tad asminn arthe vṛddhiśā-
hāniścha sādhu; etasmāy arthāyedaṁ lekhitam; ||
asyār thasya vṛddhim yuñjantu, hāniścha nālo-
chayitavyā. ¶¶ Dvādaśavarshābhisikṭena Devā-
nāmpriyena Priyadarśinā rājnedam lekhitam.*

In the following translation I have endeavoured to preserve the *naïf* style of the original.

§§ Dhaull.—dhavishyantaḥ śaishyanti.

¶¶ Dh.—likhitam.

* Dh.—daddaśa arshāy vārdhishikṭasya Devānāmpri-

yasya Priyadarśino rājno etal likhitam.

† The meaning is "and not to war, as is usually the case."

‡ It is not quite clear what is to be understood by "an

I have also allowed myself—the object being taken into consideration—to translate more literally than is consistent with strict propriety. I am well aware that, as a general rule, a literal translation is the very opposite of a correct one. Literal translations are a sort of *tour de force*, which on occasion may have their use, provided they are not given forth as real translations. A man who translates literally does not understand the language from which he is translating, and, generally speaking, he does not understand the language into which he is translating.

Translation of No. IV.

"In past times, during many centuries, attacking animal life and inflicting suffering on the creatures, want of respect for Brāhman and monks, have only grown greater. But now, when king Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin practises righteousness, his kettle-drum has become a summons to righteousness,† while apparitions of chariots of the gods, and apparitions of celestial elephants, and fiery balls, and other signs in the heavens, showed themselves to the people. In such a manner as has not been the case in many centuries previously, now, through the exhortation of king Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin to cultivate righteousness, has the sparing of animal life, the gentle treatment of creatures, respect for relatives, respect for Brāhman and monks, obedience to father and mother, obedience to an elder,‡ grown greater. This and many other kinds of virtuous practices have grown greater, and king Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin shall cause this practice of virtue to increase still more, and the sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons of king Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin shall also§ cause this culture of virtue to increase; standing steadfast in righteousness and morality until the destruction of the world,|| they shall exhort to righteousness;¶ to exhort to righteousness is surely a very excellent work, while from him who is immoral no practice of righteousness is to be expected. Increase, therefore, in these things, and no diminution, is good; for this end has this been written;** may they attend heartily

elder." In No. VIII. one text has the same word, while another has *vṛddha*.

§ "Also" is wanting in Gīrnār, but is found duly expressed in Dhaull.

|| Dhaull—"As long as the world (*seculum*) lasts."

¶ Dhaull—"they shall rule."

** Gīrnār—"has this been caused to be written."

to the increase hereof, and not aim at the diminution of it! king Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin has caused this to be written twelve years after his inauguration."

In comparing this translation with that of Burnouf, it will be seen that they differ in a marked degree only in two places. Burnouf, as well as Lassen and Prinsep before him, had perceived that the clause beginning at *vimānadaśandha* and ending at *janam* exhibits an altogether irregular combination of words, and they translate as if there stood in the Sanskrit '*vimānadarśane &c. ... darśiteshu.*' In this they are right, I think, but the meanings which they have assigned to most of the terms are unknown in the language. *Vimāna* is a so-called "chariot of the gods;" what aerial phenomenon is to be understood by it matters little for our present purpose. Between a certain aerial phenomenon or chariot of the gods, and "char de parade," as Burnouf translates it, there is hardly any connection to be seen. The rendering of *agniskandha* (*agnipinda*) by "feux d'artifices" is sheer arbitrariness. The expression *divyāni rūpāni* might in itself be sufficient to convince us that celestial phenomena are meant, for the term is, in Latin phrase, "solemnis." *Darśayati* is not only "shows," but also "shows itself." The only other expression which remains to be explained is *hastidarśanam*. I have never met with *hastin* itself in the sense of an aerial phenomenon, but it is a synonym of *Airāvata*, which is used especially to denote Indra's elephant, and *airāvata* is an aerial phenomenon which is frequently mentioned. There is therefore but little doubt that *hastidarśanam* is another expression for *airāvata-darśanam*. This is confirmed by *hastini* being neuter in Dhātū: for *airāvata*, in the sense of an aerial phenomenon, is sometimes masculine, sometimes neuter; therefore also *hastin* when it is used in the signification here assigned to it. What Aśoka says is almost as follows:—"The joyful circumstance which consisted in the fact that the sound of the war-drum would henceforth be a symbol of peace was announced, and as it were received with acclaim by the heavenly powers." Every man who is in any degree acquainted with Sanskrit literature knows how frequently the above-named phenomena are mentioned, and no one who knows aught of human nature will be surprised that the king, on beholding celestial phenomena which, though indeed not of daily occurrence, yet were far from being very uncommon, connected them with an event which, in his eyes, was so important.†

† Kern, u.s. pp. 43-54.

The words *vadhīm yunjanītu* and *hānīm mlochayītu* are clear when it is considered that as *eriddhi* and *ahāni* are synonyms the predicates also must be in the same position. Consequently, *yunakti* is to be taken in that sense in which it expresses almost the same thing as *drochayati*; that is, in the meaning of *anuchintayati*, for which see *Petersb. Dict.* For the sake of distinctness I have written *vadhīm yunjanītu*, without, on that account, overlooking the fact that *vadhīy yu-*, with Anunāsika rejected or not expressed, agrees with *say(y)ama*, &c. The cases, however, are not altogether parallel, for the phonetic alterations in a word apply in Prakṛits only exceptionally in the period.—A syllable has fallen out on the stone before *lochetavyd*, which can have been nothing but *na* or *nd*, because there does not appear to be room enough for *no d-*, which would signify the same thing.

In the inscription now discussed there is nothing which could give offence to any class of the people. It is true, indeed, that the term *dharma* might be understood by some as an allusion to the Dharma, the Religion of the Buddhists, but none of that generation could fail to see, even for a moment, both on account of the connexion and the combination *dharmacharanam*, that the word here signified "righteousness," "virtue." Apart from the style, there is so little exclusively Buddhist in this document, that we might equally well conclude from it that the king, satiated with war, had become the president of a peace society, and of an association for the protection of the lower animals, as that he had embraced the doctrine of Śākya muni. More plainly, but at the same time most modestly, Aśoka mentions his conversion in No. VIII. of Girnār.

The VIIIth edict reads thus:—

Atikātaṃ antaraṃ rājāno viharayātāṃ āyāsu etamagavya añānicha etārisāni * abhīramakāni ahimsu; so Devānāmpīyo Piyaḍasi rājā dasavasābhāsito saṃto ayāya sambodhiṃ * tena sādhamayātā eta yaṃ hoti bāṃharāsamañānaṃ dasapecha dāpecha, thairāṇaṃcha dasāpecha * hiraṇpaṭividdhānecha janapadasacha janasa dasanaṃ dharmānusastīcha dhamaparipeḍhācha * tadopaya esā bhūya rati bhavati Devānāmpīyasa Piyaḍasino rāño bhāge amñe.

This was rendered by Burnouf† as follows:—

"Dans le temps passé, les rois connurent la promenade du plaisir; alors la chasse et d'autres divertissements de ce genre avaient lieu. [Mais] Piyaḍasi, le roi chéri des Dévas, parvenu à la dixième année depuis son sacre, obtient la science parfaite que donne la Buddha. C'est pourquoi la prome-

† *Lotus de la Bonne Loi*, pp. 757ff.; and conf. Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* vol. II. p. 238, and note 2.

nade de la loi est cette qu'il faut faire : ce sont la visite et l'aumône faites aux Brâhmanes et aux Samâgas, distribution de l'or [en leur faveur], l'inspection du peuple et du pays, l'injonction l'exécuter la loi, les interrogatoires sur la loi; ce sont là les moyens qui causent un extrême plaisir à Piyadasi, le roi chéri des Dêvas, dans cette période de temps, différente [de celle que l'a précédée]."

Professor Kern thus revises and translates it:—

¹ Atikâtadî añtaram râjâno viharâyâtam ñayâsu etamagavyam añânicha etârîsâni ² abhiramakâni ahimsu; so Devânâmpîyo Piyadasi râjâ dasava-sâbhisito samto ayâya sambodhim; ³ tena sa dhammayâtâ etâ, yam hoti: bamhapasamanânâni dasanânicha dânanicha, thairânâni dasanânicha ⁴ hirañapatividhânâniche jânâpadasacha janasa dasanâni, dhammânusastîcha dhammaparipucchâ-cha. ⁵ Tadapayâ esâ bhûya rati bhavati Devânâmpiyasa Piyadasino râño bhâge añhâ.

In Sanskrit—

Atikrânte 'ntare râjâno viharâyâtân nirayâsi-shuh; etamagavyam anyânichaitârîsâni abhirâmâny abhûvan. Tad Devânâmpriyâ Priyadarî râjâ dasavarshâbhisikta sann iyâya sambodim; tena sâ dhammayâtaita, yad bhavati: brâhmanâsramânânâni darsanânicha dânanicha sthaviânânâni darsanânicha hirañyapatividhânânicha, jânâpadasyâ-cha janasya darsanâni, dhammânusastîcha dhammaparipucchâhâcha. Tadauparishatâ esâ bhûyo ratir bhavati Devânâmpriyasya Priyadarîno râjño 'parabhâge.

Translation of No. VIII.

"In past times the kings went out on journeys of pleasure; § stag-hunting|| and other such like recreations were in vogue. ¶ But king Devânâmpriya Priyadarî, ten years after his inauguration, came to the true insight. Therefore he began a walk of righteousness,* which consists in this, that he sees at his house, and bestows gifts upon Brâhman and monks, he sees at his house, and presents elders with gold, he receives subjects of town and country, exhorts to righteousness and seeks righteousness. Since then this is the greatest pleasure of king Devânâmpriya Priyadarî in the period after his conversion.

"In this little piece," adds Professor Kern, "there is only one expression which presents any difficulty in interpreting,—*tadapayâ* in Gîrnâr, and *tadapayd* in Dhault, though the meaning may readily be conjectured. There must be something which

is generally expressed in Sanskrit by *tadâprabhriti*; *tadârabhya* and such like *upâddya*, which the Buddhistic style, both Sanskrit and Pâli, so often employs, is not to be thought of. *Tadupâddya*, or also *tadopadayâ* = *tadâprabhriti*, signifying 'thenceforth,' 'since that;' and if *tadopayâ* was found only in Gîrnâr it might perhaps be attributed to an error, but Kapurdigiri also has *tadopayam*, which deviates from *tadopayâ* sufficiently to convince us that the readings support each other, and are therefore genuine. To what Sanskrit form, then, can the Prâkrit correspond? In my opinion, to an ablative, *auparyât*, on the one hand, and to an adverbial accusative, *auparyam*, on the other. *Auparya* is derived regularly from *upari*, 'after, later.' Now since *auparya* becomes *opaya* in Prâkrit, just as *kârya* becomes *kayya*, &c., *tadopayâ* corresponds to a Sanskrit *tadauparyât* = 'since that;'—or, if a form known otherwise be preferred, *tadauparishatâ*. In the Dhault text there is an entirely different word, a synonym of the foregoing,—*peydle*, which, after the example of the *Lalitavistara*, I have rendered in Sanskrit by *preydlam*. It will be in vain sought for in the dictionaries, though its existence had not escaped the notice of Burnouf in his widely extended investigations. He seems, however, not to have found it otherwise than in the Prâkrit form *preyda*. After having remarked, in *Lotus de la Bonne Loi*, p. 388, that he had met with this *preyda* in a number of the writings of the northern Buddhists, he proceeds to say:—

"Dans le textes pâlis, la formule abrégée comme ci-dessus est exprimée par le monosyllabe *pé* qui est le commencement de *péyydlam*; car c'est ainsi qu'est orthographié ce mot en pâli. J'en trouve un exemple dans l' *Atândîya sutta*, qui est ainsi conçu: *soyêva purimapeyydlâna vitthârétabhâ*, "il doit être développé avec le précédent *peyydla*."† Je n'ai jusqu'à présent trouvé d'autre manière d'expliquer ce mot que de supposer qu'il dérive de *pé*, abréviation de *pârvé*, "précédemment," réuni à *alam*, "assez," de façon à exprimer cette idée, "la chose a été dite précédemment d'une manière suffisante." Je ne donne cependant encore cette explication que comme une conjecture."

"We can pay no better tribute to the memory of the greatest Indologist of France, who shortly after writing the above words was snatched away from science, than to take up the inquiry at the point where he dropped it. Let it be observed, in the first place, that the brief clause quoted

¶ Dhault—"There existed for them stag-hunting, &c."

* The play on the words *vihârayatî* and *dhammayâtâ* is lost in the translation.

† *Dighanîkaya*, f. 177a.

§ Dhault has—"The kings went out on so-called journeys of pleasure."

|| The impression in Dhault is more general, for *viriga* signifies not merely "stag, gazelle," but wild beast in general.

above is not quite clear, and may mean 'with what precedes and what follows,' equally well as 'with repetition of the preceding.' In no case can it mean what Burnouf imagines. Fortunately the expression occurs often enough in the *Lalitavistara* to enable us to determine its signification. In *Lalitav.* 320, 18, we see that the words *peydlam yavat* are equivalent to the expression *purvavadyavat*, which occurs four lines previously, that is, 'as before on to.' Hence it follows not that *peydlam* signifies properly the same as *purvavat*; for if it be once supposed that the word signified 'repetition,' it would then be a matter of indifference whether we said 'repetition (*da capo*) on to,' or 'as before on to,' without implying thereby that the ideas 'as before' and 'repetition' were in themselves allied. To confirm this further, I refer to p. 445, where *peydlam* has a synonym, or substitute, *vistareṇa yavat*, i.e. 'copious (to complete) on to.' To determine the sense completely, we must avail ourselves of the word *preydlam*, which also occurs more than once in the *Lalitavistara*, and which plainly is nothing else than the Sanskrit or Sanskritized form of *peydlam*. The circumstance that wherever the Prākṛit *peydlam* stood as a technical, almost algebraic term, the compilers of the said book have neglected to translate it into Sanskrit, is an additional proof for the view that Sanskrit is of comparatively late date in the writings of the northern Buddhists. Where *preydlam* is found fully written, it is not a technical term, but has a meaning which can easily be felt. This *preydlam* admits of being represented by another Sanskrit word, viz. *bhūyas*, in the various applications in which the latter can be used. Thus we read, immediately after a song addressed by the good sons of Māra the Wicked, to their father, *Lalitavist.* 397, 7:—

"*Preydlam evaṃ te sarve Māraputrāḥ—Māram pāpiyasam prithakprithag gāthābhir adhyabhaśanta*," i.e. 'Thus spoke again (Sans. *bhūyas*) all those sons of Māra to Māra the Wicked, alternately in songs.'

"The meaning of *preydlam* comes out less clearly p. 369, 11; because the verse is corrupt, or has been spoiled by the editor.

"When we compare the particulars now adduced with each other, when we remember the opposi-

tion so common between *pūrvam* and *bhūyas*, and keep in view that *bhūyas* signifies 'more, ample,' as much as 'later, subsequent,' then there can remain no doubt that *preydlam*, Prākṛit *peydlam*, is = *bhūyas*. The Pālī form *peydlam* might, where it appears as a substantive, correspond to a *praiydyam* or to *bhūyastvam*; but that makes no difference in the main idea of the word. The double *yy* in the Pālī is one of the many instances which show clearly that the regulators of that artificial and literary language have been frequently very unfortunate in rendering Magadhi words, which they misunderstood on account of the old spelling, which did not usually express the doubling of consonants.† That we may be convinced of this we shall investigate the etymology of the word. There is, in Sanskrit, a comparative of *puru* (from *peru*), viz. *prdyas*, which is used exclusively in the neuter, though the full form masculine *frāyan*, neut. *frāyo*, is still preserved in Baktrian. This *prdyas* is (apparently) regular, inasmuch as it has Vṛiddhi instead of Guna,§ but the form is perfectly regular in other Indo-Germanic languages; thus Greek *πλεον* (mas. *πλεον*), Latin *plus*, from *plois* (*plais*), Norse *fleir*. The superlative is lost in Sanskrit,—it must have been *presthā*; but as there is an entirely different *presthā* from *priya*, it is probable that the form was avoided, and then fell into disuse. On the contrary, the Baktrian still possesses *fraeshta*, Greek *πλειστος*, Norse *flestr* (for *flestr*, *fleistr*, by the shortening of the vowel on account of the two consonants following). In making acquaintance with the Sanskrit *preydlam*, Magadhi *peydlam*, we learn at the same time the remarkable circumstance that along with *prdyas* there must also have existed in Sanskrit a form *preyas*, the use of which was also avoided, as being a homonym of the comparative of *priya*. The suffix *ala* joined to *preyas*, or rather to *preya* = Sans. *prāya*, "multitude," has, on the one hand, an extensive or augmentative force, and, on the other hand, an iterative, and therefore a diminutive force. In *preydlam*, to judge by the common signification, *ala* is rather augmentative, and, as augmentative and comparative ideas coincide, *preydlam* is to be compared with the Dutch double comparatives *meerder*, *eerder*; in nature and form, though not in meaning, *preydlam* agrees with the Lat. *plusculus*. Having

† We meet with the same error in the double *y* in *moneyya*, and the absurd double *s* in *assa*. It is perfectly evident to every one who is willing to see it that the manufacturers of the Pālī knew nothing of the pronunciation.

§ This is certainly the reason why so acute a philologist as Pāṇini did not recognize the word as the comparative of *puru*. For the same reason he failed to see that *bhūyas* is a comparative of *bhūri*. Properly, *prāyas* is not irregular; it has originated from an old Indo-Germ. *pēruyas*, which must have been another form of *prāyas* (compare Lat.

trans with Sans. *tēras*, Indo-Germ. *tēras*). The form *puru* is not identical with Gr. *πολυ*, and as little is *guru* identical with *βαρυς*, or Prākṛit *garu*. Whoever asserts that *guru* is a corrupt form from *garu* (instead of from *gēru*) must also show that *kāshipra* is a corrupt form from *kāshipyan*, *dāru* from *dāriyan*, &c. One of the many counterfeits of *prāyas*, from *pēruyas*, is Lat. *gravis*, from *gēruyas*. It is now high time that the superficial assertion of Bopp, that *z* and *r* (*z*, *r*) were not old Indo-Germ., should no longer be regarded.

thus considered these particulars as briefly as it was possible, I return to the inscription. The Mag. *tadd peyde*, in meaning = *tadopayā* of Gīrnār, Sanskrit *tadd* (or *tato*) *bhūyāḥ*, is, therefore, 'after that, since then.'

"This short inscription," he adds, "is distinguished by a certain simplicity and sentiment of tone, which makes it touch a chord in the human breast. There is a tenderness in it, so vividly different from the insensibility of the later monkish literature of Buddhism, of which Th. Pavie somewhere observes with so much justice, 'Tout reste donc glacé dans ce monde bouddhique!'"

"This simple tone of the passage is well calculated to awaken in us the conviction that the atrocities attributed by the later Buddhists to their benefactor rest upon a misunderstanding. The stories of both the Northern and Southern Buddhists, to which it is usual to give the species name of traditions,|| differ among themselves to such an extent as to be suspicious on that ground alone. The ninety-nine fold fratricide committed, as is stated, by Aśoka, is related with such circumstantiality that its untruth is palpable. The story of the Northern Buddhists is different, but, if possible, still more inept. According to them, Aśoka, at the beginning of his reign, caused a place of torture to be built in order to torment poor creatures, and so forth.¶ Now the king himself states, in the first tablet, that at the beginning of his reign he permitted the death of innocent creatures, that is, their slaughter for food. Is it not in the highest degree probable that the hell for the torture of poor animals is a misrepresentation, intentional or otherwise, of the slaughter-house? The contrast between the hell built by the prince before his conversion, and the monasteries built by him after that event, was too striking for so splendid an opportunity for a display of bigotry to be allowed to pass. In the midst of the conflicting variations which have sprung up under the clumsy hands of monks without humour or imagination, without feeling or love of truth, we can yet distinguish a uniform theme which may thus be expressed: 'In his youth Aśoka gave himself up to depraved passions, to *vyasandā* (to which the chase belongs): he had shown no mercy to innocent creatures (i.e. deer, &c.), was cruel, a Chanda-Aśoka. But after his conversion he bade farewell to his sinful life, gave himself up exclusively to righteousness, and became a Dharma-Aśoka.' The only thing we are justified in believing, after com-

parison of the different accounts, is the change that took place in the king's mind in the way in which he has himself represented it. He acknowledges his depravities, and although we cannot from his silence regarding particular misdeeds conclude that he was wholly free from them, we are not so credulous as to believe a single one of them merely on the authority of people whose gross ignorance and tendency to distort and exaggerate shows itself in everything. Still vaguer is the information given by the non-Buddhist, the Brāhmaṇ Kālhaṇa Paṇḍit. In the few lines which he devotes to Aśoka the historian tells us very little, which is exactly a proof that he says no more than he thought he was able to answer for, since the scantiness of his communications is not the result of contempt for, or a want of appreciation of, the great ruler. The *Rājatarāṅgī*, I. 101 ff., we read —

Prapantraḥ Śakunes tasya bhūpateḥ prapitṛeya-jah |

dīdhavad Aśokakhyah satyasandho vasundharām ||
yah śāntavrijino rājā prapanno Jināsāsanam |

Sushkakshetram Vistārdīrau tātāra stūpamaṇḍalāḥ ||

i.e. 'The son of the great-uncle of this prince (Śachinara) and great-grandson of Śakuni, the upright Aśoka, ruled over the land, &c.'"

With the exception of the mention of the merit which Aśoka acquired by the construction of various edifices, we find nothing further about him in the next five verses of the *Rājatarāṅgī*.

The tolerant spirit of Aśoka, which the narrow intellect of Mahānāma was incapable of comprehending, manifests itself in a conspicuous manner in No. XII. of Gīrnār,* which has no parallel either in the Dhauī or Kapurdigī series.†

The XIIIth edict is in nine long lines, and reads thus:—

¹ Devānampiyo Piyadasi rājā savapāsamaṇḍānicha pavajitānicha ghāstānicha pūjayati, danenacha vividhāyacha pūjāya pūjayati ne.² na tu tathā dānam vā pūje va Devānampiyo manhāte yathā kitisāravadhī asa savapāsamaṇḍānam sāravaḍhi tu bahuvīdhā; ³ tasa-tasa tu idaṁ mūlam ya vachigutī kiṁti āptapāsamaṇḍapūjā va parāpāsamaṇḍagarahā va no bhavē, apakaraṇamhi lahukā va asa
* tamhi-tamhi pakaraṇe pūjeta yā tu eva parāpāsamaṇḍa tena-tena pakaraṇena evamkātām, āptapāsamaṇḍacha vadhayati parāpāsamaṇḍasacha upkaroti
³ tadamhāthā karoto āptapāsamaṇḍasacha chhanati parāpāsamaṇḍasachapi apakaroti yohi kāchi āptapā-

|| "Tradition, in the true sense of the term, is of great value, but stories of which the time and place of origination are unknown have no title to the name of tradition. Every so-called tradition, the authenticity of which cannot be established, ceases to be a tradition, and falls under the category of rumour."

¶ *Mém. de Hiouen Tchang*, tom. I., pp. 441 ff.; Burnouf, *Introduction*, pp. 358 ff.

* Dealt with by Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 761.

† Kern, u.s.p. 65.

samdam pūjayati parapāsamdam va garahati, 'savam āptapāsamdabbhatiyā kinti āptapāsamdam dīpayema iti socha puna tatha karoto āptapasamdam bādhatarām upahanāti ta samavāyo eva sādha' 7 kinti mamāmanāsa dhammam sunājucha samserācha evamhi Devānampiyasa icchā kinti savapāsamdācha bahusutācha asu kalānāgamācha asu; 8 yecha tata-tata pasamham tehi vatavyā: Devānampiyaso no tathā dānam va pūjā vā mamānate yathā kintisāravadhī asa savapāsamdānam bahakā va etāya 9 athā vyāpatā dhammamamahāmātācha ithābhakhamahāmātācha vachabhūmikācha añecha nikāyā ayanācha etasa phala ya āptapāsamdavadhīcha hoti, dhammasācha dipanā.†

Professor Kern revises this as follows:—

1 Devānampiyaso Piyadasi-rājā savapāsamdānicha pavajitānicha ghāstānicha pūjayati, dānenācha vividhāyacha pūjāya pūjayati ne. 2 Na tu tathā dānam vā pūjam vā Devānampiyaso mamānate, yathā kintisāravadhī asa savapāsamdānam. Sāravadhī tu bahuvihā; 3 tasa-tasa tu idam mūlam ya vachiguti; kinti? āptapāsamdāpūjā vā parapāsamdagarhā vā no bhava, apakarapamhi lahakā vā asa; 4 tamhi tamhi pakarape pūjeta. Ya tu eva parapāsamda-(sa) tena-tena pakarapena evamkatam, āptapāsamdamcha vadhayati parapāsamdasācha upakaroti; 5 tadamhiatā karonto āptapāsamdamcha chhapati parapāsamdasachapi apakaroti. Yopi kachi āptapāsamdam pūjayati parapāsamdam vā garahiti, 6 savam āptapāsamdabbhatiyā; kinti? āptapāsamdam dīpayema iti. Socha puna tathā karonto āptapāsamdam bādhatarām upahanāti. Ta samavāyo eva sādhu; 7 kinti? mamāmanāsa dhammam sunējucha pasamseramcha; evam hi Devānampiyaso icchā; kinti? savapāsamdācha bahusutācha asu, kalānāgamācha asu; 8 yecha tata-tata pasamhā tehi vatavyā; Devānampiyaso no tathā dānam vā pūjam vā mamānate, yathā kintisāravadhī asa savapāsamdānam bahakā vā. Etāya 9 athāya vyāpatā dhammamamahāmātācha ithābhakhamahāmātācha vachabhūmikācha añecha nikāyā. Ayanācha etasa phalam, ya āptapāsamdavadhīcha hoti, dhammasācha dipanā.

Before giving translations of this we will consider some expressions:—The meaning of the neuter *pāsamdam*, and of the masc. *pāsamdo*, comes out more clearly in this document. The first is "sect," the second "member of a sect." They are both introduced into the Sanskrit, but in the modified signification of "heretical sect" and "heretic." The word "sect" shows the same

change of meaning also in English, where it is used to signify "another sect than the dominant one," and "sectarian" "any one of another sect than the recognized and common one." The Greek *hæresis* and *hæreticus* have had the same history. When we have now found from the Gīrnār document what the older meaning of *pāshandā*, is, the origin of the word becomes at the same time clear. It has arisen from a Sansk. *pārshadya*, *pārshada*, with the understanding that there must have been a western form, viz. *pārshanda*, *pārshandya*. The root *sad* has no longer a nasal sound in the Sanskrit, but in kindred languages, the Slavonic among others, the form *sand* is very common; and in the Sanskrit itself there is at least one word in which the nasal sound has been preserved, viz. *śaṇḍī*, "arm-chair, throne." § *śaṇḍī* is the Vedic *śaṇḍī*; *śaṇḍī* corrupted from *śaṇḍī* by a false analogy. This conjunctive has also been adopted into the Pāli; but, as has been already observed, those who made the Pāli books no longer understood the form, and made of it *assa*, *assu*, as if formally *assa* were = *siyā*,—a proof that they no longer knew anything of the pronunciation of the old Prakrit. *Kinti*, Sansk. *Kimiti*, "with what intention a thing is thought, or spoken, or done," refers to the intention or aim of what goes before. Instead of the *oratio directa*, which is such a favourite in all the older and more modern Indian languages, our idiom requires a dependent sentence. *Kinti* with the subsequent independent sentence becomes "in order that," and sometimes "so that," followed by a dependent clause. This syntactic peculiarity of the Indian languages is sufficiently well known, and would not have been noticed here if previous expositors had not altogether misunderstood the little word. The spelling *dpta* is incorrect, just as is that of *bānhana*; the word ought to have been spelled *apta* (i.e. *atta*), according to the vocal laws of the Prakrit; on the other hand, *dta* (= *atta*) is permissible; and it is by no means improbable that *dpta* used to be pronounced as *dta*, and therefore no inconvenience was found in the long *d*. *Pūjita* is 3rd sing. opt. middle. The middle is here employed, probably, because the word is intransitive; *Pūjayati aṇṇam* is "he honours another;" *pūjayate*, "he shows his reverence, his esteem." The word *bahukā*, "mean estimation," is not known beyond Sanskrit literature; which, however, is not saying much. A scholiast on Pā-

† The new readings in the estampage are:—In line 3 *lahakā* for *lahakā*; in line 6 *savam* for *savā*; in line 7 *kalānāgamā* for *kalānāgama*; in line 8 *vatavyā* for *vatavya*.

§ The spelling *pārshanda*, which occurs in Sansk. along with the spelling with *sh*, represents a western pronunciation which is now widely spread in all Northern India,

and was also prevalent, though in a less degree, in very ancient times. *Kh* for *sh* has frequently crept into the prevailing dialect—the classical Sanskrit; e.g. such a form as *duḥkṣi*, from *duḥkṣi*, could not have originated unless *sh* had been pronounced as *kh*. So also *rikh*, *likh*, with their derivatives, are only a western pronunciation of *riśh*, *liśh*, "to tear, to scratch;" so also *ukhā*, *mayūkha*.

nini VII. 3. 44, does indeed mention *bahukā* without saying whether he regards it as a substantive or an adjective. If the former, it can mean nothing else than *bahukā* of Gīrnār, for the adjective *bahukā* is "placed at a high price, dear." *Alaghukā* has not come down to us, but must have been in use as much as *bahukā*. In order to proceed with certainty, I shall, in the Sanskrit paraphrase, use *ldghavan* (taking therefore *laghutā*, *laghutvam*) and *bahumānam*. Our resources do not enable us to decide whether the reading should not be *bahukā* and *lahukā*. None of the terms discussed presents the slightest difficulty, so far as the sense is concerned. It is somewhat more troublesome to determine the sense of *vachabhūmika*. The only attempt at explanation which deserves the name is that of Burnouf. || He resolves the combination into *vacha* (Sansk. *vachas*, "ordure") and *bhūmika*, derived from *bhūmi*, "ground," from which it would follow that the word means "inspectors of the privies." He had neglected to say that the Sansk. form would then, with *Vṛiddhi*, have been *vedrchobhūmika*, but since the Sansk. *vārch* would give in the Prākṛit *vachch*, (spelled *vach*) as well as *vāch*, there is no other remark to be made. The same scholar does not fail to refer to No. VI. of Gīrnār, where *vacha* also occurs, and certainly in the same meaning as here, though it does not appear more clearly what that meaning is. But No. VI. has been subjected to such treatment that we could not be satisfied with quoting a couple of terms from it; and a proper discussion of the part where mention is made of the appointment of overseers of *vacha*, &c. would occupy more space than we can afford. We shall, therefore, merely assume here, provisionally, without proof, that *vachabhūmika* answers to a Sansk. *vr̥tyabhūmika*, derived with *Vṛiddhi* from *vr̥tya-bhūmi*, "a place for wandering comrades," i.e. a hospice. The usual name of the royal magistrates or overseers is *mahāmātra*, Sansk. *mahāmātra*. ¶

In Sanskrit:—

Devānāmpriyā Priyadarśī rājā sarvapārishadānīcha pravrajitānīcha gārhasthyānīcha pūjayati, dānenacha vividhayācha pūjayā pūjayati enāni. Na tu tathā dānam vā pūjām vā Devānāmpriyo manyate, yathā yena kirtisāravṛddhis syāt sarvapārishadānām. Sāravṛddhis tu bahuvīdhā; tasya tasya tvīdam mūlam yad vāgguptiḥ; kimiti? ātmiyapārishadapūjā vā parapārishadagarhā vā bhaved aprakarane laghutā vā syāt; tasmimistasmin prakaraṇe pūjeta. Yat tveva parapārishade tena tena prakaraṇenaivaṅkṛtam, ātmiyapārishadañcha

vardhayati parapārishadasyachopakaroti; tadan yathā kurvann ātmiyapārishadañcha kṣaṇoti parapārishadasyachāpy apakaroti. Yo' pi kāśchid ātmiyapārishadam pūjayati, sarvaṁ svapārishadabhakteḥ (kuryāt); kimiti? svapārishadam dipayeti. Sa punas tathā kurvann svapārishadam bādhataram upahanti. Tat samavāya eva sādhuḥ (= śreṣṭham); kimiti? anonyasya dharmān śrinuyuscha tuśrāśheraṇścha. Evamhi Devānāmpriyasyechchā; kimiti? sarvapārishadā bahuvṛtāścha syuḥ kalyāṇāgamāścha syuḥ; yecha tatra tatra prasannā te hi vaktavyāḥ: Devānāmpriyo na tathā dānam vā pūjām vā manyate, yathā yena kirtisāravṛddhis syāt sarvapārishadānām bahumānam vā. Etasmāy arthāya vyāpṛitā dharmamahāmātrāścha stryādhyakṣyamahāmātrāścha vr̥tyabhūmikāśchānyecha nikāyāḥ. Idañ chaitasya phalaṁ yad ātmiyapārishadavṛddhiścha bhavati, dharmasyacha dipanā.

Translation of No. XII.

King Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin honours all sects, and orders of monks, and conditions of heads of families,* and honours them with love-gifts and with marks of honour of all kinds! To be sure, Devānāmpriya does not attribute so much value to love-gifts or marks of honour as to this, that the good name and the intrinsic worth of all sects may increase. Now intrinsic worth can grow greater in many ways, but the foundation thereof in all its compass is discretion in speaking,† so that no man may praise his own sect, or condemn another sect, or despise it on unsuitable occasions; on all manner of occasions let respect be shown. Whatever of good, indeed, a man, from any motive, confers on any one of a different persuasion, tends to the advantage of his own sect and to the benefit of a different persuasion; by acting in an opposite manner a man injures his own sect and offends a different sect, though every one who praises his own persuasion may perhaps do all that from attachment to his own sect, for the purpose of glorifying it; nevertheless he shall by so doing greatly injure his own persuasion. Therefore concord is best, so that all may learn to know and willingly listen to each other's religion. Because it is the wish of Devānāmpriya that the members of all persuasions may be well instructed, and shall adhere to a

¶ Lotus de la Bonne Loi, p. 773.

* In Anglo-Saxon the steward or overseer of an estate is called *gerefa*; the *dānamahāmātra* is therefore the *sciregerefa*, the English *sheriff*. "Sheriff," therefore, would be the best English translation.

* That is, "kinds of laics."

† That is, "to curb the tongue." [*Virtutem primam esse puta compescere linguam* is a curious coincidence.—A.M.]

doctrine of benevolence. And to them who are inclined to all that, let the assurance be given that Devānāmpriya does not attach so much value to love-gifts or show of reverence as to this, that all sects may increase in good name and intrinsic worth and be revered. For this end, sheriffs over legal proceedings, magistrates entrusted with the superintendence of the women, hospice-masters, (?) and other bodies have been appointed. And the result of this is that Devānāmpriya's persuasion has increased in prosperity, and that he causes the Righteousness to come forth in full splendour.†

The mention, in this place, of the sheriffs is certainly intended to remind the people that it has always been the earnest desire of the king to ensure the impartial administration of justice, without respect to religious belief. He refers to his official acts in order to show that, though he is himself now a sincere Buddhist, yet in nothing does he favour co-religionists above others. The jurisdiction of the magistrates charged with the superintendence of the women was certainly not limited merely to the public women. For though the *hetairai* played as great a part in Indian society as their sisters in ancient Greece, and though it was necessary that such an element of society should be under state control, yet in this place something else must be meant. The mention here of certain magistrates has a specific reason; what that reason is cannot be a matter of doubt, if the beginning of the inscription be compared with the conclusion. As the appointment of high officials is a guarantee for *savvapāsaṃdāni*, and that of *itthōjakkha mahāmātā* has been made in the interest of all *ghārasāni*, they serve to watch over the purity of morals and of domestic life. The magistrates referred to must therefore have been a kind of *censores morum*, whose duty was to restrain the luxury and other excesses of the matrons.

No. VI. begins the second column of the edicts (Plate XII.), and is in fourteen lines of moderate length; the first only, on the vertex of the rock, has lost a few letters. It reads thus:—

1 Devā . . . pi . . . si rājā evaṃ āha
atikātaṃ amītarāṃ 2 nā bhūtapuva sava . . la
athakamhe va paṭivedanā vā ta mayā evamkatam
3 save kāle bhūñjamānasa me orodhanamhi ga-
bhāgāramhi vachamhi va 4 vinitamhi-cha uyane-
sucha savata paṭivedakā stitā athe me janasa
5 pativedetha iti savatacha janasa athe karomi.

† *Dharmayaśa dīpanā* is an ambiguous expression, perhaps selected purposely, as it also signifies "to glorify, to adorn the faith (i.e. Religion)."

Yacha kiñchi mukhatā 6 ālāpayāmi svayam dāpa-
kam vā sāvāpakam vā yavā puna mahāmātesu
7 āchāyika aropitam bhavati tāya athāya vivādo
ni kati vasaṃto parisāyam 8 ānāntaram paṭivede-
tayaṃ me savatā save kāle evaṃ mayā ālāpitam
nāsti hi me to sā 9 ustānamhi atha samtiraṇāya
va katavya matehi me savā loka hitam 10 tasacha
puna eṣa mūle ustānamhi atha samtiraṇācha
nāsti hi kammataram 11 sava loka hitattāyacha
kiñchi parākamāmi aham kiñti bhūtanam anan-
nāmgachheyaṃ 12 idhacha nāni sukhāpayāmi pa-
ratācha svagam ārādhayāntu ta etāya athāya
13 ayam dhammalipi lekhaṇitā kiñti chiram tisteya
iti tathācha me putā potācha papotācha 14 anu-
varam savaloka hitāya dukarāntu idaṃ ālāta
agena parākamena. §

Professor Kern corrects the first five lines as follows:—1 Devānāmpiyō Piyadasi rājā evaṃ āha :
atikātaṃ amītarāṃ 2 nā bhūtapubam savam kālam
athakammatam vā paṭivedanā vā ; ta mayā evam-
katam ; 3 savam kālam bhūñjamānasa me orodhanamhi
gabhāgāramhi vachamhi 4 vinitamhi-cha
uyānesucha savata paṭivedakā stitā 5 atham me
janasa 6 patividetha 7 iti, savatacha janasa atham
karomi.

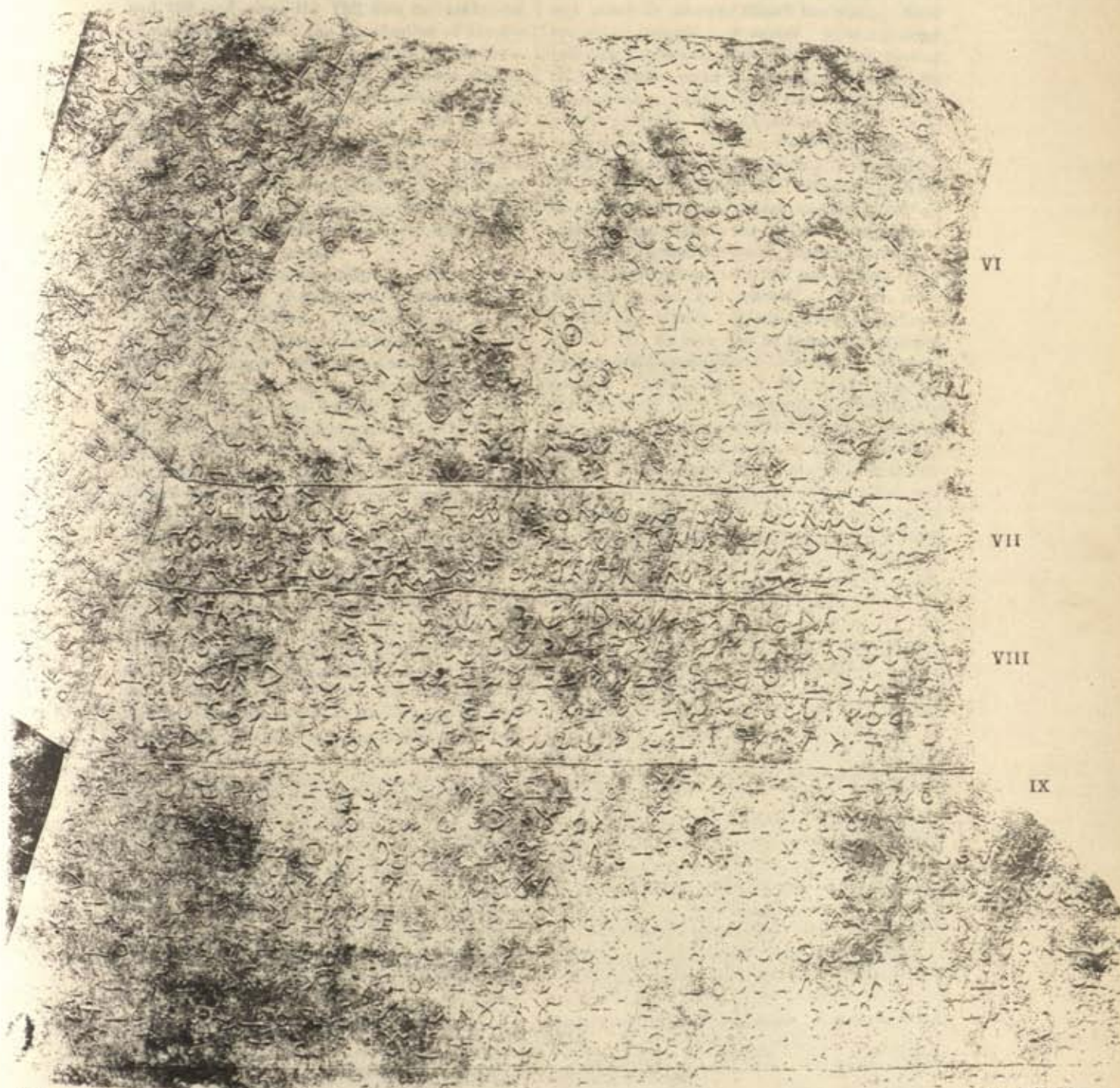
"However clear," he remarks, "the general meaning of this document may be, some terms occur which are not found elsewhere, and others which, though their meaning may be easily guessed, yet deserve a few observations of a grammatical nature.

"The word *paṭivedanā* signifies, in virtue of its form, 'care, inspection,' and that is the meaning here, as well as 'communicating, informing, reporting.' We do not need to inquire at all of such forms as *vedanā*, *bodhand*, &c., whether or not they are used in a causative signification. *Vedanā* is 'notion, feeling, painful feeling;' but is also causative, 'communicating, making known.' As little is the distinction to be observed in such a form as *vedakā*, and such like; it is only the connection which shows the meaning. Thus *sam-vedana* signifies 'feeling, knowledge;' but it signifies also 'to bring to knowledge, to acquaint.' Moreover, verbs of the 10th class also admit of a double conception; e.g. *vedayate*, in *Mund. Upan.* p. 279, is 'to know, to think.' *Prativedayati* is generally a causative with the signification of 'making known, informing;' but *pratisamvedayati* occurs also as a denominative, 'to obtain knowledge of, to be aware of, to observe.' See, for instance, *Lalitav.* 147. 11: *sukhañ-cha kalyāṇa pratisamvedayati sma*. I select this passage from among many others just because we

§ The corrections here are:—In line 1 *si rājā* for *pi rājā*; in line 6 *mahāmātesu* for *mahāthatesu* (?); in line 10 *tasacha* for *tasecha*.

ASOKA INSCRIPTION, EDICTS VI - IX.

Indian antiquary.



are able to refer to the parallel passage in the Pāli redaction quoted by Childers, *Pāli Diet.* sub voce *jhānaṃ*. The whole text given there by Childers agrees almost literally with *Lalitav.* 147 and 439, and since the Pāli also has *sukhañcha kāyena paṭisamvedeti*, the signification of the denominative is determined not merely for the Sanskrit, but for the Pāli as well. It follows now, as a matter of course, that the *paṭivedeti* of our inscription signifies 'to have care of, to observe, to inspect,' as well as 'to communicate, to inform.' The *prativedakas*, therefore, were not spies, as others have made them out to be in spite of the plain words of the king, but inspectors, and at the same time, as would be felt in the Indian language, reporters.

"*Orodhana*, Sansk. *avarodhana*, is entirely the same in meaning as *antahpura*, signifying therefore 'women's chamber.' That *antahpura* is the Sanskrit word for what we are accustomed to call 'the sex' is unknown to the dictionaries, but is otherwise well enough known from Sanskrit literature. Any one may convince himself of this by reading Varāhamihira's *Bṛhat-saṃhita*, chāps. 74-78, which together constitute the *Antahpurachinta*, i.e. 'observations upon the sex.' The text of Dhauti has *ante-olodhana*, which answers to a Sansk. *antavarodhana*.¶

"The conjecture has been made with regard to *vacha* that it is = Sansk. *vrātya*. *Vrātya* is 'wanderer, any one without a fixed residence,' and is accurately rendered by the Latin *peregrinus*: for it, too, just as the Latin word, took the signification of 'pilgrim, roaming spiritual brother;* a guest also is sometimes addressed as *vrātya*. The singular *vachamhi* can be here taken in a plural signification, just as well as the immediately preceding *gabhāgdāramhi*, 'over sanctuaries, in sacella,' and in the text of Kapurdigiri, *vyānisi* also, 'over the public gardens.' The variant of *vacha* in the Dhauti redaction is unfortunately only partially legible: *sam* at the beginning is recognizable, and *si* at the end; *pi* seems to stand before the termination *si*, but this might easily be a wrongly written or read *ha*. One letter, unrecognizable in the facsimile, remains still to be filled in, *ga* as I suppose. From the Sanskrit literature with which I am acquainted I cannot quote any instance of *sangraha* in the sense of lodgings; still

it must have been a word in daily use, for it occurs in this sense frequently in the old Javanese.†

"It is still more troublesome to determine the sense of *vinṭa*, as Giraṇ and Kapurdigiri read; and especially because Dhauti has *ninṭa*. Both are either masculine or neuter. It is a general rule that the neuter of the so-called part. perf. of all intransitive verbs in Sanskrit expresses the same thing as collectives in Dutch with or without the prefix *ge*: Thus *hasitam* is 'gelach,' *ruditam*, 'geween,' &c.; the same form also serves as infinitive aorist; thus *avalokitam* is *to karideiv*, &c. *Vinṭa* is 'transported,' therefore *vinṭam* is 'transport, traffic.' Even the masculine *vinṭah* is, according to the Indian lexicographers, 'trader.' Beyond all doubt, therefore, *vinṭa* is a synonym of *nigama*; for this also is both 'traffic,' and 'trader,' and 'market.' However, since *vinṭam* may signify 'correction,' and *vinṭa* 'corrected,' &c., we have still to inquire whether the variant *ninṭa* strengthens or weakens our supposition. Unfortunately it does neither the one nor the other. If it be = Sansk. *ninṭam*, it may then mean 'importation,' but if it originates from *nirṇāta* it would then be the 'decision, sentence.' Though it were granted, even, that 'inspectors over arbitration' may be thought of, which I doubt, still in that case *vinṭa*, which occurs in two redactions, could not agree with it. On that ground I think I may postulate it as probable that by *vinṭa* is meant 'trade,' or 'market,' or 'trader,' according as we regard it as neuter or masculine. As regards *ninṭa*, it has to be remarked that *ni*, 'to lead,' is nothing else than the causative of *gam*, 'to go; ‡ and since *nigama* signifies 'trade,' *ninṭam* may signify it just as well. Superintendence of trade is one of the first duties of a well-ordered state, in order to prevent the use of false weights and measures and other evil practices."

He then renders the first five lines into Sanskrit as follows:—

'Devānāmpriyaḥ Priyadarśi rājāivam āha : atikrānte 'ntare na bhūtapūrvam sarvaṃ kālam arthakarma vā prativedanā vā; tan mayaivam kṛitam; sarvaṃ kālam bhūjānasya me 'varodhane garbhāgāreshu vrātyeshucha viniteṣṭ chodyāneshucha, sarvatra prativedakās sthitāḥ : artham majjanasya prativedayeteti; sarvatra cha janasyārtham karomi.'

Professor Kern's translation covers only the first

¶ Compare the English translation *Jour. R. As. Soc.* N. S. vol. IV. 1870, p. 439.

¶ A Magadhi antepura has been by mistake Palicized by the regulators of the Pāli into antepura; it ought to have been antopura, which indeed is also once met with.

* The great Vrātya whose wanderings are described in mystic language in *Atharva-Veda* XV. is the Wind (Rudra); he is the counterpart of the Gangleri (i.e. the wanderer) of the Edda, or, as Sono calls him, the Viator inde-

feasus, a surname of Odhin (Rudra). Compare *Prasnop.* p. 184.

† For instance, in the *Ajuna-Vedha*, v. 278. it is "reception (of a guest);" *gyiha sangraha*, v. 291, is "apartment for lodging."

‡ *Ni* (*nayati*) must also be a causative of *i* (*eti*, *ayati*), although the causative force of the *n* is no longer to be discovered in the state of the language as it is now known to us.

§ Or *vinṭeshu*, and in the Dhauti version *ninṭa*.

half of this inscription, but it is complemented by Lassen's version :—

King Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin saith: In past times there has never yet existed care for the (civil) interests, nor official superintendence; therefore have I instituted the same; all the time that I have been reigning, there have been everywhere inspectors|| over the women, sanctuaries, travelling pilgrims (?), traders (or trade, markets), and parks for walking, in order to attend to the interests of my people,* and in all respects I further the interests of my people;† and whatever I declare, or whatever the Mahāmātra shall declare, shall be referred to the Council for decision. Thus shall reports be made to me. This have I everywhere and in every place commanded, for to me there is not satisfaction in the pursuit of worldly affairs; the most worthy pursuit is the prosperity of the whole world. My whole endeavour is to be blameless towards all creatures, to make them happy here below, and enable them hereafter to attain *Svarga*. With this view this moral edict has been written: may it long endure; and may my sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons after me also labour for the universal good; but this is difficult without extreme exertion."‡

The XIth edict reads thus :—

Devānāmpriyo Piyadasi rājā evaṃ āha nāsti etārisaṃ dānaṃ yārisaṃ dharmadānaṃ dharmaśastavo vā dharmasamvibhāgo vā dharmasambadho vā *tata idam bhavati dāsabhatakamhi samyapatipatī mātari pitari sādhususūṣā mitasamstutāntikānaṃ bāmhapaśamaṇānaṃ sādhubudānaṃ †pāpānaṃ anārambho sādhu eta vatavyaṃ pitā va putena va bhātā va mitasamstutāntikena va āvapaṭivesiyehi ida sādhu ida katavya *so tāthā karu ilokachassa ārādho-hoti paratacha amnāntam punṇāṃ bhavati tena dharmadānenam.‡

As revised by Dr. Kern, this reads :—

Devānāmpriyo Piyadasi rāja evaṃ āha: nāsti etārisaṃ dānaṃ yārisaṃ dharmadānaṃ dharmaśastavo vā dharmasamvibhāgo vā dharmasambandho vā; *tata idam bhavati: dāsabhatakamhi samyapatipatī, mātari pitari sādhususūṣā, mitasamstutāntikānaṃ bāmhapaśamaṇānaṃ sād-

dhudānaṃ, †pāpānaṃ anārambho. Sādhu eta vatavyaṃ pitā vā putena vā bhātā vā mitasamstutāntikena vā (y)āvapaṭivesiyehi; idam sādhu idam katavyam. * So tāthā katā ilokasa-cha ārādho hoti, paratacha amnāntam punṇāṃ bhavati tena dharmadānenam.

In Sanskrit :—

Devānāmpriya Priyadarśi rājāivam āha, nāsti etādrisam dānaṃ yādrisam, dharmadānaṃ dharmaśastavo vā dharmasamvibhāgo vā dharmasambandho vā; tatredam bhavati; dāsabhṛitakeshu samyakpratipattir, mātāpitros sādhusūśrūṣhā mitrasamstutānām brāhmaṇaśramaṇānām sādhubudānaṃ, jivānām anārambhaḥ. Sādhu etad vaktavyam pitrā vā putreṇa vā bhṛātṛā vā mitrasamstutājñātibhir vā, yāvatpratiśeyaiḥ; idam sādhu; idam kartavyam. So tāthākartehalokasyachārādhi bhavati, paratrachānantam puṇyam bhavati tena dharmadānenam.

Translation of No. XI.

King Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus :—There is no charity which equals right charity, or right conversation, or right liberality, or right relation. Under that is comprehended proper treatment of servants and subordinates, sincere obedience to father and mother, sincere charity towards friends and acquaintances, Brāhmaṇs and monks, the sparing of animal life. This is to be commended as good, whether by fathers or by sons, by brothers, by friends, acquaintances and relatives, nay, even by neighbours; thus it is good; thus must men act. He who acts thus makes this world a friend to him, and hereafter a man obtains for himself an imperishable reward through all that true charity.

No. IX. of Gīrnār reads thus :—

Devānāmpriyo Piyadasi rāja eva āha asti jano uchāvacham maṅgalaṃ karote ābādhesu vā *avāhāvivāhesu vā putalābbhesu vā pavāsamhi vā etamhicha aṇamhicha jano uchāvacham maṅgalaṃ karote *eta tu mahādāyo bahukaṃcha bahuvīdhamhicha chbudamhicha niratamhicha maṅgalaṃ karote ta katavyameva tu maṅgalaṃ apaphalaṃ tu kho *etārisam maṅgalaṃ ayaṃ tu mahāphale maṅgalē ya dharmamaṅgale tata dāsabhatakamhi samyapatipatī gurānaṃ apachiti sādhu *pānesu sayame

|| As the sheriffs were appointed by Aśoka, not at the beginning of his reign, but in the eleventh year after his ascension to the throne, as we learn from No. V. of Gīrnār, so they do not belong to the above-mentioned magistrates.

† The Dhauḷi redaction reads—"All the time that I have been reigning, the inspectors over, &c. have had to communicate to me the interests of the people."

* Thus far Kern, ut sup. pp. 75, 76.

† Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* II. p. 268, note 1; and Mrs. Spiers's *Life in Anc. India*, p. 236. Burnouf (*Lotus de la Bonne Loi*, p. 654) translates the last sentence, "mais cela est difficile à faire si ce n'est par un héroïsme supérieur."

‡ The new readings are :—In line 2 *bhatakamhi* for *bhatakami*; *samstuta* for *sastuta*; and *samaṇānaṃ* for *samaṇāna*. In line 3 *anārambho* for *anārabho*, and *samstutā* for *sastuta*. In line 4 *so tāthā karu* (or *karū*) for *so tāthā kata*.

sādhū bamaṇasamaṇānaṁ sādhubānaṁ etācha añecha etārisaṁ dhammamāṇalaṁ nāma ta vata-vyaṁ pitā vā *putena vā bhātā vā svāmikena vā idaṁ sādhu idaṁ katavya maṇalaṁ āva tasa athasa nistānāya asticha pāvutaṁ ⁷ sādhubānaṁ iti na tu etārisaṁ asti dānaṁ vā anagaho vā yārisaṁ dhammadānaṁ vā dhammanugaho va ta tu kho mitena vā suhodayena ⁸ ūatikena vā sahāyana vā ovāditavyaṁ tamhi-tamhi pakarāpe idaṁ kacham idaṁ sādha imini saka . . . ⁹ svagaṁ ārādhetu iti kācha imini katavyatarāṁ yathā svagārādhī. §

Professor Kern's amended text and translations are as follows :—

¹ Devānampīyo Piyadasi rājā evaṁ āha : asti jano uccāhāvacham maṇalaṁ karote ābādhesu vā ² āvāhāvāhesu vā putalābhesu vā pavāsamhi vā ; etamhicha añamhicha jano uccāhāvacham maṇalaṁ karote. ³ Eta tu mahādāyo bahukaṁhcha bahuvīdāṁhcha chhudanīcha nirathamhcha maṇalaṁ karote. Ta katavyameva tu maṇalaṁ apaphalaṁ tu kho ⁴ etārisaṁ maṇalaṁ ; ayam tu mahāphalaṁ ya dhammamāṇalaṁ ; tateta ; dāsabhatakamhi samyapapatti, gurūnaṁ apachiti sādhu, ⁵ paṇesu sayamo sādhu, bamaṇasamaṇānaṁ sādhubānaṁ. Etācha añecha dhammamāṇalaṁ nāma ; ta vata-vyaṁ pitā vā ⁶ putena vā bhātā vā svāmikena vā ; idaṁ sādhu ; idaṁ katavyaṁ maṇalaṁ (y)āva tasa athasa nistānāya. Asticha pāvutaṁ ⁷ sādhubānaṁ iti ; na tu etārisaṁ asti dānaṁ vā anagaho vā yārisaṁ dhammadānaṁ vā dhammanugahovā. Ta tu kho mitena vā suhodayena, ⁸ ūatikena vā, sahāyena vā ovāditavyaṁ tamhi-tamhi pakarāpe : idaṁ kacham, idaṁ sādhu iti. Imāni saka-(lāni karonto) ⁹ svagaṁ ārādhetu iti kāchani (?) imāni katavyatarāṁ yathā svagārādhī.

In Sanskrit :—

Devānampriya Priyadarśi rājāivam āha : asti jana uccāhāvacham maṇalaṁ kuruta ābādhesu vāvāhāvāhesu vā putalābhesu vā pravāse vā. Etasmimśchānyasminścha jana uccāhāvacham maṇalaṁ kurute. Eta tu mahāmūḍho bahukaṁhcha bahuvīdhaṁhcha kshudraṁhcha nirarthaṁhcha maṇalaṁ kurute. Tat kartavyam eva tu maṇalaṁ ; alpaphalaṁ tu khalv etādriṣam maṇalaṁ, idaṁ tu mahāphalaṁ maṇalam yad dhammamāṇalaṁ ; tatraitat : dāsabhṛitakeṣhu samyakprati-pattir, gurūnām apachitis sādhu, jīveshu samyamas sādhu brāhmaṇaśramaṇebhyas sādhubānaṁ. Etachchānyachchaitādrīṣam dhammamāṇalaṁ nāma ; tad vaktavyam pitrā vā putreṇā vā bhṛatrā vā svāmīnā vā : idaṁ sādhu, idaṁ kartavyam maṇ-

galaṁ yāvat tasyārthasya nishṭhāyāḥ. Asticha prāguktaṁ "sādhubānaṁ" iti ; na tvetādriṣam asti dānaṁ vānugraho vā, yādriṣam dhammadānaṁ vā dhammanugraho vā. Tat tu khalu mitreṇā vā suhṛdayena, jñātina vā, sahāyena vāvavāditavyaṁ tasmimstasmin prakaraṇe ; idaṁ kartavyam, idaṁ sādhu. Imāni sakalāni kurvānt svargam ārādheteti kṛtyānimāni kuryāttarāṁ yathā svar-gārādhī.

Translation of No. IX.

King Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus :—It is a fact that men do all kinds of things which are thought to assure luck, as well in sicknesses as at betrothals and marriages, at the getting of children, or at going from home. On these and other occasions men do all kinds of things which are thought to bring prosperity. But he is a great fool who does all those manifold, multifarious, vain and useless things. This, however, does not indeed remove the necessity of a man's doing something which will bring prosperity,|| but such a kind as has been named is of little use, while of great use is true piety. To that belongs proper treatment of servants and subordinates, sincere reverence for elders and masters, sincere self-restraint towards living beings, sincere charity to Brāhmins and monks. These and other such like actions—that is called true piety. Every man must hold that forth to others, whether he is a father, or a son, a brother, a lord ; this is noble ; this must a man do as something that assures luck, until his aim has been fully attained. Mention was made just now of "sincere charity;" now there is no charity, no affection to be compared to charity or affection springing from true piety. It is just this which a well-meaning friend, relative, or companion must, at every occurring opportunity, impress on another, that this is duty, this is proper. By doing all this, a man can merit heaven ; therefore let him who wishes to gain heaven for himself fulfil, above all things, these his duties.

No. X. reads thus :—

¹ Devānampīyo Piyadasi rājā yaso va kiti(ṁ) va na mahāthāvahā maṇate añata tadāptano dighāyacha me jano, ² dhammasusūṁhā susūsatām dhammav-

himself erased it. L. 4, gurūnaṁ for gujunāṁ. L. 6, svāmikena for svāmikena.

|| If the reading of Kapardigiri Katavo amanigala is not a mistake, caused by carelessness, for añamāṇalaṁ, the writer of Kapardigiri has not understood the meaning. Dhauḥ is unintelligible.

§ The new readings here are :—Line 2, vīdhesu for vīdhesu, and etamhi for etamhi. L. 3, chhudanīcha for chhudanīcha. L. 4, tata for tateta. There is a trace of a λ, or perhaps rather κ ; but it appears as if the sculptor had

tanicha anuvīdhiyātām etakāya Devānāmpiyo Piyadasi rājā yaso va kiti va ichhati, ² ya tu kichi parākamate Devānān Piyadasi rājā ta savan paratikāya kiṁti sakale apaparisāve asa esa tu parisave ya apunūān, ⁴ dūkarān tu kho etaṁ chhudakena vā janena usaṭena vā añāta agena parākamena savan parichajiptā eta tu kho usaṭena dūkarān.¶

Prof. Kern's revised text and translations are:—

¹ Devānāmpiyo Piyadasi rājā yaso vā kiti(ṁ) vā na mahāthāvahā māñata añāta tadāptane dighāyacha me jano, ² dhammasusāsān susāsātān dhammavutañcha anuvīdhiyātām. Etakāya Devānāmpiyo Piyadasi rājā yaso vā kitiṁ vā ichhati. ³ Ya tu kichi parākamate Devānāmpiyo Piyadasi rājā ta savan paratikāya; kiṁti? sakalo apaparisavo asa; esa tu parisavo ya apunūān. ⁴ Dūkarān tu kho etaṁ chhudakena vā janena, usaṭena vā, añāta agena parākamena savan parichajiptā. Eta tu kho usaṭena dūkarān.

In Sanskrit:—

¹ Devānāmpriyaḥ Priyadarśi rājā yaso vā kīrtiṁ vā na mahārthāvaham, amāṁsyata, yadi na tatādve dīrghāyacha tajjano dharmaśūsrūshām śūsrūsheta ² dharmoktañchānūvidhiyeta. Etāvata eva Devānāmpriyaḥ Priyadarśi rājā yaso vā kīrtiṁ vechchati. ³ Yat tu kīñchit parākramate Devānāmpriyaḥ Priyadarśi rājā, tat sarvam paratrikāya; kīmiti? sakalo pāsravas syāt. Esha tvāsravo yad apunyam. ⁴ Dushkaran tu khalv etat kshudrakena vā janenonnatena vāyatrāgryena pārakrameṇa sarvam parityajya. Etat tu khalnnatena dushkaram.

Translation of No. X.

King Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin does not deem that renown and great name bring advantage greatly, if, at the same time, his people, for the present and afterwards, were not practising right obedience, and following exhortation to virtue. In so far only, King Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin desires renown and great name. All, therefore, that king Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin strenuously strives after, is for the life hereafter, so that he may be wholly and altogether free from blemish.* Now blemish is the same as sinfulness. But such a thing is indeed difficult to anyone, whatever be he, a person of low degree or of high station, unless with the utmost exertion of power, by sacrificing everything.† But this is indeed most difficult for a person of high station.

¶ The only new readings are:—In line 1 jano for jand; in line 4, tu kho for tu kho.

* Kapardigiri has "without blemish."

† That is, by self-sacrifice and self-denial in all respects.

‡ The corrections supplied here are four:—In lines 2

¹ Savata vijitamhi Devānāmpiyasa Piyadasino raño, ² evamapi pāchamtesu yathā Chodā Pādā Satiyaputo Ketalaputo a Tamba³-pamñi, Antiyako Yonarājā, yevāpi tasa Antiyasa samipam ⁴ rājāno, savatā Devānāmpiyasa Piyadasino raño dve chikichhā katā, ⁵ manusachikichha; pasuchikichhācha; osudhānicha yāni manusopagānicha ⁶ pasopagānicha yata-yata nāsti, savatā hārāpitānicha ropāpitānicha ⁷ mūlānicha phalānicha yata-yata nāsti, savatā hārāpitānicha ropāpitānicha; ⁸ pamthesū kūpācha khanāpitā, vachhācha ropāpitā paribhogāya pasumanusānam.‡

Dr. Kern translates this literally into Sanskrit as—

Sarvatra rāshṭre Devānāmpriyasya Priyadarśino rājanas, tathaivo prātyanteshu, yathā Chodā, Pāṇḍyaḥ, Satyaputraḥ, Keralaputra ā Tāmraparṇi Antiyoko Yavanarājo, yechāpi tasya sāmanta, rājānaḥ, sarvatra Devānāmpriyasya Priyadarśino rājno dvayi chikitsā kṛitā, manushyachikitsā paśuchikitsācha; aushadhānicha yāni manushyopagānicha paśūpagañnicha yatra-yatra na santi, sarvatrā hārītānicha tadropagañnicha kārītān, mūlānicha phalānicha yatra-yatra na santi, sarvatrā hārītānicha tadropagañnicha kārītān, kūpāscha pathishu khānitā, vṛikshānāpāñnicha ropagañn kārītān paribhogāyaḥ paśumanushyāñnam.

Translation.

In the whole dominion of King Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin, as also in the adjacent countries, as Chola, Pāṇḍya, Satyaputra, Keralaputra, as far as Tāmraparṇi, the kingdom of Antiochus the Grecian king and of his neighbour kings,|| the system of caring for the sick, both of men and cattle, followed by King Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin, has been everywhere brought into practice, and at all places where useful healing herbs for men and cattle were wanting he has caused them to be brought and planted; and at all places where roots and fruits were wanting he has caused them to be brought and planted; also he has caused wells to be dug and trees to be planted, on the roads, for the benefit of men and cattle.

No. IV. on the Delhi Pillar,¶¶ reads thus:—

Devānāmpiye Piyadasi lāja hevañ āha: dvāḍasavasābhisitena me dhammalipi likhāpitā lokasa hitasukhāye. Se tañ āpahāta** tañ-tañ

and 3 ā Tamhapamñi for a Tamhapani; in line 3 rājā for rāja; and in line 4 rājāno for rājano.

§ Dhauḷi—pratibhogāya.

|| In the first place, Baktria.

¶¶ Jour. As. Soc. Beng. vol. VI. p. 580.

** Variant: apahāta, i.e. appahāta.

dhammavaddhi (m) pāpovā. Hevaṃ lokasa hitasukheti paṭavekhāmi; † athā iyaṃ nātisu, hevaṃ patyāsaṃnesu, hevaṃ apakathesu kāmākāri ‡ sukhāṃ āvahāmi, tathācha vidahāmi. Hemeva savanikāyesu paṭavekhāmi; savapāsaṃdāpi me pūjitā vividhāya pūjāya; echa yaṃ ātana § pachupagamane, se me mokhyamate. Saḍḍavīsativasābhisitena me iyaṃ dhammalipi likhāpitā.

In Sanskrit this is rendered:—

Devānāmpriyaḥ Priyadarśī rājaivam āha: dvādaśavarshābhishikṭena mayā dharmalipir lekhitā lokasya hitasukhāya. Yaḥ || tām na prahartā, tāntām dharmavṛddhim prāpnuyāt. Evaṃ lokasya hitasukham iti pratyavekṣhe; yathedamjñātishu, tathā pratyāsanneshu, tathāpakṛṣṭeshu kāmākāri sukhāṃ āvahāmi, tathācha vidadhāmi. Evameva sarvanikāyeshu pratyavekṣhe; sarvapārishadā api mayā pūjitā vividhāya pūjāya yacchedam ātmano 'bhyupagamanam tan me mukhyamatam Śaḍḍviṃśativarshābhishikṭena mayeyam dharmalipir lekhitā.

Translation of No. IV. on the Dehli Pillar.

King Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus:—Twelve years after my coronation, I caused a righteousness-edict to be written for the benefit and happiness of the public. Every one who leaves that unassailed shall obtain increase of merit in more than one respect. I direct my attention to what is useful and pleasant for the public, ¶ and take such measures as I think will further happiness, while I provide satisfaction to my nearest relatives, and to (my subjects) who are near, as well as to them who dwell far off. As much do I devote my care to all corporations; also I have honoured members of all sects with every kind of work of honour, although, at the same time, I esteem my own communion the most highly. This righteousness-edict I have caused to be written twenty-six years after my coronation.

No. II. of the Dehli pillar** reads:—

Devānāmpriye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha; saḍḍavīsativasābhisitena me iyaṃ dhammalipi likhāpitā. Lajukā me bahusu pānasatasahasu janasi āyutā; †† tesam ye abhihāle vā daṃḍe vā

atapatiye me kaṭe; kīnti? lajukā†† asvathā abhītā karmāni pavatayevum, janasa janapadasa hitasukham upadahevum, anugahine vachā§§ sukhīyanadukhīyanamjānisamti||| dhammayutenacha viyovadisamti janam janapadam; kīnti? hidatañcha pālatamcha ālādhayevūti. Lajukāpi lahamti¶¶ paṭichalitave mañ pulisānampi me chhamdanāni* paṭichalisamti. Tepi chakāni viyovadisamti; yena mām lajukā chaghamti ālādhayitave. Athāhi pajam viyatāye dhātiye nisijitu asvathe hoti "viyatā dhāti chāghati me pajam sukhāṃ palihāveti," hevaṃ mama lajukā katā janapadasa hitasukhāye, yena ete abhītā asvathā samte† avimanā karmāni pavatayevūti. Etena me lajukānam abhihāle vā daṃḍe vā atapatiye kaṭe; ichhitaviyā hi esa kiti: viyohālasamatācha siyā, daṃḍasamatācha. Āva itepicha me āvuti: baṃdhanabaddhānam munisānam tilitadaṃḍānam patavadhānam tñi divasāni me yote diṃne, nātikāvākāni, nijhapayisamti jivitāyeti, nānāsamgañcha† nijhapayitave dānam dāhamti, pālatikam upavāsam vā kachhamti. Ichhā hi me hevaṃ niludhasāpi§ kālasi pālatam ālādhayevūti, janasacha vadhati vividhe dhammachalane, sayame, dānasavibhāgeti.

Rendered into Sanskrit this becomes:—

Devānāmpriyaḥ Priyadarśī rājaivam āha: śaḍḍviṃśativarshābhishikṭena mayeyam dharmalipir lekhitā. Mahāmātrā mayā bahusu jīvaśatasahasreshu jana āyuktāḥ; tesham abhiyogo vā daṃḍo vā svalantraḥ kṛtāḥ? Kīnti? mahāmātrā āsvastā abhītāḥ karmāni pravartayeyur, janasya janapadasya hitasukham upadadhyus, sānugrahā vachā sukhākaraṇaduḥkhākaraṇam jñāsyanti dharmayuktyācha nirṇayam vadishyanti janasya janapadasya; kīnti? aīhikañcha pāratrīkañ chārādhayeyur iti. Mahāmātrā apy arhanti paricharitam mām, matpurushānam api chhandam pratyeshyanti. Te 'pi chakreshu nirṇayam vadishyanti; yena mām mahāmātrā arhanty ārādhayitum. Yathā hi prajām vyaktāyām dhātryām nisriyāśvasto bhavati: "vyaktā dhātri pratipadyate matprajāṃ sukhāṃ parirakshitum" iti, evam mayā mahāmātrāḥ kṛtā janapadasya hitasukhāya, yenaite 'bhītā āsvastāsanto 'vīmanasāḥ karmāni pravartayeyur iti. Etena mayā mahāmātrānam abhiyogo vā daṃḍo

† Variant: paṭivekhāmi; Sans. pratyavekṣhe.

‡ Perhaps for kīmakānt, kāmakānt.

§ Variant, atand.

¶ Literally: sa tām oprohartā.

¶ Hitasukham is the Latin "utile dulci."

** See Burnouf, Lotus, p. 741.

†† Perhaps for dyutā; Sans. āyutā.

†† Variants, —lajukā, lajukā, &c.

§§ Var.—vachā (or, vachhā).

||| Perhaps for jānisamti.

* Perhaps for sanipi, sānapi, and chandānāni.

† Perhaps for samtam.

‡ Perhaps for nānāsamtanva.

§ Perhaps for niladhasipi or nilapasipi.

¶¶ Var.—laghamti.

vā svatantraḥ kritaḥ. Eshtavyā hy eshā kirtir yad vyavahārasamatācha syād dāṇḍasamatācha. Yāvad ito 'picha madāvrittir yad bandhana-baddhānām manushyānām tīrtadāṇḍānām prāp-tavadhānām trayo divasā mayā yautakam dat-tam, anyūnādhikāḥ, kshapayishyanti jīvitam iti; nānāsaṅgañcha kshapayitum dānam dāsyanti pātrikam upavāsañcha karishyanti. Ichchhā hi madiyaivaṁ nirodhasyāpi kale pātriyam ārādhayeyur iti, janasyacha vardhate vividha-dharmacharaṇam saṁyamo dānasamvibhāga iti.

Translation of No. II. on the Delhi Pillar.

King Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus: Twenty-six years after my corona-tion I have caused this righteousness-edict to be written. I have appointed sheriffs over many hundred thousands of souls in the land; I have granted to them free power of instituting legal prosecution and inflicting punishment, with intent that the sheriffs undisturbed and undismayed shall discharge their functions; further the interest and the happiness of the inhabitants of town and country; take cogni-zance, with benevolence in their manner of speak-ing, of what awakens satisfaction or dissatisfaction; and with justice shall pronounce judgment among the residents in town and country, so that they may receive reward here and hereafter.

And the sheriffs must serve me, and, at the same time, they shall take cognizance of the wishes of my men. || They shall also pronounce judgment in the provinces, and therewith shall the sheriffs be pleased to satisfy me. Because, as any one who entrusts his offspring to a nurse is at rest, thinking "an efficient nurse will take care of my offspring diligently and well," so have I appointed sheriffs for the advantage and happiness of the natives, so that they, feeling themselves undisturbed and undismayed, may without reluctance prosecute their business. For this end I have committed to the sole power of the sheriffs both legal prosecution and imposition of punishment. Because it is an enviable renown (for a prince) that there is equality of law and equity of punishment. Up to the present day it has also been a steadfast custom of mine to grant to the prisoners who have been condemned to the utmost punish-ment, and have reached the time of execution,

|| It is not quite certain whether this means subordinate functionaries, or subjects in general. We may remark that the word for "men" in the widest signification is, in the

a respite of three days, no more and no less; out of consideration that they must be deprived of life, and in order to forsake every attach-ment to other things, shall they give alms, and prepare themselves for the life hereafter. For thus is my wish, that they, even in the time of imprisonment, may secure to themselves the happiness of an hereafter, and the practice of virtue in every kind of respect, self-control, and generous liberality, may increase among the people.

No. I. of the Dhauli rock inscriptions¶ reads thus:—

(Devā)nāmpiyasa (vacha)nena Tosaliyaṁ mahā-mātā nagalavi(yo)hālaka (va)ṭaviya aṁ kichhi de(khām)i haṁ nītam ichhāmiṁ kalinaṁ enaṁ paṭivedaye haṁ duvālatecha ālabhe haṁ esacha me mokhyamataduvā (le etasi aṭha)si aṁ tuphe anusathi tuphehi bahūsu pānasahasasu āyuta janame gachchacha sumusisānam save su-munise pajā mamā aṭha pajāye ichhāmi haka ka savamna sitasukhona hidalok(kika)pālalinēya y(ujevāti).

This is first corrected by Dr. Kern thus:—

Devānāmpiyasa vachanena Tosaliyaṁ mahā-mātā nagalaviyohālaka vataviyā: aṁ kichhi dekhāmi haṁ nītam ichhāmi, kālinaṁ enaṁ paṭi-vedaye haṁ, duvālatecha ālabhe haṁ; esacha me mokhyamataduvāle etasi aṭhasi aṁ tuphe anusathā. Tuphe hi bahūsu pānasahasasu āyutā jane me gachchecha sumunisānam. Save sumu-nise pajā mama; aṭha pajāya ichhāmi hakaṁ te savena hitasukhena hidalokikapālalokikāye yu-jevūti.

And translated into Sanskrit this becomes:—

Devānāmpriyasya vachanena Tosalyam mahā-mātrā nagaravyavahārakā* vaktavyāḥ: yat kiñ-chit paśyāmy ahaṁ nītam ichchhāmi, kāṛṇām enaḥ prativedaye 'haṁ; etachcha mama mu-khyamatadvāram etasminn arthe yad yūyam anuśiṣṭaḥ; yūyamhi bahushu jivasahasreshv āyuktā majjane gachchhecha sujanānām. Sarvas sujanaḥ prajā me; yathā prajāyāy ichchhāmy ahaṁ te sarveṇa hitasukhena hidalokikapālaloki-kāya yuyeyur iti.

Translation of No. I. of the Dhauli Inscriptions.

In the name of Devānāmpriya be it said to the magistrates charged with the jurisdiction of the city of Tosali. Every cause which is

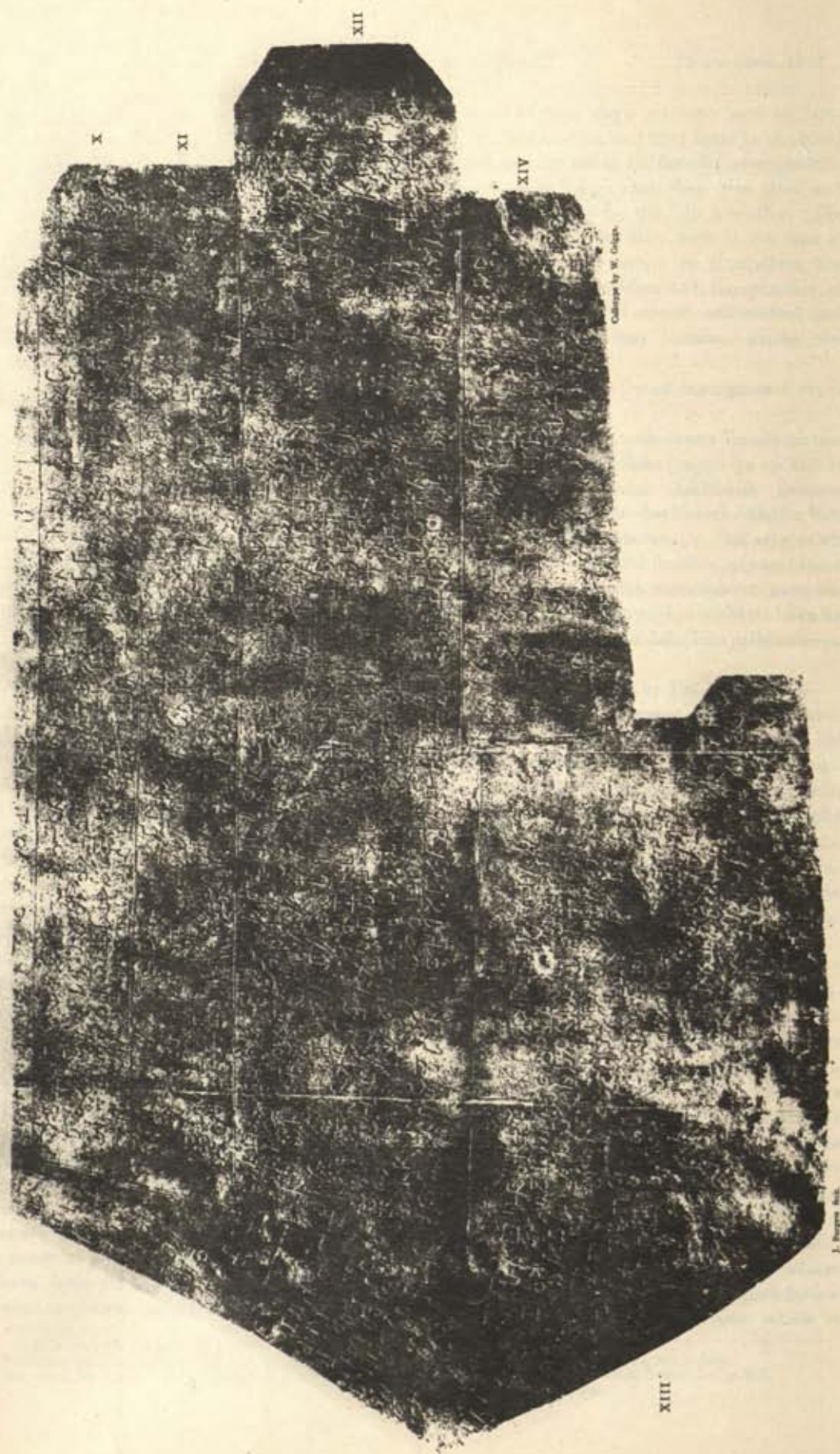
Māgadhī of the edicts, *munise*, not *police*.

¶ See Burnouf, *Lotus de la Bonne Loi*, p. 672.

* Better *vyavahārikā*.

ASOKA INSCRIPTION, EDICTS X - XIV.

Indian Antiquary.



Collected by W. G. Ogle.

J. Burgess del.

submitted to my judicial decision I wish to have investigated; I convince myself of the guilt of the perpetrators, and I act myself according to a steadfast principle.† The principle on which I place the highest value in these is communicated to you in this instruction. Because ye are placed over many thousands of souls among the people, and over the whole number of the good. Every good man is a child to me; as for a child, I wish that they‡ may be blessed with everything which is useful and pleasant for this world and hereafter.

No. XIV. of Girnar.

The last of the edicts is engraved to the right of the thirteenth, and is in five and a half lines. It reads thus:—

¹ Ayam dhammalipī Devānampriyena Piyadasinā rājā lekhāpitā asti eva ² samkhitenā asti majhamena asti vistatana nācha savan savata ghaṭitān ³ mahālakhepi vijitān bahucha likhitān likhāpāyisānchena asticha etakān ⁴ punapunavutaṁ tāsā tāsā athasā mādhurīyā kinti jano tathā paṭipajetha ⁵ tata ekadā asamātān likhitān asandesaṁ va sachhāyakāraṇaṁ va ⁶ alocheptā lipikarāparādhena va. §

Professor Kern's revised reading of the text is as follows:—

¹ Ayam dhammalipī Devānampriyena Piyadasinā rājā lekhāpitā; asti eva ² samkhitenā, asti majhamena, asti vistatana, nocha savan savata ghaṭitān; ³ mahālakamhi vijitān, bahucha likhitān likhāpāyisān . . . Asticha etakān ⁴ punapunavutaṁ tāsā tāsā athasā mādhurīyā (or mādhurātāyā); kinti? jano tathā paṭipajetha. ⁵ Tata ekadā asamātān likhitān asadisān va sachhāyakāraṇaṁ va ⁶ alocheptā lipikarāparādhena va.

In Sanskrit:—

Iyam dharmalipir Devānampriyena Priyadarśinā rājā lekhitā; asti eva samkshepato 'sti madhyamam asti vistāraṇa, nācha sarvaṁ sarvatra ghaṭitam; mahaddhi rāshṭram bahucha likhitam alilikham. Asticha, tātāt, punaḥ punaruktam, tasya tasyārthasya mādhuryāt; kimiti? janas tathā pratipadyeteti Tattad ekadāsamāptān likhitam

† *Dharma*, properly "entrance," is not only *upāya abhyupāya*, as the native lexicographers periphrase it, but also *nyāya*, "principle, fundamental element, axiom, method." Thus (e.g.) when in the *Panchatantra*, 106, 17, it is said *dharma-āśtravedendrasīmākam nirṇayā dehi*, that means "give sentence according to the principles pertaining to jurisprudence." It is true that the proper meaning of *nyāya* itself is also "entrance."

‡ "They," in the plural, on account of the plural idea in the collective "every."

§ The new readings in the estampage are:—in line 2 *savata* for *paravata*; in line 4 *kinti* for *kinti*; in line 5 *asandesaṁ* for *asadeśam*.

asadrīśam vā, sachchhāyopekshayā vā lipikarāparādhena vā.

Translation of No. XIV. of Girnar.

King Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin has caused this righteousness-edict to be written, here concisely, there in moderate compass, in a third place again at full length, so that it is not found altogether everywhere worked out; (!) for the kingdom is great, and what I have caused to be written much. Repetitions occur also, in a certain measure, on account of the sweetness of various points, in order that the people should in that way (the more willingly) receive it. If sometimes the one or other is written incompletely or not in order, it is because care has not been taken to make a good transcript||, or by the fault of the copyist (i.e. the stone-cutter).

Professor Kern thus concludes:—The edicts introduced into this treatise give an idea of what the king did for his subjects in his wide empire, which extended from Behār to Gāndhāra, from the Himālaya to the coast of Coromandel and Pāṇḍya¶. They are not unimportant for the criticism of the Buddhistic traditions, though they give us exceedingly little concerning the condition of the doctrine and its adherents. The prince went over to Buddhism in the eleventh year of his reign. He was a zealous Buddhist who concerned himself with the spiritual interest, and even with the catechism, of his co-religionists. At fitting time and place, he makes mention, in a modest and becoming manner, of the doctrine which he had embraced; but nothing of a Buddhist spirit can be discovered in his state policy. From the very beginning of his reign he was a good prince. His ordinances concerning the sparing of animal life agree much more closely with the ideas of the heretical Jains than those of the Buddhists.

Although, then, the inscriptions of Aśoka

|| Sanskrit *chhāyā* "transcript, copy," is wanting in the dictionaries; the word is well known to the pundits, and occurs also in the Bombay editions of Sanskrit dramas.

¶ In one part of No. V., which is equally corrupt in all the three redactions, he names, as the extreme (western) portions of his kingdom—in Girnar, "Yona—Kamboja"—Gandhārānam Ristika—Petenikānam; in Dhanu "Yāna—Kambocha—Gandhālesu, Laṭhika—Pitenikesu." Except the last name, this can easily be restored, in Girnar "Yona—Kamboja—Gandhārānam Ristika—Petenikānam." These names have been already explained correctly by Prof. Lassen, with perhaps the exception of the last. See *Ind. Alt.* (2nd ed.) 137 ff. II. 251.

the Humane may be only in part of direct interest for the history of Buddhism, yet the trouble bestowed upon the reading has not been lost. The Aśoka with whom we become acquainted from his own words forms a striking contrast to the caricature which is exhibited to us in the works of Buddhists and others as the image of the noble king.

[The reader unacquainted with the history of these inscriptions will get some light from papers in the *Jour. R. As. Soc.* vols. VIII. and XII. by Professor H. H. Wilson; and in *Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.*, Jan. 1850 and Jan. 1853, by the late Rev. Dr. Wilson of Bombay; Bernouf's *Lotus de la Bonne Loi*, Appendix X; Mrs. Spiers's *Life in Ancient India*; Lassen's *Alterth. Bd. II.*; &c. Much of the ingenious criticism of Dr. Kern has been omitted in the above abstract from want of room.]

A GRANT OF CHHITTARĀJADEVA, MAHĀMAṆDALEŚVARA OF THE KŌṆKAṆA.

BY G. BÜHLER.

This grant is one of the series of inscriptions from which extracts have been given by Mr. Wathen (*Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* vol. II. p. 383).

Through the kind offices of Mr. F. F. Arbutnot, Collector of Bombay, I obtained the loan of the original from the owner, Mr. Hormasji C. Ashburner, on whose land near B h ā ṇ ḍ u p it was found some forty years ago. The plates are three in number, and are connected by a very stout ring with a seal, bearing a Garuda, the cognizance of the Śilāhāras. Each plate measures $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $4\frac{1}{2}$. The first and the last are inscribed on the inner side only, and the second on both sides. They are well preserved. The characters are ancient Devanāgarī, and closely resemble those of the Mālwa inscriptions of V ā k p a t i, B h o j a, and their successors, as well as those of the later Rāshtrakūṭas or Yādavas.

The donor of this grant is Chhittarāja deva,* of the Śilāhāra or Śilāra dynasty, which derives its descent from the Vidyādhara Jīmūta vāhana, the son of Jīmūta ketu, and is sometimes called simply the Vidyādhara family.† The Vidyādhara are a race of demigods frequently mentioned in Buddhist works, and appear as the attendants of Śiva in certain legends, such as those treated in the *Vṛihatkathās* of Kshemendra and Somadeva. The progenitor of the family, Jīmūta vāhana, has, of course, no better claim to be considered a historical person than the Chuluka, from whom the Chālukyas are sometimes derived. Lassen‡ thinks that the Śilāhāras are of northern origin, as a Kāfir tribe called Silār is found in northern Kābulistān.

But, be that as it may, during the 9th and 10th centuries of our era the Śilāhāras were feudatories of the Rāshtrakūṭas of Mānyakheta, and later of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa, and held, besides the Kōṇkaṇa, considerable parts of the Dekhan, between Sattārā and Belgām.§ They were probably divided into two or more distinct lines. The *vamśāvalis* are, however, in great confusion, as the inscriptions in which they occur have been deciphered imperfectly. According to our inscription the *vamśāvali* stands as follows:—

1. Kapardi I.
2. Pulasakti.
3. Kapardi II., surnamed Laghu.
4. Ghayuvanta.
5. Jhañjha.
6. Goggi.
7. Vajjadadeva I.
8. Aparājita.
9. Vajjadadeva II.
10. Kesideva (Śaka 939).
11. Chhittarāja (Śaka 946).

The name of the fourth king is certainly wrong. For the metre requires that its first syllable should belong. Probably Vappuvanna, the reading of the facsimile|| of the grant of Kesideva (Arikesari) gives the correct form.

* Mr. Wathen's Chhinnarāja is a misreading, and Prof. Lassen's Chhinnarāja a further distortion of Mr. Wathen's mistake.

† Conf., e.g., *Vikramānka charita* VIII. 3.

‡ *Ind. Alt.* vol. IV. p. 113.

§ See Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* vol. IV. loc. cit.

|| *As. Res.* vol. I. p. 357.

It is also probable that a king has been omitted between Aparājita and Vajjaḍadeva II., or at least the real name of Aparājita has been left out; for the verse in which the names of Kesideva and Vajjaḍadeva II. occurs is mutilated. It consists of two *pādas* only, the second of which offends against the metre. Besides, a comparison with Kesideva's (Arikesari's) grant shows that there followed a good deal after v. 8, which is left out in our *śāsana*. Unfortunately the latter portion of the facsimile given in the *Asiatic Researches* and the whole of the translation are so untrustworthy as to be useless for the purpose of attempting a restoration. Like nearly all inscriptions read fifty or sixty years ago, Kesideva's grant requires re-deciphering.

The date of the grant is given as Sunday, Kārtika Śuddha 15, Śaka 948 (i.e. 1026 A.D.), and it is added that an eclipse of the sun took place on that day. It is clear that either the date must be wrong, or that instead of 'an eclipse of the sun' an 'eclipse of the moon' ought to be read. I suspect that the former is the case, and that, while the grant was made on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun, it was written on the date mentioned. A similar discrepancy occurs on the Morvi plate,* which is dated Śudi 5, when an eclipse of the sun is stated to have taken place!

The donee, Āmadevaiya, son of Vipranodamaiya, who belonged to the Chhandogāsākhā of the Sāmaveda, must have been a southerner, as the termination of his name, *aiya*, shows. The same remark applies to the ministers Sihapaiya and Nāgapaiya, and the writer of the *śāsana*, Jogapaiya.

The field which was granted to Āmadevaiya was situated in the village of Noura, now Nowohor, belonging to the *viśaya* or *tāluka* of Shatshashthi, the modern Salsette, and included in Śrīsthānaka or Thānā. The village of Gōmvaṇi is now called Gowhan, and lies a little north of Bhāṇḍūp. Gorapavali is not to be traced on the Trigonometrical Survey map, but it may be the old name of Bhāṇḍūp, which occupies nearly the place assigned to Gorapavali. It is worthy of note that the "king's highroad" (*rājapatha*), which, according to the grant, passed to the west of the piece of land granted, followed nearly the same line as the present road from Bombay to Thānā. It no doubt connected one of the many harbours of Salsette, or Bombay, with Thānā. Regarding the residence of Chhittadeva, Purī, I am only able to repeat Mr. Wathen's conjecture that it may be Gārapurī or Elephanta.†

TRANSCRIPT.

Plate I.

- (¹) ओ जयश्चाभ्युदयश्च ॥ लभते सर्वकार्येषु पूजया गणनायकः । विघ्नं निघ्नन्त वः पायादपाया-
 (²) द्रणनायकः ॥ सवः पातु सितो निखं यन्मौली भाति जाह्नवी । सुमेरुसिखरोद्रेच्छदच्छचंद्रकलोपः ‡
 (³) मा ॥ ज्योमूतकेतुतनयो नियतं दयालुर्ज्योमूतवाहन इति त्रिजगत्प्रसिद्धः । देहं निजं तृण-
 (⁴) मिवाकलयन्परायणं यो रक्षतिस्म गरुडाखलु संखचूडं ॥ तस्यान्वये नरपतिः समभूक्प-
 (⁵) दौ सीलारवंसदिलको रिपुदर्पमर्दी । तस्मादभूच्च तनयः पुलस्तिकिनामा मार्तण्डमण्ड-
 (⁶) लसमानसमिद्वधामा ॥ जातवानथ लघुः स कपर्दी सूनुरस्य सकलैररिगणैः । यद्-
 (⁷) येन सलिलाञ्जलिरुचैर्दीयते [स्म] निजराज्यसुखाय ॥ तस्मादभूच्च तनयो भुवनैकवीरः श्रीघुषुव-
 (⁸) न्त इति संगररङ्गवीरः । श्रोत्रं द्रव्यमवयस्य सुतः सुकीर्तिर्भाताय गोविन्दनृपतिः सम-
 (⁹) भूतमुमूर्तिः ॥ तस्मादिस्मयकारिहारिचरितप्रख्यातकीर्तिः सुतः श्रीमान्वज्रदेवभू-
 (¹⁰) पतिरभूच्चक्रचूडामणिः । दौर्दण्डैकबलस्य यस्य सहसा संग्रामरंगांगणे
 (¹¹) राज्यश्रीः स्वयमेव वक्षति रतिं चक्रे मुरारेरिव ॥ जयन्त इव वृत्रारः पुरारे-
 (¹²) रिव घण्मुखः । ततः श्रीमानभूत्पुत्रः सचरित्रोपराजितः ॥ कर्णस्थ्यागेन यः
 (¹³) साक्षात्सत्येन च युधिष्ठिरः । प्रतापादीप्तिमार्तण्डः कालदण्डश्च यो द्विषां ॥

* Ind. Ant. vol. II. p. 258.

† Possibly Rājpurī.—Ed.

‡ Line 2, read सितो-सिखर°. L. 4, read संखचूडे. L. 5, read

श्रीलारवंश°. L. 7, read रुचैर्दीयतेस्म नि° with facsimile in As. Res. vol. I. p. 313; perhaps वपुवन् or वपुवन्त for वपुवन्तः compare facsimile As. Res. loc. cit. L. 8, read भाता°.

- (¹⁴) तस्मादभूद्वज्रदेवनामा ततोयजः श्रीकोसिदेवश्च । तद्भ्रातृ-
 (¹⁵) जो वज्रदेवसूनुः श्रीच्छित्तराजो नृपतिर्वभूव । शीलारवंसः शिशुना-⁵

Plate II.A.

- (¹) पि येन नीतः परामुन्नतिमुन्नतेन ॥ अतः स्वकीयपुण्योदयात्समधिगताशेषपंचमहा-
 (²) शब्दमहासामन्ताधिपतितगरपुरपरमेश्वरसिलाहारनरैद्रजीमूतवाहना-[¶]
 (³) न्वयप्रसूतसुवर्णगरूढध्वजसहजविद्याधरत्यागजगज्ज्ञामिण्डलिकशिखा-
 (⁴) मणिसरणागतवज्रपंजरप्रभृतिसमस्तराजावलीसमलंकृतमहामण्डलेश्वरश्री-
 (⁵) मच्छित्तराजदेवनिजभुजोपाज्जितानेकमण्डलसमेतं पुरीप्रमुखश्चतुर्दशग्राम-
 (⁶) सतीसमन्वितं समग्रकौकणभुवं सगनुशासति तच्चैतद्राज्यचिन्ताभारमुद्वहत्सु सर्वाधिका-
 (⁷) रिश्रीनागणैयसाधिविग्रहिकश्रीसीहपैयकर्णाटशाधिविग्रहिकश्रीकपर्दिश्रीकरणा-
 (⁸) दिपंचप्रधानेषु सत्सु अस्मिन् काले प्रवर्तमाने स च महामण्डलेश्वरश्रीमच्छित्त-
 (⁹) राजदेवः सर्वानेव स्वसंवध्यमानकानन्यापि समागामिराजपुत्रमंत्रिपुरोहि-
 (¹⁰) तामात्यप्रधानाप्रधाननैयोगिकांस्तथा राष्ट्रपतिविषयपतिनगरपतिग्रामप-
 (¹¹) तिनियुक्तानियुक्तराजपुरुषजनपदांस्तथा हंयमननगरपौरत्रिवर्गप्रभृतींश्च
 (¹²) प्रणतिपूजासत्कारसमादेशैः संदिशयस्तु वः संविदितं यथा ॥ चला विभूतिः
 (¹³) क्षणभंगं यौवनं । कृतान्तदन्तान्तरवर्ति जीवितं ॥ संसारः सहजजरामरणसाधार-
 (¹⁴) णं शरीरकं । पवनचलितकमलिनीदलगतजललवतरलतरेव चायुषी इति मत्वा
 (¹⁵) द्रढयन्ति दानफलं । तथा चोक्तं भगवता व्यासेन ॥ अग्रेरपयं प्रथमं सुवर्णं भूवैष्ण-

Plate II.B.

- (¹) वी सूर्यसुताश्च गावः । लोकत्रयन्तेन भवेद्वि दत्तं यः कांचनं गां च महीं च दद्यात् ॥ इति धर्माधि-
 (²) र्मविचारचारुचिरन्तनमुनिवचनान्यवधार्य मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च श्रेयसोर्धिना मया सक-^{*}
 (³) नृपकालातीतसंवत्सरसतेषु नवसु अष्टचत्वारिंशदधिकेषु क्षयसंवत्सरान्तर्गतका-
 (⁴) र्तिकसुदृढपंचदस्यां यत्रांकतोपि संवत् ९४८ कार्तिकसुदृढ १५ रवौ संजातो आदित्य-
 (⁵) ग्रहणपूर्वर्षणि सुतीर्थे स्नात्वा गगनैकचक्रचूडामणये कमलिनीकामुकाये भगव-
 (⁶) ते सवित्रे नानाविधकुसुमश्लाघ्यमर्थ्य दत्वा सकलसुरासुरगुरुवैलोक्यस्वामिनं भ-
 (⁷) गवन्तमुमापतिमभ्यर्च्य यजनयाजनाध्ययनाध्यापनादिषट्कर्मनिरताय क्रतुक्रिया-
 (⁸) काण्डसौण्डाय पारासरगोत्राय च्छंदोगशाखिने महाब्राह्मणाय आमदेवैया-
 (⁹) य विप्रनोडमैयसुताय यजनयाजनाध्ययनाध्यापनादिषट्कर्मकरणाय आगता-
 (¹⁰) भ्यागतनिस्रनैमित्तिकसम्प्यवहारार्थं बलिं चरुकवैस्वदेवाग्निहोत्रक्रुक्रिया-
 (¹¹) द्युपसर्पणार्थं स्वपरिग्रहपोषणार्थं च श्रीस्यानकाभ्यन्तरषट्प्रीविषयान्तःपाति-
 (¹²) नोउरग्रामान्तर्वर्ति वोडणिभट्टक्षेत्रं यस्य चाघाटनानि पूर्वतःगोवणिमर्यादा दक्षि-
 (¹³) णतःगोरपवलीमर्यादा पश्चिमतो राजपटःपूर्वोत्तरतो गोवणि-
 (¹⁴) मर्यादा एवं चतुराघाटनोपलक्षितं ससीमापर्यन्तं समस्तोत्पत्तिसंयुक्तं
 (¹⁵) अचाटभट्टप्रवेसं अनादेशं अनासेधं उदकातिस्वर्गेण नमस्यावृत्त्या परमया भ-

§ L. 15, read शिशुना.

¶ Line 2, read शिला. L. 3, read माण्डलिक. L. 4, read शरणा. L. 5, read राजदेवः—समेताः; प्रमुखः. L. 6, read शती. L. 7, read साधिवि. L. 12, read समादेशैः. L. 13, read संसारः. L. 14, read तरलतरेव.

* Line 2, read सक. I. 3, read शतेषु. L. 4, read सुदृ. संजाते. L. 5, read कामुकाय. L. 8, read सौण्डाय; पारा-शर. L. 10, read वैश्वदेव. L. 12, possibly चोडणिभट्ट. L. 15, read प्रवेस्य; अनादेशं उदकातिसर्गेण.

Plate III.

- (¹) कथा प्रतिपादितं । तदस्य सान्त्वयवधोरपि भुञ्जते भोजयते वा कृषतः कर्षयते वा
 (²) न केनापि परिपन्थना करणीया ॥ यत उक्तमेव महामुनिभिः बहुभिर्वसुधा भु-
 (³) क्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः ॥ यस्यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्यतस्य तदा फलं ॥ दत्त्वा भूमिं भाविनः
 (⁴) पार्थिवेन्द्राभूयोभूयो याचते रामभद्रः । सामान्योऽयं धर्मसेतुर्नृपाणां कालेकाले पालनी-
 (⁵) यो भवद्भिः ॥ इति महर्षिवचनान्यवधार्य सर्वैरपि समागामिभिर्भूपालैः पालनध-
 (⁶) र्मफललोभ एव कलनीयः । न पुनस्तलोपनपापकलंकाप्रेतरेण केनापि भवितव्यं ॥
 (⁷) यस्त्वेवमभ्यत्यितोपि लोभादज्ञानतिमिरपटलावृतमतिराच्छिन्नादाच्छिद्यमानमनु-
 (⁸) मोदेत वा स पञ्चभिरपि पातकैरुपपातकैश्च लिप्तौ रौरवमहारौरवांधतामिन्वा-
 (⁹) दिनरकांश्चिरमनुभविष्यति । तथा चोक्तं व्यासेन ॥ स्वदत्तां परदत्तांवा यो हेरत वसुं-
 (¹⁰) धरां । स विद्यायां कृमिर्भूत्वा कृमिभिः सह पच्यते ॥ यया चैतदेवं तथा शासनदाता
 (¹¹) लेखकहस्तेन स्वमतमारोपयति । यथा मतं मम महामण्डलेश्वरश्रीच्छित्तराजदेवस्य म-
 (¹²) हामण्डलेश्वरश्रीमद्वज्रडदेवराजसूनोर्यदत्र शासने लिखितं ॥ लिखितं चैतन्मया
 (¹³) श्रीमद्राजानुज्ञया भाण्डागारसेनजोगपैयेन भाण्डागारसेनमहाकविश्रीनाग-
 (¹⁴) लैयभ्रातृसुतेन यदत्रोनाक्षरमधिकाक्षरम्वा तत्सर्वं प्रमाणमिति ॥ श्रीर्भवतु

Translation.

1. May that Leader of the Ganas protect you from misfortune who destroys obstacles, and who by means of worship receives consideration in all undertakings.†

2. May that Śiva protect you on whose head Gangā glitters, resembling the brilliant crescent of the new moon when it rises over Sumera's crest.§

3. The ever-compassionate son of Jimūtaketu, Jimūtavāhana, is famed in the three worlds, who, valuing his own body not more than a straw for another's sake, saved, indeed, Śaṅkha-chūḍa from Garuḍa.||

4. Among his descendants arose Kapardī, an ornament of the Śilāra race, who destroyed the pride of his enemies; and from him sprang a son, called Puṣṭakṛti, whose blazing splendour equalled that of the sun.¶

5. Then a son was born to him, that Laghu

Kapardī out of fear of whom all his enemies offered libations of water for the welfare of their kingdoms.**

6. His son was the illustrious Ghayuvanta, (called also) Bhuvanaikavira, a hero on the battle-field. His famous son was the illustrious Jhañjha; next his brother the beautiful Goggi became king.††

7. From him sprang a son famed for his astounding and enchanting deeds, the illustrious prince Vajjaḍadeva, a chief of kings. Royal Fortune, suddenly approaching him of her own accord on the battle-field, took delight (in resting) on the bosom of that (prince), whose only force was his strong arm, as (if he were) Murāri.‡‡

8. As Jayanta sprang from (Indra) Vṛitra's foe, and six-facea (Kumāra) from (Śiva) the foe of Pura, so an illustrious, virtuous son, (named) Aparājita, was born to him,

† Line 1, read सान्त्वयवधोर. L. 5, read भूपालैः. L. 7, read भयित्यतो. L. 8, read लिप्ते.

‡ The verse contains a *yamaka*, which obscures its meaning. The syllables *ganandayaka* at the end of the first half-verse must be dissolved into *ganandā* and *yakaḥ*. The latter is the relative pronoun *yaḥ* with infix *ak*, which may be inserted before the terminations of all pronouns. Metro *anushṭubh*.

§ Metro *anushṭubh*.

|| The story of Jimūtavāhana, who saved the Naga Śaṅkha-chūḍa from Garuḍa by allowing himself

to be torn in the victim's place, forms the subject of the *Nāgānandāṇḍaka*, which see. Vide Ind. Ant. vol. I. p. 147. Metro *vasantatilaka*.

¶ Metro *vasantatilaka*.

** Metro *śṛṅgātā*. 'Laghu Kapardī' means 'Kapardī junior.'

†† Metro *vasantatilaka*. Regarding the correct form of the name Ghayuvanta see above. Bhuvanaikavira may be taken also as a simple epithet, and be translated by 'the only hero in the world.'

‡‡ V. 7. Metro *sardūlavikṛtita*. Lakshmi (Fortune) is the wife of Viṣṇu (Murāri).

9. Who in liberality resembled Karṇa, in truthfulness Yudhishtira, who, a brilliant sun in valour, (*destroyed*) like Yama's staff his enemies. §

10. From him sprang one who was called Vajjadadeva, and then (*followed*) the (*latter's*) elder brother, the illustrious Kesideva. ||

11. Next his nephew, the illustrious Chhittarāja, the son of Vajjadadeva, became king.

When an infant, that great (*prince*) already raised the Śilāra race to its highest elevation. ¶

Therefore, while the great provincial ruler, the illustrious Chhittarājadeva, who in reward of his own spiritual merit has obtained all the five great titles, who is the great lord of the Sāmantas, and the ruler of the town of Tagara,* who is born in (*the race of*) the Śilāhara kings, the descendants of Jīmūtavāhana,—who carries on his banner a golden Garuḍa,† whose liberality, natural to (*him as to*) a Vidhyādharma, surpasses the world,‡ who is chief among the provincial chiefs, who protects suppliants like an adamant cage, and so forth, and who is made illustrious by the whole succession of kings,—rules over the whole Koṅkaṇa country, containing 1,400 villages, chief of which is Purī, as well as over various provinces conquered by his own arm,—while the chief five officers of the state, the prime minister, the illustrious Nāga-paiya; the minister for peace and war, the illustrious Siha-paiya; the minister of peace and war (in) Kāṇarā, the illustrious Kapardī; the (chief) secretary, §§ and others who bore the weight of the cares of that kingdom || were in existence;—at this time the great provincial chief, the illustrious Chhittarājadeva addresses with salutations, worship, and respect all

the assembled men of royal caste, ministers, Purohitas, councillors, chief and minor officials, whether connected with himself or strangers, as well as the lords of rāshṭras (zillās), the lords of viśhayas (tālūks), the lords of towns, the lords of villages, officials and non-official persons, servants of the king, and rayats, likewise the citizens of the town of Haṁyamana, belonging to the three (twice-born) castes and others, as follows:—

“Be it known to you that knowing prosperity to be uncertain, youth to last for a short time only, life to be lying in the jaws of death, the body to be subject to decay and death that are natural in this world, and health, to be exceedingly unstable like the water-drop that hangs on a wind-moved lotus-leaf, having considered the sayings of ancient munis which are beautiful through their distinguishing between merit and demerit and which affirm the meritoriousness of gifts, such as the text of the divine Vyāsa, “Gold is the firstborn of Fire, from Viṣṇu sprang the Earth, cows are the children of the Sun; he who gives gold, a cow, and land has given the three worlds,” being desirous (*to promote*) my own and my parents' welfare,—having bathed at an excellent tīrtha on a Sunday, the 15th day of the bright half of Kārtika of the Kāhaya year (*of the Bṛhaspati cycle*), after nine hundred and forty-eight years of the Śaka king had passed, in figures Sāmvat 948, Kārtika Suddha 15, on the day of an eclipse of the sun,—having offered an arghya ¶¶ commendable on account of various flowers to the divine Savitṛi the only ruler of the sky and the lover of the day-lotuses, and having worshipped Śiva the guru of the Suras and Asuras, the divine husband of Umā, I have given, in the attitude of a worshipper with the greatest devotion,—confirming the gift

§ 8, 9. Metre *anushtubh*. I feel somewhat doubtful about the name of this king, which alone among so many Deśī forms is pure Sanskrit. But it seems to me impossible to refer the two verses to Vajjadadeva II. mentioned in verse 10, and Aparājita is the only word which can be taken for a name. Perhaps it is a *Biruda*.

|| Metre *upajāti*. The verse consists of two pādas only, and the second pāda is deficient in one syllable and otherwise wrong.

¶ 11. Metre *upajāti*.

* I agree with Mr. Wathen in taking *Tagarapuraparamesvara* merely for a title.

† Accordingly the seal of our śāsana bears a representation of Garuḍa.

‡ The meaning attributed here to the root *śhamp* is unsupported by analogous passages. The *Pet. Dict.* gives for *śhampa* the meaning ‘a swoop, a jump,’ and for

śhampin ‘a monkey,’ i.e. ‘the jumper.’ The verb *śhamp* meant, therefore, ‘to jump.’ In favour of my rendering, ‘to surpass,’ it may be urged that other Sanskrit verbs meaning ‘to jump,’ e.g. ‘*langh*,’ have the same secondary signification.

§§ The *Petersburg Dictionary* gives for *śṛikarana* the meaning ‘a pen.’ In a great many inscriptions of the 11th and 12th centuries, e.g. the Gīrnār and Abū inscriptions of Vastupāla, it is used to denote an office or officer. Etymologically it means either ‘making or writing the word *śṛī*, or ‘a person who makes or writes the word *śṛī*.’

¶¶ is the usual heading of native letters.

|| The construction is here, as elsewhere, not strictly grammatical.

¶¶ An offering of perfumed water into which flowers have been thrown.

with a libation of water,—to the great Brahman Āmadevaiya, the son of Vipranodāmaiya, who is constantly engaged in the six (lawful) occupations (of a Brahman, viz.) sacrificing for his own sake, sacrificing for others, studying and teaching (the Vedas), and so forth; who is versed in the section (of the Vedas treating) of the performance of kratuṣ, who belongs to the Pārāśaragotra and to the Chhandogāśākhā, for the performance of the six (lawful) works, viz. sacrificing for his own sake, sacrificing for others, studying and teaching, and so forth; and for the daily and occasional entertainment of guests who have arrived in or out of season, and for defraying the expenses of bali, charu, vaiśvadeva, agnihotra, kratu, and other sacrifices, and for the maintenance of his family, the field of Voḍanibhattha up to the limits of its boundaries, and together with all its produce, which is situated in the village of Noura, included in the tālukā of Shatshashthi included in Śrī Sthānaka, the boundaries of which are on the east the frontier of Gomvāni,

on the south the frontier of Gorapavali, on the west the king's highroad, on the north-east the frontier of Gohvāni, (the same field) being not to be entered by irregular or regular soldiers, nor to be assigned (to others), nor to be attached.

"Therefore nobody is to cause any hindrance when he, his descendants and relations enjoy it, cause it to be enjoyed, cultivate it, or cause it to be cultivated.*

and as this is, accordingly the giver of the grant makes known his mind. What has been written in this grant, that agrees with my intention, (viz. that) of the great provincial ruler the illustrious Chhittarājadeva, the son of the great provincial ruler the illustrious Vajjadadevarāja. And this has been written by order of the king, by me Bhāṇḍāgarasena Jogapāya, the nephew of Bhāṇḍāgarasena Mahākavi Śrī Nāgalāya. Whatever words may be deficient in syllables, or may have syllables in excess, all have authority. May prosperity attend (all)!"

BOOK NOTICE.

THE INDIAN TRAVELS OF APOLLONIUS OF TYANA, and the Indian Embassies to Rome from the reign of Augustus to the death of Justinian. By OSMOND DE BEAUVOIR PRIAULX. (London: Quaritch.)

This book (which has been long in reaching us) is a reprint, with important additions and corrections, of several papers that appeared more than fourteen years ago in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*. Sixty-two pages, or about a fourth of the book, is devoted to Apollonius of Tyana, a Pythagorean pretender to magical powers, who flourished in the first century of the Christian era, but whose life, as it has come down to us, is founded on a journal said to have been kept by his companion Damis, an Assyrian, which was, upwards of a century after his death, presented by one of his family to the Empress Julia Domna, the wife of Septimius Severus, who worshipped Christ with Orpheus and Apollonius among his penates. The Empress gave this journal "to Philostratus, a sophist and a rhetorician, with instructions to re-write and edit it; and so re-written and edited he at length published it, but not till after the death of his patroness, the Empress," in 217 A.D. This history of the life of Apollonius, then, makes it suspicious whether the journal of Damis, if ever it existed, gives any authority to

Philostratus's work, which must be judged of by its contents. Mr. O. de Beauvoir Priaulx examines the statements it contains regarding India, and shows that they are full of the most glaring discrepancies, and mostly, if not all, exaggerations of the most absurd stories previously told by Ktesias, Arrian, Megasthenes, &c. Reviewing the whole, he considers "that Apollonius either pretended or was believed to have travelled through and made some stay in India, but that very possibly he did not visit it; and that if he did visit it Damis never accompanied him, but fabricated the journal Philostratus speaks of: for it contains some facts from books written upon India, and tales current about India which he easily collected at the great mart for Indian commodities, and resort for Indian merchants—Alexandria."

The first Indian embassy is that to Augustus, the account of which is thus given by Strabo:—"Nikolaus Damaskenus states that at Antioch Epidaphne he met with ambassadors from the Indians, who were sent to Augustus Caesar. It appeared from the letter that several persons were mentioned in it, but three only survived, whom he says he saw. The rest had died, chiefly in consequence of the length of the journey. The letter was written in Greek upon parchment (δελφον); the import of

* The portion left untranslated contains the usual admonition addressed to future kings, and the comminatory verses against resumption from the *Mahābhārata*.

† Bhāṇḍāgarasena appears to mean 'treasurer.'

** Geog. lib. XV. c. 1. § 73.

it was that Porus† was the writer; that although he was the sovereign of six hundred kings, yet that he highly esteemed the friendship of Cæsar; that he was willing to allow him a pass through his country, in whatever part he pleased, and to assist him in any undertaking that was just.

"Eight naked slaves, with girdles round their waists, and fragrant with perfumes, presented the gifts which were brought. The presents were a youth, a sort of Hermes, born without arms, whom I have seen; large snakes; a serpent ten cubits in length; a river tortoise of three cubits' length; and a partridge (P) somewhat larger than a vulture. They were accompanied by the person, it is said, who burnt himself to death at Athens. This is the practice with persons in distress, who seek escape from existing calamities, and with others in prosperous circumstances, as was the case with this man. For, as everything hitherto had succeeded with him, he thought it necessary to depart, lest some unexpected calamity should happen to him by continuing to live: with a smile, therefore, naked and perfumed, he leaped into the burning pile. On his tomb was his inscription,—'Zarmanochégas, an Indian of Bargosa, who, according to the ancestral custom of the Indians, gave himself immortality, lies here.'"[†]

This embassy is also noticed by other writers,§ though there are considerable discrepancies in the various accounts; and the author concludes from the presents, the Greek letter and its commercial tone, that it was planned and organized by Greek traders of Alexandria, and more for Greek than Hindu interests, and was probably sent by some petty rāja on the west coast at their instigation.

The second embassy is that mentioned by Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* VI. 24) as arriving about A.D. 44 from Ceylon, and which consisted of Rachias and three others sent by the king of the island to Claudius, in company with Annius Placamus, who had been driven by a gale of wind across the Arabian Sea to Taprobane. This our author, we think with scarcely sufficient reason, is inclined to regard as sent by a Tamil prince rather than by the Sinhalese king.

The remaining four embassies are barely noticed by historians. The first was to Trajan,|| A.D. 107; the second to Antoninus Pius,¶ A.D. 138-161; the third, to Julian, reached him, according to Ammianus Marcellinus,* before it was expected, A.D. 361;

and the fourth, to Justinian,†† reached Constantinople in A.D. 530. The discussion of these, and of the notices of India in Greek and Roman authors during this period, occupies the second half of the volume. Much varied reading has been brought to bear on the subject, and the examination of the statements of the various authors is of the most searching character, often tending to throw doubt on the originality of their information: even of Cosmas Indicopleustes the author doubts that he ever was in India.

"On a review of these notices of India," he remarks that "it seems: 1st, That for a century after the fall of Palmyra no important mention of India was made by any Greek or Latin writer whatever. 2ndly, That the accounts of India which then and afterwards appeared, whether in travels, geographies, histories, or poems, those in the *Topographia Christiana* excepted, were all in the main made up of extracts from the writings of previous ages, and added nothing to our knowledge of India. 3rdly, That of such writings these compilers in general preferred, not those which recorded authenticated facts,‡‡ but those which worked most upon the imagination; and they indeed heightened their effect by new matter of the same character. 4thly, That these writings gradually took rank with, and even displaced, the more critical studies of Strabo, Arrian, Ptolemy, &c. Thus the *Periegesis* of Dionysius,§§ on which Eustatius wrote a commentary, and the Geography of the anonymous writer who, so far as I know, first gave locality to Eden,||| were honoured by Latin translations, and, judging from the currency their fictions obtained, became the textbooks of after-ages. Thus, too, the *Bassarika* of Dionysius for Indian countries and towns is more frequently referred to than either Strabo or Arrian by Stephanos Byzantius; and thus the *Apollonius* of Philostratus becomes an authority for Suidas and Cedrenus, who borrow from him their accounts of the Brāhmans, to which Cedrenus adds some particulars drawn, partly from the anonymous Geography probably, partly from the Pseudo-Callisthenes, and partly from some other writer whom I am unable to identify. 5thly, That of Eastern travellers in the fourth and fifth centuries many were priests, as we may surmise from the number of Christian churches in India,

† Elsewhere Strabo (*lib. XV. c. i. § 4*) calls him "Pandion, or according to others Porus."

‡ *Σαρμανοχηγας, Ινδος απο Βαργωσης, κατα τα πατρια Ινδου, εδη, ευτρον αναθανατισας κειραι.*—Bargosa is doubtless Baragaza or Bharuch.

§ Horace, *Carmen Seculare*, xv. 55, 56; *Odes*, lib. I. 12, lib. IV. 14; Florus, *Hist. Rom.* lib. IV. c. 12; Suetonius, *Vit. August.* c. 21; Dio Cassius, *Hist. Rom.* ix. 58; Georg. Syncellus, *Byzant. Hist.* Niebuhr, 583-9; Orosius, *Hist.* VI. 12.

|| Dio Cassius, vol. I. pp. 68, 156, vol. II. p. 313, ed. Bekker.

¶ Aurelian Victor, *Epit.* xvi.

* Amm. Marcell. xxii. 7.

†† Malalas, p. 477.

‡‡ "The description of India in Ammianus Marcellinus must be excepted from this censure."

§§ Bernardus places Dionysius at the end of the third or beginning of the fourth century, the latest date assigned to him.

||| *Junioris Philosophi Descriptio totius Orbis*, § 21, in *Geog. Græc. Min.* vol. II. p. 516.

which were all subject to the Persian metropolitan, and which all received their ecclesiastical ministers from Persia, or sent them there for education and ordination; and as we gather from the frequent mention of priests in the travels of those ages. Thus the author of the Tract inscribed to Palladius, and the Theban Scholasticus, visit India in company, the one of the Bishop of Adule, and the other of a priest. And Cosmas travels on one occasion with Thomas of Edessa, after-

wards metropolitan of Persia, and with Patricius of the Abrahamic order; and in his latter years he becomes a monk, as does also Monas, who assisted him in copying the inscription on the throne of Ptolemy. 6thly, That notwithstanding the religious spirit which evidently animated the travel-writers of these times, their accounts of other and far countries are, contrary to what one might have expected, singularly silent on the subject of the religions of the people they visited."

MISCELLANEA.

CHRISTIAN LASSEN.

CHRISTIAN LASSEN, the eminent Professor of Sanskrit, died at Bonn on the 8th of May, in his 76th year, having been born at Bergen, in Norway, on the 22nd of October 1800. He studied philology at Christiania, at Heidelberg, and at Bonn, and at the latter, through Schlegel, he was won over to the study of Sanskrit. From the year 1824 to 1826 he took up his residence in London and Paris, in part at the request of Schlegel, to make collations for his edition of the *Bṛhadgāyā*, and partly also to gather materials for his own future labours. In Paris, more particularly, he occupied himself with the drama, and systems of philosophy, publishing jointly with Burnouf in 1826 the *Essai sur le Pāli*. In 1827 he graduated at Bonn on the 30th of June, producing his *Pentapotamia Indica*. After this for a few years he became a joint-worker with Schlegel, in whose house he had his home. Their joint production was the *Hitopadeśa*, published in 1829-31, the first model of a truly critical edition of a Sanskrit text. In 1830, in Schlegel's *Indische Bibliothek*, in an article on Bopp's grammatical system, he pointed out how necessary are Indian original grammars for obtaining a more thorough knowledge of the language studied. He showed the weak points of any grammatical attempt without such previous study. It was in the same year that he was appointed a professor extraordinary, with a stipend of 300 thalers, about £45 per annum, and though he soon attained a wide European reputation, he obtained no more lucrative preferment till 1840. In that year, however, he was appointed Professor of the University, and his stipend raised to 700 thalers, some hundred guineas. As his books, from their nature and probable limited circulation, were necessarily printed at his own cost, notwithstanding their great merit, his *Gymnosophista* (1832) and his *Mātarmadhava*, owing to want of means, were dropped with the publication of the first part of each. It was about this period that he devoted much earnest and careful labour to the Zend—then first opened by Burnouf to the world of

scholars,—and also, owing to an accidental circumstance, to the Persepolitan Cuneiform Inscriptions, the decipherment of which he published in 1836 simultaneously with Burnouf, and republished in a corrected and enlarged form in 1845 in the 6th volume of the *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*. The circumstance alluded to was the following. A pupil of Lassen's, who by chance had come across Klaproth's *Aperçu* and St. Martin's explanation of the Cuneiform Inscriptions contained in it, had deciphered two letters more correctly (in conformity with Mr. Bask, although at the time he was not aware of it himself). He took the book with his corrections to Lassen, in order to obtain his opinion about it. Two days afterwards Lassen returned it to him with an almost complete decipherment.

About the same time M. König, a young and enterprising publisher, made an arrangement with Lassen to issue several of his works, which had long been prepared for press, without any risk to the latter. Amongst these were the *Gitagovinda* in 1836, of which he had as early as 1824 drawn out the plan of publication in London; the *Institutiones Linguae Pracritice* in 1837; the *Anthologia Sanskrita* in 1838; the *Geschichte der Griechischen und Indo-Skythischen Könige*, also in 1838; and the second edition of Schlegel's *Bhagavadgītā*, which he completed in 1845. Besides he contributed many papers and essays to the pages of the *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* during 1837-50, such as *Ueber das Mahābhārata*, *Ueber die Sprachen der Beluchen und Brahui*, &c., and his dissertation *De Taprobane Insula*, 1842, all preliminary essays leading up to the great work of his life *Die Indische Alterthumskunde*, of which vols. I.-IV. appeared in 1847-1851. Failing health caused the work to be discontinued, though he issued revised and greatly enlarged editions of the first two volumes in 1867 and 1874.

His lectures were alternately on Sanskrit Grammar, on the elucidation of Indian writers, on Zend (since 1833, and for which purpose he had the first five chapters of the *Vendidad* printed in

1852) and Modern Persian, on Indian Archæology (since 1828, and adding since 1839 Iranian antiquity, dividing, however, the subject into two divisions since 1851), and on comparative grammar of the languages connected with Sanskrit. From his announcements in his earlier connexion with the University, he would also appear to have lectured on Old Persian and the Cuneiform Language, also on Ancient Geography, and the history of languages. From 1840 to 1852, as he had spoken the language from childhood, he had to give lessons in English, a pursuit not quite worthy his position as a University Lecturer: in these he took Shakespeare, Milton, Pope, and others as his leading subjects. His hearers could always rely upon his unwearied endeavours to promote their studies, whilst his courtesy and kindness went far in rendering their difficult study profitable and agreeable. Free from all pedantry, he was a most untiring scholar, pursuing science for its own sake with unceasing perseverance. The niggard acknowledgment of his merits by Prussia were more than counterbalanced by the high estimation in which he was held by the learned in foreign countries. He was honorary or corresponding fellow of 26 academies and learned societies. He was, in 1841, urgently invited to transfer his services to the University of Copenhagen; but, though the Prussian ministry left this great scholar at his post without prospect of increased emolument, he remained true to his colours and would not forsake Bonn.

In early life Lassen possessed a sound and most healthy constitution, and was a great pedestrian. But in early manhood already he suffered from a serious ophthalmic affection, ascribed to the unwearied collation of the Parisian Telinga MSS. of the *Rāmāyana* written on palm-leaves.

After 1840 the disease, probably owing to physical predisposition, became serious, and he consulted the most distinguished oculists and eye infirmaries in vain. The malady increased to such a degree that latterly he retained but a faint glimmer of light. For many years he might have been seen taking his daily walk on well-known roads, groping his way with a stick. Indigestion and other bodily complaints supervened, till at length the natural organs almost ceased to perform their functions. It became necessary to wheel him about in a chair, but the greater part of the day he passed lying on the sofa. However, in the summer he regularly visited some watering place, from which he always derived benefit. His speech gradually became indistinct, and this circumstance, as well as the necessity, caused by his failing sight, of committing his lecture to memory, led him, since 1860, to reduce or suspend his

lectures, till in 1864 he was absolved of that painful duty. Want of sufficient means prevented him from entering the married state till late in life, which took place in 1849, and his wife, who survives him, was Miss Wiggers, from Holstein, who, though not enjoying good health herself, was to his death a most kind and affectionate nurse, and for the last 26 years of his life they were never separated for a single day. It was indeed due to this lady's untiring care and attention that he reached the ripe age of 76. Under his constant sufferings the serenity of his mind never forsook him, and he was always of a cheerful disposition, which made him in earlier days a welcome companion, though of late, being compelled to pass a retired life, he was only visited by a few friends. He took an interest in his studies to the very last, and retained his memory with all its freshness. By one of his colleagues he was regularly made aware of every new publication relating to Indian literature or general Oriental subjects, and for some hours every day he had works read to him on Oriental subjects in German, English, and French. He was no longer able to write; his former clear and distinct handwriting having become all but illegible, but he dictated his thoughts and opinions to an amanuensis. To pursue his especial studies, and to continue his literary pursuits, had long been beyond his reach; but, when a second edition of the first two volumes of the *Indische Alterthümer* was called for, he succeeded in preparing the first one with the aid of his wife, and in the second part he was assisted by a young student, who read to him the notes previously made, together with other new books on the subject, and by Lassen's dictation the proofs were thoroughly revised and corrected. As early as 1870 he had disposed of his library, giving liberally most of the books to the University of Christiania and to his native town of Bergen, for which he retained his love to the last, whilst the others he presented to the University Library at Bonn, keeping only a few for reference.

His long-expected dissolution took place after a week's illness. He conversed for a quarter of an hour, two days previous to his death, with the colleague who made him conversant with current Indian topics; and, though the expression of his countenance showed the approach of death, he got quite animated in his reminiscences of olden times, though the same evening and the two following days he passed almost in a state of unconsciousness, and on the evening of the 8th of May he quietly fell asleep. His funeral was the last mark of respect paid to him by the University he had so faithfully served.—*Trübner's Record*.

METRICAL TRANSLATION OF THE VAIRĀGYA ŚATAKAM.

BY PROF. C. H. TAWNEY, M.A., CALCUTTA.

(Continued from page 67.)

IF song resound thy steps before,
 And Dekhan lyres behind,
 And nymphs with jingling bracelets pour
 The *chouri's* perfumed wind,
 Scorn not this world's broad easy ways,
 And drink of pleasure's bowl;
 If not—then fix thy steadfast gaze
 On that undying Soul.

Kind Fortune, seek some other love, I long
 not for thy dower;
 And what to those whose lusts are dead avails
 thy golden shower?
 Leave me to beg from day to day my dole of
 barley-meal,
 The fig's broad leaf supplies a dish that none
 would care to steal.

Once I was thou, and thou wast I,
 In perfect union blent;
 Say, what hath severed friendship's tie,
 And souls asunder rent?

Why sidelong cast thy languid eyne?
 Vain is thy hope to tangle mine,
 My nature's changed, no more a child
 With every wanton toy beguiled,
 To cloistered cell I'd fain withdraw;
 This world's bright nets I count but straw.

'Tis sweet in palaces to dwell,
 Where music's strains voluptuous swell;
 'Tis sweet to hear the loved one's voice;
 But wise men, of deliberate choice,
 Have run from these to forest glades,
 Assured all earthly pleasure fades,
 Swift as the moth in heedless game
 Puffs out the taper's feeble flame.

Are roots extinct in mountain caves? have
 streams forgot to flow?
 Do vests of bark and woodland fruits on trees no
 longer grow?
 Else why endure the haughty mien and eye-
 brows arched in scorn
 Of men who've scraped together wealth to
 which they were not born?

Say, whither are those slabs of stone
 All moist with Gangā's dew,
 And Dryad-haunted thickets flown,
 That men can bear to sue
 For alms and insults at the door of some proud
parvenu?

Mount Meru's golden mass shall melt at that
 last awful day,
 The monster-peopled seas dry up, the earth dis-
 solve away;
 What hope for feeble human frames, whose
 breath doth come and go,
 As swiftly as the elephant flaps his ear to
 and fro?

When, when, O Śiva, shall I be
 Lonely and calm, from passion free;
 My only robe the liberal air,
 My hand the dish that holds my fare;
 But able Action to uproot,
 The tree that bears Life's bitter fruit.

Suppose thy fortunes boundless as the main,
 Suppose thy years a world's great age com-
 plete,
 Suppose thy foes all placed beneath thy feet,
 And friends rewarded richly: where's thy gain?

The hermit's tattered patchwork robe, or court-
 ier's silken weeds,
 One wife to tend thy home, or troops of ele-
 phants and steeds,
 One simple meal at close of day, or many a
 gorgeous feast,
 It matters not, be but thy soul from earthly
 cares released.

My faith in Śiva wavereth not, I shrink from
 future birth,
 I care not for my friends or kin, I scorn the
 joys of earth,
 I love the lonely forest-glades, from worldly
 turmoil free,
 No greater bliss can fall to man than falleth
 unto me.

Think upon that self-developed, everlasting
 One Supreme,
 Fling aside all vain delusions, all the world-
 ling's baseless dream,
 Pity those dull slaves of custom who are caught
 with empty toys,
 Kingly crowns, and thrones imperial, and a
 round of sensual joys.

You mount to heaven, again you sink to hell,
 You roam the world around with anxious
 breast,
 And yet not e'en by chance your thought doth
 dwell
 On Him who only gives the spirit rest.

Night follows night, and day succeedeth day,
 And thoughtless men hurry to work and play,
 But sages ought to blush when treading fount,
 Year after year, the same dull weary round.

Stretched out at ease upon the ground, and
 pillowed on his arm,
 The houseless hermit sleeps in peace, secure
 from nightly harm,
 The breeze his fan, his lamp the moon, his
 canopy the sky,—
 What royal palace of this earth can such de-
 lights supply?

Feasts, flatteries, and idle hours
 Make up a prince's day,
 Let not the saint employ his powers
 To compass kingly sway :
 But quaff the ever-brimming stream
 Of pure and holy mirth ;
 Who that hath tasted bliss supreme
 Can sink to joys of earth ?

What profit are the Vedas,
 Or books of legal lore,
 Or those long-winded legends,
 Repeated o'er and o'er ?
 What gain we by our merits ?
 A dwelling in the skies—
 A miserable mansion,
 That men of sense despise.

All these are huckstering methods,—
 Give me that perfect way
 Of self-contained fruition,
 Where pain is done away.

Our life is like th' unstable wave,
 our bloom of youth decays,
 Our joys are brief as lightning-flash
 in summer's cloudy days,
 Our riches fleet as swift as thought.
 Faith in the One Supreme
 Alone will bear us o'er the gulfs
 of Being's stormy stream.

Can all this earth encloses
 Flutter the sage's breast ?
 Say, can the darting minnow
 Trouble the ocean's rest ?

I love the moon's soft beams, I love the grassy
 wood,
 I love to talk of verse among the wise and
 good,
 I love the fair one's face gleaming with angry
 tears,
 I think how fleeting all, and pleasure disap-
 pears.

Lonely among his kind,
 Breaking on alms his fast,
 Free as th' unfettered wind,
 The hermit wanders past,
 Of tattered rags his dress,
 He knows no care nor pride,
 He longs for quietness,
 And has no want beside.

My mother Earth,
 My kinsman Fire,
 Water my friend,
 And Wind my sire,
 My brother Heaven,
 A long adieu !
 By merit gained
 When linked to you
 I've purchased grace
 To break my chains,
 And merge in that
 Which all sustains.

THE ŚANKARAVIJAYA OF ĀNANDAGIRI.

BY KĀSHINĀTH TRIMBAK TELANG, M.A., LL.B.; Advocate, High Court, Bombay.

The great Vedāntist philosopher Śāṅkarāchārya has for centuries exercised such a powerful influence on Hindu society that a satisfactory account of his life and writings would undoubtedly be of the highest use and interest.* Unluckily, however, the materials for such an account are not available. The work of Mādhavāchārya on "Śāṅkara's victories," even if it could be regarded as otherwise unexceptionable, is still the work of one who lived too long after the events he describes to permit us to look on it as of much historical value.† If the earlier works to which Mādhava refers‡ could be laid hold of, we might possibly obtain something that might be more safely treated as historical. But these earlier works are not specified by Mādhava, and a vague mention of them is all that we can find in his *Śāṅkaravijaya*.

There is, however, at least one work which claims to be a biography of Śāṅkarāchārya written by one of his own immediate pupils. We allude to the *Śāṅkaravijaya* of Ānandagiri. Manuscripts of it do not appear to be very numerous, and it is accordingly not much to be wondered at, however much we may regret it, that the only edition of the work which has been printed, namely, the edition published in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, is one which we cannot help characterizing as unsatisfactory.§ Still we think that, making ample allowance for the condition in which the work appears before us, there is enough in it to enable one to judge with some confidence of the validity of the claims which it puts forward.

In his *Sketch of the Religious Sects of the Hindus*, Professor Wilson, after mentioning this work as the *Śāṅkara Digvijaya*|| of Ānandagiri, "a reputed disciple of Śāṅkara himself," proceeds to remark on it as follows:—"There is but little reason to attach any doubt to the former

[i.e. Ānandagiri's work]. Some of the marvels it records of Śāṅkara, which the author professes to have seen, may be thought to affect its credibility, if not its authenticity, and Ānandagiri must be an unblushing liar, or the book is not his own: it is, however, of little consequence, as even if the work be not that of Ānandagiri himself, it bears internal and indisputable evidence of being the composition of a period not far removed from that at which he may be supposed to have flourished, and we may therefore follow it as a very safe guide in our inquiries into the actual state of the Hindu religion about eight or nine centuries ago."¶ It is clear from this that Professor Wilson was in effect satisfied with the credentials of this work as to a certain extent historical, but he leaves open the question as to whether it was really a work of Ānandagiri himself. We propose in the present paper to draw attention to a few facts which have a bearing upon both these questions.

In the first place, then, there can be no doubt that the work claims for its author Ānandagiri or Anantānandagiri, one of the pupils of Śāṅkarāchārya himself. This appears not merely from tradition and the colophons to be found in the MSS. of the work, but also from the body of the work itself. For immediately after the invocation, we have the following bold opening:—"I, Anantānandagiri, a pupil of the venerable person whose commands are unobstructed, will describe the purpose of the advent of my preceptor into this world."** And similarly, in the closing section of the work, we read again, "Those who accept this excellent account, composed by Anantānandagiri, of the victories of his *Guru*, will be finally emancipated, there is no doubt."†† Now it is first to be noted, of these two passages, that the author

* See Preface to Dr. Burnell's *Vaṁśabrahmaṇṣa*, pp. xii. ff.—Ed.

† "In Southern India the *Śāṅkaravijaya* is attributed to Vidyaranyaśvāmin or Śāyana, but it certainly is not worthy of him." Burnell, *ut cit.* p. xx.—Ed.

‡ Vide *Śāṅkaravijaya*, I. 1 and 4. There is more on this point at the close of the article.

§ Prof. Aufrecht in his *Catalogus* (p. 252b) speaks of the Oxford copy as 'negligentissime exarata.' And see the 'Vijñāpanam' to the *Bibliotheca Indica* edition.

|| There is no trace of this title in the printed edition, or in Prof. Aufrecht's extracts from the Oxford copies. The printed copy, indeed, has in the beginning

ओम् ॥ आचार्यजयो विस्मयते; at the close of the earlier chapters and at the end of the book the word विजय is used instead of जय.

¶ Prof. Wilson's *Works*, vol. I. p. 14.

** अनन्तानन्दगिरिरहममतिहतास्य भगवतः शिष्यः स्वगुरो-रवतारमयोजने वर्णयामि (p. 1). The readings given in Aufrecht's *Catalogus* (p. 247b) are corrupt.

†† अनन्तानन्दगिरिणा गुरोर्विजयमुत्तमम् ॥ रचितं ये तु दृष्ट्वा ते मुक्तः स्युर्न संशयः (p. 281).

calls himself in both places Anantānandagiri, not simply Ānandagiri. And in connexion with this it may also be remarked, that when Ānandagiri is mentioned, as he is once, in the course of the work, he is simply mentioned in the third person—as Ānandagiri. † These circumstances combined might, perhaps, suggest a slight suspicion that Anantānandagiri and Ānandagiri were two distinct persons. But the facts that no other pupil of Śankara's bearing the former name is anywhere mentioned, that the work is by tradition ascribed to Ānandagiri, § and that the names are in substance identical, || must, I think, be held to negative such a suspicion.

Moreover this Ānandagiri is, in all probability, a different person from the Ānandagiri who is known by his commentaries on the principal *Bhāṣyas* of Śankarāchārya—namely, the *Bhāṣya* on the *Brahmasūtras*, that on the chief *Upanishads*, and that on the *Bhagavadgītā*. ¶ Professor Aufrecht leaves this question of identity undecided, saying “Utrum igitur Anantānandagiri noster idem sit cum Ānandajñānagiri, qui Sureśvara, Śankaræ discipuli, *Bṛihadāraṇyakopaniṣad* interpretatione se usum esse profitetur, an nomen illud a seræ ætatis homine usurpatum sit, in præsentia quidem in medio relinquo.”* But if we are right in identifying Ānandagiri with Anantānandagiri, Mādhaḥva may perhaps be cited against us. For in his *Śankaravijaya*, XIII. 20, we have the following words in the speech addressed to Śankara by his pupils:—“Or let this Ānandagiri (write a *Vṛitti* on your commentary on the *Brahmasūtras*), since the wife of Brahmā, pleased with his fierce austerities, gave him as a boon the ability to explain your writings according to their true intent.” Historically

interpreted, this may be probably taken to signify that, according to Mādhaḥva, Ānandagiri the pupil of Śankarāchārya was identical with Ānandagiri the commentator on Śankara's *Bhāṣyas*. I think, however, that the fact is not so. The commentator on Śankara's *Bhāṣyas* is described in the colophons to his writings as pupil of Śuddhānanda, and not as pupil of Śankarāchārya, which should have been the description if Mādhaḥva's statement, as we interpret it, had been correct. To this it may also be added that this Ānandagiri, the disciple of Śuddhānanda, has written a commentary on the *Vārttika* of Sureśvarāchārya to the *Bhāṣyas* of Śankara on the *Bṛihadāraṇyakopaniṣad*. † And in view of the events narrated by Mādhaḥva himself in his *Śankaravijaya*, in the 13th chapter, ‡ it does not seem very likely that any work of Sureśvara's should have been commented upon by any other of Śankara's pupils. Some other works by this Ānandagiri—who in the colophons to several of his works is called Ānandajñāna, and by Prof. Aufrecht also Ānandajñānagiri §§—are noticed in Dr. FitzEdward Hall's *Contributions to a Bibliography of Indian Philosophical Systems* and in Prof. Aufrecht's *Catalogus*. But the literary activity of the author of the *Śankaravijaya*—if he is to be distinguished from the Ānandagiri just mentioned—appears, as far as I am aware, to be confined to that work.

But to return to the *Śankaravijaya*. It results from what has been pointed out above that the claim which this work sets up for itself amounts to this:—that it contains a narrative written contemporaneously with, or soon after, the occurrence of the events narrated, and that the narrative is composed by one who had the best opportunity of observing what he describes. || Upon

† Vide p. 244. But Anantānandagiri is similarly mentioned twice (see pp. 19 and 257), so that this circumstance is quite immaterial.

§ The first thirty-two sections of the work close with इत्यनन्दगिरिर्ब्रूता, &c. Subsequently the form changes to इत्यानन्दगिरिर्ब्रूता, &c. For the reading of the Oxford copies, which seems to be in the latter form throughout, see Aufrecht's *Catalogus*, pp. 247b and 252b.

|| Ānandagiri is probably a mere abbreviation for Anantānandagiri. Compare, for such abbreviations, Śankara's *Bhāṣya* on *Brahmasūtra* III. 39, and Patanjali's *Mahābhāṣya* on Paṇini I. 1. 7 (p. 115).

¶ Ānandagiri's comment on the *Brahmasūtra Bhāṣya* has not been printed, except the part on the fourth pāda of the third chapter in the *Bibliotheca Indica* edition. The comments on the other two *Bhāṣyas* have been long in print.

* Prof. Aufrecht's *Catalogus*, p. 252b.

† See the extract from Prof. Aufrecht's *Catalogus* given above in the text, and also *Catalogus*, p. 390b.

‡ Relating to the abandonment by Śankara of his intention to get Sureśvara to write a *Vārttika* on his *Brahmasūtra Bhāṣya* at the instance of his other pupils, of course including Ānandagiri.

§§ Compare the extract above given and the Index of “auctorum nomina,” where some other names are also given, though the authority for saying that they are all names of one person is not stated. And as to Ānanda Tīrtha there is certainly a mistake. For that is a name not of Ānandagiri, but of Mādhaḥvāchārya. See the *Sarvadarsana-saṅgraha Pārnāprajna Darśana*, and compare Dr. Hall's *Contributions* (Index of authors' names), and Wilson's *Works*, vol. I. pp. 139, 149.

|| He was one of the four pupils in whose charge Śankara left his body on an important occasion (see *Śankaravijaya*, p. 244).

a perusal of the work itself, however, it appears to me that we have therein internal evidence militating powerfully against any such claim. In the first place, let us compare the style of controversy followed by Śāṅkara as it is exhibited in the *Śāṅkaravijaya* and as we may gather it from Śāṅkara's extant writings. The comparison, I think, may be fairly made. The controversies of Śāṅkara constitute the principal, if not the sole, subject of Ānandagiri's work. And, on the other hand, the Sanskrit philosophical style, even in written treatises, is so eminently controversial, that an argument in an ordinary work on philosophy reads much like the report of an oral discussion. Now, if we are to put faith in the report we have in the *Śāṅkaravijaya*, Śāṅkara must have indulged with only too much frequency in abuse of his opponents. The occasions are by no means few on which we find him commencing his reply to an opponent, as reported in the *Śāṅkaravijaya*, with वृद्ध ('O fool!') or some other similarly offensive epithet. On the other hand, if any inference is to be drawn from the character of Śāṅkara's writings, no portrait of Śāṅkara can be more utterly incorrect than that which the *Śāṅkaravijaya* thus exhibits to us. I do not remember more than two instances* of what could by any possibility be called even strong language in the whole of Śāṅkara's greatest work, namely, his Commentary on the *Brahmasūtras*. And in one of these instances certainly—perhaps I may say in both of them—the language is almost innocent as compared with that which the *Śāṅkaravijaya* puts into Śāṅkara's mouth. It is difficult to believe that there can be—at all events in such a case as the present—so much difference between the character of a man as seen in his writings, and his character as seen in his actions in practical life. But, furthermore, there is one point where this contrast comes out in a particularly striking manner. On one occasion, the

Śāṅkaravijaya tells us, no less a person than Vyāsa came to see Śāṅkarāchārya in the guise of an old Brāhmaṇ, and, after some conversation which is not here relevant, asked Śāṅkara to state his explanation of the first sūtra of the third chapter of the *Vedānta Sūtras*. Śāṅkara, accordingly, did state his explanation in nearly the same terms as those employed by him in his *Bhāṣya*, and Vyāsa thereupon raised a difficulty—again in much the same language as the *Pūrvapakṣa* (or the statement of the objector's view) of the *Bhāṣya*. What, now, is the sequel? Why, the very view which Śāṅkara puts forward as in the *Pūrvapakṣa*—all the while in the best of tempers, as far as we are permitted to judge from the language of the *Bhāṣya*—at once, if we are to believe the *Śāṅkaravijaya*, makes him forget common decency when stated by the old Brāhmaṇ, and stated too, be it remembered, in much the same words as he himself had employed. According to the *Śāṅkaravijaya*, as soon as the old man raises the difficulty in question, Śāṅkara at once turns upon him with वृद्धमूर्ख ('O you extremely foolish old man!'), &c. &c. The old man, however, keeps his temper in spite of this outburst, and the discussion proceeds—again in exactly the same manner, and in much the same language as in the *Bhāṣya*. But whereas in that work Śāṅkara writes calmly, like a philosopher, without using even a single objectionable expression, the end of his discussion with Vyāsa, according to the *Śāṅkaravijaya*, is a slap in the face to the poor old Brāhmaṇ, and a direction to Padmapāda to turn him out from the place where the discussion was held,—a direction not carried out, because the old Brāhmaṇ retired gracefully before it could be carried out.† It appears to me that the two portraits of Śāṅkara we thus obtain are so extremely different that the portrait given in the *Śāṅkaravijaya* must be unfaithful.‡

Now it can be said that strong language

* Vide, *inter alia*, pp. 52, 54, 60, 191, 192, 193, and sundry other places.

* The first occurs at p. 570 (*Bibl. Ind. ed.*), where Śāṅkara says to the imaginary opponent वाङ्मयीनि निरङ्कु-

श्रुत्वा चे त्वदस्य न तु युक्त्युपेतं व्रीषीति (*Anglice*, "Yes, you have said so, your tongue being unrestrained, but you have not spoken logically"). The second is at p. 1128, where we have यस्तु कैश्चित्प्रत्यते ("As to what some people talk"). There are, of course, hits at opponents here and there, but these are immaterial here, and scarcely objectionable.

What I say is that we have no Billingsgate in Śāṅkara's works, as we have in the *Śāṅkaravijaya*. And see, too, Mādhava's *Śāṅkaravijaya*, VII. 47.

† As to the latitude of error allowed to a *Pūrvapakṣa*, see the verse cited from Kumāṛila Svāmī in Goldstücker's *Pāṇini*, p. 66, note.

‡ See the *Śāṅkaravijaya*, pp. 228-31. Mādhava's account of the same occurrence may be seen at *Śāṅkaravijaya*, ch. VII. We have nothing so outrageous there as in Ānandagiri.

§ Compare also *Śāṅkaravijaya*, p. 155, with Śāṅkara's *Bhāṣya* on *Brahmasūtra* III. 1. 25; also *Śāṅkaravijaya*, p. 55, with *Bhāṣya* on II. 2. 42-46.

may well be uttered in the heat of oral controversy by one who, if he wrote in cold blood and without having before him a living opponent to vanquish, might preserve a thoroughly judicial calmness; and that there is, therefore, no necessary incompatibility between the account of the *Śaṅkaravijaya* and what may be fairly inferred from Śaṅkara's works. But this, though correct as far as it goes, does not seem to me to afford an adequate explanation. According to the *Śaṅkaravijaya*, the objectionable language of which we have given specimens was all but habitual with Śaṅkara. And it must be remembered also that where one feels earnestly, and more especially when one writes in the style in which our philosophical works are written, the imaginary opponent is not much less provoking than the real living one.

From all this it seems to me to follow that the portrait of Śaṅkara presented to our view in the *Śaṅkaravijaya* cannot have been drawn by one who knew well the author of the *Bhāṣya* on the *Brahmasūtras*. The work, therefore, cannot have been composed by a pupil of Śaṅkara, consequently not by Ānandagiri. It may, perhaps, be urged against this, that the portrait may have been drawn by a pupil unable to rise to his master's level, and incapable of understanding the master's true spirit. But such a misunderstanding does not, to my mind, furnish a sufficient explanation of all the facts. It seems to me, rather, that we should attribute the portrait to a writer living some considerable time after Śaṅkara—about that time, probably, when his true personality having been in part forgotten, and fictions and legends having gathered round his name, such a thing as the per-

secution of the Buddhists, for instance, came to be ascribed to him.]

We may now proceed to apply to this work another and, to some extent, more satisfactory test. Let us examine some of the quotations we find in the *Śaṅkaravijaya*. Now, in the first place, we have here quotations from the *Skanda Purāṇa*, the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, the *Bṛīhan-nāradya Purāṇa*, the *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, and the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*,[¶] besides some stanzas which are introduced with general expressions like "It is said in the *Purāṇas*," &c.* On Professor Wilson's view about the dates of the *Purāṇas* in general, and of the above-mentioned *Purāṇas* in particular, it clearly follows that his position as regards the *Śaṅkaravijaya* is quite untenable. For we find that the dates which he assigns to these *Purāṇas* range between the ninth and seventeenth centuries.[†] From this it necessarily follows that the work which quotes from those *Purāṇas* cannot be placed earlier than the seventeenth century,—cannot, therefore, be "the composition of a period not far removed from that at which" Ānandagiri the pupil of Śaṅkarāchārya "may be supposed to have flourished," and cannot be "a safe guide in our inquiries into the actual state of the Hindu religion about eight or nine centuries ago." These conclusions, however, depend, of course, on the correctness of Professor Wilson's view about the dates of the *Purāṇas* in question. From that view I have already ventured to express my dissent,[‡] and I must take leave to do so again. I am not satisfied with the reasons assigned by Professor Wilson for his view, and I have pointed out some facts which appear to me to militate against it.§ Although, therefore,

¶ Compare on this point Professor Wilson's *Essays on Sanskrit Literature*, vol. I. p. 24 and vol. III. p. 19. I am very strongly inclined to agree with Prof. Wilson and Rāja Rāmānāth Rāi in disbelieving the story of Śaṅkara's persecution of the Buddhists. I have personally very little doubt that a great deal has been in these days fathered upon Śaṅkara for which he really is not answerable.

* See pp. 39, 41, 46, 71, 112, 182, 254.

† p. 58. And see also pp. 73, 158, 218.

‡ See Preface to *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, *passim*. The *Mārkaṇḍeya*, according to the Professor, belongs probably to the ninth, and the *Bṛīhan-nāradya* to the seventeenth century. Prof. Aufrecht (*Catalogus* 252b) says, "Atque eos libros omnes, quos Śaṅkara laudans fingitur, tunc jam scriptos esse nobis persuasimus, ne *Bhāgavata* quidem, quo Vishṇu-bhaktas celebrantur, *Sivagītā*, *Rudrayāmala* exceptis." But the dates of these works I take to be still unsettled, and I do not think, therefore, that any such argument can be based upon the mention of them as Professor Aufrecht imagines. I have, consequently, not noticed them in the text. For a similar reason I have not referred to the quo-

tations from the *Sūryasiddhānta* (see pp. 216-7, 132) which we can trace in the current recension of that work. As to the date of the *Siddhānta* see *As. Researches*, vol. VI. p. 572; vol. VIII. p. 206; Colebrooke's *Essays* (1st ed.), vol. II. pp. 327, 349, 383, 388. Colebrooke's remarks on the subject are, as usual, sober and cautious. I may state, as to the quotations above referred to from the *Purāṇas*, that I have not cared to look them up in the works to which they are attributed, as it is unnecessary for my present purpose to do so. With regard to the quotation from the *Vishṇu Purāṇa* which is not mentioned by Professor Aufrecht, see a subsequent note.

§ See *Introduction to Bhartṛhari's Satakas* (Bombay Sansk. Class.), pp. vii, viii, and also *Introductory Essay* to my translation of the *Bhāgavata-gītā*, p. 30 and note. And compare also Bābu Rājendra Prasad Mitra's *Notices of Sanskrit MSS.*, *passim*, especially No. IX.

¶ Prof. Wilson's argument is based, to some extent, on a notion prevalent among European scholars, namely, that many of the principal dogmas of the present religion of the Hindus are of very late growth, such, for instance, as the

that he did not flourish more than two generations before Mādhavāchārya. And it therefore follows that the author of the *Śankaravijaya* cannot have lived long, if at all, before the fourteenth century after Christ, and cannot, therefore, be identical with the Ānandagiri who was one of the pupils of Śankarāchārya.

In the 47th section of the *Śankaravijaya*, containing the refutation of the *Pitrimata*, we have the following lines, quoted as from the *Adhikaraṇaratnamālā* :—

पारिवर्त्यमाख्याय किं वा विवास्तुतिस्तुते ॥ ज्यायोनुष्ठानशे-
षत्वं तेन पारिवर्त्यकः ॥†

Now the *Adhikaraṇaratnamālā*|| is traditionally known as only another name of a celebrated Mimāṃsā treatise of Mādhavāchārya—the *Jaiminiyanyāyamālavistara*, of which a beautiful edition was commenced by the late Professor Goldstücker under the auspices of the Oriental Text Society, but unfortunately not completed, in consequence of the death of that lamented scholar. The above-mentioned stanza, however, does not occur in that work—either in the portion printed, or in the remaining portion, which I have examined in MS. It is to be found in the work from which the quotation last discussed is taken, namely, the *Vyāsaadhikaraṇamālā*. It forms part of the stanzas summarizing *Brahma-sūtras* III. 4, 23, 24; so that although this passage does not carry us any further than the last, it still strengthens the conclusion based on it—namely, that the *Śankaravijaya* cannot have been composed before the fourteenth century A.C.

But now it becomes desirable to inquire about the indisputable evidence upon which Professor Wilson assigned this work to a time not far removed from that of Ānandagiri. For myself, I have failed to find any such evidence. One argument, however, on which Professor Wilson would probably have relied is contained in the following passage in his *Essay on Hindu Sects* :—“The great divisions,” he says, “of Rāmānuja and Rāmānanda, the former of which originated, we know, in the course of the 11th century, are unnoticed, and it is also worth while to observe that neither in this nor in any other portion of the *Śankaravijaya* is any

allusion made to the separate worship of Kṛiṣṇa, either in his own person or that of the infantine forms in which he is now so preëminently venerated in many parts of India, nor are the names of Rāma and Sītā, of Lakshmaṇa or Hanumān, once particularized, as enjoying any portion of distinct and specific adoration.”§ The implication here seems to be that the *Śankaravijaya* must be earlier than the 11th century. But is it necessary to suppose that the *Śankaravijaya* was written before Rāmānuja flourished, merely because Rāmānuja is not mentioned in it? Not to mention other possible explanations, it seems to me more likely that our author had before him as his authority some other work, in which no reference was made to the sect of Rāmānuja. Upon the whole, therefore, I think that the circumstance here noted does not affect the conclusions which we have already drawn, namely, that the *Śankaravijaya* is in all probability a work of the 14th century, and that consequently it cannot be a work of Ānandagiri the pupil of Śankarāchārya.

If this is so, it follows that Professor Aufrecht is not correct in saying that Mādhavāchārya, in compiling his *Śankaravijaya*, made use of Ānandagiri's work, omitting some things, transposing others, abridging here and amplifying there.|| It is true that in the commentary on the fifteenth chapter of Mādhava's *Śankaravijaya* we meet with passages, cited as from the “ancient” work to which Mādhava refers, corresponding with passages in our *Śankaravijaya*. But, in the first place, the author of that commentary—Dhanapati—lived only at the beginning of this century,¶ and his authority on such a point as the present, though not to be slighted, is not conclusive. And, what is of more importance, the passages, though coinciding in some portions, do not coincide altogether. Thus the comment on Mādhava XVI. 1, expatiating on the word ‘pupils’ in that stanza, repeats the list to be found in our *Śankaravijaya* (p. 19). And then, commenting on the text which says “he first set out for the Setu (the Bridge),” the author writes, “This, in conformity with the old work, should be explained as

† p. 221.

‡ In the *Catalogue of MSS. in the Central Provinces* (p. 108), *Jaiminiyanyāyamālavistara* and *Adhikaraṇaratnamālā* are mentioned as two distinct Mimāṃsā treatises. Dr. Bhaṭṭa Dīpi (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. IX. p. 226) speaks of two works, *Jaiminiyanyāyaratnā-*

dhikaraṇamālā and *Vedāntadhikaraṇaratnamālā*. And see Dr. Hall's *Contributions*, &c. p. 186.

§ Wilson's *Works*, vol. I. p. 17.

|| p. 260a, and compare also p. 256a, note.

¶ See Aufrecht's *Catalogus*, p. 260a.

follows:—‘ Having reached Madhyârjuna, he, desirous of conquering all the quarters, set out for the Setu.’” Then he quotes with some variants the passage in our *Śankaravijaya* commencing at p. 19 and ending on p. 20 at the words महदद्भुतमासीत्. Then follow two stanzas in our *Śankaravijaya*, which Dhanapati’s authority apparently did not contain. In the second stanza of the text Mādhava says that Śankara had a controversy with the Śāktaś, and his commentator sets out the arguments on both sides in verse. According to our author, however, the controversy here was with the Śaivas, and his report of it is in prose. The extract in the commentary on this stanza will be found to answer to Secs. 19 to 22 of our *Śankaravijaya*, and many coincidences between the two accounts are obvious. But although these coincidences are of some interest, it would take us too far afield to discuss them.* I will content myself with saying that it is just possible that our *Śankaravijaya* is itself based on the work which Dhanapati quotes; and that in all probability neither was used exclusively, if used at all, by Mādhavāchārya.† A work on Śankara’s victories is ascribed to another of Śankara’s pupils—Chidvilāsa‡—who, I take it, is identical with Chitsukha. Not having access to the work, I am unable to say whether it was really written by a pupil of Śankara’s, or whether the author was one of the “ancient poets” to whom Mādhava refers. Nevertheless, the fact that it is attributed to Chitsukha induces me to express the hope that somebody may undertake to edit and publish it.

One or two other points may be noted con-

cerning the *Śankaravijaya*, although they have, I think, little bearing on the main question here discussed. At p. 171 we find the verses अर्थमनर्थं भावम्, &c. put into Śankara’s mouth and described as आचार्योक्ति. Now these verses form part of the little poem named *Mohamudgara*, which is attributed to Śankarāchārya himself. If this tradition is correct—and there seems little reason to distrust it—we have here at least a very noteworthy mode of referring to and describing the verses in question. A similar instance occurs at p. 195, where the reference is to Śankara’s *Bhāṣhya* on the *Brahmasūtras*. We may remark that in the passage from the ancient poet cited by the commentator on Mādhava’s *Śankaravijaya* the verses अर्थमनर्थं भावम् may be likewise found cited, though not as आचार्योक्ति; while the reference to the *Śankara Bhāṣhya* is introduced there, as here, with the words, “The Āchārya has said.”§

Furthermore, it is not entirely unworthy of note that the language of the *Śankaravijaya* is not by any means correct in point of grammar. We have forms in abundance like आचरित्वा and संनिवेशयित्वा; || शृणुध्वम् ¶ occurs with not a little frequency, and the same remark* applies to the word आस. ** In one place we have तिष्ठध्वम्; †† in another सेवन्ति; ‡‡ in a third we have a sentence beginning with the word वे. §§ It is difficult to ascribe all these deviations from grammatical rules to the corruptions of the MSS. And if they are not to be so ascribed, some explanation is necessary as to how they came to find their way into the work. After much consideration I am bound to say that I cannot find any satisfactory explanation.

SILPA ŚĀSTRA.

TRANSLATED BY REV. J. F. KEARNS, TANJORE.

(Continued from p. 237.)

Trees.

“Fell trees according to the foregoing rule, but observe whether much water, or water-like

milk, oozes from the incisions: for if there be much the trees are unsuitable. Again, if the tree, when falling, makes a noise like the voice

* I may mention that some of the quotations in our *Śankaravijaya* are to be found in the extracts given by Dhanapati. That from the *Vishnu Purāṇa*, however, is not to be found there. And it is noteworthy that the *Vishnu Purāṇa* is not mentioned in Aufrecht’s list of the works quoted in our *Śankaravijaya*.

† Mādhava’s work is larger than our *Śankaravijaya*, and cannot, therefore, have been summarised from the latter. It also contains narratives of occurrences and reports of discussions for which no materials are furnished by our author.

‡ See Mackenzie’s *Collection*, vol. I. p. 99, Dr. Hall’s *Contributions*, &c. p. 168. See also Aufrecht’s *Catalogus*, p. 260b. Chitsukha is mentioned as a pupil of Śankara’s in *Śankaravijaya*, p. 19, and Mādhava, III. 6.

§ See the *Commentary* on Mādhava, Canto XV. p. 15, stanza 50, and p. 17, stanza 58.

|| p. 239.

¶ pp. 16, 103, 251.

** pp. 180, p. 185.

†† p. 162.

‡‡ p. 3.

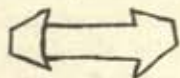
§§ p. 237.

of a tiger or elephant, it is an omen of good. If the noise resembles crying or laughing, it is an ill omen; if the tree falls with its head to the north or east, it is a good omen. The *Artocarpus integrifolia*, the Punnei (*Rottlera tinctoria* ?), the Mango, the *Bassia longifolia*, the *Eugenia Jambolana*, the *Mimusops Elengi*, the *Michelia Champaca*, the *Calotropis gigantea*, the Phansi (?), the *Ficus religiosa*, the *Ficus indica*, the *Ficus racemosa*, the *Punica granatum*, and the *Trophis aspera*—these are milk-giving trees, and their timber is soft; the timber of all other trees is called hard timber."

On Joining.

"Find the breadth of the beam; let this be the length of the connecting tie. Next ascertain the depth of the beam; one-ninth part of this should be the thickness of the connecting tie: this tie is called *kuḍumī*."*

He gave me a *kuḍumī*, and the following is a sketch of it:—



"The nails used to secure a joint should be driven through the centre when the work is for a temple; when the work is intended for dwelling-houses, &c. &c., to the right of the centre is the rule to be observed. If the nails are driven to the left of the centre, the enemies of the householder will increase, and the house will be consumed by fire.

"A joint should not fall in a line with the centre of the door; for loss of life and property is the consequence of such an arrangement. The proper place, if there must be a joint, is half-distance from the centre of the door.

"Hard timbers should be joined with hard timbers, and soft timbers with soft. When joining, the greater length should be to the right hand, and the lesser to the left of the joiner. The carpenter should be on the outside, and the *śilpan* on the inner side.

"In joining beams, if the head of one tree is joined to the head of another tree, a terrible illness will occur in the house; but if the head of a tree and the foot of a tree are joined to

form the beam, wealth and happiness will dwell in that house."

Concerning Doors.

"The timber of the *Nāval* tree is proper for doors of temples, the *Nim*† for doors of Brāhman's houses, the Teak for Kshatriyas, the *Illappa* for Vaiśyas, Cocanutt timber for Vel-lālārs.

"A door should be constructed entirely of one sort of timber. It is improper to construct it of different kinds; and the door should be hinged to the left door-post, i.e. the left looking from the outside.

"Before fixing the door-frame in its place, find the length of the house, then mark the exact centre. If the door is for a dwelling-house, it should be set up to the left of the aforesaid centre, but if for a temple the centre is the proper place."

Another rule:—"Find the length of the house-wall, divide the sum into nine parts, set off three parts to the left hand, and five parts to the right hand: the door should stand in the remaining part of the wall of the house."

Concerning Door-posts.

"Stone door-posts are proper for temples. Door-posts of *Margosa* are proper for Brāhman's, of Ebony or Teak for Kshatriyas, *Illappa* for Vaiśyas, Cocanutt and Acacia for Vellālārs.

"Door-posts should not be placed in the centre of the wall. According to the rule of the ancients, find the thickness of the wall by measure; divide this into six parts. The centre of the sixth or outer part is the proper place for the door."

Concerning setting up Doors.

"If Leo is ascending, set up the south door; if Taurus, set up the west door; if Kuvera, set up the north door; if the Moon is passing the meridian, the east door. When Leo is ascending is the proper time for placing a door in a temple of Viṣṇu. When Taurus is ascending is the proper time for placing a door in a temple of Mahādeva. When Kuvera is ascending is the proper time for setting a door in Gaṇeśa's temple. When the Moon is passing the meridian, a door may be set up for any one.

"If one determines to build a house, let him be careful to attend to the rules of the Divine

* This verse is slightly obscure, and I found it necessary to get a *śilpan* in Tanjore to explain it. According to him, natives when joining beams that are to rest on pillars or walls do not mortise them, as we do. They square both

ends as clean as possible, and the *kuḍumī* mentioned above is let into them.

† *Margosa* of the Portuguese, *Melia Azadirachta* of botanists.—ED.

Śilpan, *Myen Āchāri*, for measuring length, breadth, and thickness. Also let him enter upon residence on a propitious day, and the blessing of Lakshmi, health, long life, and happiness shall attend him."

Concerning taking up residence.

"Sunday and Tuesday are unlucky days to take up residence; Saturday, Thursday, Wednesday, and Monday are propitious days. The stars Ashvini, Chitrā, Punarvasu, Anurādhā, Viśākhā, Uttarāshādhā, Uttarā Phālgunī, and Revatī are propitious. The constellations Kambum (Aquarius) and Virasikam (Scorpio) are unlucky. The fourth, ninth, and fourteenth days of the Moon are also unlucky. Attending to these rules, take up your residence in the house.

"The ninth and the fourteenth days of the Moon, Saturdays, Fridays, the months Punguni, Auni, Purattasi, and Margali, are unlucky; if you take up residence you will be bitten by a poisonous animal. If the planet Venus is rising or setting, or if the Trident of Śiva is opposite, do not enter upon residence on those days; if you do, you will suffer great loss."

There is a good deal of this kind of matter, with which we need not trouble our readers. The author next treats of the *Mūkārthan* of the *Garbha*; but first we shall give his rule for ascertaining the character of the *Garbha*, and the individuals for whom it is fit.

"Let the *yajamana* construct a measuring rule in length equal to four of his own hand-spans. With this measure let him measure the house from east to west, and from south to north. Square the sums and divide the product by eight. If the remainder is 5, the *Garbha* is named *Suba-garbha*: success in all things will be secured to the *yajamana*. Should the remainder be 6, it is called *Kaka-garbha*: it is of a middle character, fit for outcastes to live in. Should the remainder be 1, it is called *Garuḍa-garbha*, and is fit for the four castes. Should the remainder be 3, it is called *Simba-garbha*: this is excellent. Should the remainder be 7, it is called *Geja-garbha*: great advantages befall the dweller. Should the remainder be 2, it is called *Pura-garbha*: this is fair, and is fit for hunters. Should the remainder be 4, it is called *Svān-garbha*: this is fair, but fit for *Lambāḍis* and *Koravārs*. Should the

remainder be 8, it is called *Kaluthai-garbha*: this too is fair, but the house will never be completed, and even should it, it will perish; it is a dwelling fit only for very low castes, wild beasts, peacocks, and antelopes.

Garbha Mūkārthan.

"Reject Fridays, Thursdays, Saturdays, Mondays, and Wednesdays. Also reject the eighth of the following constellations:—Uttara Phālgunī, Uttarāshādhā, Māghā (Capricornus), Punarvasu, Shetātāraka, Mriga, Rohini, Anurādhā, and Revatī. Reject also the full and the new moon, also the fourth, ninth, and fourteenth days of each half-moon; all other times are propitious for *Garbha Mūkārthan*.

"If you perform *Garbha Mūkārthan* when Pisces is declining, it will be fortunate; if when Aries and Taurus are declining, sickness will ensue: if when Gemini is declining, sorrow will be the result; if when Cancer is declining, wealth and progress will be the result; if when Virgo is declining, everything you take in hand will prosper; if when Scorpio and Sagittarius are declining, your wife will flourish, deriving excellence from numerous sons."

The author gives a rule for ascertaining certain matters connected with buildings. He uses two expressions, *Ayam* and *Selavu*, which, in the connexion he uses them, I cannot translate better than by 'Profit' and 'Loss.'

The Rule.

"Ascertain the length of the house, square it, multiply the sum by 8, and divide the product by 12: the remainder is the *Ayam*, or profit. Again, take the square number and multiply it by 9, divide the product by 10, the remainder is the *Selavu*, or loss. Again, take the square number and multiply it by 27, and divide the product by 100, the remainder is the age or durability of the house. Again, take the square number, multiply it by 8, and divide the product by 27, the remainder is the star. Again, multiply the square number by 3, and divide the product by 8, the remainder is the *Yoni*. Multiply the square number by 9, and divide the product by 7, the remainder is the day. Multiply the square number by 9, and divide the product by 4, the remainder is the caste. Multiply the square number by 4, and divide the product by 9, the remainder is the *Amsam*. Multiply the square number by 9, and divide the product by 30, the remainder is the *Tithi*.

If this falls within 15, it belongs to the crescent moon, but if above 15 to the decrescent moon. Again, multiply the square number by 4, and divide the product by 12, the remainder is the constellation. Multiply the square number by 8, and divide the product by 5, the remainder gives the *Sūtra*. The following are the *Yonis*:—Garuḍa, Puni, Siṃha, Noy, Pāmbu, Eli, Ani, Musl: of these Puni (cat), Eli (rat), and Musl (hare) are bad. The following are the *Amsams*:—Arsam, Soram, Putthi, Satthi, Thanium, Rāsum, Kalibam, Varuttham, Rokam, and Subām. The following are the *Sūtras*:—Pālan, Kumāru, Rājan, Kilavan, Maranan. We now give an example or two that may serve to illustrate the foregoing:—

"Given the length of the house 11 cubits, and the width 5 cubits, to find the age,—that is to say, how many years such a house will stand. By the rule $11 \times 5 = 55$, and $55 \times 27 = 1485$, $1485 \div 100 = 14$, the remainder being 85,—which remainder indicates the number of years the house will stand.

"Given the length of the house 15 cubits, and the width 7 cubits, to find the caste for whom it is suitable. $15 \times 7 = 105$, $105 \times 9 = 945$, and $945 \div 4 = 236$, remainder 1. The remainder 1 indicates the first caste, i.e. Brāhmins.

"Given the length of the house 17 cubits, and the width 7, to ascertain the caste for whom it is suitable. $17 \times 7 = 119$, $119 \times 9 = 1071$, and $1071 \div 4 = 267$, remainder 3. The remainder 3 denotes the third or Vaiśya caste."

The next example exhibits the entire series.

"Given the length of the house 9 cubits, width 3 cubits, to find the *Ayam* and *Selavu*, &c. &c. By the rule $9 \times 3 = 27$, $27 \times 8 = 216$, and $216 \div 12 = 18$,— $12 = \text{Ayam}$.† $27 \times 9 = 243$, and $243 \div 10 = 24$, remainder 3,—which is the *Selavu* or loss, and so on according to the rule. The *Yoni* is Garuḍa, the star Revati, the part of the lunar month the third day, the day of the week Thursday, the constellation Pisces, and the caste Vaiśya."

Strange as all this appears to us Europeans, natives regard these things as matters of great importance, and I have been informed by a well-educated native gentleman that many of these rules are adhered to even now.

The *Ayams* and *Selavus* are also used for the purpose of ascertaining whether good or evil will happen to the householder; thus:—

"If the *Ayam* be 0 or 2, it denotes that great pleasure and happiness awaits the householder; if 3 or 4, fame and happiness are indicated; if 5 or 6, increase of wealth; if 7 or 8, beneficence and true wisdom are indicated.

"Multiply the *Ayam* by 9 and divide it by 10 to find the *Selavu* or loss. If the remainder is 1, it denotes that great poverty is in store for the householder. If 2 remain, the house will be consumed by fire. If the remainder is 8, Lakṣmī will dwell in that house. If 9 remain, the destruction of sons will ensue. If the remainder is 10, it is most excellent."

We have already given the rule for finding the eight *Yonis*, and as these exert a very considerable influence upon uneducated Hindus, we shall give the instructions concerning them as contained in this book.

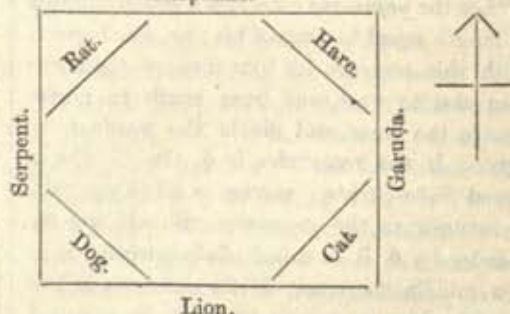
The *Yoni* Garuḍa (hawk) is in the east.

"	Lion	"	south.
"	Serpent	"	west.
"	Elephant	"	north.
"	Cat	"	south-east.
"	Dog	"	south-west.
"	Rat	"	north-west.
"	Hare	"	north-east.

This, illustrated by a diagram, will explain what is to follow.

The eight *Yonis*.

Elephant.



The reader will observe that the animals are placed antagonistically, e.g. the dog is the natural enemy of the hare, the cat of the rat, &c. &c. The rule accordingly is:—A person dwelling in Garuḍa's position should not undertake anything that would oblige him to journey toward the position of the Serpent, and vice

† When there is no remainder the divisor becomes the *Ayam*, as in this instance.

versā, because Garuḍa will come forth in search of food, and meeting the Serpent on the same errand mischief is likely to befall the person journeying between them; and so of the other *Yonis*. It is dangerous for a person living in a *Yoni* to travel in the direction of its opponent. Accordingly the author advises his readers to consult an almanac before setting out on a journey.

The width of the house appears to be a matter of very considerable importance in the *śilpan*'s art. Our author in 26 *ślokas* sings of the width of houses. He gives forty-four examples, and of these seventeen are fraught with mischief to the householder: we give a few as examples:—

"If the width of the house is six feet, the blessing of Lakshmi and all happiness will be here.

"If the width of the house is ten feet, sheep and oxen will increase, imperishable wealth and flourishing fields will be the possession of the householder. If the width of the house is twenty feet, the wife will flourish, sons will increase, and wealth of all kinds will ensue to the householder. If the width of the house is nineteen feet, the servants will die, business will fail, terrible mischief will befall the housekeeper, and his wife will be kept by another man.

"If the width of the house is twenty-eight feet, sickness and the death of sons, the loss of wealth, and untold poverty will ensue. Therefore a man should flee from such a house."

These are sufficient to serve as examples, but it is observable that there is no distinct rule in the book, beyond what may be found in these

examples, for defining the proper width of a house.

Concerning Days.

"Sunday is a good day for transacting business, Monday for sowing grain, Tuesday for fighting, Wednesday for commencing studies, Thursday for getting married, Friday for getting shaved, and Saturday for performing penance."

Tank-digging.

"If one digs a tank in the point of Agni, besides losing his wife by death, he himself will meet with an accident, and his wealth will vanish. If one digs it in Yama's point, it will be a useless tank, besides which the man who dug it will become a beggar. If, however, one digs a tank in Isani's point (north-east), he will obtain wealth."

Concerning Wells.

"If one digs a well in the north-east or west points of the house, auspicious events will ensue. If one digs a well in the north-west, the death of sons will follow. If one digs a well in the south-west, sickness will be the result. If one digs a well in the south, death will follow. If one digs a well in the south-east, he will be childless. And if one digs a well in the centre of his house, his wealth will perish.

"If one digs a well in Varuṇa's point (west), the blessing of the Supreme One, and all happiness, will be the result.

"If one digs a well centre to south-east, south, south-west, and north-west, his relations and his sons will die of sickness, he shall lose all his wealth, and will afterwards live by begging."

NOTES ON THE SOUTH-INDIAN OR DRĀVIDIAN FAMILY OF LANGUAGES.

By the REV. G. U. POPE, D.D., M.R.A.S., Member of the Leipzig Oriental Society, and Fellow of the Madras University.

(Continued from p. 158.)

No. II.—On the "Harmonic Sequence of Vowels."

On the subject of this paper Mr. Whitney, in his work entitled *The Life and Growth of Language*, p. 234, says: "In the phonetic structure of the Scythian languages the most striking trait is the so-called 'harmonic sequence of vowels.' There are, namely, two classes of vowels, light and heavy, or palatal (*e*, *i*, *ū*, *ṽ*) and other (*a*, *o*, *u*); and it is the general

law that the vowels of the various endings shall be of the class of that in the root, or in its last syllable—thus marking the appurtenance and dependency of the endings in their relation to the root in a manner which, though undoubtedly at first euphonic only (like the German *umlaut*), has lent itself usefully to the purposes of formal distinction. Every suffix, then, has two forms, a light and a heavy: we have *al-mak*, but *sev-mek*; *ev-ler*, but *agha-lar*, and so on."

Mr. Whitney goes on (in p. 245) to say that "the Dravidian languages show no trace of this harmonic sequence of vowels." And this conclusion I came to many years ago. Some reasons for this I purpose to give here.

In regard to the affiliation of these languages in general I may quote Mr. Whitney's words, which I had not seen when I began these Notes, but which exactly express my views on the whole subject:—"The Dravidian languages are not in their structure so different from the Scythian that they might not belong to one family with them, if only sufficient correspondences of material were found between the two groups. And some have been ready, though on grounds not to be accepted as sufficient, to declare them related."

The most complete exposition of the whole subject of Harmonic sequence of vowels is given in the *Revue de Philologie et d'Ethnographie*, edited by Ch. E. de Ujfalvy (Jan.-March 1875).

This is the summary:—

"1°. Les voyelles dans les langues Ougro-finnoises se subdivisent en trois classes, en dures, douces et neutres ;

"2°. Jamais les voyelles des deux premières classes ne peuvent se rencontrer dans un radical, les radicaux sont donc durs et doux ;

"3°. Les voyelles des suffixes s'assimilent à celles des radicaux ; c'est-à-dire les suffixes à voyelles dures s'accroissent aux radicaux doux ;

"4°. Cette loi découle du génie organique de ces langues mêmes, elle s'est développée et rétablie plus ou moins dans tous les idiomes du groupe Ougro-finnois (à l'exception du Vêpse, du Livonien, de l'Esthonien et du Tchérémisse), et c'est l'influence des langues Aryennes qui seule a pu altérer son application ;

"5°. Cette loi se manifeste même dans les mots que ces langues ont empruntés aux idiomes limitrophes."

We may inquire, then—

I. Is there in the Dravidian languages any division, actual or possible, into the three classes of *hard*, *soft*, and *neutral*? The answer must be a decided negative.

The hard in the Ougro-Finnish dialects are *a*, *o*, *u*; the soft are more or less the same as the German *ā*, *ō*, *ū*; the middle (which do not admit of *umlaut*) *e*, *i*.

In the Dravidian languages there are only four recognized cases where the vowel changes its

sound:—*i* before a *lingual* is pronounced nearly as *ū*; *a* in a final syllable becomes occasionally *e*; final *u*, in certain cases, is sounded much as a French *u*; and the diphthong *ai* is pronounced variously, according to its position in a word.

The Dravidian vowels in the *grundsprache* were *a*, *ā*; *i*, *ī*; *e*, *ē*; *u*, *ū*; *o*, *ō*; with the diphthongs *āi* and *āu*.

Those correspond exactly to those of the Sanskrit. The marks by which a long vowel is distinguished from a short one are probably all of them of comparatively recent origin.

These vowels have no effect upon the pronunciation of the consonants.

Nor have the Dravidian languages any trace of the numerous diphthongs which exist in the Ougro-Finnish.

II. Is any division of Dravidian radicals into hard and soft possible? Are the vowels in each radical of one kind or class? Most evidently not.

In Finnish *kala* = fish, and its ablative is *kalalta*; *isä* = father, and its ablative is *isältä*. Here the harmonic sequence is seen.

"Jamais un radical Finnois ne peut contenir des voyelles dures et douces à la fois," says De Ujfalvy.

In Tamil (of which I chiefly speak) every variation is possible:—*kaḍal*, *kāḍu*, *kiḍai*, *kiṟṟ*, *kūḍal*, *kūtṭam*, *keḍuṣi*, *kēlvi*, *kōmān*, *vītṭōram*.

No trace of any such limitation—of any law—is to be discovered in any Dravidian dialect.

Euphonic changes, such as are traceable in Latin,—in *similis* compared with *simultas*; in *exsilium* (*exul*); *bone* (*bone*); *secordia* (*secordia*),—are rare in Dravidian languages.

Čá = 'die,' makes *če-tt*.

Keḍu = 'perish,' makes *kēḍu*, 'destruction.'

If any stress is to be laid upon this in the affiliation of languages, the very wide application of the principle, under the name of 'umlaut,' would tend to exclude German from the family of Aryan languages.

III. I proceed to the question, Do the vowels of the suffixes in the Dravidian languages assimilate themselves to those of the stem to which they are appended?

Of this there is no real trace.

In Latin we find *tubicen* making *tubicin-is*, *cano* makes *ce-ci-ni*; but here the stem is rather affected by the suffix, than the suffix by the stem. Neighbouring sounds affect one another.

In the Dravidian languages I can see nothing more than this:—

In Tamil we have—

Koḍukkirr. { = *ēn*, 'I give.'
= *ān*, 'he gives.'
= *ōm*, 'we give.'
= *īr*, 'ye give.'

And the same pronominal endings, *ēn*, *ān*, *ōm*, and *īr*, are added to every verbal stem, whatever its vowels may be, without any change.

In the Telugu and in Kanarese, and in colloquial Tamil, *u* and *i* are occasionally interchanged, or, more strictly, *u* is fined down to *ū*, and even to *i*. The inflectional particle used for the fourth or 'dative' case in the Dravidian languages is *k*; to this is added a vowel which hovers between *u*, *ū*, and *i*. This reminds me of Homer's "*ὀλωσίοι τε πᾶσι*."

In certain cases where a connecting vowel is used, that vowel is determined by the vowel of the suffix.

But I deny that in any Dravidian dialect there is a systematic change of the vowel of a suffix, or inflectional increment, in order to adapt it to the vowels of the stem to which it is appended.

IV. I make the final inquiry, Do the Drā-

vidian languages alter the vowels of foreign words which they adopt according to any supposed law of harmonic sequence?

Most elaborate rules are given by the Jain grammarians for the spelling of Sanskrit words received into Tamil and Kanarese; but these affect the consonants almost entirely. I know of no case where the vowels are changed in obedience to any principle.

In Tamil a Sanskrit word which ended in *ā* will end in *āi*. The Sanskrit *āu* often becomes optionally *av*.

So Persian, Arabic, and English words suffer as to consonants, but vowels remain nearly intact.

I conclude, then, that the law of "harmonic sequence" has not been shown to hold good in the Dravidian languages, and that their euphonic changes are rather in harmony with those which take place in the Aryan family.

But this latter subject would require another paper. These changes will, I think, show the Dravidian languages more in harmony with Schleicher's "*Ārio-graeco-italo-keltisch*" subdivision of the Indo-Germanic family of languages, than with the Ougro-Finnish dialects of M. de Ujfalvy.—(To be continued.)

NOTES ON A TIBET TEAPOT AND ON THE TEA USED THEREIN.

BY CHARLES HORNE, LATE B.C.S.; F.R.A.S., F.L.S., &c.

This grand old teapot was in family use in a Tibetan household near Lahoûl, and was given, as a most valuable parting present, by the old lady who owned it, to Captain Hay, then in political employ in the Kûlû country, in the Himâlâya. It is said to have been made about a hundred years since in China, and its ornamentation is decidedly Chinese. The body represents a lotus-flower with five petals curved in at the summit. On each petal are engraved mountains, trees, and clouds. The grateful steam ascends from the mountains, nourishes trees, and then forms clouds, which descending within provides the cheering beverage. The cover, which is handsomely ornamented and finished off with a pine-apple knob, is fastened to a dragon's neck by a brass chain. The said dragon, which is horned and of the true Chinese type, forms the handle. He has handsome scroll epanettes and a most singular tail. He has his open mouth placed on the rim of the opening, in the hopes of getting a little of the

overflow, should there be any. The condensed steam is discharged by the spout, which represents the trunk and head of a small-eared elephant, and is attached at the upper part to the teapot by a small dragon's head.

Perhaps this is allegorical, and may represent the Ganges flowing from its source in the mountains. But whether or no, the whole affair is in excellent keeping, and may fairly be rendered as I have put it.

The metal of which it is composed seems to be a mixture of brass with some harder metal. The colour is somewhat duller than brass, and, although it has been made so long, it bears no trace of copperas or rust of any kind.

Its height is eight and a half inches, and across from the exterior of the handle to that of the spout it measures nearly nine inches. The design is quite worthy of imitation by our artists, in silver or other metal, and this has been beautifully rendered by the artist; although from its colour it was very difficult to photograph.

In the country from whence it was derived almost every house has a teapot as hereinafter described, but not in general so handsome as that now under notice. Tea is drunk more and more, and our Himālayan tea-planters, if they can manufacture it to meet the taste of these people, have an unlimited field for their enterprise. The brick-tea, of which more anon, appears to me very coarse and bad, besides being very dear; but it takes a long time to induce a people to change their habits. Attempts are, however, being made to manufacture brick-tea, and this will doubtless be very successful, as we are daily learning more of the details of the manufacture.

But my readers will like to know how the tea was made which was served in this remarkable teapot. Here is the recipe, for any one to try:—Take a very small quantity of tea, brick-tea,—say two ounces for ten people,—and put it into a large iron or mica-schist pot and boil with a little water for an hour. Next, mix in about an equal quantity of soda. This soda is an efflorescence found upon the surface of the ground at Kyān, beyond the Panging Lake. Then add a little salt and some half-rancid butter. This butter has salt put in when made, so that often additional salt can be dispensed with. Lastly, add a little of the broken bark of the yew (*Taxus baccata*), called by the natives *Buriné*, which imparts great astringency, and gives the mixture a reddish colour. About ten pints of water are added, and the whole is churned up with a churning-stick until it acquires the colour and consistence of thick rich cocoa or chocolate. When ready it is poured into the teapot, called by the natives *chibril*, the only straining commonly in use being by the placing of a spoon before it when running, to stop the coarser particles.

In Lahoul coarse china cups are used without handles or saucers or covers. These come from Yarkand. Turned cups of serpentine are also much esteemed, as they stand heat very well, and tea can be kept hot in them by the fire. They are made near Lâ.

The mica-schist pots are hollowed out with a tool at Zanzibar. They are sometimes two feet in diameter, without any covers, and are cut from the solid. They are shaped like an Indian *lotâ*, or a round saucepan with a lip all round.

The tea thus made is pressed upon the visitor, who is expected, like themselves, to drink from five to ten cups, if they can make him.

Moorcroft, in his *Travels* (vol. I. pp. 231-2), thus describes his visit to the Râja of Ladakh, when tea was served:—"A moderately large teapot of gilt copper, and of beautiful workmanship, was brought in, and salted and buttered tea without milk handed to the company. The Râja took out of a breast-pocket or pouch his own tea-cup, of yellow china. The Khaga Tazsin also produced his, of chestnut wood mounted with silver. We had come provided with our own cups. The tea was not very strong, and tasted like weak broth."

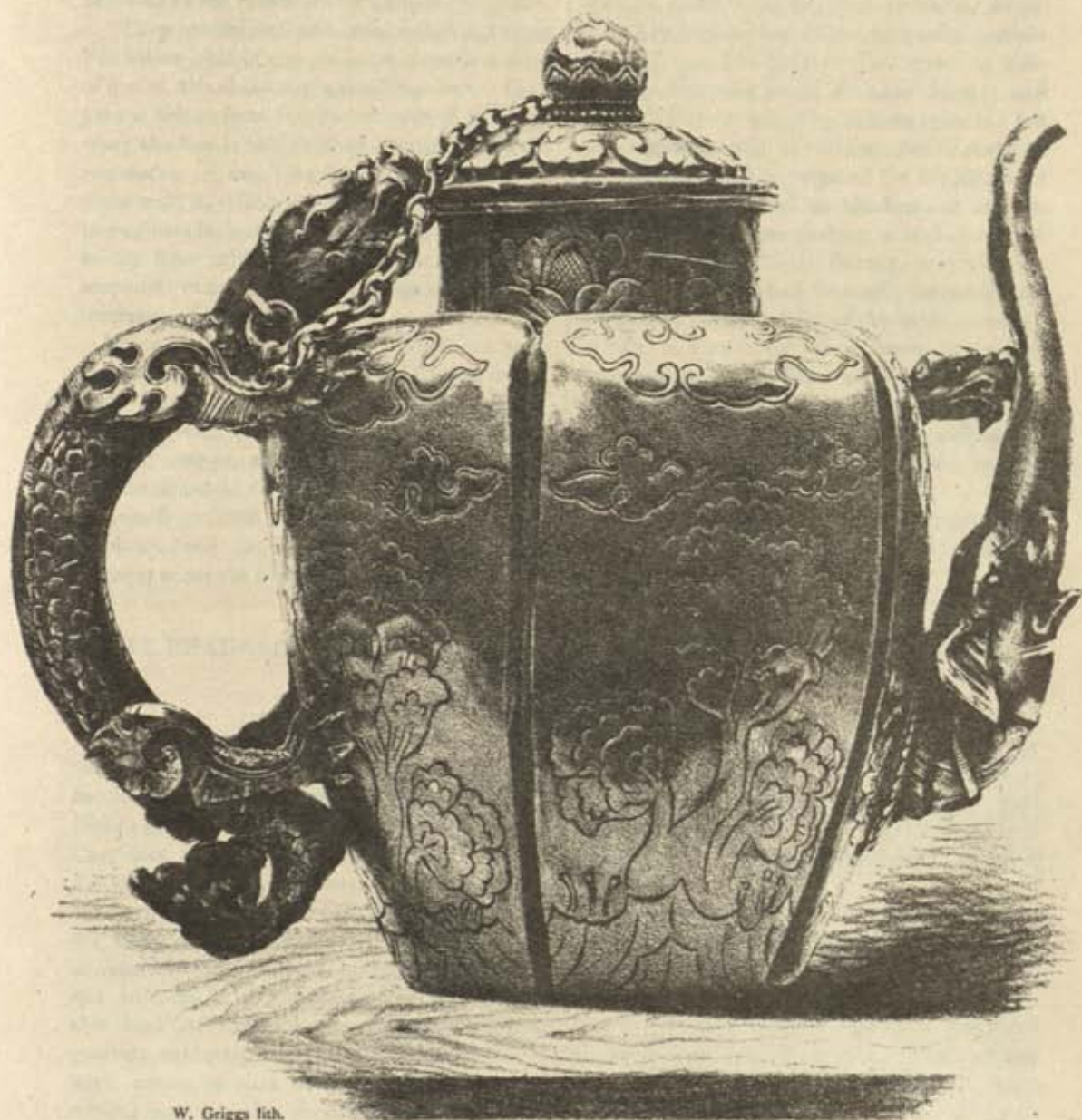
The use of tea in Lahoul appears to be restricted to the higher classes, the poorer using substitutes for it, such as the leaves of a dwarf kind of willow, &c., but the practice of tea-drinking is daily becoming more general.

The following extract from Moorcroft (vol. I., pp. 229, 230) will show how general its use had become some forty years since:—

"The diet of the Ladakhis, and of the Tibetans generally, is nutritious and wholesome, and is remarkable for the prominent share which is taken in it by tea. All classes of Tibetans eat three meals a day. The first consists of tea; the second of tea—or of meal porridge if that cannot be afforded; the third of meat, rice, vegetables, and bread by the upper, and soup, porridge, and bread by the lower classes. For a breakfast of ten persons this would be the preparation:—About an ounce of black tea, called here '*zangcha* (or *zangja*), black brick-tea (from *zang*, black, and *cha*, *chha*, or *ja*, tea of Major Hay?), and a like quantity of soda are boiled in a quart of water for an hour, or until the leaves of the tea are sufficiently steeped. It is then strained and mixed with ten quarts of boiling water in which an ounce and a half of fossil salt has been previously dissolved. The whole is then put into a narrow cylindrical churn, along with some butter, and well churned with a churning-stick till it becomes a smooth, oily, and brown liquid of the colour and consistence of chocolate, in which form it is transferred to a teapot of silver or silvered copper or brass, for the richer classes ornamented with flowers and foliage, and grotesque figures of leopards, crocodiles, dragons,

A TEAPOT FROM TIBET.

Indian Antiquary. Vol. V.



W. Griggs lith.

or heads of elephants, and the like, in embossed or filagree work. The poorer people have plain brass or tinned copper teapots. Each man has his own cup, either of china, porcelain, or, what is more common, made out of the knot of the horse chestnut, edged or lined with silver, or plain. About five thousand of these, in the rough, are annually exported from Bisahir to Gartokh, and sold at the rate of six for a rupee (1s. 10d.).

"They are finished and ornamented in China. The latter kind of cup contains about one-third of a pint, the china cup something less. Each person drinks from five to ten cups of tea, and when the last is half finished he mixes with the remainder as much barley meal as makes a paste with it, which he eats. The poorer people, instead of tea, boil two parts of barley flour with one of water or meat broth seasoned with salt, until it becomes of the thickness of porridge."

Major Hay tells me that in 1849 there were three kinds of brick-tea sold in Lahoul, which came from China via Ladakh,—(1) *kopinzi*, a green tea; (2) *chung-ching*, a black tea; and (3) *zang-ja*, also black. The last named sold for about 3s. 6d. per lb., being the cheapest. Moorcroft in 1820 names 3s. per lb. for green brick-tea, and 2s. for black brick-tea, which he says, come via Llassa or Yarkand.

It will thus be seen that it must be quite an article of luxury. Enormous quantities of spurious tea of kinds used to be manufactured from the leaves of various shrubs in Bisahir, and exported thence to Ladakh; but this trade of late seems to have fallen off, and when there I heard but little of it.

Jacquemont, who travelled some thirty years since in Ladakh and adjacent countries, writes from the frontier the following quaint account (vol. II. pp. 141-142):—"Tea comes to Kāśmīr by caravans across Chinese Tartary and Tibet. I know not why this caravan tea has any reputation with us: it is absolutely destitute of fragrance, and is prepared for drinking with milk, butter, salt, and an alkaline salt of a bitter taste. All these produce a turbid reddish liquor of extraordinary flavour, execrable according to some, and decidedly agreeable according to others. I am of the latter opinion.

"In Kunawar* it is made in another way:—after the tea has been boiled for an hour or two, the water is thrown away, and the leaves are dressed with rancid butter, flour, and minced goat's-flesh. This makes a detestable ragoût, they call it tea."

But I have quoted sufficient to show what kind of brews of tea used to flow through the trunk of our teapot.

THE BHADRĀCHALLAM AND RĒKAPALLI TĀLUKĀS, GODĀVARĪ DISTRICT, SOUTH INDIA.

BY THE REV. JOHN CAIN, DUMAGUEM.

The Bhadrāchallam and Rēkapalli tālukās, Godāvarī district, South India, were handed over to the British Government by the Nizām in 1860, and transferred from the Central Provinces to the Madras Presidency in 1874. For many years previous these two tālukās were the scene of plunder and petty fighting among the many petty zamindārs in the Nizām's dominions and those in the neighbouring territory, and resembled in many respects the 'debatable land' of England and Scotland. These quarrels evidently depopulated the country to a large extent, so that no old temples remain to remind one of the various events in Rāma and Sitā's exile near the village of Parnasala. There are, it is true, remains of a few old temples in other parts of the tālukās, but

these have to be examined before any satisfactory decision can be arrived at respecting their age. Near Dumagudem a large number of roughly carved idols have been dug up at different times, but they give no evidence as to the date of their first being set up.

In this paper I will give the principal legends connected with these tālukās, and in future papers the castes,—with special reference to the Koīs.

Parnasala, on the banks of the Godāvarī, is said to have been the scene of Sitā's abduction. As Rāma, Sitā, and Lakshmaṇa were living there, Rāvaṇa drew away Rāma in pursuit of a phantom antelope, which cleverly eluded him and led him far away from his wife and brother. After a time Sitā persuaded

* He here refers to spurious tea.

Lakshmana to go in search of Rāma, and Rāvaṇa appeared before her and cunningly tempted her to prepare to follow him, by asserting that her husband had caught the antelope and was on his way back with his brother. Stooping down, Rāvaṇa, with his trident (*śulam*), lifted up Sitā and the ground on which she was standing, and placing both her and the mass of the earth on his chariot began to fly away. At that time in the little village of Etapaka, a few miles beyond Bhadrāchallam, lived the famous bird Jetayuḍu. On hearing Sitā's cries of distress he immediately hastened to the rescue, and met the chariot on the site of the present Dumagūdem. A terrible battle ensued, and in the conflict so much dust arose that the place was ever afterwards called Dummugūdem:—*dummu* (Telugu) = dust, *gūdem* = a village or hamlet. In the struggle Rāvaṇa's chariot-wheels grazed the top of the hill on the opposite side of the river, and the hill has ever since been called Radhapu-Gutta:—*radhapu*, the adjective formed from *radham*, a 'chariot,' and '*gutta*,' a hill. This scarped hill attracts the attention of all visitors to Dumagūdem, and presents an exceedingly pretty sight when the rays of the rising sun in the rainy season fall on the summit.

Rāvaṇa, despairing of victory by fair means, asked wherein the secret of the bird's immense strength lay, promising faithfully to reveal wherein his own lay. Becoming possessed of the required information and declining to act up to his promise, he soon conquered Jetayuḍu, and the latter fell down mortally wounded. The bird's two wings fell down in the village now called Rékapalli, which is said to be a modification of the word *Rekkapalli*, according to a well-known rule in Telugu grammar whereby the cutting off a consonant necessitates the lengthening of the preceding vowel: *rēka* (from *rekka*) = a wing, *palli* = a village. The village where Jetayuḍu lived is called Y et a p a k a or E t a p a k a, i.e. 'Jetaya's paka':—*pika* = a hut. Before long, Rāma returned, and, not finding Sitā, followed up the tracks of Lakshmana, coming at last upon the dead body of his faithful bird. Intensely grieved, he piled up a heap of sticks in the palm of his left hand, and placing the corpse of Jetayuḍu thereon he burned it. Hence the left hand is called the *kāfi bhāmi*,—*kāfi* the inflected form of *kādu*, a func-

ral pile, a burning-ground; *bhāmi* = the earth, ground. As one result of this, the placing of the left hand on the heart at night will cause the slumberer to dream most horrible dreams. Rāma then came and dwelt at the present Bhadrāchallam, building a temple there (which is not supposed to be in existence now), and calling the temple Bhadrāḍu, and the village Bhadrāpuram. After a time he met with Anjanyuḍu and Sugrivaḍu, and learning that Rāvaṇa was living on a certain well-known hill in the gorge some distance below Rékapalli, he proceeded there and rescued his wife.

At Parnasala they profess to show to visitors in a certain *vāgu* (nallā) a stone upon which Sitā sat. Certain marks on a rock resemble footprints, and are therefore called 'Sitā's footprints;' and on one rock especially there are yellow stains, attributed to the yellow dye of Sitā's clothes, laid out there to dry after she had washed them. A small hollow in the village is said to be the spot where she was standing when Rāvaṇa lifted her up.

On the opposite side of the river, close to the foot of the Radhapu Gutta, is a small hill called Nalugu Gutta, which is supposed to have been formed by the accumulation of *nalugu* (i.e. a kind of soap paste) left by Sitā after her daily baths.

Some years after this, the people of the district, having learned that Rāma had lived for some time at Bhadrāchallam, began to regard that town as sacred, and a certain *bairāgi* took up his abode there and built a small temple, carving a stone, and having placed it in the temple worshipped it as the image of Rāma.

Thus far the legendary history.

About 150 years ago Rāma Dās, an official of the Nizām's government, was sent to collect the revenue of this tālukā, but instead of transmitting the money he spent it in building a temple and *gōpuram*. His superiors at last objected to this, and sent a number of Rohillās and carried him to Haidarābād, where he died after an imprisonment of twelve years.

A certain Tirumalakshmi Narasimha Rau then came, and, being much wiser than his predecessor, annually despatched part of the tribute, and devoted the rest to finishing the work commenced by Rāma Dās and beginning another temple. Whilst he was thus engaged, a wealthy man of Madras, named Varadarāmadāsu, with

his mother and his wife, brought two lakhs of rupees to Bhadrachallam and agreed to help Narasimha Rau to complete his work. Before this could be done, the Nizâm's government, dissatisfied with the small amount of revenue received, sent a number of sawârs to take Narasimha Rau to Haidarâbâd. He immediately gave these sawârs a large sum of money, and promised to follow them in a few days to Haidarâbâd. Before many days had elapsed, the Madras man died, and Narasimha Rau, taking the corpse, the widow, the deceased man's mother, and his own mother, with a large number of servants, embarked on a number of *sangalis* (rafts) to cross the Godâvari. When about halfway across the river, he threw the corpse into the stream and jumped in himself, followed by the widow, her mother-in-law, and most of the followers. His own wife and two servants were rescued, and one of the servants died in Bhadrachallam not many years ago.

These talukâs formed part of the Hasanâbâd Sankâgiri Zamindâri held by the Ashwa Rau family, under a grant from the representative of the Emperor of Dihli to one Anâpâ Ashwa Rau in the beginning of the 14th century. All that is known of the political history of this district is to be found in the *Central Provinces Gazetteer* and Captain Glasfurd's *Revenue Settlement Report*.

Until the talukâs were handed over to British rule the Bhadrachallam Zamindâr always kept up a troop of Rohillâs, who received very little pay for their services, and lived chiefly by looting the country around. In attendance upon them were one hundred Kois and one hundred

Mâdigas (Chaklars). Twenty-five Koi villages form a *samutâ*, and in the Bhadrachallam talukâ there are ten *samutâs*; in the territory on the opposite side of the river, which also belonged to the Ashwa Rau family, there were ten *samutâs*. Each *samutâ* was bound in turn to furnish for a month a hundred Kois to carry burdens, fetch supplies, &c. for the above-mentioned Rohillâs, and a hundred Mâdigas to act as horsekeepers. During the month they were thus employed they had to provide their own *batta*.

The petty zamindârs of Albaka, Cherla, Nagar, Bejji, and Chintalanada likewise had their forces of Nâyaks and Kois, and were continually robbing and plundering. All was 'grist' which came to their 'mill,' even the clothes of the poor Koi women, who were frequently stripped and then regarded as objects of ridicule. The Kois have frequently told me that they could never lie down to rest at night without feeling that before morning their slumbers might be rudely disturbed, their houses burnt, and their property all carried off. As a rule, they hid their grain in caves and holes of large trees.

The Cherla Râja (who is still alive) had a great antipathy to supposed wizards and sorcerers, and it was an easy method of revenge for one enemy to accuse another to this petty zamindâr of being an adept in the black art. The accused was immediately seized and hanged.

The last great plundering took place in 1859, not far from Parnasala. Since the talukâs have been under British rule, the Bastar petty zamindârs have found it prudent to avoid open violence, as much as the petty zamindârs in British territory.

CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEA.

To the Editor of the Indian Antiquary.

SIR,—I shall be much obliged if you, or any of your correspondents, will kindly give me the Sanskrit text from the first *adhyâya* of the *Shatapatha Brâhmaṇa*, translated as below in the footnote to p. 57 of *India Three Thousand Years Ago*, by Dr. John Wilson, (late) of Bombay. The translation is:—"If the sacrificer be a Brâhman, it is said, *Ehi*, Come! if he is a Vaiśya, then it is *Agahi*, Come hither! with a Rajabandhu it is *Adrava*, Run hither! with a Śudra it is *Adrava*, Run hither!"

W. J. RICHARDS.

Cottayam, Travancore,
June 14th, 1876.

LINES BY WARREN HASTINGS.

Lord Macaulay, in the celebrated *Essay* on Warren Hastings, says of the great Governor-General, "He had always loved books. Though not a poet in any high sense of the word, he wrote neat and polished lines with great facility, and was fond of exercising this talent." Indian readers may not be displeased to have a specimen laid before them. The following spirited lines seem to have been written in India, and were printed in a Calcutta newspaper of the year 1810. They are, of course, imitated from Horace's "*Otium divos*," &c., and, as a relic of a great Indian worthy of days that now seem very distant, may not be out of place in the pages of the *Indian Antiquary*.—M. J. W.

For ease the harass'd *Foujdar* prays
When crowded Courts and sultry days
Exhale the noxious fume,
While poring o'er the case he hears
The lengthened lie, and doubts and fears
The culprit's final doom.

For ease, for ease, he constant sighs,
Invokes the moon and starry skies
T' afford their friendly light,
That no dacoit his peace invade,
Nor burglar ply his *boriug* trade
Secured by gloomy night.

But all his care and toils can ne'er
Fulfil his hopes, his wishes dear;
For ever and anon

The daring crime, th' affray, the theft,
The wail of those of all bereft,
Keep pouring ceaseless on.

Yet, all the numerous ills among
That foil his plans, his purpose strong
Remains unshaken still;

The consciousness of faith and zeal,
And labour for the public weal,
A solace sweet instil.

Then why uneasy should he be,
Or hope e'er perfect peace to see
Unmixed with vice or crime?

For evil passions shall prevail,
And with their train Man's race assail,
Till Heaven's eternal time.

PAHLAVI.

Mr. E. W. West, of the I.C.S., the well-known Pahlavi scholar, is about to return to Europe with fresh materials for the study of Pahlavi literature, of which he gives the following account in a letter to Prof. Max Müller:—"I have obtained complete copies of the *Dinkard*, *Nirangistān*, *Vajarkard-i Dīn*, and many shorter works hardly known by name in Europe, and hope to finish the *Dādīstān-i Dīn*. . . I have also collated Spiegel's Pahlavi text of the *Josna* and *Vendidād* with some very old MSS., and am sorry to say I find the printed text lamentably defective. The *Dinkard* is the longest Pahlavi work in existence, and originally contained nine books, of which the first two are missing; a MS. of the remaining seven books was brought from Persia about ninety years ago, and this MS. traces its own descent from an old MS. copied by a writer about 877 years ago; all existing copies in India are derived from this MS. brought from Persia, but before they were made about one-sixth of the folios of the original MS. had been abstracted by various individuals, and still remain in other hands. I have been able to collate all these scattered folios excepting five, which are still missing; but excepting myself I

believe Dastur Peshotan is the only person who has a copy of the whole. The eighth and ninth books contain a long account of the *Nasks*, or twenty-one books of the Zoroastrian literature, which seems likely to be of considerable interest. Inquiries have been made in Persia for some other copy of this work, but hitherto without success. The *Nirangistān* is probably the third largest work in Pahlavi (if it be longer than the Pahlavi *Vendidād*); it consists of minute directions with regard to ceremonies very difficult to understand fully, and seems to contain many quotations from the *Avesta* not found elsewhere, and likely to be important additions to the *Zend Dictionary*. . . . The *Dādīstān-i Dīn* is the second longest Pahlavi work, and contains a great variety of religious information, more interesting and less technical than that in the *Nirangistān*. It consists of three parts, of which the first and last are said to have been additions to the middle part, which latter is all that has reached Europe, and is about one-half of the whole work. The *Vajarkard-i Dīn* is a somewhat similar but shorter work. The copy I have had given me was printed in Bombay in 1848. Several minor works I have copied from a MS 554 years old, said to be unique. . . . Another volume of this MS. is said to be at Teheran, in a library which was purchased in Bombay some twenty years ago. With regard to *Avesta* texts, I have not learned that any MSS. exist which can be traced to other sources than those used by Westergaard, so it is doubtful if his edition can be improved upon materially. But the Pahlavi text of Spiegel's edition is simply untrustworthy, owing, probably, to his following the Paris MS. of the *Vendidād* in preference to its prototypes at London and Copenhagen."—*Academy*.

THE UNWILLING GUEST.

By Behā ed-dīn Zoheir.

Ye are all alike and base;
God diminish such a brood!
Why, good Lord! in all the race
There is not a man that's good.
Back your suitors bootless go;
Nay, what should they hope to find?
Goodness?—gracious goodness! no.
Kindness?—nothing of the kind.
Would I had been spared the shock
When your faces met my eye!
Or that there had been a block
On the road I travelled by.
Oh! to leave your town, at last!—
When may I such bliss expect?—
On a pony sleek and fast,
Or a camel limber-necked.

Prof. E. H. Palmer's Transl.

METRICAL TRANSLATION OF BHARTRIHARI'S VAIRĀGYA ŚATAKAM.

BY PROF. C. H. TAWNEY, M.A., CALCUTTA.

(Concluded from page 286.)

WHILE the Soul's temple still stands firm,
and Eld still bides afar,
While sense is keen, and Life with Death still
wages equal war,
The wise to gain the spirit's peace should strive
with strong desire.
What boots to dig a well when all the house is
wrapped in fire?

I have not learnt the wrangler's art, or less pre-
tentious lore,
Nor cleft in fight the war-beasts' skulls on
Fame's broad wings to soar,
Nor sipped the fair one's honeyed lip while
soft the moonbeam falls;—
My youth is wasted like a lamp in vast un-
peopled halls.

Knowledge abates the wise man's pride,
But kindles it in all beside;
That loneliness which shields the saint
Lets sinners sin without restraint.

The youthful freshness of my heart is worn
with old decay,
The beauty of my limbs hath passed unrecog-
nized away,
Grim Fate brings nigh with giant strides the
unrelenting hour,
What hope but in the feet of him* who smote
Love's wanton power?

If parching thirst dries up the throat,
How sweet the brimming stream;
If hunger pinches, rice and herbs
Imperial dainties seem.
We hug this fond belief,—that we
A solid pleasure gain,
When all we've done is to remove
The momentary pain.

When shall I bathe in Gangā's stream and
please Thee, Lord, with fruits and flowers,
Thinking of that one worthy theme, on beds of
stone through midnight hours
Honouring my Father in the faith, striving to
lift my heart above?
When shall I fling my woes aside? Help me,
thou enemy of Love.†

* i.e. Śiva.

The man whose bed is made of rock, whose
mansion's but a cave,
Who's clothed in bark and fed on fruits, who
drinks the crystal wave,
Whose friends are deer, alone can boast of
splendour on this earth;
For he alone ne'er bows the head to power, or
wealth, or birth.

While flows the triple stream from Śiva's head,
While the boon earth yields garments, food,
and bed,

Who'd face the porter at the rich man's gate
If not through pity for his children's fate?

Out of Banāras who can live that boasts the
sage's name,

Where rags are counted splendid clothes, and
begging held no blame,

Where gardens yield to all who need their
bounteous supplies,

Where saints subdue the flesh, where Death's
the gate of Paradise?

Leave those proud doors where surly slaves
growl out "Our lord's asleep,

"We cannot wake him; if we do, his wrath no
bounds will keep;"

But haunt the temple of that god who rules
this mighty whole,

Whose gate no ill-bred porter keeps, who fills
with bliss the soul.

Our mind is but a lump of clay
Which Fate, grim potter, holds
On Sorrow's wheel that rolls alway,
And, as he pleases, moulds.

Śiva controls earth, heav'n, and hell,
Vishnu pervades each part,
Their rank in being who can tell?
But Śiva has my heart.

Why, Cupid, wound thy hand with twanging
still the bow?

Why, cuckoo, sound for nought thy soft love-
moving strain?

Why, bashful maiden, still thy sidelong glances
throw?

My soul the nectarcus wine of Śiva's love
doth drain.

† Śiva.

What though the hermit's cloak be torn with
many a rent,
What though he sleep in tombs or under forest
trees,
Heeding not friend or foe, on self-communion
bent,
From pride and anger free, his mind is still at
ease.

Enjoyments quickly lose their zest; of them
our life is made;
Then why extend the hand to grasp these
flowers that bloom to fade?
If for my words you care at all, then fix your
constant soul
On that eternal Fount of light † whose beams
can Love control.

Happy who dwell in mountain-caves, praising
the One Supreme,
Upon whose breasts sleep fearless birds that
drink their tears of joy,
While we are sporting in the groves, and wan-
dering by the stream
Of some aerial pleasure-ground, our wayward
fancy's toy.

Death swallows Birth, and Youth's brief flash
the jaws of Age devour,
Desire of wealth cuts up Content, and Love the
peaceful hour,
Fell Envy's tooth gnaws Virtue's bud, and
snakes infest the wood,
Kings' courts are overrun with knaves: thus
bad things feed on good.

Hundreds of various pains and griefs uproot
the health of man,
Where Fortune takes up her abode mishaps
soon crowd the gate,
Nothing is born which Death makes not a
subject of his state,
How full of faults is Destiny! how ill-conceived
her plan!

Hard is our lot within th' imprisoning womb,
Our youth beset with separation's doom,
Loathsome our age, the theme of woman's
mirth;
Say then, ye men, what joy ye find on earth?

A hundred years complete our span, half that
is passed in night:
Childhood and age devour the half of what be-
longs to light:
The rest is torn with parting pangs, of cease-
less toil the slave;
What profit in our human life, unstable as the
wave?

Those who distinguish that which is from fleet-
ing outward shows,
Do well to give up wealth and joys to gain
secure repose;
What therefore must be said of us who cannot
bear to part
From that which never can be ours, on which
we've set our heart?

Eld like a tiger threatens our careless bliss,
Diseases wound our frame like angry foes,
As water from a broken pitcher, flows
Our life away; and yet men do amiss.

Once in a way Dame Nature makes
A perfect crystal free from stain,
And then, like careless workman, breaks
The piece which cost her so much pain.

The limbs contract, the gait's infirm, the teeth
drop from the gums,
The eyesight dims, the hearing fails, and
senile drivelling comes;
No more relations heed our words, our wife
e'en disobeys,
Our son becomes a foe: alas! what ills in length
of days!

Man is an actor who plays various parts:—
First comes a boy, then out a lover starts,
His garb is changed for, lo! the beggar's rags!
Then he's a merchant with full money-bags;
Anon an aged sire, wrinkled and lean;
At last Death drops his curtain on the scene.

Night, day, friend, foe, dross, gems, are all the
same to me,
"Twixt stones and rose-strewn beds no differ-
ence I see;
In some lone hermitage I let the hours glide by,
And loud on Śiva call with thrice-repeated cry.

Miscellaneous Stanzas.

The man of firm and constant soul,
Who, nought possessing, nought desires,
Nor burns with passion's raging fires,
Finds happiness from pole to pole.

Time passes never to recede,
But careless mortals take no heed;
The woes that in past years we bore
Leave us no wiser than before;
What folly do we lay aside?
Though sorely by our errors tried,
We learn not prudence, but begin
Once more a fresh career of sin.

The belly clamours for its rights, and will not
be denied,
Its keen-set longings cut the purse that holds
our human pride,
It withers virtue as the moon the lotus of the
day,§
The mantling vine of modesty it lops and shreds
away.

Let's live on offerings, sleeping on the ground,
Clothed with the air, and not in courts be
found.

"Rise up and bear one second's space
"Grim penury's awful load;
"Let me o'erwearied take thy place
"In Pluto's dark abode."

A poor man thus a corpse bespake;
The corpse, preferring death
To want, would not its silence break
For all his waste of breath.

Śiva is chief of those who fleshly lusts despise,
Though linked to Umā's form by everlasting
ties;
We, racked with venom-pangs which Cupid's
arrow brings,
Can neither leave nor yet enjoy these worldly
things.

They smile and weep to gain their end,
Cajole, but never trust, a friend,
So wise men keep from women far,
Shunning them like the funeral jar. ||

Here sounds the tuneful lyre, and there loud
shrieks appal,
Here is a sage discourse, and there a drunken
brawl,
Here maids in prime of youth, there wrinkled
forms you meet;
Of what consists our life, of bitter or of sweet?

With gestures forced, cracked voice, and smil-
ing face,
Your part is now to sue for rich men's grace,
Half fool, half knave; but when your hair is
grey
What part in life's great force remains to
play?

Breath, fortune, life, and youth are swiftly ebb-
ing tides,
In this unstable world virtue alone abides.

Śiva's a guiding lamp, that burns in hermits'
hearts,
Dispels delusion's gloom and light and heat
imparts,
He shrivelled like a moth the frivolous god of
Love,
His flame's the moon's white streak that gleams
his crest above.

My soul, for Fortune sigh no more, that blind
capricious fair,
That dwells in princes' nods and frowns, un-
stable as the air;
Rags are the wise man's "coat of proof,"¶ in
these from door to door
We beg through wide Banāras' streets, and one
hand holds our store.

That tortoise really lives its life which bears
the world on high,
We bless the pole-star's birth, round which re-
volves the starry sky,
But all those buzzing summer flies, that serve
not others' gain,
Dead to all useful purposes e'en from their
birth remain.

"My house is high, my sons renowned, my
wealth beyond compare,"
"My wife is lovely, young my age"—thus
thoughtless men declare,

§ The moon patronises the *kumuda*, but is an enemy to
the lotus which comes out in the day.

¶ Used in cemeteries, and therefore impure.
¶ Henry VI., Pt. II. Act IV. Sc. 2.

Thinking this world will last for aye, they don
delusion's chains ;
The sage knows all will pass away, and straight
this world disdains.

Revile, revilers ! I, 'tis true,
Cannot return your scorn :
We give but what we know, for who
E'er gave a rabbit's horn ?

Alms are not difficult to gain, great Râma showed
the way ;
The earth yields roots, the deerskin keeps the
winter's cold away ;
Whether we joy or grieve, we're still of destiny
the slaves ;
Why should I leave the three-eyed god, to
court blind purse-proud knaves ?

Why wander without end ? find rest at last, my
soul :
What will be must be ; none can Fate's decree
control,
Leave thinking of the past and let the future be,
Reap joys which come by chance and unexpect-
ed flee.

Their hand their only dish,
Begging their wants supplies,
They sleep where Fate may wish,
The world as straw they prize,
Such is the hermit's life :
For souls, by Śiva's might,
Can win though toil and strife
To that supreme delight.

Bali you've not released from hell nor Death the
monster slain,
Nor cleansed from spots the moon's fair disk,
nor put an end to pain,
Nor bearing up the earth awhile eased Śesha
from the load,
Do you not blush to wear the wreath to match-
less heroes owed ?

What folly 'tis o'er musty texts to brood,
Or charm with plays and songs the idle mood !
All fancies vain my soul hath flung aside,
Resolved in Śiva only to confide.

The forest trees yield fruit which men may
pluck at will,
The wave runs pure and cold in many a holy
rill,
Soft is the bed of leaves which wind-swept
creepers pour,
And yet mean spirits court scorn at the rich
man's door.

Begging supplies my wants,
My rags keep out the cold,
My faith in Śiva's firm,—
What need have I of gold ?

The chief of saints declare no joy can vie with
theirs
Who fling on Śiva's breast the burden of their
cares,
Taking no thought for wealth, by daily bounty
fed,
Blessed and pure, exempt from envy, pain, and
dread.

Our joys are like the wave in foam-flakes hurled,
Youth, life, and love like lightning come and go.
Learn this, ye wise, and teach the people so,
That all may know how hollow is this world.

Say, hast thou gained this bliss by long ascetic
pain
Deer, that thou flatter'st not the rich nor feel'st
their scorn,
Nor runnest here and there some trifling boon
to gain,
But feed'st on tender grass, and sleep'st from
eve till morn ?

When maidens see a tinge of white
Streak a man's hair, they shun his sight,—
'Tis like the white bone* on the brink
Of wells whence only outcasts drink.

Thou fool, how oft thy schemes have missed
their aim !
And yet this gold-mirage thy soul allures ;
That still thou hop'st, and still thy heart en-
dures,
Shows it is wrought of adamant frame.

* The bit of bone suspended over a well belonging to Chāṇḍīśāstr.—K. T. T.

They bewilder, enchant, and deceive,
Plunge in anger, delight, and despair;
Woe to those who in pity receive
To their credulous bosoms the fair!

A hermit's forest cell, and fellowship with
deer,

A harmless meal of fruit, stone beds beside
the stream,

Are helps to those who long for Śiva's guid-
ance here;

But be the mind devout our homes will forests
seem.

Sweeter than honey are the nectar'd strains
The goddess Speech sends forth to cheer our
souls;

Content with these and charitable doles,
We will not purchase wealth with slavish pains.

NOTES ON SOME CAVES IN THE KARJAT TALUKA OF THE THÂNÀ COLLECTORATE.

BY W. F. SINCLAIR, B.O. C.S.

In the late Dr. Wilson's paper upon the *Ancient Remains of Western India** he inserts a description by his native correspondent Vishṇu Śāstri of some caves at Mouje Kōṇḍāne, Tālukā Karjat, and adds that "Mr. Law (then Collector of Thānā) has lately been able to visit these excavations, and to procure illustrative drawings of their front and principal figures. They appear to be more modern than those of Salsette. The account above given of them by Vishṇu Śāstri has been found to be correct." I do not know what has become of Mr. Law's notes and drawings; but, from a visit recently paid to the caves, I am in a position to say that, so far from being later than those of Salsette, these caves are probably among the most ancient known.

They are situated at the base of the hillfort of Rājmaṇchī (which forms the northern side of the valley known to travellers on the Great Indian Peninsula Railway as the "Bor Ghāt Ravine"), about seven miles by road from Karjat railway station. The approach is so easy that I rode a stout hack up to the very door of the caves, a folly for which I might have paid with the loss of my horse, as the cliff was tenanted by several swarms of rock-bees.

The following is a detailed description of the caves, from notes taken on the spot.

No. 1. A Chaitya hall opening to the north-west, twenty yards long by eight wide over all. There are remains of seven plain octagonal raking pillars on the north side, and six on the

south of the nave, but it cannot be made out whether there ever were any round behind the *dahgoba*, which, as well as the pillars, is much injured. There does not seem ever to have been a stone screen or music-gallery, but part of the original wooden screen remains. It is of the same construction as that at Kārli. There have been wooden horse-shoe rafters within it, but they are gone. The façade so closely resembles that of the *chaitya* hall at Bhājē, near Kārli, that the best idea of it can be formed from the engraving of that cave given by Mr. Fergusson.† Two bold cornices, one on each side of the archway, have been supported by flying brackets of the Bhājē pattern, but those of the north side are broken.

At about fifteen feet from the ground, upon a sort of string course, there are small reliefs in compartments, four to the north of the archway and three to the south, the fourth here having perished. Five represent each a man and woman, the other two single figures, apparently male. There is nothing very characteristic about them except a sort of cowl worn by the men, and a decent sufficiency of vesture not always observable in Eastern sculpture. North of the archway, close to the ground, there has been a group of sculptures in high relief, of which nothing remains but part of the head of a single figure, twice life-size. The face is almost all gone; but there remains the head-dress, which was either a great roll of hair, or a turban in very fine strands: a fleur-de-lis aigrette in front rises no higher than the crown of the head-dress. I am inclined

* Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. vol. III. pt. II. (Jan. 1850) p. 46.

† Hist. of Indian and Eastern Architecture, fig. 46, p. 111.

to think that this is the head of a female, but it is impossible to be sure. It is certainly not that of a Buddha. Over the place of the left shoulder is an inscription of fourteen letters of which I made a copy, and which Dr. H. Kern of Leiden reads:—

Kaṇḥasa amtevasinā Balakena kata(ṇ).

'Made by Balaka the pupil of Kaṇḥa (Skr. Kṛishṇa).'

Cave No. 2 is a *vihāra* in one story, immediately north of No. 1. It has a verandah twenty-one feet long and eight deep, in a niche at the south end of which is a *dahgoba* in relief of half its diameter, three feet high. The ceiling has been painted with circles within squares. The wall behind is ruined, but was apparently pierced by three doors $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet high by $5\frac{1}{2}$ wide.

These led to a hall ten yards deep and nine wide, surrounded by eighteen cells, six on a side. All except the four next to the two inner corners have the *chaitya* arch over the door. There have been six slender pillars down each side, and three at the back of the cave, standing $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet from the walls. They are octagonal, with plain square head (hardly to be called a capital), and support false architraves of stone eleven inches deep by eight thick, above which are false rafters one inch deep by five wide.

No. 3 is a plain *vihāra* six yards square, with nine cells. The front is ruined, but shows traces of three doors.

No. 4 is a row of nine cells with an unsupported verandah or eave of the natural rock. These cells are indeed a mere improvement of a natural hollow under the cliff; of a kind common in the trap formation—an unusual style of art among Buddhist excavators. There are a few mortice-holes here for woodwork.

No. 5 is a tank constructed on similar principles, now filled up with mud.

No. 6—two cells, with a deep verandah of the same arrangement; and the seventh cave is a small cistern.

Considering the great resemblance of these caves to those at Bhāje,—the raking pillars, the archway closed only by a wooden screen, the wooden-looking brackets of the façade and pillars of the chief *vihāra*, and the absence of

any figure of Buddha—I think I am justified in assuming that these are among the very oldest caves known; and that the remaining fragment of the screen not only turns that at Kārli out of its post of honour as "a sole survivor," but considerably exceeds it in age, and is in fact the oldest piece of carpentry in India except the few rafters remaining at Bhāje.

In a scarp over the village of Hal Khurd, eight miles south of Karjat, there is a small and very plain *vihāra* consisting of a hall twelve feet by eleven, surrounded—as well as I remember—by six cells, two of them double-bedded. One on the left of the entrance has been converted into a shrine for Bhairava, for whose further convenience, or that of his worshippers, the front wall of the *vihāra* has been demolished within living memory. It is said to have borne an inscription, for which I sought in vain among the *débris*, and the cave is so plain that I cannot even conjecture its date. I visited also this year some caves at Gaur Kamāt, four miles east of Karjat, which turned out to be the water-cisterns of a small hill-fort. They were ancient enough, however: for the masonry of the fort was 'Hemādṛpanti,' and so were the ruins of an old temple below. I heard also of a cave upon the spur which the Bor Ghāt Incline ascends, in the village of Jambrung. It is now sacred to Gambhīr nāth, and the description suggested the idea of a cave of the Lomas Rishi type; but it may be only a Hindu hole in the rock. It is said to be accessible to a horseman from Kondāne. A small rock-hewn shrine was also reported as existing in Mūta Dongar (Landerab Mountain), a high hill which terminates the spur of Matherān known as Garbat Point. It is occupied by Sonda Deva, the tutelary and eponymous *grām devata* of the village of Sonda vādī, in the limits of which it is. There are also excavations, as yet unvisited by any competent explorer, in the fort of Kothalgadh or Peth, in the north of this tālukā. I have a plan of them by a native surveyor, but it is too small to form any idea from, except that they are important from their size. A cave at Ambivli, near the last-named, was known to Dr. Wilson as the cave of Jambrung.† I have not seen it, but it is certainly, from the description given, a large *vihāra*.

† There are two Jambrungs. The one mentioned above is distinguished as "Monje Jambrung, Peta Khālpur."

KRISHNA'S OPINION OF UNFAIR FIGHTING.

BY J. MUIR, D.C.L., LL.D., PH.D., EDINBURGH.

In a paper which I contributed to the *Indian Antiquary* (vol. III. pp. 237ff.) I have quoted (in p. 239) a passage from the *Rājadharmā* of the *Mahābhārata* in which fair fighting is enjoined upon warriors. In the *Salya Parvan*, however, it is related that Bhīmasena shattered the thighs of Duryodhana with his club (v. 3292). This was regarded as contrary to the laws of war; and in verses 3346ff. we are told that Balarāma, the brother of Krishna, expressed his indignation at the conduct of Bhīmasena in these terms:—“Shame that Vrikadara (another name of Bhīma) should have smitten his antagonist below the navel in a lawful conflict! He has done what has never been witnessed in a fight with clubs. It is a rule of the Śāstra that a blow should not be struck below the navel.” The speaker then rushed at Bhīma, but was held back by Krishna (v. 3350), who goes on to say that the Pāṇḍavas were their friends, and that Bhīma was only very properly fulfilling a threat which he had made that he would break Duryodhana's thighs with his club, and that this fate had been foretold to the latter by the sage Maitreya: Bhīma therefore, Krishna concludes, was not in fault (vv. 3355ff.). In vv. 3366f. Balarāma repeats his condemnation of Bhīma's act:—“Having unrighteously smitten the righteous king Suyodhana (Duryodhana) the Pāṇḍava (Bhīma) will be reputed in the world as an unfair fighter (*jihmayodhit*), while the righteous king Duryodhana, son of Dhritarāshtra, a fair fighter, being slain, will attain to eternal felicity.” Having said this, Balarāma departed to Dvārakā. Further on (vv. 3442ff.) we are informed that in honour of Duryodhana a shower of

fragrant flowers fell from the sky, accompanied by music from the Gandharvas, songs from the Apsarases, and acclamations from the Siddhas, &c. The narrative then proceeds (v. 4445):—“Perceiving these wonders, and the honour paid to Duryodhana, Vāsudeva (Krishna) and the rest became ashamed (*viridām upāgaman*) and sorrowful, hearing that Bhīshma, Droṇa, Karṇa, and Bhūriśravas had been unfairly killed. But seeing the Pāṇḍavas anxious and downcast, Krishna said to them, in a voice like a drum of the clouds, ‘This man, rapid in handling his weapons, and all these valorous warriors, could not be slain by you through fair fighting. This prince could never be slain by righteous means. These great bowmen and charioteers, Bhīshma and the rest, have all on different occasions been slain by me in battle by many devices, and the application of guile (or illusion, *māyā*), from a desire to benefit you. If I did not practise this sort of guile (*jihma*) in battle, how could you any longer conquer, or obtain dominion and wealth? None of these four great warriors could be slain by fair means, even by the gods who guard the different regions themselves. So, too, this wielder of a club, the energetic son of Dhritarāshtra (Duryodhana), could not have been slain even by Death (*Kāla*) himself, the wielder of the rod (*daṇḍa*). Nor should you (sadly) reflect that this enemy has been slain, (for) in the same way many more enemies must be killed by false devices. (This) path has been trodden by the former gods, the slayers of the Asuras; and the path which has been trodden by the good is followed by all.’”

MAXIMS AND SENTIMENTS FROM THE MAHĀBHĀRATA.

BY J. MUIR, D.C.L., LL.D., PH.D., EDINBURGH.

(Continued from p. 154.)

22. *The path of salvation.* Mahābh. i. 3176.
That man with Brahman union wins—
The highest good by sages sought—
Who ne'er in deed, or word, or thought
'Gainst any living creature sins.
23. *What makes a man a Brāhman.* iii. 17392.
A spirit (Yaksha) asks:
What is it makes a Brāhman? birth,
Deep study, sacred lore, or worth?

King Yudhishtira answers:

Nor study, sacred lore, nor birth
The Brāhman makes; 'tis only worth.
All men—a Brāhman most of all—
Should virtue guard with care and pains:
Who virtue rescues, all retains;
But all is gone with virtue's fall.*
The men in books who take delight,
Frequenters all of learning's schools,

* Compare No. 7, p. 153.

Are nothing more than zealous fools ;
The learn'd are those who act aright.
More vile than one of Śudra race
That Brāhmaṇ deem, whose learned store
Embraces all the Vedic lore,
If evil deeds his life disgrace.
That man deserves the Brāhmaṇ's name
Who offerings throws on Agni's flame,
And knows his senses how to tame.

24. *The true Brāhmaṇ.* iii. 14075.

No better than a Śudra deem
The Brāhmaṇ wise in sin, the slave
Of low degrading vice, the knave
Who fain a holy man would seem.
But rank with men of priestly birth,
The Śudra truthful, self-restrained,
By constant acts in virtue trained :—
A twice-born man is he by worth.

25. *The value of rites depends on the inward purity of the performer.* Vāyu Purāṇa, viii. 190.

No sacred lore, howe'er profound,
Nor all the long and varied round
Of sacred rites, can bliss procure
For worthless men, in heart impure.
Although a man with zeal and skill
Should all external rites fulfil,
He reaps no fruit of all his toil,
If sin his inner man should soil.
Ev'n he his all in alms who spends
With heart defiled, secures no meed :
The disposition, not the deed,
Has value,—all on it depends.

26. *Virtue of more value than high birth.*

Mahābhārata, v. 1492.

The man of high or humble birth,
Whose life with virtue's laws accords,—
The righteous, modest man, is worth
A hundred merely high-born lords.

27. *The real ascetics.* iii. 13448 ff.

The high-souled men who never sin
In thought, or word, or action—they,
They are the true ascetics : pray,
What virtue's in a shrivelled skin ?

28. *The recluse less meritorious than virtuous men who live in the world.* xii. 12126.

From every vicious taint though pure,
A hermit's virtue cannot vie

With theirs who ne'er from trials fly,
But face and conquer every lure.

29. *Generous impartiality.* xii. 8752.

With equal eye the truly wise
View learned Brāhmaṇs, nobly born,
Cows, dogs, and outcast men forlorn,
Whom thoughtless fools as vile despise.
For both in objects fixed, and things
Which inward motive force impels,—
In all,—the one great Spirit dwells,
From whom this frame of nature springs.

30. *Final beatitude ; and the self-evidencing power of the doctrine regarding it.* xii. 8959 ff.

Let men all worldly longings quell,
And sunk in contemplation dwell
On th' inmost, deepest truth of things,
From which the spirit's freedom springs.
Composed and calm, ascetics feel
No longer outward woe and weal :
Within themselves enclosed they rest,
And, self-sufficing, live most blest.
Their state resembles placid sleep,
'Mid men who troubled vigils keep.
'Tis as, when winds by night repose,
A lamp's clear flame unflickering glows.
And thus, as seasons onward roll,
The saint, with meagre fare content,
On deep self-contemplation bent,
Within himself beholds the Soul.
Now see in this most wholesome lore
The Vedas' deep esoteric core.
On no tradition old it rests :
Its truth at once itself attests.
Whatever precious gems you find
In sacred tales, are here combined.
Extracted here, you taste distilled
The nectar thousand verses yield.†

31. *Final beatitude attainable even by low caste men, and women.* xiv. 392.

Know this, the highest good, the final rest,
To gain with Brahmā union ;—this the goal :
Then freed from hard corporeal bonds, the soul
Enjoys immortal life supremely blest.

This end pursuing, e'en the lowest men,
With women, reach that blissful state ; much
more

Shall Brāhmaṇs, Kshatriyas, versed in sacred
lore,

Who Brahmā seek, this good transcendent gain.

† Although in subsequent verses (8967 f.), systems founded on reasoning, and ignorance of the Vedas, are condemned, we seem to have in the passage before us a recogni-

tion of the self-evidencing power of certain doctrines, independently of any revealed authority. In the piece following next but one (No. 32) strict orthodoxy is required.

32. *An Indian Free-thinker's Fate.* xii. 6736ff.

While yet a human form I bore,
 I loved profane and useless lore;
 Contemned the Scriptures, steeped in pride,
 And took poor reason for my guide.
 In halls where reverend scholars met
 To talk, and questions deep debate,
 I liked to argue, plied the rules
 Of logic, called the Brāhmins fools.
 Oft battering hard with impious knocks
 My grave opponents orthodox.
 Untaught in sacred wisdom's school,
 A doubter, unbeliever, fool,
 In every point the truth I missed,
 A vain, pretentious sciolist,
 Who others viewed with scornful eyes,
 And deemed myself most learn'd and wise.
 Now see the retribution meet
 Of this my doubt and self-conceit!
 Behold me here a jackal born,
 Who once the Vedas dared to scorn!
 But now my hope is this; perhaps,
 When many, many days elapse,
 From this brute form I shall escape,
 And gain once more my human shape.
 Devoutly then, with right good-will,
 Shall I religious rites fulfil,
 With liberal gifts the priests delight,
 And 'gainst my lawless senses fight,
 Will real knowledge seek, and shun
 Whate'er I ought to leave undone.*

33. *Means do not always lead to desired ends.†*
 Mahābh. v. 1430.

The clever do not always wealth command†
 Nor stupid fools from lack of fortune pine.
 The wise the course of mundane things divine;
 No other men the secret understand.

* It will be seen from the preceding verses that the requirements of Indian orthodoxy are no less stringent than those of some other religions. The words are part of an address of the god Indra, who had taken the form of a jackal, to the sage Kāśyapa, in which various topics, not all very closely connected with each other, are touched upon, and which concludes with a jackal giving the account of himself which I quote. At the end of the address the sage is struck with the wisdom of the speaker, and by supernatural intuition discovers that it is Indra who has been talking to him. According to the intention of the story, however, it is not the god, but a man, who has undergone the fate described. This introduction of Indra, therefore, makes no difference as to the lesson sought to be conveyed, which is meant as a warning to men. . . .

† I add a literal translation of the original lines, in which the slightly jocular turn which I have here and there given to them in the metrical version will not be found:—

"I was a would-be paylit, a rationalist, a contemner of

34. *Union is strength.* v. 1318.§

Long threads, if all alike they be,
 And many, ev'n if thin, sustain,
 Unbroken, many a heavy strain:
 Of good men here an emblem see.

35. *A guide through the gloom.* xii. 12064.

The night approaches now; hold fast
 The lamp of holy knowledge, bright
 With ever slowly-kindled light,
 To guide thee, till the gloom is passed.

36. *The cure for grief.* iii. 14079

(= xi. 76b, f.; xii. 12494).

With drugs the body's pains are healed;
 But wisdom mental anguish quells;
 Such wholesome power in knowledge
 dwells.

To grief, then, never weakly yield.

37. *Marks of a good man.* ii. 2439.

The good kind actions recollect,
 But base, injurious deeds forget:
 On doing good to others set,
 They never recompense expect.

38. *The same.* i. 6254 and iii. 13252.

Kind deeds are never thrown away
 On men of real goodness,—such,
 As not content to give as much
 As they have got, far more repay,
 Nay, ev'n a hundredfold bestow;
 For here the gods no measure know.

39. *The requiter not equal to the doer of good acts.* xii. 4493.

The man who manifold hath paid
 A kindness on himself conferred
 Does less than he who, only stirred
 By generous impulse, lent him aid.

(To be continued.)

the Vedas, fond of logic, the useless science of reasoning, an utterer of reasoned propositions, a propounder of arguments in assemblies, a reviler and abuser of Brāhmins in theological discussions, an unbeliever, a universal doubter, a fool, who plumed myself on being a paylit (learned man). The recompense which I have earned by this career is that I have been born as a jackal. But perhaps it may yet happen that, hundreds of days and nights hence, I shall be born again as a man; and then, contented and alert, devoted to the practice of sacrifice, of liberality, and of self-restraint, I shall seek to know (only) what is to be known, and avoid all that is to be avoided."

† See also No. 14, p. 155.

‡ Compare Ecclesiastes ix. 11:—"I returned, and saw under the sun that the race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong, neither yet bread to the wise, nor yet riches to me: of understanding, nor yet favour to men of skill; but time and chance happeneth to them all."

§ See also No. 1, p. 152.

MISCELLANEA.

HASTAKAVAPRA—ASTAKAPRA.

Col. H. Yule writes to *the Academy* of 15th August as follows:—

"Astakapra is the name of a city in the region about modern Gujarāt which appears both in Ptolemy's tables and in the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, and the identification of which is of some importance in the adjustment of the classical geography of India. In the preparation of the map of India for Dr. Smith's *Historical and Classical Atlas*, the present writer, after a good deal of consideration, placed it on the west coast of the Gulf of Cambay, not far below Bhaunagar, where a very ancient site, described by Mr. Burgess in his *Notes on Gujarat*, afforded a fair provisional identification. But I was unable to recover any trace of the Greek name. This is now afforded in a paper on Valabhi Inscriptions by Dr. G. Bühler, in the *Indian Antiquary* for July (vol. V. p. 204), which I have just seen.

"One of these inscriptions, a copper grant by Dhruvasena I. of Valabhi, confers a certain well and pasture 'in the village of Kukkaṭa, situated in the Hastakavapra Āharaṇi' (the last word supposed to be some territorial subdivision), on a Brāhmaṇ residing at Hastakavapra.

"Kukkaṭa is identified by Dr. Bühler with the modern Kūkaḍ in the Goghā Tālukā, and Hastakavapra probably 'with Hāthab in the Bhaunagar territory, which is held in great esteem by the Bhaunagar Brāhmaṇs on account of its temple of Nilkanṭha,' and which is a few miles from Kūkaḍ.* . . .

"The identification of Hāthab with Hastakavapra may be accepted on Dr. Bühler's judgment: and that which I put forward of Hastakavapra with the Greek Astakapra will hardly be disputed, and I am glad to have made in the Atlas map so near an approximation to the true site."

Major J. W. Watson, the owner of the Dhruvasena plates, writes us as follows:—"I suggested to Dr. Bühler both Kukkaṭa being put for Kūkaḍ, and Hastakavapra for Hāthab, and so far agree with the identification. Col. Yule's identification also seems a good one, for the following reasons:—Hāthab is situated at the mouth of a small tidal creek, the embouchure of a small river which flows past Gundi-Koliāk. Gundi, formerly Gundigaḍh, was a town of some importance in ancient times, and was one of the resting-places of the Nāgar Brāhmaṇs (*vide Nagara Khanda* of the *Skanda Purāṇa*) before they settled at Goghā and Bhāvanagar. In the time of Akbar, Gundi-Koliāk

was one of the ports of Saurāṣṭrā. In Gladwin's very incorrect translation of the *Aṣṭa* he calls it (vol. II. p. 67) "Bandar Goondylucky." But the whole of this passage is incorrect: *vide* Blochmann's edition of the original text. This "Maabidcheen," which has puzzled so many, as referring to the temples on Girnār, is simply a place of worship of the Jainas. The passage ought to run:—"And near this, on the summit of Mount Girnār, there is a fortress abounding in flowing springs. It is a celebrated place of worship of the Jainas, and Bandar Gundi-Koliāk is near it." Though the geography is incorrect, Gundi-Koliāk being a long way from Mount Girnār, it shows that in Akbar's time, i.e. from the middle of the 16th to the commencement of the 17th century, Gundi-Koliāk was a port.

"In the time of the author of the *Mirāt-i-Āhmadi* (vol. III., not translated by Bird), Gundi is down among the *barāhs* or roadsteads; now (1876) Gundi-Koliāk is about two miles distant from the sea, and Hāthab (said to have been the port) is situated at the mouth of the creek, Gundi lying on the eastern bank, and Koliāk on the western. Hāthab is the only ancient port along the coast anywhere near Kūkaḍ, where the Dhruvasena plate was found, and I should think Colonel Yule's guess is probably correct.

"And, since this creek and river have been silting up for the last three hundred years, Hāthab may, in still more ancient times, have been really an important port."

LITERARY WORK IN JAVA.

During a recent visit to Java I was surprised to find how much has been done to elucidate the Hindu and Buddhist remains there, and as it appears to me that a study of the antiquities of that splendid island will do much to help Indianists, I shall venture to give you a brief account of what I observed.

The Batavian Society is by far the oldest in the East (it was founded some years before that at Calcutta), and the long series of its *Transactions* (*Verhandelungen*) contains, especially of late years, most valuable treatises on the archaeology and philology of the islands which constitute Dutch India; the Society has also published some splendid separate works. The chief contributor is, unhappily, no more; on landing at Batavia I was grieved to hear of the recent death of Dr. Cohen-Stuart. This most amiable and distinguished Orientalist was born in Holland in 1825, and, as a

* Kūkaḍ is in Lat. 21° 29' N., Long. 72° 13' E., or twenty miles south of Bhaunagar and six north-east of Trāpaj. Hāthab is about eight miles south of Goghā.—ED.

civil servant, arrived in Java in 1846. His remarkable aptitude for Oriental studies at once attracted the attention of the Government, and he was sent to Solo (Soerjakarta) to devote himself to those pursuits, which he did with the greatest singleness of mind and consequent success.

His chief works (among many of lasting value) are a critical edition and translation of the Javanese *Brata Jorda* (i.e. *Mahābhārata*) composed after a Kawi poem of 1097 A.D., and his collection of Kawi (or Old Javanese) inscriptions. Both were published by the Batavian Society. The first is especially important, as it is the only critical edition and translation that we have of a great Indian epic in a language foreign to North India. The parallel versions in Tamil and Telugu have been neglected, or nearly so, for Mr. C. P. Brown's unfinished edition of the Telugu *Mahābhārata* is all that India can show. The difficulty of such a work as this few can understand, but the value of it is evident. Such versions, in fact, enable us to partly control the matter of the uncertain Sanskrit recensions. His collection of Kawi inscriptions extends to two parts—a folio volume of facsimiles (to the accuracy of which I can testify, as I have compared parts with the originals), and an introduction and complete transcript in Roman letters. Most of the documents are of the ninth and tenth centuries A.D., and are chiefly in Old Javanese, with a large admixture of Sanskrit. The author's untimely death has prevented an explanation of these most difficult texts, but he has left an invaluable aid in the shape of a complete index to the whole, which, with many other MSS., his widow has generously deposited in the library of the Batavian Society.

The Society has an admirable museum, rich in Hindu and Buddhist relics of an early period, of which we have hardly any remains in India. The excellent laws of Java have greatly contributed to this. In India ancient statues or inscriptions that may be discovered are invariably destroyed for the metal—they are usually of copper; so are coins. In Java it is penal to destroy such, but the finder is entitled to claim the full value. Thus I saw a gold image which, though very small, had been bought for about 20*l.*, and is one of the greatest treasures of the museum.

The preparation of a catalogue is in the hands of Mr. Groeneveldt, and it will be of the greatest value to Indian archaeologists. The library of the Society is rich, for the East. The Catalogue of Arabic MSS. (chiefly on law), by Dr. van den Berg, is sufficient proof. A scientific Oriental Jurisprudence has long been recognized in Java, though not as yet in India.

Even in the country towns there is much scientific zeal. At Solo, Mr. Wilkens showed me his

MS. Javanese Dictionary, in about thirty folio volumes. It comprises proverbs, traditions, customs, and everything of interest connected with the Javanese people. Dr. van der Tunk has resided for some years on Bali in order to study the remaining Polynesian Hindus. Dr. Kern, the very eminent Leyden Professor, has explained several Old Javanese texts; in his hands Kawi (or Old Javanese) studies are now left. I must omit particular mention of several important treatises on numismatics, &c. Dutch powers of work and the national sincerity of character have thus done far more for Oriental research in Java than has been done in any presidency of India, or even in the whole of India, in the same space of time.

During my stay in Java I was able—thanks to the unrivalled facilities for travelling—to visit the chief Hindu and Buddhist remains in the central provinces of the island. The chief Hindu temple is at Brambānan, or the 'place of Brāhmanas.' To give an intelligible account of this and of the Buddhist temples would need a volume; I must confine myself, therefore, to the chief facts I have noticed, especially as Mr. Fergusson's great work affords a ready means of finding plans and views to those to whom the Dutch works are inaccessible. The Śiva temple at Brambānan is of the (for India) unusual form termed *chaturmukha*; in one of the four faces the old Javanese custodian opened a make-shift wicker door, and I saw, to my surprise, an image of Durgā, evidently worshipped still, just as it would be in a modern Indian village. There was a streak of red paint on the forehead, and around were offerings of menses of curry and rice, and the like. For more than four centuries Buddhism and Hinduism have been supplanted in Java by Muhammadanism, but bigotry and fanaticism seem to have found no place. The temples are in ruins, but from natural causes. Originally built of small blocks of stone without mortar, the upper courses have been thrown down to a great extent, but the lower are only partly dislocated. The cause is evident; the ruins are on the slopes or in the valleys around the stupendous volcanic cones of Merapi and Merbabu, and occasional earthquakes have done the mischief.

Brambānan is in the native state of Joco-Karta; but it is to be hoped that the Dutch Government will some time have a clearance made round the bases of the great and subordinate Hindu temples, for enough is left standing to enable one, by the rules of Indian architecture, to make a satisfactory restoration of the whole, and these ruins are of the highest archaeological interest. The Śaivism of Java was evidently of the old school, and before Vedantic influences had begun to work. Śiva was then the supreme being

(in Java, Bhatāra Guru, who has been satisfactorily identified by Cohen-Stuart with Śiva), but Nārāyaṇa or Viṣṇu (as an emanation of Śiva) was also an object of worship. In India very few temples of this period are left—perhaps not more than two or three near Madras, and of these one (at Seven Pagodas) is of much the same style. The museum at Batavia also possesses much to illustrate this system, which is that of the *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa* (or 'the real old') *pūrāṇas*. The architecture is evidently South-Indian in style, and Dr. Cohen-Stuart's palæographical researches point to South India as the source of the former Hindu civilization of Java. I have other evidence of this, but it would take too much space to give it here.

Mandoeet is a very interesting Buddhist temple, with splendid statues of Buddha (in the middle) and of Saṅgha and Dharma (on either side).

Boro-Boedoer is the largest ruin by far, and though it does not cover nearly so much space as one of the great South-Indian temples, it is, as a whole, larger than any single shrine or *gopura* in any Indian temple. It was evidently a *dagoba*, and it being on a hill, there are terraces on the slopes instead of the usual enclosures. The bas-reliefs here and at Mandoeet are very remarkable, and I was delighted to find that they illustrate the *Jātaka*s. I believe that this has not been as yet noticed. One example must suffice: on the left side of the steps at Mandoeet there is a bas-relief with (at the upper part) two birds carrying a stick in their claws by the ends, the middle of which a tortoise has hold of by its mouth. In the left corner below, two men are looking up and pointing at it; in the right, the tortoise is on the ground, and the men have thrown themselves on it. This obviously is a representation of the *Jātaka* published by Fausbøll (*Five Jātaka*s, p. 6), and the story has found its way into the *Panchatantra*.

There was evidently a large emigration of Buddhists from North India to Java about the eleventh century A.D., and these took with them a Nāgari alphabet, which is a great contrast to the Old Javanese character. It is worthy of notice that we find some inscriptions in the same character at Seven Pagodas (near Madras), which was once a great port. These emigrants took with them a highly developed form of the Northern Buddhism.

The care taken of Boro-Boedoer by the Dutch Government is beyond all praise. The magnificent volumes by Leemans and Van Kinsbergen will show that these ruins well deserve it, for the bas-reliefs there are infinitely more valuable than anything of the kind in India; the Old Javanese civilization is represented in them down to the most minute details.

The number of statues to be seen everywhere, the inscriptions and endless ruins, show that Central Java must once have been a wonderfully successful Indian colony. The richness of the soil may have helped, but it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that the Brāhmins and Buddhists were more successful, in every way, with the Polynesian Javanese than they have been with the low-type Drāviḍians of Southern India. Where these last have benefited much, there has been a large admixture of North-Indian blood, and for a long period. Javanese art, once equal to Indian, has (as Mr. Groeneveldt pointed out to me) sunk again to the old Polynesian level, but there are yet undeniable traces of the great success of the old Indian missionaries. Their work was ended abruptly more than 400 years ago, but there is the more reason that it should not now be forgotten. They raised what was probably a cannibal population to a comparatively high and permanent civilization, and made Java what Marco Polo found it, "une yse de mout grant richesse"—a character that it still has.

A. BURNELL.

Tanjore, July 30, 1876.

—The Academy, 2nd Sept.

THE LATE PROFESSOR ROBT. C. CHILDERS.

In the death of Professor R. C. Childers—in the prime of life, at Weymouth on the 25th July last—the study of Pāli has suffered an incalculable loss. Robt. C. Childers was the son of the Rev. Charles Childers, English Chaplain at Nice; he was appointed to the Ceylon Civil Service about the end of 1860, and for three years acted as Private Secretary to Sir C. McCarthy, then Governor, and had become Assistant Government Agent in Kandy when, in 1864, he was forced by ill health to return to Europe. While in the island, however, he had studied the language, literature, and modes of thought of the people with the diligence of a thorough student, spending one of his vacations at the Bentota Rest-house in the study of Pāli under Yātrāmulle Unnāṇse, a Buddhist priest of great learning. After his return to England his health improved, and in the autumn of 1868 he was induced by Dr. R. Rost, of the India Office Library, to resume the study of Pāli. In Nov. 1869 he published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* the Pāli text of the *Khuddaka Pāṭha* with an English translation and notes. In 1870 he published his views on Nirvāṇa, first in *Trübner's Literary Record*, and afterwards in his *Notes on the Dhammapada* in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, May 1871, which he further expanded in a long note at the close of vol. I. of his *Pāli Dictionary*, published in 1872. In the latter half of 1872 he was appointed Sub-Librarian

at the India Office, where his readiness to assist all engaged in Oriental research, and his pleasing manner, made his services invaluable. In 1873 he contributed a paper on Buddhist Metaphysics to Prof. Cowell's edition of Colebrooke's *Essays*, and began a series of papers in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* on the Siṅhalese language, with the object of proving its Sanskritic, and not Drāviḍian, origin; in the same year he was appointed Professor of Pāli and Buddhist Literature in University College, London. In 1874 appeared the first, and in 1876 the second part of his edition of the *Mahā-pariṇibbāna Sutta*,—that portion of the *Sutta Piṭaka* which relates the history of the closing scenes of Buddha's life. The great work of his life, however, was the *Pāli Dictionary*, of which the second volume appeared last year,—a monument of patient and honest work, but which came far short of its author's aim, and which would have been vastly extended and improved had he only lived until a second edition was called for: it is to be hoped the further collections he had made for it have been left in such a form as to be available for incorporation at no distant date. He was labouring to complete his long announced *Pāli Grammar* and other works when laid aside by illness. Among other things, he had on hand for this journal a translation of Kern's monograph on the date of Buddha's Nirvāṇa and the Aśoka inscriptions, when a cold contracted in the early part of the year developed into consumption, and carried him off in the thirty-eighth year of his age, shortly after the Institute of France had adjudged to him for his *Dictionary* the Volney prize of 1876, as the best philosophical work of the year.

ANALYSIS OF THE FIRST SEVENTEEN SARGAS OF BILHANA'S VIKRAMĀNKAKĀVYA.

(From Dr. Bühler's Introduction to the *Vikramānkadevacharita*.)

In order to enable the reader to form an exact estimate of the work, I shall closely follow the text, and relegate to the notes all my own interpretations, and such additions to the poet's statements as can be supplied from the inscriptions of this dynasty which have been published by Sir W. Elliot, and from other sources.

Bilhana's narrative is, unfortunately, very uneven. He first gives some notices regarding the

origin of the Chālukya race and the earlier kings of the restored dynasty, which begins with Tailapa. But these are very fragmentary. Next he gives a little fuller account of the deeds of Vikramāditya's father, but does not attempt a connected narrative of his reign. After that, the events immediately preceding his hero's birth, and the history of the latter's youth are given in the style of a chronicler. When he comes to the wars fought by Vikrama before his accession to the throne, he relapses into the rhapsodic treatment of his subject. The following portion, which treats of Āhavamalla's death, Vikrama's exploits during the reign of his brother Someśvara II., of his accession to the throne, and of the two first years of his reign, is again a kind of chronicle, though it is unduly enlarged by the introduction of irrelevant poetical descriptions of the seasons and of court amusements. In the last and concluding part Bilhāṇa gives mere fragmentary notes on events that occurred in the later career of his hero.

Brahma, Bilhāṇa says, was once engaged in his Saṁdhyā devotions, when Indra came to him to complain of the growing godlessness on earth, and begged him to put an end to it by creating a hero who would be a terror to the evil-doers. On hearing this request the Creator directed his looks towards his *chuluka*, or water-vessel, and from it sprang a handsome warrior fit to protect the three worlds.* From him descended the Chālukyas, a race of heroes, among whom Hārīta is reckoned as first progenitor, and Mānavya arose, who humbled the kings of the earth.† The original seat of the Chālukyas was Ayodhyā. Some of them, desirous of victory, extended their conquests thence to the reign of the betel-palms in the south, "where the tusks of their elephants wrote the record of their victories on the sands of the ocean-shore that witnesses the secrets of the Cholas. Narrow was the realm of Vibhishāṇa to them, and their horses roamed as far as the snowy mountains."‡

In course of time, Tailapa (973-997) became the ornament of the Chālukya race, a mighty warrior, who utterly destroyed 'those thorns of the earth,' the Rāshtrakūṭas.§

After him ruled Satyāśraya (927-1008), who surpassed Bhārgava in the skilful use of his bow.|| He was succeeded by Jayasimha

* Sarga I. ver. 31-56; compare *Jour. R. As. Soc.* vol. IV. p. 8, extract from the Handarki inscription.

† I. 58; compare *Jour. R. As. Soc. loc. cit.*; the Mangalīn plate, *Ind. Ant.* vol. III. p. 305, and *Jour. R. As. Soc. (N. S.)* vol. I. p. 255.

‡ I. 63-67; compare *Jour. R. As. Soc.* vol. IV. pp. 6, 12, where Sir W. Elliot states, according to his inscriptions, that fifty-nine princes of this dynasty reigned at Ayodhyā and other places.

§ I. 69-73; compare *Jour. R. As. Soc.* vol. IV. p. 6; Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* IV. 163. Bilhāṇa has left out this king's expedition against Mālvā, which is mentioned in his inscriptions and admitted in the *Bhojacharita*. According to the latter, Munja was captured and killed by Tailapa, but avenged by his successor.

|| I. 74-78; compare *Jour. R. As. Soc.* vol. IV. p. 13; Lassen, *loc. cit.* He is also called Satyāśri.

(1018-1040), who, after a long career, glorious through numerous victories, "received a garland, culled from the *Pārijāta* tree, from Indra's own hands."[¶]

After him came his son Āhavamalladeva* (1040-69), called also Trailokyamalla, who in songs, tales, and dramas was celebrated as 'the second Rāma.' He conquered the Cholas;† he stormed Dhārā, the capital of the Pramāras in Mālvā, from which king Bhoja had to flee.‡ He caused countless sacrifices to be offered, and by his liberality he surpassed the *chintamani*, the wish-granting philosopher's stone. He utterly destroyed the power of Karna, king of Dāhala§. He erected a pillar of victory on the shore of the ocean.|| He personally vanquished the king of Dravida, 'who had run to encounter him,' and stormed Kānchi, the capital of the Cholas, driving its ruler into the jungles.¶¶ He beautified Kalyāṇa so that it surpassed in splendour all other cities of the earth.**

But in the midst of his victories and his prosperity, Āhavamalla was tormented by a deep sorrow. For he had no heir. At last he formed the resolution to lay aside for a while all princely pomp, and to perform, together with his queen, severe penance in order to obtain a son through Siva's favour. He therefore made over the kingdom to the care of his ministers, and retired to a temple of Śiva. There the royal couple slept on the bare ground, and entirely gave themselves up to devotional practices and to the service of the temple. The king gathered flowers for the worship of his guardian deity with his own hands, and the queen swept the floor of the temple and smeared it with cowdung. After they had spent some time in this manner, the king, one morning when engaged in his prayers, heard a heavenly voice, which announced to him that Śiva, pleased

with his faith and penance, was willing to grant him three sons, the second of whom would surpass in valour and virtues all the princes of the olden times. "Two sons, the voice added, will be born to thee by virtue of the merit acquired by thy works, but the second will come to thee by my favour alone." The king, highly rejoicing, acquainted his wife with this auspicious news, performed the ceremonies required to complete his vow, gave rich presents to the Brāhmanas, and resumed the government.†

In due time the queen bore a beautiful son, who "since he fed the eyes of the king, just as Soma, the moon, feeds the *chakoras*," received the name Soma (Someśvara).‡ The king was, however, not satisfied. Remembering the predictions of the heavenly voice, he anxiously longed for the birth of his second son. At last he saw the cheek of the queen again become pale. He testified his joy by showering gold on the Brāhmanas and by making other thank-offerings. During this second pregnancy the queen had wonderful cravings, which presaged the future greatness of the child she carried. Sometimes she desired to place her feet on the elephants that guard the points of the horizon; sometimes she called on the nymphs that are the guardian deities of the quarters of the universe to shampoo her feet, and at other times she eyed the swords as if desirous to drink 'the water of their steel.'

Great precautions were taken to ensure the safety of her precious burden. The lying-in chamber was secured by powerful spells and efficacious herbs, and carefully guarded by learned Brāhmanas. At last, in a most auspicious hour and under a most favourable conjunction of the planets, the eagerly desired son was born. Flowers fell from the sky, Indra's drum resounded, and as the gods rejoiced in heaven, so a festive tumult,

¶ I. 79-86, compare *Jour. R. As. Soc.* vol. IV. p. 13; Lassen, *loc.* IV. 104. The phrase that Jayasinhha received a garland of *Pārijāta* flowers from Indra means probably that he was killed in battle. Usually the *Apsaras* are said to choose the dying warriors as husbands, and to throw the *avayavarmāla* on their necks. Between Satyāśraya and Jayasinhha, the elder brother of the latter, Vikramāditya—who, according to the inscriptions reigned from 1008-1018—has been left out.

* I. 87. The real name of this king is Someśvara (I.). Bilhana always uses in its stead the honorific titles or *Birudas* given above. His reason is probably that as Vikrama's hated brother and predecessor was also named Someśvara (II.), he did not like to call the father, to whom Vikrama was much attached, by the same name.

† I. 90.

‡ I. 91-96.

§ I. 102 and 103. The two verses contain a pun on the word *karna*, which means 'ear,' and is also a proper name.

|| I. 111.

¶¶ I. 114-117. From Bilhana's statement it might seem that the Dravida and the Chola were two different persons. But all through the *Charita* the two names are treated as synonyms: compare, e.g. V. 28, 29, 43, 60, 61, 77, 79, 84, 85, 89; VI. 2, 4, 7, 9, 22. In the same way Kuntala and Karnaṣṭa are used as synonyms to designate the kingdom of

the Chālukyas. Regarding the wars of Āhavamalla compare *Jour. R. As. Soc.* vol. IV. p. 13, and Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* IV. 105. The inscriptions support Bilhana's statement that Āhavamalla conquered the Chola king, who had made an inroad into Kuntala, but they assert that the latter was slain. From Bilhana's statement it would appear that there was more than one Chola war. The defeat of Bhoja is also mentioned in the inscriptions. But Dhāla does not occur in the list of conquests, though it includes many countries of Central, Eastern, and Northern India.

** Sarga II. vv. 1-25. The word चक्र, 'he made,' might be also taken to indicate that he founded Kalyāṇa. But this was not the case, as the town existed long before his time: compare, e.g., *Ind. Ant.* vol. I. p. 209.

† II. 25-58. The king's performing penance for the sake of a son is in harmony with Hindu customs, and in itself not in the least incredible. But in this and subsequent portions of Bilhana's narrative there is an evident design of representing Vikrama as the special favourite of the gods, and as such entitled to oust his elder brother from the throne. This circumstance ought to be taken into account in considering the credibility of the facts related regarding the internal history of Āhavamalla's family.

‡ II. 57-58.

the recitations of the bards, and the songs of the dancers, filled Āhavamalla's palace.‡

The child's marvellous lustre, which announced its future greatness, induced the king to call him Vikramāditya.¶ He thrived and grew up a handsome and strong boy, the favourite of his father. Early he showed in his plays that he was destined to be a mighty warrior and conqueror. He loved to chase the royal swans, the *rājahamsas*, and to tease the lion-whelps in their cages. Later he acquired the various *lipis*, or alphabets, and the art of using the bow. "Sarasvatī also, the giver of poetry and eloquence, kissed his lotus-mouth."¶ Not long after Vikrama, the third promised son was born. He received the name Jayasinha.*

After a while, when Āhavamalla saw that Vikramāditya, who had grown up to manhood, had acquired all 'sciences' and was anxious for the battle-feast, he conceived the plan of making him *yuvardja*, and thus to designate him as his successor. But, as soon as he opened his mind to the prince, the latter respectfully but firmly refused the offered favour, alleging that the dignity of *yuvardja* belonged by right to his elder brother. In this refusal he persisted, when his father represented to him that both Śiva's word and the decree of the stars pronounced him to be destined for the succession. Finding that Vikrama was not to be moved, the king raised Someśvara to the rank of *yuvardja*. Royal fortune and the love of the father, however, clung to Vikrama alone. He bore also the burden of the duties of the king and of the *yuvardja*, "just as the primeval tortoise carries the serpent Śeṣha and the earth."†

With the permission of Āhavamalla, Vikrama then set out on a series of warlike expeditions.‡ He repeatedly defeated the Cholas (S. III. 61, 63, 65, 66; IV. 22-28) and plundered Kānchi. He lent his assistance to the king of

Mālva, who came to him for protection to regain his kingdom (III. 67), and carried his arms as far north as Gauḍa and Kāmarūpa. He attacked also the king of Siṃhala or Ceylon, who fled before him to the hermitage of the husband of Lopamudrā (III. 77, IV. 20). He destroyed the sandalwood forests of the Malaya hills, and slew the Lord of Kerala (IV. 1-18). He finally conquered Gāṅgakuṇḍa (IV. 21), Vengi (IV. 29), and Chakrakoṭa (IV. 30).§§

After having accomplished these brilliant exploits Vikrama turned homewards. He had come as far as the Kṛishṇā, when he suddenly was disquieted by the appearance of unfavourable omens which announced some great impending misfortune. He stopped his march and performed on the banks of the river *śantis*, or propitiatory ceremonies intended to avert the threatened evil. Whilst he was still engaged in these rites, he saw the chief messenger of his father coming from the capital, with a face that clearly announced him to be the bearer of bad news. The prince asked the *Halkār* at once for news of Āhavamalla, since already on the appearance of the omens he had been anxious about the welfare of the latter. Reluctantly and with many tears the messenger told the dismal story of Āhavamalla's sudden illness and death.¶ The king, he said, had been supremely happy on learning his son's success against the Chola, Pāṇḍya, and Siṃhala.¶ In the midst of his rejoicings he had been attacked by a malignant fever. Finding that all remedies were of no avail, he had resolved to finish his life in the Tungabhadra, the Gangā of the south.* With the consent of his ministers he had travelled to the sacred stream, and had died in its waves, meditating on Śiva.†

On the receipt of these news Vikramāditya was deeply affected, and loudly manifested his grief. At first he refused to be consoled, and had to be disarmed lest he should attempt his own

§ II. 59-91.

¶ Bilhana uses the following vicarious forms for this name:—Vikramāṅka, Vikramāṅkadeva, and Vikramāṅkchhana. Elsewhere the forms Vikramādityadeva and Vikramārka occur. His *Bṛudās* are Tribhuvanamalla (Bilhana, inscript.) Parmādi (Kalhana, inscript. and *Kumārāpāṭha*), Kalivikrama (inscript.).

¶ Sarga III. vv. 1-24.

* III. 25. The existence of the third son of Āhavamalla is not mentioned in the published inscriptions.

† III. 26-59. This part of the narrative of Vikrama's life also, which strongly puts forward his fitness for the throne and his generosity to the less able Someśvara, looks as if it had been touched up in order to whitewash V's character and to blacken that of his enemy.

‡ III. 60—IV. 30.

§§ Bilhana's rhapsodic treatment of this portion of Vikrama's career makes it impossible to determine the chronological order of these wars. Only so much may be considered certain, that his last exploits were performed in the south, as he came on his homeward march to the Kṛishṇā. The assertion that Vikrama defeated the kings

of Gauḍa and Kāmarūpa sounds very strange. It is, however, possible that he made with his cavalry a raid into their territories. Vengi (not Chengī, as the text reads) is the coast country between the Godāvari and the Kṛishṇā, and belonged about this time to the Cholas (see below). Gāṅgakuṇḍa, or Gāṇḍakuṇḍa as the MS. has *prind manu*, must have been another Chola dependency: compare below, VI. 21.

¶ S. IV. 31-43.

¶ It is to be noted that the expeditions to Central and Eastern India are not mentioned again, and that the order of the wars differs from that given above.

* The same epithet is applied to the Tungabhadra in the inscriptions.

† IV. 44-68. Verse 58 contains a regular confession of Āhavamalla's faith in Śiva. Lassen's conjecture (*Ind. Alt.* IV. 106) that he became a Jaina appears without foundation. Indian princes will build temples for many strange gods, without forsaking their *kuladevatā* or *īśtadevatā*. The *kuladevatā* of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa appears to have been Viṣṇu, as they use the boar as their emblem.

life. After a while he recovered, and performed the funeral ceremonies on the banks of the Kṛishṇā.

After that he set out for Kalyāṇa in order to console his brother. Someśvara came out to meet him, and received him affectionately. The two brothers lived for some time after in concord and friendship. Vikrama, though superior to Someśvara by his talents, honoured the latter as the chief of his house and his king. He also presented him with the booty which he had made in his wars.† After a while, however, Someśvara fell into evil courses. Pride obscured his judgment, he became suspicious, cruel, and avaricious, so that he tarnished the glory of the Chālukya race, and all right-minded persons fell away from him. He even tried to do harm to his brother. When the latter saw that he was unable to restrain the king from evil, and had to fear for his life and good name, he left Kalyāṇa together with all his followers. He also took with him the youngest son of Āhavamalla, Jayasinhha, as he did not think him safe whilst living near the king. Someśvara, on learning that his brothers had fled, sent an army in pursuit of them. Vikramāditya, unwilling to make war against his brother, avoided it for a time. But, when finally compelled to fight, he destroyed it 'like one mouthful.' Other forces which were despatched after him in succession suffered the same fate until these repeated losses forced Someśvara to desist from persecuting his more talented brother.‡

Vikrama, on being left to himself, marched towards the Tungabhadra,|| on whose bank he rested his army for some time. Then he became anxious to fight the Chola, and spent some time in the province of Vanavāsa.¶

When he resumed his march, the trumpets of

his army reminded the kings of Malayadeśa* of his former great deeds. Jayakeśi,† the king of the Konkana, came to him and brought presents. The lord of Ālupa‡ made his submission, and received benefits in return. The wives of the king of Kerala wept when they thought of Vikrama's former deeds.§

The Chola king, finally, feeling that he was unable to withstand Vikrama's approaching army, sent an ambassador to meet the Chālukya prince and to ask for his friendship, to cement which he offered his daughter's hand. Vikrama agreed to stop his expedition, and to retire to the Tungabhadra, where the Chola king promised to meet him. The retreat to the river was arranged in order to save appearances, lest it should be said that the Chola had proffered his friendship through fear. Accordingly the king and the prince met; the former was humble, and the latter generous to his former foe. They were pleased with each other, and Vikrama's marriage with the Chola princess was duly celebrated. The king then departed.|| Shortly afterwards, while Vikrama was still tarrying on the Tungabhadra, the news reached him that his father-in-law was dead, and that the Chola kingdom was in a state of anarchy. He at once started for the south, in order to place his wife's brother on the throne. He entered Kānchi, and put the rebels there under his heel. Next he visited Gāṅgākupḍa, destroyed the armies of the enemy, and finally secured the throne to the Chola prince. After a month's further stay in Kānchi he returned to the Tungabhadra.¶

But his expedition was not to have any lasting effects. A 'few days' after his return he learned that his brother-in-law had lost his life in a fresh rebellion,* and that Rājiga, the lord of

† IV. 69-96. Bilhana is again very careful to point out Vikrama's excellence and his generosity towards his brother, in order to show that his hero gave no cause for the subsequent disagreements.

§ IV. 97—V. 9. Compare *Jour. R. As. Soc.* vol. IV. p. 14.

|| The Tungabhadra apparently formed the southern frontier of the Chālukya kingdom, and beyond it lay the dominions of the Chola; compare also below, v. 56, where Vikrama is requested to recede to the Tungabhadra.

¶ Vanavāsa (Banavāsi), situated in the corner between the Ghāts, the Tungabhadra and Varadā, appears at this time to have formed part of the Chālukya kingdom, and was held for them by a branch of the Kādamba family: see *Jour. R. As. Soc.* vol. IV. p. 37. Vikrama's march must have been directed from Kalyāṇa to the south-west. He may possibly have passed a corner of the Chola territory in order to reach Vanavāsa. Thus the statement that he was anxious to fight the Chola may find its explanation.

* It would seem that, after leaving Vanavāsa, Vikrama descended into the country below the Ghāts, and first marched northwards, returning later to the south.

† This Jayakeśi was the second prince of the name, who, belonging to the Kādamba race, ruled over Goa (Gopakapura). The friendship which he formed with Parmādi or Vikramāditya-Tribhuvanamalla is mentioned in the

Kādamba inscriptions published by Mr. Fleet, as well as the fact that Jayakeśi II. married Vikrama's daughter Mailala: compare *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. IX. pp. 231, 232, 273. His daughter Mainaladevi (Mailala?) became the wife of king Karna of Anhilvād, and the mother of the famous Jayasinhha Siddharāja: see *Kumārāvalācharita*, I. 66, and *Forbes's Rās Māla*, vol. I. p. 107.

‡ Apparently a town on the coast. Mr. Fleet's inscription No. II. (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. IX. pp. 278 and 282) states that Jayakeśi I. conquered Ālupa. At the time of Vikrama's visit it may have been in the possession of a side branch of the Kādambas.

§ Bilhana refers to the defeat of the Kerala king, mentioned IV. 18.

|| V. 28, VI. 3.

¶ VI. 6-25.

* I conclude this from the expression 'pralīṭivāda-hatasya cholassinh' (v. 26), which I translate by 'of the Chola prince, who had been slain in consequence of a disagreement with his subjects.' It might be taken to mean 'of the Chola prince, who had been killed (by Rājiga) in consequence of an inveterate enmity.' But the statement made above, that after the death of the old Chola monarch a rebellion broke out, which had to be quelled by Vikrama, speaks in favour of the former interpretation.

Vengi, had taken possession of the throne of Kāñchi.†

Vikrama at once prepared himself to march against the usurper; but the latter, in order to save his newly acquired throne, asked Somadeva of Kalyāṇa to make an alliance with him against their common enemy. Someśvara, thinking that a favourable opportunity to destroy his hated brother had been found, eagerly accepted Rājiga's offer, though the hereditary enmity between the Cholas and the Chālukyas ought—at least in Bilhana's opinion—to have prevented such a step.‡ He watched Vikrama's movements, and followed him so closely on his march to the south, that when Rājiga's army had at last been reached by Vikrama, Someśvara's forces were encamped not far off in his rear. When Vikrama became aware of the hostile intentions of his brother, he was deeply distressed, being averse to a fratricidal war. He sent friendly messages to Someśvara and made attempts at a reconciliation. Someśvara apparently accepted his brother's advances; but in reality he meditated treachery, soiling the fair name of his race. He only temporized, in order to find a favourable moment for striking a deadly blow. Even when Vikrama became aware of this, he was still unwilling to encounter his brother on the battle-field. It was only at the express command of Śiva, who, appearing to him in a dream, ordered him to fulfil his destiny and to become a great ruler, that he consented to an appeal to arms. On the morning

after the vision had appeared, a hard-contested battle was fought, in which the victory finally remained with Vikrama. Rājiga fled, and Someśvara was taken prisoner.

Immediately after the battle Vikrama returned to the Tungabhadra. He at first intended to restore his captive brother to liberty and to the throne. But Śiva interposed a second time, and angrily commanded him to assume the sovereignty. Then Vikrama obeyed the order of the god, and allowed himself to be proclaimed ruler of the Dekhan.§

To his youngest brother, Jayasinha, Vikrama gave the office of viceroy of Vanavāsa.¶ Shortly afterwards he made further expeditions, by which he subdued everybody and everything in the four quarters of the universe, excepting only the elephants that guard the points of the horizon. Against whom these wars were waged is not stated. But 'when the multitude of the kings had been exhausted,' Vikrama once more had to 'extinguish' the Chola.¶ Then only he entered his capital of Kalyāṇa.*

The time of Vikrama's arrival in Kalyāṇa fell in spring, the season of pleasure and love. The king also was destined to undergo its influence, and to become a slave to the gentle passion. He learnt that the Śilāhāra prince, ruling over Karahāṭa, possessed a daughter, Chandralekhā or Chandaladevī by name, who, being endowed with marvellous beauty, was by the order of Pārvaṭi to hold a *svayamvara*. The minute inventory of the princess' charms, beginning with her toe-nails

† The mistake in the text (v. 26) चेङ्गि for वेङ्गि was caused by my consulting Prof. H. H. Wilson's *Cat. Mackenzie Coll.* before my attention was drawn to Sir W. Elliot's second article on the Chālukyas in the *Journ. Madras L. & Sc. Soc.* vol. VII. That paper not only shows that Vengi is the correct reading, but affords also the key to this portion of Bilhana's narrative. Sir W. Elliot shows that a branch of the Cholas had established itself in Vengidesa, the eastern coast between the Krishna and the Godavari, and had extended its conquests thence to the frontiers of Katak (Cuttack). This kingdom passed by marriage to Rājendra Chola. "He was succeeded by his son Vikramadeva, Kulottunga Chola. On the death of his uncle Vijayāditya, who had been viceroy of Vengidesa, the king deputed his son Rājārāja to assume the office; but, after holding it for one year, A.D. 1078 he resigned it in favour of his younger brother Viradeva Chola, who assumed the title of Kulottunga Chola. His grants are found in great numbers from A.D. 1079 up to the year 1135, when a partial restoration of the Chālukya line appears to have taken place." I think there can be no doubt that Bilhana's Rājiga is the Rājārāja of the inscriptions, as the former name appears to be only a popular corruption of the latter, and as the time when they are said to have ruled over Vengi is nearly the same. If this identification is correct, it follows that the Chola king whose daughter Vikramāditya married was Vikramadeva-Kulottunga and that the Chola prince whom Vikramāditya established on the throne was a brother of Rājārāja-Rājiga. Probably the interference of the Chālukya prince was the cause of his *protégé's* losing his throne and his life.

‡ Bilhana, in uttering this sentiment, forgets that a short time previous his hero had formed a matrimonial alliance with the same Chola race.

§ VI. 26-29.—According to the inscriptions (*Jour. R. A. Soc.* vol. IV. p. 14) this battle was fought in 1076. The inscriptions contain also the same statements regarding Someśvara-Bhuvanaikamalla's character, though no mention is made of the circumstance that the latter was aided by the Chola king in the battle which cost him the throne. It is, however, doubtful if Vikrama, in acquiring the throne of Kalyāṇa, was merely a victim of destiny, as Bilhana wishes to make out. It looks very suspicious that the poet finds himself obliged to bring in Śiva three times in order to vindicate the course of action taken by his hero. Vikrama's alliances with the Kāṇḍamba Jayakeśi and the Chola seem also to indicate that he, on his side, was preparing himself for coming events, or had far-reaching designs. Lastly, what one sees and hears now of Rajput life makes one cautious in believing that one brother should have dethroned the other merely through the latter's fault. There are, no doubt, touching instances of strong family affection in Rajput families. But in general a great amount of jealousy and dissension prevails, caused partly by the system of polygamy, which among the Rajputs is *de rigueur* as a matter of etiquette, and partly by the uncurbed ambition of these races. Considering all these points, I am inclined to give the verdict against Vikrama and Bilhana, and to assume that the former designedly used his superior talents to oust his weaker brother.

¶ VI. 99; compare also XIV. 4.

* Possibly, by the "multitude of kings" (*naranātha-chakra*) whom Vikrama subdued, rebellious *śimant* or feudal chiefs may have to be understood. The statement that he had again to fight the Chola detracts from the magnitude of his former victory.

• VII. 1-2

and ending with her raven tresses, which was to be given to Vikrama, set his heart on fire. A spy was despatched to Karahāṭa in order to see what his chances might be. During the time of this person's absence Vikrama's passion grew to such an extent that his limbs wasted away, and pallor overspread his face. But his torment was quickly allayed when the messenger returned with excellent news. He reported that Chandrakhā, on hearing of Vikrama, had fallen in love with him, that she wished to elect him for her husband, and that her father's wishes coincided with her own. He concluded his speech by exhorting Vikrama to set out at once for Karahāṭa, as the *svayamvara* was to take place immediately.

The king hastened on the wings of love to that 'capital of Cupid,' where many other princes had already assembled. The chief of Karahāṭa received him respectfully and affectionately. After the rites of hospitality had been performed, Vikrama entered the hall where the *svayamvara* was to be held, and sat down among his rivals. In due time the princess also arrived, attended by her maidens and an elderly matron of the harem. The latter pointed out and described the great qualities of the assembled chiefs. Chandrakhā heard unmoved the praises of the lord of Ayodhyā, a descendant of Rāma, of the kings of Chedi and Kānyakubja, of the ruler of the country watered by the Charmanvati (Chambal), of the princes of Kālinjara, Gopāchala, Mālvā, Gurjara, Pāṇḍya, and Chola. One by one she rejected them, signifying her displeasure by various contemptuous gestures. Her eyes sought the Chālukya, and remained fixed on his face. When the other princes saw this, they lost all hope of success with the *Patihvard*, and plainly manifested their disappointment and anger. But the *pratihāravakshī*, the attending matron, loudly approved the choice

of the princess, who had selected a husband so noble, handsome, rich and brave, the conqueror of the allied Cholas and Chālukyas. She exhorted her to throw the garland over his neck. Chandrakhā obeyed, the acclamations of the assembled multitude approved her act, and the happy pair at once proceeded to the nuptial *mandapa*.†

After the wedding had been celebrated, the rejected suitors departed. Many of them would have liked to give vent to their anger by deeds, but fear of the great Chālukya restrained them. Vikrama and his bride, happy in each other's company, enjoyed their newly found bliss and the pleasures of spring. In the morning they took walks in the garden. Vikrama pointed out to Chandrakhā the beauties of the season. He seated her in a swing and swung her with his own hands. Later the whole harem was called out, and the women amused themselves and the king with gathering flowers from the trees and creepers. Then, covered with the pollen of the blossoms, they went to a tank to bathe and to sport in the water. Finally, in the evening, after enjoying the bright moonlight and after making a fresh toilet, the whole party sat down to a banquet at which *surd* or *madhu*, a highly intoxicating liquor, flowed in streams. The women were soon flushed by this drink, and their odd behaviour and speeches served to amuse the king.‡

At the beginning of the hot season Vikrama proceeded to Kalyāṇa. His entry caused a great commotion, especially among the fair sex. The women, one and all, fell in love with their king and manifested their passion in various extravagant ways. Arrived at his palace, the prince held a *darbār* and then retired to the inner apartments, where, anointed with sandal ointment, he sought, in the company of his wives, refuge from the heat in bathrooms cooled by flowing water.

† VII. 3—IX. 152.—By giving in the seventh *sarga* a lengthy description of the effects of spring on the passions, and of its amusements, and by introducing a detailed description of Chandrakhā's charms in the eighth *sarga*, Bilhana has managed to fill nearly three cantos with the narrative of Vikrama's marriage. He has also succeeded in giving the story a very unreal appearance by imitating the *Raghuvamśa* in the description of the *svayamvara*. Nevertheless the main facts related by him may be taken to be historical. For the name of Vikrama's wife, Chandradevi, is preserved in the inscriptions, vide *Jour. R. As. Soc.* vol. IV. p. 13. From the inscriptions of the Śilahāras it is also certain that this family ruled in Karahāṭa, the modern Karhād (Kurrar), see *ibid.* p. 282. Bilhana does not employ the name Śilahāra, but he calls Chandrakhā twice (VIII. 3 and IX. 27) a Vidyādhara. The Śilahāras bore this appellation by virtue of their descent from Jimstavāhana.

‡ Tod's *Annals of Rājasthān* and other works show that *svayamvaras* occurred among the Rajputs until a very late period. From the great length and minuteness of the descriptions of Chandradevi's beauty, of her *svayamvara*, and of Vikrama's affection for her, it may be concluded that she was still the favourite when Bilhana wrote.

§ IX. 1—XI. 95. The description of the king's amusements, to which Bilhana, treating them apparently con-

amore, allots nearly three whole *sargas*, may be considered a faithful picture of the life in the inner apartments of an Eastern king. Vikramāditya's son, Somesvara III., surnamed Bhūlokamalla, wrote a curious handbook of amusements for kings, entitled *Mānasollāsa* or *Abhilashitachintāmani*. He enumerates twenty kinds of sports (*vinodas*) and twenty amusements (*kṛīḍās*), the latter of which appear chiefly destined for the harem. They include those mentioned by Bilhana. The exciting elements in them are mostly romping, equivoque, debauchery, and drinking. Drink has always been a favourite passion of the Rajputs. The abstaining classes among the Hindus—the Brahmins and the Jains and Buddhist Vāṇīś—have constantly struggled against this propensity. The first strongly condemn it in their works on *Dharma* and *Niti* (see, e. g., Manu, VII. 50, and Kāmandaki, XIV. 59), and both Jains and Buddhists whenever they gained over a Rajput king tell us that they made him renounce the use of spirituous liquors. Their efforts have not had any great success. For the Rajputs of our day, even those who are not debauchees, use various kinds of burnt waters, which in strength surpass anything ever manufactured in Europe. I must, however, confess that the use of spirituous liquors by Rajput females was unknown to me until I read of it in Bilhana's and Somesvara's works.

He again gave himself up to the pastime of the *jalakṛīdā*.§ During the remainder of the hot season and the ensuing rainy season Vikrama stopped in the capital, entirely devoting himself to pleasure. He composed also a poem, describing the breaking of the monsoon, which he addressed to Chandaladevi.||

But when the end of the rainy season came he received news which rudely aroused him from his luxurious repose. A confidential adviser informed him that his brother Jayasimha, whom he had made viceroy of Vanavāsa after the victory over Someśvara and Rājiga, was meditating treason. In proof of this assertion the informer stated that Jayasimha amassed treasures by oppressing his subjects, that he increased his army, that he had subjected to himself the forest tribes, that he was seeking the friendship of the Drāvīda king, and that, worst of all, he tried to seduce Vikrama's soldiers from their allegiance. In conclusion he added that the prince would shortly advance with hostile intentions to the Krishnaveṇi.

Vikrama was greatly distressed by this news, which opened the prospect of another fratricidal war. Unwilling to act without fuller information, he sent out spies to inquire into the truth of the accusations against Jayasimha. The report which they brought back confirmed it. Even then the king was averse to harsh measures. He addressed friendly exhortations to his brother, representing to him that, as he possessed already regal power in the provinces assigned to him, a rebellion would profit him but little. But all was in vain.

In the mean time autumn came. The beauty of this season (of which a lengthy description is given) did not allay Vikrama's anxiety and distress. He again made repeated attempts to be reconciled to Jayasimha. But the latter would no longer receive his messages. He advanced to the Krishnā, where many Māṇḍalikas joined his camp. Filled with the hope of victory, and proud of his

army, he allowed his soldiers to commit all possible excesses. Villages were plundered and burnt, and their inhabitants dragged into captivity. He also sent insulting messages to the king, his brother. Vikrama patiently bore these outrages for some time, but finally was compelled to take the field in self-defence. Collecting a large army, he also advanced to the Krishnā. On arriving there he once more tried negotiations. When these failed, a battle was fought, in which Jayasimha at first gained some advantages by means of his elephants. But Vikramāditya's personal bravery restored the fortune of the day. Jayasimha's army was routed, and its leader was captured on his flight, in the jungles. Though Vikrama would have had reason enough to deal hardly with the captive, he spoke kindly to him and consoled him.¶

After this victory Vikrama returned to Kalyāna, and enjoyed the pleasures of the cold season, which in the mean while had come on. These consisted in hunting-parties, at which he slew lions and other large game, hunted boars with hounds, and shot deer with arrows.*

After Vikrama had subdued all his enemies, his dominions enjoyed peace and prosperity. The elements even showed themselves propitious; neither famine nor pestilence visited his kingdom. In course of time sons were born to him, who resembled him and gladdened his heart. His liberality to the poor of all countries was unbounded. He erected also buildings for pious purposes, to commemorate his name. He built a temple of Vishnu-Kamalāvīlāsi: in front of it he dug a splendid tank. Near it he built a city with splendid temples and palaces.†

Once more, however, after a long period of peace, he had to draw his sword. The Chola again became proud and insolent. But Vikrama's army marched on Kāñchi: a battle was fought, in which the Chola fled as usual. Kāñchi was taken. Vikrama amused himself there for some time, and finally returned to his capital.‡

§ XII. 1-78. The description of the passionate behaviour of the women at the entry of the king is merely conventional. It is repeated on several occasions. Bathrooms (*dhārigrīha*) of the kind mentioned by Bilhana are now in existence and in use. They are sometimes attached to wells (wells) or wells, and underground.

|| XIII. 1-90. I will not decide if we have really to recognize in Vikramāditya a royal author, or if Bilhana merely puts the poem into his mouth in his anxiety to give a complete description of the seasons.

¶ XVI. 1-53.

* XIV. 1, XV. 87. Vikrama's war with Jayasimha is not mentioned in the inscriptions made known by Sir W. Elliot. The reason is, no doubt, that Vikrama did not care to proclaim the fact that he had fought with both his brothers. According to Bilhana's account the battle falls at the end of the year 1077, and the statement of the Kāḷamba inscriptions that Tailapa Kāḷamba became governor of Vanavāsa in Saka 999, or A. D. 1077-78, agrees

with it. The latter event probably took place after the deposition of Jayasimha.

† XVII. 1-42. The building of the city, which was called Vikramapura, is mentioned in the inscriptions (*Jour. R. As. Soc.* vol. IV. p. 15), and Sir W. Elliot adds that "an enormous tank and other works attest its former splendour."

‡ XVII. 43-68. This expedition must have been the last important event which occurred before Bilhana wrote. Perhaps it is the war against the Pāla (read Pallava) king mentioned in the inscriptions as having taken place in 1081 (*loc. cit.* p. 15). For a branch of the Kerala Pallavas was established in the Chola country, and ruled it for some time in the seventh century. During Vikrama's time the Cholas fell very low indeed, and it is just possible that the Pallavas regained some of their old influence in the east of the peninsula (compare Burnell, *Elem. S. Ind. Pictog.* p. 29). But this point, as indeed all Sir W. Elliot's inscriptions, requires re-examination.

BOOK NOTICES.

THE VIKRAMĀNKADĒVACHARITA : A Life of King Vikramāditya Tribhuvana Malla of Kalyāna, composed by his Vidyapati Bīhana, edited with an Introduction by Georg Bühler. (Bombay Government Book Depot, 1875.)

Sanskrit scholars are frequently reproached with spending their lives in the study of fiction. We are told that there is no history in Sanskrit except the somewhat unhistorical *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*; nothing but idle legends and cloudy metaphysics. It is supposed that Sanskrit scholars never touch the solid ground of fact until they abandon their favourite language for the study of Comparative Grammar, and even this study is, we fear, looked upon by some as little less delusive than the literature which originally gave rise to it. *Absent studia in mores*, and, if our memory does not deceive us, a distinguished German novelist makes one of his characters, who is represented as a great reader of Tacitus, taunt another with having so thoroughly imbibed the subjective spirit of Indian literature as to be incapable of distinguishing between fact and fiction in the most ordinary relations of life.

But of late years this reproach has been to a certain extent wiped away. Sanskrit need no longer be considered synonymous with unhistorical. The numerous inscriptions discovered throughout India in that language contain, as the readers of the *Indian Antiquary* are well aware, the clearest references to historical facts. And there is every reason to believe in the existence of numerous biographies of Indian princes, written by pandits who subsisted on their favour, though as yet only two of any importance have been unearthed,—the life of Śrīharsha by Bāna, and the work which Dr. Bühler lately discovered in Jesalmir, the history of the exploits of a king of the Chālukya dynasty named Vikramāditya, who reigned in Kalyāna from 1076 to 1127, by the poet Bilhana, known already to students of Sanskrit literature as the author of the *Panchāsikā*.*

An account of the discovery of the *Vikramānka Charita* was read by Dr. Bühler before the Asiatic Society of Bengal early in 1874. It was found in a Jaina library, carefully concealed in an inner chamber, the entrance to which was closed by a revolving stone. After a tedious negotiation, Dr. Bühler and his friend were admitted into this inner shrine of Sarasvatī, and proceeded to examine its contents. In the course of their research they came on the palm-leaf manuscript on which alone is based the present edition of the poem. "As soon as I recognized the great importance of the MS.," says Dr. Bühler, "I resolved to copy it. My

time at Jesalmir was limited. But with the help of my friend Dr. H. Jacobi, of Bonn, who kindly lent me his assistance during the whole of my tour in Rājputana, the task was accomplished in about seven days." It is impossible not to admire the enthusiasm of these two German scholars, who managed in so short a time to copy a work consisting of eighteen cantos, the shortest of which contains 53, and the largest 151 *ślokas*, written in ancient Jaina Devanāgarī.

Dr. Bühler's summary of the historical residuum of the poem, given in his Introduction, is very carefully and judiciously done, and few who have the patience to read the work itself will feel inclined to add to it or diminish aught from it. The main theme of this laudatory poem is royal wars and royal marriages. The poet begins with a short account of the Chālukya race, and the kings of the restored dynasty which begins with Tailapa; he dwells at some length upon the exploits of Vikramāditya's father, and describes, with all the customary amplifications, the conquests of Vikramāditya before his accession to the throne, his dethronement of his elder brother Somēśvara II., his defeat and capture of his younger brother, and his numerous wars with the faithless Cholas. Dr. Bühler compares this account with the data furnished by inscriptions, and his conclusions must be of great interest to all engaged in the study of mediæval India. Like most Sanskrit poets, Bilhana deals not only with the public life of his hero, but also with his private recreations and amusements. There is considerable sameness in the domestic life of kings and heroes in Sanskrit literature. Possibly the love of rhetorical commonplaces, which leads Bilhana to insert tedious descriptions of the seasons in his history, may occasionally induce him to ascribe to his hero follies which seem to us Western people alien from the character of a great statesman and warrior. But it is undeniable that there is much truth in Dr. Bühler's remarks:—

"The description of the king's amusements, to which Bilhana, treating them apparently *con amore*, allots nearly three whole Sargas, may be considered as a faithful picture of the life in the inner apartments of an Eastern king. Vikramāditya's son, Somēśvara III., surnamed Bhūlokamāla, wrote a handbook of amusements for kings, entitled *Mānasollāsa* or *Abhilāshitachintāmani*. He enumerates twenty kinds of sports (*vinoda*) and twenty amusements (*krīdā*), the latter of which appear chiefly destined for the harem. They include those mentioned by Bilhana. The exciting

* For a short notice of the discovery of this work, vide *Ind. Ant.* vol. III. p. 89.—Ed.

elements in them are mostly romping, equivoque, and drinking." (Note, p. 41, and *ante*, p. 322.)

In the public life of Bilhana's hero we meet with much obvious distortion of the truth. The royal historiographer had to represent his patron as uniformly successful. Accordingly we find that the Chālukya monarch extirpated his principal enemies the Cholas pretty nearly as frequently as the Roman legions annihilated the nation of the Volsci. The absurdity of this is clearly brought out by Dr. Bühler. Moreover there is reason to believe that the jealousy between near relations, so characteristic of Eastern royal families, was found even in "the virtuous Chālukya race, that never deviated from the good old custom." Even Bilhana admits that Vikrama was unlucky enough to have differences with his two brothers, one older and one younger than himself. Dr. Bühler seems to be of opinion that he ousted his less talented elder brother Someśvara II. from the throne. But the Hindu poet knows better. He tells us that the title of heir-apparent was offered to Vikrama, but refused by him out of regard for the honour of the family. But after the death of Vikrama's father, Someśvara I., called *Āhavamalla* by Bilhana, the elder brother intrigued against the younger. He repeatedly sent armies to attack him, which Vikrama easily repulsed. He even allied himself with the Cholas, the hereditary enemies of the Chālukyas, which Bilhana—forgetting, as Dr. Bühler remarks, that his hero had married a Chola princess—stigmatizes as a most shameless action. At last, at the express command of Śiva, Vikramāditya consented to meet his brother in the field, and vanquished him after an obstinate struggle. Śiva again appeared, and forbade him to restore his brother to liberty and the throne, as he had intended. Whether Someśvara II. perished by the scissors, or the "*post*," so much in favour in the days of Bernier, is not stated. Bilhana makes no further mention of him. The circumstance that Śiva found it necessary to appear twice is, as Dr. Bühler remarks, somewhat suspicious. The fact of the battle having taken place in 1076 is proved by inscriptions; but there is no doubt that Bilhana does his utmost "to whitewash his hero's character, and to blacken that of all his enemies," and we need not look upon Vikrama as more blameless than Aurangzib, who many hundred years afterwards was compelled, by the force of circumstances and the imperious call of duty, to supplant his three brothers.

The second fratricidal war ended in the complete defeat of Vikrama's younger brother, Jayasīṃha, who, if Bilhana is to be believed, was treated be-

fore and after the conquest with great kindness by his conqueror. Dr. Bühler shows that the main facts of Vikrama's life are historical, and there is no doubt that he was a powerful and able monarch, engaged in frequent wars with the Cholas, and other dynasties of the Dekhan. We cannot help expressing our regret that Dr. Bühler's remarks should only have been published in a Sanskrit Series, where they are not likely to meet the eyes of any but those interested in that language. They are deserving of wider circulation.*

Perhaps the most interesting part of the poem is Bilhana's account of himself. He was born in Kashmir, and went on a tour through India, till at last he settled down as the court poet of the Chālukya sovereign. Dr. Bühler tells us that even now itinerant poets and paṇḍits are to be met with all over India. They wander from one native court to another, holding disputations, and composing poetry extempore for the delectation of princes "who care about the ancient lore and language of their country, till ousted by native paṇḍits, who guard their preserves most jealously against all outsiders."

The style of Bilhana is, as Dr. Bühler remarks, not free from "coarseness and conventionalism." His Oriental hyperboles, if literally translated, would move the laughter of modern Englishmen, though they would have seemed less absurd to the men of the Elizabethan age, when the greatest of English poets thus described a thunder storm:

"The sky, it seems, would pour down stinking pitch,
But that the sea, mounting to the welkin's cheek,
Dashes the fire out."

Again, he is an inveterate punster, and the most euphuistic of writers could scarcely hope to equal his vagaries when the demon of alliteration takes possession of him. He loves long compounds, like most Sanskrit mediæval poets, and takes pleasure in constructing fanciful enigmas, the unravelling of which is the joy of the true lover of "poetic nectar." "But," as Dr. Bühler points out, "he possesses a 'spark of genuine poetic fire. Really beautiful passages occur in every canto.' We have attempted a translation of a passage in the 4th canto, giving an account of the death of *Āhavamalla*, the father of Vikrama, which Dr. Bühler considers one of the most touching in the poem.

The prince Vikrama having defeated the Cholas and the king of Ceylon, slain the lord of Kerala, plundered Kāñchi, and conquered Gangākunda, Vengi, and Chakrakota, is returning home. He has reached the Kṛishṇā, when he is disquieted by the appearance of alarming omens. Coming events cast their shadows

* See Dr. Bühler's analysis of the historical portion of the poem, *ante*, p. 317.

before, or, as Bilhana puts it, "Fortunate or unfortunate events, advancing to meet mortals, are previously reflected in their souls." Soon he sees the chief messenger of his father coming with "faded cheek, announcing, so to speak, calamity with his profound sighs." The affectionate Vikrama immediately asks the messenger about his father's health. "Slowly by his side he seats him, then in faltering accents speaks,
One by one the teardrops rolling chase each other down his cheeks.
Arm thy breast, my prince, with patience, let thy constancy appear.
Black the cloud of evil tidings which must burst upon thy ear;
Joyed the king to hear thy conquest, which made Chola's monarch quake,
Pāṇḍyas pale with coward trembling, and Ceylon with terror shake.
Then came Fate, relentless hangman, and with fever smote his frame;
Well thou knowest, bliss unshaken can no earthly sovereign claim.
When he found e'en sandal unguents failed to cool his burning breast,
Oft he longed for thy embraces, in thy arms to sink to rest.
Wistfully he looked around him, as if straining half-closed eyes,
Towards the messengers of Indra, sent to call him to the skies.
Thinking then his might departing, flaming forth in fever heat,
He bespake his faithful nobles, gathered weeping at his feet :—
'Never can my glory perish, for 'tis written with my sword
On the crowns of vanquished monarchs that have owned me for their lord;
Heaven's vault still shows the breaches where my flaming arrows came,
Like a cage in which imprisoned dwells the phoenix of my fame;
To the realms my sceptre governs wealth flows in from every side,
In my virtuous subjects' mansions Fortune dwells a princely bride;
I can boast a son like Rāma, mighty with the sword and bow,
Vikramāṅka famed for conquest o'er himself and o'er the foe,
Who has freely to his brother yielded up Kalyāṇa's throne,
Now Someśvar bears the burden which my feeble hands disown.
Thus my labours here are finished, and I gladly hail their end;

Having fixed my faith on Śiva, to his heaven I ascend.
Oft, alas! deluded monarchs think the warders at their gate,
Bold to hustle trembling subjects, can arrest the hand of Fate.
Born by Heaven's special favour in Chālukya's royal line,
I have heard some words of wisdom, nor is that delusion mine.
All my hopes are placed on Śiva, life is changeful, as we know,
Like the ear of some great war-beast, ever swaying to and fro;
Thinking on the Lord of Umā, in the Tuṅgabhadra's stream,
I desire to leave my body and break off Life's painful dream;
Since by great Śrīkaṇṭha's blessing it has proved a means of grace,
Thankless should I be to leave it in some undistinguished place.
'Well resolved,' exclaim the nobles, and their loud applauses raise;
Pious souls to pious actions never grudge the meed of praise.
By a few short easy stages thy loved father reached the strand
Of the holy Tuṅgabhadra, Ganges of the southern land;
There the river's dancing billows, like white hands reared up on high,
Seemed to point to Indra's heaven, and uplift him to the sky.
And the lines of pious offerings, piled amid the creaming foam,
Showed like swans of Brahmā's chariot sent to bear him to his home.
Glittering o'er with liquid diamonds flung in spray showers from afar,
Shone thy sire like full-orbed Luna round begirt with many a star.
Firm of purpose then the hero, bathing in the raging flood,
Fixed in pious meditation on the lord of Chāṇḍī stood.
Vast the heap of gold he lavished ere he drew his latest breath;
Liberal souls, intent on giving, find the passion strong in death.
Whelmed at last beneath the wave, the billows booming in his ear
Seemed great Śiva's drums of welcome as his soul to heaven drew near."

It only remains for us to say that Dr. Bühler's edition of the *Vikramāṅkadeva Charita*, though made from a single manuscript copied by himself

and his friend in seven days, is wonderfully free from unintelligible readings. There may be, perhaps, one or two passages where the addition of a *visarga*, or the change of a letter, would improve the sense; but we could mention one or more Sanskrit texts, carefully edited from a comparison of various MSS., which present many more stumbling-blocks to the reader. We believe that Dr. Bühler's confidence in the correctness of his text is certain, if future MSS. should be discovered, to be amply justified.

ALLEGORIES, RECITS POÉTIQUES, ET CHANTS POPULAIRES, traduits de l'Arabe, du Persan, de l'Hindoustani et du Turc, par M. Garcin de Tassy, Membre de l'Institut, &c. Paris, 1876.

The above work of a distinguished Orientalist who has lately been elected President of the Société Asiatique, and also Corresponding Member of the Society of Berlin, is the latest product of his literary activity. The publication is to be welcomed as a collection of pieces formerly scattered, gradually falling out of print and becoming inaccessible, but now again made available to the lovers of Oriental literature. These pieces fill a volume of 640 pages, and are as follows:—

Translations from the Arabic:—"The Allegories of Mokadesi," published under the titles of "*Les Oiseaux et les Fleurs*,"—"The Animals in discussion with Man," extracted from the *Ikhwân-us-safâ*.

Translations from the Persian:—Two tales from the *Anwar-i Suhaili*; a Persian version of the *Fables of Pâpâi*; the *Pendnameh* of Sa'di.

Translations from the Hindustani:—"The Adventures of Kamrup;" "The Rose of Bakawali;" *Gul o Sanauber*, or "the Rose and the Cypress;" "Hir and Ranjhan," a legend of the Panjâb; *Šakuntalâ* according to the Hindi version of the *Mahâbhârata*; "The Popular Songs of India."

Translations from the Turkish:—"The Taking of Abydos;" "The battle of Varna;" "The Taking of Constantinople;" "The Description of Constantinople;" "The Adventures of Prince Jem."

This collection is clothed in beautiful language, and may serve as a model for elegant translation from one idiom into another without doing violence to either, which is a task not very easy to accomplish in translations from any, but particularly difficult in Oriental languages, dealing largely in figures of speech strange to Occidental ones. The great talents, long experience, and world-wide reputation of the distinguished author are sufficient guarantees of how he has accomplished his task at various periods of his long career. E. R.

ŠAKUNTALÂ IN HINDI, edited by F. PINCOTT. London: Allen & Co., 1876.

Mr. Pincott has been fortunate in getting hold

of a capital modern version of this famous old tale, done into Hindi by a native Deputy Collector, Kunwar Lachhman Singh. This gentleman writes his mother-tongue with elegance and good taste. Seldom has it been my lot, in all my weary plodding through modern vernacular literature, to come across anything so fresh and sparkling. There is just enough sprinkling of learned *tatsamas* to gratify the taste of those who must have a spice of Sanskrit in everything, but the work is chiefly remarkable for a peculiarity hitherto almost confined to Bengal. The bold Deputy, with a reckless disregard of the opinions of pandits, has dared to write as he and his countrymen speak, and the result, to Europeans at least, is an extremely valuable book. The student who has mastered this work with Mr. Pincott's notes will have only himself to blame if he does not find himself better able to understand the natives around him than he would have been after many years' study of the *Prem Sâgar* or similar unrealities.

So true to the actual speech of the people is this work, that even the idiomatic phrases, which grammarians strive in vain to reconcile with their rules, are freely used, and the careful notes fully explain, but wisely do not often attempt to account for them. The notes also give evidence of careful study of the original, and a fine perception of the shades of meaning of which this most delicate and flexible of languages is capable.

I cannot too highly praise this most admirable work, and hope that it may be widely known and used. There is no text-book of Hindi now in existence which can be for an instant compared with it.

Cuttack, 26th June 1876.

JOHN BEAMES.

THE INDIAN SONG OF SONGS, from the Sanskrit of the *Gita Govinda* of Jayadeva: with other Oriental Poems. By Edwin Arnold, M.A., F.R.G.S., formerly Principal of the Poona College, &c. London: Trübner & Co., 1875.

The *Gita Govinda* of Jayadeva, a native of Kinduvilva, in Bengal, who flourished, Lassen supposes, about the middle of the twelfth century, early attracted the attention of Sir W. Jones, who rendered it into English,* whence it was translated into German by Dr. F. Majer and published at Weimar in 1802, and in the same year by F. H. von Dalberg at Erfurt. In 1818, Riemschneider published a metrical German version, and in 1836 Lassen issued his careful edition of the original text with scholia, notes, and a Latin version. Hippolyte Fauche also, in 1850, issued a French translation of the whole of the *Gita* along with the *Ritu Samhara*. Mr. E. Arnold now follows these labourers with a versified rendering into English, "although," as he allows, "much has had to be

* Works (ed. 1799), vol. I. pp. 463-484.

modified, and the last *Sarga* omitted, in order to comply with the canons of Western propriety."

The *Gita Govinda* sings the loves of *Kṛishṇa* and *Rādhā*, and is very popular in India, "but more so, doubtless," to use Mr. Arnold's own words, "because of its melodious versification and its ardent love-pictures, than the profound and earnest meanings" which Western scholars have supposed to lie under its glowing sensuous pictures, and "for the sake of which this attempt has been hazarded." With Jones, Lassen regards *Kṛishṇa* as "the divinely-given soul manifested in humanity. . . . The recollection of this celestial origin abides deep in the mind, and even when it seems to slumber—drugged as it were by the fair shows of the world, the pleasures of visible things, and the intoxication of the senses—it now and again awakes, . . . full of yearning to recover the sweet serenity of its pristine condition. Then the soul begins to discriminate and perceive that the love, which was its inmost principle, has been lavished on empty and futile objects; it grows a-weary of things sensual, false, and unenduring; it longs to fix its affections on that which shall be stable, and the source of true and eternal delight. *Kṛishṇa*—to use the imagery of this poem—thrones *Rādhā* in his heart, as the sole and only one who can really satisfy his aspirations." But for this recondite significance, even Lassen allows that "the imagery is but too luxuriant. The Indian poet seems, indeed, to have spent rather more labour in depicting the phases of earthly passion, than of that intellectual yearning by which the mind is lifted to the contemplation of divine things." And it is just these glowing pictures of earthly passion that has made it such a favourite among Hindus. That the European reader, then, may understand it as the Hindu does, and realize the grounds of his appreciation of it, he must know what it is in its entirety, unmodified to suit tastes purified by Christian influences; and as perforce from such a poem much must be modified or altogether omitted, such an effort as Mr. Arnold's must not be taken as a full representation of the original,—it is only an imitation or a partial paraphrase in easy flowing verse of the better portions of the poem, by a man of refined tastes, made not so much directly from the Sanskrit as from the scholarly Latin version of the late Professor Lassen, but omitting what in its native soil are favourite passages, and otherwise, "not without occasional difficulty," following the esoteric interpretation of Lassen. To indicate this interpretation too, he calls it the Indian "Song of Songs," a title that Hindus will scarcely understand, and that is otherwise

unwarranted and not in the best taste. The author has indicated the variety of measure in the original by the varying metres of his paraphrase, "without meanwhile attempting to imitate the many very fanciful alliterations, assonances, and recurring choruses." His versification is generally smooth and well sustained.

The smaller poems are four:—'The Rajput Wife,' 'King Saladin' (founded on a story of Boccaccio), 'The Rāja's Ride,' and 'The Caliph's Draught,'—all well-written and stirring little pieces.

HINDU TALES, or the Adventures of Ten Princes, freely translated from the Sanskrit of the *Dasakumāracharitam*. By P. W. Jacob. London: Strahan & Co.

Of the Sanskrit text and character of *Dandin's Dasakumāracharita** a somewhat full critical notice has already been given (*ante*, vol. IV. pp. 157-160), so that we need scarcely again revert to it. Mr. Jacob says of his translation that as a close translation of such parts of the work as are written in a turgid style "would be quite unsuitable to the English reader, such passages have therefore been much condensed; others, which are hardly decent—or, as in the speech of the parasite in the last story, tedious and uninteresting, have been omitted; but in general the original has been pretty closely adhered to, and nothing has been added to it." In an appendix the author has given a very close literal translation of a longer and two short extracts, occupying in all about 13 pages, to enable the reader "to form some idea of the nature and style of the original, and to see how far it has been departed from" in his free version. The tales in their English dress are well told, and, as the able translator remarks, "give a lively picture of Hindu manners and morals. Unscrupulous deception, ready invention, extreme credulity and superstition, and disregard of human life are strongly illustrated." This character, we believe, will prevent such a book, however well written, from becoming popular in England or repaying the publication, but it suggests a regret that one so well qualified as Mr. P. W. Jacob should not devote a portion of his leisure in retirement to translating, at least in outline, some of the many interesting works in Sanskrit that are as yet inaccessible except to Sanskrit scholars. Recent search has brought to light *Charitas*, *Mahātmyas*, *Sūtras*, *Purāṇas*, &c., in scores, and outlines of them on the plan of Weber's *Chātrunjaya Mahātmyam* are greatly desiderated, and can only be supplied by scholars with some leisure at their command.

* The Sanskrit text of the *Dasakumāracharita* was published by the late Prof. H. H. Wilson in 1846, and a

French version by H. Fauche in his *Tetrade*, tom. II., Paris, 1861-63.

NOTES TO ARRIAN'S INDICA.*

BY J. W. McCRINDLE, M.A., PĀṬNĀ COLLEGE.

ARRIAN, distinguished as a philosopher, a statesman, a soldier, and an historian, was born in Nicomedia, in Bithynia, towards the end of the first century. He was a pupil of the philosopher Epictetus, whose lectures he published. His talents recommended him to the favour of Antoninus Pius, by whom he was raised to the consulship (A.D. 146). In his later years he retired to his native town, where he applied his leisure to the composition of works on history. He died at an advanced age, in the reign of the emperor Marcus Aurelius. The work by which he is best known is his account of the Asiatic expedition of Alexander the Great, which is remarkable alike for accuracy, and the Xenophontic ease and clearness of its style. His work on India (*Ἰνδική* or *τὰ Ἰνδικα*) may be regarded as a continuation of his *Anabasis*. It is not written, however, like the *Anabasis*, in the Attic dialect, but in the Ionic. The reason may have been that he wished his work to supersede the old and less accurate account of India written in Ionic by Ktesias of Knidos.

The *Indica* consists of three parts:—the first gives a general description of India based chiefly on the accounts of the country given by Megasthenes and Eratosthenes (chaps. i.—xvii.); the second gives an account of the voyage made by Nearchus the Cretan from the Indus to the Pasitigris, based entirely on the narrative of the voyage written by Nearchus himself (chaps. xviii.—xlii.); the third contains a collection of proofs to show that the southern parts of the world are uninhabitable on account of the great heat (chap. xlii. to the end).

CHAP. I. The river Kophen.—Another form of the name, used by Strabo, Pliny, &c., is Kophes, -etis. It is now the Kābul river. In chap. iv. Arrian gives the names of its tributaries as the Malantos (Malamantos), Soastos, and Garroias. In the 6th book of the *Mahābhārata* three rivers are named which probably correspond to them—the Suvāstu, Gauri, and Kampana. The Soastos is no

doubt the Suvāstu, and the Garrea the Gauri. Curtius and Strabo call the Suastus the Choaspes. According to Mannert the Suastus and the Garrea or Guræus were identical. Lassen† would, however, identify the Suastus with the modern Suwad or Svāt, and the Garæus with its tributary the Panjkora; and this is the view adopted by General Cunningham. The Malamantos some would identify with the Choes (mentioned by Arrian, *Anabasis* IV. 25), which is probably represented by the modern Kamel or Khonar, the largest of the tributaries of the Kābul; others, however, with the Panjkora. General Cunningham, on the other hand, takes it to be the Bāra, a tributary which joins the Kābul from the south. With regard to the name Kophes he remarks:—"The name of Kophes is as old as the time of the Vedas in which the Kubhā river is mentioned‡ as an affluent of the Indus; and, as it is not an Aryan word, I infer that the name must have been applied to the Kābul river before the Aryan occupation, or at least as early as B.C. 2500. In the classical writers we find the Choēs, Kophes, and Choaspes rivers to the west of the Indus; and at the present day we have the Kunar, the Kuram, and the Gomāl rivers to the west, and the Kunihar river to the east of the Indus,—all of which are derived from the Scythian *ku*, 'water.' It is the guttural form of the Assyrian *hu* in 'Euphrates,' and 'Euleus,' and of the Turkish and the Tibetan *chu*, all of which mean 'water' or 'river.'" Ptolemy the Geographer mentions a city called Kabara situated on the banks of the Kophen, and a people called Kabolitæ.

Astakenoi and Assakenoi.—It is doubtful whether these were the same or different tribes. It has been conjectured, from some slight resemblance in the name, that they may have been the ancestors of the Afghāns. Their territory lay between the Indus and the Kophen, extending from their junction as far westward as the valley of the Guraios or Panj-

* See translation of the *Indica* in the *Indian Antiquary*, ante, pp. 85-108. The main object of the Notes is to show how the localities, &c. mentioned in the text have been identified. In drawing them up I have derived great assistance from C. Müller's *Geographi Græci Minores*,—

a work which contains the text of the *Indica* with notes,—Dr. Smith's *Dictionary of Classical Geography*, and General Cunningham's *Geography of Ancient India*.

† *Ind. Alterthums*. (2nd ed.) II. 673ff.

‡ Roth first pointed this out;—conf. Lassen, *ut sup.*—Ed.

kora. Other tribes in these parts were the Masiani, Nysæi, and Hippasii.

Nysa, being the birth-place of Bacchus, was, as is well known, bestowed as a name on various places noted for the cultivation of the vine. General Cunningham refers its site to a point on the Kophes above its junction with the Choës. The city may, however, have existed only in fable. §

Masaka (other forms are Massaga, Masaga, and Mazaga.)—The Sanskrit Maśakā, near the Gauri, already mentioned. Curtius states that it was defended by a rapid river on its eastern side. When attacked by Alexander, it held out for four days against all his assaults.

Peukelaitis (other forms—Peukelaëtis, Penkolitæ, Peukelaötis).—"The Greek name," says General Cunningham, "of Peukelaotis or Peukolaitis was immediately derived from Pukkalaoti, which is the Pāli or spoken form of the Sanskrit Pushkalavati. It is also called Peukelas by Arrian, and the people are named Peukalei by Dionysius Periegetes, which are both close transcripts of the Pāli Pukkala. The form of Proklois, which is found in Arrian's *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* and also in Ptolemy's *Geography*, is perhaps only an attempt to give the Hindi name of Pokhar, instead of the Sanskrit Pushkara." The same authority fixes its position at "the two large towns Parang and Charsada, which form part of the well-known Hashtnagar, or 'eight cities,' that are seated close together on the eastern bank of the lower Swāt river." The position indicated is nearly seventeen miles to the north-east of Peshāwar. Pushkala, according to Prof. Wilson, is still represented by the modern Pekheli or Pakholi, in the neighbourhood of Peshāwar. The distance of Peukelaitis from Taxila (now represented by the vast ruins of Mānikyāla) is given by Pliny at sixty miles.

CHAP. II.—Paropamisos (other forms—Paropamisos, Paropamissos, Paropanisos). This denotes the great mountain range now called Hindū Kush, supposed to be a corrupted form of "Indicus Caucasus," the name given to the range by the Macedonians, either to flatter Alexander, or because they regarded it as a continuation of Caucasus. Arrian, however, and

others held it to be a continuation of Taurus. The mountains belonging to the range which lie to the north of the Kābul river are called Nishadha, a Sanskrit word which appears perhaps in the form Paropamisus, which is that given by Ptolemy. According to Pliny, the Scythians called Mount Caucasus Graucasis, a word which represents the Indian name of Paropamisos, Grava-kshas, which Ritter translates "*splendentes rupium montes*." According to General Cunningham, the Mount Parash or Aparasin of the *Zendavesta* corresponds with the Paropamisos of the Greeks. In modern maps Hindū Kush generally designates the eastern part of the range, and Paropamisos the western. According to Sir Alexander Burnes, the name Hindū Kush is unknown to the Afghāns, but there is a particular peak and also a pass bearing that name between Afghanistan and Turkestan.

Emodos (other forms—Emoda, Emodon, Hemodes).—The name generally designated that part of the Himālayan range which extended along Nepāl and Bhūtan and onward towards the ocean. Lassen derives the word from the Sanskrit *haimavata*, in Prakrit *haimota*, 'snowy.' If this be so, 'Hemodos' is the more correct form. Another derivation refers the word to "*hémadrī*" (*hema*, gold, and *adri*, mountain), 'the golden mountains,'—so called either because they were thought to contain gold mines, or because of the aspect they presented when their snowy peaks reflected the golden effulgence of sunset.

Imaus.—Related to the Sanskrit *himavata*, 'snowy.' The name was applied at first by the Greeks to the Hindū Kush and the Himālayas, but was in course of time transferred to the Bolor range. This chain, which runs north and south, was regarded by the ancients as dividing Northern Asia into "Scythia intra Imaum" and "Scythia extra Imaum," and it has formed for ages the boundary between China and Turkestan. Pliny calls Imaus a "*promontorium*" of the *Montes Emodi*, stating at the same time that in the language of the inhabitants the name means 'snowy.'

Pattala.—The name of the Delta was properly Pātālene, and Pātāla was its capital. This was situated at the head of the Delta, where the western stream of the Indus bifurcated. Thātha has generally been regarded

as its modern representative, but General Cunningham would "almost certainly" identify it with Nirankol or Haidarâbâd, of which Pâtalpur and Pâtasîla ('flat rock') were old appellations. With regard to the name Pâtala he suggests that "it may have been derived from *Pâtala*, the trumpet flower" (*Bignonia suaveolens*), in allusion to the trumpet shape of the province included between the eastern and western branches of the mouth of the Indus, as the two branches as they approach the sea curve outward like the mouth of a trumpet." Ritter, however, says:—"Pâtala is the designation bestowed by the Brâhmanas on all the provinces in the west towards sunset, in antithesis to Prasiaka (the eastern realm) in Ganges-land: for *Pâtala* is the mythological name in Sanskrit of the under-world, and consequently of the land of the west." Arrian's estimate of the magnitude of the Delta is somewhat excessive. The length of its base, from the Pitti to the Kori mouth, was less than 1000 stadia, while that of the Egyptian Delta was 1300.

CHAP. III. 1300 stadia.—The Olympic stadium, which was in general use throughout Greece, contained 600 Greek feet = 625 Roman feet, or 606½ English feet. The Roman mile contained eight stadia, being about half a stadium less than an English mile. Not a few of the measurements given by Arrian are excessive, and it has therefore been conjectured that he may have used some standard different from the Olympic,—which, however, is hardly probable. With regard to the dimensions of India as stated in this chapter, General Cunningham observes that their close agreement with the actual size of the country is very remarkable, and shows that the Indians, even at that early date in their history, had a very accurate knowledge of the form and extent of their native land.

Schoeni.—The schoenus was = 2 Persian parasangs = 60 stadia, but was generally taken at half that length.

CHAP. IV. *Tributaries of the Ganges*.—Seventeen are here enumerated, the Jamnâ being omitted, which, however, is afterwards mentioned (chap. viii.) as the Jobares. Pliny calls it the Jomanes, and Ptolemy the Diamounas. In Sanskrit it is the Jamunâ (sister of Yama).

Kaînas.—Some would identify this with the

Kanor Kane, a tributary of the Jamnâ. Kan is, however, in Sanskrit *Sena*, and of this Kaînas cannot be the Greek representative.

Erannoboas.—As Arrian informs us (chap. x.) that Palimbothra (Pâtaliputra, Pâtânâ) was situated at the confluence of this river with the Ganges, it must be identified with the river Sôn, which formerly joined the Ganges a little above Pâtânâ, where traces of its old channel are still discernible. The word no doubt represents the Sanskrit *Hiranyavâha* ('carrying gold') or *Hiranyabâhu* ('having golden arms'), which are both poetical names of the Sôn. It is said to be still called *Hiranyavâha* by the people on its banks. Megasthenes, however, and Arrian, both make the Erannoboas and the Sôn to be distinct rivers, and hence some would identify the former with the Gandak (Sanskrit *Gandakî*), which, according to Lassen, was called by the Buddhists *Hiranyavati*, or 'the golden.' It is, however, too small a stream to suit the description of the Erannoboas, that it was the largest river in India after the Ganges and Indus. The Sôn may perhaps in the time of Megasthenes have joined the Ganges by two channels, which he may have mistaken for separate rivers.

Kosoanos.—Cosoagus is the form of the name in Pliny, and hence it has been taken to be the representative of the Sanskrit *Kaushiki*, the river now called the Kosi. Schwanbeck, however, thinks it represents the Sanskrit *Kosâvaha* (= 'treasure-bearing'), and that it is therefore an epithet of the Sôn, like *Hiranyavâha*, which has the same meaning. It seems somewhat to favour this view that Arrian in his enumeration places the Kosoanos between the Erannoboas and the Sôn.

Sonos.—The Sôn, which now joins the Ganges ten miles above Dinâpur. The word is considered to be a contraction of the Sanskrit *Suvarṇa* (Suvanna), 'golden,' and may have been given as a name to the river either because its sands were yellow, or because they contained gold dust.

Sittokatis and Solomatis.—It has not been ascertained what rivers were denoted by these names. General Cunningham in one of his maps gives the Solomatis as a name of the Saranju or Sarju, a tributary of the Ghagrâ, while Benfey would identify it with the famous *Sarasvati* or *Sarsuti*, which, ac-

according to the legends, after disappearing underground, joined the Ganges at Allahâbâd.

Kondochates.—Now the *Gundak*,—in Sanskrit, *Gandaki* or *Gandakavati* (*ḡivoképóús*),—because of its abounding in a kind of alligator having a horn-like projection on its nose.

Sambos.—Probably the *Sarabos* of Ptolemy. It may be the *Sambal*, a tributary of the *Jamnâ*.

Magon.—According to Mannert the *Râmgaṅgâ*.

Agoranis.—According to Rennel the *Ghagrâ*—a word derived from the Sanskrit *Gharghara* ('of gargling sound').

Omalis has not been identified, but Schwanbeck remarks that the word closely agrees with the Sanskrit *Vimala* ('stainless'), a common epithet of rivers.

Kommenases.—Rennel and Lassen identify this with the *Karmanâsâ* (*bonorum operum destructrix*), a small river which joins the Ganges above *Baxâr*. According to a Hindu legend, whoever touches the water of this river loses all the merit of his good works, this being transferred to the nymph of the stream.

Kakouthis.—Mannert takes this to be the *Gumti*.

Andomatis.—Thought by Lassen to be connected with the Sanskrit *Andhamati* (*tenebri-cosus*) which he would identify, therefore, with the *Tâmasâ*, the two names being identical in meaning.

Madyandini may represent, Lassen thinks, the Sanskrit *Madhyandina* (*meridionalis*).

Amystis has not been identified, nor *Katadupa*, the city which it passes. The latter part of this word, *dupa*, may stand, Schwanbeck suggests, for the Sanskrit *dvipa*, 'an island.'

Oxymagis.—The *Pazalæ* or *Passalæ*, called in Sanskrit *Pankala*, inhabited the *Doâb*,—through which, or the region adjacent to it, flowed the *Ikshumati* ('abounding in sugar-cane'). *Oxymagis* very probably represented this name.

Errenysis closely corresponds to *Vârânasi*, the name of *Bânâras* in Sanskrit,—so called from the rivers *Varana* and *Asi*, which join the Ganges in its neighbourhood. The *Mathæ* may be the people of *Magadha*. *V. de Saint-Martin* would fix their position in the

country between the lower part of the *Gumti* and the *Ganges*, adding that "the *Journal* of *Hionen Tshang* places their capital, *Mâtipura*, at a little distance to the east of the upper *Ganges* near *Gaṅgâdvâra*, now *Hardwâr*."

Tributaries of the Indus:—Hydraotes.—Other forms are *Rhouadis* and *Hyarotis*. It is now called the *Ravi*, the name being a contraction of the Sanskrit *Irâvati*, which means 'abounding in water,' or 'the daughter of *Irâvat*,' the elephant of *Indra*, who is said to have generated the river by striking his tusk against the rock whence it issues. His name has reference to his 'ocean' origin.

The name of the *Kambistholæ* does not occur elsewhere. Schwanbeck conjectures that it may represent the Sanskrit *Kapisthola*, 'ape-land,' the letter *m* being inserted, as in 'Palimbothra.' *Arrian* errs in making the *Hypasis* a tributary of the *Hydraotes*, for it falls into the *Akesines* below its junction with that river.

Hypasis (other forms are *Bibasis*, *Hypasis*, and *Hypanis*.)—In Sanskrit the *Vipîśa*, and now the *Byasa* or *Bias*. It lost its name on being joined by the *Śatadru*, 'the hundred-channelled,' the *Zaradros* of Ptolemy, now the *Satlaj*. The *Astrobæ* are not mentioned by any writer except *Arrian*.

Saranges.—According to Schwanbeck, this word represents the Sanskrit *Saranga*, 'six-limbed.' It is not known what river it designated. The *Kekians*, through whose country it flowed, were called in Sanskrit, according to Lassen, *Sekaya*.

Neudros is not known. The *Attakeni* are likewise unknown, unless their name is another form of *Assakeni*.

Hydaspes.—*Bidaspes* is the form in Ptolemy. In Sanskrit *Vitasta*, now the *Behut* or *Jhelam*; called also by the inhabitants on its banks the *Bedusta*, 'widely spread.' It is the "fabulosus *Hydaspes*" of *Horace*, and the "*Medus Hydaspes*" of *Virgil*. It formed the western boundary of the dominions of *Porus*.

Oxydrakai.—This name represents, according to Lassen, the Sanskrit *Kshudraka*. It is variously written,—*Sydrakæ*, *Syrakusæ* (probably a corrupt reading for *Sudrakæ*), *Sabagræ*, and *Sygambri*. According to some accounts, this was the people among whom *Alexander* was

severely wounded when his life was saved by Ptolemy, who in consequence received the name of *Soter*. Arrian, however, refers this incident to the country of the Malli.

Akesines.—Now the Chenâb: in Sanskrit Asikni, 'dark-coloured,'—called afterwards Chandrabhâga. "This would have been hellenized into Sandrophagos,—a word so like to Androphagos or Alexandrophagos that the followers of Alexander changed the name to avoid the evil omen,—the more so, perhaps, on account of the disaster which befell the Macedonian fleet at the turbulent junction of the river with the Hydaspes."—*Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*.

Malli.—They occupied the country between the Akesines and the Hydraotes or Irâvati. The name represents the Sanskrit Malava, Multân being its modern representative.

Toutapos.—Probably the lower part of the Satadru or Satlej.

Parenos.—Probably the modern Buringdu.

Saparnos.—Probably the Abbasin.

Soanus represents the Sanskrit Suvana, 'the sun,' or 'fire'—now the Swan.

The Abissareans.—The name may represent the Sanskrit Abisara. A king called Abisares is mentioned by Arrian in his *Anabasis* (iv. 7). It may be here remarked that the names of the Indian kings, as given by the Greek writers, were in general the names slightly modified of the people over whom they ruled.

Taurunum.—The modern Semlin.

CHAP. V. Megasthenes.—The date of his mission to India is uncertain. Clinton assigns it to the year 303 B.C., since about that time an alliance was formed between Seleucus and Sandrakottus (Chandragupta). It is also a disputed point whether he was sent on more than one embassy, as the words of Arrian (*Anab.* V. 6.), πολλάκις δὲ λέγει ἀφικέσθαι πρὸς Σανδράκοττον τὸν Ἰνδῶν βασιλέα, may mean either that he went on several missions to Sandrakottus, or merely that he had frequent interviews with him. From Arrian we further learn regarding Megasthenes that he lived with Tyburtius the satrap of Arachosia, who obtained the satrapies of Arachosia and Gedrosia 323 B.C. Sandrakottus died about B.C. 288.

Sesostris has been identified with Ram-

ses, the third king of the nineteenth dynasty as given in the History of Manetho.

Idanthyrso.—Strabo mentions an irruption of Skythians into Asia under a leader of this name, and Herodotos mentions an invasion which was led by Madyas. As Idanthyrso may have been a common appellative of all the Skythian kings, it may be one and the same invasion to which both writers refer. It was made when Kynaxes reigned in Media and Psammitichus in Egypt.

Mount Meros.—Mount Meru, the Olympus of Indian mythology. As a geographical term it designated the highland of Tartary north of the Himâlaya. Siva was the Indian deity whom the Greeks identified with Bacchus, as they identified Kṛishṇa with Hercules.

The rock Aornos.—The much-vexed question of the position of this celebrated rock has been settled by General Cunningham, who has identified it with the ruined fortress of Rânigat, situated immediately above the small village of Nogrâm, which lies about sixteen miles north by west from Ohind, which he takes to be the Embolima of the ancients. "Rânigat," he says, "or the Queen's rock, is a large upright block on the north edge of the fort, on which Râja Vara's râjî is said to have seated herself daily. The fort itself is attributed to Râja Vara, and some ruins at the foot of the hill are called Râja Vara's stables. . . . I think, therefore, that the hill-fort of Aornos most probably derived its name from Râja Vara, and that the ruined fortress of Rânigat has a better claim to be identified with the Aornos of Alexander than either the Mahâban hill of General Abbott, or the castle of Râja Hodi proposed by General Court and Mr. Loewenthal."

The Cave of Prometheus.—Probably one of the vast caves in the neighbourhood of Bamian.

Sibæ.—A fierce mountain tribe called Siapul or Siapush still exists, inhabiting the Hindû Kush, who use to this day the club, and wear the skins of goats for clothing. According to Curtius, however, the Sivæ, whom he calls Sobii, occupied the country between the Hydaspes and Akesines. They may have derived their name from the god Siva. In the neighbourhood of Hardwâr there is a district called Siba.

CHAP. VI. The Silas.—Other forms are

Sillas and Silias. Demokritos and Aristotle doubted the story told of this river, but Lassen states that mention is made in Indian writings of a river in the northern part of India whose waters have the power of turning everything cast into them into stone, the Sanskrit word for which is *śila*.

Tala.—The fan-palm, the *Borassus flabelliformis* of botany.

CHAP. VIII.—Spatembas and his successors were the kings of Magadha, which in these early times was the most powerful kingdom in India: Palibothra was its capital.

Boudyas.—This is, no doubt, the name of Buddha hellenized.

Souraseni.—This name represents the Sanskrit Sūrasena, which designated the country about Methora, now Mathurā, famous as the birthplace and scene of the adventures of Kṛishṇa, whom the Greeks identified with Hercules. Methora is mentioned by Pliny, who says, "Amnis Jomanes in Gangem per Palibothros decurrit inter oppida Methora et Charisobora." Chrysobora and Kyrisobora are various readings for Charisobora, which is doubtless another form of Arrian's Kleisobora. This word may represent, perhaps, the Sanskrit Kṛishṇa-putra. Jobares is the Jamunā. The Palibothri, in the passage quoted, must be taken to denote the subjects of the realm of which Palibothra was the capital, and not merely the inhabitants of that city, as some have supposed.

Pandæa.—Pliny mentions a tribe called Pandæ, who alone of the Indians were in the habit of having female sovereigns. The name undoubtedly points to the famous dynasty of the Pāṇḍavas, which extended so widely over India. In the south there was a district called *Pandavi regio*, while another of the same name is placed by Ptolemy in the Panjāb on the *Bidaspes* (Bias).

Margarita.—This word cannot be traced to Sanskrit. Murvarid is said to be a name in Persian for the pearl.

Palimbothra.—The Sanskrit Pāṭaliputra, now Pāṭnā, sometimes still called Pāṭaliputra. The name means 'the son of the Pāṭali, or trumpet flower (*Bignonia suaveolens*).' Its earliest name was Kauśambi, so called as having been founded by Kuśa, the father of the celebrated sage Viśvāmitra. It was subsequently called also Pushpapura or Kusuma-

pura, 'the city of flowers.' Megasthenes and Eratosthenes give its distance from the mouth of the Ganges at 6000 stadia.

The Prasians.—"Strabo and Pliny," says General Cunningham, "agree with Arrian in calling the people of Palibothra by the name of Prasii, which modern writers have unanimously referred to the Sanskrit Prāchya or 'eastern.' But it seems to me that Prasii is only the Greek form of Palāsa or Parāsa, which is an actual and well-known name of Magadha, of which Palibothra was the capital. It obtained this name from the Palāsa, or *Butea frondosa*, which still grows as luxuriantly in the province as in the time of Hiwen Tshang. The common form of the name is Parās, or when quickly pronounced Prās, which I take to be the true original of the Greek Prasii. This derivation is supported by the spelling of the name given by Curtius, who calls the people Pharrasii, which is an almost exact transcript of the Indian name Parāsiya. The Praxiakos of Ælian is only the derivative from Palāsaka.

CHAP. XXI.—According to Vincent, the expedition started on the 23rd of October 327 B.C.; the text indicates the year 326, but the correct date is 325. The lacuna marked by the asterisks has been supplied by inserting the name of the Macedonian month Dios. The Ephesians adopted the names of the months used by the Macedonians, and so began their year with the month Dios, the first day of which corresponds to the 24th of September. The harbour from which the expedition sailed was distant from the sea 150 stadia. It was probably in the island called by Arrian, in the *Anabasis* (vi. 19) Killuta, in the western arm of the Indus,—that now called the Pitti mouth.

Kaumara may perhaps be represented by the modern Khāu, the name of one of the mouths of the Indus in the part through which the expedition passed.

Koreēstis.—This name does not occur elsewhere. Regarding the sunken reef encountered by the fleet after leaving this place, Sir Alexander Burnes says: "Near the mouth of the river we passed a rock stretching across the stream, which is particularly mentioned by Nearchus, who calls it a dangerous rock, and is the more remarkable since there is not even a stone below Tatta in any other part of the Indus." The rock, he adds, is at a distance of

six miles up the Pitti. "It is vain," says Captain Wood in the narrative of his *Journey to the Source of the Oxus*, "in the delta of such a river (as the Indus), to identify existing localities with descriptions handed down to us by the historians of Alexander the Great. . . . (but) Burnes has, I think, shown that the mouth by which the Grecian fleet left the Indus was the modern Piti. The 'dangerous rock' of Nearchus completely identifies the spot, and as it is still in existence, without any other within a circle of many miles, we can wish for no stronger evidence." With regard to the canal dug through this rock, Burnes remarks: "The Greek admiral only availed himself of the experience of the people, for it is yet customary among the natives of Sind to dig shallow canals and leave the tides or river to deepen them; and a distance of five stadia, or half a mile, would call for not great labour. It is not to be supposed that sandbanks will continue unaltered for centuries, but I may observe that there was a large bank contiguous to the island, between it and which a passage like that of Nearchus might have been dug with the greatest advantage." The same author thus describes the mouth of the Piti:—"Beginning from the westward we have the Pitti mouth, an embouchure of the Buggaur, that falls into what may be called the Bay of Karâchi. It has no bar, but a large sandbank together with an island outside prevent a direct passage into it from the sea, and narrow the channel to about half a mile at its mouth."

Krokala.—"Karâchi," says General Cunningham, "must have been on the eastern frontier of the Arabitæ,—a deduction which is admitted by the common consent of all inquirers, who have agreed in identifying the Kolaka of Ptolemy, and the sandy island of Krokala where Nearchus tarried with his fleet for one day, with a small island in the bay of Karâchi. Krokala is further described as lying off the mainland of the Arabii. It was 150 stadia, or 17½ miles, from the western mouth of the Indus,—which agrees exactly with the relative positions of Karâchi and the mouth of the Ghâra river, if, as we may fairly assume, the present coast-line has advanced five or six miles during the twenty-one centuries that have elapsed since the death of Alexander. The identification is confirmed by the fact that the district

in which Karâchi is situated is called Karakalla to this day. On leaving Krokala, Nearchus had Mount Eiros (Manora) on his right hand, and a low flat island on his left,—which is a very accurate description of the entrance to Karâchi harbour."

Arabii.—The name is variously written,—Arabitæ, Arbii, Arabies, Arbies, Aribes, Arbiti. The name of their river has also several forms,—Arabia, Arabius, Artabis, Artabius. It is now called the Purâli, the river which flows through the present district of Las into the bay of Sonmiyâni.

Oritæ.—The name in Curtius is Horitæ. General Cunningham identifies them with the people on the Aghor river, whom he says the Greeks would have named Agoritæ or Aoritæ, by the suppression of the guttural, of which a trace still remains in the initial aspirate of 'Horitæ.' Some would connect the name with Haur, a town which lay on the route to Firabaz, in Mekran.

Bibakta.—The form of the name is Bibaga in Pliny, who gives its distance from Krokala at twelve miles. Vincent would refer it to the island now called Chilney,—which, however, is too distant.

Sangada.—This name D'Anville thought survived in that of a race of noted pirates who infested the shores of the gulf of Kachh, called the Sangadians or Sangarians.

CHAP. XXII.—The coast from Karâchi to the Purâli has undergone considerable changes, so that the position of the places mentioned in this chapter cannot be precisely determined. "From Cape Monze to Sonmiyâni," says Blair, "the coast bears evident marks of having suffered considerable alterations from the encroachments of the sea. We found trees which had been washed down, and which afforded us a supply of fuel. In some parts I saw imperfect creeks in a parallel direction with the coast. These might probably be the vestiges of that narrow channel through which the Greek galleys passed."

Domæ.—This island is not known, but it probably lay near the rocky headland of Irus, now called Manorâ, which protects the port of Karâchi from the sea and bad weather.

Morontobari.—"The name of Morontobara," says General Cunningham, "I would identify with Muâri, which is now applied to the headland of Râs Muâri or Cape Monze, the last

point of the Pab range of mountains. *Bāra*, or *Bāri*, means a roadstead or haven; and *Moranta* is evidently connected with the Persian *Mard*, a man, of which the feminine is still preserved in Kāsmīrī, as *Mahrin*, a woman. From the distances given by Arrian, I am inclined to fix it at the mouth of the *Bahar* rivulet, a small stream which falls into the sea about midway between Cape Monze and Sonmiyāni. *Women's Haven* is mentioned by Ptolemy and Ammianus Marcellinus. There is in the neighbourhood a mountain now called *Mor*, which may be a remnant of the name *Morontobari*. The channel through which the fleet passed after leaving this place no longer exists, and the island has of course disappeared.

Haven at the mouth of the *Arabis*.—The *Purāli* discharges its waters into the bay of Sonmiyāni, as has been already mentioned. "Sonmiyāni," says Kempthorne, "is a small town or fishing village situated at the mouth of a creek which runs up some distance inland. It is governed by a *shēkh*, and the inhabitants appear to be very poor, chiefly subsisting on dried fish and rice. A very extensive bar or sandbank runs across the mouth of this inlet, and none but vessels of small burden can get over it even at high water, but inside the water is deep." The inhabitants of the present day are as badly off for water as their predecessors of old. "Everything," says one who visited the place, "is scarce, even water, which is procured by digging a hole five or six feet deep, and as many in diameter, in a place which was formerly a swamp; and if the water oozes, which sometimes it does not, it serves them that day, and perhaps the next, when it turns quite brackish, owing to the nitrous quality of the earth."

CHAP. XXIII. *Pagali*.—Another form is *Pegadæ*, met with in Philostratus, who wrote a work on India.

Kabana.—To judge from the distances given, this place should be near the stream now called *Agbor*, on which is situated *Harkānā*. It is probably the *Kæamba* of Ptolemy.

Kokala must have been situated near the headland now called *Ras Katchari*.

CHAP. XXIV. *Tomeros*.—From the distances given, this must be identified with the *Maklow* or *Hingal* river; some would, however, make it the *Bhusāl*. The form of the name in Pliny is *Tomberus*, and in

Mela—*Tubero*. These authors mention another river in connection with the *Tomerus*,—the *Arosapes* or *Arusaces*.

XXV. *Malana*.—Its modern representative is doubtless *Rās Malin* or *Malen*.

The Length of the Voyage, 1600 stadia.—In reality the length is only between 1000 and 1100 stadia, even when allowance is made for the winding of the coast. Probably the difficulty of the navigation made the distances appear much greater than the reality.

CHAP. XXVI. The *Gedrosians*.—Their country, which corresponds generally to *Mekrân*, was called *Gedrosia*, *Kedrosia*, *Gadrosia*, or *Gadrusia*. The people were an *Ārianian* race akin to the *Arachosii*, *Arii*, and *Drangiani*.

Bagisara.—"This place," says Kempthorne, "is now known by the name of *Arabah* or *Hormarah Bay*, and is deep and commodious with good anchorage, sheltered from all winds but those from the southward and eastward. The point which forms this bay is very high and precipitous, and runs out some distance into the sea Rather a large fishing village is situated on a low sandy isthmus about one mile across, which divides the bay from another. The only articles of provision we could obtain from the inhabitants were a few fowls, some dried fish, and goats. They grow no kind of vegetable or corn, a few water-melons being the only thing these desolate regions bring forth. Sandy deserts extend into the interior as far as the eye can reach, and at the back of these rise high mountains."

The *Rhapua* of Ptolemy corresponds to the *Bagisara* or *Pasira* of Arrian, and evidently survives in the present name of the bay and the headland of *Araba*.

Kolta.—A place unknown. It was situated on the other side of the isthmus which connects *Rās Araba* with the mainland.

Kalybi.—A different form is *Kalami* or *Kalamæ*. Situated on the river now called *Kalami*, or *Kumra*, or *Kurmut*.

Karnine (other forms—*Karbina*, *Karmina*). The coast was probably called *Karmin*, if *Karmis* is represented in *Kurmat*. The island lying twelve miles off the mouth of the *Kalami* is now called *Astola* or *Sanga-dip*, which Kempthorne thus describes:—"Ashtola is a small desolate island about four or five miles in circumference, situated twelve miles from the coast

of Mekrân. Its cliffs rise rather abruptly from the sea to the height of about 300 feet, and it is inaccessible except in one place, which is a sandy beach about one mile in extent on the northern side. Great quantities of turtle frequent this island for the purpose of depositing their eggs. Nearchus anchored off it and called it Karnine. He says also that he received hospitable entertainment from its inhabitants, their presents being cattle and fish; but not a vestige of any habitation now remains. The Arabs come to this island and kill immense numbers of these turtles,—not for the purpose of food, but they traffic with the shell to China, where it is made into a kind of paste and then into combs, ornaments, &c., in imitation of tortoise-shell. The carcasses caused a stench almost unbearable. The only land animals we could see on the island were rats, and they were swarming. They feed chiefly on the dead turtle. The island was once famous as the rendezvous of the Jowassimee pirates." Vincent quotes Blair to this effect regarding the island:—"We were warned by the natives at Passara that it would be dangerous to approach the island of Asthola, as it was enchanted, and that a ship had been turned into a rock. The superstitious story did not deter us; we visited the island, found plenty of excellent turtle, and saw the rock alluded to, which at a distance had the appearance of a ship under sail. The story was probably told to prevent our disturbing the turtle. It has, however, some affinity to the tale of Nearchus's transport." As the enchanted island mentioned afterwards (chap. xxxi.), under the name of Nosala, was 100 stadia distant from the coast, it was probably the same as Karnine.

Kissa.—Another form is Kysa.

Mosarna.—The place according to Ptolemy is 900 stadia distant from the Kalami river, but according to Marcianus 1300 stadia. It must have been situated in the neighbourhood of Cape Passence. The distances here are so greatly exaggerated that the text is suspected to be corrupt or disturbed. From Mosarna to Kophas the distance is represented as 1750 stadia, and yet the distance from Cape Passence to Râs Koppa (the Kophas of the text) is barely 500 stadia.

CHAP. XXVII. Balomon.—The name does not occur elsewhere.

Barna.—This place is called in Ptolemy and Marcianus Badera or Bodera, and may have been situated near the cape now called Chemani Bunder.

Dendrobosa.—In Ptolemy a place is mentioned called Derenoibila, which may be the same as this. The old name perhaps survives in the modern Darâm or Durâm, the name of a highland on part of the coast between Cape Passence and Guadel.

Kyiza.—According to Ptolemy and Marcianus this place lay 400 stadia to the west of the promontory of Alambator (now Râs Guadel). Some trace of the word may be recognized in Râs Ghunse, which now designates a point of land situated about those parts.

The little town attacked by Nearchus.—The promontory in its neighbourhood called Bagia is mentioned by Ptolemy and Marcianus, the latter of whom gives its distance from Kyiza at 250 stadia, which is but half the distance as given by Arrian. To the west of this was the river Kaudryaces or Hydriaces, the modern Baghwar Dasti or Muhani river, which falls into the Bay of Gwattar.

CHAP. XXIX. Talmena.—A name not found elsewhere. To judge by the distance assigned, it must be placed on what is now called Chaubar Bay, on the shores of which are three towns, one being called Tiz,—perhaps the modern representative of Tisa, a place in those parts mentioned by Ptolemy, and which may have been the Talmena of Arrian.

Kanasis.—The name is not found elsewhere. It must have been situated on a bay enclosed within the two headlands Râs Fuggem and Râs Godem.

Kanate probably stood on the site of the modern Kungoun, which is near Râs Kalat, and not far from the river Bunt.

Troes.—Erratum for Troi; another form is Tai.

Dagasira.—The place in Ptolemy is called Agris polis,—in Marcianus—Agris. The modern name is Girishk.

10,000 stadia.—The length of the coast line of the Ichthyophagi is given by Strabo at 7300 stadia only. "This description of the natives, with that of their mode of living and the country they inhabit, is strictly correct even to the present day." (Kempthorne.)

CHAP. XXX.—In illustration of the state-

ments in the text regarding whales may be compared Strabo, XV. ii. 12, 13.

CHAP. XXXII. — *Karmania* extended from Cape Jask to Râs Nabend, and comprehended the districts now called Moghostân, Kirman, and Lâristan. Its metropolis, according to Ptolemy, was *Karmâna*, now *Kirman*, which gives its name to the whole province. The first port in *Karmania* reached by the expedition was in the neighbourhood of Cape Jask, where the coast is described as being very rocky, and dangerous to mariners on account of shoals and rocks under water. Kempthorne says: "The cliffs along this part of the coast are very high, and in many places almost perpendicular. Some have a singular appearance, one near Jask being exactly of the shape of a quoin or wedge; and another is a very remarkable peak, being formed by three stones, as if placed by human hands, one on the top of the other. It is very high, and has the resemblance of a chimney."

Bados.—Erratum for *Badis*. It is near Jask, beyond which was the promontory now called Râj Keragi or Cape Bombarak, which marks the entrance to the Straits of Ormus.

Maketa.—Now Râs Mussendum, in Omân—about fifty miles, according to Pliny, from the opposite coast of *Karmania*. It figures in *Lalla Rookh* as "Selama's sainted cape."

CHAP. XXXIII. *Neoptana*.—This place is not mentioned elsewhere, but must have been situated somewhere in the neighbourhood of the village of Karun.

The *Anamis* (other forms—*Ananis*, *Andanis*, *Andamis*).—It is now called the *Nûrab*.

Harmozia (other forms—*Hormazia*, *Armizia regio*).—The name was transferred from the mainland to the island now called *Ormus* when the inhabitants fled thither to escape from the Moghals. It is called by Arrian *Organa* (chap. xxxvii.). The Arabians called it *Djerun*, a name which it continued to bear up to the 12th century. Pliny mentions an island called *Oguris*, of which perhaps *Djerun* is a corruption. He ascribes to it the honour of having been the birthplace of Erythres. The description, however, which he gives of it is more applicable to the island called by Arrian (chap. xxxvii.) *Oârakta* (now *Kishm*) than to *Ormus*. Arrian's description of *Harmozia* is still applicable to the region adjacent to the *Minâb*. "It is termed,"

says Kempthorne, "the Paradise of Persia. It is certainly most beautifully fertile, and abounds in orange groves, orchards containing apples, pears, peaches, and apricots, with vineyards producing a delicious grape, from which was made at one time a wine called *Amber rosolia*, generally considered the white wine of *Kishma*; but no wine is made here now." The old name of *Kishma*—*Oârakta*—is preserved in one of its modern names, *Vrokt* or *Brokt*.

CHAP. XXXVII. *The island sacred to Poseidon*.—The island now called *Angar*, or *Hanjam*, to the south of *Kishm*. It is described as being nearly destitute of vegetation and uninhabited. Its hills, of volcanic origin, rise to a height of 300 feet. The other island, distant from the mainland about 300 stadia, is now called the *Great Tombo*, near which is a smaller island called *Little Tombo*. They are low, flat, and uninhabited. They are 25 miles distant from the western extremity of *Kishm*.

Pylora.—Now *Polior*.

Sisidone (other forms—*Prosidadone*, *pro-Sidadone*, *pros Sidone*, *pros Dodone*). Kempthorne thought this was the small fishing village now called *Mogos*, situated in a bay of the same name. The name may perhaps be preserved in the name of a village in the same neighbourhood, called *Dnan Tarsia*—now *Râs-el-Djard*—described as high and rugged, and of a reddish colour.

Kataka.—Now the island called *Kaes* or *Kenn*. Its character has altered, as it is now covered with dwarf trees, and grows wheat and tobacco. It supplies ships with refreshment, chiefly goats and sheep and a few vegetables.

CHAP. XXXVIII.—The boundary between *Karmania* and *Persis* was formed by a range of mountains opposite the island of *Kataka*. Ptolemy, however, makes *Karmania* extend much further, to the river *Bagradas*, now called the *Naban* or *Nabend*.

Kækander (other forms—*Kekander*, *Kikander*, *Kaskandras*, *Karkundrus*, *Karskandrus*, *Sasækander*). This island, which is now called *Inderabia* or *Andaravia*, is about four or five miles from the mainland, having a small town on the north side, where is a safe and commodious harbour. The other island mentioned immediately after is probably that now called *Busheab*. It is, according to Kempthorne, a low, flat island about eleven miles

from the mainland, containing a small town principally inhabited by Arabs, who live on fish and dates. The harbour has good anchorage even for large vessels.

Apostana.—Near a place now called *Schevar*. It is thought that the name may be traced in *Dahr Asban*, an adjacent mountain ridge of which *Ochus* was probably the southern extremity.

The bay with numerous villages on its shores is that on which *Naban* or *Nab'end* is now situated. It is not far from the river called by Ptolemy the *Bagradas*. The place abounds with palm-trees, as of old.

Gogana.—Now *Konkan* or *Konaun*. The bay lacks depth of water, still a stream falls into it—the *Areon* of the text. To the north-west of this place in the interior lay *Pasargada*, the ancient capital of Persia and the burial-place of *Cyrus*.

Sitakus.—The *Sitiogagus* of Pliny, who states that from its mouth an ascent could be made to *Pasargada* in seven days; but this is manifestly an error. It is now represented by a stream called *Sita-Khegian*.

CHAP. XXXIX. Hieratis.—The changes which have taken place along the coast have been so considerable that it is difficult to explain this part of the narrative consistently with the now existing state of things.

Mesambria.—The peninsula lies so low that at times of high tide it is all but submerged. The modern *Abu-Shahr* or *Bushir* is situated on it.

Taoke, on the river *Granis*.—*Nearchus*, it is probable, put into the mouth of the river now called the *Kisht*. A town exists in the neighbourhood called *Gra* or *Gran*, which may have received its name from the *Granis*. The royal city (or rather palace) 200 stadia distant from this river is mentioned by *Strabo*, XV. 3, 3, as being situate on the coast.

Rogonis.—It is written *Rhogomanis* by *Ammianus Marcellinus*, who mentions it as one of the four largest rivers in Persia, the other three being the *Vatrachitis*, *Brisoana*, and *Bagrada*.

Brizana.—Its position cannot be fixed with certainty.

Oroatis.—Another form is *Arosis*. It answers to the *Zarotis* of Pliny, who states that the navigation at its mouth was difficult, except to

those well acquainted with it. It formed the boundary between *Persis* and *Susiana*. The form *Oroatis* corresponds to the Zend word *aurwat*, 'swift.' It is now called the *Ta b*.

CHAP. XL. U x i i.—They are mentioned by the author in the *Anabasis*, bk. vii. 15, 3.

Persis has three different climates.—On this point compare *Strabo*, bk. xv. 3, 1.

Ambassadors from the Euxine Sea.—It has been conjectured that the text here is imperfect; *Schmieder* opines that the story about the ambassadors is a fiction.

CHAP. XLI. Kataderbis.—This is the bay which receives the streams of the *Mensureh* and *Dorak*; at its entrance lie two islands, *Bunah* and *Deri*, one of which is the *Margastana* of *Arrian*.

Diridotis.—This is called by other writers *Teredon*, and is said to have been founded by *Nabuchodonosor*. *Mannert* places it on the island now called *Bubian*; *Colonel Chesney*, however, fixes its position at *Jebel Sanâm*, a gigantic mound near the *Pallacopas* branch of the *Euphrates*, considerably to the north of the embouchure of the present *Euphrates*. *Nearchus* had evidently passed unawares the main stream formed by the junction of the *Euphrates* and *Tigris* (called by some the *Pasitigris*), and sailed too far westward. Hence he had to retrace his course, as mentioned in the next chapter.

CHAP. XLII. Pasitigris.—The *Eulæus*, now called the *Karân*, one arm of which united with the *Tigris*, while the other fell into the sea by an independent mouth. It is the *Ulai* of the prophet *Daniel*. *Pas* is said to be an old Persian word meaning small. By some writers the name *Pasitigris* was applied to the united stream of the *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, now called the *Shat-el-Arab*.

The distance from where they entered the lake to where they entered the river was 600 stadia.—A reconsideration of this passage has led me to adopt the view of those who place *Aginis* on the *Tigris*, and not on the *Pasitigris*. I would therefore now translate thus:—"The ascent from the southern (end of the) lake to where the river *Tigris* falls into it is 600 stadia." The fleet, therefore, could not have visited *Aginis*. The courses of the rivers and the conformation of the country have all undergone great changes, and hence the identification of localities is a matter of dif-

faculty and uncertainty. The distance from Aginis to Susa appears to me to be much under-estimated.

The following extract from Strabo will illustrate this part of the narrative :—

" Polycletus says that the Choaspes, and the Eulæus, and the Tigris also enter a lake, and thence discharge themselves into the sea; that on the side of the lake is a mart, as the rivers do not receive the merchandize from the sea, nor convey it down to the sea, on account of dams in the river, purposely constructed; and that the goods are transported by land, a distance of 800 stadia, to Susis: according to others, the rivers which flow through Susis discharge themselves by the intermediate canals of the Euphrates into the single stream of the Tigris, which on this account has at its mouth the name of Pasitigris. According to Nearchus, the sea-coast of Susis is swampy and terminates at the river Euphrates; at its mouth is a village which receives the merchandize from Arabia, for the coast of Arabia approaches close to the mouths of the Euphrates and the Pasitigris; the whole intermediate space

is occupied by a lake which receives the Tigris. On sailing up the Pasitigris 150 stadia is a bridge of rafts leading to Susa from Persis, and is distant from Susa 60 (600?) stadia; the Pasitigris is distant from the Oroatis about 2000 stadia; the ascent through the lake to the mouth of the Tigris is 600 stadia; near the mouth stands the Susian village Aginis, distant from Susa 500 stadia; the journey by water from the mouth of the Euphrates up to Babylon, through a well-inhabited tract of country, is a distance of more than 3000 stadia."—Book xv. 3, Bohn's translation.

The Bridge.—This, according to Ritter and Rawlinson, was formed at a point near the modern village of Ahwaz. Arrowsmith places Aginis at Ahwaz.

CHAP. XLIII.—The 3rd part of the *Indica*, the purport of which is to prove that the southern parts of the world are uninhabitable, begins with this chapter.

The troops sent by Ptolemy.—It is not known when or wherefore Ptolemy sent troops on this expedition.

MAXIMS AND SENTIMENTS FROM THE MAHÂBHÂRATA.

BY J. MUIR, D.C.L., LL.D., PR.D., EDINBURGH.

(Continued from p. 313.)

40. *Beneficence a duty.* Mahâbhârata iii. 13745.

A man should do with all his might
The good his heart has once designed.
Ne'er let him wrong with wrong requite,
But be to others ever kind.

41. *The humble are wise.* v. 1010.

Those men who far 'bove others rise
In learning, wealth, or royal state,
And yet with pride are ne'er elate,
By all are justly reckoned wise.

42. *Selfishness.* v. 1011.

Who more inhuman lives than he,
Of dainty food who eats the best,
In rich attire is always drest,
And stints his helpless family?

43. *Marks of a virtuous man.* v. 1088.

No ill the thoughtful man disturbs,
His hungry appetite who curbs,
In comfort all his household keeps,

Who toils immensely, little sleeps,
Who, not content to help his friends,
When asked, his help to foes extends.

44. *Mutability of human things.* xi. 48.

In scatterings end collections all;
High towering piles at last must fall;
In parting every meeting ends;
To death all life of creatures tends.

45. *All sins known to the gods.* xii. 7058.

Poor uninstructed mortals try
Their wilful sins from view to screen;
But though by human eyes unseen,
The gods their guilty deeds descry.

46. *Evils of wealth; praise of contentment.* iii. 84.

As fire consumes the wood from which it
springs,
So inborn greed to mortals ruin brings.
The rich in constant dread of rulers live,
Of water, fire, thieves, kinsmen crying "Give."

- Ev'n wealth itself to some men proves a bane ;
 Who dotes on it, no lasting bliss can gain.
 As flesh by denizens of earth, sea, air,—
 Beasts, fishes, birds,—is seized as dainty fare,
 So, too, the rich are preyed on everywhere.
 Increasing wealth to greed and folly leads,
 And meanness, pride, and fear and sorrow
 breeds.
 In getting, keeping, losing wealth, what pain
 Do men endure ! They others kill for gain.
 The vain desires of mortals never rest ;
 Contentment only makes them truly blest.
 Life, beauty, youth, gold, power, we cannot keep ;
 The loss of those we love we soon must weep ;
 On such-like things, from which he soon must
 part,
 The thoughtful man will never set his heart.
 In hoarding gold no more thy days expend ;
 Or else endure the ills that wealth attend.
 Ev'n men who wealth for pious uses win
 Would better act if none they sought to gain :
 'Tis wiser not with mud to soil the skin
 Than first to soil, and then wash off the stain.
47. *Fools mistake evil for good.* v. 1155.
 Esteeming real loss as gain,
 And real gain as evil, fools,
 Whom lawless passion ever rules,
 For bliss mistake their greatest bane.
48. *Men risk their lives for money.* iii. 15398.
 On seas, in forests wild, the bold
 Will risk their precious lives for gold.
49. *Consequences of rejecting honest advice.* x. 234.
 Whene'er a man wise counsel scorns
 Which friends impress, but he dislikes,
 And such a man misfortune strikes,
 He then, too late, his folly mourns.
50. *Boldness necessary for success.* i. 5613.
 No man gains good who is not bold,
 And ready danger to confront :
 But if he dares, and bears its brunt,
 And lives, he then shall good behold.
51. *Action at the right time.* xi. 36.
 While yet the hours for action last,
 A man should strive his ends to gain ;
 That so he may not mourn in vain,
 The chance away for ever past.
52. *No perfect happiness in the world.* xii. 6712.*
 Some men by circumstance of birth
 Are happier, others more distrest ;
 But any man completely blest
 I nowhere yet have seen on earth.
53. *Good advice not to be wasted on fools.* v. 3290.
 When good advice is not more prized than ill,
 What man of sense has any words to spare
 For thoughtless fools ? Does any minstrel care
 On deaf men's ears to waste his tuneful skill ?
54. *The wise corrected by advice ; the bad only
 checked by punishment.* v. 1252.
 Their teachers' words correct the wise,
 And rulers stern the bad chastise :
 The Judge who dwells 'mid Hades' gloom
 Awards the secret sinner's doom.
55. *Bad men pleased to hear ill, not good,
 of others.* v. 1382.
 Of others' ill to hear makes bad men glad ;
 To hear of others' virtues makes them sad.
56. *The bad like, the good dislike, to censure
 others.* i. 3079.
 In censuring others wicked men delight :
 With all good men 'tis just the opposite.
57. *Censoriousness and self-deception.* viii.
 2116.
 All men are very quick to spy
 Their neighbours' faults, but very slow
 To note their own : when these they know,
 With self-deluding art they eye.
58. *Men of merit only can appreciate merit.*
 viii. 1817.
 No man can others' merits know
 If he himself has none to show.
59. *A man's aims vary with his time of life.*
 x. 115.
 In youth a man is led away
 By other thoughts, ideas, aims,
 Than those his middle life which sway ;
 In age yet other schemes he frames.
60. *Virtue lies in the thought, not in the act.*
 xii. 7063.
 The real seat of virtue's in the mind,
 And not in outward act ; so say the wise :
 Let therefore every man in thought devise,
 In act promote, the weal of all mankind.

* This verse in the original immediately precedes No. 21, p. 154.

61. *None can share another's virtue.*
xii. 7064.

In virtue's practice men must act alone ;
No friends can e'er their moral efforts share :
Wise guides may well the rule of life declare,
But not the wills of other men command.†

62. *Weak foes not to be despised.* i. 5553.
(Compare i. 5627.)

Let none a feeble foe despise :
If but a little fire should seize
One out of many forest trees,
Soon low the wood in ashes lies.

SANSKRIT AND OLD CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, B.A. C.S.

(Continued from p. 177.)

No. XIX.

The accompanying inscription is from Plate 39 of Major Dixon's Collection. The original, in the Old Canarese characters and language, is on a stone-tablet, 5' 4" high by 2' 5½" broad, at Baḷagāṃve. The emblems at the top of the tablet are :—In the centre, a *linga*; on its right, a seated man, bearded and turbaned, with the sun above him and a boar beyond him; and on its left, a curved sword, with the moon above it and a cow and calf beyond it. A facsimile of the photograph accompanies.*

The inscription is full of curious technical expressions, some of which I am not in a position to explain. It records grants made by certain persons and guilds of Baḷḷigrāme to Sôṃêśvarapaṇḍitaḍēva, the priest of the god Nakharêśvaraḍēva of Tâvaregere, in the eighteenth year of the reign of the Châlukya king Vikramāditya the Great, i.e. in the Śaka year 1015 (A. D. 1093-4), being the Śrimukha saṃvatsara.

Transcription.

- | | | |
|---|------|--------------------------------|
| [1] ನಮಸ್ತುಂಗಶಿರಸ್ತುಂಬಿಚಂದ್ರಚಾಮರಚಾರವೇ | [I] | ಶ್ರೀಲೋಕೇಶ್ವರನೂರಂಭ- |
| [2] ಮೂಲಸ್ತಂಭಾಯ ಕಂಭವೇ | [II] | ಜಯಶ್ಯಾವಿದ್ಯುತಂ ವಿದ್ಯೋವ್ಯಾಪಾರಾ- |
| [3] ದಂ ಕ್ಷೋಭಿತಾಣ್ಣಾಫವಂ ದಕ್ಷಿಣೋನ್ನತದಂಧ್ರಾಽವಿಕ್ರಾಂತಭುವನಂ | | ವರ್ಧಾ |
| [4] ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಸಮಸ್ತಭುವನಾಸ್ತು(ತ್ರ)ಯ ಶ್ರೀಪ್ರ(ಪ್ತ)ಪ್ಪವಲ್ಲಭಂ ಮಹಾರಾಜಾಧಿರಾಜಂ | | ಽ- |
| [5] ರಮೀಸ್ವ(ತ್ವ)ರ ಪರಮಭಟ್ಟಾರಕಂ ನತ್ಯಾಸ್ತ(ತ್ರ)ಯಕುಕುತಿಕಂ ಚಕ್ರಾಭರಣಂ ಶ್ರೀಮತ್ತಿ(ತ್ತಿ)ಭುವನಮಲ್ಲದೇವರ | | |
| [6] ವಿಜಯರಾಜ್ಯಮುತ್ರೋತ್ತರಾಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿಪ್ರವರ್ಧನಾನಮಾಚಂದ್ರಾತ್ಮತಾರಂ ಬರಂ ಸಲುತ್ತಮೀರೆ [I] ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಸಮ- | | |
| [7] ಸ್ತುಭುವನವಿಮ್ಬಾಕಶಂಚಸ್ತ(ತ್ರ)ತವೀರನಾ(ಫಾ)ಸನಲಯ್ಯಾನೇಕಗಂ(ಗು)ಣಗುಣಾಂಕಿ(ಕ್ರ)ತಸತ್ಯಸಾ(ಕಾ)ಚಾರಣಾ- | | ರು- |
| [8] ಚಾರಿತ್ರನಯವಿನಯವೀರಬಂಜರಮೃಪ್ರತಿಪಾಲನವಿಮ್ಬಾ(ದ್ವ)ಗುತ್ಯಜವಿರಾಜಿತಾನಾನುಂಕಳ- | | |
| [9] ಮೂಲಭದ್ರೋದ್ಧವನ್ವಾತ್ರಿಸ(ತ್ರ)ವೀ(ವೈ)ವಾಮನ(ರ)ಮ(ಮು)ಮದ್ವಾದಸ(ತ್ರ)ಪಟ್ಟಣಮುಂ | | ಚಾಡಪ್ಪಿಯೋಗ- |
| | | ಽ(ನ)ರಮಂ(ಮು)ಮುಂ- |
| [10] ವತ್ಸನಾಲ್ಪಾಛಟಕ(ಕಾ)ಸ್ತಾನಮುಮಯ್ಯಾಪೋಳಿಪುರಪರಮೀಶ್ವರರು(ರುಂ) | | ಕರ- |
| [11] ಣಾಗತವಜ್ರಸಂಜರರುಂ ಪಿರಿದಿತ್ತು ಮಣಿವರುಂ ಮಣೀ(ಸೀ)ವಕೆ ಕಾವರುಂ ಪರನಾ- | | |
| [12] ರೀಸಹೋದರರು(ರು)ಮಾತ್ಯ(ಶ್ರೀ)ತಜನಕಲ್ಪಪ್ರತ್ಯುರುಂ | | ನಾಮಾದಿಸಮಸ್ತಪ್ರತ್ಯುಸು- |
| [13] ಹಿತಂ ಶ್ರೀಮನ್ಯಾಜಾಪ್ತಾಣಾಂ ರಾಜಧಾನಿ ಬಳ್ಳಿಗ್ರಾಮೇಯ ಪಟ್ಟಣಸ್ವಾಮಿ | | ಽ- |
| [14] ಸುಮಂತಸೆಟ್ಟಿಯುಂ ಬರ್ವಿ(ಮ್ವಿ)ಸೆಟ್ಟಿಯುಂ ಮೀ(ಮೀ)ಬೆಸೆಟ್ಟಿಯುಂ ಸಾವಾಪಿಬಿದ್ದಿ ಮಯ್ಯುನುಂ | | |
| [15] [ಗಾಂ †]ದ ಸ್ವಾಮಿಶಂಕರಯ್ಯನು(ನುಂ) ಸೇನಪೋನ ಕಂಕರಯ್ಯನು(ನುಂ) ಚಲದಂಕರಾಮಂ ಮಣೀಗಾ- | | |
| [16] ಃ ನಾಗಸೆಟ್ಟಿಯುಮಸ್ತು ಸಮಸ್ತನಗರಮುಮ್ಮುರಿದಣ್ಣಮುಂ | | ಧಂಧಾರಬಲದೇವ- |
| [17] [ಸೆ]ಟ್ಟಿಯುಮೀ(ಮೀ)ಪರಿಕಾಟಯ(ಯ್ಯ)ನುಂ ಬಿಟಿಯಂನು(ನುಂ) ಭತ್ತಕೇರಿಯ ಕಾಳಸೆಟ್ಟಿಯುಂ | | |

† The original words of these last two lines translated literally run thus : " Having got the rule only, what can an ally do ? " The sense is thus not very clear.

* By mistake this plate is titled " Stone Inscription of

the Kalachuri dynasty " for page 46. It is of the Western Châlukya dynasty.—Ed.

† The vowel, 'au', and the anusvâra are distinct; the consonant only is illegible. As 'sânâbêva' follows, the word here must be 'gaundâ'.

- [18] ಜಗತಿ(ಶೀ)ಸಮೂಹಂ ಬೆರಸಿ ನಾವ್ಯರೈಞ್ಜಳವಗಮುಷುವತ್ತು ಕೊತ್ತಳಾಯಂ ನಗರದ ವ-
 [19] ಕವರ್ತಿಗಲಮಿಟ್ಟು || ಧರಿಸಿವ ಕತ್ತಿರಬರ್ವಿ(ವೆ)ಗೆ ಕರಮಗ್ರಣಿಯಿಸಿ ಪರ್ವತಾವ-
 [20] ಬ(ರ)ಯೊಳ್ಯವರ ಕೋಣೆಯ ಸಂತತಿಗಾಭರಣಂ ಕೇದಾರಕತ್ತಿಮುನಿಸಿ ನೆಗಟ್ಟು ||
 [21] ಆ ಮುನಿಪನ್ನಕಿದ್ಯುರಿ ಶ್ರೀಮತ್ ಶ್ರೀಕಂಠಪಂಡಿತವೃಷಭೇಯೋನೇಮಾ-
 [22] ... ‡ ಲಾಕುಳಕರ್ತಾಮನೆ ಸರ್ವಜ್ಞ ಕಲ್ಪರೆಸಿದರಲುಂಟು || ಆ ಮುನಿಪನ ಶಿಷ್ಯುರಿ
 [23] ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಯಮನಿಯಮನವ್ಯಾಧ್ಯಾಯಪ್ರಾಣಾಯಾಮಪ್ರತ್ಯಾಹಾರಧ್ಯಾನ-
 [24] ಧಾರಣಾ(ಣ)ವೀ(ಮ)ನಾನುದ್ಯಾನಪನಮಾದಿಶೀಲಸಂಪನ್ನಸಿದ್ಧಾಂತತರ್ಕವ್ಯಾಕರಣಕಾ-
 [25] ವ್ಯನಾಟಕಭರತಾಧ್ಯ(ದ್ರ)ನೇಕಸಾಹಿತ್ಯವಿದ್ಯಾಪ್ರವೀಣರುಮವು ದಕ್ಷಿಣದಿಶಾಭಾ-
 [26] ಗದ ಕಾವರೇಣಿಮ ನಖರೇಶ್ವರವೇಮಾಜಾಯುರ್ ಸೋಮೇಶ್ವರಪಟ್ಟಿತ-
 [27] ದೇವಗ್ನಿ ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಶ್ರೀಮತ್ ಜಾಳುಕೃತಿಕ್ರಮವರ್ದದ್(ದ) ಒನೆಯ ಶ್ರೀಮುಖಸಂವ-
 [28] ತ್ವರದ ಪಾ(ಘ)ಲ್ಲಾಣದಮ(ಮಾ)ವಾಸ್ತೇ ಆದಿವಾರ ಸೂರ್ಯಗ್ರಹಣದಂದು ದೇವರಂ-
 [29] ಗಭೋಗಕಂ ಬಿಡಸುಟಿತಕ್ಕಮಲ್ಲಿಯ ವಿದ್ಯಾರ್ಥಿತಪೋಷಣಾಹಾರದಾನ-
 [30] ಕೃಮೆನ್ನು ಕಾಲಂ ಕರ್ಣಿ ಧಾರಾಧಾರವೃಕಂ ಮಾದಿ ಉತ್ತಮದ ಬಳಕ್ಕೆ ಶಿಲುಪಂ-
 [31] ದಿ ಂ ಮತ್ತಮಂಗಡಿಗಳೊಳ್ಳುಣ ಂ ತಂಬುಲಿಗರೊಳ್ಳುಣ ಂ ತಲ್ಲಿಗರೊಳ್ಳುಣ ಂ
 [32] ಜಗತಿಯ ಬೋವಗೊಳ್ಳುಣ ಂ ಅಪರೋಕ್ಕರೊದ್ದಿಲ್ಲ(ಳ್ಳು)ನ ಂ ಅಜುವತ್ತು ಕೊತ್ತ-
 [33] ಳಯೊಳ್ಳುನ ಂ ನಗರದ ವಕವರ್ತಿಗಲವು ಬಿ(ಬಿ)ನುಂಗನೊದ್ದಿಲ್ಲ(ಳ್ಳು)ನವಂ ಂ ಮಾನ್ಯ-
 [34] ಸಾಮ್ಯದೊಳ್ಳುಣ ಂ ಮುಮ್ಮುರಿ(ದ್ರ)ದ್ವಾದ ಪನುಂಬೊಳ್ಳು[ಣ] ಂ ||] ಮಿ(ಮೇ)ಹಾರಿಗಲ್ಲುಬ್ಬಿಮಾಣ-
 [35] ಯಯ್ಯತ್ತಿಕ್ಕಲುಮಿಟ್ಟು ದೇವರ ಸಂಜಾದಿನಿಗಂ ಮಕದ ಸೊಡರಿಗಂ ಗಾಣಂಗಳೊಳ್ಳುಣ
 [36] ಸೋಂಟಿ ಂ ||] ಇನ್ನಿ(ನ್ರಿ)ನಿತುಮನಕೇದವನಗಂ ನೆರೆದಿದ್ದು ಕೊಟ್ಟು || ಈ ಧರ್ಮಕ್ಕೆ ಜಾವಂ(ಮುಂ)ತ-
 [37] ಬೋವಲನ ಕುಳ ಸಹಾಯ || ಇವನೀಯನ್ನ ದೊಳೆಯ್ದಿ ರಕ್ಷಿಸಿದವಂಗಬ್ಬಾರ್ಥನಂದಿ ಸಂಘ-
 [38] ವಿಹುಂ ಘಾಣ್ಯಕದಂಗೆ ಗಂಗೆ ಗಯಿ ಕೇದಾರಂ ಕುರುಕ್ಷೇತ್ರನಿಂಬಿನೊ-
 [39] ಳ್ಳಿಸದೆ ಪಾರ್ವರಂ ಕವಿರಿಯ(ಯಂ) ಸ್ತ್ರೀಪಾಳಂ ಲಿಂಗಯ್ಯ(ಯ)ಪ್ಪ[ವ]ರಂ ಕೊನ್ನನಂ ಸ್ವಗೋತ್ರನ-
 [40] ಹಿತಂ ಬಿಳ್ಳುಂ ಮಹಾಘೋರದೊಳ್ || ಸತ * ||

Translation.

Reverence to Śa m b h u †, who is made beautiful by a *chauri* which is the moon that rests upon his lofty head, and who is the foundation-pillar for the erection of the city of the three worlds! Victorious is the body, which was that of a Boar, that was manifested of Vi ś h n u ‡, which agitated the ocean, and which had the earth resting upon the tip of its uplifted right tusk!

Hail! While the victorious reign of the glorious Tribhuvana malladēva §,—the asylum

of the universe; the favourite of the world; the supreme king of great kings; the supreme lord; the most venerable; the glory of the family of Sa ty ā ś ra ya; the ornament of the Cha l u k ya s,—was flourishing with perpetual increase, so as to endure as long as the moon and sun and stars might last:—

Hail! The entire guild of the *Nagarāmum-muri* ||,—which was possessed of all the glory of the names commencing with “That which ¶ and has for its pure origin the perfect (lineage

† The consonant is illegible; the vowel is doubtful,—‘d’ or ‘au.’

‡ This letter,—‘ga’,—is omitted altogether in the original.

¶ This letter,—‘ea’,—is omitted altogether in the original.

* The meaning of these two letters is not apparent.

† Siva, who carries a digit of the moon on his tiara.

‡ When, in one of his incarnations, he assumed this form, and, plunging into the ocean, raised on the tip of his right-hand tusk, and thus rescued, the earth, which had been carried away by the demon Hiranyāksha.

§ Vikramāditya the Great; Śaka 298 to 1049,—Sir W. Elliot.

|| In other inscriptions the expression is ‘samastān-’

kharamumuri and *tanjaṭ*, which, being in the plural, seems to mean ‘the entire guilds (‘*tanjaṭ*’) called the *Nagara-tanjaṭ* and the *Mummuri-tanjaṭ*’ (see *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. X. No. xxix. p. 283, note 40). But here the expression is in the singular, and denotes, apparently, only one guild, called *Nagarāmumuri-tanjaṭ*. The present is the only instance in which I have found the first component of the name spelt ‘*nagara*’; elsewhere it is always ‘*nakhara*.’ I cannot explain to what guild or guilds reference is made.

¶ ‘*Dakṣiṇādēvaṃ*’—meaning unknown. The same expression occurs in line 5 of an Old Canarese inscription of the Śiṅkhara family on a stone-tablet let into the wall of the north gateway of the fort at Miraj, in the Southern Marāṭhā Country.

of) *Khaṇḍali**, which is adorned with the pure banner (bearing the device) of a hill (acquired) by preserving the *Virabalanjāṭ* laws, which embrace truth and pure conduct and brilliant achievements and morality and modesty, and are adorned with innumerable good qualities acquired by five hundred strict edicts celebrated throughout the whole world; that which has eighteen cities†; that which has the boon of the sixty-four *yogas*‡; that which is the locality of the sixty-four *ghaṭikās*§; the supreme lords of the city of *Ayyāvoḷe¶*; those who are a very cage of thunderbolts to (protect) those who take refuge with them; those who bestow largely and afford a shelter; those who give shelter**, and protect; those who behave like brothers to the wives of other men, those who are like the tree of paradise to (grant all the desires of) people who apply to them"; and which consisted of *Hanumantasetti*, the *Paṭṭaṇṇamitt* of the prosperous great city, the capital, *Baḷḷigrāme*, and *Barmisetti*, and *Mēbisetti*, and *Sauvārebiddimayya*, and *Svāmīsaṃkarayya*, the *Gauṇḍa††*, and *Saṃkarayya*, the *Sēnabīva§§*, and the jeweller *Nāgisetti*, who was like *Rāma* in the fierce contest,—(this guild), together with *Dhundhārabaladēvasetti*, and *Ēharikāṭayya*, and *Biṭṭiyanna*, and *Kāḷisetti* of *Bhattakēri*, forming themselves into an assembly of the whole world||, and the four palanquin-bearers¶¶, and the sixty *Kottaḷis** and the *Vaṣavartist* of the city, being (present);—

Glorious was *Kēdārasakti*, who was the

chief of saints, the ornament of the offspring of ‡, within the limits of the mountains, which was resplendent on the earth, and who was esteemed decidedly the foremost at the inquiry into the *Śaktis*§. How much more glorious on the earth was *Śrikanṭhapāṇḍita*, the chief disciple of that saint, a very thunderbolt to ||, the performer of the rites that confer omniscience (?)! The disciple of that saint was,—Hail!—*Sōmēśvarapaṇḍita dēva*, the priest of the god *Nakharōśvaradēva* of *Tāvaregere* of the south, who was endowed with the characteristics of (the performance of) the greater and minor religious observances, private study, holding the breath, withdrawal of the senses from external objects, meditation, immovable abstraction of the mind, the observance of silence, the muttering of prayers, and profound contemplation, and who was well versed in the demonstration of arguments and logic and grammar and poetry and the drama and the science of the many writings on rhetoric of *Bharata* and others; to whom,—

Hail! On the occasion of an eclipse of the sun on Sunday, the day of the new-moon of (the month) *Phālguna* of the *Śrīmukha saṃvatsara* which was the 18th of the years of the glorious *Chāḷukya Vikrama*, after his feet had been layed, there was given with libations of water, for the *aṅgabhōga* of the god, and for the purpose of (repairing) any thing that might have become broken or torn, and to provide food for the students and ascetics of that place, one sacred shop¶ **

* In lines 4-5 of the Miraj inscription, the reading is 'śl. sudḍva [kha]wōlimūlabhadraṇṇāḍbhavirūh.'

† *Balaṇḍa* is another form of *banaṇḍa* or *banaṇḍa*, the modern *banaṇḍiga*, *banaṇḍiga*, or *baniṇḍiga*, which must be the original of, or a corruption of, the Sanskrit *bāṇija*, *bāṇijika*, merchant, trader. *Banaṇḍiga* is a division of the *Lūgāyats*; and *Virabanaṇḍiga*, or in Old Canarese *Vīraṇḍiga*, means a strict *Banaṇḍiga*.

‡ *Aśṭōḍaśṭapāṇṇamūh* :—i.e., probably, 'that which has its head-quarters in eighteen cities.' The expression occurs again in line 5 of the Miraj inscription.

§ The meaning of this is not apparent.

|| The meaning of this is not apparent; *ghaṭikā* is a period of time = 24 minutes. The expression occurs again in lines 5-6 of the Miraj inscription.

¶ Probably the modern *Aiboḷe*. Occurs again in lines 9-10 of the Miraj inscription.

** *Maṇḍaṇḍa* :—the last part of the word is probably connected with *geyyu*, *gēyu*, make, do.

†† Apparently analogous to *Paṭṭaṇṇasetti*, the title given to the chief merchant of a city.

§§ *Gauṇḍa*, from the Sanskrit *grāmaḍhya*, a village head-man,—the Marāṭhi *Pāṭil*.

¶¶ *Sēnabīva*, or in modern Canarese *Sēnabhōga*, *Syānabhōga*, the village accountant,—the Marāṭhi *Kul-karṇi*.

¶ *Jagatisamāhāṇi* *berasi* :—the meaning implied is not apparent.

* *Pōva* in the text is by euphony for *bōva*, which we have again in line 32, and which seems to be the same as *bhōyi*, *bōyi*, fisherman, palanquin-bearer.

* *Kottaḷi* :—meaning not apparent. I have met with the word in the same way in other inscriptions.

† The technical meaning to be given here to *Vaṣavarti*, which means ordinarily subordinate to control, in subjection, is not apparent.

‡ *Mōvara kōṇeya* :—meaning not apparent. *Mōvara* means of three persons, and *kōṇeya* is the genitive singular of *kōṇa*, private room, corner, or, perhaps, for *kōṇi*, from *kāṇi*, the earth.

§ *Śakti*, the energy or active power of a deity, personified and worshipped as his wife.

¶ See note ‡ to line 22 of the text.

¶ *Tiruvengadi* :—the first part of the word seems to be from *tira*, *tiri*, *tiru*, sacred, belonging to a religious use.

** *Uttamoda baḷakke* :—meaning not apparent. *Baḷa* is an old form of the Canarese *bana*, a fiction, a branch of a family of hereditary officials, and, in inscriptions, the portion of the hereditary service lands allotted to such a branch or to any member of it; but this meaning does not seem to suit the context here.

and one *pana** on (all) the shops, and one *pana* on the sellers of betel-leaves and areca-nuts, and one *pana* on the dealers in oil, and one *pana* on the palanquin-bearers of the world†, and ten *visas*‡ on their tenants, and ten *visas* on the sixty *Kottalis*, and ten *visas* on the *Binnungu*§ who were the *Vasavartis* of the city, and one *pana* on all the rent-free lands, and one *pana* on the shop of the guild of the *Mummuri*. And fifty cultivators, headed by the *Māhāris*||, gave one ladleful of oil on the oil-mills, for the perpetual lamp of the god and the lamp of the *Maṭha*.

This much did the whole city, assembling together, bestow. The family of *Chāvunda-chōvala* shall assist¶ this act of religion. To him who excellently preserves it in the same manner in which it has been given there shall befall the attainment of his desires; but (as) to him who destroys it, he shall sink into the hell called *Mahāghōra*, with all his lineage, being (as guilty as) one who negligently slays *Brāhmaṇas*, or tawny-coloured cows, or women, or children, or those who wear the *linga*, at *Gaṅge* or *Gaye* or *Kēdāra* or *Kurukshētra*.

ÂCHÂRYA, THE FRIEND OF THE STUDENT, AND THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE THREE ÂCHÂRYAS.

BY PROF. R. G. BHÂNDÂRKAR, ELPHINSTONE COLLEGE.

When I closed my controversy with Prof. Weber on some points connected with the *Mahābhāshya*, I said I reserved one question for discussion on a future occasion, and stated my belief that the *Vākyapadīya* and the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* did not afford evidence of the *Mahābhāshya* having been tampered with by *Chandrāchārya* and others.* I am very glad to see that Prof. Kielhorn has taken up this question, and discussed it in a very able and thorough manner, in the last number of this journal. I agree with all that he has said, though I should translate the passage in the *Vākyapadīya* somewhat differently, but as the differences are unimportant, and have no bearing on the main point, it is not necessary to state them.

There are, however, some points alluded to by Prof. Kielhorn on which I have been thinking for some time. He has shown that the word *āchārya* occurring in the first 240 pages of the Banāras edition of the *Mahābhāshya*, when it is used to denote a specific individual, refers to *Pāṇini* or *Kātyāyana*, but never to *Patanjali*, except in one instance pointed out by *Nāgojibhatta*. Prof. Kielhorn expresses his doubts as regards the correctness of *Nāgoji's* remark, and I also think *Nāgojibhatta* is wrong. In a case of this kind, the great grammarian, who flourished only about a hundred and fifty years ago, can be

no great authority if we can adduce cogent reasons for differing from him. And I believe there are such reasons in the present case. The passage in which the word occurs is this:—

1. Chap. I. p. 10a, Banāras lith. ed.:—*तेषां एवं विपतिष्वबुद्धिभ्योऽयेत्यः सुहृत्वाचार्य इदं शास्त्रमन्वाचष्टे । इमानि प्रयोजनान्यध्वेय व्याकरणमिति ।* The expression *आचार्यः* सुहृत्वाचार्य occurs in several places in the *Mahābhāshya*, in all of which we have to understand *Kātyāyana* by the term *आचार्यः*. For instance:—

2. I. 4, p. 271, Banāras lith. ed.:—*तद्वैयं विज्ञानीयास्वमेतदिकल्पत इति । तदाचार्यः सुहृत्वाचार्यचे नृवैचे सुवृत्तानी च प्रवृत्तौ च प्राक्चप्रवृत्तेः सावचनाच्चेति ।*

3. II. 1, p. 316a:—*तद्वैयं &c. as above तदाचार्यः सुहृत्वाचार्यचे चादिभिर्योगे यथान्यासमेव भवतीति ।*

4. II. 4, p. 401:—*तद्वैयं विज्ञानीयादिदमा कथितमिदमेवानुक्त्यते इति । तदाचार्यः सुहृत्वाचार्यचे नृवादेशश्च कथितानुक्तितमाश्रमिति ।*

5. III. 3, p. 93:—*तद्वैयं विज्ञानीयादिभिर्योगेति । तदाचार्यः सुहृत्वाचार्यचे कर्तृकर्मपहणं चोपपदसंज्ञार्थमिति ।*

6. III. 3, p. 97a:—*वोताप्नोतिस्तुच्यमाने संदेहः स्यान्मन्वोतापिभ्यां सहचेति । तदाचार्यः सुहृत्वाचार्यचे विभाषा गहोपभूतौ प्रमुतापिभ्यामिति ।*

7. IV. 3, p. 76:—*तद्वैयं (as in 2 and 3) तदाचार्यः सुहृत्वाचार्यचे दिक्पूर्वपदादधोपधान्यासमेव भवतीति ।*

8. IV. 3, p. 86:—*तद्वैयं विज्ञानीया योगयोगा प्रत्यययोगेति । तदाचार्यः सुहृत्वाचार्यचे एतयोरिन्धनिर्देश इति ।*

§ '*Binnungu*',—meaning not known.

|| '*Māhāris*',—meaning not known; but possibly it is connected with '*māyā*', to graze, '*māyu*, '*māhu*', pastures.

¶ i.e., 'shall ensure the preservation of.'

* *Ind. Ant.* vol. II. p. 240.

* '*Pana*',—a particular coin, measure, or weight.

† '*Jagatiya bōvugalo*'—the technical meaning is not apparent.

‡ '*Visa*',—explained to me as = '*āṇḍa*', the fourth part of an *anna*. In Sanderson's Dictionary we have '*visa*', a share, portion, one-sixteenth, and '*visa*', five seers.

9. V. 1, p. 12:—तद्व्यं विज्ञानीयादविज्ञेयमेत उचरं दि-
क्त्रिमिति तदाचार्यः सुहृत्वाच्चाष्टे द्वित्रिभ्यां द्वैयोग्यमिति ।
10. V. 1, p. 19:—द्व्यं विज्ञानीयाद्व्यमप्यनुवर्तत इति
तदाचार्यः सुहृत्वाच्चाष्टे वयसि ढंभेन्यन्तरस्यानुकूप इति ।
11. V. 3, p. 55a:—द्व्यं विज्ञानीयात्तयोयोग्येवां प्रत्य-
यमोचति । तदाचार्यः सुहृत्वाच्चाष्टे तयोरिति प्रातिपदिकनि-
र्देश इति ।

Now we see that in all these instances the sentence indicated by इति, which stands in the place of an object to the verb अन्वाचष्टे, is a *vārtika*, for it is explained just before by Patanjali, as all *vārtikas* are.† Hence the expression आचार्यः सुहृत्वाच्चाष्टे refers unquestionably to Kātyāyana. Are we then to understand that in the first only out of these eleven passages it refers to Patanjali? Surely the evidence afforded by the other ten, occurring as they do in different parts of the *Mahābhāṣya*, is sufficient to warrant us in declaring that in No. 1 also the expression refers to Kātyāyana. The reason why Nāgajibhaṭṭa understands Patanjali by the term *āchārya* here is this:—The author of the *Mahābhāṣya* tells us in his comments on the *vārtika* 'siddhe śabdārtha' &c. that the word *siddha* has been used at the beginning for the sake of *maṅgala*, i.e. because it is an auspicious term, and such a term used at the beginning of a *śāstra* conduces to the success of that *śāstra*. The beginning, then, of the *śāstra* composed by Kātyāyana, i.e. the first of his *vārtikas*, is *siddhe śabdārtha* &c. If so, all that precedes this *vārtika*, including the aphorisms in which the uses of grammar are given, is not the work of Kātyāyana. These aphorisms, therefore, are to be ascribed to Patanjali himself, and hence the *Āchārya* who sets forth the uses of grammar is the author of the *Mahābhāṣya*. To this it may be replied that these aphorisms are simply introductory, while the regular *śāstra* begins with *siddhe śabdārtha* &c. The provision

† There is a mistake in the Banāras ed. in the last passage. The *vārtika* is not given separately from the *bhāṣya* on it. It is, however, so given in an old MS. in my possession. In passage No. 3, Pat. gives the substance of the *vārtika* and does not quote it. It is not necessary to discuss at length the question how a *vārtika* is to be distinguished. It is sufficient to state that one unfailing criterion is its being paraphrased or explained by Patanjali. Because, (1) the very fact that it is so paraphrased shows that it must be the work of another person than the one who paraphrases it; (2) Patanjali himself incidentally mentions Kātyāyana as the author of some of these aphorisms, and calls him the *Vārtikakāra* (see I. 101a, III. 64a, III. 76a, &c.), while he speaks of the author generally as *Āchārya*, in connection with a great many others, without naming him; (3) Pāṇini's *sūtras* are never so paraphrased, though they may form the subject of a long discussion; and

for *maṅgala* is therefore made in this, and not in the preceding ones, just as Pāṇini secures *maṅgala* in the first of his regular *sūtras*, viz. *vid-dhirādaich*, and not in the *pratyāhāra sūtras*. There is, therefore, no impropriety in ascribing these introductory aphorisms to Kātyāyana. And the whole manner in which they are stated and explained by Patanjali, and the evidence of the ten passages containing the expression आचार्यः सुहृत्वाच्चाष्टे, &c., require that we should so ascribe them to him.

If, then, Kātyāyana is the *Āchārya* alluded to in passage No. 1, this passage and the few lines that precede it enable us to determine the character, nature, and object of Kātyāyana's work. Patanjali tells us that in the times preceding his own, after a Brāhmaṇ boy's *upana-yana* ceremony was performed, grammar was the first thing taught to him, and the study of the Veda followed. In his (or rather Kātyāyana's) time, however, Veda was first taught, and after that was gone over, they said "the Vedic words we have learnt from the Vedas, and the words current in popular usage we know from that usage. Grammar, therefore, is useless." "For these students," we are told, "whose feeling is thus opposed, the *Āchārya* (Kātyāyana) expounds the *śāstra*,† (saying) 'These are the uses, grammar should be studied.'" In the comment on *siddhe śabdārtha*, &c. we are also told, as remarked above, that Kātyāyana uses the word *siddha* at the beginning, that it may augur well for the "great stream of the *śāstra*." We thus see that what Kātyāyana proposes to himself is the composition or edition of a *śāstra*, and to attract students to it he explains its uses. And it appears to me that the opening words of the *Mahābhāṣya* अथ शब्दानुशासनम् are Kātyāyana's words, and form a *vārtika*, notwithstanding what Kaiyaṭa says about them. For they are explained by Patanjali, just as all *vārtikas* are; and to suppose that

(4) most of the aphorisms so paraphrased by Patanjali are expressly called *vārtikas* by Kaiyaṭa and other grammarians. Very rarely the dicta of other *Āchāryas* are also paraphrased, but they are introduced by such an expression as अथ आह् indicative of the authorship; while no such expression is used in introducing a *vārtika*. Prof. Goldstücker does not seem to have called this criterion in question.

† Nāgajibhaṭṭa understands by the term *śāstra* here "the explanation of the uses of grammar." But there is no reason to restrict the term thus. Besides, "the explanation of the uses of grammar" can with no propriety be called a *śāstra*. Before and after, Patanjali uses the term in the sense of the whole science of grammar. *Śāstra* also properly signifies "a rule." It is, however, immaterial to the argument in the text in what sense we take it.

this alone of similar aphorisms was composed by him, and commented on with all the formality of a scholiast, is, I think, unreasonable. There appears no reason why in this particular case Patanjali should have resorted to this plan. If he wanted to say that he now began the *Śabdānuśāsanāśāstra*, he might have done so more directly than by composing an aphorism and commenting on it. §

From the passages quoted above, it seems that the verb *anvāchakṣṣṭe* is used by Patanjali as characteristic of the work of Kātyāyana, as describing specifically what he did. His own work Patanjali calls *vyākhyāna*, and frequently uses the verb *vyākhyāsyāmah*. || There is another word that is used in controversial writing, and occurs in the *Mahābhāṣya* also, which is derived from the same root, viz. *pratyākhyāna*. The difference in the senses of these words must be due to the prepositions or *upasargas* that are used in each case. *Pratyākhyāna* is speaking *against* or refuting a thing; *vyākhyāna* is speaking *about* a thing, or *away*, in *varied ways*, in *detail*, of a thing, i.e. writing a commentary on it, and *anvāchakṣṣṭe* must mean speaking in *accordance with*, *agreeably to*, or *to the same purpose as* a thing. The word is used with reference to Kātyāyana in other forms in two other places, where it is contrasted with teaching something new. ¶ If, then, it properly denotes what Kātyāyana did mostly, if not altogether, with reference to Pāṇini's *sūtras*, his work must be in *accordance*, in *keeping*, in *harmony with* Pāṇini's, i.e. explain, develop, or support the latter. That the word *anvāchakṣṣṭe* is peculiarly applicable to Kātyāyana's work is also confirmed by the fact that this is called *anutantra* in the *Vākyapadīya*. * For these reasons it is clear that Kātyāyana's object in composing his work was to *teach* grammar, first, by developing and explaining Pāṇini, and then supplementing him, and not "to find fault with him," as the late Prof. Goldstücker thought. The *vyākhyāna* of the work of this author

directly, and that of Pāṇini indirectly, was what Patanjali proposed to himself. He himself explains what the duties of one who undertakes this task are. "Not only," says he, "does the division of a *sūtra* into the individual words which compose it constitute *vyākhyāna*, but example, counter-example, and the words to be understood or supplied, all these taken together make up *vyākhyāna*." † To explain the *vārtikas* thus in detail, to discuss the *sūtras*, and occasionally to give supplementary rules (*iṣṭis*) where necessary, was Patanjali's main object, and not to refute Kātyāyana.

Now, if we look into the *Mahābhāṣya*, we shall find this view of the relations of the three *Munis* amply confirmed. In fact, the instances in which there is no refutation of one by another, but simply an explanation of the words, or the bearing of the words, of the earlier sage by the later one, are so many that it is difficult to see how any other view can be maintained. Not to go very far for the present, none of the eleven passages quoted above contains or is followed by a refutation, while they all give some explanation. No. 1 explains why Kātyāyana gives the uses of grammar; in No. 2 Kātyāyana is spoken of as making a rule calculated to restrict the operation of another laid down by himself. In the *vārtika* in No. 3, Kātyāyana tells us that another *vārtika* of his, which is likely to supersede Pāṇ. VIII. 1. 24, ought not to do so; in the one in No. 4 he explains the word *anvādeśa* used in Pāṇ. II. 4. 32; in that in No. 5 he tells us in what relation the words *kartri* and *karman* occurring in Pāṇ. III. 3. 127 are to be taken; in the one in No. 6 he explains Pāṇ. III. 3. 141, and clears a doubt that naturally arises; in that in No. 7 he says that a *vārtika* of his should not supersede Pāṇ. IV. 3. 6; in the one in No. 8 he explains the word *etayoh* occurring in Pāṇ. IV. 3. 143; in that in No. 9 he tells us that the words *dei* and *tri* occurring in Pāṇ. V. 1. 30 are to be taken on to the next *sūtra* only, i.e. they apply to

§ It is only modern authors that say that the *vārtikas* begin with *siddhe śabdārtha*, &c.

|| *Mahābhāṣya*, I. p. 131, I. p. 42, I. p. 40, III. 67a, and many other places.

¶ I. p. 22a & b.—प्रयोजनमन्वाख्यायते। अहोस्मिन्सु—उपदेशायते। III. p. 581, एवं तर्ह्यन्वाषट्पुनरग्रे इत्येवं वतंत इति। नैतदन्वाषट्पुनरधिकारं अनुवर्तते इति। एष एव न्यायो यदुताधिकारं अनुवर्तते इति।

* Prof. Kielhorn's article, *Ind. Ant.* vol. V. p. 247, notes.

† न केवलानि चर्चापदानि व्याख्यानं इति आत् ऐजिति। किं ताई। उदाहरणं प्रत्युदाहरणं वाक्याध्याहार इत्येतन्ममदितं व्याख्यानं भवति। I. p. 18a. By the way, this passage justifies those who ascribe the examples contained in the *Mahābhāṣya* to Patanjali, and draw historical inferences from them with regard to his age and other matters. For we are here told that it is the business of the author of *vyākhyāna* to give examples. There is little reason, then, to suppose that the examples were handed down from the time of Pāṇini or Kātyāyana.

these two *sūtras* alone; in that in No. 10, that the termination given in the last *sūtra* is to be brought on to this, and not the one in the previous *sūtra*; and in No. 11 the *vārtika* explains to what the pronoun *etayoh* occurring in V. 3. 20 refers.

But let us examine the *Bhāṣya* more closely. In the *vārtikas* on I. 2. 1 Kātyāyana explains that what Pāṇini means by saying that certain terminations are *ङि* and *ङि* is, that before those terminations, those rules are to be applied to the preceding roots that are laid down with reference to such terminations as have actually got an indicatory *ङ* or *ङ* in them,—i.e. Pāṇini attributes the properties *ङि* or *ङि* to those terminations, though they have not got *ङ* or *ङ* in them. Before coming to this conclusion, however, the author of the *vārtikas* refutes three other ways of taking this and the following *sūtras* that may be suggested. Kātyāyana then gives reasons why *ङि* is attributed to some terminations, and *ङि* to others, and why one same property *ङि* or *ङि* is not mentioned with regard to all. In all this Patanjali confines himself to a detailed explanation of the *vārtikas*, and there is no refutation of any one of them.

On I. 4. 14 there is only one *vārtika* in which Kātyāyana explains why the word *anta* is used in the *sūtra*, and infers that in other *sūtras* in which technical terms are defined, those terms signify only the terminations that may have been mentioned, and not the words ending with those terminations,—i.e. for instance, *gha* signifies only the terminations *tara* and *tama*, and not *gaurī-tara* or *gaurītama*. Patanjali does not make any adverse remark, but explains the *vārtika*. On III. 1. 134, Kātyāyana remarks that the last termination *ach* must be stated generally as applicable to all roots, because there are such forms as *bhava* and *siva*. Why, then, does Pāṇini lay down the *gaṇa Paṇch* and others, and teach the addition of the termination to those roots? Kātyāyana himself tells us, it is because in this way he may be able to add some indicatory letter or *anubandhas* to some of the roots, and to prevent the application of special rules to others. On the next *sūtra* the author of the *vārtikas* remarks that the termination *ka* should be taught as applicable to the roots indicated in the *sūtra*, only when they have a preposition prefixed; for when without a preposition, the roots

have forms made up by the addition of another, which necessitates the change of the vowel to its *gaṇa*. Then he himself answers this by saying, "No, it should not be so taught, because we have such forms as *budha* and others," i.e. forms made up by the addition of *ka*. On III. 2. 123, the first two *vārtikas* require that the use of the present tense (*bhavanti*) should be taught in cases which the *sūtra* is supposed not to include; in the last three, we are told that the *sūtra* does extend to these cases also, and reasons are given to show how it does. Patanjali has no adverse remark.

In all these instances, Kātyāyana simply gives an *anvādhikāra* or explanation of the *sūtras*, and Patanjali agrees with him; and such instances may be multiplied to any extent. Of course, it is not to be denied that often there are adverse criticisms on Pāṇini, and that Patanjali defends him and refutes Kātyāyana, i.e. makes *pratyādhikāra* as well as *vyādhikāra* of the *vārtikas*. But Patanjali not seldom refutes Pāṇini also, i.e. makes *pratyādhikāra* of the *sūtras*, the expression *अयं योगः शब्दोऽवकुर्* occurring pretty often. On the other hand, he often says with regard to the *vārtikas*, *तस्मात्पुनश्च्यते*, &c. To show the nature of the *Great Commentary* generally as regards this subject, I will here give a short analysis of a portion of the *Bhāṣya* on the *angādhikāra* in the order in which the *sūtras* occur there, not here selecting my instances.

1. अङ्गस्य VI. 4. 1. K. settles the meaning of the gen. *अङ्गस्य*; Pat. does not refute. K. gives the objects of the *angādhikāra*, and says that they may be attained otherwise than by having such an *adhikāra*. Pat. agrees, while Kaiyata re-establishes that *adhikāra*.

2. In इत्. VI. 4. 2, K. raises an objection and answers it. Pat. accepts this explanation, but proposes also another.

3. In नामि VI. 4. 3, K. justifies the use of *नामि* for *आमि*; Pat. does not refute.

4. इन्हन्तु &c. VI. 4. 12. K. in the *vārtikas* explains this *sūtra* in a manner to avoid the lengthening of the penultimate vowel of *इन्हन्* necessitated by the *sūtra* अनुनासिक &c. VI. 4. 15.

5. अवसन्त &c. VI. 4. 14. K. finds fault; Pat. agrees.

6. अज्झन् &c. VI. 4. 16. K. finds fault, not explicitly but tacitly. Pat. avoids the objection

by re-arranging the *sūtra*. A *vārtika* on another point is refuted by Pat.

7. चुरोऽड &c. VI. 4. 19. K. shows that if कृत् comes down to this *sūtra*, कृ must be inserted in the *sūtra* कृञ्भस्व &c. VIII. 2. 36, and it must have कृ, i.e. च, prefixed to it. This is done in that *sūtra*. The *vārtikas* therefore explain that कृत् does come down. Pat. does not refute.

8. असिद्धद &c. VI. 4. 22. K. refers to his explanation of the objects of considering a grammatical operation to be असिद्ध given under VI. 1. 86, explains the sense of अच्, and gives the objects of the आनादधिकार. These last, Pat. shows, may be attained in other ways, and thus makes प्रत्याख्यान of them. Then objections to this *adhikāra* are raised by K., and answered by Pat. explaining अच् as equivalent to समानाधिकरण. Then follows a *vārtika* stating cases in which, when we take this *adhikāra* to extend to the beginning of *bhādhikāra*, we arrive at incorrect forms; and another giving other cases when the same result ensues, if we take it to extend to the end of that *adhikāra*. Pat. refutes these *vārtikas* by showing that the correct forms are arrived at, whether we take the one or the other as the limit of the *adhikāra*.

9. अञ्ज &c. VI. 4. 23. No *vārtikas*.

10. अनिदिता &c. VI. 4. 24. There are five supplementary or corrective *vārtikas*, two of which are refuted by Pat.

11. आस इद &c. VI. 4. 34. The *vārtika* is refuted by re-casting the *sūtra*.

12. अनुदाचो &c. VI. 4. 37. VI. 4. 38, as it is, would lead to wrong forms. K. therefore proposes to re-cast these two; Pat. does not object.

13. गमः कौ. VI. 4. 40. Two supplementary *vārtikas*; neither refuted by Pat.

14. जनसन &c. VI. 4. 42. Pat. discusses the connection of झल्, and in the end divides the *sūtra* into two, so as to render the use of झल् unnecessary. Then follows an explanatory *vārtika*, which is discussed and defended by Pat. at great length.

15. सनकिचि, &c. VI. 4. 45. Pat. says the word अन्यतरस्यां might well have been omitted in this *sūtra*, as unnecessary. "Another" says that even the word लोप् might be omitted. There is no *vārtika*.

16. अर्धमातुके VI. 4. 46. A *kārikā*, very likely by Pat. himself, gives the purposes of this

adhikāra; and they are discussed in detail afterwards. No *vārtikas*.

17. भस्त्रोरोप VI. 4. 47. Some explanation by Pat. Then follow three *vārtikas* on a certain point, which are refuted by Pat.

18. अतो लोपः VI. 4. 48. *Vārtika* refuted by taking पर as equivalent to इह.

19. यत्प हलः VI. 4. 49. K. gives the undesirable effects of taking य as two letters y and a, and of taking it as y only. Pat. says one may take it either way; and the faults pointed out by K. are explained away.

20. वेरुनिटे VI. 4. 51. Pat. decides that the word अनिति in this *sūtra* is unnecessary, and explains the next *sūtra* in a manner to avoid the objections that may arise. He also recasts VI. 4. 55. There is no *vārtika*.

21. निहावां सेटि VI. 4. 52. K. discusses, and explains the reason of using the word सेटि here. Pat. says this word, and even the whole *sūtra*, might be omitted, and recasts VII. 2. 26 in a manner to include the sense of this. A *vārtika* follows, which is refuted.

22. अयामन्ता &c. VI. 4. 55. There are three *vārtikas* showing what rules should be laid down if we should have ऋ as an *upādi*-termination, and what if इत्. These last are actually laid down by Pāṇini, says Pat.

23. स्वपि लघु &c. VI. 4. 56. K. brings objections to the reading लघुपूर्वस्य, and settles that it should be लघुपूर्वात्; Pat. does not object.

24. विभाषापः VI. 4. 57. आर् should have its indicative sign त here, observes K., to prevent the application of this rule to अन्नादि. Pat. applies the *paribhāṣā* लङ्गणपतिपदोक्त &c. and refutes the *vārtika*.

25. स्वसिन् &c. VI. 4. 62. Pat. discusses at great length the relations of the words भावकर्मणोः, इट्, and विध्वत्. Then, in a *kārikā* which must be attributed to him, are set forth the purposes of attributing चिन्वद्वाय to these terminations after these roots. This is followed by *vārtikās*, in the first of which the reason for the use of the word उपदेश is given, and in the second we are told that चिन्वद्वाय prevails over the *sūtra* which lays down चर् as a substitute for इन्, in the precativ. The next two provide that the substitutes for इन्, इ to go, and इ to study, which are used before चिन् in the aorist, should not be used here. This, we are told, follows from the context of this *sūtra*. No adverse remarks from Pat.

We thus see (1) that Kātyāyana explains and supports the *sūtras*, sometimes by raising questions about them and answering them, sometimes without resorting to this procedure; (2) that he amends them, and thus must be understood to criticize them, or find fault with them; and (3) that he supplements them. Patanjali (1) comments on the *vārtikas* in accordance with his own definition of *vyākhyāna*; (2) agrees with Kātyāyana; (3) refutes him; (4) recasts Pāṇini's *sūtras*; (5) affirms that they, or a word or words in them, are not wanted, even in cases when Kātyāyana justifies them or defends Pāṇini; (6) discusses and explains *sūtras* or words in them, notwithstanding that there is no *vārtika*; and (7) gives supplementary rules called *ishṭis*, which, however, occur very rarely, very little being left for him to do in this respect, by his predecessors. It will thus appear that in writing the *vārtikas*, Kātyāyana did "mean to justify and to defend the rules of Pāṇini" also, and that a *vārtika* is often "a commentary which explains;" and that the *Mahābhāṣya* contains such varied matter, arguments of such

length, so consistent, so well connected, and so subtle, that it by no means deserves the title of "a skilful compilation of the views of Pāṇini's critics and of their refutation by Patanjali," or of a "mere refutation of Kātyāyana," or of "a synopsis of arguments for and against the details of Pāṇini's system, or a controversial manual." The only tenable theory is that Kātyāyana's work is an edition of Pāṇini with notes, explanatory, critical, and supplementary; and that Patanjali's is a commentary on this editor, explaining in detail the notes of Kātyāyana, but discussing at length all points connected with the system of Pāṇini and with grammar generally, whether Kātyāyana notices them or not, in a manner favourable or otherwise to his author. The object of both was the same, viz. to teach grammar by following and explaining the system of Pāṇini, endeavouring to perfect it, even though this sometimes required a remodelling of his *sūtras* or their entire refutation, and to complete it by supplying the omissions and bringing up the knowledge of Sanskrit grammar conveyed therein to their own times.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE PRINCIPAL CHĀVADĀ SETTLEMENTS IN GUJARĀT.

BY MAJOR J. W. WATSON.

After the accession of Muḥrāj Solaṅki to the throne of Pāṭan, and the subsequent expulsion of the Chāvaḍās, in about A.D. 942, one of the queens of Sāmantsingh Chāvaḍā, by tribe a Bhātīāni, fled to her father's house at Jaisalmer with her infant son, then a child of a year old. This boy was named Ahipat, and when he grew to man's estate he became a formidable outlaw, and used to ravage the Pāṭan dominions. He conquered nine hundred villages in Kachh, and built Morgadh, which he made the seat of his government, and here, consolidating his rule, he reigned for many years. He was succeeded by his son Vikramsi, whose son was named Vibhurāja. Vibhurāja was succeeded by his son Tākulji, whose son and successor was Śeshkaranji. Śeshkaranji was succeeded by his son Wāghji, who was succeeded by his son Akherāja, and Akherāja by his son Tejsi, Tejsi by Karamsingh, Karamsingh by Tākhangsingh, Tākhangsingh by Āskaranji, Askaranji by Mokamsingh, and Mokamsingh by Punjāji. Punjāji lived in the reign of Sultān

'Alāu'd-din Khilji (1295-1315), whose viceroy ruled at Pāṭan.

The Kolis of the Visalnagar districts were at this time very troublesome to the Muhammadan viceroy, and were continually plundering the Pāṭan district. When the Jhādejas extended their sway in Kachh they drove out Punjāji Chāvaḍā, who went to the village of Dhārpura, near Baroda, and there acquired a *chorāsi* or holding of eighty-four villages. But in Alagh Khān's conquest of Gujarāt, in about A.D. 1306, Dhārpura was conquered and made part of the crown dominions; and Punjāji now attached himself to the viceroy at Pāṭan, and served him faithfully in the hope of obtaining a grant of land. The viceroy, a foreigner, was only too glad to avail himself of Punjāji's services and local knowledge, which were invaluable to him, and sent him against the Visalnagar Kolis at the head of 16,000 men. Punjāji marched with this force to Ābāsan, where he consulted the local astrologers (*joshis*) and other Brāhmanas as to the success of his enterprise. They advised him

unanimously to attack the Kolis next day, and prophesied that he would infallibly be victorious, and deputed one of the number to accompany him. Punjāji promised to accept the Brāhmaṇ as his spiritual adviser and family priest (*gor*), and next morning, starting at daybreak, marched suddenly on Dābrā, where he surprised and slew the Koli chief Visaldeva; from Dābrā he marched to Gōjpārī and there slew Gopāl; from thence he advanced to Lodrā, where he killed Lāl; and from Lodrā to Warsodā, where he killed Wachrāj. By these successive defeats he entirely subdued the Kolis, and reduced the district between Visalnagar and Kaḍi (then called Visalvāḍā) to order.

On his return to Pātan the viceroy bestowed on him 248 villages under Visalnagar, and 52 other villages, in all 300 villages. Punjāji now established his *gādi* at Ābāsān (or Āmbāsān)* and resided there. He granted the villages of Devrāsān and Subhāsān† to Chārāns, and gave twelve villages to his half-brother Viramdeva. He gave also twelve villages to one of his followers called Rājā Bhīm. These were situated in the Meu (?) district. On another follower, called Vijal Dābhi, he bestowed fourteen villages, while to Jetsi Parmār he gave the village of Gakhū-Delwār. He gave also the village of Hilwū to his Solāṅki followers, and bestowed many fields on other men of less repute.

Rājā Punjāji reigned for forty-six years at Āmbāsān; he had two sons, Mesāji and Vanvirji. Mesāji built the town of Mesānā, and his mother Padmāvatī constructed the large tank called the Padamsāgar at that place. Mesāji had no male issue, and was succeeded by his brother Vanvirji, who also had no son until he consulted a Brāhmaṇ whose surname was Rāval. The Brāhmaṇ told him he was sonless through Mahādeva's anger, whom he had offended, but that he would intercede for him on condition that if he obtained a son through his intercession he should call him Rāval. Vanvirji agreed to this, and about a year afterwards a son was born to him, whom he named Narbadsingh Rāval, and from that day the Chāvaḍā Rāvals have continued the title.

Narbadsingh granted to Bhāts the two villages

* Āmbāsān is a village of Kaḍi under H. H. the Gāikwāḍ.

of Beru and Derru. He was succeeded by his son Jayasingh Rāval, who had three sons,—Isardās, Surajmalji, and Sāmantsingh,—who divided the paternal estate, and set up their *gādis* at Ambod, Warsodā, and Mānsā respectively, and for a few years the two elder sons made Jotānā and Lech their chief seats. Lech is a village of the Kaḍi parganā, but the *gādi* was soon moved to Warsodā. The Chāvaḍā chiefs of Mānsā and Warsodā, however, to this day hold *soṇṭās* in Lech and Āmbāsān.

In the Āmbod house, Isardās was succeeded by his son Varānsi, who was succeeded by his son Singhoji. Singhoji had seven sons, who divided his *chorāsi* among them, each taking twelve villages. Thus Jayamalji, Kanji, and Adāji took Āmbod and thirty-six villages among them; Jesāji received twelve villages and took up his residence at Vasāji; Sujoji received twelve villages and resided at Bhotānā; Hānsji received twelve villages and resided at Karā; and Sāngoji received twelve villages and resided at Kamānā. The above are the principal divisions of the Chāvaḍis of Āmbod.

Surajmalji, of the Warsodā branch, had a son named Punjāji, who dug the Rāvaliū Talāo at Mesānā. Punjāji had two sons, Sāv-dāsji and Sisāji, of whom the latter succeeded him. Sisāji was succeeded by his son Sādul Rāval, whose son was Gangāji. Gangāji was a devotee of the goddess Umā, who told him to ask for a boon, on which he asked for a son. The goddess replied that he would obtain a son if he moved his seat from Mesānā to Warsodā, and bathed daily in the Sābarmatī river for one month. Gangāji accordingly left Mesānā and established his seat at Warsodā, and there in Sāmvat 1565 (A. D. 1509) two sons were born to him, whom he named Askaranji and Jagtoji, of whom Askaranji succeeded him. Jagtoji's descendants are now in the village of Pothā. Askaranji had four sons, viz. Rāmdās, Kaloji, Ratansingh, and Wachrāj. In Kaloji's branch one Khumānsingh, who settled at Māṇikpur, was a famous man in his time. The descendants of Ratansingh are to be found at Wadu, and those of Wachrāj at Ahājol. Rāmdās had three sons, viz. Mānsinghji, Parammath, and Keshavji. Two of these had no issue, and the estate fell to Keshavji, who adopted

† Dewrāsān and Subhāsān are villages of the Kaḍi parganā, and are still held by Chārāns.

Bālmukund Puri as his religious preceptor, and granted him the village of G u n m ā, which his successors on the *gādi* still hold.

Keshavji was succeeded by his son Dayāl-dāsji, who had eight sons, viz. Girdhardāsji, Haribhramji, and Ajabsingh by one mother, and Rupsingh, Nārandās, Gumānsingh, Prathirāj, and Hamirji by another. The descendants of Haribhramji settled in R a n g p u r. Two of them, Hariji and Jagoji, were famous men in their time. Ajabsingh's descendants settled in G a l t h a l i. The descendants of Rupsingh are still in W a r s o d ā, though not on the *gādi*, which fell to Girdhardāsji, the eldest son. The descendants of Nārandās and Gumānsingh are to be found at L ā k h ā g a d h. Prathirāj and Hamirji left no issue. Girdhardāsji had four sons, viz. Apāji, Jasoji, Kirtāji, and Amarsingh; of whom Apāji and Jasoji had no male issue, and Amarsingh succeeded his father. Amarsingh was succeeded by Bhimsingh, usually called Badsingh, and on his death, in Samvat 1836 (A.D. 1780) his wife Mālpuri became a *sañi*. He was succeeded by his son Ratausingh, and he by his son Motisingh, whose two sons, Kisor Singh and Lālsingh, are the present chiefs of W a r s o d ā.

Of the M ā n s ā branch the most celebrated chieftains were Indarsingh and Nārsinghji; the former was a contemporary of Dāmāji Gāikwād, who on one occasion unsuccessfully besieged Mānsā. The following couplet records Indarsingh's triumph:—

दामा दामण छोड, इंदरसीह मारसे;
माणसानो ख्याल मेल, केडेरा बालसे.

"Dāmā, raise the siege, or Indarsingh will kill you;

Let Mānsā alone, or he will burn your tents."

The following poetry commemorates the taking of L a b ā d by Nārsinghji of Mānsā:—

लेता पादसहो तण माल,
लाख लाखो तणालो छे;
भंकस न मानता सुबाबाला,
भंक रावणे छेडीयो.
राम लंकरो गमायो राज,
(एम) सीह बंकी जगावीयो राजा नरसीह—
हेदळा पेदळा मेले दमंगळो,
हळो हळो चढयो एम बांकडो ऊनड;
भडावीर माणसीयो,
सनु यांकेसटे आयो.
लीयो तडीभडी पडी एकमां लबाड,

धवाले गोळीयां नाळी तोपोरा भरम्भ;

धडे झुपडे झुपडे दीवी,

भगनेरी झाल;

तपभारी तेज थारे,

भमनवा परबतेस;

वगरे जगरे पडी,

भाग्या कोटवाल.

प्रजाळीयां खटे वास परासोत बांधपरा;

मेवासीयां तणां मान मोदीयां मसुंद;

धोकेडा चहु चके सुणी वांद वळ्यो घेर,

जेम करे चोरासीको वांद।

"He deprived millions of kings of their property, and did not obey the written orders passed by the Subāhs.

Rāvaṇa lost the kingdom of Lāṅkā in consequence of his having incensed Rāmā.

In like manner the great lion Rāja Nārsingh was roused;

He, the mountain lord, put himself at the head of an army of both cavalry and infantry.

Having come in front of his enemies' line he fought a battle, and in a moment took possession of Lavād;

By firing muskets and guns he set fire to house after house.

O performer of austerities, and the descendant of Parbatesā!

It was by thy prowess that the Kotwāls fled away to jungles and mountains,

And that six villages, with their suburbs, were set on fire, and the pride of the Mehswāls was greatly humbled.

On hearing of this all were terrified, while he returned to his house like the king of the Chorasī."

These petty chieftains of Mānsā and Warsodā are thus lineally descended from V a n r ā j C h ā v a d ā, who is said to have founded Pātan in A.D. 746, and their alliance is eagerly sought even at the present day; and these petty holdings represent almost the only trace of the royal line of the Chāvādās, once so famous. Yet their successors, the Chālukyas, though they held the throne for nearly four centuries, have left but few of their descendants in the province over which they once ruled. Indeed the chieftainships of L u n ā v ā d ā, S ā n a n d, B h ā d a r w ā, and T h a r ā d are the only ones of any note in Gujarāt at the present day which boast the Solāṅki blood.

CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEA.

THE RIGHT-HAND AND THE LEFT-HAND CASTES.

To the Editor of the Indian Antiquary.

I venture to place at your disposal such information as I have been able to obtain respecting right-hand and left-hand castes.

In a village named Sathur Peril, in the zillâ of Chittâr (Madras Presidency) there reside a large number of the Panchâlar, or five classes of mechanics, styling themselves Viśva Brāhmaṇas, having the title 'Āchārya' affixed to their names, and they wear the thread. They not only set up these claims for themselves, but they assert them to be the natural rights of the five classes of mechanics throughout the south. Those commonly called Brāhmaṇs they regard as impure, and they style them foreigners. They further assert that originally there were *five* Vedas, but that Veda-Vyāsan and other Rishis made of them but *four*, and in a similar manner they corrupted, interpolated, or abridged other sacred writings.

It would appear that the community of Panchâlar at Sathur-Peril were in the habit of performing their own sacred rites, marriages, &c. &c., by one of their number who acted as *gurū*. The *purohita* Brāhmaṇ of the place, however, determined to put an end to this, and accordingly, when a marriage was about to take place, with a strong party, he pulled down the marriage *paṇḍal* and entailed much loss upon the family of the Panchâlar, who insisted on his right as a Viśva Brāhmaṇ to solemnize the marriage. It was subsequently arranged to inquire into the respective rights of the contending parties before a panchāyat, which was accordingly done, and the panchāyat decided in favour of the Panchâlar. The Brāhmaṇs would not submit to this decision, whereon the other side appealed to the magistrate, who directed them to seek redress in the civil court at Chittâr, which they accordingly did, and a day was fixed for hearing the case. Both parties were required to deposit such documents as they intended to cite in support of their claim. The Panchâlar deposited some, but the Brāhmaṇs none. The court decided in favour of the Panchâlar, and granted them damages.

The Panchâlar at Madras decided on publishing the case from beginning to end, for the information of their people throughout the country. The book has gone through a second edition (in Tamil), and from it I have extracted the foregoing. The book is in the shape of a dialogue between a champion of the Panchâlar and a champion of the Brāhmaṇs, and the discussion is carried on with the bitterest acrimony. Many subjects are dis-

cussed, and some with considerable ability. At length the Brāhmaṇ puts the following question:—"O Panchâlar (he mentions the name), how comes it that you range yourself on the side of the left-hand caste?" (I abridge the reply.) "In the time of the Soren Râja Parimalan, Veda-Vyāsan endeavoured to induce the king to allow his family to perform the sacred offices for the royal family; but the Râja declined, saying, 'The Panchâlar (Viśva Brāhmaṇs) perform them very well,' and he desired Vyāsan to take his leave.

"The Râja died shortly afterwards, and his brother succeeded him, whereupon Vyāsan made another attempt to have his family appointed, but the new king repelled him rudely. Vyāsan then went to the illegitimate son of the late Râja, and by false stories stirred him up against the Râja and the Panchâlar, and obtained from him a promise that he should be made priest of the royal family on condition of his deposing the Râja, and raising him to the throne. Accordingly the king was murdered while out hunting, and the illegitimate son was raised to the throne. Once established on the throne, he endeavoured to fulfil his promise to Veda-Vyāsan without offending the Panchâlar: so he tried a compromise by dividing the sacred offices between them,—an arrangement that the Panchâlar refused to submit to; whereon they were dismissed, and Veda-Vyāsan and his friends were duly installed in office. This led to unpleasant consequences, as the people refused to cultivate because the religious ceremonies were no longer performed by the Panchâlar. Vyāsan; therefore, to secure success to his plans, got the king to declare that all people who supported him should be designated *the right-hand caste*, and that those who sided with the Panchâlar should be called *the left-hand caste*.

"A neighbouring Râja, hearing of this, assembled his forces and marched against Kalingam Râja and captured him. The conqueror is described as executing the Râja, for dismissing the Panchâlar and appointing Vyāsan and his friends to perform sacred offices, and for dividing the people into right and left hand castes.

"Vyāsan and his party fled to Kâśi and consulted the Brāhmaṇ Rishis, who are represented as upbraiding him for his misconduct toward the Panchâlar, for his literary forgeries, and for his opposition to Vishṇu. Vyāsan denied this latter, apparently from fear, but on being pressed with the charge, he raised his right hand toward heaven and swore that Vishṇu was the only true god. The Rishi, disgusted with his duplicity, drew his scimeter and cut off the extended right

hand of Vyāsan, and from that day a right hand is the crest on the Rishis' banner." Such is the story of the origin of right and left hand castes as given in this book.

There is a book* in German, not so well known as it deserves to be, from which I translate a passage *à propos* to this subject, viz.:—"The castes of the right and of the left hand in Śrīringapatnam deserve notice. The left hand consists of the following nine castes: (1) The Panchālar, which includes the five classes of mechanics or artificers; (2) the Cheṭṭis or merchants, who say they belong to the Vaiśya caste: (3) Weavers; (4) Oil-millers who drive their mills with two bullocks; (5) the Gollār caste,—people who are employed to carry money; (6) the Paliwanlu caste, (7) the Palavantu caste, both cultivators but not belonging to the Karnāṭaka; (8) Hunters; (9) Tanners and Shoemakers. The Panchālar command the entire body, but the Tanners are their warmest supporters in all difficulties, because in matters of dispute they are very adroit. The right-hand division consists of eighteen castes, viz.:—(1) The Bamgaru caste. This embraces many occupations and many Hindu sects. They are mostly traders or shopkeepers. (2) The Wodigaru caste, Śudra cultivators; (3) Oil-millers who drive their mill with but one ox; (4) the Tailors; (5) the Sandara caste: these are Muhammadan artizans; (6) the Gujarāṭi caste,—merchants from that district; (7) the Kamāṭīgāru caste = people of the Vaiśya caste; (8) the joiner or Jaina; (9) Shepherds and Weavers, especially weavers of woollen blankets; (10) Pottery; (11) Washermen; (12) Palankeen-bearers; (13) the Padma = Shalayavādū caste, a class of weavers; (14) the Barber caste; (15) the Tank-diggers; (16) Painters; (17) the Gullāru caste,—people who herd cows and buffaloes; (18) the Whallīāru caste,—these are the warriors of this division; they commonly speak of themselves (in the Tamil country) as Vallangais, but are the well-known Pariahs.

"The origin of the division of the Hindus into right and left hand is overlaid with fable. The oldest Hindu account attributes it to the goddess Kālī at the founding of Kancheveram; and it is said that the pagoda there contains a copper plate having upon it an inscription that accounts for this division of castes. Both sides refer to this plate, but neither side has ever produced it, and therefore its existence may be doubted.

"The castes of which both sides are composed are in no way bound by any mutual obligation of religion or of relationship. The great idea that keeps them together appears to be to attain more dignity.

The right-hand claim exclusive right to have a *paṇḍāl*, under which to perform their marriage ceremonies; and they maintain that the left-hand have no right, in their marriage processions, to ride a horse, or to carry a flag upon which there is an image of Hanuman. The left-hand assert a right to all these, and appeal to the copper plate already mentioned, and they further assert that to them belongs the higher rank, because the goddess placed them on her left side, which in India is the place of honour." Thus far I quote from our German author.

It is difficult to say what the origin of the division was, but it does appear to have been caused by some person or persons who were strangers to Southern India: and from the fact that Muhammadan artizans form a portion of the right-hand division, we may conclude that it cannot boast of very great antiquity. These Muhammadans were a necessity to the right-hand, because in time of fighting no Panchālar would work for them.

JAMES F. KEARNS,
Missionary, S. P. G.

THE PHRASE 'PANCHA-MAHĀŚABDA'

(See *Ind. Ant.* vol. V. p. 251.)

It may be of some interest to Sir Walter Elliot to know that although *samadhigata-pancha-mahāśabda* is obsolete as a royal title, the term *panchaśabda* is still in use, and is of frequent occurrence in the modern literature of Braj. Thus in the *Rāmdyāna* of Tulsi Dās, Book I., immediately after the 324th *dohā*, in the passage describing the festivities connected with Rāma's wedding, occurs the line

Panch-sabd-dhuni mangal gānd,

which is literally 'the noise of the five kinds of music and auspicious songs.' A very useful commentary on the poem, published under the auspices of the Mahārāja of Banāras, gives the following explanatory couplet:—

Tantri, tāl, sujhānjh, puni jāno nagāra chār;

Pancham phūnke so baje panch-sabd prakār,
in which the five kinds of music are specified as the *tantri*, or *sitāra*, the *tāl*, the *jhānjh*, the *nakāra*, and fifthly the trumpet, fife, or other wind instrument. This enumeration, or one differing from it in no essential respect, is popularly known; and I do not think that any *paṇḍit* in this part of India would hesitate about the meaning of the title *samadhigata-pancha-mahāśabda*, but would at once explain it as denoting that the king had a brilliant and auspicious court, in which all kinds of music were constantly being played. It may also be as well to observe that the Hindi text of Chānd is by no means so explicit as to the custom of having a royal band play five times a day as would appear

* *Ostindien seine Geschichte, Cultur, und seine Bewohner*, von Philipp van Mörken.

from the English translation quoted by Sir Walter Elliot. That stands thus:—

"With many standards very splendid,
Song and music playing five times a day;
Mounting ten thousand horses
With golden hoofs and jewelled trappings."

But the text, as given by the translator himself, is as follows:—

Ghān nisān bahu sadd,
Nād sur panch bajat dīn.
Das hazār hay charhat
Hem nag jāit sāj tin.*

of which a literal rendering would be—

"Many instruments of various note,
A noise of the five kinds of music playing every day.
Mounting ten thousand horses,

Their trappings brodered with gold and jewels," which, it will be seen, is something very different.

Further I would observe that *naubat*, corresponding precisely to the Hindi *pahra*, certainly means originally 'a turn,' i.e. the time for changing guard, when the drums were beat; and it is only secondarily that it comes to mean the drum itself. As its primary signification has thus no connection with music of any kind, it is highly improbable that its final syllable should be the same with the *but* in *sackbut* and *barbut*. The latter is probably the Greek *βάρβυρος*; though Rājā Śivā Prasād tells me that the frame of the instrument is shaped like a goose (*vaṭa*), and that this is the origin of the name.

F. S. GROWSE.

THE BENDUR CEREMONIES IN SĀNGLI.

In a former Part of this journal (vol. II. p. 335) I made a note of a custom prevailing in the Dhārwar districts, the most prominent features of which were certain observances connected with cattle on a particular date, and an attempt to divine the prospects of the coming crops by means of the animals. I have remarked a similar practice here (Sāngli), but there are points of difference which seem sufficiently interesting to make the *Bendur* custom, as it is called in these parts, worthy of being noted.

The first point of difference is in the time. The *Kari* takes place on *Jesht Purnima*, while the *Bendur* is celebrated on *Ashād Purnima*,† just a month later. The practice here is as follows:—On the previous evening the legs of the cattle are washed with water, and they are given for the nonce the names of certain propitious stars, such as *Pusha*, *Ashlesha*, and so on. Their necks are

then rubbed with oil, or butter, and turmeric, which operation is more important than would appear at first sight, as while it is going on the important question of the prospects of the crops is solved in the following way:—If the bullock, while its neck is being rubbed, passes dung, the crops are sure to be good; if it passes urine, they will be moderate; and if it does neither, only the most scanty crops can be expected.

On the morning of *purnima* the cattle are washed, their horns and often their bodies are coloured with *kāo* (a kind of red earth), and they are decked with bells, silver and brass chains, and garlands of flowers. They are then worshipped and fed with cakes, and '*ambil*,'—a kind of gruel mixed with turmeric, oil, and salt. The implements of husbandry are also besmeared with oil and *kāo*, and worshipped. It should also be noted that the cattle are taken in procession to the river and bathed.

In the evening two bullocks belonging to the chief *pāṭil* are decked out in all sorts of ornaments, and taken round the old town to the spot near the temple of *Māruti*, where a gate formerly stood. Over the road at this place a *toran* is erected made of plantain stems and mango and *pīpal* leaves. As the bullocks approach it they are urged on to full speed, and their driver as he passes under the *toran* breaks it with his whip or a rope, after which the bullocks are taken home.

The final ceremony resembles the "French and English" game of one's childhood. The *pāṭil* procures from a *Mhāng* a leather rope some thirty or forty feet long, the ends of which are laid hold of by the assembled crowd, who divide themselves into two parties, and tug against one another till the rope breaks. It is then divided into numerous pieces, which are eagerly sought after: for happy is the man who is able to throw one of these pieces into his granary, as his store is sure not to fail.

E. W. WEST.

A SORCERER'S PUNISHMENT.

SIR,—I send a note of a curious case which occurred lately in this (Krishnā) district.

A *Māla* (or *Paridh*) weaver called *Chinnadāsari* settled in the village of *Petiārpālem* about a year ago. Soon after his arrival he began to be suspected of practising sorcery; and it was rumoured that he had the power of destroying men by causing devils to enter into them, and of bringing cholera and other diseases upon them. At length a woman died after a prolonged and painful delivery, and *Chinnadāsari* was believed to have been the cause of

(which, by the way, means not 'a hoof,' but 'a nail' or 'claw'), but is a name for 'a precious stone.'

† I find *Benduri Purnima* often used as a synonym for *Ashād Purnima*.

* *Nisān* is from the root *śvan*, 'to sound,' and is not the Persian *nishān*, 'a banner.' *Sadd* is for *sabda*, and not for *suddha*, bright; *sur* is for *svara*; *dīn* for *dīn prati*, 'day by day' or 'every day'; and *nag* is not for *nakh*

her death. Thereupon the villagers resolved to deprive him of his power of pronouncing incantations; and with that end in view he was taken one day to another village by one of the accused. On their way home they were met by five others, of whom one proposed to Chinnadāsari to go a-hunting, and another asked him for a bit of tobacco. While he stopped to get the tobacco out, he was suddenly seized by both arms and thrown on the ground. His hands were tied behind his back, and his legs bound fast with his waistcloth. One of the accused sat on his legs, another on his waist, while a third held his head down by the top-knot. His mouth was forced open with a large pincers, and a piece of stick was thrust between the teeth to prevent the mouth closing. One of the assailants got a stone as big as a man's fist, and with it struck Chinnadāsari's upper and lower teeth several times, till they were loosened, thereby causing acute suffering. Then nine teeth—four incisors and one canine from the lower jaw, and four incisors from the upper—were pulled out one by one with the pincers. A quantity of milk-hedge (*Euphorbia*) juice was poured on the bleeding gums, and the unfortunate man was left lying on his back, to free himself from his bonds as well as he could.

The prisoners bore no individual personal grudge to the complainant, and, I do not doubt, thought that they were acting from laudable motives of public spirit when they thus undertook to free their village from a scourge. The theory on which they acted was that after all his front teeth had been extracted it would be impossible for the sorcerer to pronounce his spells in an effectual way, and so his power for mischief would be gone. That such is the result of this treatment is currently believed in this part of the country; and it would be interesting to know if the same belief in the necessity of distinct articulation to make charms efficacious is found to prevail in other parts of India.

H. J. STOKES.

Krishnā District, 18th November 1876.

WAK-WAK.

In the story of Hasan of El-Basrah, given by Mr. Lane in his translation of the *Arabian Nights*, chap. xxv. (vol. iii. pp. 384-518), frequent mention is made of the islands of Wak or Wak-Wak, represented as lying in the remotest eastern regions. In his carefully digested note (No. 52, page 523), Mr. Lane gives it as his own opinion that the Arab geographers applied the name to all the islands with which they were acquainted on the east and south-east of Borneo; and this conclusion

is more probable than that which supposes them to be either Japan or the Sunda Islands. In an extract from the works of Ibn El-Wardi, an explanation of the origin of the name Wak-Wak is given as follows:—"Here, too, is a tree that bears fruits like women, with bodies, eyes, limbs, &c., like those of women; they have beautiful faces, and are suspended by their hair. They come forth from integuments like large leathern bags, and when they feel the air and the sun they cry out *Wak! Wak!* until their hair is cut; and when it is cut they die. The people of these islands understand this cry, and augur ill from it." This account sufficiently shows the ignorance of this writer of the regions he was describing, and their products; but it indicates, at least, that the name *Wak-Wak* comes from trees. I think that it is an imitation of the abrupt caw of the common Bird of Paradise (*Paradisea apoda*), which is one of the productions of those remote islands. This sound is uttered in a short, snappish manner, very loud and distinct, as I have heard hundreds of times. The bird is found in the Aru Islands, Wigion, and other islands near New Guinea, where it is most common; and when dried their bodies now form a common article of trade throughout the Archipelago, as they have done for a long time. It is not improbable, moreover, that the live bird was often sold, and its peculiar note has given this name found in the Arab writers of a thousand years ago.—S. W. WILLIAMS, in *Trübner's Lit. Record*.

EPIGRAM ON AN ATHEIST.

By Behā ed-dīn Zoheir.

A foolish atheist, whom I lately found,
Alleged Philosophy in his defence;
Says he, "The arguments I use are sound."
"Just so," said I, "all sound and little sense!"
"You talk of matters far beyond your reach,
"You're knocking at a closed-up door," said I:
Said he, "You cannot understand my speech."
"I'm not King Solomon*!" was my reply.

Prof. E. H. Palmer's *Trust*.

INSCRIPTION OF THE KADAMBA FAMILY OF BALAGĀMVE.

The accompanying plate gives a facsimile, from Major Dixon's photograph, of No. II. of Mr. Fleet's series of Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions. A Canarese transcription of it, with translation and remarks, is given at vol. IV. p. 208. The characters and language are Old Canarese.

* Solomon is fabled to have understood the language of birds and beasts.

STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE KADAMBA FAMILY AT BALAGAMVE



THE BHADRÂCHALLAM TÂLUKÂ, GODÂVARÎ DISTRICT, S. INDIA.

BY THE REV. JOHN CAIN, DUMMAGUDEM.

(Continued from p. 303.)

IN describing the people and castes of this tâlukâ, I propose to notice first the Kois, a tribe already partially described in Captain Glasford's *Reports*, and Colonel Haig's *Report* of his visit to Jagdalpur, and also in the *Census Report* for 1871 of the Madras Presidency. These people are to be found in the country extending from the banks of the Indrâvati, Bastar, down to the neighbourhood of Kammanimet, in the Nizâm's country. All those in the plains have a tradition that about two hundred years ago they were driven down from the plateau in the Bastar country by famine and disputes, and this relationship is also acknowledged by the Gutta Kois, i.e. the hill Kois, who live in the highlands of Bastar. Up to the present time I have had but little intercourse with the Gutta Kois, and the manners and customs described in this paper will be those of the Kois dwelling in the Bhadrâchallam tâlukâ.

The Kois generally marry when of fair age, but infant marriages are not unknown. If the would-be bridegroom is comparatively wealthy, he can easily secure a bride by a peaceable arrangement with her parents; but if too poor to do this, he consults with his parents and friends, and, having fixed upon a suitable young girl, he sends his father and friends to take counsel with the head-man of the village where his future partner resides. A judicious and liberal bestowal of a few rupees and *arak* obtain the consent of the guardian of the village to the proposed marriage. This done, the party watch for a favourable opportunity to carry off the bride, which is sure to occur when she comes outside her village to fetch water or wood, or it may be when her parents and friends are away and she is left alone in her house. (The head-man is generally consulted, but not always, as only a few weeks ago a wealthy widow was forcibly carried off from the house of the chief Koi of a village near Dummagudem, and when the master of the house opposed the proceedings he was knocked down by the invading party.) The bridegroom generally anxiously awaits the return home of his friends with their captive, and the ceremony is proceeded with that even-

ing, due notice having been sent to the bereaved parents. Some of the Kois are polygamists, and it not unfrequently happens that a widow is chosen and carried off, it may be, a day or two after the death of her husband, whilst she is still grieving on account of her loss. The bride and bridegroom are not always married in the same way. The more simple ceremony is that of causing the woman to bend her head down, and then having made the man lean over her, the friends pour water on his head, and when the water has run off his head to that of the woman they are regarded as man and wife. The water is generally poured out of a bottle-gourd.* But generally on this all-important occasion the two are brought together, and, having promised to be faithful to each other, drink some milk. Some rice is then placed before them, and, having again renewed their promises, they eat the rice. They then go outside the house, and march round a low heap of earth which has been thrown up under a small *pandâl* erected for the occasion, singing a simple song as they proceed. Afterwards they pay their respects to the elders present, and beg for their blessing, which is generally bestowed in the form of "May you be happy! May you not fight and quarrel!" &c. &c. This over, all present fall to the task of devouring the quantity of provisions provided for the occasion, and, having well eaten and drunk, the ceremony is concluded. If the happy couple and their friends are comparatively wealthy, the festivities last several days.

Some do not object to run away with the wife of another man, and in former years a husband has been known to have been murdered for the sake of his wife. Even at present more disputes arise from bride-stealing than from any other cause, especially as up to the present time the Government officials have not been able to stop this practice.

Funeral ceremonies.—The bodies of children and young men and young women are buried. If a child dies within a month of its birth, it is usually buried close to the house, so that the rain dropping from the eaves may fall upon the grave, and thereby cause the parents to be blessed with another child in due course

* These gourds are used by the Kois as bottles, in which they carry drinking-water when on a journey. Very few

Kois stir far from their homes without one of these filled with water.

of time. With the exception of the above-mentioned, corpses are usually burnt. A cow or a bullock is slain, and the tail cut off and put in the dead person's hand, after the cot on which the corpse is carried has been placed upon the funeral pile. If a *pujári* or Koi priest is present, he not unfrequently claims a cloth or two belonging to the dead person. The cot is then removed and the body burnt. Mr. Vanstavern reports having seen part of the liver of the slain animal placed in the mouth of the corpse. The friends of the deceased then retire, and proceed to feast upon the animal slain for the occasion. Three days afterwards they generally return bringing contributions of *cholam*, and having slain one or more animals have a second feast. They are not very nice in their tastes, as they by no means object to the presence of blood in the flesh used at their feasts.

The general idea of the Kois is that the spirits of the dead wander about the forest in the form of *pisháchts*.

They do not believe that any one dies what is commonly called a natural death, but always assert that the death of every one is caused by the machinations of a sorcerer, instigated thereto by an enemy of the deceased or of the deceased's friends. So, in former years, inquiry was always made as to the person likely to have been at such enmity with the deceased as to wish for his death; and having settled upon a suspicious individual, the friends of the deceased used to carry the corpse to the accused, and call upon him to clear himself by undergoing the ordeal of dipping his hands in boiling oil or water. Within the last two years I have known of people running away from their village because of their having been accused of having procured, by means of a wizard, the death of some one with whom they were at enmity about a plot of land.

Blood revenge has scarcely yet died out in British territory, and in the Bastar country it is said to be in full exercise.

Reputed wizards and witches are held in great abhorrence, and at times the British rule is complained of as unjust in not allowing these people to be put to death.†

Birth ceremonies.—The Koi women are very hardy and careless about themselves. After the

birth of a child they do not indulge in the luxury of a cot, but, according to their usual custom, continue to lie upon the ground, bathe in cold water, and eat their accustomed food. Directly the child is born, it is placed upon a cot, and the mother resumes her ordinary work of fetching water, wood, leaves, &c., cooking for the family, &c. On the seventh day the child is well washed, and all the neighbours and near relations assemble together to name the child. Having placed the child on a cot, they put a leaf of the *mhowa* tree in the child's hand, and pronounce some name which they think suitable to the child. If the child cry, they take it as a sign that they must choose another name, and so they throw away the leaf and substitute another leaf and another name, until the child shows its approbation by ceasing to cry. Any public-spirited person in the village or neighbourhood who is honoured by having his name bestowed upon it, ever afterwards regards the child with some amount of interest. Most Kois now name their children without all the elaborate ceremonial mentioned above. A feast is always held at the end of the days of ceremonial uncleanness.

Formerly on a certain day in the year the Koi men of each village were driven into the jungle by the women to hunt, and were not allowed to return unless they brought home some game,—a small bird, or even a rat, being enough to give them the right to be welcomed back. This practice is still carried on by the Kois in the Bastar country, and also by many in the Nizám's territory. Mr. Vanstavern, whilst boring for coal at Beddadanolu, was visited on that day by all the Koi women of the village, dressed up in their lords' clothes, and they told him that they had that morning driven their husbands to the forest to bring home game of some kind or other. Mr. Vanstavern also states that the Kois round Beddadanolu do not eat the goat annually offered for a prosperous harvest, but leave it to itself in the jungle tied up to a tree.

The Kois say that the following gods and goddesses were appointed to be worshipped by the Śūdras:—*Muttelamma*, *Maridimahlalakshmi*, *Poturazu*, and *Korrazulu*, and the following were to receive adoration from the Kois:—*Kommallamma*, *Kâtûradu*,

† Three months ago a Koi living in the Bejji tâlukâ, Bastar, not far from the border, was compelled by his

neighbours to kill a near female relative, because they regarded her as an adept in the black art.

Adamarazu. The goddess Māmili or Lēle must be propitiated early in the year, or else the crops will undoubtedly fail; and she is said to be very partial to human victims. There is strong reason to think that two men were murdered this year, near a village not far from Dummagudem, as offerings to this *devata*, and there is no reason to doubt that every year strangers are quietly put out of the way in the Bastar country to ensure the favour of this bloodthirsty goddess.

The Kois regard themselves as being divided into five classes or tribes, the *Perumbôyudu gotra*, the *Madôgatta gotra*, the *Perêgatta gotra*, the *Mâtamuppaya gotra*, and the *Vidogatta gotra*. The *Dôlôllu*, another class, are a kind of priests, and have charge of the *velpu*—the objects of worship amongst the Kois. They carry about a large banner which moves round a pole, and, having planted the pole in the ground, one of them seizes hold of the lower end of the banner, and runs or dances round the pole, whilst his companions are most busily engaged in beating small drums, about the size of the drums usually carried about by the jugglers of this country.

All the Kois seem to hold in great respect the *Pāṇḍava* brothers, especially Arjuna and Bhīma. The wild dogs or *dhols* are regarded as the *dātas* or messengers of these brothers, and the long black beetles which appear in large numbers at the beginning of the hot weather are called the *Pāṇḍava* flock of goats. Of course they would on no account attempt to kill a *dhola*, even though it should happen to attack their favourite calf, and they even regard it imprudent to interfere with these *dātas* when they wish to feast upon their cattle.

At Gangôlu, a village about three miles from Dummagudem, live several families who call themselves *Bāsava Gollavandlu*, but on inquiry I found that they are really Kois whose grandfathers had a quarrel with some of their neighbours, and separated themselves from their old friends. Some of the present members of the families are anxious to be re-admitted to the society and privileges of the neighbouring Kois. The word *Bāsava* is commonly said to be derived from *bhāsha*, a language, and the *Gollas* of that class are said to have been so called in consequence of their speaking a different language from the rest of the *Gollas*.

† A Brāhman in Masulipatam (Machilipatnam) to whom I once related the above tale replied that he had heard a

The Kois are exceedingly restless and suspicious, but probably the juster rule of the British Government will allay their fears and tend to make them more settled in their habits. It has already done so in the villages in the part of the Lower Godāvari district which lies to the east of the Eastern Ghāts. The misrule which formerly was so prevalent here (see *Ind. Ant.* vol. V. p. 303) was not at all calculated to encourage industrious, saving habits on the part of any one who had the misfortune to live in this neighbourhood. Before the Godāvari navigation works were set on foot, the Kois were not accustomed to see Europeans or many well-dressed natives, and have been known to take refuge in the jungle at the appearance of a Hindu wearing clean white clothes. Great difficulty was at first experienced in paying them for articles brought or for labour done, as they objected to take any coin but the old dabs, three of which went to the anna. A silver coin they had a great aversion to. One amusing tale has been told me more than once, and I see no reason to doubt its general truth. It is as follows:—About thirty years ago a Koi was sent with a basket of mangoes from Pālavantsa to Bhadrachallam. He was warned not to meddle with the fruit, as if he did his dishonesty would come to light, since a note in the basket would tell the people at Bhadrachallam how many fruits were to be delivered. On the way the Koi and a companion were so tempted by the sight of the fruit as to determine to taste one, but how to overcome the danger of being seen by the note they could not at first conceive. However, a bright thought struck the messenger, and he exclaimed to his companion, "Oh, if we take the note out of the basket and bury it while we eat the fruit, it will not see anything, and so will not be likely to bear witness to our theft." Accordingly they buried the note until they had enjoyed the taste of some of the fruit, and then, having dug up the note again, and placed it in the basket, resumed their journey. When they were accused at Bhadrachallam of having purloined some of the fruits, and the note was shown them as evidence, they were utterly at a loss to understand how the note could have known anything about the matter, seeing that it was in the ground out of sight when the theft occurred.†

similar story, and that it was often used as an illustration of the ignorance of the inhabitants of the forest.

NOTES ON THE DRĀVIḌIAN OR SOUTH INDIAN FAMILY OF LANGUAGES.

BY THE REV. G. U. POPE, D.D., M.B.A.S., Member of the Leipzig Oriental Society, Fellow of the Madras University.

(Continued from p. 299.)

No. III.

I. Words which are undoubtedly identical in origin with Sanskrit words are often so changed in the Drāviḍian languages, by the operation of well-ascertained phonetic laws, that they would assuredly fail to be recognized by any one not well acquainted with the tendencies of the Drāviḍian phonetic system.

Thus in Sanskrit we have the stem *SRIP*, which is from *SRI*; and these are from *SARP*, and ultimately from *✓SAR*. (See Fick.)

The verbal roots *chari*, *char*, *charru** are found in all the Drāviḍian dialects, in both ancient and modern forms, with the same original notion of 'gliding' and 'slipping.'

But the equivalents of the Sanskrit noun *SARPA* (Lat. *serpens*, Gr. *ἰσπερόν*) in Tamil are curious. These are *charppam*, *charubam*, *aravam*, *aravu*, *arā*, *ara*, and *ari*.

The following principles are here illustrated:—

1. Tamil cannot tolerate, as a general rule, the sound of mute and liquid together. It rejects consonantal diphthongs: *rp* = must become *rup* or *rap*.

2. When *k*, *t*, or *p* (any *tenuis*) begins any syllable of a word except the first, it becomes, in order, *g*, *th* (as in 'this'), or *b* (is changed into its corresponding *media*): thus *charupam* becomes *charubam*.

3. The Tamil has neither sibilant nor aspirate: thus *charupam* becomes *arubam*; and through the influence of *u* we have *v* for *b* (so Sanskrit *SABHĀ* is in Tamil *avai*).

(In Kanarese for 'serpent' we have *hāva*; this is in Telugu *pāmu*, in Tamil *pāmbu*, and in Tuḍa *pāb*.)

4. Final *m* is constantly dropped in Tamil, and the remaining vowel is written *u*, but is pronounced very faintly. This brings the former nearer to the Sanskrit: thus *aravam* is now *aravu*.

5. By syncope and crasis *aravu* becomes *arā*, and final *ā* is often changed into *ai* or *a*. Thus *arai* is the Drāviḍian form of *sarppa*.

II. It may be of interest, in this place, to give a summary of the rules laid down by the great classical grammarian of the Tamil language, *Pavananthi*, in the *Nannūl*, for the spelling of Sanskrit words in Tamil:—

(1) "To an Āryan word beginning with *r*, prefix *a*, *i*, or *u*; to one beginning with *l* prefix *i* or *u*; to one beginning with *y* prefix *i*." No TAMIL WORD BEGINS WITH *r*, *l*, OR *y*.

(2) "In each of the five classes of gutturals, palatals, linguals, dentals, and labials, the first of the class (*k*, *ch*, *t*, *ṭ*, *p*) is to be written for the second, third, and fourth of the class:—

K for K, KH, G, and GH;
CH for CH, CHH, J, and JH;
Ṭ for Ṭ, TH, D, and DH;
T for T, TH, D, and DH;
P for P, PH, B, and BH."

(The Tamil has no separate characters for aspirates and flat mutes.)

(3) "J is sometimes = Y."

(4) "Of the sibilants Ś is expressed in the beginning of the word by the palatal CH, and in the middle of a word by Y; SH is to be transliterated by CH or Ṭ; S is to be replaced by CH or T; H is to be written A or G; KSH is to be written KK."

(5) "Final Ā is to be written AI, and final ī becomes short."†

It will thus be seen that multitudes of Drāviḍian words are by the native grammarians supposed to be derived from the Sanskrit, according to recognized laws of euphonic change.

* The letter here transliterated by *ch* is a very soft palatal, confounded by many with *s*. Tamil has no sibilants or aspirates.

† This table illustrates the comparison between the Sanskrit and Tamil alphabets:—

क, ख, ग, घ, all = k;	ज, = y sometimes;
च, छ, ज, झ, all = ch;	श, = ch or y;
ट, ठ, ड, ढ, all = ṭ;	ष, = ch or ṭ;
त, थ, द, ध all = t;	स, = ch or t;
प, फ, ब, भ all = p;	ह, = a or k;

क्ष, = kk;	म्, = m;
ङ, = ng;	य, = y;
ञ, = jn;	र, = r;
ण, = n;	ल, = l;
ळ, = ḷ;	व, = v.
न, = n;	

N.B.—Tamil has a strong palatal *r* (really = double *r*) and a lingual *r* not in Sanskrit.

It does not follow that in all cases they were so deduced. The Drāviḍian forms may well be older than the Sanskrit.

These rules of the Jain grammarians assist us, however, in comparing the languages.

It may be added, as a most remarkable and suggestive fact, that, although the Telugu, Kanarese, and Malayāḷim languages have adopted the Sanskrit alphabet almost entirely, and can thus transliterate any word they receive from Sanskrit with perfect exactness, nevertheless words which represent the same Sanskrit forms are found in these languages changed according to laws similar to those existing in Tamil.

This, and what has gone before, may be illustrated by derivations in the Drāviḍian from Sanskrit √ RIJ, RAJ, RĀJ, or ARJ, which last seems its primitive form.

The Sanskrit noun *rājan* = 'rex,' appears in Tamil under the following forms :—(1) *irāchan*, (2) *irāchā*, (3) *irāyan*, (4) *irrai*, (5) *irrai-van*, (6) *arachan*, (7) *arachu*, (8) *arayan*, (9) *arai*, (10) *arai-yan*.

In Telugu we have, side by side with *rāja*, the forms *araḥhu* and *rāyu-ḍu*.

In Kanarese are found *aracha* and *ereiya*.

In Malayāḷim also appears *aracha*.

If Fick is right in giving √ ARG as the primitive, the Drāviḍian forms are in this case nearer to the original pre-Sanskrit mother of the Indo-

Germanic languages than Sanskrit is, and this affords some indication of an ancient and most intimate relation between the 'ur-sprache' of the Drāviḍian and that of the Sanskrit.

III. It is an interesting question, I conceive, whether any radical connection exists between the Sanskrit √ RI or √ AR, and *ar*, or *ir*, *ur*, which enter into the composition of so many Drāviḍian words, with the same ideas of 'strength,' 'excellence,' and 'goodness.'

I take it for granted (Bopp, Eng. ed. vol. I. p. 1) that *ri* is a more modern form, and that *ar*, *ir*, and *ur* are the older in Sanskrit.

In Tamil and in Telugu *ar* is in most extensive use as the first member of compounds. The abstract noun *aru-māi* (*māi* = 'ness') signifies 'rarity,' 'excellence;' as an adjective it takes the shapes of *aru*, *arum*, *ar-iya*, and *ār*.

In the same way we have *iru-māi*, *iru*, *irum*, = 'strength,' *iru-m-bu* = 'iron,' 'the strong substance.'

What connexion there is between these forms and Sanskrit *arya*, *arha*, *ārya*, or Gr. *āpi*, *ipi*, I leave others to inquire.

It is, however, noteworthy that the very stem which in the 'ur-sprache' must have meant 'noble,' 'excellent,' should exist in the Drāviḍian languages, and in such a way as to show that it is, if any, a genuine root of these languages, one of the oldest and most honoured.

MISCELLANEA.

THE DESPONDENCY OF ARJUNA.

From the 1st Canto of the Bhagavad-gītā.

When I behold my valiant kin all thirsting for the fight,

My knees are loosed, my mouth is dry, and tear-drops dim my sight;

My hair all upright stands from fear, slips from my hand the bow,*

My stalwart limbs with horror quake, my skin is all aglow.

Oh! Keśava, † I scarce can stand, for giddy whirls my brain,

And strange ill-boding sights I see, and monstrous shapes of pain;

No heavenly bliss can be my lot, the slayer of my kin;

How can I long for victory or empire, dashed with sin?

* Gāndhīva is the miraculous bow given by Indra to Arjuna.—Ed.

Those for whom kingly power we prize, and joys of wealth and life,

Leaving their wealth and happy lives, stand ranged for mortal strife.

Preceptors, fathers, grandsires, sons, though foes, I could not slay

To gain three worlds—much less for this, the empire of a day.

If we slay Dhṛitarāshṭra's sons, though dead to sense of right,

Shall we not lose those blissful worlds, and sink in endless night?

Though these, with minds obscured with lust of gold and kingly state,

Shrink not from slaughter of their tribe, fear not the awful fate

Of those whose hands are red with blood of kinsman and of friend,

† The slayer of Keśin—the 'hairy one,'—a Daitya in the form of a horse slain by Krishna.—Ed.

Shall we not dread their fearful crime—their still
 more fearful end?
 When falls the tribe, then long-revered primeval
 custom fails;
 When law is broken and o'erthrown, the lawless
 will prevail;
 When lawlessness infects a tribe, then women are
 made base;
 When women sin, then springs to light a mixed
 unhallowed race.
 Then sink to hell, alike defiled, the slayers and the
 slain,
 Nor longer can departed sires their blessed world
 maintain,
 Cut off from holy offerings they fall and curse
 their sons;
 Thus upward, downward, through the race the
 foul infection runs.
 Then awful is our sin, who, drunk with blind
 ambition's wine,
 Can long to shed the sacred blood of our own royal
 line;
 Ah! better far if standing here with undefended
 head,
 Unshielded breast, unsworded hand, some foe
 should strike one dead.

C. TAWNEY.†

INDIAN ARROW-HEADS.

Mr. WALHOUSE has exhibited before the Anthropological Institute a collection of iron arrow-heads from Southern India, on which he made the following remarks:—

"A diagram of forms of arrow-heads used in Africa, exhibited by Lieut. Cameron at his lecture on African Ethnology, delivered before the Institute at the School of Mines, induced me to bring forward the selection of Indian arrow-heads now on the table for the purpose of comparison. Most of the larger and broader arrow-heads are used to-day by jungle tribes in the wilder forest tracts under the principal mountain ranges of Southern India, the Nilagiri and Palani Hills, and the Western Ghâts. Four or five of the shapes closely resemble those used in Africa. The larger and heavier leaf-shaped heads, whether broad or narrow, are mostly used by the Indian jungle-hunters for killing deer. These men shoot very dexterously and with great force, but do not attempt long shots, for which, indeed, their large and heavy arrows are unsuited. Their arrows are formed from strong reeds, generally over a cloth-yard long, and to us would seem very top-heavy, from the size and weight of the head. Perhaps to remedy this the two feathers are large and clum-

sily tied on. Their bows are of bamboo, of much the same shape and quite as long as the bows of the famous English archers of old, to judge from one or two specimens of the latter preserved in the Tower. The cords are long strips of rattan. Scott says of an archer of the days of the Edwards—

Well could he hit a fallow-deer
 Five hundred feet or more.

The jungle bowmen attempt no such flights, but shoot from behind trees, rocks, and bushes, lying in wait by narrow deer-paths, by water, and where they know the deer will pass close by—in fact, taking pot-shots as closely as they can. They do not draw their bowstrings to the ear, nor hardly to the breast, nor take long aims, but twang off the arrow with extraordinary force, holding the bow rather low. Though small and meagre men, the force with which the arrows strike would satisfy one of Robin Hood's men, the shafts going almost through the bodies of the animals. Deer are their principal quarry. I have heard of their killing tigers. I do not know of their using poison.

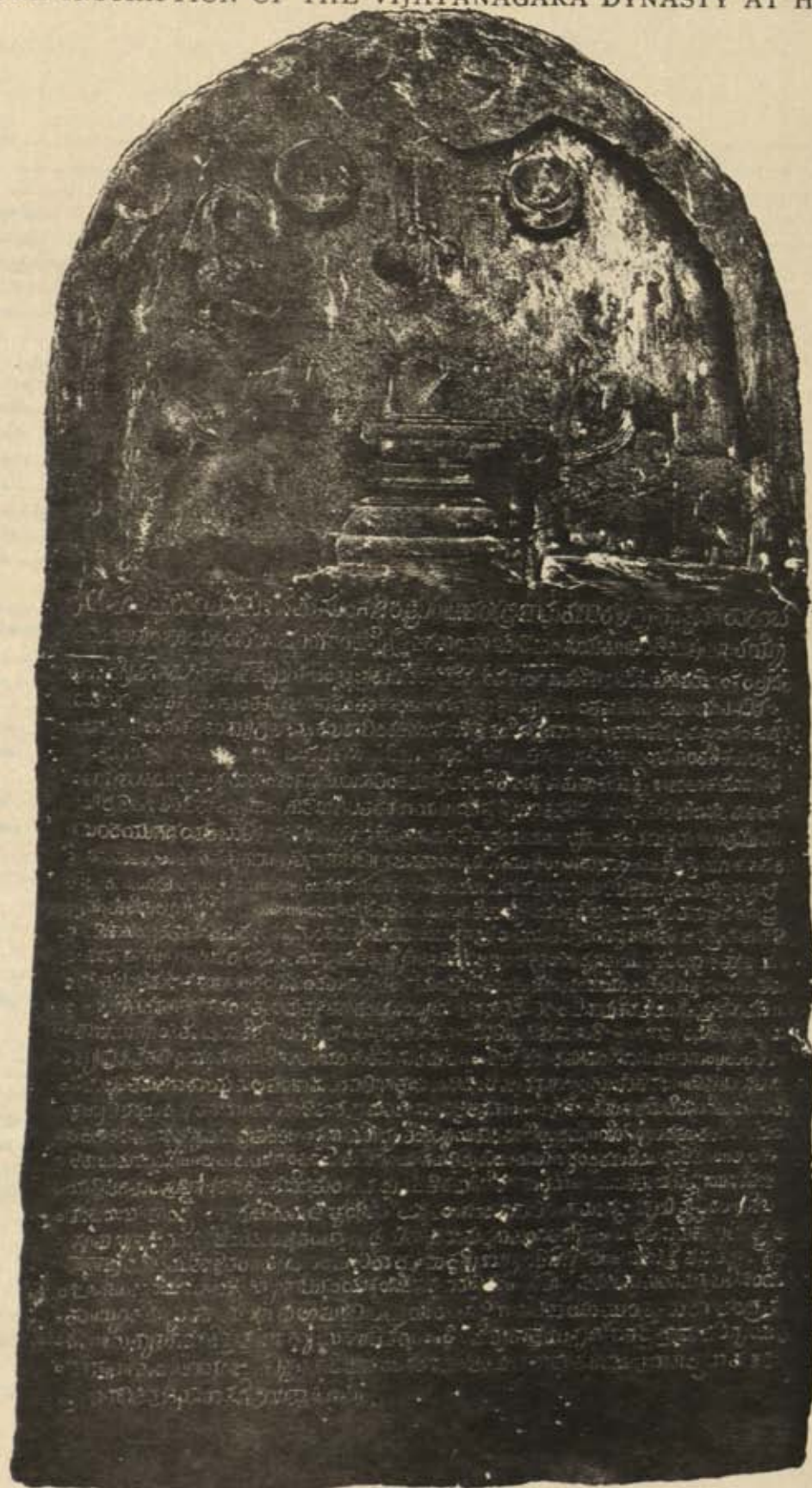
"The smaller arrow-heads exhibited are principally ancient forms, not now in use, but employed formerly in war. Those grooved along the sides, or roughened under the point, were charged with a viscous poison. There are many varieties of the form with open centres, which are said to have been peculiarly dangerous, the flesh closing into the head as badly as round a barb. The crescent shape is common both to India and Africa, and we hear of it in Roman times; the blunt, pointless heads are said to have been used for killing birds without drawing blood or injuring the plumage. In the days of the Râjas, when bows and arrows were in common use, the Hindus gave full play to their fancy in devising endless shapes of arrow-heads, some very elegant, and some fantastic, probably more formidable in appearance than execution."

INSCRIPTION OF THE VIJAYANAGARA DYNASTY AT HARIHAR.

The accompanying plate gives a facsimile, from Major Dixon's photograph, of No. VII. of Mr. Fleet's series of Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions. A transcription of it, with translation and remarks, is given at p. 330 of the *Ind. Ant.*, vol. IV. The language is Sanskrit. The characters are those of the Canarese alphabet, in its last stage before the full development of the modern forms.

† From the *Calcutta Review*.

STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE VIJAYANAGARA DYNASTY AT HARIHAR.¹



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ERRATA IN VOL. V.

p. 15, Transcription, l. 14; for ಸರ್ವ ಸಿಂಹಾಸನಾಃ read ಸರ್ವ ಸಿಂಹಾಸನಾಃ.

p. 16, Transcription, l. 25; for ನೆರೆದಿರಿಸಿಕೊಳ್ಳು read ನೆರೆದಿರಿಸಿಕೊಳ್ಳು.

p. 16, Transcription, l. 37; for ಸುಮನಸು read ಸುಮನಸು.

p. 17a, l. 40; for The kings of the Chālukya family governed the earth, which consisted of fifty-nine thrones,* with &c., read The kings of the Chālukya family, (numbering) fifty-nine thrones*, governed the earth with &c. And as the corresponding footnote in col. b, substitute—

* i.e. 'fifty-nine kings in succession in ancient days.' Conf. the same statement in Sir W. Elliot's translation of the Yēwūr Inscription.

p. 18, col. a, note §; for at page 206, read at vol. IV., page 206.

p. 20, Transcription, l. 15; for ನಾಯಕರಾಃ read ನಾಯಕರಾಃ.

p. 20, Translation, col. b, l. 9; for nayaka read nāyaka.

p. 23b, l. 20, for places read palaces.

„ 36b, l. 26, for present read present.

„ 48b, Translation, ll. 32-3; for Saṅkammadēva read Saṅkammadēva.

p. 58b, l. 40, for BABUS read BABU.

p. 68a, note ¶; after page 71 insert col. b.

p. 69b, note ¶¶; for 'ya[śaḥ]-kānti', read ya[śaḥ]-kānti.

p. 70, Transcription, ll. 10-11; for ಬ್ಯೂಮ್ ಬ್ಯೂಮ್ಸ್ [11] read ಬ್ಯೂಮ್ ಬ್ಯೂಮ್ಸ್ [11]ಬ್ಯೂಮ್.

p. 79 delete note §.

On plate facing p. 80 for Undille read Undāpalli.

„ „ 81 „ Undavalle „ Undāpalli.

p. 156, Transcription, l. 26; for ದೇವಭಾಗ read ದೇವಭಾಗ.

p. 175b, ll. 9-10; for śrīmachchālukya- read śrīmachchālukya-.

p. 176a, note ¶; for 'nga' read 'nga'.

p. 177, Transcription, ll. 10-11; for तचाहानि: [11]कुलकु(कु)रभोजक:(का) read तचाहानि[11]कुलकु(कु)रभोजक:

p. 177b, Translation, ll. 9-10; for The command confers the enjoyment of the original royal dues there, read The specification (of the principal grantee) in that matter is:—The Bhōjaka priest Kulakura.

p. 177a; cancel the footnote, ‡ and substitute

‡ The first part of the compound letter at the beginning of l. 11 is the Jihvāmūliya, and consequently the consonant compounded with it must be 'k' or 'kā'; the vowel below the line is 'u.' The consonant appears to be 'k', not 'kā', on the analogy of the form of the 'k' in 'Irishāna', l. 10 of the original. A precisely similar expression to the present one occurs in an old Kadamba copper-plate that I have, viz. 'Tutradāptiā Dīmakṛttibhājakaḥ Jyotsnāchāyuktakāḥ sarvasyānushāntā it', and explains the present passage, which is doubtful enough by itself.

p. 189a, l. 31, for rendered read rendered.

p. 200a, line 4 of note, for any read my.

- p. 239b, l. 14, for *lie* read *lies*.
 „ 241b, footnote, l. 6, read a universal wear-
 ing of wigs. In Old Egypt all classes seem &c.
 p. 254a, l. 21, for 209 read 269.
 „ „ l. 50 „ *χαίρω* „ *χαίρω*.
 „ 255b, l. 35, for near the mouth of the Eu-
 phrates read at Jerablûs, on the upper course
 of the Euphrates.
 p. 259b, l. 22 for "Let us," he says, "in" &c.
 read "Let us in" &c.
 „ 267a, l. 41, for *is mahdmâtra*, Sansk. *mahdmâ-*
tra, read *is mahdmâtra*, Sansk. *mahdmâtra*; and in
 footnote ¶ read—*dharmamahdmâtra*.
 p. 272b, at the top, insert No. II. reads thus:—
 „ „ l. 28, after Translation add of No. II.
 „ 294a, ll. 20, 21, remove these two lines and the
 woodcut to end of note * at the bottom.
 „ 306a, l. 27, for *cuts* read *eats*.
 „ 307b, l. 13, for *force* read *farce*.
 „ 308a, l. 29, for *For* read *Few*.
 „ „ l. 30, for *though* read *through*.
 „ „ l. 32, insert a comma after *hell*.
 „ 309b, l. 2, read *But, be the mind devout, our*
homes &c.
 „ 311a, l. 7, for *Salya* read *Śalya*.
 „ „ l. 33, for *jñmayodhî* read *jñmayodhî*.
 „ „ l. 8 from bottom, for *Brahmâ* read
Brahma.
 „ 311b, l. 6, for v. 4445 read v. 3445.
 „ „ l. 29 „ *Dhritarîshṭra* read *Dhritarîshṭra*.
 „ 312a, ll. 3, 11, and 16, for *Śûdra* read *Śûdra*.
 p. 312b, ll. 1 and 9 from bottom, for *Brahmâ* read
Brahma.
 „ 312b, l. 7 from bottom, insert a comma after *life*.
 „ 313a, l. 4, for *Scriptures* read *scriptures*.
 „ „ l. 9, for the period at the end of the line
 substitute a comma.
 „ „ l. 18, for *see* read *mark*.
 „ „ l. 4 from bottom, add a comma at the end.
 „ 331b, l. 19, and 332a, l. 4, for *Gandaki* and
Gandakavati read *Gandhaki* and
Gandhakavati.
 „ „ l. 30, for *Kaushiki* read *Kauṣiki*.
 „ „ l. 32 „ *Kośāvaha* read *Kośavaha*.
 „ „ l. 39 „ *Sôn* read *Śoṇa*.
 „ 332a, l. 20 „ *Karmanâsâ* read *Karma-*
nâsâ.
 „ „ l. 42 „ *Pankala* read *Panchâla*.
 „ 332b, l. 18 „ *Kapisthola* read *Kapis-*
thala.
 „ 334a, l. 17 „ *Sûrasena* read *Śûrasena*.
 „ 342b, note †, for *anusvâra* read *anusvâra*.
 Heading of the plate (in Part LIX. Oct.), for
Kalachuri read *Western Châlukya*, and for p. 46
 read p. 342.
 p. 343a, note ||, ll. 3-4; for *Nakara-taṇḍa* read
Nakhara-taṇḍa.
 „ 344a „ *, for *vanîśodbhavarum* read *vanî-*
śodbhavarum.
 „ „ „ † for *bânija* read *bânija*.
 „ 344b, l. 7, for *saint*, read *saint*,
 „ 345b, note §, for *Binungu* read *Bînungu*.



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