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

EDITED BY  
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# CONTENTS.

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	PAGE		PAGE
<b>H. G. M. MURRAY-AYNSLEY :—</b>		No. 165. Mandasor Duplicate Pillar inscription	
DISCURSIVE CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARDS THE COM-		of Yasodharman ... ..	257
PARATIVE STUDY OF ASIATIC SYMBOLISM :—		No. 166. Bodh-Gaya Inscription of Mahanaman;	
Introduction ... ..	61	the year 269 ... ..	356
No. 1. Sun and Moon (or Cup) Symbols ... ..	64	No. 167. Bodh-Gaya Image Inscription of Maha-	
No. 2. Sun-Worship ... ..	89	naman ... ..	359
No. 3. The Svastika ... ..	92	THE EPOCH OF THE GUPTA ERA ... ..	189
No. 4. Sacred Stones ... ..	117	THE HISTORY AND DATE OF MIHIRAKULA ... ..	245
No. 5. Some Ideas about the Future Life ... ..	124	THE MEANING OF BAPPA AND BAVA ... ..	272
No. 6. Sacred Trees ... ..	217	A SELECTION OF KANARESE BALLADS; No. 2:	
No. 7. Snake-Worship ... ..	258	The Income Tax ... ..	349
No. 8. The Evil Eye and Allied Notions ... ..	321	SOME FANTASTIC CHARACTERS ... ..	364
Some Hints on looking for Megalithic Monu-		Note on a passage in the Jain Harivamsha relating	
ments and Stone-Implements in India ... ..	316	to the Guptas ... ..	141
<b>REV. S. BEAL :—</b>		Journal of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic	
THE AGE AND WRITINGS OF NAGARJUNA-BODHI-		Society ... ..	148
BATTVA ... ..	363	Gardner and Poole's Coins of the Greek and	
A Note on the History and Date of Mihirakula ... ..	345	Scythic Kings of Bactria and India in the	
<b>PROF. G. BUHLER, C.I.E., PH.D., VIENNA :—</b>		Indian Museum ... ..	153
VALABHI INSCRIPTIONS :—		Oppert's Lists of Sanskrit MSS. in Private	
No. 13. A new grant of Dharasena IV. ... ..	335	Libraries in Southern India ... ..	154
Beruni's India ... ..	31	Note on the Coins of the Hindu Kings of Kabul ... ..	184
<b>G. M. C. :—</b>		A new grant of Dharasena-III. of Valabhi ... ..	187
Dr. Peterson's Edition of the Subhashitavali of		Two passages from the Acharatika ... ..	183
Vallabhadeva ... ..	339	Sripatha, the ancient Sanskrit name of Byana ... ..	239
<b>M. LONGWORTH DAMES, Esq., B.C.S., M.R.A.S.,</b>		Note on Prof. Peterson's Subhashitavali of Valla-	
etc. :—		bhadeva ... ..	240
OLD SEALS FOUND AT HARAPPA ... ..	1	Note on the origin of the Gupta Era ... ..	278
<b>SIR WALTER ELLIOT, K.C.S.I., F.R.S. :—</b>		Bendall's Journey in Nepal and Northern India ... ..	286
A FURTHER NOTICE OF THE ANCIENT BUDDHIST		Note on the Bodh-Gaya Inscription of Maha-	
STRUCTURE AT NEGAPATAM ... ..	234	naman ... ..	347
ANCIENT TENURES OF LAND IN THE SOUTHERN		Note on the Hathasani Inscription of the Mehara	
MARATHA COUNTRY ... ..	268	Chief Thepaka ... ..	361
Egerton's Illustrated Handbook of Indian Arms ... ..	24	<b>G. A. GRIERSON, Esq., B.C.S., M.R.A.S., etc. :—</b>	
Notes on the Early History of Pegu ... ..	317	(See also Mrs. G. A. GRIERSON)	
<b>J. F. FLEET, Esq., B.C.S., M.R.A.S., C.I.E., etc. :—</b>		Curiosities of Indian Literature ... ..	281, 313, 348
SANSKRIT AND OLD-KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS :—		Progress of European Scholarship, No. 1 ... ..	342
No. 160. Dighwa-Dubauli Plate of the Maha-		<b>Mrs. G. A. GRIERSON :—</b>	
raja Mahendrapala; (Harsha)-Samvat 155 ... ..	105	AN ENGLISH GIPSY INDEX ... ..	14, 49, 84, 113,
No. 161. Bengal Asiatic Society's Plate of the		143, 178, 236, 277, 310, 340	
Maharaja Vinayakapala; (Harsha)-Samvat 188 ... ..	138	<b>HENRY H. HOWORTH, Esq., F.S.A. :—</b>	
No. 162. Mandasor Inscription of Kumara-		CHINGHIZ KHAN AND HIS ANCESTORS, Ch. XXXII. 128	
gupta and Handhuvarman; the Malava		<b>DR. E. HULTZSCH :—</b>	
years 493 and 529 ... ..	194	GWALIOR INSCRIPTION OF VIKRAMA-SAMVAT 1161. 201	
No. 163. Mandasor Inscription of Yasodharman		THE BHAGALPUR PLATE OF NARAYANAPALA ... ..	304
and Vishnuvardhana; the Malava year 589 ... ..	222	Note on the Kaemiri Portable Brazier ... ..	57
No. 164. Mandasor Pillar Inscription of Yaso-		The Vijayanagara Genealogy ... ..	147
dharman ... ..	253	<b>LIEUT.-COL. G. A. JACOB :—</b>	
		NRIKSHATAPANITA-UPANISHAD ... ..	69
		The Upanishads and their latest translation ... ..	279

	PAGE		PAGE
PROF. F. KIELHORN, GOTTINGEN :—		S. M. NATESA SASTRI :—	
TWO COPPER-PLATE GRANTS OF JAYACHCHANDRA		FOLKLORE IN SOUTHERN INDIA. No. 13. The	
OF KANAUJ ... ..	6	Four Good sisters ... ..	368
THE SABBAHU TEMPLE INSCRIPTION OF MAHI-		Samanyacharana and Brihacharana ... ..	281
PALA, OF VIKRAMA-SAMVAT 1150... ..	33	The Verses of Lakhima Thakurani ... ..	382
NOTES ON THE MAHABHASHYA ;		V. A. SMITH, Esq., C.S., M.R.A.S., etc. :—	
No. 1. Acharyadēsiya ... ..	80	Gen. Cunningham's Archaeological Reports ... ..	185
No. 2. Gonikaputra and Gonardiya ... ..	81	Gen. Cunningham's Book of Indian Eras ... ..	211
No. 3. On some doubtful Vartikas ... ..	203	A Note on the Date of Mihirakula ... ..	346
No. 4. Some Suggestions regarding the verses		D. AUREL STEIN, Buda-Pesth :—	
(Karikas) in the Mahabhashya ... ..	228	Afghanistan in Avestic Geography ... ..	21
INDRAGOMIN AND OTHER GRAMMARIANS ... ..	181	CAPTAIN E. C. TEMPLE, B.S.C., M.R.A.S.,	
THE CHANDRA-VYAKARANA AND THE KASIRA-		F.R.G.S., etc. :—	
VRITTI ... ..	183	Note on Prof. Weber's translation of the British	
Whitney's Roots, Verb-forms, and Primary		National Anthem into Sanskrit ... ..	48
Derivatives of the Sanskrit Language ... ..	86	Note on the Svastika ... ..	96
The Kiratarjuniya of Bharavi ... ..	156	Pope's Sacred Kural of Tiruvalluvar Narayanar. 242	
REV. J. HINTON KNOWLES, F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S.,		Note on the Archaeological Survey of India	
etc. :—		Vol. XV. ... ..	283
GULLALA SHAH ... ..	74, 96	EDWARD THOMAS, Esq., F.R.S., the late :—	
PRIDE ABASED ... ..	157	EXTRACTS FROM CHINESE AUTHORS CONCERNING	
THE FOUR PRINCES ... ..	299, 328	THE HISTORY OF THE KUSHANS ... ..	19
PRAMADADASA MITRA, BENARES :—		VAJESHANKAR GAURISHANKAR, BHAW-	
THE BRITISH NATIONAL ANTHEM TRANSLATED		NAGAB :—	
INTO SANSKRIT ... ..	363	HATHASNI INSCRIPTION OF THE MEHARA CHIEF	
K. B. PATHAK, B.A. :—		THEPAKA ... ..	360
A PASSAGE IN THE JAIN HARIVAMSA RELATING		PUTLIBAI D. H. WADIA :—	
TO THE GUPTAS ... ..	141	FOLKLORE IN WESTERN INDIA :—	
SIR ARTHUR PHAYRE, K.C.S.I., THE LATE :—		No. 2. The Two Thags and the Ravariya ... ..	2
Notes on the Early History of Pegu ... ..	317	No. 3. The Black-Headed Man ... ..	46
F. REHATSEK, Esq. :—		No. 4. Vamai and the Thieves ... ..	171
THE LAST YEARS OF SHAH SHUJA'A ... ..	162, 261, 289	No. 5. The Unfortunate Merchant ... ..	221
The Iyar-i-Danish ... ..	319	No. 6. Sunabai Jai ... ..	366
LEWIS RICE, Esq., C.I.E., M.R.A.S. :—		Prof. A. WEBER, Berlin :—	
MUDYANUR PLATE. OF SAKA 261 OF THE BANA		THE BRITISH NATIONAL ANTHEM TRANSLATED	
KING MALLADEVA-NANDIVARMAN ... ..	172	INTO SANSKRIT ... ..	47

## CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEA.

Afghanistan in Avestic Geography, by Aurel Stein... ..	21	Samanyacharana and Brihacharana, by S. M. Natesa	
A Note on the Kashmiri Portable Brazier ... ..	57	Sastri ... ..	281
Protap Chandra Roy's Mahabharata ... ..	57	Curiosities of Indian Literature, by G. A. Grierson .	281
The Retirement of General Cunningham ... ..	116	The Religion of the Arabs ... ..	312
The Vijayanagara Genealogy, by E. Hultzsch ... ..	147	Some Hints on looking for Megalithic Monuments	
General Cunningham's Archaeological Reports, by		and Stone-Implements in India, by H. G. M. Mur-	
V. A. Smith ... ..	185	ray-Aynsley ... ..	316
Note on the Coins of the Hindu kings of Kabul,		Notes on the Early History of Pegu by the late	
by J. F. Fleet ... ..	186	Sir Arthur Phayre, by Sir Walter Elliot ... ..	317
A new grant of Dharsena II. of Valabhi, by		Curiosities of Indian Literature, by G. A. Grierson .	318
J. F. Fleet... ..	187	The Iyar-i-Danish, by E. R. ... ..	319
Two passages from the Acharatika, by J. F. Fleet... ..	188	Protap Chandra Roy's Mahabharata ... ..	319
Sripatha, the ancient Sanskrit name of Byana, by		Progress of European Scholarship, by G. A.	
J. F. Fleet... ..	239	Grierson ... ..	342
Dr. Peterson's Edition of the Subhashitavali of		A Note on the History and Date of Mihirakula, by	
Vallabhadeva, by G. M. C. ... ..	239	S. Beal ... ..	345
Note on the Origin of the Gupta Era, by J. F. Fleet	278	A Note on the Date of Mihirakula, by V. A. Smith..	346
The Upanishads and their latest Translation, by		Curiosities of Indian Literature, by G. A. Grierson .	348
G. A. Jacob ... ..	279	The Verses of Lakhima Thakurani ... ..	382



# CONTENTS.

v

## BOOK NOTICES.

	PAGE		PAGE
Egerton's Illustrated Handbook of Indian Arms, by Sir Walter Elliot	234	Scott's Burma, as it was, as it is, and as it will be	216
Beruni's Indica, by G. Bühler	31	Protap Chandra Roy's Translation of the Mahabharata	216
Growse's Indian Architecture of To-day	57	Asiatic Researches; Calcutta reprint	216
Burton's Book of the Thousand nights and a Night.	58	Peterson's Subhashitavali of Vallabhadra	240
Knowles' Dictionary of Kashmiri Proverbs and Sayings	59	Pope's Sacred Kurral of Tiruvalluvar Narayanar	242
Grierson's Bihar Peasant Life	60	Kitte's Compendium of the Castes and Tribes of India	243
Whitney's Roots, Verb-forms, and Primary Derivatives of the Sanskrit Language	86	Man's Andaman Islanders	244
Arnold's Light of Asia	87	Hillebrandt's Vedachrestomathie	244
Muir's Extracts from the Coran in the Original, with English Rendering	88	Grierson's Seven Grammars of the Dialects and Subdialects of the Bihari Language	244
Wherry's Comprehensive Commentary on the Quran.	88	Burnell's and Hopkins' Ordinances of Manu	282
The Journal of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society, by J. F. Fleet	148	Cunningham's Archaeological Survey of India, Vol. XXI.	283
Gardner and Poole's Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum, by J. F. Fleet	153	Cunningham's Archaeological Survey of India, Vol. XXII.	285
Oppert's Lists of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Private Libraries of Southern India, by J. F. Fleet	154	Weber's Indische Studien	205
The Kiratarjuniya of Bharavi with the Commentary of Mallinatha, by F. Kielhorn	156	Asiatic Quarterly Review	287
Cunningham's Book of Indian Eras, by V. A. Smith.	211	Wright's Empire of the Hittites	287
Solf's Die Kasmir-Recesion Der Pancapika	212	Best's Miscellaneous Papers relating to Indo-China	287
The Taprobanian	213	Pischel's Rudrata's Cringaratilaka and Buyaka's Sahridayalila	287
Smith's Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia	213	Bendall's Journey in Nepal and Northern India, by J. F. Fleet	288
Wright's History of Nepal	214	The Camelot Classics	309
Hughes' Dictionary of Islam	214	Sheldon's translation of Flaubert's Salammbô	319
Torr's Rhodes in Ancient Times	215	Piske's Myths and Myth-makers	320
		Gray's Ancient Proverbs and Maxims from Burmese Sources, or the Niti literature of Burma	348

## ILLUSTRATIONS.

Indian Arms	28	The Tolven: the Men-An-Tol	123
Sasabahu Temple Inscription of Mahipala. Vikramasamvat 1150	36	Stone Celts from India	124
The Air of Har Phulan Di, in the European Style	48	Stone Celts from Guernsey	125
Sun and Fire Symbols of the Earlier and Later Bronze Age	66	Bengal Asiatic Society's Plate of the Maharaja Vinayakapala.—The year 188	140
Wizard's Drum from Lapland	67	Mandasôr Inscription of Kumaragupta and Bandhuvarman.—The Malava years 498 and 529	196
Sun and Cup Symbols	68	Mandasôr Inscription of Yasôdharman and Vishnuvardhana.—The Malava year 589	224
Sun and Cup Symbols	69	Mandasôr Pillar Inscription of Yasôdharman	256
The Svastika	92	Mandasôr Duplicate Pillar Inscription of Yasôdharman	258
Some Sun and Fire Symbols	94	Snake Worship	260
Dighwa-Dubauli Plate of Mahêndrapala.—The year 165	112	The Evil Eye and Allied Notions	323
Monoliths	113	Kanarese Ballads, the Income Tax; Air of the Chorus	350
Sculptured Stones	119	Bodh-Gaya Inscription of Mahanaman.—The year 289	358
Russian Monolith	120	Bodh-Gaya Image Inscription of Mahanaman	358
La Venus de Quinipily	121		
Monolith in Brittany	122		



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## OLD SEALS FOUND AT HARAPPA.

BY M. LONGWORTH DAMES, B.C.S., &c.

IN Vol. V. page 108, of the *Archæological Survey of India*, General Cunningham describes a seal found at Harappâ, in the Montgomery District, one of the enormous mounds which mark the sites of deserted towns in the plains of the Panjâb.

The seal is described by General Cunningham as follows:—"The seal belonging to Major Clark is a smooth black stone without polish. On it is engraved very deeply a bull without hump, looking to the right, with two stars under the neck. Above the bull is an inscription in six characters which are unknown to me. They are certainly not Indian letters, and as the bull, which accompanies them, is without a hump, I conclude that the seal is foreign to India."

In the *Academy* for May 2nd, 1885, M. Terrien de la Couperie, in an article on the meaning of the word *Tin-Yüt*, refers to "the stone seal of Setchuen or Shuh writing which was found a few years ago in the ruins of Harappâ, near Lâhor." "This," he adds, "is attributed by General Cunningham on archæological evidence to the fourth century B.C.,<sup>1</sup> and is the oldest fragment of writing found in India."

Another seal, apparently in the same writing, was obtained at Harappâ on November 21st, 1884, by Mr. J. Harvey, Inspector of Schools,

Multân. This seal is of a drab-coloured smooth stone, perfectly flat on the engraved side and rounded at the back. The inscription is composed of five characters. It is here given side by side with Major Clark's seal as drawn by General Cunningham\* (Fig. 1, attached hereto). Mr. Harvey's seal (Fig. 2) is a full-size reproduction of the original in the possession of that gentleman.

Fig. 1



Fig. 2



M. Terrien de la Couperie is of opinion that these seals were brought to India in the course of trade through Baktria. Possibly they may have belonged to Buddhist pilgrims, who certainly must have visited Harappâ. Seals in an unknown language are scarcely likely to have been articles of trade. It would be interesting to know the meaning of the inscriptions; and perhaps M. Terrien de la Couperie or some other scholar will publish a translation of them.

<sup>1</sup> He does not, however, say so at the place above cited nor in his *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 210,

where he again describes Harappâ.—ED.]

\* Plate XXXIII. Fig. 1, in *Arch. Surv. Ind. Vol. V.*

## FOLKLORE IN WESTERN INDIA.

BY PUTLIBAI D. H. WADIA.

II.—*The Two Thags and the Rāvariya.*<sup>1</sup>

There were two *thags*<sup>2</sup> who had spent a great part of their lives in robbing and cheating their simple neighbours, but at last there came a time when they found that there was no more scope for the exercise of their talents in their native village, so they resolved upon going out to seek fresh fields and pastures new. They set out at once, and after a long journey came to a city, on the outskirts of which they saw a poor Rāvariya, sitting near a wretched hut weaving his *paṭṭi*.<sup>3</sup>

"Tell us, brother," said they, approaching him with a look of pity, "how it is that you do not live in the city, and prefer a wretched hovel in this solitary place to the fine houses there?"

"I am too poor," replied the man, "to afford to rent a house in the city, and there is no one there that is generous enough to accommodate me for nothing; so I sit here all day doing my work, and when night comes I go and sleep under the roof I have made myself." "And," he added, "I make my living out of an *and* or two that I manage to earn by selling the two or three yards of *paṭṭi* I weave every day."

"We really pity your lot, my man," said the *thags*, "and henceforward shall be your best friends. Come now, get up and follow us to the river-side, where we shall give you a suit of clothes to put on in place of the wretched garments you now wear."

The Rāvariya got up and followed them, rejoicing greatly at so much notice being taken of a poor man like himself by persons so much above him in life, as he thought the *thags* to be, for they were decently dressed and looked quite respectable. When they arrived at the river-side the *thags* bade the weaver get his head and his overgrown beard shaved and wash himself in the stream. After he had done all this they gave him a suit of clothes to wear, which he joyfully put on, while the two men said to him:—"Go now and attend to your work, but be always ready to render us whatever service we may require of you."

"Very well, *Mā-bāp*,"<sup>4</sup>—answered the poor man and returned towards his hut, while the two *thags* went on towards the city. Entering it they wandered about for some time, watching for an opportunity of practising their vile art upon some poor victim, when they heard that the king of the country, who had a beautiful daughter, was looking out for some great prince as a husband for her. This put an idea into the heads of the *thags*, and they instantly retraced their steps to the hut of the Rāvariya, whom they found hard at work at his *paṭṭi*. They bade him get up and follow them immediately, and the poor weaver, true to his promise, obeyed them.

When they came to a secluded place the two men dressed the Rāvariya in gold embroidered garments and jewels, and getting a litter from the city made him lie in it in the position of a sick man, bidding him neither to stir out of it, nor to utter a single syllable without their permission. They then ordered the bearers to carry the litter towards the city, and they themselves walked one on each side of it waving *chamris*.<sup>5</sup> They also hired every man and animal they could pick up on the road, till they had a respectable following of attendants, horses, and ponies.

They went on thus with a great show of pomp and parade till they reached one of the palaces of the king, when in a peremptory tone they ordered the gate-keeper to open the gate and give them ingress. The gate-keeper, however, refused to obey them, whereupon one of the *thags*, making a great show of authority, cried out:—"What! Is our Rājā Sāhib to wait till this wretched gate-keeper makes up his mind to open the gate? Not for worlds! So, fall on my men, and break open the gates that we may get in." The men made towards the gate with what sticks and staves they had for arms, and the poor gate-keeper, thinking them to be in earnest, opened the gates wide in great fright. The *thags* and their followers entered the palace with a great deal of noise and bustle, while the poor gate-keeper ran full speed to apprise

<sup>1</sup> A weaver of the broad tape used for bedsteads.

<sup>2</sup> See *ante*, Vol. IX. p. 205.

<sup>3</sup> The tape woven by Rāvariya.

<sup>4</sup> *lit.*, father and mother, but really an expression of respect: patron or protector.

<sup>5</sup> Whisks made of yaks' tails: a universal sign of royalty in India.

the king, his master, of the advent of some great prince, with a formidable retinue, in the city, and to tell him how his men had taken forcible possession of the palace. The king forthwith sent his minister to inquire of the new comers who they were, and what had pleased the great prince to visit his territories.

The minister went accordingly, and begged admittance at the palace gates, but they refused to let him in. After making him wait outside for some time, one of the *thags* came out to meet him, whom the minister requested to usher him into the presence of the prince; but the *thag*, assuming an air of dignity, replied:—"No, no, we are not going to trouble our great Rājā by taking you into his presence, for he is ill and requires quiet and rest. Go you, therefore on your way."

The minister thereupon inquired of the *thag* whose son the prince was, and what was the object of his visit to the country.

"Oh! he is the son of that great monarch," he replied, "who levies tribute on your master, and is come here for a change of air, in order to recruit his health, and does not, therefore, care to be disturbed either by you or by your master."

The minister had therefore no alternative but to leave the palace, and he straightway returned to his master and acquainted him with the very cold reception he had met with at the hands of the strange prince's attendants. The king attributed this to his having omitted to send the prince presents worthy of him, and so he got ready five trays full of *asharfis*<sup>a</sup> and bade the minister go once more to the prince and present them to him with his compliments, after instituting inquiries after his health. The king also instructed his minister to learn from the prince whether he was unmarried, and if he would do him the honour to accept the hand of his daughter in marriage.

The minister obeyed his royal master, and repaired to the residence of the strange Rājā, accompanied by five men bearing the presents. This time, however, he obtained admittance into the palace without much trouble, so, going up to the *thags* he asked them to present him to their prince that he might lay at His High-

ness's feet the presents his master had sent for him. The eyes of the *thags* glistened when the treasures were displayed to them, but thinking that if they held out a little longer they would get more out of the credulous king, they said to the minister, "Return home with your treasures, brother, the Rājā Sāhib is too ill to see you, besides, he wants none of your presents, and would never accept them. For what lacks he in his father's treasury?"

The minister, however, begged so hard to be presented to the prince,—promising that if it did not please His Highness to accept the presents he would withdraw with them,—that the *thags* yielded to his entreaties and told him to wait a while till they went and obtained their royal master's permission. Going to the Rāvariya they instructed him how to act when they brought the minister into the room. "Mind you do not answer a single question of his," said they, "but after he has put a great many to you, utter only a long *hān*<sup>†</sup> in response. And when he begs of you to accept the gifts he has brought do not make any reply to him. If, however, he still goes on imploring you to accept them, and will not withdraw from your presence, you can cry out as if tired of his importunities, 'Away with them!' and immediately make a pretence of going to sleep."

They then ushered the minister into the mock king's presence, who commenced inquiring after his health, but the sham Rājā Sāhib did not condescend to utter a single syllable in reply. He then begged the prince's acceptance of the presents his tributary had sent him, but even then the great man made no reply. At last, however, as if his patience had been completely exhausted, he cried out, "Away with them!" and in a moment the two *thags* turned the minister and the bearers of presents out of the room. The minister returned homewards, greatly disappointed at not having had an opportunity of mentioning to the foreign prince the proposal of marriage.

When the king found that his presents had not been accepted he began to fear that the great prince would slip through his fingers, and baulk him of his expectations of having him as his son-in-law, so he despatched the minister to him once more with still costlier presents. The

<sup>a</sup> A gold coin, value about 30 shillings.

<sup>†</sup> i. e. 'yes.'

eyes of the two *thags* sparkled with delight at sight of the treasure, but being consummate hypocrites they still made a pretence of not caring for them. At the minister's request, they went to the Râvariya under pretext of asking his permission for the minister to enter his presence, and said to him, "When the minister speaks to you behave yourself as you did the other day, and when he has begged very hard of you to accept the presents simply say, 'Now keep them and have done with it.'"

Having thus tutored the mock king, they took the minister and his presents into the room where he lay in bed, and right well did he act his part, and when, at the conclusion of it, he said, "Now keep them and have done with it," the *thags* ordered the bearers to put down their costly loads at His Highness's feet and withdraw. Taking leave of the prince with a low bow the minister went out of the room with one of the *thags*, while the other stood waving a *chamrî* over the Râvariya's person.

"Is His Highness unmarried?" inquired the minister of his companion when out of hearing of the Râvariya.

"Yes," replied he.

"Can you then persuade him to honour my master by marrying his daughter? He will give her a large dowry and"—

"No, no," interrupted the *thag*, "do not entertain such an idea for a moment; he is too great a man to marry your master's daughter, and, besides, he is ill and not likely to think of matrimony at present."

"But there is no harm in asking his will," argued the minister, and he pressed the *thag* so hard that at last he got that worthy to promise to broach the subject to the prince at the first opportunity and to let him know His Highness's will as early as possible.

In a few days the king received intimation through the minister that the great prince had been pleased to accept the offer of the hand of his daughter, and would be glad if the nuptials were solemnized at an early date. At this there were great rejoicings in the city and preparations for the approaching wedding went on for some days. The king placed a large palace at the disposal of his son-in-law, and soon

after celebrated the wedding of the Râvariya and the princess with great pomp.

After the weaver was fairly installed in the palace with his royal wife, the two *thags*, fearing the chances of exposure, thought it high time that they should take their departure from the city. So they dismissed all their attendants, and under pretence of returning to the court of the bridegroom's father, they took their leave of the princess and her Râvariya husband, and left the city, taking care, however, to carry away with them all the costly presents, &c. they had received for the mock king, from the bride's father. When parting they did not forget to impress upon the Râvariya the necessity of his keeping himself well on his guard, so that there might be no exposure of the terrible swindle they had practised upon the king.

Some time after they had departed, it so happened that one evening, when the princess was sitting on an open balcony with her lord, she expressed her desire to play a game of *chaupur*\* with him by the light of the moon that was shining brightly at the time, but the Râvariya who had never played the game in his life, exclaimed, "What! play a game of *chaupur*, you foolish woman? I would rather weave a few yards of *pañjâ*, sitting here under such a bright moon."

The poor woman was struck dumb at these words which revealed to her what her husband was, and could not utter a word in reply. She instantly withdrew into the palace, and from that moment ceased to have any intercourse with him. She remained thus estranged from him so long that life in the palace became insupportable to him, and one night he quietly slipped away, and, betaking himself to his hut in the jungle, resumed his old profession of weaving *pañjâ*.

After the lapse of a few years, the two *thags* began to be curious to know how the Râvariya was enjoying his high estate, and whether he was living or dead. So they journeyed once more to the city in which they had left him. When they came to the place where they had first found him they were greatly surprised to see him sitting there working away at his *pañjâ* as of old. On their inquiring of him the reason of his leaving the palace, he related in

\* A game played by moving men on a kind of chess board according to the throws of a kind of dice. In all

folklore this is a 'royal' game. The whole process is detailed in *Legends of the Pañjâb*, Vol. I. p. 243ff.

detail the conversation he had with his wife on that bright moonlight night; how it had led to his real position in life being known; how she had discarded him ever afterwards; and how, fearing for his head in case the king came to hear of it, he had run away from his wife, and had once more taken to his old profession of *paffi* weaving.

"Never mind what has happened, but come with us once more to where we take you," said the *thags*, "and we shall make it all right for you."

So saying they took him to the river-side and gave him a string of beads, bidding him to continue sitting there telling his beads till he was sent for by his wife. They then left him, and, purchasing some *ghí* and *gu!*<sup>\*</sup> from the *bázár*, mixed them together. One of the *thags* covered his body with this composition, and the other got a litter and placed his be-smear'd companion in it. He then dressed himself in woman's clothes, and, adorning his person with rich jewels, transformed himself into a very good-looking young woman. Ordering the litter to be carried towards the city, he walked alongside of it, *chamrí* in hand, warding off the flies that sought to reach the *ghí* and *gu!* with which his companion was covered. On the way he hired three or four men as attendants, and thus they all walked on until they came in sight of the palace the *Rávariya* had deserted. Ordering the litter to be set down on a spot well overlooked by one of the windows of the palace, he set some of the hirelings to cook their food and do such other work for them.

By-and-by, the princess, on coming to know that a woman, with an invalid in a litter, had put up near her palace, went up to the window to have a look at them. Seeing a beautiful woman well dressed, and decked with ornaments, attending to the wants of the occupant of the litter, she naturally inquired of the mock woman who she was, and what ailed the person she was nursing. The disguised *thag* replied, as though he were a woman, that she was a traveller who had broken her journey there, and the person she nursed was suffering from leprosy. The lady further inquired what relation the leper was to her,

to which she replied that he was her husband.

"That loathsome leper your husband?" sneered the princess, with her nose in the air, "and you are nursing him?"

"Oh! despise not my poor husband," cried the transformed *thag*, pretending to be hurt by the words of the princess, "where does a woman seek for happiness but in her husband, her lord, her master? He has been suffering ever so long from this foul disease and I have been travelling about with him from country to country, vainly hoping that he would profit by change of climate; and at last, finding this place cool and pleasant, I have halted here and by your kind permission, shall stay here for a week or so. Is a woman to desert her husband because he is a leper? Oh no, not for worlds! I have always thought it my duty to serve and nurse my sick husband, however wearisome the task might be."

When the princess heard all this it brought thoughts of her own husband into her mind, and she began to reflect upon her conduct in deserting him merely because he happened to be a *Rávariya* by trade, whilst that rich and beautiful woman, as she took the *thag* to be, nursed and ministered to the wants of her husband although he was a filthy leper. The more the princess pondered over this incident the more she felt how heartless had been her conduct towards her husband, till at last she despatched her horsemen to find him out and to exhort him to return to her immediately. In the meantime she intimated to the *thags* that she had no objection to their staying where they were as long as they pleased. The horsemen found the *Rávariya* sitting by the river-side telling his beads, just as the *thags* had left him, and succeeded in persuading him to return to his wife.

A day or two later the *thag* who played the part of a woman requested the princess to lend him some ten thousand rupees, promising to return them when remittances arrived from his country. In her great joy at the restoration of her husband to her, and knowing that she was in some measure indebted to the leper's wife for the happy event, the princess hesitated not to give the loan asked for. That

\* *Ghí* is boiled butter: *gu!* is a coarse unrefined sugar.

very night the *thags* quietly decamped from the city, and washed off their assumed forms at the first river that came in their way.

The Rāvariya and his wife henceforward lived in peace and happiness, and the *thags* also turned over a new leaf and were reformed characters ever afterwards!

## TWO COPPER-PLATE GRANTS OF JAYACHCHANDRA OF KANAUJ.

BY PROF. F. KIELHORN; GOTTINGEN.

At the request of the Editors I have prepared the following transcripts and translations of two copper-plate grants of Jayachchandra-dēva of Kanauj from photolithographs supplied to me. A short and very inaccurate abstract of the contents of one of these grants (marked by me A) will be found in Colebrooke's *Misc. Essays*, Vol. II. p. 286; and the other grant (marked B) has been edited and translated in a most careless manner in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. X. Part I. p. 98 ff. After finishing my own transcripts, I have compared the following grants of Jayachchandra and his predecessors:—<sup>1</sup>

A grant of Madanapāla, of Samvat 1154, edited and translated by Dr. F. E. Hall in *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXVII. p. 220:—

A grant of Gōvindachandra, of Samvat 1161, edited and translated by Dr. Rajendralal Mitra in *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XLII. Part I. p. 321; and re-edited by Mr. Fleet,<sup>2</sup> *ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 103:—

A grant of the same, of Samvat 1174, edited and translated by Dr. Rajendralal Mitra in *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XLII. Part I. p. 324:—

A grant of the same, of Samvat 1177, partly edited by Dr. F. E. Hall, *id.* Vol. XXXI. p. 123:—

A grant of the same, of Samvat 1182, edited and translated by Dr. F. E. Hall, *id.* Vol. XXVII. p. 242:—

And a grant of Jayachchandra (wrongly called Jaya Chandra) of Samvat 1234, translated by Captain E. Fell in *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV. p. 447.<sup>3</sup>

Both inscriptions are composed in Sanskrit and written in Devanāgarī characters. The historical information afforded by them is the same in both grants, with this difference, that

when A. was issued Jayachchandra was Yuvarāja, his father Vijayachandra being then alive, whereas in B. he is described as ruling sovereign. Of the six ancestors of Jayachchandra who are enumerated here as elsewhere (Yasōvighraha, Mahichandra, Chandradēva, Madanapāla, Gōvindachandra, and Vijayachandra), nothing specific is mentioned beyond this, that Chandradēva acquired the sovereignty over Kanyakubja and that his kingdom included Benares, Ayōdhyā and another Tirtha, which probably was ancient Delhi; and that Vijayachandra conquered one Hammira, "the abode of wanton destruction to the earth." Attention may also be drawn to the fact that the sovereignty over Kanyakubja is described as having been newly acquired, even when Gōvindachandra, the grandson of Chandradēva, was reigning.

The grant recorded in A. was made on the full-moon day of the month Māgha in the (Vikrama) year 1225 by the Yuvarāja Jayachchandra, who was then somewhere on the banks of the Yamunā, and who by this grant made over the village of Nāgali<sup>4</sup> in the Dēvahalī Pattalā to the two brothers, the Rāuta Anātēśarman and the Rāuta Dādēśarman, Brāhmanas of the Kāśyapa gōtra. The grant was written by Jayapāla.

The grant B. is dated Sunday, the 7th lunar day of the bright half of Āshāḍha of the (Vikrama) year 1243, answering it appears to Sunday the 14th June A.D. 1187. The king Jayachchandra, when making the grant, was at Benares; the donee was the Dōda-Rāuta Anāṅga of the Bhāradvāja gōtra; and the object granted was the village of Kamōli<sup>5</sup> in the Asurēsa Pattalā.

I am not able to identify the places mentioned in either grant.

<sup>1</sup> See also F. E. Hall in *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXI. p. 8. Compare also *Centenary Review, Beng. As. Soc.* Part II. p. 120f.

<sup>2</sup> This grant deserves particular attention, because the wording of it entirely differs from that of all the

other grants enumerated above.

<sup>3</sup> Other grants are mentioned by Captain Fell in the article mentioned above.

<sup>4</sup> See note 15 below.

<sup>5</sup> See note 80 below.



A.—ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY PLATE OF VIJAYA-  
CHANDRA AND THE YUVARAJA JAYACHCHANDRA.  
—SAMVAT 1225.

This inscription<sup>6</sup> is from a copper-plate which is now in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society in London. No information is forthcoming as to where it was originally found.

The plate, which is inscribed on one side

only, measures about 1' 6½" by 1' 1". It is quite smooth, the edges being neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims. The inscription has suffered a good deal from corrosion; but the following inscription B. renders it easy to supply most of the damaged letters. There is a ring-hole in the top of the plate; but the ring and seal are not forthcoming. The weight of the plate is 9 lbs. 8½ oz.

TEXT.

- [<sup>1</sup>] ओं स्वस्ति ॥ भक्तोत्कंडवैकुण्ठकंडपीठलुङ्करः । संरंभः सुरतारंभे स भि[व]ः भेयसेस्तु वः ॥ [<sup>2</sup>] आ-  
सीदशीतद्युतिर्वशजातस्मापालमालासु दिवं ग-  
[<sup>3</sup>] तासु ॥ सत्तादिवस्वानिव भूरिधामः ना(जा) यशोविमह इत्युदारः ॥ [<sup>4</sup>] तस्मत्तोभून्महीचंद्रश्चंद्रधाम-  
निभं निजं । येनापारमकुपारपारे व्यापारितं यशः ॥ [<sup>5</sup>] तस्याभून्नयी नयैकरसिकः<sup>7</sup> क्रान्तद्विषन्मंडलो विध्वस्तोद्धत(in marg. वीर)योधतिमिरः श्रीचंद्रदेवो नृपः ।  
येनोदारतरप्रतापशमिता)शेषप्रजोपप्रवं श्रीम[ता]-  
[<sup>6</sup>] धिपुराधिरा(उय)मसमं सोर्ध्वक्रमेणार्जितं ॥ [<sup>7</sup>] सीर्यानि काशिकुशिकोत्तरकौशलेन्द्रस्थानीयकानि परि-  
पालयताधिगम्य ॥ हेमात्मतुल्यमनिशं वरता  
[<sup>8</sup>] द्विजेभ्यो ये(नां)किता वसुमती (श)तशस्त्रुलाभिः ॥ [<sup>9</sup>] तस्यात्मजो मदनपाल इति क्षितीन्द्रचूडामणिर्विजयते  
निजयोद्धध्वजः । यस्याभि(वे)कक-  
[<sup>10</sup>] लसोल्लसितैः पयोभिः प्रक्षालितं कलिरजःपदलं धरिभ्याः ॥ [<sup>11</sup>] तस्मादजाजत निजायतवाहुषक्षिवधा<sup>8</sup>वरुद्धनव-  
राज्यगजो नरैः ॥ सांश्रसुतवमुत्थां  
[<sup>12</sup>] प्रभवो गवां यो गोविदचंद्र इति चंद्र इवांबुरासेः<sup>9</sup> ॥ [<sup>13</sup>] न कथमप्यलभ(न्त) रणक्षमांस्तिष्ठतु दिक्षु गजानप  
वज्रिणः । ककुभि (व)भ्रमु<sup>10</sup>र(ध)मुवज्रप्रतिभया  
[<sup>14</sup>] इव यस्य घटागजाः ॥ [<sup>15</sup>] अजनि विजयचंद्रो नाम तस्माज्जैरः<sup>11</sup> सुरपतिरिव भूभृत्क्षविच्छेदवक्षः । भुव-  
नदलनहेलाहम्यहन्मीरमारीनय-  
[<sup>16</sup>] नजलधाराधौतभूलोकतापः ॥ [<sup>17</sup>] यस्मिंश्चलत्युद्धिनेमिमहीजयाय माद्यत्करीन्द्रगुरुभारनिपीडितेव । याति  
प्रजापतिपदं क्षरणाधिनी  
[<sup>18</sup>] भूस्वर्गचतुरंगनिवहोत्थरजइच्छलेन ॥ [<sup>19</sup>] सोयं समस्तराजच(क्र)संसेवितचरणः स च परमभारकमहाराजाधि-  
राजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वर-  
[<sup>20</sup>] निजभुजोपाजितकन्यकुंजा<sup>12</sup>धिपत्यश्रीचंद्रदेवपाशानुध्यातपरमभारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वरश्रीम-  
दनपालदेव-  
[<sup>21</sup>] पाशानुध्यातपरमभारकमहाराजाधिराज<sup>13</sup>परमेश्वर(प)रममाहेश्वराश्वपतिगजपतिनरपतिराजसयाधिपतिविविधविद्या-  
विचारधातव्य-  
[<sup>22</sup>] तिश्रीगोविन्दचंद्रदेवपाशानुध्यातपरमभारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वराश्वपतिगजपतिनरपतिराजसया-  
धिपतिविविध-  
[<sup>23</sup>] विद्याविचार<sup>14</sup>(वा)चस्पतिश्रीमद्विजयचंद्रदेवो विजयी<sup>15</sup> देव(ह)लीपसलायां ना(ग)लीपान<sup>16</sup>निवासिनो निधि-  
ल<sup>17</sup>जनपदानुपगतानपि च राजराज्ञः युव-  
[<sup>24</sup>] राजमहिपुरोहितप्रतीहारसेनापतिभाण्डागारिकारि(का)क्ष<sup>18</sup>पदलिकभिषकुनैमिसि<sup>19</sup>कान्तपुरिकवृत्तकरिदुरगप-  
सनाकरस्थानगोकुलाधि-  
[<sup>25</sup>] कारिपुरुषानाज्ञापयति बोधय<sup>20</sup>त्यादिशति च यथा । विदितमस्तु भवतां यथोपरिलिखितमामः सजल(स्थ)लः<sup>21</sup>  
सलोहलवपाकर[ः] सगर्जोपरः

<sup>6</sup> Indian Inscriptions, No. 12.

<sup>7</sup> Read नयैकरसिकः. <sup>8</sup> Read °बाहुषक्षिवधा°.

<sup>9</sup> Read इवांबुरासेः. <sup>10</sup> Read वभ्रमु°.

<sup>11</sup> This sign is superfluous. <sup>12</sup> Read °कन्यकुंजा°.

<sup>13</sup> Read °महाराजाधिराज°. <sup>14</sup> Read °विद्याविचार°.

<sup>15</sup> This sign is superfluous. <sup>16</sup> Or नामलीपाम° (?)

<sup>17</sup> Read निखिल°. <sup>18</sup> Read °भाण्डागारिकाक्ष°.

<sup>19</sup> Read °भिषकुनैमिसि°. <sup>20</sup> Read बोधय°.

<sup>21</sup> This sign is superfluous.

- [<sup>11</sup>] सा(म)मधुकःव(नः)<sup>32</sup> समस्व्याकर(स्व)कृतिगेवर<sup>33</sup>सहितः (स्व)सीमासहितश्चतुराधाद्विद्युद्धः ।<sup>34</sup> पञ्चविंश-  
त्यधिकाद्वावशत<sup>35</sup>संस्तरैकेपि सं १२२५ माघीपौर्ण-  
[<sup>12</sup>] मास्यां [वशिष्ठ]<sup>36</sup> षडे यमुनायां सास्था विधिवन्मन्त्रदेवमुनेमनुजभूतपितृगणांस्तर्पयित्वा तिमिरपटलपाटनपटुमहस-  
भुष्णरोचिषमुपस्थायीषधिपति-  
[<sup>13</sup>] शकलशेषरं<sup>37</sup> सम-व(र्ष्य) त्रिभुवनवानुर्भगवतो वासुदेवस्य पूजां विधाय मातापितोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययज्ञोविधि(वृ)-  
द्धये<sup>38</sup> ऽस्मत्सम्मत्या समस्त-  
[<sup>14</sup>] राज(स्व)<sup>39</sup>कियोपेतयौवराज्याभिषिक्तमहाराजपुत्रश्रीजयचंद्रदेवेन गोकर्ण<sup>40</sup>कुशलतापूतकरतलोदकपूर्वमाचंघ्रा-  
(कै) यावत् कास्य-  
[<sup>15</sup>] पगोवभ्यां<sup>41</sup> कास्यपादस्सारनै(धु)गविःप्रवराभ्याम(?)<sup>42</sup> ठन्कुर<sup>43</sup>तिड(ल)पौलाभ्यां ठन्कुरआ(ल्हे)पौलाभ्यां राउत-  
गोटपुलाभ्यां राउतश्रीअणते ।<sup>44</sup> राउत-  
[<sup>16</sup>] श्री(शङ्ख)सम्म-भ्यां<sup>45</sup> ब्राह्मण-भ्यां (युद्ध)प्रसा(ई) प्रश्चो म(त्वा) य(था)रीयनानभागभो(ग)क(रप्र)वणिकरगोक-  
र(जात)करतुरुक्कदंडभमार(ग)विभाण[न]<sup>46</sup>-  
[<sup>17</sup>] भूतिसमस्तनियता(निय)ताशयानाज्ञावि(धेयीभूय)शस्थथ ॥ भवन्ति ज्ञान धर्मा(तु)साशनः<sup>47</sup> पौराणिकभोकाः।  
भूमि यः प्रतिगृह्णाति यश्च भू-  
[<sup>18</sup>] मि प्रयच्छति<sup>48</sup> [1] (उभौ) तौ पुण्यकृष्णौ नियतं स्वर्गगामिनौ ॥ संख<sup>49</sup> भ(द्रा)सनं छलं<sup>50</sup> वराभा वरवारणा[ः]  
भूमिदानस्य विद्वानि फल(मे)तत्पुंरर ॥  
[<sup>19</sup>] षष्टि वर्षसह(ला)पि स्वर्गो वसति भूमिः [1] आछेत्ता<sup>51</sup> चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥ स्वदत्तां परदत्तां  
वा यो हरेद्<sup>52</sup>संधरां । स विद्यायां कुमिर्भूत्वा पितृ-  
[<sup>20</sup>] मिः सह मज्जति ॥ गतिकं स्वर्गमे(कं) च भूमेरप्येकमुलं । हरनरकमा(भोति) यावदाहूतसं(द्र)वं<sup>53</sup> ॥ वाता-  
भविभ्रमनिहं वसुधाधिपस्यमापातमात्र-  
[<sup>21</sup>] मधुरा विषयोऽभोगाः [1] प्रायास्तु नाम जडविदुसता नराणां धर्मः सखा परमहो परलोकयाने ॥ सर्वानेतान्भा-  
विनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान्भूयो भूयो याचते राव-  
[<sup>22</sup>] भद्रः [1] सामान्योयं धर्म(से)तुर्नुपाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवति ॥ लिखितं ताम्रकमिहं श्रीजयपालेन ।

## TRANSLATION.

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

(V. 2.)—After the lines of the protectors of the earth born in the solar race had gone to heaven, there came a noble (personage) Yāsō-vigraha by name, (who) by his plentiful splendour (was) as it were the Sun incarnate.<sup>44</sup>

(V. 3.)—His son was Mahichandra who spread his boundless fame, resembling the moon's splendour, (even) to the boundary of the ocean.

(V. 4.)—His son was the king, the illustrious Chandradēva, whose one delight was in statesmanship, who attacked the hostile hosts

(and) scattered the haughty brave warriors as (the moon does the) darkness. By the valour of his arm he acquired the matchless sovereignty over the glorious Gādhīpura, when an end was put to all distress of the people by his most noble prowess.<sup>45</sup>

(V. 5.)—Protecting the holy bathing-places of Kāśi, Kuśika, Uttarakōśalā, and the city of Indra, after he had obtained them, (and) incessantly bestowing on the twice-born gold equal (in weight) to his body, he hundreds of times marked the earth with the scales (on which he had himself weighed).<sup>46</sup>

(V. 6.)—Victorious is his son Madanapāla, the crest-jewel of the rulers of the earth, the moon of his family. By the sparkling waters from his coronation-jars the coating of impurity

<sup>32</sup> Read साममधुकवनः.

<sup>33</sup> Read गोचर°. <sup>34</sup> This sign is superfluous.

<sup>35</sup> Read द्वादशशत°. <sup>36</sup> This reading is doubtful.

<sup>37</sup> Read शेषरं°. <sup>38</sup> Read यशोविविद्धये.

<sup>39</sup> This akshara may be स्थ. <sup>40</sup> Or गोकर्ण° (?)

<sup>41</sup> Read काश्यपगोलाभ्यां काश्य°. <sup>42</sup> Read त्रिवराभ्यां.

<sup>43</sup> The spelling of this word appears to be ठन्कुर (not ठकुर) here and below.

<sup>44</sup> This sign is superfluous. <sup>45</sup> Read शर्मभ्यां मा°.

<sup>46</sup> I am doubtful about the last akshara of this line; it may be ण or पु or क or कु.

<sup>47</sup> Read धर्मानुशासनः. <sup>48</sup> Read प्रयच्छति.

<sup>49</sup> Read संख°. <sup>50</sup> Read छलं.

<sup>51</sup> Read आछेत्ता. <sup>52</sup> Read हरेत् व°.

<sup>53</sup> See B. & R. Dictionary, s. v. संख.

<sup>44</sup> Metre: Indravajrā.

<sup>45</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita. Gādhīpura, 'Gādhī's town,' is Kanyakubja; see below.

<sup>46</sup> Metre: Vasantatilakā.—The reading अधिगम्य (not अधिगम्य) is certain in both inscriptions. On the Tirthas named see Hall, Jour. Beng. As. Soc., Vol. XXVII. p. 224; Kāśi and Uttarakōśalā are Benares and Ayōdhya; the town of Indra is very probably Indraprastha (ancient Delhi); the Kuśika-tirtha I take to be Gādhīpura, i.e. Kanyakubja itself.

of the Kaliyuga was washed off from the earth.<sup>47</sup>

(V. 7.)—As the moon, whose rays diffuse in abundance liquid nectar, from the ocean, so was born from him the ruler of men Gōvinda-chandra, who bestowed cows giving abundant milk. As one restrains an (untrained) elephant, so he secured by his creeper-like long arms the new (i.e. newly acquired) kingdom.<sup>48</sup>

(V. 8.)—When his war-elephants had in three quarters in no wise found elephants their equals for combat, they roamed about in the region of the wielder of the thunderbolt, like rivals of the mate of Abhramu.<sup>49</sup>

(V. 9.)—From him was born the ruler of men, Vijayachandra by name, expert in destroying the hosts of (hostile) princes, as the lord of the gods (was) in clipping the wings of the mountains. He swept away the affliction of the globe by the streams (of water flowing as) from clouds from the eyes of the wives of Hammira, the abode of wanton destruction to the earth.<sup>50</sup>

(V. 10.)—When he goes out to conquer the earth girt by the ocean, the earth, distressed as it were by the heavy weight of his ruddy royal elephants, goes seeking protection up to the throne of Prajapati, in the guise of the dust rising from the multitude of his prancing horses.<sup>51</sup>

(L. 10.)—He it is who has homage rendered to his feet by the circle of all Rājas. And he, the most worshipful, the supreme king of Mahārājas, the supreme lord, the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, the lord over the three Rājas, (viz.) the lord of horses (Aśvapati), the lord of elephants (Gajapati) and the lord

of men (Narapati),<sup>52</sup> (like) Brihaspati in investigating the various sciences, the illustrious Vijayachandrādēva,—who meditates on the feet of the most worshipful, the supreme king of Mahārājas, the supreme lord, the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, the lord over the three Rājas, (viz.) the lord of horses, the lord of elephants and the lord of men, (like) Brihaspati in investigating the various sciences, the illustrious Gōvinda-chandrādēva,—who meditated on the feet of the most worshipful, the supreme king of Mahārājas, the supreme lord, the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, the illustrious Madanapālādēva,—who meditated on the feet of the most worshipful, the supreme king of Mahārājas, the supreme lord, the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, the illustrious Chandradēva, who by his arm had acquired the sovereignty over Kanyakubja :—

(L. 14.)—He, the victorious, commands, informs, and decrees to all the people assembled, resident at the village of Nāgalī<sup>53</sup> (?) in the Dēva hall Pattalā, and also to the Rājas, Rājās, Yuvarājas, counsellors, chaplains, warders of the gate, commanders of troops, treasurers, keepers of records, physicians, astrologers, superintendents of gynæceums, messengers, and to the officers having authority as regards elephants, horses, towns, mines (?), Sthānas and Gōkulas,<sup>54</sup>—as follows :—

(L. 16.)—Be it known to you that the son of the Mahārāja, the illustrious Jayachandrādēva, installed as Yuvarāja, and as such by our consent empowered to act in all matters like the king himself,—after having bathed in the Yamunā at the Vāsisṭha (?)-

elephant of the East (the region of Indra), the mate of Airāvata.

<sup>47</sup> Metre: Mālinī.

<sup>48</sup> Metre: Vasantatilakā.

<sup>49</sup> The Gajapati is enumerated with other regal officers, such as the Mantrin and the Sēnāpati, e.g. *Ind. Studien*, Vol. XV. p. 393, note; compare also *ante*, Vol. III. p. 152. Hence it would appear that the Aśvapati and Narapati also were high officers of state. The three terms have also been titles of dynasties and even proper names; see e.g. *ante*, Vol. V. p. 76; Vol. VIII. p. 19, 95; Vol. XII. p. 51, 52; Beal's *Buddh. Rec. West. World*, Vol. I. p. 18. Compare also Hall in *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. XXVII. p. 247; Vol. XXXI. p. 119, and Rajendralal, Vol. XLII. Part I. p. 337; also *ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 167, l. 29, *hastya-śeṣaśṭraṇauvalavyāpṛitka*.

<sup>50</sup> See note 15 above.

<sup>51</sup> The exact meaning of the three last terms is not quite clear to me. On *Manu* VII. 62, *dhara* is explained by *suvarṇādyaupattisthāna*. *Gōkula* usually is 'a herd of kine' or 'a cattle-station.'

<sup>47</sup> Metre: Vasantatilakā.

<sup>48</sup> Metre: Vasantatilakā.—The compound निजयत्...

जयः has been translated by Captain Fell "by the grasp of his mighty arm he was able to restrain an elephant of the kingdom of Navarashtra"; by F. E. Hall, "by whom, with his far-reaching creepers of arms, elephant-like upstart governments were seized and coerced"; similarly by Dr. Rajendralal, "his long arms, extending like creepers, tied and checked all elephant-like upstart kingdoms"; better in *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. X. P. I. p. 102, "who by his arms, long and like the creeping plant, kept the newly acquired kingdom—stubborn as the elephant in confinement." The third pāda has been translated by F. E. Hall "and who was a fountain of eloquence copiously distilling the essence of rhetorical nectar"; and by Rajendralal either "and he was the source of thick fluid-nectar-sprinkling eloquence" or "the source (whence men obtained) kine which gave thick, sweet milk"; the double meaning suggested in the words of the original has not been noticed.

<sup>49</sup> Metre: Drutavilambita.—Abhramu is the female

ghat, after having duly satisfied the sacred texts, divinities,<sup>55</sup> saints, men, beings and the group of ancestors, after having worshipped the sun whose splendour is potent in rending the veil of darkness, after having praised him whose crest is a portion of the moon, after having performed adoration of the holy Vāsudēva, the protector of the three worlds,—has, in order to increase the (spiritual) merit and the fame of his parents and himself, on the day of full-moon of Māgha in the twelve hundred and twenty-fifth year, in figures too<sup>56</sup> 1225, out of pure grace given the above-written village with its water and dry land, with its mines of iron and salt, with its ravines and saline wastes, with its groves of mango and madhūka trees, with its fisheries, with its grass and pasture land, up to its boundaries (and) defined as to its four abutments, to the two Brāhmanas the Rāuta the illustrious Apātē-(-farman) and the Rāuta the illustrious Dādēśarman, sons of the Rāuta Goṭha, grandsons of the Thakkura Tihula (?) (and) grandsons of the Thakkura Ālha (?), of the Kāśyapa gōtra, (and) whose three Pravaras are Kāśyapa, Āvatsāra and Naidhruva,—(confirming his gift) with (the pouring out) from the palm of his hand (of) water purified with kuśa grass . . . . .<sup>57</sup> (and to be theirs) as long as moon and sun (endure). Aware (of this), you, being ready to obey (his) commands, will make over (to them) every kind of income, fixed and not fixed, the due share of the produce, . . . . . and so forth.<sup>58</sup>

(L. 23.)—And there are ancient verses which teach the law on this (subject, as follows):— [Here follow seven of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses, which it is unnecessary to translate.]

(L. 28.)—This copper-plate grant has been written by the illustrious Jayapāla.

B.—FAIZABAD PLATE OF JAYACHCHANDRA.—  
SAMVAT 1243.

This inscription<sup>59</sup> is from a copper-plate which was found near Faizābād in Oude, and is now in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society in London.

The plate, which is inscribed on one side only, measures about 1' 8½" by 1' 4". It is quite smooth, the edges being neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims; but the inscription is in perfect order throughout. The seal is circular, about 2½" in diameter; it has, in relief on a countersunk surface,—across the centre, the legend Śr[ī\*]maj-Jayachcha[m\*]drad[ē\*]vaḥ || :—in the upper part, Garuḍa, half man and half bird, kneeling and facing to the proper right;—and in the lower part, a śaṅkha-shell. The seal slides by its socket-ring, which is about ½" thick and 1½" in diameter, on a plain ring about ½" thick and 4" in diameter, which passes through the ring-hole in the top of the plate; this latter ring had been cut before the grant came under Mr. Fleet's notice for preparing the lithograph. The weight of the plate is 6 lbs. 5 oz.; and of the seal with its own ring and the other, 2 lbs. 6½ oz.; total weight, 8 lbs. 11½ oz.

#### TEXT.

[<sup>1</sup>] [ओं] स्वस्ति ॥ अकुञ्जोत्कण्ठैकुञ्जकण्ठपीडकुञ्जकरः । संरम्भः सुरतारम्भे स श्रियः श्रेयसेस्तु वः ॥ [<sup>१</sup>]

आसीद्वसतिश्रुतिवन्धजातइमापाल-

[<sup>२</sup>] नालासु दिवं गतासु । साक्षादिवस्थानिव भूरिधाना नामा यशोविमह इत्युदारः ॥ [<sup>२</sup>] लक्ष्मणोभून्महीचंद्र-

चंद्रधामनिर्भं निजं । येनापारमकूपार-

<sup>55</sup> Mantradēva has by others been translated by 'divinities of the Vedas,' but I believe that mantra-dēva-manuja-bhūta-pitrigaṇa has reference to the five Mahā-yajña, to which the worship of the Munis has here been added as is elsewhere that of the Rishis; see e.g. ante, Vol. XIV. p. 108, l. 9.

<sup>56</sup> For the locative aṅkṣ in place of the more usual aṅkataḥ compare e.g. ante, Vol. XIV. p. 108, l. 8.

<sup>57</sup> I am not certain about the exact meaning of gōkarna, 'cow's ear,' before kuśatāpātā. F. E. Hall in Jour. Beng. As. Soc., Vol. XXVII. p. 232 translated "having taken water in his palm, purified by incurring it into the form of a cow's ear, and by kuśa grass," but passages in other inscriptions would seem to show that kuśatāpātā ought to be taken as an adjective qualifying the word udaka of karatāśḍaka; compare e.g. ante, Vol. XIV. p. 108, l. 16 kuśatāpātāna haśṭiśḍakāna.—That at the recitation of Vedic texts the right hand should be so held as to look like a cow's ear, I have shown, ante, Vol.

V. p. 198, by a quotation from a Śikṣā; but there that shape is given to it only for the denotation of the accents.

<sup>59</sup> I am unable to explain pravānikara and the remaining terms up to the end of the line. Pravānikara takes both here and elsewhere the place of the usual hiraṇya (compare e.g. Jour. Beng. As. Soc., Vol. XXVII. p. 222) and would therefore appear to mean 'money-rent'; F. E. Hall has translated it by 'quadrivial tolls,' and Rajendralal by 'toll on quadrivials.' But the place where four roads meet is pravāna, not pravani. Gōkara would seem to be 'cattle-tax,' and jāṭikara 'tax on things grown.' Turuṣkadunda, which together with other unintelligible terms occurs also e.g. ante Vol. XIV. p. 103, l. 12, has by F. E. Hall been taken to mean 'Muhammadan amercements' and by Rajendralal 'royalty on aromatic reads' (Jour. Beng. As. Soc., Vol. XXVII. p. 244, and XLII. Part I. p. 321). Kṣhamaragadidāna (if this be the right reading) I have not met with anywhere else.

<sup>60</sup> Indian Inscriptions, No. 13.

- [<sup>8</sup>] पारे व्यापारितं यशः ॥ [<sup>9</sup>] तस्याभूत्तनयो नयैक(र)सिकः क्रान्तद्विधन्मण्डली विध्वस्तोद्धतवीरयोधतिमिर<sup>१०</sup>  
श्रीचंद्रदेवो नृपः । येनोक्ततरप्रतापसामिताशेष-
- [<sup>१०</sup>] प्रजोपद्रवं श्रीमहाधिपुत्राधिराज्यमसमं शीर्षकमेणाडितं ॥ [<sup>११</sup>] तीर्थानि काशिकुशिकोत्तरकोसलेन्द्रस्था-  
नीयकानि परिपालयताधिगम्य । हेमात्मनु-
- [<sup>१२</sup>] ल्यमनिसं<sup>११</sup> वदता द्विजेभ्यो येनाङ्किता वसुमती शतसस्तु<sup>१२</sup> लाभिः ॥ [<sup>१३</sup>] तस्यात्मजो मदनपाल इति क्षितीन्द्रपु-  
डामणिर्द्विजयते निजगो(त्र)चंद्रः । यस्याभिषेक-
- [<sup>१४</sup>] कलशोल्लसि(तैः)<sup>१३</sup> पयोभिः प्रक्षालितं कलिरजःपटलं<sup>१४</sup> धरिण्याः ॥ [<sup>१५</sup>] यस्यासीद्विजयप्रयाणसमये तुङ्गाचलो-  
धैश्चलन्माद्यत्कुम्भपदक्रमासमभर(अ)दय-
- [<sup>१६</sup>] न्महीमण्डले । चूडारत्नविभिन्नसालु)गलितस्त्वानाद्यगु(ज्ञा)शितः<sup>१५</sup> (शे)षः शैषवसादिव<sup>१६</sup> क्षणमसौ क्रीडे  
नि(ली)नाननः ॥ [<sup>१७</sup>] तस्मादजायत निजायतबाहु-
- [<sup>१८</sup>] वलिवन्ध<sup>१७</sup> वरुज्जनवराज्यगजो नरेन्द्रः । सांद्रामृत(अ)वमुत्थां प्रभवो गवां यो गोविन्दचन्द्र इति चंद्र  
इवागुरासे<sup>१८</sup> ॥ [<sup>१९</sup>] न कथमप्यलभन्त रणक्षमांस्ति-
- [<sup>२०</sup>] द्युक्षि गजानन्य वज्रिणः । ककुभि व(अ)मु<sup>१९</sup> (रअ)मुवल्लभप्रतिभटा इव यस्य घटागजाः<sup>२०</sup> ॥ [<sup>२१</sup>] अजनि  
विजयचंद्रो नाम तस्माज्जरेन्द्रः सुरपतिरि-
- [<sup>२२</sup>] व भूभृत्पक्षविच्छेदकः । भुवनकलनहेलाहम्ब्यह(म्मी)रनारीनयनजलदधाराधौतभूलोकतापः ॥ [<sup>२३</sup>] (लौ)-  
कतयाक्रमणकेलिविषुखलानि प्र-
- [<sup>२४</sup>] ख्यातकीर्तिरुविषाणितवैभवानि । यस्य (वि)विक्रमपदक्रमभांजि भांति प्रो(दघो)तय(न्ति) वलि<sup>२१</sup> राजभयं यशां-  
सि ॥ [<sup>२५</sup>] यस्मिन्चलत्पुद्गलधनेमिमहीज-
- [<sup>२६</sup>] वार्थं मायस्करीन्द्र(गु)रुभारनिपीडितेव । याति प्रजापतिपदं सरणार्थिनी<sup>२२</sup> भूस्त्वङ्गुलुङ्गनिवहोत्थरजदछ-  
लेन ॥ [<sup>२७</sup>] तस्मादकुतविक्रमादथ जयचं-
- [<sup>२८</sup>] द्राभिधानः पतिभूषणामवतीर्णं एष भुवनीश्वराय नारायणः । (द्वेष्टी)भावमपात्य विमहह(विं) धिक्कृत्य सान्ता-  
शयाः<sup>२३</sup> सेवन्ते यमुदमवन्धन-
- [<sup>२९</sup>] भय(ध्व)न्ता(धि)नः<sup>२४</sup> पार्थिवाः ॥ [<sup>३०</sup>] गच्छेन्मूर्च्छामनुच्छां न यदि कवलयेत्कूर्मपृष्ठानिघात<sup>२५</sup> प्रत्यावृत्तभ-  
मात्तौ नमद्विलक्षणस्वासाश्वत्थासहभ्रं<sup>२६</sup> । उद्योगे
- [<sup>३१</sup>] यस्य धावद्वारिधरधुनीनिर्झरस्कारधारभ्रद्वयदानद्विपालीदहल<sup>२७</sup> भरगल(जै)र्धेमुद्रः कर्णाग्रः ॥ [<sup>३२</sup>] सोयं समस्तरा-  
जचक्रसंसंवितचरणः
- [<sup>३३</sup>] स च परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वरनिजभुजोपाज्जितश्रीकन्यकुब्जा<sup>२८</sup> धिपत्यश्रीचंद्रदेवपाशानु-  
ध्यातपरमभट्टारक-
- [<sup>३४</sup>] महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वरश्रीमदनपालदेवपाशानु(ध्या)तपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्व-  
राश्वपतिगजप-
- [<sup>३५</sup>] तिनरपतिराज(अ)याधिपतिविविधविद्याविचारवाचस्पतिश्रीगोविन्दचंद्रदेवपाशानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिरा-  
जपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वराश्व-
- [<sup>३६</sup>] पतिगजपतिनरपतिराज(अ)याधिपतिविविधविद्याविचारवाचस्पतिश्रीविजयचंद्रदेवपाशानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहारा-  
जाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्व-
- [<sup>३७</sup>] श्वराश्वपतिगजपतिनरपतिराज(अ)याधिपतिविविधविद्याविचारवाचस्पतिश्रीमज्जयचंद्रदेवो विजयी ॥ ॥<sup>२९</sup> असुरेस-  
पत्तलायां कमोली<sup>३०</sup> ग्रामनि-
- [<sup>३८</sup>] वासिनी निखिलजनपदानुपगमानपि च राजराज्ञीयुवराजसंभिपुरोहितप्रतीहारसेनापतिभांडागारिकाक्षपटलिक-  
भिषग्नैमिसिकान्तपुरिक-
- [<sup>३९</sup>] दूतकरिमु(र)गपत्तनाकरस्थानगोकुलाधिकारिपुरुषानाज्ञापयति बोधय<sup>३१</sup> र्यादिशति च विदितमस्तु भवतां यथो-  
पारिलिखितग्रामः सजलस्थलः
- [<sup>४०</sup>] सलोलवनाकरः सम(रस्या)करः सगर्जोपरः सगिरिगहननिधानः सम(धू)का(अ)वन<sup>३२</sup> वाटिकाविटपटणयूति-  
गोश्वरपर्यन्तः सौर्ज्यधभुरापाटवि-

<sup>१०</sup> Read 'तिमिरः'. <sup>११</sup> Read 'निश'. <sup>१२</sup> Read 'शतसस्तु'.

<sup>१३</sup> Read 'सितैः'. <sup>१४</sup> Read 'पटलं'. <sup>१५</sup> Read 'सितः'.

<sup>१६</sup> Read 'शैषवसादिव'. <sup>१७</sup> Read 'बाहुवल्लिबन्ध'.

<sup>१८</sup> Read 'इवागुरासे'. <sup>१९</sup> Read 'भ्रमु'.

<sup>२०</sup> Read 'घटागजाः'. <sup>२१</sup> Read 'वलि'.

<sup>२२</sup> Read 'शरणार्थिनी'. <sup>२३</sup> Read 'शान्ताशयाः'.

<sup>२४</sup> Read 'बन्धनमयध्वंसार्थिनः'. <sup>२५</sup> Or 'भिघाते प्रत्या'(?).

<sup>२६</sup> Read 'व्यासवात्यासहस्रं'. <sup>२७</sup> Read 'बहुल'(?).

<sup>२८</sup> Read 'कन्यकुब्जा'.

<sup>२९</sup> These signs are superfluous.

<sup>३०</sup> Or 'कमोली'(?). In the original there is a vertical stroke before क, but द is in this inscription always denoted by the stroke above the consonant. <sup>३१</sup> Read 'बोधय'.

<sup>३२</sup> Or 'समधूकाम्लवन'(?).

- [<sup>28</sup>] सुखः स्वसीमापर्यन्तः । निचत्वारिंशदधिकः<sup>२८</sup> द्वादशशतसंख्यसरे आषाढे मासि सुखं<sup>२९</sup> पक्षे सप्तम्यां तिथौ रात्रिदिने  
अङ्कतोपि सन्वत्<sup>३०</sup> १२४३ आषाढसुदि ७ र-  
[<sup>29</sup>] नौ अयोधे श्रीमद्दारापत्न्यां गंगायां स्नात्वा विधिवन्मन्त्रदेवमुनिमनुजभूतपिङ्गमांस्तर्पयित्वा तिमिरपटलगादनप-  
दुमहसमुत्परोक्षिषुमुपस्थाप्यौषधि-  
[<sup>30</sup>] पतिशालशेखरं<sup>३०</sup> समन्वयदेविमुचनवातु(र्भे)गवतो (वाह)देवस्य पूजां विधाय प्रभु(र)पायसेन हविषा हविर्भु(जं)  
हृत्वा मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययद्यौभिश्च-  
[<sup>31</sup>] वे अस्मानिर्गोकर्णकुशलतापूतकरतलोदकपूर्वके भारद्वाजगोत्राय भारद्वाजांगिरसबाईस्य<sup>३१</sup> स्येतिनिप्रवराय रा-  
जतभीआदले(?)पौत्राय राजतभीद्वि-  
[<sup>32</sup>] पुत्राय डोडराजतभीअर्पणाय चंद्रार्के वा रच्छासनीकृत्य प्रवृत्तो मत्वा ययासीयमानभागभोगकर(प्र)वर्णिकरप्रभु-  
तिनियतानियतसमस्तायायानाज्ञाविधे-  
[<sup>33</sup>] कीभूष वास्ययेति ॥ ॥ भवन्ति चात्र (भो)काः । भूमि यः प्रतिगु(ह्मा)ति यश्च भूमि प्रयच्छति । उभौ तौ पुण्य-  
कर्माणौ निय(तं) स्वर्गगामिनौ ॥ संखं<sup>३२</sup> भद्रासनं च्छ(ले)<sup>३३</sup> वराधा वरवार-  
[<sup>34</sup>] नाः । भूमिदानस्य चिह्नानि कलनेतत्पुंरर ॥ षड्विंशत्सहस्राणि<sup>३४</sup> (स्वर्गं) वसति भू(मि)दः । आच्छेत्ता चानु-  
मन्तश्च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥ षड्विंशत्सहस्राणि भुक्ता राजानिः सग-  
[<sup>35</sup>] रात्रिभिः । यस्य यस्य यथा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥ स्वहतां परहतां वा यो ह(रे)त व(सु)धरां । स  
विद्यायां कुमिर्भूत्वा पिबतिः सह मज्जति ॥ तडागा(नां) सहभेण<sup>३५</sup> वाजपेयशतेन च [1]  
[<sup>36</sup>] गवां कोटिप्रदानेन भूमिहर्ता न क्षुध्यति<sup>३६</sup> ॥ वारिहीनेव्वरप्येषु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः । कृष्ण(स)पार्थ जायन्ते  
देवप्रभ<sup>३७</sup> (स्व)हारिणः ॥ न विषं विषमिस्माद्व्रक्ष(स्व)<sup>३८</sup> विषमुच्य-  
[<sup>37</sup>] ते । विषमेकाकिनं हन्ति व्रक्षस्वं<sup>३९</sup> पुत्रपौत्रिकं ॥ वाताधनि(भ)ममिदं वसुधाधिपत्वंमापातमात्रमधुना विषयोप-  
भोगाः । प्राणास्तृणा(प्र)ज(ल)विषुसमा नराणां धनेः सखा पर-  
[<sup>38</sup>] महो परलोकयाने ॥ यानीह हत्तानि पुरा नरेवैर्दानानि धर्मात्ययस्यस्कराणि । निर्मास्यवान्तप्रतिमानि तानि को  
नाम साधुः पुनरावहीत ॥

## TRANSLATION.

Om! May it be well!—(Verses 1 to 6 = verses 1 to 6 of the preceding.)

(V. 7.)—When he went forth to victory, the orb of the earth bent down beneath the excessive weight of the footsteps of his ruddy elephants marching along, tall as towering mountains: then, as if suffering from cold, Sésa, radiant with the clotted blood that trickled from his palate pierced by the crest-jewel, hid his face for a moment in his bosom.<sup>37</sup>

(Verses 8 to 10 = verses 7 to 9 of the preceding.)

(V. 11.)—His bright fame which met with

no check in its playful course through the three worlds, (and) whose glory was sung by poets of known renown, made intense the fear of king Bali when it strode along like Trivikrama.<sup>38</sup>

(Verse 12 = verse 10 of the preceding.)

(V. 13.)—After him (i.e. Vijayachandra) possessed of wonderful valour, (comes) the lord of princes named Jayachandra; he is Nārāyaṇa, having become incarnate for the salvation of the earth. Having put aside (all) dissension (and) cursing (their own) liking for war, peacefully-disposed princes pay homage to him, seeking to rid themselves of the intense dread of the punishment (inflicted by him).<sup>39</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Read विशुद्धः स्वसीमापर्यन्तस्त्रिचत्वारिंशदधिकः.  
<sup>29</sup> Read सुखं. <sup>30</sup> Read संवत्. <sup>31</sup> Read शकलशेखरं.  
<sup>32</sup> Read बाईस्य. <sup>33</sup> Read शोख. <sup>34</sup> Read छत्रं.  
<sup>35</sup> Read षड्विंशत्सहस्राणि. <sup>36</sup> Read बहु.  
<sup>37</sup> Read सहस्रेण. <sup>38</sup> Read कुच्यति.  
<sup>39</sup> Read देवप्रभ. <sup>40</sup> Read वैरक्षस्वं. <sup>41</sup> Read व्रक्षस्वं.  
<sup>42</sup> Metre: Sārdūlavikrīḍita.—For the words which I have translated by "as if suffering from cold" the editor in *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. X. has स्पृशैवशादिव (which, I suppose, is meant for स्पृशैवशादिव); Captain Fell translates "forcing him from the tribulation." F. E. Hall and Bajendralal read देवप्रभ.दिव; the former translates "as it were, in consequence of being crushed," and the latter "crushed as it were," but Dr. Hall suggests the reading देवप्रभ.दिव which would mean "for fear as it were of being crushed." In the photolithograph before me the first consonant is certainly व (not फ) and above it the two strokes for ai seem to me clearly visible; the

actual reading then is वैववशादिव. My reasons for proposing देवप्रभ.दिव are:—*Sēsha* who carries the earth has his head actually hurt by the weight he has to bear, and hides it therefore in his bosom; but the writer of the verse, wishing to employ the rhetorical figure *Utpreksā* (which is indicated by इव), assigns a different reason for Sēsha's action, viz. this, that Sēsha is suffering from cold. If we were to read देवप्रभ.दिव, इव would have no sense. It should be observed that in the present inscription the two sibilants श and स at any rate are several times confounded; and that शैवः शैवः is just what one would expect in a document the writers of which delight in plays upon words. शैव is given as a synonym of शिशिर by Hēmachandra.

<sup>43</sup> Metre: Vasantatilakā.—Bali became afraid lest he should be deprived by the king even of that portion of his dominions which had been left to him by Trivikrama, i.e. Vishnu.—The original has the present tense.

<sup>44</sup> Metre: Sārdūlavikrīḍita.

(V. 14.)—When he puts forth his might, the lord of serpents has his reputed strength failing under the great weight of the lines of elephants whose rutting-juice flows down in broad streams resembling torrents rushing down from moving mountains; distressed by the exertion of turning up again when pressed down upon the back of the tortoise, he would completely faint away if he did not inhale the thousand strong breezes from all his bending hoods.<sup>100</sup>

(L. 15.)—He it is who has homage rendered to his feet by the circle of all *Rājas*. And he, the most worshipful, the supreme king of *Mahārājas*, the supreme lord, the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, the lord over the three *Rājas*, (*viz.*) the lord of horses, the lord of elephants and the lord of men, (*like*) Brihaspati in investigating the various sciences, the illustrious Jayachchandra dēva,—who meditates on the feet of the most worshipful, the supreme king of *Mahārājas*, the supreme lord, the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, the lord over the three *Rājas*, (*viz.*) the lord of horses, the lord of elephants and the lord of men, (*like*) Brihaspati in investigating the various sciences, the illustrious Vijayachchandra dēva,—who meditated on the feet of the most worshipful, the supreme king of *Mahārājas*, the supreme lord, the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, the lord over the three *Rājas*, (*viz.*) the lord of horses, the lord of elephants and the lord of men, (*like*) Brihaspati in investigating the various sciences, the illustrious Gōvindachchandra dēva,—who meditated on the feet of the most worshipful, the supreme king of *Mahārājas*, the supreme lord, the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, the illustrious Madanapālādēva,—who meditated on the feet of the most worshipful, the supreme king of *Mahārājas*, the supreme lord, the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, the illustrious Chandradēva, who by his arm had acquired the sovereignty over the glorious Kenyakubja :—

(L. 20.)—He, the victorious, commands, informs and decrees to all the people assembled, resident at the village of Kamōlī<sup>101</sup> (?) in the *Asurēsa Pattalā*, and also to the *Rājas*, *Rājās*, *Yuvārājas*, counsellors, chaplains, warders of the gate, commanders of troops, treasurers, keepers of

records, physicians, astrologers, superintendents of gynæceums, messengers, and to the officers having authority as regards elephants, horses, towns, mines (?), *Sthānas* and *Gōkulas* :—

(L. 22.)—Be it known to you that,—after having bathed here to-day in the Ganges at the glorious Vārāṇasī, after having duly satisfied the sacred texts, divinities, saints, men, beings and the group of ancestors, after having worshipped the sun whose splendour is potent in rending the veil of darkness, after having praised him whose crest is a portion of the moon, after having performed adoration of the holy Vāsudēva the protector of the three worlds, after having sacrificed to fire an oblation with abundant milk, rice and sugar,—we have, in order to increase the (*spiritual*) merit and the fame of our parents and ourself, on Sunday, the seventh lunar day in the bright half of the month Āshāḍha in the twelve-hundred-and-forty-third year,—in figures too, on Sunday the 7th Śudī Āshāḍha 1243,—given the above-written village with its water and dry land, with its mines of iron and salt, with its fisheries, with its ravines and saline wastes, with the treasure in its hills and forests, with and including its groves of *madhūka* and mango trees, enclosed gardens, bushes, grass and pasture land, with what is above and below, defined as to its four abutments, up to its proper boundaries, to the *Doḍa*<sup>102</sup>—*Rāuta* the illustrious Anāṅga, son of the *Rāuta* the illustrious Dūmīṭā, grandson of the *Rāuta* the illustrious Āḍhalē (?), of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra* (*and*) whose three *Pravaras* are Bhāradvāja Āṅgīrasa and Bārhaspatya,—(*confirming our gift*) with (*the pouring out*) from the palm of our hand (*of*) water purified with *kuśa*-grass. . . .<sup>103</sup> (*and*) ordaining (*that it shall be his*) as long as moon and sun (*endure*). Aware (*of this*), you, being ready to obey (*our*) commands, will make over (*to him*) every kind of income, fixed and not fixed, the due share of the produce, the *pravanikara*, and so forth.

(L. 30.)—And on this (*subject*) there are (*the following*) verses :—[Here follow ten of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses, which it is unnecessary to translate.]

<sup>100</sup> Metro: Sragdharā.—In the last *pāda* the Editor in *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. X. reads “*विजयचन्द्र*” and Captain Fell translates “by the firm weight.” In the photolithograph the three *aksharas* before *भर* are *दृष्ट*

for which I suggest *बहुल* or *बहुल*; compare l. 6 *असमभर* and l. 12 *गुरुभर*.

<sup>101</sup> See note 80 above.

<sup>102</sup> See Elliot, *Suppl. Glossary*, Vol. I. p. 81.

<sup>103</sup> See notes on the preceding grant.

## AN ENGLISH-GIPSY INDEX.

COMPILED BY MRS. GRIERSON; WITH AN INTRODUCTORY NOTE BY G. A. GRIERSON, B.C.S.

The only apology offered for this *Index* is the want of anything better. There is no English-Gipsy vocabulary in existence, except a short one in Paspati's excellent *Memoir on the Language of the Gypsies as now used in the Turkish Empire*, published in 1869 in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*.

For reasons which will be subsequently understood, the want of such a work was much felt by Dr. Hoernle and myself, when writing the comparative portion of our *Dictionary of the Bihārī Language*. There was plenty of materials available in various languages, and accordingly the contents of the following works were indexed out:—

1. *Romano Lavo-Lil*: Word Book of the Romany, or English-Gypsy Language, by George Borrow. London: John Murray, 1874.
2. *Études sur Les Tchinghianés ou Bohémiens de l'Empire Ottoman*, par Alexandre G. Paspati, D. M., Constantinople: Imprimerie Antoine Koromela, 1870.
3. *Ueber die Mundarten und die Wanderungen der Zigeuner Europa's*. Theil V. Märchen und Lieder der Zigeuner der Bukowina. Zweiter Theil. Glossar, von Dr. Franz Miklosich. Theile VII. VIII. Vergleichung der Zigeunermundarten. Wien, in Commission bei Karl Gerold's Sohn, 1875.

It is believed that the *Index* following contains all the words in the above-mentioned works. The first of them contains a Gipsy-English Vocabulary. The second a very full French-Gipsy and Gipsy-French one. Part V. of the third consists of a Bukowina-Gipsy-German Glossary and Parts VII. and VIII. of a magnificent comparative glossary of selected Gipsy words. Out of them, the *Index*, which may be taken as a rough draft of an English-Gipsy Vocabulary, has been compiled.

Our knowledge of the Gipsy Language being only superficial, and only derived from the study of the above and similar books, we cannot hope that the *Index* is entirely free from blunders; but as we have found it extremely useful for the purposes of comparative philology, and as

no other similar work is available, we think it right to place it at the service of our fellow-students. Perhaps some more thorough student, such as Mr. Leland, may be moved by its example to give us a really scientific *English-Gipsy Dictionary*.

We have thought it best to give the Gipsy words, generally, exactly as they have been spelt by the authors above named. This has been rendered necessary by the very unscientific spelling adopted by Borrow in the *Lavo-Lil*. Not being familiar with the pronunciation adopted by English Gypsies, we have been compelled to adhere to his spelling. Only in a few cases, in which there was no room for doubt, have we attempted to adopt a uniform system. Thus Borrow gives the root *dic*, and immediately afterwards *dickimengro*, 'an overseer,' and '*dikkipen*,' 'look,' 'aspect.' In all these cases we have spelt the root uniformly *dik*. So also elsewhere, when Borrow has given a *ch* or a hard *c*, we have written *k*. Again, where Borrow has written *oo*, we have written *ü*. Thus Borrow's *poov*, 'earth' appears as *püv*.

Paspati represents the hard palatal by *tch*, and the soft palatal by *dj*. We have followed the English method of writing *ch* and *j* respectively.

Miklosich complicates matters by using the Russian letter *yerë*. For this we have substituted throughout *ž*, as its nearest English equivalent. His *c*, *t'*, *d'* and *l'* we have left unchanged. His *č*, *š*, and *ž* we have written *ch*, *sh*, and *zh* respectively, and his *ch* (which equals the Persian *č*) we have written *kh*. His *dz*, and his *g'* we have written alike as *j*, his *γ* as *g*, and his *j* as *y*. In this way his spelling will nearly approximate the system used in transliterating Indian vernaculars.

With regard to the infinitive termination *ava*, Paspati spells it with a long *ä*, thus, *äva*; but Borrow *ava*. We have used *äva* throughout to secure uniformity. Miklosich gives verbs in their root forms. To these we have added the infinitive sign *äva* for a similar reason.

Part V. of Miklosich contains many Rumanian words, which have been borrowed by the local Gypsies, and which do not form a portion of the genuine vocabulary of the whole Gipsy tribe.



Pending the formation of a complete Gipsy-English Vocabulary, it has been thought best to include these words in the *Index*.

In every case we have given a reference to the book whence the word has been taken, so that no difficulty will be experienced in finding it.

Mr. Leland has made a happy suggestion that the original Gipsies may have been *Dôms* of India. He points out that *Romany* is almost letter for letter the same as डोमनि, the plural of डोम. डोमनि is the plural form in the Bhôj'pûrî dialect of the Bihâri Language. It was originally a genitive plural; so that *Romany-Rye*, 'a gipsy gentleman,' may be well compared with the Bhôj'pûrî डोमनि राय, (Skr. डोमाना राजा), 'a king of the *Dôms*.' The Bhôj'pûrî-speaking *Dôms* are a famous race, and they have many points of resemblance with the Gipsies of Europe. Thus, they are darker in complexion than the surrounding Bihâris, are great thieves, live by hunting, dancing, and telling fortunes, their women have a reputation for making love-philtres and medicines to pro-

cure abortion, they keep fowls (which no orthodox Hindû will do), and are said to eat carrion. They are also great musicians and horsemen.

Mr. Fleet has drawn my attention to a South-Indian inscription given in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 9ff, in line 50 of which a certain *Dômma* is mentioned. On p. 10 of the same volume, Mr. Fleet says with reference to him, "in connection with him (*Rudradêva*), the first record in this inscription is that he subdued a certain *Dômma*, whose strength evidently lay in his cavalry. No clue is given as to who *Dômma* was; but as *dôma*, *dômba*, or *dama*, is the name of 'a despised mixed caste,' he may have been the leader of some aboriginal tribe, which had not then lost all its power." If this conjecture is true, it would show that the *Dôms* extended over the greater part of India, and in some places possessed considerable power.

But the resemblance of the Bhôj'pûrî and Gipsy dialects is not confined to a similarity of name. The Gipsy grammar is closely connected with Bhôj'pûrî, or with its original Apabhram̃sa Māgadhi Prākṛit, thus:—

	Gipsy.	Bhōj'pūrī.	Māgadhi Prākṛit.
Nom.	Rom	डोम	
Obl. Sing.	Romēs	डोम	(gen.) डोमस्स or डोमास्
Obl. Plur.	Romēn	{ डोमन or डोमनि	(gen.) डोमण्ण
Nom.	kalô, 'black'	काला	
Obl.	kalé	काले	
Genitive Termination of nouns and pronouns	koro	कर	
3rd sing. pres.	lêla, 'he takes'	लेला	
3rd sing. past.	lêlas, 'he was taking'	लेलस, 'he took.'	
1st sing. fut.	jāv, 'I will go'	जाव	
Past part.	gelo, 'gone'	गेल	
1st sing. fut.	kama kerāva, 'I will do'	करब, 'I will do.'	
Infinitive	kerāva, 'to do'	करब, 'to do.'	

These examples might be continued at great length; but the above is sufficient to show the close grammatical connection between the two languages. The vocabularies possess even more numerous points of resemblance, which will be

evident to any one studying the accompanying *Index*. The following mongrel, half-Gipsy, half-English, rhyme, taken from Borrow, will shew the extraordinary similarity of the two vocabularies:—

Gipsy	The	Rye	he	mores	adrey	the	wesh.
English	{	squire		hunts	within		wood.
Bhōj'pūrī		राय		मारे	अण्डल		वेश (Prs. بيش)
Gipsy	{	kaun-engro		and	chiriclo.		
English		ear-fellow (hare)			bird.		
Bhōj'pūrī		कान-वाला			चिड़ई		

Gipsy	{	You	sovs	with	leste	'drey	the	wesh.
English			sleep		him	within		wood.
Bhōj'pārī			सोए			अण्डल		बेदा
Gipsy	{	And	rigs		for	leste	the	gono.
English			carries			him		sack (game-bag).
Bhōj'pārī								गोन
Gipsy	{	Oprey		the	ruk	adrey	the	wesh.
English		Above			tree	within		wood.
Bhōj'pārī		ऊपरि			रुख	अण्डल		बेश
Gipsy	{	Are			chiriolo	and		chirioli.
English					male-bird			female-bird.
Bhōj'pārī					चिड़ई			चिड़ई
Gipsy	{	Tuley		the	ruk	adrey	the	wesh.
English		Below			tree	within		wood.
Bhōj'pārī		तले			रुख	अण्डल		बेश
Gipsy	{	Are			pireno	and		pireni.
English					lover	and		lady-love.
Bhōj'pārī					पियारा			पियारी

In the above it must be remembered that the verbal terminations of the Gipsy text are English, and not Gipsy.

I propose to deal with this subject at greater length on a future occasion.

In reading the Gipsy words, it should be noted that the mark ^ over a vowel refers to accent, and not necessarily to prosodial length.

The following abbreviations are used in the succeeding pages:—Eng. = Borrow's *Lavo Lil*. Tch. = Paspati's *Études*. M. = Miklosich, *Theil V*. M. 7 = Miklosich, *Theil VII*. M. 8 = Miklosich, *Theil VIII*. Gip. = Special Gipsy words given by Borrow; e.g. Span. Gip. = Spanish Gipsy. As. = Asiatic words given by Paspati; e.g. As. Tch. = Asiatic Gipsy. Psp. M. = Paspati's *Memoir*, referred to above.

#### ENGLISH-GIPSY INDEX.

##### A.

ABANDON, to,—Mukáva, (Tch.)  
 ABDOMINAL,—Peréskoro, (Tch.)  
 ABLE,—Hárniko, hárniku, (M.)  
 ABLE, to be,—Ashtiáva, ashtisaráva, shayáva, shtiáva, (M.)  
 ABOVE,—Opral, opré, (Eng.); opré, (Tch.); oprál, (M.)  
 ABOVE, from—Oprál, (Tch.)  
 ABROAD,—Abri, (Eng.)  
 ABSCESS,—Pukní, phukní, (Tch.)  
 ACCOMPANY, to,—Petrichiáva, petrichisaráva, (M.)  
 ACCOMPANIED,—Malálo, (Tch.)  
 ACCOMPLISH, to,—Isprévisaráva, (M.)

ACCOUNT,—Móskoro, (Tch.); sáma, (M.)  
 ACCUSE, to,—Phukaváva, (M. 8)  
 ACCUSTOM, to,—Sekaváva, (M.)  
 ACHE, to,—Dukkeráva, (Eng.)  
 ACID,—Shutlô, (Tch.)  
 ACQUAINTED, to be, with,—pincharáva, pinjaráva, (Tch.)  
 ACROSS,—Padlo; pawdel, (Eng.)  
 ADJUDGE, to,—Sudisaráva, (M. 8)  
 ADVISE, to,—Zhudikiáva, zhudikisaráva, (M.)  
 ADVANTAGE,—Koshtipen, (Eng.)  
 ADVISER,—Fénichi, (M.)  
 AFAR,—Dúr, (Tch.)  
 AFFECTION,—Dukaibé, dukanibé, (Tch.)  
 AFFLICTED,—Tug, tugno, (Eng.)  
 AFFLICTION,—Tugnipen, kurapen, (Eng.); grén, (M.)  
 AFRAID,—Átraish, (Eng.)  
 AFRAID, to be,—Trashániováva, (Tch.)  
 AFTER,—Palal, (Eng.); penchya, peochi, pethoi, (As. Tch.)  
 AFTERWARDS,—Anápalal, nápalal, (Tch.)  
 AGAIN,—Pali, apopli, (Eng.); dahá, (Tch.); apala, (Span. Gip.); yáré, (M.)  
 AGE,—Phurimáta, (M.)  
 AGEKE, to,—Énvoisard'ováva, (M.)  
 AGUE,—Bisheni, (Eng.)  
 AIM,—Skópu, (M.)  
 AIR,—Bavol, (Eng.); dákho, dákho, (Tch.); dukho, (M. 7)  
 ALB,—Levinor, (Eng.); lovina, (M. 8)  
 ALBHOUSE,—Levinor-ker, kichema, (Eng.); kérch-ma, kózhma, (M., M. 7)  
 ALIKE,—Simen, (Eng.)  
 ALIVE, to be,—Zhud'ováva, (M.)

- ALL**,—Sore, soro, (Eng.); sarrô, sarvilê, sâvore, sâore, sarrorê, sarinê, sa', (Tch.); sù, sa, (As. Tch.); saorô, saürô, sâüro, sorô, se, (M.); savoro, (M. 8)
- ALMIGHTY**,—Soro-ruslo, (Eng.)
- ALMS**,—Lachipê, (Tch.); pomânê, (M.)
- ALONE**,—Kokoro, kokoros, bikunye, (Eng.); kôrkoro, kôlkoro (Tch.); kôrkoro, korkorô, (M., M. 7)
- ALSO**,—Asâ, asau, (Eng.); ênkê, (M.); vi, (M. 8)
- ALWAYS**,—Sar far, (Tch.) (*Paspati's Memoir gives ghêles*).
- AMONG**, he who is,—Maskarutnô, maskarutnô, (Tch.)
- AMONGST**,—Maskarê, (Tch.)
- ANCIENT**,—Purenô, (Eng.)
- AND**,—Tâ, (Eng.); ta, te, u, (Tch.); a. hay, he, tha, thay (M.); ta, u, (M. 8)
- ANGLE**,—Kôtu, (M.)
- ANGEL**,—Ënjeru, ênjeros, (M.)
- ANGEE**,—Kholin, (Tch.); kholi, (M.); kholin, (M. 7)
- ANGRY**,—Roshto, (Eng.); kholinâkoro, kholiniâkoro, (Tch.); khol'êrniku, (M.)
- ANGRY**, to be,—Kholiterâva, kholasâilotarâva, jungaliovâva, (Tch.); khol'arâva, rushâva, (M.)
- ANGRY**, to become,—Khol'ard'ovâva, (M.)
- ANNIHILATION**,—Ârvani gârvani, (Tch.)
- ANNUAL**,—Bershêskoro, (Tch.)
- ANOTHER**,—Wafo, (Eng.); avêr, (M.)
- ANSWER**, to,—Pukkerâva, (Eng.); pukanar, (Span. Gip.); anglâl dâva, (Tch.)
- ANT**,—(pl.) Krior, (Eng.); kiri (Tch.); t'irê, tirê, (M.); kiri, (M. 7)
- ANTHILL**,—Mushunôy, (M.)
- ANVIL**,—Amuni, (Tch.); loh, (As. Tch.); vaznelt, (M.); amuni, (M. 7)
- ANXIETY**,—Tasâs, (Tch.)
- ANXIOUS**,—Tasalô, (Tch.)
- ANXIETY**, to be in,—Tasâliovâva, (Tch.)
- ANY ONE**,—Kânek, kanêk, kânek jenô, (Tch.); kanek, (M. 7)
- APE**,—Maimûna, shebêka, (Tch.); maimûn, (As. Tch.); maimunâ, (M. 8)
- APES**, those who carry in fairs,—Maimunakôro, (Tch.)
- APOTHECARY**,—Drab-engro, drav-engro, (Eng.)
- APPLE**,—Paub, paubi, pauvi, (Eng.); paboy, (Hum. Gip.); pabâi, khapâi, papâi, (Tch.); phabây, (M.); sev, sivi, (As. Tch.); phabay, (M. 8)
- APPLE**, of or belonging to,—Pabêngoro, (Tch.)
- APPLE**, dried,—Hucûl, (M.)
- APPLE-TREE**,—Papalin, (Tch.); phabelin, (M.)
- APPLE**, wild,—Pêduryâca, padurêcô, pêdurêcô, (M.)
- APPREHENDED**,—Linnow, (Eng.)
- APPROACH**, to,—Pâshiovâva, (Tch.); pashovâva, (M.)
- APRIL**,—Aprir, (M.)
- APRON**,—Joddakaye, (Eng.)
- ARM**,—(pl.) Murces, mursior, (Eng.); must, (dim.), musorî, (Tch.); murciales, (Span. Gip.); musi, (M. 8)
- ARMFUL**,—Angâli, (Tch.); angali, (M. 7)
- ARMPIT**,—Kak, (Tch.)
- ARMY**,—Ôste, ôaste, (M.)
- AROUND**,—Ëmprezhûr, (M.); truyal, (M. 8)
- ARREST**,—Arishte, (M.)
- ARRIVE**, to,—Resâva, (Tch.); arêâva, (M.)
- ARRIVE**, to cause to,—Resavâva, (Tch.)
- ARROW**,—Okîâ, (Tch.); sejyâta, (M.)
- ARROW**, to shoot with,—Sejyetesarâva, (M.)
- AS**,—Sar, (Eng.); an, anf, in, enî, (Tch.); vâri, (As. Tch.); kâna, kana, sar, (M.); sar, (M. 8)
- AS YET**,—Ojâi, atghâi, (Tch.)
- ASHAMED**,—Aladge, (Eng.); lajanô, lajavô, (Tch.)
- ASHAMED**, to be,—Lajâva, (Tch.)
- ASHES**,—prâhos, (Tch.); char, (As. Tch.); shar, (M.); prakhos, (M. 8)
- ASK**, to,—Puchâva, (Eng.); puchâva, pachâva, mangâva, (Tch.); mangâva, pushâva, (M.); mangâva, phuchâva, (M. 8)
- ASS**,—Mailla, (Eng.); kher, kfer, fer, (dim.) kherorô, (pl.) khelel, (Tch.); kar, (As. Tch.); magâri, (M.); kher, (M. 7)
- ASS**, female,—Kherni, (Tch.); magariça, (M.)
- ASS AND FOAL**,—Mailla and posh, (Eng.)
- ASS**, of or belonging to,—Kheranô, (fem.) kherniakoro, (Tch.)
- ASS-DRIVER**,—Kherêskoro, (Tch.)
- ASSASSIN**,—Manushfari, (Tch.)
- ASSASSINATE**, to,—Chinâva, murdarâva, (Tch.); le mar, (As. Tch.)
- ASSEMBLE**, to,—Ghêdava, (Tch.); t'idâva, (M.); gedâva, (M. 7)
- ASSENT**, to,—Pristinisarâva, ênvoiâva, (M.)
- ASSISTANCE**,—Nanâsh, nanâshu, (M.)
- AT**,—Pashâ, pashê, (M.)
- AT ALL**,—Asarlas, (Eng.)
- ATTAIN**, to,—Resâva, (Tch.); arêâva, (M.)
- ATTORNEY**,—Mêndêtâri, (M.)
- AUDIENCE**,—Shûnaben, (Eng.)
- AUGER**,—Bôldint, pripôl, pripâi, (Tch.)
- AUNT**,—Bebi, (Eng.); bîbi, bîbo, kakijâl, (Tch.); bibio, (As. Tch.); bibi, (M. 7)
- AUTUMN**,—Pahtz, (As. Tch.)
- AVIARY**,—Chirikleskey tan, (Eng.)
- AWAKE**, to,—Jongarâva, (Eng.); trizisard'ovâva, trêzosard'ovâva, (M.)
- AWAKEN**, to,—Jangâva, (Tch.); usht'avâva, (M.); jangâva, (M. 7)

AWAKEN, to cause to,—Jangavāva, (Tch.)  
 AWAKENED, to be,—Jangāniōvāva, (Tch.)  
 AXE,—China-mengro, (Eng.); tovēr, tovēl, (Tch.);  
 tovēr, tovēr, (M.)  
 AXE-SELLER,—Toverēskoro, (Tch.)  
 AXLES,—Butūchi, (M.)

## B.

BACK, (adv.)—Pali, (Eng.); palāl, palpalē, pal-  
 pali, (M.)  
 BACK, (sub.)—Dumō, (dim.) dumorō, (Tch.); piish-  
 to, (As. Tch.); dumo, (M. 7)  
 BACK-GROUND,—Fūdu, (M.)  
 BACKWARDS,—Palāl, palpalē, palpali, (M.)  
 BACK AGAIN,—Palal, (Eng.)  
 BACON,—Ballivas, (Eng.); balibā, (Span. Gip.)  
 BAD,—Vassavo, vassavi, wafodu, wafudo, (Eng.);  
 gōrko, (Tch.); kharabi, (As. Tch.); zhun-  
 galō, (M.); phuy, (M. 8)  
 BAD PLACE,—Wafudo-tan, (Eng.)  
 BADLY,—Nasūl, zhungales, (M.)  
 BADNESS,—Wafudo-pen, (Eng.); nasulimas, nasu-  
 lipi, (M.)  
 BAG,—Gono, (Eng.); gonō, (Tch.); burdōhu,  
 galav, (M.); gono, (M. 7)  
 BAG-MAKER,—Gonēskoro, kaliardō, (Tch.)  
 BAG-PIPE,—Gāida, (Tch.)  
 BAKER,—Morro-mengro, (Eng.); bovēskoro, man-  
 rēskoro, chamēskoro, (Tch.)  
 BALD,—Pakō, (Tch.); pako, (M. 8)  
 BALL,—Bal, (M.)  
 BAND,—Dorl, plāna, bandipē, banloipē, (Tch.)  
 BANK, (elevated ground)—Chumba, (Eng.)  
 BANK, (counting-house)—Luvva-mengro-ker,  
 (Eng.)  
 BANK UP, to,—Pashliā kerāva, (Tch.)  
 BANKER,—Luvvo-mengro, (Eng.)  
 BANKER'S HOUSE,—Luvvo-mengro-ker, (Eng.)  
 BAPTISM,—Boliipē, (Tch.)  
 BAPTIZE, to,—Bollāva, (Eng.); bolāva, (Tch.);  
 bolāva, (M.)  
 BAPTIZE, to cause to,—Bolavāva, (Tch.)  
 BAPTIZED, to be,—Bōlghiovava, vaptizāva, (Tch.)  
 bold'ovāva (M.)  
 BAPTIZED, child who is,—Shīnu, finu, nanāsh,  
 nanāshu, (M.)  
 BARE-FOOTED,—Nanghēpinrēngoro, pinrangō, pin-  
 angō, (Tch.)  
 BARK, to,—Bashāva, (M.)  
 BARLEY,—Jov, (Tch.); jev, (As. Tch.); zhōu, (M.);  
 jov, (M. 7)  
 BARLEY, one who sells,—Jovēskoro, (Tch.)  
 BARN,—Gran, (Eng.); shūra, (M.)  
 BARN-DOOR,—Gran-wuddur, (Eng.)  
 BARN-DOOR FOWL,—Gran-wuddur-chiriclo, (Eng.)  
 BARREL,—Polubōku, (dim.) balōka, (M.)  
 BASHFULNESS,—Laj, lach, lajaibē, (Tch.)

BASKET,—Kipsi, kuesni, kushni, kusni, (Eng.);  
 quicia (Span. Gip.); kōshnika, sevli, (dim.)  
 sevlori, (Tch.); sevli, (M. 8)  
 BASKET-MAKING,—Hoedōpa, (M.)  
 BASKETS, one who makes or sells,—Sevliēngoro,  
 (Tch.)  
 BASTARD,—Bostaris, (Eng.)  
 BATH,—Bagnia, tatto (Tch.); nayeripi, skēldāshka,  
 skaldāshka, (M.)  
 BATH-REEVANT,—Bagniāskoro, (Tch.)  
 BATHE, to,—Nayarāva, (M.); nandāva, (M. 8)  
 BATHE ONESELF, to,—Nayard'ovāva, (M.)  
 BATTLE,—Maribē, (Tch.); maripi, (M.)  
 BE, to,—Isóm (I am), (Tch.); asti (he is) (As.  
 Tch.); avāva, isāva, (M.)  
 BEADLE,—Gav-engro, (Eng.)  
 BEAM,—Kasht, (M.)  
 BEAN,—Bob, (Eng.); bōbi, bōpi, (dim. pl.) bobōlfa,  
 (Tch.); bobi, (M. 7)  
 BEAR,—Richini, (Tch.); hirsch, (As. Tch.); rishō,  
 (fem.) rishni, (pl.) ōrshi, (M.); (fem.)  
 richini, (M. 8)  
 BEAR, one who leads, in fairs,—Richiniēngoro,  
 (Tch.)  
 BEAR, to,—Riggurāva, (Eng.)  
 BEAR CHILDREN, to,—Benāva, (M. 7)  
 BEAR IN MIND, to,—Rigāva in yi, (Eng.)  
 BEARD,—Jor, chor, (Tch.); shor, (M.); chor,  
 (M. 7); pahumi, (M. 8)  
 BEARDED,—Jorēngoro, (Tch.)  
 BEAST,—Vita, (M.)  
 BEAT, to,—Netavāva, (Eng.); marāva, (Tch.);  
 marāva, (M.)  
 BEAT, to cause to,—Maravavē, mardarāva, (Tch.)  
 BEATING,—Kūrapen, (Eng.)  
 BEAUTIFUL,—Sukār, shukār, (Tch.); bakyz, pak-  
 ēzi, (As. Tch.); (dim.) sukarōro, chordo,  
 (Tch.); shukār, mēndru, (M.); shukar,  
 (M. 8)  
 BEAUTY,—Sukaribē, chordipē, (Tch.)  
 BECAUSE,—Sostār, (Tch.); kē, (M.)  
 BECAUSE OF,—Vash, (M.)  
 BECOME, to,—Uvāva, (Tch.); avāva, kērd'ovāva,  
 (M.); uvava, (M. 8)  
 BED,—Woddrus, wuddrus, (Eng.); tronf, (Tch.);  
 likhev, (As. Tch.); patos, (Hun. Gip.);  
 charipē, (Span. Gip.); lōshka, pāto, pātu,  
 than, (M.); chiben, (M. 7); vodro,  
 (M. 8)  
 BED, in,—Paahlō, (Tch.)  
 BEE,—Gudlo-pishen, bata, (Eng.); burli, berāli,  
 (Tch.); biruli, (M.); burli, (M. 7)  
 BEECH,—Fāgu, (M.)  
 BEEF,—Lovina, (M. 8)  
 BEEF-ROOT,—Dip, (As. Tch.)  
 BEFORE,—Anglo, (Eng.); vegur, (As. Tch.); ang-  
 lāl, (M.); angle, (M. 7)

- BEG, to—Mangáva, (Eng.); mangáva, (Tch.); mangáva, rudiáva, rudisaráva, rudisard'ováva, (M.)
- BEGET, to,—Benáva, (Tch.)
- BEGGAR,—Manga-mengro, tororo, (Eng.)
- BEGGING, the trade of,—Mangipen, (Eng.)
- BEGIN, to—Arkheváva, (Tch.); urziava, uržesaráva, (M.)
- BEHIND,—Palal, (Eng.); palé, pálpale (Tch.); penchy'a, pechói, pethoi, (As. Tch.); palá, pála, (M.); pale, (M. 8)
- BEHIND, from,—Palál, (Tch.)
- BELCH,—Kockarida, (M. 7)
- BELIEVE, to,—Pakiáva, (Tch.); pat'áva, (M., M. 8)
- BELIEVED, to be,—Pakiániováva, (Tch.)
- BELIEVE, I,—Apasavello, (Eng.)
- BELL,—Klôpotu, klôpotu, (M.)
- BELLOWS,—Pude-mengri, (Eng.); pishôt, (Tch., M. 8)
- BELLY,—Per, pur, (Eng.); bor, por, per, (Tch.); por, pēr, (M.); per, (M. 8)
- BELOW,—Tulé, tuley, (Eng.); telé, felé, (adj.) telalutnô, telalunô, (Tch.); telé, tili, teli, (M.)
- BELOW, from,—telál, (Tch.)
- BELT,—Kisttik, (Tch.)
- BENCH,—Láicē, láyca, oslônu, (pl.) skâmena, (M.)
- BEND, to—Band'aráva, (M.)
- BENEATH,—See BELOW.
- BERRY,—Durril, (pl.) durrilau, durilyor, (Eng.)
- BESIDES,—Tulâm, (Tch.)
- BESPRINKLE, to—Stropiáva, stropisaráva, (M.)
- BETRAYER,—Khokhamnô, (M.)
- BETROTHAL,—Logôdna, (M.); biav, (M. 7)
- BETTER,—Ferreder, fetér, (Eng.); fetér, (Span. Gip.); feder, (M. 7)
- BETWEEN,—maskaré, (Tch.)
- BEVERAGE,—Pibé, (Tch.); (pl.) pimâta, (M.)
- BEWARE, to,—Geráva (Gare in orig.), rakáva, (Eng.)
- BEWITCH, to,—Chovahânáva, dukáva, dukkeráva, (Eng.)
- BRY,—Gh'alti, (As. Tch.)
- BEYOND,—Ēnt'âl, (M.)
- BIG,—Boro, (Eng.); tulô, (Tch.)
- BIG, to become—Tuliováva, (Tch.)
- BIG WITH CHILD,—Bori, (Eng.); kabni, kamni, (Tch.); see PREGNANT.
- BIND, to—Pandáva, (Eng.); phandáva, (M., M. 8).
- BIRD,—Chericlo, chiriclo, (Eng.); chiriclô, (dim.) chiricloro, (Tch.); tayer, (As. Tch.); cherikli, (M.); chiriclo, (M. 7)
- BIRD-CAGE,—Chiricleskey tan, (Eng.); kûshka, klitka, (M.)
- BIRTH,—Ben, (Tch.)
- BITE,—Dantilipé, (Tch.)

# EXTRACTS FROM CHINESE AUTHORS CONCERNING THE HISTORY OF THE KUSHANS.

BY EDWARD THOMAS, F.R.S.

In this Journal, Vol. XII. p. 6 ff. there appeared a paper of mine on "Indo-Scythian Coins with Hindi legends." During the course of the collateral investigations, I had occasion to refer to the obscure history of the Kushans, in regard to which I was able to glean but little information. Singular to say, in the latter part of the same year, an article was published in the *Journal Asiatique* containing very important contributions to our knowledge of the migratory movements of Central Asian tribes, the new materials for which were contributed by hitherto unexamined texts of the Chinese chroniclers.

In the article in question, M. Éd. Specht,<sup>1</sup> while carefully recognizing and regarding the labours of De Guignes and other learned Frenchmen, who led the way to the study of the Chinese authors, endeavours to base his new translations upon a general disregard of what he calls the "Compilateurs Chinois," and to have recourse to the more authentic documents of the Tching-see<sup>2</sup>—which was the original source from

whence Ma-twan-lin and others derived their information.

I have, therefore, copied out the subjoined extracts, concerning the history of the Kushans, for the pages of the *Indian Antiquary*—retaining them, however, intentionally, in their French garb, in order to preserve the integrity of the proper names.

M. Specht, in his introductory remarks, is careful to get rid of the confusion, existing in some quarters, as to the identity of the Kushans and the Ephthalites. He observes—

"M. Vivien de Saint-Martin avait cru trouver dans les articles de l'encyclopédie de Ma-touan-lin concernant les Yué-tchi et les Yé-tha, la preuve positive que ces deux peuples ne différaient entre eux ni par le nom, ni par les mœurs et les habitudes; qu'en un mot, les Indo-Scythes et les Ephthalites ne faisaient qu'une seule et même nation. Cette opinion est péremptoirement réfutée par l'inspection des documents que nous donnons. D'abord, le nom de Yé-tha n'existe

<sup>1</sup> *Études sur l'Asie Centrale, d'après les historiens Chinois* (M. Edouard Specht), p. 117, 1883 [October,

November, December.]

<sup>2</sup> Wylie, *Notes on Chinese Literature*, pp. 12-19.

même pas; c'est une abréviation à l'usage des Chinois du nom complet Ye-ta-i-li-to, qui correspond à Ephthalites. Par là tombe l'identification du nom des Yé-tha avec celui des Yué-tchi d'une part, et de l'autre avec celui des Djats du nord-ouest de l'Inde; deux résultats qui avaient été admis par plusieurs indianistes éminents, Lassen en tête. Ensuite les Indo-Scythes, nommés par les Chinois Yué-tchi ou Kouei-chouang, étaient un peuple primitivement nomade, qui est devenu sédentaire, et s'est assimilé, au moins en partie, la civilisation indo-hellénique, comme le prouvent ses monuments, ses médailles, et ses inscriptions. Les Ephthalites, d'après le témoignage des récits contemporains, sont restés nomades, ils n'avaient pas de monnaies, et enfin eux seuls, et non leurs prédécesseurs, les Yué-tchi, pratiquaient la polyandrie. Bref, ces deux peuples sont absolument distincts, non-seulement par l'époque à laquelle ils ont apparu dans l'histoire, mais par leurs mœurs et leur civilisation.

Ce résultat vient donc confirmer l'hypothèse, émise par M. Nöldeke, que les Kouchans et les Ephthalites devaient être deux peuples différents qui ont habité successivement les mêmes contrées."—(*Tabari, Geschichte der Sasaniden*, p. 115, No. 2.)

*Extracts from Chinese Authors.*

**Yué-tchi ou Kouchans.** L'histoire des premiers Han (206 ans avant Jésus-Christ à 24 ans après) contient, au chapitre xvi. une description de l'Asie occidentale, dont nous extrayons le passage suivant:—

Le royaume des Ta-Yué-tchi a pour capitale la ville de Kien-chi,<sup>a</sup> à 11,600 li (de Tchang-ngan; il ne dépend pas du gouverneur général (Tou-hou); on y compte 100,000 familles, 400,000 habitants, une armée de 100,000 hommes. À l'est, jusqu'à la résidence du gouverneur général, il y a 4,740 li; à l'ouest, jusqu'aux A-si (les Arsacides), 49 jours de marche, et il est limitrophe au sud avec le Ki-pin (Cophène). [Le pays, le climat, les productions ainsi que les mœurs des habitants, les monnaies et les marchandises qu'on en tire, sont les mêmes que chez les A-si \* \*]

Originellement les Ta-Yué-tchi étaient nomades. Ils suivaient leurs troupeaux et changeaient de place avec eux, ressemblant sous ce

<sup>a</sup> Lan-chi: selon Mr. Kingsmill, *J. R. A. S.* xiv. p. 82, cette ville serait Daraspa, Δαρσπα de Strabon. On pourrait aussi bien identifier Lan-chi avec Za-riaspe, un nom de Bactres. Les auteurs chinois seraient alors d'accord avec les Arméniens, qui donnent Balkh comme la capitale des Kouchans. Lebeau [Paris Edition of 1825 iii. p. 836. Moses of Khorene, passim].

<sup>b</sup> C'est dans cette contrée que Tchang-kian trouva les Ta-Yué-tchi établis en l'an 128 avant notre ère; il les quitta pour aller chez les Ta-hia qui étaient au sud

rapport aux Hiong-nou. Ils comptaient au moins 100,000 archers; si bien que se fiant à leurs forces, ils méprisaient les Hiong-nou. Ils habitaient primitivement entre le pays de Thun-Hoang: (Koua-tcheou) et le mont Ki-lian (les monts célestes).

Après que le tchen-yu-Mao-thun eut attaqué les Yué-tchi et que le tchen-yu Lao-chang ayant tué leur roi, eut fait de son crâne un coupe à boire, les Yué-tchi s'en allèrent au loin, passèrent au delà de Ta-Ouan, battirent les Ta-hia dans l'ouest, et les soumirent. Leur chef établit alors sa résidence au nord de la rivière Ouei (Oxus).<sup>a</sup> Une petite partie de ceux qui n'avaient pu s'éloigner avec eux se mirent sous la protection des Kiang des montagnes du midi, et prirent le nom Petits Yué-tchi.

Primitivement les Ta-hia n'avaient pas un souverain ou un magistrat principal; chaque ville, chaque bourgade était gouvernée par son magistrat. La population était faible et craignait la guerre. Lorsque les Yué-tchi arrivèrent ils les soumirent."

Il y a cinq principautés:

1. La principauté Hieou-mi, ayant pour capitale la ville de Ho-me, à 2,841 li de la résidence du gouverneur général et à 7,802 li de Yang-kouan.

2. La principauté Chouang-mo, capitale la ville du même nom, à 3,741 li de la résidence du gouverneur général et à 7,782 li de Yang-kouan.

3. La principauté Kouei-chouang (Kouchans), capitale la ville Hou-tsao<sup>b</sup> à 5,940 li de la résidence du gouverneur général et à 7,982 li de Yang-kouan.

4. La principauté Hi-thun a pour capitale la ville Po-mao (Bamián) à 5,962 li de la résidence du gouverneur général et à 8,202 li du Yang-kouan.

5. La principauté Kao-fou (Kábul) a pour capitale la ville du même nom, à 6,041 li de la résidence du gouverneur général et à 9,283 li de Yang-kouan.

Ces cinq principautés dépendent de Ta-Yué-tchi.

*Extract from Chapter 118 of the History of the second Han (A.D. 25 to 220).*

Le royaume de Ta-Yué-tchi. Le roi demeure dans la ville de Lan-chi \* \* \*

Lorsque les Yué-tchi furent vaincus par les Hiong-nou, ils passèrent chez les Ta-hia, parta-

de l'Oxus: la capitale de ces derniers était Kien-chi ou Lan-chi, conquise plus tard par les Ta-Yué-tchi."

<sup>a</sup> From the history of the Wei (220 to 280 A.D.)

Le royaume Kien-tun, qui est l'ancienne principauté Kouei-chouang (Kouchans), a pour capitale la ville de Hou-tsao à l'ouest de Tchou-sei-mo-sun, à 13,360 li de Tai. Les habitants demeurent au milieu des montagnes et des vallées.

Le royaume Fo-ti-tcha, qui est l'ancienne principauté Hi-thun, a pour capitale la ville de Po-mao (Bamián), à l'ouest de Kien-tun, à 13,660 li de Tai.

gèrent leur royaume en cinq principautés qui étaient Hieou-mi, Chouang-mo, Kouei-chouang-Hi-thun, Tou-mi (Kao-fou P).

Environ cent ans après, le prince de Kouei-chouang, Kieou-tsieou-khio, attaqua et subjugué les quatre autres principautés, et se constitua roi d'un royaume qui fut appelé Kouei-chouang (Kouchans).

Ce prince envahit le pays des A-si; il s'empara du territoire de Kao-fou (Kâbul), détruisit aussi Po-ta et le Ki-pin (Cophène) et devint complètement maître de ces contrées. Kieou-tsieou-khio mourut à quatre-vingts ans environ; son fils Yen-kao-tchin-tai<sup>3</sup> monta sur le trône, il conquiert le Thien-tchou (l'Inde) et y établit des généraux qui gouvernaient au nom des Yué-tchi.

Depuis cette époque cette nation fut riche et puissante.

Tous les pays en parlant du souverain l'appellent roi des Kouei-chouang (Kouchans). Les Han (les Chinois), selon leur ancienne dénomination, les nomment *toujours* les Ta-Yué-tchi.<sup>7</sup>

The French translator enters into a critical examination of the exact date implied in the term "environ cent ans après"—and considers that it must be held to refer to the complete conquest of the Ta-hia, and not, as might be supposed from the words of Ma-twan-lin, to 100 years "after the journey of Tchang-kian, towards 126 B.C."<sup>8</sup> This inference is further confirmed by the non-mention of this conquest in the work just cited, which dates from 25 A.D. The French commentator would therefore place this event in 24 A.D., up to which time the Second Han continued to reign. However, with so loose an expression as about 100 years, we need not seek to be very precise in our speculative results.

Indeed, M. E. Specht in his final summary contents himself with saying, "Le fils de Kieou-tsieou-khio conquiert l'Inde, et cette empire dura depuis le milieu du premier siècle de notre ère jusque vers le commencement du cinquième siècle."

Subsequent extracts give us some information of the decadence of the Kushans, which may as well be reproduced here.

Le compendium des Wéi composé par In-houan nous apprend qu'à l'époque des trois royaumes

(220 à 280) "le royaume de Ki-pin (Cophène), ainsi que ceux de Ta-hia, de Kao-fou (Kâbul) et de Thien-tchou (l'Inde), étaient sous la domination des Ta-Yué-tchi." Quoique l'histoire du Tsin (265 à 419) ne donne pas de notice sur les Kouchans, les Ta-Yué-tchi sont cités comme étant au sud des Ta-Ouan.

Dans l'histoire des Wéi (386 à 556) nous trouvons sur ce peuple les deux notices suivantes, qui nous parlent de la fin de leur empire dans la Bactriane.

Le royaume des Ta-Yué-tchi a pour capitale la ville de Lou-kien-chi à l'ouest de Fo-ti-cha \* \* Ils passerent alors à l'occident et s'établirent dans la ville de Po-lo, à 2,100 li de Fo-ti-cha. Leur roi, Ki-to-lo, prince brave et guerrier, leva une armée, passa au midi des grands montagnes, fit une invasion dans l'Inde du nord, et les cinq royaumes au nord de Kan-tho-lo se soumirent à lui.

In conclusion, I have to advert to the casual mention of the change in the government of the country, brought about by the conquest of the Kushans—in the substitution of the military chiefs for local *Râjas*.<sup>9</sup> What direct effect this may have had on the population at large we have no means of knowing, but it looks like the mere centralisation of a tribal empire, and the entrusting of subordinate power to responsible members of their own body, in supercession of the irregular and often conflicting interests of the old Hindu rulers.

And this is the exact state of things our coins bear testimony to—we have no *Râjas* or *Mahârâjas*—as noticed in my previous paper,—the legends, written in a downward Chinese fashion, give us all told eleven names of generals with more or less Scythic designations, while their sectional tribal sept is always carefully added, as their *quasi* title to rule.

The multitude of these gold coins extant, and the range of the localities where they are found, testifies to the ample power and long sway of this exotic dynasty, and fully explains the frequent reference by the home "conquerors of the Scythians," which got to be a brag-word with the pretending 'Vikramādityas' of India in these later times.

#### MISCELLANEA.

##### AFGHANISTAN IN AVESTIC GEOGRAPHY.

At the present time, when the mountain regions of the Paropamisus will, in all probability,

\* Cf. Lassen, 2nd Edit. Vol. II. p. 806; General Cunningham, *Arch. Surv. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 66; Vol. V. p. 61.

<sup>7</sup> Lebeau, *History of the Lower Empire*, Paris 1825. (Edition de M. de S. Martin). Tome III. p. 386; Tabari,

have once more to play their accustomed part in history as a bulwark against Turanian aggression the earliest geographical records of the country,

Nöldeke, p. 7.

<sup>8</sup> Vivien de Saint Martin, p. 42.

<sup>9</sup> Ma-twan-lin—quoted in the *Journal Asiatic Society Bengal*, Vol. VI. p. 65.

as preserved in the *Avesta*, may attract the attention of the student of Eastern history. The *Avesta*, like other religious books of the East, deals generally with mythical localities rather than with details of real topography. An exception to this rule with regard to the rivers of Afghānistān will, therefore, be all the more entitled to our interest.

Within the limits of Afghānistān and its former dependencies we recognise the "powerful, faithful Mōurva" as the modern Merv, little deserving these epithets, the "beautiful Bākhdhi" as Balkh, Haraēva as Hirāt, the mountain Vāitigaēša as the Bādgīz of recent notoriety. The Haraēvaiti (etymologically corresponding to Sanskrit Sarasvatī) has been known in successive ages as 'Apāxeros and Arghandāb (near Qandahār); but more important for Avestic geography is the large stream of which it is a tributary, the "bountiful, glorious Haētumañt," the 'Erūmadpos and Hermandus of classic authors, the modern Helmand. It waters the country of Sistān (Σακσάνη) where, since time immemorial, the epic tradition of Irān has localised its greatest national heroes, and where, even in our days, one of the indigenous families proudly claims, as Kayānians, to be descended from the legendary kings of Irān. Long indeed have such reminiscences of heroic times lingered about the river. We receive an unusually detailed account of its origin and course just in that *Yasht* which is mainly devoted to the praise of "kingly glory," as connected with lawful rule over Irān. There we read (*Yasht* xix. 66; conf. *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XXIII. p. 302) of its counterpart, "which is attached to the river Haētumañt, as it runs increasing towards the lake (zrayō) Kāsava, from where the mountain Ushidāo stands, round about whose foot mountain streams gather in abundance.

A glance at the map shows the lake Kāsava (or Kāsaya, according to some MSS.) to be the great lagoon in the depression of Sistān, which its present neighbours simply call the Zirra (derived from Zand *zrayō*; i.e. 'lake'). Similarly, the name Ushidāo, although it cannot be traced to a more recent period, must apply to the lofty mountain range formed by the Kōh-i-Bābā and its continuation towards the west, the Siāh Kōh, from whence the Helmand itself, with all its northern tributaries, takes its beginning.

For a fuller description of this river system, clearly alluded to in the above-quoted text, we should naturally look first to the passages

immediately following; but here we stumble on difficulties which have puzzled in no small degree interpreters of the *Avesta*. They are considerably aggravated by the unfortunate circumstances that Pārsi scholarship has left us entirely destitute of any traditional help for this particular *Yasht*. The passage in question, simple in its structure, contains a comparatively large number of what apparently are adjectives. Their etymology and their position in the context suggest their being appropriate epithets to something like a river. But just this noun so eagerly looked for cannot be found. It was the new editor of the *Avesta*, Professor Geldner (*Drei Yasht*, Stuttgart, 1884), to whom the happy thought first occurred of looking among these apparent adjectives for the indispensable complement implied by their presence—real river names. He advanced this explanation for the last four of those mentioned below; but the difficulty of identifying any of these four names on the map seems to have induced, subsequently, this distinguished Zand scholar to restrict his hypothesis to only two of them. I shall endeavour to produce in the following remarks such evidence as may justify the addition of eight new river names to the geographical index of the *Avesta*. Our version of the interesting passage which follows immediately on the one translated above, must, for the present, take for granted what has still to be proved.

"At its foot (the Mountain Ushidāo) gushes and flows forth the Hvāstra and the Hvāspa, the Fradatha and the beautiful Hvarenahaiti, and Uštavaiti, the mighty, and Urvadha, rich of pastures, and the Erezi and Zarenumaiti; at its foot gushes and flows forth the bountiful, glorious Helmand,<sup>1</sup> swelling its white waves (?), rolling down its copious floods."

As we have no means for identifying these rivers besides their names, which, if they remained in use for a longer period, must have undergone considerable phonetic changes, it will be safest to turn first to those sources of geographical information which rank in respect to their age nearest to the *Avesta*—the reports of classic authors. Fortunately, as far as Ariana is concerned, they are based to a great extent on a very exact survey made under the Seleukidan rule.

Pliny, speaking of the districts to the south of Aria (Hirāt), mentions the rivers Pharnacotis and Ophradus (i.e. ὁ Φράδος of the Greek original), which Tomaschek, in his exhaustive

<sup>1</sup> The name of the Helmand is introduced in the above version in accordance with a most convincing emendation of Professor Geldner's, based on MS. evi-

dence. The words describing the course of the river are not clear in detail, but there is no doubt about their general purport.



treatise on the corresponding portion of the *Tabula Peutingerana* (*Proceedings of the Viennese Academy*, 1883), has recognised as the modern *Harāt Rūd* and *Farāh Rūd*. They both flow from the western part of the *Siāh Kōh* into the lake of *Sistān*. The form *Fārnahrati*, which is suggested by *Tomaschek* as the original and native one for *Pharnacotis*, represents exactly our *Zand Hvarenahaiti* in Persian pronunciation. The substantive *hvarenah* "glory," as contained in *Hvarenahaiti* (*hvarenah* + suffix *vaiti*), assumes in the Old Persian dialect the form of *farna*. Thus the Old Persian *Vindafarna*, *Ἰνδαφέρνης*, is the exact equivalent of the *Zand Vinda-hvarenah* "winning glory." A striking parallel to the doublet *Hvarenahaiti*—*Pharnacotis* is furnished by the indifferent use of the names *Ζαργγιάνη* and *Δραγγιάνη*, *Ζαργγία* and *Δράγγα*, for the neighbouring district and its inhabitants, the change of initial *Z* into *D* being a well-known characteristic of Persian pronunciation, as compared with *Zand*.

For proving the identity of the *Fradatha* of our *Zand* text with (O) *Phradus*, *Farāh Rūd*, we can utilise the additional evidence of those names by which the old town *Farāh* on the left bank of the *Farāh Rūd* was known in the *Makedonian* epoch. In the itinerary of *Isidōros* of *Kharax* this πόλις *μεγίστη* is called by the modern name *Φρά*; but *Stephanos Byzantios* has preserved a more ancient form in the following excerpt: *Φράδα πόλις ἐν Δράγγαις ἢ Ἀλέξανδρος Προφθασίαν μετωνόμασιν*. *Προφθασία* is, in fact, a literal rendering of *Zand fradatha*, which, in common use as neuter, means (literally "proficiency"), "progress," "increase."

The *Farāh Rūd* is the next independent affluent of the *Hamān* or *Zirra* to the east of the *Harāt Rūd*; on the other hand, the *Fradatha* is placed in our list immediately before the *Hvarenahaiti*. We are, therefore, inclined to look towards the east for rivers, with which the preceding two—the *Hvāspa* and *Hvāstra*—may be identified. We find on the map of South *Afghānistān* two main rivers in a corresponding position, whose names must remind us of the *Avestic* forms—the *Khuspās Rūd* and the *Khāsh Rūd*. Coming from the southern slope of the *Siāh Kōh* they both reach the eastern basin of the lagoon, where the lower course of the *Helmand* is lost. In *Khuspās*, a place on the upper course of the *Khuspās Rūd*, we may recognise the town *Khoaspa*, mentioned by *Ptolemy* in *Arakhsia*. The name *Hvāspa* means "having good horses," and seems to have been a favourite designation for rivers in *Irān*. Besides the famous *Khoaspēs* near *Susa*,

whose water was supplied to the "Great King" wherever he moved (*Herod.* i. 188), we hear of another *Khoaspēs*, a tributary of the *Kābul* river.

The station *Cosata*, given by the *Anonymous Ravennas*, but missing in the *Tabula Peutingerana*, refers evidently to the town *Khāsh*, mentioned already by older Arab geographers, on the bank of the *Khāsh Rūd*, and supplies a welcome link between the *Zand* form *Hvāstra* and the modern name of the river. Whether the water of the *Hvāstra* = *Khāsh* is in reality what a probable etymology of the name (*conf. Sanskrit svātrā*, √ *svad*) seems to imply,—"well tasting,"—may be decided by those who have traversed the arid plains, stretching on both sides of the lower river course.

There is, as yet, no indication to aid us in identifying the remaining river names. But fortunately we find at least one of them recognised in its true character by traditional authority. We read in the *Bundahish* (as translated by Mr. West, chap. xx. 34; *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. V. p. 82) the following interesting passage:—

"Regarding *Frāsīyāv*, they say that a thousand springs were conducted away by him into the sea *Kyānsih* (the *Kāśava* of the *Avesta*). . . ; and he conducted the spring *Zarīnmand*, which is the *Hētūmand* river they say, into the same sea; and he conducted the seven navigable waters of the source of the *Vachaēni* river into the same sea, and made men settle there."

The connexion with the *Hētūmand* shows clearly that the *Zarīnmand* of the *Bundahish* is the *Zarenumaiti* of our text. But no further light can be gained at present from this isolated statement. Whether the "seven navigable waters of the source *Vachaēni*," mentioned besides the *Zarīnmand*, bear any relation to the seven rivers whose names appear in the *Yasht* passage discussed above, besides the *Zarenumaiti*, must likewise remain uncertain.

The resemblance of the names and the identity of the epithet *pauruvāstra*—"rich in pastures," suggest some relation between the river *Urva*, and the land (P) *Urva*, named as the eighth creation of *Ahura Mazda* in the first chapter of the *Vendidad*; but *Urva* itself still remains a most obscure point in *Avestic Geography*. In spite of the scantiness of historical evidence for the last four rivers, we need not yet renounce all hope of identifying them on some future map of *Afghānistān*, the present ones shewing a conspicuous blank in quarters where a further exploration of the *Paropamisus* will, perhaps, reveal some distinct traces of our river names.<sup>1</sup>

AUREL STEIN.

<sup>1</sup> *The Academy*, May 16th, 1885.

## BOOK NOTICES.

AN ILLUSTRATED HANDBOOK OF INDIAN ARMS; Being a Classified and Descriptive Catalogue of the Arms Exhibited at the India Museum: with an Introductory Sketch of the Military History of India, by the Hon. WILBRAHAM EGERTON, M.A., M.P. London: Allen and Co., 13, Waterloo Place, 1880. R. 8vo.

Some time ago I received, through the kindness of the author, a copy of the above work. It was quite new to me at the time, and does not appear, even yet, to be known so well as it deserves; few or none of my Indian friends to whom I have mentioned it having seen it.

The readers of the *Indian Antiquary* will therefore, I hope, be glad to have their attention called to it.

When Mr. Egerton, M.P. for Cheshire, visited India about the year 1855, his attention was drawn to the great variety of arms and military weapons he there saw. The difficulty of obtaining accurate information regarding the names and origin of many of these led to the collection, by him, of the materials which form the basis of the present publication.

It was undertaken in the first instance, as one of a series of Handbooks descriptive of the different sections of the India Museum, but on the transfer of that collection, by the India Office, to the Kensington Museum, the design was interrupted, and the *Illustrated Handbook of Indian Arms* was the only one of the series which saw the light.

The subject has been treated by Mr. (now Lord) Egerton in a very full and exhaustive manner. Premising that he might have arranged the arms on an ethnological, historical or artistic basis, he decides, we think rightly, in favour of the first, on the ground that "identity of arms often denotes identity of race to a greater extent than language or religion, long after the more important characteristics of language and religion have disappeared," in illustration of which he refers to Mr. Cust's example of the Hindi dialect adopted by the Bhils instead of their original Kolarian tongue. A similar instance is afforded by the Nairs on the Malabar coast, the descendants, according to Mr. Hodgson, of the Himálayan Newárs, whose normal speech has given place to the vernacular Malayálim.

The treatise opens with a rapid sketch of the Military History of India, commencing with the earliest arms in use after the pre-historic period to the invasion of the Mughal Emperor Bábar (1494-1530 A.D.) Adverting first to the legendary and heroic epoch comprising the age of the great epics, and the earliest notices of the Greek writers, he passes to the first appearance of the Muhammadans in the time of the Caliphs (or Khalifas) the in-

roads of Mahmúd of Ghazni (1001-1030 A.D.) and the raids of 'Aláu'd-dín Khilji (1294-1312 A.D.)

The next period treats of changes consequent on the more frequent intercourse between India and Europe, following the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, and extends from the reign of Bábar to the death of the Emperor Aurangzeb. The third chapter deals with the transactions which occurred from the death of Aurangzeb to the fall of the Mughal Empire, which led to the introduction of a great variety of arms, and the more general use of artillery. During this period occurred the invasion of the Afgháns and the rise of the Maráthás, followed by the establishment of various European factories on the coast; the struggle between the French and the English, and their relations with the Native powers, more particularly with the recently established Muhammadan kingdom of Maisúr. The last part (Chapter IV.) relates to the period of comparative tranquillity under the supremacy of the English rule, during which the subordinate native princes were gradually brought under subjection to the paramount power, and, instead of contending with each other, amused themselves by drilling their followers on the model of the disciplined troops of their conquerors, for purposes of pageantry and show, while the military operations of the latter were directed against more distant localities on the North-East, and West, and the chapter closes with the end of the first Burmese war in 1826.

After these preliminaries the author passes to the more immediate subject of his treatise, and describes first the embellishments employed in the ornamentation of Indian Arms, which he treats under the three forms of Hindi, Iranian (Persian) and Turanian art. These he illustrates at length, with appropriate examples and figures, into the details of which we need not follow him, neither need we enter into an examination of the processes employed in the manufacture of many of the weapons, an interesting description of which will be found in the second part of the chapter, but proceed at once to the more practical portion which treats of the weapons themselves. This is founded on the India Office Collection as it originally stood, with further illustrations from the Royal Collection at Windsor Castle, that of the Prince of Wales made during his Indian Tour, the Tower, the British Museum, &c., as well as on that formed by himself. The whole affords a very complete description of the warlike implements indigenous to India, and also of those introduced into it by the frequent conquests to which it has been

subjected, and by the numerous military adventurers who flocked thither for service, or were invited by prospects of advancement or more ambitious aspirations. The first groups of arms described are those of the Aboriginal and Non-Aryan Races, comprising the bows and arrows, clubs and axes, found amongst the earliest inhabitants of the Mainland and the Islands. Leaving the latter he takes a rapid glance at the pre-Aryan races of the Mainland, our information regarding which is too imperfect to admit of an accurate classification. We can point, however, to some of the most characteristic groups, such as the pastoral races represented by the Santāls, Ahirs, and Kurumbars; the more warlike and predatory classes like the Bhils, Gūjars, Kolis, Rāmosis, Bedars and Marawārs; and the people of the north-eastern tracts who have been described by Colonel Dalton, and to whom the general term of Kolarians has been given. These distinctions again are all more or less fused by the influence of language, as they are connected on the one hand with the Hindi, and on the other with the Drāviḍian tongues.<sup>1</sup> The weapons in use among all these will be found to exhibit considerable uniformity arising out of the earliest requirements of civilized man. Its normal form is that of the staff or club which supports him in his walk, and acts as his lever for removing obstacles, or repels the assault of an opponent, whether man or beast. A flint inserted at the end becomes a battle-axe or hatchet, and the sharpened edge is the proto-type of the sword. With a shorter piece in his left hand he wards off the blows of an assailant, and by increasing its breadth it becomes a shield, and protects him from a hostile arrow. When thick and heavy it serves as a missile; with a slender slip or more convenient reed propelled from a bow he strikes the more distant game beyond reach of the throwing stick.

Among the earliest of these primitive expedients is that represented in the author's illustrations by Nos. 1 and 4 of Group I. at p. 73. It appears to be the primitive weapon of the hill tribes of

<sup>1</sup> The pre-Aryan population has been variously classified by different writers. In the uncertainty that prevails as to origin the simplest groups appear to be those of the pastoral, predatory, and agricultural. Underneath these lie a widely diffused servile class, probably the oldest of all, and represented by the Mhārs, Māṅgs, Mālas, Pāriahs, Pulayars and various wild tribes, all of which still retain marked peculiarities of language. In Southern India where the Drāviḍian tongue has effaced all earlier dialects, these remnants of the older races have failed to acquire some of its most remarkable phonetic sounds. Berghaus puts the insignificant group of the Todas of the Nilgiris in the second place of his enumeration. Their numbers never exceeded a thousand, and they are now much fewer. They belong clearly to the pastoral division, and speak a very rude Drāviḍian dialect, and will be seen to fall naturally

India, Gonds, Kolis, &c.; as well as of the native inhabitants of Australia. It is made of heavy wood of extreme hardness, rarely of metal, from 18 inches to 2 feet long, and from 2 to 3 inches broad, more or less curved, generally flat: some are hooped with iron and with three or four spikes of the same metal at the extremity to make them more deadly. The best specimens exactly resemble the Australian Bomerang, and differ in no respect from the weapon used by the ancient Egyptian sportsmen as depicted in the tombs of the kings at Thebes, an example of which, found in a mummy pit, is preserved in the British Museum. The form differs somewhat in different parts of India, that of the southern predatory tribes, as the Marawārs and Krallars, becomes narrower at one end, terminating in a knob or pommel to give a firmer grip in throwing.<sup>2</sup> These are of different sizes, some in my possession being only 22½ inches, but a specimen at Sandringham (see Plate, fig. 2) measures 23½ inches round the curve. They are of a very heavy dark-coloured wood.<sup>3</sup> The collection of the Prince of Wales contains one of fine steel (Plate, fig. 2a) 19 inches long, and 2½ broad at the broadest part, not much thicker than a sword blade, with a foliage pattern of silver running along the centre, a very formidable weapon; and also one of ivory about the same size, probably intended more for show than use. Not improbably it may be an instance of the *radana-kulisa* mentioned in the Nāgamangala copper plates, which Prof. Eggeling has translated "ivory weapons," and which Prof. Dowson suggests were kept as trophies of victory by great princes.<sup>4</sup> The name given to this missile by the Kolis of Gujarāt is *katariya* (see Plate, fig. 1) but in the Drāviḍian dialects it is called *valai* or *valai*, *tādi* (= bent stick) by the Kallars and Marawārs. Some specimens from Tinnevely in the India Museum are labelled *katāri*.<sup>5</sup> In some parts of the country the wooden throw-stick has given place to a small sharp hatchet which is thrown with great precision. The Gonds are described by Captain Forsyth as killing pea-fowls, hares, and small deer, by throwing the little axe, which they

under Prof. Huxley's Physical Distribution noticed further on.

<sup>2</sup> In the list at p. 78, Group I. No. 4, said to be from Gujarāt, is of this form.

<sup>3</sup> The wood most preferred is that called *achā maram* in Tamil (*Hardwickia binata*), but they are also made of a species of *Diospyros* or ebony tree.

<sup>4</sup> *ante*, Vol. III. p. 152.

<sup>5</sup> *Handbook*, p. 51, Groups II. III. I have never met with this name, but it nearly resembles the term *katariya*, a word, however, not found in the Gujarātī or Marāṭhī Dictionaries, used for the bomerang in Gujarāt, and is nearly identical with the name *katār* or *katāri* given to the dagger with the H-shaped handle worn in the girdle by the military classes throughout India, said to be derived from Sanskrit. See Shakespeare's *Hind. Dict.* s. v.

invariably carry, at them, in doing which they are very expert.<sup>9</sup> Similar testimony is borne by another writer to the accuracy with which they use their little hatchets "knocking over a hare at full speed with astonishing celerity and certainty of aim."<sup>10</sup> "The Baigâ Gonds in the Pachmarhi Hills use a hatchet which they throw with great skill at deer and even at tigers. They always carry it in their hand."<sup>11</sup> In the Southern Marâthâ Country, and also in the hill tracts of the Madras Presidency, several varieties of clubs and sticks are in use as missiles. Some of these are merely short clubs from 2 to 3 feet long, heavy at the extremity, and go by the name of *kuruntadi* (See Plate, fig. 3). Others are simply sticks of various lengths strengthened by iron bands to give them weight. Two specimens from the Dhârwar district, from 2 feet 7 inches to 2 feet 10 inches, long, heavy, and becoming gradually more curved and wider towards the extremity, and with a steel ring at either end (see Plate, fig. 4) are said to be favourite weapons of the Bedâr caste. All these varieties of the throw-stick continue in use to the present day. In the wilder tracts, on the festival of the Ugâdi, which occurs on the first day of the soli-lunar year, early in March, the whole village turns out armed with every available weapon, the great proportion being throw-sticks, the Kanarese term for which is *yese-gôlu*, and beats across the whole area of the village lands, sparing neither bird nor beast, but not venturing across the line of their own boundary. The pursuit of a wounded hare beyond these limits has led to violent affrays with the people of the neighbouring township, similarly engaged, sometimes ending in bloodshed, which has brought them under the cognizance of the magistrate.

Prof. Huxley, in a paper on *The Geographical Distribution of the Chief Modifications of Mankind*, observes that "the indigenous population of Australia presents one of the best marked of all the types or principal forms of the human race," a description of which he gives, founded on their

physical characters alone, and goes on to state that this group, to which he gives the name of Australoid, is not confined to that continent only, but includes the "so-called hill-tribes who inhabit the interior of the Dakhan in Hindostân." To these he adds the Ancient Egyptians and their modern descendants. "For although the Egyptian has been much modified by civilization and probably by admixture, he still retains the dark skin, the black silky wavy hair, the long skull, the fleshy lips, and broadish *alæ* of the nose which we know distinguished his remote ancestors, and which cause both him and them to approach the Australian and the Daśyu more nearly than they do any other form of mankind."<sup>12</sup>

Now it is very remarkable that it is to these three groups that the use of the boomerang is exclusively confined, thus adding a further confirmation to the principle of an ethnological classification adopted by the author for the arrangement of the multifarious arms he was about to describe. It is true that the use of the throw-stick had disappeared from the debased inhabitants of Egypt proper, under the grinding influence of centuries of oppression. It is still, however, the national weapon of the brave and unsubdued people of the Soudan, improperly called Arabs, with whom they have nothing in common except their religion, and with whom we have recently come into much to be lamented collision.<sup>13</sup> In all the recent conflicts, armed only with their throw-sticks and short spears, they rushed, regardless of the withering fire, upon the serried ranks of their opponents, hurling their wooden missiles and endeavouring to close in with their spears. Several of these sticks, picked up at random by an officer of the Black Watch after the action at El-Teb, are now before me. They are called *kolai* by the Soudanese, *assai* in Arabic, and in Central Africa *trumbash*.<sup>14</sup>

The best formed are from 30 to 30½ inches long and curved only at one end (see Plate, fig. 5) a peculiarity noticed by Wilkinson<sup>15</sup> and also

<sup>9</sup> *Highlands of Central India*, p. 118.

<sup>10</sup> *Seonee in the Sâtpura Range*, by Robert A. Sterndale, p. 52.

<sup>11</sup> *Handbook*, p. 76.

<sup>12</sup> *Journal, Ethnological Society*, Vol. II, p. 404.

<sup>13</sup> The men of the Hadendoa tribe, of whom so many fell in the actions at El-Teb and Tamai, are described by an eye-witness as tall and athletic, with dark skins, the hair divided horizontally round the head above the ears, the upper portion drawn up to the crown, the lower hanging down to the neck, all features of the Australoid type.

<sup>14</sup> Schweinfurth in his *Heart of Africa*, Vol. II, p. 9, says, "The principal weapons of the Niam-Niam are their lances and *trumbashes*. The word *trumbash*, which has been incorporated into the Arabic of the Soudan, is the term employed to denote generally all the varieties of missiles that are used by the Negro races. It should, however, properly be applied solely to that

sharp flat projectile of wood, a kind of boomerang, which is used for killing birds or hares or any small game. When the weapon is made of iron it is called *kulbeda*."

<sup>15</sup> "The use of the throw-stick was very general, every amateur chasseur priding himself on the dexterity displayed with this missile, and being made of heavy wood, flat, and offering little surface to the air in the direction of its flight, the distance to which an expert arm could throw it was considerable; though they always endeavoured to approach the birds as near as possible under cover of the bushes or reeds. It was from one foot and a quarter to two feet in length, and about one inch and a half in breadth, slightly curved at the upper end. Its general form may be inferred from one found at Thebes by Mr. Burton, from those of the Berlin Museum, and from the sculptures." Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, Vol. III, pp. 33, 32, (1837) particularly fig. 337 on p. 42.

found in the Dakhan, while others resemble the *kuruntadi* or short club.<sup>13</sup> The affinity of these tribes to the ancient Egyptians, is further deducible from their language which belongs to the Hamitic stock. This consists of several groups, one of which under the general name of Bishâri (the Bishareen of late newspaper correspondents) is found occupying the extensive tract between Abyssinia and Suâkin, and the Red Sea and the Nile. It is described as a language of great historical interest, and is supposed to be that used in the Hieroglyphic Inscriptions of Nubia. The different dialects of which it is composed are now spoken by the *Hadendoa*, *Ababde*, *Boja*, and other tribes, known collectively to the Romans as the Blemmyes, and in the Middle Ages as the Beja.<sup>14</sup>

The bow is very much the same among all the tribes which retain its use. It is about 5 feet long, generally of bamboo, and strung by means of a slip of cane or bamboo bark. The arrows, which are from 2½ to 3 feet long, are variously pointed. On one occasion I met with a peculiarity which, as far as I am aware, has not been noticed before. When exploring the Gôdâvari in 1848 we landed to communicate with some natives in a forest on the bank, and examining their arms Colonel (now Sir Arthur) Cotton, who was of the party, observed that the feathering of their arrows was adjusted spirally.<sup>15</sup> On inquiring the reason they said they had inherited the practice from their forefathers, and that it gave the arrow a more accurate flight.

The above description applies to all the bows in use among the Non-Aryan tribes, but a more elaborate sort, like those numbered 80 and 457 (*Handbook*, pp. 81, 114) from Travancore and Gwâlior, seem to have been intended rather for show than use. Others of a composite character are alluded to in a note at the same place, but are now seldom, if ever, seen. Examples of the *kamân* or curved Tâtar bow, made of horn, are occasionally met with, but being of foreign origin

and belonging to a much later period do not call for more notice here.<sup>16</sup>

From these ruder weapons we pass to the arms with a cutting edge, which came into use at a more advanced stage of society, when the art of smelting metal became known. One of the earliest forms was that in use among the Khonds, Kols, and Sauras known by the name of *tângi*, a Hindi word of Sanskrit origin. It is a sort of axe with wooden handle from 2½ to 3 feet long and upwards. They are shod with brass, the blades being of various shapes, each distinctive of the different sections of the tribe. Several of these are figured at p. 73 of the *Handbook*, where they are entered under the name of *tabar*,<sup>17</sup> a name I have never heard as being in use among the Khonds, and being a Persian word it is not likely it should be. Other specimens mentioned in the *Handbook* are said to come from the Malabar Coast.<sup>18</sup>

After the boomerang the most characteristic Hindû weapon is a sort of bill or chopper which under various forms and names is found throughout the whole of India from the Himâlayas to Cape Comorin. It is the *kora* (a) of Naipâl, the *kukri* (b) of the Gurkhâs, the *ayudha* (c) *katti* of the Nairs and Moplas,<sup>19</sup> and the *korgatti* of Coorg, Maisûr, &c. They are often carried slung to the back equally ready for attack or defence, or for clearing a path through the forest. Parâsurâma, the leader of the Turanian colony which invaded the western coast, is represented as carrying a *paraśu* (Sanskrit bill or battle-axe), which, though generally figured and translated as a battle-axe, must have been the Nair war-knife or *ayudha katti* still carried by his tribe. It is the prototype to the eastward of the *dâ* or *dâo*<sup>20</sup> which according to Captain Lewin is in general use among the wild tribes.<sup>21</sup> It is a blade about 18 inches long, narrow at the haft, square at the top, pointless, and sharpened on one side only. Speaking of the Karens, Major Tickell says, "In the hand is generally carried the *dâ* (an awkward implement, half-knife, half

<sup>13</sup> Specimens of this description were not wanting in the India Museum, as appears by the mention in Mr. Egerton's note at pp. 78, 81, where he refers to "Cudgels or sticks used by watchmen, robbers, and others, plain and iron-bound." Some of them are 4 and 4½ feet long, with which may be associated the clubs called *kandâ* 4 or 5 feet long carried by the Todas (well-marked typical representatives of the Australoid group), which are entirely of wood, neatly shaped, and seem to be the only weapon in use among them.

<sup>14</sup> Cust's *Modern Languages of Africa*, Vol. I. pp. 125-26; Conf. also pp. 89, 40.

<sup>15</sup> Since this was written Colonel Clay, late of the Madras Survey, has told me that he brought home a number of arrows feathered in this way from Gumsûr which are now in the possession of Sir Robert Sinclair, Achvaredale Lodge, Caithness.

<sup>16</sup> Descriptions of these, the mode in which they are

strung, and the agate ring *zihghîr* (from the Pers. *zih* a bowstring and *ghîr* taking or catching), or *sofan* (from the Arabic *roct* = scraping) for protecting the thumb when discharging the arrow (p. 114) two of which we possess, will be found in the lists. See Nos. 366, 457-59, 592-98.

<sup>17</sup> Group I. Nos. 30-32, 35, 37, 39, 40-42, 51, 56.

<sup>18</sup> Groups II. III. p. 79, Nos. 89, 90.

<sup>19</sup> (a) Group VII. p. 100, Nos. 323, 323.

(b) Group VII. p. 100, Nos. 314, 315, 318, 319.

(c) *ayudha-katti*, literally war-knife, is from the Sanskrit *ayudha*, a weapon, or arms of any kind, which is derived from the root *yudh* to fight. It is the *ayudha-katti* of the *Handbook*, Groups II. III. p. 79, figs. 111, 119, 128.

<sup>20</sup> Group IV. p. 84, Nos. 192, 194, 195, 202, 209, 213.

Group V. pp. 84-95, Nos. 241, 242, 250, 252.

<sup>21</sup> *Wild Races of Southern India*.

chopper), which, like the Lepchas of Sikkim, the Newārs of Népāl, and the Bhotiās of Tibet, they apply to all imaginable uses."<sup>22</sup> It is not intended to follow Mr. Egerton through the minute description he gives of the rude tribes to the eastward, and I merely remark in passing that the Burmese sword appears to be derived directly from the boomerang, retaining its curved form, one-half serving as a handle to the metal blade of the other.

In early Drāviḍian poems, especially the war songs of the Marawārs,<sup>23</sup> a weapon is found under the name of *vāḷ*, often translated, but erroneously, a sword. There is little doubt it refers to a form of the bill. The name still lingers in part, in the term applied to the broad sacrificial knife used in some of the temples of Kāli, with which the heads of the sheep, goats, and other victims are struck off at a single blow, a feat sometimes accomplished even on a buffalo. The word is used by the Tōḍas, and is found in the *īruvalli* or axe of the Baḍagas.<sup>24</sup>

The remaining portion of the work is devoted to the notice of arms not characteristic of any particular race or country, which have been introduced by foreigners, and that chiefly since the earlier Muhammadan conquests. Among these I propose to touch only upon such as have a special Hindū character, and have been more particularly adopted by the natives in that part of India with which I am best acquainted.

The general Hindū term for a sharp-edged instrument is *katti*, a word which will be seen in combination with some of the names before quoted. This I at first thought might be a Prākṛit form of the Sanskrit *kāṣṭha* = wood, and so deriving it from the wooden throw-stick. But this etymology is not clear. Its Drāviḍian parentage rests on better grounds. Dr. Caldwell,

<sup>22</sup> *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*

<sup>23</sup> These poems, which possess much ethnological interest, relate generally to plundering raids for driving off the cattle of neighbouring villages, and led to fierce encounters. Many of the *vīrgals* or monumental stones represent these cattle fights. Specimens of the poems are preserved in old Tamil grammars like the *Nannul*, and are well deserving of being made more generally known in an English dress, with a critical examination of their contents.

<sup>24</sup> The similarity of all the forms above enumerated to those found among other people of Turanian descent, seem to point to a common origin in Central Asia. Of this we have an example in the Iberian *kopia* (*Komis*) a specimen of which, obtained from Spain, is in the Collection of General Pitt-Rivers. It exactly resembles the *vāḷ*. Liddell and Scott, *Greek Lexicon*, s. v., render it "a chopper, cleaver, kitchen knife," also "a broad curved knife like our bill used by the Thessalians, Euripides, *Electra*, 887) and by eastern nations (Xenophon, *Cyropædia*, 2, 1, 9, 6, 2, 10). Cf. *Sagaris* (*σάγρις*) a weapon used by the Scythian tribes; also by the Persians, Amazons, &c.; a single-edged axe or bill." The ancient Egyptians seem to have had a somewhat similar weapon represented in the paintings of the tombs,

under the root *kaḍi* to cut, inserts *katti*, a knife, a sword, and refers to the Sanskrit *kṛit* to cut and its many derivatives.<sup>25</sup> Then again we have the Tamil *kattai* = trunk of a tree or block of wood. The most characteristic weapon of this description that I have seen is the *paḍḍi*. In the *Handbook* it is called the gauntlet sword of the Marāṭhā Cavalry, in which the arm to the elbow is protected by a steel gauntlet fixed to the blade of the weapon (Nos. 403, 404). I do not remember a single instance in which it formed part of the equipment of the Marāṭhā trooper in the *risālas* of Irregular Cavalry in the Dakhan or Gujarāt. Indeed it appears to be a weapon unsuitable for use on horseback. I have only seen it carried by men on foot, especially athletes, who declare that with it a single warrior may defend himself against a host. The mode of doing so is shown by an exercise in which the swordsman, holding his weapon horizontally, whirls about with rapid gyrations making sweeping cuts and giving point on every side. A skilful feat performed in this exhibition is described on p. 149.

The *khaṇḍa* is the national sword of Orissa, and especially of a class of military landholders in that province known as *Khaṇḍaits* who, like the *Mēnkāvalgārs*<sup>26</sup> of the South were bound to protect the inhabitants of the plains from the attacks of marauders. The *khaṇḍa* is a straight two-edged sword about 3 or 3½ feet long, becoming broader at the extremity which is rounded (*Handbook*, No. 521.) The term *soṣanpaṭā* is applied in the Dakhan to a weapon of somewhat remarkable form, probably peculiar to that locality. It varies in length from 2 to 3 feet, becoming broader towards the end near which it curves outward, terminating in a sharp point. On the back, about 4 or 5 inches from the hilt is a round button-like knob, the use of which is not apparent.

and it survives among those of some of the Negro tribes figured by Schweinfurth. In the *Records of the Past* king Amenemhat of the XIIth dynasty, is represented as saying to his son Osirtisen, "I brought men armed with the *khopesh*, being myself armed with the *khopesh*." The late George Smith in the second of his three lectures on Assyrian History delivered at the Royal Institution, April 1875, exhibited an "antique bronze weapon of the exact type of the Egyptian *khopesh*, such as is in no other instances represented among the Assyrian monumental stones. It is the property of Mr. Robert Hanbury, the inscription and device on which were formerly explained by Mr. Smith. The beautifully engraved device—an antelope on a pedestal was, it seems, the standard of one of the divisions of the Assyrian army, and the inscription assigns it to the reign of Vul-nirari I., 1330-1300 B.C., of the age of 33 centuries. It is probably the oldest sword in the world."—*Times*, 20th April 1875.

<sup>25</sup> *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, p. 477.

<sup>26</sup> Chiefs of the predatory tribes of the Kallars and Marawārs, who protect the villages of the plains from plunder by placing one of their followers in each village as *kāvalgār* or watchman, in return for the payment of blackmail.



# INDIAN ARMS.

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|--|--|
| 1. Kataris of Gujarāt.   | 4. Vajai tāḍi, variety.                  |
| 2. Vajai tāḍi of the Karnāṭak.   | 5. Throw-stick of the Soudan.            |
| 2a. Steel ditto.   | 6. Imaginary sketch of a Soanpaṭā Blade. |
| 3. Kuruntāḍi or Club.  | 7. Monumental Stone at Guntūr.           |
| 8. Figure on the Kadambésvar Temple in the Fort at Reṭṭiballī, Kōḍ Tāluka, Dhārwad, S. M. C. |  |





This addition is also found on some of the broad sacrificial *val* blades. A weapon of the same name is mentioned in the *Handbook* (p. 104, No. 578 T); but neither the figure nor the description—"A short, broad, heavy sword, slightly bent, point inclining upwards; worn by all ranks in Hindústân,"—agrees with the examples I have seen. The kind more particularly referred to is now very rare. The best of those that have come under my observation was in the collection of the Nawáb of the Karnatic at Chépák, a figure of which is not available, but a rough outline is given from memory (see Plate, fig. 6). A specimen specially obtained from Haidarábád proved on receipt to be like No. 578 T. The blade is 2½ feet long, somewhat more curved, and wants the knob on the back. It is seen, therefore, to belong to the Hindústân group, and that the sword known by the same name in the Dakhan is very different. The accompanying rough sketch of a *virgal* (see Plate, fig. 7) or monument about 3 feet high, near Guntár, exhibits the Dakhan *sosampat* in a very rude and somewhat exaggerated form. A fourth kind of sword peculiar to the south has a long, straight, sharp-pointed two-edged blade, 3 feet 7 inches long, with a handle so small that it will only admit half the hand, and a broad hilt sloping outwards. In a statue of the founder of the Yádava dynasty of Dvārasamudra, which forms part of a remarkable group, more than once repeated in the Kōḍ Tāluká of the Southern Maráṭhā country, the hero is shown in the act of piercing a tiger, and holding a sword of this description with his two first fingers outside the hilt, and the rest of his hand within (see Plate, fig. 8). Believing the hilt was intended to protect the hand from the weapon of an opponent, it seemed doubtful whether the sculptor had not been careless in thus representing the grasp of the hand, but the following extract from the work of an old master-at-arms clears up the difficulty, and vindicates the accuracy of the sculptor. "An Englishman cannot thrust straight with the sword because the hilt will not suffer him to put the forefinger over the crosse, nor to put the thumb upon the blade, nor to hold the pummell in the hand; whereby we are of necessitie to hold fast the handle in the hand; by reason whereof we are driven to thrust both compasse and short (*sic*), whereas with the rapier they can thrust both straight and much farther than we can with the sword because of the hilt, and these be the reasons they make against the sword."<sup>57</sup> This weapon is very uncommon. I have only once met with what I deemed to be an exemplar of it. The long, straight cut-and-thrust blade found

among the local militia known as *Shetsanadis* and *Kdtaks*, called *farangī* or *farhangī* (No. 523 and p. 56 note 1) is of European manufacture, and was largely introduced by the Portuguese after the establishment of their trade in Malabar. They are often stamped with what appear to be single letters far apart, but not legible, as if impressed by workmen copying marks they did not understand. It is still commonly met with among all classes in the south, but chiefly among the village soldiery before mentioned. *Bhawdní*, the sword of Śivaji, is a long straight weapon slightly curved and double-edged towards the point, resembling the kind known in Upper India as the *sirohi*, and the regulation blade carried by the British Cavalry. At a Darbár held by the Hon'ble Mountstuart Elphinstone at Rihmatpúr about 1826, at which I was present, the Rájá of Sattará exhibited this weapon, and at the same time the *bágh-nak*, or tiger-claw, with which his ancestor treacherously slew 'Afzál Khán, the Muhammadan general of Bijápúr. The weapon so called consists of four sharp curved claws resting at the base of each finger on a transverse steel band, terminating in a ring fitted to the fore and little finger, and looks externally simply like an ornament, while the weapon remains concealed in the palm. This last was subsequently presented, at another Darbár, to Sir John Malcolm, by whom it was probably given to the India Museum, and now appears in the *Handbook* as No. 476.<sup>58</sup>

A variety of names are given to the long straight blades comprehended under the general name of *saif*, *shamsher*, &c. *Talwár* is a general term applied to shorter and more or less curved side arms, while those that are lighter and shorter still are often styled *nimchas*. The *'abbás* is an elegant curved Persian scimitar, so called from the name *'Abbás* often stamped on the blade. The name *shamsher* given to them in the lists is rather a generic term equivalent to sabre. The blades are sometimes richly "ornamented (like No. 654, p. 132), on both sides with numerous figures of animals, *incised* and *damascened* in gold." In a similar example now before me the figures are in *relief*, and display on one side two elephants butting, a horseman pursuing a stag, two buffaloes fighting, a *chitá* killing a deer, two lions opposite each other, an elephant and a deer, a buffalo, a tiger killing a buffalo. On the other side a horseman pursuing a deer, a tiger suckling its young one, two lions face to face, a tiger on its back killing a deer, a tiger killing a deer, the latter on its back, tiger killing a calf and three other calves. The *teghá*

<sup>57</sup> *The Paradoxes of Defence*. By George Silver (a Master of Fence) Gentleman, London 1599, 4to.

<sup>58</sup> P. 115. See also p. 27.

a very broad, much curved blade, is a favourite weapon of the Pathāns. On one occasion a sword ingeniously formed out of the snout of the saw-fish (*Pristis*), was seen in the hands of a soldier in a hill fort in Maisūr not far from Chitaldurg. A great variety of daggers are carried in the sash or waist band. The most common in South India are the *kaṭār* before mentioned, and the *bānk* or *bichhwā*. The first is specially affected by the military classes. It is of various sizes, but always with the same handle, and more or less ornamented. I have one with two blades side by side, but not otherwise remarkable. The second is a small dagger, varying a good deal in form, but all more or less curved. Many others of foreign origin are met with, as the Persian *peškabz* and *khanjar*, the Arab *jambiya*, the long Afghān knife and the *Leaght* dagger with a long broad double edged blade, as also smaller knives with the general name of *churī* or *kattī*.

I will here refer to the light thrown on the origin of the numerous swordblades known by the name of *farhangs* by the description given in a former number of the *Indian Antiquary*<sup>29</sup> of the Armoury at Tanjore. On the death of the last Rāja in 1855 the whole of the personal and landed property was made over to his widow, with the exception of the armoury. This was found to be in a most neglected condition. Arms of all descriptions were lying heaped together on the sunk floor of an out-building in the precincts of the palace, called the music-hall, but apparently used for athletic sports, and surrounded by a gallery for spectators.

Hundreds of swords of every kind lay caked together and covered with rust. Many of those that could be cleaned were found to be of choice manufacture and highly ornamented. The number of straight cut-and-thrust blades was very great, which Mr. Wallhouse, quoting a former writer (*ante*, Vol. II. p. 216), states to have derived their name of "*phirangis* from the Portuguese, by whom they were either introduced from Europe, or else made in imitation of such imported swords."

In addition to these were numerous *kaṭārs* with ornamented handles fitted to blades formed of pieces of European swords. The design and execution of these handles is described as being of the highest artistic merit. "The fancy shown is endless and the execution minute and admirable." \* \* \* \* "One has the grasp covered by a shield-shaped guard of pierced steel, bearing a griffin on each outer rim, from whose backs small blades project on each side at right angles to the

central blade, which bears this inscription on both sides:—

× × INTI × × DOMINI × ×.

Another fantastic dagger has three long narrow blades parallel to one another, the middle one longest, and on it are the letters ED & O. A *kaṭār* with a handle throughout of beautiful workmanship, the open-work sides an arrangement of griffins, phoenixes, and clustered fishes, and the holdfasts of the blade each four fancifully grouped parrots, bears on one side the blade, which is broad and three-channelled, the letters S M V N., and on the other C V M., with a human face in a crescent further up. A second *kaṭār* has the handle covered with a guard representing a cobra with expanded hood between two rampant griffins; the long narrow blade exhibits a single deep groove "in which on one side are the letters IOHANIS \* VLL, and on the other four or five indistinct letters, and then ALIV N. A third with a handsome well-wrought steel hilt, after the thick layer of rust that coated it had been removed, disclosed to my surprise, in two deep channels on each side the blade the well-known name

ANDREA  
FERRARA."

The number of arrows and arrow-heads scattered about is stated to have been very large, "the former as usual, of reeds, with bone or ivory nocks and spike-heads of all possible shapes, short and lengthened, rounded, three or four-sided, channelled, or bulging in the centre; many were barbed, and many flat-tipped or ending in small globes,—perhaps for killing birds without breaking the skin; and there were some headed with hollow brass balls perforated with three or four holes, which were said to be filled with some inflammable composition, and shot burning on to roofs and into houses. Under the head each arrow was elaborately gilt and painted for six inches down the stem, and also for the same length above the nock, and each bore above the feathers an inscription of two lines in Marāṭhī characters in gold," &c. &c.

Several kinds of spears are included in the lists. The most common are the long lance or *birchī* carried by the Marāṭhā *Silāhdārs*, and the Irregular Musalmān troopers of the Dakhan. It has a bamboo shaft 10 to 12 feet long, and a small steel head with a long iron ferrule at the lower end for sticking it into the ground. The *ballam* or *bhāḍā* is a strong pike 8 or 9 feet long, with a heavy sometimes curved, steel head, a formidable weapon, and the favourite arm among the Polygar foot

<sup>29</sup> Vol. VII. pp. 192-96.

soldiers which has been used with much effect in defending their strongholds. A shorter javelin, sometimes seen, but not used in the South, where it is attributed to the Râjpûts, is the *sang*, a slender iron shaft grasped in the middle, with a thong attached. A specimen before me is 6 feet 9 inches long, 26 inches of which form the quadrangular point.

It remains only to notice a few miscellaneous weapons. The parrying stick formerly mentioned has developed into a more artificial form called the *mârâ* or *mâdâ*. The ringed shaft of one before me is 22 inches long, terminating in a turned knob at one end, and in a sharp spear point at the other, which is 5 inches more. The handle, about the middle of the shaft, is protected by an unarmed guard.<sup>30</sup> Another form called the *singautâ*, made of two antelope horns, (*sing*), 26 inches long, joined at their base by a handle from which projects a short blade, the extremities shod with pointed javelin heads, each about 4 inches long.<sup>31</sup>

Here, too, I may mention the flail, a specimen of which from Southern India has a handle or shaft 15 inches long, from the end of which depend two chains 19 inches long, attached by a ring, each ending in a ball.<sup>32</sup> A similar weapon appears to have been used by the ancient Britons of which I remember to have seen a figure in a pictorial *History of England*.

Blue clad Sikh mercenaries are sometimes met carrying on their conical turbans half a dozen steel *chakras* or more, which they discharge with considerable accuracy.

Of the two concluding chapters the first is devoted to a description of the martial exercises and games practised at the *Dassara* (*Dasahra*) and on other festive occasions at Native courts. These have now fallen somewhat into disuse in the South, but in many villages in the Marâthâ country, and in most Native Regiments, gymnasia or *tâlim-khânas* are kept up for the practise of athletic exercises by the young men of the place.<sup>33</sup> The principal of these are the *dand*, in which the hands are placed on the ground and then bending down until the chest almost touches the floor, the body is raised by straightening the arms; the *magdar*, in which two heavy clubs are used in a series of motions somewhat like dumb bells; the *lêsam* or bow with a steel chain for a string, which is pulled by extending either arm alternately with great force. The proficient

multiplies the performance of each of these exercises as his strength allows until he can repeat them from fifty to a hundred times or even more, by means of which his muscular powers become fully developed and fit him to compete with advantage in their favourite game of wrestling. On festive occasions the athletes of a district meet to contend for the mastery, in which one or two of the most successful become recognised as the rural champions of the neighbourhood.

The last chapter treats of artillery and describes some of the most remarkable pieces of ordnance that have been cast in India.<sup>34</sup>

The lists likewise contain the names of some varieties of the matchlock, as *karol*,—a term new to me, the carbine of Haidâr 'Alî's cavalry; *jard'âl*—a wall-piece, whence perhaps the Dakhani *jinjal*. A piece heavier than the common matchlock is found amongst the Marawârs of Sivagaiga and is called *sarboji*, which may have some connection with the name of the neighbouring ruler of Tanjore (Serfoji *vulgo* Sarboji). A still larger kind belonging to the same part of the country is the *sanjali*.<sup>35</sup>

The work is interspersed with much interesting information regarding the warlike habits and practices of different races, and I feel assured that it will be found very instructive, as well as useful, to the readers of the *Indian Antiquary*.

Want of sight will account for inaccuracies which may have crept into the foregoing descriptions and particularly in referring to the figures.

WALTER ELLIOT, K.C.S.I.

#### BERUNI'S INDICA.

##### *Preliminary Notice.*

Ever since Reinaud's *Extraits* and *Mémoire* made fragments of Bérûni's *Indica* accessible, the great importance of his work for the political and literary history of India has been generally recognized, and the desire to see the whole made *publici juris* has been frequently expressed. It will be, therefore, welcome news to all who feel an interest in India, that Professor Sachau, to whom we owe an excellent edition and translation of Bérûni's *Chronology*, has almost finished printing the text of the *Indica*, and that a large portion of his translation will shortly be ready for the press. An examination of Professor Sachau's MS., which he kindly placed at my disposal, has convinced

<sup>30</sup> Cf. *Saintt. Handbook*, No. 537. In the Soudan a curved stick, with a hollow in the centre to protect the hand, called a *quayre* is used for the same purpose. Another called the *dang* is shaped like a bow and receives the blow of the club on the string. Schweinfurth's *Heart of Africa*, Vol. I. p. 155.

<sup>31</sup> *Handbook*, Group X. No. 694.

<sup>32</sup> *Handbook*, Group I. No. 62.

<sup>33</sup> [The *Dasahra* is everywhere still in full swing in North-West India.—Ed.]

<sup>34</sup> [In the out-of-the-way fort of Bahâdurgarh or Saifâbâd near Patâlâ town is a large quantity of Native ordnance of all sorts and ages worth examining.—Ed.]

<sup>35</sup> *Madr. Jour.* Vol. IV. p. 360. Nelson's *Madura*, p. 41.

me that Reinaud's extracts have by no means exhausted all the interesting information contained in Bêrûni's book. On the contrary, there is not a branch of Indology—with, perhaps, the single exception of Vedic studies—which will not gain very considerably by its publication. Bêrûni was himself a Sanskrit scholar. He studied some *Śāstras*, especially astronomy and mathematics, deeply, possessed a superficial knowledge of others, and made careful inquiries among the best *Pandits* of his time, regarding the remainder and regarding the geography and the history of India. Though he complains of the want of communicativeness on the part of the Brāhmins, which he ascribes partly to their arrogant contempt for all but their own caste-fellows, and partly to their hostility towards the Muhammadan invaders of their country, he has nevertheless collected more, and more correct, information than any foreigner who wrote before the great opening-up of Brāhmanical India under British rule. His wide culture, his high scientific attainments, and his full acquaintance with the literature of the Western nations, enabled him to estimate Hindū science and learning at their proper value, and permitted him to draw interesting parallels. Both the accounts left us by the Greeks and by the Chinese pilgrims read, by the side of Bêrûni's work, like children's books, or the compilations of uneducated and superstitious men, who marvelled at the strange world into which they had fallen, but understood its true character very little. Bêrûni's style is somewhat stiff and quaint, and he often devotes much space to very abstruse matters; yet his book will possess considerable interest even for the general reader, and many passages will be found to be highly amusing. In order to show how much the specialist may gain from a careful study of the *Indica*, I may give, as an instance, the remarks on the *Sikhitā* of Ugrabhūti, which explains the *Kātantra* Grammar. It is the last on the list of Indian grammatical compositions, and Bêrûni adds the following account of the manner in which it became famous:—Ugrabhūti, he says, was, according to common report, the spiritual guide and teacher of the reigning Shāh, Ānandapāla, the son of Jayapāla. When he had composed his work, he sent it to Kaśmīr for the approval of the learned. The latter, "being haughtily conservative," rejected it as useless, and refused to study it. Thereupon he moved his royal pupil to forward "200,000

*dirhams* and presents of equal value," to be distributed among those who would learn and teach it. The consequence was that the Kaśmīrians, "showing the meanness of their avarice," immediately recanted their former opinion, and not only adopted the *Sikhitā* as their class-book, but wrote numerous commentaries on it. Now this story, which, at first sight, reads like a spiteful anecdote, can easily be shown to be quite true, and it enlightens us on various difficult points. As it is the custom in Northern India to pronounce *sa* instead of *śa* and *kha* instead of *sha*, it is evident that the *Sikhitā* is the *Sishyahitā* commentary on the *Kātantra*, copies of which I brought from Kaśmīr in 1875. The first service which Bêrûni does us is that he gives us its date, the beginning of the 11th century. But he teaches us still more. The *Sishyahitā* is at present only found in Kaśmīr, where several commentaries on it, written by Kaśmīrians are extant, and where it is a favourite class-book. To any one acquainted with the literary history of Kaśmīr, it must be clear that the *Kātantra* was not the grammar originally studied in the valley, but that in earlier times the works of Pāṇini's school alone were studied and commented on. This struck me very much at the time of my visit, and I inquired in vain for the causes of the change. Bêrûni's story now furnishes an easy explanation, and its truth is confirmed by the state of things in Kaśmīr. The same story teaches us further that royal favour and liberality were employed in the interests of mere school-books, and that the needy *Pandits* easily succumbed to such influences. Ugrabhūti's case was probably not the only one of its kind, and it will be well for the historian of Sanskrit literature if he does not trust too exclusively to the theory of natural development, but is also in other cases on the look-out for similar external influences, which the anecdotes of the *Pandits* mention not rarely. Finally, the assertion, made in Jaina and Brāhmanical *Prabandhas*, that, during the 10th, 11th and 12th centuries, the *sabhas* of the Kaśmīrian *Pandits* were considered literary courts of appeal, becomes now credible. The same story is told regarding the *Naishadhīya*, which its author is said to have taken to Kaśmīr, and to have placed in the lap of the goddess Śārādā. Hitherto, I must confess, I doubted that this narrative had any foundation in truth, but now it seems very probable.

G. BÜHLER.

THE SASBAHU TEMPLE INSCRIPTION OF MAHIPALA,  
OF VIKRAMA-SAMVAT 1150.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHOEN, GÖTTINGEN.

ON a projecting point near the middle of the eastern wall of the fortress of Gwalior there are two temples, which the people call "the temple of the mother-in-law and her daughter-in-law" (सास बहू का देहा).<sup>1</sup> "By our own countrymen," so General Cunningham writes, (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 357), "they are generally called the 'great Jain temple,' and the 'small Jain temple;' but, as the sculptures, which can be recognised both inside and outside of the larger temple, are chiefly confined to the members of the Hindu triad and their consorts, I conclude that the temple must belong to the Brâhmanical worship. Inside the portico there is a long inscription, No. VII., on two slabs, with the date of S. 1150, or A.D. 1093."

An edition of this inscription was attempted, from a facsimile supplied by General Cunningham, by Dr. Rajendralal in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXI. p. 411 ff.; but owing, I assume, to the imperfect state of the materials from which he was working, the text printed by Dr. Rajendralal is so full of errors and omissions that it may be considered almost valueless. Dr. Rajendralal has also given (*loc. cit.* p. 400 ff.) an abstract of the contents of the inscription, which, as in several particulars it cannot be made to agree with the Sanskrit text published by him,<sup>2</sup> must have been based on the *Thent* Hindvi translation, prepared for the late Major Markham Kittoe,<sup>3</sup> which is mentioned by him on page 400. Misled probably by the popular belief or by the name Padmanâtha, which occurs in the opening blessing and in the body of the inscription, Dr. Rajendralal has pronounced the temple, in which the inscription is, to be a Jain temple, and he has told how, during the reign of the king Mahipâla, a figure of Padmanâtha—a Jain divinity—came suddenly into existence, and how Mahi-

pâla dedicated to it the temple in the doorway of which the inscription under notice was recorded. This statement has already been discredited by General Cunningham on the evidence of the sculptures; and (like other statements which it is unnecessary to mention here) it is distinctly refuted by the inscription itself, in which it is recorded again and again, that the temple was built for the worship of Viṣṇu.

My own transcript of this very interesting and valuable inscription has been made from an estampage, which at my request was prepared for me, on his recent visit to Gwalior, by Dr. Hultsch, to whom my best thanks are due for the great trouble which he has taken on my behalf.<sup>4</sup> I have finally revised my reading by the photo-lithograph, prepared from an ink-impression sent to Mr. Fleet by General Cunningham, and published herewith. The estampage shows—what indeed could not have been inferred from Dr. Rajendralal's account—that the inscription has on the whole been well preserved; it no doubt contains many passages, sometimes extending over half a dozen letters, where the stone is worn away, and the deciphering of which has on that account been very troublesome; yet in the whole of the inscription there is not a single *akshara* of which some traces at least are not visible; and I venture to hope that the new transcript will be found to contain a complete and trustworthy copy of the original.

As has been stated above, the inscription, which is in Sanskrit, is engraved on two slabs. The writing on the first slab covers 5' 1½" in length and 1' 6½" in height; that on the second slab 5' 4" in length and 1' 6" in height. Each portion contains twenty-one lines; but the writing in the last line of the second part

<sup>1</sup> I owe the words in brackets to Mr. Fleet. The current name of the temple has therefore nothing to do with *sahasra-bâhu* 'hundred-armed.'

<sup>2</sup> On p. 400 Dr. Rajendralal writes—"The composer of the deed was one Manikaptha of the Bharadvâja gôtra;" on p. 418, lines 4 and 8, we read मणिकर्ण. He proceeds—"and its writer Digambarârka. Its engraving needed the services of three artists, Padma, son of Dêvaswâmi, Sinhavâja and Mâhula." Of these five names, only that of Padma occurs in the Sanskrit text on p. 418.

On p. 401 we read:—"Vajradâma, according to our inscription, before entering into Gwalior, had subdued the king of Vindhyanagara." The Sanskrit text on p. 411 contains the words निन्द्योज्ज्वलिभूय वैरिन्गराधीनतापीदय. In reality the correct reading is neither *Vindhyanagara* nor *Vairinagara*, but *Gâdhinagara*.

<sup>3</sup> I have also had a rubbing of the inscription,—prepared for Dr. Burgess,—which, for a rubbing, is very good, and the sight of which first made me wish to re-edit the inscription. With it alone, however, I should not have been able to accomplish the task.

covers only about one-third of the length of the whole line. The inscription has been carefully and beautifully written in Dēvanāgarī characters by one Yaśōdēva-Digambarārka, 'the sun of the Digambaras' (V 106) who is described as a poet in all languages,\* and engraved by the three artists Padma, the son of Dēvasvāmin, Siṃhavāja, and Māhula, whose names are given in the concluding lines. As regards the forms of the letters, I may state that the sign for च is frequently not to be distinguished from that for व, and that I often have found it difficult to distinguish the signs for स and व, and those for ग and न. Besides, I may draw attention to the sign for फ which is used in हर्षोत्पल in L. 1, and in कलम् towards the end of L. 11; and to that for भ, which occurs in भगवान् and सुभग at the beginning of L. 3. Lastly, a peculiar sign for च is used in the word संवाः in L. 9.

On the spelling of the words, and on the observation of the rules of *Samdhi*, but few remarks are required. Concerning the rules of euphony, it may be observed that a final न् has not been changed to *Anusvāra* before a following initial व in L. 3 भूतान्मयः, L. 13 यन्वी-रास्वो, L. 18 भूमीभूताम्बिवुधः, and L. 25 त्वम्बिवुधः; and that छ, wherever it occurs, has been changed to च्छ, even in L. 6, संच्छास्वाः, L. 9, वाञ्छितः, and L. 22, वाञ्छः. As regards the spelling, we find व for ब everywhere, except in L. 5 सौर्वादिभिरा; but we have once वपुः for वपुः, in L. 1. We have the dental for the palatal sibilant in अन्तु L. 8, अविनासिन् L. 30, आनु, L. 20, आस्विन L. 40, चतुर्विंशति L. 32, निर्विन्स L. 10, पञ्चास L. 40, पञ्चासन् L. 40, प्राविशन् L. 26, राति L. 2, विस्व L. 20, हस्वन् L. 19, सन्धन् L. 12 and 25, सुभ L. 13, सौर्वे L. 5, 14, 23, and 29, and सुत्वा L. 9; (but we have also अन्तु L. 29, अनीनरा L. 28, आनु L. 28, विचति L. 39, विचन्ती L. 13, चान्धन् L. 35, and शोभा L. 23). On the other hand, we find the palatal sibilant used for the dental sibilant in श्रुत L. 10 for सुत, and शाश-नोदित L. 34 for शासनोदित (against शासति L. 10). Lastly, the *Jihvāmūliya* has been employed instead of the lingual sibilant in निष्, निष्कलङ्क, and अहृष्क, for निष्क, निष्कलङ्क, and अहृष्क, all in L. 36.

With the exception of the introductory ओ

\* Yaśōdēva, it is stated in the inscription, was a friend of Maṇikaṇṭha, the composer of the inscription, and of one Pratāpa-Lankēśvaravāch, who was a friend of both.

नमः पद्यनाथाय and the date in l. 40 अंकतापि ११५० ॥ आस्विनवहलपंचम्यां, the whole inscription is in verse, and was composed, by order of the king Mahīpāla, by the poet Maṇikaṇṭha (or Maṇikaṇṭhasūri), who calls himself a student of the *Mīmāṃsā* and *Nyāya*, and states that his father was the poet Gōvinda, and his grandfather the chief of poets Rāma, and that he belonged to the Bhāradvāja *gōtra* (verses 104-105). It contains altogether 112 verses, in the following metres:—

Anuṣṭubh: verses 2, 11, 13-15, 21, 24, 25, 32-34, 65, 66, 69, 79-99, 100 (only half a verse), 101-105, 107, 108, 110-112. [Total 46.]

Indravajrā: verses 9, 72, 75. [3.]

Upēndravajrā: verses 8, 74. [2.]

Upajāti: verses 22, 30, 68, 71, 73, 76, 106. [7.]

Drutavilambita: verse 7. [1.]

Vasantatilakā: verses 12, 20, 23, 35-59, 70, 78. [30.]

Śikharinī: verses 4, 26, 28, 67. [4.]

Mandākrāntā: verse 31. [1.]

Śārdūlavikrīḍita: verses 1, 5, 6, 10, 16-19, 29, 60-64, 77, 109 [16.]

Sragdharā: verses 3 and 27. [2.]

When I say that the inscription is in verse, I do not mean to maintain that it is a poetical composition from the beginning to the end; for the whole passage from verse 71 to 112, excepting perhaps two or three verses, is—with its strings of names, lists of ornaments and sacrificial implements, and bare statements of fact—hardly more than a piece of prose put in the form of the Anuṣṭubh and Trisṭubh metres. But I believe that the first 70 verses will be found to compare favourably with any similar number of verses in such works as, e.g., the *Vikramādīkādēvacharita*, composed about the same time. If they contain no very striking and original thoughts, their author probably had little to tell, and he, at any rate, has shown that he was familiar with the rules laid down for poetical compositions of the kind, and had carefully studied the *Kāvya*s in which those rules had been exemplified. His poetry is, on the whole, easy to understand, and his language correct and fluent.

Considering the great length of the inscription, the historical information furnished by it

He is himself the composer of the Gwalior inscription No. VIII., which will be re-edited by Dr. Hultzsch.

is exceedingly scanty, and may be summed up as follows :

Verse 5.—In the *Kachchhapaghâta* (or, v. 57, *Kachchhapâri*) race there was a prince (1) *Lakshmana*.

Verses 6-7.—He had a son (2) *Vajradâman*, who defeated the ruler of *Gâdhinagara* (*Kânyakubja*) and conquered the fort of *Gôpâdri* (*Gwalior*).

Verse 8.—He was succeeded by (3) *Maṅgalarâja*.

Verses 9-11.—(4) *Kirttirâja*, who succeeded him, defeated the prince of *Mâlava*. He built a temple of *Śiva* in the town of *Simhapanîya*.\*

Verses 12-13.—His son was (5) *Mûladêva*, also called *Bhuvanapâla*, and *Trailôkyamalla*.

Verses 14-15.—*Mûladêva*'s son, from his queen *Dêvavrâtâ*, was (6) *Dêvapâla*.

Verses 16-30.—(7) *Padmapâla*, his son, carried on wars in all quarters; his armies are said to have marched even to the southern-most point of India. He died young.

Verses 31-67.—He was succeeded by (8) *Mahîpâla*, also called *Bhuvanaikamalla*, who being described as son of *Sûryapâla* (*Sûryapâlasya sūnuh*, or, v. 51, *Sûryajanita*, and, v. 58, *Sûryanripandanana*) and *bhrâtri* of *Padmapâla*, probably was a cousin of the latter. Nothing definite of any historical importance is said of *Mahîpâla*, unless there is in v. 50 an allusion to some war in which a prince of the *Gandharvas* was defeated by him. As the inscription is dated *Vikrama-Samvat* 1150, and as the temple at which it is put up was only completed, not begun, by *Mahîpâla*, and was completed immediately after his coronation, we may assume that the latter event took place not long before V.-S. 1150. *Mahîpâla*'s minister was *Gaura* (verses 109 and 110). the son, it appears, of *Yôgêśvara* (v. 77).

The temple, at which the inscription is put up, was built for and dedicated to *Vishṇu*. This appears not only from the introductory verses (1-4), which invoke the blessings of *Hari* and of *Aniruddha*, an incarnation of *Vishṇu*, but also from the distinct statements in verses 26 and 28, where the temple is described as *bhavanam Harêḥ* and *Hari-sadanam*

'the edifice of *Hari*,' or 'seat of *Hari*,' and from the references to *Vishṇu*, his wife *Lakshmi*, and his incarnations, in the later portion of the inscription. That the name *Padmanâtha*, in the *Om namaḥ Padmanâthâya* with which the inscription opens, must be taken to be a local name of *Vishṇu* (suggested by such ordinary names of that deity as *Padmanâbha*, *Padmagarbha*, *Padmin*) clearly appears from a comparison of the verses 30 and 69. In the former verse we read that *Padmapâla* died when the god, who from what precedes can be no other than *Vishṇu*, was only *half completed*; and in v. 69 we are told that *Mahîpâla*, so soon as he had been crowned, vowed to *complete* *Padmanâtha*, and that he kept his vow (V. 70). It is easy to conjecture that this particular name was chosen to honour the memory of the prince *Padmapâla* (see V. 1) who had begun the erection of the temple and buildings connected therewith, and had, it appears (see V. 30), designed the charitable institutions which were completed only by his successor.

What these charitable institutions were and how they were kept up, what portion of his revenues *Mahîpâla* devoted to the erection of the temple-buildings, what idols he gave to the temple, what ornaments he presented them with, what arrangements he made and what implements he furnished for their worship,—has been fully stated in verses 71-102 of the inscription, and need not be repeated here. I will only add, that I am unable to identify the village of *Pâshâpallî* (v. 75), the income from which was divided into 30 shares, of which a few were allotted to the god, and by far the greater number to *Brâhmanas*. The statement, in the original publication, that 'assignments of land in the district of *Brahmapura* were made for the support of the temple'® rests on a misunderstanding.

The contents of the concluding portion of the inscription (verses 103-112) have already been given above.

In my transcript I have enclosed within brackets all *aksharas* which are indistinct in the estampage, from which I have transcribed the text; all those *aksharas*, about which I am at all doubtful, I have pointed out in the notes.

\* I am unable to identify this town.

® *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXI. p. 402.

I trust I shall not be blamed for having omitted from my translation the verses 35-60. A literal translation of these verses, which frequently remind one of passages in the *Kādambarī* and *Vāsavadattā*, would have been impossible or would have required more notes than the verses deserve. Besides, to the Sanskrit scholar those verses will offer no difficulty; and for the historian unacquainted with Sanskrit the short abstract of their contents which I have inserted between the translation of vv. 34 and 61, will, I believe, be sufficient.

TEXT.<sup>7</sup>

First Part.

ओं.

[<sup>1</sup>] ओं नमः पद्मनाथाय ॥  
ह्यौत्सुक्यविलोचनैर्हिंशि दिशि प्रोक्षीयमानं जनै-  
र्मैदिन्यां विततन्ततो हरिहरब्रह्मास्पदानि<sup>8</sup> क्रमात् ।  
श्वेतीकृत्य यशस्मना परिणतं श्रीपद्मभूषणः  
पायादिष जगन्ति निर्मलवपुः<sup>9</sup> श्वेतानिरुद्धधिरम् ॥  
—Verse 1.

मौलिन्यस्तमहानील[ल]शकलः पातु वो हरिः ।  
दर्शयन्निव केशस्थनव-

[<sup>2</sup>] जीमूतकर्णिकाम् ॥—V. 2.  
मुक्ताशैलच्छलेन क्षितितिलकयशोरासिना<sup>10</sup> निर्मितोय-  
न्नेवः पायावुषायाः पतिरतिधवलस्वच्छकान्ति-  
ज्जगन्ति ।  
म[न्या]नः सर्वथैव त्रिभुवनविहितं श्यामतापङ्कजं यः  
शङ्को स्वं वर्णविङ्गं मुकुटतटमिलनीलकान्त्या विभ-  
र्त्ति<sup>11</sup> ॥ —V. 3.

इह मौलिन्यस्तं न [भ]वति महानीलशकलं  
न मुक्ताशैलेन स्फुरति घटितश्वेप  
भगवान् ।

[<sup>3</sup>] उषाकर्णौत्सीकरणसुभगं नीलनलिनं  
वहस्यद्यप्यस्याधिरविरहपाण्डुकृततनुः ॥ —V. 4.  
आसीदीर्थलघुकृतेन्द्रतनयो निःशेषभूमीभृता-  
म्बुधः<sup>12</sup> कच्छपघातवशातिलकः क्षोणीपतिर्लक्ष्मणः ।  
यः कौण्डिधरः प्रजाहितकरश्चक्रे स्वचित्तानुगा-  
ज्जगमेकः पृथुव[स्वपृ]नपि हठावुषा[दय] पृथ्वीभृतः ॥  
—V. 5.

तस्माद्व्यधरोपमः क्षिति-

[<sup>4</sup>] पतिः श्रीवज्रवामाभव-  
हुर्वारोर्द्धिजतवाह<sup>13</sup> ण्डविजिते गोपात्रिदुर्गै[र]ध्या ।  
निर्णयोऽम्परिभूय [गाधि]<sup>14</sup> नगराधीशमतापोदय

<sup>7</sup> From the ink-impression. <sup>8</sup> Read °ब्रह्मास्पदानि.

<sup>9</sup> Read °वपुः. <sup>10</sup> Read °रासिना. <sup>11</sup> Read विभर्त्ति.

<sup>12</sup> Read °भृतां वम्बुधः. <sup>13</sup> Read °वाहु.

<sup>14</sup> The reading गाधि is certain.

<sup>15</sup> °पूरकः; I am somewhat doubtful about the first akshara; it looks to me like पू, altered to पू. The follow-

यदीरजत[पू]रकः<sup>15</sup> समचरत्प्रोक्षोषपाण्डिण्डमः ॥  
—V. 6.

न लुलितः किल केनचिदप्यहञ्जगति भूमिभूतेति कुपु-  
हलात् ।

मुलयति स्म मुलापु[र]वैः स्वयं स्वमिह यः [स]विशु-  
द्धहिरण्यैः ॥ —V. 7.

ततो रिपुध्वान्तसहस्रधामा नृपोभवन्म-

[<sup>5</sup>] गलराजनाभा ।

य ईश्वरैकप्रणतिप्रभावान्महेश्वराणाम्प्रणतः सहस्रैः ॥  
—V. 8.

श्रीकीर्तिराजो नृपतिस्ततोभूयस्थ प्रयाणेषु चमत्सुमुखैः ।  
धूलीवितानैः समन्वैव चित्रं मित्रस्य वैवर्ण्यमभूद्विषय ॥  
—V. 9.

किं क्षमोऽस्य<sup>16</sup> कथा[कु]तं नरपतेरेतेन सौयोधिना<sup>17</sup>  
इ[ण्ड]ी मालवभूमिपस्य समरे[स]ख्यामतीतो जितः ।  
यस्मिन्भज्जु[गु]पागते दिशि दिशि प्रासा-

[<sup>6</sup>] स्करामच्युतैः  
र्म्मीणाः स्वगृहाणि कुन्तानिकरैः सच्छादयाम<sup>18</sup> च-  
क्रिरे ॥ —V. 10.

अद्भुतः सिंहपानीयनगरे येन कारितः ।  
कीर्तिस्तंभ इवाभाति प्रासादः पार्वतीपतेः ॥—V. 11.

तस्माद्व्यायत महामतिमूलदेवः  
पृथ्वीपति[भुवनपा]ल इति प्रसिद्धः ।  
आनन्दयज्ञगहननिन्दितचक्रवर्ति-  
चिह्नैरलंकृततटुर्मुमुक्षुकीर्तिः ॥ —V. 12.  
यस्य हस्ता[न्य]भूपालां सर्वोम्पालयतः

[<sup>7</sup>] प्रभोः ।  
भुव[न्त्रै]लोकयमलस्य निःसपन्नमभूजगत् ॥—V. 13.  
राज्ञी देवव्रता तस्य हरेर्लक्ष्मीरिवाभवत् ।  
तस्यां श्रीदेवपालोभूतनय[स्तस्य] भूपतेः ॥ —V. 14.  
त्यागेन कर्णमजय[स्वार्थ]ङ्गोण्डविद्यया ।  
धर्मेराजस्य सखेन [स] युवा विनयाभयः ॥—V. 15.  
सूनुस्तस्य विगुह्यदुद्विग्विभवः<sup>19</sup> पुण्यैः प्रजानामभू-  
न्मान्धातेव [स] चक्रवर्तितिलकः श्रीपद्मपालः प्रभुः ।  
मस्त्वाम्येपि क-

[<sup>8</sup>] रप्रवृत्तिरपरस्येतीव यन्निन्दय-  
न्दिग्यात्रासु मुहः खरांसुमरुणत्सान्द्रैश्चमूरेणुभिः<sup>20</sup> ॥  
—V. 16.

कृत्वान्याः स्ववशे दिशः क्रमवशा[द]शा[स्त्र]तैर्हक्षिपा-  
मुक्तिप्ताचलसन्निभानविरतं [यस्सै]न्यवाञ्छिन्नैः ।  
उ[द्धृ]तान्यततः पयो[धिमनि]तः संश्लेष्य रेणुत्करा-  
न्भूयोप्युद्धतसेतुवन्धन<sup>21</sup>धि[या] तस्यति नक्तसुराः ॥  
—V. 17.

ing akshara is clearly र, not च.

<sup>16</sup> Read क्षमोऽस्य. <sup>17</sup> Read सौयोधिना.

<sup>18</sup> Read संजादयाम. <sup>19</sup> Read °दुद्विग्विभवः.

<sup>20</sup> Read खरांसुमरुणत्सान्द्रैश्चमूरेणुभिः; the akshara न्ने may have been altered to न्ने.

<sup>21</sup> Read °वन्धन.







- [<sup>8</sup>] स्वेन्दुष्टुतिश्चरेण<sup>22</sup> यशसा नीते सुराणाञ्जने  
[<sup>9</sup>] वृष्णदे भ्रमशीलखण्डन-
- [<sup>9</sup>] भयारप्राप्तुव[न्तः] प्रियान् ।  
गून् शक्रपुरः सरामरवधुसंघाः श्रिये [सां] प्रते  
गौ[ते] च स्पृहयति ये प्रथमतः प[र]श्च<sup>23</sup> ध्वेषु संश्रिते ॥  
—V. 18.
- कैर्हृष्टाः क[समस्त]वांछित<sup>24</sup> [फलभ्राजिष्णवः] पारपा  
गावः कामदुघाः क[कैः क म]नयः कैश्चिन्तितार्थ-  
प्रसाः ।  
[<sup>10</sup>] हृष्टाः कस्य मनोरथा इह न कैः पत्याभुना पूरिता  
वीरोयानसद[स्य]<sup>25</sup> तद्रुणव[तः] कल्पद्रुमादीन्ध-  
पि ॥ —V. 19.
- [<sup>11</sup>] स्वा<sup>26</sup> न पञ्चनृपति प-  
रिरक्षिता भूः  
प्रा[प्तोन्वयापि] यदसौ वत नमभावः ।  
[सौस्थ्या]भिरम्बर<sup>27</sup> तनुष्विपिनेष्व[सो] च-  
य[स्मात्प्रतिश] <sup>28</sup> नमिति प्रतिपत्तिस्तार्थः ॥ —V. 20.
- धमः कुलालचक्रे [धु] लोभः पुण्यार्जनैवभूत् ।  
काठिन्यं कुचकुं [भय] त[स्मिन्] सति मेदिनीम् ॥  
—V. 21.
- असम्मतोद्वेगुणस्य पीडा साधुर्न निस्त्रिंश<sup>29</sup> परि[ज्ञ]-  
तापि ।  
इत्यालम्बे<sup>30</sup> न धनुर्न चासि तथापि यो वैरिगण-  
क्षिगाय ॥ —V. 22.
- तद्यः सु<sup>31</sup>
- [<sup>12</sup>] तालपुषतप्यति [कीर्णरूपो]  
[वैरि]पाधिपशिरोमणिभिः [समन्तात्] ।  
लोकानुरागय[श] सामिव वीजवाप  
विस्तारवां यशसिरास रणाजिरेषु ॥ —V. 23.
- वने क[रि]नारीणां हेमनीरज[निध]यः ।  
कृष्णानां तन्मुषे नासौ है[म]नीरज[निध]यः ॥  
—V. 24.
- स विमुह्य नरीपूगत्वे संपराजुषी ।  
पूर्वध[र्मे] नतिस्त्रक्रे जिघृक्षुरनयोः फलम् ॥ —V. 25.
- प्रजामर्जा ते-
- [<sup>13</sup>] न क्षितितिलकभूतेन [म] वनं  
हरेर्हृन्मर्जेन निवृत्तस[दृशा] कारितमदः ।  
वदाम्बस्यो[धैस्त्व] कथमिव गिरा यस्य शिखरं  
समाकृतः सिंहो सुगमिव [सुगाङ्ग] स्थमधिष्ठम् ॥  
—V. 26.
- [मासावस्थास्य] सय<sup>32</sup> हिधुधरशिखरिस्पृष्टिनो हेममण्ड-  
ह[ण्डा] मात्पावनीयं शशधरधवला वैजयन्तीपतन्ती ।  
निर्ध्वान्माति भूतिच्छुरितनिजतनोदेवदेवस्य<sup>33</sup> शम्भोः  
स्वर्गाङ्गजेन पिङ्गस्फुटवि-

<sup>22</sup> Read ०डुम्वरेण.<sup>23</sup> Read ०वाञ्छितं. <sup>24</sup> Originally वीरोयानितटस्य.<sup>25</sup> Read भुत्वा. <sup>26</sup> Read ०दोःस्थ्याभिरम्बरं.<sup>27</sup> I am somewhat doubtful about the first two aksharas of those enclosed in the brackets.<sup>28</sup> Read निस्त्रिंशं. <sup>29</sup> Read इत्यालम्बे.<sup>30</sup> Read तद्यः सु. <sup>31</sup> Read शवः.

[<sup>14</sup>] कदजटाशूटमध्ये विद्यन्ती ॥  
—V. 27.

तदेतद्गुह्याण्डं<sup>34</sup> न इह भविता पङ्कजभव<sup>35</sup>  
पुनर्यम्योडास्मो<sup>36</sup> वयनिह विमानेन विद्यति ।  
[सुवर्णाण्डं] हं [सा] स्तविमुरीकृत्य सकलं  
धुवं संसेवन्ते हरिसदन[मुषेः] स्थितममी ॥ —V. 28.

तुङ्गिन्ना कमकाचलः सुभ<sup>37</sup> विधावन्तः स्थितः श्रीप[ति]-  
विभाणो<sup>38</sup> विजसत्तमानु[र]धिजा[शसो] नृसिहा-  
न्वितः ।  
निर्माता[स्य] वृत्तः समस्तविशु[धे]र्लेब्ध<sup>39</sup> प्रतिष्ठेरयं  
प्रासादश्च

[<sup>15</sup>] धरातले सममहो कल्पं हरेः कल्पताम् ॥  
—V. 29.

देवेर्हृत्सिद्धे विजयपुङ्गवेषु प्रतिष्ठितेष्वटसु पञ्चपालः ।  
सुवैव वैवप्रतिकूलभावास्संक्रन्दना[कुस]नभाग्वभूव<sup>40</sup> ॥  
—V. 30.

तस्य धाता नृपतिरभवत्सूर्यपालस्य सुनुः  
श्रीगोपादौ सुकृतनिलयः श्रीमहीपालदेवः ।  
यम्प्राचैव प्रथितयशसन्तावभूतां सनाथौ  
सौर्वखागौ<sup>41</sup> हरिरविमुताभावपुष्टौ<sup>42</sup> चिरेण ॥  
—V. 31.

सुटिकुर्वज[मा]स्थानां विप्रा-  
[<sup>16</sup>] नां स वृषः स्थितम् ।  
प्रलयं विदिषा[मा]सीद्<sup>43</sup> द्योपेन्द्रहरात्मकः ॥ —V. 32.

अथ धामनिधौ राज्ञि पालयत्यवनीतलम् ।  
न भास्वान्भास्करावन्यो न राजान्यो विधोरभूत् ॥  
—V. 33.

कृतानिषेकं स[हृत्तै]रुपविष्टं तृपासने ।  
यमुदारपदै[रे] वन्तुद्रुपुः सूत[गायना]ः ॥ —V. 34.

[स्यामु] इहन्ति शिरसा खलु राजहंसाः  
सृष्टास्त्वया पुनरिमाः समयावसजाः ।  
नाथ प्रजाः सुमनसां प्रथमोति क्रोसि  
त्वं सिद्धीरीरस ता-  
[<sup>17</sup>] मरसोऽवस्य ॥ —V. 35.

लक्ष्मीपतिस्त्वमसि पङ्कजचक्रमिह  
पाणिद्वयं वहसि भूप भुवं विमर्षि<sup>44</sup> ।  
इयामं वपुः प्रपद्यसि स्थितिहेतुरेक-  
स्त्वङ्गोसि नीतिविजितो[क]व माधवस्य ॥ —V. 36.

[स्वं] पालयस्यनिशमर्थजनस्य कामं  
रामः श्रिया त्वमसि नाथ गुणैरनन्तः ।  
सङ्कुर्यणः समितिषिदिपरायुषस्त्वं  
त्वं कोसि सञ्चारितहाल हलाग्रुधस्य ॥ —V. 37.

कयाता रतिस्त[व नि]जप्रमदासु निरत्यं  
रूपन्तवातिश-

<sup>34</sup> Read ०तमोर्देवदेवस्य. <sup>35</sup> Read तदेतद्गुह्याण्डं.<sup>36</sup> Read पङ्कजभवः. <sup>37</sup> Read ०यं वोडास्मो.<sup>38</sup> Read शुभं. <sup>39</sup> Read विभाणो.<sup>40</sup> Read ०विबुधैर्लेब्धं. <sup>41</sup> Read ०भारवभूव.<sup>42</sup> Read शौर्येत्यागौ. <sup>43</sup> Read ०दुःस्थौ.<sup>44</sup> Read ०सीद्. <sup>45</sup> Read विमर्षि.

- [17] यविस्मयकारि देव ।  
 एवं मीनचिह्नं पुरुषोत्तमसम्भवोसि  
 कस्त्वं शितीशवर शिवर<sup>५५</sup>सूदनस्य ॥ —V. 38.  
 भुभृच्छुतापतिरसि हिवतां पुराणं  
 भेत्ता त्वमीश वृषपोपरतोसि नित्यम् ।  
 भुतिन्दधास्यमलचन्द्रविभूषिताङ्गः  
 कस्त्वं सधम्पुज<sup>५६</sup>[विभा]कर शंकरस्य ॥  
 —V. 39.

स्वन्तेजसा शिखिनमिद्धमधः करोषि  
 शक्तिन्दधासि नरेव विपि [अ]ह[न्ती]म् ।  
 स्वन्तारक रिपुवल-

- [18] स्व वला<sup>५७</sup>विहंसि  
 कस्त्वं नवीननल नीलगलध्वजस्य ॥ —V. 40.  
 एवं वज्रभृत्स्वमसि पक्षमिहृष्यशेष-  
 भूमीभृताम्बिबुध<sup>५८</sup>बंध गुरुप्रियोसि ।  
 श्रीक[म्बु]<sup>५९</sup>वर्णगिरिबुग्म्येषोसि कोसि  
 एवं भीमसाहस सहस्रावलोकनस्य ॥ —V. 41.  
 ख्यातन्तवेश वहु<sup>६०</sup>पुण्यजनाधिपत्वं  
 कान्तालका बलि<sup>६१</sup>भिरासतमै[अ]शुभा ।  
 स्वामामनन्ति परमेस्वरवद्ध<sup>६२</sup>सख्यं  
 स्वकुलोसि सगुणनिधान ध-

- [19] नाधिपस्य ॥ —V. 42.

तेजोनिधिस्त्वमसि भूमिभूतः समग्राः  
 क्रान्ताः करैः प्रस[भ]मुप्रतरेस्तवेश ।  
 प्राप्सोदयः सततमर्थिजनस्य कोसि  
 एवं कल्पभूरुह सरोरुहबाधवस्य<sup>६३</sup> ॥ —V. 43.  
 आनन्दोसि जनतानयनोत्पलाना-  
 भाप्यायिताखिलजनः करमावहेन ।  
 एवं शस्त्र<sup>६४</sup>शीघ्रशिरस्तलरत्नपाद-  
 स्त्वं कोसि मर्त्ये[भु]व[ने]श निशाकरस्य ॥  
 —V. 44.

स्वामंशमीश नि-

- [20] गहन्ति मधुक्षिपीमी  
 द्यामामिरामतनुस्त्वमलप्रबोधः<sup>६५</sup> ।  
 पुण्यं च भारतमिह विहितं स्वयैव  
 स्वकुलोसि सत्यधन सत्यवतीसुतस्य ॥ —V. 45.  
 नीतात्मकीतिस्तरसिधुरियं समुद्र-  
 प्रान्तस्त्वयोजतिमसौ [ग]मितः स्ववेषः ।  
 पूर्वै पवित्रतनवो विहिताश्च कोसि  
 [स्व]स[स्त्र]लब्ध<sup>६६</sup>परभाग भगीरथस्य ॥ —V. 46.  
 एतस्त्वया कृतमताडकमासु विस्व<sup>६७</sup>  
 व्याप्ता मही ह-

<sup>५५</sup> Read शम्बर°. <sup>५६</sup> Read सधम्पुज°.

<sup>५७</sup> Read °बलस्य बला°, <sup>५८</sup> Read °तां विजुध°.

<sup>५९</sup> Read श्रीकम्बु°. <sup>६०</sup> Read बहु°.

<sup>६१</sup> Read बलि°. <sup>६२</sup> Read °बद्ध°.

<sup>६३</sup> Read °बान्धवस्य°. <sup>६४</sup> Read शश°.

<sup>६५</sup> Read °प्रबोधः°. <sup>६६</sup> Read लब्ध°.

<sup>६७</sup> Read °मासु विधं°. <sup>६८</sup> Read °बलो°.

- [21] रिभिरीश मनोजवैस्ते ।  
 पुण्यवतारकरणक्षतबुद्धेशस्य-  
 स्त्वं कोसि इत्तरिपुलाधव राधवस्य ॥ —V. 47.  
 धर्मप्र[सू]स्त्वमसि सत्यधनस्त्वमेक-  
 स्त्वं वासुदेवचरणार्चनवन्तचित्तः ।  
 एवं कोसि विप्रजनसेवित शेषवृ[त्ति]:  
 सङ्ग्रामनिधुर युधिष्ठिरपाधिपस्य ॥ —V. 48.  
 एवं भूरिकुंजरवलो<sup>६९</sup> भुवनैकमल  
 विद्याविभूषिततनुर्गुण पावनोसि ।  
 प्रच्छन्नसू-

Second Part.

- [22] पकृतिस्तभूतवंधुवांछः<sup>६९</sup>  
 कस्त्वं कवीन्द्रकृतमोह वृकोदरस्य ॥ —V. 49.  
 एकस्त्वमीश भुवि धर्मभृतां वरिष्ठः  
 सस्वामिकारिगणरूपहरस्त्वमाजौ ।  
 गंधर्वराजपुत्रनाविजयासकीर्ति-  
 स्त्वं कोसि सुंदर पुरंदरनंदनस्य ॥ —V. 50.  
 दुर्योधनारिवल<sup>७०</sup>रूपहतस्तवेश  
 यक्षः परार्जुनयशःप्रसरं निरोद्धुम् ।  
 एवं कोसि सूर्यजनित प्रमथार्थिसार्थ-  
 शौर्ग्यैककर्त्तन विकर्त्तनसंभवस्य ॥ —V. 51.

- [23] रत्नालयस्त्वमसि [धा]म गभीरताया-  
 स्त्वं पासि पार्थ समभूमिभूतः प्रविष्टान् ।  
 अंतःस्थितस्तव हरिः सततं नरेश  
 कस्त्वं वितीर्णरिपुजागर सागरस्य ॥ —V. 52.  
 सौर्यैकभू<sup>७१</sup>क्रमसमागत सत्त्ववृत्ति<sup>७२</sup>  
 स्त्वं राजकुल्लारिहारःप्रवितीर्णपादः ।  
 वृप्तादिभास्करतिरस्कृति[सिंहिका]भूः  
 कस्त्वं महीपतिमुगाङ्गः मुगाधिपस्य ॥ —V. 53.  
 शानन्दवासि विकटोन्नतवंधुशोभ-  
 स्त्वं इक्ष्वाकु<sup>७३</sup>करवा-

- [24] लहत्तारिर्षः [1]  
 क्षोणीभूतो जयसि मुङ्गन्तया नरेन्द्र<sup>७४</sup>  
 एवं कोसि वैरिबल<sup>७५</sup>वारण वारणस्य ॥ —V. 54.  
 सद्य भिद्यस्त्वमसि मित्रकृतप्रमोद-  
 स्त्वं राजहंससमलंकृतपावमूलः ।  
 स्वामिभूतकृतजडोसि गुणाभिरामः  
 कस्त्वं स्मिताढधमुखपंकज पंकजस्य<sup>७६</sup> ॥ —V. 55.  
 सत्यव<sup>७७</sup>भूषिततनुः सुविशुद्धकोश-  
 स्त्वं चंद्रकांतिसमलंकृतकांतमूर्तिः [1]  
 ख्यातन्तवेश कावि[व]ह[भ]सौमनस्य<sup>७८</sup>  
 एवं [अ]हि<sup>७९</sup>कः

<sup>६९</sup> Read °बन्धुवांछः°. <sup>७०</sup> Read °बल°.

<sup>७१</sup> Read सौर्यैकभू°. <sup>७२</sup> Read सत्त्ववृत्ति°.

<sup>७३</sup> Read इक्ष्वाकु°.

<sup>७४</sup> This sign of interpunctization should have been put after the preceding line.

<sup>७५</sup> Read °बल°.

<sup>७६</sup> Read सत्पञ्च°. <sup>७७</sup> Read शूहि°.

[<sup>56</sup>] समरभैरव कैरवस्य ॥ —V. 56.

एवं पश्यतां हरसि देव मनांसि सन्ध-<sup>56</sup>  
न्मङ्गलस्यभूस्त्वमसि निर्मलताभिरामः ।

कोसि प्रसीद वद समुपारजयोनि-  
स्त्वङ्गुच्छपारिकुलभूषण भूषणस्य ॥ —V. 57.

धावा परोपकारणाय विस्तृष्टकाय  
सच्छाय जन्मसमलङ्कृतमुङ्ग-गोत्र ।

ब्रूहि<sup>57</sup> त्विसि<sup>58</sup> [ध]मवनीश्वरवन्दनीय  
स्वङ्गुसि मूर्धनूपमन्दन[चन्द्र]नस्य ॥ —V. 58.

नाथः कृतद्विज[पतिर्न मदा]न्वितांसि  
न त्वन्वि<sup>59</sup> शुद्धहृदय प्रथितो-

[<sup>59</sup>] प्रमायः ।  
एवं जानु<sup>60</sup> न क्षतवृषो न जडे कृतस्थ-  
स्तेनास्तु नाथ हरिणोपमितिः कथं ते ॥ —V. 59.

नित्यं सन्निहितभयः स तमसा प्रायोभिभूयेत स  
स्वचासाङ्गुवनैकनाथ हरिणस्तस्योदरे[प्रा]वि[स]-  
स<sup>61</sup> ।

मूर्त्ति[स्तस्य] कलङ्किता स जडतां धने स शेषाक[र]  
रा[वस्ते]<sup>62</sup> विदितस्तथापि नृपते राजा स्वमित्य-  
जुतम् ॥ —V. 60.

एकेनोत्तर[गो]महे विमुखतां [पा]थैन नीताः प[रे]  
व्यासेन स्तुतिरर्जुन-

[<sup>61</sup>] स्य विहितेत्यज्ञायि पूर्वे किल[1]  
तत्सम्बन्धप्रतिभा[ति] संप्रति पुनः श्रीमन्महीपाल न-  
स्त्वामालोक्य सहस्रशो रिपुबल<sup>64</sup> निघ्नतमेकं रणे ॥  
—V. 61.

किं ब्रूयोधिक[त]स्वमीश<sup>65</sup> भवतस्त्वं नीतिपात्रं प[रे]  
हृत्तान्तं अगतीपते चतुष्टनामात्मप्रियाणां गृणु ।

[कीर्त्ति]र्भ्रान्त्यति विधु गी[र्गु]णवताङ्गुडे लुठस्यावृता  
मर्वादारहि[ता म]ही द्विज[सुद्धमेहे र]ता श्रीरापि ॥  
—V. 62.

किं विले [धु]वनैकमल यदियं

[<sup>62</sup>] मन्दाकिनी पद्मभू-  
लोकादुद्धरता भगीरथनृपेणानायि निम्नां महीम् ।  
आश्चर्यम्युनरेतरीश यदितो निम्नान्महीमण्डला-  
दूर्ध्वं<sup>66</sup> कीर्त्तितर[ङ्गि]णी कमलभूलोकं स्वया प्रा-  
पिता ॥ —V. 63.

चित्तं नाव स ल[क्ष्म]स्त्वमकरोः सत्त्वात्मना विद्विषो  
देव प्रत्य[य]लोप[मा]द्युविशि[ले] सं[मूर्च्छित]तस्या-  
हवे ।

को[धाक्षैरव]मूर्त्ति[रु]ल्लसदसिक्कुरप्रहरा[जुतै]-  
रस्य एवं यद्वनीनशः प्रकृतिमण्य-

[<sup>63</sup>] तन्न नाश्चर्यकृत ॥  
—V. 64.

अत्यवधि<sup>67</sup> भवत्तैर्यमस्यादित्यं भवन्महः ।  
अतिसिंह भवत्सौयमत्<sup>68</sup> केनोपमीयसे ॥ —V. 65.

केचुरं तव भूपाल भुजङ्गुडे विराजते ।  
किरीटमिव[वाहन्त]<sup>69</sup> निवासि विजयभ्रियः ॥ —V. 66.

यद[र्षी] संतन्य<sup>70</sup> त्रिभुवनगुरोस्तोत्र<sup>71</sup> मकृथा-  
स्तदेष[प्रीत]स्त्वां ध्रुवमकृत कल्पस्थितिमिह ।

यदुत्सङ्गे तुङ्गे [ध]वलरविचन्द्रांशुविमला  
[प्र]लम्ब<sup>72</sup> व्याजेन क्षितितिलक तारावलिख्यं ॥  
—V. 67.

[<sup>69</sup>] वैतालिकैरित्यमभिष्टुतेन संपूजितामर्त्यगुरुद्विजेन ।  
विमुक्तकारागृहसंयतेन वितीर्णभूताभयक्षिणेन ॥  
—V. 68.

तेनाभिषिक्तमालेण प्रतिजज्ञे दूयं स्वयम् ।  
पद्मनाथस्य संसिद्धिः कन्यायाः सहारा[पे]णम् ॥  
—V. 69.

त[स]द्वयं कृतमनेन वि[वे]कभा[जा]  
[रा]जात्मजा मदन[हारि]<sup>73</sup> वराय वत्ता ।

[श्री]पद्मनाथसुरमन्दिरमेतदु[च्ये]-  
नीतं समाप्तिमविनासि<sup>74</sup> यशःशरीरम् ॥ —V. 70.

स-  
[<sup>71</sup>] मर्षिता ब्रह्मपुरी<sup>75</sup> च तेन शेषा[न्वि]<sup>76</sup> धायावनि-  
देवमुखयान् ।

प्रवर्त्ति[त स]चमतन्निद्रतेन वृष्टाजपानैरतिधार्मिकेण ॥  
—V. 71.

अपिपद्मनाथस्य स लोकनाथश्चक्रिर्द्वयं भूपतिचक्रवर्त्ती ।  
नैवेद्यपाकाय विपकशुद्धिः<sup>77</sup> प्रा[स]त्परीपाय च गोत्र-  
शेषः ॥ —V. 72.

ब्रह्मोत्तर<sup>78</sup> मण्डपिकासमुत्थं द्विधा विधाय [स्व]यमी-  
श्वरेण ।

श्रीपद्मनाथाय वितीर्णमर्द्धमर्द्धेच्च वैकुण्ठसुरेश्वराय ॥  
—V. 73.

विला-

[<sup>72</sup>] सिनीवाद्दका[य]नादेर्यथार्हतः पारकुलस्य व-  
त्तिम् ।

स पद्मनाथस्य पुरः समग्रामकल्पयत्प्रेक्षणकाय भूपः ।  
—V. 74.

पाषाणपर्णी प्राविभज्य सम्यग्देवाय सार्द्धानि [प]रानि  
पञ्च ।

संपादयामास तथा द्विजेभ्यः सार्द्धांश्चतुर्विंशति<sup>79</sup>  
मुत्तमेभ्यः ॥ —V. 75.

<sup>56</sup> Read शब्द<sup>60</sup>. <sup>59</sup> Read ब्रूहि.

<sup>60</sup> Read त्वं वि<sup>61</sup>. <sup>61</sup> Read जानु.

<sup>62</sup> Read प्राविशत्. <sup>63</sup> Read शब्दस्ते.

<sup>64</sup> Read रिपुबलं. <sup>65</sup> Read ब्रूयोधिकतत्त्वमीश.

<sup>66</sup> Read दूर्ध्वं. <sup>67</sup> Read अत्यवधि.

<sup>68</sup> Read अतिसिंहं भवत्सौयमत्. <sup>69</sup> Read बाह्वन्तं.

<sup>70</sup> Read गुरोः स्तोत्रं. <sup>71</sup> Read प्रलम्बं.

<sup>72</sup> I am doubtful about these two aksharas, particularly about the first.

<sup>73</sup> Read नाशि. <sup>74</sup> Read ब्रह्मपुरी.

<sup>75</sup> This akshara might be read प्वि.

<sup>76</sup> Read कुद्धिः. <sup>77</sup> Read ब्रह्मोत्तरं.

<sup>78</sup> Read विंशतिं.

रवी कर[स्कन्ध]<sup>50</sup>कवा[दपी]ठ महीपतिस्तत्रभव सम-  
स्तम् ।

आकाशपातालसमुद्रतश्च देवद्विजेभ्यो लवणाकरं च ।  
—V. 76.

[त]स्याद्[दस]क्षयतासु-

[<sup>54</sup>] पगतो योगेश्वरांगोद्वजः  
ख्यातः सूरिसलक्षणः कितिपतेः सर्वज्ञ विश्वासभूः ॥  
आधारो विनयस्य शीलभवनं भूमिः श्रुतस्याकरः  
स्वाध्यायस्य कृतज्ञतैकवसतिः सौजन्यकोशालयः ॥  
—V. 77.

तत्प्रत्ययेन निक्षेपे निखिलानि धर्म-  
कार्याणि [धर्मे]निरतः स नरेन्द्रचन्द्रः ।  
विप्रः स [निस्पृ]हतया<sup>50</sup>गुणगौरवेण  
चित्तं विवेश समवृत्तितया च राज्ञः ॥ —V. 78.  
म-

[<sup>54</sup>] हीपालेन ये विप्रास्तस्मिन्नामे प्रतिष्ठिताः ।  
तेषां नामानि लिख्यन्ते विस्तरः शासनोदितः<sup>51</sup> ॥  
—V. 79.

देवलम्बिः<sup>52</sup>सुधीरा[द्य]स्ततः श्रीधरहीनितः ।  
सू[रि]ः कीर्तिरथः सार्द्धपदिनो [वै]द्विजास्त्रयः ॥  
—V. 80.

गङ्गाधरो गौतमश्च मलकोथ गयाधरः ।  
देवनागो वसिष्ठश्च देवदम्नो यशस्करोः ॥ —V. 81.  
कृ[ष्ण]ो वराहस्वामी च गृ[ह]सः प्रभाकरः ।  
इच्छाधरो मधुश्चैव तिष्ठेकः पुरुषोत्त-

[<sup>55</sup>] मः ॥ —V. 82.

रामेश्वरो द्विजवरस्तथा रामेश्वरो द्विजः ।  
अष्टादशैते विप्रा[श्च परि]नः षड[भो] द्विजः ॥ —V. 83.

पादोनपदिको रत्नतिष्ठकेनो सुरार्थको ।  
ह्यवर्द्धपदिनावेष विप्राणां संमहः कृतः ॥ —V. 84.

रवी देवपवानाञ्च मध्यावर्द्धपदं नृपः ।  
विधाय शास्वतं [लो]<sup>53</sup>हमदका[य]स्थसूरवे ॥ —V. 85.

देवाय इत्तः सौवर्णो राज्ञा रत्नैः समाप्तिस्तः ।  
मुकुटः [समहान्मध्ये म]णिर्यस्य वि[राज]ते ॥ —V. 86.

हरिन्मणि[म]यं भूपति-

[<sup>56</sup>] लकस्तिलकन्धरी ।

रत्नैर्विचित्रं नि<sup>54</sup>खल<sup>55</sup>नी<sup>56</sup>ल<sup>57</sup>सुः स भूपतिः ॥ —V. 87.  
प्राशस्केसुरकुलं रत्नैर्वर्द्ध<sup>58</sup>भिराशितम् ।

कङ्कणानाञ्चलुक<sup>59</sup>महार्हमणिभूषितम् ।[1]—V. 88.  
इति रत्नमयन्तावदेकमाभरणं विभोः ।

द्वितीयमनिरुद्धस्य सौवर्णं केवलं यथा ॥ —V. 89.

<sup>50</sup> Both aksharas are quite certain.

<sup>51</sup> Read निःस्पृहतया. <sup>52</sup> Read शासनोदितः.

<sup>53</sup> Read देवलम्बिः.

<sup>54</sup> I am doubtful about this akshara; this and the following akshara might possibly be read लेहि.

<sup>55</sup> Read रत्नैर्वर्द्ध. <sup>56</sup> Read ०दि विभ०.

कङ्कणानां चतु<sup>60</sup>कञ्च तालपट्टद्वयन्तया ।

कुत्तिसारं स्वर्णमुद्रिभिव<sup>61</sup>सर्वे[न्यह]मच्युतः ।[1]  
—V. 90.

कण्यमङ्गा[लिहा]इ[त्ता] क[श्चो]लैः पञ्चभिर्द्युता ।  
[वै]वेद्यधारणार्थश्च का-

[<sup>57</sup>] [स्व]स्थालचतुद्वयं ।[1]  
—V. 91.

सुवर्णोण्डद्वयं देवपरिवारविभूषणं ।  
धृतं चोपरि हेमाञ्च<sup>62</sup>मातृपत्नीकृतं विभोः ॥ —V. 92.  
निवेद्य तांघ्रपटे च तन्मयेनैव ग[ङ्ग]ना ।

आस्यते प्रतिमा निख्यमनिरुद्धस्य [रा]जती ॥ —V. 93.  
प्रतिमा [वाम]न[स्यै]का [हि]तीया लघुरा[भ्यु]ती ।

राजावर्त्तमयी चान्या हे पूर्वै रीतिनिर्मिते ॥ —V. 94.  
ताः प्रयत्नेन तिस्रोपि पूज्यन्ते गर्भदेवमनि ।

तत्र तान्नम[य]दन्तर्नीपार्थं मञ्चिकाइ[यम्] ॥ V. 95.  
आनार्थं तान्नकुण्डे हे इत्ते

[<sup>58</sup>] हे तान्नपात्रिके ।  
तामार्थपात्रद्वयं तथा इत्तं महीभुजा ॥ —V. 96.

सधूपदहनाः सप्त घण्टाश्चापि[कान्विता]ः ।  
पत्ताः शंखाश्च सत्तै[व] ताम्रपात्रीचतुद्वयम् ॥ —V. 97.

स कांस्यवाढवां प्राशान्नपतिः काहलाह्वयम् ।  
चामरं इण्डियुग्मश्च रीतिरुद्रिकसम्भवम् ॥ —V. 98.

वृह<sup>63</sup>वृहद्वयं ताम्रमयं ताम्रालुका[इयम्] ।  
ताम्रभाण्डपत्तया पञ्च इत्ताश्चा[हु]श्च तन्मयः ॥  
—V. 99.

एष देवोपकरणप्रव्याणां सङ्ग्रहः कृतः ॥ —V. 100.  
शिलाकुहस्थपट्या-

[<sup>59</sup>] दिव्य[मि]श्राकटिकादिषु ।  
वापीकूपतडागादिखननावन्धनेषु<sup>64</sup>च ।[1]—V. 101.

दशमांशं<sup>65</sup>तथा विशस्यसं [स]र्वज्ञ मण्डले ।  
रवी राजानिरुद्धाय तेन सर्वं प्रवर्त्तते ॥ —V. 102.

अयं देवालयः पद्मनूपतेः रुद्रिकामलः ।  
भूयादुपार्जितः पुण्यैः किं<sup>66</sup>पु<sup>67</sup>लोक इवाक्षयः ॥  
—V. 103.

भारद्वाजेन मीमांसान्यायसंस्कृतबुद्धिना<sup>68</sup> ।  
कवीन्द्ररामपौत्रेण गोविन्दकविमुन्या ।[1]—V. 104.

कविना मणिकण्डेन सुभाषितसरस्वता ॥<sup>69</sup>  
प्रशस्ति-

[<sup>60</sup>] हिंजमुच्चै[न]रचितेयमनिर्दिष्टा ॥ —V. 105.  
प्रतापलङ्केश्वरपाण्डितीयां विभ<sup>70</sup>त्सुहृतां मणिकण्डसूरेः ।

अशेषभाषासु कविहिलेख वर्णान्[न्यसोरे]वदिग्व-  
रार्कैः<sup>71</sup> ॥ —V. 106.

<sup>60</sup> Read हेमाञ्च. <sup>61</sup> Read वृह.

<sup>62</sup> Read ०वन्धनेषु. <sup>63</sup> Read दशमांशं.

<sup>64</sup> Read पुण्यैर्विष्णु.

<sup>65</sup> Read ०बुद्धिना.

<sup>66</sup> One stroke is superfluous. <sup>67</sup> Read विभ०.

<sup>68</sup> Read ०दिग्वरार्कैः.

- एकावशस्वतीतेषु संवत्सरशतेषु च ।  
 एकोनपञ्चासति च गतेष्वष्टेषु<sup>100</sup> विक्रमात् ॥—V. 107.  
 पञ्चासे चारिष्वने<sup>100</sup> मासे कृष्णपक्षे नृपाज्ञया ।  
 रक्षिता मणिकण्ठेन प्रशस्तिरिवमुज्ज्वला ॥—V. 108.  
 भक्तलोपि ११५० ॥ आस्तिनवहल<sup>101</sup>पञ्चम्बां  
 [११] ओ[॥] तैस्तैस्तस्य महीपतेः प्रतिरणं प्रौढप्रतापानले  
 नाशये यदनेकशो रिपु[च]मूषकैः पतङ्गयितम् ।  
 बस्ये[न्द्र]प्रतिमस्य बुद्धि<sup>102</sup>सहितः सर्व्वज्ञकल्पोभव-  
 नीत्या निर्जितसौय्यंशतिलकाचार्यः स गौरः सुधीः ॥  
 —V. 109.  
 किञ्चित् यन्महीपालो भुनक्ति स्माखिलां महीम् ।  
 यस्य गीर्वाणमन्त्रीव मन्त्री गौरोभवसुधीः ॥—V. 110.  
 प्रशस्तिरिवमुक्तीर्णा सङ्कर्णा पद्मशिन्पिना ।  
 देवस्वानिमुते-  
 [१२] न श्रीपद्मनाथसुरालये ॥ —V. 111.  
 तथैव सिंहबाजेन मा[हृ<sup>103</sup>]लेन च शिल्पिना ।  
 [प्राप्नुवन्तु] समुक्तीर्णान्यक्षराणि [यथार्थताम्] ॥  
 —V. 112.

## TRANSLATION.

Om !

Om ! Adoration to Padmanātha !

(Verse 1.)—May this white Aniruddha<sup>100</sup> of spotless body long protect the worlds!—he into whom is transformed the fame of the illustrious prince Padma, which, being sung aloud in every quarter by people whose eyes were joyfully opened, first spread on the earth, and then in its course had rendered white the abodes of Hari, Hara, and Brahman !

(V. 2.)—May Hari protect you!—he who wears on his crest a piece of sapphire, exhibiting as it were, resting on his hair, a new cloud bulging out (from it) !

(V. 3.)—May this god, the lord of Ushā, fashioned out of the mass of the fame of the ornaments of the earth, (so that he appears) as if (made) of pearl-stone,<sup>101</sup> of a lustre exceedingly white and pure, protect the worlds ! Thinking that his dark complexion has become altogether unknown in the three worlds, he carries, I fancy, the badge of his colour in the lustre of the sapphire joined to the edge of his diadem !

<sup>100</sup> Read °पञ्चासति च गतेष्वष्टेषु.

<sup>100</sup> Read पञ्चासे चारिष्वने. <sup>101</sup> Read आस्तिनवहल°.

<sup>102</sup> Read बुद्धि°.

<sup>103</sup> I am somewhat doubtful about this akhara.

<sup>100</sup> "The name of the son of Pradyumna or Kāmadēva by Subhāngī or, according to others, Kakudvati, the daughter of Rukmin; his wife is Ushā, the daughter of Vāna, or according to others, Subhadrā, the grand-daughter of Rukmin, and his son Vajra.—The Vaiṣṇava sect, called Pāṇcharātra or Bhāgavatas, consider him as an incarnation or part of Viṣṇu and identify him with

(V. 4.)—What he wears here on his crest is not a piece of sapphire, nor is the holy one who glitters here made of pearl-stone. His body is rendered pale by the long separation from Ushā (and) he even now carries the blue lotus which had the good fortune of forming her ear-ornament.

(V. 5.)—There was a prince Lakṣhmaṇa, an ornament of the Kachchhapaghāta race, surpassing in manliness the son of Indra (and) an object of reverence for all princes. Wielding his bow (and) promoting the welfare of his subjects, he unaided, like Prithu, made the earth obedient to his will, after he had by force extirpated even mighty princes (as Prithu had uprooted the mountains).<sup>102</sup>

(V. 6.)—From him sprang the illustrious prince Vajradāman, resembling the wielder of the thunderbolt. When by honest means he had put down the rising valour of the ruler of Gādhinagara,<sup>103</sup> his proclamation-drum, which fulfilled his vow of heroism, resounded in the fort of Gōpādri, conquered in battle by his irresistible strong arm.

(V. 7.)—Knowing that he surely was not outweighed by any prince on the earth, he from curiosity had himself weighed of his own accord against donations of quite pure gold.

(V. 8.)—Then came the ruler of men named Maṅgalarāja, (who scattered) his enemies as the thousand-rayed (sun) does the darkness. As he for ever paid worship to the Lord (Īvara), so he was worshipped by thousands of great lords.

(V. 9.)—Then came the lord of men, the illustrious Kīrttirāja. Whenever he marched forth, the sheets of dust rising from his armies took away, wonderful (to relate), the colour of the sun<sup>104</sup> and at the same time that of the enemy.

(V. 10.)—Shall we tell the wondrous tale of this lord of men? By this ocean of bravery was the countless host of the prince of Mālava

Ahaṅkāra, self-consciousness."—Goldstücker's Dictionary, s.v. अनिरुद्ध.

<sup>101</sup> The exact meaning of मुक्ताशील, which occurs again in v. 4, is unknown to me. The word is not given in our dictionaries.

<sup>102</sup> See *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa* I. 13, 82; and e.g. *Kādambarī*, Calc. Ed., I. p. 5 वैश्य इव आपकोटिसमुत्सारितसकलरातिकुलजलः.

<sup>103</sup> Gādhinagara is Kānyakubja.

<sup>104</sup> The word for 'sun' also means 'friend.'

conquered in battle. When that (*prince*) had met with defeat, the villagers surrounded their houses with the multitudes of spears, which through fear had fallen from the hands (*of his soldiers*) in every direction.

(V. 11.)—In the town of *Simhapāniya* he caused to be built a wonderful temple of the lord of *Pārvatī*, which shines like a column of fame.

(V. 12.)—From him was born the lord of the earth, the high-minded *Mūladēva*, known as *Bhuvana-pāla*, causing joy to the world. His body was decorated with the irreproachable marks of a universal sovereign; his fame was equal to *Manu's*.

(V. 13.)—When this powerful *Trailōkya-malla* protected the whole earth whose other rulers had been destroyed, the world contained no rival of his.

(V. 14.)—His queen was *Dēva-ratā*, as *Lakshmi* (*is the wife*) of *Hari*. From her was born to that lord of the earth a son, the illustrious *Dēva-pāla*.

(V. 15.)—He surpassed *Karṇa* by his generosity, the son of *Prithā* by his knowledge of the bow, and *Dharmarāja* by his truthfulness. He as a youth was the abode of modesty.

(V. 16.)—Through the religious merits of his subjects he had a son whose power of intellect was free from blemish, the illustrious lord *Padma-pāla*; like *Māndhātṛi* he was the ornament of universal sovereigns. Thinking as it were 'how can, even though I am master, another levy taxes'<sup>118</sup> he on his expeditions in the various quarters again and again obstructed the fierce-rayed (sun) with the thick (*clouds of*) dust (*raised*) by his armies.

(V. 17.)—After his troops of soldiers and horse had subdued the other quarters, they in due course marched to the southern region;

(*and*) when the night-walkers saw the masses of dust, resembling uplifted mountains, incessantly raised up by them (*and*) falling down on both sides of the ocean, they trembled, thinking that a lofty bridge was again being built.<sup>116</sup>

V. (18.)—Since the host of the gods had been deprived of its colour by his fame, beautiful like the splendour of the moon, surely all the wives of the immortals, of *Indra* and the rest, not going near their lovers from fear lest they should err and act improperly, envy now *Srī* and *Gaurī*, who at once were united with the body of their husband.<sup>117</sup>

(V. 19.)—Who has anywhere seen the trees radiant with every wished-for fruit? Who anywhere the cows yielding desires? Who anywhere the gems granting the object of one's wishes? (*But*) who has observed that any person's hopes were not fulfilled by that lord? A distinguished hero then is an excellent garden, which contains such things even as trees of paradise.

(V. 20.)—His doing it was, that the bands of robbers,<sup>118</sup> even before they had heard of prince *Padma*, with bodies unclad on account of their wretchedness, complained every moment in the forests that the earth was well protected since, alas, what used not to be, such nakedness had come upon them.

(V. 21.)—While he was ruling the earth, turning round existed (*only*) in potter's wheels,<sup>119</sup> covetousness (*only*) in the acquirement of religious merit, hard were (*only*) the round breasts.

(V. 22.)—Knowing that to press the highly virtuous is not approved of, and also that it is wrong to be familiar with the merciless, he laid hold neither of the bow nor of the sword,<sup>120</sup> nevertheless he defeated his enemies.

<sup>118</sup> कर् has here, as in similar passages, the double meaning of 'rays' and 'taxes.'

<sup>119</sup> Compare with the above a verse of the *Vikramādikāvacharita* (III. 77) which ends:

वेदेरीमणस्य रावणश्चिरं देऽप्यशान्तकृपः  
मया हृत्त्रिकण्डकम्पतरैराशङ्कितं लङ्काचरैः ॥

The same idea occurs in verse 10 (really v. 20) of the inscription published *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. VIII. P. I. p. 167ff, where the actual reading on the stone is as follows:

सुहृदपकृतिदशो दक्षिणाशां जिगीषुः  
पुनरभितपयोधिर्वैभैष्युर्मयैः ॥

It might almost appear as if those expeditions to the south were mere poetical ornaments.

<sup>117</sup> *Srī* 'Majesty' and *Gaurī* 'the Earth' are represented as the wives of the king.

<sup>118</sup> प्रतिपन्थिन् is used on account of the metre for परिपन्थिन्.

<sup>119</sup> But there was no भ्रम in the sense of 'erring, giddiness, confusion,' &c. For similar passages compare e.g. *Kaddambārī*, I. pp. 6 and 61; and *Vāsavadattā*, pp. 17 and 125.

<sup>120</sup> उद्धृगुण, which has been translated by 'highly virtuous,' also denotes the bow 'on which the string has been fixed,' and निर्विश्व 'merciless' also means 'sword;' compare e.g. *Vāsavadattā*, p. 129, निर्विश्वस्तम्भसिंहा न पुरुषाणाम्.



(V. 23.)—His sword, covered with the drops of blood which at once began to flow, scattered on the battle-fields all around the seed<sup>121</sup> as it were of the affection of the people and of his fame, with the crest-jewels of the hostile princes.

(V. 24.)—Because the wives of his enemies found out gold-lotuses in the forest, for this reason did the bees not find out the gold-lotus in his face.<sup>122</sup>

(V. 25.)—Having reflected that fortune and life are unsteady like the flood of a river, he set his mind on the performance of pious deeds, desirous of gathering the fruit of those two.

(V. 26.)—This supporter of his subjects, who was an ornament of the earth, who knew the law (and) was like unto the gods, caused that edifice of Hari to be built. How can I possibly with words tell its height? <sup>123</sup> The lion who has ascended its top, means to devour, it seems, the deer in the moon.

(V. 27.)—From the top of the gold-ornamented staff on this temple, which rivals the mountain<sup>124</sup> of the moon-carrying (Siva), there constantly (waves) this holy flag, white as the moon; hanging down at the setting of the wind it appears like the Ganges when, falling down from heaven, it enters the thickly-matted tawny-bright hair of the god of gods Śambhu, whose body is coated with ashes.

(V. 28.)—This is that mundane egg; the Lotus-born (Brahman) will be here, whom again we here shall carry on our vehicle through the air: surely those swans are ever present at the lofty seat of Hari, after they have (thus) admitted it to be the golden egg unopened.<sup>125</sup>

(V. 29.)—Within the glittering structure stands the lord of Lakshmi, high like the golden mountain (Mēru); (it is) a dwelling of the Sea-born (goddess Lakshmi) supporting the most excellent of the twice-born (and) con-

taining the man-lion; its maker was chosen by all the gods, who have found (here) a home, and so was this temple on the surface of the earth. Oh, may the whole turn out to be fit for Hari!

(V. 30.)—When the god was (only) half completed, (and) when eight of the most excellent twice-born had been installed,<sup>126</sup> Padmapāla, still a youth, through the adversity of fortune obtained a seat on the lap of Saṁkrandana.<sup>127</sup>

(V. 31.)—(Then) his brother, the son of Śāryapāla, the illustrious Mahīpālādēva, the abode of good deeds, became ruler at the glorious Gōpādri. When they had come to him of wide-spread fame, bravery and generosity, which in the absence of the son of Hari (Arjuna) and the son of the Sun (Karna) had been in distress, had at last (again) found a master.

(V. 32.)—Engaged in the creation of ministers, in the preservation of the Brāhman, and in the destruction of his enemies, that prince partook of the nature of Brahman, Vishnu, and Śiva.

(V. 33.)—When this king, a treasury of splendour, protected the broad earth, none else was endowed with splendour but the sun, none else was a king but the moon.

(V. 34.)—When his coronation-ceremony had been performed by well-conducted (persons, and) when he was seated on the throne, bards and singers thus praised him in lofty strains:—

[In the following verses Mahīpāla is compared (v. 35) to Brahman, (v. 36) to Mādhava (Kṛishṇa-Vishṇu), (v. 37) to Halāyudha (Balarama), (v. 38) to the destroyer of Śambara (Kāmadēva), (v. 39) to Śaṅkara, (v. 40) to Śiva, (v. 41) to Indra, (v. 42) to Kuvēra, (v. 43) to the sun, (v. 44) to the moon, (v. 45) to the son of Satyavatī (Vyāsa), (v. 46) to Bhagīratha, (v. 47) to the Rāghava (Rāma), (v. 48) to Yudhishthira, (v. 49) to Vṛikōdara (Bhīmasēna), (v. 50) to the son of Indra (Arjuna), (v. 51) to the son of the Sun (Karna), (v. 52) to the sea,

<sup>121</sup> Compare *Vikramādikādevacharita* IV. 112 आख्याति-विजयाय चक्रानिव नभःस्थलीम्.

<sup>122</sup> If I understand this verse rightly, it simply means that the prince had driven his enemies from their homes, and that his face was beautiful like the gold-lotus; the bees showed no desire for this lotus, because they did not wish to have anything in common with the wives of the prince's enemies.

<sup>123</sup> Compare *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 359,—"As it stands at present, the great temple of Padmanātha is about 70 feet in height, but as the pyramid top is very much broken, I estimate the original height of the building at not less than 100 feet."

<sup>124</sup> i.e. the Himālaya.

<sup>125</sup> We may assume that swans were carved on the walls of the temple; the poet (in order to employ the figure *Utprekshā*, which is indicated by the word *युक्त्वा*,) represents these carved swans as live birds, ever present at the temple, which they take to be the mundane golden egg, to serve as vehicles for Brahman who is born from the lotus that grows out of Vishnu's navel.

<sup>126</sup> 'Installed,' viz. in the Brahmapuri mentioned below, verse 71, which was connected with the temple. For the use of the word *पतिष्ठत* compare below verse 79.

<sup>127</sup> i.e. Indra; the sense is 'Padmapāla died,' and as a warrior went to the heaven of Indra.

(v. 53) to a lion, (v. 54) to an elephant, (v. 55) to the day-lotus, (v. 56) to the night-lotus, (v. 57) to an ornament, (v. 58) to the sandal; (v. 59) he is praised as surpassing the deer and (v. 60) the moon.

Incidentally he is (v. 51) called *Sūrya-janita* 'begot by Sūrya,' (v. 58) *Sūryanripa-nandana* 'son of prince Sūrya,' (v. 57) *Kachchhapārikulabhūṣaṇa* 'an ornament of the Kachchhapāri family, and (v. 49) entitled *Bhuvanaikamalla*. (V. 41) he is stated to have been familiar with the impervious tracts of the *Srikambuvāṇagiri*, and (v. 50) to have obtained fame by defeating in battle the king of the *Gandharvas*.

After verse 60, the bards continue praising Mahīpāla as follows:—

(V. 61.)—"That the son of Prithā at the capture of Uttara's cows had alone put to flight the enemies,—that, it is true, we had learnt before, because Arjuna has been praised (*for it*) by Vyāsa;<sup>128</sup> but now (*only*) can we form a clear conception of it, after we have seen how you, O illustrious Mahīpāla, unaided, are striking down the host of the enemies by thousands on the battle-field.

(V. 62.)—"Need we tell (*even*) more facts about you, O lord? You are the unsurpassed receptacle of the rules of policy. Hear, O master of the earth, how it fares with the four that are beloved to you: your fame spreads in (*all*) quarters; your praise is ever in the mouth of the virtuous; the whole earth reverences you; fortune delights to dwell in the house of (*you*) the friend of the twice-born.

(V. 63.)—"Is it strange, O *Bhuvanaikamalla*, that king Bhagiratha should have led away this Mandākinī from the world of the Lotus-born (*Brahman*) and brought it down to the earth below? But wonderful indeed is this, O lord, that from the orb of the earth here below you have made the stream of your fame to ascend upwards to the world of the Lotus-born.

(V. 64.)—"Nothing strange is there in this, O lord, that, such as you are, you with your quick arrows completely bereft of confidence your enemies hundreds of thousands strong in battle; but that in your anger, like the god of destruction, by the marvellous cruel strokes of your flashing sword you should have annihilated their very nature—that indeed does rouse our wonder.

(V. 65.)—"Your depth surpasses (*that of*) the ocean, your lustre (*that of*) the sun, your bravery (*that of*) the lion; with whom then can you be compared?

(V. 66.)—"The bracelet, O protector of the earth, shines on your massive arm as if it were the diadem of the goddess of victory dwelling within your arm.

(V. 67.)—"Because continually engaged in worship you have uttered the praises of the lord of the three worlds, therefore surely has he, pleased, firmly established you here. On your exalted lap, O ornament of the earth, we see a row of stars,<sup>129</sup> spotless like the bright rays of the sun and the moon, in the guise of a string of pearls."

(V. 68.)—"When he had thus been praised by the bards, when he had revered the immortals, the preceptors and the twice-born, set free the inmates of the prisons, (*and*) granted assurance of safety to all beings,—

(V. 69.)—"He, so soon as he was crowned, of his own accord made two vows, to complete *Padmanātha*, (*and*) to give his daughter to a good husband.

(V. 70.)—"And both these things did he, endowed with discernment, accomplish. The king's daughter was given to a husband, charming as the god of love, (*and*) this lofty temple of the glorious *Padmanātha* was completed, an imperishable embodiment of fame.

(V. 71.)—"And having appointed the remaining chief Brāhmanas, he attached a *Brahmapuri*<sup>130</sup> (*to the temple*). Unwearied (*and*)

<sup>128</sup> *vis.* in the *Virāṭaparvan* of the *Mahābhārata*.

<sup>129</sup> The king is like a mountain, on whose lofty slopes the stars appear to rest. Compare e.g. *Kādambarī*, I. p. 9 (अपरमिश्रशङ्कया नक्षत्रमालयेव शरलतया कृतमुखपरिवेशम्).

<sup>130</sup> The word *ब्रह्मपुरी* appears to me to denote a row or set of rooms or buildings, attached to a temple for the accommodation of holy and learned Brāhmanas; it occurs again in the same sense *ante*, Vol. VII. p. 306, l. 34 (*Sri. Mādhavādēva-brahmapuri*), where, as in the present in-

stance, the *sattrā* is mentioned afterwards; and Vol. VI. p. 211, l. 16. Compare also Vol. XI. pp. 100 and 101; and *Vikramānkaśekhara*, XVII. 29. In the inscription mentioned in note 13 above we find the word *सौध* used, instead of *ब्रह्मपुरी* (v. 53 *सौधेषु स्फटिकादिकूटविकटेष्वा-रोपिता ब्राह्मणः*). I assume that *Padmapāla* had provided rooms for, and installed in them, eight Brāhmanas (see above, verse 80), and that Mahīpāla finished the building or buildings and selected the other occupants.

exceedingly devoted to the law, he established a charitable hall, where savoury food and drink were distributed.

(V. 72.)—Having done both, the master of the world, the universal sovereign of princes, of mature intelligence (*and*) the light of his family, made donations for the cooking of the *naivedya* of the glorious P a d m a n ā t h a and for lights.

(V. 73.)—The *brahmōttara*<sup>121</sup> rising from the small hall the lord himself divided into two portions; one half was assigned to the glorious P a d m a n ā t h a and the other half to the lord of the gods, V a i k u n t h a.

(V. 74.)—The prince arranged suitably for the complete maintenance of the tribe of attendants,<sup>122</sup> women, musicians, singers and the rest, that there might be public performances before P a d m a n ā t h a.

(V. 75.)—Having properly divided P ā s h ā n a p a l l i, he allotted five shares and a half to the god, and twenty-four shares and a half to the most excellent twice-born.

(V. 76.)—The lord of the earth gave all taxes . . .<sup>123</sup> connected therewith, and what was produced above and below the ground and a mine of salt to the god and to the twice-born.

(V. 77.)—With him there came to share the unseen (*fruit of his pious deeds*) the famous son of Y ō g ē ś v a r a, endowed with the characteristics of a sage, in all matters a depository of the prince's confidence, a receptacle of modesty, a home of propriety, a seat of learning, a mine of sacred study, an unsurpassed dwelling of gratitude, a treasury of benevolence.

(V. 78.)—Confiding in him, the moon of princes, taking delight in the law, entrusted to him all acts of piety; (*and*) the sage entered into the thoughts of the king, because he was similarly disposed, was free from envy, and esteemed excellences (*in others*).

(V. 79.)—The following are the names of the sages who by M a h i p ā l a were given shares<sup>124</sup> in that village; the particulars are stated in the grants:—

<sup>121</sup> The *brahmōttara* would appear to be the sanctuary of the temple, usually called *garbha-grīha*, or below, v. 96 *garbha-śrīman*.

<sup>122</sup> I cannot quote any authority for this translation of the word पालक.

<sup>123</sup> I am unable to give the exact meaning of करकच-कवाटपीट.

<sup>124</sup> For प्रतिहिता: one would have expected प्रतिष्ठापिता: See above v. 80. प्रतिष्ठित is used in the same causal sense in v. 49 of the inscription mentioned above, note 116.

(V. 80.)—First, the intelligent Dēvalabdhī, then Śrīdharadīkshita, (*and lastly*) the sage (Sūri) Kīrttiratha,—(*these*) three twice-born received each one share and a half.

(V. 81.)—Gaṅgādhara, Gautama, Malaka, Gayādhara, Dēvanāga, Vasishṭha, Dēvasarman, Yaśaskara,—

(V. 82.)—Kṛishṇa, Varāhasvāmin, Gṛihadāsa, Prabhākara, Ichchhādhara, Madhu, Tilhōka, Purnashōttama,—

(V. 83.)—Rāmēśvara, the excellent twice-born, and the twice-born Dāmōdara;—these eighteen sages received one share each. The twice-born Shaṭṭhabha

(V. 84.)—received three-quarter shares. Ratna and Tihunēka, the worshippers of the gods, received both half a share each. This completes the list of the sages.<sup>125</sup>

(V. 85.)—And out of the shares of the god the prince gave half a share to the sage (Sūri) the Kāyastha Lōhabhaṭa (?) to be his for ever.

(V. 86.)—To the god the king gave a golden diadem covered with precious stones; in the midst of it a very large jewel is shining.

(V. 87.)—The ornament of princes gave a frontal ornament made of emeralds; the spotless lord of the earth also (*gave*) a golden ornament for the neck, blazing with precious stones.

(V. 88.)—He gave a pair of arm-rings set with many precious stones, and also four bracelets ornamented with jewels of great value.

(V. 89.)—This one set of ornaments, containing precious stones, is for the Lord; the second set, Aniruddha's, is solely of gold, and is as follows:—

(V. 90.)—A c h y u t a every day wears four bracelets, also a pair of tūlapattas, (*and*) a kṛitidāra with a golden handle (?).<sup>126</sup>

(V. 91.)—A māṅgālikā (?) of silver was given accompanied by five kañchōlas<sup>127</sup>; also four plates of brass for holding the *naivedya*;—

(V. 92.)—three suvarṇāṇḍas (?), (*as*) decorations for the attendants of the god. And

<sup>125</sup>  $(3 \times 1\frac{1}{2}) + (18 \times 1) + \frac{1}{2} + (2 \times \frac{1}{2}) = 24\frac{1}{2}$ , whereas the sum distributed was 24. See, ante, Vol. VII. p. 307, note 30.

<sup>126</sup> तालपट्ट is probably the same as तालपत्र, an ear-ornament; the other term I do not understand.

<sup>127</sup> मङ्गालिका (?) appears to be an upper garment, कञ्चोल = कञ्चुल 'a bodice' or 'waistcoat.' The first line of the following verse I do not understand. Suvarṇāṇḍa is used for brahmāṇḍa above, v. 28.

above was fixed a lotus of gold made into an umbrella for the Lord.

(V. 93.)—And the silver image of Aniruddha will always be bathed, after it has been placed on a copper plate, with (water from) a vessel of the same material.<sup>138</sup>

(V. 94.)—There is one image of Vāmana, a second small one of Achyuta, and another made of *vājāvarta*-stone; the two first are made of bell-metal.

(V. 95.)—They all three are worshipped assiduously in the sanctuary. There two braziers of copper were given for lights.

(V. 96.)—The prince gave two copper basins (and) two copper cups for bathing, and also a pair of copper vessels for the *argha*-oblation.

(V. 97.)—Seven bells were given, together with incense-burners, accompanied by vessels for waving lights; besides seven conch-shells also, (and) four copper pots.

(V. 98.)—The prince gave a *vādhadhā* of brass (and) two *kāhalās*,<sup>139</sup> a chowrie and a pair of staves made of bell-metal and crystal (?).

(V. 99.)—He gave two large kettles of copper (and) two copper pitchers, also five copper pails and a *chātu*<sup>140</sup> of the same material.

(V. 100.)—This completes the list of implements for the god.

(V. 101.)—For stone-cutters (?),<sup>141</sup> carpenters and so forth, for engineers, carmen and others, and for excavating and building reservoirs, wells, tanks, and so forth,—

(V. 102.)—the king gave the tenth part (of the revenue) in his whole dominion. And he likewise gave the twentieth part to Aniruddha; by that the hall for the charitable distribution of food &c. is kept up.

(V. 103.)—May this temple of prince Padma, spotless like crystal, be imperishable like the world of Vishnu (which he has) acquired through (his) religious merits!

(Vs. 104 & 105.)—This faultless eulogy has been composed by the chief of the twice-born, the descendant of Bharadvāja, grandson of the chief of poets Rāma, (and) son of the poet Gōvinda, the poet Maṇikāṇṭha, whose intellect is polished by (the study of) the *Mīmāṃsā* and *Nyāya* (and) who delights in eloquent sayings.

(V. 106.)—Yasōdēva-Digambarārka who enjoys the friendship of the sage (Sūri) Maṇikāṇṭha in which Pratāpa-Laṅkēśvaravāch shares, and who is a poet in all languages, has written the letters.

(V. 107.)—When eleven hundred years had passed, and when (besides) forty-nine years had gone since Vikrama,—

(V. 108.)—in the fiftieth (year), in the month Āśvina, in the dark half, this splendid eulogy was composed by Maṇikāṇṭha by order of the king; or, in figures, 1150, on the fifth of the dark (half) of Āśvina.

(V. 109.)—Om! There is nothing wonderful in this, that again and again in every battle the various hosts of the hostile armies flew like moths into the blazing fire of the prowess of that lord of the earth, since he, (himself) equal to Indra, had (for his minister) the wise Gaura, who endowed with intelligence (and) almost omniscient had surpassed the preceptor of the ornaments of the solar race by his policy.

(V. 110.)—Is it strange that Mahipāla ruled the whole earth, when he had for his councillor the wise Gaura, who resembles the councillor of the gods?

(V. 111.)—This eulogy has been engraved at the temple of the glorious Padmanātha in excellent letters by the artisan Padma, son of Dēvasvāmin,—

(V. 112.)—and also by Simhavāja and by the artisan Māhula. May the letters (here) engraved serve their purpose!

## FOLKLORE IN WESTERN INDIA.

BY PUTLIBAI D. H. WADIA.

### III.—The Black-Headed Man.

There was once a young lion who was very strong and withal very valiant, and so defied everybody.

One day his mother said to him—"It is all very fine for you to be proud of your great strength, and to try your might on all you meet, for you know that we are lords of the

<sup>138</sup> The dictionaries give गड्ड, गडुक and गडुक, not गडु.

<sup>139</sup> A drum and two trumpets (?).

<sup>140</sup> A spoon (?).

<sup>141</sup> For शिलाकूट the dictionaries give only the meaning 'a stone-cutter's chisel.'

forest and every creature owns our sway, but you do not seem to be aware that there is one being in this world who is more than a match for us, and can bid us defiance. He walks on two legs, and is known as the 'Black-Headed Man.' Beware of his wiles and stratagems, if you value your life."

"Very well," mused the young lord of the forest, "I should like very much to see what he is like. He must be a mighty and powerful creature if he can hold his own against me. I shall go and seek him out."

Having thus determined, the young lion wandered about roaring for several days, till one morning he chanced to enter a part of the forest that was rarely frequented by his kind. Just then a carpenter, with his bag of tools on his shoulders, and a white turban on his head, happened to pass by. The young lion skipped with delight at sight of him and cried out—"Surely this must be the being my mother has told me to beware of: for does he not go on two legs? Now for it!"

Just then, however, he happened to look at the carpenter's head, and to his great disappointment found it was white and not black, as he had been led to believe. Nevertheless he thought he would go to him and ask him whether he knew where the 'Black-Headed Man' was to be found, and if so, whether he would direct him in his search for that being.

He accordingly called out to the carpenter in a loud voice—"Hey, friend! stop! I wish to speak to you!" The poor man had no alternative but to obey, and the lion, going up to him said, "Can you tell me where I can find the 'Black-Headed Man,' for I wish very much to form his acquaintance and to try my hand on him?"

The poor man's knees knocked together with fright as he heard this and he gave himself up for lost, when suddenly an idea entered his mind like a flash of lightning, and summoning

up courage, he thus spoke to the valiant son of the lord of the forest:—

"You wish to see the 'Black-Headed Man?' Well, your curiosity shall be gratified, for I happen to know where to find him; so come along with me and I shall show him to you."

The lion agreed to this, and the two walked on together for some time till they came to a large tree. Near this tree the carpenter stopped, and said to his companion:—

"If your Highness would condescend to wait here for a while, I shall show you what the 'Black-Headed Man' is like."

He then set himself to work with his tools and began to cut a large hole through the trunk of the tree. When this was finished he fashioned a plank and fixed it at the top of the hole in such a way that it could slide up and down at pleasure, like the door of a mouse-trap. When all was ready, he requested the lion, who was eagerly watching his movements all the while, to come and put his head into the hole and look straight before him till he got a sight of the 'Black-Headed Man.'

The lion, rejoiced at the prospect of seeing the being he so much wished to meet, eagerly put his head through the hole, and in a trice the carpenter, who had already climbed the tree, let the trap-door slip down from above right on to the lion's neck, and pressed it so tight that he nearly squeezed the beast to death. He then got down and went to the other side of the tree, and uncovering his head, showed it to the dying lion, saying:—

"Your servant, the 'Black-Headed Man,' whom you wished so much to see, stands before you; pray, what would you with him?"

The poor lion, however, was by this time past replying, and the carpenter shouldering his bag of tools, walked home at leisure, glad to have escaped, by this stratagem, from the jaws of a savage beast!

#### THE BRITISH NATIONAL ANTHEM TRANSLATED INTO SANSKRIT.

BY PROF. A. WÉBER.

##### TEXT.

##### I.

God save our gracious Queen!  
Long live our noble Queen!  
God save the Queen!

Send her victorious,  
Happy and glorious,  
Long to reign over us!  
God save the Queen!

## II

O Lord, our God, arise,  
Scatter her enemies,  
And make them fall!  
Bless thou the brave that fight,  
Sworn to defend her right,  
Bending, we own thy might,  
God save us all!

## III.

Thy choicest gifts in store  
Still on Victoria pour,  
Health, Peace and Fame.  
Young faces year by year  
Rising her heart to cheer,  
Glad voices far and near  
Blessing her name.

## IV.

Saved from each traitor's arm—  
Thou, Lord, her shield from harm  
Ever hast been.  
Angels around her way  
Watch, while by night and day  
Millions with fervour pray,  
God save the Queen!

## TRANSLATION.

१	३
ईशा ज्ञा राजी नः	वररत्नानि त्वम्
समृद्धययुक्ताम्	शश्वत् तां भाजय
ईशा ज्ञानाम् ।	श्रीयशसी ।
देव्यास्यै जयिन्यै	सुप्रजास्त्वेन च
श्रीयशोभगिन्यै	हृदयानन्दिना
चिरं नः शासितुम्	सुचिरं नन्दतात्
ईशा ज्ञानाम् ॥	वीरप्रसूः ॥
२	४
ईश हे प्रोदिहि	द्रोहिणां कैतवात्
शत्रून् विशातय	ईशानां शर्मणा
पातय तान् ।	रक्षसि स्म ।
रक्ष नः सुयोधान्	त्वद्भूतास्तत्कृते
धर्मप्रपालकान्	जाग्रत्य् अहोरात्रे
तुभ्यं नमोनतान्	कोटयः प्रार्थयन्ते
ईशा ज्ञा ज्ञानाम् ॥	ईशा ज्ञानाम् ॥

NOTE BY CAPTAIN R. O. TEMPLE.

As an appendix to the above I give here a rendering of the National Anthem into Panjabi by Rām Dās Chhibhar<sup>1</sup> of Lāhor, with a translation of the same. The vernacular version is not a

translation of the Anthem, but is a poetical adaptation of it, and is intended to be sung to the well-known national Panjabi tune of *Hār Phūlān dī* (Flower Garland).

## TEXT.

## हार फुलां दी सुर उते ।

दयावाने कैसर दी तू रक्षा कर सदा क्रिपाल<sup>2</sup>  
चिरकाल करे राज एह विकटोरिया हे दयाल

१

रहे सदा एह अनंद विंगा हो ना इस दा वाल  
चिर करे राज एह सदा जै पतीप नाल  
फुले फले वांग कवल फुल दे सदा हो निहाल  
दयावान कैसर दी तू रक्षा कर सदा क्रिपाल

२

सदा हार एस दे दोषियां नू दीनानाथ दे  
मनसूवे बुरे एस दे वैरियां दे आप तौड़ दे  
साडीयां आसां तेरे उपर नाथ सानू बचां ले  
दयावान कैसर दी तू रक्षा कर सदा क्रिपाल

३

सार वस्त तू भंडार विचो दान एह नू कर  
सुरज जेहा तेज एस दा होवे सारी भूमी पर  
चिरकाल करे राज आयू एस दी बडी कर  
दयावान कैसर दी तू रक्षा कर सदा क्रिपाल

४

नियां करे साडा सदा हो कानून दी सहाये  
एस दे खिष्ट छच हेठ हर इक अनंद पाये  
निका बडा दिलो मनो पिया एह गीत गाये  
दयावान कैसर दी तू रक्षा कर सदा क्रिपाल

५

राज वैरी कोलो एस नू तू बचा ले सदा काल  
जद होवे कोई भे सामने एस दे हे दयाल  
उस वेले हथ देके रखे एस नू दया नाल  
दयावान कैसर दी तू रक्षा कर सदा क्रिपाल

६

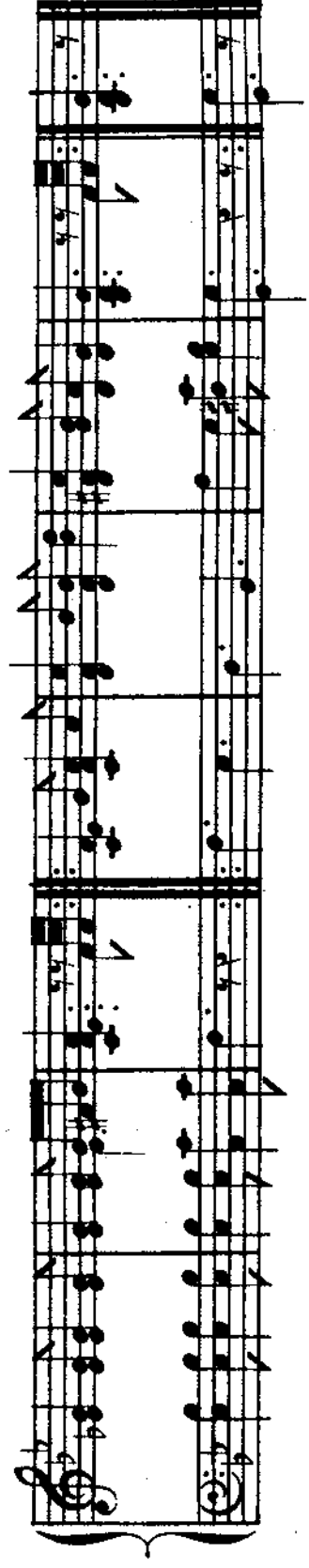
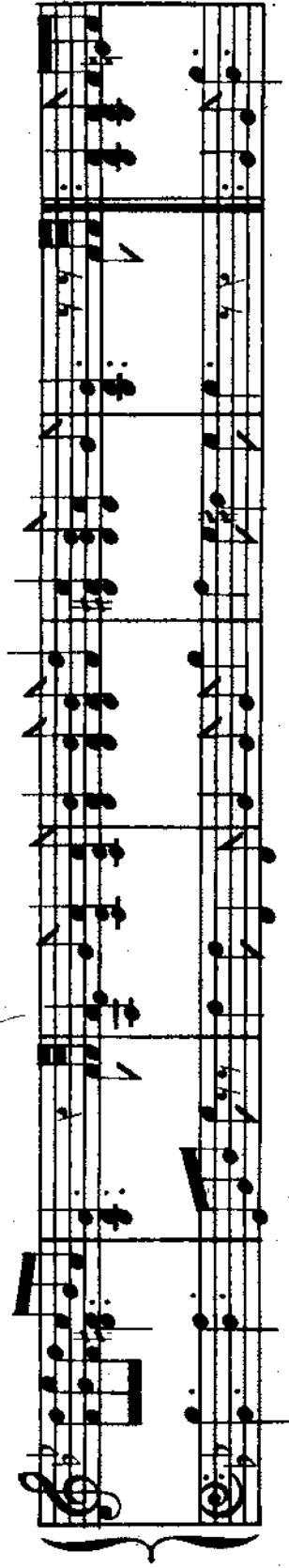
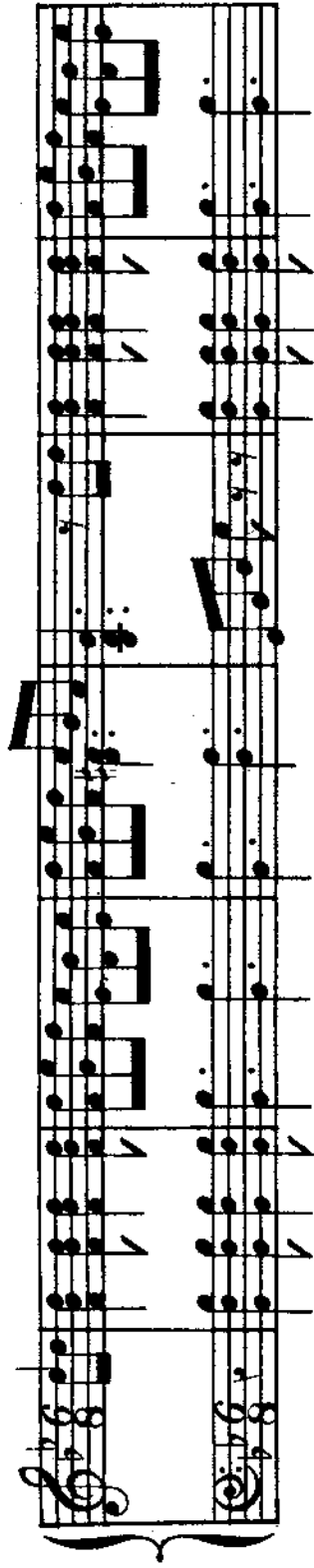
हर वेले दिगपाल रक्षा एस दी पंग करे  
अटल पतीप एस दा वेख पंग दुती भेदे सङ्गे  
दिन रात लख करोड़ हाथ जोड़ बिने करे  
दयावान कैसर दी तू रक्षा कर सदा क्रिपाल

<sup>1</sup> A class of Brāhmins from the Jhelam District. This writer has also produced a rhymed Hindustani version of the National Anthem.

<sup>2</sup> रक्षा is pronounced *rakhyā*.

<sup>3</sup> क्रिपाल is pronounced *kirpāl*.

The Air of HAR PHULAN DI, in the European Style.







## TRANSLATION.

*To the tune of the "Flower Garland."*

O God of grace! protect Thou ever the gracious  
Empress,  
Long may Victoria reign, O God of grace!

## I.

May she ever reign happy; may her serenity be  
never disturbed.\*  
Long may she reign and ever with victory and  
splendour.  
May she blossom and bloom like a lotus-flower  
and ever prosper.  
O God of grace! protect Thou ever the gracious  
Empress!

## II.

O God of the helpless! defeat Thou ever her  
enemies,  
Do Thou frustrate the evil politics of her enemies.  
Our hopes are in Thee, O Lord, preserve Thou us.  
O God of grace! protect Thou ever the gracious  
Empress!

## III.

Bestow on her the best gift of Thy treasure.  
May her glory be as the sun throughout the world.  
Long may she reign: prolong her days.  
O God of grace! protect Thou ever the gracious  
Empress!

## IV.

May she ever do justice over us, and be protector  
of the law.  
May everyone be happy under her excellent pro-  
tection.  
Let great and small with heart and soul upraise  
this song—  
O God of grace! protect Thou ever the gracious  
Empress!

## V.

Do Thou protect her ever from her royal enemies.  
Should any terror arise upon her, O God of grace!  
Then give her Thy hand and protect her with Thy  
grace.  
O God of grace! protect thou ever the gracious  
Empress!

## VI.

May the God of the Earth<sup>a</sup> protect her always.  
Seeing her boundless glory, may her secret enemies  
die of envy.  
Day and night may millions bless (her) with joined  
hands<sup>b</sup>  
O God of grace! protect Thou ever the gracious  
Empress!  
In the Plate attached will be found the music  
of "*Hār Phulāñ dī*." It is given as a specimen  
of a Pañjābī tune, arranged, as closely as possible,  
according to the European method.

## AN ENGLISH-GIPSY INDEX.

COMPILED BY MRS. GRIERSON; WITH AN INTRODUCTORY NOTE BY G. A. GRIERSON, B.C.S.

(Continued from p. 19).

BITE, to.—Dandāva, (Eng.); dantāva, dantēlāva,  
dantarāva, (Tch.); dēndalāva, (M.)  
BITTER.—Kerkō, (Tch.); gh'avré, (As. Tch.);  
amāro, kārō, (M.); kerko, (M. 7)  
BITTERNESS.—Kerkipē, (Tch.)  
BLACK.—Dum, dumo, kaulo, (Eng.); kalō, (com.)  
kaledēr, (Tch.); gh'ali, gh'eili, (As. Tch.);  
kalō, melalō, (M.); kalo, (M. 7)  
BLACK, to become, Kaliōvāva, (Tch.)  
BLACKEN, to.—Kaliarāva, (Tch.)  
BLACKBERRY.—Kalo-durril (kaulo in orig.),  
(Eng.)  
BLACKBIRD.—Kalo-chiriolo, (kaulo in orig.),  
(Eng.)  
BLACKISH.—Kalarō, kaliarkicanō, (Tch.)  
BLACKNESS.—Kalibē, (Tch.)  
BLACKSMITH.—Kaulo-mengro, (Eng.); mastēr,  
shaastirēskoro, (Tch.)  
BLACK-THORN.—Kaulo-kori, (Eng.)  
BLANKET.—Koppur, sovaharri, (Eng.)  
BLEACHER.—Toibnāskoro, (Tch.)

BLEAR-EYED.—Khaleakēskoro, khaloniko, (Tch.)  
BLEAR-EYED, to become.—Khāliovāva, (Tch.)  
BLEEDING.—Rattvalō, (Tch.)  
BLESS, to.—Blagoslovisarāva, (M.)  
BLIND.—Korredo, (Eng.); korō, koricanō, tam,  
(Tch.); kori, (As. Tch.); korō, korē, (M.);  
koro, (M. 7); tam, (M. 8)  
BLIND, to become.—Kōriovāva, (Tch.); korañ-  
vāva, (M.)  
BLINDLY.—Koriandōs, (Tch.)  
BLINDNESS.—Koribē, (Tch.)  
BLISTERS.—Bugnea, bugnior, (Eng.)  
BLOOD.—Ratti, (Eng.); ratt, (Tch.); lur, (As.  
Tch.); rat, (M., M. 8)  
BLOODY.—Ratalō, (M.)  
BLOODY, to become.—Rattvāliovāva, (Tch.)  
BLOW.—Maribē, (Tch.); dab, (M., M. 7)  
BLOW OF THE FISTS.—Rupedinf, (Tch.)  
BLOW ON THE MOUTH.—Munjī, (Eng.)  
BLOW, to.—Pudāva, (Eng.); Pōrdāva, pōdāva, phā-  
dāva, fūdāva, (Tch.); phurdāva, (M., M. 8)

\* The original is idiomatic here: lit., "may her hair be  
never crooked."

<sup>a</sup> lit., "the (tutelary) elephants of the (four) quarters  
(of the earth)."  
<sup>b</sup> i.e. in prayer.

- BLUE**,—Nilé, nili, (As. Tch.)  
**BLUSH** to,—Lajáva, (Tch.)  
**BLUSH**, to cause to,—Lajaváva, (Tch.)  
**BLUSHING**, to be,—Lajániováva, (Tch.)  
**BOAR**, wild, young,—Balishi, (M.)  
**BOARD**,—Phal, sanidi, (M. 8)  
**BOARDS**,—Skënduri, (M.)  
**BOAT**,—Lántre, (M.)  
**BODY**,—Trupo, (Eng.); trûpu, (M.)  
**BOIL**, to,—Taváva, (Tch.); kiraváva, (M., M. 7)  
     thaváva, (M. 8)  
**BOILED**, to be,—Távghiováva, (Tch.)  
**BOILED**,—Kerri, (Eng.)  
**BOILER**,—Pirry, (Eng.)  
**BOLT**,—Mandára, (Tch.)  
**BOLTING-CLOTH**,—Porizên, reshêto, (Tch.)  
**BONE**,—Kokal, (pl.) kokalor (Eng.); kôkkalo, (Tch.); kharik, (As. Tch.); kôkalo, (M., M. 7)  
**BOOK**,—Lil, (Eng.); namali, (Tch.); lil, (M.)  
**BOOT**,—(pl.) Skraunior, (Eng.); (pl.) chekmi, (As. Tch.); (pl.) shkorne, (M. 8)  
**BOOTY**,—Kappi, luripen, (Eng.)  
**BOOTY**, to get,—Leláva kappi, (Eng.)  
**BORDER**,—Nâkri, (Tch.); mârjina, (M.)  
**BORE A HOLE**, to,—Kheviaráva, (Tch.)  
**BORED**, to be (passive of above)—Kheviârghiováva, (Tch.)  
**BORN**,—Beano, (Eng.)  
**BORN**, to be,—Nêsthiáva, nêsthisard'ováva, (M.)  
**BOSOM**, see Breast.  
**BOTH**,—Li, li-duy, zheni, dûyzeni, (M.)  
**BOTTLE**,—Vellin, (Eng.); bôkla, (Tch.); agalû; shîpu, shêpu, shêp, (dim.) shêpushêru, (M.)  
**BOUGH**,—kryâugê, kryânga, (M.)  
**BOUGHT**, to be,—Kinghiováva, (Tch.)  
**BOUND**, (past part.)—Pandlo, (Eng.); phandad'ov, pandad'ov, (M.)  
**BOW**, to, (v. tr.)—Band'aráva, ênkinisard'ováva, (M.)  
**BOW ONESELF**, to,—Band'ováva, (M.)  
**BOWELS**,—Vênor, vennor, wendror, (Eng.); bukô, (Tch.)  
**BOX**,—Mufta, muktar, mukto, (Eng.); ladinfcha, sendûki; khrabisha, (Tch.); lâda, (M.)  
**BOX**, little,—Lâdicê, lédica, (M.)  
**BOX ON THE EAR**,—Pishôt, (Tch.); korik, kuradini, (As. Tch.)  
**BOXER**,—Kuromengro, (Eng.)  
**BOX**,—Chal, raklo, (Eng.); mursh, (dim.) murshorô, raklô, (dim.) raklorô, chavo, (Tch.); gor, kur, (As. Tch.); raklô, raklorô, (M.); raklo, (M. 8)  
**BRACELET**,—Korô, (Tch.)  
**BRAIN**,—gotf, godf, gudf, (Tch.)  
**BRAN**,—Seli, (M. 8)  
**BRANCH**,—Rukeskey kost, (Eng.)  
**BRANDISH**, to,—Melincasaráva, vënturiáva, (M.)  
**BRANDY**,—Tatti-pani, tatti-pauni, (Eng.); panialt, (Tch.); rakushka, (As. Tch.)  
**BRASS**,—Khaljt, (M.)  
**BRAVE**,—Murshno, murshicanô, (Tch.); vod'alô, (M.)  
**BRAVERY**,—Murshnipê, (Tch.)  
**BRAZEN**,—Kharkunô, (M.)  
**BREAD**,—Motto, (Eng.); manro, (Span. Gip.); manro, gheum, (Hun. Gip.); manrô, cham, bokalt, marnô, marô, mandô, marly (Tch.); ména, (As. Tch.); maláv, (Tch. Tok.); morroshka, (Rus. Gip.); manrô, manrê, meliye, (M.); bokoli, cham, (M. 7); manro, (M. 8)  
**BREAK**, to,—Poggráva, (Eng.); pangáva, (Tch.); phad'ováva (v. intr.), phagáva (v. tr.), (M.); pharáva, phagáva, (M. 8)  
**BREAK**, to cause to,—Pangharáva, (Tch.)  
**BREAK OPEN**, to,—Pornisard'ováva, (M.)  
**BREAST**, woman's—Chuchi, chichi, (M., M. 7)  
**BREAST**,—Bark, (fem.) birk, (pl.) pikkis, pikkaris, (Eng.); kolin, brek, gutch, (Tch.); sin, (As. Tch.); bérk, kolín, (M.); brek, kolin, (M. 7)  
**BREATH**,—Âboru, (M.)  
**BREECHES**,—Rokunyes, (Eng.); rokliá (Hun. Gip.)  
**BRICK**,—Kôrémidê, (M.)  
**BRIDE**,—Borí, (dim.) bororí, tellis-borí, (Tch.); vahri, (As. Tch.); miryása, (M.); borí, (M. 7)  
**BRIDEGROOM**,—Mírelo, mtrilo, ténô, ternô, (M.)  
**BRIDGE**,—Pudge, (Eng.); purt, (Tch.); phurd, pôdu, (M.); phurt, (M. 8)  
**BRIDLE**,—Sollibari, salivaris, (Eng.); sulivári, shuvar, (dim.) shuvarorô, ushvâr, (Tch.); rasmog, (As. Tch.); sulivari, (M. 8)  
**BRING**, to—Anáva, rigguráva, (Eng.); anáva, ghe-láva, (Tch.); anáva, ôngêráva, (M.); anáva, (M. 7)  
**BRING**, to cause to—Anghiaráva, anghiakeráva, (Tch.)  
**BRING FORTH**, to—biáva, bémava, (Tch.); kêráva, karáva, (M.); lotáva, (M. 8)  
**BRING TO MIND**, to—Rigáva in yi, (Eng.)  
**BRING UP**, to—Bharyaráva, (M.)  
**BROAD**,—Bughlô, (Tch.) dêlgo, (M.)  
**BROKEN**,—Poggado, (Eng.); parô, (Tch.); phagô, (M.)  
**BROKEN**, to be,—Panghiováva, pangliováva, (Tch.)  
**BROKEN-WINDED**,—Bavano, (Eng.)  
**BROKEN-WINDED-HORSE**,—Poggado-bavol-engro, (Eng.)  
**BROKEN VICTUALS**,—Poggado habben, (Eng.)  
**BROOM**,—Métla, shulávka, shuvál, (Tch.)  
**BROTHER**,—Simmeno, zimmen, zumi, (Eng.)  
**BROTHER**,—Pal, prala, (Eng.); pral, plal, pralorô, (Tch.); pral, (M.); phral, (M. 8)

- BROTHER-IN-LAW**,—Saló, (Tch.); kumnáto, kumnát, (M.)
- BROTHER IN VILLAINY**,—Pal, (Eng.)
- BROUGHT FORTH, to be**—Bénghiováva, bendováva, (Tch.)
- BRUSH, to**,—Shulaváva, (M. 8)
- BUCK**,—Búzos, (Tch.); cápu, (M.); buzno, (M. 7)
- BUFFALO**,—Váina, vayúna, (Tch.); bihoł, (M.)
- BUG**,—Likhevi jiv, (As. Tch.)
- BUILD, to**,—Tardáva, tardáva, (Eng.); kěráva, karáva, zidiáva, (M.)
- BUILDING, place for**,—Than, (M.)
- BULGARIAN**,—Das, (Tch. M. 7)
- BULL**,—Guveno, (Eng.); sakári, (Tch.)
- BUNCH**,—Drēs, (M.)
- BUNDLE**,—Kálavo, (Tch.); drēs, (M.)
- BURDEN**,—Katáva, (Tch.)
- BURGLARY**,—Bardiskey kair poggring, (Eng.)
- BURIED**,—Páshed, pásheno, (Eng.); prakhomě, (M.)
- BURN, to**,—Hacháva, (Eng.); tabaráva, tabiaráva, (Tch.); tapiáva, tapiováva, (Psp. M.); phabaráva, phabard'ováva, phabováva, (M.); khacharáva, (M. 7); phabáva, thabáva, (M. 8)
- BURNED, to be**,—Tábiováva, tápiováva, (Tch.)
- BURNING, a**,—Hatchipen, (Eng.); omblal, (M. 8)
- BURST, to**,—Murdáliováva, (Tch.); pharyováva, plezniáva, (M.)
- BURY, to**,—Prakhoáva, prakhosaráva, (M.); khandáva, (M. 7); parováva, prakhoáva, (M. 8)
- BUSH**,—Medisin, (Eng.)
- BUSHES**,—Poyána, (M.)
- BUSINESS**,—Butí, putí, buki, (dim.) buturi, (Tch.)
- BUT**,—Ay, dárě, (M.)
- BUTCHER**,—Maas-engro, maaso-mengro, (Eng.); maséakoro, (Tch.)
- BUTTER**,—Kil, (Eng.); gur, (As. Tch.); kiil, (Tch. Tok.); chikěn, (M.)
- BUTTERFLY**,—Pépérága, (M.)
- BUTTON**,—Krafni, (Eng.)
- BUTTON-MAKER**,—Krafni-mengro, (Eng.)
- BUY, to**,—Kináva, (Eng.); kináva, (Tch.); lavkinim, (As. Tch.); t'ináva, (M.); kináva, (M. 7)
- BUY OFF, to**,—Kináva aley, (Eng.)
- BUYER**,—Kinabéskoro, (Tch.)
- BY**,—Pa, (Eng.); pashá, pashě, (M.)
- C.
- CABBAGE**,—Shok, (pl.) shókkor, (Eng.); shakh, (Tch.); shah, (Psp. M.); ohaja, (Span. Gip.); shakh, (M., M. 8)
- CAKE**,—Manrikley, marikli, merrikley, (Eng.); manrikł, (Tch.); koláchi, kolacháy, kolocháy, (M.)
- CAKE, honey**,—Bokoli, bokuli, bokulé, bukoili, (M.)
- CALABASH**,—Katárni, kutároni, (Tch.)
- CALF**,—Sakári, (Tch.); zhičél, (M.)
- CALICO**,—Bot, (As. Tch.)
- CALLING, interjection of**—Mo, (M.)
- CALL, to**,—Chándava, chárdava, voizava, (Tch.); (imperat.) sis le ker, (As. Tch.); akarar, (Span. Gip.); akharáva, khěráva, (M.)
- CAN**,—Brad'i, (M.); bradi, (M. 7); takhtay, (M. 8)
- CANDLE**,—Mámli, (Eng.); mumeli, (M.); dud, (M. 7)
- CANDLESTICK**,—Mámli-mengro, (Eng.)
- CANE**,—Ran, (Tch.)
- CANNIBAL**,—Pégěi, (M.)
- CAP**,—Húfa, (Eng.) kúchma, kúzhma, stad'i, (M.)
- CAPITAL, to make a**,—Leláva kappi, (Eng.)
- CAPTAIN**,—Kapitáno, kapitánu, kěpitánu, (M.)
- CARD**,—Lil, (M.)
- CARE**,—Grizhě, (M.)
- CARE, to take**,—Geráva, fakáva, (Eng.); lovizáva, (Tch.); grizhiáva, (M.)
- CARPET**,—Sovaharri, (Eng.); pasterni, (Tch.)
- CARRIAGE**,—Vordón, (Tch.)
- CARRIERS**,—Karésha, (M.)
- CARROTS**,—Spinyor, (Eng.); gh'ezer, (As. Tch.)
- CARRY, to**,—Rigguráva, (Eng.); anáva, (Tch.); kóráva, kórésaráva, pheraváva, tradáva, óngěráva, (M.); lejáva, (M. 8)
- CART**,—Vardo, wardo, (Eng.); kěráca, (M.)
- CARTER**,—Wardo-mescro, (Eng.)
- CART-WRIGHT**,—Wardo-mescro, (Eng.)
- CARVE, to**,—Choláva, (Tch.)
- CASK**,—Duruli, (M.)
- CAST, to**,—Wustáva, chiváva, ohuváva, (Eng.)
- CASTLE**,—Aúlin, (M.)
- CAT**,—Matchko, (fem.) matchka, (Eng.); máchka, márohka, pishika, pisika, pismára, chichái, (dim.) ohichaiorí, ohichos, (Tch.); pisik, (As. Tch.); mēcá, mēcě, (M.); chichay, (M.); machka, (M. 8)
- CAT, condition of a**,—Chichaibě, (Tch.)
- CATCH, to**,—Astaráva, khutíláva, khotíláva, (M.)
- CAVE**,—Magherás, (Tch.); burdáy, (M.)
- CEILING**,—Grinda, (M.)
- CELLAR**,—Pivnica, (M.)
- CEMETERY**,—Mulleno kér, (Eng.)
- CHAFF**,—Plevye, (M.)
- CHAIN**,—Werriga, (Eng.); janjir, (Tch.); lánco, lánco, sáster, sastrí, sástri, (M.); veriga, (M. 8)
- CHAINED**,—Janjiraló, (Tch.)
- CHAIR**,—Besh-engri, skammen, (Eng.); skamni, (M. 8)
- CHAIR-MAKER**,—Skammen-mengro, (Eng.)
- CHAMBER**,—Kéměráca, kēmārě, kēmára, (M.)

- CHANDLER**,—Mumli-mengro, (Eng.); momeliêngoro, (Tch.)
- CHANGE**, to,—Paráva, parráva, (Eng.); paruváva, (Tch.); parud'ováva, (M.)
- CHANGED**, to be,—Parúvghiováva, (Tch.)
- CHANGE OF CLOTHES**,—Paruibê, (Tch.)
- CHAPLET**,—Minriclô, (Tch.)
- CHARCOAL**,—Wangar, wongar, (Eng.); angâr, (Tch.); angar, (M. 7)
- CHATTERER**, Chibalô, (Tch.)
- CHEAT**, to,—Khokhaváva, (Tch.); khokháva, (M.)
- CREATED**, to be,—Khokhávghiováva, (Tch.)
- CHEEK**,—Cham, (Tch.); cham, (M. 7)
- CHEESE**,—Kael, kaes, kas, (Eng.); kerâl, chelalô, (Tch.); pendir, (As. Tch.); parneli, (M.) keral, (M. 7)
- CHEESE-SELLER**,—Keralêngoro, (Tch.)
- CHERRY**,—Kerâs, (Tch.); cherêsh, (M.); keras, (M. 7)
- CHEST**,—Mufta, muktar, mukto, (Eng.); sekriy, (dim.) sekriyêsh, (M.); mosto, (M. 8)
- CHEW**, to,—Chamkeráva, châmukeráva, (Tch.)
- CHEWED**,—Chamurdicanô, (Tch.)
- CHICK-PEA**,—Rivitê, (Tch.)
- CHICKEN**,—Chavri, (Tch.); puyshôr, (M.)
- CHILD**,—Chavo, chi, (fem.) chavi, tikno, (Eng.); raklo, chavô, chaô, (dim.) chavorô, cho, (Tch.); chag'u, (As. Tch.); raklorô, shaorô, shaurô, shavô, shaô, (M.); chavo, (M. 7)
- CHILD-BIRTH**,—Ben, (Tch.)
- CHILD**, to become with,—Kabniövava, (Tch.)
- CHILD**, with,—Kabni, kamni, bharô, pharô, thulô, tulô, (Tch.); khabni, (M. 7)
- CHIMNEY**,—Kâhla, (M.)
- CHIPS**,—Pal'orâ, (M.)
- CHOKE**, to,—Tasáva, (M. 8)
- CHOOSE**, to,—Alosaráva, (M.)
- CHOP**, to,—Shináva, shingaráva, (M.)
- CHRISTIAN**, after the manner of a,—Bollimengreskoenaes, (Eng.)
- CHRISTMAS**,—Bolleskoe divvus, (Eng.); khris-tunê, (Tch.)
- CHURCH**,—Kongri, (Eng.); kangheri, karghtri, kanghtri, kangli, (Tch.); kelisê, (As. Tch.); kangêri, kangari, këngêri (M.); kangeri, (M. 7)
- CHURCH-SINGER**,—Dâskalu, (M.); (fem. his wife) diyechica, (M.)
- CHURN**,—Budâlka, (Tch.)
- CIDER**,—Chute-pavi, pauvi-pâni, (Eng.)
- CINDERS**,—Prahos, (Tch.); char, (As. Tch.)
- CIRCUMCISE**,—Chindaráva, (Tch.)
- CITIZEN**,—Gav-engro, (Eng.)
- CITY**,—Foros, vauros, (Eng.)
- CLEAN**,—Iuziou, roujiou, (Eng.); shuchô, shuzô, (Tch.); kurât, (M.); sucho, uzho, (M. 8)
- CLEAN**, to,—Kanaskeráva, kanakeráva, shuchakeráva, shuzakeráva, kosháva, kosáva, ghosháva, gosháva (Tch.)
- CLEAN**, to cause to,—Koshliaráva, (Tch.)
- CLEANLINESS**,—Shuchipê, shuzipê, (Tch.)
- CLEAR**,—Limpede, (M.)
- CLEAR WEATHER**,—Pinripê, (Tch.)
- CLEAVE**, to,—Paráváva, (Tch.)
- CLERGYMAN**,—Rashengro, rashi, (Eng.)
- CLEVER**,—Yokki, (Eng.); t'it'itôri, (M.)
- CLIMB UP**, to,—Ënkliáva, (M.)
- CLINK**, to,—Bashaváva, (M.)
- CLOAK**,—Plashta, (Eng.); plata, (Span. Gip.); mantáo, (M.)
- CLOCK**,—Chasôrniku, klôpoto, klôpotu, (M.)
- CLOISTER**,—Mênêstire, (M.)
- CLOSE**,—Akurât, kurât, (M.)
- CLOTH**,—Diklo, panno, (Eng.); yâba, pokhtân, (Tch.); diklo, (M. 7); than, (M. 8)
- CLOTH**, a,—Kosnô, koznô, koznô, (M.)
- CLOTH-MAKER OR SELLER**,—Pokhtanêskoro, (Tch.)
- CLOTH TENT**,—Parind, (Tch.)
- CLOTHES**,—Pâta, (Psp. M.); strâye, strâyi, (M.); yismata, (M. 7); see COAT.
- CLOUD**,—Nûêru, (M.)
- CLOVE OF GARLIC**,—Shiralô, (Tch.)
- CLOVEN**, to be,—Pâriovava, parávghiovana, (Tch.)
- CLUB**,—Buláva, (M.)
- COACHMAN**,—Vizitêu, (M.)
- COAL**,—Wongar, wongar, (Eng.); langar, (Borrow in Psp. M.); angâr, (Tch.); angâr, (M.)
- COAT**,—Choka, (Eng.); (pl.) sirkârfa, uryaibê, uryoibê, yismata, (Tch.); thalik, côha, (M.); see CLOTHES.
- COCK**,—Bosno, boshno, (Eng.); bashnô, basnô, (Tch.); bazhnô, kokosh, (M.)
- COFFEE**,—Kafês, kavês, kaliardô, (Tch.); káva, (M.)
- COFFIN**,—Mullenî muktar, mulhodustie mukto, (Eng.); sekriy, (M.)
- COLD**, (adj.)—Shilleno, shillerô, shillo, (Eng.); shilalô, (Tch.); silali, (As. Tch.)
- COLD**, (sub.)—Shillipen, (Eng.); shil, (Tch.); sii, (As. Tch.); shil, (M. 8)
- COLD**, to become,—Sûdriovava, shilâliovava, (Tch.)
- COLLECT MONEY**, to,—Kêsuiáva, kêsuisaráva, (M.)
- COLT**,—Kurô, kûri, kfurô, khurô, (Tch.)
- COLUMN**,—Belt, bili, (M.)
- COMB**,—Kongli, kongro, (Eng.); ghangli, kongli, (Tch.); nanâri, (M., M. 8)
- COMB**, to,—Ghandava, ghandáva, ghrantáva, khrantáva (Tch.); gandáva, (M. 7)
- COMB-MAKER**,—Ganglinêngoro, (Tch.)
- COME**, (imperat.)—Av, (Eng.); éla, av, (Tch.)
- COME**, to,—Aváva (Eng.); aváva, (Tch.); ba, pa, —(As. Tch.); aváva, (M., M. 7)
- COME OUT**, to,—Ënkliáva, (M.)

- COMFORT, to, —Kairáva misto, (Eng.)  
 COMING BACK, —Welling páli, (Eng.)  
 COMMAND, —Béfelu, porónka, porónka, (M.)  
 COMMAND, to, —Porunchiáva, porunchisaráva, (M.)  
 COMMON, a, —Kekkeno mushes pûv, (Eng.)  
 COMMUNION, —Kónka, (Tch.)  
 COMPANION, —Amál, mal, (Tch.); amál, (fem.)  
 tovarëshica, tovarëshka, (M.); amal, (M. 7);  
 see COMRADE.  
 COMPANY, Kumpánia, (M.)  
 COMPARE, to, —Ėnvoiáva, (M.)  
 COMPENSATE, to, —Lasharáva, (M.)  
 COMPLAIN, to, —Nékézháva, përiáva, zhólusard'o-  
 váva, (M.)  
 COMPLETE, —Sarro, kurdo, (Tch.)  
 COMPLETED, to be, —Fërshosard'ováva, (M.)  
 COMPLETELY, —Katár mônio, (Tch.)  
 COMPULSORY LABOUR, —Angaria, (Tch.)  
 COMRADE, —Bau, baw, (Eng.); see COMPANION.  
 CONCEAL, to, —Geráva, (Eng.); garáva, (Psp. M.)  
 CONCUBINE, —Mort, (Eng.)  
 CONFESS, to, —Spovedisaráva, (M.)  
 CONFIDENCE, —Pakiúbé, pakiabé, pakioibé, (Tch.)  
 CONFIDENCE, to have, in some one, —Pakiáva,  
 (Tch.)  
 CONFINED, (as a woman) —Lekhúsa, lekhúsia,  
 (Tch.)  
 CONFIRM, to, —Adeveriáva, adeverisaráva, (M.)  
 CONSECRATED, —Sšinoimí, (M.)  
 CONSTABLE, —Gav-engro, muskro, muskerro,  
 (Eng.)  
 CONSULT, to, —Svëtosard'ováva, (M.)  
 CONTENTED, —Mulošmí, (M.)  
 CONTORT ONESELF IN DANCING, to, —Bolaváva,  
 (Tch.)  
 CONTORTION, —Bolaipé, (Tch.)  
 CONVENT, —Mënëstire, (M.)  
 CONVERTED, —Sherraf, (Eng.)  
 CONVEY, to, —Yudisaráva, (M.)  
 COOK, —Pekéskoro, (Tch.); bukatár, bukëtári,  
 bukatár, (M.)  
 COOK, female, —Bukëtërtica, kukharica, kukhárka,  
 (M.)  
 COOKED, —Kerit, (Eng.); pekô, (Tch.)  
 COOK, to, —Pekáva, (Tch., M. 8); taváva, (Tch.)  
 COOKED, to be, —Pákoivava, távghiovava, (Tch.)  
 COOKING, —Pekibé, (Tch.)  
 COOK-SHOP, keeper of, —Pekibnâskovo, (Tch.)  
 COOL, —Sudró, sitró, sídrô, (Tch.)  
 COOPER, —Wardo-mescro, (Eng.)  
 COPPER, —Horkipen, (Eng.); haško, (Hun. Gip.);  
 khârkom, (M.)  
 COPPER, a, —Kakkavi, kshkâvi, kukâi, kokâi, (Tch.)  
 COPPER, made of, —Kharkund, (M.)  
 COPPERS, feast of, —Kakkavâ, (Tch.)  
 CORAL, —Merjânos, (Tch.)  
 CORD, —Shêlô, sholô, shêllô, (M.); shelo, (M. 8)  
 CORKS, —Bungshoror, bungyoror, (Eng.)  
 CORN, —Iv, ghiv, (Tch.)  
 CORN-MEASURE, —Kilô, (Tch.); koréc, korëcu,  
 (M.)  
 CORN, ear of, —Spiku, apiko, (M.)  
 CORN, grain of, —Grétnoé, (M.)  
 CORNER, —Kôtu, (M.)  
 COUGH, —Khas, has, (Tch.)  
 COUGH, to, —Khasáva, hasáva, (Tch.); khasáva,  
 (M. 7)  
 COUGHS, he who, —Kohi dori, (As. Tch.)  
 COUGHED, to be, —Khasániovava, (Tch.)  
 COUNSEL, —Dizia, (Tch.)  
 COUNT, (a title) —Gráfu, (M.)  
 COUNT, to, —Gináva, (Eng.); ghenáva, (Tch.);  
 genáva, (M. 7)  
 COUNTED, to be, —Ghénghiováva, (Tch.)  
 COUNTRY, —Tem, (Eng.); dia, (Tch.)  
 COUNTRY, belonging to a, —Temeskoe, (Eng.)  
 COUNTRY-SEAT, —Filisen, (Eng.)  
 COURT, to, —Mangáva, (M.)  
 COURT OF JUSTICE, —Kénoélëriye, (M.)  
 COUSIN, —Ver, (M.)  
 COVER, —Uchardo, (Tch.); khip, (M. 7)  
 COVER, to, —Ucharáva, (Tch., M. 8); t'inzoáva,  
 (M.)  
 COVERED, to be, —Uchârghiovava, (Tch.)  
 COVERING, —Ucharibé, (Tch.)  
 COVERING, (of a tent) —Kazéli, (Tch.)  
 COW, —Guveni, (Eng.); guruvni, gurumní, (Tch.);  
 mangáv, mangá, (As. Tch.); grumni,  
 gurumní, (M.)  
 COW, young, —Yálovica, (M.)  
 COWPEN, —Guveni-bugnior, (Eng.)  
 CRAB, —Karavidini, (Tch., M. 7); ráko, rak, (M.)  
 CRADLE, —L'ágëno, l'ágënu, (M.)  
 CRAG, —Tëmplu, (M.)  
 CREAM, —Smentini, (Eng.); smettani, (M. 8)  
 CREDIT, —Parriken, (Eng.)  
 CREDITED, —Pizarria, pizaurus, (Eng.)  
 CRIB, —Ásija, pakhní, (Tch.)  
 CRIPPLE, Pangô, bangô, levavdô, (Tch.); kalikôyka,  
 kaliko, kaliku, peritúra, (M.); levavdo,  
 (M. 8)  
 CRIPPLE, to become, —Levâvdovava, (Tch.)  
 CRISP, —Boldinô, kráco, (M.)  
 CROOKED, —Bangô, (M.)  
 CROSS, —Trihál, (Eng.); trushál, turshál, (Tch.);  
 trijul, (Span. Gip.); trushál, troshál,  
 (M.); trushul, (M. 8)  
 CROW, to, —Basháva, delabáva, (M.)  
 CROWN, —Korauni, kortni, (Eng.); korúna, kurúna,  
 (M.)  
 CRUMBLE, to (v. intr.), —Rësëpisard'ováva, (M.)  
 CRUMBS, —Purshuká, (M., M. 8)  
 CRY, —Gudli, godli, (Eng.); vikima, (Tch.); chingár,  
 chingár, chingári, (M.); chingar, (M. 7)

- CRY OUT, to,—Koráva, (Eng.); basháva, chingaráva, (M.); basháva, chandáva, (M. 7); vichináva, vikizáva, (M. 8)
- CUCKOO,—Koring chiriclo, (Eng.)
- CUCUMBER,—Kastravicha, panialé, adré, (Tch.)
- CUDGEL,—Druk, dráku, buzdugánu, chumágé, chumégúcé, chumégúca, (M.)
- CUP,—Koru, koro, tas, (Eng.); ball, takhtái, pal, pel, (Tch.); koro, (Span. Gip.); páharo, páharu, (M.); khoro, (M. 7)
- CUP AND SAUCE,—Dou dass, dui das, dui tas, (Eng.)
- CURE, to,—Kairáva misto, (Eng.); sastaráva, (Tch.)
- CURED, to be,—Sástiovava, (Tch.); sagh le ker, (As. Tch.)
- CURRENT,—Dáriya durri, (Eng.)
- CURRENCY,—Luvvo, (Eng.)
- CURRYCOMB,—Zgrébla, zgryábla, (M.)
- CURSE,—Solája, (Span. Gip.); arman, (M. 7)
- CURSE, to,—Armán dáva, (Tch.); kusháva, (M.)
- CURSED,—Uzhilo, (M.)
- CUSHION,—Perina, shéránd, (M.); see PILLOW.
- CUT,—Chimipen, (Eng.); chinipé, (Tch.)
- CUT, I—Chiném, (Tch. Tokat.)
- CUT, to,—Chináva, (Eng.); chináva, (Tch.); chin, (As. Tch.); secheriáva, shináva, shingaráva, (M.); chináva, khulaváva, (M. 7)
- CUT, to be,—Chinghiovava, chindovava, (Tch.)
- CUT, to cause to,—Chinaváva, (Tch.)
- CUT AWAY, to,—Shabáva, (Eng.)
- CUT OUT, to,—Kroyáva, kroyisaráva, (M.); choláva, (M. 7. Cf. Psp. M. s.v.), to cut with a knife.
- CUTLER,—Churi-mengro, (Eng.)
- D
- DAILY,—Divvuskoe, divveskoe, (Eng.)
- DAMPNESS,—Chi, (Tch.)
- DANCE,—Khôros, (Tch.); nicheri, (As. Tch.)
- DANCE, to,—Kiláva, (Eng.); kéláva, (M.); kheláva, (M. 7)
- DANCER,—Killi-mengro, (Eng.)
- DARE, to,—Kutizisaráva, (M.); tromáva, (M. 8)
- DARK,—Temno, (Eng.)
- DARKNESS,—Tunériko, (M.)
- DARK, it is,—Biavéliovel, (Tch.)
- DAELING, { of the father,—Kháltodad, (M.)  
                  { of the mother,—Kháltoydiy, (M.)
- DAENEL,—Keshelári, (Tch.)
- DAUGHTER,—Chavi, ohi, (Eng.); rakli, cháí, cháí, (dim.) chaíori (Tch.); rakli, shey, shly, (M.) lavti, (As. Tch.); jaghi (Tch. Tokat)
- DAUGHTER, of or belonging to a,—Chákoro, (Tch.)
- DAUGHTER-IN-LAW,—Buri, (M.)
- DAILY,—Divvuskoe, divvuskoe, (Eng.)
- DAMSEL,—Chavali, (Eng.)
- DAWN,—Disioibé, (Tch.); zóre, (M.)
- DAY,—Divvus, (Eng.); divés (Tch., Psp. M.; M. 7); ghivés (Psp. M.); des, d'es (M.)
- DAY-AND-NIGHT,—Dóbe, (M.)
- DAY, during the,—Disé, (Tch.)
- DAY, to become,—Disiováva, (Tch.)
- DAY-LABOURER,—Diveséskoro, (Tch.)
- DEAD, *adj.*,—Mullo, (Eng.); muló, moló, (Tch.); muló, muluró, (M.); murdal, (M. 8)
- DEAD MAN,—Mullo, (Eng.)
- DEAF,—Kasukó, kasukóv, kashukó, (Tch., Psp. M., M. 7)
- DEAFEN, to,—Zalisaráva, (M.)
- DEAF, to become,—Kashókiováva, (Tch.); gh'ari, (As. Tch.)
- DEAR,—(beloved) Drágo, drágu; (expensive) kuch, (M., M. 8)
- DEATH,—Merripen, (Eng.); meribé, (Tch.); meripí, mórte, moarte, (M.); moló, meripí, (Psp. M.); meri, muré, (As. Tch.)
- DEATH OF ANIMALS,—Murdaribé, (Tch.)
- DEBT,—Chik, (Tch.)
- DEBT, IN,—Pizarria, pizaurus, (Eng.); chikaló, (Tch.)
- DEBTOR,—Pizarri-mengro, (Eng.)
- DECEIVE, to,—Khokhaváva, (Tch.)
- DECEIVED, to be,—Khokhávghiováva, khokhávni-ováva, (Tch.)
- DECLARE, to,—Pukkeráva, (Eng.)
- DEED,—Kerrimus, (Eng.)
- DEED, good,—Mishtipi, (M.)
- DEEP,—Khor, (Tch., Psp. M.); adénko, adénku, (M.); khor, khanduk, (M. 7)
- DEER,—Stannyi, stannyo, (Eng.)
- DEFEND, to,—Branisaráva, (M.)
- DEFEND ONESELF, to,—Branisard'ováva, (M.)
- DELUGE,—Potópu, (M.)
- DEPART, to,—Nasháva, (Psp. M.)
- DEPARTURE,—Nashipé, (Tch.); apshitu, (M.)
- DEPTH,—Fúndu, (M.)
- DERIDE, to,—Khokhaváva, (Tch., M. 7)
- DERISION,—Prasabé, (Tch.)
- DESCEND, to,—Ughliáva, (Tch.); huliáva, (M.)
- DESCEND, to cause to,—Ughliaváva, ughlia keráva, (Tch.)
- DESIRE,—Manghishé, (As. Tch.)
- DESIRE, to,—Kamáva, (Eng.)
- DESTROY, to,—Nasháva, (Eng.); musaráva, phagáva, rśépiáva, (M.)
- DESTROYED,—Nashado, (Eng.)
- DEVIL,—Beng, bengui, (Eng.); benk, beng, (dim.) bengoró, (Tch.); sheitan (As. Tch.); benk, (Psp. M.); beng, (M., M. 7)
- DEVILISH,—Bengesko, benglo, bangalo, (Eng.); bengaló, benghialó, benghulanó, (Tch.)
- DEVILISH TRICK,—Benghipé, (Tch.)
- DEW,—Drosin, (M. 7)

- DIAMOND**,—Dude-bar, (Eng.); adyamáto, (M.)  
**DIE**, to,—Meráva, (Eng., Tch., Psp. M., M., M. 8)  
**DIG**, to,—Khatáva, (Psp. M.)  
**DIRECT**, to,—Orthová, (M.)  
**DIRECT ONESELF**, to,—Gátosard'ová, (M.)  
**DIET**,—Chik, hin, (Eng.); chique, (Span. Gip.); keli, keliá, mel, melalipé, (Tch.); mel, (Psp. M.); glódu, kul, (M.); chik, (M. 7); mel, (M. 8)  
**DIRT**, lump of,—Buburúzo, (M.)  
**DIRTY**,—Chiklo, (Eng.); melaló, (Tch., Psp. M.); mahrimt, zmérdavo, (M.)  
**DIRTY**, to,—Meliaráva, (Tch.)  
**DIRTY**, to become,—Chikálováva, melálováva, (Tch.); melálováva, (Psp. M.)  
**DIRTY FELLOWS**,—Hindity mengré, hindity mesaré, (Eng.)  
**DISCIPLE**,—Puy, páyo, páyu, (M.)  
**DISCOURSE**,—Sborá, sbóros, (Tch.)  
**DISAPPEAR**, to,—Khasard'ová, (M.)  
**DISH**,—Cháro, (Eng.); dūzi, (As. Tch.); charó, kledin, polumesko, (M.)  
**DISHONOUR**, to,—Kusháva, (M.)  
**DISPUTE**,—Lav-chingaripen, (Eng.)  
**DISTAFF**,—(pl.) Káyre, (M.)  
**DISTANCE**,—Duripé, (Tch.)  
**DISTANT**,—Dürghe, dur, (comp.) duredér, (Tch.); buhló, (M.)  
**DISTORT**, to,—Band'ová, (M.)  
**DISTRIBUTE**, to,—Keltusaráva, keltusard'ovával, (M.)  
**DITCH**,—Khúva, gúpa, (Tch.)  
**DIVE**, to,—Kufundiáva, (M.)  
**DIVINE**,—Develiskoe, (Eng.)  
**DO**, to,—Keráva, kairáva, (Eng.); keráva, gheráva, (Tch.); kerámi, (As. Tch.); dáva, kéráva, karáva, (M.)  
**DO**, to cause to,—Kerghiá keráva, (Tch.)  
**DOG**,—Juggal, jukkal, (pl.) jukkalor, chukkal, (Eng.); chuquel, (Span. Gip.); chuké, jukél, (f.) chuklt, rikonó, rukonó, (Tch.); boyjt (As. Tch.); zhukel, zhukól, (dim.) zhukioró, zhukl'oró, cenko, (M.); jukel, (M. 7); rukono, (M. 8)  
**DOGWOOD**,—Jukkaletí kosht, (Eng.)  
**DONKEY**,—Mailla, (Eng.)  
**DOOR**,—Wuddur, (Eng.); burda, (Span. Gip.); dar, dal, vudár, (Tch. Psp. M.); udár, vudár, pórtá, poarta, (dim.) portica, (M.)  
**DOOR**, of or belonging to,—Vudriákoró, (Tch.)  
**DOORKEEPER**,—Wudder-mesero, (Eng.)  
**DOORKNOCKER**,—Khartalámi, (Tch.)  
**DOVE**,—Holub, (M.); tovade, (M. 8)  
**DOWN**,—Aley, (Eng.); telé, felé, (Psp. M.)  
**DOUGH**,—Astráki, khomér, (Tch.); khumár, khomér, (M., M. 7)  
**DRAGON**,—Balátru, baláuru, balaúré, (M.)  
**DRAW**, to,—Tardáva, tardáva, (Eng.); chiváva, chidáva, (Tch.); tradáva, cōrdáva, kōrē-saráva, pheraváva, (M.); cidáva, (M. 7)  
**DRAWERS** (for wearing),—Sosté, (M.)  
**DRAWN**, to be,—Chidniová, (Tch.)  
**DRAWER**,—Shuf'áda, (M.)  
**DREAM**,—Sunnó, (Tch., Psp. M.); sōnu, sonó, (M.)  
**DRESS**,—Rivipen, (Eng.); goneles, (Span. Gip.)  
**DRESS**, to,—Uryáva, oryáva, (Tch.); uryaváva, (Psp. M.); (to adorn) pucuiáva, pucui-saráva; (to clothe) uryaváva, (M.)  
**DRESSED**,—Riddo, (Eng.); vriardao, (Span. Gip.)  
**DRIED**, to be,—Shúkiová, (Tch.)  
**DRINK**, to,—Peáva, (Eng.); piáva, (Tch. Psp. M., M., M. 8)  
**DRINK**, to give to,—Piaváva, (Tch.)  
**DRINKING VESSEL**,—Báli, pal, pel, (Tch.)  
**DRIVE** to,—Kéráva, (M.)  
**DRIVE AWAY**, to,—Lipsaráva, (M.)  
**DROP**, to,—Chulaváva, (M. 7)  
**DROP**,—Gúta, (M.)  
**DROVE**,—Govedár, (Tch.)  
**DROWN**, to,—Tasaváva, (M.)  
**DROWNED**, to be,—Tasyová, (M.)  
**DRUM**,—Dóba, (M.)  
**DRUNK**, (intoxicated),—Pios, matto, (Eng.); mottó, mattó māmīni, matto gargóshi, mattó koró, matticanó, (Tch.); zerakhóshi, (As. Tch.); mattó, (Psp. M.); mató, mat'árno, (M.); mato, (M. 8)  
**DRUNK**, to make,—Mattiaráva, (Tch.); mat'aráva, (M.)  
**DRUNK**, to become,—Mattiováva, (Tch.); máttio-váva, (Psp. M.); mat'ová, (M.)  
**DRUNKARD**,—Pea-mengro, piya-mengro, matto-mengro, (Eng.)  
**DRUNKENNESS**,—Mattipen, (Eng.); mattipé, mat-tioibé, (Tch.)  
**DRY**,—Trusno, (Eng.); shukó, (Tch., Psp. M., M., M. 8); shukél, (As. Tch.)  
**DRY**, to (trans.),—Shukiaráva, shukeráva, (Tch., Psp. M.); shut'aráva, (M.)  
**DRY**, to become,—Shúkiová, (Tch., Psp. M.); shut'ová, (M.)  
**DRYNESS**,—Shukibé, (Tch.)  
**DUCKS**,—Polia, (Tch.); gálbēnu, (M.); poli, (M. 8)  
**DUCK**,—Racheta, retza, (pl.) pappins, pappior, patnies, (Eng.); ráca, (M., M. 8)  
**DULL**,—Delivanó, dilivanó, d'ilivanó, (M.)  
**DUMB**,—Lalóri, lavóri, lalóro, lalaró haroló, (Tch.); laloro, (M. 8)  
**DUMB**, to become,—Lalóriová, (Tch.)  
**DUNG**,—Ful, (Eng.); konói, bunista, gonói, goshó, goshnó, (Tch.); sipindí, (As. Tch.); goshnó, (Psp. M.); gun'oy (M.);

DUNG OF BIRDS,—Chichini, (Tch.)  
 DUNG, to,—Chichinia keráva, (Tch.)  
 DYST,—Prakhos, (M. 8)  
 DUSTER,—Kírpa, ekirpa, (Tch.)  
 DWARFISH,—khurdó, (Psp. M.)  
 DWELL, to,—Lodáva, (Tch., M. 8); besháva, (M.)

## E

EACH,—Káde, (Tch.); fiesavó, (M.); sako, (M. 8)  
 EAGLE,—Pazhúré, (M.)  
 EAR,—Kaun, kan, (pl.) kenyor, (Eng.); kann, (Tch.); kan, khan, (M.); kan, (M. 7)  
 EARLIER,—Anglalunó, anglunó, angledunó, angle-lutnó, (Tch.); anglál, dintunó, int'e, may int'e, (M.)  
 EARLY,—Sorlo, (Eng.); ráno, (Tch., Psp. M., M. 8); ségo, ségu, ségá, ségá, (M.)  
 EAR-RING,—Cherchélú, (M.); cheni, (M. 7)  
 EARTH,—Pòv, puvvo, chik, (Eng.); phuv, pfuv, puv, pu, poshik, (Tch.); puv, phuv, pfuv, (Psp. M.); phu, (M.); phuv, posh, (M. 8)  
 EARTHY,—Puvíákoró, poshikákoró, (Tch.)  
 EASTER,—Patranghi, patranki, patraghi, (Tch.); patrangí, (M. 8)  
 EASY,—Ushóru, (M.)  
 EAT, to,—Háva, hawáva, haláva, (Eng.); kháva, (Tch., Psp. M.); kháva, (M., M. 7)  
 EGG,—Yoro, (Eng.); vandó, (Tch.); ani, (As. Tch.); anu, (Tch. Tokat); vapró, (Psp. M.); anró, (M.); vando, (M. 8)  
 EGG-PLANT,—Baljan, bajan, (As. Tch.)  
 EIGHT,—Ohtó, (Tch., Psp. M.); okhto, (Tch., M. 8)  
 EIGHTEEN,—Deshko, (Eng.); desh-i-ohtó, (Psp. M.)  
 EIGHTY,—Ogdónta (Tch.); ohtóvardéri, (Psp. M.)  
 ELBOW,—Kuni, kunik, (Tch.); kuy, (M.); kuni, (M. 8)  
 ELEVEN,—Desh ta yeek, (Eng.); desh-u-yek, (Tch.); desh-i-yek, (Psp. M.)  
 EMACIATED,—Bi-maséskoro, (Tch.); shuko, (Psp. M.)  
 EMBARRASSMENT,—Tasás, (Tch.)  
 EMBITTER, to,—Musaráva, (M.)  
 EMBROIDER, to,—Suváva, (M.)  
 EMBROIDERING FRAME, an,—Derdéfu, (M.)  
 EMPEROR,—Ėmparáto, Ėmparátu, (M., M. 8)  
 EMPRESS,—Ėmparatýása, (M.)  
 EMPTINESS,—Pustiye, (M.)  
 EMPTY,—Chuchó, (Tch. M. 8); pustiya, (M.)  
 EMPTY, to,—Chucharáva, (Tch.)  
 EMPTY, to become,—Chuchiováva, (Tch.)  
 ENCLOSURE,—Bári, pári, (Tch.)  
 END, to,—Férshoáva, (M.)  
 ENDURE, to,—Rėbdiáva, rėbdiaráva, (M.)  
 ENEMY,—Dushman, (M. 7)  
 ENOUGH,—Dusta, dosta, (Eng.); destul, destál', dósta, (M.); dosta, (M. 7)

ENRAGED,—Kholinákoró, koliniákoró, (Tch.)  
 ENRAGED, to become,—Kizdizáva, (Tch.)  
 ENRICH ONESELF, to,—Baraváliováva, (Tch.)  
 ENTER, to,—Shuváva, (M.)  
 ENTIRELY,—Dintrég, pe dintrég, (M.)  
 ENTRAILS,—Vėnor, vennor, (Eng.); bukó, (Tch., M. 7)

EQUAL,—Simen, (Eng.)  
 ERASER, (sub.)—Mashá, (Tch.)  
 ESCAPE, to,—Shabáva, (Eng.); nasháva, skėpisa-ráva, skėpisard'ováva, (M.)  
 ETERNALLY,—Sikovar, (Eng.); sekovar, (Hun. Gip.)  
 EVENING,—Tasarla, sarla, (Eng.); biavell, (Tch., M. 7)  
 EVER, for,—Vechi, (M.)  
 EVER MORE,—Sikovar, ever-komi, (Eng.); sekovar, (Hun. Gip.)  
 EVERY,—Sore, soro, (Eng.); sekom, (M.)  
 EVIL,—Dosh, dosh, wafodu, wafudo, vassavó, vassavy, (Eng.); zhunganimós, (M.)  
 EXACTLY,—Huey, (As. Tch.)  
 EXCHANGE, to,—Paráva, parráva, porráva, (Eng.); paruváva, (Tch., M. 8)  
 EXCOMMUNICATED,—Afurisimt, (M.)  
 EXCOMMUNICATION,—Kalipé, (Psp. M.)  
 EXCREMENT,—Ful kful, kul, khendó, (Tch.); gus, (As. Tch.); khin, khul, (M. 7); see DIET.  
 EXERCISE, to (a horse)—Kėláva, (M.)  
 EXIST, to,—Jibáva, (Eng.)  
 EXPENSIVE,—Kuch, (M.)  
 EXPERT,—Yokki, (Eng.)  
 EXPIRE, to,—Oghi, dáva, (Tch.)  
 EXTEND, to,—Bugliaráva, (Tch.)  
 EXTENDED, to be,—Boghliovava, (Tch.)  
 EXTINGUISH, to,—Murdaráva, (Tch.); mudaráva, (M.)  
 EXTINGUISHED,—Murdál, (Tch., M. 8)  
 EXTINGUISHED, to be,—Mudard'ováva, (M.)  
 EXTINGUISHER,—Vrehtóla, (Psp. M.)  
 EYE,—Yak, (pl.) yakor, (Eng.); yak, (Tch., Psp. M.); aki, (As. Tch.); yak, (M.); yakh, (M. 7)  
 EYEBROW,—Pov, (Tch., Psp. M.); gh'ash, (As. Tch.); sprinchėno, (M.)  
 EYEGGLASS,—Okyánu, (M.)  
 EYELASH,—Chamcháli, (Tch.); zhėne, (M.)

## F

FACE,—Chikát, mđi, (Tch.); muy, (M.)  
 FAGGOT,—Trushni, (Eng.)  
 FAIR, (sub.)—Weggaulus, welgorus, welgaulus, (Eng.); (yearly) yarmarók, (M.)  
 FAIRY-TALE,—Paramisi, (M. 8)  
 FAITH,—Pakiúbé, pakiabé, pakoibé, (Tch.)  
 FAITHFUL,—Pakianó, (Tch.)  
 FALCON,—Firaghos, (Tch.)



**FALL**, to,—Peráva, (Eng.); peráva, (Tch., Psp. M., M. 8); petrar, (Span. Gip.); khut'áva, peráva, sközáva, (M.)  
**FALL**, cause to,—Peraváva, (Tch.)  
**FALL**, to let,—Mekáva, (M.)  
**FALL DOWN**, to,—Peráva tuley, (Eng.)  
**FALSE**,—Malleko, bango, fashono, (Eng.)  
**FALSEHOOD**,—Hokkano, (Eng.); khokhamnibê, (Tch.); elki, (As. Tch.)  
**FAMISHED**,—Bokalô, (Tch.)  
**FAMISHED**, to become,—Bokállovava, khabezánáva, (Tch.)  
**FAMOUS**,—Shundô, sundô, (Tch.)  
**FAR**,—Dur, durro, (Eng.); dur, (M., M. 7); buglo, (M. 7)  
**FAR**, from,—Durál, (M.)  
**FARM**,—Giv-engro puv, (Eng.)  
**FARMER**,—Giv-engro, (Eng.)  
**FARMHOUSE**,—Giv-engrô-ker, (Eng.)  
**FARMYARD**,—Pusên, (Tch.)  
**FARRIER**,—Nalchâskoro, (Tch.)  
**FARTHING**,—Lolli, (Eng.)  
**FASHIONED**,—Fashono, (Eng.)  
**FASTENING**,—Fortâcie, (M.)

**FAT**, (adj.)—Tulo, (Eng.); tulô, (Tch.); parvardô, (Psp. M.); thulô, tulô, (M.)  
**FAT**, (sub.)—Tulipen, (Eng.); kil, (Tch.); khil, chicken, (M. 7)  
**FAT**, to be,—Kilâvghiováva, (Tch.)  
**FAT**, to become,—Tálliováva, (Tch.); kilaliováva, (Tch.)  
**FATHER**,—dad, dado, (Eng.); dat, dad, (dim.)  
 dadorô, (Tch.); dát, (Psp. M.); dad, dado, (Rus. Gip.); babô, (As. Tch.); dad, tâtê, (M.); dad, (M. 7)  
**FATHER-IN-LAW**,—Mamicholô, sashtro, sasrô (Tch.); shastrô, sastrô, (Psp. M.); sâstro, (M.); khamamik, (M. 7); sashtro, (M. 8)  
**FATIGUE**,—Kinioibê, (Tch.)  
**FATIGUED**,—Khinô, (Tch.)  
**FATIGUED**, to become,—Khiniováva, chindováva, (Tch.)  
**FATTEN**, to,—Kiláváva, (Tch.)  
**FEAR**,—Dar, (Tch., Psp. M., M., M. 7)  
**FEAR**, to,—Daráva, trasháva, (Tch.); kihêmi, (1st pers. sing.), (As. Tch.); daráva, (Psp. M., M.); êngrozíáva, (M.); trasháva, (M. 8)  
**FEAST**, a,—Akhênghi, (Tch.)

## MISCELLANEA.

## A NOTE ON THE KASHMIRI PORTABLE BRAZIER.

In his paper on the Kasmîri portable brazier, the Rev. Mr. Knowles says<sup>1</sup> that "it has been suggested that the Kasmîris learnt the use of the *kangar* from the Italians in the retinue of the Mughal Emperors, who frequently visited the valley during the summer months A.D. 1587-1753." The subjoined stanza from Mañkha's *Śrīkṣāṇṭhacharita*<sup>2</sup> (iii. 29) seems to prove that braziers were in general use as early as the twelfth century:—

हिमागने यत्र गृहेषु योषितां  
 डबलङ्गुच्छिद्रसखी हसन्तिका ।  
 विभाति जेसुं मन्नेन गुलिनं  
 धृता ततिर्दिग्मयीव चक्षुषाम् ॥

"There (*viz.* in Pravarapura or Śrinagar) at the approach of winter, the brazier (*hasantikā*), which possesses many blazing holes, is flashing in the

*zenānas* like a row of eyes of fire, which Love has adopted in order to conquer Śiva (*who had burnt up Love by his only eye of fire*)."

According to the St. Petersburg Dictionary, the word *hasantikā* occurs also in Kalhana's *Rājataranginī* (iii. 171), where the sleeping-room of Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī is called *lasad-dīpta-hasantika* or "shining with the blazing brazier."

E. HULTZSCH.

Vienna, 16th November 1885.

## PRATAP CHANDRA RAI'S MAHABHARATA.

We are glad to observe that H. H. the Rājā of Faridkōt has granted Rs. 500 towards Bābū Pratāp Chandra Rāi's excellent and colossal undertaking, the translation of the *Mahābhārata*. We trust that this by no means isolated instance of H. H.'s munificence towards Indian literature will lead others of his rank to similarly aid this very important publication.

## BOOK NOTICES.

INDIAN ARCHITECTURE OF TO-DAY, by F. S. Growse, C.I.E., B.C.S., Allahabad: N. W. P. and Oudh. Government Press.

This is an instalment of a work extending the author's monograph entitled *Bulandshahr*, or

<sup>1</sup> *ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 266.

<sup>2</sup> This work was discovered by Professor Bühler; see his *Kasmîr Report*, p. 50. A birchbark MS. of the text

*Sketches of an Indian District*, already noticed in this *Journal*, Vol. XIV. p. 208, and inculcates the same lessons with the same freedom of speech. Many of the plates have already appeared in the

and of Jōnarāja's commentary, which I bought in Kasmîr, bears the date (Saptarshi)-Śaivāt 24 and Śrī-Śākāh 1570, i.e. A.D. 1648.

former monograph and in the *Journal of Indian Art*.

The book is another proof of the heartiness with which the author has entered into the very laudable object of improving architecturally the towns and districts he may be sent to administer, and (may we say it?) with which he also enters into official disputes. His success in the former is beyond doubt and has led, as we have previously observed, to really useful results in inducing the Governments of India to study something besides economy of construction in their public buildings. If Mr. Growse in the end succeeds in making the Indian official mind see that men, being human, love what they think to be beautiful, and that this love of the beautiful is worth consideration, as well as R.A.P., he will be well repaid for all his disappointments and those heart-burnings, which he makes no attempt to conceal. We think we are safe in holding that there are abundant signs abroad of his eventual success in this object.

THE BOOK OF THE THOUSAND NIGHTS AND A NIGHT,  
by RICHARD F. BURTON, Vols. I. to V. Kamashas-  
tra Society, for private subscribers only.

In making his work follow so quickly upon Mr. John Payne's *Book of the Thousand Nights and One Night* (Villon Society, for private subscribers only) Captain Burton has deliberately placed his labours before the public in the face of a powerful rival, but we do not think that he has for this reason anything to fear. It is no flattery to say that where the language, literature and social structure of the Arabs is concerned Captain Burton's attainments stand unrivalled; his opportunities, as he has used them, have been greater than those of any other living writer, and his command of English has been proved in other labours and on other subjects to be unusually extensive. He therefore undertakes the stupendous task—for it is nothing else—of a proper rendering of the *Arabian Nights* into English, with an equipment for the work that need fear no rivalry—not even that of Mr. Payne.

The former work was confessedly a book of pure literature, and the notes were consequently of the most meagre description, the author trusting to his dissertation published in the ninth and last volume to explain the history and nature of this wonderful work of imagination. Captain Burton aims at much more—he not only undertakes to render the text adequately, but to explain every allusion to history, literature, custom and belief. His notes are admirable, and come with a force and authority on the matters treated of that is, as

we have above stated unrivalled, and—with all due deference to Mr. Payne's reasons for making his work a purely literary one—throw the older book completely into the background. Explanatory notes to a book of this kind are in fact so imperatively necessary that it is difficult to see why any considerations should be allowed to outweigh the arguments in their favour.

There are many difficulties in the way of a proper presentation of the *Arabian Nights* in an English garb. It must be a "plain and literal translation," and it must give the spirit, the manner and the matter of the original. These alone in the case of a master-piece of language like the *Kitab Alif Laila wa Laila* are matters of no small difficulty: and when again it is remembered that the translation is to be made from a book created by writers whose method of expression is utterly foreign to that of Englishmen, and filled with references of all sorts to matters unknown to English instincts, the difficulties become almost insuperable. To say, therefore, that a translation made under these circumstances is successful is in itself high praise. It seems to us that it cannot but be admitted that Mr. Payne's rendering is, viewed thus, a success; we think that Captain Burton's rendering is a still greater success, without reference to his invaluable notes. As 'un-English' features of the original may be mentioned the rhymed prose so dear to the Oriental and so abominable to the English ear, and the monorhymes of the verses,—which last are especially difficult to deal with. Another source of trouble is what Captain Burton calls the *turpiloquium* of the Arabs—that calling a spade a spade—which has obliged him in putting his "plain" rendering before the English public to clearly explain that it is not *virginibus puerisque*, and to assert in unmistakable terms that nothing could be more repugnant to his feelings than the idea of his pages being placed in any other hands than the class, *vis.* men and students, for whose special use they have been prepared. The plain speaking, indeed, of the *Arabian Nights* is to the modern English people simply insufferable, but it is so characteristic of all Oriental social life, that if the book is to be placed before its readers in any but a false light the grossness of expression must be literally given.

We here give a specimen—wonderfully characteristic of Arabic rhymed prose—which will give an idea of Captain Burton's method and also to some extent of his one defect *vis.* his love of rare and consequently little understood words and allusions—which has led a reviewer of another work to say that it had been not "Englished" but "Burtoned" by the translator.

"Thereupon sat a lady bright of blee, with brow beaming brilliancy, the dream of philosophy, whose eyes were fraught with Babel's gramarye, and her eyebrows were arched as for archery; her breath breathed ambergris and perfumery, and her lips were sugar to taste and carnelian to see. Her stature was straight as the letter *alif* and her face shamed the noon-sun's radiancy and she was even as a galaxy or a dome with golden marquetry, or a bride displayed in choicest finery, or a noble maid of Araby."

In the above, "blee" and "gramarye" may be held to be due to the exigencies of *saj'a*, but we have "pinacothek of the brain," a "Pantagruelist of the Wilderness," "Mabinogionic archaism," and so on in the preface, or foreword as Captain Burton prefers to call it. We would here mention that the "Babel" the "letter *alif*," and the confusion of metaphor in the above quotation are all duly explained in footnotes.

We will now give a specimen of a versified rendering, taken at random from the second volume, p. 143, which will exhibit the author's success in reproducing the manner and rhythm of the Arabic, and also afford us an opportunity of making a comparison with Mr. Payne's efforts in the same direction. Mr. Payne's verses are to be found in Vol. II. p. 67 of his work.

## CAPTAIN BURTON.

Time hath for his wont to upraise and debase  
Nor is lasting condition for human race:  
In this world each thing hath appointed turne  
Nor may man transgress his determined  
place:  
How long these perils and woes? Ah woe! For  
a life all woeful in parlous case!  
Allah bless not the days which have laid me  
low! I the world, with disgrace after so much  
grace!  
My wish is baffled, my hopes cast down,\* And  
distance forbids me to greet his face:  
O thou who passeth that dear one's door,\* Say  
for me, these tears shall flow evermore!

## MR. PAYNE.

The tides of fate 'twixt good and ill shift ever  
to and fro, And no estate of life for men  
endureth evermo'.  
All things that to the world belong have each  
their destined end, And to all men a turn is  
set, which none may overgo.  
How long must I oppression bear and peril and  
distress? Ah, how I loathe this life of mine  
that nought but these can show!  
May God not prosper them, these days, wherein

I am oppressed, Of Fate, these cruel days that  
add abjection to my woe!

My purposes are brought to nought, my loves  
are reft in twain By exile's rigour, and my  
hopes are one and all laid low.

O ye, who pass the dwelling by, wherein my  
dear ones are, Bear them the news of me and  
say, my tears for ever flow.

The eternal subject of transliteration has forced itself to the front, as usual, both in Capt. Burton's and Mr. Payne's prefaces. The latter has determined to avoid all accents or other tricks of typography in his pages as being repugnant to the taste of readers of works of imagination. This has led him—as it always does—into great messes, e.g. *roc*, *khalif*, *cadi* and other impossibilities in Arabic orthography and pronunciation. His proper names too are often positively atrocious, e.g. Agib-ben-Khesib, Noureddin, Bedreddin, *et hoc genus omne*. The former has avoided this pitfall by a judicious use of accents and apostrophes, and has produced, in consequence, a truer representation of the Arabic words and names. In the presence of so great a scholar as Captain Burton one must always speak even of his vagaries with respect, but we should like to know why when he writes *kalandar*, *ruk*, *Ja'afar*, *jinn*, *Nu'umán*, *astaghfaru'llah*, and so on, he should also write *Núr al-dín*, *Badr al-dín*, *Shaykh*, *Laylah*, *Hosayn*, *Al-Zayni* *Ibn al-Saddí*, *Al-Saddí*, and such like.

DICTIONARY OF KASHMIRI PROVERBS AND SAYINGS, by the Rev. J. HINTON KNOWLES, F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S., etc. Bombay: Education Society's Press. London: Trübner & Co.

This collection of some 1,500 proverbs and sayings of the Kásmiris is admirable of its kind, and paves the way, let us hope, for many a really useful work in the future on that little known land and its people. Visitors to it are to be counted by the thousand, but accurate and practicable information regarding it is very difficult to procure, as anyone who has been in want of such is painfully aware.

The book has been constructed on the lines of Dr. Fallon's *Dictionary of Hindustani Proverbs*, now three parts published, and aims at giving the original a readable rendering, and where necessary a full explanation. Proverbs in Kásmír, as elsewhere, frequently allude to household folktales and these are given at length in every case, forming a most valuable feature of the work. The defect of the book, besides its too frequently shaky English, is that many of the allusions to legends and so on, which are in fact common to all India, are treated as if peculiar to Kásmír, no hint being given of their real origin, or presence, in Sanskrit or Prákrít literature; but this is not a very serious matter, and can be readily remedied

in the second edition, which we hope to see some day, for the work is well worthy of one.

The book throughout shows that care and attention to details which is in itself a proof that the general accuracy of the author may be taken on trust. It is accompanied by a preface of a novel and refreshingly *naïve* description.

BIHAR PEASANT LIFE, by G. A. GRIERSON, B.C.S.  
London: Trübner & Co.

The best answer which the many honest and laborious European servants, that the Government of India may well be proud of possessing, can give to the arguments of those who would represent them from interested or political motives as being ignorant of the natives of India, lies in such books as this. It is not a solitary example, but merely one out of very many, the solidity, the accuracy, the thoroughness of which is more than an honour to the Indian Civil Service. As long as the gentlemen that compose it can number among them those capable of producing volumes like *Bihâr Peasant Life*, they need never fear any quantity of misrepresentation and attacks such as Messrs. Blount, Seymour Keay, Digby, and others have lately thought proper to make in England.

The work before us is a large octavo book of 464 and clv. pp., the last part dealing with the index only (!), and is full of the most carefully compiled information of every kind regarding the peasant life of Bihâr; and yet Mr. Grierson modestly puts it forward "as a Catalogue of the names used by the Bihâr peasant for the things surrounding him in his daily life," and hopes "it may serve as a solid foundation for more elaborate disquisition on the Bihâr *raiyyat* and his surroundings." If any superstructure is ever raised on such a foundation as this, we for our part can only hope that it will be worthy of it. In his preface Mr. Grierson explains the care taken to render its pages accurate, but this is sufficiently visible from a perusal of the work itself: every page contains the vernacular name for everything mentioned in Nâgari and Roman characters, while the extended index is in itself a practically complete vocabulary of Bihâri husbandry in all its aspects.

Care and thought is visible in the very arrangement of the book. It is divided into Divisions, Sub-divisions and Chapters. The Divisions are:—(1) The Implements and Appliances used in Agriculture and Rural Manufactures;—(2) Domestic Appliances and Utensils;—(3) Soils;—(4) General Agricultural Operations;—(5) Agricultural products and their Enemies;—(6) Agricultural Times and Seasons;—(7) Cattle and other Domestic

Animals;—(8) Labour, Advances, Wages and Perquisites;—(9) Land tenures;—(10) The Native House;—(11) Food;—(12) Ceremonies and Superstitions of Rural Life;—(13) Trade, Money, Dealings and Accounts;—and (14) Weights and Measures. The above list exhibits the comprehensiveness of the volume and the following specimen of Sub-divisions and Chapters will show its thoroughness,—Division I. Implements and Appliances used in Agriculture and Rural Manufactures. Sub-division VI.:—Appliances used in the conveyance of goods and passengers. Chapter (i) the country cart, (ii) the large complete country cart, (iii) the little country cart, (iv) the bullock carriage, (v) the pony carriage, (vi) the country boat, (vii) the litter. The actual treatment of each subject is, of course, very much as Mr. Grierson himself says of it, that of a "discursive catalogue." For instance, the chapter on litters consists of nine numbered paragraphs describing and naming the ordinary kinds of litters, the pole common to all, the parts of the litter itself, its feet, its frame-work, its curtains, special kinds of litters, and their special constructive parts. The whole chapter gives a complete groundwork on which to base a sound description of the Indian litter in all its varieties, and we could hardly direct a literary visitor to India, in search of "local colour" for his inevitable book of travels, to a better source for the true article. The more serious purpose of the book before us is, however, to supply the Indian Official and Student with trustworthy information of a kind so important to him, and this purpose it admirably fulfils.

The illustrations are numerous and very welcome. In matters unfamiliar and special, an ounce of seeing is worth a pound of description any day: a fact long since recognized in the modern dictionaries. The illustrations are lithographs or woodcuts from photographs, and are the production, as we now see them, of the Calcutta School of Art. The author considers them excellent reproductions of the photographs,—an opinion we cannot endorse,—and lays what fault there is in them on the originals, many of which were taken under great difficulties. The fact is, however, that, as lithographs and cuts, the illustrations are often indistinct and blotchy, and their defects are all the more to be deplored as nowadays the art of photolithography and photogravure have been brought to such perfection in Europe and the results from them are so accurate and pleasing.

On the whole we are enabled to heartily congratulate Mr. Grierson on his work, and the Bengal Government on finding an officer willing to undertake so great a task and able to accomplish it with such success.

DISCURSIVE CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARDS THE COMPARATIVE STUDY  
OF ASIATIC SYMBOLISM.

BY H. G. M. MURRAY-AYNSLEY.

*Introduction.*

AN almost new world of interest is opened out to us if we endeavour to enter into the lives of former races who have peopled the earth, and to study what is left to us in their monuments; and it is still more interesting and instructive to trace the origin of the symbols and customs which still survive in Europe, and try to guess from them (perhaps with tolerable certainty) whence came the Modern European civilization, to mark its gradual progress and development, and to note the changes which time and altered conditions have produced in religion, customs, arts, and architecture.

I have to some extent brought together in the following papers the results of laborious researches made by various students, but I hope also that some of the ideas and features of my work will be found to be new ones. The chief object of these papers is simply to make a collection of facts bearing upon the subject of customs and symbols. I propose also to give some drawings illustrative of the different symbols, with the idea of assisting others (who may not be able to wander so far as I have done) to prosecute further researches into the most interesting, but to a great extent unsolved, problem of the origin of certain peoples and races in Europe and elsewhere.

The several points on which I intend to touch are:—(1) Sun and Cup (or Moon) symbols. (2) Sun-worship. (3) The *Swastika*, or emblem of Fire. (4) Stones worshipped in India, and their counterparts in Scandinavia and other parts of Europe. (5) The Land of Departed Souls. (6) The Trees which have been held sacred in the East and in Europe. (7) Snake-worship. (8) Amulets and Charms. (9) The Evil Eye. (10) The Wild Huntsman of Northern Europe and his possible Asiatic origin. (11) Eastern Architecture compared with certain old churches and houses in Norway. (12) Asiatic Symbolism in Spain.

If we find the same customs, arts, and practices existing amongst peoples living on widely separated continents, we may reasonably conclude, either that such customs or

practices had a common origin, or that (if they are such as would naturally suggest themselves to primitive races) they belong to distinct stocks of aboriginal peoples. The arts and customs of the so-called Stone Age in Scandinavia, of the natives of New Zealand, and of certain parts of Africa, would come under this latter category; for their development in arts and manufactures never enabled them to do more than supply the absolute needs of their existence: but, as regards the more civilized races of Central Asia and Europe, it seems very possible that their manners and customs have proceeded from a common source.

The date of the commencement of the Stone Age is of course conjectural, and has been put at from 3,000 to 5,000 years ago. The race which lived in it is, I think, now represented in Europe by the Finns, the Lapps, and the Eskimos, because implements have been in use almost down to our own times in the countries inhabited by the two latter peoples very similar in form to those which have been discovered in graves and bogs in Scandinavia, and classed as belonging to the Stone Age. The peoples who used stone implements and were ignorant of the use of metals in the North of Europe, were of what are styled the non-Aryan races; they were probably also stone-worshippers. But the so-called *Saiva*-stones of India are held in reverence by non-Aryan peoples to this day, and when they find them to hand, they use the celts of their pre-historic forefathers for the same purpose. It seems to me, therefore, highly probable that aboriginal races existed contemporaneously both in Asia and in Europe, for it is hardly credible that, with such appliances as the peoples of the Stone Age possessed, they could have wandered from one continent to the other and (supposing them to have come from the same stock as the *Saiva* worshippers of Asia) have made their way to Scandinavia through Siberia and Russia, cutting a path through the dense forests which are supposed to have then existed in those regions. Non-Aryan stone-worship is probably nearly as old as the Aryan worship of the Sun and the Planets and Fire.

To this day, both in Asia and in Europe, the non-Aryan races are those which have attained to, and seem capable of, only the lowest type of civilization; and they can never be confounded with the Aryan races, whose appearance and type of features differ essentially from theirs. They have kept themselves apart from the Aryans and appear to possess a much smaller share of self-respect and natural intelligence. Judging from the remains of pre-historic art in the Museums in Denmark, Norway and Sweden, it seems that two great waves of Aryan peoples, and conquerors of non-Aryans, made their way into Scandinavia from Central Asia at different and widely separated intervals:—the advent of the first of these, the workers in bronze, has been put at 1000 B. C. They are believed to have belonged to what we now style the Keltic race. I presume them to have come from the highlands of Central Asia by a northern route, passing through Siberia and Russia; for in the latter country ornaments have been found similar in character to those which have been discovered in graves in Scandinavia and there classed as belonging to the Bronze Age. Scandinavia, I imagine, they found on their arrival already occupied by the non-Aryans of the Stone Age, who retired or disappeared before them. In like manner the workers in bronze were, I think, displaced in Scandinavia by a second Aryan race who introduced weapons of iron, the country naturally remaining in the possession of the strongest,—in the hands of those who were provided with the best weapons, and had attained the highest degree of civilization.

The people of the Bronze Age were acquainted with gold; and some of their goldsmiths' work, both in design and in execution, far surpasses anything we now produce.<sup>1</sup> Gold was largely used by them in the manufacture of articles for personal adornment, for cups for sacrificial or funeral purposes, and also for barter,—coils of gold about the thickness of an ordinary cedar pencil have been found in Scandinavia, and from their appearance it has been conjectured that they were carried on the person, and a small piece cut off as required. Silver does not appear

there till the Iron Age, when it was used for bracelets, brooches, chains, etc.

We must not fall into the error of imagining that these three periods of stone, bronze and iron, were contemporaneous in the various countries of Europe. Thus, Scandinavia did not receive Christianity till the eleventh century, and it may also have been far behindhand in emerging from its primitive customs. The Bronze and the Iron Ages, again, would appear to have overlapped each other in Scandinavia, for implements and weapons of both bronze and iron have been found together in those Northern lands. It is my impression from what I saw in the Museums, that bronze articles or fragments have never been found there in connection with stone celts; whereas in some of the dolmens, or tombs of the pre-historic people who inhabited Brittany, stone implements and pieces of bronze have been found side by side, and pieces of the same metal have also been discovered amongst the deposits of human ashes, which have not unfrequently been laid bare on excavating round the bases of the *menhirs*, or huge unhewn slabs of stone, which the aboriginal inhabitants of that province placed upright in great numbers.<sup>2</sup> In Brittany, too, the Iron Age was quite distinct from the Bronze Age. The people of the Iron Age in Sweden and Norway are best known to us under the name of the Goths. They are thought to have appeared in those countries about the year 100 A. D., and may have been a portion of a second wave of immigration from Eastern lands. They belong to the last stages of pre-historic times.

At this distance of time and from what I have above said, it would at first sight appear impossible that the non-Aryan peoples of Northern Europe should have any resemblance in type or features to non-Aryans in Asia. But I can quote from personal experience one instance at least, in which this is the case, viz. the Eskimos and the people of Spiti; and what renders it possible, in spite of the improbabilities of the case, that the resemblance is not an accidental one, is, that the Eskimos and the inhabitants of the Spiti Valley, which is in

<sup>1</sup> [It would be desirable to have this statement proved by illustrations.—Ep.]

<sup>2</sup> A bronze bracelet was found some years ago in Guernsey on excavating the dolmen called Dehus. It is

the opinion of some archaeologists that in this case, as also in Brittany, there had been a second and later interment in the same grave—the first during the Stone Age and the second in the Keltic, or Bronze Age.

the *Himālayas*, have both of them remained almost, if not absolutely, pure races, owing to their natural surroundings having isolated them from the rest of the world. The *Spiti Valley* is about 150 miles in length, connecting the extreme upper part of the Valley of the *Satluj* with the *Lahaul Valley*. At one end of it is the *Hangrang Pass*, over 14,000 feet above sea level, and at the other is the *Bārā Lāchā*, which must be crossed in order to enter *Lāhaul*, and is 16,000 feet in height; therefore during many months in the year, no one can enter or leave *Spiti*. As might be expected, its inhabitants are a rude hardy race of mountaineers; their language is a dialect of *Tibetan* and their religion is *Buddhism*. In the autumn of 1881, I and a companion spent about four weeks in this valley, during which I had ample opportunities of observing the people, for occasionally upwards of fifty natives of both sexes accompanied us on our marches as coolies, and our arrival in a village was a signal for the whole population to turn out,—a European face being as rare a sight as a white crow. The women of *Spiti* are almost without exception very short in stature, but they are broad in proportion to their height and very muscular, as was evidenced by their carrying heavy loads up the mountains, and singing in choruses the whole time. Though they are not as dark in complexion as the natives of *India*, they have faces of a sallowish tint tending to olive, dark hair, remarkably high cheek bones, small and slightly oblique eyes. The general contour of the face is extremely irregular; the forehead broad, but flat. Their head-gear is a sort of pork-pie hat made of a dark cloth; their dress is a coat of dark blue or brown cloth, reaching down below the knees, and confined at the waist with a rope or sash. On their feet they wear high boots, or leggings, made of a woollen material, the foot being protected by leather or partially dressed skins. Now, when visiting the *Ethnological Museum* in *Copenhagen* in 1883, I was much struck by seeing in a glass-case a life-sized statue in wood or plaster, which professed to represent the first *Eskimo* woman ever brought to *Denmark*, about sixty years ago. From the position of their country and its climatic conditions the *Eskimos* are an equally

isolated race as the people of the *Spiti Valley*, and strange to say, this statue bears a wonderful likeness in every respect to the type of the women from the remote and rarely visited *Asiatic Valley* which I have been describing. When I saw the figure I could not help exclaiming, "That is a woman from *Spiti*, but she is dressed in skins instead of having cloth garments." Supposing, too, any of the natives of *Spiti* to have wandered thus far, *Greenland* would be a climate which would suit them; for I well remember how on leaving *Spiti*, when we got down to *Darchā* in the *Lāhaul Valley*, our whole staff of coolies (whom we had hoped to take with us a couple of marches more) bolted away to their own country at 3 A. M., saying,—though we were at an altitude of 12,500 feet,—that it was so hot, that they could not bear to remain an hour longer!

Whilst we are on the subject of the great similarity in dress and appearance between peoples inhabiting different continents, it may not be out of place to remark that the above is not a solitary example as far as the dress is concerned. The whole attire of the women in the *Kullū Valley* in the *Himālayas* consists of a long woollen scarf or shawl, a portion of which forms the petticoat, and is held in position by a girdle, whilst the remainder is so arranged as to cover the whole bust, leaving the arms free. This garment is fastened on each side of the chest by a brass brooch of the *Runic* form. It is a curious fact, but surely hardly an accidental circumstance, that in *Africa*, the women belonging to the nomad desert tribes of the *Sahara* clothe themselves precisely in the same fashion; except that the one garment of these latter is of calico, and the two brooches, equally of the *Runic* form, are made of a debased kind of silver. Again, a kind of cloth of the natural brown and white sheep's wool, is occasionally made at the present day in *Kāsmir*, which has a geometric pattern woven into it. On being asked for some specimens of it, the natives told me that only a small quantity of it was made, as it was very troublesome to weave. Curious to relate, fragments of woollen material with the same design woven in, have been found in ancient graves in *Scandinavia*, and are supposed to date from the *Bronze Age*.<sup>3</sup> An exactly similar material is still woven by the peasants

<sup>3</sup> See Fig. 125 in the *South Kensington Handbook for Scandinavian Arts*, by Dr. Hans Hildebrand.

on the Fjeld in Norway for their own use only; the design is the same, but the warp and the woof are red and white instead of being brown and white.

Regarding this difference in colour I would say that it will be found an almost invariable rule, that primitive peoples, as soon as they learn the use of colours, adopt what were till lately considered the three primitive colours, viz. red, blue, and yellow,\* in their dress and ornaments. The people of the Spiti Valley and of Ladāk, know only of red cornelian, coral, turquoise, and amber, as ornamental gems, and the dress of the women in the former country reproduces the three colours of these only; though some of the richer women in Ladāk introduce small squares of green cloth alternately with red ones on the square piece of sheep-skin with which they cover their shoulders both in summer and winter. Again, the same combination of red, blue, and yellow is seen on old Norwegian peasant embroidery, the colours and patterns of which recall that now executed by the peasant women in Albania. These last say that they use no set designs, producing their patterns, it would appear, out of their own inner consciousness. It is singular that the handiwork of these two races should be so much alike, for they can hardly have come into contact with each other for centuries, even supposing that they belonged originally to the same stock, and had the same (Asiatic?) progenitors.

### I.

#### *Sun and Cup (or Moon) Symbols.*

Sun and Cup (or Moon) Markings and Fire Symbols are so intimately connected with each other, that it is difficult to separate them. I propose to devote the two following papers to Sun Symbols, and to customs connected with solar worship, in which we occasionally find the element of fire represented. The *Svastika*, which is more especially a Fire-emblem, will be treated separately.

\* Quite recently, certain scientific men have decided that this is erroneous. they maintain that red, green, and violet are the primary colours.

<sup>1</sup> [The *Gāyatrī* or *Sāvitrī* occurs in the *Rig-Veda*, iii. 62, 10. The words are:—*tat savitur varēnyam dharyō dēvasya dhīmahi dhiyō yō nah prachōdayāt*. There is a variety of rendering. Colebrooke gives (*Asiatic Researches*, Vol. V, p. 351) "Earth, sky, heaven. Let us meditate on (these and on) the most excellent light and power of the generous sportive and resplendent sun (praying that) it may guide our intellects." Wilson (*Rig-Veda*, Vol. III. p. 110) varied the version in the text

There are signs of Sun-worship having prevalence in all parts of the world at all times and among races of widely different origin. The verse called *Gāyatrī*<sup>2</sup> was esteemed by the ancient Hindūs to be the holiest verse in the *Vēdas*. It is addressed to the Sun, and its translation in an abridged form, as given by Prof. H. H. Wilson,<sup>3</sup> runs thus:—"Let us meditate on the sacred light of the Divine Sun, that it may illuminate our minds." In the first or Vedic era of the history of India, Sun-worship occupied no inconsiderable place in the religion of the Hindūs, and an old Marīthī Brāhmaṇ from Pūṇā once told me that the Śaivas worship the sun daily even now.

The All-covering Varuṇa (Ouranos or god of the Heavenly Regions of the Greeks) was originally among the Persians the god of the clouds, of the celestial sea, and of the heavens above it; and, when this branch of the Aryans reached Southern India, he there became the god of the earthly sea, which they then saw for the first time. The Sun, whilst it was still regarded as a wheel, a store of gold, an eagle, a falcon, a horse, &c. &c., was also styled the eye of Varuṇa.<sup>4</sup> In the north of Asia, Mithra was associated with Varuṇa. Mithra was the god of daylight, and he and Varuṇa were fabled to sit together on a golden throne, and journey at evening in a brazen car: thus, from the Horse-Sun and the Wheel-Sun was naturally developed the Chariot and the Divine Charioteer.

Euripidēs gives the Sun a winged car; and on coins from Eleusis, Dēmētēr is represented riding in such a car drawn by two serpents. The serpent, as we shall see later on, was an element in Sun-worship, and was used in connection with the Mithraic mysteries.

The ancient Mexicans were Sun-worshippers, and when they fought a battle they endeavoured to take all their captives alive to reserve them for solemn sacrifices to the Sun at certain festivals. These people would seem also to

afterwards to, "We meditate on that desirable light of the divine Savitrī (i.e. the Sun) who influences our pious rites." Benfey more accurately renders, "May we receive the glorious brightness of this, the generator, of the god who shall prosper our works." Most Sanskritists have moreover tried their hands at it. It was more than probably originally meant as a mere invocation of the Sun.—ED.]

<sup>2</sup> *Vishnu-Purāṇa*, Vol. II. pp. 250 and 255.

<sup>3</sup> To the Germans and Anglo-Saxons, the Sun was the eye of Woden.



have connected the Serpent with the Sun, for on such occasions the victim's neck was encircled by a collar of wood in the form of a snake. When he was slain, his heart was offered first to the Sun, and afterwards plucked out and cast down before an idol.

The two greatest and most ancient Rājput races in India were denominated Sūryavamśa and Chandravamśa, or children of the Sun and Moon, for in Hindustān this latter orb was a male deity. Sir William Jones, in the *Asiatic Researches*, alludes to the universal adoration of the solar orb, and says that the first dynasties of the Peruvian kings were dignified, exactly like those in India, by the name of the Sun and the Moon.

In the present day, at Hindū marriages in Kumāun in the Central Himālayas, it is customary for the *Purōhit* (family priest), "to worship the fire and read the marital vows, which are repeated by the bride and bridegroom separately, and by which each agrees to live with the other in harmony, making the Fire and the Sun their witnesses."<sup>8</sup>

The Kōls of Sambalpūr in the Central Provinces are Sun-worshippers; so also are the Kurkūs of the Mahādēō Hills, more than 400 miles to the north-west of that place. The Khōnds, an aboriginal race, classed as Drāvidians, combine faith in the Sun and Mother Earth.

From the earliest times, turning to the East in worship has been customary. In India, many temples have been built with the object of causing the rising sun to throw its first rays upon the entrance, and thus illumine the god or the stone which was in the innermost shrine, and at other times in almost total darkness.

In Maisūr, and in the Salem district, are some remarkable kistvaens or tombs, supposed to be those of a pre-historic race. They are, I believe, called round-headed slab-stone monuments. Attention was first drawn to them by Col. Welch in the early part of this century, but they were overlooked and almost forgotten till Lt.-Col. Bramfill, of the Trigonometrical Survey, rediscovered them a few years ago. Each tomb is surrounded by round-headed slabs of gneiss, some of which are as much as 14 feet in height. What may be termed the tomb proper, consists



of an ordinary kistvaen made of six slabs of gneiss. One forms the roof, another the flooring, and the other four the sides of the tomb. It invariably faces the East, and the slab on that side always has a hole in it. In most cases the aperture is about 15 inches in diameter, but in some instances it is not more than two inches across. The stones which compose

the tomb are arranged thus:



It seems not impossible that this arrangement may have had some connection with the *Svas-tika*. The Eastern position given to the door of the Hindū temple, and the Eastern aspect of the entrance to these tombs was possibly in the former case intended to signify that from the sun came light, warmth, and fertility, and in the latter to typify that as the sun rose (was new-born) each day, so the soul received a new birth. All savage and semi-civilized races seem to have an idea that when the body dies there is some kind of future existence for the spirit of man.

Lastly, the modern Christians perpetuate this custom of orientation in the position they give to their Churches, and in turning to the East in Church when they recite the Creed, or general assent to the articles of the Christian faith. In European common life also, when passing the wine, or dealing a pack of cards, it is constantly said, that this should be done "the way of the sun": and some persons deem it most unlucky if through inadvertence the bottle be sent round the other way (or from right to left).

Taking it all in all, it may be broadly laid down that Sun, Moon, and Fire Symbols are more numerous in Europe in northern lands than in southern ones. In the inclement regions of the north, light and warmth would be considered the greatest of blessings. Sun and Cup Symbols first appear in Scandinavia on objects which have been classed as belonging to the Later Stone Age. At this period (as far as is known hitherto) they were of two kinds only, viz. the ring cross  for the Sun, and the cup-shaped hollow  for the Moon: both generally recognised emblems of warmth and fertilizing power. The former

<sup>8</sup> *Panjab Notes and Queries*, Vol. II. note 244.

have been found in extraordinary numbers in the so-called bog and grave finds both in Norway and in Denmark. (See Plate I. figs. 1 to 16).

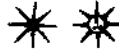

The late Kamer Herr Worsæe, head of the Archaeological Department in Denmark, who gave much attention to this subject, came to the conclusion that the single ring cross was the Sun-god himself, and the *Svastika* (the three-armed cross, the *triquetra* or *triskele*) another of the principal gods of the Northern triad; and finally, that the stars  became emblems of the Sun itself, or of the large heavenly bodies.

Plate I. fig. 17 is a design taken from a vase of coarse pottery in the Museum at Copenhagen belonging to what has been called in Scandinavia the Later Bronze Age. In the centre is a wheel (the chariot-wheel of the Sun?) and below it is a quaint two-headed mythical animal, which may have been intended to represent the Sun-snake (or lightning?), which from its zig-zag serpentine form might naturally be likened to a snake, and thus become associated with both fire and solar worship). When I come to speak more particularly of the *Svastika* I shall endeavour to show that one form of the Fire-Symbol is but a degenerate kind of serpent.

On ornaments belonging to the Later Bronze Age, we find the wheel-cross  considered to be an emblem of the chariot which, according to most ancient beliefs throughout Asia and Europe, the Sun was supposed to drive through the sky. Now, both in Holland and Denmark it is no unusual circumstance to see a waggon-wheel on the roof of a stable or other building, placed there with the object of inducing a stork to build its nest upon it. No doubt the red legs of this bird caused it to be regarded as a fire-fowl; it comes with the spring and departs before the winter; it is the bringer of warmth and of fine weather. In Hesse also, the waggon-wheel is thus used; any building on which it is placed being deemed safe from fire, provided a stork builds its nest upon it. We have then here the wheel as an emblem of the Sun, and the stork as that of Fire.

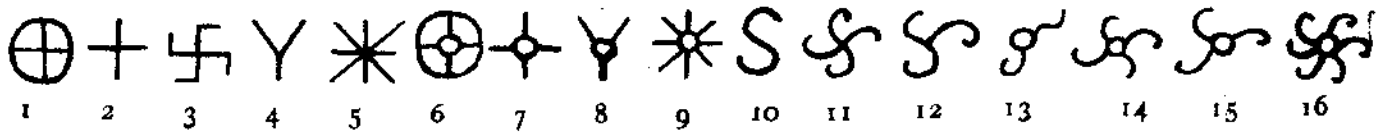
In Asia, the wheel is associated with Buddha,

and is an emblem which occurs frequently on Buddhist coins, and in Buddhist architecture. In Buddhist writings, Buddha is spoken of as turning the wheel of the law—or preaching. Plate I. fig. 33 is a representation of a Buddhist wheel in my possession. I found it near a ruined manse in Låhau. It is a stone disc about ten inches in diameter by one inch in thickness. Tibetan characters occupy the spaces between the spokes of the wheel; but, as the stone is rather worn, it is not easy to reproduce the letters very accurately. However, it is clear that the inscription is the well-known formula; "*Oh mane padme hush.*"

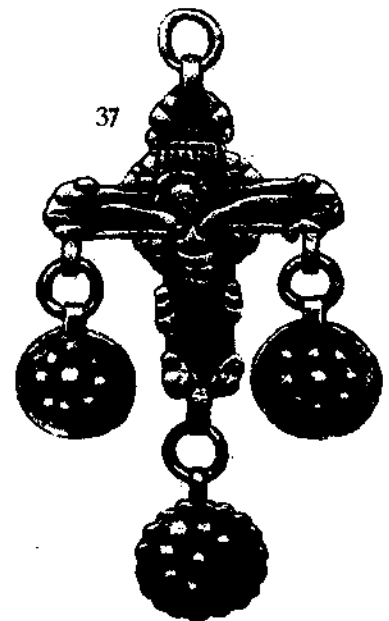
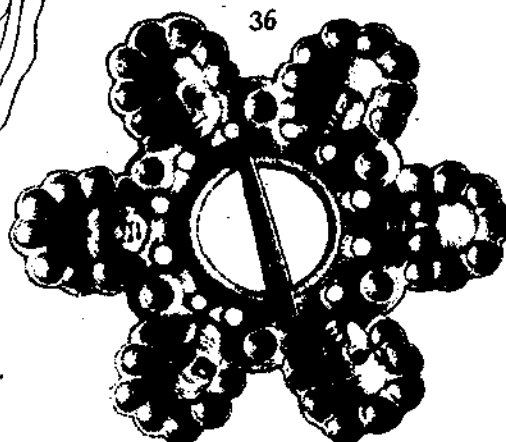
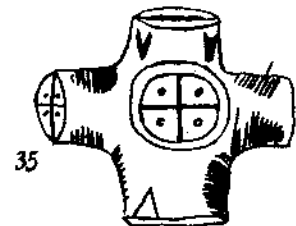
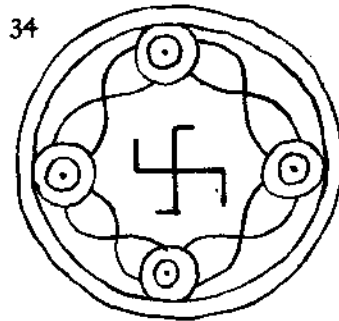
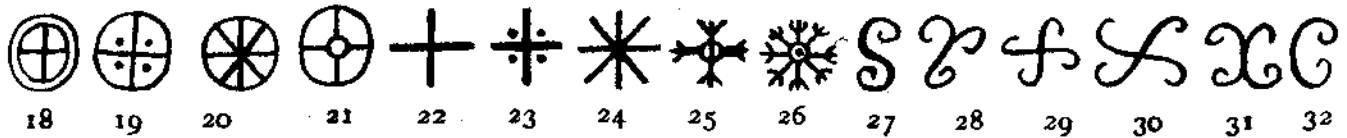
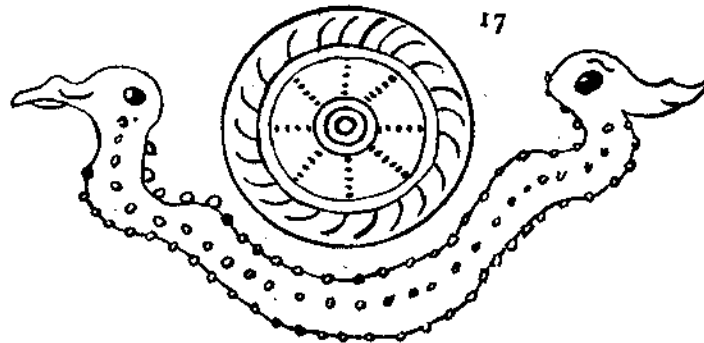
Sun and Moon emblems, and the *Svastika* in the various forms which it assumed, continued to be used abundantly in Denmark and Norway on ornaments and objects in common use, during the Later Bronze Age, and the Earlier and Middle Iron Ages. The same symbols occur also during the Later Iron Age or Viking Period. Curiously enough, in the new Runic Alphabet, which was there adopted at this time, "the letter S, which recalls one of the old Sun-Symbols, was called Sol or Sun."

Plate I. fig. 35 represents a small cruciform tube of terra cotta, which was found in the cemetery belonging to the ancient salt mines at Hallstadt in Austria. The Sun-Symbol engraved upon it appears to be a combination of the symbols in figs. 18 and 19 of the same Plate from Denmark. Fig. 34 is a copy of a silver brooch, classed as belonging to the Later Iron Age, in the Historical Museum at Stockholm. It is remarkably interesting, for on it are marks which are generally recognized as Sun and Cup Symbols, and they encircle the *Svastika*, or emblem of fire. Fig. 36 is a brooch belonging to the Later Bronze Age (as regards Scandinavia, be it observed, in all cases). Sun and Cup Symbols are also prominent in this example, and I have therefore selected it as a typical one. I have other similar brooches, one of which was found in an ancient grave near Bregenz, on the Lake of Constance. The fact of this purely Norwegian type of brooch being found so far south, assists in confirming an idea which has long existed, that the three Swiss cantons of Uri, Schwytz, and Unterwalden were colonized by people from Scandinavia,

SUN AND FIRE SYMBOLS FROM DENMARK, OF THE EARLIER BRONZE AGE.



OF THE LATER BRONZE AGE.



BUDDHIST WHEEL FROM THE  
LĀHAUL VALLEY IN THE PANJĀB.

Scale .2



WIZARD'S DRUM FROM LAPLAND. *Scale .25*

who wandered thither in consequence of a famine in their own country. The inhabitants of a valley near Brientz in Canton Berne, have to this day a tradition that their ancestors came from Scandinavia. Fig. 37 is a drawing of a crucifix bought at Bergen, in Norway, and a similar one which I saw in a museum, is classed as being of the Xth Century,—i.e. when Christianity was first introduced into those parts. It is of a peculiar type, and it will be observed that three nails only have been used in fastening the body of the Saviour to the cross, for the feet are crossed over each other, and one nail pierces both. Sun-Symbols are pendant from it, which seems to show that in those early times the people were permitted by their teachers to combine their former worship with their new faith (as in Russia).

I have above given a few examples of Sun-symbolism in Scandinavia, bringing it down to about 1000 A.D., but such Symbols exist there also in Museums on objects classed as belonging to the Middle Ages. In the Museum at Bergen are some apparently mythical small animals of that period which appear to have been children's toys, having Sun marks ☉ on their bodies; and on an old Norwegian bridal crown, stated to have come from the Sogne Fjord district and referred to the same time there are Sun and Moon Symbols ☉☾

alternately with pendant Suns, while Cup-marks finish off its upper edge.

Plate II. is a representation of a wizard's drum from Lapland, now in the Norwegian Museum in Stockholm. Though the Laplanders are professedly Lutheran Christians, they still retain great faith in augury and divination. They are very superstitious, and if on going abroad in the morning they meet an unlucky omen, they return home and do not stir again the whole day. They are said also to still pray to their ancient idols for the increase and safety of their herds. Their magicians make use of drums to form prognostications. Small brass rings are placed on different parts of its surface, which, when the drum is beaten with a small hammer, dance upon the signs represented on it, and according to the course taken by them the sorcerer, after going through


certain manoeuvres, essays to foretell events. The Sun, Moon, and certain of the Planets are clearly definable upon the drum represented in the plate: the other Symbols are not so plain, but some little animals like rats appear to be worshipping the heavenly bodies.

Cup-marks exist on some of the megalithic monuments in Brittany. Plate III. fig. 3 is a *menhir* from that province, which is one of a line of monoliths (*alignements* as they are there called). The "lines" are sometimes composed of as many as ten parallel rows of such stones, and they may occasionally be traced for two or three miles. They usually, if not invariably, terminate in a dolmen (prehistoric tomb made of unhewn stones), or in a hill containing several dolmens. Antiquarians seem to be agreed in regarding them as the tombs of chiefs. The *menhirs* may have served as an avenue to indicate the road to the tomb, or have been looked upon as sentinels guarding the approach to it, for beneath many of them fragments of burnt and of imperfectly calcined human bones have been found. Plate III. fig. 1 is a cupmarked stone, now in the Museum at Vannes in the Morbihan (actual size), found at Kernun, near Arradon, a place about two miles from Vannes. The nine Cup-marks upon it, which appear to be arranged upon a fixed plan may have had some special reference to the Nine Planets still worshipped at Benares under the name of the *Naugrah* or *Nava-Graha*.

In the first part of *Pre-historic Stone Monuments of the British Isles*, by the Rev. W. C. Lukis,<sup>10</sup> embracing those of Cornwall only, mention is made of a stone monument near St. Keverne, now locally called "The Three Brothers of Grugith." To use Mr. Lukis' own words,—“This monument is remarkable on account of its construction. A massive stone of irregular shape, 8 feet by 5 feet, is supported on two stones. One of these is 8 feet 6 inches long, and nearly 5 feet broad, and appears to be a rock *in situ*, and to have been selected on account of its suitability; the other is a slab 7 feet 9 inches broad, and 18 inches thick, set up on edge, 2 feet 6 inches from, and parallel to, the former. The remains of a mound are still visible.” This monument is given on Plate IV. fig. 1. As regards the present paper the

<sup>10</sup> Published by the Society of Antiquaries—London, May, 1885.

chief interest attached to it is in the Cup-marks upon the stones, which are nine in number; 8 on the cap-stone and one on the rock. In this respect they coincide with the stone in the Vannes Museum above mentioned, but their arrangement is different. Plate IV. fig. 2, is a cup-marked stone by the roadside in the Forest Parish in Guernsey. Six Cup-marks only are above ground, but it is not unreasonable to suppose that more exist below, though it is not easy to ascertain this, as the monolith borders on a hard metalled road. Fig. 3 is a drawing of a Dolmen called La Garenne, on L'Ancrese Common, Guernsey. Here again, we have nine Cup-marks apparently intended for the Sun and Moon and the other seven Planets (according to the Hindû reckoning). As above said it is more than probable, from the regularity with which they are placed, that some meaning was attached to them.

The under surfaces of the Cap-stones of some of the dolmens in Brittany have in a few cases numerous Cup-marks incised upon them. Plate III. fig. 2 is a reduced drawing of the Cap-stone of a chamber, or small dolmen formed of unbewn stones at Baker Hill, Ross-shire, N. B. The incised marks upon it recall both Sun and Moon Symbols. As a rule such signs seem to be rare in the British Isles, but at New Grange, Drogheda, Ireland, is the following supposed Sun-Symbol . Curiously enough in the Museum at Grenoble, Department Isère, in France, amongst the collection of Gallo-Roman antiquities found in that neighbourhood, is a highly finished ornament made of bronze. At one end is a lion's head and fore-paws. The action of the animal is very spirited, and it appears to be springing forwards from right to left. Behind the lion, but facing the other way, is the bust of a woman partially veiled in the Greek style. Beyond this again, is a horse led by a man who is dressed in the short tunic worn by slaves, and on the horse's flank is precisely the same Symbol as on the stone at New Grange. The horse is standing on a kind of pedestal, on which is the inscription STRATILATES in Roman characters.

It is a curious fact, and one perhaps not generally known, that certain women in Albania tattoo their arms and foreheads with the Sun-

Symbols common in the Later Bronze Age in Scandinavia. When in Corfu in 1883 I observe Plate I. fig. 4 in the centre of the forehead of more than one Albanian woman (one of the caste-marks in India is very similar in form to this), and also figs. 23, 25, and 26 tattooed on the arms and wrists of some of these people. They had been allowed to take up their abode on the island about six years previously, after many of their villages had been burnt by the Turks, and many of the inhabitants massacred.




Fig. 1 of this plate has been found in Savoy and also in Wales. The cross with Cup-marks round it  on a sepulchral urn in Wales; and the cross with supposed Sun-and-Moon Symbols  on a fragment of pottery at Villanova in Italy.

Fig. 23 is at the bottom of a small silver drinking cup in my possession, which has the exact form of the Scottish quaigh, and has been evidently a measure for a dram of spirits. It was purchased in Norway. I have a silver spoon also, bought in Bergen, which has on the handle these markings . It is said to be of a type which belongs to that part of Norway styled the Nordland, a district north of Trondjhem (or Drontheim) and extending beyond the Lafotten Islands.<sup>11</sup>

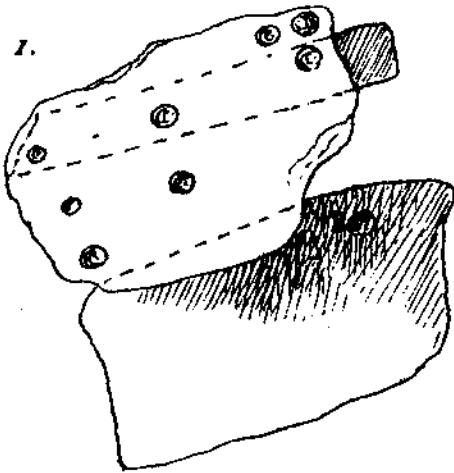
#### *Le Retour du Soleil.*

I had intended the following account of the festival of *Le Retour du Soleil*, said to have been performed at Les Andrieux, to form part of the preceding notes on Sun-worship, but I have received a letter from a French friend in Dauphiné, throwing doubts on the authenticity of the festival herein described as a relic of antiquity. I translated the account in 1882 from a rather curious (and I believe now rare) *History of the High Alps* by Baron Ladoucette, a former Prefect of this *Department*, under the First Empire, who says that he himself witnessed the *fête*. His book was published about the latter part of the first quarter of the present century. The letter I received was in answer to one which I sent to Grenoble, with the object of endeavouring, if possible, to ascertain whether *Le Retour du Soleil* was still kept up at Les Andrieux.

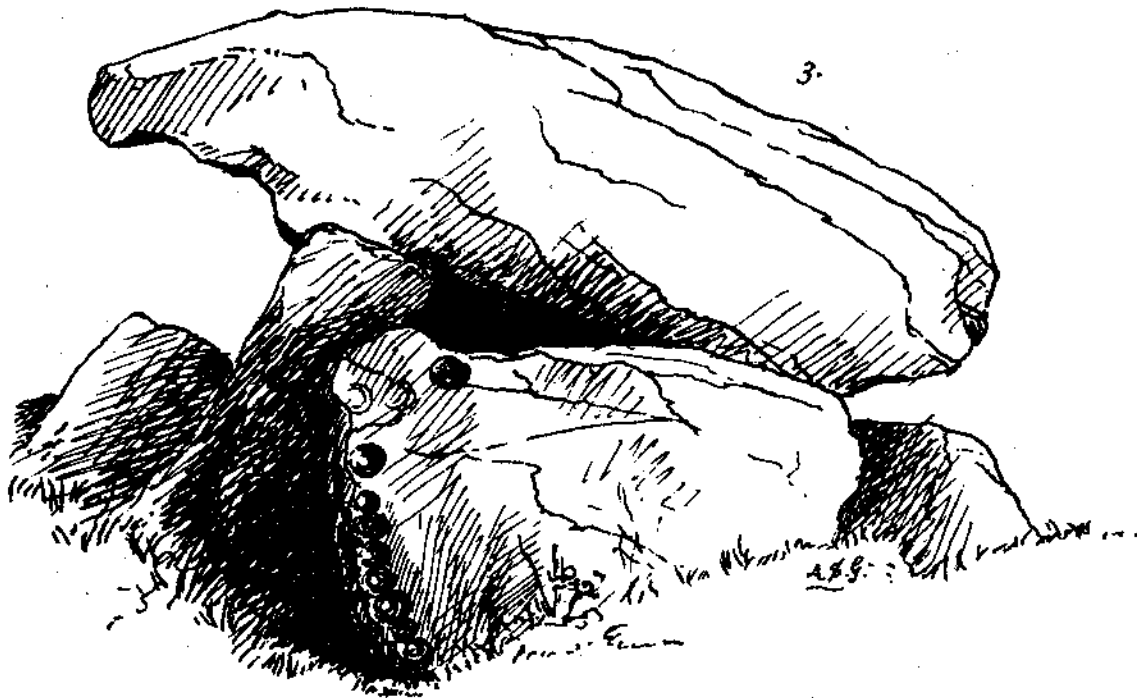
My informant wrote—"An individual named Farnaud, who was a Councillor of the Prefecture

<sup>11</sup> Plate III. fig. 4 will be explained in a subsequent paper.

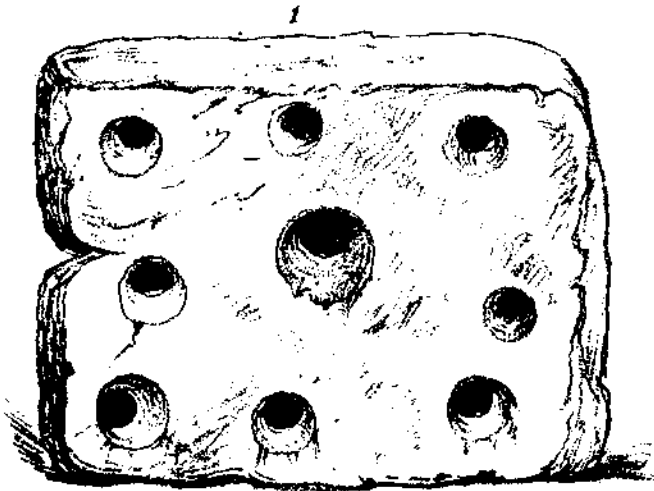
THREE BROTHERS OF GRUGITH  
AT ST. KEVERNE, CORNWALL.



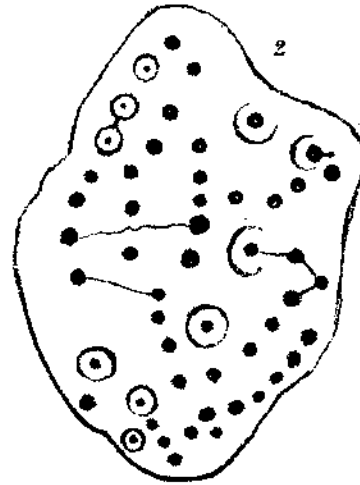
STONE IN THE FOREST PARISH, GUERNSEY.



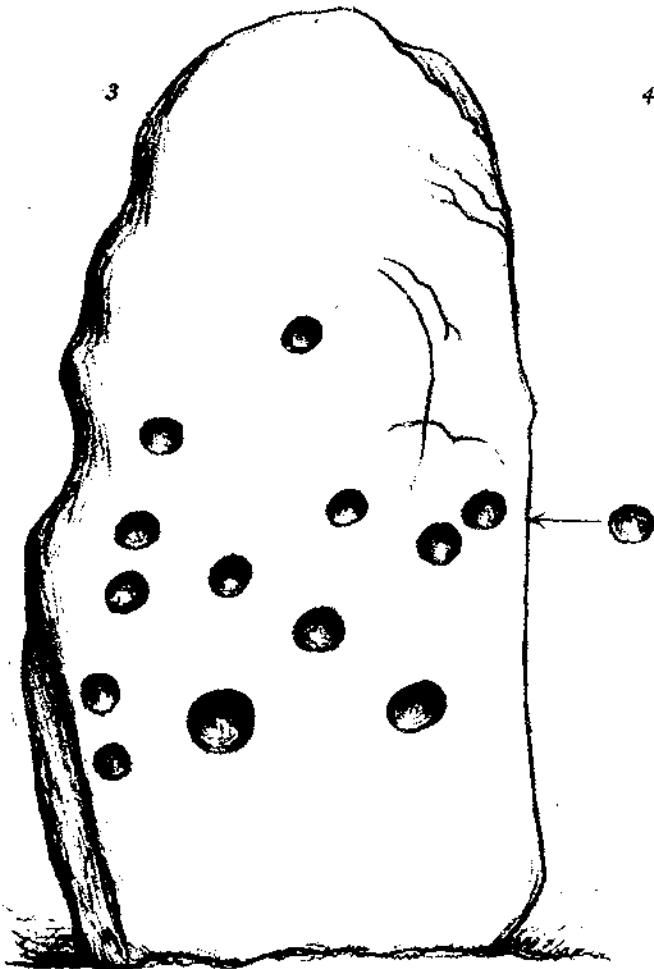
LA GARENNE ON L'ANCRESSE COMMON, GUERNSEY.



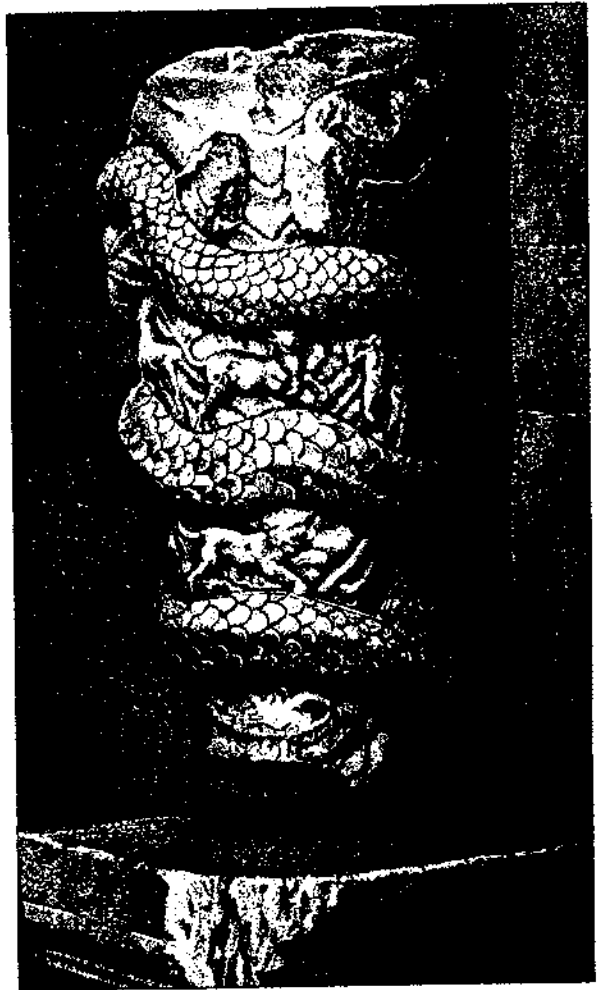
PIERRE BLANCHE AT KERUN ARRADON,  
NEAR VANNES.



FROM A DOLMEN AT BAKER HILL,  
ROSSHIRE. N.B.



MENHIR FROM BRITTANY.



MITHRA, WITH SIGNS OF THE ZODIAC,  
FROM THE MUSEUM AT ARLES.



under the Baron Ladoucette, left memoirs behind him, which have caused some persons to doubt the genuineness of Baron Ladoucette's account"; and he added, "M. Farnaud possibly did this in order to gain for himself the reputation of a *bel esprit*." In his memoirs the Councillor states that it was he who imagined and caused this festival to be performed, and did so in order to impose upon the credulity of Baron Ladoucette, who, he knew, was then compiling his work. This version of what was, if committed, a cruel practical joke, has been accepted by two antiquaries of Dauphiné, M.M. Chaper and J. Roman; the latter, however, qualifies his acceptance by adding that the oldest inhabitants of Les Andrieux are convinced that their ancestors always celebrated this *fête*, and that of those with whom he spoke many were alive in the time of M. Farnaud, and would in consequence have been perfectly competent to state whether this ceremony only took its rise under his administration. Elisée Reclus, in his *Universal Geography*, speaks of this festival as a very ancient one.

Baron Ladoucette's story is as follows:—

"On the banks of the River Seveaise, in that portion of the High Alps which was formerly called the Godemar valley, is a little hamlet called Les Andrieux.

During the space of one hundred days in winter the inhabitants of this valley are deprived of the light of the sun. It is only on the 10th of February that this orb is seen by them again, therefore on this particular day, as soon as the dawn appears, four shepherds go round the

village and announce that the festival is about to commence, by sounding pipes and trumpets. They then go to the house of the oldest inhabitant in the place, who under the title of *Le Vénérable* has to preside at the ceremony of saluting the return of the sun.

At 10 A.M. all the inhabitants, each provided with an omelette, assemble on the *Place* of the village. A deputation, preceded by the shepherds, then goes to fetch *Le Vénérable*, and accompany him to the place of meeting. On his arrival he is received with acclamations. *Le Vénérable* then places himself in their midst, and announces to them the object of this festival, and then, each holding his plate of omelette they form a chain and dance a *ferandole* round him.<sup>12</sup>

As soon as the dance is at an end *Le Vénérable* gives the signal for departure, and preceded by the shepherds, all follow him to the stone bridge which is at the entrance to the village.<sup>13</sup> On reaching this spot, each lays down his omelette on the parapet of the bridge, and then all go into a meadow close by, where *ferandoles* are again danced till the sun appears. As soon as this moment arrives each person goes and takes up his omelette which he offers to the sun, and *Le Vénérable*, bare-headed, holds his own up also.

As soon as the solar rays illumine the whole village, all return thither, accompanying *Le Vénérable* as far as the latter's house. They then return to their homes, where they eat their respective omelettes.

This festival lasts the whole day, and sometimes extends into the night."

## THE NRISIMHATAPANIYA-UPANISHAD.

BY LIEUT. COLONEL G. A. JACOB, BOMBAY STAFF CORPS.

It is impossible to collate the existing printed texts of the Upanishads with the manuscripts which of late years have come to light, without seeing how much yet remains to be done in this department of Sanskrit literature. In the footnotes to his translation of some of the Upanishads, Professor Max Müller has suggested many improved readings of the texts; but as the *Nrisimhatāpani* has not yet been taken in hand by him, I venture to lay before the public some of my own notes on the various readings of this Upanishad. In addition to the text and commentaries published by Pro-

fessor Ramamaya Tarkaratna, in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series, in the year 1871, I have used the following MSS. belonging to the Deccan College:—

A. One of the set No. 10 of 1882-83. It is a fairly good copy of the text, though not properly corrected. It was purchased in Gujarāt.

B. No. 1 of 1882-83. It lacks the first 3 *khandas* of the first Upanishad, and has not been corrected. Still it is a valuable manuscript of the text, and has been of great use to me. This also is from Gujarāt.

C. No. 145 of 1879-80. A beautifully written

<sup>12</sup> An intelligent bookseller at Grenoble, when I asked him what sort of dance the *ferandole* was, said, that any joyous movement executed by peasants in the open air was styled a *ferandole* in that part of the country.

<sup>13</sup> A correspondent from Grenoble tells me, that this bridge, now in ruins, still preserves the name of *Pont de l'Omelette*.

and very accurate copy of Śaṅkara's commentary on the *Pūrva-tāpanī*.

D. Nārāyaṇa's *Dīpikā* on the six Upanishads. A part of the set forming No. 233 of 1882-83. It was obtained in Gujarāt.

E. No. 146 of 1879-80. Śaṅkarānanda's valuable commentary on the *Uttara-tāpanī*. It is in the same handwriting as C. and, for the most part, as accurate.

G. One of the set of 59 Upanishads called No. 133 of 1880-81. It was copied at Ahmadābād in A.D. 1700, and is generally accurate.

A short account of this Upanishad is given on page 167 of Weber's *History of Indian Literature*. That scholar there says—"The first part treats of the Anushtubh-formula sacred to Nṛsiṃha, the *mantrarājānārasimha ānushtubha*, with which the most wondrous tricks are played. . . . The contents of the second part are of a more speculative character; but in respect of mystic trifling it does not yield to the first part." I fully endorse this statement as regards the contents of the *Pūrva-tāpanī*,—but consider the *Uttara-tāpanī* to be in every way superior to it. Indeed it is to my mind deeply interesting as a Vedic exposition of the *Māyāvāda*. The school of which Śaṅkara is the chief representative professes to derive its tenets from the Upanishads as the fountain-head—but, so far as I can see from a careful perusal of the originals, the *Māyāvāda* is not directly taught in the Upanishads of the first three Vēdas, and is deduced from them by a forced interpretation. Here, on the other hand, we find that doctrine unmistakably enunciated, and even a distinction drawn between *Māyā* and *Avidyā*,—an idea which one associates with the later Vedantic treatises.

Professor Weber mentions Gaudapāda as a commentator on the *Nṛsiṃhatāpanī*; but though I have heard of his commentary in this country, I have not yet met with it.

The printed commentary attached to the *Uttara-tāpanī* is not universally accepted as the work of Śaṅkara, and, in my opinion, there is strong internal evidence against his authorship. My belief is further strengthened by the following fact:—When studying the *Māṇḍūkya* and Gaudapāda's *Kārikā* thereon, I referred several times to Nārāyaṇa's *Dīpikā* in the hope of obtaining further light; but found,

to my astonishment, that his work consisted almost exclusively of extracts from Śaṅkara's *Bhāṣya* interwoven with portions of Ānandagiri's notes. With this phenomenon before me I compared his *Dīpikā* on the first half of the *Praśna*, and on the whole of the *Muṇḍaka*, with Śaṅkara's *scholia* on those tracts. In the former, and in the first *Muṇḍaka*, I met with numerous citations from Śaṅkara, intermingled with original matter,—but, in the second and third *Muṇḍakas* there was scarcely a line that was Nārāyaṇa's own! A few weeks ago I read the *Nṛsiṃhatāpanī*, and made a copy of Nārāyaṇa's *Dīpikā* thereon for my own use. There again I found long excerpts from Śaṅkara's *Bhāṣya* on the *Pūrva-tāpanī*; whilst it differed entirely from the so-called *Śaṅkarabhāṣya* on the *Uttara-tāpanī*. I then carefully compared the *Dīpikā* on the *Śvetāśvatara* with what is supposed to be Śaṅkarāchārya's *Bhāṣya* on that tract, and found no similarity whatever between them. In the colophons to his *Dīpikās* on the *Māṇḍūkya*, *Praśna*, *Muṇḍaka*, and *Nṛsiṃhapūrva-tāpanī* Upanishads, where these plagiarisms occur, Nārāyaṇa styles himself *Śaṅkar-śikṣya-upajīvin* (which is perhaps his way of acknowledging his indebtedness); whereas, at the end of those on the *Nṛsiṃhottara-tāpanī*, the *Śvetāśvatara*, *Mahānārāyaṇa*, and the minor *Ātharvaṇa* Upanishads, he describes himself as *śruti-mātr-upajīvin*. The theory, then, which I have formed in view of the foregoing facts is that, whenever Nārāyaṇa wrote a commentary on an Upanishad on which a *Bhāṣya* by Śaṅkara already existed, he made free use of it; but that, when such did not exist, he wrote independently, as he was well able to do. The fact, therefore, that his *Dīpikā* on the *Nṛsiṃhottara-tāpanī* has nothing in common with that which some attribute to Śaṅkara, is, to my mind, strong presumptive evidence against the authorship of the latter. The same reasoning applies to the *Śvetāśvatara*; and I cannot understand how it can be maintained that the *Bhāṣya* bearing Śaṅkara's name is really from his pen—so different is it in style from what we know to be really his.

The library of the Deccan College possesses *Dīpikās* by Nārāyaṇa on the *Kaṭha* and *Kēna* Upanishads also,—but, as they are on loan in England, I cannot ascertain whether they support my view or not.

It appears from Śaṅkara's *scholium* on i. 5 that there are two distinct *śākhās* of this Upanishad, namely the *Bhṛigu* and *Āṅgīrasa*; but he does not say to which his text belongs. The missing information is, however, supplied by Nārāyaṇa, who says—योगिष्येयमिति । अथ योगिवशासीनमिति साख्यान्तरे पाठः । भृगुसाखायां तु नाथ पाठो हि साख्येयमुपनिषत् ॥

The following list contains the most important of the readings which differ from those of the printed text, the pages of which are quoted to facilitate reference. There are many others which affect the sense, but they are withheld as being too numerous for this paper.

#### PURVATAPANI (5 UPANISHADS).

p. 8 (i. 1). D. seems to read प्रतीक्ष्य for प्रतीक्ष, and has प्रतीक्ष्या as a variant (छान्दसो धीर्षः). G. reads प्रतीक्ष्या. Instead of तदुपनमिति, A., G. have तदुपनमिति and they are supported by D. which says—फलमाहपिनं तदुपनमिति यत्कामो भवतीति । उप एनं तन् उ पनं इति पञ्चद्वेदः । पनं पनं छान्दसो वर्णलोपः । यत्कामो भवत्येवंविन्नहस्त्वेनमेवंविदुपपन्नमुपस्थितं भवतीति ज्ञेयं ॥

p. 11 (i. 2). A. G. insert ह्यैः after सर्वैः. D.'s explanation of परमव्योमिक is noteworthy :—परमव्योमि परमाकाशे उद्दिश्ये निमित्ते वा सति कं सुखरूपं ।

p. 14 (i. 3). A. G. omit प्रजापतिः and so does D. which says सहेति । स ब्रह्मा उवाच । Instead of लक्ष्मीं यजुः C. has यजुर्लक्ष्मीं as on p. 69.

p. 16 (i. 4). Instead of अन्तरादित्यो A. B. D. G. read अन्तरादित्ये. The syllable ह in नृसिंह should clearly be omitted, as in C. and printed commentary. It is accounted for further on. A. B. and G. include it however.

p. 20 (i. 5). For मोक्षद्वारं, B. C. D. read मुखद्वारं which is the reading also quoted by Śaṅkara on p. 27, line 3 from bottom.

p. 35 (ii. 1). Here, as well as on p. 146, I believe the reading सोऽथर्वणैर्मन्त्रैः is wrong, and that B. correctly reads in both places साथर्वणैर्मन्त्रैः. In the expressions सकर्मिः, सयजुर्मिः and ससामभिः here and on page 145, the स is equivalent to सह as explained in the printed commentary on p. 146, and the same holds good here also. In the present instance D. explains it thus—आथर्वणैर्मन्त्रैरुपलक्षितस्वाथर्वणैर्वेदः । and as regards the same expression on p. 146, E. (Śaṅkarānanda) says—आथर्वणा मन्त्राः षट्कर्मप्रधाना अथर्वणा वृष्टास्तेस्तैः सहवर्त्तमानो मन्त्रब्राह्मणात्मको अथर्वणैः । G. however, has सोऽथर्वणैः in both places.

p. 40 (ii. 4). Instead of उपहंतुं (which is evidently a misprint for उपहंतुं) B. and D. read उपहंतुं as in *Rigvéda* 2, 33, 11. C. has उपहंतुं. In this quotation, the word सिंह has been substituted for रुद्र. All five MSS. read निवपन्तु instead of निवयन्तु.

p. 46 (ii. 4). In the quotation from *Mahā-nārāyaṇa-Upanishad* (*Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka* 10, 10, 7) B. C. D. omit the words यस्मादन्व्यं न परं किञ्चनास्ति, and they do not appear in the *Āraṇyaka* either.

p. 52 (ii. 4). In the quotation from *Rigvéda* 1, 154, 2, A. B. D. G. read गिरिष्ठाः instead of गिरिष्ठः, and together with C. they have अधिक्षि-यन्ति instead of अधिक्षिपन्ति.

p. 57 (ii. 4). B. inserts स्वमहिम्ना after यस्मात्. In the quotation from *Rigvéda* 10, 121, 2, यो वृत्रहृत्पुत्रः has been substituted for यस्य मृत्युः which is given by Nārāyaṇa as a variant.

p. 59 (ii. 4). The *avagraha* should be inserted before ब्रह्मवादिनश्च, that being the reading preferred by Śaṅkara and Nārāyaṇa, though they give the other as an alternative. A. D. and G. have उक्थ्ये instead of उक्थं.

p. 72 (iv. 1). Instead of आनन्दमयो ज्ञान-न्धुक्, as in the *Māṇḍūkya*, A. and B. read आनन्दमयो ज्ञानधुक्. It is evident that the *avagraha* is implied however, and Nārāyaṇa explains अज्ञानधुक् both here and in the same passage on p. 124. In the latter place, however, A. B. and E. follow the *Māṇḍūkya*. Nārāyaṇa says—अज्ञानधुक् ! न किञ्चिद्वहमवेदिषामिदुत्थितस्योक्तेश्चाह । माण्डूक्ये त्वानन्दमुमिति पाठस्तत्र सुखम-हमस्वाप्सामित्युक्तेश्च ॥ G. has आनन्दधुक्.

The following remark of Śaṅkara's on the differences between the *Māṇḍūkya* and this Upanishad is worthy of notice—उभयत्रापि बहुतर-पाठसाम्येऽपि कश्चित्पाठभेदोऽस्ति दृश्यते । तुरीयमात्रानिरूप-णावसरे एवोन्तर्याम्येष ईशान एष प्रभुरिति माण्डूक्ये पाठः । तापनीये तु एवोन्तर्याम्येष योनिरितिज्ञानप्रमुपहृत्य विशय पाठः ॥ In our printed texts of the two Upanishads, however, there is no such difference as that here indicated; and I do not remember having anywhere met with the reading एष ईशान एष प्रभुः in a MS. of the *Māṇḍūkya*. This shows us, however, that as regards the settling of the text we have not yet attained to finality.

p. 82 (iv. 2). Nārāyaṇa's etymology of काल-कर्णी is curious. He says कालमिव कालकं दूरे गत-स्य यथा सा कालकर्णी । A. B. D. G. read ह्रवः instead of स्वः, before कालकर्णी.

p. 86 (iv. 3). B. D. insert as the 12th Mantra that given in the footnote,—and they both, in common with A., omit the 3rd Mantra on page 87. A. makes up its 32 by inserting that given in the footnote on page 87. G. conforms to the printed text.

p. 88 (iv. 3). A. and B. read स्तुतो for सतो, and स्वमात्मानं for स्वात्मानं. B. also adds स सर्वं पश्यति after the words स सर्वं पश्यति.

p. 93 (v. i.). Instead of सुदर्शनं B. D. read सुवर्णं. The latter says अरैर्वा इति । अरैः कृतेतद्यत् सुवर्णं इदं भवति ।

p. 98 (v. 2). Instead of गुरुतो लब्धं, the reading of A. is गुरुणा लब्धं, and of B. गुरुणोपलब्धं. Nārāyaṇa's explanation is गुरुणा इत्तं सल्लब्धं which seems to agree with A. G. is the same as the printed text. The stop after बन्धीयान् should come after the next word सः. Nārāyaṇa says स उपासको बन्धीयादित्यन्वयः ।

p. 102 (v. 4). In A. B. C. and D. सुरुषु comes first in the list, and पाप्मानं second. B. omits all the rest except सर्वहर्षा. A. omits स संसारं तरति, and it is not noticed by Śaṅkara or Nārāyaṇa. G. is the same as the printed text.

p. 104 (v. 8). A. B. C. read उच्येन instead of उच्येन, and before the last clause B. inserts सोऽन्वयेन यजते.

p. 106 (v. 10). The word अध्यायक has no support from any of my MSS. It occurs three times. In the first instance A. B. C. G. have अध्यायक; in the second, A. has अध्यायीक (for अध्यायिक?), G. अध्यायी and B. and C. again अध्यायक. The third instance is not referred to by C.—but A. and G. read अध्यायक and B. अध्यायिक. This last seems to be Nārāyaṇa's reading, for he says अध्यायैकाध्यायिकः । Both A. and B. insert एकेन before मन्त्राज्जापकेन, and, in common with G., omit प्रभवति after यत् न दुःखं.

#### UTTARATAPANI (1 UPANISHAD).

The MSS. on this part are the same as on the former part, except that Śaṅkarānanda's Commentary (E.) takes the place of Śaṅkara's (C).

The invocatory verses are omitted by B. and E.

p. 126 (1). After अलक्षणं, B. D. add अलिङ्गं, and all the MSS. insert चतुर्थे after अद्वैतं. D. and E. omit एव altogether, in the sentence स एवात्मा स एव विज्ञेयः, and B. agrees with

them in the second instance. A. and G. include both.

p. 129 (2). The *avagraha* must be inserted in both cases before जायते. The correct reading is अजायते.

p. 135 (2). The reading कालाभिः सूर्योऽक्षैः is impossible. I believe B. E. and G. to have the correct reading, namely, कालाभिसूर्योऽक्षैः, which Śaṅkarānanda thus explains:—कालाभिः सूर्यः । कालः सर्वविनाशकारी स एवाभिः पातालतलमारब्ध जगद्विधन्तं वहन्त्य एव सूर्यः कालाभिसूर्यः । अक्षैः किरणैर्व्याप्तोऽयं सर्वोऽन्वयेनेति शेषः ॥ It is well known that both eye and ear are fertile sources of mistakes, and I believe that the reading of A. and D. is an instance of the latter kind. In the body of A. the reading is कालाभिसूर्योऽक्षैः which has been altered in the margin to कालाभिसूर्योऽक्षैः but सूर्यैः must be a mistake for सूर्यः. D. thus explains—त्रयीरिति । त्रयीर्लोकत्रयीर्लोकत्रयीमित्यर्थः । बहुवचनं सर्वोऽन्वयेनेत्याप्त्यर्थः । त्रयीरूपं जगद्विधं कालाभिरूपः सूर्यः ओत आ उत्तवान् । अन्तर्काले व्याप्तवानेवं सर्वमयमात्मा व्याप्तवानित्यर्थः ॥ The former reading is unquestionably the better and more probable one, but it is easy to see how the latter arose from it.

p. 136 (2). B. and E. omit दर्शयति, whilst A. and D. insert यदि सर्वमिदं before it. A. inserts हि सर्वं, and B. सर्वं, before स्वात्मानमेव करोति.

p. 146 (3). In regard to सोऽथर्वणैः see notes on p. 35 (ii. 1.).

p. 147 (3). Instead of असुनियमे, Nārāyaṇa reads and explains असौ नियमे. He says, इमं लोकमसौ पुमानियमे सति यथा चक्षुषेव रूपं श्रवणेनैव शब्दोऽनुभूयते न जातु चक्षुषा शब्दं श्रवणोतीत्येवं रूपे सत्यनुभूय ... यद्वा ... इममात्मानं नरसिंहमसौ साधको नियमे वागादिसंयमे सत्यनुभूय... A. D. read यद्वा for कृद्वा; and the latter gives असुप्रपञ्चहीनः as an alternative reading to सुप्रपञ्चहीनः, and explains thus—असूनां प्राणानां प्रपञ्चेन आसौष्ठासलक्षणेन हीनः कृतप्राणायाम इत्यर्थः ।

p. 169 (3). The word महास्थूले must unquestionably be eliminated. It occurs in G. only. The passage is explained by Śaṅkarānanda thus:—गुणैर्ब्रह्मविष्णुरुद्ररूपैरेकं तादात्म्यं संपाद्य बुद्ध्या सम्यगवगम्य आत्मिकमाधिदैविकेन रूपेण तदात्म्यं प्राप्तमित्यनुबुद्धयेत्यर्थः । अनन्तरं महास्थूलमाधिदैविकं चतुर्भेदभिन्नं वैराजरूपं महच्च तत्स्थूलं च महास्थूलं महासूक्ष्मे आधिदैविके चतुर्भेदे हिरण्यगर्भे महति सूक्ष्मे महासूक्ष्मे उक्तं हिरण्यगर्भे महाकारणे आकाशादिभूत-भौतिकप्रपञ्चजनक ईश्वरे महति कारणे महाकारणे च-

कारः संदृश्येति पदस्य पूर्वत्रापि संबन्धार्थः संदृश्यं बुद्ध्या संदृश्यं संहारं कृत्वा । Nārāyaṇa's explanation is of the same tenor.

p. 176 (4). It is equally certain that नृसिंहः is an interpolation, and should be eliminated. B. omits it, and so do D. and E. Nārāyaṇa's comment is as follows:—एष उ एव नृ (नृ ?) । एष एव नरसिंह एवानुष्टुबर्पात्मा भवति । 'देवतागुरुमंत्राणां भावयेद्वैक्यमात्मनेति' स्मृतेरैक्यभावनफलवैक्यप्राप्तिः । तदेवोपपादयत्येष हि सर्वत्र सर्वदा सर्वोत्थेति । देशतः कालतो वस्तुतश्च परिच्छेदोऽस्य नास्तीत्यर्थः । The first part of Śaṅkarānanda's note on this passage is too corrupt to be intelligible—then comes the following:—अथवा एष उ एव तेष इति पाठः । तस्मिन्पक्षे यस्य ह्यनुष्टुबर्पात्मेन बुद्ध्याकृतं (?) सन् पुमान्वेष एव । तच्च हेतुः । हि सर्वत्र सर्वदा सर्वोत्थः । नतामुपपाद्य सिद्धतामाहैष सञ्चार्यः । I should add that A. and G. omit नृ and retain नृसिंहः, but such a reading as एष उ एव एष हि नृसिंहः seems improbable.

p. 179 (4). D. has गुणवचनं instead of गुणवर्त्तनं, and all the MSS. have हत्वा not हत्वा. There is a curious variety of readings in the case of वदयां. A. has वदयां, B. नस्यां which is perhaps intended for तस्यां, D. वत्स्यां with वदयां as a variant, E. वेदयां (!) and G. यस्यां. Here is Nārāyaṇa's comment:—वेदस्यां वत्साहो वत्ससंबन्धयोग्यां मातरमिन्द्रियजननीं । वदयामिति पाठे वंशगतं नृसिंहायनाहंशवर्त्तिनीं ॥

p. 183 (5). Before the words आत्मैव नृसिंहो देवः A. B. D. insert तस्मादात्मानमेवैव जानीयात्. Nārāyaṇa connects the words ब्रह्म भवति with य एवं वेद on the next page, in which case there should be no stop after भवति.

p. 192 (5). D. explains सर्वप्रियमास्पदं instead of सर्वमेमास्पदं. The reading of A. सर्वत्रेमां प्रियमास्पदं, is corrupt.

p. 194 (6). Both D. and E. read and explain गुरीयातुरीयं in the third line, instead of गुरीया-गुरीयं. The former's explanation is—मावाप्रयुक्त-संख्यया गुरीयत्वेपि वस्तुवत्त्वा अतुरीयं संख्यया निध्यात्वा ॥ whilst E. says—गुरीयातुरीयं गुरीया प्रणवस्याहंमात्रात्मनस्तुरीयावस्थात्मिका तस्यास्तुरीयो भवो विकल्परूपस्तमात्मानं ॥ G. has गुरीयातुरीयं here, and twice in the immediate context.

The reading अपक्वकषायं as an epithet of आत्मानं is manifestly impossible. B. D. E. read अपक्वकषाय इमं which is no doubt correct. D. explains thus:—यस्मात्पूर्वमेव वृत्तं तस्मादपक्व-अपक्वकषायोऽपरिशीलरागादिः पुमानिममेवात्मानं यो बुद्धयत्वेन प्रसिद्धस्तं नृसिंहानुष्टुभैव सरलेन परमोपायेन

जानीयात् ॥ A. has अपक्वकषायं इमं which looks as if the *anusvāra* was accidental. G. is the same as printed text.

p. 198 (6). D. gives समाधानेभ्यः as an alternative reading to तसाधनेभ्यः, and, with A. and G. reads निरागाः for निरागाराः.

p. 200 (6). All the MSS. read ओङ्कारे परे ब्रह्मणि and not ओङ्कारपरं ब्रह्मणि.

p. 201 (6). B. E. read भृङ्गेष्वभृङ्गं at the beginning of the verse, and the latter explains thus:—भृङ्गेषु प्रणवमात्रारूपेषु संसारवृषभविद्यानेषु अभृङ्गं भृङ्गरहितमविकल्पं गुरीयं संशोडय ॥ G. has भृङ्गं च भृङ्गं.

p. 203 (7). Instead of उत्पथवारिकत्वात्, A. D. G. read उत्पथवारिकत्वात्, and B. E. उत्पथवारक-त्वात्, which I prefer. E. explains thus:—उत्पथ-वारकत्वाद्गुम्मागस्य कामक्रोधादेर्निवारकत्वात् ॥ In the last line B. D. E. G. have उक्तेरेव instead of ओङ्कारेण. The latter is certainly wrong.

p. 205 (7). The reading मकारार्थेनार्थेन is not supported by any of my MSS.; and these again all differ from one another! A has मकारार्थेनार्थेनार्थेनात्मना which is probably intended for मकारार्थेनार्थेनार्थेनात्मना, —B. has मकारार्थेनार्थेनात्मना which may be a mistake for मकारार्थेनार्थेनात्मना, —D. has मकारार्थेनात्मना, —E. मकारार्थेनार्थेनात्मना, —and G. मकारार्थेनार्थेनात्मना. I believe that E. is right. Compare the similar phrase मकारार्थेन परेण ब्रह्मणा on p. 213 (7).

p. 207 (7). The reading एवमेव सविज्ञानन्दो अथ वचनेन &c. is quite wrong. A. B. E. G. read एवमेव विज्ञानन्दाववचनेन which is no doubt correct.

p. 216 (8). A. D. G. have एवोतः, B. E. वैवोतः.

p. 221 (8). A. B. G. read यस्मात् for ह्यस्मात्; A. D. G. आत्मा and B. तदात्मा instead of आत्म्यं । and A. B. E. G. ह्यनुज्ञा for ह्यनुजानाति.

p. 226 (9). प्राज्ञेः, the reading of the printed text, and of G., is supported by Nārāyaṇa, who explains it by पण्डितैः; but A. B. and E. have प्राज्ञे in common with the printed commentary.

p. 227 (9). A. D. G. have द्रष्टा in the place of कृष्टा.

p. 230 (9). B. E. G. read सबीजान् instead of स्वबीजान्.

p. 231 (9). A. D. read जीवेशावभासेन which the latter thus explains:—कानिचिज्जीवावभासेन कानिचिदीशावभासेन ब्रह्मविष्णुरुद्रादीनीशावभासेन मन्वादीनि जीवावभासेन करोति ॥

p. 232 (9). All five MSS. read गुणभिजा, not गुणभिजा.

p. 233 (9). A. B. G. have आत्मन्वेव, but the two commentaries agree with printed text and explain आत्मन एव.

p. 238 (9). A. B. D. G. read असवन्वत् instead of सवन्वत्, and B. D. अधोनि instead of अधोनिः. The following is Nārāyaṇa's explanation of this passage:— हे देवाः पश्यत । इहाप्यात्मन्वपि सन्मात्रं सत्तामात्रं नाधिकं किञ्चिदस्ति । अपिच-व्योऽन्वीभावे । ननु तथापि सत्ता जातिरस्ति तदाश्रयत्वे चाधाराधेयभावः स्वास्त आहासवन्वत् । असतोऽन्वत्सवन्वदेव सन्न तु सत्त्वं जातिरित्यर्थः । इत्थन-नेन प्रकारेण सर्वं पुरस्तात्सिद्धं । कीदृशमयोनि उत्पत्तिरिति ॥

p. 242 (9). D. explains किं तन्निरात्मकमात्मनः । but B. E. read किं तन्निरात्ममात्मा । A. and G. agree with printed text.

p. 243 (9). D. explains द्रष्टा अद्रष्टुः । His words are द्रष्टा शुभानद्रष्टुर्गदस्य । दृष्टाभावे वास्तव

द्रष्टृत्वमपि नास्तीत्यन्वायुत्प्रेक्षेव ॥ A. B. G. read निरवद्यः for निरविद्यः

p. 244 (9). All the MSS. but G. read शून्ये कृष्टोऽकृष्टो वेति । A. E. read अनन्यः for the नान्यः of the text.

p. 246 (9). Instead of स्वप्रकाशः the MSS. have स्वप्रकाशे, and all agree in rejecting न after किमह-येन. Nārāyaṇa says— किमहयेनेति । अहयोऽस्माभिर्न कृष्ट इति भवतिरुक्तो योऽहयः किं तेन । कुतो यतो द्वितीयमेव न किन्तु धूयमेव स्थ ॥

p. 250 (9). Instead of अव्यक्तं, D. has अव्यक्त and E. अव्यक्तं. The reading of B. अव्यक्तं, may be a mistake for अव्यक्त.

p. 252 (9). A. B. G. read ज्ञातो ज्ञातश्चेति होषुः, omitting the *avagraha* before the second word—and D. explains thus:— प्रणवावर्त्तनानन्तरं ज्ञात इति प्रमरूपं प्रजापतिवचः । ज्ञातश्च ज्ञात एवेति होषुः ॥ E. explains अज्ञातः.

p. 253 (9). A. B. D. G. read कैषानुज्ञेति and वचं से.

### GULLALA SHAH.

BY THE REV. J. HINTON KNOWLES, F.R.G.S., M.B.A.S., &c.

#### A KASHMIRI TALE.

In a certain country there lived a fowler, who pursued his calling with far-famed success, and an incredible number of birds were reported to have been snared, or shot, by him every day. Some of these he set by for his own use and the rest he sold; however, being a spendthrift he did not become rich, but rather grew poorer and poorer. As fast and as much as he earned, so fast and so much did he spend. Now this was all very well for a time, and for some years affairs proceeded comparatively happily; but by degrees it became manifest the birds were getting fewer and more wary, and there was consequently an abatement in his success; and so the fowler looked sad and anxious, and wondered what he should do for a living.

While he was in this state Rājā Hams<sup>1</sup> summoned all the bird-world to a great assembly, and the few birds that remained in the fowler's country were also invited. The conference was an immense one, and all the arrangements were magnificent beyond description. Much business was done, and

every bird expressed himself very pleased with all that he had seen and heard. At length the conference being concluded, the birds were dismissed to their several countries; but the little company which attended from the fowler's country, did not prepare to leave. Seeing this Rājā Hams inquired the reason.

"O Rājā," replied the birds, "in our country there lives a fowler, whose aim is deadly and snares undiscoverable. Nearly all our brethren have been slain by him. In former days we were a great and mighty company, but now behold, O Rājā, the smallness of our numbers and our strength. We pray you to have mercy on us, and deliver us out of the hand of this cruel man."

Rājā Hams was exceedingly grieved when he heard their sorrows, and immediately sought to relieve them. He had two chief ministers, an owl and a parrot,<sup>2</sup> whom he loved very much, and to whose advice he always attended. Accordingly he now called them to him, and first addressing the owl, said,

"O Owl, I am ruler over all the birds and ye

<sup>1</sup> A swan or goose, cf. *rajahansa*, s. v. राज् in Monier Williams' *Sanskrit Dictionary*.

<sup>2</sup> Both the owl and the parrot occupy a prominent position in Indian Folklore. The former is generally regarded as most skilful in foretelling events, and on

this account would prove a most useful bird if men could only easily understand its speech. The parrot is also quoted as a most accomplished soothsayer, as well as a cheerful companion and faithful friend.

are my ministers. A portion of my subjects are terribly troubled by a certain fowler, whose tricks and snares they are powerless to resist, and yet they do not wish to leave their country. You will make arrangements for the preservation of these my subjects."

The owl was astonished when he received this difficult command; but remembering the parrot's superior knowledge and wisdom, he replied, "O Rājā, this your order cannot be executed by me, owing to my blindness by day. The parrot, however, with Your Highness's permission will fulfil it."

Then Rājā Hams turned to the parrot and commanded him to perform the order which he had just given to the owl. The parrot at once agreed, made his obeisance, and departed. He went to the aggrieved birds, and bade them to be patient and to do nothing of their own counsel, but to be guided by him, and to believe that the Great God would interpose in their behalf. The birds with one accord consented.

When the fowler discovered that there was not a bird left in the country, he became more sorrowful than ever. His case appeared hopeless. How to provide for his wife and family he knew not, because he had never learnt any other trade and had never possessed a special friend. It was a sad sight to see his children gathering round him when he returned in the evening to ask him what sport he had had (for they were very hungry), and then to watch them one after the other going away again, on being told that nothing had come to his hand that day.

Thus affairs continued until the birds returned from the conference; when the fowler, having heard from one of his children that the birds had again appeared, went forth with net and bow to try and catch them. He spread his net in a most likely place, and looked so fierce and determined that the birds were more afraid than before, and went to the parrot, saying, "In such and such a place the fowler has spread his net. Tell us how we may escape, for we are certain that if this man fails to snare us in his net, he will shoot us with his bow."

The parrot gave them permission to hide

themselves in different places and promised that he would make provision for their permanent safety. So away they all flew, and were soon out of sight. Then the parrot went and walked straight into the fowler's net and was snared, but no other bird was caught that day, and the fowler was almost frantic with despair. On reaching home his family rushed to him as usual, and inquired what luck he had had. "Nothing," he replied, "because of your bad fortune," but this parrot came into my net to-day."

Saying this he took the bird out of his cloth and made as though to kill it for food, but the parrot, guessing his intention, said, "Why are you going to slay me? Do you not know that my flesh is not fit for food? And even if you could eat me, what satisfaction for your hunger could you get out of such a morsel as I am? Would it not be a wiser plan to sell me to some dealer in the *bāzār* and provide yourself with provisions for many days from the price that you would obtain for me?"

The fowler acknowledged the wisdom of what the bird advised, and therefore put it into a safe place for the night, intending to rise early on the following morning and go to the *bāzār* with it.

As soon as the sun was up the next day, the fowler was up too, and off to the *bāzār*, proclaiming to the people that he had this parrot for sale. "Who'll buy? Who'll buy?" he cried; and many people stopped to look at the bird. They all seemed pleased with it, and many wished to have it, but on account of the small sums which they offered, the parrot refused to go with them.\* Of course this behaviour made the fowler very angry. He had been walking about in the heat all the day and was very tired and disappointed; and when he reached home, and saw again the hunger and distress of his family, he was exasperated beyond bounds. He swore that he would kill the parrot there and then. Poor bird! It thought that its doom was now most certainly sealed. However, it again begged the fowler to have patience with it. "You will perceive that I have not any personal interest in this delay," it added. "In refusing to be sold for

\* A large number of stories might be quoted, in which the supposition that prosperity or adversity is sometimes dependent on the *gismat* of another is mentioned.

\* Cf. *Old Deccan Days*, p. 107; also *Folk-Tales of Bengal*, pp. 209, 210.

such small sums, as were offered for me to-day I have not been rude. Please do not think me ungrateful for the preservation of my life. If you will wait till to-morrow, and then place me in a nice cage and cover the cage with a pretty cloth, and take me here and there about the palace-grounds, some great and rich person will probably notice the cage, and ask what is inside. It may be that they will also feel sufficient interest in me to inquire my price. If so, then please leave the arrangement of this matter again to me, simply saying that I cost a great deal of money and will declare my own price."

The fowler again acknowledged the wisdom of the parrot's counsel and consented to follow it. And so on the following morning, a beautiful cage and cloth having been procured, the bird was put inside, and carried about by the fowler within the precincts of the palace grounds.

Now the king of that country had several wives, but they were all barren except one, by whom a little daughter had been born to him. This daughter grew up to be so good and beautiful that His Majesty loved her very much. He cared not to be absent from her, and there was not a request of hers, that he did not try to fulfil to the utmost of his power. One day she had expressed a wish to have a bird which could speak, and so thenceforth the king had inquired diligently for such a bird. The fowler's visit therefore was most opportune.

While the fowler was perambulating before the palace the chief *Wazir* passed by. The fowler gave him a most profound *salâm*. The parrot, also, gave him a *salâm*, imagining that some great personage was near. When the *Wazir* heard the *salâm* from the cage he was much surprised. "How strange!" he said; "Please remove the cloth that I may see the bird, which can do this wonderful thing."

The fowler did so; and the *Wazir* was more struck with the beauty of the parrot than with its cleverness, and offered to purchase it at any price. According to the previous arrangement the parrot at once named the price: "Eighteen thousand rupees!"

"What! Eighteen thousand rupees;" said the astonished *Wazir*,

"Yes; Eighteen thousand rupees;" the parrot again replied.

"Then I cannot buy you," said the *Wazir*; "but my lord the king wishes to have a speaking bird like you. So you will please be carried to him."

The parrot consented, and so on reaching the front entrance of the palace the *Wazir* took the cage, and went inside with it. After making his obeisance he placed the cage before the king, saying that at last he thought His Majesty had obtained his long-felt desire. As soon as the cage was set before the king, the bird most distinctly said, "*Salâm*." This greatly astonished the king, who anxiously inquired whence the *Wazir* had obtained such a clever and magnificent bird. "It is the very bird that I have been wanting for a long time," he added. "You must sell it to me. Ask what you like, and I will give it you."

The *Wazir* replied, "It is not mine, O king. I met a poor fowler carrying it about the palace-grounds, and knowing that Your Majesty had need of such a bird, I first tried to buy it; but finding that its price was more than I could afford, I ordered the man to bring it hither. With Your Majesty's leave I will call in the man."

The king ordered the fowler to be brought in, and when he appeared, he asked him to sell the parrot. "Tell me its price and you shall have it," he said.

"My lord," tremblingly answered the man, "I cannot tell the worth of the bird. I only know that it was bought for a large sum of money. Let the king's will be. The bird will state its own worth."

Then the king turned towards the parrot and inquired its price; whereupon the parrot answered as before, "Eighteen thousand rupees!"

"Eighteen thousand rupees!" said the king with a much astonished air. "Too much, too much. Surely you are joking with me."

He tried to bargain for a less sum, but the parrot was as resolute concerning its price as the king was resolute concerning its purchase. Accordingly eighteen thousand rupees were paid to the fowler, and the parrot was carried in its beautiful cage to the king's only and beloved daughter.

The fowler was now a rich man. What a wind-fall! Eighteen thousand rupees all in



one day! With what great joy he returned to his house, and how joyfully his family received him, when they heard the glad news. After dinner,—such a dinner as they had not eaten for a long time,—they began to discuss plans for the future.

"What shall be done with these eighteen thousand rupees?" asked the fowler. "Shall we leave the country, the scene of so much sorrow and distress to us, and go to a fairer and better land? Or shall we remain here and spend our money in trading? Increasing in wealth and in honour we should forget our past troubles. Say, O my wife and children; what shall we do?"

Thus were they engaged in conversation, when a great noise was suddenly heard in the yard; and loud above all sounded the voice of somebody shrieking out the fowler's name. A company of soldiers had arrived, who said that they had been sent by the king to summon the fowler to the palace. The poor man was terror-stricken. "My name, my name;" he cried. "The king sent for me! What does His Majesty require of me at this hour of the night? Perhaps he repents of his purchase, and wishes to take the money back again. Or it may be that the parrot has maligned my character. Ah me! Ah me!"

But all his suspicions turned out to be wrong, for the king had summoned him in consequence of a conversation, which His Majesty had just had with the parrot, wherein he had been informed of the bird's mission. He wished to order him,—now that he had plenty of money,—to abandon the cruel calling of a fowler, and to apply himself to trade and merchandise. The fowler readily consented, saying, that this was his intention and that he would send his net and other things to the palace in testimony that he would not break his word. He then left, and as soon as he had gone, the king issued a proclamation to the effect that no person should catch or kill birds throughout the whole of that kingdom, and that whosoever was discovered disobeying the Royal mandate should be severely punished. Henceforth there was peace and contentment in the bird community of that kingdom. They flourished exceedingly

and their sweet songs filled the air all the day long.

Out of gratitude to the king the parrot decided to remain in the palace. He made himself so very agreeable, that every member of the Royal household fell in love with him, and especially the princess, whose whole time and thoughts the bird monopolised; so that she cared not to go to the king, her father, as aforetime, but was always talking and playing with the parrot, and saying, "O what should I do if my pretty parrot died or flew away from me? Polly, you *do* love me, don't you? and you will *never* go away, will you? O promise me truly that you will never leave me!"

Matters continuing thus the king naturally felt annoyed, for he loved his daughter exceedingly, and did not like her whole time to be spent with the parrot. One afternoon he consulted some of his friends as to the right course to pursue. He did not wish, or rather he was afraid, to have the bird slain,—but what was he to do? They advised him to order the bird to be brought to the Court, or to the garden, or wherever the king wished his daughter to come, for His Highness knew that wherever the parrot went, there the princess would go too. The king was pleased with this advice, and at once sent a servant to bring the parrot to the Court.\* Now the parrot, "as has been already mentioned," had the faculty of knowing all that was happening in the world, and used to tell his mistress any special news. Accordingly he now explained to her the king's plan for getting his daughter to visit him again. "You had better go," continued the parrot. "Go immediately, and leave me here."

The princess did so. Half-way to the Court, she met the king's messenger, and asked him what his errand was. He replied that he had been sent by the king to bring the parrot to the palace. "Never mind," she said, "you need not go. I will make it all right with the king. Return with me. I am now going to His Majesty." As soon as the princess had left to go to her father, the parrot remembered its native place and old friends, and determined to see them once more, thinking it could

\* cf. *Folk-Tales of Bengal*, p. 211.

return before the princess came back. So it pulled out its old and broken feathers that it might look the more beautiful, threw them on the floor, and then started. It reached home safely and was heartily welcomed by its relations and friends. They were all very glad to meet again, and had a lot to tell each other after so long an absence. They seemed hardly to have commenced conversation,—so quickly did the hours pass by,—when the falling shades of evening reminded the parrot that it was time to depart; and so resisting all entreaties of its friends to stay,—if only for an hour or so longer,—it spread out its wings and flew away.

On its way back the parrot alighted in a garden, which was by the sea-shore, where grew many rare and beautiful flowers. It plucked two of the most beautiful and returned to the princess. The princess had, however, come back from the Court long before, and finding that the parrot was not there had become very anxious; and when after a little while, she discovered some broken feathers lying on the ground, her grief knew no bounds. She thought that a cat had certainly entered the room and stolen her beautiful bird. After much weeping and lamentation she went to the king, told him her sad tale, and begged him to give orders that every cat found within the kingdom should be slain. Although the king cared nothing for the parrot, yet he was very desirous of pleasing his daughter, and therefore he at once ordered the immediate execution of all the cats that could be found in his country. Hundreds of cats were killed before nightfall.<sup>a</sup>

The poor princess, however, got very little comfort out of this revenge. She returned to her room, shut the door, and wept until she had no more power to weep and could not bear it any longer. "My pretty Poll, my pretty Poll," she kept on saying in an agony of grief. "Why did I leave you? O cruel, cruel, to have done this the very first time I was away from you!" Thus she mourned the loss of her pet companion. It was a long, long while before she closed her eyes that night; and when sleep did come, it came only for a short space. She soon awoke and then her thoughts naturally turning on her terrible bereavement; so she got

off her bed, and determined to put an end to her grief by hanging herself. She contrived to fasten a piece of cord to one of the beams of the ceiling, and having made a noose, was about to put it over her head, when the parrot flew in through the window! Another moment's delay and the bird would have found his mistress a corpse. What tongue can tell, and whose pen can describe the astonishment of the one and the joy of the other, when they thus met? The princess clasped the bird to her breast, and weeping floods of tears explained how she had thought that it had been devoured by some cat, and on that account had prevailed on the king to sanction an order for the destruction of all the cats in the country; and then how she had felt so lonely, and so miserable, that she had fully resolved to kill herself, because she could not live without its company. The parrot was so touched with the princess's story, that he almost forgot to ask her to hasten to the king and get him to revoke the cruel order concerning the innocent cats.

For some time after this they both remained perfectly silent,—lost in each other's joy. At length the parrot broke the silence. He told his mistress how he had felt constrained to leave her so abruptly and visit his home and people, also what he had heard from them and had seen on the way; and then he presented to her the two beautiful flowers which he had plucked from the garden by the sea. On seeing the beautiful flowers and inhaling their sweet perfume the princess fainted; she had never before seen flowers so lovely and of such delicious scent. When she came to her senses, she went and showed them to the king. His Majesty and all the courtiers were greatly surprised when they saw them. Such magnificent flowers had never been seen or conceived of by them. Such splendid perfume too; it filled the whole palace, so that the attendants and servants living in distant apartments perceived it and began to ask one another whence it was.

"How did you obtain these?" asked the king. "The parrot gave them to me," replied the princess. "He said that they were plucked from the flowering trees in the garden of the daughter of the king of the fairies, which is by

<sup>a</sup> cf. *Folk-Tales of Bengal*, pp. 200-219, the "Story of the Hiranman," which should be read in connection with this tale.

the sea-shore. There were twelve thousand of them in the garden, and each was worth twelve thousand rupees."

"True, true," remarked the king, "such flowers as these *must* be from heaven."

Then the princess asked her father to send and get some of these flowers for her. Now this was a very difficult request. Nevertheless the king promised that he would try, and at once despatched messengers in search of them. After many days these messengers returned, saying that they were quite sure of never being able to procure the flowers. However, His Majesty was not going to abandon the search so readily. He ordered notices to be sent to the different kingdoms of the world asking if these flowers were to be met with anywhere, and promising that he would give his beautiful daughter in marriage to the person, whoever he might be, who could procure them for him. This was done, and years passed without any news of them.

Now in former days there lived in the king's country a trader, who was exceedingly wealthy, and who, on account of his immense wealth, was much honoured by the common folk. Flattery and adulation had made this trader very proud,—so proud that he would never listen to anyone,—not even to the king. This proud man died, and owing to his not having any brothers or children his whole property reverted to the crown. It was a sad day for the trader's wife when her husband died. Poor woman; she was weak and sickly and expecting soon to have a little child. She knew not what to do. However, work she must, if she did not wish to die; and so she went and hired herself to a farmer of that country.

In due time her child was born. His lot<sup>7</sup> was good, and he grew and waxed strong. When he was old enough to do some work the farmer sent him into the fields to tend the cattle. Day by day he found time, also, to go to school with the farmer's children, for he was a good boy and wished to be wise and great. As his mother, being under the supposition that her child had been born under an unlucky star, had not given him a name, his schoolmates called him Khariâ, because his head was covered with scabs.<sup>8</sup> The school-

master, however, soon discovered the boy's talents, and perceiving, also, that he was diligent in his studies and ambitious, he took special notice of him and taught him all he could. He gave him presents of books too, and Khariâ soon became very clever and learned, and the envy of all the other boys.

One day it happened that as Khariâ was going on an errand for his master the farmer, he met one of the messengers of the king, who wished to get some more of the rare and beautiful flowers. "Whence came you?" he asked. "What have you come for? What is your name?"

The messenger replied by putting the king's notice into his hand. Having perused it Khariâ said, "Give me some money for the expenses of the way, and I will obtain these flowers. Go back immediately to your Royal master, and tell him to comfort his daughter with these words, until I appear. Be not afraid that I will deceive you."

The messenger was much pleased with the boy's frank and ready manner; and giving him the necessary expenses and a specially-sealed letter of the king, he hastened back to inform His Majesty of his success.

Khariâ first went and told his mother what he was going to attempt. She begged him not to be so foolish, but he would not hear her. He then went to tell his master and his teacher, and taking leave of them, started on his journey. In two or three days he reached a jungle, where a very tall and grand-looking man met him. Catching hold of the tall man's hands, he said, "*Salâm*." The man returned the boy's *salâm* and asked him who he was, whence he came, and whither he was going. The boy told him everything, as he had told his mother and master and teacher, and kept nothing back from him. Then the grand tall man blessed him, prayed for him, and bade him depart in quest of the flowers. But the boy would not let go his hand until he had told him in what direction to go. Seeing that the boy was in earnest, and was a worthy boy, the grand tall man disclosed to him who he was, and how by virtue of his great sanctity he could obtain for him whatever he required. "This is what I wanted from you," said Khariâ, "for I could

<sup>7</sup> i.e. *qismet*.

<sup>8</sup> Khur is the Kashmiri for the disease called scald-head (*Gavus*).

see that you were a very holy person and had all power. I pray you tell me whether I can get these flowers, or not; what my future lot is; and what my name is."

The grand tall man answered, "My boy, you can get these flowers; your future is good; and your name is Gullâlâ Shâh."

Saying this he placed his left hand on the boy's head, and taking a hollow gourd filled with water, he threw its contents over him, when the scabs and all other failings in the boy's appearance disappeared, so that he was now very beautiful. As soon as he had done this the man finally told him to go. And as Khariâ was leaving he again blessed him.

After many days Khariâ arrived at a certain place, and took up his abode in the house of an old widow, who lived there. He was very kind to the old woman, and used to give her food and in other ways help her. Every day he went for walks in and around the city and constantly brought back with him some little present for the widow. One morning, as he was washing himself by the riverside, near the palace of the king of that country, the princess chanced to see him, and noticing that he was tall and handsome, she sent one of her attendants to call him, which was done. Khariâ said

that he would go, and was conducted to a certain spot in the palace-garden, which the princess had pointed out. For many days they met together there, and the oftener they met the fonder they became of each other. At length the princess determined to marry Khariâ, and went to her parents to obtain their consent. Of course the king and queen first wished to see and to know something of the young man, and so a message was despatched to him, commanding him to appear at the Royal Court. In a little while the king, seeing that he was good and clever, and worthy of becoming his son-in-law, married his daughter to him. It was a very grand wedding, and there was no stint of money or trouble. Every arrangement was on the most lavish scale, and everything seemed to pass off most happily. Gullâlâ Shâh, for this was the name by which he was now known, visited the *Darbâr* every day, and his words were always listened to with the greatest attention and respect. Through his efforts, also, many good and just laws were introduced and many old-established errors corrected. Thus the kingdom became the terror and avenger of all evil men, but the refuge and defender of all who wished for right.

(To be continued.)

## NOTES ON THE MAHABHASHYA.

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### 1. ACHARYADESIYA.

The *Mahābhāṣya* is composed in the form of a series of dialogues. The principal interlocutors in those dialogues are the *Śiṣya*, the *Āchāryadēśīya*, and the *Āchārya*. The *Śiṣya* brings forward his doubts and asks questions; the *Āchāryadēśīya* is ready to solve those doubts and to reply to the questions raised, but *paṇḍitamanya* as he is, his answers are given hastily and without a full knowledge of all the difficulties of the matter under discussion; so that finally the *Āchārya* must step in to overrule him, and to explain the true state of the case. Sometimes we find all the three disputants introduced in parts of the *Mahābhāṣya* which contain only remarks of Patañjali; on other occasions, the views of the *Āchāryadēśīya* are contained in a *Vārttika*, and those of the *Āchārya* in original remarks of Patañjali, or

*vice versa*. Moreover, as the author of the *Mahābhāṣya* has not himself told us which of the views stated in his work are those of the *Āchāryadēśīya*, and which those of the *Āchārya*, it cannot be wondered at that commentators occasionally should differ, and that one should regard as the opinion of the *Āchārya*, what the other takes to be the opinion of the *Āchāryadēśīya*.

All this is so plain and natural, and accords so perfectly with the Hindu method of scientific discussion, that it might seem unnecessary to state it here,<sup>1</sup> were it not that *Āchārya* and *Āchāryadēśīya* are by some scholars still taken to denote, the former *only* Kātyāyana, and the latter *only* Patañjali, and that accordingly the word आचार्यदेशीय is still explained to be "a term used by Kaiyaṣa to denote Patañjali."

To show how the word *Āchāryadēśīya* is

<sup>1</sup> See my *Kātyāyana and Patañjali*, p. 58, note, and A. Barth in the *Revue Critique*, 1878, No. 23, p. 19.

really used by Hindu commentators, I select the following from a large number of passages which I have collected from the commentaries of Bhartṛihari, Kaiyaṭa, Haradatta, and Nāgōjibhaṭṭa.

The *Dvandva*-compound शिष्याचार्याचार्य-वेत्तार्याः is employed by Bhartṛihari, when commenting on the *Mahābhāṣya*, l. 5, of Vol. I. p. 5 of my edition.

In the *Bhāṣya* on P. IV. 1, 13 (Vol. II. p. 204), where there is no *Vārttika* at all, the question is asked (l. 23, अयेह कथं भवितव्यम्), what would be the correct form of a *Bahuvrīhi*-compound to express the sense of the words बहवः श्वानोऽस्याम्; the answer given (l. 24, बहुयुक्ता...कप्) is, that the compound would be बहुयुक्ता, and it is shown how such a form is obtained; in the following words (l. 25, to p. 205, l. 5 कप् तावन्न...तस्माद्बहुधा बहुयुवेति भवितव्यम्) that first answer and the reasons adduced in favour of it are rejected, and it is shown that the compound would really be बहुधा. In this passage Kaiyaṭa ascribes the answer बहुयुक्ता...कप् to the *Āchāryadēśīya*, and the following words कप् तावन्न to the *Āchārya*.

In the introductory portion of the *Bhāṣya* on P. V. 1, 19, (Vol. II. p. 343), where no *Vārttika* is yet referred to, Kaiyaṭa ascribes the words (l. 9) एवं तर्हि सिद्धे सति to the *Āchāryadēśīya*, the words (l. 12) यद्येतज्ज्ञाप्यते to the *Śishya*, and the words (l. 17) यत्तावदुच्यते to the *Āchārya*.

In the introductory portion of the *Bhāṣya* on P. V. 3, 57 (Vol. II. p. 416), where likewise no *Vārttika* is yet referred to, Kaiyaṭa ascribes the words (l. 18) यदि पुन to the *Āchāryadēśīya*, the words (l. 20) नैवञ्जातीयिका to the *Āchārya*, the words (l. 24) तत्तर्हि to the *Śishya*, and the words (l. 24) न वक्तव्यम् to the *Āchārya*.

In the *Bhāṣya* on P. VI. 1, 91 (Vol. III. p. 70), Kaiyaṭa introduces the statement (l. 22) अन्तरेण with the words "*Āchāryadēśīyaḥ paṇḍitammanyatvād ūha*," and he ascribes the words (p. 71, l. 4) अनिरयो to the *Āchārya*.

In the *Bhāṣya* on P. I. 4, 105-108, (Vol. I. pp. 352-354) Kaiyaṭa introduces, in addition to the *Āchāryadēśīya* and *Āchārya*, the *Chōḍaka* or objector; and to these three disputants he assigns some of the statements made in the *Vārttikas* and *Bhāṣya*, as follows: P. 352, l. 13 *Chōḍaka* :—स तर्हि.

l. 14 *Āchāryadēśīya* :—न वक्तव्यः.

l. 16 *Chōḍaka* :—अनेकशेष (Vārttika).

l. 19 *Āchāryadēśīya* :—न वा युज्यते (Vārttika).

P. 353, l. 5 *Āchārya* :—यत्तावदुच्यते.

Or on p. 354, where there is no *Vārttika*:

l. 1 *Āchāryadēśīya* :—तदन्तविधिना भविष्यति.

l. 1 *Chōḍaka* :—इहापि तर्हि.

l. 4 *Āchāryadēśīya* :—एवं तर्हि.

l. 5 *Chōḍaka* :—इहापि तर्हि.

l. 6 *Āchārya* :—एवं तर्हि.

In the introductory portion of the *Bhāṣya* on P. VI. 4, 62 (Vol. III. p. 206), the words (l. 1), अथ के...परत्वात् may according to Kaiyaṭa either be taken as the statement of one disputant, and the following words (l. 2) उवाचोऽपि as the words of the *Siddhāntavādin*; or अथ के...परत्वात् may be considered as questions and answers of the *Śishya* and *Āchāryadēśīya*, and उवाचोऽपि as the statement of the *Āchārya*.

The last passage naturally suggests the idea, that the term *Āchārya*, when used in opposition to such terms as *Śishya*, *Chōḍaka*, or *Āchāryadēśīya*, is equivalent to *Siddhāntavādin* or *Siddhāntin*, and, that such is really the case, might be proved by a large number of quotations. Here it may suffice to state, that *Āchāryadēśīya* is actually opposed to *Siddhānta* by Nāgōjibhaṭṭa on P. I. 1, 27, to *Siddhāntin* by the same on P. II. 1, 69 and VI. 4, 42, and to *Siddhāntavādin* by Kaiyaṭa on P. VII. 2, 106. The natural consequence is that *Āchārya* in turn may be opposed to *Pūrvapakṣin*, as has been done, e.g., by Nāgōjibhaṭṭa on P. IV. 1. 10.

## 2. GONIKAPUTRA AND GONARDIYA:

On p. 227 of Vol. XII. of this Journal, I stated that I hoped to prove, by the help of Bhartṛihari's Commentary on the *Mahābhāṣya*, that later grammarians were wrong in identifying Gōṇardīya with Patañjali. Since then, Dr. Rajendralal Mitra, who even in his preface to the *Yōga Aphorisms* (published in 1883) had adhered to the view which makes Patañjali a son of Gōṇikā and a native of Gōṇarda, has attempted to prove that Gōṇikāputra and Gōṇardīya in the *Mahābhāṣya* do not denote Patañjali, but are the names of grammarians quoted by him (*Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LII. Part I, p. 261). I shall now briefly indicate the reasons which years ago have made me arrive at the same conclusion; and I am perhaps the more justified

in once more discussing this matter, as the arguments in favour of the view advocated by Dr. Rajendralal appear even stronger than he has shown them to be.

The name *Gōṇikāputra* occurs only once in the *Mahābhāṣya*, at the close of the discussion on P. I. 4, 51 (Vol. I. p. 336 of my edition). After having raised the question, whether one should say *नेताभ्यस्व सुन्नम्* or *नेताभ्यस्व सुन्नस्य*, i.e. whether the word *सुन्न* should here be put in the acc. or gen. case, Patañjali simply answers *उभयथा गोणिकापुत्रः* "*Gōṇikāputra* (says that) either (case is correct)." To this Nāgōjibhaṭṭa appends the somewhat vague remark *गोणिकापुत्रो भाष्यकार इत्याहुः*, "they say that *Gōṇikāputra* is the author of the *Bhāṣya*." It appears, however, that the statement here repeated by him had not met with general acceptance; for, on the margin of a MS. which was written in A.D. 1695, and which often furnishes valuable notes, we have the gloss *गोणिकापुत्राचार्यमते उभयथा. षष्ठी भवति द्वितीयापि भवति*, "in the opinion of the *Āchārya* *Gōṇikāputra*, &c.," a phrase which cannot be taken to refer to the *Bhāṣyakāra*. We are left then to choose whichever interpretation may seem the more reasonable one; and when we find that only on p. 332 Patañjali has answered a similar question by saying *उभयथापि भवितव्यम्*, and has there moreover given his reasons for such answer, we shall, I think, decide in favour of the alternative that in the words *उभयथा गोणिकापुत्रः* he is quoting the opinion of another scholar.

*Gōṇardiya* occurs four times in the *Mahābhāṣya*:—

(a) On P. I. 1, 21 *Kātyāyana* shows that rule of Pāṇini's to be necessary when we assume *ādi* to denote that which, while it is accompanied by something else (*सत्यन्यस्मिन्*), has nothing before it, and *anta* that which, while it is accompanied by something else, has nothing after it; that on the other hand the rule may be dispensed with when 'beginning' and 'end' are simply taken to be what has nothing before it and what has nothing after it. After having explained *Kātyāyana*'s *Vārttikas*, Patañjali adds (Vol. I. p. 78):—

गोनर्दीयस्त्वह सत्यमेतत्सति त्वन्यस्मिन्निति<sup>1</sup>

"but *Gōṇardiya* says, that (the definitions of

*ādi* and *anta*) ought to contain (the clause) *सत्यन्यस्मिन्* 'while it is accompanied by something else' (and that therefore Pāṇini's rule is necessary)." —

(b) On P. I. 1, 29 Patañjali argues that that rule is necessary solely because it enables us to account for such forms as *स्वकपितृक* and *त्वकपितृक*. Without it, we should render the sense of the phrase *अहं पितास्य मकपितृक* for *म* would be *Sarvanāman* even in the *Bahuvrīhi*-compound and would therefore take *अकच्* by P. V. 3, 71, not *क* by the general rule P. V. 3, 70. But Patañjali adds (Vol. I. p. 91):—

गोनर्दीय आह ।

अकच्स्वरौ तु कर्तव्यौ प्रत्यङ्गः मुक्तसंशयो ।

स्वकपितृकः मकपितृक इत्येव भवितव्यमिति ।

"*Gōṇardiya* says, that (the words termed *Sarvanāmāni*) ought without any doubt to take *अकच्* and to receive the accent (due to them as *Sarvanāmāni*, even in a *Bahuvrīhi*-compound) because (both *अकच्* and that accent present themselves before the composition takes place and) are (therefore in regard to it) *antarāṅga*; that accordingly one ought (not) to say (*स्वकपितृक*, *मकपितृक*, but) *स्वकपितृक*, *मकपितृक*, (and that Pāṇini's rule I. 1, 29 is superfluous and may be dispensed with)." —

(c) On P. III. 1, 92 Patañjali raises the question whether it is allowable to form a noun like *कुम्भीकार* to express the sense of *कुम्भीकरोति* in such a phrase as *कुम्भीकरोति मृदम्*, "he turns clay into a jar," and having, for reasons given, answered that question in the negative he proceeds (Vol. II. p. 76):—

न तर्हीपानीमिदं भवति

इष्टाम्यहं काशकरीकारमिति ।

इष्टमेवैतन्नोनर्दीयस्य ।

"Do we then not find the following, viz. 'I maintain (that we ought to say) *काशकरीकार* one who turns grass into a mat'? *Gōṇardiya* certainly does maintain (that) this is correct." —

(d) Lastly, on P. VII. 2, 101 it is stated that, in the nom. sing. neut. *अतिजरस्*, the termination *अम्* cannot be dropped, because this very termination has caused the substitution of *जरस्* for *अर*, and because there is a maxim, that that which owes its existence to something else cannot in turn cause the dia-

<sup>1</sup> The Kāśmir MS. has गोनर्दीय आह सत्यमेतत्सत्यन्यस्मिन्निति.

<sup>2</sup> The Kāśmir MS. has प्रत्यङ्गौ.

appearance of the latter.\* The objection to this is that such reasoning would render impossible the forms अतिजरसम् and अतिजरसैः, (because the terminations अम् and ऐः, as they owe their presence to the preceding जर, ought not to bring about the disappearance of that जर), and would lead one to form अतिजरम् and अतिजरैः instead. And the discussion is wound up in the words (Vol. III. p. 309):—

गोनर्दीय आह । इदमेवैतस्संगृहीतं भवति । अतिजरम् अतिजरैरिति भवितव्यं सत्यामेतस्यां परिभाषायां संनिपातलक्षणो विधिरनित्तं तद्विधातव्येति ।

"Gônardīya says, that such a result is exactly what is wanted; the forms should be अतिजरम् and अतिजरैः, since there is the maxim that that which owes its existence to something else cannot in turn cause the disappearance of the latter."

Now it is true that Kaiyaṭa, when commenting on (a), substitutes भाष्यकारस्त्वाह for गोनर्दीयस्त्वाह, and that he understands Patañjali to propound in the passage (b) his own view as to the uselessness of the rule P. I. 1, 29. It is also certain that Nāgōjibhaṭṭa believes Kaiyaṭa in his note on (a) to say that Gônardīya is the author of the Bhāṣya, and that Hémachandra (and Vardhamāna\*) consider the names Gônardīya and Patañjali to denote one person. But Kaiyaṭa's words need not necessarily convey the meaning assigned to them by Nāgōjibhaṭṭa, and probably before him by Hémachandra, and *a priori* there is as little reason to identify Gônardīya with Patañjali as there would be of identifying Patañjali with Kuṇaravāḍava, who in the words कुणरवाडवस्त्वाह is introduced, and whose views, as opposed to those held by the Vārttikakāra, were probably adopted by Patañjali, on P. III. 2, 14 and VII. 3, 1 (Vol. II. p. 100 and Vol. III. p. 317). On the contrary, an examination of the statements ascribed to Gônardīya would seem to show, that in two cases at least those remarks are quotations, quotations from a grammatical work which was *in verse*, and the terminology of which differed from that of the *Mahābhāṣya*, while it agreed with that of other grammarians. And moreover, the manner in which Gônardīya is mentioned by Vāmana and referred to by Bharṭṛihari, can, in

my opinion, leave no doubt that those older grammarians never thought of identifying him with Patañjali.

The passages (a) and (d) may be considered to contain little of any decisive value, although I cannot altogether pass over the fact that on no less than eight occasions Patañjali has put forth his arguments in the same manner as on P. VII. 2, 101, and has employed the same phrase इदमेवैतस्संगृहीतम् which occurs on P. VII. 2, 101, without an introductory "Gônardīya says." (See Vol. I. p. 491, 495; Vol. II. p. 228, 238, 325; Vol. III. p. 159, 378, 403). More important is the passage (c). From the concluding words of it we learn, that it is Gônardīya who maintains that one may form काशकटीकार; and if then in the preceding line we read इच्छाम्यहं काशकटीकारमिति, "I maintain that काशकटीकार is correct Sanskrit," we are led to conclude that these are the very words in which Gônardīya had expressed his opinion, or, to put it differently, that this sentence is quoted from a work of Gônardīya, which cannot be the *Mahābhāṣya*. The words would appear to be part of a Śloka, and that their diction accords with that of other grammatical *Kārikās* becomes evident when we compare, *e.g.*—

Vol. I. p. 144 स्तोत्र्याम्यहं पादिकमौरवारिहं,

Vol. II. p. 87 अनावसोरहं ष्यतोर्निपातया-

म्यवृद्धितान्,

Vol. III. p. 183 शास्त्रि निवर्त्य सुदीप्त्यविशेषे-

Vol. II. p. 65 द्यस्ययमिच्छति शास्त्रकृतेषां,

and other verses quoted in the *Mahābhāṣya*. That Gônardīya was a writer of grammatical *Kārikās* is proved more clearly still by the passage (b); and that passage is of further importance, inasmuch as the half śloka actually furnished by it, and ascribed to Gônardīya, contains two words which are never used by Patañjali, *viz.* the word मुक्तसंशय which is peculiar to the *Vārttikas*, and the word प्रत्यङ्ग (for अन्तरङ्ग) which in this technical sense is found only in a *Kārikā* on P. VI. 4, 110, and in the Bhāṣya on P. VI. 3, 138, where Patañjali repeats a statement of other grammarians (Vol. III. p. 177, इहान्व आचार्याश्च प्रत्यङ्गस्य प्रतिषेधनाहः.).

All this tends to prove that Gônardīya cannot be Patañjali himself, but must be a

\* For a more accurate rendering of this maxim see *Paribhāṣhendusekhara*, LXXXV.

\* *Gūṇaratnamahādadhī*, p. 68.

grammarian quoted by him; and such I believe is the opinion both of Vāmana, the author of a portion of the *Kāśikā-Vṛtti*, and of Bhartṛihari, the commentator of part of the *Mahābhāṣya*. For the former, after having on P. VII. 2, 101 copied the statement that one ought to form अतिजरम् and अतिजरे; adds इति गोनदीयमतम् "such is the opinion of Gōnardiya," a remark which would be strange

if Vāmana, who repeatedly quotes the Bhāshya and the *Bhāshyakāra*, had identified Gōnardiya with the *Bhāshyakāra*; and Bhartṛihari, when commenting on P. I. 1, 29,\* and after having quoted the words गोनदीयस्त्वाह, raises the question किनस्याचार्यस्य दर्शनम् "what is the opinion of this Āchārya"? words which clearly imply that this Āchārya is not Patañjali.

## AN ENGLISH-GIPSY INDEX.

COMPILED BY MRS. GRIERSON, WITH AN INTRODUCTORY NOTE BY G. A. GRIERSON, B.C.S.

(Continued from p. 57.)

FEAST, Funeral,—Prāzniku, (M.)  
FEATHER,—Por, (pl.) porior, (Eng.); porī, (M., M. 8)  
FEED, to,—Hrēniava, hrēnisarāva (to pasture), pēshtiāva, pēshtisarāva, (M.); see NOURISH.  
FEEDING, the act of,—Popāsu, (M.)  
FEEL, to,—Khakyarāva, (M. 7)  
FEET,—Pire, (Eng.); see FOOT.  
FELL, to,—Shināva, (M.)  
FELLOW,—Bau, baw, chal, guero, (fem.) gueri, (Eng.)  
FEMALE,—Juvél, juvli, (Tch.)  
FEMININE,—Juvliākoro, juvlicanô, (Tch.)  
FERN,—Fuzyanri, (Eng.)  
FEW,—Khandi, khandik, khandik, (Tch.); khandi, (M. 7); zalog, (M. 8)  
FEW, very,—Khanroricha, (Tch.)  
FEVER,—Shila, trēska, (Tch.); beri, (As. Tch.); trēska, (Psp. M.); shól, shēl, (M.)  
FEZ,—Stadik, (M. 8)  
FIDDLE,—Baashadi, bosh, (Eng.); chātara, (M.)  
FIDDLER,—Boshomengro, (Eng.); skripkār, skripkārī, skripkarāsh, (M.)  
FIDELITY,—Priñcō, (M.)  
FIE!—Pif! (Tch.)  
FIELD, arable,—Arētōra, lānu, mal, mālō, mālū, (M.); mal, (M. 8)  
FIERY,—Yagalō, yagākoro, (Tch.)  
FIFE,—Zarbūna, duruvli, (Tch.); l'āva, (M.); sambona, (M. 8)  
FIFER,—Duruvaliākoro, (Tch.)  
FIFTEEN,—Desh ta pansch, (Eng.); desh-i-panch, (Psp. M.)  
FIFTH,—Pānzhto, (M.)  
FIFTY,—Peninda, (Tch., Psp. M.)  
FIG,—Figis, (Eng.); kheli, (Tch., Psp. M.); kheli (M. 8, add.)  
FIGS, Seller of,—Kheliāngoro, (Tch.)

\* Haradatta explains एष गोनदीयस्य पक्षः.

FIG-TREE,—Figis-ruk, (Eng.); khelin, (Tch., Psp. M.)  
FIGHT, a,—Kūrapen, (Eng.)  
FIGHT, to,—Kūráva, chingāva, (Eng.); marāva, (M.)  
FIGHTER,—Kūromengro, chinga-guero, (Eng.)  
FIGHTING,—Chingring, kūraken, (Eng.)  
FIGHTING-COCK, a,—Kūroboshno, (Eng.)  
FIGURE,—Kipu, (M.)  
FILBERTS,—Pailloes, (Eng.)  
FILCH, to,—Kaurāva, (Eng.)  
FILE,—Verni, dekāfti, (Tch.); verni, (Psp. M., M. 8)  
FILL, to,—Perāva, (Tch., Psp. M.); berti le ker, (As. Tch.); pherāva, (M., M. 8)  
FILLING,—Peribē, (Tch.)  
FILTHY,—Kelalō, pakō, (Tch.)  
FIND, to,—Lachāva, (Eng.); arakāva, (Tch.); arakāva, ailiāva, (M.); rakhāva, (M. 8)  
FINE,—Sannō, (Tch.)  
FINE, a,—Fino, (Eng.)  
FINGER,—Vangus, (Eng.); angúst, angúst, (Tch.); angúst, angrúst, (Psp. M.); angúl, anghiúl, (As. Tch.); angusht, (M. 7)  
FINISH, to,—Resāva, (Psp. M.); gētosarāva, (M.)  
FIRE,—Yag, (Eng.); yag, yak, (Tch.); eg, (As. Tch.); yak, (Psp. M.); yag, (M., M. 7)  
FIREBRAND,—Omblāl, umblāl, (Tch.); amblāl, (M.)  
FIRE-CAR,—Yag-varo, (Eng.)  
FIREMAN,—Yag-engro, yago-mengro, (Eng.)  
FIRST,—Avkōs, avgōs, avgutnō, (Tch.); avkōs, (Psp. M.); ēntāy, (M.); avgo, (M. 7)  
FIR-TREE,—Bradok, brad'i, (M.)  
FISH,—Macho, (Eng., M. 8) machō, (dim.) machorō, (Tch.); mācha, (As. Tch.); macho, (Psp. M.)  
FISH, cured,—Chīros, (Tch.)  
FISHERMAN,—Macheneskoe guero, (Eng.)  
FIST,—Domák, (Tch., Psp. M., M. 7); dumák, (M.)

\* The Berlin MS. does not contain Bhartṛihari's commentary on P. I. 1, 21.



- FIT**,—(adj.)—Haině, (M.).  
**FIVE**,—Panj, pansch, (Eng.); panch, panj, (Tch.); panch (Psp. M., M. 8); panzh, (M.).  
**FLAGSTONE**,—Pestêra, (Tch.).  
**FLASK, WATER**,—Bûkla, (Tch.).  
**FLAX**,—Vus, pus, (Tch.); vus, (Psp. M.); vush, (M. 8).  
**FLAXEN**,—Vushêskoro, vushêngoro, (Tch.).  
**FLAY**, to,—Kushâva, (M.).  
**FLEA**,—Pishen, (Eng.); pushôm, (Tch., Psp. M., M. 8) pishôm, pishôn, (M.).  
**FLEE**, to,—Nashâva, (M.).  
**FLESH**,—Maas, (Eng.); mas, (Tch., Psp. M., M., M. 8).  
**FLING**, to,—Chivâva, chuvâva, (Eng.).  
**FLOCK**,—Hêrdiliya, hêrdiliye, (M.).  
**FLOOR**,—Arie, podêoa, (M.).  
**FLOBIN**,—Frolî, (Tch.); lêu, (M.).  
**FLOUR**,—Waro, var, pauno, (Eng.); varô, (Tch., Psp. M.); atâ, (As. Tch.); arô, (M.), vanro, (M. 8).  
**FLOUR-BOLTER**,—Porizên, (Tch., M. 8).  
**FLOURISH**, to,—Ênfrunziâva, (M.).  
**FLOW**, to,—Tâvdâva, tavidiniôva, (Tch.); bilâva, (M.).  
**FLOWER**,—Iouzia, (Eng.); lulud'i, lulugi, (M.); luludi, (M. 8).  
**FLUTE**,—Flôeru, (M.).  
**FLUTE-PLAYER**,—Fluerâsh, (M.).  
**FLUVIAL**,—Leniâkorô, (Tch.).  
**FLY**,—Mosko, moshkho, (Eng.); moskabis, (Span. Gip.); makf, (dim.) khûrdi maki, (Tch.); pesi, (As. Tch.); makiâ, (Psp. M.); mak, (M.); makhi, (M. 8).  
**FLY**, to,—Uryâva, (Tch., M., M. 8).  
**FLY AWAY**, to,—Uryâniôva, (Tch.); furtî, (As. Tch.).  
**FLY**, to cause to,—Uryanâ kerâva, (Tch.).  
**FOAL**,—Kurô, kurî, kfurô, khurô, (Tch.); khurô, kurô, kurâ, (M.); khuro, (M. 7).  
**FOAL**, to,—Pherd'ovâva, (M.).  
**FOAM**,—Spâma, (M.).  
**FOG**,—Nêgurô, (M.).  
**FOLLY**,—Denilipê, (Tch.).  
**FOLLIES**,—Dinnelipênes, (Eng.).  
**FOLLOW**, to,—Slomâva, slumâva, (Eng.).  
**FOOD**,—Habben, (Eng.); khashôî, khasôî, khabê, (Tch.); hrânê, khabê, khabî, (M.).  
**FOOL**,—Dinnelo, (Eng.); denilô, (Psp. M.); dinilo, (M. 7); brâma, (M.).  
**FOOLISH**,—Dinneleskoe, (Eng.).  
**FOOL**, like a,—Dinneleskoenes, (Eng.).  
**FOOT**,—Pinrô, pirô, pirnô, pindô, (dim.) pinrorô, (Tch.); bav, (As. Tch.); pirô, pindô, pinrô, pindô, (Psp. M.); ponrô, pênrô, (M.); pindo, (M. 8).  
**FOOTPATH**,—Kêrâre, (M.).  
**FOR**,—Kê, pe, (M.); vash, (M. 8).  
**FORBID**, to,—Popriâva, poprisarâva, (M.).  
**FOREHEAD**,—Chikât, (Tch., M., M. 7).  
**FOREIGN**,—Peryûl, (Psp. M.).  
**FOREIGNER**,—Wafo temeskoe mush, (pl.) wafo tem-engre, (Eng.).  
**FOREIGN LAND**,—Wafo tem, (Eng.).  
**FOREST**,—Wesh, (Eng.); vesh, ves, vest, veshia, vosh, vos, (Tch.); vesh, (Psp. M.).  
**FORESTER**,—Veshêskoro, (Tch.).  
**FORGET**, to,—Bistrâva, (Tch., M. 7); bisterâva, (M.).  
**FORGIVE**, to,—Fordelâva, artâva, artavellâva, (Eng.); estomarâva, (Span. Gip.); ispêsiâva, (M.).  
**FORGIVEN**,—Fordias, fordios, (Eng.).  
**FORGIVENESS**,—Artapen, (Eng.).  
**FORK**,—Bunêli, berôli (Tch.); furkulicô, (M.).  
**FORMERLY**,—Angledêr, (Tch.).  
**FORNICATION**,—Piriâibê, (Tch.).  
**FORNICATION**, to commit,—Piriavâva, (Tch.).  
**FORNICATOR**,—Pirianô, (Tch.).  
**FORTIFY**, to,—Astarghiâ kerâva, (Tch.).  
**FORTUNE**,—Mestipen, kappi, bokht, (Eng.); bakht, (dim.) bakhtorî, (Tch.); mestipen, bestipen, (Span. Gip.).  
**FORTUNATE**, one who is,—Bakhtalô, (Tch.).  
**FORTUNES**, to tell,—Dukkerâva, (Eng.).  
**FORTUNE-TELLING**,—Dukkering, dukkipen, duriken, (Eng.); durik, (M. 7).  
**FORTY**,—Sarânda, (Psp. M., M. 8).  
**FORWARDS**,—Anglê, (Psp. M.).  
**FORWARDS**, to go,—Rêpêziâva, (M.).  
**FOUND**, to be,—Arâkliovava, (Tch.).  
**FOUNDATIONS**,—Timili, (M.).  
**FOUNTAIN**,—Chesmê, (Tch.); khani, (As. Tch.).  
**FOUR**,—Stor, (Eng.); ishtâr, shtâr, star, (Tch.), ishtâr, (Psp. M.); shtar, (M., M. 8).  
**FOURTEEN**,—Desh ta store, (Eng.); desh-i-ishtâr, (Psp. M.).  
**FOURTH**,—Shtârto, (M.).  
**FOX**,—Weshen-juggal, (Eng.); hâlpe, (M.).  
**FRAGRANCY**,—Sung, (Tch.); shung, (M. 8).  
**FRAME**, embroidering, an,—Derdêfu, (M.).  
**FRANTIC**,—Hegedûsh, (M.).  
**FREEZE**, to,—Paghosâiliom (1 pres.), (Tch.); pagosarâva, (M. 8).  
**FRESH**,—Sudrô, sidrô, sitrô (Tch.); premint'an, prôspêtu, (M.); shudro, (M. 8).  
**FRESHNESS**,—Sudripê, (Tch.).  
**FRESH AIR**,—Rêkoare, (M.).  
**FRIDAY**,—Parashtuyî, parashtui, (M.); paraskevi, (M. 8).  
**FRIEND**,—Parnavô, (Tch., Psp. M., M. 8); moro, (M. 8).  
**FRIENDSHIP**,—Parnaibê, (Tch.).  
**FRIGHT**,—Dar, (Tch.).

- FRIGHTEN**, to,—Traisháva, (Eng.); daraváva, (Tch.)  
**FRIGHTENED**, to be,—Darániováva, trashaniováva, (Tch.)  
**FRIGHTEN HIM**,—Strash; de len strash, (M.)  
**FRINGES**, (of a tent),—Pishkúlia, (Tch.)  
**FROG**,—Zámha, (Tch., M. 8); bogh, (As. Tch.); zámha, (Psp. M.); bróska, bróské, (M.); marokha, (M. 8)  
**FROM**,—Katár, (Psp. M.); de, (M.)  
**FRONT**,—Anglê, (abl.) anglâl, (Tch.)  
**FROST**,—Zhêru, (hoar-frost) chérko, chérku, chêru, (M.)  
**FROTH**,—Spúma, (M.)  
**FRUIT**,—Meivê, (As. Tch., M. 8)  
**FRUIT GARDEN**,—Pométu, (M.)  
**FRUIT-TREE**,—Porikin, ruk, (dim.) rukorô, (Tch.); pônu, (M.)  
**FRUIT-TREE**, of or belonging to,—Rukéngoro, (Tch.)  
**FRYING-PAN**,—Tassa-mengri, tattra - mengri (Eng.)  
**FULL**,—Perdô, (Eng.); perdô, (dim.) perdorô, (Tch.); perdô, (Psp. M.); pherdô, phêrdo, pkhêrdo, perdô, (M.)  
**FULL**, to be,—Pêrgiováva, (Tch.); pèrtiováva, (Psp. M.)  
**FULLER'S EARTH**,—Shershik, (Tch.)  
**FUN**,—Pias, (Eng.)  
**FUNDAMENT**,—Vul, bul, bulbúl, vulvúl, (Tch.)  
**FUNNEL**,—Khoink, (Tch.)  
**FUR**,—Keptâre, poshtin, zhâba, (M.); poshtin, (M. 8)
- G
- GAINTY**,—Peryas, (M. 8)  
**GAIN**,—Kappi, (Eng.)  
**GAIN**, to,—Agonisiáva, keshtigésaráva, (M.)  
**GAIT**,—Piripe, (Psp. M.)  
**GALL**,—Kholin, (Tch.)
- GALLOWES**,—Sklinchop, umblad't, (M.)  
**GAME**,—Kelibê, (Tch.)  
**GAME** (wild flesh),—Shâra, (M.)  
**GAMEKEEPER**,—Wesh-engro, yag-engro, yago-mengro, (Eng.)  
**GARDEN**,—Yarb-tan, (Eng.); bakhchê, bâri, pâri, (Tch.)  
**GARLIC**,—Sir, (Tch., Psp. M., M. 8); lesin, (As. Tch.)  
**GARLIC**, clove of,—Sheralô, (Tch.)  
**GARMENT**,—Ucharibê, (Tch.); dulâma, rôkiya, rôkiye, côha, thalik, (M.); (woman's garment), chokha, (M. 7)  
**GARTER**,—Brichinâr, (M.)  
**GATE**,—Stiggur, klop, (Eng.)  
**GERSE**,—Shubley patnies, (Eng.)  
**GENIUS**, (a wicked female),—Zêne, (M. 8)  
**GENTILE**,—Gorgio, (fem.) gorgie, (Eng.); gacho, (Span. Gip.)  
**GENTILE**, blood of,—Gorgiken rat, (Eng.)  
**GENTILES**, after the manner of,—Gorgikonoes, (Eng.)  
**GENTLE**,—Gudlô, guglô, (Tch.); guldê, guldî (As. Tch.)  
**GENTLEMAN**,—Raia, rye, (Eng.); khulay, (M. 7)  
**GENTLEMANLY**,—Ryeskoe, (Eng.); t'iru, (M.)  
**GERMAN**,—Ninco, sasos, (M. 8)  
**GET BOOTY**, to,—Lelâva kappi, (Eng.)  
**GET UP**, to,—Ufkiáva, uftiáva, ufchiáva, ukhkiáva, unghiáva, ushtiáva, (Tch.)  
**GET WITH CHILD**, to,—Shauvâva, (Eng.)  
**GHOST**,—Bavol-engro, (Eng.); chovekhanô, (Tch.), dukho, (M.); chovekhanô, (M. 7)  
**GHOST**, of or belonging to,—Chovekhanêskoro, (Tch.)  
**GHOST**, appearance of,—Chovekhanibê, (Tch.)  
**GHOST**, to become a,—Chovekhaniováva, (Tch.)  
**GIANT**,—Uriyesh, (M.)  
**GIFT**,—Dibâ, (Tch.); dâro, (M.)  
**GIMLET**,—Sfêrdelu, (M.)

## BOOK NOTICES.

**THE ROOTS, VERB-FORMS, AND PRIMARY DERIVATIVES OF THE SANSKRIT LANGUAGE**, by W. D. WHITNEY. A supplement to his Sanskrit Grammar. Leipzig, Breitkopf and Härtel; London, Trübner & Co. 1885. 8vo. pp. xiii. & 250.

Highly as we value the works of the native grammarians, and convinced as we are that to them is mainly due that rapid progress which the study of Sanskrit has been making during the last century, we may yet, without fear of being misunderstood, venture to say that the time has arrived when their teaching should be subjected, by a comparison with the actual usage of the language, to a thorough and searching examination. No one who has given any serious thought

to the subject, would suggest that those ancient scholars of India, whose labours have been preserved by Pāṇini, Kātyāyana, and Patañjali, would willingly have misled us, or would have invented rules which they did not believe to be warranted by the language as known to them. At the same time it is possible that, in their attempt to analyse and explain the facts of the language, they may have arrived at conclusions which cannot be upheld; that their desire to generalise may have led them to lay down rules which, true in individual cases, would, if generally observed, give rise to forms or expressions that have never been in actual use; and that the

commentators may have given a meaning to their dicta which was not intended by those who originated them. Moreover, it cannot be denied, that the ancient idiom of the Vêdas has not received from the grammarians that careful attention and minute description which it deserves, and that their labours here at any rate must be supplemented by modern research.

But a comparison of the teachings of the grammarians with the usage of the language during its consecutive periods is likely to furnish valuable results in another direction. If it be true, that the grammarians were not like potters who fabricate their wares for those who demand them, if what they aimed at was by means of rules and exceptions to explain the existing words of the language, a careful examination and comparison of the extant literature should reveal what works must have been known to the grammarians, and assist us in fixing more accurately the place which they hold in Sanskrit literature.

It is from such considerations as these, that we welcome the appearance of the valuable work, the result of years of patient labour, by which Prof. Whitney has laid under deep obligations all who are interested in the study of Sanskrit grammar. The book is intended, to use the author's own words, especially as a Supplement to his Sanskrit Grammar, giving, with a fulness of detail that was not then practicable, nor admissible as part of the grammar itself, all the quotable roots of the language, with the tense and conjugation-systems made from them, and with the noun and adjective (infinitival and participial) formations that attach themselves most closely to the verb; and further, with the other derivative noun and adjective-stems usually classed as primary: since these also are needed, if one would have a comprehensive view of the value of a given root in the language. So far as the information at present available allows, everything given is dated, —whether found in the language throughout its whole history, or limited to a certain period, Vêda, Brâhmaṇa, Sâtra, Upanishads, epic poetry, or so-called classical Sanskrit. Of the forms taught by the grammarians, which have not yet been met with in actual use, a liberal presentation is made under the different roots: such material being always distinguished from the rest by being put in square brackets. In addition to this regular *Dhâtupâṭha*, the author has given indexes of tense and conjugation-stems, from which it becomes at once apparent, whether a particular stem is found only in the earlier or only in the later language, or occurs in both; and an index of roots, arranged in reversed alphabetical order, under which we find the interesting note, that "of

the more than 800 roots here recorded as making forms of conjugation, nearly 200 occur only in the earlier language, nearly 500 in both earlier and later, and less than 150 only in the later language."

For the later periods of the language Prof. Whitney has drawn his information mainly from the St. Petersburg Dictionary; but in the older language he has done much more independent work. He has, namely, himself "gone over all the texts of the earlier period accessible to him, including the as yet unpublished Kaushitaki-Brâhmaṇa and Kâṭhaka, and the immense Jaiminiya or Talavakâra-Brâhmaṇa, which has as yet hardly been accessible to any one else; and from them he has excerpted all the noteworthy verbal forms and (less completely) the primary derivatives; thus verifying and occasionally correcting the material of the Lexicon, supplying chance omissions, and especially filling in not a few details which it had not lain in the design of that work to present in their entirety." The forms taught by the native grammarians have been given chiefly on the authority of Westergaard's *Radices*, and for this reason a few wrong forms, which had found their way into that very accurate work, have here also been repeated.

Without entering into details, for which this is not the place, we venture to maintain that Prof. Whitney's book will prove of the greatest service not only to the student of Sanskrit generally, but also to those who more particularly have turned their attention upon the works of the native grammarians. To the latter the accurate and full collections contained in the work will probably suggest additional reasons for the belief that the so-called grammarian's dialect accords in a most curious manner with the language of what Prof. Whitney calls the language of the Brâhmaṇa period.

F. KIELHORN.

THE LIGHT OF ASIA, by EDWIN ARNOLD, C.S.I.  
Illustrated Edition. London, Trübner & Co.

Notices of this very popular work have previously appeared in this *Journal* and its points have been variously discussed, but the chief feature of this particular edition—the illustrations—have been missed. They are all taken from *bond fide* native representations of Buddha and his life, without addition or alteration, and we have here before us facsimiles of pictures, however crudely executed in the original, of Buddhist stories as they present themselves to the Buddhist imagination. A flood of light is thus necessarily thrown on those quaint sculptures and drawings so familiar and so

incomprehensible to the student of Indian Buddhist architecture and art, and a new interest given to them. As instances of this we would draw attention to the cuts on p. 7 entitled in the list "merchantmen bringing rich gifts": on p. 19, "Rishis passing the Jambu tree": and on p. 86 where Buddha takes his horse to see the world. Viewed therefore as a teacher through its illustrations of the meaning of bas-reliefs and sculptures from Buddhist buildings the book is an invaluable one, and serves as a key by which the student may unlock the sealed door of ancient Indian design, and having thus once obtained an entrance into the vestibule use the clues now given him to penetrate unaided into the further recesses of the structure. Other books of course can do this for him, but they are not as a rule such as would from their nature attract any but the most earnest or from their costliness be available to any but the wealthy, whereas this one is both interesting and moderate in price. The value of the illustrations is augmented by their being placed *within* the text as it were:—cuts rather than full-page plates being used throughout the work.

As edition after edition of the *Light of Asia* has been brought out we cannot but wonder that the author has allowed his extraordinarily faulty transliteration to remain hitherto untouched. We quote the following passage from page 11 as a sample of what transliteration ought not to be. Either let it be scientifically regular or let it be "phonetic"; not a little of both, which is the worst system of all.

"After me repeat,

Your numeration till we reach the Lakh,  
One, two, three, four to ten, and then by tens  
To hundreds, thousands." After him the child  
Named digits, decades, centuries; nor paused,  
The round lakh reached, but softly murmured  
on,

"Then comes the kôti, nahut, ninnahut,  
Khamba, viskhamba, abab, attata,  
To kumude, gundhikas, and utpalas,  
By pundarikas unto padumas,  
Which last is how you count the utmost grains  
Of Hastagiri ground to finest dust;  
But beyond that a numeration is,  
The Kâtha, used to note the stars of night;  
The Kôti-Kâtha, for the ocean drops;  
Ingga, the calculus of circulars;  
Sarvanikhepa, by the which you deal  
With all the sands of Gunga, till we come  
To Antah-Kaipas, where the unit is  
'The sands of ten crore Gungas.'

On the previous page we have *tatsaviturva-*  
*renyam* in the "*Gayatri*," which the author gives,

but, perhaps wisely, makes no attempt to translate. Now if you write *kâtha*, &c. why write *lakh*? And if you write *crore* why not write *lac*? And again if you write *lakh* why write *Gunga*? If you are going to be so very correct as to write *n* in a word where the cerebral nasal occurs, why be careless as to vowels in other words no more familiar to the general reader than *tatsaviturva-*  
*renyam* on the very next page? We have again *maidân* and *myna* and then *nullah* (!), *mahardj* and *maharaja*, and so on *ad infinitum* throughout the book; to say nothing of such atrocities as *abhidjna*, *Tchirnika*, *chuddah* and *Ardjuna*! It is a great pity to allow the book to continue to be marred by signs of want of scholarship of such a nature as to throw doubts on its existence.

EXTRACTS FROM THE CORAN IN THE ORIGINAL, WITH  
ENGLISH RENDERING.—BY SIR W. MUIR, K.C.S.I.,  
LL.D., D.C.L. 2nd Ed. Trübner & Co., London.

We take it that the object of this little work is to extract what of general religious morality is to be found in the *Qurân*—as we prefer to spell it—with the object of showing Christians and Muhammadans how far they can agree. Seeing how beautiful and attractive on such points the language of the *Qurân* often is, the learned and distinguished author conceived the idea of using suitable extracts from it as a book for schools, useful alike to both religions. This idea well deserved success, but he was met with such a weight of prejudice—from Christians against 'teaching' from the *Qurân*, and from Muhammadans against 'extracting' from so sacred a book—that he dropped it for many years. However in 1880 he had the courage to take it up again and to so far succeed as to reach a second edition in 1885. As a book the work is an admirable one, and let us hope that the victory over prejudice will be complete and final.

A COMPREHENSIVE COMMENTARY ON THE QURAN, VOL.  
III.—by the REV. E. M. WHERRY, M.A., London:  
Trübner & Co.

We are glad to observe that Mr. Wherry's very valuable work has reached its third volume, and that we shall not have much longer to wait for the fourth and last, which is to contain that "Complete Index" so much to be desired by all students of the *Qurân*.

This volume, which is, of course, conducted precisely on the lines of the former ones, takes us from the XIVth to the XLth *Sûra* and fully keeps up the character of the work as a 'comprehensive' commentary. We are sorry, however, to note that the slips still occur in the transliterations of Oriental words and names which have disfigured the former volumes.

DISCURSIVE CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARDS THE COMPARATIVE  
STUDY OF ASIATIC SYMBOLISM.

BY H. G. M. MURRAY-AYNSLEY.

## II.

*Sun Worship.*

SUN worship, probably the most ancient of all superstitions, still prevails in Hindustân, and formerly had a special existence in Phœnicia, Chaldæa, Egypt, Mexico, and Peru. According to Allegre<sup>1</sup> the explicit worship of the Sun, and more or less that of the other heavenly bodies, or at least a recognition of some supernatural power resident in or connected with them, was widely spread throughout Mexico, amongst both the uncivilized and the civilized tribes or peoples. In civilized Mexico, the Sun was definitely worshipped under the name *Tomatink*, or the Sun in his substance, and also under that of *Naolin*, or the Sun in his four motions. Sometimes he was represented by a human face surrounded with rays, sometimes by a full length human figure; whilst he seems to have been often confounded with the element fire, and with the god of fire. We find the same confusion in the *Trinacria*, or arms of Sicily, if, as has been supposed by many, it be a form of the *Swastika*, or Fire-Symbol, which in process of time has lost one of its arms. In Scandinavia it has become what is there styled the *Triskele*. Obviously the *Trinacria* is a human face surrounded with rays in the centre of three legs.

When an eclipse of the Moon is expected, many of the natives of Hindustân hasten down to the nearest river or to a tank, and remain in the water the whole time of its duration, imagining that some dire misfortune would befall them were they to omit to do so. The Mexicans also have been described as being much troubled and distressed at an eclipse of the Sun or Moon, some of the wild tribes regarding the Sun and Moon as husband and wife.<sup>2</sup> They believe that an eclipse of the Sun is caused by domestic quarrels, and to soothe the ruffled spirit of the Sun on such occasions, the ruddiest human victims that could be

found used to be sacrificed to him. For sacrifices to the Moon, under similar circumstances, albinos were chosen.

The Comanches, a subdivision of the Apaches, a tribe belonging to Northern Mexico, practise various religious ceremonies which are for the most part of a simple kind and directed to the Sun as the great source of life, and to the Earth, as the producer and receptacle of all that sustains life. According to the Abbé Domenech, in his account of his missionary labours, every Comanche wears a little figure of the Sun round his neck, or has a picture of it painted on his shield: while from his ears hang two crescents which may possibly represent the Moon.

Halhed, in his *Code of Gentoo Laws*<sup>3</sup> speaks of a spot in India, which in his day was much frequented by pilgrims, in the *Sâbah* of Oude, known as *Sûrya-Kund*. A festival was annually observed there, called the *Sûrya-Pûjâ*, which took place on the 7th day of the bright half of January, when offerings of flowers were made to the sun and afterwards cast into the Ganges. He also adds that the new-born babe of a *Brâhman* was exposed to the Solar beams.

Fire-worship, as a special form of Sun-worship, early prevailed in Persia; its votaries, the Magi, being forbidden to spit in the fire or to pour water upon it, even if their dwellings or goods were in danger of being consumed.

According to Hyde, idolaters, as well as these Sun-worshippers, existed in ancient Persia, and the worship of Fire, and that of idols, were combined at one period.<sup>4</sup> The Fire-worshipping Magi held the idolaters in abomination, but after the death of one of them named Smerdis, the sect which opposed idols became extinct in Persia. Quintus Curtius, when describing the march of the army of Darius, though writing long after the date, says that he was accompanied by an image of the Sun placed in

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. Comp. de Jesus.*

<sup>2</sup> In Naples, to this day the *Key* (the symbol of Janus or the Sun) is used as a talisman by the lower orders, who call the Moon *Janara*, or the wife of Janus. One woman will call another a *Janara* as a term of reproach.

<sup>3</sup> London, 1776.

<sup>4</sup> *Persian Religion*, p. 38. Clement of Alexandria states that Artaxerxes, the son of Darius, caused idols to be made in human form for worship, and adds that this monarch was the first who created statues to the goddess Venus at Babylon, at Susa, and elsewhere.

a crystal, and the sacred fire carried on a silver altar; that the king's carriage was ornamented on all sides with images of gold and silver; and that there were also golden statues an ell in height on top of it, one of which represented Bêlus (the Sun). Tertullian also in his *Apologia*, Chap. 16, gives us to understand that the Persians adored a figure of the Sun, which they caused to be painted on canvas.

Zoroaster (Zârdasht) gave Mithra, the Sun-god of the Persians, two principles; and made these exercise two distinct forces, each independent of the other, under the names of Ormuzd (good) and Ahrimân (evil). This, in time, in the opinion of Mr. Fiske (the American upholder of the Darwinian theories), produced the Manichæan heresy, in which the devil appears as an independently existing principle of evil, and thus was continued in part at least the old Asiatic worship of the Sun in comparatively modern Europe. This heresy, says Mr. Fiske, "was always ripe in Armenia. It was through Armenian missionaries that Bulgaria was converted from heathenism, and from thence Manichæism penetrated into Servia and Bosnia, which latter was its headquarters from the 12th century onwards, and was a perpetual thorn in the side of the Papacy. From Bosnia, the great Albigensian heresy was propagated through Northern Italy and Southern Gaul." Mr. Fiske also adds, that "this connection of Eastern and Western Protestantism was well understood at the time."

The worship of Mithra penetrated to many places in ancient Italy. At Milan there was his cavern or grotto and his sacrificing priests, as appears from an inscription discovered near the monastery of Saint Ambrose. Also, on the island of Capri, in the bay of Naples, in a grotto, are the remains of a temple of Mithra. The name of this grotto has been popularly corrupted into Matromania, but it should be styled Mithramonia. In Naples, too, there was a temple to Mithra, the columns of which may still be seen in the Church of Santa Maria à Cappella on the Chiaia-mone.

This worship of Mithra was introduced into Italy after the return of Pompey the Great from his victories in Asia, and bears all the

marks of dating from the second half of the last century of paganism. In fact, the Mithraic feasts and the mysteries of the god Mithra, were established and recognised in Italy under the reign of Trajan, who was born 52 A.D. and ascended the throne 98 A.D. For nearly a century and a half the followers of Mithra were obliged, like the early Christians, to carry out their religious rites in caves and grottos, and the grotto of Mithramonia may be regarded as one of the spots where the votaries of this worship used to assemble in secret.<sup>5</sup>

Mithraic worship was not of long duration in Italy. It was tolerated and permitted by the emperors in the first years of the second century of the Christian era, but Christianity was then already beginning to spread and gain ground, and was recognized by Constantine in the following century, as the true and only religion.

According to ancient writers, the ceremony of the initiation of a candidate into the Mithraic mysteries was very appalling. Tertullian says that the candidate encountered a drawn sword on the threshold of the cavern, from which, if he persevered in entering, he received more than one wound. He then had to pass repeatedly through the flames of a fierce fire, and undergo a rigid fast, which, some have stated, lasted 50 days, during which time he was to remain far from all human habitations; but this seems hardly possible, and some kind of coarse food must have been permitted him. He was then beaten with rods for two whole days, and during the last 20 days of his trial was buried up to the neck in snow. If he endured all these privations and sufferings, the candidate was admitted as a disciple of Mithra, and a golden serpent was placed in his bosom, given him as a sign of his regeneration, for, as the snake renews its vigour in the spring by casting its skin, so the vivifying heat of the Sun is annually renewed. Sôkratês, the author of the *Ecclesiastical History*, who lived in the fifth century A.D., relates that in his time "the Christians of Alexandria, having discovered a cavern which had been consecrated to Mithra, but long closed up, resolved to explore it and see what remnants of that superstition it contained, when to their astonishment

<sup>5</sup> *Illustrazione Italiana*, March 1883. It is not improbable that the Christians used this grotto, when they

also were in their turn obliged to perform their religious rites in secret.

the principal thing they found in it was a great quantity of human skulls, with other bones of men that had been sacrificed. They were brought out, and publicly exposed, and excited the utmost horror in the inhabitants of that great city."

It is not impossible that to the people of Italy, Mithra was the Sun himself. He was not so to the Persians; to them he was only a satellite of the Sun, a powerful god, though not the first or the supreme one, and more like a saint of our own days. The Persians adored him, but only for the favours which they believed he could obtain for them, by his intercession with the Sun.

Montfaucon, in his *Antiquities*, gives a description of a statue, supposed to be that of Mithra, which was discovered at Rome at the close of the 16th century, between the Viminal and the Quirinal Hills. His account of it is taken from that of an Italian sculptor named Vacca, who examined the temple at the time it was excavated. The building was circular, as were all the temples of the Sun and Fire. In the centre was a statue of Mithra in white marble, rather less than four feet in height. It stood erect upon a globe, out of which a serpent issued, the emblem of life, twined in numerous folds round the body of the deity. The body of the statue was that of a man, and the head was that of a lion, one of the signs of the zodiac. The two hands grasped two keys pressed close to the breast, to indicate the god's power over the two hemispheres, and his solar origin.<sup>8</sup> Around him was suspended a circle of lamps in regular order, apparently made of baked earth. What was remarkable in these lamps was, that they were so arranged as to turn the side which gave the light towards the statue; and this seems to show that these ancient people knew that the planets were opaque bodies, and derived their light from the Sun, the central orb, around which they revolved.

On a bas-relief of white marble in the Casino of the Villa Albani at Rome is represented<sup>9</sup> a sacrifice to the god Mithra. In the centre of the group is a youth, or female figure,<sup>10</sup> attired

in the manner in which the Romans represented those whom they wished to delineate as foreign deities.<sup>11</sup> This figure has a peaked or so-called Phrygian cap, flowing hair, a loose robe with sleeves reaching only to the knees and confined at the waist with a broad girdle, tight trousers down to the ankles, and pointed shoes. Both the tight trousers and the pointed shoes recall the dress of certain natives of India in the present day. It is standing over a prostrate bull, holding the head of the animal with the left hand, and thrusting a dagger into its flank with the right, just above the shoulder-blade. In the foreground is a small dog, while a serpent in an erect position seems watching the course of the dagger, and near the serpent are two scorpions. Behind and to the right of the principal figure is a half moon, while a human head and half bust with long flowing locks is within it. On the left of the central figure is a large bird, which, judging from its beak, is meant either for a hawk or an eagle. On the same side, but still further to the left of the spectator, is another human head which is more masculine in character than either of the others, and which may have been intended for Mithra himself.

The worship of Mithra in Europe was not confined to Italy and Greece, for the Greeks certainly introduced it in the south of France.<sup>12</sup> In the museum at Arles is a *torso*, or technically speaking a *Hermès*, of white marble (Plate III. fig. 4; p. 68 above), a most striking bit of sculpture, and called a statue of Mithra. The head is wanting, the neck and shoulders are those of a man, the arms are kept close to the body by the folds of an enormous snake, between the coils of which, three in number, several of the signs of the zodiac are distinguishable.

The different sculptures above described are most interesting and instructive. In each case, the presence of zodiacal signs serves to show us that Mithra was a Sun-god, and we are able also by examining them to connect the Snake with Sun-worship, the serpent playing an important part in each instance. Sun, Fire, and Snake-worship and the emblems of each, are intimately bound up

<sup>8</sup> The key is also the well-known emblem of Janus, or the Sun, with which he unlocks the gates of light.

<sup>9</sup> According to Winckelmann.

<sup>10</sup> From the engraving it is not easy to determine which.

<sup>11</sup> The same costume was also given by them to Gallio or Dacian slaves.

<sup>12</sup> Many of the inhabitants of Arles, which is known to have been a Greek colony, preserve a Grecian type of countenance to this day.

together, subtle links and fine gradations uniting them almost insensibly in some cases.

In India, the votaries of the goddess Kālī consider that it is acceptable to her that they should walk on the fire. If they are sick, they say, "Oh Kālī, Mother, only cure me and I will walk on fire in your holy presence." Some have supposed that the Hebrews of old caused their children to pass between two fires. Others again say that they waved them about in the flames, whilst the worshippers of Moloch danced around or leapt through the fire.<sup>11</sup> Amongst other heathen customs, St. Chrysostom blames that of lighting two great fires and passing between them.

In Norway, Brittany, and even in the British Isles, traditional usages are still observed which serve to connect fire with Sun-worship. On Midsummer Eve, on the hills near and round Thronthjem, bonfires are lighted at sunset, which at that season of the year is about 11-30 P.M. The whole population turns out to assist at the ceremony of kindling them. A barrel is fixed upon a pole driven into the ground, filled with shavings and other combustible materials, and its position most carefully adjusted, so that it may point exactly to that part of the horizon where the Sun will set on that day.

In England, the 21st of June, or the longest day, used to be a great day at Stonehenge. I hear it has now degenerated into a disorderly assemblage, but it was formerly the custom for a large number of persons to assemble annually at dawn at this spot, in order to watch for the rising of the sun, which on this particular day can be seen from the centre of the circle of Stonehenge, coming up exactly over the centre of a large stone at some distance from the rest, and called the "pointer" stone, and striking its first rays through the central entrance on to the so-called altar-stone. This custom has been quoted by one writer as an obvious proof of Sun-worship in the original constructors of the circles, and he adds the fact that at noon

on the same day the "pointer" stone appears as though set at an inclination similar to that of the gnomon of a sun-dial.

In the county of Connaught, and in other parts of the south of Ireland, it is still the custom to kindle fires on St. John's Eve, which are kept up till sunrise. A friend, who, when quartered in Ireland, had frequently been an eye-witness of this scene, told me that mothers on such occasions are in the habit of giving their young children a kind of baptism of fire. He himself had had infants thrown to him through the flames, not once only, but many times. The people call this ceremony Baal-tine-glass, or Baal-fire-blue. The title of Baltinglas (now extinct or in abeyance) is but a corruption of these words. The women, my friend added, prefer asking gentlemen to catch their children, thinking possibly that they will be more gentle with them than one of their own class in life. He also said that he had quite recently made inquiries as to whether this custom still survived, and was answered in the affirmative. At Youghal, County Waterford, every year on St. John's Eve, the inhabitants light numerous wood-fires in different parts of the town. Each person, or one member of each family, seizes a burning brand and runs with it to his house. If he arrives at his dwelling with his torch alight, it is an omen that the ensuing year will be a happy and prosperous one to him and his; but should it be extinguished, some dire calamity will, he thinks, fall upon his family. The new brand is then put in the place of honour above the hearth (the sacred spot in all ages and with all peoples) and the one of the previous year removed and burnt.

### III.

#### *The Svastika.*<sup>12</sup>

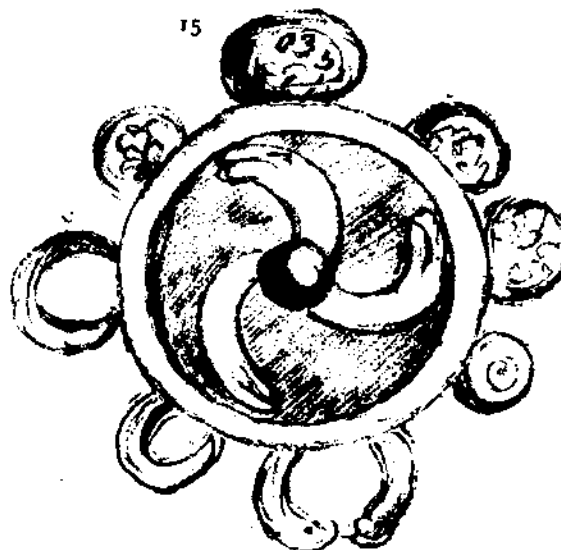
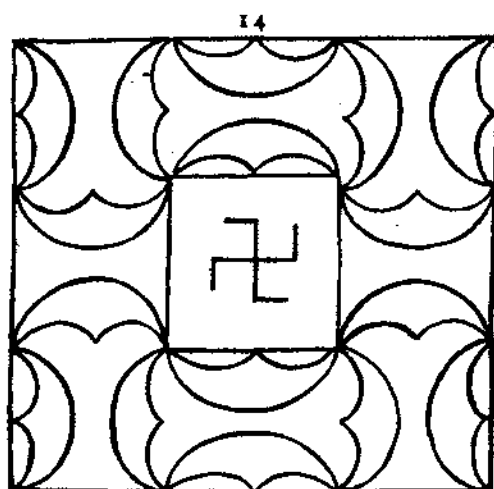
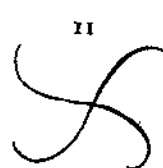
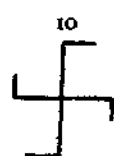
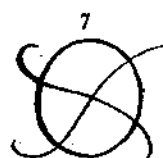
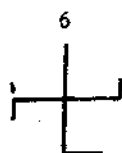
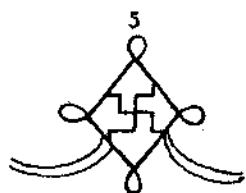
Some have held the *Svastika* to be an emblem of the Sun, and others, again, say that the arms of the cross represent two pieces of wood and are typical of Fire, showing us the way in which fire was first produced by primitive peoples. Two crooked sticks were laid

<sup>11</sup> [The ceremony of *Dam-Madār*, still very popular among the lower orders of Northern India, consists of jumping into a fire and treading it out. It is done with a view to escape snake-bite, those who perform it being believed not to be liable to injury from the fire. Shāh Madār died at Mankpur in 1433 A.D. in the reign of Sultan Ibrāhīm Shāh Sharqī, of Jaunpur (1402-1440 A.D.) References as to this fire ceremony are Elliott, *Races of*

*N.-W. P.* by Beames, I. p. 248, who adds *J. A. S. B.*, 1831, IV. p. 76; *Tibbat-i-Shāhjahānī*, p. 15; *Yādgar-i-Bāddurī*, p. 231; *Daulat Rāi Chaman*, I.; *Dabistan* II. 244; III. 307. Carnegie, *Kachahrī Technicalities*, p. 96, quotes also *Mird-i-Madārī*, and Mrs. Mir Hasan 'Alī's *Observations on the Muslims*. Herklotz, *Qāmān-i-Islām*, pp. 158-159, gives the ceremony in detail.—Ed.]

<sup>12</sup> [Cf. *ante*, Vol. VII. p. 176ff.—Ed.]







one across the other, and a hole drilled through both, in which a pointed stick was inserted and rapidly twirled by the hands till all were ignited at the points of contact. In the present day, the sacred fire in certain Hindû temples is said to be kindled in this manner. It seems not improbable, however, that the *Srastika* may originally have been an emblem of the Sun (as a wheel) and of Fire also, both conveying light and warmth.

The *Vêdas* prescribe the *âsvattha* (*pîpal* or *figus religiosa*) and the *śamī* (*acacia suma*) as the kinds of wood to be used in kindling the sacred fire.<sup>13</sup> It is very common, in Southern India especially, to see these two trees planted close together when young, so that when grown older their branches and foliage become entwined. The Hindûs style this "marrying" the trees.<sup>14</sup> In this manner, Tree-worship became in a way connected with Fire worship.

Both the Greeks and Romans, down to a late period in their primitive history, used the above-described method of procuring fire. They found that the *pyrkaia* or lower part was best made of certain softer kinds of wood, such as ivy (*vitus sylvestris*); whilst the laurel, thorn, or other hard wood was to be preferred for the *trypanon* or drilling-stick.

Tyler in his *Early History of Mankind* mentions that the Eskimo kindle a new fire by a very similar process. They most probably see nothing sacred in the performance, whereas by the Hindûs it is regarded with feelings of great awe—feelings extended to the element itself by the ancient Persian Magi, who denoted Fire, which they considered the father and first principle of all things, as Zardusht (Zoroaster) had taught them, by the word *bâb* or *bâp* signifying 'father.'<sup>15</sup> Their modern representatives, the Pârsî priests of a famous fire temple in Gujarât, boast that they have cherished the sacred flame of the ancient Persians unextinguished for 800 or 900 years, i.e. ever since their expulsion from Persia by the Muhammadans. The Pârsîs, however, say that they do not worship Fire, and much object to be called Fire-worshippers, but they admit that they are taught from their youth up to face some luminous object whilst praying. Fire, they

say, they look upon as upon other natural phenomena, viz. as an emblem of divine power, but they never ask assistance or blessings from it. Pure Fire-worship also exists among the modern Hindûs. Thus it was formerly strictly prohibited to all Hindûs to go beyond the Indus, or rather, properly speaking, the *Kâld Pânt*, or Black Water, as they call the Indian (or indeed any) Ocean, into which the Indus empties itself; but I was solemnly told by a Marâthâ Brâhmaṇ that this rule is now relaxed, and that Hindûs may do so if on their return to Hindustân they worship Agni or Fire, saying certain prayers to it, and giving alms and a feast to the Brâhmaṇs. The man who told me this was in Government employ on £20 a month, and he added that if he ever went to Europe it would cost him about £100 to be re-admitted into his caste on his return, as the expenses of this are in proportion to a man's known income.

In India Hindûs belonging to certain sects are in the habit of tracing one or more figures of the *Svastika* on the outer walls of their houses, but I cannot recall ever having seen this symbol in the interior of any modern Hindû temple or shrine; nor yet have I observed its present use by the Buddhists of Western Tibet, Kunâwar, Spiti, or Ceylon. This was not the case in ancient Buddhist times: e.g., the *Svastika* exists as a so-called mason's mark on some of the stones of the famous Buddhist tope at Sârânâth near Benares, and it is twice repeated on stones in the interior of some cells surrounding the court-yard of the Lâl Darwâza or Red Gate Mosque at Jaunpur, which have evidently originally formed part of old Buddhist buildings.<sup>16</sup>

On the occasion of a marriage amongst the Hindûs, it is customary to send presents of sweetmeats, &c., to the friends and relations of the contracting parties. These are placed on trays and covered with an embroidered cloth. The tray and the cloth are returned to the donor after the gift has been removed by the person to whom it is sent, and after placing in the tray a small piece of money for the servant who brings it. A similar custom prevails in Spain, (or did so till very recently),

<sup>13</sup> See *Panjâb Notes and Queries*, Vol. II. note 77.

<sup>14</sup> See *Panjâb Notes and Queries*, Vol. II. note 861.


<sup>15</sup> The same doctrine was afterwards inculcated by Anaxagoras the Greek philosopher.


<sup>16</sup> [See also editorial note at the end of the paper.]

and on the occasion of a *fête* or "naming-day" cakes and sweetmeats are sent arranged in this very manner. I possess two or three of the cloths used in Spain for covering the trays. They are bordered with old lace and have conventional flower designs and various wonderful animals worked upon them in coloured silks. Like the Indian embroideries of the same nature the material which forms the groundwork is white linen or cotton cloth and the embroidery is exactly the same on both sides. One of my cloths has the *Svastika* many times repeated upon it. On an ordinary cotton pocket handkerchief in Grenada I also saw the same symbol, forming its only ornamentation. I tried, but in vain, to procure one such, and even failed to ascertain where they were manufactured. This kind of embroidery, too, was evidently known in early Jewish times, for in the *Song of Deborah*, (*Judges* v. 30) mention is made "of needlework of divers colours; of divers colours of needlework on both sides, meet for the necks of them that take the spoil."

The *Svastika* has been found in nearly every country in Europe. In a letter from Prof. Max Müller to Dr. Schliemann, quoted in the latter's *Ilium, or the Cities of Troy*, at which place this symbol and also Sun symbols have been found in great numbers, the Professor says:—"It is found in Bishop's Island near Königswalde on the right bank of the Oder; on a vase discovered at Reichersdorf, near Gulben; a whole row of this emblem surrounds the pulpit of St. Ambrose at Milan; in the catacombs at Rome it occurs 1000 times; it is seen also on wall paintings at Pompeii; on a Celtic urn found at Shropham in Norfolk and now in the British Museum; also on ancient Athenian and Corinthian vases; on the coins of Leucas of Syracuse, and in the large mosaic in the royal garden at Athens. It is found in Hungary and in China,<sup>17</sup> as well as amongst the Ashantees and in Yucatan."

It will be observed that Professor Max Müller here speaks of the *Svastika* as having been only once found in England, but since he wrote the above letter numerous examples have been unearthed during the excavation of a

Roman villa at Beading in the Isle of Wight, and the form of it  known as the double Sun-snake of Scandinavia, exists on an Agham stone at Pen Arthur in South Wales.<sup>18</sup> It was also apparently in use in England in the *cinque cents*, for when (in 1883) examining the articles in the Treasury of the Cathedral of Valencia in Spain, I saw two splendidly embroidered altar frontals, which were said to have formerly belonged to the Church of Old St. Paul's in London, and to have been sold into Spain by Henry VIII. On each is represented a portion of the Church, and on one of them, which depicts the crucifixion, a soldier of the Romans, or of one of their allies, is holding a standard

on which are embroidered  two snakes entwined, forming a *svastika*.


In Plate I. (p. 66 above) for obvious reasons, I have placed the Sun and Fire Symbols of Scandinavia side by side, and I now propose to give illustrations of the different forms and modifications which the *Svastika* assumed in other parts of Europe and in the East. Plate V. fig. 1 represents the Hindû form of this symbol; and fig. 2 is the Buddhist and Jain form, both taken from drawings in Sir G. Birdwood's *Industrial Arts of India*. Fig. 3 is on a fragment of a Persian carpet now in the Museum at Gothenburg in Sweden. Fig. 4 is a mark on Japanese pottery, and fig. 5 on porcelain made only for magistrates in China. Figs. 6, 7, 10 and 11 are examples from Dr. Schliemann's *Ilium*. Fig. 8 is on a slab of marble now in the Museum at Naples, which was found in the Christian catacombs beneath that city, and fig. 9 is a representation of the *Trinacria*, or Three-legged-man, of the arms of Sicily. In the *Manx-man* the face and the (? Sun's) rays of the *Trinacria* have disappeared, and only the three legs remain. Doubtless both have a common origin and are but an outcome of the *Triskela*, which was itself a debased form of the *Svastika*. Fig. 12 is taken from a fragment of pottery found in what is believed to be a pre-Etruscan cemetery at Bologna in Italy. The row of *Svastikas*, the warrior, and the mythical animal, have in this example to all appearance been

<sup>17</sup> Where it is used as a mark on pottery made specially for the magistrates, and in Japan it is also a potter's mark.

<sup>18</sup> It has also been found on pottery in the Island of Cyprus, a specimen of which is now in the Museum at St. Germain in France.

stamped on the clay while it was yet soft. Plate VI. figs. 3 and 4 show an ornament in raised silver-work on a lance brought a few years ago from Japan by the Honble. James Saumarez and now in his Japanese villa in the Island of Guernsey. It is identical with a form of the *Triskele* figured in cut 164, in Kamer Herr Worsae's *Handbook of Danish Art*. Plate V. fig. 14 is especially interesting, as the *Svastika* is here surrounded by half-moons in various positions. It is from a Mosaic pavement found at Gubbio in Italy in 1882. The *Svastika* has also been found on a Christian tomb with a Latin inscription, discovered in 1879 by Armellini in the new catacomb of Saint Agnese at Rome. Rossi, the great Christian archaeologist, says that this inscription belongs to the second century of our era, and adds—"Perhaps this is the most ancient *cruz gammata* that has been found on Christian monuments."

On comparing the results of the grave and bog finds in Norway, Denmark, and Sweden, it would seem that the *Svastika* is most rare in the last-named, and most common in Norway, and that Sun and Fire symbols became disused in the two latter countries about the twelfth century,—that is to say, about the time of the introduction of Christianity; whereas in Norway they still continue in use down to our own times, though their signification is probably unknown to the present generation.

The "Mangling Stick" is still in common use in Norway. It is made of a single piece of hard and highly polished wood, about 18 inches long by 8 or 10 inches wide. At one end is sometimes carved a small wooden horse as a grip for the hand, or else the wood is so hollowed out as to leave a raised piece for the same purpose. When used, it gives collars and cuffs a much better appearance than the ordinary washerman's iron can produce. A Mangling Stick bearing the date 1809 in the Norwegian Museum in Stockholm is covered with *Svastikas* of the double Sun-snake type  an apparent proof that this was deemed a Fire-symbol in Scandinavia. On referring to Plate I. (p. 66 above) it will be seen from the examples there given that the *Svastika* gradually changed its form

in those countries; and from the simple *hak kors* (*cruz gammata*) or *Svastika*, became the double snake, and finally the *Triskele*, after it had lost one of its arms.

A tolerably convincing proof that the ancients associated the Snake with Fire is furnished by Plate V. fig. 15. It is an exact copy of a brooch found a few years ago in excavating a Roman Camp on the Saalburg, near Frankfort-on-the-Maine. Each of the three arms of the *Triskele*, or Sun-snake (as Professor Worsae calls it) is here represented with a serpent's head. Fig. 13 is a *Svastika* from the same collection, enclosed in a rim of metal.<sup>19</sup>

Professor Newton, in a lecture delivered in December 1883 on the monuments of Lycian art, alludes to an interesting series of Lycian silver coins, which he refers to the period between the conquest of Lycia under Cyrus, and the overthrow of the Persian dynasty by Alexander. He says that these coins were struck by a number of autonomous cities, and are inscribed with their names in Lycian characters, and that they have on one side the curious symbol called the *triquetra* resembling the Manx Three-legs. He is of opinion that the coins belonged to a people whose original name was Tremilæ, a race belonging to the Aryan family, and who were afterwards called Lycians. Another race called the Solymi were a Semitic people, and inhabited Lycia contemporaneously with the Tremilæ, but were driven back into the mountains on the east and north frontiers, and in the end the Tremilæ became mixed with the Greek settlers along the coast.

In 1876 when I was at Leh (the capital of Ladāk or Western Tibet) a caravan arrived with carpets from Yarkand. I eagerly seized this opportunity of purchasing some genuine Central Asian carpets and secured some on which the *Svastika* was introduced in the border. Plate VI. figs. 4 and 5, represent a portion of the border and the central medallion of one of my purchases. The border, I think, gives a hint as to the origin of the celebrated Greek key-pattern and the medallion is also very interesting as the only instance I have hitherto met with, in which the *Svastika* has assumed the form of the double Sun-snake of Scandinavia.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>19</sup> A design bearing a strong resemblance to the *triskele*, is on the shield of Eryx, the legendary king of Sicily, as depicted on a vase in the Museum at Naples. Experts

have put its date at before 400 B.C.

<sup>20</sup> See Plate I. fig. 29; p. 66 above.

## NOTE BY CAPT. TEMPLE.

A good deal has been made by the English mythological school of writers of the fact that the Christian *Svastikas* point to the left or westwards, whereas the Indian, including Buddhist and Jain *Svastikas*, point to the right or eastwards. Letting alone that the right in India is southwards and never eastwards, the following observations on undoubted Buddhist *Svastikas* will probably go far to settle the theories built up on the pointing of the cross *fylfot*. In the *Inscriptions from the Cave Temples of Western India*, Bombay, 1881, are given a quantity of clearly Buddhist Square Pāli Inscriptions from Kuṭā, Kārīā, Śailāwādi, Junnar, &c. Many of these contain *Svastikas*

at the beginning and end. Kuṭā No. 27 has at the end 卐; but at the end of 29 is 卐 which occurs again at the beginning and end of Kārīā inscriptions, and beginning and end of Junnar 30, at the beginning of Junnar 5, 20, 28, 32 and 34, and at the end of Junnar 32; while 卐 occurs at the beginning of Kuṭā 30 and of Junnar 6 and 27, and at the end of 33. The form 卐 is found at the end of the Śailāwādi inscription, and 卐 at the end of Kārīā 2. In this last example the thickening of the ends of the cross is probably due to the method of engraving. It will be seen, therefore, that the pointing of the *Svastika* was not due in Pāli inscriptions to its position, nor was it in any way constant.

## GULLALA SHAH.

BY THE REV. J. HINTON KNOWLES, F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S., &c.

(Continued from p. 80.)

One day Gullālā Shāh begged the king to excuse him from the *Darbār*, as he wished to go shooting. The king readily assented, and ordered several soldiers and horses to attend him. About the middle of the day, when much excited by the chase, the horse on which Gullālā Shāh was mounted ran away. None of the other horses could keep pace with it, so fast did it gallop; and so Gullālā Shāh soon found himself alone and far out of reach of any help. At last the runaway horse suddenly stopped, for its legs had been fastened by an invisible chain. Perceiving that his horse was mysteriously bound, Gullālā Shāh dismounted, and taking his bow and arrow climbed the mountain hard by, to see whether he could find anything to shoot there. A little way up he discovered a small pond, upon the banks of which grew a tree, then one mass of blossom. Under the shadow of this tree he sat to rest, and while he sat a monkey approached. He determined to shoot it, and so made ready his bow; but the monkey, guessing his intention, made a great rush and dived into the pond,

much to the disappointment of Gullālā Shāh. He remained looking at the place where the monkey had disappeared, expecting every moment that it would appear again.

But lo and behold! presently a beautiful girl, wearing a costly necklace of pearls, came forth, and walking up to Gullālā Shāh kissed him.<sup>1</sup> Gullālā Shāh was exceedingly astonished at this, but being very good and holy he did not lose his presence of mind. He asked her who she was, and noticing that she hesitated to answer, he threatened to slay her if she did not tell him quickly. Being frightened she said:—

"My name is Pañj Phāl,<sup>2</sup> and my father is king of this country, which is fairy-land. I have been good, and tried to do good, and everybody loves me. When I was very young my father intended to marry me to the son of his chief door-keeper.<sup>3</sup> The hour was fixed and full preparations made, and but a few days remained before the wedding-day, when the chief door-keeper's son went to play as usual with

<sup>1</sup> Not at all unfairylike procedure: cf. account of the "Fairy Princess Shāhpasand" in *Wide-awake Stories*, p. 30.

<sup>2</sup> There does not appear to be the slightest connection between this part of the story and that of "Pañch Phāl Bānt" in *Old Deccan Days*.

<sup>3</sup> In a native court the door-keeper has considerable

influence, inasmuch as he has it in his power to give or deny access to his chief. Those who have read Cunningham's *History of the Sikhs*, will remember how Dhyan Singh, Ranjit Singh's door-keeper, used the immense influence which this position gave him, for advancing family interests. Dhyan Singh afterwards became a Rājā and received Pañch as his principality.

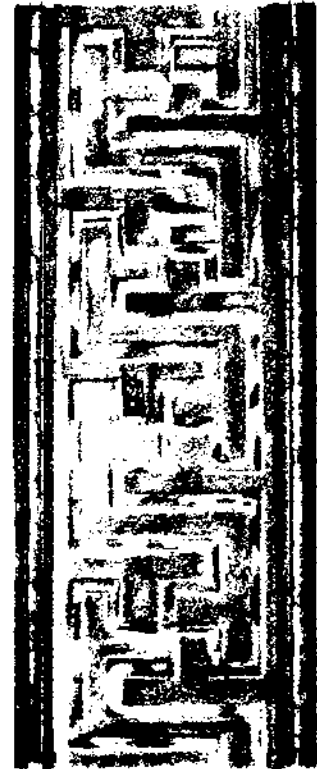


SMALL ORNAMENTAL JAPANESE VASE.

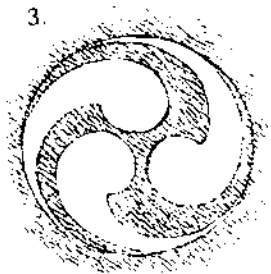
SCALE .75.



2.



BORDER OF  
A CARPET FROM LEH.



ORNAMENT ON A  
JAPANESE SPEAR.  
FULL SIZE.

5.



SHAFT OF THE SPEAR  
SHOWING POSITION  
OF THE ORNAMENT.



CENTRAL MEDALLION OF A CARPET FROM LEH.





his companions. They played *Wazir Pādshāh*,<sup>\*</sup> i.e. one boy pretended to be the king, another pretended to be the *Wazir*, and others took the part of other great officers in the State. Each one was supposed to talk and act according to his part in the play. That day the door-keeper's son was voted king by his playmates, and sat in the royal place. While they were thus playing the real king's son passed by, and seeing the state of the game he cursed the boy. 'Be degraded from fairy-land,' he said, 'and dwell among the common people.' On account of this curse the door-keeper's son soon died, and was afterwards born among the common people.<sup>†</sup> A female companion told me of his death, on hearing of which I became very sad; for I loved the son of the door-keeper, and am determined to marry nobody but him. The king and queen and others have tried hard to get me to change my mind; but I have remained steadfast. All my time has been spent in doing good, and in interviewing holy men. To-day I came hither to worship. One day it happened that a very holy man arrived here, whom I loved very much, and I thought to have met him here again to-day. He seemed very pleased with me, and used to give me whatever I asked of him. Once I asked him to tell me how I could again see the door-keeper's son, who had been born among the common people. He told me that he knew the lad, and that he was called Gullālā Shāh, and that I could see him if I was very careful to attend to his instruc-

tions. Of course I promised that I would be. 'Be careful,' he continued, 'and consider well, for the king will hinder you by strong charms and in other ways.' He then gave me a pearl necklace of such great virtue that no charms can affect the wearer, which I am to wear continually and guard patiently, if I would accomplish my purpose. After this I went back to my house. On the first opportunity I told my father of all that I had heard concerning Gullālā Shāh, and begged him to arrange for our wedding as soon as possible. The king looked very troubled when he heard this, and entreated me to think no more about the young man, especially as he was now one of the common people. Such a thing as our marriage could not possibly be, as it would bring the whole of fairy-land into contempt. But I was resolute, and so the king spoke sharply to me, and I answered sharply in return, and left the palace in a great rage. This is my history. O friend! If you can do anything to help me to discover anything about Gullālā Shāh, do so, I implore you, and I shall be obliged to you for ever."

Here was a strange coincidence! Gullālā Shāh told her who he was, and kissed her. She recognised him and taking his hand said, "I have found my long-lost beloved. With him let me ever dwell."

Holding each other's hands they presently left the pond and came to the place where the horse was standing. Both mounted the horse, which was now quiet, and rode back to the

\* This game is also called *sukhul* and is very popular in Kashmir. It is generally played by four youngsters. Four little sticks are provided, of which the bark on one side is peeled off. Any of the four children throw first. If one should throw these sticks, so that they all fall on the bark side, then he is appointed *pādshāh*, i.e. king; but if not, then they all try and throw till some one finally succeeds. The next thing is to find out the *wazir*. He who throws the sticks so that one of them falls with the bark side up but the other three with the peeled sides up, is appointed to this office. Then a *asār*, i.e. a thief, has to be arranged. He who throws so that two of the sticks fall with the bark side upwards is proclaimed the thief. Lastly, a *said*, i.e. an honest man, has to be found. This part he has to play, who throws the sticks so that three of them fall with the bark sides upwards. If it should happen that all four of them fall with the bark sides up then that thrower has to try again.

*Pādshāh*, *wazir*, *asār*, and *said* being known the real play begins. The *asār*, thief, is brought before the king by the *wazir*, who says,—

"*Pādshāh salāmat!*

*Duxd āmad.*"

"O king, peace and health to you! Here is a thief."

The king replies, "*Av kujā āmad?*" "Whence has he come?"

Then the *wazir* tells him the whole case and punishment has to be inflicted on the criminal. This is the most amusing piece of the whole *tamāshā*.

"*Bidihed angūll Bangāll top,*" says the king, "Give him Bangāll cannon."

The *wazir* kicks the prisoner's buttocks; or the king says "*Botānīh angus hūn badal,*" "Bring a dog in his place from Ladāk."

The *wazir* takes the prisoner a short distance and then holding him by the ear pulls him back, while the prisoner barks like a dog; or the king says

"*Yindartul kadyus,*" "Take out the spindle."

The *wazir* draws a line with his thumb-nail on the inside of the arm from the elbow-joint to the wrist, and then hits the arm over the line as hard as he can with the first and second fingers of the right hand. This is rather a painful punishment. There are many other words of punishment too numerous to mention here.

I notice an allusion to this game in the story of "*Mahaushadha and Visākha*," given in *Tibetan Tales from Indian Sources*, p. 134. Cf. also *Ardschi-Bord chichon* in Jülg's *Mongol, Märchensammlung*; Innsbruck, 1868, pp. 197, et seq.

\* [The universal belief in metempsychosis peeps out here.—ED.]

attendants and the other horses which the king had sent for an escort, and then returned to Gullâlâ Shâh's house.

On arrival Gullâlâ Shâh introduced Pañj Phûl to his other wife. The two princesses seemed glad to see one another, and for some time lived together most happily, until one day the first wife asked Pañj Phûl to give her the pearl necklace.<sup>o</sup> Pañj Phûl said that she could not do so; for it was the protector of her life. She could never take it off from her neck. The first wife again and again urged her request, and promised as beautiful and as costly a pearl necklace in exchange; or if Pañj Phûl did not care to give it, or exchange it, she might lend it to her for a while. But Pañj Phûl was determined, and refused; nothing could persuade her to part with the pearl necklace for a moment. By reason of this the first wife got very angry, and went and told Gullâlâ Shâh of their quarrel, and begged him to get the necklace, and he promised to try and do so. When Gullâlâ Shâh asked Pañj Phûl for the necklace, she refused as before, saying that it contained the secret of her life, and was a charm to her against all dangers, sickness and trials; deprived of it she might become sick and miserable, or be taken away from them and die.<sup>7</sup> However, Gullâlâ Shâh would not be denied, and so Pañj Phûl for very love of him handed it to him, and he gave it to his other wife.

Soon after this Pañj Phûl suddenly disappeared. On discovering this Gullâlâ Shâh and his first wife, together with all the household, mourned and wept. "What have we done?" cried they all. "For a trifle we have lost our lovely Pañj Phûl. How obedient she was to her husband! How unselfish in the house! How kind and loving to every one! Alas, alas! why did we do this thing? We have caused the death of our darling!"

As for Gullâlâ Shâh he knew not what to do for grief, and wept day and night. At last, thoroughly worn out and ill, he determined to

leave the place, and to go and seek the flowers, in search of which he commenced his wanderings. The king, seeing that he was getting weaker and thinner, consented, and gave him money for his journey.

Accordingly Gullâlâ Shâh started, and on the second day reached the mountain in fairy-land where he had first met Pañj Phûl. He climbed higher and higher, till he arrived at a certain path, along which he saw two men coming towards him. They happened to be two servants of the chief *Wazîr* of fairy-land. The *Wazîr* had no son to carry on his name, and so his wife had asked him to send men into the district with instructions to bring back with them such a youth as she could conveniently adopt as her son. These men had been wandering everywhere, far and wide, and had not as yet met with a likely person. They were now starving and in great despair, but they dared not to return to the *Wazîr* empty-handed. When they saw Gullâlâ Shâh their first thought was to eat him, but afterwards, seeing that he was clever and handsome, they decided to take him to the *Wazîr*. So Gullâlâ Shâh was seized and taken to the chief *Wazîr's* house in the fairy city. The two servants pretended that he was the son of a fairy, who was a sister of the *Wazîr's* wife, though she did not know it. The chief *Wazîr*, his wife, and everybody who saw Gullâlâ Shâh, were pleased with him, and therefore henceforth he abode in that house and was everywhere recognised as the heir.

Every day the *Wazîr* attended the king's *Darbâr*, and in the evening, when he reached home, tired and weary from the day's business, he used to call his adopted son to him and pass the time in conversation. Hours and hours were thus occupied. Gullâlâ Shâh used to ask him the news of the *Darbâr* and the chief *Wazîr* used to tell him everything. One evening, in the course of one of these long talks, the chief *Wazîr* told him that there had been great excitement in the *Darbâr* that day,

<sup>o</sup> However difficult this may be to understand in the West, it is a very common characteristic of Eastern life. I know many families, in which several wives live amicably together. Human nature though, as a general rule, proves too strong for custom, and some petty cause, jealousy or covetousness, disturbs the peace of the household and now and again brings it to ruin. Concerning multiplication of wives, compare the sayings on p. 70 of my *Dictionary of Kashmiri Proverbs*, &c.

<sup>7</sup> cf. "Story of Chandan Râjâ" in *Old Deccan Days*, the authoress of which remarks—"There are innumerable popular superstitions regarding the powers which can be conveyed in a charmed necklace; and it is a common belief that good and bad fortune, and life itself can be made to depend on its being removed from the wearer's neck." [See remarks on the Life-Index in *Wide-awake Stories*, pp. 404, 405.—ED.]

as the king had been very angry with his daughter, Pañj Phûl, who had formed an attachment for a person named Gullâlâ Shâh, one of the common people, and refused to be married to any other person. She had run away, and for a long time there were no tidings of her,—no doubt she had been trying to find that common man,—but the king had caused her to return by virtue of a most potent charm, and now a terrible punishment awaited her. Her body was to be turned into wood and placed publicly in a certain garden as a warning to other fairy daughters not to do likewise!

Hearing this Gullâlâ Shâh experienced great difficulty in keeping his countenance. "Here then is Pañj Phûl!" he said within himself. "As soon as she gave up the pearl necklace she must have been brought back to her country, and now she is perhaps suffering the terrible consequences of my folly. Sorrow, a hundred sorrows!"

At length, however, he so far overcame his feelings as to ask the *Wazîr* if there were no means of saving Pañj Phûl from the dread sentence. The *Wazîr* said there were. If Gullâlâ Shâh could come, burn the wooden figure to ashes, throw the ashes into the pond in the midst of the garden where it was, then she would become her former self again.

Gullâlâ Shâh was very pleased when he heard this, and presently, wishing the *Wazîr* good night, retired to his room. No sleep, however, closed his eyes. His mind was far too excited. As soon as he was quite sure that all the inmates of the house were fast asleep, he went forth secretly to Pañj Phûl's garden, burnt her wooden effigy to ashes, and threw the ashes into the pond. Directly he did this, lo and behold! Pañj Phûl came forth looking as he had seen her when she appeared out of the other pond on the mountain side.

"My own dearest," said Gullâlâ Shâh, "how could I have been so stupidly wicked as to have caused you all this trial? Forgive me, and say that you will never leave me again. Come and we will wander away into unknown regions, whither the hand of your tyrannical father cannot reach you."

Pañj Phûl replied, "I forgive you, dear husband, but to go with you is not in my power, for my father has all power over me; without

my charmed pearl necklace I cannot thwart him. Wherever I might wander, he would cause me to return from thence; and then my case would be worse than before. Now go, I beseech you, lest you also get harm; and pray that the king may have mercy on me, when he hears that I have been restored to life. Away quickly, my dearest, to a place safer for you than this."

Gullâlâ Shâh then told her all that had happened to him—how he had wandered about in search of her, and was now the adopted son of the chief *Wazîr* of that country, who confided everything to him. He would see her again, he said, on going away, and even if the king still wished to punish her, he would get to know a remedy, and come and restore her.

The following morning when the royal guard saw that Pañj Phûl was alive again, they went and told the king. His Majesty was greatly surprised and sent for her. As soon as she appeared, he said, "How is it that you have come again to trouble us? Be you a serpent and find a home in yonder jungle," pointing in a certain direction where was a jungle, thick, intricate, and inhabited by wild beasts of various kinds. And it was so!

That evening when the chief *Wazîr* returned to his house, Gullâlâ Shâh heard all that had happened. "Strange," he said, "can anything now be done for the princess? or must she for ever remain a serpent?"

"Yes, there is a remedy," replied the *Wazîr*. "If Gullâlâ Shâh could get to that jungle, dig a cave three yards deep and broad enough to admit two people, and make a covering with a hole in it for the mouth of the cave; and if after this he were to walk about the jungle calling "Pañj Phûl, Gullâlâ Shâh is here," and then go back and shut himself up in the cave:—if he were to strictly attend to all these directions—then Pañj Phûl, who is now a serpent, will find her way into the cave through the hole in the covering; and there is another thing, also, which he must remember to do, *viz.* to cut off as much of the snake as can enter in this way, chop it up into little pieces, carefully collect them, place them in a handkerchief, take them to the pond in the midst of Pañj Phûl's garden, and there throw them into the water. If all these instructions

were carefully carried out, Pañj Phûl would emerge thence in all her former beauty."

When he heard this Gullâlâ Shâh was much comforted. After a little more conversation he wished the minister good-night. No sleep, however, came to him. He was far too elated at the prospect of being able to restore his beloved to her former self and of seeing her again, to wish for sleep. As soon as he knew for certain that the *Wazîr* and the others were fast asleep he left the house and went to the jungle. That night he only fixed on a place for the cave, and then returned to his room. On the following night, armed with pickaxe, crowbar, spade, and other necessary implements he again visited the jungle, and dug a cave. He also made a covering for the cave and a hole in the covering. He then went outside and called for Pañj Phûl. Pañj Phûl heard her name being called and came in the form of a snake, as soon as Gullâlâ Shâh had re-entered and shut himself into the cave. She wound the greater part of her body in through the hole in the covering, and Gullâlâ Shâh cut off as much of it as got inside the cave, and then chopped it up into small pieces. These he carefully gathered, and pushing back the covering, took them with him to the pond in Pañj Phûl's garden, where he threw them into the water, and—just as the *Wazîr* had said,—Pañj Phûl appeared in all her former beauty. Gullâlâ Shâh drew her to him and kissed her. They talked long and lovingly until the faint streaks of dawn warned them to make arrangements to leave the place. Neither of them wished to be separated from the other, but what were they to do? It was time for Gullâlâ Shâh to return to his home, if he did not wish the *Wazîr* to discover his absence; while Pañj Phûl could not leave the place. She tried to do so, but without avail. She was bound by the king's charm over her to remain there. And so they parted.

Gullâlâ Shâh hastened back to the *Wazîr's* house, and only just reached his room in time. Within an hour or so some of the poorer folk, going to their labours, passed by the place where Pañj Phûl was sitting. They were very much astonished at seeing her, and went

and informed the king of the matter. When His Majesty heard the news he sent for the chief *Wazîr* to take counsel with him. "Do you not think," he said, "that Gullâlâ Shâh has been here and done this thing?"

"It is impossible," replied the *Wazîr*, "for in the first place how could he get here? and then, how could he, a common man, obtain this power? He must be great to have done this, and in favour with the gods,—a thought not to be entertained for a moment."

Pañj Phûl was again summoned to the king, and this time was turned into a golden nail, which was immediately given to one of the attendants with instructions to hammer it into any boat,\* that chanced to be just then in course of construction. The attendant took the nail and fixed it into the first boat he saw. On reaching home the *Wazîr* bathed, and then called for Gullâlâ Shâh as usual and told him all the news of the day. When he heard that the princess had been restored and again metamorphosed Gullâlâ Shâh assumed an expression of great surprise. "It is strange," he remarked, "that the king should have chosen a golden nail as the form into which to change her. Surely she can never again be restored from such a metamorphosis as this?"

"O yes, she can," said the *Wazîr*.

"How?" asked Gullâlâ Shâh.

"Well," replied the *Wazîr*, "if Gullâlâ Shâh could by any means arrive here, and get into that boat, in one of the sides of which the golden nail is fixed, and could discover that nail, and then having extracted it, were to file it small as powder, and throw the filings into the pond which is in the midst of Pañj Phûl's garden,—if he did all these things,—then Pañj Phûl would return to her former shape and beauty;—and if she was this time restored, then henceforth the king's charm would be powerless to do her harm. It would have expended itself."

This was enough. So presently the hour being late the *Wazîr* and Gullâlâ Shâh went to their sleeping rooms. When he heard of this radical cure Gullâlâ Shâh feigned no more than an ordinary interest, though in his heart he was inexpressibly glad. On reaching his room he said aloud, "Joy, joy, the time has come.

\* Meaning a Kasmîrî river-boat.

I will go once more and restore my darling. Henceforth the charms of this hard, wicked father shall have no influence over her."

However, Gullālā Shāh did not immediately start. He thought it better to wait a while, until all excitement and interest about the princess had passed away. For several months he patiently waited, and then one day he asked the *Wazīr's* wife to allow him to go and visit certain places, that he wished very much to see, and to get also the *Wazīr's* permission for the journey. He added that he was now of an age to take care of himself, and he did not like to *hear* only of the countries about which the *Wazīr*, his father, had so fully informed him. The *Wazīr's* wife was much pleased to notice this spirit in the youth, but she hesitated to give her sanction to the request, because the way to some of the places was exceedingly dangerous and the hardships unendurable; and especially so to one who had been brought up so gently as her adopted son. Gullālā Shāh was respectfully indignant at this reply. Drawing himself up to his full height he said with intense earnestness, "What, my mother, shall the chief *Wazīr's* son be deterred by difficulties and hardships? A sorry youth must I be, if such I show myself. Better far that I perish by them, than that I should venture hereafter to attain to the post of chief *Wazīr* of this mighty and grand kingdom, as my father bids me do. Fear not, my mother, but let me go. However, if you have any talisman, I pray you give it me, for why should I unnecessarily suffer?"

Encouraged by her son's noble reply the *Wazīr's* wife consented to his going, and gave him her signet-ring, saying, "Show this ring to the fire, whenever you may be in any difficulty, and two *Jinns* will appear and help you out of it. She gave him, also, abundant money for the expenses of the proposed journey. The *Wazīr* too, was pleased, when he heard from his wife of his son's enterprising and inquiring disposition, and acceded to his wishes.

As will be supposed Gullālā Shāh started as quickly as possible. After travelling for some time, one day he found himself being paddled along in a river boat, in which was the golden nail. His quick eye soon discovered it though it was much tarnished and almost excluded from sight by a great beam, that ran along the side of the boat. Disguising his real character

Gullālā Shāh begged the owner of the boat to make him one of his hired servants. The man agreed, and soon Gullālā Shāh was working the paddle as if he had been accustomed to that sort of thing all his life. Thus he continued for several weeks, until one day he told his master that he had had a dream during the night. In this dream two men appeared and pierced the bottom of the boat with spears, so that it was broken. "I know," he added, "the interpretation of dreams. Some enemy of yours has placed a charm here? and if that charm is allowed to remain it will sink the boat." The master of the boat was very frightened when he heard this, and entreated Gullālā Shāh to try and discover the malignant charm. Gullālā Shāh said that it was a very difficult task, nevertheless he would attempt it if the owner of the boat would promise not to inform any one of the matter. The owner promised. And then Gullālā Shāh went to a lonely place, and kindled a fire, and when the flames arose, he showed them the signet-ring of the *Wazīr's* wife. Immediately two *Jinns* appeared, ready to do whatever might be his bidding. Gullālā Shāh bade them to bring the boat up on land. They obeyed, and then Gullālā Shāh pulled out the golden nail, after which he ordered the two *Jinns* to put the boat back into the water. He now went and secretly showed the golden nail to his master. On seeing it the owner of the boat was greatly astonished, and thanked God for granting him such a useful and clever servant. Gullālā Shāh kept the golden nail by him, and in a little while, having assured his master that all would go well with the boat, he asked for leave of absence, which was readily granted. He then returned by the help of the charmed signet-ring to the house of his adopted father, the chief *Wazīr*. The *Wazīr's* wife only was at home, because it was the time of the *Darbār*, and she welcomed him like a fond mother. Soon afterwards the *Wazīr* came home, and then there were great rejoicings in the house. The whole city, also, seemed interested, and accounts of Gullālā Shāh and his exploits, and the great trials and difficulties which he had overcome by virtue of the signet-ring, were upon the lips of every one.

In a day or two Gullālā Shāh rubbed the golden nail into the thinnest of filings, which

he threw into the pond in the midst of Pañj Phûl's garden. No sooner was this done than Pañj Phûl became herself again and stepped out from the pond. They both kissed one another and cried, —so glad were they to meet again. They told each other all they had experienced since they last met, and Pañj Phûl declared that now she could go with him wherever he wished, and advised him to wait there till she had been to her room (which had remained untouched since she last left it), and had taken such jewels and dresses, etc., as might prove of service to them on the way. Gullâlâ Shâh agreed, and Pañj Phûl went and quickly returned with jewels and dresses of great worth.

Then they both turned their backs on the fairy city, and started on their journey. They walked fast and long before resting, until they arrived by a pond of water, clear as crystal. Here they tarried awhile and ate some food. While talking together Gullâlâ Shâh told Pañj Phûl of his great desire to get some of the beautiful flowers which grew in a certain garden on the sea-shore. This garden, he explained, contained twelve thousand flowering trees; each tree had been planted by a fairy-princess, and was worth twelve thousand rupees. On hearing this Pañj Phûl said that she could obtain this desire for him, and any other desire that he might choose to prefer. But only she could get these flowers for him, for the princess of the fairy-country, where they grew, had never shown herself to man, and therefore would not see him.

In a few days their wanderings brought them to the sea-shore, close by this wonderful garden. Here they hired a certain vessel which was anchored near, and as they sat on board that night Pañj Phûl gave Gullâlâ Shâh a beautiful pearl necklace, and told him to go immediately and hang it before the light of a lamp in a secluded room in the side of the vessel. She also told him to remain in that room. The good of this was that several other beautiful pearl necklaces would be obtained by these means. Gullâlâ Shâh did as she had advised.

Meanwhile Pañj Phûl disguised herself in man's clothes, and pretended to be the servant of her husband. She then ordered the ship to

be taken close to the garden of the fairy princess. On its arrival thither the princess's attendants came and ordered them to take the vessel away, because the princess wished the place to be kept strictly quiet and private, it being her wont to walk along just that part of the sea-shore. But the master of the vessel, Gullâlâ Shâh, and his sham servant, persisted in remaining, saying that they had many great and precious things on board; and so from fear of thieves had anchored the vessel in that place. They would not remove unless the king promised to refund them whatever losses they might suffer from thieves and such-like, who would surely come and beset them in any other place. When the king heard this he gave them permission to tarry there for the night.

The following morning Pañj Phûl took some of the pearl necklaces, which had been made as has just been explained, and displayed them to view near to the princess's garden. Presently the princess's female attendants came down to the water to bathe. As soon as they saw Pañj Phûl, they asked her who she was. She told them that she was the servant of a very wealthy trader, who was on board the ship. He was exceedingly good and had some very great treasures, especially some pearl necklaces, the most costly and beautiful in the whole world. When the attendants heard this they naturally desired to see these great treasures—and Pañj Phûl was only too ready to show them. At the sight of the beautiful pearls they were very much astonished, and entreated Pañj Phûl to allow them to be carried to their royal mistress. This also was readily granted. The princess admired them so much that she would not part with them; but told her attendants to inquire the price, and to get several more like them—as many as the merchant could spare. When these others arrived—a great pile altogether,—the princess determined to go and see the merchant; “for,” thought she, “he must be a very great man to possess all these costly things.” Accordingly closely veiled she went to the ship, and arriving there asked Pañj Phûl, the supposed servant, where his master's room was, as she herself wished to bargain with him for the pearls that she had selected.<sup>o</sup> Pañj

<sup>o</sup> Cf. *Grimm's Household Stories*, p. 84; “Faithful John,” the which story en passant compare with that of

“Phakir Chand,” *Folk-tales of Bengal*, pp. 17-52.

Phúl was hoping for this, but she did not wish to betray any special interest in the matter, and so said that the princess could not see the trader, as he had performed a certain worship, and therefore could not see or talk with any woman.

"But why cannot I see the trader?" urged the princess. "I am a good woman and have never seen a strange man. Surely he would not be defiled by my presence."

"He would not see you," answered Pañj Phúl. "If I took you to his room, he would only be angry. He would never show himself to you."

On hearing this the princess became more desirous than ever of seeing this strange man. She would go alone, she said, and thus no responsibility would rest on Pañj Phúl. Pañj Phúl said nothing, so the princess went alone and knocked at the trader's door. He did not open it, but answered from within: "I care not to see any strange woman; and so cannot let you enter."

The princess, however, would not hear him. "What for?" she said. "I have never seen the face of a strange man. I am a good woman. Let me in. I am a good woman, and wish to be married to you. This only is my desire. Why should we not see one another?"

Being thus pressed the trader opened the door, and they saw each other, and love came with the sight. They talked together for a long time, and the trader showed her all his treasures. Then the princess left, full of affection for the strange trader, and full of amazement at his great and exceeding treasure. As soon as she reached the palace she told the king where she had been, and what she had seen, and how she had fallen in love with the man, and wished to be married to him. The king, being a very indulgent and good father, promised to see the man, and the next morning went for that purpose to the ship. When he saw the trader,—how pleasant he was, and of such good speech, and so wise withal,—he too accepted him in his heart; and on reaching home told his daughter so. The princess's joy was unbounded. How much she looked forward to the day! and what great excitement there was in the city at the thought of the approaching marriage! The wedding took place, and was celebrated with

great grandeur, as befitted the rank and wealth of the king of fairy-land.

For some time Gullalā Shāh lived within the palace grounds and prospered exceedingly. However, he did not feel altogether satisfied; so one day he told the princess all about himself,—why he had come there, and how he wished to get the flowers and return to his native country. The princess repeated everything to the king, and asked his permission to take the twelve thousand flowering trees and accompany her husband; and to this the king consented. Preparations for starting were at once commenced. Twelve thousand carts were got ready for the twelve thousand flowering trees, and other arrangements were made for the transport of the treasures, that were given them by the king. An enormous company of troops and elephants, also were placed at the disposal of the illustrious couple. At length the hour of departure arrived. It was a most sorrowful occasion, for they were both very much beloved.

They first visited that country where Gullalā Shāh got his first wife. The king was intensely glad to see him, and gave him a splendid house to live in, and all else that he required. Gullalā Shāh stayed there for a little while, and then, loaded with more presents, departed. They next went in the direction of Gullalā Shāh's own country. It was a long and difficult journey, but they all reached the city walls in safety, and pitched their camp outside the city, thinking that so sudden an advent of such an immense company (several thousands in all, besides elephants, horses, and other beasts), would much inconvenience the people. When tidings of their coming reached the palace the king was much frightened, and sent for his chief *Wazir* and other advisers, to ask what he should do to appease this great king who had now arrived; "for surely," he said, "so great and powerful a king has come here on no other account than for war."

The chief *Wazir* well considered the matter, and then replied, "O king, send, we pray you, your beautiful daughter, and let her arrange for peace. Who knows whether or not this great king will be captivated by her beauty, and so we be saved?"

"Alas, alas!" replied the king, "I have already given away my daughter to the man

who shall succeed in obtaining the flowering trees. Moreover, my daughter has refused several times to marry any man, no matter how great and wise he may be, except this person."

Thus were the king and his advisers occupied in conversation, when Gullālā Shāh, having arranged his camp for the night, took off his grand and princely clothes, and put on the ragged garments of a beggar, and thus arrayed went forth into the city with the twelve thousand flowering trees. He ordered the drivers to take the carts straight to the palace, while he himself went on ahead. On arriving there he sent a message by the watchman to the king, saying, "Bid your master, the king, to command me, for I am come with the beautiful flowering trees from the garden of the king of the fairies."

Strange that this message should have been delivered just at the time when the king and his lords were talking about these flowers, but so it was! When he heard the words the king did not believe the watchman, but thought that he was mad. The *Wazir* and other great officials present also thought that it was too strange to be true. However, His Majesty in a jesting manner bade the man to be brought in. Presently Gullālā Shāh appeared, clothed in rags, but bearing a sample of the beautiful flowers, which were so much admired by the princess and all the royal family. True enough there were the long-desired flowers, but the bearer of them was evidently of very mean origin—a dirty, ragged beggar! The king placed his chin in the palm of his right hand, and fixed his eyes upon the carpet. Thus he remained for several minutes, perfectly silent. "Is this the man?" he thought: "on whom I must bestow my beloved daughter? Surely, the man will not presume to ask for this thing? I will handsomely reward him, and then let him go."

"Friend, what seek you?" he asked, looking up again. "Will you be a great *Wazir* in the land? or do you wish for wealth? Say, and it shall be granted you."

"Let not the king be angry," replied the beggar, "I wish only for Your Majesty's daughter in marriage. In comparison with her, I esteem all honour and money as of little worth. I pray you, fulfil your promise to me."

The king answered, "Your request is your due; and far be it from me to break my promise by refusing it to you. Take my daughter; she is yours."

When all the lords and attendants, and even Gullālā Shāh himself, heard these words, they were astonished at the noble-mindedness of the king. For it would have been a small thing—nay, would have been accounted right and proper by nearly every one—if His Majesty had refused to gratify the beggar's desire.

Gullālā Shāh was bidden to go with the attendants to a certain grand house; and there reside for a few days, during which suitable garments would be provided for him and arrangements made for the nuptials. This done, the king and his *Darbār* again conferred in council, as to what was the best thing to be done under the present difficulties concerning the foreign powerful monarch, whose camp lay close to the walls of the city. They talked together for a long time; but eventually, nothing definite having been agreed to, the king dismissed the Court, saying that he, attended only by his *Wazir*, would visit this great king and inquire the reason of his coming. In the course of an hour the king and his *Wazir*, with a few attendants might have been seen pursuing their way with anxious countenances—more like pilgrims than a royal party—towards the great camp without the city.

Meanwhile Gullālā Shāh had succeeded in eluding his attendants; and returning to his tent, had changed his clothes again. The king and the *Wazir* did not recognise him when they were introduced. They were received with great ceremony; presents were offered, and the two visitors seated in state. Gullālā Shāh opened the conversation by inquiring all about the country and people. Then the king asked whence Gullālā Shāh had come, and why he had come. Gullālā Shāh then told him about himself, and how that he had come there in order to ask his, the king's, daughter in marriage.

"Sorrow, a hundred sorrows!" replied the king. "I have already promised my daughter to a certain beggar in consequence of a vow. Were it not so, there is none other whom I could prefer to thyself. Have pity on me, I beseech you, for it is with a sad heart I say this."



"Most noble, most righteous king," replied Gullālā Shāh. "You have done well. Better that you should lose your life, your kingdom, your all, than that you should deny your word. Would that all the rulers of the earth were such as you are! Then would the people be happier, and righteousness and peace would fill the world. God has prospered you, O king, and He will yet prosper you. 'Only continue zealous for your people and faithful to your word. Know you now that the beggar, whom you have just mentioned, is none other than myself; and that I, also, am that same boy who was known to the people by the name of Khariā, whose father died without an heir, and therefore his wealth and property were appropriated by the crown; and whose mother, in consequence of this, sought for employment from a certain farmer. God was with me and prospered me exceedingly, so that I met with one of your messengers, who told me all about your wishes. After much travel, through which I have become learned, great, and rich, I have at last returned to your kingdom, bringing with me the flowering trees. I chose to appear with them first in beggar's clothes, that I might test your fidelity to your promise. You have been proved. Forgive me, I pray you, if I seemed to be wrong in this matter, and grant me your daughter in marriage." Saying these words he caught hold of the king's hands and seated him by his side in the place of honour.

When the king heard the good news, he was almost beside himself with gladness. "God be praised!" he said aloud and clasped

Gullālā Shāh to him in affectionate embrace. "Of course, I will give you my daughter,—but who am I to promise this thing? Ask what you will and you shall have it, to the full extent of my power."

News of this meeting was at once conveyed to the princess, who would not believe it, until Gullālā Shāh himself appeared and declared it to her. In due time the wedding was celebrated with great *éclat*. Gullālā Shāh fixed his abode in that country, and lived most happily with his four princess wives, for Pañj Phūl had long ago re-assumed her true character. He became increasingly popular and increasingly prosperous, and in a few years, on the death of the king, succeeded to the throne. Other countries were quickly conquered, and everything was managed with such skill and justice, that soon Gullālā Shāh became the greatest king of those days. All nations did him homage and all people respected him.

Some will perhaps think that Gullālā Shāh forgot his mother and relations in the time of his greatness; but it was not so. He found her out, and gave her a beautiful house to live in and a large number of servants to wait on her; he also inquired for those who had in any way helped her during her distress, and promoted them to offices of great honour. Thus did he live, universally just, loving, and good.

No wonder then that he become so popular! No wonder his kingdom waxed so great and strong! No wonder that when he died, at a ripe old age, there went up from all people, rich and poor, old and young, a great wail that seemed to rend the heavens!

## SANSKRIT AND OLD-KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

By J. F. FLEET, B.O.C.S., M.B.A.S., C.I.E.

(Continued from Vol. XIV. p. 319.)

### DIGHWA-DUBAULI PLATE OF THE MAHARAJA MAHENDRAPALA.

(HARSHA)-SAMVAT 155.

No. 160.

This inscription appears to have been discovered by Messrs. P. Peppe and James Cosserat, and was first brought to notice in 1864, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXIII. p. 321ff., when, in his paper entitled "On a Land-Grant of Mahendrapāla Deva of Kanauj," Dr. Rajendralal Mitra published his reading of the text of the plate only, and a trans-

lation of it, accompanied by a rough and by no means accurate lithograph of the date. And, with the exception of subsequent discussions as to the reading of date, this rendering of the inscription has remained the standard published version of it up to the present time. I now re-edit it, with a lithograph, from the original plate, which I obtained for examination, through the kindness of Mr. G. A. Grierson,

B.C.S., from the possession of Mahābīr Pāṇḍé of Dighwā-Dubaulī,<sup>1</sup> a village about twenty-five miles to the south-east of Gōpālgāñj, the chief town of the Gōpālgāñj Sub-Division of the Sāran District in the Bengal Presidency. Either "it was dug out of a field some years ago" (before 1864) "by a Dighwaēt Brahman of Chhapráh;" or the ancestors of the then owner of it "found it in a temple in a ruined Musalman fort in that village" ("Chhapráh," or 'Motihāri,' or Dighwā-Dubaulī), "but it was so long ago that they did not seem to have any distinct tradition about it, nor to be able to give any authentic information on the subject."<sup>2</sup>

The plate, which is engraved on one side only, measures about 1' 9" by 1' 4½". The edges of it were fashioned somewhat thicker than the inscribed surface, and with a slight depression all round just inside them, so as to serve as a rim to protect the writing; and, though the surface is in some places a good deal corroded by rust, the inscription is in a state of excellent preservation almost throughout; but some of the letters are so hopelessly filled in with hard rust, which it was impossible to remove, that they do not shew quite perfectly in the lithograph. — Onto the proper right side of the plate there is soldered a thick and massive seal with a high raised rim all round it, measuring about 7" by 11½", and rectangular, except that the top of it is raised into an arched peak with a slight depression on each side of it. In the arch thus formed, there is the standing figure, facing full-front, of a goddess, doubtless the Bhagavati who is mentioned in the inscription; and below this, across the surface of the seal, there are the twelve lines of writing, *a* to *l*, transcribed below. Unlike the body of the grant, the letters of this legend on the seal are in relief; and, though they are in a state of excellent preservation almost throughout, the spaces between them are so filled in with hard rust, that it was impossible to obtain an ink-impression of them, or to treat them satisfac-

torily by means of photography, so as to include the seal also in the lithograph. — The characters are North Indian Nāgarī of about the eighth century A.D. They include forms of the numerical symbols<sup>3</sup> of the period for 5, 10, 50, and 100. The execution of the engraving is excellent throughout, except that the mark for *ē* in conjunction with consonants, both as *ē*, and as one of the components of *ai*, *ō*, and *au*,—*viz.* sometimes a circular broadening, and sometimes a decided stroke, at the bottom of the end of the continuation, to the left, of the top stroke of the consonant,—is occasionally imperfectly formed, and occasionally omitted altogether. Many of the letters shew, as usual, marks of the working of the engraver's tool. The plate is very massive and substantial; so that the letters, though fairly deep, do not shew through on the back of it. — The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose throughout, except for the half *śloka*, evidently intended as such, which is introduced in line 14, and records the name of the person who drew up the charter. — In respect of orthography, all that calls for notice is—(1) the *parambhagavati* in lines *e*, *i*, and *k*, and *parambhagavati* in lines 3, 6, and 7; (2) the use of *va* for *ba*, e.g. *samvaddha*, line 8, even though the distinct form for *ba* occurs in *bhātva*, line 13; and (3) the doubling of *t* in conjunction with a following *r*, e.g. *puttra*, line 2, and *sagōttra*, line 11 (but not in *pitroḥ*, l. 11.)—I had no opportunity of taking the weight of this plate; but it is entered in Dr. Rajendralal Mitra's notice as 30 seers.

The charter recorded in this inscription is issued from the camp, complete with many cows, elephants, horses, chariots, and foot-soldiers, situated at Mahōdaya (line 1). Then follows the parenthetical genealogy, repeated in the same words in the legend on the seal, to the effect that there was the illustrious Mahārāja Dēvaśaktidēva (l. 2), a most devout worshipper of the god Vishṇu. His son, begotten on Bhūyikādēvi, was the illustrious Mahārāja Vatsarājadēva (l. 3), a most devout worshipper of the god

<sup>1</sup> The 'Dighwa Dobowlee' of the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 103—Lat. 26° 14' N.; Long. 84° 49' E.—R. Mitra called the village 'Dighwa Doobaneshar.' I have not been able to obtain any explanation of the 'Doobaneshar.' But it was probably a mistake for 'Bhoobaneshar' (sc. Bhuvanīswarī), which I remember to have seen in a map as the name of a river somewhere in Bengal.

<sup>2</sup> Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. XXXIII. p. 321.

<sup>3</sup> See page 113, below, note 57.—The symbols occurring in this inscription and the next for 8, 9, 50, and 80, are given in Bhagwanlal Indraji's Table, *ante*, Vol. VI. p. 44. The remaining symbols, for 5, 10, and 100, in their present forms, are still to be entered there.

Mahésvara (Śiva). His son, begotten on Sundarī-dēvi, was the illustrious *Mahārāja Nāga bhata dēva* (l. 4), a most devout worshipper of the goddess Bhagavatī.\* His son, begotten on Śaṭīdēvi, was the illustrious *Mahārāja Rāma bhadradēva* (l. 5), a most devout worshipper of the Sun. His son, begotten on Appādēvi, was the illustrious *Mahārāja Bhōjadēva* (l. 6), a most devout worshipper of the goddess Bhagavatī. And his son, begotten on Chandrabhattārikādēvi, was the illustrious *Mahārāja Mahēndrapāladēva* (l. 7), also a most devout worshipper of the goddess Bhagavatī, who meditated on his father's feet.† The inscription then proceeds to record that the village of Pāṇiyakagrāma (l. 8), in the Śrāvastī<sup>1</sup> bhukti, and belonging to<sup>2</sup> the Vālayikā viśaya which lay in<sup>3</sup> the Śrāvastī maṇḍala, was given by Mahēndrapāla, in order to increase the religious merit of his parents, after bathing on the occasion of the passage of the sun into the zodiacal sign Kumbha or Aquarius (l. 12), to the Bhaṭṭa Padmasara, of the Sāvarna gōtra, a student of the Kauthuma-Chehāndōga (śākhā) (l. 11). The inscription concludes in line 14 with the record that the charter was drawn up by the illustrious Bhāka;<sup>4</sup> followed by the date, in numerical symbols, on which it was assigned,<sup>5</sup> viz. the year 155, the tenth day of the bright fortnight of the month Māgha (January-February). The era is not specified in the record; but, applying the date to the era of Harshavardhana of Kanauj, commencing<sup>11</sup> in A.D. 606 or 607, the result is A.D. 761-62.

So much has been written from time to time about this inscription and the grant of Vināyakapāla which will be published in the next

Number, that, before proceeding to sum up the very few historical facts supplied by them, it will be desirable, and instructive, to run briefly through what has been said about them, extracting the leading points of the writers who have treated of them, as far as I have been able to trace their papers.

Of the two inscriptions, the first to be published was Vināyakapāla's grant of the year 188. Dr. Rajendralal Mitra's version of it was issued by the Secretary of the Society in 1848, under the heading of "Inscription from the Bijaya Mandir, Udayapur, &c.,"<sup>12</sup> without any comment on the date, which was then read as the year 65, or on the other contents of it. In 1856, however, in the *Index* to the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, page 208f., Dr. Rajendralal Mitra, repeating his reading of the year 65, which he referred to some unspecified local era, entered Vināyakapāla as being "evidently a scion of the well-known Pāla dynasty of Gauda" (Bengal).

The discussion appears to have been opened by Professor Lassen,<sup>13</sup> who, seemingly misled by the titling of the pages on which Vināyakapāla's inscription had been published, interpreted the opening words differently,—took Udayapura, instead of Mahōdaya, as the name of the camp whence the charter was issued, and identified it with the modern Udaipur or Udayapura in Scindia's dominions, about thirty-five miles towards the north-east from Bhēlsā,—introduced a second Mahēndrapāla after Bhōja II.,—mixed up the *Mahārājas* of Mahōdaya with the kings of Mālava,—and finally deduced the following results:—

1. Udayāditya . . . . . about A.D. 613
2. Dēvaśakti, son of 1 . . . . .
3. Vatsarāja,<sup>14</sup> son of 2 . . . . .

to prayukta, I owe it to Dr. Bühler, who favoured me with this note:—"Prayuj is frequently used in similar significations; thus, *kriyān* or *yajñan* *prayuj* means 'to offer a sacrifice, to perform a ceremony'; *ndtakam* *prayuj* means 'to act a play'."

<sup>10</sup> *nibaddha*.—As regards the third symbol, see page 113 below, note 57.

<sup>11</sup> *ante*, Vol. XIII. p. 342, note 7.—Gen. Cunningham was the first to point out, what is undoubtedly correct, that the dates of these plates must be referred to this era.

<sup>12</sup> *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XVII. Part I. p. 66ff.

<sup>13</sup> *Indische Alterthumskunde*, Vol. III. p. 822f. and p. 1169, as reported by F. E. Hall in *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXX. p. 198.

<sup>14</sup> I substitute this for the mistaken 'Vināyarāja,' the origin of which is explained by F. E. Hall; so also, in the following generation, I substitute Nāgabhaṭa for 'Nāgadatta.'

\* Either Pārvatī or Durgā, the wife of Śiva, or Lakshmi, the wife of Vishnu.

† *Tat-pād-ānudhyātaḥ*. This expression is applied to the relation of each son to his father throughout the succession.

<sup>1</sup> The village of Pāṇiyaka has not been identified.—Śrāvastī (Gen. Cunningham, in *Anc. Geog. Ind.* p. 407ff.) is the modern 'Sāhet-Māhet' or 'Sahet-Mahet' (Lat. 27° 31' N.; Long. 82° 5' E.; it should be in the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 87, but is not shewn there), a vast collection of ruins, on the south bank of the river 'Rapti' or 'Bāpti,' about twenty-eight miles almost due north of 'Gonda' (also 'Gonrah'), the chief town of the 'Gonda' District in Oude, and about the same distance almost due east of 'Bahraich.'

<sup>2</sup> *sambaddha*.

<sup>3</sup> *antahpāti*.

<sup>4</sup> "(This is the writing) of the firm and long-enduring charter that has been drawn up (*prayuktasya*) by the illustrious Bhāka."—As regards the meaning given

4. Nagabhaṭa, son of 3 . . . . .
5. Rāmabhadra, son of 4 . . . . .
6. Bhōja I., son of 5 . . . . .
7. Mahēndrapāla I., son of 6 . . . . .
8. Bhōja II., son of 7 . . . . .
9. Mahēndrapāla II., brother of 8 . . . . .
10. Vināyakapāla, son of 9 . . . . .
11. Mahēndrapāla III. } ... till about A. D. 850.
12. Karmachandra } ...
13. Vijāyānanda }

Dr. FitzEdward Hall followed. In 1861, in his paper entitled "A Donative Inscription of the Tenth Century,"<sup>13</sup> he pointed out, very correctly, that Professor Lassen was wrong in respect of all the leading conclusions at which he had arrived in respect of this family; and he took this opportunity of identifying the Mahōdaya of these inscriptions with Kanyākubja or Kanauj, on the authority of the *Haimakōśa*, iv. 39. And in 1862, in his paper entitled "Vestiges of Three Royal Lines of Kanyākubja,"<sup>14</sup> as a supplement to which he re-edited Vināyakapāla's grant, he took up the subject again; but without advancing it beyond pointing out that Mahōdaya could not be identified with either 'Mahobā,' 'Maudhā,' or 'Mahedū,' and repeating his previous identification of it with Kanauj,—endorsing the identification of the Tikkarikāgrāma of Vināyakapāla's grant with the modern 'Tikree,' of maps, close to Benares,<sup>15</sup>—and suggesting that we may possibly have traces of one or other of the Bhōjas of this family in 'Mahor' or 'Maholī,' as the traditionary capital of a *Rāja* Bhōja, and in Bhōjpur near 'Farrukabad.' In the course of his remarks he spoke of a huge inscription in some part of the Gwalior State,<sup>16</sup> which mentions first "Mahēndrapāla. Near where he is spoken of is the date 960. Next comes Bhōja; and then Mahēndrapāla again, with the date 964. Further on, Kshitipāla is

mentioned; and, after him, Dēvapāla, the date 1005 being close by." He observed that these dates were not sufficiently particularised for him to certify their era by calculation; and he threw out the suggestion, as a barely possible one, that in these kings we had the progeny of Dēvasakti of Kanauj (Mahōdaya).

Meanwhile, in 1853, in his paper entitled a "Note on an Ancient Inscription from Thāneswar,"<sup>17</sup> Dr. Rajendralal Mitra had published, from imperfect materials, an inscription<sup>18</sup> from 'Pehewā' about fifteen miles west of 'Thāneswar,' which gave the names of (1) Mahēndrapāladēva, (2) Jātula, (3) Vajraṭa, a descendant of Jātula, (4) Yajñika or Yajñaka, (5) Sogga, (6) Pūrṇarāja, son of Sogga, (7) Dēvarāja, brother of Pūrṇarāja,—and, finally, (8) the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Maharājādhirāja*, and *Paramēśvara* Rūmachandradēva, and (9) his successor, the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Maharājādhirāja*, and *Paramēśvara* Bhōjadēva, with the date for the last-mentioned of, as he gave it, the year 179,<sup>19</sup> which he interpreted as equivalent (in the Vikrama era) to A.D. 122.—After this, in 1863, in his paper entitled "Bhoja Rājā of Dhār and his Homonyms,"<sup>20</sup> as an accompaniment to which a lithograph of the 'Pehewa' inscription was issued, he took up again the subject of Dēvasakti of Mahōdaya and his descendants. Repeating, but now with an expression of doubt, his reading of the year 65 as the date of Vināyakapāla's grant, and referring it to some unspecified local era,—and using his subsequently published rendering<sup>21</sup> of Mahēndrapāla's grant,—he allotted definite dates to them, commencing with Dēvasakti, A.D. 779, down to Vināyakapāla, A.D. 900. He also identified Bhōja II. with the *Paramēśvara* Bhōjadēva, the lord of Gōpagiri or Gwalior, of an inscription at Gwalior,<sup>22</sup> dated,<sup>23</sup> in both words and decimal figures, *Saṃvat* 933, which

the rest of his paper he treated it, with emphasis, as one hundred and seventy-nine.

<sup>13</sup> *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXX. p. 195 ff.

<sup>14</sup> *id.* Vol. XXXI. p. 1 ff.

<sup>15</sup> This identification was first pointed out by R. Mitra.

<sup>16</sup> Gen. Cunningham supplied F. E. Hall with the transcript from which he wrote. It is very desirable that the original inscription should be rediscovered and published in full. It has probably to be looked for at or in the neighbourhood of Sirōṣj, 160 miles south by west of Gwalior, and 60 miles north by east of Bhōpāl.

<sup>17</sup> *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXII. p. 673 ff.

<sup>18</sup> It was subsequently pointed out by Gen. Cunningham, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXIII. p. 280, that the last eight lines, as published, were in reality quite a separate record.—For a lithograph of these eight lines, see *id.* Vol. XXXII. p. 97.

<sup>19</sup> In the text, he read *Saṃvat* 279; but throughout

<sup>20</sup> *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXII. p. 91 ff.

<sup>21</sup> It had already been read before the Society, on the 2nd July 1862.

<sup>22</sup> Previously published by him in *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXI. p. 407 ff., text and translation, with a lithograph by Gen. Cunningham, No. 4, Plate ii. In his remarks on it he said (*id.* pp. 389 and 407, note †) that the first figure of the date might be 7, which would bring it back to *Saṃvat* 733 (A.D. 676); but, as the word *navasu*, 'nine,' is very distinct, there was no need for any such remark.

<sup>23</sup> The date is—*Samvatsara-satśeṣu navasu trayas-triṃśad-adhikṣeṣu Māgha-sukla-dvityāyām saṃ 933 Māgha su dī 2*.

was interpreted by him (in the Vikrama era) as equivalent to A.D. 876; and this doubtless was his chief guide in the dates that he allotted to Dēvaśakti and his descendants. With this paper there was issued a lithograph of the last eight lines of the 'Pehewa' inscription; and, in referring to this, he rectified his former version of the date and recorded that it was unmistakably Samvat 279, which, after considering and rejecting the Vikrama, Valabhī, Sēna, and Śivasimha eras, he came to the conclusion must be referred to some unknown local or family era. In the course of his remarks, he recorded his opinion that the Bhōja, son of Rāmachandra, of this 'Pehewa' inscription was not to be identified with Bhōja I., son of Rāmabhadra, of Dēvaśakti's family.

In 1864, in his paper entitled "Remarks on the date of the Pehewa inscription of Raja Bhōja,"<sup>22</sup> General Cunningham took up the subject. In the first place, working on the facsimile, that had been published by Dr. Rajendralal Mitra, he interpreted the date as Samvat 216, which, if referred, as he suggested it should be, to the era of Harshavardhana of Kanauj, would give A.D. 823; but with the possibility of the correct reading being 276, or A.D. 883, which would justify the identification of the Bhōja of this inscription with his namesakes of Gwalior of A.D. 876 and of the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* of A.D. 883 to 901. And subsequently, in a letter dated the 24th May 1864 and attached to his paper referred to above, he announced that the real reading of the date was Samvat 276, and pointed out a fact, altogether missed by Dr. Rajendralal Mitra, which rendered this quite certain, viz. that the date was recorded at full length in words, as well as in decimal figures.<sup>23</sup> He then referred the date definitely to the era of Harshavardhana of Kanauj, with the result of A.D. 882; and recorded his opinion that the Bhōja of this inscription was identical with the Bhōja of the Gwalior inscription of A.D. 876, and with the *Adhirāja* Bhōja of the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, v. 156, the opponent of Śaṅkaravarman of Kaśmīr, who reigned be-

tween A.D. 883 and 901. In this paper he also pointed out that the name of the predecessor of Bhōja in the 'Pehoa' inscription was in reality, as in fact the lithograph showed, Rāmabhadra; not Rāmachandra, as read by Dr. Rajendralal Mitra. And then,—identifying the Vatsarāja of Dēvaśakti's family with the Vatsarāja, king of Maru, who conquered a king of Gaṇḍa and was himself conquered by the Rāshtrakūṭa king Dhōra;<sup>24</sup> and also identifying the Rāmabhadra and Bhōja I. of the same family with the two kings of the same name in the 'Pehoa' inscription,—he fixed the following dates, at twenty-five years to each generation,—

Dēvaśakti .....	A.D. 775
Vatsarāja .....	" 800
Nāgabhaṭa .....	" 825
Rāmabhadra .....	" 850
Bhōja I. ....	" 875
Mahēndrapāla .....	" 900
Bhōja II. ....	" 920
Vināyakapāla .....	" 930

In the same year, in his paper entitled "On a land-grant of Mahēndrapāla Deva of Kanauj,"<sup>25</sup> Dr. Rajendralal Mitra published Mahēndrapāla's grant. He read the date as the year 389, and corrected his reading of the date of Vināyakapāla's grant from 65 to 409. After once more considering and rejecting the Vikrama and Valabhī eras, and also that of Harsha of Kanauj, he again referred the dates to a local or family era, the epoch of which it was impossible to determine. But, following General Cunningham in identifying Vatsarāja with the king of that name overthrown by Dhōra, on this basis, with the allowance of eighteen years to each reign, he fixed the following dates:—

Dēvaśakti .....	A.D. 775
Vatsarāja .....	" 796
Nāgabhaṭa .....	" 814
Rāmabhadra .....	" 832
Bhōja I. ....	" 850
Mahēndrapāla .....	" 868
Bhōja II. ....	" 885
Vināyakapāla .....	" 900

into *rājyē samvatsara*; but the lithograph is not very clear here; nor does it suffice to satisfy me as to the four akṣaras, passed over by R. Mitra without notice, between *saptamya* and *samvat*.

<sup>22</sup> See, e.g., *ante*, Vol. XI, p. 160f.

<sup>23</sup> *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXIII, p. 321 f.

<sup>24</sup> *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXIII, p. 223 f.  
<sup>25</sup> The full reading is—*śrī-Bhōjadēva-pādānām-abhi-pravarddhamāna-kalyāṇa-vijaya-rājyē samvatsara-tatad-ways śat-saptaty-adhikē Vaitōkha-māsa-tukla-pakṣa-saptamya* . . . . . *samvat 276 Vaitōkha tu di 7*.—The original may perhaps have, according to a rather general custom, *rājya-samvatsara*, to be corrected

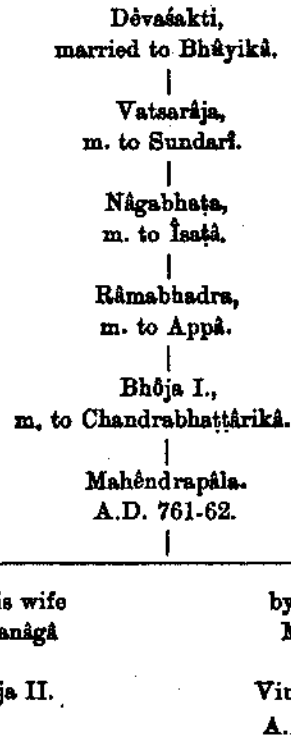
In 1879, General Cunningham took up the subject again.<sup>20</sup> Reading the date of Mahēndrapāla's grant as 315, and referring it to the Harsha era with the result of A.D. 921,—maintaining his identification of the Rāmabhadra and Bhōja I. of Dēvaśakti's family with the kings of the same name in the 'Pahewa' inscription, and also his identification of Bhōja I. both with the *Adhirāja* Bhōja of the *Rājatarāṅginī*,<sup>21</sup> v. 156, the contemporary of Śaṅkaravarman of Kāśmīr, who expelled him between A.D. 883 and 901, and with the Bhōja of the Gwalior inscription of A.D. 876,—and also identifying Bhōja I. with the *Paramabhāṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara* Bhōja of a new inscription of (Vikrama)-Śaṃvat 919 and Śaka-Śaṃvat 784 (A.D. 862-63) from the fort of 'Deogarh,' in eastern Mālwa,<sup>22</sup>—he finally fixed the time<sup>23</sup> of Bhōja I. from A.D. 860 to 890. And in 1880 again, when publishing this new 'Deogarh' inscription,<sup>24</sup> he repeated his former conclusions about the identity of the various Bhōjas and of the two Vatsarājas, and finally fixed the following dates for the Mahōdaya family—

Dēvaśakti.....	A.D. 730
Vatsarāja .....	„ 760
Nāgabhaṭa .....	„ 800
Rāmabhadra .....	„ 830
Bhōja I. ....	„ 860

This, as far as I have been able to ascertain, is the last occasion on which the subject has been discussed.

The historical facts supplied by these two inscriptions are very simple.

In the first place they establish the following genealogy and definite dates :—



Each member of the family had simply the subordinate feudatory title of *Mahārāja*;<sup>25</sup> and this alone would be sufficient *prima facie* reason against identifying Bhōja I. with the king Bhōja who has the paramount titles of *Paramabhāṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Paramēśvara* in the 'Deogarh' inscription of A.D. 862 and the 'Pahewa,' 'Pehewa,' 'Pehewā,' or 'Pehoa' inscription of A.D. 882, and of *Paramēśvara* in the Gwalior inscription of A.D. 876. For, if Rāmabhadra and Bhōja I. of this family had ever held the paramount rank and titles, the fact would, as a matter of course, have been commemorated by connecting the titles with their names in the inscriptions of Mahēndrapāla and Vināyakapāla, even if the

<sup>20</sup> *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 84.

<sup>21</sup> Calcutta ed., verse 156; French ed., verse 151 :—  
Hritam Bhōj-ādhirājēna sa sāmānyam-adāpayat |  
prathīkṣatā bhṛityābhūte Thakkiyak-āraye ||

"He (Śaṅkaravarman) caused to be restored the dominion which had been taken away by the *Adhirāja* Bhōja, when the Thakkiyaka family was reduced to the condition of servants by being put to the duty of door-keepers."—*Bhṛityābhūte* is the reading of the French edition, in preference to the *bhṛitya bhūte* of the Calcutta edition. Both editions read *Thakkiyak-āraye*; but the correct form of the name seems to be Thakkiyaka.—It is difficult to say whether *Adhirāja* in this passage is used in the sense of a paramount sovereign, or in its technical feudatory sense (*ante*, Vol. XIII. p. 50, note 18.)

<sup>22</sup> The date, as far as the lithograph can be relied on, is—*Śaṃvat 919 Aṣṭayuja-kullā-pakṣa-chatur-dāyām Vrihaspati-dinē Uttara-Bhādrapada-nakṣatṛē Śaka-kālī-ābda-sapta-satāni chatur-aṣṭy-adhikāni 784*.—It answers, by General Cunningham's calculation (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 102), to Thursday, the 10th September, A.D. 862.

<sup>23</sup> He also used this result as one of the grounds for fixing the time of Kokkalla I. of the Kalachuri dynasty of Tripura, from A.D. 860 to 870. This probably holds good, as far as the Bhōja of the 'Deogarh,' Gwalior, and 'Pahewa' inscriptions is concerned. But, for the reasons given by me below, Bhōja I. of Dēvaśakti's family is not concerned in the question.

<sup>24</sup> *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 100E., and Plate xxxiii. No. 2.

<sup>25</sup> *ante*, Vol. XIII. p. 50, note 18.

latter had sunk again to the position of *Mahārājas*. But, further, the dates of these two inscriptions are now perfectly certain. They are recorded in numerical symbols, and are respectively, in an unspecified era,—for *Mahēndrapāla*,<sup>55</sup> the year 155; and for *Vināyakapāla*, the year 188. Dr. Rajendralal Mitra's theory of a local or family era must undoubtedly be rejected; for, in order that such an era should last a hundred and eighty-eight years, the founder of it, and at least two or three of his immediate successors, must have been paramount kings of a dynasty,—which certainly was not the case with *Dēvaśakti* or any of his descendants,—and so the era must have ceased to be a mere local or family era. In looking for a dynastic era to which to refer the dates, we must be guided to a certain extent by the palaeography of the grants. And this leads us at once to the era, originally selected by General Cunningham, of *Harshavardhana* of Kanauj,—the only correct and reliable suggestion about *Dēvaśakti* and his descendants throughout the whole of what was written about them. But the result is the dates—for *Mahēndrapāla*, of A.D. 761-62, and for *Vināyakapāla*, of A.D. 794-95; and this, of course, puts it utterly out of the question to identify *Bhōja* I. of this family with the king *Bhōja* of the 'Deogarh,' Gwalior, and 'Pahewa' inscriptions of A.D. 862, 876, and 882. And for the same reason, if the date of A.D. 883 to 901 for *Śaṅkaravarman* of *Kaśmīr* can be upheld, it is equally out of the question to identify either of the *Bhōjas* of this family with the *Adhirāja* *Bhōja*, who is mentioned in the *Rājataranginī* as the contemporary and opponent of *Śaṅkaravarman*.

*Mahēndrapāla* and *Vināyakapāla*'s charters were both issued from *Mahōdaya*. Dr. FitzEdward Hall first identified this place with *Kanyākubja* or Kanauj; and this identification was accepted, throughout the rest of the discussion, by Dr. Rajendralal Mitra and General Cunningham, as well as by himself. It may be perfectly true that *Mahōdaya* is one of the names of *Kanyākubja*. But the *Mahōdaya* of these two inscriptions was only a *śaṅkhādvāra* or 'camp,'—an epithet which it

is most unlikely should be applied to so large and famous a *rājadhāni* or 'capital,'<sup>57</sup> as Kanauj; and there is no reason why there should not have been several *Mahōdayas*, just as there are several *Udayapurās*, in very different parts of the country. Looking to the localities of the villages granted, *Śrāvastī* or 'Sāhet-Māhet,' about 160 miles to the east by north, of Kanauj, is the principal place mentioned in defining the position of the village of *Pāṇiyaka* granted by *Mahēndrapāla*; while *Vārāṇasī* or Benares, about 260 miles to the southwest of Kanauj, and *Pratiśṭhāna*, or Allahābād, which is about 70 miles to the west of Benares, are the principal places mentioned in defining the position of the village of *Tikkarikā* granted by *Vināyakapāla*; and *Tikkarikā*, moreover, seems to be the modern 'Tikree' of the Trigonometrical Survey Map, four miles almost due south of Benares, and on the same side of the river, and therefore actually in the *Kāśīpāra pathaka* of the inscription, 'the territorial division of the *Kāśī* (Benares) ford.' The outlying government of these *Mahārājas* was, thus, a pretty extensive one, comprising a stretch of country, from Benares, of at least about a hundred and sixty miles to *Śrāvastī* on the north, and about seventy miles to Allahābād on the west, and about a hundred miles towards the *Sāran* District on the east, if the locality of the finding of *Mahēndrapāla*'s grant may be taken into any consideration. But there is no reason to suppose that it reached also to the west across the Ganges, and sufficiently far to include Kanauj; which, being the capital of the supreme kings of the country, could hardly be within the jurisdiction of their feudatory *Mahārājas*, so as to be used as a camp by them. We must undoubtedly select as their capital, either *Śrāvastī* or *Vārāṇasī*. And, as regards their camp, *Mahōdaya*, all that can at present be said about it, is that, as *Vināyakapāla*, before making his grant, bathed in the Ganges, it must be identified with some place, still to be determined, on that river or on one of its tributaries.

Finally, as regards the religion of the family,—*Dēvaśakti* and *Bhōja* II. were *Parama-vaishnavas*, or most devout worshippers of the

<sup>55</sup> As regards the third symbol, which is the only one to which any doubt can attach, see page 113 below, note 57.

<sup>57</sup> See ante, Vol. XII. p. 110f.

god Viṣṇu;—Vatsarāja was a *Paramamāhēśvara*, a most devout worshipper of the god Śiva, under the name of Mahēśvara;—Nāgabhaṭa, Bhōja I., and Mahēndrapāla, were *Paramabhagavatibhaktas*, or most devout worshippers of the goddess Bhagavattī, who may be either Pārvatī or Durgā, the wife of Śiva, or Lakṣmī, the wife of Viṣṇu;—and

Rāmabhadra and Vināyakapāla were *Paramādityabhaktas*, or most devout worshippers of the Sun. And, from the same image appearing on the seals of the grants of both Mahēndrapāla, a *Paramabhagavatibhakta*, and Vināyakapāla, a *Paramādityabhakta*, Bhagavattī seems to have been throughout the *kula-dēvatā* or tutelary goddess of the family.

TEXT.<sup>33</sup>

## The Seal.

a	Paramavaishṇavō	mahārāja-śrī-Dēvaśaktidē-
b	vas=tasya	puttras=tat-pād-ānudhyātaḥ śrī-Bhūyikādēvyā-
c	m=utpannaḥ	paramamāhēśvarō mahārāja-śrī-Vatsarā-
d	jadēvas=tasya	puttras=tat-pād-ānudhyātaḥ śrī-Sundarī-
e	dēvyām=utpannaḥ	parambha <sup>34</sup> gavatibhaktō mahārāja-śrī-Nā-
f	gabhaṭadēvas=tasya	puttras=tat-pād-ānudhyātaḥ śrīmad-īsa-
g	ṭādēvyām=utpannaḥ	paramādityabhaktō mahārā-
h	ja-śrī-Rāmabhadradēvas=tasya	puttras=tat-pād-ānudhyātaḥ
i	śrīmad-Appādēvyām=utpannaḥ	parambha <sup>35</sup> gavatibhaktō ma-
j	harāja-śrī-Bhōjadēvas=tasya	puttras=tat-pād-ānudhyā-
k	[ta]ḥ śrī-Chandrabhaṭ[ṭ]ārikādēvyām=utpannaḥ	parambha <sup>36</sup> ga-
l	[vatibha]ktō	mahārāja-śrī-Mahēndrapāladēvaḥ [   <sup>37</sup> ]

## The Plate.

- 1 Ōm Svasti Śrī-Mahōdaya-samāvāsīt-ān[ḍ\*]ka-gō-hasty-aśva-ratha-patti-sampanna-skandādārāt<sup>38</sup>=paramavaishṇav[ḍ]
- 2 mahārāja-śrī-Dēvaśaktidēvas=tasya puttras=tat-pād-ānudhyātaḥ śrī-Bhūyikādēvyām=utpannaḥ paramamāhēśvarō
- 3 mahārāja-śrī-Vatsarājad[ḍ\*]vas=tasya puttras=tat-pād-ānudhyātaḥ śrī<sup>39</sup>-Sundaridēvyām=utpannaḥ parambha<sup>40</sup>gavatibha-
- 4 ktō mahārāja-śrī-Nāgabhaṭa<sup>41</sup>d[ḍ\*]vas=tasya puttras=tat-pād-ānudhy[ā\*]taḥ śrīmad-īsaṭā<sup>42</sup>dēvyām=utpannaḥ paramāditya-
- 5 bhaktō mahārāja-śrī-Rāmabhadradēvas=tasya puttras=tat-pād-ānudhyātaḥ śrīmad-Appā<sup>43</sup>dēvyām=utpa-
- 6 nnaḥ parambha<sup>44</sup>gavatibhaktā(ktō) mahārāja-śrī-Bhā(bhō)jadēvas=tasya puttras=tat-pād-ānudhyātaḥ śrī-Chandrabha-
- 7 ṭārikād[ḍ\*]vyām=utpannaḥ parambha<sup>45</sup>gavatibhaktō mahārāja-śrī-Mahēndrapāladēvaḥ ||<sup>46</sup> Śrāsvasti-
- 8 bhuktau ||<sup>47</sup> Śrāsvastimaṇḍal-āntaḥpāti- | -Vālayikā<sup>48</sup>vishaya-samva(mba)ddha-Pāṇīyaka<sup>49</sup>-grāma-samu-
- 9 pagatān=sarvān=dēva yathāsthāna-niyuktān=prativāsinaś-cha samājñāpayati [ṭ\*] Uparili-

<sup>33</sup> From the original seal and plate.

<sup>34</sup>, <sup>35</sup>, and <sup>36</sup>. Read *paramabha*.

<sup>37</sup> Read *skandādārāt*.

<sup>38</sup> This and a few other letters are so completely blocked up with hard rust, that, though they are legible enough in the original, they hardly appear at all in the impression and lithograph.

<sup>39</sup> Read *paramabha*.

<sup>40</sup> R. Mitra read *Nāgabhaṭa* quite correctly, but added a wholly unnecessary note that *bhaṭa* was for *bhaṭṭa*, and thus in his translation and remarks turned the name into *Nāgabhaṭṭa*.

<sup>41</sup> Both here and in the following inscription, R. Mitra read this name *Mahāśaṭā*; and F. E. Hall adopted the same reading in Vināyakapāla's inscription.—The d

of *d* is somewhat damaged in this inscription, both on the seal and on the plate; but the reading is very clear in the corresponding passages of the following inscription.

<sup>42</sup> R. Mitra read *śrīmadāpyā* in the text, and gave the name as *Madāpyā* in the translation.

<sup>43</sup> and <sup>44</sup> Read *paramabha*.

<sup>45</sup> and <sup>46</sup> These marks of punctuation are unnecessary.

<sup>47</sup> Read *āntaḥpāti-Vālayikā*.—R. Mitra read *Vālayikā*, with the vowel in the first syllable short, and used the same name in his translation, but in his remarks turned it into *Tolayikā*.

<sup>48</sup> R. Mitra read *Pāṇīyaka* in both text and translation.







- 10 khita-grāmas=sa[r\*]v-āya-samēta 4-chandr-ārka-kshiti-kālam=pūrvadatta-dēvavra(bra)-  
hmadēya-varjītō  
11 mayā pitrōḥ puṇy-ābhivṛddhayē<sup>14</sup> Sāvarnasagōttra-KauthumaChchhandōgasavra(bra)-  
hmadhāri-  
12 bhāṭṭa-Padmasārāya savitūḥ kumbha-samkrāntau snātvā pratigrahāṇa pratipādita iti  
viditvā  
13 bhavadbhis=samanumantavyam prativāsibhir=apy=ājñā-śravaṇa-vidhēyai[r\*]=bbhūtvā sarv-  
āyā aśya samu-  
14 paṇēyā iti 1(1) Śrīmad<sup>15</sup>-Bhāka<sup>16</sup>-prayuktasya śāsanasya sthira-āyatōḥ || Samvatsrā<sup>17</sup>  
100 50 5 Māgha śu di 10 nīva(ba)ddham [u\*]

## AN ENGLISH-GIPSY INDEX.

COMPILED BY MRS. GRIERSON; WITH AN INTRODUCTORY NOTE BY G. A. GRIERSON, B.C.S.

(Continued from p. 86).

- GIPSY.—Rom, romazānis, yapāri, japāri, malkōch, (Tch.); ghūlara, pōsha, (As. Tch.); lom, (Tch. Tokat.); rom, (Psp. M.); posha, rom, sinkalo, (M. 8)  
GIPSY-BLOOD.—Kaulo ratti, (Eng.)  
GIPSY-FASHION, after the.—Romaneskoenaea, (Eng.); romanēs, romēnd'ire, (M.)  
GIPSY-FELLOW.—Romano chal, romany chal, (Eng.)  
GIPSY-GENTLEMAN.—Romano rye, romany rye, (Eng.)  
GIPSY LANGUAGE.—Rōmanes, romany, (Eng.)  
GIPSY, of or belonging to.—Romanō, (Tch.)  
GIPSY LASS.—Romani ohi, (Eng.)  
GIPSY, one who is not a.—see Stranger.  
GIRDLE.—Kiustik, (Psp. M.); kushtik, (M.); kyusht yk, (M. 7)  
GIRL.—Rakli, juvli, chavali, chavi, chi, (Eng.); rakli, chāi, chēi, (dim.) chāiori, (Tch.); jaghi, (Tch. Tokat.); lavti, (As. Tch.); chāi, (Psp. M.); fechōrē, fechyōrē, rakli, raklorē, shey, shiy, (M.)  
GIRTH.—Dingla, plāna, (Tch.)  
GIVE, (imp.)—Don, (Eng.)  
GIVE AWAY, to.—Yertiāva, yertisarāva, (M.)  
GIVE, to.—Deāva, (Eng.); dāva, (Tch., Psp. M., M. 7); bede, (imperat.) (As. Tch.)  
GIVE, to cause to.—Diniarāva, (Tch.)  
GLANDERED.—Limalō, limēngoro, (Tch.)  
GLANDERED HORSE, a.—Nok-engro, (Eng.)  
GLANDERS.—Lim, (Tch.)  
GLASS, drinking.—Jam, (Tch.); stōkla, takhtāy, (M.), stegla, valin, (M. 8)  
GLITTER, to.—Nēzēriāva, zērisarāva, (M.)
- GLUE, to.—Lipiāva, (M.); to glue on, lipisard'ovāva, (M.)  
GLUED.—Lipimē, (M.)  
GNAW OFF, to.—Chambāva, (M.)  
Go, to.—Jalāva, (Eng.); jāva, (Tch., Psp. M., M. 7)  
jāmi, (1 pres.) (As. Tch.); pherāva, tradāva, zhāva, (M.)  
Go BY, to.—Nakāva, (M., M. 8)  
Go OUT, to.—Nikāva, (Tch., M. 8); niglavāva, (Psp. M.); ēnkliāva, (M.); nashāva, (M. 8)  
GONE OUT, to have.—Nikliovāva, (Tch.)  
GO OUT, to cause to.—Nikliarāva, nikāl dāva, (Tch.)  
Go BOUND, to.—Ēnkunzhuriāva, (M.); phirāva, (M. 8)  
Go THROUGH, to.—Skōpisard'ovāva, (M.)  
GOAD.—Ghanlō, momelt, (Tch.)  
GOAT.—Buznō, (fem.) buzni, (Tch.); buzni, (As. Tch.); kāpra, kaprā, bakri, (M.)  
GOBLET.—Korō, (dim.) kororō, (Tch.)  
GOBLET, of or belonging to.—Korēskoro, (Tch.)  
GOD.—Devel, dibble, dovvel, duvel, dubble, (Eng.); devēl, del, (dim.) devlorō, (Tch.); huva, (As. Tch.); devēl (Psp. M., M.); devel, del, dil, (M.)  
GOD, of or belonging to.—Devlicanō, devlēsoro, (Tch.)  
GOD-FATHER.—Kivō, kirivō, kivrō, (Tch.); nanāsh, nanāshu, t'irvō, (M.); kirivo, (M. 7)  
GODMOTHER.—Kivī, (Tch.); t'irvi, (M.)  
GODSON.—Zhamutrō, (M.)  
GOLD.—Sonakey, sonneko, (Eng.); sovnaikāi, somnakāi, (Tch., M. 8); kirdlori, (As. Tch.); somnakāi, gālpea, (Psp. M.); somnakāy, (M.)

<sup>14</sup> This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.<sup>15</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh); the verse consists, however, of only one pāda.<sup>16</sup> B. Mitra, failed to observe the metre, and read śrīmadbhāṭṭa, with a note that it was for śrī-bhāṭṭa, which he rendered in his translation by "his auspicious Majesty."<sup>17</sup> Read samvatsarā, for samvatsarādām.—B. Mitra

read the numerical symbols for the year as 389, treating them apparently as decimal figures, and the symbol for the day as 7.—I am a little uncertain about the third symbol for the year; but,—contrasting it with the undoubted 8 in the date of the following inscription, and comparing it with the 5 of the Nēpāl Baudha MSS. in cols. 7 and 9 of Bhagwanlal Indrajī's Table, ante, Vol. VI. p. 44,—it seems to be a form of the symbol for 5.

**GOLDEN**,—Sovnakunô, (Tch.); somnakunô, somnakânû, (M.)

**GOLD AND SILVERSMITH**,—Sovnakôngoro, rupêskoro, (Tch.)

**GOOD**,—Bûna, kûaho, koshto, kosko, kushto, (Eng.); lachô, mishtô, mistô (comp., lachedêr, (Tch.); gh'ehâi, gh'tha (As. Tch.); lachô, (Psp. M.); mishtô, mishtôû, lashô, shukâr, (M.); lacho, mishto, (M. 8)

**GOOD**, (sub.)—Moshlyê, moshlya, moshiye, (M.)

**GOODNESS**,—Mestipen, koshtipen, koskipen, (Eng.); lashipi, (M.); mestipen, bestipen, (Span. Gip.)

**GOOSE**,—Racheta, (Eng.); papin, papina, (Tch.); papin, (M., M. 8)

**GOOSE**, of or belonging to, —Papinêngoro, (Tch.)

**GOOSEBERRY**,—Durril, (pl.) durrilau, durilyor, (Eng.)

**GOOSEBERRY PUDDING**,—Durrileskie guyi, (Eng.)

**GOURD**,—Duddm, (Tch., Psp. M., M. 7); gh'undur, kundur, (As. Tch.); dodom, (M.)

**GOWN**,—Shûb, shubbo, (Eng.); katrinca, (M.)

**GRAIN**,—Shîru, (M.)

**GRAIN OF CORN**,—Giv, iv, (Psp. M.); grêuncê, (M.)

**GRANDCHILDREN**,—Tawnie yecks, (Eng.)

**GRANDEUR**,—Rayimâs, (M.)

**GRANDFATHER**,—Puro dad, (Eng.); pâpus, (Tch., M. 8); bapir, (As. Tch.)

**GRANDMOTHER**,—Bâba, bâbo, (dim.) baborcha, (Tch.); ami, (As. Tch.)

**GRANDSON**,—Ongôni, (Tch.)

**GRAPE**,—(pl.) Mul-engris, (Eng.); drak, porik, (Tch.); drak, (Psp. M.); drek, mevush, (As. Tch.); drakh, (M. 7)

**GRAPES**, of or belonging to, —Drakêngoro, (Tch.)

**GRAPES**, dry, —Chamîk, (Tch.); porik (Tch., M. 8)

**GRAPES-SELLER**, (dry), —Porikêsgoro, chamikêngoro, (Tch.)

**GRASS**,—Chaw, (Eng.); char, drap, drab, (Tch.); char, (Psp. M.); gh'as, gh'ehs, kas, (As. Tch.); char, chur, (M.); char, (M. 7)

**GRASS**, (a kind of)—Lavadiâ, (Tch.)

**GRASSY**,—Drabêngoro, charialô, (Tch.)

**GRASSHOPPER**,—Chawhoktamengro, (Eng.)

**GRAVE**,—Mulleno hev, (Eng.); mormêntu, (M.)

**GRAVE-SHOVEL**,—Hêrlêcu, (M.)

**GRAZE**, to, —Charavâva, (Tch.); charâva, (Psp. M.)

**GRAZING**, to be nourished by, —Chariovâva, (Tch.)

**GREASE**,—Tulipen, (Eng.); maklô, (Tch.)

**GREASE**, to, —Makliarâva, (Tch.)

**GREAT**,—Boro, (Eng.); barô, (Psp. M.); bharô, pharô, (M.)

**GREEK**,—Balamô, (Psp. M., M. 7)

**GREEN**,—Delê, zêlino, (M.)

**GRENADE**,—Darâv, rattvalô, (Tch.); khinâr, (As. Tch.)

**GRENADE**,—Darâvin, (Tch.)

**GREY**,—Sûro, (M.)

**GRIEF**,—Duk, dukaibê, (Tch.); zhêie, (M.); dukh, (M. 7)

**GRIEF**, to feel, —Dukâva, (Tch.); dukâva, pêsâva, superisard'ovâva, voytiâva pe, (M.)

**GRIEF**, to cause to feel, —Dukavâva, (Tch.)

**GRIEVE**, to (v. tr.), —Musarâva, (M.)

**GRIEVED**, to be, —Dukânirovâva, (Tch.)

**GRIEVED**, —Superimi, supêrêmi, (M.)

**GRIND**, to, —Moarâva, (Eng.); pishâva, (Tch., Psp. M.)

**GRIND**, to cause to, —Pishlarâva, (Tch.)

**GRINDSTONE**, —Asân, (M., M. 7)

**GRINDSTONE**, hand, —Pirpirietra, (Tch.)

**GROAN**, to, —Zhemâva, (M.)

**GROAT**, —Gush, gurush, gurushi, (Eng.)

**GROOM**, —Stanya-mengro, (Eng.)

**GROUND**, —Pâv, pov, puvvo, (Eng.); fûadu, pôdu, (M.)

**GROW**, to, —Bâriovâva, (Tch.); bharyovâva, (M.)

**GROW UP**, to, —Bharyovâva, (M.)

**GROW**, to cause to, —Bariarâva, (Tch.)

**GUARD**, —Arakâv, (Psp. M.); strâzha, strêzhê, (M.)

**GUARD**, to, —Wardâva, (Eng.); arakâva, (Tch., Psp. M.)

**GUARD ONESELF**, to, —Ferisard'ovâva, (M.)

**GUESS**, to, —Gêchiâva, gêchisarâva, (M.)

**GUIDE**, —Kâifa, (M.)

**GUILT**, —Dosh, (M., M. 7)

**GUILTY**, —Doshâlô, (M.); uzhiho, (M. 8)

**GUITAR**, —Yongâri, (Tch.)

**GUM**, —Tar, (Tch.); thar, (M., M. 8)

**GUN**, —Yag-engri, (Eng.); katli, (Tch.); pûshka, pûshkê, pushkê, (M., M. 8)

**GYPSY**, see Gipsy.

## H

**HABITATION**, —bashipê (Psp. M.)

**HAIL**, —Kukkudî, (Tch.); kukudî, (Psp. M.)

**HAIR**, —Bal, (Eng.); bal, jar, (Tch., M. 7); val, (As. Tch.); bal, (Psp. M., M.); see also 'Tress'

**HAIR**, of or belonging to, —Balâlô, (Tch.); bale-neskoe, (Eng.); jarialô, (Tch.)

**HAIRY FELLOW**, a—Balormengro, (Eng.)

**HALF**, —Pas, posh, (Eng.); yêkpâsh, (Tch.); nim, (As. Tch.); pash, pâsha, yekpâsh, (Psp. M.); (M.); pash, (M. 8)

**HALFPENNY**, —Pasherro, posherro, poshoro, (Eng.)

**HALL**, —Komortus, (Eng.); aûltn, (M.)

**HALL**, entrance, —Tînda, (M.)

**HALTER**, —Sher-engri, (Eng.); ashvâr, (M.)

**HAMMER**, —Korâki, kutôla, sivri, (Tch.); (a kind of,) kakâi, (Tch.); sivri, (Psp. M., M. 8); chokân, chokânashu, chokânos, t'iyâno, vaznalô, (M.)

**HAMMER**, blacksmith's,—Vária, chokános, chakános, (Tch.); varia, (M. 8)  
**HAND**,—Vast, wast, (Eng.); vast, (Tch.); hast, (As. Tch.); vást, (Psp. M.); vast, (M., M. 8)  
**HAND**, little,—Vastoró, (Tch.)  
**HAND-BAG**,—Tráysta, (M.)  
**HANDFUL**,—Búrnek, (Tch.); burnék, (Psp. M., M. 7)  
**HANDKERCHIEF**,—Pangushi, (Eng.); díkló, koznó, kosnó, (Tch.); díkló, bésmaoa, (M.)  
**HANDLE**,—Destó, (Tch., M. 7)  
**HANDSOME**,—Rinkeno, (Eng.)  
**HANG**, to,—Nasháva, (Eng.); umblaváva, (Tch.)  
**HANGED**, to be,—Umlávghiováva, (Tch.)  
**HANGING**,—Umlaibé, (Tch.)  
**HANGMAN**,—Nashimescro, (Eng.); ushtaléu, (M.)  
**HAPPEN**, to,—Resáva, (Tch.); dáva, (M.)  
**HAPPEN**, to cause to,—Resaváva, (Tch.)  
**HAPPINESS**,—Bakht, (M., M. 7)  
**HARE**,—Kaun-engro, sheshu, shoshoi (Eng.); shoshoi, (Hun. Gip.); shóshoi, sosói, (dim.) shoshoro, (Tch.); gh'andürki, (As. Tch.); shoshói, (Psp. M.); shoshóy, (M., M. 8)  
**HARE**, of or belonging to,—Shoshanó, shoshóskoro, (Tch.)  
**HARICOT**,—Manushéskere dant, (Tch.)  
**HARLOT**,—Lubbeny, (Eng.); lubni, nublí, (Psp. M.)  
**HARLOT**, become a,—Lubbenified, (Eng.)  
**HARLOTRY**,—Lubbenipen, (Eng.)  
**HARM**,—Dosh, dosh, (Eng.)  
**HARNESS**, to,—Kostizáva, (Tch.)  
**HARROW**, to,—Grépiáva, (M.)  
**HASTE**,—Hekta, sig, (Eng.)  
**HASTEN**, to,—Prastáva, (M.)  
**HAT**,—Stadj, (Eng.)  
**HATCH**, to,—Klochisaráva, (M.)  
**HATCHET**,—China-mengro, (Eng.); tovér, tovéł, (Tch.); tovér, tovér, báda, (M.)  
**HATCHET**, handle of,—Béltágu, (M.)  
**HAUT-BOY**,—Súrulas, (Tch.)  
**HAVE**, to,—Teráva, (Tch., Psp. M.)  
**HAWK GOODS**, to,—Koráva, (Eng.)  
**HAWKING GOODS**,—Karring, (Eng.)  
**HAWKING LICENSE**,—Koring lil, (Eng.)  
**HAY**,—Kas, (Eng.); kas, (Tch.); kas, (M.); khas, (M. 7)  
**HAYSTACK**,—Kas-stiggur, (Eng.)  
**HAYMAKING**,—Kas kairing, (Eng.)  
**HÉ**,—O, yo, (Eng.); ov, (Tch., M. 8); húi, (As. Tch.); lo, vo, (M.)  
**HEAD**,—Shero, (Eng.); sheró, seró, (Tch.); seró, ser (As. Tch.); sheró, shoró, (Psp. M.); képéóóna, shéró, sheró, shéró, (M.); shero, (M. 8)  
**HEAD**, of or belonging to,—Sheraló, (Tch.)  
**HEAD-DRESS**,—Kérpa, (M.); pherno, (M. 8)

**HEAD-MAN**,—Sher-engro, (Eng.)  
**HEAL**, to,—Sast'aráva, (M.)  
**HEALED**, to be,—Sast'ováva, (M.)  
**HEALTH**,—Piapen, (Eng.); eastipé, vestipé, (Tch.)  
**HEALTHY**,—Sastó, shastó (Tch.); shastó, (Psp. M.); sastó, saste vesto, vestó, (M.); shasto, vesto, (M. 8)  
**HEAP**,—Grémáda, grémádó, (M.)  
**HEAR**, to,—Shunáva, (Eng., Tch., Psp. M.); ash-unáva, (M.); shunáva, (M. 8)  
**HEARD**, to be,—Shündováva, kandízáva, (Tch.) ashund'ováva, (M.)  
**HEARING**,—Shunaben, (Eng.)  
**HEART**,—Zi, (Eng.); oghi, (dim.) oghoró, onghi, (Tch.); oghi, onghi, (Psp. M.); yiló, yiló, odhi, od'i (M.); yilo, (M. 7)  
**HEARTS**,—Vighna, (Tch.); vatro, vigna, (M. 8)  
**HEAT**,—Tatti-pen, (Eng.); tabioipé, tattibé, (Tch.); tattipé, (Psp. M.)  
**HEAT**, to,—Tapáva, tattiaráva, (Tch.)  
**HEATHEN**,—Hrishka, (M.)  
**HEAVEN**,—Charos, cheros, (Eng.); sukár devél, (Tch.); chéri, cheri, (M.); chéro, (M. 7)  
**HEAVINESS**,—Gréu, (M.)  
**HEAVY**,—Pordo, (Eng.); paró, (Tch.); baró, (Psp. M.); bharó, pharó, (adv.) bharés, pharés, (M.); pharo, (M. 8)  
**HEDGE**,—Bor, (Eng.); bar, (M.); bari, (M. 7)  
**HEDGE-HOG**,—Pal of the bor, hatchi-witchu, (Eng.)  
**HEEL**,—Kfur, khúr, (Psp. M.); khur, (M. 7)  
**HEIGHT**,—Vuchipé, (Tch.)  
**HELL**,—Bengako tan, wafodu tan, (Eng.); pékla, yádo, yádu, (M.)  
**HELP**, to,—Azhutíáva, (M.)  
**HEN**,—Kanni, (pl.) kannis, (Eng.); kafi, (Span. Gip.); kakni, (Hun. Gip.); kaghni, kahni, chiricli, (Tch.); jimári, (As. Tch.); kaini, kagni, kainá, (Psp. M.); kayni, gayni, (M.); kahni, (dim.) chavri, (M. 7)  
**HEN**, clucking,—Klóshka, (M.)  
**HER**,—La (pro. pers.), laki (pro. poss.), (Eng.)  
**HERB**,—Yarb, (Eng.)  
**HERBALIST**,—Chariéngoro, (Tch.)  
**HERD**,—Chiryáda, herd'iliya, hergeliya, tárma, (M.)  
**HERE**,—Akai, akoi, aukko, (Eng.); atiá, akatiá, avatiá, avátíaring, (abl.) atár, atíatar, (Tch.); ate, avatiá, (Psp. M.); kothé, kothí, kot'i, koché, kochi, ordé, urdé, ordi, kathé, kathí, kat'é, kat'i, kat'hé, kaké, (M.); atya, (M. 7)  
**HERO**,—Vit'azu, voyniko, voyniku, (M.)  
**HEW**, to,—Licharáva, lit'ráva, choplisaráva, (M.)  
**HIDE**, to,—Garéva, (Eng.); gheraváva, nispeláva, (Tch.); usharaváva, garáva, (M.); nispeláva, (M. 8)

HIDE ONESELF, to,—Garud'ovāva, (M.)	HOG-WASH,—Lētōri, (M.)
HIDDEN, to be,—Gherāvghiovāva, nispēghiovāva, (Tch.)	HOLD, (imperat.)—Tel, bonnek, (Eng.)
HIDING, (the action of)—Gheraibē, (Tch.)	HOLD, to,—Terāva, (Tch.); astarāva, (Psp. M.); ģērāva, (M.); ikerāva, (M. 7); terāva, (M. 8)
HIGH,—Vuchō, uchō, (Tch.); vechūn, (As. Tch.); (comp.) vuchedēr, (Tch.); uchō, bharō, pharē, ģēnālto, (M.); vuchō, (M. 8)	HOLE,—Hev, (Eng.); khar, khev, khēf, (Tch.); khāv, (Psp. M.); khēū, yezunīe, (M.); khar, khev, (M. 7)
HIGHEST,—Opral'unō, opralutnō, (Tch.)	HOLES, full of,—Heviskey, (Eng.)
HILL,—Chumba, (Eng.); mozhila, muzhila, (M.); dombo, (M. 7)	HOLY,—Deveskoe, (Eng.); sen, sfēnto, sfēntu, sfēntu, sēn, (M.); svunto, (M. 8)
HILLOCK,—Tāmba, (Tch.)	HOLY-WATER SPRINKLER,—Vrekhtōla, (Tch.)
HINGE,—Guruvēskoro kar, (Tch.)	HOMAGE, to do—Ėnkinisard'ovava, (M.)
HIRE, to,—Nēymiāva, nēymisarāva, (M.)	HOME,—Kerey, keri, (Eng.)
HIRE, to be,—Nēymisard'ovāva, (M.)	HONEY,—Gudlo, (Eng.); avghīn, (Tch.); hūnghevin, (As. Tch.); avghīn, (Psp. M.); abghīn, abd'īn, (M.); avghīn, (M. 7)
HIS,—(poss. pro.) Oriki, (As. Tch.)	HONEY, seller of,—Avghīnēngoro, (Tch.)
HISS, to,—Shōndava, (Tch.)	HONEY-INSECT,—Gudlo-pishen, (Eng.)
HIT, to,—Hetavāva, (Eng.); malavāva, nemisarāva, (M.)	HONOUR,—Pat'ū, (M.)
HITHER,—Kothē, kothī, kot'i, kochō, kochī, (M.); orde, (M. 8)	HONOURABLE,—Pat'ūvalō, pat'ūalō, pachualō, (M.)
HITHERTO,—Ajāi, achāi, (Tch.)	HOOK,—Kōrlig, kōrlīgu, (M.)
Hoe,—Baskī, (dim.) baskisorō, kharliardō, (Tch.); sāpa, (M.)	HOP, (a plant)—Levinor-engri, (Eng.)
Hog,—Balō, (M.)	HOP-PICKER,—Tardra-mengre, (Eng.)

## MISCELLANEA.

THE RETIREMENT  
OF GENERAL CUNNINGHAM.

We cannot issue this Number without a few words of farewell to Major-General Alexander Cunningham, R.E., C.S.I., C.I.E., late Director-General of Archaeological Surveys, who, having resigned his appointment, has just left this country, after a connection with it, and with the study of Indian Archaeology in all its branches, that has lasted through more than half a century.

Entering the service of the Government of India as a Lieutenant of the Royal (late Bengal) Engineers in June 1831, General Cunningham landed in this country no long while afterwards, and applied himself almost at once to the researches that have made his name so well known.

His first publication was, in 1834, the "Correction of a mistake regarding some of the Roman Coins found in the Tope at Manikyala opened by M. Court" (*Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. III. p. 635ff.) And from that time, till now, he has been a constant contributor to that Journal, to the *Nuismatic Chronicle*, and to others devoted to Oriental topics.

Of separate publications he has given us *The Bhilsa Topes*, 1854; *The Ancient Geography of India*, Vol. I. *The Buddhist Period*, 1871, devoted chiefly to the illustration of the campaigns of Alexander, and the travels of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-Tsiang; *The Stupa of Bharhut*, 1879, with a magnificent series of fifty-seven plates; and

the *Book of Indian Eras*, 1884, containing an extremely useful set of Tables for calculating Indian Dates, which does not seem to have as yet become as well known as it should be.

But his name is, of course, best known in connection with his official post as Director-General of the Archaeological Surveys of India, for which he was specially selected in 1870 and was persuaded to return to India again after his original retirement from active service. In connection with this office, General Cunningham has given us, in 1877, Volume I. of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, containing the Aśoka Inscriptions, and, from 1871 to 1885, twenty-one volumes of Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India, which—whatever criticism may be applied to them in detail—contain an extraordinary amount of information that only requires careful and systematic indexing for its practical value to be recognised.

It is a relief to know that General Cunningham's invaluable collection of gold and silver coins did not share the fate of his books and manuscripts, unfortunately lost at sea, but have reached England in safety. We hope that he has many years before him yet, in which to make the contents of this collection accessible to the public, and to reconstruct many of his other unpublished writings which would seem at present to be so hopelessly lost.

THE EDITORS.

7th March 1886.

DISCURSIVE CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARDS THE COMPARATIVE STUDY  
OF ASIATIC SYMBOLISM.

BY H. G. M. MURRAY-AYNSLEY.

## No. IV.

*Sacred Stones.*

IN the Bible the Prophet Isaiah condemns the stone-worship of his day in the following words<sup>1</sup>:—"Slaying the children in the valleys under the cliffs of the rocks? Among the smooth stones of the stream is thy portion; they, they, are thy lot: even to them hast thou poured a drink offering, thou hast offered a meat offering. Should I receive comfort in these?" In India, at the present day, both the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava sects of Hindūs have their sacred stones. The *līngas* of the Śaivas exist in all their temples, while the Vaiṣṇavas have their *śālagrāma*.

The Vaiṣṇavas as well as the modern Jains reverence the impression on stone of the soles of two feet,<sup>2</sup> a Vaiṣṇava temple at Gayā being called *Bishṇ-Pad*, or 'Viṣṇu's Foot.' This symbol is also many times repeated on the natural rock of a hill at Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa in Maisūr, on which is a Jain temple. Plate IX. fig. 1 is a representation of this emblem from the Rājā of Nāgpur's palace at Benares. Fig. 2 is a mosaic pavement in the centre of the floor of the *chhatrī* or cenotaph at Gōvardhan, erected to the memory of the grandfather of the present Mahārājā of Bharatpur. It is not unknown in Europe, forming a portion of the ornamentation on one of the large stones within a *dolmen*, at Arzon, in the Morbihan, South Brittany; see Plate IX. fig. 3. In the Island of Guernsey, on the Roquaine Road and not far from L'Erée, is a field in which is a rocky mound. A stone, called *La Pierre aux Dames*, at one time stood on its summit, but a former proprietor removed it in a vain search after supposed treasure, and it now lies at the foot of the mound. On the surface of the stone, which is of granite, there are two depressed traces of footmarks in opposite directions. The depressions appear to be due to disintegration of the granite block, but so closely do they resemble the impressions of two human feet, that

one is forced to believe that their present form was at some remote period greatly assisted by some rude sculptor's chisel.

An incident, which once happened to the present writer in Benares, seems to throw some light upon the signification of this symbol in Modern India. One day, when wandering in the outskirts of that city the attention of our party was attracted to a temple, which, though handsome, on a closer examination, proved to be an insignificant one. But near it were two tombs:—on the larger one was a *līnga* and trident, between which was the impression of the soles of two feet; the smaller had only the two feet upon it. Whilst we were wondering what could be the meaning of these symbols in such a position, a middle-aged native woman came up to us and on being asked about the tombs said: "The largest one is my father's tomb; the other is the tomb of my mother; they were both Gosāins and so am I." On being questioned still further she added, "We use the signs of the feet to express worshipping at our parents' feet, i.e. being their disciples."<sup>3</sup> It would appear from this (though I will not vouch for its being invariably the case<sup>4</sup>) that the Gosāins bury their dead, contrary to the usual Hindū practice of cremation.

The worship of rude stones must have prevailed in Kāśmīr at one period. At a place called Pandrattan, about three miles from Śrīnagar, there are three or four so-called Śaiva stones of very large size. In 1876 one was still upright in its original position, the others were prostrate on the ground. Baron von Hügel, in his *Travels in Kāśmīr and the Pāñjāb*, relates, too, that he found many such stones near the sacred spring at Islāmābād. Similar stones have also been found in places where Buddhism is known to have existed, and it seems not improbable that such emblems are the relics of a still older form of religion than that of Buddha, which fell into disuse when it was introduced. They have been found also amongst the ruins of

<sup>1</sup> Chap. lxxvii. 5 & 6.

<sup>2</sup> Of this symbol the late Kamer Herr Wernsee says, "it frequently occurs on rock cuttings in Bohuslén, in the South of Sweden (the ancient Scania) and it has been considered a sacred sign over the whole earth, being in India an emblem of Buddha and of Viṣṇu." [See

ante, Vol. IX. p. 138ff.—Ed.]

<sup>3</sup> The expression should be taken in the same sense as the passage in *Acts* xxii. 3, of being brought up at the feet of Gamaliel.

<sup>4</sup> [Burial among such ascetics, we believe, is the inviolable rule, and not cremation.—Ed.]

the old town of Valabhi in Kāthiāwād, but I have never seen any either in Ladāk (Western Tibet), in the Himālayan Valleys of Lāhaul and Spiti, in the upper part of the Satlaj Valley, or in Ceylon, in all of which Buddhism now prevails. It should be noted here that, at the present day, in the Pañjāb, in the Central and North-West Provinces, and in the Southern Peninsula of India, the worshippers of Śiva far outnumber any other purely Hindū sect.

Madden, in his account of the Tarāi and Kumāun,<sup>5</sup> says, "a little below the point of junction of the Gaulā and the Baliyā, at a holy spot called Maipūr or Māyāpūr, is the *Chitr Sildā* or Mottled Stone, a large rounded boulder of quartz conglomerate, reposing in a deep cleft in the sandstone which forms the right bank of the Gaulā. It is sacred to Devī and Mahādeo (i.e. Śiva), and is greatly venerated."

In the Central Provinces, the Gonds, generally held to be an aboriginal race, and who there rank very low in the social scale, are still in the habit of choosing a rough stone of an oblong form, which they daub over with a red pigment, set up under a *pīpal* tree (*ficus religiosa*), and perform *pūjā* (worship) to it. This consists in pouring oblations of milk over it and making offerings of flowers, &c.<sup>6</sup> As an instance of the transfer of this custom to orthodox Vaiṣṇavism I myself saw a pilgrim at Gayā place a small box of lucifer matches on a tray, together with other offerings, and deposit them in the innermost shrine, on the impression of the foot of Viṣṇu. The custom of offering libations in this manner is not yet extinct in Europe. At the Point de Jerbourg, the most south-easterly promontory of the Island of Guernsey, is a tall rock, which, when viewed from a particular point, is said to bear some resemblance to a cowed monk. This rock is called by the country people "Le petit bon homme Andrelot," and the fishermen when passing it take off their hats and make a libation to it of any liquor which they may happen to have on board, and throw some old clothes to it.

There is a passage in the *Apocrypha* in the

*Book of The Wisdom of Solomon*, ch. xiii. 10, and part of verses 13, 14, 17, and 18, which shews that a similar form of worship to that just noticed was practised in the days of Solomon. It runs thus:—"Miserable are they, and in dead things is their hope, who called them gods, which are the works of men's hands, gold and silver to shew art in, and resemblances of beasts or a stone good for nothing, the work of an ancient hand"—and fashioned it to the image of a man; or made it like some vile beast, *laying it over with vermillion and with paint colouring it red*, and covering every spot therein; then maketh he prayer for his goods, for his wife and children, and is not ashamed to speak to that which hath no life. For health he calleth upon that which is weak: for life prayeth to that which is dead: for aid humbly beseecheth that which hath least means to help: and for a good journey he asketh of that which cannot set a foot forward."

The ancient Arabs, prior to the reformation of their faith by Muḥammad, paid particular reverence to a stone called Allāt. It had a conical form, and was probably the same as the *līnga* worshipped in India as the emblem of Śiva.<sup>7</sup>

In Rome, as well as in Greece, and in Etruria it was only after the lapse of several centuries that art ventured to represent the gods under a human form. On this account, the earlier inhabitants were accustomed to offer sacrifices to the trunks of trees, or to dark-coloured stones: a habit which, according to some passages in their poets, survived for a long time amongst the lower classes. Indeed, from what we learn from Varro, for more than 170 years the Romans rendered worship to their gods without having any representation of them whatsoever, and Plutarch relates the story that when Numa regulated the ceremonies to be observed by the Romans he forbade any objects of a definite form being exposed to public veneration. It is the opinion of certain learned men that such must have been introduced in the reign of the elder Tarquinius, who was an Etruscan; which leads us to conjecture that he may have brought

<sup>5</sup> *Pañjāb Notes and Queries*, Vol. I. note 309.

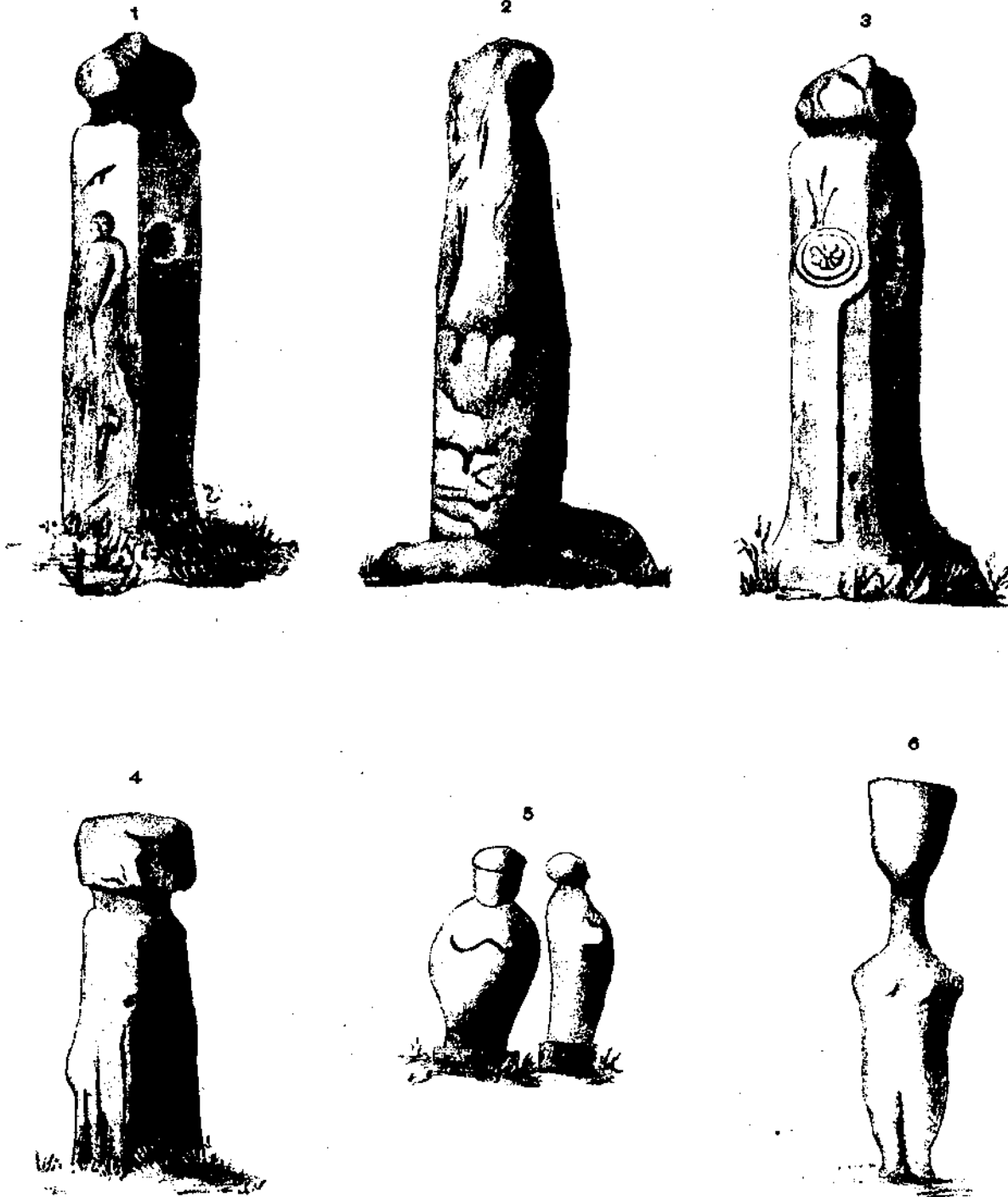
<sup>6</sup> [This custom is by no means confined to the Gonds or to the Central Provinces.—Ed.]

<sup>7</sup> It would appear from this that stone-worship of this kind was even then an ancient thing.

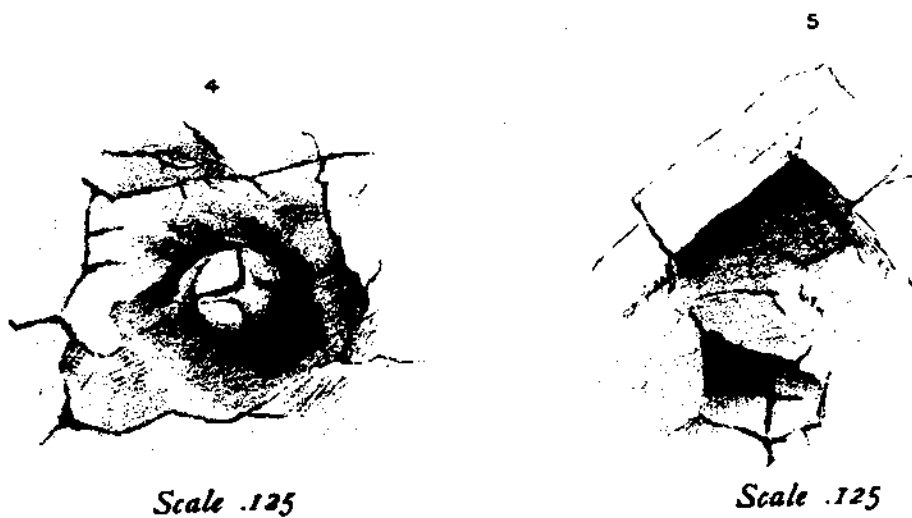
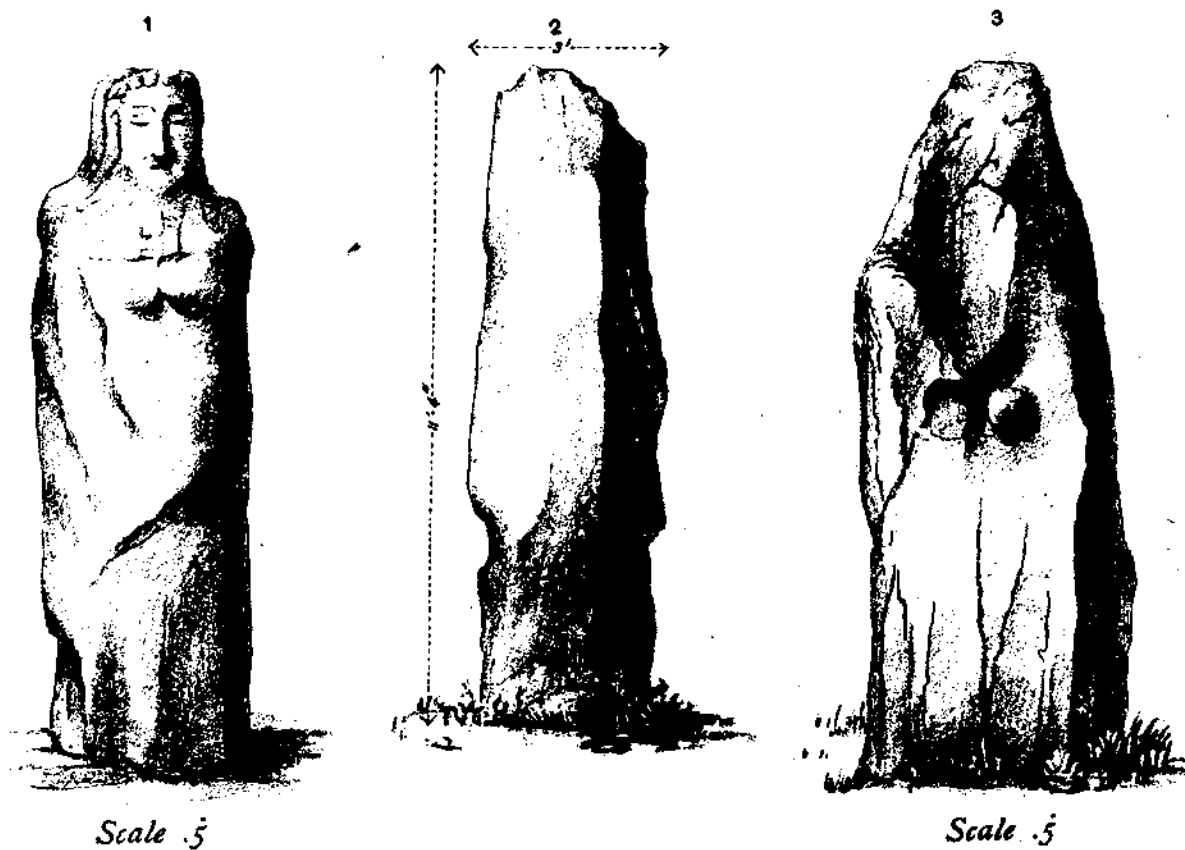
<sup>8</sup> [There are two idols called Allāt in Musalman books. The former was the pre-Islamite goddess Allāt worshipped

as an idol and the latter the idol at Somnāth destroyed by Mahmūd of Ghazni in 1024 A.D., called by Muhammadan writers Lāt and Al Lāt, and often confounded with the ancient Arabian goddess. The latter was a true Hindū līnga set up at Somnāth, but there is apparently no reason to suppose that the real Allāt was in the form either of a rude stone or of a līnga.—Ed.]





Nos. 1, 2, 3 & 4.—MONOLITHS ON THE SUMMIT OF PANDAKOLÎ, IN KUMÂUN.  
No. 5.—MONOLITHS IN TARTARY. No. 6.—MONOLITH IN NAXOS.



SCULPTURED STONES AND MONOLITHS IN THE ISLAND OF GUERNSEY.

the custom of image-worship with him from his own country.

It would appear that stone-worship was not unknown in Europe, and in England, even as late as the XIth Century. In his work on the *Stone Monuments, Tumuli and Ornaments of Remote Ages*, Mr. J. B. Waring says that Col. Forbes Leslie observes that, in Thorpe's *Ancient Laws of England*, Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury in the VIIth Century, the Saxon King Edgar in the Xth, and Canute the Dane in the XIth, all forbade the worship of stones. At a Council held at Tours in the VIth Century, it was resolved that the church doors should be closed against those who worshipped certain upright stones,\* and Mr. Waring adds, that he remembers to have seen an Anglo-Saxon law to the effect that whoever wished to preserve such stones might do so on payment of a fine to the Church. A stone of this sort is possibly indicated in the *Edda*, the most ancient book of Scandinavia, where mention is made of an oath taken near the Sacred White Stone. M. Holmhøe in his little work, *Buddhism en Norvège*, published in 1857, after speaking of sacred stones as known in Kāśmīr and India, goes on to say: "It is most singular to find traces of the same customs in Norway. The museum at Bergen possesses three stones of a greyish white marble. One was brought from a large *haug* (or tumulus) on a farm called Glein in the island of Daumøe off the coast of Heligoland. This stone is, like those from Balabhipura in Sōrāth" (Valabhi in Kāthiāwād) "three feet high, and nineteen inches in diameter. Both tumulus and stone were formerly held sacred. The two others were not found in tumuli, but such was probably their original position."<sup>10</sup> Another Norwegian antiquarian, M. Liligren, relates that in the year 1817, in a field in the parish of Sparhøe in the diocese of Thronhjelm, a stone of precisely the same form was discovered, and another in Vestmanland in Sweden; and he gives it as his opinion that they had been worshipped as gods. A Mr. Christie also speaks of a similar stone, "which tradition says existed formerly near the town of Tromsøe in Finmark, and was worshipped by the

Laplanders, and that the Bishop in consequence had it removed, and thrown into the river." The same person says also that he himself had seen "on the farm called Opsanger in the parish of Quindherred in the diocese of Bergen, on the summit of a large tumulus, a stone of the same kind." Stones of this form, when found in Norway, are supposed to belong to the Iron Age. In another place M. Holmhøe says, "according to the ancient laws of Scandinavia, put forth in the first century after the introduction of Christianity there, it is especially forbidden to worship stones."

M. Holmhøe also says: "We will now pass on to stones of another form, which also appear to have been considered sacred. These are stones of a spheroidal or ovoid form, which have been found in certain tumuli. One such stone, nine inches in length and seven in circumference, was found within the cell of a tumulus not far from the town of Flekkefjord in Norway." He then goes on to say, "The Museum at Bergen possesses two stones which in size and colour exactly resemble hen's eggs, they are made of some white stone, probably marble, and were found in a tumulus in the district of the Sandfjord in the diocese of Bergen. The proprietor of the land told me that he found them in the cell in the centre of the tumulus." He next proceeds to enumerate several places where spherical or oval stones of the same description have been found in Norway, and also in Denmark, in Livonia, and in the North of Germany. Now in one part of the *bāzār* at Benares hundreds of spherical or oval stones are exhibited for sale. They are for the most part of the size and form of a common hen's egg.<sup>11</sup> Possibly they are used in private worship, for it is well known to all who have ever been in India that no Hindū except an outcaste will eat an egg or even keep fowls: there seems, therefore, little doubt that some religious meaning must be connected with them. Similar spherical stones, again according to M. Masson, have been found in topes and tumuli in Afghānistān and other places also.<sup>12</sup> They have invariably been found in the centre of such monuments, which position, M. Masson

\* ? The Saiva stones of India, and the *menhirs* of a certain type in Brittany.

<sup>10</sup> Since this was written, at least ten more such stones have been discovered in Norway.

<sup>11</sup> The Saivas are said to regard the egg as the symbol of creation. [But is the doctrine of the *brahmāṇḍa* or the World's Egg exclusively Saiva?—ED.]

<sup>12</sup> *Travels in Afghānistān, Beldchistān, &c.*

thinks, was given to them with some special object.

These stones take another form in Scandinavia, of which three or four specimens exist in the Museum of Antiquities at Stockholm; but it seems an open question whether they can be considered to be Śaiva stones. They perfectly correspond with a description given by M. Liligren of certain stones in a passage he quotes from a manuscript by M. Schöning, Bishop of Thronhjelm, relating to a custom which existed in Norway at the end of the XVIIIth Century. M. Schöning says, "at the farm of Qualset in the Telemarken district, two stones were still preserved at the end of the last century of the form of loaves of common rye-bread, that is to say, round and convex on their upper side. These stones were so much esteemed, that they were placed upon seats of honour and *bathed regularly with milk, and butter, and at Christmas watered with fresh beer.*"

There are yet other kinds of sacred stones some of which are still in use in India, and of which examples still exist in Europe, viz. stone circles, monoliths and stone implements.

In one of Mr. H. Rivett-Carnac's papers on the rock sculptures and monoliths of Kumāun, which he has permitted me to use, he mentions a stone circle on the summit of Paṇḍakoll, (a mountain rising to the height of nearly 8,000 feet above the sea) within which four monoliths are standing. This monument consists of an outer and an inner circle of stones. The outer circle, 16 feet in diameter, is composed of rough stones piled one upon the other, with larger stones at the entrance. The inner circle, 8 feet in diameter, is made partly of large stones about 3½ feet in height, and partly of smaller ones. The entrance is to the south. In England the stone circles of Stonehenge and of Avebury in Wilts are well known, and similar monuments exist in the Channel Islands, viz. in Guernsey, and on the island of Herm.

Mr. Rivett-Carnac, when describing the four monoliths on Paṇḍakoll, Plate VII., figs. 1, 2, 3, 4, says, "No priest lives on the hill, which is too cold, jungly and inaccessible for a lengthened sojourn, but a fair is, I learn, held there in the spring, when many pilgrims visit it, chiefly childless women." He goes on to say: "Fig. 1

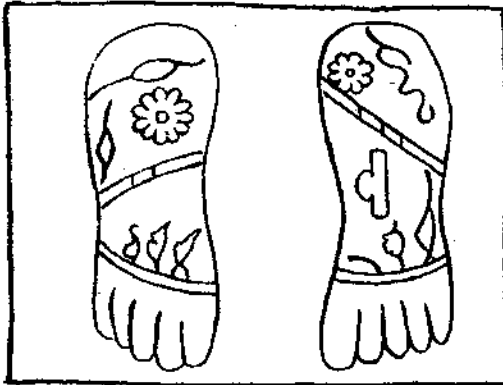
has a mark upon it which was perhaps intended for the Moon, on Fig. 3 is what looks like a Sun. Fig. 2 is a monolith of the same nature from the summit of Paṇḍakoll. Fig. 4 is another stone from Chandeswar in the same district." Fig. 5 is a stone from Tartary given in front and side face, and Fig. 6 is from the island of Naxos in Greece. The two last bear a strange resemblance to each other; but it is a still more singular circumstance to find the same type of stones existing in Europe, and still used as a place of pilgrimage by women.<sup>13</sup> A specimen is given in Plate X. taken from a sketch made for me by a friend some years ago. This statue is known as the Venus-de-Quinipily, and is situated near Baud Morbihan in Brittany. Black, in his *Guide to Brittany*, describes it thus:—"It is a nude rudely-formed stone statue, about eight feet high, standing against a slab. The thighs are disproportionately thick, and the arms disproportionately thin. Round her waist is a narrow girdle, the ends of which fall down in front. The hands are crossed over the body. The statue stands on a pedestal nine feet high rising from the front of a terrace over a dilapidated fountain. From the flatness of the features some have supposed it to have an Egyptian origin, but the probability is that it does not date later than the 16th Century, when it was an object of impure rites among the Bretons."

In Brittany, certain upright blocks of stone called *menhirs* have in some districts been placed in rows of ten or even more lines, forming thus an avenue leading to a *dolmen*, or tomb of some ancient chief and his family. Other stones again have been placed singly in elevated positions and are somewhat conical in form. They much resemble the Śaiva stones of India.

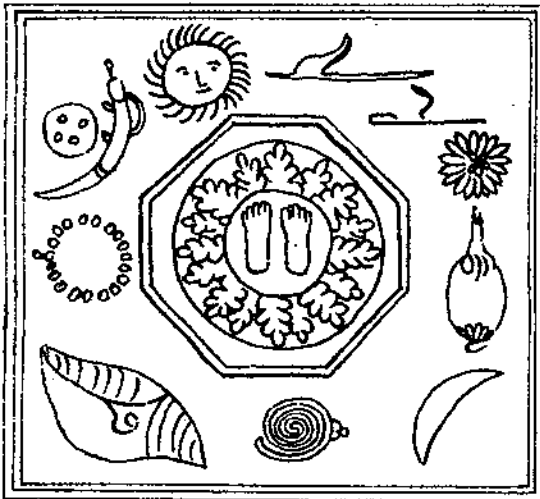
Near St. Renan, and about 12 miles from Brest, is a monolith called the Menhir of Kergloas, said to be the finest in Brittany. It is a quadrangular stone of brownish granite, 19 feet in circumference and 39 feet in height above ground, tapering slightly towards the top. It is about 2 feet thick at the ends, and 4 feet at the centre. On its east and west sides, at a height of from 2 to 3 feet from the ground, is a circular protuberance or boss. On and

<sup>13</sup> At any rate this is the case with the Menhir of Kergloas in France.

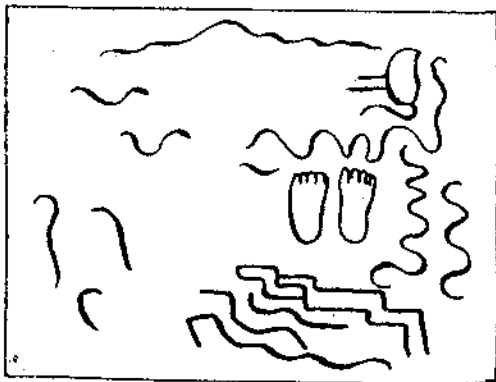
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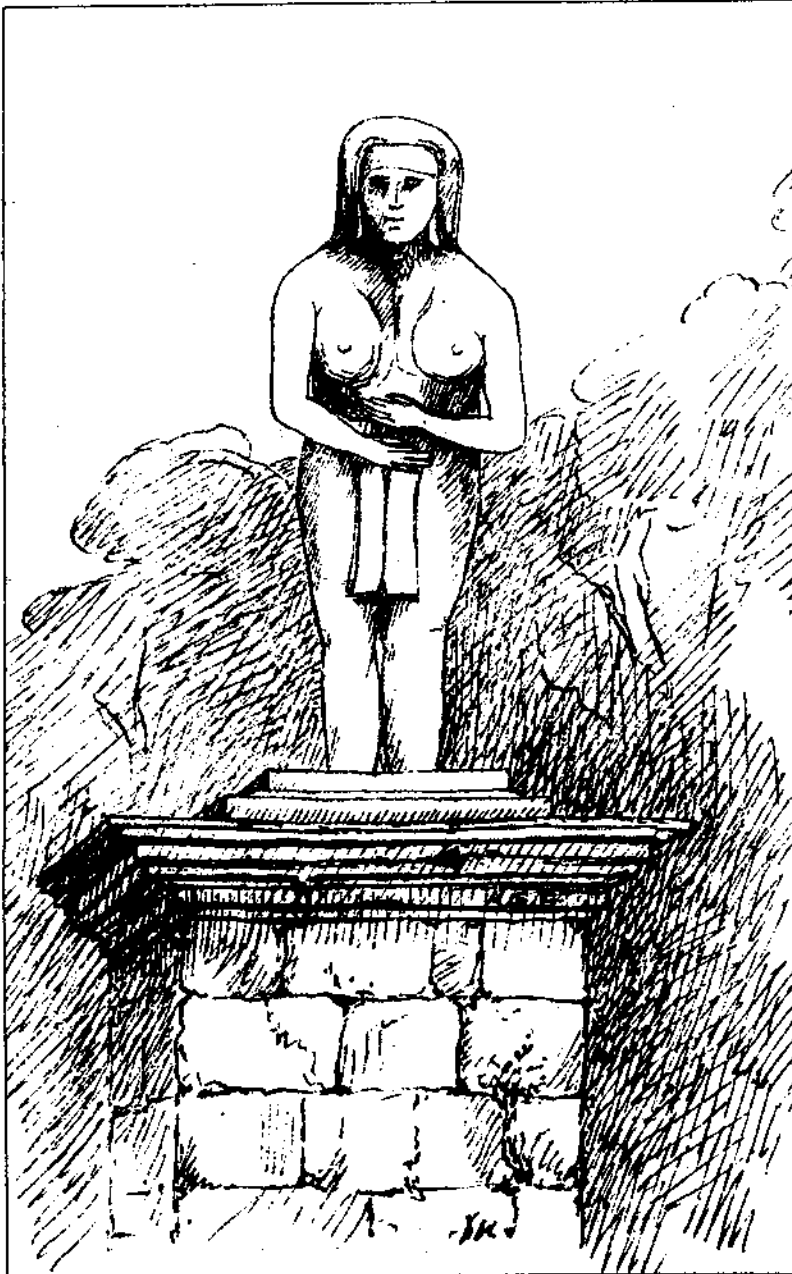
1. FROM BENARES. 2. FROM GOVARDHAN.

3. FROM ARZON, MORBIHAN, BRITTANY.

4



4. TYPE OF MONOLITH COMMON IN SOUTHERN RUSSIA.



LA VENUS DE QUINIPILY, NEAR BAUD MORBIHAN.  
BRITTANY.

around these two places it has an almost polished appearance, whereas the rest of the stone is covered with a fine short species of lichen, caused by the action of the winds from the Atlantic. Female pilgrims are said to visit it at the present day, and very probably a habit of rubbing the lower part of the monolith has produced its peculiar appearance. It is worthy of remark that the eastern boss seems to be the favoured one. The Rev. W. C. Lukis, in his *Guide to the Chambered Barrows of South Brittany*, when speaking of an enormous *menhir* near Locmuriquier, now broken into three fragments, but which would, if entire, be 67 ft. 6 in. long, 13 ft. 6 in. in its widest part, and 7 ft. 6 in. thick, says: "About 658 A.D. the Council of Nantes decreed that all venerated stones or objects of superstitious devotion amongst the people should be demolished. Some have thought that this *menhir* was rudely thrown down and broken in pieces in obedience to the order of this Council;—others again, that it either fell or was injured by lightning."

The following description of a cromlech on the Island of Anglesea, by Captain Lukis, brother of the author just quoted, is a most interesting one in the present connection. Captain Lukis, who is of the opinion that such monolithic monuments of Great Britain were connected with the religious worship of the prehistoric stone builders, wrote in 1860: "I have had another day at Brin-celle Dhu, as it is styled in the Ordnance Map, or Yr Ogof (The Cave), as it is called on the Island of Anglesea. I found a rude pavement of rough slabs and immediately beneath it a thick bed of small beach pebbles."<sup>14</sup> I also measured an extraordinary stone pillar, which is on the right side of the chamber in a slanting direction towards the South, and found it to be exactly 9 feet in length, with a circumference in its thickest part,—for it tapers upwards,—of 14 feet 10 inches. This leaning pillar bore evidence of having been disturbed at the base on the southern side, but I do not conceive that when in its proper upright position it could have touched the under surface of the covering stones. On reasoning on the singularity of this pillar within the principal chamber, so very unlike the props of construction around the place, it cannot be con-

sidered to be for the purpose assigned to stone pillars or supports, which are sometimes found in cromlechs. In the monument of Dehus (or De Tus) in the Island of Guernsey, the rude pillar beneath the second cap-stone was evidently placed therein to support a flaw or crack which was found to endanger the covering stone—in other instances also this has been the case—but in all of them the reason of the cromlech builders is clear and evident. At Yr Ogof we find a pillar with a regular abraded surface, almost polished in some parts, and gradually reduced upwards. Its character is so different from those on record, that we are forced to assign some other reason for its introduction into the main chamber. Another abraded pillar stands at the eastern end of the avenue-covered way. It is more rude and irregular than that of the chamber, and stands near a small side cist which appears to be an addition to the chief cromlech. . . . . I can only say that the pillars at Yr Ogof assimilate greatly with the *styles* of the *Hiudûs*, although there may be some deeper meaning in placing them within the chamber of the dead."

Plate XI. is a sketch of a *menhir* discovered some years ago near Pont l'Abbé in Brittany. It was found buried in a field near the village of Lescomil, and is now in the grounds of the Chateau de Kernuz, belonging to M. de Chateilain. The height of this monolith is about 10 feet, it is about 4 feet 2 inches in diameter at the base, and 18 inches in diameter at the top. Its base is encircled by sculptured figures, each about 4 feet 3 inches in height, and arranged in four compartments. In one is the figure of Mercury, in another of Hercules, in a third of Mars, and in a fourth, which is much defaced, are the figures of Venus and Adonis (?). In Plate VIII. figs. 1 and 3, are representations of two rude sculptured stones in the Island of Guernsey. Fig. 1, the Lady of St. Martin's, now stands at the entrance to St. Martin's churchyard, and fig. 3 is beneath a tree in the churchyard of Câtél parish. This last was found a few years ago under the flooring of the chancel of Câtél Church, when it was being relaid. It is similar in character to the Lady of St. Martin's, but is much more defaced. One cannot fail to be struck with the great resemblance in type

<sup>14</sup> Similar ones form the flooring of some of the *dolmens* in Brittany.

which these two figures bear to those from Tartary and Greece shown in Plate VII. Plate VIII. fig. 2 is a monolith in the parish of St. Peter's in the Wood, Guernsey. Fig. 4 is a stone with a boss, upon which an incised cross, now let into a low garden-wall belonging to a house in St. Martin's parish. Fig. 5 is another incised stone built into an old archway at St. Clare on the same Island.

In the South of Russia similar rude stone statues abound, and Plate IX. fig. 4 is a reproduction of a drawing sent to me from the neighbourhood of Ekaterinoslav. Stone images of this character have also been found in great numbers on mounds in the Steppes. Most of them are still upright, and as far as I have been able to learn, are all female figures; but my informant, a Russian lady, imagines that they were not all intended to represent the same goddess. Her reason is that these statues, for such they are apparently, are of different dimensions and are not much alike, in so far as their obliterated features allow a likeness to be traced. The hair behind, too, is not always arranged in the same manner;—some have one plait, others two plaits, not unfrequently tied together at the ends. My informant further tells me that "These idols were certainly worshipped in our country (Russia) at a very remote period, and it is even thought that human beings were sacrificed to them, because in many places quantities of bones have been found heaped up near them." The statues are from seven to eight feet in height, but I have been unable to ascertain of what kind of stone they are made. The only information I have been able to procure on this head is, that the material is of a dark-brown colour, and has a yellowish tint in places; also that the stone appears to be of a slightly porous nature: but neither this nor any other kind of stone exists on the Steppes in question. There is a great deal of granite in the bed of the Dneiper, but in the district now under discussion for hundreds of miles there is no material even for making roads, yet an immense number of these statues on mounds exist there and are the only landmarks which the traveller meets with.

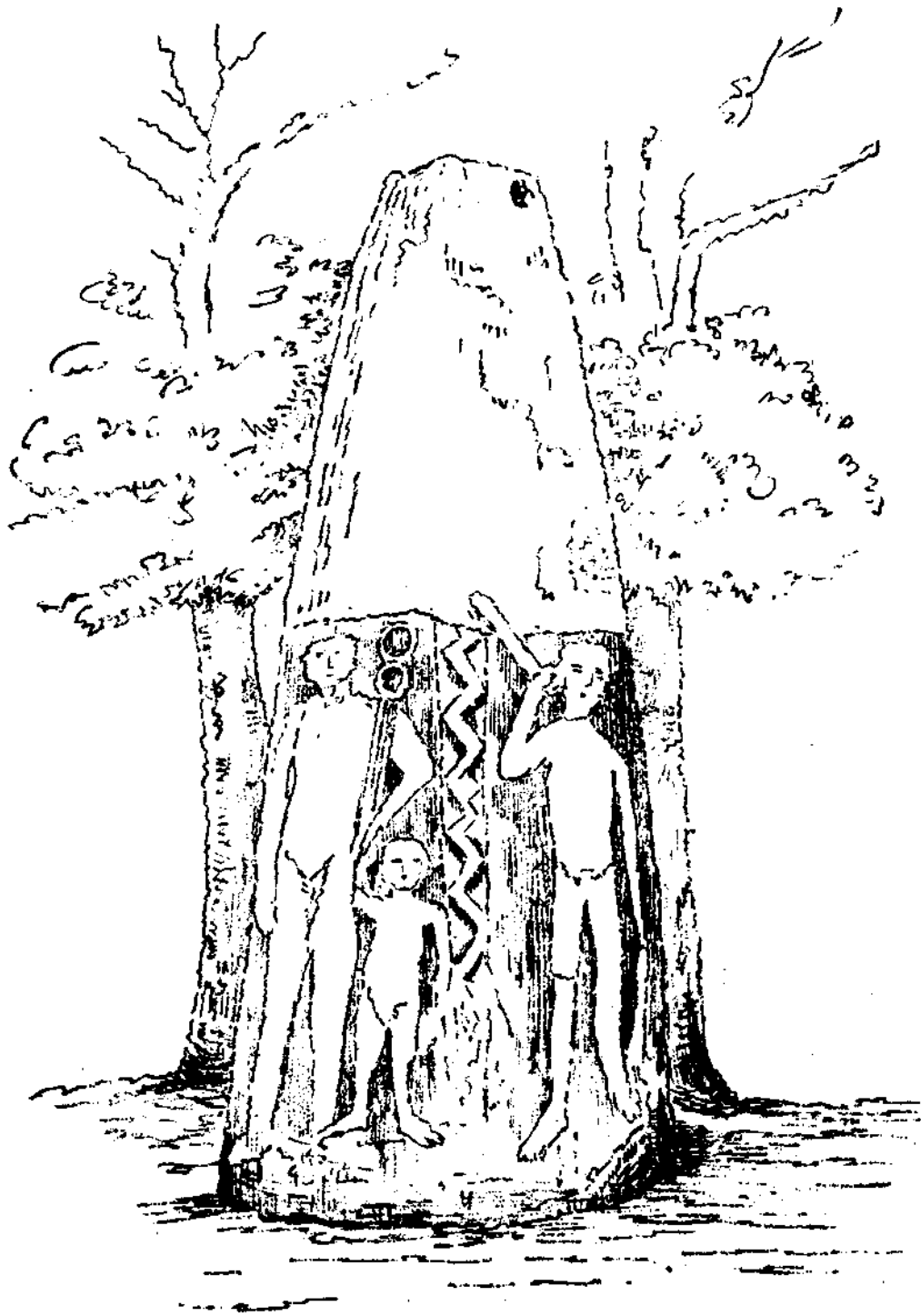
Within the last few years, the attention of Europeans in India has been drawn to the celts, and other stone implements of various kinds and forms to be found there. Captain Lukis, who

was in India at the time of the Mutiny, and had been accustomed from his earliest childhood to such objects, told me that during his residence there he recognized some celts in a grave near Allâhâbâd placed on a rectangular altar. This altar was built up of square stones surmounted by a thin slab, and from its centre rose a short *stylus* against which the five celts were leaning;—three firmly fixed and two detached. Mr. H. Rivett-Carnac, Head of the Opium Department in the North-West Provinces, and a keen observer during his annual camping tours over various parts of those Provinces, has kindly permitted me to make use of a paper he wrote on this subject, and which was published in the *Journal* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1882. The celts, figured in Plate XIII., were, I believe, all found by him in the Bândâ district, and their preservation is very possibly owing to their having been used as Śaiva stones.

As far as his investigations have as yet been carried, no such stone implements have been found in use in the present day, even amongst the most backward of the aboriginal tribes in India. None of the natives seem to understand or to be able to explain their use, they rather regard them as wonderful, mysterious, and even holy—in fact, with the same feeling as they regard anything old and rare—just as of certain beads which they occasionally find in Ondh after the rains, the people say, "We did not make them, God made them." When turned up deep out of the earth by the plough, the celt is supposed by them to be a thunderbolt fallen from heaven. The finder usually places it under the village *pīpal* tree (*ficus religiosa*), sometimes sanctifying it with a daub of red paint, and thus converting it into one of the emblems of Śiva. Curious to relate, the older people in the Island of Guernsey when they find a celt look upon it as a thunderbolt. Within living memory they used to build such a stone into the wall of a new house or barn, in the belief that thus the building would be protected from lightning. It is said that the younger generation are becoming more enlightened, and that this superstition is dying out by degrees. In Plate XIV. are celts found in Guernsey for comparison with those of India.

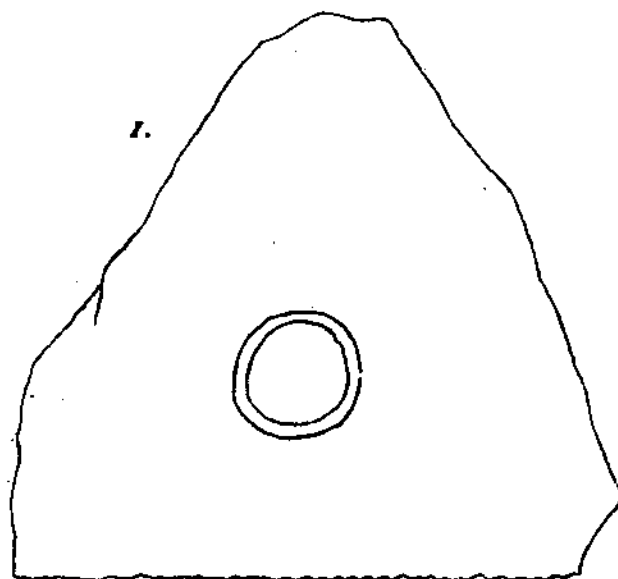
A friend, now residing in Guernsey, obtained, a few years ago, a small celt from a farmer in the island of Sark, which this latter firmly





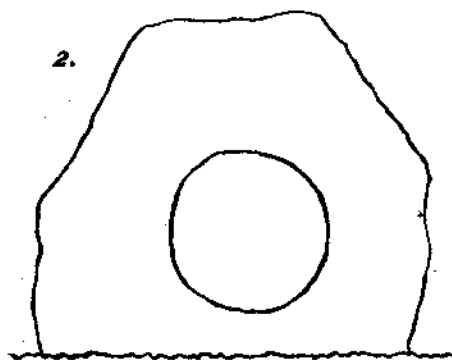
MONOLITH NEAR PONT L'ABBÉ, BRITTANY.

SCALE .08



SCALE. 3123.

THE TOLVEN.  
NEAR GWEEK, CONSTANTINE,  
CORNWALL.



SCALE. 416.

THE MEN-AN-TOL, MADRON, CORNWALL,  
LOOKING S.W.

believed was a thunderbolt. Not long previously, during a heavy thunderstorm, one of the farmer's cows, which was grazing in a field, was struck on the shoulder by lightning and killed instantly. The animal was afterwards found sunk on its knees, stiff and rigid. Its owner's immediate impulse was to dig into the earth round about this spot to find the thunderbolt which had caused the cow's death. Strange to say, the celt, a small green one, which my friend now possesses, was found near the head of the cow, and the farmer and his wife were both fully persuaded that it had fallen from heaven and destroyed the animal, nor did my friend's reasonings to the contrary have any effect in disabusing them of this idea.

In one of the carvings from the *Sāñchi Stūpa*, as reproduced by Mr. Fergusson in his *Tree and Serpent Worship*, is a figure holding an axe which is fixed on to the handle by cross bands, in the same manner in which it is believed the stone celts were hafted. Mr. Cockburn, Mr. Rivett-Carnac's coadjutor in his labours, found a carving at Kālañjar, which is evidently very ancient. It represents a human figure holding in the right hand an implement which closely resembles a stone celt fixed into a wooden handle. But Mr. Rivett-Carnac seems puzzled to conceive how a very large celt in his collection, which weighs upwards of 8 lbs., could have been hafted and used as a stone implement. May not this object, however, have been intended not for use, but for ornament, and planted before the hut of a chief on a bamboo pole as a symbol of authority, as is customary with the people of the South Sea Islands? Similar large celts have been found in Scandinavia, and the Director of the Ethnological Museum in Copenhagen conjectured that such was their use. I have recently had the pleasure of finding that this idea is probably correct, from viewing in a private collection some colossal celts brought from the South Sea Islands by one who had seen them thus employed.

Plate XIII. fig. 9 is a polished celt, which from its form is one of the most interesting in this collection. It has two notches about half way from the cutting edge which were evidently made for the purpose of binding it to a handle, and the opposite directions of the planes of the notches indicate that the binding was carried round it.

Both in India, in Scandinavia, in Brittany, and in the Channel Islands, the stones of which celts have been made are of various kinds, and consequently of various degrees of hardness. Some are of sandstone, others of flint or of diorite, others again of hard black basalt, or of a kind of stone which does not exist at all in the neighbourhood in which the celts have been found: e.g., a celt found in Guernsey is made of a material known to exist in no nearer country than Hungary, which would seem to indicate that certain implements of this nature were much prized and carried about on the person. The manufacture of celts gradually increased in perfection. The earliest specimens had no polish, but to some of the later ones, in spite of the hardness of the material, a very high degree of polish has been given. In Captain Lukis' collection is a most beautiful and typical celt of this kind; it is made of a very hard kind of stone, deeply grooved on either side, and highly polished. The Comte de Limur, a well-known French antiquarian, has said of some of the Indian celts that they so closely resemble in this respect those dug out of the tumuli of Carnac and other parts of Brittany, that had they not been marked out for him, he would not have been able to distinguish the one from the other.

Mr. Rivett-Carnac says that one or two partly polished basalt celts have been found in the South Mirzāpūr district. They are about the length of the fore-finger, and resemble in shape and size a jade knife from the Lakadwellings of Constance, which Dr. Fischer sent him, and which is now in the Indian Museum for comparison with the Indian types.

Plate XIII. fig. 12, is a celt of polished diorite from Robert's Ganj in the Mirzāpūr District which considerably resembles in form a village Mahādeo, and this may account for its being found in a shrine so far to the East of India, as the habit of preserving celts under trees is not general in the Mirzāpūr district.

Sometimes a number of ordinary celts are found in India heaped up beneath or near a *pīpal* tree in the manner above described, which the owners will (so Mr. Rivett-Carnac says) readily part with, but they will not give up any which they have decorated with colour. Mr. Cockburn once found as many as 23 celts during a search of one hour, and altogether,

since their attention has been drawn to this subject, he and Mr. Rivett-Carnac have found some hundreds of all types and sizes, and similar in form to many which have been discovered in Europe and America. Mr. Rivett-Carnac's later finds appear to differ slightly in form from the flint implements and arrow-heads which he found in Central India in 1864, but I would venture to assert that all have their counterparts in objects of a like nature, which have been found in most countries and may be seen in almost every museum in Europe, and which were used as weapons by primitive peoples before they became acquainted with metals.

One of the smaller celts found by Mr. Rivett-Carnac has been fixed into a handle of stag's-horn, like those found in the Swiss lake-dwellings. He had it sharpened, and says that it now chops wood as efficiently as a small iron axe.

It is well known that the Buddhists of Western Tibet and of the Lâhau Valley make walls of stones at the entrances to their villages styled *manis*, which are occasionally a quarter of a mile in length, but are never more than four feet in height and the same in width.<sup>11</sup> On the top of these walls numerous inscribed stones are loosely laid, placed there as memorials of the dead, or when starting on a journey, registering a vow, or entering upon any important undertaking. The person who requires one for any of the above purposes, chooses a smooth stone, and takes it to one of the local monasteries, where a priest usually engraves upon it the sacred sentence "*Oh mani padme hum*" which has been translated to mean "All hail to the jewel in the flower of the lotus." This sentence appears to be an unmeaning one at first sight, but the key to its meaning is, I believe, to be found in Ceylon, where a supposed tooth of Buddha, kept in a temple at Kandy, in seven or more cases of gold or silver gilt, in the form of a *stûpa* or tumulus, is an object highly venerated. This tooth, which some Europeans have imagined from its shape and size to be that of an alligator, rests within a golden lotus flower and may well be likened to a *jewel in the flower of the lotus*. From its peculiar mode of shedding its seeds the natives

of India have always regarded the lotus as a symbol of creative power. It has from all time been held sacred by them and might consequently be considered by the Buddhists a suitable receptacle in which to deposit such a precious relic. Again, a curious old brass object in my possession, bought in the *bâzâr* at Benares, seems to afford an almost certain proof that this explanation is a correct one. At the base of it is a bull, an emblem of Siva, from whose back rises a lotus bud, which, on a couple of turns being given to it, opens its petals and discloses a small agate egg. Behind the bull is a cobra, with its body elevated as if in the act of striking. A ring which it holds in its mouth, serves to support a small pointed vase which is perforated at its lower end. If this vessel be filled with water, the liquid slowly drops upon the egg in the centre of the flower, and thus a libation is poured on the *jewel in the flower of the lotus*.

About the word *mani* as signifying a sacred stone or lines of stones: it seems to me to survive in Europe in place names. If we study a local map of Brittany, we cannot fail to be struck with the frequent recurrence of *Mané*, as the prefix to various sites on which are *dolmens* or megalithic monuments. M. Henri Martin, in his *Etudes Archéologiques Celtiques*, explains *Mané* to be the augmentation of *men* or *maen*, stone:—e.g., *menhir*, great-stone. And he adds that it designates equally an artificial mound, or the summit of a mountain.

#### No. V.

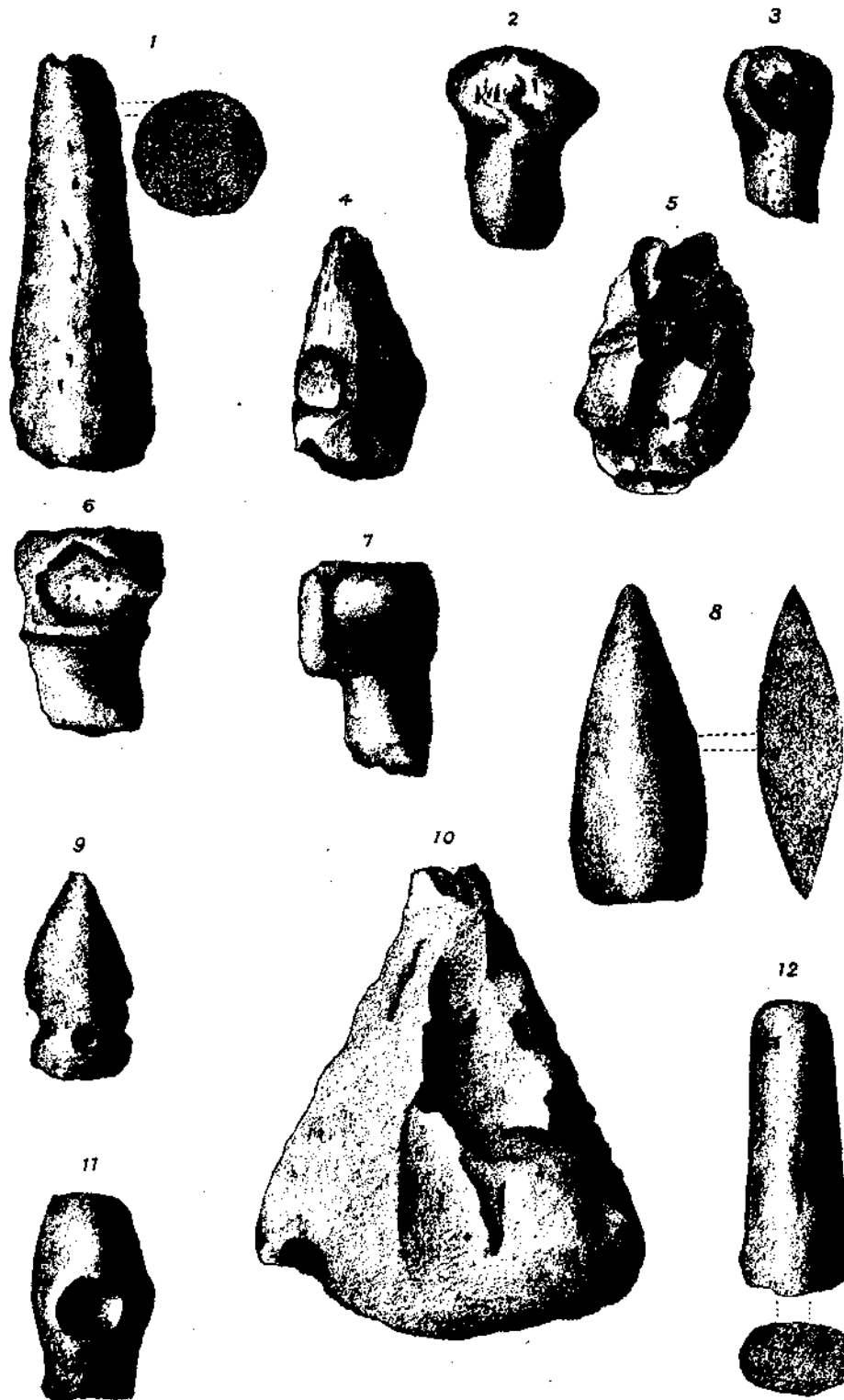
##### *Some Ideas about the Future Life.*

Wherever the doctrine of annihilation has not prevailed, mankind has had in all ages, and still retains, the belief that the soul and the body are distinct, and that the soul has to go through a process of purification, or a season of probation after the decease of the body, in order to atone for evil deeds committed by the latter when on earth. These ideas are most widely spread. We find them amongst Musalmâns and Hindûs, amongst the ancient Greeks, in Sweden, in Germany, in Northern America, in the Island of Formosa, in the Fiji Islands, and in many other portions of the world.

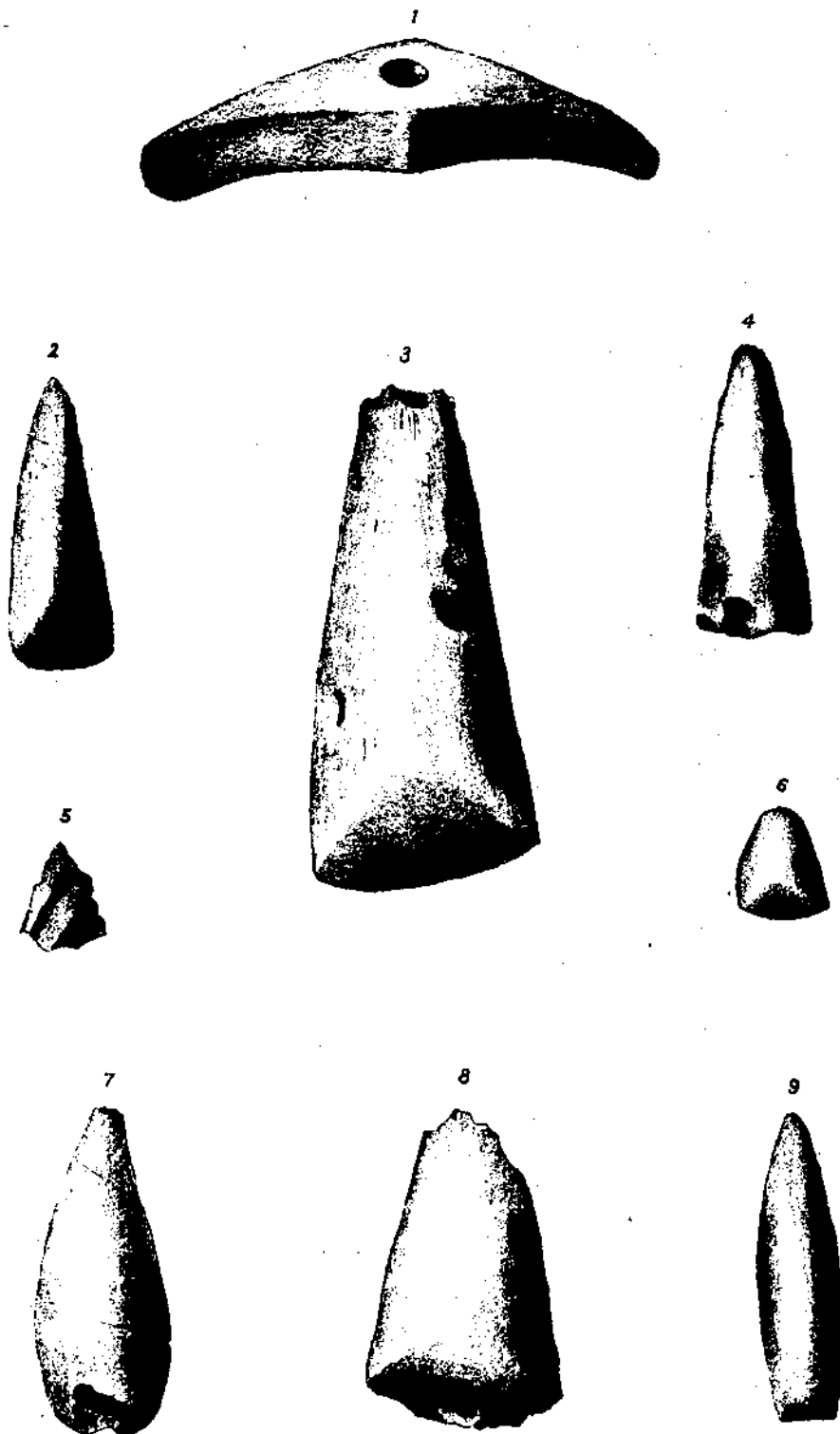
The process of atonement in a future world implies a journey thither, and the nature of that

<sup>11</sup> The natives of the districts of Hangrang in the Satluj Valley, of Spiti, and of Ladâk,—in short wherever

Buddhism prevails in the Himalayas,—always pass these piles of stones so as to have them on their right hand.



STONE CELTS FROM THE BÂNDÂ AND MIRZÂPUR DISTRICTS.



STONE CELTS FROM GUERNSEY.

journey has naturally been a source of speculation and thence of belief. This belief has in its turn given rise to ceremonies mainly aimed at giving relief to the traveller along the dreaded and unknown road. I will here only refer to that form of the ghostly journey which makes the body pass over water. Thus Greeks had their Styx, Akherôn and Kôkytos, over which souls were ferried by Charon, and it was their custom to plant asphodel around the tombs of the deceased, as its seeds were believed to be capable of affording nourishment to the dead.

The northern nations of Europe formerly believed that their dead had to cross over water to the future home in boats or ships. In Scandinavia bodies were for this reason sometimes buried in ships, and a large boat containing the bones and weapons of a deceased chief was found a few years ago near the Sonde Fjord in Norway. Sweden has popular legends to the same effect. Thus Odin is fabled to have conveyed the slain from Brâhalla to Valhalla in a golden ship. Popular opinion of old, again, in Germany, assigned Great Britain, as being across the water, as the Land of Souls. To this day also it is said to be the custom in the parish of Ploungel on the River Treguire in Brittany, for corpses to be conveyed to the churchyard by boat over a narrow arm of the sea, called *Passage de l'Enfer*, instead of taking them by the shorter land route. It is still a common notion in the East that the souls of the dead must pass over water, or over a bridge before they can arrive at their final resting-place. In the native State of Chambâ, in the Pañjâb Himâlayas, there is such a bridge, over which all corpses must be carried on their way to the burning *ghât* near the river where the bodies are cremated, and though there is another perfectly easy and safe path, the bearers of the dead always traverse this perilous causeway, which is hardly more than eighteen inches wide and not protected at the sides in any way. The people of Chambâ are Hindûs.<sup>15</sup> The Muḥammadans have also their *As-Sirât*, a sharp bridge, which they believe to be laid over the middle of hell, and which

must be crossed by all at the close of the solemn judgment, whether they are destined for paradise, or for the place of torment.<sup>16</sup> A profession of faith in this is as follows: "We most heartily believe and hold it for certain that all mankind must go over the sharp bridge, which is as long as the earth, and no broader than the thread of a spider's web, and of a height proportioned to its length. The just shall pass it like lightning, but the wicked, for want of good works, will be an age in performing it. They will fall and precipitate themselves into hell fire with blasphemers and infidels, with men of little faith and bad conscience, with those who have not had virtue enough to give alms. Yet some just persons will go over it quicker than others, who will now and then be tried upon the commands which they have not duly observed in this life. How dreadful will this bridge appear to us! What virtue, what inward grace of the Most High will be required to get over it! How earnestly shall we look for that favour! What deserts, what venomous creatures shall we not find on our road! What hunger, drought, and weariness shall we endure! What anxiety, grief and pain shall attend those who do not think of this dangerous passage! Let us beg of God to grant us, with bodily health, the grace not to go out of this life loaded with debts, for the Arabians often say, and with good reason, that no obstacle is so hidden, as that which we cannot overcome by any expedient or artificial contrivance whatever."

The Egyptian Land of the Dead was in the West, and they placed their tombs, whenever it was possible, on the West bank of the Nile. As the funeral procession of the mourners moved forward, their constant cry was, "To the West, to the West." "When the tombs were, as in most cases, on the West bank of the Nile, the Nile was crossed, when they were on the Eastern shore, the procession passed over a sacred lake."<sup>17</sup> The soul of the dead man was supposed to journey to the under world by a *water progress*.

This notion of a journey over water after death is common also to savage races of the present day. The inhabitants of the Island of Formosa imagine that the souls of wicked men are

<sup>15</sup> [This custom must evidently arise from the old Hindû belief in Vaitarâṇi, the swift river of hell, composed of filth, blood, and ordure, which must be crossed by holding on to a cow's tail as it swims over: a belief which has given rise to many death-customs in use at the pre-

sent day.—ED.]

<sup>17</sup> [The notion of *As-Sirât* is to be found also in the Zoroastrian and Jewish systems; whence no doubt Muḥammad borrowed it.—ED.]

<sup>18</sup> R. S. Poole—*Contemporary Review* for Aug. 1881.

tormented after death, and cast headlong into a bottomless pit full of mire and dirt, and that the souls of the virtuous pass with pleasure and safety over it upon a narrow bamboo bridge which leads directly to a gay paradise, where they revel in all kinds of sensual enjoyment, but that when the souls of the wicked attempt to pass along this bridge, they fall over on one side of it. Some of the American Indians have a tradition that they must go southwards to seek the Land of Souls. According to the Eurocs, an untutored tribe in Northern California, the bright rivers, sunny slopes, and great forests of their paradise are separated from the earth by a deep chasm, which good and wicked alike must cross on a thin slippery pole. The former soon reach the goal, aided doubtless by the Good Spirit as well as by the fire lighted on the grave by mourning friends; but the latter have to falter unaided along the shivering bridge, and many are the nights that pass before their friends venture to dispense with the beacon, lest the soul miss the path, and fall into the dark abyss. Nor do they hold that retribution ends with the peril and anxiety of the passage, for they think that many are liable to return to the earth as birds, beasts, and insects. After 40 years' residence as a missionary in Samoa, one of the Pacific Islands, Dr. George Turner, in a work recently published, says "that the inhabitants of this island held that the souls of dead Samoans started for Pulatu—the spirit world, through two circular holes near the beach; the larger hole being for the souls of chiefs, and the lesser one for those of commoners. They went under the sea till they came to a land where all things were very much as they had been on earth. Chiefs looked forward with pride to the use of their bodies as pillars in the house of the Samoan Pluto."

Connected with this journey of the dead is an attendant dog, whose existence is believed in East and West in widely separated lands. It is a popular belief throughout all that part of France which formed the ancient Armorica, that the dead betake themselves at the moment of their departure to the parish priest of Braspar,<sup>19</sup> whose dog escorts them to Great Britain. In the ancient Scandinavian mythology, a fabulous dog called Garmr was believed to guard the

entrance to the infernal regions. In Asia also the dog is associated with the death or funeral ceremonies. The Pársis place a dog in the chamber of a dying person to serve as the soul's escort to heaven. According to their belief, the soul arrives at the bridge Chinavat, where the gods and the unclean spirits fight for the possession of it. If the soul be that of a righteous person it is defended by the other pure souls, and by the dogs that guard the bridge. In Buddhist countries, too, a somewhat similar idea prevails. A very large and savage breed of dogs is kept in certain of the *láma-sarátis* or monasteries in order that they may eat the bodies of the dead,<sup>20</sup> which is deemed the most honourable form of burial in Ladák or Western Tibet. In 1876 when passing through Láma Yuru, a few marches only from Leh, I went over the Láma Monastery there. Some of these fierce dogs tried to spring out upon our party, and it seemed to us that even their owners did not trust them, and had much difficulty in restraining their ferocious instincts.

A very curious instance of the idea that some form of absolution is necessary after death for sins done in the body occurred in India in the 14th century; the actors were Muhammadans. Tughlaqábád, near the modern city of Dehli, was founded by Ghiású'ddín Tughlaq Sháh, who reigned 1321-1325 A.D., and was succeeded by his son Muhammad Sháh Tughlaq, an accomplished prince, but a man most unscrupulous in his actions. He is credited with having, among other crimes, compassed the death of his father. When he came to the throne he was the most inhuman and tyrannical of all the Pathán Sovereigns of India, and many of his cruelties were witnessed by his cousin Fíroz Sháh Tughlaq (called also Bárbak) who ascended the throne on his death in 1351 A.D., and sought by a most singular method to cancel some of his predecessor's sins. The words of Fíroz himself, as related by Farishta, who took them from an inscription on a large Mosque at Fírozábád, are as follows:—

"I have taken pains to discover the surviving relations of all persons who suffered from the wrath of my late Lord and Master, Muhammad Tughlaq, and having pensioned and provided

<sup>19</sup> A small place about 30 miles South-East of Brest, and distant about ten miles from the sea as the crow flies.

<sup>20</sup> Only the friends of the richer people can afford this.



for them, have caused them to grant their full pardon and forgiveness to that prince in the presence of the holy and learned men of this age, whose signatures and seals as witnesses are affixed to the documents, the whole of which, as far as lies in my power, have been procured and put into a box and deposited in the vault in which Muhammad Tughlaq is entombed." These papers<sup>21</sup> were intended to serve as vouchers of free pardon from all whom the dead man had deprived of a nose, of a limb, or of sight, and were placed near him in order that he might pick them up at the last day; for according to Muhammadan belief every offence has a double aspect—in its relation first to God, and then to man. In the latter case, pardon given by the injured one is believed to reduce some portion of its future punishment.

I have read that a somewhat similar custom is in use among the Christians of the Greek Church, and that they are in the habit of putting into the hands of a deceased person at his interment a written form of absolution, which is understood to be a discharge in full from all the sins which he has committed during life.

The notion of certifying to the Deity the virtues of the deceased is widely spread. It is said to be customary amongst the Laplanders for six of the most intimate friends of the deceased to place a dead body in a coffin, after wrapping it in linen, with the face and hands left uncovered. In one hand they put a purse with some money to pay the fee of the porter at the gate of Paradise; in the other, a certificate signed by the priest, directed to St. Peter, to witness that the deceased was a good Christian. A superstition of the same nature is held by the people of the Fiji Islands. They worship a god they call Ndengei under the form of a large serpent, and believe that immediately after death the spirit of the deceased person goes to him for purification or to receive sentence, but that it is, however, not permitted to all spirits to reach the judgment-seat of Ndengei. They say that an enormous giant, armed with an axe, is constantly upon the watch on the road thither, ready to attack and wound all who attempt to pass him, and that no wounded

person can go forward to Ndengei, but is doomed to wander about in the mountains. To escape unscathed from the giant's axe is ascribed solely to good luck. Another development of the idea is to be found in India, where a portion of the *pūjā* or worship gone through occasionally by Hindūs<sup>22</sup> is called *tarpan*. It is a form of absolution for the souls of deceased ancestors and friends, but it can be performed by the male sex only.

The Brāhmins have long ago made use of the notion of the necessity of providing for the needs of a future life to farther their own present comforts, and Maurice rightly remarks, "Great rewards are promised to those that are charitable (towards the Brāhmins), inasmuch as they believe that if a man performs the first kind of *dān* (*pūjā* or worship which consists in giving away his own weight in gold or silver) he is ordained to remain in Paradise for one hundred million *kalpas* or periods of Brahmā, and that when he re-assumes a human form, he will become a mighty monarch." This particular phase of "good-works" has in modern times taken a most eccentric and objectionable form. There is a class of Hindū ascetics in the Pañjāb, who call themselves Suthreshāhīs, from their founder, a *faqīr* named Suthrā, who lived in the time of Aurangzeb (1658 to 1707 A.D.) Their legend is, that hearing that he could perform wonders, the Emperor summoned the *faqīr* to his presence and told him that any favour he might ask should be granted, on which he requested that he and his followers might be permitted to go about begging unmolested and freely, and that every shopkeeper should be made to pay them not less than one *paisā*.<sup>23</sup> His followers still continue their profitable trade, and are noted for their indolence, intemperance and excesses. They carry two short sticks and walk through the *bāzārs*, beating these together until money is given them, nor will they pass on till they get it, sitting *dharmā*, as it is called, for hours and even days till their demands are satisfied. On receiving alms, they say to the shopkeeper, "May Bābā Nānak Shāh (the founder of the Sikh religion) take your boat safely over the river of life."<sup>24</sup>

<sup>21</sup> These documents, were it possible to obtain them, would doubtless be most interesting.

<sup>22</sup> Banāras is the most favoured spot for this.

<sup>23</sup> About a half-penny.

<sup>24</sup> [This is the ordinary Hindū expression for "salva-

tion," or even for ordinary human "success." For notes on the Suthreshāhīs see *Panjāb Notes and Queries*, Vol. I. notes 388, 544, 612; see also *ante*, p. 125, Note on the River Vaitarān.—Ed.]

## CHINGHIZ KHAN AND HIS ANCESTORS.

BY HENRY H. HOWORTH, F.S.A.

(Continued from Vol. XIV. p. 274.)

## XXXII.

The *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* tells us that Chinghiz Khân on his return from his western campaign encamped again on the Irtysh, and in the autumn of the year of the Hen, i.e. 1225, he returned once more to his head-quarters in the black forest on the river Tula.<sup>1</sup> He was on his way home when news reached him of the death of his eldest son, Juchi. We have seen how after the capture of Khwârizm Juchi had retired to the steppes of Kipchak in an irritated mood. There he spent his time in hunting instead of subduing the neighbouring tribes inhabiting Ibir Sibir, Bulgaria, Kipchak, Bashguardia, Russia, and Circassia, as his father had ordered him.<sup>2</sup> Irritated at him for not obeying his commands in this respect, Chinghiz had sent several summonses to him to go to his presence. He had excused himself on the ground of his ill-health, and he was, in fact, unwell. One day when he was changing his camp he reached a place where there was plenty of game, and being himself ill he ordered his *beks* to go hunting. A Mangut, who had recently been in his country and seen this hunt, in which he supposed Juchi was taking part, reported that he was not really ill. Chinghiz, who was naturally enraged, prepared to compel his obedience by force, and Chagatai and Ogotai had already set out with some troops, and he was preparing to follow when news arrived that he was dead. This was in 1224, and Juchi was then 48 years old. He was buried near Seraili.<sup>3</sup> We are told Chinghiz was greatly distressed at his son's death, and wanted to punish the Mangut who had brought false intelligence, but he could not be found.<sup>4</sup> The *Shajrat-ul-Atrak* says, "Chinghiz would never hear anything to the disparagement of Juchi, and when the news of his death arrived none of the *amirs* had the hardihood to inform him of his loss, for he had threatened that anyone who mentioned his death should himself be put to death. They at length all assembled, and it was

determined that Alugh Jirji or Georgi (?), who was one of Chinghiz's companions, should tell him while he was performing the duties of *bejur* (?); and therefore on that occasion he said to him, 'O king! the sea is defiled or troubled, and who can purify or compose it? O my king! a great commander has fallen from his throne, and who has power to raise him up and restore him?' Chinghiz replied, 'If the sea is troubled my son Juchi is the only person who can still it, and if a great commander has fallen from his throne Juchi alone can raise him up and re-establish him.' Alugh Jirji having repeated what he had said with tears in his eyes, Chinghiz asked him why he wept, and what was the occasion of his sorrow, which made him also sorrowful. Jirji replied, 'I have no power to disclose the cause of my grief. Thou hast said it; thy orders be with thyself, O king; thy penetration has disclosed my secret.' Thereupon it is reported that Chinghiz Khân said, 'Like the wild ass pursued by hunters and separated from its young, so am I, and like a fool who seeks friendship among his enemies, and abandons his friends, so am I, separated from my brave and worthy children.' The *amirs* thereupon each took his station, and performed the mourning ceremonies for the death of Juchi Khân."<sup>5</sup>

Chinghiz now prepared for his last campaign, in which he revenged himself upon the king of Hia or Tangut for various grievances, of which we have the following accounts:—In the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* we read that before he set out on his western campaign he sent a messenger to Burkhân, the ruler of Tangut, saying, "You have promised to be to me as my right hand. Now that the people of Khoikhoi (the Muhammadans), have killed my envoys, and I go to require satisfaction from them, be my right hand."<sup>6</sup> One of the grandees of Tangut, named Ashaganbu, then sneeringly said, "If you are not strong enough, then do not be a king." Aid was accordingly refused, and Chinghiz, when he heard of this, had declared that although it

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 149.<sup>2</sup> Rashidu'd-din, quoted by D'Ohsson, Vol. I. p. 363, note.<sup>3</sup> Serai on the Akhtaba. *Abulghasi*, Ed. Desmaisons, p. 141 and note 1.<sup>4</sup> D'Ohsson, p. 354.<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 222-224.<sup>6</sup> i.e. send a contingent.

was difficult for him to revenge himself then, he would not fail to do so on his return from the west.' But according to the *Yuan-shi-lei-pien* the king of Tangut had given refuge to two great enemies of the Mongols, one called Sunkoenki, and the other Chelaho. Chinghiz complained bitterly of this, but the king of Hiamade no amends, and even employed these two runaways.<sup>9</sup> The *Yuan-shi* says that Chinghiz accused him of sheltering his enemy Shilgaksankhona, and of refusing to give his son as a hostage.<sup>10</sup> According to the *Sisia Shu-shi* or special history of Tangut, during the absence of Chinghiz Khân in the west there had been a conspiracy against him among the Tatars with black carts,<sup>11</sup> who tried to secure the aid of the people of Tangut in their revolt. The account adds that the ruler of Hia had secretly plotted against Chinghiz, and sought aid outside, and in consequence Bolu, son of Mu-khu-k, had been ordered to wage war against him.<sup>12</sup> The *Altan Topchi* and *Ssanang Setsen* report a curious saga to the effect that the king of Tangut had a brown-coloured dog with a black muzzle which was a *khubilghan*, and had the power of foreseeing things. When it barked with a loud voice it meant that no danger was impending, while when it whined it signified that some foe was threatening. During Chinghiz Khân's absence in the west, this dog had continually whined. The king, who fancied all danger was passed, urged that the dog was getting old and had lost its cunning, and lived accordingly in a false security.<sup>13</sup>

Li-tsun-hi-u, king of Hia, had died in 1223, and been succeeded by his son Li-te', called Terwang by Douglas, who says his father abdicated in his favour.<sup>14</sup> Erdmann says that in the tongue of the Tangutans he was called Iran.<sup>15</sup> Rashidu'd-din agrees with the *Altan Topchi* and *Ssanang Setsen* in calling him Shidurgho. This name also occurs, as we shall see, in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*. Palladius says the word means an owl or a fierce bird.<sup>16</sup> Schmidt says it is a Mongol word meaning

straightforward, open, and answering to the Tibetan *strong*.<sup>17</sup>

Tangut with Tibet have long been lands of romantic interest to the surrounding nomads from their quasi-sacred and mystical character as the homes of the most flourishing forms of Northern Buddhism, and this is reflected in the sagas that have been reported about it by the later writers, such as the author of the *Altan Topchi* and *Ssanang Setsen*. They both connect Chinghiz Khan's last campaign there with a romantic story about a beautiful wife of the Tangutan ruler. They tell us that when the latter heard how Chinghiz had conquered China he sent Tortong, son of Bayan Sartaghor, with proposals to pay tribute, and to become his right-hand man. Chinghiz accepted this, and sent the messenger back with presents. On his return the Envoy passed the night at the house of Yabugha, of the tribe Taijiut, as they sat together in the evening he spoke to his host and said, "Your Khakan seems indeed to be a son of the Tengri," but his wives are not so fair to look upon. The wife of our ruler Shilughun Kurbeljin Gos, the daughter of the Chinese *janjiun* Setsen Umadi, is so fair that with her light there is no need of a lamp." Chinghiz Khân, we are told, had had an intrigue with Möngülün Gos, Yabugha's wife, and she informed him of what she had heard about the beauty of the queen of Tangut, and added that she must become his wife. Chinghiz now sent Shidurgho a message to say he was going on a campaign against Sartaghol,<sup>18</sup> and asking him to march with him. Whereupon Shidurgho replied, "Such a Khakan as this, who has subdued all peoples, is not surely in need of help. The lion, the king of beasts, is the strongest of all, and thou, valiant Bogda and king of men, why dost thou need help?" Chinghiz, enraged at this answer, replied: "If I am spared I will give thee a fitting answer. The Tengri, my father, be my witness." Thereupon, says *Ssanang Setsen*,<sup>19</sup> Wajir Setzen of the Khongkirad said, "My Lord, so long as boys are born and men come into being: so long as an iron

<sup>9</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 150.

<sup>10</sup> Gaubil, pp. 48 and 49.

<sup>11</sup> Hyacinthe, p. 123; D'Ohsson, Vol. I. p. 270.

<sup>12</sup> They are identified with the Merkits by Palladius, on the ground that the latter in one passage in the *Yuan-shi* are qualified as *Koko*, i.e. blue or dark. This identification is, however, exceedingly doubtful.

<sup>13</sup> *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, note 600.

<sup>14</sup> *Altan Topchi*, p. 140; *Ssanang Setsen*, p. 97.

<sup>15</sup> DeMailla, Vol. IX. p. 108; Douglas, p. 97.

<sup>16</sup> Temudschin, &c. p. 439.

<sup>17</sup> *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, note 614.

<sup>18</sup> *Ssanang Setsen*, pages 382 and 383, note 38.

<sup>19</sup> i. e. of Heaven.

<sup>20</sup> i. e. Khwârizm.

<sup>21</sup> *Altan Topchi*, pp. 138-330, and *Ssanang Setsen*, p. 85.

stirrup holds together speak not thus. Why do you speak of dying? May your life be prolonged! May all your enemies be conquered! May the number of your subjects increase! May the fame of your name spread everywhere!"<sup>20</sup>

The *Altan Topchi* has at this point a curious saga in reference to a supposed rivalry between Chinghiz and his brothers. It says that after his campaign in the west the *Khormuzda*<sup>21</sup> *Tengri*<sup>22</sup> sent him a jade vessel full of wine, an *arshin* in size. As he began to drink his younger brothers remarked, "The proverb says, 'To the oldest ten, to the youngest four.' Having appropriated the greater part of the contents of the vessel will not the commander leave us the dregs." Thereupon Chinghiz replied, "At my birth by order of Buddha there appeared in my hand a jade seal from the Empire of Dragons. Now I have received a great jade vessel full of wine. It appears to me I am its owner, but if you wish to drink take it. His brothers thereupon took the vessel and began to drink, but they could not swallow it. They thereupon returned it saying, 'We unjustly demanded our portion when it was not ordained above that we should have it. Drink it yourself, and appoint us divisional commanders.' He accordingly emptied the vessel, which made him somewhat drunk, and continued, "At my birth the jade seal of the ruler of the Dragons appeared in my hand. Now the powerful *Khormuzda* has sent me down a jade vessel full of wine, an *arshin* in size. I am the ruler appointed by God: we will go to war against the *Tanguts*."

The kingdom of Hia was then both powerful and populous, and Chinghiz Khân made corresponding preparations, and, we are told, collected an army of 180,000 men; of these 40,000 Mongols were commanded by Chagatai; 30,000 others by Subutai and Chepe; 20,000 *Khwarizmians* under *Ilenku*, 20,000 *Indians* under *Bela Noyan*, 30,000 *Jats* and *Kipchaks*, under *Badru'd-din*, whose grandfather had been put to death by *Muhammad Khwarizm Shâh*, 30,000 other *Khwarizmians* under *Danishmand*, and a body of irregulars under the chief of the *Uighurs*.<sup>23</sup>

The *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* says that Chinghiz set out in the autumn of the year of the Dog (i.e. 1226), taking with him his wife, *Yesui*. During the winter he occupied himself with hunting in the district of *Arbukha*. The brick-coloured horse on which he rode, taking fright at a wild horse, threw him, and he fell and hurt himself. The army at once halted in the district *Sarkhat*. On the next day his wife *Yesui* said to the princes and grandees, "During the night your sovereign was in a high fever; you had better hold a consultation." Thereupon they assembled, and one of them, *Tolun*, said, "The *Tanguts* are a settled people living in towns: they cannot move away: let us therefore return, and when our ruler has recovered we will come back again." The nobles all approved of this, and informed Chinghiz. The latter said, "If we retire the *Tangut* people will inevitably think I am afraid of them. I will rest here and recruit. Let us send a messenger to them and hear what they say." A man was accordingly sent to the *Tangutan* ruler, who is here called *Burkhan* by our author, with the message, "You formerly promised to be to us as our right hand, but when I went against the *Khoi-khoi*,<sup>24</sup> you did not go with me; more than that, you reviled me. Now having conquered the *Khoi-khoi*, I demand satisfaction for your insults." *Burkhan* replied: "I never spoke defamatory words of you. *Ashaganbu* it was who made it appear I had done so. If you wish to fight with me then come to *Kholanshan*,<sup>25</sup> but if you wish for gold, silver, and stuffs, for tribute in fact, come to *Siliang* for them."<sup>26</sup> When the messenger returned and reported these words to Chinghiz he said, "Is it possible for us to retire after hearing such haughty words? If I die he shall pay for them. This I vow before the eternal heaven."<sup>27</sup> *Seanang Setzen* does not refer to these negotiations, but he has a saga referring to the hunting that took place at this time. He calls the place *Khangkhai Khân*, by which the range which forms the watershed between the *Orkhon* on the north, and the *Onghin*,<sup>28</sup> and says that while hunting there Chinghiz remarked, "In this place there is a blue wolf and a white doe."<sup>29</sup>

<sup>20</sup> The phrase is not in the *Altan Topchi*.

<sup>21</sup> i. e. the God *Khormuzda*. <sup>22</sup> *Seanang Setzen*, p. 85.

<sup>23</sup> *Erdmann*, p. 439. <sup>24</sup> i. e. the *Muhammadans*.

<sup>25</sup> i. e. the mountain range west of the Yellow River, near which was the capital of Hia or *Tangut*.

<sup>26</sup> More to the west, says *Palladius*.

<sup>27</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 149-150.

<sup>28</sup> The *Tasek* on the south is doubtless meant.

<sup>29</sup> In the original *Burtechino* and *Gos*, meaning the two ancestors of the Mongol royal house.

You must capture them alive, and not kill them. You will also meet a black man on a blue-grey horse. Take him also alive, and bring him to me." The three were duly captured and brought before him. Chinghiz asked the man who he was, and why he was there. "I am a trusted friend of Shidurgho," he said, "and he has sent me to reconnoitre. My name is Khaturakchi Khara Budang,<sup>30</sup> and in all Tangut there is none superior to me. I was captured unawares, while I laid my black head down to rest, and while my grey horse Gūn Bolod,<sup>31</sup> a racer, which no creature that has feet can catch, was tethered to the ground by his fore-feet." Then said Chinghiz, "You seem to be a brave man," and spared his life, adding: "They say your Khakan is a *kubilghan*; into what form can he change himself?" The man answered, "In the morning he is a black-striped snake, then you cannot catch him; at noon a tawny-striped tiger, and then also he is safe: but at night he converts himself into a beautiful youth and plays with his wife, then you can secure him."<sup>32</sup>

The *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* tells us that Chinghiz first attacked Ashaganbu, who fled into a mountain fortress. His warriors were killed and his wealth appropriated, while his people were divided among the army.<sup>33</sup> The same authority continues with a paragraph which is an anachronism, since Mu-khu-li was at this time dead. It says that while Chingbiz was passing the summer in the snowy mountains he sent the army in pursuit of Ashaganbu, which captured him and his people, who had retired more into the mountains. Chinghiz, we are told, presented Burchi and Mu-khu-li with some of the treasures, allowing them to take what they would, and he farther said to them, "I have not yet distributed the prisoners taken from the Kin. You two divide equally the relatives of the Kin sovereign,<sup>34</sup> let the fair youths be your falconers, and the pretty girls the servants of your wives. The former Kin rulers trusted them, and had them near their persons. They used to harm our ancestors. You are both akin to me, let them therefore serve you."<sup>35</sup>

The snowy mountains of this notice answer apparently to the Morna Khân mountain of the *Altan Topchi*, and *Ssanang Setzen*, who report a characteristic saga in connection with it. They tell us that Chinghiz remarked of the place, "This would be a good rallying place for a broken people, and a good camping-ground for a peaceable people. It is a capital haunt for roebuck and bears."<sup>36</sup> Noticing an ill-omened owl sitting on a tree Chinghiz told his brother, Juchi Khazar, who was a splendid shot, to shoot it. He fired, but the owl escaped and instead a magpie, which had dropped into the line of fire, was transfixed through the wing. This was deemed an ill-omen, and Chinghiz was very angry and had his brother arrested. Then came the Orluk princess to him, and said, "Master, the stains of the vile ought not to foul the purity of the good. The most worthy and distinguished often meet the fate of the worthless. The fate of the ill-omened owl has fallen upon the magpie. Let thy brother go." But Chinghiz had had his jealousy aroused by another incident, and would not consent. We are told that during the campaign one of his servants, named Bogol Mechin, said to him, "Thy brother, Khazar, being drunk, held thy wife, Kulun, by the hand." Thereupon Chinghiz sent his informer to Khazar to demand some eagles' feathers which he won. Khazar replied: "Although he is supreme I can get heron's feathers more easily than he" and gave him the feathers, but the messenger would not take them on the ground that they were dirty. Presently Chingbiz sent again to demand some heron's feathers. Seeing a hawk flying by he asked the messenger where he should shoot it. "In the black and yellow spot on his head," said the messenger. Khazar shot off the bird's head. Again the servant refused, saying that what they really wished for were eagle's feathers, which were more suited to a sovereign than those of the heron, besides, these were stained with blood.<sup>37</sup> Chinghiz now upbraided Khazar with having insulted his wife, with having killed the magpie, and with not sending him such feathers as he wished. He had him bound

<sup>30</sup> Called Kara Boton in the *Altan Topchi*.

<sup>31</sup> Called Kusihalat in the *Altan Topchi*.

<sup>32</sup> *Altan Topchi*, pp. 97-99. *Ssanang Setzen* or Schmidt seem to have misunderstood the concluding clause, and thus made nonsense.

<sup>33</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 150-151.

<sup>34</sup> i.e. the In-jun or so-called natural relations, who

numbered 30,000.

<sup>35</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 157.

<sup>36</sup> This is the version of the *Altan Topchi*. *Ssanang Setzen* converts the haunt for bears into a charming resting place for an old man.

<sup>37</sup> *Ssanang Setzen* calls the first feathers those of a heron, and the second of a hawk.

by five people and led to a fence and fed on the flesh of the wild Tibetan Yak."<sup>38</sup>

The details of the campaign are so variously told that it is not easy to follow them. The *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* says that Chinghiz on leaving the snowy mountains passed through the town of Urakhai.

In February 1226 according to the *Yuan-shi-lei-pien* he captured Etzina, described by Marco Polo as situated a 12 days' ride from Kan-chan, towards the north on the verge of the desert. De Guignes and Pauthier say Etzina is found in a map of Hia, of the Mongol period, and the latter adds that the text of the map names it as one of the seven *lus* or circuits of Kan-suh.<sup>39</sup> Klaproth says the river Thao-leu-kho, after joining the Khe-shui, which comes from the south-east from Kan-chan, takes the name Etzina and falls into the lakes Sabo and Sogo, the latter of which was in the Ming period still called I-dsi-nay-khai.<sup>40</sup> He, with great probability, puts the town of Etzina on this river.<sup>41</sup> The *Yuan-shi* seems to refer to this town under the name Khe-shui-chin,<sup>42</sup> and Colonel Yule independently has suggested that a town called Hoa-tsiang, placed on the river Etzina in D'Anville's map, is to be identified with Etzina. It is possibly the town called Turmegai in the *Altan Topchi* and *Seanang Setzen*. During its siege they relate that an old woman who was descended from a monster, and who was called Khara Khang, used to mount the walls of which there was a triple circle about the place, and pronounce horrible curses and exorcisms over the besiegers, by which disease was scattered among them, and many men and cattle perished. Thereupon Subutai Baghatur implored Chinghiz that he should release his brother Khazar, who had been put in confinement as I have described, lend him his dun-coloured horse, Jigürtu Khula, and order him to go and shoot the old witch. Khazar soon after shot her in the knee cap. She fell on her side, and as she was dying pronounced a curse upon Khazar's descendants, declaring that the males would

be affected with sores, while the females would be deserted by their husbands.<sup>43</sup> The *Yuan-shi-lei-pien* further says Chinghiz captured all the fortresses, which were very numerous, between Etzina, Ning his,<sup>44</sup> Kia-yukoan<sup>45</sup> and Kan-chan.<sup>46</sup>

Chinghiz now seems to have gone to pass the summer heats in the mountains of Khun-chu and then captured the towns of Su-chan and Kan-chan, situated respectively on the two rivers named above, which combine together to form the Etzina. The siege of Kan-chan was, according to the *Kang-mu*, marked by a curious incident. We are told it was governed by Kia-yêkielin, the father of the boy Chakhan<sup>47</sup> who had been adopted by Chinghiz Khan as I described in an earlier chapter. Chakhan was ordered to communicate with his relatives. He accordingly wrote a note to his younger brother, saying he wanted to speak to him, which he fastened to an arrow and fired into the town. The boy was only 12 years. He appeared on the ramparts, but they would not let him leave the place. Chakhan then sent a confidential person to communicate with his father. The latter it seems was agreeable to surrender the place, when Achu, who was second in command, fell upon him at the head of 36 men, and killed him with his son, and also the envoy. He then prepared for a vigorous defence, but all in vain. The place was taken by assault and a general butchery was only avoided by the pleading of Chakhan. The only people executed were Achu and his 36 accomplices.<sup>48</sup>

Chinghiz now captured Si-liang-fu Cholo and Kholo in Kan-suh. The first of these towns, says Gaubil, was at that time a very big place. It is now a fortress and known as Yong-chang-wei, in lat. 38° 10' long. 14° 10' W. of Peking.<sup>49</sup> It is possibly the Erguiul of Marco Polo. Advancing again across the Shato or Stony Desert he arrived at Ki-ya-tu, or the Nine Fords over the Yellow River, and captured the town of Ing-li-sien, called Yingle by Douglas.<sup>50</sup> The *Yuan-shi* says he traversed the Shato, went by way of Tsi-du and the river, and

<sup>38</sup> *Altan Topchi*, pp. 141-142; *Seanang Setzen*, pp. 99-101.

<sup>39</sup> Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. I. p. 226.

<sup>40</sup> i.e. Lake of Idsinai.

<sup>41</sup> Klaproth, *Beleuchtung*, etc., p. 65, note.

<sup>42</sup> *Hyacinthe*, p. 138.

<sup>43</sup> *Altan Topchi*, pp. 142 and 143; *Seanang Setzen*, p. 101.

<sup>44</sup> i.e. The capital of Hia.

<sup>45</sup> i.e. The western part of the great wall.

<sup>46</sup> Gaubil, p. 49. <sup>47</sup> Called Saha by DeMailla.

<sup>48</sup> DeMailla, Vol. IX. p. 117; Douglas, p. 100.

<sup>49</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 49 note. D'Ohsson, Vol. I. p. 371.

<sup>50</sup> DeMailla, Vol. IX. p. 117; Douglas, p. 101.

captured Yar and other towns of the second rank.<sup>51</sup> The Yar of this notice is apparently the Ing-li-sien of De Mailla's authority. Thence we are told Chinghiz despatched Silitsienpu and Khutu Timur to summon Sha-chau, situated on the river Sirgaldzin in the west of Kan-suh, and nearly directly south of Khamil. Its people pretended to submit to the Mongols, and prepared meat, wine, spirits, and other refreshments for their army, but meanwhile they planted their best troops in ambush with the intention of surprising them. Khutu Timur, supposing that their submission was sincere, marched to take possession of the place. He fell into the ambush, and was nearly captured, as his horse stumbled and threw him, but Silitsienpu allowed him to mount his own charger, and showed altogether such a bold front that he defeated the enemy, and withdrew without material loss.<sup>52</sup>

In July, 1226, Li-te, the king of Hia, died of grief at seeing his country the prey of the Mongols, and was succeeded by his son, called Li-hien by De Mailla and Le-seen by Douglas. In November of the same year, says the *Kang-mu*, Chinghiz Khân captured nearly all their towns from the people of Hia. In vain the inhabitants sought shelter in the caves of the earth, hardly two people in a hundred escaped, and the ground was covered with bones.<sup>53</sup> At this time Chinghiz attacked Ling-chau, situated on the Eastern bank of the Yellow river, a little south of Ning-hia, the capital of Hia. An army was sent to its rescue under Vei-min, but Chinghiz having crossed the Yellow River put it to flight.<sup>54</sup> The Vei-min of this notice is apparently the Secouming-ling-kong of De Mailla, who tells us that the king of Hia having determined to make a supreme effort sent him against the Mongols, but Chinghiz crossed the Yellow River and defeated him.<sup>55</sup> This is apparently the struggle referred to by Rashidu'd-din, who says that the Mongols having captured many towns laid siege to Dersekai (perhaps the native name of Ling-chau), when they heard that Shidurgho, whose Chinese name was Li-wang,

had left his capital, Irkai, and advanced at the head of 50 *tumans*, i.e. 500,000 men! Chinghiz Khân went to meet them, and encountered the enemy in a plain dotted with lakes formed by the overflow of the Kara Muran, i.e. the Upper Hoang-ho, which was then frozen over. The battle was so bloody that 300,000 (!) Tangutans perished. Three of the corpses were standing on their heads, for, says Rashid, it is established among the Mongols that among ten *tumans* of corpses there is sure to be one standing on its head. This D'Ohsson explains by a reference to the *Speculum Historiale* of Vincent of Beauvais, to which we owe so much interesting information about the Mongols, Book xxix. ch. 83, and Book xxx. ch. 95, where we read that the Tatars when they put a hostile population to the sword, and wished to have a census of the dead were in the habit of standing a corpse on its head for every thousand victims on elevated ground. Thus after the sack of Tiflis in 1221 seven bodies were placed on their heads in various places to show that 7,000 people had perished.<sup>56</sup> The town of Ling-chau was speedily captured and sacked. We are told that while the troops thought only of securing women and children, gold and silver, and other booty the famous statesman Yeliu-chutsai, whose origin we have previously considered, took charge of the government archives and of two mule-loads of medicinal rhubarb which was of great service to the army in an epidemic which ensued. He cured all those who were attacked by means of this specific alone.<sup>57</sup> We elsewhere read that during the siege of Ling-chau the five planets having appeared in conjunction in the south-west it was deemed a bad omen, and Chinghiz determined to retire for a while to the valley of Yen-chau, where he encamped.<sup>58</sup> According to the *Yuan-shi-lei-pien* he encamped 30 or 40 leagues north of Ning-hia the capital of Tangut.<sup>59</sup>

During the year 1226, Ogorai, his third son, with the general Chakhan, marched into Ho-nan and attacked Kai-fong-fu, the Nanking, or

<sup>51</sup> Hyacinthe, p. 133; D'Ohsson, Vol. I. p. 371.

<sup>52</sup> De Mailla, Vol. IX. pp. 117-118.

<sup>53</sup> *id.* p. 118; D'Ohsson, Vol. I. p. 371.

<sup>54</sup> D'Ohsson, Vol. I. pp. 372-373.

<sup>55</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. IX. p. 122.

<sup>56</sup> D'Ohsson, Vol. I. pp. 373-74. So that 5,000 and 3,000

would be nearer the mark than the above large figures.

<sup>57</sup> De Mailla, Vol. IX. pp. 121-122.

<sup>58</sup> Douglas, pp. 101-102; Hyacinthe, p. 133; D'Ohsson, Vol. I. p. 373.

<sup>59</sup> Gaubil, p. 40.

southern capital of the Kin Tartars, and sent Tang-king to summon it to surrender, but they had to raise the siege.<sup>60</sup>

Chinghiz soon reopened his campaign against Hia, and having left a division to besiege Ning-hia he crossed the Yellow River in February, 1227, and captured Tsi-shi-chau or He-chi-chau,<sup>61</sup> and sacked Lin-tao-fu.<sup>62</sup> Then going to the north-west he ruined Chasho,<sup>63</sup> called Towcho by Douglas, who says it was in the modern Taou-chau-ting. He then captured Si-ning.<sup>64</sup> DeMailla says these successes were secured by Hineze, the prince of Liau-tung, who was sent across the river with an army by Chinghiz.<sup>65</sup> Gaubil says one division at this time secured the country of Kuku-nor, Kua-chau, and Sha-chau.<sup>66</sup> Meanwhile another army under Chinghiz Khân's brother Ochigin, occupied Sin-tu-fu in the province of Chih-li.<sup>67</sup> After capturing Si-ning Chinghiz advanced upon Lung-ti,<sup>68</sup> situated to the west of Pia-liang-fu in Kan-suh, and captured Te-shun-chau,<sup>69</sup> and other towns.<sup>70</sup> He now sent an envoy named Shang-tsin to the Sung court at Nanking, and prepared to pass the summer-heats in the mountains of Liu-pan.

A kind of presentiment, we are told, seized him that he was about to die, and summoning his officers he said to them, "My time has come. Last winter, when the five planets appeared together in one quarter was it not to warn me that an end should be made of slaughter? And I neglected to take notice of the admonition. Now let it be proclaimed abroad where our banners wave, that it is my earnest desire that henceforth the lives of our enemies shall not be unnecessarily sacrificed."<sup>71</sup> This is referred to at greater length by the Muhammadan writers, such as the author of the *Jahân Kashi*, by Rashîdû'd-dîn, etc. We are told that while he was encamped at Ongu-talan-kuduk,<sup>72</sup> a dream foretold to Chinghiz his coming end. He summoned, according

to D'Ohsson, his two sons, Ogotai and Tului, who were encamped 5 or 6 miles away,<sup>73</sup> together with his generals and grandees. Abulfaraj says that he summoned Chagatai Baith, Ogotai, Tului, Kulkan, Shargatai, and Arushar.<sup>74</sup> Turning to the last of these,<sup>75</sup> he said that he wished to speak privately and confidentially with his sons and grandsons, and begged the rest to withdraw. He then addressed them saying, "Beloved children, the strength of my youth has given place to the feebleness of old age, and the firm step of the boy has been followed by the tottering of the old man. The last journey, whose command is so exacting, the summons of death, is at my door. By the power of God and the aid of heaven I have conquered this vast and far-reaching realm, which is a year's journey from its centre to its circumference, for you, my dear children, and have also duly ordered it. My last unconditioned will is that in fighting with your enemies and in exalting your friends you will be of one mind and one purpose, thus securing for yourselves a long and happy life, and also enjoyment and profit from the kingdom. If you hang together you will be able to administer the government thoroughly, and will be in a position to fight your foes, to overwhelm your antagonists, and to live in peace. If, on the other hand, you become stubborn and disagree, you will tear the mantle of the state asunder and it will perish." When he had thus expressed his will he went on to say, "Which of you must I name my successor?" His sons thereupon went down on their knees unanimously before him and said: "Our illustrious father is master and we are his servants, we are entirely in his hands."<sup>76</sup> According to the older Muhammadan authorities, followed by D'Ohsson, he then nominated Ogotai as his successor, and expressed a hope that Chagatai, who was not according to them present, would not raise any questions about this.<sup>77</sup> Mirkhavad

<sup>60</sup> Gaubil, p. 49; Douglas, p. 102.

<sup>61</sup> Tsi-shi, west of the modern Ho-chau.

<sup>62</sup> In the modern Teih-tan-chau.

<sup>63</sup> Gaubil calls it Ho-chau, and says it was 14 or 15 leagues north-west of Lin-tao-fu. Lin-tao-fu is in the modern Teih-taou-chau.

<sup>64</sup> In the modern Ke-chau.

<sup>65</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. IX. p. 125.

<sup>66</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 50.

<sup>67</sup> Hyacinthe, p. 136; Douglas, p. 102.

<sup>68</sup> The Lungtse of Douglas.

<sup>69</sup> The Ter-sun of Douglas.

<sup>70</sup> D'Ohsson, Vol. I. p. 374.

<sup>71</sup> Douglas, p. 103.

<sup>72</sup> i. e. Springs of the steppe of the Ongu, by which the mountains running north of Shen-si giving their name to the white Tatars are doubtless meant. D'Ohsson, Vol. I. p. 379.

<sup>73</sup> Erdmann says his three sons, Chagatai, Ogotai and Tului, and his grandsons the children of Jushi.

<sup>74</sup> *Chr. Syr.* p. 498.

<sup>75</sup> Raverty calls him Baisuku Aka, the son of Juchi Khazar.

<sup>76</sup> Erdmann, p. 441.

<sup>77</sup> D'Ohsson, Vol. I. pp. 379 and 380.



and the other writers who had to be deferential to Timur and his family, bring in the ancestors of that hero on this occasion. They have a story which is quite unknown to the older authorities that Kabul Khakan made a compact with Kajuli Baghatur (the ancestor of Timur), conferring on the latter and his descendants exceptional dignities. At this time the head of this house was Kharajar Noyan, and we are assured that Chinghiz had the old compact produced, confirmed Kharajar in his honours and ordered his sons to do so, and to attach their *tamghas* to the official document containing these his last wishes.<sup>78</sup> Chinghiz then went on, according to the Western writers, to point the moral of his advice by the familiar anecdote of the strength of a bundle of sticks when contrasted with a single one, and then used a more probable simile in quoting the story of the snake with one tail and many heads, which, when the frost came, began to dispute as to which hole was the safest shelter; meanwhile it was killed by the cold, while the snake with one head and many tails, which having only one person to please, dragged itself in time into a safe retreat.

Chinghiz having nominated his brother Ochigin to prosecute the war in China, and also appointed his other sons their due positions, set out on his last campaign.<sup>79</sup> At this point the authorities differ. The *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* says that the ruler of Tangut appeared before him and presented him with golden idols, golden and silver vessels, boys, girls, horses and camels, altogether to the number of nine times nine. Chinghiz allowed him to do homage, but he himself sat behind the screen. While this was going on he became sick. On the third day he changed the name of Burkhan into Shidurgho, and commanded Tolun to kill him. He said to Tolun, "When at the beginning of the Tangutan war I fell from my horse during a hunting expedition, you being troubled about my health suggested that I should return, but in consequence of the insolent remarks of my enemy I waged war on him, and by the aid of heaven I have subdued him. Take for yourself the movable property of

Burkhan, together with the vessels."<sup>80</sup> The *Yuan-shi* says that Li-hien, king of Hia, surrendered and was taken prisoner to Mongolia.<sup>81</sup> The *Yuan-shi-lei-pien* says that Li-hien found himself driven to the last pass in Ning-hia, and surrendered at discretion in June, and set out for Liu-pan to humiliate himself before Chinghiz. He had hardly left the town when he was massacred, and his palace and the city were sacked.<sup>82</sup> DeMailla says it was in May when the Tangut ruler surrendered, and that Chinghiz wishing to pass the summer heats in the north put chains upon the unfortunate prince and took him with him, and thus the kingdom of Hia came to an end.<sup>83</sup>

The author of the *Kang-mu* thus apostrophizes this event:—"From the beginning of the world no barbarous nation has been so powerful as the Mongols. They tear up nations as if they were plants, to such a degree has their power grown. Why does heaven permit it?"<sup>84</sup> The Muhammadan writers, who wrote under the patronage of the Mongols, tell us that after his great defeat Shidurgho withdrew to his capital Artakhin, whence he sent envoys to Chinghiz, begging that a respite of a month might be allowed him, when he would surrender if his life was spared, and he were counted among the chief's sons. Chinghiz consented to this, and promised to treat him as his son. This month, it seems, had not expired when Chinghiz died, and he left orders to his generals to keep his death a secret, and when the king came out of the city as agreed upon, to kill him and put the people of Ning-hia to the sword. This was faithfully carried out after his death.<sup>85</sup>

Minhaj-i-Saraj has a curious account of this last campaign of Chinghiz. He tells us the ruler of Tangut had a large army and war materials without end, and on account of the number of his troops, the power of his servants, the width of his dominions, and the vastness of his wealth and treasures, he had adopted the name of Tengri Khân.<sup>86</sup> The Mongols had several times invaded his borders, but had not subdued him, while he had more than once defeated Chinghiz Khân in battle. When the

<sup>78</sup> Erdmann, pp. 442 and 443.

<sup>79</sup> Erdmann, pp. 442 and 443.

<sup>80</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 151-152.

<sup>81</sup> Douglas, p. 103.

<sup>82</sup> Gaubil, pp. 50 and 51.

<sup>83</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. IX. p. 126.

<sup>84</sup> D'Ohsson, Vol. I. p. 381, note.

<sup>85</sup> D'Ohsson, Vol. I. pp. 380-381. Erdmann, p. 440.

<sup>86</sup> i.e. the Divine Khân.

latter returned home from his western campaign, he took counsel with his grandees and suggested that as he had come back with greatly increased strength, and was contemplating an attack upon Tamghaj<sup>87</sup> that he should make peace with him and offer him an alliance. Peace was accordingly made. Presently Chinghiz Khân having advanced across the Kara Muran, in a campaign against "Chin and Khita,"<sup>88</sup> Tengri Khân<sup>89</sup> joined him. Some Mongol *noyans* objected to the alliance, saying that if they were defeated the Tengri Khân would be sure to turn upon them, as he was their enemy, and as his territory would be in the rear of the Mongol army it would be a great source of danger; and they counselled that Chinghiz should have his ally put to death. He accordingly had him seized. The Tengri Khân, conscious of his approaching doom, said, "Tell Chinghiz Khân I have not shown any perfidy towards you. I came to you under a treaty. You are acting treacherously towards me, contrary to our covenant, now listen to me. If when you slay me blood of the colour of milk flows from me know that in three days your death will follow mine." When this was reported to Chinghiz Khân he laughed and said, "This man is mad, blood like milk never comes from the wound of a slain person, nor has any one ever seen white blood. It is most necessary to put him to death quickly." When the executioner struck the Tengri Khân white blood like milk in fact came from the wound. When Chinghiz heard of this he went to verify it, and thereupon his strength forsook him, and on the third day in the graphic words of Minhaj-i-Saraj, "his heart broke and he went to hell."<sup>90</sup> The same author adds that Chinghiz, before dying, left as a last legacy the duty of exterminating the subjects of the Tengri Khân, irrespective of age or sex, and after he died Ogotai carried out this duty and duly put to the sword the unfortunate inhabitants of the land.<sup>91</sup> The *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* tells us that Chinghiz having overcome the people of Tangut and killed their ruler Burkhan, and having exterminated his parents, children, and grand-

children, commanded that at every meal he should be reminded of this with the words, "The Tanguts are extinguished." Having thus fought with the Tanguts for the non-fulfilment of their promises he returned."<sup>92</sup>

To turn to the other authorities. The mountain of Liu-pan above mentioned, where Chinghiz spent the summer of 1227, is, according to Hyacinthe, in the district of Ping-liang-fu and Dr. Bretschneider says it still bears the same name, and is marked on modern maps in the department of Ping-liang in Kan-suh, south of the city of Ku-yuan-chau. The *Yuan-shi* does not name the mountain, but says the Mongol army was encamped at Tsing-shui-hien, a place on the banks of the river Si-kiang about twelve leagues east of the town of Tsin-chau.<sup>93</sup> Rashidu'd-din says Liu-pan was situated on the borders of Churche,<sup>94</sup> Nangeas<sup>95</sup> and Tangut.<sup>96</sup> While Chinghiz was there two envoys from the Kin emperor named Wanian-kha-chao and Otung Agueh arrived with propositions of peace. Among the presents which they took was a salver filled with beautiful pearls. Chinghiz had them distributed among those of his officers who wore earrings. The rest had their ears pierced in order to be able to share in the distribution. What remained over after this distribution were scattered among the crowd and scrambled for.<sup>97</sup> It was while at Liu-pan that Chinghiz also received the homage of the princess of Lian-tung to which I have previously referred. While encamped here the great chief was taken dangerously ill. Tului was the only one of his sons who was by him. On his death-bed he drew out for his officers plans for securing the Nanking or Southern capital of the Kin empire. "The picked troops of the Kin," he said, "are guarding the defile of Tong-kuan, a most powerful fortress, guarded on the south by a precipitous mountain, while the Yellow River bathes its walls on the north, and acts as a great natural ditch. In order to turn this position you must ask permission from the Sung to traverse a portion of their territory, permission which will be readily granted, as

<sup>87</sup> i.e. China.

<sup>88</sup> i.e. China.

<sup>89</sup> i.e. the ruler of Tangut.

<sup>90</sup> *Tab.-i-Nas.* pp. 1095-1096.

<sup>91</sup> *id.* p. 1096.

<sup>92</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 152.

<sup>93</sup> The place is marked on D'Anville's map of Shen-si at 84-42 N. L. and 10-18 W. L. of Peking. D'Ohason, Vol. I. p. 876.

<sup>94</sup> i.e. the Kin empire.

<sup>95</sup> i.e. the Sung empire.

<sup>96</sup> D'Ohason, Vol. I. p. 875, note.

<sup>97</sup> Hyacinthe, p. 186; *Jahân Kosh*, D'Ohason, Vol. I. p. 876.

the Sung have for a long time been the mortal enemies of the Kin. You will then advance by Tang-chau and Teng-chau," whence you will march straight upon Ta-liang." To relieve his capital the Emperor will have to withdraw the garrison of Tong-kuan. They will arrive worn out with the fatigues of a long march, and it will be easy to vanquish them."<sup>100</sup>

The *Yuan-shi* says that Chinghiz died near Sali-kol in his camp of Karatsuki. These two names, says D'Ohsson, are Mongol names, given by the invaders to Chinese localities.<sup>101</sup> This, according to the Chinese authorities, took place on the 18th of August 1127, when Chinghiz was 66 years old, and when he had reigned 22 years.<sup>102</sup> Rashidu'd-din makes his age at the time of his death to be 72 years, and says that he had reigned 41 years. In another place he says that Chinghiz was born in a Swine year and died in a Swine year, and that he died on the 15th of Khunai of the year of the Swine, answering, he adds, to the 4th of Ramazân 624, Hij. i.e. 18th August 1227,<sup>103</sup> which is no doubt the correct date. He says that he died in the mountains called Liung-Shan, by which no doubt he meant the range so called in Shen-si.<sup>104</sup>

The *Altan Topchi* and *Ssanang Setzen* make out that Chinghiz Khan was the victim of the beautiful wife of the Tangutan ruler, and embellish their story with the romantic surroundings available to the professors of Tantra Buddhism. We read in their pages that when Shidurgho changed himself into a serpent Chinghiz became the famous bird Garuda. When Shidurgho became a tiger, Chinghiz became a lion, and when he became a boy Chinghiz became an old man, or according to *Ssanang Setzen* became Khormuzda, the king of the *tengri* or spirits, and thus the former easily fell into the latter's grasp. He said to the Mongol conqueror, "Do not kill me, for I represent the morning star, and will destroy all your enemies. I will put meat before you and you will not have either hunger or thirst. If you kill me it will be worse for you, while, if you let me live it will be worse for your descendants." Chinghiz then shot at Shidur-

gho and tried to cleave him down with his sword, but he could not wound him, thereupon, according to the *Altan Topchi*, the Tangutan ruler said, "You have shot at me and struck at me, but have done me no harm. In the sole of my boot you will find a grey thrice-twisted cord, take it and strangle me with it, and your descendants will be similarly strangled. As to my wife, Kurbeljin Goa, take care you examine her to her black nails."<sup>105</sup> Whereupon he died. According to *Ssanang Setzen*, Shidurgho said to Chinghiz, "With a common weapon you cannot injure me, but between the soles of my boot is a triple dagger made of magnetic steel, with which I may be killed." With these words he offered him the weapon, saying, "Now you may kill me; if milk flows from the wound it will be an evil token for you, if blood then for your posterity."<sup>106</sup> He also says that he bade Chinghiz probe his wife's previous life diligently. Chinghiz having pierced Shidurgho in the neck killed him and appropriated his wife and people. Every one was surprised with her beauty, but she said, "Formerly I was much fairer, I am now grimy with dust from your troops. If I could bathe I should renew my good looks." Chinghiz thereupon ordered her to bathe. The *Altan Topchi* says she had meanwhile caught a swallow, tied a note to its tail, and sent it to her father. In this letter she told him she meant to drown herself, and he must look up the stream and not down for her body. Following out her directions they accordingly sought up the stream, and having found the body each brought a bag of earth with which they covered it. The hillock so formed was called Holkho Kuzgan, and the river Khatun Gol. *Ssanang Setzen* has a different version, apparently pointing here, as elsewhere, to a somewhat different tradition. He tells us the river where the princess bathed was the Kara Muran, that she refused to do so till the Mongols had withdrawn, that then a bird from her father's house hovered by her and she caught it and tied a letter to its neck, saying in it what she meant to do. When she came out of her bath

<sup>100</sup> Two towns dependent on Nan-yang-fu in the western part of Ho-nan. <sup>101</sup> i.e. Kai-fong-fu.

<sup>102</sup> Gaubil, pp. 51 and 52; D'Ohsson, Vol. I. p. 380.

<sup>103</sup> Op. cit. Vol. I. p. 378.

<sup>104</sup> D'Ohsson, Vol. I. p. 381; Gaubil, p. 52.

<sup>105</sup> Erdmann, note 33, pp. 572-574.

<sup>106</sup> Yule's *Marco Polo*, Vol. I. p. 240, note.

<sup>107</sup> A Mongol idiom, meaning examine her thoroughly.

<sup>108</sup> Compare the saga told by Minhaj-i-Saraj above quoted.

she was much more beautiful. The following night while Chinghiz lay asleep, she bewitched him, and he became feeble and weak. She then went down to the Kara Muran and drowned herself, whence, says *Ssanang Setzen*, the Kara Muran is called Khatun Eke to this day. When the bird returned to her father, who was called Shang-dsa-wang-ya, and was of the family U, from the Chinese town of Irghai, he went to look for his daughter's body, but found only one of her pearl-embroidered socks. On this he raised a mound of earth still called Timur Olkho.<sup>107</sup>

*Ssanang Setzen* says that as the great Chief's life ebbed away he apostrophised those about him thus:—"My fortune-bearing and excellent wife Burte Jujin, my three beloved ones Khulan, Jissu and Jissuken, my unchangeable loyal companion Külük Boghorji Noyan, you nine Orlöks, my incomparable mates, my four brave brothers, my four indefatigable sons, my unyielding flint-like officers and generals, my great people, my noble kingdom, all you children of my wives, my beloved subjects, my dear fatherland." As he was thus giving way to human weakness, Kiluken Baghatur of the Sunids, said to him, "Thy beloved wife Burte Jujin may die; thy administration, admirable as the precious jade stone, may fall into disorder; thy united people may be scattered asunder; Burte Jujin the wife whom thou didst wed in thy young days may die; thy laws, held in such high esteem may be degraded. Thy two sons Ogotai and Tului may become orphans. Thy subjects, the inheritance of thy children, may be lessened. Thy excellent wife Burte Jujin may die. Thy two brothers Ochigin and

Khajikin may fall to the ground. Thy great people ruling so widely may be scattered. Its very spirits, thy friends, Boghorgi and Mu-khu-li will collapse with grief, and when we reach the further side of the Khang-ghai Khân, thy wives and children will meet us, wailing and weeping with the words, 'Where is the Khakan, our Lord?' Therefore, O my master, do be a man and look hither." As Kiluken Baghatur thus addressed him Chinghiz raised himself on his bed and replied, "Be you a faithful friend to my widowed Burte Jujin and to my two orphan sons, Ogotai and Tului, and be ever true to them without fear. The precious jade stone has no crust, and polished steel has no rust upon it. The body that is born is not immortal. It goes away without a house or a place to return to. This keep in everlasting remembrance. The glory of an action is to complete what you have begun. Firm and unbending is the heart of a man who keeps his plighted word. Be not guided by the wishes of others, so will you have the confidence of many. This is clear to me, that I must be severed from you and go hence. The words of the boy Khubilai are very weighty. Do you all weigh his words. He will some day occupy my throne, and he will, as I have done, bring you prosperity." When he had spoken these words," continues our author, "the master raised himself to God his father, in the town of Tarmegei in the sixty-ninth year of his age in the *Ting* (swine's) year (1227) the 12th of the seventh month.<sup>108</sup>

Plano Carpini states that Chinghiz was killed by a thunderbolt,<sup>109</sup> while Marco Polo, no doubt confusing his death with that of his grandson Mangu, says he was killed by an arrow which hit him in the knee at Caaju.<sup>110</sup>

#### SANSKRIT AND OLD-KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

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

(Continued from p. 113).

BENGAL ASIATIC SOCIETY'S PLATE OF THE MAHARAJA VINAYAKAPALA.

(HARSHA)-SAMVAT 188.

No. 161.

This inscription appears to have been discovered by General J. C. Stacy, and was first brought to notice in 1848, in the *Jour. Beng.*

<sup>107</sup> *Altan Topchi*, p. 144; *Ssanang Setzen*, p. 103. Schmidt remarks in a note that the upper Kara Muran or Yellow river, is still undoubtedly called Khatun Muran, i.e. the Queen's river, by the Mongols, and that he has found the name in Mongol writings.

*As. Soc.* Vol. XVII. Part I. p. 70ff., when, under the heading of "Inscription from the Bijaya Mandir, Udayapur, &c.," the Secretary of the Society published Dr. Rajendralal

<sup>108</sup> *Ssanang Setzen*, pp. 103-105.

<sup>109</sup> *Op. cit.* Ed. d'Avezac, p. 684.

<sup>110</sup> Hocheu in Suchnau. Yule's *Marco Polo*, Vol. I. p. 240.

Mitra's reading of the text of the plate only, and his translation of it. In 1862, in the same Journal, Vol. XXXI. p. 1ff., as an accompaniment to his paper entitled "Vestiges of Three Royal Lines of Kanyakubja," Dr. FitzEdward Hall published his own reading of the text (*id.* p. 14f.), which was in some respects an improvement on the previously published version. And, with the exception of subsequent discussions as to the reading of the date,—in the course of which, in 1864, a rough and by no means accurate lithograph of it was published with Dr. Rajendralal Mitra's notice of Mahēndrapāla's grant in the same Journal, Vol. XXXIII. p. 321ff.,—this latter rendering of the inscription has remained the standard published version of it up to the present time. I now re-edit it, with a lithograph, from the original plate, which, having been presented by General Stacy, is in the Library of the Bengal Asiatic Society, and was there examined by me. I have not succeeded in obtaining any information as to where it was found; and from the entry in the *Index*, published in 1856, to the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, p. 208, it appears that the locality never was known. It has usually been spoken of as the "Benares Plate;" but this seems to be due only to the mention of the *Vārāṇasī* (Benares) *vishaya* in line 10, where the locality of the village granted is specified.

The plate, which is engraved on one side only, measures about 1' 9½" long by 1' 5½" broad. The edges of it were fashioned somewhat thicker than the inscribed surface, and with a slight depression all round just inside them, so as to serve as a rim to protect the writing; and both the surface of the plate, and the inscription on it are in a state of excellent preservation throughout; but some of the letters are so hopelessly filled in with hard rust, which it was impossible to remove, that they do not shew quite perfectly in the lithograph.—As in the case of Mahēndrapāla's grant (No. 160, p. 105ff. above), onto the proper right side of the plate there is soldered a thick and massive seal, with a high raised rim all round it, measuring about 8½" broad by 1' 1½" high, and shaped like the seal of Mahēndrapāla's grant. In the arch at the top there is a similar standing figure, facing full-front, of a goddess, doubtless the Bhaga-

vatī of the inscription; and below this, across the surface of the seal, there are the sixteen lines of writing, *a* to *p*, transcribed below. Here, again, unlike the body of the grant, the letters of this legend on the seal are in relief; and, though they are fairly well preserved almost throughout, it was impossible, for the same reasons as in the case of Mahēndrapāla's grant, to include the seal also in the lithograph.—The characters are of precisely the same type as those of Mahēndrapāla's grant; viz. North Indian Nāgarī of about the eighth century A.D. They include forms of the numerical symbols of the period for 8, 9, 80, and 100. The execution of the engraving is excellent throughout; and the mark for *ē* in conjunction with consonants, both as *ē*, and as one of the components of *ai*, *ū*, and *au*, is formed with more care than in Mahēndrapāla's grant. Many of the letters shew, as usual, marks of the working of the engraver's tool. The plate is very massive and substantial; so that the letters, though fairly deep, do not shew through on the back of it.—The language is Sanskrit, and the inscription is in prose throughout, except for the half *śloka*, evidently intended as such, which is introduced in line 16, and records the name of the person who drew up the record.—In respect of orthography, all that calls for notice is the use of the *upadhmanīya* in *tayōh=pad-ānudhyātah*, line 8 (and line *o* of the seal);—the *paramvaishṇavō* of line 1 of the seal;—and, as in Mahēndrapāla's grant, the *parambhagavatī* of lines 3, 5, and 6, (and lines *e*, *i*, and *k* of the seal); the use of *va* for *ba*, e.g. *samvaddha* and *prativaddha*, line 10, though the distinct form for *ba* occurs in *bhātva*, line 15; and the doubling throughout of *t* in conjunction with a following *r*, e.g. *puttra*, line 2, and *pittrōh*, line 13.—I had no opportunity of taking the weight of this plate; but it is probably rather heavier than Mahēndrapāla's plate.

As in the case of Mahēndrapāla's grant, the charter recorded in this inscription is issued from the camp, complete with many cows, elephants, horses, chariots, and foot-soldiers, situated at Mahēdaya (line 1.) Then follows the parenthetical genealogy, repeated in the same words in the legend on the seal, and precisely similar to that of the Dighwā-Dubauli plate as far as the mention of the Mahārāja Mahēndrapālādēva

(l. 7), His son, begotten on Déhanâgâdêvî, was the illustrious *Mahârāja Bhôjadêva* (l. 8), a most devout worshipper of the god Vishnu. And Bhôjadêva's brother,—by which method of mention it is intended to denote also his successor,—another son of Mahêndrapâlâdeva, begotten on Mahîdêvidêvî, was the illustrious *Mahârāja Vinâyakapâlâdeva* (l. 9), a most devout worshipper of the Sun, who meditated on the feet of his father and brother.<sup>1</sup> The inscription then proceeds to record that the village of *Tikkarikûgrâma*,<sup>2</sup> in the *Pratishthâna*<sup>3</sup> *bhukti* (l. 9), and attached to<sup>4</sup> the *Kâshipâra pathaka* which belonged to the *Vârāṇasî vishaya*, was

given by Vinâyakapâla, in order to increase the religious merit of his parents, after bathing on the sixth lunar day in the river Gaṅgâ (l. 14), to the *Bhāṭṭa Bhullāka*, of the Darbhi *gôtra*, a student of the *Atharva-Vêda*. Line 16 contains the record that the charter was drawn up by the illustrious Harsha.<sup>5</sup> And the inscription concludes in line 17 with the record of the date, in numerical symbols, on which it was assigned,<sup>6</sup> viz. the year 188, the ninth day of the dark fortnight of the month Phâlguna (February-March). The era is not specified in the record; but, applying the date to the era of Harshavardhana of Kanauj, the result is A.D. 794-95.

## TEXT.

## The Seal.

a	Paramvai'shnavô	mahârâja-śrî-Dêvasaktidêvas=tasya	pu-
b	ttras=tat-pâd-ânudhyâtaḥ	śrî-Bhûyikâdêvyâm=ut[panna]ḥ	para-
c	mamâhêśvarô	mah[âr]ja-śrî-Vatsarâjadêvas=tasya	
d	puttras=tat-pâd-ânudhyâ[ta]ḥ	śrî-Sundar[i]dêvyâm=utpannaḥ	para-
e	mbha <sup>7</sup> gavatibhaktô	mahâ[râ]ja-śrî-Nâgabhaṭadêvas=tasya	pu-
f	ttras=tat-pâd-ânudhyâtaḥ	śrîmad-Îsatâdêvyâm=utpannaḥ	
g	paramâdityabhaktô	mahârâja-śrî-Râmabhadradêva-	
h	s=tasya	puttras=tat-p[â]d-ânudhyâtaḥ	śrîmad-Appâdêvyâm=u-
i	tpannaḥ	parambha <sup>10</sup> gavatibhaktô	mahârâja-śrî-Bhôja-
j	dêvas=[t]asya	puttras=tat-p[â*]d-ânudhyâtaḥ	śrî-Chandrabhattâ-
k	rikâdêvyâm=utpannaḥ	parambha <sup>11</sup> gavatibhaktô	mahârâ-
l	ja-śrî-Mahêndrapâlâdêvas=tasya	puttras=tat-p[â*]d-ânudhyâta-	
m	h	śrî-Dêhanâgâdêvyâm=[u]tpannaḥ	paramavaishnavô
n	hârâja-śrî-Bhôjadêvas=tasya	bhrâtâ	śrî-Mah[ê]ndrap[â*]lâdêva-pu-
o	tt[r*]as=tayôḥ=pâd-ânudhyâtaḥ	ś[r]î-Mahidêvidêv[yâ]m=[u]tpannaḥ	
p	paramâdityabhaktô	mahârâja-ś[r]î-[V]inâya[ka]pâ[la]dê[vaḥ]	

## The Plate.

- 1 Ôm Svasti Mahôdaya-samâvasit-ânêka-gô-hasty-a[śva\*]-ratha-patti-sampanna-skaddhâ-(ndhâ)vârât=paramavaishnavô mahâ-
- 2 rāja-śrî-Dêvasaktidêvas=tasya puttras=tat-pâd-ânudhyâtaḥ . śrî-Bhûyikâ<sup>12</sup>dêvyâm=utpannaḥ paramamâhêśvarô mahâ-

<sup>1</sup> *Tayâh-pâd-ânudhyâtaḥ*, line 8.—The expression *tat-pâd-ânudhyâta* is applied to the relation of each son to his father throughout the succession.

<sup>2</sup> Probably the modern 'Tikree' of the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 88, four miles almost due south of Benares, and on the same side of the river.—B. Mitra (*Index* of 1886 to the *Journal* of the Bengal Asiatic Society, p. 269) first pointed out the identification, writing the modern name 'Tikkari.' F. E. Hall (*Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXI. p. 5, note 1) wrote the modern name 'Tikari,' and said it is about two miles from Benares, across the river; but I find no such name in such a position.

<sup>3</sup> F. E. Hall (*Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXI., p. 5, note 1) says that "Pratishthâna once designated, no less than other places, what is now Allahâbâd." Monier Williams, however, in his *Sanskrit Dictionary*, says that, in addition to the famous and better known Pratishthâna

on the Gôdâvari, it was also "the name of a town at the confluence of the Gaṅgâ and the Yamunâ, on the left bank of the Gaṅgâ, opposite to Allahâbâd, the capital of the early kings of the lunar dynasty."

<sup>4</sup> *pratibaddha*. This, and the word *sanibaddha*, which I have tentatively rendered by "connected with," are evidently technical territorial terms the full purport of which, as contrasted with each other, is not apparent.

<sup>5</sup> "(This is the writing) of the firm and long-enduring charter that has been drawn up by the illustrious Harsha."—For *prayukta*, 'drawn up,' see page 107 above, note 9.

<sup>6</sup> *nibaddha*.

<sup>7</sup> From the original seal and plate.

<sup>8</sup> Read *paramavai*.

<sup>9</sup> 10, and 11 Read *paramabha*.

<sup>12</sup> R. Mitra read *Bhûyikâ* correctly in the text, but converted it into *Bhûmikâ* in the translation.







- 3 rāja-śrī-Vatsa<sup>18</sup>rājadēvas=tasya puttras=tat-pād-ānudhyātaḥ śrī-Sundarīdēvyām=utpannaḥ  
parambha<sup>19</sup>gavatibhaktō mahā-  
4 rāja-śrī-Nāgabha<sup>20</sup>dēvas=tasya puttras=tat-pād-ānudhyātaḥ śrīmad-Īśa<sup>21</sup>dēvyām=  
utpannaḥ paramādityabhaktā(ktō) mahā-  
5 rāja-śrī-Rāmabhadradēvas=tasya puttras=tat-pād-ānudhyātaḥ śrīmad-Appā<sup>22</sup>dēvyām=  
utpannaḥ parambha<sup>19</sup>gavatibhaktō mahā-  
6 rāja-śrī-Bhōjadēvas=tasya puttras=tat-pād-ānudhyātaḥ śrī-Chandrabha<sup>23</sup>tārikādēvyām=  
utpannaḥ parambha<sup>19</sup>gavatibhaktō  
7 mahārāja-śrī-Mahēndrapālādēvas=tasya puttras=tat-pād-ānudhyātaḥ śrī-Dēhanāgā<sup>24</sup>dēvyām=  
utpannaḥ paramavaishṇa-  
8 vō mahārāja-śrī-Bhōjadēvas=tasya bhrātā śrī-Ma<sup>25</sup>hēndrapālādēva-puttras=tayōḥ=pād-  
ānudhyātaḥ śrī-Ma-  
9 hidēvi<sup>26</sup>dēvyām=utpannaḥ paramādityabhaktō mahārāja-śrī-Vināyakapālādēvaḥ ||<sup>27</sup>  
Pratishṭhā-  
10 na-bhuktaḥ Vārāṇasī-vishaya-samva(mba)ddha-Kāśīpāra-pathaka-pratīva(ba)ddha-Ṭikka-  
rikāgrāma-sa-  
11 mupagatān=sarvvān=dēva yathāsthāna-niyuktān=prativāsinaś=cha samājñāpayati | Uparili-  
12 khita-grāmas=sarvv-āya-samēta ā-chandr-ārka-kshiti-kālam=pūrvvadatta-dēvavra(bra)-  
hmadēya-varjji-  
13 tā(tō) mayā pitrōḥ puṇy-ābhivṛddhayō Darvbi(rbbhi)sagōttra Atharvva<sup>28</sup>sa-  
vra(bra)hmacāri-bhaṭṭa-Bhullākāya  
14 shashtyām Gaṅgāyā[m\*] snātva pratigrahēṇa pratipādita iti ||<sup>29</sup> viditva bhavadbhis=  
samanumanta-  
15 vyaḥ prativāsibhir=apy-ājñāsravaṇa-vidhēyē(yai)r=bbhūtvā sarvv-āyā asya samupanēyā  
iti ||(1)  
16 Śrī<sup>30</sup>-Harshēṇa prāyuktasya śāsanasya sthīr-āyatōḥ ||  
17 Samvatsarō<sup>31</sup> 100 80 8 Phālguna va(ba) di 9 niva(ba)ddham ||

## A PASSAGE IN THE JAIN HARIVAMSA RELATING TO THE GUPTAS.

BY K. B. PATHAK, B.A.; MIRAJ.

In the Jain *Harivamśa*, a work which is not to be confounded with the Brāhmaṇical *Purāṇa* of the same name, I have lately come across an interesting passage purporting to bear on the Gupta era. I do not wish, however, to make this passage the basis of any speculation; I place it before the reader, simply for what it may be worth. To do justice to the Jain writer, I must say that this work has a decided advantage over other Indian *Purāṇas*, in the

fact that it gives the precise date of its composition; thus, in the colophon the author says,

शाकेष्वब्दसु समस्त दिशं पञ्चोत्तरेषुत्तरं(रं)  
पातीशत्रुधनान्ति(न्ति) कृष्णनृपजे श्रीवत्सने इतिपां ।  
पुत्रो श्रीमद्वर्त्ति(न्ति)भूयति नृपे वत्साविराजै(जे) परां  
सौयोगामधिर्महल जयकुले वीरे वरादे(हे)वर्त्ति(ति) || 51  
कल्याणैः परिवर्द्धमानविपुलश्रीवर्द्धमाने पुत्रे  
श्रीपाशालयननराजवसतो पर्याप्तबोधः पुरा ।  
पञ्चाशोत्तरदिका प्रजापजनितमाज्यार्चनावधने  
शांते शांतिगृहे जिने सुरचितो वंशो हरिपानवः || 52

<sup>18</sup> E. Mitra read *Vanya* in both text and translation.

<sup>19</sup> Read *paramabha*.

<sup>20</sup> E. Mitra read *bhaṭṭa* correctly in the text, but converted it into *bhaṭṭa* in the translation.

<sup>21</sup> See page 113 above, note 46.

<sup>22</sup> E. Mitra read the text correctly, but gave the name as *Madappā* in the translation.

<sup>23</sup> and <sup>24</sup> Read *paramabha*.

<sup>25</sup> E. Mitra read *nāśi* in both text and translation.

<sup>26</sup> This *ma* was at first omitted, and then inserted below the line.

<sup>27</sup> In line 6 of the seal, this *akshara* is written, as is optionally allowable in composition for a proper name, with the short vowel *i*.

<sup>28</sup> This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

<sup>29</sup> Read *sagōtir-Ātharva*.

<sup>30</sup> This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

<sup>31</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh); the verse consists, however, of only one *pāda*.

<sup>32</sup> Read *samvatsarā*, for *samvatsardāyam*.—E. Mitra, apparently treating the numerical symbols as decimal figures, read the date *sambatsarāḥ 65 bhāḥ-Phālgva va di 6*,—"the sixth day of the dark half of the moon, in the solar month of Phālguna, in the year 65." F. E. Hall did not offer any interpretation of them.

<sup>33</sup> Another reading, noticed by Dr. Rajendralal Mitra, is पञ्चादास्तौटकी.

बृहस्पतिपरसंघसंततिवृहत् पुत्राटसंघात(न्व)वे  
प्रातः श्रीजिनसेनसुरिकविना लाभाय बोधे[.] पुनः ।  
इदोचं हरिवंशपुण्यचरितः श्रीपार्वतः सर्व्वतो  
स्वासाशो(शा)मुखमंडल[.] स्थिरतरः स्थेयान्(स्यु)यिव्यो  
चिर ॥ 53

(Verse 51) "In Śāka seven hundred and five;—when Indrāyudha was ruling over the North;—when Śrīvallabha,\* the son of king Kṛishṇa, was governing the South;—when king Vatsarāja,\* the glorious ruler of Avanti, was ruling over the East;—(and) while the victorious (and) brave Varāha was governing the West, the kingdom of the Sauryas;—(52) In the town of Vārdhamānapura, whose great prosperity was increasing on account of auspicious things, —in the *basti*, (erected) by king Nanna,<sup>3</sup> which was the abode of the glorious Pārva-nātha,—this (history of the) lineage of the Haris was formerly finished; and it was afterwards well-composed in the quiet temple of Śānti-nātha), when Jina was offered ample worship on a large scale by the people of Ōstaṭikā(?)<sup>4</sup>—(53). This sacred history of the lineage of the Haris was composed again, for the attainment of supreme wisdom, by the glorious and learned poet Jinasēna, who obtained eminence in the line of the great Punnāṭa-saṅgha which has abandoned all other *saṅghas*. May this work, by the grace of Pārva, pervade the regions in all directions, and endure steadily for a long time on the earth!"

The passage relating to the Guptas is in chap. lx. and runs thus,—

वीरनिर्वाणकाले च पालकोजाभिषेक(श्च)ते ।  
लोकैर्जितुतो राजा प्रजानां प्रतिपालकः ॥ 83  
चित्रिर्वाणि तत्राज्यं सतो विषयभूजा ।  
क्षतं च पञ्चपञ्चाशद्वर्षाणि तदुकीरितं ॥ 84

\* Read बृहस्पति.

<sup>2</sup> [Perhaps the Rāshtrakūta king Gōvinda II., the son of Kṛishṇa I.—J. F. F.]

<sup>3</sup> lit. "who had (the name of) *rājan* with *vatsa* at the beginning."

<sup>4</sup> This king Nanna is alluded to in ll. 9-10 of a Rāshtrakūta inscription published by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* for 1893):—

लक्ष्मीसनाथपुरजसुचकपाणि-  
निबोधयविकमनिबद्धबलिः क्षितीशः ।  
गोवर्देदेव इव नम्रभुजगर्दप्यो  
गोवर्देराज इति तस्य सुतो बभूव ॥

<sup>5</sup> See note 1 above. <sup>6</sup> sc. Mahāvīra.

<sup>7</sup> *Vishaya-bhūbhujah* may perhaps mean 'native rulers,' as distinguished from foreign conquerors.

चत्वारिंशन्मुह(रु)डा(डा)नां भूमंडलमखंडितं ।  
विश्वानु पुण्यमित्राणां षट्तिर्वत्सभि(भि)निबधो[.] ॥ 85  
स(घ)तं रासभराजाना(तां) न(ना)रवाहनमप्यतः ।  
चत्वारिंशत्सतो द्वाभ्यां चत्वारिंशच्छ(च्छ)तद्वयं ॥ 86  
भृगुमानस्य तत्राज्यं युमानां च क्षतद्वयम् ।  
एकविंशच्च वर्षाणि कालविकिरुदाहृतम् ॥ 87  
द्विचत्वारिंशदेवातः कल्किराजस्य राजता ।  
सतोभित्तजयो राजा स्याद्विंशपुरसंस्थितः ॥ 88

(Verse 83.)—"And at the time of the *nirvāṇa* of Vīra,<sup>7</sup> king Pālaka, the son of (the king of) Avanti, (and) the protector of the people, shall be crowned here on earth. —(84) His reign (shall last) sixty years. Then, it is said, (the rule) of the kings of the country<sup>8</sup> (shall endure) for a hundred and fifty-five years. —(85) Then the earth (shall be the) undivided (possession) of the Muruṇḍas,<sup>9</sup> for forty years; and, for thirty, of the Pushpamitras,<sup>10</sup> and, for sixty, of Vasumitra and Agnimitra. —(86 and 87) (Then there shall be the rule) of the "Ass-kings" for a hundred years. Next (the rule) of Naravāhana for forty (years). After (these) two, (the sway) of Bhaṭṭubāna<sup>11</sup> (shall last) two hundred and forty (years); and the illustrious rule of the Guptas shall endure two hundred and thirty-one years. This is declared by chronologists. —(88) After this, the sovereignty of Kalkirāja (shall last) just forty-two years; and then king Ajitamjaya<sup>12</sup> shall establish himself at Indrapura."<sup>13</sup>

The following table gives the gist of the above passage:—

The year of Pālaka's coronation		= { The year of Mahā-vīra's <i>nirvāṇa</i> .	
Pālaka	ruled	60	years.
Vishaya-bhūbhujah	"	150	"
Muruṇḍas	"	40	"
Pushpamitras	"	30	"

\* Vatsarāja, the lover of Vāsavadattā, was a Muruṇḍa:—

तीक्ष्णस्योरेस किल कलहे युद्धवीरो मुहूढः  
मयोतस्य भियदुहितं वत्सराजोच जहे  
Pārvaḥbhyudaya.

<sup>10</sup> The original, being in Nāgarī characters, does not show for certain whether we should read *Pushpamitra* or *Pushyamitra*.

<sup>11</sup> Bhaṭṭubāna, though used in the singular, must be the name of a dynasty, not of an individual sovereign.

<sup>12</sup> Ajitamjaya was the son of Kalkirāja:—

तनूजः कल्किराजस्य बुद्धिमानजितंजयः ॥  
Uttarapurāṇa.

<sup>13</sup> Indrapura can very easily be identified with the modern town of Indūr or Indōr in Central India.

Vasumitra and } ruled 60 years.	
Agnimitra }	
The "Ass-kings" " 100 "	
Naravāhana " 40 "	
Bhaṭṭabāṇa " 240 "	
Guptas " 231 "	
Kalkirāja " 42 "	

Then Ajitamjaya began to rule.

According to this account, the Gupta began to rule after the lapse of seven hundred and twenty years from the *nirvāṇa* of Mahāvira. The date of this latter event has not as yet been satisfactorily and finally settled; but the majority of Orientalists accept B.C. 527-26. If we reckon from this date we arrive at A.D. 193-94 as the initial date of the Gupta rule, which then, according to this *Purāṇa*, extended over a period of two hundred and thirty-one years.

NOTE BY MR. FLEET.

In order to apply the above passage properly for chronological purposes,\* we ought to know what date Jināsēna assigns to Ajitamjaya, the last of the kings mentioned by him, and then calculate backwards from that date, instead of forwards from the time of the *nirvāṇa* of Mahāvira. Mr. Pathak, however, tells me that Jināsēna does not make Ajitamjaya contem-

porary with himself (Śaka-Samvat 705; A.D. 783-84), and gives no hint whatever as to the interval that had elapsed between Ajitamjaya and himself. And I have not been able to obtain any other mention of this king Ajitamjaya, or of his father and predecessor Kalkirāja, whose name, occurring elsewhere only as that of the tenth and future *avatāra* of the god Viṣṇu, is peculiarly suggestive of this part of the passage, at any rate, being purely imaginative.

Jināsēna has hit off pretty accurately the duration of the Gupta power; for the latest inscription dated in the Gupta era, which specifically associates the era with the continuation of the Gupta rule, is that recorded in the Khôh plates of the Parivrajaka *Mahārāja* Saṁkshôbha of the year two hundred and nine<sup>15</sup> (A.D. 528-29.) But the information given by him in the preceding lines, even if right in respect of the succession of dynasties, must be wrong as regards the duration of each of them. For, calculating backwards from A.D. 319-20, the known commencement of the Gupta era,<sup>16</sup> the result, according to Jināsēna, for the *nirvāṇa* of Mahāvira, is B. C. 401-400, later by a century and a quarter than the generally accepted date referred to by Mr. Pathak above.

## AN ENGLISH-GIPSY INDEX.

COMPILED BY MRS. GRIERSON, WITH AN INTRODUCTORY NOTE BY G. A. GRIERSON, B.C.S.

(Continued from p. 116.)

HOPK.—Nêdêzhdi, (M.)  
 HORN,—Shing, (Tch.); shingh, (Psp. M.); shêng, (M.); shing, (M. 8)  
 HORNED,—Shingalô, (Tch.)  
 HOBNY,—Shinghêsgoro, (Tch.)  
 HORSE,—Grestur, gristur, gry, (Eng.); gras, grastê, (Span. Gip.); davâri, grast, gras, gra, (dim.) grastorô, grai, (Tch.); grâst, (Psp. M.); agôri, agôra, (As. Tch.); grast, (M.); gara, grast, (M. 7)  
 HORSE, draught,—Telegâre, (M.)  
 HORSE, of or belonging to,—Grastanô, grastês-koro, (Tch.)

HORSE-DEALER,—Gry-engro, (Eng.)  
 HORSE, A KICKING—Del-engro, (Eng.)  
 HORSE-KEEPER,—Herdelezhu, (M.)  
 HORSE-RACING,—Gry-nashing, (Eng.)  
 HORSE, A GRAY,—Parnô, (M.)  
 HORSE-SHOE,—Petul, (Eng.); nalchâs, petalo, (Tch.); nal agôri, (As. Tch.); sâster, sastrî, sâstri (M.); petalo, (M. 8)  
 HORSE-SHOE, maker of—Petul-mengro, (Eng.)  
 HORSE-STEALING,—Gry-choring, (Eng.)  
 HORSE,—Kholov, (M. 7)  
 HOST,—Gazhô, gazhû, (M.)  
 HOSTESS,—Gazhî, (M.)

\* This passage has also to be compared with the extract, commencing with Pâleka, from the Prâkrit *Gâthâs*, given by Dr. Bühler, *ante*, Vol. II. p. 362f.

<sup>15</sup> *Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. IX. p. 15.* The expression is *Nav-ôttarê-bda-satadvayê Gupta n ipa-râjya-bhûktau* *śrîmati pravardhamîna-vijaya-râjyê Mah-âivayuja-samvatsarê* &c.—We have very much later dates in the era; e.g. in Nêpâl, without any name being allotted to it, up to A.D. 854 (*ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 345, inscription P.); and in Kâthiâwâd, under the name of the Valabhi-

Samvat, up to A.D. 1264 (*ante*, Vol. XI. p. 241.) And one of the Kâthiâwâd inscriptions, *vis.* the Môrbi plate of A.D. 804, actually associates the name of the Guptas with the era, if in line 17 (*ante*, Vol. II. p. 258), where there is obviously an error of some kind or another, *gôptê* is a mistake for *gauplê*.—But the instance given above is the latest one in which the duration of the Gupta sovereignty is connected with the era.

<sup>16</sup> *ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 342, note 1.

- HOT**,—Tatto, (Eng.); tablô, tattô, (Tch.); tattô, (As. Tch.)  
**HOUR**,—Ora, yora, (Eng.); ôra, (Tch.); chas, (M.)  
**HOUSE**,—Ken, keir, ker, (Eng.); kher, kfer, her, ker, (dim.) kerorô, (loc.) kerê, (Tch.); guri, gur (As. Tch.); ker, (Psp. M.); khër, (dim.) khërorô, (M.); kher, (M. 7)  
**HOUSE OF A JUSTICE OF THE PEACE**,—Pokiniskoe ker, (Eng.)  
**HOUSE-BREAKING**,—Keir poggring, (Eng.)  
**HOUSEMAID**,—Keir-rakli, (Eng.); pokoyôva, pokoyôvê, (M.)  
**HOW**,—Sar, sau, (Eng.); sar, (Tch.); sar, (M.); ani, (M. 7)  
**HOW MANY?** } Kebôr, (Psp. M.); sôden, sodên,  
**HOW LONG?** } sôde, sodi, sôde, (M.)  
**HOW MUCH?**—Sau kisi, kisi, (Eng.); quichi, (Span. Gip.); abôr, kebôr, kett, (Tch.); kett, (Psp. M.); sôden, sodên, sôde, sôdi, sôde, (M.); kazom, keti, (M. 7)  
**HULK FOR CONVICTS**,—Berro, bêro, (Eng.); bero, (Span. Gip.)  
**HUMAN**,—Lachighiôskoro, (Tch.)  
**HUMANITY**,—Manushipê, (Tch.)  
**HUMBLE**,—Kharnô, siknô, (Tch.); kharno, (M. 7), sikno, (M. 8)  
**HUMBLE ONESELF**, to,—Khârniovâva, (Tch.)  
**HUMBLE ONESELF**, to cause to,—Kharniarâva; (Tch.)  
**HUMILITY**,—Kharnipê, (Tch.)  
**HUMP**,—Khôchika, (Tch.)  
**HUNDRED**,—Shel, shil, shevêl (Tch.); shil, shel, (Psp. M.); shôl, (M.); shel, (M. 8)  
**HUNDREDWEIGHT**,—Oëgnâri, (M.)  
**HUNG**,—Nashado, nashko, nasho, (Eng.)  
**HUNGER**,—Bokh, (M., M. 8)  
**HUNGRY**,—Bokkalo, buklo, (Eng.); buklo tan, (Hun. Gip.); bokhalô, (M.)  
**HUNGRY**, to be,—Bokâliovâva, (Psp. M.); bokha-l'ovâva, (M.)  
**HUNT**,—Pol'uvâne, vênât, (M.)  
**HUNT**, to,—Pal'ôdâva, (Tch.)  
**HURLER**,—Wusto-mengro, (Eng.)  
**HURT**, to,—Dôkâva, dukêva, (Eng.); musarâva, (M., M. 8)  
**HUSBAND**,—Rom, rommado, (Eng.); rom, (M.)  
**HUT**,—Kôlyba, (Tch.) kolîba, (M.)  
**HUT**, little,—Kolihôcê, (M.)  
**HUT**, of or belonging to,—Kolybêngoro, (Tch.)
- I
- I**,—Mi, man, (Eng.); me, (Tch.); me, mi, (M.); me, (M. 8)  
**I ALONE**,—Mi kokoro, (Eng.)  
**I AND**,—Mêya, (Tch.)
- I MYSELF**,—Mi kokoro, (Eng.)  
**ICE**,—Buziâ, (Tch.)  
**IDIOTIC**,—Levavdô, (Tch.)  
**IF**,—Is, (Eng.); te, (Tch., M. 8)  
**IF IT WAS**,—Sas, (Eng.)  
**IGNORANT**,—Yosmâs, (Tch.)  
**IMAGE**,—Dikkipen, (Eng.)  
**IMMEDIATELY**,—Ëndâtê, ëndâta, (M.)  
**IMMERSE**, to,—Bolâva, (Tch., M. 7)  
**IMMORTAL**,—Vimulô, (M.)  
**IMPLEMENT OF IRON**,—Chinkerdô, (Tch.)  
**IMPOSSIBLE**,—Nâstis, (Eng.)  
**IMPRECATION**,—Armân, armaniâ, (Tch.)  
**IMPRISONED**,—Pandlo, stardo, (Eng.)  
**IN**,—Inna, inner, drey, ando, (Eng.)  
**IN NO MANNER**,—Asarlas, (Eng.)  
**IN THAT MANNER**,—Dov-odoykoenoes, (Eng.)  
**IN THIS MANNER**,—Kavokoiskoenoes, (Eng.)  
**INCREASE**,—Bariovâva, (Psp. M.)  
**INDEBTED**,—Pazortthus, (Eng.)  
**INFANT**,—Tiknô, (Psp. M.)  
**INHABIT**, to,—Lodâva, (Tch.); beshâva, (Psp. M.)  
**INJURY**,—Kushipê, (Tch.)  
**INJUSTICE**,—Band'imâs, (M.)  
**INSIDE**,—Andrâl, (M.)  
**INN**,—Kitchema, (Eng.); traktêrna, traktérne, (M.)  
**INN-KEEPER**,—Hanlo, kitchema-mengro, (Eng.); anglanô, (Span. Gip.); cf. LANDLORD.  
**INQUIRE**, to,—Puchâva, (Eng.); puchâva, pachâva, (Tch.)  
**INSECT**,—Pishen, (Eng.)  
**INSIDE**,—Wendror, (Eng.)  
**INSTRUMENT OF MUSIC**,—Sâzi, (Tch.)  
**INSULT**, to,—Kushâva, (Tch., M. 7)  
**INTELLIGENCE**,—Gott, godi, gudî, (Tch.)  
**INTELLIGENT**,—Godialô, godiâvêr, godiakoro, (Tch.)  
**INTO**,—Adrey, (Eng.)  
**INTOXICATED**,—Matto, (Eng.); mattô, mattô mâmîni, mattô gargêshi, mattô korô, matticanô, (Tch.); zerkôshi, (As. Tch.); matô, mat'ârno, (M.)  
**INVALID**,—Naisvâli, (Psp. M.)  
**IRASCIBLE**,—Jungâlo, (Tch.)  
**IRON**,—Saster, (Eng.); shastir, sastir, sâstêr, sastrî, (Tch.); lui, (As. Tch.); shastir, shastrî, (Psp. M.); sâster, sastrî, sâstri, (M.); shastrî, (M. 8)  
**IRON**, of or belonging to,—Shasturnô, (Tch.); sastrunô, (M.)  
**IRONMONGER**,—Saster-mengro, (Eng.)  
**IS**,—Se, (Eng.)  
**IT**,—Lou, li, i, (Eng.)  
**IT IS POSSIBLE**,—Astis, (Eng.)  
**ITCH**,—Eange, (Eng.); gbel, gher, (Tch.); khanitri, (As. Tch.); ghêr, (Psp. M.); ger, (M. 7)  
**ITCHY**,—Gherâlô, (Psp. M.)

## J

- JEST,—Figl'uri, (M.)  
 JEW,—Jut, (dim.) jutoró, (Tch.); jut, (Psp. M., M. 7); zhidovu, zidos, (M.)  
 JEWEL,—Minriolò, (Tch.)  
 JEWELLERY,—Rupuibá, (Tch.)  
 JEWESS,—Zhidóuka, (M.)  
 JEWISH,—Jutnò, (Tch.)  
 JOIN ONESELF, to,—Ent'egosard'ováva, (M.)  
 JOINED,—Ent'egomi, entegomi, (M.)  
 JOKE, to,—Shëguisaráva, (M.)  
 JOURNEY, to,—Jaláva, (Eng.)  
 JOY,—Loshanibé, (Tch.)  
 JOYOUS,—Loshanò, loshanutnò, (Tch.); loshano, (M. 8)  
 JOYOUS, to be,—Loshaniováva, (Tch.)  
 JUDGE,—Borobeshemeskeguero, (Eng.)  
 JUMP, to,—Hoktáva, (Eng.)  
 JUST SO,—Huey, (As. Tch.)  
 JUSTICE,—Chehept, chechipt, chechimás, kanónu, zhudekátá, (M.)  
 JUSTICE OF THE PEACE,—Poknies, (Eng.)

## K

- KEEP, to,—Garáva, (M.)  
 KEEP UP, to,—Atcháva opré, (Eng.)  
 KERCHIEF,—Diklò, (M.)  
 KERNEL,—Shiru, (M.)  
 KETTLE,—Kekkauvi, (Eng.); kakkavi, kakkávi, (Tch.); kakavi, kakávi, (M., M. 7)  
 KETTLE-IRON,—Kekkauviskey saster, (Eng.)  
 KEY,—Kliem, klian, (Eng.); kilidit, klidit, (Tch.); jup, (As. Tch.); key, (M.); klidi, kulcho, (M. 7)  
 KEYHOLE,—Kliem-hev, (Eng.)  
 KICK,—Lakhtí, lakhti, (Tch., M. 8)  
 KICK, to,—Lakhtí dáva, lakht dáva, (Tch.); laht dáva, (Psp. M.)  
 KID LEATHER,—Khel, (As. Tch.)  
 KILL, to,—Moráva, moráva, (Eng.); ohináva, (Tch.); mudaráva, (M.)  
 KILLED,—Moreno, (Eng.)  
 KIND, (subst.)—Shéhi, shékhí, (Tch.)  
 KINDLE, to,—Taráva, (Tch.); phabaráva, (M.); tharáva, (M. 8)  
 KINDNESS,—Lachipé, (Tch.)  
 KING,—Krallis, (Eng.); dakár, dakhár, takár, takhár, taghár, krális, (Tch.); takhár, taakár, (Psp. M.); kirayi, kráyu, krul'u, królú, (M.); dakar, kralis, (M. 7)  
 KING'S SON,—Krulevich, (M.)  
 KINGDOM,—Dakaribá, (Tch.); èmpèrècte, èmparactiya, èmparactye, èmpèrèctye, (M.)  
 KISS,—Chómia, (Eng.); chupendi, (Span. Gip.); cham, ohumf, ohumidibé, (Tch.); mutis, (As. Tch.); chumf, ohám, (Psp. M.); ohumb, (M. 7)

- KISS, to,—Chómáva, (Eng.); ohumidáva, (Tch., Psp. M., M.)  
 KITE,—Zimú, zmiy, (M.)  
 KITCHEN-UTENSILS,—Khárkoma, (Tch.); khar-koma, (M. 7)  
 KITTEN,—Mécëshóra, mecëshoaré, (M.)  
 KNEAD, to,—Uahleráva, (Tch.)  
 KNEE,—Chong, (pl.) chongor, (Eng.); koch, chidini, (Tch.); kóch, (Psp. M.); chang, (M.); koch, (M. 7)  
 KNIFE,—Churi, (Eng.); chort, churt, chindalt, kupidit, (Tch.); churt, (Psp. M., M. 7); shurt, (M.)  
 KNIFE-GRINDER,—Churi-mengro, (Eng.)  
 KNIT, to,—Kuváva, khuváva, (Tch.); khuváva, (M. 7)  
 KNOB, KNOT,—Kochak, (M. 7)  
 KNOCK DOWN, to,—Pashliá keráva, (Tch.)  
 KNOW, to,—Jináva, (Eng.); pinjaráva, pincharáva, janáva, (Tch.); (pres. 1) janémi, (As. Tch.); zhanáva, (M.); janáva, (M. 7); prinjanáva, (M. 8)  
 KNOWN, to be,—Pinjarghiováva, (Tch.)  
 KNOWING-FELLOW, a—Jinney-mengro, (Eng.)  
 KNOWLEDGE,—Jinnepen, (Eng.); vëste, (M.)  
 KREUZER, (a coin)—Griycár, (M.)

## L

- LABOUR,—Kairipen, (Eng.)  
 LABOUR, to,—But'aráva, (M.)  
 LACE,—Dori, (Eng.); shnúru, (M.)  
 LACERATE, to,—Flekuisaráva, (M.)  
 LACKEY,—L'ókay, l'okáy, l'okáyi, l'okáyu, l'okayoe, (M.)  
 LAD,—Ohal, mushipen, raklo, (Eng.); mureb, mrush, (dim.) murehoró, raklò, (Tch.); mrush, (M. 8)  
 LADLE,—Poloniku, (M.)  
 LAKE,—Yázo, yázu, (M.)  
 LADY,—Áranya, rawnie, aranya, (Eng.); aranye, (Hun. Gip.); ránni, khulanf, (Tch.); rayf, stépéné, (M.)  
 LADY, young,—T'ira, (M.)  
 LAMB,—Bakroró, bakrichò, (Tch.); bakrishò, (M.)  
 LAMB, of or belonging to,—Bakrichanò, (Tch.)  
 LAMB,—Lang, lango, (Eng.); pankò, pangó, (Psp. M.); lang, (M., M. 8)  
 LAMB, to,—Pangheráva, (Psp. M.)  
 LAMP,—Likhnári, fanári, fenghiardò, (Tch.)  
 LANCERS,—Bustiágoro, (Tch.)  
 LAND,—Cénútu, cénúto, t'em, (M.)  
 LANDLORD,—Hanlo, (Eng.); gázda, gazhò, gazhó, gospodár, (M.); see INNKEEPER.  
 LANGUAGE,—Shóra, shóros, (Tch.)  
 LANTERN,—Mómli-mengro, (Eng.); diklò, (Tch.)  
 LAP,—Pusét't, pusett't, (M.)

- LARGE**,—Barô, (comp.) baredâr, (Tch.); adicô, adica, (M.); baro, (M. 7)
- LAST**,—Palalunô, palalutnô, (Tch.)
- LAUGH**, to,—Salâva, (Eng.); asâva, (Tch., Psp. M., M. 7); khashiri, khesti, (As. Tch.)
- LAUGH**,—Asaibê, (Tch.)
- LAUGH AT**, to,—Khokhavâva, (Tch., M. 7)
- LAWYER**,—Rokrengero, (Eng.)
- LAY**, to,—Shuvâva, (M.)
- LAY DOWN**, to,—Tovâva, pâshliovâva, (Tch.); thoâva, (M.); thovâva, (M. 8)
- LAY DOWN**, to cause to,—Pashlerâva, (Tch.)
- LAY**, to (eggs),—Biâva, (Tch.); kôrâva, karâva, (M.)
- LEAD**,—Archich, plâmbu, plumb, (M.); moliû, (M. 8)
- LEAD**, to,—Anâva, (Tch.); ôngôrâva, (M.)
- LEAF**,—Pattin, (pl.) pattinor, (Eng.); patia, (Span. Gip.); patrîn, patr, pati, patri, fillo, (Tch.); chilo, (As. Tch.); patrîn, (Psp. M., M.); patr, (M. 8)
- LEAP**, to,—Hoktâva, (Eng.); dukhkiâva, (Tch.); dekhviti, dekhviti, (As. Tch.)
- LEAPER**,—Hokta-mengro, (Eng.)
- LEARN** to,—Shikliovâva, (Psp. M.); set'ovâva, (M.)
- LEARNING**,—Sherro's kairipen, (Eng.)
- LEAST**, at,—Makâr, mēkâr, (M.)
- LEATHER**,—Cham, (Eng.); mortî, perchâs, (Tch.); meshîn, mezin, (As. Tch.); mortî, (Psp. M., M. 8); cipa, (M. 7)
- LEAVE**, to,—Mekâva, (Eng.); mukâva, mukhâva, (Tch.); mekâva, shudâva, (M.); mukâva, (M. 8)
- LEAVE BEHIND** to,—Mekâva, (M.)
- LEECH**,—Pivavicha, (Tch.)
- LESS**,—Purtum, purrun, (Eng.)
- LEFT**,—Bango, (Eng.); stôngo, (M.); styng, zervo, (M. 8)
- LEG**,—(pl.) Heres, heris, (Eng.); jerias, (Span. Gip.) chang, chank, (Tch.)
- LEGS**, one who has,—Changunô, (Tch.)
- LEND**, to,—Êmprumutîâva, êmprumutisarâva, (M.)
- LENGTH**,—Duripê, (Tch.); lûngo, (M.)
- LET**,—Mekâva, (Eng.)
- LET DOWN**, to,—Hularâva, (M.)
- LET GO**, to,—Mekâva, (M.)
- LETTER**,—Lil, china-mengri, (Eng.); lil, (M., M. 8)
- LIAR**,—Hoffeno, huffeno, (Eng.); khokhavnô, khokhamnô, khokhamnô, (Tch.); elketri, (As. Tch.); khokhamnô, (M.)
- LICK**, to,—Charâva, (Tch. M., M. 7)
- LICKS HIS LIPS**, one who,—Chardicanê-vustên-goro, (Tch.)
- LIE**—Hokkano, (Eng.); khokamniê, khokhaimbê, (Tch.); elki, (As. Tch.); khohaimpê, (Psp. M.)
- LIE**, to,—Hokkâva, (Eng.)
- LIE DOWN**, to,—Sovêva tûley, (Eng.)
- LIFE**,—Merripen, mestipen, jibben, (Eng.); jibê, (Tch.); mejende, (As. Tch.)
- LIFT UP**, to,—Lazdava, (Tch.); (imperat. 2) lishdê, (As. Tch.); musarâva, vazdâva, (M.)
- LIFT ONESELF UP**, to,—Pornisard'ovâva, (M.)
- LIGATURE**,—Bandipê, banloipê, (Tch.)
- LIGHT** (adj.)—Lokô, (comp.) lokodêr, (Tch.); lokô, (Psp. M., M. 8); linu, (M.)
- LIGHT**, a,—Dudê, (Eng.); mumelt, (M.)
- LIGHT**, to,—Alavâva, tarâva, (Tch.); yak lekâva, (As. Tch.); sînciâva, (M.); tharâva, (M.)
- LIGHT A FIRE**, to,—Hatchâva, (Eng.)
- LIGHTNESS**,—Lokipê, (Tch.)
- LIGHTNING**,—Malâno, maloney, (Eng.)
- LIKE**, (adv.)—An, ant, in, eni, (Tch.); vari, (As. Tch.)
- LIKE**, to,—Kamâva, (M.)
- LIKEWISE**,—Asâ, asau, (Eng.)
- LINDEN-TREE**,—Tey, t'âyû, kyâyû, (M.)
- LINEN**,—Pokhtân, (Tch.); yîsmata, (Psp. M.); pokhtan, (M. 8)
- LINEN-MAKER**, or seller,—Pokhtanêskoro, (Tch.)
- LINGUIST**,—Lav-engro, (Eng.)
- LINK**,—Zâves, (Tch.)
- LIP**,—Vusht, vust, vush, usht, (Tch.); osht, (As. Tch.); vûst, (Psp. M.); (pl.) usht, (M.); vusht, (M. 8)
- LIP**, (dim.)—Vustorô, (Tch.)
- LITTLE**,—Beti, tawno, tawnie, tikno, (Eng.); chinoro, (Span. Gip.); khurdô, (dim.) khurdorô, (comp.) khurdedêr, tiknô, (comp.) tiknedêr, (Tch.); khandi, (Psp. M.); cêgnô, cênonô, cênunô, cênônu, khurdô, (M.); khurdo, (M. 7); tikno, (M. 8)
- LITTLE**, a,—Cêra, cêrâ, cêrê, (M.)
- LIVE**, to,—jibâva, (Eng.); jivâva, (Tch., Psp. M., M. 7); beshâva, (M.)
- LIVED**, to have,—Jivghiovava, (Tch.)
- LIVELIHOOD**,—Jibben, mestipen, (Eng.)
- LIVER**,—Bâko, bukka, (Eng.); vëndery, (M. 8)
- LIVER COMPLAINT**,—Bukka, nâsipen, (Eng.)
- LIVING**, (adj.)—Zhudô, (M.)
- LIVING**, (sub.)—Mestipen, (Eng.); mestipen, besti-pen (Span. Gip.)
- LIZARD**,—Kholistrâva, (Tch.)
- LOAD**,—Behri, (As. Tch.)
- LOAD**, to,—Ladavâva, (Tch., M.); shuvâva, (M.)
- LOAD A PISTOL**, to,—Marâva, (M.)
- LOADED**, to be,—Ladâvghiovâva, (Tch.)
- LOAM**,—Chik, (M.)
- LOCK**,—Kliam-engri, (Eng.)
- LOCUST-BEAN**,—Shengûri, (Tch.)
- LOG**,—Kasht, (M.)
- LONDON**,—Boro-gav, Lundra, (Eng.)
- LONG**,—Dugo, (M. 7)

LONGING.—Dôru, (M.)  
 LOOK, to,—Dikâva, (Eng.); akushâva, rodâva, (M.)  
 LORD,—Raia, rye, (Eng.); khulâi, râi, (Tch.); ray,  
 râyu, stêpên, stêpênu, (dim.) rayorô, (M.)  
 LORD, of or belonging to,—Khulanô, (Tch.); rayi-  
 kanô, (M.)  
 LOSE, to,—Nashâva, (Eng.); najabar, (Span.  
 Gip.); nashavâva, nashâv kerâva, (Tch.)  
 nashavâva, (Psp. M.); khasarâva, (M.  
 M. 7)  
 LOSS,—Ziyan, (M. 8)  
 LOST,—Nashado, (Eng.)  
 LOST, to be,—Nashâvghiovava, (Tch.)  
 LOUSE,—Ju, (pl.) juvior, (Eng.); juv, (Tch., Psp.,  
 M., M. 7), Cf. NIT.  
 LOUSY,—Juvalo, (Eng.); juvalô, (Tch.)  
 LOUSY, to become,—Juvâliovâva, (Tch.)  
 LOVE,—Dukaibê, dukanibê, (Tch.); manghishê,  
 (As. Tch.); drag, (M.)  
 LOVE to,—Kamâva, kamellôva, kamôva, (Eng.);  
 dukâva, (Tch.); kamâva, (M.)  
 LOVE ONE ANOTHER, to,—Ëndragostisard'ovâva,  
 (M.)  
 LOVE-AFFAIR,—Drâgoste, (M.)  
 LOVELY,—Lînu, (M.)  
 LOVER, a,—Kamo-mescro, (Eng.); dukanô, châino,  
 (Tch.); piramnô, (f) piramnt, (M.)  
 LOW,—Siknô, (Tch., M. 8); bûna, bûnoz, (As. Tch.)  
 LOWER, to,—Têliovava, (Tch.); mekâva, (M.)

LUCK,—Bokht, mestipen, (Eng.); mestipen,  
 bestipen, (Span. Gip.); bakht, (Tch.)  
 LULLABY,—Suttur-ghlie, (Eng.)  
 LUMP,—Boc, (M.)  
 LUTE,—Lâuta, (Tch.)  
 LYING down,—pashlo, (Tch., M. 8)

## M

MAD,—Diviou, (Eng.); denilô, dinilô, dilinô,  
 (Tch.); lûvali, (As. Tch.); hegedûsh, (M.)  
 divio, (M. 7)  
 MAD, to become,—Dentliovâva, (Tch.); d'il'ovava,  
 (M.)  
 MADHOUSE,—Diviou-ker, (Eng.)  
 MAGAZINE,—Magazînu, magazênu, (M.)  
 MAGNATE,—Raia, rye, (Eng.); khulâi, râi, (Tch.)  
 MAGPIE,—Rokrenchericlo, kakkaratchi, (Eng.)  
 karakâshka, kakarâshka, (Tch.)  
 MAID-SERVANT,—Hargâta, (M.); sluga, (M. 8)  
 MAIDEN,—Rakli, (M.)  
 MAINTAIN, to,—Zabaviâva, (M.)  
 MAIZE,—Kukurûzo, kukurûzu, kut'alô, (M.)  
 MAJOR,—Mayôru, (M.)  
 MAKE, to,—Kerâva, (Eng., Tch., Psp. M., M. 7)  
 gherâva, kôrâva, karâva, thôava, (M.)  
 MAKE, to cause to,—Kerghiâ kerâva, (Tch.)  
 MALE,—Nêre, (As. Tch.)  
 MALE-BIRD,—Bosno, boshno, (Eng.)  
 MALEDICTION,—Beddaa, (As. Tch.)  
 MALICIOUS,—Tippoty, (Eng.)

## MISCELLANEA.

## THE VIJAYANAGARA GENEALOGY.

In the course of certain correspondence with a literary opponent, Dr. G. Oppert<sup>1</sup> has referred to my two papers on the Karpâta dynasty,<sup>2</sup> and, though condescendingly admitting that my reprint of the two grants "is on the whole pretty correct,"—adds that "Dr. Hultzsch, being led astray by foregone conclusions, perhaps also misled by the repeated re-occurrence of a similar succession of names, committed himself to a series of blunders."

The accusation directed against me by Dr. Oppert recoils on himself. The names printed in italics in his genealogical table, are mere repetitions of persons previously named. A grant of Raṅga III.<sup>3</sup> and five grants of Venkâta II., impressions of which I owe to the kindness of Dr. Burgess, are identical with the two published grants down to Tirumala III., the father of the two donors.<sup>4</sup> As the dates of these six grants range between Śaka 1497 and 1535, Pedavenkaṭa, whose grant is dated in Śaka 1558, cannot have belonged to the fourth generation after Raṅga III.

<sup>1</sup> *Epilogue to Ne Sutor Ultra Crepidam*, p. 76.

<sup>2</sup> *ante*, Vol. XIII. pp. 125, 153.

and Venkâta II., which he did according to Dr. Oppert's table. The key to the difficulty is supplied by stanza 28 of the Koṇḍyâta grant (= stanza 25 of the Kallakurî grant), which runs thus:—

पूर्व विभुतरामराजपुत्रेः श्रीरामभद्राकृतेः  
 कल्याणोद्भवसालिनस्तनुमवा[?] पश्य प्रपञ्चावने ।  
 वक्षा नीलिवयानुगाः समभवन्सीरावणाकामिनो  
 श्रीर्वापालजयूरुहा इव बुधभेणीवरावीर्यवका ॥

"Formerly from the famous king Rāmaraja, who resembled divine Rāma in appearance, and who possessed prosperity and majesty, there sprang five sons, who were able to protect the world, who followed the path of policy, and who longed to grant the desires of the crowd of wise men, just as the (five) trees of paradise, which had sprung from the milk ocean."

The word *pārvam*, 'formerly,' suggests that the genealogist refers to another Rāma than Rāma VI., viz. to Rāma II.; and the correctness of this supposition is proved by two facts:—

1. Venkâṭādri (styled Venkâta I. by Dr. Oppert) is called the younger brother of

<sup>3</sup> In order to avoid confusion, I adopt Dr. Oppert's numbers.

<sup>4</sup> For particulars on these grants see l. c. p. 155.

Pedavenkātā's grandfather, in stanza 31 of the Kaṭākūṣi grant:—

2. Dr. Oppert's table furnishes an additional proof, as it gives the names of the four brothers of Rāṅga II., to whom each of the two grants published by myself alludes.

In this manner the miraculous double string of similar names disappears. Dr. Oppert's Rāṅga VII. and his two sons Pedavenkātā and Chinnavenkātā are identical with Rāṅga II. and his two sons

Pedavenkātā and Chinnavenkātā (Pīnavenkātā in the grants); and Venkātā V., his son Rāṅga VIII., and his grandson Gopāla, with Venkātā I. (Venkātādri in the grants), his son Rāṅga IV., and his grandson Gopāla.

These corrections having been made, Dr. Oppert's table agrees, as far as I can control it, with my revised table of the Karnaṭa dynasty.\*

E. HULTSCH.

Vienna, 12th March 1886.

### BOOK NOTICES.

JOURNAL OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, Vol. XVI. No. XLIII. 1885. Edited by the Secretary. Bombay: The Society's Library, Townhall; London: Trübner and Co. pp. 167 to 389, xix. to xliii., and Index i. to v.

Two full years elapsed between the issue of No. XLII., the first half of this volume, and the issue, at the end of February of this year, of the present Number which completes it. It is much to be wished that the Secretary would follow the example of the Royal and the Bengal Asiatic Societies, and issue smaller parts at frequent intervals, thus providing for the more speedy publication of the papers submitted to the Society, instead of keeping them locked up from the public for so long a time.—It is also desirable that the papers published in the Journal should invariably be headed by the dates on which they are read before, or submitted to, the Society. In previous volumes, it has been the custom usually, though not quite always, to give this information; in the present Number, it has been uniformly omitted.—The Index is meagre, and gives a very inadequate idea of the various contents of the Volume. It has been prepared, however, in accordance with the custom for previous volumes. The practical value of these volumes would be much enhanced by full and detailed Indices. The Editor himself can hardly be expected to do this work alone. But much might be done in this direction by securing the co-operation of the scholars whose papers are printed in the Journal; each of them would probably gladly assist by indexing his own contributions.

As to the contents of this Number,—in the first paper, Art. XII. "On the *Auchityālamkāra* of Kaṣemendra" (p. 167 ff.), Dr. Peterson draws special attention to a verse, cited in the *Mahābhāṣya*, and now found to be quoted by Kaṣemendra (A.D. 1050) and assigned by him to "Kumārādāsa, an author whose date is not known, but who, from the specimens of his style available in the later anthologies, cannot," Dr. Peterson contends, "be placed so far back as

"B.C. 150, the date now commonly accepted for "Patañjali."—To this paper Dr. Peterson has attached a "Note on the date of Patañjali" (p. 181 ff.), with the object of showing that the grammarian in question lived in the time of a king Pushpamitra or Pushyamitra, who was conquered by the Early Gupta king Skandagupta; i. e., in accordance with Dr. Peterson's view of the epoch of the Gupta era (published by him in a subsequent paper and noticed below), about the middle of the fifth century A.D. The question depends in the first place upon a grammatical example, given in his *Mahābhāṣya* by Patañjali,—*iha Pushpamitraṃ yajayāmaḥ*,—which indicates that Patañjali lived in the time, and perhaps at the court, of Pushpamitra. But, whatever may be shown hereafter to be the real truth as to Patañjali's date, the rest of Dr. Peterson's argument, as to the identity of this Pushpamitra, loses its validity, in consequence of the fact that the passage in the Bhitari inscription, on which he relies, is—not *samudita-bala-kōśhāt-Pushyamitraṃ cha jito*, as he gives it on Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajī's authority—but *samudita-bala-kōśhāt-Pushyamitram=cha jito*. Skandagupta conquered, not a particular king named Pushyamitra, but the tribe, confederacy, or dynasty, of the Pushyamitras.

Art. XIII. a "Note on Bādarāyaṇa" (p. 194 ff.), by the Hon'ble K. T. Telang, is directed against Professor Weber's inclination to identify this writer, the author of the *Brahma-Sūtras*, with Śuka, one of whose pupils was Gauḍapāda, the teacher of Gōvindanātha, who again was the preceptor of Śaṅkarācārya; on which identification Prof. Weber would refer Bādarāyaṇa conjecturally to between 400 and 500 A.D. Mr. Telang's opinion is that "the *Brahma-Sūtras* "date back to a far remoter age than that which "Professor Weber assigns to them" as above; but he does not appear to be prepared at present to suggest an absolute date for them and their author.

Art. XIV. "The date of Patañjali; A Reply to Professor Peterson" (p. 199 ff.), is a paper by



Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, who, in respect of the more special point relied on by Dr. Peterson, applies himself to showing that the Pushpamitra (or Pushyamitra) in whose reign Patañjali lived, must have been Pushpamitra the Śunga, of the second century B.C. In a footnote on p. 217, he points out that, on my reading of the passage in the Bhitari inscription, it refers to the Pushyamitras as a tribe, not to an individual king named Pushyamitra. He also quotes some other interesting historical allusions in the *Mahābhāṣya*, tending to support his (and the late Dr. Goldstücker's) selection of the middle of the second century B.C. as the proper date of Patañjali.

Art. XV. "Five Copper-Plate grants of the Western Chalukya Dynasty from the Karnūl District" (p. 223ff.), is a paper by myself on four grants sent to me for examination by Mr. R. Sewell, M. C. S., and a fifth obtained otherwise. The paper is accompanied by lithographs of the plates, executed very successfully in the Survey of India Offices, Calcutta. No. 1 is the revised text of the inscription dated in the first year of Āḍityavarman, a son of Pulikēśin II., which was originally published by me in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 68ff., and which brought Āḍityavarman's name to notice for the first time. Nos. 2 and 3 are inscriptions of Vikramāditya I., another son of Pulikēśin II., now published for the first time, and dated in respectively the third and the tenth years of his reign. The chief interest of these two inscriptions is, that they are undoubtedly genuine inscriptions of Vikramāditya I. and show that he reigned for at least ten years; and that, in connection with Āḍityavarman's grant, they shew that, in spite of the reverses which the Western Chalukyas appear to have suffered after the death of Pulikēśin II., the continuity of their rule was maintained over at any rate such portions of their dominions as lay in the Karnūl direction. No. 4 purports to be another inscription, also now published for the first time, of Vikramāditya I., without date; it is possibly spurious. No. 5, from Togarchēḍu, is the revised text of an inscription, previously published by me from somewhat imperfect materials in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 85ff., of Vinayāditya, the son of Vikramāditya I., dated when Śaka-Samvat 611 had expired, and therefore when Śaka-Samvat 612 (A.D. 690-91) was current, on the full-moon day of the month Kārttika in the tenth year of his reign.

Art. XVI. "Wilson Lectureship: Development of Language and of Sanskrit" (p. 245ff.); Art. XVII. "Pāli and other Dialects of the Period" (p. 275ff.); and Art. XVIII. "Relations between Sanskrit, Pāli, the Prākṛite, and the

Modern Vernaculars" (p. 314ff.) by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, are Nos. I. II. and VII. of the Lectures delivered by him as the First Series of the University of Bombay Wilson Philological Lectures. A foot-note on page 245 tells us that they have, on Dr. Bhandarkar's offer, been printed in this volume in connection with the controversy as to the date of Patañjali. The conclusions at which Dr. Bhandarkar arrives, on linguistic development and similar grounds, are—that Pāṇini must be referred to about the eighth century B.C.; that Yāska must have flourished about the seventh or sixth century B.C.; that, as regards Kātyāyana, we may accept the popular tradition which refers him to the period of the Nandas, i.e. to about the first quarter of the fourth century B.C.; and that Patañjali lived in the middle of the second century B.C. As regards the languages, his conclusions are—that the Middle Sanskrit, or the Sanskrit of Yāska and Pāṇini, continued without any important corruption down to Yāska's time. "After his time, however, i.e. about the seventh or sixth century, the elaboration of the Pāli, or 'Low Sanskrit as it might be called, began in a decided manner; and the language continued to be spoken up to the time of Patañjali." . . . "The Prākṛite must have begun to be formed about that time; but they did not then attain any distinctive character; and the vernacular 'speech probably did not finally leave the Pāli stage till a very long time afterwards." . . . "The growth of the specific Prākṛite . . . must be referred to the early centuries of the Christian era." . . . "About the sixth or seventh century, 'the Apabhraṃśa was developed in the country where the Brajabhāṣā prevails in modern times." . . . And finally—"The modern vernaculars seem to have begun to assume a distinctive character about the tenth century. In the 'copper-plate inscription containing the name of 'Bhāskarāchārya, dated 1128 Śaka or 1206 A.C., 'which I once mentioned before, Marāṭhī appears 'in its specific character; and so also does Hindi 'in the work of Chānd, who flourished about the 'same time.'—Coupled with their own intrinsic value, the bearing of these Lectures (indirect though it is) on the Patañjali controversy, which is the subject of two of the preceding papers in this volume, may be accepted as sufficient reason for the printing of them in the Society's Journal on this occasion, as a special case. But it is to be hoped that this is not to become a precedent for the future publication of all the Wilson Lectures in this way. The present three Lectures, with the short Note attached to them (pp. 343ff) occupy one

hundred and one pages out of the two hundred and twenty-three of which this Number consists. The funds of the Society, as far as they are expended on its Journal, are intended for the publication of papers read before the Society itself, and for the cost of plates to accompany them; not for the publication of outside papers and lectures, which ought to be otherwise provided for.—Dr. Bhandarkar's first Lecture is headed by the invocation *Namah Paramātmanē*, "Reverence to the Supreme Spirit!" This is quite out of place in an English Society's Journal; as also is the analogous *Om! Gaṇeśāya namaḥ!* "Om! Salutation to Gaṇeśa!" at the commencement of Count A. De Gubernatis' Sanskrit address, published at p. xxviii. ff. of this Number. In both instances, these exclamations should have been cancelled by the Secretary in editing the volume.

In Art. XIX. "A Copper-plate Grant of the Traikūṭaka king Dahrasēna" (p. 346ff.), Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji gives an account, with text and translation, of a new and interesting inscription, now published for the first time, from some plates forwarded to the Society by Mr. J. G. White, B. C. S. Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji considers that the king's name as given here, Dahrasēna, is a corruption, or popular pronunciation, of 'Dharasēna.' The inscription is dated in the year 207 of some unspecified era, which he considers to belong to an era established by the Traikūṭakas, and commencing A.D. 249. He refers, in this connection, to Dr. Bird's Kanheri plate, as being dated specifically in the year 245 of the era of the Traikūṭakas. He also notices, in order to reject it on grounds which in themselves are scarcely sufficient, Dr. Bhandarkar's inclination to take this as the era of the Rāshtrakūṭas (*Early History of the Dekkan*, p. 35f.) But, in order to prevent the possibility of any suggestion as to a Rāshtrakūṭa era being thrown out again on the same grounds, he should have explained more fully why Dr. Bhandarkar is mistaken in this respect, and how the mistake arose. The original Kanheri plate has been lost sight of; and all that is now available for deciphering it, is the imperfect lithograph published by Dr. Bird. In re-editing this inscription in No. 10 of the separate publications of the Archaeological Survey of Western India, p. 57ff., Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji read *Trikūṭakandam*, with the remark "the *tri* in Bird's copy looks like *stra*; but the upper part must be for the circle denoting *i*, badly formed." Dr. Bhandarkar then accepted the reading of *Strakūṭakandam*, and took 'Strakūṭa' as either an abbreviation of, or

a mislection for, Rāshtrakūṭa; and hence arose his theory as to the Rāshtrakūṭa era. It is perfectly plain, however, that Dr. Bird has only given a somewhat imperfect representation of *ttrai*, in which the *t*, followed by *r*, is doubled (in accordance with an early custom of orthography), and that the correct reading of his plate was *Ttraikūṭakandam*.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's notice of a new inscription of so much interest should have been accompanied by a lithograph, for which the original plates afford very good materials.—In his text, he has twice (in lines 2 and 3 of the second plate) written the *upadhmanīya*, instead of the *jihva-mūṭya*, before *ka*; the mistake, of course, is a self-evident one, but it is one that should not have occurred. In the translation, the words *Buddhagupta-dātaka-djūd* certainly do not mean "to my Dātaka, Buddhagupta, these commands."—The text of this inscription is printed according to a peculiar arrangement which sacrifices nearly a quarter of the space available for each line, in favour of the remark "Line 1 ends" and the entries below it, and yet leaves it a troublesome matter to find out where the lines do end! The only practical method of editing inscriptions for the necessary purposes of reference to the lines, and of finding without trouble in a lithograph any doubtful passage that requires comparison, is to place the numbers at the commencement of the lines, and to begin each line of the original with a fresh line in the printed version. In the Number under notice, this same objectless arrangement is followed also in Art. XX. by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji and in Art. XXIII. by Dr. Peterson, though not in Art. XXI., another inscription by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, in which the proper method of arranging the lines is followed. In respect of prose passages, there is nothing whatever to be said in favour of this arrangement. In respect of passages in verse, there is perhaps no particular objection to an editor arranging them according to the lines of the verses, if he thinks it looks nicer; but nothing is achieved thereby, except waste of space and inconvenience of reference; and, when that arrangement is adopted, a better method of marking the commencement of each line of the original must be devised than that used in this Number.

In Art. XX. "Transcript and Translation of the Bhitari Iāt Inscription" (p. 349ff.), Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji gives his own reading of this inscription, with a translation of it, from his personal examination of the stone.—This paper is accompanied by a lithograph, the cost of which might well have been saved. It gives a reduction of an "eye-copy" made by Dr. Bhagwanlal

Indraji in 1869; i.e. it represents, not the original as it exists, but the original as Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji saw it and succeeded in tracing it, which is a totally different thing. Lithographs of this description are now quite out of date.—This version may be a slight improvement on the last published, Dr. Bhau Daji's (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 59ff.) But the general editing of the paper is careless to a degree, and destroys whatever value it might otherwise have possessed. Setting aside minor points, such as the omission to correct what may be assumed to be printer's errors; the use of *Lichchhivi* in line 3 of the text, but, in the translation, *Lichchhavi*, without any comment on the variation; &c. &c.,—the verses are treated in the most erratic manner. In the text, they are numbered down to verse 4; but the remaining eight are left unmarked. In the translation, they purport to be numbered down to verse 7; but 1 includes the whole of verse 1 and half of verse 2; 2 includes the second half of verse 2 and the whole of verse 3; 3 represents in reality verse 4; 4 represents verse 5; 5 represents verse 6; 6 represents verse 7; 7 represents verses 8, 9, and 10; and verses 11 and 12 are left unmarked. On p. 353 we have the curious remark:—"We learn from this inscription that his" (Samudragupta's) "son and successor Chandragupta the second was named Lichchhaviduhitri." This involves a slight impossibility, since *Lichchhavi-duhitri* means "the daughter of Lichchhavi," an epithet hardly applicable to Chandragupta II., or any other of the male sex; and also a double mistake, inasmuch as what is really intended,—*Lichchhavi-dauhitra*, "the daughter's son of Lichchhavi,"—is an epithet, not of Chandragupta II., but of his father Samudragupta.—In connection with the Patañjali controversy, Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji enters into a variety of remarks, and, among them, quotes me, at secondhand, as having furnished Dr. Bhandarkar with the reading *Pushyamitraṁ grihṭvā* in line 11. He proceeds to say "the whole line, "Bhandarkar adds, is, in Mr. Fleet's judgment, "capable of being read स." What this mysterious sentence means, is not explained. But, as to his preceding remark, I have never adopted the reading of *grihṭvā* that he attributes to me, for the simple reason that, the vowel before *tvā* being unmistakably short, the word must be *jītvā*. Nor do I find it altogether certain that even Dr. Bhandarkar has attributed the alleged reading to me. What that gentleman says (p. 217. note 8) is "He reads पुष्यमित्रं but instead of स जित्वा there "is in his copy गृहीत्वा distinctly. But he says "the whole line is quite capable of being read

"समुद्रितबलकोषानुसन्धिमिश्रित्वा." The second sentence certainly seems to attribute *grihṭvā* to me; but not so the first, the plain grammatical meaning of which is that Dr. Bhandarkar himself saw *grihṭvā* in the impression that I showed him; not that I read *grihṭvā* to him. And this meaning is in accordance with his remark in the text of his paper, that he himself could read *grihṭvā* in Dr. Bhau Daji's lithograph. This, however, is a matter that is not worth further discussion. The point that we were concerned with was the reading of the twelve aksharas before *cha jītvā*. Dr. Bhandarkar wished to test, in order to corroborate or disprove it, Dr. Bhau Daji's published reading of *samudita-bala-kōsam=Pushyamitraṁ grihṭvā*, and Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's proposed reading of *samudita-bala-koshāt*, &c. I told him that the passage certainly did introduce the base *Pushyamitra*; and that, though I was not prepared to give him then an absolutely final reading, I was inclined to prefer the accusative plural, *Pushyamitraṁ=cha*, with a preceding accusative plural in apposition with it, to the accusative singular, *Pushyamitraṁ=cha*, with a preceding accusative singular, or with an ablative before it; and this is the point that he brings out in the second sentence quoted by me above from his footnote. This was in March or April 1885. Afterwards, in England, when working again on this inscription, I made up my mind finally that the reading was two accusatives plural in apposition, *samudita-bala-koshān=Pushyamitraṁ=cha jītvā* (the only possible doubt being whether we should read *Pushya* or *Pushpa*); and I notified this to Dr. Bhandarkar some months ago, soon after seeing his "Reply to Professor Peterson." I have entered into the point at some length here, because the passage really is one of some importance. I have to add that, before discussing the readings of others, Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji should make sure that his own readings are correct. In his translation, he gives "having . . . . . conquered Pushya-mitra"; but, in his text, he gives the nominative case, *Pushyamitraṁ=cha jītvā*, which, whatever it means, certainly has not the meaning of the translation. We might take this as a printer's error, overlooked by the author, for *Pushyamitraṁ=cha*; but Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji repeats the same reading on p. 354, with a footnote, and leaves no doubt about it by the emphatic remarks "the next sign is *écha*," and "the . . . is quite distinct."—At the end of his paper, Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji throws in his adherence to the theory of A.D. 319 as the commencement of the Gupta era. In connection with this, he quotes the years 96 and 129 as the

earliest and latest dates for Kumāragupta. But we have the well-known Bilsad inscription of Kumāragupta, which is dated, in words, in the year 96 (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XI. p. 19, and Plate viii.); and General Cunningham quotes a coin of his which gives the date of 130 odd (*id.* Vol. IX. p. 24, and Plate V. No. 7.)

Art. XXI. "An Inscription of Asōkavalla" (p. 357 ff.), by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, gives his text and translation, with remarks, from an impression sent by General Cunningham. This is a Buddhist inscription of the twelfth century A.D., and is of interest as tending to support Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's previous suggestion (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 347) that the date of Buddha's nirvāṇa, relied on in the Gayā inscription of the year 1813 from that event, is the Peguan date, B. C. 638.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji originally read the name of the king as Asōkachalla. He now corrects this into Asōkavalla, and is probably right in doing so. But what is his authority for saying that the second part of the name, *valla*, is a contraction of *vallabha*?—His treatment of the details of the date, in line 12, is wrong. He reads *Bhādra di 8 rā* 29, and translates "the 8th day of the dark half of Bhādrapada, the 29th solar day." But there is nothing in the text, even as he gives it, to represent the "dark half"; nor is it explained by him how *rā* comes to mean "the solar day." The real reading of the original is *Bhādra-dina* 29.

Art. XXII. "Böhtlingk's Indische Sprüche," (p. 361 ff.), by Pandit Durga Prasada, gives, in a tabular form, the results of a careful examination, based on independent sources, of Professor Böhtlingk's collection of Sanskrit proverbs and lyrical pieces. The paper consists of emendations and brief notes which, judging from the two specimens to which particular attention is drawn on p. xxii., will be of considerable use to students of the original collection.

The concluding paper, Art. XXIII. "An inscription from Kotah" (p. 378 ff.), by Professor Peterson, gives his revised version of an inscription edited by Professor Kielhorn in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 162 ff.—This paper is accompanied by a lithograph, which might as well have been omitted: apart from its peculiar colour, the details of it shew, either that the preparation of it was not properly supervised, or, more probably, that it reproduces a very indifferent impression.—I am not at present in a position to say how far Dr. Peterson's rendering of the text is an improvement on Prof. Kielhorn's; but I notice that in the first line he follows a slip of Prof. Kielhorn in writing the *upadhmāntya*, instead of the *jihvāmāntya*, before *k*; even his own

lithograph suffices to shew that the original has the *jihvāmāntya*, as of course might be expected, *śrēṭadvip-anukārdh-kvāchid*, &c.—"This inscription is dated in the 796th year of the 'Lords of Mālava,' which corresponds, as Dr. Peterson tells us further on, to A.D. 740, since 'it can be shewn that this era of the Lords of Malwa is no other than that now known as the 'Vikramāditya era.' The proof is furnished by an inscription at Mandasār, discovered under my direction, and incidentally mentioned first by Dr. Bhandarkar on p. 219, note 10, which gives for Kumāragupta the date of the year 494 of this era; or, according to the original, 'when four hundred and ninety-three years had elapsed by (the reckoning from) the tribal constitution of the Mālavas.' Dr. Peterson's proposed translation of this date (p. 381), is slightly different,—'when four-hundred and ninety-three years from the establishment [in the country?] of the tribes of the Mālavas had passed away.' He admits, however, that *gaṇa-sthiti*, which I render by 'tribal constitution,' may have another meaning than that which he has suggested for it. And, in passing, in connection with the understanding of these Mālava dates, I would deprecate the translation of *Mālavāsāndm* by the specific expression 'of the Lords of Mālava' (Prof. Kielhorn, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 163; and Dr. Peterson, in the paper under notice, p. 380), or by 'of the kings of Mālava' (Dr. Peterson, in his translation, p. 389). It is safer at present to use the less binding expression of 'the Mālava lords,' especially as an inscription at 'Gyārispur' or 'Gyāraspur,' dated when the year 936 of the era had expired (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 33f. and Plate xi.), uses the simple expression 'Mālava-Kāla,' in commenting on which General Cunningham in 1880 recorded his opinion that this Mālava era must be the same as the era of Vikramāditya of Ujjain. Following Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji in erroneously quoting Gupta-Samvat 98 and 129 as the earliest and latest known dates of Kumāragupta, Dr. Peterson proceeds—"What is the era in the '494th year of which Kumāragupta was 'ruling the wide earth? This is a question to which 'I take it there can be but one answer. It is the 'era now known as that of Vikramāditya. This 'can perhaps be most effectively demonstrated 'by beginning at the end, and assuming for the 'sake of argument what I desire to prove. 'Kumāragupta, then, let us take it, was reigning 'in the year 494 of the Mālava era, that is, of the 'Vikramāditya era, that is, in the year A.D. 438. 'Kumāragupta's earliest and latest known dates, 'in the era of his House, are 98 and 129, that is, 'the years A.D. 407 and 448. On our hypothesis

"then the Mandasār inscription falls easily with-  
 "in the time at which Kumāragupta is known  
 "to have been reigning: and there is no other  
 "era known to us which will give us the same  
 "result. The Mālava era and the Vikramāditya  
 "era are therefore one and the same. It is taken  
 "for granted in the above that the initial year of  
 "the Gupta era is A.D. 319. But with Oldenberg  
 "and Bhandarkar I hold that no apology is  
 "required for such an assumption. Those who  
 "still hesitate may rather fairly be challenged to  
 "show how any other theory of the Gupta era  
 "can be made to fit in with the Mandasār in-  
 "scription." I fully agree with Dr. Peterson in  
 his results. In spite of my previous inclination  
 to accept General Cunningham's view of A.D. 166  
 as the epoch of the Gupta era, and consequently  
 to accept, of Albirūnī's rather ambiguous state-  
 ment, that part as correct which says that it was  
 the downfall of the Guptas that took place in  
 A.D. 319-20, these results forced themselves upon  
 me directly I obtained a complete and fully  
 intelligible impression of this new Mandasār  
 inscription. And they must, I think, be apparent  
 to any one who has the epigraphical data before  
 him, and gives them due consideration. But I  
 would avoid Dr. Peterson's method of taking for  
 granted the points that have to be proved, and of  
 ignoring several other points of importance that  
 require to be disposed of. The case may be put  
 briefly thus:—The Gupta inscriptions and coins  
 give us, for Kumāragupta, the extreme limits of  
 Gupta-Samvat 96 and 130 odd. We may take 113  
 as the mean of these. The result, for this mean,  
 is—(1) according to the late Mr. Thomas' view  
 A.D. 191; (2) according to General Cunningham's  
 theory, A.D. 279; (3) according to Sir E. Olive  
 Bayley's, A.D. 303; and (4) according to one  
 interpretation of Albirūnī's statement, A.D.  
 432-33. Then applying the Mālava era to these  
 results, we must look for its epoch close to respec-  
 tively (1) B.C. 302; (2) B.C. 214; (3) B.C. 190;  
 and (4) B.C. 61-60. But the first three results  
 each entail the supposition of a brand-new era,  
 hitherto unheard of, and utterly unexpected. We  
 must not overlook the fact of the existence of coins,  
 first brought to notice by Mr. Carlleyle (see  
*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. VI. p. 165ff., and  
 Vol. XIV. p. 149ff. and Plate xxxi. Nos. 19 to 25),  
 which have on them the legend *Mālavāndam*  
*jayah*, "the victory of the Mālavas," in charac-  
 ters ranging, in General Cunningham's opinion,  
 "from perhaps B.C. 250 to A.D. 250." These  
 coins shew that the Mālavas existed, as a recog-  
 nised power, long before the time when, as I  
 consider, their "tribal constitution" took place.  
 And, if we have to invent a new era, these coins

might justifiably induce us to select as its  
 epoch B.C. 223, as fixed by General Cunningham  
 for the death of Aśoka (*Corpus Inscriptionum*  
*Indicarum*, Vol. I. p. vii.), or some point there-  
 abouts. But this entails, as I have said, the  
 invention of a brand-new era; a remedy that  
 must, if possible, be avoided. And it further  
 creates the palæographical difficulty—and, within  
 certain limits, palæographical evidence must be  
 accepted—that it forces the Kōṭā inscription of  
 the Mālava year 795, and the 'Gyārispur'  
 inscription of the Mālava year 936, back to  
 respectively A.D. 572 and 713; periods to which,  
 from their alphabets, they cannot possibly belong.  
 The fourth result, on the contrary, brings us so  
 very close to B.C. 57, the epoch of the already  
 existing and well-known Vikrama era; and at the  
 same time satisfies so well the palæographical re-  
 quirements of the case; that we are compelled to  
 find in it the solution of the question, and to  
 adjust the equation of the dates thus,—Gupta-  
 Samvat 113 (the mean date for Kumāragupta)  
 + A.D. 319-20 = A.D. 432-33; and Mālava-Samvat  
 498 - B.C. 57-56 = A.D. 436-37. This new Mandasār  
 inscription, therefore, proves two things:—(1) that  
 Albirūnī's statement that the Gupta era began  
 A.D. 319-20 is certainly correct, but the rest of  
 his statement, that this era marked the epoch of  
 their downfall, not of their rise, is wrong;—and  
 (2) that, under another name, the Vikramāditya  
 era did undoubtedly exist anterior to A.D. 544,  
 which was held by the late Dr. Fergusson to be  
 the year in which it was invented.

J. F. FLEET.

7th March 1886.

THE COINS OF THE GREEK AND SCYTHIC KINGS OF  
 BACTRIA AND INDIA IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM, by  
 PERCY GARDNER, LITT. D.; edited by REGINALD  
 STUART POOLE, LL.D. Printed by order of the Trustees,  
 London, 1886. 8vo. pp. lxxvi. and 193; and  
 Plates i. to xxxii.

This valuable little volume contains a great deal  
 more than might be assumed from its unpretend-  
 ing secondary title, a "Catalogue." The authors  
 give us in the first place an introduction, dealing  
 very fully with the Historical Outlines of the period  
 to which these coins relate. This is followed by  
 some brief remarks on the Inscriptions, Mono-  
 grams, Types, and Weights of the Coins, supple-  
 mented by a list of the Normal Weights of Coins  
 a table of the Aryan Pāli alphabet as found in the  
 coins, and a sketch of some of the principal Prā-  
 krit legends, with their Greek equivalents and  
 English renderings. Then follows a very detailed  
 and careful account of the coins themselves, sup-  
 plemented by twenty-nine very fine autotype plates  
 and three photolithographic. The book will be  
 invaluable to numismatists, and to all others

who are interested in any way in the history of the period with which it deals.

The series commences with the coins of Andragoras, king of Parthia (P), circa B.C. 300, and ends with those of Kanerkes (Kanishka), Hooerkes (Huvishka), and the "mysterious" Bazodeo (Vāsudēva).

Some of the historical problems involved are as yet hardly ripe for discussion. I notice, however, specially, that the authors follow Mr. Fergusson in holding that the "Saka era," the epoch of which is A.D. 78, "starts from the date, not of the destruction of the Sakas, but of the establishment of their empire in India under Kanerkes," or, as a footnote adds, "perhaps Kadphises II., as it is Kadphises who begins the issue of Indo-Sythic gold coins; and Kanerkes' earliest date is the year 9."

In passing, I would notice a point suggested to me some little while ago by Dr. Hoernle, viz. that, instead of speaking of Kadphises I. and Kadphises II., it would be advisable to refer to them always by their full names of respectively Kozola- or Kujula-Kadphises and Ooemo- or Hima-Kadphises. No explanation of the syllables *kadphises* has ever yet been established; and, in speaking of these two kings as Kadphises I. and II., we may be, and very likely are, committing some such solecism as if we were to speak of, for instance, Diodotus and Apollodotus as respectively Dotus I. and Dotus II.

To return to the date of Kanishka and Huvishka,—the general set of opinion of experts now certainly is that Kanishka did establish the Saka era, or at least began to reign very shortly after the establishment of it by some member of his family. The chief obstacle to the general acceptance of this view is the theory that the Early Gupta coinage comes numismatically immediately after that of Kanishka, Huvishka and Vāsudēva; and, as it is now known that the Gupta era did begin A.D. 319, the interval of one hundred and forty years between this date and (on the Saka era theory) A.D. 176, the latest date of Vāsudēva does not fit in with the theory. On this point I would remark,—and it cannot be urged too strongly,—that numismatic (and palæographical) theories must be subordinated and adapted to such facts and dates as are established by definite epigraphical records. To adopt the reverse process, and interpret epigraphical records so as to suit numismatic (and palæographical) theories, is utterly unreasonable, and can only end, as it so often has, in hopeless confusion. In the present case, we have ample materials for filling up the interval between Vāsudēva and the Early Gupta kings, in the later Indo-Scythian coins of the Pañjāb, of which Mr. Thomas has given

us some specimens in this Journal, Vol. XII. p. 6ff., and which are sufficiently numerous to overlap Chandragupta I. and Samudragupta (as is required), as well as to fill up the interval.

As regards the "mysterious" Bazodeo or Vāsudēva, the authors refer to one inscription of his, which, "if rightly read," would shew that "he sometimes dates from year 5 of the era, which will give to his reign the impossible length of 94 years." This led Professor Dowson to suggest that Vāsudēva was a general name given to the kings of the Kanishka dynasty by their Indian subjects. Apart from this suggestion, the point is of considerable importance as bearing upon a theory which I can find no possible grounds for accepting as probable in respect of the early kings of India itself,—that Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vāsudēva recorded their dates on the same principle as the Kāśmirians in their *Lōkakāla*; i.e. with the omission of the hundreds. I think that neither this theory, nor Professor Dowson's suggestion, need be had recourse to, in order to explain Vāsudēva's supposed date of the year 5. A reference to the published lithograph (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. III. Plate xiii. No. 2); a comparison of Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's Table of the ancient Nāgarī Numerals (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 44f.); and an unbiassed consideration of the requirements of the case, should satisfy anyone that what we have is, not the symbol for 5, but either an imperfectly preserved, or an imperfectly represented, form of the symbol for 70, which of course fits in perfectly well with Vāsudēva's other dates, ranging from 44 (but ? 74) to 98.

J. F. FLEET.

13th March 1886.

LISTS OF SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS IN PRIVATE LIBRARIES OF SOUTHERN INDIA. Compiled, arranged, and indexed by GUSTAV OPPERT, Ph. D. Vol II. 1885. Madras; Government Press. pp. ix. and 694.

This volume and the preceding, giving together a list of 18,797 manuscripts, would seem at first sight to offer a very promising field of research to Sanskrit Scholars, and thus to make a very ample return for the expense that they have cost the Government in publication, and for the time and trouble that the compilation of them has cost Dr. Oppert himself and—a more serious matter still—the various District Officers through whom he has obtained so many of the materials.

A closer examination, however, leads to very different results.

The full form of the Catalogue used by Dr. Oppert contains eleven columns. Cols. 6 to 11, however,—intended for respectively the Substance and Character; Pages; Lines; In whose Possession; Age of the MS; and Remarks,—are actually

printed only in the case of 4,996 manuscripts, viz. 3,368 out of 8,376 in Vol. I., and 1,628 out of 10,421 in Vol. II. The necessity for Col. 9, "In whose Possession," is hardly apparent, as it only repeats the entry prefixed as a heading to each separate list. Take, for instance, Vol. II. Nos. 7,469 to 7,856. These are preceded by the heading "His Highness the Mahārāja of Pudukōṭa;" and yet each of the 387 entries has opposite it, in Col. 9, either "His Highness the Mahārāja," or "Ditto," as the case may be; this, surely, is rather an unnecessary waste of space. Col. 10, "Age of the Manuscript," is filled in, pretty constantly, from the statement of the owners of the manuscripts, and may probably be taken as fairly correct in respect of such entries as Vol. II. No. 2106, fifteen years; No. 2110, twenty years; and even No. 2118, eighty years. But it nowhere contains any details of the dates, in support of the entries that are made; though we should like particularly to know on what authority Vol. II. No. 662 is entered as two thousand years old; No. 438, as twelve hundred years; Nos. 657 and 664 each as one thousand years; or even, to come down to comparatively modern times, Nos. 1,962, 1,963, and 1,964 each as six hundred, and No. 1,967, as five hundred years old. The first of these entries, Vol. II. No. 662, is one that specially attracts attention. For, if it can be substantiated,—as, from Dr. Oppert giving no special remark discrediting it, we might suppose it can be,—it will give an interesting corroboration of Dr. Rajendralal Mitra's theory, that the Hindus must have known the art of making paper at least two thousand years ago! But perhaps it is one of the "evidently incorrect" entries alluded to in general terms by Dr. Oppert in his Preface to Vol. I. In Col. 11, "Remarks," the entries are so few and far between as to be practically none at all, and are confined almost throughout to such statements as "Two Copies," "Three Copies." In Vol. I. there indeed are a few entries of a more ambitious kind; such as No. 2, "Such works are also written by Rāmānujācārya and Mādhavācārya"; No. 4, "Vyāsa is the reputed Author of most of the Purāṇas," No. 740, "With a commentary; Parāśarabhaṭṭa is also called Bhaṭṭārya or Bhaṭṭar"; No. 812, "Vidyāraṇya is another name for Śāyaṇācārya." But neither of the two volumes contains in this column any entries of a practical and useful kind, as tending to give any hint as to the value and importance of the particular manuscript remarked on.

For the remaining 13,801 manuscripts, we have only the first five columns of—(1) No.; (2) Name of the MS. in Devanāgarī; (3) Name of the MS. in Roman; (4) Subject-matter; and (5) Author's

Name. Of these, Columns 4 and 5 are avowedly filled in on speculation; as Dr. Oppert tells us in his Preface to Vol. I.—"The columns containing the subject-matter and the author's name having rarely been filled up by the Pandits, I have supplied this deficiency to the best of my ability; the contents of the columns are therefore enclosed in brackets." We may, of course, credit Dr. Oppert with having filled in many of the entries correctly; e.g. Vol. II. No. 1134, *Mālatīmādhava*, "(Nāṭaka) (Bhavaḥhūti)"; No. 1697, *Raghuvamśa*, "(Kāvya) (Kālidāsa)"; No. 3082, *Siddhāntakaumudī*, "(Vyākaraṇa) (Bhaṭṭōjīdikṣita)"; and No. 4445, *Atharvanavēda*, "(Vēda)." But his knowledge of subject-matters and author's names can hardly be universal, and his memory infallible. And it is quite impossible that the entries in these columns can be correct throughout.

The two columns in fact, simply resolve themselves into Cols. (1) No. (2) Name of the MS. in Devanāgarī; and (3) Name of the MS. in Roman; or, in other words, into merely a long string of 18,797 titles, of the kind which is not of the slightest use for any practical purposes, and the insufficiency of which was commented on in very pointed terms by Mr. Whitley Stokes, in his note written on the 6th August 1868, when the question of Sanskrit Manuscripts was first taken up by the Government of India (see the Papers relating to the Collection and Preservation of the Records of Ancient Sanskrit Literature in India, Calcutta, 1878.)

There is nothing to be gained by going any further with the present series of volumes, which with the silence of their Prefaces as to anything of importance in the Lists, only give in a printed form the preliminary memoranda which Dr. Oppert should have kept to himself as the basis for detailed personal inquiries, and thus, eventually for the publication of useful lists. What we require for Southern India is a series of Reports like those given us by Dr. Bühler and Dr. Peterson for Western India and Rajputāna, by the late Dr. Burnell for the Tanjore Library, and by Dr. Rajendralal Mitra for Northern India and Bengal; bringing discoveries of importance to prominent notice, and giving, not simply mere strings of names, but full details of the authorship, contents, condition, and details of the date of each manuscript,—extracts sufficient to shew the recension to which it belongs,—and, in individual cases, such other information as will naturally suggest itself in the course of research. The work, of course, is one that entails a great deal of labour and patience, and can only progress slowly. But it deserves, and requires, to be done systematically and thoroughly, if it is done at all.



The present system, as exhibited in the volume now under notice and its predecessor, simply serves no practical purpose whatever; and it is a pity that Dr. Oppert's time and energy should be expended so fruitlessly.

J. F. FLEET.

23rd March 1886.

THE KIRĀTĀRJUNĪYA OF BHARAVI, with the COMMENTARY OF MALLINĀTHA. Edited with various readings by N. B. GODABOLE, B.A., and K. P. PARABA. Printed and published by the proprietor of the Nirṇaya-Sāgara Press. Bombay: 1886.

Of the private publishing-firms of Bombay, none seems more anxious than is the Nirṇaya-Sāgara Press, to furnish the student of Sanskrit with clearly printed, well got up, and moderately priced editions of the classical works of Sanskrit literature. The list of books already brought out by that press, includes amongst others several works of Kālidāsa, the *Ratnāvalī*, the *Daśakumāracharita*, and the *Kirātārjunīya*. Other works are in the press; and more are to follow, if sufficient assistance and encouragement be given by the public. The principal editors appear to be Mr. K. T. Paraba, and Mr. N. B. Godabole, B.A., and, if I remember rightly, formerly a Jagannath Shankershet scholar of the Bombay University. In Europe it is unfortunately somewhat difficult to get hold of books published in India. But having succeeded in procuring a copy of the *Kirātārjunīya* brought out by the Nirṇaya-Sāgara Press, I consider it right both to the public and to the enterprising publishers, to state plainly what opinion I have arrived at by an examination of a portion of this 'Edition.'

In a few words, it is this, that Messrs. Godabole and Paraba have given us in this 'edition' little more than a reprint of a Calcutta print;—that, as regards the commentary, they have taken no great trouble to understand what they have handed to their printers;—and that, for the part which I have had the patience to study, they do not appear to have consulted a single one of the many MSS. which must have been within reach.

A few examples out of many may prove this:—On II. 19, in which verse the word गृत्वर occurs, we read the note "गृत्वरश्च" इति कसन्तो निपातः. At first, we are inclined to consider कसन्तो, as a misprint for करवन्तो. but when we find the same misprint in the Calcutta Edition of 1875, we begin to suspect that the Bombay Editors have copied.

On II. 7 Mallinātha is made to say "अस्तिर्नवतिपरः प्रथमपुरुषे ऽप्रत्ययमानो ऽव्ययः" इति भाष्यकारः । अवतीति लटः पूर्वोच्चारणं संज्ञा. Here there are three mistakes. अवतिपरः should have been अवन्तीपरः;

प्रथमपुरुषे, प्रथमपुरुषो; and अवतीति, अवन्तीति. The same mistakes occur in the Calcutta Ed. of 1875; but the Bombay Editors have corrected a fourth mistake of that edition.

On II. 17 we have the note उक्तं च न्यासो-इत्येतेन—"केवलं भूयमानैव क्रियानिमित्तं कारकभाव-स्वापि नु गम्यमानस्यापि" इति. The Editors have copied from the Calcutta Ed., but, trying perhaps to give some sense to the passage, they have added a mistake in compounding the two words क्रियानिमित्तं of that edition. It should of course have been उक्तं च न्यासो-इत्येतेन—"न केवलं भूयमानैव क्रिया निमित्तं कारकभावस्वापि नु गम्यमानापि" इति.

The Commentary on II. 27, as printed in the Bombay Edition, is a regular mine of mistakes. In the first place, a well-known definition has been, with two mistakes, thus copied from the Calcutta Ed.—अर्थैकत्वादिकवाक्यं सापेक्षा चेतिभागे स्वात्. Secondly the interpunctuation of the whole passage, in which Mallinātha discusses the compound अर्थगौरव, shows that the passage has not been understood; and the words सुहृद् for शुहृद्; and बलाकावां for बलाकावाः prove that the Editors have again been copying. And lastly, the final remark अत एवाह वामनः—"अत्र पीतिनारिषु गुणवचनसमासो बली स्वात्" इति shows, not merely they have been copying, but also that they have taken no trouble to understand what they were putting before the public. Had they made any attempt to do so, they would probably have discovered that the words अत्र पीतिनारिषु of the Calcutta Ed. stand for पञ्चपीतिनारिषु, and बली स्वात् for बालिस्वात्.

Proof of copying may also be afforded by आक्रमति for आक्रामति on II. 20; by the sign of interpunctuation before कर्तृस्थे on II. 35; by लक्ष्म्याः for लक्ष्म्यः, on II. 39; and by other mistakes which have been reprinted.

To give the editors their due, I must add that they have appended to their edition an alphabetical index of the verses of the *Kirātārjunīya*.

On the whole, the first edition of the *Kirātārjunīya*, published at Calcutta in 1814, may be said to be still the best. Many of its mistakes have been repeated, while others have been added, in the later editions. May we hope that the Superintendents of the Bombay Sanskrit Series will arrange to put us in possession of a trustworthy and correct text of Mallinātha's excellent commentary on a poem which, for many reasons, is one of the most important and attractive works of the classical literature of India?

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Göttingen.



## PRIDE ABASED.

A KASHMIRI TALE.<sup>1</sup>

BY THE REV. J. HINTON KNOWLES, F.R.G.S., M.B.A.S. &amp;c.

IN times long past there lived a certain king, who was so occupied with, and so proud of, his own thoughts and words and actions, that his name became a proverb in the land. "As selfish as our king," "As proud as our king," the people used to say. As will be supposed, the courtiers and *Wazirs* of this king were thoroughly tired of hearing him and of having to add fuel to the fire by assent and flattery:

"Ah! where is there such another country as this,—such soil, so well irrigated, and so fertile?" he would ask.

"Nowhere, O king!" the *Wazirs* and courtiers would reply.

"Where are there such just and clever laws, and such a prosperous people?"

"Nowhere else, O king!"

"Where is there such a splendid palace as mine?"

"Nowhere anything to be compared with it, O king!"

"Ah! yes;" and then His Majesty would stroke his beard and draw a long breath, as though overburdened with a sense of his own greatness.

Nearly every audience of the king was disturbed by such performances as these. It was becoming very wearisome; and the more so as the king was a man of moderate attainments, and his country and people, also, were of an ordinary character. At length some of the *Wazirs* determined to answer him truthfully the next time he put such questions to them. They had not long to wait for an opportunity.

"Think you," said his Majesty, "that there is another king greater than I, or another kingdom more powerful and glorious than mine."

"Yes, O king, there are," they replied.

On hearing this unusual answer, his Majesty got very angry. "Where is this king? Tell me quickly," he said, "that I may take my army and go to fight with him."

"Be not hasty, O king," they replied. "Consider, we pray you, before you act, lest you be defeated and your country ruined."

But the king became more angry than before. He ordered his whole army to be assembled, and as soon as they were ready, he

rode forth at their head, and sent messengers in every direction to challenge the people to fight.

For a considerable time he would seem to have inspired all countries and all peoples with awe, because nobody accepted the challenge, there being no pretext for such slaughter as there would be in a big battle, unless it was to satisfy this selfish and proud king. But at last another king appeared with his army and defeated the selfish and proud king; and took away all his kingdom and all his glory and all his power.

Here was an end to his pride. Crushed in spirit he disguised himself and escaped with his queen and two sons to some place by the side of the sea, where he found a ship ready to sail. He asked the captain to take him and his little family on board, and land them at the place whither he was sailing.<sup>2</sup> The captain agreed; but when he got a glimpse of the beautiful queen he changed his mind, and determined to fulfil only a part of the agreement—and to take the woman only. "What a beautiful mistress she would make!" he thought, "and what a lot of money I could get if I wished to sell her!" So when the moment for starting arrived the queen first embarked; and then, just as the king and his two sons were about to follow, some strong, rough men, who had been suborned by the captain, prevented them and held them tight, till the ship was well out to sea.

Loudly wept the queen when she saw that her husband and two boys were being left behind. She smote her forehead, tore her clothes and threw herself upon the deck in great distress; and finally swooned away. It was a long swoon, and although the captain used several kinds of restoratives yet for more than an hour she remained as one dead. At last she revived. The captain was very attentive. He arranged a nice bed for her, brought her the best of food, and spoke very kindly; but it was all to no purpose, for the queen refused to look at him or speak to him. This continued for several days, till the captain despaired of ever getting her love and therefore determined to sell her.

Now there was in the same ship a great merchant, who seeing the queen's exceeding beauty,

<sup>1</sup> Told me by a Bráhmán named Mukund Báýá, who resides at Suthá, Srinagar.

<sup>2</sup> [Why are the Kashmírís so fond of 'ship' stories? It is a point worth investigating.—ED.]

and hearing her refuse the captain's suit day after day, thought that perhaps he might buy her, and win over her affection. Accordingly he offered the captain a large sum of money for the woman, and she was handed over to him. Most earnestly and perseveringly the merchant tried to please her and make her love him, and eventually he so far succeeded, that when he told her that he had bought her for a large sum of money, and, therefore, she ought to consent to marry him, she said, "Although the bargain between you and the captain is void, because the captain had no right to dispose of me, I not being his, yet I like you and will marry you, if you will agree to wait for two years, and if during this period I do not meet my husband and sons again." The merchant complied, and looked forward in blest anticipation to the completion of the period of probation.

As soon as the vessel was out of sight, the hired men released the king and his two boys. It was useless to seek revenge even if his Majesty had any desire for it; and so he turned his back on the sea, and walked fast and far with the two boys, who wept and lamented as they ran along by his side, till he reached a river, somewhat shallow, but swiftly-flowing.

The king wished to cross this river, but there was not any boat or bridge, and so he was obliged to wade it. Finding his way very carefully he got across safely with one of his sons, and was returning to fetch the other, when the force of the current overcame him and he was drawn down beneath the waters and drowned.\*

When the two boys noticed that their father had perished, they wept bitterly. Their separation, too, was a further cause for grief. There they stood, the one on this side of the river and the other on that side of it, with no means of reaching one another. They shouted to each other, and ran about hither and thither in their grief, till they had almost wearied themselves to sleep, when a fisherman came by in his boat. Seeing the great distress of the boys he took them both into it, and asked them who they were, and who were their parents. And they told him all that happened.

When he had heard their story, he said, "You have not a father or mother, and I have not a

child. Evidently God has sent you to me. Will you be my own children and learn to fish, and live in my house?" Of course, the poor boys were only too glad to find a friend and shelter. "Come," said the fisherman kindly, leading them out of the boat to a house close by, "I will look after you." The boys followed most happily and went into the fisherman's house; and when they saw his wife, they were still better pleased, for she was very kind to them, and treated them like her own real sons.

The two boys got on splendidly in their new home. They went to school, and in a very short time learnt all that the master could teach them. They then began to help their adopted father, and in a little while became most diligent and expert young fishermen.

Thus time was passing with them, when it happened that a great fish threw itself on to the bank of the river and could not get back into the water. Everybody in the village went to see the immense fish and nearly everybody cut off a slice of it and took it home. Some few people also went from the neighbouring villages and amongst them was a maker of earthenware. His wife had heard of the great fish and urged him to go and get some of the flesh. Accordingly he went, although the hour was late. On arrival he found nobody there, as all the people had satisfied themselves and returned. The potter took an axe with him, thinking that the bones would be so thick as to require its aid before they could be broken. When he struck the first blow a voice came out of the fish, as of some one in pain. The potter was very much surprised. "Perhaps," thought he, "the fish is possessed by a *bhūt*." I'll try again; whereupon he again struck. Again a voice came forth from the fish, saying, "Woe is me! Woe is me!" On hearing this the potter, thought, "Well, this is not a *bhūt* evidently, but the voice of an ordinary man. I'll cut the flesh carefully. May be that I shall find some poor distressed person." He began to cut away the flesh carefully, and presently he descried a man's foot—then the legs appeared—then the body and head, all entire.\* "Praise, praise be to God," he cried aloud, "the soul is in

ing in trees, animating carcasses and deluding or devouring human beings.

\* Cf. *Indian Fairy Tales*, pp. 75, 76, also *Wide-awake Stories*, p. 411, where instances of "Living in animals' bellies" are enumerated.

\* Cf. *Wide-awake Stories*, p. 429, "Points in Marriages," Note B.

\* [Compare the legend of Sanvar and Ntr, *Legends of the Punjab*, Vol. III, p. 97 ff.—Ed.]

\* *Bhūt*, a malignant spirit haunting cemeteries, lurking

him yet." He carried the man to his house as fast as he could; and on arrival did everything in his power to recover him. A great fire was soon got ready, and tea and soup given. The joy of the potter and his wife was very great when they saw that the stranger was reviving.

For some months the stranger lived with these good people and learnt how to make pots and pans and other articles; and thus helped them much. Now it happened just then that the king of that country died (for kings die as well as other people), and it was the custom of the people in that country to take for their sovereign whosoever the late king's elephant and hawk might select. On the death of the king the elephant was driven all over the country and the hawk was made to fly here, there, and everywhere, in search of a successor, and it came to pass that before whosoever the elephant bowed and on whosoever's hand the hawk alighted he was supposed to be the divinely-chosen one. So the elephant and hawk went everywhere, and in the course of their wanderings came by the house of the potter and his wife, who had so kindly sheltered the poor stranger that was found in the stomach of the fish. It chanced that as they passed the place the stranger was standing by the door,—and behold, no sooner did the elephant and hawk see him, than the one bowed down before him and the other perched on his hand. "Let him be king, let him be king," shouted those people who were in attendance on the elephant, as they prostrated themselves before the stranger and begged him to go before them to the palace.\*

The ministers were glad when they heard the news, and most respectfully welcomed their new king. As soon as the rites and ceremonies necessary for the installation of a king had been fulfilled, his Majesty entered on his duties. The first thing he did was to send for the potter and his wife and grant them some land and money. In this and other ways, such as just judgments, proper rules, and kindly notices of any and all who were clever and good, he won for himself the best opinions of every subject and prospered exceedingly.

\* This is the only instance I know of a hawk sharing with the elephant the right of selection of the successor to the throne.

Cf. *Wide-awake Stories*, p. 141, where the king having recently died the sacred elephant is brought out and all the inhabitants of the place have to march past it in single file, that the animal may elect some one to the

After a few months, however, his health gave way. Such strict attention to public affairs was too much for him; and, therefore, the court physicians advised him to seek relaxation in out-door exercise. So sometimes his Majesty went a-riding, sometimes a-shooting, and sometimes a-fishing. He got especially fond of the latter amusement. Knowing this, a fisherman came to him one day and said, "Be pleased, your Majesty, to accept this fish which came into my hands this day." The king was delighted to see such a large fish and inquired when and how it had been caught. The fisherman explained everything to the king, and manifested such knowledge of, and interest in, his calling, that his Majesty got to like the man, and ordered him to be ready at any time to go with him on fishing expeditions, that he (the king) might learn everything about the art, and be able to land big fish like the one just presented to him.

"Your Majesty is very good and gracious, and whatsoever your Majesty commands is accepted of all men as right and proper and just; but be pleased to listen for a moment to your servant. In my house are two sons, who are stronger and cleverer than I am. If your Majesty will order it, I will take care that they are always ready to attend on you."

The king agreed. Whenever he went a-fishing, he always took these two boys with him. A familiarity sprung up between his Majesty and the boys in consequence. His Majesty got exceedingly attached to them,—they were so sharp and clever and handsome and good, that he finally arranged that they should generally be with him, no matter what his occupation.

Just about this time the merchant who bought the wife of the poor king who had been supposed to be drowned, visited that country for the purpose of trading. He succeeded in obtaining an interview with the king, and opened out all his precious stones and stuffs before him. The king was very much pleased to see these wonderful treasures, and asked many questions about them and about the countries whence they had been brought. The merchant told him everything, and begged permission to trade

vacant throne by kneeling down and saluting the favoured individual as he passes by. Cf. also *Folk-Tales of Bengal*, p. 100, wherein this custom is mentioned. "Early in the morning the elephant went about, sometimes to distant places, and whosoever was brought on its back was acknowledged king by the people." Cf. also *Wide-awake Stories*, p. 327.

in that country, and sought protection from his Majesty. The king readily granted the merchant's request, and ordered that some soldiers were to be at once told off for this special duty, and so arranged that one of them should be on guard always in the courtyard of the merchant. He also sent the fisherman's two sons to sleep on the merchant's premises.

One night these two boys, not being able to sleep for some reason or other, the younger asked his brother to tell him a tale to enliven the occasion, as it was miserably lying down there with only the glimmering light of a little oil lamp. The elder brother said: "All right, I'll tell you one out of our own experience," and began:—

"Once upon a time there lived a very great, learned, and wealthy king, but he was very proud. This pride led the poor king to the direst ruin and grief. One day, when going about with his army, challenging other kings to come and fight with him, one great and powerful king appeared and conquered him. The defeated king escaped with his wife and two sons to the sea, hoping to find some vessel, wherein he and his family might embark, and get away to some foreign land, and there forget all their troubles. After walking several miles they reached the seashore, and found a vessel about to sail; but alas! the captain of that vessel proved to be a very wicked man. He took the beautiful queen, and then, when the king and his two sons were going to embark, some men, hired by the captain, kept them back till the vessel had sailed out of sight. Oh! what a terrible time that was for the poor king! With what a sorrow-sick heart he turned away with his two sons! He walked many miles, not knowing whither he went, till he came to a swiftly-flowing river. As there was no bridge or boat near, he was obliged to wade across. He took one of his boys and got over safely, and then was returning for the other, when he stumbled over a stone, lost his footing, and was carried away by the fierce waters; and has not been heard of since.

"You can imagine the state of the two boys. It was night and they had neither food nor bedding, nor did they know where to go, nor how to get to one another. At length a fisherman came along in his boat and seeing these two boys crying he took them into his boat, and afterwards to his house, and got very fond of them, and so did his wife, so that they both

became like father and mother to them. A year or two ago, all this happened, and the two boys are supposed by every one to be the fisherman's two real sons. O brother, we are these two boys! And there you have my story."

The story was so interesting and its finish so wonderful, that the younger brother was more awake than before. Its narration had also attracted the attention of another. The merchant's promised wife, who happened to be lying awake at the time, and whose room was separated from the shop by the thinnest of partitions only, overheard all that had been said. She thought within herself, "Surely these two boys must be my own sons."

Presently she was sitting beside them and began asking them all sorts of questions. Two years or more had made a great difference in both of the boys, but there were certain signs that a hundred years would never efface from a mother's memory. These together with the answers which she had elicited from them assured her that she had found her own sons again. The tears streamed down her face as she embraced them, and revealed to them that she was the queen their mother, about whom they had just been speaking.

She told them all that happened to her since she had been parted from them; how the captain of the vessel, finding that he should never be able to get her to live with him, had sold her to the rich merchant; how this rich merchant had been very kind to her, and really loved her, and was a thoroughly good man, besides being clever and wealthy; and how she, thinking that she should never meet with her husband, their father again, had promised to marry this merchant at the end of two years, only three days of which remained now. She explained that she did not like the merchant enough to become his wife, and so she wished to contrive some plan for getting rid of him.

"The plan is," she said, "for me to pretend to the merchant that you attempted to violate me. I will pretend to be very angry, and not give him any peace, till he goes to the king and asks his Majesty to punish you. Then the king will send for you in great wrath, and will inquire about this matter. In reply you must say that it is all a mistake, for you quite regard me as your own mother, and in proof of this you will beg his Majesty to send and fetch me, that I may corroborate what you say.

Then will I declare you to be my own dear sons, and beseech the king to allow me to go free of this merchant and live with you where I may choose for the rest of my days."

The sons consented to her proposal, and the next night, when the merchant, also, was sleeping on the premises, the woman raised a great shout, so that everybody was awakened by the noise. The merchant asked what was the matter.

"The two boys, who look after your shop, have tried to violate me; so I shouted, in order that they might desist."

Hearing this the merchant was much enraged. He immediately bound the two boys, and as soon as there was any chance of seeing the king, he had them taken before his Majesty and explained the reason of their thus appearing before him.

"What have you to say in defence of yourselves?" inquired the king. "Because, if this is true we will at once order the execution of both of you. Is this the gratitude you manifest for all my kindness and condescension towards you? Say quickly what you may have to say."

"O king, our benefactor, we are not affrighted by your words and looks; for we are true servants. We have not betrayed your Majesty's trust in us; but have always tried to fulfil your Majesty's wish to the utmost of our power. The charges brought against us by the merchant are not correct. We have not attempted to violate his wife; we have rather always regarded her as our own mother. May it please your Majesty to send for the woman and inquire farther into this matter."

The king assented, and the woman was brought. "Is this true," he said, "which the merchant, your affianced husband, witnesses against the two boys?"

"O king," she replied, "the boys, whom you gave to help the merchant have most carefully tried to carry out your wishes. But the night before last I overheard their conversation. The elder was telling the younger brother a tale,—made up out of his own experience, so he said. It was a tale of a conceited king who had been conquered by another mightier than he, and obliged to fly with his wife and two children to the sea. There, through the vile trickery of

the captain of a vessel, the wife was stolen and taken away to far distant regions, where she became engaged to a wealthy trader; while the exiled king and his two sons wandered in another direction, till they came to a river, where the king was drowned. The two boys were found by a fisherman and brought up by him as his own sons.

"These two boys, O king, are before you, and I am their mother, who was taken away and sold as a wife to the trader, and who after two days must altogether live with him. For I promised that if within a certain space of time I should not meet with my dear husband and two sons again, then I would be his wife. But I beseech your Majesty to relieve me of this man. I do not wish to marry again, now that I have my two sons. For the reason that I might get an audience of your Majesty, this trick was arranged with the two boys."

By the time the woman had finished her story, the king's face was suffused with tears, and he was trembling visibly. Presently, when he had slightly recovered, he left the throne, and walking towards the woman and the two boys embraced them long and fervently. "You are my own dear wife and children," he cried. "God has sent you back to me. I, the king, your husband, your father, was not drowned, as you supposed; but was swallowed by a big fish and nourished by it for some days, and then the monster threw itself upon the shore and I was extricated. A potter and his wife had pity on me and taught me their trade, and I was just beginning to earn my living by making earthen vessels, when the late king of this country died and I was chosen king by the elephant and the falcon,—I, who am now standing here."

Then his Majesty ordered the queen and her two sons to be taken to the palace, and he explained his conduct to the people assembled. The merchant was politely dismissed from the country. As soon as the two princes were old enough to govern the country, the king committed to them the charge of all affairs, while he retired with his wife to some quiet place and spent the rest of his days in peace.\*

\* This story should be compared with its most interesting variant, "Placidus," a tale from the *Gesta Romanorum*, a mediæval compilation of tales from Roman history. The collection was much enriched with tales of all kinds and countries, but especially with those derived from eastern sources, such as the *Clericalis Disciplina*, a work by Petrus Alfonsus, a Christian Jew, who lived in

1106 A.D., and borrowed professedly from the Arabian fabulists.

Another variant of this story is to be found in Tibetan Tales, the story of "Krisa Gantami," pp. 232, 233. A third variant is the story of "Swet-Basanta" in *Folktales of Bengal*, pp. 93-107. Another is that of "Sarwar and Nir" in the *Legends of the Panjâb*, Vol. III. p. 97 ff.

THE LAST YEARS OF SHAH SHUJA'A, WITH AN APPENDIX ON THE  
AFFAIRS OF HIRAT.

*Translated from the Tārīkh Sulṭānī of Sulṭān Muḥammad Khān Bārūkzāi.*

BY E. REHATSEK.

In his preface the author of the *Tārīkh Sulṭānī*, who is probably still living, mentions the sources used by him when compiling his work—some already well-known to us—which are as follows:—For geographical and statistical information the *Grammar* of Goldsmith (*sic*), the *Mirdat-ul-wazāh* and the *Jām-i-Jam*; for the rise of Islām and the Lōdī and Sūr dynasties, the *Tārīkh-i-Farīshah*, Sir John Malcolm (*sic*) and the *Mahzan Afghānīah*; for the history of the Ghiljāi and Durrānī tribes the *Jahān-kushā-i-Nādirī* and the *Majm'ū Abdālī*; for the Saddozāi dynasty the *Memoirs of Shāh Shuja'a* written by himself; and for the affairs of the Muḥammadzāi dynasty the information given by the Sardār Sher 'Alī Khān son of the deceased Sardār Mohrdil Khān Muḥammadzāi, by Qāzī 'Abdu'r-Rahmān Khān, and by the author's own father; as well as by several other Bārūkzāi and Durrānī chiefs, all of whom were still alive when the book was written, and whose statements the author trusted the more as they had themselves taken an active part in the events described in it.

The *Tārīkh Sulṭānī*, which consists of 291 pages 8vo, was completed in 1865, but was lithographed only in 1881 after the author's return from a pilgrimage to Makkah. The author is a Bārūkzāi, and describes events from an Afghān standpoint. He gives a promise of impartiality in his preface, and not only has he kept this, but, as will appear from the footnotes illustrating the translation, he is also remarkably correct in his facts and dates; the difference in the latter from those in *Kaye's War in Afghanistan* amounting generally to a few days only,—and as to the former, we possess no means of impugning them. He had not at his disposal the farrago of despatches, reports and correspondence upon which European historians base their accounts, but he naturally possessed a better insight into the affairs of his own country than any foreigner could possibly have.

Thus he very soon discovered the insignificant position of Shāh Shuja'a, as a mere puppet in the hands of the English officers, and often alludes to it as though it were a matter of course. The outbreak of the 2nd November

1841 at Kābul he ascribes to the fact that Nizāmu'ddaulah, the newly appointed *wazīr*, who was a Bārūkzāi, had procured an order from Sir W. Macnaghten for the deportation of five Durrānī Khāns to Peshāwar. This made them determine to rise the very next day in arms to expel the foreign invaders, and thus was brought on the evacuation of Kābul by the British forces. There was no long plotting, conspiracy or preparation, and the outbreak would not have taken place, but for the obnoxious order issued so rashly and peremptorily. Before this, too, the exile of Šamad Khān Popalzāi, which the same Nizāmu'ddaulah induced Sir W. Macnaghten to decree, according to our author foreboded evil, and became a cause of ruin to Shāh Shuja'a, and of despair to the population as well as to the army. This opinion, however, must be an exaggerated one, unless Šamad Khān was a man of very great local influence; but for all we know, such may actually have been the case. General Elphinstone, although he was commander of the British forces, is not even once mentioned, and this must be attributed to the fact, that being an invalid, scarcely able to mount a horse, he never appeared in public and remained totally unknown to the Afghāns; whilst the political officer, Sir W. Macnaghten, who transacted all business, was by them considered supreme, and is accordingly called the plenipotentiary *wazīr* and even *Lord*, by our author. With this preamble we may now proceed to the translation itself:—

On the seventh of the sacred month *Zu'lq'adah* 1250 A.H. [7th March 1835 A.D.] Shāh Shuja'a departed by way of Sind to the town of Lodiānā, where he lived for a while quietly, but allowed aspirations to royal power to occupy his mind, as will be narrated.

He had spent all his life in campaigning and fighting, but unprofitably, as he himself states in his *Memoirs*:—"It is evident to the minds of intelligent persons that great Sulṭāns have encountered many adversities of this kind, and that most of them have suffered hardships in times which favoured mean upstarts. I and my adherents have never been, and are not now, much dismayed by the flight of our

troops, the inconstancy of fortune, and the fatigues of marching; but we are aggrieved at the consequences, and our hearts are lacerated, because we have been disappointed, in spite of most strenuous efforts, in the realization of our hopes. We underwent immense trouble in collecting troops and stores for the contest, but all in vain. Nevertheless the portals of divine beneficence are open, and my hands are stretched forth to the Lord of Might. As long as the soul bestrides the charger of thy body, O Shuja'a Shâh [i.e. Valiant King], never let the reins of hope escape from thy hands! If treacherous fortune break thy heart a hundred times, comfort it again and again, trusting in the aid of God; for it is not unlikely that the Lord of kings and angels will grant the prayer of an humble suppliant."

After Shâh Shuja'a had spent fully four years in the town of Lodiânâ, the Queen of England, having conceived the design of conquering Afghânistân,<sup>1</sup> ordered Lord Auckland, the Governor-General of the Company of Hindustân, to cultivate the friendship of Shâh Shuja'a. Accordingly Lord Auckland appointed Mr. [sic] William Macnaghten, the envoy [at Lâhor] to be commander of the army which was to aid Shâh Shuja'a, and this envoy concluded between the three powers, namely, the English, Ranjît Singh [of Lâhor] and Afghânistân, a treaty, the contents of which were as follows:—Firstly, that an English army shall accompany Shâh Shuja'a to Kâbul, and restore to him the country of his ancestors. Secondly, that no one shall claim the countries subject to Ranjît Singh on this side of the river [Indus] or on the other side in Sind, the Sûbah of Kâsmîr and Peshâwar with its dependencies, and the Sûbah of Multân with its surrounding districts: and that the said Shâh shall, after the capture of Kâbul and of Qandahâr, send annually to Ranjît Singh by way of gift, young horses, exquisite and abundant provisions, including delicious fruits, which Ranjît Singh shall in his turn reciprocate by not failing annually to forward to the court of Shâh Shuja'a Indian goods of high value,

such as Kâsmîr shawls, golden *lunghts* [turbans], *kimkhâbs* [brocades], &c., according to his requirements. Thirdly, that whatever sums may enter the treasury of the Shâh by way of good fortune from some Durrânî Khânzâdahs or from others, shall be equally divided between him and Ranjît Singh. Fourthly, that Ranjît Singh shall send annually to the Shâh a subsidy of two *lâkhs* of *guldâr* rupees [i.e. of the Nânakhshâhî or Guldâr currency] and five thousand Musalmân *sawârs* from the town of Peshâwar; and that a portion of the Sind country shall, from generation to generation, belong to the Shâh. Fifthly, that if during the reign of the Shâh in Afghânistân any calamity threaten him from the western side he shall avert it, but in case of his inability to do so singly, he shall ask aid from the English and from Ranjît Singh, in conjunction with whom the said trouble shall be removed.\*

The above treaty having been agreed to, and duly signed, Shâh Shuja'a started on the 23rd of the great month Sh'abân in the year 1255 [1st November 1839]<sup>2</sup> with the English army, resembling the waves of the sea and led by Mr. [sic] William Macnaghten, from the town of Shikârpûr [in Sind]. After viewing the presents of Ranjît Singh and the gifts of the Nawâb Bahâwal Khân 'Abbâsî [of Bahâwalpûr], which consisted of Arab horses, camels, two big cannons, a sum of money, cloths of gold and silk, with many other exquisite goods, properly exposed in order, according to ancient usage, the Sâhibs of exalted dignity [i.e. the English Commanders] desired the English troops which had joined the standard of Shâh Shuja'a, to salute him; and they, having adorned themselves according to their custom, paid their respects to him, whereat he was as pleased as if the seven climates had fallen under his sway, and presented the officers with *pashminahs* (woollen cloths), whilst he gave cash to the soldiers. Then the Amîrs of Sind were asked for tribute, but as they were filled with evil intentions, they first prepared to fight: however, after seeing English troops arriving by water and by land in countless numbers,

<sup>1</sup> The declaration of the Governor-General, dated Simlâ, the 1st October 1838, however, runs thus:—"The Governor-General confidently hopes that the Shâh will be speedily replaced on his throne by his subjects and adherents; and when once he shall be secured in power, and the independence and integrity of Afghânistân established, the British army will be withdrawn."

<sup>2</sup> This is the so-called tripartite treaty, the whole of

which may be perused in a far more correct form, in Vol. I. pp. 319-321 of Kaye's *History of the War in Afghânistân*. The treaty was concluded and signed at Lâhor on the 26th June 1838.

<sup>3</sup> The date given above is too late, and probably the copyist's mistake, not the author's. "The Shâh and his contingent moved from Shikârpûr on the 7th March." Kaye's *History of the War in Afghânistân*, Vol. I. p. 412, footnote.

like the waves of the boisterous sea, they yielded and paid the sum of twenty-eight *lákhs* of rupees according to the previous custom, of which amount the *Shāhīs* [the English] gave fifteen *lákhs* to Ranjīt Singh, and thirteen to the *Shāh*, as had been agreed upon.

After that the two allied powers marched in the direction of Qandahār till they reached Kudnī, which is thirty *karahs* distant from the town of Ahmadsāhī. The Sardārs of Qandahār, desirous for an encounter, hastened with their infantry and cavalry to the fort of Fathu'llah Khān, which was near, and garrisoned it. About this time Kadū Khān Mohmand, a celebrated trooper, in the service of the Qandahār Sardārs, stole an elephant belonging to Mr. William Macnaghten whilst grazing, and took it away. At this period also Hājī Khān Kākārī dissolved his connection with the Sardārs, and presenting himself with his followers to the *Shāh* during the night, informed him that certain of them, who had the day before given out that they would make a night attack [on the English], had mounted their horses under that pretext and had returned to the town,\* whence they had taken their families and had fled towards Persia.

The next day the united armies marched on together and halted near the canal of Fathu'llah Khān, where the Sardārs had been stationed. On the 12th of the glorious month Šafar, on a Sunday, in the year 1255 [27th April 1839]<sup>a</sup> the troops pitched their tents on the outskirts of Qandahār, and on the next day Shāh Shuja'a went with Mr. Macnaghten and his companions to the castle of the city, where they took up their abode. Shāh Shuja'a undertook no business without their consent, and commenced to administer the civil and military affairs of the country under a constant anxiety to please them. He summoned from the Garmsir [in Southern Afghanistan] an Ishāqzāi, Hājī Dōst Muḥammad Khān by name, who was a son of Sardār Madad Khān, and showed him abundant favours. Of all the Sardārs he honoured the two Hājīs most, namely the one just named, and Hājī Tāj Muḥammad Khān Kākārī, better known as Hājī Khān [and mentioned above].

In Qandahār the English commanders again concluded a new treaty with Shāh Shuja'a,

the contents of which were as follows:— Firstly, that on the part of the English Government an envoy shall always remain with Shāh Shuja'a, who on his part shall likewise keep one with the English for the transaction of business. Secondly, that Shāh Shuja'a shall admit no European into his service nor into his country, without first informing the *Shāhīs* of exalted dignity [i.e., the English administrators] and obtaining their consent. Thirdly, that the regular troops of the English shall be under the command of their own officers for the performance of duties approved of by both powers, but that the number of officers and of English administrators shall not exceed fifty persons; and that the wages of the said troops shall be paid by Shāh Shuja'a from the treasury of his own government. Fourthly, that in commercial matters the English administrators shall be permitted to take any measures, which in their opinion will promote the welfare of traders. This treaty between the two governments was concluded on the 7th May 1839 A.D., i.e., the 22nd of the glorious month Šafar 1255 A.H.<sup>a</sup>

Meanwhile a strange event took place, which became an occasion of dismay to all Musalmāns, and especially to the Afghāns. One day a maiden was walking from the city towards the villages, when one of the white soldiers (*yakī dā sipdhiān gōrah*) under the influence of drink, forcibly took hold of her, carried her into a dry water-course, and dishonoured her. The cries of the girl attracted the attention of some persons by the roadside, and when what had taken place became known, her father collected a great crowd and went to the royal *darbār* to seek justice. Shāh Shuja'a had really no authority, and the *Shāhīs* of exalted dignity made abundant excuses; but the circumstance appeared so abominable to all the Musalmāns, especially to the Afghāns, an unusually hot-tempered and jealous race, that although they remained outwardly quiet from fear, the blood of the Durrānī Khāns boiled with rage, and they said to each other:— "What will become of our honour, when the arrival of the *Shāh* has been inaugurated by such an untoward event? It has now become evident that the authority of the Pādshāh is

\* The name of the town is not given by the author, but it was probably Qandahār.

<sup>a</sup> Kaye, *op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 422, has the 25th April, which is a trifling difference only.

<sup>a</sup> Kaye says nothing about this new treaty, but only describes the show held on the 8th of May in the plains of Qandahār as a recognition of the restored sovereign. "The whole affair was a lamentable failure." Vol. I. p. 425.



merely nominal." Although all the Durrānī Khāns, especially Hājī Dōst Muḥammad Khān Ishāqzāi and Hājī Khān Kākārī, gave evident proofs of their grief, they managed to retain their equanimity externally; and their displeasure became known to the Shāh only during the march for the subjugation of Kābul, when they began to manifest their discontent, the first cause of which was the above-mentioned misadventure of the maiden, and the second was the disappointment of Hājī Khān in the hope he had cherished of obtaining the high post of Wazīr of Afghānistān.

After having on the 11th of Rabi' u's-sāni 1255 A.H. [24th June 1839] appointed the Shāh-zādah Faṭḥ Jang to be Hākīm [Governor] of Qandahār, and the Sardār Muḥammad 'Atā Khān, son of the Sardār Samandar Khān Bāmī-zāi to be his Lieutenant, the Pādshāh marched with the English commanders and their warlike troops in the direction of Kābul; whilst Hājī Dōst Muḥammad Ishāqzāi, Hājī Khān Kākārī, Muḥammad Taqī Khān Vakīl, Nāru'd-dīn Khān son of Yāhya Khān Bāmīzāi, with most of the Durrānī Khāns, excepting Sikāndar Khān Bāmīzāi, obtained leave for a few days on the pretence of not having prepared baggage for the march, and remained in Qandahār. The English army reached Ghaznī on the 17th of Rabi' u's-sāni [30th June 1839],\* and after the Shāhībs of exalted dignity had reconnoitred all sides of the Hīṣār (Castle) of Ghaznī, they expressed to each other an opinion that Major Leech and Major Todd had drawn up a defective plan of it and had described it in a manner different from the reality, and said that if such had not been the case, they would not have left their siege-guns at Qandahār. After that they came down [from the heights] in the vicinity of Mazār 'Alī Lālā in the rear of the minarets, and selected a position. Next day, when the Shāhībs of exalted dignity were considering how to conquer the fort, news arrived that a Ghiljāi, Mihtar Māsā by name, who dwelt in the town of Zarmūt, was about to arrive by way of the mountains, with twelve thousand men, for the purpose of fighting, and that Muḥammad Afzal Khān, the son of the Amīr Dōst Muḥammad Khān, was likewise ready for a contest, and was stationed at a distance of two *karahs* with two thousand *sawārs*. Shāh

Shuja'a instantly despatched the infantry, which was at hand with two cannons, to meet them, and the *ghāzīs* [crescentaders] having been shamefully defeated after a brief contest, fled into the mountains. During the second night at two o'clock in the morning Mr. William Macnaghten came to the Pādshāh [Shāh Shuja'a] and informed him that in two hours a mine would be sprung, and the Hīṣār of Ghaznī conquered; and asked the Pādshāh if he would like to witness the spectacle by ascending to the top of Bahlūl Shāhīb's *ziārat* [shrine]. Accordingly the Pādshāh immediately betook himself with a few courtiers to the said locality, and as soon as he arrived on the one side the English cannons were fired, whilst on the other the mine was sprung; whereon the gate of Bahlūl was blown up by the force of the gun-powder and razed to the ground:—as the Kāśmīrī poet Hamīd says:—

Suddenly the fire rose high from the fort:

Its smoke sent a lasso to the celestial sphere.

From the earth a conflagration burst,

Like the fire of hell up to the sky:

When it overturned that fort-wall from the roots,

The fire and smoke became such,

That the planet Mars was of the companions of the pit.\*

The Shāh blazed up like fire from joy:

He ordered the troops to attack.

All the English forces having entered the city indulged in plunder and rapine, so that those died whose cup of life had become brimful with the wine of fate; and the rest, men and women, having been captured, were thrown into prison. The Sardār Ghulām Haider Khān, son of the Amīr Dōst Muḥammad Khān, who had been the Hākīm [Governor] of Ghaznī, being desirous of avoiding the consequences of such a calamity [as imprisonment], intended to let himself down from the ramparts of Malik Muḥammad Khān by means of a lasso, but hesitated to throw himself down; and having prepared to submit to the decree of God, fell likewise, after a while, with his family, into the grasp of fate and was confined;—as Hamīd the Kāśmīrī poet says:—

When that ripe man, was bound with raw hides;

The sphere said:—'A royal falcon came into the net.'

\* According to Kaye, Vol. I. p. 436, the army halted at Qandahār from the 25th of April to the 27th of June.

\* On the 21st of July 1839, Kaye, *op. cit.*, Vol. I. p. 437.

\* See Qur'ān, Ch. lxxv. v. 4.

He was taken to Shâh Shuja'a-u'l-Mulk who, after threatening and reproving him, spared his life at the intercession of the English, to whose camp he was then conveyed. Yaqût Khân, the eunuch, with others, was ordered to take charge of him and of his family.

This event caused so much uneasiness to Afzal Khân that he went to his father, who was encamped with his army at Arghandâi, and gave him a true account of it; whereon the Amîr Dôst Muhammad Khân despatched his brother Nawâb Jabbâr Khân to Shâh Shuja'a and to the English, under the pretext of making arrangements for his family, but in reality to ascertain the state of affairs. The Nawâb elicited, after many interviews, the answer from the English, that if the Amîr Dôst Muhammad Khân with his family would consent to go to Hindustân, the English Government would certainly give him one *lakh* of rupees *per annum*; and he returned and conveyed this information to the Amîr Dôst Muhammad Khân.

The Amîr, meanwhile, experienced much faithlessness and ingratitude from his own troops, who, under the Khân Shîrîn Khân Qizlbâsh, broke out into open revolt against him, robbing him publicly, and committing depredations of provisions and goods even in his own camp. This so distressed the Amîr that he blew up his powder magazine and fleeing with his family in the direction of Turkistân, took refuge with the Pâdshâh of Bokhârâ, as will be narrated if it pleaseth Allah the Most High.

The Durrânî Khâns who had, as mentioned above, remained in Qandahâr to make preparations for their troops, did not leave it until they heard of the conquest of Ghaznî, when they hastened as quickly as they could to Kâbul. Shâh Shuja'a, in concert with the English, then despatched a number of troops in command of Captain Outram and of Hâjî Khân Kâkarî, in pursuit of the Amîr Dôst Muhammad Khân, but as the Hâjî was negligent, he returned some time afterwards without effecting his purpose; and when Captain Outram arrived he reported the matter.

When Shâh Shuja'a entered Kâbul with the English commanders and the English army on the 1st of Jumâdu's-sânî [12th August 1839]<sup>10</sup> he occupied himself constantly with

the administration of military and civil affairs, acting so closely in conformity with the wishes of the English, that not a hair's breadth of difference arose between them. He appointed Mirzâ Haidar 'Alî Khân, the army-writer, with the approbation of Colonel Claude Martin Wade, to be always with the Shâhibs of exalted dignity as an agent and secretary. He likewise so managed the transactions between the two powers, as to maintain and to augment mutual harmony.

When Shâh Shuja'a had become convinced of the tardiness of the Qandahâr Khâns in arriving, and of the negligence of Hâjî Khân Kâkarî in pursuing the Amîr Dôst Muhammad Khân, he cast into prison the said Hâjî Khân, and the Hâjî Dôst Muhammad Khân Ishâqzâi, and also Nâib Amîr Bârukzâi, Mullâ Rashîd Bârukzâi and Âqâ Husain Fârsî-zubân, the last three of whom had been confidential advisers of the Amîr Dôst Muhammad Khân. He had also several other men, who were Khâns in Kâbul, taken and put into prison. Hâjî Dôst Muhammad Khân Ishâqzâi died in captivity from a disease he had, and thus liberated himself from the prison of this perishable world. After this Hâjî Khân Kâkarî was set at liberty.

When the Shâhzâdah Timûr, the eldest son of Shâh Shuja'a arrived<sup>11</sup> in company with Colonel Claude Martin Wade from the Panjâb and Peshâwar through the Khaibar Pass, 'Abdu'sh-shukûr Khân Ishâqzâi, who had during thirty years been plenipotentiary agent of the Pâdshâh at Lûdianâ, likewise arrived at Kâbul in the retinue of the Shâhzâdah. The Pâdshâh, after bestowing upon him a robe of honour, with the approval of the English, made him Wazîr and Nâib of his government. Some time afterwards Sardâr Muhammad Zamân Khân, son of Nawâb Asad Khân, with his son and brothers, Sardâr Amîr Muhammad 'Usmân, son of Nawâb Samad Khân, and the sons of the Sardâr Amîr Muhammad Khân, who were all cousins of the Amîr Dôst Muhammad Khân, arrived. They kept up their position and dignity, and the English showed them many civilities; and although the honours enjoyed by the Bârukzâi tribe were extremely distasteful to the Pâdshâh, he said nothing for the sake of the English.

<sup>10</sup> According to Kaye, Vol. I. p. 460, the British army appeared on the 6th of August before the walls of Kâbul, and the Shâh entered the city on the following day.

<sup>11</sup> It was on the 3rd September that Cotton, Burnes, and other British Officers, with a guard of honour, went out to receive the prince. Kaye, Vol. I. p. 457.

After an uninterrupted sojourn of nearly four lunar months, when the trees had lost their foliage, and the snow was falling, the Shâh determined to spend the winter at Jallâlâbâd, and departed from Kâbul on the 24th Sh'abân [2nd November 1839] after having appointed the Shâhzâdah Timûr to be governor of Kâbul with 'Abdu'sh-shukûr Khân for his lieutenant, and Alexander Burnes, who remained behind as his agent. It happened also that whilst the Pâdshâh and the English were dwelling at Nîmla, the Shâhzâdah Muḥammad Akbar, who was the most intelligent son of the Shâh, and cousin to Dôst Muḥammad Khân, died of a grave malady, so that a further stay at Bâgh-Nîmla was unbearable to the Shâh. He, therefore, sent the corpse to Lamghân, where it was buried in the vicinity of the blessed *mazâr* of [the saint] Mihtarlak, and himself departed to Jallâlâbâd.

On arriving there, Sayyid Hâshim, the Hâkim of the town of Kuner, and a partizan of the Amîr Dôst Muḥammad Khân, failed through fear to come in to pay homage, and so was [held to be] refractory. Accordingly a detachment of English troops with several cannons and one hundred *sawârs* of 'Abdu'llah Khân Chakzâi were despatched under the command of Mr. (sic) Macgregor to remove Sayyid Hâshim, and to instal in his place Bahâ'u'ddîn Khân. Sayyid Hâshim took refuge in his fort and stood the siege bravely several days, whereon the English determined to undermine and blow up the gate, as they had done at Ghazni. But after they had done so, they found, when making the assault, that an extremely thick wall had been erected in rear of the gate, and they could effect nothing. The rain being very violent, and the assault fruitless, the English were compelled to return to their tents. Meanwhile Sayyid Hâshim, who was very frightened, considered this opportunity to be the best for escaping. Accordingly he mounted a charger and fled into the mountains, whereon the above-mentioned officers installed Bahâ'u'ddîn Khân in his place and returned to Jallâlâbâd. On the other hand 'Abdu'l-'Aziz Khân Jabbâr Ghiljâi, who was a confidential friend of the Amîr Dôst Muḥammad Khân, and whose foster-sister the Amîr had married, having previously found grace with the Pâdshâh and the English, came to pay his

respects; but being overcome by groundless fear went instead to the *mûz'a* of Safedkôh. His apprehensions arose from his perceiving that the Pâdshâh bore nothing but the title, and that in reality the English Government enjoyed all the power. Fanaticism was an additional motive for his retirement, from which no friendliness could draw him. Accordingly the Government determined to raze all his fortlets to the ground; but he possessed in Jâkân on the outskirts of the Safedkôh a strong fort rising into the blue sky, and eluding all the efforts of the 'admil of the Ghiljâis to destroy it. Some troops were therefore despatched, who effected that purpose. An English force was also sent in command of Mr. (sic) Conolly, because the Khôkis, who live to the south of Jallâlâbâd, had revolted and refused to pay their dues, but before the troops arrived they agreed to pay up on condition that a reduction should be made. A reduction of twelve hundred rupees was granted. Moreover, the road through the Khaibar Pass and from Jallâlâbâd to Kâbul being infested by robbers, an agreement of the happiest kind was concluded with the Ghiljâi Khâns and chiefs of those parts, so that henceforth no traveller was molested.

After this Shâh Shuja'a undertook a pilgrimage to the blessed tomb of Mihtarlak (to whom be salutation!) which is situated in Lamghân, where Mirzâ Ibrâhîm Khân, the *munshibâshî* of the Government, who was the Hâkim of the Tâjiks in Lamghân, entertained the troops and the Pâdshâh with handsome banquets. The Pâdshâh then returned again to Jallâlâbâd, and remained there till he went in company with the English officers to Kâbul, where he arrived on the last of the victorious month of Safar in 1256 [2nd May 1840].

While the English officers were on their way from Qandahâr they had approved of the *mûz'a* Dillân Rabât, which is situated on the western *mûz'a* of Chashmâ Muqur, and conceived the idea of building a fort there. Accordingly the Shâhzâdah Timûr was sent in that direction with English troops, and returned after an absence of some months.

Meanwhile some well-meaning persons brought to the notice of Shâh Shuja'a that the trade of the courtezans was getting very brisk, and that any man [i.e. British soldier] could satisfy his

lust for a small sum of money, because handsome females splendidly attired and bewitchingly adorned were boldly frequenting the houses of profligates as often as they chose; but that this increase in wickedness would inflame the religious sentiments of the population; [saying:]—

"If no one stems this torrent  
It will produce much devastation."

Shāh Shuja'a being frightened by these words, alluded to them covertly and enigmatically in a conversation with Mr. William Macnaghten, who replied:—"Whenever soldiers are prohibited from doing such things, they become subject to unaccustomed maladies." As the Shāh desired to please the English he said nothing more on the subject.

As long as Mullā 'Abdu'sh-shukūr Ishāqzāi enjoyed full power, by his good management of affairs the Pādshāh's total want of authority did not become publicly known, till a man became obstreperous, on the strength of his friendship with Alexander Burnes, about criers being sent through the city (of Kābul) to fix the price of grain, or on account of some other trouble. 'Abdu'sh-shukūr Khān reproved him for form's sake, and some persons in the crowd taking the part of the man said:—"If the Pādshāh has no authority, why should 'Abdu'sh-shukūr be cajoled?" A messenger of Burnes soon after arrived, and Mullā 'Abdu'sh-shukūr [instead of resenting this impertinence] made excuses to him, saying:—"I did not know that the man was your dependent." However, while he was *wazīr* he kept [the real state of] matters secret, and managed affairs so smoothly, that the population trusted the Shāh:—

Appoint a God-fearing man over the subjects,  
Because a virtuous man is the architect of the kingdom.

But Mr. Macnaghten and Alexander Burnes disregarded all consequences, and being displeased with 'Abdu'sh-shukūr on account of the abovementioned *fracas*, removed him from his post, and appointed in his place Muḥammad 'Usmān Khān, the son of the Wazīr Wafādār Khān, because he always acted according to the wishes of the English.

About this time Shāh Shuja'a received

information that the Amīr Dōst Muḥammad Khān, having escaped from Bokhārā, had arrived at Halm, and had made from thence, with the aid of the Azbaks an attack upon Bāmīān, but had been defeated and had then gone to Kōhistān. Mīr Masjadī Khān, who was a Sayyid of authentic descent, had thereupon made preparations for a *ghazā* [crescentade] to accelerate the arrival of the Amīr Dōst Muḥammad Khān. When Shāh Shuja'a became aware of this movement, he despatched his son, the Shāhzādah Timūr with some Durrāni *sawārs*, accompanied by Mr. Alexander Burnes and General Shieff and their forces, to Kōhistān. A conflict took place when the troops reached the *mūz'a* of Khwājah Khizar, situated near Charikar and belonging to Mīr Masjadī Khān Bahādur, who was bold enough to offer resistance with only fifty warriors; but the artillery soon made a breach in the fort-wall and the order to storm it was given. The Mīr now perceived that his position was hopeless, but as life is of use only with a fair name and a brave one, according to the saying, "If thou abide even one moment only in the world, be a man," it became necessary to sacrifice it. Accordingly, in order to attain martyrdom, the defenders of the fort ranged themselves with drawn swords on both sides of the breach, shouting "We belong to Allah, and unto him shall we surely return,"<sup>12</sup> and fought so valiantly that they struck down their assailants as they arrived, in such numbers that their corpses, heaped one upon the other, might almost have served as a ladder for mounting up to the fort. Mr. Conolly also having quaffed the bitter draught of death<sup>13</sup> in this severe struggle, the day-book of his life was folded up. When the General (Shieff) perceived that on account of the bravery of Mīr Masjadī Khān it would be impossible to take the fort, he gave up the attempt and withdrew his troops from the breach. Mīr Masjadī Khān, whose bravery was worthy of all praise, likewise abandoned the fort during the same night, and after joining the Amīr Dōst Muḥammad Khān was again attacked. First the Indian troops advanced, but the Sardār Muḥammad Afzal Khān meeting them like a furious lion cut many of them to pieces, and those, who survived,

been killed by a dubious hand at a petty fortress in Kōhistān." Kaye, Vol. I. p. 557.

<sup>12</sup> Qur'ān, ch. ii., v. 151.

<sup>13</sup> Poor Edward Conolly (Arthur's next brother) has

fled ;<sup>14</sup> whereon the English forces advanced and he was under the necessity of turning from that side to the other.

The English officers had promised to pay a reward of two *lākhs* of *guldār* rupees to any one who would slay the Amīr Dōst Muḥammad Khān, and bring them his head. He accordingly, finding no refuge in any other direction, was under the necessity of hastening with two *sawārs* in the evening to Macnaghten, who received him honourably, and treated him kindly, although he first said :—"The Shāh must make his *salām*."<sup>15</sup> But innate pride prevented the Amīr from complying, whereon Macnaghten excused him, acted according to his wishes, and, having afterwards sent for his family to Ghaznī, forwarded him together with them to India. The family remained in Lodiānā where it was lodged in royal houses, but the Amīr was sent to Calcutta, where a yearly stipend of two *lākhs* of *guldār* rupees was assigned to him. On the other hand, in Kābul Shāh Shuja'a was in the sight of intelligent persons held as of no account. Indeed his dignity had departed from him, as if he had fallen from heaven down to the earth.

About this time the Shāhẓādah Faṭḥ Jang, who was Hākim of Qandahār, felt aggrieved at some words that Major Leech had said to him, and having, at the request of Shāh Shuja'a, come to Kābul, his own brother Safdar Jang was appointed to his post.

The winter having again become severe, Shāh Shuja'a appointed for the second time the Shāhẓādah Timūr Governor of Kābul, and departed with the English Officers to Jallālābād, where the following events took place during his sojourn :—

The Sanko Khel tribe, which lives among the various sections of the Shinvārīs, had robbed them of several flocks of sheep, on account of some long standing domestic feud. Accordingly some English troops and a company of the Sawāra Jānbāz Shāhī [Mounted Royal Body-guard] were despatched to punish the Sanko

Khels, who, however, took refuge in the mountain passes near them ; so that the troops could only destroy and burn their fortlets, and then return.

Another strange event which happened was, that one day Mr. Macgregor produced three pieces of paper with the Shāh's seal and handwriting on them, addressed to the chiefs of Kōhistān, inciting them to revolt, and to wage a *jihād* [crescentade] against the English. The Shāh knew that these writings were altogether forgeries, but was amazed on identifying his own seal and chirograph. He accordingly summoned Mirzā Ibrāhīm, the Munshibāshī, into his presence, and asked him for an explanation. After a little reflection the Mirzā declared that some disloyal person must have obtained possession of the three papers and skilfully changed the contents by erasing [or washing out] some words, and substituting for them some others of a treacherous import. When the manner in which this forgery had been committed became known to the Shāh he sent for Mr. Macgregor, and pointed out to him the vestiges and marks of the first writing, which could yet be discerned on the papers when attentively examined, whereon his suspicions likewise disappeared. The Shāh then said to the English officers that the benefits they had at times bestowed upon the Bārūkzāi tribes would all certainly be requited by treachery, and that they would produce other papers of the same kind.

He also said :—"All this is the consequence of appointing Niẓāmu'ddaulah to be *wasīr*, especially at a time when he has made common cause with Jabbār Khān, Muḥammad 'Uāmān Khān, Muḥammad Zamān Khān, and the like, and has made Mirzā Imām, Burdī Khān, Mastūfī 'Abdu'r-Razzāq Khān, Mirzā Aḥad Khān and Nāib Amīr Bārūkzāi his agents. If I had possessed any authority I would not have left alive one of the Bārūkzāis, especially the sons of the Sardār Pāinḡā Khān. If you deal with the Bārūkzāis according to the

<sup>14</sup> "The native troopers fled like sheep. Emboldened by the craven conduct of the British cavalry, the Afghan horsemen rode forward, driving their enemy before them, and charging right upon the position of the British, until almost within reach of our guns. The Afghan sabres told with cruel effect upon our mounted men. Lieutenants Broadfoot and Crispin were cut to pieces and Dr. Lord was killed by a shot from a neighbouring fort which tore out his bowels." *Calcutta Review*, Vol. VII., for January—June 1847, p. 58 ; also Kaye, Vol. I.,

p. 564. This contest is described at some length by both, and has been almost literally copied in both these works from Mohan Lal's *Life of the Amīr Dōst Muḥammad*. The conflict is in all the three books called the battle of Furwandurreh (Parwāndarrah), but our text does not mention this name, nor indeed gives as detailed an account of the fight as theirs ; the whole of which, however, as already mentioned, is referable to one source only.

<sup>15</sup> An Oriental salutation inferring inferiority.

maxim that a foe is to be reconciled by benefits, you are mistaken. The reverse policy of striking off your enemy's head with the sword is the proper one. But you can take your choice." As they were, however, expecting to conciliate that valiant tribe, they did not care to answer the Shâh.

After that the Shâh became anxious to make a pilgrimage to the blessed *mazar* of Mihtarlak (to whom be salutation) and to pay a visit to his beloved mother, and fulfilled both intentions. After his return Nizâmu'ddaulah, who was desirous that no one besides himself should enjoy the confidence of the Pâdshâh's Government and of the English officers, considered it proper for his interest to bring about the ruin of Ibrâhîm Munshî, whom the Shâh greatly trusted. Accordingly he said that Lamghân, which the Tâjiks had rented to him, was his own freehold, and no solicitations of the Munshî could extort the money due from him [to the Government for it], nor could the Pâdshâh himself effect anything, because he was unwilling to act against the wishes of the English officers (for which reason all the Khâns and servants of the State despaired of his position, and knew that his reign had come to an end).

Not long after his arrival from Lamghân, Shâh Shuja'a returned in company of the Sâhibs of exalted dignity to Kâbul, and appointed with their approbation the Shahzâdah Timûr to be Governor of Qandahâr; also his *haram*, which he had called from Lodiânâ arrived in Kâbul in the month Rab'iu's-sânî, in the year 1257 [between 23rd May and 21st June 1841].

When Nizâmu'ddaulah Muhammad 'Usmân Khân, son of Wazîr Wafâdâr Khân, had attained full authority, and knew that his power as *wazîr* was paramount, he became so puffed up and haughty that he treated persons of both low and high degree with equal scorn. He kept most of the salaries of the Durrânî Khâns and of others in arrears, so that a few of them, whom he believed to be not only devoted to his interests, but reckoned as his servants, often brought it to the notice of the Pâdshâh that the *Ghulâms*<sup>16</sup> had not received

their pay; but in vain, until one day Samad Khân Popalzâi made the same request as on former occasions. As this took place in a general *Darbâr*, the Pâdshâh was necessarily obliged to turn to Nizâmu'ddaulah and to ask him what he thought of the complaint, and on the latter replying that it was contrary to the truth, Samad Khân exclaimed:—"You are certainly a liar; you cultivate the friendship of the Pâdshâh's enemies, while you cause the hearts of all his loyal subjects and well-wishers to bleed." Then mutual and hot recriminations followed, to avoid hearing which the Pâdshâh rose and left the *Darbâr* hall, whereon Nizâmu'ddaulah, who had lost all self-possession, waited upon Mr. Macnaghten with his complaint and said:—"To-day I have been insulted in public *Darbâr*, and if no reparation is to be made, what answer shall I give to-morrow to others? and where shall I seek a refuge from their bad acts and impudent words?" Thereon Mr. Macnaghten indited the following letter to Shâh Shuja'a:—"Samad Khân is a silly impudent fellow and by no means worthy to be present at a royal *Darbâr*. If he be expelled from the country he will be excused from being present." The Pâdshâh, who considered the words of the English officers as commands from heaven, prohibited him *volens volens* from making his appearance [in *Darbâr*].

The event just narrated became a cause of ruin to the Pâdshâh and of despair to the population, as well as to the army. Indeed the wickedness of Nizâmu'ddaulah reached at last to such a height, that the Pâdshâh could not bestow a single copper from the revenues upon anybody. He was moreover, from want of authority, unable to continue the allowances granted to the blessed *masârs* of '*âshiqs* and '*drîfs*, which no one had stopped from ancient days to the present times; and whenever any one appealed to him he only uttered the words "orders will be issued," knowing full well that nothing would be done, but being desirous of keeping up appearances.

(To be continued.)

<sup>16</sup> The *Ghulâms* here mentioned are the same as the "Corps of *Ghulâms*" of Ahmad Shâh Abdâllî, organized by him. Aware that a combination of chiefs, or even discontent among tribesmen, might result in his army leaving their standards, and returning to their own homes, he had organized a special force dependent on himself,

and hence called *Ghulâm Shâhî*. He followed in this respect the example of Nâdir Shâh, and recruited the corps from the Tâjiks and Qizilbâshes of Kâbul, the Yûsûfzais of Peshâwar, and from amongst the strangers dwelling in the Afghan cities.

## FOLKLORE IN WESTERN INDIA.

BY PUTLIBAI D. H. WADIA.

*No. IV.—Vēṃāi and the Thieves.*

One night as a party of thieves were prowling about in search of booty, they happened to fall in with the goddess Vēṃāi,<sup>1</sup> going along at full speed with a tray on her head. Taking her to be a human being, they eagerly went up to her, and found that the tray she carried was of solid gold, and contained, besides rice, *kankā*,<sup>2</sup> and other objects of good omen and a pair of dice set with diamonds and pearls. Glad to find such valuable booty within their reach they attempted to lay hands on the treasures, when Vēṃāi cried out, in an authoritative voice in which was mingled a tone of entreaty,—"Keep away, my friends, and touch me not, for I am the goddess Vēṃāi, and am hurrying to the palace of the king, unto whom a son has been born, in order to write his destiny. Pray, therefore, do not detain me."

"We would willingly allow you to go," said the thieves, "if you, by way of corroborating your statement, tell us what is to be the destiny of the king's son."

"I regret," said the goddess, "that I am unable to gratify your curiosity, for I myself have no idea at present of what I shall write down; I have only to throw these dice and await the result, and then write down the secret of the child's destiny just as it is revealed to me."

"Very well then," said the thieves, "we allow you to go on your errand, on the condition that, on your return from the palace, you tell us the destiny of the boy, as it is revealed to you."

The goddess agreed to this and departed, while the thieves remained where they were, awaiting her return.

After finishing her business at the king's palace Vēṃāi, true to her promise, hastened to the spot where she had left the thieves. As she approached them they noticed that she was downcast and wore a sad look. Nevertheless they flocked around her and eagerly

listened as she thus related to them the destiny of the king's son :—

"This poor boy, I am sorry to say, has a very bad future before him, although he is born a king's son. He will lose his parents at the age of twelve and will then be deprived of his legitimate possessions by an usurper, who will condemn him to pass his life as a prisoner within the walls of a castle. He will, however, manage to break his bonds after some time, and escaping from the castle, will betake himself to a jungle, where he will pass the rest of his life in eking out a precarious sustenance by hunting small game."

Thus saying the goddess departed. The thieves, outlaws though they were, loved the king, who was good and pious, and were, therefore, very much distressed on learning of the misfortunes that were to befall the prince.

Nearly twelve years after this all that Vēṃāi had foretold came to pass, for the good Rājā died and his Rāṇī followed him soon after, leaving the poor boy an orphan under the care of an uncle, who soon usurped the throne for himself, and closely confined his nephew in a castle. The thieves, whose sympathies the prince had enlisted almost from his birth, and who were following his fortunes all the while, befriended him at this juncture, found means to get him outside the prison walls, and hid him in a jungle. Knowing, however, that the boy was foredoomed to live on small game they were determined to baffle his destiny at least in that particular; so they provided him with a bow and arrows and set him to hunt in the jungle. The rabbits, deer, and so on, as if aware that he was to get his living out of them, marched past him and almost threw themselves in his way, but the thieves would, by no means, permit him to shoot them; as soon, however, as an elephant or such other big game came in sight, they bade him discharge his arrows at them. As the forest was full of elephants, rhinoceroses, and the like

<sup>1</sup> Vēṃāi is supposed to be the goddess who determines the destiny of man. She is popularly believed to visit unseen the bedside of the new-born infant on the sixth night after its birth and to write out its destiny. Under this belief superstitious people place on that night, a tray containing a blank sheet of paper, a pen, ink, a coconut, and the red powder used for making marks

on the forehead on auspicious occasions near the baby's cradle. They however, do not expect to see any writing on the paper, but are content to believe that the child's destiny has been determined during the night.

<sup>2</sup> A red powder used for marking the forehead on auspicious occasions such as Birthdays, Weddings, &c

the young prince managed to bag one of these huge creatures almost every day, and the sale of their hides and tusks realised large sums of money.

In this way the thieves succeeded in baffling the destiny of the boy in one respect, because

by putting him in the way of killing large game they started him fairly in life as a merchant in ivory and skins, and thus saved him from the privations he would otherwise have suffered by being doomed to live on small game only.

MUDYANUR PLATES OF SAKA 261  
OF THE BANA KING MALLADEVA-NANDIVARMAN.

BY LEWIS RICE, C.I.E., M.B.A.S.

This grant consists of five copper-plates,  $8\frac{1}{2}$  inches by  $2\frac{1}{2}$ , strung on a metal ring, uncut, which is secured by a metal seal,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter, bearing in relief the image of the bull recumbent, Nandi, with the sun and moon above. The outer side of the first plate and both sides of the last plate are blank; but there are traces of an inscription on the former, which has been effaced. From so much as appears, it is evidently the beginning of a Gaṅga inscription, containing the usual phrases, as in the Hoṣṭr and Nāgamaṅgala plates, down to Harivarman. The plates belong to a resident of Muḍyanūr (the Muḍyanūr of line 28) in the Mulbāgal Tāluka of the Kōlār District in Maisār, and were found a few years ago in the court-yard of his house by some boys who were digging about in play.

It proves to be the charter of a gift of the village of Muḍyanūr or in its Sanskrit form Chūḍāgrāma, to twenty-five Brāhmanas, made by the Bāṇa king Vadhūvallabha-Malladēva-Nandivarman, in the Śaka year 261 (A.D. 339-40), the twenty-third of his own reign, while he was staying at Āvani. The language is Sanskrit throughout, very full of mistakes: the characters are Pārvada-Haḷe-Kannaḍa. There is a constant insertion, unnecessarily, of *visarga* before the initial *p* of a following word, a practice which seems pretty general in old inscriptions in this character.

The opening lines are in praise of Śiva. Then follow praises of Viṣṇu, with the view of introducing him in his connection with Bali in the Vāmana or dwarf incarnation; but some of the ascriptions are such as belong only to Śiva. From Mahābali or the great

Bali, the lord of the Dānavas, was descended a promoter of his race, the king Nandivarman. His son, Vijayāditya-Dēva, next succeeded to the kingdom, and in turn was followed by his own son, a glory to the Bāṇa race, Śrī-Vadhūvallabha-Malladēva-Nandivarman, the donor of the grant. He is described as the ruler over a seven and a half lakh country containing twelve thousand villages, situated in the Āndhra maṅḍala or Telugu country. One of the ascriptions in his praise, being a complimentary reference to Buddha, strikes me as most unusual in a Brāhman grant. It says of the king (line 15) that "in compassion for all living things in the three worlds he was like Bōdhisattva," going on to compare him in other qualities with Vīrabhadra, Mahēndra, and Kārttikēya.

At the end, the carpenter (*vaśhtri*) Nandivarmachāryya states, in the first person, that he inscribes the grant by order of Vadhūvallabha-Malla. The king, calling himself Vadhūvallabha-bhūpati, also in the first person, confirms the grant as long as the sun and moon endure. The *Sarvapradhāna*, or general minister, the *Dandādhipa* Vaivasvata, then records that he has carried out the order. The inscription closes with the two words *vyādhanam ullēgaṃ*, the meaning of which is not apparent, though the latter seems to refer to the writing.

Of the professed date of this inscription, I express no opinion. It is left to the judgment of those who feel able to pronounce upon it.<sup>1</sup>

But as regards the other contents of the grant, we are not without information to guide us. From the inscriptions formerly published

<sup>1</sup> It should not be overlooked that the Gaṅga grant effaced from the first plate comes down to Harivarman, whose reign is assigned to Śaka 169 to 210.—[But see ante, Vol. VIII. p. 212ff.—And, having now seen the

present plates, I consider that this grant is certainly spurious, at any rate so far as the date is concerned. The characters are, roughly, of much the same type as those of the Merkara and Nāgamaṅgala plates.—J. F. F.]



by me<sup>3</sup> which first brought the Bāṇa kings to light, it was found that they claimed to be of the Mahābali or Mahāvali race, and we obtained the names of Bāṇa-Vidyādhara or Vikramāditya, and Prabhu-Mēru. The grants published by Mr. Foulkes<sup>4</sup> added considerably to our knowledge by giving us the following genealogy, with certain historical references :—

Bali.  
|  
Bāṇa.  
|  
Bāṇa Adhirāja,  
followed by many kings. Then  
Jaya-Nandivarman, ruling  
territory to the west of the Āndhra country.  
|  
Vijayāditya.  
|  
Śrī-Malladēva, Jagadēkamalla.  
|  
Bāṇa-Vidyādhara.  
|  
Prabhu-Mēru-Dēva.  
|  
Vikramāditya.  
|  
Vijayāditya, Pukkala-vippuva-gaṇḍa.  
|  
Vikramāditya, Vijayabāhu.  
Then the Chōla king Vira-Nārāyaṇa  
suddenly uprooted the Bāṇas; but  
they were restored eventually by  
the Gaṅga king Kēsari or  
Prithivipati, in the person of  
Hasti-Malla.

The present grant, so far as it goes, confirms this pedigree, and is made by the king here called Śrī-Malladēva, Jagadēkamalla, the father of Bāṇa-Vidyādhara. If, as seems probable, the Gaṅga king who restored the Bāṇas, was the predecessor of Śrī-Puruṣa who began to reign Śaka 649 (A.D. 727-28), or that king himself, this would give us a date to which the overthrow of the original line must have been some time anterior. And to arrive at the reign in which our grant was issued, we have to reckon back six generations beyond that event. We also know that the

Pallavas were in possession of Kāñchi and Mahābalipura early in the 7th century A.D., and that both they and the Mahāmallas or Mahābalis suffered defeat at the hand of the Chalukyas in the second half of that century.

That the Bāṇa kings continued to flourish in the east of Maisūr subsequent to their restoration, there is abundant evidence in inscriptions. From one at Manigatta-Gollahalli, we find a Bāṇarasa ruling in Śaka 821 (A.D. 899-900); and from a fine stone at Kendatti-Maḍivāla, we learn that he was contemporary with the Gaṅga king Nītimārga and with Nojambādhirāja. The latter, from inscriptions at Bētmaṅgala, was ruling in Śaka 826 (A.D. 904-5). Of Nītimārga I have obtained many inscriptions. He was ruling in Śaka 831 (A.D. 909-10), and bore the titles Koṅgaṇi-Varma, Dharma-mahādhirāja, Satyavākya, Rāchamalla and Permanaḍigaḷ.

The Bāṇas are met with down to a late period. For, my conjecture<sup>5</sup> that the inscriptions at Śrīvilliputtūr in Tinnivelly of A.D. 1453 and 1476 belonged to them, proved to be correct, as ascertained by Mr. Sewell at the time. Two kings of this family, styling themselves Mahāvali-Vāṇa (for Bāṇa) Adhirāja, thus seem to have got possession of the Pāṇḍya throne in the latter half of the 15th century.<sup>6</sup>

To return to our grant. The reference to the Nandi hill and the Pālār, at the commencement, is interesting. The Pālār throughout its course, as formerly pointed out by me,<sup>7</sup> would seem to be identified with the Mahāvali or Bāṇa line, from its source in Nandidurga to its mouth near the celebrated Mahābalipura. Among the titles of the restored dynasty were "lord of Nandi" and "having the crest of a bull," and here we have Nandi on the seal of the original line. Also, if I am not mistaken, the small coins sometimes picked up at Mahābalipura, have a Nandi on them.

The village of Āvanī, from which the grant was issued, is a celebrated place. It is said to be Avāntikakshētra, one of the ten places of greatest sanctity in India. Here Vālmīki, it is stated, had a hermitage: here Rāma encamped on his return from the expedition against Laṅkā: hither Sītā repaired

<sup>3</sup> Mys. Ins. p. 304, Intro. p. xlix; ante, Vol. X. p. 86.

<sup>4</sup> Salem Manual, Vol. II. App. p. 369; ante, Vol. XII. pp. 6 and 187.

<sup>5</sup> ante, Vol. XIII. p. 190, note 10.

<sup>6</sup> See Nelson's Madura Manual, Part III. p. 83; Sewell's Madras Antiquities, Vol. II. p. 223.

<sup>7</sup> ante, Vol. X. p. 38.

when put away by him, and here gave birth to her twin sons Kuśa and Lava, who were brought up by Vālmiki. It is now the seat of a *Guru* of the Smārta sect, and contains an interesting group of large temples dedicated respectively to Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Bharata, Śatrughna, and Vāli-Sugrīva. From inscriptions it would appear that they were originally erected about Śaka 850 (A.D. 928-29.)

Hodaḷi, which gives its name to the district in which Muḍyanūr was situated at the time of the grant, is still so called. The boundary villages mentioned are easily identified. Uttagrāma is Uttanūr; Kuladīpa is the village now called Koladēvi; Kottamaṅgala and Kolatūr still bear the same names. Kanakadvāraparvata is the only place that is doubtful; the name is probably a translation of some vernacular name like Sonnabāgilu.

It remains to say a word with reference to the Brāhmanas to whom the grant was made. Of the four named, it will be seen that three, after their *gōtras* have been given, are described as *sāmānya-charana*. Of this I have been unable to obtain any explanation, though we have a sect of Drāviḍa Brāhmanas called *Bṛi-hachch-rapa*. The story is that Agastya had been engaged for the performance of a great sacrifice by a Pāṇḍya king, who sent invitations to Brāhmanas in distant places to attend. Those who received the notices early, came away at once, but those who got it later and had farther to come, did not arrive till the ceremonies had begun. From this circumstance the former got the name of *bṛihat-charana*, the 'big striders' or 'fast walkers'! Similarly the others may have been distinguished as *sāmānya-charana* or 'ordinary walkers'!

## TEXT.

## First Plate.

- 1 Ōm namaḥ Śivāya(h) | Nandy-ākhyā-sailōtkāṭa-kūṭa-pīṭha-Mandākinī-vārinidhir  
dhḍharēśa[h] Dēvēndra-brindāraka-vandaniya(h)-pā-
- 2 dāravindya<sup>9</sup> jayati praṇamyaḥ || Svasty astu bhū-bhūdharādhiśa-tanayāliṅgya-  
vakṣa-sṭhalah śirasy-āṃṛita-<sup>10</sup>
- 3 bhū-chandra-dhāriṇō dayāyā bhuvah sakala-bhuvana-prasādanī<sup>11</sup> bhūta-yāsasō bhāsu-  
ratara-taraṅga-taraḥ-
- 4 jala-jaladhi-sṭhita(h)-bhujāṅga-śayana-śāyinaḥ Kamalanābhasya vikrama-trayārambha-  
lōbha-prakṣarita-kara-cha-
- 5 raṇa-sarōja-lāṣchanālōkanaika-hētubhūta-dāna-vibhavaśya mahā-Bali-nāmadhēya(h)-Dā-  
navēndrasya vāmśa-
- 6 savṛiddhi<sup>12</sup> kārēṇōdbana(h)<sup>13</sup> kritayācharaṇa-labdha-sukṛitōpaniyata-dvija-vara-ghuṣhya-  
māṇa-puṇyāḥa-ghōṣha-ni-
- 7 rdhḍhūta-durītārī[r] balavad-ibhaṅga-dalaha<sup>14</sup> vijrimbhamāṇa-turaṅga-naṭa-niru-  
dhilādhikṛin<sup>15</sup> vakra-sainyaḥ sa-
- 8 masta-narēndra-lōka-vandyamānaḥ pratāpa(h)-prābhūtvāthavi-vakṣa[h] kṣhōṇḍha-  
rēndrayata-bāhu-daṇḍēśa<sup>16</sup> chaṇḍēśa-nirja-

## Second Plate; First Side.

- 9 ta-karāḷa-khaḍgaḥ kēyūra-hāra-dyanti-rājitāṅgaḥ kirīṭa-haripīṭha-labdha<sup>17</sup> sa-Nandi-  
varmma<sup>18</sup> dhṛita-rāja-dharmma-
- 10 h tataḥ tasyōttama-sūnu[s sūnu]mad-bhānu-mayūkha-jālā<sup>19</sup> prōtphulla-paṁkē[ru]ha-  
sannibhāśyaḥ praṇimākrit(a)-kehaṇi-
- 11 ya<sup>20</sup> mauli-mālā-nishṛiṣṭa<sup>21</sup> prabhā-maṇḍala-pāda-pīṭhaḥ nāmā Vijayāditya-dēvō nija-  
bhūja-bala-vilu-
- 12 pta-durvvara-vividha-vairi-vibhavaḥ sa-jala-jaladhara-thāna<sup>22</sup> gāmbhīra-gaḷakṛita-gharjja-  
nābhipūrita-dig-a-

<sup>9</sup> Letters which are redundant, are put in ordinary brackets; and letters supplied in square brackets.

<sup>10</sup> Read *pāḍravind*.

<sup>11</sup> Read *prāsādhan*.

<sup>12</sup> ? *utbana*.

<sup>13</sup> Read *amrita*.

<sup>14</sup> Read *viddhi*.

<sup>15</sup> Read *dalah*.

<sup>16</sup> ? *niruddhādadhikṛin*.

<sup>17</sup> Read *labdhā*.

<sup>18</sup> Read *jāla*.

<sup>19</sup> Read *nishṛiṣṭa*.

<sup>20</sup> Read *danḍai*.

<sup>21</sup> Read *varmma*.

<sup>22</sup> ? *kṣhṛitṛiya*.

<sup>23</sup> ? *dhṛana*.

- 13 ntarāḥa[h] nāga-khaḍgaś chaṭula-ṛaṇa-ṛaṇāyamāna-nipātita(h)-praharaṇa-janita-vraṇa-  
gaṇābharaṇa-vapushā vi-  
14 rājamānaḥ kṛitavān ādhi[rā]jyam āsit tasya tādṛśaḥ śrīmat-Bāṇa-vamśa-kamalā-  
kara-prabōdhana-līnakarasya\*\*  
15 sāmāna trībhuvana-madhya-varttinām prāṇinām parama-kāruṇakathayā\*\* Bōdhisatvōpa-  
mānasya viratayā

*Second Plate; Second Side.*

- 16 Hara-hita-Vīrabhadra-samibhasya rāj[y]ādhāradayā Mahēndrōpamānasya mukhā-  
phala\*\*sēvi[ta]tayā varirā-  
17 śi-sadṛśasya Mēru-pratinidhy-ekāchal-aśvāryyāt Kārttikēyānukāriṇaḥ pratidinam  
Umā-nirūpita-pramō-  
18 da-hētōḥ | apicha\*\* yudhy ēva paryyābhavanti dvishantāḥ iva gajaḥ krudhva\*\*  
sūhasya śaktyā bāhu-prōdghāta-  
19 khaḍgadhruta\*\*pavana-bṛihas\*\*chaṇḍa-ghātēna yasya śrōṇī-bhārālasatvā\*\*chalita-gati-  
manō-bhārinām va-  
20 dhūnām\*\* yasmin lagnāni(s) chētasy amala-kuvalayākshini naivā(h)payānti[||]  
tasya tādṛśasya viśvambharā-va-  
21 layābharaṇadīrgha-bāhōr aharaḥ-anivardhdhamāna-śakti-trayasya Āndhra-maṇḍalē  
dvādaśa-saha-  
22 sra-grāma-sampādita-saptārdhdha-laksha-vishayādhipatēr aparimita-chātura-śrama-vyava-  
sthācharaṇa-kāraṇa-Śrī-Va  
23 dhāvallabha-Malladēva-Nandivarmanmēna\*\* Āvanya-purē sthitvā ēka-shasty-uttara-  
dvaya-śatē Śakābdaḥ\*\* pravardhdhamā-

*Third Plate; First Side.*

- 24 nātmanah trayō-viṃsati-varttamāna-Vilambi-samvatsarē Kārttikāśukla-pakshē trayō-  
daśyām Sōmavārē A-  
25 śvinyām nakshatrē(ti) Bharadvāja-gōtra-sāmānya-charaṇa-śrī-Rudra-Bhaṭṭa-sarmmaṇ-  
Kausika-gōtra-Trilōchana-Bha-  
26 ṭṭa-sarmmaṇā Kaundalya-gōtra(h)-sāmānya-charaṇa-Trivikrama-Bhaṭṭa-sarmmaṇā Kā-  
yapa-gōtra-sāmānya-charaṇa-Nārā-  
27 yaṇa-Bhaṭṭa-sarmma[ṇ]ā cha sahā nānā-gōtribhyōḥ\*\* pañcha-viṃsati-viprēbhyas tat  
pāda-prākshāṇam kṛitvā Ho-  
28 dali-vishayē Muḍiyanūr-nāma-grāmaṁ udaka-dhārā-pūrvvaṁ mayā dattam | asya  
grāmasya simōchyatē  
29 pūrvvāyān diśi Kuladīpasya samīpē kanishthāyāma-tatākasya sētu[h] tatra dakshinē  
aruṇa-sthalē pāschima(h)-plavaṁ tatra  
30 dakshinē aśōshya-śilā-sthala-vāpi-varim\*\* tatra pūrvvaṁ Kuladīpā-jalāgras-śrīṅgaṁ  
tatra dakshinē Kana-  
31 kadvāra-parvvatasya samīpē kubja-śaila[h] tatra pāschimē Bairamaṅgala-tatāka-  
jalāgrasyōttarē

*Third Plate; Second Side.*

- 32 kubja-śailāgrasōshya\*\*pāshāṇa-vāpi tatra pāschimē pāschimā(h)-plava-sarīt-pramāṇēna  
rija-gata-pāschimē kubja-śai-  
33 la-dvaya dakshinē avata-nivāṭasya pāschim-Ōtta-grāmasya Kottamaṅgalasya trīkūṭa-  
brihat-pāshāṇa-paṁkti-ma-

\*\* Read dinakarasya.

\*\* Read muktāphala.

\*\* Here follows a śloka in Sragdhara metre, full of mis-

takes.

\*\* Read gajaḥ krudhva.

\*\* Read kāruṇikatayā.

\*\* Read khaḍgadhruta.

\*\* Read brihat.

\*\* Substitute sundartmān.

\*\* Read śakābde.

\*\* Read varān.

\*\* Read bhārālasatvā.

\*\* Read varmanā.

\*\* Read gotrēbhyah.

\*\* Read aśōshya.

- 34 dhya[h] dakshina(h)-plavam-sthalâtôttarê svalpa-kṛishṇa-pāshāṇa-paṁktis sahitôttara-plava-sarit-saṅgama-sva-  
 35 lpa-nadī-tatê śilā-sthalam tatra mārutyê Uta-grāma-mahā-taṭākasya pratimukhê jala-samipê śi-  
 36 lā-sthala-paṁkti[h] asya jalāgrasyôttarāsanna-bhinna-svalpa-śilā-sthalam tatôttarê pūrvva-pla[va]-sarit tatôttā-  
 37 re bṛihat-pāshāṇa-paṁkti-pāschima-plava-sarit-mūlam tatra(h) pāshāṇa-paṁktyôttarê bṛihat-pāshāṇa-tatôttarê Uta-  
 38 grāmasya Koṭattār-nnāma-grāmasya trikūṭa-kanishṭama-taṭāka-jalāsāyê bālachandrā-kāra-avāṭaḥ

*Fourth Plate; First Side.*

- 39 tatra pūrvvôttarê pāschima(h)-plava-sarit-sahitôttarāsanna-bṛihat-pāshāṇam tatra pūrvvam ambu-plavasyôttarê  
 40 tatra pūrvvam kanishṭa-taṭāka-sahitam tatra pūrvvam Koṭattār-nnāma-grāmāgnēya-simasya Kuladīpasya  
 41 trikūṭa-śaila-sthalam tatra dakshinê aruṇa-sthalê sthāpita-pāshāṇam tatra dakshinê Kuladīpasya sa-  
 42 mipe kanishṭāyāmas-sêôttarê simāvalēya samāptaḥ | bhūmim yaḥ pratigrihyēti<sup>38</sup> yach cha<sup>39</sup> bhūmim pra-  
 43 yachchati ubhau tau puṇya-karmamāṇau niyata(h)-svarggagāminau | bhūmi-dānan<sup>40</sup> tu yat puṇyam na bhūtô<sup>41</sup> na bhavishya-  
 44 ti yaśyēva haraṇan-nai(?)tva(?) na bhūtô na bhavishyati | bahubhir vvasundā dattā rājābhis Sakarājibhih<sup>42</sup> yasya ya-  
 45 sya yadā bhūmih tasya tasya tadā phalam | svadattām paradattām vā yô harēti vasundharā[m] shashtim varsham sa.

*Fourth Plate; Second Side.*

- 46 hasrāṇi viśṭāyām jāyatê krimih | hiranyam êkam gūm êkam bhūmyām apy êkam amkuram haran narakam ā-  
 47 pnōti yavad ā-bhūta-samplavam | na visham visham ity ābu[h] brahmasvam visham nchyatê. visham êkākinah<sup>43</sup> hanti bra-  
 48 hmasvam putra-pautrakam | brahmasvam prapayād bhuktām dabaty ā-saptāmam kulam tatēvaśchauryya<sup>44</sup>-rūpēna dāha.  
 49 ty ā-chandra-tārakam | vikramēṇa tu bhōktriṇā[m] dāsa-pūrvvā[n] dāśāparāṇ lōha-chūrnāsma  
 50 chūrnas<sup>45</sup> cha visham vē<sup>46</sup> jarayê[n] narah | Vadhūvallabha-Mallasya vachanē-naiva śāsanam tvashṭā Nnandi-varmmāchāryya dānasyāsyā  
 51 likhāmy abam || Yāvat sōma-sahasrāmśu tāvat tishtati<sup>47</sup> śāsṡvataḥ Chūḍa.<sup>48</sup> grāmam pradāsyāmi Vadhū-  
 52 vallabhabhūpati[h] || Ittham kṛitam sarvvapradhānam Vaivasvata-daṇḍādhipēna || Vyādhanam<sup>49</sup> ullēgam

## TRANSLATION.

Om ! Obeisance to Śiva ! He, the ocean to (which flow) the waters of the Mandākinī whose throne (or source) is on the lofty peak of the mountain called Nandi,<sup>48</sup> lord of the

earth, his lotus-feet worthy of worship from Dēvēndra and the gods, triumphs, the adored !

(L. 2.)—Be it well ! His breast embraced by the daughter of the bearer up of the mountains of the earth,<sup>49</sup> bearer on his head of the

<sup>38</sup> ? pratigrihṃti.<sup>39</sup> Read dānā.<sup>40</sup> Read Sagarādibhih.<sup>41</sup> Read tatēvaśchauryya.<sup>42</sup> Read vā.<sup>43</sup> Read Chūḍa.<sup>38</sup> Read yad cha.<sup>39</sup> Read bhūtan.<sup>40</sup> Read êkākinam.<sup>41</sup> Read chūrnā.<sup>42</sup> Read tishtati.<sup>43</sup> ? sādhanam : the meaning of these two words at the end is not apparent.<sup>44</sup> The only river whose source is actually attributed to the hill of Nandi or Nandidurga is the Pālār or Kehra-nadī, though seven rivers rise in the same group of hills.<sup>45</sup> As this is understood to mean Pārvatī, the consort of Śiva, the statement seems misapplied to Vishnu.

nectar-producing moon,<sup>50</sup> source of mercy, his glory illuminating all worlds, reposing on his couch the serpent in an ocean whose waters are flowing in shining waves, was Kamalanābha (Viṣṇu);—on whose starting to take the three strides, manifesting desire with the signs of hands and feet, was established the fame, as the only giver of gifts in the world, of the great Bali, lord of the Dānavas;—the cause of the increase of whose race, freed from the enemy of sin through the sound of the blessings chanted by great Brāhmanas possessed of all merit acquired in the constant exercise of holy rites, having a force composed of mighty elephants, his terrible army led by commanders the prancing of whose restive chargers stopped the motion of the earth, worthy of reverence from all the kings in the world, his breast the abode of valour and government, the rod of his arm as long as the world-bearer (Ādīśaṣa), his dreadful sword unconquered by the most powerful kings, his body glittering with the radiance of garlands and epaulettes, having obtained the crown and the throne, was Nandīvarman, the upholder of royal virtues.

(L. 10.)—After him, his excellent son, whose face was like a lotus opening to the light of the rays of the morning sun, his footstool illuminated with the radiance caused by the crowns and garlands of prostrate kings, by name Vijayāditya-Dēva, possessed of many kinds of wealth won from his enemies by the strength of his own arm, filling all quarters with the shouts from his deep throat resembling thunder from the storm-clouds, having a serpent-like sword, his body glorious with groups of wounds from the stroke of warlike weapons in the moving fight, having governed the kingdom:—

(L. 14.)—There was, in like manner—a sun in awakening the lotus-lake of the Bāṇa race—his son, who in compassion for all living things in the three worlds was like Bōdhisattva, in valour the equal of Virabhadra beloved of Hara, in protecting the kingdom like Mahēndra, in possession of pearls the equal of the ocean, in

having a (mount) Mēru of unique immovable wealth resembling Kārttikēya, daily the cause of manifest joy to Umā; as elephants tremble at the might of a raging lion so were his enemies overcome in battle by the wind of the strokes of the sword uplifted in his hand; the bright lotus-eyes of women, fascinating in their gait from the weight of their loins, being attracted to him could not be taken off again.

(L. 20.)—By him, being such a one, his long arms an ornament to the circle of the earth, daily adding to the three kinds of power,<sup>51</sup> ruler of a seven and a half lakh country containing twelve thousand villages, in the Āndhra maṇḍala, cause of continued prosperity to the four castes,—(vis.) by Śrī-Vadhūvallabha-Malladēva-Nandīvarman, being in the town of Āvani, in the Śaka year two hundred increased by sixty-one, the twenty-third of his own reign being current, in the Viṣambi samvatsara, on the thirteenth (day) of the dark fortnight of Kārttika, on Monday, under the constellation Gemini, to Śrī-Rudra-bhaṭṭa-śarman of the Bharadvāja gōtra and sāmānya-charaṇa, to Trilōcana-bhaṭṭa-śarman of the Kauśika gōtra, to Trivikrama-bhaṭṭa-śarman of the Kaundalya (sic) gōtra and sāmānya-charaṇa, to Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa-śarman of the Kāśyapa gōtra and sāmānya-charaṇa, and including them to twenty-five Brāhmanas of various gōtras, having washed their feet, the village named Mūḍiyānūr in the Hōḍali viśaya, is, with pouring of water, by me given.

(L. 28.)—The boundaries of that village are (here) stated:—(here follow the boundaries in great detail, and then various imprecatory verses).

(L. 50.)—By order of Vadhūvallabha-Malla, I, the carpenter Nandīvarmaśāhārya, inscribe the charter of this grant. As long as moon and sun endure, for so long in perpetuity, I king Vadhūvallabha, make a gift of Chūḍā-grāma.<sup>52</sup> Thus was it done by the Sarvaśraddhāna, the Daṇḍādhipa Vaiśvasvata. The grant is written (P)<sup>53</sup>

<sup>50</sup> Like the foregoing, this is descriptive of Śiva and not of Viṣṇu.

<sup>51</sup> Prabhu-, mantri-, and utadha-takti.

<sup>52</sup> This is the translation into Sanskrit of Mudyānūr.

<sup>53</sup> Vyādhanam ullāṣaṇ; the meaning is not apparent.

## AN ENGLISH-GIPSY INDEX.

COMPILED BY MRS. GRIERSON; WITH AN INTRODUCTORY NOTE BY G. A. GRIERSON, B.C.S.

(Continued from p. 147.)

- MAN**,—Manush, monish, mush, (Eng.); manus, (Span. Gip.); manush (dim.) manushoro, (Tch.); nêre, mêru (As. Tch.); manush, (Psp. M., M. 8); gazhō, gazhō, manush, rom, (dim.) romurō, (M.); mero, mursh, (M. 8)
- MANE**,—Kōama, (M.)
- MANGEL-WUEZEL**,—Dip, (As. Tch.)
- MANGER**,—Āslia, pakht, (Tch.)
- MANGY**,—Ghelalō, gheralō, (Tch.)
- MANTLE**,—Urydibē, (Tch.); mantāo, (M.); plash-chos, (M. 8)
- MARY**,—Azōm, (Tch.)
- MAPLE**,—Pāltinu, (M.)
- MAKE**,—Grasni, grasnakkur, (Eng.); grastnt, grastni, grant, (Tch.); grastnt, (Psp. M.); grazni, yēpa, (M.)
- MARJORAM**,—Khrībnos, (Tch.)
- MARK**,—Mōdūha, (M.)
- MARKET**,—Fōros, (Tch., Psp. M.)
- MARRIAGE**,—Romipen, (Eng.); biāv, (Tch.); biāv, piāv, (Psp. M.); nūnta, (M.)
- MARRIAGE-GUEST**,—Nuntāsh, (M.)
- MARRIED**,—Rommodo, romm'd, (Eng.)
- MARRIED, to be**,—Kununisard'ovāva, (M.)
- MARRY, to**,—Pandrevāva, (Tch.); ēnsorisard'ovāva, ēnsurisard'ovāva, kununiāva, kununisard'ovāva, mēritisard'ovāva, (M.)
- MARSH-FLOWER**,—Tāfa, (M.)
- MAST**,—Bero-ruk, (Eng.); akialōni, (Tch.)
- MASTER**,—Dōmnu, mēshtero, mēshteru, ray, rāyu, (M.); ray, (M. 8)
- MATTER**,—see Pus.
- MATRESS**,—Kozākos, (Tch.)
- MAY**, (month of),—May, (M.)
- ME, to, (dative)**,—Amande, (Eng.)
- ME, (acc.)**,—Man, (Tch.); man, ma, (M.)
- MEADOW**,—Livadō, livardō, (Tch.); mal, mālō, mālū, poyāna (M.)
- MEAGRE**,—Kishlō, sannō, (Tch.); kishlō, (M. 7)
- MEAL, a funeral**,—Prazniko, (M.)
- MEAL**,—see FLOUR.
- MEAN, (adj.)**,—Prost, (M.)
- MEASURE**,—Medisin, (Eng.); mēsūra, (M.)
- MEASURE, to**,—Mēsurisard'ovāva, (M.)
- MEAT**,—Mās, (Tch., Psp. M.); māsī, (As. Tch.); mas, (M.)
- MEDIATOR**,—Mizhlochto, mizhlochiō, mizhlocht, (M.)
- MEDITATE, to**,—T'it'āva, (M.)
- MEDICINE**,—Drab, drav, (Eng.); oštr, (As. Tch.); doftoriya, (M.)
- MEET EACH OTHER, to**,—Malad'ovāva, (M.)
- MELON, WATER**,—Shūfti, (As. Tch.)
- MELT, to**,—Bilāva, (Tch., M. 7)
- MELTED, to be**,—Bilāniōvava, (Tch.)
- MENTION, to**,—Pomeniāva, pomenisard'ovāva, (M.)
- MERCHANT**,—Neguctōru, neguctōri, negucitōr, (M.)
- MERCHANDISE**,—Kirtiye, (M.)
- MIDDAY**,—Mezmēri, mesmēri, myāzē, myāza, myādza, (M.); mismiris, (M. 8)
- MIDDLE**,—Mashkarāl, (M.)
- MIDDLE, in the**,—Maskare, (M. 8)
- MIDNIGHT**,—Yēkpāsh arātt, (Tch.)
- MIDWIFE**,—Mormusti, (Eng.); mami, (M. 8)
- MILE**,—Mea, (pl.) millior, (Eng.); mil'a, posht, (M.)
- MILE-STONE**,—Mea-bar, (Eng.)
- MILK**,—Tud, (Eng.); tut, (Tch.); tut, sut, (Psp. M.); kir, pir, (As. Tch.); thud, (M., M. 8)
- MILK, to**,—Doshāva, pishāva, (Tch.); dushāva, (M.); doshāva, (M. 7)
- MILK, SOUR**,—Yoghūrt, (Tch.); mast, (As. Tch.)
- MILKMAID**,—Tudlogueri, (Eng.)
- MILKMAN**,—Tudēskoro, (Tch.)
- MILKY**,—Tudalo, (Tch.)
- MILL**,—Poggra-mengri, (Eng.); vasiāv, (Tch., Psp. M.); asāū, (M.); asyav, (M. 7)
- MILLER**,—Waro-mescro, pauno-mengro, (Eng.); vasiavēskoro, (Tch.); morāri, morār, (M.)
- MILLET**,—Kurmf, (Tch.)
- MILL-STONE**,—Rōshnica, (M.)
- MINARET**,—Bashavdi, (Tch.)
- MIND**,—Zi, (Eng.); mīnte, (M.)
- MINE, (sub.)**,—Ōgna, (M.)
- MINE**,—Miro, miri, (Eng.); mo; minrō, (Tch.); meki, (As. Tch.)
- MINISTER**,—Ministru, (M.)
- MIRROR**,—Dikliardō, gledālo, yali, (Tch.); avini, (As. Tch.)
- MISCARRY, to**,—Mārghiōvāva, (Tch.); shudāva, shuvāva, (M.)
- MISER**,—Wongar-kamming mush, (Eng.)
- MISERABLE**,—Chungalō, jungalō, zungalō, bi-bakh-tiāskoro, (Tch.); chungalō, (Psp. M., M. 7)
- MISFORTUNE**,—Chingār, chungār, (Tch.)
- MOCK, to**,—Prasāva, (Tch., M. 8)
- MOCKED, to be**,—Prasāniōvāva, (Tch.)
- MODESTY**,—Laj, lach, lajaibē, (Tch.); pachi, (Span. Gip.); laj, (M. 8)
- MOLE**,—Povo-guero, (Eng.); korō kermusō, (Tch.)
- MONDAY**,—Lūyē, luy, (M.)
- MONEY**,—Luvvo, (Eng.); lovē, rup, (dim.) ruporo, (Tch.); orp, (As. Tch.); lovē, (Psp. M.); lovē, lovi, parāle, zhēltā, (M.); lovo, (M. 8)

**MONEY**, of or belonging to,—Rupéskoro, lovén-goro, (Tch.)  
**MONEY-CHANGER**,—Luvvo-mengro, (Eng.)  
**MONK**,—Kélágéru, (M.)  
**MONKEY**,—Maimúna, (Tch.)  
**MONTH**,—Másek, (Tch.); masak, (As. Tch.); chon, másek, (Psp. M.); shon, shún, shun, (M.); másek, (M. 8)  
**MOON**,—Dude, chún, (Eng.); hiv, chemut, (Hun. (Gip.); chon, (Psp. M.); chon, chomát, (Tch.); shon, shun, (M.); chomut, chon, (M. 7)  
**MORE**,—Komi, yeroder, buroder, (Eng.); po, (Tch.)  
**MORTAR**, a,—Haváni, (As. Tch.)  
**MOTHER**,—Daya, dieya, die, mam, (Eng.); daia, die, (Bus. Gip.); dái, de, (Psp. M.); dái, déi, (dim.) daiori, dále, dôle, (Tch.); dádo, (As. Tch.); da, máyka, mátká, mēsa, (M.); day, (M. 7)  
**MOTHER-IN-LAW**,—Mamicholi, sashúti, (dim.) sashiori, shashúti, sashúti, shashuiori, (Tch.); shashúti, shashúti, (Psp. M.); sasot, sasut, (M.)  
**MOUNT**, to,—Ugliáva, ukliáva, (Tch.); ukliáva, (Psp. M.)  
**MOUNTAIN**,—Tal, (As. Tch.); moshila, muzhila, play, (M.)  
**MOUNTED**,—Uklistó, (Tch.)  
**MOURNFUL**,—Tugno, tug, (Eng.)  
**MOVING**,—Lipima, (Tch.)  
**MOUSE**,—Mussó, mushó, mássos, (Tch.); mishákos, mushó, (Psp. M.); shóreku, shórik, shó-areku, (M.)  
**MUSTACHE**,—Shoshanó, (Tch.)  
**MOUTH**,—Múi, (abl.) muyál, (Tch., Psp. M.); zavúr, zavúd, (As. Tch.); muy, (M., M. 8)  
**MUCH**,—Bute, (Eng.); but, (comp.) butedór, butló, (Tch. Psp. M.); buhu, (As. Tch.); but, (M., M. 7)  
**MUCUS**,—Khaléa, (Tch.)  
**MUCUS of the nose**,—Lim, (Psp. M., M. 8)  
**MUD**,—Chik, (Tch.); chik, chiká, (Psp. M.); glódu, (M.)  
**MUDDY**,—Chikaló, (Tch.)  
**MULBERRY**,—Dud, tu, (As. Tch.)  
**MULE**,—Joró, joruf, (Tch.); joro, (M. 7)  
**MURDER**, to,—Murdaráva, (Tch., Psp. M.); muda-ráva, (M.)  
**MURDERER**,—Manushfari, (Tch.)  
**MUSHROOM**,—Khukhún, sticha, (Tch.); khukhún, (M. 7)  
**MUSHROOM**, of or belonging to,—Khukhúnren-goro, (Tch.)  
**MUSKET**,—Pudinó, (Psp. M.)  
**MUSTER**, to,—Mustusaráva, (M.)  
**MY**,—miro, (Eng.); mo, minró, mindó, (Tch.); mo, moró, muró, (M.); minro, (M. 8)

## N

**NAILS**, (human),—Naior, (pl.) (Eng.); náí, (Tch., Psp. M.); nati, (As. Tch.); úngi, (M.); (ag.) nai, (M. 8)  
**NAILS**, (human), of or belonging to,—Naiéngoro, (Tch.)  
**NAILS**,—Sasters, sastris, (Eng.); sheritnó, (Tch.); yeré, karfin, (M.); karfia, (M. 7)  
**NAIL TO**, on,—Céntosaráva, (M.)  
**NAILED ON**,—Céntumi, (M.)  
**NAKED**,—Nango, (Eng.); nangó, nangaló, (Tch.); nangoldí, (As. Tch.); nangó, (Psp. M., M. 8); nangó, nangú, (M.)  
**NAKED**, to become,—Nanghiováva, (Tch.)  
**NAKED**, to make,—Nangheráva, nanghjáráva, (Tch.)  
**NAKEDNESS**,—Nangipen, (Eng.); nanghipé, (Tch.)  
**NAME**,—Nav, (Eng.); nav, naf, (Tch.); nam, (As. Tch.); nav, (Psp. M., M. 8)  
**NAMED**, to be,—Busháva, kharáva, (M. 7)  
**NAMELY**,—Ádeké, (M.)  
**NAPE OF THE NECK**,—Men, min, (Tch.)  
**NAPKIN**,—Mesáli, (Tch., M. 8); páta, (Tch.)  
**NARROW**,—Tank, tang, (Tch.); tang, (M., M. 8)  
**NAVEL**,—Pol, bor, por, (Tch.); navugori, (As. Tch.); pol, (Psp. M.); buriku, (M.)  
**NEAR**,—Pashé, pashpashé, (abl.) pashál, pachó, (Tch.); nálag, (As. Tch.); bashé, pashé, (Psp. M.); pashá, pashé, (M.); pasho, (M. 8)  
**NEAR-SIGHTED**,—Elegedári, (M.)  
**NEAR**, of or belonging to,—Pashalutnó, (Tch.)  
**NECESSARY**, to be,—Trebuáva, (M.); hum, (M. 7)  
**NECESSITY**,—Tryába, (M.)  
**NECK**,—Men, karlo, (Eng.); korí, korín, kurló, (Tch.); korí, (M.); kori, (M. 7); men, (M. 8)  
**NECK-CLOTH**,—Men-pangushi, (Eng.)  
**NEEDLE**,—Siva-mengri, sovie, su, subya, subie, (Eng.); suv, suf, (dim.) suvori, (Tch.); siv, (As. Tch.); sáv, (Psp. M.); suv, (M. 8)  
**NEEDY**,—Chovenó, (Eng.)  
**NEGRO**,—Kaulo guero, (Eng.)  
**NEIGH**, to,—Hremint'igva, hremintisaráva, (M.)  
**NEIGHBOUR**,—Pashemandutno, (Tch.); mejiyésh, (M.)  
**NEITHER—NOR**,—Ne—ne, (M. 8)  
**NEST**,—Ken, sas, tas, (Eng.); káybu, (M.)  
**NET**,—Gonó, goná, (M.)  
**NEW**,—Nevo, (fem.) nevi, (Eng.); nevó, (Tch., Psp. M., M. 8); neve, (As. Tch.); nivó, (M.)  
**NIGHT**,—Barde, (Eng.); ratt, (Tch.); arátt, yast, (As. Tch.); rat, rattí, arattí, (Psp. M.); ret, (M.); rat, (M. 8)  
**NIGHT**, as dark as,—Aráttiovel, ráttilo, (Tch.)  
**NIGHT**, during the,—Arattí, (Tch.)  
**NIGHT**, to stay through the,—Bat'aráva, rat'ardo-váva, (M.)

**NIGHTINGALE**,—*Ratniken chiriclo*, (Eng.)  
**NIGHTLY**,—*Rardiskey*, (Eng.)  
**NINE**,—*Enā, enā, iniya*, (Tch.); *nāya, nu*, (As. Tch.); *iniya*, (Psp. M.); *enā*, (M.); *ence*, (M. 7)  
**NINETEEN**,—*Deah-i-inia*, (Psp. M.)  
**NINETY**,—*Iniyavardēri*, (Psp. M.)  
**NINTH**,—*Enāto*, (M.)  
**NIT**,—*Lik*, (adj.) *likālō*, (Tch.); *likh*, (M. 8); cf. *LOUSE*.  
**NITS**, He who has, —*Likēngoro*, (Tch.)  
**No**,—*Ne, kek, kekko, chī*, (Eng.); *na, nāna, nānai, nāsti, nāstik, nānasti, nānastik, ne ne, ma*, (Tch.); *na, nanāi, nasti, ma*, (Psp. M.); *ba*, (M.); (see *NOT*).  
**NO MORE**,—*Kekkomi*, (Eng.)  
**NOBLEMAN**,—*Gh'alti*, (As. Tch.); *rāi*, (Psp. M.)  
**NOBLENES**,—*Strašnichtye*, (M.)  
**NOBODY**,—*Jenō*, (Tch.)  
**NOCTURNAL**,—*Rattutnō, arattutnō, rattiāgoro*, (Tch.)  
**NOISE**,—*Gudli, godli*, (Eng.)  
**NOSE**,—*Chee, kek, kekkeno*, (Eng.)  
**NOSENSE**,—*Dinnelipēnes*, (Eng.)  
**NOON**,—*Yākpash divēs*, (Tch.); *nimru*, (As. Tch.); *mezmēri, mesmēri, myāzō, myāza, myāza*, (M.)  
**NO ONE**,—*Kayāk jenō*, (Psp. M.)  
**NOSE**,—*Nok*, (Eng.); *rutunī*, (Tch., M. 8); *nak*, (As. Tch., Psp. M., M.); *nakh*, (M. 8)  
**NOT**,—*Mā, kek, na, ne*, (Eng.); *na, ntchi, nieh*, (M.); *chi*, (M. 7); *na, ni*, (M. 8); see *No*.  
**NOT ANY**,—*Kekkeno*, (Eng.)  
**NOTHING**,—*Vaneshu*, (Eng.); *hich, ich, chi, chichi, chiti*, (Tch.); *na (ma) nishta*, (M. 8)  
**NOURISH**, to, —*Parvarāva*, (Tch., Psp. M., M. 8); *hrēniāva, hrēnisarāva*, (M.), see *FEED*.  
**NOURISHMENT**,—*Hrānō, merind'e*, (M.)  
**NOVELTY**,—*Nevibē*, (Tch.)  
**Now**,—*Kanau, knau, kana*, (Eng.); *akanā, okanā, akāi, kái, akanghā*, (Tch.); *akanā, okanā*, (Psp. M.); *akanā, aka*, (M.); *akana*, (M. 7)  
**NUN**,—*Rashanī*, (Tch.)  
**NURSE**,—*Daya, dieya*, (Eng.); *māmkō*, (M.)  
**NUT**,—*Pedloer, penliois*, (Eng.); *akhōr, akōr*, (Tch., Psp. M.); *akhor*, (M. 7); *peledan*, (M. 8).  
**NUT-TREE**,—*Akhorin, akorin*, (Psp. M.)

## O

**OAK**,—*Steshāri*, (M.)  
**OATS**,—*Jōbis*, (Eng.); *pusavdi*, (Tch.)  
**OATH**,—*Sauloholomus*, (Eng.); *hasloibē, sovāi*, (Tch.); *sovel*, (M. 8)  
**OBEDY**, to, —*Kandāva*, (M.)  
**OBLIGED** (compelled), to be, —*Musarāva*, (M.)

**OBSCURE**,—*Biaveliāgoro*, (Tch.)  
**OCEAN**,—*Okyāna*, (M.)  
**ODOUR**,—*Sung*, (Tch.); *ahung*, (M. 8)  
**OF**,—*De, kata, kat*, (M.)  
**OFFERING**,—*Kiribē*, (Tch.)  
**OFFICER**,—*Cheribashi*, (Tch.)  
**OF NO USE**,—*Kek-kushti*, (Eng.)  
**OIL**,—*Maklō*, (Tch.)  
**OIL**, linseed, —*Tabardō*, (Tch.)  
**OLD**,—*Pareno, puro*, (Eng.); *phurō, purō*, (comp.) *phuredēr, puranō, phuranō*, (Tch.); *pānari, vidi*, (As. Tch.); *phurō, phurā, purō, furō, puranō*, (Psp. M.); *bharō, pharō*, (M.); *phuro, purano*, (M. 8)  
**OLD**, to become, —*Phurāniōvāva*, (Tch.)  
**OLD**, to grow, —*Phūriōvāva*, (Tch., Psp. M.)  
**OLD AGE**,—*Phuribē*, (Tch.)  
**OLD CLOTHES MAN**,—*Eakijis*, (Tch.)  
**OLD MAN**,—*Phurō, phurō*, (M.)  
**OLIVE**,—*Maklichā*, (Tch.); *zeiti*, (As. Tch., M. 8)  
**ON**,—*Pe, pre*, (M.); *opre*, (M. 8)  
**ONCE**,—*Yekorus*, (Eng.)  
**ONE**,—*Yek*, (Eng.); *yek*, (Tch., Psp. M.); *yāka*, (As. Tch.); *ek, yek*, (M.); *yek*, (M. 7)  
**ONE'S OWN**,—*Nogo*, (Eng.)  
**ONION**,—*Purum*, (Eng.); *purām*, (Tch., Psp. M., M. 8); *bevāzi, pivāz*, (As. Tch.)  
**ONION**, of or belonging to, —*Purumēngoro*, (Tch.)  
**ONLY**,—*Yekoro*, (Eng.); *numāy, nūmay, num*, (M.)  
**OPEN**,—*Pinrō, poravdō*, (Tch.); *poravdō*, (M.); *pinro*, (M. 8)  
**OPEN**, to, —*Pinavāva, pinravāva, poravāva*, (Tch.); *puterāva*, (M.)  
**OPEN THE EYES**, to, —*Enkalavāva*, (M.)  
**OPENED**, to become, —*Pinriōvāva*, (Tch.)  
**OPENING**,—*Khōū*, (M.)  
**OPENING IN A PAIR OF BELLOWS**,—*Privichi*, (Tch.)  
**OPPOSITE**,—*Mamūi, perdal, perdalutnō*, (Tch.); *ghārshu* (As. Tch.); *inamūi*, (Psp. M.)  
**OPPOSITE**, he who is, —*Mamutnō, mamutnanō*, (Tch.)  
**OPPOSITE to**,—*Mamuyāl*, (Tch.); *mamuy*, (M. 8)  
**ORCHARD**,—*Paub tan*, (Eng.)  
**OR**,—*Or, vor*, (M.)  
**ORDURE**,—*Hin*, (Eng.)  
**ORIFICE**,—*Mūi*, (Tch.)  
**OTHER**,—*Yavēr*, (Tch., Psp. M., M. 7)  
**OTTER**,—*Vidra*, (M. 8)  
**OUR**,—*Moro*, (Eng.); *amarō*, (Tch.); *emeki*, (As. Tch.); *amarō, amarōū, amarā*, (M.); *amaro*, (M. 7)  
**OUT**, (not within), —*Abri*, (Eng.); *avri*, (Psp. M.); *bi*, (M.); *avri*, (M. 7)  
**OUTER**,—*Avryāl*, (M.)  
**OVEN**,—*Bov*, (Tch., Psp. M.); *boū*, (M.); *bov*, (M. 7)  
**OVER**,—*Pawdel*, (Eng.); *oprāl*, (M.)  
**OVER the water**,—*Perdal, predal*, (Psp. M., M. 8)



## INDRAGOMIN AND OTHER GRAMMARIANS.

BY PROF. F. KIELHORN; GÖTTINGEN.

Professor Bühler's notice of Professor Peterson's Second Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS. (*sans.*, Vol. XIV. p. 354) has again drawn my attention to Professor Peterson's discovery (*Report*, p. 65), that "the Indra grammar" commenced with the words *विहितवृत्तानां ह्ये*. "To light upon a passage"—so Professor Peterson says,—"which actually quotes the first words of Indra's grammar, while as yet scholars are disputing as to whether such a work ever existed, is indeed a reward for much fruitless toil." And Professor Bühler adds:—"This discovery settles, indeed, the question, if an Aindra grammar really existed."

It would seem that, in the opinion of both scholars we have now at last got actually a quotation from that Aindra grammar which, according to the late Dr. Burnell, preceded the grammar of Pāṇini, and that, according to their views, such an Aindra grammar has really existed, or may, as Professor Bühler suggests, still be in existence. Much as I rejoice at Professor Peterson's discovery, I cannot but think that the conclusion drawn from it—supposing it to be as stated<sup>1</sup>—is a somewhat hasty one.

I have indeed been long aware of the fact that a grammar composed by Indra must have existed, because I knew that that grammar had been used by Hémachandra. But as the fuller name of the author of that work is Indragōmin, just as Chandra's fuller name is Chandragōmin, I feel no inclination to make it older than Pāṇini. And my opinion as to its comparatively recent origin is confirmed by an examination of the statements that are ascribed to it,—a writer who copies from the Vārttikas on P. I. 4, 3 and VIII. 3, 1, cannot be older than Pāṇini,—as well as by the fact that Indra or Indragōmin is mentioned in company with grammarians or grammars like Chandragōmin or the *Kalāpaka*,<sup>2</sup> about whose relation to Pāṇini there can be no doubt.

Hémachandra mentions the views of other grammarians most frequently; but, un-

fortunately, instead of quoting those scholars by name, he introduces their statements by such vague expressions as *Kāchit*, *Kēchit*, *Ākē*, *Anyē*, *Aparē*, etc. What grammarians were meant to be denoted by these terms, I first learnt from the marginal notes in a MS. of a small portion of Hémachandra's grammar which is in my possession, and I subsequently discovered that the names there given have been taken from a commentary, called *Nyāsa*, on Hémachandra's *Bṛihadaritti*. Of this *Nyāsa* I have now been able to read through a MS. of the Deccan College (No. 282 of 1873-74), which, I regret to say, does not go beyond the first Pāda of Adhyāya II. of Hémachandra's grammar; and from it I give the following names of grammarians or works on grammar, which Hémachandra is supposed to refer to:—

Indragōmin. Fol. 11b Indragōmi-Kālāpaka-prabhṛitayāḥ [Hémachandra: *केचित्तु भवन्-गवद्वयवर्ता संबोधने सो परतोऽवयवस्त्वोत्पन्नं तकारस्य च इत्वं कृत्वा*]. Fol. 12a Indragōmi-Chandra-prabhṛitayāḥ; Fol. 15a Chandrēndragōmi-prabhṛitayāḥ [Hémachandra: *अन्वे तु पुरुषस्य समासार्थस्य भेषकन्ति। तन्मते विवदुर्बुद्धे विवद्वेनने पुरुषादेस्त्वैव भवति।*]. [Besides, my own MS. has Indra-Chāndra Fol. 53a].

Utpala. Fol. 13b *बहुत्वतः। कर्मेधारवा-त्समासान्ते प्रचेताराजः।*; Fol. 18b;—Fol. 14b. Utpalādayāḥ; Fol. 16a twice.

Kalāpaka; Fol. 25b, [and Kālāpaka in my own MS. Fol. 53a]; Fol. 3b Kālāpakādyāḥ; Fol. 11b Indragōmi-Kālāpaka-prabhṛitayāḥ.

Kāśikākāra. Fol. 11b Kāśikākārādayāḥ. Kshirasvāmin. Fol. 13b *गीर्षितिरिह न सौरिस्त्वानिना धातुष्वुवादिस्त्वात्स्वनिष्पत्तेः*; Fol. 15a forms only *अतिप्रकट्ये*, *विबधेन्ने* पुरुषात्; Fol. 20a Chāndra-Bhōja-Kshirasvāmi-prabhṛitayāḥ.

Chandragōmin. Fol. 12a Indragōmi-Chandra-prabhṛitayāḥ; Fol. 13a Chāndra-prabhṛitayāḥ; Fol. 15a Chandrēndragōmi-prabhṛitayāḥ; Fol. 18b Chandrādayāḥ; Fol. 20a Chāndra-Bhōja-Kshirasvāmi-prabhṛitayāḥ; Fol. 23a Chandragōmi-Dēvanandī-ādayāḥ; Fol. 24a

<sup>1</sup> So far as I know, there is only one Indra grammar about which there has been any dispute, viz. that Indra grammar which according to Dr. Burnell is older than Pāṇini.

<sup>2</sup> The *Kalāpaka*, or *Kalāpasūtra*, or *Kaumāra-vyākā-*

*ra*, or more commonly *Kātantra*, composed by Śrī-Sarvavarman, "after the Sūtra composed by Bhagavat-Kumāra, and at his command." See the extracts from the commentaries in Eggeling's edition.

Chandragōmīya-matam; Fol. 24b Chāndra-Bhōjau. [Besides, my own MS. has Fol. 50b Chāndrāh, and Fol. 53a Indra-Chāndrau].

Durgasimha Fol. 22b.—Fol. 15a Durgasimha-Śrutapālādih; Fol. 24b Durgah.

Dēvanandin.\* Fol. 16a देवनिन्दना नृणेऽपि स्त्रीलिङ्ग उक्तः scil. वातप्रमीयकः; Fol. 21a काराचक्रे तु देवन्दी, scil. इच्छति, in काराच; Fol. 24b.—Fol. 8b Dēvanandyādayah; Fol. 16a;—Fol. 23a Chandragōmī-Dēvanandy-ādayah.

Pāṇini. Fol. 20a Pāṇini-prabhritayah; Fol. 18b Pāṇini-ādayah; Fol. 19a Pāṇinisū-trānusāriṇah.

Bhōja. Fol. 16a;—Fol. 15b Bhōja-prabhritayah; Fol. 20a Chāndra-Bhōja-Kāhīrasvāmī-prabhritayah; Fol. 24b Chāndra-Bhōjau.

Vāmana.\* Fol. 16a Vāman-ādayah [Hemachandra says: केचिदुत्पत्त्यात्कतिश्चरदिवच्छन्ति scil. जलसोर्द्धपम्; they form therefore कति, but not बति.]

Viśrāntavidyādhara. Fol. 11b [Hemachandra says: कश्चिन्नु स्वरजबोरनादित्यबोर्बकारव-कारबोर्बोर्बवर्णादन्वतोऽपि लोपमिच्छति। अच्चारुड उम् ईचम् अच्चुः स चात्ताविन्दुश्च अभिन्दुः। साधोरी श्रीः साधी तस्या उडवः साधुडव इत्यादि।]; and the *Nyāsa* adds कश्चिद्विदिति। विश्रान्तविद्याधरः।]; Fol. 9b Viśrāntavidyādhara-ādayah [केचिन्नु व्यञ्जनस्य स्थानेऽनुनासिके वा अनुनासिकमिच्छन्ति। त्वक् के इति = त्वह इति।]; Fol. 18a; [besides, my own MS. Fol. 44b].

Śakaṭa or Śakaṭāyana. Fol. 18b [and my own MS. Fol. 53a] Śakaṭa; Fol. 16a, Fol. 21a Śakaṭāyana; [my own MS. Fol. 50b Śakaṭāyanah]; Fol. 12a, Fol. 13a, Fol. 15a, Fol. 18a Śakaṭāyan-ādayah.

Śrutapāla. [My own MS. Fol. 53a]; Fol. 15a Durgasimha-Śrutapālādih [Hema-

chandra says सख्यौ पख्यौ। पताविति कश्चित्।, and the *Nyāsa* adds कश्चिद्विदिति। दुर्गसिंहस्तपा-लाहि.]

[In addition to the above my own MS. Fol. 50b makes Hemachandra quote the opinion of Ratnamati,\* called Ratnamatir baunddhah, in the words; राधीश्वर्यविषयादिप्रवृत्त्यादिच्छत्वन्यः। लाभाव राध्यति। लाभाव राधन्ति। लाभाव साधयति। लाभावेक्षेत। लाभाव पद्वति। And the *Nyāsa* cites, on its own account, the following: Upādhyāya (यदाह उपाध्यायः। अहं इत्येतस्मात्प्रवृत्त्यामापुलित्येव भवति); Kakkala (इति ककलस्य व्याख्या); Jayāditya; the Dhātupārāyanikah opposed to the Vaiyākaraṇah; a *Nyāsa* and a *Nyāsakāra*; the *Bhāṣhya*, *Bhāṣhyakāra*, *Bhāṣhyakṛit*, *Bhāṣhyakāra-Vārttikakāra*, and *Śrīśeṣharāja* (i.e. Patañjali); *Vatsa-Rishabhau* (वतः घटप्रत्ययान्तं महदिति कर्त्तृ लासणिकं कटप्रत्ययान्तं तु प्रतिपक्षेत्। एतच्च वत्सकृत्पभादुच्यते।); the *Viśrānta* (विश्रान्ताही); the *Vaijayantikāra*; and a marginal note explains the word अन्ये by Jinendra-Bhōja-Pāṇini-prabhritayah].

Now from the above list it will appear, that Hemachandra in the compilation of his own grammar has used exactly those grammatical works which we might have expected him to use, viz., besides the *Pāṇiniya* and its commentaries, the grammars of Chandra, Śakaṭāyana (who, of course, has nothing to do with the old Śakaṭāyana), Bhōja, and Vāmana; the *Jinendra*, the *Kalpaka*, the writings of Kāhīrasvāmī, and similar works. Certain it seems, that he has known nothing older than Pāṇini, and we shall probably not be far wrong, when we assume that the grammar of Indra or Indragōmī bore a somewhat close relation to either the grammar of Chandragōmī or the *Kalā-*

\* While I am obliged to Mr. Pathak for having set me right about Pāṇinypāda (ante, Vol. XII. p. 19), I still believe that Dēvanandin was the author of the original *Jinendra-vyākaraṇa*. If that grammar is correctly described by the term *anekaiśhaṣa vyākaraṇam*, which even Prof. Peterson appears to admit (*Report*, p. 68), it follows with absolute certainty from the examples *Dēvanandinam anekaiśhaṣa vyākaraṇam* and *Dēvapāṇiam anekaiśhaṣa vyākaraṇam*, that Dēvanandin was the first who invented or proclaimed that grammar. Any Śāstrī conversant with the rules of grammar can tell whether I am right or wrong. I may add, that that recension of the *Jinendra*, which has been commented upon by Sōmadēva, cannot be the original one, because it does contain the *Śakaṭa*-rules, and I have no objection to its being ascribed to Gunanandin. Lastly, I regret that Professor Peterson was unable to consult the Decan College MSS. described by me (ante, Vol. X. p. 75), but they certainly had not gone to Germany (*Report*, note on p. 68), nor have they gone there even now.

\* In the *Ganaratnamahōdadhī* p. 2, Vāmana is described as the author of the *Viśrāntavidyādhara-vyākaraṇa*; the same work mentions, p. 167, a *Nyāsa* on the *Viśrānta*, and p. 131 a *Viśrāntanyāsakṛit*. A *Bṛhadarṇī* of Vāmana is quoted, id. p. 453; and Vāmana also composed a *Liṅgānuśāna* in 34 *Ārya*, which seems still to exist. In the *Nyāsa*, from which I have quoted in the above, *Viśrāntavidyādhara* is certainly intended to be the name or the epithet of a man, not of a grammar; the name of the grammar appears to be *Viśrānta*. Compare *Kātantra* as the name of Śarva-varman's grammar, and *Mushki* as that of Malayagiri's (*Mushkikṛit*?).

\* Ratnamati is often quoted. The man here intended I suspect to be the same as Ratna-śrīpādāh, who appears to have composed a commentary on the *Chāndra-vyākaraṇa*, and who is cited (with Vimalamati) in *Ānanda-datta's Paddhati*.

*paka*, together with which it is mentioned.\* As regards the first Sūtra of it, for the discovery of which we are indebted to Professor Peterson, I believe that Hēmachandra has imitated it in his own rule लोकात्,† which in his grammar follows immediately upon the Sūtras अहम् । सिद्धिः स्वाहाहात् ।

I cannot conclude these remarks without two requests. In the first place, I would urge my fellow-students to cease speaking of an Aindra grammar, or of the Aindra school of grammarians, terms for which, so far as I know, there is no justification, and which are only apt to mislead. And secondly, I would earnestly request my former colleagues, Peter-

son and Bhandarkar, who already have done so much for the preservation of Sanskrit MSS., to purchase as many commentaries on Hēmachandra's work as they can lay hold of, because I believe that such commentaries will furnish many valuable notes on the history of Sanskrit grammar. If the information at my command be correct, there must still be in existence a *Bṛhannyaśa*, called *Śabdamañdhara*, a *Nyāsa* by Dharmaghōṣa, one by Rāmachandra, a *Laghunyaśa* by Kanakaprabha, and similar works. They will probably not be pleasant reading, but if Professors Bhandarkar and Peterson will give me the chance, I will try to make the best of them.

## THE CHANDRA-VYAKARANA AND THE KASIKA-VṚITTI.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHOEN, GÖTTINGEN.

Tradition tells us that the *Chāndra-Vyākaraṇa* is older than the *Kāśikā-Vṛitti*. The kindness of Professor Oldenberg, who has placed at my disposal his copy of the fragments of Chandra's grammar which are at Cambridge, enables me to prove that the compilers of the *Kāśikā* have diligently used that grammar, although they never actually mention it.

On Pāṇini IV. 1, 54 the *Kāśikā* has the note अङ्गुगात्रकण्ठश्च इति वक्तव्यम्, which is not found in the *Mahābhāṣya*. The three words are taken from Chandra's rule, which corresponds to Pāṇini IV. 1, 55, नासिकोदरोष्ठश्चङ्गावन्तकर्ण-पृष्ठाङ्गुगात्रकण्ठात्.

On Pāṇini IV. 1, 68 the *Kāśikā* has the note चक्षुरस्त्रोकाराकारलोपश्च वक्तव्यः । चक्षुः । which is not in the *Mahābhāṣya*. Chandra has the rule पञ्चः चक्षुः.

On Pāṇini IV. 1, 85 the *Kāśikā* has the note जमावेति वक्तव्यम्, which is not in the *Mahābhāṣya*. Chandra has जम, in his rule हित्यहित्वा-हित्यवभाषणश्च.

On Pāṇini IV. 1, 156 the *Kāśikā* has the note स्वरादीनां वा कित्त्वक्तव्यः Chandra has the rules इयचोऽणः । त्यरादिभ्यः ।

On Pāṇini IV. 2, 42 the *Kāśikā* has the note

वातादूलः, which is a rule of Chandra's. The addition of ऊल to वात, in the sense of समूह, is taught again in the *Kāśikā* on Pāṇini V. 2, 122, where the note to that effect is taken from the *Mahābhāṣya*.

On Pāṇini IV. 3, 8 the *Kāśikā* has the note आदिष्वेति वक्तव्यम् । आदिभ्यः । Chandra's rule is मन्त्रादिभ्यः नः । In the *Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇini IV. 3, 23 आदिभ्यः is formed (not with न, but) with ङिभ्यः.

On Pāṇini IV. 3, 144 the *Kāśikā* has the note एकाक्षी नित्त्वं नयदनिच्छन्ति, तदनेन क्लियते. Chandra has the rules नयडभक्षाच्छादने । एकाक्षः ।

On Pāṇini IV. 4, 29 the *Kāśikā* has the note चकारोऽनुक्तसमुच्चयार्थः । पारिपाथिकः । Chandra's rule is परमुक्तपार्थाङ्गः.

On Pāṇini IV. 4, 78 the *Kāśikā* has the note ख इति वीगविभागः कर्तव्य इहसंभार्यः । उत्तरधुरीणः । इतिपधुरीणः । Chandra has the rule सर्वोत्तर-इतिपादेः खः.

On Pāṇini IV. 4, 101 the *Kāśikā* has the note अप्रत्यक्षोऽप्यवेष्टव्यते । तस्य वीगविभागः क्लियते. It was Chandra who taught the addition of either suffix ; for his rule is पर्येष्टो ऽप्यश्च.

On Pāṇini V. 1, 12 the *Kāśikā* has the note केचिषु तस्मै हितमित्यनुवर्तयन्ति. It was Chandra

grammar of Pāṇini (ib. p. 54). See Barnell, *On the Aindra Grammar*, p. 5.

\* Explained by him: उक्तातिरिक्तानां क्रियागुणव्यति-काललिङ्गस्वाङ्गः संख्यापरिमाणपत्यबीप्सालुगवर्णादीनां संज्ञानां पराभित्यं नित्यादन्तरङ्गमन्तरङ्गानवकाशं बलीय इत्यादीनां न्यायानां च लोकादेयकरणसमयाविदः प्रामाणिकदिक् शास्त्र-मनुष्ये सिद्धिर्भवतीति वेदितव्यम् ॥.

\* The Pandits of Tibet are certainly right when they say that the *Chāndra-vyākaraṇa* agrees with Pāṇini, and they may be therefore supposed to be right in maintaining that the *Kāśikā-vyākaraṇa* agrees with the *Indravākyākarana*, (see Schiefner, *Tāranātha*, p. 54), i.e., as I take it, the grammar of Indragomin. Indragomin would, in my opinion, be the same as Indradhrava (ib. p. 60), and Tāranātha is quite right, when he says that in *Aryaśaśa* the *Indravākyākarana* did not appear before the

who did so; for his rule is *विकृतेः प्रकृतौ* (without *सर्व*.)

The second explanation, which is given in the *Kāśikā* of Pāṇini V. 1, 94, was the one adopted by Chandra; for his wording of the rule is *तस्य ब्रह्मण्ये*.

On Pāṇini V. 1, 126 the *Kāśikā* has the note *इत्यपि न चेति वक्तव्यम्*. Chandra has the rule *सविप्रसङ्गिणो यः*.

When on Pāṇini V. 1, 131 the compiler of the *Kāśikā* asks *कथं काव्यमिति*, he shows that he knew Chandra's rule *लघोरिको ऽकथः*. And by his remark *उत्तरस्वात्संज्ञामहमनुकुर्वते* on Pāṇini V. 2, 81, he indicates that he was acquainted with the wording which Chandra had given to the rules 81 and 82, *कालहेतुकलाजानि* and *प्रायोऽभ्यस्तम्*.

On Pāṇini V. 2, 128 the *Kāśikā* has the note *प्राग्वक्तव्ये*. Chandra's wording of the rule is *चार्ययोगादित्यामिण्यास्वाङ्गादिभिः*.

On Pāṇini V. 3, 12 the *Kāśikā* has the note *ब्रह्मणि केचिद्विच्छन्ति*; *कुत्र*. Chandra has the rule *क कुत्रेहान्*.

On Pāṇini VII. 2, 48 the *Kāśikā* has the note *केचिदुदितमिषं पठन्ति*. Chandra does read *सीधुस-हनुमदपरिषः*.

On Pāṇini VII. 2, 49 the *Kāśikā* has the note *केचिद्वन्न भरतपितृनितनिपतिपरिभाषामिति पठन्ति*. Chandra does read *भरतपितृनितनिपतिपरिषः*.

On Pāṇini VII. 3, 17 (see also on V. 1, 55) the *Kāśikā* has the note *असंज्ञायापकुलिजानामिति केचित्पठन्ति*. Chandra has *कुलिज*, in his rule *संज्ञायाः संवरपरिभाषासंज्ञायापकुलिजस्य*.

These instances, to which I might add many others even from the incomplete copy of Chandra's grammar which is accessible to us in Europe, will sufficiently prove, that the

authors of the *Kāśikā-Vṛitti* knew that grammar and used it in the compilation of their own work. They will also show that Chandra has not, like some of the later grammarians, merely copied from the *Aśhādhyāyī*, the *Pratīkas*, and the *Mahābhāṣya*; but that he also has either tried to improve on those works himself, or has in addition to them used other works, which do not seem to exist any longer.<sup>1</sup>

Strange it appears that the compilers of the *Kāśikā* should never have mentioned Chandra and his grammar; that they should not have done so even in connection with rules such as Pāṇini II. 4, 21; IV. 3, 115; and VI. 2, 14, where by quoting the *Chāndra-Vyākaraṇa* they would, one might say, have much more vividly illustrated Pāṇini's meaning, than by the examples which they have actually given.<sup>2</sup>

It is one of the characteristic features of Chandra's grammar, that,—while it retains the most artificial terms of Pāṇini's grammar, such as *लट्*, *लिट्*, *लुट्* and others, some of which have not met with general acceptance even in Pāṇini's own school,—it discards a large number of other terms, many of which have been found so appropriate or useful, that they have been adopted even by European grammarians. From *Guna* and *Vṛiddhi*, Chandra goes back to *addā* and *adaich*; from *Samprasāraṇa* to *yaṇa ik* or *igyaṇah*; *Vṛiddha* of course had to become *adaichādyaḥ*. For *Upasarga*, Chandra always employs *prādi*; for *Sarvanāman*, *sarvādi*; for *Taddhita*, *anādi*; *tañ* or *tañūna* serve him for *Ātmanēpada*; and the reverse, *atañ*, for *Paras- maipada*. *Dvandva* is expressed by *chārtha*; *Bahuvrīhi*, by *anyārtha*; and *Dvigu*, by *sah- khyādi*; *Upadhā* is *upānta*; *Upasarjana*, *opra-*

<sup>1</sup> Tāranātha's account of the composition of the *Chāndra-Vyākaraṇa* is as follows:—"Again come to the south of Jambudvīpa, he (i.e. Chandragomin) saw in the temple of the Brāhman Vararuchi the structure of the grammar, which had been heard by the Nāga, and the commentary on Pāṇini composed by the Nāga Śēsha. 'A commentary must contain few words, but many thoughts; must contain no repetitions, and form a whole. But the Nāga is very silly, has many words and few thoughts, and is incomplete.' After having expressed this censure, he composed, as a commentary on Pāṇini, the *Chāndra-Vyākaraṇa* with the appendices." And again Tāranātha says:—"From that time till now, Chandragomin's work has spread widely, inasmuch as orthodox, as well as heterodox people, study by it; but the Samantabhadra (a grammar composed in śloka by Chandrakīrti) soon disappeared, and it is not known whether any copy of it is still in existence."—Schieferer, p. 152 and 155.

<sup>2</sup> It does not seem quite unnecessary to repeat here, that the reading of the published edition of the *Kāśikā*

on Pāṇini II. 4, 21 पाणिन्युपसर्गाकालापकं व्याकरणम् is wrong. The right reading is पाणिन्युपसर्गकालकं व्याकरणम्. See ante, Vol. X. p. 77. Pāṇini's grammar was called the *akṣakāṣh vyākaranam*, because it contains no definitions of expressions like अवतन. See Pāṇini I. 2, 57. Haradatta explains अ न्याय्यादुत्थानादित्यादिकालपरिभाषा- राहितम्, or पूर्वाणि व्याकरणाव्ययतनादिकालपरिभाषायुक्तानि तद्वर्ति व्याकरणम्; Jinēndrabuddhi स हि स्वस्मिन्व्याकरणे कालाधिकारं न कृतवान्; the Mādhaviyadhātuvṛitti काल- परिभाषाशून्यं व्याकरणम्.—What innovations Vyādi and Apisali made, it is difficult to say; regarding the former, Haradatta has the note दृषिति [or दृषिति?] संकेतसंज्ञो यथास हृत्करणम्; Jinēndrabuddhi has व्यासहृत्पक्षं दशहृ- करणमिति । व्याधिरपि युगपत्कालभाषिणो मध्य दशहृत्करणानि कृत्वा परिभाषितवापूर्वपूर्व काल इति ।

*dhāna*; *Ayaya*, *asankhya*; *Karman*, *āpya*; *Sakarmaka*, *sāpya*; *Akarmaka*, *avyāpya*; etc. After this we can well understand why the *Chāndra-Vyākaraṇa*, by some kind of exaggeration, should have been termed the *asankhyākaś vyākaraṇam*, "the grammar without technical terms;" and I repeat that the phrase चन्द्रोपज्ञ-मसंस्कृतं व्याकरणम् would have afforded a most appropriate example for Pāṇini II. 4, 21, etc.

Nor can I quite understand why Chandra's grammar, and those who studied it, should have been passed over in the commentary on

Pāṇini V. 1, 58 and IV. 2, 65. When the authors had occasion to speak of the *three* Adhyāyas of Kāśakṛtsna's Sūtra, of the *eight* of Pāṇini's, and of the *ten* of Vyāghrapād's, they surely could not have helped thinking of the Sūtra of Chandra, which contains *six* Adhyāyas. Averse though I am to conjecture, I would venture to ask:—Was the *Chāndra-Vyākaraṇa* good enough to be copied from, but too modern a work to be honourably mentioned together with the Sūtras of sages like Kāśakṛtsna and others, of which Jayāditya and Vāmana probably knew very little more than we do?\*

## MISCELLANEA.

GENERAL CUNNINGHAM'S  
ARCHÆOLOGICAL REPORTS.

I observe that, in the last number of the *Indian Antiquary*, it is pointed out that General Cunningham's Archæological Reports only require careful and systematic indexing for their practical value to be recognized. I am engaged in preparing a full analytical index, which will be published by the Government of India as a separate volume uniform with the Reports. I have made indices to twelve volumes, and hope to publish the combined Index by the end of the year; but my leisure is scanty, and I cannot promise any definite date.

Any suggestions offered by readers of the *Indian Antiquary* will be welcome.

V. A. SMITH.

Basti, N. W. P., 6th April 1886.

A NOTE ON THE COINS OF  
THE HINDU KINGS OF KABUL.

In connection with the general subject of the Gupta era, on which I shall have occasion shortly to submit some special remarks, I take this opportunity of putting together a few notes that I made about three years ago, when I first read Sir E. Clive Bayley's Paper, with its Postscript, "On certain Dates occurring on the Coins of the Hindu Kings of Kābul," published in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, Third series, Vol. II. p. 128ff. The question now opened has no bearing on the

settlement of the epoch of the era, otherwise than as being one of the numerous side-issues that have to be disposed of before any settlement of the main subject will be accepted as final by general readers. But, as such, it appears to me to require to be discussed.

Sir E. Clive Bayley's theory was that the epoch of the Gupta era fell A.D. 180. Like General Cunningham's theory of A.D. 167, it was suggested, or was apparently supported, by astronomical calculations of the details of the date in Budhagupta's Ēraṇ pillar inscription, and of the *sankat-saras* of Jupiter's twelve-year cycle mentioned in the dates of the inscriptions of the Parivrajaka Mahārājas Hastin and Samkshobha. But the real key-note to it is to be found in his belief, and Mr. Thomas', that certain coins of 'Syalapati' of Kābul have on them dates accompanied by the syllables *ga*, *gu*, *gupta*, or *guptasya*, which were supposed to stand for "*Guptasya kāl*," and to denote "the Gupta era," and in his argument that the dates of these coins, in order to fit in with the period of A.D. 887 to 916 assigned by him to 'Syalapati,' can only be reckoned from A.D. 189 or 190.

But,—irrespective even of the extreme improbability of such an expression as *Guptasya kāl*, "the era of Gupta," being used to denote an era which, though used by the Guptas, was certainly not founded by, at any rate, the Mahārāja Gupta, the first of the family mentioned in the inscriptions,<sup>1</sup>—this theory of A.D. 190 has, so far as

<sup>1</sup> See the quotation from Kāśirasvāmin, Prof. Aufrecht in *Z. d. D. Morg. Ges.* Vol. XXVIII. p. 105.

\* To the poetical passages collected from the *Kāśikā-Vṛtti*, ante, Vol. XIV. p. 327, I would now add:—

On Pāṇini V. 2, 22. सख्यं जनाः सात्तपदीनमाहुः.

<sup>1</sup> This expression has been supposed to occur in line 15 of the Junāgaṛh rock inscription of Skandagupta, where Dr. Bhau Daji (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. VII. pp. 123, 129; and *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. II.

pp. 135, 137) read and translated *Guptasya kāl* (for *kālad*) *ganandish vidhāya*, "counting from the era of Gupta." But the real reading is *Gupta-prakṛtiḥ ganandish vidhāya*, "making the calculation in the reckoning of the Guptas." This is a very different thing. And the real significance of the expression is its very clear indication that this date was being recorded in an era which was not the customary one for that part of the country.

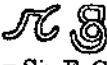
the above-mentioned grounds are concerned, absolutely no support whatever.

Of the coins in question, those that have the clearest dates on them are Pl. vii. Nos. 24 to 27, belonging to some unnamed king. They are not attributed to 'Syalapati'; but are considered to be rather more recent. It is admitted, however, that they belong to the same series; and I take them first because they are so very clear. If we examine them with the help of Sir E. Clive Bayley's Table of Numerals in Pl. vii., it is evident at once that No. 24 reads, not "802 Gu," but simply "804," with nothing after it; and that Nos. 25, 26, and 27 read, not "812 Gu," but simply "814," again with nothing after it, the figures being in fact absolutely identical with those which Sir E. Clive Bayley himself read as simply "814" on Nos. 19 to 23, 29 to 31, and 34. In these instances, the supposed *Gu* is nothing but the sign that makes the difference in these numerals between a 2 and a 4. And Sir E. Clive Bayley's reading further involves the peculiar anomaly that the figures have to be read in one direction, from the rim of the coin, and the supposed *Gu* in the opposite direction, from the inside of the coin which results in the curious arrangement of "802 nḡ" and "812 nḡ."

We have here to note that Sir E. Clive Bayley reported that Mr. Thomas would read the whole date in one direction, from the inside of coins, and would interpret it as "Gu 617," denoting the initial date of Sāmanta's dynasty according to the Gupta era; "and, accepting 319 A.D., according to Albirdūni's statement, as the actual date of the Gupta era, would thus place Sāmanta's accession in 936 A.D." Allowing for the possibility of the first sign being capable of meaning *Gu*, this way of interpreting the figures seems to be equally well borne out by Sir E. Clive Bayley's Table. But the first sign cannot mean *Gu*, and does not mean *Gu*. And a reference to the Table will shew immediately that the figures have to be read, as Sir E. Clive Bayley read them, from the rims of the coins; and that the dates are in reality nothing but 804 and 814, as I have pointed out above.

The coins of 'Syalapati' himself are Pl. i. Nos. 3 to 5, and 7 to 10. Of these, No. 7 is read as "707," and Nos. 8, 9, and 10 as "727," without any supposed reference at all to the Gupta era; and these readings are in accordance with the Table of Numerals, if the dates are read from the rim of the coin like the dates of Nos. 19 to 27, 29 to 31, and 34, referred to above. On the other hand, if we might read the figures on these seven coins from the inside, there appears no particular objection to interpreting them as respectively "808" and "868."

There remain Nos. 3, 4, and 5, which are read respectively as "Gupta" with two doubtful figures, "98 Gu," and "99 Gu," meaning (6)98 and (6)99. And these are unfortunately not so easy to deal with, since,—though the signs that are supposed to mean *Gupta* must be in reality numerals of some kind or another,—there is nothing in Sir E. Clive Bayley's Table, and I can obtain nothing elsewhere, to explain their value as numerals. But, in attempting to find a proper reading of them, we must in the first place notice that the sign which, on Nos. 4 and 5, Sir E. Clive Bayley interprets as the figure 9, and enters as such in his Table, occupies exactly the position which is filled in Prinsep's coin, noted below, by a symbol resembling a crescent moon on the top of a short staff with a cross-handle; and this suggests that the sign in question is not a figure at all.

In the hope that some of the readers of this Journal may possess a clue to their real meaning, I now give a reproduction of  the signs that were supposed to mean *Gupta*. The lithograph was issued by Sir E. Clive Bayley as capable of being "accepted as a fair rendering of the usual form of the word." But it will be admitted, at once and generally I should think, that it answers in no way whatever to the usual form of the word, and cannot be so interpreted in accordance with any known alphabet, even though we should follow Mr. Thomas in looking upon it as "a degraded and contracted form of the word."

In trying to find out what these signs do mean, it must be noted that coin No. 3 in Pl. i. gives some indications to the effect that the first sign as given above, is imperfect on the left side, and that in its complete form the left side was exactly similar to the right; the whole sign, in fact, being something like two crescent moons, back to back, connected with a bar.

Also, any information bearing on 'Syalapati's' real date would of course help much to clear up the point. And in connection with this, I would draw special attention to his coin figured in *Prinsep's Essays*, Vol. I. p. 304, Pl. xxv. No. 2, which, as now explained by Sir E. Clive Bayley's Table, gives the unmistakable date of 814, traces of which are also discernible in No. 1 on the same plate. This No. 2 has behind the horseman the same monogram, *u u*, (not *t t*), as Sir E. Clive Bayley's Nos. 25, 26, and 27 have; also, as explained by No. 1, it has in the upper corner in front of the horseman, the same symbol (interpreted by Sir E. Clive Bayley on his No. 20 as a rude imitation of *adal*) that appears in the same position on others of these coins, and resembles a crescent moon on the top of a short staff with a cross-handle. These points of similarity suggest

that possibly Sir E. Clive Bayley's Nos. 25, 26, and 27 (and others) belong really to 'Syalapati,' though his name is not on the obverse. And the unmistakable date of 814 on at any rate *Prinsep's Essays*, Pl. xiv. No. 2, further suggests that the figures on Sir E. Clive Bayley's Nos. 7, 8, 9, and 10, should not be read as 707 and 727. Sir E. Clive Bayley places 'Syalapati' in A.D. 887 to 916; which would agree very satisfactorily with the date of 814 on Prinsep's coin, if we might refer it to the Śaka era, with the result of A.D. 892-93. On the other hand, General Cunningham, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XIV. p. 45, places him rather earlier, about A.D. 800, but quotes no authority for this. I have not been able to find any other information as to the probable date of 'Syalapati.'

J. F. FLEET.

22nd April 1886.

#### A NEW GRANT OF DHARASENA II. OF VALABHI.

I have received from Mr. Wajeshankar Gaurishankar of Bhāvnagar, through Colonel J. W. Watson, Political Agent, Kāthiāwād, impressions, with text and translation, of a new copper-plate inscription of the *Mahārāja Dharasēna II.* of Valabhi, dated (Gupta)-Samvat 252 (A.D. 571-72), from the village of Jhar, in the Amrālī Parganā in Kāthiāwād. The plates were found by Mr. Wajeshankar, and are in his possession. It is not necessary to publish the grant in full; but a description of it will not be out of place.

The inscription is on two plates, measuring roughly about 11½" by 8", and appears to be in a state of excellent preservation. The first plate contains 16 lines of writing; and the second, 18. The characters are of the ordinary type of the Kāthiāwād alphabet, of the period to which it belongs. The language is Sanskrit throughout.

The text follows the draft of the three grants of the same *Mahārāja*, published in this Journal, Vol. VII. p. 68f., Vol. VIII. p. 301ff., and Vol. XIII. p. 160ff., and all dated in the same year, 252, but on the fifteenth day of the dark fortnight

of the month Vaiśākha. I note below a few passages in which the present grant tends to elucidate the correct text of the draft.

The contents are, in brief, as follows:—There was the illustrious *Sēndapati Bhaṭārka* (line 3), a most devout worshipper of the god Mahēśvara, who was possessed of glory acquired in a hundred battles fought with (i.e. against) the large armies, possessed of unequalled strength, of the Maitrakas, who by force compelled their enemies to bow down before them.<sup>1</sup> His son was the illustrious *Sēndapati Dharasēna* (l. 4), a most devout worshipper of the god Mahēśvara. His younger brother was the *Mahārāja Drōṇasimha*<sup>2</sup> (l. 7), a most devout worshipper of the god Mahēśvara, —who was anointed in the kingship by the paramount master<sup>3</sup> in person, the sole master of the circumference of the territory of the whole world.—His younger brother was the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious *Dhruvasēna* (l. 9), a most devout worshipper of the Holy One.<sup>4</sup> His younger brother was the illustrious *Mahārāja*, *Dharaṇaṭṭa*<sup>5</sup> (l. 10), a most devout worshipper of the Sun. His son was the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious *Guhasēna*<sup>6</sup> (l. 15) a most devout worshipper of the god Mahēśvara. His son is the *Sāmanta* and *Mahārāja*, the illustrious *Dharasēna*<sup>7</sup> (l. 19) a most devout worshipper of the god Mahēśvara.

From (the city of) Valābhī (l. 1), he, *Dharasēna*, being in good health, issues his commands to all his *Āyuktakas*,<sup>8</sup> *Viniyuktakas*, *Drāṅgikas*, *Mahattaras*, *Chāṭas*, *Bhaṭas*, *Dhruvādhikarānikas*, *Saulkikas*, *Prāṭisarakas*, *Dāṇḍapāṭikas*, *Chaurādhikarānikas*, &c., that he gives as a *brahma-dēya*, for the purpose of maintaining the rites of the five great sacrifices of the *bali*, *charu*, *vaiśvadeva*, *agnihōtra*, and *atithi* (l. 27), to the Brāhman *Chhachchhara* (l. 22), an inhabitant of the town of Brahmapura, a member of the Bhārgava *gōtra*, and a student of the Maitrāyāṇaka-Mānavaka (*śākhā*) — (1) the village of *Vaṭagrāma* (l. 22), in the *Dīpanaka pāṭha* and the *Bilvakhāta śhālā*; — (2) one hundred *pāddartas* (of land) (l. 23) within the area<sup>9</sup> of *Bilvakhāta*, in

<sup>1</sup> See Dr. Kielhorn's explanation of this passage, *ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 328f. — I find that Dr. Bhau Daji, in 1864, had an idea as to the correct interpretation of this passage. He wrote (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. VIII. p. 244f.) — "A sentence in the copperplate, which has hitherto not been translated correctly, shews that they" (the rulers of Valabhi) "triumphed over a sun-worshipping people (Maitrakas)."

<sup>2</sup> The epithet *śrī* is not used here. — In line 5, the reading of this grant is *prāsūtātara-vimāla-mauli-mayir-Mānu-ādī*, &c.

<sup>3</sup> *parama-sūmin*. — The emperor in question was Yaśodharman, for whom we have the date of Mālava-Samvat 589 (A.D. 532-33) expired, in one of the Mandasār inscriptions.

<sup>4</sup> *bhagavat*; an epithet of Vishnu, Śiva, and Buddha; but especially of Vishnu, whom it probably always

denotes when there is no express intimation to the contrary.

<sup>5</sup> In line 9 f., the reading is *śāṭa-prakṣhālīti-śhālā-Kali-kalāṅka*; and in line 10, *prathita* is omitted before *mahīmā*.

<sup>6</sup> In line 12, the reading is *savya-pāda*; in line 13 f., *atītyānāḥ śaravāṇat-ābhaya-praddāna* &c.; and in line 15, *mahārāja-śrī-Guhasēna*, not *śrī-mahārāja-Guhasēna*.

<sup>7</sup> In line 15, the reading is *śāntāna-vīrīta-Jāhnavī* &c.; in line 16, *śpāṣṭhyamāna*, and *saracām*, not *sarabhasam*; in line 18, *vikṣmī-paribhāga*, and *vikram-śpāṣṭhyamāna*; and in line 19, *paramādhīśvara-sāmanta-mahārāja-śrī-Dharasēna-śhālā* &c.

<sup>8</sup> Or perhaps *śhāṇḍyuktakas*. The text looks like *sarvān-śva śhāṇḍyuktakas* &c.; but it may perhaps be *sarvān-śva śhāṇḍyuktakas* &c.

the northern boundary, to the north of the division called Bhatārkaṭhēda, to the east of an ant-hill, and to the west of the road or river called Amrīlikavaha;—(3) in the same eighth region of the compass,<sup>10</sup> an irrigation-well (l. 23), with twenty-five *pāddvartas* of land lying round it;—(4) in the eastern boundary of the village of Vēlāpadraka (l. 24) in the *Jhari sthāl*, one hundred and sixty *pāddvartas* (of land) on the south of the high-road, on the east of the field of Jhajjhaka, on the west of the junction of the boundaries of Dadhikūpaka, and on the north of the field of Khaṇḍaka or (P. Vinhaka), a resident of the village of Bhṛāmarakalyagrāma;—and (5) twenty-five *pāddvartas* (of land) (l. 26) in the southern boundary of the same village.

Lines 28 to 32 contain the usual mandate against interfering with the full enjoyment of the grant; and two of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses.

These are followed by the statement, in line 33, that the *Dātaka* was Chirbira, and that the charter was written by the *Samdhivigrahādāhī-kṛitā Skandabhāṭa*. Then comes the date, in numerical symbols, of the year 252, the fifth day of the dark fortnight of Chaitra. And the inscription ends with the endorsement—"(*This is*) the sign-manual of me, the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious *Dharasēna*."

J. F. FLEET.

23rd March 1866.

#### TWO PASSAGES FROM THE ACHARATIKA.

At page 141 f. above, Mr. K. B. Pathak has published an interesting passage from the Jain *Harivamśa*, which mentions the Early Gupta kings, and, in giving a regular succession of dynasties, including them, from the *nirvāṇa* of Mahāvira, purports to have a bearing, though a wrong one, on the question of their epoch.

I now give, as another literary curiosity of a somewhat similar kind, two passages from the commentary named *Āchārāṭikā* by Śīlāchārya on the Jain work called *Āchārāṅgasūtra*,—from a manuscript, supposed to be about three hundred years old, shown to me in the early part of 1883 by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji.<sup>1</sup>

The first passage, on pp. 207b and 208a, is in metre, and runs—

Dvāsaptaty-adhikēshu hi  
śatēshu saptasū gatēshu Guptānām [!\*]  
sāmvasarēshu māsi cha  
Bhādrapadē śuklā(kla)-pāṇchamyām ||  
Śīlāchāryēṇa kṛitā  
Gambhātāyām sthitāna tika-aishā |  
samyag-upayujya sōdhyā  
mātearya-vinākṛitair-āryā(ryai)h ||

This passage gives Gupta-Samvat 772 (expired), the fifth day of the bright fortnight of the month Bhādrapada, as the date on which this portion of the Commentary was completed by Śīlāchārya, at Gambhātā (P. Cambay).

The second passage, on p. 256b, at the end of the whole book, is in prose, and runs—

Śaka-nripa-kāl-āṭita-sāmvasara-śatēśashu\* sap-  
tasu | ashtānavaty-adhikēshu Vaiśākha-śuddha-  
pāṇchamyām Āchārāṭikā kṛit-ēti || ba || Samvat  
(page 256b ends here; and the next page, con-  
taining the repetition of the date in figures, and  
the last final words of the author, is lost).

This passage gives Śaka-Samvat 798 (expired), the fifth day of the bright fortnight of the month Vaiśākha, as the date of the completion of the whole Commentary.

The two passages, indicating, as they stand, that Śīlāchārya treated the Gupta and Śaka eras as identical, obviously contain a mistake of some kind or another, which must be attributed to a pedantic desire on his part to introduce a mention of an era,—whether the Gupta or the Śaka, as the case may be,—with which he was only imperfectly acquainted. And the mistake cannot be cleared away, unless we can obtain some independent record of the real date of Śīlāchārya,\* sufficient to shew whether the *Āchārāṭikā* was written during Gupta-Samvat 772 to 798 (A.D. 1091 to 1117), or during Śaka-Samvat 772 to 798 (A.D. 850 to 876).

The passages, however, are of some interest, in shewing that, in Śīlāchārya's time, there was still a recollection of the fact that the era,—which must have been known best from its use by the rulers of Valabhi, and which came eventually, in Kāthiāwād, to be called the Valabhi-Samvat,—was connected originally and specially with the Gupta kings, by whom it was introduced into Kāthiāwād and the neighbouring parts.

J. F. FLEET.

31st March 1886.

the author from other sources."

\* Read *śatēshu*.

<sup>10</sup> *atr-aiv-dehtamē dig-bhāḡē*; i. e. in the same northern boundary of Bilvakhṣṭa.

<sup>1</sup> Since writing this Note, I have found an allusion by Dr. Bhanu Daji, in 1884, to what is evidently the same manuscript, though he quoted only the Gupta date. He wrote (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. VIII. p. 248)—"I have a Jaina manuscript which is dated in the 772nd year of the Gupta-kāla; but unfortunately the corresponding Vikrama or Śālivāhana's year is not given; nor is it possible at present to ascertain the exact date of

\* The Śaka era was used so rarely, if at all, in Gujārat and Kāthiāwād, that probably the Gupta era gives the real date for Śīlāchārya. And I would throw out a suggestion that possibly a mistake of the same kind may account for the dates, Śaka-Samvat 400 and 417, of the apparently spurious *Umētā* and *1140 grants of Dadda II.* (*ante*, Vol. VII. p. 61ff.; and Vol. XIII. p. 115ff).



## THE EPOCH OF THE GUPTA ERA.

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

UNTIL the discovery of the Mandasār inscription of Kumāragupta and Bandhuvārman, which I publish at page 194ff. below, the only direct information available as to the Epoch of the Gupta Era was the statement of Abu Rihān Albirūnī, who, writing in the first half of the eleventh century A.D., left on record the following notes, as taken from M. Reinaud's French translation of the original in his *Fragments Arabes et Persans*, page 138ff.—“People employ ordinarily the eras of Śrī-Harsha,<sup>1</sup> of Vikramāditya, of Śaka, of ‘Ballaba,’<sup>2</sup> and of the Guptas. \* \* \* \* \* ‘Ballaba,’ who also has given his name to an era, was the prince of the town of ‘Ballabha’ (Valabhi), in the middle of Anhilwāda, at a distance of about thirty yōjanas. The era of ‘Ballaba’ is subsequent to that of Śaka by two hundred and forty-one years. In order to make use of it, we take the era of Śaka and deduct at the same time the cube of six (216) and the square of five (25). The remainder is the era of ‘Ballaba.’ This era will be discussed in its place. As to the Gupta-Kāla (the era of the Guptas), we understand by the word *gupta* certain people who, it is said, were wicked and powerful; and the era which bears their name, is the epoch of their extermination. Apparently ‘Ballaba’ followed the Guptas immediately; for the era of the Guptas also commences (with) the year two hundred and forty-one of the era of Śaka. The era of the astronomers commences (with) the year five hundred and eighty-seven of the era of Śaka. It is to this era that the *Kaṇḍakafaka* Tables of Brahmagupta are referred. This work has among us the title of ‘*Arkand*.’ According to it, placing ourselves in the year 400 of the era of ‘Yezdirdjed,’ we find ourselves in the year 1088 of the era of Śrī-Harsha, the year 1088 of the era of Vikramāditya, the year 953 of the era of Śaka, the year

712 of the era of ‘Ballaba’ and of that of the Guptas.”

According to the above extracts, Albirūnī seems to state in the first instance that the Gupta-Valabhi era began when Śaka-Saṃvat 216 + 25 = 241 (A.D. 319-20) had expired; and this is borne out by his making the year 712 of this era correspond with Śaka-Saṃvat 953, the difference being exactly 241 years. In his next mention, however, he apparently speaks of it as commencing with Śaka-Saṃvat 241, i. e. when 240 years had expired. While in a third passage, a little further on in the book,<sup>3</sup> in explaining how the Hindus arrived at the date (January, A.D. 1026) of the taking of Sōmnāthpāṭan by Muhammad of Ghazni, he tells us that they first wrote down 242, then 606, and then 99, with the result of Śaka-Saṃvat 947 (A.D. 1025-26); and here, though he does not expressly mention the Gupta-Valabhi era, there can be no doubt that the first figures refer to it; and they seem to indicate that, in this calculation, the epoch of the era fell when Śaka-Saṃvat 242 had expired.

We have thus three years to choose between for the epoch of the era,—Śaka-Saṃvat 240, 241, or 242, expired; i. e. Śaka-Saṃvat 241, 242, or 243 current,—involving a question that can only be settled by accurate calculations of the data available from the inscriptions, published in detail, so that general readers may see that the processes are satisfactory. And I would here point out that, before any of the existing Tables can be utilised for these calculations, at least the following preliminary points must be settled,—(1) whether the years of the Gupta era had a distinct arrangement of their own; or whether they followed the scheme of the years of the Kaliyuga, Vikrama, or Śaka eras; (2) if they were identical with

<sup>1</sup> As is shown by Albirūnī's statement further on, this is not the era of Harshavardhana of Kanauj, commencing A.D. 606 or 607, but an earlier era, commencing B. C. 457, of which we have no epigraphical record, and, in fact, no information beyond Albirūnī's statement that it existed, coupled with a remark that, in a Kaśmīr almanac, he had found the epoch of it put forward to Vikrama-Saṃvat 684 (A.D. 607-8), whence “he felt some doubts that he had not found the means of resolving.”

<sup>2</sup> This is quite an imaginary name, which must be

attributed to Albirūnī fancying some connection between the name of the city of Valabhi and the Sanskrit word *valabha*, which was very often used as a proper name, but not in the case of any of the rulers of Valabhi. But, setting aside this mistake about the name, which is rather like that of his treating Śaka as the name of an individual, instead of a dynasty, Albirūnī is of course speaking of the era that was used by the well-known rulers of Valabhi.

<sup>3</sup> *Fragments Arabes et Persans*, p. 146.

the years of the Vikrama era, whether they followed the northern reckoning, with the year beginning with the new-moon of Chaitra, or the Gujarât and southern reckoning, with the year beginning with the new-moon of Kârttika, seven months later; and (3), after deciding the previous points, whether, in the arrangement of the months, the bright fortnight came first, according to the custom of Gujarât, the Dekkan, and Southern India, or the dark fortnight, according to the custom of Ujjain and Benares.

But, whatever may be the final settlement of these points, the fact remains that Albîrûnî had information given to him of the existence of an era, coupled with the name of the Guptas and of the city of Valabhi, which began A.D. 319-20, or within a year on either side of that date, and which it is convenient to us to speak of as the Gupta era. And, that this era was actually used in connection with the name of Valabhi, at any rate, is proved by the Verâwal inscription of Arjunadêva of Anhil-wâd,\* in which the leading records of the year are Vikrama-Samvat 1320 and Valabhi-Samvat 945.

So much was certain. But it was felt to be highly improbable that the era of the Guptas should date from the epoch of their extermination. And students of the subject divided themselves almost at once into two schools.

The first, represented most publicly and with undeviating tenacity up to the last by the late Mr. Fergusson,<sup>8</sup> accepted Albîrûnî's statement as to the epoch of the era, but,—on the analogy of the statement which he also seems to make, that the Śaka era, too, dated from the overthrow of the Śakas; a statement which, if made, was certainly wrong,—rejected the addition that it dated from the downfall of the Guptas; and took A.D. 318-19 for the date of rise of the dynasty, as well as the establishment of the era,—selecting this particular year on the theory that the era did not date from

the accession of a king, or from any particular event, but, for convenience of comparison, was regulated from the completion of four of Jupiter's sixty-year cycles from the commencement of the Śaka era.<sup>9</sup>

The other school accepted A.D. 318-19 for the downfall of the Guptas, and took the Valabhi era of Arjunadêva's inscription, which indisputably began then, as being separate altogether from the Gupta era, and as having been established in commemoration of that event; and began then to look about for an earlier date for the establishment of the Gupta dynasty and their era as used in their own inscriptions. The chief exponents of this school<sup>7</sup> have been the late Mr. Thomas,<sup>8</sup> who held that the era was identical with that of the Śakas, commencing A.D. 78;—General Cunningham,<sup>9</sup> who finally fixed on A.D. 167;—and Sir E. Clive Bayley,<sup>10</sup> who selected A.D. 190.

There was, of course, much to be said from either point of view. And, in default of definite evidence settling the question one way or the other, perhaps the strongest argument against the views held by Mr. Thomas, General Cunningham, and Sir E. Clive Bayley, was to be found in the following anomalous position, which had occasionally been noticed more or less directly, but had never been disposed of. It was held by all that the Rulers of Valabhi came immediately after the Guptas. It was also held that in A.D. 318-19 they founded the city of Valabhi, and established the Valabhi era dating from then, in commemoration partly of that event, and partly of the Gupta rule having then ceased and the power having passed into their own hands. And yet,—as is shewn by, amongst other things, the fact that Bhaṭârka, the founder of their family, came only one generation before the year 206, the earliest date that we have in the era used in their own charters,—they did not allow this era of their own, established under such memorable circumstances, to supersede the Gupta era;

\* *ante*, Vol. XI. p. 241 ff.

<sup>8</sup> See especially *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, N. S., Vol. IV. p. 81ff., and Vol. XII. p. 259ff.

<sup>9</sup> *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, N. S., Vol. XII. p. 271.

<sup>7</sup> In accordance with these views, Dr. Bühler fixed on about A.D. 200 (*ante*, Vol. VII. p. 80f). But I have not quoted him as a public exponent of the theory, because the full discussion of the matter that he promised (*ante*, Vol. X. p. 283) has not been issued; and it is impossible to say how far his views might have changed in writing it, even before the discovery of my Mandasor inscription;

especially as his earlier opinion was in favour of A.D. 319 (see *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 81, note 7.)

<sup>8</sup> See especially *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 70; and *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, N. S., Vol. XIII. p. 524ff.

<sup>9</sup> *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 111ff; and *Indian Eras*, p. 53ff.

<sup>10</sup> In the Postscript to his "Remarks on certain dates occurring on the coins of the Hindu kings of Kâbul," published in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, Third Series, Vol. II. p. 126ff.; see page 185ff. above.

but, as shewn by the Alinā plates<sup>11</sup> of Śīlāditya VII., dated (Gupta)-Samvat 447, they continued the use of the Gupta era for, in accordance with the three starting-points given above, respectively 206, 294, and 318 years at least, after the establishment of their own era! This surely involves an improbability far greater than any other, of whatever kind, that can be imagined in connection with the whole subject. And to this I will only add here that, during the first six generations, inclusive of Bhaṭārka, when they were mere feudatory *Sénāpatīs* and *Mahārājas*, the Rulers of Valabhī had, as a matter of fact, neither the authority, nor the power and opportunity, to establish an era of their own at all; and that, if an era had been established by the first paramount sovereign of the family, Dharasēna IV., he would, like Harshavardhana of Kanauj, have dated it from his own accession, and not from the original rise of his family.

In order to arrive at any prospect of a final settlement of the question, what was wanted was a date for one of the Early Gupta kings, recorded in some era other than that which was specially used by them in their own inscriptions. This has now at length been found in my new Mandasōr inscription, which, composed and engraved in the year 529 (expired) from the tribal constitution of the Mālavās, gives us, through his feudatory Bandhuvārman, the date of the year 493 (expired) of the same era for Kumāragupta.

This was not the first instance that had been obtained of the use of this era, which may for convenience be called the Mālava-Samvat. For it is obviously identical with the era which is alluded to in the Kapaswa inscription<sup>12</sup> dated in the 795th year (expired) of the Mālava lords, and is also mentioned, under the specific name of the Mālava-Kāla, in a fragmentary inscription, dated in the 936th year (expired), at 'Gyāraspur' or 'Gyārispur' in Central India.<sup>13</sup> But though, in commenting on this latter inscription, General Cunningham expressed the opinion that this Mālava era must be the same as the era of Vikramāditya of Ujjain, this point has not hitherto been capable of proof; for the reason that neither of these two dates gave sufficient

details for actual computation. Nor does the inscription now brought to notice. But, in its mention of Kumāragupta, it answers the purpose equally well.

Turning to the Gupta inscriptions and coins, the earliest and latest dates that we have for Kumāragupta are, respectively, Gupta-Samvat 96 and 130 odd. The first is established by his well-known Bilsad pillar inscription;<sup>14</sup> and the latter, by one of General Cunningham's coins.<sup>15</sup> Lest, however, the coin date should be looked upon as at all doubtful, we must note also his Mankuwar inscription,<sup>16</sup> dated Gupta-Samvat 129. And, of these extreme dates we may take Gupta-Samvat 113 as the mean.

Applying this to the various theories regarding the Epoch of the Gupta era, it represents—(1) according to Mr. Thomas' view, A.D. 191-92; (2) according to General Cunningham, A.D. 279-80; (3) according to Sir E. Clive Bayley, A.D. 303-4; and (4) according to Mr. Fergusson, A.D. 431-32.

Next, applying to these figures the date of Mālava-Samvat 493 (expired), recorded for Kumāragupta in the inscription under notice, we find that the initial point of the Mālava era must lie within a few years either way of (1) B.C. 302; (2) B.C. 214; (3) B.C. 190; and (4) B.C. 62-61.

The first three results, however, each entail the supposition of a brand-new era, hitherto unheard of, and entirely unexpected. At the same time, as regards the second possible result of about B.C. 214, we must not overlook the existence of certain coins, found in large numbers at Nāgar in the north of Mālwa, about forty-five miles north of Kōṭā, and originally brought to notice by Mr. Carlleyle,<sup>17</sup> which have on them the legend *Mālavānāṇi jayaḥ* "the victory of the Mālavās," in characters ranging, in General Cunningham's opinion, "from perhaps B.C. 250 to A.D. 250." These coins shew that the Mālavās existed, as a recognised and important clan, long before the time when, as I consider, their "tribal constitution," which led to the establishment of their era, took place; and so also, in the other direction, does the mention of them in the Allahābād pillar inscription, among the tribes

<sup>11</sup> ante, Vol. VII. p. 79ff.

<sup>12</sup> ante, Vol. XIII. p. 162ff.

<sup>13</sup> *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 33f., and Pl. xi.

<sup>14</sup> *id.* Vol. XI. p. 19, and Pl. viii.

<sup>15</sup> *id.* Vol. IX. p. 24, and Pl. v. No. 7.

<sup>16</sup> *id.* Vol. X. p. 7, and Pl. iv. No. 2.

<sup>17</sup> *id.* Vol. VI. p. 165 f., and 174 ff.; see also *id.* Vol. XIV. p. 149 ff., and Pl. xxxi. Nos. 19 to 25.

conquered by Samudragupta, shew that down to his time at least they maintained their tribal constitution and importance. And, if we were compelled to have recourse to a new era, these coins might justifiably induce us to select as its epoch B.C. 223, the date fixed by General Cunningham for the death of Asôka;<sup>18</sup> which would make the present date of Mâlava-Saṃvat 493 correspond with A.D. 270, or well on into the first decade of Kumâragupta's reign according to General Cunningham's theory. But this entails, as I have said, the supposition of the existence of an era, of which not the slightest indication has ever yet been afforded by the very numerous inscriptions that have now been examined from all parts of the country; and this is an expedient that must by all possible means be avoided. And, further, it forces the Kôṭā inscription of Mâlava-Saṃvat 795, and the 'Gyâraspar' inscription of Mâlava-Saṃvat 936, back to respectively A.D. 572 and 713; periods to which, from their alphabets, they cannot possibly belong. And thus,—since, within certain limits, palaeographical evidence must be accepted,—it creates a palaeographical difficulty that is insuperable. So also does the third result, to practically the same extent; and the first, to a still more marked degree.

The fourth result, on the contrary, satisfies all the palaeographical requirements of the case. And it brings us so very close to B.C. 57, the epoch of the well-known Vikrama era—an era, moreover, which by the tradition of later times is closely connected with the country of the Mâlavas, through the name of its supposed founder, king Vikramāditya, whose capital, Ujjain, was the principal city in Mâlwa),—that we are compelled to find in it the solution of the question, and to adjust the equation of the dates thus,—Gupta-Saṃvat 113 (the mean date for Kumâragupta) + A.D. 319-20 = A.D. 432-33; and Mâlava-Saṃvat 493—B.C. 57-56 = A.D. 436-37, which of course falls well within the seventeen years of Kumâragupta's reign remaining after his mean date.

My new Mandasôr inscription, therefore, proves:—(1) that Albîrûnî's statement, that the

Gupta era began within a year or two on either side of A.D. 319-20, is certainly correct;—(2) that the rest of his statement, that this was the epoch of the extermination of the Guptas, and not of their rise to power, is as certainly wrong;—and (3) that, under another name, connecting it with the Mâlava clan, the Vikrama era did undoubtedly exist anterior to A.D. 544, which was held by Mr. Fergusson<sup>19</sup> to be the year in which it was invented.

This inscription is, I maintain, in itself sufficient to prove these points. But, if any hesitation should still be felt about accepting them, and if any further confirmation of them is required, we have only to turn to the Gôlmâdhiṭṭol inscription of the *Mahârāja Śivadēva* I. of Mânagriha in Nêpâl, discovered by Mr. C. Bendall, and published by him in this Journal, Vol. XIV. p. 97f.

It is dated in the year 318, without any specification of the era. But the clue to the construction of its date is given by its mention of the *Mahāsāmanta Amśuvarman*, as the contemporary<sup>20</sup> of Śivadēva I.

Amśuvarman's approximate date, viz. about A. D. 637, was very well known from Huen Tsiang's mention of him.<sup>21</sup> And, as the Nêpâl series included three inscriptions of Amśuvarman himself, Nos. 6, 7, and 8, dated respectively in the years 34, 39, and 45 (?)<sup>22</sup> of an unspecified era, and another, No. 9, of Jishungupta, dated in the year 48, and mentioning Amśuvarman,—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji very properly referred these dates to the era established by Harshavardhana of Kanauj, and commencing with his accession in A. D. 606 or 607, with the results of A. D. 640-41, 645-46, 651-52 (?), and 654-55.

This much being quite certain, it follows that the date of 318 for Śivadēva I., the contemporary\* of Amśuvarman, must of necessity be referred to an era commencing just about three hundred years before that of Harshavardhana. And the era which exactly meets the requirements of the case is the one commencing A. D. 319-20; for then 318 + A. D. 319-20 = A. D. 637-38, which is in quite sufficient

those inscriptions, the date of Śivadēva I. is there broken away and lost.

<sup>18</sup> See Beal's *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II. p. 81; also ante, Vol. XIII. p. 423, and Vol. XIV. p. 345.

<sup>19</sup> The second symbol is doubtful; but it is either 4 or 5.

<sup>18</sup> *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. I. Preface, p. vii.

<sup>19</sup> *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, N. S., Vol. XII. p. 268ff.

<sup>20</sup> This is also recorded in the other inscription of Śivadēva I., No. 5 of Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's Nêpâl series, ante, Vol. IX. p. 168ff. But, unfortunately for the general chronological results arrived at by him from

accordance with A.D. 640-41, the first date that we have for Amśuvarman.

We have now to consider how this era of A. D. 319-20 came to be introduced into Népāl.

This can only have been effected through a conquest of the country, by either the Early Guptas or the Rulers of Valabhī. As to the Rulers of Valabhī,—I have already had occasion to remark that, for the first six generations, inclusive of Bhaṭārka, they were mere feudatory *Sénāpatis* and *Mahārājas*; and these members of the family, at any rate,—even if we admit for the moment that they established this era,—cannot possibly have conquered Népāl, and cannot have had anything to do with the introduction of the era there. The first of the family who claimed to be a paramount sovereign is Dharasēna IV., with the dates of 326 and 330, and with the titles of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Paramśvara*, in common with all his successors, and also with that of *Chakravartin*, which, not being assumed by any of his successors, may perhaps indicate that his power was more extensive than theirs ever was. Now, in passing, if we refer his first date of 326 to A.D. 319-20, the result, A.D. 645-46, brings us to a very suitable period indeed for him to assume the position and titles of a paramount sovereign, viz. to the commencement of the anarchy which, as Matwan-lin tells us,<sup>22</sup> attended the death of Harshavardhana, “the warlike lord of all the region of the north.” It ended in the complete disruption, for the time, of the kingdom of Kanauj. Amśuvarman became paramount in Népāl, and Ādityasēna in Magadha; and the opportunity was of course taken advantage of by Dharasēna IV., to assert his independence in the west of India. But, to say nothing of the improbability of the thing on other grounds, the fact that Amśuvarman became king of Népāl is in itself enough to prevent our admitting the possibility of a conquest of that country by Dharasēna IV. Referring the same date of 326 to the earlier three proposed epochs, we have respectively A.D. 408, 497, and 520. For these periods there is, perhaps, no particular objection to our assuming, for the sake of argument, that Dharasēna IV. may have extended his power over a considerable portion of Northern India. But the Valabhī charters, in

which a conquest so extensive as that of the whole of Northern India and Népāl would most certainly have been recorded, give not the slightest hint of any such event; in fact, with the exception of the allusion to the overthrow of the Maitrakas by Bhaṭārka, from beginning to end they give absolutely no detailed information at all in connection with any of the successes claimed by the members of this family. And, even if Dharasēna IV. did conquer Népāl, and did introduce there the era commencing A.D. 319-20, the question still remains, and cannot be answered,—Why should he act with such extreme inconsistency as to introduce there this supposedly unused era, instead of the Gupta era which he himself, and his successors, continued to employ for all the official purposes of their own kingdom?

Turning now to the Early Guptas, the case is very different. There can be no doubt that their era, whatever may have been its epoch, was well known in Népāl at an early date. Kumāradēvi, the wife of Chandragupta I., was the daughter of Lichchhavi, or of a Lichchhavi prince; i.e. she belonged to the very family from which, according to Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's inscription No. 15, the earliest historical rulers of Népāl sprang, and to which, as shown by his title of Lichchhavikulakētu or ‘the banner of the Lichchhavi family,’ Śivadēva I. himself belonged. Further, in the Allahābād pillar inscription Népāl is expressly mentioned among the countries conquered by Samudragupta. And, finally, the Kāhānū pillar inscription shews that Skandagupta's empire extended at any rate up to the confines of the country. Now, in my paper on “The chronology of the early Rulers of Népāl,” I have shewn<sup>23</sup> that the Népāl *Varaṣṭvalī* has possibly preserved for us, unconsciously, a reminiscence, not only of the introduction of the Gupta era into that country, but even of the actual year of its introduction; viz. Gupta-Samvat 88, when Chandragupta II. was on the throne. This special point is one for further investigation. But it is impossible to doubt that the Gupta era must have been perfectly well known in Népāl, and must have been used there. It is also precisely the era that would be adopted and hereditarily clung to by the Lichchhavis, connected as they were by

<sup>22</sup> ante, Vol. IX. p. 20.

<sup>23</sup> ante, Vol. XIV. p. 345f.

marriage with the Early Guptas. And their special attachment to the era in which the date of Śivadēva's inscription is recorded, is shewn by its being continued by his Licchhavi successors down to at least<sup>1</sup> the year 435, as shewn by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajī's inscription No. 3, in spite of the systematic adoption meanwhile of the Harsha era by their neighbours, the Śūryavamśi or Thākuri rulers of Kailāśakūṭabhavana. And, as I have shewn above, the era in which Śivadēva's date is recorded, must have begun A.D. 319-20.

I submit, therefore, that, though it may not in itself prove the case in the same way that my Mandasōr inscription does, Mr. Bendall's Gōlmāḍhiṭṭl inscription furnishes the most valuable corroboration that we could look for of the results derived from the Mandasōr record; and,—though I shall be very glad to see the matter argued in this Journal, as well as it can be, from any other point of view,—that the two inscriptions together give absolutely conclusive proof of the correctness of those results.

### SANSKRIT AND OLD-KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

By J. F. FLEET, B.O.C.S., M.E.A.S., C.I.E.

(Continued from p. 141.)

#### No. 162.—MANDASOR INSCRIPTION OF KUMARAGUPTA AND BANDHUVARMAN.

THE MALAVA YEARS 493 AND 529.

This inscription, which is now published for the first time, is from Daśōr, or according to the official and more general form of the name, Mandasōr,<sup>1</sup> the chief town of the Mandasōr District of Scindia's Dominions in the Western Mālwa Division of Central India. It came to my notice through information given by Mr. Arthur Sullivan, who, in 1879, sent to General Cunningham, from Mandasōr, a hand-copy of a fragmentary pillar inscription of a powerful king named Yaśōdharman. I saw this copy in 1883, and, recognising in it the name of Mihirakula, sent my copyists, in March 1884, to take impressions of this fragment and of any other inscriptions that they might find. In the search made by them, they discovered the present inscription, and also an entire duplicate copy of the pillar inscription of Yaśōdharman, which had escaped the notice of Mr. Sullivan. I myself visited Mandasōr in February 1885.

As recorded in the present inscription, and in another which is on a white stone built into the wall on the left hand inside the inner gate of the eastern entrance of the Fort, and is dated (Vikrama)-Samvat 1321 (A.D. 1264-65),

Guru(vāra) or Thursday, the fifth day of the bright fortnight of the month Bhādrapada,—the ancient Sanskrit name of the place was Daśapura, by which it is mentioned also in line 2 of an earlier Nāsik inscription of Ushavadāta.<sup>2</sup> This, in its modern form of Daśōr, is the name by which, in preference to Mandasōr, the town is still habitually spoken of by the villagers and agriculturists of the locality and neighbourhood, and even as far as Indōr. And in some bilingual *sanads* or warrants, of about a century and a half ago, I found this form, Daśōr, used in the vernacular passages, while the Persian passages of the same documents gave the form Mandasōr. So, also, Pāṇḍits still habitually use the form Daśapura in their correspondence.<sup>3</sup> The local explanation of the name is that the place was originally a city of the Purāṇic king Daśaratha. But, on this view, the modern name should be Daśrathōr. The true explanation evidently is that,—just as now the township includes from twelve to fifteen outlying hamlets or divisions; Khilchīpur, Jankūpurā, Rāmpuriyā, Chandraipurā, Bālāgañj, &c.,—so, when it was originally constituted,

<sup>1</sup> This is the latest date available for the present argument. Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajī's inscription No. 4 gives us the date of the year 535, in of course the same era; but the contents of the record are so mutilated, that it is impossible to stamp it, apart from the use of th's era, as a Licchhavi inscription.

<sup>2</sup> Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 35. Lat. 24° 3' N.; Long. 75° 8' E.—The 'Mandasor, Mandesur, Mandisore, Mandesar, Mandesur, Mundesor, and Mundesoor,' of maps, &c.

<sup>3</sup> *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 99, and Pl. lii. No. 5.

<sup>4</sup> We may compare the use, by Pāṇḍits, of Ahīpura and Nakhapura for respectively Samppaṇṇam and Ugargol in the Belgam District; except that it is doubtful whether these are original Sanskrit names, or only pedantic Sanskrit translations of original vernacular names.

it included exactly ten (*data*) such hamlets (*pura*). As regards the fuller form of Mandasôr, by which alone the town is known officially and is entered in maps, I cannot at present explain the origin of it. But Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji suggested to me that it may perhaps represent Manda-Dasapura, "the distressed or afflicted Dasapura," in commemoration of the overthrow of the town, and the destruction of the Hindu temples in it, by the Musalmâns.\* And, as tending to support this suggestion, I would mention that one of the Pandits whom I questioned on the spot, gave me *Ma n n a d a s ô r* as another form of the name. The true explanation, whatever it may be, would probably be found in the *Dasapura-Mâhâtmya*, which is extant, but which I did not succeed in obtaining for examination.

Exclusive of the outlying hamlets, Mandasôr consists of a fairly large town, close on the north or left bank of the river Siwanâ,<sup>†</sup> with a Fort of considerable size between the town and the river. The Fort, which is of Musalmân construction, is said to have been built with stones brought from ruined temples at Maḍ, otherwise called Afzalpur, about eleven miles south-east of Mandasôr; and the foundations and walls of it are full of stones, both sculptured and plain, which evidently come from demolished Hindu temples. But,—in addition to the magnificent columns which I shall describe in connection with the duplicate pillar inscription of Yaśôdharman,—there are still sufficient remains, lying all about Mandasôr, to shew that Mandasôr itself was full of ancient Hindu temples and other buildings, abounding with specimens of the very best style of architecture and sculpture. A full examination of the architectural remains, in the course of which further inscriptions would probably be discovered, was out of my power. But I noticed specially a very fine well just inside the eastern entrance of the Fort;—a colossal bas-relief image lying near this well;—and a remarkably fine sandstone monolith in the hamlet of Khilchîpur, on the south, across the

river. This monolith is now partially buried, in an upright position. The part projecting above the ground is about 10' 0" high and 1' 9" square, covered with sculptures in the very best old style. A socket at the top shews that it supported a beam; and, as it is sculptured on all four sides, it cannot be the jamb of a doorway, but must be either an upright of an arch or a pillar of a temple. Exclusive of floral patterns towards the top, each face shews two panels of figure-sculptures, one above the other; and the villagers say that the monolith has been gradually sinking each rainy season, and that they can remember having seen six more similar panels of sculptures on each face; this would make the height of the monolith not less than at least thirty feet. From the sample furnished by the part that is still above the ground, this monolith well deserves to be entirely raised out of the ground, and the sculptures on it examined and reported on by the Archaeological Survey Department."

The present inscription is on a stone slab, apparently rather good and dark sand-stone, built into the wall on the right hand half-way down a small flight of steps leading to the river in front of a mediæval temple of the god Mahâdêva (Śiva) at the Mahâdêva-Ghât, which is on the south bank of the river, just opposite the Fort, and I think, in the limits of the hamlet of Chandrapurâ. There are no sculptures on the stone. The writing covers, except for a margin of about half an inch, the whole front of the stone, about 2' 7½" broad by 1' 4½" high. It has been a good deal worn away about the centre of the stone, and also the stone is chipped at several places round the edges; but only a few letters here and there are really illegible, and these can in each case be easily supplied.—The characters give a good specimen of what may be called the Western Mâlwa alphabet of the fifth century A.D. They belong, in general features, to the South India class of alphabets; but they include two letters borrowed from the Northern alphabets, *viz.* the distinct form of the lingual *d*, e.g. in *taḍil*, line

\* He also told me that, even to the present day, the Nâgar Brâhmins of Mandasôr will not drink the water of that place, because of the oppressions formerly practised on them by the Musalmâns there.

† The 'San and Sen' of maps, &c.

‡ The villagers told me that at Khilchîpur there was a very large monolith column, with an inscription on it, supposed to be two thousand years old. But, on its

being shewn to me, this turned out to be only a small four-sided obelisk, roughly four or five feet high and a foot or so square, of quite modern construction, with rude Nâgarî writing on it which may perhaps be a hundred years old, but certainly not much more. My visit to this obelisk, which I had hoped might turn out to be of importance, led to my noticing on the way the monolith that I have described above.

6, and *chūddā*, line 17, and also the rare lingual *dh*, e.g. in *drīdha*, lines 9 and 11. The average size of the letters is  $\frac{1}{4}$ ".—The language is Sanskrit; and with the exception of the opening *Siddham* and the concluding words in line 24, the entire inscription is in verse.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the occasional use of the *jihvāmūliya* and *upadhmanīya*; e.g. *jagatah=kshaya*, line 1; *ganai=kham*, line 8; *praviseritai=pushnāti*, line 2; and *abhitāmrā=pāyāt*, line 3; but not, for instance, in *avabhugnai kvachit*, line 5; *paraḥ kripand*, line 14; *rajaḥ-piṇjaritaiś*, line 5; and *pratimā-nitāḥ pramuditā*, line 9; (2) the occasional doubling of *t*, *dh*, and *bh*, in conjunction with a following *r*; e.g. *chitrēna*, line 12; *rōddhra*, line 18; and *abbhra*, line 6; (3) the same of *th* and *dh*, with a following *y*; e.g. *patthyam*, line 9; and *svāddhyāya*, line 8; and (4) the same of *dh*, with a following *v*; e.g. *addhvādi*, line 3.

The inscription, which belongs throughout to the solar form of worship, narrates in the first place how a number of silk-weavers immigrated from the *Lāṭa vishaya* or district into the city of *Daśapura*; and how some of the band took up other occupations, while those who adhered to their original pursuit constituted themselves into a separate and flourishing guild. It then refers itself to the

reign of a king named *Kumāragupta*, who, from the description of him in line 13 as sovereign of the whole earth, can be no other than the well-known *Kumāragupta* of the Early Gupta dynasty. Under him, the governor at *Daśapura* was *Bandhuvarman*, the son of *Viśvarman*. It then proceeds to record that, while *Bandhuvarman* was governing at *Daśapura*, the guild of silk-weavers built at that city a temple of the Sun, which was completed when four hundred and ninety-three years had elapsed, "by (the reckoning from) the tribal constitution of the *Mālavas*," and therefore when the four hundred and ninety-fourth year (A.D. 437-38) was current, on the thirteenth day of the bright fortnight of the month *Sahasya* (December-January). Afterwards, under other kings, part of this temple fell into disrepair. And then it was restored by the same guild, when five hundred and twenty-nine years had elapsed, and therefore when the five hundred and thirtieth year (A.D. 473-74) was current, on the second day of the bright fortnight of the month *Tapasya* (February-March). This second date is, of course, the year in which the inscription was actually composed and engraved; since we are told at the end that it was all composed by *Vatsabhāṭi*, and the engraving throughout is obviously the work of one and the same hand.

## TEXT.\*

- 1 [Sid]dh[a]m [u] Y[ō] v[rit][t\*]y-a[r]ttham-upāsyatō sura-gaṇais=siddhaiś=cha siddhy-arthtibhir=ddhyān-aik-āgra-parair=vidhāya-vishayair=mmōksh-ārttibhir=yyōgibhiḥ | bhaktyā tīvra-tapōdhanaiś=cha munibhiś=sāpa-prasāda-kshamair=hētur=yyō jagatah=kshay-ābhyudaya-yōḥ=pāyāt=sa vō bhāskaraḥ |(1) Tat[t\*]va-jāna-vidō=pi yasya na vidur=brahm-arsha-
- 2 yō=bhyudyatāḥ=kṛtsnaṁ yaś=cha gabhastibhiḥ praviseritaiḥ=push[n]āti lōka-trayam | gandharv-āmara-siddha-kinnara-narais=samstūyatō=bhyutthitō bhaktēbhyaś=cha dadāti yō=bhilashitam tasmai savitrē namaḥ |(1) Yaḥ<sup>10</sup>=pratyaham prativibhāty=udayaśchalēndra-vistīrṇa-tuṅga-āikhare-skhalit-āmn-jālah kshīb-āṅganā-
- 3 jana-kapōla-tal-ābhitāmrāḥ=pāyāt=sa vas=an-k[i]raṇ-ābharanō vivasvān |(1) Kusuma<sup>11</sup>. bhar-ānata-taruvara-dēvakulasabhā-vihāra-ramaṇi(nī)yāt | Lāṭa-vishayān=nag-āvṛita-śailāj-jagati prathita-śilpāḥ |(1) Tō<sup>12</sup> dēsa-pārtthiva-guṇ-āpahṛitāḥ prakāsam=addhv-ādi-jāny=a-viralāny=asukhā-
- 4 ny=apāsyā | jāt-ādarā Daśapuram prathamam manōbhir=anv=āgatās=sa-suta-bandhujanās=samētya || Mattēbha-gaṇḍa-taṭa-vichyuta-dāna-bindu-sikt-ōpal-āchala-sahasra-vibhūṣhā(sha)pāyāḥ [i\*] pushp-āvanamra-taru-maṇḍa-vatamsakāyā bhūmēḥ=paran=tilaka-bhūtam=idam kramēna || Taḥ<sup>13</sup>-ōttha-vṛiksha-chyuta-

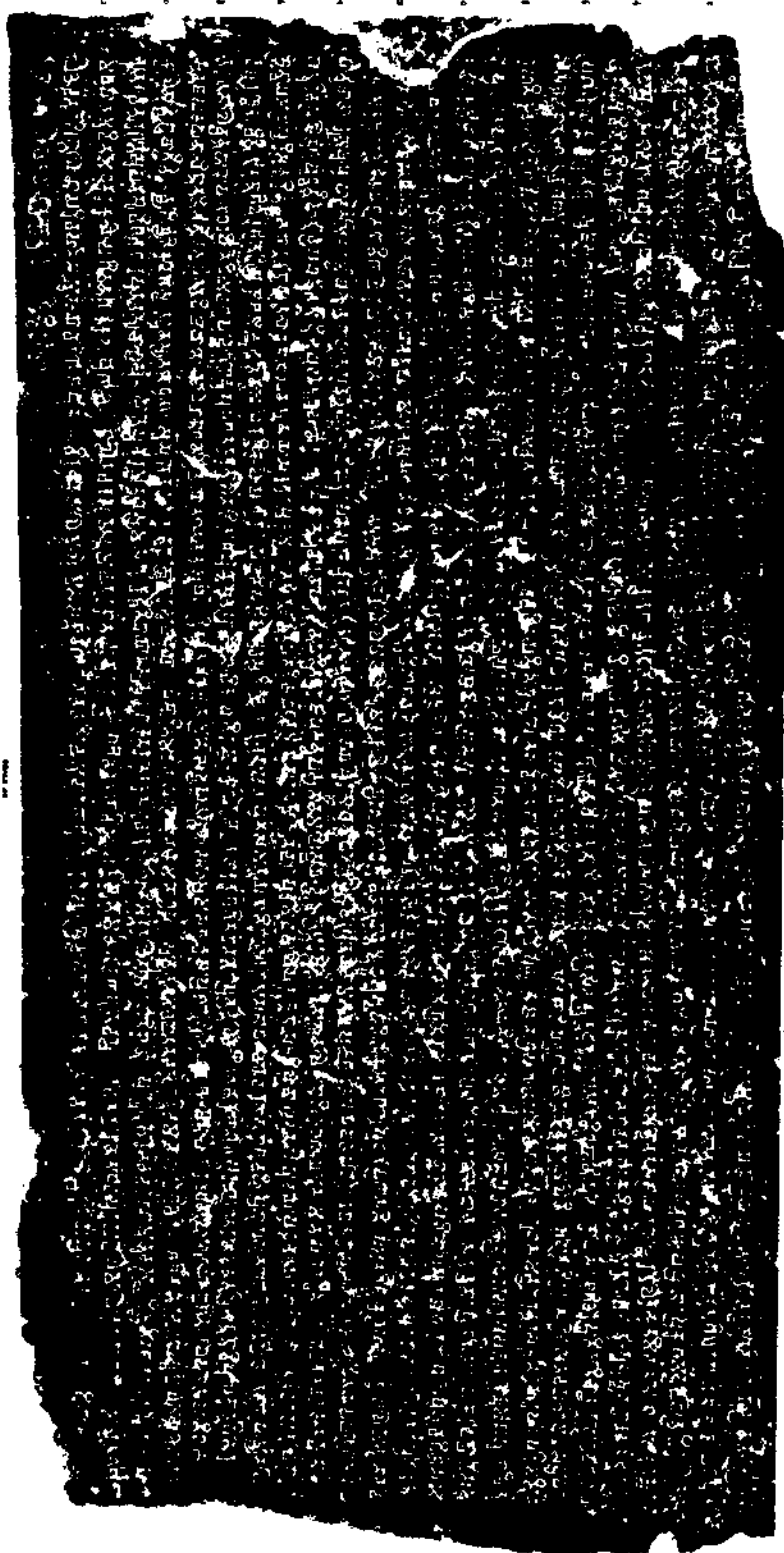
\* See page 189 ff. above.

\* From the ink-impression.

\* Metre, Śārdūlavikṛtita; and in the next verse.

<sup>10</sup> Metre, Vasantatilaka.<sup>11</sup> Metre, Āryā.<sup>12</sup> Metre, Vasantatilaka; and in the next verse.<sup>13</sup> Metre, Upēndravajrā; and in the next two verses.





Manuscript fragment of the manuscript of the 'Mystic' from 1825 and 1826



- 5 naika-pushpa-vichitra-ūr-ānta-jalāni bhānti | praphulta-padma-ābharaṇāni yatra sa-  
rāmsi kāraṇḍava-saṁkulāni || Vilōla-vichit-chalit-āravinda-pataḍ-rajah-piṇḍaritaś=cha  
hamsaiḥ | sva-kēsar-ōḍāra-bhar-āvabhugnaiḥ kvachit-sarāmsy-amburuhaś=cha  
bhānti || (II) Sva-pushpa-bhār-āvanatair=nnagēndrair=mada-
- 6 pragalbh-āli-kula-svanaiś=cha | ajasra-gābhīś=cha pur-āṅganābhīr=vvanāni yasmin=  
samalamkṛitāni || Chalat<sup>14</sup>-patākāny=abalā-sanāthāny=atyarttha-suklāny=adhik-ōnna-  
tāni | taḍil-latā-chitra-sit-ābbhra-kūta-tuly-ōpamānāni grīhāpi yatra || Kailāsa<sup>15</sup>-  
tūṅga-āikhara-pratimāni ch=ānyāny-ābhānti dīrggha-valabhī-
- 7 ni sa-vēdikāni | gāndharvva-śabda-mukharāni(ni) nivishṭa-chitra-karmmaṇi lōla-kadalī-  
vana-sōbbhitāni || Prāsāda<sup>16</sup>-mālābhīr=alamkṛitāni dharām vidāryy=aiva samutthi-  
tāni | vimāna-mālā-saḍṣiśāni yatra grīhāpi pūṇḍ-ēndu-kar-āmalāni || Yad<sup>17</sup>=  
bhāty=abhiramya-sarid-[d\*]vayēna chapal-ōrmmaṇā samupagūḍham
- 8 rahasi kucha-sālinibhyām Pṛiti-Ratibhyām Smar-āṅgam=iva || Satya<sup>18</sup>-khamā-dama-  
śama-vrata-śaucha-dhairyya-svāddhyāya-vṛitta-vinaya-sthiti-buddhy-upētaiḥ | vidyā-  
tapō-nidhibhir=a-smayitaiś=cha vipair=yyad=bhrājatō grāha-ganaiḥ=kham=iva  
pradīptaiḥ || Atha<sup>19</sup> samētya nīrantara-saṅgatair=aharahaḥ-pravijrīmbhita-
- 9 sauhṛidāḥ [(\*)] nripatibhis=suta-vat=pratimā[nitāḥ] pramuditā nyavasanta sukham  
purē || Śravaṇa<sup>20</sup>-[su]bhaga[m] dh[ā]nurvaidya[m] drīḍham parinishṭhitāḥ  
sucharita-sat-āsaṅgāḥ-kēchid=vichitra-kathā-vidāḥ | vinaya-nibhṛitās=samyag-dhar-  
mma-prasaṅga-parāyanāḥ=priyam=a-parusham patthyaṁ ch=ānyē khamā bahu  
bhāshitum ||
- 10 Kēchit<sup>21</sup>=ava-karmmaṇy=adhikās=tath=ānyair=vvijñāyatō jyōtisham=ātmavadbhiḥ |  
adyāpi ch=ānyē samara-pragalbhāḥ-kurvvanty=arīṇām=a-hitam prasahya || (II) Prājñā<sup>22</sup>  
manōjña-vadhavalḥ prathit-ōru-vamśā vamś-ānurūpa-charit-ābharaṇās=tath=ānyē |  
satya-vratāḥ prāyayinām=upakāra-dakṣhā visrambha-
- 11 [pūrvva]m=aparē drīḍha-sauhṛidāś=cha || Vijita<sup>23</sup>-vishaya-saṅgair=ddharmma-śilais=  
tath=ānyair=m[rī]dubhir=adhika-sat[t\*]vair=llōkayātr-āmaraiś=cha | sva-kula-tilaka-  
bhūtair=mukta-rāgair=udārair=adbikam=abhivibhātī srēṇir=ōvam-prakāraiḥ || Tā-  
runya<sup>24</sup>-kānty-upachitō=pi suvarṇahāra-tāmbūla-pushpa-vidhinā sama-
- 12 [lamkṛi]tō=pi | nārī-janaḥ priyam=upaiti na tāvad-agryā(śryā)m yāvan=na paṭ-  
tamaya-vastra-y[u]gāni dhattē || Sparśa[va]tā<sup>25</sup> varṇāntara-vibhāga-chittreṇa  
nētra-subhagēna | yaiś=sakalam=idam kshītitalam=alamkṛitam paṭa-vastrēṇa ||  
Vidyādhari<sup>26</sup>-ruchira-pallava-karṇapūra-vāt-ērit-āsthirataratn pravichintya
- 13 [lō]kam | mānushyam=arttha-nichayāś=cha tathā viśālāms=tēśhām śubhā matir=  
abhūd=achalā tatas=tu || Chatus<sup>27</sup>-samudr-ān[t]a-vilōla-mēkhalām Sumēru-  
Kailāsa-bṛihat-payōdharām | van-ānta-vānta-sphuṭa-pushpa-hāsinīm Kumāraguptē  
pṛithivīm prasāsati || Samāna<sup>28</sup>-dhīs=Śukra-Bṛhaspatibhyām lalāma-bhūtō bhuvi
- 14 pārtthivānām | rapēshu yaḥ Pārttha-samāna-karmma babbhūva gōptā nṛipa-Viśva-  
varmmā || Dīn<sup>29</sup>-ānukampena-parah kṛipa-ārtta-vargga-sandh[ā]-pradō-dhika-  
dayālur-anātha-nāthah | kalpa-drumah prāyayinām=abhayaṁ pradaiś=cha bhīta-  
sya yō janapadasya cha bandhur-āst || Tasy<sup>30</sup>-ātmajah sthairyya-nay-ōpa-  
pannō bandhu-priyō
- 15 bandhur=iva prajānām | bandhv-artti-harttā nṛipa-Bandhuvarmmā dvid-dṛipta-  
pakṣa-kṣhapā-aika-dakṣah || Kāntō<sup>31</sup> yuvā rapa-paṭur=vvinay-ānvitāś=cha rāj-  
āpi sann=upasṛitō na madaiḥ smay-ādyaiḥ | śṛīṅgāra-mūrttir=abhibhāty=an-  
alamkṛitō=pi rūpēṇa yāḥ-kusumachāpa iva dvitīyah || Vaidhavya<sup>32</sup>-tīvra-  
vyasana-kshatānām

<sup>14</sup> Metre, Upajāti of Indravajrā and Upēndravajrā.<sup>15</sup> Metre, Vasantatilaka.<sup>16</sup> Metre, Upajāti of Indravajrā and Upēndravajrā.<sup>17</sup> Metre, Āryā.<sup>18</sup> Metre, Drutavilambita.<sup>19</sup> Metre, Indravajrā.<sup>20</sup> Metre, Vasantatilaka.<sup>21</sup> Metre, Āryā.<sup>22</sup> Metre, Āryā.<sup>23</sup> Metre, Vasantatilaka.<sup>24</sup> Metre, Mālini.<sup>25</sup> Metre, Āryā.<sup>26</sup> Metre, Vasantatilaka.<sup>27</sup> Metre, Vasantatilaka.<sup>28</sup> Metre, Vasantatilaka.<sup>29</sup> Metre, Vasantatilaka.<sup>30</sup> Metre, Upajāti of Indravajrā and Upēndravajrā.<sup>31</sup> Metre, Vasantatilaka.<sup>32</sup> Metre, Vasantatilaka.<sup>33</sup> Metre, Upēndravajrā.<sup>34</sup> Metre, Indravajrā.

- 16 *amri(amṛi)tvā yam=adyāpy=ari-sundarīpām | bhayād=bhavaty=āyata-lōchanānām ghana-*  
*stan-āyāsa-karāḥ prakampāḥ || Tasminn<sup>20</sup>=ēva kshatipati-vri(vri)shē Bāṁdhu-*  
*varmāny=udārē samyak-sphītam Dāsapuram=idam pālayaty=unnat-ānsē | śilp-*  
*āvāptair=ddhana-samudayaiḥ patṭavāyair=udāram ērēṣibhūtair=bbhavanam=atulaṁ*  
*kāritam*
- 17 *dipta-raśmēḥ || Vistīrṇa<sup>21</sup>=tuṅga-śikharam śikhari-prakāśam=abhyudgat-ēndv-amala-*  
*raśmi-kalāpa-gauram | yad=bhāti pāschima-purasya nivishṭa-kānta-chūḍāmaṇi-*  
*pratisaman=nayan-ābhīramam || Rāmā-sanātha-[ra]chanē dara-bhāskar-ānsu-vahni-*  
*pratāpa-subhagē jala-līna-mīnē | chandrāmēu-harmyatala-*
- 18 *chandana-tālavṛinta-hār-ōpabhōdha(ga)-rahītē hima-dagdha-padme || Rōddhra-priyāngu-*  
*taru-kundalatā-vikōśa-puṣhp-āsava-pramud[i]t-āli-kal-ābhīramē | kālē tushāra-*  
*kāṣa-karkāśa-śīta-vāta-vēga-pranṛitta-lavali-nagaṇ-aikāśākhē || Smara<sup>22</sup>=vaśaga-*  
*taruṇajana-vallabhāṅgaṇā-vipula-kānta-pīn-ōru-*
- 19 *stana-jaghana-ghan-āliṅga-nirbharta-tuhina-hima-pātē || Mālavānām<sup>23</sup> gaṇa-sthityā*  
*yāt[ē] śata-chatuṣṭayē | tri-navaty-adhikē=bdānām=ri(ri)tan sēvyā-ghana-svanē ||*  
*Sahasya-māsa-śuklasya prāśastē=hnī trayōdaśē | maṅgal-āchāra-vidhinā prāsādō=*  
*yam nivēśitāḥ || Bahunā samatītēna*
- 20 *kālē=ānyaiś=cha pārtthivaiḥ | vyaśīryyat=aika-dēśō=sya bhavanasya tatō=dhunā ||*  
*Sva-yasō-v[r]i(vri)ddhayō sarvva=aty-udāram=udārayā | saṁskāritam=idam*  
*bhūyāḥ śrēṇyā bhānumatō gṛīham || Aty<sup>24</sup>=unnatam=avadātam nabha[h]-*  
*epriṣann=iva<sup>25</sup> manōharaiḥ śikharaiḥ | śāsi-bhānvōr=abhyudayēshv=amala-mayūkh-*  
*āyatana-*
- 21 *bhūtām || Vatsara-śatēshu pañchāsu viśamty<sup>26</sup>=adhikēshu navasu ch=ābdēshu |*  
*yātēshv=abhiramya-Tapasya-māsa-śukla-dvitiyāyam || Spashtair<sup>27</sup>=śāśōkatarn-kēta-*  
*simḍuvāra-lōlātimuktakalatā-madayantikānām | puṣhp-ōdgamair=abhinavair=*  
*adhigamya nūnam=aikyam vijjimbhita-śarē Hara-pū(dhā)ta-dēhē ||*
- 22 *Madhu<sup>28</sup>=pāna-mudita-madhukara-kul-ōpagita-nagan(n)-aika-prithu-śākhē | kālē nava-ku-*  
*sum-ōdgama-damtura-kānta-prachura-rōddhrē || Śāsin=ēva nabhō vimalam*  
*kaṇṣ[t]ubha-maṇin=ēva Śārṅgiḥ vakshah | bhavana-varēṇa tath=ēdam puram=*  
*akhilam=alamkṛitam=udāram || Amalina<sup>29</sup>=śāsi-*
- 23 *lēkhā-damturam piṅgalānām parivahati samūham yāvad=īśō jātānām | vikāta-*  
*kamala-mālām=amśa-saktām cha Śārṅgi bhavansam=idam=udāram śāsvatan=*  
*tāvad=astu || Śrēṇy<sup>30</sup>=ādēśēna bhaktyā cha kāritam bhavanam ravēḥ | pūrvvā*  
*ch=ēyam prayatnēna rachitā Vatsabhaṭṭinā ||*
- 24 *Evasti kartṛi-lēkhaka-vāchaka-śrōtṛibhyah || Siddhir=astu ||*

## TRANSLATION.

Perfection has been attained! May that Sun protect you,—who is worshipped by the hosts of the gods for the sake of existence, and by the Siddhas who wish for supernatural powers, (and) by ascetics, entirely given over to abstract meditation (and) having worldly attractions well under control; who wish for the final liberation of the soul, and, with devotion, by saints, practising strict penances, (who wish to become) able to counteract curses;

(and) who is the cause of the destruction and the commencing (again) of the universe! Reverence to that Sun,—whom (even) the Brāhmanical sages, though they knew the knowledge of the truth (and) exerted themselves, failed to comprehend; and who nourishes the whole of the three worlds with (his) rays diffused in all directions; who, when he is risen, is praised by Gandharvas, gods, Siddhas, Kinnaras, and Naras; and who grants (their) desires to those who worship (him)! May

<sup>20</sup> Metre, Mandākrāntā.

<sup>21</sup> Metre, Vasantatīlaka; and in the next two verses.

<sup>22</sup> Metre, Āryā.

<sup>23</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh); and in the next three verses.

<sup>24</sup> Metre, Āryā; and in the next verse.

<sup>25</sup> *epriṣan* is the nominative singular of the masculine;

whereas the neuter, *epriat*, in apposition with *gṛīham*, is what is required. This, however, would not suit the metre. The only emendation that suits the metre, is to alter the construction and read *nabhaḥ spriat-iva*.

<sup>26</sup> Read *vinīaty*.

<sup>27</sup> Metre, Vasantatīlaka.

<sup>28</sup> Metre, Āryā; and in the next verse.

<sup>29</sup> Metre, Mālinī.

<sup>30</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

that Sun, decorated with glorious beams, protect you,—who shines day after day with the mass of (*his*) rays flowing down over the wide and lofty summit of the lordly mountain of dawn, (*and*) who is of a dark-red colour like the cheeks of intoxicated women!

(L. 3.)—From the district of Lāṭa, which is pleasing with choice trees that are bowed down by the weight of (*their*) flowers, and with temples and assembly-halls of the gods, and with *vikāras*, (*and*) the mountains of which are covered over with vegetation, to (*this*) city of Daśapura there came, full of respect,—first, in thought; and afterwards (*in person*) in a band, together with (*their*) children and kinsmen,—men who were renowned in the world for (*skill in their*) craft (*of silk-weaving*), and who, being manifestly attracted by the virtues of the kings of the country, gave no thought to the continuous discomforts produced by the journey. And in course (*of time*) this (*city*) became the forehead-decoration of the earth, which is adorned with a thousand mountains whose rocks are besprinkled with the drops of rnt that trickle down from the sides of the temples of rutting elephants, (*and*) which has for (*its*) decorative ear-ornaments the trees weighed down with flowers. Here\*\* the lakes, crowded with *karaṇḍava*-ducks, are beautiful,—having the waters close to (*their*) shores made variegated with the many flowers that fall down from the trees growing on the banks, (*and*) being adorned with full-blown water-lilies. The lakes are beautiful (*in some places*) with the swans that are engaged in the pollen that falls from the water-lilies shaken by the tremulous waves; and in other places with the water-lilies bent down by the great burden of their filaments. Here the woods are adorned with lordly trees, that are bowed down by the weight of their flowers and are full of the sounds of the flights of bees that hum loudly through intoxication (*caused by the juices of the flowers that they suck*), and with the women from the city who are perpetually singing. Here the houses have waving flags, (*and*) are full of tender women, (*and*) are very white (*and*) extremely lofty, resembling the peaks of white clouds lit up with

forked lightning. And other long buildings on the roofs of the houses, with arbours in them, are beautiful,—being like the lofty summits of (the mountain) Kailāsa; being vocal with songs (*like those*) of the heavenly choristers; having pictured representations arranged (*in them*); (*and*) being adorned with groves of waving plantain-trees. Here, cleaving asunder the earth, there rise up houses which are decorated with successions of storeys; which are like rows of aerial chariots; (*and*) which are as pure as the rays of the full-moon. This (*city*) is beautiful (*through*) being embraced by two charming rivers,\*\* with tremulous waves, as if it were the body of (the god) Smara (*embraced*) in secrecy by (*his wives*) Pṛiti and Rati, possessed of (*heaving*) breasts. Like the sky with the brilliant multitudes of planets, it shines with Brāhmanas endowed with truth, patience, self-control, tranquillity, religious vows, purity, fortitude, private study, good conduct, refinement, and steadfastness, (*and*) abounding in learning and penances, and free from the excitement of surprise.

(L. 8.)—So assembling together, (*and*) day by day received into greater friendship by (*their*) constant associates, (*and*) honourably treated like sons by the kings, in joy and happiness they settled in (*this*) city. Some of them (*became*) excessively well acquainted with the science of archery, (*in which the twanging of the bow is*) pleasing to the ear; others, devoting themselves to hundreds of excellent achievements, (*became*) acquainted with wonderful tales; and others, unassuming in (*their*) modesty (*and*) devoted to discourses of the true religion, (*became*) able to say much that was free from harshness (*and yet was*) salutary. Some excelled in their own business (*of silk-weaving*); and by others, possessed of high aims, the science of astrology was mastered; and even to-day others of them, valorous in battle, effect by force the destruction of (*their*) enemies. So also others, wise, possessed of charming wives, (*and*) belonging to a famous and mighty lineage, are decorated with achievements that befit (*their*) birth; and others, true to (*their*) promises (*and*) firm in friendship

\*\* The original has, as far as line 8, the relative construction, which I have changed, for convenience of translation, into the absolute.

\*\* Of these rivers, one of course is the Siwanā, on the north bank of which the town stands. The other must be the 'Sumli,' which now flows into the Siwanā about three miles to the north-east of the town.

with the accompaniment of confidence, are skilled in conferring favours upon (*their*) intimates. (*And so*) the guild shines gloriously all around, through those who are of this sort, and through others who,—overcoming the attachment—for worldly objects; being characterised by piety; (*and*) possessing most abundant goodness,—(*are*) very gods in an earthly habitation.

(L. 11.)—(*Just as*) a woman, though endowed with youth and beauty (*and*) adorned with the arrangement of golden necklaces and betel-leaves and flowers, goes not to meet (*her*) lover in a secret place, until she has put on a pair of coloured silken cloths,—(*so*) the whole of this region of the earth, is (*almost superfluously*) adorned through them, (*as if*) with a silken garment, agreeable to the touch, variegated with the arrangement of different colours, (*and*) pleasing to the eye.

(L. 12.)—Having reflected that the world is very unsteady, being blown about by the wind like the charming ear-ornaments, (*made of*) sprigs, of the women of the Vidyâdharas; (*and similarly*) the estate of man; and also accumulations of wealth, large (*though they may be*),—they became possessed of a virtuous (*and*) stable understanding; and then;—<sup>46</sup>

(L. 13.)—While Kumâragupta was reigning over the (*whole*) earth, whose pendulous marriage-string is the verge of the four oceans; whose large breasts are (the mountains) Sumêru and Kailâsa;<sup>47</sup> (*and*) whose laughter is the full-blown flowers showered forth from the borders of the woods;—

(L. 13.)—There was a ruler, king Viśva-varman,<sup>48</sup> who was equal in intellect to Śakra and Brihaspati; who became the most eminent of princes on the earth; (*and*) whose deeds in war were equal to (*those of*) Pârtha;—who was very compassionate to the unhappy; who fulfilled his promises to the miserable and the distressed; who was excessively full of tenderness; (*and*) who was a very tree of plenty to (*his*) friends, and the giver of security to the frightened, and the friend of (*his*) country;—

(L. 14.)—His son (*was*) king Bandhavar-

man, possessed of firmness and statesmanship; beloved by (*his*) kinsmen; the relative, as it were, of (*his*) subjects; the remover of the afflictions of (*his*) connections; pre-eminently skilful in destroying the ranks of (*his*) proud enemies. Handsome, youthful, dexterous in war, and endowed with humility, king though he was, yet was he never carried away by passion, astonishment, and other (*evil sentiments*); being the very incarnation of erotic passion, he resembled in beauty, even though he was not adorned with ornaments, a second (Kâmadêva) armed with the bow that is made of flowers. Even to-day, when the long-eyed lovely women of (*his*) enemies, pained with the fierce pangs of widowhood, think of him, they stagger about through fear, in such a way as to fatigue (*their*) firm and compact breasts.

(L. 16.)—While he, the noble Bandhavarman, the best of kings, the strong-shouldered one,<sup>49</sup> was governing this city of Dâsapura, which had been brought to a state of great prosperity,—a noble (*and*) unequalled temple of the bright-rayed (Sun), was caused to be built by the silk-cloth weavers, as a guild, with the stores of wealth acquired by (*the exercise of their*) craft;—(a temple) which, having broad and lofty spires, (*and*) resembling a mountain, (*and*) white as the mass of the rays of the risen moon, shines, charming to the eye, having the similarity of (*being*) the lovely crest-jewel, fixed (*in its proper place*), of (*this*) city of the west.

(L. 17.)—In that season<sup>50</sup> which unites beautiful women with (*their*) lords; which is agreeable with the warmth of the fire of the rays of the sun (*shining*) in the glens; in which the fishes lie low down in the water; which (*on account of the cold*) is destitute of the enjoyment of the beams of the moon, and (*sitting in the open air on*) the flat roofs of houses, and sandal-wood perfumes, and palmleaf-fans, and necklaces;—in which the waterlilies are bitten by the frost; which is charming with the humming of the bees that are made happy by the juice of the full-blown flowers of the *rôdhra* and *priyangu*-trees and the jasmine-

<sup>46</sup> The context is "a noble (*and*) unequalled temple of the bright-rayed (Sun) was caused to be built," &c., in line 16; all that intervenes, is by way of a parenthesis.

<sup>47</sup> Conf. *Bṛhat-Saṁhitā*, xliii. 33, where the earth is described as having the mountains of sunrise and sunset for lips, and the Himâlâya and Vindhya for

breasts.

<sup>48</sup> This, again, is a second parenthesis, the real context of the preceding verse being the description of Bandhavarman in line 14ff.

<sup>49</sup> lit. 'high-shouldered.'

<sup>50</sup> The winter.

creepers; in which the *lavali*-trees and the solitary branches of the *nagand*-bushes are made to dance with the force of the wind that is harsh and cold with particles of frost;—(and) in which (*the cold induced by*) the falling of frost and snow is derided by the close embraces of the large and beautiful and plump and bulky breasts and thighs of young men and (*their*) mistresses, completely under the influence of love;—when, by (*the reckoning from*) the tribal constitution of the Málavas, four centuries of years, increased by ninety-three, had elapsed; in that season when the low thunder of the muttering of clouds is to be welcomed (*as indicating the approach of warmth, again*);—on the excellent thirteenth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Sahasya,—this temple was established, with the ceremony of auspicious benediction.

(L. 19.)—And, in the course of a long time, under other kings, part of this temple fell into disrepair; so now, in order to increase their own fame, the whole of this most noble house of the Sun has been repaired again by the munificent corporation;—(this temple) which is very lofty (*and*) pure; which touches the sky, as it were, with (*its*) charming spires; (*and*) which is the resting-place of the spotless rays of the moon and the sun at (*their*) times of rising. Thus,—when five centuries of years, increased by twenty, and nine years, had

elapsed; on the charming second lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Tapasya;—in the season when (Kāmadēva), whose body was destroyed by Hara, develops (*his number of five*) arrows by attaining unity with the fresh bursting forth of the flowers of the *asōka* and *kōtaka* and *sinduvāra*-trees, the pendulous *atimuktaka*-creeper, and the wild-jasmine;—when the solitary large branches of the *nagand*-bushes are full of the songs of the bees that are delighted by drinking the nectar; (*and*) when the beautiful and luxuriant *rōdhra*-trees swing to and fro with the fresh bursting forth of (*their*) flowers,—the whole of this noble city was decorated with (*this*) host of temples; just as the pure sky is decorated with the moon, and the breast of (the god) Śārṅgin with the *kaustu-bha*-jewel. As long as (the god) Īśa wears a mass of tawny matted locks, undulating with the spotless rays of the moon (*on his forehead*); and (*as long as*) (the god) Śārṅgin (*carries*) a garland of lovely waterlilies on his shoulder;—so long may this noble temple endure for ever!

(L. 23.)—By the command of the guild, and from devotion, (*this*) temple of the Sun was caused to be built; and this (*eulogy*) that precedes was, with particular care, composed by Vatasbhaṭṭi. Hail to the composer and the writer, and those who read or listen (*to it*)! Let there be success!

#### A GWALIOR INSCRIPTION OF VIKRAMA-SAMVAT 1161.

BY E. HULTZSCH, Ph.D.; VIENNA.

Besides the large Śāsbahū temple inscription of Mahipāla, which has now been properly re-edited by Prof. Kielhorn (*ante*, p. 33 ff.), Dr. Rajendralal Mitra has transcribed and 'translated' also the following mutilated inscription,<sup>1</sup> discovered by General Cunningham in the fortress of Gwalior<sup>2</sup> and now preserved in the Museum at Lucknow, where I copied it. As the letters of this inscription, so far as they have been preserved, are large and distinct, Dr. R. Mitra has misread only about a dozen syllables. But he has not attempted to decipher that portion of the first line which is still readable, and which contains no less than three names of royal personages.

And he has failed to observe that the genealogy of the kings closes with stanza 9, although—if not the context—the signs of interpunctuation after that stanza might have attracted his attention. Manōratha and Madhusūdana were no kings of Gwalior,<sup>3</sup> but the former was the secretary of Bhuvanapāla, and the latter a grandson of Manōratha. The date of the inscription falls within the reign of Mahipāla's successor, whose name has been lost in stanzas 7 to 9.

The contents of the inscription are, in brief, as follows:—Stanza 1 gives the name of Bhuvanapāla, who is the No. 5, Māladēva, also called Bhuvanapāla and Trailōkyamalla, of

<sup>1</sup> *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXI. p. 418.

<sup>2</sup> *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 354.

<sup>3</sup> *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXI. pp. 402f., p. 406; *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 374.





- 4 [ॐ — — । ॐ — ॐ — — ॐ ॐ — ॐ — — ॐ — ] : सदा गच्छतु कालयज्वा ॥ [१०] श्रीमान्-  
भूय मथुराभिजनो विमायः कायस्थवंशविपिनांशुधरः प्रहृष्टः । शिष्टास्तित्वर्गपथगामिनोरथस्य यस्या-  
ध्यगीषत मनोरथ इत्यभिरुचाम् ॥ [११] भुवनपालनपद्मविषययागमनियोगनिधन्वन्<sup>१२</sup>लेखिनः । गणि-  
ततत्त्वसमस्तलिपिततागुणकृतस्तवनेस्य गुरुर्ह्युः ॥ [१२] कांताङ्गका-
- 5 [ॐ ॐ ॐ — ॐ ॐ — ॐ — — — ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ — ] ललिताङ्गयष्टिः । स्पष्टीकृतात्मकुलशी-  
लकलागुभावा भावानुरक्तिपरमास्य रमेव विष्णोः ॥ [१३] यो मानिनां कैरवकुङ्कुमलानां प्रह्लाद[नं वृ]त्तम-  
धादिषेन्दुः । स मानिचन्द्रश्चतुरर्णवान्तर्भ्रान्तोरुकीर्तिस्तनयोस्य जज्ञे ॥ [१४] स्मरारिपूर्वामरमूर्तिहृ-  
न्दरोदरास्मवेस्मप्रकारपितृजैः । मरुजुतैस्तज्जयदङ्गिनामधान्यचीकरत्कीर्तनमा-
- 6 [ॐ — ॐ — ॥ १५ ॐ — ॐ — — ॐ ॐ — ॐ — — ॐ — ] विधानेषु यतस्तरीया । शुचिस्मितो-  
ह्रासितहारकान्तिस्ततो जनै रा[स]गतिर्भिरुचै ॥ [१६] भिजगद्विततात्मयशोविसरीकृतदिवस तयोस्त-  
नयोभिजनोऽञ्जलसर्वनिजान्वयजालजरविः । मधुसूदन इत्यजनिष्ट विशिष्टगुणप्रणयः स्तुतयोरुगुहारगुणं  
प्रति संप्रति यं विवृषाम् ॥ [१७] यशोविकासो मधुसूदनस्य मात्मन्मयुखा-
- 7 [ॐ ॐ — ॐ — — । \* — ॐ — — ॐ ॐ — ॐ — — \*] चूर्वमाणः क्षयमापर्विदुः ॥ [१८] येन  
त्रिलोकजनसाक्ष्यशुद्धिहेतुर्धर्मोपि निर्मलतमः क्रियते स्म शस्वत् । तस्यावशतश्चरिताद्भुतवर्णनाया-  
मोजो विजृम्भितमहो यद्वि शारदायाः ॥ [१९] कंरांजलिपुटोद्धृतं जलमिदं शस्यस्त्वधीः समप्रजगदग्निनां  
प्रगलहादुरालोचयन् । श्रुतैधितशामांशुसंशामितरागपात्रावि-
- 8 [— ॐ — ॐ ॐ ॐ — ॐ — ॐ ॐ ॐ — ॐ — — ॐ — ] ॥ [२०] आशासु यः शिष्टजगज्जनस्य श्रिं  
न्यधाक्षमकरावकृष्टां । जना यदीयावरजं समाशाचंद्रं जगुः प्रीतगुरुं सुहृत् ॥ [२१] पतितप्रपतस्वप-  
तित्यदमर्यगृहोद्धरणैः स्वभुजाजितशुद्धधनस्ययद्विहितपण्यनिधिः । यतिविप्रवरान्निविपन्नजनातिहरो भवमं  
भवनाशकरस्य हरस्य स कारयति स्म कृती ॥ [२२] विद्वद्गुरुजवनरविः श्रीज-
- 9 [— ॐ — — — — — ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ — ॐ — ] निर्मयनाथः । यः षड्भाषाविततकविताकेतु-  
हर्म्यं कलानां पूर्वामेतामकृत स मुनिः श्रीयशोदेवनामा ॥ [२३] मनोभवांधकारातिविधातकरणो भवः ॥  
व्याहः सम्पदो देवो यो गजाजिनभूतिभृत् ॥ [२४] ॥ श्रीविक्रमाकृतपकालातीतसम्बत्सराणां<sup>१३</sup>मेकषट्प-  
थिकायामेकादशशब्दां माघशुक्लषष्ठ्यामप्रतिष्ठाभूत् ॥

## NOTES ON THE MAHABHASHYA.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, GÖTTINGEN.

## 3.—ON SOME DOUBTFUL VĀRTTIKAS.

While trying to reconstruct the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana from the Mahābhāṣya, I have never ventured to hope that my attempt would from the beginning be successful in every particular. I indeed feel convinced that the general principles which I have followed are correct, and I believe that my edition is likely to present a fairly true picture of what Kātyāyana's work was like, before it was embodied by Patañjali in his own work. But I have always been ready to admit, that, in individual cases, the comparison of older or better MSS. than those are which I had at my disposal, the superior knowledge of other scholars, or my own researches, may prove that I have been wrong; and there certainly are Vārttikas in my edition, about whose right to be there I myself feel doubtful, just as in that portion of the text which I have assigned to Patañjali, there occur some statements which may have to be

regarded as Vārttikas. With the permission of the Editors, I intend in this Journal to discuss some of those doubtful Vārttikas, and I hope that scholars who are versed in the subject, and to whom ancient MSS. are more readily accessible than they are to myself, will take an interest in the matter and assist in the final settlement of a question which is of some moment for the history of Sanskrit grammar.

Not counting the 14 Pratyāhāra or Śiva-sūtras, the total number of rules of Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī in the published text is 3983. According to my edition of the Mahābhāṣya, Kātyāyana has appended notes to 1245 rules only, and Patañjali has, independently of Kātyāyana, attached remarks of his own to 468 other rules. The remaining 2270 of Pāṇini's Sūtras are not directly treated of in the Mahābhāṣya, but I may state incidentally that by far the greater number of them have either been actually quoted by Patañjali, or can

<sup>12</sup> Read निबन्धन.<sup>13</sup> Cancel the anuvāra.

be shown to be necessary for the formation of words which have been made use of by that scholar in the course of his arguments.

As Kātyāyana in his Vārttikas has treated of somewhat less than a third of Pāṇini's rules, and as he has not told us in figures to which particular rule he intended to append a remark or a set of notes, it might be expected that he would have endeavoured to remove our doubts in this respect by some other device, that in some way or other he would have pointed out the Sūtra, to which a Vārttika or a string of Vārttikas must be understood to belong. And I believe that he really has done this, and that the device which he adopted furnishes a means of occasionally testing the accuracy of the MSS., and tends to enable us in a number of doubtful cases to distinguish between his own remarks and those of his successor and commentator Patañjali.

When in the MSS. we examine what in accordance with the general method of the Mahābhāṣya ought to be regarded as Vārttikas, we find that in the case of about 1200 Sūtras the first of a set of Vārttikas, or the one Vārttika that may have been appended to a rule, contains some distinct reference to that rule; that it is worded in a manner which at once renders it apparent to which rule of Pāṇini's the Vārttika or the string of Vārttikas belongs. No less than 131 times Kātyāyana has repeated a whole rule of Pāṇini's, absolutely unchanged, at the commencement of the first Vārttika which he was attaching to that rule. In numerous cases a first Vārttika contains the whole rule to which it belongs, altered only so far as to allow of its being construed with the other words of the Vārttika. In a very large number of instances a first Vārttika commences with the first word or words of a rule, or repeats that portion of it to which the remark contained in the Vārttika is meant specially to refer. Thus, in the case of 24 rules of Pāṇini's which teach the meaning of technical terms, it is the technical term taught in a rule, compounded with the word सहावाङ्, that is placed at the beginning of a first Vārttika. Similarly, in the case of about 50 rules which teach the addition of suffixes, the particular suffix taught in a rule, compounded with the word प्रकरणे, is made to head the Vārttika or Vārttikas attached to a rule. For

those who wish still further to pursue this subject, I may add that there are between 25 and 30 instances, where the reference contained in a first Vārttika is not to the rule under which it is actually placed in the Mahābhāṣya, but to a preceding rule, or where a Vārttika, which according to the Mahābhāṣya heads the Vārttikas of one rule, really belongs to the Vārttikas of the preceding rule, and that a few times we are referred by a Vārttika not to Pāṇini's rule itself, but to the Gaṇa appended to it. Thus much is rendered certain even by a study of the MSS., that in the vast majority of cases Kātyāyana has clearly indicated the rules to which his notes refer, and the presumption therefore is that he has intended to do so everywhere. If his Vārttikas were taken out from the Mahābhāṣya and printed as a separate work, we should have no difficulty in pointing out the Sūtra to which any given Vārttika or number of Vārttikas belong.

The case is different with many of the notes, which Patañjali has appended to Pāṇini's rules. When Patañjali tells us गजसहावाङ्-यं चेति वक्तव्यम् (Ed. II. p. 279, 19), we suspect indeed that we are directed to add a certain suffix, which has been taught by Pāṇini, to गज and सहावा, but that that suffix is सङ्, we know only when Patañjali's note has actually been appended to or placed under P. IV. 2, 43. What Patañjali has taught in this particular instance, Kātyāyana would have expressed in a sentence like सङ्प्रकरणे गजसहावाङ्-वापुससङ्-वाङ् or सङ्प्रकरणे गजसहावाङ्-वाङ् च, a sentence from the wording of which it would have been clear at once that the suffix to be added is सङ्, while from the position assigned to it in the order of the Vārttikas, we should have inferred with certainty that the suffix सङ् alluded to is the सङ् taught by Pāṇini after the suffix वङ्; in other words, the सङ् of P. IV. 2, 43. Similar rules of Patañjali's occur under P. III. 1, 16 केनाचेति वक्तव्यम्, P. III. 1, 145 नृतिस्तनिरस्तिङ्-इति वक्तव्यम्, P. III. 3, 17 व्याधिनस्त्वदलोपिति वक्तव्यम्, P. V. 2, 129 पिशाचाचेति वक्तव्यम्, P. VII. 2, 68 इत्येवेति वक्तव्यम्, and elsewhere, and make it clear that Patañjali did not consider it necessary to indicate, by the wording of his notes, to which of Pāṇini's rules a particular note refers. His notes of this kind receive a meaning only when they are actually put under

the text of the Sūtras; taken by themselves they are unintelligible.

It is from such considerations as these, that in my edition of the Mahābhāṣya I have occasionally given, as a remark of Patañjali's what the authority of some of the MSS., sometimes the best MSS. at my command, would otherwise have made me regard as a Vārttika. In Vol. II. p. 120, l. 18, all MSS. except K.<sup>1</sup> have सुप्तमसबोहसमः। सुप्तमसबोहसम इति वक्तव्यम्, K. has only सुप्तमसबोहसम इति वक्तव्यम्. If in this case the MSS. GAa EgB were right, सुप्तमसबोहसमः would be a Vārttika; but it cannot be a Vārttika on Pāṇini's rule परोक्षे लिङ् because it does not contain any reference to that rule. The first Vārttika on that rule must be परोक्षे लिङ्गवन्तापङ्गवे च, and all the MSS. excepting K. must be wrong. In Vol. II. p. 217, l. 12, GAEGb. have गोपालिकासीनां प्रतिषेधः। गोपालिकासीनां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः, aK. have only गोपालिकासीनां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः. Here again गोपालिकासीनां प्रतिषेधः cannot be a Vārttika, because it contains no reference to the rule पुबोगाशब्दाबाह्; the first Vārttika on that rule must be पुबोगाशब्दाबाह् तद्धितपुबचनम्. In Vol. II. p. 278, l. 20, all MSS. except K. have वृद्धाच। वृद्धाचोति वक्तव्यम्, but वृद्धाच can for the reasons given above not be regarded as a Vārttika on P. IV. 2, 39. The same reasoning speaks again गणिकाबाह् on P. IV. 2, 40, तद्धिताच on P. IV. 2, 87 and other statements which some of the MSS. have given as Vārttikas.

I confess that the principle which I have tried to explain here, has not from the very beginning been so evident to myself as it is at present. I now know that some statements, which I have printed as Vārttikas, have as little claim to be such as others which I have already rejected. Such are स्वाङ्गकर्मकाच on P. I. 3, 27, which is omitted in the MS. K.; the same on P. I. 3, 28, which also is omitted in the same MS.; अधिकरणाच on P. III. 1, 10 which originally was left out in the MS. Decan Coll. 99 of 1881-82; कर्मकर्तृ च on P. III. 2, 83, and वृत्तेच on P. V. 2, 101, which both are given by all the MSS. known to me. I do not feel so certain about परस्परौपपदाच on P. I. 3, 16, and अधर्माच on P. IV. 4, 41, because

these statements may perhaps be considered to contain a reference to the Sūtras to which they are attached; but the former has at any rate been omitted in the MSS. KgB., and the latter is rendered superfluous by Kātyāyana's own Vārttika 20 on P. I. 1, 72. Apart however from these, there are other Vārttikas about which I feel or have felt doubtful, and I have therefore put together the following list of all first Vārttikas in which I fail to discover with certainty any distinct reference to the rules of Pāṇini under which they are placed in the MSS.

P. I. 4, 24 ध्रुवनपादेऽपादानम्.—Vārt. 1 ध्रुवपादिरानमनासायांनुपसंख्यानम्. If this were really a Vārttika, we should expect it to contain the word अपादानसंज्ञाबाह्, just as Vārt. 1 on P. I. 4, 49 contains the word कर्मसंज्ञाबाह्, and Vārt. 1 on P. I. 4, 54 कर्तृसंज्ञाबाह्. When we strike it out from the list of Vārttikas, we have the expected reference to Pāṇini's rule in the word अपादानसंज्ञा of what in my edition is now Vārt. 2.

P. II. 3, 2 कर्मणि द्वितीया.—Vārt. समवायिकपादाभागेपुपसंख्यानम्. The MSS. AKk. omit this. If it be really a Vārttika, it should be made to commence with द्वितीयाविधाने, just as there is चतुर्थीविधाने in Vārt. 1 on P. II. 3, 13, तृतीयाविधाने in Vārt. 1 on P. II. 3, 18, पञ्चमीविधाने in Vārt. 1 on P. II. 3, 28, and सप्तमीविधाने in Vārt. 1 on P. II. 3, 36.

P. III. 3, 157, इच्छायेषु लिङ्गोदी.—Vārt. कानमवेचनं चेत्. MS. A. has इच्छा कानमवेचनं चेत्, but I should like to know if this reading is given by other MSS. The Kāśikā-Vṛtti has कानमवेचन इति वक्तव्यम्.

P. V. 3, 66, प्रसंसादां रूपम्.—Vārt. 1 प्रकृतैर्लिङ्गवचनाभावासिद्धमकृतेरन्वावचनम्. This Vārttika, for such it must be, appears to offer two difficulties which I should wish to see removed. In the first place, it should, in my opinion, contain the term रूपम्, which would show to what rule the Vārttika belongs, and which does appear in Patañjali's explanation. And secondly, I cannot get any satisfactory meaning out of लिङ्गवचनाभावात्. The forms to be explained are पञ्चतिरूपम् पञ्चसौरूपम् पञ्चन्निरूपम्. रूपम् being a svārthika suffix, a derivative formed by it should take the gender and number of the primitive word, to which रूपम् is affixed. Now

<sup>1</sup> The letters K. G. A. &c., denote the MSS. described in the prefaces of Vol. I. and II. of my edition of the Mahābhāṣya.

in this case the primitive words have no gender at all, and they are singular, dual, or plural, whereas the words formed by रूप have a gender, viz. are neuter, and are all singular. This must be accounted for, and is accounted for, by the final portion of the Vārttika which teaches that अम् is the termination of a derivative formed by the addition of रूप to a primitive word which is a verbal form. Unwilling as I am to alter the text, I would suggest that we ought to read प्रकृतेर्लिङ्गवचनभाषातिङ्प्रकृते रूपो ऽन्भाववचनम्;—"As (derivatives formed by means of svarthika suffixes) take the gender and number of the primitives, it is necessary to state that a derivative in रूप (does not do so, but) takes the termination अम् when the primitive form, to which रूप is added, is a verb."

P. V. 4, 68, समाप्तान्तः.—Vārt. प्रयोजनमव्ययीभावहिगुह्यन्तपुरुषबहुव्रीहिसंज्ञाः. Here we expect to be told in the Vārttika, of what अव्ययीभाव...संज्ञाः are the प्रयोजनम्. The word प्रयोजनम् appears altogether 41 times at the commencement of a Vārttika, but in all these cases that, whose purport is stated in such a Vārttika, has been given to us in a previous Vārttika (Vol. I. p. 87, l. 17; 97, 15; 154, 9; 159, 9, etc.). Seventeen times प्रयोजनम् stands in the middle of a Vārttika, and it is then preceded by a word in the Locative or Genitive, which contains that of which the purport is to be explained by the Vārttika (Compare e.g. Vol. II. p. 47, l. 1 ध्रुववर्तिदेशो प्रयोजनं द्वित्वेत्वे, p. 402, l. 3 विभाक्तित्वे प्रयोजनमित्यतिषेधः, or Vol. III. p. 141, l. 5 उत्तरपदाधिकारस्य प्रयोजनं स्तोकादिभ्योऽनुगानङिकोऽहस्वन्लोपाः, p. 179, l. 12 अङ्गाधिकारस्य प्रयोजनं संप्रसारणसीधत्वे). In accordance with this universal practice of the author of the Vārttikas, I would suggest that we ought to read the Vārttika under discussion either समाप्तान्तत्वे or समाप्तान्ताधिकारस्य प्रयोजनमव्ययीभावहिगुह्यन्तपुरुषबहुव्रीहिसंज्ञाः.

P. VI. 1, 28, व्यायः पी.—Vārt. आङ्पूर्वाङ्धसोः. All MSS. have this, but, as it stands, it cannot, in my opinion, be regarded as a Vārttika. Moreover, considering that अङ्गु 'a well' does not appear to be used in the older literature, that, on the other hand, the verb ळ् is frequently used in connection with अङ्गु 'the stem of the soma-plant,' and that in *Rigveda* VIII. 9, 19, we actually read आपीलासो अङ्गः, one may fairly feel inclined to question the correctness of the reading अङ्गुधसोः.

P. VI. 3, 3, ओजःसहोम्भस्त्वसस्तृतीयायाः.—Vārt. 1, अङ्गुस उपसख्यानम्. AB. and originally E. have तृतीयायां अङ्गु, E. by alteration तृतीयाया अङ्गु. One would expect the Vārttika to commence with तृतीयायामकरणे, just as Vārt. 1 on P. VI. 3, 2 commences with पञ्चमीयामकरणे, and Vārt. 1 on P. VI. 3, 21 with षष्ठीयामकरणे.

P. VII. 1, 39, सुपां सुलुक्पूर्वसवर्णाच्छेयाडाङ्पायाजालः.—Vārt. इयाडिद्याजीकाराणामुपसख्यानम्. AE. omit this; a. and B. omit it too, but the former has a stop and the figure 2 between छेयानं and कर्तव्यम् in the next line, and B. has a stop in the same place. I hardly think that it can be rejected from the Vārttikas, because in that case it would be difficult to explain, why Patañjali should have made the subsequent statement आङ्पायाजालां चोपसख्यानं कर्तव्यम् a separate rule.

P. VIII. 1, 66, बहुसाक्षितम्.—Vārt. वा वायाकाम्बे. All MSS. have this, but I doubt its being a Vārttika, as it stands.

P. I. 4, 60 गतिश्च.—Vārt. 1 कारिकाशब्दस्य; Vārt. 2 पुनश्चनसौ छन्दसि. Vārt. 1 is given by all MSS., but DKEg. read कारिकाशब्दस्योपसख्यानम्. Vārt. 2 is omitted in K.; E. has it added in the margin; g. omits it, but has the figure २ after पुनश्चनसौ छन्दसि below. पुनश्चनसौ छन्दसि is quoted thus by Patañjali in Vol. I. p. 377, l. 19; it is there called a Vārttika by Nāgōjibhaṭṭa, and is considered one also by Haradatta on P. II. 1, 72 (पुनश्चनसौ छन्दसीति गतिसंज्ञा वास्तिककारीयेति गणकारेणै पठितम्). I can only state that we miss the expected reference to Pāṇini's rule, which, if the two Vārttikas were removed, would be contained in what in my edition is now Vārt. 3.

P. II. 2, 8, षष्ठी.—Vārt. 1 कृषोगा च; Vārt. 2 तस्येयं गुणैः; Vārt. 3 न तु तद्विरोधने.—P. II. 2, 10, न निर्धारणे.—Vārt. प्रतिपद्विधाना च.—Patañjali, in the words प्रतिपद्विधाना च षष्ठी न समस्यत इति वक्ष्यति on p. 412, l. 20, appears certainly to ascribe the statement प्रतिपद्विधाना च to the Vārttikakāra, but we miss in the Vārttikas themselves some distinct indication of the fact that the three first refer to P. II. 2, 8, and the last to the prohibitive rule P. II. 2, 10.

P. II. 4, 3, अनुवादे चरणानाम्.—Vārt. 1 स्थिनीः; Vārt. 2 अद्यतन्यां च. Vārt. 1 is omitted by the MSS. gB., and Vārt. 2 by AkKEgB. The term अद्यतनी for लुङ् is used by Kātyāyana Vol. II. p. 114, l. 7, and Vol. III. p. 217, l. 17, just as he elsewhere employs भवन्ती, भविष्यन्ती, and भवन्ती.

instead of लद्, लृद्, and, लृद्; the two statements given above can nevertheless not be regarded as Vārttikas, so long as the first of them contains no reference to Pāṇini's rule. This objection would be removed, if we were allowed to read अनुवादे चरणानां स्थेपोः.

P. III. 1, 17, शब्दवैकल्यभक्त्यन्वयेऽप्येकः करणे.—Vārt. 1 सुदिनदुर्विनाभ्यां च; Vārt. 2 नीहाराश्च. The MSS. kK. omit the two Vārttikas and read सुदिनदुर्विनाभ्यामेति वक्तव्यम्; exactly the same reading we find in the Kāśikā-Vṛtti.

P. IV. 1, 85, द्वित्यदित्यादित्यपर्यन्तपरमाण्वः.—Vārt. 1 बाहुतिपितृमतां छन्दस्युपसंख्यानम्. Several MSS. omit this and some of the following Vārttikas up to Vārt. 8. In none of the eight MSS. which I have compared does the first Vārttika contain any indication of the Sūtra to which it belongs. We may conjecture the correct reading of the Vārttika to be ण्यप्रकरणे बाहुतिपितृमतां छन्दस्युपसंख्यानम्, and this reading we actually find in the Benares edition of the Mahābhāṣya.

P. IV. 3, 131, द्वैतिकादिभ्यश्च.—Vārt. 1. कौपिलहास्तिपराङ्म्; Vārt. 2 आथर्वणिकस्येकलोपश्च. These two Vārttikas (which have been received into the text of Pāṇini's grammar) have nothing to do with the particular rule P. IV. 3, 131, but they may be regarded as additions to the whole chapter, which begins with the rule 120 and ends with 131. Similarly the Vārttika अन उपधालोपिन ऊधसो ङीप्पूर्वविप्रतिषिद्धम् has been placed under P. IV. 1, 75, which is the last rule in the chapter treating of the formation of feminine bases; आद्युदात्तप्रकरणे द्विवो-हासादीनां छन्दस्युपसंख्यानम् under P. VI. 2, 91 etc.

P. VI. 3, 109, प्रचोदरादीनि यथोपदिष्टम्.—Vārt. 1 द्विशब्देभ्यस्तीरस्य सारभावो वा. Several MSS. omit this and some of the following Vārttikas. We must, it seems, assume that दक्षिणसारम् and other words explained in the Vārttikas had been put down in the Gaṇa प्रचोदरादि, and that the reference therefore is to the Gaṇa. Similar references to Gaṇas we have on P. IV. 1, 4; IV. 1, 151; IV. 2, 49; and V. 2, 116.

P. VI. 3, 122, उपसर्गस्य घञ्यमनुष्ये बहुलम्.—Vārt. 1 साहकारयोः कृत्विने; Vārt. 2 प्रतिवेदादीनां विभाषा. Both Vārttikas are omitted by some of the MSS. The reference to Pāṇini's rule may consist in this, that साह and कार are bases formed with the suffix घञ्, which is mentioned in the rule. A similar case we find in असित-पलितयोः प्रतिषेधः on P. IV. 1, 39, which undoubtedly is a Vārttika, and where असित and पलित

are at once recognized to be such words as are spoken of by Pāṇini in his rule.

P. VIII. 2, 17, नादस्य.—Vārt. 1 ईद्वयिनः; Vārt. 2 भूरिवाजस्तुद्. The wording of these two Vārttikas may perhaps be accounted for in a similar way. The Vārttikas preceding them belong undoubtedly to P. VIII. 2, 16; and when then immediately afterwards Kātyāyana teaches something regarding two bases that end in न्, we must understand him to refer to that न् which is spoken of by Pāṇini in the rule following upon VIII. 2, 16.

I will finally mention a few cases, in which it may be doubtful whether a certain statement, which in my edition has been ascribed to Patañjali, might not, for the reasons which I have explained in the above, perhaps be better regarded as a Vārttika.

On P. I. 1, 75, एङ् प्राचां देशे, I have printed as a remark of Patañjali's एङ् प्राचां देशे सौषिके-ष्विति वक्तव्यम्. I was at the time surprised, that Patañjali should have repeated the words of Pāṇini's rule, but the MSS. then at my disposal did contain those words, and they did not in any way suggest the idea, that a Vārttika might have disappeared. I now find that the MS. A. does omit एङ् प्राचां देशे before सौषिके-ष्विति, and further consideration has convinced me, that either the MS. A. is right or that a Vārttika has disappeared; on the latter alternative we should have to read एङ् प्राचां देशे सौषिकेषु ॥१॥ एङ् प्राचां देशे सौषिकेष्विति वक्तव्यम् ।

On P. II. 1, 23, द्विगुश्च, I have assigned to Patañjali the statement द्विगोस्तत्पुरुषस्ये समा-सान्ताः प्रयोजनम्, but I now feel almost certain that this is really a Vārttika. When however we compare such Vārttikas as अव्ययीभावस्याव्य-यस्ये प्रयोजनं लुगमुखस्वरोपचाराः on P. I. 1, 41, भुवसेतिदेशे प्रयोजनं द्वित्वेस्ये on P. III. 1, 39, or विभक्तित्वे प्रयोजनमिदमितिषेधः on P. V. 3, 1, we should expect to read द्विगोस्तत्पुरुषस्ये प्रयोजनं समासान्ताः.

On P. IV. 1, 16, यञश्च, I may have been wrong in rejecting the reading of the MSS. EgB., which before आपत्यमहर्ण have the Vārttika आपत्यमहर्ण द्विपाद्यञः प्रतिषेधार्थम्. But if, what seems very probable, this is really a Vārttika, I should expect Patañjali's explanation to be आपत्यमहर्ण कर्तव्यम् । किं प्रयोजनम् । द्विपाद्यञः प्रतिषेधार्थम् । इह नाभूत् । इत्येति ॥ Compare e.g. Vārt. 1 on P. III. 4, 2, Vārt. 1 on P. VI. 1,

6; Vārt. 1 and 2 on P. VI. 1, 58; Vārt. 1 on P. VI. 1, 108; Vārt. 1 on P. VI. 1, 171.

On P. V. 4, 103, अनसन्तानपुंसकाच्छन्सि, I have given as a remark of Patañjali's the statement अनसन्तानपुंसकाच्छन्सि वेति वक्तव्यम्; the MS. a. omits here अनसन्तानपुंसकाच्छन्सि, and g., a very indifferent MS., has the same words twice. The repetition of Pāṇini's rule at the beginning of this statement must again make us suspect that a Vārttika has disappeared in the MSS., and that we ought to read अनसन्तानपुंसकाच्छन्सि वा ॥१॥ अनसन्तानपुंसकाच्छन्सि वेति वक्तव्यम्. It is true that Kātyāyana, when he wishes to make a rule of Pāṇini's optional, generally employs the word वाक्चनम् (compare e.g. Vārt. 1 on P. III. 1, 27, Vārt. 1 on P. V. 1, 10, Vārt. 1 on P. VIII. 2, 103), yet on P. III. 3, 156 हेतुहेतुमतोर्लिङ्, we have the Vārttika हेतुहेतुमतोर्लिङ्, to which अनसन्तानपुंसकाच्छन्सि वा would be similar in every respect.

The doubts and conjectures, which I have expressed in the above, are in the first instance suggested by the principle that the first Vārttika on a rule must contain some distinct reference to that rule. There are other matters, on which I should wish to elicit the opinions of Indian scholars.

We frequently find in the Mahābhāṣya statements, which end with the word उक्तम्, 'something has been said,' 'a remark has been made.' They are invariably followed by किमुक्तम् 'what has been said?' When we examine the answers to this question, we are struck by the fact, that almost everywhere they consist in one or more Vārttikas met with in different parts of the Mahābhāṣya. We are thus led to the conclusion that the statements ending with उक्तम् are themselves Vārttikas, and that in them Kātyāyana is referring us to other Vārttikas, which generally precede, sometimes follow, the Vārttikas ending with उक्तम्. And our belief in the soundness of this conclusion is strengthened, when we examine those statements a little more closely.

When we try to ascertain what Vārttikas Kātyāyana may have appended e.g. to P. I. 1, 60, अक्षरं लोपः, the first Vārttika to present itself will be लोपसंज्ञायामर्थसंतीरुक्तम्. It is explained by Patañjali as other Vārttikas are, with this difference only that the comment on the words preceding उक्तम् has taken the form of an introductory remark. It does contain

the necessary reference to Pāṇini's rule, for like other Vārttikas on *Samjñā*-rules it does begin with the technical term defined by Pāṇini, compounded with संज्ञायाम्. It must be considered a Vārttika, because the wording of the sentence which in my edition is given as Vārt. 2, and which undoubtedly is a Vārttika, shows that there must be a Vārttika preceding it, and because in the preceding we find nothing that could possibly be regarded as one, excepting our लोपसंज्ञायामर्थसंतीरुक्तम्. "The remarks that have been made," and to which we are referred by उक्तम्, are इतिकरणोऽर्थनिर्देशार्थः and सिद्धं तु निर्ययश्चक्षत्, the former being the Vārt. 3 on P. I. 1, 44, and the latter the Vārt. 9 on P. I. 1, 1.

Now, what I have proved in this one instance may be shown to be true elsewhere, and it becomes evident, that by the Vārttikas described Kātyāyana has furnished a means of testing to some extent the value of any attempt at reconstructing his work. For whenever we find a statement of his ending with उक्तम्, our Vārttika-pāṭha, if it be right, must contain the Vārttika or Vārttikas, to which he refers us. And when, to give a somewhat striking instance, in the Vārt. 10 on P. I. 2, 45 he tells us "that he has said something regarding the question as to whether letters have a meaning or not," and when, in order to show what Kātyāyana has said, Patañjali quotes the seven Vārttikas on pp. 30 and 31 of Vol. I. of my edition, exactly as they have been printed there, it will appear probable that the principles followed in the reconstruction of the Vārttikas were correct. On the other hand, the question किमुक्तम् should everywhere be answered by Vārttikas only; and if anywhere in the Mahābhāṣya it should have been answered differently, it must be possible to substitute a Vārttika or Vārttikas for the answer actually given by Patañjali. If in any particular case it should be found impossible to point out the Vārttika to which Kātyāyana could have referred us, such a case should either make us doubt our having fully understood the drift of his remarks, or suspect some fault in our method, or in the readings of the MSS. used for the reconstruction of his work.

In my edition the number of Vārttikas ending with उक्तम् is 45; not one of them has been given in the Calcutta edition of Pāṇini. 38

times we are referred by उक्तम् to something which precedes the Vārttika containing the word उक्तम्; 7 times to what follows. 36 times Patañjali has answered the question किमुक्तम् by quoting one, two, three, five, or even seven Vārttikas exactly as they are given in the edition; thrice he has considered it sufficient to quote only part of a Vārttika; and four times he has quoted a Vārttika, but completed it by words of his own. Once (in Vol. I. p. 229), instead of quoting the actual text of the Vārttika, he has given his own explanation of it. Once only has Patañjali referred us to a remark, which is purely and exclusively his own, and it is this particular case that has induced me to discuss this matter under the head of the (as yet) doubtful Vārttikas.

To the rule P. VI. 4, 66, Kātyāyana appends the exception (Vārt. 1), that ई is not substituted for the final of वा, धा, etc. before a suffix commencing with the letter व्, and as an instance in point he quotes the word धृतपावन्, which occurs e.g. in Vāj. S. VI. 19. Patañjali then raises the question, how with such an exception one is to account for the words धीवरी and पीवरी, in which ई apparently has been substituted before a suffix commencing with व्. This question is answered in the sentence (Vārt. 2) धीवरी पीवरीति चोक्तम् "as to धीवरी and पीवरी you are referred to what has been stated"; and Patañjali by way of explanation tells us that the statement alluded to is नैतद्दीप्तम् । किं तर्हि । व्याच्योरेतत्सं-प्रसारणम् ।—"here we have no substitution of ई for the आ of धा and वा, but that of Samprasāraṇa for the व् of ध्वे and ध्वे, (together of course with the operations attendant on or caused by the substitution of Samprasāraṇa)." Now the statement quoted by Patañjali is certainly not a Vārttika, but is a remark made by Patañjali himself in Vol. III. p. 197, l. 22, and the alternative we have to face is this: either Patañjali is wrong in citing his own words instead of quoting a Vārttika, or the MSS. are wrong in reading धीवरी पीवरीति चोक्तम् । किमुक्तम्. We must either point out the Vārttika, which Patañjali should have quoted, or substitute for धीवरी पीवरीति चोक्तम् । किमुक्तम् words such as उक्तमेतत्. I confess that, without having examined other MSS., I do not venture to express any decided opinion; should such an examination, however, prove

favourable to the retention of the second Vārttika, I might probably suggest that Patañjali ought to have referred us to the Vārttika व्याच्यते: संप्रसारणं च on P. III. 2, 178.

Of more frequent occurrence even than the Vārttikas described, taking them all together, is another Vārttika, to which the same general remarks are applicable,—I mean the Vārttika उक्तं वा. It has been shown elsewhere, that Kātyāyana has not merely stated his doubts and objections in regard to some of Pāṇini's rules, but that often he also has shown how those doubts may be solved and the objections removed, and it is mainly for the latter purpose that the Vārttika उक्तं वा has been employed by him. For, when making use of this phrase, he thereby intimates that an objection raised is met, or an additional rule rendered unnecessary, by some Vārttika or Vārttikas in another part of his work, Vārttikas to which we are referred by the very words उक्तं वा, and which after the usual question किमुक्तम् are generally pointed out by Patañjali. On P. III. 1, 30, after having stated (Vārt. 1 and 2) that the Anubandha इ of the suffix णिङ् would by P. I. 1, 5 prevent the substitution of Vṛiddhi in कामयते, Kātyāyana adds (Vārt. 3) उक्तं वा "or it is as stated"; in other words, he refers us to the Vārt. 4 on P. I. 1, 5, in which he himself has explained why that rule of Pāṇini's can have nothing to do with कामयते. In Vol. III. p. 2 and also p. 440 he similarly refers us to the four Vārttikas 2-5 on P. I. 1, 21, in Vol. II. p. 242 to the six Vārttikas 4-9 on P. IV. 1, 163, and so elsewhere. Here too we must in every case be able to point out the Vārttikas to which Kātyāyana can have referred us, and the probability here also is, that there is something wrong in our work or in the MSS. which we have followed, when we are unable to do so.

In my edition the phrase उक्तं वा occurs as a Vārttika 55 times; among the Vārttikas appended to Pāṇini's rules in the Calcutta edition I have not found it once. In 33 out of these 55 cases Patañjali has cited the Vārttikas, to which we are referred by उक्तं वा, exactly as they are found in the edition. In 10 other cases he has either quoted only part of a Vārttika, or quoting a whole Vārttika he has rendered its meaning more easily intelligible by adding words of his own, or he has given in

his own words the sense of a Vārttika, not the actual text of it. Twice (Vol. I. p. 194 and Vol. II. p. 182) Patañjali refers us first to a Vārttika, and afterwards, objecting to Kātyāyana's reasoning, to remarks of his own; and three times (Vol. I. p. 225, p. 423; and Vol. III. p. 223) he refers us to Vārttikas and at the same time to other statements, which it is unnecessary to discuss here. Five times (Vol. I. p. 141; Vol. II. p. 427 and 433; and Vol. III. p. 353 and 416) he has referred us only to remarks of his own, but in these cases it is easy to point out the Vārttikas which he should have quoted. Thus by the Vārttika उक्तं वा on P. V. 3, 88 and P. V. 4, 27, Kātyāyana can have referred us only to his Vārttikas 6 and 7 on P. IV. 1, 92, where Patañjali himself has given the very examples कुटी कुटीरः etc., the gender of which has occasioned Kātyāyana's remarks on P. V. 3, 88.

From this general survey it will appear then, that in 53 cases out of 55 we have either been actually referred to the Vārttikas, to which allusion is made by the phrase उक्तं वा, or that we, at any rate, can point out the Vārttikas, which should have been cited by Patañjali. It is different with the two remaining cases, which on that very account demand a more detailed discussion,

On P. II. 3, 8, Kātyāyana proposes to add the rule (Vārt. 1), that प्रति etc., when conveying the meanings spoken of in P. I. 4, 90, etc., govern the Accusative, such a rule being considered necessary to prevent the employment of the Locative and Ablative cases taught in P. II. 3, 43, and P. II. 3, 10; and Patañjali adds that Kātyāyana's rule would prove advantageous also in enabling us to dispense with the word अमते: in P. II. 3, 43. The Vārt. 2 उक्तं वा would lead us to expect that in the sequel Kātyāyana's additional rule should have been rejected by means of some other Vārttika of Kātyāyana's. In reality Kātyāyana's suggestion has been met, as regards the Locative, by the remark that Pāṇini in his rule II. 3, 43, has said अमते:; and, as regards the Ablative, by showing that for reasons given the परि in P. II. 3, 10 can only be the परि spoken of in P. I. 4, 88, not the परि

\* I may add that Kātyāyana has referred us to other Vārttikas of his also in the Vārt. उक्तं शेषे in Vol. I. p. 53, in the Vārt. उक्तं पूर्वम् in Vol. I. p. 462, and p. 464,

of P. I. 4, 90; nor do I see how it could have been met in any other way. Such being the case, I consider that the words उक्तं वा। किमुक्तम्। at the top of Vol. I. p. 447 of my edition are wrong and must be struck out, notwithstanding the fact that they are given by all the MSS. hitherto examined by me.

Similarly I, for the present, believe that the MSS. are wrong in giving as a Vārttika what is now Vārt. 3 on P. VIII. 1, 15, for there too the statement लिङ्गमशिष्यं लोकाभ्यवृत्तिङ्गस्य, to which we appear to be referred, is not a Vārttika. That statement occurs as part of Patañjali's commentary, e.g. in Vol. I. p. 390, l. 18, where we certainly might have expected Kātyāyana to allude to it, had it been possible for him to do so. It occurs too in Vol. II. p. 418, l. 24, where the Kāśmīr MS. appears to me to be right in omitting before it the words उक्तं वा। किमुक्तम्।, which have found their way into all the Devanāgarī MSS.; just as the phrase उक्तं वा has found its way into some of the MSS. in Vol. II. p. 173, l. 23. On the other hand, I will not conceal that, in Vol. II. p. 198, l. 15, Patañjali has introduced the statement लिङ्गमशिष्यं लोकाभ्यवृत्तिङ्गस्य by the words पठिष्यति ह्याचार्यः, and that at any rate Nāgōjibhatta understands the Āchārya there referred to to be the Vārttikakṛit.\*

Besides the Vārttikas which I have treated of in the above, there are some others, which I should call 'doubtful Vārttikas,' but to which I have nevertheless assigned a place in my edition, because in a first attempt I wished to be guided rather by the MSS., than by my own views as to what ought to be a Vārttika and what not. One or two examples may show, that at least I have not been quite unconscious of the objections that might be brought against the text given by me. By the Vārt. 10 बहुव्रीह्यानामहन्तम् on P. I. 1, 23, my edition makes Kātyāyana, who in the preceding Vārttikas has tried to amend Pāṇini's rule, reject that rule altogether;—reject it, without his giving any reasons, and without intimating that the rejection of the rule would be an alternative proceeding. Now this is altogether contrary to what we see Kātyāyana do else-

and in the Vārt. उक्तं संख्यात्वे प्रयोजनं तस्मादिहाभ्यर्थय-  
ह्णानयेक्यम् in Vol. II. p. 349.



where. Kātyāyana always proves his propositions; he always shows what is the good of his proposals; when he suggests an alternative course, he tells us that he does so. When he rejects the rule P. III. 3, 119, he does so by saying गोचरादीनामग्रहणं प्रायवचनाद्यथा कपो निकष इति; when, after having discussed the rule P. I. 1. 44, he desires to show that that rule may be dispensed with, he says (Vārt. 19) अशिष्यो वा विदितत्वात्. I am convinced then, that on P. I. 1, 23, Kātyāyana could not have simply said बहुादीनामग्रहणम्, and that the MSS. are wrong. What appears to be a Vārttika is really a translation, into the language of Kātyāyana, of Patañjali's statement बहुादीनां ग्रहणं शक्यमकर्तुम्.—Chance repetition of Patañjali's words has caused the reception into the text of false Vārttikas elsewhere. In his Vārt. 5 on P. I. 4, 52, Kātyāyana states that that rule does not apply to अद्, खाद्, नी, and बद्; in the following Vārt. 6, which is

given by all the Dēvanāgarī MSS., he is made to say that Pāṇini's rule does not apply in the case of बद् provided that verb be not used in connection with beasts of burden. Here it is clear that Kātyāyana would not have included बद् in the list of verbs given in Vārt. 5, if he had intended to make a special rule for it in a separate Vārttika. The special rule concerning बद् is really, if I may say so, a Vārttika of Patañjali's on Kātyāyana's Vārt. 5, and has taken the form of a true Vārttika, because Patañjali's words वहेरनियन्तृकर्तृकस्य were wrongly put twice in the MSS. Such has, I believe, been the case with what is now Vārt. 20 on P. II. 2, 24 (omitted in the Kāśmīr MSS.), with the Vārt. 4 on P. III. 2, 110 (omitted in the MS. K.) and in one or two other instances, and this is one of the reasons why I appeal particularly to those scholars, who have old MSS. within reach, to assist me in the task of improving my work.

## BOOK NOTICES.

BOOK OF INDIAN ERAS, with Tables for Calculating Indian Dates; by ALEXANDER CUNNINGHAM, C.S.I., C.I.E., Major-General Royal Engineers (Bengal). Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co., 1883. 8vo. pp. xiv. and 227.

No publication of General Cunningham's is more useful than this Book of Indian Eras, but it does not seem to have attracted as much attention as it deserves, and has remained unnoticed by the Press. The author would have been better advised if he had published his book in England.

The large number of eras with which the treatise deals is a proof of the real progress made in Indian Archaeology since Prinsep's time; that is to say, during the period of General Cunningham's active career. The initial dates of three of these eras, viz., the eras of Śrī-Harsha of Kanauj, Lakshmanasēna of Bengal, and the Kalachuri kings of Chēdi, have been determined by General Cunningham himself.

The determination of the beginning of Śrī-Harsha's era was easy, and merely involved the confirmation of Abū Rihān's statement.

The statements of the various authorities respecting the exact initial date of the Lakshmanasēna era are conflicting. General Cunningham on p. 76 says that he believes he has "succeeded in clearing up the difference"; but his conclusion is expressed in such a way that it is difficult for the reader to make out exactly what it is. A reference,

however, to page 160 of Vol. XV. of the Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India, shows that the General has adopted 1107 A.D. as the year 1 of this era; and the determination appears to be correct.

There is no reason apparently to doubt the soundness of the arguments which fix 250 A.D. as the year 1 of the Chēdi or Kalachuri Samvat; and the determination of this era marks an important advance in the study of Indian Chronology.

It would be impossible in a brief book-notice to enter on a discussion of the vexed question as to the Gupta era, and, pending publication by Mr. Fleet of the inscription which, in his opinion, fixes the commencement of the era in or about 318-19 A.D., further discussion would, at present, be premature. It is, however, not inopportune to remark that General Cunningham's observations, both in the Preface and text of the work under review, will require very careful consideration at the hands of those who impugn the accuracy of his conclusions; and that his reply to Dr. Thibaut's criticism on his astronomical calculations, is, at all events, very plausible. I know nothing of astronomy, and cannot venture to say more.

A copper-plate inscription of Samudra Gupta, dated S. 40, is quoted on page 53. This inscription has not been published, and no information is given about it. Presumably it is the inscription

mentioned in one of the Reports as having been formerly extant in Benares, but it would have been more satisfactory if the author had given some information concerning the document, before quoting it as an authority.<sup>1</sup>

Table XVI., which gives the initial days A.D. of each Hijra year, is one of the most useful in the book, and has the merit of being intelligible at a glance. Some of the explanations of other tables would be better if made a little fuller.

I have noticed the following misprints in addition to those enumerated in the list of Errata:—  
Preface, page v. line 16, for 1789,168-9067 read 1789,767-9067

*ibid* „ „ line 20, for 6-7 or 7 days over read leaves 6-7 or 7 days over  
Page 24 line 23 for 627 read 1027  
„ 86 „ 31 „ Table III. „ Table II.  
„ „ „ 35 „ Table II. „ Table I.  
„ 87 „ 8 „ Table IV. „ Table III.  
„ „ „ 10 „ Table II. „ Table I.  
„ 227 „ 8 „ 1043 „ 1013

The book under review contains much matter which invites comment; but I have already occupied my share of space, and must content myself with remarking that it is difficult to resist the conclusion that the dates of the Indo-Scythian kings are expressed in terms of the Seleucidan era.

V. A. SMITH.

25th April 1886.

DIE KÄSMIR-RECENSION DER PANČAŚIKĀ, von Dr. W. SOLF. Kiel: C. F. Hasler, 1886.

It is a well-known fact that many of the most celebrated literary productions of India have come down to us in different recensions, greatly varying from each other in essential points, and frequently leaving an editor in doubt as to which to adopt as the best and most original form of the text. Thus, for instance, the *Rāmāyana* exists in three, and Kālidāsa's *Sakuntalā* in five recensions; and it certainly speaks more for the popularity than for the artistic value of the comparatively small poem now under consideration, that the three principal versions, in which we find it spread over India, coincide only in seven stanzas, and that these, moreover, exhibit a considerable variety of reading.

The *Pañchāsikā* was first published in 1833 by Professor von Bohnen, together with Bhartṛihari's *Aphorisms*, under the title *Carmen quod Chauri nomine fertur eroticum*, from a Dēvanāgarī manuscript of the Indian Museum, No. 33 of

Colebrooke's collection. According to the commentary thereon, the poet, under sentence of death on account of his intrigue with a king's daughter, is represented as picturing to himself, in the presence of death, the charms of his beloved and the joys of bygone days, in fifty stanzas, each beginning with *adyāpi*, "even today," the supposed pathos and tender beauty of which win for him the forgiveness of the incensed father and his consent to the union of the enamoured couple. In general conformity with Bohnen's text, the poem appeared again in Häberlin's *Sanskrit Anthology*, Calcutta, 1847, and in three more editions by native scholars, in all of which, however, Sundara is given as the name of the author. The reading on which these five editions are based, forms what Dr. Solf calls the Middle-Indian or Bengali Recension, and to it belongs also Manuscript No. 146 of the India Office, containing the text with a commentary by one Rāmātarkavāgīśa.

Almost simultaneously with Häberlin's edition, a French scholar, M. Ariel, published in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1848, a new version of the poem, founded on two South-Indian manuscripts, both written in the Grantha character, and differing but slightly from each other. The name of the author is here Chōra, but the hero of the tale is called Paṇḍit Bilhāṇa, and his love-story forms the larger part of the work, of whose 118 stanzas only 46 begin with *adyāpi*. With this version tallies in most essentials a manuscript of the Bodleian Library in Oxford (Aufrecht, *Catalogus*, p. 133b.), which the author of the present pamphlet designates the "South-Indian Recension."

The abovementioned Bilhāṇa, a poet of the second half of the eleventh century A.D., is known as the author of the *Vikramādīśadeva-charita*, which was published in 1875 by Dr. G. Bühler, and in his introduction the learned editor first throws out the suggestion that the *Pañchāsikā* might also be a work of his. Two years later, Dr. Bühler published his *Detailed Report of a Tour in Search of Sanskrit MSS., made in Kāśmīr, Rājputānā and Central India*, and here he was able to substantiate his previous surmise, by obtaining a manuscript of the *Pañchāsikā*, "which settles all doubts about its authorship, and explains the origin of the anecdote connected with it." It is this third Kāśmīr or "North-Indian Recension" which Dr. Solf has now edited, translated into German, and annotated. His little work will be received as an interest-

<sup>1</sup> [This inscription will be published shortly in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III. No. 60,

Plate xxvii. The date that it purports to record, is the year 9, not 40. But it is a spurious grant.—J.F.F.]

ing and valuable contribution to Indian textual criticism, although we doubt whether his new explanation of the origin and purport of the poem will meet with an equally ready acceptance.

THE TAPROBANIAN; A Dravidian Journal of Oriental Studies in and around Ceylon, in Natural History, Archaeology, Philology, History, &c. Edited by HUGH NEVILL, Ceylon Civil Service, F.Z.S., &c. Bombay: The Education Society's Press, London; Trübner & Co. 1885-1886. Vol. I. Parts I. to IV. Super-royal quarto, pp. 128. With Plates to be issued subsequently.

This Journal has been started with the object of collecting information from more specially the Dravidian districts of India and Ceylon. There is a large field of work open to it; and we heartily welcome its appearance, in the hope that it may do for the south of India what the *Indian Antiquary* is doing for the more northern parts. Judging by the fact that nearly all the articles up to date are from the Editor's own pen, the *Taprobanian* seems to have hardly become as yet as well known as it deserves to be; this, however, is a point in which time doubtless will effect a change. It is desirable that in a period like this, when so much sound information is available, such mistaken identifications as that of the ancient Śūrpāraka with the modern Surat (p. 51) should be avoided; as also such untenable suggestions as that the Chalukyas "are named after the Keluksar, who annoyed the Zendic Arians, taking their name from 'Keluk' a wolf" (p. 51); or that the Hānas were the subjects of the monkey-chief Hanuman (p. 111). But, setting aside points like these, the four numbers of the *Taprobanian* that have already appeared, contain a good many interesting and valuable notes and hints on the topics to which it is devoted; and we hope to see the Journal continue and prosper.

KINSHIP AND MARRIAGE IN EARLY ARABIA, by W. ROBERTSON SMITH. Cambridge: University Press.

It would be quite impossible in the space allotted to us to do justice to the arguments adduced in this remarkable book in support of Professor Robertson Smith's theory—if an opinion based on the results of a fair discussion of all the available evidence can be so called—that the male kinship of the Arabs has been generated from a system of kinship through women only by steps common to a similar change in all rude societies, where such has taken place; and all we can do is to direct the attention of our readers to these arguments and to promise all students of the structure of society in the East much food for reflection and much guidance of a safe kind in the study of one its most important and yet most difficult and complicated features.

It should be remembered that the study of the social structure of the early Arabs, which involves, of course, that of the Semitic races generally, is no abstract study, but includes matters, without the proper comprehension of which, many things observable in the habits and manners of modern Orientals—never matters of indifference to Englishmen in the present day—are meaningless freaks of custom, and much of what is in the sacred books and traditions of three most important religions—Christianity, Judaism and Muhammadanism—is a mere tissue of incomprehensible texts. Any work, therefore, which helps to clear up the dense mists in which the subjects of kinship and marriage in the East are still enveloped is not only welcome: it is of practical importance.

Professor Robertson Smith goes steadily through his subject from point to point commencing with the theory of the Genealogists as to the origin of Arabic Tribal Groups and showing with much cogency the errors it contains, the causes that led to them, and the literary forgeries with which they were supported. He then passes on to the discussion of the kindred group and its dependents or allies, and the homogeneity of the kindred group in relation to the law of marriage and descent. The very titles of these divisions of his subject will arrest the attention of the student in India of social systems, which are in no way connected with that of the Arabs by descent or development; e.g., that of the Rājputas. The opening sentences of the two chapters devoted to these points are strangely applicable, too, to much observable in India among purely Hindū Societies. "The two principles underlying the genealogical system of the Arabs are that every tribe is a homogeneous group, i.e., a collection of people of the same blood and that the son is of the blood of the father." "An Arab tribe regarded itself as a group of kindred united by the tie of blood for purposes of offence and defence." The Professor then by a natural transition goes on to discuss the social laws of paternity, polyandry with male kinship,—a very suggestive heading to Anglo-Indians in a book on Arabia;—and then polyandry with kinship through women, which carries our thoughts at once to the state of things still largely in existence in the South of India in a comparatively highly civilized society. And lastly in this connection and in pursuance of his general argument the author examines the difficult subject of female kinship and bars to marriage, on which so much always depends.

The last and most interesting point, which occupies the Professor's attention, is Totemism. He is of opinion that the Arabs once had this

system and his chapter concerning it, though professedly only a commencement of the investigation, is most suggestive throughout and thoroughly worth careful study. It has often struck us that evidence is procurable in India of a general prevalence of a like system now or at some earlier period, and as an instance of the existence of a custom at the present day pointing in this direction we would quote the following. Many of the Musalmâns of Kasûr in the Pañjâb, who are mostly descendants of old Pañhân settlers, belong to the "Snake" Caste or Tribe (sât سائے) and have special ceremonies, performed in honour of snakes, which partake of the nature of ancestor worship. Thus they hold that the snakes of the present day are the descendants of a great king, as they themselves are. When they find a dead snake they clothe and carefully bury it and think themselves free from the results of poisonous snake-bite.<sup>1</sup> Prof. Robertson Smith thinks that local observation would do much towards gathering more and conclusive evidence as to the former prevalence of pure Totemism in Arabia, and we would suggest that the existence of such a custom as that just described is an encouragement towards investigations being proceeded with seriously in India with a like object in view.

HISTORY OF NEPAL, Translated from the Parbatiya by MUNSHI SHEO SHANKAR SINGH and PANDIT SRI GUNANAND; Edited by DANIEL WRIGHT, M.D., Cambridge University Press.

This is a translation by the Mir Munshi of the British Residency at Khatmāndū of a MS. *Vamsāvalī* or Genealogical History of Nepāl aided by Pandit Śrī Gunānand of Pātan, a representative of the family of the professional genealogists of the country. The original MS. is in Parbatiyā, mixed with Sanskrit and Newārī. Dr. Wright, the editor, formerly Residency Surgeon at Khātman-dū, has edited it, so far as an editor with no profession to Oriental scholarship can do so, from personal observations extended over several years of residence in Nepāl. In this work he has received the aid of Professors Cowell, Eggeling and Wright. The work is illustrated with chromolithographs based on native drawings.

Such a work therefore gives the native view of the local history and must be taken for what is worth, but in view of the revived interest in ancient Nepālī History, consequent on the recent discoveries of inscriptions in that country more than once alluded to in the last volume of this Journal, the work is undoubtedly one that students should keep by them.

The appendices are very interesting and useful being a list of the musical instruments used in Nepāl, of the agricultural instruments, of the coinage, weights and measures, and measures of time, a Parbatiyā and Newārī Vocabulary, several Newārī songs in original with rendering, a bardic list of the kings of Nepāl, and a long catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. collected by Dr. Wright and now in the Cambridge Library.

A DICTIONARY OF ISLAM, by T. P. HUGHES, B.D., M.R.A.S., etc. Allen & Co., London.

This great work follows the same lines in cyclopædic form as the author's short and, we must say, wonderfully accurate *Notes on Muhammadanism* published in 1877. To the former work we have often had occasion to refer and have always done so with the certainty of finding correct information on the point looked for. That the volume before us has the same high claim on our confidence there can be no doubt—so abundant are the signs of the care bestowed on it throughout its 750 closely printed pages.

The author has wisely, in a first edition at any rate, limited himself to an exposition of the Sunni variety of the Muḥammadan faith, treating the Shī'as and Wahhābīs as dissenters and noting the differences in their doctrines from those of the Sunnis. Keeping in view the numerical strength of the great sects of Muḥammadanism this is undoubtedly the correct method of dealing with Islām as a whole. Comparatively small as the number of the Wahhābīs is, Mr. Hughes is quite right in paying such special attention to their tenets as his articles prove him to have given them, since, as the Puritans of Islām, they have better preserved the original teachings of that faith than its other followers have done. As a proof—if proof were wanting—of the great care taken to include everything that bears upon or can elucidate the faith of Islām Mr. Hughes has treated Sikhism as one of its sects, because Gurū Nānak really intended his doctrines to be a compromise between the two great faiths of the Pañjāb in his day—Muḥammadanism and Hinduism; and we would recommend the reader to study the article *Sikhism* contributed by Mr. Pincott as one of the best expositions of that ill-understood belief that has as yet been published.

The presence of such a title as *Sikhism* among the articles in this *Dictionary* leads us to notice a pleasant and important feature of the book. Articles of general import are not headed necessarily under the Arabic terms for the subjects discussed but under their English equivalents:—e.g.,

<sup>1</sup> The whole detail of this worship is to be found in Vol. II., *Pañjāb Notes and Queries*, note 554.

we find magic, marriage, paradise, philosophy, sacrifice, Hell, guardianship and so on as article headings, though we find essentially Muhammadan doctrines such as *Qisās* (Retaliation), *Shirk* (Idolatry), *Masjid*, *Khutbah* (Sermon), *Hajj* (Pilgrimage to Makkah) and so on under their appropriate Arabic titles.

As specimens of the thoroughness with which the more important subjects have been discussed we would point to the articles *Qur'an*, 94 columns; *Muhammad*, 63 columns; *Marriage*, 28 columns; and many others of like lengths. A Bibliography of all such subjects is added to each article, that under *Muhammadanism* being specially noteworthy. Cross references, too, abound, and the work has been rendered all the more valuable by an Index to the Arabic technical terms scattered throughout the articles.

The Illustrations are very numerous and an admirable help to the elucidation of the descriptions in the purely descriptive articles. We specially note those under Prayer, Shoes, Muharram, Masjid, Marriage and Writing. This last article which is, by the way, from the pen of Dr. Steingass, is a capital *résumé* of the subject and the illustrations of the various scripts, though somewhat incomplete, are excellent of their kind.

Mr. Hughes is to be congratulated on the success which has attended his efforts to present a trustworthy and unbiassed account of one of the great religions of the world to those who care to study it, and the much-maligned Missionary body in India on this fresh proof that its members—at any rate the leaders amongst them—do thoroughly understand the belief of those whom they have undertaken to convert to the doctrines of Christianity. Quite lately we had the pleasure to note the splendid mastery of his subject exhibited by the Rev. T. D. Bate in his *Claims of Ishmael*,—though this was a book of another class to that under review and the work of a Missionary belonging to another sect.

With the *Dictionary of Islam* on his shelf no writer can be excused from mis-statements regarding the commonplace of Muhammadanism; no Government Official, no Christian Missionary, and no Oriental traveller from ignorance on matters that require his attention.

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RHODES IN ANCIENT TIMES, by Cecil TORR. Cambridge, University Press.

The object of this short treatise is to put together all the information regarding the ancient condition of the Island of Rhodes which has been collected by the research of the last fifty

years. The author has further pressed into his service all the literature of the subject that has come to his knowledge both in England and on the Continent. The result of his labour is a monograph both complete and useful.

The book discourses on the Geography, History, Polity, Religion, Art, Learning and Folklore of the ancient Rhodians so far as modern research has thrown light on these subjects, and it will thus be seen that by extending his observations upon so wide a field the author has given himself an opportunity of presenting a fairly complete picture of this society of days long gone by.

There is always something wonderfully fascinating in reading about the social economy of any of the ancient Greek populations, when well portrayed as in the present instance, and the ways of the people of ancient Rhodes are no exception to the rule. Much as we may admire—and much as some of us do idolatrously worship—the relics of their art and literature in an abstract way, yet it is the genuine humanity, so to speak, of the Greeks, so conspicuous in their doings, which wins our sympathy. For instance, what can be more deliciously human than the following:—It was a habit of the Rhodians to set up statues to their worthies as a “good example” to their successors, much as the modern Chinese Government deifies those whose example it wishes the public at large to respect and follow. However, this praiseworthy custom in time degenerated, as all such are apt to do, and by the time the Romans became the dominant people in those parts the setting up of statues came to be much abused. Every Roman who touched at Rhodes got a statue, till the possession of one there was a valueless honour. But this naturally created a demand for statues beyond the capabilities of the local supply and so “the *Stratēgos* would take off the old inscriptions and put up others till some figures had done duty for Greeks, Romans, Macedonians and Persians! Sometimes the *Stratēgos* was careless and assigned an old man's statue to a young man, or an athlete's to an invalid, or that of a general on horseback marshalling his troops to some man too lazy to leave his litter!” The *Cæsars* were always allowed a *new* statue!

However, the bulk of Mr. Torr's book is occupied with much more serious matters than this, and we would instance his remarks on the guilds which covered the Islands, the system of self-government, the administration of justice, and the methods of trade, as well worth perusal. The notices of the coinage and the chapters on Art and Folklore will interest specialists. On the whole the work is worth study for itself irrespective of the fact that it is so far the only complete

*résumés* of recent research into the subject. Every statement is vouched for, chapter and verse, in footnotes, and there is a useful index.

BURMA, AS IT WAS, AS IT IS, AND AS IT WILL BE, by T. G. SCOTT (Shway Yee) London: Redway.

This little book is the outcome of a lecture delivered before the Society of Arts, and is in reality a rapid popular sketch of the History, Country and People of Burma, written with literary skill and in the lively style that distinguishes its author.

There is, of course, little that is new in it; but the chapters on the Country and the People are written as only he can write who has a close practical acquaintance with both, and come therefore with a force that the mere student of books can never hope to rival. The historical chapter is a rapid—and withal an accurate—survey of the known facts about the history of the Burmese, which belong to the useful sort. They remind us very much of those sections marked 'History' in an Indian Gazetteer or *Settlement Report*, where the ancient history is dismissed in a very few words and we are brought at once to events which will directly elucidate modern facts. The book is, however, readable throughout; much of it contains, as we have above observed, information at first hand, and all its pages bear the stamp of a careful consultation of the best authorities procurable. Can we say anything better of a purely popular work?

THE MAHABHARATA OF KRISHNA-DVAIPAYANA-VYASA; Translated into English Prose. Published by PROTAP CHANDRA ROY; Bharata Press, Calcutta.

The last instalment that has been issued of this extremely useful work is Part XXII., carrying us down to the commencement of Section 295 of the *Vana-Parva*. The translation has now attracted much favourable notice by the Press, both in this country and in Europe; and it is almost impossible to say too much in support of an undertaking which, in addition to making the contents of this interesting Epic available to students unacquainted with Sanskrit, is of the greatest practical use to Sanskrit scholars also, who, unable to find time to search the original text for passages that they require to look up, have now a quickly progressing means of ready reference being provided for them. The undertaking is one that involves a very heavy expenditure on the supporters of it, the Dātavya-Bhārata-Kāvyālaya, or Society for the Presentation of the Bhārata; since, like all its other works, this Translation is distributed almost entirely

*gratis*, and it is therefore a pleasure to note, from the cover of Part XXI., that such munificent pecuniary support has recently been given by His Highness the Nizam, H. H. the Maharāja Gaikwar of Baroda, H. H. the Maharāja Holkar, and Their Highnesses the Maharājas of Faridkote, Jeypore, Dhar, and Rewah. With such examples as these before them, we may confidently hope that the work is in no chance of languishing from want of recognition by the leading Native representatives of the country whose ancient legendary history is thus being made so practically available for the researches of general readers all over the world. And we are glad to take this opportunity of recommending the general work of the Society to the support of patrons of literature in Europe and other countries.

ASIATIC RESEARCHES (Popular Edition), Vol. I. A reprint by Brojendra Lal Das, Calcutta. 1884-85. Royal 8vo. pp. 333.

This reprint represents the first results of a very commendable desire on the part of the publishers to reproduce in a handy, compact, and cheap form the valuable series of volumes known as the *Asiatic Researches*, which comprise many of the writings, belonging to the latter part of the last and the early part of the present century, of Sir William Jones, Sir Charles Wilkins, and other well-known Oriental Scholars, who gave the first start to the study of Indian Archaeology, and carried it on so successfully until the Bengal Asiatic Society was established. The original volumes have long been out of print, and can be obtained only at an almost prohibitive price; and the present enterprise of reprinting them will, therefore, supply a real public want, and has every chance of success, if subsequent volumes are only turned out as carefully and as well as the one under notice. The plates of the present volume do not altogether stand the test of comparison with the originals from which they have been reduced; and succeeding volumes will be capable of some improvement in this respect. But the more important part, of course, is the letter-press; and this appears to be reproduced throughout with scrupulous fidelity and care. On the whole, the publishers are decidedly to be congratulated on the general appearance of their first volume; and we may hope; from this specimen, that the others will be equally up to the mark. It is much to be wished, though, that the publishers would bring the work out in larger, or at least more frequent, parts. At the present rate it will take twenty years to complete, which, for the majority of students of such books, is rather too long a time to have to wait.

DISCURSIVE CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARDS THE COMPARATIVE STUDY OF  
ASIATIC SYMBOLISM.

BY H. G. M. MURRAY-AYNSLEY.

## No. VI.

*Sacred Trees.*

IN *Revelations* xxii. 2, is mentioned "the tree of life which bore twelve manner of fruits, and yielded her fruit every month, and the leaves of the tree were for the healing of the nations."<sup>1</sup> Now it is most interesting to find the symbol of the tree with its twelve leaves, or occasionally the same number of flowers or fruits,<sup>2</sup> on Persian carpets to this day. I have seen it also on Yarkand carpets, on which latter the tree is represented in a more conventional form. To quote Sir George Birdwood's *Industrial Arts of India*:—"In Yarkand carpets the tree is seen filling the whole centre of the carpet, stark and stiff as if cut out in metal;"<sup>3</sup> in Persian art, and in Indian art derived from the Persian, it becomes a beautiful flowering plant, or a simple sprig of flowers; in purely Hindu art it remains in its pure architectural form, as seen in temple lamps, and the models in brass and copper of the sacred fig, as the Tree of Life."

In India two figs—the banian (*figus Indica*) and the *pīpal* (*figus religiosa*) are held to be especially holy. The *pīpal*, indeed, is so sacred that oaths are taken under the shade of it and merchants will sometimes object to have one near their stalls or shops, as they say that in such case they could not ask more than a proper price for their goods! It was beneath a tree of this species that Buddha attained *nirvāṇa*;<sup>4</sup> and a descendant of the sacred tree (quite a young one), under which it is believed to have taken place, is still worshipped at Bôdh-Gayâ. According to Buddhist tradition, it was once desired to send a branch of the original tree to Ceylon, but no knife could be permitted to touch it. In the dilemma thus caused the tree came to the rescue, for a branch dropped off of itself into the golden vessel which had been prepared for it.

The following is a curious account of a sacred fig in the East. I was fortunate enough, when

in Naples in 1883, to pick up at a street book-stall a copy of the works of Pietro della Valle, a Sicilian who visited India in 1623.<sup>5</sup> In one place he speaks of a tree outside the town of Cambay, of the same kind as those which he saw on the coast of Persia, near Hormuzd where it was called *lâl*. He adds, that it is unknown in Europe and that the Hindûs style it *bar* (i.e. banian). The tree near Cambay was held in great veneration. "On account of its great size and antiquity the people visit it frequently, and honour it with the superstitious ceremonies belonging to their religion. It is dedicated to one of their goddesses whom they call *Pârbatî*, and say was the wife of *Mahâdêô*, one of the greatest of their gods. At the trunk of this tree, not far from the ground, is a rudely sculptured circle which does not in the least resemble the human countenance, but according to their ideas is the face of their idol. They paint this circle of a bright red colour. The Romans did the same, for Pliny relates that they coloured the face of Jove with vermillion. Moreover, this sacred tree has always round it a circle of certain heart-shaped leaves, those belong to a plant which is here called *pân*, but in other parts of India *betel*."

Another interesting instance of a peculiarly sacred fig is to be found in the Fort at Allahâbâd, where there is a Hindu temple, which, owing to an accumulation of the soil, is some 20 feet below the present level of the ground, and can only be approached by descending a flight of steps. This temple is a great resort of pilgrims, and inside it the priests show the stump of a tree of the fig species, which they say miraculously throws out leaves at a certain season of the year. When I saw it the stump was perfectly bare of leaves, and had three or four branches, each about four inches in diameter and about three feet in length; they were clean cut at their upper extremities,

<sup>1</sup> On a fragment of a terra-cotta vase in the Museum of Antiquities at Copenhagen, supposed to belong to the Later Bronze Age, a tree is figured which the late Kamer Herr Worsæe calls the Tree of Life. It is present in connection with Sun-symbols; and a similar Tree-symbol has been found in Ireland at New Grange, Drogheda.

<sup>2</sup> The number seems to be invariable.

<sup>3</sup> One of the notions of the primitive Aryan cosmogony was that of a prodigious tree, which overshadowed the whole world.

<sup>4</sup> A state of complete holiness and rest according to some authorities—of annihilation or absorption into the Deity according to others.

<sup>5</sup> *Viaggi di Pietro della Valle Il Pellegrino*, In Venetia: MDCLXXXI., Presso Gian Battista Tramontino.

and neither the wood nor the bark looked like that of a dead tree. Every year, at the annual fair which takes place at Allahabad, it is said that this tree certainly has leaves, but the apparent miracle is accounted for by the generally accepted belief (by Europeans) that the sergeant of the guard (it is a British fort) receives a bribe from the Brāhmins to open the gates the night previous to the fair, and permit them to introduce a new tree. A similar idea also existed formerly in Scandinavia. Near old Upsala in Sweden, tradition says, there was a sacred tree which was always green, and the same thing is related of another tree in the Island of Gothland.

In Scandinavia, too, the trees most revered were the birch, which from its heart-shaped leaves, its pendulous branches, and its yellowish-white bark more nearly resembles the *pīpal* than any other European tree, the beech, the common ash, and the rowan or mountain ash. When speaking of the tree-worship there M. Holmboë says :—"In Norway one still meets with trees which are reputed sacred. A magnificent birch tree on a farm in the parish of Sognedal, in the diocese of Bergen deserves mention. The inhabitants of this place relate that no sharp instrument has ever touched this tree, and that anciently it was the custom once a year, at Christmas, to water it with fresh beer." We have here a combination of Buddhist ideas and the Hindu custom of offering libations.

In the Himālayas, where the *pīpal* does not flourish, the *deodār*, which is a pine, is the sacred tree, as its name, "the tree of the gods," implies. Groves of it are planted near the principal temples, both in the Satlaj and Kullu valleys. In Mexico and Central America cypresses and palms used in former days to grow near the temples, generally in groups of three. They were tended with great care, and often received offerings of incense and other gifts, but they do not seem to have been

dedicated to any particular god, as amongst the Romans, where Pluto had the cypress, and Victory the palm. Mention has been made by some authors on America of a cypress at Santa Maria di Tule which was one of the most sacred of South American trees, and whose trunk measured ninety feet in circumference at a height of six feet from the ground.<sup>9</sup>

In Europe 'sacred trees' have been put to a more practical use, and instances innumerable could be given in which in ancient times European courts of justice and other public assemblies were illegal, unless held in the open air, beneath the shade of some tree, most frequently the oak. The same idea prevails in Africa amongst the people of the Congo, where the village chief and the members of his family form the legislative and judicial council, which meets under a tree. It is stated that the *ficus religiosa* is the tree selected for this purpose.

Many of the English "Gospel Oaks,"<sup>10</sup> too, were planted to mark the parish boundaries, and it was beneath their shade that the clergyman read the Gospel on Ascension Day<sup>10</sup> (or Holy Thursday), when he with the parish officials and others assisted at the beating of the bounds. In fact, nearly all the celebrated oak-trees in England were boundary trees, e.g. the Shire-oak in Sherwood Forest. The beating of the bounds is practised in some of the Metropolitan parishes to this day. The procession consists of various charity and parish schools dressed in quaint uniforms, and provided with long willow canes. They are headed by the parish clerk, beadle, and other functionaries. In some cases the procession passes through houses and workshops, and, on the different spots being pointed out to them, which divide their respective parishes, the lads strike the ground vigorously with their canes. They are then generally regaled with buns and milk, given a small coin, and granted a half holiday.

<sup>9</sup> *Buddhisme en Norvège.*

<sup>10</sup> The oak was the sacred tree of Great Britain, its name in Gaelic is *de-darach*, a very close approximation, in form at any rate, to the name given to the sacred tree of the Himālayas.

<sup>11</sup> Bancroft, *Races of the Pacific States of South America.*

<sup>12</sup> The oak was sacred to Thor, because of the red colour of its fresh-out bark. In the Southern Peninsula of India it is worth noting that Parasurāma is fabled to have acquired Travancore by throwing his battle axe from one point to another; and in certain parts of the north of Europe the hammer (the emblem of Thor) was used to take possession of unoccupied or newly purchased

land, as the owner drove over it in a cart. In Scandinavia this was done by lighting a fire upon the ground.

<sup>13</sup> Ascension-Day is said to be always observed as a day of rest by the quarry-men who are employed on Lord Penrhyn's slate quarries in Carnarvonshire; not, however, from any religious regard for the day, but on account of a superstition which has long been current in that district, that working on that day is invariably attended with some fatality. A few years ago with some difficulty the managers persuaded the men to work on that day; but each year there was a serious accident, and now very few of them will venture even to go in sight of the quarries on Ascension Day.



Mention has been made above of the custom of making offerings to trees. Offerings are, of course, all the world over, made to all objects of worship, and among the Buddhists of Ladāk or Western Tibet, and the Lāhau valley, they are of a propitiatory nature. The people of these parts are in the habit of depositing stones engraved with sacred inscriptions on *manis* or walls of loose stones, before they undertake a journey, and also, I believe, when they register a vow. Similarly the *Hindus* at Almadābād in Gujarāt hang up tiny horses made of white calico and stuffed with bran (which, however, more nearly resemble giraffes than horses) on the railings surrounding the tomb of a former *Muhammadan* ruler of that province before they commence any important work. They imagine that they thus insure its success. Tavernier, who visited India in the time of Akbar, also mentions that in his time it was the custom for pilgrims going to a temple for the cure of any disease to bring with them figures or models of the limbs affected, made either of gold, silver, or copper, according to rank or ability, as offerings to the god. At Fattelpur-Sikrī, near Āgrā, again, propitiatory offerings are made at the shrine of Salim Chishtī, the friend of the Emperor Akbar. Certain *Hindus* are in the habit of jumping off a high wall into a tank below, a distance of about 60 feet, in order to amuse (or rather distress) European visitors.<sup>11</sup> These men are said always to give a third or a fourth part of whatever they receive for performing this feat to the shrine of the saint. His tomb is in the courtyard, and they believe that were they to omit their offerings, they would perish at their next attempt to make this jump.

Offerings to shrines soon become extended to the trees in the neighbourhood, and such votive offerings, as an expression of thankfulness for blessings received, may be seen in every Roman Catholic country. At Lourdes in the Pyrenees they number hundreds of thousands of various kinds, in shrines by the wayside, and as pictures hung up in trees. At Nāgkhaṇḍā (the Shoulder of the Snake) about 40 miles from Simla, several small trees and shrubs on the highest point of a low mountain pass are decorated with votive rags. The

streamers thus formed are of various colours, and are, it is believed, thank-offerings placed there by native travellers on attaining the summit of the hill, which is at times encumbered with snow. When approaching Nāgkhaṇḍā from Simla, the grassy knoll on which these bushes grow much resembles a coiled snake, whence no doubt the name of the locality. In his *Folklore of the Northern Counties of England*, Mr. Henderson cites a similar custom in use at St. Helen's Well, near Thorp Arch in Yorkshire, where "the offering was a scrap of cloth fastened to an adjoining thorn, which presented a strange appearance under its bundle of rags." I have been told, too, that in certain parts of the South of Ireland the people are in the habit of hanging up shreds of cloth on the bushes or trees, but whether these are intended as propitiatory or as thank-offerings I have been unable to learn. Sir W. Ouseley, in one of his works on the East, speaks of a monolith about 10 feet high, at a place called Tang-i-Karim in Persia, which is surrounded by a dwarf wall to denote its sacredness. The top of the stone is hollowed out, he thinks for fire, and it is locally known as the stone of the fire-temple. On a tree near it are remnants of garments left there as votive offerings by superstitious persons.<sup>12</sup>

Holed stones and trees form a curious subject for speculation and the key to the secret seems to have been hit upon by Maurice in his *Indian Antiquities*, where he says, "The Indians are in the habit of purifying themselves by passing through a natural or artificial cavern, where the spiritual pilgrims enter at the South Gate, and make their exit at the Northern one, as was anciently the custom in the Mithraic mysteries." In pursuance of this notion in India certain stones which have natural holes in them, are regarded as sacred. Those persons or children who pass through such holes are held to receive thereby a "New Birth of the Soul." Under the same idea, the rulers of Travancore, who are Nairs by caste, are made into Brāhman when they ascend the throne, by passing through a golden cow or lotus flower, which then becomes the property of the Brāhman priests.

Two important instances of such holed

<sup>11</sup> [A similar custom obtains near the tomb of Nizām-ud-dīn Auliā near Dehli.—Ed.]

<sup>12</sup> [For an account of these 'rag-bushes,' see ante, Vol. IX. p. 150ff.—Ed.]

stones are described in the first part of a work which has very recently appeared<sup>13</sup> embracing the monuments of Cornwall only. One of these, called the Tolven, situated near St. Buryan, has been used superstitiously within living memory for curing infirm children of their diseases by passing them through it; the other near Madron is called the Men-an-tol. Both are figured in Plate XII. (see p. 123 above) by the kind permission of Mr. Lukis. The Tolven, a slab of large dimensions, has a hole  $16\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter bored through its centre, which was made by picking away the opposite sides equally. This stone has been shifted from its original site by the tenant of the house behind which it stands, in order to make room for a pathway to his back door. The Men-an-tol is on the moors, a short distance to the right of Lanyon Farm House, in the direction of Kara Galva. The hole in this latter stone is not a perfect circle, being 21 inches in diameter in one direction, and 18 in the other. It stands exactly midway between two high stones which are in the same line with it in the direction N. E. and S. W. The hole has been made in the same manner as that in the Tolven, with this difference:—the counter-sinking is not equal. "This, it is obvious, was intentional—the deeper sinking is on the eastern side of the stone." One of the most interesting features of these monuments is the names by which they are known. *Men* or *maen* is the word for stone both in Brittany and in Wales to this day, and in the word *Tolven* we find both the Welsh and the Norwegian word for a hole.<sup>14</sup>

Many curious superstitions still exist on the island of Tiru in Scotland, the property of the Duke of Argyll, and on the west side of it is a rock with a hole in it, through which children are passed when suffering from whooping-cough and other complaints. Ripon Minster has beneath its central tower a crypt which goes by the name of St. Wilfred's Needle, entered from the nave by a narrow passage 45

feet in length. It consists of a vaulted cell  $9\frac{1}{2}$  feet high, 7 feet 9 inches wide, and 11 feet long. An opening in the north side of the cell 13 inches by 18 is called "The Needle." The original use for which this crypt and the singular opening were intended cannot now be ascertained with certainty, but there is a popular tradition that the Needle was in former times used 'a test.' "They pricked their credits who could not thread the Needle," is the quaint remark of old Fuller in reference to the supposed use of the opening.<sup>15</sup> The idea of the necessity for a spiritual or bodily new birth controls probably the modern customs as to certain pillars in the courtyard of the Mosque of 'Umar at Cairo, two of which are much closer together than any of the rest. The natives say of these that only an honest or a good man (one new born?) can pass between them.

In Europe the purposely distorted branch of a tree, as well as the naturally or artificially perforated stone, seems to have been used<sup>16</sup> for the purpose of curing diseases and thereby producing as it were a "New Birth of the Body."

In 1883, when staying at the country-house of some Danish friends, whose estate is situated about 10 or 12 miles from Roeskilde, I one day, during a drive, passed through some large woods, and at one point an old beech tree was pointed out of which one branch, at a height of about a foot from the ground, formed a perfect bow, and was higher up again united to the trunk. This tree had most probably been operated upon when young, by a portion of the trunk being split, and held open by wedges. My hosts informed me, that to their certain knowledge up to within eight years previously, parents who had sick children, were in the habit of coming there from considerable distances in order to pass their little ones through this hole, believing that thereby their maladies would be cured. The ceremony was not complete, however, till they had torn a strip of cloth from the child's dress and tied

<sup>13</sup> *Prehistoric Stone Monuments of the British Isles*, by Rev. W. C. Lukis, published for the Society of Antiquaries, London, 1885.

<sup>14</sup> There is a mountain in Norway called Tolhattan which has an enormous natural hole in it, about 200 to 300 feet above the sea level. When viewed from a ship, as I saw it, the sky is seen through a vast square opening far above the spectator. A Norwegian gentleman told me that he had once walked through this hole, and it took him a quarter of an hour, which will give one some

idea of its length. Possibly it was clambering rather than walking, for my informant remarked that the hole is gradually increasing in size owing to stones and rocks falling from its upper part.

<sup>15</sup> Other explanations regarding this vault, make it a confessional, or a place of penance, or a sepulchre for the host on Good Friday.

<sup>16</sup> It is said they are so still in some parts of England and in Scandinavia.

it to this branch of the tree, in the belief that when this decayed, or was borne away by the wind, the little sufferer would be healed, showing thereby one use of the rag-bush. My friends added that occasionally many such streamers might have been seen hanging on this tree at one time. Gilbert White of Selborne says that in his time there stood at that place "a row of pollard ashes which, by the long seams and cicatrices down their sides manifestly show that in former times they had been cleft asunder. These trees when young were severed and held open by wedges, whilst sick children stripped naked were passed through the apertures under the persuasion that by such a process the poor babies would be cured. As soon as the operation was over, the tree in the suffering part was plastered over with loam

and carefully swathed up. If the part coalesced and soldered together, as usually fell out when the feat was performed with any adroitness at all, the infant was cured; but where it still continued to gape it was supposed that the method used would prove ineffectual." "We have," he goes on to say, "several persons now living in the village, who, in their childhood, were believed to have been healed by this superstitious ceremony, derived perhaps, from our Saxon ancestors, who practised it before their conversion to Christianity." It is said that a similar custom is still in vogue as regards the ash tree in some of the Southern counties of England, and that there also, children suffering from whooping-cough are made to pass through the loop formed by a bramble which has taken root at both ends."

## FOLKLORE IN WESTERN INDIA.

BY PUTLIBAI D. H. WADIA.

### No. V.—*The Unfortunate Merchant.*

Once upon a time there lived in a certain country a merchant, who was at one time very prosperous, but having suffered great losses in trade, he came to be in such poor circumstances that starvation stared him in the face. As the king of the country knew him well, his wife advised him to go to court, feeling sure that the king would do something for him.

The merchant, however, felt reluctant to go to the king as a suitor, but when, after suffering great privations for a long time, he saw that there was nothing left for his family but starvation, he made up his mind to follow his wife's advice, and one morning presented himself at the court, which he found crowded with many persons, who had come there on the same errand as himself. This sight rather unnerved him, and he devoutly hoped the king would not recognize him. When his turn came, however, to be ushered into the royal presence, the king recognized him at once, and asked what he could do for him. The merchant with great hesitation related his case, and the king, being a very thoughtful man, feared that he would hurt the dignity of one so respectable as the merchant, if he gave him

pecuniary assistance before so many people. So he requested him to wait till all had left the court, and then going into his private apartments he ordered a water-melon to be brought to him; in which he made a hole, and, pouring out its contents, refilled it with gold coins. Then summoning the merchant before him, he gave him the melon and said, "Take this to your family, it is a refreshing fruit, and you will all enjoy it this hot day."

The merchant thanked the king, and returned homewards very much grieved at receiving only a water-melon, when he expected something more substantial. As he was walking along on his way home, he met two travellers, who were very thirsty and looked wistfully at the melon he was carrying, and being of a very generous disposition and thinking that they needed the melon more than he did, he gave it to them and walked quickly home empty-handed.

After passing many more months of privation and misery, he was persuaded by his wife to go to the king a second time, in the hope of better luck. The king was, however, much surprised at the merchant's paying him a second visit so soon after the first, but when he

<sup>17</sup> Since writing the above a lady friend has told me that when she lived in Wiltshire she well remembers this being practised.

heard that he was as poor as before, he thought he had invested the money he had given him in trade and had lost it. He, therefore, filled a water-melon once more with gold coins, and presented it to him.

The merchant was again greatly disappointed at being sent away with such a trifle, but he nevertheless made his obeisance to the king and returned homewards. This time, however, he resolved not to part with the fruit, knowing that it would be welcome to his starving children. He had not proceeded very far, however, when he met a beggar who asked alms of him, saying that he was very hungry. The merchant could not resist this appeal, and, having no money, gave the melon to the beggar.

When he reached home, his wife was sorely vexed at his bad luck, and wondered very much why the king, who was reputed to be very charitable, should treat her husband so shabbily, as to send him away with a melon every time he went into his presence. Being, however, of a persevering nature, she once more persuaded him to go to court and ask the king for help. He accordingly went there and stood before the king as before. This time, however, before giving him anything the king asked him to explain what use he had made

of the two water-melons he had given him. The merchant related to his sovereign how he had given the first to two travellers, who were very thirsty, and the second to a hungry beggar, who asked him for alms.

The king laughed at the merchant for what he considered his folly, and told him what the two melons were filled with. His Majesty then filled another water-melon with precious jewels in the merchant's presence, and gave it to him, admonishing him to be very careful of it.

The merchant went away rejoicing, full of hopes that the contents of the fruit would enable him to start in life anew. Now it happened that as his house was situated on the other side of the river which passed through the town, he had to cross it, and in doing so, his foot slipped, and the fruit fell into the water and was carried away by the flood. The poor merchant wept over this misfortune, and returned home cursing his evil star.

He was now fully persuaded that it was the will of Īśwar that he should remain poor, and thinking it useless, therefore, to struggle against destiny he resolved never to ask anybody for help again, but to live as best he could till it should please Īśwar that he should see better days.

### SANSKRIT AND OLD-KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

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

(Continued from p. 201.)

#### NO. 163.—MANDASOR INSCRIPTION OF YASODHARMA AND VISHNUVARDHANA.

THE MALAVA YEAR 589.

This inscription, which has not been previously brought to notice, is from a stone-tablet which, when shewn to me in 1885, was in the possession of Sir Michael Filose, K.C.S.I., at Ujjain, but which had come originally from an old well, somewhere in the lands of Dasôr or Mandasôr,<sup>1</sup> the chief town of the Mandasôr District of Scindia's Dominions in the Western Mâlwa Division of Central India, where it was found, in the course of repairs, built up with the inscribed surface inside. I could obtain no accurate information on the

point; but possibly this is the large and ancient well, just inside the eastern entrance of the Fort, which I have mentioned at page 195 above.

The stone is a smooth and beautifully engraved tablet, apparently of slate-stone, measuring about 1' 11" broad by 1' 6½" high and 2½" thick. There are no sculptures on it connected with the inscription. But, on the back, which is divided into two compartments by what seems to be either a spear with a curved handle, or a shepherd's crook, there are

<sup>1</sup> See p. 194 above, and note L.

engraved in outline, very roughly,—at the upper corners, the sun on the proper right, and the moon on the proper left; and, lower down, on each side, a man on horseback, facing towards the central dividing sculpture; the horseman on the proper right side carries either a *chauri* or a *śaṅkha*-shell in his left hand; the other horseman carries something in his right hand, but I could not distinguish the object. These sculptures were engraved, of course, when the tablet was fixed in the position in which it was discovered, with the inscribed surface inwards; and it is owing to this position that the inscription has remained in so perfect a state of preservation. The writing covers the entire surface of the stone, with a margin of from 1" to 1½"; and is in a state of excellent preservation almost throughout, though there are just a few letters from which it was impossible to clear out the hard incrustation of lime with which the writing was blocked up from beginning to end, sufficiently for them to come out quite perfectly in the ink-impression and so in the lithograph. At the ends of lines 1, 2, and 3, a few letters have been lost by the edges of the stone being chipped here; and at some other places a few letters have been damaged in the same way. But the only place where the missing letters cannot be supplied, is at the commencement of line 16.—The average size of the letters is ¼". Differing from the Māṇḍasār inscription of Kumāragupta and Bandhuvarman, No. 162 above, page 194 ff., the characters here belong to the northern class of alphabets. They include the very rare initial *au*, in *aulikara*, line 5; and the rather rare *ḍh*, in *udūḍham* and *gāḍha*, line 7; *rūḍha*, line 11; and *ḍḍhām*, line 18; also the separate sign for *ḍ*, as distinguished from *d*, in *ḍimbam*, line 17.—The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the opening word *siddham*, and the two words at the end recording the name of the engraver, the entire inscription is in verse.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the *anusvāra*, in *vaṇṣa*, lines 6 and 9; *aṇṣu*, line 9; *aṇṣam*, line 11; and *abhraṇṣi*, line 12; (2) the use of the dental nasal in *bhūyāṇsi*, line 2, and *yāṣāṇsi*, line 4, though we have the more usual *anusvāra*

in *maṇḍāṇsi*, line 22; (3) the doubling of *t* in conjunction with a following *r*, e.g. *śattru*, line 4; *kalattrāt*, line 11; and *pāriyāttrasya*, line 16; and (4), the doubling of *dh* in conjunction with a following *y* and *v*, in *addhyāṣita*, line 16-17, and *addhvani*, line 18, though not in other places.

As I shall shew in a following paper, this inscription is of extreme importance, in supplying, by its date, the key to the whole history of the period. It refers itself to the time of a tribal ruler\* named Yaśōdharman, and of a king\* named Viṣṇuvardhana, who, though he had the titles of *Rājādhirāja* and *Paramāvara*, would appear to have acknowledged a certain amount of supremacy on the part of Yaśōdharman. Viṣṇuvardhana's family is mentioned as the lineage that had the *aulikara*-crest; but I have not been able to obtain any explanation of the word *aulikara*. The inscription is dated, in words, when the year five hundred and eighty-nine had expired from the tribal constitution of the Mālavas, and, therefore, when the year five hundred and ninety (A.D. 533-34) was current; but no further details of the date are given. The object of it is to record the construction of a large well by a person named Dakṣha, the younger brother of Dharmadōsha who was a minister of Viṣṇuvardhana, in memory of their uncle Abhayadatta, who had formerly held the same office.

The genealogy of this family of ministers is given; and it includes a somewhat noticeable name in that of Bhānuguptā, the wife of Dakṣha's grandfather, Ravikīrtti. Her date would be just about one generation before that of the king Bhānugupta for whom we have the date\* of Gupta-Saṃvat 191 (A.D. 510-11); and the coincidence of name and time is such, that it is almost impossible not to imagine some family connection between him and her. Bhānugupta, of course, must have been a Kshatriya; and Bhānuguptā's husband, Ravikīrtti, was evidently a Brāhmaṇ. But the ancient Hindu law authorised the marrying of Kshatriya wives by Brāhmaṇs. And we have an epigraphical instance of this practice in the Ghaṭōtkacha cave inscription of Hastibhōja, a minister of the Vākātaka *Mahārāja*.

\* *janādīra*; lit. 'a lord of a people or tribe.'  
\* *marādhipati*; lit. 'a chief ruler of men.'

\* *Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. X. p. 39f.*

Dēvasēna; it tells us that Hastibhōja's ancestor, the Brāhmaṇ Sōma, "in accordance with the precepts of revelation and of tradition" married a Kshatriya wife, through whom Hastibhōja

was descended, in addition to some other wives of the Brāhmaṇ caste, whose sons, and their descendants, applied themselves to the study of the *Vēdas*.<sup>5</sup>

TEXT.<sup>6</sup>

- 1 Siddham [1\*] Sa' jayati jagatām patih Pinākī smita-rava-gitishu yasya danta-kāntih | dyutir=iva taditām nisi sphuranti tirayati cha sphutayaty=adaś=cha viśvam || Svayambhū<sup>7</sup>=bhūtānām sthiti-laya-[sann]-
- 2 tpatti-vidhishu prayuktō yēn=ājūām vahati bhuvanānām vidhyatē | pirritvaia ch=ānitō jagati garimānam gamayati sa śanubha=bhūyānsi pratidīśatu bhadrāṇi bhava[tām] || Phaṇa<sup>8</sup>=magi-gura-bhār-[ākk]r[ā]-
- 3 nti-dūr-āvanamram sthagayati rucham=indōr=mmaṇḍalam yasya mūrdhnām [1\*] sa śirasi vinibadhnan=randhriṇim=asthi-malanā srijatu bhava-srijō vah klēśa-phaṇgam bhujāṅgaḥ || Shashṭyā<sup>9</sup> sabasraih Sagar-ātmajānām khātā[h]
- 4 kha-tulyām rucham=ādadhānūh | asy=ōdapan-ādhipatēs=chirāya yaśānsi pāyāt=payasīm vidhātā || Atha<sup>10</sup> jayati janēndrah śrī-Yasōdharmanā-nāmā pramada-vanam=iv=āntaḥ śatru-sainyaṁ vigāhya vṛaṇa-
- 5 kisalaya-bhaṅgair=yyō=ṅga-bhūshām vidhattē taruṇa-taru-latā-vad=vira-kīrtir=vvināmya || Ājan<sup>11</sup> jiti vijayatē jagatīm=punās=cha śrī-Vishṇuvarddhana-narādhipatih sa ēva | prakhyāta aulikara-lāṅghana ātma-
- 6 vaṇśō yēn=ōdit-ōdita-padam gamitō garīyah || Prāchō nripān=su-brīhataś=cha bahū=udichah sāmū yudhā cha vaśa-gān=pravindhāya yena [1\*] nām=āparam jagati kāntam=adō durāpam rājāhīrāja-paramō-
- 7 śvara ity=udūḍham || Suigḍha<sup>12</sup>-śyām-āmbud-ābhaḥ sthagita-dīnakṛitō yajvanām=ājya-dhūmair=ambhō-mēghyam Maghōn=āvadhishu vidadhatā gādha-sampanna-sasyāḥ | samharshād=vāninānām kara-rabhasa-nyit-ō-
- 8 dyāna-chūt-āukur-āgrā rājanvantō ramantē bhūja-vijita-bhuvā bhūrayō. yēna dēśāḥ || Yasy<sup>13</sup>=ōtkētubhir=unmada-dvipa-kara=vyāviddha-lōdhra-drumair=uddhū-tēna van-ādhvani-dhvani-nadad-Vindhyādri-randhvir=bbalah bālē-
- 9 ya-chchhavi-dhūmarēṇa rajasā maud-āśu saṁlakshyatē paryāvṛitta-śikhaṇḍi-chandraka iva dhyāmam ravēr=mmaṇḍalam || Tasya<sup>14</sup> prabhōr=vvaśa-kṛitām nripāṇām pād-āśrayād=viśruta-puṇya-kīrtih | bhṛityah sva-naibhṛitya-jit-ā-
- 10 ri-shaṭka āśid=vasiyān=kila Shashṭhidattah || Himavata<sup>15</sup> iva Gāngas=taṅga-namrah pravāhah śasabhrīta iva Rēvā-vāṇi-rāsiḥ prathiyān [1\*] param=abhogamānyah śuddhimān=anvavāyō yata udita-gari-
- 11 mnas=tūyatē Naigamānām || Tasy<sup>16</sup>=ānukūlah kulajāt=kalatṛāt=sutah prasūtō yaśa-sām prasūtiḥ | Harēr=iv=āśam vaśam var-ārham Varāhadāśam yam=udāharanti || Sukṛiti<sup>17</sup>=vishayi-taṅgam rūḍha-mūlam
- 12 dharāyām sthitim=apagata-bhaṅgam sthēyasīm=ādadhānam [1\*] guru-śikharam=iv=ādrēs=tat=kulam sv-ātma-bhūtyā ravir=iva Ravikīrtih su-prakāśam vyadhat-ta || Bibhratā<sup>18</sup> śubhram=a-bhiraśi snārtam vartm=āchitam satām [1\*] na visambvā(va)-
- 13 ditā yēna Kalāv=api kulinatā || Dhota-dhī-didhiti-dhvāntān=havirbhūja iv=ādhyarān [1\*] Bhānuguptā tataḥ sādhyi tanayāms=trīn=ajjanat || Bhagavaddōsha ity=āsīt=prathamah kāryya-vartmasu | āla-

<sup>5</sup> Archaeol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. IV. p. 140 and note.  
<sup>6</sup> From the original stone.

<sup>7</sup> Metre, Pushpitāgrā.

<sup>8</sup> Metre, Nīkharini.

<sup>9</sup> Metre, Mālini.

<sup>10</sup> Metre, Upajāti of Indravajrā and Upēndravajrā.

<sup>11</sup> Metre, Mālini.

<sup>12</sup> Metre, Vasantatilaka; and in the next verse.

<sup>13</sup> Metre, Sagarharā.

<sup>14</sup> Metre, Indravajrā.

<sup>15</sup> Metre, Upajāti of Indravajrā and Upēndravajrā.

<sup>16</sup> Metre, Mālini.

<sup>17</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anushtubh); and in the next two verses.

<sup>18</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīṭita.

<sup>19</sup> Metre, Mālini.







- 14 mbanam bāndhavānām=Andhakānām=iv=Āddhavalḥ || Bahu<sup>20</sup>-naya-vidhi-Vēdhā ga-  
hvarē=py=artha-mārggē Vidura iva vidūram prēkshayā prēkshamāṇaḥ | va-  
chana-rachana-bāndhē saṃskṛita-prākṛitē yaḥ kavibhir=udi-
- 15 ta-rāgam giyatē gīr-abhijñāḥ || Prapīdhi-drig-anugantrā yasya bauddhēna ch=  
ākshpā na nīsi tanu daviyō v=āsty=a-dṛiṣṭam dharitṛyām [1\*] padam=  
udayi dadhānō=nantaram tasya ch=ābhūt=sa bhayam=Abhayadattō nāma
- 16 chi[nva?]=u=prajñānām || Vindhyasy<sup>21</sup>=āvandhya-karmmā śikhara-tata-patat-pāṇḍu-Rēv-  
āmbu-rāsēr=ggōlāṅgūlailḥ sa-hēlam pluti-namita-tarōḥ Pāriyātrasya ch=ādrēḥ |  
ā-sindhōr=antarām nija-śuchi-sachiv-āddhyā-
- 17 sit-ānēka-dēśām rājasthāniya-vṛit[t\*]yā suragurur=iva yō varṇanām bhūtayē=pāt ||  
Vihita<sup>22</sup>-sakala-varṇ-āsaṅkaram śānta-dimbam Kṛita iva kṛitam=ētaḍ=yēna  
rājyam nirādhī | sa dhumam=ayam=idānīm
- 18 Dōshakumbhasya sūnur=guru vahati tad-ādhām dharmmatō Dharmmadōshah ||  
Sva-sukham=an-ativāchchha(ñchha)n=durggamē=ddhvany=a-saṅgām dhuram=ati-  
guru-bhārām yō dadhad=bhartur=arthō | vahati nṛpati-vēsham kēvalam  
lakshma-māttam
- 19 valinam=iva vilambam kambalam bāhulēyaḥ || Upabita-hita-rakshā-maṇḍanō jāti-  
ratnair=bhūja iva prithul-āmsas=tasya Dakshah kauṣyān [1\*] mahad=idam=  
udapānam khātayām=āsa bibhra-
- 20 ch=chhṛuti-hṛidaya-nitānt-ānandi nirddōsha-nāma || Sukh<sup>23</sup>-āśrēya-chchhāyam parinati-  
hita-svādu-phala-dam gajēndrēṇ=ārugam drumam=iva Kṛitāntēna balinā |  
pitṛivyaṃ prōddīśya priyam=Abhayadattam pri-
- 21 thu-dhiyā prathiyas=tēn=ēdam kuśalam=iha karmm=ōparachitam || Pañchasa<sup>24</sup>  
satēshu śaradām yātēshv=ēkām=na navati-sahitēshu | Mālava-gaṇa-sthiti-vaśāt=  
kāla-jñānāya likhitēshu || Ya-
- 22 smin<sup>25</sup>=kāla kala-mṛidu-girām kōkilānām pralāpā bhindant=iva Smara-sara-  
nibhāḥ prōshitanām manāmsi | bhṛūg-ālinām dhvanir=anu-vanam bhāra-  
mandras=cha yasmin=ādhūta-jyam dhanur=iva nadach=chhṛāyatē pushpa-
- 23 kētōḥ || Priyatama<sup>26</sup>-kupitānām rāmaya=baddha-rāgam kisalayam=iva mugdham  
mānasam mānininām [1\*] upanayati nabhasvān=mrāna-bhaṅgāya yasmin=  
kusuma-samaya-māsē tatra nirmnāpitō=yam ||
- 24 Yāvat<sup>27</sup>=tuṅgair=udanvān=kirāṇa-samudayaṃ saṅga-kāntam taraṅgair=āliṅgann=indu-  
bimbam gurubhir=iva bhujaiḥ saṃvidhattē suhṛittām [1\*] bibhrat=saudh-  
ānta-lēkhā-valaya-parigatim muṇḍa-mālām=iv=āyam sat-kūpas=tavad=ā-
- 25 stām=amṛita-sama-rasa-svachchha-vishyaudit-āmbuḥ || Dhīmām(n)<sup>28</sup> Dakshō dakṣiṇaḥ  
satya-sandhō hrīmāmch=chhūrō vṛiddha-sēvi kṛitajñāḥ | baddhōtsāhaḥ svāmi-  
kāryyēshv=a-khēdī nirddōshō=yam pātu dharmmam chirāya || Utkīrṇā  
Gōvindēna ||

## TRANSLATION.

Perfection has been attained ! Victorious is he, (the god) Pinākin, the lord of (all) the worlds,—in whose songs, hummed with smiles, the splendour of (his) teeth, like the lustre of lightning sparkling in the night, envelops and brings into full view all this universe !

May he, (the god) Śaṃbhu, confer many auspicious gifts upon you,—employed by whom in the rites of (effecting the) continuance and the destruction and the production of (all) things that exist, (the god) Svayambhū,<sup>29</sup> is obedient to (his) commands, for the sake of the maintenance of (all) the worlds ;

<sup>20</sup> Metre, Mālinī ; and in the next verse.

<sup>21</sup> Metre, Śragdharā.

<sup>22</sup> Metre, Mālinī ; and in the next two verses.

<sup>23</sup> Metre, Śikharīṇī.

<sup>24</sup> Metre, Āryā.

<sup>25</sup> Metre, Mandākrāntā.

<sup>26</sup> Metre, Mālinī.

<sup>27</sup> Metre, Śragdharā.

<sup>28</sup> Metre, Śālinī.

<sup>29</sup> lit. 'the self-existent one'; the epithet here denotes Brahman.

and by whom, leading him to dignity in the world, he has been brought to the condition of being the father (*of the universe*)! May the serpent of the creator of existence<sup>30</sup> accomplish the allayment of your distress,—(that serpent) the multitude of whose foreheads, bowed down afar by the pressure of the heavy weight of the jewels in (*their*) hoods, obscures the radiance of the moon (*on his master's forehead*); (*and*) who (*with the folds of his body*) binds securely on (*his master's*) head the chaplet of bones which is full of holes (*for stringing them*)! May the creator of waters,<sup>31</sup> which was dug out by the sixty thousand sons of Sagara, (*and*) which possesses a lustre equal to (*that of*) the sky, preserve for a long time the glories of this best of wells!

(L. 4).—Now, victorious is that tribal ruler,<sup>32</sup> having the name of the glorious Yaśôdharman, who, having plunged into the army of (*his*) enemies, as if into a grove of thornapple-trees, (*and*) having bent down the reputations of heroes like the tender creepers of trees, effects the adornment of (*his*) body with the fragments of young sprouts which are the wounds (*inflicted on him*).

(L. 5).—And, again, victorious over the earth is this same<sup>33</sup> king of men,<sup>34</sup> the glorious Vishnuvardhana, the conqueror in war; by whom his own famous lineage, which has the *aulikara*-crest,<sup>35</sup> has been brought to a state of dignity that is ever higher and higher. By

him, having brought into subjection, with peaceful overtures and by war, the very mighty kings of the east and many (*kings*) of the north, this second name of "supreme king of kings"<sup>36</sup> and supreme lord,<sup>37</sup> pleasing in the world (*but*) difficult of attainment, is carried on high. Through him, having conquered the earth with (*his own*) arm, many countries,—in which the sun is obscured by the smoke, resembling dense dark-blue clouds, of the oblations of the sacrifices; (*and*) which abound with thick and thriving crops through (the god) Maghavan pouring cloudfuls of rain upon (*their*) boundaries; (*and*) in which the ends of the fresh sprouts of the mango-trees in the parks are eagerly plucked in joy by the hands of wanton women,—enjoy the happiness of being possessed of a good king. Through the dust, grey like the hide of an ass,—stirred up by his armies, which have (*their*) banners lifted on high; (*and*) which have the *lôdhra*-trees tossed about in all directions by the tusks of (*their*) infuriated elephants; (*and*) which have the crevices of the Vindhya mountains made resonant with the noise of (*their*) journeying through the forests,—the orb of the sun appears dark (*and*) dull-rayed, as if it were an eye in a peacock's tail reversed.<sup>38</sup>

(L. 9).—The servant of the kings who founded the family of that lord was Shashthidatta,—the fame of whose religious merit was known far and wide through the protection of (*their*)

<sup>30</sup> *bhava-erij*. Originally, Brahman was the creator; Vishnu, the preserver; and Siva, the destroyer. But of course the Vaishnavas and the Saivas invested their own special gods with all three attributes. And, that *bhava-erij* here denotes Siva, is shewn by the general purport of the preceding two verses, and especially by the mention of the chaplet of bones in this verse. He is always represented with a necklace of skulls, a serpent hanging round his neck, and the crescent moon on his forehead.

<sup>31</sup> The ocean. The allusion in this verse is to the legend that the bed of the ocean was excavated by the sons of Sagara in their search for their father's *aimûtha*-horse, which was stolen from their custody by the sage Kapila, and was only found by them when they had dug down through the earth into the lower regions. Kapila, in his anger, reduced them to ashes; but subsequently restored the horse on the intercession of Amśumat, the grandson of Sagara. The obsequies, however, of the sons of Sagara remained unperformed, and their transfer to heaven was barred, until Bhagiratha, the grandson of Amśumat, brought the river Ganges down from heaven, and led it over the earth to the chasm made by the sons of Sagara. Flowing down through this, it washed their bones and ashes, by which they were raised to heaven. And, as such of its waters as remained in the chasm constituted the ocean, the latter was called *sagara* in commemoration of Sagara and his descendants.

<sup>32</sup> *jauṇḍra*; see page 223 above, note 2.

<sup>33</sup> This expression looks at first sight as if Yaśôdhar-

man and Vishnuvardhana were one and the same person. But the general structure of this verse, as well as the use of the two distinct titles *jauṇḍra* and *narâdhipati* and and of the expression *âtma-vaiśi*, shews that this is not the case. "This same," simply means "this reigning king," in whose time the inscription is written.

<sup>34</sup> *narâdhipati*; see page 223 above, note 3.

<sup>35</sup> I have not been able to obtain any explanation of the word *aulikara*; but it seems to denote either 'the hot-rayed (sun),' or 'the cool-rayed (moon).'—As regards *lôṇchhana*, 'a mark, sign, token, spot,' which I render by 'crest,' it is the technical term for the principal emblem impressed by kings on the copper-seals attached to their charters, and is quite distinct from the emblem on their *dhvaj*s or banners. Thus, the Râttas of Saundatti and Belgaum had the *suvarâgarûḍa-dhva* or 'banner of a golden Garuda,' but the *sindhura-lôṇchhana* or 'elephant-crest' (e.g. line 43 of the Têrâî inscription of Śaka-Saṁvat 1045 &c.; ante, Vol. XIV. p. 18, and p. 24, note 24.) The Chalukyas, in all their branches, had the *varâhâlôṇchhana* or 'boar-crest,' which appears on the seals of all their charters; and the special connection of the *lôṇchhana* with the *śasana* or 'charter,' is shewn by a passage in lines 73 ff. of the Korumelli plates of Râjarâja II.,—"on whose charter the mighty form, that of the first boar, of (the god) Vishnu, which lifted up the entire circle of the earth on the tip of (*its right-hand*) tusk, became in a pleasing way the crest" (ante, Vol. XIV. p. 85).

<sup>36</sup> *râjâdhirâja*.

<sup>37</sup> *paramâdvaya*.

<sup>38</sup> i.e. "looked at from the wrong side of the feathers."

feet; who by his resoluteness conquered the six enemies (*of religion*);<sup>39</sup> (*and*) who was indeed very excellent. As the torrent, flowing high and low, of (the river) Gaigā (*spreads abroad*) from (the mountain) Himavat, (*and*) the extensive mass of the waters of (the river) Rêvā from the moon,—(*so*) from him, whose dignity was manifested, there spreads a pure race of *Naiḡamas*,<sup>40</sup> most worthy to be sought in fellowship.

(L. 11.)—Of him, from a wife of good family, there was born a son, resembling him (*in good qualities*), the source of fame,—whom, (*being named*) Varāhadāsa, (*and*) being full of self-control (*and*) of great worth, people speak of as if he were, an (*incarnate*) portion of (the god) Hari.

(L. 11.)—As if it were the sun (*illuminating*) the mighty summit of a mountain, Ravikīrtti with the wealth of his character illumined that family, which was made eminent by men who combined good actions with worldly occupations; which had its foundations well established in the earth; (*and*) which maintained a very firm position of endurance that was free from (*any risk of*) being broken;—(Ravikīrtti), by whom, sustaining the pure (*and*) undeviating path of traditional law that is acceptable to good people, nobility of birth was shewn to be not a thing of false assertion (*even*) in the Kali age. From him, (*his*) chaste wife Bhānuguptā gave birth to three sons, who dispelled the darkness (*of ignorance*) with the rays of (*their*) intellects,—as if (*she had produced three*) sacrifices from a fire.

(L. 13.)—The first was Bhagavad-dōsha, the prop of his relatives in the paths of religious actions, just as Uddhava (*was*) of the Andhakas,—who was a very Vēdhas in displaying much prudence in the hard-to-be-traversed path of the meaning (*of words*); who, like Vidura,<sup>41</sup> always looked far ahead with deliberation; (*and*) who is with great pleasure sung of by poets, in Sanskrit and Prākṛit construction of the arrangement of sentences, as being well versed in speech.

(L. 15.)—And after him there came that (*well-known*) Abhayadatta, maintaining a high position on the earth, (*and*) collecting (*in order to dispel it*) the fear of (*his*) subjects (?);—by whose eye of intellect, which served him like the eyes of a spy, no trifle, however remote, remained undetected, (*even*) at night;—(Abhayadatta), of fruitful actions, who like (Vṛihaspati) the preceptor of the gods, to the advantage of those who belonged to the (*four recognised*) castes, with the functions of a *Rājasthānava*<sup>42</sup> protected the region stretching from the pale mass of the waters of (the river) Rêvā which flows down from the slopes of the summits of the Vindhyas, and from the mountain of Pāriyātra, on which the trees are bent down in (*their*) frolicsome leaps by the long-tailed monkeys, up to the (*western*) ocean, and containing many countries presided over by his own upright counsellors.

(L. 17.)—Now he, Dharmadōsha, the son of Dōshakumbha,—by whom this kingdom has been made, as if (*it were still*) in the Kṛita-age, free from any intermixture of all the castes, (*and peaceable through*) having hostilities allayed, (*and*) undisturbed by care,—in accordance with justice proudly supports the burden (*of government*) that had (*previously*) been borne by him;<sup>43</sup>—(Dharmadōsha), who,—not being too eager about his own comfort, (*and*) bearing, for the sake of his lord, in the difficult path (*of administration*), the burden (*of government*), very heavily weighted and not shared by another,—wears royal apparel only as mark of distinction (*and not for his own pleasure*), just as a bull<sup>44</sup> carries a wrinkled pendulous dew-lap.

(L. 19.)—His younger brother, Dakṣha,—invested with the decoration of the protection of friends, as if he were (*his*) broad-shouldered (*right*) arm (*decorated*) with choice jewels,—caused to be excavated this great well, that bears the name of “the faultless” which causes great joy to the hearts of those that hear it. This great (*and*) skilful work was achieved here by him, who is of great intellect, for the sake of his paternal uncle, the beloved

<sup>39</sup> viz. love, anger, greed, joy, pride, and passion.

<sup>40</sup> Interpreters of Vēdic quotations and words.

<sup>41</sup> An epic hero, the younger brother of Dhṛitarāshtra and Pāṇdu, described as the wisest of all prudent and sagacious people.

<sup>42</sup> See Dr. Bühler's explanation; *ante*, Vol. V. p. 207.

<sup>43</sup> sc. Abhayadattā.—Dōshakumbha, the father of

Dharmadōsha, must be the younger brother of Abhayadatta, and the third and youngest of the sons of Ravikīrtti and Bhānuguptā.

<sup>44</sup> *bōhukīya*; this meaning is not given in Monier Williams' *Sanskrit Dictionary*; and I owe it, and the explanation of one or two other passages in this inscription, to Pandit Durga Prasad, of Jaypur.

Abhayadatta, who was cut off (*before his time*) by the mighty (god) Kṛitānta, just as if he were a tree, the shade of which is pleasant to resort to (*and*) which yields fruits that are salutary and sweet through ripeness, (*wantonly*) destroyed by a lordly elephant.

(L. 21).—Five hundred autumns, together with ninety less by one, having elapsed from (*the establishment of*) the supremacy<sup>22</sup> of the tribal constitution of the Mālavas, (*and*) being written down in order to determine the (*present*) time;—in the season<sup>23</sup> in which the songs, resembling the arrows of (the god) Smara, of the cuckoos, whose utterances are low and tender, cleave open, as it were, the minds of those who are far away from home; and in which the humming of the flights of bees, sounding low on account of the burden (*that they carry*), is heard through the woods, like the resounding bow of (the god Kāmadēva) who has the banner of flowers, when its string is caused to vibrate;—in the season in which there is the month of the coming on of flowers, when the wind, soothing the affectionate (*but*)

perverted thoughts of disdainful women who are angry with their lovers, as if they were charming fresh sprouts arrayed in colours, devotes itself to breaking down (*their*) pride,—in that season this (*well*) was caused to be constructed.

(L. 24).—As long as the ocean, embracing with (*its*) lofty waves, as if with long arms, the orb of the moon, which has its full assemblage of rays (*and is more*) lovely (*than ever*) from contact (*with the waters*), maintains friendship (*with it*);—so long let this excellent well endure, possessing a surrounding enclosure of lines at the edge of the masonry-work, as if it were a garland worn round a shaven head, (*and*) discharging pure waters the flavour of which is equal to nectar!

(L. 25).—May this faultless Dakṣha for a long time protect this act of piety,—(*he who is*) intelligent, skilful, true to (*his*) promises, modest, brave, attentive to old people, grateful, full of energy, (*and*) unwearied in the business-matters of (*his*) lord! (*This eulogy has been*) engraved by Gōvinda.

#### NOTES ON THE MAHABHASHYA.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHOHN, GÖTTINGEN.

(Continued from p. 211.)

#### 4.—SOME SUGGESTIONS REGARDING THE VERSES (KĀRIKAS) IN THE MAHABHASHYA.

Besides the *Vārttikas* of Kātyāyana, which are in prose, and to explain which is the main object of Patañjali, there occur, scattered through the Mahābhāṣya, a number of verses treating of grammatical matters. Some of these verses have been fully commented upon by Patañjali; of others he has merely given the general import, or he has appended to them an occasional remark only. Again, there are verses which appear to repeat in a summary way what has been already stated before in prose; and still others, which are neither commented upon, nor partake of the nature of summary verses. Sometimes the discussion on a rule of Pāṇini's is carried on solely by means of verses that are explained by Patañjali; on other occasions verses, commented upon or without comment, precede the prose *Vārttikas* on a rule, or follow them, or occur in the midst of them. In a large number of cases the verses

occur singly, but sometimes two, three, four, five, or even six verses are grouped together; and we also meet with a considerable number of half-verses, and even quarter-verses.

The total number of these verses is about 260. The metres in which they have been composed are the following:—

The ordinary Āryā: about 40 verses.

Portions of an Āryā: Vol. II. pp. 127, 129.

Gīti: one verse and a half: Vol. III. p. 216.

The ordinary Ślōka: about 165 verses.

Three quarters of a verse: Vol. II. p. 29.

Half-verses: 16.

Quarter-verses: 12.

Vaktra: 2.—Vol. I. p. 273; and Vol. II. p. 97. Half a verse: Vol. I. p. 63.

Vidyunmālā: 3.—Vol. I. p. 356; Vol. II. p. 203; and Vol. III. p. 350.

A quarter-verse: Vol. I. p. 14, l. 3 (सिद्धार्थो नु प्रत्यापत्तिः).

Samāni: 2.—Vol. I. p. 502.

<sup>22</sup> *vidit*; but it is very difficult to find a really satisfactory meaning for this word in this passage.

<sup>23</sup> *sc.* the spring.

Indravajrâ: 3.—Vol. I. pp. 96, 336; and Vol. III. p. 52.

Upajâti: 4.—Vol. I. p. 96; Vol. II. pp. 124, 232; and Vol. III. p. 54.

Dôdhaka: 12.—Vol. I. p. 484; Vol. II. pp. 65, 138; Vol. III. pp. 182, 189, 410, 423.

Śālini: 4.—Vol. II. p. 72; Vol. III. pp. 206, and 247.

Vamśasthâ: Half a verse. Vol. III. p. 216.

Tôṭaka: 2.—Vol. I. pp. 334, 335.

Jagati:<sup>1</sup> One verse.—Vol. III. p. 409.

Irregular Trishtubh or Jagati verses occur besides in Vol. I. pp. 13, 144; and Vol. II. p. 123. As verses I am inclined to consider also Vol. I. p. 362, l. 4 and 13; Vol. II. p. 60, l. 1 and 4, and perhaps a few other lines, regarding which I have not been able to arrive at any decided opinion.

The name which by the commentators is most frequently applied to these verses, be they commented upon or not, is that of *Vārttika*. Sometimes they are called by the fuller name *Śloka-vārttika*, or ascribed to the *Śloka-vārttikakāra*. Thus Bhartṛihari assigns to the *Śloka-vārttikakāra* the verses in Vol. I. p. 36; Kaiyaṭa the verses in Vol. II. p. 329; Vol. III. pp. 189, 273, 402. Nāgōjibhaṭṭa uses the term *Śloka-vārttika* of the verse in Vol. III. p. 466; and a note in the MS. G. calls by the same name the verses in Vol. II. p. 383. That the terms *Vārttika*, *Śloka*, and *Śloka-vārttika*, when used with reference to verses, are equivalent, may be seen from the fact, that the verses in Vol. III. p. 402, by Kaiyaṭa ascribed to the *Śloka-vārttikakāra*, have by Nāgōjibhaṭṭa on P. viii. 2, 22 been called simply *Vārttikas*, and that the verse in Vol. III. p. 466, called *Śloka-vārttika* by Nāgōjibhaṭṭa, is called simply a *Śloka* by Kaiyaṭa.

<sup>1</sup> The special name of this particular kind of the Jagati metre does not appear to be known. The first line of the verse in Vol. III. p. 409 is wrong, and the last line is interesting, inasmuch as it has been curiously misunderstood by both Kaiyaṭa and Nāgōjibhaṭṭa. Both take the first word of the line

जगत्पूना भवति हि रुचिरा

to be जगति, the Loc. Sing. of जगत्, and they understand the meaning of the line to be, that the explanation given of परिकृश will please everywhere, because it fully accounts both for the form and for the accent of that word. Really, the first word of the line must be taken to be the Nom. Sing. जगती. The author of the verse has said all he had to say about परिकृश in three lines, and finding that his Jagati verse required a fourth line, he somewhat facetiously adds 'that a complete Jagati verse is indeed pleasing.'—I am well aware of the fact, that about six per cent. of the verses in the Mahābhāṣya are

When the term *Śloka-vārttikakāra* is opposed to the term *Vārttikakāra* (or *Vākyakāra*), as has been done by Kaiyaṭa on Vol. III. p. 189, or by Bhartṛihari on Vol. I. p. 36, both of course denote different persons; and in such a case it was hardly necessary for Nāgōjibhaṭṭa to tell us that the *Vārttikakāra* (or *Vākyakāra*) is Kātyāyana, and the *Śloka-vārttikakāra* another.<sup>2</sup> But from this it by no means follows that the *Śloka-vārttikakāra* has been regarded by the commentators to be different from the ordinary *Vārttikakāra* in every case. On the contrary, we have abundant proof for it, that both Kaiyaṭa and Nāgōjibhaṭṭa (as well as Haradatta and other commentators whose works have been examined by me) have considered Kātyāyana as the author, not only of prose *Vārttikas*, but also of *Vārttikas* in verse. When Kaiyaṭa on P. i. 1, 21 opposes the *Vārttikakāra* to the *Sūtrakāra*, the former must be understood to be Kātyāyana, just as the *Sūtrakāra* can be no other than Pāṇini; and, as the particular statement ascribed here to the *Vārttikakāra* is a verse on P. vi. 4, 74, Kaiyaṭa must have taken Kātyāyana to be the author of that verse.<sup>3</sup> Similar instances might be quoted from Nāgōjibhaṭṭa's work. So far then, what we learn from the commentators amounts to no more than this, that in their opinion some of the verses in the Mahābhāṣya are by Kātyāyana, and others by another author of *Vārttikas*.

But the commentators assign some verses also to the author of the Bhāṣya. Thus Puṇyārāja ascribes to the *Bhāṣyakāra* the verse in Vol. I. p. 356; Nāgōjibhaṭṭa calls the verse 2 in Vol. III. p. 267 a *Bhāṣya-śloka*; and he states that the verses in Vol. II. p. 229—verses fully commented upon—belong to the

wrong; in some of these cases a slight alteration of the text would have sufficed to set the metre right.

<sup>2</sup> Bhartṛihari on Vol. I. p. 36:—यदेवैकं वाक्यकारेण वृत्तिसमवायार्थे उपदेश इति तदेव श्लोकवाचिककारोऽप्याह. Kaiyaṭa on Vol. III. p. 189:—वाचिककारोक्तेषु प्रयोजनेषु प्रत्याख्यातेषु श्लोकवाचिककारोक्तप्रयोजनोपक्षेपः; and Nāgōjibhaṭṭa:—वाचिककारः कात्यायनः श्लोकवाचिककारस्त्वन्य एवेति भावः.

<sup>3</sup> Patañjali refers to the same verse by means of the word वक्ष्यति in Vol. I. p. 113, l. 10, and Vol. III., p. 188, l. 16, indicating thereby that that verse, at any rate is not his own. By वक्ष्यति he refers to other verses in Vol. II. p. 373, l. 6, and Vol. III. p. 400, l. 13. He introduces verses with अत इतरं पठति, Vol. I. p. 253; Vol. III. p. 181, 257, 410.

*Bhāṣyakṛit*, not to the *Vārttikakṛit*.<sup>\*</sup> All this (whether right or wrong) is mere conjecture; and so is another statement of Nāgōjibhaṭṭa's, according to which the half-verse in Vol. II. p. 292 belongs *either* to the author of the *Bhāṣya* *or* to another *Vārttikakāra*.<sup>†</sup> Nāgōjibhaṭṭa evidently had no traditional knowledge as to the authorship of the verses, and even when he tells us that the verse *शेषिकान्मनुष्य*<sup>‡</sup> in Vol. II. p. 393, also found at Vol. II. p. 15, is taken from some *Śāstra* or other,<sup>§</sup> which probably is true, he must be considered to state only his own opinion.

The case is different, when Kaiyaṭa volunteers the remark that the verse *जग्धिविधि*<sup>¶</sup> in Vol. I. p. 484, which might be called a summary verse, has been composed by Vyāghrabhūti.<sup>||</sup> A distinct statement like this cannot have been invented by Kaiyaṭa. It must have been copied from the works of older commentators, who may be supposed to have had good reasons for what they were reporting. It is the only important statement that we owe to the commentators, regarding the authorship of at least one verse in the *Mahābhāṣya*.

*A priori* there is no reason why Kātyāyana should not have written some of his *Vārttikas* in verse. Among the few *Vārttikas* of the *Bhāradvājīyas*, handed down to us in the *Mahābhāṣya*, there is one, in Vol. III. p. 199, l. 19, which *is* in verse,<sup>§</sup>—a sufficient proof, that a combination of prose *Vārttikas* and of *Vārttikas* in verse could not in itself be regarded as objectionable. But what we must demand of a work written partly in prose and partly in verse (supposing that work to have been composed by a scholar like Kātyāyana), is, that the several portions of it should form an harmonious whole; that there should be some connection between its verses and its prose statements, and that the former should not

contradict the latter; that a question, which has been fully discussed and disposed of in the prose, should not be raised and discussed again in the verses; that the terminology employed should be the same in both, and that at any rate its prose and metrical portions should contain evidence of having proceeded from one and the same school of grammar. We also might fairly expect that the prose portion should not entirely ignore that part of the work which is in verse.

If from such points of view we examine the verses which have been commented upon by Patañjali,—and it is only these verses that could possibly be regarded as *Vārttikas*,—we shall indeed discover many reasons why such verses should not be assigned to the writer of the prose *Vārttikas*, while it might be difficult to bring forward a single argument in favour of their having been composed by Kātyāyana. In a previous article, I have shown<sup>¶</sup> that about a hundred times Kātyāyana has referred us by the word *उक्तम्* or the phrase *उक्तं वा* to statements or arguments which occur in other parts of his work; in all these cases the reference is to prose *Vārttikas*; and there is not a single instance in which Kātyāyana has thus alluded to a statement in verse.<sup>‡</sup> I have similarly already<sup>||</sup> drawn attention to the circumstance, that Kātyāyana purposely has so worded the first *Vārttika* on a rule, as to indicate the rule to which such *Vārttika* must be understood to belong. Now it is a fact, that 27 times in the *Mahābhāṣya* a first prose *Vārttika* is preceded by verses, many of which *do* contain some distinct reference to the rule of Pāṇini's to which they have been appended, and that nevertheless, in every one of these cases, the reference to Pāṇini's rules is repeated in the following prose *Vārttikas*.<sup>§</sup> Those who

\* Nāgōjibhaṭṭa on Vol. II. p. 229:—एते श्लोका भाष्यकृत एव न वार्तिककृतः संपुटीकरणाभावात्.

† Nāgōjibhaṭṭa on Vol. II. p. 229:—परिगणनं भाष्यकृतो ऽन्यवार्तिककारस्य चेति विपतिविषयवार्तिककारस्तत्र जानातीति भावः.

‡ Nāgōjibhaṭṭa on Vol. II. p. 393:—एव चायं श्लोकः कस्यचिच्छास्त्रस्येति बोध्यम्.

§ Kaiyaṭa on Vol. I. p. 484, l. 17:—अयमेवार्थो व्याघ्रभूतिनाप्युक्त इत्याह जग्धिविधिरिति.

¶ भारद्वाजीयाः पठन्ति । भस्त्रो रोपयोरौर्लोप आगमो रन्विधीयत इति ॥

¶ See p. 209 f. above.

‡ In Vol. III. p. 223, l. 15, Patañjali does also refer us to the verse on P. VI. 4, 127; but Kātyāyana's reference is solely to the *Vārttika* 13 (and 15) on P. VII. 1, 1.

|| See p. 204 above.

§ If the verse परोभावः परस्यास्ते on P. III. 2, 115 were Kātyāyana's, he would not have repeated परोक्षे लिट् in his *Vārttika* on that rule. If the verses on P. VI. 3, 46 were his, he would have omitted महदात्वे from his first *Vārttika*. If the verse, with which the discussion on P. VII. 1, 73 opens, were Kātyāyana's, he would not have worded his first prose *Vārttika*, as he has done. In this last case, the very way in which Patañjali introduces the first *Vārttika*, shows that now only Kātyāyana is about to speak.

would assign the verses to Kātyāyana, must certainly admit that here again he himself would have completely and intentionally ignored those verses in his prose statements.

To adduce more direct proof, I would certainly deny that verses like those in Vol. I. p. 33, अनुवर्तते विभाषा, and p. 145, even though they have been fully explained by Patañjali, can by any possibility be ascribed to Kātyāyana. Those and similar verses stand in no connection whatever with preceding or following *Vārttikas*, and by themselves they are unintelligible. They receive a meaning only when taken as part of the discussions that have been started by Patañjali, and their presence cannot be accounted for unless we assume that they have been borrowed by Patañjali from elsewhere. Nor can we assign to Kātyāyana verses like those on P. I. 1, 19 or P. VI. 4, 74; for what we learn from the former is really nothing but what Kātyāyana has already told us in his *Vārt. 5* on P. I. 1, 11, and the views propounded in the verses on P. VI. 4, 74 are contrary,—I should perhaps say, intentionally opposed,—to statements contained in the prose *Vārttikas* on P. I. 1, 21; VI. 1, 95; and elsewhere.<sup>13</sup> Similarly, it would be wrong to ascribe to Kātyāyana verses like those in Vol. I. p. 36 and Vol. III. p. 466; for the former of those verses raises a question which has been disposed of by Kātyāyana in the first *Āhnika*, and the latter merely repeats the substance of that scholar's *Vārttikas* on the first *Sivasūtra*. Again, it is impossible to admit that Kātyāyana would in Vol. II. p. 267 seriously have discussed a question which he had settled in his

*Vārt. 26* on P. I. 4, 1; or that the same scholar, who in a prose *Vārttika* in Vol. II. p. 354 has taught us to form पञ्चदश with the suffix ड, would in a verse in Vol. II. p. 378 have derived the same word by means of the suffix ड्; that in Vol. II. p. 301 he would have formed मध्यमीय with the suffix छ, and on p. 310 with मीय; द्वय and बाह्य on p. 236 with यस्, and on p. 311 with ज्व. Besides, I consider it altogether unlikely that Kātyāyana would, for no apparent reason, have used the term ल for लुक् in the verses in Vol. II. pp. 284, 378, and 425, or that he would have employed for उत्तरपद the term पु<sup>14</sup> in the verses in Vol. III. pp. 229, 247, and 318, when he has never employed those terms in his prose *Vārttikas*. It is also certain that a verse like that on P. V. 2, 39, which speaks of a suffix डावहु,<sup>15</sup> cannot have proceeded from a scholar who elsewhere accepts Pāṇini's views of the formation of the words यावद्, सावद् etc.; the more so, when the concluding portion of that verse is distinctly directed against the prose *Vārttika* of that scholar on P. V. 2, 37. I might go on quoting other verses which are directed against the prose *Vārttikas*, others that try to improve on them, and again others intended to explain them;<sup>16</sup> but will conclude these arguments by stating that in three instances (in Vol. I. p. 444, and Vol. II. pp. 86 and 117) Patañjali has distinctly intimated that the verses on which he happens to comment, are not by the author of the prose *Vārttikas*,<sup>17</sup> and that Kātyāyana himself and his *Vārttika* are mentioned in the verses explained in Vol. II. pp. 121 and 176.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>13</sup> The verses on P. VI. 4, 74, try to show that Pāṇini's rule VI. 4, 72 may be dispensed with, which is not the opinion of Kātyāyana; they moreover suggest a new rule of which they maintain that it will render Kātyāyana's *Vārttika* on P. VI. 1, 95 superfluous. In note 3 I have shown that Patañjali does not regard these verses as his own; the verses themselves prove, that they are not Kātyāyana's.

<sup>14</sup> It is really difficult to say whether this term should be read पु or पु. The authority of the MSS. is decidedly in favour of reading it पु, and I have read it पु mainly because this gives a correct verse in Vol. III. 818, l. 5. Perhaps I have attached too much importance to the metre, which, after all, is violated in many verses in the *Mahābhāṣya*. In the MSS. of the Jainendra grammar, too, the term is read both पु and पु.

<sup>15</sup> Kaiyata on P. V. 2, 39: डावताविति । पूर्वोच्चार्यप्रक्रिया-पेक्षो निर्देशः । इह तु वतुपं विभाषा सर्वनाम्नः (P. VI. 3, 91) इत्यान्तं विहितम् । पूर्वोच्चार्यस्तु डावतुं विदधरे ।

<sup>16</sup> Compare the verses in Vol. II. pp. 132, 210; Vol. III. p. 182; in Vol. II. p. 214, and Vol. III. p. 218; and the

portions of verses introduced, after a prose *Vārttika*, by अन्त्यपदेदमुच्यते in Vol. II. pp. 29, 393, and Vol. III. p. 352; and, as an explanatory verse, the verse in Vol. II. p. 72.

<sup>17</sup> In the three instances given above Patañjali introduces verses, which are explained by him, by the words अपर आह, after prose *Vārttikas*. By the same phrase he introduces, after prose *Vārttikas*, a verse on which he does not comment, in Vol. II. p. 28. By अपर आह he introduces verses, after other verses or after remarks of his own, in Vol. I. pp. 13, 63, 226, 335; Vol. II. pp. 87, 217, 225; and Vol. III. p. 410. After a verse he introduces another verse by एष एवायं: अपर आह in Vol. I. p. 33; and by एष एवायं: alone in Vol. I. p. 484 and Vol. III. p. 410. On Vol. I. p. 484 Nāgōjibhatta is in doubt as to whether the verse so introduced is by Patañjali or by another. We should have expected to find the words एष एवायं: before the second verse in Vol. I. p. 500.

<sup>18</sup> Besides, the Bhagavān Kātyāyana is mentioned in a so-called summary verse in Vol. II. p. 97.

My opinion then of the verses which have been explained in the Mahābhāṣya, is, that they do not belong to Kātyāyana at all, but have been borrowed or quoted by Patañjali from other works. There is every reason to believe that those works were composed after the *Vārttikas*. Though they were written in verse, their aim, so far as we can judge, was the same which Patañjali himself has had in view in writing his own work, to elucidate, or to correct and improve on, the *Vārttikas*, and to discuss matters connected with individual rules of Pāṇini's or with the system of Pāṇini's grammar, that had not been touched upon by Kātyāyana. Moreover, we shall probably be doing no injustice to Patañjali, when we maintain that he frequently has taken the substance of his discussions and many of his arguments from those older works, even where he has not actually and distinctly quoted from them. For, not to mention that such an opinion accords with what tradition tells us were the circumstances under which the Mahābhāṣya was composed, it is only by a supposition of this nature, that we can account for a curious fact which is sure to arrest the attention of the student of the Mahābhāṣya.

It sometimes happens that in the midst of Patañjali's prose discussions we meet with quarter-verses or smaller fragments of verses, which taken by themselves are unintelligible, but which fit exactly into the discussions of which they form part. They are not and cannot have been intended as quotations; nor can they be of Patañjali's own authorship, because there is no conceivable reason why Patañjali should suddenly have given utterance to part of a verse, and because he repeats their meaning in prose. In fact, they might have been omitted without the slightest loss. Now those portions of verses must have been taken from somewhere; where there were quarter-verses, there must have been whole verses; and when those quarter-verses fit into Patañjali's prose discussions, they must have fitted into discussions that were carried on in whole verses. I

believe, then, that in the cases alluded to Patañjali is merely reproducing, in prose, what was before him in verse, and that only by chance, and not intentionally, he has repeated in his own discussions fragmentary portions of his metrical originals. Atypical instances of such portions of verses, that must have been taken from older works, I may quote the words in Vol. I. p. 14, l. 3, लिङ्गार्था तु प्रत्यापत्तिः, the meaning of which in Patañjali's own language is लिङ्गार्था सा तर्हि भविष्यति; the words निमित्तस्यो in Vol. I. p. 49, l. 12; चतुष्टयान्तो यदि लटो वा in Vol. II. p. 127, l. 11; सम्माने चर्षिर्हर्षनात् in Vol. II. p. 394, l. 5; न स बिल्वकात् in Vol. III. p. 229, l. 10; and एकाचस्ती वलीति वा in Vol. III. p. 280, l. 12; all of which might and should have been omitted from the Mahābhāṣya, and the accidental presence of which merely shows that Patañjali is indebted to his predecessors for the arguments which he happens to be propounding. The same conclusion may be drawn from the occurrence in the Mahābhāṣya of certain half-verses and of some complete verses, which resemble the smaller portions of verses spoken of in so far as they too, by themselves, are meaningless, and which must therefore likewise be considered to have been part originally of works that were discussing in verse the same questions which Patañjali happens to treat of in prose. Half-verses of this nature we find, e.g., in Vol. I. p. 16, l. 10, स्थानी प्रकल्पयेत्तावन्नुस्वारी यथा वपम्, and p. 284, l. 6, सहयुक्ते द्वितीया स्याद्वातिहारे तद्वो विधिः; complete verses in Vol. I. p. 33, l. 16, अनुवर्तते विभाषा; p. 145, l. 11 आरब्धमात्रे निरवो ऽसौ; and elsewhere.

That Patañjali sometimes has merely reproduced the information which he had obtained from works composed in verse, might be shown also in another way. When we examine, e.g., his remarks on P. VII. 3, 107, the quarter-verse अन्वार्थं ह्यक्षरं यदि of course shows us that, in this particular point, he is not giving us his own argument. But, more than by this, we shall be struck by the extraordinary construction पुनार्थमर्हते,<sup>10</sup> in the

<sup>10</sup> In पुनार्थमर्हते the adjective अर्हत् qualifies पुन in पुनार्थम्; the whole phrase is equivalent to पुनर्ग्रहणमभिधातुम्. I believe that all Patañjali's remarks on P. VII. 3, 107 are based on statements that were in verse.—For other ungrammatical expressions, that occur

in verse, compare e.g. Vol. I. p. 335 त्वविधिः and त्वमतिः; p. 336 अध्वगन्तव्य (for which Kaiyata records the various reading अध्वगन्तव्य); Vol. II. p. 188 प्रकृतेस्तनुवर्तते; and कायेतस्योविधिः; 229 चतुष्टयभूतिकर्तव्य; Vol. III. p. 53 गुणद्वयव्याप्य.



last statement adduced by Patañjali. That neither he himself nor Kātyāyana would have written thus, is certain, and it is a relief to discover that the whole statement **मातृणां मातृपुत्रार्थमहंते** is really the end of a verse, and that the bad Sanskrit finds some excuse in the exigencies of the metre. It is not difficult to conjecture that the original verse belongs to the same writer to whom we owe the half-verse on P. VI. 1, 14. Similar proof is afforded, to mention only one other instance, by Patañjali's remarks on P. IV. 2, 60. The statement **तस्येदमत्ययस्य च** in the fifth line of these remarks is again the end of a verse, and the first line on p. 284 forms a correct half-verse, when we omit from it the word **विद्या**, which is unnecessary, because a special rule is given for it in the sequel. Besides, the term **इकक** and the word **स्मृतः** in the line prove that we have to do with verses,<sup>20</sup> not with the prose of either Kātyāyana or Patañjali.

Excepting, perhaps, the so-called *Sanṅraha-śloka*s, or summary verses, there is really no valid reason why any of the verses in the Mahābhāṣya should have been composed by either Kātyāyana or Patañjali. On the contrary, we have shown that many of the verses, which have been fully commented upon by Patañjali, can certainly not be ascribed to Kātyāyana. And having proved that Patañjali has undoubtedly borrowed from older works which were in verse, we shall regard those works as the source of those verses also to which he has appended an occasional remark only—verses like those in Vol. I. p. 96, l. 1-5, Vol. II. p. 137, l. 4-7,—or the meaning of which he has merely indicated in a general way—like those in Vol. I. p. 147, l. 12-13, p. 356, l. 9-10,—as well as of those verses which have been left without any comment and which clearly are meant to be regarded as quotations—verses such as those

<sup>20</sup> **इकक** stands for **इक** as e.g. does **इकन्** for **इन्** in the verses on Vol. II. pp. 284 and 298; **विकन्** for **वन्** in Vol. II. p. 284; and **इय** for **उ** in the verses in Vol. II. p. 310; **स्मृत** stands at the end of verses, e.g. in Vol. II. pp. 258, 292; Vol. III. pp. 67, 140, and 466.

<sup>21</sup> A clear instance of how Patañjali is quoting from other works is furnished by the verse in Vol. II. p. 182. The question raised in the last words **गुणे कथम्** of that verse has nothing to do with the matter under discussion, but refers to P. III. 4, 93. It must have been answered in a verse following upon the verse that is cited by Patañjali (Kaiyāta says; **श्लोकपूर्णायेतदुक्तम्**).—Similarly

in Vol. I. p. 71, p. 75, p. 181, etc.<sup>22</sup> But it may appear doubtful, if even the so-called summary verses should be assigned to Patañjali. To me it seems at least possible, that the commentators may have misunderstood the nature of these verses. Their opinion is that Patañjali, probably to assist the memory of the student, has given in those verses a *résumé* of the arguments which he has stated before in prose.<sup>23</sup> But if Patañjali had really been so kindly disposed, we might well ask, why in the whole of the Mahābhāṣya he should have given proof of such disposition at the utmost on twenty occasions only, and why he should not have appended summary verses to discussions far more lengthy and complicated than those are to which such verses have been attached. Nor can it escape the attention of the student, that occasionally the so-called summary verses contain arguments or statements, of which there are no traces in the prose by which the verses are preceded. The verse in Vol. II. p. 65 speaks of irregularities of accent, that have not been mentioned before. The first verse in Vol. I. p. 500 compares the case in hand with an analogous case, while the discussion in prose has omitted to do so. Besides, we have seen already that one summary verse—the Dôdhaka verse in Vol. I. p. 484—is reported to have been composed, not by Patañjali, but by Vyāghrabhūti. Why should the same Vyāghrabhūti not be the author of the Dôdhaka verse in Vol. II. p. 65, which contains distinct traces of not being a mere summary verse, and of the Dôdhaka verses in Vol. III. p. 423? I confess I can discover no reason why the verses spoken of should likewise not be regarded rather as the source of those arguments which Patañjali is propounding in his prose, than as summaries, repeating, for the benefit of an inattentive student, those arguments in verse.

the second half of verse 2 on P. VII. 1, 21 refers to P. VII. 1, 23.

<sup>22</sup> See Nāgôjibhaṭṭa on Vol. I. p. 273, **उक्तमर्थं गायया संगृह्णाति**; Kaiyāta on Vol. I. p. 401, **पूर्वोक्त एवार्थे आर्यया संगृहीतः**; on Vol. II. p. 97, **उक्तार्थसंग्रहाय श्लोकाः**; on Vol. II. pp. 383 and 416, **पूर्वोक्तार्थसंग्रहश्लोकाः**; Nāgôjibhaṭṭa on Vol. III. p. 435, **उक्तार्थसंग्रहश्लोकाः** etc. On the second verse in Vol. I. p. 484, Nāgôjibhaṭṭa makes the remark **[एव एवार्थः] अन्त्येन निबद्ध इति शेषः**; i. मया निबध्यत इति वा i.

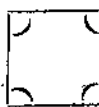
# A FURTHER NOTICE OF THE ANCIENT BUDDHIST STRUCTURE AT NEGAPATAM.

COMMUNICATED BY SIR WALTER ELLIOT.

Some time after I communicated the former Article<sup>1</sup> on the remarkable and unique edifice at Negapatam, an old friend, an officer in the Madras Army, but now an inmate of the College of St. Joseph at Negapatam, sent me, through his brother, some further information which it may be interesting to place on record. He writes as follows:—"In a pamphlet entitled *Interprétations d'Antiques Idoles Bouddhistes*, by M. Textor de Ravisi, Ancien Commandant de Karikal (Indes Orientales), being *Extraits de Travaux de 1865 et 1866 de la Société Académique de Saint Quentin*, published at Saint Quentin at the Imprimerie Jules Moureau, 7, Place de l'Hôtel-de-Ville, in 1866, I have found an account of the statuettes that Sir Walter asks after. I have not time to copy in full, but I have given above the title, author, and publisher, so that Sir Walter, who probably may have known the author in India, may get the little pamphlet if it be still in print. Textor de Ravisi says of the towers, that, when the Portuguese discovered India, they spoke in their account of Negapatam of this tower as *la tour ruinée*, and that the Dutch used it at one time as a Lighthouse. The tower, he says, was an irregular square. The materials are enormous bricks beautifully manufactured and very superior to the country manufacture of to-day. The cement is a *terre glaise* (which I take to be polished shell *chunam*), but it is stated that the cement was extremely hard and like stone.

"From those who were present at the demolition of the tower, I have learned that exteriorly there were apparently three storeys, but interiorly there were no traces of landing places or storeys, and that there were only three smooth walls, the fourth side being open all the way up. The bricks are said to have been very large; the cement as M. Textor de Ravisi describes it. The foundations were about eight feet deep, and there had apparently been an underground cellar or storey, for the middle was filled with sand, and the inner walls were covered with very hard shell *chunam* polished. No statuettes or anything

else were found in the tower itself, with the exception of four little square pieces of gold, let roughly into of what appears to be the foundation stone. This very bottom of



the four corners to be the foundation stone, was at the the foundation.

"No statuettes were discovered in digging the foundations for building the dormitories that now form one side of the college quadrangle. It seems they had to cut down, and then to dig and remove, the roots of a venerable banyan tree, and among these roots several curiosities were found. Amongst others five small statuettes, some sitting, some standing, but all Buddhist, and indeed from the drawings in M. Textor de Ravisi's book, identical in shape, but miniatures of the Gandamas so common in British Burmah. I would also draw Sir Walter's notice to a fact he may have forgotten, that shell *chunam* is very common in many of the Buddhist temples of Burmah, and this is the more remarkable as in that country it is only their temples that are built of masonry. M. Textor de Ravisi incidentally mentions in another part of his pamphlet, "Ces idoles trouvées dans de tels conditions jointes à l'existence de la tour dont la structure indique une construction bouddhiste sembleraient démontrer que ces statues remontent à l'époque où le culte de Bouddha fut définitivement expulsé du sud de l'Hindoustan par le triomphe de Brâhmanisme." And certainly everything that was discovered seems to speak of Buddhism, for among other things a bell was discovered in the neighbourhood of the statuettes. This bell was recast and is now the college bell. The dormitory, which now stands on the place where the statuettes were found is about 60 yards from the position occupied by the ruined tower. I subjoin or enclose some rough copies of some sketches of articles found with the statuettes. I should not forget to mention among other things a human skull that was found in a kind of small arched tomb."

"With regard to the tower, one of the native Fathers now in the college, tells me that he

<sup>1</sup> ante, Vol. VII. p 234ff.

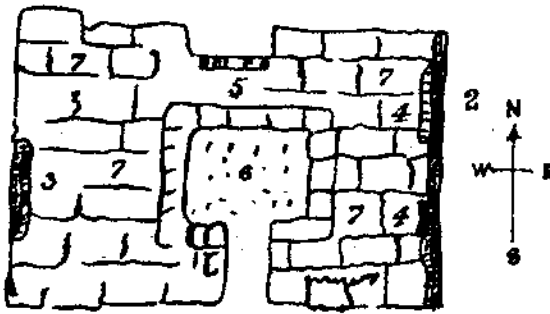
\* This looks like Chinese Buddhism.

remembers as a boy that the tower was nearly twice the height it was at the date of its final destruction, and that even then it bore the appearance of having been still higher formerly.

"I wrote the above when I was absent from the college. On my return I have consulted the *Records*, and send sketches marked A. and B., showing respectively the ground plan of the tower, and some of the ornaments dug out of the foundations of what is now one of the dormitories, and which I have already referred to above."

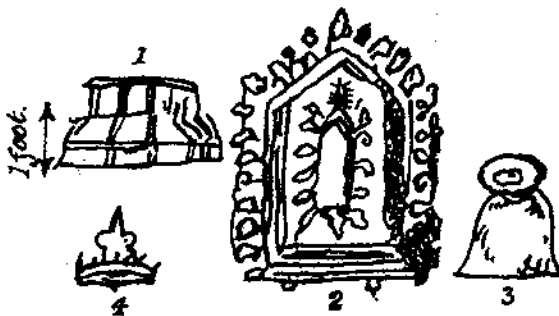
A.

"Les briques sont énormes, sous l'une d'elles au coin de l'ouest à l'intérieur on trouve quatre lames fines, étroites et courtes d'or. Voici le plan des fondements avec le coin où l'on a trouvé les lames, les fondements avaient à peu près 12 ou 13 pieds de profondeur."



1. or
2. décombres anciens
3. mur isolement bâti à la face intérieure relé par les coins au reste des fondements
- 4., 5. idem
6. sable marin
7. grandes briques.\*

B.



\* Extracts from the *Records* of St. Joseph's College, Negapatam.

\* Extract from *Records* of St. Joseph's College,

"En creusant les fondements on trouve dans la tranchée du sud-est (1) un piedestal, (2) une plaque sculptée et percée au milieu, (3) une cloche, et (4) une espèce de couronne; tout excepté la cloche en cuivre doré; dans la tranchée N. E. on trouve un crâne."\*

"To my idea the figure No. 4 corresponds to the head pieces of the Burmese Gaudamas, and so also No. 3 to the Burmese pagoda bells. But No. 2 certainly is more like Chinese than Burmese."

In conclusion, he adds the following extract\* from the *Records* of the College, having reference only to the final demolition of the edifice:—

"À une des extrémités du Collège de St. Joseph à Negapatam l'élevait, il y a six ans, une vieille tour carrée mesurant de vingt-cinq à trente pieds de côté. La hauteur de cette tour qui primitivement était de soixante-dix à soixante-quinze pieds, avait été, pour prévenir les accidents, réduite de moitié. Une ouverture unique, partant de la base au sommet, donnait entrée et jour du côté du midi. L'édifice était un mur massif de briques et de terre sans aucun caractère architectural. Aux quatre côtés de la base, de profondes excavations s'étaient formées sous l'action séculaire des sels marins. Ces excavations avaient jusqu'à huit pieds de profondeur. Au sommet et sur les côtés l'on voyait une vigoureuse végétation d'arbustes.

Récemment, quantité d'objets, depuis longtemps enfouies, appartenant au culte bouddhique, ayant été découverts dans les environs du vieux monument, on en conclut qu'il avait été un temple, consacré à Bouddha. Une opinion moins accréditée en faisait un simple point de repère (*sic*) pour les navires que approchaient de la côté, et lui attribuait une origine Hollandaise, mais la croyance populaire, sans rien déterminée de son origine et de son usage, lui attachait un caractère sacré et superstitieux."

The above particulars do not add much to our previous scanty knowledge of the old building. The most interesting fact is that of the discovery made in the foundations of

Negapatam.

\* Extract from "*Des Missions Catholiques*" of 17th July 1874.

four pieces of gold under a large brick in the west corner, which appears analogous to the deposits of gold, coral, pearl, &c., found in the Buddhist Topes, leading to the inference of a common Buddhist origin. The discovery of the skull also tends to the same conclusion.

The only other remark I have to make is in regard to the statement that "interiorly there were no traces of landing places or storeys." With reference to that I repeat what I said in

my former paper that "at the top of the lowest storey were marks in the wall showing where the floor of the second had been fixed."<sup>6</sup>

It may also be added that the statement of the native Father above mentioned, that "he remembered the tower twice as high as it was at the date of its final destruction," is easily explained by a reference to the plate at p. 226, fig. 2, Vol. VII. as it stood in 1846, and Mr. Middleton Rayne's sketch in 1866, fig. 1.

### AN ENGLISH-GIPSY INDEX.

COMPILED BY MRS. GRIERSON, WITH AN INTRODUCTORY NOTE BY G. A. GRIERSON, B.C.S.

(Continued from p. 180).

OVERCOME, to,—Potrivisaráva, (M.)  
OVERSEER,—Dikimengro, diximengro, (Eng.);  
kandinó, (M.)  
OVERTAKE, to,—Arösáva, nakavává, (M.)  
OWE, to,—Kamáva, (M.)  
OWN,—Nogo, (Eng.)  
OX,—Gurúv, guri, (Tch., Psp. M.); gheoluk, (As.  
Tch.); shéngaló, gurú, gurú, (dim.) zhun-  
káyé, (dim.) zhunkul, (M.); guruv, (M. 7)  
OX, belonging to an,—Guravanó, (Tch.)

#### P

PACK-SADDLE,—Astér, (Tch.)  
PACKET,—Kálavo, (Tch.); páchkő, (M.)  
PAIL,—Vádra, (M.)  
PAIN,—Dukaibé, (Tch.); duk, (Psp. M.)  
PAIN, to feel,—Dukáva, (Psp. M., M.)  
PAINT, to,—Makáva, (Tch., Psp. M.); mēchinis-  
ráva, (M.)  
PAINT, to cause to,—Makaváva, (Tch.)  
PAINTED, to be,—Mákliváva, (Tch.)  
PAIR,—Pérét'e, (M.)  
PAIR, of oxen,—Zhutó, (M.)  
PALACE,—Sarái, (Tch.); aulin, (M.)  
PALING,—Kiló, (Tch.); shtakhéturi, (M.)  
PALM, of the hand,—Makti, mati, (As. Tch.)  
PANTALOONS,—Dimi, dimis, karavána, 'sostén,  
(Tch.); dimi, dimish, (Psp. M.); sosten,  
(M. 8)  
PANTALOONS, he who wears,—Dimialó, sostenialó,  
(Tch.); dimialó, (Psp. M.)  
PAPER,—Lil, (Tch.); lir, lil, (Psp. M.); kaghadi,  
(As. Tch.); hōrtiyó, (M.)  
PAPER, of or belonging to,—Lilés-koro, (Tch.)  
PARADISE,—Ray, (M.)  
PARCEL,—Kálavo, (Tch.); páchkő, (M.)  
PARDON,—Artapen, (Eng.)  
PARDON, to,—Artáva, artavelláva, (Eng.); ispé-  
siáva, (M.)

PAID, to,—Yertimi, (M.)  
PARE, to,—Kusháva, (M., M. 7)  
PARROT,—Rokrenchiriclo, (Eng.)  
PART,—Párte, (M.)  
PARTNER,—Amál, (Psp. M.)  
PASS, to,—Nakáva, nikáva, (Tch.); nakáva, (Psp.  
M., M.)  
PASS, to cause to,—Nikaváva, (Tch.)  
PASSAGE,—Nakaibé, (Tch.)  
PASSENGER,—Patranki, (Psp. M.)  
PASTE,—Astráki, khomér, (Tch.)  
PASTE, of or belonging to,—Khomeriskoro, (Tch.)  
PAWN,—Simmer, (Eng.)  
PAWN-BROKERS,—Simmery-mengré, (Eng.)  
PAY, to,—Pesáva, (Eng.); plaasterer, (Span. Gip.);  
potináva, (M.); pleiskeráva, pokináva,  
(M. 8)  
PEACEFUL,—Técho, (M.)  
PEA,—Khrikhil, (M. 7).  
PEAR,—Ambról, (Tch., Psp. M.); harmó, hermó,  
(As. Tch.); ambról, (M.); ambrol, (M. 7)  
PEAR-TREE,—Ambrolin, (Tch., Psp. M.); ambrolin,  
(M.)  
PEARL,—Mörgeritár, morénkló, mērenkló, (M.)  
PEASE,—Kanior, kaunor, (Eng.); gráhos, (Tch.);  
mázere, (M.)  
PECK, to,—Curundáva, (M. 7)  
PEEL, to,—Choláva, (Tch.)  
PENITENCE,—Pokóta, (M.)  
PENMANSHIP,—Por-engri-pen, (Eng.)  
PEN-MASTER,—Por-engro, (Eng.)  
PENNY,—Hor, horo, (pl.) horry, (Eng.); féniku,  
(M.)  
PENNYWORTH,—Horsworth, (Eng.)  
PEOPLE,—Sueti, (Eng.); noródu, (M.); them,  
(M. 8)  
PEPPER,—Pipéri, (Tch.); kipér, kipéri, (M.)  
PEPPER-TREE,—Kipér, kipéri, (M.)  
PERCH, wooden, a,—Beránd, chákala, (Tch.)

<sup>6</sup> ante, Vol. VII. p. 224.

- PERCH** (a bird's)—Kurnia, (Tch.)  
**PERCEIVE**, to,—Prinzhanáva, prinjaváva, (M.)  
**PERCEIVED**, to be,—Prinzhand'ováva, (M.)  
**PERHAPS**,—Póate, (M.)  
**PERSON**,—Guero, (Eng.); jenó, (Tch., M. 7)  
**PERSPIRATION**,—Kamnioipé, (Tch.); kamlioipé, kamnioipé, (Psp. M.)  
**PERSPIRATION**, he who is in,—Kamnó, kamló, (Tch.); kamno, (M. 7)  
**PERSPIRATION**, to be in,—Kámmiováva, (Tch.)  
**PERSPIRE**, to,—Kaniaráva, khanieráva, (Tch.)  
**PESTLE**,—Piv, (M.)  
**PETTICOAT**,—Chofa, (Eng.)  
**PEWTER**,—Mollauvis, (Eng.)  
**PHILOSOPHER**,—Jinney-mengro, (Eng.)  
**PHYSICIAN**,—Dóftoru, (M.)  
**PHYSICIAN**, of or belonging to a,—Dóftoriceka, (M.)  
**PIASTRE**,—Astalo, bughlo, (Tch.); astaló, (Psp. M.)  
**PICK POCKETS**, to,—Fakáva, (Eng.)  
**PICKED UP**,—Ghedinó, (Tch.)  
**PICTURE**,—Ikóna, (M.)  
**PIECE**,—Kuttor, (Eng.); kotór, (Tch.); férém, kotór, (M.); kotor, (M. 7)  
**PIECE**, small,—Kotoricá, (M.)  
**PIECES OF GOLD**,—Poliá, (Tch.); poli, (M. 8)  
**PIECE**, to,—Chinkeráva, chingheráva, (Psp. M.); chingeráva, (M. 7); phusáva, (M. 8)  
**PIG**,—Baulo, (Eng.); baló, (Tch.); balo, (M., M. 7)  
**PIG**, of or belonging to,—Balanó, baléngoro, (Tch.)  
**PIG**, SUCKING,—Balishó, balishoró, (M.)  
**PIGEON**,—Holub, (M.)  
**PILAV**,—Beshavdó, (Tch.)  
**PIKE** (fish),—Shchúka, (M.)  
**PILLAR OF A TENT**,—Beli, (Tch., M. 7)  
**PILLOW**,—Kurlo-mengri, (Eng.); sherán, (dim.) sheranoró, (Tch.); sirank, (As. Tch.)  
**PIMPLES**,—Búgonos, (Eng.)  
**PINFOLD**,—Pandipen, (Eng.)  
**PINS**,—Skunyes, skunyor, sainyor, spinyor, (sing.) eskunyo, (Eng.); chingabar (Span. Gip.)  
**PIOUS**,—Lashó, (M.)  
**PIPE**,—Swegler, swingle, (Eng.)  
**PISMIRE**,—Krior, (Eng.)  
**PISTOL**,—Pistólu, (M.)  
**PIT**,—Gáva, khar, (Psp. M.); groapa, (M.)  
**PITCH**,—Récty, (M.)  
**PITCHER**,—Koro, koru, (Eng.); burkán, (M.)  
**PITCH-FORK**,—Possey-mengri, (Eng.)  
**PITY**,—Bezéh, (Psp. M.)  
**PITY**, to,—Bánuiáva, (M.)  
**PITYLESS**,—Bi-bukéngoro, (Tch.)  
**PLACE**,—Tan, (Eng.); búrji, tan, (dim.) tanoró, (Tch.); tan, (Psp. M.); lok, than, (M.); than, (M. 8)  
**PLACE**, (distant),—Khíndyemi, híndyemi, (Tch.)  
**PLACE**, to,—Chiváva, chuváva, (Eng.); tovává, (Tch.); shuváva, thoáva, énképisaráva, (M.); thovává, (M. 8)  
**PLACE ONESELF**, to,—Asháva, (M.)  
**PLACENTA**,—Chiibé, (Tch.)  
**PLAGUE**,—Kaenina-flipen, (Eng.); ohúma, (Tch.)  
**PLAIT**, to,—Kuváva, khuváva, (Tch.); khuváva, (M. 7)  
**PLAIT OF HAIR**,—Chunr, churn, (Tch.)  
**PLAITS**, to undo,—Buruváva, (Tch.)  
**PLANE**,—Sanidí, (Tch.); zépláda, (M.)  
**PLATE**,—Cháro, (Eng.); charó, (Tch., Psp. M.); tilále, (M.); charo, (M. 7)  
**PLATTER**,—Skourdilla, (Eng.)  
**PLAY**, to,—Kiláva, (Eng.); keláva, (Tch.); kheláva, gheláva, delabáva, kéláva, (M.)  
**PLAY**, to cause to,—Kelaváva, kelghiaráva, (Tch.)  
**PLAYER OF INSTRUMENTS**,—Killi-mengro, (Eng.); (Psp. M.); kelnó, (Tch.)  
**PLEASE**, to,—Chaláva, (M. 7)  
**PLEDGE**,—Simmer, (Eng.)  
**PLENTY**,—Dusta, dósta, (Eng.)  
**PLOUGH**,—Puvvesti churi, (Eng.); panghiardó, (Tch.); plógu, (M.)  
**PLOUGH**, to,—Arisaráva, (M.)  
**PLOUGHED**, to be,—Arisard'ováva, (M.)  
**PLUCK**, to,—Kiddáva, (Eng.)  
**PLUG**,—T'iló, (M.)  
**PLUM**,—Dáriya durtíl, (Eng.); erík, kiláv, (Tch.); helí, helon, (As. Tch.); porík, (M.); kilav, (Psp. M., M. 7); slivi, (M. 8)  
**PLUM-PUDDING**,—Dáriya durtileskie guyi, (Eng.)  
**PLUM-TREE**,—Erikín, kilavín, (Tch.); kilavín, (Psp. M., M. 7)  
**PLUNDER**,—Hetaváva, (Eng.)  
**POCKET**,—Putsi, (Eng.); boshka, jébbá, (Tch.); pusét'i, puset'i, (M.); posit'i, (M. 8)  
**POCKET-BOOK**,—Putsi-lil, (Eng.)  
**POINT**,—Agór, (loc.) agoré, (abl.) agorál, (Tch.); agór, (M. 7)  
**POINTED**,—Askucumi, (M.)  
**POISON**,—Drab, drav, (Eng.)  
**POISON-MONGER**,—Drab-engro, drav-engro, (Eng.)  
**POISON**, to,—Drabáva, (Eng.)  
**POLE**,—Berand, (M. 7)  
**POLICEMAN**,—Hok-hornie-mush, (Eng.)  
**POMEGRANATE**,—Daráv, (tree) daravín, (Psp. M.)  
**POND**,—Yázo, yázu, táu, (M.)  
**POOL**,—Yázeru, (M.)  
**POOR**,—(masc.) Choredó, (fem.) choredi, choro, chovenó, (fem.) choveni, (Eng.); choró, (Tch.); choní, (As. Tch.); chororo, (Span. Gip.); choró, chorú, (M.); choro, gero, (M. 7); choro, (Psp. M.)  
**POOR**, to become,—Chóriováva, (Tch.); choran-ováva, (M.)

POOR FELLOW,—Tororo, (Eng.)  
 POOR LITTLE THING,—Chororó, (Tch.)  
 POPLAR,—Plópu, (M.)  
 POPPY,—Máko, máku, (M.)  
 POPPY-BLOSSOM,—Rázha-máko, (M.)  
 PORK,—Baulie-mas, (Eng.)  
 PORTION,—Bazin, (Tch.)  
 POSITION,—Stan, (M. 8)  
 POSSIBLE,—Astis, (Eng.); shay, (M. 8)  
 POST,—Kilo, (M. 7)  
 POSTERIOR,—Bul, (Eng.); vul, bul, (Tch., M. 8)  
 POT,—Pirry, koro, koru, (Eng.); piri, (dim.) pirori,  
 takhtái, (Tch.); piri, (M.); kuchi, (M. 7);  
 piri, (M. 8)  
 POTS, one who makes or sells,—Piriángoro, (Tch.)  
 POT, chamber,—Kathy'ki, khendiardó, (Tch.)  
 POTATO,—Pov-engro, (Eng.); haiva sev, (As.  
 Tch.)  
 POTATO, of or belonging to,—Pov-engreskoe,  
 (Eng.)  
 POTTER,—Koro-mengro, (Eng.)  
 POUND,—Pandipen, (Eng.)  
 POUNDED,—Pando, (Eng.)  
 POUND STERLING, a,—Bar, bas, base, (Eng.); bar,  
 (Span. Gip.); bar, (Hun. Gip.)  
 POUR, to,—Choráva, dèrniáva, dèruisaráva, shu-  
 váva, (M.); choráva, (M. 7)  
 POVERTY,—Choriness, (Eng.); choripé, (Tch.)  
 POWER,—Mándin, (M.); sila, (M. 8)  
 PRAISE, to,—Lèudiáva, (M.); usharáva, asharáva,  
 (Tch. M. 8); asharáva, (Psp. M.)  
 PRAISE ONESELF, to,—Lèudipard'ováva, (M.)  
 PRAISE,—Usharibé, (Tch.)  
 PRAY, to,—Moliskeráva, moliseráva, (Tch.); poftiá-  
 va, poftisaráva, (M.)  
 PRAYER, the Lord's,—Ochenáshu, (M.)  
 PREGNANCY,—Kabnioibé, kamnioibé, (Tch.)  
 PREGNANT,—Kambori, kambri, (Eng.); kabni,  
 kamni, (Tch.); kamni, (Psp. M., M.)  
 PREPARE, to,—Pomnisard'ováva, (M.)  
 PRESERVES,—Goshaló, (Tch.); potrávka, (M.)  
 PRESS,—Bófcha, (Tch.)  
 PRESS, to,—Spidáva, (M.)  
 PRETENDED GOLD RINGS,—Fashono wangustis,  
 (Eng.)  
 PRETTY,—Sukár, shukár, (dim.) sukaroró, (Tch.);  
 bakyz, pakézi, (As. Tch.)  
 PRICKLES,—Busnis, buenior, (Eng.)  
 PRIEST,—Rashi, (Eng.); rashái, (Tch.); pópa,  
 rashay, (M.); rashay, (M. 8); rashái,  
 (Psp. M.)  
 PRIEST, wife of a,—Rashani, (Tch.)  
 PRINCE,—Vóda, voyevóda, (M.)  
 PRISON,—Staripen, pandipen, (Eng.); damia,  
 kotésh, kotés, (Tch.); phandaipf, (M.)  
 PRISONER,—Storey, staro-mengro, (Eng.); damia-  
 koro, (Tch.)

PRIZE,—Astaribé, (Tch.)  
 PROCLAIM, to,—Koráva, (Eng.)  
 PROFLIGATE,—Bléstémáto, (M.)  
 PROFIT,—Koshtipen, (Eng.)  
 PROFIT, to get,—Leláva kappi, (Eng.)  
 PROOF,—Próba, (M.)  
 PROF,—Pikaló, (Psp. M.)  
 PROPERTY,—T'em, zhéltá, (M.)  
 PROSPERITY,—Bakht, (Tch.)  
 PROSTITUTE,—Lubni, piriant, lumni, nobli, rubli,  
 kelavdi, (Tch.); kúrvá, (M.); lubni, (M. 8);  
 See HARLOT.  
 PROVE, to,—Mucuisard'ováva, (M.)  
 PROVERB,—Povedinka, (M.)  
 PROVINCE,—Dis, (Tch.)  
 PRUDENT,—God'avér, godavér, (M.)  
 PRUNE,—Apúrnes, (Tch.)  
 PUBLIC, (adj.)—Teméskoro, (Tch.)  
 PUBLIC HOUSE,—Kitchema, (Eng.)  
 PUDDING,—Gáf, gúi, (Eng.); golli, (Span. Gip.)  
 PULI, to,—Tardáva, tardáva, (Eng.); chiváva,  
 (Tch.); cèrdáva, tèrèiáva, (M.); cidáva,  
 chiváva, (M. 7); tradáva, trdáva, varáva,  
 (M. 8)  
 PULLED OFF, to be,—Shindováva, (M.)  
 PULPIT,—Rashieskey rokkring tan, (Eng.)  
 PUMPKIN,—Gudló dudóm, (Tch.)  
 PURCHASE,—Kinnipen, (Eng.)  
 PURCHASING-DAY,—Kinnipen-divvus, (Eng.)  
 PURSE,—Kisseh, kiasi, putai, (Eng.); kisi, panli,  
 banli, (Tch.); kisi, (M. 7)  
 PURSLAIN,—Tráva, (Tch.)  
 PURSUER,—Plastra-mengro, (Eng.)  
 PURULENT,—Pumbaló, (Tch.)  
 PUS,—Pumb, (Tch.); rimi, (As. Tch.); phumb,  
 (M. 8)  
 PUSH, to,—Shuváva, (M.)  
 PUT, to,—Chiváva, chivaváva, (Eng.); shuváva,  
 thoáva, (M.)  
 PUT ON, to,—Émpřezhurisaráva, (M.)  
 PUT IN ORDER, to,—Anaskerizava, (Tch.)  
 PUT THE HORSES TO, to,—Énzhugisaráva, (M.)  
 PUT DOWN, to,—Biáva, (Tch.)

## Q

QUARREL, to,—Chingáva, (Eng.)  
 QUART MEASURE,—Bánica, (M.)  
 QUEEN,—Dakarni, kralícha, (Tch.)  
 QUESTION,—Puchibé, (Tch.)  
 QUICK,—Sig, (Eng.); singó, (Span. Gip.); sigó,  
 singó, taró, (Tch.); repedúsh, (M.); yito,  
 (M. 7); sigo, (Psp. M., M. 8)  
 QUICKLY,—Ségo, ségu, ségá, ségě, (M.)  
 QUICKNESS,—Siguibé, (Tch.)  
 QUIET,—Móikom, (M.)  
 QUINCE,—Haiva, (As. Tch.)

## R

- RABBIT,—Sheshu, shoshoi, (Eng.); shoshoi, (Hun. Gip.)  
 RACE,—Koshia, (Tch.)  
 RACE-COURSE,—Nashimescro-tan, (Eng.)  
 RACER,—Nashimescro, (Eng.)  
 RAG,—Chandi, kirpa, ekirpa, (Tch.); chandi, (M. 7)  
 RAGE,—Kholin, (Tch.)  
 RAGGED,—Chandilo, (Tch.)  
 RAILROAD CARRIAGE,—Yag-vardo, (Eng.)  
 RAIN,—Brishen, brisheno, (Eng.); brishen, burshin, brishindô, (Tch.); varsündi, (As. Tch.); breahino, (Hun. Gip.); brëshënd, brëshën, (M.); brushindô, burshin, (Psp. M.); brishin, (M.)  
 RAINS, it—Dêla, (Psp. M.)  
 RAINY,—Brisheneskey, (Eng.); brishindêskoro, (Tch.)  
 RAISE, to,—Tardâva, tardrâva, (Eng.); lâzdâva, (Tch., M. 8)  
 RAISED, to be,—Lazdniovava, (Tch.)  
 RAISIN,—Porik, (Tch., Psp. M.); chamik, (Tch.)

- RAKE,—Lokâni, (Tch.)  
 RAKE UP, to,—Rêpâzësard'ovâva, (M.)  
 RAM, like a,—Herbechicékê, (M.)  
 RANSOM, to—Kinâva aley, (Eng.)  
 RAT,—Kermusô, mishâkos, mushâkos, mussô, mushô, mûssos, (Tch.); mushk, (As. Tch.); (pl. acc.) guzanonân, (M.); kermusô, (M. 7); musho, (M. 8)  
 RAVEN,—Chôrê; (pl.) kôrbi, (M.)  
 RAVINE,—Lin, ilin, (Tch.); lûhu, (M.)  
 REACH, to,—Arêsâva, lâva, ênzarâva, (M.); khudâva, (M. 7); resâva, (Tch. M. 8)  
 READ, to,—Delâva-oprey, (Eng.); drabarâva, chitisarâva, (M.); drabarâva, (M. 7)  
 READY,—Gâta, (M.)  
 REASON,—Gëndu, (M.)  
 RECKON, to—Ginâva, (Eng.)  
 RECKONING,—Ginnipen, (Eng.); nûmôr, nûmero, numerô, sâma, (M.)  
 RED,—Lollo, lullo, (Eng.); lolô, (Tch.); lohori, lohri, (As. Tch.); lolô, (M., M. 8., Psp. M.)  
 RED, to become,—Loliovâva, (Tch.); lol'ovâva, (M.)  
 RED CLOAK,—Lolli plaishita, (Eng.)  
 RED HERRING,—Lollo matcho, (Eng.)

## MISCELLANEA.

SRIPATHA, THE ANCIENT  
SANSKRIT NAME OF BYANA.

I have published (*ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 8ff.) two epigraphical instances in which the ancient Sanskrit name of Byânâ, the chief town of the Byânâ Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Bharatpur State in Râjputânâ, is given as Śrīpathâ.

A third instance is now available in another Byânâ inscription, of which General Cunningham has given a lithograph in *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XX. Pl. xvii. No. 2 (see also *id.* p. 65), and which commences—

Om || Siddhi || Samvat 1503 varshê Âshâdha  
 va di 9. Śanau dinê śrī-Śrīpathâyâm, &c.

I notice that, at page 61 of the same volume, General Cunningham gives the ancient name of the town as Pathayâmpuri, and adds—"This 'I believe to have been the original name of the place, and also of the present name of Bayâna. For, by the simple elision of the *th*, Payâmpuri, 'or Bayâmpur, might easily be shortened to Bayâna.' It seems sufficient to add here that no such name as Pathayâmpuri ever existed; it is simply a mistake originating in a total misunderstanding of the locative case *Śrī-Śrīpathâyâm, puri*, 'at the glorious city of Śrīpathâ,' in line 6 of the Byânâ inscription edited by me (*ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 10.)

J. F. FLEET.

23rd March 1886.

DR. PETERSON'S EDITION OF THE  
SUBHASHITAVALI OF VALLABHADEVA.

I came across this book a short time ago at a friend's house; and looked into it because, though not myself a Sanskrit scholar, I take sufficient interest in the subject to be able to read with pleasure, and, I trust, with profit, prefaces of and introductions to such works as this.

In the present instance the Preface consists of pp. i. to ix. Pages i. and ii. on which the learned Professor describes how he has compiled and collated the present work, and how he acquired his coadjutor, are interesting. But from this point onward there is much in respect of which he has laid himself open to serious misapprehension, not to say blame.

On p. iii. he joins issue with Fitz-Edward Hall as to the proper estimate to be formed of Subandhu and "his fellow Asiatics," and concludes with the following appeal:—"It is enough to ask the reader if he finds it difficult to recognize, in the verses that follow, the 'touch of nature.'" Here follow a considerable number of passages selected from the extracts forming this volume, which are ingeniously compared with passages taken from works in other languages.

Now, whatever may be the advantage, and I personally can see none, of seeking identic phrases in works of authors separated in time by many years and in distance by many thousands of miles,

it must, I think, be admitted that mere identity of form does not predicate identity of essence. If, however, Professor Peterson, or any one else, derives either profit or pleasure from wandering through such a literary puzzlement, he is fully entitled to enjoy his fancy, so long as he does so in private, or, in public, confines himself to profane authors.

But, in the name of Christianity and of good taste, I feel bound to protest most strongly against the use, for such purposes, of passages taken from the Bible.

My friend gave me literal translations of several of the passages referred to on pp. vi. to ix. of the Preface; and it is certainly only by a considerable stretch of the imagination that Dr. Peterson's etherealized adaptations can be found in the Sanskrit originals.

To two passages I would particularly invite attention. In No. 3487, on p. vii., in the bald words "Worship to Śiva," Dr. Peterson finds a prototype for the opening petition of our Lord's Prayer. I would merely ask him, Does he consider such a comparison to be in accordance with propriety and good taste? Can he find any real point of similarity between the purely heathen Śiva of Hindu mythology, and the Almighty Father of our Christian Religion? No. 3509, on p. viii. is another glaring instance of bad taste. It is a complete puzzle to me how any one can possibly identify the mythical nectar of the Hindus with the Water of Life, promised by Our Saviour, and so can find, in the rest of the verse, any analogy to the sublime scene between the dying Christ and the penitent thief.

Possibly such comparisons might be necessary,

and even interesting, in a work in which the dogmas of Hinduism are compared with the theology of Christianity. But, in a book which is destined to be a mere text-book for immature schoolboys and irreverent undergraduates, it would have been in better taste had Professor Peterson sought for his analogous passages elsewhere than in the sacred writings of the Christian religion.

It is often charged against us foreigners in India, that we do too little to impress the Natives with any idea that we really believe in the Christian religion. This negative charge is too often well sustained. But I would ask, Is it necessary to add to our sin of omission that of commission?

This work is brought out under the auspices and at the expense of Government. Does our Government, which is nominally a Christian one, exercise any censorship over its educational publications? Does it do anything to prevent our English Bible from being debased into a common school primer, and thereby becoming "a byword among the heathen, a shaking of the head among the people?" When works, with Prefaces of this nature, are issued under official sanction, it is surely time that Government should intervene.

Dr. Peterson will, I trust, not be altogether displeased that he has "drawn a critic's fire" on this part of his work. But, as one who entertains a great admiration for his high abilities, I would ask him in the name of good taste, if on no higher grounds, to cancel pp. vi. to ix. and illustration No. 1059 of his Preface in all future editions, of which I hope there may be many.

G. M. C.

20th May 1886.

### BOOK NOTICES.

THE SUBHĀSHITĀVALI of VALLABHADĒVA. Bombay Sanskrit Series; No. 30. Edited by Professor PETER PETERSON, B.A., and Pandit DURGAPRASADA, Son of Pandit Vajralala. Bombay; Education Society's Press. 1886. 8vo. pp. ix., 141, 623, and 104.

The thirtieth number of the Bombay Sanskrit Series brings, in the edition of Vallabhadēva's *Subhāshitāvali* and its accompaniments, most important contributions to the history of classical Sanskrit poetry. When I first found this work in Kāśmīr, which through a mistaken confidence in some interpolated passages I attributed to Śrīvara, it struck me at once that a book had come to light which if explored by a competent hand, would yield results as interesting for the student of classical Sanskrit as those gained by Professor Aufrecht from Śārngadhara's extensive *Paddhati*. Want of leisure prevented me, however, from doing more than expressing this view.

Later on, the MSS. which I had acquired were sent to Professor Aufrecht, who in an article on the work, published in Professor Weber's *Indische Studien*, corrected my mistake concerning its author, and gave some extracts from it. In the course of his search for Sanskrit MSS. Dr. Peterson found two more and, it would seem, better copies. He has now given us, in conjunction with Pandit Durgaprasada of Jaipur, an edition which certainly will be most useful, nay indispensable, to every Sanskritist, both for the critical restoration of many classical texts and for the study of the history of classical poetry.

The text of Vallabha's Anthology is made up of 3527 quotations, culled from the compositions of between three and four hundred different poets. The Editors have not only duly numbered each verse, but have added an alphabetical list



of the *Pratīkas* or opening words of the extracts, and valuable critical and explanatory notes. The names of the authors have been arranged alphabetically in the Introduction; and under each name the *Pratīkas* of the verses, marked with it, have been shown once more. A good deal of interesting information has been added from other sources, especially from various articles by Professor Aufrecht, published in the *Journal* of the German Oriental Society.

This list of poets shews that Vallabhadēva, who was a Kāśmīrian, has chiefly drawn on the literature of his native country and of the northern half of India. Some famous southern poets, such as Daṇḍin, are neglected, probably because their works were as little known to Vallabhadēva as to his countrymen of the present day. More curious is the omission of the great Paramāra Bhōja of Dhārā, whose less famous descendant, Arjunadēva (Intr. p. 5), has received consideration. The list also shows, as the Editors point out (Intr. p. 114), that the author of the *Subhāshitāvalī* cannot be placed earlier than in the first half of the fifteenth century A.D. For he quotes Jōnarāja, the author of the *Rājāvalī*, and contemporary of Zainulābuddīn of Kāśmīr. Want of space makes it impossible for me to notice all the numerous interesting and important points contained in the Introduction. But I cannot refrain from calling attention to some among them as well as to some passages where I differ from the Editors. Under *Kālidāsa-Māghau* (p. 23) the Editors express the opinion that this signature, which is appended to verse 3380, goes to show that a Kālidāsa and Māgha wrote at least one joint poem. Without wishing to dispute the possibility of this interpretation, I cannot but point out that the signature may have a very different meaning. It may indicate nothing more than that the same verse occurred in otherwise independent compositions of a Kālidāsa and of Māgha. Plagiarism is not unknown in India. In legal literature phrases analogous to the above signature, such as *atrāpi Manu-Dēvalau* or *atha Manu-Vasishṭhau*, refer to identical verses in the separate Smṛitis of Manu, Dēvala and Vasishṭha, while *atha Śaṅkha-Likhitaū* indicates the reputed joint composition of the two sages named.

Under Kumāradāsa (p. 25), we have besides the verse from the *Auchityavichārachārcha*, which contains the pāda quoted in the *Mahābhāṣya*, the very interesting information, attributed to a Rājāsēkhara, that Kumāradāsa wrote a poem entitled *Janaktharāna*, after the composition of (Kālidāsa's) *Rāghuvamśa*. This new information is, I think, extremely important. It probably

will greatly help to solve the difficulties, which the agreement of the end of Kumāradāsa's verse with the quotation in the *Mahābhāṣya* has raised. This solution, I think, will not confirm the suspicions, expressed by Dr. Peterson and others, against the antiquity of the *Mahābhāṣya*. Eventually, I believe, we shall find that Kumāradāsa is not quoted by Patañjali, but that he has taken the fourth pāda of his verse from the *Bhāṣya* and has treated it like a samasyā.

The list of Kshēmendra's works (p. 27-28) requires some additions; see S. Lévy, *Journal Asiatique*, Nov.-Dec. 1885, p. 309.

Under Pāṇini, the editors give a *résumé* of all that is known as yet regarding the poet Pāṇini, and a recapitulation of the arguments tending to prove his identity with the grammarian. There can be no doubt that the later Hindus have believed in this identity. I cannot say that I am prepared to assert that they must be wrong. I see nothing unreasonable in Dr. Peterson's supposition that Pāṇini may have used, in obedience to the usage of the poets of his day, grammatical forms which his grammar sanctions "*chhandasi*." Nor can I believe that, if the grammarian Pāṇini did write a Kāvya, he must, for that reason, be supposed to have lived in the fourth or fifth Century A.D. The Kāvya literature, and the rules of the *Alaṅkāraśāstra*, are, in my opinion, much older than is commonly asserted. One of the points, hitherto left out of consideration, is the character of some old inscriptions. The description of king Śātakaṃpi in the great Nāsik inscription (*Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 108, No. 18) reads very much like a passage from Bāṇa. It evidently has been composed by a man acquainted with the rules of the *Alaṅkāraśāstra*, and with a literature based on it. Yet this document belongs, according to those who place it latest, to the first half of the second century A.D.; in my opinion, to the beginning of the first. Considering all things, I am inclined to say regarding the Pāṇini question, with Dr. Peterson,—"Let us then wait."

Rājāsēkhara, the dramatist (pp. 100-103), is now pushed back to the middle of the eighth century A.D. One of the arguments put forward by the Editors I would no longer use. I think that it is hazardous to maintain the identity of Kshīrasvāmin, the Commentator of the *Amarakośha*, with Kshīra, the teacher of Jayāpīḍa (not Jayasimha, as the Editors say). If the second argument, the statement that king Mahēndrapāla who was reigning in 761, was Rājāsēkhara's pupil, is based on the date of the Dighwā-Dubauli Plate published by Mr. Fleet

(ante, Vol. XV. p. 107), I think that it requires further corroboration. A Mahēndrapāla may have reigned at Kanauj in 761 A. D.; but it has not been shown that this king was Rājasēkhara's Nirbhaya-Mahēndrapāla, the father of Mahtpāla. According to the inscription the sons of Mahēndrapāla were Bhōja II. and Vināyakapāla.

With respect to Rudrata and Ruyyaka Prof. Pichel's new publication "*Rudrata's Śringārati-laka* and Ruyyaka's *Sahridayallā*" must be compared. Dr. Peterson gains one victory over me. Ruyyaka was certainly also called Ruchaka, a point which I doubted in my view of his Second Report.

In conclusion, I must add that the volume has been most appropriately dedicated to Professor Aufrecht, who has first shown the great importance of the Sanskrit Anthologies. I must also express the wish that future numbers of the Bombay Sanskrit Series may bring equally handy editions of some of the other unprinted Anthologies.

G. BÜHLER.

I had myself drafted a notice of the above-mentioned book, but have very gladly substituted the one received from Dr. Bühler. In doing so, however, there is one feature in the book, not touched upon by him, as to which I feel myself bound to make some remarks.

I refer to the nature of the Preface. It is unnecessary for me to say much, as I have given insertion above to a letter which shows how the matter strikes an independent observer. But I will add, that I agree emphatically with what the writer of that letter has said, and consider it a matter for, to say the least, extreme regret, that the Scriptural comparisons referred to should have been introduced. If the similarities that are presented could be shewn to exist in reality,—I mean apart from the glamour that is thrown over the Sanskrit texts by Dr. Peterson's poetical imagination and skill in free translation,—they might form an interesting topic for treatment in a separate special paper or pamphlet. But, in a book like this, which is not concerned in the most remote degree with the subject of Comparative Religion, and is only an ordinary educational text-book that will be used principally in Hindu Schools and Colleges, they are entirely out of place, and should not have been introduced. It is to be hoped that in future editions they will be expunged, both from the Preface and from the Notes (see, for instance, the Notes to Extracts 17, 22, and 225.)

J. F. FLEET.

12th June 1886.

THE SACRED KURRAL OF TIRUVALLUVAR NARAYANAR,  
by the Rev. G. U. POPE, D.D. London: Allen & Co.

One of the most interesting works on things Indian is about to be produced by W. H. Allen & Co., the well-known firm of oriental publishers, from the pen of Dr. Pope, already so favourably known for his studies in the Tamil language. The *Kurral* is not only the first work in its own language, but, as "one of the highest and purest expressions of human thought," has also an interest far beyond the ten millions of speakers of Tamil. It is therefore an event of some importance when a scholar entitled to speak with such authority as Dr. Pope undertakes to bring it once more before the European public.

The form in which it is to be given is that of a carefully revised text, accompanied with a metrical version in English, a grammatical excursus, and a complete Lexicon and Concordance. In order also to make the work as valuable as possible, the Latin version of Beschi and the renderings of Ellis are to be added. On the whole, the form of the book is somewhat didactic, and it is indeed an introduction to the poetical dialect of Tamil. But the versified renderings of the original couplets will make it a book that the student of Indian thought will do well to study on that account alone. I would suggest the separate publication of the translation as a work of pure literature and one of no small interest withal. In its present form the book is one rather for the scholar than the general reader.

A work like this has, of course, been a long while on the stocks, and specimens of its style were published in this Journal as long ago as 1878-81 (Vols. VII. to X.): but it must be understood that it will now be published in a far completer form than in those early specimens.

It is characteristic of an Indian book that it should be without date and anonymous, and the *Kurral* of Tiruvalluvar is no exception to the rule. It is in fact nameless as well as anonymous, for *Kurral* really means nothing but 'couplet,' and Tiruvalluvar is a mere title of the priestly teachers of the lowly Paraiyars (Pariahs) of Madras. Of the author nothing is really known except that he was a weaver and lived at Mayilāpur, that suburb of Madras Town renowned throughout the Christian world as S. Thomé, one of the earliest sites of Christianity in India. From this ancient Christian village came one of the grandest productions of man's brain, much of which bears so strong a resemblance in thought to the *Sermon on the Mount*. It has accordingly been argued ere this, with much show of probability, that the teaching of the Gospel influenced the nameless weaver of Mayilāpur. I would, however, deprecate too

much stress being laid on this fact, and I perhaps sufficiently indicate my reasons by drawing attention to the Buddhist *Khuddaka-Pāṭha*, which so clearly reflects the same doctrines.

The *Kurraḷ* is divided into three books, Virtue, Wealth, and Love; and these again, leaving out the introduction, into 8 sections and 129 sub-divisions, embracing really in a series of short stanzas the whole ethics of the daily life, not of any particular race or people, but of mankind generally; though in a truly Indian fashion the last book does not treat of 'love' in a spiritual sense, but as *kāma*, i.e. sensual love. In its own land the *Kurraḷ* owes its popularity as much to the beauty of its versification as to its morality, but it is its breadth of view and its speaking to the heart of man that must make it a favourite with the world at large; and it is undoubtedly these qualities which have made all sects of Hindus in Madras claim the author as their own, just as Hindu and Muhammadan in Northern India alike claimed that other great eclectic weaver, the mediæval reformer, Kabir, feeling that he spoke not to any sect, not to any form of religion even, but to the whole of mankind. As regards the *Kurraḷ* it has so sunk into the hearts of the Tamil people, and so captivated their fancy, that, though composed so long ago (say between 800 and 1000 A.D.), they have preserved it almost intact, repeating it with an infinite variety of commentary indeed, but with a nearly identical textual reading. In this respect it affords a great contrast to the great popular ethical poem of the North, for the *Kabīr-Sāgar* vary as the editions.

Ellipsis rules over Tamil poetry, and to such an extent is this the case that the poetical dialect is a thing apart in the language. To this dialect as exhibited in the pure unadulterated diction of the *Kurraḷ*, a complete introduction is to be given in the grammatical remarks, vocabulary and concordance which Dr. Pope will attach to his version. In better hands this part of the subject could not be left.

R. C. TEMPLE.

A COMPENDIUM OF THE CASTES AND TRIBES found in India, By E. J. KITTS, B.C.S. Bombay: Education Society's Press.

This work covers the whole of India, for it includes the important item of the Native States, and the information contained in it is of the latest, being based on the Census of 1881.

In his introduction to this very useful and clear compilation, the author rightly says that "the subject as a whole has indeed been a mighty maze without a plan," and in the six sets of tables, which comprise his *Compendium*, he

has endeavoured to supply a bird's-eye view of the entire system of the Castes and Tribes of India, so far as strength and distribution are concerned.

Difficulties, however, soon met him as he proceeded with his task, for the completeness of the various Census Returns in this respect differ enormously. For instance, in Madras minuteness was overdone, while in the North-West Provinces whole castes were omitted from the category. Identification, too, can have been no slight task, what with variations in the matter of transliteration and indeed of actual vernacular spelling and pronunciation of caste names, and the ignorance of compiling clerks and census enumerators, which 'made havoc' with many names. Then again, castes which have wandered have found separate appellations in many places, leading to a host of synonyms by no means easy of detection. The sub-division of castes, too, is a hard nut to crack, and far from being free from controversy, however conscientiously it is tackled.

An enumeration of Mr. Kitts' "Lists" will best show how he has endeavoured to bring out the main facts of the Indian castes as evidenced by numbers and collocation. List I. contains the important castes—i.e. those that number 1,000 and upwards or which are found in more than one Province or Native State. List II. contains the small castes, and includes those best to be described as the converse of those entered in List I. List III. shows the synonyms and sub-divisions of the large castes, and List IV. gives them in the order of numerical strength. List V. gives the occupations of the great castes. And List VI. is very important as showing all those that number over 100,000 and their strength whenever they exceed 25,000 in any district, and also as showing the percentage of each caste in any district where it forms more than 10 per cent. of the total population.

It will be seen that these lists are valuable, not only to the ethnological investigator, but also to the politician, if such a term can be applied to those who, in India, have the government of the country in their hands.

Three indices are supplied, (i) to Lists I., II. and III.; (ii) to Lists IV. and V.; and (iii) to List VI. and the Lists themselves are so printed as to bring out the facts they refer to as clearly as possible. On the whole, we have no hesitation in saying that Mr. Kitts is to be heartily congratulated in having produced a work which will be of material benefit to all persons interested in the Ethnography of India, and which has materially advanced that study.

THE ANDAMAN ISLANDERS, by E. H. MAN, Assistant Superintendent, Andaman and Nicobar Islands, F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S., etc. London, Trübner & Co.

The Andaman Islanders are to be congratulated on having so indefatigable and capable an officer as Mr. Man placed over them. In this work he has indeed insured them a place in the list of nationalities, a kind office they are badly in want of, for these poor naked savages are, as is the fate of all such, fast disappearing from off the face of the earth before the march of European civilisation.

There is a special interest attaching to the Andamanese. They are a race of coal black pigmies, with woolly hair, consisting of nine tribes closely allied ethnologically and speaking nine languages, differing altogether from each other as such, but of an obviously common origin philologically speaking. Ethnologically they have, like all true 'races,' peculiarities of physical structure proper to themselves, and philologically their language is a special one, showing relationship to no other. They thus stand apart in the world, as it were, and form to the anthropologist a subject of extraordinary interest.

Mr. Man's work is an exhaustive study of these tribes conducted with scientific accuracy of inquiry and systematic care. It ranges over the whole subject of ethnological research, and consists of a series of notes on nearly every conceivable point that can be studied with a view to a proper understanding of a savage race. It is divided into three parts, which may be roughly said to deal with the development of the Andamanese physically, mentally and socially. The work for easy cross reference is divided off into paragraphs, but the index refers to the pages, and it is accompanied by many plates, mostly permanent reproductions of Mr. Man's own photographs. It is further enriched by a *Report of Researches into the Language of the South Andaman Islands*, taken as a model of the whole group, by Mr. A. J. Ellis, F.R.S., late President of the Philological Society, in which its peculiarities are well exhibited. These are that the opposite principles of suffixed and prefixed grammatical affixes are both in full use,—a phenomenon apparently confined to this group,—and the expression of pronominal adjectives by prefixes,—a principle nowhere else so fully developed. Otherwise the language is agglutinative, following the principles common to that class.

The above is but an imperfect sketch of this remarkable work, which is not only a model of anthropological research, but also of unusual interest.

VEDACHRESTOMATHIE. Herausgegeben und mit einem Glossar versehen von A. HILLEBRANDT. Berlin, 1885.

In the German Universities where Sanskrit is mainly studied for general philological purposes, more attention is paid to the Vedic language than to that of the later classical and post-classical literature: and several exclusively Vedic chrestomathies have of late appeared, to be used as text-books at the professional lectures. Delbrück led the way in 1874: the texts selected by him (from the *Rigvéda* only) are accompanied by footnotes and a glossary. Professor Windisch brought out, in 1883, twelve *Rigvéda* hymns with Sâyana's commentary and a glossary to it, with a view to familiarizing the student with the Hindu system of interpreting the *Veda*. Anyone who has grappled with the peculiar difficulties which the method and diction of the commentators present to the learner, will be able to appreciate the services rendered by the Professor as a guide on that rugged path. The most recent manual is the *Vedachrestomathie* by Professor A. Hillebrandt, of Breslau, which gives not only 39 hymns, or portions of hymns, of the *Rigvéda*, but also twelve taken from the *Atharvaveda*, passages from the *Śatapatha* and *Aitareya-Brâhmanas*, and a chapter from the *Chândîgya-Upanishad*, with the necessary complement of a full glossary. The editor, who has for many years almost exclusively been engaged on Vedic research, and is now bringing out, in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, an edition of the *Sânkhayana-Srautasutra*, has already made his mark by several valuable monographs on Vedic mythology and ritual (on the goddess Aditi, 1876; on Varuna and Mitra, 1877; on the new and full moon sacrifices of the ancient Hindus, 1880). We hope to meet him again in a field of Indian scholarship which he has been cultivating with such zeal and signal success.

SEVEN GRAMMARS OF THE DIALECTS AND SUBDIALECTS OF THE BIHARI LANGUAGE. Part V. the South Maithili Dialect. By G. A. GRIERSON, B.C.S. Calcutta; Secretariat Press.

The first four of these Grammars were reviewed at length in our last volume by Mr. Beames, and it is sufficient now to welcome the issue of the fifth. The South Maithili Dialect comprises the speech about South Darbhanga, North Mungér and the Mâdhepurâ Sub-Division of Bhâgalpur. The grammar before us is compiled with the same minuteness and the same care that has so distinguished its predecessors. The language differs from that of Northern Maithili by its more flexible form and more convenient phonetic development.

## THE HISTORY AND DATE OF MIHIRAKULA.

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

ONE of the most important dates in early Indian history, is that of king Mihirakula, the son of the well-known Tōramāṇa of the inscription on the Boar at Ēraṇ in the Central Provinces. The importance of it is two-fold. In the first place, as it is a generally accepted fact that he was a persecutor of the Buddhists at the time when the patriarch Śiṃha was killed, his date should give us a very satisfactory means of testing the accuracy of the Chinese accounts of that period. And in the second place, as, after his Indian career, he became king of Kaśmīr, it should give us also a very safe starting-point for the adjustment, backwards and forwards, of the chronology of the early kings of that country, as recorded in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*.

Until a recent discovery was made, his name, so far as epigraphical records go, was preserved for us only in the Gwālior inscription, discovered by General Cunningham,<sup>1</sup> which, after the mention of Tōramāṇa in line 2f., proceeds—

Tasy=ōdita-kula-kirttēḥ  
putrō=tula-vikramah patih prithvyāḥ |  
Mihirakul-ōti-khyātō=  
bhaṅgō yah Paśupatiḥ — — ||

"Of him, the fame of whose family has risen high, the son (is) he, of unequalled prowess, the lord of the earth, who is renowned under the name of Mihirakula, (and) who, (himself) unbroken, [broke the power of] Paśupati."<sup>2</sup> Dr. Rajendralal Mitra, who originally edited this inscription, had read the verse somewhat differently, and translated—"Unto him, of the renowned race, was born a son of unrivalled prowess, named Paśupati, the lord of the earth, and the most distinguished of the solar race."<sup>3</sup> This, which has remained the standard reading and translation up to the present time, led to the inscription being always quoted as one of Paśupati, the son of

Tōramāṇa. And,—though when, in January 1884, I first saw the original stone, I recognised at once that it contained the name of Mihirakula, and not simply a reference to the solar race,—I took it to be a secondary title of Paśupati, a king whose existence is proved by his copper coins, which are found in the country round Gayā and Benares, and even up to 'Narwar' and Gwālior,<sup>4</sup> and which bear his name in characters of just the same type as those of the Gwālior inscription. Relying to a great extent upon the apparently safe deduction from the Chinese records,<sup>5</sup> that the patriarch Śiṃha was killed A.D. 472, in the time of Mihirakula,—my theory was, that Mihirakula overthrew the Early Gupta kings; that Tōramāṇa came in his train, and subsequently, on the overthrow of Mihirakula, established his own power; and that his son was Paśupati, who was also named Mihirakula in memory of his father's former sovereign. And it was only in the course of writing the present paper that I came to see that the Chinese record cannot be interpreted as giving the date of A.D. 472 for the death of Śiṃha, or is incorrect, if it gives that date, and if his death really did occur in the time of Mihirakula; and that Tōramāṇa, so far from being a mere follower, was the father and predecessor of the great Mihirakula himself. This will explain the double-struck coins, published by Dr. Hoernle in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LIV. Part I. Proceedings, p. 4 ff. The Tōramāṇa of these coins must be the father of Mihirakula, not, as was thought at the discussion of them, the later Tōramāṇa of Kaśmīr; and I feel sure that a re-examination of these coins will shew that in every case the name and emblems of Mihirakula lie over those of Tōramāṇa.

Setting aside this unrecognised epigraphical record, and another of quite recent discovery that I shall notice below, Mihirakula's

<sup>1</sup> *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III. No. 36, Plate xxiiiB.

<sup>2</sup> I am unable to supply the damaged *akeharas* after *paśupatiḥ*; but it is plain that they contain an antithesis to (a) *bhaṅgah*, 'without breaking; unbroken.'

<sup>3</sup> *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXX. p. 267ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXIV. p. 115ff.; and *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 96.

<sup>5</sup> *vis.* from the *Pā-fa-tseñ-yin-yuen-chin* (No. 1340 in Mr. Bunyiu Nanjio's *Catalogue of the Buddhist Tripitaka*;

*ka*; Clarendon Press, Oxford) translated by Chi-chi-ye, together with *Thān-yāo*, A.D. 472, of the Northern Wēi dynasty, A.D. 396-534. It is a history of the succession of twenty-three patriarchs, from Mahā-Kāśyapa to the Bhikṣu Śiṃha, with whose name it ends.—I do not know how the year A.D. 472 is fixed, and whether this book mentions the death of Śiṃha. But the possible period of its translation seems to run down to A.D. 534, which is exactly what is wanted if Śiṃha was slain by Mihirakula.

name was known to us only in its transliterated form of *Mo-hi-lo-kiu-lo*, and in its translation, *Ta-tso*,\* in the writings of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang; and, apparently, as *Mi-lo-kieu*, a mutilation of the full transliterated form, in the notes of Hwui Wuh Tai-Sse on Wong Pu's *Memorials of Śākya-Buddha Tathāgata*.

The connection of Mihirakula with the death of Simha, Simhalaputra, or Āryasimha,—who was according to some accounts the twenty-third Patriarch, and according to others the twenty-fourth, in succession after (and exclusive of) Śākya-Buddha,—rests upon Hwui Wuh Tai-Sse's notes or commentary on the 179th paragraph of the *Memorials of Śākya-Buddha Tathāgata*, the text of which was written by Wong Pu about the middle of the seventh century A.D. Mr. Beal tells me that Simha's name in Chinese is Sz-tsz; and that this is not a phonetic representation of some such name as "Sitsi," as he originally understood it, but a literal translation of the Sanskrit *śimha*, 'a lion.' Substituting Sz-tsz and Simha for the original Sse-tsen and Sitsi of Mr. Beal's translation, we read—"179. The end almost was the appearance of the flowing blood (milk)."—Notes. In the order of transmitting the law in India, the twenty-fourth patriarch was the venerable Sz-tsz (Simha). He was dwelling in Ki-pan-kwo (Kipan, according to Rémusat is Kandahar) [Gandhāra, or Gāndhāra]. "Knowing the calamities which impended, and from which he could not escape, he delivered the garment and the *gāthā* to his disciple Po-sz-to Ayushmat (Bashiasita), and said, 'I know there are calamities impending. You must, therefore, go to another coun-

try to practise renovation (or, to undergo transmutation; i.e. to die.)' After this, the heretics increasing in power by flattering the king *Mi-lo-kieu* (? for *Mo-hi-lo-kiu-lo*, i.e. Mihirakula), the kings lost the true faith, overturned the law, destroyed the temples, and murdered Sz-tsz (Simha). The waves of the 'Peh-ü' (the Svēti, or Subhāvastu) rose several feet, owing to the massacres of people. This was the end of the transmission of the law in that country."

Hiuen Tsiang's account of Mihirakula is given in connection with his notice of the ancient town of Śākala\* (*She-kie-lo*), fourteen or fifteen *li* to the south-west of the capital of the kingdom of Takka (*Tsch-kia*), which bordered, to the east, on the river Vipāśā (*Pi-po-che*), the modern Biyas, and, to the west, on the river Sindhu (*Sin-tu*), the modern Indus. It is, in brief, as follows:<sup>10</sup>—

Some centuries<sup>11</sup> before the period (A. D. 629-45) when Hiuen Tsiang was on his Indian travels, there was a king named Mihirakula (*Mo-hi-lo-kiu-lo*),<sup>12</sup> who established his authority in the town of Śākala, and ruled over India. He desired, in his leisure moments, to study the law of Buddha. But, becoming enraged with the Buddhist priests, because they appointed, instead of one of themselves, a mere household servant to enlighten him, he issued an edict to destroy all the priests throughout the five Indies; to overthrow the law of Buddha; and to leave nothing connected with it remaining. At this time there was a king of Magadha (*Mo-kie-t'o*) named Bālāditya (*P'o-lo-o-t'ie-to*; explained by Yeou-jih<sup>13</sup>), who profoundly honoured the law of Buddha. Hear-

\* This, however, is a mis-translation (see Beal in *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. I. p. 167, note 6); since the Chinese editor explains it by "great tribe or family," which represents a Sanskrit *mahākula*; whereas the first component of the name, *mihira*, means 'the sun.'—Hiuen Tsiang must in some way or other have confused *mihir* (*mihira*) with *mhr*, 'emperor, prince, lord, governor, chief, leader; head of a family.' *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, F. S., Vol. XX. p. 203f.

\* "If the expression used refers to the whiteness of the river Svēti or Subhāvastu (the white river), then the text would be "the appearance of the river,"—referring to its rising a foot, owing to the massacres. Vid. the commentary, and Jul. II. 197."—(Subhāvastu is not, as far as I can find, a dictionary or Purāṇic word. But it is accepted as the name that is intended by Hiuen Tsiang's transliteration *Su-p'o-fa-su-tu*; and it is identified with the Vēdic Svēti and the modern Swāt river (e.g. *Buddh. Rec. West. World*, Vol. I. pp. 120, and note 4, 122 and note 12, and 126, note 24.)—J. F. F.]

\* Identified by Gen. Cunningham (*Anc. Geogr. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 178ff.) with the modern Sāgalawālī (Sibbā in the Panjāb, in the 'Jhang' District, and on the borders of 'Gujranwālā'. It is the 'Sangla Hill, G. T. S.,' of the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 30; Lat. 31° 42' N., Long. 73, 26 E.; about forty-four miles west by north of Lāhōr. The word *fibbā* means 'a rising ground, a height.'

<sup>10</sup> Beal's *Buddh. Rec. West. World*, Vol. I. p. 168ff., and Stanislas Julien's *Hiouen Tsiang*, Vol. II. p. 196ff.

<sup>11</sup> So also Julien—"Plusieurs centaines d'années avant l'époque actuelle."—There must, however, be some mistake here, either by Hiuen Tsiang, or by his translators. I would suggest that his original text perhaps has "more than a century."

<sup>12</sup> The transliterated form of his name occurs only here; throughout the rest of the narrative the translation, *Ta-tso*, is used.

<sup>13</sup> Lit. 'the young son,' or 'the rising sun.'—The transliterated form of his name occurs only here; throughout the rest of the narrative, the translation, *Yeou-jih*, is used.

ing of the cruel persecution and atrocities of Mihirakula, he strictly guarded the frontiers of his kingdom, and refused to pay tribute. Mihirakula raised an army to punish his rebellion. And then Bālāditya, knowing his renown, and thinking that he himself could not withstand him, wandered with large numbers of his followers through the mountains and deserts, and hid himself in some islands.<sup>14</sup> Mihirakula committed his army to his younger brother, and himself embarked<sup>15</sup> to go to attack Bālāditya. But he and his troops were caught and surrounded in the narrow passes; and Mihirakula was captured alive, taken into the presence of Bālāditya, and condemned to death for his crimes. Bālāditya's mother, who was of wide celebrity on account of her vigorous intellect and her skill in casting horoscopes, expressed a wish to see Mihirakula once before his death, as she had heard that he was of remarkable beauty and vast wisdom. Mihirakula was brought into her presence, and, after some persuasion, was induced to uncover his face, which, during his interview with Bālāditya, he had steadfastly kept hidden under his robe. On beholding his face, the king's mother said—“My son is well-favoured; he will die after his years are accomplished. . . . I gather from his air that he will be the king of a small country; let him rule over some small kingdom in the north.” Eventually Bālāditya, moved by his mother's words, and her representation that it was right to forgive crime and to love to give life, and that, if he slew Mihirakula, for twelve years he would have the sight of his pale face before him,—pardoned Mihirakula, gave him in marriage to a young maiden, and treated him with extreme courtesy. Then Mihirakula assembled the troops he had left, increased his escort, and departed from the islands. Meanwhile, Mihirakula's younger brother, who had been left in command of the army when Mihirakula set out to attack Bālāditya, had gone back and established him-

self in the kingdom. Mihirakula, having thus lost his royal estate, concealed himself in the isles and deserts, and finally went northwards to Kāśmīr (*Kia-shi-mi-lo*), and sought an asylum there. The king of Kāśmīr received him with honour, and, in pity, gave him a small territory and a town to govern. But, after some years, Mihirakula stirred up the people to rebellion, and placed himself on the throne. After this, Mihirakula made an expedition to the west, against the kingdom of Gandhāra (*Kien-t'o-lo*). He took the king in ambush and killed him; exterminated the royal family and the chief minister; overthrew the *stūpas* and destroyed the *saṅghārāmas*; and slew large numbers of the people by the side of the river Sindhu (*Sin-tu*). Then he took the wealth of the country that he had destroyed, assembled his troops, and returned. But before the year was out he died; and, at the time of his death, there was thunder and hail and a thick darkness, and the earth shook, and a mighty tempest raged. And the holy saints said, in pity,—“For having killed countless victims and overthrown the law of Buddha, he has now fallen into the lowest hell, where he shall pass endless ages of revolution.”

The *Rājatarāṅgīnī* (i.; Calcutta edition, lines 291 to 329; French edition, verses 289 to 326) takes up his history from the time when he became king of Kāśmīr, and gives an emphatic account of his cruelty and evil deeds. Except, however, for the hint unconsciously given in the mention of the invasion by the Mlechchhas, it treats him as a native hereditary king of the country. Thus, after Hiraṇyāksha<sup>16</sup> (line 289), there came his son Hiraṇyākula, who reigned for sixty years (l. 290); and after him, his son Mukula,<sup>17</sup> who reigned for the same period. And then, when the country was overrun by a Mlechchha tribe,<sup>18</sup> there came his son Mihirakula, who was of cruel deeds and resembled Kāla or Death (in destructiveness) (l. 291); in whom

<sup>14</sup> Julien has simply “sur des îles” (Vol. II. p. 182), and, three lines further on, “s'embarqua pour aller attaquer.” Beal gives respectively “in the islands of the sea” (Vol. I. p. 169), and “embarked on the sea,” but without any remarks as to this important addition concerning the sea.—It is difficult to see how Mihirakula and Bālāditya can have had anything to do with the sea. And the text seems plainly to refer only to up-country islands of the Ganges, i.e. to a part of the country intersected by several branches of the Ganges, or tri-

baries of it; especially as, just before, Bālāditya had announced his intention of concealing himself “among the bushes of the morasses” (“au milieu des marais”).

<sup>15</sup> Or “engaged himself;” see the preceding note.

<sup>16</sup> In the *Rājatarāṅgīnī* *saṅgraha*, he is called simply Hiraṇya (*Hiraṇyākhy*; *mahārīṣā*).

<sup>17</sup> In the *Rājatarāṅgīnī* *saṅgraha*, he is called Yasukula.

<sup>18</sup> *Mlechchha-gan-dhīrā* *mandalā*.

the northern region possessed another Antaka or Death, thus rivalling the southern region, the regent of which is Antaka (l. 292); whose approach was always heralded by the flights of vultures, crows, &c., that flew before him, eager to devour those who were being slain by his troops (l. 293); who was a very ghoul of a king, surrounded day and night by thousands of slaughtered beings (l. 294); and who had no pity or respect for children or women or aged men (l. 295).—One day he noticed that the breasts of his queen, who wore a muslin bodice from Simhala or Ceylon, were marked with golden foot-prints. Burning with wrath, he questioned the chamberlain, and was told that, in the Simhala country, it was customary to impress the material with the stamp of the king's foot. This explanation failed to appease him; and he set out on a campaign as far as the southern ocean, and slew the king of Simhala (ll. 297-300).—Instead of him, he set up another king, of cruel disposition; and he brought away a woven cloth called *yamushaddva*, stamped with an image of the sun (ll. 296-301).—On his way back, he overthrew the Chôla, Karnâta, Nâta, and other kings, whose ruined cities announced their defeat to those who flocked into them on his departure (ll. 302, 303).—As he came to the "gate" of Kâsmir, he heard the terrified cries of an elephant that had fallen into a chasm; and the sounds gave him such exquisite pleasure, that he caused a hundred other elephants to be wantonly destroyed in the same way (ll. 304, 305).—"As the touch of the sinful defiles the body, so does a description of them defile the speech; accordingly, all his other evil deeds are not detailed, lest they should pollute (the narrator)" (l. 306).—"But who can fully comprehend the behaviour of men whose minds are uncultivated, and who do unexpected deeds?; for even he made an assumption of religion, for the sake of acquiring merit" (l. 307). Thus, evil-minded as he was, he installed the god Mihirêśvara<sup>19</sup> at Srînagarî, and in Hôlâ he built a great city named Mihirapura (l. 308); and he gave

*agrahâras* to Brâhman of the Gândhâra country, of Mlêchchha birth, Dâradas, full of sin, the lowest of the twice-born, resembling himself in character, who shamelessly cohabited with their own sisters and daughters-in-law; who sold their wives for lucre; and whose women, through being enjoyed by others than their lawful husbands, had become as shameless as themselves (ll. 309-313).—At length when he, a very Bhairava<sup>20</sup> incarnate, had reigned for seventy years, he became afflicted with much disease, and immolated himself in the flames; and a voice from the sky was heard to proclaim that, though he had slain three crores of people, yet he had attained final emancipation, in consequence of the disregard that he had shewn for his own sufferings also (ll. 314, 315).—There are some people who consider that he made amends for his cruelty, by his gifts of *agrahâras*, and similar deeds. And, even when the country was overrun by the Dârada priests, Mlêchchhas by birth, of impure rites, and all (the national) religion was destroyed, yet he insured the maintenance of pious observances. And he firmly established the countries of the Âryas, and then performed a terrible penance, ordaining, as expiation for his sins, the burning of himself; in accordance with which he bestowed a thousand *agrahâras* at Vijayêśvara on Brâhman born in the Gândhâra country, and then gave his body to the flames, on a pyre which was a flat plank studded with razors, swords, and bows, and thus atoned for all his cruelty (ll. 316-321).—Others, however, say that he acted as he did in order to destroy the Khasas, who had become powerful when the city was burned by the Nâga<sup>21</sup> (l. 322).—As a final instance of his cruelty, one day, when he was descending into the river Chandrakulyâ, his way was blocked by a large rock that could not be uprooted and removed. Having performed penance, he was told by the gods in a dream that a powerful Yakshas dwelt in the rock, performing the austerities of a Brâhman, and that the obstacle could be removed only by the touch of a chaste woman. Next day he declared his dream, and

<sup>19</sup> Evidently a form of Îśvara or Śiva, combined with the Sun.

<sup>20</sup> One of the most terrible and cruel forms of the god Śiva.

<sup>21</sup> The reference is to *Râjataranginî*, i. 247-268, relating how Nara I., who built a city on the banks of the Vitastâ, became enamoured of Chandrakulâ, the

wife of a Brâhman named Viśākha, and the daughter of the Nâga Sutravas;—how, failing in his attempts to seduce her, he sought, also in vain, to compel her by force to yield to his desires;—and how the Nâga Sutravas took vengeance for the insult, by burning down the city and destroying the king in the conflagration.



had it put to the test; but no woman was found who could prevail against the rock, until a potter's wife, named Chandravatī, touched it and displaced it. Whereupon, filled with anger, he caused three crores of women to be slain, with their husbands and brothers and sons (ll. 323-328).—In short, he behaved altogether in such a way, that it was only the power of the gods, who caused him to do such things, that prevented his subjects from rising of one accord and slaying him (l. 329).—When at length he was destroyed, a certain son of his, named Vaka (l. 334), of good behaviour, was anointed king by the people. He, though born from one who had grievously afflicted them, gave them happiness; and then religion returned, as if from the other world, and security came back, as if from exile in the depths of the forests (ll. 330-333).

In addition to the introduction of Gāndhāra Brāhmins into Kaśmīr, which is amply supported by Hiuen Tsiang's account of the invasion of the Gāndhāra country by Mihirakula, we have, in the above narrative of the *Rājataranginī*, the reminiscence of two distinctly historical occurrences.—The first is contained in the statement that Mihirakula's accession to the throne of Kaśmīr was at a time when the country was overrun by a *Mlāchchha* or foreign tribe. Mihirakula's name itself is sufficient to shew that he was a foreigner, not a Hindu. I lay no stress upon the fact that the first component of it, *mihira*, 'the sun,' is a word imported into the Sanskrit from a Persian source. But the second component, *kula*, if taken as a Sanskrit word in its meaning of 'a family,' makes up altogether a name, which,—though it might be accepted as a perfectly good Sanskrit appellation for a tribe, family, or dynasty, as meaning "the family of the Sun, or of the Mihiras,"—is an impossible proper name of an individual.<sup>22</sup> This is a point which, I think, must be clear to any one. But, if any doubt should be felt, Mihirakula's coins, which come

in large numbers, in copper, from the neighbourhood of Rāwalpīnḍī and from Kaśmīr, suffice to remove it. I have had the advantage of examining those in General Cunningham's collection, and I found them to give two varieties of his name, Mihirakula, and Mihiragula; out of twenty-two of the best specimens, ten gave the termination as *gula*. What the termination *kul* or *gul* may mean, I must leave Persian scholars to decide. But there can be no doubt that his name, as preserved by Hiuen Tsiang, and in the *Rājataranginī* and the inscriptions, is simply the Sanskritised form of a foreign word *mīhrkul*, which, in the sense of a certain kind of cotton cloth, actually does occur in the *Ain-i-Akbari*.<sup>23</sup> Further, on his coins, his name as Mihirakula is coupled with the Hindu title *Śrī*; whereas the other form, Mihiragula, is coupled with the purely foreign name or title of *Shāhi*.<sup>24</sup> And this not only stamps him decisively as a foreigner, but also enables us to determine precisely the tribe to which he belonged. In the first place, this title directly connects him with Vāsudēva, who also used it in earlier times; e.g. in his inscription<sup>25</sup> of the year 87. And Vāsudēva, again, is directly connected with Kanishka and Huvishka by, amongst other things, his use, in his inscription<sup>26</sup> of the year 44 (P), of the title of *Dēvaputra* or *Daivaputra*, which is also used by Huvishka in his inscriptions<sup>27</sup> of the years 39 and 47. Mihirakula, and his father Tōramāna, therefore, belonged to this same race, which,—whether best and most properly known as Indo-Scythians, Śakas, Hūnas, Turushkas, Shāhis, or Daivaputras,—had established themselves in the Pañjāb at an early date, and continued in power down to at least the time of Samudragupta, as is evidenced by the record, in the Allahābād pillar inscription, that in the north he overthrew, amongst others, the Daivaputras, Shāhis, and Shāhānushāhis. And this explains why we find Śākala, in the Pañjāb, given by Hiuen Tsiang as Mihirakula's capital. The statement, therefore, of the *Rājataranginī*, that Mihirakula's

<sup>22</sup> And equally so the names of Hiraṇyakula and Mukula or Vasukula.

<sup>23</sup> Blochmann's translation, Vol. I. pp. 95, 617.

<sup>24</sup> Only the second syllable, *hi*, actually falls within the edges of the specimens examined by me. But other coins of the Kaśmīr series give the complete word *shāhi*, and leave no doubt that this was the title on the Mihiragula dies.—The same explanation, and not that it is a

coin of Hiraṇya, has to be applied to No. 8 of the coins published by Dr. Hoernle in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LIV. Part I. p. 4ff.

<sup>25</sup> *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 35, and Pl. xv. No. 18.

<sup>26</sup> *id.* p. 32, and Pl. xv. No. 8.

<sup>27</sup> *id.* pp. 32, 33, and Pl. xiv. Nos. 9 and 12.

accession to the throne of Kāśmīr took place at a time when the country was overrun by a Mlêchchha tribe, is historically correct; though it embodies only half the truth, in omitting to add that Mihirakula himself was one of these Mlêchchhas. And the invasion took place, of course, from the south, from India itself, when, on his dismissal by Bālāditya, Mihirakula sought to re-occupy his own throne, but found himself ousted by his unnamed younger brother.

The other historical reminiscence of the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* is contained in the account of Mihirakula's invasion of Siṃhala or Ceylon. As applied to Ceylon the story is not only improbable to a degree, but impossible. In the *Mujmalū't-Tawārīkh*,<sup>28</sup> however, exactly the same story is told in connection with Mihirakula and king 'Hal' of Sindh, who allowed none of the fine fabrics made in his country to be exported, unless they bore the mark of the imprint of his foot. When Mihirakula found his queen wearing some of this stuff, he sent for the merchant from whom she had purchased it, and, on ascertaining the particulars from him, took an oath to invade Sindh and to cut off the foot of king 'Hal.' In vain his minister represented that Sindh was the country of the Brāhmaṇs, and that it would be impossible to triumph over it. Mihirakula would listen to no expostulations, and set out with his army. King 'Hal,' finding himself unable to resist, consulted his Brāhmaṇs, who advised him to have an elephant made of clay or mud, and to place it at the head of his forces. The elephant was fashioned so that fire came out from it, and consumed many of the soldiers in the vanguard of Mihirakula's army. At length Mihirakula was obliged to consent to terms of peace. But he fulfilled his oath, by fashioning a waxen image of king 'Hal,' and cutting off one of its feet. He then set out, at first embarking on the river Indus, and then, as the waters rose, marching along its banks, to return leisurely to his own country, building temples, towns, and cities, as he went. But, hearing that Kāśmīr had been attacked by his enemies, he hastened

his return, and drove them out. After him, concludes this narrative, his authority passed to his children, whom all the people of India obeyed.—All this account is reasonable enough. And the reference of these incidents by the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* to an invasion and conquest of Ceylon, is probably due to a real historical invasion and attempted conquest of Sindh, confusedly mixed up, as Mr. Beal has suggested to me, with the name of the patriarch Siṃha or Siṃhalaputra, who was slain in the religious persecutions of the same period.

A final point, worthy of note, in the narrative of the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, is the statement that, even when (the national) religion was destroyed, Mihirakula insured the maintenance of pious observances, i.e. evidently of those habitual to the country. This is confirmed and illustrated by other characteristics of his coins, which shew clearly his religious or sectarian tendencies, both foreign and Hindu. Nine of the coins examined by me, with the Sanskrit legend *Śrī-Mihirakula* on the obverse, have, as the principal symbol on the reverse, a bull, the emblem of Śiva and the Śaiva worship; coupled in seven cases with the legend *Jayatu vṛiṣha* [h\*], "victorious be the bull." Another leading symbol of his coins is an eight-rayed sun or planet, usually with a periphery or circle round it; this appears on the obverse of three of the same set of coins, and in two instances on the reverse, below the fore-feet of the bull. And a third leading symbol is the crescent moon, which occurs in eight instances on the same set on the reverse, over the back of the bull. Also, two coins of the same set, and one of the set that has the Sanskritised foreign legend *Shāhi-Mihiragula*, have on the obverse a standard, the top of which is either the eight-rayed sun, or a crescent moon, or perhaps a *trifāla*, another emblem of the Śaiva faith. Probably throughout his career Mihirakula adhered in person to his own national and hereditary solar worship; and indications of this are given in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, in the god established by him at Vijayēśvara, and the city built by him in Hōlā, both having names be-

<sup>28</sup> Reinaud's *Fragments Arabes et Persans*, p. 42ff. I owe this reference, which I had overlooked, to the kindness of Dr. Bühler.—In this narrative, Mihirakula is not mentioned by name, but is only spoken of as "the

king of Kāśmīr." There can be no doubt, however, that, as was recognised by M. Reinaud, it is Mihirakula who is referred to.

ginning with *mihira*, 'the Sun'; and in his bringing back, from Ceylon according to the narrative, the *yamushadēva*-cloth, stamped with an image of the Sun. At the same time, that he did encourage the national Hindu religion, is indicated very plainly by the Śaiva emblem of the bull, with its legend, on some of his coins, as noted above.

Before entering on the question of Mihirakula's date, it will be necessary to notice here some additional information that Hiuen Tsiang gives us about his antagonist, Bālāditya of Magadha; since part of it, at any rate, has been used in an attempt to fix the date of Bālāditya, and, through him, of Mihirakula. In his account of the kingdom of Magadha (*Mo-kie-t'o*),<sup>20</sup> the Chinese pilgrim tells us that, not long after the *nirvāṇa* of Buddha,<sup>21</sup> a former king of this country,<sup>22</sup> named Śakrāditya (*Shi-kia-lo-o-t'ie-to*), a Buddhist, built a *saṃghārāma* at Nālanda.<sup>23</sup> His son and successor was king Buddhagupta (*Fo-t'o-kio-to*),<sup>24</sup> who built another *saṃghārāma* on the south of the above. After this, king Tathāgatagupta (*Ta-tha-kie-to-kio-to*) vigorously practised the former rules of his ancestors, and, east from this, built another *saṃghārāma*. King Bālāditya (*P'o-lo-o-t'ie-to*) succeeded to the kingdom, and built a *saṃghārāma* on the north-east side; and also, in the same neighbourhood, a great *vihāra*, three hundred feet high.<sup>25</sup> And his son Vajra (*Fa-she-lo*) came to the throne in succession, and built a *saṃghārāma* on the west side of the convent.

A somewhat different account is given in the *Life* of Hiuen Tsiang,<sup>26</sup> which makes, of these five kings, a direct lineal succession of father and son. According to this, if Śakrāditya is really to be placed not long after the

*nirvāṇa* of Buddha, Bālāditya must be placed not more than a hundred years or so after that same event; i.e., at the very latest, somewhere about B.C. 375. This, however, even in respect of the earliest date that has been proposed for Mihirakula,—that of A.D. 180, by Mr. Fergusson,—is at least nearly five hundred years too early; since there can be no doubt that Bālāditya, the fourth of these kings, is the person who successfully resisted the attack of Mihirakula.

Either, therefore, we must look upon the regular genealogical succession, given in the *Life*, as an amplification, and an erroneous one, of Hiuen Tsiang's original account, which asserts no connection (except that they were rulers of the same kingdom) between, in the first place, Buddhagupta and Tathāgatagupta, and, in the second place, Tathāgatagupta and Bālāditya. Or, as in the case of the "some centuries ago" to which Hiuen Tsiang appears to refer Mihirakula, we must look upon him, or his editors, as wrong in allotting to Śakrāditya so early a period as "not long after the *nirvāṇa* of Buddha."<sup>27</sup> In the former case, we may, without objection, accept Śakrāditya and his son Buddhagupta as belonging really to a very early period, and remain, at the same time, free to increase the intervals between Buddhagupta and Tathāgatagupta, and the latter and Bālāditya, to any extent that may be necessary; looking upon the whole account as simply commemorating the names of five more or less disconnected kings of the country, who had specially signalled themselves by the erection of certain famous buildings. But, whether all these five kings succeeded each other as father and son, or not, the second supposition seems the more pre-

belong to totally different persons. In respect of the king mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang, we are not dependent on the correctness of the restoration in the French (or English) translation. Hiuen Tsiang gives, as the first component of this name, the well-known *Fo-t'o*, which he uses so habitually for Buddha, the teacher, the holy Śākya-Tathāgata, and in respect of which he could not possibly be mistaken. Whereas, in respect of the king mentioned in the Eran inscription, the metre, as well as the perfect clearness of the reading, shews conclusively that the first component of that name is Budha, the planet Mercury. Sanskrit scholars will recognise at once the thorough difference between the two names.

<sup>20</sup> *Buddh. Rec. West. World*, Vol. II. p. 168ff.

<sup>21</sup> Beal's *Buddh. Rec. West. World*, Vol. II. p. 168ff; Julien's *Hiuen Tsiang*, Vol. III. p. 41ff.

<sup>22</sup> So also Julien—"Peu de temps après le nirvāṇa du Buddha."

<sup>23</sup> But, according to Julien, the first king of the country,—"premier roi de ce royaume."

<sup>24</sup> Śakrāditya's *saṃghārāma*, and Bālāditya's *vihāra* or *stūpa*, are also mentioned Hwui Lun, as reported by I-tsing (*ante*, Vol. X. pp. 111, 192).

<sup>25</sup> In a note on the date of Bālāditya (*Buddh. Rec. West. World*, Vol. I. p. 168, note 9), Mr. Beal has confused this Buddhagupta with the Buddhagupta of the Eran inscription. So also did Mr. Fergusson, who, in treating of these two names, wrote—"I do not think the difference of spelling here indicated of any importance. Hiuen Tsiang's name was translated first from Sanskrit into Chinese, and from Chinese into French, and might easily have been more changed in the process" (*Jour. E. As. Soc.*, N. S., Vol. IV. p. 118, note 4.)—The two names, however, are utterly distinct, and

<sup>26</sup> *Buddh. Rec. West. World*, Vol. II. p. 173f.

<sup>27</sup> Julien's *Hiuen Tsiang*, Vol. I. p. 149f.

<sup>28</sup> In the *Life*, Śakrāditya is called an "ancient king" of the country, and is simply placed vaguely "after the *nirvāṇa* of Buddha," without any hint as to whether he came shortly, or a long while, after that event.

ferable of the two; for, as General Cunningham has pointed out,<sup>37</sup> the total silence of Fa-hian regarding any of the magnificent buildings at Nālanda, leads us to infer that they must all have been built after A.D. 410. This, however, is a matter that we must look to Mr. Beal to clear up, in his forthcoming translation of the *Life* of Hiuen Tsiang; and I have noticed it in passing only because of the use which, in his attempt to fix the date of Mihirakula and Bālāditya, Mr. Beal has made, as noted below, of the name of Buddhagupta, the second of these kings.

The dates that have been proposed for Mihirakula and Bālāditya are (1) by the late Mr. Fergusson,<sup>38</sup> A.D. 180 to 200; (2) by General Cunningham,<sup>39</sup> during the century from A.D. 450 to 550; and (3) by Mr. Beal,<sup>40</sup> A.D. 420.—Mr. Fergusson based his date on the opinion, which he then held but afterwards abandoned, that the reign of Kanishka ended A.D. 21; coupled with the statement of the *Rājatarāṅgī*, that twelve reigns intervened between Kanishka and Mihirakula.—General Cunningham's date was based partly on Fa-hian's silence regarding Bālāditya's *saṃghārāma* and the other buildings at Nālanda; and partly on the similarity of the architectural style of Bālāditya's temple with that of a temple near the Bōdhi-tree at Bōdh-Gayā, which, he had already shewn,<sup>41</sup> must have been built about A.D. 500.—And Mr. Beal based his date (a) upon his erroneous identification<sup>42</sup> of the Buddhagupta of Hiuen Tsiang's account with the Buddhagupta of the Éran inscription; which, coupled with his adoption of the theory that the Gupta era commenced A.D. 190, gave for Buddhagupta the date of A.D. 349 to 368, and for his "grandson" Bālāditya a period fifty years later; (b) on the fact that, in Fa-Hian's time (A.D. 399-414), Buddhism was still flourishing, and there were five hundred *saṃghārāmas* in the neighbourhood of the Swāt river; whereas in Hiuen Tsiang's time all the convents were ruined and desolate; which shewed that Mihirakula's persecution, during which Śimha was

killed, must have taken place at any rate after that period; (c) on the concurrent testimony of the Chinese accounts, which state that a life of Vasubandhu, the twenty-first patriarch, was written by Kumārajīva in A.D. 409, and that a history of the patriarchs, including Śimha,<sup>43</sup> was translated in China in A.D. 472; and (d) on the fact that the twenty-eighth patriarch, Bōdhidharma, was certainly alive in A.D. 520, as he arrived in China, from South India, in that year; which, allowing one hundred years for the four patriarchs between him and Śimha, brought us again to A.D. 420, the period already arrived at on grounds (a) and (b).

The real date, however, of Mihirakula and Bālāditya,—with, of course, the margin of a few years either way,—is now fixed with certainty by the duplicate pillar inscription of Yaśōdharman, from Mandasōr, which I publish at page 253ff. below.

This inscription records that this powerful king Yaśōdharman had worship done to his feet by king Mihirakula, "whose forehead was pained through being bent low down by the strength of his arm, in the act of compelling obeisance;" i.e. that he subjugated Mihirakula. And, as another Mandasōr inscription, published by me at page 222 ff. above, has already given us the date of Mālava-Saṃvat 589 (A.D. 532-93) expired, for Yaśōdharman, we now know very closely the time of the overthrow of Mihirakula's power in at any rate Western and Central India.

As regards the beginning of his reign, we have only to notice that Mihirakula's Gwālior inscription is dated in his fifteenth year. Considering all that he did subsequently in Kāśmīr and Gāndhāra, it will be admitted that this date must be very near the end of his Indian career. His fifteenth year, therefore, must fall somewhere about A.D. 532-33, the recorded date of Yaśōdharman; and in all probability a year or two before it. And we shall probably be very near the mark indeed, if we select A.D. 515 for the commencement of his career.

<sup>37</sup> *Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. I. p. 30.*

<sup>38</sup> *Jour. R. As. Soc., N. S., Vol. IV. pp. 95, 192, 116, 117; and Tree and Serpent Worship, second edition, p. 265.*

<sup>39</sup> *Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. I. p. 30.*

<sup>40</sup> *Buddh. Rec. West. World, Vol. I. p. 119, note 1, and p. 168, note 9.*

<sup>41</sup> *Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. I. p. 7f.*

<sup>42</sup> See p. 251 above, note 33.

<sup>43</sup> See page 245 above, note 5. What we require to know is whether this account includes the death of Śimha; and, if so, how A.D. 472 is arrived at for its translation.

## SANSKRIT AND OLD-KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

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

(Continued from p. 228.)

## No. 164.—MANDASOR PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF YASODHARMAN.

This is another inscription from Dasôr or Mandasôr,<sup>1</sup> the chief town of the Mandasôr District of Scindia's Dominions in the Western Mâlwa Division of Central India. With the inscription of Kumâragupta and Bandhavarman, No. 162 above, page 194ff., it was discovered in 1884, in consequence of information given by Mr. Arthur Sullivan; and it is now published for the first time. Like the following inscription, No. 165, it is on one of a pair of magnificent monolith columns, apparently of very close-grained and good sandstone, lying in a field immediately on the south side of a small collection of huts, known by the name of Sôdani or Sôndani, but not shewn in the maps as a separate village, between two and three miles to the south-east of Mandasôr.

The column with the present inscription lies partially buried, north and south, with the top to the north. The base of it is rectangular, about 3' 4" square by 4' 5" high; and, as there is no socket at the bottom to indicate that it was fitted into any masonry foundation, this part must have been buried when the column stood upright. From this base there rises a sixteen-sided shaft, each face of which is about 8½" broad where it starts from the base; part of the shaft, about 17' 0" in length, is still connected with the base, making the length of this fragment about 21' 5"; and the present inscription, occupying five of the sixteen faces, is on this fragment, the bottom line being about 2' 2" above the top of the base. Immediately in continuation of this, there lies the remainder of the shaft, about 17' 10" long; at the upper end of this, the faces are each about 7" broad, shewing that the column tapers slightly from bottom to top. The upper end of this fragment is flat, with a round socket projecting from it; which shews these two fragments make up the entire shaft, the total length of which was thus about 39' 3", or 34' 10" above the base. This column appears to have broken naturally in

falling, and not to have been deliberately divided, as the other column was, in the manner described below. The next part of this column, the lower part of the capital, lies about forty yards away to the north, close up to the hedge of the hamlet, and is a fluted bell, about 2' 6" high and 3' 2" in diameter, almost identical in design with the corresponding part of a small pillar from an old Gupta temple at Sâñchi, drawn by General Cunningham in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. Plate xxii. No. 1. In the bottom of it there is a socket-hole, about 11" in diameter, answering in size to the socket on the top of the shaft; and on the top there is a projecting socket. About twenty-five yards south of this, and fifteen yards north of the column, I found a flat stone buried in the ground, just level with the surface; and, on excavating it, it proved to be the next portion, the square upper part of the capital. It measures about 2' 8" high by 3' 10" square, with the vertical corner edges trimmed off. I could not get at the bottom of it; but there must be there a socket-hole, answering to the projecting socket on the top of the bell-shaped part that came below it. I only exposed one side of it; but this was sufficient to shew that it is a lion-capital, exactly like the capital of the other column, noticed more fully below. On the top surface of it, there is in the centre a circular socket-hole about 11½" in diameter and 4" deep, with eight other rectangular socket-holes round it, one in the centre of each side, and one opposite each corner. The total length of this column, up to the top of the lion-capital, is about 44' 5"; or forty feet above the ground, if it stood with the entire base buried. The square lion-capital must have been surmounted by a statue or statues, of the same kind as that which stands on the summit of the pillar at Êrap which has Budhag-rpta's inscription on it;<sup>2</sup> but I cannot feel sure of having found it. I found, indeed, in the same field, towards the west

<sup>1</sup> See page 194 above, and note 1.<sup>2</sup> See *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 81, and Plate xxvi.

side, in three pieces, a very well executed sandstone bas-relief slab, 9' 0" high, with a rectangular pedestal 3' 2" broad by 1' 8" deep and 8" high, of a male figure, standing, somewhat larger than life-size, wearing a *kirita* or high head-dress, with necklace and armlets, and draped from the waist downwards, with a small figure standing by the right leg. And close by this there were, in two pieces, the *kirita* and the head and shoulders of another figure of the same size, evidently a duplicate of the above. Unless, however, there were some intervening parts that have been altogether lost, these slabs cannot belong to the columns, since their pedestals have no sockets to fit into the socket-holes on the tops of the lion-capitals.<sup>3</sup>

The other column, with the fragmentary duplicate copy of this inscription, No. 165 below, page 257f., stood, as is shewn by the present position of its base, about twenty yards north of the column that I have just described. When overthrown, it fell east and west, with the top towards the west. The base is rectangular, about 3' 3" square by 3' 11" high. Differing from the first column, the base here is followed by a concave circular part, about 1' 0" high. From this there rises a sixteen-sided shaft, each face of which is about 8" broad where it starts from the base. But the portion of the shaft that remains attached to the base is only about 1' 1" long; and a row of chisel-marks all round the column here shews that it was deliberately broken by the insertion of wedges. The next piece of the column,—or rather a remnant of it, as it is broken vertically, and part of it has been lost,—lies about three yards to the north of the base, and parallel with it, but in an inverted position, with the upper end to the east. This piece is about 9' 0" long; and the remnant of the duplicate inscription is here, on two of the faces; the bottom line of it being about 2' 9½" above the square base. The next piece of the shaft is missing altogether, and is supposed to be entirely buried somewhere in this field. The remainder of the shaft, about 6' 9" in length, lies, almost entirely buried, a few yards to the west of the

portion including the base and the commencement of the shaft. Each face here is about 7" broad at the top; shewing that this column also tapers slightly from bottom to top. The top of this fragment is flat, with a round socket projecting from it; which shews that we have here the end of the shaft. Immediately west of this fragment, there lies the fluted bell part of the capital, about 3' 0" high and 3' 3" in diameter, similar in design to the same part of the capital of the other pillar. In the bottom of it there is a socket-hole, about 11" in diameter, answering in size to the socket on the top of the shaft; and on the top there is a projecting socket. Immediately to the west of this there lies, upside down and partially buried, the next portion of the capital, the square upper part, measuring about 3' 0" high and 3' 10" square, with the vertical corner edges trimmed off. The bottom, and one entire side and parts of two others, are exposed; and enough is visible to show that each side consists of a bas-relief sculpture of two lions, each sitting on its haunches and facing to the corner, where it merges into the corresponding corner lion on the next side,\* with the head of a conventional *simha* or mythological lion in the centre, over the backs of the lions. In the bottom of this stone there is a socket-hole, about 10½" in diameter, answering to the projecting socket on the top of the bell-shaped part that came just below it. And I dug under one of the corners of the top enough to find there a rectangular socket-hole, which justifies us in assuming that the top has one circular and eight rectangular socket holes, just as in the top of the lion-capital of the first column. As in the case of the first column, I cannot feel sure of having found the statue or statues which must have stood on the top of it.

About fifty yards away to the west of these two inscribed columns, in the next field, I turned up the lower part of another sandstone column. The base is rectangular, about 3' 6" high by 3' 4" square. The shaft, of which only a length of about 2' 0" remains attached to the base, is circular, about 3' 4" in diameter; and, instead of being plain like the two inscribed columns, it is carved all

to the columns.

\* Compare the lions on the upper part of the square portion of the capital of the Erag pillar.

<sup>3</sup> There are some similar bas-relief slabs set up in a group under some palm-trees in another field, about fifty yards away to the east from where the inscribed columns lie; but these, again, do not appear to belong

over with cross-lines into diamond-shaped knobs. I had the field excavated all round this column, but could find no traces of the rest of the shaft, or of the other parts of it. From its different pattern it can have no connection with the other two columns.

The two inscribed columns were evidently intended as a pair, though the full measure of the second cannot be taken. From the distance between them; from the difference in the detailed measures; and from the analogous instance of the Ēraṇ pillar, as shewing the way in which they must have been finished off at the top,—they can hardly have been connected by a beam, after the fashion of a *tōraṇa* or arched gateway; and there are no traces of any temple with which they can have been connected. They are evidently an actual instance of two *raṇastambhas* or "columns of victory in war," such as the Miraj plates<sup>a</sup> of Jayasimha III. of Śaka-Saṃvat 946 speak of, as having been set up by the Rāshtrakūṭa king Karkara or Kakka III., and as having then been cut asunder in battle by the Western Chālukya king Taila II.

To return to the inscription on the first column,—the writing, which covers a space of about 3' 2½" broad by 1' 2½" high, has suffered a good deal from the weather, and, owing to the difficulty of obtaining lights and shades, partly in consequence of the letters being rather shallow, and partly because of the natural light colour of the stone, it is rather difficult to read on the original column; but, in the ink-impression and the lithograph it can easily be read with certainty throughout.—The size of the letters varies from ¼" to ¾". As in the case of the Mandasōr inscription of Yaśōdharman and Vishṇuvarḍhana, No. 163 above, page 222 ff., the characters belong to the North India class of alphabets. The rather rare lingual *dh* occurs in *upagūḍhān*, line 4; and the separate

<sup>a</sup> ante, Vol. VIII. p. 16.

<sup>b</sup> Having regard to the frequency with which, in the period of this inscription, *varman* occurs as the termination of proper names, and to the rarity of *dharman*,—there might be some temptation to suggest that Yaśōdharman should be corrected into Yaśōvarman. But the *dh* is very distinct here, and again in the same name in line 8 below, and in the corresponding place in line 8 of the remnant of the original duplicate copy of this inscription, No. 163 below; and again in the same name in line 4 of the inscription of the Mālava year 589, No. 163 above, page 224.—The form *dharman* is not of frequent occurrence. But we do meet with it in other proper names; e. g. Kritadharman, Kaṭattadharman, Kṛṣṇadharman, and Jayadharman. And it

form of the lingual *dh*, as distinct from the dental *d*, in *saṃrād=iti*, line 3, and *chūdā*, lines 5 and 6. In *vīrya*, line 4, and *sāmantair=yasya*, line 5, we have the optional method, according to the northern alphabets, of writing *r* in conjunction with a following *y* in this period.—The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the two words at the end, recording the engraver's name, the inscription is in verse throughout.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the *upadhmanīya* in *śikharīpaṇ-paśchimād*, line 5; (2) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the *anuvāra*, before *ś*, in *aśu*, line 5, and *vaśa*, line 8; and before *s*, in *tējāsi*, line 1, and *pāsu*, line 3; (3) the doubling of *k* and *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, in *ākkrānti*, line 4; *chakkrā*, line 7; *māṭṭra* and *yāṭṭra*, line 3; *anyāṭṭra*, line 6; and *ndyātō-ttra*, line 7; but not in *kriyāntē*, line 5, and *śatru*, line 1; and (4) the doubling of *dh*, in conjunction with a following *y*, in *addhyāsiṃ*, line 4.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of a powerful king named Yaśōdharman,<sup>c</sup> who is evidently identical with the Yaśōdharman of the Mandasōr inscription of Mālava-Saṃvat 589, No. 163 above, page 222 ff., and whose dominions are here described as including the whole of the northern part of India, from the river Lauhitya, or the Brahmaputra, to the Western Ocean, and from the Himālayas to the mountain Mahēndra.<sup>d</sup> We have an important allusion in the statement that he possessed countries which not even the Guptas and the Hūṇas could subdue; and a still more important record, in connection with the general history of the period, to the effect that homage was done to him by even the famous king Mihirakula. It is not dated. But Yaśōdharman's date is now known from the Mandasōr inscription of Mālava-Saṃvat 589 (A.D. 532-33) expired, No. 163 above, which

also occurs in ordinary composition; e. g. in *Manv-addi-praṇṭa-vidhi-vidhāna-dharmād*, in line 5 of the Māliya plates of Dharaśena II. of the year 252 (ante, Vol. XIII. p. 161); and in *tējōbhīr-additya-samāna-dharmād*, in line 29 of a Kaṇṭhēn grant of Vikramāditya V. of Śaka-Saṃvat 980 (unpublished).

<sup>c</sup> It is doubtful whether this denotes here the famous Mahēndragiri or Mahēndrāchala in the Gaṣjām District, among the Eastern Ghats; or another mountain of the same name, not so well known, which appears to be mentioned also in line 2 of an earlier Nāsik inscription of the nineteenth year of Siri-Puṣyamāyī (Archæol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. IV. No. 14, pp. 108, 109), and must be located somewhere in the Western Ghats.

mentions him and Vishnuvardhana; and the present inscription, having been engraved by the same person, Gōvinda, must fall within a few years on either side of that date. The object of it is to record the erection of the column for the purpose of reciting the

glory and power of Yaśōdharman; and,—since the present tense is used almost throughout, and also verses 7 and 8 speak of the column as being set up by Yaśōdharman himself,—the inscription must be one of his own time, not posthumous.

## TEXT.\*

- 1 Vēpantē° yasya bhīma-stanita-bhaya-samudbhṛanta-daityā digantāḥ śṛiṅ-gḥātāḥ  
Sumérōr=vvighatita-dṛishadaḥ kandarā yaḥ karōti | ukshāpāṁ tam dadhānaḥ  
kshītīdharatanayā-datta-pañch-āṅgul-āṅkam drāghishṭhaḥ Sūlapāṇēḥ kshapayatu  
bhavatām śatru-tējāṁsi kētaḥ ||
- 2 Āvirbhūt-āvalēpair=avinaya-patubhir=llaṅghit-āchāra-mārggair=mmōhād=aidam̐yuginair=apa-  
śubha-ratibhiḥ pīḍyamānā narēndraiḥ | yasya kshamā Śārṅgapāṇēr=iva  
kaṭhina-dhanur-jyā-kiṇ-āṅka-prakōshṭham bāhuṁ lōk-ōpakāra-vrata-saphala-pari-  
spanda-dhīraṁ prapannā ||
- 3 Nindy-āchārēshu yō=smin=vinaya-mushi yugē kalpanā-māttira-vṛit[t\*]yā rājasv=anyēshu  
pāṁsushv=iva kusuma-balir=nn=ābabhāsē prayuktaḥ | sa śrēyō-dhāmni samrād=  
iti Manu-Bharat-Ālarkka-Māndhātṛi-kalpē kalyāṇē hēmni bhāsvān=maṇir=iva  
sutarām bhrājatē yatra śabdah ||
- 4 Yē bhuktā Gupta-nāthair=nnā sakala-vasudh-ākkrānti-dṛishṭa-pratāpair=nn=ājūā Hūṇ-  
ādhipānām kshītīpati-mukut-āddhyāsinī yān=pravishṭā | dēśāms=tān=dhanva-śaila-  
druma-śa(ga)hana-sarid-vīrabāh-ōpagādhan=vīry-āvaskanna-rājūah sva-gṛība-pari-  
sar-āvajūyā yō bhunnakti ||
- 5 Ā Lanhity-ōpakaṇṭhāt=tala-vana-gahan-ōpatyakād=ā Mahēndrād=ā Gaṅg-āślishṭa-sānōs=  
tuhinaśikharinaḥ=paśchimād=ā payōdhēḥ | sāmantair=yasya bāhu-draviṇa-brita-  
madaiḥ pādayōr=ānamadbhis=chūḍāratn-āṁsu-rāji-vyatikara-śabalā bhūmi-bhāgāḥ  
kriyantē ||
- 6 Sthāpōr=anyattra yēna prapati-kṛipapatām prāpitaṁ n=ōttamāṅgam yasy=āślishṭō  
bhujābhyām vabati himagirir=durgga-śabd-ābhimānam | nichais=tēn=āpi yasya  
prapati-bhūja-bal-āvarjjana-klishṭa-mūrdhna chūḍā-pushp-ōpahārair=Mmihirakula-  
nripēḥ=ārchchitam pāda-yugmaṁ ||
- 7 [Gā]m=ēv=ōnmātum=ūrdhvaṁ vigaṇayitam=iva jyōtishām chakkravālām nirddēsh-  
tūṁ mārggam=uchchair-ddiva iva sukṛit-ōpārjjitāyāḥ sva-kīrttēḥ | tēn=ā-  
kalpānta-kāl-āvadhir=avanibhujā śri-Yaśōdharman<sup>10</sup>=āyam stambhaḥ stambh-  
ābhīrāma-sthira-bhūja-parighēḥ=ōchchhritim nāyitō=ttra ||
- 8 Ś[ī]āghyē janm=āya vaṇṣe charitam=agha-haram dṛiśyatē kāntam=asmin=dhar-  
masy=āyam nikētas=chalati niyamitam n=āmunā lōka-vṛittam [i\*] ity=  
utkarsham guṇānām likhitum=iva Yaśōdharmanas=chandra-bimbē rāgād=  
utkshipta uchchair-bhūja iva ruchimān=yaḥ pṛithivyā vibhāti ||
- 9 Iti<sup>11</sup> tūstūshayā tasya nripatēḥ punya-karmmaṇaḥ | Vāsulēn=ōparachitāḥ ślōkāḥ  
Kakkasya sāmunā || Utkīrṇā Gōvindēna ||

## TRANSLATION.

May that very long banner of (the god)  
Sūlapāṇi destroy the glory of your enemies;—  
(that banner) which bears (a representation of)  
the bull,<sup>12</sup> marked by the five fingers (dipped  
in some dye and then) placed on him by  
(Pārvatī) the daughter of the mountain

(Himālaya), who causes the distant regions,  
in which the demons are driven wild with  
fear by (his) terrible bellowings, to shake;  
(and) who makes the glens of (the mountain)  
Sumēra to have their rocks split open by  
the blows of his horns!

(L. 2.)—He, to whose arm, as if to (the

\* From the ink-impression.

<sup>9</sup> Metre, Śragdharā; and in the next seven verses.

<sup>10</sup> See page 255 above, note 6.

<sup>11</sup> Metre, Ślōka (Anushtubh).

<sup>12</sup> Nandi or Nandin, the vehicle of Śiva.







arm) of (the god) Śāringapāṇi,—the fore-arm of which is marked with callous parts caused by the hard string of (his) bow, (and) which is steadfast in the successful carrying out of vows for the benefit of mankind,—the earth betook itself (for succour), when it was afflicted by kings of the present age, who manifested pride; who were cruel through want of proper training; who, from delusion, transgressed the path of good conduct; (and) who were destitute of virtuous delights :—

(L. 3.)—He who, in this age which is the ravisher of good behaviour, through the action simply of (his good) intentions shone gloriously, not associating with other kings who adopted a reprehensible course of conduct,—just as an offering of flowers (is beautiful when it is not laid down) in the dust;—he in whom, possessed of a wealth of virtue (and so) falling but little short of Mann and Bharata and Alarka and Mādhātṛi, the title of “universal sovereign” shines more (than in any other), like a resplendent jewel (set) in good gold :—

(L. 4.)—He who, spurning (the confinement of) the boundaries of his own house, enjoys those countries,—thickly covered over with deserts and mountains and trees and thickets and rivers and strong-armed heroes, (and) having (their) kings assaulted by (his) prowess, —which were not enjoyed (even) by the lords of the Guptas, whose prowess was displayed by invading the whole earth, (and) which the command of the chiefs of the Hāṇas, that established itself on the tiaras of (many) kings, failed to penetrate :—

(L. 5.)—He before whose feet chieftains, having (their) arrogance removed by the strength of (his) arm, bow down, from the neighbourhood of the (river) Lauhitya up to (the mountain) Mahendra,<sup>12</sup> the lands at the foot of which are impenetrable through the groves of palmyra-trees, (and) from (Himālaya) the mountain of snow, the table-lands of which are embraced by the (river) Gaṅgā, up to the Western Ocean,—by which act (all) the divisions of the earth are made of various hues through the intermingling of the rays of the jewels in the hair on the tops of (their) heads :—

(L. 6.)—He by whom (his) head has never been brought into the humility of obeisance to

any other save (the god) Sthāṇu;—he, through the embraces of whose arms, (Himālaya) the mountain of snow carries no longer<sup>14</sup> the pride of the title of being a place that is difficult of access;—he to whose two feet respect was paid, with complimentary presents of the flowers from the hair on the top of (his) head, by even that (famous) king Mihirakula, whose forehead was pained through being bent low down by the strength of (his) arm in (the act of compelling) obeisance :—

(L. 7.)—By him, the king, the glorious Yaśôdharman, the firm beams of whose arms are as charming as pillars, this column, which shall endure to the time of the destruction of the world, has been erected here,—as if to measure out the earth; as if to enumerate on high the multitude of the heavenly lights; (and) as if to point out the path to the skies above of his own fame, acquired by (his) good actions;—(this column) which shines refulgent, as if it were a lofty arm of the earth, raised up in joy to write upon the surface of the moon the excellence of the virtues of Yaśôdharman, to the effect that—“His birth (is) in a lineage that is worthy to be eulogised; there is seen in him a charming behaviour that is destructive of sin; he is the abode of religion; (and) the (good) customs of mankind continue current, unimpeded (in any way) by him.”

(L. 9.)—From a desire thus to praise this king, of meritorious actions, (these) verses have been composed by Vāsula, the son of Kakka. (This eulogy has been) engraved by Gôvinda.

NO. 165.—MANDASOR DUPLICATE PILLAR  
INSCRIPTION OF YASODHARMAN.

This is the remnant, mentioned above, of the original duplicate copy of the inscription of Yaśôdharman on the second inscribed column at Mandasor, described at page 254 above.

The writing, which covers a space of about 1' 1" broad by 1' 2" high, is in some respects in a state of rather better preservation than the entire copy; but nearly three-quarters of the full inscription is lost here, through the column having cracked vertically and part of it being now not forthcoming.—The size of the letters varies from  $\frac{1}{4}$ " to  $\frac{3}{4}$ ".—This

<sup>12</sup> See page 255 above, note 7.

<sup>14</sup> To complete the sense, we must apparently supply,

in connection with *vahati*, the negative particle *na* from the first *pāda* of the verse.

inscription appears to have been in all essential details an exact reproduction of the copy that has been preserved entire, No. 164 above. In respect of palæography and orthography, we have to notice, as far as the record goes, just the same points as in that inscription; and also the doubling of *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, in *śatru*, line 1, where it is not doubled in the preceding inscription.

TEXT.<sup>10</sup>

- 1 . . . . . [da]tta<sup>16</sup>-pañc-āṅgul-āṅkaṁ drāghishṭhaḥ Śūlapāṇḍh kṣhapayata  
bhavatām śatru-tôjānsi kētulḥ ||  
2 . . . . . jy[ā]-kiṇ-āṅka-prakôṣṭhaṁ bāhum lōk-ōpakāra-vrata-saphala-parispanda-  
dhīraṁ prapaṇṇā ||  
3 . . . . . [Ā]larka-Māndhātṛi-kalpē kalyāṇē hēmuī bhāsvān=maṇir=iva sutarām  
bhrājatē yattrā śabdaḥ ||  
4 . . . . . [vī]ra-bāh-ūpagādhān=vīry-āvaskanna-rājūḥ sva-gṛiha-parisar-āvajūyā  
yō bhunakti ||  
5 . . . . . pādāyōr=ānamadbhis=chūḍāratn-āśnu-rāji-vyatikara-śabalā bhūmi-bhāgāḥ  
kriyantē ||  
6 . . . . . [āvar]jjana-kliṣṭa-mārddhnā chūḍā-pushp-ōpahārair=Mmihirakula-nripēn-  
ārchchitām pāda-yugmaṁ ||  
7 . . . . . [śrī]-Yasōdharmma<sup>17</sup>=āyam stambhaḥ stambh-ābbhirāma-sthira-bhuja-  
parighēn=ōchchhritiṁ nāyitō=ttra ||  
8 . . . . . [Yasōdha]rmmaś=chandra-bimbē rāgād=utkshiṭa uchchair-bhuja iva  
ruchimān=yah prithivya vibhāti ||  
9 . . . . . [Ka]kkasya<sup>18</sup> sūnunaḥ || Utkīrṇā Gōvindēna ||

DISCURSIVE CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARDS THE COMPARATIVE STUDY  
OF ASIATIC SYMBOLISM.

BY H. G. M. MURRAY-AYNSLEY.

## VII.

*Snake Worship.*

Snake-worship is still to be found in India throughout the length and breadth of the land, from Nāgakovil (Temple of the Snake) in the extreme south to the frontiers of Central Asia;<sup>1</sup>—in fact, almost wherever there is a Hindu population, either its actual presence, or its former existence may be seen or traced.

Commencing at the extreme north we find that the earliest form of religion in Kāśmīr is supposed to have been Nāga- or Snake-worship, since when Buddhism, Hinduism, and then

again Nāga-worship are said to have prevailed in the Valley. At the time of its conquest by Akbar in 1558 A.D., Abu'l-fazl relates that there were no less than 700 different places there, where images of snakes were worshipped by the inhabitants, against 134 temples dedicated to Śiva, 64 to Viṣṇu, 22 to Durgā, and 3 to Brahma; a statement which is borne out by the character of the architecture of the valley as we now see it; for, with very few exceptions, all the most ancient temples have been devoted to Serpent-worship.<sup>2</sup>

It seems highly probable that the *pardā* or head-dress worn by the women in Ladāk (who

<sup>16</sup> From the ink-impression.

<sup>17</sup> Metre, Bragdhārā; and in the next seven verses.

<sup>18</sup> See page 255 above, note 6.

<sup>19</sup> Metre, Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>2</sup> The word for snake abides in the names of many places in the Himālayas; e.g. Nāg-marg (Snake Alp or Pasture) near Śrinagar, and Nāg-kanda (Shoulder of the Snake) a hill summit about 40 miles north of Simla.

<sup>2</sup> Some of them stand in courts capable of being flooded, and were entered by means of stone causeways, but the drains have become choked up; they cannot now be approached except by wading. The temple at Pand-rathan near Śrinagar is a case in point. Mr. Fergusson is of opinion that the temple at Mārtand also belonged to the sect of the Nāgas or Snake-worshippers, though others have thought that it was dedicated to the Sun.

Mandasor Duplicate Pillar Inscription of Yasodharman.



J. F. FLEET, BO. C.S.

SCALE .50

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.



are Buddhists) should be by rights held to be a remnant of Serpent-worship in the Himalayas. This ornament has precisely the form of a cobra, the extremity of the tail being fastened to the hair on the forehead and the broad flat head of the snake descending behind to the waist of the wearer. It is usually made of leather, covered with rough pierced turquoises and brooches of gold or silver, according to the wealth or social position of the wearer; but every woman, however poor, possesses a *parák* of some kind.

Passing on southward we find that a special feast is held for one day in the year at Benares in honour of the Serpent-god near the Bakariyá Kupp in a suburb of that city, and some of the forms in which the Serpent is there sculptured are given in Plate XVI. figs. 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5. Fig. 6 is placed beside them for the sake of comparison; the type is the same, but it was found on a stone in the interior of a dolmen within a tumulus on Gavr Innis, an island off the South Coast of Brittany.

In Southern India proper we find that in Coorg, the cobra is still regarded with much fear, and the spots (*natás*) on which a cobra is believed to have died,\* are carefully walled round, under the impression that were any one unwittingly to tread on such a spot he would be a doomed man.

As regards the neighbouring State of Maisûr, Nāga or Snake-worship appears to be now on the increase. It is believed to have existed there in very ancient times,—and to have then died out to arise again of late years, as in Káśmīr. This theory is supported by the facts that no traces of it are to be found amongst the rich sculptures, which adorn the old temples at Bêlûr and Halêbîd in that State, and that all the Nāga sculptures appear to be comparatively modern work. The only signs of Snake-worship in the temple at Bêlûr, which belongs to the Vaishnavas, and has no snake emblems upon it, are two Serpents of very inferior modern work, carved upon a stone in the courtyard. At Halêbîd the Snake is only found in subordinate positions on the twin-temples, which belonged to the Śaiva sect, viz., on the stylobate of a porch where the gods are

represented churning the sea with a huge snake as the rope in order to obtain *amrita*,\* and on one of the bands of carving on the exterior where Śiva is seen holding a Nāga Mûdamma\* on his left arm.

In Bangalore and other places in the Maisûr State, this Nāga Mûdamma seems to be regarded as a sort of tutelary saint, and at the entrances to villages there may commonly be seen by the road-side a kind of pedestal, on which are fixed three large upright slabs of gneiss (see Plate XV. figs. 3, 4, and 5). On the centre one is Nāga Mûdamma, and on one of the slabs on either side is a representation of the Five-headed or the Seven-headed Nāga: on the other are two serpents entwined as in the well-known *caduceus* of (Hermês) Mercury. General Cunningham, *Bhilsa Topes*, Preface, identifies this last with the oldest form of Buddhism, and says it is but a symbol of *dharma*, or nature deified. Again, some of the sculptures from the Buddhist remains at Amarāvati now in the British Museum consist of *topes* in miniature carved upon small slabs. They are covered with bas-reliefs and the principal object on many of them is the Five-headed Serpent. The centre head is the hooded cobra in full face, and on either side are two snakes' heads and necks in profile, which seem to be regarding (or adoring?) the cobra. The whole five heads terminate in one body knotted into graceful folds. However, from the style of the carving, it has been thought that none of the statues of Nāga Mûdamma are more than a century old, and it is well-known that it is only within this period that the people of the Maisûr State have openly returned to their old forms of the Tree and Serpent-worship suppressed for many centuries by Brahmanical influence.

As specimens of forms similar to Nāga Mûdamma from other parts of Asia I have added Plate XV. fig. 1, which is the representation of a Tâtâr goddess holding a conical object on the palm of her right hand: and fig. 2, which is a Nāga goddess from Kanauj in Oudh (Awadh).

To show that such symbolism of the Snake-woman is by no means confined to Asia, on Plate XVI. fig. 7 I have figured a talisman

\* Revealed for a consideration to the owner of the ground by a certain class of men who are wizards by profession.

\* [This, of course, is a reference to the well-known classical Hindu tale.—ED.]

\* A figure with a woman's bust and the lower extremities of a serpent.

called "La Sirena," in use amongst the lower classes in Naples at the present day. I submit that a strong and decided family resemblance exists between the Tâtâr goddess, the Nâgâ lady from Oudh, the Nâgâ Mûdamma of Maisûr, and the Sirena of Naples, and that beyond a doubt they all had a common origin in the remote past. Again, there formerly existed in the ancient church at Laruns, in the Vallée D'Ossau, in the Pyrenees, a holy-water vessel of white marble, which has since been removed into a modern edifice, as the old church is now a ruin. Within this vessel is sculptured in alto-relievo a siren which in form and character resembles the Nâgâ Mûdamma, holding a fish in her right hand and her own tail in her left; there is also a centaur and two fishes. On the exterior is carved "the sacred monogram" in Gothic letters, with an interlaced ornamentation on either side of it; all evidently XVth Century work. It is very probable that the vessel originally came from Bielle, a place in the same valley, where there is said to be a superb mosaic and the remains of a Roman Villa; and tradition says that it was appropriated and put to a religious use during the middle ages, when most likely the Christian symbol on the exterior was added.

In Scandinavia remains of a Serpent-worship of a somewhat different signification are numerous, and besides the Sun-symbols which have been described (p. 66 above) as belonging to the Earlier Bronze Age there are certain other forms which the late Kamer Herr Worsæe says represent the Sun-snake. Such are the simple S, the double S or \$, and the two-headed snake beneath a wheel (the wheel of the Sun?) figured in Plate I. fig 11 (p. 66 above). With reference to the origin of these symbols in his *Danish Art*, Prof. Worsæe says, "The snake, as is well-known, played an important part in the Asiatic and in the ancient Egyptian symbolism, partly because they thought the sun's path through the heavens formed a curve like a snake, and partly because lightning,

or the fertilizing fire, flashed upon the earth in a snake-like zig-zag,"<sup>a</sup>—and on this he concludes that "the *triskele* 5 also (see Plate I. fig. 12, p. 66 above) was but an outcome or variety of the *svastika*." A reference to fig. 15 Plate V. which, as explained above, p. 92, is a sketch of a bronze fibula found a few years ago on excavating the Roman Camp on the Saalburg, not far from Frankfort-am-Main, would appear to show that Prof. Worsæe's surmise as to the connection between the *triskele* and the Serpent is correct, for the former is here present, and each limb of it has a Serpent's head.

On the whole, traces of Snake-worship are not numerous in Europe, and the cult does not appear to have taken much hold upon the minds of the people there; the reason probably being that Snake-worship, essentially a worship of fear, would naturally die out where the alarming kinds of venomous snakes did not exist. But as instances of it may be noticed a singular festival still held once a year in Italy, in a little mountain village in the Abruzzi, where on a certain day the peasants walk in procession, carrying round their arms, waists, and necks, all the snakes they can find.<sup>b</sup> They observe this custom in the belief that they will thus be secured from poison and from sudden death, and further that it will bring them good fortune, especially in love. Also a good many of the legends of the Basque Provinces in the South of France turn upon a Seven-headed Serpent. Thus the "Heren Suge" is always described as being seven-headed, and in the myth of the "Serpent D'Isabit," the oldest version of the numerous tales of this nature, this serpent lies with its head resting on the summit of the Pic du Midi de Bigorre, its neck stretched down towards Barèges, whilst its body fills the valley of Luz and its tail lies coiled in a hollow below the Cirque de Gavarnie.<sup>c</sup> And lastly, at Carnac in Brittany, is a small hostelry which bears the sign of "Le Serpent-Vert."

<sup>a</sup> Dr. Schwartz of Berlin also affirms from deep research into Greek and Roman mythology, that the paramount germinal idea in this wide-spread Serpent emblem is the lightning, and Dr. Brinton also gives the same opinion at some length.

<sup>b</sup> The ink which wrote this sentence was scarcely dry when the news arrived of the sudden death of this distinguished professor. Archaeological science in Denmark and indeed archaeology in general could hardly have sustained a greater loss. He was ever in the foremost

rank of the discoverers of pre-historic remains in his own country, and as in the case above cited, seemed endowed with a power of grasping a subject and of arriving at conclusions which were not apparent to others.

<sup>c</sup> Brinton's *Myths*, p. 112.

<sup>d</sup> [Compare the Sub-Himâlayan legends about the demon Jâlandhara, the various parts of whose body occupy the country from Jâlandhar to Kângâr, a distance of 110 miles.—Ed.]

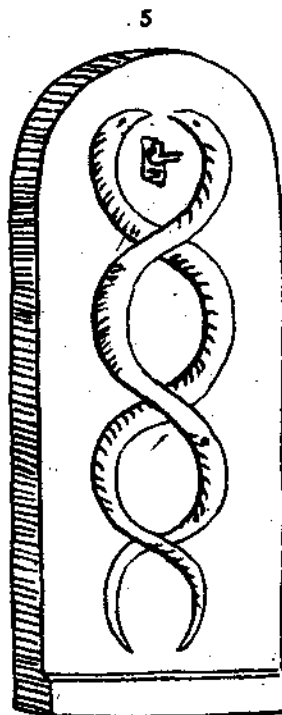
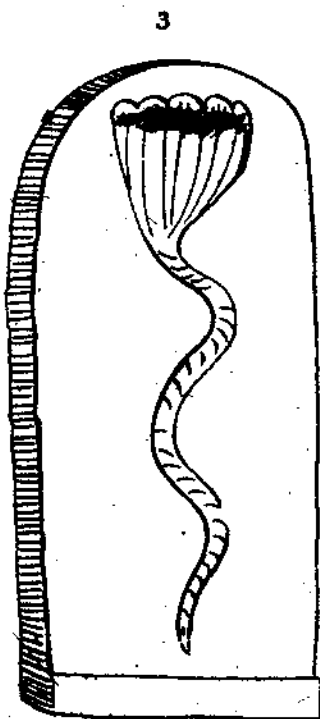




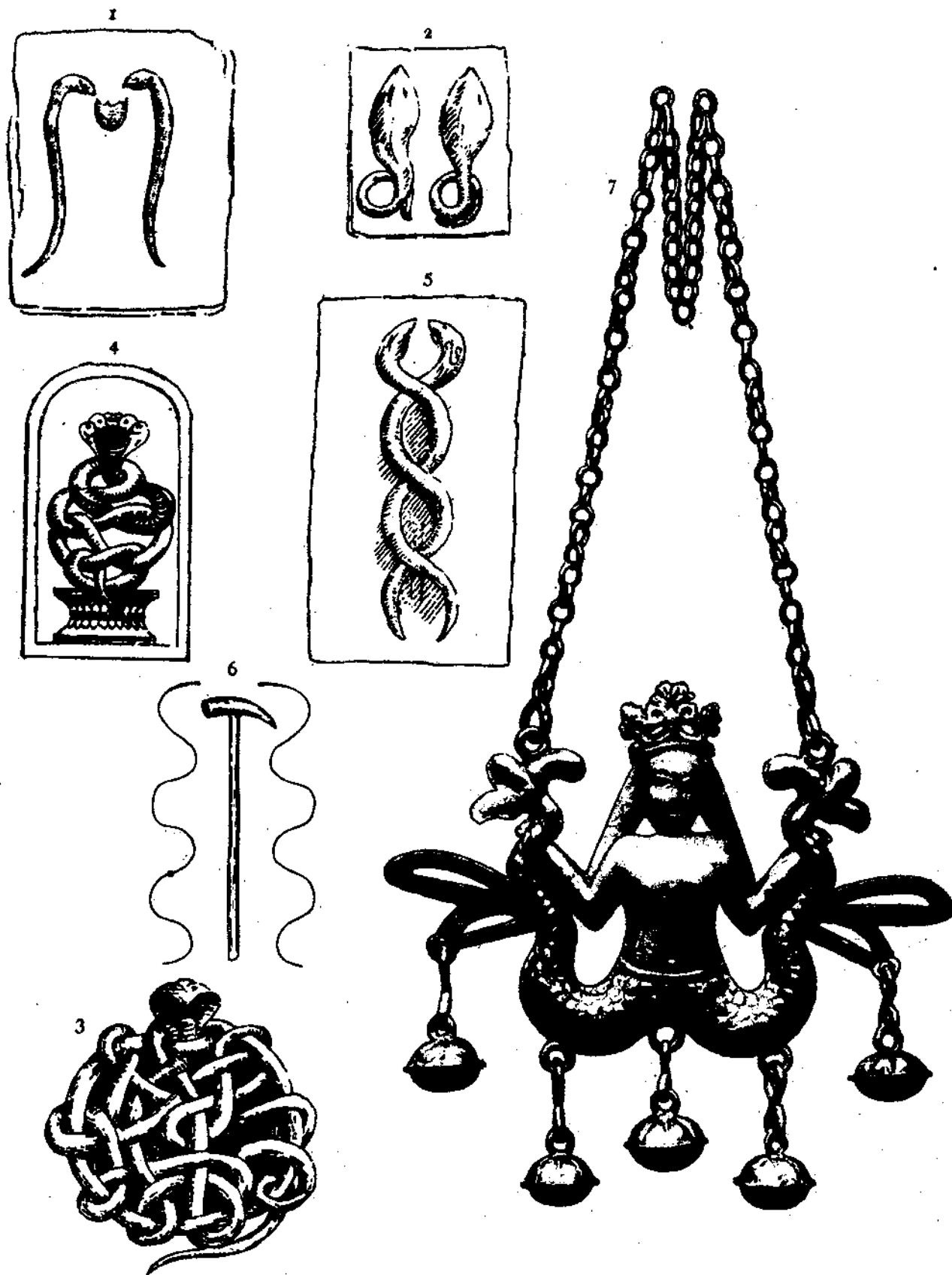
TÂTÂR IDOL.



FROM KANAUJ.



3, 4, 5. FROM MAISÛR.



LA SIRENA.

THE LAST YEARS OF SHAH SHUJA'A, WITH AN APPENDIX ON THE  
AFFAIRS OF HIRAT.

*Translated from the Tārīkh Sulṭānī of Sulṭān Muḥammad Khān Bārūksāi.*

BY E. BEHATSEK.

(Continued from p. 170.)

At the time Shāhzādah Timūr was appointed to the Governorship of Qandahār, Niẓāmu'ddaulah sent his own son 'Abbās Khān with him, and obtained, without the permission of the Pādshāh, a letter from Mr. Macnaghten to the address of Major Lawrence, entrusting to his son ['Abbās Khān] the entire administration of Qandahār, so that the Shāhzādah had no other business there than to draw his monthly salary of three thousand rupees. Accordingly when Shāh Shuja'a had learnt the state of the case, he wrote a letter to Mr. Macnaghten to the effect that as the Shāhzādah had no influence whatever in the Government of Qandahār, his sojourn there was useless. Mr. Macnaghten, who wished to keep on good terms with Niẓāmu'ddaulah, gave some valueless explanations, and when the latter perceived that Mr. Macnaghten wished to please him, he said to him one day:—"The Khāns of this country are receiving thousands of rupees for nothing, and it would be advantageous for the public welfare to curtail their allowances." Macnaghten, who was not well acquainted with the circumstances of the country, lent a willing ear to the suggestions of Niẓāmu'ddaulah, and knew not that:—

"He wishes you ill, and is a bloodsucker of the people,  
Who seeks your profit by oppressing the people."

Accordingly, first of all, Niẓāmu'ddaulah claimed the sum of forty thousand rupees from the Ghiljāis, which they annually retained out of their own agricultural produce, in return for keeping up *thānahs* [police-stations] and performing other duties. They replied that the said allowances had been granted to them by former Pādshāhs for guarding the roads, and for making good the losses merchants sustained by thefts, but Niẓāmu'ddaulah would not listen to any arguments, and insisted upon the confiscation. This transaction became an occasion of injury to both the allied Govern-

ments, because as soon as the Ghiljāis obtained a true notion of the intentions of Niẓāmu'ddaulah they left Kābul by night, and prepared for rebellion in their own territories; so that when the English forces under the command of George Macgregor, which were marching to Jallālābād, reached the station of Khūrd Kābul, nine *karās* distant from the city, the Ghiljāi tribe blocked the road and a severe fight ensued. It was, however, at last compelled to leave the English forces, and to allow them to pass, and they marched on to Jallālābād.

The irregular regulator of the kingdom [Niẓāmu'ddaulah] moreover, having removed the Hākim of the Ghiljāis from his post, appointed to it his own son, who was a boy not more than seven years old, a step that augmented their discontent.

About this time Niẓāmu'ddaulah brought of his own accord a paper to the Shāh, in company with Macnaghten, the contents of which were as follows:—"Five of the Durrānī Khāns, who are the origin of the increase of turbulence, *viz.* Ghulām Aḥmad Khān, son of Sher Muḥammad Khān Bāmizāi, surnamed Mukhtārū'ddaulah, and 'Abdu'llah Khān Achakzāi and Muḥammad 'Atā Khān, son of Sardār Saumandar Khān Bāmizāi, and Sardār Sikandar Khān, his uncle, and Sardār 'Abdu's-salām Khān, son of Muḥammad Ikram Khān Amīnu'l-mulk, must leave the city of Kābul, to go wherever they please." As the Pādshāh only knew of these Khāns from their readiness to serve him, and from their approved loyalty, he was confounded; but as he had the goodwill of the English officers much at heart, he was obliged to agree to their exile. The Khāns were exceedingly distressed, and represented to the Pādshāh that each of them had extensive connections, property, and a family in Kābul, and knew not where to go after abandoning them: but he, being desirous to please the English, paid no attention to their objections and made no reply.

<sup>1</sup> Among the measures of economy which were now resorted to, was that of curtailing the stipends of the Ghiljāi chiefs. *Cal. Rev.* Vol. II. No. iii. 1844, p. 249.

Then a fresh *firman* of Lord [*sic*] Macnaghten was promulgated, ordering that the departure of the Khâns from the city must not be delayed beyond three days, and saying that they would be called to account if it was; they were moreover to go to Peshâwar and to no other place. On this the Khâns naturally surmised that they were to be transported to India as prisoners, and entirely despairing of the protection of Shâh Shuja'a, who had no authority whatever, and fearing to lose their lives, women, and children, they were induced to hold a secret consultation for devising means of escape from the impending calamity. It happened also that during the same night a man went about the city, and threw a paper into the house of each of the Khâns. In the morning when they saw the papers, they found the following words written on each of them:—"Pay attention to your case, because to-morrow you will be made prisoners with great suffering and distress, and will be sent to India." As papers of the same kind had been thrown also into the *harams* of Mir Hâjî, and of Hâfiz Jâi, the sons of Mir Wâ'is, and into that of Aminu'llah Khân Lahukurdî, they endeavoured after perusing the contents to discover the bearer, but the more they sought, the less they found him. It seemed as if a *jinn* had done the business: but no—I am mistaken,—rather an angel of the Almighty had brought this affair to light from the secrecy of non-existence. In the course of the day the Khâns, whom their distress had made impatient, held a consultation, and determined to rise in arms next day against their foes, in order to see what would come forth from the curtain of futurity. They bound each other by a strong covenant, and said:—

"If successful, we shall place our feet on the top of the celestial sphere,

Else we shall have sacrificed our lives like men for the end we had in view."

On the morning of the seventeenth of the blessed month Ramazân, in the year 1258 [22nd October 1841] they rose in arms, attacked, captured and slew every one they met. Verily they committed abundant excesses. Shâh

Shuja'a, whom this catastrophe had made uneasy, despatched *nasâqchis* and *jârchis* with orders to quench the flames of the insurrection, which however spread so extensively that his efforts proved futile. Then he summoned to his presence the Khâns who had revolted, but they refused to obey: whilst some sent a reply that they could no longer bear the haughtiness and independence of Nizâmu'ddaulah and that the time for negotiation was now passed. The Pâdshâh, therefore, sent some Tilangah (Native Indian) troops, together with his mounted bodyguard under the command of the Shâhzâdah Fath Jang, and several pieces of artillery for the purpose of dispersing the company of the *ghâzis*, and delivering Mr. Alexander Barnes: to whom he also sent a message that he should, in any case, leave the city and betake himself to the Bâlâ Hisâr, or to his own *Châuni* [Cantonment]. But as his death, decreed by fate, was imminent, he paid no attention to it. The Tilangah and Hindustânî troops, who had marched out under the command of the Shâhzâdah, were attacked by the *ghâzis*, who killed and wounded nearly seven hundred of them, and put the rest to flight, so that they hastened with the Shâhzâdah into the Bâlâ Hisâr. Shâh Shuja'a also despatched Mirzâ Ibrâhim Khân Munshî, to the *Châuni* of Mr. Macnaghten with the information that as this was but the first eruption of a rebellion, and as it had not yet developed itself, he ought to order all his troops to enter the city on all sides to disperse the crowd of insurgents. Mr. Macnaghten, who was intoxicated with the sleep of carelessness<sup>3</sup> despatched one [Tilangah] regiment with eight pieces of artillery to the Bâlâ Hisâr for the security of the Pâdshâh; but the latter sent word that he was perfectly safe, and anxious only to see the confusion in the city put down, according to the saying:—

"The fountain head should be stopped with a spade,

Because, when full, it cannot be crossed on an elephant."

Macnaghten then sent a reply that affairs would yet turn out well.

<sup>3</sup> Had the copyist written the 27th instead of the 17th, he would have been nearer the truth. In an official report on the transactions of Kâbul, which was found after his death, Sir William Macnaghten writes:—"On the morning of the 2nd wk. [November] I was informed that the town of Kâbul was in a state of commotion, &c." Calc. Rev. Vol. XV. 1851, No. xxx. p. 433. Also

Kaye gives in Vol. II. p. 19, the same statement, and afterwards the whole document, which is long, but had not been completed by its writer.

<sup>4</sup> "Macnaghten heard the intelligence with composure. There was nothing in it, he thought, to startle or dismay a man with sound nerves and clear understanding." Kaye, Vol. II. p. 6.

Meanwhile, however, the *gházis* had girded up the loins of courage and shouting the blessed verse, "Verily Allah loveth those who fight for his religion in battle array, as if they were a well compacted building,"\* hastily assailed the house of Alexander Burnes, which was in the city, looted his property, and capturing him whilst he was in the act of fleeing, cut him to pieces with their merciless swords. After plundering his house they set it on fire, and likewise robbed, in the twinkling of an eye, the Government treasury, which was near it, and in charge of the Farangî [European] Johnson; which acquisition caused the poor and the destitute to lift up the banner of mendicancy.

On the other hand, it occurred to some of the upright and united Khâns, viz. 'Abdu'llah Khân Achâkzâi, Amînu'llah Lahukurdî, Sardâr 'Abdu's-salâm Khân Bâmizâi, Sikandar Khân Bâmizâi, &c., that after having embarked in so dangerous an undertaking, they could not impart stability to a Government without a Pâdshâh. Therefore they unanimously elected Muhammad Zamân Khân to be Pâdshâh, and resorted to more violence in order to realize their hopes. Accordingly after slaying Alexander Burnes and plundering the treasury under Johnson, they attacked the fort of Nishân Khân, situated between Deh-i-Afghân and Bâgh-i-Shâh [Garden of the Shâh]. As the European officers had purchased the *gûdâm*\* of the fort, and adorned it for habitation, they showed fight. When, however, the *gházis* impetuously rushed upon them they could no longer resist, and most of them were slain. Those who escaped the sword, fled by the aid of some friends the Chandâul Mahallah to the first *Ohhâuni*, whereon all the corn and stores, laid up in the fort for the winter, fell into the possession of the *gházis*.

When Mr. Trevor, who had on the first day taken up a position in the tower of Fath Khân, knew that Burnes had been killed, and the treasury plundered, he made the Jânâz Shâhî Sawârs, whom he commanded, his own body-guard, and asked Mr. Macnaghten to send

him a regiment for protection. But this did not arrive, and the *gházis* came in numbers and almost captured him. Meanwhile the inhabitants of the Andarâni Mahallah reduced him to great straits for want of water.

On Thursday the twenty-first of the said month [26th October 1841]<sup>†</sup> the valiant *gházis*, who were under the command of the Naib Amînu'llah Khân Lahukurdî and 'Abdu'llah Achâkzâi, considered that, as the English had no stores (*gûdâm*) in the Cantonment, but had transferred all [their stores] to the forts of J'afir Khân and Sharif Khân, they must, if the stores be destroyed, perish partly by hunger, and partly by bullets. The conclusion was accordingly arrived at that these two forts must be taken, and the stores,—that is to say, the provisions,—plundered. Accordingly, therefore, they so ravaged them that in a moment it was as if they had never existed.<sup>‡</sup> They also set fire to the fort [of J'afir Khân] and attacked the fort of Sharif Khân, which was near the Cantonment. The English Ensign Warren,<sup>§</sup> who was with one hundred fifty men of the Fifth Regiment in charge of the fort [of J'afir Khân], felt himself unable to resist the *gházis*, and was ready to agree to leave it, and thus to save his life. Meanwhile Captain<sup>¶</sup> Swayne, who had with two hundred men of the Forty-fourth Regiment been marching from the Cantonment to relieve him, became on reaching the Bâgh-i-Shâh a target for the bullets of the *gházis*, and lost an eye; and most of the other officers having been killed, as many of the rest of the force as escaped the sword, trod the way of flight. About the time of mid-day prayers, Ensign Kârri [sic], intending to aid Ensign Warren, marched from the Cantonment with one regiment of the [East India] Company, and one division of the Nizâmî Cavalry [regulars]; but before he had yet approached near, the *gházis* discharged a shower of bullets upon his advancing force, of which they killed eight and wounded fifteen, causing it to retreat to the Cantonment. They then continued their operations around the fort, pushing a mine to the base of it like mice. Captain

\* *Qurân*, Ch. lxi. v. 4.

† From the Portuguese *gudão* meaning cotton, and the place where it is stored; hence anglicised into *go-down*, and designating any kind of store-house. [See *Panjab Notes and Queries*, Vol. I. Note 963, Vol. II. Note 754.]

‡ This is again a mistake in date, as the events described took place more than a week later.

§ [This hypothetical expression is not borne out by what follows.—ED.]

¶ "Lieutenant," e.g. "Lieutenant Warren and his party had abandoned the fort, and returned to the Cantonments, leaving all our supplies in the hands of the enemy, and inspiring them with fresh confidence and courage," Kaye, Vol. II. p. 33.

¶ "Major," p. 28 *ibid*.

Boyd then went to the commander of the army, namely Mr. Macnaghten, shouting that the surrender of the fort to the enemy would entail the loss of one *lakh* of rupees, and what was worse, the *sangar*<sup>10</sup> in it contained not more than twelve days' provisions, nor was there any force at hand strong enough to collect provisions elsewhere, and convey them to the fort. Macnaghten also was now perplexed, and sent word to hold the fort till night-fall, when succour would arrive. Ensign Warren replied that the *ghâzis* were undermining one of the towers, and also that his men had become so cowed, that from fear for their lives most of them were leaping down from the rampart and taking refuge in the *sangar*, and that therefore if no succour arrived in the evening, all would be lost. After six o'clock in the evening, Macnaghten held a council of war with his officers, and a decision was arrived at not to send a reinforcement to the fort of Sharif Khân till the next morning to prevent the loss of the *gûdâm*, because the Afghâns were not in the habit of sacrificing their night's rest, and would not be watching the fort, nor harrassing the besieged. As a measure of precaution, however, Captain Johnson was sent as a spy to bring information about the Afghâns, and he returned after a while with the report that they were assembling, and preparing for an assault. Nevertheless, the English officers delayed sending reinforcements till the morning dawned, by which time the impetuous *ghâzis* had taken the fort by storm, and set the gate on fire, so that Ensign Warren had to escape with the troops by a way he had prepared for flight.<sup>11</sup> As the conquerors had taken possession of abundant provisions, and the want of them in the winter season would cause great hardship to the English troops, the English officers, when they saw the Afghâns engaged in carrying off the corn, impelled partly by apprehensions of impending distress, and partly

by feelings of honour, purposed to adopt Lieutenant Eyre's suggestion to attack the fort of Muhammad Sharif forthwith. His senior officers, however, would not agree to let him command, and unanimously selected Major Swayne to take charge of an assault with the Sixth Regiment of Indian Infantry, in the hope of obtaining possession of the remnants of the corn; but this officer, instead of preceding his men, according to the usual custom, preferred to walk in the shelter of an adjoining wall. When the commander of the troops saw this, he knew that such a coward would effect nothing, and ordered them to retrace their steps.

Next day Ensign<sup>12</sup> Bird was sent with one hundred men of the Forty-fourth Regiment of the Shâhi [Royal] Infantry, Mr. Delin with as many of the Fifth Indian Infantry and Mr. Sturt with the same number of the Thirty-seventh Indian Infantry to assault the fort, [Major] Griffiths being appointed commander over these officers. They directed their artillery against the fort of Muhammad Sharif, levelled its walls and then took it by storm.<sup>13</sup> Then they advanced until they got possession of nearly one half of the Bâgh-i-Shâh. On the other hand the Afghân *sawârs*, led by 'Abdu'llah Khân Achakzâi, invaded the Bâgh-i-Shâh and expelled Captain Thackeray with the *jazâirchis* therefrom, killing great numbers. The Qizlbâshes of the *muhallâh*, who had up to this time remained neutral, succoured the Afghâns when they saw them pressed, and renewing the attack, retook the Bâgh-i-Shâh with the fort of Sharif, and having driven the English into the *sangar* besieged them.

On Tuesday the twenty-seventh of the month Ramazân in the same year<sup>14</sup> when the provisions of the English troops had been altogether consumed, the plenipotentiary *wazîr* Macnaghten sent an officer to Brigadier Shelton who was in the Bâlâ Hîşâr, to ask for

<sup>10</sup> This word does not occur in any Persian Dictionary, but is in Sanskrit *sangraha*, "collection," hence "a place where a collection of stores is kept." It has passed into Marâthî unchanged and also into other Indian languages, and is on the way of becoming an English word like *bhatta*, *bungalow*, *chiffet*, &c., and is already being used in print. A correspondent of *The Bombay Gazette*, writing from Suakim, meant by it a small circular fort, and in our text it appears to designate a magazine or store-house like *gûdâm* above.

<sup>11</sup> "Early on the morning of the 5th the commissariat fort was abandoned by its garrison, the enemy having attempted to fire the gate and escalade. The garrison

came out by a hole made from the interior—tools having been sent over night, with a view to the introduction of reinforcements and the withdrawal of supplies from the store."—*Report of General Elphinstone*.

<sup>12</sup> Lieutenant.  
<sup>13</sup> A party under Major Griffiths of the 37th Native Infantry was sent out against Muhammad Sharif's fort. A practicable breach was effected, and the storming party entered with an irresistible impetuosity worthy of British troops. Kaye, Vol. II. p. 37. This took place on the 6th November 1841.

<sup>14</sup> This gives the 1st November, which is about a week too early.

some grain, if he had any, whereon the General, having obtained some flour and corn, brought it with an artillery waggon, a battalion of the Forty-fourth Royal English Regiment and the whole of the Sixth Regiment of Shâh Shuja'a-u'l-Mulk to the *sangar*. When he arrived at the Cantonment the soldiers became frightened, because he said that the English troops would be unable to encounter and to fight the furious Afghâns; more especially now, as the winter was setting in and the scarcity of food would become such that not one man of the English army would be able to return alive, wherefore the opportunity of leaving Kâbul, and marching to Jallâlâbâd, ought to be at once embraced. But Macnaghten and the officers of the army replied that, in the opinion of intelligent men, such a proposal smacked of madness itself; because they had taken infinite trouble in the construction of the *sangar* for their own safety. To abandon it therefore and to lift up the banner of retreat in another direction full of enemies, would be tantamount to feeding a fire with more wood, or to throwing one's goods into a rushing torrent; and for this reason the best thing to do was to remain in their stronghold till the commencement of the spring. When the soldiers heard the depressing words and contradictory proposals of their officers, they became sore afraid in their hearts, preferring death to life; and the more so, as they knew that the provisions in the Cantonment would not last longer than two days more.

Now the Afghâns stormed and took the fort of Rikâ Bâshi, situated at the distance of an arrow shot from the Cantonment, on which they fired a rain of bullets. The plenipotentiary *wasîr* [Sir W. Macnaghten] having ordered the fort of Rikâ Bâshi to be stormed,<sup>18</sup> Colonel Mackrell went with the 44th Regiment, in company of Lieutenant Bird with the 6th Regiment, and a number of other European as well as Indian soldiers, and made their attack from one side, whilst Captain Bellew started with still more numerous troops and the same intention from another; whereon the victory-craving Afghâns,

perceiving the impending danger, rushed between the two forces, and surrounding those of Captain Bellew, cut most of them to pieces. When Brigadier Shelton became aware of what was taking place, the fire of his zeal blazed, and he fell with his men upon the Afghâns, who repelled them twice, and at the same time continued to fire upon the troops of Lieutenant Bird, which they had surrounded. In the third attack the Afghâns incited each other and, becoming more furious, reached the enemy, committing such slaughter that all of them were killed, except Lieutenant Bird and one of his valiant soldiers. It is moreover said that these two men fought so bravely, that they caused thirty Afghâns to attain the dignity of martyrdom.<sup>19</sup> Of the English two hundred men were killed, but in this give-and-take, the forts of Rikâ Bâshi<sup>20</sup> and Zû'lfiqâr and another, fell into the possession of the English, together with some grain they contained. One-half of this they succeeded in transferring to the *sangar* by the evening: but when the *shâhanshâh* with the golden diadem, namely the sun, had thrown the veil of obscurity over his face, ("By night when it covereth all things with darkness,")<sup>21</sup> the brave Afghâns blew up the walls of the two forts by mines, and thus wreaked their vengeance, which greatly augmented the dismay of the English.

Another contest took place at the *Pattah-Bî-mâ-rû*, originally called *Pattah-i-Bîbî-mâh-rû*.<sup>22</sup> On the twenty-fourth of the blessed month Ramaṣân in the same year [8th November]<sup>23</sup> the English cavalry rode about the vicinity of the Cantonment, whereon the Afghân *sawârs* rushed upon them and occupied the top of the hill which dominated their Cantonment, whence a *risâlah* of regulars was immediately sent to dislodge them, and the Afghâns, unable to cope with them, retreated. Afterwards some of the Kôhistânî Infantry preparing for another fight, constructed a *sangar* on the top of the Bîmârd hill, and when next day a crowd of *ghâzis* ascended it, with the intention of fighting, the English troops likewise marched out from the Cantonment and stood ready for battle, whilst a *risâlah* been shot down by the gallant three."—Kaye, Vol. II. p. 53.

<sup>18</sup> Fort Rikâ Bâshi was taken on the 10th of November.

<sup>19</sup> Qurân, Ch. xcii. v. 1.

<sup>20</sup> Meaning the Hill of the Moon-faced Lady.

<sup>21</sup> But it was only on the urgent representation of the Envoy, that an expedition against the Rikâ Bâshi fort was undertaken at last.—Kaye, Vol. II. p. 50.

<sup>22</sup> "Lieutenant Bird, with two sepoys of the 37th N. I. sought refuge in a stable, which they barricaded and defended with a resolution that deserved and secured a crown of success. When the fort was carried by the British troops, they were found with exhausted ammunition, but alive and uninjured. Thirty of the enemy had

<sup>23</sup> "On the 13th November the enemy occupied in great strength the Bî-mâ-rû hills. They had planted two guns in a commanding position, and were cannonading the British Cantonment."—Kaye, Vol. II. p. 59.

of regulars with two pieces of artillery on wheels, under the command of Lieutenant Walker, was sent up the hill, the top of which they reached with extreme difficulty. When the fighting began, the Kôhistâni foot-men succeeded in gradually withdrawing from the range of the cannons, so that the balls could not strike them, whilst their own bullets laid low all the artillerists.<sup>21</sup> On this occasion<sup>22</sup> 'Abdu'llah Khân Achakzâi, who was a lion in the field of valour, and who had in his morning prayers asked God to grant him martyrdom, rushed forth in the company of a number of braves with the war cry:—"Assistance from Allah, and a speedy victory,"<sup>23</sup> and overturning the cannons made an attack upon the *sawârs* of the English *risâlah*. But alas, whilst doing so, the valiant 'Abdu'llah Khân, having tasted the sherbet of martyrdom, was received into the Almighty's proximity of mercy and repose. All the Musalmâns, especially the Afghâns, tore the collar of grief for his loss, and it was confidently thought, that had not the Khân been overtaken by the decree of fate, the Cantonment of the English would on that day have fallen into the possession of the *ghâzis*.<sup>24</sup>

After that the English, having evidently no more power and strength to fight outside, were besieged in their Cantonments, and began to negotiate for peace with the Afghâns. On the sixteenth of the month Shawâl [1st December 1841] Wazir Muḥammad Akbar Khân, son of the Amīr Dōst Muḥammad Khân, who had escaped from Bokhârâ and had been

living in Tashqurghân, and had come to Kâbul when he heard of the rebellion—as will be narrated in the *Memoirs* of the adherents of the Amīr Dōst Muḥammad Khân, if it pleaseth Allah the Most High,—was with Shâh Shuja'a in the Bâlâ Hîsâr, when the English in the Cantonments had begun negotiations with the Afghâns, and messengers were going forwards and backwards between them.

When Macnaghten had obtained a substitute and desired to return to Hindustân, he wrote to Shâh Shuja'a that the further stay of the latter in Kâbul would be unsuitable for him, and that if he were to go with him to India, the [East India] Company would grant him a pension of four *lâkhs* of rupees *per annum*. The Pâdshâh replied, that if his hands had not been tied by a feeling of honour and by his family he would have done so, but could not, according to the saying:—

"O ye that are encumbered by a family  
Must no longer hope for tranquillity."

He also advised Macnaghten that it would be better to be on his guard, and likewise to take refuge in the Bâlâ Hîsâr, and when he heard that Macnaghten had been killed, he was very sorry.<sup>25</sup> Then the English army marched in command of Mr. Pottinger—whom they had made Lord [Commander] after the murder of Macnaghten, on account of the scarcity of provisions, in the direction of Jallâlâbâd,<sup>26</sup> but all perished during their march from the extreme cold and in consequence of the attacks of the *ghâzis*,<sup>27</sup>—as will be narrated in the

but commanded by General Elphinstone and not by Pottinger, as stated above in our text.

<sup>21</sup> The arrival of the army from Kâbul was anxiously expected in Jallâlâbâd:—"At last, on the 13th of January, when the garrison were busy on the works, toiling with axe and shovel, with their arms piled and accoutrements laid out close at hand, a sentry, on the ramparts, looking out towards the Kâbul road, saw a solitary white-faced horseman struggling on towards the fort . . . . A shudder ran through the garrison. That solitary horseman looked like the messenger of death. Few doubted that he was the bearer of intelligence that would fill their souls with horror and dismay. Their worst forebodings seemed confirmed. There was the one man who was to tell the story of the massacre of a great army. A party of cavalry were sent out to succour him. They brought him in wounded, exhausted, half-dead. The messenger was Dr. Brydon, and he now reported his belief that he was the sole survivor of an army of sixteen thousand men."—Kaye, Vol. II. p. 217.—The detailed account of this disastrous march, terminating with the extermination of the whole army, occurs *ibid.* Book VI. Ch. II. from p. 218 to p. 250. Readers, however, who expect a chronological sequence of the facts narrated, will be a little surprised that it is not always observed in this work; and that the tragic arrival of Dr. Brydon at Jallâlâbâd has been narrated before, and not after the account of the extermination of army is given.

<sup>21</sup> Emboldened by impunity, the Afghan cavalry charged down upon the British bayonets with irresistible force. No dispositions were made to receive them. For a while all was panic and confusion.—Kaye, Vol. II. pp. 60-61.

<sup>22</sup> This was, according to Kaye, Vol. II. p. 83-83, another action, but in the same locality, fought on the 23rd November, which was one of the most disastrous:—"On that day a battle was fought which ended in the disgraceful and calamitous defeat of the British troops." Kaye also mentions the death of the chief alluded to above in our text. <sup>23</sup> *Qurân*, ch. lxi. v. 13.

<sup>24</sup> "At this moment, when the enemy were in flight, and our guns had been recaptured, Shelton might have brought back his force with credit to Cantonments. But the opportunity was lost . . . The rout of the British force was complete. In one confused mass of Infantry and Cavalry—of European and native soldiers—they fled to the Cantonment walls."—Kaye, Vol. II. pp. 89-90.

<sup>25</sup> On the 23rd December 1841 the Envoy summoned Capt. Trevor, Lawrence and Mackenzie to accompany him to a meeting with some Afghan chiefs:—"After the conference had begun, on a given signal Akbar Khân endeavoured to seize Sir William, and meeting resistance, shot him dead with the pistols which he had a day or two before received as a present from him. *Calc. Rev.* 1844, Vol. II. No. iii. p. 260.

<sup>26</sup> The army left Kâbul on the sixth January 1842,



*Memoirs of the Amir Dôst Muḥammad Khān and of Akbar Khān.*

The population of Kābul crowded against the Bālā Hīṣār,<sup>22</sup> until they got it into their possession like the Cantonments of the English; whereon Shāh Shuja'a, perceiving that the tyrannical English Government was destroyed, was under the necessity of acting according to the maxim, "if the times do not suit you, suit them," and of courting the friendship of Amīnu'llah Khān Lahnkurdī, to whose house he sent his own son the Shāhzādah Shāhpūr for the purpose of allaying the excitement of the insurgents, most of whom considered him [the Pādshāh] to be altogether English in his sentiments. Amīnu'llah, being pleased with the promises made to him, of gold, of robes of honour, of position and of high dignity, brought over a number of Durrānīs and Fāris to the side of the Pādshāh: who also pledged himself, while the negotiations proceeded, to bestow a gift of two *lākhs* of *pukhtah* rupees upon [the Shāhzādah] Muḥammad Zamān Khān. But the latter at first refused, saying, "I am a *Khalīfah*, and not a receiver of bribes;" to which Amīnu'llah Khān replied, "As now a Pādshāh of Islām has been found, the Khalīfate is abolished and the Wazirate is also a high position and most valuable dignity, which I am able to procure for you," and then Muḥammad Zamān Khān necessarily consented. On the 7th Zū'l-hijjah A.H. 1257 [27th January 1842] the Shāhzādah Shāhpūr proceeded with Nāib Amīnu'llah Khān and Nawāb Muḥammad Zamān Khān, and all the Ghiljāi, Kōhistānī, and Qizlbāsh Khāns to the Bālā Hīṣār for the purpose of saluting the Shāh, and having been presented with beautiful robes of honour they paid him their respects every day.<sup>23</sup>

Wazīr Muḥammad Akbar Khān, who was on this occasion at Jallālābād, felt much aggrieved on being informed that the Khāns had made

peace with Shāh Shuja'a, and wrote secretly to the chiefs of Kābul, that if the Shāh was sincere in his desire to strengthen Islām and to destroy the infidels, they must incite him to extirpate the remainder of the English who were still in Jallālābād. With this object people were daily sent round bearing the noble *Qurān* [*Ḥaṣrat Furqān*] on their heads shouting the *Takbīr* [the words *Allāhu akbar*] and proclaiming that the Pādshāh of Islām ought certainly to go to Jallālābād to remove the remaining Englishmen from Afghānistān. As gratitude to the English impeded the Pādshāh from consenting to ruin their government, he adopted the policy of procrastination, and declared that in case Muḥammad Akbar Khān should be unable to conquer Jallālābād, he would himself induce the English to depart from Afghānistān by diplomacy, and in case of their failing to comply, he would force them to do so by war. As the Musalmāns were displeased with the return of Muḥammad Akbar Khān, they were of opinion that it would be better to send a letter to the English officers. Accordingly, to please them, Shāh Shuja'a despatched one by Sardār 'Ināyatu'llah Khān Bāmizāi, and another by Dīn Muḥammad Khān, his private chamberlain. These were to act apparently as his agents, but in reality to favour the English, whom they openly told to depart from Jallālābād, but secretly put on their guard against the treachery of the Bārūkzāi tribes, and more particularly against that of Muḥammad Akbar Khān, lest they should be deceived by his duplicity, and perish like Macnaghten, from trusting him.<sup>24</sup> It is alleged that the Shāh's object in this correspondence, which was protracted during two lunar months, was no other than to gain time for the arrival of another army from Hindūstān. This conjecture is supported by the writings of Mr. Macgregor, the Hākīm of Jallālābād.

(To be continued.)

<sup>22</sup> "The Bālā Hīṣār was evacuated by the British troops on the 13th December."—Kaye, Vol. II. p. 181.

<sup>23</sup> "Ever since the departure of the British army, Shāh Shuja'a had reigned at Kābul. He had reigned at Kābul, but he had not ruled. His power was merely nominal. The chiefs wanted a puppet; and in the unhappy Shāh they found the only one who was ever likely to stand between them and the vengeance of the British nation. Day after day they made their salaam to him in the Bālā Hīṣār, but so imperfect was their outward recognition of his regal dignity, that money was still

coined in the name of the Nawāb Zamān Khān."—Kaye, Vol. II. pp. 353-4.

<sup>24</sup> The Shāh himself talked openly in the Darbār about standing forth as the defender of the faith and declaring a religious war against the Kāfir, but he privately assured Conolly that he was heart and soul with the British, and he wrote long letters to the Governor-General, Clerk, Macgregor, and others, declaring his inviolable fidelity, and eagerly clamouring for money."—Kaye, Vol. II. p. 255.

## ANCIENT TENURES OF LAND IN THE MARATHA COUNTRY.

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

The Marāṭhās constitute a well-defined section of the Hindu population. They occupy a considerable portion of the table-land of the Dakhan; or, to define its limits more exactly, the western boundary may be described as following the line of coast from Damān to Goa, the northern being marked by the Sātpurā range as far as Nāgpur, whence the eastern border follows the course of the Waingāṅgā, and other tributaries of the Gōdāvarī, as far as Bidar, thence an irregular line passing through Kāgal, Kurandwād, Hukēri, Belgaum and Dhārwad to Sadāśiwgad, divides them from the Karnāṭaka and Kanarese-speaking people.

Of the origin of the people who have inhabited this tract from the earliest times we have no certain knowledge. We first become acquainted with them on the decay of the Āndhra empire. At that time two powerful indigenous races occupied the southern portion of the Āndhra dominions in the Dakhan, the Pallavas to the east, and the Rāṭṭas to the west, the aspirations of both of which were kept in check by the growing power of the Chālukya dynasty. The language of the Rāṭṭas has a Turanian foundation, but it has great similarity to the grammar and structure of Hindi. It is expressed in characters of two forms, one identical with Dēvanāgarī, the other cursive, the running hand used on all ordinary occasions called Mōḍ or Mōḍī. With a not inconsiderable literature of its own, it has received large additions from Sanskrit, principally by translation. Hence also the national designation it effects for its people and country of Rāshtrakūṭa and Mahārāshṭra, by which it has sought to overshadow the indigenous names of Rāṭṭa and Mahārāṭṭa.<sup>1</sup>

The Marāṭhās have always been distinguished for their courage and love of independence, which they maintained despite the superior power of the Chālukyas. Advancing from their seat on the Bhīmā they even overthrew for a while that kingdom between the 8th and 10th centuries,<sup>2</sup> and afterwards, amid the

growing power of the Muhammadans, they still maintained their independence, until, in the days of Aurangzeb, in the 17th and 18th centuries, they emerged from their mountain fastnesses under Sivaji, and swept away the wide-spread Mughal empire, penetrating even to its threshold in the city of Dehli itself.

The great body of the Rāṭṭas is composed of the agricultural classes or *kunbis*, distinguished for their skill and industry as cultivators, and for their readiness and aptitude for war, being equally prepared at all times to exchange the plough for the saddle and the spear. Below them are the servile classes, *mahārs* or *mārs*, who have been suggested by some as the ancestors of the Marāṭhā nation,<sup>3</sup> but they belong without doubt to that numerous body of serfs, hereditary bondmen, *adscripti glebæ*, the *hōliars* of the Kanarese, the *mālas* of the Telugus, and the *pariahs* of the Tamils. The *mahārs* imbibed the martial instincts of their masters, and served with credit as *bārgīrs* in the *pāḡās*, or stable horse of local chiefs, when they were called *kūlsawārs*. But the most important class is that of the Brāhmaṇs. Astute and able as the twice-born caste is throughout India, the Marāṭhā Brāhmaṇ is pre-eminently distinguished among all his confraternity for ability and force of character. The particular term, by which they are known from the Niyōgis or Telugu Brāhmaṇs on the one hand, and the Śēṇwis of the west coast on the other, is that of Dēśastha or "national," which marks them as first *par excellence*, and the highest rank is always conceded to them. They took an active share in all the public transactions of the Dakhan, both civil and military, from the period of Muhammadan rule down to recent times. Ferishta states that Burhān Nizām Shāh made a Brāhmaṇ his *diwān* or minister, with the title of Pēshwā about A.D. 1592,<sup>4</sup> a practice which became general as applied to the Brāhmaṇ ministers of the different chiefs, and was even adopted by Sivaji himself in favour

<sup>1</sup> Burnell, *South-Indian Palæography*, 2nd ed., Introd. p. x. note 2.

<sup>2</sup> Fleet's *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, pp. 32.

33, 40, 41.

<sup>3</sup> Molesworth's *Marāṭhī Dictionary*, p. xxiii.

<sup>4</sup> Briggs' *Ferishta*, Vol. III. p. 220.

of his own minister Sâm Rāj Pant, whose successors ultimately displaced the descendants of his royal master.

The preference shown by the Muhammadan princes to the Dāsasthas and the skill and ability displayed by the latter in the revenue administration, gradually led to the substitution of Marāṭhī for Persian as the language of account under Brāhmaṇ scribes, which greatly added to their influence.\* This influence they have never lost. Every ruler, of whatever race or creed, finds the assistance of a Brāhmaṇ *diwān* or *daftardār* indispensable to the success of his administration, and hence the Marāṭhī system of accounts, though much modified, has not become obsolete even to the present day.

Before noticing the system of assessment introduced by the Marāṭhās it will be useful to give a short sketch of the governments that preceded them. The earliest that exercised any influence now perceptible on the assessment was that of Ānāgundī or Bijnagar, which prevailed over their extensive dominions from the beginning of the 15th to the middle of the 16th century. This gave place to the Ādil Shāh dynasty of Bijapur in 1553 A.D., which was succeeded in 1686 A.D. by that of the Dehlī or Mughalāi *Sarkār* on the conquest of the Dakhan by Aurangzeb. When the Marāṭhī rule was restored under the Poona Government the revenues were ably administered for some time under various Brāhmaṇ *sargūbahs* (provincial governors) on the *chālī* system inherited from Bijapur. But by degrees abuses crept in under the weak and improvident rule of the Pēshwā Bījī Rāo. The collection of the revenue was farmed to the highest bidder, and new offers were accepted at Poona for districts already rented, the new-comer sometimes having to expel his predecessor by force. Then, aware of the precarious nature of his tenure he was obliged to exact to the utmost. The abuses arising out of such a system were augmented by internal disorders, insurrectionary movements, and plundering raids, so that when the Southern Marāṭhā country came into the possession of the British Government in 1817 a general state of disorder was found to prevail.

\* Briggs' *Perishta*, Vol. III. p. 80.

\* These are found in different parts of the country and vary greatly in extent. The *chiggars* is a large

Out of this chaos the first step of the new Government was to ascertain as far as possible the principles, if any, on which the original assessment rested. It was found by a careful examination of the oldest accounts procurable that the system of assessment in force under the Bijapur and early Marāṭhā Governments was derived from the times of the Anagundī or Bijnagar kings. According to tradition, Kṛishṇa Rāya, the greatest prince of that line, made a regular survey of the whole area on which assessment was due. This was the *rāya-rēkhā* or *hulmār* measurement, still referred to as the oldest authority extant. It was on it that the Bijapur settlement was based, which stands at the head of all the old assessments under the title of *raḥam-bēris*. The dry lands only appear to have been subjected to the *rāya-rēkhā* survey, for in the *pargāṇās* bordering on the Malnād or western districts, which are principally under wet cultivation, the village measures bear other names, and vary considerably from each other. The scale of the *rāya-rēkhā mār* is cut on a post in the gateway of the Gadag fort, and measures exactly 7 ft. 9½ inches. Of these 20 make a *bīghā* and 36 *bīghās* a *rāya-rēkhā mār*. Another in the Basavana temple at Nāwalgund gives 7 ft. 6.6 inches. A subsequent governor under Ānāgundī introduced the *viṭhal-panti mār*, so called from his own name, into many villages of the black soil. It is marked in the temples of Anigiri and Amīnbhāvi, and on a stone at Hebli, still extant, measuring 10ft. 6.3 inches, 10ft. 11.8 inches, and 10ft. 6 inches respectively. It never came into general use, and is supposed to have been much larger than the standard above recorded would sanction. Instances of other measures, probably of very early date, are also found, such as *pattas*, *gūllis*, *chiggars*, &c.\* All these, with the *mār*, constitute measures of the superficial area. The gardens are estimated by the space, called *athāls* or *thāls*, occupied by a certain number of trees. But there is another measurement of the dry lands called the *kōlwēn*, or *hān-kōlwēn*, which seems to have originated in some very early assessment, and to have reference to

division of land of uncertain origin and of very variable extent. See Marshall's *Statistical Report*, p. 26, Bombay 1822.

the quantity of land that yielded one *hūn* or pagoda (=Rs. 4 of cess).

The dry land was thus assessed either on a measurement of its actual extent by the *rāya-rēkhā* standard, or exceptionally by some local measure, or it was estimated by the quantity of land to which the payment of a certain sum was attached, stated in *hūns* and their fractions.

A different mode was adopted in the Malnād or wet lands, which is known under the name of *bijāwarī*. The land was estimated by the quantity of seed required to sow it, measured by *khaṇḍīs* and *kuḍus*. This, too, is attributed to the time of the Ānēgundi sovereigns, and is said to have been determined in the following manner:—

The revenue was taken for a given number of years in kind. The fees of village officers, and all other expenses were deducted from the grain on the threshing-floor, the residue was divided into two equal portions and the *ra'fyat* allowed to take his choice. The average proceeds of the other half, or *Sarkār* share, was then recorded as the assessment of the land which had produced the whole.

The *bijāwarī* was not confined to estimating the value of wet land, but was occasionally resorted to in dry cultivation also, where the result was recorded in *kurgīs*. The *kurgī* is the name of the seed plough, and the quantity of seed which the husbandman can sow in one day with a pair of bullocks becomes the measure of the land liable to assessment. The *kurgī* is of unequal extent, varying from 5 to 10 *bighās*.

Whether, however, the Bijāpur State adopted these measures from the former government or not, it is certain from accounts now remaining, that they were in use under that state. In all cases, not otherwise specified, the staple measure of the Bijāpur State was the *chāwar*, said to contain 120 square *bighās*. In all these modes of assessment, whether by the *chāwar*, the *mār*, the local measures, the *kūfūwēn*, or the *bijāwarī* estimate, a similar plan came to be observed of making the quantity of land in the measure vary in extent with reference to the qualities of the soil, while the sum assessed on it was always the same, a practice which led to the uncertainty in the superficial extent of each denomination, now

found to be so general. But the *bijāwarī* lands were sometimes further divided into classes paying different rates, a usage not altogether unknown even in dry lands.

The preceding observations refer to the payment of the revenue in money, which was further modified by the *chālī* system before referred to, which will be more fully explained hereafter. But the revenue was also sometimes levied in kind (particularly when *jāgīrs* and *inā'ams* were placed under sequestration), under the *bijāwarī* system already adverted to; according to which a *kuḍu* (= 30 *bighās*) of seed land was considered equal to a *pau* or the fourth part of a *chāwar*. Accounts are yet extant showing this process in great detail from the *tukhm-rēzī* or seed account to the *gallā* account or share at the harvest.

The land tax, as has always happened under a Muhammadan government, becoming very high, was remodelled, under the later princes of the 'Ādil Shāhī family, and the result, known as the *tankhā*, is referred to as the *aṣal* of 1080 A.H. (1669 A.D.) in all subsequent accounts of the Mughlāi or Dehlī rule, as a standard or foundation. The *tankhā* is considerably less in its sum total than the previous *raḥam*, though the rates were higher. It seems to have formed the limit of the collections of the Bijāpur State when it was adopted as the basis of the Mughlāi assessment. To this every subsequent increase of revenue attained under the imperial government was added with the name of *isāfa-tauḥīr* (= additional increase), after which it remained a fixed and permanent item, even though the source from which it was derived had ceased to exist. The *tauḥīr* and the *tankhā* together constitute the *kamāl-bēris*, or full demand of the Mughlāi Government, but this *kamāl* was never realized in any instance that has been met with, on the contrary a certain portion was deducted every year, as loss (*āfat*), and the remainder only (*tatīmna*) was considered to be the *jamā* or demand. Thus the *kamāl* is of no value as a standard of comparison, because it was never in actual operation.

We have said before that the administration of the land revenue, under all the various tenures already enumerated, was regulated by what has been called the *chālī* system. Originating under the Bijāpur government, it was perfected and brought to its high state of

efficiency by the Marāthās. The principle on which it was founded was that of the municipal character of the Indian village, according to which the principal inhabitants conduct all the affairs of the community, and manage their transactions with the officers of government. All the assessable lands in the village are entered in the accounts as liable to the *ānātī* or standard tax, and are divided into four classes. 1st, the *chālī*, consisting of the best and most fertile fields, and those nearest the village; 2nd, the *katguta*, paying a slight addition to the *ānātī*; 3rd, *makhtā* or *khaṇḍ makhtā*, which never pays more; and 4th, *hor-sut* or *kaul*, which only pays the *ānātī* when brought into cultivation under favourable circumstances, to which may be added *payakārī*, or lands held by foreign cultivators, not members of the village community. The lands of the first class are occupied exclusively by the principal inhabitants, who are therefore called *chālīdārs*. When, at the annual settlement of the revenue the officers of government in fixing the assessment made an estimate formed from past collections and other sources, of what a suitable demand ought to be, the difference between the original *ānātī* and the sum so fixed, was, with the consent and concurrence of the *chālī rā'iyats*, imposed on their lands exclusively. This, under the name of *pattī*, was sub-divided by them among themselves, but no addition was made to the demand on the other lands. This done, the *chālīdārs* became liable for the realization of the whole village assessment, and had to make good any balance that remained outstanding. They were, therefore, careful to provide against the occurrence of such a contingency. They kept up the cultivation by preventing *rā'iyats* from absconding, and by procuring new settlers; they assisted the poor with seed, bullocks, and labour at the sowing season; gave them temporary remissions to bring their fields into full tilth, and took care that they performed their engagements accordingly. When by these means the condition of any of the

inferior holders was sufficiently improved to admit of his sharing in the burdens and privileges of a *chālī rā'iyat*, he was brought into that body. But when, on the other hand, a *chālīdār* was unable from losses or misfortune to contribute his share, he was only assessed at *katguta* or *makhtā* rates to allow him to recover his reduced circumstances.

The onerous conditions of the *chālī* tenure were counterbalanced by advantages which not only enabled the holder to discharge its conditions with ease, but made it an object of ambition with every *rā'iyat* to become one. In the first place, the *chālī rā'iyat* held the best lands in the township, and occupied the best houses in the village. These were attached to particular fields, and could only be possessed by the person cultivating such fields. Secondly, *kauls* for breaking up waste (*nāgar*<sup>1</sup> or great plough *kauls*) were only given to those paying *chālī*, and never to any other *rā'iyats*, but the latter could hold *hariyālī* and *istāwā* *kauls*.<sup>2</sup> Thirdly, the right of cultivating for *mā'amdārs*, who always let their lands for much less than the *sarkār* or government rates, was restricted to the *chālīdārs*, who also could alone employ *payakārī* or alien sub-tenants from other villages. These, with some other special benefits, varying in different places, and the influence they enjoyed over the village community and its concerns, and a degree of consideration with which they were treated by government and its officers, form some of the principal privileges attached to the *chālī* tenure.

The term *chālī* is, therefore, applicable rather to persons than to lands, but as the best lands were always held by the former, the expression *chālī* fields is not uncommon.

A portion only of the lands of a *chālī rā'iyat* were subjected to the imposition of the *pattī*, or to the *chālī* tenure, the rest was *katguta*, *makhtā*, and *kaul*. It was sometimes, therefore, impossible to point out the particular field considered as *chālī*, though at other times this was specified in the accounts.

<sup>1</sup> *nāgar kaul* was that given for breaking up old waste, overrun in the black soil by *nath* or *nattu* grass, the matted, deep-seated roots of which could only be broken up by the great plough drawn by five or six yoke of bullocks, and entitled the holder to exemption from all demand for eight or ten years. See Dr. Wight's description of the *nath* grass, *Lechamum pilosum*, Wight,

*Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, Vol. II. p. 138.

<sup>2</sup> *Istāwā* and *hariyālī* *kauls* open to the other *rā'iyats* were only temporary exemptions to clear superficial weeds. The *istāwā* on an exemption annually increasing to the full amount for a short period, and *hariyālī* in like manner to extirpate the surface herbage of *Agrostis linearis*.

The *pattī*, or extra assessment, is nominally, and was originally variable, but came in time to be considered as a fixed and customary rate, under the name of *māmūl* or fair *pattī*, in contradistinction to the *jāstī pattī*, or excessive addition of later times. It was nevertheless always omitted in the cultivation accounts. I have scarcely seen a single *lavant-patrak* or *chifā*, or schedule of land under cultivation, antecedent to the *Maisūr* conquest that contains more than the *ānūtī*.\* It was usual for the *Marāṭhā kamādvīdār*s to make remissions for bad years, misfortunes, &c., by deducting a part of the *pattī*, a half, quarter, two *ānūs*, or any definite proportion, and to impose an equal additional proportion in the following year, which was never objected to by the *ra'iyats*, and, I believe, is practised in some of the *jāgīr* villages to this day.

The *chālī* prevailing in the districts between the *Krishnā* and the *Bhīmā* differs considerably from that above described. There the *pāṭīl* and his *bhāiband* (collateral relatives) are almost the only *chālīdār*s. They pay no *judī* or official quit-rent, but hold a certain quantity of *sarv-ind'am* or *mirāsī* land free of all rent, the proportion of which is regulated by the quantity of *chālī* they may have undertaken. If by any accident a *chālīdār* is forced to give up all, or a portion

of his *chālī* holding, he must at the same time relinquish his *sarv-ind'am* or free land, or an equivalent portion of it.

These two kinds of *chālī* recall to mind the descriptions of village economy still subsisting in other parts of India.

The first, or Southern, bears a strong resemblance to those communities in the *Karnāṭak* where the concerns of the village are regulated by the body of the inhabitants or *mirāsīdār*s, collectively, while the *chālīdār*s of *Indī* and *Muddebihāl* (districts of the *Bhīmṭadi* or valley of the *Bhīmā*) have a slight connection with the *bhāgdār* or co-partnership *pāṭīls* of *Gujarāt*. Indeed, I recollect two or three villages in *Muddebihāl* where the *pāṭīls* had divided the village into shares, each managed exclusively by one of their body, for the revenue of which he was responsible. A tenure still more closely resembling the *chālī* formerly prevailed in *Baḷlāri* and *Kadapa* (*Cuddapah*), under the name of *appanam*, and probably still subsists in the *Telugu* portion of the *Nizām's* dominions, for I found it lingering as far north as *Gaḷjām* under the same name.

These are probably remains of a state of society that at one period seems to have been general throughout India, in which the concerns of the village were administered by the chief inhabitants in a body.

### THE MEANING OF BAPPA AND BAVA.

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

In order to facilitate the discussion of some points of importance in connection with the *Rulers of Valabhī*, I publish herewith a complete genealogy of the family as I interpret it from the inscriptions, with the official titles of the members of it, and their dates as far as I have been able to verify them.

The point to which I would draw attention in the present note, is the meaning of the two words *bappa* and *bāva*, which occur in the compounds *bappa-pād-ānudhyāta*, "meditating on the feet of *bappa*," and *bāva-pād-ānudhyāta*, "meditating on the feet of *bāva*," and of which

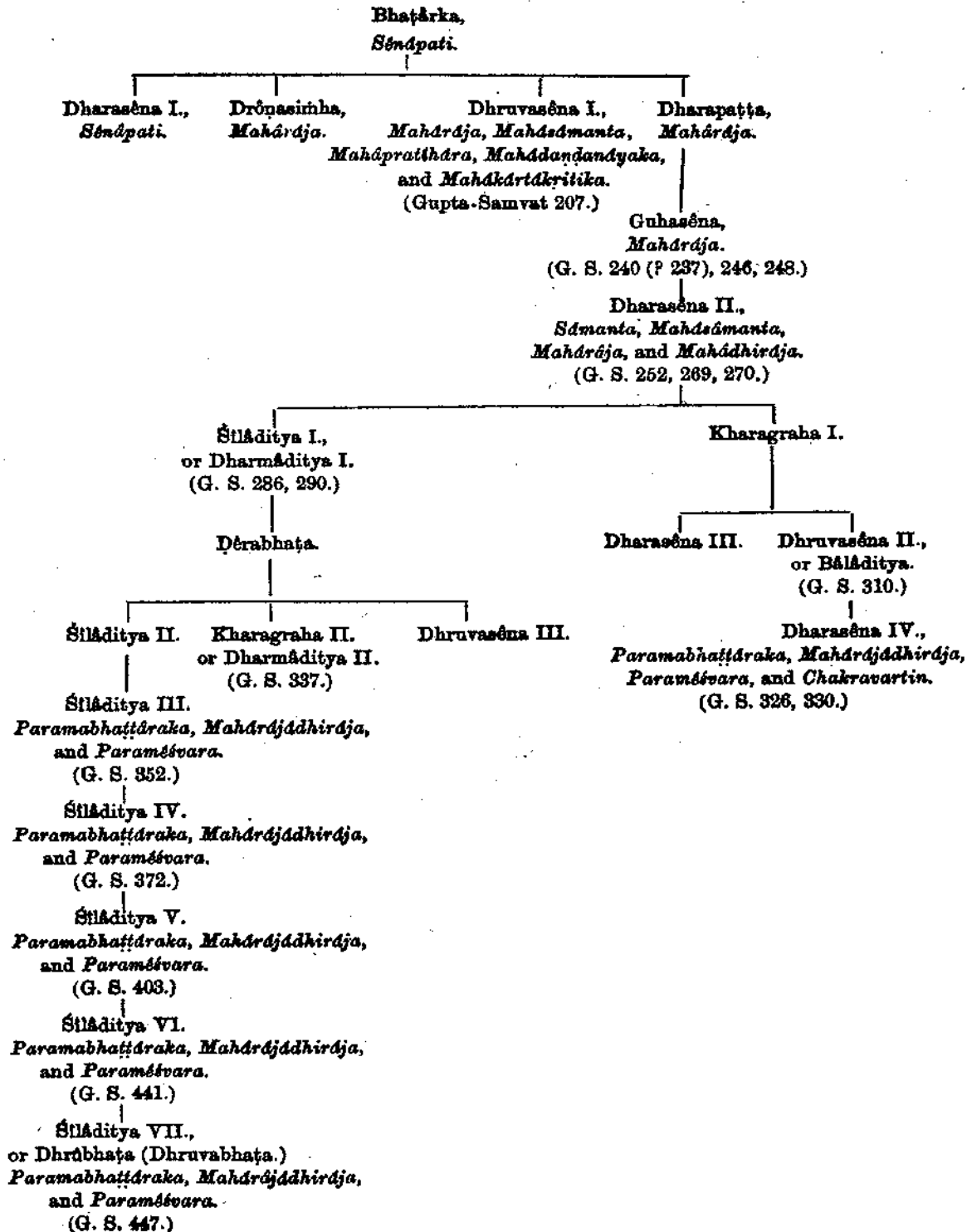
no satisfactory explanation has as yet been offered.

The second expression, with paramount titles qualifying *bāva*, occurs in *paramabhāṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-bāva-pād-ānudhyāta*, an epithet that is applied—(1) to only the *Paramabhāṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Paramēśvara Śīlāditya III.*, a most devout worshipper of the god *Mahēśvara* (*Śiva*), in line 46 of the grant<sup>1</sup> of his son *Śīlāditya IV.* of the year 372, and in lines 45 and 46 respectively of the two grants<sup>2</sup> of *Śīlāditya V.* of the year 403. No other instance of the use of *bāva* is known to me.

\* Superficial observers, however, not aware of this, were liable to suppose that the best, or *chālī* lands, were exorbitantly rack-rented. It is related that an inexperienced *kamādvīdār* (revenue officer) under the *Peshwā's* Government, proceeded to remodel the assessment under his charge on what he considered to be more equitable terms. *Nānā Phadnavis*, the able minister of the *Peshwā Nārāyaṇ Rāo*, and his successors, no sooner

heard of it than he repaired to the district in person, replaced the assessment on its former footing, and removed his over-zealous dependant. This celebrated *diwān* was not a pure *Dēśastha*, but belonged to the subdivision of that body known as *Konkanasthas* or *Chittapāwans*, of which the *Pūpā Peshwās* were also members.  
<sup>1</sup> ante, Vol. V. p. 212; and *Archaeol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 99. <sup>2</sup> *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XI. p. 343.

## GENEALOGY OF THE RULERS OF VALABHI.



The first expression, which was of very general use, occurs, among the Valabhi grants, with the paramount titles qualifying *bappa*, in *paramabhāṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī-bappa-pād-ānudyāta*, an epithet that is applied—(2), in lines 53, 54-55, 57-58, and 63 of the grant<sup>3</sup> of Śīlāditya VII. of the year 447, and in other grants as far as they go, to Śīlāditya IV. V. VI. and VII., each of whom came in direct succession after his father, and each of whom had the paramount titles of *Paramabhāṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Paramēśvara*, and was also a most devout worshipper of the god Mahēśvara.

Among the inscriptions of other families, the same expression, *bappa-pād-ānudyāta*, without any qualifying titles of *bappa*, is used as an epithet—(3) of the *Bhāṭṭāraka* and *Mahārāja* Śivadēva I. of Nēpāl, in line 1-2 of his inscription<sup>4</sup> of Gupta-Saṃvat 318;—(4) of the *Mahāsāmanta* Amśuvarman of Nēpāl, who was also favoured by the feet of the god Paśupati (Śiva), in line 2 of his inscription<sup>5</sup> of Harsha-Saṃvat 34, and in line 4-5 of his inscription<sup>6</sup> of Harsha-Saṃvat 39;—(5) of Jishnugupta of Nēpāl, who again was also favoured by the feet of the god Paśupati, in line 4 of his inscription<sup>7</sup> of Harsha-Saṃvat 48, and in line 6-7 of another of his inscriptions<sup>8</sup>;—and (6) of the *Paramabhāṭṭāraka* and *Mahārājādhirāja* Śivadēva II. of Nēpāl, who again was also favoured by the feet of the god Paśupati, and was a most devout worshipper of the god Mahēśvara, in line 2 of each of his inscriptions<sup>9</sup> of Harsha-Saṃvat 119 and 143 (?).

The same expression, *bappa-pād-ānudyāta*, with the feudatory titles of *Mahārāja* and *Bhāṭṭāraka* qualifying *bappa*, occurs in *paramadaivata-bappa-bhāṭṭāraka-mahārāja-śrī-pād-ānudyāta*, an epithet—(7) of the *Bhāṭṭāraka* and *Mahārāja* Vasantasēna of Nēpāl, in line 1-2 of his inscription<sup>10</sup> of Gupta-Saṃvat 435.

And finally, a compound of almost identical import, viz. *bappa-pāda-bhākta*, "devoted to the feet of *bappa*," occurs, with the title

*Bhāṭṭāraka* qualifying *bappa*, in the epithet *bappa-bhāṭṭāraka-pāda-bhākta*, which is applied—(8) to the Pallava *Mahārāja* Simhavarman II., who was a most devout worshipper of the Holy One (Bhagavat; i.e. Viṣṇu), in line 13 of his grant;<sup>11</sup>—(9) to the Veṅgi *Mahārāja* Vijayanandivarman, also a most devout worshipper of the Holy One (Bhagavat), in line 1 of his grant;<sup>12</sup>—and (10) to the Pallava *Mahārāja* Nandivarman, again a most devout worshipper of the Holy One (Bhagavat), in line 14-15 of his grant,<sup>13</sup> possibly spurious;—and, with the further qualifying title of *Mahārāja*, in the epithet *bappa-bhāṭṭāraka-mahārāja-pāda-bhākta*, which is applied—(11) to the Pallava *Yuvamahārāja* Viṣṇugōpavarman, again a most devout worshipper of the Holy One (Bhagavat), in line 14 of his grant.<sup>14</sup>

In publishing the two grants of Śīlāditya V. of the year 403, Mr. V. N. Mandlik<sup>15</sup> treated the words *bappa* and *bāva*, quite unnecessarily, as identical, and considered that they denoted "some great teacher of the Śaiva faith, or some remarkable great king of that name; but more probably the former, from the adjectives used;" or, again, some "sage, venerated equally in all parts of Hindustān." So, also, Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji<sup>16</sup> has recorded his opinion that *bappa* is "a general title used by chief priests." And I myself<sup>17</sup> have suggested that the name is that of "some king or pontiff of very early times, whose authority was recognised universally in his own day, and was afterwards preserved in the tradition of several distinct regal families."

These suggested explanations, however, cannot be upheld.

In the first place, the epithet in which *bappa* occurs belongs undoubtedly to persons of the Śaiva faith in instances Nos. 1 to 6 above. But Nos. 8 to 11 shew that it was applicable just as much to followers of the Vaiṣṇava faith.

In the second place, as pointed out by Dr. Bühler,<sup>18</sup> the feudatory title *Mahārāja* which qualifies *bappa* in Nos. 7 and 11 above, and

<sup>3</sup> ante, Vol. VII. p. 84f.; and Corp. Inscr. Indic. Vol. III. No. 39, Plate xiv.

<sup>4</sup> ante, Vol. XIV. p. 98.

<sup>5</sup> ante, Vol. IX. p. 169, No. 6.

<sup>6</sup> id. p. 170, No. 7.

<sup>7</sup> id. p. 171, No. 9.

<sup>8</sup> id. p. 173, No. 10.

<sup>9</sup> id. p. 174, No. 12; and p. 176, No. 13.

<sup>10</sup> id. p. 167, No. 3.

<sup>11</sup> ante, Vol. V. p. 155.

<sup>12</sup> id. p. 176.

<sup>13</sup> ante, Vol. VIII. p. 168.

<sup>14</sup> ante, Vol. V. p. 51.

<sup>15</sup> Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. XI. p. 355, note \*.

<sup>16</sup> ante, Vol. IX. p. 167, note 17.

<sup>17</sup> ante, Vol. X. p. 57f., note 4.

<sup>18</sup> ante, Vol. V. p. 208 f.



still more, the paramount sovereign titles of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Paramēśvara*, which qualify it in the instances grouped under No. 2, shew that the word must refer to some one of noble or regal birth, and cannot denote a priest, no matter how high his rank in the hierarchy might be.

As regards the question of *bappa* being a proper name, the word does occur in this way—as the name of an official, the *Balādhikṛita* and *Bhōḡika* Bappa, in line 59 of the grant<sup>19</sup> of Śīlāditya IV. of the year 372;—as the name of some one after whom was named the *Bappa-pādīya-vihāra*, or “Buddhist monastery of the feet of Bappa,” at Valabhī, mentioned in line 19 of the grant<sup>20</sup> of the *Mahārāja* Dharasēna II. of the year 269;—in Bappasvāmin, one of the grantees in line 11 of the Khōh grant<sup>21</sup> of the *Parivrājaka* *Mahārāja* Hastin, of the year 163;—in Bappārya, one of the grantees in line 53 of the Chammak grant<sup>22</sup> of the *Vākātaka* *Mahārāja* Pravarasēna II.;—and in Bappa-bhaṭṭi, a Jain teacher,<sup>23</sup> allotted to Vikrama-Saṃvat 800 to 895. The same word is also probably a component of Bappūra, the name of the family to which, as recorded in an unpublished inscription of Maṅgalisā, Dur-labhādēvi, the wife of the early Chalukya king Pulikēśin I., belonged.<sup>24</sup> A similar word *bāppa*, probably derived from it, occurs in Bāppadēva, the name of a *Sēnāpati* in line 35 of the Siwanī grant of Pravarasēna II.<sup>25</sup> And, finally, Bappa, or Bappa Rāvula, has been preserved by tradition in Mēwād, as the more

familiar appellation of an early Gōhila chief, who is said to have established the power of that tribe on the overthrow of the Bhīllas or Bhīls.<sup>26</sup>

But the idea that, in the technical expression under discussion, *bappa* denotes some particular priest, whether of the Śaiva or Vaiṣṇava faith, whose memory had been preserved in different parts of India from very early times, has been disposed of above. And, this being so, it remains difficult, on the supposition that the word is a proper name, to imagine how it should have cropped up again from time to time, under precisely similar circumstances, in such different parts of the country and such varying periods as are indicated by instances Nos. 2 to 11 above.

The true explanation of the word, in this technical expression, first occurred to me from noticing the way in which the titles that qualify *bappa* vary in accordance with the titles of the persons to whom the epithet *bappa-pād-ānudhyāta* is applied; and it is fully borne out by the epithet *śrī-ajjaka-pād-ānudhyāta*, which is applied only to Dharasēna IV. in line 38 of his complete grant<sup>27</sup> of the year 326, and in his grant of the same year of which only the translation of the second plate has been published.<sup>28</sup> This expression, which, if it had not been so completely overlooked, would probably have made the matter clear long ere now, dropped out in all the subsequent Valabhī grants, even in those of Dharasēna IV. himself of the year 330; probably

<sup>19</sup> *ante*, Vol. V. p. 212; and *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 99.

<sup>20</sup> *ante*, Vol. VI. p. 12.

<sup>21</sup> *Corp. Inscr. Indic.* Vol. III. No. 23, Plate xiii.

<sup>22</sup> *id.* No. 55, Plate xxxiv.; and *ante*, Vol. XII. p. 245.

<sup>23</sup> *ante*, Vol. XI. p. 253.

<sup>24</sup> See *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, pp. 19, 22.

<sup>25</sup> *Corp. Inscr. Indic.* Vol. III. No. 56, Plate xxxv.

<sup>26</sup> Tod's *Annals of Rājasthān*, Chapter II. (Calcutta Reprint, Vol. I. p. 238ff.; see also pp. 121, 253, 353ff.) He adds a note (*id.* p. 240) that “Bappa is not a proper name; it signifies ‘a child.’ He is frequently styled *Syeel* and in inscriptions *Syeel Adhes*, ‘the mountain lord.’” If this is correct, the real name would be *Saila* or *Sailādhisā*.—This tradition is rather a peculiar one. It says that, of Bappa's numerous progeny, some returned to their ancient seats in Saurāṣṭra; and, as a matter of fact, Walā, the modern representative of the ancient Valabhī, belongs to Gōhilas, and is in the division of Kāthiawād that is called the Gōhilwād Prānt. Another curious point in it is, that it gives Vikrama-Saṃvat 191 (A.D. 134-35) for the birth of Bappa. Tod shewed that this date is wrongly referred to the Vikrama era, but went wrong himself in arriving at A. D. 728 for the real period of Bappa's power. In connection with this subject, he mentioned a Jain record to the effect that, in

Gupta-Saṃvat 205, Saurāṣṭra was invaded by barbarians from the north, and the town of Valabhī was sacked. Now, the accompanying genealogical table shews that the *Sēnāpati* Bhaṭārka, the founder of the Valabhī family, must have been alive in or shortly before Gupta-Saṃvat 191, though his birth must be placed some twenty-five years earlier. And there can be little doubt that the Mēwād tradition is based on a confused reminiscence of the rise of the Valabhī family. The Jain date of Gupta-Saṃvat 205 probably refers to a historical event; that event, however, would be, not the sacking of Valabhī by barbarians from the north, but the reverse of this, the building of Valabhī after the overthrow of these invaders, the Maitrakas, by Bhaṭārka.—Tod (*id.* p. 846f.) gives an abstract of an inscription, dated Vikrama-Saṃvat 1034, from ‘Aitpur,’ which mentions ‘*Syeela*,’ in the fifth generation, but not Bappa.—There is a later inscription of the same family, dated Vikrama-Saṃvat 1342, at a *Math* near the temple of Achalēśvara at the Achalgadh Hill Fort on Mount Abū, which takes the genealogy back a step further, and mentions Bappa, or Bappa Rāvula (under the name of Bāpā, if the translation is correct) as the first of the family; see Kaviraj Shyamal Das' translation in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LV. Part I. pp. 32ff., 57ff., and p. 19.

<sup>27</sup> *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 79; and *ante*, Vol. I. p. 16.

<sup>28</sup> *ante*, Vol. I. p. 45.

on account of something in the official relations between Śīlāditya I. and Kharagraha I. which remains to be cleared up. But it occurs in these two instances; and, in accordance with Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's rendering,<sup>22</sup> it undoubtedly means "meditating on the feet of (his) illustrious grandfather." *Ajja* in Kanarese, and *ajā* and *ājā* in Marāṭhī, are the ordinary words for 'a grandfather' in the present day. And it is evident that *ajjaka* is the older Prākṛit word, from which these have been derived.

On this analogy, *bappa* suggests itself at once as the old Prākṛit form of the modern *bāp*, 'a father.' And now it becomes clear why the word is qualified by the paramount titles in its connection with the paramount sovereign Śīlāditya IV. and his successors,<sup>23</sup> the reason being that the father of each of them was himself a paramount sovereign; and, on the other hand, why, in its connection with feudatories, it has either no qualificatory title at all, or only the feudatory titles *Mahārāja* and *Bhaṭṭāraka*, as in the case of Vasantasēna, Simhavarman, Vijayanandivarman, Nandivarman, and Vishnugōpavarman.<sup>24</sup> The rule thus disclosed also shews why, in the case of Śivadēva II.,<sup>25</sup> himself a paramount sovereign, *bappa* has no qualifying term; for, the way in which he is introduced in lines 11-12 of the Nēpāl inscription<sup>26</sup> No. 15, shews that he brought in a new branch of the Thākuri family, and that his father Narēndradēva, even if he held the rank of *Mahārāja*, was at least not a paramount sovereign. And the same rule explains why, in connection with the paramount sovereign Dharasēna IV., *ajjaka* is qualified by nothing more than the ordinary title *śrī*; for, he himself was the first paramount sovereign in the family; and his grandfather, Kharagraha I., was at the best only a *Mahārāja*.

The analogy of *ajjaka* and *bappa* now suffices fully to clear up the meaning of the word *bāva*. It suggests at once that it is nothing but the older Prākṛit word from which have been derived, with somewhat differing significations, in Marāṭhī, *bābā*, 'a term of respectful

mention for a father or an elderly person;'<sup>27</sup> *bāwā*, 'a term of respectful mention for a Gōsāvī, Guru, father, or elderly person,' and *bhāwā*, 'a husband's brother, especially an elder brother;'<sup>28</sup> and in Kanarese, *bāva*, 'the son of a mother's brother, or father's sister, a man or woman's brother-in-law (in every case, if older than one's self),' and *bhāva*, a husband or wife's elder brother, a maternal uncle's son (similarly, in every case, if older than one's self).'<sup>29</sup> Looking for its application in connection with Śīlāditya III., we note, in the first place, that the grants shew very clearly that his father Śīlāditya II. did not reign at all, which explains why the epithet *bappa-pād-ānudyāta* is not used in respect of him; and, in the second place, that the only paramount sovereign before him was his father's distant cousin Dharasēna IV., who, so far as paramount sovereignty is concerned, was his immediate predecessor. This shews us that *bāva* was used, here at least, to denote 'a male relative, of the same generation with a father,' or roughly 'an uncle'; and explains why *bāva* is qualified here with the paramount titles. And the fact that, after the first adoption of this technical expression, the Valabhī succession was in each instance direct from father to son, explains why the expression *bāva-pād-ānudyāta* does not occur again.

In Kanarese, *bappa* appears in the form of *boppa*,<sup>30</sup> in *boppa-siṅga*, 'the lion of (his) father,' an epithet applied to the Rāja chieftain Lakshmidēva II., the son and successor of Kārtavīrya IV., in line 63-64 of his inscription<sup>31</sup> of Śaka-Saṃvat 1151. In confirmation of this I may quote—*ayyana-siṅga*, 'the lion of (his) father,' a title of the Śīlāhāra chieftain Gaṇḍarāditya of Kōlāpur, in line 21 of his grant<sup>32</sup> of Śaka-Saṃvat 1032, and also of his son Vijayāditya;<sup>33</sup>—*māvana-siṅga*, 'the lion of (his) father-in-law,' applied to the *Daṇḍa-nāyaka* Kēśavādityadēva, in lines 17-18 of the Kādarōḷḷi inscription<sup>34</sup> of Śaka-Saṃvat 997;—*aṇṇana-gandhavāraṇa*, 'the choice elephant of (his) elder brother,' applied to the *Daṇḍa-nāyaka* Sōmēśvarabhaṭṭa in lines 11-12 of the same inscription;—*aṇṇan-aṅkakāra* 'the warrior

<sup>22</sup> *ante*, Vol. I. p. 16.

<sup>23</sup> Instance No. 2 above.

<sup>24</sup> Nos. 7 to 11 above.

<sup>25</sup> No. 6 above.

<sup>26</sup> *ante*, Vol. IX. p. 178; see also Vol. XIV. p. 348.

<sup>27</sup> In Sanderson's edition of Reeves' *Kanarese Dictionary*, this word is marked as one common to most Indian languages.

<sup>28</sup> *Jour. Bo. Br. E. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 263; and *Archaeol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 113.

<sup>29</sup> *Jour. Bo. Br. E. As. Soc.* Vol. XIII. p. 8.

<sup>30</sup> *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 105.

<sup>31</sup> *ante*, Vol. I. p. 141; and *Archaeol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 106.

or champion of (his) elder brother,' applied to the Sinda chieftain Âchugi II. in line 9 of his inscription<sup>20</sup> of Śaka-Saṃvat 1042; and—*bhāvan-āṅkakāḍṛa*, 'the warrior or champion of (his) uncle or other relation of the same generation with his father,' applied to a Śilāhāra chieftain named Goṅkidēva in line 46 of the Tērdā! inscription<sup>20</sup> of Śaka-Saṃvat 1042, etc. Other similar titles, which help to explain the preceding, through the introduction of proper names instead of words of relationship, are—*Sēnana-siṅga*, 'the lion of Sēna,' applied to the Raṭṭa chieftain Kārtavīrya II., the son and successor of

Sēna I., in line 7 of his Saundatti inscription;<sup>21</sup>—*Tailana-siṅga*, 'the lion of Taila,' applied to the Kādamba chieftain Kīrtti-varman II. of Banawāsi, the son and successor of Taila I.;<sup>22</sup>—*Tailaman-āṅkakāḍṛa*, 'the warrior or champion of Tailama,' applied to Kāmadēva of the same family, the son and successor of Tailama;<sup>23</sup>—and *Goṅkan-āṅkakāḍṛa*, 'the warrior or champion of Goṅka,' and *Gūhēyana-siṅga*, 'the lion of Gūhēya,' applied to the Śilāhāra chieftain Mārasimha, the son and successor of Goṅka, and the nephew of Gāhala or Gūvala I., in line 28 of his grant<sup>24</sup> of Śaka-Saṃvat 980.

## AN ENGLISH-GIPSY INDEX.

COMPILED BY MRS. GRIERSON, WITH AN INTRODUCTORY NOTE BY G. A. GRIERSON, B.C.S.

(Continued from p. 239).

RED WAISTCOATS,—Lolle bengres, (Eng.)  
 REDEEM, to,—Kināva aley, (Eng.)  
 REDNESS,—Lolipé, (Tch.)  
 REED,—Vūzia, (Tch.)  
 REIN,—Salavār, (M.)  
 REJOICE, to,—Loshāniōvāva, (Tch., Psp. M.);  
     bukurisard'ovāva, mēngōiāva, (M.)  
 RELATIONS,—Finu, nāmur, (M.)  
 RELEASE, to,—Izbēvisarāva, (M.)  
 RELIGIOUS,—Sherrafo, (Eng.)  
 REMAIN, to,—Achāva, tērgiōvava, (Tch.); beshāva,  
     ashāva, (M.); achāva, (M. 7)  
 REMEMBER, to,—Rigāva in zi, (Eng.); sherāva man,  
     (Tch.)  
 REMEMBER, to cause to,—Sheravāvā man, (Tch.)  
 REMOVE, to,—Duryōvāva, t'idāva, (M.)  
 RENEW, to,—Nev kerāva, (Tch.)  
 RENT, to,—Usharāva, (Tch.)  
 RENTED,—Ushardicanō, (Tch.)  
 REPAY, to,—Pesāva apopli, (Eng.)  
 REPENT, to,—Pokutuyiāva, pēkētuiāva, (M.)  
 REPORT,—Rapōrto, vēste, (M.)  
 REPOSE,—Lutherum, (Eng.)  
 REST, to,—Achāva, (Tch., Psp. M.); hodiniāva,  
     hodinisarāva, hodinisard'ovāva, popasōsa-  
     rāva, (M.)  
 REVILE,—Kushāva, (Tch., Psp. M.)  
 RIB,—Pashavrō, (Tch.)  
 RICE,—Rīzos, (Tch.)  
 RICH,—Bovalo, (Eng.); baravalo, (Psp. M., M. 7);  
     baravalō, barvalō, (Tch.); barvalō, barvalū,  
     (M.)  
 RICH, he who is,—Baravalicanō, manghinēskōro,  
     (Tch.)

RICHER,—Baravalipé, manghin, (Tch.); mândin,  
     (M.); mangin, (M. 8)  
 RID, to get, of,—Skēpiāva, (M.)  
 RIDE, to,—Kisturāva, (Eng.); prastāva, (M.)  
 RIDE ROUND, to,—Enkuzhurisarāva, (M.)  
 RIDER,—Kistri-mengro, kistro-mengro, (Eng.);  
     kalarēca, porizēn, (M.)  
 RIDICULE, to,—Kḥokhavāva, (Tch., M. 7); prasāva,  
     (Tch., Psp. M.)  
 RIDICULE,—Prasaibē, (Tch.)  
 RIDICULOUS,—Kesindia, (Tch.)  
 RIGHT, (subst.)—Chechipi, chechipi, kanōmu,  
     tryāba, (M.)  
 RIGHT, (adj.)—Orta, (M. 8)  
 RING,—Vangustri, wangustri, (Eng.); angrusti,  
     angustri, engusteri, (Tch.); angrusti,  
     ēngrusti, (M.); angushtri, (M. 7); angrusti,  
     angustri, (Psp. M.)  
 RINGS, pretended gold,—Fashono wangustis,  
     (Eng.)  
 RINGING THE CHANGES,—Hukni, (Eng.)  
 RIOT, to,—Korāva, (Eng.)  
 RIOTER,—Korā-mengro, (Eng.)  
 RIOTING,—Koring, (Eng.)  
 RIP THE SEAMS, to,—Putrāva, (Tch.); phutrāva,  
     (M. 8)  
 RIPE,—Mulanō, (Tch., Psp. M.)  
 RIPEN, to,—Mulanō kerāva, (Tch., Psp. M.)  
 RIPPED, to be,—Putērgiōvava, putērdovava, (Tch.)  
 RISE, to,—Ukhkiāva, ufkiāva, ufchiāva, (Tch.);  
     kḥut'āva, rēpēzēsard'ovāva, (M.)  
     Cf. to STEP.  
 RIVER,—Len, (dim.) lenori, (Tch.); shat, sat, (As.  
     Tch.); len, (Psp. M., M. 8)

<sup>20</sup> Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. XI. p. 247.

<sup>21</sup> *ibid.*, Vol. XIV. p. 16.

<sup>22</sup> Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. X. p. 213.

<sup>23</sup> *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 85.

<sup>24</sup> *ibid.* p. 86.

<sup>25</sup> No. 10 of the separate publications of the Archaeological Survey of Western India, p. 103.

- ROAD**,—Drom, tobbar, (Eng.); drom, (dim.) dromorô, (Tch.); pathon, (As. Tch.); khotâr, (M.); drôm, (Psp. M.)
- ROAD**, of or belonging to,—Dromêskoro, (Tch.)
- ROAST**, to,—Pekâva, (M.)
- ROASTED**, to be,—Pekyovâva, (M.)
- ROASTED**,—Pek'd, pekt, (Eng.); peko, (Span. Gip.) pekô, (M.)
- ROB**, to,—khutîlâva, khotîlâva, rêbuiâva, (M.)
- ROBBER**,—Haydamâk, haydamâkho, rêzbôyniko, rêzbôyniku, voyniko, voyniku, (M.)
- ROBBER-CHIEF**,—Gilêu, (M.)
- ROBBERY**,—Fakement, luripen, (Eng.); choribê, (Tch.)
- ROBBERY**, highway,—Drom-luring, (Eng.)
- ROCK**, to,—Legênâva, (M.)
- ROD**,—Ran, (pl.) ranior, (Eng.); vîcha, (Tch., M. 8); gênzhu, prêzhêna, rovli, roûli, (M.); rubli, (Psp. M.)
- ROLL**, to,—Chord'ovâva, sord'ovâva, tsvêliâva, (M.)
- ROLLER**,—Fêkôlêcu, (M.)
- ROOM**,—Komorrus, (Eng.); khêr, (dim.) khêrorô, stância, stâncie, (M.)
- ROOT**,—Korint, korin, (Tch.); rêdêchina, (M.); korin, (Psp. M.)
- ROOT up**, to,—Hunavâva, (M.)
- ROPE**,—Shello, (Eng.); jele, (Span. Gip.); shelô, sholô, (Tch.); shêlô, sholô, shêllô, (M.); shelo, (Psp. M., M. 8)
- ROPE-DANCER**,—Shello-hokta-mengro, (Eng.)
- ROPE-MAKER**,—Shelêngoro, (Tch.)
- ROTTEN**,—Kernô, (Tch. M. 7)
- ROUGE**,—Lolipê, (Tch.)
- ROW**, (line)—Rônd, rêndu, (M.)
- ROYAL**,—Dakaranô, dakaricanô, dakarêskoro, dakarâtno, (Tch.)
- RUB**, to,—Murâva, morâva, (Tch.); licharâva, murâva, (M. 8)
- RUBBED**, to be,—Môrghiovava, (Tch.)
- RUBY**,—Cheni, (Tch.)
- RUDDER**,—Böldinô, (Tch.)
- RUDENESS**,—Pukibê, pukaibê, (Tch.)
- RUFF**,—Kurlo-mengri, (Eng.)
- RUINED**,—Propêdimi, (M.)
- RUIN**, to go to,—Propêdisard'ovâva, (M.)
- RUM**,—Tarô, tarî, (Tch.)

## MISCELLANEA.

## A NOTE ON

## THE ORIGIN OF THE GUPTA ERA.

In my paper on "the Epoch of the Gupta Era," at page 189ff. above,<sup>1</sup> I did not include any remarks on the origin of the era, for the reason that this is a question which is still the subject of speculation only, and as to which but little that is certain can as yet be said. I will, however, here put together a few notes on this point.

I have remarked, on two or three previous occasions, that, though it is convenient to continue the custom of speaking of the era as the Gupta era, still there is nothing in the inscriptions to shew that it was invented by the Early Guptas themselves. And the contrary supposition is the more probable one. The first two members of the family, Gupta and his son Ghatôtka, held only the feudatory rank of *Mahârâja*, and had not the authority to establish an era. The first paramount sovereign was Ghatôtka's son, Chandragupta I., who was succeeded by his son Samudragupta, and grandson Chandragupta II. The inscriptions give no dates for Chandragupta I. and Samudragupta; but they shew that Chandragupta II. was reigning up to at any rate the year 93 of the era. Now, the era, if established by a Gupta king at all, can

hardly have been established later than in the reign of Chandragupta I.; and, if he was the founder of it, he would have dated it from the commencement of his own reign, just as Harshavardhana of Kanauj, in founding the new Harsha era, dated it from his own installation, neglecting even the reigns of his elder brother Râjyavardhana II. and father Prabhâkaravardhana, both of them paramount sovereigns, and much more, as a matter of course, two preceding generations of *Mahârâjas*, beginning with Râjyavardhana I. The result is an average of at least thirty-one years for the three reigns of Chandragupta I., Samudragupta, and Chandragupta II. This, in itself, is not impossible, though it is improbable. But, when we regard the fact that Kumâragupta, the son of Chandragupta II., reigned for at least thirty-four years, from the year 96 to the year 129, the result, an average of thirty-two years for four successive reigns of fathers and sons, is, I submit, sufficient to shew that the era dates from before the commencement of the reign of Chandragupta I., and probably, by a mere coincidence, from just about the time to which the *Mahârâja* Gupta, the founder of the family, must be referred; and that, consequently, it was not established by a Gupta king at all.

<sup>1</sup> I omitted to quote there an alternative rendering of the crucial passage in Albrûn's statement, suggested by Mr. Thomas in his edition of *Prinsep's Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 271, note; viz.—"Again, the Kûbat Kâl (Gupta era), that was, as is said, a wicked and powerful family; when it ceased, it was dated from, and as it

were (it would seem that) Balab was the last of them, for the first of their era also is 241 years after the Saka Kâl."—Albrûn's expression and meaning will, it is hoped, be made fully clear in Prof. E. Sachau's approaching edition and translation of his work.

By whom it was founded is the point that still remains to be determined; and, if the era was devised in India itself, this point can only be settled by ascertaining who were the paramount sovereigns to whom the *Mahārājas* Gupta and Ghaṭōtkacha were feudatory. Mr. Fergusson's opinion<sup>2</sup> on this point, was in the direction of the era having been established by the Andhra king Gautamīputra-Śātakarni, whom he placed between A.D. 312 and 333. Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, however,<sup>3</sup> places this king between A.D. 133 and 154; and, according to his view of the history of the period, we should have to refer the establishment of the Gupta era to some event connected with either the downfall of the Satraps of Saurāshtra, or the history of the Rāshtrakūṭas of the Dekkan.

Our knowledge of the early history is not yet such as to enable us to work out this point fully; and I refer to it chiefly in order to shew the direction in which researches might be made.

But I would add here that, though I have treated the era as having been invented in India itself, and as having been introduced into Nēpāl by the Early Guptas, still it is equally possible that the era was obtained by them from Nēpāl, and is in reality the Lichchhavi era, founded by the Lichchhavi kings, at a time, perhaps, when their republican or tribal constitution was abolished in favour of a monarchy. The writings of Fabian and Hiuen Tsiang<sup>4</sup> prove the great antiquity of the Lichchhavi clan in the direction of Nēpāl. And, as regards their epigraphical records, I have shewn<sup>5</sup> that the first historical king, Jayadēva I., must, by the ordinary allowance of time for each generation, be referred to A.D. 330-355, and it needs but little adjustment to carry him back to A.D. 318, 319, or 320. This supposition would explain, perhaps better than any other, why, even after the introduction of the Harsha era into Nēpāl not later than A.D. 640-41 and its adoption by the Thākuri family of Kailāśakūṭabhavana, the Lichchhavi rulers of Mānagriha clung to the earlier era, and continued the use of it down to at least the year 435 or A.D. 754-55, and in all probability for a century longer.<sup>6</sup> And all the other facts will fit in just as well with this supposition, as with the other theory. The friendly relations between the Early Guptas and the Lichchhavis, and the pride in them felt by the former, are shewn by the intermarriage in the time of Chandragupta I.,

by the careful record of the name of Kumārādēvi herself and of her family on some of his coins,<sup>7</sup> and by the epithet of *Lichchhavi-dauhitra*, "the daughter's son of Lichchhavi, or of a Lichchhavi," that is always applied to Samudragupta in the genealogical inscriptions. And I have perhaps been wrong in speaking, on previous occasions, of a conquest of Nēpāl by Samudragupta; the exact reference, in the Allahābād inscription, is to *Nēpāla-pratyanta-nripati*, which may mean either "the frontier-king of Nēpāla," or "the kings of the countries on the frontiers of Nēpāla." It is quite possible that the Early Guptas did not extend their dominions actually into Nēpāl; and that, in that direction, they and the Lichchhavis reigned in amity side by side on equal terms.

J. F. FLEET.

3rd August 1886.

#### THE UPANISHADS AND THEIR LATEST TRANSLATION.

Under this heading, a valuable article is contributed to the First Part of Vol. VII. of the *American Journal of Philology*, by Professor W. D. Whitney, of Yale College, an American Sanskritist and philologist of deservedly high repute. It consists, for the most part, of a critique on the first and fifteenth volumes of the *Sacred Books of the East*, its handling of which may be regarded as a sample of the "wholesome severity" which the writer advocates in interpreting the Upanishads!

Many of the criticisms of individual passages are characterized by considerable acumen and accurate scholarship, and cannot fail to be of value to students of these philosophical tracts; but the general effect is not a little marred by the sweeping condemnation of the volumes as a whole, in which the critic indulges.

Considering that the work under review is from the pen of one whom all know to be a scholar of no mean order, such comments as the following are almost unseemly:—"The whole body of them [i. e. of the notes] is to be condemned, as furnishing a minimum of valuable and helpful context, even when they are not altogether misleading. There is not, it is believed, a single instance where a really difficult passage is seriously and competently discussed." Again:—"If there were in any part of these two volumes a passage of a different character from those we have been reviewing—a passage showing signs of a sound

<sup>2</sup> *Jour. R. As. Soc. F. S.*, Vol. IV. p. 128f.

<sup>3</sup> *Early History of the Dekkan*, p. 27.

<sup>4</sup> See Beal's *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. I. pp. xiii. lii. lv., and Vol. II. pp. 67 note, 70, 73, 77 note, 81.

<sup>5</sup> *ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 350f.

<sup>6</sup> Page 194 above, and *ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 345, Inscriptions N. and P.

<sup>7</sup> On the 'king and queen' type of Mr. V. A. Smith's arrangement; *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. LIII. Part I. p. 171, and Plate ii. No. 2.

plan, careful and conscientious execution, penetrating insight into the difficulties of the text and successful effort to set them forth and explain them—it would be our duty and pleasure to pay it our attention. But no such passage is to be found; the work is all of one stamp; there is hardly a paragraph, much less a page, in it that does not furnish matter for serious animadversion."

Professors Whitney and Max Müller have long been before the public as writers, in a popular form, on the science of language; and it is well known that in advocating their respective theories they have come into violent antagonism.

It is deeply to be regretted that the atmosphere of linguistic study should be so fatal to calmness as it seems to be, and so generally provocative of a spirit of "envy, hatred, malice and all uncharitableness"—evidence of which, in the case of these two scholars has, unadvisedly, been preserved for posterity in one of the volumes of *Chips from a German Workshop*, and is again conspicuous in the article under notice.

The opening pages contain some sound remarks on the merits of the Upanishads generally, together with others of less value, on the demerits of the native commentaries. We do not share with the writer his extreme contempt for the interpretations of such a scholar, for example, as Śaṅkarāchārya; as we cannot but feel that a man like him, of extensive reading, of acute intellect, and living at least a thousand years nearer to the time of the composition of the Upanishads than we do, was possessed of very material advantages as an interpreter of them; and no modern scholar can afford to set him aside or deny him the most serious attention. For much that is unintelligible in the texts of our printed editions of the Upanishads, and misleading in the commentaries thereon, the editors are responsible; a glaring instance of which is to be found in the volume of minor Ātharvaṇa Upanishads, which forms one of the *Bibliotheca Indica* series. It is no exaggeration to say that neither text nor comment of that volume has the slightest critical value.

The Professor's remarks on the various possible methods of interpreting the Upanishads, are full of interest; and we reproduce one of them for the benefit of our readers:—"A third way, leading in quite another direction, would be this: to approach the text only as a philologist, bent upon making a version of it exactly as it stands, representing just what the words and phrases appear to say, without intrusion of anything that is not there in recognizable form; thus reproducing the scripture itself in Western guise, as nearly as the nature of the case admits, as a basis whereon could after-

ward be built such fabric of philosophic interpretation as should be called for; and also as a touchstone to which could be brought for due testing anything that claimed to be an interpretation. The maker of such a version would not need to be versed in the subtleties of the later Hindu philosophical systems; he should even carefully avoid working in the spirit of any of them. Nor need he pretend to penetrate to the hidden sense of the dark sayings that pass under his pen, to comprehend it and set it forth; for then there would inevitably mingle itself with his version much that was subjective and doubtful, and that every successor would have to do over again. Working conscientiously, as a Sanskrit scholar only, he might hope to bring out something of permanent and authoritative character, which should serve both as help and as check to those that come after him. He would carefully observe all identities and parallelisms of phraseology, since in texts like these the word is to no small extent more than the thing, the expression dominating the thought: the more the quantities are unknown, the less will it answer to change their symbols in working out an equation. Of all leading and much-used terms, in case the rendering could not be made uniform, he would maintain the identity by a liberal quotation of the word itself in parenthesis after its translation, so that the sphere of use of each could be made out in the version somewhat as in the original, by the comparison of parallel passages; and so that the student should not run the risk of having a difference of statement which might turn out important, covered from his eyes by an apparent identity of phrase—or the contrary. Nothing, as a matter of course, would be omitted, save particles whose effect on the shading of a sentence is too faint to show in the coarseness of translation into a strange tongue; nor would anything be put in without exact indication of the intrusion. The notes would be prevaillingly linguistic, references to parallel passages, with exposition of correspondences and differences. Sentences grammatically difficult or apparently corrupt would be pointed out, and their knotty points discussed, perhaps with suggestions of text-amendment. But it is needless to go into further detail; every one knows the methods by which a careful scholar, liberal of his time and labour toward the due accomplishment of a task deemed by him important, will conduct such a work." There are few Sanskrit Scholars of the present day as competent to prepare a version of this description as is Professor Whitney himself; and it is to be hoped that he will ere long furnish us with an instalment of work on these lines.

Before concluding, we must correct an error occurring in the opening sentence of the article under notice. It stands thus :—"The Upanishads are to the modern Hindu that part of his sacred literature for which he cares most, if not the only one for which he cares at all." If the writer were to sojourn for a few years in this country he would find cause for modifying this view. As a matter of fact, "the modern Hindu" knows no more of the Upanishads than he does of the Mantras of the Vêda. The Paurāṇik literature, and the popular vernacular poems based thereon, are the only writings "for which he cares at all."

G. A. JACOB.

15th June 1886.

## SAMANYACHARANA AND BRIHACHARANA.

In the June number of this Journal, p. 174 above, Mr. Rice has given a derivation and explanation of the name of *Brihacharana*; and I take this opportunity, as I am a Drāviḍa Brāhman of that caste, to write to you of what I have heard and read about its origin.

In the *Sthalapurāṇa* of Lālgudi,<sup>1</sup> a small town in the district of Trichinopoly, a story occurs explaining how a certain set of Brāhman came from the north and received the name of *Brihacharanas*.

There was a great dearth in the Chōla country; all the lakes and rivers had dried up; famine and pestilence prevailed. Brāhman, as long as they are orthodox especially, cannot live for a moment without that most necessary element of human or animal kind,—water. But, so great was the scarcity of water in the Chōla dominions, that even the Brāhman there had to leave off a great part of their rites.

Just at this time the king<sup>2</sup> of the Chōla country found a great multitude of Brāhman coming into his dominions from the north. Wherever they halted, they found sufficient water for their bath and ablutions.<sup>3</sup> They were all *Ahitāgnis*, or religious men who maintained their sacred fire, with their wives. When the Chōla king saw them, he was struck with their *dharma* or pious behaviour and observances, and said—*yāyam brihad-dcharaṇāḥ*, "you are all persons of mighty (wonderful) observances." From that time these new Brāhman settlers were called *Brihad-dcharaṇāḥ*, which in course of time was corrupted into *Brihacharanaḥ*.

<sup>1</sup> Lālgudi is near Trichinopoly, on the banks of the Coleroon (Kolladam), and contains a fine temple dedicated to Saptarāhṣvara, the Siva who gave eternal felicity to the seven sages.—The modern name of Lālgudi, lit. 'the red temple' [a hybrid formation, in which *lāl* is Hindustāni and *gudi* is Drāviḍian; J. F. F.] was given by the Nawāb of Trichinopoly to the place, because when once he visited it he found the *gōpura* of the temple

The *Sāmānyacharana* of Mr. Rice's inscription may mean, I think, the other Brāhman, who must have been the previous settlers, and who must have had only ordinary observances, *sāmānya-dcharana*. These may be the modern priests of temples, *Gurukkals* and *Pūjaris*, who are always considered low in the scale of Brāhmanism, and who, especially in Southern India, are not considered fit for company at meals, and do not join in domestic and religious gatherings. In the several Chōla inscriptions that I have examined these *Gurukkals* only sign as Brāhman, and I have found no other Brāhman. The mention of the *Sāmānyacharanas*, which is a name opposed to that of the *Brihacharanas*, may also go much against the genuineness of the date of the grant, Śaka 261.

As far as I can conclude, I am of opinion that the first Brāhman migration to the South began in the seventh century A.D., and that the original immigrants must be the present degenerated *Gurukkals*, who seem to have once exercised great influence. The *Brihacharanas*, *Vādmas*, and others, must have arrived in later times.

S. M. NATESA SASTRI.

Madras, 15th June 1886.

## CURIOSITIES OF INDIAN LITERATURE.

## THE FOUR QUESTIONS.

When king Yudhishtira was in exile, he came to a tank inhabited by a ferocious *Grāha* or water demon. It was the habit of this beast to put the following questions to all who came to drink at the tank :—

को मोदते किमाश्चर्यं का वार्ता कः पथः स्मृतः ।

इति मे चतुरः प्रश्नान् पूरयित्वा जलं पिब ॥

'Who is happy? What is wonderful? What is the news? What is the path? First answer me these four questions, and then drink.' As no one was ever able to answer these questions, he used to kill and devour them. Yudhishtira, however, was equal to the occasion, and, when challenged, replied as follows :—

विषसस्याहमे भागे शाकं पचति यो गृहे ।

अनुष्ठी चाप्रवासी च स वारिचर मोदते ॥ १

अहन्यहनि भूतानि गच्छन्ति धर्ममन्दिरे ।

अपरे स्थातुमिच्छन्ति किमाश्चर्यमतः परम् ॥ २

अस्मिन्महामोहमये कदाहे सुर्वाभिना रात्रिदिनेन्धनेन ।

मासतुर्वर्षपरिघटेन भूतानि कालः पचतीह वार्ता ॥ ३

श्रुतिविभिन्ना स्मृतयो विभिन्ना नैको मुनिर्यस्य मतं विभिन्नम् ।  
धर्मस्य तत्त्वं निहितं गुहायां महाजनो येन गतः स पन्थाः ॥ ४

coloured red.—The Drāviḍian name of the place is Tiruttirai, or the sacred spot, from which the seven sages attained, after long penance, eternal felicity.

<sup>2</sup> The king's name is not on good authority. He is, I think, called Karikāla; but whatever may be the name in the *Sthalapurāṇa*, we cannot take it as an historical certainty.

<sup>3</sup> Through the great righteous power they had in them.

'He who cooks his mess of vegetables at the eighth watch of the day, and he who is not in debt, and is not a sojourner,—he, O Water-Goblin, is happy. That, while every day created things are hastening to the hall of death, others should say, "I wish to remain,"—what is more wonderful than this? In this cauldron (of the world) full of illusion, time cooks created things, with the sun for fire, night and day for fuel, and months and seasons for the stirring

ladle,—this is the news. The Scriptures are at variance and Holy Writ is at variance; many are the holy men, but their advice is at variance; the essence of virtue is placed in the inner recesses (of the heart), and that, along which the great and good have gone before,—that is the path.'

On hearing these replies the *Grāha* was mightily pleased, and, giving him all the riches he had carried off from his former victims, let him go on his journey.  
G. A. GRIERSON.

#### BOOK NOTICES.

THE ORDINANCES OF MANU.—Translated from the Sanskrit with an introduction, by the late ARTHUR COKE BURNELL, Ph.D., C.I.E., completed and edited by EDWARD W. HOPKINS, Ph.D., of Columbia College N. Y. London: Trübner and Co. 1884. 8vo., pp. xlvii. and 399.

It was known some years ago that the late Dr. Burnell held peculiar views as to the date of the book which we have been accustomed to call the laws of Manu. The matter cannot be regarded as finally settled yet; but Burnell certainly had the courage of his opinion; and the evidence on which he founded it, if not conclusive, is well deserving of consideration.

No one, of course, now believes as Sir William Jones did when he brought out his translation nearly a hundred years ago, that the code, if it may be so called, is as old as 1200 B.C. The theory generally accepted in late years is, that the book contains the customs and rules of the *Mānavas*, a sect of *Brāhmanas* who followed the Black *Yajur-vēda*; that it is mainly a versification of the *Grihya* and *Samayāchārīka Sūtras* of that sect; and that it was compiled about 500 B.C.

The grounds for fixing Manu so far back are briefly stated as follows:—The gods mentioned in Manu are chiefly the Vedic deities; the account given of the four castes and their origin is similar to that given in the *Purusha-Sūkta*; there is no allusion to the practice of Sati, or to the worship of Vishnu and Śiva; nor is there any mention of the *Rāmāyana* or the *Mahābhārata*.

Burnell, on the other hand, would put Manu quite a thousand years later. He holds it to be conclusively proved that the book was not compiled earlier than 500 A.D.; and he thinks he has good grounds for believing that the compilation was made by a *Brāhman* from Northern India, at the court of king Pulakēśin I., who reigned about 500 A.D., and who was the founder of the Western Chalukya dynasty. This particular dynasty is fixed upon, because it is known from inscriptions to have had the name *Mānavya* as well as *Chālukya*, the former name being supposed to imply that the *Purōhitas* of the kings of the Chalukya dynasty were priests of the *Mānava gōtra*.

Burnell's reasons for this opinion take up the

greater part of the Introduction to this edition. That part of the book, as the Second Edition tells us, is somewhat fragmentary, having been left incomplete by Burnell at his death. Dr. Hopkins has refrained from making any additions or alterations, though signs are not wanting, in the footnotes and elsewhere, that he does not share all Burnell's views, or give the same weight as Burnell does to all the arguments by which they are supported. But, although we cannot quite easily follow all the steps of the argument as stated in the Introduction, the general drift of it is plain enough. In fact, Burnell's views on the date of Manu had been published and exposed to criticism some years before he died.

Burnell starts with the statement, which no one will be disposed to contradict, that the *dharma-sāstras* are developed from the *grihya*-, *śamayāchārīka*-, and *dharma-sūtras*. Different schools followed different recensions of the *Vēda*; those schools had different *sūtras* also. Now the *sūtra* period is the latest period of early Sanskrit literature, and cannot, in fact, be earlier than 600-200 B.C. The earliest mention of *dharma-sūtras* specially is in the *Mahābhāṣya*. Consequently Manu cannot be earlier than 200-100 B.C.

Burnell's next argument is from the style of Manu. The form of the *Ślōka* in Manu is that which we find in the epic poems; the language in general is simple and modern, and the compounds are according to the forms used in modern Sanskrit; in fact, the text of Manu closely resembles the style of the other versified *sūtras*; and Burnell says he was himself able to prove "by Tibetan documents" that the versification of the *Āśvalāyana-Grihya-Sūtra* was done in 700 A.D.

The next argument is from the matter of the book. The first, seventh and twelfth chapters all contain matter quite foreign to the original *sūtras*. The dialogue in the first chapter is quite in the style of the *Purāṇas*. The philosophical system followed in the account of the creation, etc., in the first chapter, is that modifi-



ation of the Sāṅkhya which we find in the Purāṇas. As neither Pāṇini nor Patañjali mention the Sāṅkhya system, we may be sure that it did not exist in their time; consequently the chapters of Manu which infer a knowledge of that system must be at least as late as the first century A.D.

Further, the work is evidently intended for kings and such persons, and not, primarily, for Brāhmanas. The seventh book seems to prove conclusively that it is so. Now, such a work, Burnell thinks, could only have been composed under a powerful prince, and in a peaceful time. In the first century A.D. all India was in confusion. So the date of Manu must be still farther limited to between 100 A.D. and 500 A.D. So much, according to Burnell, is certain. The fact that the name Mānavya belongs to the Chalukya dynasty seems to him to give strong probability to the conjecture (for, after all, it is nothing more) that the Mānava-Dharma-Śāstra belongs to the reign of Pulakēśin I., who reigned about 500 A.D.

Up to the eighth chapter the translation is entirely Burnell's; Dr. Hopkins has made additions to the notes. From the eighth chapter to the end both translation and notes are Dr. Hopkins', who has carefully conformed all through to Burnell's method of working. The plan of the work, so far as the text and notes are concerned, seems to us to be an admirable one. It really puts the commentaries in their proper place. These commentaries are of no literary value whatever. Their value is in the fact that they preserve various readings and traditional explanations, and that they supply parallel passages. We hear that there is at present being prepared in Bombay an edition of Manu in which several commentaries are to be printed along with the text. We doubt very much the wisdom of such an undertaking. We question even whether many years of Max Müller's valuable life have not been almost wasted over his colossal edition of Śāyana's commentary on the Rīg-Vēda. What an incalculable boon it would be, even now, to students of Sanskrit to have an edition of the Rīg-Vēda on the model of Burnell's translation of Manu!

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA. Volumes XXI. Parts I. and II. Reports of a Tour in Bundelkhand and Rewa in 1883-84; and of a Tour in Rewa, Bundelkhand, Malwa, and Gwalior in 1884-85. By Major-General A. CUNNINGHAM, C. S. I., C. I. E., etc., Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India. Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India; Calcutta, 1885. Royal 8vo. pp. vi. and 183; and Plates i. to xlii.

In this volume General Cunningham deals with the results of tours made in 1883-84 and 1884-85

in Bundelkhand, Rīwā, and Central India. A few pages are occupied with brief notes concerning some places in the Panjāb.

This volume compares very favourably with several of its predecessors, and contains much matter of interest and value. It is impossible within the limits of a review to notice all the interesting discoveries recorded, or to discuss at length the topics on which difference of opinion may exist; but I shall endeavour to place before the readers of this Journal some of the most interesting results attained during two unusually fruitful tours.

General Cunningham has obtained much additional information about the Chandellas of Bundelkhand, and the Kalachuris of Chēdi or Dāhala. The inscriptions of Prithī Rāj Chauhān at Madanpur in the Lalitpur District, had already been published, but with a mistake in the name of the conquered province. The name is now correctly read as Jējākabhukti, which is thus shown to have been the original name of the region now known as Bundelkhand, the Jējāhuti of Abū Rihān. The Jijhōtiya Brāhmanas are therefore the Brāhmanas of Jijhōti, or Jējākabhukti, just as the Saksena Brāhmanas are the Brāhmanas of Sankisa.

A brief account is given of the antiquities at Rāsin in the Banda District to which I first drew attention in 1881. The poet Chand ascribes the foundation of this town, the full name of which is Rājavāsini, to Rāhilavarman, the fourth king of the Chandella dynasty.

The capture of the fortress of Kālañjar by Kutb-ud-din Aibak, which has hitherto been referred by General Cunningham and others, including myself, to the year 1202 A. D., is now shown to have occurred on the 27th April 1203 A.D.

A useful list of the Kālañjar inscriptions is given with two plates containing lithographic facsimiles from impressions. All the important inscriptions in this volume are reduced from mechanical impressions, and the plates are thus far more valuable than those in some of the earlier volumes. But the scale of some of the reductions is inconveniently small, and it is impossible to read the text without the help of a magnifying glass; with that help, however, the text is clear. Accurate translations of a great many of the inscriptions now published are still wanting, and any palaeographer with time to spare will find ample occupation in translating them.

I cannot admit that General Cunningham's revised list of the kings of the Chandella dynasty is an improvement on that made out by me five years ago on the basis of his original list.<sup>1</sup> In his new

<sup>1</sup> *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. L. Part I. p. 28.

list General Cunningham inserts *Dévavarmadēva* as a reigning king distinct from *Kirttivarman I.*, with whom I had identified him, but gives no reason for the assertion that he was the brother of *Kirttivarman* (p. 84). The inscriptions plainly imply that the two titles belong to the same person. The *Mau-Chhatarpur* and the *Deogarh* inscriptions agree in giving *Kirttivarman* as the name of the successor of *Vijayapāla*; whereas the *Nunaura* copper-plate states that *Vijayapāla* was succeeded by his son *Dévavarmadēva*. The other *alias* of *Bhūmipāla* for this king, which seems to be supplied by one of the imperfect inscriptions at *Kālāñjar*, may be due to a misunderstanding.

General Cunningham ignores the demonstrated fact that *Jayavarman*, the grandson of *Kirttivarman I.*, was also named *Kirttivarman*, and repeats his old mistake of inserting a *Hallakshana* (*Sallakshana*) II. between *Jayavarman* (*alias* *Kirttivarman II.*) and *Prithivivarman*. The evidence of the inscriptions is unmistakable, being as follows:—*Augāsi* copper-plate *Mau-Chhatarpur* inscription (S. 1190.) (not dated).

<i>Kirttivarman</i> (II.)	<i>Jayavarman</i> .
<i>Prithivivarman</i> .	<i>Prithivivarman</i> .
<i>Madanavarman</i> .	<i>Madanavarman</i> .

As I showed before, the language of the *Mau-Chhatarpur* inscription, which mentions the second *Sallakshana*,—plainly means that he was *not* a ruling king, and there is no room for his insertion in the list of sovereigns.

The catalogue of *Chandella* inscriptions now given is more complete than that which I was able to compile; but is marred by some misprints. The date of No. 28, the *Augāsi* copper-plate, is S. 1190 = A.D. 1133, and not S. 1188 = A.D. 1131; and the date of No. 38 is S. 1215, not S. 1213.

The recent researches of General Cunningham recorded in this volume add considerably to the scanty information we previously possessed concerning the *Chandella* chiefs who ruled in a portion of their old territories after the *Muhammadan* conquest; but their history is of little intrinsic interest.

The question as to the identity of the hill chieftain, named *Dalaki-wa-Malaki* by the *Muhammadan* historian, who was defeated and slain in 1248 A. D. by *Ulugh Khān*, has given rise to much discussion. General Cunningham has now found in the chronicles of *Rīwā* a *Rājā Dalakēśwar* followed by *Rājā Malakēśwar*; and this discovery leads him to identify *Dalaki-wa-Malaki* with these *Bāghēl* chiefs, and his fort with *Bāndhogarh* in *Rīwā*. But *Minhāj-us-Sirāj* expressly tells us that *Dalaki-wa-Malaki*'s fortress was "in the vicinity of the *Jamnā* between *Kālāñjar* and *Karrā*."

Now *Bāndhogarh* is over a hundred miles south of the *Jamnā*, and is *not* between *Kālāñjar* and *Karrā*. The description given by *Minhāj-us-Sirāj* can apply only to a place either in the *Bānda* or the *Allāhābād* District, and I would suggest the great fort of *Marpha* in the *Bānda* District as being very probably the stronghold of *Dalaki* and *Malaki*. *Marpha* is 12 miles N.E. of *Kālāñjar*, and "as large and lofty as either *Kālāñjar* or *Ajaygarh*" (p. 18). It is absolutely the only fortress which lies between *Karrā* and *Kālāñjar*. And its claim to be the stronghold of *Dalaki-wa-Malaki* is strengthened by the fact (p. 103) that it was the first place in which the *Bāghēls* settled. It is improbable that there should have been both *Dalakēśwar* and *Malakēśwar*, as well as *Dalaki* and *Malaki*, at about the same time. On full consideration, therefore, I am disposed to think that General Cunningham is right in his identification of the personal names, though wrong as to the situation of the place. The *Rīwā* genealogy is only of use as showing that the names *Dalakēśwar* and *Malakēśwar* occur; and that the form *Dalaki-wa-Malaki*, given by the *Muhammadan* historian, is not far wrong.

I adhere to my opinion that *Dalakēśwar* and *Malakēśwar* were *Bhar* chiefs.\* I observe that, according to *Rīwā* tradition (p. 114), *Rājā Karnadēva*, the *Kalachuri*, was a *Bhar*; and it is quite possible that the *Bāghēls* may have *Bhar* blood in their veins. Mr. *Carnegy* thought that the *Bais Rājputs* in *Oudh* were of *Bhar* descent. And I have elsewhere shown it to be probable that the *Chandellas* are descended from *Khangārs*, who are probably a branch of the *Gōndas*.

A painted inscription of a *Mahārāja Bhīmasēna*, dated in *Indo-Scythian* style on the twelfth day of the fourth fortnight of the hot season of the year 52, was found at a hill named *Ginja* in *Rīwā*.

At *Besāni* between *Kālāñjar* and *Ajaygarh*, one of the rare inscriptions dated in an intercalary month was found. General Cunningham points out that, according to his tables, the month *Āshādhā* in the year 958 of the *Chēdi* era (1207 A. D.) ought to be intercalary, as it is stated to be in this inscription, and observes that "the mention of the intercalary month in this year is particularly valuable, as it proves that the tables of *Hindu* years with their intercalary months, which I have prepared for publication, are absolutely correct for the long period of nearly 700 years. But my tables of intercalation are certainly correct for even a longer period, as I find that the month of *Śrāvāṇa* is recorded in an inscription as having been intercalary in the *Śaka* year 1091 or A.D. 1169."<sup>1</sup> These coincidences will serve to inspire

\* *id.* p. 37.

<sup>1</sup> *Rice, Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 23.

scholars with confidence when using the *Book of Indian Eras*.

The following observation deserves the attentive consideration of students of prehistoric archaeology:—"A few miles to the north of Bargaoon at Nayakhera [near the sources of the Ken River] I found a slab 5 feet long and 2½ feet broad, covered with round 'cup-marks' from 1 inch to 3½ inches in diameter, to which the boys of the village were still adding fresh ones. I counted 186 marks. The whole of these cup-marks were said to have been made by the boys. In fact I saw a boy making one during the day, and several of them looked very fresh." (p. 166). I wonder how many of the 'cup-marks' which have excited the curiosity of the learned may be ascribed to the same cause.

10th June, 1886.

V. A. SMITH.

I may add to the concluding remarks above, that I have been told that Scotch sailors are still in the habit of making 'cup-marks' on certain rocks in the islands to the West of Scotland whenever they visit them, and that the number of 'cup-marks' at these places is thus constantly increasing. I cannot give chapter and verse; but the information is worth recording here, in corroboration, and in the hope that this point may be further investigated by those in a position to do so.

23rd July, 1886.

R. C. TEMPLE.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA. Vol. XXII. Report of Tours in Gorakhpur, Saran, and Ghazipur, in 1877-78-79 and 80. By A. C. L. CARLLEYLE, First Assistant, Archaeological Survey. Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India. Calcutta 1885. Royal 8vo. pp. iv. and 122, and Plates i. to xiv.

This volume is very inferior in interest and value to volume XXI. The first thirty-five pages merely repeat, with some unimportant additional details, what has been already published in Volume XVIII. Mr. Carlleyle's restorations at Kasia (Kusinagara), the scene of Buddha's death, in the Gorakhpur District, were not very judicious; but it is only fair to acknowledge the zeal which led him to spend twelve hundred rupees of his own on the work.

Some of the great earthen tumuli at Lauriya-Navandgarh in the Champāran District were excavated, with the result that, though signs of human burial were noticed, no distinct interment could be made out, and nothing was found. General Cunningham identifies these tumuli with the *chetiya*s of the Vrijis mentioned in the Ceylonese Buddhist legends. The barrows seem to be extremely ancient, but it is impossible to assign to them any definite date.

The discovery of a new edict pillar of Aśoka at Rāmpūrwa in the Terai, north of Betiya, has been already published in Volume XVIII. Mr. Carlleyle notes that the edicts on this pillar are inscribed in the dialect which rejected the use of the letter *r*. The remarks on the position of Aśoka's inscriptions along the main lines of ancient roads are not novel, but are worth noting. Mr. Carlleyle would expect to find another edict pillar within the Népāl hills. Pages 58-72, like pages 1-35, are almost a reprint of a portion of Volume XVIII. An interesting list of 101 ancient coins found at Bairāt in the Benares District, is given at page 114; and a similar list of the coins obtained at Masaon-Dih, near Saidpur-Bhitari in the Ghāzipur District, is given on page 103. Most of the coins found at both these places belong to the earliest Hindu and Buddhist types. Both these ancient sites also yielded a considerable number of flint and agate implements. Unfortunately no drawings of these objects are given. Mr. Carlleyle observes that he has found stone implements at Indōr in the Bulandshahr District, at Bhuila in the Bast. District, near Bānda, and throughout Bundēlkhand, in the Nāgaudh state, in the hills of Riwā and Mirzāpur, and in Rājputāna.

These few remarks indicate almost everything worthy of notice in this volume.

In the Preface, General Cunningham observes that he has "long held the opinion that the Hindus knew and practised the art of stone-cutting at least two centuries before the time of Aśoka. Indeed, the very name of Taxila, or Takshasila Nagara, the city of cut-stone buildings, proves that the art was known and used before the time of Alexander."

He also argues that the beautifully finished letters of Aśoka's inscriptions must have been preceded by a ruder alphabet, which has been lost owing to the almost, though not quite, universal use of wood in early times, and hopes that coins may yet be found bearing characters of this lost alphabet.

V. A. SMITH.

10th June, 1886.

INDISCHE STUDIEN. BEITRÄGE FÜR DIE KUNDE DES INDISCHEN ALTERTHUMS. Im Vereine mit mehreren Gelehrten herausgegeben von Dr. ALBRECHT WEBER. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1884.

This 17th volume of Dr. Albrecht Weber's *Indian Studies* is, as usual, full of the most interesting matter. In it the learned editor himself completes his *Analysis of the Sacred (Prākṛit) Writings of the Jainas*, by a succinct and at the same time exhaustive survey of the *Nandīśāstram*, the *Annyāgadvārasūtram* and the four *Mūlasūtrāṇi*. This is followed by an attractive article

by Dr. E. Leumann, on the Seven (really Eight) Schisms of the Jainas, whose curious dialectical subtleties frequently remind us of the specious reasonings of Plato's *Parmenides*. The following characteristic story is told of the origin and decay of the second of these heresies, that of Tisagutta. His teacher Vasu had expounded the question—"Is it allowable to say that a soul-atom is a soul?" To which the answer had been, "No; as little as it is allowable to say the same of two, three or more soul-atoms, which would lead in the end to the proposition that a soul diminished by one soul-atom is a soul; for the soul is a complete totality of atoms comparable to those of the Ether." This led Tisagutta into an erroneous idea that if the atoms of a soul, by the loss of one of them, cease to constitute a soul, that one must itself be the soul, since the latter's designation as a soul depends on its existence. A pious layman, named Mittasiri, thereupon undertook to convert him and his followers by a counter-argument very much *ad hominem*. Inviting him to a rich repast, he offered him a morsel of every dish and nothing more, until the guest exclaimed—"Why am I thus insulted?"—"How have you been insulted?" inquired the host in reply; "is it not your theory, that a whole is made up by its odd part? I have entertained you in accordance with your own teaching; not venturing to entertain you according to that of our lord Vaddhamāna!"

The information regarding Jaina literature, contained in the above mentioned articles, is supplemented by an Essay by Prof. Jacobi, in which he proves that the *Varṇakas* or descriptive passages of the sacred writings of the Jainas, which have hitherto been considered to be written in prose, are in reality composed in a metrical form, similar to the Greek so-called *hypermetra*, and another paper by the same author explains the theory of the *śloka*, or heroic verse of the Indians, both in its usual and in that more irregular form, which the native Prosodists call *vipulā*.

The remainder of the volume is devoted to Sanskrit literature proper, and, excepting some *Miscellanies* from the pen of Dr. T. Aufrecht, is entirely supplied by the indefatigable Editor himself. In it the translation and explanation of the third book of the *Atharvasamhitā* forms a welcome sequel to that of the first two books, given in Vol. IV. (1858) and XIII. (1873) of *Indian Studies*. This is followed by a critical and annotated edition of the text of the two *Anukramanī* of the Nāigya School of the *Sāmāsamhitā*. Two smaller *Upanishads*, the *Garuḍōpanishad*, published in the original, and the *Nīrḍlambōpanishad*, text and translation with explanatory remarks, are valuable additions

to this branch of theosophic literature. The latter treatise in particular, which in a series of questions and answers, contains an abstract of the Vēdānta Doctrine of the Absolute (*nīrḍlamba* = 'without a prop or support, independent, absolute'), and in which Prof. Weber recognises indications of a certain antiquity, is remarkable by a decidedly ethico-practical tendency, which in some places seems to imply a direct protest against the system of caste. "Who is a Brāhman?" asks the last question; and the answer is "*Brahmavit sarva ēva brāhmana iti*; every one (*sarva*) who knows Brahman (the Absolute), and he only (*ēva*), is a Brāhman." This clearly leads up to the conclusion that mere birth-right gives no claim to the title.

F. S.

ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW—Vol. I. edited by DEMETRIUS BOULGER. Fisher Unwin: London.

On perusal of the first two numbers, forming the first half-yearly volume of this new Quarterly, we must congratulate the Editor, Mr. Boulger, on the great success that has attended him at starting. Seldom indeed have two more powerful issues of a periodical been laid before the public, for every contributor up to date has been previously known to fame. It is needless, therefore to say that though the scope of the Journal is exceedingly wide, the various subjects are handled with that skill which ensures success.

The article that will prove perhaps the most interesting of all is that by Lady Dufferin on female medical aid for the women of India; and that, not merely on account of the position of its authoress, but for the business-like, though withal womanly, manner in which she has dealt with her subject. In perusing her pages the reader begins to perceive that it is her capacity for business which has enabled her to give so grand a start to the noble scheme of aid to the suffering and helpless of her sex that her sympathies have compelled her to initiate.—Col. Yule's *Hobson-Jobsoniana* is an amusing and instructive introduction to his *Glossary of Anglo-Indian Words* now published in full, of which he first printed specimens in this *Journal* some years ago, when his *collaborateur*, Mr. A. C. Burnell, was still alive. Our present relations with Burma have called forth articles from the Editor and Prof. Douglas on the relations between that country and China; while Sir Lepel Griffin, to whom rumour ascribes the existence of the new Review, supplies characteristic articles on those other current topics the restitution of Gwalior Fort and the Native States. A subject, too, especially interesting at the present time is the political Geography of Asia, entrusted to the highly qualified pen of Sir Frederick Goldsmid.

Among miscellaneous matter is a readable article on the pilgrimage to Mecca, by Mr. Wollaston; but we should like to know why such an authority on things Oriental writes on page 393 "a famous doctor by name Hullage,"—under which appellation, in a paper quite correct as a rule in orthography, one hardly recognises the famous Mansûr Hallâj. The whole record of his life and death—real and apocryphal,—is, moreover, so well known that one cannot help being surprised at being informed that—"it is also recorded that a famous doctor, by name Hullage, was put to death for having taught certain ceremonies and prayers to supply the neglect of performing the *hajj*."

The *Asiatic Quarterly Review* is clearly intended to lead among Oriental Journals of the popular sort, and if it goes on as it has begun, there is no doubt that it will do so in the future, as it evidently does in the present.

THE EMPIRE OF THE HITTITES, by WILLIAM WRIGHT, D.D., Second Ed. London: James Nisbet & Co.

We heartily welcome this second edition of Dr. Wright's now celebrated work. It was in 1872 that he first drew attention to the existence of Hittite monuments, and for a long while his was a voice crying in the wilderness, especially as, since the Hittites had no place in classical history, it was the fashion in the critical world to throw doubts on the accuracy of the Biblical references to them. However, by dint of patience and sticking to his point, Dr. Wright has succeeded in convincing the learned Oriental world that his "Hittite inscriptions" do refer to the people so often spoken of in the Bible, thus restoring, as he says, the Empire of the Hittites to its rightful position in secular history.

So far from being alone in his efforts to elucidate the exceedingly difficult epigraphical remains of this long-lost people in this second edition of his work, Dr. Wright has the powerful aid of Prof. Sayce, Sir Charles Wilson, Captain Conder, and Mr. Rylands, not to mention Dr. Isaac Taylor and Mr. Pinches. With such an array of authoritative collaborators, it is needless to say that the book is as good a one as the present knowledge of the subject can make it.

MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS RELATING TO INDO-CHINA.—Reprinted for the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. 2 Vols. London: Trübner & Co.

It is evident that we have to thank that energetic Orientalist of the Far East, Mr. W. E. Maxwell, for these valuable and useful volumes.

<sup>1</sup> [Regarding the two forms of this name, see Dr. Peterson's *Second Report on Sanskrit MS.*, p. 19 and note. See also line 16 of the Saundatti inscription of Śaka-Samvat 1151 (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. pp. 262, 275; and *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 225), where, with reference to a Kanarese poet of this name, it is

The first contains 34 descriptive papers of all kinds regarding the little-known States of the Malay Peninsula; and the second, six papers on the Natural History, Geology and Botany of those parts, three of which are by the celebrated Dr. Theodore Cantor.

The sources of this collection are Dalrymple's *Oriental Repertory*, the *Asiatic Researches*, and the *Journal* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal; so that it will be seen that some of the papers date many years back: indeed the first on Quedah was written as long ago as 1808, and many refer to matters long before that date.

The work of editing has been entrusted to the very capable hands of Dr. Rost, who has indeed printed the various articles much as he found them, but has added footnotes and references where practicable, and has done what was possible towards rectifying inconsistencies in the orthography of names in the valuable indices he has added to the volumes, viz. a general and a vernacular index.

Vol. I. contains 6 plates of inscriptions which would be all the better for being reproduced by a mechanical process from the original, if possible, as hand drawn copies of inscriptions, however carefully prepared, are more than liable to serious errors. This is a work that the now energetic Society of Orientalists at Singapore might with advantage take up.

RUDRATA'S CRINGARATILAKA; and RUYAKA'S SAHRIDAYALILA. With an Introduction and Notes. Edited by Dr. R. FISCHER, Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Halle. Kiel; C. F. Haeseler; 1886. London; Trübner & Co. Paris; Ernest Leroux. Benares; E. J. Lazarus & Co.

The two little works here edited for the first time by Professor Fischer belong to the rhetoric department of Sanskrit literature. In it the first-named work occupies a rather prominent place. It is an erotic poem, the several verses of which, either singly or in groups, are composed so as to serve as illustrations of the rules of rhetoric. The author of this work is Rudrata, or as the colophons call him, Rudrabhaṭṭa.<sup>1</sup> His age, Professor Fischer, in the Introduction, determines to be not later than the middle of the ninth century. Some of his examples are quoted by Pratihārēndurāja, who was a pupil of Mukula, who was a son of Kallata, who lived about 850 A.D. Accordingly Pratihārēndurāja must have lived about 950 A.D.; and, since he quotes Rudrata as a standard author, the latter must be placed about one century

said "Rudrabhaṭṭa, having pledged a letter of his name as security for a loan of a thousand (pieces of) gold, received from people the appellation of 'Rudrata' only, as a substitute (for his full) name, until the day when he redeemed the pledge."—J. F. F.]

earlier. This argument presupposes that Rudrata was the composer of his own examples. A large portion of the Introduction is devoted to proving that premise: and there seems no reason to doubt that it is correct.

Contributions towards our knowledge of the Sanskrit rhetoric literature, especially when they come from the hands of such a competent editor as Professor Fischel is, are particularly valuable. Their importance in assisting historic and lexicographic researches can hardly be exaggerated. Two striking illustrations of this fact occur in the Introduction, in which Professor Fischel incidentally proves, from data supplied by Sanskrit rhetorical works, that the well-known rhetorician Daṇḍin was the real author of the *Mrichchhakatikā*, and that "the *Pañchatantra*, in its Northern recension, must be later than the middle of the ninth century A.D." The former of these two discoveries will, no doubt, require further verification before it is generally acquiesced in.

R. H.

A JOURNEY IN NEPAL AND NORTHERN INDIA, by CECIL BENDALL, M.A. The University Press, Cambridge. 1886. 8vo. pp. xii. 100; fifteen illustrations; and two genealogical tables.

This handy and carefully got-up little volume is the outcome of a cold-weather tour in 1884-85.

Mr. Bendall's primary object was the acquisition of Sanskrit MSS. for the Cambridge University. Pp. 39 to 67 are devoted entirely to this subject, and shew, in outline, very satisfactory results, which remain to be treated in detail on a future occasion. Among the more important acquisitions are several new fragments of the *Chāndravyākaraṇa* (p. 54), a copy of the *Hitopadeśa* written in the fourteenth century A.D. (p. 55), part of a new recension of the *Nārada-smṛiti* (p. 56) written A.D. 1407, and two new commentaries on the *Mēghadūta* (p. 59). The first of these has a special palaeographical interest, in presenting a new type of character, in which the vertical strokes of the letters have triangular tops, similar to the 'nail-headed' characters of Central India, of which one or two specimens have already come to notice, but with the difference that the apex of the triangle is here uppermost, whereas in the Central India specimens the reverse is the case. Mr. Bendall found a short inscription, in the same characters, on the pedestal of a statue of Buddha in the Imperial Museum at Calcutta. Students will look forward to the separate study of this character, which he promises.

A good deal of attention was also paid to the

subject of inscriptions, with the result of at least two important discoveries. One is the inscription, presumably of Amśuvarman, dated (Harsha)-Samvat 34 or A.D. 640-41 (p. 74ff., and Plate ix.), which is valuable because the details of the date include an intercalation of the month Pausa. It had been supposed that the months Mārgaśīrsha, Pausa, and Māgha, were, as now, never at any time intercalated by the Hindus. The present inscription disproves this view in respect of Pausa. And, since this discovery, a new copper-plate grant of the *Mahādāja* Dharasēna IV. of Valabhi, dated (Gupta)-Samvat 330, has come to notice, containing an intercalation of the month Mārgaśīrsha, which, apart from its own interest, is also of value as giving confirmative evidence in support of the correctness of Albirūnī's statement regarding the epoch of the Gupta-Valabhi era.<sup>1</sup> Dr. Bühler has already published this inscription in German; and his English version of the paper will shortly be issued in this Journal.

The other discovery, of still more value, is the inscription of Śivadēva I. and Amśuvarman, dated<sup>2</sup> Gupta-Samvat 316 or 318, A.D. 635 to 637 (p. 72ff. and Plate viii.), which was originally published by Mr. Bendall in this Journal, Vol. XIV. p. 97ff. The extreme importance of this inscription is in its furnishing for the first time the correct clue to the interpretation of the early Nēpāl dates (see my paper on "The Chronology of the Early Rulers of Nēpāl;" ante, Vol. XIV. p. 342ff.), shewing that they have to be referred to the Gupta, not to the Vikrama era; and in the confirmative evidence that it gives of the Gupta era having really commenced A.D. 319-20, or thereabouts, as stated by Albirūnī (see my paper on "The Epoch of the Gupta era;" page 192ff. above).

Should Mr. Bendall visit India again, it is to be hoped that he will prevail on his friend, Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, to allow him to assist in editing the epigraphical records and coins in that gentleman's possession, referred to on page 1. This would be a real public benefit; for, without some such co-operation, it seems that these important antiquities will see the light never at all.

Pages 1 to 33, the Archaeological and General Report, contain much that will interest general readers, and include eight good representations, from photographs by Mr. Bendall, of architecture and Nēpāl scenery. It is to be hoped that the rebuke administered in the note on page 36, will come to the notice of, and may have some effect on, Mr. W. Scawen Blunt.

J. F. FLEET.

4th August 1886.

but now points out that it is doubtful whether it is 8 or 6.

<sup>1</sup> See page 189ff. above.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Bendall originally read the third symbol as 8,

THE LAST YEARS OF SHAH SHUJA'A, WITH AN APPENDIX ON THE  
AFFAIRS OF HIRAT.

*Translated from the Tārīkh Sulṭānī of Sulṭān Muḥammad Khān Bārūkzāi.*

BY E. REHATSEK.

(Concluded from p. 267.)

WHEN the population of Kābul found that the Pādshāh was pursuing a policy of delay, they asserted that no faith was to be placed in his promise to go to Jallālābād, as he was himself in reality a *Farangī*, and they ridiculed the legend on his coins, which was as follows:—

Coins of silver and gold, brighter than the sun  
and moon,  
Were struck by the favourite of the age, the King  
Shuja'an'i-Mulk Shāh.

By changing it into the following distich:—  
Coins of silver and gold were struck by Shuja'a  
the Armenian,  
The favourite of Lord Burnes, the dust of the  
feet of the (East Indian) Company.

There is, however, a proverb that the gate of a town may be closed, but not the mouths of enemies; and after all, the assertions of the wicked are not deserving of credence.

The populace of Kābul, having appointed Mīr Hājī, a son of the late Wazīr Mīr Wāi'z to be their leader, followed him in crowds, waving banners and parading *Qurāns* taken from the holy shrines of pilgrimage. Multitudes of *faqīrs* and *sūfīs*, shouting the name of Allah, likewise departed with them in the direction of Jallālābād. When Shāh Shuja'a witnessed this tumult, he concluded that if he failed to join the populace, the insurrection might become general and his own existence imperilled. He, therefore, determined to accompany the crowd to Jallālābād to prosecute a *ghazā* [crescentade] against the infidels, and despatched the Shāhzādah Fath Jang with the vanguard, in conformity with a decision arrived at, as far as Deh Khudādād, where it halted. On Tuesday the second of the victorious month Šafar in the year 1257<sup>1</sup> the Pādshāh at last marched out of the Bālā Hīšār with royal pomp and a great deal of baggage, and selected the *māṣ'a* Siāh Sang

as his halting-place. He really intended not to reach Jallālābād in less than a month, being under the impression that during that period an English army of succour would arrive from Hindūstān, as is recorded in his *Memoirs*. He had also taken this opportunity to remove his jewels, for it is said that he picked out all the best gems and most valuable rings, the price of which amounted to fifty *lākhs* of rupees, from the treasury, and carried them off; but Allah knows best! He held a general *Darbār* at Siāh Sang, where he summoned the Shāhzādah Shāhpūr to his presence and appointed him Hākīm [Governor of Kābul] with Naṣru'llah Khān for his Lieutenant, and gave them both leave to return to the city; whilst he himself took a palanquin about the time of evening prayer, and went on some private business to the Bālā Hīšār. On entering he ordered the guardians of the road to be present and watchful, because the Shāhzādah Shāhpūr would depart from the camp towards morning. The inmates of the *ḥaram* and other confidential persons about the Shāh have revealed that he was very uneasy during the whole of that night (in the Bālā Hīšār), moving about, and often asking the eunuch for the time. When the morning dawned he performed the two matutinal prayer flexions of the *sunnaḥ*, but delayed the two prayer flexions of the *farz* till his arrival in camp, to be performed in his tent. Then he entered the palanquin as before, and urged the bearers to make haste.

On his arrival [on the preceding day] in the Bālā Hīšār, some ill-starred schemer had given information to Shuja'an'ddaulah Khān, the son of Nawāb Muḥammad Zamān Khān, that the Pādshāh was secretly spending the night in the Bālā Hīšār, and would return to the camp in the morning. Shuja'an'ddaulah, thereupon, with a number of followers, determined to kill him, and lay all night in ambush

<sup>1</sup> The above date is, according to our reckoning, the 5th April 1841, which being earlier than that of the event preceding it, must be a mistake, the date given for it having been the 20th January 1842; but if we retain the date of the month and take the year 1258 instead

of 1257, we get the 26th March 1842, which is more in consonance also with Kaye's statement, Vol. II. p. 378, that on the 29th March 1842 the Shāh sent round criers to proclaim that he was about to march southward on the 31st.

outside the Bâlâ Hîşâr, waiting for the opportunity :—according to the proverb :—

When fate uplifts its head above the sphere  
All wise men are but blind and deaf.

In the morning when the palanquin of the Shâh reached the ambush, which was half-way between the Bâlâ Hîşâr and the (British) station, Shuja'au'ddaulah and his adherents suddenly fired a volley of bullets at it [from a distance]. The illustrious Shâh, perceiving this to be an attempt on his life, became frightened, and leaving the palanquin with great precipitancy, began to run, and the bearers also took to their heels. Shuja'au'ddaulah himself, staggered by what he had done, felt unequal to the completion of the deed, and intended to return without having effected his purpose; but one of his followers, a Murâdkhânî, J'afir Khân by name, taking hold of the bridle of his horse said :—"There is no other game breathing in this desert except the wounded one; what do you mean to do? Return and finish him, and do not abandon your first intention. As the wise have said :—

When you get hold of your foe and conquer him,  
Wisdom ordains to spare not his life."

Encouraged by these words, Shuja'au'ddaulah Khân hastened to the palanquin, and not finding the Shâh in it, he looked about till he perceived him by the side of a brook, prostrated on the ground from the shots he had received. The murderers now sent him with a few sword cuts to the mansion of eternity, took some jewels from his diadem as well as from other parts of his dress, and departed. A chamberlain, Shâhnawâz Khân by name, whom the firing had scared away, and who had concealed himself, came forth from his hiding place when he perceived that the field was clear, and observing that the Shâh's two pockets were full of jewels and pearls, cut them both off and started in the direction of the Bâlâ Hîşâr; but his over-reaching covetousness made him conceal his booty under a wall, so that instead of benefiting him, it became the prey of others. This dreadful event took place on Wednesday the twenty-third of the above month,<sup>1</sup> and a chronogram of it was embodied in some verses by a *durvesh*

of the name of Ghulâm Muhammad Shâhji Nawashâh Bâqir Shâh Faqîr.<sup>2</sup>

The Pâdshâh Shuja'au'l-Mulk was of a very mild but persevering character. He spent all his life in waging war, and undertook during his reign not less than thirty campaigns against his foes. Although he was, by the decree of fate, worsted in most of them, his firmness of purpose, as has been narrated, never allowed him to abandon the hope of ultimately subduing his enemies. He was possessed of good poetical talent, so that his *Divân* is replete with brilliant verses and figures of speech composed in easy language, and read to this day in Hindûstân, 'Irân, and Afghânistân. Most beginners improve their phraseology by a study of it. He was more than sixty-five years old at his death, and when the news of it was, on the same day, brought to the Shâhzâdah Shâhpûr, the shining daylight became as dark as night to him; but he was nevertheless compelled to look to the defence of the (Bâlâ Hîşâr) fortress! When the Shâhzâdah Fath Jang, who was encamped at the *mûz'a* Deb Khudâdâd, received the distressing news he took refuge in the fort (of Mahmûd Khân) by the advice of Ghulâm Haidar Khân, the son of Mahmûd Khân Bayât; but the wicked nature of the latter suggested to him to deliver the Shâhzâdah in bonds to Muhammad Zamân Khân. Meanwhile, Shâh Zamân and the Shâhzâdah Haidar intended to place the Shâhzâdah Shâhpûr upon the throne, and to read the *khuṭbah* in his name. He, however, refused his consent, and replied :—"At present we stand in need of union and not of hypocrisy, and the liberation of a brother is preferable to a high position." Accordingly through the Naib Amînu'llah Khân, and at the instance of Khwâjah Khânji, a number of cavalry and infantry was despatched to the fort of Mahmûd Khân, whence they delivered the Shâhzâdah Fath Jang from the grasp of his foes, and conveyed him to the Bâlâ Hîşâr.

Next day Amînu'llah Khân came with Mir Hâji and a number of Qizlbâsh and Durrâni Khâns to the Bâlâ Hîşâr, where they took into consideration the age of Fath Jang, and immediately placing him on the throne offered him

<sup>1</sup> The above date gives the 8th April 1842, after applying the rectification indicated in the preceding footnote; but Kaye (Vol. II. p. 379) states that Shâh Shuja'a was

slain on the 5th of April.

<sup>2</sup> The verses, consisting of a lament, are worthless in every respect, and are here omitted.



their congratulations. A few days afterwards, he desired all the Khâns to pay him homage and to swear allegiance to him, which most of them did, except some partizans of Muhammad Zamân Khân, who refused. He also gladdened the hearts of all who had entered into a covenant of loyalty to him, by presenting them with plenty of money, and exquisite robes of honour, thus exalting them above their peers.

Some time afterwards, Amînu'llah Khân prepared, at the instigation of the Shâhzâdah (Fath Jang) and with the consent of all the Khâns, to ruin Muhammad Zamân Khân, and the more so as their forces amounted in appearance to double the number at his disposal. On the day appointed for attack Amînu'llah Khân discovered that Mîr Hâjî Shâhib was a well-wisher of the Nawâb [Muhammad Zamân Khân], and kept him under close surveillance. As, however, he was intending to begin hostilities, the Kâbulî and Kohistânî men learnt that Mîr Hâjî was under surveillance, and abandoned their intention of attacking Muhammad Zamân Khân. They hastened instead to the house of the Nâib, which they pillaged and demolished in a moment. Amînu'llah Khân having thus, in the twinkling of an eye, become the vanquished instead of vanquisher, considered himself fortunate to have escaped with his life, and took refuge in the Bâlâ Hîsâr.

After this event, the Nâib Amînu'llah Khân and the Shâhzâdah (Fath Jang) determined to garrison the fortress, and sent the Shâhzâdah Shâhpûr with some troops and the Khâns who happened to be present, to guard the surrounding localities, and to bring in the revenue, as well as corn and all other necessities. Accordingly the Shâhzâdah, who was in the first instance to occupy and to repair the fort Bînî Hîsâr, and to send corn from it when hostilities broke out, took possession of and kept the gate locked. When Muhammad Zamân Khân heard of what had taken place he secretly marched from the city on the second day afterwards with some *sawârs*, partly of his own tribe and partly Ghilzâis, and betook himself by way of Chuhârdeh, in the rear of the mountain, to the fort Bînî Hîsâr, the vicinity whereof he reached in the darkness of the night. In the morning a fierce battle raged between the parties, but as Sardâr 'Abdu's-Salâm Khân, son of Ikram Khân Bâmizâi, joined the forces of

Muhammad Zamân Khân during the fight, the adherents of the Shâhzâdah were defeated, and the thread of their connection became severed. So they retreated again to the Bâlâ Hîsâr and kept off the assailants, but ventured out from it no more, and waited for the arrival of an English army to succour the Shâhzâdah (Fath Jang).

Meanwhile he continued with the help of Amînu'llah Khân to harass his opponents, until Muhammad Akbar Khân, leaving his followers, came to Kâbul, where he was informed of the antagonism between Amînu'llah Khân and Nawâb Zamân Khân. He thereupon induced the former, with the aid of Muhammad Shâh Ghilzâi, to get himself lowered by means of a rope and pulley from the Bâlâ Hîsâr to meet him. The Shâhzâdah Fath Jang was greatly dismayed at the departure of the Nâib, but Mirzâ Ibrâhîm Khân, the Chief Munshi, and Mirzâ Haidar 'Alî Khân the army-writer, who had been trusty, confidential and honoured servants of Shâh Shuja'a, comforted the Shâhzâdah and told him by no means to give way to discouragement, inasmuch as all the dwellers in the Bâlâ Hîsâr, the Durrânî Khâns, and the Hindûstânî troops were loyal and steadfast and would be ready to sacrifice their lives for him; whilst they themselves stood sureties for the promotion of his cause. They called Durvesh Muhammad Khân, the son of Hâjî Hâshim Khân 'Arab, with all the Abyssinian officers, to bear testimony to the truth of their assertions. The Shâhzâdah, whom these promises had inspired with new courage, resisted the assaults upon the Bâlâ Hîsâr for forty days, supported by the Durrânî Khâns, viz. Sardâr 'Inayatu'llah Khân, 'Âzim Gul Khân 'Urzbîgî, Sikandar Khân Bâmizâi, Samad Khân Bâdûzâi, and Muhammad 'Umar Khân Bâmizâi, and also by the Kâbulî Khâns, viz. Khwâjah Khânjî, known as Shekh Mazâr, and Mîr Âftâb. There was much fighting on the tower of the two eagles, which bears likewise the name of the upper tower, and which was assaulted by the adherents of Muhammad Zamân Khân and of Muhammad Akbar Khân. In reality all the duties of the garrison, and negotiations with its opponents, were performed according to the directions of the above-named Mirzâs (and supporters of Fath Jang), and nothing was undertaken without their approbation. They

often also sent letters to General Pollock in Jallâlâbâd, inviting him to come to Kâbul, and he replied that he would soon do so.

As the English did not move from Jallâlâbâd, and the siege was dragging out its length, the enemies became more daring in the prosecution of it.\* The store of gunpowder in the Bâlâ Hîsâr had likewise all been consumed, and when this became known to the besiegers, they issued orders, that nobody should send in a single *misqâl* of it; and they were obeyed, except by one man, a Hindû Munshî,<sup>†</sup> who being acquainted with Khwâjah Khânjî conveyed some gunpowder to him. When, however, the people of the city became aware of the transgression, they placed him under the merciless sword, and he only saved his life by making a profession of Islâm. After that, gunpowder became so scarce in the Bâlâ Hîsâr, that one *misqâl* could not be purchased for a hundred rupees. Nevertheless Mirzâ Ibrâhîm Khân Munshî and Mirzâ Haidar Khân by various stratagems succeeded in smuggling some gunpowder from the city to the fortress, through the ramparts. But at last the besiegers, by persevering vigilance, totally cut off the supply of gunpowder, and then Nawâb Shuja'a Khân, son of Nawâb Najibu'd-daulah, who had, from being one of the Indian servants of the Shâhzâdah, risen to the position of Diwân, undertook to manufacture gunpowder in the Bâlâ Hîsâr itself and began the business by mixing sulphur with charcoal, intending to continue it afterwards in a more complete form. Meanwhile, Sardâr Muhammad Akbar Khân with the aid of Hâjî 'Alî Khân the (military) miner, dug a mine beneath the principal western tower of the Bâlâ Hîsâr, which was known by the name of the Bajanhû tower, and blew it up, so that it became level with the ground: whereon the Shâhzâdah Fath Jang hastened with a number of Arabs and Abyssinians to the spot, and

in a short time raised a wall of stone and earth (in its place). The Shâhzâdah then commenced, through Nâib Aminu'llah Khân Lahukurdî and Muhammad Shâh Khân Ghiljâi, negotiations for peace with Sardâr Muhammad Akbar Khân, whom he made his *wazîr*, and thereby put an end to all hostilities. He also opened the roads to the fortress and surrendered them.

A few days after Muhammad Akbar Khân had become *wazîr* and had made the troops subservient to himself, a letter fell into his hands, which the youthful inexperience of the Shâhzâdah had indited, craving for the aid of General Pollock,<sup>‡</sup> and which he had despatched to Jallâlâbâd. Muhammad Akbar Khân kept the letter and threw the Shâhzâdah into prison for it:—

He who does this will be requited with that.

The property of the Shâhzâdah was looted, and all the jewellery taken that could be found; but as soon as he got an opportunity he escaped from prison with the connivance of certain persons in the Bâlâ Hîsâr, and taking refuge in the Chandâul Mahallah, remained there in concealment. Some time afterwards Sarfarâz Khân, the brother of Nâib Aminu'llah Khân Lahukurdî and Khwâjah Khânjî, surnamed Shekh Mazâr, procured through the mediation of Mirzâ Haidar 'Alî Khân, and of Mirzâ Ibrâhîm Khân, all the travelling appliances necessary for the Shâhzâdah, and conveyed him by way of Karakchah, or some other unknown route, to Jallâlâbâd to General Pollock, and to Macgregor, who was the English Hâkim of that place.<sup>§</sup>

When the Bombay army was appointed to give assistance, it marched by way of Qandahâr to Kâbul,<sup>||</sup> and troops from Hindûstân despatched for the same purpose marched by way of Jallâlâbâd; from which place also General Pollock brought the Shâhzâdah

\* This was no other than the well known Mohan Lâl, Knight of the Persian Order of the Lion and Sun.

† "It soon became only too probable that the Bâlâ Hîsâr itself would fall before the Bârûkzâis. The energy and vigour of Akbar Khân and his confederates greatly exceeded that of the wretched Prince, and his few interested supporters. Fearful of this, Fath Jang continued to write pressing letters to the British authorities at Jallâlâbâd."—Kaye, Vol. II. p. 535.

‡ "Last night" wrote Fath Jang to General Pollock at the beginning of June, "they made an assault; now they have made mines in every direction. My affairs are in a very critical state. If you do not come quickly, the Bâlâ Hîsâr and the throne will be lost, and you

will be a sufferer." Kaye, Vol. II. p. 541.—"On the 7th June the Bâlâ Hîsâr fell into the hands of the Bârûkzâis."—*Ibid.* p. 542.

§ According to Kaye, the Shâhzâdah Fath Jang waited for the arrival of the British army in Kâbul, and accompanied it to India when it left, as will be seen in the last foot-note to this piece.

|| General Nott marched from Qandahâr on the 7th August (Kaye, Vol. II. p. 594); from Ghasniâ he brought away on the 8th September the famous gates of the temple of Somnâth at the express command of Lord Ellenborough (p. 607), and on the 17th he encamped at a distance of four or five miles from Kâbul (p. 609).

Fath Jang to Kâbul with him. All arrived in Kâbul\* on the 18th Sh'abân of the Hijrî year 1256 [24th September 1842] and General Pollock with George Macgregor forthwith issued a proclamation through Mirzâ Haidar 'Alî Khân the army-writer, expressing a wish that a *wazîr* should be elected by the Durrânî Khâns from among themselves for the proper administration of military and political affairs. Accordingly by the consent and with the approbation of Khân Shîrîn Khân, son of Amîr Aslân Khân Jawân Shêr, and the Qizlbâsh Khâns—who had deserted the Amîr Dôst Muhammad Khân and had come to make their salutations—the Khâns dressed Ghulâm Muhammad Khân, son of Mukhtâr-ud-daulah Sher Muhammad Khân Bâmîzâi, an intelligent man, in an exquisite robe of honour and elected him *wazîr*.

When it had become known that the Kohistânî people had, under the leadership of Naib Amînu'llah Khân Lahukurdî, become turbulent at Chârikâr, the English despatched several battalions and a detachment of *sawârs* in command of the Shâhzâdah Shâhpûr the son of Shuja'an'l-Mulk to subdue him. When these forces arrived they dispersed the *ghâzîs*, and having set fire to Astalif, a place in Kohdâman, they wished to make the Shâhzâdah Shâhpûr Hâkim of Kôhistân. But in the meantime news arrived that the Shâhzâdah Fath Jang, having become aware of the intention of the English to return to Hindûstân, had abdicated the throne and government of Kâbul, and was about to depart to India, the Shâhzâdah Shâhpûr therefore returned from Kohistân to Kâbul. He there learnt that the Shâhzâdah Fath Jang had indeed determined to go to India, rejecting the offer of his ancestral throne and diadem, made to him by the English officers, unless they gave him the sum of five *lâkhs* of *gul-dâr* rupees and four battalions of regular troops, saying:—"What can I accomplish with an empty treasury and a hungry stomach? or how shall I commence a business which cannot be terminated? It is a thousand times better not to act, than to act in such a case." The English officers did not accept the proposal, and began their march to Hindûstân, accom-

panied by the Shâhzâdahs and by their *harams*. However, at the last, the Shâhzâdah Shâhpûr went by the advice of some Amîrs to George Macgregor and General Pollock, and represented that his honoured father had from youth to old age waged war for the purpose of subjugating Afghânistân, and had abandoned it only with his life, and so he thought the present an unsuitable time to give up his hereditary kingdom. The English approved of his resolution, and ordered John Shakespear to instal him on the throne in the Bâlâ Hîsâr, with Ghulâm Ahmad Khân for Wazîr, and Khân Shîrîn Khân for Amîr, which he did and then joined the camp.

The Shâhzâdah remained for some time in Kâbul, and then he heard that Wazîr Muhammad Akbar Khân, the son of the Amîr Dôst Muhammad Khân, who had gone to Tâshqurghân when the English arrived, was on their departure again bent on returning to Kâbul. So he despatched the Shâhzâdah Ban Shaharnân with considerable forces to the Hâkim of Bâmiân, to stop the progress of Wazîr Muhammad Akbar Khân. But the Wazîr Ghulâm Ahmad Khân having meanwhile perceived that the prestige of the Saddozâi government was on the decline and that of the Bârûkzâi monarchy in the ascendant, he interviewed several Qizlbâsh Khâns of Kâbul, *viz.* Muhammad Rîza Khân, the son of Bâqar Khân 'Alimardânî and Qurbân 'Alî Khân Bâgh 'Alimardânî, and Mirzâ Imâm, and Burdî Khân Munshî, and Mirzâ 'Abdu'r-Razzâq Khân Musta'fi, and secretly conspiring with them, despatched with their consent a letter to Wazîr Muhammad Akbar Khân, informing him that they were all his partizans, and that he ought to make haste and come to Kâbul. Thus encouraged, the Wazîr went at once to Bâmiân, where he met the troops of the Shâhzâdah, all of which joined him; on which the latter had no choice but to take horse and whip, and hasten to Kâbul. When he arrived, most of his well-wishers represented to him that as many of his sincere friends and sympathizers had scratched their faces with the nails of discontent, and had shaved off their moustaches with the razors of ingratitude, it would be best for the rest, while they are

\* On the 20th August General Pollock began to move from Jallâlâbâd (Kaye, Vol. II. p. 567) and on the 15th September he encamped on the Kâbul racecourse (*ibid.*

p. 581, also p. 610). The actual day when he marched into the city itself is not mentioned.

yet able, to depart with their families to Lodiānā, and gladly to accept their former pensions from the English Government. Accordingly, aided by the power of Sarfarāz Khān, brother of the Nāib, and of 'Āzim Gul Khān Bāmizāi 'Urzbīgī and of 'Abdu'l-majīd Khān, Māmāi Popalzāi, they departed by way of Karakchah to Jallālābād with their wives and children; but, during the journey they were robbed of their baggage by a band of the Jabār Khel tribe, who dwelt at Asārak, and even made the Shāhzādahs prisoners. They and their *harams* were liberated only at the instance of 'Āzim Gul Khān, who had some friends among the Ghiljāis, and persuaded them to convey the party to Jallālābād to Muḥammad 'Usmān Khān Niẓāmu'ddaulah, who was still the Hākīm of that place; whence they departed with his consent and that of 'Abdu'r-Rahmān to Peshāwar, to which town 'Aziz Khān of the Jabār Khel tribe conveyed also the ladies and children in litters with all honour. There they joined the Shāhzādahs and all hastened together to Lodiānā, where the English Government assigned to them sufficient allowances, and there they lived in contentment, renouncing their aspirations to power, being convinced that their realization was impossible.<sup>10</sup>

#### APPENDIX ON THE AFFAIRS OF HIRĀT.

The remaining adventures of Shāh Maḥmūd and of the Shāhzādah Kāmran, who had gone to Hirāt and those parts, after being defeated by the Amīr Dōst Muḥammad Khān, and governed there, not having been recorded by the pen which traces musk characters, they will be narrated in detail in this place. Our trust is in Allah:—

In the year<sup>11</sup> 1235 Fath 'Alī Shāh Qājār despatched Shuja'au's-Sultānat Hasan 'Alī Mirzā with a powerful army to invade Khurāsān, who committed great depredations around Hirāt. Shāh Maḥmūd therefore sent the Afghān 'Abdu's-Samad Khān with many presents and the promise of allegiance, as am-

bassador to Fath 'Alī Shāh, who was satisfied, and recalled Shuja'au's-Sultānat, so that Shāh Maḥmūd and his son again lived five or six years in tranquillity. But in the Hijrī year<sup>12</sup> 1241 dissensions arose between Shāh Maḥmūd and his son Kāmran. The latter usurped all the power, no longer obeyed his father, and requested Shuja'au's-Sultānat who was at Khurāsān, to come to his assistance. This request was granted, and the father was removed from the throne. Shuja'au's-Sultānat then left his son Arghūn Mirzā in Hirāt and returned (to Khurāsān), after which Shāh Maḥmūd sat in the corner of retirement till he died a natural death in the Hijrī year<sup>13</sup> 1244, and his son Kāmran carried on the government of Hirāt.

Muḥammad 'Atā Khān Alakzāi, brother of Sardār 'Abdu'llah Khān the Hākīm of Kāsmīr, perished in the general epidemic which raged throughout the whole of Afghānistān in 1244, A.H. or 1828 A.D., and the Shāhzādah Kāmran appointed Yār Muḥammad Khān, the son of Sardār 'Abdu'llah Khān, late Hākīm of Kāsmīr, who was his own cousin, to be his Amīru'l-umrā. Yār Muḥammad Khān was a valiant and open-handed man, and was on this account afterwards raised to an even higher station, and made *wazīr*.

In the Hijrī year<sup>14</sup> 1248 Shāh Shuja'a arrived (in Afghānistān) and was defeated at Qandahār by the Amīr Dōst Muḥammad Khān. He took refuge in the forts of Lāsh and Jawain, and the Shāhzādah Kāmran sent the enriched Hājī Firūz Khān his favourite, with presents, and a message, that although Hirāt was even as his own house, it would be better for him to remain for some time in comfort and pleasure in the *mūz'a* Farrah. This fact is recorded in the *Memoirs of Shāh Shuja'a*.

Next year,<sup>15</sup> A.H. 1249, Fath 'Alī Shāh determined to send the Nawāb, 'Abbās Mirzā, his heir apparent, to conquer Khurāsān, who in his turn despatched Muḥammad Shāh, at that time known by the name of Muḥammad Mirzā, with a large army to conquer Hirāt, which the latter thereon beleaguered. The Shāhzādah Kāmran, not being

<sup>10</sup> It was now time that the British army should depart. Nothing remained to be done. Any longer continuance at Kābul would only have aggravated the sufferings of the people and increased our own difficulties. So on the 11th of October orders were issued for the commencement of the march on the following day. The unhappy Prince, Fath Jang, had claimed and sought permission to accompany Pollock's

camp to India, and to seek an asylum in the Company's dominions, &c. Kaye, Vol. II. p. 640.

<sup>11</sup> Began on the 20th October 1819.

<sup>12</sup> Began 16th August 1825.

<sup>13</sup> Began 14th July 1823.

<sup>14</sup> Began 31st May 1832.

<sup>15</sup> Began 21st May 1833.

prepared to stand a siege, sent his Wazir Yâr Muhammad Khân to 'Abbâs Mirzâ, who was in Mashhad, to sue for peace. The latter, however, had the envoy put in chains as soon as he arrived, and demanded the surrender of Hirât. All the pleadings of this Wazir having proved thus fruitless, Kâmrân was forced into the defence of his fortress, which he carried on with the utmost energy till 'Abbâs Mirzâ was overtaken by a dangerous malady, and was compelled to return to his capital Tahrân, and even to recall his son Muhammad Mirzâ from the siege of Hirât. He accordingly abandoned it, in obedience to his father's behest, and finding Wazir Yâr Muhammad Khân very sick, he bestowed a robe of honour upon him, and gave him leave to depart to Hirât. Kâmrân, much pleased with the arrival of his Wazir, spent three or four years in peace, till A.H.<sup>1252</sup> 1252, when they both marched with an army to Sistân, invading Sih Kohah, Khâkpûr, and other districts, and bringing back numberless prisoners and untold booty to Hirât.

Next year Shâh Kâmrân undertook a campaign with the intention of subjugating Qandahâr, and passing through Farrah, he took up a position at Kowârâ, to which place the Sardârs of Qandahâr advanced to meet him and pitched their camp on the banks of the River Hirmand [*sic*]. Bahâr Khân Peshkhidmat sallied forth with a band of valiant combatants, but Kâmrân after obtaining due information, sent Nâib Dastâ'lkûzî Y'aqûb with a few thousand *sawârs* to defeat him. The Nâib marched quickly and surprising Bahâr at midday, attacked him and put him to flight, compelling him to take refuge with the Sardârs. It not having been at any time the intention of the Wazir Yâr Muhammad Khân to subjugate Qandahâr, he induced Kâmrân Mirzâ to be satisfied with the results already obtained, and they proceeded instead to attack Lâsh and Jowâin; but after they had besieged Sâlû Khân in the first named fort during a period of four months, news arrived that Muhammad Shâh, who had after the demise of

his grandfather Fath 'Alî become Pâdshâh of the extensive dominions of Irân, was marching with a vast army to conquer Hirât. So Kâmrân and his Wazir abandoned the siege of Lâsh and hastened back to Hirât. The Persian army laid siege for fourteen lunar months to Hirât, but being foiled by the valour of the Afghân troops, retraced its steps towards Tahrân without attaining its object, beginning its retreat on the nineteenth of Jumâdu's-sâni, in the Hijrî year 1254 [9th September 1838].<sup>17</sup>

After the departure of the Persian army Hirât remained a total ruin and Pottinger, the English *Farangi* there, did not repair it. Moreover one day he made light in anger of Sher Muhammad Khân, the brother of the Wazir, and insulted him. So the Wazir addressed, in concert with Kâmrân, a letter complaining of his tyranny, to the English *Sâhibs* in Qandahâr, and asking for a substitute in his place. The said *Sâhibs* recalled Pottinger from Hirât and sent Todd<sup>18</sup> instead of him, who began the rebuilding and repairing of Hirât. As soon as the Wazir obtained a favourable opportunity after the arrival of Todd, he told him that when advances of money were required for Hirât he ought to make them, taking a deed that the full amount was to be repaid in the following year. Todd was an inexperienced man, gave to everybody what he asked for, and paid the money after getting the deed, and in this manner the English government lost from five to six *lâkhs* of rupees.<sup>19</sup>

Kâmrân gradually surrendered the whole administration into the hands of his Wazir Yâr Muhammad Khân, being sovereign in name only, and spending all his time in carousals and profligacy. The Wazir then feared that the presence of the English in Hirât might induce Kâmrân to attempt to recover his power and to excite tumults; accordingly he managed with many apologies to remove Kâmrân from the city, who, however, soon got tired of his exile, and proceeding in the Hijrî year<sup>20</sup> 1256 with his sons and the *ghulâm khânah*<sup>21</sup> to the fort of Ikhtiârû'ddîn, during the Wazir's

<sup>16</sup> Began on the 18th April 1836.

<sup>17</sup> This date agrees perfectly with that given in the proclamation or *farmân* issued when the Persian army retired from Hirât. See Kaye, Vol. I. p. 282.

<sup>18</sup> "I think Sir A. Burnes is disinclined to go to Hirât and Sir J. Keane is averse to his going there. It is probable I may send Todd instead." [Mr. Macnaghten to Lord Auckland. Qandahâr, April 25, 1839, *Unpublished Correspondence*]. Foot-note in Kaye, Vol. I. p. 435.

<sup>19</sup> "Up to this time eight *lâkhs* of rupees had been advanced to the Hirâtî government. When the next year dawned upon Hirât twelve *lâkhs* had been so advanced. The utmost benefits had been conferred upon the State. The measures of our British officers had rescued "king, chief, and people from starvation." Kaye, Vol. I. p. 516-7.

<sup>20</sup> Began 5th March 1840.

<sup>21</sup> *ante*, p. 170, note.

absence from the city in the Kartah garden, removed the planking of the bridge, and prepared for hostilities. On this the Wazir Yâr Muhammad Khân entered the city with numerous troops, and first sent Najû Khân Bârukzâi to negotiate with Kâmrân, but he remained obstinate, and was therefore beleaguered in the fort of Ikhtiârû'ddîn, the eastern tower of which was undermined and blown into the air, after a siege of fifty days. This event greatly disheartened Kâmrân, whose sons the Wazir had also by this time got into his possession as hostages, so that he surrendered and was sent to Kûsân under the pretence of being presented with the place in *jâgîr*. At the instigation of the Wazir, he was followed there by Sardâr Tâj Muhammad Dastû'lkûzî, who despatched him in the same year to the regions of non-existence. His body is interred in the Rauza Bâgh.

His reign lasted twelve years. He is said to have been of short stature with a pock-marked face, of cruel temper and tyrannical humour.<sup>22</sup> Many instances of his injustice are on record, but we shall content ourselves with the mention of only two or three of them. One is that, whilst Hâkim of Qandahâr, he got up in the middle of the night, mounted his horse, and taking up a position in the Shikârpûr *bâzâr*, turned the people who were conveying a bride to her husband's house, to his own mansion; and then, after dishonouring her, sent her on. Wherefore all the people cried to heaven for vengeance against him, and the locality bears to this day the name of Kâfir Dehna. Kâmrân spent most of his time in hunting antelopes, but chased also any other game when he roamed about the deserts. One day his runners had pursued a fox to a cave, but instead of entering it, the fox preferred to surrender and and be captured. Kâmrân, in order to ascertain the cause of this, had the mouth of the cave enlarged by his people, who succeeded after digging for an hour, in pulling out a man, who stated that he had taken refuge in the cave from fear of the *sawûrs* of Kâmrân. The Pâdsbâh then kept the man in close confinement, and it was discovered that he was a wealthy merchant, who had concealed him-

self in the lair of a wild beast to escape from the extortions of Kâmrân, and had remained there, till by the decree of fate, his presence was revealed by means of a fox. He had to pay a fine of fifty thousand rupees!

The cow escaped the butcher's grasp!

To deserts fled, unseen by human eyes;

A lion broke her with a blow.

Thus fate crowns each escape from death!

By such wicked acts as these he estranged from himself his subjects and his troops; nay, his profligacy was the cause of the extinction of the Saddozâi dynasty, which had lasted ninety-six years, for "Verily Allah will not change His grace which is in men, until they change the disposition in their souls."<sup>23</sup>

After him Yâr Muhammad continued to govern Hirât for eleven years, and his son S'aid Muhammad Khân was Hâkim of Hirât for four years more, until by the machinations of 'Isa Khân Bardarâni and other Amirs, the Shâhzâdah Muhammad Yûsaf was raised to the governorship of Hirât. He slew S'aid<sup>24</sup> Muhammad Khân in the Hijrî year<sup>25</sup> 1271.

The detailed narrative of the events last mentioned is as follows:—When the Wazir conducted the government of Hirât after the murder of the Shâhzâdah Kâmrân, he invited most of the Alakzâi Amirs from Qandahâr, and conferred high appointments upon them to such a degree, that shepherds and farmers were made Baglarbêgîs and Qularaqâsîs. In the following year he marched with a strong army to punish the inhabitants of Ghûr, and having devastated the districts as far as Kurzutizli, which is on the frontiers of Zamindâwar, he returned to Hirât. The year afterwards he reduced Karimdâd Khân Hazârah, who had desired to be independent; but again appointed him Hâkim, after he had paid the revenues which were due. As soon as the winter was over he marched with a powerful army to subjugate Maimanah, but had to return to Hirât on account of some dissensions. But in the next year he sent Hâshim Khân Alakzâi Baglarbêgî with a strong force to subjugate Maimanah, and to uproot the power of Hikmat Khân, who was captured, but nevertheless reappointed

<sup>22</sup> In the character and person of Shâh Kâmrân there was little that was estimable or attractive; there was still less in the person of his Wazir. Kaye, Vol. I. p. 203.

<sup>23</sup> *Qurân*, ch. xiii. v. 12.

<sup>24</sup> This name is afterwards spelled Sayyid, but I retain the first spelling throughout.

<sup>25</sup> Began 24th September 1354.

Hakim, after he had disgorged the revenues due. The son of Hikmat Khān was taken as a hostage to Hirāt, where the Wazir treated him well.

Sālār-i-Qājār, who was governor of Mashhad Muqaddas on behalf of the Persian Government, was displeased when it also appointed the Shāhzādah Hamzah Mirzā, brother of Muḥammad Shāh, to be governor of Mashhad Tūs, and therefore went to Marv, where he made common cause with the Turkmāns, and finding an opportunity during the winter, marched with Turkmān *sawārs* to subjugate Mashhad. After taking the town, he besieged the Shāhzādah in the citadel, who called in the assistance of the Wazir Yār Muḥammad Khān, when he was pressed beyond endurance. Accordingly the Wazir started with numerous troops in the direction of Mashhad under the pretext of reinforcing Sālār; but when he had arrived at a distance of two *karāhs* from the town, he deflected from the proper route and proceeded to aid the Shāhzādah, whom Sālār attacked as soon as he heard of this intention. The Wazir now perceived that the affairs of the Shāhzādah were in a desperate condition, and so he induced him to march with his troops and artillery to Hirāt, where he provided all the necessary stores, and maintained them in great comfort in the localities of Kusān and Ghuriān, where he had them housed, till the winter was over. When the spring set in, reinforcements arrived from Tahrān, with which the Shāhzādah marched to reconquer Mashhad. He requited the services which the Wazir had rendered, by presenting him with four pieces of siege artillery, and the title of Zāhirn'ddaulah [Support of the Monarchy] when he took leave of him.

All this confirmed the friendship between the Qājār dynasty and the Wazir, and he governed Hirāt during the next two or three years in peace, till Aḥmad Khān, the brother of Sālū Khān Ishāqzāi revolted, and making common cause with the Sardārs of Qandahār, incited them to occupy Lāsh and Jawāin, both of which were dependencies of Hirāt, and even brought Sher 'Alī Khān, son of Sardār Mohrdil Khān to Lāsh, and established him there. The Sardārs likewise marched with their troops to attack the Wazir and arrived in Girishk, whilst the Sardār Muḥammad Sādiq Khān, son of Sardār Kuhandil Khān came with a powerful army and took the fort of Khākpūr which is a

dependency of Sistān. The Wazir on his part also started with his ever-victorious army, but wrote during the march to the Sardārs of Qandahār, that enmity between him and them is out of place, as both parties were enemies of the Saddozāis, and that as all this trouble had been fomented by Aḥmad Khān Lāshī-Lāsi, his punishment was necessary, and the taking of the fort of Lāsh from him a most important matter. He himself made his own arrangements for attacking the fort, and succeeded in one day in depriving Aḥmad Khān of it; and then gave Sher 'Alī Khān leave to depart to Qandahār. On the march to Lāsh, the Wazir had felt unwell from eating cucumbers and curds, but the distemper now became more serious. So he left the camp in charge of his son S'aid Muḥammad Khān, and made all possible haste to reach Hirāt. He expired, however, on the road to it, in the *mūz'a* known by the name of Rabāṭ Mirhāhah. This event took place at the end of the month Sh'abān in the Hijrī year 1267 [29th June 1851]. His corpse was conveyed to Hirāt and was interred by the side of the Mazār-i-Jāmī.

He independently governed Hirāt for eleven years and was a man of firm character and unbounded liberality. He was so anxious for the good opinion of his people, that once when one of his *sarbāzes* [common soldiers] died, he went in person to the heirs, and after reading the *Fatiḥah*, presented them with robes of honour, Kāsmīr shawls, &c., and went away. It is also on record that once when a servant boy brought a robe of honour as a present from him, the recipient expressed his doubts as to whether a mistake had not been committed, and asked for what services the gift had been bestowed, as he had received a very valuable one but the day before!

After him his son S'aid Muḥammad Khān assumed the reigns of government under the regency of his mother, but he surpassed even his father in liberality, and bestowed enormous sums upon poor wretches who scarcely deserved to receive a present of two rupees. He was subject to fits of lunacy, in one of which he fell out with his mother who dwelt in the fort of Ikhtiārūddīn; whereon he brought cannon to bear upon it, and ordered the artillery to fire them, making wanton breaches in the wall. He, however, rejoiced and abused his mother!

May God preserve us from such aberrations of mind! It is said, too, that one day when sitting in public *darbâr*, he perceived a cat walking along the coping of a wall, which caused him to break out in a fit of horse-laughter and to exclaim:—"What would become of the wall, if this cat were changed into a cow?" The Durrânî Khâns at last all despaired of his sanity, and invited the Sardârs of Qandahâr twice or thrice to overthrow his government. They came, but effected nothing till Nâib 'Îsa Khân Durrânî secretly invited the Shâhzâdah Muḥammad Yûsaf, son of the Shâhzâdah Malik Qâsim, son of Hâjî Firûzn'ddîn, who was at Mashhad. He arrived during the night of Tuesday the third of the sacred month Muḥarram in the Hijrî year 1272 [15th September 1855], entered the city of Hirât with one hundred *sawârs* and caused the kettle-drums to be struck in his own name. The Alkûzî Khâns and Amîrs, most of whom happened to be dead-drunk with aromatic wine, were frightened when they heard the sound of the kettle-drums, and not being able to distinguish their hands from their feet, hid themselves in every corner. Although they had swallowed *lâkhs* of rupees during the government of the Wazîr, not one of them dared to offer opposition, except Hâjî Khairu'llah Khân, who came forward to fight and received a mortal wound, in consequence of which he departed from this perishable world. S'aid Muḥammad Khân was taken and slain, whilst all the Alkûzî Amîrs were made prisoners and mulcted in silver by the *rifl* and the *mann*.

When the Persian government was informed of what had taken place, Nâsr'u'ddîn Shâh, desirous to protect the old administration, despatched his own uncle Husâmu's-Sulṭanat Murâd Mirzâ, who was the Hâkim of Khorâsân, as commander-in-chief with a powerful army and artillery to conquer Hirât, which he invested, and besieged therein Muḥammad Yûsaf and Nâib 'Îsa Khân for a long time. After the siege had been thus protracted, Nâib 'Îsa Khân Bardurânî sent envoys to Qandahâr to wait upon the unequalled Amîr, and asked him to send reinforcements, but the Amîr Shâhib paid no attention to the request. At last Nâib 'Îsa Khân, being much distressed by the bad behaviour of the Shâhzâdah Muḥammad Yûsaf, sent him prisoner to Husâmu's-Sulṭanat,

who slew him in revenge for the blood of S'aid Muḥammad Khân. After the siege had lasted for a very long time, there was a scarcity of grain in the city, but still no aid arrived from any quarter. So Nâib 'Îsa Khân was under the necessity of suing for peace, and surrendering the city to the Qājār [Persian] government. On which the Persian army marched into the city and acted as it listed.

One day, when Nâib 'Îsa Khân Bardurânî, at the invitation of the Shâhzâdah (Murâd Mirzâ), made his appearance in the camp for the purpose of paying his respects, a man approached him on the pretext of wishing to speak to him, and shot him dead. This happened at the time when the adherents of the Amîr Dôst Muḥammad Khân arrived at Qandahâr from Kâbul, after the demise of Sardâr Kuhandil Khân, subjugated that city and expelled from it Sulṭân Aḥmad Khân, son of Sardâr Muḥammad 'Azim Khân, together with Muḥammad 'Ilm Khân, son of Sardâr Rahmdil Khân, on account of some disputes they had with them. These two exiles, despairing of assistance from other quarters, sought it from the Qājār Government, and went to Tahrân to implore Nâsr'u'ddîn Shâh Qājār for it. Sardâr Sulṭân 'Ali Khân also went there with the same intention.

As the English Government was not willing that any Afghân possessions, and especially Hirât, the abode of victory, which is one of the finest of localities and possesses a strong citadel, should be at the disposal of the Qājār Government, it had, as has been narrated above, during the time of Kâmrân and of the Wazîr Yâr Muḥammad Khân, spent a great deal of wealth and property, through the Englishman Todd, in improving the district. It now forwarded through its plenipotentiary, at Tahrân, representations to Nâsr'u'ddîn Shâh, that as the European powers had made an agreement that no other power than itself should interfere with the possessions of Afghânistân, the Persian Government, which had occupied Hirât, ought, according to the said agreement, to restore it to the Afghâns, and to cease to interfere in its affairs. But as the forefathers and ancestors of Nâsr'u'ddîn Shâh had lusted always for the subjugation of that strong fortress, and had hoped in their hearts for the conquest of that God-created citadel, he paid no attention to the representations of the English plenipoten-



tiary. At last the English Government recalled its ambassador from Tahrân, and despatched ships of war by way of the Indian Ocean to the port of Abushahr [Bushir]. In the contest which ensued, the English took two or three strong forts, and the Qājār Government, considering it to be unadvisable to continue the war, abandoned the conquest of Hirât, and surrendered it to Sardār Sultân Aḥmad Khân, on condition that the Sardārs divided the district among themselves, but left the Government of the city in the hands of Sardār Sultân Aḥmad Khân, whose selection for that dignity was approved of by all except Sardār Muḥammad 'Ilm Khân, who departed to Tahrân. However, at a place called Bālhāk, he was overtaken by a band of robbers and shot dead. This event took place on the seventeenth of the honoured month Shawāl 1273 [11th June 1857].

Sardār Sultân Aḥmad Khân and Sardār Sultân 'Alī Khân arrived in Hirât at the end of the blessed month Ramaṣân [24th May of the same year] and the Persian army departed to Mashhad, and the Sardār Sultân Aḥmad Khân, taking up his residence in the city, caused money to be coined and the *khushak* to be read in the name of Nasru'ddīn Shāh. Some time afterwards he excluded Sardār Sultân 'Alī Khân and the sons of the Wazīr Yār Muḥammad Khân from taking part in the administration

and expelled them from the city; whereon they went to Qandahâr, where they received suitable appointments.

Sardār Sultân Aḥmad Khân obtained from the Qājār Government the title of Sarkār, his son Shāh Nawāz Khân being distinguished and exalted by the title of Amīr Panjī. He governed Hirât six years with perfect dignity and independence. He then marched to Farrah, which Sardār Muḥammad Sharīf Khân, who had revolted, had taken from Saifullāh, the *rakīl* of the son of the Amīr Dōst Muḥammad Khân. He conquered that strong fort as soon as he arrived, chiefly by the aid of his son, Sikandar Khân, which caused him to utter the sentence:—"The edifice of Farīdūn was taken by Sikandar." Being satisfied with what he had accomplished, he returned to Hirât, and bestowed the governorship of Farrah upon Amīr Afzal Khân, the son of Sardār Pūrdil Khân, who being aggrieved at some words the Amīr Dōst Muḥammad Khân had said to him, had come to Hirât with Sardār Ghulām Maḥīu'ddīn Khân, son of Sardār Kuhandil Khân. For this the Amīr Dōst Muḥammad Khân, whose abode is now in paradise, intending to punish him, marched with a powerful army in the year<sup>28</sup> 1279, took Hirât, and conquered the whole of Afghānistān, as shall be narrated if it pleaseth Allah the Most High!

## THE FOUR PRINCES.

### A KASHMIRI TALE.

BY THE REV. J. HINTON KNOWLES, F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S., &c.

In days long since gone by there lived a king most clever, most holy, and most wise, who was indeed a pattern king. His mind was always occupied with plans for the improvement of his country and people; his *darbār* was open to all; his ear was ever ready to listen to the petition of the humblest subject; he afforded every facility for trade; he established hospitals for the sick, inns (*sard'e*) for travellers, and large schools for those who wished to learn. These and many other such-like things he did. Nothing was left undone that ought to have been done; and nothing was done that ought not to have been done. Under such a wise, just

and beneficent ruler the people, of course, lived very happily. Few poor, or unenlightened, or wicked persons were to be found in the country.

But the great and good king had not a son. This was an intense sorrow to him; the one dark cloud that now and again overshadowed his otherwise happy and glorious life. Every day he prayed earnestly to Śiva to grant him an heir to sit upon the throne after him. Long and patiently he had waited for an answer, when one day Śiva visited him in the garb of a *yōgī*,<sup>1</sup> and was so fascinated with his good and respectful manner, that he said:

<sup>1</sup> Began 29th June 1862.

<sup>2</sup> Śiva is the great representative *yōgī* or *tapasvī*; the ideal of what can be attained by the keeping of the body in subjection and by exclusive contemplation of divine things; hence he is the *mahāyōgī*, and in this

character is depicted with ash-covered body, matted locks, and in a most emaciated condition. He sometimes appears to his devotees in the disguise of an ordinary *yōgī* or *gōṣāthī*. Cf. *Old Deccan Days*, p. 253.

"Ask anything of me, and you shall have it."

"I am in need of nothing," replied the king. Parameśwar has given me wealth, honour, might, majesty, peace, contentment, everything—yes, everything except one thing, and that who will give me?"

"Are you afraid to ask me for this thing?" said the *yôgi*. "Do you know what you are saying, O King?"

"True, true," answered His Majesty, "I speak as one who is (religiously) mad. O holy man, forgive me, and if you have any power with the Deity, I pray you invoke him on my behalf."

"Be of good cheer," said the *yôgi*, "you shall have many sons. Take these four fruits and give them to your wife to eat on Sunday next before sunrise. Then shall your wife give birth to four sons,<sup>2</sup> who will be exceedingly clever and good." The king took the four fruits and thanked the *yôgi*, who then departed.

His Majesty at once went and informed the queen of his interview with the *yôgi*. She, of course, was extremely glad to hear the good news. Anxiously they both waited for the following Sunday. On the sunrise of that day the queen ate the four fruits; and according to the word of the *yôgi* she presently conceived; and at the appointed time bore four sons. Her sickness and travail, however, were too much for her. As soon as the fourth and last son was born she gave one long, piercing, shriek and gave up the ghost.

Poor woman, to have died just as her long-cherished hopes were being realised! Poor little, forlorn, helpless ones to be thus left on life's threshold! Poor king, to have his great desire for a son and heir fulfilled, but at the cost of losing his beloved and beautiful wife! Sorrow, like a great dark cloud, seemed to shroud the palace and city for many days; because the king was overwhelmed with grief and would not be comforted.

The four babes were handed over to

the tender mercies of four nurses, and they grew up strong, healthy, clever, and beautiful boys. The king was exceedingly fond of them. He appointed the best masters for their instruction, and lavished the most rare and expensive gifts on them. Nothing was too good, nothing was too costly; the greatest trouble and attention were not too much for the king's four beautiful and clever boys.

Meanwhile His Majesty married again, and had other sons by his second wife. But it was a sad day when the king took to him this second wife; because she naturally became very jealous when she saw the first queen's sons growing up so beautiful and wise, for she thought within her heart that they would have the king's favour, and so interfere with her own sons' succession to the throne. Accordingly she determined to ruin their character in the estimation of her husband, or failing that, to somehow or other compass their death.

It has been said that the king was thoroughly engrossed in the desire to improve his country and people. To do this work properly, he constantly felt his extraordinary position as a king a great hindrance. Though he very much depended on his ministers and subordinate officials, knowing that for the most part they were honest and just, yet he was convinced that he himself must go in and out among the people, see things with his own eyes, and hear what the people were saying with his own ears, if he would rightly understand their state; and, therefore, he frequently visited towns and villages in different disguises and under cover of the night. In this way he thoroughly ascertained the needs of his subjects, so that they wondered at his sagacity and skill.<sup>3</sup>

This continued for some time, until early one morning, while returning from an excursion to a neighbouring village, it commenced to rain very hard. Not having expected this quick and heavy shower, His Majesty was quite unprepared for it; and so what with the long ride and the mud he arrived at the palace

<sup>2</sup> Among other extraordinary powers *faqirs* seem to be able to grant sons to the barren. Some special fruit-eating is the general remedy. In Indian folktales some *faqirs* have recommended mangoes; one ordered *Uch* (*Scytalis Uchi*, *Road*), a fruit like a plum, to be eaten; one old *faqir* gave the queen a barley-corn; and another ordered a certain drug. Cf. *Indian Fairy Tales*, pp. 91, 187; *Widewake Stories*, pp. 47, 290; *Old Deccan Days*, p. 253; *Folktales of Bengal*, p. 117; *Dravidian Nights*, pp. 55-56. Only one instance can I find in Indian

Folklore of a *faqir* promising a barren woman a child without ordering her to take some fruit, &c. Cf. *Widewake Stories*, p. 98: [but see *Legends of the Panjāb*, *passim*.—Ed.]

<sup>3</sup> Many native princes have disguised themselves and patrolled their cities at night. The present *Mahārāja's* late grandfather the *Mahārāja* Guḷāb Singh often did so. Cf. also *Folktales of Bengal*, p. 147. Many a tale also of the adventures of the great Hārūn Ar-Raḡhīd in disguise is current in the East.

looking more like a porter than a king. The soldiers at the gate, even, almost allowed him to pass in without the customary royal salute.

The queen at once heard of the king's plight and when, having changed his wet and muddy garments, he went to her room she met him with a frown. "Wherefore this frown, my wife?" he said.

"I like not," she replied, "that you, my lord and king, should do these things. They do not become either your position or your age. Why don't you command your sons to do this work? They are grown-up, and are good and wise enough to perform it. Command them to do this work, I pray you. Thus shall I be saved much anxiety concerning you, while the affairs of the kingdom will not suffer in the least."

"You have spoken wisely," answered the king. "It is better that I should resign these duties to younger hands,—and who are more wise and diligent than my own sons? They, too, will be kings and rulers some day, and ought to learn experimentally now, while I am alive to direct and help them, what will be expected from them hereafter. I will immediately call them and explain my wishes."

Accordingly the four princes were at once summoned before the king; and when they appeared, His Majesty told them of his conversation with the queen, and how that he had determined to hand over this itinerating work to them. "You are younger and stronger than I am," he added. "I trust you will endeavour to fulfil your duties to my satisfaction and to the people's profit."

The four princes expressed their pleasure at this manifestation of their father's confidence in them, and assured him that he should never find that that confidence had been misplaced. Directly that day changed into night they commenced their work of secret supervision. They each had a special round, and whatever was worth notice they reported to the king. Under such a strict and regular supervision it was no wonder that the kingdom continued increasingly happy and prosperous (!)

But seeds of mischief were being sown at the palace against these princes. The queen was getting more and more jealous of them,

as she saw her own sons growing into manhood. She plotted in every imaginable way against them. At first the king heeded not her lying insinuations and unkind wishes, but afterwards overcome by her skill and charms (for the queen was both very clever and very beautiful), he began to speak harshly to the four princes, and now and again he looked with suspicion on them. The princes noticed that the face of their father was being changed towards them, and that there was a marked lack of the trust and affection that had hitherto encouraged them to prosecute unflinchingly their arduous labours.

This state of affairs went on for several months. At last, worn out by unpleasantries by day and watchings by night, the four princes met together to solemnly consider what they should do. They appointed their meeting at midnight and in a most unfrequented part of the jungle. Each prince told his tale of sorrow, and each one except the eldest, on the conclusion thereof added, "And now my counsel is, dear brethren, that we fly this part of the country and go whithersoever Parameśwar may lead us. What will be, will be."

"Not so," said the eldest prince. "Stay, my brethren. What foolishness is this that you entertain in your hearts? Not so, not so, I counsel you. You know not what you are proposing. Deprived of sleep you have become deprived of your wits also. In a sane state of mind you would not speak thus. What! would the sons of the greatest and holiest king that ever sat on the *masnad*\* disobey their father, and run away like mean, spiritless, curs before his commands? No, never;—this is not your meaning. Listen, O my brethren, I warn you not to think any more about leaving your country. Get to your beds and rest. I will watch for this night. To-morrow night another of us will watch; and the next night another; and the night after that another. Thus shall we get more and abundant rest; and the work of supervision will be regularly carried on."

Saying this, the eldest prince wished them all good-night, and started to fulfil his watch. The other princes also left, and being thoroughly impressed by their eldest brother's advice went home and soon forgot their

\* A large cushion of velvet, silk, and precious stones doing duty for a throne.

sorrows in sleep. The next night the second prince went, while the first prince rested, and on the third night the third prince watched, and on the fourth night the youngest prince, while all the others took rest in sleep. This arrangement lasted for many months and answered well. The princes bore their father's unkindness bravely, and in every way behaved as they should do. Their piety, goodness, and attention to public affairs won praises from everybody, except the king and the queen who deluded him.

How true is the saying, "Real virtue never continues unrewarded by the gods." One night while the eldest prince was going his rounds of inspection he reached a small hut wherein a certain Brāhmaṇa resided with his wife. The prince noticed them through the open window, and as he looked the Brāhmaṇa arose, opened the door, and came out. As usual the good man looked up at the heavens; and no sooner had he done so, than he turned, and rushed indoors again, exclaiming "*Trāh, Trāh!*"

"What is it?" his wife inquired somewhat timidly. "Oh," said the Brāhmaṇa. "I saw the star of our king obliterated by another star."

"What is the interpretation of this sign?" asked the wife.

"It means," the Brāhmaṇa replied, "that our king will die in seven days from this time."

"Die!" said the Brāhmaṇa almost in tears. "How will His Majesty die? By sickness, or by the hand of an enemy?"

The Brāhmaṇa replied, "On the seventh day hence, just after the first watch of the night a deadly black snake will descend from the sky, and will enter the king's bedroom by the door thereof, that opens out into the court-yard, which is on the east side of the palace. This snake will bite His Majesty's toe, so that he will die."

"But surely this must not be," said the Brāhmaṇa. The king can be delivered from this cruel death. Tell me how his deliverance may be accomplished. Of a truth it cannot be that a king so just and holy and clever as our king is should perish in this way."

"The gods prevent such a disaster!" said

the Brāhmaṇa. "Get me some *ghī* and a few pieces of wood, that I may make an offering to them. For it is written in the *Sāstras* that if a man, when he knows of any misfortune about to happen to the king, will offer at that time something in the fire to the gods, then the king will be saved from the misfortune; otherwise the king will not be saved. Who knows but that our king may be spared to us?" So saying he took the sticks, kindled a fire, and cast the *ghī* into the fire; and then after many prayers and invocations rose and turning to his wife said, "His Majesty will be delivered if one of his relations will attend to these instructions. The man in whose heart is the wish to do this thing must dig pits in the courtyard that is on the east side of the palace; and some of the pits he must fill with water and others he must fill with milk. He must also throw flowers in these pools, and on the intervening spaces right up to the door of the king's bedroom. This done he must be present at the doorstep at the appointed time with a sword in his hand. The snake will surely come and will swim across the water and the milk, and, after passing through these elements and over the flowers, will be rendered comparatively harmless. On the arrival of the snake at the doorstep, the man who has taken upon him to perform this work must strike at it with the sword and slay it. After killing the snake he must take some of its warm blood and going into the king's room smear it over His Majesty's toes. In this way the king will be preserved from evil;—but alas! who is there to perform these things?"

The prince, whom curiosity had drawn very near to the window of the Brāhmaṇa's hut, heard everything that was said, and he, of course was very much surprised. In the morning he communicated the matter to his three brothers. Not a hint, however, reached the ears of the king. For six nights the four princes continued going their rounds as usual, but on the seventh night the eldest prince begged to be allowed to go out of his turn, because it was in his heart to save the king.

<sup>1</sup> *Trāh, Trāh* (also Sanskrit), an exclamation denoting "mercy! pardon!"

<sup>2</sup> *Hōm*, a kind of offering by fire, which can be made by Brāhmaṇas only. It is an offering for special occasions. The method of making it is as follows:—During the utterance of prayers and invocations, according to the

object of the sacrifice, five kinds of wood, together with *darbā* grass, rice, and *ghī*, are kindled and burnt. The fire is kept burning only as long as the occasion for it lasts. The *hōm* is a most efficacious offering, compelling the obedience of the gods and changing in the fate.

Accordingly he went and dug some pits in the court on the east side of the palace, filled some of these pits with milk and some with water, and threw flowers on every side and right up to the door of the king's bedroom. Then, when everything was ready, he took a naked sword in his hand and standing on the doorstep awaited the coming of the serpent. All this had been done after the king and queen had retired to rest.

The first watch of the night had scarcely passed, when the prince, thus standing on the alert, heard a sound as though something had fallen. Presently he noticed the faint movement of some animal through the pools of milk and water; then there was a rustling through the flowers which he had scattered about the palace; and then he descried what looked like the body of a serpent wriggling towards him. Now was the time! The prince tightened his hold on the sword, and as soon as the snake reached the doorstep, he cut it in two. He quickly took some of the warm blood of the reptile, and having blindfolded himself, quietly opened the door of the bedroom and entered. He had covered his eyes because he did not like to look on his father in his private room. Carefully he felt for the toes of Their Majesties, and when he had hold, as he thought, of the toes of the king, he smeared some of them with the blood. But he could not see what he was doing, and stained some of the toes of the queen instead. This woke Her Majesty, who was a very light sleeper; and when she noticed a man leaving the room, she shrieked aloud and aroused the king.<sup>1</sup> Presently she noticed some blood on her toes, and imagining that a *rākshasa*<sup>2</sup> had visited them she became almost frantic with fright. The king also woke just in time to see the figure of his eldest son pass out of the bedroom.

"Yes, yes," exclaimed His Majesty, "it is all true, even as you said. Now I am quite assured of the wickedness and deceit of my sons. To-morrow I will order the execution of all four of them. Such wretches must not be allowed to live."

Of course the queen improved the occasion. When she had sufficiently recovered from the

shock, she reiterated to the king all that she had seen and heard, with sundry additions. She also showed the king her blood-stained toes. These things, together with what His Majesty himself had witnessed, made him resolve on the speedy execution of his sons.

"Undoubtedly," he said, "when my sons found that by themselves they could not harm me during your lifetime, they compacted a league with *rākshasas*. May the gods deliver us!"

The queen's joy was now almost complete. At last she thought she had gained the end of her desires! Bright pictures of the future passed before her mental vision. She saw her own sons, great, clever, and wise, ruling in the land, all people praising them and all countries doing them honour. Impatiently she waited for the day when the only obstacles to the accomplishment of this wish would be cleared away.

Very early next morning the king went to the council-chamber, summoned his friends and advisers, and ordered his four sons, now prisoners, to be brought before him. Deprived of their princely robes, their faces and hands soiled from contact with the damp dirty walls of the dark vault wherein they had been imprisoned for the greater part of the night, they looked very wretched. Still they did not despair. Hope was written on each one of their foreheads.

Not a sound was heard when the four princes entered and walked up to the place appointed for them to wait and hear their sentence. After a few minutes' pause, the king, trembling with anger, charged them with having done what was worthy of death, an act which the gods, and therefore he, could not pardon. He accordingly ordered their immediate execution.

On the conclusion of the sentence the executioners ran forward and laid hands on the prisoners. Then some of the ministers and others present took upon themselves to ask what the crime of the four princes might be. But the king would not listen. "Remove these men," he said. "I will explain their crime afterwards."

(To be continued.)

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Folk-tales of Bengal*, pp. 46, 147, 148.

<sup>2</sup> For other cases of human beings having been

suspected of being *rākshasas* and *rākshasas* (ogres and ogresses) cf. *Wide-awake Stories*, p. 396.

## THE BHAGALPUR PLATE OF NARAYANAPALA.

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

I re-edit this grant, originally obtained at Bhāgalpur, from an estampage prepared by myself from the original plate, which is in the Library of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta.

The *vanīśāvali* consists of seventeen verses and mentions the names of the following princes of the so-called Pāla dynasty of Bengal.

1. Gōpālādēva.
2. Dharmapāla.      Vākṣpāla.
3. Dēvapāla.      Jayapāla.
4. Vīgrahapālādēva.
5. Nārāyanapālādēva.

Gōpāla was married to Maitrī. Dharmapāla conquered a certain Indrarāja and other enemies, and transferred their kingdom to a certain Chakrāyudha. Vākṣpāla and Jayapāla were the generals of their respective elder brothers. On his expeditions, the latter is said to have come in contact with the kings of the Utkalas and of the Prāgyōtishas. Vīgrahapāla married Lajjā of the Haihayavaṃśa.

According to the prose portion of the inscription, the donor, Nārāyanapāla, resided at Mudgagiri (Mungér). Although a Bud-

dhist (Saugata), he boasts of having built a thousand temples for the lord Śiva.<sup>1</sup> The present grant he made to the temple of Śiva at Kalāśapōta, which he himself had founded, and to the attached congregation of Pāsupata teachers. The village granted was called Makutikā, and was situated in the Kakṣha vishaya, a district of Tīrabhukti (Tirhut). One of the chief points of interest which the present record affords, is the unusually long list of royal officials. Among these are mentioned soldiers from Gauḍa, Mālava, Khaṣa, Hūṇa, Kulika, Karṇāta, and Lāṭa. The date of the grant was the 9th day of Vaiśākha of the 17th year (of Nārāyanapāla's reign).

The inscription closes with two verses which contain the name of the *Dūtaka* and of the engraver. The former was the *Bhaṭṭa*, the *Gurava*<sup>2</sup> Puṇyakirtti. The latter was *Maṅghadāsa*, a native of Samatāṭa or Eastern Bengal.

The present grant has been previously edited and translated by Dr. Rajendralal Mitra.<sup>3</sup> Those who will take the trouble to compare the subjoined translation with his, will concede that the grant needed to be translated afresh. In order to justify the republication of the text itself, I annex a list of 'various readings,' from which mere orthographical inaccuracies are omitted:—

Readings of Dr. R. Mitra's Transcript.	Lines.	Readings of the original plate.
साम्बती वा * * * वसोऽधि	4	साम्बतीश्राप शान्ति
मङ्गीशम्भनिकेतनसमकरो	5	मङ्गीशम्भनिकेतन समकरो
अर्थपित्रे "to the father of wealth"	8	अर्थपित्रे
उदवादिमुल्लयमहिना	8f	उदवादि मुल्लयमहिना
स(श)कुवा	13	सकुयां
विश्वः, शौपी	17	विश्वः, शौपी
वसः पुराणलेखानि चतुर्वर्गविधीनि च	18	वसः पुराणलेखानि चतुर्वर्गविधीनि च
वसस्त्यानि	"	वसस्त्यानि
स्वीकृतः सुजनमनोभिः सत्त्वावितः सहवाहनैः स्वीयैः	19	स्वीकृतसुजनमनोभिः सत्त्वावितसातिवाहनः सूयैः
स्वागे न बो धैधस्त अहोबामङ्गराजकयां	"	स्वागेन बो धैधस्त अहोबामङ्गराजकयां
धर्मैः, अकृष्णकर्मा	21	धर्मैः, अकृष्णकर्मा
व्यातेर्वस्व	22	व्यातेर्वस्व
विहित	25	निहित
सन्तत	26	सन्तत
पाशात् भर°	27	पाशात् भर°

<sup>1</sup> Similar acts of generous tolerance are recorded of king Mahipāla in the Śārnāth inscription of Samvat 1083; see ante, Vol. XIV. p. 140.

<sup>2</sup> On the title *gurava* see ante, Vol. XIV. p. 140, note 4.

<sup>3</sup> Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. XLVII. Part I. p. 334.

Readings of Dr. R. Mitra's Transcript.	Lines.	Reading of the original plate.
तीरभक्तकवैषयिकसम्बद्धा°	29	तीरभुक्तौ । कवैषयिकसम्बद्धा°
राजराजनक	30f	राजराजनक
महासौःसाधसाधनिक	32f	महासौःसाधसाधनिक
कोषपाल	34	कोषपाल
दुतप्रेषणिक, अभिस्वमान	35	दुतप्रेषणिक, अभिस्व[र]मान
गोड, हूण, कलाट	36	गोड, हूण, कलाट
दणप्रतिगोचर	41	दणप्रतिगोचर
सदृशोपचारः	42	सदृशोपचारः
प्रयास्कः	43	प्रयासः
भूमैर्दान°	45	भूमैर्दान°
धर्मानुशास्त्रिनः, भुक्ता	47	धर्मानुशास्त्रिनः, दत्ता
षष्टि°	48	षष्टि
वेदान्तैरसु°, अपीली(ति)	52	वेदान्तैरसु°, अपीली
भूमिपानां	52f	भूमिपानां
मद्यसासेन°	53	मद्यसासेन

Text.

First Side.

- 1 ओ स्वस्ति । मेधीकुलप्यरत्नप्रमुदितहृदयः
- 2 प्रेयसी सन्धानः सम्यक्सम्बोधिविद्यासरिदम-
- 3 लज्जलभालिताज्ञानपङ्कः । जित्वा यः काम-
- 4 कारिप्रभवमभिवं शाश्वतीम्नाप शान्तिं स श्रीमान्लोकनाथो जय-
- 5 ति इश्वरलोऽन्वय गोपालदेवः ॥ [१] लक्ष्मीश्वरनिकेतनं समकरो योहुं क्षमः क्षमार् पक्षच्छेदमयाहु-
- 6 पस्थितवतामेकाग्रयो भूभूता । सर्वासापरिपालनैकनिरतः शौर्यालयोऽस्मादभूद्भ्याम्भोधिविलास-
- 7 हासिमहिमा श्रीधर्मपालो नृप ॥ [२] जित्वेन्द्रराजप्रभृतीनरासीनुपाङ्गिता येन महोदयभीः । दत्ता पुनः
- 8 सा बलिनाथेयिने चक्राग्रधायानतिवामनाय ॥ [३] रामस्वेव गृहीतसत्त्वसपसस्तस्यानुरूपो गुणैः सौमित्रैरुपा-
- 9 दि तुल्यमहिमा वाक्पालनामानुजः । यः श्रीमान्वयविक्रमैकवसतिर्भूतः स्थितः शासने शुन्याः सनुपताकिनी-
- 10 निरकरोदिकातपसा दिवा ॥ [४] सस्मादुपेन्द्रचरितेजोगतीपुनानः पुष्पो वभूव विजयी जयपालनामा । धर्मादि-
- 11 पां क्षमयिता सुधि देवपाले यः पूर्वज्ञे भूवनराज्यसुखान्यनेधीत ॥ [५] यस्मिन्भ्रातुर्निर्देशाद्वलवति परितः
- प्रस्थिति
- 12 जेतुमायाः सीरजाक्षैव दूराभिजपुरमजहादुत्कलानामधीतः । आसाञ्जके चिराय प्रणयिपरिहृतो विभ्रदु-
- 13 खेन मुर्ध्ना राजा प्राण्ययतिपाणानुपचानितसमिस्सङ्कथां यत्नं चाज्ञां ॥ [६] श्रीमान् विमहपालस्तत्सुनराजात-
- राजुरि-
- 14 य जातः । धनुवनिताप्रसाधनविलोभिविमलासिजलधारः ॥ [७] रिपवो येन शुर्वीणां विपसामास्पदीकृताः ॥ [८]
- गुरुषाबु-
- 15 वरीयोणां सुहृदः सम्पसामपि ॥ [८] लज्जति तस्य जलधेरिव जहुकन्या पत्नी वभूव कृतहेहवचशभूषा । यस्याः
- गुची-
- 16 नि चरितानि पितुश्च वंशे पशुश्च पावनविधिः परमो वभूव ॥ [९] दिक्पालेः सितिपलनाय यधतं देवे विभक्ताः
- 17 श्रियः श्रीनारायणपालदेवमृजत्तस्यां स पुण्योत्तरः । यः क्षोणीपतिभिः सिरोमणिरुचाभिष्टाद्विपीडोपलं न्या-
- योपा-
- 18 तमलञ्जकार चरितैः स्वैरेव धर्मासनं ॥ [१०] चेतःपुरापलेख्यानि चतुर्वर्गनिधीनि च । आरिस्तस्ते जत-
- स्तस्यानि चरितानि गहीभूतः ॥ [११]
- 19 स्वीकृतसुजनननोभिः सत्यापितसातिवाहनः सुक्तेः । त्यागेन यो व्यधत्त भजेयामङ्गुराजकथां ॥ [१२] यथा-
- हरातिभिर्देव रण-

\* R. Mitra calls this person Mēghadāsa on p. 384, and Mudgadāsa on p. 410. The granted village is spelled Mukatika on p. 384, Makutika (correctly) on p. 405 f., and twice Mukutika on p. 409. On p. 409, *sahasadyatana* is translated by "thousands of temples" (read "a thousand temples"); while on p. 384 the reader is made acquainted with "a divinity named *Sahasākṣha*," which owes its origin to the same word *sahasadyatana*. On

p. 408, we are told that the words *oṅga rājan* mean "O king!" and on p. 395, that *Nārāyaṇapāla* is called "the lord of *Āṅga*" in the Bhāgalpur grant, while in reality the expression *Āṅgarāja* refers to the mythical king *Karna*. *Variatio dialecti!*

\* Read भु.

\* Read नु.

- 20 मूर्धनि विस्तु'रम् । असिरेम्भीवरद्वानो वृक्षे पीतलोहितः ॥ [१३] नः प्रज्ञा च धनुषा च अगहिनी च निस्त्र्यं  
म्वशीविशद-  
21 नाकुलमात्मधर्मे । यस्यायिनः सविधमेव भृशं कृतार्थो नैवार्थितां प्रति पुनर्विषुध्मेनीषां ॥ [१४] श्रीपति-  
रकृष्णकर्मा विद्या-  
22 धरमायको महाभोगी । अनलसदृशोपि धाम्ना यश्चिन्नलसमश्चितैः ॥ [१५] व्यासे वस्त्र विजगति शरच्चन्द्र-  
गौरैर्बधो-  
23 निर्म्मन्त्रे शोभाञ्जलु विभरामास रुद्रादहासः । सिद्धस्त्रीणामपि शिरसि ज्येष्ठाः केतकीनां पद्मापीडाः  
सुधिरम-  
24 भवन् भूङ्ग-शष्पानुमेयाः ॥ [१६] तपो ममास्तु राड्यन्ते ह्यभ्यामुक्तनिर्द्वयोः । यस्मिन्विमहपालेन सगरेण  
भगीरथे ॥ [१७] स खलु भा-  
25 गीरथीपथप्रवर्त्तमाननानाविधनौवादसम्पादितसेतुवन्निहितशैलशिखरश्रेणीविभ्रमात् निरतिशयधनधनाधमध-  
हो-  
26 इयामावमानवासरलक्ष्मीसमारब्धसन्ततजलसमयसन्वेहात् उद्गीचीनानेकनरपतिप्राभृतीकृतप्रमेयहववाहिनी-  
खर-  
27 स्तुरोस्त्रातभूमीधूसरितविगन्तशालात् परवेश्वरसेवासमावाताशेषजम्बुद्वीपभूपालानन्तपाशातभरनमद्वनेः । श्रीमु-  
28 त्तिगिरिसमावासितश्रीमज्जयत्कन्धाधारात् परमसौम्यो महाराजाधिराजश्रीविमहपालदेवपाशानुध्यातः परमेश्वरः  
पर-  
29 मभहारको महाराजाधिराजः श्रीमाधारावन्पालदेवः कुशली । तीरभुक्तौ । कश्चैवविकस्वसम्बद्धावि-  
च्छिन्नतलो-

*Second Side.*

- 30 वेतमकुतिकामने । समुपगताशेषराजपुरुषान् । राजराज-  
31 नक । राजपुत्र । राजामात्य । महासन्धिविग्रहिक । महाभयपटलिक । म-  
32 हासामन्त । महासेनापति । महाप्रतीहार । महाक'साङ्गतिक । महा-  
33 सौःसाधसाधनिक । महावृण्डनायक । महाकुमारामात्य । राजस्थानीयोपरिक । शशापराधिक । चौरौदुरधिक ।  
34 शाण्डिक । शाण्डपाशिक । शौलिक । गौलिक । शेषप । प्रान्तपाल । कोहपाल । खण्डरक्ष ।  
तस्युक्तक । विनियुक्तक । हस्त्य-  
35 श्वोद्गोवलयपुत्रक । किशोर । वडवा । गौमहिष्यकाविकाध्यक्ष । हूतप्रै'षणिक । गमागमिक । अभि-  
स्वमाण<sup>11</sup> । विषयपति-  
36 ग्रामपति । तरिक । गौड । मालव । खस । हूण । कुलिक । कर्णट । ला[ट] । चाट । भट । सेव-  
काशीन् । अम्बांशकीर्तितान् ।  
37 राजपाशेषश्रीधिनः प्रतिवासिनो ब्राह्मणोत्तरान् । महत्समोत्तमपुरोगमेश्वरपण्डालपर्यन्तान् । यथार्हं मानयति ।  
38 बोधयति । समादिशति च । मतमस्तु भवतां । कलघपोले । महाराजाधिराजश्रीनारायणपालदेवेन स्वर्च-  
कारितसहस्रा-  
39 यतनस्य । तत्र प्रतिष्ठापितस्य । भगवतः शिवभट्टारकस्य । पाद्युपत'<sup>12</sup> आचार्यपरिचयश्च । यथार्हं पूजाधलि-  
चरुसञ्चनयक-  
40 र्मोद्यर्थे । शयनासनग्लानप्रत्यक्षनैषज्यपरिष्कारार्थे । अन्वेषामपि स्वाभिमतानां । स्वपरिकल्पितविभागो न ।  
अनवद्यभो-  
41 गार्थश्च । यथोपरिलिखितमकुतिकामामः । स्वसीमादण्ड्युतिगोचरपर्यन्तः । सतलः । सोहेयः । सावमधु-  
कः । सञ्जल-  
42 स्थलः । सगर्तोथरः । सोपरिकरः । सदृशापचारः । सचौरौदुरः । परिहृतसर्वपीडः । अखादभटप्रवेशः । अ-  
किञ्चि-  
43 रपपाहः । समस्तभागभोगकरहिरण्यादिप्रत्यायसमेतः । भूमिच्छिन्नन्वायेनाचन्द्रार्ककिसितिसमकालं यावत्  
मातापि-  
44 चौराखनश्च पुण्यवशोऽभिदृष्टवे । भगवन्तं शिवभट्टारकमुद्दिश्य चासनीकृत्वा प्रवृत्तः । ततो भवतिः सर्वैरेवानु-  
45 मन्तव्यं भाविमिरापि भूपतिभिर्भूमेर्हानफलगौरवाद्यपरणे च महानरकपातभयाहानमिदमनुमोद्य पालनीयं प्र-  
46 तिवालिभिः शेषकरैश्चाज्ञाश्रवणविधेयीभूय यथाकालं समुचितभागभोगकरहिरण्यादिसर्वप्रत्यायोपनयः का-

<sup>1</sup> स्फु looks almost like स्फु.

<sup>2</sup> Read टा. \* Read का.

<sup>3</sup> This syllable might also be read मे.

<sup>11</sup> Read अभित्वरमाण with the Āngāchhi grant, ante, Vol. XIV. p. 187, line 30.

<sup>12</sup> त seems to be corrected from ता.



- 47 ई इति । सम्पत् १७ वैशाखदिने ९ [11] तथा च धर्मानुचक्षिणः शोकाः । बहुभिर्बन्धुधा दत्ता राजभिः  
सगरादिभिः [1]
- 48 बन्धु बन्धु बन्धु भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तथा फले ॥ पट्टि वर्यसहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोहति भूमिः । आशेता चानुमन्ता च  
तान्बन्धु न-
- 49 एके वसेत् ॥ स्वदत्ताम्परदत्ताम्बा यो हरेत् बन्धुन्धरा । स विद्यायां कुम्भित्वा पितृभिः सह पश्यते ॥ सर्वार्ज-  
तान् भाविनः
- 50 पार्थिवेन्द्रान् भूयो भूयः प्रार्थयत्येष रानः । सामान्यो ऽयन्धर्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले पालनीयः क्रमेण ॥ इति क-
- 51 मल इलान्मुविन्दुलोलां भिन्नमनुविन्द्य मनुष्यजीवितम् । सकलभिरनुसृतम् उद्धा न हि पुरुषैः परकीर्त्तयो  
विलो-
- 52 व्याः ॥ वेदान्तेरप्यस्युगमनमं वेदिता ब्रह्मार्थे<sup>18</sup> यः सर्वार्थं भुतिषु परमः सार्द्धमङ्गैरधीती । यो यशानां सनु-  
वितमहाव-
- 53 क्षिपानां प्रमेता महः श्रीमानिह स गुरवो दूतकः पुण्यकीर्त्तिः ॥ [१८] श्रीमता महुसासेन सू<sup>19</sup> भरासस्य सू<sup>20</sup> गुणा ।  
इहं सा<sup>21</sup>
- 54 सा<sup>22</sup> मनुकीर्णं सत्स<sup>23</sup> नतदजन्मना ॥ [१९]

On the Seal.

## श्रीनारायणपालदेवस्य.

TRANSLATION.

Om! Hail!—

(Verse 1.)—Victorious is that illustrious lord of the world, Daśabala (Buddha),—and that other (*lord of the world*), Gōpāladēva, whose heart was resplendent with the jewel of compassion; whose mistress was Maitrī,<sup>18</sup> whose wisdom, (*arising from*) perfect knowledge, washed off ignorance, as the pure water of a river does the mud; and who, having overcome the power of those who were acting according to their own desires,<sup>19</sup> attained everlasting peace!<sup>20</sup>

(V. 2.)—From him sprang the brave prince Śrī-Dharmapāla, who possessed royal dignity by birth; who imposed just taxes (*sama-karāḥ*); who was able to bear the burden (*of the rule*) of the earth; who was the only refuge of those kings (*bhūbhṛitāḥ*), who approached him, fearing the destruction of their party (*pakṣa-chchēda*); who was always eager to keep within the bounds (*maryāda*); and whose majesty possessed the coquettish smile (*i.e.* the brilliant whiteness) of the milk-ocean, —which (milk-ocean) was the birth-place of Lakṣmī; which contained sea-monsters (*samakarāḥ*); which was able to bear the burden of the earth; which was the only refuge of those

mountains (*bhūbhṛitāḥ*), which approached it fearing the cutting of their wings (*pakṣa-chchēda*); and which was always eager to keep within its coasts (*maryāda*).

(V. 3.)—This mighty one (*balin*) again gave the sovereignty, which he had acquired by defeating Indrarāja and other enemies, to the begging Chakrāyudha, who resembled a dwarf in bowing,—just as formerly Bali had given the sovereignty (*of the three worlds*), which he had acquired by defeating Indra and his other enemies (the gods), to the begging Chakrāyudha (Viṣṇu), who had descended to earth as a dwarf.<sup>21</sup>

(V. 4.)—To him, who resembled Rāma by his strict adherence to truth, there arose a younger brother called Vāk-pāla, who equalled him by his virtues, and whose majesty was like that of Saumitri (Lakṣmaṇa). Combining policy and valour in his person, and conforming to the command of his brother, this illustrious one cleared the quarters of hostile armies and subjected them to one (*royal*) parasol.

(V. 5.)—From him sprang a victorious son called Jayapāla, who purified the earth by deeds which were worthy of Upendra. Destroying in battle the enemies of his rule, he procured the enjoyments of universal sovereignty for his elder brother Dēvapāla—just

<sup>18</sup> Read ब्रह्मार्थे; the *anuvāda* is indistinct.

<sup>19</sup> Read सु. <sup>20</sup> Read सु. <sup>21</sup> Read सा. <sup>22</sup> Read स.

<sup>23</sup> स seems to be corrected from सा.

<sup>18</sup> This was evidently the name of Gōpāla's wife. Referring to Buddha, *maitrī* means 'friendship, good will'; see Childers, s. v. *metti*.

<sup>19</sup> In the case of Buddha, *kamakārin* probably means Māra; in the case of Gōpāla, rebels and enemies; compare *dharmaśāstra*, verse 5.

<sup>20</sup> Referring to Buddha, *śānti* means *nirvāṇa*, referring to Gōpāla, peace in his realm.

<sup>21</sup> Applied to Viṣṇu, *dnatī* seems to be used in the sense of *avātāra*.

as, destroying in battle the enemies of sacrifice," Upendra (Vishnu) had procured the enjoyments of universal sovereignty for his elder brother Dēvapāla (Indra).

(V. 6.)—When, by order of his brother, he started with an army in order to subdue all quarters, the lord of the Utkalas left his capital, driven to despair from afar by the mere name (of Jayapāla); and the king of the Prāgyōtishas enjoyed peace at last, surrounded by friends, bearing on his lofty head (i.e. being much obliged for) the command of that (prince), which bade (his foes) cease to plan battles.<sup>22</sup>

(V. 7.)—His son, the illustrious Vighrahapāla, became like Ajātasatru, as the edge (dhārā) of his spotless sword, just as a stream (dhārā) of pure water, removed the paint of his enemies' wives.<sup>23</sup>

(V. 8.)—He made his foes the abode of heavy misfortune and his friends (the abode) of lifelong fortune.

(V. 9.)—Lajjā, the ornament of the Haihaya race, became his wife, as the daughter of Jahnu (the river Gaṅgā) that of the ocean. As her acts were pure (while she belonged) to her father's family, thus her sanctifying power was extremely great (when she belonged to that) of her husband.<sup>24</sup>

(V. 10.)—From her he begat the virtuous Śrī-Nārāyaṇapālādēva, who possessed the majesty of the regents of the quarters, which they had imparted to his body for the protection of the earth.<sup>25</sup> He adorned with his deeds the inherited throne, whose foot-stool of stone was covered by (prostrate) princes with the lustre of their diadems.<sup>26</sup>

(V. 11.)—The deeds of this king,<sup>27</sup> which deserve to be recorded in the Purāṇas and

which are full of the *chaturvarga*, captivate the heart.

(V. 12.)—By fine sentences, which won the hearts of good men, he confirmed (the tradition of) Sātivāhana (sic); and by his liberality he made the story of the Aṅga king (Karna) credible.

(V. 13.)—When his sword, blue like a lotus, was flashing in the van of battle, it appeared to his enemies, through fear, yellow and red (*pīta-lōhita*)—since it was drinking blood.

(V. 14.)—Taming men constantly by wisdom and valour, he steadily subjected them to his rule. When beggars approached him, they became satisfied to such an extent that they never thought of begging again.

(V. 15.)—It is wonderful that he was the lord of fortune (the husband of Śrī), but did not commit black deeds (did not act like Kṛishṇa); that he was the chief of the learned (the king of the Vidyādhara), but rich in enjoyments (a big snake); and that he resembled fire (*anala*) in brilliancy, but Nala in conduct.

(V. 16.)—While his fame, white as the autumnal moon, was pervading the three worlds, Rudra's (teeth beaming with) wild laughter will, methinks, have lost their splendour, and the wreaths of *kētaki*-petals, worn in the hair by the Siddha women, must have had to be inferred for a long time only from the humming of the bees.

(V. 17.)—"Let penance be mine, and the kingdom thine!" Thus two men have spoken to two others:—Vighrahapāla to him and Sagara to Bhagiratha.

(L. 24.)—From the illustrious camp of victory pitched at Śrī-Mudgagiri,—where the bridge which is produced by the wall of boats of various

<sup>22</sup> According to the Pet. Diet., *dharma* also means 'sacrifice'; the 'enemies of sacrifice' are the demons; compare *mathadvish* in the Pet. Diet.

<sup>23</sup> The sense of this stanza seems to be that Jayapāla supported the king of Prāgyōtishas successfully against the king of Utkala. Both the Utkalas and the Prāgyōtishas are mentioned by Kālidāsa in the description of Raghu's digvijaya; see *Raghuvamśa*, IV. 88 and 81.

<sup>24</sup> i.e., "made them widows, to whom ornaments are forbidden." Compare *Raghuvamśa*, X. 13: दैत्यस्त्रीणि दूष-  
लेखानां मदरागविकीर्तिभिः हेतिभिः, where, according to the

commentator Dinakara, the word *madarāga* means *pat-tralēkhā* and ought to be rendered by 'musk paint.' By slaying his enemies, Vighrahapāla himself became *ajātasatru*, i.e., 'one whose enemies have ceased to exist.' On this verbal play alone rests the comparison with king Ajātasatru.

<sup>25</sup> Compare *Manu*, VII. 3 ff.

रक्षार्थमस्य सर्वस्य राजानमवज्जन्तुः ॥

इन्द्रानिलयमार्काणामग्नेश्च वरुणस्य च ।

चन्द्रवित्तेशयोश्चैव माता निर्हेत्य शाश्वतीः ॥

यस्मादेषां सुरेन्द्राणां माता-यो निर्मितो नृपः ।

तस्मादभिभवत्येष सर्वभूतानि तेजसा ॥

<sup>26</sup> i.e., "the splendour of his deeds surpassed that of the diadems."

<sup>27</sup> *yatastyāni charitāni mahābhīṣaṭ* seems to stand for *yasmān mahābhīṣaṭ udhātāni charitāni*. With *yatastyā* compare *tatastyā* and *kutastya* in the Pet. Diet.

kinds proceeding on the path of the Bhāgīrathī,<sup>30</sup> surpasses the beauty of a chain of mountain-tops;—where the rainy season seems to prevail continually, as extremely dense troops of rutting elephants (of thick clouds) are obscuring daylight;—where the dust, that is raised by the hard hoofs of innumerable squadrons of horse presented by many northern kings, gives a grey tint to the horizon;—where the earth aches with the burden of the endless infantry of all the kings of Jambudvīpa, who have come to worship the *Paramēśvara*<sup>31</sup>;—he, the devout follower of Sugata, the successor of the *Mahārājādhirāja Śrī-Vigraha-pāladēva*, the illustrious *Paramēśvara Paramabhāṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Nārāyaṇapāladēva*, being in good health, reports, announces, and issues commands respectively (to the following persons)—(1) to all royal officers coming into the village of Makutikā together with its ground,—which belongs to his (the king's) domains situated in the district of Kaksha in Tīrabhukti,—viz. to every *rājarājanaka*, *rājaputra*, *rājāmātya*, *mahā-sādhivigrahika*, *mahākshapaṭalika*, *mahā-sāmanta*, *mahāsēnāpati*, *mahāpratihāra*, *mahākārtākritika*, *mahādāruśāsādhika*,<sup>32</sup> *mahādāṇḍanāyaka*, *mahākumārāmātya*, *rajasthānīya*, *uparika*,<sup>33</sup> *dāsāparādhika*, *chaurōddharanika*, *dāṇḍika*, *dāṇḍapāsika*, *śaulika*, *gaulmika*, *kshētrapa*, *prāntapāla*, *kottapāla*, *khaṇḍaraksha*,<sup>34</sup> and to those appointed or commissioned by the former ones, to those occupied with elephants, horses, and camels, or in the navy and army, to surveyors of foals, mares, cows, she-buffaloes, goats, and sheep, to every *dūta*.

<sup>30</sup> R. Mitra concludes from this passage, that Nārāyaṇapāla had made a bridge of boats across the Ganges. But the two words *pravartamāna* and *nāndavidha* render this explanation inadmissible. The panegyrist merely wants to say that the broad line of boats floating on the river resembled the famous Bridge of Rāma.

<sup>31</sup> i.e. king Nārāyaṇapāla, who bore this title as one of the signs of paramount sovereignty; see immediately below.

<sup>32</sup> Compare *mahāsādhika*, *ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 161, note 35.

<sup>33</sup> The *Āmgaśhi* grant (see note 10 above) reads *rajasthānīyaparika* for *rajasthānīyaparika*.

<sup>34</sup> The *Āmgaśhi* grant reads *angaraksha*.

<sup>35</sup> *navakarma* seems to have the same technical signification as its Pāli equivalent *navakamma*; see Rhys Davids and Oldenberg's *Vinaya Texts*, Vol. III. p. 101, note 2. Hence the monk, who had to superintend a new building, was called *navakammika*; see *id.* Vol. II. p. 359, note 2, and the Bharhut and Amarāvati inscriptions, where we find *navakammika* and *navakamaka* (*Jour. Germ. Or. Soc.* Vol. XL.) A similar term is *kamantika* in the Banawāsi inscription, *ante*, Vol. XIV.

*praishanika*, *gamāgamika*, and *abhitvaramāna*, to heads of districts and heads of villages, to ferry-men, to irregular and regular troops from Gaṇḍa, Mālava, Khasa, Hūṇa, Kulika, Karṇāṭa, and Lāṭa, to servants, etc.—and (2) to the other unnamed subjects of His Majesty residing (in Makutikā), Brāhmanas, etc., from the *Mahattama* and *Uttama* down to the *Mēda*, the blind, and the *Chañḍāla* :—

(L. 38.)—“Be it known to you, that—(1) for the suitable (performance of) *pūjā*, *bali*, *charu*, and *sattva*, for new buildings<sup>36</sup> and for other requirements of the divine Śiva-bhāṭṭāraka at Kalaśapōta, for whom he (Nārāyaṇapāla) himself has built a thousand temples, and whom he has put up there (at Kalaśapōta);—(2) in order to (provide) couches and seats, medicines for the sick, requisites,<sup>37</sup> etc. to the congregation of Pāsupata teachers (at Kalaśapōta);—and (3) in order to (enable the Pāsupatas to bestow) blameless (i.e. unhindered?) enjoyments, (consisting) of a share fixed by them, on other persons desired by them,—the *Mahārājādhirāja Śrī-Nārāyaṇapāladēva* has given the above-named village of Makutikā, up to its boundaries, grass, and pasture land,<sup>38</sup> with its ground,<sup>39</sup> with its places, with its mango- and *madhūka*-trees, with its water and dry land, with its pits and saline spots, with the *uparikara*, *dāsāpachāra*,<sup>40</sup> and *chaurōddharana*,<sup>41</sup> with exemption from all oppression,<sup>42</sup> not to be entered by irregular or regular troops, not to be meddled with by any body,<sup>43</sup> accompanied by all revenues, such as shares enjoyed, taxes, gold, etc., according to the maxim of *bhūmichchhidra*, to last as long a time

p. 334. I avail myself of this opportunity to correct a mistake committed in my rendering of the Śūga inscription of the Bharhut Stūpa, *ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 138f. There *siddhāntamānta* does not mean ‘the end of the stone-work,’ but simply ‘the stone-work’; see Childers, s. v. *kammanto*.

<sup>36</sup> Both *pratyaya* and *parishkāra* are Buddhist terms. According to Childers, the four *pachchayas* or necessities of a Buddhist priest are *chivra*, *pindapāta*, *sādhana* and *bhāṇjja*. In the present grant, *śayana* and *bhai-shajya* correspond to the two last words. With *gūṇa-pratyaya* compare *gūṇapachchaya*, loc. cit. On the eight *parishkāras* or requisites see the article *parishkāro*.

<sup>37</sup> See *ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 161, note 26.

<sup>38</sup> Compare the last word on the first side of the plate.

<sup>39</sup> In other grants we find the synonym *dāsāparādhika*. A *dāsāparādhika* is mentioned among the royal officers in line 33 of the present grant.

<sup>40</sup> Compare *chaurōddharanika* in line 33.

<sup>41</sup> Probably forced labour (*viśhi*) is intended.

<sup>42</sup> *akūṭchitpragrāhya* seems to correspond to the clause *sarvārjakiyāntam aṣṭaprakṣhēpanīyah* occurring in other inscriptions.

as the moon, the sun, and the earth shall endure, in order to increase the spiritual merit and glory of his parents and of himself, to the divine Śiva-bhaṭṭāraka by the (*present*) edict.

(L. 44.)—"Therefore, you all shall approve of this gift; and future kings shall assent to it and preserve it, out of regard for the (*heavenly*) rewards of a gift of land, and out of fear of sinking into the great hell, in case of (*its*) confiscation! And the cultivators residing (*in Makutikā*) shall be obedient to (*this*) order on hearing it, and shall deliver (*to the donees*), at the proper time, all suitable revenues, such as shares enjoyed, taxes, gold, etc.!"

(L. 47.)—Samvat 17, on the 9th day of Vaiśākha. And the verses which praise the

merit (*gained by gifts*), (*run*) thus:—[Here follow five of the customary imprecatory verses, which it is unnecessary to translate.]

(V. 18.)—The messenger for this (*grant was*) the illustrious *Bhaṭṭa*, the *Gurava Paṇyākirtti*. He knew the meaning of the idea of Brahman, which it is very difficult to understand even with the help of the *Vēdānta* (*books*); he was extremely well read in all *śrutis* together with the *aṅgas*; and he performed sacrifices, in which great presents were made.

(V. 19.)—The illustrious Maṅghadāsa, a native of the excellent Samataja,\* the son of Śubhadāsa, has engraved this edict.

(*The seal*) of Śrī-Nārāyaṇapālādēva.

### AN ENGLISH-GIPSY INDEX.

COMPILED BY MRS. GRIERSON, WITH AN INTRODUCTORY NOTE BY G. A. GRIERSON, B.C.S.

(Continued from p. 278).

RUMP, of a fowl,—Katis, (Tch.)  
 RUMPLED,—Chandilō, (Tch.)  
 RUN, to,—Plastrāva, nashāva, (Eng.); najar, (Span. Gip.); prastāva, (M.); prastāva, thavāva, (M. 8)  
 RUN HARD, to,—Shabāva, (Eng.); koshia dāva, (Tch.)  
 RUNNER,—Nashimeskro, (Eng.)  
 RUSHES, a thicket of,—Trēstiy, (M.)  
 RUSSIAN,—Moskōvis, (Tch., Psp. M.); moskōv, moskōf, (As. Tch.)  
 RUSTY,—Ruzhinimi, (M.)

### S.

SABRE,—khanrō, palāsh, sābiya, sābie, sābd'iya, sābd'ie, sābdie, (M.); kisi, (Psp. M.)  
 SACK,—Gono, (Eng.); gonō, (Tch.); burdāhu, gonō, gonū, (M.)  
 SAD,—Tug, tugno, (Eng.)  
 SADDLE,—Boshta, (Eng.); zen, (Tch., M. 8., Psp. M.); zēn, (M.)  
 SAFE,—Vestō, (Tch.)  
 SAILOR,—Pani-mengro, ber-engro, (Eng.); berēs-koro, deryavākoro, devryalākoro, (Tch.)  
 SAINT,—Sfec, (M.)  
 SALE,—Bikhnipen, (Eng.); bit'inamās, (M.)  
 SALT,—Lon, lun, (Eng.); lon, (Tch.); lohn, (As. Tch.); lon, (M., M. 8., Psp. M.)  
 SALT, (*adj.*)—Londo, (Tch.); pelonheri, (As. Tch.)  
 SALT, to,—Londarāva, londiarāva (Tch., Psp. M.)  
 SALUTATION,—Paravēn, (Tch.)

SANCTIFY, to,—Sfinciāva, (M.)  
 SAND,—Char, (M. 7)  
 SANDAL,—Chervūli, (Tch.)  
 SATAN,—Wafodu guero, (Eng.)  
 SATIATED,—Chalō, (Tch. M. 7)  
 SATIATE, to,—Chalarāva, (Tch.)  
 SATIATED, to be,—Chāliovava, (Tch., Psp. M.); chel'ovāva, (M.)  
 SATURDAY,—Kinnipen-divvus, (Eng.); sāvato, (M.)  
 SAUCEPAN,—Doti kiri, dron kiri, (As. Tch.)  
 SAUSAGE,—Gōi, (Tch., M. 7)  
 SAUSAGE, of or belonging to,—Goiākoro, (Tch.)  
 SAW,—Trivōni, triōni, (Tch.)  
 SAY, to,—Pukkerāva, penāva, (Eng.); penāva, benāva, fiylzava, (Tch.); phenāva, (M., M. 8); motavāva, (M. 8); benāva, phenāva, (Psp. M.)  
 SCALD-HEADED,—Khalē, aberēs-koro, (Tch.)  
 SCALES, pair of,—Kōntāre, (M.)  
 SCARCELY,—Abyē, de abyē, (M.)  
 SCHOOL,—Skhōale, shkōla, (M.)  
 SCISSORS,—Katches, katsau, (Eng.); kat, (Tch., M. 7)  
 SCOLD, to,—Kushāva, (M.)  
 SCOOP, to,—Khandāva, khatāva, ghandāva, khra-dāva, (Tch.)  
 SCOOP, to cause to,—Khanliarāva, khatava, ghandāva, khradāva, (Tch.)  
 SCOOPED, to be,—Khānliovava, (Tch.)  
 SCORE,—Bishēngoro, (Tch.)  
 SCRAPER,—Pihtri, rondiardō, (Tch.)

\* On Samataja or Eastern Bengal, see Beal, B. R. W. W. Vol. II. p. 129f.

- SCRATCH, to,—Khanjiová, (Tch.); kharunáva, (M.); kharjáva, kharunáva, (M. 7); khar-jováva, khandiováva, (Psp. M.)
- SCREW,—Shrúbo, shrúbu, (M.)
- SCREW, to,—Shrubuíáva, shrubuisaráva, (M.)
- SCYTHE,—Kósa, kósha, fárkya, fálkya, (Tch., cf. Psp. M.); kali, (As. Tch.)
- SEA,—Dúriya, dúya, ebyok, (Eng.); devryál, devruál, daráv, mára, (Tch.); devryal, mara, (M. 8); deryáv, mára, (Psp. M.)
- SEAM,—Síibé, (Tch.)
- SEARCH, to,—Rodráva, (Eng.); rodáva, (Tch.)
- SEATED,—Veshti, vezti, (As. Tch.)
- SECOND,—Duito, (Eng.); avér, dýto, (M.)
- SECRET,—Gheravdicánó, (Tch.); choryál, (M. Psp. M.)
- SECURITY, to become,—Skriisard'ováva, (M.)
- SEE, to,—Dikáva, (Tch., Psp. M., M.), dikháva, (Psp. M., M. 7)
- SEEK, to,—Rodráva, (Eng.); rodáva, mangáva, (Tch.); rodáva, (M., M. 8)
- SEEKING, act of,—Rodipé, (Tch.)
- SEEM, to,—Fáva, (M. 7)
- SEEN,—Dikyov, (M.)
- SEEN, to be,—Dikiováva, (Tch.)
- SEIZE, to,—Astaráva, (Tch., M. 7); astaraváva, khutíláva, khotíláva, kuprinzáva, t'idáva, (M.); khutíláva, (M. 7)
- SEIZED, to be,—Astárgiováva, (Tch.)
- SELF,—Kórkoro, korkoró, (M.)
- SELL, to,—Bikínáva, bináva, (Eng.); biknáva, (Tch.); bit'ináva, (M.); bikináva, (Psp. M., M. 7)
- SOLD, to be,—Bikéngiováva, (Tch.)
- SEMPSTRESS,—Siva-mengri, (Eng.)
- SEND, to,—Bitcháva, (Eng.); bichaváva, (Tch., M. 7); tradáva, (M.)
- SENT,—Bitched, bitcheno, (Eng.)
- SEPARATED, to be,—Despérisard'ováva, (M.)
- SEPARATED,—Osébit, de osébit, rig, énkri, (M.)
- SEPULCHRE,—Mulleno kár, (Eng.)
- SERPENT,—Sap, sarp, (Eng.); sapp, (Tch., Psp. M.); sap, (M.)
- SERPENT, of or belonging to,—Sappanó, sappékoro, (Tch.); sapunó, (M.)
- SERVANT,—Charékoro, (Tch.); hargát, hargáto, hargátu, slúga, (pl.) slúhi, (fem.) slúzhnikó, (fem.) slúzhnika, (M.)
- SERVE, to,—Slúzhiáva, slúzhisaráva, (M.)
- SERVICE,—Slúzhba, (M.)
- SET OUT, to,—Nasháva, radáva, (Tch.)
- SEVEN,—Eft, (Eng.); eftá, (Tch., Psp. M., M. 7)
- SEVENTEEN,—Desh ta eft, (Eng.); desh-i-eftá, (Psp. M.); desh-u-efta, (Tch.)
- SEVENTY,—Eftavardéri, (Psp. M.); vdominda, (Tch.)
- SEVERAL,—Azóm, (Tch., M. 7)
- SEW, to,—Siváva, (Eng., Tch., Psp. M., M. 8)
- SHADE,—Vuchál, uchál, (Tch.); úmbra, (M.); vuchal, (M. 8)
- SHAKE, to,—Klétisaráva, klétisard'ováva, mish-tiáva, skuturisaráva, (M.); chinaváva, (M. 7)
- SHAMBLES,—Týétúrě, (M.)
- SHAME,—Patch, (Eng.); laj, lach, lajaibé, (Tch.); lazhaó, lazhaó, okárě, (M.); laj, (M. 8)
- SHARE, to,—Ulaváva, (Tch.); émpércoáva, émpér-césaráva, (M.)
- SHARPEN, to,—Askucésaráva, (M.)
- SHATTER, to,—Pharaváva, (M.)
- SHAWL,—Kálavo, (Tch.)
- SHAVE, to,—Moráva, (Eng.); muntáva, muraváva, (Tch.); murinow, (Hun. Gip.); muráva, randáva, (M. 8); muntáva, (Psp. M.)
- SHAVE, to cause to,—Muntaváva, (Tch.)
- SHE,—Yoi, i, (Eng.); ôi, (Tch.); voy, (M.)
- SHEAF,—Párga, párga, (Tch.)
- SHEAR, to,—Moráva, (Eng.); kritizáva, (Tch.); murinow, (Hun. Gip.)
- SHEEP,—Bokra, (Eng.); bakró, (dim.) bakroró, bakrichó, (Tch., Psp. M.); bakára, (As. Tch.); bakri, (M.); bakro, (M. 7)
- SHEEP, of or belonging to,—Bokkeriskoe, (Eng.); bakrésoro, (Tch.)
- SHEEP-STEALING,—Bokra-choring, (Eng.)
- SHEET,—Plakta, diklo, (Eng.)
- SHELL,—Deryavákere laláska, (Tch.)
- SHEPHERD,—Bas-engro, bokkar-engro, (Eng.); ohobán, (M.)
- SHEPHERDESS,—Bokkari-gueri, (Eng.)
- SHEW, to,—Sikáva, (Tch.); sekaváva, (M.); chiváva, (M. 7); sikaváva, (M. 8)
- SHEW, to cause to,—Sikaváva, (Tch.)
- SHEWN, to be,—Siklováva, (Tch.)
- SHIFT (a garment),—Diklo, (Eng.)
- SHILLING,—Tringrosh, tringurushí, tringush, (Eng.)
- SHILLING, things costing a,—Tringurushengre, (Eng.)
- SHILLINGS,—Kollor, (Eng.)
- SHINE,—Záre, zarí, (M.)
- SHIP,—Berro, béro, (Eng.); beró, (Tch., Psp. M.); beró, (Span. Gip.); korábiya, korábiye, karábiya, (M.); bero, (M.)
- SHIRT,—Gad, (Eng.); gad, gat, (dim.) gadoró, sálavo, (Tch.); gh'aili, (As. Tch.); gádo, gad, rókiya, rókiye, (M.); gad, (M. 7); salavo, (M. 8)
- SHIRT, wearing a,—Gadaló, (Tch.)
- SHIVER, to,—Akaráva, akeráva, acharáva, (Tch.)
- SHOE,—Chok, (Eng.); triak, álbená, urydinó, (Tch.); chízma, khérě, kéré, (M.); triak, (Psp. M., M. 8)
- SHOES, to put on,—Podisaráva, podisard'ováva, (M.)

## MISCELLANEA.

THE RELIGION OF THE ARABS.<sup>1</sup>

It is commonly supposed that the people of Arabia are adherents of the Muslim faith, and that their hostility towards Christians is properly attributable to this circumstance. The fact is, however,—as was pointed out by Burckhardt in the early part of the present century, and as has been noted by other travellers since then,—their hostility is directed not towards Christians alone, but towards all foreigners whatsoever,—especially English foreigners, whom they regard as interlopers visiting them with ulterior views.<sup>2</sup> That not Christians, *qua* Christians, are alone the objects of their aversion, is proved by the fact that, in our own times, a Jew was, on detection in Makkâ, instantly seized and put to death.<sup>3</sup> The sentiment is not unexampled;—a similar dislike of all interlopers marks the Afghâns and the Nepâlis to this day, and marked, in times not very remote, the kingdom of Burma and the empire of China. But in Arabia the aversion to interlopers has undoubtedly the added element inherited by the tribes there from the days of (Isma'il) Ishmael; for that aversion was abundantly evinced long before the birth of Muhammad. It knows no difference of tribe, nationality, or creed; even the faithful themselves, unless they are in a position to hold their own, are not exempted from the misanthropy of these weird Children of the Desert. Their self-segregation is totally different in its genesis from the mere religious antipathy which characterizes the Muhammadan; and it is difficult to account for it, excepting on the principle that the Arabs are the sons of their father, of whom it was said, 'His hand will be against every man, and every man's hand against him.'

This aversion cannot be of the nature of religious exclusiveness, for it is *not* a fact that the Arabs are adherents of the Muslim faith. This might be shewn in a variety of ways, of which, for our present purpose, we will select only one,—the attitude of these men towards the institutes of Muhammad. Of these, one of the most distinctive was the ordinance by which the Prophet enjoined upon his followers for ever the observance of the lunar calendar. He did not, as is often erroneously supposed, give the months new names; what he did was to forbid the practice of inter-

calation, by which those who observed the solar method were wont to balance one year with another, in such a way that the same month always occurred at the same season of the year. This practice the Prophet found to appertain among the Jews and Christians of Syria, and he denounced it as an act of 'infidelity,' and a departure from God's original intention 'in the day when He created heaven and earth.'<sup>4</sup> And it is to this arrangement of his that the curious phenomenon is traceable, which all English people, who have resided in the East, have noticed,—that the months of the Muhammadans retrograde through all the seasons of the year, and in the course of a little more than three and thirty years, each month comes back to its original place; having in the meantime retrograded through all the seasons.<sup>5</sup> When Muhammad authorised this change in the calendar, it was the month of December: in other words, it was the cool season, and the days were at their shortest; and it was not so difficult to keep the Fast of Ramazân. But he was 'an unlettered man,' as he tells us in the *Qurân*,<sup>6</sup> and little foresaw what the effect would be that would overtake his followers. But fifteen years after the establishment of this institute (when he had long been dead and gone) the month of the Fast fell in the hottest season of the year; so that then, and ever since then, the observance of this 'holy month' has led to the death of numbers of his followers (especially among the young) from the combined operation of heat and thirst in the hottest months of the year.<sup>7</sup> But the genuine Arabs—the descendants of Isma'il and of his remote ancestor Qahtân<sup>8</sup>—never fell in with this new arrangement; and to this day they observe the customs of their progenitors of the times before Muhammad—even refusing to relinquish the very names by which their ancestors designated the months several centuries before Muhammad was born.<sup>9</sup>

We have made allusion to the current opinion, that the names applied in the present day to the months by the Faithful were originated and applied by Muhammad. This opinion would seem to have arisen out of a misunderstanding of a statement long since made by the learned Dr. Prideaux, the celebrated Dean of Norwich,—that

<sup>1</sup> Reprinted from the *Civil and Military Gazette* Lahore, 22nd December 1885.

<sup>2</sup> Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia*, i. 385 (edn. Lond. 1829).

<sup>3</sup> This poor creature—in derision for his religion, and apparently in mockery of the great crime of his ancestors—was (so Burckhardt tells us) put to death there by crucifixion.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Qurân*, ch. ix. vv. 36, 37.

<sup>5</sup> Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, iii. 48-9 (Edn. Lond. 1861).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Qurân*, ch. vii. vv. 158-9, and ch. xxix. v. 47.

<sup>7</sup> Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali, *Muslimans of India*, I. 178-205 (Edn. Lon. 1832.)

<sup>8</sup> [Cf. I. *Chronicles*, i. 17-28.—Ed.]

<sup>9</sup> Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahâbis*, ii. 361 (Edn. Lond. 1831).

under the influence of Muḥammad the old names of the months became 'totally abolished.'<sup>10</sup> Now, Prideaux (apart altogether from his personal characteristics as a controversialist) was, and is to this day, a very high authority in Arabian learning: yet, this statement of his is a pure *lapsus memoriæ*, and is an additional proof that even 'Homer sometimes nods': for the learned Doctor himself gives us on the same page of his imperishable work,<sup>11</sup> an historical account of the Arabian calendar directly subversive of his own assertion. The truth is, that the names at present in vogue for the Muhammadan months were first applied to them by Kilāb-ibn-Murra, a scion of the great tribe of the Quraish.<sup>12</sup> This man was father of the celebrated Qusai, and fifth in descent from Fihir Quraish, and was (according to the calculations of M. Caussin de Perceval) born in A.D. 358,—just two centuries and twelve years before the birth of Muḥammad.<sup>13</sup> He was the great-grandfather of Hāshim, himself the great-grandfather of Muḥammad, and was thus the Prophet's sixth ancestor.<sup>14</sup> There is reason to believe that this man, Kilāb, borrowed the solar or intercalary method which he established in the Hijaz, from the Jews; and it is understood by the generality of Arabists that he did so with the view of fixing the time of the annual pilgrimage to Makka (a religious observance of the Arabs from unknown ages before the time of Muḥammad) to a convenient season of the year.<sup>15</sup> This is evident from the meanings of the names which he applied to the months. For prior to the time of this ancient Arab Chief, the months of the Arabs had other names than those they now bear; and the new ones, having been adopted by the tribe of the Quraish (whose influence in commercial and ecclesiastical affairs at Makka was predominant) eventually superseded the others.<sup>16</sup> Now, it is a curious historical phenomenon that down to the time of Muḥammad, Arabia had long produced a great man once in about two centuries, the influence of whom had centred in Makka, and had extended more or less extensively over the entire continent. The Amalekites, the Jurhumites, the

Khuzā'ites, had each in succession obtained ascendancy there at distances of time approximating to that figure; Fihir, Kilāb, Qusai, Hāshim, had severally had their day; and at length, in apparent obedience to this singular law (first pointed out by a great Oriental savant of our own times, Dr. Aloys Sprenger)<sup>17</sup> Muḥammad's turn arrived. These men and dynasties left each of them their mark upon the national history of the Arabs, in one way or another; and the part reserved for Kilāb was the reform of the calendar and the giving of new names to the months. The principle which influenced him in the change he authorized, was that he might apply to the months names expressive of customs and phenomena with which the Arabs in general were familiar; and while doing so, to mark, at the same time, the Sacred Months and the season of the national pilgrimage.<sup>18</sup> This he did, by giving to the 'four sacred months,' so-called (the first, the seventh, the eleventh, and the twelfth) names appropriate to the sentiments which the Arabs had come to cherish towards them, and by stamping upon the name of one of them (the twelfth) the designation of the yearly pilgrimage.<sup>19</sup>

Now, apart from the fact that the statement of Dr. Prideaux might very reasonably lend support to the inference that down to the time of Muḥammad, the months of the Arabs bore different names to those they now bear—an inference the unsoundness of which has been shewn in the facts just stated—this learned writer further tells us that the names given by Kilāb were adopted all over Arabia 'when Mahomet had brought all the rest of the tribes, besides the Korashites, (Quraish) under his power.'<sup>20</sup> But it has been repeatedly proved by different writers, that the whole of the Arabs never were converted to Islām;<sup>21</sup> that of those who in Muḥammad's life-time professed conversion to it, the greater number apostatized as soon as the news of his decease reached them, and became forthwith the enemies of those who continued in the Faith;<sup>22</sup> and that to this day the Badāwis, who more than any others may be said to be the children of the soil, are the chief

<sup>10</sup> Prideaux, *Life of Mahomet*, p. 2 (Edn. 7th, Lond. 1718.)

<sup>11</sup> We use this language advisedly, for a work that went through three editions in one year in times when books were costly and readers of such weighty works as his were comparatively few; a work from which friends and foes have never ceased to borrow, and over which, after the lapse of a couple of centuries, controversialists of all shades of opinion still think it worth their while to quarrel,—such a work as that must be possessed of quite unusual vitality.

<sup>12</sup> Lane, *Arabic Lexicon*, p. 1254, col. 2.

<sup>13</sup> De Perceval, *Histoire des Arabes*, i. 231 (Edn. Paris 1847); Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, i. Introd. pp. cxv., cxix. and p. 13 of the Biography there. Cf. Golius *Notæ*, ad *Alfraganum*, p. 4.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. the Genealogical Lists of the Arabs in Sale, de Perceval, Muir, Sprenger and other writers.

<sup>15</sup> Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, i. Introd. p. ccvi. (note.)

<sup>16</sup> Prideaux, *Life of Mahomet*, p. 2.

<sup>17</sup> Sprenger, *Life of Mohammed*, 83 (Edn. Allahabad, 1861).

<sup>18</sup> Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, i. Introd. pp. cccv.—vii.

<sup>19</sup> Namely, Zu'l-Hijja,—*lit.* 'that to which the Haj' (the Pilgrimage) appertains.

<sup>20</sup> Prideaux, *Life of Mahomet*, p. 2.

<sup>21</sup> Burton, *Pilgrimage to Meccah*, ii. 109, (Edn. 2nd (Lond. 1867).)

<sup>22</sup> In Muir's *Annals of the Early Caliphate*, Osborn's *Islam under the Arabs*, Ockley's *History of the Saracens*, and in many other works treating of the times immediately following the Prophet's decease, overwhelming evidence in corroboration of this statement will be found.

foes of those who engage in the pilgrimage to Makka.<sup>25</sup>

The power of these men in the Arabian continent is paramount over every other power,—even that of the Sultān himself, who is popularly supposed to be the supreme ruler of the land: and the power they wield without mercy is unique in its kind. With the single exception of the kingdom of Najd, the home of Wāh-hābiism in the Highlands of Arabia, these wild descendants of Isma'il are, for all practical purposes, masters of the whole continent through the length of it and the breadth of it. They hold such complete supremacy there, that they even exact from the representatives of the Sublime Porte itself an annual tax for the liberty of traversing the territory which their tribes severally hold in the Desert. The supremacy even of the Sultān himself, the political and ecclesiastical head of the Faith, is but nominal there, for even he has to pay a tax for travelling through a continent supposed to be part of his own dominions. Since the time of the supercession of the Fātimi emperors at Cairo by the 'U-mānīs of Constantinople, no Sultān has ever made the pilgrimage to Makka. The Mahmil, however, has for centuries past been the recognized symbol of royalty in the Syrian and Egyptian caravans, and this curious memorial is always surrounded, along the whole route, by certain high officers of state, who serve as the living representatives of the civil and ecclesiastical authority of the reigning Sultān. In other words, even though the Sultān himself were present in the caravan, that would make no difference to the Badāwis. He still would have to submit to the impost. On one occasion, the Syrian caravan, which included (as it always and necessarily does) the representatives of his authority, declined to pay the tax. When the season of pilgrimage came round in the following year, a vast horde of Badāwis (numbering forty thousand) lay in ambush among the hills of the Hījāz, and rushed without parley upon the pilgrim host, and slew

the main portion of them; nor would they permit the caravan to pass until the annual tax for that and the preceding year had been fully paid.<sup>26</sup>

Now the men who thus, for all practical purposes, are the masters of Arabia, are the hereditary and time-worn enemies of the Faithful, and no dignitary of Islām, from the Sultān downwards, can undertake the stupendous task of traversing the continent unless he make his account with them. Their demands, however exorbitant, have to be meekly conceded by all,—without dispute, and with as little delay as possible; and their very subsistence, from century to century, is mainly derived from levies remorselessly exacted from those whose only business in their quarters is the fulfilment of the precepts of the Prophet. The pilgrims, rich or poor, have no greater enemies than these natives of Arabia,—whom they describe with a cynical sneer, as *ḥardmī*, 'highway robbers.'<sup>27</sup>

The very name of these Arabians is a signal of terror to pilgrims. It is on record, that when the leaders of the ceremonies of 'Arafat are anxious to hurry the worshipping multitude away with all possible haste to the next station, Muzdalifa, no 'cry' more effectually clears the ground than the cry of the near approach of a swarm of Badāwis!<sup>28</sup> It is a curious comment upon the often-vaunted supremacy of the Islamic religion throughout the continent of Arabia, that a Christian or a Jew quietly visiting the Shrine of the Faith, should, on detection, be instantly slain by the constituted authorities at Makka without the form of trial, while these hereditary foes of the Faithful should be at liberty to traverse even the Sacred Territory,<sup>29</sup> everywhere and at all times, without fear of the reigning power or any of its representatives at the 'Holy Places of the Faith';<sup>30</sup> and that any such thing as an appeal to the Sultān against the brutalities of these men in his own dominions—even in Makka itself—could elicit from him nothing but a confession of utter helplessness. We submit that such an anomaly as this

<sup>25</sup> Palgrave, *Central and Eastern Arabia*, i. 223 of (Edn. 2nd, Lond. 1865).

<sup>26</sup> Burckhardt, *Bedouins and Wahabys*, i. 5—8, 28, 118, 194, and ii. 3, 7, 23-4, 26, 31, 33-4, 229, 273; Niebuhr, *Travels in Arabia*, ii. 25-8 (Edn. Heron, Edinb. 1792); Crichton, *History of Arabia*, i. 183 (Edn. Edinb. 1834); Burckhardt, *Arabia*, i. 413; Burton, *Pilgrimage*, i. 255.

<sup>27</sup> This name 'Ḥarāmī' is an honourable title among the Badāwis, especially among those of them who haunt the territory that lies between Makka and Madīna. A man slain in a foray, Burton tells us (*Pilgrimage*, ii. 101), is said to die *ghandus*, 'a brave'—to die 'game,' in fact—while the man among them who dies in his bed is called 'carrion' (*fātā*). The mother of such a one will exclaim,—'Oh that my son had perished of a cut throat!' And her attendant crones will suggest, with deference, that such untoward event came of the will of Allah.

<sup>28</sup> Burton, *Pilgrimage*, ii. 324—5.

<sup>29</sup> The term is the recognised translation of the word 'Ḥaram'—the designation technically applied to the portion of the country stretching away from Makka as a centre to various distances ranging severally from forty to about a hundred and forty-five miles in the different directions from the city. The designation was first applied to the locality by the confederation known as 'the Ḥarāmī League,'—an alliance of the local tribes which was found there long before the time of the Muhammadan ascendancy.

<sup>30</sup> We allude, of course, to Makka and Madīna, at both of which places there are certain established officials appointed by the Turkish Government. Strictly speaking, however, the term is applied only to certain localities within the limits of the territory defined in the preceding footnote.



it would be impossible to match in the history of human government. If Christians are 'Infidels,' what are the Badâwis? These men are not regarded by the pilgrims as converts to Islâm; and so far from its being a fact, as stated by Dr. Prideaux, that the ancient names of the months were 'totally abolished' under the influence of Muhammad's ascendancy, the names given them by Kilâb, have not, even down to this late period, been accepted by all the Arabs. This statement is fully borne out by so high an authority as Burckhardt, who gives a list of the names which these indomitable sons of the soil still give to the months.<sup>29</sup> Almost the only trace of the ascendancy of the Prophet among them is to be found in the fact that his name is occasionally found among them as a proper name of male persons: but for the most part, even the names they give to their children are distinctly names embodying allusion to the gods and goddesses of the pre-Islamite times.<sup>30</sup>

The names given by Kilâb to the months, having been (as they were) left unaltered by Muhammad, came into use, of course, wherever his pretensions were fully admitted and his institutes adopted. But it is difficult to break up and revolutionise the immemorial customs of a host of segregated and hostile races devoted to wild and wandering habits; and such difficulty must ever be enhanced by the gross ignorance of the Arabs. It is, therefore, not to be wondered at that Muhammad has failed, even down to the present moment, to revolutionise such a thing as the nomenclature of the calendar in the lingo of these wild and untutored desert men. So feeble, indeed, is the hold which his religion and his authority have among the tribes, that a faithful eye-witness records that one of the tribes deliberately disregard the obligatory nature of the four sacred months,<sup>31</sup>—though the observance of this pre-Islamite usage was confirmed by Muhammad.<sup>32</sup> Notwithstanding the fact that the Prophet re-affirmed the 'sacred-

ness' of these months,—during which, before his time, peace became a religious duty recognized by all Arabs,—the people of this tribe have allowed the observance to fall into disuse; if indeed they ever recognized it at all. This same authority asserts that the members of this tribe attack their enemies even in the 'holy month' of Ramazan,<sup>33</sup>—a month whose immunity is distinctly owing to the teachings of the author of the *Qurân*.<sup>34</sup> To call such persons Muhammadans—to assert that they are converts to the Faith of the Prophet—is but to ensure contradiction, and awaken sentiments of disgust in the mind of any intelligent Muhammadan. There is evidence in overwhelming abundance in the pages of dispassionate travellers, to shew that the chief perils of pilgrims to the Shrine of the Faith during those months which the Prophet held to be 'sacred' arise from the denizens of the country themselves alone; and the evidence shews that the Arab tribes, disregarding entirely the religion of the pilgrims, and the self-denying and most costly errand on which they travel, consider the pilgrimage season their great opportunity for plunder.<sup>35</sup> One of these travellers says,—'Muhammad and his followers conquered only the more civilized Badâwis; and there is even to this day little or no religion amongst the wild people except those on the coast or in the vicinity of cities. The Faith of the Badâwis comes from Islâm, whose hold is weak; but his customs and institutions, the growth of his climate, his nature and his wants are still those of his ancestors, cherished ere Makka had sent forth a Prophet, and likely to survive the day when every vestige of the Ka'aba shall have disappeared. Of this nature are the Hijâzîs' pagan oaths,<sup>36</sup> their heathenish names,<sup>37</sup> their ordeal of licking red-hot iron, their *salkh* (or scarification,—proof of manliness), their blood revenge, their eating carrion (*i.e.* the body of an animal killed without the usual formula<sup>38</sup>); and their lending their wives to

<sup>29</sup> Burckhardt, *Bedouins and Wahabys*, ii. 361.

<sup>30</sup> Burton, *Pilgrimage*, ii. 109.

<sup>31</sup> Burckhardt, *Bedouins and Wahabys*, i. 147, Cnf. ii. 172.

<sup>32</sup> *Qurân*, ch. v. vv. 3, 3, and ch. ix. vv. 1, 2, 5.

<sup>33</sup> Burckhardt, *Bedouins and Wahabys*, i. 148 (note.) He added:—'There are, however, in every lunar month three days during which the Aenezes never fight: the sixth, the sixteenth, and the night of the twenty-first.' Again,—'The Aenezes likewise abstain from fighting on a Wednesday, superstitiously believing that they should lose the battle.' Such abstention, however, is clearly a very different thing from yielding obedience to the command of the Prophet as to the four months' immunity.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. *Qurân*, ch. ii. vv. 185 seqq.

<sup>35</sup> Palgrave, *Central and Eastern Arabia*, i. 223; Burckhardt, *Arabia*, i. 129, and ii. 109, 129, 408; Keith,

*Evidence of Prophecy*, 517; Burton, *Pilgrimage*, iii. 358 (Edn. 1st, Lond. 1854); Burckhardt, *Bedouins and Wahabys*, i. 71, 77, 118, 157, and ii. 9, 35, 39; Mills, *History of Muhammedanism*, 452 (Edn. 2nd, Lond. 1818). These places contain but a few samples of the evidence to which we allude.

<sup>36</sup> That is to say, maledictions and invocations in which are embodied the names of the deities supposed to have been demolished by Islâm.

<sup>37</sup> Such as 'Abdu's-Shams (servant of the Sun), 'Abdu'l-Manât, 'Abdu'l'Uzza, and many others common still among the Arabs, though they embody (as do these two) the names of the fetishes.

<sup>38</sup> On slaying an animal for food, the butcher recites the formula:—*Bismillâh, Allahu Akbar*, 'In the Name of Allah,—Allah is Supreme!' To partake wittingly of meat slain without the recital of this formula, is considered tantamount to apostasy from the Faith.

strangers.<sup>30</sup> All these I hold to be remnants of some old creed; nor should I despair of finding among the Badāwis bordering upon the great desert some lingering system of idolatry.<sup>31</sup> This is plain language,—considering that it is from the pen of a traveller who never was suspected of a bigoted aversion to the religion of the Prophet. And this dispassionate eye-witness elsewhere records<sup>32</sup> that there are even among the Badāwis of the Hijāz itself, young men who, as an introduction to life, risk everything in order to plunder a pilgrim. They care but little for the value of the things stolen: the glory of the exploit consists in the act of robbing a pilgrim!<sup>33</sup>

It surely will not be pretended by any sensible man, that such persons are to be counted among the trophies of the Prophet? He was wont to say,—‘A fast of but one day in a sacred month is better than a fast of thirty days in another month; and a fast of but one day in Ramazān is more meritorious than a fast of thirty days in a sacred month.’<sup>34</sup> All these months, Ramazān included, are (as has been shown) disregarded by the Arabs. Yet the great importance of the whole matter of these months, in the judgment of the founder of the Faith, would, we submit, scarcely have been more forcibly taught; and placed in juxtaposition with the unconcealed contempt shewn towards them and towards the religious observances, the performance of which they were intended to secure, by the innumerable tribes who form the permanent population of the land, the tradition brings to a point the view we have sought to establish,—that the genuine sons of the soil, the men who for all intents and purposes are the real masters or Arabia and even of the Sacred Territory itself, are not Muhammadans at all.

#### SOME HINTS ON LOOKING FOR MEGALITHIC MONUMENTS AND STONE IMPLEMENTS IN INDIA.

Before entering on their career in Asia, few Indian officials have had time or opportunity to study the stone circles, monoliths, and stone implements in England, Brittany, and the Channel

Islands, and therefore, should they meet with such monuments or stones in India, they are apt to not recognize them; or, if they do so, to fail to understand the interest and importance which antiquarians in Europe would attach to any observations they might make regarding them, provided they take note of certain points to which my attention was drawn by Captain Lukie, who assisted his late father, the well-known archaeologist, in making excavations in the Channel Islands and Brittany some years ago, and in studying the inscribed and cup-marked stones of the sepulchral and ceremonial structures of Brittany and Guernsey.

Stone structures may be of six kinds:—

- I. Sepulchral receptacles, i. e. chambers and cists.
- II. Monoliths, or stone pillars.
- III. Avenues of monoliths, composed of two or more rows of pillars.
- IV. Monoliths in a single row.
- V. Circles of monoliths.
- VI. Small circular enclosures of stone and earth having a small low entrance or doorway, i. e. hut circles, or dwellings.

It is with regard to the sepulchral monuments that hints are specially necessary.

In the first place the observer should learn to distinguish between a chamber and a cist. A chamber has three sides enclosed by slabs set on end, or by a walling of dry masonry, or by a mingling of both, the fourth being open for use (if when required). Sometimes a passage or covered way is attached. A cist has all its four sides closed, and is not intended to be opened again for other interments. The former may therefore be regarded as a family vault; the latter as a grave for one individual. The covering of either consists of flat slabs laid across, or forming a rude arched roof.

The orientation of both chambers and cists should be noted by a pocket compass.

It should also be stated, in any account which may be given of megalithic monuments, whether a mound of small stones or earth covered the chambers or cists, or whether any vestige of such mound be observable.

<sup>30</sup> The reader will find some account of this strange custom in Burckhardt, *Arabia*, ii. 378; and Pischel, *Races of Man*, 220. [See also Robertson Smith, *Kinship and marriage in Early Arabia*, *passim*.—Ed.]

<sup>31</sup> Burton, *Pilgrimage*, ii. 109.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.* 353.

<sup>33</sup> It is told of the Lahoba, a sect of the 'Auf tribe near Bābigh, that a girl will refuse even her cousin, unless (in the absence of other opportunities) he has plundered some article from the pilgrim caravan in the very front of the Pasha's links. Detected fifty years ago, the delinquent would have been impaled; now he escapes with a mere rib-roasting. Fear of the blood-

feud, and the certainty of a shut road to future travellers, prevent the Turks from attempting to exact reprisals: and they conceal their weakness by pretending that the Sultān hesitates to wage a war of extermination with the brigands who occupy the 'Holy-land of the Faith'. The futility of such a pretence is manifest enough, when we remember that no army, however well equipped,—not even the armies of the Greeks and Romans in their best days,—was ever able to conquer the Badāwis in their own Deserts.—Burton, *Pilgrimage*, ii. 101.

<sup>34</sup> Sale, *Prel. Disc. Sect. iv.* (p. 81). Cf. Morgan, *Mahometism Explained*, ii. 2-16 (Edn. Lond. 1723).

Careful search should be made for cup-markings or other sculptures on the stones of the various monuments, as well as upon rocks or exposed upright stones in their neighbourhood.

Inquiry should be made whether human remains, manufactured stone, bone, or other instruments and ornaments, or clay vessels, or bronze or iron fragments, have been found in the chambers or cists.

If cup-markings are present, it is very desirable to know on *which face* of the stone they exist, *i. e.* on the outer, or the inner surface. It is also most important in all cases of cup-markings that the arrangement should be carefully noted.

If possible, plans, elevations, and sections of the monuments drawn to scale, or approximate measures, should be given.

With regard to stone implements, it is of great interest and importance to the ethnological student to be informed whether any specimens discovered in India present any special peculiarities of form; whether they are grooved or plain, rough or polished, and whether they bear any signs of having been worked up with a metal tool or of having been simply chipped to the required shape and ground down to a smooth surface by friction; and last, but not least, of *what kind of stone they consist*. Should they consist of a kind of stone not found in the part of the country where they are discovered, then the nearest known locality of such stone should be stated. A slight knowledge of mineralogy would enable the observer to supply this information. This point, if insisted upon, might assist in determining the course of the former migrations of various races;—for instance, stone implements have been found in Brittany and in the Channel Islands made of fibrolite,<sup>1</sup> a stone known not to exist nearer to these places than Hungary. Others again have been discovered of jadeite, a stone coming from the east. Such implements were evidently much-prized objects. They are rare in comparison with those made of more ordinary kinds of stone, show signs of more careful workmanship, and possess a considerable degree of polish. Time was, perhaps, when they were their owners' most cherished possessions. If we knew their former history what would it not reveal to us?

H. G. M. MURRAY-AYNSLEY.

#### NOTES ON THE EARLY HISTORY OF PEGU; BY THE LATE SIR ARTHUR PHAYRE.

In looking over some old letters I have found two or three from Sir Arthur Phayre, whose loss we have all deplored.

<sup>1</sup> Captain Lukis recently informed me that he once received a very coarse fragment of a species of fibrolite forwarded by Professor Lane from Spain, but it is not

The following, which I now transcribe, contains some inquiries to which I was unable to reply so fully as I could have wished at the time. They are still, however, not devoid of interest, particularly the name Su-bein-ga or Su-bein-na, which I cannot identify. I had an opportunity of noticing the general tenor of his note, and of some similar remarks subsequently received, in my contribution to the *International Numismata Orientalia*, pp. 109-10, 134-35.

I take this opportunity of recording my sincere regard for my departed friend, and my appreciation of the excellent service he has rendered to Oriental Archaeology.

WALTER ELLIOT.

#### MY DEAR ELLIOT,

In comparing your Numismatic Gleanings with statements in the early history of Pegu, I find many points which illustrate the received accounts of settlements from Telingana on the coast of Pegu in the early Hindu times and afterwards when the Buddhists sent Missionaries. At the same time the Pegu historians sometimes evidently "make up" stories. For instance, they say Pegu city was founded by the sons of the king of Vijayanagar. Now, as Vijayanagar was not founded until the 14th century, and Pegu city was founded A.D. 573, it is evident this is a "make up." But do you think there was an ancient Vijayanagar? If so, at what period? The Pegu histories speak of people coming to Pegu from the country of Ka-ra-na-ka, and the city of Su-bein-ga, or Su-bein-na in that country. Is there such a word now in use for the North Carnatic, or what was the ancient name?

The people of Pegu call the Telinga people now in the country "Ka-lay." What can this be from? The word Chulya is frequently applied to the native seamer from Coringa, but this is more by the Mahommedans than by the Burmese or Talaiings. Is this word still used about Coringa and Râjamahendri?

In Burma the system of weights has originally come from Telingana, though no doubt much altered now. The *vis* in use is 3½ pounds Avoirdupois. Does this correspond in name and weight with that still in use in any district? The *tickal*, so called by Europeans, the Burmese call *kydt*. It is about 250 grains weight. Has this word a Telugu origin? I feel I am giving you a deal of trouble. There is one more word I will ask about. European broadcloth is called

the same substance as that of which the implements found in the Channel Islands and at Carnac in Brittany were made.

*thek-ka-lat*, is this word explainable from any Telugu word?

Very sincerely yours,  
A. P. PHAYRE.

BRAY, Co. WICKLOW, IRELAND,  
23rd November 1871.

#### CURIOSITIES OF INDIAN LITERATURE.

LAKHIMĀ THAKURĀNĪ.

Lakhimā Thakurānī was a famous poetess of Mithilā. I have not been able to obtain any particulars as to when she lived. Numerous stories are told of her learning. The following are samples:—When her daughter was of age to be sent to her husband, she wrote the following letter to the young Pāṇḍit to whom the girl was married. The text in this is written as it was given me, but is probably corrupt:—

आक्रान्ता दशमभवातिथिनास्यामूर्छिता निर्जले  
तुर्वेदादशवर्षीयमतिमजेकादशाभस्तिनी।  
सा षष्ठी नृपपञ्चमस्य नवमहूः सप्तमीवर्जिता  
प्रामोदयष्टमवेष्टनां परिहरेन्तुर्न तृतीयोक्तवः ॥

To understand the above, it is necessary to know that the numbers refer to the signs of the zodiac, which are as follows:—

- |          |            |
|----------|------------|
| 1. मेष   | 7. तुला    |
| 2. मृष   | 8. वृश्चिक |
| 3. मिथुन | 9. धनुः    |
| 4. कर्क  | 10. मकर    |
| 5. सिंह  | 11. कुम्भ  |
| 6. कन्या | 12. मीन    |

The translation is,—‘Attacked with the severe onslaught of the God of Love is she. Distraught like a crab or a fish in a dry place is she, O thou bull-minded one!—the damsel, round-formed as a water jar, with arched eyebrows, (the destined wife) of thou who art like a lion amongst kings, and who is not (gross) like (a shopkeeper’s wife who plies) the scales. She feels pain like that of a scorpion bite. Quickly let the result of married life relieve her.’

In accordance with Lakhimā Thakurānī’s letter, the young Brāhman came, and after the usual ceremonies, went with his wife into the bridal chamber. As, however, she was very young and tender he abstained from exercising his marital rights. The bride told her mother, who remonstrated with her son-in-law as follows:—

तन्वी बाला कृशतनुरियं त्यज्यतामत्र शकुन  
काविर्दृष्टा भ्रमरभरतो मञ्जरी भञ्जयामा।  
तस्मादेषा रहसि भवने निर्दयं पीडनीया  
मन्दाक्रान्तं बहुतरसं नो ददातीक्षुण्डः ॥

‘Be not afraid that the damsel is too slender. Has a flower-stalk ever been seen to be broken by the weight of a bee? Therefore in private must she be passionately given pangs. A piece of sugarcane (when pressed) gives us gently much sweetness.’

The son-in-law followed her advice, and next morning the following conversation took place between mother and daughter:—

Daughter.— मातः केलिगृहं न यामि शयने

Lakhimā.—

कस्माच्च चन्द्रानने

Daughter.— जामाता तव निर्वयो निजमुजे बद्धो ऽपि  
मां पीडनं (sc. ददाति) ॥

अङ्गारज्वणतां करोति च नखैर्वन्तैश्च खण्डीकृता  
केनेयं रतिराक्षसेन रमिता शार्दूलविक्रीडिता ॥

‘O Mother, I will not retire again to the bridal chamber.’

‘Why not, my moon-faced one?’

‘Your son-in-law passionately gives me pangs, even when bound in my arms. He burns me as it were with live coals, and I am torn to pieces with his nails and teeth; of what love-demon am I the sport, and why does he play with me like a tiger?’

In the two last sets of verses मन्दाक्रान्तं and शार्दूल-विक्रीडिता are puns on the names of the metres.

A Pāṇḍit once came to try Lakhimā Thakurānī’s learning. She heard this, and disguising herself as a water-girl, went to meet him. The Pāṇḍit addressed her as follows:—

किं मां हि पश्यसि घटेन कटिस्थितेन

वक्त्रेण चारु परिमीलितलोचनेन।

अन्यं हि पश्य पुरुषं तव कार्ययोग्यं

नतहं घटाङ्गितकर्त्री प्रमदां स्तुषामि ॥

‘Why are you gazing at me, pitcher on hips, with languid eyes? Gaze on some other man suited for you. I touch not a fair one whose hip is marked with the pitcher.’

To this piece of impertinence she replied:—

सत्यं ब्रवीमि मकरध्वजबाणमुग्ध

नाहं स्वहर्षमनसा परिचिन्तयामि।

शस्तीऽद्य मे विपटितस्तव कुलधरूपः

स त्वं भवेन्नहि भवेदिति मे वितर्कः ॥

‘I faith, I tell thee, who art smitten by the arrow of love, that I am not so minded towards thee. I could not find my slave. You are like him, and I was merely trying to find out if you were he or not?’

Then the Pāṇḍit saw that she was Lakhimā, and admitted himself conquered.

## LAKHIMA THAKURANI AND THE BIKAUA.

In Mithilā, the men of a certain high sept of Brāhman are in the habit of selling their daughters and sisters in marriage to Brāhman of lower caste, and of marrying girls of lower caste on receipt of a consideration. This sept is called from its practices the sept of the विकौआ, or mercenary Brāhman. The practice is much reprobated by Brāhman of other septs. Lakhimā Thakurānī once noted a marriage celebrated with great pomp. It was one of these *Bikauds*, who had sold his sister in marriage to a man of low caste. She thereupon composed the following verse on the subject which has since been famous in Mithilā:—

चपलं तुरगं परिमत्स्यतः

पयि पौरजनान्परिमर्शयतः ।

नहि ते भुजभाग्यमवोविभवो

भगिनीमगमाम्भवो विभवः ॥

Freely translated,—‘You may make your spirited horses prance, and with them trample on the town-folk. But we all know that your wealth is not got by your own exertions but by the sale of your sister’s person.’ G. A. GRIERSON.

## THE ‘IYAR-I-DANISH.

SIR,—With reference to the remark in Vol. XIV. p. 264 *ante*, that the ‘*Iydr-i-Dānīsh* of Abu’l-Fazl

has never been edited, I would draw attention to the fact that lithographed copies of this book in Persian may be easily obtained in Bombay, Calcutta, Dehli, Lucknow, &c., as it is a very popular work, and is often preferred to its prototype the *Anvd-i-Suhaili*, which, although more elegant, is more difficult. E. R.

## PROTAP CHANDEA ROY’S MAHABHARATA.

We are glad to observe that H. H. the Rājā of Farīdkot has granted Rs. 500 towards Bābū Protap Chandra Roy’s excellent and colossal undertaking the translation of the *Mahābhārata*. We trust that this by no means isolated instance of H. H.’s munificence towards Indian literature will lead others of his rank to give similar aid.

An appeal, however, issued with Part 24, shews that the publisher is still hampered by an insufficiency of funds, and is obliged to ask for further pecuniary assistance in carrying on his patriotic and laudable undertaking. We confidently hope that his appeal will not be made in vain.

Having finished the lengthy *Vana-Parva*, the publisher has now issued Parts 24, 25, and 26, carrying us through the *Virāṭa-Parva*, and as far as Section 7 of the *Udyōga-Parva*. These Parts shew an improvement in both the style of printing and the quality of the paper, and thus indicate that the publisher is neglecting nothing that may tend to attract support to his work.

## BOOK NOTICES.

THE CAMELOT CLASSICS. (i) Malory’s History of King Arthur, edited by ERNEST RHYS. (ii) Thoreau’s Walden, edited by WILL. H. DIERCKS. London: Walter Scott.

The object of this series of little books, well printed, prettily bound in red cloth, and sold at a very cheap rate, is to make not only the more popular books of the “higher literature,” but the less-known works of English prose, accessible to every purse. “It is clear,” says the Editor of the series, “that there are many books of surpassing interest which are hidden away from the everyday reader, but which, by being brought again to light by sympathetic hands, having the right word spoken to put them in touch with the time, can hardly fail to gain new popular vogue.” A happy choice has fallen upon the well-known and most important romance of King Arthur as a commencement.

In reproducing Sir Thomas Malory’s celebrated work, the Editor has closely followed Caxton’s original text, so far as is consistent with the avowedly modernized form in which it is now put before the reader. Still this has entailed a certain amount of cutting about, which the student will

always have to keep in mind if he uses this edition.

In accordance with the general idea of the series, an introduction is provided explanatory of the original, and though this gives us little that is new it may generally be regarded as ‘safe’ and useful.

It is a far cry from King Arthur to the incubations which Thoreau, named after the scene of his self-chosen solitude for two years and two months, “on the shore of Walden Pond, in Concord, Massachusetts.” As a work of pure literature, no doubt, the work interests those who make that the pursuit of their lives, and the introduction is as sympathetic as a reader could wish, especially if he delight in the kind of *pabulum* which Thoreau so liberally furnishes.

On the whole, Editor and Publisher are both to be congratulated on the first two volumes of their venture.

SALAMMO, by GUSTAVE FLAUBERT: Englished by M. FRENCH SHELTON. Saxon & Co.; New York and London.

This is a translation of that very celebrated antiquarian novel, Flaubert’s *Salammbô*. Though

in fact a pure novel, the work has long been noted for containing a mine of archaeological lore regarding Carthage and the Carthaginians, as the result of the most laborious and painstaking researches extended over several years. The correctness of Flaubert's knowledge of details was several times assailed by French critics, but he always turned round upon them and showed that he was prepared with authority for every statement, and that he well knew what the real facts were whenever he took a liberty with history for literary effect. The story of Salammbô, daughter of Hamilcar Barca and sister of Hannibal, arises out of the struggle between the Carthaginians and the mercenaries they so ill-treated during the period separating the Second from the First Punic War. Though hardly coming within the scope of this Journal, the book is worth study as an accurate picture of life closely connected with matters Oriental. The translator may be fairly congratulated on successfully accomplishing the difficult task of rendering a work into English which has hitherto been held to be untranslatable.

MYTHS AND MYTH-MAKERS, by JOHN FISKE. Boston; Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

The full title-page of this now popular book—"Myths and Myth-makers, Old tales and Superstitions interpreted by Comparative Mythology"—has an ominous sound about it, especially since the whole method of the philological school of comparative mythologists has become so much discredited of late. Nor is confidence restored by the statement in the preface:—"I have not attempted to review otherwise than incidentally the works of Grimm, Müller, Kühn, Bréal, Dasent and Tylor; nor can I pretend to have added anything of consequence, save now and then some bit of explanatory comment to the results obtained by the labour of these scholars, but it has rather been my aim to present these results in such a way as to awaken general interest in them." Now it is the writings of Professors Max Müller and Kühn, as the chief exponents of what is known as the philological theory of comparative mythology, that are so very 'unsafe;' and the ideas that the general reader will imbibe, under their guidance, regarding the genesis and life of folklore, are not likely become any 'safer' by undergoing the process of being made popular.

The 'Origin of Folklore' is the title of the first subject which the author discusses, and a glance over this will sufficiently inform us as to the line of argument he has pursued and the manner in which he proposes to trace Folklore to its source. With him 'Folklore' and 'Folktale' are apparently synonymous, and folktales are the *débris* of native

myths. Everything is traceable to a myth about the sun or the moon or the elements. Mr. Fiske is in fact, a follower of Prof. Max Müller, and believes that the names of the actors and heroes in legends, myths and folktales, enclose the secret of their origin. To our mind this is an exceedingly unsafe criterion, and dependent at the best on etymologies, which are, to say the least, doubtful and far from being conclusive. To limit, in the first place, folklore to folktales forces us to treat such matters as proverbs, customs, and beliefs, as the *débris* of folktales, just as Mr. Fiske would treat folktales as the *débris* of myths, and myths as the outcome of "an unlimited capacity for believing and fancying." Now, to our thinking, folktales are only a portion of folklore, and to seek therefore a special origin for folktales apart from the rest of folklore is to treat the subject piecemeal—always a most unsafe proceeding. The rest of the theory, besides being capable of proof only by a process that is indecisive, is based on a notion that has not yet been proved to be correct, *viz.*, that the power of imagination of the ancients was unlimited. Why should the untutored man of antiquity be held to be endowed with a finer fancy than his modern cultivated descendant? The fact is, that the cultured imagination of the modern student, fascinated by the beauty that he puts into an ancient myth, has led him to lend his savage forefathers a mental capacity they never could have possessed. The "Max-Müllerian" theory contains indeed three fatal errors: it treats a part of the subject as the whole of it; it rests upon an uncertain and highly disputable basis; and it invests the savage with mental capacities of civilized and indeed cultivated man. If the cravings for ascertained truth, now so strong in the scientific student, are to be satisfied, some other plan for explaining folklore must be adopted, and Comparative Mythology, after a fair trial, may be looked upon as played out. Mr. Fiske says that the once fashionable theory of Euhemerus is dead beyond recovery, and he must forgive us for saying that the days of its successor are already numbered, and that before long the Philological Theory of Comparative Mythology will itself be counted as among the slain!

Having so far expressed ourselves as to the general tenor of Mr. Fiske's work, and our ideas as to the value of the theory to which he is devoted, we have nothing but admiration for the manner in which he has put it before the reader. Whether his conclusions are warrantable or not, his ideas are clearly expressed, and each portion of his book put together with a skill that has won its reward in the popularity of his series of short essays.

DISCURSIVE CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARDS THE COMPARATIVE STUDY  
OF ASIATIC SYMBOLISM.

BY H. G. M. MURRAY-AYNSLEY.

## VIII.

*The Evil Eye and Allied Notions.*

ONE of the old Hindu legends connected with Ganéśa, the elephant-headed god, the son of Śiva and his wife Pārvatī, is that as soon as he was born, his parents invited all the other gods and goddesses to come and see him, but by an unlucky accident they omitted or forgot to invite Śani, who appeared on the scene in a terrible rage, and with one glance of his eye caused the child's head to drop off. The other gods rushed out in horror and in their despair cut off the head of an elephant, which they found sleeping close by with its head towards the north. This they clapped on to the infant's body before its mother had time to see and prevent the transformation. This faith in the efficacy of the Evil Eye is fully believed in India to the present day.

It is also strong in most parts of the world, and still lingers amongst the peasantry in some counties in England, where there is a belief in 'Lucky Stones,' i.e. self-bored ones. A correspondent of the *English Notes and Queries* relates, how, on entering a house in a Yorkshire village, he observed a ponderous necklace of them hanging against the wall. On inquiring about them, he found the good woman of the house indisposed to give him any explanation regarding them, but he presently elicited from her that such stones had the credit of preserving the house and its inhabitants from the Evil Eye.

"Why," said he, "surely you don't believe in witches now-a-days?"

"No," she replied, "I don't say 'at I do, but certainly in former times there was wizards and hizzards, and them sort o' things."

"Well," the gentleman rejoined, "but surely you don't think there are any now?"

"No," I don't say 'at there are, but I do believe in a Yevil Eye."

Again, a peculiar race of people exists on the Island of Guernsey, who are accounted witches and are thought to have the power of casting the Evil Eye. As far as I have been hitherto

able to learn nothing is positively known of their antecedents. Some have thought they might be a remnant of a Keltic population; others that they are of Spanish, or of Gipsy blood. In type, features and complexion they are totally different to the other inhabitants of the island, having very dark hair and eyes, and olive skins. They are called Pipet (plural Pipiaux).<sup>1</sup> The Pipiaux are all small farmers, and live chiefly in St. Saviour's parish, in the district called The Forest, and near Lihon. Some of them occasionally go round to the different gentlemen's houses to dispose of their farm produce, and such is the dread they inspire in the mind of the true Guernsey servant, that should her mistress not purchase anything, she will herself give a small coin, and throw a handful of salt after them on their departure. Till very recently, no true Guernsey man or woman would marry a Pipet, but a mixed marriage did take place a year or two ago, and the couple are living, I believe, in St. Martin's parish. This union was, at the time, spoken of as tempting Providence, but contrary to the general expectation it has turned out well. A curious anecdote of these people was related to me by a lady who belongs to one of the oldest families in the Island. Before she married she resided at her father's house, which is about two miles from the town, and at Christmas it was not unusual for some of the poorer Pipiaux to come to the door and ask for a present, which was never refused them. But one Christmas day, a family who lived near them would not give an alms to a Pipet who came, and ordered the suppliant to go away, on which he said: "You think you are going to have a very good dinner to-day, but you are much mistaken." When the dinner hour came, though the roast beef and the roast turkey had been some hours before the fire they could not be cooked, and the family in despair sent over to the house of my informant's father to beg for a dinner. The only rational solution of the mystery was, that their larder being in a cold situation,

<sup>1</sup> I am doubtful whether this is the name of the clan, or of certain families only. It was a point on which I

could not obtain satisfactory information.

the meat had become frozen; but no doubt the servants of both families preferred to adhere to the theory that the provisions had been bewitched.

So far we have been dealing with the Evil Eye properly so called, but the modern Hindustānī word *nazar* for a mischief-glance is not quite equivalent to the English expression *The Evil Eye*, as it is much more comprehensive and implies the ill effects which may result from the gaze of *any one*, even of the most benevolent and affectionately disposed, if that gaze has induced in the mind of the gazer complete satisfaction at the object observed, whether animate or inanimate.<sup>2</sup> Evil intention is here left out of the question, and it is for this reason that Hindu mothers do not like any one (Europeans in particular) to admire their little ones too openly, nor to look at them when they are eating, lest they should cast the Evil Eye on them. This view of the Evil Eye is not confined to India, for in certain parts of Greece if a child is admired, it causes its mother the greatest consternation, and there mothers frequently decorate their infants' caps with coins or other bright ornaments to distract attention from the child to these objects; an idea of which more anon. An expression of approval or admiration is met with the entreaty "Don't give it the Evil Eye," and the mother immediately points with two fingers at the person or object in question, accompanying the gesture with the word for garlic, as garlic is deemed a sovereign antidote against this malign power: the origin of which notion is probably to be found in an idea prevalent both in parts of India and in Spain to a very great extent, that garlic and onions are preservatives against fever.<sup>3</sup>

Another development of the notion that the Evil Eye is inherent in certain people is to be found in Smyrna, where the lower classes believe it very unlucky to be looked at by a person with grey eyes.

In India the black or dark blue colours are frequently considered as protective against *nazar*. Thus in Upper Kunāwar, in the Satlaj Valley, it is quite a common occurrence—I may say almost the usual thing,—for a mother each

morning to make a black mark on her infant's forehead and nose with a bit of burnt stick, in order to preserve it from evil influences during the day. On the principle above explained, if a man be blind of one eye, or has any other optical defect, he is believed to be likely to cast *nazar* should he meet any one with a particularly fine pair of eyes, and for this reason many of the natives of India are said to put *kājāl* (lampblack) on their eyelids, or a piece of white thread hanging downwards, anything in short, to distract the attention of others, and avoid rousing feelings of covetousness in their minds. They also hold that if a person's eyes are encircled with *kājāl* they are themselves also incapable of casting *nazar*, and deem it a pretty thing for a woman thus to adorn herself, for in this case she can neither receive the ill effects of *nazar* nor impart them to others.<sup>4</sup>

The custom of using colours to distract attention from the thing to be protected is naturally not confined to black, and in other parts of India the natives sometimes paint all kinds of strange subjects in gaudy colours on the exterior of their houses, so that should any unlucky glance be turned towards their dwelling, it may be attracted by these representations and rest upon them, rather than on the house itself or its inmates. Similarly, we find Madame Carla Serena in her interesting work *Seule dans les Steppes* which appeared in 1883, saying that the Khirghiz have a great fear of the Evil Eye, and ornament the heads of their beasts with bright-coloured ribbons to frighten it away. She speaks of having seen in her wanderings whole troupes of camels thus decorated.

A mixture of all the above notion in one person once attracted my attention. In Corfu in 1883, I met a Christian woman from Alexandria, whose nationality was doubtful, but she spoke Italian fairly well, and I fancy she had a mixture of European and Egyptian blood in her veins. She was carrying an infant of about eight months old in her arms, whose waist was encircled with strings of coral to which were attached a silver whistle and bells, a boar's tusk, coral charms like those used at Naples against the Evil Eye, a piece of mother-o'-pearl

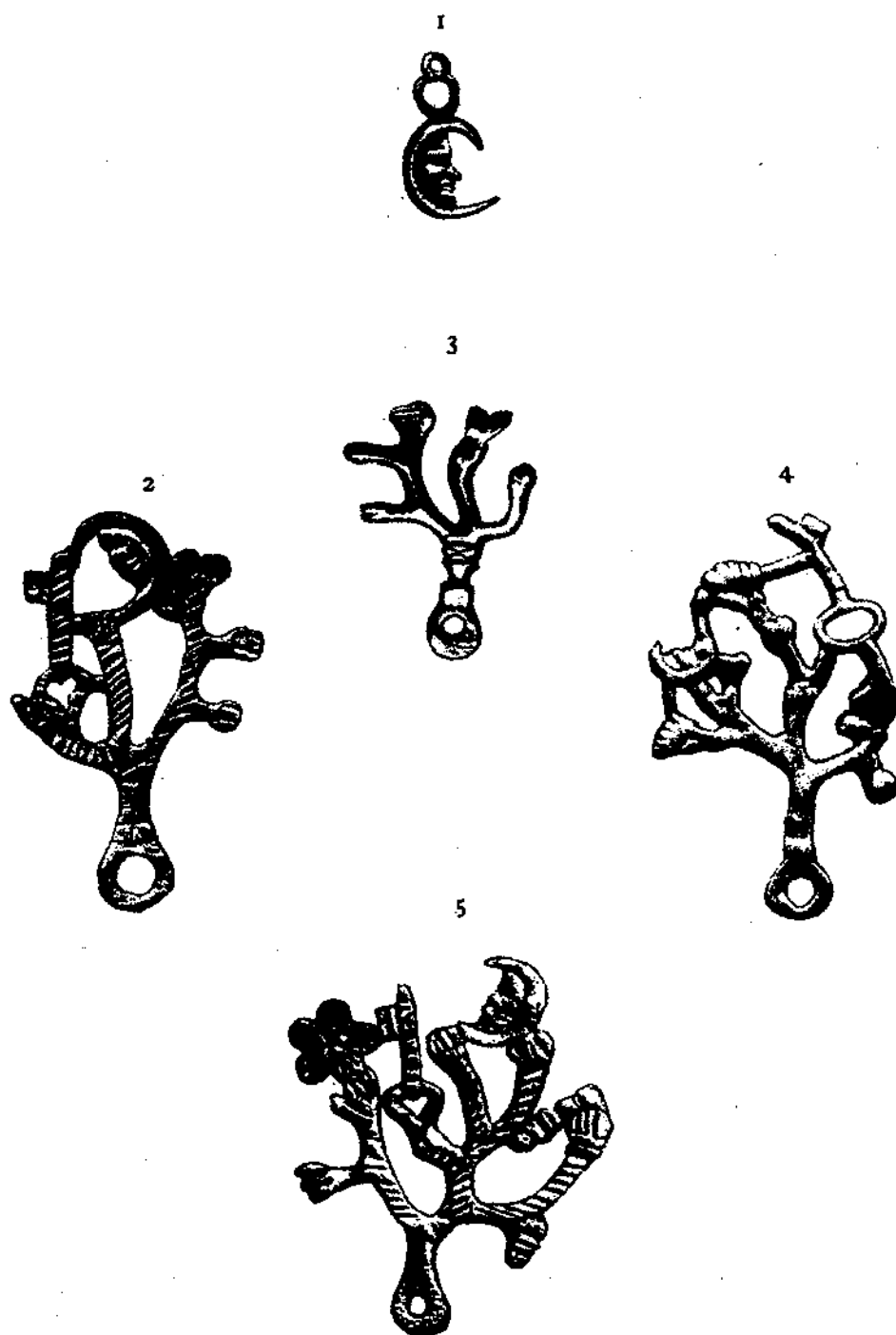
<sup>2</sup> [See *Pañjāb Notes and Queries*, Vol. I. *passim*.—ED.]

<sup>3</sup> The people of Sweden, if they happen to meet any one who is maimed or afflicted with any grievous dis-

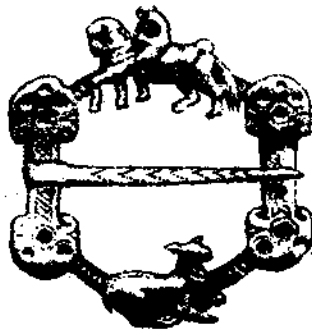
order, immediately call out "pepper!" thinking by this means to avert any evil consequences from themselves.

<sup>4</sup> [See *Pañjāb Notes and Queries*, Vol. I. *passim*.—ED.]

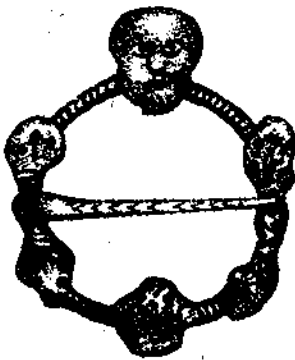




VARIOUS FORMS OF A TALISMAN STILL IN USE AT NAPLES.



A BROOCH OF THE BRONZE AGE FROM NORWAY.



A BROOCH OF THE NORWEGIAN TYPE FROM A GRAVE  
NEAR BREGENZ, IN SWITZERLAND.

set in silver on which was engraved the image of some saint, and a small silk bag. I inquired the contents of this, and was told that within it was salt, a piece of charcoal, a nail, and a piece of garlic. And lastly in the centre of the child's forehead was an object resembling a dark blue wafer, which the mother said was to protect it from the Evil Eye. As we have already seen in this heterogeneous collection of articles, the black and the blue colour and the nail are connected with Asiatic superstitions,\* and in Greece, garlic is regarded as a preservative against evil influences.

Among other methods of counteracting *nazar* I may mention that in Calcutta the natives hold that a portion of all the food they buy in the market should be thrown into the fire to avert the Evil Eye. Muhammadans, too, are said to be, if possible, more fearful about *nazar* than Hindûs, and often furnish the latter with texts from the *Qurân* to be used as armlets in order to keep it off.

In this connection I could draw attention here to a peculiar set of armlets used in Naples, which appear to have arisen from the notion of the Evil Eye, and to serve in some degree to connect the East and the West. There seems little doubt that many of the customs and superstitions still existing in Naples were brought to that part of Italy by the Greek colonists, who settled at Cumæ and elsewhere, and whose ancestors again, in remote times, were probably some of the earliest wanderers from Central Asia to Europe. At the present day the Neapolitans, in customs, at any rate, as I will now show, approach Eastern types: and they would seem to do so in character as well; for the higher classes are clever and acute, but they are deficient in perseverance, develop early, and lack accuracy and method in business matters, and also in small things; while the lower classes are deeply imbued with superstition of an Oriental kind.

These singular amulets which bear decided traces of Asiatic Symbolism are still in use in Naples, and it is highly probable that the original signification of their various parts is unknown to those who now adopt them. They are figured in Plate XVII. Fig. 5 differs from the others in that it has the lotus-flower,—a

favourite Hindu emblem on the left: while on the extreme right is a fire-altar with smoke issuing from it. Figs. 3 and 4 are very old and worn specimens, and fig. 1 is a *Janara* or Moon. Fig. 2 was sent to the Abbate Bastiani (no mean authority on points of Archæology) for opinion, and I give here the result of his inquiries and researches, which I have translated from the original Italian MS. He begins by saying that he showed "this little silver article to a great many people in Naples; some said immediately that it was a charm against the *jettatura* (fascination),\* and others again that it was the sign of some sect. The first named, who were for the most part people of the lowest classes, declared that superstitious mothers were in the habit of hanging such amulets on their children to save them from ill fortune, but the latter, people of some intelligence, held that such symbols belonged to the freemasons." He himself seems to think that there may be some accidental masonic figure in this mysterious amulet, but nothing more, and he believes it "to be an object which illustrates the customs of the Neapolitan people; especially those of the women of the lowest class." He considers it to consist of several parts, which we will now proceed to examine in detail, following the Abbate's own words:—

"(1) We have a *serpent* on one side and a *tree* on the other; the trunk of the tree and the tail of the serpent are united, though they remain distinct at the lower part. (2) Beneath the head of the serpent rests the handle or top of a key. (3) Between the tree and the serpent rises an arm; the hand, which is closed, holds a horn, within which is a half-moon overshadowing the whole amulet: perhaps, too, the little circle at its base for hanging it on to the person is not without its symbolical meaning. We have thus enumerated all the parts of this amulet, which are seven in number; viz. a serpent, a tree, a key, a hand, a horn, a half disc, and a circle; but possibly we may add two more to these; i.e. the two spaces in the form of a heart, which strike us when we carefully consider the whole.

"Let us now discuss the signification of these nine signs or symbols, and try to discover the precise meaning of them. The man who cut

\* Salt and iron still have their significance with the English.

\* For an explanation of this word see below.

and fashioned this amulet did not know it perhaps, neither do those who hang it round their children, nor the person who wears it; but all three have thought by its means to drive away something from themselves,—to make this charm a sort of lightning rod against certain evil influences—and all three followed a vague and superstitious tradition: they may often in their own minds have given a poetical meaning to this object. The archæologist with his spectacles on nose, and his big books of yellow parchment before him, may hit upon and theorize about mysterious doctrines, but will that suffice the curious searcher after truth? Will the archæologist succeed in bringing to light the meaning of the strange fancies, and will he be quite certain of his facts? On the whole, he will only be able to give us such knowledge as lies in following out the order of the ideas which we find in this amulet. Thus, the serpent and the tree recall the history of the human race, and explain the origin of evil,<sup>9</sup> which we ought to avoid and against which we ought to exercise our free will, abiding in virtue by the force of reason and determination; for even animals are maintained by their instincts in the order assigned to them. According to heathen ideas, this fixed principle was not sufficient; some presiding power was necessary; a kind of mysterious grace, which<sup>8</sup> is indicated by the *arm*, and the *hand* holding a *horn*, whence it is easy and natural to affirm that *Bonus Eventus* is here signified. He was the youthful god, pleasing to look at, folded in his mantle, and not in a cunningly made and complicated coat of mail, and depicted in the act of holding a horn in his right hand."<sup>10</sup> He goes on to say "with regard to the serpent, what good fortune is connected with it! It is a symbol of prudence, and also of victory. It follows from these two attributes that we have here the history of the transformation of our moral world, in which the serpent was a god, and man was its victim."<sup>10</sup> Guile usurped the name of prudence;

temples were erected to deceit; phantoms and superstitions became the popular form of devotion. The serpent under this very name was worshipped in the universe as a beneficent genius, the ideas of God and of good being inseparable."<sup>11</sup> No other fabled invention obtained so much favour. We still find remains of it in the fetishes of Africa, and also in Southern Italy. It would appear that the fable of Angizia or Kirkê, a famous enchantress, explains their theology. With the Neapolitans, a lizard with two tails, or some other green creature which may creep amongst their grain, or into their oil jar, is looked upon as a piece of good luck, a true blessing!

"With regard to the tree—in the time of the ancient Romans there were lucky and unlucky trees. Even down to a short time ago, the Tree of May or of the Spring used to be planted in Tuscany with singing and rejoicings as an outpouring of thankfulness and hope for good fortune desired and obtained. We can trace such customs back to the middle ages when the people went to consult the sorceresses, who assembled under the Nut Tree on a mountain behind the city of Benevento (*Bonus Eventus*), their dwelling being a grotto overshadowed by this tree. The inhabitants of Terracina were at one time reproved by the Pope for their worship of the tree. We will now go back still further, even to the Roman times, and speak of Hekâtê, called also the Moon, and the Queen of sorceresses, and of nymphs who danced at night by her light. Hekâtê is also styled Jana, just as Janus was the name of the sun. The name of this goddess and the traditions connected with it, will assist us in explaining the use of the word *Janara* by the Neapolitans, and why they call those people *Janare*, who know secrets and make practical defences against such evil influences; such as the use of rue round the couch of a woman who has recently given birth to a child, and the hanging of an amulet about the infant."<sup>12</sup> The worship of trees of good luck came in amongst us (i.e. the Italians) with the Pelasgoi who adored the oak of Dê-

<sup>9</sup> [To a Christian only. If the amulet is of Eastern origin the signification would be very different.—Ed.]

<sup>8</sup> Still following the Abbate Bastiani's argument it should be remembered.

<sup>10</sup> The Abbate imagines that it is on this account "the Neapolitans wear a little ornament in form of a horn on their watch-chains to drive away, as they think, the *jettatura* or the Evil Eye, and that "they are in the

habit of stretching out a forefinger."

<sup>11</sup> [Is not all this argument based on Jewish and Christian notions?—Ed.]

<sup>12</sup> [This is not borne out by the study of primitive religions.—Ed.]

<sup>13</sup> When a Neapolitan woman belonging to the lower classes is angry with another, she will call her a *janara* (a witch).

dônê,<sup>13</sup> sacred to Zeus, and it was confirmed by the Aryans, their brothers, whence the words *ariolus*, augur; *ariolatio*, divination; and *ariolor*, to augur.<sup>14</sup> In the Valdimagra, the oak of Marriano (the Asiatic *mariantola*) was under a rock, which was the place of assembly for evil spirits. We have thus by degrees worked back to the memories of Northern Asia, to the times of the original *ariologiani* or augurs. There, in the courts of Nineveh and Babylon, the worship of the sacred tree existed, which we may suppose to have had its origin on historic soil;—one may say in the traditions of Eden, where the tree flourished whose fruit man was intended to enjoy. But of this enough. We have mentioned the name of Janus, which seems to come appositely into this paper, in order to explain the significance of the key, which is his ornament and domestic badge. It may be remembered that it was Janus who taught men to build houses and close them with doors (*janua*) and, nevertheless, he is also the sun, and therefore it is suitable that he should have the keys of both the doors of heaven. He opens the door at dawn and closes it at sunset.”

The two voids or open spaces in the form of a heart still remain to be discussed. With regard to these, the Abbate Bastiani is of opinion that they indicate the *bullæ*,<sup>15</sup> which was made round and like a cord, in order to hang it round the throats of young people. He considers that the second space was intended to point out to them that they should reflect that they were men, and also that young persons ought to act with discretion and good sense, which is always the most certain and safe antidote against peril. “Finally,” he adds, “we must not omit to observe the number *nine* in the elements of the amulet. We are induced to touch upon this when we reflect that the month of November was sacred to Diana the goddess of sorceresses, and that the sacrifices, which were held to avert calamities and pro-

pitiate the gods, were called *novendiales* because they lasted *nine* days. Is it not in this sense that we (Roman) Catholics have our *novenas* in which we glorify God, the all powerful and triune during nine days? And is not nine the number of the orders of spiritual angels who incessantly sing in Heaven before the Trinity?”

I have faithfully transcribed the Abbate's quaint conceits regarding this amulet, though on the whole they do not seem to throw much light on the subject.<sup>16</sup> During a 25 years residence in Naples he had never before chanced to see this little charm; even now, he does not enlighten us as to its name, but styles it a *fascino*, or charm. It was only after some searching and many inquiries in the quarter of Naples called Old Naples, that I was able to hunt up the various forms given on Plate XVII.<sup>17</sup> The people, at first, seemed ashamed of owning that they held such a superstition, but after several visits and much questioning, I elicited from them what I believe to be the true name for these little silver ornaments; viz., *cima-ruta*, top or head of rue. The charm is bound over the heart of a newly born child, thence, most probably, its name.

Whatever be the value of the Abbate's opinions as to the meaning of the amulet, he has struck a key note in alluding to the custom of strewing rue round the couch of a woman and her newly born infant and the hanging of this charm on the child. We have here a distinct connection between the customs of the East and the West. In India rue is in various ways a charm against evil, and when describing a native wedding in that country, Colebrooke says, “The bridegroom goes in procession to the house where the bride's father resides, and is there welcomed as a guest. The bride is given to him by her father in the form usual at every solemn donation, and their hands are bound together with grass. He clothes the bride with an upper and better garment; the skirts of her mantle and of his are tied together. The

<sup>13</sup> The wintry Dôdônê, one of the further summits of the Pindos range in Albania.

<sup>14</sup> [This is a very dangerous derivation. Although the word “Aryan” is really *aria*, the derivation of *ariolus*, &c. from it is exceedingly doubtful. *Ariolus*, &c. should be *hariolus*, the root of which more than probably, like that of the kindred words *haruspex*, *haruga*, *harviga*, &c., lies in *hira*, the intestines.—ED.]

<sup>15</sup> A boss of gold worn upon the neck by the children of free-born Romans to distinguish them from those of freedmen, who wore leather ones.

<sup>16</sup> [It is always unsafe to theorize upon the meaning

of charms fashioned and originated by the humble and ignorant as if they were the work of highly educated and intelligent minds. It is a much safer course to seek for natural and very mundane origins for such things. These incubrations appear to be pure theory and to attribute to Christian ideas the origin of objects supposed to have a pre-Christian descent. These must be taken for what they may be worth.—ED.]

<sup>17</sup> [Specimens of these charms are in the possession of Dr. E. B. Tylor, F.R.S., at Oxford, who has had them several years. They also came direct from Naples.—ED.]

bridegroom makes an oblation to fire, and the bride drops rue upon it as an oblation."<sup>19</sup> Compare this with the use of rue in England. According to Miller,<sup>19</sup> rue was anciently named in English "Herb Grace," or "Herb of Grace," and Warburton says it had the latter name from its having been used in exorcisms, but that "when Ophelia in *Hamlet* says to the Queen 'There's rue for you and here's some for me, we may call it herb o' grace o' Sundays,' she does not refer to this plant being used for exorcisms as performed in Churches on Sundays, but means only, that the Queen may, with peculiar propriety, on Sundays, when she solicits pardon for that crime which she has so much occasion to rue and repent of, call her rue, 'herb of grace'." In Burke's *Romance of the Forum*, it is said that during the trial of Mrs. Manning "the bench of the dock was, according to custom, strewn with rue." This practice has now been discontinued at the Old Bailey, and in place of the herbs a small bouquet of flowers is placed on the judge's desk from April to October. In the *English Notes and Queries*,<sup>20</sup> when referring to the use of rue at the Old Bailey we read that in Laurence's *Life of Fielding* it is stated that this custom arose after a contagious disease which had been engendered by the foul atmosphere there upwards of a hundred years ago, and in Bland's *Popular Antiquities*,<sup>21</sup> it is mentioned "that rue was hung about the neck as an amulet against witchcraft in Aristotle's time." Another reason given for this custom is that at an assize in the eighteenth century gaol fever carried off judge, jury, and prisoners, and that since then it had been used as a disinfectant.<sup>22</sup>

We will now endeavour to find out the meaning of the *jettatura*,<sup>23</sup> (fascination or charm), and we shall perhaps be led to see that the ideas connected with it once more serve to show the close alliance that exists between the East and the West. In Naples, the favourite *jettatura* is the *cornaiuolo*, a tiny bull's horn

of gold, silver, or coral, which is universally worn attached to the watch chain. It may possibly, at one time, have been invested with a threefold meaning. (1) As the horn of plenty, bringing good fortune: (2) As a protection against evil coming from without, from ill-disposed or unlucky persons, who have the power of casting the Evil Eye; and (3) May it not also originally have had some association with the idea of the scape-goat? The following anecdote, which was related to me by an Italian lady who knew one of the persons concerned would seem to indicate that this last idea is not a far-fetched one. A family had settled themselves in an apartment in a certain house at Naples, when shortly afterwards another floor in the same house was hired by a lady whom the first comers believed to be possessed of the *Mal' Occhio* or Evil Eye. They were in despair at this circumstance, and in order to avert any bad consequences which might result to themselves, they caused a bull to be brought to the house, and had it driven through the entrance archway and round and round the court-yard for some hours, evidently as a 'scape-goat.' This custom is in close connection with a well-known one in India, where to the present day, Hindus are universally in the habit of turning loose bulls, to wander about, after some person's sins have been transferred to the animal by the performance of certain ceremonies. As an instance of the further development of this idea in the East Dr. Schnyler<sup>24</sup> speaks of a custom existing in Turkistân, in a passage so curious that I cannot forbear quoting it. "Life in Ach Kûrgân was rather dull; amusement there was none, all games being strictly forbidden. Such things as jugglery, dancing, and comic performances are, I am told, prohibited in the Khanate:—the licentious Khân having seen the error of his ways, and having put on, for his people at least—the resemblance of virtue. Of praying there was very little; occasionally in the afternoon or at sunset some few pious individuals would

<sup>19</sup> Hindu couples may be frequently seen walking along thus linked together, in the native *bâzdra*.—[But are they bride and bridegroom? Of what caste are such? ED.]

<sup>20</sup> *Garden and Botanical Dictionary*, London, 1807: s.v.

<sup>21</sup> Vol. III. p. 316.

<sup>22</sup> As an instance of an idea existing long after any reasonable explanation of it has been forgotten I may here mention that in many English villages children are taught that they must not point at the stars, but are not

told why it is wrong. In Germany the same thing is inculcated, and the reason there given for it is that "the stars are the angels' eyes." (Wolf: *Beiträge zur Deutschen Mythologie*.) An even more beautiful idea is that which was once expressed, within my own knowledge, by a little English girl, who after gazing long at the star-spangled firmament said, "I have found out what the stars are; they are holes which God makes in the sky that we may see heaven through them!"

<sup>23</sup> See ante, p. 323.

<sup>24</sup> *Turkistân*, Vol. II. 28.

spread out a rag and make their supplications to Allah. One poor old man,<sup>25</sup> however, I noticed, who seemed constantly engaged in prayer. On calling attention to him I was told that he was an *iskáchi*, a person who gets his living by taking upon himself the sins of the dead, and thenceforward devoting his life to prayer for their souls. He corresponds to the Sin-eater of the Welsh border.<sup>26</sup>

The Abbate Bastiani's notice of augurs and soothsayers reminds me that there is one divining custom existing both in the East and the West, which should be mentioned in this connection. In India, in order to discover a thief it is a common practice to send for a diviner who comes with two attendants, and is provided with a pair of scissors, some rice, and a basket, or sieve, used for winnowing grain. Both the sieve and the scissors have in this case a very significant meaning, because the sieve<sup>27</sup> is considered emblematical of the rain clouds, and iron is deemed in many lands an effectual charm against evil spirits. When the charm is about to be tried a fire is lighted in an earthen pot and the diviner takes the winnowing basket; an article which in India has its edges bent up on three sides with the fourth side flat. After having stuck a pair of scissors into the upper and deepest edge of it and repeated certain prayers or incantations, he causes his two assistants each to put a finger beneath the holes in the scissors and in this manner to hold the tray suspended over the fire. All in the house must then in turn take a small quantity of uncooked rice in their hands and drop it into the flames between the fork formed by the scissors, the diviner all the time repeating certain formulæ. All goes very smoothly till the guilty person attempts to scatter his rice, when the grain sifter commences turning round rapidly, and the true culprit is thus exposed. A friend, who saw this plan tried in her own house at Bangalore, told me it was perfectly successful in that case and the guilty person—a woman—seeing she was discovered, confessed having committed a theft from her fellow servant. A parallel to this is to be found in England.

<sup>25</sup> Dr. Schnyler gives his portrait.

<sup>26</sup> A Welsh friend, however, who is fond of folk-lore and is an acute observer tells me that he has never heard of "the Sin-eater of the Welsh border."

<sup>27</sup> According to Kelly, *Indo-European Folklore*.

Brockett, *Glossary of English North Country Words*, says: "The vulgar in many parts have an abominable practice of using a riddle and a pair of scissors in divination. If they have had anything stolen from them, the riddle and the shears are sure to be resorted to."<sup>28</sup> A similar mode of discovering thieves or detecting the guilt of a person accused of any crime, prevailed amongst the Greeks.<sup>29</sup>

A singular development of the idea of iron in the shape of nails as a protection against spirits generally, however rather than the evil eye, came under my notice, when travelling in the Maisûr State. I chanced to meet a European Government official making a tour of inspection through his district. As is usual in such cases, a number of natives came to him every day; some with wrongs to be redressed and others simply to make their salutations. In the latter category was an old native who had served in the late Mahârâja's body-guard. His former uniform, which was abundantly ornamented with gold lace, had been carefully preserved, and was worn on this important occasion. In his right hand he held a stick of powerful proportions;—the upper part as thick as a man's arm,—the lower end about the size of a man's wrist on which were numerous silver rings and knobs. It was made out of a branch of the *Bombax Malabaricum* (*Semba!*), a tree common in jungles thereabouts, producing pods containing a silky cotton fibre; both the trunk and the branches are thickly studded with protuberances which resemble *blunt nails*. When asked why he carried about such a formidable looking stick the old man replied: "When provided with such a stick as this anyone can walk safely at night through the jungles without fear of demons." He evidently did not carry it to protect him from man, but from the spirits of evil.

As another instance of a custom which in closely allied form exists in India and in Europe I would here notice the following. Many wandering native traders, such as those who sell shawls, stuffs, cloths, calicoes, &c., frequently come into the verandahs of European houses in India to dispose of their wares. Should any

<sup>28</sup> Another development of the idea is to be found in Northumberland where girls are said to turn a riddle in order to raise their lovers.

<sup>29</sup> Potter, *Greek Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 552.

article be purchased of such a trader and happen to be the first thing he has sold that day, he will, on receiving his money, take the rupees one by one, and with them touch first his forehead, then his mouth, and lastly his yard-measure.<sup>30</sup> I was recently a witness of a somewhat similar proceeding in Guernsey. Chancing to go into an old curiosity shop just as a cart-load of goods arrived, which had been bought at a sale the day before, I invested in some articles, paying for them in five-franc pieces. The shopkeeper,—a woman, spat upon one or more of the coins, apologising for so doing by saying it was for luck, as those I had bought were the first things which she had sold out of that consignment.<sup>31</sup>

I think I should also draw attention to a singular custom which still exists in Guernsey, called *Le Clameur du Haro*, which is probably known to few persons out of the Island, and which is clearly performed on the principal of the well-known Indian custom of *dôhât*. It has great influence over the minds of the people, and though it is only resorted to in extreme cases it is invariably respected. The following account of it was related to me by a lady whose husband, a few years ago, employed it to obtain redress for an injury. He owned a stone quarry, which he had leased out, but for some few years he had not been able to get any rent from the lessee, who also defied a notice to quit which had been sent him. He consequently decided to make use of the ancient but still effective custom of *Le Clameur du Haro*. He went to the quarry accompanied by two or three friends and a couple of policemen as witnesses. Arrived at the spot he went down on one knee, crying "*Haro! Haro! On me fait tort; à mon aide, mon Prince!*" This is an appeal to Rollo, the redoubtable Norman chieftain. After the ceremony had been gone through not a workman would dare to touch a

stone. The matter then of necessity came before the Law Courts, and the case was decided in favour of the owner of the property.

Here again is another superstition which curiously survives in India and in Europe. In the *Panjab Notes and Queries*, Vol I., Note 219, a custom is cited, according to which if a couple have lost several male children, and a boy is again born to them they call it *Nathâ* i.e. one having a *nath* or nose-ring. They pierce its nose and introduce a ring (an ornament worn by girls and women only) in the desire that the child should be mistaken for a girl, and so passed over by the evil spirits.<sup>32</sup> This idea is not unknown in Europe. Some years ago when I was spending the summer in the Engadine I saw a good deal of an Italian lady, who, as far as I remember, was a Milanese. She had a sweet little child with her, apparently about five or six years old. For some days the little one went about attired in a sort of knicker-bocker suit, and I certainly thought that this child was a boy, but one day, to my amazement, I saw it dressed as a girl in a pretty white muslin frock. On my expressing much astonishment at the transformation, the mother told me that out of a large family only one grown up son and this little girl had survived; she had lost several between, all girls, and she seemed to think that by disguising the sex of this one, she would in some way avert evil from it.

Lastly in India, when a man wishes to put anyone out of the way, a not uncommon method of disposing of an enemy is to mix small bits of chopped hair with his food: a most deadly proceeding I believe, unless emetics be speedily given. Neapolitans, when they have a spite against any person, get rid of his cat or his dog in this manner. Here again we have the East and the West mixed up in a way that is at least remarkable.

### THE FOUR PRINCES.

#### A KASHMIRI TALE.

BY THE REV. J. HINTON KNOWLES, F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S., &c.

(Concluded from p. 308).

At this moment one of the four princes signed with his hand and prostrated himself before

the throne, as if he wished to say something. "Let him speak," said the king. "May be he

<sup>30</sup> [Compare also the custom of handsef prevalent alike in the East and the West.—Ed.]

<sup>31</sup> [The custom of spitting on coins for luck also obtains among London crossing-sweepers and street-beggars. Ed.]

<sup>32</sup> Also if his elder brother has died a boy is clothed very shabbily, no doubt because it is hoped he will thus escape the notice of the godlings, the agents of divine mischief in India.



wishes to relieve his heart of some foul secret. Let him speak. Let him speak."

The prince said:—"O great and merciful King and father, hear me, I beseech you, before I die:—In past times there lived a merchant, whose only son grew up to be exceedingly clever and wise in all manner of works, and was also very good. One day the merchant, wishing his son to have a large experience, bade him to make arrangements for going abroad, as it was his intention to send him to some foreign country with merchandise. Within a week the young merchant got ready and started. Many strange people he met with and many wonderful things he saw; and I could occupy the attention of Your Majesty and of this assembly for several days in the narration of some of these, but one incident only I ask permission to mention.

In the course of his journeyings the young merchant met with four men, who were wildly disputing with one another over the possession of a poor dog, that they were dragging about most unmercifully.

'Why quarrel ye thus one with another?' he asked.

'We are brethren,' said one of the disputants, 'and our father has recently died. We have just been trying to arrange our several shares of the property, and all proceeded most amicably, till we had to decide about this dog. We each have a cow apiece, an equal share of the rice and other grain, an equal number of sheep and goats; but this dog we cannot divide, so that each one of us may have an equal portion; and therefore the eldest brother says, 'It is mine,' and attempts to seize it; and I wish to have it and so lay hands on it; and my other two brothers also think they have a right to it and try to get it. You wonder, perhaps, that we care to wrangle over such a trifling matter; but this is not an ordinary dog. Each of us would gladly relinquish his right to it, had we not learnt that this is no common animal. Our dear father, when on the point of death, bade us to sell it for Rs. 20,000; but nobody will give us so much money for it. We took it to the *bāzār*, and the people laughed at us for asking such a price. Some thought that we were mad, others thought that we

were joking, and a few struck at us for our apparent folly.'

'Strange story,' said the young merchant, 'very strange. Cannot you possibly sell the dog for a smaller sum?'

'No,' replied the four brethren most decidedly. 'We could not disobey our deceased father, who charged us so strictly concerning this matter.'

The young merchant believed them and thinking that the dog must in some way or other be worth the money, he said, 'I will buy it.' Besides this, his father had warned him not to miss the first purchase or sale, even though it might be to his loss.\* So he at once took the dog and paid the money. The rest of the way he was very much prospered, and in a few years he returned to his father and country a most wealthy and experienced man.

He had not been back from his travels very long before his father died. Owing to some mismanagement concerning the property the young merchant found himself suddenly without anything except the clothes in which he stood upright, and the dog that cost him so great a sum of money. In the hour of his distress he visited another merchant, who was a great friend of the family, and begged him to advance Rs. 15,000 on the dog. This merchant readily complied. Taking the money the young merchant went and traded, and gained for himself another little fortune.

Meanwhile the other merchant became very fond of the dog. He used to take it about with him by day and kept it fastened up to a peg in the middle of the court-yard at night. The dog, too, was very fond of his new master, and seemed never so happy as when he was with him.

One night the animal's sagacity and faithfulness were put to the test. When everybody was asleep and every place was covered with a thick darkness, some robbers arrived at the merchant's house. They came along very stealthily. However, the dog's quick ear detected their approach. It barked loudly to wake the household, but no one was aroused. It barked again and again and yet more loudly, when it saw the robbers enter

refusing handsel, or the first bargain or sale of the day. They will often lose rather than give up the first chance of trade.

\* *Kāśmīr* have a saying *Gudanuk sodd gatchih nah rōwarun*, i.e. 'One must not lose the first trade.' Traders in the Valley, like those of many European cities and all over India, are very superstitious about

the house; and ran about most wildly to the full tether of his chain, longing to get free. At last, just as the robbers were departing with their ill-gotten treasure, the chain broke. The dog dashed forward and would have jumped on them, but seeing that they had arms in their hands, he refrained. He reflected that he might be killed in the affray, and to what purpose? Better, he thought, to follow quietly on behind, to see whither the robbers conveyed his master's things.

The robbers walked far and fast till they reached an out-of-the-way place in a little jungle, where they stopped, dug a large pit, and therein deposited their treasure, intending to come again and arrange for its distribution as soon as the excitement about the robbery had subsided. When they were quite out of the way the dog went up to the place and scratched the earth round about, so that he might recognise the spot; and then returned to his master's house.

On the following morning the merchant rose and found the front door of his house ajar, and all his cupboards and boxes open, and their contents rifled. 'Robbers must have been here,' he cried, and rushed hither and thither tearing his beard and smiting his breast. The neighbours, attracted by the noise, came round and wept also.

'Alas, alas!' said one, 'would that we had taken more notice of the dog's barking.'

'Surely it must have awakened you?' said another.

'No, no,' replied the poor merchant.

At mention of the dog the merchant took the animal and placed him before him, and like a madman fondled him and talked to him, saying, 'Oh that you could speak and tell me who has taken my goods;' whereupon the dog seized the merchant's right sleeve between his teeth and began to pull towards the door.

'Perhaps,' remarked one of the neighbours, 'the dog knows where the treasure is concealed. I would advise you to follow his lead.'

On, on, the dog trotted for many a mile, till he came to the place in the jungle where the robbers had buried the goods. There he scratched away and threw up the ground most vigorously. The merchant also, and the few friends who had accompanied him, began to dig at the place. Presently they came on some of the stolen property; and then all of the things appeared! The merchant was overjoyed at the sight.

As soon as he had got his goods back again in his house and had arranged them in more secure places, he wrote to the young merchant the following letter:—

'To the abode of wisdom and bravery and goodness, beloved of all men, *salâm!* After an expression of my intense desire to see you, be it known to you that I am your obliged servant for ever. You let me have a dog some time ago. That dog has just saved me from ruin. I send a request that you will kindly sell it to me. You let me take it as a security for Rs. 30,000 of which amount Rs. 15,000 were at once paid you; so I enclose a cheque for the same amount again, making altogether Rs. 30,000. If you will please grant this my request I shall always pray that blessings may wait on you from every side.'<sup>10</sup>

Having sealed the letter he placed it within the dog's mouth, and told him to go to his old master.

When the young merchant saw the dog running towards him, he thought that he had escaped, and that therefore his present master would soon follow and demand repayment of the money, which would not be at all convenient just then. So he determined to kill the dog; and then if the merchant came and asked for his money he would be able to say: 'Give me back my dog, and I will return to you the money.' But grief, a thousand griefs! No sooner had he slain the dog, and taken him up to bury him in some secret place, than the letter dropped out of the animal's mouth. The young merchant picked up the letter, and on reading it, dropped down insensible.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Specimens of the mode of addressing letters to persons of different rank are given in *Vigne's Travels in Kaimtr*, &c., Vol. II. pp. 137, 138.

<sup>11</sup> Concerning story-telling to explain the situation Capt. Temple has the following note in *Wide-awake Stories*. Such stories are "commonly brought in to explain and elucidate the difficulties of the tale when the *deus ex machina* is not employed, thus the murder by mistake of goldsmith's wife in place of ogress is explained in

*Folk-tales in Bengal*, 150 ff. and hero is recognised by his relating his story, *Indian Fairy Tales*, 191 ff. The idea frequently occurs. *Old Deccan Days*, 90, 139, 145 ff; *Indian Antiquary*, IX. 8; IV. 59, 263. [This story, however, seems to refer to that extensive series of tales in which the machinations of the wicked wife or mistress are counteracted by the stories of the King's advisers. See the *Sindibâd Cycle*, *passim*.—Ed.]

The prince told this sad story with much feeling, so that the king and all the assembly were much moved by its narration.<sup>12</sup> Not the slightest sound was heard in the *darbār* when the prince, after pausing a few minutes, said, even more solemnly than before, "O King, you have commanded our speedy execution; but we are as innocent as that poor dog. May it not be that you will regret this hasty work, and like the young merchant, of whom I have spoken, repent when it is too late."

"The order is irrevocable," whispered the king. "I cannot hear the man."

Then another of the princes prostrated himself before the throne and begged that he, too, might be permitted to say something before he died.

"Say on," said the king, slightly waving his right hand.

The prince began:—"O great and gracious King, there was in times long past a celebrated *shikārī*,<sup>13</sup> who entirely supported himself by the several beasts and birds which he killed in the jungle. One day it happened that nothing came to his hand. He was in great distress about this, as there was no food in the house for the morrow. So he went on some three days wandering further and further into the jungle in the hope of getting something, till at last he came to a hut outside which some *shikārīs* were sitting. They asked him who he was and whence he came; and when they heard that he was in search of food and had not partaken of any for three days, they set some meat and bread before him, and promised to take him in a short while to a spot where *shikār*<sup>14</sup> would certainly be found.

After a good meal and a refreshing sleep he and one of the other *shikārīs* went in a certain direction in the jungle and killed a *bārah-singā*,<sup>15</sup> some smaller animals, and a bird or two. These the other *shikārīs* would not think of touching.

"No, no," they said, "these are yours. Take them home quickly to your wife and children, who must be starving by this time. We would like to keep you with us longer, if it were not for the thought that you must be anxious to return home at once. However, we hope to see you again."

"Thank you much for your goodness to me," replied the *shikārī*. "I shall undoubtedly come and see you often, and shall always be ready to help such friends as you have proved to be. Had it not been for your timely aid, I and my house would have perished. Of course you will see me again."

On arriving at his house he found his wife and family almost dead from starvation. They had waited and waited for his return, until they had become quite ill from want of something to eat. So he quickly got a fire ready, cooked some venison, and made some broth.

The next day they were well and happy again, and related to each other all their wretched experiences; and blessed the *shikārīs* in the jungle, who had been so kind to them.

In a few days the *shikārī* told his wife that he must visit his friends in the jungle, as he had promised that he would go and see them again soon. So he prepared some presents and went. The other *shikārīs* were very glad to see him, and treated him right hospitably. He stayed with them many days, during which he did much hunting, and arranged that the beautiful daughter of the chief of the party should be married to his son; for thus the two families would be bound together by other than ties of friendship.

In due time the wedding took place and the bridegroom was invited to come and sleep in his father-in-law's house. He went, and in the middle of the night the happy pair were disturbed in their slumbers by a great howling of jackals. Now it happened that the bride understood the speech of every bird and animal. Accordingly as she lay awake listening, she heard the jackals saying to one another, "A dead body is floating down this river and round one of the arms of the corpse there is a bracelet of five precious stones. Where is that person who will go and drag the body to shore and take off the bracelet of precious stones, and thus do three good works, *viz.*, cleanse the river of this pollution, save the five precious stones from being lost altogether in the bed of the river, and provide us poor hungry beasts with a good meal?"

<sup>12</sup> Evidently a popular story, as it appears as a legend of Haidarābād, and is told by the Marri Baloches; cf. *Punjab Notes and Queries*, Vol. III, pp. 94-95. Compare also the Sinhalese story, "The widow and the Mongoose," and the story in the *Hitopadśa* of the "Brāhman and

the Weasel." In the story of "Gelert" by Spencer the groundwork is the same. Perhaps other similar tales exist in Europe?

<sup>13</sup> *Shikārī*, a hunter.

<sup>14</sup> *Shikār*, game.

<sup>15</sup> *Bārah-singā*, a twelve-tiner (*Cervus elaphus*).

When she heard this the bride rose from her bed, and walked out towards the river.<sup>12</sup> Her husband, also, moved by curiosity went after her unawares. On reaching the brink of the water the woman leapt in and swam towards the floating corpse, which was just discoverable in the faint moonlight. She seized the body, and having pulled it to the bank, she took off the beautiful bracelet, that was tied round one of the arms, and then returned to the house.

Her husband arrived first, as he had not waited while she untied the bracelet. 'What can she have gone to the river for and bathed at this time of the night?' he thought. No sleep came to him because of this, but his wife slept soundly till the morning light.

According to custom, the husband on rising immediately went to the river for a bath. What was his horror and disgust to find in the very place where his wife had jumped in during the night, a half-eaten body of a human being! He said within himself, 'My wife must be a *rākshasī*.<sup>13</sup> She has devoured half of this body, and will certainly come and devour the remainder on the next night.' Thinking this he feared to return to her, and so went by an unfrequented path back to his father and his father's house.

'Father,' he said on arrival, 'why did you marry me to a *rākshasī*. I am sure that this woman is a *rākshasī*, because last night she feasted on a human body. In proof of this you can go and see the remains of the corpse lying on the river-side. What an unfortunate man I am!'

When the *shikārī* heard these words he thought that either his son was not speaking the truth, or else he had gone mad. So he hastened to ascertain the real state of affairs. When he was yet some distance from their house, the father of the bride and several other members of the family came forward to greet him, and to inquire the reason of his son's strange and sudden departure.

Thinking it wise to dissemble matters till the truth concerning the woman was fully known, the *shikārī* bade them not to be anxious about his son, as he was safe at home, having returned quickly in obedience to his

directions. The boy was not grown up, he added, and therefore he had been ordered to return home quickly. He hoped they would forgive any apparent rudeness, and allow the bride to accompany him.

The other *shikārīs* were quite satisfied with these explanations and agreed to let the bride go. After eating a little, the *shikārī* (the father of the bridegroom) went back to his house with his daughter-in-law.

He soon managed to walk behind her, for he was afraid to keep up with her, lest she should really be a *rākshasī* and eat him. They had proceeded some way in this fashion, when the girl, feeling tired and weary, sat down by a little pool of water under the shade of a large and beautiful tree. The *shikārī*, also, encouraging himself in the thought that his son had, probably, only had a nightmare, sat down beside her, and taking out some provisions, with which the girl's father had supplied him, gave her some to eat.

While they thus sat, enjoying the rest and the food, and each other's conversation, a few crows gathered round and commenced cawing and making a great noise, as they hopped and flew about from branch to branch and stone to stone with eyes fixed on the scraps of the meat; ready to pounce down on the first opportunity and carry them off. One of them, an old crow, wished to be especially friendly. 'Who is that person,' he cawed, 'that can hear and understand my speech? Near the roots of this beautiful tree, there lies a potful of precious stones, and under this pot are thousands and thousands of ants, that are destroying the very life of the tree. Oh where is the person that will dig up this pot, and thus save the tree, and us who have built our nest in its branches and besides this enrich himself beyond thought and speech?' The girl heard these words and laughed and wept alternately.

On seeing this her father-in-law got very frightened. He thought that she laughed and wept because she was a *rākshasī*, and was then meditating making a meal of him. With a tremulous voice he asked her, "Of what nature are you? If you are a *rākshasī* I beg of you to spare me."

<sup>12</sup> Concerning talking animals and understanding non-human language, cf. *Wide-awake Stories*, pp. 412, 413.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. p. 308 above, note 8.

The girl, exceedingly surprised at these strange words, answered, 'I am not of a bad or sanguinary nature. What have you observed in me, or heard about me, to prompt such a question?'

'How came that half-devoured corpse on the river-side the other morning?' he said. 'Why did you laugh and weep just now, and almost in the same breath?'

'What! shall I tell you?' she said. 'Are you really supposing me to be a *rākshasī* for these reasons? Is this the cause of my husband, your son's, sudden disappearance? Is it on this account that you have walked behind me almost all the way here? What folly! What wrong is this! Listen to the truth of the case. On the night of the day that your son visited my father's house, the jackals prowled about the place and made such a noise, that we both awoke. Their conversation was loud and long that night, and no wonder, for they had seen a corpse floating slowly down the river, and on one of the arms of the corpse, they said, a beautiful bracelet was fastened. Understanding their speech I thought that I would go down and drag this corpse to land and get the bracelet. Look, here it is; and she showed it to her father-in-law wrapped up in a dirty piece of cloth. The dead body, I left on the river bank. Perhaps the jackals came afterwards and devoured it. I did not, you may be sure. It was a half-eaten corpse, that your son probably saw in the early morning, and as he had very likely noticed my going to the river in the middle of the night, he thought that I must be a *rākshasī* and therefore have devoured the body. And so he fled.'

Saying this, she laughed heartily. The *shikārī*, also, could not help laughing.

'And then again,' she continued, 'just now a crow perched on yonder branch, and by cawing said that much treasure was concealed near the roots of this tree. Understanding the speech of birds also, I laughed and cried from joy at the thought that I should get further treasure, and thus be able to bring ease and pleasure to my husband and family. Wasn't that quite rational? O please do not think me to be a *rākshasī*, or anything of that

nature. I wish to be a faithful wife to your son, and to do good to all people.'

The *shikārī* was very glad to hear this. He thoroughly believed his daughter-in-law's words.

Presently they both dug together round the roots of the tree and found the treasure—some most valuable stones and riches. In the excitement of the moment the *shikārī* embraced the girl, and begged her to forgive both him and his son for their misapprehensions concerning her.

Most happily they recommenced their journey. It was a beautiful road. The trees made one long avenue, through which they walked in a most grateful shade the whole way; flowers of every form and beauty strewed the ground, and streams meandered in all directions carrying with them life and strength and gladness.

From one of these streams the *shikārī*, feeling thirsty, asked his daughter-in-law to bring him some water. She at once obeyed, and as she stooped down to take the water a frog croaked and said, 'In the name of mercy will nobody listen? Within this stream a treasure lies concealed; and therefore the stream is filled with insects. Who will hear me and take out the treasure? Thus would the waters be healed and travellers, who drink of it, be benefited; the frogs would be able to enjoy themselves without hindrance from unpleasant pains in the stomach, which they are constantly experiencing from life in this water; while the finder of the treasure would be enriched beyond all want.'

On hearing this the girl went at once and told her father-in-law, who immediately came to the stream and found the treasure. Having securely fastened it round their waists they proceeded on their journey.<sup>18</sup> When they arrived near the house the *shikārī* asked his daughter-in-law to go on ahead. She did so, and while she approached the entrance of the house her husband saw her; and observing that she was alone, he at once thought that she had killed his father and now she was coming to slay and eat him. And therefore he armed himself with a sword, and when she came up expecting to be welcomed by her

<sup>18</sup> Kāśmīris have various devices for carrying their money or other little valuables. Sometimes they conceal it in their turbans: sometimes in their *kamarbands*;

sometimes in their sleeve cuffs; sometimes in their ears, if the thing is small; and sometimes tie it up in a knot at the end of their *Asdār*, or wrap.

husband and looking forward to showing him their great wealth, he struck off her head.

In the course of an hour his father reached the house. 'O father,' said the son. 'God be praised that you have been preserved from the hands of this blood-stained woman! Be glad now. Henceforth we shall dwell in peace and safety. I have slain her. Behold her life-blood stains the door-way.'

When he saw the marks of blood about the place the *shikārī* fell down insensible. It was a long time before he again came to his senses. Great was his grief, but greater the grief of the hasty husband, when he heard the truth of the case.<sup>19</sup>

There was perfect silence during the narration of this story. With great power the moral seemed to be brought home to the heart of the king. "O king, our father," the prince said in conclusion, "be not hasty, we beseech you, concerning this matter of our execution, lest you also come into similar grief."

His Majesty, however, hardened his heart and would not hear the thing.

Then another of the princes prostrated himself before the throne and begged to be permitted to speak. He said:—"Many years ago there lived a king, whose favourite sport was falconry. One day this king visited a certain jungle for *shikār*, and reached a spot where he had never been before. He was so charmed with the place that he ordered his tents to be pitched there. While this was being done His Majesty got very thirsty and asked for some water. According to custom a sword was in the right hand of the king, a hawk perched on the left, and the royal flag in front, and so it happened, that when the king was about to drink, the hawk flapped its wings and upset the cup. A servant went and brought some more water, but again the hawk caused it to be spilled. This time the king was angry and spoke harshly to the bird. Again a servant went and got some water, but for the third time, when His Majesty took hold of the cup and lifted it to his mouth, the hawk fluttered about tremulously, upsetting the water and discomposing the king exceedingly.

His Majesty was very angry, and raising his sword killed the bird."<sup>20</sup>

On this one of the *wazīrs* came up and suggested that there was some special reason for the hawk's persistent and apparent rudeness. Perhaps some evil was in the cup.

The king then ordered that the stream whence the servant had brought the water should be thoroughly examined. For some distance nothing was discovered till they came to another little stream running into it, whose waters were of a greenish hue. This tributary stream they also followed, and in a short while came on a large python,<sup>21</sup> out of whose mouth green slime (rank poison) trickled. Frightened at the sight of this terrible monster the servants ran back to the camp as fast as they could.

When His Majesty heard their account, he beat his breast and tore his beard, saying, "Oh why was I so hasty! I have slain my preserver! My handsome, faithful falcon is no more! Oh that I had waited to inquire the reason of the bird's behaviour!"<sup>22</sup>

"O King, our father," added the prince after a few moment's pause; "we beseech you to inquire thoroughly before you deliver us over to death."

Then the king began to relent. He doubted the truth of the queen's story, though he did not know how else to account for the marks of blood on Her Majesty's toes and the presence of the eldest prince in their private room at that time. "Tell me," he said, turning to his eldest son and heir, who as yet had kept perfectly silent, "everything concerning last night; and if you can answer satisfactorily then you and your brethren shall go free."

The eldest prince having prostrated himself before the throne, replied:—

"O King, our father, your goodness and kindness are well known to all men. We do not hesitate to answer you about this matter; for our consciences are clean, and we are assured that Your Majesty will receive us again to your confidence, when you have listened to our petition.

"While going my rounds one night, I reached

<sup>19</sup> For an interesting variant of this tale, cf. *Folktales of Bengal*, pp. 150, 153.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. *Legends of the Panjāb*, Vol. I. p. 467ff.

<sup>21</sup> *Ajdar* (Persian *ashdar*, Sanskrit *ajagara*), a large serpent, a python, a dragon, a boa-constrictor

which is said to be known in the Valley, though I very much doubt it. A native gentleman told me that it had been seen on the Jammū side of the Pir-Pantall.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. variant of this story, *Folktales of Bengal*, p. 154.

a hut, where lived a Brâhman and his wife. Attracted by the man's strange behaviour,—for he came out of the hut, looked up at the heavens and then went in again exclaiming *trâh trâh*,—I drew nearer to the place, and heard that Your Majesty's star had been destroyed by another star, and that this meant that Your Majesty would die on a certain night. From further conversation between the Brâhman and his wife, I learnt that a serpent would descend from the sky to kill Your Majesty, and would enter the palace by the door that opens into the court to the east. There was no hope of safety, said the Brâhman, unless one of Your Majesty's relations would dig pits in the palace-court, whence the snake would enter, and fill them with milk and water, and cover the pools thus made with flowers, so that the snake by passing through them might lose its poison;—and further, the man who would do this thing, must also slay the snake before it entered the palace, and smear some of its warm blood over Your Majesty's toes.

"Therefore, O King, our father, I took upon myself to do this. I was present at the door on the east of the palace at the appointed time. The pits were dug and everything arranged as the Brâhman had ordered. The serpent came and I duly slew it. And then, fearing to enter Your Majesty's private room with my eyes open, I blindfolded myself. Hence the mistake I made of putting the blood on the queen's toes instead of on Your Majesty's. No *râkshasa* entered Your Majesty's room.

"O King, our father, why do you suspect us? We are true sons. You have listened to the words of the queen, who wishes her own sons to have the throne and the great places in the kingdom, and so has maligned us. We have never deceived you, O king, or wished you harm."

The king hung down his head in sorrow and shame. In a few minutes he arose and dismissed the assembly, saying: "Ye have heard. I will go myself and ascertain the truth of these things."

Accompanied by his four eldest sons, the king went and saw the pits that had been dug and the blood-stained place where the dead body of the snake had been thrown. He then visited the Brâhman's hut and closely interrogated him concerning the eventful night. All was found to be perfectly correct.

There was great rejoicing in the city that night, when the news was blazed abroad how near the four princes had been to death, and how they had been saved. It was soon arranged for these princes to govern the land. The eldest son became king, and the other sons were appointed *vazîrs*. They lived together most amicably and prospered much. The poor Brâhman and his wife were well-provided for during the remainder of their lives. The plotting, malicious queen was divorced and exiled. The old king retired to a jungle, that he might entirely devote himself to meditation and prayer. In this jungle he obtained a very great reputation for sanctity, and at length died at a very great old age.<sup>23</sup>

### VALABHI INSCRIPTIONS, NO. XVIII.

BY G. BUHLER, Ph.D., LL.D., C.I.E.; VIENNA.

(Continued from Vol. XI. p. 309.)

#### A NEW GRANT OF DHARASENA IV.

The subjoined transcript of a new grant of Dharasêna IV. of Valabhi, has been made according to a reversed photozincograph which I owe to the kindness of Dr. J. Burgess.

The original plates, which, as I learn from Dr. Burgess, were found last year in the Khêdâ (Kaira) Collectorate, seem to be in good preservation, as only a few letters of the second page of the photozincograph are illegible.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. variant of this story, *Folktales of Bengal*, "Strike but hear," pp. 147-159.—[There can be little doubt that the Sindibâd cycle of oriental folktales is responsible for the form that this story is made to take.—ED.]

Their measurements appear to be about 12½ inches by 10½. The first plate contains 28 lines and the second 29, the two last being somewhat shortened in order to make room for the royal signature,—स्वहस्तो नमः.<sup>1</sup> The characters agree most closely with those of the inscriptions of Dharasêna IV. published in this Journal, Vol. I. p. 14, and Vol. VII. p. 73. The technical execution of the inscription is good. There are few clerical mistakes, and few misshapen letters.

<sup>1</sup> The two horizontal strokes which the facsimile shows after नमः, do not represent the *visarga*, but indicate the end of a *Mahāvākya* just like the more common vertical strokes.

The *Vamśāvali* contains nothing new. But the document offers a good many other points of interest.

First, we learn from line 1, that, like the grant discussed *ante*, Vol. VII. p. 73, and Vol. X. p. 278, it was issued "from the camp of victory located at Bharukachchha." Whether we take this phrase to indicate that Dharasēna IV. was at the time engaged in a warlike expedition, or was making a royal progress through his dominions, the inevitable conclusion is that the Broach district, as far as the Narmadā, belonged for a time at least to the kingdom of Valabhi.

Secondly, the statements regarding the recipient of the royal bounty allow us to trace the ancient name of one of the *bhēdas* of the Brāhman still existing in Gujarāt. According to lines 41-42 the donee was the Brāhman Aditiśarman, son of the Brāhman Bhavīnāga, a student of the Vājasaneyīśākhā and a member of the race of Parāsāra. It is further alleged that he was an emigrant from Udumbaragahvara, resided in Khētaka or Khēdā, and belonged to the community<sup>2</sup> of the Udumbaragahvara-Chaturvēdis. These phrases show that Udumbaragahvara was the ancient name of a country or of a town, and that a Brāhmanical community, consisting of emigrants from Udumbaragahvara, was settled in Khēdā, and kept itself separate from the other Brāhman of that town. I have never found Udumbaragahvara used elsewhere as a geographical name. As names of towns and villages, formed with *umar*, one of the modern representatives of the Sanskrit *udumbara*, are common on the map of India, I conclude that Udumbaragahvara was the name of a town; it means literally 'a thicket of *udumbara*-trees.' As regards the Udumbaragahvara-Chaturvēdis, they are, I think, the forefathers of the present Udumbara or Udambara<sup>3</sup> Brāhman, who are found in considerable numbers in the Khēdā and Ahmadābād Collectorates, in the Pañch-Mahāls, and in the Barōdā territory. They still assert that they are immigrants; and their belief is justified by the fact that a great number of Udumbaras are found in the provinces east

and south-east of Gujarāt. The antiquity of the Udumbaras is attested by the statement which Bhavabhūti makes regarding himself, that he was an Udumbara and a native of Vidarbha or Berār.<sup>4</sup> The representation of Udumbaragahvara by Udumbara, is justified by the rule according to which, for proper names and other *sañjñās*, expressed by a compound, the first or the second part alone may be used, as Bhīma for Bhīmasēna and Bhāmā for Satyabhāmā.

Thirdly, the description of the objects granted furnishes an interesting contribution to the ancient geography of Gujarāt. According to lines 43-50, Aditiśarman received two fields and a *bhṛishā*. One of the fields which required to be sown with two *ḥipīṣukas* (?) of rice according to the measure of Khētaka, was situated in the *āhāra* or Zillā of Khētaka, in Kōlamba, in the south-eastern portion of the *śīm* of the village Vādḍasōmālikā. Its boundaries were, to the east the *śīm* of the village of Sīhamuhijja; to the south the *śīm* of the village of Viśvapalli; to the west a field (called) Śamīkēdāra, i.e. the field where Śamī grows, belonging to Drōṇa; to the north a field (called) Khaggadikēdāri, i.e. the small field where Khaggadi grows, belonging to Mahēśvara. Looking at the Trigonometrical Survey Map, it is very probable that Vādḍasōmālikā<sup>5</sup> is the modern Vamtālī, east of Mahmudābād. To the east of the south-eastern *śīm* of Vamtālī lies the large village of Sīhamūj or Suñj, which is clearly the Sīhamuhijja of the grant. Exactly to the south of the south-eastern boundary of Vamtālī, we have the village of Vansol, the name of which closely corresponds to Viśvapalli; in Gujarātī *palli* becomes regularly *ol*; and *vans* for *viśva* is not very extraordinary in a language where *śivō pi śavataṁ gataḥ*. If these identifications are accepted, Kōlamba must be the name of a territorial subdivision of, and must correspond to a portion of, the Mahmudābād Tālukā. The second field required to be sown with two *pīṣhakas* (?) of rice according to the measure of Khētaka, was called *kōṣila*, a name which I do not understand, and was situa-

<sup>2</sup> I take *samānya*, with Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajī, *ante*, Vol. XIII. p. 80, in the sense of 'community.'

<sup>3</sup> See Javerilal U. Yajnik, *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 110; No. 17 of the list.

<sup>4</sup> *Mālatīmādhava*, pp. v. and 11 (Bhandarkar).

<sup>5</sup> The disappearance of the *s* is explained by its change to *h* in the dialect of Khēdā. An intermediate form probably was Vamṭhuvālī. The spelling Vamṭhuvālī still occurs.



ted in the *śim* of the village of *Duhuduhu* which belonged to the *Nagarakapathaka*, i.e. the *paṭhī* or *Tālakā* immediately surrounding the town, i.e. probably *Khêḍā* itself. Its boundaries were, to the east a field belonging to the *Mahattara Gôllaka*, called *Âṭiramaṇakêḍāra*, i.e. the playground of the *Turdus Gingenius*, and a *Khaṇḍakêḍāra* (?) belonging to *Sabbhīlaka*; to the south the *śim* of the village of *Jâiṇṇapalli*; to the west the *śim* of the village of *Gudḍapallikā*; to the north the *Âralikêḍāra*, the *Samikêḍāra*, and two anthills. The want of a portion of the Trig. Surv. Map makes exact identifications of the villages named impossible. But I remember perfectly well to have visited a village *Jaiṇoli* in the *Khêḍā* District. The *bhrishṭī* lay in the *padraka*, the *pādr* or grazing-place, of *Duhuduhikā*, on the eastern *śim*.<sup>9</sup> Its boundaries were, to the east a *kapitthōndanī* (i.e. an *undani* near a *kapittha*-tree); to the south a small field (*kêḍārikā*) called *Viṣiṇṇo* (*Viṣiṇṇa* ?); to the west a *kapitthōndanī*; to the north two *undanis* beyond the *brahmadēya*-field, belonging to the *Brāhmaṇ Vairabhaṭa*. The word *bhrishṭī*, which occurs here for the first time in a Valabhī grant, probably means, like its modern Hindī representative *bhīṭī* or *bhīṭ*, 'raised ground near a tank for planting *Piper betel* upon.' The hitherto unknown term *undani*, which is associated with it, seems from its etymological import to designate a reservoir of water or a channel for the purpose of irrigation. I do not think that the meaning *गुन्यवाटिका* given for *bhrishṭī* (with a short *i*) in the *Kôshas*<sup>10</sup> can be possibly here intended. Among the conditions of the grant (lines 49-52) the expression *pūrvvapratadēvabrahmadēyabrāhmaṇaviṇśatirahitam*, i.e. "with the exclusion of grants to gods and *Brāhmaṇs*, and of the twentieth (to be paid) to *Brāhmaṇs*," deserves attention, because the other inscriptions do not mention the twentieth payable to *Brāhmaṇs*. The payment of this tax is occasionally recommended to *Vaiśyas* and *Sôdras* in works on *Dharma*.

Fourthly, the name of the *Dūtaka*, or representative of the king for the conveyance of the grant, is very interesting. Just as in the *Alinā* grants, published *ante*, Vol. VII. pp. 73ff. and 76ff., a royal lady, the princess *Bhūvā*, is entrusted with this office. *Dharasēna's* grant, which belongs to the *Alinā* collection, names the *rājadukhitrī-Bhūpā*. Probably the same person is meant here. *Bhūpā* may be only a misspelling for *Bhūvā*.

Finally the date of our inscription, सं ३००+३० द्वि मागशीर शु २, is of the utmost importance, and settles, I think, the question regarding the beginning of the era, used in the Valabhī grants. As soon as I saw it, I thought that, taking into consideration the double date of the grant of *Śilāditya-Dhrubhaṭa*,<sup>9</sup> it must be taken to stand for *संवत्सरशततये त्रिंशदधिके द्वितीयमागशीरसि शुद्धद्वितीयायां (तिथौ)*, literally "in the third (completed) century, increased by thirty, in the second (month of) *Mārgaśīrsha*, on the second (lunar day)." It also seemed to me most probable that the expression *द्वितीयमागशीरसि* must indicate the occurrence of an intercalation of the month of *Mārgaśīrsha* in the year 330 or 331 of the era of the Valabhī grants, and that with this interpretation the date would be useful for testing the various theories put forward with respect to the initial year of the era. Some friends, to whom I communicated the fact and my explanation, raised a weighty objection by pointing out to me that, according to the method of intercalation actually used in India, the months *Mārgaśīrsha*, *Panśha*, and *Māgha*, cannot be intercalated at all. It was possible to meet this by answering that, considering the numerous changes introduced by the Hindus at various times into their astronomical calculations, the present Indian method might be a late invention, and not applicable to the earlier inscriptions. Still, the possibility of a mistake on the part of the writer of the grant could not be denied.<sup>10</sup> It, therefore, remained hazardous to use a date, which might be reasonably

<sup>9</sup> Above, l. 15, it is stated that the *bhrishṭī* lay in the *śim* of *Vadḍasomālikā*.

<sup>10</sup> H. H. Wilson, *Glossary Jud. and Rev. Terms*; Elliot, *Races of the N. W. Prov.* Vol. II. 235.

<sup>11</sup> See the *Pot. Dict.* sub voce.

<sup>12</sup> *ante*, Vol. VII. p. 86, संवत्सरशततये त्रिंशदधिके द्वितीयमागशीरसि शुद्धद्वितीयायां अङ्कतः सवत् (संवत्) ४०० ४०

<sup>9</sup> ज्येष्ठ शु १॥. See now also Fleet, *Corpus Inscr. Ind.* Vol. III. No. 39.

<sup>10</sup> Another interpretation, the assumption that द्वि might belong to the preceding figures, and that the year might be 332, is barred by the fact that according to an unpublished grant *Dhrubhaṭa* III. was on the throne of Valabhī in *Samvat* 332, and by the impossibility of tracing the use of द्वि for the symbol for 2 in inscriptions.

suspected, for the final settlement of an important chronological question. The doubts regarding the correctness of our date have, however, been dispelled of late by Mr. C. Bendall's discovery of a Nêpâl inscription which plainly mentions an intercalation of the month Pausa. It is given as No. II., Pl. ix., in Mr. Bendall's *Journey in Nepal*, pp. 74-76. Its date runs—*Saṁvat 34 prathama Pausa śukladvītyāyām*, "the year 34, first (month of) Pausa, on the second (lunar day) of the bright half." *Prathamapausha* gives no sense at all, if it is not taken to indicate that in that particular year the month of Pausa occurred twice, or was intercalatory. Further, if Pausa was intercalated, the rule of intercalation, used in the old almanacs of Nêpâl, must have differed from that adopted by the Jôshis of later times. As Mr. Bendall's inscription belongs to Aṁśu-varman, and hence the year mentioned refers to the Śrīharsha era, it could be ascertained by astronomical calculation, whether according to any possible method the month of Pausa could be intercalated in the years 640-41 A.D. Two eminent astronomers, Professor Adams of Cambridge and Dr. Schram of Vienna, before whom the facts were placed, have both arrived at the result that with the use of the elements of the *Brahma-Siddhānta*, a mean intercalation of Pausa is obtained for the year 640 A.D., which corresponds to Śrīharsha-Saṁvat 34 (running).<sup>11</sup> It is, therefore, evident that the ancient almanac of Nêpâl took into account the mean intercalation alone, and that it ignored the modern method, which admits of an intercalation only in case two new moons occur in one solar month which has been exactly calculated according to the entrance of the sun into the particular sign of the zodiac. Dr. Schram is of opinion that the incorrect assumption of an equal length of all solar months forms the basis of the doctrines of the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, enunciated in verses 48-51 of the first chapter,<sup>12</sup> and that thus some at least of the older Indian astronomers were

ignorant of or disregarded the fact that the solar months of winter are shorter than the others.

Encouraged by the wording of the Nêpâl date and its interpretation by the astronomers, I placed before Dr. Schram the question whether an intercalation of Mārgaśīrsha was possible in the years 496-498 A.D. (166-167 + 330-331, or in the years 519-521 A.D. (189-190 + 330-331) or, finally, in the years 648-650 (318-319 + 330-331). I chose these three different periods in order to test the well-known three theories regarding the beginning of the Gupta era, which has been placed by General Cunningham in 167 A.D., by Sir E. C. Bayley in 190 A.D., and by Bêrûnî in 319 A.D. Dr. Schram, whose elaborate calculations have been printed at length in my German paper on this inscription, answered:—(1) That, among the years mentioned, 497, 518, and 648 A.D. were intercalatory;<sup>13</sup>—(2) That according to the method of calculating intercalations which is used at present, the intercalatory months would be respectively Jyaishtṥa, Bhādrapada, and Kārttika;—(3) But that according to the rule for mean intercalations Mārgaśīrsha would be intercalatory<sup>14</sup> in 648 A.D. This result, it seems to me, leaves no doubt possible with respect to the chronology of the Valabhî kings, whose dates, lying between Saṁ. 207 and Saṁ. 447, are thus shown to range from 525-6 to 765-6 A.D. This discovery destroys one of the most important arguments for placing the initial date of the Gupta era earlier than 318-19 A.D., as it is now evident that Śhāditya VI., surnamed Dhṛubhaṭa, cannot be the *T'u-lo-ho-po-t'u* whom Hiuen Tsiang visited about the year 634 A.D. Considering the important discoveries made of late, (1) by Mr. Bendall<sup>15</sup> of the use of an era which began in 318-19, by Śivadêva I. of Nêpâl; and (2) by Mr. Fleet,<sup>16</sup> of the Mandasôr inscription, according to which Kumāragupta was lord of the whole earth in the year 494 of the Mālavas or Mālavêśas (i.e. of the Vikrama era), I now feel compelled to withdraw my opposition to the acceptance of

<sup>11</sup> This is on the supposition that the Śrīharsha era began in 606 A.D.

<sup>12</sup> See my article 'Uebereine Inschrift des Königs Dhara-sena IV. p. 14,' Sitz. Ber. Wiener Akademie CXI. Heft II. Mr. Bendall's statement, *loc. cit.* p. 76, that Dr. Schram believes an intercalation of the month of Pausa to be impossible according to the doctrines of the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, is based on a misconception of his words. What Dr. Schram says in a paper submitted to Mr. Bendall is that, if the elements of the *Sūrya-Siddhānta* are

used in calculating the date of the Nêpâl inscription, Pausa will not be intercalary in Śrīharsha-Saṁvat 34; but that it is, if the slightly different elements of the *Brahma-Siddhānta* are taken.

<sup>13</sup> See also Cunningham, *Book of Indian Eras*, Table xvii. pp. 153, 154, 155.

<sup>14</sup> See also Warren, *Kala Sanātānita*, Table xix.

<sup>15</sup> See his inscription, *ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 271.

<sup>16</sup> See his papers "On the Epoch of the Gupta Era," and on the inscription in question, at p. 189 ff. above.

Bérini's statement that the Gupta era began in Śaka-Samvat 241. Strict proof that the Mālava era really is the Vikrama-Samvat, and that the Kumāragupta of the Mandasôr

inscription is the Kumāragupta of the Gupta line, has still to be furnished. But the probability that these assumptions are correct, is very strong.

## TEXT.

## First Plate.

- 1 श्री स्वस्ति विजयस्कन्धावाराङ्गकच्छवासाकाधसमप्रणताभिषार्णा नैवकाणामसुलबलसम्पन्नम-  
 2 ण्डलाभौगसंसक्तप्रहारशतलब्धप्रतापोपनतादानमानार्जवोपाज्जितानुरागादनुक्तमौल-  
 3 भृतश्रेणीबलावासाज्यभियः परममाहेश्वरश्रीभटार्कादयवच्छिन्नराजवङ्गशान्तापितृचरणारविन्दप्र-  
 4 णतिप्रविधौताशेषकल्मषः शैशवाधमृति खल्वहितीयबाहुरेष समरपरगजघटास्कोदनप्रकाशितसर-  
 5 निकषः तद्यभावप्रणतारातिचूडारत्नप्रभासंसक्तपादनखरहिमसहृतिः सकलस्मृतिप्रणीतमार्गसम्बन्ध-  
 परिपा-  
 6 लनप्रजाहृदयरञ्जानन्वर्त्यराज्यभ्यो रूपकान्तिधैर्य्यगाम्भीर्य्यशुद्धिसम्पन्निः स्मरशशाङ्गादिराजोदधिचिह्न-  
 7 गुरुधनेशानतिशयानः शरणाशताभयप्रदानपरतया सुवदपास्ताशेषस्वकार्य्यफलप्राप्त्यनाधिकार्य्य-  
 8 प्रदानानन्दिद्विहसुहृत्प्रणयिहृदयः पादचारीक सकलनुवनमण्डलाभोद्यममोहः परममाहेश्वर-  
 9 श्रीगुहसेनस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादनखमयूतसन्तानविद्युत्तजाह्नवी जलौघप्रक्षालिताशेषकल्मषः प्रणयिगतसह-  
 10 लोपजीव्यमानसम्पदुपलोभादिवाभितः सरभसमभिगाभिकैर्गुणैस्सहजशक्तिशिक्षाविशेषविस्मयिताखिलधनु-  
 11 रैः प्रथमनरपतिसमतिमुष्टानामनुपालयिता धर्मशयानामपाकर्त्ता प्रजोपधातकारिणामुपह्वानां हर्ष-  
 12 विता श्रीसरस्वत्योरेकाधिवासस्य सहृदयारातिपक्षलक्ष्मीपरिभोगदक्षविक्रमो विक्रमोपसंप्राप्तविमल-  
 पार्थिवश्रीः  
 13 परममाहेश्वरः श्रीधरसेनस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादानुभ्यातः सकलजगदानन्वनात्यजुतगुणसमुदयस्थगितसम-  
 दिङ्गुण्ड-  
 14 लः समरशतविजयशोभासनधमण्डलामधुतिभासुरतरान्सपीडोदगुरुमनोरथमहाभारः सध्वविद्यापरा-  
 15 वरविभागाधिगमविमलमतिरपि सर्वतस्तुभासितलवेनापि सुखोपपादनीयपरितोषः सममलोकागधि-  
 16 गाम्भीर्य्यहृदयोपि सुचरितातिशयसुव्यक्तपरमकल्याणस्वभावः खिलीभूतकृत्युगनुपतिपथविशोधनाधिगतो-  
 17 दमकीर्तिर्हृन्मोनुपरोधोऽञ्जलवरीकृतार्थसुखसम्पदुपसेधानिरुद्धधर्मादिरव्यहितीयनामा परममाहेश्वरः श्री-  
 शीलादित्यः  
 18 तस्यानुजस्तत्पादानुभ्यातः स्वयमुपेन्द्रगुरुणैक गुरुणात्यारवताः समभिलषणीयामपि राजलक्ष्मीं  
 स्कन्धसक्तां परमभद्र  
 19 इव धृष्टस्तवाज्ञासम्पन्नैकरसतयैवोदहन्खेदसुखरतिभ्यामनायासितसत्त्वसम्पन्निः प्रभावसम्पदुपलब्ध-  
 20 नृपतिशतशिरोरत्नच्छाद्योपयुक्तपादपीडोपि परावज्ञाभिमानरसानालिङ्गितमनोवृत्तिः प्रणतिभक्तां परित्यज्य  
 21 प्रख्यातपौरुषाभिमानैरप्यरातिभिरनासादितप्रतिक्रियोपायः कृतनिखिलनुवनानामोदविमलगुणसहृतिप्र-  
 22 सभविषदितसकलकलविलसितगतिर्भाषजनाधिरोहिभिरशेषैर्हिरण्मृदात्कुजतद्वयः प्रख्यातपौरुषास्स-  
 23 कौशलातिशयगणतिविपक्षभित्तिपतिलक्ष्मीस्वयंमहप्रकाशितप्रधीरपुरुषः प्रथमसंख्याधिगमः परममाहेश्वर-  
 24 श्रीखरमहस्तस्य तनयस्तत्पादानुभ्यातः सकलविद्याधिगमविहितनिखिलविद्वज्जनमनःपरितोषातिशयः सत्त्वस-  
 25 म्पदा व्यागौदाय्येण च विगतानुसन्धानाशमाहितारातिपक्षमनोरयाक्षभङ्गः सम्यगुपलक्षितानेकधास्त्रकला-  
 26 लोकचरितगदुरविभागोपि परमभद्रप्रकृतिरकुञ्चिमप्रभयाविनयशोभाविभूषणः समरशत-  
 27 जयपताकाहरणप्रत्यमोदमहाद्वन्द्वविध्वन्सितनिखिलप्रतिपक्षदर्पोदयः स्वधनुःप्रभावपरि-  
 28 भूतास्त्रकौशलप्रभानसकलनृपतिमण्डलाभिनन्दितासनः परममाहेश्वरः श्रीधरसेनस्तस्यानुजः

## Second Plate.

- 29 तत्पादानुभ्यातः सचरितातिशयसकलपूर्व्वनरपतिरतिपुस्ताधानामपि प्रसाधयिता  
 30 विषयार्णा नृत्तिमानिव पुरुषकारः परिदृष्टगुणानुरागनिर्भरचित्तवृत्तिभिन्मनुरिव स्वय-  
 31 न्भुपपन्नः प्रकृतिभिरधिगतकलाकलापः कान्तिभाजिवृत्तिहेतुरकलकु × कुमुदनायः प्राज्यप्र-  
 32 तापस्यगितदिगन्तरालमध्यन्तिसन्धान्तराशिस्ततोदितस्तद्विता प्रकृतिभ्यः परं प्रत्ययमर्थ्यन्तमतिबहुतिद-

Line 1, read श्री. L. 2, read "पनतदान". L. 7, read "सुवदपास्ता". L. 11, read "मनुपाल". L. 14, read "सर्वविद्या". L. 15, read "सुखोपपादनीय". L. 8, read "साम्भोग". L. 10, read "माभिगाभि". L. 11, read "सुमाधित". L. 23, read "प्रथमपुरुष". L. 30, read "भिन्मनु".

- 33 प्रयोजनानुबन्धमागमपरपूर्व विधानः सन्धिविमहसमासनिश्चयनिपुणः स्थानेनुरूपमादेशं ददुष्ण-  
 34 वृद्धिविधानजनितसंस्कारस्साधूनां राज्यसालातुरीयतन्त्रयोरुभयोरपि निष्णातः प्रकृष्टविक्रमोपि कठणामु-  
 35 हयः श्रुतवानन्वयगदितः कान्तोपि प्रथमो स्थिरसौहृदय्योपि निरसिता शेषवतामुद्यमयसमुपजनित-  
 36 जनतानुतामपरिनिहितभवनसमर्थनप्रथितबालास्थित्वितीयनामा परममहेश्वरः श्रीधुवसेनस्तस्य सुत  
 37 तत्पादकमलप्रयामधरणि कषणजनितकिणलउडुनललटचन्द्रशकलः शिशुभाव एव श्रवणनिहितमौक्तिका-  
 38 लङ्कारविभ्रमामलश्रुतविशेषः प्रशनसलिलक्षालितामहस्तारविन्दः कन्याया इव मृदुकरप्रहणाहमन्वीकृतानन्-  
 39 विधिर्वसुन्धरायाः कान्मुके धनुर्वैह इव सम्भाविताशेषलक्ष्यकलापः पणतसामन्तमण्डलोत्तमाभधृत-  
 चूडारत्नायमा-  
 40 नशासनः परममहेश्वरः परमभट्टारकनहाराजधिराजपरमेश्वरचक्रवर्तिश्रीधरसेन × कुशली सव्वांनेव समाज्ञाप-  
 41 यत्यस्तु वस्तुविदितं यथा मया मातापित्रोः पुण्याप्यायनाय उदुम्बरगङ्गाविनिर्गतखेटकवास्तव्यो-  
 दुम्बरगङ्गाचालु-  
 42 र्वथसामान्यपराशरसगोत्रवाजसनेयिसम्राज्यारिभ्राक्षणभवीनागशर्मपुत्रभ्राक्षणवितिशर्मणे खेटका-  
 43 हारे कोलम्बे वडुसोमलिकाग्रामपूर्वसीमि खेटकेमानेन ब्रीहिदिपिडुकद्वयवापं सभृटीकं क्षेत्रं यस्या-  
 44 घाटनानि पूर्वतः सीहमुहिज्जमामसीमा दक्षिणतो विश्वपल्लिमामसीमा अपरतो द्वेणकसत्कशमीकेदारक्षेत्रं  
 45 उत्तरतो महेश्वरसत्कखण्डिकेशरीक्षेत्रं तथा नगरकपथकान्तर्गतदुहुदुहामे दक्षिणापरसीमि खेटक-  
 46 मानेन ब्रीहिदिपिडुकवापं कोटीलक्षेत्रं यस्याघाटनानि पूर्वतः आदिरमणकेदारसंज्ञितं महत्तरगोलकसरक्षेत्रं  
 47 सन्धीलकसत्कखण्डिकेशरश्च दक्षिणतः जाहणपल्लिमामसीमा अपरतो गुडुपल्लिमामसीमा उत्तरत-  
 आरलिकेशरः शमी-  
 48 केशरो वल्मीकद्वयश्च तथा पूर्वसीमि दुहुदुहिकापत्रके भृष्टी यस्या आघाटनानि पूर्वतः कपित्थोन्व-  
 दक्षिणतो विशीष्णोक्षित-  
 49 केशरिकं अपरतः कपित्थोन्वनी उत्तरतः ब्राह्मणवैरभटसत्कब्रह्मदेयक्षेत्रमतिक्रम्य उन्वनीद्वयं एवं  
 क्षेत्रद्वयं सभृटीकं  
 50 सोम्रङ्गः सोपेरिकरं सभूतवातप्रत्यायं सधान्यहिरण्यादेयं सदशापराधं सोत्पद्यमानविटिकं सर्व-  
 राजकीयानामहस्त-  
 51 प्रक्षेपणीयं पूर्वप्र[त्त]देवब्रह्मदेयब्राह्मणविद्वत्तिरहितं भूमिच्छिन्न्यायेनाचन्द्राक्षोर्णवसितिसरित्पर्वत-  
 समकालीनं  
 52 पुत्रवीचान्दयभोग्यं उदकातिसर्गेण धम्मशयो निष्पटः यतोत्योक्षितया ब्रह्मदेयस्थित्या भुञ्जतः कृषतः  
 कर्षयतः प्रदिश-  
 53 तो वा न कैश्चिद्भासेधे वसितव्यमागाभिन्नतृपतिभिरप्यत्मद्वज्जैरन्यैर्वा अनित्यान्यैश्चर्याण्यस्थिरं  
 मानुष्यं सामान्यश्च भूमिशनफलम-  
 54 वगच्छद्भिरयमस्महायोनुमन्तव्यः परिपालयितव्यश्चेत्युक्तश्च ॥ बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्तगराविभिः  
 यस्य यस्य यथा भूमिस्तस्य  
 55 तस्य तदा फलं ॥ यानीह शरिद्वयभयान्नेन्द्रेन्द्रेनानि धर्मायतनीकृतानि निर्भुक्तमाल्यप्रतिमानि तानि को  
 नाम साधुः पुनरावहीत ॥  
 56 [चष्टि]वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिहः आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् कृतकोत्र  
 राजशुहेतुभूवा ॥  
 57 [लिखित]मिह सन्धिविमहाधीकृतदिविरपतिवचनमिदमुत्तरीविरपतिश्रीस्कन्दभट्टेनेति । सं १०० १० द्विमागंशिर  
 शु २ स्वहस्तो मम =

## AN ENGLISH-GIPSY INDEX.

COMPILED BY MRS. GRIERSON, WITH AN INTRODUCTORY NOTE BY G. A. GRIERSON, B.C.S.

(Continued from p. 311.)

SHOE-MAKER,—Choko-mengro, (Eng.); albenên-  
 goro, triakhêngoro, (Tch.); chobotári, (M.)  
 SHOES,—Chokkor, chokkora, (Eng.)  
 SHOOT, to,—Ēmpushtiáva, ěmpushtisa ráva, (M.)  
 kariye, (M. 7)

SHOOT, (of a tree),—Vicha, (Tch., Psp. M., M. 8)  
 SHOOTER,—Pushkáshu, pushkásh, (M.)  
 SHOP,—Buddigur, (Eng.); duyéni, vraatfiri, (Tch.);  
 dugyána, (M.)  
 SHOP-KEEPER,—Duyenéskoro, (Tch.)

Line 33, read परिपूः नुरुः. L. 34, read °शालातुरीय°.  
 L. 36, read समर्थित°; सुतः. L. 39, read काम्मुके;  
 °तमाङ्ग°. L. 42, read (विद्य°. L. 43, खेटकमा°. L. 47,

read °सीमा. L. 48, perhaps (विशीष्णोक्षित° to be read.  
 L. 52, read °पौत्रा°; धम्म°. L. 55, read नरेन्द्रे°.

- SHOPPING-DAY**,—Buddikur divvus, (Eng.)  
**SHORE**,—Mal, máló, málu, márdzhina, (M.)  
**SHORT**,—Khatne, (As. Tch.); skurt, (M.)  
**SHOT**,—Pudinibé, (Tch.)  
**SHOULDER**,—Pikko, (Eng.); pikó, vikó, (Tch., Psp. M.); pilu, (As. Tch.); pkhikó, pshikó, pshikó, (M.); phiko, (M. 8)  
**SHOULDER**, of or belonging to,—Pikaló, (Tch.)  
**SHOUT**,—Gudli, godli, (Eng.)  
**SHOUT**, to,—Basháva, khuyázáva, khuyázkeráva, vikizáva, vikizdáva, (Tch.)  
**SHOUT**, to cause to,—Bashaváva, (Tch.)  
**SHOVE**, to,—Körnisaráva, (M.)  
**SHOVAL**,—Mashá, (Tch.); lopáta, (M.)  
**SHOW**, to,—Sikkeráva, (Eng.)  
**SHUT**, to,—Bandáva, pandáva, (Tch.); popriáva, poprisaráva, (M.); bandáva, (Psp. M.)  
**SHUT**, to cause to,—Bauliá keráva, (Tch.)  
**SHY**,—Ėavélinimi, (M.)  
**SICK**,—Naflo, (Eng.); merdó, namporemé, nasvaló, nasfaló, (Tch.); nümistü, numisfü, (As. Tch.); nasfáló, (M.); mizhekh, nasvalo, (M. 8)  
**SICK**, to be,—Nasváliováva, (Tch.); nasfal'ováva, (M.)  
**SICKNESS**,—Nafipen, (Eng.); nasallipen, (Span. Gip.); nasvalibé, nampórema, (Tch.); namporema, (M. 8)  
**SIDE**,—Pashavró, rik, sannó, (Tch.); (pl.) lětüre, párté, (M.); pashavro, rig, (M. 8)  
**SIEVE**,—Patrakós, (Tch.); velvü, (As. Tch.); rêsheto, (Tch., Psp. M.); Cf. FLOUR-BOLTER.  
**SIFT**, to,—Ushanáva, (Tch., M. 8)  
**SIFTED**, to be,—Ushanghiováva, (Tch.)  
**SIGH**, to,—Acharáva, (Tch., Psp. M.); akharáva, (M. 7)  
**SIGHT**,—Dikibé, (Tch.); fâcz, (M.)  
**SIGN**,—Simadi, (Tch.); sémnu, (M.); simadi, (M. 8)  
**SIGN**, to, (to write one's name)—Iskélisard'ováva, (M.)  
**SILK**,—Kayes, (Eng.); kesh, (Tch.); ibishim, (As. Tch.); quequesa, (Span. Gip.); tezh, t'esh, t'ezh, (M.); kesh, (M. 7); resh, (M. 8)  
**SILKEN-STUFF**,—Phar, (M. 8)  
**SILKEN**,—Keshanó, keshulanó, (Tch.); tezhulunó, (M.)  
**SILK-WORM**,—Keshéskoro kermó, (Tch.)  
**SILVER**,—Rup, rupenoe, (Eng.); rup, (dim.) ruporó, (Tch.); orp, (As. Tch.); rup, (M., M. 8, Psp. M.)  
**SILVER**, of or belonging to,—Rupovanó, (Tch.); rupunó, rupunó, (M.)  
**SIMILAR**,—sar, (Psp. M.)  
**SIN**,—Bezéh, (Tch.); bezéch, pakáto, (M.); bezeh, (M. 7)  
**SIN**, to,—Grashisaráva, (M.)  
**SINCE**,—Dekénd, (M.)
- SING**, to,—Ghiliabava, (Tch.); ghiliáva, ghiliováva, (Psp. M.); delabáva, (M.); bagaváva, (M.)—see SONG.  
**SINGER**,—(fem.) Ghiovendé, (Tch.)  
**SINISTER**,—Bango, (Eng.)  
**SINK DOWN**, to,—Kufundisard'ováva, (M.)  
**SISTER**,—Pen, (Eng.); pen, ben, (dim.) penori, (Tch.); bēno, (As. Tch.); pen (Psp. M.); phen, (dim.) phenoré, (M.); ohen, (M. 8)  
**SISTER IN DEBAUCHERY**,—Bloen, blowing, (Eng.)  
**SISTER-IN-LAW**,—Sali, (Tch., Psp. M.); kunnáta, (M.)  
**SIT**, to,—Besháva, (Eng., Tch., M., M. 7)  
**SIT DOWN**, to cause to,—Beshaváva, (Tch.)  
**SITUATION**,—Stan, (M. 8)  
**SIX**,—Sho, (Eng.); sho, shov, (Tch., Psp. M.); shov, shoü, (M.); shov, (M. 8)  
**SIXPENCE**,—Shehaury, shohaury, (Eng.)  
**SIXTEEN**,—Desh ta sho, (Eng.); desh-u-shov, (Tch.); desh-i-shov, (Psp. M.)  
**SIXTH**,—Shöuto, (M.)  
**SIXTY**,—Exinda, (Tch.); shovardéri, (Psp. M.)  
**SIZE**,—Baribé, (Tch.)  
**SKEIN**,—Kovári, (M.)  
**SKEWER**, wooden,—Eskunyo, (pl.) eskunyes, (Eng.)  
**SKEWERS**,—Spikor, skunyes, skunyor, (Eng.)  
**SKIN**,—Mutzi, (pl.) mutzior, (Eng.); perchás, (Tch.); morchas, (Span. Gip.); mort'i, murt'é, murt'i, murchi, (M.)  
**SKULL-CAP**,—Stadik, sadyk, (dim.) stadikori, sad, (Tch.)  
**SKULL-CAPS**, he who makes or sells,—Stadikángoro, (Tch.)  
**SKY**,—Sukár devél, (Tch.)  
**SLAIN**,—Moreno, (Eng.)  
**SLAVE**,—Kiolés, (Tch.); hargát, hargáto, hargátu, rôbo, rôbu, (M.)  
**SLAY**, to,—Hetaváva, moréva, moráva, (Eng.); shináva, (M.)  
**SLEEP**,—Sutta, suttur, sutu, lutherum, (Eng.); lindr, (Tch.); nepdir, (As. Tch.); lindri, indri, (M.); lindr, (M. 8, Psp. M.)  
**SLEEP**, to,—Sováva, (Eng.); sováva, sottiováva, (Tch.); sobelar, (Span. Gip.); sovella, 'he sleeps', (Hun. Gip.); sove, (Danish); sováva, (M.); sováva, (M. 8, Psp. M.)  
**SLEEP**, to cause to,—Sovaráva, sovliá keráva, soviaráva, (Tch.)  
**SLEEP**, lulling to,—Lindraló, (M.)  
**SLEEP**, to lull to,—Soularáva, (M.)  
**SLEEPING**,—Sottó, suttó, (Tch.)  
**SLEEP-SONG**,—Suttur-gillie, (Eng.)  
**SLEEVE**,—Bái, (Tch., M. 7)  
**SLIP**, to,—Shuváva, (M.)  
**SLIPPERS**,—Gh'ool, (As. Tch.); papúchi, papuchy, (M.)

- SLOE,--*Āsfo*, *gulō*, (Tch.)  
 SLOUGH, (pond),--*Yāzeru*, (M.)  
 SLOWLY,--*Lōkō*, *p'ō lōko*, *lokēs*, *lokōs*, (M.); *parēs*, (Psp. M.)  
 SLUMBER,--*Luthurum*, (Eng.)  
 SMALL,--*Beti*, *tawno*, *tawnie*, *tikno*, (Eng.); *chinoro*, (Span. Gip.); *khurdō*, (Tch., Psp. M.); *khurdo*, (M. 7)  
 SMALL-POX,--*Bugnes*, *bugnior*, *būgonēs*, (Eng.); *chel*, *jel*, (Tch.); *khurāk*, (As. Tch.); *cheol*, (M. 7)  
 SMALL-POX, marked by,--*Chelalō*, (Tch.)  
 SMALL PIECE, a little,--*Bitti*, (Eng.)  
 SNEAR, to,--*Makāva*, (M.); *makhāva*, (M. 8)  
 SHELL, a,--*Mirōsu*, (M.)  
 SMELL, sweet,--*Sung*, (Tch.)  
 SMELL, sweet, of or belonging to,--*Sungalō*, (Tch.)  
 SMELL AN ODOUR, to,--*Sungāva*, *shungāva*, (Tch.); *kandāva*, (M.)  
 SMITH,--*Petul-engro*, (Eng.); *koval'ō*, *kovāl'*, *kovāl*, (M.)  
 SMOKE,--*Tuv*, (Eng.); *jaili*, (As. Tch.); *thu*, (M.); *thuv*, (M. 8)  
 SMOKY,--*Tuvalo*, *tuvvalo*, (Eng.)  
 SNAIL,--*Baul*, *bowle*, (Eng.); *limalō*, (Tch.)  
 SNAKE,--*Sap*, *sarp*, (plu.) *sappors*, (Eng.); *chapleska*, (Span. Gip.); *sapp*, (Tch.); *sap-uzhos*, *uzh*, (M.); *sap*, (M. 8)  
 SNAKY,--*Sapunō*, (M.)  
 SNEAK, to,--*Shuvāva*, (M.)  
 SNEEZ\*, to,--*Chik dāva*, (Tch.); *chiktāva*, (Psp. M.)  
 SNEEZING,--*Chik*, (Tch.); *chik*, (M. 7)  
 SNORT, to,--*khoroisarāva*, (M.)  
 SNOW,--*Iv*, (Eng.); *yiv*, (Hun. Gip.); *give*, (Span. Gip.); *vif*, *viv*, (Tch.); *hiv*, (As. Tch.); *iv*, *biv*, (Psp. M.); *yiv*, (M.); *iv*, (M. 7)  
 SNOWBALL,--*Iv-engri*, *ivi-mengri*, (Eng.)  
 SNUFF,--*Nokkipen*, (Eng.)  
 SO,--*Ashā*, *ashaw*, *ajaw*, *jaw*, (Eng.); *kadō*, (M.)  
 SO IT IS,--*Si kovar ajaw*, (Eng.)  
 SO MUCH,--*azom*, *abor*, (Tch., M. 7)  
 SOAP,--*Sapnis*, (Eng.); *sapuni*, *sapūi*, *toviardō*, (Tch.); *sapuyēsa*, (M.); *sapuni*, (M. 8)  
 SOAPY,--*Sappēskoro*, (Tch.)  
 SOAP, he who makes or sells,--*Sapuniēskoro*, (Tch.)  
 SOFTNESS,--*Kovlipē*, (Tch.)  
 SOFT,--*Kovlō*, (Tch., M. 7); (adv.) *lokoricēs*, (M.)  
 SOFT, to become,--*Kōvliovāva*, (Tch.)  
 SOLD, to be,--*see SELL*.  
 SOLDIER, a,--*Churo-mengro*, *kūro-mengro*, (Eng.); *shubāri*, (Tch.); *katān*, (M.); *inkesto*, *hurdo*, (M. 8)  
 SOLITARY,--*Temialō*, (Tch.)  
 SOLITUDE,--*Korkoribē*, (Tch.)  
 SOME,--*Kacām*, (M.)  
 SOME ONE,--*Kānek*, *kanēk*, *kānek jenō*, (Tch.)  
 SOMETHING,--*Chomany*, (Eng.); *kormuni*, (Span. Gip.)  
 SOMETIMES,--*Kayēk*, (Tch.)  
 SOMEWHERE,--*Katind'e*, *kathind'e*, (M.)  
 SON,--*Chal*, *chavo*, (Eng.); *raklō*, *raklorō*, *shavō*, *shaō*, *shiu*, (M.)  
 SON-IN-LAW,--*Jamutrō*, (Tch. Psp. M., M. 7); *jardāv*, *jafterō*, *jaftūri* (As. Tch.)  
 SONG,--*Gillie*, (Eng.); *ghili*, *nagharā*, (Tch.); *ghili*, (Psp. M.); *gili*, (M. 7)  
 SOON,--*Sig*, (Eng.); *singō*, (Span. Gip.)  
 SORROW,--*Skērbē*, (M.)  
 SOUL,--*Ghi*, (As. Tch.); *oghi*, (Tch.); *dī*, *d'i*, (M.)  
 SOUND,--*Sheli*, (Tch.); *godli*, (M. 7)  
 SOUND, to,--*Bashāva*, (M.)  
 SOUP,--*Zūmi*, (Eng.); *zumī*, *jumī*, (Tch.); *zumi*, (M., M. 8)  
 SOUR,--*Shutlō*, (Tch.); *batde*, *khati*, (As. Tch.); *shuklō*, (M.)  
 SOVEREIGN, (coin)--*Balanser*, (Eng.)  
 SOW,--*Bali*, (Tch., M.)  
 Sow, to,--*Semeniāva*, *semenisarāva*, (M.)  
 SOWN, to be,--*Semenisard'ovāva*, (M.)  
 SPAN,--*Pālma*, *pālmē*, (M.)  
 SPAN, long, a,--*Shtyopāko*, (M.)  
 SPADE,--*Pinrēngoro*, *changhēngoro*, (Tch.)  
 SPARK,--*Skēntē*, (M.)  
 SPARROW,--*Cherikli*, (M.)  
 SPEAK, to,--*Pukkerāva*, *penāva*, *rokrāva*, (Eng.); *sborizāva*, *vrakerāva*, (Tch.); *vrakerāva*, (Psp. M.); *vakerāva*, (M. 8)

## MISCELLANEA.

## PROGRESS OF EUROPEAN SCHOLARSHIP.

(1) *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Vol. XL. Part I.; Leipzig, 1886.--This number is in great part devoted to articles connected with the Aryan side of Oriental studies, for which the Editor apologizes, promising a Shemitic counterbalance in the next number.

In the first paper Dr. Hultsch describes part of the results of a tour in India undertaken by him in the winter of 1884-85, and the spring of

the latter year. His journeys extended over the Bombay and Central Provinces, thence to Calcutta, and finally, through Banāras, Gwāliyar, Mathurā, and the Panjāb to Kāśmir. Thence he returned to Bombay *via* Jaipur, leaving India in May 1885 for Europe. After describing his tour Dr. Hultsch gives a list of 483 MSS. collected by him in India. It is little more than a nominal list, the Doctor stating that hitherto time for further description has failed him. It includes

the names of about 115 Jaina works which appear to be of special value. Dr. Hultzsich next discusses a number of inscriptions collected by him on his journey. The first two are taken from the Temple of Vāillabhaṭṭasvāmin in the fort of Gwāliyar. The second of these two had been previously attacked by Bābū Rajendra Lāla Mitra (*J. B. A. S.* XXXI. 407). Dr. Hultzsich gives a transcription and translation of both. He also transcribes and translates an inscription found on a large, black stone at Dhōlpur, which deals with a king Chanda or Chandaamahāsena, the son of Mahisharāma, the son of Isuka. The next inscription transcribed and translated is on five copper-plates received from Tēzpur in Assam, and deals with a king Vallabhadēva, the son of Niṣṣaṅkasimha.—After this he transcribes and translates, so far as is possible, a fragmentary stone inscription of the Chandella Dynasty in the Allāhābād Museum. He connects it with the two following observations in former works:—(a) "One of the Mahōbā inscriptions gives the genealogy from Dhānga to Kirtivarman, but its date is lost" (*Arch. Surv. Ind.* II. 447);—(b) "An inscription, now apparently lost, which General Cunningham found at Mahōbā, gave the Chandēl Genealogy from Dhānga to Kirtivarman." (*V. A. Smith, J. B. A. S.* L. 10). If this identification is correct, it is an important find. At any rate, the inscription is of great interest, for, though very fragmentary, it tallies with the above descriptions of the contents of the missing stone. This is followed by a more perfect stone inscription found in the same place, also dealing with the Chandēl Dynasty, and giving the genealogy of Paramārdin (i.e. the Hindi Par'māl) and of his ministers and other courtiers. Lastly, he transcribes two fragmentary inscriptions in Banāras College. The second belongs to the time of Muḥammad Shāh, and mentions certain merchants of the Agrōtakanivāsīn (Agar'wālā) Caste. Dr. Hultzsich concludes a very interesting and important paper with a minute study of the Bharhūt Inscriptions, which is well deserving of attention.

The second paper (with plate) by Dr. J. G. Stickel deals with Omayyad coins of the ancient Philistine town Askalon. It is a continuation of a former paper by the same author which appeared in pp. 40ff. of the preceding volume of the *Zeitschrift*. In a concluding note Dr. Stickel draws attention to the forthcoming *Fasti Arabici*, or the History of the Muhammadan Empire as established by coins, by Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole.

A short paper by Prof. J. Gildmeister draws attention to alleged plagiarisms by Moses of Khōren from Pseudo-Kallisthenes.

Two interesting papers by Prof. Hermann Jacobi

follow:—The first is supplementary to his treatise on the origin of the Śvētāmbara and Digambara Sects of the Jainas. The author's conclusion is that the origin of the Bōdiya or Bōtika sect is much later than that of the Digambaras, and that the separation of the latter from the Śvētāmbaras was not a sudden schism, but a gradual divergence commencing in the time of Bhadrabāhu, and continued through the next generation. The Professor incidentally refers to the commentaries of Haribhadra to the *Āvaśyaka-Sūtra*, and of Dēvēndra to the *Uttarādhyayana-Sūtra*. The former died, according to tradition, in the year 529 A.D. but Prof. Jacobi prefers to fix him in the 9th century, and to consider that the legends narrated by him and Dēvēndra are derived from a common source. He also incidentally refers to the connexion between the name Sahasramalla, and the Persian title Hazārmard.—The second paper is a collection of three short notes, entitled *Miscellen*. The first draws attention to the fact that the 7th *Uchchhvaṣa* of the *Daśakumāracharita* is *nirōsh-ṭhyavarna*, that is to say, that the labial letters *u ā ō au p ph b bh m v* do not occur in it. Though this fact is apparently new to European scholars, it is, at least on the Bengal side, well known to Native Scholars in India and to their European pupils.—The second note deals with the verses quoted by Halāyudha in his commentary to Piṅgala as samples of the metre. The author makes out a plausible case, that Halāyudha borrowed them from the *Chhandōvichiti* of Dandin, a work not now known to be extant.—The third gives an example of the poetic artifice entitled *Yamaka*, or commencing each line with the last words of the preceding line, taken from the *Sātrakṛitāṅga*.

The next article, which is by Prof. Eugen Wilhelm, deals with the conception of Royalty and Priesthood in Ancient Irān. The writer commences with noticing the sharp distinction which must be drawn in this matter between the Irān of the *Avestā* and the India of the Vedic hymns. In the latter each god is alternately pre-eminent, there is no distinct system of priority, while in the former we find the greatest regularity and order. There never is the slightest doubt but that Ahura Mazda is the highest god, who stands far above other gods, who are his obedient creations. This is well illustrated by the political status of the two countries, for, while Irān was a homogenous single state under one king, the Indians were a mass of petty independent tribes. Professor Wilhelm then discusses the cuneiform inscriptions of the Akhaimenides, and comes to the conclusion that under them the king was *King Supreme by the Grace of God*. He derived his authority direct from Ahura Mazda, between whom and him there

stood no third person or priest. The relation between him and his god seems to have been a directly personal one. At this period, the professor concludes, there was no Anrô Mainyush known, no opposing Demon to the sovereign will of the Supreme God. At the time of the *Avestâ* however there must have been a narrower notion of the king's office. The king was not the first man in the state, but the second. Over him stood the High Priest. The *beau idéal* of the *Avestâ* is a Hierarchy in which Zarathustra (Zoroaster) or his representative, forms the head. The most perfect state, according to this idea, is one like Ragha, in which Zarathustra or his representative is High Priest and High Ruler in one; but if these two dignities are separated it is not the High Ruler or king who is the first, but the High Priest. Space fails us to give full details of the manner in which this most interesting subject is worked out; suffice it to say that Prof. Wilhelm concludes (1), that the conception of Anrô Mainyush is not an original Aryan one, but arose on Iranian earth, and (2), that it does not appear that Ahura Mazda and Anrô Mainyush were opposing forces, the true rivals being Spēitô Mainyush and Anrô Mainyush.

Under the title of *Vedica* Dr. Pischel gives three notes on Vedic subjects. The first has reference to *Rig-Vêda* 8, 47, 15, which the author translates "If a person (in a dream) prepare a necklace or a wreath, we attribute the bad dream to Trita Âptya." He then explains how the preparation of a wreath can be considered unlucky, owing to the custom of crowning sacrificial animals and persons condemned to death. He next discusses the difference between *śraj* and *mdlâ*, the latter not occurring in the oldest forms of the language. He finally discusses the effect of dreaming of the various colours, connecting the ill-luck associated with red, not with blood (which is a sign of luck), but with the terrible god Rudra, the Red God.—The second note deals with *Rig-Vêda* 7, 5, 9, 12, for which the Professor proposes a new reading and translation.—The last note is concerned with the sentence अथ अथ which occurs five times in the *Vêda*. The Professor suggests that अथ may be अथै and may mean 'by,' 'among,' or 'to the Aryans.' He justifies his suggestion at some length.

The next article, by Prof. G. Bühler, is an edition and translation of the second half of the 13th and the whole of the 14th Edict of the Asôka Inscriptions. This important paper deserves close study by all interested in the subject, and a brief analysis of its contents would be impossible.

<sup>1</sup> This story of Padmâvatî is quite distinct from that of the famous Padmâvat written some six centuries later by Muhammad Jâysî. In the Padmâvat, however, some

Professor Theodor Aufrecht gives a short contribution on the poet Umâpatidhara, described by Jayadêva in the introduction to the *Gîtâ-gôvinda* as prolix (*vdchah pallavayati*). The Professor gives references to other verses of this poet, and suggests his date as the first half of the eleventh century, founding his theory on an inscription published in *J. B. A. S.* XXXIV. p. 142. It may be mentioned, however, that there is a Maithilî tradition that Umâpati was a contemporary of Vidyâpati-Thakkura, who flourished 1400 A. D. There was certainly a Maithilî poet of the first rank of that name, and some poems by him in Maithilî were published in *J. B. A. S.* LIII. Special Number, p. 76.

Then there follows a rejoinder by Prof. O. Böhtlingk, on Prof. Bühler's notes on Böhtlingk's criticism on Führer's edition and Bühler's translation of the *Vasishthadharmasûtra* (*Z. D. M. G.* XXXIX. p. 704). The essence of the controversy appears to consist in the last paragraph of the present article, in which Professor Böhtlingk, replying to Prof. Bühler's argument that in dealing with such a text it is necessary to be very conservative, answers, "Yes, to be conservative is a very fine virtue, but it has its limits."

The number, which is very interesting to Indian scholars, concludes with a review by Prof. Nöldeke of Robertson Smith's *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*.

(2) *Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, No. 7; 28th April, 1886. —This is an interesting paper by Dr. Hultzsch, on the Drama *Tâpasavatsardja*, a MS. of which he picked up during his recent journey in India (No. 96 in his list of MSS.). The author was Mâtrarâja, alias Anangaharsha, the son of Narêndravardhana. The date of the author is conjecturally fixed as before the second half of the ninth century, owing to his being quoted by Anandavardhana and his commentator Abhinavagupta; and again as being after the commencement of the seventh century, as many of his situations and even at times his language are borrowed from the *Ratnâvali* of Bâṭa. The drama deals with the second half of the story of Udayana, king of Kauśâmbi in Vatsa, which we find in the second and third *lambakas* of the *Kathâsaritsagara* of Sômadêva (dated 1063-81 A.D.). The first half is the story of Vâsavadattâ, the second of Padmâvatî.<sup>1</sup> On p. 226 (3 of the reprint) Dr. Hultzsch gives a most interesting account of former Buddhistic versions of the same story, and shows that in many particulars the

of the particulars seem to have been borrowed from the play above treated of; e.g., the asceticism of the king its hero.



author of the *Tīpasavatsardja* is indebted to Buddhist sources for his plot. The paper concludes with a number of extracts from the work, and with an Index of the commencements of all the verses occurring in it. None of them occur in Böhrling's *Indische Sprüche*, nor in Aufrecht's *Index to the Śārngadharpaddhati*.

(3). *L'Épigraphie et l'Histoire Linguistique de l'Inde*; Reprinted from the *Proceedings of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*; Paris, 1886.—In this paper M. Senart considers the Linguistic History of India almost exclusively from the point of view of epigraphy. He admits that there are other valuable sources of information, but his aim, on the present occasion, has been to draw attention to a line of demonstration in his opinion too much neglected.

At the end of a most interesting essay M. Senart comes to the following conclusions:—(a) Regarding the Vêdic and religious languages the inscriptions of Piyadasi bear witness indirectly that, at about the commencement of the 3rd century before Christ, it was the object of a certain amount of culture.—(b) As regards classical Sanskrit, its preparation and elaboration in the schools, based mainly on the Vêdic language, and stimulated by the first applications of writing to the vulgar dialects, should be placed between the 3rd century B. C., and the 1st century A. D. Its literary or official use extended at the end of the first century or commencement of the second; and it is hence, *à priori*, certain that no work of the classic literature can be anterior to this date.—(c) As regards the mixed Sanskrit, called the dialect of the *gāthās*, it is only a method of writing Prākṛit, aiming at, as far as possible, the orthography and the etymological forms of the religious language. Its use, born spontaneously and developed gradually, stimulated the codification of a language inspired by the same idea, but more refined and more consistent, the non-religious Sanskrit,—while to us it is an approximate measure of the latter's progress. Its use extended before that of literary Sanskrit, and becoming more general under the sway of one of the great Buddhist sovereigns, Kanishka, insured its survival as a literary dialect in certain schools of Buddhism.—(d) As regards the Prākṛits, the earlier establishment of Sanskrit determines their grammatic form, which was fixed in the 3rd or

4th century. None of the Grammars which teach Prākṛit grammatical rules, and none of the works couched in any of these dialects (including Pāli) can be considered as existing, in their present form, at an earlier period than that date.

Such are the views, almost startling in their novelty, advanced and argued with considerable force, by one of the foremost of European scholars in this branch of philology. They deserve at least a respectful attention from those who adhere to older and more accepted theories.

(4). *Revue Critique d'Histoire et de Littérature*; Paris, 24th May 1886.—This number contains nothing of interest to Indian scholars, except a short notice of that most useful work the *Deutscher Literatur-Kalender* for the year 1886, and a reference to a paper read by M. Léon Heuzey, at the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, entitled '*Le Roi Dounghi à Tello*.' 'Le Roi Dounghi' was hitherto considered king of 'Ur of the Chaldees,' was suzerain of Goudea, *patési* of Sipûrla (Tello), M. Heuzey considers that this generally received opinion is more than doubtful.

G. A. GRIERSON.

#### A NOTE ON

#### THE HISTORY AND DATE OF MIHIRAKULA.

I have not my books about me here,<sup>1</sup> and therefore cannot answer your letter, and the remarks in your essay, as I could wish. But, as I brought the Chinese copy of the *Si-yu-ki* with me, I can add a few words on your criticisms.

(1) The date 472 A.D. for "the history of the Patriarchs"—B. Nanjio's No. 1340—is fixed by the Colophon, stating that the translator, or compiler, lived at this time in China.

(2) I have a suspicion (see further on) that Tatso, the equivalent for *Mo-hi-lo-kiu-lo*, is a Mongolian name, meaning the "great horde," and is not a personal title, but a tribal one. There may be a Mongolian (or Turkish) compound *Mihṛqul*, which would be the personal name of the ruler.

(3) There can be no doubt that the original Chinese text gives "several centuries" before the period of Hiuen Tsiang (*gho-pih-nien-tein*).

(4) With respect to "the isles of the sea," this is the exact translation of the original. The Chinese *kai*, 'sea,' may, however, be equal to *sāgara*, which is, I think, applied to the Ganges, by Indian writers.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [These remarks are from a letter received from the Rev. S. Baal, to whom I had sent advanced proofs of my paper on "The History and Date of Mihirakula," since published at p. 245ff. above. They were written while he was away from home, and so without access to his books.—J. F. F.]

<sup>2</sup> [*Sāgarā*, the feminine of *sāgara*, is an epithet of the Ganges, as also of any other river; see Monier William's *Sanskrit Dictionary*, s.v. Also we have

*Gaṅgāsāgara*, for 'the mouth of the Ganges where it enters the ocean; it still exists as the name of a *tirtha* on the Ganges, in Lower Bengal; viz. at Sagar ('Saugor'), an island at the mouth of the Hugli branch of the river. The text perhaps means that Bālāditya took refuge in the Sundarbans, or marshy islands between the mouths of the Ganges; a very likely and suitable place for a king of Magadha to flee to.—J. F. F.]

(5) Stan. Julien always translates the word *sien*, 'previous' or 'former,' by 'first,'—which is a mistake. Śākrāditya could not have lived *shortly after the nirvāṇa*; because the theory of the "One Vehicle" is the last and latest form of the Buddhist development, and *must come after the "Great Vehicle."*

(6) With respect to Buddhagupta, and Budhagupta, I was misled . . . . . I quite accept your correction.

And now, having alluded to your "rubrics," let me add that I can only account for the introduction of Śimha's *death* (for an account of his death, or martyrdom, by *Mi-lo-kiu* is found not only in the notes on Wong-puh, but also in the *Fun-fa-tsong-yin-ün-chuen*; B. Nanjio's No. 1340 [Kiuen, vi. p. 11 b.]) into a book dating 472 A.D., by the supposition that it was an *addendum*, after the former part was written, with a view to complete the succession down to Bôdhidharma, who certainly left India for China 528 A.D. It is certainly singular that, according to a well-authenticated tradition (*vide* Edkins, *Chinese Buddhism*, Trübner's Oriental Series, pp. 84, 85), the Buddhist succession ended with Śimha; (and therefore that Basiasita, Putnomita, and Prajñātara, are fictitious names). If so then your date for Śimha and Mihirakula, *viz.* circ. 520, would be amply confirmed.

The term *Mi-lo-kiu*, is not necessarily a corruption of Mihirakula,—but a phonetic equivalent for Mlêchchha; hence it is likely that this king Mirhul (or whatever his real name was) belonged to the Mlêchchha invaders.

That these were Mongols or Huns, appears very likely, first, from the fact of their excessive cruelty, and then, second, from the narrative of Sung Yun, who speaks of this king of the barbarians (Mlêchchhas) having invaded Gandhāra and set up another king of cruel disposition (exactly as you quote from the *Rājatarāṅginī*), and, third, from the fact of Cosmas calling this king Gollas (a Greek form of Gula).—(*vide* my introduction to *Records of the Western World*, p. xvi.)

On all hands your date seems to be confirmed. I do not yet quite get at the origin of the Chinese date for Vasubandhu; but I think it highly probable that Mihirakula was a Mongol or Turkish Mlêchchha, who had invaded India and Kāśmīr, and extended his power over Gandhāra according to Sung-Yun, and Hiuen Tsiang's account.

I shall allude to this subject in my preface to the *Life of Hiuen Tsiang*.

S. BEAL.

5th August 1886.

#### A NOTE ON THE DATE OF MIHIRAKULA.

I have no time to enter fully at present into intricate archaeological discussions. But I venture to offer some brief criticisms on Mr. Fleet's valuable paper, "On the History and Date of Mihirakula," in order to show that there is something to be said in favour of views other than those adopted by him.

The discovery that Mihirakula was the son of a Toramāna, and the conqueror of Paśupati, as well as the opponent of a king Bālāditya, will undoubtedly in time settle his date. But I am not yet fully convinced that the problem is solved.

To enforce conviction that Mr. Fleet's view is correct, it will be necessary to harmonize his theory with the history of Kāśmīr; and that harmony remains to be demonstrated. Dr. Hoernle's notes on the Kāśmīr coins, seem to me opposed strongly to Mr. Fleet's new theory of the attribution of these coins.

I can see no warrant for the conjecture that either Hiuen Tsiang or his translators *must* have made a mistake in asserting that Mihirakula, the conqueror of Bālāditya, flourished "some centuries" before Hiuen Tsiang's pilgrimage (A.D. 629-645). It seems to me very rash to tamper with the text, and boldly say that we ought to read "more than a century before."

The statement on p. 252 above, that Gen. Cunningham adopts the date of 500 A.D. for the erection of Bālāditya's temple at Nālanda, and of the *bôdhi*-tree temple at Bôdh-Gayā, is erroneous. The General did at one time adopt that date, being misled by a forged inscription; but he soon recanted his error. His final view as to the date of Bālāditya, the builder of the great temple at Nālanda, will be found in *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 95. Gen. Cunningham there accepts "the pilgrim's statement, that the Nālanda monastery was built seven hundred years before his time, as a plain fact, which he must have obtained from the annals of the monastery itself. Bālāditya must, therefore, be placed towards the end of the first century before Christ, or early in the first century after Christ." In the footnote, the latter alteration is indicated as the more probable.\*

\* See p. 245 ff. above.

\* [When I wrote my paper, I was not aware of this second opinion, having looked in vain for any departure of Gen. Cunningham from the view quoted by me. I

would add that it does not alter my opinion regarding the date of Mihirakula; though I am quite ready to give up the idea that it was his antagonist who built the temple in question at Nālanda.—J.F.F.]

There really appears to be no reason whatever to reject Hinen Tsiang's evidence. The Bālāditya who built the Nālanda temple, was distinct from, and much earlier than, the Bālāditya who defeated Mihirakula.\*

Gen. Cunningham's published notice of the history of Mihirakula (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 197) is very slight. But, just at the time when Mr. Fleet's article appeared, I was fortunate enough to receive a letter, dated 13th ult., from the veteran archæologist, which briefly discusses the question of Mihirakula's date in connection with the problem of the Gupta era, and contains observations of interest. Gen. Cunningham, at the time of writing his letter, adhered to the belief that the era used by the Guptas began about 166 A.D.

As to the Gupta era he writes—"My opinion regarding the passage in Al Birūni is, that his statement is quite correct, and does not involve a contradiction. The Guptas never term their Saṃvat by their name, but simply 'Saṃvat.' The *Gupta Kāl* was an era established, as Al Birūni says, when their power ceased. The two eras are therefore quite distinct . . . . . The inscription of Mahānāman of Lankādvīpa is in undoubted Gupta characters, and is dated in Saṃvat 279. I infer that the Saṃvat must be that used by the Guptas themselves, as the characters are Gupta letters. Now Mahānāman's date is known to lie between

A.D. 434 and 459

Deduct 279      279

Remainder A.D. 155 and 180

"The beginning of the Saṃvat used in his inscription, therefore, lies between A.D. 155 and 180. Now what Saṃvat was this? . . . . .

"Next Mihirakula of Kāśmīr, who was conquered by Bālāditya . . . . . Bālāditya is almost certainly the Naragupta-Bālāditya of the gold coins;† and, if so, he must be later than 165 and 174, the known Saṃvat dates of Budhagupta. But Mihirakula certainly preceded the establishment of the Little Yuchi in Gāndhāra, as I have three coins of Kidāra Kushāna Shāhi, and some thirty or forty of Mihirakula. This Kidāra I take to be *Ki-to-lo* of the Chinese. Mihirakula therefore reigned about A.D. 350-400. But Bālāditya's date, being later than 174 Saṃvat (used by Guptas), would, if referred to A.D. 318, be later than  $318 + 174 = 492$  A.D., or say 500, at which time Mēghavāhana, or his son, must have been reigning in Kāśmīr.‡ Accepting my date of A.D. 166,

Bālāditya will be later than  $166 + 174 = 340$  A.D. Q.E.D."

As I said at the beginning, I have not time now to develop or discuss the arguments thus briefly indicated. I have published them in a crude form in order to stimulate discussion. Mr. Fleet's arguments in favour of his theory of the Gupta chronology are strong; but all the assumptions which underlie them have not yet been made good; nor have the counter-arguments been demolished, not at least to my satisfaction. Gen. Cunningham's letter shows that I have good company in my scepticism; and, pending the result of full discussion, I propose to keep my judgment in abeyance respecting the era of the Mālavas, that used by the Guptas, and that called by their name, as well as respecting the date of Mihirakula.

V. A. SMITH.

Basti, 19th September 1886.

#### NOTE BY MR. FLEET.

As regards the Bōdh-Gayā inscription of Mahānāman, referred to above, I was, of course, aware of it when I wrote my paper; it is included in my Gupta volume, No. 71. As it is of interest, I will publish it in the next number, or shortly afterwards.

It is dated Saṃvat 269, as I read the second symbol; not 279. It mentions two Buddhist teachers of the name of Mahānāman, natives of Ceylon, and records that the second of them built a mansion of Buddha at the Bōdhimaṇḍa, i.e. within the precincts of the "diamond-throne" at Bōdh-Gayā. The value of it lies in the probability that the second Mahānāman mentioned in it, is the Mahānāman who composed the more ancient part of the Pāli *Mahāvamsa* or history of Ceylon.

There is no doubt that the date of the inscription has to be referred to the Gupta era, with the result, according to my view, of A.D. 588-89.

On the other hand, from the Ceylonese records Mr. Turnour (see his *Mahawanso*, pp. ii., liv., lvii. 254ff.; and *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. VII. p. 922) arrived at A. D. 459 to 477 as the period of the reign of Mahānāman's nephew Dhātusēna; and it was during his reign that Mahānāman compiled the history.

I cannot see why the Ceylonese should, without most convincing proof, be held to have kept—contrary to the general Oriental custom—such very accurate and reliable records. Together with palæographical, numismatic, architectural, and other theories, historical deductions from native

be proved, and which, because of Mihirakula's date, cannot be correct, unless we alter the statements of the *Rājataranginī* so much as to place Mēghavāhana just before Mihirakula, instead of sixteen reigns after him.—J. F. F.]

\* [An inscription from Sīrnatth (*Corp. Inscr. Ind.* Vol. III. No. 79) shows that there were at least two different Bālādityas, kings of Kāśī or Benares.—J. F. F.]

† [See ante, Vol. XIV. p. 93, and note 1.—J. F. F.]

‡ [But this is just one of the points which requires to

records must be adapted to definite dates; the reverse course of this is quite irrational and mistaken, and has led to nearly all the doubts that exist regarding the Early Guptas.

If the second Mahānāman of this inscription is Dhātusēna's maternal uncle, then the real point established by the record is, not that the Gupta era began A. D. 166, but either that the details of the Ceylonese chronology are not as reliable as they have been supposed to be, or else that a wrong starting-point has been selected in working them out, and that they now require considerable rectification.

24th September 1886.

J. F. FLEET.

#### CURIOSITIES OF INDIAN LITERATURE.

##### THE PANGS OF PARTING.

The following lines are well known in Mithilā. They are very true, and are worth preserving. The metre is not very correct:—

यदि यास्यसि नाय निश्चिने  
यानि यानि वचनं हि मा वद ।  
अद्यतेः पतनं न वेदनं  
पतनज्ञानमतीव दुःसहम् ॥

'If thou must go, my Lord, say not, "I go, I go." The falling of a thunderbolt on one causeth not the pang; it is the knowledge that it is falling which is unbearable.'

With these may be compared Lakhimā Thakurāṇi's verses on the pangs of anticipated separation, which are very popular in Mithilā. They are as follows:—

भङ्गु भोक्तुं न भुङ्गे कुटिलविषलतां कोटिभिन्वोर्वितर्का-  
न्तारकारात्पार्तः पिबति न पयसां विभुषः पत्रसंस्थाः ।  
छायानम्भोरुहाणामलिकुलशबलां वीक्ष्य सन्ध्यामसन्ध्यां  
कान्तादिश्लेषभीरुर्दिनमपि रजनीं मन्दते चक्रवाकः ॥

'He breaks the crisp lotus tendrils to eat them but does not do so, for he mistakes them for the rays of the moon; though athirst he does not drink the drops of water in the lotus leaves for he thinks them stars; in the shade of the lotus-flowers dark with the swarms of bees he sees night when there is no night; always dreading separation from his beloved, the *chakraudka* imagines even the day to be night.'

G. A. GRIERSON.

#### BOOK NOTICE.

ANCIENT PROVERBS and MAXIMS from Burmese Sources, or the Niti Literature of Burma, by JAMES GRAY. London: Trübner and Co.

This is a rendering of the four popular *nitis* of Burma, or *niddhis* as the Burmese prefer to spell it. These are *Lōkanīti*, *Dhammanīti*, *Rājānīti* and the *Suttavadāhananīti*, i.e. in the Pāli form of the words. The immense popularity of these imported works, for they are strictly such, in Burma, especially of the first mentioned, makes it of some importance to have English translations of them, and we therefore welcome this little book. Mr. Gray's introduction, however, has not much to say as to the date of the importation of the *Niti* literature of India into Burma, nor of its subsequent history there; and to say the truth very little as to this is known at present, or is likely to be known for a long while to come.

We are glad to observe that the author has the Pāli texts, of which he now gives only the translation, in preparation. The texts that circulate commonly in Burma, always or nearly always in connection with a gloss in the vernacular, are very far from being correct, and a well-collated and carefully prepared text would be a valuable addition to our knowledge of Pāli.

Mr. Gray has been at some pains to collect all the parallel passages in the various *nitis*, and also in his notes to give passages from the Indian classics which indicate the sources whence many of the *niti* aphorisms were drawn. The Burmese glosses of course show the manner in which the people of Burma have assimilated Indian ideas, while borrowing their religion, better than do the Pāli texts; for, even if it be granted that these last are taught along with the glosses, it is from the glosses that the Burmese get their ideas of the meaning of the texts. Useful, therefore, no doubt, as it is to give a rendering of the Pāli for the benefit of English students, it would enable them to more clearly apprehend the workings of the Burmese mind if the text were accompanied by a rendering of the explanation of it as understood by the Burmese, as well as by parallel passages culled from the earlier Indian literature. At any rate this might be attempted with reference to the *Lōkanīti*; and in this connection we would note that a translation of the most popular of the vernacular renderings of the *Lōkanīti* was given by Captain Temple in the *Journ. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. XLVII. Part I. p. 239ff., which has been overlooked by Mr. Gray.

## A SELECTION OF KANARESE BALLADS.

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

(Continued from Vol. XIV. p. 303.)

## No. 2.—THE INCOME TAX.

THIS ballad refers, not to the present Income Tax, but to the original Duties on Profits arising from Property, Professions, Trades, and Offices, which were imposed, with effect from the 31st July 1860, by Act No. XXXII. of 1860, and were, I understand, actually levied for only two years, as stated in the song, though the Act was not repealed until 1868, by Act No. VIII. of that year.

The song contains nothing disloyal. But it gives very plain expression throughout to the unpopularity and suspicion with which the Income and License Taxes have always been regarded; especially among the cultivators, whom, as paying Land Assessment, direct taxation of this kind is not intended to touch, save under exceptional circumstances, but upon whom such taxes always do fall more or less, despite all the efforts of the English District Officers to prevent such a result.

As regards the leading points of the song, the Act in question provided for a Duty of three per cent. for general purposes, and of one per cent. for "roads, canals, and other reproductive works." Hence the pretext, "of putting the roads and paths in good repair," that is put into the mouth of the assessing officer, when he announces his "scheme for extracting the money of the Rāyats."<sup>1</sup> But there were the provisos, that no income under two hundred rupees per annum (nominally twenty pounds sterling) should be taxed at all; that no income derived from purely agricultural occupations should be taxed, unless it amounted to at least six hundred rupees; and that, on incomes of less than five hundred rupees, two per cent. only should be levied, and not the one per cent. for public works at all. Hence, when the popular champion Hittālī-Vīrabhadra appears on the scene, in answer to the inquiries made by the officer with appellate powers, he promptly writes down five hundred rupees as the limit

of the incomes of the people in his village, thus trimming matters so as to please both the assessing officer and the villagers.

Two English officials are mentioned by name.—The first, *Gādin-Sāheb*, is the late Mr. Stewart St. John Gordon, Bombay Civil Service, who<sup>2</sup> held the post of First Assistant Collector and Magistrate in the Dhārward District, and, in October 1860, was deputed to be the special Income Tax Officer for the District. He died in 1867 or 1868, when holding the post of Additional Member on the Council of the Governor-General. A new portion of the town of Hubballi<sup>3</sup> was named after him "the Gordon Pēth;"<sup>4</sup> and the Dispensary, the bridge connecting Old and New Hubballi; and the Gurusiddhapa Hoṇḍ or reservoir, which furnishes the principal water-supply of the town, were built under his direction.—The second official, *Yelapāṭi-Sāheb*, is Mr. John Elphinstone, B.O.C.S., quite recently retired. He was in the Dhārward District, as Second and First Assistant Collector and subsequently Collector and Magistrate, from August 1861 to June 1863, and on other later occasions; and was extremely popular among the people of the District.

In the accompanying plate I give the air of the chorus. The same air runs more or less through the whole song. It will be seen that the rhyming characteristic of this class of composition is preserved much more regularly in this ballad, than in the one previously published; and that the execution is more artistic throughout, as might be expected from the professor's son by whom it was composed.

## TRANSLATION.

*Chorus*.—How shall I describe the distress of (our) lives? The oppression of the English has become very great! Poor people are weeping, so that the tears stream down (their) cheeks, and are in great anxiety!

*First Verse*.—Listen to the matter from the

<sup>1</sup> Rāyat, or properly Ra'iyat, also written Raits and Rayits in Kanarese, Rayat in Marāṭhī, and 'Ryot' in English, is 'a peasant cultivator.'—I do not explain, on this occasion, technical terms that have been already explained with the ballad previously published.

<sup>2</sup> I owe these details to the kindness of Mr. J. B. Middleton, B.O.C.S., now at Dhārward.

<sup>3</sup> The 'Hcoble and Hubli' of maps, &c.; the chief town of the Tālukā or Sub-Division of the same name in the Dhārward District. This is the town referred to in the ballad.

<sup>4</sup> The Marāṭhī *pēth* or *pēṭh*, in Kanarese *pēṭe* and *pyāṭe*, is 'a mercantile division of a town; a bazaar.'

beginning! There came the noble gentleman, Mr. Gordon, who sat down and contrived a scheme,—a device for extracting money. Mr. Gordon put forward the pretence of saying—"I am going to put the roads and paths in good repair; what is your opinion about it? for the matter is your business."

All the members of the village-jury<sup>5</sup> consented; they knew not that it would turn out thus; in the pride of *(their)* wealth, they opened *(their)* teeth *(and laughed)*; *(thinking that)* it was no matter of urgency. (With a change of metre),<sup>6</sup>—Listen! Then they imposed *(on us this)* grievous tax; it became difficult for poor people to fill *(their)* bellies; they had to sell *(their)* spinning wheels. The Government was greedy after money; there were searching inquiries day after day; straightway they put up to auction *(even)* the cow-dung *(that is used for fuel)*,<sup>7</sup> and sold the firewood by weight.<sup>8</sup> If the Pēṇḍāris<sup>9</sup> and Lamānis<sup>10</sup> wish *(now)* to support their children *(as they used to)* by selling wood, *(they cannot)*; they have fallen into a state of beggary; thus did the matter turn out.

*Second Verse.*—A clever scheme occurred to the Government; with all haste they imposed the Income Tax,<sup>11</sup> a contrivance for extracting the money of the Rāyats; thus did they act. The Government behaved with severity and strictness, *(giving an order)*—"Issue *(compulsory)* notices,"<sup>12</sup> and fix the period *(for payment)*; treat them with sternness, without any fear *(of the consequences)*, if they fail to pay."

Then the Collector<sup>13</sup> came, and put up at the *(travellers')* bungalow; and all the people went and besieged him, as if *(the god)* Śiva had come down *(upon the earth)*.

*(The order was given)*—"If they exceed the period *(for payment)*, pile on the interest, and

take *(their)* houses for sale by auction;" then many people paid *(the tax)*, with lamentations, full of fear in *(their)* minds. (With a change of metre),—All the chief men of the different castes assembled, and, taking counsel together, presented a petition,—“O Sir, sit down and make inquiries; we have not the means with which to pay the tax.”

The gentleman did not accept it favourably; *(saying)*—"This matter rests not with me." *(Their)* hands and feet became weak, by going constantly *(to him)*; they all sat by, refusing *(their)* hardly-earned and pitiful food and water.

The rich men *(said)*—"Laying aside *(our)* ornaments and other things, and putting on tattered waistcloths and jackets, let us go to the bungalow just like poor people, without any feeling of shame.

*Third Verse.*—The rich men braced up *(their)* courage, saying—"The tax will leave us;" O my brother!, going constantly to the bungalow, great were the intriguing efforts that they made. The rich men, O brother!, sat all together *(on the ground)*, just like labourers and village-watchmen; each of them heaved deep sighs, turning *(their)* faces downwards.

*(But the officials)* levied the tax on the whole village; they came and sat down in the Kamari Bazaar; by force they compelled *(the people)* to produce *(their)* goods, and took them under attachment.

The weavers and sellers of silk spoke to the Subhēdār, saying—"You are like the father that begat us; with a little tenderness in *(your)* reins, take pity and let *(us)* go. Thou, O lord! art *(our)* mother and father; do thou remit the tax on us;...<sup>14</sup> has been cut and brought, weeping every day." (With a change of metre),—The wooden planks, the web-beams of

<sup>5</sup> pañcharu, lit. 'the five people'; i.e. the members of the Pañchāit or Pañchayat, the village-jury, which traditionally consists of exactly five members.

<sup>6</sup> chāla, Marāṭhī, is equivalent to the Kanarese chāḍi, 'haste, speed; method, manner (of reading, reciting, and singing)'. It marks a change in the metre or rhythm.

<sup>7</sup> The most regular and urgent necessity of Hindu life, rich or poor, and usually collected, gratis, along the highways.

<sup>8</sup> The restriction of forest-rights, especially of the free collection of firewood, has always been a matter of grievance among the lower classes.

<sup>9</sup> The Pēṇḍāris or Pēṇḍāris are a low-caste tribe, whose occupation is chiefly to collect wood and grass for sale, and prepare manure. They have always had strong marauding tendencies, and have figured constantly in Marāṭhī history. The usual English representation of the name is 'Pindary.'

<sup>10</sup> The Lamānis, Lambānis, or Lambājis (also called Labānis in northern India), are a low-caste tribe, very gipsy-like in appearance and habits. They are the principal inland-carriers of the country. Their chief articles of traffic are bamboos and other wood, grain, and salt, which they transport with large droves of pack-cattle.

<sup>11</sup> karapatti, combining the Sanskrit kara, 'tribute, toll, tax, impost,' with the Prākṛit patti, 'cess,' tax, forced contribution, is the customary word, all over the Kanarese country, for the Income Tax, License Tax, or in fact any impost of a direct kind. But it denotes specially the Income and License Taxes.

<sup>12</sup> The original has lāṭia, which is a corruption of the English word 'notice.'

<sup>13</sup> i.e. the Collector and Magistrate of the District; not a Collector of Income Tax.

<sup>14</sup> chōlenu chōp is unintelligible.

KANARESE BALLADS.  
THE INCOME TAX.

*(Air of the Chorus.)*

Ye - na he - la - li jan - ma - da go - la, ye - na

he - la - li jan - ma - da go - la, In - gra - ji u - pa - dar

a - di - ta ba - - la ba - da - va - ra a - la -

- ta - ra ga - la - ga - la ma - da - ta - ra chin - ti.





the looms, the skeins of silk, the earthen pots, the dishes for eating from; all these they sold by auction, putting (*reserve*) prices on them. (With a change of metre).—The Government became very bad, O my brother! poor people had their eyes full of tears, saying,—“What a time of trouble thou hast brought, O Īśvara (*our god*); no man has any care of us. Say now, is it a lot of weeping women that are sitting here?; whatever we may do, the tax will not cease.” Then (*by paying the tax*) they redeemed the dishes for eating from; say now, did not they display fortitude?

*Fourth Verse.*—Rāyappa of Harpanhalli wrote out a statement,—“Sir, they have (*each*) as good an income as may be wished for;” he brought trouble on the poor; no justice remained.

Very brave were the Musalmāns of the Kamari Bazaar;—“Be off,” said they, “we will not pay the tax; take it, if you like, (*by force*) and fine (*us*); this is (*our*) order to you.”

The Subhēdār fired up in wrath; house after house, he searched them all; hear! how even small pieces of copper, and the brazier’s anvils, and the stone-splitters’ tools, were carried away (*for sale*).

(With a change of metre).—All the Musalmāns sat down together, making a conspiracy, inside the mosque;—“Where is the stick? search and bring it here (*that we may beat those who come to levy the tax*); will you now hesitate and back out of the business?” Thus they conspired,—“Undoubtedly we will beat anyone who comes (*to make us pay the tax*); perhaps they may put us in fetters; but, if so, what more could they do?” (*But others said*), —“Ye madmen! is not this a serious matter? it is not right to display any insubordination towards the Government; keep to the habit of falling down at the feet of (*them, your*) parents; there is (*surely*) some little regard (*for you*).”

*Fifth Verse.*—There came the noble gentleman, Mr. Elphinstone; very full of affection for poor people was he; he sat himself down and made inquiries; listen how it befell!

All the Musalmāns then assembled together, and, acting in unison, presented a petition;

listen! they all came in company to the bungalow. “It is proper that thou, O lord, shouldst listen to this (*our*) petition; it is right that thou shouldst remit the tax on us.” Standing there, he gazed upon the poor men, with compassion in (*his*) reins. The gentleman looked well into the matter, and quickly caused a reply to be written, saying that they should present the petitions (*of regular appeal*); there was trouble in his reins, as if a fire was kindled there. He gazed upon the tattered garments worn by the women, and all their wealth;<sup>15</sup> while they were weeping, (*saying*)—“(Our) hands can find no millet<sup>16</sup> in (*our*) houses.”

Then the noble gentleman made inquiries; the principal rich men, O brother!, sat down; and the poor people did obeisance (*to him*). With great attention the gentleman listened, (*saying*)—“Declare how much income they have.” Hittāli-Vīrabhadra wrote it down, putting the estimate at five hundred rupees; and laid it on the ears of the representatives of the village, not to abandon (*their*) duty (*to the villagers*) by saying (*that it was any higher*).

*Sixth Verse.*—All the people in concert were making up (*their*) accounts, weighing the matter out one with the other; how shall I describe the sorrow of the people?; so the work went on. First the merchant Mākapasetti, a very virtuous man, himself sat down and made up the reckoning; thus the minds of all were satisfied. Listen now again! The poor people stood by in restless anxiety, and made supplication to the gentleman; and then the virtuous gentleman caused to be given back to them the tax that they had paid.

The Musalmāns said—“O Allah! it is a year since we have eaten wheat and rice; (the god) Śiva (*alone*) knows our straits; what can we give?”

It was in the Pramôdûta *samvatsara*,<sup>17</sup> my brother!, that the Government imposed the tax; poor people were full of anxiety to the very cores of (*their*) hearts, (*crying*)—“O Lord! O holy one!” Up to (*the end of*) the Prajôtpatti *samvatsara*, the people were in straitened circumstances, and kept saying—“Poverty has stricken the Government; let us go to some

<sup>15</sup> This, of course, is ironical.

<sup>16</sup> The staple grain of the country.

<sup>17</sup> The Pramôdûta and Prajôtpatti *samvatsaras* are the fourth and fifth in Jupiter’s cycle of sixty-four years.

By the usual reckoning they answered to A.D. 1870-71 and 1871-72; but there are variations in different parts of the country.

other kingdom;" heartily they cursed the disposition of the village-juries, the merchants, and the Subhédâr.

This song was composed in Hubballi, to the sound of a drum decorated with an elephant-goat and a nosegay of flowers; with the favour

of (the god) Gurusiddhêsa, the poet Gurusiddha, the charitable one, the son of Hanmantrâô the teacher of singing, made and sang the words; sit and listen, O my brother! to the topic, the predicament that brought such ridicule!

Text.

Pallâ.

Yena hêlali janmada gôlâ | Ingraji upadar=âdita bâlâ |  
Baḍavara aḷatâro galagalâ | maḍatâra chînti || Pallâ ||

1ne nuḍi.

Madalinda kêlari majakûrâ | bandâna Gâḍin-Sâheba saradârâ | kunta-konḍa tagada wonda hunnârâ | duḍḍa yeḷô igati || Gâḍin-Sâheba hêlatâna tôri | hasana mâdastêna râ-dâri | idaka nîva yêna antêri | kelasa nimad=ati || Pañchar=ellâru âdâra kabûlâ | mund=hiṅg=âdit=annudu tiḷilillâ | duḍḍina garvili teradâra hallâ | illa kakalâti || Châla || Âga hâkidâra kela kasta paṭṭi | kaṭiṇa baḍavarda tumbudn hotti | mâri koṭṭaro nûluva râṭi || Duḍḍin=âse hattita sarakâraka | chaukâsi bâl=âta dina-dinaka | sâgaṇi gutti mâḍyara â kshanaka | kaṭagi mârâtâra mâḍi tûka || Pyâṇḍâreru Lamâneru kaṭagi | mâri tamma makkalna maḍatidra jôki | îga bêḍuda bandati bikki | kelasa hiṅg=ati || 1 ||

2ne nuḍi.

Sarakâraka dorita masalattâ | karapaṭṭi hâkyâra turatâ-turatâ | raitara duḍḍa yeḷuva hikamattâ | mâḍidâra hînga || Sarakârada âta balajôri | lôṭisa koṭṭa wâyide mâḍari | koḍalidra beṣaka jôri | naḍasari aṇṇik=ilad-hânge || Kalekatara-Sâyeba banda âga | bandu iladâna baṅgaledâga | janar=ella hôgi muttidâr=avaṅga | Sîvâ ilad-hânga || Wâyide mîridar=hachohari baḍḍi | mani mâra tagolri lilâva mâḍi | bala mandi koṭṭâro gôḷy-âḍi | hodari manadâga || Châla || Daivadavar=ellâ kûḍi samastâ | arji koṭṭâro mâḍi masalattâ | chaukâsi mâḍari danêra kuntâ | paṭṭi kuḍo namag=ila tākattâ || Sâhêba manasige taralillâ | î mâtâ namma-kaḍe illâ | wôḍy-âḍi hôḍava kai-kâlâ | kuḷa nîra biṭṭa kuntar=allâ || Saṅkâra vast-oḍavi tagad=iṭṭu | haraka dôtara aṅgiya tottu | baṅgaleke hôḡuva nâchiki biṭṭu | baḍavarâ gati || 2 ||

3ne nuḍi.

Sâwakâra mâḍyâra yadi-gaṭṭi | biṭṭi=anta namaga karapaṭṭi | bâlâ baṭṭar=annâ kaṭapaṭi | baṅgaleka wôḍy-âḍi || Kûḍi kuntar=annâ sâwakârâ | kunt-âṅga kuntrô kûli talawârâ | tamma-tammolaga hâkatâra usarâ | teḷaka mâri mâḍi || Ūr-ellâ paṭṭi yetyâru | Kamari-pyâtyâga banda kuntâru | jôrilinda badaka tarasýâru | japti mâḍi || Paṭigâra hêlyâra Subhedaraga | nî nama haḍada tandi hânga | solpa karapa banda hotyâga | biḍo daya mâḍi || Tumi<sup>15</sup> khâwanda chhê mâya-bâp | hamâre patte karô tumi mâp | kât-lâyâ chôḷenu châp | didâ raḍi-raḍi || Châla || Halâgi kuṇṭi resami-paṭṭi | bânḍe-sâmânâ jumânu-tâṭi | lilâwa mâḍasýâru kimmata kaṭṭi || Châla || Bâlâ keṭṭar=annâ sarakârâ | baḍavara tandâra kappirâ | hentâ yâḷe tandi îsvarâ | namag=yârad=illa âdârâ || Lai raḍyâ kah tari sabi baiṭi | kâ kare tar-bi chukta nai paṭṭi | chuḍai-lâyâ jumânu-tâṭi | kari kah na châtî || 3 ||

4ne nuḍi.

Harpanalli-Râyappa bara-kottâ | ivarigi huṭṭaj=aitiri yattishṭâ | baḍavara sutta tandano kashṭâ | uḷilila daramâ || Kamari-pyâṭi Musalar=ole-gaṭṭi | koḍudila hôg=andâra karapaṭṭi | békâra tagolri danḍâ kaṭṭi | idara nima hukuma || Subhedarâ sîṭṭili âda beṅki | mani-mani nôḍyâno yellâ huḍiki | tâmbara-chûra karavâyi

<sup>15</sup> This verse is in Hindustân, of course very corrupt. So, also, are a few passages further on, containing, like this, words put into the mouths of the Musalmâns.

sutaki | wodadda kēlri nēmā || Ohāla || Musalara yellā kuntāra kūḍi | masāti-waḷaga masalatā māḍi | kā hai dhunḍ-kar lakāw=are lakaḍi | hindaka saridiri anamāna māḍi || Masalatta hākidāra hūnga | bēsēka hoḍunu bandavaṅga | ādra biḍi hākyāra namaga | matt=ēna mādyāra idra myāga || Baḍe katai nave re diwānā | sarakār-ke sāt masti nā karnā | mā-bāp-ka rakō pāwā paḍnā | kayi-to mēr āti || 4 ||

5ne nuḍi.

Yelapāt-Sāheba banda saradārā | baḍavara myāla idda bala phērā | āga kunta mādyāna vichyārā | kēlari hūnga || Āga Musalar=ellāru kūḍyāru | masalata māḍi arji koṭṭāru | baṅgaleka banda yellāra kūḍyāru | kēlari āga || Tum khāwanda arj yi sunnā | hamāri paṭṭi māp tum karnā | ninta-koṇḍa nōḍidāna baḍavarānā | karuṇa hotyāga || Sāheba nōḍidāna sōsi | lagu māḍi arji kuḍ-antāna baraśi | avana hotyāg=āta kasaviśi | beṅki bidd-ānga || Heṅgasar=utṭ-antā haraka-paraka śīri | ninta-koṇḍa nōḍidāna aīvāri | gar-mē nai kar-kō jāri | alātāra āvāga || Āga sardārā mādyāna vichārā | kuntidar=anṇā doḍḍa sāwakārā | baḍavara mādyāra namaskārā || Sāheba kēlida kivi-goṭṭā | ivarigi hutāj=ati heḷri yeshtā | Hitāji-Yirabadrappā bara-koṭṭā | ainūrā rupaida andāj=iṭṭa | nīva hēla-byādri kire-suttā | pañchara kivi-myāg=iṭṭā || 5 ||

6ne nuḍi.

Yellara kūḍi māḍatāra lekkā | tama-tamolaḷa hākatāra tūkā | yesht-anta hēlali janara dukka | kelasa naḍad=ati || Prataṁ seṭṭi Mākappa puṇivantā | lekka hāki māḍidāna tā kuntā | yellara manasa āta sanamantā | kēlari innā || Baḍavara nintāra mari-marigi | ninta bēḍi-koṇḍaro dorigi | koṭṭ-antā paṭṭi koḍisidāna tirigi | Sāyeba puṇivānā || Musalara antāra are Allā | warsāta gōḍi akki uṇḍillā | namma paḍipātla Śivana ballā | koḍunu nāv=ēnā || Paramadhūta-nāma-saṁvachharā | karapatti hākit=anṇā sarakārā | baḍavara maragidāra maramarā | swāmi bhagavānā || Parajōtpatyā-saṁvachhara tanaka | janara ādaro bāla halāka | baḍatana bant=antāra sarakāraka | hōgun=antāra matt-onda rājeka | bāla sarāpāra pañchara ḡṇaka | seṭṭi Subhēdāra kāmḍāra-janaka || 1 padā hutṭita Hubbalyāga | aṅkus-turāya ḍabbina myāga | wastāda Hanamantrāwana maga | Guraśiddēsāna dayāna myāga | kavi Guraśidda dāna-chātūrā | māḍi hēḷidāna aksharā | kunta kēlar=enṇā<sup>12</sup> majakūrā | āda pajiti || 6 ||

## THE AGE AND WRITINGS OF NAGARJUNA-BODHISATTVA.

BY THE REV. S. BEAL.

From an examination of Chinese documents relating to Nāgārjuna, it seems evident that he is not the same person as Nāgasēna.

It has been hitherto commonly held that these two names denote one person. But the Chinese version of the *Melinda-Praśna* (Nanjio's *Catalogue*, No. 1358) describes Nāgasēna as a native of North India, and simply terms him a *Bhikṣu*; whilst the *Life* of Nāgārjuna by Kumārajīva (*id.* No. 1461) places him in South India, and speaks of him as an eminent *Bōdhisattva*.

Again, the time when these two writers flourished is not the same. Nāgasēna was contemporary with Mēnander, who flourish-

ed about B.C. 140; whilst Nāgārjuna was certainly subsequent to the date of Kanishka, and, according to the latest conclusions, lived towards the end of the second century A.D.

Again, the characters of the two seem to be wholly different. Nāgasēna was a skilful disputant, but a loyal follower of the primitive doctrine of the great Teacher; but Nāgārjuna was the founder of a new school, an ambitious innovator, and an adept in conjuration and magic.

On all grounds, then, we must distinguish these two writers, and be content to let Nāgasēna alone, judging him only by his one work, *The Questionings of Melinda*.

<sup>12</sup> This is the customary, though irregular, euphonic conjunction of *kēlari* (*kēliri*) and *anṇā*.

I will, however, make one or two remarks about the Chinese versions of this book. I call them versions, but they are only abridgments of the original work, if that work is fairly represented by the Pāli translation. The first was made by an unknown hand during the Eastern Tsin dynasty, *i.e.* between A.D. 317 and 400; it is called *Na-sien-pi-khu-king* or "the *Sūtra* of the *Bhikṣu* Nāgasēna." After some introductory matter relating to previous births, we are told that there were two Brāhmanas, who had practised together their rules of austerity in the same mountain. One of these had expressed a wish that he might be born as a king; the other desired that he might be re-born in a condition to arrive at *nirvāṇa*. Accordingly, the first became the son of a king whose kingdom was by the sea-shore; and when the time came to name him, he was called *Mi-lan*. The other was born in the country of *Ki-pin* (Cophene) and he was called *To-la*; but, because a royal elephant belonging to the family was born on the same day as the child, he was also called *Na-sin*, "for (the narrative adds) the Indian word for 'elephant' is *Na*" (? Nāga). Having become a *Bhikṣu*, he attained celebrity, and after a while came to the country of *She-kie* in India, and took up his residence in the *Shi-ti-kia* temple. We must restore *She-kie* to Śākala,<sup>1</sup> and *Shi-ti-kia* to Jētika. So that the plot of the discussion which follows, is laid in the same place as in the Southern or Pāli account. Meanwhile, the Prince *Mi-lan* had succeeded to his father's maritime kingdom; and, being an adept in religious and philosophical questions, he requested his ministers to inquire for one worthy to enter the lists with him in disputation. The reply was that in the Northern region, in the country *Ta-ts'in*,<sup>2</sup> in the kingdom of *She-kie*, and in the palace of an old king of that country, there was dwelling a *Shaman* well able to dispute with the royal scholar. Then follows a description of the city of Śākala, the noble character of the people, the richly ornamented gates, the sculptured palaces, the apartments of the court ladies, the streets and suburbs, the elephants, horses and chariots, the artisans and scholars, and the

tribute paid to this city by all the small countries round about.<sup>3</sup> The clothing of the people is described as being of the five colours, glistening and bright,—the women, of white complexion, and wearing jewels and costly ornaments,—the soil, rich and productive, &c., &c. This was the capital of the country of *Mi-lan*. The king, therefore, proceeds thither, and the disputation is narrated in two long chapters of twenty and fourteen double pages respectively.

From a superficial examination, the description appears to be, in its general character, identical with that found in the *Melinda-panḥo*; but, as I do not possess the English translation of this work, published, I understand, by Mr. Trenckner, I have not been able to make any exact comparison.

The only remark on the foregoing that need be made, is that the kingdom of Menander may properly be described as a maritime one, as the conquest of Pattalene is ascribed to him; and, as "he reigned over an extensive tract from the foot of the Paropamisus to the sea,"<sup>4</sup> we may accept the Chinese account that, whilst his kingdom bordered on the sea, its chief city was Śākala. This country the Chinese writer identifies with *Ta-ts'in*, which is generally referred to the Roman Empire, but may, I think, be also equivalent to the countries ruled by the Baktrian satraps. On all sides, at least, this Chinese book supports the identification of Melinda (*Mi-lan*) with the Menander of the Greeks.

There is another short work, in the Chinese collection of books, relating to this subject. It comprises the 101st tale, or story, in the *Tsah-pao-ts'ang-king* (the *Saṃyuktaratnapitaka-sūtra*).<sup>5</sup> The tale is called *Na-sien-Nan-to-wang-king*, *i.e.* "the *Sūtra* of Nāgasēna and Nandarāja." The contents are similar to the former work noticed. The king's name is given as Nanda, instead of *Mi-lan*. But I see no difficulty in supposing Nanda to be a contraction of Menander, or of the Pāli Minanda.

On the whole we may conclude that Nāgasēna, the *Bhikṣu*, was contemporary with Menander, and that his discussion with the

<sup>1</sup> [The modern Saṅgalawālātibbā in the Panjāb; see page 246 above, note 9.—J.F.F.]

<sup>2</sup> *Ta-ts'in* in this place must denote the Græco-Baktrian Empire.

<sup>3</sup> Śākala, therefore, at this time was the seat of Greek influence and civilization in North India.

<sup>4</sup> Wilson; *Arion* Antiq. page 280.

<sup>5</sup> Nanjio's *Catalogue*, No. 1329.

Greek ruler may have given rise to the story of Plutarch about the distribution of his (Menander's) relics and the monuments placed over them.

We now come to Nāgārjuna, respecting whom there is abundance of information, of a mixed character, to be found scattered throughout the Buddhist literature of China. The chief difficulty is how to connect these scattered notices into anything like a reliable narrative.

Taking Hsien Tsiang's notices first,\*—we find that, according to him, Nāgārjuna lived during the time of a king called *Sō-to-p'o-ho*,<sup>7</sup> in Southern Kōsala. He practised the art of converting inferior substances into gold, and also gained a knowledge of the elixir of life. By means of the latter, he had extended his own and the king's years over several centuries. The king built for him, or excavated from the rock, a *saṅghārāma*; the rock or mountain was called *Po-lo-mo-lo-ki-li* and it was 300 *li* south of the country.<sup>8</sup> We cannot fix the site of the capital city, visited by Hsien Tsiang; and so the *Po-lo-mo-lo* hill is not known for certain. One thing, however, we know that it must be restored to Bhramara, or "the black bee," and was called after Durgā or Pārvati; and that it is the same as the Śrī-parvata-Paramalagiri named by Scheifner in his Translation of *Tāranātha*, p. 304. On this hill Nāgārjuna is said to have passed one hundred and twenty-nine years of his life (Scheifner, *Tāranātha*, p. 73). We must then, it appears, give up the old story of Fa-hian<sup>9</sup> about the pigeon (*pārāvata*) monastery, and substitute for it the Śrīparvata dedicated to Durgā. I have been told by Dr. Burgess that he has good reason for identifying this rock with the celebrated Śrī Śāila, on the river Krishnā.<sup>10</sup>

But now the question arises who was this king *Sō-to-p'o-ho*, and what his probable date?

The Chinese explanation of the king's name is,

\* *Buddh. Rec. West. World*, Vol. II. p. 210 ff.

<sup>7</sup> This is a phonetic representation, and is explained as meaning "he who draws the good," which of course suggests Sadvaha or Sadvahana as the original Sanskrit word.

<sup>8</sup> This expression probably means that it was 300 *li* from the capital of the kingdom.

<sup>9</sup> *Buddh. Rec. West. World*, Introd. p. lxviii. ff.

<sup>10</sup> [It seems worth noting that a Buddhist Bhādanta named Nāgārjunachārya is mentioned in one of the inscriptions at the Jaggaṃpēta Stūpa, thirty miles north-west of the well-known Amarāvati in the Kistna

"he who draws, or pulls well."<sup>11</sup> This, however, gives us but little help, beyond suggesting, as the original Sanskrit word, Sadvaha,—a name which we do not know of from Sanskrit sources, and which does not seem a very probable one. But we are told by I-tsing<sup>12</sup> that this monarch was also called *Shi-yen-te-kia*, which might be restored to *Sindhuka*; moreover, the same writer says that Nāgārjuna wrote to him as the king of a country called *Shing-t'u* (Sindh?). All this is obscure; it is true the *Vāyu-Purāṇa* gives us the name *Sindhuka* as the first of the *Andhras*; but his date is much too early for Nāgārjuna. Under these circumstances, I can find no clue to the settlement of the date from this part of my enquiry; and must rest satisfied with the suggestion that the Chinese translation of the Sanskrit name is wrong,—that the original name was *Śātavāha(na)*, which is equally deducible from the transliteration, and the sound of which might easily be confused by the Chinese with the sound of Sadvaha,—and that the king is to be identified with one of the *Śātavāhana* or *Andhra* kings, and possibly with the *Yājñasrī-Śātakarni*, who seems to have flourished about A.D. 178 to 207.

If we come now to consider the succession of Buddhist Patriarchs as they are named in the Northern Books, we find that Nāgārjuna is the thirteenth in the order, and Pārśva the ninth. If this Pārśva was the one who presided over the council summoned by Kanishka, then we may reasonably place him about 300 years after Aśoka, or A.D. 70 or 75; for this seems to be the meaning of the 400 years after the *nirvāṇa*, alluded to by Hsien Tsiang.<sup>13</sup> His successors were Puṇyasaśas, Aśvaghōsha, Kapimāla, and then Nāgārjuna. Respecting these, there is no reliable observation found in Chinese Books, except that Aśvaghōsha was contemporary with Kanishka. As there has been some

(Krishnā) district (*Archæol. Surv. South. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 57). This inscription, however, is in Sanskrit; and, partly for that reason, partly on palaeographical grounds, has to be allotted to about the beginning of the seventh century A.D.; and it thus gives about A.D. 650 as the date of this Nāgārjunachārya.—J.F.F.]

<sup>11</sup> *ching yin*; lit. 'right-drawing.' At one time I thought this was equivalent to the Greek *Σωτηρ*.

<sup>12</sup> *Nan-hai-ki-kuo-chuan*, K. iv. p. 5. b. I-tsing tells us that the king's title (*ho*) was *Shō-to-po-han-na*, his private or personal name (*ming*) being *Shi-yen-te-kia*.

<sup>13</sup> *Buddh. Rec. West. World*, Vol. I. p. 151.

doubt expressed about this, I will refer to stories 93 and 94 in the abovenamed work called *Samyuktaratnapitaka*. In these stories we have mention made of the king called *Chandan-Kanika*, which I can only restore to Kanishka of Gāndhāra. He was a great conqueror, and was converted to Buddhism. In story 94 he is said to have had three friends,—*Āsvaghōsha*, his spiritual adviser;—*Mo-cha-lo* (Madra), his great minister;—and *Chay-lo-kia* (Jurka?), his chief physician. We are then told how Kanishka, after a great slaughter of his enemies, relented and desired to pursue a more peaceful life; on which his chief minister intimated that such a desire could scarcely be carried out by such a man as he had been. The king then orders a caldron full of water to be heated to the boiling point, and, this done, he flung into the water his ring, ordering his minister immediately to take it out with his hand. The officer begs to be excused, but in vain; at last, on condition he would take it out, the king permits him to adopt his own method. Of course he takes from under the caldron the fire, and allows the water to cool. Then he removes the ring. "And so," replied the monarch, "even I may gain the treasure of the Law, by extinguishing within me the three fires of lust, hatred, and doubt."

I only refer to this story to shew that *Āsvaghōsha* was contemporary with Kanishka. But he was probably a young man, and may have succeeded Puṇyayaśas in his old age. At any rate, we cannot accommodate this succession to any date for Nāgārjuna earlier than the latter end of the second century A.D.

According to Tibetan accounts, Nāgārjuna lived some 600 years after Buddha; for this is the only reasonable way of explaining the statement that according to some his life was 71 years short of 600, and according to others 29 years short of that period.<sup>14</sup> This is supposed to be a mistake for 71 or 29 years short of 600 years after Buddha; and if we assume the date of Buddha (according to Tibetan accounts) to be 100 years before Aśoka, this again would give us a date for Nāgārjuna from about A.D. 166 to A.D. 200.

I think we may safely regard this as the nearest approximate date to be got from Chinese or Tibetan sources. I will merely add that the change introduced by Nāgārjuna into the code of Buddhist doctrine was so great that it is said he claimed himself to be the "all-knowing one" (the Omniscient), and that, after his death, *Stūpas* were raised to him, and he was worshipped as Buddha!<sup>15</sup>

### SANSKRIT AND OLD-KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

By J. F. FLEET, B.O.S., M.B.A.S., C.I.E.

(Continued from p. 258.)

#### No. 166.—BODH-GAYA INSCRIPTION OF MAHANAMAN.—THE YEAR 269.

This inscription, which is now published for the first time, is from a stone-tablet that was discovered in the course of the excavations made by General Cunningham and Mr. J. D. M. Beglar at Bôdh-Gayâ,<sup>1</sup> the famous Buddhist site about five miles due south of Gayâ, the chief town of the Gayâ District, in the Bengal Presidency. The original stone is now in the Imperial Museum at Calcutta.

The stone has the appearance of having been originally set in a socket about three inches deep, and morticed at the sides into a building. The front surface measures about 1' 7½" broad by 1' 6" high. Below the inscription,

towards the proper right side of the stone, there are engraved in outline a cow and a calf, standing towards, and nibbling at, a small tree or bush; the tips of the ears of the cow are discernible in the lithograph, below the commencement of line 14.—The writing, which is in the upper part of the stone, and covers a space of about 1' 7½" broad by 1' 0" high, including a margin of about an inch all round, is in a state of perfect preservation almost throughout.—The average size of the letters is about ¼". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. They include, in the last line, forms of the numerical symbols

<sup>14</sup> Vassilief (French Ed.) p. 201 n.

<sup>15</sup> Records of the Patriarchs (Nanjio's Catalogue, No. 1240) K. v. p. 20. b.

<sup>1</sup> The 'Bodh-Gya' of the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 104, Lat. 24° 42' N.; Long. 85° 3' E.

for 8, 9, 60, and 200. In the conjunct letter *ry*, in *yatir=yatah*, line 7, we have to note that the *r* is formed on the line, with a single *y* below it.—The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the opening symbol representing *Om*, and for the date at the end, the inscription is in verse throughout.—In respect of orthography, the only points calling for notice are (1) the occasional doubling of *k* and *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, e.g. in *chakkrais*, line 13; *tantram*, line 2; and *chaitra*, line 14; and (2) the use of *v* for *b* throughout, e.g. in *vandhu*, lines 2 and 8; *vabhava*, line 6; and *vodhi*, lines 10 and 12.

The inscription does not refer itself to the reign of any king. It is dated, in numerical symbols, in the year two hundred and sixty-nine (A.D. 588-89), on the eighth day of the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra (March-April). It is a Buddhist inscription. And the object of it is to record the erection, by a certain Mahānāman, —the second of that name mentioned in this inscription,—of a mansion of Buddha, i.e. a Buddhist temple or monastery, at the Bôdhimaṇḍa, or, rather, within the precincts of it; i.e. at the modern Bôdh-Gayā.

With regard to the places mentioned in this inscription, Laṅkā is, of course, one of the most well-known names of Ceylon. And Gen. Cunningham tells me that Āmradvīpa, 'the mango-island,' is another of its names, derived from its 'resemblance in shape to a mango. Bôdhimaṇḍa is the name of the miraculous throne under the bôdhi-tree at

Bôdh-Gayā, also called the *vajrasana* or 'diamond-throne,' on which Buddha and his predecessors sat, when attaining *bôdhi* or perfect wisdom.\* And Professor Childers, in his *Pāli Dictionary*, added that he inferred that the term was also applied to the raised terrace built under the bôdhi-tree within the precincts of any Buddhist temple, in imitation, presumably, of Buddha's throne. This, rather than the throne itself, seems to be its meaning in the present inscription.

The chief interest of this inscription, lies in the probability that the second Mahānāman mentioned in it, is the person of that name who composed the more ancient part of the Pāli *Mahāvamsa*, or history of Ceylon. If this identification is accepted, it opens up a point of importance in the question of dates. On the one hand, there can be no doubt that the date of the present inscription has to be referred to the Gupta era, with the result of A.D. 588-89. On the other hand, from the Ceylonese records Mr. Turnour arrived at A.D. 459 to 477 as the period of the reign of Mahānāman's nephew (sister's son) Dhātusēna;† and it was during his reign that Mahānāman compiled the history. The recorded date of the present inscription, therefore, shews,—if the identification suggested above is accepted,—either that the details of the Ceylonese chronology are not as reliable as they have been supposed to be; or else that a wrong starting-point has been selected in working them out, and that they now require considerable rectification.

## TEXT.\*

- 1 Ōm [H\*] Vyāptô yēn=ā-pramēyah sakala-śaśi-ruchā sarvvataḥ sat[t\*]va-dhātuh kshuṇḍāḥ pāshaṇḍa-yôdhās=sugati-patha-rudhas=tarkka-śastr-ābhiyuktāḥ sampūrṇô
- 2 dharmma-kôshaḥ prakṛiti-ripu-hṛitah sādhitô lōka-bhūtyai\* āstuh Śāky-aika-va(ba)-ndhōr=jjayati chirataram tad=yāsa-sāra-tantram || Nairôdhim' śubha-bhāvanā-
- 3 m=anusṛitah saṁsāra-saṁklēsa-jin=Maitrēyasya karē vimukti-vasitā yasy=ādbhutā vyākṛitā | nirvāṇ-āvasarē cha yēna charaṇau dṛishṭau munēḥ
- 4 pāvanau |<sup>1</sup> pāyād=vaḥ sa munindra-śāsana-dharaḥ stutyai Mahā-Kāśyapaḥ || Saṁyukt-āgaminô viśuddha-rajasaḥ sat[t\*]v-ānukamp-ōdyatāḥ śishyā
- 5 yasya sakṛid=vichēsur=atulām Laṅka-āchal-ōpatyakām tēbhyah śīla-guṇ-ānvitās=cha śataśah śishya-praśishyāḥ kramāj-jātās=tuṅga-narēndra-
- 6 vamsa-tilakāḥ prōṭaṣiyya rājya-śriyam || Dhyan'-ōday-āhita-hitah śubh-āsubha-vivēka-kṛid-vihata-mōhaḥ sad-dharm-ātula-vibhavô Bhavô va(ba)bhūva

\* See, amongst other authorities, Beal's *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II. p. 116.

† See Turnour's *Mahāvamsa*, pp. ii. liv. lxii. 254ff.; and *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. VII. p. 922.

\* From the original stone.

\* Metre, Śragdhara.

\* This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

\* Metre, Śārdūlavikṛitā; and in the following verse.

\* This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

\* Metre, Āryā.

- 7 śramaṇas=tataḥ || Rāhul<sup>10</sup>-ākhyāś=cha tach-chhiṣya U<sup>11</sup>pasēnō yatir=yataḥ Mahā-  
nāmā kramād=ēvam=Upasēnas=tatō=paraḥ || Vātsalya<sup>12</sup> śaraṇ-ā-  
8 gatasya satataṁ dīnasya vaiśeṣikaṁ vyāpat-sāyaka-santati-kṣhata-dhṛitē=ārttasya  
ch=āpatyakaṁ ; krūrasy=āhita-kāriṇaḥ pravīṭataṁ va(ba)ndhōr=yathā-  
9 bhāvataḥ ēvaṁ sach-charit-ōdbhavēna yāsasā yasy=āchitaṁ bhūtalaṁ || Āmradvīp<sup>13</sup>-  
ādhivāsī prīthu-kula-jaladhī=tasya śiṣhyō mahīyān  
10 Laṅkā-dvīpa-prasūtaḥ para-hita-nirataḥ san-Mahānāma-nāmā ; tēn=ōchchair-Vvō(bbō)-  
dhimaṇḍō śaśi-kara-dhavalah sarvvatō maṇḍapēna<sup>14</sup> ;  
11 kāntaḥ prāsāda śha Smara-va(ba)ja-jayinaḥ kārītō lōka-śāstuh || Vyapagata<sup>15</sup>-  
vishaya-anēbō hata-timira-daśaḥ pradīpa-vad=a-saṅgaḥ  
12 kuśalēn=ānēna janō vō(bō)dhi-sukham=anuttaraṁ bhajatām || Yāvad<sup>16</sup>=dhvānt-  
āpahārī pravīṭata-kiraṇaḥ sarvvatō bhāti bhāsvān=yāvāt=pūṇḍ=mvu(mbu)-  
13 rāṣīḥ phaṇi-phaṇa-kaṭilair=ūrmī-chakkras=samantāt yāvach=ch=Ēndr-ādhivāsō  
vividha-maṇi-śilā-chāru-śrīṅgaḥ Sumēruḥ sōbh-āḍhyam  
14 tāvad=śtad=bhavanam=uru-munēḥ śāsvatatvam=prayātu || Samvat 200 60 9 Chaitra  
śu di 8 ||

## TRANSLATION.

Om ! Victorious for a very long time is that doctrine, replete with fame, of the Teacher, the chief kinsman of the Śākyas, by which, lustrous as the full moon, the inscrutable primary substance of existence has been pervaded in all directions ; by which the warriors, who are heretics, obstructive of the path of beatitude, have been broken to pieces, being assailed with the weapon of logic ; (and) by which the whole treasure of religion, that had been stolen by the enemy which is original nature, has been recovered for the welfare of mankind !

(L. 2.)—May he, Mahā-Kāśyapa, protect you, who, for the purposes of praise, observed the precepts of (Buddha) the chief of saints ; who practised that auspicious habit of abstract meditation which is of the nature of a trance ; who overcame the anguish of successive states of existence ; whose wonderful subjugation of the passions in final emancipation (*is to be*) displayed in the hand of Maitrēya ;<sup>17</sup> and by whom the two pure feet of (Buddha) the saint were beheld at the time of attaining *nirvāṇa* !<sup>18</sup>

(L. 4.)—His disciples, endowed with a connected tradition of doctrine, purified as to (*their*) emotions, (and) active in compassion for existing beings, roamed at one time over the

unrivalled country at the feet of the mountains of Laṅkā ; and in succession from them there were born, in hundreds, disciples and disciples' disciples, possessed of the virtue of (*good*) character, who, without the glory of (*actual*) sovereignty, were the ornaments of a lofty race of kings.

(L. 6.)—Then there was the Śramaṇa Bhava, whose welfare was effected by the development of abstract meditation ; who discriminated between good and evil ; who destroyed error ; (and) who possessed an unequalled wealth of true religion.

(L. 7.)—And his disciple (*was*) he who had the name of Rāhula, after whom (*there came*) the ascetic Upasēna (I.) ; then in succession (*there was*) Mahānāman (I.) ; (and) after him another Upasēna (II.), whose special characteristic of affection, of the kind that is felt towards offspring,—for any distressed man who came to him for protection, and for any afflicted person whose fortitude had been destroyed by the continuous flight of the arrows of adversity,—extended, in conformity with the disposition of a kinsman, (*even*) to any cruel man who might seek to do (*him*) harm ; (and) by whose fame, arising from good actions, the whole world was thus completely filled.

<sup>10</sup> Metre, Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).  
<sup>11</sup> From the vowel *ē* being partially engraved over this *u*, the engraver seems to have begun to form the *ś* here.  
<sup>12</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikṛīṭa.  
<sup>13</sup> Metre, Śragdhara.  
<sup>14</sup> This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.  
<sup>15</sup> Metre, Āryā.  
<sup>16</sup> Metre, Śragdhara.  
<sup>17</sup> Maitrēya is a Bōddhisattva, at present in the Tusitā heaven, who is to be the next Buddha. And the present passage, which is rather obscure, is perhaps explained by

the injunction which Buddha, when on the point of attaining *nirvāṇa*, gave to Mahā-Kāśyapa, to deliver over his *śākyā* or yellow robe (and with it the transmission of the Buddhist doctrine) to Maitrēya, when he should attain the condition of a Buddha (see Beal's *Buddh. Rec. West. World*, Vol. II. p. 142ff.)

<sup>18</sup> Mahā-Kāśyapa was seated in meditation, when suddenly a bright light burst forth, and he perceived the earth shaking. And then, exerting his divine sight in order to ascertain what wonderful event was indicated by this portent, he saw Buddha in the act of entering on *nirvāṇa* (see *id.* Vol. II. p. 161.)



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 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २ ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ३ ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ४ ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ५ ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ६ ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ७ ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ८ ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ९ ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १० ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ११ ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १२ ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १३ ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १४ ॥

SCALE 30

Bodin-Gaya Image Inscription of Mahanaman.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २ ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ३ ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ४ ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ५ ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ६ ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ७ ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ८ ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ९ ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १० ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ११ ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १२ ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १३ ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १४ ॥



(L. 9.)—His disciple, greater (*even than himself*), (*is*) he who has the appropriate name of Mahānāman (II.); an inhabitant of Āmradvīpa; a very ocean of a mighty family; born in the island of Lāṅkā; delighting in the welfare of others;—by him this beautiful mansion of the Teacher of mankind, who overcame the power of (the god) Smara,<sup>10</sup>—dazzling white as the rays of the moon, with an open pavilion on all sides,—has been caused to be made at the exalted Bôdhimaṇḍa.

(L. 11.)—By means of this appropriate (*action*) let mankind,—freed from attachment to worldly things; having the condition of (*mental*) darkness dispelled; (*and*), like (*the flame of*) a torch, having no adhesion (*to material objects*),—enjoy the supreme happiness of perfect wisdom!

(L. 12.)—As long as the sun, the dispeller of darkness, shines in all directions with diffused rays; as long as the ocean (*is*) full on all sides with its circles of waves that are curved like the hoods of hooded snakes; and as long as (the mountain) Sumēru, the abode of (the god) Indra, has its summits made beautiful by various jewelled slabs, in such a way as to be full of lustre,—so long let this temple of the great saint attain the condition of being everlasting!

(L. 14.)—The year 200 (*and*) 60 (*and*) 9; (the month) Chaitra; the bright fortnight; the day 8.

NO. 167.—BODH-GAYA IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF MAHANAMAN.

This inscription, which also is now published for the first time, is from the pedestal of a Buddhist image that was discovered in the

excavations made by General Cunningham and Mr. Beglar at Bôdh-Gayā, in the Gayā District in the Bengal Presidency.

The writing, which covers a space of about 1' 8½" broad by 0' 1½" high, is in a state of almost perfect preservation.—The average size of the letters is about ⅜". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets.—The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose.—The orthography presents nothing calling for remark.

The inscription does not refer itself to the reign of any king, and is not dated; but the characters allot it to precisely the same time with the preceding inscription of A. D. 588-89. It is a Buddhist inscription. And the object of it is to record the presentation of the statue on the pedestal of which it is engraved, by a *Sthavira* named Mahānāman, who is obviously the second Mahānāman mentioned in the preceding inscription.

As pointed out to me by General Cunningham, this inscription shews that Mahānāman must have been at least thirty years old when he visited Bôdh-Gayā; by the Buddhist rules, he could not receive the *upasampadā*-ordination, before attaining the age of twenty years; and, after that, he would have to wait at least ten or twelve years, before he could be invested with the title of *Sthavira* or *Thēra*. A further point to be noted, is, that Mahānāman's visit to Bôdh-Gayā probably occurred before the time when Dhātusēna became king of Ceylon, —during the flight of the uncle and nephew to avoid the persecution of the usurper Pāṇḍu; according to Mr. Turnour's deductions, this was between A.D. 434 and 439.

TEXT.<sup>10</sup>

1 Ōm Dēya-dharmmō-yaṁ Śākya-bhikṣhōḥ Āmradvīpa-vāsi-sthavira-Mahānāmasya<sup>11</sup> [H\*]  
Yad=atra puṇyaṁ tad=bhavatu sarvva-sat[t\*]vānām=anuttara-jñān-āpādayē=stu<sup>12</sup> [H\*]

TRANSLATION.

Ōm! This (*is*) the appropriate religious gift of the Śākya Bhikṣhu, the *Sthavira* Mahānāman, a resident of Āmradvīpa.

Whatever religious merit (*there is*) in this (*act*), let it be for the acquisition of supreme knowledge by all sentient beings!

<sup>10</sup> This refers generally to the subjugation of the passions; but also specially to the temptation by Māra, or Love as the Destroyer, which is referred to in Buddh. Rec. West. World, Vol. II. p. 69 ff.

<sup>11</sup> From Mr. J. D. M. Beglar's ink-impression; so also the lithograph.

<sup>12</sup> Read *Mahānāmanā*.

<sup>13</sup> This *stu* (*astu*) is redundant, as we have already had *bhavatu*.

## HATHASNI INSCRIPTION OF THE MEHARA CHIEF THEPAKA.

BY VAJESHANKAR GAURISHANKAR; BHAWNAGAR.

Hâthasni is a separate tribute-paying State, held by some Sarvaiyâ Râjputs, in the Uṇḍ-Sarvaiyâ Sub-Division of the Gôhîlwâḍ Prant in Kâthiawâḍ. The village is situated at the foot of the Lônch Hill, and on the north bank of the river Śatruñjî, about thirteen miles in a south-westerly direction from Pâlitâṇâ. The present inscription is from a stone that was found at Hâthasni, and is now in the collection at Bhâwnagar.

The stone has been broken into four pieces; but nothing of the inscription has been lost thereby, except two aksharas in line 8, and five

in line 13, which do not seem to have contained anything of importance, and, in line 17, the third figure in the date, which however is supplied by the ordinal word in the same line. —The writing covers a space of about 1' 6½" broad by 1' 0½" high. The average size of the letters is about ¼". The characters are Dêvanâgarî, of the period to which the inscription refers itself. In *khagâra*, line 2, *vâkhala*, line 5, and *akhaṇḍa*, line 16, the *kha* is represented by the sign for *sha*. The *avagraha* occurs in several places. —The verses are numbered in the original.

## TEXT.

- 1 ओं सिद्धिः ॥ (॥) विरचिवदनावासा देवी जयतु भारती । यस्याः प्रसादमासाद्य मुहोऽपि विजुधावते १ [॥\*]
- 2 श्रीसौवर्चो भुवि सुप्रसिद्धः क्षमाभूता मंडनमादिमानां तेषां कुले पुण्यकृतां वरिष्ठः स्वगारनामा
- 3 नृपतिः बभूव २ [॥\*] जसधवलसुनाना तस्य वंशेऽथ जज्ञे सकलगुणनिधानं रूपविख्यातकीर्तिः प्रियम-
- 4 ल इति देवी रूपतो यं विवाह्य विजयसुभद्रपुत्रैः सूर्यवंशप्रसूता ३ [॥\*] यशोधवलदेवस्य सुपुत्रे
- 5 तनवान् वरान् वल्लीव कल्पवृक्षस्य मल्लमंडलमेलिगान् ४ [॥\*] अर्वांतरे वाखलराजवंशे कंदू-
- 6 लक्ष्मीमंडलनिर्जितारिः । नगार्जुनो नाम बभूव वीरः श्रीमंडलीकस्य सहायकारी ५ [॥\*] सुतस्तस्य म-
- 7 हानंदः संजातो धरणीतले येन कौ जातसारेण जहर्षुः पूर्वजा मुखा ६ [॥\*] सुता मंगलराजस्य
- 8 कृपा रूपमनोहरा या जज्ञे तेषां वीरं - - यं स्वामिवत्सलं ७ [॥\*] अपि वाचस्पतिर्भूतः के वयं तनु-
- 9 नस्तवे दत्तानां येन शानानां संख्या कर्तुं न सक्यते ८ [॥\*] कुलेन शौर्वेण नयेन कीर्त्या प्रका-
- 10 निरायो भुवि मेहरोऽथ तालध्वजे विप्रजनाभिरामे महीशभूषेन निबोधितश्रीः
- 11 ९ [॥\*] राज्ञं प्रकुर्वतस्तस्य धनुर्मस्तनयैः समं धर्ममुद्धिरियं जाता देवकस्य महात्मनः १० [॥\*] कार-
- 12 यामि महाबापी सर्वजंतुदपापही अगाधे निर्जले देवे कुंतराजं ततोऽब्रवीत् ११ [॥\*] वल्ल-
- 13 दिव्यकुले सूर्यवीकलस्वान्वयोद्भव - - - - - मे वाक्यं भूषु धर्ममयं हितं १२ [॥\*] यया
- 14 नम पिबन्धनेन जीर्णदुर्गनिवासिना कारिता संगवापीति देवाबापी प्रकाशय १३ [॥\*] । ने-
- 15 हरेण समादिष्टो धर्ममुद्धिः स कौ नरः कारयामास सहसा बापी जलमनोहरां
- 16 १४ [॥\*] अखंड १० मायुर्लभतां मेहरो द्विजवल्लभः सहितः पुत्रपौत्रैश्च परिवारजनैः समं [॥\*]
- 17 संवत् १३ [६] वर्षे ॥ भावे संवत्सरे पूर्णे आषाढे षडशीतिके सप्तम्यां सोमशरेण
- 18 बापीयं पूर्ण[तां] गता ॥ १६ [॥\*] श्रीप्रभानिष्ठवास्तव्यसूत्रवाचासुतसांडाकेन कारापिता [॥\*]

## TRANSLATION.

Om! Success! Victorious be (the goddess) Bhârati, whose abode is the mouth of Virâñchi, and by whose blessings even a fool becomes intelligent!

(L. 2.)—The lunar dynasty has achieved a world-wide fame; in the family of the meritorious kings of that dynasty, there was a king named Khagâra,<sup>1</sup> the ornament of his predecessors who were endowed with the virtue of forbearance.

(L. 3.)—In his family was born one who bore

the excellent name of Jasadhavala, who was the treasure of all virtues, and whose fame became all the more renowned on account of his beauty; and whom a lady named Priyamala, born in the solar dynasty with the sons of Vijaya and Subhata, married on account of his beauty.

(L. 4.)—Like a creeper of the kalpa-tree, she bore to Yasôdhavala three excellent sons—Malla, Maṇḍala, and Mâliga.

(L. 5.)—At this point,—there flourished in the family of Vâkhalarâja,<sup>2</sup> a hero named

<sup>1</sup> Read *tri-soma-varṣid*.

<sup>2</sup> Read *bhritâm*.

<sup>3</sup> In this word, the *kha* is represented by *sha*; so also in *vâkhala*, line 5, and *akhaṇḍa*, line 16.

<sup>4</sup> Read *nripatir-babhûva*.

<sup>5</sup> Read *putraiḥ*.

<sup>6</sup> See note 3 above.

<sup>7</sup> Read *kartuḥ*.

<sup>8</sup> See note 3 above.

<sup>9</sup> See note 3 above.

<sup>10</sup> Read *nâgârjunâ*.

<sup>11</sup> Read *śakyatî*.

<sup>12</sup> See note 3 above.

Nāgārjuna, who was the companion of the illustrious Maṅḍalika, and who had subdued the circle of his enemies with the prowess of his arms which were always itching to strike.

(L. 6.)—His son was Mahānanda, at whose birth on the earth the joy of his elders knew no bounds.

(L. 7.)—The daughter of Maṅḡatārāja, named Rūpā, who was possessed of a charming beauty, gave birth (*by this Mahānanda*) to a son named Thēpaka, who was brave . . . and dear to his master. Even Vāchaspati is powerless to describe his virtues; so how shall we?; it is impossible to make an enumeration of his charities.

(L. 9.)—Then (*this*) Mēhara, who won the hearts of his subjects by his nobility, valour, sense of justice, and glory, had the royal dignity conferred upon him by king Mahīsa at Tāladhvaja,<sup>13</sup> a place dear to Brāhman.

(L. 11.)—While that high-minded Thēvaka was reigning, with his four sons, a benevolent idea occurred to him, of building a large tank, capable of quenching the thirst of all beings in a country where water was scarce and very deep; then he spoke to Kūntarāja:—

(L. 12.)—"O (*king, born*) in the family of Vallāditya, and descended from Sūrya-Vikala, listen to my . . . virtuous and beneficial advice. Just as my paternal uncle, who lived at Jirṇadurga, built a tank called (*after him*) the Saṅgavāpī, so also do thou get a tank built, (*called*) the Thēvāvāpī (*after me*)."

(L. 15.)—That virtuous earthly hero, having been thus instructed by the Mēhara, immediately had a tank built, full of charming water.

(L. 16.)—May the Mēhara, the beloved of Brāhman, with his sons, grandsons, and followers, live a very long life!

(L. 17.)—The year 1386; the Bhāvasaṁvatsara being complete; in (the month) Ashāḍha; in the eighty-sixth (*year*); on the seventh lunar day; on Monday; this tank was finished.

(L. 18.)—(*This inscription was*) engraved by Sāṇḍāka, the son of Sūtra-Vāchā, an inhabitant of the famous Prabhānīṣṭha.

#### NOTE BY MR. FLEET.

The chief interest of this inscription lies in its being a historical record of the Mēr or Mēhar tribe, the modern representatives, as was suggested to me some three years ago by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajī, of the Maitrakas, who are mentioned in the Valabhigrants in connection with the Sēnāpati Bhatārka.

His suggestion was that Maitraka is the Sanskritised form of the original name of the tribe. In endorsing it, I have to point out that the original name was Mihira; which again is the Sanskritised form of the Persian *mīhr*, 'the sun,' and is no doubt to be attributed, as a tribal name, to a special predilection for sun-worship. The Sanskritised form Maitraka also preserves this connection in a very happy way; since it is a regular derivative from *mitra*, which again, as denoting the sun or the god of day, is an adaptation of the Persian Mithra. The Mihiras were a branch of the Hūnas, who, under the leadership of Tōramāṇa and Mihirakula, overthrew the power of the Early Guptas and established themselves in Kāthiāwāḍ and other parts of Northern India, and were then, in their turn, conquered in Kāthiāwāḍ by the Sēnāpati Bhatārka.

Other epigraphical references to them have been obtained. Thus, a Mihira king, or a king named Mihira, is mentioned as being defeated by the Rāshtrakūṭa chieftain Dhruva III. of Gujārāt, in line 45 of the Bagumra grant<sup>14</sup> dated Śaka-Saṁvat 789 (A.D. 867-68). And the Tīmānā grant<sup>15</sup> of the Chaulukya king Bhīmadēva II., dated Vikrama-Saṁvat 1264 (A.D. 1207-8), mentions, in lines 6, 7, 8, 25, and 26, two Mēhara Rājās named Jagamallā and Āna.

The present inscription gives us a third reference, in being a record of a Mēhara chief named Thēpaka or Thēvaka, with the date of Vikrama-Saṁvat 1386 (A.D. 1329-30).

And a fourth reference is furnished by a short inscription<sup>16</sup> on the pedestal of a Jain image, stored with several others in a place called Gōrakhmaḍhi on the island of Śīāḷ-Bēt, off the south-eastern coast of Kāthiāwāḍ. It records that, in (Vikrama)-Saṁvat 1272

<sup>13</sup> The modern Talāja in Kāthiāwāḍ.

<sup>14</sup> Edited by Dr. Bühler; *ante*, Vol. XII. p. 179 ff.

<sup>15</sup> Edited by Dr. Hultzsch; *ante*, Vol. XI. p. 337 ff.

<sup>16</sup> Mentioned in the Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. VIII. Kāthiāwāḍ, p. 652.—In the absence of an ink-impression, I describe it from a transcript sent to me by Mr.

Vajeshankar Gaurishankar. The images are said to have been transported to the island from the mainland, to save them from violation, when the Musalmāns invaded the peninsula.

(A. D. 1215-16), on Ravi(vāra) or Sunday, the fifth day of the dark fortnight of the month Pausa (December-January), the image, one of Mahāvira, was made by the order of the whole *Samgha*, and was installed by the *Sūri* Hariprabha, of the Chandra *gachchha*, a disciple of the *Sūri* Śāntiprabha, at *Ṭimbāṇaka* (*Ṭimāṇā*), the estate (*pratipatti*) of the *Mēhara Rāja*, the illustrious *Ragasimha*. The corresponding English date is, with a difference of one day, Monday, the 11th January, A. D. 1216.

The *Mērs* or *Mēhars* are to the present day a tribe of considerable importance in *Kāthiāwāḍ*. According to the *Bombay Gazetteer*,<sup>11</sup> they are nearly 24,000 strong, and are a race which has attached itself from time immemorial to the *Jēthwā Rājputs*. Colonel J. W. Watson tells me that the *Jēthwās* are said to be only the *rājakula* of the *Mēhars*, i.e. the branch of the tribe in which the ruling power is vested; and that there are grounds for thinking that this is probably correct. He also informs me, in addition to the miscellaneous information given in the *Gazetteer*, that the *Mēhars* follow the custom of a younger brother marrying his elder brother's widow.

Another settlement of the *Mēhars* was in *Mēr wāḍā*, in *Rājputānā*; in connection with which a good deal of interesting information about the tribe may be found in *Tod's Annals of Rājasthān*,<sup>12</sup> Chapter xxvi.

Traces of them seem also to be found in *Mēharauli* or *Mēmharauli*, a corruption of *Mihirapurī*, the village, close to Dehli, in which there is the iron pillar inscription of the emperor Chandra.

*Mēhar* on the Indus, in Sindh, is probably another early settlement of the tribe. And, if indexes were only forthcoming of the Trigonometrical Survey Maps, we might doubtless find many other interesting records of the extent to which they spread, and the chief localities in which they settled.

The full details of the date of this inscription are *Vikrama-Samvat* 1386, the *Bhāva samvatsara*; *Sōmavāra* or Monday, the seventh

lunar day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the month *Āshāḍha* (June-July). By the Tables, however, *Vikrama-Samvat* 1386 was the *Sukla samvatsara*; and the *Bhāva samvatsara* was the year 1391. Whether we treat the year as current or expired, this date, by General Cunningham's Tables and by Cowasjee Patell's, does not work out correctly. For *Vikrama-Samvat* 1386 current, the result for the first seventh day in *Āshāḍha* (in this instance *Pūrva-Āshāḍha*) is Saturday, the 23rd June, A.D. 1330; for 1387, (or 1386 expired), Thursday, the 13th June, A.D. 1331; for 1391 current, Wednesday, the 28th June, A.D. 1335; and for 1392 (or 1391 expired), Sunday, the 16th June, A.D. 1336. These calculations are according to the *Gujarāt* reckoning, with the year commencing on the first day of the bright fortnight of the month *Kārttika*, and with the dark fortnight coming after the bright. I suspect, especially as the *Bhāva samvatsara* is described as being *pūrva*, 'full or completed,'<sup>13</sup> that the last result is the proper one; and that in this, as probably in other instances, the discrepancy may be due to the *tithi*, or lunar day, not coinciding exactly with the *vāra* or *divasa*, the week-day or solar day. The seventh *tithi* of *Āshāḍha* possibly began after sunrise on Sunday, and ran over into Monday. The only other way to adjust the date with the result, would be to look upon *Sōmavāra*, Monday, as a mistake of the composer for *Saunvavāra*, Wednesday; in which case the third result might be taken as correct. The ink-impression, however, distinctly reads *Sōmavāra*.

The number of the year is expressed in such a way as possibly to be quoted as an instance of the use of the *Lōkakāla*, or method according to which the centuries are omitted. This question of the *Lōkakāla*, as used in comparatively modern times, requires to be worked out. But I should think that, in the present case, the omission of the centuries is due only to the inability of the composer to introduce them into his verse. To supplement the verse, he has given the full date in figures just before it.

are no grounds for suggesting that, as otherwise we might be tempted to do, we should read *pūrva*, qualifying *Āshāḍha*.

<sup>11</sup> Vol. VIII. *Kāthiāwāḍ*, p. 138f.

<sup>12</sup> Calcutta Reprint, Vol. I. p. 717f.

<sup>13</sup> The word *pūrva*, in line 17, is very distinct; there

## THE BRITISH NATIONAL ANTHEM TRANSLATED INTO SANSKRIT.

BY PRAMADA-DASA MITRA; BENARES.

On the occasion of the Queen's Birthday, 24th May 1886.

## TEXT.

## I

God save our Gracious Queen!  
Long live our Noble Queen!  
God save the Queen!  
Send her victorious,  
Happy and glorious,  
Long to reign over us!  
God save the Queen!

## II

O Lord, our God! arise;  
Scatter her enemies,  
And make them fall!  
Bless Thou the brave that fight,  
Sworn to defend her right;  
Bending, we own Thy might;  
God save us all!

## III

Thy choicest gifts in store  
Still on Victoria pour—  
Health, peace, and fame!  
Young faces, year by year,  
Rising her heart to cheer,  
Glad voices, far and near,  
Blessing her name.

## IV

Saved from each traitor's arm—  
Thou, Lord, her shield from harm  
Ever hast been.  
Angels around her way  
Watch, while by night and day  
Millions with fervour pray—  
"God save the Queen!"

\* An optional rendering of verse 1 :—

राज्ञीं कृपान्विताम्  
सुखेनैषुताम्  
कुर्वीत ताम् ।  
जिष्णुं यशसिताम्  
सर्वैः सुकैर्भुताम्  
वित्तं त्वया भविताम्  
भूयोऽव ताम् ॥

[One special point in the present translations is to be found in the rhyming ends of the lines throughout.—Ed.]

## TRANSLATION.

## १

राज्ञीं कृपान्विताम्  
सुखेनैषुताम्  
ईशाऽव ताम् ।  
लक्ष्मीं विजोऽवताम्  
कीर्तिं सुनिर्मलाम्  
उज्ज्वलान्विताम्  
ईशाऽव ताम् ॥

## १

राज्ञीं कृपान्विताम्  
शीलेरलङ्कृताम्  
पाहीष ताम् ॥  
भूत्या प्रभूतया  
कीर्त्याऽवताम्  
सम्भवा प्रदीप्तया  
सा भावताम् ॥<sup>1</sup>

## २

विद्वेष रक्ष ताम्  
शत्रुनिपात्यताम्  
एष्येहि नः ।  
राज्ञीमनुग्रहताम्  
प्रापैः समुद्यताम्  
रक्षेत्तल्लोचताम्  
शं धेहि नः ॥

## २

प्रोद्यन्तव्यञ्जम्  
सीसिप्रिपुत्रञ्जम्  
सा राजताम् ।  
वीरान् बलोज्ज्वलान्  
मुञ्चे धृतग्रतान्  
सन्त्यक्तजीवितान्  
रक्षाऽनु ताम् ॥

## ३

कल्याणधारया  
वर्षेत्तारया  
विन्दोरिबाम् ।  
प्रोद्यन्तव्यञ्जम्  
गायेद्यशःसुखम्  
सारोदयसम्पुल्लम्  
देवाऽव ताम्

## ३

हृद्यन्तव्यञ्जताम्  
नन्दयिप्रिपुत्रताम्  
उज्ज्वीयताम्  
कुर्वीत सन्तताम्  
देव्याः सदा हितान्  
पुरेऽन्तिके नुतान्  
रक्षेद्य ताम् ॥<sup>2</sup>

## ४

स्वच्छाङ्गपालिताम्  
पापाच्छिद्येहिताम्  
देवैर्भुताम् ।  
विद्वेष रक्ष ताम्  
इत्येव शंसताम्  
सिद्धयस्तनीयताम्  
कुर्वीत सताम् ॥

\* Optional renderings of verse 3 :—

कीर्त्यैषुमालिनीम्  
भारोग्यमालिनीम्  
कुर्वीत ताम् ।  
शीलाभिधन्विताम्  
लोकाभिनिधिताम्  
आसीमिरम्बिताम्  
उज्ज्वीयताम् ॥

संधारयाऽऽभुताम्  
नन्दन्तव्यञ्जताम्  
कुर्वीत ताम् ।  
सरीर्षजीविताम्  
सन्तानतर्पिताम्  
रोगैर्विजिताम्  
रक्षेद्य ताम् ॥

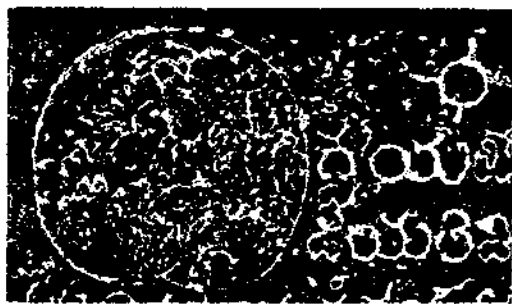
## SOME FANTASTIC CHARACTERS.

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

Most archæologists are familiar with the so-called 'shell-characters,' which exist on several of the ancient monuments of India, and the clue to the interpretation of which has not yet been obtained. Published instances of them will be found in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. VI. p. 968, Plate lvi. No. 16, from the Aśoka column at Allahâbâd; in the *Pandit*, Vol. IV. (1869) p. 43, Plate, from the Pahlâd pur column at Benares; in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 37, Plate xvii., from Skandagupta's pillar at Bihâr; and in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 154, Plate xlv. No. B2, from a pillar at 'Rajajona' or 'Rajjhâna.'

Another class of curious characters is very well illustrated by the highly floriate letters on a pillar in the temple of Rājvalôchana at Rājim in the Central Provinces, reproduced by General Cunningham in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XVII. p. 19, Plate x. No. 3, which contain the name of Śrī-Purṇaditya,—rather difficult to make out, perhaps, by itself; but easily recognisable when compared with the name as written in ordinary characters at another place in the same temple, No. 2 in the same plate.

On one of my visits to Calcutta, I noticed in the Imperial Museum an inscribed stone from Kurgôḍ or Kurugôḍu, in the Ballāri District of the Madras Presidency, which gives some fantastic characters of a new kind.<sup>1</sup> There are Old-Kanarese inscriptions on both the front and back faces of the stone. On one side, the inscription is of the time of the Western Chālukya king Sômêśvara IV. It commences—



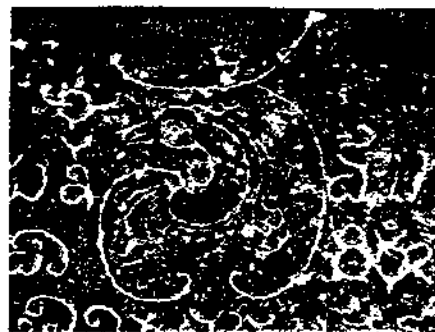
<sup>1</sup> I owe this last reference to Mr. V. A. Smith. His forthcoming Index to Gen. Cunningham's Reports will be an invaluable acquisition for references.

<sup>2</sup> Since the preparation of the present lithographs, I

Śrī-Svayambhūnāthāya namaḥ,—“Reverence to the holy (god) Svayambhūnātha!” The word śrī, which in Old-Kanarese inscriptions is often given in various elaborate and ornate forms, is here represented by an initial in which, on the right side, can be made out the front half of an elephant; the rest of the design seems to contain nothing in particular. These words are followed by the verse—*Namas=tunga-śirāś-chuṁbi-chāṁdra-chāmarā-chāravē trailôkya-nagar-ārambha-mūla-stāmbhaya Śāmbhavē*,—“Reverence to (the god) Śāmbhu, who is decorated with a *chauri* that is the moon that lightly rests on (his) lofty head; and who is the foundation-pillar for the erection of the city of the three worlds!” This verse introduces two ingeniously devised ‘bird-characters.’



The first is the *dra* of *chāṁdra*; in the centre there is the ordinary character *da*, and the bird is formed by an elaboration of the *r*, which is often turned completely round the letter, as here.



The second is the *bha* of *Śāmbhavē*, in which the head of a bird is introduced by an elaboration of the first part of the letter.

have found that the first five lines of the Kurgôḍ inscription, including these three characters, have been represented,—but not at all perfectly,—in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. VI. p. 663ff. Pl. xxxiii.



## FOLKLORE IN WESTERN INDIA.

BY PUTLIBAI D. H. WADIA.

VI.—*Sunābāi Jāi*.

There was once a great merchant named Dantā Sēth, who had seven sons, but no daughter. So he and his wife prayed to Īswara incessantly to bless them with one, till at last he heard their prayers and a daughter was born to them. They were so overjoyed at this that they made the occasion one of great rejoicing,<sup>1</sup> gave away large sums of money in alms to Brāhmins, and regularly afterwards, every morning, the mother waved a string of pearls over the little girl's head and gave it away to the poor.<sup>2</sup>

They had also a golden swing made for her, on which her seven sisters-in-law<sup>3</sup> were made to swing her all day long. Thus Sunābāi Jāi, as she was called, grew up in great happiness and comfort, and was petted by all the friends and relations of her parents. But alas! this state of things did not last long. Before she was seven or eight years old, her parents died, leaving her under the care of her seven brothers, and their wives. The demeanour of the latter instantly changed towards her, and they who during the life-time of her parents had vied with one another in showing their love for her, now not only refused point blank to swing her, or to do any other service for her, but often told her to get out of the swing, and perform the household duties with them.

Not long after the old people had gone to their rest, the young men, their sons, bethought themselves of going to distant parts for the purpose of commerce; and getting ready a ship they sailed away in it, leaving Sunābāi Jāi to the tender mercies of their wives. Before taking their departure, however, they bade them take great care of the little girl, and told them not to let her want for anything during the time they were away. But as soon as their backs were turned and the sisters-in-law found the child fully within their power, they dis-

regarded the parting injunctions of their husbands, and set her to do all the household work they had been made to do when their mother-in-law was alive. Not content even with this, they often beat and scolded her, and, in short, tried to make her life as miserable as possible.

One day, one of them ordered her to go and bring dry wood for fuel from the jungle, and when the girl looked about for a rope with which to tie the bundle, they all scolded her and would not let her take any.

"Don't tie the dried sticks into a bundle," they said, "and yet, mind you bring as many as we used to do, when you were swinging at your ease in your golden swing."

The poor girl went out without a rope, and after she had collected a large number of sticks, she found that she could not carry more than three or four sticks on her head at a time without tying them together, so she sat down in a corner and began to cry. At this a large serpent crept out of its hole and said to her:—

"Well, Sunābāi Jāi, what is the cause of your tears?"

Then the little girl replied:—

"Dantā Sēth had seven sons and after them came Sunābāi Jāi,

Over whose head a string of pearls was waved every morning;

But now, all the seven brothers have gone away in a ship, leaving her alone,

And all the seven sisters-in-law ill-treat Sunābāi Jāi."

"And they have bade me," she continued, "fetch firewood, but have given me no rope with which to tie the sticks together, and I find that I cannot carry more than two or three sticks on my head, while they have ordered me to bring home a large bundle."

The serpent felt pity for her and said—  
"Fear not, good Sunābāi Jāi, I shall instantly remove the cause of your grief. See here: I will stretch myself at full length upon the

<sup>1</sup> Note that the birth of a daughter would not, in India, be ordinarily an occasion for rejoicing.

<sup>2</sup> On auspicious occasions rice, coconuts, sugar, betelnuts, dates (dried), are waved over a person's head and then thrown or given away, for they are believed to carry away all the misfortunes that might be in store for the person in question. Sometimes rich people wave such precious things as pearls over their children's heads with the same object.

<sup>3</sup> i.e. the infant brides of their seven infant sons.

\* In Gujarātī these verses run as follows:—

देता सेठना सातव दीकरा  
सात दीकरा पर भावी सुनाबाई जाईरे  
सुना बाई जाई तो मोतीन बधाईरे  
साते भाईओ बहाणे चढी गीया  
साते भोजाई काहाणी पाडेरे

ground, and you must place your sticks in the middle of my body; and then, when you have piled up as many as you can carry, I will wind myself round them like a rope, and you will thus be able to carry the bundle easily."

Sunábái Jái thanked the serpent, who soon wound himself round the sticks she placed upon his body, and the little girl walked homewards with the bundle on her head. As she threw down the bundle in the yard all the seven sisters-in-law came running out of the house to scold her for bringing only a few sticks from the jungle, as they thought. But what was their astonishment to see as a large a bundle on the ground as one could fairly carry. They were struck dumb with surprise, and could not for the life of them comprehend how the little child could have carried so many sticks on her head without tying them together; for the serpent, it must be mentioned, had glided gently away, before they could observe it.

They were, however, very much provoked, and resolved to subject her to severer ordeals. So one day one of the worthy ladies covered a large heavy quilt with *ghí* and oil, and bade Sunábái Jái go to the sea-shore and wash it clean, firmly believing that this time she would either be drowned in the attempt or return home to get a good caning. Poor Sunábái Jái dragged the quilt to the sea-side, and sitting down upon a stone began to cry at the utter impossibility of washing such a dirty, oily, heavy thing single-handed, and without the aid of soap or anything. However, she went to work after a time, but though she used all her strength till she was quite exhausted, the quilt remained as dirty as ever. So she again sat down in disappointment and cried more bitterly than ever.

There was nothing near her but a few cranes, who had all along been watching the poor girl. When they heard her cry they all flew towards her, and one of them asked her why she was crying. Sunábái Jái replied:

"Dantá Sêth had seven sons and after them came Sunábái Jái.

Over whose head a string of pearls was waved every morning;

But now all the seven brothers have gone away in a ship leaving her alone,

And all the seven sisters-in-law ill-treat Sunábái Jái."

She then related to them how she had been sent to wash the dirty quilt by her sisters-in-law.

"Is that all?" said the crane, who acted as spokesman: "then dry your tears, and we shall wash it for you in a trice."

Sunábái Jái agreed, and immediately the cranes set to work, flapping their wings backwards and forwards upon it, and dipping it now and then into the water, till they had made it in a short time as white as their own plumage. Sunábái Jái was very grateful to them for this, and carried the quilt home to her sisters-in-law in triumph.

They were very much chagrined, not only to see Sunábái Jái return home safe and sound, but to find that she had brought back the quilt, clean and white beyond their expectations. So they said nothing at the time, but inwardly swore to subject her to still greater hardships, to see how she came successfully through them all. So after a few days they mixed a *pharā*<sup>1</sup> of rice and a *pharā* of *dāl* (pulse) together and ordered her to go into the yard and separate them.

"Be careful," said they, "not to lose a single grain out of these two *pharās*, for we have counted every one!"

The poor girl carried the mixture into the yard as desired, and sat down to her work, but she had no idea how she was ever to separate so many small things as the grains of rice from the *dāl*. So she cried and cried till even the sparrows on the large trees in the yard were moved by her tears, and they came down to her to inquire into the cause of her grief. Whereupon Sunábái Jái repeated to them how

"Dantá Sêth had seven sons and after them came Sunábái Jái,

Over whose head a string of pearls was waved every morning;

But now all the seven brothers have gone away in a ship leaving her alone,

And all the seven sisters-in-law ill-treat Sunábái Jái."

And she informed them of what her sisters-in-law had set her to do, when forthwith a large flock of sparrows set to work, and separated the rice from the *dāl* with their beaks, making two large separate heaps in no

<sup>1</sup> A *pharā* (फर्रा) is a corn-measure of 16 *pāyājt* (पायली) or 64 *śrs*.

time. Sunābāi Jāi joyfully took the separated grains into the house. Her sisters-in-law could not believe their eyes, so astonished were they to see the job done so quickly. One of them, however, making a pretence of counting the grains, said :—

"Stop, stop! Sunābāi Jāi, is that the way you do your work? I find the rice short just by one grain; pray how do you account for that? Go and fetch it this instant, or we shall beat you within an inch of your life."

The poor child went back into the yard, and began to look for the missing grain of rice, with eyes full of tears; when she beheld a sparrow flying into the house. She followed it, and to the surprise of all the bird dropped a grain of rice into the heap, and flew away.

At this the women grew very jealous of the poor child, and bethought themselves of some sure method of getting rid of her. They therefore ordered her one day to go into the jungle and get for them some tigress's milk, firmly believing that she would meet with her death in the attempt. Little Sunābāi Jāi had no conception of the dangerous nature of the errand she was sent upon, and so she fearlessly wandered here and there into the jungle in search of a tigress, but fortunately for her she did not find one. So, fatigued and utterly prostrated, she sank down on the ground in a thick part of it, and cried for help; when lo! a tigress sprang out of a bush hard by, and seeing Sunābāi Jāi, said :—

"Well, Sunābāi, what are you doing here, and why are you crying?"

Then Sunābāi Jāi told her tale in the following words :—

"Dantā Sēth had seven sons and after them came Sunābāi Jāi,  
Over whose head a string of pearls was waved every morning;  
But now all the seven brothers have gone away in a ship leaving her alone,  
And all the seven sisters-in-law ill-treat Sunābāi Jāi."

"My sisters-in-law have sent me," she continued, "to fetch the milk of a tigress, and of a surety I don't know where to find it."

At this the tigress took pity on her and gave her some of her own milk, which she carried home in the pail she had brought for the purpose.

Great was the surprise and disappointment of the seven women on seeing Sunābāi Jāi come home alive and unhurt once more, and when she placed before them the pail with the tigress's milk in it, their astonishment knew no bounds. They now clearly saw that she was under the special protection of Fate, and that, therefore, every attempt of theirs to get rid of her would come to nothing. Still, however, they persevered and one day told her to take a large piece of cloth, go to the sea-side, and bring in it the foam of the ocean. Not suspecting the uselessness of making such an attempt, the little girl went to the sea-side, and passed nearly the whole day up to her knees in the water, trying to catch some at least of the foam that floated by her, but to her great dismay she found how utterly impracticable such a thing was. Her tears fell fast when she saw that it was getting dark, and thought how far she had to go, and how, if she went home empty handed, her sisters-in-law would visit her with the severest punishment they could inflict, when her attention was attracted by a solitary sail. She felt great interest in watching the movements of the ship which was fast making for the shore; when it neared her she recognised it to be that of her brothers, and her delight was unbounded.

Being seized with a desire to give her brothers a surprise, little Sunābāi Jāi hid herself behind a rock till they landed. The vessel anchored in due time, and the seven young men put off in a boat for the shore. As soon as they stepped on dry land, the little girl, unable to restrain herself any longer, ran up to them and was clasped in their arms. When the excitement of this most unexpected meeting was over, the brothers inquired of her what she was doing on the sea-shore so far away from home. She related to them all that had befallen her since their departure, and told them how that day she had been sent to fetch foam from the sea. The brothers were greatly enraged on learning of the inhuman conduct of their wives, and resolved to punish them as they deserved. So they took Sunābāi Jāi on board their ship, and kept her there till the following morning; when one of them, cutting open his thigh with his knife, put his little sister into it and sewed up the rent! They then went ashore and walked

leisurely home. When they arrived there, their wives were greatly surprised to see them, for they had not expected them to return so soon. Pretending to know nothing of Sunábái Jái, they demanded of them where she was, when the wicked women replied that she had behaved very badly after their departure, and had taken to wandering about at pleasure, regardless of their admonitions, and that that morning, too, she had gone no one knew where, without their permission; but would come back, sure enough, in the evening, as was her wont.

"Very well," said the men, let us have something for our breakfast now, and mind, if Sunábái Jái does not return by dusk we shall hold you answerable for her life."

The seven women, who had not seen the poor girl all the previous day and night, began to tremble at these words, and devoutly prayed that she would return home in safety. When they were at their meals, however, they

noticed that one of the men every now and then placed a morsel of food upon his thigh, and that it soon disappeared therefrom, to be replaced by another; but, seeing their husbands were in an angry mood they dared not ask them any questions. At last, when night came and there were no signs of Sunábái Jái, the brothers were furious and bade their wives on pain of death to tell them what they had done with her. Seeing further prevarication useless, they all confessed their guilt, and expressed their fear that Sunábái Jái was drowned in the sea; when, to their great dismay, one of the brothers opened the rent in his thigh, and pulled out Sunábái Jái, as large as life and as well as ever. Upon this, the wicked women fell on their knees, and begged loudly to be forgiven, but their husbands were inexorable; they shaved their heads and cut off their noses and mounting them upon donkeys, sent them away to their parents' houses, to live there in disgrace for the rest of their lives!

### FOLKLORE IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

BY S. M. NATESA SASTRI.

#### NO. XIII.—THE FOUR GOOD SISTERS.

In the town of Tañjai there reigned a king named Hariji, who was a very good and charitable sovereign. In his reign the tiger and bull drank out of the same pool, the serpent and peacock amused themselves under the same tree; and thus even birds and beasts of a quarrelsome and inimical character lived together like sheep of the same flock. While the brute creation of the great God was thus living in friendship and happiness, need it be said that this king's subjects led a life of peace and prosperity unknown in any other country under the canopy of heaven?

But, for all the peace which his subjects enjoyed, Hariji himself had no joy. His face was always drooping, his lips never moved in laughter, and he was as sad as sad could be, because he had no son. After trying in vain the various distributions of charitable gifts, which his elders and priests recommended, he resolved within himself to retire into the wilderness, there to propitiate Mahéśvara, the great god of gods, hoping thus to have his desires fulfilled.

No sooner had this thought entered into his mind than he called his ministers to his side, and, informing them of his intention, made over to them the kingdom of Tañjai. He gave strict orders to them to look after the interests of his subjects, warning them that, if they failed in this, they would have to pay forfeit with their heads. Thus appointing his ministers in his place, to order his realm during his absence, Hariji retired to the nearest jungle as a hermit.

The monarch of Tañjai, who had been attended with innumerable servants, now became his own servant and master. He removed all his royal garments and clothed himself with the bark of trees. To him, whose bed had been till then the softest of cushions made of the finest and most delicate cotton, the dried leaves now furnished a mattress. Roots and fruits were now his only food, in the place of a thousand different dishes, which had at one time been daily spread before him. Every morning he rose from his bed of leaves, bathed in the coldest water, and sat meditating on Mahéśvara till about the twentieth *ghaṭikā*.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 3 p.m.; a *ghaṭikā* is twenty-four minutes, 30 *ghaṭikās* make one day, and 30 one night. Thus 60 *ghaṭikās* make a day and night.

Then he would rise up and taste something of the roots or fruits he happened to see near him. In the evening again he would bathe and sit meditating till midnight. Then thrice sipping water only he would retire to rest (if rest it deserves to be called) for ten *ghaṭikās*.<sup>\*</sup> Such was his daily routine, and in this most severe penance he wasted away by degrees for nearly two years. All his ribs began to project from his sides, his skin dried up, and one could count his nerves and veins. For all that, he never wavered in his penance.

On the first day of the third year after Harijī commenced his penance, the great god Mahēśvara came to recognize the monarch in his devotee. Mounting his bull, with Pārvatī, his goddess, on his left, he appeared before the royal hermit who literally danced with joy at the sight of his long-looked-for god!

"Thy prayers and praises, my good son, have been rising before our throne in Kailāsa,<sup>\*</sup> for the past two years, like a pillar of virtue, and have brought me down to thee to grant thy boon. Ask and thou shalt have." Thus spake Mahēśvara with a smile on his face and his right arm raised to bless.

"My great God," replied the king, "language has no words to express the great joy and pleasure I have had to-day in that thou in thy holiness hast condescended to visit thy poor dog. This slave of thy most divine righteousness has had no child conferred upon him, though his beard has whitened with age. To gain this boon, and thus sweeten the few more years he has to drag out in this world, he has been propitiating thy divine holiness."

"All men must undergo the miseries of a former life in this one," replied the god. "However, for thy long penance we have been pleased with thee, and grant thee this request. Choose then:—A son who shall always be with thee till death, but who shall be the greatest fool in the whole world; or four daughters who shall live with thee for a short time, then leave thee and return before thy death, but who shall be the incarnation of learning. To thee is left to choose between the two." Thus spake Mahēśvara; and Harijī the hermit chose the daughters. The god gave him a mango-fruit

to be presented to his queen, and disappeared.

The fruit of his long penance Harijī thus held in his hand. He cared nothing for the prospect of having only daughters. Daughters or sons, he wanted to have children, and so his desire had been crowned with success. A thousand times happy he felt himself in the prospect before him, as he returned to his country. Great was the joy of his subjects and ministers, to see among them again their beloved sovereign.

The king called for his priests, and, fixing an auspicious hour for the presentation of the fruit, gave it to his queen. She became pregnant, and in due course gave birth to four daughters as beautiful as Rati.<sup>\*</sup> And thus Harijī obtained four daughters by the grace of God in his old age. Their names were Gaṅgābāi, Yamunābāi, Kamalābāi, and Nīlābāi.

He left no stone unturned to give them a liberal education. Professors for every branch of learning were appointed, and the girls, before they were in their tenth year, had been taught the four *Vēdas*, the six *Sāstras*, the the sixty-four kinds of learning, and all the rest of it. They became great *Paṇḍits*, and were like four great jewels among the woman-kind of those days.

One day the old king was seated in the first storey of his palace to be rubbed over with oil.<sup>\*</sup> The oil-rubber began to apply the oil to his head so irregularly and in such a stupid way, that his daughters, who were looking on at a distance, were highly vexed, and calling to their mother asked her to interfere, and send the man away. Then they themselves applied the oil to their father's head, in so delicate a way that the old king did not in the least feel that anything was being rubbed over it. He was exceedingly pleased with them, and after sending them away finished his bath.

He now bethought him of Mahēśvara's condition when granting his desire for children,—that his intelligent daughters should leave him before they had been long with him. "How will they leave me? If I give them away in marriage, then, of course, they will leave me: but if I prevent this, and make some other arrangement for them I shall avert the

\* Four hours.

\* The abode of Śiva.

\* The wife of Kāma (the god of Love) and goddess of beauty.

\* A South Indian custom, corresponding to a bath.

unhappy prophecy of the god!" So thought Hariji, and so has many another fool thought, only to bring down swift retribution on his head:

After finishing his ablutions the king did not go into the dining hall, but retired to his couch and lay down sulkily. According to the ancient customs of Hindu monarchs this was a sign of a great uneasiness of mind, and the news that the king had not taken even a grain of rice after his oil-bath spread throughout the palace. The queen came flying to know the reason of her lord's displeasure. "Call my minister at once," was his order, and the queen sent word to that officer.

As soon as the minister arrived the king ordered him to summon a great council within a *ghatiká*, as he had an important question which could be solved only by that learned body.

The assembly was hastily called, and the members collected, anxiously waiting for the matter to be set before them. The king came and took his seat, and after looking gravely round him rose up and said—"My learned councillors that have met here to-day, I have a great question to put before you for your opinion. Many of you are traders, and occasionally, for various reasons, travel to different countries. When you procure a rare object, or a very precious jewel, or a valuable ornament, do you keep it for your own use, or do you give it away to somebody else? Kindly think over the matter well before you give me your answer."

Thus spoke Hariji, and all present exclaimed that, if the object were very rare they would prefer keeping it to themselves.

"Exactly! well said!" vociferated the king. "Even so do I wish to act! After great hardship and severe penance I obtained through the grace of Mahésvara four daughters. They are my gems, my jewels, and my ornaments. Why should I give them away in marriage to another? Why should I not myself marry them and retain them under me? If you would keep the rare things you acquire to yourselves, why should not I also do the same?"

All his councillors hung their heads for very shame. They were disgusted at the turn which their generalization had been made to take and saying, "As it pleases Your Majesty," took leave of their sovereign, all thinking that their king had gone mad.

It was not from any insane tendency that the old king spoke in that shameless manner before so learned and respectable an assembly. He had firmly resolved within himself to marry all his four daughters himself; and as soon as his councillors had left him, he called his minister to his side, and asked him to go and consult his daughters about it. By this means the king foolishly thought that he would reverse Mahésvara's prediction that his daughters should leave him early, and see him no more till just before his death.

The minister was in a delicate position. If he objected to take the news to his daughters, the old king might be enraged and punish him: and if he boldly stood before the girls and spoke to them shamelessly about their father's intention to marry them himself, they might become enraged and murder him! Of the two alternatives he chose death at the innocent hands of the princesses, rather than at the guilty hands of a king, who had become so mad as to be in love with his own daughters. So he went to them.

The princesses had as great a regard for their father's minister as they had for their father; and when they saw him approaching their mansion they welcomed him, and, making him sit in their midst, wished to hear whether he had any special reason for his visit that day. When he heard the innocent talk of these children, who had not even commenced their teens, his eyes began to swim with tears at the thought of the unwelcome news he had to communicate to them. The girls, who were naturally intelligent, at once guessed from his tearful countenance, that it must be some very bad news that he had to tell, and so the eldest broke silence by sweet and well chosen words:—

"Our kind father, for so we regard you, what is the matter with you, that you have put on such a dismal face? Disclose to us the burden of your heart, that we also may share in your woes."

The minister could no longer contain his sorrow. He sobbed aloud and told them all the proceedings that had taken place during the day, and how very sorry he was that they should have that morning showed their skill to their father in the oil-bath affair. The girls were greatly affected at what they

heard, and the eldest, Gaṅgābāi, spoke as follows :—

“From this minute our father is no more our father, since he has become so depraved as you represent him to be. We all now regard you as our father, and request you to oblige us in this delicate business. It is of no use to you to say ‘no’ to the king’s question. I shall give my consent to the marriage, and tell him at the same time that I have vowed to undergo a penance for six months, after which the marriage may be duly performed. For the present I request you to oblige us with a seven-storied mansion made of lacquered wood. In each storey I request you to store up provisions sufficient for all of us for six years. The seventh storey must contain water: the sixth, vegetables; the fifth, rice; and so on: while we must occupy the first two stories and proceed to carry on our penance. You must come here with the king on the first day of the seventh month, and then you shall see a wonderful thing! For the present, please go and inform the king of our consent to the marriage and of the penance we have resolved on for six months, during which period we must be allowed to live unobserved.”

The minister was delighted to see that the princesses, though they were young in years, had a very sound knowledge of the world. He promised to oblige them most willingly, and gave orders, with the permission of Hariji the king, for the building of the lacquered mansion and for the storage of provisions. As for the king, when he heard that his daughters had given their consent, he was overjoyed, and eagerly waited for the seventh month to come. He even took special care to see the mansion was built without delay. The minister, too, left no stone unturned to supply the provisions requisite for half a dozen years. The mansion was built, and the princesses took up their abode in it for their penance. As soon as they entered they bolted the door inside, and began to meditate upon the boon-conferring goddess, Varalakshmi. For six months they meditated, and on the last day of the last month secured her favour. She appeared before them in a dream, robed in pure white silk, and applied *kunkuma* (red powder) to their foreheads in token that she had favoured them, and that from that day they might depend upon her for assistance.

Now outside this mansion, which had been

built in the city of Tañjai, Hariji was counting the days, and, to occupy his time meanwhile, had decorated the city for the coming wedding of himself with his daughters, and had sent invitations to all the corners of the world. Several kings, out of simple curiosity to see the mad performance—for the old Sovereign had proclaimed to the world that he was going to marry his own daughters!—came to Tañjai, and were waiting for the wedding day.

At last, the long expected first morning of the seventh month arrived, and Hariji sent his minister again to his daughters to ascertain their wishes. Again the daughters returned word that they gave their full consent to the marriage. Hariji was overjoyed at the second intimation of compliance, and decorated himself with all his choicest ornaments. With music before him he marched towards the lacquered mansion, the kings and the other guests following him to see how matters would terminate. When the processional music fell upon the ears of the princesses, they contemplated Varalakshmi and prayed :—

“O benign Goddess, if thou wouldst have us become the wives of a suitable husband,—a noble prince,—let this mansion rise from its present position and fall again in the midst of a jungle untrodden by human feet! Let the gates of this mansion be shut to all that may desire to open them, except to him only whom thou hast appointed to be our husband!”

The eldest led the prayer, and had scarcely finished, when the procession stopped before the mansion. And lo! a crack was heard and the lacquered mansion, as if it had wings, began to soar into the sky! In a moment it vanished out of the sight of the sinful father: and all around him with one voice cried out that he was well repaid for his wicked thoughts. At last Hariji saw the guilt of his intentions, the just punishment with which the god visited him, the fulfilment of his prophecy, and his personal share in the early fulfilment of it. He was buried in the ocean of shame and sorrow, till those around him consoled him with that part of the prophecy, which promised that his daughters should come back to him before his death.

Within the mansion the four sisters continued to live as if it were their home. They had

everything they could desire, and, excepting the time they were obliged to spend in cooking and eating, spent their days in study and music. Their evenings they invariably spent most happily in playing the *sitar*, and thus forgetting their sorrows. In this way they lived a life of innocent enjoyment, in the expectation that the goddess Varalakshmi would soon relieve them of their troubles by sending them a suitable husband.

At a distance of a hundred *kis* from where the princesses' mansion had been located by the will of Varalakshmi, was a kingdom named Sivapuri. In it reigned a most just king named Isabhaji. He had an only son named Thānuji, who was twenty years old,—an age which fitted him for taking the reins of the kingdom into his own hands. His royal father wished, therefore, to have his marriage celebrated. The bride chosen was the daughter of Isabhaji's own sister, and therefore Thānuji's first cousin. All liked the proposed marriage, except the prince; for though the bride was as beautiful as the moon, she was blind of one eye!

"A one-eyed wife I will never marry!" was his reply to the several representations his relatives made to him.

Isabhaji was already very old, and his sole object in life was to see his son married, and to dandle a grand-child before his death. He had tried his best previously, on several occasions, to choose a young lady of noble family as a bride for his son, but Thānuji would have none of them. However, the king's sister, having great influence with him, compelled her brother to fix on an auspicious day for the marriage of his son to her one-eyed daughter Kuruḍi. Finding it hopeless to convince his father of his disinclination to marry a lady who was defective by nature, Thānuji outwardly consented, and the preparations for the celebration of the marriage were commenced on an enormous scale.

Two days before the time appointed for the marriage the prince desired to go out hunting in a neighbouring forest. His object was not really to hunt, but to disappear in the thick wilderness, and to run away in order to evade the marriage.\* The hunting expedition started in the early morning and reached the forest by

about the sixth *ghaṭikā*. The hunting proceeded as usual till about the eighteenth *ghaṭikā*, when the prince was seen to run to a corner of the hunting ground, to disappear for a time, and then to emerge again from his place of concealment. The hunters, thinking that it was his pleasure, left him to himself, and engaged themselves in a different portion of the forest. Thānuji now found it a good opportunity to escape, and changing his horse for a fresh one, galloped towards the East and vanished from the sight of his vast army of hunters. Just about this time the hunt was brought to a close. "Where is the prince? Have you seen His Highness?" were the questions which the hunters put to each other. But the prince was nowhere to be found! They searched for him in the wood till darkness overcame them, and at last returned to Sivapuri, late at night, without him!

The old king was waiting the return of the prince with a sumptuous dinner; and when the hunters informed him of his disappearance he fell down in a swoon, as it were a tree cut at the roots! His sister and other relatives flew to his side to console him, and he was slowly brought back to his senses. It now became more than plain to him that he was himself the cause of the prince's flight, by having tried to force him to marry Kuruḍi against his will. He cursed Kuruḍi and her mother, he cursed himself, and he cursed every one involved in the proposed marriage! He at once sent for the palace soothsayer to consult him as to the safety of his son, and as to the probable date of his return. The soothsayer made his appearance and took his seat before the king with a palm-leaf book on his left and a square dice of sandal-wood on his right. When His Majesty explained to him the disappearance of the prince, and wished to know all about him, the soothsayer contemplated Gaṇēśa, cast the sandal-wood dice thrice, and turned up a leaf of his palm-book, guided to the particular page by the number thrown by the dice. He then proclaimed:—

'Śukra' now reigns supreme; and Śukra's course is a happy course! A marriage will be gained in the East! Be cheerful, my son, for

\* [This is a notable incident, as giving a rational explanation of the common disappearance of a prince on a hunting expedition in Oriental folktales. It usually

takes place in a miraculous manner.—Ed.]

\* The planet Venus, which is male in India.



the lost thing will surely be found within the space of two years. Meanwhile give sumptuous dinners and fees to several Brâhmanas every day, and Paramêśvara will help you!"

The faces of the king and of every one present glowed with joy as the soothsayer proceeded in his reading of the secret lore.

"A pair of shawls for the good soothsayer!" cried out Isabhaji; and the present was accordingly given. The king fully believed that his son was to return to him in two years, and in this belief he forgot all his sorrow at his disappearance.

Let us now see what happened to the prince after his escape from the hunters. He left them about noon and galloped towards the East. By about twilight fortune conducted him towards the mansion of lacquer. The appearance of the splendid building made of strange materials, and not of brick or stone or *chunam*,<sup>\*</sup> awakened his curiosity, and, made him approach it. In addition to this, he was already dying of hunger, and wished for at least a mouthful of water. Being sure that he had left his hunters far behind, he approached the mansion and sat down in the marbled lacquer pavement of the outer verandah. The god of day was sinking down in the West, and the golden rays of his evening beauty seemed a thousand times more beautiful than he had ever seen them as they glittered on the lacquered covering of the grand palace, which by its loveliness struck awe into his mind. Before the mansion ran a rivulet from which our hero drank a handful<sup>†</sup> or two of water, and overcome by fatigue stretched himself on the cool surface of the palace verandah, leaving his horse to get his water and grass himself.

It has been already said that the princesses inside the mansion used to spend their evenings in playing upon sweet musical instruments and in singing. Now as soon as Thânuji had stretched himself on the verandah to sleep, sounds of sweet music fell upon his ear. They were the most exquisite notes he had ever heard in his life. Like evening zephyrs in the spring they came gently to soothe his

weariness. He sat up and listened for a while to the sweet flow of music above.

"Is there a heaven in this life?" said he to himself; "have some nymphs from the divine world made this mansion their abode? or do wicked devils dwell here to feast upon night-stricken passengers?"<sup>‡</sup> However, whether they be good or bad, I *must* see the inhabitants of this palace, and leave to fate what it may bring upon me!"

The music now suddenly ceased, for it so happened that the *sitar* had to be adjusted for a different tune. Meanwhile the prince rose, and went round the mansion to see whether there were any gates to it. On the North side of it he discovered a large gate-way, and inside it a gate. This he approached and gently touched, to see if it was shut or not. Now, since Varalakshmi had fixed upon prince Thânuji as the husband of the four princesses, the gate of the mansion flew open,—as the gates of a river dam unlock to the rapid rush of released waters,—and discovered to him four beautiful maidens made a thousand times more beautiful by the strange and unexpected meeting, by their evening attire, and by the lovely *sitars* in their hands.

When the princesses saw the door open and their handsome visitor standing outside it, fearing to enter in, they breathed a thanksgiving to their goddess for the fair gift, and laying down their *sitars*, approached Thânuji with due respect. All four humbly prostrated themselves before him and then rose up. The eldest began to speak, while the other three sisters eagerly watched the movements of the visitor's face.

"Lord and husband of us all," said she, "glorious is this day to us as it has brought here our partner in life. Strange and sad is our history, but nevertheless we are all mortals, warmed by the same human blood that circulates through your Lordship's veins and equally affected by the same joys and sorrows. We will reserve our story, however, till your Lordship has dined, as we see plainly by your face that you are greatly tired. Accept us as your Lordship's wives, and we for our part have

\* A strong plaster made of sea-shell lime.

† Allusion to the native method of drinking water out of the hands by hollowing them into a sort of cup.

‡ [The allusion here is to the common Indian idea of

the personal beauty of malignant female ghosts, who live by devouring human beings. See *Folklore of the Headless Horseman*: Calcutta Review, 1884.—ED.]

earned the richest treasure the world can give us by having met you."

His vague fears about the mansion and its inmates suddenly melted away like snow before a powerful sun, when Thānuji saw the princesses and stood listening to the speech of the eldest. He also considered that day the most glorious of his life, and took leave of them for a few seconds to secure his horse, which for all the delight that had come to him he did not forget. He then bathed hastily in the hot water the ladies prepared for him, and after praying to the great God, who had been so bountiful to him that day, sat down with three of the ladies to take his dinner. The fourth attended to the leaf-plates, and supplied fresh courses as each dish was consumed. They then related their previous stories to each other, and copiously did the prince shed tears, when he heard how it was that the princesses came to perform penance to secure the favour of Varalakshmi;—and the ladies, too, when they heard how king Isabhaji had worried their husband to marry his one-eyed cousin, and how he had run away from the hunting party to avoid the marriage which so disgusted him. All were glad at the fortunate turn their lives had taken, and from that evening the prince and the princesses began to live most happily together as husband and wives, entirely forgetting their former homes.

Thus, hidden in an ocean of joy, Thānuji lived for two full years in the lacquered palace, in the company of the four princesses to whom fortune had conducted him; while they were one and all grateful to their goddess Varalakshmi for having sent them so noble and beautiful a prince as their partner in life. After two full years had been thus passed, the prince one day thought of his old father, and the usual cheerfulness left his face. His wives noticed the change and desired to be informed of the thoughts which were passing through his mind. He, noble in mind as in body, told them outright that he was thinking of his father, and that the idea of not having seen him for two years made him sad. The eldest princess as usual was the first to speak:—

"My dearest lord, it has been our misfortune to have lost a father, and we do not wish to see him again if we can help it. But we do not see any reason, therefore, why you should

lose yours, who is also a father to us. Nor do we see why we should continue to live for ever in this wilderness, while you have a kingdom to govern. My advice is, that you go now to Śivapurī, see your old father, and interest him in our behalf, so that you may be able to take us where we shall have a home, a father-in-law to worship, and such society as becomes our position. You will thus be able to arrange for our living in the world like other people, without wasting our youth in this desert."

The prince thanked his queens for their sound advice, who began to make preparations for sending their husband back to his parents. They supplied him with fine sweetmeats for the way, and, with the good wishes of his wives, Thānuji started for Śivapurī.

He reached the town on the second evening after he left the lacquered palace, but the inhabitants were not able to recognize him, as it was already twilight. He arrived at the palace at about the third *ghaṭikā* of the night, and prostrated himself before his father. The old king had been counting the days and the hours for his son's return, and as the second year rolled away and the prince did not make his appearance, he had been greatly enraged against the sooth-sayer whose prophecy had thus nearly proved untrue. The cunning sooth-sayer had been daily predicting one week more when, fortunately for him,—or the old king's wrath would have known no bounds,—and fortunately for the old king himself, considering his advanced age,—the prince suddenly turned up. Isabhaji wept for mingled joy and sorrow; joy at having recovered his son, and sorrow at that son's neglect of his old father for so long. But all is well that ends well, so the old king praised his household gods for having given him back his son, and merely inquired into his history for the past two years.

When Isabhaji found out that by good fortune his son had won the love of the four princesses of Tañjai, he wished his son every prosperity in the world, and gave him permission to make very arrangements to bring them to the palace at Śivapurī, and to marry them regularly. But Thānuji wished to wait a while, and his father allowed him his way.

Now the news that Thānuji had won the love of the four fair princesses of Tañjai reached his aunt, the sister of Isabhaji, and his cousin, the

one-eyed Kurudi. His aunt's dearest ambition had always been to unite her daughter to the prince, but she now thought that she must banish all hopes of its fulfilment, as long as the four fair princesses lived. Her daughter, however, was a scheming sort of girl, and determined somehow to get one of the four princesses of Tañjai into her own quarters, and there to murder her.

"Then the other three ladies will spurn the prince," thought Kurudi, "and he will have no other course open to him but to marry me."

For this task she engaged a doubled-up old woman, instructed her as to the position of the lacquered palace, and told her that she was to try her best to get into the good graces of the princesses. She was to serve them for a time as a faithful servant, and wait her opportunity to bring one of them away. Should she succeed in this, Kurudi promised her ample rewards.

The doubled-up old witch started with provisions for a month, and erected for herself a temporary hut in the forest at the gate of the lacquered mansion. Her nights she spent on a platform on a tree for fear of beasts of prey, and her days in her hut. After cooking and eating a little rice in the morning she would take her stand near the gate of the mansion and bawl out:—

"My children! Have you all forgotten me, your poor old foster-mother? Oh, how tenderly I brought you all up in your earliest days! And remembering you, I have deserted all my relations, children and friends at Tañjai, and have traced you to this wood. If you would take me into your service, I shall still continue to render you what help I can, in washing your clothes, in preparing your meals, in combing your hair, and other domestic duties, which it was once my delight to perform while I had the charge of you all till your seventh year. What a foolish old king he was to think of marrying you to himself, and thus to have lost you!"

These and a thousand mournful tales of the past, which she had carefully learnt from the one-eyed Kurudi and her mother, she would bawl out. But the ladies would never do anything without the consent of their husband, and their doors, too, would never open to any one except their lord.

After living with his father for a month,

Thānuji returned to the lacquered mansion. He noticed the hut in front of the palace gates, but did not care to enquire who lived in it, and went on and touched the gate, which opened to him. He entered in and gave his wives all their father-in-law's presents, for the old king had sent them through his son several costly ornaments and cloths. The ladies put him a thousand questions as to how he spent the month, and were eager to see Sivapurī, and to live there as Thānuji's queens, under the kind protection of their good father-in-law. But the prince told them to wait for a few more months till his aunt could dispose of Kurudi in marriage to some one, for he hated the idea of taking them to the palace while his cousin and enemy dwelt in it,—that cousin whose hand he had repeatedly refused, and whom he could never hereafter marry as long as he lived.

The prince's wives then told him about the old woman, and Thānuji had great doubts as to the wisdom of admitting her into the mansion. Having studied tricks at courts and elsewhere, he suspected that the old woman came from his one-eyed enemy; but she left nothing unaccomplished on her part. Her repeated cries, with which the serene palace of the wilderness began to echo, at last aroused some pity for her in the heart of the prince.

"Never mind," said he at last, "let us admit her and watch her character. If it is suspicious, we will punish her; if on the contrary it is good, we shall be glad of having secured her services."

Thus with his permission the old hag was entertained, and from that moment, it was as if a serpent had been entertained to sting its own master, who fed it with milk and fruits. Deep, tricky, and a trained witch, the old hag pretended to do all sorts of kindnesses to the Tañjai princesses and their affectionate husband.

There was nothing which she would not do with her own hands. Early she rose, bathed and cooked, and attended to the wants of the ladies, who after pleasant nights of singing and dancing slept very late in the mornings. The princesses found her invaluable, and this necessity for her services, in addition to the assumed kindness of the hag, increased their liking for her. The ladies loved her, and their lord Thānuji saw no reason, for the five months he remained for the second time in the

forest, to observe anything bad in the character of the old woman. Again, he remembered his old father, and so, recommending his queens to the kind care of the old dame, he again went to Śivapurī for a month, taking with him his wives' gifts to his father.

The old woman was only waiting for the return of the prince Thānujī to Śivapurī. The second day after he had left the palace, she induced the princesses to take an oil-bath, and in the oil she mixed a herb which was able to produce insensibility lasting for three days in the strongest constitution. While the oil was being applied to the heads of the princesses, they felt giddy, and before the bath was over one and all of them were in a dead swoon. The wicked old woman now took the eldest on her back, and leaving the others to themselves to live or perish, flew away to Śivapurī with the nimbleness of a vixen.

She placed her burden before Kuruḍi, who amply rewarded her and sent her away. This one-eyed devil in woman's form now proceeded to take full vengeance on one whom she regarded as the chief of her enemies. She sent for a barber and had the hair of Gaṅgābāi's head cut off, the insensibility that still overcame the poor girl making her unconscious of the loss of woman's most precious jewel. Kuruḍi, next proceeding to torture her enemy, sent for needles and thrust one into each pore of her skin. The pain caused by the needles made Gaṅgābāi open her eyes, and being very intelligent, she at once guessed the calamity that had come upon her. Not caring for herself, she asked her enemy, the one-eyed Kuruḍi, whether her sisters were all safe.

"Yes they are, and you shall pay for all the mischief they have done and for your own to boot!" roared Kuruḍi gnashing her teeth.

Gaṅgābāi then closed her eyes, never to open them again her enemy thought; for the effects of the drug, and pain caused by the needles, made her almost a corpse. Kuruḍi next tore out her eyes, and told two of her maid-servants to throw the now mutilated body into a ruined well at a short distance from the palace. They did so accordingly, and then went about their duties.

The whole of one day and one night Gaṅgābāi floated on the water in that ruined well, without recovering from her swoon, and not

until the morning of the fourth day after the oil had been applied to her head, did she fully come to her senses. At first she felt herself to be floating on the surface of the water, but as soon as she began to recover her faculties her body began to sink. She caught hold of a step in the well, guided to it by instinct, for her eyes were gone, and she remained immersed in the water with only her face above the surface. The needle operation, her questions to a one-eyed lady about the safety of her own sisters, and that lady's affirmative reply—all came back to her recollection as if it were a dream. She now came to understand her misfortune.

"Ah! that I should have had confidence in that old woman," she cried, "she must have given me some drug, made me insensible, and given me over to my enemy of the one-eye, of whom Thānujī used so often to speak. Alas! Thānujī, you are passing your days merrily with your father, not knowing the fate that has come over your wives, fully believing that the old woman, whom you recommended to them, is properly discharging her duties! I do not know what has become of my sisters! I do not know where I am! My eyes are gone!"

The needles imbedded in her body gave her the most excruciating pain, and she was unable even to weep. At last she began to pant as if suffocated.

The well in which she was struggling for life belonged to a neatherd, and round it he kept a garden, in which there were half a dozen beds containing tender cabbages. He came to water his vegetables, and on approaching the well with his pitcher he heard a voice as if in great pain, slowly issuing from it, but the water was too deep for him to see what was in the well. Now neatherds have queer notions as to devils and witchcraft, and he imagined that the sounds in the well emanated from a devil that must have taken up a temporary abode therein. So, he shouted out, looking down the mouth of the well,—

"O you devil! If you do not tell me who you are, and why you have thus invaded my possessions, I will throw rubbish into this already half-ruined well, and cover you up!"

Gaṅgābāi, who was only waiting to hear some person's voice, spoke slowly, in pain

though she was, as she was afraid that silence would mean burial in the well,—

"Kind and noble gentleman! I am too weak to tell you the whole story. I am a lady born of noble parents and have come to this wretched condition through my sins in a former life. If you will kindly take me up, regard me as one of your daughters, and restore me to health, I shall reward you amply."

The neatherd, whose name was Gôvinda, was a man of very kind disposition, and his heart melted at the idea of calamity befallen one of the fair sex born of noble parents. So he got down into the well, took Gaṅgābāl up, and shed tears to see so noble a form cruelly deprived of eyes and hair, and suffering from cruel tortures from needles.

"Cover my body with your cloth," said the princess, "and take me to your home at once. I greatly fear my enemy may watch me and try to kill me again."

So the neatherd, trembling at her words, took her home in haste. As soon as the princess felt herself safe in the house of the kind neatherd, she spoke to him thus:—

"My respected protector, my father,—for so do I regard you for taking me out of the well,—I am a princess and a virtuous lady. This is enough for you to know for the present. More I shall relate to you after I recover from my pain. If you begin to pull out the needles as I am, I should die, I think, before half a dozen were removed. You will do better by cooking rice in a large vessel, emptying it on the ground, and holding me over the steam while you pull them out. Keep on doing this till the last needle is removed, and I shall get well."

The princess then closed her lips, and her body was like that of one in deep slumber. The neatherd, who already respected the princess for the majesty of her form, now began the treatment according as she had said. That so noble a creature should have come to such calamity, aroused in his heart greater and greater pity. The treatment went on for a week, during which, now and then, Gaṅgābāl would relate to the old neatherd, who never left her bed-side, parts of her story. Thus by degrees Gôvinda came to know the whole of it. The princess, too, recovered, except that her eyes were gone, and her head still shaven. These defects had to be remedied before her health

could be said to be really restored. For this she propitiated the boon-conferring goddess Varalakshmi, and then she sneezed, when lo! there dropped from her nostrils seven precious gems! She called to Gôvinda and addressed him thus:—

"My respected Gôvinda, my kind protector, I have to trouble you still more. These seven gems has Varalakshmi just given me. Take six for yourself, convert the seventh one into money, and buy some cows. Milk all the cows morning and evening, boil down the whole of the milk into only two measures, and give them to me."

The neatherd took the gems, locked six of them in his box and went with the seventh to the *bâsâr*. When he showed it to the gem-assayers they estimated its value at seven *lâkhs* of *môhars*, for which enormous sum he disposed of it to a rich merchant. He could have purchased all the cows in Śivapurī for that amount, but instead of doing so, he bought only a hundred fine milch cows, and brought home the other portion of the money. Gôvinda truthfully told what he had done to Gaṅgābāl, and she was delighted at his uprightness. The neatherd, for his part, now began to regard her as a goddess. The milk of the one hundred cows he boiled down into two measures as directed, and placed them before her morning and evening. She used this milk in her food and daily improved in health.

We must here leave Gaṅgābāl under the kind protection of our neatherd, and turn to inquire about her other sisters. It has been already said that all the four sisters fell into a swoon, when the old woman applied the oil to their heads. Gaṅgābāl only was removed to Kurudī's palace, while the other three continued insensible for three days, coming to their senses on the fourth morning. What was their astonishment when they missed their eldest sister and the old woman! They began to suspect their husband.

"Has our lord played this trick upon us to take our eldest sister to his palace at Śivapurī and to leave us all here, in everlasting banishment? Shant we be angry with him when he comes? For our sister will never forget us, and will soon bring him back."

Thus resolved they in their minds, and, being very innocent and timid, passed their days

patiently waiting till their husband and their sister should return. They would soon return together they thought, but they were doomed to be disappointed.

After staying with his father for a month, the prince returned to the forest with great eagerness to meet his dear wives, for he knew nothing of the calamity that had befallen them. When he entered he found no joy in the palace, but the three sisters lying down each by herself with no mirth or welcome in their countenances. He was greatly vexed, and missed his eldest queen, whom he loved best, and as to whom the other queens suspected him.

"Where is my Gaṅgābāi, my dears? And why have you all got such dismal faces?" asked Thānujī.

Till then they had thought that their sister was safe with their husband at Śivapurī, but when the prince enquired after her, they fell off their couches, and, weeping and wailing, inquired what had happened to their sister! It was now plain that some trick had been played upon them all by the old woman. The prince asked them to relate what had taken place in the palace since he had left it, and they told him everything. It then became as clear as the day to Thānujī, that the old woman, who pretended such affection for them, was a rogue, and that she had taken his love Gaṅgābāi to Kuruḍi for some foul purpose. He consoled his three other wives, cursed the day on which he took in the old woman, and started at once in search of his lost love. Her sisters were equally anxious about her, and promised to be careful during his absence.

"The door shall open to none except to yourself, my Lord, and that, too, only when you bring us back our sister," said the youngest of the sisters. And our hero, buried in the ocean of sorrow, and not knowing how to find his lost love, returned to Śivapurī.

He informed his old father Isabhajī of what had happened, and they both sent courtiers to different parts of the kingdom to make a careful search for Gaṅgābāi. The prince also secretly made all the requisite enquiries in the palace where Kuruḍi and her mother were living. For six months the search went on, and yet no trace was found of the lost princess. Meanwhile Isabhajī was drawing day by day nearer to his grave, and again began to

trouble his son about marrying the one-eyed Kuruḍi. But the prince would never agree to it.

While a whole army of courtiers were thus searching for Gaṅgābāi in the various parts of the kingdom, she was living comfortably in Gōvinda's house, and her diet consisted daily of the two measures of milk, morning and evening. Now Gōvinda had a daughter named Gōpī, and she and Gaṅgābāi became very good friends. Gaṅgābāi related to her her whole history one morning, and was anxious to do something in revenge to Kuruḍi before joining her sisters in their palace. With a scheme for this in her head she addressed Gōpī thus:—

"My dear Gōpī, my story is as you have heard, and my heart burns within me when I think of my treatment at the hands of that one-eyed witch. I ask you now to help me to repeat Kuruḍi's acts on herself. Convert the milk which your father brings to me at night into curds. Take the curds with you and cry out in the streets—'Good curds to sell! Never have neatherds sold such curds! Fine curds, one hundred *māhars* per measure! Good curds! Good curds!' Every one will call you a fool for putting such a price on your curds; but go to the palace and Kuruḍi will send for you and ask you the price of your curds. Demand as before one hundred *māhars*. She will give the money and buy your curds, and finding them very sweet will offer to buy some from you every day. Go on giving her the curds, but do not take money for them. Only cultivate her friendship. And then I shall let you know what we must do."

Gōpī obeyed Gaṅgābāi exactly and in this way secured the friendship of Kuruḍi. Then said Gaṅgābāi to her:—

"My dear Gōpī, when you go to-morrow to the palace put on a sad countenance, and, when Kuruḍi comes and asks you the reason for it, tell her that you have a sister who has had lately small-pox and lost her eyes. Ask her to give you a pair of human eyes. She has with her my two eyes which she will give you. Bring them to me."

Gōpī did as she was told, and when the eyes came into Gaṅgābāi's hands she put them into the empty sockets and meditated on the boon-conferring goddess Varalakshmi, when her sight was completely restored. She now for

the first time beheld Gôpi and her father the neatherd. She thanked them again and again a thousand times and asked Gôpi to beg her hair from Kuruđi under the same pretence of having a sister who had lost hers. Gôpi, who who had now fully secured the affections of Kuruđi, brought back Gaṅgābāi's hair, and the princess put it on her head, and meditated on Varalakshmi; when lo! every hair returned to its proper place! Thus, through the neatherd and his daughter, and by the divine help of Varalakshmi, Gaṅgābāi crossed the ocean of misery, and came back to her former self.

The news that Isabhaji was trying to compel his son Thāpuji to marry Kuruđi, was communicated by the one-eyed lady to her friend Gôpi. She also informed the neatherd's daughter that, though the prince was not agreeable to the match, he would be soon compelled to give his consent to it, to oblige his father and his aunt. These bits of information were duly passed on to Gaṅgābāi, who now thought this a good opportunity to wreak her vengeance on Kuruđi. So she asked Gôpi to go to the palace next morning with curds, and to sit down rubbing her hair on the ground.

"My dear Gôpi," said she, "if you will keep on rubbing your beautiful hair on the ground, Kuruđi will call you mad, for thus insulting an ornament that nature has granted you. You must then tell her that a doctor has given you a prescription for making the hair grow quickly, that ever since you have applied it your hair has been growing at the rate of a cubit a day and that as you are not able to take care of so great a quantity, you are rubbing it on the ground to check its growth. She will then ask you for some of the prescription, and you must agree to give it, and come to me."

Gôpi agreed to all that Gaṅgābāi asked her to do, and went to the palace. She pretended to rub her hair on the ground until Kuruđi came and asked her the reason, when she replied as she had been instructed. Kuruđi was naturally somewhat bald-headed," and as Isābhaji had just made his son consent to marry her, her wedding day, for which she had been

so long waiting, was at last approaching. To make herself, therefore, as beautiful as possible by adding flowing hair to her charms, was an important point; so she said to Gôpi:—

"My dear Gôpi, I thank the day which first made us friends! My hair is a weak point with me, and if you can make your hair grow at the rate of a cubit a day, I should much like to see your doctor, and show him my head also. Will you kindly bring him to me?"

Gôpi, as instructed, said—"Undoubtedly he shall be here with me to-morrow, my noble lady;" and returned home.

Gaṅgābāi was anxiously expecting to hear what had taken place in the palace between her friend Gôpi and her bitter enemy Kuruđi, and, when the latter came home, she related how she had promised to bring the imaginary doctor next day to the palace. Gaṅgābāi could have leapt for joy.

"My end is attained," said she in great joy, eagerly waiting for the next day to come.

As already said, the old king had made his son Thāpuji consent to marry Kuruđi, and the wedding day had been fixed for the tenth day of the bright half of that very month. It was just ten days before the happy event was to take place that Kuruđi was expecting to see the doctor with the wonderful power of breeding hair. That morning Gaṅgābāi changed her female attire for the first time in her life for a man's and wore a doctor's robes, and so well did she carry out the disguise that her friend Gôpi was hardly able to distinguish in the young doctor her friend Gaṅgābāi. Thus metamorphosed and followed by Gôpi, Gaṅgābāi reached Kuruđi's house, where she was welcomed, and given a seat near its mistress.

"Can you indeed make hair grow very quickly?" asked Kuruđi.

"Madam," replied the sham doctor, "I have, ever since I began practising the art, been most successful in it. On no occasion has the hair I have manipulated grown less than a cubit a day. I shall try the best of my medicines on your head. Only the old hair must be entirely removed, and the surface of the head

<sup>1</sup> Long and flowing hair is considered one of the best personal adornments of the softer sex among the Hindus. [It may be noted here that the name of the one-eyed Kuruđi is a Kanarese word, meaning 'a blind woman.'—Ed.]

must be turned over with a sharp knife for a day, before the medicine can be applied. In the case of tender constitutions there may be slight pain for a day, but on the second day the pain will go away, and shoots begin to appear. After that every day your hair will increase by a cubit, and a time will soon come when you will have to cut off a portion daily."

Kuruḍi listened to the doctor's plan, and thought to herself, that, out of the ten days that remained to her before the marriage,—making allowance for the time required for the shooting of the hair,—she might have eight cubits' length on her head on her wedding day. So she at once sat down for a clean shave.

Gaṅgābāi now wreaked full vengeance upon her enemy. Kuruḍi's head was shaved clean! The skin was then cut in all directions, and powdered pepper rubbed in—a soothing balm to a scored pate! Said the doctor:—

"Madam, the medicine has now been applied: You may feel a little burning sensation, but it will be all right in a day. To-morrow, or the day after, in the morning, the shoots will begin to sprout."

Kuruḍi, in expectation of the fulfilment of her wishes, patiently bore the pain. A full day and night elapsed, but still the burning did not cease. Fearing that if the balm were removed the medicine would lose its effect, she patiently bore the pain for a second day, and on the third day as soon as the morning dawned she put her hand to her head to see if there were any signs of the sprouts. "The shoots have begun really to sprout," thought she, for her fingers felt the worms which had already begun to breed in the matter formed on her head! Several of her servants, who had been ordered not to see her till then, were now called in to examine her head. Her mother, too, made her appearance. What they found was this:—Kuruḍi with her head shaved, ploughed up and pasted over with powdered pepper! They washed her head with warm water and began to treat the wounds. But they were past all treatment; for two days' exposure to such treatment had caused corruption to set in! Still the fond heart of Kuruḍi's mother left no stone un-

turned to restore her daughter. She sent servants to Gōpi to look for the doctor, but neither doctor nor Gōpi were to be found; for the sagacious Gaṅgābāi had removed her protector Gōvinda and her friend Gōpi to a village outside the town on the night she tried her treatment on her one-eyed enemy.

Neither the old king Isabhaji nor his son Thānuji, of course, knew anything of what had passed in the palace where Kuruḍi was living; and, in honour of his marriage, the prince wished to have his rooms adorned with paintings, the better to receive his visitors during the ensuing wedding. He therefore proclaimed that he would greatly reward any good painter that would come forward. Gaṅgābāi, who was now living outside Śivapurī, came to know of Thānuji's proclamation, and dressed herself up as a painter, and appeared before the prince. He was charmed with the fair face of the painter; and Gaṅgābāi's disguise was so complete that he failed to discover his lost love in the painter. He tested the sham artist's skill, but as Gaṅgābāi had learnt the five arts in her younger days she easily stood the test. Then the artist put the following condition on his undertaking the task,—that no one, not even the prince, should see him while at work, and that the prince must be the first to examine the pictures when finished. Thānuji, who was much taken by the painter, agreed to everything and left him to his work.

Gaṅgābāi now bolted the door, and mixing her colours proceeded to represent her whole story on the walls, from the time that Thānuji went the second time to Śivapurī, to the point of her appearing before her lord as a painter. She drew the old woman flying with her to Kuruḍi; the torture she underwent at Kuruḍi's cruel hands; the scene at the ruined well; the portraits of Gōvinda and Gōpi, her protectors in her calamity; her revenge on Kuruḍi, in the disguise of a doctor; and lastly her appearance in the attire of a painter. She not only painted the scenes, but also added explanatory notes.<sup>12</sup> On the third day she came out of the room, and sent the messengers on watch outside to inform the prince that the painter had finished his work, and wanted to take his

<sup>12</sup> [A very necessary proceeding where native pictures are concerned!—Ed.]



leave. When the prince came to examine the painter's work, he said :—

"My Lord, I shall come for my reward on Your Highness's wedding day. You had better examine the pictures in my absence at the fifteenth *ghatikā* this afternoon, for that, the soothsayers told me, is the auspicious *ghatikā* (hour). Kindly, therefore, do not examine them before that time, or I fear evil stars will make you judge ill of my powers of execution."

Gaṅgābāi said this to gain time in order to reach her home before her lord should come to recognize her in the painter. The prince accepted these new conditions, for the painter's face exercised a wonderful influence over him. His misfortune in not recovering his lost love, his approaching wedding with one whom he hated from the very bottom of his heart, his unfaithfulness to his former wives in agreeing to marry Kurudī,—all these were passing and repassing through his mind every moment, as he waited impatiently for the time when he could examine this work.

At last the hour arrived. Thānujī entered his apartment to look over the paintings, and exclaimed :—

"My dear wives are painted here! Did the painter ever see them? Ah! my dearest Gaṅgābāi is dying here! Most horrible! Oh wicked enchantress Kurudī! Oh kindly nea-herd Gōvinda! I shall well repay for your assistance."

Then like a mad man Thānujī wept and laughed, and laughed and wept, till he came to the end.

"After all my love is living!" exclaimed he, as he staggered about the floor, and fell heavily. His servants, who had been listening to all his ravings, at last dared to approach their lord, and flew to his assistance. They took him up and brought him round. "My carriage," was all he said to them; and they at once got it ready. He then drove outside the town to where the painter had told him he was living; and there Gaṅgābāi, who had rightly expected her husband to come to her directly he saw the pictures, was waiting to receive him. They flew into each other's arms.

"I have at last found my lost gem, and never again while I live shall I lose it in the forest!" said the prince; "God has given me back my lost gem!"

The princess only replied by her tears, for she could not open her lips. Presently, after the first excitement was over, they questioned each other as to their history during this calamitous period, and again wept over their misfortunes.

With Gaṅgābāi by his side, Thānujī now drove to the lacquered mansion, sending word to his old father that he had discovered his lost love, and was going to the forest to bring all his dear wives to Śivapurī, and that, on the day originally fixed for the wedding, he would be married to them and never to Kurudī!

Alas for Kurudī! No medicines had any effect on her. She died on the day before that appointed for her wedding, unable to bear up against her pains, external and internal. For remorse, at the torture she had inflicted on her enemy, overcame her mind before she breathed her last!

To return to the lacquered mansion. The prince met his other wives and gave them their lost sister, and returned to Śivapurī, relating stories all the way home, some of the calamities that had befallen him and Gaṅgābāi, owing to their having entertained the old woman in their palace. When they reached Śivapurī, all excepting Kurudī's mother, were happy on the marriage day, on which Thānujī, with the consent of his father, properly married all his four wives.

After the princesses had thus lived for a short period with their husband, they heard that their father was dangerously ill. So, accompanied by Thānujī, they went and visited him before his death. The father had only time to beg their pardon before he breathed his last, leaving his large kingdom to his daughters. The princesses, remembering the minister's kindness to them, gave him their kingdom, and returning home to their husband's country, lived with him for many years in peace and prosperity, during which they did not forget the kindnesses that Gōvinda and Gopī had done to Gaṅgābāi.

## MISCELLANEA.

## THE VERSES OF LAKHIMA THAKURANI.

At p. 318 above, there is given a verse based on the signs of the Zodiac; and, as Mr. Grierson suspects, the text is certainly corrupt. The same verse is repeated in the South of India also; though no one knows here that Lakhimā Thakurāni is the author of it. The correct form of the verse, as current in Southern India, is—

संततं दृष्टमभ्यस्त्य गतिना संसृष्टता निजसे  
पुर्वदृष्टवद्वितीयमतिममेकादशमस्तनी ।  
सा पत्नी कटिपंचमी च मयमभूः सप्तमीचञ्चिता  
प्राचीत्पट्टमवेदनां त्वमधुना पूर्वं वृत्तीवो भव ॥

The latter portion of the last line, *tvam=adhaund tūnam tritīyā bhava*, gives a very good ending to the verse;—"You had better quickly give her the result of married life." In this correct form of the verse, the heroine is called *kaṭipañchamī*, which means *simha-kaṭi*, as the 5th (*pañchamī*) sign of the Zodiac is *simha*. In the verse as given by Mr. Grierson, this portion is *nripa-pañchamasya*; which does not give a good meaning, though Mr. Grierson has done the best with it. On the other hand, *kaṭi-pañchamī* (or *simha-kaṭi*) is very commonly applied to beautiful damsels in Sanskrit literature: e.g.—

उद्वृज्यमुत्सी मगराजकटी  
गजराजविराजितमंदगतिः ।  
वनिता बहि सा इदमे वसति  
क अपः क तपः क समाधिविधिः ॥

"If a lady, whose face resembles the moon, whose loins resemble the lion's, and whose slow gait is illustrated by that of a kingly elephant,—if such a lady lives in one's heart why should a man perform prayers and penances, and why the still more painful task of rigid contemplations?"

On the same page there is given another verse commencing *तन्वी बाला*. The South-Indian version of this is—

तन्वी बाला मृदुतनुरिति स्वयत्तामसं वंका  
लोके मत्तधनरपतनान्मञ्जरी किमु भग्ना ।  
तस्मादेवा रक्षति भवता निर्दमं मर्दनीया  
मन्दाक्रान्ता विसृजति रसं नेमुमतिः समर्थ ॥

The meaning of the last line is—"If crushed gently, the sugarcane does not yield the whole of its juice." Evidently the same meaning can be made out of *मन्दाक्रान्तं (न्तो ?)* मृदुतररसं नो ददासी-  
स्तुष्टः; if Mr. Grierson had given to नो the meaning of 'not' instead of 'us.' In Sanskrit. नो as well as न means 'not'; and a sugarcane when pressed gently, gives not much sweetness.

S. M. NATESA SASTRI.

# INDEX.

	PAGE		PAGE
Abdu'sh-Shukr Ishāqzai.....	16	Arabs, religion of the Modern, 312ff;—they	
Abhayadatta, a minister of Vishnupardhana,		are not Muhammadans .....	312
q. v. ....	227	Arghandāb river is the ancient Harahvaiti...	22
absolution after death, in Eastern Europe,		arts of civilized nations in Asia and Europe,	
127;—in India.....	126, 127	probable common origin of .....	61ff
Abu Rihān Albirūnī; his statements on the		Āśāchandra, builder of a temple of Śiva at	
epoch of the Gupta era .....	189ff	Gwālior.....	202
Āchārastka, of Śilāchārya, was written be-		Ashaganbu conquered by Chinghiz Khān ...	131
tween either Śaka-Samvat 772 to 798, or		Asiatic Society of Bengal, inscriptions in the	
Gupta-Samvat 772 to 798.....	188	105ff, 138ff, 304ff	
Āchārya, in the Mahābhāshya, is the final		" " Royal, inscriptions in the.7ff, 10ff	
and authoritative solver of questions, 80f;—		Asōka Inscriptions, Dr. Bühler on .....	344
the term does not denote only Kātyāyana...	80f	Aśōkavalla; notice of Dr. Bhagwanlal	
Āchāryadīptya, in the Mahābhāshya, is the		Indraji's publication of his new inscription. 152	
prima facie solver of questions, 80f;—the		assaī, an Arab missile .....	26
term does not denote only Patanjali .....	80f	"Ass-kings" ( <i>Rāsabharājā</i> ) an early dynasty. 142f	
Ādhalā (P), a Brāhman's name .....	13	atukla-paksha; a rather rare expression for	
Afghānistān, ancient geography of .....	21ff	bahula- or krishna-paksha .....	177
Agnimitra, an early king .....	142f	Asurēsa pattalā; an ancient territorial divi-	
Ahura Mazda .....	343, 344	sion .....	13
Aindra grammar, or Aindra school; these		Āsvaghōsha, a Buddhist patriarch; he was	
expressions should be abandoned, as mis-		contemporary with Kanishka.....	355f
leading .....	182	atvapati, apparently an official title .....	9n
Ajitamjaya, a king of Indrapura soon after		Atvapati-Gajapati-Narapati-rāja-tray-adhi-	
the Early Guptas .....	142f	pati; a title of Vijayachandra of Kanauj,	
ajjaka, a Prākṛit word meaning 'a grand-		9, 11;—and of Gōvindachandra of Kanauj,	
father' .....	275f	9, 10;—and of Jayachandra of Kanauj... 13	
Albirūnī; his statements on the epoch of the		Atharva-Vēda; a mention of a student of it... 140	
Gupta era .....	189ff	augury, methods of, in India .....	327
Ālīhā (P), a Brāhman's name .....	10	aulikara-lāñchhana, a term requiring expla-	
Āmradvīpa, a name of Ceylon .....	357, 359	nation.....	223, 226n
Amrēli, a Pargana in Kāthiawād, its name		Āvani, a camp of Malladēva-Nandivarman,	
appears in Amrilikavaha, q. v. ....	187f	q. v.....	173f, 177
Amrilikavaha, an ancient road or river in		Avanti, an ancient name of the modern	
Kāthiawād, near Jhar, q. v. ....	188	Ujjain; in Śaka-Samvat 705, it was under	
Amśuvarman of Nēpāl; the bearing, in con-		the rule of Vatsarāja, 142;—at the time of	
nection with the Gupta era, of his dates in		the nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra, it was under the	
the Haraha era .....	192ff	rule of Pālaka.....	142
Anāga, a Brāhman's name.....	13	Avantikakshētra, ancient name of Āvani in	
Anatēśarman, a Brāhman's name .....	10	Maistūr .....	173
Āngirasa tēkha of the <i>Nṛisimhātāpantiya-</i>		ayudha-katti, a Western Indian bill or	
<i>Upaśishad</i> .....	71	chopper .....	27
Aniruddha, an incarnation of Vishnu ...35, 41, 46			
anīś for anīkata, in expressing a date .....	10n	Bādarāyana, author of the <i>Brahma-Sūtras</i> ;	
antahpātīa, 'lying in'; a territorial term..... 107		placed by Mr. K. T. Telang before A.D.	
Apabhramśa Prākṛit, its affinities with the		400.....	148
Gipsy Language .....	15	Badāwi Arabs are not Muhammadans .....	314
Aparājita of Gwālior.....	202	Bādghīz is the ancient Vāitigāśā .....	23
Appadēvi, wife of Rāmabhadra, q. v. 107, 110, 141			

- bāgh-nak*, or tiger-claw, a weapon ..... 29  
*bāhulīya*, 'a bull' ..... 227n  
*Bākhdi* in the *Avesta* is *Balkh* ..... 22  
*Bāladitya*, a king of Magadha, who defeated Mihirakula, 246f, 251f;—his date was about A.D. 532 ..... 252  
*Balkh* is the ancient *Bākhdi* ..... 22  
*Ballads*, Kanarese; the Income Tax; edited. 349ff  
*Baltinglas* in Ireland, derivation of, indicates fire-worship ..... 92  
*Bāna* dynasty, a genealogical inscription of the ..... 172ff  
*Bandhuvārman*, a Mālava feudatory of Kumāragupta; 196, 200;—the Mandasār inscription, which gives for him the date of Mālava-Samvat 493 ..... 493  
*bappa*, a Prākṛit word meaning 'a father,' 272ff, 276; it appears in Kanarese as *boppa*. 276  
*Bappa*, an early Gōhila chief; notes on his history ..... 275 and n  
*bāva*, a Prākṛit word meaning 'a male relative of the same generation with a father,' or roughly 'an uncle' ..... 272ff, 276  
*Bazodeo*; see *Vāsudēva* ..... 154  
*Beddgelert Cycle* of folktales ..... 331n  
*Benares* (so-called) grant of Vināyakapāla of Harsha-Samvat 188, edited ..... 138ff  
*Bengal Asiatic Society's Library*; the grant of Mahēndrapāla, of Harsha-Samvat 155, 105 ff.;—the grant of Vināyakapāla of Harsha-Samvat 188, 138 ff.;—the grant of Nārāyanapāla ..... 304ff  
*Bengal Presidency*, inscriptions from the. 105ff, 138ff, 304ff, 356ff, 359  
*bha*, a termination of a proper name, in Shaṭṭabha ..... 45  
*Bhāgalpur* grant of Nārāyanapāla, edited... 304ff  
*Bhāka*, drafter of the grant of Mahēndrapāla of Harsha-Samvat 155 ..... 140  
*Bhagavati*, goddess, as an emblem on seals. 106, 112, 139  
*Bhānuguptā*, a proper name in the period of about A.D. 490 ..... 223, 227  
*Bhāravi*; notice of a new edition of his *Kirātārjunīya* ..... 156  
*Bharukachchha*, a camp of Dharasēna IV. of Valabhi ..... 336  
*Bhatārkabhēda*, a division of the village of Bilvakhāta, q. v. .... 188  
*Bhatṭabāna*, an early dynasty, just before the Early Guptas ..... 142f  
*Bhavabhūti*, the poet, was an Udumbara and a native of Borar ..... 336  
*Bhavasri*, an epithet of Śiva as 'the creator'. 226n  
*Bhāwnagar*, an inscription in the collection at; edited ..... 360f  
*bātū*, *būtū*; see *bhṛishṭī* ..... 337  
*Bhitari* pillar inscription of Skandagupta; notice of Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's version of it ..... 151ff  
*Bhōja*, a grammarian quoted by Hāmachandra 181f  
*Bhōja* of Gwālīor; he is not to be identified with Bhōja I. of the family of Dēvaśakti, 108ff;—his 'Pehewa' inscription of Haraha, Samvat 276; noticed, 108ff;—its date, 109n;—his 'Deogarh' inscription of Vikrama-Samvat 919 and Śaka-Samvat 784, noticed, 110f;—its date, 110n;—his Gwālīor inscription of Vikrama-Samvat 938, noticed, 108ff;—its date ..... 108n  
*Bhōja*, an *Adhīrāja* mentioned in the *Rāja-taranginī* ..... 109ff  
*Bhōja* I., *Mahārāja*, of the line of Dēvaśakti, 107, 110, 141;—he is not to be identified with Bhōja of Gwālīor ..... 108ff  
*Bhōja* II., *Mahārāja*, of the line of Dēvaśakti ..... 110, 140  
*Bhōjpūri*, a Bihāri Dialect, its affinities with the Gipsy Language ..... 15  
*Bhrāmarakalyagrāma*, an ancient village in Kāthiāwād, near Jhar, q. v. .... 188  
*Bhrigu śākhā* of the *Nṛsimhatāpantiya-Upanishad* ..... 71  
*bhṛishṭī*, 'raised ground, near a tank, for planting Piper betel' ..... 337  
*Bhuvanaikamalla*, a *biruda* of Mahipāla of Gwālīor ..... 35, 44  
*Bhuvanapāla*, a *biruda* of Māladēva of Gwālīor 35, 42, 201f  
*Bhūyikādēvi*, wife of Dēvaśakti, q. v. ... 106, 110, 140  
*bījāśārī*, a system of land measurement ..... 270  
*bill*, as a weapon in India, the ..... 27  
*Bilvakhāta śhālī*, an ancient territorial division in Kāthiāwād, near Jhar, q. v. .... 187  
*birch*, sacred in Scandinavia, the ..... 218  
*'bird-characters'*, a specimen of ..... 364  
*Bishn-Pad*, see Vishnu's Foot ..... 117  
*black*, a protection against the Evil Eye ..... 322  
*Black-Headed Man*, a Bombay folktale ... 46, 47  
*blue*, a protection against the Evil Eye ..... 322  
*Bōdh-Gayā* inscription of Mahānāman, of Gupta-Samvat 239, noticed, 347f;—edited, 358ff;—image inscription of Mahānāman; edited ..... 359  
*Bōdhimaṇḍa*; a miraculous Buddhist throne at Bōdh-Gayā, 357, 359;—the word is also used in a general way for a Buddhist raised terrace under a *bōdhi*-tree ..... 357  
*Bombay Presidency*, inscriptions from the... 335ff  
*Book of Indian Eras*, notice of Gen. Cunningham's ..... 211f  
*boppa*; the Kanarese form of *bappa*, q. v. ... 276f  
*bows* of the aborigines of India ..... 27

- Brahmapura**, an ancient town in Kāthiāwād... 187  
**brahmapurī**, 'a set of rooms attached to a temple for the accommodation of Brāhmanas'..... 44n  
**Brahma-Sūtras**; see Bādarāyaṇa ..... 148  
**brahmottara**, 'the sanctuary of a temple' ..... 45n  
**braziers**, portable, were in use in Kāsmīr as early as the twelfth century ..... 57  
**Bṛāhacharāṇa**, a sect of Brāhmanas in Southern India, 174;—a proposed explanation of the term ..... 281  
**Bridge of death** ..... 125, 126  
**Broach District** belonged to the Valabhi kingdom in the time of Dharasēna IV..... 336  
**Buddha**, mentioned under the title of Daśabala, 307;—his *nirvāṇa*; a notice of evidence in support of the Peguan date of B.C. 638 ..... 152  
**Buddhist inscriptions** ..... 357ff, 359  
**Buddhist Patriarchs**, a notice on the succession of the ..... 355f  
**Buddhist structure at Negapatam**, a notice of the ..... 234ff  
**bull-emblem on seals** ..... 1  
**Byānā**, a town in the Bharatpur State; its ancient Sanskrit name was Śrīpathā ..... 239  
  
**Calcutta**, inscriptions in the Imperial Museum at..... 356ff  
**'Cambay'**, apparently one of its ancient names was Gambhūtā ..... 168  
**cedar**, sacred, in the Himalayas ..... 218  
**celts in Europe**, 122, 123;—in India ..... 192  
**Central India**, Inscriptions from ..... 194ff, 201ff, 222ff, 253ff, 357ff  
**Ceylon** mentioned under the names of Amradvipa and Laṅkā, 357, 358, 359;—the Buddhist chronology has to be rectified by the date of the Bōdh-Gayā inscription of Mahānāman ..... 347f, 357  
**chakra**, a Sikh quoit or weapon ..... 31  
**chālī**, a system of land revenue ..... 269, 270, 271  
**chālīddar** = *chālī-ra'iyat*..... 271  
**chālī-ra'iyat**, a class of cultivators ..... 271  
**Chalukyas**, Western; notice of some new and revised inscriptions of their dynasty... 149  
**Chandella dynasty**, notes on the..... 283f  
**Chandra**, a grammarian; see Chandragōmin. 181  
**Chandrabhattārikādēvi**, wife of Bhōja I., *q. v.* 107, 110, 141  
**Chandradēva**, of Kanauj (Gāhaḍavala), 8;—he established his lineage at Gādhipura or Kanyākubja ..... 8, 9, 13  
**Chandragōmin**, a grammarian quoted by Hēmachandra, 181f;—his grammar is older than the *Kāśikā-Vṛitti*, 183ff;—characteristic features of his grammar ..... 184f  
  
**Chāndrayādkarāṇa**; grounds for upholding the tradition that it is older than the *Kāśikā-Vṛitti*, 183ff;—Tāranātha's account of the composition of it, 184n;—characteristic features of it..... 184f  
**characters**, illustrations of some fantastic... 364  
**chātū**, *P* 'a spoon' ..... 46n  
**chaupur**, an Indian game ..... 4  
**chāwar**, a standard of land measurement ... 270  
**Chhaichhara**, name of a Brāhman ..... 187  
**Chinese notes on the history of the Kushans**. 19ff  
**Chinghiz Khān** in 1225 A.D., 128ff;—attitude towards his son Juchi, 128;—campaign against Hia, cause of, 128, 129;—conquers Ashaganbu, 131;—quarrels with his brother Juchi Khazar, 131;—captures Etzina, 132;—besieges Kanchan, 132;—variant accounts of his death, 134ff;—story of his Tangutan wife ..... 129, 130  
**Chōdaka**, in the Mahābhāṣya, is the person who raises objections ..... 80f  
**Chōḍāgrāma**, ancient Sanskrit name of Mudyanūr, *q. v.* ..... 172, 177  
**coins of the Mālavas**, the legend on the ..... 191  
**Conolly**, death of Edward ..... 168  
**cow-and-calf sculpture on an inscribed stone**. 356  
**crosses**, ring-, are sun-symbols, 65;—wheel-, are sun-symbols ..... 66  
**cross-fylfot** is a form of the *svastika*..... 96  
**Cunningham**, retirement of General ..... 116  
**cup-marks**, 67, 68, 69;—are moon-symbols ... 65  
**cup-symbols** are moon-symbols ..... 64ff  
**cypress**, sacred in Mexico..... 218  
  
**dā**, a further Indian bill or chopper ..... 27  
**Dadda II.** (Gurjara); a note on his Umētā and Nāō grants ..... 188n  
**Dādésarman**, a Brāhman's name..... 10  
**Dadhikūpaka**, an ancient village in Kāthiāwād, near Jhar, *q. v.* ..... 188  
**daggers in India**..... 30  
**Dahrasēna** (Traikūpaka); notice of Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's publication of his new copper-plate grant ..... 150  
**Daksha**, builder of a well at Mandasōr about A.D. 533 ..... 227, 228  
**Dalaki-wa-Malaki**, a hill chief or chiefs ..... 284  
**dān**, various forms of ..... 127  
**Daśabala**, a title of Buddha ..... 307  
**Daśapura**, the ancient name of the modern Dasōr or Mandasōr, *q. v.* ..... 194f, 196, 199, 200  
**Dasōr**, the more proper name of the modern Mandasōr, *q. v.* ..... 194f  
**dates**, Hindu, English equivalents of ..... 6, 362  
 „, see *eras*.  
 „, recorded in decimal figures ..... 10, 13, 46, 108n, 109 n, 110 n, 310, 361

- dates, recorded in numerical symbols ...107,  
     113 n, 140, 188, 337, 340, 357  
 „, recorded in words .....10, 13, 46, 109n,  
     109 n, 110 n, 142, 177, 188, 201, 202f, 228  
 days, lunar, of the month, mentioned in recorded  
 dates:—  
     bright fortnight; second .....108n, 201, 340  
         fifth ..... 188  
         sixth ..... 202  
         seventh .....13, 109n  
         eighth ..... 359  
         tenth ..... 113  
         fourteenth .....110n  
     dark fortnight; fifth .....46, 188, 362  
         ninth ..... 141  
         thirteenth ..... 177  
     unspecified; seventh ..... 361  
         full-moon ..... 10  
 days, solar, of the month, mentioned in recorded  
 dates:—  
     bright fortnight; second .....108n  
         seventh .....13, 109n  
         eighth ..... 359  
         tenth ..... 113  
         thirteenth ..... 201  
     dark fortnight; ninth ..... 141  
     unspecified; ninth ..... 307  
 days of the week, names of the, as occurring  
 in records:—  
     Ravi ..... 13  
     Ravivāra ..... 362  
     Sōmavāra ..... 177, 361  
     Vrihaspatidina .....110n  
 death customs ..... 127  
 decimal figures, instances of the use of... 10,  
     13, 46, 108n, 109n, 110n, 310, 361  
 Dēhanāgādēvi, a wife of Mahēndrapāla, *q. v.*  
     110, 140  
 'Deogarh' inscription of Bhōja of Kanauj  
 and Gwālior; noticed ..... 110f  
 Dēasatha Brāhman, employed by Muhamma-  
 dans as administrators, 269;—their admi-  
 nistrative skill ..... 269  
 Dēvahali *pattalā*; an ancient territorial divi-  
 sion ..... 9  
 Dēvanandin, a grammarian quoted by Hēma-  
 chandra, 181f;—he is the author of the  
*Jainēndravākyākaraṇa* .....182n  
 Dēvapāla, of Gwālior (Kachchhapaghāta) ...35, 42  
 Dēvasakti, *Mahārāja*, 106, 110, 140;—he and  
 his descendants were not kings of Mālava. 107f  
 Dēvavratā, wife of Mūladēva of Gwālior ...35, 42  
 Dharasēna II., *Mahārāja* (of Valabhi); a new  
 copper-plate grant of his, noticed, 187f;—he  
 had the title of *Sāmanta* ..... 187  
 Dharasēna IV., the first paramount king in  
 the Valabhi family, cannot have conquered  
 Nēpāl, 193;—his Kaira grant of the year  
 330, edited .....335ff  
 Dharmadōsha, a minister of Vishṇuvardhana,  
*q. v.* ..... 227  
*dharman*, a termination of proper names .....255n  
*dhvāja*, 'a banner,' opposed to *lāñchhana*, 'a  
 crest' .....226n  
 Dighwā-Dubauli, village in the Sāran District;  
 the grant of the *Mahārāja* Mahēndrapāla  
 of Harsha-Samvat 155; edited, 105ff;—  
 noticed ..... 241f  
 Dīpanaka *pētha*, an ancient territorial divi-  
 sion in Kāthiāwād, near Jhar, *q. v.* ..... 187  
*Doḍa-Rānta*, a Brāhman's title ..... 13  
 Dōmma, apparently a Gipsy king ..... 15  
 Dost Muhammad Khān, flight of ..... 166  
 Dōms of Bhōjpūr are perhaps the Gipsies ..... 15  
 dog, the, attendant of death ..... 126  
 Drōnasimha, *Mahārāja* (of Valabhi), was  
 installed by Yaśōdharman, *q. v.* .....187n  
 drums, wizards', in Lapland ..... 67  
 Dāntā, a Brāhman's name ..... 13  
 Durga, Durgasimha, a grammarian quoted by  
 Hēmachandra ..... 182  
*Dūtaka*; instances of this office being filled  
 by a female ..... 337  
 earth, under the name of Gauri, described as  
 one of the wives of a king ..... 42  
 eclipses in India, 89;—in Mexico ..... 89  
 egg symbols .....119, 120  
 elephant, as a selector of the king, in Indian  
 folklore .....159n  
 'elephant-characters,' a specimen of ..... 364  
 eras, dates recorded in various:—  
     Gupta .....188, 189ff, 337ff, 357  
     Harsha .....107, 109n, 111, 140, 192f  
     Mālava .....191ff, 196, 228  
     Saka .....57n, 110n, 142, 172, 177, 188  
     Saptarshi cycle .....57n  
     Vikrama .....10, 13, 46, 108n, 110n, 202 f, 361  
 Etzina, its probable site, 132;—captured by  
 Chinghiz Khān ..... 132  
 Evil Eye, the, 321ff;—charms against the  
     322, 323  
 Faizābād (Oude); the grant of Jayachēhan-  
 dra (Gābādavāla) of Kanauj, of Vikrama-  
 Samvat 1243; edited .....10ff  
 Farāh Rād is the ancient Fradatha ..... 23  
*farhang*, the straight European sword used  
 in India ..... 30  
 fire, procuring, from wood, in Europe, 93;—  
     in India, 93;—among the Eskimos ..... 93  
 fire symbols .....64ff, 89, 92, 93  
 fire-worship in India, 93;—in Ireland, 92;—  
     in Persia, 89, 90;—is a form of sun-wor-  
     ship, 89;—connection between it and sun-

- worship, 91, 92;—connection between it and tree-worship ..... 93
- fig-trees, sacred in India ..... 217, 218
- flails as weapons in India ..... 31
- Folktales from Bombay, 2ff, 46, 47, 171, 221ff, 328ff, 365ff;—from Kāśmīr, 74, 96ff, 157ff, 299;—from Madras ..... 369ff
- Four Princes, a Kāśmīrī folktale ..... 299, 328ff
- Fradaṭha in the *Avesta* is the Farāh Rōd, 23;—the Ophradus of Pliny, 23;—*ôphrādos*, 22, 23
- future life, ideas of the, in ancient Europe... 124, 125
- gaḍḍu*, a variant of *gaḍu*, 'a water-pot' ..... 46n
- Gādhinagara, Gādhīpura, ancient names of Kanyākubja ..... 8, 35, 41
- Gāhaḍavāla dynasty, inscriptions of the... 6ff, 10ff
- gajapati*, apparently an official title ..... 9n
- Gambhātā; apparently an ancient name of 'Cambay' ..... 188
- Gandhāra country invaded by Mihirakula ... 247, 248, 249
- Gandharvas, apparently a tribe defeated by Mahīpāla of Gwālior ..... 85, 44
- Garuḍa-emblem on seals of grants ..... 10
- Gaura, a minister of Mahīpāla of Gwālior ..... 46
- Gauri, the earth; described as one of the wives of a king ..... 42
- Gayā District, inscription from the ..... 356ff, 359
- Ghazni, capture of, in 1839 ..... 165
- Gipsies, origin of, Leland's theory, 15;—are perhaps the Dōms of Bhōjpūr ..... 15
- Gipsy Language, its affinities with the Bhōjpūrī Bihārī dialect, 15;—its affinities with the Apabhramśa Prākṛit, 15;—authorities on the, 14;—transliteration of ..... 1
- 'God save the Queen' in Sanskrit, 47, 48, 363;—adaptation in Pañjābī ..... 48, 49
- gōkara*, a 'cattle-tax' ..... 10n
- gōkarnakusālatāpātakaratalōdaka*, a term requiring fuller explanation ..... 10n
- Gōlmādhītōl inscription of Śivadēva I. of Nēpāl, of Gupta-Samvat 318; noticed ..... 192ff
- gōmin*, a termination of proper names ..... 181
- Gōnardiya and Gōnikāputra are not to be identified with Patañjali, but are the names of grammarians quoted by him ..... 81ff
- Gōpādri, an ancient name of Gwālior... 35, 41, 43
- Gōpālikēra, an ancient name of Gwālior, and the immediate source of the modern form ..... 202 and n
- Gōrakhmaḍhī inscription of Vikrama-Samvat 1272; noticed ..... 361f
- 'Gospel Oaks,' origin of the name ..... 218
- Gōṭha, a Brāhman's name ..... 10
- gōtras*, names of, as occurring in records:—
- Bharadvāja ..... 46, 177
- Bhāradvāja ..... 13
- Bhāragava ..... 187
- Darbhi ..... 140
- Kāśyapa ..... 10, 177
- Kaundīnya ..... 177
- Kausika ..... 177
- Sāvarna ..... 107
- Gōvinda, engraver of the Māndasōr inscription of Yaśōdharman and Vishṇuvardhana of Mālava-Samvat 589, 228;—and of the Māndasōr pillar inscriptions of Yaśōdharman 256, 257, 258
- Gōvinda II. (Rāshtrakūṭa), probably mentioned as Śrīvallabha ..... 142
- Gōvindachandra, of Kanauj (Gāhaḍavāla) ... 9
- grammarians, names of, and remarks about... 181ff
- gūḍām*, derivation of ..... 262
- Gullālā Shāh, a Kāśmīrī folktale ..... 74ff, 96ff
- Guṇanandin, a grammarian; he may be the author of that recension of the *Jainendra-vyākaraṇa* which is commented on by Sōmadōva ..... 182n
- Guptas, Early; a passage in the Jain Hari-vāṇsa relating to them, 141ff, 143n;—according to this book, their rule lasted for 231 years, 142f;—the latest inscription that connects their rule with their era is one of Gupta-Samvat, 209, 143;—late dates recorded in their era, 143n;—the epoch of their era was, according to Reinaud's rendering of Albirūnī, when either Śaka 240, 241, or 242 had expired, 189;—their era was well known in Nēpāl at an early date, 193;—their era was evidently the one used by the Lichchhavis, 193f;—they are mentioned in connection with Yaśōdharman ..... 235, 257
- Gupta era, it did begin, as stated by Albirūnī, in A.D. 319-20; but it marks the rise of the dynasty, not its downfall, 153;—an instance in which it is confused with the Śaka era, 188;—it is *not* used on the coins of the Hindu kings of Kābul, 185ff;—how it may have been introduced into Nēpāl, 193f;—a note on the origin of it, 278f;—it was possibly borrowed by the Early Guptas from the Lichchhavis of Nēpāl ..... 279
- Guptasya kāl*; this expression is *not* used on the coins of the Hindu kings of Kābul, nor elsewhere ..... 185ff
- gurava*, a priestly title ..... 304 and n
- Gwālior, Scindia's Capital; mentioned under the ancient name of Gōpādri, 35, 41, 43;—the modern name is directly derived from Gōpālikēra, 202n;—the inscription of Maḥīpāla, of Vikrama-Samvat 1150, edited,

- 33ff;—an inscription of Vikrama-Samvat 1161, edited .....201ff
- Gwālior State, an inscription in the, dated 960, &c., and mentioning Mahēndrapāla and other kings, referred to; it urgently requires to be re-discovered and published... 108
- Gyāraspur inscription of Mālava-Samvat 936; noticed .....191f
- Haštumañt in the *Avesta* is the Helmand River, 22; = Hermandus, 22; = *Erōmavdpos*... 22
- Haihayas intermarried with the Pālas of Bengal ..... 308
- hair, chopped, as a means of murder..... 328
- Hāji Khān Kākari ..... 165
- handse in India, 328;—in Kāśmīr .....329n
- Haraśva in the *Avesta* is Hirāt ..... 22
- Harahvaiti in the *Avesta* is the Arghandāb River, 22; = *Apāxaros*, 22; = Skr. Sarasvatī. 22
- Hardmt, a title of honor among the Badāwis. 314, 22 n
- Harappā, ancient seals found at ..... 1
- Hvarenanhaiiti in the *Avesta* is Harāt Rūd, 23;—the Pharnacotis of Pliny ..... 23
- Haribhadra's Commentaries, date of..... 343
- Harivamśa, a Jain Purāṇa; it was finished by Jināsēna in Śaka-Samvat 705, 142;—a passage in it relating to the Guptas .....141ff, 143n
- Haro, *Le Clameur du* ..... 328
- Harāt Rūd is the ancient Hvarenanhaiiti..... 23
- Harsha, drafter of the grant of Vināyakapāla of Harsha-Samvat 188.....140
- Harshavardhana of Kanauj; remarks on his era ..... 192f
- hasantikā, 'a brazier,' *q. v.* ..... 57
- Hvaśpa in the *Avesta* is Khuspās Rūd, 23; = the Khoaspēs of Ptolemy..... 23
- Hvaśtra in the *Avesta* is the Khāsh Rūd ..... 23
- hatchet, as an aboriginal missile..... 26
- Hāthaspi inscription of the Mēhara chief Thēpaka; edited..... 360f
- hawk, as a selector of the king, in Kāśmīr folklore.....159, note 7
- Helmand River is the ancient Haštumañt ... 22
- Hēmachandra, a grammarian; a list of preceding grammarians who, according to a commentary, are quoted by him..... 181f
- Hia, Chinghiz Khān's last campaign against, 128ff;—variant names for the king of ..... 129
- Hirāt is the ancient Haraśva, 22; = Aria, 22;—affairs in the days of Shāh Shujā'a, 294ff;—taken by the Persians, 298;—abandoned by the Persians to Sultān Ahmad Khān, 299;—conquered by Dōst Muhammad Khān ..... 299
- Hodali, a village in Maisūr, formerly the chief town of the Hodali *vishaya* .....174, 177
- Hūnas; Tūramāna and Mihirakula belonged to this tribe, 249;—a mention of them in connection with Yaśōdharman .....255, 257
- holed stones, 219;—trees ..... 219ff
- hōm, a modern Brahmanical sacrifice...302, note 6
- horse, a Sun-symbol ..... 64
- hulmār rāya-rēkhā, see rāya-rēkhā..... 269
- Hultzsch, Dr. E., tours in search of MSS. 342
- kān-kōhōm, = kōhōm, a measurement of land. 269
- Ilāo grant of Dadda II., a note on the.....188n
- Income Tax, a Kanarese Ballad on the; edited ..... 349ff
- Indian Eras, the Book of, by Gen. Cunningham; a notice of it ..... 211f
- Indōr, the capital of Hōlkar's Dominions; mentioned under the ancient name of Indrapura, *q. v.* ..... 142
- Indra, Indragōmin, a grammarian quoted by Hēmachandra, 181ff;—his grammar is of comparatively recent origin ..... 181
- Indrapura, ancient name of the modern Indōr in Central India, 142;—soon after the Early Guptas, it was under the rule of king Ajitamjaya..... 142
- Indrāyudha, a king in Northern India in Śaka-Samvat 705 ..... 142
- inscriptions on copper, edited:—
- Dharasēna IV. of Valabhi .....335ff
- Jayachchandra (Gāhadavāla) of Kanauj. 6ff, 10ff
- Mahēndrapāla (of the family of Dēvasākti) 105ff
- Malladēva-Nandivarman (Bāpa) .....172ff
- Nārāyanapāla (Pālas of Bengal) .....304ff
- Vijayachandra (Gāhadavāla) of Kanauj ... 6ff
- Vināyakapāla (of the family of Dēvasākti).138ff
- inscriptions on stone, edited:—
- Bandhuvarman (of Mālava).....194ff
- Kumārāgupta (Early Gupta) .....194ff
- Mahānāman .....356ff, 359
- Mahipāla (Kachchhapaghāta) of Gwālior... 33ff
- " ; of the successor of.....201ff
- Thēpaka (Mēhara) ..... 360f
- Vishnuvardhana.....222ff
- Yaśōdharman.....222ff, 253ff, 257f
- intercalation of the month Pausa, an instance, 288, 338;—of the month Mārgaśīrsha, an instance ..... 337f
- Irān, royalty and priesthood in ancient ..... 343
- iron, a protection against evil spirits..... 327
- Isatadēvi, wife of Nāgabhaṭa, *q. v.* ...107, 110, 141
- Jagati-metre, a note on the ..... 229n
- Jainēndravādyākaraṇa; the original recension was composed by Dēvanandin, 182n.; but



- the recension commented on by Sômadêva may be ascribed to Guṇanandin..... 182
- Jains, Prof. Jacobi on the..... 343
- janêndra*, 'a lord of a people or tribe, a tribal ruler' ..... 223n
- jâtakara*, 'a tax on things grown'..... 10n
- Jayachandra of Kanauj; his grant, as *Yuvardja*, of Vikrama-Saṃvat 1225; edited, 6ff;—his Faizâbâd grant of Vikrama-Saṃvat 1243, edited ..... 10ff
- Jayâditya, a grammarian, quoted by a commentator on Hêmachandra ..... 182
- Jaysâla, writer of the grant of Jayachandra of Vikrama-Saṃvat 1225 ..... 10
- jettatura* is the Evil Eye ..... 323
- Jhar, a village in Kâthiâwâd; its ancient name was Jharî, 188;—notice of a new copper-plate grant of Dharasêna II. of Valabhi. 187f
- Jharî, ancient name of Jhar, *q. v.*, and chief town of the Jharî *sthâlî*, an ancient territorial division in Kâthiâwâd ..... 188
- Jhajjhaka, a proper name ..... 188
- Jinasêna, a Jain author; he belonged to the Punnâta *saṃgha*, 142;—he wrote the Jain *Harivamśa*, and finished it at Var-dhamânapura in Śaka-Saṃvat 705 ..... 142
- Jinêndra, a grammarian, quoted by a commentator on Hêmachandra ..... 182
- Jirnadurga, an ancient fort or town, probably in Kâthiâwâd ..... 361
- Juchi, son of Chinghiz Khân, death of..... 128
- Juchi Khazar, brother of Chinghiz Khân, their quarrels ..... 131
- Kâbul affairs in 1841 ..... 262ff
- Kâbul, notes on some dated coins of the Hindu kings of; they are not dated in the Gupta era ..... 186ff
- Kachchhapaghâta, Kachchhapâri, family name of some of the kings of Gwâlior ..... 35, 41, 44
- Kadphises II. may have established the Śaka era ..... 154
- kâhald*, ? 'a trumpet' ..... 46n
- Kailâsa, mountain, spoken of as one of the breasts of the earth ..... 200
- Kaira District, an inscription from the, 335ff;—notes on its ancient geography ... 336f
- kâjal*, a protection against the Evil Eye ..... 322
- Kakkala, a grammarian, quoted by a commentator on Hêmachandra ..... 182
- Kaksha *visâhaya*, an ancient territorial division of Tirhût ..... 304, 309
- Kalachuris of Tripura; a note on Kokkalla I. 110n
- Kalâpaka, the *Kâtantra*, a grammar quoted by Hêmachandra ..... 181
- Kalkirâja, an alleged early king, just after the Early Guptas ..... 142f
- Kambuvârnagiri, an ancient hill, mentioned in the Gwâlior inscription of Vikrama-Saṃvat 1150..... 44
- Kamôli or Kémôli; an ancient village in the Asurêsa *pattalâ* ..... 13
- Kâmrân Shâh controls Hirât, 294;—his fights with the Shâh of Persia, 295;—his campaign against Qandahâr, 295;—super-seded by his Wazîr Yâr Muḥammad Khân. 296
- Kanarese Ballads; the Income Tax; edited... 349ff
- Kanaswa inscription of Śivagaṇa, of Mâlava-Saṃvat 795, noticed, 191f;—a notice of Dr. Peterson's revised version of it ..... 152f
- Kanauj, the kings of; notes on their history, 108ff;—they belonged the solar race, 8;—a king of Kanauj was defeated by Vajradâman of Gwâlior, 35, 41;—inscriptions of these kings ..... 6ff
- Kan-chau, captured by Chinghiz Khân ..... 132
- kañchôla*, a variant of *kañchûla*, 'a bodice or waistcoat' ..... 45n
- Kanerkas may have established the Śaka era... 154
- kâgâra*, 'portable braziers,' were in use in Kâsmîr as early as the twelfth century..... 57
- Kanishka; see Kanerkas, 154;—the Buddhist patriarch Aśvaghôṣa lived in his time ..... 355f
- Kanyâkubja mentioned as Gâdhinagara, 35, 41;—and as Gâdhipura, 8;—it was acquired by Chandradêva ..... 9, 13
- karaskandhakavâdâptîtha*, a term requiring explanation ..... 45n
- Kârikâs in the Mahâbhâshya, notes on the... 228ff
- Karnâta, the later kings of the; a note on their genealogy ..... 147f
- Kâsava Lake in the *Avesta* is the Kyânsih of the *Bundahish*, 23;—is the Zirra Lake in Sistân ..... 22
- Kâtika-Vritti*; instances in which the authors of it have quoted from the *Chândravâdika-râna* ..... 189ff
- Kâtipâra *pathaka*, an ancient territorial division in the neighbourhood of Benares. 111, 140
- Kâsmîr, Śamkaravarman, king of, notes on, 109ff;—its early history can be regulated by the date of Mihirakula ..... 246
- Kâsmîrî portable brazier, a note on the ..... 57
- Kâtantra*, a grammar, quoted under the name of *Kalâpaka* by Hêmachandra, 181;—Ugrabhâtis commentary on it, the *Śishyâhitâ*, was written in the eleventh century ..... 32
- katâr*, a peculiar Indian dagger ..... 30
- katârî*, in the India Museum, = the *katariya*... 25
- katariya*, an aboriginal missile of the boomerang type, 25; = *valai taddi*, 25; = the *katârî* of the India Museum ..... 25
- Kâthiâwâd, inscriptions from ..... 187f, 360ff

- Kātyāyana**, an ancient grammarian; notes on some of his doubtful Vārttikas, 203ff;—discussion as to whether he wrote certain verses in the Mahābhāṣya, 229ff;—he is referred by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar to the fourth century B.C. .... 149
- kēddrikā**, 'a small field' ..... 337
- key-pattern of the Greeks, possibly from the *Svastika* ..... 95
- Khambay**, see 'Cambay' ..... 188
- khaṇḍā**, a form of Indian sword ..... 23
- khaṇḍī**, a standard of land measurement ..... 270
- Khāsh Rūd** is the ancient Hvastra ..... 23
- Khuspās Rūd** is the ancient Hvaspa ..... 23
- Kilāb-ibn-Murra** gives names to the Arab months ..... 313, 314
- Kirātārjunīya** of Bhāravi; notice of a new edition of it ..... 156
- Kirttirāja**, of Gwālior (Kachchhapaghāta), defeated the Mālavas ..... 35, 41f
- Kistvaens** in Madras, 65;—in Maisur ..... 65
- Kokkalla I.** (Kalachuri of Tripura), a note on ..... 110n
- Kōlār District**, an inscription from the ..... 172ff
- kōḷuēn**, a system of land measurement ..... 269
- Kondyāta** grant of Venkaṭa II. of Vijayana-gara, of Śaka-Samvat 1558; noticed ..... 147f
- kōrā**, a Nēpālī bill or chopper ..... 27
- korgatti**, a South Indian bill or chopper ..... 27
- kṛttidāra**, a word requiring explanation ..... 45n
- kshamāragadidāna**; a term requiring explanation ..... 10n
- Kshirasvamin**, a grammarian, quoted by Hē-machandra ..... 181f
- kudū = khaṇḍī** ..... 270
- kukṛī**, a Gōrkhā bill or chopper ..... 27
- Kumārādāsa**, author of a poem called *Jāna-kharana* ..... 241
- Kumārāgupta** (Early Gupta); the Mandasor inscription, which gives for him the date of Mālava-Samvat 493, edited, 194ff;—his earliest and latest dates .. 191
- kurgī**, a standard of land measurement ..... 270
- kuruntadī**, an aboriginal missile ..... 26
- Kushans**, Chinese notes on the history of the. 19ff
- Kyānsih Sea** in the *Bundahish* is the Kāsava Lake of the *Avesta* ..... 23
- labdhi**, a termination of a proper name ..... 45
- Lakṣmī Thakurānt**, a Mithilā poetess, some verses attributed to her ..... 318f, 382
- Lakshmana**, founder of the Kachchhapaghāta dynasty of Gwālior ..... 35, 41
- lāñchhana**, 'a crest,' opposed to *dhvaṇa*, 'a banner' ..... 226n
- Land of the Dead** ..... 125, 126n
- languages of India, notes on the ..... 149
- La Pierre aux Dames** is a sacred foot symbol ..... 117
- La Sirena**, a serpent goddess ..... 260
- Lāta**, the ancient name of central and southern Gujarāt ..... 196, 199
- Le Retour de Soleil**, a French Alpine custom. 68, 69
- Lichchhavis** of Nēpāl; the Gupta era was possibly founded by them ..... 278f
- life-index in Indian folklore ..... 98, note 7
- lightning symbols ..... 66
- Linguistic History of India, M. Senart on the ..... 345
- linguistic notes ..... 149
- Lucknow Provincial Museum, an inscription in the ..... 201ff
- Macnaghten, Sir William, backs up Nizāmū'd-daulah, 261;—arranges for return of Shāh Shuja'a to India ..... 266
- Madanapāla, of Kanauj (Gāhādavāla) ..... 8f
- Madhusūdhana; not a king of Gwālior ..... 201
- Magadha; notes on the early history of ..... 251f
- Mahābhāṣya, notes on the ..... 80ff, 203ff, 228ff
- Mahānāman, a Buddhist priest, author of the ancient part of the Pāli *Mahāvamsa*; his Bōdh-Gayā inscription, noticed, 347f;—edited, 356ff;—his Bōdh-Gayā image-inscription, edited, 359;—his date, in India, was 588 A.D., 347;—he must have been at least thirty years old when he visited Bōdh-Gayā ..... 359
- Mahāvamsa*; the Buddhist chronology of it has to be rectified by the Bōdh-Gayā date of Mahānāman, q. v. .... 347f, 357
- Mahāvira, the last Jain *Tīrthamkara*; at the time of his *nirvāṇa*, Pālaka became king of Ujjain, 142f;—his *nirvāṇa* occurred B.C. 401-400, if calculated back from the Gupta era according to the details of the Jain *Harivamsa* ..... 143
- Mahēndrapāla, *Mahārāja*, of the line of Dēva-sakti, 105ff, 110, 139;—his Dighwā-Dubault grant of Harsha-Samvat 155; edited ..... 105ff8
- Mahichandra of Kanauj (Gāhādavāla) ..... 110, 140
- Mahidēvidēvi, a wife of Mahēndrapāla, q. v. .... 110, 140
- Mahipāla (Kachchhapaghāta or Kachchhapāri), king of Gwālior; his Gwālior inscription of Vikrama-Samvat 1150, edited, 33ff;—he had the *biruda* of Bhuvanaikamalla, 35, 44;—the Sāsahā-kā-dēhrā temple was completed in his time, 35, 44;—he defeated the king of the Gandharvas ..... 35, 44
- Mahōdaya, a camp, on the Ganges, of the *Mahārāja* Mahēndrapāla, 106, 111;—and of the *Mahārāja* Vināyakapāla, 139;—it is not to be identified, in these cases, with Kanauj ..... 111

- Māhula, one of the engravers of the Śāsabāhū-kā-dēhrā inscription of Vikrama-Saṁvat 1150 ..... 46
- Mālava tribe; its long duration ..... 191f
- Mālava kings did not include Dēvasākti and his descendants ..... 107f
- Mālavas; notice of some of their coins, 191;—they were defeated by Kirttirāja of Gwālīor, 35, 41f;—their era gives an earlier name of the Vikrama era, 191ff;—instances of the use of it ..... 223, 228
- Malladēva-Nandivarman, a Bāna king; he had the *biruda* of Vadhūvallabha, 172;—he ruled a seven-and-a-half lakh country in the Āndhra *maṇḍala*, 172, 177;—his Mudyanḍr grant of Śaka-Saṁvat 261 (spurious); edited ..... 172ff
- Mālwa, inscriptions from ... 194ff, 222ff, 253ff, 257f
- Maisūr, an inscription from ..... 172ff
- Maitrakas; a tribe or dynasty conquered by Bhatārka of Valabhī, 187;—notes on them. 361f
- Manichæan heresy, origin of the, 90;—and Protestantism ..... 90
- manis, sacred stones in Tibet ..... 124
- Mandasor, town in Central India; its ancient Sanskrit name was Daśapura, 194f;—by the people, it is still best known as Daśor, 194f;—remains at this place, 195;—the inscription of Kumāragupta and Bandhuvārman of Mālava-Saṁvat 493, edited, 194f;—commented on, 189ff;—inscription of Yaśōdharman and Viṣṇuvardhana, of Mālava-Saṁvat, 589, edited, 222ff;—duplicate pillar inscriptions of Yaśōdharman, edited ..... 253ff, 257f
- Mangalarāja, of Gwālīor (Kachchhapaghāta). 35, 41
- maṅgāliḥā, probably 'an upper garment' ..... 45n
- Mānichandra, builder of a temple of Śiva and other gods at Gwālīor ..... 202
- Manikanṭha, composer of the Śāsabāhū-kā-dēhrā inscription of Mahipāla ..... 34, 46
- Manōratha; not a king of Gwālīor ..... 201
- mantra-dēva-manuja-bhāta-pitrigana, refers to the *pañcha-mahāyajña* ..... 10n
- Manu, notice of Burnell's translation of, 282f;—Burnell held the code was compiled about A.D. 500, at the court of Pulikēśin I. 232f
- mādr, a standard of land measurement, 692;—Governmental systems preceding the ..... 269
- Marāṭhās, perhaps sprung from the Raṭṭas... 268
- Marāṭhī appears as a specific vernacular in an inscription of Śaka-Saṁvat 1128 ..... 149
- Mārgaśirṣa; an intercalation of this month. 337f
- marriage customs, identity of certain Indian and Spanish ..... 93, 94
- mārd, an Indian quarter-staff ..... 31
- matchlocks, vernacular names for Indian ..... 31
- Māhara tribe, notes on the ..... 360ff
- Menander; see *Mi-lan* ..... 353ff
- menhirs, 120, 121;—probable use of ..... 67
- Mēr tribe, notes on the ..... 361f
- Merv is the ancient Mōurva ..... 22
- midsummer in Norway, relic of sun-worship, 92;—day at Stonehenge, relic of sun-worship ..... 92
- Mihira tribe or dynasty, notes on the ..... 361f
- Mihirakula, the history and date of, 245ff;—further discussion of his history and date, 345f, 346f;—he was the son of Tōramāpa, 245;—a notice of his inscription at Gwālīor, 245, 252;—his name was rendered in Chinese by Ta-tso, q. v., 246 and n;—his contest with, and defeat by, Bālāditya of Magadha, 246f;—the account of him given in the *Rājataranginī*, 247ff;—his name is the Sanskritised form of a foreign name, 249;—the tribe to which he belonged was that of Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vāsudēva, 249;—he invaded Sindh, 250;—explanation of his alleged invasion of Ceylon, 250;—a notice of his coins, 250f;—he did homage to Yaśōdharman, 252, 255, 257;—the commencement of his career must be placed about 515 A.D., 252;—he was probably a Mongol or Turkish Mlēcchha ..... 347
- Mi-lan*, a king (Menander) in whose time Nāgasēna flourished ..... 353ff
- Mi-lo-kiu*; possibly the Chinese phonetic equivalent for Mlēcchha ..... 346
- missiles of the aborigines of India, 25, 26;—of African Tribes ..... 26, 27
- Mithra, worship of, in Europe, 90, 91;—was a sun-god, 91;—was also a sun-god of the Persians ..... 90
- Mlēcchhas invaded Kāśmīr under Mihirakula ..... 247, 249f
- Monghyr, mentioned under the ancient name of Mudgagiri ..... 304, 308
- monoliths in Europe, 120, 121;—in India, 120;—in Russia ..... 122
- months, names of the, as occurring in records:—
- Ashāḍha ..... 13, 361
  - Āsvayuja ..... 310n
  - Āsvina ..... 46
  - Bhādrapada ..... 188
  - Chaitra ..... 188, 359
  - Kārttika ..... 177
  - Māgha ..... 10, 107, 108n, 202
  - Mārgaśirṣa ..... 340
  - Pauṣa ..... 362
  - Phālguna ..... 140
  - Sahasya (Pauṣa) ..... 201
  - Tapasya (Phālguna) ..... 201
  - Vaiśākha ..... 109n, 188

- months, pre-Islamite names for the, preserved by the modern Arabs ..... 312, 313
- moon-symbols ..... 64ff
- Môrbi plate of Jâinkadêva; noticed ..... 143n
- Môurva in the *Avesta* is Merv ..... 22
- Mudgagiri, the modern Muṅgér, a camp of Nârâyana-pâla ..... 304, 308
- Mudīyantr, older form of the name of Mudyantr, q. v. .... 172, 177
- Mudyantr, village in Maisûr; its ancient Sanskrit name was Chôḍagrâma, 172, 177;—the (spurious) grant of Malladêva-Nandivarman (Bâna), of Śaka-Samvat 261, edited ... 172ff
- Muhammad Akbar Khân supersedes Shâh-zâda Fath Jang ..... 292
- Mûladêva of Gwâlior (Kachchhapaghâta), had the *birudas* of Bhuvanapâla and Trailôkyamalla ..... 35, 42
- Muṅgér mentioned under the ancient name of Mudgagiri ..... 304, 308
- Murundâs, an early dynasty, 142;—Vatsarâja, the lover of Vâsavadattâ, belonged to this tribe ..... 142n
- Nâgabhaṭa, *Mahârâja*, of the line of Dêva-śakti ..... 107, 110, 141
- Nâgali or Nâmali; an ancient village in the Dêvabhîṭtâ ..... 9
- Nâga Mûdamma, a serpent goddess in Maisûr ..... 259
- Nâgârjuna, a *Bôddhisattva*; he probably lived towards the end of the second century A.D., 353ff;—he lived in Southern Kôsala, in the time of king *So-to-p'o-ho* ..... 355
- Nâgasêna, a Buddhist *Bhikshu*, author of the *Melindapañho*, 353ff;—he flourished about 140 B.C., 353;—an account of the *Melindapañho* ..... 354
- Naravâhana, an early king ..... 142ff
- Nârâyana; various readings from his commentary on the *Nṛisimhatâpantya-Upanishad* ..... 69ff
- Naigamas, interpreters of Vêdic quotations and words ..... 227
- 'nail-headed' characters; discovery of a new variety by Bendall ..... 288
- nakshatra* :—
- Aśvini ..... 177
- Uttarâ-Bhâdrapadâ ..... 110n
- Nandarâja, another name of Menander or Milan ..... 354
- Nandas, an early dynasty; Kâtyâyana is referred by tradition to their time ..... 149
- Nandi, Nandidurga, a hill in Southern India. .... 173, 176
- Nandivarmâchârya, engraver of the grant of Malladêva-Nandivarman ..... 177
- Nanna, a king who built a temple of Pârâva-nâtha at Vardhamânapura ..... 142 and n
- narâdhipati*, 'a chief ruler of men; a king.' 223n
- narapati*, apparently an official title ..... 9n
- Nârâyana-pâla (Pâlas of Bengal); his Bhâgalpur grant, edited ..... 304ff
- navakarman*, 'new buildings' ..... 309n
- National Anthem, translated into Sanskrit 47, 363
- nâsar* is the Evil Eye ..... 322
- necklace, effect of charmed, in Indian folklore ..... note 7, 98
- Negapatam; a notice of the Buddhist structure at ..... 234ff
- nibaddha*, 'assigned' ..... 107, 140
- nirvâṇa* of Buddha; a notice of evidence in support of the Peguan date of B.C. 638 ... 152
- Nizâm-ud-daulah Muḥammad 'Usmân Khân ruins Shâh Shujâ's cause, 169, 170;—his proceedings with Macnaghten ..... 261
- Nṛisimhatâpantya-Upanishad*; notes on various readings of the, 69ff;—it had two distinct *śâkhâs*, Bhṛigu and Ângirasa ..... 71
- numerical symbols, instances of the use of... 188, 337, 340, 357
- Nyâsa*, a commentary on Hêmachandra's *Bṛihadvṛitti*; names of earlier grammarians mentioned in it ..... 181f
- ocean, an invocation of the ..... 226
- Ogatai, son of Chinghiz Khân, his campaign in Honan ..... 133, 134
- Omayyad coins, Dr. Stickel on ..... 343
- Ôsatikâ (?), a place in Western India ..... 142
- Oude District, an inscription from the ..... 10ff
- owls in Indian folklore ..... 74
- pâdakula*, ? 'a tribe of attendants' ..... 45n
- Padma, an abbreviation of the name of Padmapâla of Gwâlior ..... 42, 46
- Padma, one of the engravers of the Sâsbahû-kâ-dêhrâ inscription of Vikrama-Samvat 1150 ..... 46
- Padmanâtha, a local name of Vishnu at Gwâlior, in memory of Padmapâla... 35, 41, 44, 45, 46
- Padmapâla, of Gwâlior (Kachchhapaghâta) 35, 43, 202
- pâla*, termination of the names of some of the Kachchhapaghâta kings of Gwâlior, 35ff;—and of the names of two members of the family of Dêvaśakti ..... 110
- Pâlaka, a king of Avanti at the time of the *nirvâṇa* of Mahâvira ..... 142, 143n
- Pâlas of Bengal; remarks on their history ... 304
- Pâli, the Prâkrits, the modern Vernaculars, and Sanskrit; notice of Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's

- results regarding their order, periods, &c. .... 149
- Pañchātīkā* of Bilhana, notice of the..... 212f
- pañcha-mahāyājña* ..... 10n
- Pāṇini, the grammarian, is referred by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar to about the eighth century B.C., 149;—a post of this name; supposed to be identical with the grammarian ..... 241
- Pāṇiyaka, an ancient village in the Śrāvastī bhukti ..... 107
- Pañj Phūl Rānī, a folklore title ..... 96
- parrots in Indian folklore ..... note 2, 74
- Pārśva, a Buddhist patriarch, may be placed about A.D. 70 or 75..... 355
- Pāshānapallī, an ancient village near Gwālior, 35, 45
- Passage de l'Enfer* ..... 125
- Paśupati, a king conquered by Mihirakula ..... 245
- patā*, a form of Indian sword ..... 28
- Patañjali is not to be identified with Gōnar-dīya or Gōnikāputra, 81ff;—he is placed by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, following Dr. Goldstücker, in the second century B.C., 149;—discussion of his date, 148f;—he is placed by Dr. Peterson in the fifth century A.D., 148;—discussion of the authorship of certain verses in the Mahābhāṣya, commented on by him..... 229ff
- pattandkarasthānagokulādhikṛipurusha*; an official term..... 7, 9n
- 'Pathayampuri,' supposed to be the ancient name of Byānā, q.v.; it is nothing but a mistake ..... 239
- pathī*, a territorial term..... 337
- patī*, an extra land cess ..... 271, 272
- Pauṣa; an intercalation of this month... 228, 338
- 'Pehewa,' 'Pehewā,' or 'Pehoa' inscription of Bhōja of Kanauj; referred to ..... 108ff
- Pipet, see Pipiaux ..... 321
- Pipiaux of Guernsey, the..... 321, 322
- Piyāḍasi inscriptions, M. Senart on the language of the ..... 345
- polygamy in India, the effect of..... 98n
- Prākṛit compositions, a reference to, in an inscription ..... 227
- Prākṛits, modern Vernaculars, Sanskrit, and Pāli; notice of Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's results regarding their order, periods, &c... 149
- pratibaddha*, 'attached to' ..... 140n
- Pratiśṭhāna bhukti, an ancient territorial division close to Allahābād ..... 111, 140
- pravaṇikara*, apparently means 'money-rent'. 10n
- pravaras* :—
- of Bhāradvāja, Āṅgīrasa, and Bārhaspatya. 18
- of Kāśyapa, Āvatsāra, and Naidhruva ..... 10
- prayukta*, 'drawn up' ..... 107n, 140
- Pride Abased, a Kāśmīrī folktale..... 157ff
- princes visiting cities in disguise, Oriental habit of ..... 300n
- Punnāṣa *saṅgha*, a Jain sect; Jināsēna (q. v.) belonged to it ..... 142
- Pushpamitra, or Pushyamitra; an early king in whose time Patañjali appears to have lived..... 148f
- Pushpamitras, an early dynasty..... 142
- Pushyamitra, see Pushpamitra ..... 148f
- Pushyamitras; a tribe or dynasty conquered by Skandagupta, 148f, 151;—also see Pushpamitras ..... 142 and n
- qaul*, a rebate on assessment of land revenue. 271
- quarter-staff in India..... 31
- quoits as weapons in India ..... 31
- rag-bushes ..... 219
- Rājasēkhara, the dramatist; some notes on his date ..... 241f
- Rājatarāṅgīnī*; its account of Mihirakula ... 247ff
- Rākshasas* (ogres), human beings suspected to be..... 303n
- Rāmabhadra, *Mahārāja*, of the line of Dēvasakti, 107, 110, 141;—he is not to be identified with Rāmabhadra of Kanauj ..... 109f
- Ramazān fast not kept by the Arabs ..... 312, 316
- raṅgambēris*, a system of assessment of land revenue ..... 269
- Rāsabharādī*, the "Ass-kings"; an early dynasty..... 142f
- Rāshṭrakūṭas; there are no grounds for the theory that an era was established by them. 150
- ratha*, a termination of a proper name ..... 45
- Ratnamati, a grammarian quoted by Hēma-chandra ..... 182
- Raṭṭas, perhaps the forefathers of the Marāṭhas, 268;—tribal organization of the ..... 268
- Rāduta*, a Brāhman's title ..... 10, 13
- rāya-rēkhā*, a system of land measurement ... 269
- red paint, daubing on stones, in India, 118;—
- Biblical reference ..... 118
- Rénaud; his rendering of certain statements of Albirūnī concerning Hindu eras ..... 189
- Rishabha, a grammarian quoted by a commentator on Hēma-chandra ..... 182
- River of Death in India, 125;—in ancient Europe ..... 125
- Romano Lavo-Lil*, Borrow's, unscientific nature of ..... 14
- Romany* = *Dōmani*..... 15
- Royal Asiatic Society; inscriptions in the. 7ff, 10ff
- Rudrabhaṭṭa, Rudraṭa, author of the *Śrīṅgā-ratīlaka*, 287f, 287 n;—he is placed by Dr. Pischel not later than the middle of the ninth century ..... 287

- S, the letter, a sun-symbol ..... 66
- sacred foot symbols, 117;—modern Indian explanation of..... 117
- sacred stones in India, 117ff;—*manis*, 124;—monoliths, 118 to 123;—ovoid and spheroidal, 119, 120;—“passing through” ..... 220, 221
- sacred trees ..... 217ff
- S’aid Muhammad Khān, ruler of Hirāt ..... 298
- Śaka era, supposed to date from the establishment of the Śaka empire in India under either Kadphises II. or Kanerkas, 154;—an instance in which it is confused with the Gupta era..... 188
- Śākala in the Pañjāb, was the capital of Mihirakula, 246, 249;—in earlier times it was a capital of Menander or *Mi-lan* ..... 354
- Śakaṣa, Śakaṣāyana, a later grammarian quoted by Hémachandra ..... 182
- śakhs* mentioned in records:—
- Āngirasa ..... 71
- Bhṛigu ..... 71
- ‘Kanthuma-Chohhandōga ..... 107
- Maitrāyaṇaka-Mānavaka ..... 187
- ‘Sāhet-Māhet,’ a collection of ruins near ‘Bah-raich’; mentioned under the ancient name of Śrāvastī ..... 107, 111
- Sāmanyacharana*, a sect of Brāhmins in Southern India, 177;—a proposed explanation of the term..... 281
- sambaddha*, ‘belonging to,’ ‘connected with.’ ..... 107, 140n
- samgraha-śloka*s in the Mahābhāshya may have been composed by Kātyāyana or Pa-tāñjali ..... 233
- Samkarāchārya; various readings from his commentary on the *Nṛisimhatāpantya-Upanishad*, 69ff;—reasons for thinking that the printed commentary attached to the same is not really by him..... 70
- Samkarānanda; various readings from his commentary on the *Nṛisimhatāpantya-Upanishad* ..... 69ff
- Samkaravarman, king of Kāśmīr, notes on ... 109ff
- samkrānti*:—
- Kumbha ..... 107
- samvatsaras* of the sixty-year cycle, mentioned in records:—
- Bhāva ..... 361
- Vilambin ..... 177
- sangar*, derivation of ..... note 10, 624
- śankha*-shell emblem on seals of grants ..... 10
- Sanskrit and Prākṛit compositions, a reference to, in an inscription ..... 227
- Sanskrit MSS.; notice of Dr. Oppert’s Lists for Southern India ..... 154ff
- Sāran District, an inscription from the ..... 105ff
- Sāsabahū-kā-dēhrā, popular name of a temple at Gwālīor, 33;—it was completed in the time of Mahipāla, (q. v.) 35, 44;—it is a temple of Vishnu, 35;—the inscription of Mahipāla, of Vikrama-Saṁvat 1150; edited ..... 33ff
- sattra*, ‘a hall for the charitable distribution of food, &c.’ ..... 45, 46
- saudha*, equivalent to *brahmapurī*, q. v. .... 44n
- Sauryas, a tribe or dynasty in Western India ..... 142
- Scindia’s Dominions, inscriptions from..... 33ff, 194ff, 201ff, 222ff, 253ff, 257ff
- seals, ancient, found at Harappā..... 1
- seals of grants, emblems on ..... 10, 106, 139
- seals of grants, legends on, 10, 106, 112, 139, 140;—instances of their being secured to the plate by soldering..... 106, 139
- serpent, a sun-symbol, 66;—a lightning symbol, 66;—symbols, 260;—woman or goddess in Europe, 259, 260;—worship in India, 253ff;—in Europe, 260;—revived in Malsūr ..... 259
- sex, change of, to protect from evil spirits ... 328
- shadāsīti*, a term for the sun’s entrance into four of the signs of the Zodiac ..... 360
- Shāh Shujā’a, treaty with, in 1839, 164;—his position at Kābul, 167;—forgery of his signature, 169;—project of returning to India, 266;—doings in Kābul after Mac-naghten’s death, 267;—his murder ..... 290
- Shāhzāda Fath Jang succeeds Shāh Shujā’a, 290;—superseded by Muhammad Akbar Khān, 293;—accompanies the English to India..... 293
- Shāhzāda Shāhpūr accompanies the English to India ..... 293
- Shatṭhabha, a Brāhman’s name ..... 45
- ‘shell-characters,’ references to instances of... 364
- Shi-yen-te-kia*, another name of *So-to-p’o-ho*, q. v. .... 355
- ‘ship’ tales in Kāśmīr ..... 157n
- Siāh Kōh is the ancient Ushidāo ..... 22
- Sikhism, its connection with Muhammadanism ..... 214
- Sikhitā*; see *Śishyahitā* ..... 32
- Śilāchārya, a Jain writer, author of the *Āchārāṅkī*, q. v.; he wrote at Gambhātā... 188
- śildkutta*, ? ‘a stone-cutter’ ..... 46n
- Si-liang-fu, possible identification of..... 132
- Sinha, a Buddhist patriarch, killed in the time of Mihirakula ..... 245, 250, 252, 245f
- Sinhapāniya, an ancient town near Gwālīor 35, 42
- Sinhavāja, one of the engravers of the Sāsabahū-kā-dēhrā inscription of Vikrama-Saṁvat 1150 ..... 46
- Sindibād Cycle of folktales ..... 330n, 335n
- singautā*, an Indian quarter-staff ..... 31

- Śishya*, in the *Mahābhāṣya*, is the person who raises questions to be solved ..... 80f
- Śishyahitā*, Ugrabhāṭi's commentary on the *Kātantra*, was written in the eleventh century ..... 32
- Sistān = *Σακσάν* ..... 22
- Śivadēva I, *Mahārāja*, of Nēpāl; his Gōlmā-dhītō inscription of Gupta-Samvat 318, noticed ..... 192ff
- Śivagana, a Maurya chieftain; his Kanaswa inscription of Mālava-Samvat 795, noticed, 191f;—notice of Dr. Peterson's revised version of this inscription ..... 152f
- Skandagupta (Early Gupta); notice of Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajī's version of his Bhitari pillar inscription, 151ff;—he conquered the Pushyamitras ..... 148f, 151
- Śloka-vārttika*, a name given by commentators to certain Kārikās in the *Mahābhāṣya* ..... 229
- snake in symbolism, see serpent ..... 66
- solar race included the kings of Kanauj ..... 8
- sons, nostrums for procuring ..... note 2, 300
- soanpatā*, a peculiar South Indian sword ... 28
- So-to-p'o-ho*, a king of Southern Kōsala, probably of the Andhra dynasty ..... 355
- spears in India ..... 30, 31
- Spiti, women of, their resemblance to those of the Eskimo ..... 62, 63
- spitting on coins for luck ..... 328
- spurious inscription ..... 172 and n
- Śrāvastī, ancient name of the modern 'Sāhet-Māhet'; chief town of a *bhukti* and a *maṇḍala* ..... 107, 111
- Śrikambuvārnagiri, an ancient hill, mentioned in the Gwālior inscription of Vikrama-Samvat 1150 ..... 44
- Śrīpathā, the ancient Sanskrit name of Byānā, *q. v.* ..... 239
- Śrīśaṅkarā, a grammarian quoted by a commentator on Hēmachandra ..... 182
- Śrīvadhūvallabha, or Vadhūvallabha, a *virūḍa* of Malladēva-Nandivarman (Bāṇa); *q. v.* ..... 172
- Śrīvallabha, —probably Gōvinda II. (Rāshṭra-kūṭa) ..... 142
- Śrutapāla, a grammarian quoted by Hēmachandra ..... 182
- star-symbols are sun-symbols ..... 66
- sthaḥ*, a standard for measuring gardens for revenue purposes ..... 269
- St. John's Eve in Ireland, relic of sun-worship ..... 92
- stone-circles, 120;—implements, what to look for, 318;—Lucky, 321;—monuments, ancient, what to look for in them ..... 318
- stone-worship in India, 117, 118;—in ancient Europe ..... 118, 119
- stork, the, a fire-symbol ..... 66
- Subeings in ancient Burma, where is it? ..... 317
- Subeinna = Subeinga ..... 317
- Subhāṣhitāvali* of Vallabhadēva; a notice of Dr. Peterson's edition of it, 240ff; it cannot be placed earlier than the first half of the fifteenth century A.D. .... 241
- Sumēru, mountain, spoken of as one of the breasts of the earth ..... 200
- sun; invocations of the, 198;—a temple of the, at Mandasōr, *q. v.*, 196, 200, 201;—worship of the, when making a grant, 10;—other instances of worship of the... 10, 13, 107, 112, 140, 196
- sun symbols, 64ff, 192, 93;—in Albania, 68;—Ireland, 68;—in Lapland ..... 67
- sun-worship, 89ff;—in Modern India, 64, 65, 89;—in Mexico, 64, 65, 89;—in Persia, 64, 90;—in the Vēdas, 64;—Modern European customs indicating, 92;—connection between it and fire-worship, 91, 92;—traces of it in Christianity ..... 65
- Sunabāī Jāī, a folktale from Bombay ..... 365ff
- Sundarīdēvi, wife of Vatsarāja, *q. v.* 107, 110, 141
- Sūryapāla, of Gwālior (Kachchhapaghāṭa) ... 35, 43
- Sūryavamśa included the kings of Kanauj ... 8
- Sātrakāra*, a term for Pāṇini, as opposed to *Vārttikakāra* for Kātyāyana ..... 229
- svastika*, 92ff;—as a fire symbol, 64, 66, 89, 92;—as a sun symbol, 65, 92;—as a mark on modern Indian buildings, 93;—as an ornament in embroidery, 94; = the *trinaeria* of Sicily, 89; = *triquetra*, 66; = *triskele*, 66;—variant forms of, 94, 95;—variant aspect of, 96;—universality of, 94;—is a possible origin of the Greek key-pattern ... 95
- swords in India, 28;—vernacular names for Indian, much wanted, with description ..... 30
- 'Syālapati' of Kābul; notes on his date and coins; they are not dated in the Gupta era. 185ff
- symbolism in Asia, object of studying ..... 61
- symbols of the sun, 64ff;—of the moon, 64ff;—cup, 64ff;—egg, 119, 120;—fire, 64;—foot, 117;—serpent ..... 260
- Tāladhvaja, ancient name of Talāja in Kāthiā-wād ..... 361
- talapatta*, probably 'an ear ornament' ..... 45n
- talking animals in Indian folktales ..... 332n
- tāngī*, an aboriginal bow ..... 27
- Tangut, see Hia ..... 128
- tanḥā*, a standard for assessing land revenue 270
- Tāpasavatsardja*, Dr. Hultsch on the ..... 344
- Tārīkh Sulṭānī*, a historical work on Afghānistān ..... 162

- Ta-tso, the Chinese name of Mihirakula, may be a Mongolian word, meaning 'the great horde' ..... 345
- tenth part of revenue given to a god ..... 46
- Tenures, Ancient Marāṭhā ..... 268ff
- Thakkura, a Brāhmaṇ's title ..... 10, 13
- thaḷ = sthaḷ ..... 269
- thekkalat, Burmese name for broadcloth ..... 318
- Thēpaka, Thēvaka; a Méhara chief, 360ff;—his Hāthasani inscription, edited ..... 360ff
- Three-legs, Manx, a form of the *svastika* ..... 95
- tickall, a Burmese weight ..... 317
- Tihula, a Brāhmaṇ's name ..... 10
- Tihunēka, a Brāhmaṇ's name ..... 45
- Tikkarikā, an ancient village; probably the modern Tikari, near Benares ..... 111, 140
- Tilhēka, a Brāhmaṇ's name ..... 45
- Timbāpaka, ancient name of Tīmāpa in Kā-ṭhiāwād ..... 363
- Tirabhukti: ancient name of Tirhut ..... 304, 309
- Tirhut, mentioned under the ancient name of Tirabhukti ..... 304, 309
- Tōramāpa was the father of Mihirakula, 245;—the tribe to which he belonged was that of Kanishka ..... 249
- Totemism in India ..... 214
- Trailōkyamalla, a *viruda* of Māladēva of Gwālior ..... 35, 42
- Traikūtakas; a new inscription of this dynasty, noticed ..... 150
- tree worship of the, 217ff;—connection between it and fire-worship, 93;—tree of Life, 217;—offerings to, 219;—"passing through" ..... 220, 221
- Tripura, Kokkalla I. of, a note on ..... 110n
- trinacria of Sicily = *svastika*, 89; = triskele ... 89
- Tripartite treaty of 1835, native view of the ... 163
- triquetra of Scandinavia is the *svastika* ..... 66
- triskele = triquetra, 66; = trinacria ..... 89
- trumbash, an Arab Missile ..... 26
- turushkadanda; a term requiring explanation. 10n
- twentieth part of revenue given to a god, 46;—and to Brāhmaṇs ..... 337
- Two Thags and the Rāvāriyā—a Bombay folktale ..... 2ff
- Udumbaragahvara, an ancient country or town ..... 338
- Udumbaragahvara-Chaturvēdins, an ancient division among the Brāhmaṇs of Gujarāt ... 336
- Ugrabhūti, author of the *Sikkhā*, Albirdn's notice of ..... 32
- Umāpatidhan, Prof. Aufrecht on ..... 344
- umar, a termination of names of towns and villages, from the Sanskrit *udumbara* ..... 336
- Umētā grant of Dadda II., a note on the ... 188n
- Unfortunate Merchant, a Bombay folktale ... 221ff
- Upādhyāya, a grammarian quoted by a commentator on Hēmachandra ..... 182
- Upanishad; *Nyisimhatāpantiya*, notes on various readings of the ..... 69ff
- Upanishads; remarks on the latest translation of them ..... 279ff
- Ushidāo in the *Avesta* is Siāh Kōh ..... 22
- Utpala, a grammarian quoted by Hēmachandra ..... 181
- vdghadhā, ? 'a drum' ..... 46n
- Vadhūvallabha, or Śrīvadhūvallabha, a *viruda* of Māladēva-Nandivarman (Bāpa), *q.v.* ..... 172
- Vāitigēsa in the *Avesta* is Bādghiz ..... 22
- Vajradāman, of Gwālior (Kachchhapaghāta) defeated the king of Kannauj ... 35, 41
- Valabhi, the kings of; notice of a new copper-plate grant, 187f;—their genealogy, 273;—the early members of the family had no authority to establish an era of their own, 191, 193;—they cannot have conquered Nēpāl, so as to introduce the Gupta era there, 193;—an inscription of the dynasty, dated Gupta-Samvat 330 ..... 335ff
- val, the Drāviḍian, is really a bill or chopper, and not a sword ..... 28
- valai tādi = *katariya* ..... 25
- Vallabhadēva, a poet of Kāśmīr; notice of Dr. Peterson's edition of his *Subhāshita-vali*, *q.v.* ..... 240ff
- Valayikā *vishaya*, an ancient territorial division in the neighbourhood of Śrāvastī ... 107
- Vāmana, a grammarian quoted by Hēmachandra ..... 182
- Vārāṇasī *vishaya*, an ancient territorial division round Benares ..... 111, 140
- Varāha, a king in Western India in Śaka-Samvat 705 ..... 142
- Vardhamānapura, a town in Western India ... 142
- vārttika, applied sometimes to certain Kārikās in the Mahābhāshya ..... 229
- Vārttikakāra, a term for Kātyāyana ..... 229
- Vārttikas in the Mahābhāshya, notes on some doubtful ..... 203ff
- Vasishṭhaghāṭṭa; a place on the Yamunā at which Jayachandra bathed ..... 9
- Vāsudēva, an Indo-Scythic king; notes about him ..... 154
- Vasumitra, an early king ..... 142f
- Vaṭagrāma, an ancient village in Kāṭhiāwād, near Jhar, *q.v.* ..... 187
- Vatse, a grammarian quoted by a commentator on Hēmachandra ..... 182
- Vatsabhāṭṭi, composer of the Mandasor inscription of Mālava-Samvat 529 ..... 196, 201
- Vatsarāja, king of Avanti in Śaka-Samvat 705. 142



- Vatsarāja, the lover of Vāsavadattā, was a Murunda ..... 142n  
 Vatsarāja, *Mahārāja*, of the line of Dēvaśakti, 106, 110, 141;—he is not to be identified with Vatsarāja of Marudēśa, conquered by the Rāshtrakūṭa king Dhruva ..... 109ff  
 Vēdas :—  
 Atharvan ..... 140  
 Vēlāpadraka, an ancient village in Kāthiāwād, near Jhar, *q. v.* ..... 188  
 Vēmāi, goddess of fate, 171, note 1;—and the thieves, a Bombay folktale ..... 171  
 Venkātā II., of Vijayanagara; his Kōṇḍyāta grant of Śaka-Samvat 1558; noticed ..... 147f  
 Vernaculars, modern; notice of Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's results regarding the development of them ..... 149  
 Vijayachandra of Kanauj; his Royal Asiatic Society's grant of Vikrama-Samvat 1325; edited ..... 7ff  
 Vijayanagara, the later kings of; a note on their genealogy ..... 147  
 Vikrama era; was known originally as the era of the Mālavas ..... 191ff  
 Vināyakapāla, *Mahārāja*, of the line of Dēvaśakti, 110, 140;—his grant of Harsha-Samvat 188, edited ..... 138ff  
 vise, a Burmese weight ..... 317  
 viśhaya-bhābhujah, perhaps 'native rulers,' as distinguished from foreign conquerors ..... 142 and n  
 Vishnu's Foot ..... 117  
 Vishnuvardhana, an early king, in or near Mālava, 223, 226;—his Mandasār inscription of Mālava-Samvat 589; edited ..... 222ff  
 Viśrāntavidyādhara, a grammarian quoted by Hémachandra ..... 182  
 Viśvavarman, a ruler of Mālava ..... 196, 20  
 Wazir Pādshāh, an Indian game ..... 97n  
 weapons of Indian athletes ..... 31  
 weights, Burmese ..... 317  
 whale, ancient Greek notices of the ..... 283  
 wheel, a sun-symbol, 64, 66, 93;—as a Buddhist symbol ..... 662  
 Yār Muḥammad Khān, ruler of Hirāt, 296;—makes friends with Persia ..... 297  
 Yāska is referred by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar to the seventh or sixth century B.C. .... 149  
 Yāsōdēva, writer of the Śāsbahū-kā-dēhrā inscription of Mahīpāla, 34, 46;—and composer of the Gwālior inscription of Vikrama-Samvat 1161 ..... 202 and n  
 Yāsōdharman, a king of Northern India, 223, 226;—the extent of his dominions, 255;—homage was done to him by Mihirakula, 252, 255, 257;—he installed Drōnasimha of Valabhi, 187n;—his Mandasār inscription of Mālava-Samvat 589, edited, 222ff;—his duplicate pillar inscriptions at Mandasār, edited ..... 253ff, 257f  
 Yāsōvighraha, of Kanauj (Gāhādavāla) ..... 8  
 yese-gōlu, a Kanarese missile ..... 26  
 Yüé-tchi or Kushana; Chinese notes on their history ..... 19ff  
 Zarēnumaiti of the *Avesta* is the Zarīnumand River of the *Bundahish* ..... 23  
 Zarīnumand River in the *Bundahish* is the Zarēnumaiti of the *Avesta* ..... 23  
 Zirra Lake in Sistān is the ancient Kāsava, 21;—zand zrayo ..... 22

## ERRATA IN VOL. XV.

- p. 25b, ll. 37-38, for *vaḷai, tādī* read *vaḷai-tādī*.  
 p. 73a, l. 17, for *नृता* read *नृता*  
 „ l. 27, for *वेस्वा* read *वस्वा*  
 p. 74a, l. 18, for *वास्तव* read *वास्तव*  
 p. 108a, l. 30, omit the comma after 'Tikree.'  
 p. 113, note 55, for one *pāda* read two *pādas*.  
 p. 140, note 1, for *tayōh* read *thyōh*.  
 p. 141, note 26, for one *pāda* read two *pādas*.  
 p. 155b, line 19, delete the word two before columns.  
 p. 189a, l. 39, for the year 1088 of the era of Śrī-Harsha, read the year 1488 of the era of Śrī-Harsha.  
 p. 194a, l. 9, delete the words *Sāryavatsī* or  
 p. 201a, l. 16, delete the word *lunar*.  
 p. 227b, l. 12, for *Rājasthāntva* read *Rājasthāntya*  
 p. 273, Table, for *Dērabhaṭa* read *Dērabhaṭa*.  
 p. 284b, l. 34, for *Chandellas* read *Bundelas*.  
 p. 300a, l. 4, add " before *Parameśwar*.  
 300a, l. 34, delete the comma after *piercing* and place it after *shriek*.  
 p. 302a, last line (note) put a space after *utterance*; and attach a query to changing in the fate at end of same note.  
 p. 303, query 146 instead of "46," as first figure in note.  
 p. 308, Text, line 38, for *स्वये* read *स्वयं*.  
 p. 807, alter numbers of notes to the end; 18 to be 19; &c. Alter numbers of references similarly.  
 p. 314, first line of notes, change the bracket to before of.  
 p. 316a, l. 36, for or read of.  
 p. 339, note to Text, l. 23, for *यदयययय* read *यदयययय*.  
 p. 357, Text, l. 6, for *prōtapiyya* read *prōtapiyya*.

