#### THE

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- p. 3, Table II., opposite Chitrå, in the last column, for 183 28 10, read 184 28 10.
- p. 120, Text line 1, for Hiranya read Hiranya-. , , \_line 16, for bhuvanâmta i , read bhuvanâmta-.
- p. 146 a, last line; for preceding, read following.
- p. 157 b, lines 24, 25, read 10000 (1800 + 200 + 9939) = 10000 1939 = 8061.
- p. 160 a, line 29, for 66277 5055, read 66277 5002.
  And, as the result of this, in lines 31 to 41 read, Hence the increase in 1000 years is 13255 5000; in 100 years, 1325.5500; and in 5975 days, 21684.
  And b for 5000 years is 4998; for 1000 years, 5000; and for 100 years, 4500.
  Therefore, as above :--

A. D. 1899..... 581.8 5000 years ..... 499.8 59.79 days..... 168.4

Kaliyuga 0 ... 250.0

Accordingly b. for A. D., 1899 is 581.8; or, the fraction being larger than  $\frac{1}{2}$ , in round numbers 582.

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- " b, line 11, for 1204, read 120.4.
- " b, note 17; cancel this note.
- p. 163, Table 5, and p. 164, Table 6. As we have seen under the correction notified above for p. 160 a, line 29 b. for A. D. 1899 is in round numbers 582; whereas in Table 5 it is given as 587. Following the same process, all the figures in Table 5, col. b, should, strictly speaking, be decreased by 5; when they would be in accordance with the revolutions of the moon's apsis as given in the text of the Three or four Súrya-Siddhánta. hundred years ago, however, the Hindu astronomers applied to the elements of the Súrya-Siddhanta a correction, technically called bija, which from that time has been generally adopted in calculations. In Table 5, col. b, the figures, all through, as they stand, are correct for the elements of the Surya Siddhanta as modified by this blia. And, as the Table is for the nineteenth century A. D., when the bija has to be applied, the inclusion of the blja in it is proper and correct.

The bija, however, has to be rejected for the centuries anterior to the time of its introduction; and this is to be effected by a modification of Table 6. Here again (Table 6), in col. b, the figures, all through, as they stand, include the bija. In the case of the centuries marked 15 to J. 3, in which the bija is not to be applied, in col. b. correct the numbers from 185 to 785, inclusive, by substituting 0 for the last figure; thus, for 185, read 180; for 484, read 480; and for 785, read 780 Then, with Table 5 as it stands, and with Table 6 thus corrected, the final results will be in accordance with the text of the Súrya-Siddhânta without the bija. For the centuries marked G. 1 and G. 2, the application of the bija is proper and necessary; and the figures 972 and 486 are correct, as they stand.

- p. 161, Table 7, opposite 2nd August (common year), for b 720, read 730. Opposite 13th August read b 129 for 126, and opposite 14th August read b 166 for 169.
- p. 168, Table 7, opposite 12th October (common year) for d 630, read 639.
- p. 172, Table 10, opposite the argument 950, for equation 76, read 80.
  - " Table 11, opposite the argument 200, for equation 4.10, read 14.10.
- p. 219, note 16, line 5, for Årdrå, read Årdrå-; and line 11, omit the word March.
- p. 239 b, line 46, for trayô, read trayô-.
- p. 240 b, last line, omit the comma at the end of the line.
- p. 248 b, line 7, for Which, read which.
- p. 250 a, line 20, for ithau, read tithau.
  - " b, line 11, for punar vasu-, read punarvasu-.
- p. 251 b, last line, read (No. 17 instead of No. 9).
- p. 252 a, line 6, omit the comma after tithi.
- p. 270, in the column for the Tithi-suddhi, opposite 720, for 1 9, read 1 90; and opposite 740, for 1 6, read 1 60.
- p. 271, in the column for the Tithi-Kêndra, opposite 1040, for 1 45, read 1 48.
- p. 315 b, last line, for Varahi-, read Varaha-.
- p. 336 b, line 7 from the bottom, for mâna vijaya-râjyê, read mâna-vijaya-râjyê.

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#### THE INSCRIPTIONS OF PIYADASI.

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(Continued from Vol. XVII., p. 307.)

#### THIRD EDICT.

#### Prinsep, Lc. p. 584; Barnouf, l.c., pp. 669 and ff.

#### TEXT.

17 Dêvânampiyê Piyadasi lâja hêvam abâ [.] kayânamm êva dêkhati<sup>1</sup> iyam mê pâpam dêkhati iyam mê pâpê katêti iyam vâ katêti nô mina<sup>2</sup> 18 kayânê âsinavê

chu khô êsâ hêvam chu khô êsa dêkhiyê imâni nâmâti [.] dupațivêkhê<sup>3</sup> 19 âsinavagâmîni<sup>4</sup> nâma atha chamdiyê nithûliyê kôdhê mânê [.] isyâ

20

21 kâlanêna va hakam mâ palibhasayisam êsa bâdha dêkhiyê<sup>6</sup> iyam mê

22 hidatikâyê iyam ma namê pâlatikâyê [.]

#### NOTES.

1. It matters little whether we should read here, and lower down, dékhati or dékhamiti. The subject is indefinite : 'one sees,' 'they see.' And we must consider the form dakhati or dékhati as certainly the present and not the future (cf. Kern, J.R.A.S., N.S., xii. 389, note). See lower down the future participle dekhiya. It is unnecessary to remark that the regular orthography would be kayanam (or onam) eva.

2. The syllables no mina are embarrassing, and the more so because the agreement of all the versions compels the greatest caution in making conjectures. Burnouf analyzed it into no imind, 'not by this,' but I confess that I do not see clearly the sense which he proposes to draw from it, and perceive still less any meaning which would be usefully drawn from such an analysis. One thing is certain, that a negative is wanting. It may be contained in the first syllable, no; but it may also be in the last syllable, no. Dr. Kern apparently, "so far agreeing with Burnouf, adopts the first explanation when he incidentally quotes this member of the sentence (J.R.A.S., N.S., xii. 389, note), and transcribes it as na punch : mina would therefore represent punch. Perhaps the same could be found again in the form mana at the end of this edict : iysm mana mé. However, as will be seen in a subsequent note, punah, in this latter sentence, is not needed by the necessities of the sense, --- quite the contrary. This analogy would not therefore be decisive in favour of an identification which presents so many difficulties. We have met this adverb on several occasions in our inscriptions, but always under the form puna or pana (pané). The change of an initial p into m is anything but frequent; when, in Prakyit, we meet with mia, miva, for pi va (api iva), it is only after a nasal (cf. Weber, Hala, index, s.v.). Besides this we should have to explain the change of u into i, a change peculiarly unexpected after a labial. This transcription, therefore, ingenious as it may be, appears to me to be extremely hypothetical. I think it preferable to take refuge in a conjecture, and to read númá (for náma) na. Náma would be placed exactly as it occurs at the end of the sentence, after *ásinavé*; nothing could be more natural, for the two phrases are in antithesis. I may add that, at the end of the edict, I can see no more plausible expedient than to correct manamé into mé náma. Burnouf supposed an accidental repetition of the syllable mé (ma), but we cannot adhere to this explanation; we shall, indeed, see that there is no reason for admitting the presence of the negative for which Barnouf sought. Nor can I follow him further in his translation of the latter portion of this sentence. He commences a new proposition at iyan vá ásinavé, which he translates, 'Et c'est là ce qu'on appelle la corruption du mal.' I scarcely see, in what precedes, to what this observation can refer; *ásinava* is, on the contrary, defined a little lower down. Besides, the va and the final ti necessarily range this proposition in order with that which precedes it. We shall establish a perfectly natural and connected sense if we translate: "One does not say 'I have committed such and such a fault, or such and such an action is a sin." There is here no tautology. The first proposition deals with the material fact of the bad action which one does not feel bound to confess, the second deals with the exact appreciation of the value of those actions which one abstains from dwelling upon. Indeed, the remainder of the edict has for its object: 1st, to inculcate the necessity of selfexamination; 2nd, to enlighten the conscience by definition, such as it is, of sin. With regard to árinava, see the preceding edict.

3. The irregular orthography of  $^{\circ}pativékhé$  for  $^{\circ}pativavékhé$  will be remarked. This anomaly occurs again, e.g. in pativékhémi, vi. 4, and also in anuvékhaména, viii. 2. The root prati-ava-iksh is consecrated in Buddhist terminology to the sense of 'examination of the conscience,' 'self-examination.' See, for example, a passage of the Visuddhimagga, quoted by Childers (s.v. pachchavékkhanan), which, among five subjects of self-examination, distinguishes those regarding the passions which have been destroyed and those regarding the passions which are yet to be destroyed. These are exactly the two classes of self-examination of which the king speaks here. As I have pointed out elsewhere, the two words chu khô mark a double reservation. The first depends on the preceding phrase: One does not render an account of the evil which one commits; it is true that this self-examination is difficult. The second depends on this phrase itself: this self-examination is difficult, yet still it is necessary to examine oneself. Then follows the tenour of this examination.

4. Asinavagámini does not mean 'the vices which come from *dsrava*, but 'the actions which come under the category of *dsrava* or of sin.' This is the only translation which agrees at once with the customary use of gámin and with the general sense of the passage. The *hévan* of the preceding phrase gives us notice that we are about to have an explanation of the self-examination which the king demands. As a matter of fact, the sentence commences with *imáni*, which is in exact parallelism with the *iyam* of the preceding propositions. Moreover, and this is altogether decisive in the matter, the versions of Radhiah and of Mathiah mark off this beginning of the sentence with an *iti*, which emphasises its real purport. The continuation, *yatha*, &c., is an explanatory development, a kind of summary definition intended to explain the nature of *dsrava*, and in what sin consists. Chândya, the equivalent of the abstract noun chamdiya, does not appear to have been used in the classical language.

5. Hitherto this last sentence of the edict has not been understood. Neither the phrases nor even the words have been properly separated. The new copies, which supply us clearly with the reading kálanéna, can leave no doubt as to the construction. On the other hand, as most of the versions give palibhasayisan (i.e. palibhásayisan) ésa, it is clear that the ti

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inserted between the two words by two of the versions represents iti. It hence follows that this phrase is put in the mouth of a third person, i.e. of the sinner, and that it defines that which it is necessary to watch carefully, with energy (badham dékhiyé). Numerous passages (e.g. K. viii., 2; Kh. xii., 32; Sahasaram, I.; infra, viii., 1, &c.) leave no doubt as to the force of bádham, which is that of a kind of superlative. The phrase isyákálanéna, &c., by itself offers no serious difficulty. Palibhasuti in Pali means to decry,' ' to calumniate,' ' to defame.' This is the meaning which we have here, whether the causal should have its full force, 'to cause to calumniate,' or whether, as appears to me more likely, it only conveys the meaning of the simple root. We have already met the form hakam as equivalent to aham, and we shall subsequently meet it still oftener. That, therefore, which it is necessary to watch against with care, is the tendency to spread calumnies by reason of, i.e. under the inspiration of, envy. The versions of Radhiah and of Mathiah complete the sentence with a final iti, thus clearly shewing that the last phrase, iyan mé, &c., is also comprised amongst the things which are to be made a subject of consideration. We thus arrive at this perfectly natural interpretation : 'it is necessary to say to oneself, " that (this watchfulness in avoiding calumny and envy) will be to my benefit in this world, that will be to my benefit in the other life."' It is plain that we cannot admit the negative for which Burnouf sought in manamé. The king never separates, and above all, never opposes present advantage and future (or, more properly, religious) advantage; and, in any case, if he ever did, the opposition would here be unintelligible. It cannot be supposed that the king should consider watchfulness in avoiding calumny as without effect on one's future destiny. Regarding my conjecture expressed above, according to which I read iyam me nama, I would point out that the correction of 18 to 18 is particularly easy. As for punch, supposing for a moment that it can be represented by a form mana, it cannot easily be explained here, where nothing calls for an antithesis.

I therefore translate this edict in the following manner :---

#### TRANSLATION.

Thus saith the King Piyadasi, dear unto the Dêvas :-- A man only seeth his good deeds; he saith unto himself, "I have done such and such a good deed." But, on the other hand, he seeth not the evil which he doth commit. He saith not unto himself, "I have done such and such an evil deed; such and such a deed is a sin."

True it is that this self-examination is painful; yet still should a man watch over himself, and say unto himself, "such and such deeds, such as rage, cruelty, anger and pride, constitute sins." A man must watch himself with care, and say, "I will not yield to envy, nor will I speak evil of anyone; that will be for my great good here below, and that verily will be for my great good in the world to come."

#### FOURTH EDICT.

Prinsep, p. 585 and ff.; Lassen, Ind. Alterth. II. p. 258, n. 2; p. 272, n. 1; p. 274, n. 1; Burnouf, p. 740 and ff.; Korn, Iaartelling der zuydelijke Buddhisten, p. 94 and ff.

#### TEXT.

- 1 Dêvânampiyê Piyadasi lâja hêvam âhâ [.] sadvîsativasa
- 2 abhisitêna mê iyam dhammalipi likhâpitâ [.] lajûkâ mê
- 3 bahûsu pânasatasabasêsu janasi âyatû<sup>1</sup> têsam yê abhihâlê va
- 4 damdê vâ atapatiyê mê katê<sup>3</sup> kimti lajûkâ asvatha abhîtû
- 5 kammâni pavatayêvû janasa jânapadasâ hitasukham upadahêvû
- 6 anugahinêvu châ<sup>3</sup> [.] sukhiyanadukhiyanam jânisamti dhammayutêna cha
- 7 viyôvadisamti<sup>4</sup> janam jêzapa l<del>a</del>m kimti hidatam cha pâlatam cha
- 8 àlàdhayêvû ti [.] lajûkâ pi laghamti<sup>5</sup> patichalitavê mam pulisâni pi mê
- 9 chhadamnûni pațichalisamti têpi cha kâni viyôvadisamti yêna mam lajûkû

10 chaghamti âlâdhayitavê [.] athâ hi pajam viyatâyê dhâtiyê nisijitu 11 asvathê hôti viyatadhâti chaghati mê pajam sukham palihatavê<sup>6</sup> 12 hêvam mamâ lajûkâ katâ jânapadasa hitasukhâyê [.] yêna êtê abhîtâ 13 asvatha samtam<sup>7</sup> avimanâ kammâni pavatayêvûti êtêna mê lajûkânam 14 abhihâlê va damdê vê atapatiyê katê [.] ichhitaviyê hi êsá kimti<sup>8</sup> 15 viyôhâlasamatâ cha siya damdasamatâ chû [.] ava itê pi cha mê âvuti<sup>9</sup> 16 bamdhanabadhânam munisânam tîlîtadamdânam<sup>10</sup> patavadhânam timoi divasâni mê 17 yôtê dimnê nâtikâvakâni nijhapayisamti jîvitâyê tânam [.] nâsamtam vâ nijhapayitâ dânam dâhamti pâlatikam upavâsam va kachhamti [.] 18 ichhû hi mê hêvam niludhasi pi kâlasi<sup>11</sup> pâlatam âlâdhayêvûti janasa cha 19 -20 vadhati<sup>12</sup> vividhê dhammachalanê samyamê dânasavibhâgê ti [.] NOTES.

1. If there is no doubt as to the meaning there is at least some regarding the original form of the word which is here written dyata. Dr. Kern corrects to dyuta, Sanskrit dyuktah) both the form and meaning of which are satisfactory. It is nevertheless remarkable that lower down (D. viii, 1), in an expression exactly agreeing with that of the present sentence, we again find the same reading, dyata, in which here all the versions are unanimous. It is the same in the third passage in which the word appears (Dhauli, 1st detached Edict, 1. 4). On the other hand, when we have certainly before us the substantive dyukti (Dh., detached Edict I. 11; II. 8; and also in line 15 of the present edict) the u, so far from being omitted, has acted on the y which precedes it, and has changed it into v, -dvuti. I doubt, however, whether we should go back to the analysis proposed by Lassen and adopted by Burnouf (dyattdh). Even if we call in the aid of the analogy of samdyatta, the meaning does not exactly suit. I only see in the orthography here used the trace of some confusion which may have arisen in popular usage between the two participles, in themselves quite distinct, dyutta, and dyatta.

Lajúka is the ordinary spelling, beside which we have also lájuka with the á lengthened in compensation. This confirms the opinion of Dr. Jacobi (Kalpasútra, p. 113, and Gloss., s. v. that the etymological form is rajjúka. He justly compares the word rajjú of the Jaina text which is explained as equivalent to Ukhaka, 'scribe.' I shall elsewhere deal with these officers, Suffice it to say, at present, that they appear to me to have been men specially invested with a religious character and constituted into colleges of some kind of sacerdotal description.

2. The meaning of *abhihála* is not defined exactly by the ordinary use of the word. The meaning 'offering,' which is that commonly met with in Páli, does not snit the present passage, 'Confiscation,' adopted by Burnouf, and doubtless derived by him from the signification of 'taking,' 'theft,' attested by classical Sanskrit, is very arbitrary. Further on (1, 14-15) we shall see a direct parallelism between *abhihála* and *danida* on the one side, and *viyôhálasamatá* and *danidasamatá* on the other. It follows that here *abhihála* should have a value very nearly akin to that of *viyôhála*. Vyavahára points to a judicial action. I think, therefore, that we cannot do better than agree with Dr. Kern in deducing, for *abhihára*, after the analogy of *abhiyóga*, the meaning of 'pursuit,' 'prosecution' in general, derived from the signification *attack*, of which evidence exists.

Similarly, with regard to *atapatiyé*, I agree with Dr. Kern in analyzing it as *atma-pati*, but I am compelled, by the general sense of the edict to give an altogether different meaning to the word. The sentence is repeated a little lower down, and we cannot separate the explanations of the two passages. In both instances we see that the measures taken by the king have for their end the giving to the *rajjikas* a feeling of complete security, and the enabling them to attend without fear to the duties of their mission. But the second passage specifies another aim also of the king. The measures taken have their origin in a desire of securing 'uniformity (or equality) in the prosecutions, and uniformity in the punishments.' How could the king secure such a result while abandoning to his officials the arbitrary and uncontrolled right of deciding as to whether prosecutions were to be instituted or not, and as to the nature or

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extent of the punishments to be inflicted? This, it must be observed, is the meaning to which the translation of the learned Leyden professor leads. All is explained if we take dtman as referring to the king himself, and, in this agreeing with Bornouf, the prosecutions and the punishments as concerning, not the persons committed to the charge of the *rajjükas*, but these functionaries themselves. 'I reserve to myself, personally,' says the king, 'the institution of prosecutions against, and the awarding of punishments upon, them.' It is manifest that this is an excellent method for establishing a perfect uniformity in the legal responsibilities of these officers; and it is at the same time a weighty guarantee on behalf of those most interested. They could fulfil their duties without inquietude, knowing that they were responsible to the king alone, and that therefore they escaped the possible intrigues and enmities of **any** official superiors. I deem it useless to insist on the reasons which render inadmissible the interpretation which Burnouf, misled by a false analysis of *atapatiyé*, proposed for this sentence.

3. There can, I think, be no doubt as to these last words, regarding which the reading "vacha, instead of "vu cha, has hitherto misled interpreters. Anugahinévu is nothing but the optative of anugrihudit, derived and spelled according to all the analogies of Pråkrit, and in particular of the dialect of our inscriptions. The vu is for yu, as in upadahévu, and in many other instances to which attention either has been or will be drawn. The translation is quite simple. The aim of the king is that the rajjúkas "should provide for, and favour the welfare and the happiness of, the populations." We have previously shown how familiar the word anugraha is to the language of the king. It has almost the appearance of a technical term.

4. In order to understand this member of the sentence, it is indispensable to compare with it the expression of the viiith Col. Ed., l. 2, which refers to it and sums it up. There the king expresses the mission given to rajjúkas as follows: hévam cha hévam cha paliyávadútha janam dhammayutam. This comparison appears to me to condemn the translation proposed by Dr. Kern (cf. again J. R. A. S., N. S., xii. pp. 392 and 393, note). Óvadati has in Buddhist language the exact and ascertained meaning of 'to exhort,' 'to preach.' We have already explained this in discussing the VIth edict. Viyóvadati has the same signification, except for the shade of diffusion which, marked here by the prefix vi, is in the circular edict given by the prefix pari. We have a direct proof of this in Dhauli, vi. ii; viyóvaditá[vé] corresponding to óvaditaviyam of the other versions. This meaning is also the only one which suits the following sentence.

On the other hand, the same comparison prevents our taking yuta in dhammayuténa as a neuter, and translating, with Burnouf, 'conformably to law.' I have on a former occasion (I. 78) had occasion to remark that throughout our inscriptions dhammayuta, or its equivalent, yuta, whether in the singular or in the plural, has always the same meaning, and designates the faithful people, the co-religionists of the king. So it is in the xiiith edict, in which the king enjoins his officials to confirm them by their exhortations in their good sentiments; so it is also here. We have, in fact, a very simple means of putting the present passage in complete agreement with the former one: it is to take the instrumental in its meaning, so common and well known, of association. We accordingly translate, 'and with the faithful (at the same time as the faithful) they will exhort all the people.'

We are now in a position to restore all its regularity to the rest of the sentence. We can only, if we follow the usual style of these edicts, refer *áládhayévu* to the people, to those who are set under authority, as the subject. *Kiniti*, in short, always announces the intention attributed to the subject of the proposition; here, to the subject of *viyôvadisanti*, *i.e.* to the *rajjúkas*. As we enter, with *kiniti* and *ti*, into the direct style, it would be necessary, if the verb applied to these officials, that it should be in the first person and not in the third. The idea of the king is therefore incontestably this :---' the *rajjúkas* shall preach the gospel to my subjects, in order to provide for their welfare in this world and in the world to come.'

5. There can be little doubt here about the restoration of laghandti to chaghandti. The difference between -j and d is very slight, and the evidence of the other versions seems to be decisive. As to this form, no one has as yet noted its parallel use in Pråkrit, or has determined

its prototype in Sanskrit. Dr. Kern compares the Hindustani cháhná, the meaning of which, 'to desire,' 'to wish,' would be sufficiently suitable. But to explain directly, and without any intermediate form, an expression of the time of Aśôka by Hindustânî, is in itself so desperate an expedient, that it appears to me necessary to search once more in a less distant region. I have only a conjecture to offer. I should propose to take chagghati as an alteration of jágrati like pați-jaggati, which is so continually employed in the Buddhist language in the meaning of 'to take care,' 'to watch.' Pâli presents more than one example of the hardening of a medial into a tenuis (cf. E. Kuhn, Beiträge zur Páli Gramm., p. 40; Trenckner, Páli Miscellany, 161 and ff.), and the other Prâkrits have even more instances. There are several in our inscriptions; I mention only one,—kubhá = guhá.

Pațichalati should be taken purely and simply as an equivalent of paricharati, only used in the classical language in the meaning, here very suitable, of 'to serve,' 'to obey.' Examples of the substitution of prati for pari are not wanting in the Prakrit dialects. I cite only the Pâli pațipăți for paripăti; and the Buddhist Sanskrit parijăgrati, beside the Pâli pațijaggati(cf. Mahávastu, I. 435; cf. also ibid., p. 396).

Dr. Kern, as well as Burnouf, corrects pulisáni into pulisánam, and makes it a genitive dependent on the substantive chhamadamani. The unanimity of the versions prohibits our considering a correction which is not so easy as it would seem at first, the regular form being pulisánam ( $\underline{1}$ ) and not pulisánam ( $\underline{1}$ ). It only remains for us to take pulisáni as a nominative plural. So great is the confusion amongst the genders in all our texts, and the analogies in the history of the popular languages (I refer above all to Buddhist Sanskrit) are so numerous, that the use of a neuter termination with a masculine noun need not stop us for a moment. It is clear that the sense thus obtained is in every way satisfactory. Throughout the entire edict, the first thought of the king is visibly to connect all his officials directly with his personal action,—to cause his orders, his wishes, to reign everywhere and immediately. So it is here: 'The rajjúkas shall apply themselves to serve me, and (under their influence) the officials (designated generally under the term "men of the king") will follow my wishes and my orders.'

The parallel versions establish the true reading beyond a doubt to be chhandannani, and not chhandanani. There is therefore no need of thinking of a secondary derivative, equivalent in meaning to chhanda. Burnouf had already thought of taking pulisani as the masculine, and of analysing chhandaninani into chhandajina, but he would have made the two words accusatives and the second an epithet of the former. All this construction is irreconcilable with the meaning of palichalisanti. It is, on the contrary, very simple to recognise chhandannani as a Dvandva, compounded of chhanda and ajād, 'will and order,' in the accusative case, dependent on patichaliti.

There are, however, three syllables, the analysis of which it is necessary to correct. Hitherto chakáni has been considered as one word, the equivalent of the Sanskrit chakráni, (or, after correction, chakránám) and attempts have in turn been made to translate it as 'a body of troops' and as 'a province.' I have already (I. 161) had occasion to indicate that it is necessary to divide it into cha káni. I have shown the existence of an adverb káni in the language of Piyadasi; it depends on the evidence of the passages in the vith. (I. 6) and vith. (I. 18) edicts, where káni is not as in our other examples, preceded by cha. As regards the meaning it remains somewhat undetermined, as indeed might be expected from its origin. The example of the vth. edict (I. 9) might suggest our attributing to it the meaning of 'in general,' 'in a general way'; but it seems to me to be, on the, whole, safer, for the reasons given in the passage above referred to, to consider káni as almost equivalent to khalu, and the phrase cha káni to the phrase cha khu so commonly met with in this style.

Yéna, in the twelfth line, means in order that,' but this is not the only meaning which the word can have: that of 'because' is not less common. If we adopt this latter meaning here (1.9), and refer té, as would be natural, to the 'pulisas,' we get a satisfactory explanation of the whole sentence. 'Let the rajjukas conform to my views, and all my officers carry out my wishes. They also (the officers) will spread my religious teaching far and wide, if the rajjúkas take pains to satisfy me.' In other words, the king entrusts the rajjúkas with a mission of superintendence over his officers in general, which, if properly conducted, should ensure their joint action in helping forward his religions intentions.

6. It is unnecessary to discuss again infinitive forms like parihatavé for parihartavé. The meaning of pariharati is quite fixed by the custom of Buddhist language, in which it signifies 'to busy oneself,' to take care of,' (cf. e.g. Mahávastu, I. 403). All the rest of the sentence has been ingeniously explained by Burnouf. Dr. Kern has improved his analysis with regard to the word viyata, which he transcribes, not by vyápta, but by vyakta.

7. With Dr. Kern, I consider samtam as not equivalent to sántam, but as representing the nominative plural santah. I have already (K. xiii. 11) drawn attention to the nominative  $ay\delta$  for ayam; and this would be the exact converse, if the final  $\delta$  were not transformed into  $\delta$  in this dialect; but the frequent changes in it of nominatives neuter (am) into nominatives masculine ( $\delta$ ) would furnish a ready foundation for a confusion of this nature. Sántam in this position will not construe. Regarding the rest of this sentence, see note 2. It is hardly necessary to draw attention to the close correlation which the words yéna, *bitena*, 'in order that,' for this purpose,' establish between the two members of the sentence. With a form slightly different, the sense is exactly the same as in lines 3-5.

8. I cannot agree with previous commentators in taking kiniti as = kirtih. It must be the particle kiniti, so common in our inscriptions. The termination of *ichhitaviyé*, which is the same in all versions, and above all a comparison with Bhabra, l. 6, and with Dh., detached edict i, 3, 9-11, &c., appear to me to be absolutely decisive. Ésá, as happens elsewhere (e.g. 1. 19 of the preceding edict), and *ichhitaviyé*, represent neuters.

I have already stated the meaning in which I take samatd. I know of no authority, either in Sanskrit or Buddhistic usage, for turning the word from its proper signification, which is not 'impartiality' (Burnouf), or 'equity' (the *æquitas* of Dr. Kern), but 'equality' or 'uniformity.' It is this last meaning, too, which leads us to a correct understanding of the whole idea.

9. The transcription of *dvritti* (Burnouf's *dvriti* is an obvious misprint) for *dvati* is admissible; but the meaning 'change of resolution' is unexpected, and entirely arbitrary. I have intimated above (note 1) that I transcribe it as *dyukti*. The change of y to v under such conditions is so common that it need not cause us to hesitate for a moment. This transcription is moreover the only possible one in the *désâvutiké* of the 2nd detached edict of Dhauli (1.8), as Dr. Kern has already recognized. So also in *andvutiyá* (1st detached edict, 1. 11), as we shall see later on. The meaning suits exactly, 'from henceforth, this is my injunction, my decision.'

10. I have already (I. 158) had occasion to fix the true signification of tilita (tirita). Tiréti refers especially to the completion, to the judgment of a case, and tilitadamda signifies 'those men whose sentence of punishment has been delivered.' Yôté appears to me to have been perfectly explained by Dr. Kern, through its connection with the Sanskrit yautaka, and gives the sense, first suggested by Burnouf, of 'respite.'

The revision of the different versions of the Corpus confirms the original reading *jivitáyé tánai*a throughout. It is on this (and not on *tianam*) that our interpretation must be founded, Dr. Kern's conjecture (*jivitáyéti nánászugai*a, do) must be condemned by one fact alone, that in our text *tánai*a ends a line; and that hence, to judge from the constant practice of the texts which avoid the division of a word between two lines, the syllable *nain* could not be separated from the syllable which precedes it, to be joined to those which follow. *Tánai*á súits the sense admirably. It is simply the well-known genitive planal of the pronoun *tad*. It can clearly only apply to the condemned persons who have just been named. It is also certain that these same persons are the subjects of the verbs which follow, *dákanti* and *kachhaisti*; and from this I draw several conclusions. First, that *tánen* belongs to the sentence, for *va* cannot commence a new one, and nijhapayitá requires an object. It further follows that the condemned, under consideration, cannot be the subject of nijhapayisaniti. This is the more important, as this verb has much puzzled interpreters, and no satisfactory explanation has as yet been offered for it. Jhap has been derived from kshup, the causal of kshi, and from a phonetic point of view, no objection can be taken to this. But, putting out of the question the fact that this verb is used nowhere else with the particle ni, this analysis leads to most complicated and unsatisfactory constructions. We find in Phili the verb nijhápéti (cf. Childers, s. v.), the regular causal of the Sanskrit ni-dhyai, with the perfectly legitimate meaning of 'to cause to know,' 'to turn the attention towards.' We have here, it is true, the shortened form, nijhapéti; but this occurs under the same influences as those which have produced thapéti from sthápayati and other similar examples. Nothing, therefore, prevents us from identifying this verb as occurring here. The subject of the verb must necessarily either be indefinite, as often happens in our inscriptions (ef. dékhawiti above in the lst edict), or, which will come to the same thing, the officials, these purushas and rajjûkas, of whom mention has just been made.

A very easy explanation now unfolds itself for the phrase which commences with nátikávakáni. I grant, says the king, a respite of three days to those condemned to death before the execution of their punishment; 'they will bring them face to face with neither more nor less,' or in other words, they will explain to them that a space of three days and no more is all the delay accorded to them to live. This translation agrees exactly with the nijhapayitá of the following sentence. Hitherto a participle absolute has been sought for in this word; but in that case the use of the form nisijitu, a few lines above, would have led us to expect nijhapayitu. It is really a plural participle with which we are dealing, "payitá being for "pitá, just as we find védayitam in Páli and in Buddhist Sanskrit, and sukhayita below (viii. 3). Burnouf, I may add, took the word as a participle, although he analysed the root in an altogether different manner. The meaning is therefore, 'he who has had his attention drawn to,' 'who is warned of.' The object can only be násaintam, which, as Lassen suggests, can well be referred back to nášántam, 'the term' or 'limit of their execution.'

Vá is vai, or rather, as we so often meet it, éva.

It is unnecessary to refer again to the adjective pálatika, or to the futures dáhanti and kachhanti.

11. The phrase niludhasi kålasi is the last in this inscription which offers any difficulty. Both Burnouf and Dr. Kern suggest a reading niludhasápi kálasi, 'during the time of their imprisonment.' If this translation is to be retained, the correction is indispensable. It would nevertheless, in the face of the agreement of all the facsimiles and versions, be better to avoid it if possible. To this consideration must be added others which are, I admit, less decisive. In the first place, we should have rather expected nilódhasa, as both Burnouf and Dr. Kern have perceived. In the second, the use of kála to denote the time which elapses, or 'period,' does not appear to me to be in accord with the custom of the language. I propose to avoid these various difficulties by taking kálasi as the locative of kárá, 'prison.' The change of gender need not surprise us after so many analogous examples: at any rate, it is not so astonishing to meet the masculine locative kárasi of kárá, as to meet a feminine locative káláyam of kála, at Rûpnâth (1. 2). Niludhasi would then appear in its proper position as a participle, and the locative would mean, 'even in a closed dungeon'; 'even when shut up in a duageon.' This interpretation appears to me to render more striking, at least in form, the evidently intentional antithesis between this phrase and pálatam.

12. This last portion represents, as indicated by the final *iti*, either a wish or an intention of the king. It appears as if a potential were needed. Perhaps we have here, if we take *vadhati* as being for *vadhāti*, one of those traces of the subjunctive to which we have more than once drawn attention both in Páli and in Buddhist Sanskrit (*cf. Mahāvastu*, I. 499, &c.).

8

#### TRANSLATION.

Thus saith king Piyadasi, dear unto the Dèvas :--- In the twenty-seventh year of my coronation, I have had this edict engraved. Amongst many hundreds of thousands of inhabitants, have I set over the people rajjukas. I have kept in my own hands the ordering of all prosecutions against and of all punishments upon them, in order that these rajjukas may attend to their duties in security and without fear, and that they may establish and develop the happiness and prosperity of the population of my dominions. They will make themselves acquainted with their good and evil plight, and, together with the Faithful, they will exhort the (entire) population of my dominions so as to secure their welfare both in this world and in the world to come. The rajjúkas will set themselves to obey me, and so will my purushas also obey my wishes and my orders. They will exhort far and wide, if the rajjúkas set themselves to satisfy me. Just as, after confiding a child to a skilful nurse, a man feels secure, saying to himself, "a skilfal nurse sets herself to take care of my child," so have I appointed these rajjúkas for the happiness and prosperity of my subjects. In order that they may attend to their duties in security and free from disturbing thoughts, I have kept in my own hands the ordering of prosecutions against, and of all punishments upon, them. For it is desirable that uniformity should exist, both in the prosecutions and in the punishments. From this day (I pass the following) rule :- To prisoners who have been judged and have been condemned to death, I grant a respite of three days (before execution). (My officers) will wars them that they have neither more nor less to live. Warned thus as to the limit of their existence, they may give alms in view of their future life, or may give themselves up to fasting. I desire that even those who are shut in the prisonhouse may secure (their happiness in) the world to come, and I wish to see developing the various practices of the Religion, the bringing of the senses under subjection, and the distribution of alms.

#### COPPER-PLATE GRANTS OF THE KINGS OF KANAUJ.

#### BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

I edit the first two of these inscriptions, at Mr. Fleet's request, from excellent ink-impressions made and supplied to me by him. My notice of the third is also from his ink-impression; but in this instance, owing to the condition of the original plate, the impression is not suitable for editing in full. And my account of the fourth inscription is from imperfect rubbings which were received through Sir A. Canningham.

#### A.-Copper-Flate Grant of Chandradéva and Madanapáladéva. The (Vikrama) year 1154.

This inscription has been previously edited, with a translation, by Dr. F. E. Hall, in the Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. XXVII. pp. 220-241. It is on a copper-plate which belongs to the Library of the Bengal Asiatic Society at Calcutta. No information is available as to where the plate was discovered.

The plate, which is inscribed on one side only, measures about 1' 9" by 1' 2". The edges of it were both fashioned thicker and raised into rims, to protect the writing. Portions of the plate are somewhat worn, especially on the proper right side, from line 8 to about line 15; but there is no doubt whatever about the actual reading of any part of the inscription, with the exception of the first three *aksharas* of line 13, which are almost completely obliterated by the incrustation of rust, so that only very faint traces of them are visible in the impression. The plate is thick and substantial; so that the letters, though fairly deep, do not shew through on the reverse side of it at all. The engraving is bold and excellent; but, as usual, the interiors of many of the letters shew marks of the working of the tool.—In the upper part of the plate there is a ring-hole, through which there passes a ring about  $\frac{9}{16}$  thick and  $3\frac{3}{10}$  in diameter. This ring had been cut before the time when the grant came under Mr. Fleet's notice; but there is no reason for supposing that the present ring and seal are not the ones properly belonging to this plate. On the ring there slides a bell-shaped seal, about 2<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> high from top to bottom; it fits on to the ring by a circular opening, about 🐉 in diameter, in the lower end of it. The surface of the seal is circular, about  $2\frac{1}{16}$  in diameter. In relief on a slightly countersunk surface, it has, at the top, a representation of Garuda, with the body of a man and the head of a bird, kneeling half front and half to the proper right, but with the face turned quite round in profile to the proper right; across the centre, the legend inf-Madanapáladévah I; and at the bottom, a śinkha or conch-shell.-The average size of the letters is about §". The characters are Nagari.-The language is Sanskrit, with nothing remarkable about it, except that in lines 15 and 16 there occurs the unusual phrase a padmasadmanð húhúkúntam yúvat, in place of the ordinary ú-chandrúrkam. - As regards orthography. b is throughout written by the sign for v; the dental sibilant is 39 times employed for the palatal sibilant (e.g. in asitadyuti, line 1, Yusovigraha and yasah, line 2, samit-úsésha, line 3, dc.), and the palatal sibilant for the dental sibilant in sva-dattain, line 20, and sahasiani, line 21; and the dental n is used instead of the anusvára in vanéa, line 1. A few other mistukes will be pointed out and corrected in the transcript of the text.

The inscription is one of the Paramabhattáraka, Mahárújádhírája, and Paramésvara, Madanapaladêva (or, as he calls himself in line 23, Madanadêva,) of Kanyakubja (or Kananj), who records that his father, the Paramabhallaraka, Maharajadhiraja, and Paramésvara. Chandradêva, when at Benares, granted the village of Ahuama, in the Dhanesaramaua pattalá, to the Brâhman Vamanasvâmiśarman, a student of the Samavêda. And the date on which this grant was made by Chandradeva," is stated (in lines 11 and 12), both in words and in figures, to have been Monday, the third lunar day of the bright half of the month Mågha of the year 1154, uttarayana esinkråntau.

That there is something remarkable about this date, or that, at any rate, the term uttaráyana-sanhkrántau cannot have here its ordinary and well-known meaning "on the sun's entrance upon its northern course," is evident from the date itself. For the uttarhyanasamkranti, which introduces the solar month Migha, must necessarily precede the new-moon which introduces the bright half of the lunar Mâgha, and it therefore cannot possibly take place on the third day of the bright half of the lunar Magha. It is, of course, possible that the grant may have been actually made on the occasion of the uttardyana-samkranti, and recorded on a subsequent date; but there is nothing to show that such was really the case. And I would rather confess that there is something here which, at present, I do not understand ; and I can only draw attention to the date given ante, Vol. X. p. 188, in which the uttaráyanasankranti apparently is similarly coupled with the fifth of the bright half of Magha; and to two other dates, quoted ante, Vol. VIII. pp. 191 and 192, in which it has been coupled with certain days of the months Phalguna and Chaitra, when the sun can never enter upon its northern course."--- Omitting the reference to the uttardyanz-sandkranti, I find that the third day of the bright half of Migha of the northern or southern Vikrama year 1154, current, corresponds to 19 January, A.D. 1097, which was a Monday, as required (and was the 27th day of the solar Magha); for, on that day, the third tithi of the bright half ended about 10 hours after mean sunrise (for Ujjain). And the third day of the bright half of Magha of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See below, note 40.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Dr Hall took the date to refer to the time when the deed was ordered to be drawn up by Chandradêva's son Madanapâladêva, solely because, in Dr. Hell's opinion, one would expect to read, in live 12, anstena instead of snátrá, if the date were meant to refer to Chandradêva's original grant. But snátra has undoubtedly to be referred to Chandradêva's original grant, and its use is perfectly correct, because the agent of snátra must be the same as the agent of praiatize (in *Steantriving pradatia iti*) in line 16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> In the numerous dates before me which mention an uttarhyana.or makara-samkranti, that Samkranti is generally coupled with a day of the bright or dark half of Panahes; and I can at present recall only two dates where, in a northern year, the same Samkranti is (rightly) coupled with a day of the dark half of Magha. The whole subject apparently is too intricate to be treated here incidentally.

ਪੈਸ਼ਯਿਸ਼ੁਰਗਿਸ਼ੀਟ ਸੀਨ ਦਿ ਜਿਹੁ ਅਨੀ ਜੋ ਨੇ ਸਿਹਿ ਨੇ ਸਿੱਖ ਸਿੰਘ ਸਿੰਘ ਸਿੰਘ ਸਿੰਘ ਸਿੰਘ ਸਿੰਘ ਸਿੰਘ ਸਿੰਘ	যনেই মী বিজ্ঞু । মতা মার্চা বিজ্ঞু মারিটি ন মই বর ম	ਗ਼ੑੑੑੑੑੑੑੑੑੑੑੑੑਸ਼ੑਗ਼ਗ਼ੑਗ਼ੑਗ਼ੑਗ਼ੑਗ਼ੑੑੑਫ਼ੑਫ਼੶ਫ਼ੑੑਗ਼ਗ਼ਗ਼ਗ਼ੑ੶ਖ਼ੑਗ਼ਗ਼ਗ਼ੑੑਸ਼ ਗ਼ੑੑੑੑੑੑੑੑੑੑਸ਼ੑਗ਼ਗ਼ਗ਼ਗ਼ਗ਼ਗ਼ਗ਼ਗ਼ਗ਼ਗ਼ਗ਼ਗ਼ਗ਼ਗ਼ਗ਼ਗ਼ਗ਼ਗ਼	विश्वयित्राति मर्भरार ल्पाटनपड्ना पड़िन्द्र गुल्ल प्रबान प्रवासित्रमार्भर प्रविधिति अपित्रमार्भर इंद्रे जानाताि जा समत्व चुमुणयातानि इडये कोल मन्ता साम् तिज्ञ ति अमेटलीट वेपात तिषु जायबाद्वार्थि भागने जाहिमात्राणि व्यक्तें ज्ञस्ति ता मनेतार्भते लिहि की पद्भ	मेंपीरानप्रभावगिर्वहरें	[ 차편[ 전 3:81 7 등	ার্সরামি মনক্রম	5H	र्था सन्दर्वता विवृत्त जा में गले मना थी. ॥	SCALE .42 W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.
<ul> <li>विविधायमणावायणविज्ञायनण्डित्रव्यक्ष्यः स्विकृत्वः स्विकृत्वः स्विकृत्वः स्विकृत्वः स्वकृत्वः स्वकृत स्वकृत्वात्वात्वात्वात्वात्वात्वात्वात्वात्वा</li></ul>	ः २५३५५७महोचाङा ति सङ्गणने सर्भाजने गरिनेरे थ २०२०२४७२०७१ना विस्तित्वा द्याद्वी यित्ते विद्वा २०२०२२२४४२४४४४४४४४४४४४४४४४४४४४४४४४४४	Clarks Clarks	េ ំ ំ ំ ំ ំ ំ ំ ំ ំ ំ ំ ំ ំ ំ ំ ំ ំ ំ ំ	• • • जिस्तास्रजी ज्ञत्य थर तरू निजास अस्त्रा निर्धातिक मिनी सित	॥ ्रोजियीगाजिलि।सिंस्त्रेन्द्रस्त हेनेन्स् द्वियेगानि • भिन्द्रीसामानायंग्रीलन्द्रीणांगितान्त्राका निर्वासि	20 <sup>ह</sup> पिलासिटेनेपिकगासिकारसिर्घयेगप्रहेता हे हैं, वह		24	L. T. FLEET, 80. C.S.

Bengal Asiatic Society's Flate of Chandradeva and Madanapaladeva.-The Year 1154.

northern or southern year 1154, expired, corresponds to Friday, 8 January, A.D. 1098; while the uttaráyana-samkránti had taken place on Thursday, 24 December, A.D. 1097, which was the third day of the dark half of Magha, by the purpimanta, or of Pausha, by the amanta reckoning.

The village granted, and the pattald in which it was situated, I am unable to identify on the maps at my disposal.

#### TEXT.\*

- Akunthôtkantha'-Vaikuntha-kanthapîtha-luthat-karah t samrambhah 1 Öm<sup>s</sup> svasti il surat-årambhê sa Sriyah srêyasê=stu val II Âsîd'=Asi(śi)tadyuti-vanśa(mśa)játa-kahmápála-málásu divaó=gatásu ( sákshád=Vi-
- vasyân=iva bhûri.dhâmnâ nâmnâ Yasô(bô)vigraha ity=ndârah || Tat<sup>\*</sup>-sutô=bhûn= 2 Mahichandra3=chandra-dhâma-nibham nijam 1 yên=âpåram=àkûpåra-pårê vyâpâritam yasa(śa)h 11 Tasy<sup>9</sup>=îbhût=tanayô nay-aika-rasikah krânta-dvi-
- 3 shan-mandalô vidbvast-ôddhata-dhîra10-yôdha-timirah śrî-Chandradêvô nripah i yên= srimad-Gadhipur-adhiraôdáratara-pratápa-sa(śa)mit-âsê(śê)sha-praj-ôpadravam iyam=asamam dor-vvikramen=arjjitam || Tirthani'' Kasi(si)-Ku-
- si(Bi)k-Ôttarakosa(Ba)l-Êndrasthaniyakani paripilayat=ibbii'gamya i hêm=itma-tuvasumatî sa(śa)tasa(śa)s= dadatâ dvijêbhvô yên=âŭkîtâ lyam=anisa(śa)m talâbhih 11 Tasy-âtmajô Madanapâla iti kshitindra-chû-
- yasy=ibhishĉka-kalas-ôllasitaih payôbhih dâmanir=vvijayatê nija-gûtra chandrah 1 5 dharitryah # Yasy'3=asid=vijaya-prayanakali-rajah sakalam prakshalitam samayê tungâchal-ôchchaiś-chala-
- n-mådyat-kumbhi-pada-kram-åsama-bhara-bhrasyan-mahî-maṇḍalê 1 chûdîratna-vibhinna-6 tâln-galita-styàn-âsrig-udbhâsitalı Sê(śê)shah1\* pêsha-vasâ(śû)d=iva kshanam=asau krôdð nilin-ánanah 🛛 Sô=yam samasta râ-
- paramabhattaraka-maharajadhiraja-paramôsva(śva)ra 7 ja-chakra-samsêvita-charanah II15 paramamāhôsva(śva)ra-nijabhujópūrijita-śriKanyakuvja(bja)dhipatya - śriChandra dôva-pâdânudbyâta-pa-
- ramabhattaraka-mahûrâjadhirâja-paramêsva (śva)ra-paramamâhêsva (śva)ra-śrîman-Madana-8 påladevo vijayi 11<sup>16</sup> chha 11<sup>16</sup> Dha<sup>17</sup>nesaramaua-pattaläyäm=Ahuama-gränianivåsinô
- nikhila-janapadân=upagatân=api cha rûja-râjûî-yuvarâja-mantri-purôhita-pratîhûra-sônâ-9 pati-bhând igarik-akshapatalika-bhishak (g)-naimittik-antahpurika-dûta-karituragapa-
- ttanâkarasthânagôkulâdhikâri-purushân samûjñâpayati vô(bô)dhayaty=âdisa(śa)ti cha I 10 Viditam=astn bhavatâm 119 yath=ôparilikhita-grâmah sa-jala-sthalah su-lôhalavan-âkarah sa-
- madhûka-chûta-vana-vâțikû-vițapa-triņa-yûti-gôchara-paryantah sa-gartt-ôsharah s-ôrddhv-11 âdhaś=chatur-âghâța-visu(śu)ddhah [sva]-sîmâ-paryantah chatuppa(shpa)mcha-

### sa(sa)d-adhika-sa(sa)taikadasa(sa)-samvatsaré Maghé ma-

12 si su(su)kla-pakshé tritiyàyàn Sôma-diné Varanasyàn uttarayana(na)-1\* samkrantau ankatah samavat 1154 Magha su di 3 Sômê Varanasyam déva-éri-Trilôchana-ghattê Gamgâyûm snâtvû érîma-

-	Motre, Indravajrå. Dis is distinctly dhira, and not vira.	<ul> <li>Expressed by a symbol.</li> <li>Metre, Ślóka (Anushtubh).</li> <li>Motre, Ślóka (Anushtubh).</li> <li>Metre, Vasantatilakâ; and in the next verse.</li> <li>Metre, Ślatdolavikridita.</li> </ul>
	" This akshara, bht, is quite distinct here	Anterior of the state of the st

<sup>14</sup> This sign of visarys had originally been omitted.—I believe the right reading to be *sinhah saisha-vasid-iva* : see ants, Vol. XV., p. 12, note 97.

" This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

<sup>14</sup> These signs of punctuation are superfluous. On the sign, resembling chha, which stands between them, see ants, Vol. XVII. p. 140, note 45.

" The consonant, dA, of this akshara is quite distinct, but the whole akshara may possibly be dht.

" This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

" The actual reading of the text is uttardnayans .-- Uttardnayana for uttardyana we also find ante, Vol. VI. p. 197, line 22.

- vidhivan=mamtra-dêva-muni-manuja-bhûta-pitri-13 [n-mahâr ? <sup>30</sup>]àja-śrî-Chamdradêvêna gaņāms≈tarppayitvā timira-patala-pātana-patu-mahasam≠Ushņarôchisham=npasthây= Aushadhipati-sa(śa)kala-sê(śê)kharam samabhyarchchya
- havishå prachura-pâyasêna pûjâm vidbâya 14 [tri]bhuvana-trâtur=Vvâsudêvasya puņya-yasô (śô)-bhivriddhayê mâtâ-pitrôr=âtmanaś=cha hutvâ havirbhujam Kausi(śi)ka-gôtrâya Visvâ(śvâ)mitra-Andalya-Dêvarâta\*1-tripravarâ-
- vrâ(brâ)hmaņa-śrîvrâ(brâ)hmaņa-Dêvasvâmi-pantrâya Chchhamdôga-sâ(śà)khinê 15 ya vrâ(brâ)hmaņa-śrî-Vàmanasvâmisa(śa)rmmaņê çôkarma-Våråhasvåmi-puträya kusa(śa)latå-pûta-karatal-ôdaka-pûrvvam=û padmasadmanô hû-
- 16 hûkântam yâvach=chhâsanîkritya pradatta iti jñâtvâ asmâbhih priri-dâna-sa(śâ)sanaprakâsa(śa)nârtham nija-nâm-ânkita-mndrayâ tâmmra<sup>19</sup>-pațiakê nidhâya pradattô\*\* matvå yathadiyamana bhagabhô-
- 17 ga[ka]ra-hiranya-prabhriti-samast-adayan=ajña-vidhêyîbhûya dâsya[tha] II chha Il pratigrihnâ(hņâ)ti yaś=cba ch=åtra ślôkah u Bhûmim<sup>2\*</sup> yah Bhavanti bhûmim prayachchhati ( ubhau tau punya-karmmânau ni-
- chchhatram<sup>25</sup> var-âsvâ(śvâ) 18 yatan svargga-gâminan II Sa(śa)mkham bhadr âsanam vara-vâranâh | bhûmi-dânasya chihnâni phalam=êtat=Puramdara || Sarvvân=\*\* êtân=bhâvinah pârthiv-êndrân=bhûyô Lhûyô yâchatê Rû-
- dharmma-sêtur=nripâņâ[m] kâlê kâlê pâlanîyô sâmânyố≠yaṁ 19 mabhadrah II(I) bhavadbhih 11 Va(ba)hubhir\*'=vvasuddhå(dhå) bhuktå råjabhih Sagar-ådibhih 1 yasya yasya yada bhûmis=tasya tasya tada
- 20 phalam ii Suvaranam=êkam gâm=êkim bhûmêr⇒apy=êkam=angula[m] i haran=narakam= âpnôti yâvad-àbhûtasaroplavam || Šva(sva)-dattâm para-dattâm vâ yô harêta vasumdharâm i sa vishthâyâm krimir=bhûtvâ pitribhih saha
- 21 majjati 11 Shashtim varsha-sahaśrå(sr.î)ni svarggê vasati bhûmidah t âchchhêttå ch=ânumantâ cha tûny=êva narakam(kê) vasêt 11 Yân=28 îha dattâní purâ narðndrair=ddànâni va(dha)rmm-årtha-yasa(śa)skarâ i i nirmmâ-
- 22 lya-vânta pratimâni tâni kô nâma sâdhuh punar=âdadîta (; Vât-seâbhra-vibhramam= idam vasudh-âdhipatyam=ìpâtamîtra-madhurà vishay-ôyapabhôgâh<sup>80</sup> I prâņās= triņāgra-jalavimdu-samā na-
- param⇒ahô paralôka-yànê II Śriman-\*1 Madanadêvêna 23 rânâm dharmmau sakhi pitri-dâna-prakâsa(śa)kah i si(śa)sanasya niva(ba)ndhô=yam kâritah avîya-mudrayå 1 (11) Likhitam karanika-thakkura-
- 24 śri-Sahadêvêna ( Si(śi)vam=a[stu] () Mamgalam maha-śrih ()

#### TRANSLATION.

#### Ômíľ

#### May it be well !

(Line 1.)-May the agitation of Lakshmi during the amorous dalliance, when her hands wander over the neck of Vaikontha filled with eager longing, bring you happiness !

After the lines of the protectors of the earth born in the solar race had gone to heaven, there came a noble (personage) Yasovigraha by name, (who) by his plentiful splendour (was) as it were the sun incarnate.

- \*\* Bead Mmrs. \* Metre, Salini. \*\* Read chhattram. <sup>24</sup> Metre, Slöks (Anushtubh) ; and in the next verse.
- \* Metre, Ślóka (Anushtubh); and in the next three verses.
- 38 Metre, Indravajrå. 3 Metre, Slöks (Annahjubh).
- \* Read Spabhog4h. 28 Metre, Vasantatilakå.

<sup>\*</sup> I am doubtful about these three akshavas, of which only faint traces are visible in the impression. The aksharas were certainly not drojddhird.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> According to the Assaldyana Arautastira, Calcutta Ed., p. 883, the three names are Faistamitre-Deverti-Ándala. \*\* One expects pradatta iti matra.

(L. 2.)-His son was Mahichandra, who spread his boundless fame, resembling the moon's splendour, (even) to the boundary of the ocean.

His son was the king, the illustrious Chandradeva, 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 Gadhipura,<sup>32</sup> when an end was put to all distress of the people by his most noble prowess.

Protecting the holy bathing-places of Kasi, Kusika, Uttarakosala, and the city of Indra,<sup>33</sup> 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).

(L. 4.)--Victorious is his son, Madanapala, the crest-jewel of the rulers of the earth, the moon of his family. By the sparkling waters from his coronation-jars all<sup>36</sup> impurity of the Kali-age has been washed off from the earth.

When he went forth to victory, the orb of the earth bent down beneath the excessive weight of the footsteps of his rutty elephants marching along, tall as towering mountains: then, as if suffering from cold,<sup>36</sup> Sêsha, radiant with the clotted blood that trickled from his palate pierced by the crest-jewel, hid his face for a moment in his bosom.

(L. 6.)—He who has homage rendered to his feet by the circle of all Rájas, the Paramabha táraka, Mahárájádhirája, and Paramiévara, the devout worshipper of (Šiva) Mahésvara, the illustrious Madanapáladðva,—who meditates on the feet of the Paramabhattáraka, the Mahárájádhirája, and Paraméévara, the devout worshipper of (Šiva) Mahésvara, the illustrious Chandradðva, who by his arm had acquired the sovereignty over the glorious Kanyakubja,—

(L. 8.)—He, the victorious, commands, informs, and decrees to all the people assembled, resident at the village of Ahuāma in the Dhanêsaramaus pattalá, and also to the Rájas, Rájňs, Yuvarájas, 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 (?), sthânas and gőkulas,<sup>36</sup>—(as follows) :—

(L. 10.)-Be it known to you that the illustrious Maharaja (?), the illustrious Chandradeva,-after having bathed in the Ganges at the ghat of the divine holy Trilôchana at Benares. 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 Våsudêva, the protector of the three worlds, after having sacrificed to fire an oblation with abundant milk, rice and sugar, -- at Benares, in the year eleven hundred increased by fifty-four, in the month Magha in the bright half, on the third (lunar day), on a Monday, on the sun's entrance upon its northern course, in figures, in the year 1154, su, di. 3 of Magha, on Monday,---has given, in order to increase the merit and fame of his parents and himself, the above-written village with its water and dry land, with its mines of iron and salt, with and including its groves of madhuka and mango trees, enclosed gardens, bushes, grass and pasture land, with its ravines and saline wastes, with what is above and below, defined as to its four abuttals, up to its proper boundaries, to the Bråhman the illustrious Vâmanasvâmiśarman, son-of the Brâhman the illustrions Vârâhasvâmin, son's son of the Bråhman Dêvasvâmin, of the Kanśika götra, (and) whose three pravaras are Viśvâmitra, Audalya and Dêvarâta, a student of the Chhandôga sákhá, 35-(confirming his gift) with (the pouring out)

<sup>\*\* &#</sup>x27;Gådhi's town' is Kanyakubja.-

<sup>\*\*</sup> i. s. Benares, Kanyakubja, Ayôdhyå, and probably. Indraprastha (or ancient Delhi); see ante, Vol. XV. p. 8, note 46.

Other grants have *rajab-patalam* 'the coating of impurity.'
 See ib. p. 9, note 54.
 <sup>31</sup> See ib. p. 10, note 55.

See ants, Vol. XV. p. 12, note 97. <sup>38</sup> vis. of the Sámavêda.

(that it should be his) as long as sun and moon<sup>40</sup> (endure) ;---

(L. 16.) -(And) that, knowing this (to be so), to make known (our) father's order of (this) donation, we have set it forth on (this) copperplate, furnished with a seal marked with our own name, and have (thereby on our part) given (the above-written village). Aware (of this), you, being ready to obey (our) commands, will make over (to the dones) every kind of income, the due share of the produce, money-rent, and so forth.

(L. 17.)-And on this (subject) there are (the following) verses :--[Here follow nine of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses, which it is unnecessary to translate.]

(L. 23.)—This deed, making known (his) father's donation, has been ordered to be drawn up by the illustrious Madanadeva, (and it is furnished) with his own seal.

Written by the writer of legal documents, the Thakkura, the illustrious Sahadéya. May it be auspicious ! (May) bliss (and) good fortune (attend) !

B.-Copper-Plate Grant of Madanapáia and Gövindachandradéva.

#### The (Vikrama) year 1166.

This inscription has been previously edited by Babu Durgaram Basu, in the Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. XLV., Part I. Proceedings, pp. 131-135. It is on another copper-plate which belongs to the Library of the Bengal Asiatic Society, and was presented by Mr. J. Growse, of Mathura. It was discovered, in 1869, at a place called 'Bahan' in the 'Etâwah' District in the North-West Provinces, by a person who was digging in a field.

The plate, which is inscribed on one side only, measures about 1' 74" by 1' 1". The front of the plate is quite smooth; but on the back of it the edges were both fashioned thicker and raised into rims all round, as if to protect an inscription that was, or was intended to be, written there; there are, however, no indications of this grant being a quasi-palimpseet through the obliteration of an inscription on the back and the engraving of a new one on the front of it. The writing is well preserved throughout; and, excepting one or two aksharas, there is no doubt whatever about the actual reading of any part of the inscription. The plate is substantial; and the letters, though fairly deep, do not shew through on the reverse side of it at all. The engraving is good; but, as usual, the interiors of some of the letters shew marks of the working of the tool .-- In the upper part of the plate there is a ring-hole, through which there fits tightly a copper rivet, secured at the front with an eleven-leaved water-lily. At the back this rivet secures a copper-band, about  $\frac{1}{2}$  and  $1\frac{1}{4}$  broad, with a cross-line pattern on the outer side of it, the projecting part of which is folded over so as to give an inside circular diameter of about #." Through this there slides, quite loosely, a ring about "" thick and 21" in diameter; it had been cut, before the time when the grant came under Mr. Fleet's notice, and probably before the time when it was obtained by Mr. Growse; and the seal belonging to it is not forthcoming.-The average size of the letters is about  $\frac{1}{4}$ ." -The characters are Nagari .- The language is Sanskrit. In line 23 we have the Prakrit word pupphs, for pushpa; in line 16 the term sirá, probably denoting a measure of land; and in line 21 several rare revenue-terms, the exact meaning of which is not apparent. As regards orthography, the sign of the upadhmániya has been employed in °taih=payobhih, line 6, and antahpurika, line 13; b is throughout denoted by the sign for v; the dental sibilant is 11 times nsed for the palatal sibilant (e.g. in vansa, lines 1 and 2, asasha for asésha, i.e. asésha, line 4, &c.), and the palatal sibilant 9 times for the dental sibilant (e.g. in surva, line 2, vaiumati,

<sup>38</sup> See ante, Vol. XV. p. 10, note 57.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> In the original, the words d padmasadmans hilhilkintam ydvat take the place of the ordinary chandrikam ydvat or d-chandrikam ydvat, and they convey, I believe, the same meaning. It is true that the dictionaries give neither padmasadman for 'sun,' nor hilhilkinta 'the beloved of Hilhil' for 'moon;' but padmdsana, the etymological sense of which is the same as of padmasadman, is said to mean 'the sun,' and considering that Hilhil is the name of a Gandharva, and that there are close relations between the Gandharvas and Sôma (the moon), hilhilkinta may really be a very old name of the moon. According to Dr. F. E. Hall, the phrase in the original "is a hundred to one, corrupt."

line 5, &c.); sh is used for kh in such i, line 2; khya for ksha in  $\tilde{a}khyapatalika$ , line 12. Other errors, such as the occasional use of h for bh, and vice versa, of m for n, &c., which are owing to the carelessness of the writer or engraver, will be pointed out in the transcript of the text.

The inscription refers itself (in line 11) to the reign of the Paramabhaitáraka, Makárájádhirája, and Paraméévara, Madanapáladéva of Kanyakubja (or Kanauj), whose son Gôvindachandradéva, apparently acting on behalf of his father, thereby makes known that the Ránaka Lavarápraváha, who must have owed allegiance to Madanapála, when at Ásatika on the Yamunâ, gave part of the village of Rámaïtha, in the Sigurôdha pattalá, to the Brâhman Gunachandra, a student of the Rigvéda and emigrant from the village Bhatakavada.

The date on which this donation was made, is stated (in lines 17 and 18), in figures only, to have been Sunday, the 15th of the dark half of the month Pausha, of the year 1166, at the time of a solar eclipse.

The introductory metrical portion (from line 1 to 10) of the inscription gives the genealogy of the so-called Råthôr princes of Kanyakubja, down to Gôvindachandra, referring those princes, like the Basâhi plate<sup>\*1</sup> of Gôvindachandradêva (with which this inscription has much in common), to the Gâhadavâla-vanta, and mentioning, before Madanapâla's father Chandradêva, only the one prince Mahitala, clearly the Mahiala of the Basâhi plate. The statement that Chandradêva acquired the sovereignty over Kanyakubja when the two great regal families of the solar and lunar races had perished, is identical in purpose with the statement of the Basâhi grant, that Chandradêva rose to power when Bhôja and Karna were no more. Beyond this, attention need only be drawn to Gôvindachandra's wars against the Hammira, which are referred to in line 9.

The date, the details of which have been given above, does not appear to work out satisfactorily. Taking 1166 to be the current northern or southern Vikrama year, the corresponding date, by the purnimanta reckoning, would be 4 December, A.D. 1108, and by the amdata reckoning, 3 January, A.D. 1109. On 4th December, 1108, there was a solar eclipse. but it was not visible in India, and the day was a Friday, not a Sunday; and 3rd January, 1109, was a Sunday, but without a solar eclipse. For Vikrama 1166, expired, the corresponding dates would be Thursday, 23 December, A.D. 1109, and Saturday, 22 January, A.D. 1110, both without an eclipse and therefore in every respect unsuitable. And for the Vikrama year 1165, current, the corresponding date, by the purnimanta reckoning, would be Monday, 16 December, A.D. 1107, when, about noon, there was a solar eclipse which was visible in India; and by the amanta reckoning, Tuesday, 14 January, A.D. 1108, without an eclipse .---Considering that in all the years from A.D. 1100 to 1120 the 15th of the dark half of Pausha never fell on a Sunday on which there was a solar eclipse, I for the present incline to believe that some of the recorded details of the date are erroneous; but all I can say with certainty is, that of the several corresponding dates given above, Sunday, 3 January, A.D. 1109 would be the most suitable, if the writer had made a mistake concerning the eclipse.

Regarding the places mentioned, none of which I am able to identify, I may add that **Asatika** on the Yamuna is also mentioned in line 9 of the Basahi plate.

#### TEXT."

- Î Ô[m\*] Paramâtman[ê] namah ji Akumithôtkamitha-\*\*Vaikunitha-kanîthapîtha-luthatkarah i samirambhah surat-ârambhê sa Śriyah śrêyasê-stu vah i Abhûn=\*\* n[ri]pô Gâhadavâla-vamsê(śê) Mahitalo nâma ji-
- 2 t-årichakrah i sthit[ô] dharâ-bhâram=aśêsha[m?]\*\* êsha Sêshah sushî(khî) yasya su(bhn)jê nidhâya ii Pradhvastê\*\* Sôma-Sû(sû)r[y]-ôdbhava-vidita-mahâ-kshatravamaa(śa)dvayê=sminn=utsennaprâya-vêdadhvani jagad=akhilam ma-

\*\* Metre, Upajāti.

<sup>&</sup>quot; ante, Vol. XIV. p. 103.

<sup>\*</sup> From the impression. \* Bead affsham-isha.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Metre, Ślóka (Anushţubh).
 <sup>45</sup> Metre, Sragdharå.

- 3 nyamânah Svayambhûh i kritvâ dêha-grahâya pravaņam=iha manah [ś]uddhavu(bu)ddhir=ddharitryâm⇒uddharttum dharmma-mârgam prapri(thi)tam=atha tathâ kahatravamśa-dvayam cha il Vamśê\*' tatra tatah sa êsha samabhûd=bhûpâ-
- 4 la-chûdâmanih pradhvast-ôddhata-vairi-vîra-timirah śrî-Chamdradôvô nripah | yên= î(ô)dâratara-pratâpa-samit-âsa(sê)sha-praj-ôpadrava - śrîmad - Gâdhipur - âdhirâjyam= asamam dôr-vvikramên=ârjjîtam ||
- 5 Tîrthâni<sup>43</sup> Kâsi(êi)-Kusi(bi)k-Ôttarakôsal-Êndrasthâniyakâni paripâlayat∞âbhigamya i hêm=âtma-tulyam=anišam dadatâ dvijebhyô yên=amkitâ vaśu(su)matî śatasa(śa)s= tulâbhih ii Tasy=âtmajô
- 6 Madanapâla iti kshitîndra-chûdâmanir=[vv]ijayatê nija-gôtra-chamdrah 1 yasy=âbhishêka-kalaś-ôllasitaih=payôbhih prakshâlitam kali-rajah-patalam prithivyâh 11 Yasy\*\*=âsîd=vijaya-prayâ-
- 7 ņa-samayê tningâchal-ôchchaiś-chalan-mâdyat-kumbhi-pada-kra[m]-â[sa]ma-bhara-bhrasyan-mahîmamdal [ê\*] i chūdâratna-vibhinna-tâlu-galita-styân-âśŗi(sṛi)g-udbhâsita-Šêshah [pyô<sup>so</sup>]sha-vasâ(śâ)d⇔iva kshaņam=as[au<sup>s1</sup>] krô-
- 8 dê mi(ni)lîn-âna[nah\*] II Jâtas=<sup>33</sup>tatô rajanijânir=iv=amvu(mbu)râśêr=Gg[ô]vimdaohamdra îti kâmti-bhar-âbhirâmah | râj-âtmaj[ê\*]na bhavatâ sam[u\*]pâjjâ(rjji)tâni Râmêna Dâśarathin=êva yaśâ[m]śi(si) yêna II Durvvâra-<sup>35</sup>əphâ-
- 9 [ra]-G[au]da-dviradavara-ghatâ-ku[m]bha-nirbhêda-bhîmô **Hammîram**<sup>\*\*</sup> nyasta-vairam muhur=asama-raṇa-krîdayâ yô vidhattê | sa(śa)sva(śva)t-samchâri-valgat-turagakhuraput-ôllêkha-mudrâ-sanâpa(tha)-kshôņî-śvî(svî)kâ-
- 10 ra-dakshah sa iha vijayatê prêrthanâ-kalpavikshah 11 Paramabhattêraka-mahêrêjê. dhiga(rê)ja-param[ê]śvara - paramamâhêśvara - mi(ni)jabhujôpêrjjita-śrîKanyêkuvjâ(bjâ)dhipatya-śrîChamdradêva-
- 11 pádánudhyáta-paramabhattáraka-mahár[á]jádhírája-paramésvara paramamáhésvara sríMadanapáladôva-vijayarájyê 11 Asy=aiv=âtmajô mahárájaputra-śrí-Góvindachamdradôvah 11<sup>55</sup>
- 12 Siguródha-pattala[yâ\*]m | Râmaïtha-grâmê || samasta-mabattama-janapada-nivâsilôkân prativâsi-lôkâmś=cha || râja-râjūîm-matri<sup>56</sup>-purôhit-âmâty-âkhya(ksha)patalikâ(ka)-hâm(bhâm)dâgârika-bbi-
- 13 shag-n[ai]mittika-s[&]nâpati<sup>37</sup>-antahpurika-samast-âdhikâri-purush-âdîn samâjñî(jñâ)payati samvô(bô)dhayati cha 11 Yath=âstn vidit=ôyam=anityat=âyu[r\*]gatâ y[u]ahmâbhih 1 Vât-âtapa-vaśât=tri(tți)ņâgra-lagn-â-
- 14 va[śyâ]ya-vimdur=iva na sthira-pa[dam?] va(ba)dhnâti jîvitam | Nalinî-dala-gatê(ta)jala-lava-chamchala-jaladhara-dhârâ-jala-janita-vu(bu)dvu(dbu)da-vat kahaņadrishta-nashtâ sa[m]pat || Kshanikân=i[n]driya-su-
- 15 khâni | Satamva<sup>58</sup> gatvaram dêhinâm=àyuh || Tad=i[dam?] may=âpi sakâta: <sup>39</sup>
   -śâpr(str)-ârth-ävisamvâdinâ(nî)bhih śruti-smritibhir=upajâta-niścbayêna<sup>60</sup> anamtaphala-bhôga-bhâjanam bhûmi-dânam matvâ<sup>61</sup> || asmin
- 16 grämê i halânâm chatu[r\*]bhih pramâyôh(?)<sup>ss</sup> ii sîrâ l sa-jala-sthalâ s-ôsharapâshânâ(na)- i giri-nadâ(dî)-vana-vâţik-âm[r\*]a-madhûka-lôha-lavan-ŝkarâ i ûrddh-[v\*]-âdha[h\*]-siddhi-yutâ i sa-dasâparâdha-damdì i tri(tri)na-
- 17 parņņ-å[dy]-àkar-âdâya-sahitâ || sam 1166 Pausha va di 15 Ravau || ady=êbb(h)= Åsatikāyām dêvatâ-Muraitha-ghâțtê | Yamunâyâm yathâ-vidhinâ<sup>62</sup> snâtvâ dêva-manushya-pitri-tarpanâd=anamtaram

<sup>50</sup> This akshara looks like pyt or yyt. Read śaisha-, and compare ante, Vol. XIV., p. 12, note 97. <sup>51</sup> In the original, this akshara is s, preceded by the medial i, and followed by the medial 4; but the medial av

<sup>\*&#</sup>x27; Metre, Śârdúlavikridita. 🗳 Metre, Vasantatilara; and in the next verse. 🍟 Metre, Sárdúlavikridita.

is aimilarly denoted below in Gauda, line 9. \*\* Metre, Vasantatilakå. \*\* Metre, Vasantatilakå. \*\* Originally Hammmfram.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> Here and below, in places which it is unnecessary to point out separately, the sign of punctuation is superfluces.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Bead . rájňí-mantri.
 <sup>11</sup> Read .sénápaty..
 <sup>12</sup> Read satatan.
 <sup>13</sup> Read niśchayin-dnamta..
 <sup>13</sup> Read mate-dsmin.
 <sup>13</sup> Perhaps praméyá.
 <sup>13</sup> Read yathá-vidhi.

- 18 bhagavamtam sûryam=upasthâya 1 tad=anu ch=âbhishta-dêvat[û\*]-Mahêśvaram pamchabhir=upachâraih samabhyarchchya bhagavatê Jâtavêdasê pûrn-âhutim dat[t\*]vâ I Rahu-graste savitari | mâtâ-pitrô-
- r=åtmanaé=cha punya-yaśô-bhivriddhayê || bhatta-vrâ(brâ)hmanâya | Gûgâ-\*pautrâya | 19 Rîlhê-putrâya | Bhatakavada-grâma-vinirggatâya | Sâmkhyâyana-sû(sâ)khinê | Gautama- | Aitatha(?)65- | Âmgi-
- trî-pravarâya | śrnt-âdhyayana-sampanna- | vrâ(brâ)hmana-Gunachamdrâya H 20 rasa-1 viśnddhèna manasâ kuśa-pûtêna hast-ôdakêna kshity-udadhi-pavan-âmva(mba)râni yâvat | rânaka-śri-Lava-
- śâśa(sa)natvêna pradattah(ttâ) || Iti matvâ sa(ya)thâ-dîyamànam | 21 rapravahêna bhagabhôgakûtaka-vimśatichhavatha-turushkadamda.\*\* t aksha pataladâya-valadîkumaragadianakaka-
- ra-hiranya-vâhy-âbhyamtara-siddhier êtat=sarvvam | anyad=api bhûmy-âvâr--nºs-ôtpat-22syamânam mad-âjūâ-pâlana-pravanair=bhûtvâ\* êtat=sarvvam=asm[ai u?]\*opanêta-. vyam i êtat-sa[m]tatyai" api i Na kên=â-
- py=atra vâdhâ kâryâ i śrutvâ munînâm vachah ii Samgam(kham)" ha(bha)dr-âśa(sa)-23 bhûdâna-druma-pupphâ(shpà)ni vara-vâranâh 1 nam chhat[t\*]ram var-âśvâ Puramdara II Bhûmim yah pratigrihnâ(hnâ)ti yas=tu svargah phala[m] bhûmi[m]
- prayachchhati | tâv=ubhau puņya-ka[r]mmanau niyatam svarga-gâminau ii Va(ba)-24 hubhir=vvasudhâ bhuktâ râjabhih Sagar-âdibhih I yasya yasya yadû bhûmis= tasya tasya tadû phalam II Sva-dattû[m]
- harêta vasum(sum)dharâm i sa vishthâyâm krimi[r]≠ 25 para-dattî(ttâm) vâ y[ô] bhûtvâ pitribhih saha majjati 11 Shashtir<sup>78</sup>zvvarsha-sahasrâ(srâ)ni svarggê vasati bhûmidah i âchchhôttâ ch=ûnumamtâ cha tûvanti narakê
- bhûmya(mê)r=apy=[ê]kam=a[m]gulam t svarnnam=êkam cha Gâm=êkâm 26 vasêt ji yâvad-âhûtasamplavam II ¥ân"⁴=îha dattâni purâ haran=narakam=âpn[ô]ti narêmdrair=ddânâni dharmm-ârtha-yasa(śa)skarâņi į ni-
- rmmålya-vånta-pratimáni tâmi(ni) kô nâma sådhuh punar=ådadita II Yê<sup>75</sup> påsyanti 27 kulê kim(m)vâ parasmin=mahîm têshâm=êsha may= mahibhritô mama âmjalir=vvirachitô n=âdêyam=a-
- smât=kiyat | dûrvvâ-kâṇḍam=api evadharmma-niratâ dattam mayâ pâlyatâm vâyur= 28 muninám vachah II Likhitô=yam śrutvâ tapsyati pratapanah vvásvati mahattaka-śri-
- Tribhuvanapâlêna | thakkura-śrî Dêvâmga-sumtên "=êti || Sunara-Gânigêy-ânujñayâ 29 Sât[ê]hara-sotên=êti<sup>11</sup> II kkudanéna –

#### TRANSLATION.

#### Ôṁ!

#### Adoration to the Supreme Spirit !

(Line 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 !

In the Gahadavala family, there was a prince, named Mahitala, who defeated the host of (his) enemies, (and) by entrusting to whose arm the whole burden of the earth, Sêsha enjoyed permanent comfort.

\* Bead -nddhy .. . Read -damd-aksha ..

- " Metre, Ślóks (Anushiubh); and in the next five verses.

- \* Perhaps Akarshan -. 22 Read -tyd opi.
- 18 Read Shashtim varsha.

\*\* Originally-suténéti (?) 18 Read. suten=.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Perhaps altered to Gaga-.

<sup>64</sup> One expects Auchathya: see Awallyana-irautasiira, Calcutta Ed., p. 878. The Basahi plate of Gövinda-chandra, ante, Vol. XIV., p. 103, l. 15, has Avitatha.

<sup>10</sup> Read -asma upa-. • Bead -bhutv-aitat.

<sup>&</sup>quot; Metre, Sårdúlavikridita. \*\* Metre, Indravajrå.

When the two well-known great regal families, sprung from the Moon and the Sun, had perished, then, the self-existent (Brahman), the pare minded, considering the sound of the Vêda to have become almost extinct in the whole world, having conceived the inclination to assume a bodily form here, in order to re-establish on earth the path of religion, as well as the two famous regal families,<sup>78</sup>----

In that family there was then born that illustrious prince Chandradevs, the crest-jewel of rulers, who scattered the haughty bostile warriors as (the moon does the) darkness (and) who by the valour of his arm acquired the matchless sovereignty over the glorious Gadhipura," when an end was put to all distress of the people by his most noble prowess.

Protecting the holy bathing-places of Kasi, Kusika, Uttarakosala, and the city of Indra, after he had obtained them, (and) incessantly bestowing on the twice-born gold equal (in meight) to his body, he hundreds of times marked the earth with the scales (on which he had himself weighed).

(L. 5.)-Victorious is his son Madanapala, 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 of the Kali-age has been washed off from the earth.

When he went forth to victory, the orb of the earth bent down beneath the excessive weight of the footsteps of his rutty elephants marching along, tall as towering mountains: then, as if suffering from cold, Sesha, radiant with the clotted blood that trickled from his palate pierced by the crest-jewel, hid his face for a moment in his bosom.

As (the moon) whose wife is the night (sprang) from the ocean, so was born from him Govindachandra, pleasing by his great loveliness, who, as son of the king, acquired fame like Rûma, the son of Dasaratha.

Victorious is here that tree of paradise for (granting) requests, who, terrific in cleaving the frontal globes of arrays of irresistible mighty large elephants from Ganda, again and again by the play of his matchless fighting makes the Hammira lay aside (his) enmity, (and who is) skilled in appropriating the earth (which is) marked by the scraping of the hoofs of (his constantly marching bouncing horses.

(L. 10.)-In the reign of victory of the Paramabha!!araka, Maharajadhiraja, and Paraméévara, the devout worshipper of (Siva) Mahésvara, the illustrious Madanapaladeva,-who meditates on the feet of the Paramabhattáraka, Mahárájádhirája, and Paraméévara, the devont worshipper of (Siva) Mabéávara, the illustrious Chandradeva, who by his arm had acquired the sovereignty over the glorious Kanyakubja :--

His son, the illustrious Govindachandradevs, the son of the Mahárája, commands and informs all the Mahattamas and the people residing at the village of Ramaitha in the Sigurodha pattald, as well as the neighbouring people, (and) the Rájas, Rájńs, counsellors, chaplains, ministers, keepers of records, treasurers, physicians, astrologers, commanders of troups, superintendents of gynmceums, all officers having authority, and others, -as follows :----

(L. 13.)-You should know so that this life does not last for ever. As the dew drop which sticks to the point of a blade of grass, on account of wind and heat, has no stable position, so it is with life. Unsteady\*\* like the drop of water on a lotus-leaf, resembling the bubble produced by the shower from a cloud, fortune appears for a moment and then vanishes. Momentary are the pleasures of the senses. Ever fleeting is the life of mortals. Of this<sup>53</sup> I

<sup>7</sup> The sentence contained in this verse is incomplete, because it contains no principal verb; and I consider it impossible to content the verse grammatically with the following verse, although it may be true that Chandra-déva is intended to be described as an incarnation of Brahman. To me it appears, that the verse Vash é tatra originally followed immediately upon the verse Abhénanyigé, and that the verse Pradhrasté Séma has been inserted here troin some other praisest in which it was followed by a verse which is not given in the present inscription.

<sup>\*\*</sup> For this and some of the following names and expressions compare the preceding inscription.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> In the original one would expect to read here yath astu val convoiditam, Viditeyam. The following must be understood to be the words of the Ranaka Lavarapravaha (in line 20), whose donation is made public by

<sup>&</sup>quot; If the original is correct, which I doubt, the word chanchala must be taken to qualify the following budbuda. I have translated as if the reading were -chanchald.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Here again the words of the original, tad-idam, are ungrammatical.

too have become convinced by the Vêdas and the law-books, which (in this matter) do not differ from the teaching of all the Sástras; and, considering that donations of land secure the enjoyment of endless rewards,---

(L. 15.)—I, the illustrious Ránaka Lavarápraváha,—having duly bathed in the Yamunâ at the ghat of the deity Muraïtha, here at Asatiká, having satisfied the divinities, men and ancestors, having adored the holy sun and thereupon worshipped with fivefold offerings my favourite deity Mahêśvara, having presented a full oblation to the holy fire,—to-day, on Sunday, the 15th day of the dark half of (the month) Pausha, of the year 1166, during an eclipse of the sun,—in order to increase the merit and fame of my parents and myself, have given as a grant in this village one sírá,<sup>85</sup> measuring four ploughs, with its water and dry land, with its saline wastes, stones, hills, rivers, groves, enclosed gardens, mango and madhûka trees, mines of iron and salt, together with what accrues above and below, with the fines for the teu offences, (and) with the receipts from grass, leaves and so forth, and from mines (?), to the Bhatta, the Brâhman Gunachandra, the son of Rîlhê (and) son's son of Gûgâ, who has gone forth from the village Bhatakavada, a student of the Sâmkhyâyana śákhá,<sup>5\*</sup> whose three pravaras are Gautama, Aitatha and Ângirasa,<sup>50</sup> (and who is) a Brâhman conversant with the Vêda,—with a pure mind (confirming my gift) with (ihe vouring out) from my hand (of) .water purified with kuia (grass), (to be his) as long as earth, sea, air and heaven (endure).

(1.21).—Aware of this, (you) being disposed to obey my commands, will have to make over to him and also to his descendants the share of the produce,<sup>86</sup> . . . . . . . . . the moneyrent, whatever accrues from without and within, all this, as it may be given (now), and also whatever else may be produced from the cultivation (?) of the land. Nobody shall cause any obstruction in this matter, listening to the (*following*) sayings of the sages :—[Here follow eight of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses, which it is unnecessary to translate].

(L. 28.)—This<sup>37</sup> was written, with the consent of the *Mahattaka*<sup>38</sup> the illustrious Gângêya, by Tribhuvanapâla, son of the *Thakkura* the illustrious Dôvânga. (*Engraved*<sup>39</sup> it was ?) by Sunarakkudana(i), son of Sâtêhara.

#### C.-Copper-Plate Grant of Govindachandradeva.

#### The (Vikrama) year 1174.

This inscription has been previously published, with a translation, by the late Dr. Rajendralal Mitra, in the Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. XLII., Part I., pp. 324-328. It is on a copper-plate which belongs to the Government Museum at Lucknow, and was found, with the grant of the same king bearing the date of (Vikrama)-Samvat 1161, published by Mr. Fleet, ante, Vol. XIV. pp. 101-104, in the village of 'Basahi,' in the 'Etawah' District in the North-West Provinces.

The plate, which is inscribed on one side only, measures about  $1' 5\frac{1}{6}''$  by  $11\frac{1}{4}$ ." The edges of it were fashioned slightly thicker than the inscribed surface, so as to serve as rims to protect the writing. But a good deal of the surface of the plate is very much corroded by rust so that at many places the writing is quite illegible. And small pieces of the plate have broken

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> I have not found this technical term anywhere else; it is evidently related to sira, 'plough.' On hala 'plough,' as a measure of land, see e.g. ante, Vol. XVI. p. 209, note 48. And with the construction halanam chaturbhik compare compounds like bhumchaka-chaturnam, suita-duau, ante, Vol. XVII. p. 18, line 29, and p. 229, line 6.

<sup>\*\*</sup> i.e. the Sänkheyana sakha of the Rigveda.

<sup>\*5</sup> One would expect Angirass, Auchathys and Gautams, and the gotra Uchathya.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> I am unable to explain properly the technical terms which follow here in the original. Of other grants, the Bashi plate of Govindachandra, ante, Vol. XIV., p. 103, 1. 12, has bhdgakátaka (instead of bhágabhígakútaka of the present grant), akshrpatalaprastha (instead of aksharataládáya), turushkadanda, and (as it appears, in the place of vinisati-chhavathå,) visitiathå-(i) prastha; the plate of the Yuvarója Jayachchandra, ante, Vol. XV., p. 8, line 22, has turushkadanda and kumáragadiónaka (as I would now read); and the Raiwan plate of Góvindachandra, Jour. Beng. As. Soc., Vol. LVI. Part I. plate VI. line 24 has turushkadanda and kumaragadiyáněchů(?). The term turushkadanda occurs also in other grants.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> If likhith-yam of the original is not a mistake for likhitam or likhitam-idam, we must supply some masculine word, such as nibandhah.

<sup>\*\*</sup> The same term occure in the Basahi plate, ante, Vol. XIV. p. 104, l. 21.

<sup>\*\*</sup> I am very doubtful about the meaning of these last words of the grant, and am unable to explain them properly.

away at each of the four corners, and at the ring-hole. The letters do not shew through on the reverse side of the plate at all. The engraving is good; and but few of the letters shew any marks of the working of the tool. In the upper part of the plate there was a ringhole; but the ring and seal are not now forthcoming. The weight of the plate is 6 lbs. I oz.--The average size of the letters is about  $\frac{\delta}{16}$ ." The characters are Nâgarî —The language is Sanskrit:

Having regard to the large amount of this record that is illegible, it seems unnecessary to produce the text in full, by restoring it from perfect grants of the same dynasty. It is sufficient to state that the inscription is one of the Paramabhattáraka, Mahárdjádhirája, and Paraméivara, the illustrious Gövindachandradéva of Kanyakubja; that it contains the usual genealogy of the rulers of Kanyakubja, from Yasovigraha to Gövindachandra; and that it records a grant, by Gövindachandra, of two villages (the names of which are quite illegible) to a Brahman Thakkura named Dévapálaśarman.

Of the legible portion of the inscription, the only thing of importance is the date, which by Dr. Rajendralal has been transcribed incorrectly, and which really is as follows i----

(Line 13.) . . . . . chatuhsaptaty-adhik aikâdaśa-sa(śa)ta-samvatsarê Phâlgunê mâsi krishņapakshê tritîyâyân=tithau Sukra-dinê=nkê=pi samvat 1174 Phâlgu-

(Line 14.) [na va di 3 (?)] Sukre . . . i.e., "in the year eleven hundred increased by seventy-four, in the month Phâlguna, in the dark half, on the third lunar day, on a Friday; in figures, the year 1174, Friday, Phâlgu[na va. di. 3]."

Taking this date to be recorded in the Vikrama era, according to either the northern or the southern reckoning the corresponding dates would be as follows :---

(1), For the Vikrama year 1174 current,-

(a) by the amanta reckoning, Wednesday, 21 February, A.D. 1117;

(b) by the purnimanta reckoning, Monday, 22 January, A.D. 1117.

(2), For the Vikrama year 1174 expired,-

(a) by the amanta reckoning, Sunday, 10 February, A.D. 1118;

(b) by the purnimunta reckoning, Saturday, 12 January, A.D. 1118.

Of these four dates, the first three evidently are altogether unsuitable; nor do I believe that the *tithi* intended was the one ending (about 11 hours after mean sunrise) on Saturday, 12th January, 1118, for that *tithi* did not commence till about 12 h. 50 m. after sunrise of the preceding Friday,<sup>80</sup> and the calculation of the dates of other grants of Gôvindachandra appear to show that the reckoning followed was the *amánta* reckoning. Such being the case, I for the present incline to believe that there is some error in the details of the date, and that the year intended was really the Vikrama year 1173 current. For the date corresponding, by the *amánta* reckoning, to the 3rd of the dark half of Phålguna of Vikrama 1173, current, is **3 March, A.D. 1116**, when the third *tithi* of the dark half ended 15 h. 39 m. after mean sunrise, and which was a Friday, as required.

#### D.-Copper-Plate Grant of Gövindachandradeva and Rajyapaladeva.

#### The (Vikrama) year 1199.

In Archael. Survey of India, Vol. XXII. p. 59, Mr. A. C. L. Carlleyle mentions two inscribed copper-plates, constituting one grant, which were found at 'Gagaha,' to the west of the Rapti River, about 21 miles south of Görakhpur, in the North-West Provinces, and were secured through the kindness of Mr. Lumsden, then Collector of the District. What has become of the original plates we are not told; and my account of the inscription is from indifferent impressions, made over to Sir A. Cunningham, and transmitted to me by Mr. Fleet.

<sup>\*</sup> Phalguna-krishna-tritiya being one of the Kalpddi. Sithis (see Dharmasindhusdra, p. 62), the caremony with which the donation was connected probably was a irdddha (" den Kalpddi-tithishu irdddhat pitri-iripith"), and a srdddha should not be performed during the night.

From these it appears that the inscription is on two plates, which measure about 1' 6" by  $11\frac{1}{4}$ " each, and which, to judge from the ring-holes at the bottom of the first and at the top of the second plate, are or were held together by a ring. Each plate contains 17 lines of writing. The lower half of the first plate, on the proper left side, and the upper part as well as the proper right side of the second plate, appear to be in a bad state of preservation, so that it is impossible to make out with certainty from the rubbings the proper names of localities and private individuals, contained in these parts of the inscription. The engraving appears to be good.—The average size of the letters is about  $\frac{5}{16}$ ." The characters are Nâgarî.—And the language is Sanskrit.

The inscription is of the time of the Paramabhattáraka, Mahárájádhirája, and Paraméśvara, the illustrious Gôvindachandradêva of Kanyakubja. In lines 1-12 it gives the usual genealogy of the rulers of Kanyakubja, from Yasôvigraha to Gôvindachandra; and its proper object is to record (lines 13-25), that the Mahárája-putra, or son of the Mahárája, the illustrious Rájyapáladêva, by the consent of the lotus-feet of the illustrious Gôvindachandradêva endowed with all royal prerogatives (samasta-rája-prakriy-ôpéta), when encamped at a village the name of which is illegible, granted a village, the name of which also is illegible, in the [Ha ?]thaunda pattalá, to a [Brâhman] Thakkura of the Vatsa gôtra, a follower of the Yajurvêda śákhá. The inscription contains the usual admonition to give to the donee whatever by this grant may be due to him (the bhágabhógakara, pratanikara, játakara, gôkara, turushkadanda, etc.), and it contains (lines 25-34) some of the containary benedictive and imprecatory verses. And it closes (in line 34) with the remark that this támra-pattaka was written by the Karanika, the Thakkura the illustrious Vîvîka.

The date on which this donation was made, is in lines 18-19 given as follows :---

(Line 18.) ..... samvatsarêshv=êkâdaśa-sa(śa)têshu nava-navaty-adhikêshu Phâlgunêma-(Line 19.) si [śu]kla-pakshê êkâ[da]śyàyâń<sup>91</sup> tithau **Sa(sa)ni-dinê** tath=âikê=pi samvat 1199 Phâlguna su di 11 **Sa(sa)nau II....** *i.e.*, " in eleven hundred years increased by ninetynine, in the month Phâlguna, in the bright half, on the eleventh lunar day, on a **Saturday**; in figures also, in the year 1199, **Saturday**, Phâlguna su. di. 11."

Taking this date to be recorded in the Vikrama era, the possible equivalents would be, for the (northern or southern) year 1199 current: Sunday, 8 February, A. D. 1142, when the 11th *tithi* of the bright half ended about 11h. after mean sunrise;

for the (northern or southern) year 1199 expired : Saturday 27 February, A. D. 1143, when the same 11th tithi ended about 13 h. after mean sunrise.

The true date accordingly is Saturday, 27 February, A.D. 1143; and the year mentioned in the inscription is the Vikrama year 1199 expired.

#### FOLKLORE IN WESTERN INDIA.

#### BY PUTLIBAI D. H. WADIA.

#### No. XIII.-The Floating Palace, or the Three Wise Precepts.

Once upon a time there lived in a certain city a merchant who had an only son. When this son came of age, the father, with a view to put his business capacities to the test, proposed to place at his disposal a sum of money large enough to enable him to begin life as a respectable merchant, but with this proviso, that if, at the end of a certain period, the merchant found that the young man had made good use of the money entrusted to him and showed an aptitude for business, he would leave him in his will all his immense wealth, but if, on the contrary, he found that his son was wanting in that foresight and shrewdness which are the characteristics of a merchant, and launched into unprofitable speculations and thus lost money, he would disinherit him without mercy.

\*1 Bead Shidaiyem.

The young man, who had all along hoped that he would one day quietly come into possession of his father's wealth, demnrred at first at this proposal, but when he saw that the old man was determined, he reluctantly consented, and taking the money from his father went to all his friends and consulted with them as to what he had best do with it.

They all suggested different ways in which to make use of the money, till at last one old man, who was reputed to be a sage, proposed to him that if he made over the whole to him he would in return give him something worth all of it and more. The simple young man agreed, and keeping but a trifle for himself made over all the rest of the money to the old fellow, and that worthy in return gave our here a sheet of paper neatly folded, saying with a look of great importance, "Take this, my good friend, make good use of it, and you will find that this scrap of paper is worth a great deal more than the sum you have invested in its purchase."

Our hero took it home; and on opening it found the following sentences inscribed on it in bold characters :---

1. "Hesitate not, but tread boldly.

2. "A sister in prosperity (lit. plenty), a true friend in adversity (lit. scarcity).

3. "He who fails asleep within a king's palace is lost, while he who keeps awake is saved." (\*)

The credulous youngster read the lines over and over again and then treasured up the paper like a thing of great value. He then invested the small sum he had still left in a few cheap articles of merchandise, and quietly booked himself as a passenger on board a ship bound for a distant shore.

The father, who had all this while been watching his son's movements, felt very sorry to find that though he had placed a large sum of money in his hands, he was fitting himself out as a petty trader only, instead of chartering a whole ship for himself and his wares, as became the son of a great merchant, and so when the time came for the young man to bid farewell to his father the latter remonstrated with him strongly on what he considered his meanness, and the two parted in high anger.

The poor fellow went on board with a heavy heart and the ship sailed away. After a long voyage, she entered the month of a large river, and cast anchor near a magnificent city situated on its banks.

Now in the middle of this river, and at a short distance from the city, there was a large and most beautiful palace, which was the wonder of all who came from far and near, for instead of being built on *terra firma*, it appeared to be floating over the surface of the waters, rising, as it were, from the depths of the river, without a yard of dry land around, along which one could walk over to the door and enter it. Besides the beauty and grandeur of the palace itself, there was another object that attracted the attention of the people on board, and that was a lovely damsel who appeared at one of its windows.

Our young here, however, did not seem to take much interest either in the damsel or in the palace, so occupied was his mind with his own affairs, although he constantly heard his fellow-passengers discussing among themselves as to how it could be that the palace appeared to float on the surface of the river and how people could go in and come out of it.

Now as our young hero was thinking of landing and entering the city to see if he could find a market for any of his wares there, the owner of the beautiful palace, who had been watching him all the while, called out to him and invited him to come to it. The young man could not for the life of him see how he was to approach the palace, in the absence of any visible means of communication with it, and was greatly puzzled as to how the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In Gujarâti these sentences run as follows :---

जोइसनां पाऊं ठेसनां

२. इतनी मेरेन अइतनो यार

राजाना म्हेलमा जेकोई सूबे, जोगते जीवे ठंधे तो मरे.

was to act, when he bethought him of the old man and his scrap of paper, and the first sentence in it showed him a way out of his difficulty. It ran thus :—" Hesitate not, but tread boldly." So he went as close up to the palace as a boat could take him and then, to convince himself that it was really water that surrounded the palace, he plucked a piece of thread from his garments, and let it fall unperceived by any one upon what seemed to be the surface of the water, and to his great delight he found that the thread remained as dry as before, for it was not water that encircled the palace, but only a pavement of glass, so cleverly contrived as to resemble the water around, and thus deceive the unwary stranger's eye.

This contrivance not only served to attract attention towards the palace, but gave the owner, who was a bad character and enticed away unwary strangers into his den to rob them of their possessions, time to observe closely and form his opinion of the person to whom he offered his hospitality.

So when he saw our hero walking boldly on, as if he had found out the trick of the glass pavement, the bad man feit himself outdone for once, and thought he had to deal with one who might be more than a match for him. Nevertheless he welcomed him with great show of kindness, and pressed him to remain in his palace and consider it as his own till he could find suitable quarters for himself in the city.

The unsuspecting young man saw no reason why he should not accept the proffered hospitality; and ordering all his wares to be brought over to the palace, he took up his abode there with the minister and his daughter.

He had a very pleasant time of it for some weeks, for his host and his daughter treated him with so much kindness and affability that he could hardly think of quitting their hospitable abode. There was one thing, however, which made the young man feel very uneasy as to his future. The sale of what few goods he had brought with him realized but a triffing sum of money, which melted away like snow in his hands in the face of the great expenses he had to incur to keep up appearances, and he had nothing left which he could invest once more in merchandise and thus try his luck again. So he wandered aimlessly from one part of the city to another in the hope of finding some suitable means of earning a livelihood.

One day as he was walking about the streets dressed in rather a homely suit of clothes and presenting a care-worn appearance, he happened to catch sight of his only sister, whom he knew had married into a wealthy family, and had often occasion to visit the city he was in, with her parents-in-law. She was standing at one of the windows of a large house, and their eyes met as he looked up, but she drew in her head and did not appear to notice him. So he went up to the door and desired one of the servants to go up and inform his mistress that her brother wished to see her. But the rich lady thought it beneath her dignity to acknowledge so near a relationship with one who went about on foot unattended by any servants or horses, and dressed in a style not at all becoming her father's son. So she sent him word that she did not want to see him or to have anything to do with him.

This hurt the poor fellow's feelings to the quick, and he walked away from the house in no very enviable frame of mind. He had not proceeded far, however, when he fell in with a person whose face he remembered as that of an old playfellow, the son of a man of very modest means, who had once been on very good terms with his father. The other recognized him also, and the two men, after greeting each other very kindly, began to talk of their private affairs. When this old acquaintance heard our hero's story, and learnt in what manner he had parted with the large sum of money placed at his disposal by his father, how he had been left amongst strangers without the means of subsistence, and how heartlessly his own sister had disowned him, he felt very sorry for him, and offered to place at his disposal a small sum of money which be had scraped together out of his alender earnings, saying :—" Take this, it is all I have; I am but a poor man's son, and can content myself with only the bare necessaries of life, but it is a different thing with you, who have been bred in the lap of luxury; make therefore what use you choose of this money, and do not concern yourself as to how you are to return it to me. First of all, provide yourself with suitable appare), buy a good horse, and keep a few servants, and you will soon see that you will find credit in the city. Nor will you have cause any longer to complain of the coldness of your sister, for, if you do as I tell you, she will lose no time in owning you as her brother.

The rich man's son was greatly touched with his poor old friend's generosity, and accepted his offer with the greatest reluctance. At the same time the second of those dearly-bonght sentences "a sister in prosperity, a true friend in adversity," came to his recollection, and he praised the wisdom of the old man.

This newly found friend took the opportunity of warning our young hero against the apparent kindness and friendship of the owner of the floating palace, who, he informed him, was one of the ministers of the state, but was known to be a very dangerous character. So at parting, the young merchant made a promise to his friend to bid good-bye to his host and his daughter as early as circumstances permitted.

Shortly after this his host, the minister, who had long since found out that his guest was worth nothing to him, but was on the contrary continuing to be a burden upon him, set about thinking of some method by which to get rid of him. At last he hit upon a plan by which to dispose of him effectually.

The king, his master, had an only daughter who was afflicted with an incurable disease, which had baffled the skill of a great many physicians, who had come from far and near to cure her and win the promised reward. This reward was nothing less than the hand of the fair Princess herself and the sovereignty of half her father's kingdom. Nearly every day a physician presented himself before the king and obtained permission to watch by the Princess's bed and find out what it was she was suffering from, with a view to cure her, but before next morning he was found lying dead in the chamber. So the wily minister thought this a very feasible mode of doing away with his young guest, and going up to the king one day, he told him that he had a man staying with him, who was proficient in the healing art, but pretended for some reason or other to be ignorant of it, and that, therefore, if the king wished to secure his services he had only to send his men to bring him into the royal presence, and see if he could not induce him by threats and promises to undertake the cure of the Princess.

The king agreed to this, and sent armed men to the floating palace to seize the stranger and bring him into his presence.

When the guards seized hold of the unsuspecting young man, he, in his fright, asked his host to interfere and save him, but the doublefaced villain, still pretending to be his friend, advised him to obey the king's mandate without opposition and leave the rest to fate.

Acting upon this advice the young man went with the guards and stood before the king who questioned him as to the extent of his knowledge of medicine and offered him the promised reward if he took the Princess's case in hand and cured her. But our hero declared himself quite ignorant of any knowledge of medicine and related how he was only a merchant's son. The king, however, would not believe him, and the more the poor fellow declared himself ignorant, the more the deluded king disbelieved him, so much was his mind prejudiced by the minister's story.

At last, partly by threats and partly by promises, the monarch induced the young man to consent to keep watch by the Princess's bed for one day at least and leave chance to do the rest, hoping that the sight of the poor lady's misery would melt his heart and induce him to try his remedies on her.

So the supposed physician went with the attendants into the chamber where the sick Princess lay and was there left alone with her. Not knowing what to do, he sat for some time narrowly watching the fair patient. He saw that her abdomen was swollen to an enormous height, and heard groans of great agony issuing from her month. In other respects, however, she appeared to be all right, for her highly beautiful face was calm and serene, and she looked as if she were wrapped in sweet slumber, in which state, as he had been told by the attendants who had led him into the chamber, she had been lying for months past, taking no other food but milk, which too had to be poured down her throat. The young man felt greatly for her, and fervently wished he had the power to do something for the poor suffering creature. He sat by her bed the whole day, watching her movements, and towards evening he ordered the attendants to strew her bed with soft, fragrant flowers, for, he said to himself, "how bed-sore and tired she must be feeling, lying here so long and so cheerless! The odour of sweet flowers will do her good." So they strewed her bed with the choicest flowers that could be had, and placing a pail of milk near her bed, retired, leaving her alone with the reputed physician.

Left thus alone to his thoughts our hero sat and pondered for a while on what he thought his very equivocal position, wondering much how the king could have been led into considering him a physician, and how the next morning he would be able to account for his failure in curing the Princess. By degrees slumber began to steal upon him and he was about to lie down to go to sleep, when all at once he remembered the lines, "He who sleeps in a king's palace is lost, while he who keeps awake is saved." So up he started and rubbing his eyes and shaking off sleep, he sat intently gazing at the Princess again. Nor was his night's vigil unrewarded, for about midnight, he perceived the patient writhing in great agony, and giving out low moans, indicative of extreme pain. He thereupon went nearer her bed and stood by, gazing with pity on her lovely face, when what should he see but a fierce sorpent slowly thrusting its head out of the poor lady's mouth, and looking stealthily about as if to see whether there was any one near! The young man, surprised and bewildered as he was at this unexpected sight, had presence of mind enough left to hide himself behind some curtains and watch what followed. The loathsome reptile, seeing the coast clear, began to draw its whole length out of the Princess's body, inch by inch, without fear, the Princess all the while giving low groans of agony, and finally with a heavy jerk it fell out amongst the flowers, and hid itself beneath them. Seeing his prey thus secure our here came out of his hiding place and was just going to strike it with his sword, when the greedy reptile, happening to see the pail of milk hard by, slid from amongst the flowers and glided towards it. Just then the brave young man drew his sword and gave the hateful creature such a heavy blow with it as to kill it on the spot.

The joy of our hero knew no bounds when he saw the venomous reptile that had so long been tormenting the sweet Princess lying dead on the one hand, and that beautiful lady, now free from pain, with her abdomen fallen to its natural level, pouring forth her thanks on the other.

He allowed the loathsome carcass of the dreaded reptile to remain where it was, that he might show it to the king as a trophy of his victory, and engaged in a pleasant *tête-à-tête* with the fair Princess.

With morning came into the room a couple of sweepers who had been sent there as usual to clear away the remains of any physician who may have dared to treat the Princess that night, but what was their surprise when they saw the physician alive and hearty and conversing with the Princess, who was herself sitting up in bed, looking quite well and happy, and a large serpent lying dead beside her bed. They retreated respectfully and spread the good news everywhere in the palace, so that the king was soon on the spot.

When the monarch saw the body of the huge reptile and found his beloved daughter sitting up in her bed and looking cheerful and happy he comprehended at a glance what had happened, and was beside himself with joy. He held his dear child to his heart, and then, embracing the reputed physician, congratulated him on his success. Now it was that every one came to know what the poor Princess had been suffering from, and how it came about that every physician who attended her was found dead in the morning, for, judging from the account our hero gave the king, the venomous reptile had been in the habit of coming every night out of the poor lady's mouth and stinging the unfortunate physician in attendance on her while he was asleep.

The young merchant now felt really thankful to the old man who had given him, among others, the lines that warned him against going to sleep within a king's palace, for he clearly saw that but for them he too would have lost his life like the other physicians.

There was immense joy and rejoicing all over the kingdom when the Princess for the first time after her recovery from her terrible illness, rode through the city, and the fame of the fair-haired youngster who had cured her, when so many others had failed, spread far and wide, and every one, high and low, sought his friendship and did him honour. Nor was our here's sister tardy in her attentions towards him, now that he stood so high in the royal favour. She sent messengers to invite him to make her house his home, and expressed herself highly concerned in his welfare; but her brother knew her too well to be carried away by these manifestations of her regard, and sent her word that he could do well without a sister who' had discarded him when he was poor, and wanted now to make up to him only because he was rich and powerful.

Now that his beloved daughter was thoroughly cured, the king thought it high time that the promised reward should be bestowed upon her deliverer. So he sent for his astrologers and bade them fix upon a day on which to celebrate the Princess's wedding with the young merchant. But our hero's heart was not as light as it should be, considering that he was loved by the Princess as much as he loved her, and that they both looked forward to their union with the greatest rapture; for he saw that the proud nobles and grandees of the king's court looked upon him as a mere upstart and a creature of circumstances. He thought, therefore, of going back to his own country to solicit his father's forgiveness and bring him over with all his friends and relatives to celebrate his nuptials with the king's daughter with fitting pomp and cerembny. So he obtained the king's permission, and fitting out a magnificent ship sailed in it to his native country.

His father was both surprised and happy to see him back again and greeted him with the greatest kindness, for his heart was glad to find that his son had at last shown himself possessed of those qualities that he prized in a merchant's son, by making the most of the money he had placed in his hands. So he made preparations on a grand scale and sailed with a train of friends and relatives towards the country of his daughter-in-law elect, and there amidst universal rejoicing, the nuptials of the illustrious pair were celebrated with immense pomp, and the promised half of the kingdom was soon made over to the happy bridegroom.

Our hero, however, did not forget, amidst all this pomp and rejoicing, the poor friend who had assisted him in his poverty. He duly sent for him, and not only returned to him with interest the money he had so generously placed in his hands when he was poor and needy, but bestowed upon him a high post as a reward for his unselfish and disinterested friendship.

#### MISCELLANEA.

#### PROGRESS OF EUROPEAN SCHOLARSHIP. No. XII.

Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft (Journal of the German Oriental Society) for 1887; Vol. xli.

(a) The first part opens with a continuation of Prof. Bühler's Essays on the Asôka Inscriptions. The present paper deals with the detached edicts of Dhauli and Jangada, and comprises text (in the Dêvanâgari and Roman characters), translation, and notes. The text is founded on Dr. J. Burgess's paper impressions, checked by paper rubbings obtained by General Cunningham. Owing to its nature, a summary of the contents of the paper would be nseless. Amongst new explanations given by Dr. Bühler

may be mentioned that of the date and time fixed for reading the edicts publicly. He also points out that Aśôka's instructions for the inspection-tours of his higher officials agrees with those of the Bråhmanical law-givers, and with the *Réjaniti*, and offers a new derivation for sakhindlashbhé in the first edict from *ślakshndrambhah*. In the second edict, he explains chakiyś as the fut. part. pass. of the Pråkrit verb chak 'to be able,' a representative and possibly a relation of the Sanskrit šek. The Mahârâshtri form chay occurs in Póiyalachchhî, vs. 202, and in Hêmachandra's Prákrit Grammar, IV. 86 (šakês chayatara-tira páráh), and in the Déšikôsha.

This is followed by a reprint of Dr. Ignaz

Goldziher's paper, read before the Oriental Congress at Vienna, in 1886, on the Mahdist movement of North Africa.

Next comes a facsimile of an Arabic and Chinese inscription from a mosque at Canton, with notes and translation by Herr K. Himly. The inscription is in a mosque described by Dennys in the Treaty Ports of China and Japan, and dates from the year 1350 A.D.

Dr. O. von Böhtlingk contributes a short note on the Maurya question and the Mahabhashya, in which he replies to Dr. Kielhorn's criticisms on a former paper of his on the subject.

The number concludes with an appreciative review by the same scholar of Dr. J. S. Speijer's Sanskrit Syntax.

(b) Dr. George Ebers, the well-known Egyptologist, opens the second part with a notice of the life of Dr. Gustav Seyffarth, who died in New York in Nov. 1886, at the age of 89. Dr. Seyffarth was the first professor of Egyptian Language and Antiquities at Leipzig. He was the first discoverer of polyphonic hieroglyphs, and, with some reservations, of the syllable-signs of that system of writing.

This biographical sketch is followed by a continuation of Dr. Carl Lang's translation of Ibn-al-Mu'tass's heroic poem regarding Mu'tadid as Prince and Regent, already noticed.

Dr. F. von Spiegel contributes a second article on the Fatherland and Age of the Avesta. The paper is devoted to a reply to criticisms of Dr. Geiger and others on his theories concerning the late age of this work. He first deals with the linguistic side of the argument, and shows that the fact of the Avesta being written in an ancient dialect is not necessarily a proof of the antiquity of the work. He draws attention to the habit of scholars writing at the present day both in Sanskrit and in Latin. He further maintains that the language of the Avesta, while agreeing in many points with Sanskrit, has also some hitherto unexplained points of difference, which seem to show traces of the influence of modern Persian, and which can only have come into existence in later ages, whether owing to corruption of the dialect or to the fact that portions of the Avesta were written in a dead language. Moreover the whole work rests on a mythic foundation, and the kings mentioned in it are the same as

those admitted as mythical in the lists of the Shahnama. If the Avesta were written at the time of Zarathustra, we should expect to find his contemporaries divided into two great camps of believers and unbelievers; but instead of this we find the Avesta to be a fanatical book, showing us the existence of various kinds of heretics. The historical arguments for the antiquity of the Avesta,-viz. (1) that, with the exception of Ragha, it mentions none of the noteworthy towns of the time of the Achæmenides or Parthians, (2) that it contains none of the more usual later tribe-names, and (3) that it contains no historical notices,-are met by the contention that it does not deal with historical reminiscences, but only with the mythic period of Iranian Folklore. Places which occur in the folk-myths are mentioned, and not others. The argument that Zarathustra speaks of himself in the Gáthás in the first person, is met by the fact that Ahura Mazda does the same. The author who dared to speak under the name of the highest God would not hesitate to speak under the name of his prophet. Four other arguments for the antiquity of the Avesta are :---(1) that the people of the Avesta did not appear to know salt; (2) that they did not know glass; (3) that coined money was not current among them; (4) that they did not know the working of iron. All that can be said about the first three is that they are not mentioned in the hymns, which considering their character is not extraordinary. Moreover in north and east Iran, cattle and farm-produce are still used instead of money. Regarding the fourth contention it rests on the interpretation of the word ayagh, which the upholders of the age of the Avesta translate as 'bronze.' Dr. S. Spiegel, however, maintains that, as in Sanskrit, it meant 'metal' in general, and also 'iron.'

An appendix to the article is devoted to disproving the existence of the so-called **Bak**trian Kingdom of Vistaspa, which has hitherto been dealt with by writers on ancient history as a reality.

Dr. David Kaufmann contributes a note on Hebrew lexicography, and is followed by a paper by Dr. J. H. Mordtmann on the typography of Northern Syria, according to Greek inscriptions. The same author also gives a short note on five forgotten **Himyaritlo**  Dr. C. de Harlez next contributes extracts from a translation of the Shang-yu-pa-ki. The Emperor Chi-tsong, son of the illustrious Kanghi (1723-1736) was one of those sovereigns of the Manchu dynasty, who have left full traces of their administrative action. Amongst other things he has left is a collection of decrees addressed to the right divisions of the Manchu-Mongol Army. They were published in Manchu, and afterwards translated into Chinese. The present paper consists of translated extracts. These decrees are of importance to students of the histories of Chinese civilisation, and of the middle kingdom.

Dr. H. Hübschmann next contributes an elaborate paper on the formation of Ossetic nouns. Thirty-five primary and secondary suffixes are dealt with, one by one; the derivation, meaning, and use of each being separately considered.

Dr. Heinrich von Wlislocki gives some folksongs of the transylvanian Gipsles, with a translation in German verse. To philologists a literal prose translation in addition would have been an advantage.

Herr Felix Liebrecht in his short notes compares a Malagasy sermon on the shortness of life with similar opinions in old Egyptian Literature, and refers to the Arabic origin of the *jus primæ noctis*.

The number concludes with two reviews, the first by Dr. Dieterice on Dr. Schwarzlose's treatise on the arms of the ancient Arabs, as described by their poets, and the second on Mr-Payne-Smith's *Thesaurus Syriacus* (Fasc. vii.)

(c) Part III. commences with an essay by Dr. Karl Vollers on the living Arabic now spoken in Egypt, with special reference to the works of Spitta Bey, and other grammatical writers. The paper consists of additions and corrections to Spitta Bey's grammar.

This is followed by a baptismal liturgy in Ethiopic, with a Latin translation, taken from a work entitled *Hydragiologia* (published in Rome, 1586 A.D.) by Dr. Carl von Arnhard.

Dr. M. Klamroth continues his interesting series of articles on Greek authors quoted by al-Ya'qubi. The present paper deals with Grecian Philosophers. Translations are given of the various passages of Ya'qubi in which a

long array of these worthies, and their systems, is described An appendix gives a list of the writings of Aristotle known to the Arabs.

Dr. H. Gelzer, in two short notes, identifies the modern sites of the ancient Egyptian Trimuthis and Kopritheos Kômê.

Dr. H. von Wlislocki gives us next a further set of specimens of the Gipsy language of Transylvania. It consists of three capital folk-tales worthy of Grimm, with, this time, a literal German translation.

Herr K. Himly discusses Chess, and other connected games, with special reference to their introduction into and method of play in Burma, Siam, China and Japan. He is not inclined to dispute the Hindu origin of the game, and maintains that at any rate its birthplace ought to have been a country, where the use of elephants for warfare was well-known.

Prof. Anfrecht gives us some Sanskrit notes. The first concerns the rare Kåśmîri-Sanskrit word hévaka, which he identifies with the Arabic  $4 \approx 2$  love, ' desire.'

He next shows the use of the word nameka as a technical term for the first section of the *Rudrajapa*. The third note deals with the date of Narahari, the author of the *Rujanighantu*, whom he places as not earlier than the commencement of the 15th century. The catalogue of Indian poets is added to every year. Dr. Aufrecht brings two new poets, Bhatta Bhallata, and Indrabhânu to light, and discusses the identity of another named Mâlavabhadra.

An imitation of the Gita-Góvinda, entitled the Ráma-Gita-Góvinda, and also attributed to Jayadôva is next discussed, and the paper concludes with an account of a Brihachchhárágadharapaddhati published in Benares in the year 1874. This latter is an enlarged edition of the Sárágadharapaddhati previously brought to notice by Dr. Aufrecht.

Dr. F. Pollenson follows with some Essays on Vedic Criticism. The word prithivi he says, is given in the dictionaries as meaning 'earth.' This meaning is however too narrow, as its derivation from prithu shows, it can mean any expanse, and in fact we have the tisras prithivyah, earth, air, and heaven, mentioned.

Ands and mridhravách have been translated by Grassmann (in Rig-Véda,  $\nabla$ ., 29, 10) as ugly, and reviler, and by Ludwig noseless and speak-

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ing an enemy's tongue. The reference is to the Dasyus. Megasthenes refers to Indian tribes who were noseless (dopuves) or mouthless (doropoi) Ands, if it is a + nds (as Ludwig takes it) means noseless, if it is an + ds it is mouthless. Dr. Bollensen suggests that the latter is the correct interpretation,—the Aborigines, speaking unintelligibly (mridhra-vdch) and when spoken to being mouthless, *i.e.* dumb.

Amongst the Aryans, the head of the nobles (siri) was the Maghavan, who always rode in a carriage. The other nobles usually rode on horse-back. So it was in the god-world. The chief gods always had their carriages. Hence the Asvins were not so much riders (Reiter) or knights (Ritter), as travellers in a carriage drawn by horses. The horses were called váhní (vii. 73, 4) and are described as plump (sámbhritá) and strong-hoofed (vilúpám). Dr. Bollensen maintains that they do not represent the twilight, but the morning and the evening stars.

The next note deals with grammar, and refers to  $Rig \cdot Véda$  vi. 61, 13, in which the loc. pl. term su is believed to have been elided after an  $\vec{a}$ . Incidental mention is also made of the word *apús*, fem., water, or used as an adjective following.

In dealing with  $ul\delta ka$  and  $l\delta ka$  Dr. Bollensen maintains at considerable length that the former is the original word and discusses Prof. Ludwig's objections to the theory. Amongst other poets, he draws attention to the fact that  $l\delta ka$  occurs only eight times, and only in the most modern hymns, while  $ul\delta ka$  29 times and only in the most ancient ones.

The earliest Trinity of the Aryans, was Mitra, Varuna, and Aryaman. The last is the most mysterious. He is only mentioned in one hymn of the *R. V.* (vii. 64, 3), where the plural verb shows that besides Mitra, and Varuna, the words *dévá aryá* must refer to him. Dr. Bollensen sees in *déva aryas*, the God Aricus, the tribe-father of the Aryans, their peculiar national God from an ethnic, as Indra is from a religious, point of view.

Mitra is pre-Indian, and was the Sun-God of the Indian world. On Indian ground he is superseded by Savitar as the sun-genius, and by Sûrya as the Sun in visible form. He is merely described as the *friend* of Varuna, a colourless etymology enough. Really the word is derived from the root *smi*, 'to be clear, to beam;' *cf*. Lat. *micare* for *smicare*. It was originally an adjective like *varuna* and *indra*; *cf. mitramahas*, having gleaning splendour.

So also **Varuna** is wrongly derived from root var 'surround.' It is from another root var or vas, 'to shine,' and is an adjective meaning 'shining.' It occurs more than once as a simple adjective in the *Rig-Véda*. As a god, Varuna is the day-light as distinct from sunlight, *i.e.* the light of day when the sun is obscured.

Indra, Varupa's frequent companion, is a special Indian creation, and does not belong to the original Arvan Pantheon. His name must be derived from a root in current use in India. and not from one which has fallen into oblivion like those of Mitra and Varuna. With Grassmann, Dr. Bollensen connects it with indh, ' to be clear,' with loss of the aspiration. It was also originally an adjective, cf. indratamá (ushús) 'very cleur,' 'very bright.' As a god, Indra is 'the clear one,' 'the bright one,' and therefore the first morning light, that precedes the aurora and the sun. The stars are then still in the sky and harness his chariot. Every morning, darkness and light are at warfare, and Indra conquers Sushna the demon of darkness, who holds the light imprisoned. Then he brings into manifestation the dawn, the sun, and day-light. He is accordingly a war-god.

In the next paper, Prof. Oldenberg, criticises M. Bergaigne's essay on the adhydya division of the Rig-Véda in the latter publication.

Dr. O. von Böhtlingk next combats Dr. Bühler's proposition that *ili* and *cha*, can have the meaning of *idi*. This is a continuation of an old controversy.

The number concludes with a review, by Dr. J. Löw, of Ascherson and Schweinfurth's Illustration de la Flore d'Egypte.

(d)—Part IV. commences with translations by Dr. H. Hübschmann of some Ossetic folktales of more than usual interest. The first fifteen relate to the Narts, a fabulous tribe, half-men half-angels, and the concluding one deals with Ossetic beliefs as to the fate of the soul after death.

Baron von Schlechta-Wassehrd next gives translated extracts from Firdûsî's Yûsaf and Zulîkhû, in German verse. This is followed by a short notice from the pen of Herr H. G. Schils of a new translation of the *Man-yô-siu*, an ancient Japanese poem. The translation is in course of publication in the Journal of the French Société des Études Japonaises et Indo-Chinoises (Paris, Maisonneuve).

Dr. J. Barth next contributes some essays on Semitic philology, the most important of which deals with biliteral nouns.

In a former number of the Zeitschrift (xl. 412) Dr. Morales, translating from Bar-Hebraus, gave the peculiar properties of wine according to Indian writers. It had the properties of a peacock, an ape, a lion, and a pig. Dr. M. Grünbaum now gives a number of similar legends from Semitic sources. Thus, according to Damiri, when Adam planted the vine, Iblis slew a peacock over it, and the earth drank up the blood. When the leaves showed themselves, he slew an ape, when the fruit appeared, a lion, and when the vine came to matarity, a pig. The vine drank the blood of the four animals, and hence their peculiarities appear in the various phases of drunkenness.

Prof. O. von Böhtlingk contributes some notes on the Kåtantra<sup>1</sup> and laments the unfinished condition in which Dr. Eggeling is leaving the Bibliotheca Indica Edition. He also gives us some miscellaneous critical notes on various points of ancient Sanskrit literature.

Prof. R. von Roth contributes an interesting paper on Wehrgeld or Blood-money in the Véda. He shows from a quotation from the *Tándya-Bráhmana*, that the Védic vaira (cf. the Anglo Saxon vere) can only mean 'blood-money,' and that the amount was paid in cows, in the Védic period, just as Tacitus relates of the Germans. According to the *Tándya-Bráhmana* the number of cows was a hundred, probably in the case of the honestiones and optimates as mentioned by the Latin author.

In Apastamba the vaira-yatana which Prof. Roth translates as 'payment of blood-money,' is assessed at 1000 for a Kshattriya, 100 for a Vaišya, and 10 for a Sūdra.

The volume concludes with reviews of the following works :---

Codrington's Melanesian Languages, by Dr. W. Grabe.

Winkler's Das Uralaltaische und seine Gruppen. (On the Ural altaic and the groups composing it), by Dr. O. Donnes.

Schreiber's Manual of the Tigraic language, spoken in Central and Northern Abyssinia, by Dr. F. Prætorins.

Hirschfield's edition of the *Al Khasari* of Abû'l-Hasan, Text and Hebrew translation of Jehnda ibn Tibbon, by Dr. J. Goldziher.

Wellhausen's Essays on Relics of Arabic Heathenism, by Prof. Th. Noldeke.

Cornill's edition of The Book of the Prophet Backiel, by Prof. Augustus Müller.

Hoberg's Edition of *Ibn Jinnii on Declen*sion, (Text and Latin translation) by Prof. Thorbecke.

Bondi's Hebraic and Phanician loan-words in Hieroglyphic and Hieratic Texts, by Dr. Steindorff.

G. A. GRIEBSON.

### CALCULATIONS OF HINDU DATES. No. 21.

### NO. 21.

In the copper-plate grant of king Sivasimha, from somewhere in the direction of Bihar in the Bengal Presidency, published by Mr. Grierson in this Journal, Vol. XIV. p. 190 f., the date (from the published text) is - La-sam' 293 Śrâvana śu di 7 Gurau II Abde Lakshmanasenabhupati-maté vahni-graha-dvy-ankité másé Śravana-samjñakê muni-tithau pakehê=valakehê 1455 Śáké 1321,--- "the year of Lakshmanasêna 293, (the month) Śrāvaņa, the bright fortnight, the (civil) day 7, on Thursday; in the year, (of the era) that was sanctioned by king Lakshmanssêna, numbered by the (three) fires, the (nime) planets, and (the numeral) two, in the month that has the appellation of Sravana, on the sithi (that has the number) of the (seven) Seers, in the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> I may note that this grammar has great authority amongst the Paodits of Dhåkå (Dacca) and Eastern Bengal.--G. A. G.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> i.e. Lakshmavaséna-samvat. -- I have taken a liberty with the published text, which gives the number of the year here as 283; though the translation gives 293. But, as the Lakshmavaséna era commenced in or about A.D. 1106 (see Indian Eras, p. 76 ff.), the Vibrama and Saka years that are quoted show that the figure in the term place must be 9, not 8. Also, the real number of

the year is made quite clear by the immediately following repetition of the date in words.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Here, again, I have taken a liberty with the published tort, which gives the number of the year as 807. But it is not difficult sometimes to make a mistake between 1 and 7, in reading the older Dévanger figures. And the year referred to is evidently the Hilrs year 801, which commenced (see Indian Erss, p. 137) on the 18th Beptember, A.D. 1898, and ended with the and September, A.D. 1899.

bright fortnight, on Thursday . . . . . . . . . . The (Hijra) year 801; the (Vikrama) year 1455; in the Śâka (year) 1321."

Here the data are :-- The year 298 of the era of Lakshmanasêna, the Hijra year 801, and Vikrama-Samvat 1455 and Saka-Samvat 1321, not specified either as current or as expired; the month Sravana (ordinarily July-August); the bright fortnight; the seventh civil day, and the seventh tithi; and Guru, i.e. Guruvåra, or Thursday.

Since, in the absence of an examination of the original record, the correct Hijra year can only be established by inference, the most important item is the mention of Saka-Samvat 1321.

And this shews that we have to find the English equivalent in A.D. 1398 or 1399, according as the given Saka year is to be applied as current or as expired.

By Professor K. L. Chhatre's Tables, the results are :-

(1) In Saka-Samvat 1321 current, the given tithi, Sravana sukla 7, ended on Saturday, the 20th July, A.D. 1398, at about 55 ghatis, 50 palas, after mean sunrise, for Bombay.\*

(2) And in Saka-Samvat 1322 current (1321 expired), the given tithi, Sravana sukla 7, ended, as required, on Thursday, the 10th July, A.D. 1399, at about 17 gh. 10 p.

This resulting date can be referred to the given Vikrama year, only if the latter, Vikrama-Samvat 1455, is taken as a southern Vikrama year, expired; and as really denoting the southern Vikrama-Samvat 1156 current, commencing with Karttika sukla 1, corresponding approximately to the 12th October, A.D. 1398, and ending on the 30th September, A.D. 1399. For, the northern Vikrama-Samvat 1456 current (1455 expired), commencing with Chaitra sukla 1, extended approximately<sup>6</sup> from the 19th March, A.D. 1398, to the 7th March, A.D. 1399, and had ended before the date in question.

This record, therefore,-(1) gives an instance of the use of an expired Saka year, and an expired Vikrama year; to be applied as

such, though they are not distinctly so qualified ;--and (2) proves that the southern reckoning of the Vikrama era was preserved in Bihar down to A.D. 1899.

This date has been noticed by Gen. Sir A. Cunningham, in his Indian Kras, p. 771. He gave the same result, Thursday, the 10th July A.D. 1399. But, instead of explaining it by the use of the southern scheme of the Vikrama year, he seems to have accepted a statement made by Buchanan, on the authority of & Brahman named Kamalåkånta, to the effect that, in that part of the country, the Vikrama era was taken as commencing only one hundred and thirty four years before the Saka era, instead of one hundred and thirty-five years, as is taken to be the case in Northern India generally. The meaning of this statement, unless it can be shewn to be limited to the period from Chaitra sukla 1 to the purnimenta Karttika or amanta Asvina krishna 15, is that, in the part of the country to which this record belongs, the reckoning of the Vikrama era, with the northern scheme of the year, is one year behind the reckoning in other parts of Northern India. And, on this view, the resulting English date would belong to the northern Vikrama-Samvat 1455 expired or 1456 current, commencing with Chaitra sukla 1, corresponding approximately' to the 8th March, A.D. 1399, and ending on the 25th February, A.D. 1400,-according to this supposed erroneous reckoning of the era. But any such reckoning could have really come to exist, or to seem to exist, only if the years of the Vikrama era, given in the Tables and Almanacs, were current years; which is not the case. And other instances will be forthcoming, which, taken all together, render it quite certain that the true explanation is that which I have put forward; viz. the preservation in Bihar and in neighbouring parts of Northern India of the southern scheme of the Vikrama year, commencing with Karttika sukla 1, at least as late as the end of the fourteenth century A.D.

J. F. FLEET.

### NOTES AND QUERIES.

### PROPITIATORY SACRIFICE OF A BUFFALO IN THE MALAY PENINSULA.

A Malay in Trong, Perak, wrote to the Assistant Resident as follows on the 19th March 1885 :---

"Your servant begs to inform your honour that on Saturday we will slaughter a white male-buffalo in Trong, to cleanse the kampong (village) of all evil, in accordance with the custom of the old people.

"If this is not done, then there will be less padd (paddy) and perhaps more sickness. This is done once in six years. There is an abstinence from everything during this one day (22nd March Sunday). No persons from a distance can enter Trong on that day. In former times on such occasions the limit for people living close by is three days and people from any distance seven

<sup>\*</sup> The charter is issued from the town of Gajarathapurs ; bat I do not know the modern representative of this name. If the times should be reduced for the town of Bible, they would be about 2 gh. 7 p. later in each

instance. This would not cause any difference in the Instance, week-days, as determined for Bombay.
 C. Patell's Chronology, p. 156.
 Indian Eras, p. 183.
 Indian Eras, p. 183.

<sup>\*</sup> Indian Eras, p. 183,

Larut.

days; but now your servant cannot undertake to preserve the barrier so long; one day would be all that your servant can undertake for."

Can any one give any information regarding the above custom P It would be interesting to know whether it is observed in other Native States or in Sumatra or Java.

I am informed that only a white male-buffalo can be used, which must be killed and eaten in the jungle. The whole of the fiesh must be consumed at a kanduri (feast), which is held for the purpose at a convenient distance from the village—not a particle must be taken away. I am informed on good authority that the surreptitious removal of

the smallest piece of meat would entail the most disastrous consequences on the whole community.

C. V. CREAGH.

Saorifices of this sort are not uncommon in remote parts of the Malay Peninsula. See the note on Pëlas Nëgri (Note 67 in Notes and Queries, No. 3, issued with No. 16 of the Journal of the Straits Branch R. A. S.). Forbes, author of a Naturalist's Wanderings in the Eastern Archipelago, 1885, alludes (pp. 197 and 198) to the custom of the people of Pasumah, West Coast of Sumatra, to sacrifice a buffalo to purify a village.

W. E. MARWELL.

### BOOK NOTICE.

MANUAL OF BUEMBEE, by Capt. CHAS. SLACE-London :---Simpkin, Marshall & Co.; Trübner & Co.

We suppose it was inevitable that the British occupation of Burma should produce some such work as this, which professes, in forty very small pages, to teach Burmese to "travellers, students, and merchants, and also the military and others in official position." Capt. Slack has never been in Burma apparently, and has merely "compiled" his booklet, so it might well have been much worse than it is.

The system on which he proceeds is clear and intelligent, and it only requires a real knowledge of the language and the people to make it a useful work. As it is, we fear that the student will learn but very little from it, and a good deal of that will be wrong.

There are vital omissions in the book which prevent its being of any value as a teacher. Thus the Burmese letters are given in the original character, but the peculiar effect of final stopped consonants on preceding vowels is nowhere even hinted at, though it is the main feature of Burmese orthography. It is explained that the Burmese alphabet is derived from the same source as the various Indian alphabets allied to the Någari, but it is nowhere explained that while the equivalents for कन् spell kán, those for कड spell kin, and those for my spell ki or ke. Again, कक spells ket, कच् spells kit and so on. Within its rules Burmese orthography is, on the whole, regular; but the rules are peculiar and have to be learnt if there is any desire to make head or tail of words written in the vernacular character.

The effect of the accent  $\Im$  is roughly explained, but that of  $\Im$  is ignored, though it is intended to represent a great peculiarity of the language, which lies in an extremely staccato, and to foreign ears a practically inaudible, sound of final consonants. In hundreds of cases these accents form the only difference in words of widely different accaning, which would be otherwise homonyms.

Nothing is said of the changes that the initial consonants of words and particles undergo in composition, and yet this is one of the first puzzles of the language : e.g.,  $k\delta$  is an objective suffix; chyun- $\delta kk\delta$ , to me;  $nwdg\delta$ , to the or:  $k'al\ell$  is young,  $m\ell nk'al\ell$  (female = young) a girl;  $l dgal\ell$  (male = young), a boy:  $ma \dots b t$  is negation; ma-thwá-bt goes not; ma-pyit-pt, is not: kwet a cup, but shwégwet, a golden cup.

In dealing with the numerals there is nothing to show the learner that one cannot, as a rule, use one, two, three, etc. by themselves in Burmese as adjectives, although it must be clear to all that it is impossible to speak a word of any language without a correct knowledge of the numerals. Each class of noun in Burmese has its proper numeral adjectival suffix: e.g., akaung, brute. beast, belongs to all animals not human: nwa, ox; thing, three: nwd thing-gaung, three oxen. Ak'a, thing, belongs to words not having any other suffix: k'adin, bedsteads; ngd, five: k'adin ngdgú, five bedsteads. 'As'in, a line; hlè, boat; chyauk, six: hlè chyauk.s'in, six boats. As'd, vehicle; hlé, cart; ngd, five: hlé ngd-st, five carts.

However in reviewing a book that gives the "grammar" of a language in two small pages, we need hardly go further into omissions.

The "sentences" occupy three and a half pages, and the chief thing wrong with them is that the components are not explained and the hyphens are frequently in the wrong place : e.g., "I forget" is given as—kyún-ok ma-hmat-mi-bu, which is really "I [do] not remember."

A good "simplified grammar" of Burmese by a scholar who knows something of grammar as a science is a great *desideratum*. There are many who know grammar and many who know Burmese, but no writer that knows both has as yet put his views on paper, to the great disadvantage of the now numerous students of that difficult language.

### BENGAL ASIATIC SOCIETY'S COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF TRILOCHANAPALA. THE (VIKRAMA) YEAR 1084.

### BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E. ; GÖTTINGEN.

**I** EDIT this grant from an excellent ink-impression, made and supplied to me by Mr. Fleet. It does not appear to have been previously published; though a reference on the plate, to an entry in the Asiatic Researches, Vol. XVII. p. 621, recording the presentation of a copper-plate grant, which seems to be this one, by Mr. R. Brown,—would indicate that it has been on hand for about sixty years. But the inscription has been incidentally mentioned, in the Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. XXXI. p. 8, note, by Dr. F. E. Hall, who, "with the plate before him," stated that it contained a land-grant of the "king Vijayapâla, son of Âdyapâla, son of Trilôchanapâla." The original plate is now in the Library of the Bengal Asiatic Society at Calcutta. From the entry in the Asiatic Researches, referred to above, it appears to have been discovered at Jhusi, a town in the Allahâbâd District, North-Western Provinces, opposite the city of Allahâbâd, on the left bank of the Ganges.

The plate, which is inscribed on one side only, measures about  $17\frac{1}{3}''$  by  $14\frac{1}{4}''$ , without including the projection, the object of which is not apparent, at the top of the plate. It is smooth; the edges of it being neither fashioned thicker, nor raised into a rim. Its preservation, -however, is perfect; and every letter has come out clearly and distinctly in the impression, so that the actual reading of the text is nowhere in the least doubtful. The plate is thick; and the letters, being rather shallow, do not show through on the back of it at all. The engraving is good; but, as usual, the interiors of some of the letters shew marks of the working of the engraver's tool .- There is no ring-hole in the plate, for a ring, with a seal attached to it; and no indication of a seal having been soldered on to it.-The size of the letters is between  $\frac{5}{5}''$  and  $\frac{1}{3}''$ .—The characters are Någari. They are boldly and beautifully drawn; but either the writer or the engraver has often confounded those signs which are at all similar to one another (na and ka; da, bha, and ha; ma and sa; va, cha, and dha; sa or sva, and kha; and others), and has several times omitted the superscript é and the medial d, so that the inscription contains a rather large number of minor mistakes which will be pointed out in the text.-The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 12-16, the inscription is in prose. The language is grammatically correct; except that in line 12 the singular form asya has been employed for the plural ësham. or rather ébhyah .--- In respect of orthography, I may note that b has throughout been written by the sign for v; that the dental sibilant has been employed for the palatal sibilant in param[6\*]svara, line 2, dasáparádhah, line 5, sikhá, line 7, asésha, line 8, and kusa, line 10; and that for the conjunct mra we find mvra in samvra, line 5.

The inscription is one of the Paramabhattáraka, Mahárájádhirája, and Paraméśvara, the illustrious Trilochanapáladova, who (lines 1-3) is represented as meditating on the feet of the Paramabhattáraka, Mahárájádhirája, and Paraméśvara, the illustrious Bájyapáladova, who, again, is said to have meditated on the feet of the Paramabhattáraka, Mahárájádhirája, and Paraméśvara, the illustrious Vijayapáladova. Trilochanapáladova, being in residence on the banks of the Ganges near Prayága, (lines 3-11) in the customary manner informs the king's officers and the mahattamas and other inhabitants of the village Lébhundáka, in the Asurábhaka vishaya, that, having bathed in the Ganges and having worshipped Siva, etc., he, on the occasion of the dakshindyana-sanikránti or commencement of the sun's entrance on its southern course, on this meritorious day, gave the aforesaid village, with its belongings, to six-thonsand Bråhmans belonging to Pratishthana,<sup>1</sup> who were of various gótras, had various pravaras, and were followers of various Védic schools; and he admonishes the people concerned to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The original has Pratisthána; but I have little doubt that the name intended is Pratishthána, 'a town at the onfluence of the Ganga and Xamuna. on the left bank of the Ganga, opposite to Allahabad;' and that Pratishthána is the older name of the very town Jhust, where the grant is reported to have been found. See ante, Vol. XV. p. 140, note 3.--The same place appears to be meant by Srifa-pratishthána, in the grant of Gôvindachandra, in Jour. Beng. As, Soc. Vol. XXVII, p. 248.

make over to the said donees whatever in accordance with this grant might be due to them. After some of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses (lines 12-16), the inscription, at the end of line 16, is **dated** in the year 1084 (expressed by decimal figures only), on the 4th day of the dark half of (the month) Śrâvana.—There is hardly anything in the wording of the inscription which calls for any special remark; and the phraseology of the whole is so well known from other inscriptions, as to render a full translation superfluous.

The inscription affords no clue as to the line of sovereigns to which the three princes mentioned in it may belong, and, beyond noting that a prince **Trilochanapála** appears to have opposed<sup>4</sup> the Sultan Mahmûd in A.D. 1021, I am anable to offer any suggestion on the subject. Nor am I able to identify the village mentioned in the inscription, or the vishaya in which it was situated.

The details for calculating the date are, in line 16,-the year 1084 of an unspecified era, the 4th day of the dark half of the month Sravana, being, as appears from line 8, the day of the dakshinayana-samkranti. The mention of the dakshinayana-samhranti, which introduces the first day of the solar month Sravana, coupled with a day in the dark half of the lunar month Srâvana, shows that the year with which we are concerned is a northern year, with the purnimanta arrangement of the months. And referring the year 1084 to the Vikrama era, the corresponding European date should fall in A.D. 1026 or A.D. 1027, according as 1084 is the current year or denotes the years expired. In A.D. 1026 Srâvana va. di. 4 was the 6th July; which cannot be the day intended by the grant, because the Karkatasamkranti, which introduces the solar month Śrâvana, had taken place already on the 25th June In A.D. 1027, on the other hand, the fourth tithi of the dark half of the lunar Śrâvana ended, at Prayaga, about 2 h. after sunrise of the 26th June, causing that day to be called the 4th of the dark half of the lunar Sravana; and the same 26th June was the first day of the solar Śravana, the Karkata-samkranti having taken place about 2 h. 30 m. after sunset of the preceding day. Accordingly, 26 June, A.D. 1027, is clearly the day specified in the grant; and the date 1084 of the grant is thus proved to refer to the Vikrama era, and to denote the number of years expired.

### TEXT."

- 1 Ôm\* svasti[!!\*] Śri-Prayaga-samipa-Ganga-tat-avasê paramabhattaraka-maharajadhirajaparam[ê\*]śvara-śri-Vijayapalad[6]va-pa-
- 2 d-ânudhyâta-paramabhaṭṭàraka-mahârâjâdhirâja-param[ê\*]sva(śva)ra-śri-**Bâjyapâlad[6]va**p[â\*]bh(d)-ânudhyâta-parasa(ma)ùga(bha)ṭṭâraka-mahârâjâdhirâ-
- 3 ja-param[ê\*]śvara-śrîmat-Trilôohanap[â\*]ladôvah 1° Asura[bha]ka-visva(sha)yê Lôbhunḍaka-grâmô 1° samupagatâ[mapa<sup>0</sup>]n=râjapurnshân=[vrâ(brâ)]hmaņ-ôttarâm-
- 4 ś=va(cha) pratinivâsi-samasta-sa(ma)hattama-janapad-â[dî]n=mâka(na)yati sa[mv?(mb)]ôdhayaty=âjjâ(jñâ)payaty=astu vah sê(sa)mviditam yath=ôparilisi(khi)ta-grâmô= yam [sva?]<sup>7</sup>-
- 5 sîmâ-triņa-yûti-gôchara-parshabhah<sup>3</sup> sa jala-sthalah s-âmvra(mra)-madhûkah sa-l[ô]halavan-âkarah s-âmûpa-jângalah sa-danda-dasâ(śâ)parâdhah sa-pâ-
- 6 shana-kha[n]ih sa-garh(rtt)-ôsharah s-âdha-ûrddhvah pûrvva-datta-vasu-dêva-vrå(brâ)hmana-varjjichô(tô)=smâbhir=[jja]lanidhi-jalataramga-dha(va)d=y[au]vanam = anginô vi-
- 7 gaņayya kari-kalabha-karņņāgra-chapalām la[kshm?]isvilājya<sup>\*</sup> mā[ru]t-āhava(ta)-dīpasi(ši)khāma(nta?)-taralatamān~[v]ishayān=matv=[ā\*]sarvvam<sup>10</sup>=[ē]va samsā-

<sup>1</sup> This akshara looks rather like ma.

Read lakshmim vilikya (for lakshmim-vilikya),

<sup>\*</sup> See Lassen's Indische Alterthumskunde, Vol. III. p. 740; Sachau's Alberuni's India, Vol. II. p. 869.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> From the impression. <sup>4</sup> Expressed by a symbol. <sup>5</sup> These signs of punctuation are superfluous. <sup>6</sup> Of the two aksharas in these brackets the first is quite distinct, and the second I can only read pa. Both appear superfluous, and I believe that the writer has merely repeated here the second and third aksharas of the preceding samupagatd.

<sup>\*</sup> Read-paryantah.

<sup>10</sup> Read = asáram=.

Bengal Asiatic Society's Plate of Trilochanapala.-The Year 1084.





J. F. FLEET, BO. C.S.

SCALE -38

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

- 8 ra-sâgaram samâkalayya adya puņyê=hani **dakshinâyana-samkrantau** asê(sê)shakalikâla-kanma(lma)sha-prakshâlaja(na)-paţîyasyâm sakala-tì-
- 9 rthamayyâm bhagavatyâm Gamgâyâm vidhivat=snâhâ(tvâ) d[ê\*]vatâ-manapya(shya)pitrîms=tarppayitvâ bhagavantam [sma ?]ryasarppayitvâ<sup>11</sup> Ś[i\*]va-bhattâra-
- 10 kam pûjayitvâ mâtâpitrôr=âtsa(tma)naś=va(cha) puņya-yaśô-bhivriddhayê kusa(śa)-latâpûtêna hast-ôdaki(kê)na Pratisthâ(shthâ)na-samva(mba)ddha-sha-
- 11 t-sahasra-vrâ(brâ)hmaņôbhyô nâkâ(nâ)·gôtr[ê\*]bhyah nânâ-pravarêbhyah<sup>1\*</sup> nânâ-sâkhâ-(khê)bhyah śâsaka(na)tv[ê]na pradasta(tta) iti matvâ bhavadbhir=yathâ-
- 12 dîyamâna-bhâga-sê(bhô)ga-kara-hirany-âdikam=asy<sup>13</sup>=ôpanêtavyam | (11) Va(ba)hubhir<sup>14</sup>= vvasudhâ bhuktâ râjabhih Sagar-âdibhih | yasya
- 13 yasya yadå bhûmis=tas[y]a tasya tadâ phalas(m) II Sva-dattâ[m] para-dattâ[m] vâ yô harêt=tu va[s]undhanâ(râ)m [l\*] sa vishihây[â\*]m [kii]mir=vbhû-(bbhû)tvâ pi-
- 14 tribhih saha majjati II Bhûsi(mi)m yah pratigrihnåti yas=tu bhûmi[m\*] [pra]ya[chchha\*]ti[I\*] na(u)bhvô(bhau) tau p[u]ņva(ņya)-karmmålau(ņau) [n]iyatau<sup>15</sup> svargga-gå-
- 15 minau || Suvarņam=êkam gâm=êkâm bhûmêr=apy=êkan(m)=amgulam [|\*] haran= narakam=âpnôti yâvad-âhûtasamplavam || Śamsva(kha)m bhadr-âsanam
- 16 chhat[tr\*]am var-âśvâ vara-[v]âraņâḥ [l\*] [bh]ûmi-dânasya chihnâni phalam svarggaḥ Pura[m]dara 11 Sam 1084 Sravaņa va di 4 [11\*]

## SANSKRIT AND OLD-KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

## BY J. F. FLEET, Bo.C.S., M.B.A.S., C.I.E.

No. 173.-GUDIGEBE JAIN INSCRIPTION.-SAKA-SAMVAT 998.

I edit this inscription, which has not previously been published, from an ink-impression supplied to me in February, 1883, by a Native friend who then held the post of Mâmlatdâr at Lakshmêshwar, but whose name I cannot just now recall.

Gudigere' is the chief town of a Sub-Division of the same name, belonging to the Junior Miraj State, within the limits of the Dhârwâd District. Its Kanarese name, under the more precise form of Gudigere, occurs in lines 21, 23, and 26. And it is also mentioned under the Sanskrit name of Dhvajatatataka in line 12. In these two names, kere and tatáka are exactly synonymous; both meaning 'a tauk.' And the use, in the Sanskrit name, of dhvaja, 'a banner, flag, flag-staff,' seems to indicate that gudi is here to be taken, not in its most customary sense of 'a temple,' but as meaning 'a vessel raised up on a long bamboo, as at a festival.'— The inscription is on part of a stone-tablet, measuring about 2' 10' broad by 3' 2" high, standing against the wall of a Jain temple at this town. It is only a fragment; the upper part of the tablet, containing all the introductory portion of the record, and the usual sculptures at the top, being broken away and lost.

The writing, which covers the entire front of the extant portion, save for a margin of about an inch down each side and at the bottom, is in a state of very good preservation throughout; and nothing is illegible, except in those parts of lines 1 and 2 in which the fracture of the stone occurred.—The characters are the so-called Old-Kanarese characters, of the regular type of the eleventh century A.D. They include, in line 19, the decimal figures 8 and 9. The virama is represented sometimes by its proper Kanarese sign, as in *irimat*, line 7, *urvviyo*, line 9, and *elevol*, line 10; and sometimes by the vowel u, as in *anubhavaneyalu*, line 3, *dhátri*yolu, line 16, and *gudigereyolu*, line 26. And an interesting instance in which a pronunciative

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Bead súryam =archchayitvá. <sup>15</sup> Originally <sup>0</sup>bhyčh. <sup>13</sup> Bead čbhya upa.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Metre. Sloka (Anushtubh); and in the following verses.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> This akshara is really t, with the sign for i before and the sign for d after it.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The 'Gudagerree' of the map ; Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 41. Lat. 15° 6' N. ; Long. 75° 26' E.

THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY.

value has to be given to the latter form of it, occurs in line 13; where the metre requires as to pronounce aruhane, as written; though what is intended is aruhane, i. e. arhane. The average size of the letters is about  $\frac{1}{2}$ ". The engraving is bold and excellent. — The language is Old-Kanarese ; with two Sanskrit verses in lines 40-42. And the inscription is in mixed verse and prose. Three curious words occur in it. In line 8, we have rundra, 'large, great, lofty,' which occurs in many other inscriptions in the Kanarese country; and the formation of which has been explained by Mr. K. B. Pathak.<sup>2</sup> In line 9, in introducing the mention of Ashtôpavâsi-Kanti, the disciple of 'Srinandipandita, we have sishshinti, 'a disciple.'' And in line 22, we have gudda, which on previous occasions' I have shewn must have the meaning of 'a disciple,' or something very similar; and of which we have also the feminine form guddi." My previous explanation of the word is fully established by the present inscription; for, while in line 22 the Sénabôva Singayya or Singanna is called the gudda of Srinandipandita, the latter, in line 13,-mentioned there under his epithet of paravadi-sarabha-bherunda,-is distinctly called the Guru of Singayya. And I have only to add that, as the word is applied here to a Sénabôva or 'accountant,' and in my previous instances either to Settis or 'merchants,' or to Gaudas or 'village-headmen,' it evidently means 'an ordinary pupil;' and not 'a religions pupil, or disciple,' which is plainly the meaning of sishshinti.-In respect of orthography, the only points that call for notice, are (1) the use of the upadhmaniya, represented by the same sign that stands for the Old-Kanarese r, in manahpundarika, line 6; (2) the use of the Old-Kanarese 1 in the Sanskrit word kalpanta, line 11; (3) the doubling, very exceptional at so late a period, of p after the anusvára, in samppanan, line 13; and of s before y, in yassya and tassya, line 41; (4) the occasional use of b for v, in Sanskrit words only, in bhabya-sebya, line 16, and in priyamöadam and brati, line 17; and (5) the occasional use of the wrong sibilant, as in namasyam, lines 11 and 23, visés-anna, line 14, and sastr-amrita, line 5, sarabha, lines 6 and 19, suchi-subha, line 16, and saka, line 19.-A special point of interest is the allotment of the properly regal titles Parameévara and Paramabha!!áraka, in line 4, to "the divine Arhat." I have no other instance of this use of Paramésvara. And the only other instance, known to me, of the use of Paramabhatt araka in this way, is in line 43 of an inscription at Mamdapur in the Belgaum District, dated Saka-Samvat 1172 expired (Indian Inscriptions, No. 1), in which it is applied to a Saiva priest named Vimalaśiva or Vimalaśambhu.

The inscription is a Jain inscription. The extant portion of it opens with the mention of an official, holding the post of Pergade, named Prabhâkara (line 2), or Prabhâkarayya (l. 3). In his time of office (anubhavane, l. 3) there was a Jain priest or teacher named Srinandipaņditadēva (l. 7), Siriyanandimunindra (l. 9), or Sirinandi (l. 17), "who had crossed to the other shore the sea of nectar of the Siddhantas and all the other 'Sastras which are useful in investigating the real nature of all the good and evil and other substances that proceeded from the water-lily that is the mouth of the divine Arhat, the omniscient one, destitute of passion (vita-rága),<sup>7</sup> the Paramésvara, the Paramabhattáraka, who is decorated with a third eyes which is the unsurpassed knowledge of the doctrine of unity (kévalajñána) that is the refuge of the whole circuit of the earth ;" and who had the other name or epithet of paravádi-sarabhabhérunda (1. 6), indicative of his skill in vanquishing those whose doctrines were opposed to his own. While this Achárya, 'Srînandipandita, was practising asceticism (l. 7), his disciple

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> ante, Vol. XI. p. 273.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> I thought at first that, though the word appeared to be sishshinti, it might optionally be read sishpinti, "I thought at most that, though the word appeared to be statistical, it might optimizing be read standard, or even appint. And, if we should adopt the reading sishpinti, there are instances, in other inscriptions, which would justify our pronouncing it sishi-panti, which might represent sishya-pankti. This last word, however, though quite possible, is not altogether a probable one; especially since the passage introduces only one disciple, and not 'a row or line of disciples.' And a further examination of the whole record satisfied me that the word is produbbedly tishkints.

ante, Vol. X. p. 189, note 16, and Vol. XII. p. 99 ff.

<sup>\*</sup> ante, Vol. XII. p. 101.

<sup>\*</sup> The use of sermat in line 7, is an instance of the habit of emphasising the use of set as an integral part of a proper name (see Corp. Inscr. Indic. Vol. III. p. 8, note 3). 7 This was also a Buddhist title; c. g. in line 1 of the Sravasti inscription, ante, Vol. XVII. p. 62.

<sup>•</sup> This, in a Jain inscription, is rather a peculiar instance of borrowing from Hinduism; the origin of the metaphor being the three eyes,—one in his forehead,—of the god Siva.

(*sishshinti*, 1 9) was Ashtôpavâsiganti (l. 10), or Ashtôpavâsi-Kanti (l. 29), "who delighted in the duty of maintaining the religion of Jinêndra." And this latter person obtained from 'Srînandipandita a namasya-grant of seven mattars of land (l. 11), and applied it, under the protection of the Twelve Gavandus or village-headmen of (the village of) Dhvajatatāka (l. 12), for the worship of Pârśva-Jinêśvara, and for providing food for people versed in the sacred writings.

The inscription then introduces the Sénabôva Singanna (1.13), Singa (1.14), or Singayya (1.22), whose god was the Arhat, and whose Guru or teacher was 'Srinandipandita (1.13); who was a very moon in causing the increase of the ocean of the Jain religion (1.15); who was a very bee at the water-lilies which were the feet of the ascetic Sirinandi (1.17); and who was the Sénabôva or village-accountant of 'Srinandi (1.18).

It then proceeds to record that, at the brane or abrane of the Anala samvatsara, which was the Baka year 998 (expired) (1. 19), 'Srinandipandita, shewing the charter to Kâladiya-Nâyimmarasa (l. 22), acquired possession of the western fields, in the lands of Gudigere, which, on the authority of a copper-charter, were under the control of the Jain temple called Ânêsejjeya-basadi (l. 21) which Kunkumamahâdêvi, the younger sister of the glorious Châlukya Chakravartin Vijayâdityavallabha (l. 20), had formerly caused to le built at Purigere; and gave, out of those fields, to his pupil (gudda) Singayya (l. 22), as a sarvanamasya-grant, fifteen mattars of land (l. 23), which Singayya allotted (l. 24) for the purpose of providing food for the saints at Gudigere,—making it the duty of the king, the Pandits, the Twelve Gávundus, and all pions persons (l. 25), to see that the proceeds of the land were applied only for that purpose, and were not diverted to any other religion or any other object, and to continue the grant as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean, and the earth might endure (l. 27).

The boundaries of this land were: — On the east, the culturable land of Bandigâvunda (l. 28); on the south, the road to (the village of) **Pulluringur**; on the west, the culturable lands of the basadi, and of Nâkayya; and on the north, the joint-fields (pasugeya polam) of the Gávundus. And the boundaries of the seven mattars of land, granted, as stated in lines 10-11 above, to Ashtôpavâsi-Kanti, are here specified (l. 30) as being, on the east, the culturable land of (the village of) Bangagêri (l. 30); on the south, the culturable land of the villagechaityálaya; on the west, the culturable land of the Pergade Prabhákarayya; and on the north, the road to Pullungur. Thus there were given two paryáya-allotments of twenty-one mattars of land (l. 31).

Also, in the same western fields, 'Srînandipandita gave, as rent-free land (umbali), one hundred and eleven mattars to the Twelve Gávundas (l. 36); fifteen mattars to Rudrayya (l. 37), son of the Pergade Prabhâkarayya; fifteen mattars to the Sénabóva Habbanna (l. 38); seven mattars to Mûkiyara-Kâvanna; four mattars and six hundred kammas to Kantiyara-Nâkayya (l. 39); and twenty mattars, as a sarvanamasya-grant, to the god Bhuvanaikamalla-'Sântinâthadêva (l. 40), — *i.e.* to a Jain temple or image of 'Sântinâtha that had been built or set up by the Western Châlakya king Sômêśvara II., who had the biruda of Bhuvanaikamalla.

The inscription ends with two of the customary benedictive and imprecatory Sanskrit verses, in lines 40 to 42.

Of the places mentioned in this inscription, — in addition to Gudigere itself, which is spoken of under the names of Gudigere and Dhvajatatāka, the latter being the Sanskrit translation of the Kanarese name, —Pullumgur is the modern Hulgur, in the Dhârwâd District, six miles south-west of Gudigere. And Purigere is one of the ancient names of the modern Lakshméshwar, in the Miraj State, about six miles east of Gudigere. Bangageri, which cannot now be recognised in the map, must have been an ancient hamlet of Gudigere, or of Lakshméshwar.

As regards the date of this inscription, we have, in line 19, the details of Saka-Samvat 998; and, coupled with this, of the Anala samvatsara, which, as by the southern luni-solar system it was coincident with Saka-Samvat 999 current, shews that the given Saka year is to be taken as an expired year, though it is not qualified as such. And further we are told that the copper-charter was exhibited at the state of this year; but I have not succeeded in obtaining any explanation of the word śráhe, or, as it may possibly be read, aśráhe.

The name of the reigning king is lost with the missing fragment of the stone. But the date shews that the record belongs either to the very end of the reign of the Western Châlukya king Sômêsvara II., or to the commencement of the reign of his younger brother and successor, Vikramáditya VI.

The Chalukya Chakravartin Vijayadityavallabha, who is mentioned in line 20, seems to be the Western Chalukya king Vijayaditya, of whom we have an inscription at Lakshmêshwar,\* dated in the thirty-fourth year of his reign, when Saka-Samvat 651 had expired, and consequently in 'Saka-Samvat 652 current (A.D. 729-30), which records the grant of a village for the benefit of the Jain temple called 'Sankha-Jinêndra-vasati at Pulikara (Lakshmeshwar). The only other person with whom he could be identified, is a certain Maharaja Vishnuvardhana-Vijayâditya, who is mentioned in a Dâvangere inscription, from Maisûr, 10 as a 'son' of the Western Châlukya king Sômêśvara I., and who in Saka-Samvat 988 or 989 was governing the Nolambavâdi Thirty-two-thousand District in Maisûr. It seems probable, however, that he was not really a son of Sômésvara I, but only a distant relative of his, in the same degree of descent with a son; and that he belonged properly to the Eastern Chalukya family.<sup>11</sup> And, for this reason, and because of the use, in line 20, of the word munnam, 'formerly,' which indicates a certain amount of antiquity, I think that we have undoubtedly a reference to the Viyayaditya who commenced to reign in A.D. 696. The present mention of his younger sister Kunkumamahadevi, gives us a new name in the Western Chalukya genealogy.

### TEXT,18

- 3 Prabhâkarayyan=anubhavaņeyalu || Õm<sup>16</sup> [S]v[as]t[i] Samasta-bhuvanavaļaya-niļayaniratišava-kêvaļajñâna-nêtratri(tri)tlya<sup>17</sup>-virûjamâna-
- 4 bhagavad-arhat-sarvvajña-vîtarâga-paramêśvara-paramabhattâraka-mukhakamala-vinirggatânêka-sad-asad-âdi-vastu-svarûpa-nirûpana-pravîpa-siddhâ-
- 5 nt-âdi-samasta-sâ(śû)str-âmritapârâvâra-pâragarum=anêka-nripati-makuţa-taţa-ghațita-maņigaņa-kiraņa-jaļa-dhârâ-dhaut-âvadâta-pûta-chara-
- 6 nâravindarum budhajana-manalıpundarîka-vana-mârttandarum shat-tarkka-Shanmukharum parama-tapaścharana-niratarum paravâdi-sa(śa)rabha-bhêrund-âpara-

9 yugmar=emb=initu mahat[t\*]vadim Siriyanandi-munîmdrare dêvar=urvviyo] || Avara śishshimitiyar || 'Sama<sup>19</sup>-dama-yama-niyama-yutar=vvi-

<sup>7</sup> nâmadhêyar=appa śrîmat Srînandi-paṇḍita-dêvar=âchâryyar-âgi tapô-râjyam-geyyuttamire 11 Vii 11 Jina<sup>13</sup>-samay-âgam-âmbunidhi-pâragar=u-

<sup>8</sup> gra-tapô-nivâsigal manasija-vairigal sa(śa)ma-dam-âmbudhigal budha-sajjana-stutar= vvinata-narêmdra-ramdra-makuț-ârchchita-pâdapayôja-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> ants, Vol. VII. p. 112.

<sup>10</sup> Pali, Sanskrit, and Old-Kanarese Inscriptions, No. 136.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> See my Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, p. 471. To my remarks there, I would add that the inscription calls Vishouvardhana-Viyay&ditya sarval&&divaya or 'refuge of all people,' which is a very customary Eastern Chalukya epithet, but does not, I think, occur in any of the inscriptions of the Western branch of the family.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> From the ink-impression. <sup>13</sup> sc. Vritta; i.e. 'metre.' <sup>14</sup> Metre, Champakamålå.

<sup>15</sup> Or perhaps ant-adum-ang[e].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Here, and throughout this inscription, this word is represented by a symbol ; not in writing.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Read trittyanétra. <sup>16</sup> Metre, Champakamálá. <sup>19</sup> Metre, Kanda.

10 mala-charitrar=Jjinêmdra-dharmm-ôddharana-krama-niratar=elele lôk-ôttamar=esev=Ash-
tôpavâsigantiyar=eleyol H Vri H Ant <sup>20</sup> =avar=êlu
1 mattarane panditar=îye namasya(sya)m-âgi kalpânta-dinam bara[m*] padedu Pârsva-Jinêsvara-pûjegam srut-âtyamta-sad-ânna-dâna-
2 vidhigam sale koțiar=idam nitântav∞ôrant-ire raksbipa[r*] Dhvajatațâkada panneradum-gavuņduga[]] Ôm Namah siddhebbyah]]
j3 Ôm Samasta-guņa-samppannan⊨appa śrîmat sênabôva Simgaņņamge (i Aruhane <sup>21</sup>
nambida deyva[m*] gurugalu paravâdi.śarabha-bhêruņda-
14 budhar=ppara-hitame tanage charitam dore-vettuda Simgan=êm krit-ârtthano
jagadol 11 Parama-**śri-Jaina-dharmmakk=anavarata-viśês(sh)-anna-dânakke
5 munnam Bharatam śrêyâmsan=îgaļu nija-kuļa-tilakam Jaina-dharmm-âbdhi-chamdram
shpu(sphu)rad-udyat-têjan=atyunnatan=amala-yasam sishta-ratnâkaram
6 bappure Simgam bhabya(vya)-sêbya(vya)m su(śu)chi-su(śu)bha-charitam dhâtriyolu
punya-pumja[m*]    Kanda    Para**-hita-charitran≃anupama-vara-guna-nila-
7 yam pri(pri)yamba(va)dam dharmma-dan=akshara-pakshapati yati-pati-Sirinamdi-
bra(vra)ti-padâbja-bhrimga[m*] Simga[m*] II Amala-charitra[m*] budha-hritka-
8 mal-âkara-dinakaram krit-ârttham Jaina-krama-nalin(n)-êshtha(shta)m 'Srînandi-munim-
drara sênabôva Simga[m*] dhareyol II Ant=enisida II Ôm II
19 Sa(sa)ka-varsha 998ney=Anala-samvatsarada sraheyo $lu^{24}$ Svasti Šrimat para-
vâdi-sa(śa)rabha-bhêruṇd-âpara-nâmadhêyar=appa
20 Srînandi-pandita-dêvar=mmunnam śrîmat Chalukya <sup>26</sup> -chakravartti-Vijayâdityavallabh-
ânujey=appa śrimat Kumkuma-maha- 21 devi Purigereyalz mâdisidh(d)=Ânêsejjeya-basadige tâmbra**śâsana-maryyâdeyimd=
1 dêvi Purigereyala mâdisidh(d)=Anësejjeya-basadige tambra <sup></sup> sasana-maryyadeyimd= âlva Gudigereya bhûmiy-olage pa-
2 dava <sup>37</sup> na polan=ottu-vôg-ildado" Kâladiya-Nayımm-arasamge sasanamam ton padeda bhûmiy-olage tamma guddam Simgayyamge kûra-
3 nyadim sarvva-namasya(sya)m-âgi padinâlku mattaram daye-geydu koțțad=ây=Ayyan=
â padinâlku mattarumam rishiyargge Gudi-
24 geroyol=âhâra-dânam nadev-ant-âgi bițan=i keyyol=puțțid=artthamamn <sup>30</sup> =illiy=âhara-
dânakk⇒allade perat-omdn dharmmakkam
25 perat-omd∞edegam≃nyyal-ûgad=int=i maryyâdeyan=arasnm panditarum pannirvvar=
ggâvnndugalum dharmmav-arivavar=ella-
26 ruv=odeyar-ûgi parirakshe-geydu sva-dharmmadim nadasuvudu II Kanda II
Gudigereyolu <sup>so</sup> dharmmamgalig=odarisuvavar=ella
27 vodeyar=1 dharmma[m*]-kav-odeyar=em=ôrvvare venaved <sup>31</sup> =udupati ravi jaladhi
dhâtri nilup-annevara[m*]!! Antu Simgannam bitta
28 keyya chatus-simey=ent-ene mûda Bandi-gâvundana keyi temka Pullumgûra
batte paduva basadiya keyyu[m*]
29 Nåkayyana keyi badaga gåvundugala pasugeya polan=antu mattar=ppadinålku
Mattam=Ashtôpavâsi-Kantiyara 30 bitta keyge chatus-sîmey=ent-ene mûda <b>Bamgagêriya</b> keyi temka grûma-
30 bitta keyge chatus-sīmey=ent-ene muda <b>Hamgageriya</b> keyi temka grama- chaityālayada keyi paduva perggade
1 Prabhâkarayyana keyi badaga Pullumgûra battey=antu mattar=êļuman=int=î
yeraqum paryyâyada mattar=irppatt-0-
32 ndumam pratipâļisuvavargge Varaņāsi Kurakshêtram Prayagey=Argghyatirttham
modal-ågi punya-tirtthamgalo-
<ul> <li><sup>20</sup> Metre, Utpalamälikä.</li> <li><sup>21</sup> Metre, Kanda.</li> <li><sup>21</sup> Metre, Kanda.</li> <li><sup>22</sup> Metre, Kanda.</li> <li><sup>23</sup> Metre, Kanda.</li> <li><sup>24</sup> Metre, Kanda.</li> <li><sup>25</sup> Metre, Kanda.</li> </ul>
26 Read istinach Châlukua. Read tumra.
" The letters padues were at first omitted, and then were inserted in the margin,-the pa at the end of line 21. and the dues at the commencement of line 22.

- line 21, and the dura at the commencement of line 22. <sup>14</sup> Or perhaps ottum-&g-ildade. <sup>15</sup> Bead artthaman. <sup>20</sup> Metre, Kanda. <sup>20</sup> Metre, Kanda.

33 lu süryya-grabanadolu säsira kavileyan=alamkåra-sahitam chatu[r\*]vvêda-påragar= appa säsirvvar=brähma-

34 parggey=ubbayamukhi-gotta pa(pha)lam=ak[k\*]uv=î dharmmaman=aliyalu manamdamdavarggey=int=î puņya-tîrtthamgalolu sâsi-

- 35 ra kavileyuma[m\*] sâsirvva[r\*]=brâhmaņaruman=aļida pamchamahâpâtakan=akku !! Ôm Svasti Srîmat paravâdi-śarabha-bhê-
- 36 ruņd-åpara-nâmadhêyar=appa 'Srînandi-paṇḍita-dêvar=mmattam=â paḍuva-volad-olage pannirvvar=ggâvuṇḍ[u\*]galge daye-geyd=umbaliy-âgi
- 37 kotta mattar=nnûra pannondu perggade Prabhâkarayyana maga Rudrayyange daye-geyd=umbaliy-âgi kotta mattar=ppadi-
- 38 nâlku i sênabôva Habbannamge daye-geyd=umbaliy-âgi ko‡ta mattar=ppadinâlku Mûkiyara-Kâvannamge day[e\*]-geyd=u[m\*]bali-
- 39 y-âgi koțța mattar=âln Kantiyara-Nâkayyamge dayc-geyd=umbaliy-âgi koțța mattar= nnâlku kammav=aru-nûra śrîmad-Bhuvanai-
- 40 kamalla-Sântinâtha-dêvargge sarvva-namaśya(sya)m-âgi padeda mattar=irppattu || Bahubhir<sup>39</sup>=vvasudhâ bhuktâ râjabhirs(s)=Sagar-âdibhih ya-
- 41 ssya yassya yadâ bhûmis=tassya tassya tadâ pa(pha)laið 11 Sva-dattûm paradattûm vâ yô harêta vasundharâ[m\*] shashthir=vvarsha-sahaśrâ-
- 42 yâm mishthâyâm<sup>88</sup> jâyatê krimih li

## SOME SOUTH-INDIAN LITERARY LEGENDS.

BY PANDIT S. M. NATESA SASTEI, M. F. L. S.

### INTRODUCTION.

I have frequently had the privilege of laying before the readers of this Journal the folktales of the people of Southern India; but in addition to these there are current among them many legendary tales based on Sanskrit or Tamil Literature and Tradition. These legends, are, I think, worth recording in the forms in which they occur in popular use, and I propose in the following pages to give specimens of them. They are specially interesting, because now-a-days they are rapidly disappearing before the march of education and the spread of communication with the outer world.

The time to hear them is during moonlight nights, after the simple toils of the villagers are over for the day, and their frugal, but withal plentiful, repast is finished. It is then that they delight to squat themselves on mats in the open moonlight, and spend a few hours relating folk-tales and folk-legends to each other. Several such evenings have I spent most pleasantly, with simple but hospitable companions, during my travels in search of the ideas that pervade them. And I trust that the results of what I have been thus able to record, may prove to be something more valuable than matters of mere passing interest.

### LEGEND I.

On a certain day, a learned but poor Pandit was coming to the council house of king Bhoja on a visit. His intention was to display his learning to that great monarch, and receive presents from him for his hard-earned knowledge. Now, to go to a king with empty hands is considered a great sin among Hindûs. So, on his way he bought some sticks of sugar-cane as a present for the king, cut them into smaller ones, each of a cubit's length, and made a bundle of them. When he approached the palace, he found he was too late to enter the councilchamber that evening, for the king and his learned assembly had already dispersed. So, the Bråhman, not relishing the idea of missing the morning council as well, by going elsewhere for the night, made up his mind to sleep on the palace premises, so as to be ready.

40

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Metre, Slöka (Anushtubh); and in the following verse.

<sup>👪</sup> Read shashtim varsha-sahasrani vishthayam.

The place he chose for the night's repose was a stable; and there he put the bundle of sugar-cane under his head for a pillow, and soon began to snore away the night, for the day's work had been too much for him. In the middle of the night a groom happened to come into the stable. The pillow had slipped from beneath the Paudit's head and attracted the groom's attention. He opened it and found it to contain sugar-canes. He at once determined to take possession of the canes, and rolled up in the bundle, in their place, some half-burnt sticks of fuel. He then put the bundle back into its original place and went away.

Our hero arose early the next morning, never dreaming that any trick had been played upon him, for the bundle appeared to his eyes to be exactly the same as when he had rolled it into his kerchief the previous evening. He rose up and hastily took the bundle under his arm, not liking to open it, lest some of the troublesome palace peons should snatch away part of the present he was carrying for the monarch. Proceeding thus hastily, he took his seat in the midst of the learned Pandits assembled before the king, and in his turn pronounced several benedictory verses in a general way. And lastly wishing to bless the king with the sugar-canes in his hand, he opened his bundle. But what was his dismay and confusion, when, instead of the canes, only some half-burnt fuel-sticks met his eyes! The whole conclave of Pandits was amazed to see one among their number with such a present in his hand. However, our hero, who had a ready wit, sang the following benedictory verse:—

## इन्धं खांडवमईनेन हि वृथा देवदुमैर्मण्डितम् दन्धा वायुद्धतेन हेमनगरी लंकापुरी स्वर्णभूः i रन्धः सर्व्यससो हरेप मरनः किं तैरदुक्तं कृतम् रारिद्यं जनदुःस्कारकामिरं केनापि रन्धं न हि ॥

"The (great) forest of the Khândava, full of divine trees, was burnt down by Arjuna; the city of Lanka, otherwise called Hêmanagari (the golden city) whose surface was all of gold, was burnt by Vâyu's son (Hanumân); the friend of all, the god Madana (Cupid), was reduced to ashes by Hara. Why should this happen? What bad acts did they do? But this poverty of mine, which puts me always to sorrow, has nover been burnt by any one."

So sang the poor Brâhman, hinting thereby that he meant by the presentation of those sticks that the king should burn his poverty with them. And the monarch too, famous throughout the world for liberality, amply rewarded the Pandit, being extremely pleased with the verse.

### LEGEND II.

In a certain learned village there lived a poor Bråhman who had no learning by which he could earn his living, or which could enable him to go with the others to the king, when he held assemblies of Pandits, and return home with presents from him. Now, to go to the king and get from him some present, was his great aim in life; and, finding all the means of doing it unaided hopeless, he resolved at last to go for help to the great poet Kalidasa. He went to him accordingly and represented his case. The great poet promised to oblige Bhojanadasarathi—for that was our hero's name—and told him to get by heart the following benediction :---**Talantagenerity**. "May there be to you the attainment of the three-fold happiness."

With the greatest difficulty, and after spending a month over it, Bhôjanadâśarathi at last got it by heart. Kâlidâsa then wished to take him to the king and previously told his majesty that a fellow-student of his was coming the next day to the assembly. Bhôja (for that was the king's name) was highly pleased to hear it, and awaited the happy occasion.

In due course Bhôjanadâśarathi came into the assembly and was introduced to the king. He carried a cocoanut in his hand; and, presenting it to the sovereign, essayed to pronounce the benedictory sentence. But, as the troubles of his poverty always stood before his mind's eye, he remembered pidi, 'misery,' much better than sukha, 'happiness,' and so tumbled into the mistake of substituting the former for the latter and said **ualmitery(stativer**, "May there be the attainment of the three-fold misery to you." The king's face changed colour on hearing such on unwelcome benediction, if benediction it might be called, from the fellow-student of the great poet. And all the assembled Pandits were struck dumb with fear and astonishment. But in order to save Bhôjanadâśarathi, Kâlidûsa at once rose up and said,

## आसने विषयीडा च सुतंपीडा च भोजने। शयने सारपीडा च तिसः पीडा दिने हिने ॥

"May Brahmans trouble you when you are on your throne; may your sons trouble you when you sit down to eat; may your wives trouble you (for amorous sports) when you are in bed. Thus may there be three kinds of trouble to you day after day."

Thus Kålidåsa explained away the three miseries wished by Bhôjanadâśarathi to the monarch. And the king, highly pleased, rewarded the poor Brâhman, though of course he did not deserve anything.

### LEGEND III.

One day a poor Bråhman went to KAlidasa, and requested him to take him also to the assembly of king Bhôja. The great poet asked him whether he knew anything to bless the king with, and the Brâhman, being the son of a reciter of Upanishads replied that he had heard his father often repeat the words **REARIN** yew: **REARIN**: **REARIN**: but that was all he knew, and even of that he did not know the proper intonation or meaning. "Very well, it will do," said Kålidåsa, and asked the Brâhman to come to the king's assembly the next day; and our hero, much pleased, went away.

As the next morning was a special occasion, learned Pandits from all parts of Jambûdvîpa had assembled there to bless the monarch and receive presents. Our poor Brâhman too came; and, when his turn approached, without using the peculiarintonation of the Upanishads, he said सहस्रशीयों पुरुष: सहस्राह.

Every Pandit there was astonished to hear so ganche a repetition of a portion of one of the Védåigas. Kälidåsa read the faces of the assembled Pandits, and standing up in their midst said : "Panditáh! Learned Sirs! The Pandit who has just quoted from the Upanishad did not adopt the usual intonation, as he meant it to be but one-half of a verse. You must all try to patch up the other half. The whole assembly heard what Kâlidâsa said, and tried their best to fill in the other portion, but in vain. Then rose up Kâlidâsa, the king of poets, and said untarian army marches," Sahasraśirshá purushah chalitah, "the thousand-headed (hooded) god Adisêsha changes his position (unable to bear the weight)." Sahasrákshah chakitah, "the thousand-eyed Indra fears for his safety," and Sahasrapát, "the sun becomes," chhannah, "clouded by the dust raised by the army."

The king preised Kålidåsa, scolded the assembled Pandits, and rewarded the poor Bråhman.

### LEGEND IV.

Four poor Bråhmans visited Kálidása on a certain day and requested him to introduce them to the king. The poet asked them whether they knew any Sanskrit verses to bless the king with. The first Bråhman said that his father was a great reader of the Rámáyana, and that he had heard him often repeating the words **gaid UNUMAR**. and that he knew only so much. The second Bråhman replied that his father was a great *Purána*-reader, and that he had heard him often repeat **Minan** said that he knew only so much. The second Bråhman replied that his father was a great *Purána*-reader, and that he had heard him often repeat **Minan** said that he knew only so much. The third Bråhman stated that his father took great delight in the *Harivamáa*, and that he had heard him often repeat the words **sana and that** he knew only so much. And the fourth Brahman said that his father, grandfather, great-grandfather and others, were all priests, and that he had often heard them pronounce, while discharging their duties, the words **Gara and that** he knew only so much. Kålidåsa was pleased with them all, and, pitying their poverty, asked them to be present at the king's assembly the next day. Next morning the great poet went in advance, and informed the king that four of his fellow students had come to the town, and that they would soon be in the council to see him. In due time the four Brâhmans entered the hall of assembly, and the monarch received them very kindly, as he had heard they were fellow-students of the great poet. After being seated, each began to repeat what he knew; and that most learned assembly of Pandits, with Kâlidâsa at its head, heard the following jumbles of Sanskiit verse :--

## कूजंत रामरामोरी ओनियाय कुटुंबिने। उदाच वचनं आमान्पितृणां दत्तमझयम्॥

So explained Kâlidâss, and the monarch at once issued an order that each should be rewarded with a hundred-thousand gold coins for each letter.

### LEGEND V.

A certain boy, who had just begun Sanskrit and had not advanced beyond the declension of nonns, went on a certain day to Kalidasa and said he wanted be taken to the assembly of king Bhôja. The poet asked him what he knew. He said that his master had only the previous day taught him kavih, kavi, kavayah—ativ:, ati, ati. ati. The declension of the word kavi (poet) in the singular, dual and plural of the nominative case. Said the poet "Come with me to the assembly to-morrow, and, blessing the king with ati: ati, ati, request the assembled Pandits to compose a verse on it."

The boy did accordingly. No one present was able to compose a verse upon those forms, till at last Kålidåsa got up and said :---जाते जगति वास्थीके चाबर: काविरिति भुत: ! कवी इति नसे ज्वासे कववस्त्वयि इंडिनि ॥ "When Vâlmika was born, the word कवि: (poet) came to existence in the world; and then when Vyåsa too was born, the dual कवी (poets twain) came into use; and when you began to wield the sceptre, the whole world became full of poets, and कवय : (poets) came into use.

The king was exceedingly pleased at this praise and amply rewarded the boy.

#### LEGEND VI.

The witty arrangement of the names of the dead persons confused the king. He seriously began to think that, when Bhukkunda dies, Bhûpati, *i.e.* he himself, must die next. So he pardoned Bhukkunda.

This verse is quoted as an instance of ready wit, though there is not much logic in it.

### LEGEND VII.

In the Maister Darbar, during the days of Krishnaraja Udaiyar, a certain Pandit concluded a verse with the words **etfler-vers** feriation. "She looks with her eyes a little shut," and wished his fellow Pandits to patch up the verse on the condition that the verse was to be natural and treat of a thing without sentiments of love.

One of the Pandits rose up and said :---

# गहनेषु करीषवांछया विचरंती किल तिन्वणीफलं ।

## परिचर्ष्य पुलिरहेररी दरमीलभवना विलोकते ॥

"While searching for cakes of dried cattle-droppings in the forest, a *pulinda* (hunter) woman comes across a tamarind fruit and when tasting it, she looks with her eyes a little shut."

The allusion here is to the fact that, when anything acid is eaten, the nerves of the cheeks and the eyes contract and make the eater half shut his eyes for a second or two. The peculiarity of the above verse is that it is without sentiments of love, as is always the case when women in Sanskrit literature are represented as looking with half-shut eyes.

### LEGEND VIII.

King Bhôja was seated one day among the learned Pandits in his assembly, when a poor Brâhman presented himself before his majesty. Mendicants can be distinguished by their very faces, so the king said to him कुतस्रवमागतों विग्र! "Whence have you come, O Brâhman?" कैलासा-दगतों तूप | "I have come from Kailâsa, O king." Then his majesty asked him-शिवस्तम झुखो सापि ॥ "Is Sive there doing well then?" And our Brâhman hero replied-नास्ति तम शिवो स्त: "No, There is none there. Sive is dead and gone."

The king was apparently startled and wishing to confound the Brâhman asked him "What had become of the several things which were in Siva's person if he had died ?" Whereon the Brâhman repeated the following verse which is unparalleled for its beauty among such effusions :---

## अर्द्धे रानववैरिणः थिरिजयाप्यर्द्धे हरस्याहृतम् हेवेत्थं हिवि भूतले पुरहराभावे समुन्मीलति । गंगा सागरमंबरं शशिकला नागाधिपाः स्मातलम् सर्व्वतत्वमधीश्वरत्वमगमत्त्वां मां च भिक्षाटनम् ॥

"Half of Siva was taken away by the enemy of the Dânavas (Vishņu); the daughter of the mountain (Pârvatî) too took away half of Hara (Siva) to her own body. Thus the conqueror of Tripura, the great Siva, was swallowed up in the heavens (by Vishņu) and on the earth by Pârvatî, and became a cypher. He had the Ganges on his head; she went to the ocean as her lord. He had the moon-disc on his head; she went to the sky. He had several serpent-lords (as his ornament); they went to the nether world. He had the mastery of learning and the lordship of wealth; they came to you, O King! And lastly, Siva was a mendicant; and he bequeathed his mendicancy to me."

Thus replied the Brâhman, most truely accounting poetically for the way in which Siva disappeared, and hinting very cunningly that, because Bhôja was a wealthy and learned king, he had come there to beg. The king, who wished to confound the Brâhman by dragging him into unnecessary questions, was himself confounded. He rewarded the Brâhman amply, and sent him away.

In the above verse, the half of Siva being taken away by Viahan is merely a poetical fiction. There is a god Hari-Hara, sometimes called Vishan and sometimes Siva, by the

Vaishnavas and Saivas respectively. In this avatura or incarnation, half is Hari (Vishnu) and half Siva (Hara). This is most ingeniously represented in the above verse as Hari stealing away half of Siva. And in the incarnation of Siva as Arddhanariśvara, half of him is himself and half Parvati. This is what is meant by the other half of Siva being stolen by Parvati, as the poet cleverly represents it. And of course, when the two halves that make up one Siva disappeared, Siva himself disappeared.

Some orthodox Saivas sometimes criticise the last line of the first verse नासि तत्र शिशेषतः and say it is irreligious of the king to have spoken about the god as having died. But they make things right by representing that the words शिवो and मृत; can also be separated as शिवो and अमृत:. And by the rules of the Vyäkarana (हसि च ॥ and अती गुणे ॥) शिव: मत: and शियी-अमृत: both become respectively शिवोष्टतः ॥ In शिवो अमृत: Siva does not die, but only undergoes a sort of poetical death for the occasion; only in the month of the Bråhman mendicant.

CURIOSITIES OF SOUTH-INDIAN SANSKRIT LITERATURE.

### BY PANDIT S. M. NATESA SASTEI, M.F.L.S.

### L.-Punning Verses

The following two verses, one on Siva and one on Vishnu, are looked upon in Southern India as among the best examples of puns upon words in Sanskrit.

Siva, in his incarnation of Natesa, was always going astray with strange women. One night he returned home very late and knocked at the door of the goddess, when the following questions and answers passed between them-

## कस्त्वं जूली प्रविश भिषजां वेदम वैद्यं न जाने. स्थापुर्धाले न वरति सर्स्नीलकंठः प्रमुग्धे । केकामेका वह रव पशुपतिरबले नैव तीक्ष्मे विषाणे इत्येवं चैलकल्बाप्रसिवचनजडः पातु मां पार्वसीशः ॥

which may be rendered thus :---

Parvati .-- "Who is it that knocks at the door ?

Siva. - Súli.

Pervati-If you are Sull go to the doctor's house for treatment, as I do not know medicine.

Śwe.—I am Sthänu, my dear.

Párvati .-- Sthann ! Trees do not speak:

Siva .- No; I am Nilakantha.

Párvaii.--- If so let me hear one of your kéké notes:

Sive .-- No; my dear ! I am Paiupath

Pdrvati.-Then how is it that I do not see your sharp horns.

(Sive was confused by the natural interpretation given to each of his names by Parvati.) May that lord of Parvati who stood confused and unable to reply to the questions of the daughter of the king of mountains, protect me !"

The puns here lie in the words Suli, Sthanu, Nachantha and Paiupati. Each of these four means Siva and also a person suffering from stomach-ache, a piece of wood, the peacock, and the bull as the lord of the cattle (cows). When Siva says that he is Sull, Parvati interpreting the word to mean a person suffering from belly-ache, wants her husband to go to the doctor's house as sha had not studied medicine. Siva then says that he is Sthann; and as that word means also 'wood' she wonders and says "if you are a Sthanu you could never have spoken, as trees do not speak." Then Siva has recourse to a third name of his which also unfortunately means a peacock. The word is Nilakantha. Then Parvati teases the god and wants to hear one of his kékas-the special name, in Sanskrit, of the peacock's note-as all Nilakanthas sing kékas. Once more Siva tells his wife that he is Pasupati which also means a ball. Parvati then wants to see whether her husband has the horns of a bull and for that purpose opens the door. Then says the story that the god and goddess were reconciled, and the poet calls upon Siva's protection in his half-amorous mood !

In the same strain, but representing the adventures of Krishna, who was notorious for his adventures with the fair sex, is the following verse-

अंगुल्या कः कवार्ट प्रहरति कुटिले माधवः कि वसन्तो

नो चन्नी कि कुलाली नहि धरणिधरः कि दिजिहः भणीन्त्रः !

नाहं घोराहिमईं। ख्वमसि खगपतिनीं हरिः कि कपीन्द्र

इत्येवं गौपकन्याप्रतिवचनजडः पानु मां पद्मनाभः 🔢

which may be thus rendered :----

The Gopis.-- "Who is it that strikes (slowly) at the door with his fingers?

Krishna or Padmanábha.-Mâdhava, you enraged woman.

The Gopis.-What? Is it the god of the spring season?

Krishna.-No. I am the Chakri-the bearer of the discus.

The Gopis.-What? Are you the potter (who bears the wheel)?

Krishna.-No. I am the bearer of the earth.

The Gôpis .--- Then are you the double-tongued king of serpents ?

Krishna-No. I am rather the killer of the serpent (Kâlîya).

The Gopis.—Then are you the lord of the birds (Garuda) who is the killer of serpents? Krishna.—No. I am Hari.

The Gôpis.-What? Are you then the lord of monkeys (Hari)?

May the god Padmanabha who stood bewildered and unable to reply to the questions of the Gôpis protect me !"

Here also the names chosen by Padmanâbha for revealing himself have all double meanings. Thus, Mâdhava means Vishnu as well as the spring season, and Chakrî also means the potter. The bearer of the earth is Vishnu and also the lord of the serpents Âdiśêsha; and the Gôpîs whose aim was to worry the god so interpreted his name. Then Krishna told them that he was the killer of the serpent as it is known that he vanquished Kâlîya while yet a boy by jumping into the pool in the Yamunâ where that serpent demon dwelt. As Garuda kills serpents, the Gôpîs at once asked him if he was that bird. He denied it and said that he was Hari which unfortunately means the lord of monkeys also.

Both the above verses are often quoted in Southern India as examples of puns, though they are not found in any of the set books.

### II.-Fate.

The following verses are always quoted by the South-Indian Pandits for the supremacy of \$7, fate.

A han and cook pigeon were once seated on the branch of a tree, when a hunter came to the root of the tree, and bending his bow was just about to aim an arrow at the birds. The hen pigeon saw him and said to her lord by her side that a miserable death awaited them as they were deprived of escape through the air, as just at that time a kite was wheeling over their heads. She had scarcely finished speaking when a serpent started from under the tree and stung the hunter, and he in confusion at the prospect of immediate death missed the pigeons and hit the kite by accident. Thus both the enemies of the pigeons—the hunter below, and the kite above, went together to the world of death. And fate, whose ways are wonderful, preserved the loving pair of pigeons. The following is the verse relating the story in pathetic Sanskrit, though the logic in it may not satisfy the modern students of Bain's "System."

कान्ते प्राह कपोलिकाऽऽकुरुतया नायान्स्यकालोधुमा ध्याधोऽधोधृतचापसंहितग्ररः इवेनः परिभागति । एवं सत्यहिना स दष्ट इषुणा इवेनोऽपि तेनाहतः सूर्ण तौ तु यमालयं प्रति गतौ देवी विचित्रा गतिः ॥ "The hen pigeon much bewildered said to her lord-"My lord, now has come our last moment to us. The hunter pulling tight his bow has aimed his arrow at us. 'Over our head the kite circles in his flight.' Scarcely had she spoken this, when by a serpent he was stung and by his arrow the kite was killed, and both their enemies went at once to the house of death. The ways of the fate are wonderful."

In another verse the difficulties of a doe are enumerated :--

अमे व्याधः करध्वत्रारः पार्श्वतो जालमाला पृष्ठे दहिर्दहति च वर्ग संनिधौ सारमेयाः । एणी गर्भादलसगमना धाबकः पादलीमः चिन्ताविष्टा कलयति मृगी कि करोगि कयोगि ॥

"In front of her is a hunter with a full-drawn bow in his hand: on both sides of her he has spread his nets so that escape on either side is impossible; to turn back and run away is also impossible, as he has lighted a big fire which is burning the whole forest. The space between the hunter and the nets is guarded by the hounds. With all these external difficulties, the doe is full heavy with young and not at all able to walk quickly, and a young one is running between her feet. In the midst of so many difficulties she is buried in the ocean of anxiety and 'says to herself 'What shall I do? Where shall I go ?'"

While thus surrounded with dangers the following events occurred, or are supposed to have occurred, and made her escape possible :---

## मध्ये ड्या डुटिता धरासनमभूद्भमं स्वाप्नेर्भयात् निर्यातद्धाधकद्युनानुगमितः पाद्यश्व स्प्धोमिना । स्रान्तो दहि्रकालमघसलिलैः सूता सृगी गर्भिणी तामापरसरितं ततार ऋषया देवस्य लक्ष्मीपतिः ॥

"The bow-string broke in the middle (from too strong a pull); the bow too was smashed to pieces. From fear of the forest-fire a hare left its bush and ran and was followed furiously by the hounds. The nets were burnt by the fire. All of a sudden an untimely cloud appeared and poured volumes of water upon the fire and quenched the flames, and in that very place after crossing all the channels of difficulty by the favour of the lord of the Lakshmi (Vishau) the doe was confined and brought to bed of another young one."

Thus if fate only desires it, everything shall take place as it should. In this way many an idler generalizes in remote villages and quotes the three verses given above as his authority for so doing.

### III.-On Musk.

The following beautiful verse is current as one addressed by a great Pandit to a rogue :----

## कस्तूरिकां हर्णभुज्ञामटदीचराणां निक्षिप्य नाभिषु चकार ध्या वधार्हाम् । मूढो दिधिः स खलु हुर्जनलोलजिह्ना मुहेषु निक्षिपति चेष् सकलोपकारः ॥

"The fool Brahmâ by placing musk in the navel of those poor beasts which graze on grass and roam the forests made them (most unreasonably) objects of slaughter; but if, instead of that, he had kept it at the root of the tongues of wicked people it would have been a great help to all."

The author means that wicked men would lose their tongues, and thus their wickedness, and that the rest of the world, would get musk from their tongues instead of from harmless beasts.

### IV.—An old man's wife,

The following is a fine (but somewhat tasteless) verse based on the observation that a lamp is useless to the person who holds it while walking :---

## करे गृहीतापि पुरे स्थितापि स्वेहेन सम्यक् परिवर्द्धितापि ) परोपकाराय भवेद्धि निव्यं ष्ट्रद्धस्य भार्या करहीपिकेव ॥

"Though held by the hand, though made to be before us, though well kept up by sneha, ( oil and also affection), like a lamp held in hand which always becomes useful to others, and not to the person who holds it, is the wife of an old man."

The au thor evidently means a young wife of a very old husband.

### V.-On Friendship.

The following is a fine verse on friendship :----

हारुनेदनिपुणोप घंडंब्रिः निष्क्रियो भवति पंकजबखः

## बंधनानि किरु सन्सि बहुनि स्तेहरङजुकुतबन्धनमम्बद् ॥

"Though the six-footed (bee) is an expert in boring even trees, it gives up all its powers and becomes actionless when it is enclosed in the lotus. There are 'several kinds of bonds; but the bondage of friendship is unparalleled."

The bee is supposed to be tied down by the rules of its friendship to the lotus. Hence it does not like to use its tree-boring powers which, if brought into action on the lotus, would destroy the latter in no time.

### VI.-The Advaita Philosophy.

The following verse is related in every village as an example of the Advaita Philosophy, and apart from the fact, it stands unparalleled in beauty. It is a conversation between Sitå and her faithful friend Trijatå :---

### भस्ताहं सखि शृंगकीटकनयं संवीक्ष्य सीते कयं श्रीरामापिसचित्तवृत्तिरधुना रामो भविष्याम्यहम् । तत्कि ते प्रशुणा समं नहि रतिस्ताहारम्यसिद्धेः कुतः सोपि ग्वां भवितेव तर्हि ग्रुवयोः संसर्गलाभो भवेत् ॥

Sità observed a wasp bring a worm to its nest in the tree under which she was confined. The bee used to sting the worm during all its leisure hours, but the worm, which was always in dread of the wasp soon turned into a wasp itself. When an animate thing, so low as a worm, by thinking with dread upon an object which it hates, can itself become a wasp, *d fortiori* can men who follow the Advaita philosophy become Siva by thinking upon Siva with an idea of doing a pleasurable duty? This is called Bhringakitakanyaya. The meaning of the verse is as follows:--

Stid.--"Well, my friend, after witnessing the evolution of the wasp and worm I fear much. Trijaid.-Sità ! What do you fear ?

Sita.--That I who have been thinking of Rama for ever shall now become Rama (by the rules of the above explained evolution).

Trijafá.-What of that?

Sité.-With that lord of my life, I shall lose the pleasures of a wife, as those would become impossible in me after my becoming Râma.

Trijatá.—Fear not. He must always be thinking of you and become changed to yourself by the rules. Then there shall still be the happiness to you both of a husband and wife."

Though this is a conversation existing only in the imagination of the poet, it is considered a very fine expression of genuine affection between husband and wife.

### MISCELLANEA.

### PEOGRESS OF EUROPEAN SCHOLARSHIP. No. XIII.

Transactions of the Eastern Section of the Imperial Russian Archeological Society.

(a.) Meeting of the 24th September (6th October) 1887.

J. S. Yashtrebov, Consul-General at Salonika, presented the Society with a collection of Old Coins, Greek, Roman, Byzantine, Slavonic and Italian.

V. V. Veliaminov-Zernov, in a letter to Baron Rosen, expressed his consent to the publication of the fourth part of the Essays on the Tsars of Kasimovo.

Vice-Consul Villier-de-Lille Adam presented to the Society a collection of Egyptian Antiquities, bronze and alabaster statuettes, heads in terracotta, &c.

V. A. Zhukovski read a paper on M. Bielozerski's book Letters on Persia, included in the Collection of Geographical and Topographical Notices of Asia, and in his careful review of the above-mentioned book 'shewed the superficial nature of the views of M. Bielozerski and the levity with which he had addressed himself to the task.

(b.) Meeting of the 26th October (7th November) 1887.

S. J. Chakhotin sent some Eastern Coins for inspection, one of which, according to Baron Tiesenhausen, exhibited special interest.

The Fifteenth Volume of the Transactions of the Eastern Section, containing the text, translation, notes and preface to the History of the Mongols, by Rashidu'ddin, published by I. N. Berézin, will appear as soon as the index which is now in the press is ready.

A letter was received from A. T. Soloviev, with some coins and an impression of a Chughatai Coin of Kazan-Timûr, which, in the opinion of Baron Tiesenhausen, is very curious.

V. Villier-de-Lille Adam sent three Egyptian Statuettes as a present to the Society.

A. M. Pozdneiev read a paper on Calmuck Literature, which is important, although boasting no great antiquity.

(c.) Meeting of the 13th December 1887.

V. M. Uspenski sent four coins, one of which is unique according to Baron Tiesenhausen.

N. N. Pantusov sent to the Society six Chinese Proclamations to the inhabitants of the Ili District in three languages, Chinese, Manchu and Turki, of the years 1830-1881, the time of the transfer of Kuljŝ to China; they contain an amnesty offered by the Chinese to the inhabitants of that district.

V. V. Radlov read a paper on the yarliks of Tuqtamish and Timur-Qutluq (which will be published shortly in the *Transactions*).

S. M. Georgievski communicated extracts from his large work on Chinese Social Institutions.

(d.) Song about Khudvar Khán.—N. Ostroünov communicates from Tashkand a song on the Banishment of Khudvar Khán from Fergsna. It is said to produce a great effect upon the Mussulmâns, who weep upon hearing it sung. The author is unknown. A translation is added. The piece is in the usual Oriental style, full of trite reflexions, e. g., "My life has passed, O God? My actions have been vain." In one verse he is made to say—"I have fallen into Russian nets, and have been shut up in a cage." In a note to the poem Baron Rosen says that he does not think either the text or translation quite accurate, but as the Bart dialect is so little understood, he has only ventured on a few emendations.

(e.) The Embassy of Spophari.—This is a translation from the Chinese, giving an account of an embassy sent in the year 1676 by the Tsar Alexis Mikhailovich to the Emperor of Ohina. Communicated by A. Ivanovski.

(f.) Remarks on the kurgans of Turkistan, by N. Veselovski.-These are called in Western. Turkistån, kepe, which means hillock. The word kurgán, which was undoubtedly used for such mounds in ancient times, is now preserved only in the names of towns and villages. There are no traditions among the natives that these mounds were heaped up over the graves of their ancestors. The writer did not excavate any of the mounds used as graves, but collected information about them wherever he could. When kurgdus of this kind are found alone they are very high, but smaller when they are in groups, and the place is then called by the natives mintepe, 'the thousand' hills. The most numerous are situated in the Margelan district of Fergana. In the mintepes various articles are found, such as buckles, rings, metal lookingglasses, &c. The fact that mintepes are only discovered near the Sirdarya, leads us to conclude that they were raised by nomads. On the other hand, kurgans are sometimes used by stationary populations as fortifications, but by the nomada they are never employed as such. A fort of this kind is Toi-tepe (situated 35 versts from Tashkand, on the way to Khojand). Some kurgans stand quite alone and have no towns near them, as Chorloktepe, forty versts to the north of Tashkand. It

is a lofty cone-shaped hillock. Between seven and eight years ago a great hoard of silver coins of the Timuris was found here and three golden earrings. Here the writer conducted excavations with the following results :--On the northern side there was a clay wall and some cylinder-shaped wells, and unmistakable signs of a dwelling. Among other things were found a little earthen pitcher, some trinkets, a piece of glass, two iron knives, one of which was curved like a sickle, a stand made of stone with three legs, a little brass lamp (chirdgh), a brass coin of the so-called Bukhar-Khudats, a large earthen pot, within which were three stones for grinding by hand, many pieces of earthen vessels, ashes, stones, &c.

The Academician Müllendorf, in his Sketches of the Valley of Fergana does not regard the kurgáns of Central Asia as artificial, but holds that the people merely made use of the natural ones which they found. With this opinion the writer does not agree. He thinks the forts among the Turkmans the work of an earlier settled population. There is a very interesting kurgda in the Khanate of Bukhara, between the Kishlak Shirin-Khatun and the town of Zia'u'ddin (the old Debusia). The writer had not heard of kurgans being excavated by natives, but still they are constantly being destroyed. The natives use some of the earth in them as manure. Pieces of land in which kur. gans are found are therefore valued more than others, and, in consequence, many of them have lost their original forms and threaten to disappear. It is from earth being taken in this way that objects are found. Colonel Voitzekhovich gave the writer some which had been found by a Sart in his field.

The article concludes with a list of *kurgáns* in Turkistån, which the writer recommends to the investigation of antiquaries.

(g) Georgian Inscriptions found in Russia, by A. Tsagarelli.—Many Georgian Inscriptions and other antiquities have been found in the interior of Russia. The relations between Russia and Georgia date from the last quarter of the sixteenth century. Embassies coming from Georgia to Mpscow brought presents for the Tsars and Patriarcha, such as embroidery, robes for priests, icons, church furniture, books with miniatures, &c. In the same way Russian embassies going to Georgia received similar presents or bought things in the country. In the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries came many emigrants, tsars and their wives, with large suites, and priests. Two emigrations are especially noteworthy. In 1725 arrived the Georgian Tsar Vakhtang VI. with all

his family and about 1500 persons, and another extensive emigration in 1802-1815. It is in this way that the Asiatic Museum of the Academy of Arts acquired its rich collection of manuscripts. Many valuable articles are scattered about in the different governments. Thus Stroyev found in the year 1829 at Vologda, a splendid copy of the Nomocanon of the Sixth Œcumenical Council, perhaps the autograph of the translator himself, Euthymius, of Athos, a Georgian, who died in 1028. So also the palitsa of Tula and the cope of Kiev. Brosset published many of the inscriptions in 1839; see Inscriptions tumulaires Georgiennes de Moscou et St. Petersbourg, expliquées par M. Brosset. Some of the inscriptions are translated in the paper, and it is hoped that some more will be found.

(1.) Inscription on a Priest's Cope at Kiev' .---

"O Mother of God, Virgin Mary, protectreas not only of Moscow, the country of the North, but also protectress of the whole world, defender of all those who worship thy Son as God, be not ashamed of us at the day of judgment, thy servants, the Tsar Archil and Tsaritas Ketevan and our children." Archil was born in 1647 and married in 1667 the sister of Herachius I. He came to Russia in 1690 and died at Moscow in 1712. He was a considerable author in Georgian. He prepared the Georgian Bible for the press which was published after his death at Moscow in 1743.

(2.) Inscription on an icon.—" Thou defender of all sinners, Most Holy Mother of God, of Kasan, be merciful and spare from all sickness and affliction him who devotedly adorns thee, Alexander, the son of the Tsar."

There were several sons of Georgian Tsars bearing the name Alexander, and living in Russia in the XVIII. and XIX. centuries, and as there is no date it is difficult to say who this 'adorner' of the Kazan icon was.

(3.) Georgian inscription on two guns, one large, the other small, preserved in the Museum of the Admiralty at St. Petersburg. They are in civil characters without any abbreviations, and there is a date on the largest gun:---"Eristavi Rostom, 1756." How these guns got into their present place is unknown. Perhaps they were brought here from Kutais after Imeretia had been united with Russia in the year 1810; perhaps they came to Kutais as trophies of victory after the defeat inflicted by Solomon Tsar of Imeretia on his powerful vassal Rostom Kristavi, who had declared war against him in 1767-1768. The Tsar Solomon, having defeated Rostom,

' [The inscription is given both in the ecclesiastical and civil alphabets.]

imprisoned him and had his eyes putout. Perhaps at that time Solomon brought these guns among other things to Kutais. In Russia in the eighteenth century, there were emigrants of the family of the prince Eristavi.

(4.) "We, the Tsar George and Tsaritsa Tamara, have ordered this palitsa to be embroidered so that our souls may be remembered. Amen." This is embroidered in silk on a palitsa (part of the dress of the upper clergy) now at Tula. There is also a verse of the 44th psalm in Greek. In Georgia there were several couples having the names George and Tamara. Thus a George and Tamara ruled about 1187 to 1190. There was also the Tsar George X. and his wife, according to some Mariama, according to others Tamara. A letter of this Tsar has been preserved addressed to Boris Godunov. There was besides the Tear George XI. who ruled from 1675 to 1688, and again from 1691-1695, and was married to Tamara. The latter Tsar did not have any close relations with Russia. The palitsa hardly belongs to the twelfth century, although, from lack of date, it is difficult to say when it was brought into that country.

(h) Buddhist Prayers, translated by I. Minayev. A panegyric of Harshadêva. Nothing is known of the author. Târânâtha mentions a king of Kaśmîr named Harshadêva.<sup>1</sup>

(i) A List of the Persian Turko-Túrtár and Arabic MSS. of the Library of the University of St. Petersburg, by K. Saleman. The titles are given first in Russian and afterwards in the original languages.

(j) Miscellaneous Notes.

(1) Interpretation of a Saying in a Satire by Firdúsí, by V. Zhukovski. The satire is against Mahmúd Ghaznavi. This is the line, which may be literally translated as follows :--

"The hand (properly palm) of Shah Mahmad of exalted origin is  $9 \times 9$  and  $3 \times 4$ ."

Mohl thinks that it is an allusion to a game and translates:--" La générosité du roi Mahmoud, de si illustre origine, est rien et moins que rien." He afterwards corrected the last part as follows:---" n'est rien ou plus de chose." This correction was introduced by Mohl in consequence of an explanation communicated to him by Kasimirski at Tehrån from a certain Mulla Muhammad 'Alî, who explained Firdúsi's  $9 \times 9$  and  $3 \times 4$  in connection with an ingenious trick of counting on the fingers Last. Mohl was followed by Stanislas Guyard (Chapitre de la préjace du Farhangi Djehangiri sur la dactylonomie.) He differs in some points from Mohl, but they both agree in thinking that it has to do with laying the fingers in the hand and counting by them and was a way of referring to the extreme stinginess of Mahmûd of Ghazni, as the satire is well known to have been written by Firdûst because Mahmûd had not paid him the promised money for the Sháh Náma. V. Zhukovski adds two further interpretations heard in Persia—the first from one who knew the whole work by heart. He did not think there was any allusion to counting on the fingers. The line made sense if the numerals of the hemistich were changed into the corresponding letters in the *abjad*, or alphabet, arranged in numerical order thus :--

$$93 = (4 \times 3) + (9 \times 9) \stackrel{?}{,} 93 = (4 + 2 + 6) + (40 + 10 + 1 + 30)$$

The second computation may thus be arranged according to the *abjad*, (2 + 2 + 2) + (2 + 2) + (2 + 2) + (2 + 2). He then translates, 'The hand of the Shåh Mahmûd of lofty lineage is very avaricious and foul.'

The second interpretation belongs to a scholar of Isfahân. It proposes a different reading in the verse itself (iii, iii, iii), and explains that by the laying of the fingers on the hand as expressed by the figures  $9 \times 9$  and  $3 \times 4$  the hand takes the form of a closed fist. The reason why Firdusi expresses the avarice of Mahmud by a closed fist is to be found in the well-known story of a certain *durvésh*, who came to Mahmud of Ghazni. The latter put his hand in his pocket, but drew out a closed fist and placed it in the *durvésh*'s hands, pretending to give him something. M. Zhu-kovski adds that this explanation seems somewhat far-fetched.

(2.) The so-called Khán Cuci or Zuci, by V. Tiesenhausen .- In the well-known work of Heyd on the trade between Europe and the Levant in the Middle Ages, in the chapter on the mercantile affairs of the Venetians and Genoese in Persia (11, 123), from the end of the thirteenth to the end of the fourteenth century, mention is made of a 'privilege' which is only preserved in a Latin translation. This was given in the year of the serpent (according to the Tâtår manner of computation), or the year 1305 of the Christian era, by the then Tâtâr ' Sultân' to the Venetians, and begins with the words: Verbum Cuci (or according to another reading Zuci) Soldani duci Venetiarum. Heyd is right in thinking that the privilege' was given by the Khan Uljaït, but is wrong in taking Zuci for a person's name; it is

<sup>1</sup> [Here follows the translation and after it the original hymn.]

only a transcription of the Turkish word سوزى which means 'his word' or 'his decree,' and was the customary word at the commencement of documents issued by the Mongolian Khans.

(3.) Coins belonging to S. I. Chakhotin (continued.)-The only one of these coins, in the writer's opinion, hitherto unclassified, is a silver coin of the Turkish Sultan Murad IV. (1032-1049), the son of Ahmad, struck at Damascus, and remarkable for the fact that on it we meet for the first time with the Musulmân ejaculation 'May his shadow be lengthened !' Also a copper, and as it appears, unclassified Saljuq coin of Sultan Kaikhusrav I., son of Khilij-Arslan (588-607), with the representation of horseman on one side."

(4.) Maimatal, by D. Kobeko.-Among the documents of the diplomatic relations between Moscow and the Crimean Horde are the instructions given by the Grand Duke Ivan III. to the Boyar Semen Borisovich, sent by him in the year 1486 to the Khan of the Crimea, Mengli-girei. The Khân in his answer uses the word maitamal, which appears to mean public chest or treasury, but is employed in no other documents relating to Russian dealings with the East.3 The Khån has taken for his treasury the goods of a Russian who died in the Crimea. This custom prevailed with the Turks till the commercial treaty with Russia in 1783.\*

(5.) Story of Khilâl-as-Sdbi concerning the taking of Bukhârd by Bogra-Khân, by Baron Rosen .-- All investigators of the history of Central Asia regret the meagreness of information about the Turki Dynasty which reigned over Mawaru'n-Nahr in the course of the fifth and sixth centuries of the hijra and took the place of the Samanis. The writer wishes to point out a useful source of information in the chronicle of Khilal-as-Sabi, which serves as the continuation of another chronicle by Sabit ibn Sinan, uncle of Khilål. The history of Khilål includes the years of the hijra 363-447 (973-1055). The opinions of Musalman authors on the value of the works of Khilål and his uncle are given by Chwolson in Die Ssabier und der Seabismus, St. Pet. 1856. Lately Baron Kremer has succeeded in finding the work of Khilål in the Ducal Library at Gotha. Besides this newly-discovered production of Khilål, we have also a fragment of his chronicle, including the history of three years, i.e. 390-392 vears of the hijra (= 1000-1002). It is preserved in the British Museum (Cod. Add. 19, 360). This manuscript the writer saw in 1879, and made

extracts from it relating to the taking of Bukhara by the troops of Boghra Khân. Khilâl employs the account of a contemporary merchant, Abu'-1-Hussain ibn Ilyas. The narrative of the merchant is extremely curious, because it shews us the great influence which the Musalman holy men, now called ishan, had at that time on the bulk of the population.

(6.) Pânini I. 4. 79.-In his remarks on this sûtra Böthlingk (Pánini's Grammatik) refers to Vajrachchhêdika (Anecdota Oxoniensia, I. 35, 10, 42, 7), and on page 477 says : Dr. H. Wenzel macht mich darauf aufmerksam, dass उपनिषद् an den angegebenen Stellen im Tibetischen durch Ursache weidergegeben wird. Both expressions quoted in Mahavejutpatte, 223, 15, and in the Tibetan text, are translated by the word ' cause.' The Påli upanisa, with which may be compared उपनिशा (Sukhvátívyúha, 31, 9) has the same meaning, viz., cause.

(7.) Chandragomin, by I. Minayev. Among the authors cited in the Subhashitavali (edited by P. Peterson, Bombay, 1886), is found Chandragopin. The editor of this remarkable anthology (on p. 36 of the preface) makes the following suggestion :--- " May be the Chandragomin to whom the Chandra Grammar is ascribed." The first part of the suggestion seems to me utterly improbable. The part of the verses ascribed to Chandragôpin are taken from Sishyatékha, the work of Chandragômin.

The writer then cites the verses under No. 3384, and also says that those under No. 3448 are taken from the Sishyatêkha. He does not quote them in full, because he hopes in a short time to publish the entire work of Chandragômin. Chandragômin, as is well known, was one of the celebrated Buddhist teachers. Tåranåtha often makes mention of him.

(8). On the name ' Balavari,' by Baron Rosen.---In the review of the book by Zotenberg, Notice sur le livre de Barlaam et Joasaph the writer expressed the supposition that in the name (of the book) Balavari, translated by Saint Euthymius from Georgian into Greek, was concealed the same Indian name or word which in the form b-l-v-h-r stands in the place of the name Varlaam in بلوهو the Musalman version of the romance. The name Balavari, and all the information about the translation of the book of that name, the writer took from Professor Tsagarelli's work on The Documents of Georgian Literature, Part I. St. Petersburg, 1886, pp. 53-54, who in his turn copied

See Lane-Poole, Catal. HI. No. 102.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Here Baron Rosen appends a note that it is the word

baitmalorbaitu'l mâl, a term always used among Musalmans for treasury. • It is like the French droit d'aubaine.

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it from the life of SS. John and Euthymius, preserved in a manuscript of the year 1074. Of this ancient manuscript, as Professor Tsagarelli snys, two copies exist. On referring to these copies the Professor finds that the form Balavari is incorrect; in one of the copies before v stands h, in another gh, and so we must read the name Balahvari, or Balaghvari. The word balavari signifies 'foundation,' which agrees with what the writer previously supposed. He concludes with a hope that the Greek original will be found, and thus it will be seen how far the life has been paraphrased by the Georgian translator.

#### (i) Criticisms and Bibliography.

(1). A Description of the Territory of Sir-daryo, compiled from official documents by E. Smirnov, St. Petersburg, 1887 .- The district contains about 1,200,000 inhabitants. The book is very useful and will do something to dispel the illusions prevalent about the richness of the country (which has already cost the Imperial treasury a great deal), especially Chapter VII. on the industries of the territory. The cotton and silk industries are languishing. Chapter III. is weak where the author discusses the population, because he goes too much into history, about which he knows but little. The work concludes with sixteen statistical tables of very various character. It is to be hoped that other districts will be described, those of Fergana and Zaravshan (if possiblewithout any history).

(2). The Travels of the Shah Nasru'ddin in Masanderdn. (Diary kept by his Highness.) Translated from the Persian by E. Koriander, Mining Engineer .-- The Journals of the Shah Nasru'ddin, compiled by himself at the time of his travels in Persia (in Mazandêrân, Kerbela and Khurâsân), in spite of occasional monotony and dryness in style, possess considerable interest in many particulars. The Shah is full of curiosity, and introduces ethnographical, social and archmological observations, but the chief interest of the book is geographical and topographical. The Shah often visits the most out-of-the-way places, and so whoever undertakes to translate his diary ought to give the geographical names very accurately (an alphabetical list of them would not be without its use), but M. Koriander gives neither. He has done his work very carelessly, suppressing some things, adding others, and confusing the narrative. The book is of little value. The original appeared at Teherán in 1294 A. H.

(3). Contemporary Persia. --- A good book and well translated.

(4). M. Mashanov. A Sketch of Arab Life in

the time of Muhammad, as an introduction to the Study of Islam. Part I. Sketch of the Religious Life of the Heathen Arabs at the time of Muham. mad. (Missionary Miscellany against Musalman doctrines Part XVII.)-A Review by V. R[osen], consisting of many pages, in the main unfavourable. The reviewer recognises in the author laboriousness and a good knowledge of Arabic, but inasmuch as he confesses that he had not the opportunity of consulting some of the most important Arabic works, does not think that he ought to have undertaken to write the book. The only course open for the real student of history of whatever country he treats is the careful study of the original authorities. The reviewer then recapitulates some of the early authorities on Arahian history, but we must not copy their mistakes, eminent though they were. Oriental history and philology have latterly made great strides. The reviewer gives three requirements which are fundamental in the case of every one who treats of Oriental history.

(i) The writer must have recourse to the most important authorities which have been published.

(ii) A criticism of the authorities, as careful and many-sided as possible, and, as a natural result, a correct estimation of the importance and meaning of each separate fact.

(iii) As much accuracy as possible in details. .

But M. Moshanov fails in these. His authorities are at secondhand; he knows nothing of the great advances in Arabic epigraphy. He shews no critical use of authorities, and his details are inaccurate, being from translations, &c. An example is given in his treatment of Al-Uzza, an ancient Arabian deity mentioned in the Qurán. The work has no scientific value, but the reviewer hopes for something better from the author on account of his knowledge of Arabic and his enthusiasm in the study.

(5). Dictionnairs des noms propres palmyreniens, par E. Ledrain.—The object of the work is to collect into a corpus the proper names, scattered over collections of every kind, learned travels and monographs which are found in Palmyrean Inscriptions, and in this way to furnish as complete material as possible for the future investigator of Palmyrean onomatology. The author makes no comments on the names, which are more than four hundred in number, and are transcribed in the Hebrew alphabet. Of the names introduced by M. Ledrain a large number do not belong to the dialect spoken at Palmyra. Owing to the city being on one of the highways of commerce, there lived there a multitude of strangers

\* A translation of the work by Dr. Wills.

and especially Greeks, Romans, Persians, Parthians and other Aryans. There are 14 Greek proper names in this list, the orthography of which is very capricious. The same remark applies to the Latin. Many valuable hints are given on pronunciation of these transcriptions. With the exception of Parthian and Persian all the other names are of Semitic origin and are mythological, personal, and geographical. Some of the former show the existence of deities of the Semitic pantheon not otherwise known. Many of the theophoric personal names are compounded of Baal with some other word—thus Yaribel. The book is a very valuable one.

(6). Palmyræ sive Tadmur urbis fata quæ fuerint tempore Muslimico. Scripsit H. Grimme. Monasterii Gnestfalorum 1886. The History of Palmyra has been often specially treated, but only in its more ancient and glorious period and not after 273 A.D., when Aurelian took the city and united it with the Roman Empire. M. Grimme discusses its history from the time of the conquest of Aurelian till the time when it falls out of mention in history. The work is in five chapters. In the first the author gives a sketch of the history of Palmyra in 273 till its subjugation by the Arabs in 634 in the time of the Khalifa Abà Bakr. The chief authorities here are the Byzantine historians. As far as can be gathered Palmyra at that time took no part in the political events which frequently shook the very foundations of the Byzantine Empire in the time of Justinian and other monarchs. That Emperor paid particular attention to Palmyra, then almost in ruins, and ordered that it should be rebuilt and surrounded with walls, spending for this purpose, according to the testimony of Theophanes and Malala, large sums of money. After the loss of its commercial prosperity Palmyra acquired strategical importance, and when during the sway of the Arabs it was filled with a large population professing Islam, it played an important part in the quarrels of the Ummayis and the 'Abbasis. On the taking of the town by Mervan II., its walls were demolished, and as they were never rebuilt it lost its strategical importance, and sank to the dimensions of a small provincial town but rarely afterwards mentioned by historians. M. Grimme brings his history of Palmyra down to the year 1401, namely to the conquests of Timor in the East, when Tadmor is again mentioned by the Arabian historians, and with this the second chapter of the work concludes.

The third chapter is occupied with a discussion of the information given about Palmyra by the Arabian Geographers. The ruins in their time were much more extensive. Yakût tells us that among them were found a group representing two women embracing, which served as a subject for some verses of the Arabian poets: this has completely disappeared. In the same writer we meet with an account of the grave of a woman, made of gypsum, found in the time of Mervan II., which contained an embalmed body, covered with various ornaments, &c.

The author devotes the fourth chapter to the discussion of the caravan-routes, leading from various places to Palmyra mentioned by the Arabian Geographers, and finally in the fifth chapter considers the legendary stories of the Arabs about the fate of Palmyra, which all treat of two important epochs in its history,—its foundation by Solomon and destruction in the time of Zenobia or Az-Zabba. It is remarkable that the personality of Aurelian is completely ignored in these traditions and he is changed by the Arabian historians into a certain Amir, Emperar of Hiza, and even the legend about the ruin of Zenobia has nothing in common with the historical narrative.

(7) James Legge. A record of Buddhistic King. doms, being an account by the Chinese Monk Fd. Hian of his Travels in India and Ceylon (A.D. 399-414), in search of the Buddhist books of Discipline. Translated and annotated with a Corean recension of the Chinese text. Oxford, 1886. The review does not deal with the translation from the Chinese, but is rather a general discussion on Få-Hian's travels. Two questions are treated : (1) Where did Få-Hian go? (2) What sort of Buddhism did he see? The work of Få-Hian is of a naive character, and the sole object of the pilgrim is religious. He occupies himself with no matters concerning the people he visited :---it was only to see the Buddhist temples and sacred things. The sketch of the life of FA-Hian given in the article is mainly taken from Dr. Legge's book, as also is the scope of his travels.

(8) Chanakya Récension de cinq recueils de stances morales (Chanakya) Nitiéataka, (Chanakya) Nitiéatra, Laghu-Chanakya Rajanitisástra, Vriddha Chánakya Rajanitisástra, Chanakya slóka, par Eugene Monseur, Paris, 1887. The careful study of the whole series of manuscripts of the celebrated collection of ethical sayings, made by M. Monseur, appears an excellent addition to the Indische Sprüche of Böthlingk. The author divides the manuscripts known to him into five recensions, and their number is continually being increased. Chanakya was a favourite book for elementary instruction, and the texts passing through so many hands became corrupted. In the preface the character of the

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collection is discussed, and the manuscripts of which the author has made use. The text of the Sayings gives 218 new ones, which are not in Böthlingk. The reviewer calls attention to a small collection of sayings, the manuscript of which is in Paris<sup>a</sup> Vidura-niti-sara; foll. 9, 1. 8. The collection is divided into 8 adhydya in 70 ślokas (22, 13, 11, 6, 7, 23); many of them have not yet been published, as far as could be ascertained by a hasty inspection.

(9) Bibliographie analytique des ouvrages de Monsieur Marie-Félicité Brosset, Membre de l'Academie Imp. des Sciences de S. Pétersbourg, 1824-1879. S. Pétersbourg, 1887. The study of the Georgian language may be said to have been founded by M. Brosset. His writings are so numerous and scattered over so many publications that it would be impossible to realise their bulk unless we had a list. The work is by his son, L. M. Brosset, who has given every production of his father. The great scholar was adopted by Russia, and devoted himself to her.

(10) Orientalische Bibliographie, Unter Mitwirkung der H.H. Prof. Dr. A. Bezzenberger, Prof. Dr. H. L. Strack, Dr. Joh. Müller, &c., herausgegeben von Prof. Dr. A. Müller. Bd. 1, Erstes Heft, Berlin, 1887. The reviewer gives the new work a hearty greeting.

W. R. MORFILL.

### CALCULATIONS OF HINDU DATES. No. 22.

In the Antroli-Chharoli copper-plate grant of a Rashtrakuta king Kakka<sup>1</sup> of Gujarat, from the Surat District, published, with a Plate, by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, in the Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. XVI. p. 105 ff., it is recorded that he made a grant of the village of Sthåvarapallikå --- (line 29) vishuvasamkråntau, -- "at the samkrånti of the equinoz." And at the end we have the date (from the published lithograph; line 36 f.) - Sakanripa-kal-atîta-samvatsara-sata-shatkê êk-ônâśîty-adhikê Âśvayuja-śuddh-âkatê=pi(read śud-

dhê=nkatô=pi) sam 600 70 9 tithi<sup>2</sup> 7, -- "in six centuries, increased by eighty less by one, of the years that have gone by from the time of the Saka king; in the bright fortnight of (the mosth) Áśvayuja; or, in figures, the year 600 (and) 70 (and) 9, the tithi 7."

This last record might perhaps be taken as referring only to the immediately following words with which the charter ends, --- "and (this charter), which has the Rúja Adityavarman as its Dútaka, has been written by me, the illustrious Bhôdalla, the son of the Baladhikrita the illustrious Tatta." The mention, however, of the month Asvayuja suffices to shew that the equinox mentioned in line 29 is the autumnal equinox, which must occur during the lunar month Åsvayuja, and is to be taken as represented by the Tulå-Samkränti or entrance of the sun into Libra. And the result will shew that this record gives the day on which, in celebration of the samkranti, the grant was made; whether we are also to understand that the charter was actually written on the same day, or not.

As in some previous instances, whether the given Saka year 679 is literally indicated as current, or as expired, is not quite certain.\* But a satisfactory result is obtained only by taking it as an expired year.

Thus, in Saka-Samvat 679 current, by Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables," the given tithi, Âśvayuja śakla 7, ended on Sunday, 5th September, A.D. 756, at about 49 ghatis, 37 palas, after mean sunrise (for Bombay);\* eighteen days before the Tuld-Samkranti, which did not occur till Thursday, 23rd September, at about 32 gh. 28 p.

But, in Saka-Samvat 680 current (679 expired), the Tula-Samkranti occurred on Friday, 23rd September, A.D. 757, at about 48 gh., or 1.12 A.M. in the night between the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale, D. 240.
<sup>a</sup> The exact position of this Kakka in the Rachtraköja genealogy has not yet been determined; and conse-quently he cannot be distinguished by a dynastic number from other kings of the same name. <sup>9</sup> Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji seems to have been at first

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji seems to have been at first rather in doubt as to whether the number of the given *ithis* was 7 or 9; and, in fact, in col. 4 of his Table (ante, Vol. VI. p. 44) the numerical symbol that is used here has been given as representing 9. But, as pointed out by him in editing the inscription, a distinctly different symbol for 9 is used in the number of the year. And, coupled with this, the coincidence of the seding of the seventh *tithi* on the proper day for the oremonics of the souhkranti, shows that he was certainly right in smally deciding to interpret the symbol as 7 here.

<sup>\*</sup> See my remarks, ante, Vol. XVII. p. 119 f., on the use of atta in the compound which gives the number of the century.

<sup>\*</sup> With the modified Table for the addaps, &c., given ante, Vol. XVII. p. 268 ff., which will be followed for the future.

<sup>\*</sup> The times are for Bombay all through. The exact place for which they should be reduced is not certain ; as the camp at which the king was, when he made the grant, is not given in the record. But Sthävarapallika seems to be evidently the modern Chharôli itself, as suggested by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji. And, for any place in Gujarst, the times would differ only by a few palas from the times for Bombay; without any difference in the resulting days.

Friday and the Saturday. This actual moment would be coupled with the tithi sukla 6, which ended on the Friday, at about 59 gh. 37 p. But, owing to the late hour at which it occurred, any rites and ceremonies connected with the samkranti would be performed on the next day; and the tithi ending on that day would be coupled with them. And the given tithi, Åsvayuja sukla 7, did end on the next day, Saturday, 24th September, at about 53 gh. 54 p. This, therefore, is evidently the English equivalent of the given date.

This date is of interest, in giving, as far as I can find, the earliest reliable instance of the use of the Saka era in Gujarat, in a date that affords details for calculation."

#### No. 23.

In the Bagumra copper-plate grant of the Råshtrakûta Mahasâmantâdhipati Dhâravarsha-Dhruvaraja III. of Gujarat, from the Nausari District in the Baroda State, published by Dr. Bübler and Dr. Hultzsch in this Journal, Vol. XII. p. 179 ff., the date (from the published text; Plate ii. b. line 16 f.) is-Sakanripa-kâl-âtîta-samvatsara-śatèshu saptasu ôkôna-navaty-adhikêshv=ańkatah 789 Jyéshthâmâvâsyâyâm âditya-grahaņa-parvaņi, — ''in seven centuries, increased by ninety less by one, of the years that have gone by from the time of of the Saka king; (or) in figures, 789 (years); the new-moon tithi of (the month) ÓΠ Jyeshtha; at the conjunction of an eclipse of the sun." And the charter records the grant of a village by Dhruvaraja III., on this occasion, after bathing in the Narmadá at the Mülasthüna-tirtha at Bhrigakachchha or Broach.

Here a satisfactory result is obtained, whether the given Saka year 789 is taken as current or as expired. Thus, in Saka-Samvat 789 current, the purnimanta Jycshtha krishna 15 ended at about 2 ghafis, 2 palas, after mean sunrise (for Bombay), on Saturday, 18th May, A.D. 866; on which date there was no eclipse of the sun. But the amanta Jyêshtha krishna 15 ended on Sunday, 16th June, A.D. 866, at about 20 gh. 18 p.; and on this day there was an eclipse of the sun." visible in India.

Again, in Saka-Samvat 790 current (789 expired), the parnimanta Jyêshtha krishna 15 ended at about 46 gh. 28 p. on Wednesday, 7th May, A.D. 867; on which date there was no solar eclipse. But the amanta Jyeshtha krishna 15 ended on Friday, 6th June, A.D. 867, at about 2 gh, 48 p.; and on this day there was an eclipse of the sun, which was perhaps visible in the most northern parts of India.

This last result, obtained by applying the given Saka year as an expired year, is the one that was given, on the authority of Prof. Jacobi and Dr. Burgess, by the editors of the inscription. And, on the analogy of the results for No. 22 above, it is in all probability the correct one. But the point to which attention is to be paid, is, that, whichever of these two eclipses is selected, this record proves that, by A.D. 866 or 867, the amanta southern arrangement of the lunar fortnights had been applied to the years of the Saka era in Gujarat.

J. F. FLEET.

### THE DATES OF THREE COPPER-PLATE GRANTS OF GOVINDACHANDRA OF KANAUJ.

In the Journ. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. LVI. Part I. pp. 106-123, Dr. Führer has published, with photolithographs, three new copper-plate grants of Govindachandradeva of Kanauj. That Dr. Führer has adopted, without a word of acknowledgment, my translations of the grants of Jayachchandra, published ante, Vol. XV. pp. 6-13, as well as certain suggestions and conjectures of mine, is a matter which concerns only himself. Of more general interest are the dates of these grants.

According to Dr. Führer, the grant No. I. " was made on Monday, the full-moon day of the month Mårgasirsha, in the (Vikrama) year 1180, answering it appears to Monday, the 21st Novem. ber, 1123 A.D."-In reality, (1) the 21st November, A.D. 1123, was a Wednesday; (2) in A.D. 1123, the full-moon day of Mårgaéirsha was Tuesday, 4th December; (3) Dr. Führer's photolithograph, if it is worth anything, shows that the grant was made in 1187, not in 1180; and (4) Dr. Fährer takes no notice whatever of the samkranti, mentioned apparently in connection with the date.

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<sup>\*</sup> See a separate note on the spurious Gurjara grants of the Saka years 400, 415, and 417. ' Von Oppolser's Canon der Finsterniese, pp. 198,

<sup>199,</sup> and Plate 99 .- This colipse is also mentioned in the Sirår record, see ante, Vol. XVII. p. 148.

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According to Dr. Führer, the grant No. II. "is dated Thursday, the 4th lunar day of the bright half of the month Bhådrapada of the (Vikrama) year 1181, answering it appears to Thursday, the 9th September 1124 A.D."—Here again, (1) the 9th September, A.D. 1124, was a Tuesday; and (2) in A.D. 1124, the 4th of the bright half of Bhådrapada 'apparently' corresponds to Friday, 15th August.

And, according to Dr. Führer, the grant No. III. "is dated Friday, the 15th lunar day of the bright half of Chaitra of the (Vikrama) year 1185, answering it appears to Friday, the 20th March 1128 A.D."—And here again, (1) the 20th March, A. D. 1128, was a Tuesday; (2) in A.D. 1128, the 15th of the bright half of Chaitra was Sunday, 18th March; and (3) Dr. Führer has nade no reference to the term manuddan, mentioned apparently in connection with the date; a term which, indeed, Dr. Führer takes to denote " the sun's entrance into another zodiacal sign after midnight."

Each of the three dates does present certain difficulties, which, using only the photolithographs for which we are indebted to Dr. Führer, I shall try to point out in the following remarks :---

#### No. I.

What first strikes us here, is that the term s\* di is followed by the expression paurnandsydm tithau, 'on the full-moon tithi,' an expression ordinarily made use of when a date is given in words, while, when the date is given in figures, su di is employed, followed by a numeral for the day, which, in the present case, might have been expected to be 15. Of this exceptional usage I shall treat on a future occasion. As regards the present inscription, there can be no doubt that the meaning intended to be conveyed is, that the grant was made 'in the year 1187, on the fullmoon tithi or 15th lunar day of the bright half of the month Mårgaśîrsha, on a Monday.' On this day the king, when at Benares, made a certain grant, having, we are told, bathed in the Ganges 'on the occasion of a samkranti, or entrance of the sun into a sign of the zodiac.' Since, under ordinary circumstances, the samkranti here spoken of should coincide with the date mentioned before, we obtain for calculation :- the year 1187 of an unspecified era, the full-moon tithi or 15th lunar day of the bright half of Margasirsha, being a Monday and also the day of a samkranti (or,

possibly, the day immediately following or preceding a samkránti).

Taking, as for reasons which need not be mentioned here we must do, 1187 to be a year of the Vikrama era, the possible equivalents for the 15th lunar day of the bright half of Mârgaśirsha would be :--

- for the (northern or southern) year 1187, current,--
  - Wednesday, 27th November, A. D. 1129, when there was full-moon about 16 h. after mean sunrise; and
- for the (northern or southern) year 1187. expired,-
  - Monday, 17th November, A. D. 1130, when there was full-moon about 1 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise.

The second of these two dates does furnish the week-day required, but on neither date was there a samkranti; for the nearest samkranti took place—

- in A. D. 1129, on Monday, 25th November, which was the 13th of the bright half of Mårgaśirsha; and
- in A. D. 1130, on Tuesday, 25th November, which was the 8th of the dark half of a month; while the preceding samkranti had taken place on Monday, 27th October, which was the 9th of the dark half of a month.

Unless there be some rule concerning same krantis which is unknown to me, there appears therefore to be some error in the recorded details of the date; and the possibilities seem to me, either that the grant was made on a Monday, the day of a samkranti, the 13th (not the 15th) lunar day of the bright half of Mårgaśirsha,-in which case the true date would be Monday, 25th November, A. D. 1129 ; or, that the word same krantau has been wrongly inserted in the grant,in which case the true date would be Monday, 17th November, A. D. 1130. In the former case the figures 1187 would denote the current year; in the latter, the year expired. In my opinion the probabilities are that the full-moon tithi is rightly quoted in the grant, and that the true date therefore is Monday, 17th November, A.D. 1130; and I may point to the grant of Chandradêva and Madanapåladôva of the year 1154, as a clear instance in which (similarly to what I suppose to have been done in the present grant) an uttardyana-samkranti has been wrongly quoted, coupledas it is with the 3rd day of the bright half of Mågha, a day on which the uttardyana-samkrdnii can never take place.

I may add that of all the years from Vikrama 1180, current, up to Vikrama 1190, expired, the full-moon day of Mårgaśirsha was a Monday, only in Vikrama 1187, expired; for that day was equivalent,---

in V. 1180,	ourrent,	$\mathbf{to}$	Wednesday, 15 Nov., A.D. 1122;
,, ,, 1181,	» <b>,</b> ,	,,	Tnesday, 4 Dec., A.D. 1128;
,, ,, 1182,	,, ,	,,	Sunday, 23 Nov., A.D. 1124;
,, ,, 1183,		,,	Thursday, 12 Nov., A.D. 1125;
,, ,, 1184,			Wednesday, 1 Dec., A.D. 1126;
,, ,, 1185,		,,	Sunday, 20 Nov., A.D. 1127;
,, ,, 1186,			Saturday, 8 Dec., A.D. 1128;
,, ,, 1187,	,, ,	,,	Wednesday, 27 Nov., A.D. 1129;
,, ,, 2198,	,, ,		Monday, 17 Nov., A.D. 1130;
,, ,, 1189,	<b>"</b>	,,	Sunday, 6 Dec., A.D. 1131;
,, ,, 1190,			Thursday, 24 Nov., A.D. 1132;
., 1191.			Tuesday, 14 Nov., A.D. 1133.

And in all the years enumerated there was a samkranti on 25th November, which was a Monday only in A.D. 1129.

#### No. II.

The date is given as follows :----

(L. 16.).... samvat 1181 Bhådrapada su di [4 ?] Gurau,

In the photolithograph, the figure following upon su di looks as if, in the original grant, a 3 had been altered into 4, or a 4 into 3; and all that can be said with certainty, is that the grant was made on a Thursday, which was either the 3rd or 4th day of the bright half of the month Bhådrapada, of the year 1181; on the occasion. as we are told in line 21, of making the great gift of the pañcha-lângala' or ' five ploughs.'

Referring the date, again, to the Vikrama era, the possible equivalents for the 3rd and 4th days of the bright half of Bhådrapada would be :---

for the northern year 1181, current,-

Sunday, 26th August, and Monday, 27th August,

for the northern year 1181, expired, or the southern year current,-

Thursday, 14th Angust, and Friday, 15th August, A.D. 1124;

and for the southern year 1181, expired,-Monday, 3rd August, A.D. 1125. and Tuesday, 4th August,

Of these, Thursday, 14th August, A.D. 1124, which was the 3rd of the bright half of Bhådrapada, would exactly suit us, if we could be quite sure that the figure following upon the term su di of the inscription were 3; but that figure may be 4, and it must be borne in mind that the

Bhadrapada-éukla-tritíyá is one of the manváditithis, being the anniversary of the fourth Manu Tâmasa, and that this would probably have been stated in the inscription (as it has actually been stated in No. III.), if the grant had been really made on the 3rd .- At the same time, it must be observed that, under certain circumstances, the same particular Thursday, 14th August A.D. 1124, though civilly the 3rd day of the bright half of Bhådrapada, might also have been coupled with the fourth tithi, if namely (in the absence of any distinct statement on the subject) we were allowed to assume that the donation spoken of in the grant had been made in connection with the Siddhivindyaka. vrata, prescribed for the Ganesa-chaturthi, i.e. the fourth tithi of the bright half of Bhådrapada. That tithi, in the present case, began at Benares 43 m. after midday of the Thursday in question, and it ended 5 m. after midday of Friday, i.e. it covered, so to say, a portion of the madhyah. nak4la (which lasts 72 m. before and 72 m. after noon)\* of either day; and, such being the case, any ceremony in honour of Gapésa would neces. sarily have had to be performed on the Thursday, not on the Friday, and the Thursday would, for the purpose of the attending religious ceremonies, have been correctly coupled with the 4th (running) tithi.

Under any circumstances, I consider it certain that the date is Thursday, 14th August. A.D. 1124, and that the figures for the year, 1181, accordingly denote the current southern Vikrama year.

#### No. III,

The passage containing the date runs thus :---(L. 15) . . pamchasi(si) ty-adhik.aikadasa-(8a) - sa(8a)ta - samvatsaréshu Chaitré mási su(su)kla-pakshé paurnnamásyám tithau Su(su)kra-diné ańkê=pi samvat 1185 Chaitra su di 15 Su(su)kré [ady=éha] śrimad-Várå-

(L. 16.) pasyâm manvådau Gamgåyåm snåtvå.

The inscription, accordingly, is clearly dated---'in the year 1185, on the full moon tithi or 15th lunar day of the bright half of the month Chaitra. on Friday.' On that day the king, when at Benares, made a certain grant, having bathed in the Ganges on a manvadi, i.e., apparently, on that particular manvadi-tithi which coincides

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> On this gift see, e.g., Hémádri's Chaturvarga-chintámani, Dánakhanda, p. 287.—The published grant has paralángala mahádáné "at the coession of giving the valuable present of a plough to the highest (i.e. Bråhmans)," which is of course a mistake. Another more serious error which the editor has fallen into is that, according to him, the grant was made by the king Govindachandra "with the consent of the illustrious rajas, feudatory princes (samanta), and the great lady,

the queen, the illustrious Dalhanadevt" (irimad.rajaand a second the interview Demandator (rimat.raga. somanta-mahamatri-srt.Dalhana-doubhir); whereas it is guite clear that, in reality, it was made by the queen whereas it (whose name Mr. Fleet, I believe rightly, suggests to be Alhanadevi) with the consent of the king (srimad-raja-

sammalyl). <sup>2</sup> Compare, s.g., Kälamädhava, p. 110 : madhyähnas-trimuhärtab syät.

with the full-moon tithi of the month Chaitra. which is the anniversary of the thirteenth Manu Rauchya.

Taking 1185, again, to be a year of the Vikrama era, the possible equivalents for Chaitra sukla 15 would be :-

for the current northern year,-

Tuesday, 29th March, A.D. 1127;

for the expired northern or current southern year,-

Sunday, 18th March, A.D. 1128;

and for the expired southern year,-

Saturday, 6th April, A.D. 1129.

Of these, Saturday, 6th April, A.D. 1129, comes nearest the week-day we are in search of, and the question is whether the preceding day, Friday, 5th April, A.D. 1129, though civilly the 14th of the bright half of Chaitra, could by any possibility have been coupled with the 15th or full-moon tithi of the month. That tithi, at Benares, commenced about 40 m. before sunset of the Friday in question, and it ended about 60 m. before sunset of the next day; and if we could show that the religious ceremony with which the grant was connected had been performed very late in the

afternoon of Friday, or at any time up to sunrise of Saturday, every difficulty would be removed. The grant having been made on a manuddi-tithi, the ceremony performed on the occasion probably was a érdddha. So far as I understand the some. what intricate rules accessible to me, a ceremony of this kind may be performed late in the afternoon; and assuming this to have been done in the present case, it was right to say that the donation was made on Friday, during the (running) full-moon tithi of Chaitra. For the present, I therefore consider Friday, 5th April, A.D. 1129, to be the true equivalent of the date ; and I accordingly take the figures 1185 to denote the southern expired year.

Lest the above should be objected to on the ground that the results in the case of Nos. I. and III. are for expired southern years, while in the case of No. II. the result is for the southern current year, I may add that, similarly, out of fourgrants of Jayachchandra lately sent to me by Mr. Fleet, three are dated in expired southern years, while one is dated in the current southern year.

Göttingen.

F. KIELHOEN.

### NOTES AND QUERIES.

### NOTES ON MALACCA FOLK MEDICINE. (1) Cure for Dropsy.

Pënydkit bëngkak-bëngkak, the illness of swelling, i.e., dropsy,

Mix the leaves of brilangan besar', kdyu kadok,\* kdchang kayu<sup>s</sup> (the domesticated variety called kdchang kdyu kampong as distinguished from káchang káyu hútan) káchang párang<sup>\*</sup>, and méngkada besars: pound and make into an ointment and smear on parts affected. The roots of the above are also boiled, and the decoction is to be drunk, no other drink being allowed for a period of three days. This is for the first stage of the disease, which is called mambang kaning, the yellow spirit who causes the illness, and makes the complexion of the patient assume a yellow tinge.

Gracina Anarca.
Leaf like the betel-leaf, chavica spherostachya.
Variously given as cytisus cajan and cajanus Indicus.
This refers to the large ourved pod, thought to resemble the Malay woodman's knife called parang, which grows on the tree probably labiab cultratus. Morinda sp. probably M. persicafolia, of which the

The next stage is called mambang beralang, when the spirit returns; and now the roots of semberúase and júang-júang ranting' are boiled with those of the five ingredients already mentioned and the decoction is drunk, while the ointment prepared for the first stage has added to it the charcoal obtained from the burnt shell of the lâbu kémbong.

Third stage, mambang serau." If the preceding treatment fails to stop the progress of the illness, and the third stage comes on, a decoction from the roots of akar tapak gajah<sup>10</sup>, and paar merah<sup>11</sup> is added to that used in the preceding stages while the leaf and wood of the kdras1" tree are added to the ointment.

Fourth stage, mambang saru. When this super-

**Gmelina** Asiatica.

root is used to produce a red dye. \* Rdas, joints as in sugar-cane, and bamboo ; there is

a timber tree called berdas.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Ranting, twig, j4ang-j4ang, opposing, perhaps in-dicating the way in which the twigs grow.

<sup>\*</sup> Sort of gourd, Sanak. aldbu kembong, swollen, big, round : lagenaria sp. ? nat. fam. cucurbita

<sup>\*</sup> I have failed to gather the meaning of strau here; there are several plants so named.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Akar, lit, root, but here meaning creeper or liane ; tdpak sole (of foot), gdjah elephant, leaf thought to resemble that animal's footprint.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> The red plar (amonum sp.) : plar is a term applied to several varieties of amonum and also to different lants ; the amomum varieties spring up like weeds on deserted clearings.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> The heart of this tree furnishes the Malay variety of eagle-wood, probably *equilaria agailocha*, called *gaharu* (cf. Sanskrit *agaru* or *aguru*) by the Malays who recog-nize four qualities of it, viz., *gaharu* lampan very black. Ist quality; 3nd quality gaharu tandak or g. visik; Srd quality g. wangkang or g. budya; 4th g. mèdang unmarket-able refuse of last, but used privately. Cambojan variety is closulor agailachum. For arconomia and in collector is alazylon agallochum. For opromonies used in collect-ing gaharu see Indian Notes and Queries, Vol. IV. note 154).

venes, a decoction of the root of the kunyet. kinyet18 and the ground (i.e. pounded) leaves of it are added to the previous decoctions and ointments, and the following charm is recited :----

Jat namánya áyér Âyêr měnjádi bálu Batu měnjâdi amal Jin káta Allah Minal káta Muhammad Bûkan áku yang punya táwar, Málin Kélimun yang punya tawar Mambang kuning, mambang beralang Mambang sérau, mambang sáru, Kábul Allah, Kábul Muhammad Kâbul bayinda rasul Allah, La illaha il Allah.

It is difficult to render the foregoing into English with any confidence that the real meaning has been attained, as other changes besides the Muhammadan additions may have taken place in the wording, in the process of handing down from generation to generation. It is probably of Javanese origin. One rendering is-

Jat is the name of the water<sup>1+</sup>: The water becomes stone. The stone becomes a charm. Jinstands for God Minal for Muhammad Another rendering is-Let the water become stone, And the stone become a charm.<sup>15</sup> To the Jin I recite the name of God To Minal that of Muhammad. It is not I who make this charm, It was Mâlin Kělîmun<sup>16</sup> who made it. Yellow spirit, returning spirit, Serau spirit, Såru<sup>u</sup> spirit.

14 Künyet proper is the curcuma, saffron. The Malays <sup>11</sup> Kunger proper is the curcuma, saffron. The Malays recognize several varieties, viz. K. padi (c. serumbet) K. rimba (c. sumatrana) K. santan (c. purpurascens) and K. běsar. The kunget kunget of the text is a shrub or tree, and is used medicinally in other ways besides those mentioned here. <sup>14</sup> It was suggested to me that this referred to the spirit of the dropsy, but it would seem more likely to indicate the decoction which is to operate by virtue of the charm.

the charm.

\* (عمل 'amal,) a pious act prayer for aid, charm.

Malin is probably error for mailim (Ar. and)

teacher, master in this case of magic; Kèlimun his name is possibly a mystic form of Sulaiman or Sèléman as the Malays call it. These two lines would naturally be held to mean that the word jin is substituted for God and Minal mean that the word jin is substituted for God and Minal for Muhammad, but it seems hardly likely that the oharmer would say that, if it were so; and assuming that the words have not been altered, and stand somewhat elliptically, a highly Malay practice, the latter rendering seems more reasonable as invoking the name of God and his prophet to erevise some of the powers working with the spirit of sickness and described as jin generically and Minal particularly. Another rendering would be 'jin says God, Minal says Muhammad.' <sup>11</sup> I can find no meaning for this. <sup>15</sup> There are two trees of this name, one of the

15 There are two trees of this name, one of the

Let God be gracious, be gracious Muhammad, The blessed Apostle of God. There is no God but God.

#### (2) Cure for Abscess.

Pěnyákit bárah (abscess). The shoots of káyu buluh.buluh,10 i.e., the bamboo tree, are ground and applied to the site of the abscess.

The presence of an internal abscess is ascertained by gazing into a mixture of water, lime, gambier,<sup>30</sup> strih<sup>31</sup> and betel-nut.<sup>33</sup> After using it for this purpose the mixture is tiwar'd or charmed, and then smeared over the place.

The tdwar is as follows :-

Bismillahi irrahmán irrahím; bárah di húlu bArah di hilir, katiga tampang kladi, bârah di hûlu, barah di hilir, kĕna tawar, ta' mĕnjâdi. Silang sålun, dapat böldlang gålong, búat menjámu jembálang terenak tereni teráju, tinggal di rimba, tegoh tegoh temas temas, cheremin ayer, chěrěmin, bůmi, simínum náma ibu, sigudam náma bápa, sčlákum yang punya bísa, Che, Pútih yang punya tawas. Aku tahu asal éngkau barah darah asal Engkau barah, bukannya aku yang punya tawar, Malin Kélimun yang punya tawar. Kébul Allah, kébul Muhammad, kébul baginda rdsul Allah.

In the name of God, the compassionate and merciful! Beginning of the abscess, and end of the abscess<sup>33</sup> and third comes, the kladi<sup>34</sup> shoot. Beginning of the abscess, end of the abscess, when charmed develops not. Here and there<sup>25</sup> we find ihe coiled grass-hoppers<sup>38</sup> and prepare a feast for the jembálang<sup>17</sup> softly<sup>18</sup> and quickly<sup>19</sup>; he dwells in the jungle; firmly we make ready<sup>50</sup> the mirror, the mirror of earth.<sup>81</sup> Siminum<sup>82</sup> is thy mother's name, Sigudam (the hammerer) thy father's.

Artocarpes and the other of the Euphorbiaces, but I cannot say which this is.

<sup>19</sup> Uncaria gambir or Wanclea insemis.

🍽 Areca catechu. \*1 Chavica betel.

\*\* Lit. abscess at the source, abscess at the mouth, as though speaking of a river.

<sup>44</sup> Colocaria antiquorum. The first four lines (excluding the invocation) form a sort of pantum, of which kind of verse the first two lines have soldom any coherent meaning, but here there is said to be some figurative intention: when the kladi stalk is out close to the ground the shoot is said to be visible, and this reference is said the aboot is said to be visible, and this reference is said to indicate the discovery of the abscess.

<sup>35</sup> Silang sålun, mystic for sini såna.

Mystic term for the sest of the abscess.
 The spirit who causes the sickness.

15 Torenak tereni, soothing words, such as are addressed to children.

\*\* Téndju in the ordinary vocabulary is a word derived from Persian, meaning to weigh in the scales, but here a mystic word for lays, swift.

30 Témas-témas mystic for kémas-kémas.

<sup>31</sup> Referring to the combined ingredients mentioned in the second paragraph of this charm.

35 Si is a personal prefix, minum to drink, meaning together, the drinker

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Sildkum's<sup>33</sup> was the poison, Che' Pátih devised the remedy; I know thy origin, abscess; blood was thy origin, abscess; not mine is the charm, it is the charm of Målin Kölimun.<sup>34</sup> May God be gracious, and Muhammad: may the mighty Apostle of God be gracious.

D. F. A. HARVEY.

### NOTE ON NAMES CONNECTED WITH THE TELUGU COUNTRY.

The tract of country commonly spoken of by Europeans in the Madras Presidency as the Telugu Country is by the people themselves called Tenugurajyamu or Tenugusima, but to the world at large it is, I think, best known as Telingana, and for that reason only I use the last term in my notes. Tamil people, and more especially those of Madras, often speak of Telugo land as Gollétisimei, the Tamil pronunciation of Kollstisima, i.e., the country of the Kollêru (Colair) Lake, the largest fresh-water lake in India, lying between the Krishnå and Gödåvari Districts. That at Masulipatam being one of the earliest English factories, the neighbouring people naturally attracted more attention than those that were subsequently come in contact with, and amongst them the Besta Bôyis (fisherman bearers) of the Kollêtisîma on the borders of the Kollêru were found peculiarly trustworthy servants. When their English masters went on promotion to Madras, they were accompanied by their trusty Bôyîs, and from that day to this Besta Bôyis have been employed as attendants in public and mercantile offices in Madras and have continued to maintain their good reputation. Being the most prominent Teluga people in Madras at the time of their immigration, the name they gave their own little tract was naturally assumed to be that of the whole country. From Gollâtisîmei has been derived from Golleti, a Telugů man, used as a term of contempt, signifying unsophisticated. The ordinary Tamil name for a Telugu man is Vaduvan, Northerner.

Sir William Hunter, when he was inclined to believe that all South Indian languages were Kolarian, adduced as evidence in favour of his theory the frequency of names containing the syllable Kol, including the Kolair Lake (sic). But the name is not Kôlair, but Kollêru. Kollu is a contraction of kolanu or golanu, a natural pond or lake, and is found in Pâlakollu, Gundugollu, Kollêri, Kollipara, etc. Eru means river. Kollêru, therefore, is the lake river, which receives the innumerable streams between the Krishnå and the Gôdâvari that do not discharge into those rivers and disembogues itself into the sea by the Upputôru, not far south of the western mouth of the Gôdâvari.

Sima is the most popular word for country on the banks of the Krishna and the Godavari rivers. Every little tract with any peculiarity is a sime, e.g., Reddisîma, Jhallisîma, Divisîma, Kâyasîma, Sometimes a tract, surrounded by simas thus named, but with no peculiarity of its own, is called after its principal village or town, e.g., Gudivadasima. The people of these stmas, from which came the weavers who supplied the East India Company with their famous salumpores, roomaulls, madapollums, etc., seldom use any other word for, country, no matter how extensive. In speaking to the early European traders of their country, they would call it "mi sima," for to this day they cannot get their tongues round Portugal, Holland, France, and England, and never attempt to, if they can possibly avoid it. The removal of the emphasis from the possessive pronoun mi, your, to the common noun sima would convert the latter into a proper noun, the use of the possessive pronouns with proper nouns being common; and thus Sima would come to mean Europe. Whether the Tamil simei is a transliteration of the Têlugû sima or separately derived, I do not know.

H. G. PRENDERGAST.

### TESTS OF VIRGINITY AMONGST THE MALAYS.

Masulipatam.

Among the Malays tokens of virginity, such as are mentioned in *Deuteronomy zzii*. are examined by the parents of the bride the morning after consummation of a marriage. In the State of **Perak** on the occasion of a marriage among the higher classes when the bridegroom is introduced into the bride's chamber, four or five old women are there and remain there.

His mos apud novas nuptas, quae, ante sextum vel septimum diem, ne virorum notitiam habuisse teneantur (quod virgini dedecori maximo habeatur) mariti amplexus pati nolint. Marito instante toties refugientem, toties anus nutricesque lecti custodes captam reducunt. Inde, quum dies prescripti praeterierint, a custodibus admonita in lecto palvinis rite suppositis collocatur. Viro gaudia jamdudum optata tandem rapere licet. At simulac primum raptum sit hymen, nappae albae, in lecto super patinam argenteam ad id paratae, notas tres transversu pene retracto, imprimere necesse est. Nappam, die proximo inepiciunt parentes cognataeque labe rubrissima infici fas est.

The bride and bridegroom salute the bride's parents on the day after the consummation of the

B Lakum is the name of more than one creeper.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> This may be a slip for Che' Pátih, or it may be an alias of Málin Kélimun.

marriage. If the bridegroom has reason to be dissatisfied with his bride, he indicates this by leaving the handle of his *kris* uncovered or omitting to put on a jacket.

In a Malay household where a virgin is about to be married a domestic ceremony called putus kërajat is sometimes performed. The girl is laid on her back and a silk cloth placed over her bosom. Seven hairs are selected at the back of the head and are brought down across her face straight across the forehead and along the nose down to the chin. The ends are cut off just below the chin. If when the scissors snap the released hair springs back and parts right and left it is a sign that the girl is not a virgin. If the hair remains straight in its position the omen is satisfactory. Some anxious fathers have been known to forestall fate by stiffening a girl's hair with wax. This is only a test (per-tanda-an). W. E. M.

### BOOK NOTICES.

ABCH.SOLOGICAL SUBVEY OF SOUTHERN INDIA.-The Buddhist Stüpses of Amarâvatî and Jaggayapeta in the Krishna District, Madras Presidency, surveyed in 1882, by JAS. BURGESS, C.I.E., &c., Director-General of the Archeeological Survey of India. With translations of the Asôka Inscriptions at Jaugada and Dhauli, by GEORGE BÜRLER, C.I.E., &c., Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Vienne, Trübner and Co. London, 1837. 4to, pp. ix. and 131; with 69 Plates and 32 Woodouts.

This magnificent volume, illustrated by numerous woodcuts and sixty-nine full-page autotype, collotype, and engraved plates, is the first production, in a finished shape, of the archeological Survey of Southern India, and is fully equal in execution and value to any of the five sumptuous volumes of reports of the Archeological Survey of Western India, which it resembles in external appearance.

The sculptures from the stupa of Amaravati have been made famous by the late Mr. J. Fergusson's work on Tree and Serpent Worship, half of which is devoted to the illustration and discussion of the marbles then accessible, some of which are exhibited on the walls of the grand staircase of the British Museum. Since Mr. Fergusson wrote, the site has been explored by Mr. R. Sewell, M.C.S., and by Dr. Burgess, and hundreds of additional sculptures have been exhumed. In the work under review, Dr. Burgess describes the principal specimens of the new discoveries, and reproduces numerous beautiful drawings of slabs now lost, which were prepared over seventy years ago under the direction of Colonel Mackenzie. Dr. Burgess' work is consequently to be regarded as a supplement to the Amarávatî section of Tree and Serpent Worship. The two books, taken together, give a very full and splendidly illustrated account of the fragmentary remains of the great monument at Amaråvatî, which appears to have equalled or surpassed in magnificence any building erected by the Indian Buddhists.

The stips itself has been utterly destroyed, and the marbles which now are so closely studied are the disjointed fragments of the casing of the central monument, and pieces of the two highly sculptured railings which surrounded it. The significance of the Amaravati sculptures in the history of Indian art and religion has been fully recognized ever sin a the publication of the first edition of *Tree and Serpent Worship* twenty years ago, but their value cannot be correctly appreciated until their date is fixed. Mr. Fergusson, arguing correctly from certain erroneous premises, fixed their date in the middle of the fourth century A. D. Dr. Burgess now clearly proves that this date is too late, and that the great rail was erected shortly before A.D. 200. The original *stupa* was built much earlier, and the inner rail a little later.

In the work under review, the arguments determining the chronology, being mixed up with a multitude of topographical and other details are difficult to follow, and therefore, considering the importance of the dates now determined, it seems advisable to state briefly the outline of the arguments used.

Inscriptions of two kings of the Andhra dynasty, namely, Pulumâyi-Vâsishthîputra, and Śrî-Yajũa-Sâtakarni-Vâsishthîputra, have been discovered at Amarâvatî, and the correct date of the monument has been elicited by the discussion of these documents. But it does not rest upon their interpretation only, and is established by several arguments of cumulative force.

Mr. Fergusson judged that the style of the Amaravati marbles is intermediate between that of the sculptures in the Såtakarni-Gautamiputra cave at Nåsik, and of those in the Kånheri chaitya cave. This judgment has not been disputed, and fixes correctly the relative age of the great rail at Amarávati. For the determination of its absolute age by the style-test, it is necessary to know the dates of Såtakarni-Gautamiputra and the other Andhra kings. It is impossible, within the limits of a short review, to state fully the arguments. which are used to determine the Andhra chronology, but I shall try to indicate them briefly. The date of Såtakarni-Gautamiputra depends on that of the Satrap Nahapàna Kshaharata of Gujarat, whom he defeated, and whose son-in-law has left

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inscriptions, dated 40, 42, and 46 (of the Saka era). Nahapana was contemporary with the Satrap Chashtana of Ujjain, the Tiastanes of Ptolemy, who therefore, lived a little anterior to A.D. 150, and whose date is further fixed by the known date of his grandson Rudradåman in the year 72 (Šaka era). Ptolemy's evidence further shows that Chashtana was approximately contemporary with Siri Polemaios, i. e. the Andhra king, Pulumáyi-Våsishthiputra. Chashtana's date is thus fixed in three different ways, and Nahapána's date agrees with his, within very narrow limits of possible variation. The date of the Andhra kings, with the help of the information given in their inscriptions, is thus determined, and we obtain for Pulumäyi-Väsishthiputra's reign the approximate date, A.D. 135-163; and for Sri-Yajña-Sátakarni-Gautamiputra's reign the approximate date, A.D. 178-200.

The date of the great rail at Amaravati is thus determined by the combined evidence of style and inscriptions of the Andhra kings.

An independent argument to establish it, is obtained from the statement of the Tibetan historian Teranstha, that the famous Buddhist patriarch Någårjuna, "surrounded the great shrine of Dhânyskațaka (= Amarâvatî) with a railing." Någårjuna's date rests on that of the Indo-Sovthian king Kanishka, whose Buddhist council was presided over by Párśvika, to whom Nâgârjuna was fourth in succession. Assuming, as is generally admitted, that Kanishka reigned circa A.D. 78-100, Någårjuna must have built his railing before A.D. 200. The accounts in various Buddhist writings, expressing Någårjuna's date in terms of the nirvana, may be interpreted in nearly the same sense, but are not as good evidence. The same date for Någårjuna is supported by the fact that Dr. Eitel, the student of Chinese Buddhism, independently arrived at the conclusion that the patriarch ruled the Buddhist Church between A.D. 137 and 194.

The palæography of the Amarávati inscriptions confirms the inferences based on the arguments of which a summary has been given above. Consideration of the palæographical argument, supported by numismatic evidence derived from coins of the Andhra kings found at Amarávati, long ago led Sir A. Cunningham to adopt substantially the dates for the Andhra kings and the Amarávati rail, which Dr. Burgess supports by the distinct arguments that I have endeavoured to summarize. Sir A. Cunningham referred "all the inscriptions of the king Gotamiputra Sátakarni and his successors Pudumayi and Yádnya Sri to the first and second centuries A.D.," and concluded that the Amaråvati inscriptions in exactly the same character must belong to the same period. He also pointed out that Mr. Fergusson had exaggerated the difference in the style of the sculptures at Amaråvati and of those on the Såñchi gates, which are known to belong to the first century A.D.<sup>2</sup>

We may consequently take the year A.D. 190, as practically the correct date for the great rail at AmarAvati, "the richest and most elaborate piece of screen-work in the world."

I have devoted so much space to the examination of the chronological argument that it is impossible to further notice Dr. Burgess's careful and interesting account of the ruins and sculptures of Amarávatí. The inscriptions from that place, given in the volume, are for the most part edited by Dr. Hultzsch.

A few pages are devoted to the description of the scanty remains of an early stupa at Jaggayapets or Bêtâvolu, thirty miles north-west from Amarâvatî. This monument appears to have been erected not later than B.C. 100.

Dr. Bühler's edition of the Asôka inscriptions at Dhauli and Jaugada, which forms the concluding section of the volume, has, of course, no connection with the discussion of the ruins at Amarâvatî and Jaggayapeta.

The facsimiles of the inscriptions are photolithographed from excellent paper-impressions prepared by Dr. Burgess, and establish the text beyond all possibility of dispute, except in a few most minute details. M. Senart had already edited the separate edicts, addressed to the officials at Tosali and Samåpå, from Dr. Burgess's impressions, and Dr. Bühler's readings and versions of these documents naturally differ little from those of the French scholar.

Dr. Bühler points out that the revised text proves the error of the supposition that the Dhauli version was ill-engraved and carelessly executed. It is really quite as well engraved as the other texts. The Dhauli and Jaugada versions of the fourteen edicts (Nos. XI. to XIII. being omitted in both) are copies from one and the same original, and differ from each other only in the quantity of one vowel, and the character of another. Dr. Bühler promises an essay on the paleography of the Asôka inscriptions, to appear in the Zeitschrift der Deutsches Morgenlandisches Gesellschaft. The discovery of the fact that the Dhauli version of the edicts is really as well engraved as the other versions, has elicited from him an emphatic warning that the interpreter of the Asoka inscriptions " is not entitled to make many and great conjectural changes in the text." The

<sup>1</sup> Archaol, Survey of India, Vol. I. Introd. p. xxiii. published in 1871.

text is itself good, and errors are to be looked for in the copy rather than in the original.

Dr. Burgess has recently prepared a facsimile of the Khâlsi text of the edicts, and the world is already indebted to him for a trustworthy reproduction of the Girnar version. Before long we may expect to see the text of all the versions authoritatively settled.

V. A. Smith.

A MANUAL OF THE ANDAMANESE LANGUAGE. By M. V. POETMAN, M.R.H.S., etc., Extra Assistant Superintendent, Andamans and Nicobars.

This is one of those works full of pretentions rubbish which deserves plain language. It "has been compiled at the request of Colonel T. Cadell, V.C., Chief Commissioner of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands." Colonel Cadell has been unfortunate in choosing, as the exponent of the languages of the islands over which he has been placed, an officer whose ignorance of language and grammar in general and of the Andamanese language and grammar in particular, is only equalled by his extraordinary presumption. He commences by saying that there is "no work extant on the various dialects of the Andamanese." Well. there is the Report of Researches into the Language of the South Andaman Island, 1882, by no less a personage than Mr. A. J. Ellis, F. R. S., then President of the Philological Society. As a matter of fact Mr. Portman must have known of this very valuable Report and the work on which it was based, for the simple reason that he has adopted the same spelling, so far as his general ignorance of his subject would let him.

The grammar is given in five duodecimo pages, spaced long primer type !! Of course there is no grammar worthy of the name. The vowel system is hopelessly incomplete,-the most interesting sounds being altogether omitted, and others given wrongly. There is something charming in the naiveté that allows the author to say that his system is Hunterian, and then to go on to say " o has the sound of o in hot" (sic) and " au has the sound of aw in awful" (sic) as specimens of it. The description of an agglutinative language in the following words is quite sublime :--- " The roots of the Andamanese speech receive additions by means of prefixes and suffixes, but the roots themselves have also an independent existence as words." He then gives three prefixes-all quite wrongas are all his examples, oblivious of Mr. Ellis's fine explanation of this very difficult point in the Andamanese language. The prefixes in Andamanese as a matter of fact are found in almost every word, and grammatically affect every sentence. They have been elaborately and accurately explained by Mr. E. H. Man, and without a comprehension of them no man can ever hope to talk

Andamanese in any dialect. Mr. Portman is however apparently ignorant of all this. We can see how he views them. "The Andamanese frequently use particles which are without meaning, and appear principally to serve the purpose of euphony!" Of course, they really serve the purpose of grammar, as Mr. Portman would have known, had he really made grammar a study.

As a specimen of the thoroughly superficial treatment that Mr. Portman's subject has received at his hands, we would commend his six paragraphs on the Pronoun. It is all the more aggravating that he should have been guilty of these, as this point has been so well illustrated by the predecessors he has ignored.

The author seems to have had a notion that his grammar would not teach much, and pinned his faith to his dictionary and dialogues, by the use of which he "ventures to think that any person brought into contact with the Andamanese in any part of the Islands will be able to make himself understood on all ordinary subjects." Will he? Let us see.

The first sentence given is "How hot it is today,"—in Åka Biada (sic), Badiká, uye, káwai. Query: what does bad4ká mean? What uye? and what káwai? The Dictionary is English. Andamanese without reverse. So we must try the English. How is píchí kácha, hot is uya-da: to-day is not given, so let us try day which is also not given, but daylight is bódo-len,<sup>1</sup> and this is ká-da and it is is also káda!! Really an examination of the first sentence makes us wonder at the impudence of the author.

"The sun is very hot" is the next sentence. Perhaps we shall be more fortunate. In Aka Biada it is given as ká bódó uye dögada. It is is ká-da<sup>\*</sup>; sun is bódóda; hot is uya-da: very is not given, but is dógada. It is given as the equivalent of much in the dictionary. The sentence is really, "This sun hot much."

Let us take another sentence at random. "I will go if it is fine," is given as dódonga bedig bódo lódá. Four words are given in the Dictionary for "to go" but none in the least like any of the above, viz., katik ké, on ké, mócho ké, jud ke; if is not given at all; fine is our old friend bódo-da, which seems to do duty for a good deal. So out of the four Andamanese words we can only even guess at one. Like the Christy Minstrel. we "give it up."

Mr. Portman has had a very fine opportunity of adding to the world's knowledge, rendered all the better from having been carefully shown the way he should travel by Mr. A. J. Ellis. He might have produced something unique in its lasting value. Instead, he has exhibited an amount of self-assurance which can hardly result from anything but inordinate conceit.

25th August 1888.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This is really a word + postposition, and means properly "in the sun"; vide Mr. Portman's own book !

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Ka-da here would really be 'this' or 'to-day.'

### EXTRACTS FROM KALHANA'S RAJATARAMGINI.

### BY E. HULTZSCH, Ph.D.; BANGALORE.

### No. 1.--EXTRACTS FROM THE FIEST TARAMGA.

THE Rajataramgint, or River of Kings, of Kalhana, has always attracted a great deal of attention, partly because it is the only historical work of its kind in the Sanskritlanguage, but more especially because it claims to give a consecutive account of the Kings of Kasmir from almost the very earliest times.

Until recent years, however, the text of it has been available to us only in the not very accurate editions published — at Calcutta, in 1835, by the Pandits of the Bengal Asiatic Society, containing the whole eight Taramgas; with the *Doitiyá Rájataramgim* of Jônarâja; the *Tritiyá Jaina-Rájataramgim* of Srîvarapandita, a pupil of Jônarâja; the *Rájávali-Patáká*, or *Chaturthi Rájataramgim*, of Průjyabhatta; and the *Rájataramgim*. Samgraha: — and at Paris, in 1840, by M. Troyer, containing the first six Taramgas of the *Rájataramgim* itself.

As regards translations, in 1825, in the Asiatic Researches, Vol. XV. pp. 1 to 119, in his "Essay on the Hindu History of Cashmir," Prof. H. H. Wilson gave an abstract account of the contents of Taramgas i. to vi. In 1852, M. Troyer completed a French Translation of the whole eight Taramgas. Prof. Lassen has given an analysis of the entire work in his Indische Alterthumskunde, Vol. II. And in 1879 and 1887, Jogesh Chunder Dutt published at Calcutta an English translation of Kalbana's work, which is at least useful in helping to facilitate references to the original text.

And, in the matter of the adjustment of Kalhana's chronology, Prof. H. H. Wilson considered the subject in the remarks attached to his abstract account; and Gen. Sir A. Cunningham has dealt with it in 1843, in his paper on "The Ancient Coinage of Kaśmir," in the Numismatic Chronicle, Vol. VI. pp. 1 to 38. But no very satisfactory results, at least for the earlier period, have as yet been attained. As good an illustration of this as can be wished for, is to be found in connection with king Mihirakula. His initial date, as deduced from the Rájataranagini itself, is Kaliynga-Samvat 2397 expired, or B. C. 704; and the end of his reign, seventy years later. Prof. H. H. Wilson brought him down to B. C. 200 (loc, cit, p. 81). And Gen. Sir A. Cunningham arrived at the conclusion that he should be placed in A.D. 163 (loc. cit. p. 18). With the help, however, of newly discovered inscripions, which are the only really safe guide, Mr. Fleet (ante, Vol. XV. p. 252) has now shewn that his true date was in the beginning of the sixth century A.D.; that as nearly as possible the commencement of his career was in A.D. 515; and that A.D. 530, or very soon after, was the year in which his power in India was overthrown, after which he proceeded to Kaśmir and established himself there. This illustrates very pointedly the extent of the adjustments that will have to be made in Kalhana's earlier details; and furnishes us with a definite point from which the chronology may be regulated backwards and forwards for a considerable time. A similar earlier point is provided by Kalhana's mention, in Taramga i. verse 168, of the Turnshka king Kanishka, who, according to his account, was anterior by two reigns to B. C. 1182,—the date of the accession of Gônanda III.,—but who is undoubtedly the king Kanishka from the commencement of whose reign in all probability runs the Saka era, commencing in A.D. 77. And a still earlier point is furnished by the mention of king Asoka in Taramga i. verse 101. According to Kalhana, he stood five reigns before B. C. 1182. But it can hardly be doubted that he is intended for the great Buddhist king Aśôka, whose accession has now been shewn by Gen. Sir A. Cunningham to have been in B. C. 260 (Corp. Inser. Indic. Vol. I. Preface, p. vii.). This question of adjustment is one that I shall not at present enter upon. And I will here only remark that the earliest lists evidently include, as consecutive kings, many persons who, if they existed at all, were only ancestors or other relatives of actual kings of Kaśmir, and did not themselves occupy the throne; that the introduction of the names of such persons after a break in the direct succession, of course

necessitated forcing back the date of the immediately preceding actual king in each instance to a period long before the true one; and that no completely satisfactory solution can be arrived at. until we are able to determine which of the names have to be eliminated on these grounds.

The first step towards the acquisition of a reliable text of the poem was made by Dr. Bühler, who visited Kaśmîr in 1875, and obtained there a complete Śarada MS. of the Rájatarmüginfitself, which is now in the Bombay Government Collection; a collation of another MS., which he has kindly placed at my disposal; some explanatory treatises and abstracts; and some MSS. of the Nilamata-Purána and other connected works. His valuable report was published in 1877, as an Extra Number of the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. And an extract from it, pp. 52 to 60, referring specially to the Rajatarashqini, and including a translation of verses 1 to 107 of the first Taramga, pp lavi. to laxaii., has been printed in this Journal, Vol. VI. pp. 264 to 274. From the materials collected by him, with some others obtained by myself during my own visit to Kasmir in 1885, I am preparing a new edition of the text. But the completion of it, of course, is a work of time. And meanwhile, at the desire and with the support of Mr. Fleet, I propose giving in this Journal translations of some of the earlier portions of the book.<sup>1</sup>

Kalhana's narrative opens with a fragmentary account of 52 kings, who were supposed to have reigned for 1266 years. The earliest definite starting-point taken by him is the coronation of Yudhishthira; his authority for which (verse 56) is a verse given by Varåhamihira in the Brihat-Samhitd, xiii. 3, as being according to the opinion of Vriddha-Garga :-"When king Yudhishthira raled the earth, the (seven) seers (i.e. the constellation Ursa Major) were in (the nakshatra) Maghih; the Saka era (is) 2526 (years) (after the commencement) of his reign." Accordingly, the coronation of Yudhishthira took place 2526 years before the commencement of the Saka era, or at the expiration of Kaliyuga-Samvat 653 (verse 51), and in B.C. 2448. Kalhana himself was writing (verse 52; ante, Vol. XVII. p. 213) in Saka-Samvat 1071 current, i.s. in A.D. 1148-49 :--- " At this present moment, in the twenty-fourth Laukika year (of the popular Kaimiri reckoning by cycles of a hundred years), there have gone by one thousand years, increased by seventy, of the Saka era." And, as an intermediate point, but how arrived at he does not explain, he had the accession of the fifty-third king, Gonanda III., which took place "on the whole," i.e. roughly, 2330 years before his own time, i.e. in B.C. 1182. He then proceeded thus :--

Add the years of the Saka era expired up to the time when Kalhana

was writing	1070	37	,,	52.
	3596			
Deduct the years expired from the accession of Gônanda III. up to		•		
the same time		*7	,,	53,
Remainder, the duration of the period of the first fifty-two kings	1266	"	.,	54,

He thus obtained 1266 years for the 52 kings in question; his own words (verse 54) being-"Hence I am of opinion that 1266 years are comprised in the sum of the reigns of the 52 kings." And he made the first of these fifty-two kings, Gônanda I., a contemporary of Yudhishthira.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> I shall use the following abbreviations in my notes :-

P = the Sarada MS., No. 170 of Dr. Bühler's Kasm'r Collection, preserved in the Deccan College, Poona. I owe the use of this most important MS. to the kindness of Mr. Chatfield, Director of Public Instruction. C == the Calcutta edition.

<sup>T == Troyer's edition.
T == Troyer's edition.
K. 3. = Dr. Böhler's Detailed Report of a Tour in Kaśmir, &c.; Bombay, 1877.
A. G. == Gen. Sir A. Cunningham's Ancient Geography of Indis, Vol. I.; London, 1871.
\* See also Dr. Böhler's Report (quoted hereafter as K. R., p. Ixw.), in the note to which the details are explained in a different manner, but with the same result. Verse 54 seems to contain the conclusion which Kalhana drew from verses 51 to 53. I take tat in the sense of tasmdt, 'hence'; and I supply mayd with math, which is the reading of the Sárada MS.</sup> 

## The fifty-two rulers in question are as follows :---

### LIST OF THE KINGS OF KASMIR.

. ....

I.	Four rulers whose names are taken from the Nilamata-Purána	verse	16
	1. Gonanda I.	,,	57
	He is made by Kalhana a contemporary of Yudhishthira in B. C.	,.	
	2448. At the call of his relative, Jarâsamdha, he besieged Mathurâ,		
	the city of Krishna on the banks of the Kalindi, i.e. the Jamna,		
	and vanquished the descendants of Yadu (59, 60). But subse-		
	quently he himself was slain by the Yadava leader Langaladhvaja,		
	<i>i.e.</i> Balarâma (61 to 63).		
	2. Damódars I., son of the preceding		64
	He, in order to revenge his father's death, attacked the Vrishnis (or	.,	
	Yâdavas), who had been invited to a svayanvara by the Gândhâras		
	(65 to 68), and was killed in battle by Krishna (69).		
	3. Yasovati, widow of the preceding	,,	70
	Dâmôdara I. died before a son was born to him ; and Yaśôvatî, being	••	
	pregnant, was installed at the advice of Krishna (70), and in due		
	course of time bore a son (74).		
	4. Gonanda II., son of Dâmôdara I. and Yaśôvati	**	76
	He was named after his grandfather (76). He was the contemporary		
	of the Kurus and Pandavas; but, on account of his infancy, he		
	took no part in the war between them (82).		
II.	5 to 39. Thirty-five kings whose names are lost	**	83
III			
	Párthivávalí	**	17f.
	40. Lava	••	84
	He founded the town of Lôlôra (86),still existent in the Lôlåb		
	Parganâ (K. R. p. lxxix. note),-and gave to Brâhmans the		
	agrahára of Lêvâra on the river Lêdarî (87), i.e. the modern Lîdar,		
	the principal northern tributary of the Vitasta, which it joins		
	near Bijbihâra (loc. cit.)		
	41. Kusa, son of the preceding	**	8 <b>8</b>
	He presented the agrahara of Kuruhara (88), which is supposed to		
	be the modern Kular in the Dachhinpara Pargana (loc. cit.)		••
	42. Khagèndra, son of the preceding	,,	8 <del>9</del>
	He established the two principal agraháras, Khégi and Khônamusha		
	(90), i.e. the modern Kåkapur and Khunmôh (loc. cit.)	·	61
	<b>43.</b> Surendra, son of the preceding	,,	91
	a city named Sôraka and a <i>uihára</i> named Naréndrabhavana		
	(93); also, in his own territory, a vihdra named Sôrasa (94). <sup>3</sup>		
	He died without leaving issue (95).		
	44. Godhara, of another family		95
	He presented to Bråhmans the agrahára of Hastisálà (96), which seems	<b>7</b> *	00
	to be now known as Asthibil (loc. cit.)		
	45. Snvarna, son of the preceding		97
	He diverted the Suvarnamanikulyâ, — the modern brook Sunnamayâ	,,	-,
	in the Ådhvan Pargaul (loc. cit.), — and caused it to flow in (the		

\* P reads सीरक and सोरस, instead of सैo in C and T.

\_\_\_\_\_

district of) Karála (97), which seems intended for the Adhvan Parganâ (loc. cit.) 46. Janaka, son of the preceding ..... verse 98 He founded the vikara and agrahara named Jalora (98), - identified by the Kaámíris with the modern Závur, near Zévan (loc. cit.) 47. Sachinara, son of the preceding ..... 99 He founded the two agraháras of Samångåsa\* and Asanåra, which are supposed to be respectively the modern Svångas in the Kötahåra Parganå, and Chrâr (loc. cit.) He died without leaving any issue (100). IV. Five kings mentioned by the author of the Srichhavilla 19f. Aboka, son of the son's son of Sakuni, and son of the paternal 48. grand-uncle of Sachinara 101 He adopted the religion of Jina (i.e. Buddha), and covered Sushkalëtra and Vitaståtra, - the modern Hoklitr and Vêthvôtr in the Dêvasar Pargana (loc. cit.), - with numerous stupas (102). He built a chaitys at the city of Vitaståtrapura, within the precincts of the Dharmáranya-vihára (103). He founded the city of Srinagari (104), -apparently not quite identical with the present capital of Kaśmir (loc. oit, p. 1 xxxi. note). Also he removed the old brick enclosure of the temple of Vijayesa (at Bijbihara), and built a new one of stone (105); and within the precincts of that temple, and near it, he built two other temples named Asokésvara (106). Then the country was overrun by the Milchchhas; and he obtained from Bhûtêśa a son, the Jalauka of the next verse, in order to destroy them (107). 49. Jalauks I., son of the preceding 108 17 He was a constant worshipper at Vijayêśvara, the modern Bîjbihâra (A. G. 98f.), at Nandiśakshêtra, elsewhere called Nandikshêtra, in the Lår Pargana (K. R. lxxii. note), and at Jyeshthesa (113). He expelled the Mlechchhas, breaking their power at a place named Ujjhatadimba (116). He conquered Kanyakubja, i.e. Kanauj (117). He reformed the administration of Kasmir, by establishing regular courts of law (118 to 120). He founded Váravála and other agraháras (121). At Dvára, -i.e. the Pass of Varáhamúla, the modern Båramúla,-and at other places, his queen fáinadêvi established shrines of the Divine Mothers (122). He paid worship to Nandléa at the spring of Södara (123); consecrated the temple of Jyeshtharudra at Srinagari (124); built a stone temple at Nandikshêtra and worshipped Bhûtêśa (148); diverted the river Kanakavahini (150); and died at the firtha of Chiramochana (151). In connection with him there are allusions to the Någas (111, 114). Also to the Bauddhas or Buddhists. The latter, described as being very powerful at that time, were vanquished in his reign by the magician Avadhûta (112). They were subsequently oppressed by the king himself (136), who wantonly destroyed one of their vihiras (140). The Bödhisattyas then deputed the goddees Krityå, one of the (six) Krittikås or Pleiades, who induced him to make reparation by building a

\* P reads WHINERS, like C and T.

Buddhist vikára, which he named Krityáśrama, and in which he set up a statue of Krityá (131 to 147).

- Then there intervened the reigns of Hushka, Jushka, and Kanishka
  These kings were of the Turushka race; nevertheless they built mathas, chaityas, &c., at Sushkalêtra and other places (170).
  During their long reigns, Kaśmir was for the most part in possession of the Bauddhas (171). Each of them built a town, named after himself (168); *i.e.* Hushkapura, Jushkapura, and Kanishkapura,—identified by Sir A. Cunningham with the modern Ushkar, Zukrn, and Kâmpur (A. G. 99 ff.); also Jushka, who founded Jushkapura with its vihâra, built the town of Jayasvâmipura (169).

As regards the third part of the above list, a few words may be added, in order to shew its entire worthlessness for historical purposes. Padmamihira, or Hélárája, seems to have tried to connect the name of each of these eight kings with the name of some locality in Kaśmir that happened to begin with the same initial. Thus, Lava is said to have founded the town of Lôlôra, and to have granted the *agrahára* of Lêvâra; and Kuśa is mentioned as bestowing the *agrahára* of Kuruhâra; and so on. The question of popular etymology at once suggests itself. And we cannot help suspecting that the names of the kings are nothing but pure inventions, taken from, and intended to account for, the names of real localities which otherwise could not be easily explained.

With these preliminary remarks, I will now take up the translation at the point where Dr. Bühler left off :--

168

173 ·

174

### TRANSLATION.

(Verse 108) Then this (son of Aiôka) Jalauka (I.) (by name), a (very) Indra on earth, who purified the world with the whitewash of his fame, became king, -(109) Verily, even the gods are taught (for the first time) to be astonished, when the tales of his divine power reach their ears. -- (110) For surely, he would have been able to fill the void of the mundane egg with his gifts of gold, as the magic fluid (which he possessed) traced (i.e. enabled him to discover) crores (of hidden treasures). - (111) Having charmed the water (i.e. having attained the magic power of living under water), he entered the lakes of the Nagas, and seduced the youthful daughters of the hooded serpents. - (112) A magician (named) Avadhûta, who vanquished the crowd of the votaries of the Bauddha (doctrine) who were very powerful at that time taught him the knowledge (of magic). - (113) This veracious king had made a vow that he would always worship (at) Vijayesvara, Nandišakshetra, and Jyeshthesa. --- (114) A Någa, who was his friend, would not allow (him) to travel by (relays of) horses which were kept ready in every village, but used to convey him always himself. - (115) After this here had expelled the Mlechchhas, who obstructed the earth, he conquered the earth whose girdle is the ocean, by victorious expeditions. - (116) Even now the place where those Miechchhas, who had overran the country, were deranged (ujjhatita) by him, is called Ujjhatadimba by the people. - (117) Having conquered Kanyakubja and other (parts of the) earth, he introduced thence into his own country (people of) the four castes and legal practitioners. -- (118, 119) Like a common country, the kingdom (of Kasmir) had not reaped the due benefit of judicial administration, property, &c. For hitherto there had been (only) seven departments in this country,-the overseer of justice, the overseer of property, the overseer of the treasure, the commander of the army, the messenger, the domestic priest, and the astrologer. - (120) Establishing eighteen courts of law, the king introduced from that time a state of affairs that was worthy of Yudhishthira. -(121) With the wealth which he had acquired by valour and might, this liberal (prince) founded Varavala and other agraháras. -- (123) At Dvara and other places, his noble queen **Isanadevi** established powerful circles of the (divine) Mothers.-(123) Having heard the Nandi-Purána from a pupil of Vyasa, the king paid worship to Sodara, &c., out of devotion to Nandiśa. --- (124) (Even) when he consecrated (the temple of) Jyêshtharudra at Srinagari, he did not think (it possible to shew) devotion to Nandisa without (worshipping) Sodara - (125, 126) Once upon a time, when the pressure of work had made him forget his daily rites, and while he was distressed by the impossibility of bathing in the distant waters of Sodars, he

<sup>109</sup> आसर्वाचार्यतां P.

110 हर्तु P. हेमाण्डस्य P C.

<sup>110</sup> °त्रेद्धबौद्ध° p.

<sup>113</sup> Vijayésyara is the modern Bijbihéra ; see A. G. p. 986. Nandisakahétra is elsewhere called Nandikahétra ; on its site, see Dr. Bühler's note on verse 36, where P reads and instead of ATTANTAL. On Jyeshthésa, see note on verse 124, below.

34 स्वेनावहर्ता P.

<sup>115</sup> Kalhana places the arrival of the Mlechchhas in the reign of Asôka ; see verse 107. 117 KI=a° P.

116 The readings of P agree with those of T.

<sup>119</sup> The original titles are Dharmadhyaksha, Dhanadhyaksha, Ko'adhyaksha, Chamupati, Dúta, Purddhes, and

Duivajna. <sup>100</sup> karmasthåna seems to mean elsewhere 'a public building :' see iv. 587, 553; v. 166; vii, 219, 569 (571 of the Calcutte Edition). The eighteen law-courts (*tarmasthånåni dharmydni*), which Jalauka is supposed to have founded, are probably derived from the eighteen kinds of law-suits mentioned by Manu, viii. 3 to 7.

भ<sup>0</sup>नुदारधीः P.

Gytette r.
 <sup>153</sup> Dvåra, 'the Gate,' is the pass of Varåhamûla, the modern Båramúla; see K. E. p. 12 and note on verse
 The 'circles or rings of the Mothers' (md/richakrdat) are elsewhere mentioned by Kalhana in connection with
 temples of Siva; see Böhtlingk and Both, s. v. métrichakra. The synonym dévichakra occurs at i. 833.
 <sup>153</sup> From the subsequent passage it appears that Södara was the name of the holy spring at Nandikshëtra,
 the shrine of Nandifa or Nandiradira (verse 127).
 <sup>154</sup> Jyčshtharudra is called Jyčshthësa in verse 113. General Cunningham, A. G. p. 95, identifies it with the

188 <sup>0</sup>मावना<sup>0</sup> P.

>>> वर्णास्वाद(° P.

<sup>10</sup> सोथ भूभूज्जलीको p. यशःसुधया p T.

perceived that from a waterless place water was suddenly rising, which agreed with (the water of) Södara in colour, taste, and other qualities. -(127) Then the proud (king) was able to satisfy his devotion to Nandirudra, by bathing in that spring which had (thus) appeared. - (128, 129) When an empty gold vase, with a lid on its mouth, which he threw into **Södara** for the purpose of a test, emerged two and half days later from the water which rose at Srinagari. the doubts of the king were removed. --- (130) Surely, it was Nandisa himself who had come down in order to enjoy the offerings (of the king). Otherwise, such an event, which had, never been seen (before), would not have taken place before (his) eyes. - (131) One day, when the king went to Vijayésvara, a woman, who was walking on the road, asked him for food. - (132) After he had promised to give her whatever food she wished, she changed her appearance (so as to assume the form of a female ghoul), and expressed a desire for human flesh. - (133) When he, who had ceased to hurt living beings, gave her permission to eat flesh from his own body, she spoke thus: -(134) "You, O magnanimous king, are a Bodhisattva, whose vows are strong on account of virtue (sattva), as your compassion with living beings is so great." - (135) The king, who, being a worshipper of Śiva, did not know the language of the Bauddhas, said to her,---"Who, sweet mistress, is the Bôdhisattva, for whom you take me?" -- (136) She answered the king :--- "Hear my message ; I am sent by the Bauddhas, whom, out of anger, you have oppressed. -(137) "We are the (siz) Pleiades (Krittikah), who live on the flank of the Lôkâlôka mountain, who are full of sin (tamas), and who have made the Bôdhisattvas their only refuge, in order to be freed from sin. -(138) "You must know that Bôdhisattvas are certain beings, who, since (the time of) the blessed lord of the world (Buddha), have got rid of lust (klesa) in (this) world. - (139) "Eager to rescue the universe, they are not angry even with an offender, but benefit him patiently and will guide him to the knowledge ( $b\hat{o}dh\hat{i}$ ) of his own self.-(140 to 144) "When, lately, distarbed in your sleep by the noise of the instruments of a vihira, and instigated by wicked persons, you destroyed (that) vindra out of anger, I, (attracted by the power of) the meditations of the angry Bauddhas, had set out to kill you. (But) then the Bôdhisattvas, having called me, gave me the following instructions :--- 'You are unable to hurt that virtuous prince; but at his sight, O happy woman, your sins will be destroyed. In our name ask him, who was led into sin by the wicked, to build a vihára, providing all requisites from his gold. If this were built, no further) slaughter at the destruction of vihúras would take place; and he and his instigators would have made atonement.' -- (145) "Therefore, in this disguise, I have put your great virtue to the test. Now my sins are destroyed. Farewell! I take my departure."- (146) After the king had promised to baild a vihára, the goddess Krityâ, whose eyes were beaming with joy, disappeared. - (147) Then, having built a vihiar (called) Krityasrama, the prince caused (a statue of) the goddess Krityå, whose sins were removed, to be erected on that same spot (where he had met her.) -- (148) Having built a temple of stone at Nandikshêtra, the prince paid to Bhûtêsa worship in the shape of jewels together with (other) treasures. -(149, 150) Practising austerities for a series of nights at the tirtha of Chiramochana. sitting in the (posture called) brahmásana, his body motionless in meditation, the king accomplished at last his desire of reaching Nandisa by the pious work (of conducting the river) Kanakavahini. - (151) One hundred of the ladies of his harem, who had risen to dance out of joy, he gave to Jyêshtharndra at the (very) moment of dancing and singing --- (152) Having unjoyed supernatural power, and having finally entered Chiramochana, the king, together with his wife, attained union with Siva.

ः पर्याति° PT.	133 वहिंसा" P.C. मांस f	or दतिं P.
🖙 धुन्थापिता P.	<sup>137 °</sup> स्तामस्यः P.	23 गतकेशा PT.
17 नेष्यन्ति P.C. विधोद्धर <sup>°</sup> P.	ण्य महासत्त्व: P.	*** अनु <b>चिष्ठ</b> P.
''' कृत्याभर्म P.T.' कृत्यां देवीमनन्धयत् P.	144 समें P	Т.

<sup>150</sup> Kalhana attributes similar works to other kings. Thus Suvarna diverted or conducted (pravarlayali) the Suvarnamanikulyå to Karála (i. 97) and Mihirakula conducted (avatárayati) the Chandrakulyå river (i. 318)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>331</sup> ेज़्न<sup>0</sup> p. <sup>132</sup> प्रविष्ट सीर<sup>6</sup> p.

(153) Then a prince called Damodara (II.), who was either a descendant of the race of Asoka, or was born of another family, protected the earth. -- (154) Even now tales are told of the miraculous power of this (king), who was highly resplondent with superhuman faculties, and was the crest-jewel of the worshippers of Siva. - (155) (The god) Kuvêra himself concluded friendship with that happy and virtuous favourite of Siva. — (156) Being the foremost of kings, like Kuvêra, he ordered the Guhyakas, who obeyed his commande, to build the long (causeway called) Guddasétu. — (157) By this causeway he sought to bridge the water at the town which he had built in the (swamp called) Suda Damodartya. -- (158) Since the good deeds of men (in former births) are limited, obstacles arise - alas! - to a man of lofty mind, who wishes to produce some uncommon beneficial work. -- (159) For he strove to cause the Yakshas to build in his country long causeways of stone, in order to stop inundations.-(160) Inconceivable is the power of the austerities of mighty Brahmans, who will reverse the power even of such (kings). — (161) One has seen the fortune of kings rising again, after it had been déstroyed by the power of an heir or of others; but if (lost) through contempt of Bråhmans it will never return. - (162) Once the king, who was going to bathe on account of a *śráddha*. was asked by some hungry Bråhmans (to give them) food before bathing. --- (163) When he, who wished to enter the (river) Vitasta, refused (to give them food until he had entered it), they placed that river before him by their (religious) power. - (164) Although they told him-"Here is the Vitasta; touch her, and feed us!" yet he believed that the river had been brought by (sinful) witchoraft (and not by the righteous power of austerity). - (165) When he said to them --- " I will not give food without having bathed (in the real river); depart (sarpata), you Brâhmans, at once !" they cursed him-" Become a serpent (sarpa) ! "- (166) After he had implored them for mercy, they spoke-"Your curse will cease after you have heard the whole Ramayana in a single day, (and not till then)." - (167) Even now, when, out of thirst, he is rushing far into the (swamp called) Damódara-suda, people recognize him by the smoke of his breath, which is hot in consequence of the curse.

(168) Then there were three princes in that same (country), called Hushka, Jushka, and Kanishka, who built three towns that were designated by their names. --- (169) The pureminded Jushka, the founder of Jushkapura with its vihira, also built Jayasvamipura. --- (170) Though they were descendants of a Turushka race, these pious princes built mathas, chaityas, dc., at Sushkaletra and other places. --- (171) During the long period of their reigns, the country of Kasmira was, for the most part, in the possession of the Bauddhas, who had acquired great power by renouncing the world (pravrajyć).

(172, 173) At that time, one hundred and fifty years had passed in this earthly sphere since the complete extinction (*parinirvriti*) of the divine Såkyasimha (Buddha); and a Bôdhisattva became sole king in this country; this was the glorious Någårjuna, who resided at Shadarhadvana.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>166</sup> One of Kuvéra's names is Réjaréja, 'the king of kings'; he is the lord of the Yakahas or Guhyakas. गुरसेनु<sup>°</sup> P.

10 "योचिन्त्या P T.	<sup>202</sup> विलामहा P.
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अभ स्प्रहेगां P. ेदाहतिम् P.C. अभ ददमि P. आ म for ते P.

<sup>100</sup> Hushkapura, Jushkapura and Kanishkapura have been identified by General Conningham with Uahkar, Zukru, and Kampur; see A. G. p 99ff.

<sup>110</sup> पुण्याञया P. क्रुक्कलेचा° P C. On Sushkalëtra, see Dr. Bühler's note on verse 102.

<sup>373</sup> कश्मीर P. रॅम for भ P.

\*\*\* तदा p. पर° p T. अस्मिन्महा° p.

<sup>1/3</sup> MAT P. H W P. WILT<sup>®</sup> P.T. According to Schiefner's Tibetische Lebensbeschreibung Mikyamuni's, p. 310, Nägårjuna, the founder of the Mådhyamika school, was born in the time of Kanishka. Kalhana agrees with this tradition in placing Någårjuna just after Kanishka. On the other hand, his report that Någårjuna became king of Kasmir, seems to be as fanciful as his assertion that he lived only 150 years after Buddha's parimirvåna.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>165</sup> °पात्रेण P.

### Мавси, 1889.]

(174) Then the fearless Abhimanyu, who was the donor of the agrahára of Kantakótsa became a paramount sovereign (and thus) appeared to be a second Indra. - (175) After this illustrious (king) had caused a (temple of) Siva, which bore his name, to be built, he founded the extremely rich (town of) Abhimanyupura. --- (176) Chandrácharya and others brought into use the Mahabahshya, having obtained its traditional interpretation from another country, and composed their own grammar. --- (177) At this juncture, the Bauddhas, who had been protected by the wise Bodhisattva Nagarjuna, became powerful in the country. - (178) Having defeated in controversy all wise disputants, these enemies of tradition stopped the rites proclaimed in the Nila-Purána. - (179) The Négas, whose oblations had (thus, been stopped, caused a heavy fall of snow, and a destruction of the people in the country) where the rules of conduct were disregarded. --- (180) As the snow fell every year for the distress of the Bauddhas, the king dwelt in the cold season, for six months, at Darvabhisara and similar places. --- (181) At that time, the performers of oblations possessed a miraculous power, by virtue of which the Brahmans did not perish, while the Bauddhas entered death. ---(182) Then a Bråhman of the Kåéyapa (gôtra), Chandradêva by name, underwent austerities, in order to please Nila, the lord of the scrpents and protector of the country. --- (183) Having appeared to him, Nila stopped the plague of snow, and pronounced again the rites of his Purana. --- (184) As the first Chandradêva removed the plague of Yakshas, thus the second removed the intolerable plague of Bhikshus (or Bauddhas) in this country.

(To be continued.)

### THE INSCRIPTIONS OF PIYADASI.

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Translated by G. A. Grierson, B.C.S., and revised by the Author.

# (Continued from p. 9).

### FIFTH EDICT.

Prinsep, Lc. pp. 590 ff. (of. p. 965).

### TEXT.

1 Dévánampiyé Piyadasi lája hévam ahá [.] sadvísativasa

2 abhisitôna mô imâni jûtûni<sup>1</sup> avadhiyâni kaţâni sêyatha

3 sukê sûlikâ alunê" chakavâkê hamsê namdîmukhê gêlâtê

4 jatûka ambâkapilikâ dadî anathikamachhê vêdavêyakê

5. gamgápupataké samkujamachhé kaphatasayaké pamnasasé simalé

6 samdakê ôkapimdê palasatê sêtakapôtê gâmakapôtê

7 savê chatupadê yê patibhôgam nê êti<sup>s</sup> na cha khâdiyatî [.] ajakanâ-î\*

8 édaké châ sûkalî chû gabhinî va pâyamînê va avadhâya pâtaka(?)

- 9 pi cha kâni âsammâsikê [.] vadhikukutê nô kataviyê [.] tusê(?) sajîvê
- 10 nő jhúpétaviyê [.] dávé anatháyê yá vihisáyê' vá nő jhúpétaviyê [.]

17 °कोल्सा° P.

### 178 °मार्क सझाक्रार्थ PT. विरचम्य P C.

116 The above translation of this important verse is that proposed by Professor Kielhorn, (ants, Vol. IV. p. 107f.), with whom Dr., Bühler agrees (K. B. p. 71). Preads केंडरवादेश तरमाभदागमत् for which Kielhorn conjectures केंडरवा देशान्तराभदागमम् स्वं च स्थाकरण PC.

181 WHIGHT P. For references to the Dårvas and Abhisåras see ante, Vol. XIV. p. 321, and Böhtlingk and Roth.

388 रक्षितारमही अरम् P. °देवाहुस्तप्रस्तेप्रे डिज्रहततः P.

100 unified : P O. The first half of this verse refers to a passage of the Nilamats-Purfies, an extract of which has been given by Dr. Bühler, K. R. p. 40. There Kidyapa Chandradeva is said to have delivered the country, with Nila's help, from cold and from the Piffchas, for whom Kalhapa substitutes the Yakabas.

jîvêna, jîvê nô pusitaviyê [.] tîsu châtummâsîsu<sup>a</sup> tisâyam pumnamâsiyam 11 12 timni divasâni châvudasam pamnadasam pațipadâyê dhuvâyê châ anupôsatham machhê avadhiyê nô pi vikêtaviyê [.] êtâni yêvâ divasâni 13 någavanasi kêvatabhôgasi<sup>\*</sup> yâni amnâni pi jîvanikâyâni 14 nő hamtaviyáni [.] athamípakháyê chávndasáyê pamnadasáyê tisáyê 15 panåvasuné tásu châtummásísu sudivasáyé göné nő nílakhitaviyé<sup>10</sup> 16 ajakê êdakê sûkalê êvâpi amnê nîlakhiyati nô nîlakhitaviyê [.] 17 18 tisáyê punávasunê châtummásíyê châtummásipakhâyê asvasâ gônasâ 19 lakhanê nô kataviyê [.] yâva sadvimsativasaabhisitêna mê êtâyê 20 amtalikâyê pamnavîsati bamdhanamôkhâni<sup>11</sup> katâni [.]

### NOTES.

1. The neuter *jatain* can only be taken here in the meaning of *jati*, 'race,' 'species,' of animals. I have drawn attention elsewhere to another example of this use of the word (*Mahdvastu*, I. 593). Avadhiydni katdni, 'have been established, specified' as not to be slain.

2. This enumeration of names of animals constitutes one of the principal difficulties of the present edict. Several words for which lexicographers provide us with no Sanskiit equivalents, remain obscure, and, as we are dealing with technical terms, etymology, even when it does appear with probable clearness, cannot lend us assistance. Fortunately this ignorance, much though it may be regretted, does not interfere with the general comprehension of the passage; the more exact identification of some of the animals to which we cannot assign names, would be of small importance to us. The future, as it extends the range of our knowledge, will doubtless fill up many of these lacunce. What we are now certain of is that the enumeration which commences with seyatha includes the words save chatupade-khadiyati. It is there only that the general prohibition ceases. What follow are temporary or special interdicts, and accordingly the first word of the next sentence can only be ajakd. We thus find classed under the general heading not only aquatic animals and birds, but also terrestrial animals, quadrupeds. The suka and idrika are well known; and it is with aluna, i.e. aruna, that our doubts commence. I do not know what connection Prinsep (p. 965) claims to exist between aruna, the mythical half-bird charioteer of the Aurora, and the species of crane known to Anglo-Indians as the adjutant bird; but I am willingly disposed to admit that his Pandits saw correctly in identifying our aluna with this bird to. The St. Petersburg Dictionary only so far recognizes aruna as an animal, by describing it (after Snárata) as 'a little poisonous animal.' The names on each side of aluna here scarcely allow us to imagine such a meaning, but refer us to some kind of bird. Nandimakha, according to Sniruta, appears to be applied to an aquatic bird; I have no means for determining the real ame. Géláia is altogether uncertain, the identification with gridhra, allowed by Prinsep's pandits, cannot be upheld. The origin of the word, however, does not appear to be particularly obscure. Sanskrit has many names of birds into the formation of which ata appears as a second member. Such are vyúghráta, dhámyúta; and we have in this word probably a new example, which I would transcribe as gairdia, from giri, 'a mountain.' Jatüká 's bat,' offers no difficulties. This word appears to wind up for the present the enumeration of birds; not because the word ambakapiliká (kipilika, at Allahabad) is clear, but because the Pali kipillika, the Sanskrit pipilika, seems to give us the key to the second member of the compound. With regard to the first member, I cannot agree with Prinsep either in recognising the Sanskrit ambá, or in adopting, for the whole compound, the meaning "mother-ant," i.e. "Queen-ant;" The legislative specification would become, through its minuteness, too difficult to grasp. I am hence driven to choose between amra, 'a mango-tree," (which we shall, by the way, meet subsequently under the feminine form amba), and ambu, 'water.' In the latter case, the termination would be a cause of surprise, but the inexactitude of the vocalic notation in our texts gives us some margin, and, subject to correction, I imagine that what is here alluded to is some animal designated by the periphrase 'water-ant.' From one point of view the conjecture is satisfactory, for the name appropriately heads a series of aquatic animals. Thus, the word which immediately follows, and of which the correct form (cf. M. and A.) is dudi, means "a small species of tortoise." We next have certainly to deal with a fish, machha, i.e. matsya; as for the former part of the compound I would not take it, with Prinsep, as corresponding to anarthika, but as the equivalent of anasthika. The fish in question is named as "the boneless one," perhaps figuratively, and on account, for example, of its extreme suppleness. The cerebral th appears to me to recommend this etymology. I learn from Mr. Grierson that, at the present day, in Magadha, the prawn is said to have no bones. It is not eaten by Vaishnavas. I can imagine only one possible transcription for védavéyaka,-vaidarvéyaka. Darvi means the expanded hood of a snake, and we can suppose that vidarvi, or, which comes to the same thing, its patronymic form vaidarcéya, might allude to some fish as resembling a snake 'less the hood.' It could thus, for example, mean "an cel;" but this is a pure hypothesis, for I do not meet the word in the Sanskrit dictionaries. From the sense of 'swelling' given for pupputa, it is natural to think that gamgápupufaka is applied to a particular fish of the Ganges, remarkable for some protuberance. The samkujamachha should be the same as the sankuchi, or 'skate-fish' of Sanskrit lexicographers. There is only between them; a shade of pronunciation which is sufficiently explained by the Prakrit weakening of ch into j. The next word heads the list of terrestrial animals, --- at least it does so in its second half, sayaka, which is, I think, in Sanskrit salyaka, 'the porcupine.' The first member is doubtful. We, however, meet in Yajñavalkya, I. 177, the porcupine (under the form sallaka) associated with the tortoise (kachchhapa), and one is strongly tempted to search for a similar association here, and to take kaphaja as equivalent to the Sanskrit kamajha. I admit that the phonetic transition is the reverse of regular, but the objection would not be absolute, especially for a kind of proper name, which was in frequent use, and which, even under its classical form, bears all the characteristics of a popular origin. Moreover, these two animals are mentioned in the verse of the Dharmasastra above quoted, as being allowed to be eaten, and it is therefore natural that they should not be included here in the final category of save chatupade, &c. The same verse speaks of the hare, śaśa, which we also meet in our painnasasé, whether the latter word is a mere equivalent of sasa, or whether the addition of parna marks a particular species. For simals, I cannot discover any Sanskrit equivalent, the correspondence of which would be either phonetically regular, or at least justifiable. Samdaka is the Sanskrit shanda, and means a bull living at liberty. For okapinda I cannot offer a certain translation. At least the form and the existence of the word are vouched for, for we meet it elsewhere in Pâli. In Mahdoagga, vi. 17, 6, it is narrated how the Bhikshus leave outside the monasteries the provisions which have been brought to them, and ukkapindakápi khúdanti chôrápi haranti; 'the ukkapindakas est them, the thieves carry them off.' The two last items in the list, sétakapóta and gámakapóta. which admit of no hesitation, and evidently referring to two species of pigeons, appear to authorise the restoration of palasate to palapate. i.e. 'tartle-dove.' The correction of L into L is very easy, and, no matter how well these inscriptions are engraved, in our reproductions there is no want of clear instances in which corrections are necessary. If the new revisions definitely guaranteed the reading palasate, we should be driven to recognize the Pali parasató, and to translate it by 'rhinoceros' (cf. Trenckner, Páli Miscell., I. 50), which would look very singular here.

3. Prinsep, while construing the sentence wrongly, correctly recognized the meaning of the expression *patibhôgait éti*, 'to enter into, to serve for consumption.' The king, who wished to restrain as much as possible the slaughter of animals, naturally forbade in general terms the killing of all those which did not serve for urgent needs, and of which therefore the slaughter was not indispensable. I suppose that *patibhôga* does not refer exclusively to nourishment, but in general to all the needs which dead animals could serve to satisfy. If it were otherwise, na cha khádiyati would only repeat the idea without adding anything new.

4. After the general and absolute prohibitions come those which are accidental and temporary. Ajakanání gives no sense. We require a feminine singular, and there is no place here for a neuter plural. The slight correction of  $\perp$  to + gives the reading zjaká káni

equivalent to ajakd khu, which is completely satisfactory (of. I. 161). The particle káni reappears in the next phrase. The pandits of Prinsep, warned by the neighbouring gabhini, hit upon the true meaning of the following adjective. We cannot, however, transcribe it as payasrini, but prefer to read phyamáná, which easily gives the meaning of 'in milk, suckling.' We should also read avadhiyá and not avadháya, and, with R. and M., pôtaka instead of pátaka. Ásanmásika is necessarily formed from á shad-mása; and it is therefore, in short, forbidden to slaughter the mothers (goats, ewes, and sows) when they are with young, or when they are suckling, and their young when they are less than six months old.

5. Vadhri means 'a ennuch,' and vadhi-kukkuia can only be taken as a compound signifying, 'capon.'

6. Tuse sajivé has an exact counterpart in the expression sajivéni prénakéni of Mahévastu, I. 22, 5, 'one may not rosst alive any living thing,'

7. This vikined refers to the destruction of game, brought about by burning down the forest in which it lives.

8. We have here, at the conclusion of the edict, three series of dates, the accurate explanation of which offers more than one difficulty. We shall consider them together. We must first compare them with two parallel indications taken from the detached edicts of Dhauli and Jangada. Shown in a tabular form these series are :---

A 1	В	C .
tien châtunhmâsien	athamípakháyé	tisáyé
tisdyan punnamásiyan	chavudasáyó	pundvasuns
tishni divasâni-	pannadasáyé	chốtummásiye
chávudasait	tiskyê	chátummán pakháyé
partnadasark	pundvasuns	
patipaddys	tisu chátruhmásisu	
dhuráyé chá anupósathan	sudivasúy <b>š</b>	1 · · ·

With which compare the following in the Detached Edicts :----

I. anuchátushmásanh tiséna nakhaténa (Dh.) anuchátushmásash tisénash (J.) II. tísanakhaténa (Dh.) anutisam (J.)

I must first warn my readers that, in spite of the analogy of the words, the passages in the Detached Edicts do not appear to me to have an exact similarity with those in the above Table. I do not consider that in the two cases the meanings are the same, and moreover, the forms used, differ. But if we begin by comparing between each other the expressions of the two Detsched Edicts, we shall find that the second omits the word anuchátuntmásan. As both instances refer to the public recitation of the edicts themselves, it is impossible to imagine any reason for suggesting an intentional difference between the two passages. It appears to me to be indisputable that the tisanakhaténa or anutisan of the second means exactly the same as the more developed phrase of the first, I first, therefore, conclude that anuchatum dean does not restrict the sense, but merely calls attention to the particulars defined by the simple expression tiséns nakhaténa. The relation between the two expressions cannot be the same as that which ought to exist here between the first two in our list A., for, as a matter of fact, if the thematic elements are the same in each case, the grammatical forms used are very different. The feminines chatuhmasi and tisa can only, conformably to usage, mean ' the full-moon corresponding to each of the festivals called chaturmasyas (four-monthly)' and ' the full-moon in conjunction with the nakshatra Tishya' (cf. the formation of Sravand, according to Pânini, IV. 2, 5); while, on the other hand, tiséna nakkaténa cannot mean 'the full moon of Tishya,' but signifies literally 'under the nakshatra Tishya.' Again, anuchátummásam cannot be analysed as anuchatur*miscaint*, and translated 'every four months' for the d, in this hypothesis, would be unexplainable. The only possible transcription is anucháturmásyana, 'at each of the festivals called chátur másyas,' and so in fact we find the same any actually combined with the name of an undonbted festival in anuposathan, 'at each uposatha.' After this analogy, and being given the fact that anutisani (J.) and tisanakhaténa are equivalent terms, we must render all these expressions, tiséna nakhaténa, tiséna, &c., as 'at the festival of Tishya.' The addition of anuchátusimásan proves, in short, that a festival, corresponding in date to that of the three annual sacrifices of the Brâhmans is referred to; and it is clear that the dates of these sacrifices, being fixed by the occurrences of three definite full-moons, could not regularly, in accordance with astronomical rules, correspond with one and the same nakshatra. My twofold conclusion is therefore; (1) that the quotations from the Detached Edicts must be translated 'at the festival of Tishya' and 'at the festival of Tishya, which is celebrated at each of the chấturmásya festivals'; and (2) that these data are without importance in regard to our present passage, in the interpretation of which they cannot help us. It is this interpretation which principally interests us at present.

In the series A., a group at first separates itself off by its syntactic form. This is the words tinni divasani, &c., that is to say ' three days, the fourteenth, the fifteenth (of the month), and the pratipad (or first day of the following half month).' It is evident that this indication must depend on what precedes for the necessary specification of what particular month or months is or are referred to; and regarding this the only doubt which can be raised is whether it depends only on tisty and punnamásiyam (I accept this reading provisionally) or whether also on tieu chatummatieu. If we depended merely on grammar, we might hesitate, but the data following, dhuráyé ché anupôratham, settle the question. These words can only be translated by 'and on the fixed day, each updeatha,' or in other words, ' and, generally, on each day of updentha.' The use of dhruva in the first of the fourteen (rock) Edicts may be compared with this. Now, as each day of the full-moon is necessarily a day of updeatha, to separately mention the three full-moons of the months in which the festival called chaturmdaya is celebrated, would be merely superfluous, and we must therefore look upon the whole of the first part of the sentence down to dhuvdy' as a single compound, and translate 'Besides the fullmoons of the months in which the festivel châturmâsya is celebrated, and the full-moon of Tishya, the fourteenth and fifteenth days, and the day following.' I admit that hitherto the reading punnamdeiyam has been considered as certain, but I must confess that I am very far myself from thinking it to be so. I shall have more to say about this, after having explained the two last series.

Of these, the third presents scarcely any uncertainty. It includes 'the full-moon in conjunction with Tishya, the full-moon in conjunction with Punarvasů, and the full-moon which corresponds to each of the châturmâsya sacrifices.' As for the last term, châtummâsipakhâyê, ekâturmâsîpaksha means, according to custom, the half-lunation which follows the full-moon (each full-moon) called châturmâsi; and, as here one day in particular is referred to, the feminine châtusmâsipakhâ (which, of course, is to be construed with tithi understood) certainly represents the first day of this half-lunation. It is thus exactly equivalent to the patipadâyâ of the first list, inasmuch as this word depends on tisu châtunmâsitu. I may add that the difference of form between the singular châtunmâsiyê, which we have here to designate each of the châturmâsi full moons, and the plural tisu châtunmâsisu of series A., would naturally (if it were necessary) add confirmation to the explanation which I have just given of the latter phrase. It establishes an intentional distinction between the two cases, and, the sense being certain in the present enumeration, we are left no alternative except to adopt for the phrase in series A. the interpretation, which for independent reasons we have already adopted.

The three first terms of series B. give no room for doubt. Athanipakhd is the equivalent, in a slightly irregular form of construction, of paksháshtami, "the eighth day of the half lunation" (cf. e.g. Dhammap., p. 404: châtuddasi pañchadasi yâva pakkhassa atthami), that is to say, of each lunation. To this the Sinhalese expression atawaka (ashtapaksha) (Sp. Hardy, *Kast. Monach.* p. 236) exactly corresponds. But it is doubtful if the 14 and the 15 refer only to the 14th and 15th of the month, *i.e.* of the first half, thus corresponding to the full-moon, or whether they apply also to the second fortnight of each month. To judge from modern customs

(cf. Sp. Hardy, loc. cit), one would be inclined to the first solution ; but, as the idea of a triple upósatha in each half lunation is expressly borne witness to by the Mahávagga (II. 4, 2), I have no hesitation in considering that such is also the intention of the king in this passage. It is true that great uncertainty appears to have prevailed in the tradition about the upósatha. The same work, a little further on (II. 14, 1) only admits 'two uposuthas, those of the 14th and of the 15th,' but, on the other hand, another passage (II. 34, 3-4) speaks expressly of the patipada upósatha, that is to say, that which corresponds to the first day of the month (the amawaka of Sinhalese terminology). I do not doubt, however, that Piyadasi considered this day as hallowed by a religious consecration. It is on this one day that the difference between the generic expression, dhuváyé anupôsatham, of series A., and our series B., depends; if this more concise expression is not repeated here, it must necessarily be so in order to exclude some element which it contains, and that element can only be the pratipad. With regard to the rest of the list, I would refer to what has been said about series A. and the plural tisu chatummaster; here again, all the full-moons being comprised in the dates chavudasáyé and pamnudasáyé, the terms tisáyé and chátummúsisu have no use except as determinatives of the last word, sudivasáyé. I regret that this last term is obscure to me, for I know of no parallel examples of the technical use of the word. We evidently want here something different from a vague astrological expression corresponding, I suppose, to the Vêdic sudinatvé ahnám (of. Weber, Die Véd. Nachrichten von den Naksh. II. 315) A comparison with the other lists ought to guide us. We shall subsequently see that the acts successively forbidden by the king necessarily constitute a series of decreasing gravity. It is therefore d priori more than probable that the lists of reserved days, admitting the fact that there is a distinction) should be reduced in parallel lines : the second should contain less than the first; and the third less again than the second; but all the days excepted in the two last should be included in the first. In a general fashion, this conjecture is at first sight justified. Between list B. and list C. it is verified in detail, provided that chatummasipakha can be included under the last head of B.-they chatummative sudivasa, for the full-moons of Tishya, Punarvasů and the châturmâsyas are included under the two first terms châvudasá and pannadasá. On the other hand, to establish an analogy between A. and B. the last portion of B., tisáyé to sudivasá must be included in A., either in the last term, dhuváyé chá anupôsatham, or in the last but one, tieu-patipaddyć. In the first case, the three first terms of B. include all the days of upósatha except the pátipada upósatha, and sudivasá ought to designate the first of the month, the first of the light half (of the month of which the full-moon is in conjunction with Tishya, or Punarvasů, or one of the three months of châturmásya). In the second case, it would designate the first of the dark half which follows (the full-moons in question). To sum up, therefore, C. appears to require that sudivasd should designate the 16th of the months above referred, and A. permits this interpretation. The conclusion follows that we are driven to admit that B. practically had in view 'the days which come after the full moons in conjunction with Tishya and with Punarvasů, and after the full moons of the months of cháturmásya." It may seem, perhaps, somewhat surprising that the name sudivasa, 'lucky day' should be applied to the first of the dark half for in general it is the light half, which is considered as particularly anspicious; but the scruple must necessarily vanish before the positive fact, witnessed by the perfectly clear testimony of our first list, that the day in question, at least in the lunations specified, was considered as having a religious consecration.

This necessary agreement between our three lists upon which I have just insisted, leads us to one last remark. The expression *tisáyain punnamásiyain* of A. should surprise the reader : *tisáyain* alone would be sufficient, as all the following lists attest. We should rather expect to find *punnamási* added to *tisu chátunhmásisu*, the first full-moons indicated, if it were added anywhere. On the other hand, the full-moon in conjunction with Punarvasú plays so important a part in the subsequent lists that it is out of the question that it should not be here also. How could it be permissible to slaughter animals on a day on which it was not permissible even to mark them ? I have therefore no hesitation in maintaining that, instead of *punnamásiyain*, *punávasuyain* should stand here. I do not deny that such a correction may appear bold, in the Мавсн, 1889.]

face of the agreement, which, at least apparently, exists between different versions dispersed in different places; but nevertheless, whatever the difficulties may be; whether this agreement actually exists; or whether it is less real than the eyes of explore.s, led away by a first reading, in appearance very simple, of the Dehli pillar, believed; to whatever medium, to whatever accident it may be due, I cannot prevent myself from seeing in *pumnamásiyam* a certain error for *punávasayam*. This last word, it may be added, has itself had a very unlucky fate. In the two following lists, our facsimiles give *vasuné*. The first reproduction in the Asiatio Researches is the only one which indicates, at least in the second instance, the true reading, and gives *punúvapuyé* for *punávasuyé*. If need be, the form *punávasuné* could be explained, but it would be with difficulty; and considering the close resemblance which exists between the signs  $\underline{1}$  and  $\underline{1}$ , I have little doubt but that we ought to restore the only normal form, *-vasuyé*.

9. The two words nágavana and kévatabhôga offer some difficulty. The derivation is clear (kaivartabhôga), but neither appears to be used in the literature known to us. They might without violence be treated as proper names, but why should the king mention particularly two specified localities, in the vicinity, for instance, of his capital, in edicts intended to be published over his whole empire? This conjecture is therefore improbable. What does appear to me to be certain is that of these two terms the former relates to hunting, and the latter to fishing. A passage, which is unfortunately corrupt, in the Mahávastu (I. 24 and notes) leads me to think of the kinds of parks in which game was preserved either to protect it from theft or for gradual consumption : nágavana "elephant park," might refer to an enclosure of this description; and kévalabhôga might mean a fish-pond, such as exists in all countries. The king would prohibit the slaughter, on certain specified days, of any kind of animal whatever, whether quadrupeds or fishes, even those which their dwelling-place destines to an early death.

10. The only obscure word here is the verb *silakhiyati*. Prinsep naturally thought of the verb raksh, but I do not see how it is possible to explain a nirakshati, nor, if we elude this difficulty, how to draw any reasonable sense from it. We must try the verb laksh. There can be no doubt that the next sentence turns on the prohibition of lakshana, which is used in a wellknown sútra of Pânini (VI. 3, 115) to mean the marks, srastika, maņi, &c., which, as the scholiast explains, they make on the ears of cattle to distinguish the owner of each. This meaning exactly suits our word lakhana, for bullocks and horses are, in fact, domestic animals, and consequently fitted for receiving marks of this kind. But what are we to do with allakhati in the present sentence? It is natural to look again for the Sanskrit laksh in the root lakk; bat, on the other hand, it is evident that there is a considerable difference between the two operations successively enumerated. This follows not only from the difference in the terms used, in the prefix added in the first case, and omitted in the second, but also from the circumstance that in both, partly at least, the same animals, bullocks (gônasa), are dealt with. The long i, which occurs almost consistently throughout all the versions, of nilakhiyati, shows that the true transcription can only be nirlaksh, and this analysis does, in fact, admit of a very simple translation. If we refer to a recognized meaning of lakshana, 'the sexual parts,' a denominative nirlakshay would mean 'to cut,' 'to castrate,' and, as a matter of fact, all the animals mentioned, being domestic ones, are of that class which could be so mutilated. I believe that I can identify the same meaning in nirlakshana as opposed to lakshanavant in a passage in the Ramdyana (Gorr., II. 118, 5) which is quoted by the St. Petersburg Dictionary, but interpreted. wrongly as I think, in a much vaguer fashion. It will now be seen why I spoke above of a decreasing gradation in the series of cases dealt with by our edict. The first prohibitions deal with the slaughter of animals; the second series interdicts their castration; and the third, the infliction upon them of a much lighter suffering, which might consist, for example, in slitting the ear.

11. The meaning of this last sentence has, I think, been well defined by Lassen (II.\* 272, n.), although I do not adopt the meaning of 'execution' which he claims directly for bandhana. Bandhanamökkha means literally 'deliverance from bonds,' 'setting at liberty,' but if the king only spoke of setting at liberty twenty-five prisoners in twenty-five years, the royal

clemency would appear but moderate, while, on the other hand, the repetition of twenty-five general amnesties in as many years would be equivalent to the suppression of all punishment. I consider, therefore, remembering the connection in the fourth edict between the words bandhanabadha and patavadha while they are nevertheless not synonyms, that Piyadasi here speaks only of important prisoners, and that, as in the last edict, this qualification is here applied exclusively to those condemned to death. This is indeed, also, the only interpretation which would justify the presence of this declaration in this place, at the end of an edict consecrated to recommending a general respect of life.

The following translation results from the preceding observations :--

### TRANSLATION.

Thus saith the King Piyadasi, dear unto the Dêvas :-In the twenty-seventh year after my coronation have I forbidden the slaughter of any of the animals belonging to the following tribes ; that is to say, -- parrots, mainas, arunas, chakravákas, flamingos, nandimukhas, gairálas, bats, water-ants(?), the tortoises called dudi, the fishes called anasthikas, vaidarvéyakas, pupputas of the Ganges, the fishes called samkuja, turtles and porcapines, parnasasas (?), simalus (?), bulls which wander at liberty, foxes (?), turtle-doves, white pigeons, village pigeons, and all kinds of quadrupeds which do not enter into consumption and which are not articles of food. As for she-goats, ewes, and sows, they may not be slaughtered when they are with young or are in milk, nor their offspring when less than six months old. Caponing fowls is prohibited, nor is it allowed to roast alive any living being. It is forbidden to set fire to a forest either in malice or in order to kill the animals which dwell therein. It is forbidden to make use of living beings in order to feed living beings. At the three full-moons of the châturmásyas, at the full-moon which is in conjunction with the nakshatra Tishya, at that which is in conjunction with the nakshaira Punarvasů, on the 14th and the 15th and on the day which follows the full-moon, and generally on each day of upósatha, it is forbidden either to kill fish or to affer them for sale. On the same days it is forbidden to kill either animale confined in gameparks or in fishponds or any other kind of living being. On the 8th, the 14th, and the 15th of each lunar fortnight, and on the days which follow the full-moons of Tishya, of Punaryasi and of the three châturmásyas, it is forbidden to castrate ox, he-goat, ram, boar, or any other animal, which is usually castrated. On the day of the full-moon of Tishya, of Panaryasů, of the châturmäsyas, and on the first day of the fortnight which follows the full-moon of a chaturmásya, it is forbidden to mark either ox or horse. In the course of the twenty-six years which have elapsed since my coronation, I have set at liberty twenty five [men condemned to death].

(To be continued.)

### SANSKRIT AND OLD-KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

### BY J. F. FLEET, BO.C.S., M.B.A.S., C.I.E.

### NO. 174.-COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF THE TIME OF AJATAPALA.-VIKRAMA, SAMVAT 1231.

I edit this inscription, which has not previously been published, from the original plates, which I obtained for examination, in April, 1883, from the Bombay Secretariat. I have no information as to where they were found, or as to the owner of them.

The plates, which are inscribed on one side only, are two in number, each measuring about  $14\frac{1}{2}$  by  $9\frac{1}{2}$ . The edges of them were raised into rims, to protect the writing; and the inscription is well preserved and very legible throughout.—In the lower part of the first plate, and the upper part of the second, there are holes for two rings; but only one ring is now forthcoming. It is a plain copper ring, about  $\frac{1}{2}$  thick and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  in diameter. It had been cut when the grant came under my notice; but there are no indications of a seal having been attached to this ring and abstracted from it. In the first plate, the ring-holes were originally

#### Мавси, 1889.] GRANT OF AJAYAPALA .-- VIKRAMA SAMVAT 1231.

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made at the top; but they were filled in again with circular pieces of copper. The seal, if there was one attached to either of the rings, is not now forthcoming. In the lower proper left corner of the second plate, however, after the end of the inscription, there are engraved the sun and moon, and the figure of a god, seated, and facing full-front. As the god is four-faced, as well as four-armed, and seems to be seated on a water-lily, it must be a representation of Brahman.—The weight of the two plates is 10 lbs. 1 oz., and of the ring. 3 oz.; total, 10 lbs. 4 oz. — The characters are Någarî, of the regular type of the period and locality to which the inscription refers itself. They include, in line 31, the decimal figures 1, 2, and 3. The engraving is good; the interiors of the letters are so filled in with rust, that any marks of the working of the tool cannot be observed. The plates are thick and substantial; and the letters do not show through on the reverse sides at all .-- The language is Sanskrit. And the inscription is in prose throughout; except for two invocatory verses at the commencement, and nine benedictive and imprecatory verses quoted in lines 14 to 16 and 23 to 31. The text contains some technical fiscal terms which require explanation ; talabhédyághásakamalakavundhaka, in lines 19-20: and sarv-abhyantara-siddhi, in line 20. And in line 19 we have the word kakkafa, which has been met with in other passages in the sense of 'boundary,' in which it is used here.<sup>1</sup> — In respect of orthography the only points that call for notice are—(1) the preferential use of the anusvára instead of the proper nasal, e. g. in paripathtayati, line ?; danidandyaka, line 9; and anigikritya, line 17; though the proper nasal is used in mandalam, line 8, and vindu, line 15, and elsewhere; and (2) the use of v for b throughout, e.g. in vibhartti, line 1; vrahmanapatskat, line 2; and lavdha, line 5; except once, in line 23; where a distinct form for b seems to be used in the word bahubhir.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the Chaulukya king Ajayapala of Anhilwad. But the grant recorded in it was made by one of his feudatories, the Mahamandalesvara Vaijalladeva, who, as we learn from line 17, belonged to the Chahumana lineage,---or, as the name is actually written here, Chahuyana,---and who had the government of the mandala or province on the banks of the river Narmada; and the charter was issued from the city of Brahmanapataka. The inscription is non-sectarian; the object of it being to record the grant of a village to a sattrágára or charitable alms-house, for the purpose of feeding Brâhmans.

The places mentioned in the inscription are Anabilapataka, the capital of Ajayapala and his ancestors; Brahmanapataka, the town from which Vaijalladeva issued the charter; Alavidagamva, the village granted, which is defined as being in the group of villages known as the Makhulagamva Forty-two-villages, belonging to the Purna pathaka; and Khandohaka, the village in which was situated the sattragara to which the grant was made. Anahilapataka, or, as the name was sometimes written, Anahillapataka, is perhaps better known under the somewhat later and slightly corrupted name of Auhilwad or Auhilwadapatan. It is said, in the Jain chronicles, and elsewhere, to have been founded in Vikrama-Samvat 802 by the Paramâra king Vanarâja;<sup>\*</sup> and it appears to have passed from the possession of the Paramâras into that of the Châwada kings; and to have been acquired from the latter by the first Chaulukya king, Mûlarâja, in Vikrama-Samvat' 997. It was subsequently laid waste; but the date of this event appears not yet to have been properly fixed; for, whereas Col. J. W. Watson\* seems to attribute the destruction of the city to the armies of Alâ-ud-dîn in Vikrama-Samvat 1297, we find it still mentioned, as the capital of Vîsaladêva,<sup>3</sup> in Vikrama-Samvat 1317. It is now represented by the modern town of Patan,<sup>6</sup> the chief town of a Sub-Division of the same name in the Gaikwar's Dominions, about sixty-five miles in a north-westerly direction from Ahmadâbâd. The other places remain to be identified.

The record contains two dates. In line 11ff., in connection with the making of the grant, we have the details of Vikrama-Samvat 1231, expressed fully in words, and not distinctly

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> e. g. ante, Vol. XVI. p. 255, line 23. The only meaning given in Monier-Williams Sanskrit Dictionary are 'mail, defensive armour; an iron hook to goad an elephant.' It is said to be derived from the root kank, ' to go.' \* ante, Vol. IV. p. 147f.

<sup>\*</sup> ante, Vol. XI. p. 258; Vol. IV. pp. 145f., 147.

<sup>\*</sup> ante, Vol. IV. p. 148.

<sup>\*</sup> ante, Vol. VI. p. 212.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> The 'Patan, Pattan, Puttun, Anhalwada, Anhalwar Patan, and Anhilwara Pattan,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 21. Lat. 23° 51' N.; Long, 72° 10' E.

specified either as current or as expired, the month Karttika, the bright fortnight, the eleventh tithi, and Sômadina or Monday; and we are told that, when Vaijalladêva made the grant, he had fasted on this day, and had done worship to the gods Siva and Vishnu at the Karttik-odyapana festival. And in line 31 we have the details, for either the writing or the assignment of the charter, of the same month, fortnight, and year, here expressed in decimal figures; and of the thirteenth civil day (and, with it, the thirteenth tithi), coupled with Budha, i.e. Budhavara or Wednesday. The English equivalents ought to be found in A.D. 1173 or 1174, according as the given year, whether referred to the northern or to the sonthern reckoning of the era, is to be taken as current or as expired. And we have to note that the first of the given tithis is the well-known prabodhini or utthana-ékádasi, when Vishnu wakes up from his four-months' slumber; and that the text distinctly intimates that the grant was made to celebrate this tithi and its festival. The results, however, are not altogether satisfactory. By Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, I find that-

In (northern and) southern Vikrama-Samvat 1231 current, Kårttika sukla 11 ended on Thursday, 18th October, A.D. 1173, at about 51 ghafts after mean sunrise, for Aphilwid;' and Karitika śukla 13 ended on Saturday, 20th October, at about 43 gh. 2 p.

And in (northern and) southern Vikramà-Samvat 1232 current (1231 expired), Karttika śukla 11 ended on Tuesday, 8th October, A.D. 1174, at about 32 ghatis; and Karttika śukla 18 ended on Thursday, 10th October, at about 19 gh. 25 p. The tithis began respectively on Monday, 7th October, at about 38 gh. 8 p., and on Wednesday, 9th October, at about 25 gh. 39 p. And these dates would do, if we could apply the tithis as current tithis. But there is no justification for the quotation of the current tithi, in recording the writing or the assignment of the charter. And both Mr. Sh. B. Dikehit and Prof. Kielhorn have informed me that there is no rule by which the fasting and ceremonies, connected with the prabódnini-skidasi, can have been performed in this case on the Monday. Accordingly, even the eleventh tithi cannot have been quoted here as a current tithi. And the dates thus obtained for the commencement of the two tithis are not admissible.

But, in (northern and) southern Vikrama-Samvat 1233 current (1232 expired), Karttika sukla 11 ended, as required, on Monday, 27th October, A.D. 1175, at about 37 gh. 23 p. ; and Karttika sukla 13 ended on Wednesday, 29th October, at about 25 gh. 80 p. These results satisfy the requirements of the case, vis. that both the given tithis should have been quoted, and must be applied, as ended tithis; and these seem certainly to be the real days that were intended. Accordingly, as there is nothing to raise a suspicion that the grant is other than an authentic one, we must conclude that, in spite of the distinct record in words as well as in figures, we have here a genuine mistake in respect of the given year; and that 1231 was wrongly written for 1232, which is to be applied as an expired year, and, in consideration of the locality to which the record belongs, is to be referred to the southern reckoning of the era.

### TEXT.

### First Plate.

1 Ôm<sup>®</sup> Jayô=bhyudayaś=cha II Jayati<sup>10</sup> Vyômakêśô=sau yah sarggâya Svasti il vi(bi)bhartti tâm l'aimdavîm śirasa lêkhâm jagad-vîj-âmkur-â-

kalp-åmta-samay-Tanvamtu vah Smaråråtôh kalyånam=aniśam jatåh i 2 kritim II óddâma-tadid-valaya-pimgal[4\*]h II Sri-Vra(bra)hmanapatakat [1\*] Sri-A.

3 nahilapátakádhishthita-samastarájávalívirájíta-mahárájádhirája-paramésva(áva)ra-paramabhattaraka-Varvarakajishuu-śri-Jayasimhadêva-

4 pådånudhyåta-Umåpativaralavdha(bdha)prasåda-praudhapratåpa-nijabhujavikramaranåöganaviniríjitaSakambharibhupala-paramabhattà-

\* Represented by a symbol.

The times here are for Anhilw&1, all through.
 From the original plates.

<sup>10</sup> Metre, Slöka (Annahtubh); and in the next verse.

- 5 raka-maharajadhiraja-paramésyara-sri.Kumarapaladéya-padanudhyata-paramabhatt ar a kamahûrâjâdhirâja-paramamâhêśvara<sup>11</sup>-śri-
- tat-pådapadm-ôpajivini mahâmatya-śri-6 mad<sup>19</sup>-Ajayapâladêva-kalyâna-vijaya-râjyê [1\*] Somesvare śri-śrikaran-adau samasta-mudra-

7 vyâpârân=paripanthayati sat≏îty=êtasmin⇒kâlê pravarttamânê [I\*] Samadhigatapamchamahåśavda (bda) lamkar opeta-samastaprakriyavirajamana-maha-

- 8 mamdaléávara-ári-Vaijalladévah árimad Ajayapaladévéna prasádikritya Narmmada. tața-maņdalam=anuśāsan vijay-ôdayî 11 Pûrnna-pathaka-pra-
- 9 tiva(ba)ddha-Makhulagamva-grama-dvichatvårimsat gramanam<sup>18</sup> madhyat Alavidagamva-grame samasta-damdanayaka-deśathak[k\*]ur-adhishthanaka-kara-
- vrâ(bra)hman-ôttarân 10 naparasha-śayyapala-bhattaputra-prabhriti-niyukta-rajapurashan pratinivâsi-vishayika-patțakila-janapad-âdîmi=cha
- 11 vô(bô)dhayaty=Astu vah samviditam yatha 11 Asmabhih érî-Vrâ(brâ)hmanapâțakasthitai[h\*] nripa-Vikrama-kalad=arvvak éka-trimsad-adhika-dvadasa-sa-
- 12 ta-samvatsar-âmtarvarttini Kârttikê mâsi sukla-pakshê êkâdasyâm Sômadinê upôshya Karttik-ôdyāpana-parvvaņi char-āchara-gurum bhagavam-
- Lakshmî-patim samabhyarchchys Purushôttamam cha 13 tam Bhavanî-patim samsārasy=āsāratām parijūāya nalini-gata-jala-lava-taralataram jivi-
- 14 tam=âkalayya mada-vivasî(śî)krita-kari-karnna-tâla-taralâm śriyam=anuchi[m\*]tya cha II Tathâ hi [1\*] Vât<sup>1\*</sup>-âbhra-vibhramam=idam vasudh-âdhipatyam=âtâpa-<sup>15</sup>

15 måtra-madhurô vishay-ôpabhôgam(h) prånås=trin-ågra-jala-vindu-samå narånåm dharmmah sakhâ param=ahô paralôka-yânê || Api cha [1\*] Bhra-

- 16 mat<sup>16</sup>-samsåra-chakr-ågra-dbår-ådhårām=immām<sup>17</sup> ériyam prāpya yê na dadus=têshām paśchât[t\*]âpah param phalam II Iti jagatô vinaśvaram svarúpam=åka-
- måtåpitrör-åtmanas-cha punya-yasôdrisht-ådrishta phalam=amgikritya cha 17 lavya bhivriddhayê Chahuyan-anvayê[na\*] mahamamdalê-

Second Plate.

- dakshina-dig-vibhågê apürvva-pamchášat 18 ávara-śri-Vaijalladovena<sup>15</sup> Khamdôhakô vrâ(brâ)hmanânâm<sup>19</sup> bhôjan-[â\*]rtham upari likhita **Åla**-
- 19 vidagamva-grāmah aa-vriksha-mala-kulas=chatuh-kamkata-visuddhah khany-akara-nidhinikshépa-sahita[h\*] talabhédyághánakamalaka-
- abhinava-margganaka-prabhriti-sarvv-adayair= 20 vumdhaka-damda-dôsha-prâpt-âdâya[h\*] upêtah sarvy-âbhyantara-siddhyâ dêva-yrâ(brâ)hmana-bhukti-yarjjam
- 21 á.chamdr-árkka-yávat áásaníkritya Khamdóhakétya-éatrágáráya\*\* udaka-pűrvvakatvéna pradattah ((1) Tad-asmin gramé samutpadyamana-bha-
- 22 gabhôga-kara-hirany-âdikam=âjñâ-śravana-vidhêyair=bhûtvâ bhavadbhir-asmai samupanêtavyam i sâmânyam ch=aitat=puņya-phalam vu(bu)ddhvā asmad-vamsa-
- bhâvi-bhôktribhir=asmat-pradatta-dharmmå(rmma)dâyô=yam=anumam-23 jair-anyair-api Uktań cha II Bahubhir<sup>\*1</sup>=vvasudhâ bhuktâ tavyah ; pâlanîyaś=cha ((!) rājabhih Sa-
- 24 gar-âdibhih i yasya yasya yadâ bhûmis=tasya tasya tadâ phalam I(ii) Yân\*\*-îha dattáni purá naréndrair=dánáni dharmm-ártha-yasas-karáni | nirmmálya-vám-

16 Read apátá.

- 🏴 Road pamchásad-vrá(brá)hmanánám. <sup>m</sup> Metre, Slöks (Anushtubh).
- \* Metre, Indravajrå.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> As shown by other grants of this family, e.g. ante, Vol. VI. p. 194, No. 3, line 8, read mahdrdjddhirdja-paraméšvara-paramamáhéšvara.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Here, and in line 8, *śrimat* is used, instead of *śri*, in conformity with the custom of preferring the use of *śrimat* before a name commencing with a vowel (see Corp. Inscr. Indic. Vol. III. p. 10, note 4). But *śri* occurs, and with histus instead of junction by *savidhi*, in the grant of Vikrama-Samvat 1280, *ants*, Vol. VI. p. 197, line 13; and in some other places in the same series; and also at the end of line 2 in the present grant.

<sup>13</sup> Read dvichatvárimiad-grámanáni.

<sup>14</sup> Metre, Vasantatilaka.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Metre, Slöka (Anushtubh).

<sup>11</sup> Bead imdet.

<sup>&</sup>quot; After the use of asmabhich in line 11, the introduction of this instrumental singular is unnecessary. " Read sattragardya.

- 25 ti(ta)-pratimâni tâni kô nâma sâdhu[h\*] punar=âdadîta 1(11) Asya<sup>23</sup> kulakramam=udâram=udâharadbhir=anyais=cha dâma(na)m=idam=apy=anumôdanîyam 1 lakshmyâ-
- 26 s=tadid-valaya-vudvuda-chamchalâyû ôvam phalam para-yasah-paripâlanam cha 11 Sarvvân<sup>94</sup>=êtân bhâvinah pârthivêndrân bhûyô-bhûyô
- 27 yâchatê Râmabhadrah i sâmânyê=yam dharmma-sêtur=nripânâm kâlê-kâlê pûlanîyê bhavadbhih i(ii) Sva<sup>22</sup> dattâm para-dattâm vâ yê harêta
- 28 vasumdharâm shashti-varsha-sahasrâni vishtâyâm jâyatê krimih 1(11) Iha<sup>26</sup> hi jaladalîlâ-chamchalê jîva-lôkê trina-lava-la-
- 29 ghu-sárð sarvva-samsára-saukhyê | apaharatu dur-ásalı sásanam dövatánám narakagahana-gartt-ávartta-pát-ótsukô yalı !(II) Iti<sup>27</sup>
- 30 kamala-dal-âmvu(mbu)-vindu-lôlâm śriyam=anuchi[m\*]tya manushya-jîvitam cha sakalam =idam=udâhritam cha vudvâ\*\* na hi purushaih para-
- 31 kîrttayô vilôpyå iti || Samvat 1231 varshê Kârttika su di 13 Vu(bu)dhê || Mamgalam mahâ-śrîh || Dû<sup>o 29</sup> pratî-
- 32 håra-Sóbhanadévah II Sva-hastô=yam mahâmamdaléśvara-śri-Vaijalladévasya II Uparô<sup>o 50</sup> ri<sup>o 31</sup> Vâmadévah II

### ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

After two verses in praise of the god Śiva, under the names of Vyômakêśa (line 1) and Smarârâti (l. 2), the inscription gives the following genealogy:—The Mahárájádhirája, Paraméśvara, and Paramabha!!áraka, the glorious Jayasimhadêva (l. 3), who was established at the famous (city of) Anahilapátaka (l. 2), and who was victorious over the Varvarakas. His successor (lit. 'he who meditated on his feet;' pád-ánudhyáta) was the M. P. P., the glorious Kumarapáladêva (l. 5), who acquired the favour of a boon from the god Umâpati (Siva), and who conquered in battle the king of Sakambhari. And his successor is the M. P. P., the glorious Ajayapáladêva (l. 6), a most devout worshipper of the god Mahéśvara ('Siva) (l. 5).

In the reign of the last-mentioned king (l. 6), and while his feudatory (*lit.* 'he who subsists like a bee on the water-lilius that are his feet;' pádapadm-ôpajívin), the Mahámátya, the illustrious **Sómésvara** (l. 6), is superintending all the functions connected with the royal seal in the records (*irikarana*) and other departments :--

From the famous (city of) Brahmanapátaka (l. 2), the Mahámandaléśvara, the illustrions Vaijalladéva (l. 7), who has attained the pańchamaháśabda, and who through the favour of the glorious Ajayapáladéva, is governing the province on the banks of the river Narmada. (l. 8), informs the Dandanáyaka, Déšathakkura, Ádhishthánaka, Karanapurusha, Sayyápála, Bhattaputra, and all the other royal officials at the village of Alavidagámva (l. 9) in the middle of the group known as the Makhulagámva Forty-two-villages, belonging to the Parna pathaka (l. 8), and the neighbouring Vishayikas, Pattakilas, and other people, headed by the Brâhmans:--

"Be it known to you (1. 11), that, by Us, while stationed at Bråhmanapätaka (1. 11), having fasted on Monday, the eleventh tithi in the bright fortnight in the month Karttika, in the year twelve hundred, increased by thirty-one, after the time of king Vikrama; and having done worship, at the festival of the Karttik-ödyåpana, to (Siva) the divine lord of Bhayânî, the father of all things animate and inanimate, and to Purushöttama (Vishnu), the lord of Lakshmi (1. 13), —for the increase of the religious merit and

\*' Metre, Pushpitägrå.

<sup>35</sup> Metre, Ślôka (Auushtubh).

28 Read buddhvå.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>93</sup> Metre, Vasantatilaka.-The metre is faulty here ; and we must correct asya into *eshán*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Metre, Sélinî.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Metre, Målint.

<sup>\*\*</sup> i.e. dûtakah.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> and <sup>31</sup> What offices are denoted by these two abbreviations, is not apparent. Possibly the two words are a mistake for one word, upari<sup>6</sup>, which would stand for upariko.

the fame of Our parents and of Ourself (l. 17), (by Us, viz.) by the Mahámandaléśvara, the illustrious Vaijalladéva<sup>39</sup> (l. 18), who belongs to the Châhuyâna lineage (l. 17), for the purpose of feeding fifty new Brâhmans<sup>39</sup> in the southern division in (the village of) Khandôhaka (l. 18), the above-mentioned village of Ålavidagâmva, with certain rights and privileges that are specified, but exclusive of the rights of enjoyment of gods and Brâhmans, is given by this charter to the charitable alms-house (sattrágára) at Khandôhaka (l. 21).

"[In lines 21 to 31 the grantor gives an injunction to future rulers to continue the grant; and quotes seven of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses. And his speech ends with the word *iti*, in line 31.]"

<sup>'</sup> Line 31 contains the date of the year 1231, the month Karttika, the bright fortnight, the civil day 13, on Wednesday; which must denote the day on which the charter was written or assigned.

And the inscription ends with the record that the Ddtaka is the Pratihára Bobhanadeva; followed by the words "this is the sign-manual (*sva-hasta*) of the *Mahámandaléśvara*, the illustrious Vaijalladéva; and by the mention of an official named Vâmadêva, whose post and connection with the grant are not quite clear.

### SUDI AND VADI.

### BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

As regards the true signification of the expressions su. di. and va. di., and their use in ancient records, I, of course, entirely concur in the views expressed by Mr. Fleet, in a note on p. 147 of Vol. XVI of this Journal. But there can, in my opinion, be no doubt that, in more modern times, the Hindus have looked upon *sudi* or *sudi*, and *vadi* or *badi*, as *words*, and have taken the former to be equivalent to *sukla-pakshé* ' in the bright half,' and the latter to *krishnapakshé* ' in the dark half' of a month.

In grammar, one would naturally look for these terms, if they should have been regarded as independent words, in the gaps *svarádi*; and it is instructive to note that, while in the Kâšikâ-Vritti, composed about A.D. 650, there occurs neither *sudi* nor *vadi* among the *svarádi*, the Ganaratnamahodadhi, which we know to have been compiled about A.D. 1140, does contain *sudi*, explained by *sukla-pakshé*, in that gaps; and the quite modern Ganaratnavali enumerates among the *svarádi* both *sudi* and *vadi*, explained by *sukla-pakshé* and *krishna-pakshé* respectively.

And I am even able to quote several dates in which the terms *sudi* and *vadi* have actually been coupled with a *tithi* or lunar day; a proceeding which may be utterly illogical, but which shows that the writers had altogether forgotten the original meaning of *sudi* and *vadi*, and that, to them, these terms were synonymous with *śukla-pakshé* and *krishna-pakshé*, and nothing else.

1.—From a photolithograph in Archeol. Survey of India, Vol. XX. plate xxii., we learn that on the pillar of a temple at 'Dubkund,' about 76 miles south-west of Gwâlior, there is a short inscription, dated—

Samvat 1152 Vaišāsha(kha)-sudi-pamchamyām,---

i.e. 'on the fifth (lunar day) of sudi (i.e. the bright half) of Vaiśakha, of the year 1152.'

2.—In Professor Peterson's valuable Report on Sanskrit MSS. for 1884-86, Appendix, p. 156, the date of the completion of a commentary on the Bhavabhávaná is given in the following verse,—

Saptatyadbik-aikâdaśa-varshaśatair=Vikramâd=atikrâmtaih 1 nishpannâ viittir=iyam Śrâvana-vadi-pamchamî-divasê 11

<sup>3</sup>ª See note 17 shove.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> The exact force of aptiva is not evident. But it seems to indicate fifty fresh Bråhmans, who had not been fed on any previous occasion, and who perhaps had just come to establish themselves in the village, or at the sattrågåra.

i.e. 'this commentary was completed on the day (on which ended) the fifth (lunar day) of *vadi* (i.e. the dark half) of Śrâvana, when eleven hundred years increased by seventy had gone by since Vikrama.'

3.—From my own Report on Sanskrit MSS. for 1880-81, p. 46, it will be seen that a copy of Hêmachandra's Sabdánusásana-laghuvritti was completed, at Stambhatirtha,—

Samvat 1315 varshé Chaitra-vadi-chaturthi-dinê Vu(bu)dha-vârê,-

i.e. 'in the year 1315, on the day (on which ended) the fourth (lunar day) of vadi (i.e. the dark half) of Chaitra, on a Wednesday.'

4.—From Sîlaratnasûri's commentary on Mêrutunga's *Méghadúta*, an extract of which is given in Professor Peterson's *Report* for 1884-86, Appendix, p. 249, we learn (verse 4) that the author completed his work, at Anahillapâtaka,—

Varshê chamdra-nidhâna-pûrva-1491-kalitê śrî-Vikramârkât-tathâ

Chaitr-âmtar=vadi-pamcham1-Badhadinê śrêshth-Ânarâdhâ-yatê ! ---

*i.e.* 'in the year, (reckoned) from the glorious Vikramârka, (which is) made up of the moon (1), the treasures (9), and the *Púrvas* (14, *i.e.* in) 1491; in (the month) Chaitra, on a Wednesday, the fifth (lunar day) of *vadi* (*i.e.* the dark half), coupled with the excellent (*nakshatra*) Anurådhâ.'

5.-In Professor Peterson's Report on Sanskrit MSS. for 1882-83, p. 94, we read-

Sainvad=grah-âśva-muni-bhû-jñâtê mûsê Madhau sudi I

trayodasyam Sôma-vârê samâptô=yam Sukh-ôdadhih !!

*i.e.* 'this ocean of pleasure was completed on a Monday, on the thirteenth (lunar day in) *sudi* (*i.e.* the bright half) in the month Madhu (*i.e.* Chaitra), in the year known by the planets (9), the horses (7), the sages (7), and the earth (1; *i.e.* in 1779).'

These dates, the wording of three of which, at any rate, is proved by the metre to be indisputable (and the number of which might easily be increased), will suffice to show that from about A.D. 1100 sudi and vadi were really interchangeable with *sukla-pakshé* and *krishnapakshé*, and that they were used in these senses both by themselves and also in composition with prebeding or following words. And such being the case, we cannot be surprised to find sudi and vadi also coupled with the new-moon and full-moon *tithis*, and with the *tithi* called *pratipad* or *pratipadá*, as, e.g., in the following dates :—

6.—A copper-plate grant of Virasimha, published by Dr. F. E. Hall in the Jour. Americ. Or. Soc., Vol. VI. p. 542, is dated—

Samvat 1177 Karttika-vadi amavasyam' Ravi-dinê,---

i.e. 'on Sunday, on the new-moon (tithi or lunar day, in) vadi (i.e. the dark half) of Kârttika, of the year 1177.'

7.—The 'Raiwân' plate of Gôvindachandradêva, published by Dr. Führer in the Jour. Beng. As. Soc., Vol. LVI. Part I. p. 109, is dated, in line 18,—

Samvat 1187' Margga-sudi paurnni(rna)masyam tithau Sôma-dinê,----

i.e. 'on Monday, on the full-moon tithi (or lunar day, in) sudi (i.e. the bright half) of Mårgasirsha, of the year 1187.'

8.—The Alha-Ghat inscription of Narasimhadêva, of which a photolithograph is given in *Archarol. Survey of India*, Vol. XXI. plate xxviii., and of which I owe a rubbing to Mr. Fleet, is dated—

Samvat 1216 Bhådra-sudi-pratipada Ravan,-

*i.e.* 'the first lunar day of *sudi* (*i.e.* the bright half) of Bhådrapada of the year 1216, on a Sunday.'

Although dates like these prove that the later grammarians certainly did not invent the meanings which they have assigned to *sudi* and *vadi*, in actual usage the connection of these terms with a *tithi* must nevertheless be regarded as exceptional; for, in the majority of cases *sudi* and *vadi* are even in later dates followed by a numeral figure, while the word denoting a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Dr. Hall has altered amásásyám, unnecessarily, to amásásyáyám. <sup>8</sup> See page 57 above.

tithi is as regularly preceded by śukla-paksha, krishna-paksha, šukla, krishna, sita, asita, or some similar expression. And judging from the large number of dates before me, I feel little hesitation in saying that the two terms retained their original signification, and were felt to be what they really are, abbreviations of two separate words, up to about the beginning of the twelfth century of the Vikrama era. At any rate, I may be permitted to point out that, if an expression like sudi-pańchamyám, which we have met with in the date No. 1 above, had been habitually employed in earlier times, we might certainly expect to read sudi-pańchamyám, instead of sita-pańchamyám, in the following verse, which occurs in my Report on Sanskrit MSS. for 1880-81, p. 9, and in Professor Peterson's Report for 1884-86, Appendix, p. 149:---

Samvatsara-śata-navakê dvishashti-sahitê=tilamghitê ch=âsyâlı 1

Jyôshthê<sup>3</sup> si(si)ta-pamohamyâm Punarvvasan Guru-dinê [samâptir=abhût 1]

*i.e.* 'and this (work) was completed when nine hundred and sixty-two years had gone by, in (the month) Jyaishtha, on the fifth (lunar day) of the bright (half), on a Thursday, (the moon being) in (the nakshatra) Punarvasa.'

In conclusion, I may add that some of the dates quoted above are of considerable interest, • for various reasons, which I shall have occasion to state fully in a separate paper.

# FOLKLORE IN SOUTHERN INDIA. BY PANDIT NATESA SASTEI, M.F.L.S.

### No. 29.

THE JESSAMINE KING.

In a certain country there lived a petty king called the Jessamine King (Mallikairâjan), because when he laughed the country, for ten kôs round, became fragrant with the scent of jessamines; provided his langhter was not forced, but came naturally to him. His fame soon spread throughout the world, and many came to see him, and to wait for a chance of enjoying the scent he gave ont. The Emperor, however, to whom the Jessamine King paid his tribute, sent for him in the pride of his superiority, and in obedience to the mandate, the Jessamine King went to his master, who tried in several ways to make him laugh, but in vain. After trying all he could the Emperor grew hopeless of success, and thinking that his vassal was impertinent, sent him to prison. So the poor Jessamine King, for no fault of his own, was imprisoned.

Now just opposite the prison there lived a deformed cripple with whom the Emperor's wife had an unlawful intimacy. She was in the habit of going to him at the tenth *ghatiké* of every night with pudding and sweetmeats, and remaining with him the whole night. Several people knew of this, and the Jessamine King was informed  $\uparrow$  it by the jailor, but he never seemed to take any notice of it.

Thinking thus he spoke to her :-- "My dear ! you must excuse my kicks ! Were they very severe ?"

"No, my love !" said she. "I am as happy after them, as one who has travelled over the fourteen worlds."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Not Jyéshthésitapamchamyám, i.e., Jyéshthé asita-pamchamyám, as given in Professor Peterson's Report. The corresponding day, for the bright half of Jyaishtha, of the southern Vikrama year 962, expired, is Thursday, Ist May, A. D. 906, when the fifth sith of the bright half ended 16 h. 22 m. after mean sunrise, and when the moon was in Punaryasu up to about 5 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise.

Now below the verandah in which this conversation was held, there was wandering about a washerman, who had lost an ass some days before. He had searched everywhere, but was not able to find it. After spending the earlier part of the night in looking for it, he rested himself under the verandah for a short time, and there he heard a woman saying that she was as happy as one who had travelled over the fourteen worlds, and he mistook her for a great traveller.

"Surely she must have met my ass somewhere or other," thought he, and getting up as once, he fell at her feet with tears in his eyes, saying "Mother! have you seen my lost ass?"

The Jessamine King had been watching all this, and as soon as the washerman fell at the wicked Empress's feet saying "Mother, have you seen my lost ass?" he could not contain his langhter. He langhed till his sides were like to split, and lo ! all around the sweet jessamine scent began to play.

The servants of the emperor, who were ordered by his Majesty to rouse him at the first sign of the jessamine scent at whatever time it might appear, now aroused him from his sleep. The emperor got up and thought to himself, "I tried my best to make my vassal laugh, and used all the means I could, but I failed altogether. What can be the reason for his laughter at this hour of the night? I will send for him."

As soon as the Jessamine King was sent for, he made his appearance in due obedience to the Emperor's mandate, and did his best to conceal the reason of his laughter from him. But finding at last that his life was at stake he told the whole story. So the end of it all was that the Emperor sent his wife and the cripple to the gallows, and the Jessamine King to his own country.

### MISCELLANEA.

### PROGRESS OF EUROPEAN SCHOLARSHIP. No. XIV.

Journal-Asiatique for 1887 (Vols. IX. and X).

(1) January 1887.-M. Urbain Bouriant describes an interesting find of three leaves of a Coptic Romance of Alexander. These were discovered amongst a number of Theban MSS. purchased at Akhmim by M. Maspero for the Bibliothèque Nationale. They are three detached fragments, and the rest of the work cannot be found. This is the first work of fiction of Coptic origin which has been discovered. M. Bouriant gives the text and translation of the fragments. The MS. is doubly interesting because the Romance of Alexander appears to have had its origin in Egypt, whence it was at least partly borrowed and translated into Greek by the Pseudo-Callisthenes, from which the various western versions of the legend have sprung. An Oriental version of the story of Alexander had its origin in Persia. and has been recorded by many authors, from Firdusi downwards. This version is, however, almost certainly, to be referred ultimately to the western version of the Pseudo-Callisthenes for its origin. The present Coptic MS, appears to be probably a modernized edition of the ancient. Egyptian original of both these versions.

by M. De Harlez of the Tchou-tze-tsieh-yaotchuen, or summary of the essential principles of the philosophy of Tchou-tze.<sup>1</sup> It was written in the year 1602 by a disciple of that philosopher, named K'ao-pen-long. The extracts translated are Chapter III., on the perfecting of instruction, and Chapter V., on the obligation to subdue and correct oneself.

The number concludes with an examination of the text of the Moabite Stone, by M. Clermont-Ganneau, with special reference to a recent work on the same subject by MM. Smend and Socin. The paper being one of textual controversy cannot be summarised.

(2) February-March, 1887,—opens with an account of another Coptic MS. by M. E. Amélineau, of the French Archeological Mission in Egypt. The document is historical, written in the 18th century, and deals with the martyr John of Phanijoit. The author was a priest named Mark, a disciple of Michael, Bishop of Bubastis (or Zagazig) and Belbéis. The martyr John was a Christian, who turned Musalmán in order to marry a woman of that faith. On her death he returned to Christianity, and, filled with remorse, endeavoured to persuade 'the king' at Cairo to return him the documents relating to his first apostasy. He was at first treated as a

The next paper consists of translated extracts

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> I spell these words as they are transliterated in French. I have not ventured to spell them in the English fashion.--Q. A. G.

madman, but finally made himself so obnoxious, that he was put to death. The king referred to is Muhammad Abû'i-Fath, surnamed Al-Malik al-Kâmil. The paper contains notices of contemporary history and geography, together with the text and translation of the whole work.

Next follows a continuation of M. Abel Bergaigne's Researches into the history of the Rig-Veda. These have been already referred to more than once. His main theory may briefly be described as follows :- He takes the well known adhyaya division of the Rig-Véda. There are 64 of these divisions, all of which should be of about equal length. Some adhydyas, however, exceed the proper length in a degree which cannot be explained in any satisfactory way, and it hence follows that they contain interpolations of later date. By a series of elaborate and ingenious calculations, he is able to point out the passages which he suspects to be interpolated. It would be impossible to give a satisfactory account of his full theory in a summary like the present. I may add here that his conclusions are combated by Dr. H. Oldenberg in the 41st Vol. of the Zeitsch. des Morgenland. Gesell. (p. 508 and ff.); and that on p. 488 of Vol. X. of the Journal Asiatique, M. Bergaigne replies to Dr. Oldenberg, and also denies that he is indebted for any portion of his theory to Mr. Pincott.

(3) Volume X.-commences with an interesting paper by M. J. Darmesteter, on Points of Contact between the Shah Nama and the Mahabharata. He takes for his text the Mahaprasthanikaparva of the later work, and the account of the Renunciation of Kai Khusru in the former. There is a great resemblance between the final scenes of the life of Yudhishthira, and of the Persian hero, and M. Darmesteter, after dealing with them in some detail, comes to the conclusion that the portion of the Mahâbhárata in which the episode is described is a later addition, and that the original version is the Persian one contained in the Shah Nama. The legend probably filtered into India between the Scythic invasion and the 6th or 7th century of our era, but nearer to the earlier than the later epoch. The story of the renunciation and the ascent into heaven of Kai Khuerů, has not only travelled castwards from Persia, but has also been adopted in the East. We find it, in the 12th century, attached to the patriarch Enoch, in a Jewish work, the Book of the Just (Sefer Hayyashar), which collects all the legends formed round the Book of Genesis.

The next article, by M. Victor Loret, leals with the Bacred Perfume of the ancient Egyptians, called *kyphi*. The Greek authors Dioscorides, Plutarch, and Galen, have transmitted to us *recipes* for its composition; and similar formulæ have also of late been discovered in Egyptian hieroglyphic texts, dating from the reign of Ptolemy VII. The author utilizes these two sets of directions for the identification of a number of Egyptian names of plants and drugs.

A note by M. Clément Huart on the Musalmân religious movement called **Bâbism**, and another by M. de Rochemonteix on the identification of some Egyptian place-names, conclude the number.

(4) The second number of Vol. X. commences with a study on the Arabic dialect of Damascus, by Mgr. David, Syrian archbishop of that city. The article is supplementary to one written on the same subject by M. Huart in 1883. It includes notes on pronunciation, orthography, inflexion, and vocabulary.

The next article is a summing up by M. H. Sauvaire of his series of papers on the numismatics and metrology of the Musalmans. The article principally consists of valuable lists of prices of necessaries from the 7th to the 17th centuries A. D.

This is followed by the text and translation of the History of King Na'aman of Khurasan, an Arab tale in the vulgar dislect of Syria. It is communicated by M. A. Barthélemy. It is a story worthy of the Arabian Nights.

M. Urbain Bouriant next gives us some further fragments of the Theban Romance of Alexander already mentioned. Three more leaves of the MS. have been discovered at Akhmim, by the author, who gives text, translation, and notes.

Two reviews conclude the number. One refers to Dr. W. Radloff's examples of the popular literature of the North Turkish tribes, and the other deals with two grammars of the dialect of Algeria.

(5). Part III. of Vol. X.—commences with three vocabularies of Dialects of Berber by M. Bené Basset. They were collected in the course of two missions on which the author was sent by the Governor-General of Algeria. The first dialect is that spoken in Gourara and Touat. The second is the argot of Mzab, and the third the dialect of the Youaregs Anelimmiden.<sup>3</sup>

This is followed by notes by M. Barthélemy, principally on Grammar, on the Arabic Story of Na'aman dealt with by him in the previous number.

In the next paper, as already mentioned, M., Abel Bergaigne, writes a postscript to his paper on the division of the *Rig-Véda* into adhydyas

\* These words are spelt as in the original.-G. A. G.

in which he replies to the criticisms of Prof. Oldenberg, and rejects the claims to the discovery put forward by Mr. Pincott in J. R. A. S., Vols. XVI. and XIX.

M. Clermont Ganneau gives a fourth instalment of his notes on Arab Epigraphy and History. The present paper contains a critique of Dr. Gildemeister's article on an Arabic inscription found at Bániás, the ancient Paneas, in Galilee, which appeared in the Zeitschrift der Deutschen Palästina-Vereins, Vol. X., pp. 168 and ff., and a note on the bridge constructed at Lydda by Sultán Baibars.

A transcription and translation by M. Oppert, of a Babylonian contract concerning a slave, is the most interesting portion of the miscellaneous notes which conclude the volume.

G. A. GÉIEBSON.

### CALCULATIONS OF HINDU DATES. No. 24.

In the Bagumra copper-plate grant of the Råshtrakuta Mahasamantadhipati Krishparaja II. of Gujarat, published, with a Plate, by Dr. Hultzsch in this Journal, Vol. XIII. p. 65 ff., the date (from the published text and lithograph; Plate ii. b, line 11 f.) is - Saka-pripa-kâl-âtîta-savatchhara (read samvateara)-śateshv=ashtasu dah-ôtareshu (read daś-ôttarêshn) Chaitrê amâvâsyû(read Chaitrâmāvāsyā)-sūryagrahaņa-parvaņi, — " în eight centuries, increased by ten, of the years that have gone by from the time of the Saka king; at the conjunction of an eclipse of the sun on the new-moon tithi of (the month) Chaitra." And the charter records a grant of the village of Kavithasådhi, - which has been identified<sup>1</sup> with the modern Kôsâd in the Ôlpåd Tâlukâ of the Surat District, - by Krishnaråja II., on this occasion, after bathing in the Narmada at the Bhagavat-tirtha.

Here, again, a correct result can be obtained only by taking the given year 810 as an expired year.

Thus in Saka-Samvat 810 current, by Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, the *purnimanta* Chaitra krishna 15 ended on Sunday, 26th February, A.D. 887, at about 40 *ghafis*, 4 *palas*, after mean sunrise (for Bombay); and the *amánta tithi*, on Tuesday, 28th March, at about 22 *gh*. 30 *p*. And on neither of these days was there an eclipse of the sun. But, in Saka-Samvat Sll current (SlO expired), while the parnimanta tithi ended at about 24 gh. 11 p. on Saturday, 16th March, A. D. 888, on which day there was no solar eclipse, the amante Chaitra krishne 15 ended on Monday, 15th April, A.D. 888, at about 5 gh.; and on this day there was an eclipse of the sun,<sup>\*</sup> which seems to have been visible in the south of India.

This result corroborates that obtained under No. 22 of these Calculations; and shews that by this period the amanta southern arrangement of the lunar fortnights had permanently superseded the purnimanta arrangement with the years of the Saka era in Gujarat.

### No. 25.

In the Haddala copperplate grant of the Chapa Mahasamantadhipati Dharanivaraha, the feudatory of a king named Mahîpâladêva, from the eastern part of Kathiawad, published by Dr. Bühler in this Journal, Vol. XII. page 190 ff., it is recorded that Dharanivarâha, who was residing (Plate ii. line 1 f.) at Vardhamâna, which has been identified by Dr. Bühler with the modern Wadhwan in the Jhalawad Prant in Kuthiawad, granted the village of Vinkala to a Brahman, - (Plate ii. line 12) udagayana-mahâparvani,—"at the great festival or conjunction of the udagayana," i.e. at the winter solstice, which is to be taken as represented by the Makarasamkrånti or entrance of the Sun into Capricornus. And towards the end, we have the full details (Plate ii. line 21) of - Saka-Samvat 836 Pausha áu di 4 uttaráyanê,---" the Saka year 836; (the month) Pausha; the bright fortnight; the (civil) day 4, (and, with it, the fourth tithi); at the uttarayana," i.e., again, at (the festival of) the winter solstice.

Here, again, a correct result can be obtained only by taking the given year as an expired year.

Thus, in Saka-Samvat 836 current, Pausha śukla 4 ended at about 45 ghatis, 45 palas, after mean sunrise (for Bombay), on Saturday, 4th December, A.D. 913; eighteen days before the Makara-samkränti, which occurred at about 52 gh. 31 p. on Wednesday, 22nd December.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> ants, Vol. XVI. p. 100 f.

<sup>\*</sup> Von Oppolzer's Canon der Finsternisse, pp. 200, 201, and Flate 100.

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But, in Saka-Samvat 837 current (836 expired), Pausha sukla 4 ended on Friday, 23rd December, A.D. 914, at about 36 gh. 58 p.; and the Makara-samkranti occurred on the same day, at about 8 gh. 4 p.; and any rites and ceremonies connected with it would be performed on that same day.

Dr. Bühler's published text gives the year 839; which is also quoted in his introductory remarks; though in his translation the year is given as 836. For the year 839, however, whether it is taken as current or as expired, correct results cannot be obtained. Thus, in Saka-Samvat 839 current, Pausha sukla 4 ended at about 34 gh. 22 p. on Saturday, 30th November, A.D. 916; twenty-two days before the Makara-samkranti, which occurred at about 39 gh. 7 p. on Sunday, 22nd December. And in Saka-Samvat 840 current (839 expired), Pausha śukła 4 ended at about 41 gh. 59 p. on Saturday, 20th December, A.D. 917; two days before the Makara-sanikranti, which occurred at about 54 gh. 39 p. on Monday, 22nd December, and the rites and ceremonies of which, moreover, would not be celebrated till the following day, Tuesday. The published text fortunately includes a reproduction of the original figures; of which the last seemed to me, at first sight, clearly to mean 6, and to be a transitional form between the numerical symbol and the decimal figure. And the results shew that the real reading undoubtedly is the year 836.

### No. 26.

In the Surat copper-plate grant of the Chaulukya prince Trilôchanapâla of Lâțadesa, published with a Plate, by Mr. H. H. Dhruva in this Journal, Vol. XII. p. 196 ff., the date (from the published lithograph; Plate iii. line 3 f.) is - Śākê nava-śatair yuktê dvi-saptaty-adhikê tathâ Vikritê vatsarê Paushê mâsê pakshê cha tâmasê amâvâsyâtithau sûrya-parvany=Angâravârakê, --- " in the Saka (year) that is possessed of (the number of) nine centuries and is increased by seventytwo; in the year Vikrita; in the month Pausha, and in the dark fortnight, on the new-moon tithi; at the conjunction (of an eclipse) of the sun; on Angaravaraka, or Tuesday." And the charter records a grant of the village of Erathâna, — identical, as pointed out by Mr. H. H. Dhruva, with the modern Erthân in the Ôlpâd Tâlukâ of the Surat District, — to a Brâhman, on this occasion, by Trilôchanapâla, who was then at the Agastya-tîrtha ou the shore of the western ocean.

That the given Saka year 972 is to be applied as an expired year, is shewn by the mention of the Vikrita samvatsara of the Sixty-year Cycle of Jupiter, which by the mean-sign system of the cycle was current at the commencement of Saka-Samvat 971 current, but by the southern luni-solar system was coincident with Saka-Samvat 973 current (A.D. 1050-51). In this year, the parnimanta Pausha krishna 15 ended, not on a Tuesday, but on Sunday, 16th December, A.D. 1050, at about 52 ghalis, 49 palas, after mean sunrise (for Bombay); and on this day there was no eclipse of the sun. But, in accordance with what we have now found to be the regular arrangement of the lunar fortnights for the years of the Saka era in Gujarât, 'in this period, the amanta Pausha krishna 15 ended, as required, on Tuesday, 15th January, A.D. 1051, at about 24 gh. 28 p.; and on this day there was an eclipse of the sun,<sup>3</sup> which seems to have. been visible in the south of India.

In publishing this inscription, Mr. H. H. Dhruva translated the words amavasya-tithau sárya-parvani by "on the day of the new-moon, that of the solstitial festival." But, that this is not correct, and that sárya-parvani is only used, under metrical necessities, for the more complete and more customary expression sáryagrahana-parvani, is shewn by the fact that in the same year the winter solstice, as represented by the Mukara-sankránti or entrance of the sun into Capricornus, occurred at about 19 gh. 31 p. on Monday, 24th December, A.D. 1050; which day is not in agreement with the given tühi by either the amanta or the pürnimánta arrangement of the lunar fortnights.

J. F. FLEET.

### THE SPURIOUS GURJARA.GRANTS OF THE SAKA YEARS 400, 415, AND 417.

At page 56 above, I have stamped the Ântrôli-Chhârôli grant of Saka-Samvat 679 (expired) as giving the earliest reliable instance, that I can

<sup>3</sup> Von Oppolzer's Canon der Finsternisse, pp. 216, 217 and Plate 108.

In doing so, I excluded intentionally the Bagumrå grant of Dadda-Prasantaraga, which purports to be dated in Saka-Samvat 415 (ante, Vol. XVII. p. 183 ff.), and the Ilåô grant of the same person, which purports to be dated in Saka-Samvat 417 (ante, Vol. XIII. p. 115 ff). For, even after full consideration of the arguments put forward by Dr. Bühler in his article on the Bagumrå grant, I cannot see my way clear to admitting the genuineness of these records; and of the Umété grant of the same person (ante, Vol. VII. p. 61 ff.), which purports to be dated in Saka-Samvat, 400, but with no details that can be tested.

I have, however, no leisure to consider this matter from all the points of view that are concerned. And therefore, Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji being now deccased, I hope that someone else will take up the general question. Meanwhile, I would draw attention to the following points :---

(1) There was no solar eclipse at all, visible or invisible, on the date, Jyêshtha krishna 15, mentioned in the Bagumra grant of Saka-Samvat 415, whether the year is applied as current, or as expired.

In the year 415 current, the given tithi corresponds, either to Tuesday, the 12th May, or to Wednesday, the 10th June, A.D. 492, according as the purnimanta or the amanta arrangement of the lunar fortnights is applied. The nearest solar eclipse was that of the 10th July; which date corresponds to the purnimánta Śràvana, or the amánta Áshâdha, krishna 15.

In the year 416 current (415 expired), the given tithi corresponds in the same way, either to Saturday, the 1st May, or to Monday, the 31st May, A.D. 493. The nearest solar eclipse was that of the 29th June;" which date corresponds again to the purnimenta Sravana, or the amdata Ashâdha, krishpa 15. And this eclipse was taken by Dr. Bühler as the one that is probably intended; with the suggestion that "the discrepancy in the name of the month "may have been caused by a mistake of the "writer, or by an erroneous intercalation." This suggestion would apply equally well to the eclipse of the 10th July, A.D. 492. But there was no intercalary month either in Saka-Samvat 415 current, or in 416. And therefore it is difficult to see how the mistake can be

justified, for either year, on that score at any rate: unless by some backward calculation, such as I shall suggest further on.

(2) As regards the date, again Jyêshtha krishna 15, and again with an eclipse of the sun, mentioned in the Ilao grant of Saka Samvat 417 :---

In the year 417 current, the given tithi corresponds in the same way, either to Thursday, the 21st April, or to Friday, the 20th May, A.D. 494. On neither of these days was there an eclipse of the sun, visible or invisible. The nearest solar eclipse was that of the 19th June;" which date corresponds to the purnimanta and amanta intercalated Åshådha krishna 15.

If the intercalary month could be placed before Åshådha, this date would then correspond, in the same way, either to the purnimanta natural Ashadha, or to the amanta natural Jyeshtha, Krishna 15. But, as a matter of fact, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds, by actual calculation of the places of the sun and the moon according to the Súrya-Siddhanta, and also by the rule for mean intercalations, that the intercalary month was Åshådha, and no other ; and that the intercalated fortnights must have been named Åshådha, as according to the present practice. Only by the verse Mésh-adi-sthé savitari &c., could they receive the name of Jveshtha; and then the 19th June would be the new-moon day of Jyêshtha by the amánia arrangement, and by that only. By no means whatever can the date in question be made to correspond to the new-moon day of the púrnimánia Jyêshtha.

In the year 418 current (417 expired), the given tithi corresponds, in the same way, either to the 10th May, or to the 8th June, A.D. 495. On each of these days there was an eclipse of the . sun.\* And, subject to the question as to whether an eclipse should be visible or need not be so, either of these eclipses might be accepted as the one intended, according as we apply the purnimanta or the amanta arrangement of the lunar fortnights.

(3) But, a uniform process must be followed in respect of the two grants; considering that the charters purport to be issued by the same person, and that there is only an interval of two years between them. And we must also see how they can be made to harmonise, without any change in the name of the given month, which is the point in respect of which there is the least likelihood of a mistake.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> See von Oppolzer's Canon der Finsternisse, pp. 162, 163.-It was not visible in India. But this point need not, for the present, be taken into consideration.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> This eclipse, also, was not visible in India : see von

Oppolzer's Canon, pp. 162, 163, and Plate S1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> This eclipse was visible in Gujarat, and in other parts of India. • Neither of these eclipses was visible in India.

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If the year 417 of the Ilåó grant is taken as expired, we have either the eclipse of the 10th May, A. D. 495, which day corresponds quite regularly to the *parnimanta* Jyêshtha krishna 15; or that of the 8th June, A.D. 495, which day corresponds quite regularly to the *amanta* Jyêshtha krishna 15. But, to match it, taking the year 415 of the Bagumrá grant as expired, we have only one eclipse, that of the 29th June, A.D. 493. And if, by the introduction of an erroneous intercalation, the new-moon of Jyêshtha is brought to this date, this can only be effected by using the *amanta* month.

Again, if the year 417 of the Ilåô grant is taken as current, we have only one eclipse, that of the 19th June, A. D. 494. If, by assuming an erroneous intercalation, or by adopting the more ancient rule of the Brahma-Siddhánta for naming the intercalated fortnights, the new-moon of Jyêshtha is brought to this date, this again can only be effected by using the amánta month. And, to match it, taking the year 415 of the Bagumrå grant as current, we have only one eclipse, that of the 10th July, A. D. 492. And, if the new-moon of Jyêshtha is brought to this date, this can only be effected again by introducing an erroneous intercalation, and again by using the amánta month.

(4) Thus, whether the years are taken as current or as expired, the possibility of obtaining uniform results rests entirely upon the use of the amanta arrangement of the lunar fortnights, for a period in which it is not at all likely that this arrangement was used with the years of the Saka era, even in Gujarât: supposing that the era itself was then used there, which I do not believe to be possible.

(5) On the other hand, the amanta arrangement is the one that, irrespective of the scheme of the year for the civil reckoning in any particular part of the country, was habitually used by Hindu astronomers for purposes of calculation. This is the arrangement that would, as a matter of course, be applied by the calculator, employed by the forger of a grant, to reckon back for a real, or possibly real, eclipse. And so, if we only refer the fabrication of these grants to the period when the smanta arrangement had permanently superseded the purpiments arrangement for the Baka years, everywhere except in Northern India and in those parts of Central India in which the purnimanta arrangement is still preserved, -in consequence of which fact, even if he had any means of ascertaining that the arrangement had been different in the period, and in the particular part of the country, for which he was calculating, the calculator might easily forget to substitute the purnimanta for the amanta months in his results,—then, admitting, in respect of the Bagumrå grant, an erroneous intercalation, or even a mistake of a month, either of which would be quite possible in calculating back for so long a time, we have a very simple explanation of the circumstances under which these grants were fabricated with a plausible approach to accuracy.

J. F. FLEET.

### THE YEAR COMMENCING WITH THE MONTH ASHADHA.

Some time ago,<sup>1</sup> I heard from Mr. Vajeshankar Gaurishankar, of Bhaunagar, that, in the western part of Kåthiåwåd, there is current a year commencing with the Åshådha sukla 1 that precedes the Kårttika sukla 1 with which the Vikrama year of the rest of the Province commences; and that this year is called the Hålåri year, as belonging specially to the Hålår Prânt or Sub-Division of Kåthiàwåd.

Since then, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit has ascertained from a merchant of the Hålår Prånt, now resident at Bârsì, that, in addition to that part of the country, this year is at present in use at Amrêlî, Dâmnagar, and Jaitpur or Jêtpur, in Kathiawad. And he has seen letters from Kâthiâwad, addressed to the same merchant, in which, before the month of Åshådha of Saka-Samvat 1810 (expired) (A.D. 1888-89), the Vikrama year is quoted as 1944 (expired); and after Åshådha śukla 1, as 1945 (expired). He has also ascertained that the same year is in use at îdar in the Mahi-Kantha Agency, about sixty four miles north-east of Ahmadåbåd, and within a radius of about fifty miles round that place; but that there the year commences, according to one informant, with the amanta Ashadha krishna 2, and according to another, with AshAdha sukla 2. And in a Panchang for A.D. 1888-89, printed at the Union Press, Ahmadabad, he has found in the samvatsara phala the passage -- samvat 1944 Åshådh-ådi-samvat 1945 Šaka 1810 asmin varshê Sârvarî-nâma-samvatsarah agrê ..... Kårttika.śn.12.Guruvåsarê Plava.samvatsarapravéšah,---" the (southern Vikrama) year 1944 (expired), the (Vikrama) year, beginning with Åshådha, 1945 (expired); Šaka 1810 (expired); in this year (i.e. on Chaitra sukla 1), (there is) the samvatsara named Śārvarî (by the meansign system] : later on, . . . . . on Thursday, the 12th tithi of the bright fortnight of Karttika, there commences the Plava samvatsara."

These notes are now issued in the hope that they may lead to the collection of additional

<sup>3</sup> See Corp. Inscr. Indic. Vol. III. Introd. p. 79, note 1.

information regarding the origin and use of this curious year; its initial day in different parts of the country, and the reason for any differences in that respect; and whether the purnimanta arrangement of the lunar fortnights is anywhere used in connection with it.

### J. F. FLEET.

### THE AMBARNATH INSCRIPTION OF MAMVANI.

In the stone inscription of the Mahamandalêsvara Mamvanirâjadêva, at the temple of Ambarnath<sup>1</sup> near Kalyan in the Thana District, the details of the date, according to Dr. Bhau Daji's published text (Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. IX. p. 219, line 1) are - Saka-Samvat 782 (in decimal figures), not specified either as current or as expired; Jyêshtha áukla 9; on Sukra, i. e. Sukravåra or Friday. And according to his translation, altering only the name of the other Mahamandalesvara mentioned in line 6, which he misread, the inscription records that, on this day, certain officials of Mâmvâni constructed a house of the Mahamandaleévara Chhittaråjadéva; the concluding words being mahumandallisvara - srima [ch\*] - Chhittarújadévasya bhavanam sampáditam.

While, according to Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's published text (id. Vol. XII. p. 329), the details are-Saka-Samvat 982 (in decimal figures); Sråvaņa šukla 9; on Šukra, i.e. Sukravāra or Friday. And, according to his translation, with the reading in line 6 which I have given above, on the day in question there was constructed a temple of the god of the Mahaman lalésvara Chhittarája.

Thus, while agreeing in respect of the lunar fortnight, the tithi, and the week-day, Friday, all of which items were quite certain,-the two versions of this record differ in respect of the month, and, by two centuries, in respect of the year.

By calculation, from Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, I find that-

In Saka-Samvat 782 ourrent, the tithi Jyêshtha śukla 9 ended on Sunday, 14th May, A.D. 859, at about 35 ghatis, 1 pala, after mean sumrise, for Kalyan;' and Sråvana sukla 9 ended on Wednesday, 12th July, at about 25 gh. 12 p.

In Saka-Samvat 783 current (782 expired), Jyèshtha sukla 9 ended, as required, on Friday, Srd May, A.D. 660, at about 16 gh. 34 p.; with the month Åshådha intercalary, as entered in the Tables. Śrávana śukla 9 ended on Tuesday, 30th July, at about 15 gh. 42 p.; and, with Śrâvana itself intercalary, or any subsequent month, instead of Åshådha, Śråvana śukla 9, of the intercalated or of the ordinary month as the case may be, ended on Sunday, 30th June, at about 52 gh. 8 p.

In Saka-Samvat 982 current, Jyêshtha sukla 9 ended on Sunday, 23rd May, A.D. 1059, at about 45 gh. 29 p.; and Sråvana sukla 9 ended on Wednesday, 21st July, at about 52 gh. 43 p.

And in Saka-Samvat 983 current (982 expired), Jyêshtha áukla 9 ended on Thursday, 11th May, A.D. 1060, at about 48 gh. 27 p.; and Sravana sukla 9 ended on Monday, 10th July, at about 3 gh. 33 p.

Now, as regards the merits of the published readings of this date, each of which is accompanied by a lithograph,-Dr. Bhan Daji read the name of the month as Jetha, i.e. Jyeshtha; and, in reading it as Śrâvaņa, Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji marked the second and third syllables as doubtful. But both the lithographs shew distinctly that, where the former read the and the latter vana, there is only one akshara, and that it is shtha. And it follows that the preceding akshara can only be just or just; formed rather carelessly or anomalously in the original, or else not represented properly in the lithographs. As to the given year, the second and third figures are undoubtedly 8 and 2. The first figure is represented in both of the lithographs without any essential difference; except that in Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's it is rather more square and upright than in Dr. Bhau Daji's. And, in altering the interpretation. of it from 7 to 9, Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, while admitting that it closely resembles the modern Någari 7,<sup>3</sup> relied on the arguments (1) that a similar "figure" occurs in the Valabhi grants and in them represents 9; and (2) that a very similar figure is to be found in the record of the year in an inscription of Bhôjadêva of Gwâlior,\* dated in the (Vikrama) year 933, in which its value is distinctly given in words as 9. To these he might have added (3) that, in lines 4 and 5 of the same inscription of Bhőjadéva, in the details of the lands that were granted, we have forms of

from every point of view, we require a proper mechanical facsimile, and a critical edition, of this inscription.

\* The times here are for Kalyan all through.

\* The whole inscription is in Någari characters; and it is of interest in furnishing one of the earliest instances of the use of those characters in Southern India.

\* The reference is to the GwAlior inscription, dated (Vikrama)-Samvat 953, Magha sukla and su di 2; Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. XXXI, p. 407 f., and Phate ii. No. 4 (see ante, Vol. XV. p. 106, notes 24, 25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This is the modern name of the temple, as given, for instance, in Bombay Places and Common Official Words, p. 29. In Dr. Bhau Daji's text, line 5, and in his translation, the name of the god is given as Amranitha. In his lithograph, it is rather doubtful whether the first two syllables are dmra or ámva. In Dr. Bhagwanial Indraji's text, the name is given as Amvanatha ; and in his translation as Ambazátha ; while, in his lithograph the first two syllables are amva. It is evident that

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the figure 7, explained in words, which cannot be taken as closely resembling the first figure as given in either lithograph of the date now under discussion; though they do belong to the general type of the Någari figure 7 of the period, and resemble pretty closely the figure 7 as it occurs in the date of the Sâmângad grant of Dantidurga, of Saka-Samvat 675 expired, ante, Vol. XI. p. 112, line 30, and Plate. But, omitting this last point, his conclusion, on the grounds actually put forward by him, was that "the date can be inferred to be 982;" the only difficulty,-which he sought to explain away by the supposition that, at this time, there were two figures in use for the same number,-being, that a totally different figure, to which no value but that of 9 can be assigned, is used in this record to denote the number of the tithi.

In the Valabhi grants, however, we are concerned with numerical symbols; not with decimal figures, as in the present record; and no analogy can be founded on them, beyond the general fact that the decimal figures were developed from the numerical symbols. Further, in the process of this development, the decimal figures that were arrived at, were not absolutely identical in different parts of the country; and we are dealing with very different parts, in respect of the Ambarnath and Gwalior inscriptions. Also, not one of the lithographs of the three inscriptions is a reliable mechanical reproduction; so that we do not know what are the exact forms, differing perhaps very slightly, though certainly in some detail of vital importance, which we have to compare or to contrast. Again, even if two forms of one and the same figure were ultimately arrived at, and were used, in one and the same part of the country, it is still impossible to believe that the risk of confusion would be incurred, by employing them in one and the same record. And finally, whatever may turn out to be the exact form of the figure now under discussion in the Ambarnath inscription, both the lithographs, even as they stand, distinctly shew that it belongs to the general type of the Någari 7, and not to that of the Någari 9.

shew that a Friday cannot be obtained for Śrśwana śukla 9 in any of the four years, even if the *tithi* were used as a current *tithi*,—for which application of it, however, there is in this case no justification,—on a consideration of all the facts of the case, it cannot be doubted that Friday, 8rd May, A.D. 860, is the proper English date; and that the real reading of the text is Śakasamvata(t) 782 Jyéshtha éuddha-9-Su(śu)kré.

With his own reading of the date, Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji,--relying also on the fact that the Ambarnath inscription mentions a certain Mahdpradhdna NAganaiya as an officer of Mâmvâni, while the other record, now to be referred to, gives the name of a Sarvadhikarin Naganaiya as an officer of Chhittarsja,-proceeded to identify these two officials as one, and to suggest that, "if this reading of the date be correct," the Mahâmandalsévara Chhittarája of this inscription might be identified with the Silahara Mahdmandaléśvara Chhittarâja who issued the Bhåndup grant,<sup>s</sup> dated in Saka-Samvat 94S; and that Måmvåni was probably his son or successor. And, in publishing the Khårépåtan grant of the Śilâhāra Mahdmandaléévara Anantadêva,<sup>a</sup> dated in Saka-Samvat 1016, Mr. K. T. Pelang identified Måmvåni with the Mummuni who is given in that record as a younger brother of the Chhittarâja by whom the Bhandap charter was issued. The similarity in the names of Mâmvâni and Mummuni," coupled in each instance with the proximity of the name of Chhittaråja, was sufficiently tempting to justify this identification; on the facts of the case, as they were then understood. But we must now abandon these identifications: the first two of which plainly were in reality factors that helped to induce Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's alteration in the interpretation of the Ambarnath date, rather than deductions from that interpretation. And, if Måmvåni belonged to the Silâhâra family at all, he must be placed very much earlier in the genealogy; and perhaps before Kapardin I., with whom the list given in the Bhanden grant commences, and who was eight generations anterior to Saka-Samvat 948.

J. F. FLEET.

With the calculated results before us, which

### BOOK NOTICES.

COLLECTIONS SCIENTIFIQUES de L'INSTITUT des LANGUES OBJENTALES DU MINISTERE DES AFFARES ETRAN-ORESS III. Manuscrits Persans, décrits par le Baron Victor Rosson. St. Petersburg, Eggers and Co. 1986. Svo. pp. IV., and 369, with 3 photolithographs. more than once in the pages of this Journal in the notes on the Progress of European Scholarship. The Catalogue, it is hardly necessary to repeat, is a work of immense industry and learning, and in every way worthy of its author. It describes

References to this work will have been met with

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Published by Dr. Bühler, ante, Vol. V. p. 276 ff.

<sup>\*</sup> ante, Vol. IX. p. 33.

<sup>&#</sup>x27; It may be noted that Dr. Bühler (Report on Sanskit Manuscripts, 1877, p. 52) preferred to read the name in

the Ambarnath inscription as simply Vari; vis. by taking srinda-Vani, instead of srt. Mamudai. But I think that, taking into consideration the construction in the text, both the lithographs are sufficiently reliable to shew that the real name is undoubledly Minutei.

minutely, with many an interesting excursus, the contents of 132 MSS., several of which are of great value. Most interesting of all is a copy of the Divin of Jimi, believed to be in the poet's own handwriting, and three illuminated specimens of celebrated works remarkable for their exquisite caligraphy. Of the latter may be mentioned a copy of Nizâmi's five poems, which is adorned with several frontispieces, and twenty-four vignettes. Five of the latter have the remarkable peculiarity that the rocks, stones, trees, &c., are designed so as to present at the same time pictures of men and of animals. The effect is said to be most comical. No. 130, a small collection of ghazals by different authors, is noteworthy as being a perfect specimen of the handwriting of Mir 'Ali Al-Husaini, one of the most celebrated scribes of the 10th century. The collection of Båbi MSS is complete, and gives Baron Rosen an excellent opportunity for a full description (with extracts)

GEO. A. GRIERSON.

DIE HANDSCREIFTEN VERZEICHNISSE DEB KÖNIG-LICHEN BIBLIOTHER ZU BERLIN. Fünfter Band, Verzeichnies der Sanskrit- und Präkrit-Handschriften, von A. Weber. Zweiter Baud, Zweite Abtheilung. Berlin, A. Asher & Co. 1883. 4to. pp. i-x., 355-827.

The second section of the second volume of Piof. A. Weber's Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit MSS. in the Berlin Library, follows the first after a short interval. It is in every way worthy of its predecessors. The present work deals with Jaina Literature falling under the head of Siddhanta : Full particulars will be found in Vols. XVI. and XVII. of the Indische Studien, and ante, Vol. XVII. pp. 279 and ff. The third section of the volume, which deals with non-Siddhanta Jaina Literature, and which will contain the Indices to the whole catalogue, is in the press, and will be looked forward to with interest as completing this great work. The section now under consideration describes 155 MSS. with all the care and minuteness which distinguishes previous volumes. The twelve angas occupy onehundred and eighty-one pages, the twelve updagas seventy-two, the ten païnnas (prakirnas) fifteen, the six chhedasútras forty-nine, the nandf and the annógadára-suttam (anuyógadvárasútram) fortyfour, the four múlasútras one hundred, and miscellaneous texts five pages. Notices are also given of texts which form part of the Siddhanta, but which are not in the Berlin Library, and of the Siddhanta of the Digambaras. The greater portion of the work has been read in proof by Prof. Leumann, whom the author thanks not only for the correction of several misprints, but also for many suggestions.

ARCHZOLCGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA, Vol. XXIII. Report of a Tour in the Pañjáb and RÅjputáná in 1883-84. By H. R. W. GARRICK, Assistant, Archaeological Survey of India, under the Superintendence of of Major-General Sir A. Cunningham, K.C.I.E., &c., Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India, Calcutta, 1897. Royal Svo. pp. IV. and 142; with 28 plates.

This twenty-third volume of the **Beports** of the Archæological Survey of India closes the series edited by Sir A. Cunningham. It is altogether the work of Mr. Garrick, and does not contain a line written by his late chief, and it is, therefore, hardly necessary to add that the volume is of very slight value or interest. It is, perhaps, not quite so bad as the notorious Volume XIX. by the same writer. Still, it is so bad that it is almost impossible to pick out from the text any fact or observation deserving of notice.

The following passage, however, if the facts are correctly reported, is of some interest to students of rude stone monuments :—

"At Kachéra, about two marches from Någaur (in Jôdhpur State), I observed some stone circles which measured from 12 to 15 feet in diameter, but the peasants informed me that their occurrence was due to a favourite recreation of the Rájput youth called tahar or eware. This game-the mention of which quickly divested these circles of a mystical, or indeed any other significance. and which may perhaps account for the origin of such circles in other parts of India-is played in the following manner :- A sufficient number of large stone boulders (some of which would take a strong man to lift) are first arranged in a circle, and this circus is called dhanni, 'a small village." The young shepherds then heave smaller stones into this mock village, and he whose stone falls nearest the centre of the circle, where, it is said. the fattest cattle of the village are kept, gains a certain advantage over his fellows. I understand that the game is of very early origin, and it is locally said to be one of the lild, or field sports, of the pastoral incarnation, Krishna.'

This note is curious, but it obviously affords no explanation of megalithic circles, the sepulchral character of which has been abundantly proved.

I can find nothing else in the text which is worth quoting. The Plates are of some value, and include fairly good representations of buildings, both Muhammadan and Hindu, and a few inscriptions. Plate xxviii. gives a photographic reproduction of a squeeze of the rock-cut inscription at Tusâm in the Hisår District, which is included in Mr. Fleet's volume on the inscriptions of the Gupta period. An imperfect inscription of late date from Bhatindå, badly reproduced in Plate xxvii., is wrongly labelled as a Gupta inscription. The scale of the Chitôr inscriptions, given in Plates xx., xxi., and xxv., is inconveniently small.

GEO. A. GRIERSON.

25th August 1888.

V. A. SMITH.

of their contents.

# EXTRACTS FROM KALHANA'S RAJATARAMGINI.

BY E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.; BANGALORE.

(Continued from p. 73.)

# No. 2.-EXTRACTS FROM THE FIRST TARAMGA; CONCLUDED.

THE remainder of the first Taranga treats of the dynasty of Gonanda III., and introduces us to what purports to be a much more definite history, inasmuch as from this point there is given the duration of the reign of each king, and we have also the assumed startingpoint of the accession of Gonanda III. in Kaliyuga-Samvat 1919 (expired), or B. C. 1182. For the period commencing with this point, Kalhana does not quote any particular previous writers as his authority; and probably we come now to the details which, as he tells us in verse 15, were put together from his examination of the charters (*sasana*) of previous kings recording the consecration of temples and grants to them, the laudatory inscriptions (*praiasti-patta*), and manuscripts (*sastra*).

I subjoin a list of the twenty-one kings of this dynasty, with the supposed duration of the reign of each of them, and,—without at present entering on the question of adjustment,—with the year of the accession of each of them as deduced from the starting-point of the commencement of the reign of Gonanda III.

# CONTINUATION OF LIST OF THE KINGS OF KASMIR.

		Length of reign		
· <b>V</b> .	The Dynasty of Gonanda III.	у.		
	1. Gonanda III.; B.C. 1182; verses 185 to 191		0	0
	His connection with his predecessor, Abhimanya, is not stated. He continue	đ		
	the worship of the Nâgas (185), and restored the rites proclaimed by Nîls	<b>b</b> g		
	thereby breaking the power of the Bhikshus or Banddhas (186). He is			
	mentioned (190) as an ancestor of Pravarasêna I., who will be introduce in Taramga iii. verse 97.	3		
	2. Vibhishana I., son of the preceding; B.C. 1147; verse 192	. 53	6	0
	3. Indrajit; B.C. 1094; verse 193			0
	His connection with his predecessor is not explained.			
	4. Bavana, son of the preceding ; B.C. 1059 ; verses 193 to 195	. 30	6	0
	He set up the linga called Vatésvara (194), and endowed it with the whol			
	country of Kaśmîr (195).			
	5. Vibhishana II., son of the preceding; B.C. 1028; verse 196	. 35	6	0
	6. Nara I., also called Kimnara, son of the preceding; B.C. 993; verse	8		
	197 to 274	. 40	9	0
	He was a wicked king, and brought much misfortune on the country (198)	•		
	In consequence of his mistress being carried away by a Sramana, who	>		
	dwelt at the village of Kimnaragrama (199), he burnt thousands of vihiras	,		
	and gave to the Brâhmans the villages that had belonged to them (200)	L		
	He built a town, which was called after him Narapura (244) or Kimnarapura			
	(274), on the bank of the Vitastâ (202 and 260). This town was situated	L		
	near Chakradhara (261 and 270), a Vaishnava temple, whose name survive:	3		
	in the mound of Chakhdhar near Bijbihara (K. R. 18). King Nara	۶.		
	fell in love with Chandralêkhû, the daughter of the Nâga Suśravas			
	and the wife of a Brâhman named Visâkha, who dwelt at the town of			
	Narapura (203 to 253). Failing in his attempts to seduce her, he tried			
	to take her by force from her husband (254 to 256). The Bråhman and			
	his wife escaped and fied for protection to Suśravas, who destroyed the king			
	and his town by thunderbolts (257 to 259). After the destruction of the		1	
	city, the Khasas became powerful (317).			

LÝ.	ngth o		
	у. со		
7. Siddha, son of the preceding; B.C. 952; verses 275 to 285	90 90	Ú c	
8. Utpaläksha, son of the preceding; B.C. 892; verse 286	00	6	
9. Hiranyāksha, son of the preceding ; B.C. 861 ; verse 287	37	7	0
He built a town named after himself, i.e. Hiranyâkshapura (287).			
0. Hiranyakula, son of the preceding ; B.C. 824 ; verse 288	60	0	0
He founded (the town of) Hiranyôtsa (288).			
11. Vasukula, son of the preceding ; B.C. 764 ; verse 288	<b>6</b> 0	0	
2. Mihirakula, son of the preceding ; B.C. 704 ; verses 289 to 324	70	0	0
[He was in reality the son of a king named Tôramana, belonged to the Hûna			
tribe, and came to Kasmir and finally established himself there, about			
A.D. 530, after a career in India that was terminated by Baladitya of			
Magadha and by Yasôdharman, see ante, Vol. XV., pp. 245 to 252].			
He was a cruel and vindictive king. During his reign, the country was			
overran by the Mlechchhas (289). He invaded Simhala, i.e. Ceylon, and			
overthrew the king of that country (294 to 299). On the way back, he put			
to flight the Chôla, Karnâța, Lâța, and other kings, and ruined their cities			
(300, 301). He installed the god Mihiréévara at Srinagari; and in (the			
district of) Hôlâdâ he built a great city named Mihirapura (306). He gave			-
agraháras to outcaste Brâhmans from the Gândhâra country (307). He			
diverted the river Chandrakulyå (318). So hateful was he, that it was			
only the power of the gods that prevented his subjects from rising and			
slaying him (324). And yet he was not altogether wicked; for, even when			
the country was overrun by the Daradas and Bhauttas, and the national			
religion was destroyed, he still insured the maintenance of pious obser-			
vances (312); and at Vijayêśvara he granted a thousand agraháras to			
the Gândhâra Brâhmans (314). Finally, in his old age, he became much			
afflicted with disease (309); and eventually he atoned for all his sins and			
acts of cruelty, by immolating himself in the flames, on a plank studded			
with razors, swords, and knives (815).	20	~	1.1
13. Baka, son of the preceding ; B.C. 634 ; verses 325 to 335	63	0	13
He restored justice and security (328). He founded the temple of Bakésa,			
diverted the river Bakavati, and built the town of Lavanôtsa (329), where			
he reigned (330). His death was caused by the witch Bhatta, who slew			•
him, with a hundred sons and grandsons, as a human sacrifice to the Divine			
Mothers at Khêrî (331 to 835).			
14. Kshitinanda, son of the preceding; B.C. 571; verse 336	30	Ú	0
15. Vasunanda, son of the preceding; B.C. 541; verse 337	52	2	Ð
He was the author of a Kámaiástra or work on the science of love (337).			
16. Nara II., son of the preceding; B.C. 489; verse 338	60	0	-9
17. Aksha, son of the preceding ; B.C. 429 ; verse 338	60	0	-0
He established the village of Akshavåla (338).			
18. Gopaditys, son of the preceding; B.C. 369; verses 339 to 345	60	6	0
He bestowed Sakhôla, Khâgi, Kâhâdigrâma, Skandapura, Śamângâsa, and			
other agraháras (340). He consecrated the temple of Jyeshihesvara on the			
Gôpâdri hill, and granted the Gôpa agraháras (341). He banished			
negleotful Brâhmans to Bhûkshîravâțikâ and Khâsatâ (342); and induced			
others, of purer habits, to immigrate, and settled them in Vaschika and			
other agraháras (343). 19. Grókarna, son of the proceeding; B.C. 308; verse 346	57	11	0
	~ •		1

		Len	gth o	f reig
			<b>y.</b> .	m. č
	Narendraditya I., also called Khinkhils, son of the preceding;		•	
20.	Narehorsonity 1., and cance minimum jos of the provide state of the st		36	3 1
	250; verses 347 to 349		••	-
B	e consecrated the temple of Bhûtêśvara, and diverted the river Akshe	iyių i		
	(347). His Guru Ugra built the temple of Ugrêsa and a circle of	f the		
	Divine Mothers (348).			
~ 1	Yudhishthira I., also called Andha-Yudhishthira, son of the pre	-bese		
21,	Yuunishinira 1., also canou matina a amanga -, at	Í N	of el	hated
	ing; B.C. 214; verses 350 to 373		01 0	
F	Le lost the throne and was exiled through a conspiracy of his ministers	with		
-	some neighbouring kings (360 to 373).			
	TOTAL	9687	2m	. 236

Thus, from the beginning of the reign of Gônanda III. to the end of that of Narendraditya I., the text purports to account for a period of 968 years, 2 months, 23 days. In the explanation of Taramga i. verses 48, 49, I venture to agree with M. Troyer against Dr. Bühler, and to translate :-- " Misled by the tradition that the Bhârata (war) took place at the end of the Dvåpara (yuga), some have considered as wrong the sum of years (contained in the statement that) in the Kaliyuga the kings, beginning with Gönanda (I.), ruled over the Kaśmiras for 2268 years." Kalhans does not really doubt the correctness of this number. What he seeks to do, is, to prove, with its help, that the great war took place in Kaliyuga-Samvat 653 (expired), or B. C. 2448. Taking this number, and deducting from it the 1266 years during which there reigned the fifty-two kings from Gônands I. to Abhimanyu,<sup>1</sup> there remain 1002 years as the period of the dynasty of Gônanda III.; and further deducting the 968 years, 2 months, 23 days, made out above, there remain 33 years, 9 months, 7 days, as the supposed length of the reign of Yudhishthirs I. or Andha-Yudhishthirs.

These numbers admit of being controlled in the following manner :-- According to Kalhana's own statement (i. 53), a rough number of 2330 years had elapsed from the accession of Gónauda III. up to the time of the author himself. Deducting from these 2330 years the 1002 years from Gönanda III. to Yudhishthira I., there remain 1328 years to be accounted for. An addition of the figures, which are mentioned in the seven later Taramgas, gives a slightly different result :--v. m. d.

				· · · · · ·		J •		
Total of the reigns of	the second T	aramge				192	0	•
Total of the teight of	third		3			589	10	
» ·	fourth	,,	from (1).	. Durlabhavar	lhana to			
(14). Brihaspati <sup>9</sup>	*****					212	5	2
Add the period from	the death o	f Brih	unsti. Saī	ptarshi-Samvat	[38]89			
(iv. 702), to the	late of the R	Aintar	undini. Sa	ptarshi-Samva	t [42]24	•		
<b>N N</b>							Ð	
(i. 52)	*********	*******			····· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·			
				<b>m</b> .	stal	1000	. <b>.</b>	ç

In order to reconcile this total with the result of the first calculation, we have the choice. between two ways of procedure. Firstly, the reign of Yudhishthirs I., which was made out above as amounting to 33 years, 9 months, 7 days, might be shortened by 1 year, 3 months,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See my previous paper.

<sup>2</sup> At the end of the third Taraxign, P has the following verse :- वैकोनगवतिव्याध वर्षाणां संतपञ्चकः । दक्त मासाख सेकाहा गता द्यस राजम ह. In order to obtain this total, read अग्यरियत in verse 879 and अनुर्वियांचेरूनां in verse 520 of the Paris edition.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The length of these 14 reigns is correctly given in M. Troyer's table, Vol. II. p. 345, besides that of the 9th king, Samgramapida, who ruled only for 7 days. (सभ आसराम्), and not for 7 years.

28 days, the difference between both totals. This would, however, necessitate an identical deduction from the 2268 years of the first Taranga (verse 48), which seem to have been one of the bases of Kalhana's chronology. Therefore, it will be necessary to assume the second alternative, that Kalhana gained his 'rongh' number of 2330 years by disregarding the odd months and days which are found in the totals of the reigns of the third and fourth Taranga. If the extra 10 months and 1 day of the third, and the extra 5 months and 27 days of the fourth Taranga, are left out of consideration, the result of the second series of items will be 1328 years, as it ought to be theoretically according to the first calculation. To sum up, it seems very probable that Kalhana placed the end of the reign of Yudhishthira I. and the accession of **Pratapaditya I**. in Kaliyuga-Samvat 2921 (expired), or B. C. 180.

### TRANSLATION.

(185) King Gonanda III., who obtained the kingdom at this juncture, caused the processions, sacrifices, &c., to the Nagas to take place just as before. — (186) After this king had restored the rites proclaimed by Nila, the *Bhikshus* and the detrimental effects of the snow passed altogether away. — (187) Whenever there is a time of need, the good deeds of subjects produce kings who re-organize the far-decayed country. — (188) Those who strive to oppress the people, perish together with their lineage; but prosperity attends the race of those who will repair the loss. — (189) Having observed this (*foreboding*) sign at every event (*which has happened*) in this country, the wise are able to foresee the good or bad luck of future kings. — (190) Pravaraséna (I.) and other virtuous and immortal descendants of this (king) who renewed the country, enjoyed this earth for a long time. — (191) This prince (Gónanda III.), who was the first of the race of Gónanda, just as Raghu was the first of the race of Raghu, ruled over the earth for thirty-five years.

(192) The son of Gônanda, called Vibhishana (I.), protected the earth for sixty years, diminished by six years and six months.

(193) There ruled successively Indrajit and Ravana, father and son, for thirty-five and for thirty and a half years. — (194) The *linga* (called) Vatesvara, which Ravana (founded) for the purposes of worship, is (still) resplendent; the colour of its line of dots has been observed to foretell coming events. — (195) That prince gave the whole country of Rasmira to Vatésvara, whom he had placed in a matha with four halls.

(196) The long-armed Vibhishana II, the son of king Révana, enjoyed the earth for thirty-five and a half years.

(197) Then Vibhishana's son, called Nara, whose other name was Kimnara, and whose prowess was praised in song by the Kimnaras, became king. — (198) Though (at first) of good conduct, this prince produced a series of great misfortunes, through the bad luck of his subjects, and through the vice of sensuality. — (199) An ascetic (*iramana*), who dwelt alone in a vihira, which was situated at Kimnaragrama, carried off his (the king's) mistress by the power of magic. — (200) Angry on account of this (act), he (the king) burnt thousands of vihiras, and bestowed their villages on Brähmans, who resided in the mathas (which were situated in their) midst. — (201, 202) On the bank of the Vitasta, he built, with the riches which he had acquired by conquering the world, a town, which appeared to be a synonym of "Heaven" and surpassed the town of Kuvêra. Its market was full of roads; its river resplendent with navigation; and its gardens teeming with flowers and fruits. —

🇯 हिमदेशाय P T.

169 देवी PT.

<sup>186</sup> Here, and in 191, 192, P reads गोन=द, as opposed to the गोनद of C and T. This mistake of the Calcutta Pasditz was first rectified by Dr. Bühler, K. B. p. 54.

<sup>199</sup> वंद्येरियं T. Pravaraséna was the name of two kings of Kaémir ; it is here mentioned as a representative of the restored line of Génanda III., viz., of the kings from Méghaváhana to Báláditya (see Taramiga iii.).

<sup>181 °</sup>त्सहार्थास P. 195 करमीर" P. 196 'कोणि" P. सार्थामन्यो P.T. 199 'त्रेक: P.

<sup>20</sup> भिनतम् P; भिनतः CT; read चितम्. Instead of नामो, which is also the reading of P, read नामा.

(203) In a garden at that (town) there was a lake filled with clear and sweet water, the dwellingplace of a Någa, Subravas by name. — [(204 to 253) The Bråhman Višakha marries Chandralekha, the younger daughter of the Naga Susravas, and lives with her at Narapura. **King Nara falls in love with Chandralekha**]. -(254) Having cast off the fetter of shame, he frightened that woman by trying to seduce her through messengers, who pleaded (his) desire. — (255) When (he found that) she was not to be persuaded by any means, the libidinous (king) asked even her husband, the Brâhman, for her. Of what are those ashamed, who are blinded by passion? - (256) After the king had been repeatedly rebuked also by that (Brdhman), he despatched soldiers, to carry her away by force. - (257) Attacked by these from the front of the house, the Brahman escaped with his wife by another way, and fled to the palace of the Någa for protection. --- (258) When the two had arrived and reported that event, the lord of snakes, who was blind with rage, rose from the lake. - (259) Having produced dense darkness by roaring and lowering clouds, he burnt the king with his town by a shower of terrible thunder-bolts. -- (260) Carrying away the oily fat and blood, which dropped from the burnt human bodies, the Vitasta became, as it were, marked with the eyes of a peacock's tail. - (261) Thousands of frightened people, who entered for refuge the presence of (the god) Chakradhara (Vishnn), were burnt in an instant. - (262) Just as formerly the fat of the thighs of (the demons) Madhu and Kaitabha, thus many bodies of burnt people then covered Chakrin (Vishnu). - (263) At that time the sister of Susravas, a Nagi called Ramani, came from a cave in the hills, to help (her brother), carrying heaps of rocks.-(264) When more than a yojana of the way remained, and she perceived from afar that her brother had been successful, she pelted a shower of rocks on the villages. -- (265) Then the ground of the villages became stony for five yôjanas. This (ground), called "the forest of Raman1," is even now covered with huge rocks. - (266) Having produced a terrible destruction of people, the snake (Suśravas), filled with remorse and depressed by the censure of the world, left that place next morning and went away. --- (267) A lake, white as the milkocean, which he created on a distant mountain, is even now seen by the people at the procession to Amarésvara. - (268) At the same place, another lake, (viz. that) of the Brahman, who had become a Naga by the favour of his father-in-law, is known by the name of "the lake of the son-in-law." - (269) Fiendish (kings), who fearlessly produce destruction under the pretext of protecting their subjects, suddenly fare thus. - (270) Even now people remember this story, when they behold, near Chakradhara that town which was burnt and that lake which became a (dry) hole. --- (271) How great a vice must passion be considered in shortsighted kings! Through it there happened to him that which has never happened to another. - (272) We hear that even the three worlds were lost in every case through the anger of even a single virtuons wife, deity, or Bråhman. -- (273) Having enjoyed the earth for forty-one years less by three months, that king perished through his bad conduct. ---(274) That town of Kimnara, the circle of whose walls and watch-towers had been visible (only) for a very short time, became similar to the town of the Gandharvas (i.e. it faded away like a mirage).

371 मतः P. भेरकापि PT.

<sup>🥗</sup> सजानिः P C.

<sup>201</sup> Chakradhara was the name of a temple of Vishnu near Bijbihåra (Vijayfávara). Its site has been identified with the mound of Châkhdhar by Dr. Bühler, K. R. p. 18. See also Journal of the German Oriental Society, Vol. XL. p. 7.

m one: PT. Madhu and Kaltabha are the names of two demons, who were killed by Vishnu.

<sup>264</sup> R PT.

<sup>270</sup> with yft P. The town referred to is Narapura (244) or Kimnarapura (274), which king Nara or Kimnara had built on the bank of the Vitastå (202) and which was burnt by the Någa Suáravas (259). The dried-up lake is that, in which the latter was originally living (203). The present verse shows, that Narapura was situated near the temple of Chakradhara (see note on verse 261). It appears to have been destroyed by one of the earthquakes which are frequent in Kaémir.

<sup>373</sup> मासे खोनां, भुक्ता and दुनेयेन P.

<sup>274</sup> अत्यस्व<sup>0</sup> P.

(275) Through the wonderful diversity of the course of fate, his only son, who had been brought to Vijayakshetra by his nurse, did not lose his life. — (276) This king, called Siddha, refreshed the exhausted people, just as the cloud a mountain, which is parched by a forest-fire. --- (277) Thus the strange fate of his father became to this magnanimous one a beneficial instruction in the knowledge of the vanity of the world. --- (278) Though in the midst of enjoyment, he could not be led into sin by it, just as the spotless image of the moon remains undefiled, though it is reflected in a quagmire. - (279) In the midst of princes, who were hot with the fever of pride, he alone recovered (from it) by meditating incessantly on Siva. -- (280) Abandoning gems like trifles, this virtuous one found (the only) perfect ornament in the worship of Siva. - (281) The royal splendour of this king followed him to another world, because be cunningly combined it with unfailing virtue. - (282) Having raied over the earth for sixty years, he, accompanied by his near attendants, ascended with his body to the worlds of Siva. -(283)Having sought refuge with (the preceding king) Nara, the servants had got into a deplorable state; but, depending on his son (Siddha) as their lord, they became worthy of praise in the world. -- (284) A dependant shares the fate of his lord, be it blamed in the world or praised by all men. A rope of straw descends, if it is attached to the bucket of a well; if it is tied to flowers, it ascends on the head of a god. - (285) "Here is Siddha, (who has become) a demigod (Siddka) with his body;" this announcement was proclaimed by the gods in heaven, with beating of the drum, for seven days.

(286) His son, who received the name Utpalaksha (i.e. the lotus-eyed) on account of his lovely eyes, ruled over the earth for thirty and a half years.

(287) His son Hiranyaksha, who enjoyed the earth for thirty-seven years and seven months, built a town, which was designated by his name.

(288) His son Hiraŋyakula, who founded Hiraŋyôtsa, was (king) for sixty, (and) his son Vasukula (likewise) for sixty years.

(289) Then, when the country was (again) overrun by a Milechohha tribe, his son Mihirakula, who was of cruel deeds and resembled Kâla (or Death) (in destructiveness), became king. — (290) In him the northern region possessed another Antaka (or Death), thus rivalling the southern region, the regent of which is (the god) Antaka. -- (291) His approach was always heralded by the flights of valtares, crows, &c., that flew before him, eager to devour those who were being slain among his troops. - (292) He was a very ghoul of a king, surrounded day and night by thousands of slaughtered beings even in his pleasure-houses. -- (293) This cruel murderer had no pity or respect for children or women or aged men. - (294 to 299) 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 chamcerlain, 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 ousted the king of Simhala. Instead of him, he set up another king; and he brought away a woven cloth called yamushadeva, stamped with an image of the sun. - (300, 301) On his way back, he put to flight the Chola, Karnata, Lata and other kings, whose rained cities announced their

575 Alteral and	संबंधाज्या P.	<sup>977</sup> पिझ्य PT. °ताकाने P.	
279 Builting and	°तोषयौ P.	201 ° द्वतों P.	<sup>985</sup> माचीचयंस्ताउयन्तः P.
🇯 सभी P.		हिरण्योत्सकुदारमञ : and बसुकुल° P.	

\* to \*\*. I use here Mr. Flort's abridged translation, from the Calcutta edition, published ants, Vol. XV. p. \$575.; altering some details and the numbering of the verses according to the Sarada MS.

🏁 <sup>6</sup>सदाचतः P.

बिक्पा पर: "शतिरपा P; "शतिरपा P; "सतिमपा" C. As the first part of the king's name, Mihira, is doubtlessly of iranian origin. The term yamusha might be derived from the same source; perhaps it is a corruption of amesha, 'immortal,' which occurs in the Avesta as an attribute of the sun.

300 °लाटार्दीय P. गम्धेनो PT. व्यथारयत् PC.

capture to their rulers when these returned into them on his departure. -- (302, 303) As he came to the "Gate" of Kasmira (Kasmira-Dvara), he heard the terrified ories 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. -- (304) As the touch of the sinful defiles the body, so does a description of them defile the speech ; accordingly, all his other cruel deeds are not detailed, (lest they should pollute the narrator). -(305) But who can fully comprehend the behaviour of men whose minds are uncultivated, and who do evil deeds? for even he made an assumption of religion, for the sake of acquiring merit. - (306) Thus, evil-minded as he was, he installed (the god) Mihirêsvara at Srînagarî, and in Hôlada he built a great city named Mihirapura. -- (807) And he gave agraharas to Brahmans of the Gandhara country, the lowest of the twice-born, resembling himself in character. -- (309, 310) At length when he, a very Bhairava incarnate, had reigned for seventy years, he became afflicted with much disease, and immolated himself in the fiames; and a voice from the sky was beard 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. -- (311) Those, who report this, consider that he made amenda for his cruelty, by his gifts of agrahdras, and similar deeds. - (312 to 316) For, even when the country was overrun by the Daradas (and) Bhauttas, (who were) Mlechchhas 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 Aryas, and then performed a terrible penance, ordaining, as explation for his sins, the burning of himself; in accordance with which he bestowed a thousand agraháras at Vijayêsvara on Bråhmans born in the Gandhara country, and then gave his body to the flames, on a pyre which was a flat plank studded with razors, swords, and knives, and thus atoned for all his cruelty. - (317) Others excuse all his cruel acts by asserting that he performed them only in order to destroy the Khasas, who had become powerful when the city was burned by the Naga. - (318 to 324) As a final instance of his cruelty, one day, when he was diverting the river Chandrakulya, the work was hindered by a large rock that could not be uprooted and removed. Having performed austerities, he was told by the gods in a dream that a powerful Yaksha dwelt in the rock, observing the vow of chastity, and that the obstacle could be removed only by the touch of a chaste woman. Next day he had his dream put to the test; but no woman was found who could prevail against the rock, until a potter's wife, named Chandravati, touched it and displaced it. Whereupon, filled with anger, he caused three crores of virtuous women to be slain, with their husbands and brothers and sons. It was only the power of the gods, who caused him to do this act, that prevented his subjects from rising of one accord and slaying him.

(325) When at length he (Mihirakula) had perished through the good luck of his subjects, the citizens anointed his virtuous son **Baka**. — (326) Through the influence of (*their*) previous (*experiences*), which (I) have told, the people were afraid even of his rule, as of a pleasure-house built on a cometery. — (327) Begotten by one who had caused excessive pain, he became a bestower of delight on men, just like a downpour of water, which follows on a cloudy day of the rainy season. — (328) Then people fancied that justice had arrived from another world, and that safety had returned from an inaccessible exile. — (329) Having founded (*the temple of*) Bakésa and (*having conducted*) the river Bakavati to a (*dry*) valley, the illustrious Baka built a town called Lavanôtea. — (330) There the prince passed sixty-three years and

313 CICCIE P. The Dáradas are the inhabitants of Dárdistán, and the Bhangas are the Tibetans.

<sup>816</sup> सुर खडु (तेथेन्वादि<sup>0</sup> P.

<sup>317</sup> The reference is to the story of Mass L and the Någa Suiravas, verses 203 to 274 above.

<sup>519</sup> ये <b>श</b> ः P.T.	<sup>320</sup> न स P.	<sup>325</sup> बकरत <sup>0</sup> P.	326 °राहुकाचास देथे P.	<b>37:23</b>
<sup>397 °</sup> मात्तपात्यय° P.		<sup>329</sup> बकेद्रां P.C.	<sup>380 °</sup> वासरा	

<sup>305</sup> को वेस्युहूभचेष्टानां कृत्यां P. 307 गोन्धारा P. After this verse, C and T insert two sparious verses which are omitted in P.

thirteen days, ruling the earth. - (331) Then, having assumed the appearance of a beautiful woman, a witch, called Bhatta, approached the king at nightfall. - (332) Having weakened his memory by various pleasing words, she invited him, who was delighted, to witness the greatness of the festival of sacrifice. - (333) When the emperor, accompanied by his hundred sons and grandsons, went there next morning, she made him an offering to the circle of the goddesses. - (334) Even now there are visible on a rock the impressions of two knees, which mark the ascension to heaven of her, who became a demi-goddess in consequence of that action. - (335) Even now the god Satakapalesa, the circle of the (divine) Mothers, that rock, and that story, are remembered in the mathas of Khert.

(336) Then his son Kshitinanda, who, (like) a bulb of the family-tree, had been spared by the goddess, ruled over the earth for thirty years.

(337) His son, called Vasunanda, the author of a celebrated Kamasastra, ruled over the earth for fifty-two years and two months.

(338) His son Nara (II.) was king for sixty (years); and his son Aksha, who caused the village of Akshavala to be built, for the same number of years.

(339) Thereon his son Gopaditya, who exhibited the return of the primitive age by his care for the castes and orders, ruled over the earth together with the islands. - (340) He gave away Sakhôla, Khâgi, Kahâdigrâma, Skandapura, Samāngāsa, and other agrahāras. — (341) Having consecrated (the temple of ) Jyoshthesvara on (the hill called) Gopadri, this virtuous (king) granted the Gops agraháras to Brâhmans born in the countries of the Åryss. -(342, 343) Having banished to Bhukshiravatika those who ate garlic, he placed at Khasata those Bråhmans who neglected their rules of conduct; and, having imported other holy Bråhmans from pure countries, he caused them to settle in Vaschika and other agraháras. - (344) He, who obtained the title of "the uppermost guardian of the world" in panegyrical poems, did not permit the slaughter of animals except at a sacrifice. --- (345) Having ruled over the earth for sixty years and six months, he went to the worlds of the virtuons, in order to enjoy the results of his good deeds.

(346) His son Gökarna, who founded (the temple of) Gökarnösvara, held the earth for fifty-eight years diminished by thirty days.

(347) His son was Narendraditya (I.), whose other name was Khinkhila, and who caused the consecration of (the temple of) Bhutesvara and (the conducting of) the Akshayin1. -- (348) His Guru, Ugra by name, who possessed the divine favour, and whose appearance was full of splendour, built (the temple of) Ugrêss and a circle of the (divine) Mothers. --- (349) Having been the lord of the earth for thirty-six years and a hundred days, the virtuous (king) obtained the sinless worlds in consequence of his prolonged good conduct.

(350) Then his son, Yudhishthira (I.), whom people called "the blind (Andha)-Yudhishthira" on account of his small eyes, became king. --- [(351-372) He loses the throne

<sup>388</sup> 관위과 PT.

340 काहाडिमाम PT. शसाङ्गाम P; शमाङादि CT; read शमाङ्गास. On Khagi (the modern Kakapur) and Samingles, see K. B. verses 90 and 100.

341 On Jyfchihlesvara see note on verse 124, on Gôpådri, K. B. p. 17.

343 स्पर्धान्ति P; स्पर्धान्ति CT; read व्यधादिः

344 According to i. 15, panegyrical poems (pratasti) were used by Kalhapa as correctives of his narrative. On pratasti see now Dr. Bühler's remarks in the Fienna Oriental Journal, Vol. II. p. 86. 345 संबरमासां P. ेपरीपार्क P C.

346 खाणी P. 'रथे PT. 'त्याहां P.

<sup>347</sup> प्रतिष्ठायामक<sup>°</sup> २; <sup>6</sup>त्रतिष्ठानामक<sup>°</sup> C T; read <sup>9</sup>त्रतिष्ठाया अक्ष<sup>°</sup>. A temple of Bhûtéévara or Bhûtééa was already existing at the times of Asoks and Jalauks I.; see i. 107, 148. In ii. 133 and v. 46, it is mentioned along with Vijayan. Akshayini must have been the name of a river; compare note on verse 150, and Bakavati in verse 829.

<sup>555 &</sup>lt;sup>°</sup>ग्लौपित<sup>°</sup> P. 388 On dévichairs and mútrichairs (verse 385) see note on verse 123.

<sup>334</sup> दबययापि T.

<sup>335</sup> aff P. It appears from this verse that the Saiva temple at Khert was called Satakapaless, "the lord of a hundred skulls," and that tradition explained that name by the sacrifice of king Baka and of his hundred sons

through a conspiracy of his ministers with neighbouring kings and has to leave the country with his wives.] — (373) Some benevolent kings, whose country the king visited, kindly alleviated his grief for the loss of his kingdom by various acts of courtesy, (which appeared) important (as they were accompanied by) strict obedience to his orders, (and) by hinting the cessation of his sorrow in words, which were pleasing through friendliness and earnestness.

Thus ends the first Taramga of the Rajataramgini, the work of Kalhana, the son of the lord Chanpaka who was the great minister of Kasmira.

### REMARK.

In the Calcutta and Paris editions, the first Taramga contains 375 verses. Deducting the two spurious verses 308 and 309, which are omitted by P, there remain 373 verses. This actual number differs only by one from the colophon of P, according to which the first Taramga consists of 372 verses.

### (To be continued.)

# THE INSCRIPTIONS OF PIYADASI.

### BY E. SENART, MEMBRE DE L'INSTITUT DE FRANCE.

Translated by G. A. Grierson, B.C.S., and revised by the Author.

(Continued from p. 80.)

### SIXTH EDICT.

# Prinsep, l. c. pp. 596 ff.; Kern, p. 92 ff.

# TEXT.

Dêvânampiyê piyadasi lâja hêvam ahâ [.] duvâdasa
 vasa-abhisitêna mê dhammalipi<sup>1</sup> likhâpitâ lôkasâ
 hitasukhâyê [.] sê tam<sup>3</sup> apahatâ tamtam dhammavadhi pâpôvâ
 hêvam lôkasâ hitasukhêti paţivêkhâmi atha iyam
 nâtisu hêvam patiyâsamnêsu hêvam apakathêsu
 kimam kâni<sup>3</sup> sukham avabâmîti tatha cha vidahâmi [.] hêmêvâ
 ravanikâyêsu<sup>4</sup> paţivêkhâmi [.] savapâsamdâ pi mê pûjitâ

8 vividhâya pûjâyâ [.] ê chu iyâm atanâ pachûpagamanê<sup>6</sup>

9 sô mê môkhyamatê [.] sadvîsativasa abhisitêna mê

10 iyam dhammalipi likhåpitå [.]

### NOTES.

1. Misled by the following sentence, the meaning of which he completely failed to grasp, Prinsep interpreted the absence of the pronoun *iyait* from beside *dhaimalipi*, as influenting that the edict of the thirteenth year must have been conceived in terms opposed to those of the present one, and inspired by doctrines which the king now repudiates. Lassen (II\* 276 n. 2) adopts this strange idea with some reserve. The text in no way authorises such an explanation. Translated literally, the sentence gives this meaning and no other :--- 'It was in the thirteenth year after my coronation that I had an edict engraved for the welfare and happiness of the people,' that is to say, plainly, '' had engraved for the first time.' Such an idea being aimed at, can alone explain the introduction of the sentence here. We shall see that this very simple observation has a conclusion at once extremely unexpected, and very important.

<sup>53</sup> द्यैदेशचित<sup>©</sup> P. आत्न्या P T. इति काश्मीरिकमहामात्यचण्यकभभूमूनोः कल्हणस्य कृतौ राजतरांगिण्यां प्रधमस्तरेगः P. The form Kámirika cocurs in all the colophons, while Kámiraka is used throughout the text. Kalhana's father, Chanpaka, is erroneously called Champaka in the Calcutts and Paris editions. It is a curious coincidence that, in Tamil, the two forms sanbaga and senbaga are used besides sambaga, the equivalent of the Sanskrit champaka (Michelia Champaca, L.).

THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY.

It will be remembered that the concluding words of the 12th (Bock) edict are immediately followed at Khâlsi by characters which I have been able to correct with certainty into athavesabhisitasa, the certain equivalent of which, though greatly altered, reappears at Kapur-di-Giri (I. 253). Deceived by the divisions introduced into the reproductions of the Corpus, which I supposed to depend on positive traces preserved by the rock itself, I connected these words with the 12th edict; but a kind communication from Dr. Kern allows me to rectify this passage so as to leave no further doubt. We must, according to his ingenious conjecture, separate the words in question from the 12th edict and transfer them to the commencement of the 13th, the genitive -abhisitasa, being in agreement with Piyadasisa. The words in brackets should therefore be struck out from the end of my translation of the 12th (Rock) edict, and the commencement of the 13th should be modified in the following manner :--- 'In the ninth year of his coronation, the king Piyadasi, dear unto the Dêvas, conquered the immense territory of Kalinga.' Now, it will have been seen from my translation, that it was to this conquest, and to the horrors of which it had been the occasion, that the king attributes his religious conversion. We have, therefore, two facts :--(1) that the conversion of the king dated from the ninth year of his coronation, and (2) that he only commenced to have the -edicts which were inspired by his new opinions engraved in the thirteenth. This, I may add, very well agrees with the statement in the 5th edict of Girnar, according to which the creation of Dharmamahamátras dates from his fourteenth year. Now let us compare the commencement of the edicts of Sahasrâm and of Rûpnâth with these two facts. According to the version of this passage, as corrected by Dr. Oldenberg (Mahavagga, I. p. xxxviii. note, Zeitschr. der Deutschen Morg. Ges., xxxv., 473) the king, who speaks, declares that he had passed 'more than two years and a half after his conversion without showing his zeal actively, but that, at the moment when he was speaking, he had manifested such zeal a year ago.' If we add these figures together, we find, on the one hand, that Piyadasi passed eight years and a fraction, say eight years and a half, after his coronation, before he was converted ; and that he was then more than two years and a half, say two years and three-quarters, before giving effective proofs of his religious zeal. This makes an approximate total of eleven years, plus a fraction, of religious coldness : and it was accordingly only in the twelfth or thirteenth year of his reign that his zeal became outwardly manifest. It is exactly at this period that his evidence in the present passage fixes his first religious edicts. This is a coincidence which no one could consider to be accidental, and there follows this important conclusion that, contrary to the doubts expressed in various quarters and to the theory so ably upheld by Dr. Oldenberg (Zeitschr. der Deutschen Morg. Ges., loc. cit.) the author of the inscriptions of Sabasram and of Rupnath was indisputably the same Pivadasi as he who published the rock tables of Girnar, and the Columnar edicts, and that, in dealing with these inscriptions, we are certainly on Buddhist ground. It follows, moreover, that the edicts of Sahasram and of Rupnath, belonging, as they do, to the thirteenth year after his coronation, are certainly amongst the first which he had engraved, and probably the very same as those to which he makes allusion in the passage before us.

2. This phrase contains two difficult words. One is  $p \delta p \delta v \delta$ , which has been definitely explained by Dr. Kern as equivalent to  $pr \delta p nuy \delta t$ . With regard to the first,  $apahat \delta$ . I think that the learned Leyden professor has been less happy in his suggestions. He takes it as equivalent to a prahart  $\delta$ , from the verbal noun prahartar, with task for its direct object. But, besides such a construction, awkward enough under any circumstances, being repugnant to the style of our monuments, it does not give a very satisfactory sense. Not mutilating these edicts is too small a thing to cause one to acquire, as the sequel shows, various virtues. In the first place, I think that the phrase runs down to -sukh  $\delta t$ . The cha, which in line 6 follows tatha, proves that the entire sentence is to be divided into two parallel halves, the former part of each forming the thoughts of the king, marked and completed by an *iti*, the latter being the two verbs patiet khámi, and tathe videhámi. This construction makes the explanation of the initial sf more simple. It refers necessarily to loks understood from the proceeding lokasa. This being settled, the general sense to be expected from the entire proposition is something to the

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effect that, by instructing themselves by these edicts, men will practise certain virtues, and will be happier and better. It appears to me that we shall easily arrive at this translation by taking *apakatá* as the participle absolute, for *apakritya* or even *apakritvá* (we might venture to correct the reading to *apakáti*, cf. above I. 53, or even to *apakatu*). The meaning 'to carry off for one's own appropriation,' which *apa-kar* exactly expresses, could, it appears to me, be applied without too great boldness in the king's ideas to the fact that passers-by might carry away in their memories some scraps of his exhortations, and would improve in such and such a way. (The distributive idiom *tam-tam* will be noticed). In this manner the meaning appears to me to be much more natural.

3. To atha iyam corresponds exactly the Pâli idiom yathayidam, which is also known in Buddhist Sanskrit. For the characters kimamkáni, it is unnecessary to have recourse to the really desperate correction kámakáli. The conjunction káni is now familiar to us, and the next edict (I. 18) affords another instance of its association with an interrogative pronoun; kimam may remain. As observed on a former occasion (I. 18-19) we are authorised to understand it as kim u, a common strongly interrogative formula. If we reject this reading, the only other alternative which I see, is to admit that kim, degraded to the rôle of a simple particle, has in some way doubled its final letter by the addition of a neuter adverbial termination, so that we obtain kimam, very much as the Pâli has sudam for suidam, i.e. suid. I must avow my preference for the former solution.

4. A comparison with the 12th (Rock) edict appears to me to fix the meaning of nikáya for the present passage, where it is, as in the other, closely connected with pásanda. Nikáyas form the body of functionaries or royal officers over whom Piyadasi exercises a supervision, the personal character of which we have just seen the 4th (Columnar) edict emphasizing.

5. The 12th (Rock) edict again helps us to arrive at the exact meaning of this last phrase. The obscurity consists in the words atana pachupagamana, although the substantive pachupagamana does not lend itself to much uncertainty. It can hardly mean anything except the action of approaching with respect, and while we admit that prati adds a distributive or individual shade of meaning, it can easily be translated as 'personal adherence to.' But what is the relation between the two words? Dr. Kern transcribes the first word as atana and sees in it a genitive. In that case we should except atané, but if we pass over this difficulty, the translation which he proposes, 'my own belief' (mijne eigene belijdenis) supposes a very peculiar meaning for pachupagamana, which is a bold deviation from the etymological sense in a word for which we have no proof of any technical use. In the 12th (Rock) edict, we have a thought altogether analogous to the passage under review :- ' Piyadasi . . . . honours all sects . . . . by honours of different kinds.' Then follows a sentence which the particle tu at first sight places in a certain antithesis to what precedes :-- 'But less importance is attached to that than to the desire of seeing their essence (the virtues which constitute their essentials) reign.' Now, here also, the particle chu gives a shade of antithesis to the second member of the sentence. If we take the form atand as correct, and translate literally, we get, 'but it is the personal adherence (to the sects) which I consider as the essential requisite.' The deliberate personal adherence to the doctrines of the various religions is evidently the necessary condition of their saravadhi, as the 12th edict expresses it. This explanation, therefore, without touching the text as handed down to us, leads us directly and without violence to a thought which makes a fitting supplement to the idea of the 12th edict. This consideration appears to me to be of such a nature as strongly to recommend it, above all in a text which, like ours, is far from avoiding repetitions, as we shall be better able to judge in dealing with the 8th ediot.

### TRANSLATION.

Thus saith the King Piyadasi, dear unto the Dêvas :-- In the thirteenth year after my coronation did I [for the first time] have edicts engraved for the welfare and happiness of the people. I trust that they will carry away something from them, and thus, in such and such

respects, will make progress in the religion, so that this will be for the welfare and happiness of the people. I also make such arrangements as I believe suited to provide for happiness, whether amongst my distant subjects or amongst those who are near to me and amongst my relations. Hence it is I who watch over the whole body of my officers. All sects receive from me honours of different kinds, but it is the personal adherence [to their doctrines which] I consider to be the essential requisite. In the twenty-seventh year after my coronation had I this edict engraved.

# SANSKRIT AND OLD-KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS. BY J. F. FLEET, BO.C.S., M.B.A.S., C.I.E. No. 175.—Bombay Asiatic Society's Copper-Plate Grant of Bhimadeva II. Simha-Samvat 93.

I edit this inscription, which has not previously been published, from the original plates, which I obtained for examination, in 1878, from the Library of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. I have no information as to where they were found. A lithograph of the inscription will be published hereafter, in *Indian Inscriptions*, No. 17.

The plates, which are inscribed on one side only, are two in number; each measuring about  $9\frac{1}{4}$  by  $6\frac{1}{8}$ . The edges of them were slightly raised into rime, to protect the writing; and though the surfaces of the plates are a good deal corroded by rust, the inscription is legible, without any points of doubt, throughout. - In the lower part of the first plate, and the upper part of the second, there are holes for two rings to connect them. The rings are plain copper rings, each about 1" thick and 23" in diameter. They had both been cut, when the grant came under my notice. There are no indications of a seal having been attached to either of them, and abstracted from it. And the seal of this grant, if there was one, is not now forthcoming. ---The characters are Nagari, of the regular type of the period and locality to which the inscription refers itself. They include, in line 1, the decimal figures 1, 3, and 9. The average size of the letters is about  $\frac{5}{16}$ . The engraving is bold and good. — The language is Sanskrit; and the whole record is in prose, except for one benedictive and imprecatory verse quoted in line 13-14. In Jine 6 we have the Prakrit word vachchha, for the Sanskrit vatsa. - In respect of orthography, the only points that call for notice are (1) the constant use of the anusvára instead of the proper nasal, e.g. in mandal-antahpati, line 3; (2) the use of v for b throughout, in vráhmana, lines 4 and 8, and in vôdhayaty, line 4; and (3) the use of s for s, in sva, line 3; niváši, line 4; and sahaśráni śvargé, line 13.

The inscription is one of the Chaulukys king Bhimadeva II. of Anhilwad. It is non-sectarian; the object of it being to record the grant of some land to a Bråhman.

The places mentioned in the inscription are, the city of Anahilapátaka, where Bhîmadêva II. was, when he notified this grant; Sahasacháná, the village in which the land granted was situated; Vékariyá, a village mentioned in defining the boundaries of the land; and Prasannapura, the town from which the family of the grantee came. And, as we learn from the preamble, Sahasacháná and Vékariyá are to be looked for in the Kachohha mandala or province of Kachohha; which must have been more or less identical with the modern 'Cutch' State; and which the record describes as being enjoyed by Bhîmadêva II. himself, as if the province were private property of his, assigned to him apart from the general revenues of the kingdom.

As regards the date of this record, in line 1 we have the details of the year 93, in decimal figures, of an unspecified era; the month Chaitra; the bright fortnight; the civil day 11 (and with it the eleventh *tithi*); and Ravi, *i. e.* Râvivâra or Sunday. And from line 5 we learn that the grant was made on that day, at the festival of a samkranti, which can only be the Mésha-Samkranti or entrance of the Sun into Aries. The era that is quoted, is the Simha era; which is mentioned under that name in the Verâwal inscription of Arjunadêva of Anhilwâd,<sup>1</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See ante, Vol. XI. p. 242, Text, line S; and Vol. XVI. p. 147.

dated in Valabhi-Samvat 945, and again in No. 176 below. The exact epoch of this era, and the scheme of its years, as also its historical starting-point, have not yet been properly considered. To these points I will revert on another occasion. And meanwhile it is sufficient to state that the month of Chaitra in Simha-Samvat 93 should be coupled with Vikrama-Samvat 1262 or 1263; and that the English equivalent of the given date is to be found in A. D. 1204, 1205, 1206, or 1207, according as the Vikrama year is treated as a northern or as a southern year, and is applied as current or as expired. By Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, I find that—

In northern Vikrama-Samvat 1262 current, Chaitra sukla 11 ended on Saturday, 13th March, A.D. 1204, at about 44 ghais, 45 palas, after mean sunrise, for Anhilwad;<sup>2</sup> eleven days before the Mêsha-Samkranti, which occurred on Wednesday, 24th March, at about 31 gh. 37 p.

In northern Vikrama-Samvat 1263 current (1262 expired) and southern Vikrama-Samvat 1262 current, Chaitra śukla 11 ended on Friday, 1st April, A.D. 1205, at about 47 gh. 58 p.; seven days after the Mêsha-Samkrânti, which occurred on Thursday, 24th March, at about 47 gh. 8 p.

In northern Vikrama-Samvat 1264 current (1263 expired) and southern Vikrama-Samvat 1263 current, Chaitra śukla 11 ended on Wednesday, 22nd March, A.D. 1206, at about 29 gh. 52 p.; three days before the Mêsha-Samkrânti, which occurred on Saturday, 25th March, at about 2 gh. 40 p., and would be celebrated on the same day.

And finally, in southern Vikrama-Samvat 1264 current (1263 expired), Chaitra sukla 11 ended, as required, on Sunday, 11th March, A.D. 1207, at about 59 gh. 5 p. But this was fourteen days before the Mésha-Samkranti, which occurred on Sunday, 25th March, at about 18 gh. 11 p., and would be celebrated on that day. This calculation, of course, is for the nirayana or non precessional samkranti. And the discrepancy cannot be adjusted by assuming that this record intends to quote the sáyana or precessional samkranti; for, the sáyana Mésha-Samkranti occurred, roughly, either very late on Tuesday, 13th March, or very early on Wednesday, 14th March. There seems, therefore, no room for doubting that this day, Sunday, 25th March, A.D. 1207, is the one that is intended. But the tithi which ended on this day, at about 55 gh. 58 p., was the eleventh tithi of the dark fortnight of Chaitra, by the amanta arrangement, which is the proper one for this locality and period. And, to reconcile the results, we must assume a genuine mistake in the preparation of the record; and, though  $\delta u$ , 'the bright fortnight,' is distinctly the reading in the text, we must alter it into ba, 'the dark fortnight.'

### TEXT.<sup>3</sup>

### First Plate.

- 1 Ôm<sup>4</sup> Râjâvalî pûrvva-vat II Samvat 93 Chaitra su di 11 Ravau ady=êha śrîmad-A-
- 2 nahilapätakê samasta râjâvalî virâjita mahârâjâdhirâja śrî-
- 3 Bhimadèvah śva(sva)-bhujyamâna-Kachchha-mamdal-âmtahpâti-samastarájapurushâ-
- 4 n vrå(brå)hmaņ-ôttarân tam(n)-nivâśi(si)-janapadâ[m\*]á=cha vô(bô)dhayaty= Astu vah samviditam
- 5 yathâ 11 Adya samkrânti-parvvani char-âchara-gurum bhagavamtam Bhavânî-patim=abhya-
- 6 rchya samsárasy=ásáratám vichimtya **Prasamnna<sup>5</sup>pura-**sthána-vinirgatáyah<sup>6</sup> Vachchha(tsa)-sa-

- 4 1
- <sup>5</sup> Read prasanna.

<sup>3</sup> From the original plates.

- \* Represented by a symbol.
- 8 Read viningataya.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The times here are for Anhilwad, all through.

7		ôdara-suta-G	-	Sahas	achâņ	<b>å</b> -grâmê <sup>7</sup>	vâpî-puțakê
8	êkâ śulkêna	alavâh[â*] sahâ(ha) hmaņa-Dâmô	<b>śāsan</b> ê	pradattá	[#•]	Asyâś=el	na pûrvvatê
9	dara-satka-vûpî			y <b>a</b> -kshêtra	[m*]	paśchimê	maham <sup>8</sup> -Kêśa-
			Second	Plate.			

chatur-åghåt-ôpalakshitå<sup>9</sup> II Bhúuttaratô mârgah iti va-satka-vâpî 10 -

asmadu(d)-vamsa-jair-anyair-api bhavi-bhôktribhih amim=ênâm=avagamya 11

- va(dha)rma-dâyô=[ya•]m=anumamtavyah smat-pradattåh<sup>10</sup> pâlanîyaś=cha II 12Uktam cha bhagava-
- tâ Vyâsêna [1\*] Shavyir<sup>11</sup>-vvarva<sup>12</sup> sahaárá (srå) ni śva(sva) rgê tishta (shtha) ti 13 bhûmi-dah Achchhêttâ
- 14 ch=ânumaintâ cha tâmoy<sup>13</sup>=êva nacha(ra)kam vasêt II Likhitam=idam kayastha-
- 15 Kâmchana-suta-Vatêśvarêņa II Dûtakô=tra na(ma)hasamdhivigrahika-śri-

Chamdasarmmah(rmmå) II Sri-Bhimadévasya<sup>14</sup> !!

# ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

After the words "the line of kings (is) as on previous occasions," which refer to the full genealogy as given in, for instance, No. 176 below, the inscription proceeds to record that : - In the year 93 (line 1), in the month Chaitra, in the bright fortnight, on the civil day 11, and on Sunday, to-day, and here at the famous (city of) Anahilapataka, the Mahárájádhirája, the glorious Bhimadèva (II.) (l. 3), informs all the king's servants, and the people, headed by the Brâhmans, in the Kachchha mandala, which is being enjoyed by himself :-

"Be it known to you (1. 4) that to-day, at the festival of a samkranti (1. 5), having done worship to (Siva) the divine lord of Bhavani, the father of all things animate and inanimate, one plough (halaváhá) of land, in the hollow ground below an irrigation-well (vápiputaka), at the village of Sahasachana (l. 7), is given by this charter, to Gôvinda, the son of Dâmôdara, of the Vatsa gôtru, who came from the locality of Prasannapura.

"The boundaries of this land (l. 8) are : - On the east, an irrigation-well in the holding (vatka) of the Brâhman Dâmôdara; on the south, the fields of the (the village of) Věkariya;<sup>15</sup> on the west, an irrigation-tank in the holding of the Mahattara, or Mahattama, Kêśava; and on the north, a road.

"[In lines 11 to 14, the grantor gives an injunction to future rulers, to continue this grant; and quotes one of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses, which is allotted to the venerable Vyasa. And his speech apparently ends with the word vaset, in line 14.]"

Lines 14 to 16 record that the charter was written by the Kâyastha Vațësvara, the son of Kanchana; and that the Dútaka was the Mahasamahivigrahika Chandasarman.

And the inscription ends with the words "of the glorious Bhimadêva;" referring to his sign-manual, which is sapposed to be attached here.

No. 176.-ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETT'S COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF THE TIME OF BHIMADEVA II. VIERAMA-SAMVAT 1266, AND SIMHA-SAMVAT 96.

This inscription again, which has not previously been published, I edit from the original plates, which I obtained for examination, in 1879, from the Library of the Royal Asiatic

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<sup>7</sup> This word, subaschind-grams, was omitted here, and stands below line 9, with marks at both places to indicate its proper position in the Text. \* i. e. mahattara, or mahattama. Instead of using the anusvéra, the word would more properly have been

written mada<sup>0</sup>.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Metre, Slöka (Anushtubh).
 <sup>12</sup> Read dyddt upalal shithh.
 <sup>13</sup> Read tony.
 <sup>14</sup> The words suchasto-yash are understood here.
 <sup>15</sup> This villago-name still exists in the Sorath Print of Käthidwäd, in the Mahl-Känthä State, and in the Viram-gaum Tälukä of the Ahmadä.<sup>23</sup> District. Also, the names of Vékra and Vékra exist in Kachoha.

Society. I have no information as to where they were found. A lithograph of the inscription will be published hereafter, in *Indian Inscriptions*, No. 11.

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The plates, of which the first and the last are inscribed on one side only, are three in number; each measuring about  $11_{10}^{3*}$  by  $7\frac{5}{3}^{*}$ . They are quite smooth; the edges of them heing neither fashioned thicker, nor raised into rims. But they are in an excellent state of preservation; and the inscription is perfectly legible throughout. The plates are numbered, in the margin after the end of the writing on the first and third plates, and on the second side of the second plate .- In the lower part of the first plate, and the upper part of the other two, there are holes for a ring to connect them. The ring is a plain copper ring, about  $\frac{5}{14}$ , thick and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  in diameter. It had been out when the grant came under my notice. There are no indications of a seal having been attached to it, and abstracted from it. And the seal of this grant, if there was one, is not now forthcoming .- The characters are Någari, of the regular type of the period and locality to which the inscription refers itself. They include in lines 2 and 29, and in the numbering of the plates, the decimal figures 1 to 6, and 9. The average size of the letters is about  $\frac{1}{4}$ ; but it is not preserved very uniformly. The engraving is good and clear. --- The language is Sanskrit; and the whole record is in prose, except for one benedictive and imprecatory verse quoted in line 47-48. There are a good many mistakes; bat, curiously enough, in mentioning Någårjuna, the king of Kåvi, in line 17, this inscription supplies a satisfactory reading, which has not been found in the previously published grants of this dynasty. The text contains, in lines 2, 3, 23 ff., many abbreviated words, not all of which are recognisable; and in some instances, as in suta', pandita', and ireshti', in lines 52-54, the mark of abbreviation seems to be used unnecessarily. It also contains some words that require explanation; palladiká, in line 43; kaethaka,1 in line 55, which probably stands for kachchhaka, since in line 43 we have kachhaka<sup>2</sup> or more properly kachchhaka; and vuhani, in lines 35, 38, 41, 42, which, from the mention in line 41 of "the valant of the village (of Bhûharadâ)" and in line 41-42 of "the vahani of (the village of) Sîvalîyâ," seems to be not a village-name, as otherwise it might have been understood.---In respect of orthography, the only points that call for notice are (1) the constant use of the anusvúra instead of the proper nasal, e.g. in chámumda, line 6; ávamti, line 10; and ranámgana, line 12; (2) the omission, throughout, to double consonants after r, except in karnna, line 9; dharmména, line 44; and dharmmártha, line 48; and (3) the use of v for b throughout, in prativaddha, line 28; vrahmajd, line 50; and vrahmapuriya and vráhmaņa, line 52.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the Chaulukya king Bhimadeva II. of Anhilwad. But the charter contained in it refers only to certain arrangements made by some subordinate persons. The inscription is non-sectarian; the object of it being to record some grants of land for the maintenance of an irrigation-well and a watering-trough attached to it.

The places mentioned in this inscription, in addition to Anahilapätaka, or, as the name is written here and in some other records, Anahillapätaka, at which city the record was drawn up in writing, are, Ghantelänä, the village in which were situated the irrigation-well and the watering-trough; the villages of Åkavaltyå, Bhüharadå, Säkali, Samadiyå, Sivaltyå, and Varadi, and the river Söshadi, mentioned in connection with the details of the grants; the village or hamlet of Brahmapuri, mentioned in the list of witnesses; and Dharmavarhika, apparently a town or village, at which place the written charter was delivered by the Dútaka, and was engrossed on copper-plates. And the neighbourhood in which they are to be found, is indicated by the mention, in the preamble, of the Suräshtrah mandala, which is the modern province of Kathiawad, and of the city of Vamanasthali, which is the modern

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> chech is frequently represented by sth. But it must be noted that the proper chech is used in gachehhamina, line 38.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> This, at least, is the word that I thing is intended. But the sign which I interpret here as *chh*, and which does represent *chh* in *gachchhamdna*, line 33, is used for *th* in *sthând*, line 51 and other places; though not in *atr-arthé*, line 49. It also occurs in *chhéda*, line 52, where it is rather differently formed; and in *machhitya* (unless we should here read *mathitya*) by mistake for *mathétya*, line 50.

Wanthali<sup>3</sup> in the Junàgadh State in Kâthiâwâd. Dharmavarhikâ, however, may possibly be another name of Anhilwâd itself. Of the places mentioned in the genealogical passage, Avanti is another name of Ujjain, in Mâlwa; Sâkambhari is supposed to be the modern Sambhar or Sâmbhar, in the Jaipur State, Râjputânâ (ante, Vol. VIII. p. 59, note 6; and Vol. X. p. 161); the Sapadalaksha country has been identified by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji with the region of the Sivâlik Hills, in the Pañjâb (ante, Vol. X. p. 345); and Kâvi is evidently the modern Kâvi, in the Broach District.

The date of this record, in lines 1 to 4, is given fully in words and in decimal figures; and the details are Vikrama-Samvat 1266, not distinctly specified either as current or as expired,<sup>4</sup> and Simha-Samvat 96; the month Mårga, *i.e.* Mårgasîrsha; the bright fortnight; the fourteenth *tithi* and civil day; and Gurudina or Thursday. And the English equivalent is to be found in A.D. 1208 or 1209, according as the given Vikrama year, whether referred to the northern or to the southern reckoning of the era, is to be taken as current or as expired. By Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, I find that —

In (northern and) southern Vikrama-Samvat 1266, current, Mårgasîrsha sukla 14 ended on Sunday, 23rd November, A.D. 1208, at about 5 ghalis, 58 palas, after mean sunrise, for Anhilwâd.

And in (northern and) southern Vikrama-Samvat 1267 current (1266 expired), Märgasirsha sukla 14 ended, as required, on Thursday, 12th November, A.D. 1209, at about 22 gh. 31 p. And this, therefore, is the proper English equivalent of the given date.

# TEXT.<sup>5</sup>

### First Plate.

- 1 Öm<sup>6</sup> Svasti Srimad-Vikrama-nripa-kål-åtita-samvatsara<sup>7</sup>-satéshu dvådasasu shata shashty<sup>9</sup>=ådhiké-
- 2. shu laukika<sup>09</sup> Margga-masasya sukla-paksha-chaturdasyam Guru-diné atr= amkatôh-pi<sup>10</sup> sri-
- 3 Vikrama-samyat 1266 varshé sri-Simha-samvat 96 varshé lauki<sup>°</sup> Margga 8u di<sup>11</sup> 14 Gurav-a-
- 4 syâm samvatsara-mâsa-paksha-dina-vâra-pûrvâyâm tithâv=ady=êha śrîmad-Anahillapâțakê sama-
- 5 sta rajávali virájita paramabhattáraka mahárájádhirája paramésvara sri Mülarája-
- 6 déve påd ânudhyáta paramabhattáraka mahárájádhirája paraméévara-éri ChAmu [m\*]-da rájadéva-
- 7 påd ânudhyâta paramabhattâraka mahârâjâdhirâja paramêśvara śrî Durlabharājadêva-pâd-â-
- 8 nudhyáta paramabhattáraka-mahárájádhirája-paramésvara-éri Bhimadéva-pád-ánudhyáta-pa-
- 9 ramabhattaraka-mahárájádhirája-paraméśvara-Trailókyamalla-árí-Karnnadéva pád ánu-
- 10 dhyâta-paramabhațţâraka-mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêśvar Âvamtînâtha Varvaraka jishņu-Siddhacha-
- 11 krevartti-śrîmej-[J\*]ayasimhadêva-pâd- ânudhyâta paramabhattâraka mehârâjâdhirâjaparamê-

<sup>5</sup> From the original plates.

\* Read shat-shashty.

19 Read amkatospi.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The 'Banthly, Vanathali, Vanthli, and Wanthali,' of maps. &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 13, Lat. 21° 28' N.; Long. 70° 22' E.

<sup>\*</sup> The expression that is used is analogous to one of constant use for the Saka era, on which I have commented, ants, Vol. XVII. p. 119.f.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Represented by a symbol; so also at the end; but the symbol there is not the same as here.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> This letter, ro, was omitted: and was then inserted above the line, with a mark, which has run into the following in, to indicate the omission.

<sup>9</sup> This word, with the mark attached to it, seems to stand for some such expression as laukika-gananaya.

<sup>11</sup> The form that is used here for d, might ordinarily represent dh. Almost the same form occurs in the second syllable of douddatasu, line 1.

12śvara-praudhapratâpa- Chaturbhujavikrama - ranâmgana - vijita - Nakamrar112bhupala - śri-

13 Kum[a\*]rapaladeva - pâd - ânudhyâta - paramabhattâraka - mahârâjâdhirâja - paramêşya-

14 ra-Kalikâla-nikva(shka)lamk- âvatûrita - Rânva(ma) - râjya - prûptâ(pta) - karadîkrita - Sapa-

# Second Plate; First Side.

dalaksha - Lakshmapala - śrimad13 - Ajayapaladêva - pâd - ânudhyâta - paramabha-15 16 ttiraka - mahârâjâdhirâj**a - para**mêśvara - paramabhattaraka<sup>14</sup> - âhava<sup>15</sup> - paràbhûta - durjaya - Nagarjuna - Kaviraja<sup>16</sup> - śrî - Mularajadeva - pâd - ânudhyâ-17 ta - paramabhațțâraka - mahârâjàdbirâja - paramêśvar - Âbhinava - Siddharâja-18 deva - Vôla17 - Nârâyan - âvatâra - śrî - Bhîmadeva - kalyâna - vijaya - râjyê [1\*] 19 20 Tat - pâdapadm - ôpajîvini mahûmûtya - śrî - Ratanapâle śrî - śrîkaran - âsamasta-mudrâ-vyâpârân=upari-pamthayat=îty=êvam 21. dau kâlê pravarttamânê prasâd-âvâpta-pattalayâ<sup>18</sup> bhujyamâna-śrî Surāshţrā-mamdalð 22prabhôh asya mahá°-prati°19-śri-Sômarājadēvē 23kri(ta)n-niyukta-Vamanasthal-iśrikamaham<sup>o20</sup>-śrî-Sô(Sô)bhanadêva-prabhriti-pamcha-kula-pratipattau 24 ranê śâsanam≈a-Prágvát - jñátíya21 - mahamo - Válahará - suta - mahamo bhilikhyatê 25yathâ I

Second Plate; Second Side.

- dakshina-diśu(śâ)-bhâgê Ghamtelana-grâmê kåråpit[å\*] våpî tathå 26 Mahipâlêna tithau Någara-jnätiya-du<sup>022</sup>-Påråsa(śa)ra-suta-du<sup>0</sup>prapâyâm cha samjâta-bharitâyâm .27 Ghamtelâna-grâmê våpi-prativa(ba)ddha-kshêtram Mâdhavâya bhûmi-pâśa-vri°23 28samkhyâ-
- pâśa 50 pamchńśata(t) pâśâ[h\*] i asy=âghûtâ [yathâ\*] i půrvatô jyô°24. 29 yûm Sumachamda-kshêtra[m\*] !

tatha Soshaqi-nama-nadî sîmâ[i\*] dakshinatô=pi Soshaqi-nama-nadî sîmâ | paśchima-30

- râu<sup>°25</sup>-Vêdagarbha-sakta(tka)-kshêtra[m\*] sîmâ | uttaratô 31 tô râja-mûrgga[h#] sîmâ 1(11) Tathâ prapû-kshê-
- dvitîyam tathâ grâmê nt[t\*]ara-diśâyâm vâ[ya\*]vya-kôp-âśrita-bhûmi-pâśa-vri° 32tram samkhyå-
- pâśa 100 śatam=êkam i asya cha âghâțâ yathâ i pûrvatô râjakîya-bhûmi 33 yâm sîmâ |
- dakshinatô Mêha<sup>926</sup>-Sôlûyâ-kshêtra-bhûmî sîmâ | paśchimatô Bhûharada-grâma-sîmâ-34
- yàm sìma i ut[t\*]aratô vahani-sîmâyâm sîmâ i(ii) Tathâ Âkavaliya-grâmê grâmàt 35
- ut[t\*]ara-diśi(śâ)-bhagê bhûmi-khamda 1 samkhyâyâm vri° pâśa 100 śatam=êkam t 36 asya cha
- [yathâ\*] | **Sakeli-**grâma-sîmâyâm pürvvatô sîmâ | dakshinatô Varadi-37 âghâțâ simå | pa-
- áchimató Ghamtelana-grámasy=ôpari gachchhamána-márgga[h\*] símá i ut[t\*]arató 38 vahani sîmâ [II\*]
- Bhuharada-gramô(mê)=pi bhûmi-kha[m\*]da l samkhyâyâm vri° páśa 100 39 Tatha áatam=ôkam | asya

<sup>15</sup> See page 83 above, note 12. 12 Read fakambhari.

<sup>14</sup> This title has already occurred, and is unnecessarily repeated here.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> This title has already occurred, and is unnecessarily repeated nere. <sup>16</sup> Bead bhaffdrak-åhava; subject, however, to the preceding note. <sup>16</sup> In the grant of Vikrama-Samvat 126S, ante, Vol. VI. p. 194, line 10-11, and elsewhere, Dr. Bühler's published-reading and translation are garijanak-ådhirdja, 'the ruler of the Garjanakas.' The reading given by me is quite distinct in the present grant. <sup>17</sup> This should probably be corrected into vâla for bâla. Perhaps the mark before the vâ, which turns it into <sup>16</sup> the destroad of the corrected into vâla for bâla.

<sup>17</sup> This should probably be corrected into value for data. Fernaps the mark before the va, which torns it into value for data. Fernaps the mark before the value, which torns it into value for data. Fernaps the mark before the value, which torns it into solution. But it is possible that the word is here used in a different sense, and that the instrumental case is correct; the meaning then being "in the province of Sursshirsh mandala, which is being enjoyed by him under a patent obtained through the favour of his lord."
18 It is doubtful whether we have here the abbreviation of one official title, mahdpratthdra; or whether two titles, such as machandya-pratthdra, are intended.
29 i.e. mohattara or mahattama.
21 Read progold jfattya.

<sup>22</sup> Or perhaps 40, or possibly huo; so also in lines 45-46. I do not know what the abbreviation stands for.

<sup>24</sup> i.e., probably, jyötisha. 28 i.e. crittik, or vrittam.

<sup>25</sup> i.e. rauta.

#### Third Plate.

- pûrvatô 40 âghâțâ [yathû\*] | Ghamtelana-grâma-sîmâyâm dakshiçatô cha sîmâ I Samadiya-grâma sî-
- 41 mây[â\*]m [sîmâ\*] | paśchimatô tathà grâmiya-vahaņi-sîmâyâm sîmâ | ut[t\*]aratô Sivaliya-
- 42 vahaqi-sîmâyâ[m\*] sîmâ l êvam chatur-àghâța-visuddhâ bhûmî sva-sîmâparyamta[m\*] ya-
- 43 thå-prasiddha-paribhôjyâ grihâņâ[m\*] palladikâ-samêtâ khalaka-ka[ch\*]chhaka-bhûmî
- 44 sahitåfi<sup>37</sup> a-karâ nirmalâ gôpatha-gôprachûra-samêtû udaka-pûrva-dharmmêna prada-
- ttâ 1(<u>11</u>) cha du°-Mâdhavêna sad=aiva bharanîyâ ( 45 Éshû vâpî tathà prapâ vâpî[m\*] tathâ prapâ[m\*] cha
- 46 du°-Mâdhavêna bharamûnêna satâ èshâ bhûmi sha(kha)mda-chatushiaya-samkhyâkâ â-chami-
- dr.årka-kûlam yåvata(t) samtåna-paramparayâ bhôktavyâ bhôktâraniyâś=cha<sup>23</sup> || Jûnihi<sup>29</sup> 47 dattâni
- 48 narsimdrai dânâni<sup>30</sup> dharmm-ârtha-yasa(śa)s-karâņi ( nimálya-vamtê<sup>31</sup>-pratimáni purâ tâni kô nâma
- 49 sådhu[h\*] punar-adadita<sup>32</sup> II Atr=arth0 sâkshi II Vâma<sup>83</sup>-śrî-Sômanâthadêvîyasthânâ<sup>034</sup>-Durvâsu || Srî-
- Visadhðśvaradêva-machhi(thê)tya-sthânâ(na)pati-Vimvalaja 📊 50 Srî-Kêdâra-mathêtyasthână° Vra(bra)hmajâ | Dê-
- sthâna°-yô°35-Lâshâ-suta-yô°-Vêda vî-śrî-Kapàléśvarî-stâ(sthâ)nîya-sthânâ°-Kshadajû 51 l(?)kshâ Â-
- lâ-suta-Î(?)kshâ Vra(bra)hmapuriya-Î(?)kshâ t Disikêsi-suta°-52 Sávadêva | Î(?)kshâ<sup>o36</sup> Chhêdâ | Tathâ vrâ(brâ)hmaņa-
- Mada(dhu)sûdana-suta-pamdita°-Sômaravi mahûjana-Môdha śrêshţi°<sup>37</sup>-Nûna-suta°-śrêshţi°-53 Sâmâ | Kalya°-śrê-
- shți<sup>o</sup>-Khôtâ | Prâgvâ<sup>o33</sup>-śrêshți-Dharaņiga śrêshți<sup>e</sup>-Kudâ-auta°-Gâmgadêva i Gúrja<sup>039</sup>-54 mahâjana-śr[ê#]shți-
- Yajakè II Kûpam khalakam kastha(chchha)kam gô-patham gô-pracháram bhôkta-55 vyam cha II Dûtakah<sup>40</sup> svayam II Dharmavarhi-
- saiicharitaii ch=ajõatam 11 Chha II Śrîh II Om II 56 kayam

### ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

The inscription commences with the date, in twelve centuries, increased by sixtysix (years), of the years that have gone by from the time of the glorious king Vikrama. and, by the popular reckoning, on the fourteenth tithi of the bright fortnight of the month Marga, on Thursday; or, in figures the Vikrama year 1266, in (this) year, the Simha year 96, in (this) year, by the popular reckoning, (the month) Marga, the bright fortnight, the (civil) day 14, on Thursday; on this tithi, (specified) as above by the year, month, fortnight, (civil) day, and week-day; to-day; here at the famous (city of) Anahillapataka (line 4).41 And it then gives the following genealogy :--

The Paramabhattáraka, Mahárájádhirája, and Paramésvara, the glorious Mularajadeva (1.) (1.5). His successor (pad-anudhyata) was the P. M. P., the glorious Chamundarajadeva

reading, which is the 2nd pers. sing. imper. par. <sup>39</sup> Bead naréhidrair-danéni. <sup>1</sup> <u>Bead</u> nármálya-vámta. <sup>31</sup> First na was engraved here; and then it was corrected into ta.

- The mark of abbreviation here seems to be a statistic and in the following instances, read statistic. <sup>28</sup> i.e. garjara; or more properly gurjara.
- <sup>59</sup> i.e. gårjara; or more prop
   <sup>59</sup> This visarga is imperfect; only the lower part of it having been formed.
   <sup>41</sup> The context is "a charter is written, to the following effect," in line 25. And line 55-56, suggests the possibility of Dharmavarhikå being another name of Anhilwåd. And this, with the wording of

<sup>27</sup> Read sakita. Read sakitá.
 <sup>26</sup> What was intended to be the reading here, in activity in the section to the
 <sup>29</sup> Metre, Indravajrå.—The usual reading here is ydnetha. But there is no inherent objection to the
 <sup>30</sup> Read naréhidrairedánáni <sup>26</sup> What was intended to be the reading here, is not apparent. ion to the prosent

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Here wima is perhaps an abbreviation for *idmanasthali*.
 <sup>34</sup> i.e. sthánddhikári, or else sthánápati, for sthánapati, as in the next line.
 <sup>35</sup> The mark of abbreviation here seems to be a mistake. <sup>85</sup> i.e., perhaps, yögin.

(1. 6). His successor was the P. M. P., the glorious Durlabharajadéva (1. 7). His successor was the P. M. P., the glorious Bhimadêva (I.) (1. 8). His successor was the P. M. P., the glorious Karnadêva, who had the biruda or secondary name of Trailôkyamalia (1. 9). His successor was the P. M. P., the glorious Jayasimhadêva (1. 11), who was victorious over the lord of Avanti and over the Varvarakas, and who had the biruda of Siddhachakravartin (1. 10). His successor was the P. M. P., the glorious Kumarapaladêva (1. 13), who was equal in prowess to the god Chaturbhuja (Vishnu), and who conquered in battle the king of Sakambhari (1. 12). His successor was the P. M. P., the glorious Ajayapaladêva (1. 15); who reproduced in this Kali age the spotless reign of Râma; and who levied tribute from Lakshmapala, (the king) of the Sapadalaksha (country). His successor was the P. M. P., the glorious Mularajadêva (II.) (1. 17); who overcame in war Nagarjuna, the king of Kāvi, difficult to be conquered. And his successor is the P. M. P., the glorious Bhimadêva (II.) (1. 19); who has the biruda of Abhinava-Siddharajadêva, and who is a very incarnation of (the god) Bâla-Nârâvana (Vishnu).

In the reign of the last-mentioned king (l. 19), and while his feudatory  $(p\dot{a}dapadm-\delta pajivin)$  the Mahámátya, the illustrious **Ratanapála** (l. 20), is superintending all the functions connected with the royal seal in the records (*árikarana*) and other departments; and while, in the district<sup>43</sup> (*pattalá*) that he acquired through the favour of his lord, viz. in the province of **Surashtrah** mandala which is being enjoyed by him (l. 22), his deputy in the records department at (the city of) Vamanasthalt is the Mahápratihára (?), the illustrious Somarájadéva (l. 23); with the consent (?) (*pratipatti*) of the five families headed by (that of) the Mahattara, or Mahattama, the illustrious Šöbhanadéva, a charter is written, to the following effect (l. 25): —

"By Mahipâla, the son of Vâlaharå, of the Prâgvât kindred, there has been made an irrigation-well  $(vdp\hat{i})$  at the village of Ghantelâns (l. 26), in the southern part of it; and also a watering-trough  $(prap\hat{a})$ . And to Mådhâva, the son of Pârâśara, of the Nâgara kindred, there has been given an allotment of land, consisting of a field connected with the irrigation-well at the village of Ghantelâns (l. 28), and measuring fifty chains  $(pd\hat{s}a)$  (l. 29). Its boundaries are: --On the east, the field of Sumachanda, and the river Sôshadi (l. 30); on the south also, the river Sôshadi; on the west, the field which is the holding (satka) of the Ráuta Védagarbha; and on the north, the king's highway.

"Also (l. 31), in the northern part of the village, there is given a second field, for the watering-trongh, situated in the north-west corner, and measuring one hundred *pdisas* (l. 33). Its boundaries are :--On the east, the king's land, or the land of the king's servants; on the south, the field of the Méhara (P) Sôlûyâ; and on the west, the boundary of the village of Bhuharadá (l. 34); while, on the north, the boundary is at the boundary of the vahani.

"So also, in the village of Åkavallyå (l. 35), in the northern part, there is given land producing one 'candy' (*khanda*) (of grain), and measuring one hundred *pásas* (l. 36). Its boundaries are :--On the east, the boundary of the village of Såkall (l. 37); on the south, the boundary of (the village of) Varadi; on the west, the road that goes over the village of Ghantelana (l. 38); and on the north, the vahani.

"So also in the village of Bhuharaqa (1. 39), there is given land producing one *khanda*, and measuring one hundred pásas. Its boundaries are:—On the east, the boundary of the village of Ghantelana (1. 40); on the south, the boundary of the village of Samadiya; on the west, the boundary of the vahani of the village; and on the north, the boundary of the vahani of (the village of) Sivaliya (1. 41).

"This irrigation-well and watering-trough (I. 45) are to be always maintained by Mâdhava. And, as long as they are maintained, he and his descendants are to enjoy this land yielding four khandas.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>\*2</sup> See note 18 above.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> The total measurement of the four allotments, however, was three hundred and fifty  $p^{\#as}$ ; and in the last two instances one hundred pakes are stated to yield one khanda; so that the total yield should apparently be oul three and a half khandas.

"[Then follows, in line 47, one of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses. After this, there is given a list of the witnesses to the grant, which includes the names of Durvâsu, the Sthánádhikárin, or Sthánapati, of the god Sômanâtha<sup>44</sup> (l. 49); Vimvalaja, the Sthánapati of the matha of the god Visadhéávara (l. 50); Brahmajâ, the Sthánádhikárin, or Sthánapati, of the matha of the god Kédára (l. 50); Kshadajâ, the Sthánádhikárin, or Sthánapati, of the shrine of the goddess Kapâléśvarî (l. 51); İkshâ(?), of the village or hamlet of Brahmapuri (l. 52); the Prâgvât Śróshthin Dharaniga (l. 54); and the Gûrjara Mahájana and Śréshthin Yajakê (l. 55)].

"The well, the threshing-floor (khalaka), the kasthaka or kashchhaka, the cattle-path, and the pasturage, are to be enjoyed (l. 55). The Dútaka is himself; i.e. perhaps Sômarâjadêva. And the command (ájňáta) has been communicated or carried into effect (samcharita), — i.e. the order has been delivered by the Dútaka, and the written charter has been engrossed on copperplates, — at Dharmavarhiká (l. 55)."

### SOMALI AS A WRITTEN LANGUAGE.

#### BY MAJOR J. S. KING, Bo.S.C.

(Continued from Vol. XVII. p. 50.)

No. IV.

COLLOQUIAL SENTENCES.

English.

51.-Do you want this?

52 .--- I do not want this.

53.-Salt is very dear at Lerbera.

54.-Rice is very cheap at Mokha.

55.-To whom do these sheep belong?

56.—Last night a buggalow arrived from Mokha.

57,-Two hundred camels arrived to-day.

58.—Are there any wells here?

59.—Is there any danger from the natives ?

60.-What is the matter with you? (lit. What has got to you?)

61.—Are you sick ?

62.-Put these things in a basket.

ادى ۋۇ مدونيش انگ وة دوني مايو ار شبو مد بوبود و كو كنع ادك تبه، مُنها بريس وكو لنع جبن يهى ادگُن ایالیه هالى دونى متخاهلى كُنَّمِي حانتُ لَبُ مَعَلَنَ اوْدِ بِسُوعٍ كَلِّي میشنن عیل مُكُو جُر میشتن ڈذک مُلَک آبسودُ میا کو هیلی میاد بوگت or tor میوگت فليك كوليكي كورة

Somáli,

" Perhaps "the god Sômanâtha of Vâmanasthali;" see note 33 above.

63.--Come quickly.

64.—I sent for yon: why did you not come? (Ut. Why were you not found come?)

65.-He killed him with a spear.

- 66.-He struck him in the back with a spear.
- 67.-I am afraid to go there.
- 68.-I will give you eight dollars for this cow.
- 69.-I am very thirsty.
- 70.-It is very hot.
- 71.--Remain here.
- 72.--Open the door.
- 73.-I shall go to my country.
- 74.-Where is the book?
- 75.—Are you able to do this?
- 76.-What are you looking at ?
- 77.—Tell me what will be the charge ?
- 78.---Where did you buy this cloth ?
- 79.-Did you buy it or barter for it?
- 80.-Where is the captain of the vessel ?
- 81.-The captain is on shore.
- 82.-Take a chair and sit down.
- 83.-When will you do this work ?
- 84.-I shall finish it in four days.
- 85.-I am going to Zayla to-morrow.
- 86.-Show me a sample of the rice.

د تسو کالہ انگ کو يېڌي مُهاد إمن ويُدي اَسْكُ وُرُنْبُ كُو دلي اللگ کاری ورتب کو ورسی مُك إِنَّن تُكُو بان كَلُغَمَّ لوعدُ سديد تُرشى يان كُوسنيَّ ہ۔ // ع هراد بدن بي هي و کلیوں بدن یہی : لملك فدسو البابِکُ فُر منا لُديد من بان تُكُلَّ كتابكي مية اد ک سداس الد فشو مکرت مهاد اُرتَيْسُ اد اِمْتَى لَسْنَيْ د. کُ مَک بادک ايبندن میاد زیبسدتی متبے و دورستی درتيد تاخردا هيدي ميه ناخردا هيبتو جر کُورسیگ کین و کُو قُدْسُو گر ماد شغلک سینیس اُنگ افر درارو دُبْهیه و دُمَیْنَی انگ زيلع (or اودُل) بران تليّ رُ بِنَّىٰ مَهُ بَّكَيْسُ إِيْتُوس

87Where did you hear this?	ولا مکے بادی
88.—I heard it yesterday on the road.	شالی دُوگی بان کُو صُغلی
89.—It is cooler to-day than yesterday.	مائت شاليُسك قبوب
90.—Are there any fish in this water $?$	بيولا مود كلن كو جر
91.—I am very busy to-day.	مانتُ هُوْل بُدُن بان لَيْهِي
92.—Take the horse home, and bring it at 6 o'clock.	فُرْسُكُ أَغُلُكُيْكُي كَيْدًى لِيهُ ماعدود إِيكَين
93Why did you go to sleep?	، مهادو سیهتی
94Does your wife make mats?	ناگقادو دِرْمو مُفَلَقِينَيْسُ
95I do not understand what you say.	ر و هاد ليديي گرن مايو
96.—Is your knife sharp ?	منديداديم أفبدن تبى
97This box is heavy : how can I carry it ?	مُندُوقُن و اولُس يهي سدے بانُو قادي كُرُ
98Fill this tub with water.	بُومِيلَکُ بَيُّو کُو بوہي
99.—The river is deep.	دردرک و ډيو يېې
100 Take some water to quench your thirst.	بَيُو أَب هُرّادٌ كُ لَحْبِيع

Vocabulary and Grammatical Analysis with Notes and Transliteration.

51.-Adiga whaha ma donaisa ?

# 52.-Anigs wahs doni mayo.

53.— Üsbühda Barbara wá ku gan'a adag tahai. Üsbühda=üsbüh, s. f., salt, with the def. art. afixed. Gan'a s. f., price, cost. Adag, adj., dear, tight. Tahai, 3rd pers. sing. fem. from ahdo be. (H. 5, 132).

54.-Mukhá baris wá kú gan's jaban yahai. Jaban, cheap, past part. of jab, v. break. Yahai, 3rd pers. sing. masc. of ahdo.

55.—Adigan aiya leh ? Adi, s. m. sheep or goat; gan=an, demon. pron., this with the consonant g prefixed, because the word with which it is used (adi) terminates in a vowel. (H. ss. 58 and 22). Aiya, interrog. pron., who ? Leh, from *äleh*, adj. root, possessed of: the  $\mathcal{A}$  is here lost, because the article possessed is mentioned. (H. s. 253).

56.—Hålai doni Mukhåhgi ka-timi. — Hålai. adj. of time, last night. Doni, s. f., boat. (large).

57.-Manta laba båghål awr ba-so'-galai. — Büghül, s. m. hundred. So'-galai, v. entered; compounded of so', move, and gal, enter.

58.—Meshatan 'èl mâ kū-jira ? — 'El, s. m., well. Kā-jir, v. contain : kū is here a preposition or verbal particle. (H. s. 135).

59 — Mean stan. dadka må-laga åbsoda. — Dad, s. m. people, inhabitants. La, a particle, which when pretixed to a verb gives it a passive signification. (H. s. 243). Laga-la, with the article added.

60.-Maha ku helai ? - Hel, v., obtain, get.

61.—Má yád búkta or Adiga má búkta? — Yád, pers. pron. 2, thee; simple nominative form, assisted by the consonant y. Búk, v., be sick : búkta, 2nd pers. sing. pres., habitual.

62.—Ghalabka kolaigt ku-ridd. — Ghalab, s. m., baggage. Kolai, s. m. basket. Kú-ridd, v., throw, put.

63.-Dakso kale. - Dakso, adv., quickly. Kalé, interjec., come !

64.—Aniga kū-yedai: mahād iman waidi ? Yed, v., call, send for. Iman, p.p. of imu, v., come. Waidi, 2nd pers. sing. pres. of wa, not found. (H. s. 90).

65.--Usaga waran ba ku-dilai. - Dilai, 3rd pers. sing. perf. of dil, v., kill.

66.—Usaga dabarka waran ba ku-waremai. — Dabar, s. m., back. Warén, v. 1. stab, thrust. Waremai. 3rd pers. sing. perf. (the letter n changing into m in the inflexion).

67.—Haga in an tago ban ka baghaiya. — Baghaiya lst pers. sing. pres. of bagh,  $\nabla$ ., fear. [It is somewhat curious that in Somâli, as well as in Arabic, Persian, Hindustânî, &c., the verb 'to fear' should be preceded by the sign of the ablative case (ka)].

68.-Lo'da sided karshi yan ku sinalya. -- Lo', s. f. cow. sided, s. f., eight.

69.—Harråd badan bai haiya. — Harråd, s. m., thirst. Bai, compounded of ba and i, to or by me. Haiya, from the verb hai, have, possess. (H. s. 251).

70.-Wa kulůl badan yahai. - Kulöh adj., hot, warm.

71.-Halka fadiso. -- Fadiso, v. 8., sit, remain.

72.—Albābka fur. — Albāb, (Ar.) s. m., door. [It may be noticed that this word has here a double article : the Arabic article (al) prefixed, and the Somāli (ka) added; but the former has become an inseparable part of the word in Somāli]. Fur, t. v., open :—(it also means 'divorce.')

73.—Maghaladaidi ban tagaiya.

74 — Kitabki meh ? — Kitab (Ar.) s. m. book, meh, adv. of place, — where ?

75.—Adiga sidas in-ad fasho ma karta. Si-das, adv. of manner, thus. In-ad = in, that and ad, thou. Fasho, 2nd pers. sing. pres. subj. of fal, do.

76.-Mahad arkaisa P

77.-I.dô immisa la-sinaiya.-Dé v. aux., say, tell. I-dé, tell me. La the passive particle. (H. s. 243). Sinaiya, 3rd pers. sing. masc. pres. of si, give.

78.—**Darks hagge båd ka ibsadtai**. — *Dar*, s. m., cloth, apparel. *Båd*, thon (H. s. 52). *Ka*, prep., from. [This particle is here (for the sake of euphony, I suppose), separated from *hagge*, the word to which it really belongs. Rejected by *hagge*, it would then naturally unite with *ibsadtai*; but as the junction of these two words looks awkward in Arabic characters, I have written the *ka* as an affix to *båd*; thus treating it somewhat similarly to the pronominal affix  $\mathcal{L}$  in Persian.]

79.---Ma yad ibsadtai, misse wa dorsatai P Misse, conj., or else. Dori, v. 3, barter, change.

.80.-Donida näkhuda-hedi méh? - Hedi, possess. pron. 3rd pers. sing., fem., her (H. s. 55).

81.—Nakhûda hebtû Jira. — Heb, s. f., shore ; hebta, adv., ashore. The final u in hebtu is the pron., he.

82.--Kursiga ken o ku fadiso. -- Kursi, s. m. (Ar.), chair. O, equivalent to wa. (H. P. 100-101).

83.—Gormad shughlka samainaisa ? — Gormá, adv. of time, — when ? [Gormád is really a combination of three words : — gor, s. f., time, md, — what ? and ad. pers. pron. 2, simple form.] Shughl, (Ar.), s. m., work, business.

84.—Aniga afar dararro dabaded wâ damainaiya. — Dararro, pl. of darar, s. f., day. Dabaded, adv., after. Damai, v. 5, — finish.

85.—Aniga Zel'a (or Audal) birran tagaiya. — Zel'a is the Arabic, and Audal the Somâli name of the town. Birri, s. f. to-morrow, birrán-birri+án, pers. pron. 1.

86.-Bariska midab-kisa i-tus. - Midab, s. m., sample. Tile, v. imperative, --show.

87.—Waha hagge bad ka maghashai. — Maghashai, 2nd pers. sing. perf. of maghal, v. hear. The letter l, as usual, changing into sh.

88.--Shalai daugi ban ku Maghalai. -- Shélai, s. f., yesterday Dau, s. m., road.

89.--- Manta shalai ke kabob. --- kabob, adj. cool.

90.-Biyoha mā wah kaluna kūjira. - kalun, s. m., fish.

91.-Manta haul badan ban leyahai. - Haul, s. f., affair, business.

92.--Faraska aghalkaigi'ge,i: leh sa'dod i-ken. -- Ge,i, v. 3., remove, take away. Leh, s. f., six. Sá'd (Ar. ساعة), s. f. -- hour; pl. sá'do. The final d is added because the word is preceded by a numeral. (H. s. 31 (b) ).

93.-Mahad û sehatai ? - Seho, v. 4, sleep.

94.--Nagtado dirmo má-falkinaisa? -- Nag, s. f., woman, wife. Dirmo, s. f., mat. Falki, t. v. 3., -- plait (mats).

95.--Wahad ledahai garan mâyo. -- Wahád=wah+ad. Garan, p. part. of garo, v. 4., understand, know.

96.--Mindidadi Ma af-badan tahai? - Mindi, s. f., knife. Af-badan, adj., sharp; (af ≠ edge).

97,-Sanduk an wa olus yahai: sidde ban ukadi kara? --- Sandúk (ar.), s. m., box: Sanduk-an, this box. (H. s. 58). Olus, adj., heavy. Kád, v., lift, carry: kádi kara, 1st pers. sing. pres. poten.

98.-Barmilks biyo ku bohi. - Barmil, (Ar.) s. m., tub, cask. Bohi, v. 3, fill.

99.-Durdurka wå der yahai. - Durdur, a. m., river, stream. Der, adj., deep.

100,-Biyo ab : harradka ka-bi.' -- Harrad, s. m., thirst. Ka-bi', v. 3., quench.

### FOLKLORE IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

### No. 30.

BY PANDIT NATESA SASTRI, M.F.L.S.

# The Arch-Impostor.

In a certain country there lived a Bråhman who had seven sons. One moonlight night he called them all to his side and questioned them as to what they would most like to do at that moment. The first said that he would like to water his fields; the second, that he would go out on a journey; the third, that he would plough his lands, and so on. But the seventh and the last said that he would spend that fine moonlight night in a beautiful house with lovely girls by his side. The father was pleased with the simple replies of the first six boys; but when the last — who was the youngest — expressed so evil a desire, in such a presence, and in such a way, his rage knew no bounds. "Quit my house at once," said the father, and away ran the seventh son.

He left his country and his house that very night, as he was ashamed to live under his father's roof any longer, and went to the wood hard by. In the midst of this wood there dwelt an old woman who used to sell muffins and puddings to shepherds and boy neatherds who frequented the wood in the course of their employment. This had been her source of livelihood for several years, and she had in this way amassed considerable wealth in the shape of gold coins which she kept locked up in a small box. Now the seventh son, on his banishment from home, went to her and said :---

"Madam, I am a poor helpless orphan, will you kindly take me into your service ? I shall be a great help to you in your old age."

So the old woman, pitying the poverty of the boy, and thinking he could belp her took him into her service, and promised to feed him and bring him up as her own son.

"What is your name ?" asked the grandam.

"My name," replied the boy, "is Last Year (Pônavarusham)!"

No doubt it was a queer name, but the old woman did not suspect anything, and thought within herself that such a designation was possible.

Full six years the boy lived with her, and behaved in such a way that she came to regard him almost as her son. She was delighted that God had sent her in her old age such a helper.

One night, just before going to supper, this boy, who had now grown to be a man, threw away all the water in the house, and then sat down to his food. Consequently, when his meal was over, there was no water in the house to wash his hands with; so the old woman went out to fetch water from a well that was at a little distance. Our hero, who will be henceforth called the Arch-Impostor, resolved to take the opportunity thus given him to walk away with all the old woman's savings. He did not wait to wash his hands, but ran off at once with her box of money. Going to a little distance in the wood, he broke it open, emptied the contents into his cloth, and went onwards at random. He walked on for two days and nights, and on the third morning was on the point of emerging from the forest.

Just after he had run away the old woman returned with water from the well, and found no boy. The thought rushed into her mind at once that she might have been deceived, and on quickly searching, she missed her box. Running to the village near her house she raised a loud cry, saying, "Last Year robbed my box, Last Year robbed my box," meaning of course that the person named "Last Year" had taken away her box. But as the words she used —pônavarusham en pettiyai tirudikkondu pônán—also mean, "last year (some one) robbed my box," the people only thought she had gone mad, and sent her away. However often she might explain that "Last Year" was the name of a man, they would not listen to her. Thus was the poor woman deceived.

Meanwhile, our hero, whom we left on the point of emerging from the forest with his bundle of gold coins on his back, was attacked by a bear. He had covered his body and the bundle as well with his upper cloth so as not to arouse suspicion. The bear placed one of its front paws on his shoulder where his bundle was, and our hero, to prevent the animal from doing any harm to him, took a firm hold of the other front paw which the beast had also raised, and ran round and round with it. Meanwhile the paw on his shoulder had made a hole in the bundle of coins, so that every now and then a gold coin dropped out. While this was going on a rich Muhammadan merchaut, having a load of money with him, happened to ride by. Seeing a traveller attacked by a bear, he at once went to the rescue. Whereupon the Arch-Impostor, ever ready to turn everything to his own advantage, addressed him thus :---

"Friend, calmly pursue your course. Do not distarb yourself. This is a bear on which I pronounced an incantation, whereby it drops a gold coin every time that I go round with it. I am testing it now, and have chosen this place to avoid the curiosity of other people. So, do not disturb me."

The Muhammadan, deceived by the composure with which the impostor spoke, and never suspecting that the coins were dropping from his bundle, replied :----".Friend, you appear to be a Brâhman from your face; and it is not very proper for a Brâhman to keep a bear in his house. Give it to me, and instruct me in the incantation. Take in return all the money I have on my horse, and the horse too if you like."

This was exactly what the impostor thought the Muhammadan would say. "My idea is working well," thought he within himself, and proceeded to become very reluctant to part with his bear. He also so managed that more coins began to drop, and the more the coins dropped the more the Muhammadan's mind was fixed with an ambition to become the master of the miraculous bear. He begged hard of the Brâhman, and the latter, as if unwilling to part with a brute which a few moments before he feared would take his life(!), at last told the Muhammadan to tie its hind legs together with a cord, and then its front legs. In this way the brute was safely caught. The Brâhman then pronounced a meaningless incantation over it, told the Muhammadan to repeat it unceasingly for a month before trying its efficacy. He then picked up every gold coin he had dropped, and took leave of his Muslim friend. Telling him that his house was in the New Street of Madura, he went away with the horse and all the money on it. The Muhammadan merchant, fully believing that after a month's repetition the incantation would have the effect he saw, spent nearly all his days engaged in repeating it, and in taking care of the bear.

The Arch-Impostor after thus duping the poor Muslim, pursued his journey, and reached a village about evening. It was a very inhospitable village, and after searching here and there for a place to sleep in, he at last came to the street occupied by the courtezans. He chose the best house, took his bedding into the outer verandah, and lay down with his bundles beneath his head and his horse tied to a tree in front of the house. As he had a large amount of money to guard, sleep did not come to his eyes; he could merely pretend to be sleeping. At about dawn his horse evacuated, and the impostor pushed two gold coins into each piece of the horse-dung. He then returned to his bed and pretended to sleep as before. The sweeper of the house soon after came out to do her daily duty, and after sweeping the outer verandah went up to the horse to remove the horse-dung. But the Arch-Impostor at once arose and said :—" Do not touch the dung of that horse. It is all so much gold." After saying this he carefully collected it, and took out the gold coins. The sweeper was amazed. She ran in and informed the mistress of the house of what she saw. The courtezan came out, and to her astonishment she saw the impostor taking two gold coins out of each piece of the horse-dung. Quite amazed she asked what it all meant, and our hero replied :—

"Madam! This is a horse given to me by a  $y\delta gi$ , (sage) who instructed me in a mantra (incantation). I pronounced it over the horse for a month, and ever since that period it has had the power of dropping gold coins with its ordure." The amazed and ambitions courtezan wanted to get possession of the horse, and learn the mantra. And our hero with a good deal of pretended reluctance parted with his horse in return for all her property. He then taught her some gibberish, which he told her was an incantation. He also told her that she must repeat it for a month, before it would work.

Thus deceiving the woman of the wood, the Muhammadan merchant, and the courtezan, our hero went to Madura, bought a good house in the New Street, true to his word to the Musalmân (and this was the only truth which he ever uttered in his life), and there married the daughter of a rich Brähman, and lived happily and in comfort.

The old woman of the wood was almost mad after the loss of her hard-earned mouey. She traced the footprints of treacherons Last Year and followed them up, hoping to find him out some day or other. After a month's journey in the tracks she reached the place where the Muhammadan merchant was engaged in rearing the bear. He had long before the old woman's arrival finished the required number of incantations, and had gone round with the bear more than a thousand times without success. The old woman engaged him in conversation, and he related everything to her. This led to a mutual explanation of the manner in which they had been duped. The fiery Musalmân flew into a rage, and said :----"We must trace out the rogue and punish him."

The old woman agreed, and they both started for Madura. In their first day's journey they chanced to go to the village where the courtezan had been befooled, and where her story was well known. Every child there could tell them how over a month ago a rogue had come there and had deceived her about a horse and an incantation, and had walked away with all her property. The Musalmân soon identified the horse, and so the courtezan joined the old lady and the Muslim, and they all three went to Madura.

They found their enemy in the New Street, and he, getting up with a cheerful smile, welcomed them all, and after enquiring of their welfare asked them whether they had found the incantations useful. The old woman he consoled with an explanation of his sudden departure. He then requested them all to bathe and take their food, and himself showed the way to the river. Returning before the others, he asked his wife to prepare the ground for his worship of the household god, and also asked her to keep a pestle ready for him. He then asked her to bring the meal, pudding, &c., to be offered to the god, and to dress herself up as an old woman. He also told her that he would lightly beat her with the pestle, and throw her into the house, after which she was to suddenly appear again in the garb of a young woman, which, of course, was her natural attire. All these instructions were issued before his three friends returned from the river, and though Musalmâns and courtezans are never allowed to enter the inner parts of a Brâhman's house, he pretended to show special consideration to them, and asked them to take their seats at a respectful distance, so as to observe what passed inside. The impostor then proceeded with the worship of the god on a grand scale. He pronounced several incantations, and when the worship was drawing to a close, an old woman, *i.e.* his wife in that attire, brought the offerings. He caught hold of her by her hair, and with his other hand felt for the pestle. The Musalmân and the others at once flew to the rescue of the old woman, but with a smile of perfect composure the impostor said :---

"My friends, do not think I want to kill her. If I beat her with this pestle and throw her into the honse, she will return as a young girl. I have made many such old women young by the administration of this pestle." Thus saying he proceeded to beat the old woman and threw her into the house. And the impostor's wife, as well up in tricks as her husband, though she had lived with him for less than a month, came out as a young girl. The three old friends who came to be even with the old rogue wondered at what they saw.

They consulted among themselves :--- "The fellow is really here; so, we can wreak our vengeance upon him whenever we choose. For the present let us obtain his pestle and depart as friends."

The worship was soon over, and our hero proceeded to look to the convenience of his visitors. He asked them to have some food, and superintended their meals himself. They all concealed their anger for the nonce in the hope of getting hold of the pestle, which he gladly allowed them to take away for a week. The three thus duped again went away to their respective houses with the pestle, and made arrangements as to the use of it.

The courtezan knew many old women in her street whom she wished to convert into young ones. So she wanted it first, and the old lady of the wood made up her mind to stay with her to witness the experiment, while the Mahammadan merchant agreed to take the pestle after a week from the courtezan. Thus it was her fortune to try it first. Alas! many a woman she killed with it in the fond hope that one at least would be transformed to a young woman. No transformation came after all; only death was the result. So before even the week was up the courtezan sent the pestle to the Muslim, duly informing him how unsuccessful she found it to be. But he blamed her not being a good hand at thrashing, and had soon himself pounded to death several old women among his relatives. Being then again deceived he went to the courtezan, and said to her : "My friend, see how we have been duped a second time. How many of our dear relatives we have killed. Let us go to that man again, and kill him before he again contrives to deceive us."

"Agreed," said she, and they started off again with the old lady of the wood. After a long journey, they reached the impostor's house, and found him absent. On enquiry they came to know that he had gone to the river to bathe. The old lady remained in his house, and the other two went after him. They carried a bag with them, and strong ropes also, and finding him bathing all alone, they surprised him, and tying up his hands and legs put him in the bag, and took him to a mountain near to burn him alive as a full revenge for all his deception. Climbing to the very top of it they placed the bundle down and went to the jungle near to collect fuel for the fire. Our hero was now in an awkward plight, but he kept saying to himself :----"I don't want to marry that girl, I don't want to marry that girl."

Now, while the Musalmân and the courtezan were away in the jungle collecting fuel, a neatherd who was grazing a herd of cows a little below was attracted by the voice that kept on saying :—"I don't want to marry that girl." Coming up to our hero he said :—"What is the meaning of what you say ? Why are you tied up thus in a bundle ?"

Hope at once dawned in the impostor's breast, and he hastily replied :--" Friend, whoever you may be, you are my protector. Release me at once from this bag. My uncle and aunt want to marry me to a girl whom I do not like. Against my will they carried me up here to marry me to her. Fortunately they have just gone to some spring near to quench their thirst." The stupid neatherd, little suspecting that it was odd that a man should be married on the top of a mountain, promised to open the bag and let him out on condition he would allow him to go into the bag himself, and thus be placed in his happy position.

"Agreed," said the impostor, and so the bag was quickly opened, the ropes round his legs and hands untied, and the neatherd packed up in his place. Our hero then went to the place where the herd of cows was grazing, and returned home with them. Here he found the old lady of the wood waiting and welcomed her heartily, telling her that all his wealth was hers, and promising to regard her as his own mother, as she had been one to him for six years.

Meanwhile the Musalman and the courtezan had lighted a large fire in the jungle and went for the bag. The neatherd inside kept quite silent for fear, if he spoke, that the change that had taken place would become known. But, instead of being married to a young girl, he was soon thrown into the fire.

"Thus have we killed our impostor," said the friends :---"Now let us go to his house and plunder it." So they returned exulting to the New Street of Madura where our hero was sitting outside his house chewing betel, and expecting them every moment. The thousand and one cows he had obtained were still standing outside. When the pair saw him safely seated outside his own house and smiling welcome to them, their wonder knew no bounds. "We threw you an hour ago in the fire," said they, "and how are you sitting here safe?"

"Yes, my friends," replied he, "as soon as you threw me into the fire, I went to Kailâsa, the world of felicity, and met my father and grandfather. They told me that my time to live in the world was not over and sent me back with these kine."

"Then the same presents will be given to us, too, if we go to that world of heavenly bliss?" said they.

"Undoubtedly," replied the impostor; and then with their consent he took them to the mountain and threw them into the fire never more to revive and return with presents.

Returning home and relieved for ever from his troublesome friends the Arch-Impostor lived happily, protecting the old woman of the wood, who had protected him in his younger days.

Though the hero has the worst of characters, still the relaters of this story excuse him for his presence of mind in all his hardships, and draw a moral from it that ambition is bad. The Musalmân and the courtezan, even though they repeatedly found out their friend, were always fired with ambition, and at last lost their lives through it.

### CORRESPONDENCE.

### THE DANISH ROYAL ACADEMY'S PRIZE REGARDING THE PHILOLOGICAL POSITION OF SANSKRIT IN INDIA.

SIR,-It may interest your readers to know that the Académie Royale Danoise des Sciences et des Lettres offers the Gold Medal of the Academy as a prize for the best answer to the following question : "What position has Sanskrit occupied in the general development of languages in India? To what extent can we say that it has been a living language, and at what period must it be admitted to have ceased to be such ? The Academy points out that the inscriptions of Asôka, dating from the middle of the 3rd century B. C., were couched in a language differing in no small degree from Sanskrit, and were spread all over the north of India. On this is founded a theory that Sanskrit had already ceased to be a living language, and that only that portion of its literature which is anterior to the

Scythic invasion can be regarded as ancient and natural, while all the subsequent literature is due to a later and artificial development, the work of the Bråhmans, and does not reach to a date earlier than the second century A. D. On the other hand one can scarcely allow that such poems as the lyrics and epics of Kålidåsa were only written for the learned, and that his dramas were not made to be represented and understood by the ordinarily educated people of his time, and the case is the same with other works written in Sanskrit after the Christian era. We should also have to explain why Sômadêva, at the beginning of the 12th century, should have chosen a dead and purely learned language for composing a work of light reading, of which the aim was to divert and console the queen of Kaśmir who had lost her grandson.

Answers may be written in Latin, French, English, German, Swedish, or Danish. They should not bear the name of the author, but a motto, and should be accompanied by a sealed envelope bearing the same motto, and enclosing the name, profession, and address of the author. Members of the Academy who reside in Denmark will take no part in the competition. Answers

PROGRESS OF EUROPEAN SCHOLABSHIP. No. XV.

# A Year of the Revue Critique; July 1887 to June 1888.

(a) Aug. 8th.—The first important article of interest to oriental students is a review of two works by Prof. Th. Nöldeke. The first is a sketch of the Semitic languages<sup>1</sup> originally written for the Encyclopædia Britannica, and since then enlarged, and reproduced in German. The second is a history of the Arab dynasty of the Ghassânis.<sup>3</sup> The article is by M. J. Halévy, and contains an interesting note on the primitive habitat of the Aramæans, which he places in the south of the Syrian desert, bounded by the Hijáz, Najd, and the maritime tracts of Babylonia. Both works are highly praised by the reviewer.

(b) Aug. 15th. - M. A. Barth contributes a review of the present writer's and Dr. Hoernle's works in connection with the Bihart language.

(c) Oct. 24th.-The same gentleman reviews Prof. Jolly's Tagore Law Lectures on "an outline of a History of the Hindů law of Partition, Inheritance, and Adoption, as contained in the original Sanskrit treatises." The author. M. Barth considers, studies each institution historically, bringing to light the differences concerning it, which appear through a long series of texts, and he endeavours to explain these differences 'by referring them to a process of regular development. The various discussions show his familiarity with legal questions, and with comparative legislation. and no one could read the book without deriving great benefit from it. Dr. Jolly differs from Mr. Nelson in considering the juridical literature of India as really its legislation. It is a body of written custom, not only held holy, but universally practised and regularly applied by the public authorities. It has always kept in touch with actual facts, modifying itself as they have become modified. M. Barth combats this theory, considering that the smriti has been only moderately practised. The official law has often been a very incomplete, and frequently an entirely false representation of the true custom, and whenever there was a conflict between the two, it

<sup>1</sup> Die Semitischen Sprachen, Eine Skisse, von Th. Nöleke, Leipzig, T. O. Weigel, 1887. should be addressed, before the end of October 1889, to the Secretary of the Academy M. H. G. Zeuthen, Professor at the University of Copenhagen. The prizes will be declared in February 1890, and the authors can thereupon have their essays returned to them. G. A. GRIERSON.

# MISCELLANEA.

is the former which has usually had the worst of it. One of the best proofs of this is the differences of doctrine between the various legal schools. Do these schools really represent the law of their tracts P One has only to see the disorder of their traditions, and the fantastic manner in which they borrow from each other, without regard either to geographical vicinity, or to affinities of population, to be satisfied on this point. Theories might travel thus, but not customs.

(d) Oct. 31st.-Dr. Percy Gardner's Catalogue of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum is reviewed. The author of the notice is M. Darmesteter. He observes, " there are few historical periods of more fascinating interest than that of the four centuries which followed the death of Alexander, in the tracts of country bordering on Persia and on India. A Greek empire in Bactria, from the Oxus to the Hinda Kash, which soon crosses the mountains, absorbs Eastern Afghanistan, passes the Indus, reaches the Yamuna on the right, the Sea of Gujarat on the south, covers the Indian coasts with Greek temples, of which the ruins still existed in the second century, and brings into India Greek writing, Greek art, and all that the spirit of a Hinda could receive of the Hellenic genius. An invasion of Turkish tribes, who cast upon the Greek frontier by the same movement as that which step by step impelled Attils upon the gates of Rome, come to destroy the empire of Alexan. der's successors, whilst succeeding as their heirs, to reopen the route of the Greeks in India, to enthrone Buddhism, and, at the same time as Buddha, all the pantheon of Iranian Zoroastrianism. Between the Greeks and the Scythians, are the more or less violent struggles of the Parthians, who send to Western India sometimes governors for the Arsacides, sometimes adventurers who founded dynasties. For all this period, at once confused and fecund (for it is from this chaos that modern India has emerged) there remain but four kinds of documents: a few lines, more or less vague, in the classical writers, a few pages in the Chinese annals, a few inscriptions of the Indo-Scythians, and thousands of coins. Numismatists have there-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Die Ghassânischen Fürsten aus dem Hause Gafna's, yon Th. Nöldeke. Berlin, Librairie academique, 1887.

fore the field almost entirely to themselves." Taking Mr. Gardner's book as his text M. Darmesteter next proceeds to reconstruct a history of these times. Bactria was a province of the Seleucide empire till about the year 250 B. C. About that time Diodorus made himself independent in Bactria, and Arsaces did the same in Parthia. This was the origin of the Graco-Bactrian and of the Parthian empires. The dynasty of Diodorus was supplanted by Euthydemus of Magnesia (about 208 B. C.), whose son, Demetrius, pressed on the north by the Barbarians, crossed the Paropamisus (or Hinda Kush) and entered the country of Kabul and the Pañjåb. This was the commencement of the Græco-Indian empire. With Eukratides (190?) the great rival and successor of Demetrius, we first come upon bilingual coins, with a Påli legend added to the Greek one. A great number of kings followed, of whom two, Apollodotus and Menander, were known to classical writers, and whose money was found to be still in circulation by the Greek travellers of the first century of the present era. Hermæus was the last of the Indo-Greek kings. About 25 B. C., the Scythians of Bactria crossed the Paropamisus, and invaded India. We know of coins of five Indo-Scythic kings, of whom Kanishka was the most famous. The Saka era dates, not from the expulsion of the Scythic invader, but from his accession. Under this dynasty the Iranian religion of Zoroaster penetrated into India, and we find traces of Persian influence in Indian Epic poetry, which should be ascribed to the same time. These Indo-Scythians were very eclectic in religious matters. They knew Helios, Salene and Serapis. They knew Buddha; and again they recognized Skanda-Kumåra and Visakha.

A third race of invaders was that of the Parthians, who appear to have established themselves in the Kåbul valley about 161 B. C. The Peripleus shows us this dynasty as expiring in the Delta of Sindh towards the middle of the first century.

(e) Dec. 5th.—"J. D." reviews Dastur Tahmuras Dinshawji Anklesaria's Compondium of the Social Code for the Parsis (Parsi Fort Printing Press, Bombay, 1887). This is a well printed facsimile of a Pahlavi text on civil law lately discovered by the Editor. The text is principally important on account of the authorities which it cites, and which are those of the classic literature. The last pages are valuable as containing a religious and political history of the last Sasani.

(f) January 16th, 1888 — Commences with a review of the first volume of the Catalogue of Arabic MSS. in the Royal Library at Berlin, by M. Hauvette. The author of the Catalogue is Herr W. Ahlwardt. It is described as a monument of solid and powerful construction. The present volume is in two parts, the first devoted to *Prolegomena* and to general subjects, the second to the *Qurdn*.

(g) Feb. 6th. - M. Derenbourg has published the first fasciculus of John of Capua's Latin version of the Kaltlah and Dimnah. This is reviewed by M. Rubens. Two Hebrew versions of the tale are known, and the older of the two, attributed to the Rabbin Joel, has a special importance as being the original of the Latin version above mentioned. Unfortunately a large portion of this Hebrew version, including the prefaces, the two first chapters, and a portion of the third, is lost. and the present edition of the Latin version is published to supply the deficiency. It has hitherto been printed only once (about the year 1483), and has become so rare as to be almost unprocurable. The present edition is very satisfactory, and the first fasciculus contains the prefaces and nine chapters.

(h) Feb. 27th. - There is a short notice by M. Barth on Cham literature. The Chams were originally masters of the whole of Annam. M. Autony Landes has published a French translation of sixteen Cham tales, and of a children's song. The basis of the tales is the marvellous, without any alloy of mythology or theology. Only once or twice does the Lord Alwah, "the master of the sky," and probably identical with the Allah of the Musalmán Chame, appear. The translation appears in Excursions et Reconnaissances. The same number of the latter contains the flo-simile of a Cham inscription communicated by M. E. Navelle. It is in the name of Sri Jaya Simha Dêva. and also contains the proper name Sri Hari Dêva and the word dharmma. It is dated 1191.

(i) March 10th. --- In this number is a review by M. V. Henry of M. Paul Regnaud's work on the Origin and Philosophy of Language or Principles of Indo-European Linguistics. The author endeavours to reply to the following propositions; (1) To explain and criticize the various systems which, from the earliest times to the present day, have had for their aim to explain philosophically the origin and the laws of language; (2) To collect from the more important contemporary philological works the principles and the laws which could serve in the formation of a philosophy of language. The first portion of the book is described as excellent, and as displaying a great amount of labour and of learning on the part of the author. Regarding the second part M Henry, while admiring the ingenuity displayed is unable to concur with the conclusions arrived at.

(j) March 26th.—The late Dr. Hanusz of Vienna was the author of a pamphlet on the encroach-

ments of the n-declension in Sanskrit which is favourably noticed by M. Louis Duvan. The most interesting case noticed is the n in terminations of genitives plural like séndnâm. Dr. Hanuez shows that the n was first borrowed from bases in n to form the genitives of bases in d long, and then to form those of bases in a short.

(k) April 2nd. - Commences with a review by M. Rubens Duval of Mr. Margoliouth's edition of the Oriental versions of the Poetics of Aris. totle. The texts published are the Arabic version of Abú Bashar, the definition of tragedy in the Syriac dialogues of James Bar-Shakaku, the Arabic Poetics of Avicenna, and the Syriac Poetics of Bar-Hebræus. The reviewer considers that Mr. Margoliouth has shown in his edition an equal knowledge of Greek, Arabic and Syriac, and future publishers of Aristotle's Poetics will be bound to take his work into consideration.

(1) April 23rd. - Passing over notices of an edition of the twenty-first volume of the Kitab al-aghani, by Dr. Brünnow, and a review of the Rev. A. Foster's Elementary lessons in Chinese. we come to a short article by M. Baudouin on Prof. Windisch's work on the characteristic r in verbal forms. Dr. Windisch conjectures that originally for the middle and active voices there were two sets of inflexions, characterised respectively by the presence or by the absence of the r and the t. In the middle there would be for the first and third persons of the singular, and for the third of the plural, the terminations -é, -é, -ré, and (Gr. uni?); and ts, -nts; in the active they would be, a (-d P), -a, -ur, and -mi, -ti, -nti. The reviewer considers that this conjecture is very plausible, and that it throws an entirely new light on primitive conjugation.

We may pass over two favourable reviews, one by M. A. Barth on Dr. Cust's second series of Linguistic and Oriental Essays, and the other by M. Sylvain Levi on Dr. Speijers' Sanskrit Syntax, which has been already noticed in these pages, and come to a short paper by M. V. Henry on Dr. P. von Bradke's Essays on the Prehistoric Development of the German Language. The principal argument of Dr. von Bradke deals with the influence of subject races on the language of the conquerors, and, as an example, he would superimpose a Græco-Italo-Celtic group of languages over the already accepted Italo-Celtic groups, explaining by foreign influence the numerous and important differences between the language and civilisation of Latium and Hellas.

# G. A. GRIEBSON.

# CALCULATIONS OF HINDU DATES. No. 27.

In the back-yard of Yellappagauda at Hulgar, a village about seven miles to the north-east of Siggåmve, the chief town of the Bankapur Taluka of the Dharwad District, Bombay Presidency, there is an Old-Kanarese stone inscription of the Kalachuri<sup>1</sup> king Sômêsvara, which contains three dates.

The first date (from an ink-impression ; line 18 f.) is — Śaka-varsha 1096 neya Jaya-samvatsarada Jyêshthada amâvâsye Adityavâra sûryyagrahanavyatipåtad-andu, - "the new-moon tithi of (the month) Jyêshtha of the Jaya samvatsara, which is the 1096th Saka year; Sunday; at the time of the vyatipata of an eclipse of the sun."

The second date (line 35 f.) is — Śaka-varshada 1096neya Jaya-samvatsarada Mârgaśirada punnami Ådityavåra sômagrahanad-andu, — "the full-moon tithi of (the month) Mårgaśira of the Jaya samvatsara, which is the 1096th of the Saka years; Sunday; at the time of an eclipse of the moon.

And the third date(1.40 f.) is --- Saka-varshada 1096neya Jaya-samvatsarada Mårgaśira-bahulad= amavásye Mangalavára súryagrahanad-andu, -" the new-moon tithi of the dark fortnight of (the month) Mårgaśira of the Jaya samvatsara, which is the 1096th of the Saka years; Tuesday; at the time of an eclipse of the sun."

By the southern luni-solar system of the Sixtyyear Cycle, the Jaya samvatsara coincided with Saka-Samvat 1097 current; i. e. with the given year, 1096, as an expired year. And, by Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, I find that, in this year,-

The amanta Jyoshtha krishna 15 ended, not on a Sunday, but at about 22 ghatts, 53 palas, after mean sunrise, for Bankåpur,<sup>2</sup> on Saturday, 1st June, A. D. 1174. On this day there was an solipse of the sun,<sup>8</sup> which was visible in India. But the week-day does not correspond with that given in the record; at least, it does not do so, if the record is to be interpreted as meaning that the tithi ended, and the eclipse occurred, on the Sunday.

Margazira zukla 15 ended, as required, on Sunday, 10th November, A. D. 1174, at about 36 gh. 42 p. And on this day there was an eclipse of the moon, visible in India.

And the amanta Margasira krishna 15 ended, as required, on Tuesday, 26th November, A. D. 1174, at about 18 gh. 51 p. And on

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In line 2 of this record, the dynastic name is very distinctly written Kalaturya. <sup>2</sup> The times here, all through, are for Baukápur, which

of old was a town of considerable importance.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> See von Oppolser's Canon, pp. 325, 329, and Plate 114. <sup>4</sup> id. p. 361.

this day there was an eclipse of the sun,<sup>5</sup> visible in India.

It is to be noted that, in the second and third dates, in which the results work out quite regularly, the term vyatipata is not used. And, as there is no reason for suggesting that any portion of the record is not genuine, the explanation of the discrepancy in the results for the first date in it, is perhaps to be found in the use there of the term in question ; which may indicate some astrological conditions that necessitated the observance of the rites of that eclipse on the following day, Sunday, instead of on the day on which it actually occurred. I hope that someone will be in a position to examine and explain this point. The only other solution is to assume a mistake in calculation by the person who prepared the almanac, from which the date was taken by the preparer of the record.

### No. 28.

At the same village of Hulgur, on two of the faces of the lower part of a pillar in the well called Kallamathada-bhavi in Survey No. 78, there is a Sanskrit and Old-Kanarese inscription of the Dêvagiri-Yadava king Mahadêva, in which the date (from an ink-impression; line 15 ff.) is - Saka-varshada<sup>4</sup> 1189neya Prabhavasamvatsarada Jyështha<sup>7</sup>-ba-30-Budhavara surva grahanad-andu, -- " Wednesday, the 30th tithi, in the dark fortnight, of (the month) Jyeshtha of the Prabhava samvatsara, which is the 1189th of the Saka years; at the time of an eclipse of the sur."

By the southern luni-solar system of the Sixty-Year Cycle, the Prabhava samvatsara coincided with Saka-Samvat 1190 current ; i.e. with the given year, 1189, as an expired year. In this year, Jyeshtha itself was intercalary, according to the Tables. And I find that -

The natural amonta Jyéshtha krishna 15 ended at about 48 ghatis 45 palas, after mean sunrise, for Bankapur, on Thursday, 23rd June, A. D. 1267; on which day there was no eclipse of the sun. But the intercalated amanta Jyeshtha krishns 15 ended, as required, on Wednesday, 25th May, A. D. 1267, at about 20 gh. 45 p.; and on this day there was an eclipse of the sun, visible in India.\*

This record is of interest, in giving an instance of the quotation of the new-moon tithi as the thirtieth tithi of the month, instead of as the fifteenth tithi of the dark fortnight. An analogous instance is to be found in an inscription at Jaynagar in the Mongir District, Bengal Presidency, dated in the reign of Madanapaladêva," " the year 16 (P), Asvina 30." But there is nothing

to indicate for certain whether it is the new-moon tithi, or the full-moon tithi, that is thus numbered in the Jaynagar record ; though it may be inferred to be the new-moon tithi, in accordance with what is the more general custom in the present day, even in Northern India<sup>10</sup>.

J. F. FLEET.

### PROFESSOR KIELHORN'S EDITION OF THE MAHABHASHYA.

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Excellent as is Prof. Kielhorn's edition of the Mahabhashya, hyper-criticism can still lay its finger on a fault here and there. Prof. Kielhorn has, for instance, unfortunately followed the Indian copyists in regard to the divisions of the Mahabhashya into Ahnikas; i.s. he too has numbered the Paspaśähnika as the first; and the Ahnika treating of the fourteen Sutras, given according to tradition by Mahadêva to Panini, as the second, serially with the rest. Whereas, strictly, these two Ahnikas should be separated from the others, as introductory to them. The first Satra of Panini is Vriddher adaich, and not Atha sabdanusasanam, which was only added on by Patañjali to bring Pânini's Sútras into conformity with the usage prevailing in the Sûtraperiod. The usage was, always to declare the subject of every set of aphorisms at the beginning, and so to prepare the student for what he might expect, as is shown by the declaratory first Sútra, commencing with Atha, of the Darsanas. Grihya and Śrauta-Sūtras, and Pratišakhyas. Moreover, all the editions of the Ashtadhyayi, which I have seen, separate the fourteen Sütras of Mahådêva from Pånini's text distinctly. The serial divisions of the Great Commentary proper should, therefore, extend from Vriddher adaich and the Bhåshya thereon. High example may be pleaded in favour of the current division; but only example, and nothing more. For, so far as the present writer is aware, Kayyata and Nagojibhatta have not given any reasons for their adherence to it. The fact of their adherence can be explained away, by supposing that they were too much absorbed with their commentaries to bestow any time on such a comparatively unimportant work as formal improvement in the text they were dealing with. By the way, why should not the name of the author of the Bhashyapradips be spelt as Kayyata ? The analogy of Mammata and Ubbata speaks in favour of this form, as against the other ordinary forms of Kaiyata and Kaiyyata. It is supported by ancient MSS. as well.

# GOVINDA DASA.

### \* id. pp. 388, 239, and Plate 119.

Durgakund, Benares.

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<sup>id. pp. 228, 329, and Plate 114.—See also the Dégámve</sup> inscription of Kaliyuga-Samvat 4275 expired, ante, Vol. XVII. p. 966, No. 17.
The actual reading in the original is varufada.
The actual reading is jeshta.

<sup>\*</sup> Archaol. Surv. Ind. Vol. III. Pl. xlv., No. 17, line 4.

<sup>1</sup>º See Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit's remarks, ants, Vol. XVI. p. 114.

# COPPER-PLATE GRANTS OF THE KINGS OF KANAUJ.

# BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

### (Continued from page 21).

# E.-Benares College Copper-Plate Grant of Jayachchandra.

# The (Vikrama) year 1232.

THE plate which holds this inscription appears to have been discovered, about twenty years ago, by a man plonghing about six miles north-east of the city of Benares, at a village named 'Sihvar;' and it is now deposited in the Library of the Benares Sanskrit College. The text of it has been published before, by Bâbû Sivaprasâd, in the *Pandit*, Vol. IV. pp. 95-96 (September, 1869).

The inscription is on a single plate, measuring about  $20\frac{1}{2}$ " by  $16\frac{1}{4}$ ", and inscribed on one side only. The edges of it were partly fashioned thicker, and partly raised into rims, to protect the writing; but the middle portion of the inscribed surface is somewhat worn. In the centre of the plate there is a crack, caused by tearing out the ring, and extending twothirds of the way down from the top; and another, extending about two inches up from the bottom; so that the plate is almost in two pieces. Also, the lower proper right corner is broken away, causing the loss of twelve aksharas. But these, and the damaged akshuras elsewhere, can easily be supplied; and, with the exception of two or three aksharat in line 20, there is no doubt whatever about the actual reading of any part of the inscription.-In the upper part of the plate, there is a hole for a ring. But the ring has been abstracted, by slitting the plate from the ring-hole to the edge; and, with the seal attached to it, is not now forthcoming. — The average size of the letters is about  $\frac{3''}{8}$ . The characters are Någarî, and the language is Sanskrit. The inscription is carefully written, and in respect of orthography I have only to note that b is denoted by the sign for v everywhere except in bubhramur, 1 line 9; and that the dental sibilant has been seven times employed for the palatal sibilant, and the palatal seven times for the dental sibilant. A few other mistakes will be pointed out in the text,

The inscription is one of the Paramabhattáraka, Mahárájádhirája, and Paramésvara, Jayaohchandradéva, who records that, when at Benares, on the occasion of performing the ceremony of giving a name to (his) the king's, son Harischandra, he granted the two villages of Sarau[d1] and [ÅP]may1, situated in the Ma[na]ra pattalá, to the Brähman, the mahápanditu Hrishikésásarman. And the date on which this grant was made, is stated, both in words and in decimal figures, to have been, — Sunday, the 13th lunar day of the bright half of Bhådrapada, of the year 1232. The grant was written by the mahákshapatalika, or great keeper of records, the Thakkura Sripati.

As regards the date, taking 1232 to be a year of the Vikrama era, the possible equivalents for Bhådrapada šukla 13 would be :---

for the northern year 1232 current, - Monday, 12 August, A. D. 1174;

for the northern year 1232 expired, or

the southern year 1232 current, - Sunday, 31 August, A. D. 1175;

for the southern year 1232 expired, - Friday, 20 August, A. D. 1176.

The actual date, therefore, clearly is Sunday,<sup>2</sup> 31 August, A. D. 1175; but our record furnishes no means of deciding whether the year 1232 spoken of should be taken to be the northern expired year or the southern current year.

The villages granted, and the pattala in which they were situated, I am unable to identify.

<sup>1</sup> The same remark applies to every one of the following six inscriptions (F to K).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> On that day, the 13th tithi of the bright fortnight ended about 15 h. 50 m. after mean sunrise.

### TEXT.3

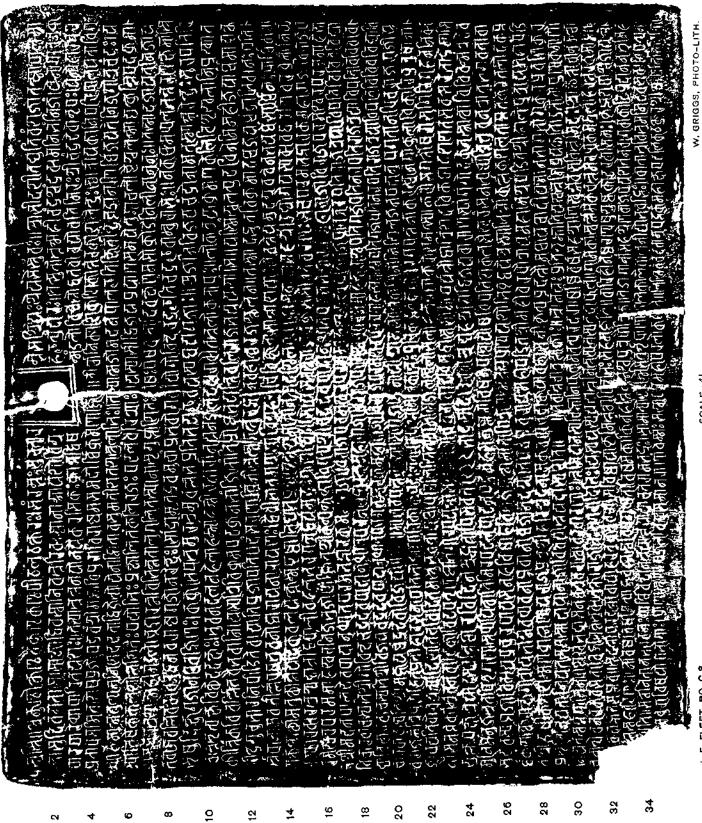
- 1 Öm<sup>4</sup> svasti II Akuņthôtkaņtha<sup>5</sup>-Vaikuņtha-kaņthapîtha-luthat-karah I samrambhah surat-ârambhô sa Sriyah śrêyasê=stu vah II Ásîd<sup>6</sup>=Aśîtadyuti-vamśa-jâtakshmâpâla-mâ-
- 2 lâsu divam gatâsu i sâkshûd=Vivasvân=iva bhûri-dhûmnû nûmnû Yasôvigraha ity=udûrah il Tat<sup>7</sup>-sutû=bhûn=**Mahîchamdras**=chamdra-dhûma-nibham nijam i yên=ûpâram=akû-
- 3 pâra-pàrê vyāpāritam yašalı 11 Tasy<sup>9</sup>=âbhût=tansyô nay-aika-rasikalı krânta-dvishanmamdalô vidhvast-ôddhata-dhîra-yôdha-timiralı śrî-Chamdradêvô pripalı 1 yên=ôdâratara-
- 4 pratápa-sa(śa)mit-áśésha-praj-ôpadravań śrimal-Gadhipur-âdhirájyam=asamaň dôrvvikramêņ=ârjji(taṁ) II Tîrthâni<sup>9</sup> Kâbi-Kusik-Öttarakôsal-Êndrahsthânîya<sup>10</sup>kâni paripâlayat=âdhiga-
- 5 mya ( hêm=ûtma-tulyam=ınisam dadatû dvijêbhyô yên=ânkitû vasumatî satasas= tulûbhih (( Tasy=ûtmajô **Madanapila** iti kshitîndra-chûdûmanir=vvijayatê nija-gôtra-chamdrah ( ya-
- 6 sy-âbhishêka-kalaś-ôilaśi(si)taih payôbhih prakshâlitam kali-rajah-patalam dharitryâh II Yasy<sup>11</sup>=4sîd=vijaya-prayàna-samayê tuûgâchal-ôchchaiś-chalan-mâdyat-kumbhipada-kram-â-
- 7 sama-bhara-bhraśyan-mahîmamdalê | chûddratna-vibhinna-tâlu-galita-styân-âsrig-udbhâśi-(si)tah Sêshah pêsha-<sup>12</sup>vasâ(śâ)d=iva kshaņam=asau krôdê nilîn-ânanah i Tasmâd<sup>13</sup>=ajâyata nij-âya-
- 8 ta-vâ(bû)huvalli-va(ba)mdh-âvaruddha-nava-râjya-gajô narêndralı 1 sâmdr-âmrita-dravamuchâm prabhavô gavâm yô Gôvindachamdra iti chamdra iy=âmvu-(mbu)râsê(śê)lı 11 Na<sup>14</sup> katham=apy=alabhanta rana-kshamâms=ti-
- 9 srishu dikshu gajân=atha Vajrinah | kakubhi babhramur=Abhramuvallabha-pratibhatâ iva yasya ghatâ-gajâh || Ajani<sup>15</sup> Vijayachamdro nâma tasmân= narêndrah | surapatir=i-
- 10 va bhúbhrit-paksha-vichchhída-dakshali i bhuvana-dalana-hélâ-harmmya-Hamvi(mbî)ranárî-nayana-jalada-dhàrâ-dhanta-bhûlôka-tâpali ii Lôkatray<sup>16</sup>-âkramaņa-kêli-viśrimkhalâvi prakhyâta-
- 11 kîrtti-kavi-varņņita-vaibhavâni | yasya Trivikrama-pada-krama-bhāmji bhāmti prôjjrimbhayant<sup>:17</sup> Va(ba)lirāja-bhayam yašāmsi || Yasmimś=chalaty=udadhinêmi-mahîjayârtham mádyat-ka-
- 12 rîndra-guru bhâra-nipîdit=ŝva i yâti Prajâpati-padam sa(śa)ran-ârthinî bhûs=tvangatturanga-nivah-ôttha-rajaś-chhalêna ii Tasmâd<sup>10</sup>=adbhuta-vikramâd=atha Jayachchamdr-âbhidhânah pati-
- 13 r=bhûpânâm=avatîrnna êsha bhuvan-ôddhârâya Nârâyanah i dvaidhîbhâvam=apâsya vigraha-ruchim dhikkritya sâ(śâ)nt-âśayâh sôvantô yam=udagra-va(ba)ndhana-bhaya dhvams-ârthinah pârthivâh ii
- 14 Gachchhôn<sup>19</sup>=mûrchchhâm=atuchchhân=na yadi kavalayêt=kûrmma-prishth-ôbhighâtapratyâvritta-śram-ârttô namad-akhila-phaņa-ávâsa-vâtyâ-sahaśra(sra)m i udyôgê yasya dhâvad-dharanidhara-dhunî-nirjha-

- <sup>6</sup> Metre, Indravajrå. <sup>7</sup> Metre, Šlôka (Anushtubh). <sup>8</sup> Metre, Sårdúlavikridita.
- <sup>9</sup> Metre, Vasantatilaks; and of the next verse. <sup>19</sup> Read Endrasthd<sup>0</sup>.
- <sup>11</sup> Metre, Sårdúlavikrídíta. <sup>13</sup> Read saisha- and compare ante, Vol. XV. p. 12, note 97.
- <sup>13</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakå. <sup>14</sup> Metre, Drutavilambita. <sup>14</sup> Metre, Målini.
- <sup>16</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakå; and of the next verse.

<sup>17</sup> This (and not proddyctayants) is the reading also in line 11 of the Faizabad plate of Jayachchandra, ante, Vol. XV. p. 6.

18 Metre, Sårdúlavikridita.

19 Metre, Sragdharå.



SCALE - 41

J. F. FLEET, BO. C.S.

- 15 ra-sphâradhâra bhraśyaddàna-dvip-âli-va(ba)hala-bhara-galad-dhairya-mudrah phânîndrah II Sô=yam samasta-râja-chakra-samsêvita-charanan[I\*] Sa cha paramabhaţţârakamahârâjâdhirâja-pa-
- 16 raméśvara paramam i hésvara nijabhujôpårjjita śrîKanyakuvj(bj) àdhipatya śrîChamdradôva - pidánudhyáta - paramabhattáraka - mahár i jádhirája - param `śvara - paramamâhêśva-
- 17 ra-śriMadanapáladéva pádánudhyáta paramabhattúraka mahárájádhirája paraméśvaraparamamáhéšvar-ásvapatigajapatinarapatirájatrayúdhipati-vividhavidyâ-
- 18 vichâra Vâchaspati śrîGôvindachamdradêva pâdânudhyâta paramabhattâraka mahàrâjâdhirâja - paramêśvara-paramamâh)śvar-âśvapatigajapatinarapatirâjatrayâdhipativividhavi-
- 19 dyávichára Váchaspati śríVijayaohamdradôva pádánudhyáta paramabhattáraka mahârájádhirája - paraméévara - paramamáhéśvar-áśvapatigajapatinarapatirájatrayádhipativividhavidvávi-
- 20 châraVâchaspati-śrîmaj-Jayachchamdradêvô vijayî 11 11<sup>20</sup> Mâ[ņa]ra-pattalâyâm 1<sup>20</sup> Sarau[dâ]- 1<sup>20</sup> [Å?]<sup>31</sup>m3y1-grâmayôr≈nnivâsinô nikhila-janapadân=npagatân≈api cha râja-râjüî-yu-
- 21 varája-mamtri-purôbita-pratîhâra-sênâpati-bhâmdìgârik âkshapatalika [bhi]shag-naimittikântahpurika-dûta-karituragapattanâkarasthânagôkulâdhikâri-purushân=â-
- 22 jääpayati vô(bô)dhayaty=ldišati cha [1\*]Viditam=astu bhavatâm yath=ôparilikhitagrâmau sa-jala-sthalau sa-lôha-lavan-âkarau sa-matsy-âkarau sa-gartt-ôsharau sa-giri-gahana-nidhâ-
- 23 nau sa-madhûk-âmra-vana-vâțikâ-vițapa-triņa-yûti-gô[cha®]ra-paryantau s-ô[rddhv-â]dha-[san] chatur-àghâța-viśuddhau sva-sîmâ-paryantau dvâtrimbad-adhikadvâdasa-bata-samvatsarê Bhâdrê mâsi
- 24 sukla-pakshé trayôdasyàn=tithau Ravi-diné ankatô=pi samvat 1232 Bhâdra su di 13 Ravau ady=êha śrîmad-vijaya-Vârânasyâm Gamg-ôdakêna snâtvâ vidbivan=mamtra-dêva-
- 25 muni-manuja-bhûta-pitrigauâms=tarppayitvâ timira-paṭala-pâṭana-paṭu-mahasam=Ushṇarôchisham=upasthây=Aushadhipati-śakala-sê(iê)kharam samabbyarchchya tribhuvanatrâtur=bhagavatô Vâ-
- 26 sudêvasya pûjâm vidhâya prachura-pâyasêna havishâ havirbhujam hutvâ mâtâpitrôr=itmanaś≂cha puņya-yasô-bhivriddhayê asmâbhir-ggôkaraņa-kuśalatâ-pûtakaratal-ôdaka-pû-
- 27 rvvakam 'Sirkkarâksha-gôtrâya Bhârggava-Chyavan-Ápnavân-Aurvva-Jâmadagny-êtipamcha-pravarâya mahâpamdita-śrî-Mahîdhara-pautrâya mahâmiśrapamdita-śrf-Hâlê-putrâya mahâpamdi-
- 28 ta-śri-Hrisbîkêśaśarmmaņê vra(bra)hmaņāya rājaputra-śrî-**Harisohamdra-**nāmakaraņē chamdr-ārkkam yāvach=chhāsanlkritya pradattau mathā(tvā) yathādlyamānabhāgabhôgakara-pravaņikara-
- 29 prabhriti-niyatàniyata-samast-àdàyàn=àjñàvidhêyîbhûya dâsyath=êti 1| 1| Bhavanti châtra ślôkâh 1| Bhûmim<sup>22</sup> yah pratigrihnâ(họà)ti yaś=cha bhûmim prayachchhati | ubhau tau punya-karmânau
- 30 niyatam svargga-gâminau II Samkham bhadr-âsanam chchhatram<sup>33</sup> var-âsvâ(śvâ) varavâraņâț | bhûmi-dânasya chihnâni phalam=êtat=Puramdara II Shashthi(shti)m varsha-sabaśrâ(srâ)ņi svərggê vasati bhûmi-daț | âchchhêttâ ch=inumantâ
- Sl cha tâny≖êva narakê vasêt ‼ Va(ba)hubhir≂vvasudhâ bhuktâ râjabhih Sagarâdibhih i yasya yasya yadâ bhûmis=tasya tasya tadâ phalam µ Gâm= êkâm svarnnam=êkam cha bhûmêr=apy=êkam=angulam i haran=narakam=âpnô-

<sup>\*</sup> These signs of punctuation are superfluons.

n This akshara is very doubtful. 22 Metre, Slöka (Anushtubh); and of the next sight verses.

M Read chhattrain.

- 32 [ta yâ\*]<sup>24</sup>vad-âhûtasamplavam II Sva-dattâm para-dattâm vâ yô harêta vasumdharâm I sa vishthâyâm krimir=bhûtvâ pitribhih saha majjati 11 Vâri-hînêshv=aranyêshu śushka·kôtara-vâsinah | krishna-śa(sa)rpâś=cha jâyantê
- 33 [dêva-bra\*]hma-sva-hârinah II Na visham visham=ity=âhur=vra(bra)hma-svam visham= uchyatê i vîsham=êkâkînam hantî vra(bra)hma-śva(sva)m putra-pautrikam II kôti-pradânêna cha i gavâm sal.asrê(srê)na vájapéya saténa Tadágânâm bhûmi-ha-
- pârthiv-êndrân bhûvô śu\*]dhyati ji Sarvvân<sup>25</sup>=êtân bhâvinah bhûyô 34 [rtâ <u>na</u> yâchatê Râmabhadrah i sâmânyo=yam [dha]rmma-sêtur=nçipâŋâm kâlê kâlê pâlanîyô bhavadbhih 11 Vât<sup>26</sup>-âbhra-vibhramam=idam vasudh-âdhipatyam=â-
- vishay-ôpabhôgâh I prânâs=trin-âgra-jalavimdu-sama narânâm 35 {pâtamâtra-\*]madhurâ dbarmmah sakha pa[ra]m=ahô para-lôka-yânê 11 Likhitam ch=êdam tâmrapattakam mahákshapatalika-thakkura-śri-Sripatibhir-iti II

### TRANSLATION.

### Ôṁ!

### May it be well !

(L. 1.)-May the agitation of Lakshmi during the amorous dalliance, when her hands wander over the neck of Vaiknatha filled with eager longing, bring you happiness !

After the lines of the protectors of the earth born in the solar race had gone to heaven, there came a noble (personage) Yasovigraha by name, (who) by his plentiful splendour (was) as it were the sun incarnate.

(L. 2.)-His son was Mahtchandra, who spread his boundless fame, resembling the moon's splendour, (even) to the boundary of the ocean.

(L. 3.)-His son was the king, the illustrious Chandradeva, 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 Gadhipura,27 when an end was put to all distress of the people by his most noble prowess.

Protecting the holy bathing-places of Kasi, Kusing Uttarakosala, and the city of Indra,29 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 , A himself weighea).

(L. 5.)-Victorious is his son Madanapala, 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 of the Kali-age was washed off from the earth

When he went forth to victory, the onh of the earth bent, down beneath the excessive weight of the footsteps of his rutty slephentis marching along, tall as towering mountains : then, as if suffering from cold, Sesha, radiant with the clotted blood that trickled from his palate pierced by the orest-jewel, hid his face for a moment in his bosom.29

(L. 7.)-As the moon, whose rays diffuse in abandance Nanid nectar, from the ocean, so was born from him the ruler of men, Govindachandra, Who bestowed cows giving abundant milk. As one restrains an (untrained) elephant, so be recured by his creeper-like long arms the new(ly-acquired) kingdom.30

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 thunderbold like rivels of the mate of Abhramu.<sup>31</sup>

.

The aksharas in brackets at the commencement of this and the following lines are broken away.

<sup>26</sup> Metre, Salini.

<sup>28</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakå.

<sup>28</sup> See ante, Vol. XV. p. 8, note 16. 29 See ib. p. 12, note 97. 27 i.e. Kanyakubja. <sup>31</sup> See *ib.* p. 9, note 49.

<sup>🍽</sup> See ib. p. 9, note 48.

(L. 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 the Hambira, the abode of wanton destruction to the earth.

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>32</sup>

When he wont<sup>33</sup> out to conquer the earth girt by the ocean, the earth, distressed as it were by the heavy weight of his ratty royal elephants, went<sup>33</sup> seeking protection up to the throne of Prajapati, in the guise of the dust rising from the multitude of his prancing horses.

(L. 12.)—After him, possessed of wonderful valour, (comes) the lord of princes named **Jayachchandra**; he is Nåråyana, 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).

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 dows 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.

(L. 15.)—He it is who has homage rendered to his feet by the circle of all Rajas. And he, the Paramabhattáraka, Mahárájádhirája, and Paraméávara, the devont worshipper of Mahêśvara, the lord over the three Edjas, (viz.) the lord of horses, the lord of elephants, and the lord of men,<sup>34</sup> (like) Brihaspati in investigating the various sciences, the illustrious Jayachchandradeva, — who meditates on the feet of the Paramabhattáraka, Mahárájadhirája, and Paraméévara, the devout worshipper of Mahêśvara, the lord over the three Rájas, (viz.) the lord of horses, the lord of elephants, and the lord of men, (like) Brihaspati in investigating the various sciences. the illustrious Vijayachandradeva, - who meditated on the feet of the Paramabha !! araka, Maharájádhirája, and Paraméávara, the devout worshipper of Mahêávara, the lord over the three Réjas (vis.) the lord of horses, the lord of elephants, and the lord of men. (like) Brihaspati in investigating the various sciences, the illustrious Govindachandradeva, - who meditated on the feet of the Paramabhattáraka, Mahárájádhirája, and Paraméévara, the devout worshipper of Mahtévara, the illustrious Madanapaladéva, - who meditated on the feet of the Paramabhattáraka, Mahárújádhirdja, and Paramésvara, the devout worshipper of Mahêsvara, the illustrious Chandradeva, who by his arm had acquired the 'sovereignty over the glorious Kanyakubja :---

(L. 20.)—He, the victorious, commands, informs, and decrees to all the people assembled, resident at the villages of Sarau[då] and [Å ?]may1<sup>35</sup> in the Ma[ua]ra pattald, and also to the *Rájas, Rájňis, Yuvarájas,* counsellors, chaplains, warders of the gate, commanders of troope, treasurers, keepers of records, physicians, astrologers, superintendents of gynæceams, messengers, and to the officers having authority as regards elephants, horses, towns, mines(?), sthánas and gôkulas:—<sup>36</sup>

(L. 22.)—Be it known to you that, — after having bathed here to-day in the water of the Ganges at the glorious **Vårånasi**, (the town) of victory, after having duly satisfied the sacred texts, divinities,<sup>37</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,<sup>38</sup> after having performed adoration of the holy Våzudéva, the

<sup>\*\*</sup> See ib. p. 12, note 98.

<sup>\*\*</sup> The original has the present tense. \*\* Aivapati, Gajapati, and Narapati; see ib. p. 9, note 52.

<sup>\*</sup> The first syllable of this name is doubtful.

<sup>🍟</sup> See ib. p. 10, note 55 👘

<sup>See ib. p. 9, note 54:
i.e. Siva.</sup> 

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 merit and the fame of our parents and ourself, on Sunday, the thirteenth lunar day in the bright half of the month Bhådra, in the twelve-hundred-and-thirty-second year, -- in figures too, on Sunday, su. di, 13 of Bhadra, in the year 1232, - on (the occasion of) giving a name to the king's son, the illustrions Harischandra, given the (two) above-written villages with their water and dry land, with their mines of iron and salt, with their fisheries, with their ravines and saline wastes, with the treasure in their hills and forests, with and including their groves of madhuka and mango trees, enclosed gardens, bushes, grass and pasture land, with what is above and below, defined as to their four shuttals, up to their proper boundaries, to the Brâhman, the mahápandita the illustrious Hrishikéásáarman, son of the mahámisrapandita<sup>39</sup> the illustrious Hâlê, son's son of the mahápandita the illustrious Mahidhara, of the Sârkarâksha gôtra, (and) whose five pravaras are Bhargava, Chyavana, Apnavana, Aurva, and Jamadagnya, --- (confirming our gift) with (the 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,<sup>41</sup> and so forth.

(L. 29.)—And on this (subject) there are (the following) verses :--[Here follow eleven of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses, which it is unnecessary to translate.]

(L. 35.)-And this copper-plate grant has been written by the great keeper of records, the Thakkura, the illustrious Sripati.

#### F.-Bengal Asiatic Society's Copper-Plate Grant of Jayachchandra.

### The (Vikrama) year 1238.

The plates which hold this and the following five inscriptions (G.-K.) were found,<sup>1</sup> in 1823, by a peasant at work in a field near the confluence of the river Varaná (the 'Burnah' of the maps) with the Ganges, close to Benares; and they are now deposited in the Library of the Bengal Asiatic Society. Excepting some slight differences of orthography and occasional errors, the introductory portions of these six inscriptions, up to the words *irimaj-Jayachchandradévé vijayi*, are entirely the same as that of the inscription E, lines 1-20; and in the subsequent parts, too, the wording of these grants agrees so closely with the wording of E, that a full translation would be superfluous. I shall therefore, in the following, give only the essential portion of the text of each inscription, and shall point out what may be of any importance, in my introductory remarks.

This inscription is on a single plate, measuring about  $20\frac{5}{9}''$  by 16'', and inscribed on one side only. The edges of it were partly fashioned thicker than the inscribed surface, and were partly raised or beaten up into rims; and the preservation of the writing is perfect, so that there is no doubt whatever about the actual reading of any part of the inscription. — The ringhole is in the upper part of the plate. The ring, which had been cut when the grant came under Mr. Fleet's notice, is about  $\frac{5}{9}''$  thick and 5'' in diameter. It fits easily into a round hole in the bottom part of a bell-shaped seal, which is about 3'' high. The surface of the seal is circular, about  $3\frac{1}{4}''$  in diameter; and on it, in relief on a slightly countersunk surface, there are — at the top, a representation of Garuda, with the body of a man and the head and wings of a bird, kneeling half to the front and half to the proper right, and with his head turned full round in profile to the proper right; across the centre, the legend *irinaj-Jayachcha*[ $s^{0}$ ]*dradérah* II; and at the bottom, a *iaikha*-shell. — The average size of the letters is about  $\frac{3}{2}''$ . The engraving is fairly good; but, in the usual manner, the interiors of most of the letters show marks of the working of the engraver's tool. The plate is thick and substantial; and

<sup>41</sup> See ib. p. 10, note 58.

<sup>\*</sup> This word appears to signify a great scholar, deserving of the honorido title miéra (Hålé-miéra).

On gôkarna, see ib. p. 10, note 57.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See Asiatic Researches, Vol. XV. pp. 446 and 459.

the letters, being rather shallow, do not show through on the reverse side of it at all. The oharacters are Någari, and the language is Sanskrit. In respect of orthography, I need only note that b is denoted by the sign for v everywhere except in the word *babhramur*, and that the dental sibilant has been fourteen times employed for the palatal sibilant, and the palatal six times for the dental sibilant.

This inscription also is one of the Paramabhattáraka, Mahárájádhirája, and Paraméisvara, Jayachchandradéva, who records that, when at Benares, he granted the village of Gódanti, situated in the Paschima-chchhapana patialá in Antarvédi, together with its two pátakas called Ghantiamauyi and Nitamauyi, to the ráuta Rájyadharavarman, son of the mahámahattaka, the thakkura Vidyádhara, and son's son of the mahámahattaka, the thakkura Jagaddhara, a Kshatriya of the Vatsa gótra, whose five pravaras were Bhârgava, Chyavana, Ápnavâna, Aurva, and Jâmadagnya. And the date on which this grant was made, is stated, both in words and in decimal figures, to have been, -- Saturday, the 10th lunar day of the bright half of Vaiśâkha, of the year 1233. Like the preceding, this grant was written by the mahákshapatalika, or great keeper of records, the Thakkura Sripati.

The term *páţaka*, which occurs in the above, is by lexicographers explained to mean *grámaikadésa* 'a part of a village;' and comparing the use of the word in lines 16 and 17 of the inscription K below, and in line 14 of the inscription of Gôvindachandra<sup>3</sup> of the year 1187 (not 1180) published in the *Journal Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. LVI. Part I. p. 109, I understand the word to denote the outlying portion of a village, or a kind of hamlet which had a name of its own, but really belonged to a larger village. In the present case, the village of Gôdanti, granted by the king, had two such hamlets, named Ghantiâmauyî and Nîtâmauyî respectively.

As regards the date, taking 1233 to be a year of the Vikrama era, the possible equivalents for Vaisâkha śukla 10 would be :---

- for the northern year 1233 current, Friday, 2 May, A.D. 1175;
- for the northern year 1233 expired, or

the southern year 1233 current, - Tuesday, 20 April, A.D. 1176;

for the southern year 1233 expired, - Saturday, 9 April, A.D. 1177.

The actual date, therefore, clearly is Saturday,<sup>3</sup> 9 April, A.D. 1177, and the calculation shows that the year 1233, mentioned in our record, was the southern Vikrama year 1233, expired, *i.e.* the northern year 1235, current.

Of the localities mentioned, Antarvêdi is the Doab, or district between the Ganges and Yamunâ rivers. The village granted, and the *pattald* in which it was situated, I am unable to identify.

# **EXTRACTS FROM THE TEXT.4**

21 sa-pâțaka-Godanti-grâma-nivâsin[ô] nikhila-janapadân≃upagatân=api cha râja-râjīfyuvarâja-mamtri-purôhita-pratîhâra-sênâpati - bhâmdâgârik - âkshapațalika · bhishagnaimi-

22 ttik-ântahpurika-dûta-karituragapattanâkarasthânagôkulâdhikâri-purushân-âjñâpayati vô-(bô)dhayaty=âdiśati cha [i\*] Viditam-astu bhavatâm yath-ôparilikhita-grâmah sa-jala-

The published text and the translation of it are incorrect. The actual reading of the viate is distinctly Bhaluri-pdiakens such ' together with the pdiaka Bhaluri' (not ' a part of Baluri' (!) ).

s On that day the 10th tith of the bright fortnight commenced about mean sunrise, and it ended 1 h. 44 m. before sunrise of the following day.

<sup>·</sup> From the impression.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Up to this, the text of the inscription, excepting some differences of spelling, is the same as that of the inscription E.

<sup>\*</sup> These signs of punctuation are superfluons.

- 23 sthalah sa-lôha-lavan-âkarah sa-matsy-âkarah sa-gartt-ôsharah sa-giri-gahana-nidhânah sa-madhûk-âmra-vana-vâțikâ-viţapa-trina-yûti-gôchara-paryantah s-ôrdhv-âdhaš⇔ chatur-âghâ-
- 24 ța-visu(śu)ddhah sva-sîmâ-paryantah 1º traya[s\*]trimsa(sa)d-adhika-dvâdasa-sata-sam-(m)vatsarê Vaisâ(sâ)khê mûsi su(su)kla-pakshê datamyâm tithau Sa(sa)ni-dinê ankatê=pi sam(m)vat 1233 Vaisâ(sa)kha su di 10 Sa(sa)nau ady=ê-
- 25 ha śrîmad-vijaya-**Varaņasyam** Gamgâyâm snātvā vidhivan=mamtra-dêva-munimanuja-bhûta-pitrigaņāms=tarppayitvā timira-patala-pātana-patu-mahasam=Ushņarôchisham=upasthây=O(au)shadhipati-
- 28 śakala-śêkharań samabhyarchchya tribhuvana-trâtur=bhagavatô Vâsudêvasya pûjâń vidhâya prachura-pâyasêna havishâ havirbhujaṁ hutvâ mâtâ-pitrôr= âtmanaś=cha puŋya-yaśô-bhivriddhayê a-
- 27 småbhir=ggôkarnna-kusalatá-pûta-karatal-ôdaka-pûrvvakam Vatsa-gôtrâya Bhârggava-Chyavan-Âpnavân-Aurvva-Jâmadagny-êti-pamcha-pravarâya mahâmahattaka-thakkura-śrî-Jagaddhara-pantrâya mahâmaha-
- 28 ttaka-thakkura-śrî-Vidyâdhara-putrâya râuta-śrî-Râjyadharavarmmanê kshatriyâya chamdr-årkkam yâvach=chhâsanîkritya pradattô matvâ yathâdîyamânabhâgabhôgatkara-pravanikara-prabhriti-niyatâni-
- 29 yata-samast-âdâyan=âjñâvidhêyîbhûya dâsyath= ê ti || ||Bhavanti ch=âtra ślôkâh |7
- 35 . . . . . . Likhitam ch=ôdam tâmrapattakam mahâkshapatalika-thakkura-úri-Sripatibhih !!

G.-Another Bengal Asiatic Society's Copper-Plate Grant of Jayachchandra.

### The (Vikrama) year 1233.

This inscription also is on a single plate, measuring about 21" by  $\frac{9}{10}$ " and inscribed on one side only. The edges of it were fashioned slightly thicker than the inscribed surface; and the preservation of the writing is perfect. - The ring-hale is in the upper part of the plate. The ring, which had been cut when the grant came under Mr. Fleet's notice, is about #" thick and 5<sup>4</sup>" in diameter. It fits very tightly into a round hole in the bottom part of the usual bellshaped seal, which is about  $3\frac{\epsilon}{4}$  high. The surface of the seal is circular, about  $3\frac{\epsilon}{4}$  in diameter; and on it, in relief on a slightly countersunk surface, there are - at the top, a representation of Garuda, exactly as in F. above; across the centre, the legend *śrimaj-Jayacheha*-[m\*]dradévah II; and at the bottom, a sankha-shell. — The average size of the letters is about ". The engraving is fairly good; but, as usual, the interiors of most of the letters shew marks of the working of the engraver's tool. The plate is thick and substantial; and the letters, which are rather shallow, do not show through on the reverse side of it at all. The characters are Någarî, and the language is Sanskrit. As regards orthography, b is denoted by the sign for v everywhere except in the word babhramur; the dental sibilant has been eighteen times employed for the palatal sibilant, and the palatal once for the dental sibilant; sha has taken the place of kha in sesharam, line 23; and the conjunct mora has been employed instead of mrs in amvra, line 21, and tamvrakan, line 34.

This inscription also is one of the Paramabha!!áraka, Mahárájádhirája, and Paraméivara, Jayachchandradéva, who records that, when at Benares, he granted the village of Kôtháravandhuri, in the Kôsamba pattalâ, to the Kshatriya Râjyadharavarman, mentioned as donee in the preceding inscription. The date, too, is the same as that of the inscription F. : and this grant also was written by the mahákshapatalika, the Thakkura Sripati.

<sup>7</sup> Here follow (differently arranged) the same benedictive and imprecatory verses as in E, scoept that for the verse beginning gdm-skim everynam-skam cha we have here the verse beginning ydm-sha dattani purs narsadrash.

<sup>\*</sup> These signs of punctuation are superfluous.

Among the taxes, etc., to be paid to the donee, this inscription, in addition to the bhaqabhôgakara and provanikara, in line 26 enumerates the yamalikámbali, which is also mentioned below in the inscription H, line 29, and in I, line 25, and is called javalikambali in J, line 25, and in K, line 24. I have not met with this technical term elsewhere, and am upable to explain it.

As regards the localities, the Kôsamba pattala evidently takes its name from Kauśâmbî, with which has been identified the village of Kôsam, on the left bank of the Yamunâ, about 30 miles above Allahâbâd, which is said to have been a large and flourishing town, as late as a century ago. The village mentioned in the inscription I am unable to identify.

# EXTRACTS FROM THE TEXT.1

- 18 19 Köthäravamdhuri-grama-niväsinö nikhila-jauapadan=upagatan=api cha råja-råjbiyuvarâja-mantri-purôhita-pratîhâra-sênâpati-bhândâgârik-âkshapada(ta)lika- bhishańnaimittik-ântahpurika-dûta-kari-
- 20 turagapattanàkarasthànagôkulàdhikâri-purushàn=âjñâyapati vô(bô)dhayaty=âdiśati cha viditam=asta bhavatâm yathâ yath=ôparilikhita-gràmah sa-jala-sthalah 88lôha-lavan-âkarah sa-matsy-à-
- karah sa-gartt-ôshara[h\*] sa-madhûk-âmvra(mra)-vana-vâtikû-vitapa-trina-vûti-gôchara-21 paryantah s-orddhv-adhas=chatur-aghata-viau(su)ddhah sva-sîmâ-paryantas= ritrimsaty-adhika4-dvadasa-sata-samvatsaré Vaisa(sa)kha-masi sushla(kla)-
- 22 pakshé dasamyam tithau Sa(sa)ni-diné ankató=pi samvat 1233 Vaisa(sa)kha di 10 Sa(sa)nau ady=êha śrîmad-Vârâņasyam 81 Gamgâyâm snátvá vidhivan=mantra-dêva-muni-manuja-bhûta-pitriganâms=tarppayitvâ
- 23 timira- patala - pâțana-patu-mahasam=Ushnarôchisham=upasthây=Ô(au)shadhipati-éakala - sê-(śê)sha(kha)ram samabhyarchchya tribhuvana-trâtur=Vvâsudêvasya pûjâm vidhâya prachura-pâyasêna havishâ havirbhu-
- 24 hutvá mátá-pitrôr=átmanaś=cha puņya-yaśô-bhivriddhayê jami asmâbhir=gôkarnnakuśalatâ-pûta-karatâlâdaka<sup>5</sup>-pû[r\*]vakam Vatsa-gôtrâya Bhârggava-Chyavana-Apnavâna-Aurvva-Jâmadagnya-pamcha-pravarâya
- 25 mahâmahattaka-thakkura-śri-Jagadhva(ddha)ra-pautrâya mahamahattaka-mahathakkuraśri-Vidyâdhara-putrâya râuta-śri-Râjâ(jya)dharavarmmanê kshatriyaya chandrårkka[m] yâvach≈chhâsanîkŗitya pradâttå<sup>6</sup> matvâ yathâ-
- dîyamâca-bhâgabhôgakara-pravanikara-yamalikâmva(mba)li-prabhīti -niyatâniyata samast-26 âdâyân-âjõâvidhêyîbhûya dâsyath=êti || Bhavanti ch=âtra slô(ślô)kâh ||<sup>7</sup>
- 33 Likhitam ch=êdam tâmvra(mra)ka[m] mahâkshapajalika-ţhakkura-śri-Sripatibhih 11 Su(śu)bham=astu 11 11 34 Mamgalam mahâ-śrih II

### H.—Another Bengal Asistic Society's Copper-Plate Grant of Jayachchandra.

### The (Vikrama) year 1234.

A translation of this inscription by Captain E. Fell, with remarks by H. H. Wilson, has been published in the Asiatic Researches, Vol. XV. pp. 447-469.

This inscription also is on a single plate, measuring about  $20\frac{1}{4}$  by  $17\frac{3}{4}$ , and inscribed on one side only. The edges of it were partly fashioned thicker and partly raised into rims; and though in a few places the surface of the plate is slightly worn, the writing in general is well

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> From the impression.

From the impression.
 <sup>2</sup> Up to this, the text of the inscription, excepting some differences of spelling, is the same as that of the inscription E.
 <sup>3</sup> These signs of punctuation are superfluous.
 <sup>6</sup> Read-karatal-fidaka.
 <sup>6</sup> Read-pradattó.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> These signs of punctuation are superfluous.
 <sup>4</sup> Read trayastrimiad-adhika..
 <sup>5</sup> Read-karatal-idaka..
 <sup>5</sup> Read-karatal-idaka..
 <sup>6</sup> Read pradattó.
 <sup>7</sup> Here follow (differently arranged) the same benedictive and imprecatory verses as in E, except that for the verse beginning na visham visham-ity-dhuk we have here the verse beginning yan-tha datténi pura naréndruih.

preserved. - The ring-hole is in the upper part of the plate. The ring, which had been cut when the grant came under Mr. Fleet's notice, is about  $\frac{4}{3}$  thick and  $\frac{4}{3}$  in diameter. It fits very tightly into a round hole in the bottom part of the usual bell-shaped seal, which is about  $3\frac{1}{4}$  high. The surface of the seal is circular, about  $3\frac{3}{4}$  in diameter; and on it, in relief on a slightly countersunk surface, there are - at the top, a representation of Garuda, exactly as in F. above; across the centre, the legend érimaj-Jayachchamdradérah II; and at the bottom, a sankha-shell. — The average size of the letters is between  $\frac{5}{16}$  " and  $\frac{5}{6}$ ." The engraving is good ; though, as usual, the interiors of some of the letters shew marks of the working of the engraver's toof. The plate is thick and substantial; and the letters, which are rather shallow, do not shew through on the reverse side of it at all. The characters are Någari, and the language is Sanskrit. As regards orthography, b has been denoted by the sign for veverywhere except in the word babhramur; the deatal sibilant has been eighteen times employed for the palatal sibilant, and the palatal six times for the dental sibilant ; sha has taken the place of kha in śśsharam, line 26; and the conjunct mora has been employed instead of mra in amora, line 24, and tamorakam, line 35; besides, the dental has occasionally been used instead of the lingual nasal, e.g., in uttaráyana, line 25.

This inscription also is one of the Paramabhattarata, Maharajadhiraja, and Paraméérara, Jayachchandradeva, who records that, when at Benares, he granted the village of Deupali, together with (what I consider to be four patakas or outlying hamlets1) Vavaharadiha, Chata-[ge]lauapali, Saravatatatalia, and Naugama, situated in the Ambuali patiala, on the banks of the D[ai]vaha, to the Kshatriya Râjyadharavarman, the donee of the preceding two inscriptions F and G. And the date on which this grant was made, is stated, both in words and in decimal figures to have been, - Sunday, the 4th lunar day of the bright half of Pansha, of the year 1234, on the Uttarayana-Samkranti or commencement of the sun's progress upon its northern course. Like the preceding, this grant was written by the mahukshapatalika, the Thakkura Sripati.

As regards the date, taking 1234 to be a year of the Vikrama era, the possible equivalents for Pausha sukla 4 would be : - for the year 1234 current, - Tuesday, 7 December, A.D. 1176; and for the year 1234 expired, - Monday, 26 December, A.D. 1177. In A.D. 1176 the Uttaråyana-Samkrânti took place on December 25th, which, irrespective of the fact that the week-day would be wrong, shows at once that the day intended by the grant cannot possibly be December 7, A.D. 1176. In A.D. 1177, on the other hand, the Uttarâyana-Samkrânti took place about 5 h. 18 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, December 25th; and the 4th tithi of the bright fortnight of Pausha commenced about 4 h. 53 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, December 25th. and ended about 6 h. 35 m. after mean sunrise of Monday, December 26th. I therefore believe that the day intended is Sunday, 25 December, A.D. 1177, which was really the 3rd of the bright fortnight of Pausha; and that the meaning intended to be conveyed by the wording of the date is this, that the donation was made on Sunday, the day of the Uttaråyana-Samkranti, during that part of the day when the 4th tithi was running .- Accordingly 1234 has to be taken as the expired year; but, the day falling in the bright fortnight of Pausha, there is nothing to show whether the year should be regarded as a northern or southern year.

The river and the localities mentioned in the inscription I am unable to identify.

#### EXTRACTS FROM THE TEXT.<sup>2</sup>

- .3-śrîmaj-Jayachchandradevó vijayî || ||\*D[ai]vaha pârê Amvu-20(mbu)ali-pattalâyâm Vavaharadiha M Chata[gê]-
- Saravatātatališ (\* Naugamā (\* êtaiķ 21 lauâpâli i\* saha Döüpáli-gráma-nivásinô nikhila-janapadân=upagatân=api cha râja râjbî-yuvarâ-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Compare lines 16 and 17 of the inscription K. below. <sup>2</sup> From the impression. <sup>3</sup> Up to this, the text of the inscription, excepting some differences of spelling, is the same as that of the <sup>4</sup> These signs of punctuation are superfluous. inscription E.

js-ma[m]tri- purôhita-pratîhâra-sênâpati-bhândâgârik-âksbapatalika-bhishaù-naimittik-ântah-22purika-düta-karituragapattanâkarasthânagôkulâdhikâri-purushân=&jñâpayati 23vô(bô)dhayaty=âdiśati cha yathâ viditam=astu bhavatâm yath=ôparilikhita-grâmah sa-lôha-lavan-ákarah sa-matsy-âkarah sa-jala-sthalah sa-gartt-ôsharah sa-girigahana-nidhànah sa-madhû-24 k-âmvra(mra)-vana-vâțikâ-vitapa-triņa-yûți-gôchara-paryantah s-ôrddhv-âdbaś=chaturaghata-visu(su)ddhah sva-sîmâ-paryantaś=chatustrimsaty5-adhika-dvadasasa(sa)tasamvatsarê Paushê mêsi su(su)kla-pachaturthyån=tithau Ravi-dinê ańkatô=pi samvat 25 kshð 1284 Pausha su di 4 Ravau Uttarayana(na)-samkrantau ady=êha śrimad-Varanasyam Gamgâyâm snâtvâ vidhivan=mantra-dêva-muni-manuja-bhû-26 ta-pitriganâms=tarppayitvâ timira-patala-pâțana-pațu-mabasam=Ushparôchisham= upasthây=Ô(au)shadhipati-śakala-śêsha(kha)ram samabhyarchchya tribhuvanatrâtur=Vvâsudêvasya pûjâm vidhâya prachura-pâyasêna 27havishà havirbhujam hutvâ mâtâ-pitrôr=âtmanaś=cha punya-yasô-bhivriddhayê asmâbhir=gôkarnna-kuśalatâ-pûta-karatal-ôdaka-pûrvvakam Vatsa-gôtrâya Bhârggava-Chyavana-Apnavâna-Aurvva-Jâmadagnya-pa[ncha]-. 28 pravaráya mahâmabattaka-mahâthakkura-śrî-Jagaddhara-pautrâya mahâmahattaka-mahâthakkura-śri-Vidyâdhara-putrâya râuta-śri-Râjyadbaravarmmanê kshatriyâya chandr-árkkam yávach=chhàsanîkritya pradattô ma-29 tvâ yathâdîyamâna-bhâgabhôgakara-pravaņikara-yamalikâmva(mba)li-prabhriti-niyatâniyatasamast âdâyân=âjñâvidhêyîbhûya dûsyath=êti 11 Bhavanti ch=âtra ślôkâh 116 . . . 35 . . . R Likhitañ=ch=êdan=tâmvra(mra)kam mahâkshapatalika-thakkura-. 36 śr**i-Sripatibhir**=iti || || Su(śu)bham=astu || || Mańgalam mahâ-śrih ||

### I.---Another Bengal Asiatic Society's Copper-Plate Grant of Jayachchandra.

# The (Vikrama) year 1236.

This inscription also is on a single plate, measuring about 20° by  $15\frac{1}{4}$ ", and inscribed on one side only. The edges of it were partly fashioned thicker, and partly raised into rims; and the writing is well preserved throughout. Recently, a small triangular piece, containing eleven aksharas, has been broken away at the upper proper left corner; but it is preserved with the plate. — In the upper part of the plate, there is a hole for a ring. The ring and its seal are not now forthcoming. But it appears that they were found when the plate was discovered: and that the seal was bell-shaped, and had on it Garnda and a sankha-shell, and a legend giving the name of Jayach[ch\*]andra. — The average size of the letters is between  $\frac{1}{4}$ " and  $\frac{5}{16}$ ." The engraving is fairly good; but, as usual, the interiors of some of the letters shew marks of the working of the engraver's tool. The plate is thick; and the letters, which are rather shallow, do not shew through on the reverse side of it at all. The **characters** are Nâgarî, and the **language** is Sanskrit. As regards **orthography**, b has been donoted by the sign for v everywhere except in the word babhramur; and the dental sibilant has been eighteen times employed for the palatal sibilant, and the palatal seven times for the dental sibilant.

This inscription also is one of the Paramabhattáraka, Mahárájádhirája, and Paraméévara, Jayachchandradéva, who records that, when in residence at **Randava**i on the Ganges, he granted the village of Dayadama, situated in the Dayadami pattalá, to the ráuta Rajyadharavarman, the donee of the preceding inscriptions. And the date on which this grant was made, is stated, both in words and in decimal figures, to have been, — Friday, the full moon *tithi* or

<sup>5</sup> Read chatustrimsad ..

I Here the inscription has, in a different order, the verses given in E., excepting the verses beginning subdattam para-dattam va and na visham visham-ity-ahuh; and the inscription adds the verse beginning yan-tha dattan pura narendraik.

15th lunar day of the bright half of Vaisakha, of the year 1236. Like the preceding, this grant was written by the mahakshapatalika, the Thakkura Sripati.

As regards the date, taking 1236 to be a year of the Vikrama era, the possible equivalents for Vaiśâkha śukla 15 would be :----

for the northern year 1236 current, --- Wednesday, 3 May, A.D. 1178;

for the northern year 1236 expired, or

the southern year 1236 current, - Monday, 23 April, A.D. 1179;

for the southern year 1236 expired, -- Friday, 11 April, A.D. 1180.

The actual date, therefore, clearly is Friday,<sup>1</sup> 11 April, A.D. 1180; and the year 1236 of the grant must be taken to be the southern expired year, i.e. the northern year 1238 current.

The localities mentioned in the grant I am unable to identify.

# EXTRACTS FROM THE TEXT.3

- 18 . Dayadama-grâma-nivàsinô nikhila-janapadân=upagatân=api cha râia-râibîyuvarâja-mantri-
- purôhita-pratîhûra- sênâpati -bhândâgârik-âkshapatalika-bhishan-naimittik-ântahpurika-dûta-19 karituragapattanûkarasthânagôkulâdhikâri-purushân=âjñâpayati vô(bô)dhayaty=âdiśati
- yathâ viditam=astu bhavatâm yath=ôparilikhita-grâmah sa-jala-sthalah sa-lôha-20 cha lavan-âkarah sa-matsy-àkarah sa-gartt-ôsharah sa-giri-gabana-nidhânah samadhûk-âmra-vana-vâtikâ-vițapa-triņa-yûti-
- gôchara-paryantah s-[0]rddhv-ådhaś=cbatur-åghåta-visu(su)ddhah sva-sîmâ-paryantah 21 shattrimsa(sa)d-adhika-dvadasa-sata-samvatsarê Vaisa(sa)khê masi suklapakshé purnnimayam tithau Sukra-dinð ankata(tô)=pi sam 1236 Vaisā(\$ā)kha su
- Sukrê ady≂êha śrî-Ramdavai-samâvâsê Gamgâyam snâtvâ 22 di 15 **vidhivan**= mantra-dêva-muni-manuja-bhûta-pitriganûms=tarppayitva timira-patala-pâtana-patumahasam=Ushnarôchisham=upasthây=Aushadhipati-śakala-
- se(śĉ)kharam samabhvarchchva tribhuvana-trâtur=Vvâsudêvasya 23 pûjâm vidhâya havirbhujam prachura-pâyasêna havishâ hutvâ mâtâ-pitrôr=âtmanaś=cha punya-yaśô-bhivriddhayê şemâbhir=ggôkarnna-kuśalatâ-pûta-karata-
- Vatsa-gôtrâya Bhârggava-Chyavana-Âpnavâna-Ma(au)rvva-24 l-ô[da]ka-pûrvvakam 11<sup>5</sup> Jâmadagnya-pamcha-pravarâya mahâmahattaka-thakkura-śri-Jagaddhara-pautrâya mahâmahattaka-thakkura-śri-Vidyâdhara-putrâya râuta-śri-[Râ]jyadha-
- chandr-ârkkam yâvach=chhâsanîkri[tya\*] pradattô matvâ 25 ravarmmani(nê) yathâdiyamâna -bhâgabhôgakara -prama(va)ņikara - yamalikâmva(mba)li - prabhriti - niyatā. niyata-samast-âdâyân=âjñâvidhêyîbhûya dâsyath=êti || ||
- Bhavanti ch=åtra ślôkâh 16 26 . . . . . . . . .
- . . . B B Likhitam ch=êdam tâvra(mra)ka[m\*] mahakshapatali-33 34 ka-[tha]kkura-śri-Sripatikan7=8ti || || Mangalam maha-śrih ||

# J.-Another Bengal Asiatic Society's Copper-Plate Grant of Jayachchandra,

### The (Vikrama) year 1236.

This inscription also is on a single plate, measuring about 181' by 131", and inscribed on The edges of it were partly fashioned thicker, and party raised into rims; and one side only.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> On that day, there was full-moon about 21 h. 40 m. after mean surrise.
 <sup>2</sup> From the impression.
 <sup>3</sup> Up to this, the text of the inscription, excepting some differences of spelling, is the same as that of the inscription E.
 <sup>4</sup> This sign of pupotnation is superfluous.
 <sup>6</sup> Resd-pdrvvakan Valsa..
 <sup>6</sup> Here follow (differently arranged) the same benedictive and imprecatory verses as in E.; and besides, the verses beginning asmad-vanish parkshine, and yán-íka dattáni purá naréndraik.

the writing is well preserved throughout. -- In the upper part of the plate, there is a hole for a ring. The ring and its seal are not now forthcoming. But it appears that they were discovered with the plate; and that the seal was bell-shaped, and had on it Garuda and a saikhashell, and a legend giving the name of Jayach[ch\*]andra. -- The average size of the letters is about ‡". The engraving is fairly good ; though, as usual, the interiors of many of the letters shew marks of the working of the engraver's tool. The plate is thick ; and the letters, which are rather shallow, do not shew through on the reverse side of it at all. The characters are Någari and the language is Sanskrit. As regards orthography, b has been denoted by the sign for v everywhere except in the word babhramur; the dental sibilant has been about 35 times employed for the palatal sibilant, and the palatal a few times for the dental sibilant; sha has taken the place of kha in -sésharam, line 23; the conjunct mura has been used for mrs in ámurs, line 20; and the dental nasal has occasionally been employed instead of the lingual nasal, e.g. in punya-, line 23.

This inscription also is one of the Paramabha!!draka, Mahârdjddhirdja, and Paraméévara, Jayachchandradeva, who records that, when in residence at Randavai on the Ganges, he granted the village of Sale[t]i, situated in the Jaru[ttha] pattalá, to the rauta Rajyadharavarman, the donee of the preceding grants. The date is the same as that of the preceding inscription I.; and this grant also was written by the mahakshapatalika, the Thakkura Bripati.

The localities mentioned in the grant I am unable to identify.

### EXTRACTS FROM THE TEXT.1

- . 17 devo vijayî 113 Ja[ruttha]4-pattalâyâm 15 Salê[t]i6-grâma-nivâsinô nikhila-janapadân= 18 râja-râjñî-yuvarâja-mamtri-purôhîta-pratîhâra-s[ê\*]nâpatinpaga[tâ]n=api chabhandâgârik-âksha-
- patalika bhishag naimittik antahpurika dûta- karituragapa[t\*]tanakarasthanagôkuladhi-19 vô(bô)dhayaty=âdiśati cha yathâ vidi(di)tam=astu kâri-purushân≠âjñâpayati bhavatâm yath=ôparili-
- sa-lôha-lavan-âkarah sa-matsy-âkarah sa-gartt-ôsharah sa-jala-sthalah khita-grâmah 20 sa-madhûk-âmvra(mra)-vana-vâțikâ-vițapa-trina-yû[ti]sa-giri-gahana-nidhànah gôchara-paryantah s-ô-
- shattrimsaty7-adhika-21 rddhv-ådhas=chatur-åghåta-visu(su)ddhah sva-sîmâ-paryantah dvådasa-sata-samvatsaré Vaiså(så)khé mási su(su)kla-pakshé paurnnimayam(m) tithau Su(su)kra-dinê ankê=pi samvat<sup>3</sup> 1236 Vaisa (ba)kha su
- di 15 Su(au)krð (\* adya śri-Bamdavai-samávásê Gamgúyám snátvá vidhívan=  $\mathbf{22}$ mamtra-dêva-muni-manuja-bhûta-pitriganâms=tarppayitvâ timira-pa[ta]la-pâțanapatu-mabasam=Ushņarôdhi(chi)sham=upasthây⇒Au-
- shadhipati-śakala-śĉsha(kha)ram samabhyarchchya tribhuvana-trâtur=bhagavatô Våsudai-23 vidháya prachura-páyasêna havishâ havirbhujam hutvâ pûjâ[m] (dê)vasya mâtâ-pitrôr=âtmanaś=cha punya(ṇya)-yaśô-vivriddhayê a<sup>10</sup>-
- asmâbhir=gôkarnna-kuśalatâ-pûta-karatal-ôdaka-pûrvvakamm 11 Vatsa-gôtrâva(ya) 24 Bhårggava-Chyavana-Âpnavâna-Ma(au)rvva-Jâmadagnya-pamcha-pravarâya mahâmahattaka-[tha]kkura-śri-Jagaddhara-pau-

<sup>1</sup> From the impression.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Up to this, the text of the inscription, excepting some differences of spelling, and the omission of the word for Kanyakubj-, is the same as that of the inscription E.

<sup>\*</sup> This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

<sup>\*</sup> The second akshars of this word is quite illegible, and has been taken from the inscription K. below; the third may be tha. \* Read shattrimsad ..

<sup>\*</sup> The consonant of this akshara is doubtful. · Read-patialdy am.

<sup>\*</sup> This sign of punctuation is superfluous. \* Read somvat. 11 Read-purvakam.

<sup>1</sup>º This a appears to be struck out.

25	trâya	mahâmahattaka-thakkura-śrî-Vidyâdhara-putrâya _râura(ta)-śrî-Râjyadharava[r*]-
	-	mmanê chamdr-ârkkam yâvat <sup>13</sup> sâsanîkritya prada(da)ttê matvâ yathâdîyamêna-
		ohagabhôgakara-pravanikara-javalika-
26	mva(1	nba)li-prabhriti-niyatâniyata-samast-idâyân=âjñâvidhêyîbbûya dâsyath=êti
	•	Bhavanti ch=âtra ślôkâh H <sup>13</sup>
33		Likhitam ch=8dam mahâkshapatalika-tha[k*]kura-śri-Sripatin=
		êti H. Mamgalam mahî-śrîh H

# K .--- Another Bengal Asiatic Society's Copper-Plate Grant of Jayachchandra.

### The (Vikrama) year 1236.

This inscription also is on a single plate, measuring about 173" by 123", and inscribed on one side only. The edges of it were partly fashioned thicker, and partly raised into rims. The surface of the plate is somewhat worn; but, excepting two or three aksharas in line 16, there is no doubt about the actual reading of any part of the inscription. The ring-hole is in the upper part of the plate. The wire of the ring, which had been cut when the grant came under Mr. Fleet's notice, is not round, as is usually the case, but rectangular, about is by §"; but it is bent into the usual circular shape, about 35" in diameter. It fits rather tightly into a round hole in the bottom part of the usual bell-shaped seal, which is about  $3\frac{3}{5}$  high. The surface of the seal is circular, about  $2\frac{3}{5}$  in diameter; and an it, in low relief on a slightly countersunk surface, there are-at the top, a representation of Garuda, exactly as in F. above; across the centre, the legend śrimaj-Jayachcha[m\*]dradévah II; and at the bottom, a saikha-shell.-The average size of the letters is about #". The engraving is fairly good ; but, as usual, the interiors of some of the letters show marks of the working of the engraver's tool. The letters are rather shallow, and do not shew through at all on the back of the plate, which is thick and substantial. The characters are Nagari and the language is Sanskrit. As regards orthography, the inscription closely agrees with the preceding inscription J., so that all the remarks made on the orthography of J. are also here applicable.

This inscription also is one of the Paramabhattáraka, Mahárájádhirája, and Paraméévara, Jayachchandradêva, who records that, when in residence at Randavai on the Ganges. he granted the village of Abhélávaşu, situated in the Járu[ttha] pattald (also mentioned in J), together with its five pdfakas or outlying hamlets Maniari, Gayasada, Vatavana, Asi[a]ma and [Sirl P]ms, to the rauta Rajyadharavarman, the donce of the preceding grants. The date is the same as that of the preceding inscriptions I and J, and this grant also was written by the mahakshapatalika, the Thakkura Sripati.

The localities mentioned in the grant I am unable to identify.

### EXTRACTS FROM THE TEXT.<sup>1</sup>

- . . . <sup>2</sup>śrimaj-**Jay**achchandradêvô vijayi l<sup>3</sup> Jaru[tths]-pattaläyåm= 16 Abhélavaţu-grâma êtasya pâțaka[m?] Maniari dvitiya-pâțaka[m?]Gayasada tritîyam Vatavana chaturttha[m?] Asi[a]ma pamchama[m] [Siri?]4-
- pamcha-pâțakaih saha grâma-nivâsinô nikhila-janapadán=npagatán=api êtaih 17 1298 oha rûja-rêjñî-yuvarûja-mamtri-purôhita-pratîhâra-sênâpati-bhâmdûgârik-âkshapaţalika-bhishag-naimittik-ântahpuri-
- 18 ka-dûta-karituragapattanâkarasthânagôkuladhikâri-purushân=âjnâpayati dbô(bô)dhayatv= âdišati cha yathā dhi(vi)ditam=asta bhavatām yath=ôpa[ri]-pāțakaih saha likhita-grâmah sa-jala-sthalah sa-lôha-la-

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Read ydvach-chhdsantkritya.
 <sup>13</sup> Here follow the same versee as in I.
 <sup>1</sup> From the impression.
 <sup>2</sup> Up to this, the text of the inscription, excepting some differences of spelling, and the omission of the word
 <sup>3</sup> fr before Kanyakubj-, is the same as that of the inscription E.
 <sup>5</sup> This sign of punctuation, which is superflucues, appears to be struck out already in the original.

The aksharas in brackets are very doubtful.

- van-âkarah 19 sa-matsy-åkarah sa-gartt-ôsharah sa-giri-gahana-nidhânah sa-madhûkamvra(mra)-vana-vâțikâ-vitapa-triņa-yūti-gôchara-paryantah s-orddhv-âdhaś=chaturâghâța-visu(su)ddhah sva-sîmâ-paryantah shațtrimsaty<sup>5</sup>-a-
- dhina-dvadasa-sata-samvatsê(tsa)r[ê\*] Vê(vai)så(så)khê m[å\*]si su(su)kla-pakshê 20 paurņņimāyām tithau Su(su)kra-dinē ankē=pi samvat 1236 Vaisā(sā). kha su di 15 Mu(su)kr[ê\*] adya śri-Ramdavai-samâvâsê Ga[m]gâyâm snâtvâ vidhivan=mamtra-dêva-mu-
- 21 nı-mannja-bhûta-pitriganâms=tarppayitvâ timira-patala-pâțana-pata-mahasam=Ushnarôchisham=upasthây=Aushadhipati-śakala-ś[ê]sha(kha)ram samabhyarchchya tribhuvana-trûtur=Vvâsud[ê]vasya pûjâm vidhâya prachura-pâ-
- yasêna havishâ havirbhujam hutvâ mâtâ-pitrôr=âtmanaś=cha 22 punya(pya)-yasôvivriddhaye asmâbhir=gôkarona-kuśalatâ-pûta-karatal-ôdaka-pûrvvakam Vatsa-Bhurggava-Chyavana-Äpuavana-Ma(au)rvva-Jamadagnya-pamcha-pravagôtrâya râya ma-
- hâmahattaka-thakkura-śrî-Jagaddhara-pantrâya mahamahattaka-thakkura-śri-Vichchhá-23(dyâ)dhara-patrâya rûuta-śrî-R'ijyadharavarmmanê chamdr-ârkkam yâvat<sup>a</sup> śâsanîkritya pradattô matvâ yathâdiyamâna-bhâgabhô-
- gakara-pravanikara-javalikâmva(mba)li-prabhriti-niyatâniyata-samast-âdayân = âjñâvidhêyî-24 bhûya dâsyath-êti || || Bhavanti ch-ûtra ślôkâh !?. . . . . . . . .
- Likhitam 31 the second se ch=ôdam támvra(mra)-. . 32 kam mahâkshapatalika-thakkura-śri Sripatim(n)=[8]ti || Su(śn)bha[m] bhavatu [[\*] Mangalam mahâ-śrih H tchha<sup>8</sup> H

#### SANSKRIT AND OLD-KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

# BY J. F. FLEET, BO.C.S., M.B.A.S, C.I.E.

NO. 177.-VIZAGAPATAM COPPER-PLATE GEANT OF DEVENDRAVABMAN.-THE YEAR 254.

I edit this inscription, which is now published in full for the first time, from the original plates, which I obtained for examination, in 1881, through the kindness of Mr. R. Sewell, M.C.S. It has been noticed by him in the Archael. Surv. South. Ind. Vol. II. p. 15, No. 93, where the plates are mentioned as being in the Office of the Principal Assistant Collector of Vizagapatam, in the Madras Presidency; and, originally, by myself in this Journal, Vol. X. p. 243, No. 6.

The plates, of which the first and last are inscribed on one side only, are three in number, each measuring about  $8\frac{2}{16}$  by  $3\frac{9}{16}$ . The edges of the first and third plates are fashioned slightly thicker than the inscribed surfaces, so as to serve as rims to protect the writing; and the inscription is in a state of perfect preservation throughout. On the onter side of the first plate, near the centre, there is engraved, in Arabic or Persian characters, a word which, it seems, can only be read as U ndl; but the purport of the word is not apparent, save that it must be some official voncher stamped on the record, when, in later times, it was produced as a title-deed before some Musalman authority.-The ring on which the plates are strung, and which passes through a ring-hole near the proper right end of each plate, is about  $\frac{1}{10}$  thick and 5§" in diameter; it had not been cut when the grant came under my notice. The ends of the ring are secured in the lower part of a seal, the top of which is slightly oval, about  $1\frac{3}{4}$  by  $1\frac{1}{4}$ . And on the seal, in relief on a countersunk surface, there is a bull, couchant to the proper right.-The weight of the three plates is about 3 lbs. 4 oz., and of the ring and seal, 1 lb. 4 oz.; total, 4 lbs. 8 oz. - The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets. The size of the letters varies from  $\frac{1}{8}''$  to  $\frac{5}{16}''$ . The engraving is bold and good, and fairly deep; but, the plates being thick and substantial, the letters do not show through on the reverse sides of

Read shattrimsad ..

<sup>6</sup> Read yavach - chchdsanikritya.

Rere follow the same verses as in I and J.
 Perhaps intended for tha or chchha; see ante, Vol. XVII. p. 140, note 45.

As usual, the interiors of many of the letters shew marks of working the them at all. engraver's tool. In line 27 we have forms of the decimal figures 2, 4, and 5; but the 4 and the 5 are of a decidedly exceptional type, and, but for the explanation of them in words, would most naturally have been read as 6 and 8. - The language is Sanskrit; and, except redictive and imprecatory verses in lines 15 to 24, the whole inscription is in prose. for the we have the Prakrit word samvachchhara, for the Sanskrit samvatsara .- In In line respect of orthography, the only points that call for notice are (1) the use of the guttural nasal instead of the anusvára, before i, in nistrinia, line 6; (2) the use, throughout, of the lingual for the palatal nasal, e.g. in manjari, line 5; but this is perhaps a palaeographical point, rather than orthographical; (3) the rather frequent omission to double a consonant after r, e.g. in upárjita, line 6, and other words; though instances of the correct practice are not wanting; (4) the doubling of dh before y, in anuddhyata, line 7; and (5) the use of v for b, throughout, in vahubhih, line 15; vrahmá, line 20; amvu, line 22; and vudvdhá, for vuddhvd, line 23.

The inscription is one of Devendravarman, of the Ganga family of Kalinga; and the charter recorded in it, is issued from the victorious camp at the city of Kalinganagara, which city is in all probability now represented by the modern Kalingapatam<sup>1</sup> at the mouth of the Vamsadhara river, in the Chicacole Tâlukâ or Sub-Division of the Ganjam District, Madras Presidency. It is a Saiva inscription ; the object of it being to record the grant of some villages, the names of which are not quite certain, in the Davadamadavam vishaya, to the god Siva under the name of Dharmésvara,

As regards the date of this record, from line 13 we learn that the grant was made avangpurvakam, or in connection with the ceremonies of an ayana, which here probably denotes the winter solstice. While in line 27 f., fully in words and partly in decimal figures, we have, for the writing and engraving of the charter, the year two hundred and fifty-four of some unspecified era; the month Phâlguna; the first fortnight, which will be the bright or the dark fortnight, according as we have to apply the amanta or the purnimanta arrangement; and the tirst lunar day. As the word ayana can only denote the winter (or summer) solstice, and cannot refer to the ordinary sankránti that occurs in Phâlguna, no immediate connection between these two passages can be established ; and consequently there are no details that can be actually tested by calculation. The era that is intended, and the probable date of this grant, will be considered in a separate paper on the Gângas of Kalinga.

#### TEXT.2

#### First Plate.

- 1 Ôm<sup>3</sup> Svasty⇒Amarapur-ânukâriņas=sarvv-a[r\*]ttu-sukba-ramaņfyâd=vijaya\*vatah Kalinga<sup>5</sup>nagara-vå-
- sakan=Mahendr-achal-amala6-sikhara7-pratishth[i\*]tasya 2 sachar-åchara-gurôs=sakalabhuvana-nirmâ-
- 3 n-aika-su(sû)tradhârasya śaśâńka-chû[dâ\*]manêr=bhagavatô Gôkarnnasvâminas-charanakamala-ya-
- gala-pranâmâd=vigata-Kali-kalamkô=nêk-âbava-samkshôbba-janita jayaga(śa)bda pratâp-â-
- vanata-samasta-sâmanta-chakra- chûdâmani prabhê manja<sup>8</sup>(ũja)rî puņja(ñja) ranji(ñji)ta-5 charanô
- 6 nija-nistrińśa-dhâr-ôpârjita-sakala-Kaling-adhirâjyah

parama-måhésvarô

<sup>1</sup> The 'Calingapatam' of some maps, &c. Lat. 18° 20' N.; Long. 84° 9' E. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 108. <sup>3</sup> Represented by a symbol.

\* From the original plates.

\* This ya was at first omitted, and then was inserted above the line.

First ngt, or ngt, was engraved, and then the superscript vowel was partially cancelled.

First log, or log, was engraved, and then the superscript vowel was partially cancelled.
 This log, having been omitted, was inserted below the line.
 The form of i that is used in the first syllable of this word, occurs again in source, line 8; and was intended to be used in gabda for iabda, line 4. In sasdnka, line 3, and other words, a different form is used, more easily distinguishable from the form of g.
 The n, for n, is imperfect here.

-Œ σ¢ Ĉ۴ Ń  $\infty$ N 1-6 M Q K So  $\mathbf{c}$ 11 0 9 # 엌 ₽ ø ω

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

SCALE '80

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en 6 2 3 NR S 2 2 5 2 2 5 5 <u>) ठ के</u> ५ X HDU,H

7					
8	kshinya-sauryy-audaryya-satya <sup>9</sup> -tyâg-âdi-guna-sampad-âdhârabhu(bhû)tô Gâng-âmala- kula-ti-				
9	lak-ôdbhavô mahârâja-śrîmad- <b>Anantavarmma-</b> su(sû)nuh śrî <b>-Dêvêndravarmm[â*</b> ] kuśali i				
	Second Plate; First Side.				
10	Dâvadâmadavam-vishayê Ţaduvamāsiņāpudilāboliga(?)mududā(?)-samā-				
11	vêtâm <sup>10</sup> kuțuvi(mbi)nah samâjñâpayati [1*] Viditam=astu bhâ(bha)vatâm yath= âyam=asmâbhir <sup>11</sup> =êtâ-				
12	Dharmêśvara-				
13	bhattárakáya ayana-pu(pů)rvvakam chandr-árka-pratishthá(shtha)m kritvá můtápitrô-				
14	r=åtmanaś=cha puny-åbhivriddhayê půrvva-bhujyamâna-sîmâ-sahi- tâni sampradat[t*]âni [11*] Vyâsa-gîtâś=ch=âtra ślôkâ bhavanti [1*] Va(ba)hubhi-				
15	tâni sampradat[t*]âni [ii*] Vyâsa-gîtäš=ch=âtra ŝlokā bhavanti [i*] Va(ba)hubhi-				
16	r <sup>13</sup> =vasudhâ dattâ râjabhis=Sagar-âdibhih yasya yasya				
	Second Plate; Second Side.				
17	yadâ bhu(bhû)mis⇒tasya tta(ta)sya tadâ phalam [il*] Suvaronam=êkam grâ(gâ)m= êk[â*]m				
18	bhu(bhû)mêr=apy=êkam=amgalam haramn <sup>14</sup> =narakam=âyûti yâvad=â-hû(bhû)ta				
19	samplavah(m) [1]*] Sva-dattâm=para-dattâm=vâ yatnâd=raksha Yudhishthirah <sup>15</sup> sva dânât=pha-				
<b>20</b>	lam=ânantyam para-dân-ânupâlanê [11*] Âdityô Varuuô Vra(bra)hmá				
21	Vishnuh sômô hutáśanah Su(śû)lapániś-cha bhagavâm <sup>16</sup> pratinandant				
22	bhu(bhû)mi-dam [11*] Iti <sup>17</sup> kamala-dal-âmvu(mbu)-vindu-lôlâm áriyamm <sup>18</sup> =anuchintya				
	Third Plate.				
23	manushya-jîvitan(ā)=cha sakalam=idam=udâhri(hri)tan(ā)=cha vudvdhâ19 na hi pu				
24	rushsih para-kîrttayô vilôpyâh [11*] Purôhit-Âdityadêva-pratys				
25	ksha[m*] sva-mukh-âjna(jña)yâ likhitam=idam śâsanam rabasya-Dargga				
26	dêva-su(sû)nunâ śrîmad-Ugradôvên=ôtkîrnnan(ŭ)=ch=ākshasalinâ Khandi-śrî-sâma				
27	ntén=ŝti <sup>20</sup> samvachchha(tsa)ra-sata-dvayê chatushpanch <b>â(fichâ)s-Abhya</b> dhikê <sup>2</sup> 254 Phâ-				
28 29	lguna(na)-prathama-pakahê pratipadi śri(śri)mad-vipra-Sômâchârya-sthânâdhikâra kâl=ôti <sup>23</sup> [ll*]				
	ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.				
	The star fit is a second of the star of Waltingson of the line is the star				
	From the victorious camp (vúsaka) at the city of Kalinganagara (line 1),-he who has				

had the stains of the Kali age removed by doing obeisance to the two water-lilies which are the feet of the divine (god) Gôkarnasvâmin (l. 3), established on the pure summit of the mountain Mahêndra (l. 2), who is the father of all things animate and inanimate, and the sole architect

<sup>29</sup> The *iti* here, unless it can properly be rendered by 'namely,' appears rather redundant; as, in this grant, the donor's speech seems to end with the word its in line 29, and to include the date of the writing and engraving of the charter.

<sup>31</sup> The first figure, 2, is engraved over a 4 which was cut here, out of its proper place, and was then beaten in again. <sup>32</sup> Read &la iti.

<sup>\*</sup> This tyo, having been omitted, was inserted, rather imperfectly, above the line.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Read sumarition.—In the third syllable, first v6 was engraved, and then the stroke that makes the difference between v6 and v6 was cancelled.

<sup>11</sup> Read yath-damabhir.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Read dishtaih, in apposition with asmdbhih in line 11. This seems to give the sense that is intended. If the instrumental singular is to be maintained, in which case the actual grantor is Dharmakhedin, then asmdbhih must be connected with dishtena, not with sampradattani, and the compound ending with dishtena should precede the compound ending with dharmakhedind.

<sup>14</sup> Metre, Slöka (Anushtubh); and in the next three verses. 14 Read haran. 15 Read yudhishthira.

<sup>16</sup> Read bhagaván. 17 Metre, Pushpitägrä. 18 Read iriyam. 19 Read buddhvá.

"" Be it known to you (l. 11), that, by Us, who have been admonished<sup>24</sup> to perform this act of religion by Our maternal uncle, the illustrious **Dharmakhêdin** (l. 12), in connection with (the rites of) an ayana (l. 13), and in order to increase the religious merit of Our parents and of Ourself (l. 14), these villages, with their boundaries as they are being enjoyed from former times (l. 14), have been given to the holy (god), the *Bhattáraka* Dharmêévara (l. 12).<sup>25</sup>

"[Here the grantor quotes five benedictive and imprecatory verses, attributed to Vyâsa (l. 15), which it is unnecessary to translate.]

"In the presence of the Purôhita Âdityadêva (l. 24), by the command of Our own month (1.25), this charter has been written by the illustrious Ugradêva (l. 26), the son of the Rahasya<sup>25</sup> Durgadêva, and has been engraved by the Akshaidlin, the illustrious Sámanta Khandi (l. 26); namely,<sup>37</sup> in two conturies of years (l. 27), increased by the fifty-fourth (year), (or, in figures, in the year) 254; on the first lunar day in the first fortnight of the month Phalguna; in the time when the superintendence of the shrine (sthânddhikdra) belongs to the holy Brâhman Sômâchârya (l. 28)."

### FOLKLORE IN WESTERN INDIA.

#### BY PUTLIBAI D. H. WADIA.

# No. XIV.-The Mistress of Eight Ships; or the Discarded Wife.

Once upon a time there lived in a certain city a rich old merchant, who had an only daughter. They were all in all to each other, for the old man had lost his wife, and had no other child on whom to bestow his affection; while the young lady had no one else to care for and love her, her husband (to whom she was married at an early age) having for some reason best known to himself discarded her immediately after the marriage had been celebrated. Now the good old merchant had an elder brother, who was as great a merchant as himself, and was blessed with no less than seven sons, who were all clever and good young men, and managed the affairs of their aged father to his entire satisfaction. They even travelled to distant countries for the purpose of commerce, and each year brought home seven ships laden with gold as the frait of their commercial enterprise. Now this fact was regarded by the uncle of the young men with mingled feelings of admiration and envy, for he was grieved to think that while his brother rejoiced in the satisfaction of having seven such excellent sons, it was his misfortune not to be blessed with even one !

One day the old man said to his daughter: "I wish, my child, you had been born a boy, for although you make me supremely happy by your goodness and your tender regard for me, still it is not in your power to give me that satisfaction which your consins give my brother, for you know they not only manage his business well, but every year add considerably to his fortune, and thus enhance his worth and reputation by their enterprise in commerce. How proud must he be of all those good sons of his! If I had but one son, and that son brought me, just for once, as much gold as they bring him each year. I should be happy indeed !"

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> The names of the villages are uncertain, as, without some clue to the present identification of them, it is difficult to divide properly the compound word in line 10. <sup>24</sup> See note 12 above.

z i.e. to a linga-form of the god Šiva, probably set up by, and named after, Dharmakhêdin.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> This is ovidently an official title; and it seems to denote some post connected with the private apartments.

<sup>7</sup> This seems to be the force of the iti in line 27; see note 19 above.

"I wish, my father, with all my heart," cried the daughter, "that I could be of as much service to you as a son. Though I am but a woman I have a brave heart, and if only I had your kind permission I also would go forth into the world as a merchant, and by the help of Allah bring you as much gold as your heart could desire."

"Ob ! indeed !" cried her father laughing, and pressing her to his heart he added, — "Do not, my dear girl, for a moment suppose, that I in any way under-estimate your rare merits by longing for a son. No, my child; a daughter can do her duty as well as a son can do his, though each must do it in a different way; and believe me no daughter in the world ever did her duty by her aged father so faithfully and so well as you do yours."

At this stage the conversation dropped; but from that moment the young lady resolved upon a course by which to give her father as much satisfaction as ever a son could. In a week's time she succeeded in persuading her father to fit out a large ship for her, and to load it with the costliest merchandise. She then waited till her cousins, the seven young men whom her father admired so much, had set sail, for she wished to follow in their wake and find out in which country they met with such a lucrative market for their goods.

When the time came for the cousins to set sail the young lady took an affectionate leave of her aged father, and dressing herself in man's attire went on board her ship and bade the captain steer it in the track of the seven ships. Away they sailed, all the gallant vessels abreast of one another, followed at a short distance by our intrepid heroine's, and after a very long voyage all the eight ships entered the mouth of a magnificent river, and there dropped anchor. The lady waited till her cousins had landed, one after another, and had begun to unload their ships. She then put out a boat herself and sailed in it towards the shore, with a few attendants. On the landing-place she met her cousins, who never for a moment suspecting who she was conceived a liking for her at first sight, and eagerly made up to her, with a view to forming her acquaintance. They found her to be a very agreeable person, and invited her to put up with them at a friend's house to which they were going.

This was just what our fair friend wished, anxious as she was to watch their movements, and to profit by their experience in commercial matters. She therefore gladly accepted the offer, and going back to her ship, brought with her a few things that might be of use to her in her new abode, and accompanied her cousins to the house to which they had invited her to lodge with them.

When she arrived there she learnt that it was the house of a wealthy merchant of the city who was a friend of the young men's father, her uncle.

The master of the house welcomed our heroine very kindly, and formally invited her to share his hospitality with her friends. But what was her surprise and consternation when she recognized in her host and hostess her own father-in-law and mother-in-law! She had seen them at her wedding, and remembered their faces only too well, though, thanks to her disguise, they never suspected, even for a moment, that she was any other than a merchant's son. A lump stuck in her throat, however, as the kind old people put to her question upon question as to whose son she was, from what country she hailed, and whether she was married. She was at a loss what reply to make to them, -- all the circumstances connected with her marriage and her subsequent neglect by her busband rushing up to her memory; and so she stood highly abashed among people she had least expected to see, and thought she was going to forget herself; but the next moment she recovered her presence of mind, and replied to their interrogatories as best she could.

The old people believed in all that she said, not noticing the change their questions had produced in her, and considered her to be a very agreeable and amiable young gentleman. But a still more dreadful ordeal awaited the poor young lady, for she had yet to face her husband, and she trembled to think of the consequences. She knew that there was not much love lost between them, and felt sure that as soon as he discovered her to be his wife, he would put an end to her existence for masquerading in man's attire. At first she thought of quitting the house before her husband came in, but as she could think of no decent excuse for doing so, she preferred to remain where she was, and abide the result.

A short time afterwards, her husband returned home and her heart palpitated with fear at sight of him. Her cousins introduced her to him as a highly respected friend of theirs, but he did not seem to notice anything extraordinary about her, and the interview passed off very satisfactorily.

The poor lady, who had set eyes on her hasband then for the first time since their marriage (that event having taken place when they were little better than children), found him to be a very agreeable and good-natured young man, and her heart ached within her to think she should have been so long estranged from such a husband. But she suppressed her emotion, and wearing a brave front behaved towards him as unconcernedly as if he were quite a stranger to her, and in process of time she made herself highly agreeable not only to her cousins and to her parents-in-law, but also to her husband—so much so that the latter even began to regard her with some affection.

It should be mentioned here that our heroine had with her a beautiful **parrot**, of rare worth and great intelligence. It could understand several languages, and talk them as well as any man or woman, and was moreover blessed with wisdom enough to do credit to any human being. This remarkable bird would fly from tree to tree and roof to roof, and bring its mistress the latest news from far and near, for people spoke freely in its presence, never suspecting that a parrot could understand what they said.

One evening, as the parrot was perched aloft in some nook in the roof of the merchant's house, it heard the following conversation going on between the hostess and her son :---

"You will see your mistake in time, though you don't believe me now, mother," the son was saying, "for as sure as I am alive this guest of ours whom we all so honour, is no more a man than you are! She is a woman, and the most beautiful and agreeable woman I ever looked upon into the bargain !"

"Nonsense, my son," was the mother's reply; "why would a woman come to our house in man's attire? And again, how could a woman make such a successful merchant as we find this young man to be? I hope you will cease to talk such utter nonsense any more !"

Finding, however, that her son was not convinced by what she said, she added, "As you still appear to have your doubts on this subject, I shall show a way by which you can convince yourself of the sex of this guest of ours. To-morrow I shall send with the hot water that is taken up every morning for their bath, some rare perfumes and soaps; and if she is a woman, as you say, she will eagerly make use of them, for there is not a woman on earth who is insensible to the attractions of toilet-soaps and skin-beautifiers."

The parrot heard all this and going to its mistress forthwith, poured into her ears every word of the conversation it had overheard, so that the lady remained on her guard; and when the next morning those attractive preparations were provided for her bath, she sent them away without so much as touching them.

The mother reported this to her son in due time, but the young man had still his doubts, and the parrot, who was again in its old place in the roof, heard him say to her: "I give you great credit, my good mother, for your good sense and judgment; but with all that I am not yet convinced. Show me, therefore, some other means of removing my suspicion."

"Wait then," cried the mother, "till to-night, and your wishes will be satisfied. Tonight I shall order the choicest and sweetest viands for dinner, and if this young friend of ours is found to partake of them with greater relish than any of his companions, I shall allow that he is a woman, for all I know to the contrary; for women have a greater partiality for sweet dishes than men.

The faithful parrot, who had been hearing the above conversation, quickly flew to its mistress, and apprised her of the second test that awaited her, so that when dinner time came, our fair friend, who though she was really partial to sweet dishes, behaved with so much selfdenial that she came highly successful out of the **ordeal**.

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For a few days after this it appeared to the old lady, the hostess, that the suspicions of her son had been laid at rest, for he did not trouble her any more about the matter. But she was mistaken, for her son had all along been carefully watching every movement of his guest, so that one day a chance utterance or movement of the disguised lady confirmed his suspicions. So going up again to his mother, he said : Oh, mother ! mother ! believe me, our guest is a woman, and the sweetest creature that ever the sun shone upon ! I want to tell it her to her face and to win her love, for I have never before known a woman half so fascinating.

"Really my son, I am getting tired of your strange fancies," replied his mother, "after the convincing proofs I have given you regarding the sex of the young merchant; surely you don't expect me or your father to insult our guest by asking him point-blank whether he is a man or woman. Yet stay, I have another idea. I know of a certain flower which fades and withers away as soon as it is touched by a woman's hand, while it remains fresh and fragrant if touched by a man's. I shall order our florist to weave eight nets of such flowers, and get one spread upon each of our guest's beds to-night, and we shall then see whether you or I am right.

The faithful parrot, who had overheard this dialogue between the mother and her son, at once flew away to where its mistress was and told her every word of it. Our heroine was not a little flattered at the high encomiums passed on her beenty and charms by her husband, and felt half-inclined to reveal herself to him. On second thoughts, however, she changed her mind and sat down, thinking how she could come unscathed out of this rather difficult ordeal. But her favourite parrot came to her aid, and showed her a way out of the difficulty. It went and brought away from another florist a net woven with the same kind of flowers, and placed it high upon the roof, where its mistress's hand could not reach. When the day dawned and the lady rose from her bed, the sagacious bird asked her to remove the crumpled and faded sheet of flowers from it, and spread on it, with its own beak and claws as neatly and as cleverly as any lady's maid ever did, the second net of Towers that was in readiness. The lady then folded the faded net into a small bundle and the parrot took it into its beak, and flying far away into the sea with it, consigned it to the waves, so that no trace of it might remain.

The hostess and her son lost no time in examining the bed-chamber of our heroine, when she vacated it, and the old lady was now more than ever convinced that the object of her son's suspicions was no other than what he appeared to be--a handsome and intelligent young gentleman. But the fond young man did not at all relish acknowledging his mistake; he did so with a very bad grace, and continued moody and dejected ever afterwards, for in his heart of hearts he still cherished the belief that his father's guest belonged to the softer sex, on which account, therefore, he continued to treat our fair friend with the greatest affection and regard.

A few days after our heroine had gone through her last ordeal, her consins began to make preparations for their homeward voyage, in which she also joined them, for she had already disposed of all her stock to very great advantage, and gold was daily pouring into her coffers in heaps.

The enamoured young man was not a little disconcerted at hearing of this intended departure of the little party, and he begged hard of his disguised wife to remain under his roof a little longer. But she excused herself as best she could, and on the day appointed for their departure, went on board her ship, followed by the tears and blessings of her love-lorn husband.

When the eight ships stood abreast of one another in the harbour, waiting to raise their anchors simultaneously at a given signal, our heroine whispered something in the parrot's ears, and off flew the little bird with a bright little golden cup set with pearls and diamonds in its beak, and depositing it right into the hold of one of the seven ships of the brothers, immediately came back and perched upon its mistress's shoulder as if nothing had happened. Now just before the parrot performed this clever trick, all the seven brothers were assembled on the deck of our heroine's ship, for there they had arranged a grand feast in honour of their departure, and were eating and drinking merrily.

After holding high revel for some time the seven brothers took leave of their consin, and

each betook himself with his party to his own ship. As soon, however, as the fair lady's ship was cleared of all the guests, her attendants raised a hue and cry about a rick goblet that was missing. The lady had drank her wine out of it in the presence of herguests, and it had then been handed round to each of the bystanders and was highly admired by them all. It had thus passed through several hands, and no wonder therefore that none of the servants remembered who had it last. Our heroine made a great show of anger at the loss of the precious goblet, which, it need hardly be mentioned, was the very one that the parrot had deposited into the hold of one of the seven ships. She sent for all her seven cousins in hot haste, and reported the loss to them. They all agreed that they had not only seen their good friend drink out of it, but had actually taken it into their hands for inspection, but none of them had any idea as to whether or not it had been returned to its place. At this the disguised fair one worked herself into a violent passion and accused them all right and left of having stolen it. "I shall send my men to search each of your ships" cried she, "and shall stake this vessel of mine with all its valuable cargo on the hazard of finding it in one of them !"

"And we in our turn agree to forfeit to you all our seven ships with their cargoes," cried the brothers with one voice, "if your men find the goblet in any of our ships !"

"Agreed !" cried our heroine, and forthwith she ordered some of her numerous attendants to go over all the seven vessels and leave no stone unturned till they found the missing cup. In about an hour's time, while the seven brothers were still warmly protesting their innocence to their accuser, the men returned with the missing cup in their hands, and declared that they had found it secreted in the hold of the ship of one of the seven brothers !

The brothers were nonplussed at this sudden turn events had taken, and stood looking at one another in silence, as if dumbfounded at this strange discovery. Our heroine, however, roused them to their senses by calling upon them in a loud voice to fulfil their obligations by handing over to her the seven ships; and the poor fellows, seeing no way out of this difficulty, there and then formally made over the ships to the clever stripling, and with crestfallen looks stood a waiting her commands. The lady, being touched with pity at their strange predicament, ordered them to remain in her own ship as her guests till they reached their native country. She then gave orders for the anchors of all the eight ships to be raised, and the little fleet soon began to sail out of the harbour with a favourable back wind.

Our brave heroine's husband, who was all this while standing sorrowfully on the shore, now waved his kerchief as a farewell to his departing charmer, with a very wee-begone countenance, as she was standing at the window of her cabin, when suddenly she flung off her disguise and stood before her enraptured lover, "a maid in all her charms !"

At this sudden and unexpected confirmation of all his doubts and hopes the young man's h eart alternated between joy and grief, joy at finding that the object of his affections was after all a woman, and grief at being thus rudely separated from her, after all that he had endured on her account, and with a heavy heart he retraced his steps homewards. There he told his mother all that had happened, and rebuked her for having discredited his statement so long, and asked both his parents' permission to fit out a ship that very day and follow his fair enslaver wherever she went, and either win her or perish in the attempt. The old couple seeing him so determined, consented, and furnished him with everything that he wanted for the voyage.

Without losing more time than was essentially necessary the love-lorn youth fitted out a fast-sailing vessel and soon started in pursuit of his fair charmer. Her vessels had, however, sailed clear out of sight by this time, and he could not even tell in what direction they had gone. So he sailed about at random through unknown seas, for many a month, making inquiries at every port he tonched, till at last he came to the city in which he knew his discarded wife and her parents lived. Here everyone he met was talking of the clever daughter of the old merchant —"the mistress of eight ships" as they called her,—who had but a few days ago returned home after a long and successful voyage. He inquired the way to the house of this remarkable lady, and much to his surprise, nay to his rage and utter mortification, he was shown

into the very house in which he now remembered he had gone through that most important ceremony of his life-his marriage.

Could it be possible, then, he thought, that it was only his wife—the girl he had so long discarded,—that had so long and so successfully played upon his feelings, and had made herself so agreeable not only to himself, but to all others with whom she came into contact! What enraged him most was that she should have spent so many days in the company of young men like her consins. Jealonsy and hatred instantly took the place of love in his heart, and he entered the house, swearing vengeance on his innocent wife! His old father-in-law welcomed him into the house with unmixed delight, but the son-in-law resented his kind treatment, and peremptorily demanded to be shown into his wife's presence.

Now it may be mentioned here that the old man and his daughter had been looking forward to this visit of the bridegroom every moment, as they had already heard of his arrival in the city from some friends. The young lady also had narrated to her father all that had taken place in the house of her parents-in-law, and the old man was therefore in a measure prepared to find his son-in-law in no enviable a frame of mind. Our heroine, too, fearing that in his rage and disappointment he would wreak his vengeance on her head, had taken precautions to ensure her safety. She had prepared with her own deft fingers, a figure of herself in some soft material, and covering it with a fine skin, had dressed it in her own clothes and jewels. This figure she had filled with the sweetest honey near the throat, and had placed it on her conch in the attitude of a woman fast asleep. When she heard her husband's footsteps approaching her room, she hid herself behind some curtains. Soon the young man rished into the room, being escorted to the door of the chamber by his aged father-in-law, who had left him at the threshold and retired to an adjoining room, there to await the course of events. The enraged husband then made the door of the apartment fast, and drawing his dagger, rushed up to where the figure was lying, and with a terrible imprecation plunged the cold steel into its throat. The violence with which he dealt the blow made some of the honey spart out of the wound like real life-blood, and a drop of it fell on his lips, which were parted in anger, and he was surprised to find that it tasted very sweet. Repentance closely follows a rash deed, and so it did in this case.

"Ah !" cried he, "what have I done ! I have killed with my own hands, one who but a short time ago was all in all to me ! One for whom I have endured all the hardships of a rough sea-voyage. Then after a pause he added,—" How sweet her blood tastes; I am sure a faithless woman's blood can never taste half so sweet ! Really I have committed a rash and unpardonable deed, I have shed an innocent woman's blood, and thereby destroyed my own happiness, and nothing but my own blood can atome for it. "So saying he raised his dagger and was going to plunge it into his heart, when out rushed his faithful wife from her hiding-place, and stayed his hands in the very nick of time. The lady at that time wore the same disguise in which he had first seen her, and as she clung to his arm and pleaded for mercy, all his old love for her came back to him with redonbled force, and he clasped her in his arms !

The trick of the stuffed figure was then explained to him, and the young man was thankful to find it was no human blood that he had shed. Our heroine then gave him full explanation of the events that had brought her in so strange a fashion under his roof, and the two then went together to the old man and asked for his blessing.

After spending a few days with the good old man, the reconciled son-in-law took the dutiful daughter and faithful wife home to his native country, and there they lived ever afterwards in great happiness.

Before leaving with her husband, the young lady called all her seven cousins to her and explaining to them the trick by which she had become possessed of their ships, restored the vessels to them with all their cargoes intact, and gave besides a valuable present to each of them as a souvenir of the voyage they had made together.

# MISCELLANEA.

# PROGRESS OF EUROPEAN SCHOLARSHIP

### No. XVI.

Transactions of the Eastern Section of the Imperial Russian Oriental Society.

(a.) Meeting, Feb. 11, 1888.

The Director of the Section, Baron V. R. Rosen, reported the speedy appearance of Vols. XII. and XV. of the *Transactions* of the Society, in the first of which is included the fourth part of the investigations of V. V. Veniaminov-Zernov about the **Tsars of Kasimov**, &c.

N. N. Pantusov sent a photograph of some Manchu Inscriptions. He also sent six Persian and Turkish documents, relating to *durvéshes*. One of these is very interesting, as it is a diploma for holding the office of a Durvésh.

V. P. Nalivkin sent some pieces of old pottery. V. A. Zhukovski read a notice of Persian Cradle Songs.

(b.) Meeting, March 9, 1888.

The Director of the Section, Baron V. R. Rosen, spoke a few words in memory of the German Orientalist Fleischer, lately deceased; the assembly honoured the departed professor by rising from their seats.

Professor Guidi of Rome sent, as a present to the Society, Coptic Fragments on the Journeys of the Apostles, Frammenti Copti.

W. W. Radloff showed two interesting yarliks in the Uighur character, received by him not long ago from Kasan.

A. V. Komarov made a curious communication on the Antiquities of the Trans-Caspian district, eis. the ruins of buildings, kurgans, and articles found when excavating. An account of this paper will be printed in the Transactions.

(c.) Meeting, April 20, 1888.

Baron V. R. Rosen made a communication on the latest results of the investigation of the Collection of Papyri belonging to the Archduke Rainer.

(d.) Meeting, June 2, 1888.

Prof. A. Müller, of Königsberg, sent a letter in which he thanked the Society for his election as a member, and presented his edition of the Arabic author, Ibn-Abi-Usaibia.

S. M. Georgievski examined the six Chinese proclamations which had been sent. Two of them were identical in their contents, and the translation agreed with the original. He intends to print one of these proclamations in the *Transactions*.

V. D. Smirnov made a communication about one of the six manuscripts sent by N. N.

Pantusov, under the title Vasiyat. Nama, and also about a Codex of the same name belonging to the Imperial Public Library, and on the Turko-Kåshghar translation of Anvar-i-Suhaili, under the title Asadru'l-Imamiya, also sent to the Society by N. N. Pantusov. The paper will be printed in the Transactions.

O. E. Lemm read a notice of a Coptic legend on the finding of the Cross by the Princess Eudoxia. It will be printed in the Transactions.

(e.) The Yarliks of Tuqtamish and Tamir-Quilugh, by W. Badloff.

Being occupied in editing the Uighur Manuscript Kudatku-Bilik, the oldest literary monument of the Turks, the author says he was compelled to study the language of all their earliest documents to explain the peculiarities of the Uighur language in comparison with the other Turkish dialects. Among the most valuable of these monuments are the yarliks of the Khans, especially those written in Uighur letters, e. g. the yarlik of Tuqtamish of A.H. 795, and the yarlik of Tamir-Qutlugh of A.H. 800. I. N. Berezin holds these yarliks to be specimens of the Uighur language. Vambéry considers them to be documents in the Central Asiatic or Jaghatai language. written in Uighur letters. Having compared the language of these documents with that of the Kudatku-Bilik, the author became convinced that only the characters are entirely Uighur ; in the language itself the Uighur elements are found to the extent that they have entered into the so-called Jaghatai [Chnghatai] literature.

The Eastern Turkish or Jaghatai language is not the language of Central Asia, as Sultan Babar and Vambéry, his latest follower, assure us. It is just as much an artificial literary language as that of the Usmanli. Having been developed by historical causes, it now serves as a literary language for the Eastern Turks who use various dialects. Its foundation is the literary language of the Uighurs, as developed before the time of Musalman influence and Mongolian incursions. With the spread of Islam and its culture, a number of Arabic and Persian words came into the literary language of the Uighurs. In Eastern Turkistan books appeared in pure Uighur language, but in Arabic characters (one of these works, Stories of the Prophets, by Rabghuzi, was compiled in A.H. 710), and works of this sort served as the foundation of the so-called Jaghatai literature. Together with the disappearance of the races speaking an Uighur dialect, there was a revolution in the literary language. The greater part of the purely Uighur words and grammatical forms gave place to corresponding words and forms of other Central Asiatic dialects, but in the Jaghatai language there remained a whole series of Uighur words and forms, which were exclusively used in the literary language.

In the times of the first successors of Changéz Khân, the Jaghatai literature was spread among all the Eastern Turks, but the rapid decline of the Mongolian Empire arrested the final development of the language. Since they had no educational centre, as was the case with the Southern Turks, the Jaghatai language was influenced by other dialects, and words from Usmånli and Azurbåijan literature entered it in various degrees. As Changêz Khân preferred the Uighur writing, that character became official in the chanceries of the Khâns, and continued to be used even where it was unfamiliar.

The yarliks of Tuqtamish and Tamir-Qutlugh shew that the Khåns of the Golden Horde issued documents in Uighur characters till the beginning of the fifteenth century. But other letters are occasionally used: the yarlik of Tuqtamish of A. H. 794 is written in the Arabic character, and that of Tamir-Qutlugh in Uighur and Arabic. From this we may conclude that the Khåns used the Uighur character only in diplomatic documents, and the Arabic in those intended for the people.

The yarlik of Tuqtamish to Jagiello has been translated by I. N. Berezin, and that of Tamir-Qutlugh by von Hammer, Berezin and Vambéry. These versions are on the whole accurate, but the author has thought it advisable to publish the yarliks in a slightly corrected version.

(1.) Yarlik of Tuqtamish to Jagiello.

This yarlik was found among the chief archives of the Minister of Foreign Affairs at Moscow. The text is comprised in 25 lines, which begin at an equal distance from the edge of the paper, the words *Tuqtamish*, we and *God*, and the Khân's seal are closer to the edge. These words are written in gold, and the seal of the Khân is stamped in gold. The seventeenth line is only half written, so that the new line may begin with we.

The name Jagiello stands below the words 'the word of Tuqtamish.' This yarlik is written in a beautiful and very legible Uighur character. Although, as Banzarov remarks, this letter from a calligraphic point of view yields the palm to the two letters of the Persian Changèzis to Philippe le Bel, the handwriting everywhere shows the firm hand of a practised scribe. The writing may be called Mongol Uighur, as distinguished from the Musalman-Uighur style, used in the manuscripts of the Kudatku Bilik, the Bakhtidrnama, etc., and the broken Uighur writing used in other documents. It most resembles the copy of the Uighur legend about Oguz Khân in the library of Charles Schefer at Paris. It is written perpendicularly.

(2.) The Yarlik of Tamir-Quilugh.

The original is in the Vienna Palace Library. It is written on a long roll of glazed paper. The second and third lines begin in the middle of the page, and above them ought to be the square seal of the Khån. But the paper in this place is quite smooth, and no trace of a seal can be found : it is clear that this is a yarlik prepared for publication. which from some cause was never confirmed. It cannot be a mere copy. Under each Uighur word there is a transcription in beautiful Arabic characters in red. It was prepared for some official purpose: a proof of this fact among others is furnished by the third word on the ninth line. where two points under the letter sh have been undoubtedly added subsequently. The writer thinks the copyist remarked the omission of these points and added them when he had finished writing. This shows that the Uighur character was even at that time so little understood that a document intended for the people had to be accompanied by a transcript in Arabic letters. The Uighur writing differs from that of the yarlik of Tuqtamish and of the Uighur books, but is like some of the postscripts to the Kudatku-Bilik. The letters are angular. They appear to be made by a reed with a very broad nib, and are written from right to left. Von Hammer made some triffing mistakes when he printed the Arabic text, which arose from his being unacquainted with the Jaghatai language.

In the yarlik of Tuqtamish, out of 104 words, 43 are Common Turkish (met with in all the Turkish dialects), 24 Northern Turkish, 22 Western, and 15 Uighur Jaghatai. Of the 54 grammatical endings, 23 are Common Turkish, 15 Northern, 12 Western, and 4 Uighur Jaghatai. This gives the following percentage:—Common Turkish, 41; Northern Turkish, 23; Western Turkish, 21; Uighur-Jaghatai, 15: and of grammatical terminations—Common Turkish, 41; Northern Turkish, 31; Western Turkish, 21; Uighur-Jaghatai, 7.

The yarlik of Tuqtamish was, therefore, written by a Western Tåtår, knowing well the official language of the chanceries of the Khån, but preserving many peculiarities of his native dialect. This is shewn by the phraseology of the yarlik and the absence of Arabic literary expressions.

The language of the yarlik of Tamir-Qutlugh is different. Of 166 words, 50 are Common Turkish, 98 Northern, 44 Uighur-Jaghatai, 13 Western Turkish, 14 literary Arabic, and 7 words belong to the author's native tongue (Nôghai ?). Of 70 grammatical terminations, 22 are Common Turkish, 24 Northern, 21 Uighur-Jaghatai; and 3 belong to his native tongue. Or according to percentage :-- Common Turkish, 31; Northern Turkish, 22; Uighur-Jaghatai, 27; Western Turkish, 8; Literary Arabic, 8; the author's native tongue, 4: and of grammatical terminations; -- Common Turkish, 31'4; Northern Turkish, 34'3; Uighur-Jaghatai, 30; the author's native tongue, 4:3.

We thus see that the author of the yarlik of Tâmir-Qutlugh, was a Nôghaï (?) acquainted with literary Jaghatai language. The foreign words are technical expressions required by the contents of the document. The Arabic transcription was probably made by another person, who was not a scholar. Perhaps owing to these mistakes, the yarlik was not confirmed.

(f.) Materials for the Study of the Collection of Indian Tales called Brihatkathd, by S. Oldenburg.

While most educated men know the stories of the Panchatantra, in the course of their endless wanderings over Asia and Europe, the Brihatkatha is limited to specialists. The Brihatkatha is more fantastic and local in its character. It has not gone beyond the limits of its own country, but there it has taken one of the first places. Buddhist and Brâhmanical legends, each preserving its special colouring, have quietly flowed into this "Sea of the Rivers of Stories" as one of the editions of the Brihatkatha is styled. Its history is still obscure, because our knowledge of Indian folk-tales is inadequate. It has come to us in two redactions of two Kaśmiri poets of the eleventh century Kahêméndra (Brihatkatha. manjari) and Somadeva (Kathasaritsagara). who assert that they have translated and abridged the collection Brinstkatha of the poet Gunadhya, compiled in the Paisâchi dialect. The first complete translation of the Kathasaritsdgura, which is only just finished, and the new edition of the text, which has been begun, shew that it is time to collect materials for a complete study of the Brihatkathd. The vast size of the Kathdaaritságara (21,526 verses according to the computation of Brockhaus) and the defective nature of the manuscripts of the Brihatkath4 mañjar1, prevent such an attempt, so the author purposes communicating a few of his notes.

Of the unpublished materials relating to the present subject there are two MSS. in the India Office; one Sanskrit, the other Persian. The first contains the collection called *Kathdprakâśa* (the lustre of tales) no other manuscript of which as far as the author knows, has been found. On foll. 1v - 84v, the writer of the MS. gives extracts from the Kathdsaritsdgara. The text corresponds almost word for word with that of Brockhans, but he does not mention the sources from which he borrows.

We have no information as to when and where the Kathaprakaśa was compiled. Besides the extracts from the Kathásaritságara, the collection contains pieces of Epic poetry, the Purdnas, some "parrot" stories, and some also from the Purushaparikshd. The Persian Manuscript (I. O. L. 1679) has only been mentioned in print once, vis. by Brockhaus, who wrongly considered it to be an abridged translation of the Brihatkatha. because mention is made of such a translation in Rajataramgint. The writer then shews at some length that it is not a translation of the Brihatkathd. Those who have studied the latter have not remarked that the Tibetan Buddhist, Tårånåtha, introduces legends of which we find corresponding versions in it. The first of them, concerning Någårjuna, is found in The History of the Seven Transmissions of the Words of Buddha, and has been briefly discussed by V. P. Vasiliev. of. Kathásaritságara 11. 9 - 58; and Brihatkathdmañjar**l**, xiv., Ndgdrjundkhydyika. It is very probable that the source was the Rajdvali of Kshêmêndra. Another legend is as to why and how the prince Udayana (Satavahana) learned Sanskrit. The text of Tårånåtha (History of Buddhism in India), although it resembles the Brihatkatha, differs so much from it that it cannot be said to be plagiarised, which would have been probable, as two of the other works of Kshômêndra, Rajavali and Bodhisattravadanakalpalatd are cited by Taranatha. Besides these differences, a proof that the passages in question are not taken from the Brihatkathd is afforded by the history of Kalidasa, which in tone and manner must certainly be of the same origin as the history of Udayana, while the story is not found in the Brihatkathd. The story of Kalidass and many similar ones live at the present day upon the lips of the Indian people. In similar stories we may find the beginning of the history of Vararuchi and perhaps partly of Gunadhya.

(g.) The Collection of Eastern Coins belonging to A. V. Komarov, by V. Tiesenhausen.

The writer begins by thanking Gen. Komarov for allowing his collection to be described in this work. The new collection consists of 687 coins (463 copper, 206 silver, and 18 gold) comprising a period from the seventh century to our own times. The oldest of them is a Sassanian coin of Khusrao II., struck A.D. 628: the latest are Afghán coins of A. H. 1297 (= A.D. 1880) coined by 'Abdû'r-Rahman at Hiråt and Shér 'All at

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Kåbul. Of the thirty dynasties among which these coins are distributed, the most largely represented is that of the Timuris. Of this there are 176 examples. Next come the Samani coins (78 examples), Khwarismshahi (58), Saffari (48) Hulaqui (42) Khalifas (38) Persian (38) and Shaibani (26). Of the Tahiri (12) there are only three, but none of these appear to have been published; of the Zaidis and Ziaris there are no more than one spiece, but these two are very rare. Both were coined in Jurjan, one in A.H. 268, the other in A.H. 368. There are some examples which have not been successfully arranged either chronologically or dynastically.

(h.) Dahbid, by N. Veselovski.

The neighbourhood of Samarqand is very striking, and the palace of Timur, the Mosque of Khoja Ahrar, and the Mosque of Dahbid are especially to be noted. The last two are objects of reverence among the population as the burial places of two saints, the descendants of Muhammad. Khoja Ahrar, who is buried about four versts from Samarqand was a philanthropist. Makhdam-i-'Azam, as he is also called, is renowned in the chronicles of Islam for his conversion of the heathen of Eastern Turkistán.

Sayyid Ahmad Kasani is buried in the kisklak Dahbid, twelve versts from Samarqand. He is better known as Makhdum-i'Asam, which signifies 'The Great Master.' Happening to be in Samarqand in 1885 the author visited his grave. He departed for Dahbid on the 31st August 1888, accompanied by a young native, the Mirza Akil. Having left Samarqand by the Paikobak Gate, they soon reached the kishlak Makhao, the most unpleasant place near Samargand, where is a residence for lepers, who live upon alms. On basdr-days they swarm along the roads leading to Samarqand: the women, frequently with children, stretch out wooden cups to passers-by, and, whatever be their age, are unveiled. Four versts from Samarqand are the ruins of an old town with a citadel (urda): about a verst from thence a ford passes the Zaravshan. The road from this point is planted with mulberry trees, extending to the mosque of Khoja Ahrar, and said to have been planted by him. Among the Turkistanis, planting mulberry trees on the road is considered a pious deed. When the mulberries are ripe, the travellers shake them from the trees and satisfy their hunger and thirst. The poor make flour out of the dried berries. This is probably the reason why they assign the planting of these trees to the Khoja Ahrar. There are many stories about his benevolence.

Dahbid signifies "ten willows." This kishlak is not healthy on account of the rice-fields

surrounding it. Goitre is frequently met with. The mosque by the grave of Makhdûm-i-'Azam is large; the actual burial-place is separated by a brick wall. In the middle of the garden is built a dakhma, which is overgrown with tall grass, very much entangled. The writer goes on to describe how difficult it was to get there. His guide refused to follow him. The natives considered that whoever went into the dakhma would die, unless he were a Shékh and a descendant of Makhdam-i.'Azam. The mutawalli, as one of these, might have gone with the writer, but he hid himself, not wishing to assist an infidel to defile with his feet the grave of a holy man. The writer of the article accordingly went alone and came to a great monument of white marble, erected in the middle of the dakhma. He then gives the inscriptions on the graves, and a plan of the graveyard follows.

(i.) Musalman Books printed in Russia, by V. Smirnov.

The writer gives a list of the books printed in Russia in the Arabic, Persian and Turkish languages during the last three years. Lists of the kind were first published by Dorn. His bibliographical review appeared in Vol. V. Mélanges Asiatiques tirés du Bulletin de l'Acudémie Impériale des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg (1866) under the title of Chronologisches Verseichniss der seit dem Jahre 1801, bis 1866, in Kasan Gedruckten arabischen, türkischen, tatarischen und persischen Werke, als Katalog der im asiatischen Museum befindlichen Schriften der Art. This attracted much attention in the foreign press (especially in England) as the Russians were not thought liberal enough to allow it. Originally most of these Oriental publications appeared at Kazan or St. Petersburg. More recently the printing press of Gasprinski was established at BakhchisarAi and that of Lakhtin at Tashkand. Besides single books and pamphlets, periodicals appeared in the Tatar language. Such were the Caucasus periodicals called the Agriculturist, the Scrip, and the Lights of the Caucasus. Some of these have come to an end, but the Interpreter has now existed for six years at Bakhchisaråi. Besides these, in Tashkand there is a Government news. paper, which at first appeared in two languages, Sart and Kirghiz separately, but now appears only in Sart. The Musalman press has preserved its original character. Ten thousand copies of the Quran, the Heftick, Sherdyatu-Liman, Ustuvani, Bedevam, and prayer-books in Arabic, are printed under various titles, with a Tatar preface, representing the miraculous efficacy of these prayers. They are intended for poor people, and

the presses are most active about the Ramazan and the fair of Nizni Novgorod, on account of the assembling of Musalmans. They are mostly stereotyped. But there are large works for educated Russian Musalmans also in Arabic and Tâtâr. Originally the latter were in a kind of jargon which the author elaborated for himself; in this hotch-potch might be found elements of various Turkish dialects, from the simple speech of the Kazan Tåtår to the elaborate literary style of the Effendi of Constantinople. At the present time the local writers of Kazan imitate the Usmanli style, as seen in the latest works of Abdu'l-Kaium. Monla-Nasirov, and others. Especially noteworthy is the work of a certain Mosa Ak-Tigit, published at Kazan in 1886. The author has received a good education and imitates such writers as the Turk, Ahmad Midhat Effendi. He has written a novel on modern Tâtâr life in a kind of Usmanli dialect of his own. It is said that some time ago the author went to Stambal and has not returned. But he has left imitators. To the class of more useful publications belong the calendar of Kaium Nazirov, with some essays on general topics, and some manuals of Geography and Arabic Grammar. A rhymester named Mevleghei Yumachikov, has written several poems in a dialect akin to Khirgiz. He appears too often as a vulgar fanatic, and some of his poems were repressed by the censorship.

The writer takes an entirely different view from that of Dorn on the education of the Tâtârs. The press among them is only used to encourage obscurantism. Works on magic, on domestic medicine, and others full of charlatanism abound. Books of this kind appear every year in great numbers, and are increasing. If we find a man of education among the Tâtârs, it is one who has been brought up at a Russian school.

(j) Miscellaneous Notes :--

(1) Old Russian accounts of Merv, by D. Kobeko. In 1669 the Russian Ambassador, Pasukhin, was sent to Abdu'l-Aziz, the Khan of Bukhárá. He went there through Astrakbán to Khiva, and accomplished the return journey through Charjai, Merv, Mashhad and Lankuran. At Merv, then belonging to Persia, Pazukhin was hospitably met by Zénar Khân, the governor of the city, and lived there from December 1672 to March 1673. In obedience to instructions given, Pazukhin traced the route from Astrakhan to the city Junábátu (i.e. Jahánábád = Dehli) through Khiva, Balkh, Kåbul and Pésháwar. The route was rendered dangerous by the war going on between the Persian Shah 'Abbas II. (1642-1666), and the great Mughal Shah Jahan, in the territory which is now Afghanistan. The article winds up

with a long extract describing the journey of Pazukhin.

(2) On the modern Sect of the Ghalls, by V. Zhukovski. These sects ascribe to their induce an incarnation of the deity.

(3) A Note on Two Discoveries recently made in Egypt, by V. Golenistchev. These are a whole series of cuneiform tablets of clay discovered at Tel-el-Amena; and a collection of portraits of persons at the end of the epoch of the Ptolemies and beginning of the Roman period, found in the oasis of Fayam. Till this time no cuneiform inscriptions have been found in Egypt.

The tablets consist of the letters of various Asiatic rulers to two Egyptian kings, Amenh'otep III. and IV. One of those who corresponded with these kings was the Babylonian king Burnaburiash. Already some Egyptian scholars were inclined to fix the eighteenth dynasty of the Pharaoha at about the fifteenth century B.C., while Assyrian scholars had referred to the same fifteenth century, the date of the Babylonian king Burnaburiash.

Another correspondent of the Egyptian kings is Dushratts, king of the country of Mittani. This city the Egyptians called Naharina, and meant a place situated on the left bank of the Euphrates, almost opposite to the town of Carchemish, the modern Jerabis. Judging by the independent tone of the letters of the king of Mittani, the country, at least at the commencement of the reign of Amenh'otep III., was so important that its king might enter into negotiations with the principal Egyptian king on a footing of independence. Besides the royal letters contained in the correspondence, we meet with others from persons calling themselves the slaves of Pharaoh. For the understanding of the cuneiform correspondence received at the court of Pharaoh, it is obvious that there must have been interpreters. Sometimes men of this sort were sent with the letters, e.g. in one of the king of Mittani's epistles, such a man has the title targu-ma-an-nu, i.e. ' translator.' For the interpretation of these interesting tablets we must wait for the decision of MM. Winkler and Lehmann, of Berlin, the museum of which city has bought the whole collection through the instrumentality of Graff, the Viennese dealer in Eastern carpets.

The second discovery consists of **66** portraits as previously mentioned. These have been described by Ebers in *Beilage sur Allgemeinen Zeitung*, Nos. 135-7, 1888. They were taken from the tops of coffins. The type represented is only Coptic in one instance; in others Greek and Semitic; No. 64 is a negro, with perhaps a mixture of Greek blood; S represent old men, 24 men of \_\_\_\_\_

middle age; 4, young men, 3 boys, 29 girls, and 3 old women. The portraits of the women are best executed.

(4) Bedouin Wit, by Baron V. Rosen. This is a comic story from "The Book of Animals," by JAhiz, (A.H. 255 = 869). It tells how a Bedouin carved a fowl, keeping the best part for himself. There are many stories of this kind in Arabian anthologies, both in verse and prose, in which a rude countryman plays pranks upon the educated townsman. When we can assign the date of such stories, they are valuable as illustrating the mutual relations of the different elements of Arabian society at a given time. The Arabian anthologies of the third and fourth centuries of the Hijra are valuable for this. Some important extracts may be made from one of the oldest anthologies, vis. Ibn-Abi-Tahir-Taifur (British Museum Add., 18, 532).

(5) New materials for the Yagnob Language, by K. Saleman. In July and August 1887, E. Kahl, who has an administrative post in Tashkand, took a journey to the Yagnob. He succeeded in getting explanations of several obscure points of Yagnob phonetics, compiled a tolerably copious glossary, and collected some topographical and statistical information.

(6) Something more about the discovery at Kulja, by V. Tiesenhausen. The four silver coins sent from Kulja by V. M. Uspenski in 1887 belong to the class of Jaghatai coins struck in the second half of the thirteenth and first half of the fourteenth century of our era. One of them, struck in Almalik in 650 A.H. (= 1252-3 A.D.), is in all respects similar to those which M. Uspenski exhibited to the Archwological Society in 1886. Another was coined by Têrmâslivrîn Khân (year and place cannot be deciphered). The most interesting is the third, coined in 737 A.H. (= 1337;8 A.D.) in Badakhshân by Khân Jenkîshî. To this Khân is ascribed the fourth of the coins sent by M. Uspenski.

(k) Criticism and Bibliography.

(1) The Akhal-Tekke Oasis: its past and present. Historico-geographical and Oro-geological sketches of the Transcaspian district, with engravings and a map, by P. S. Vasilico, St. Petersburg, 1888. The book gives the reader almost nothing. It is difficult to find anything new after the elaborate sketches of M. Lessar, who knows the country so thoroughly. The writer evidently is acquainted with no Eastern language, and his style is naive.

(2) A History of the Religious Mission to Pekin at the first period of its activity (1685-1745). Part I., by the Hieromonach Nicholas (Adoratski), Superintendent of the Kherson Ecclesiastical

School, Kazan, 1887. The appearance of this work is due to the approaching 200th anniversary of the Mission to Pekin, which, as is well known, existed in China de facto from the year 1689 and de jure from 1715. The author, a former member of the Mission, appears to have begun his work in Pekin, and perhaps finished it there. But the necessary documents would be wanting, as all of them, to the year 1863, are in the archives of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and still await their editor. The book could only be compiled in Moscow or St. Petersburg. There is very little that is new in the book; the author, however, gives fairly copious accounts of the Russian exploits on the Amar and the Russo-Chinese trade at that period.

(3) A short sketch of the History of Zabaikalia, by V. K. Andrievich,

This is an account of the territory beyond Lake Baikal. The author says that he wished to furnish a collection of materials for the History of the Cossack Army of this region. But the fire at Irkutsk in 1879 destroyed the building containing the archives of Eastern Siberia, those of Selenghinsk and Kiakhta have now been seen sent to Moscow, and those of Nerchinsk have disappeared, because they were not taken care of. Under such circumstances, M. Andrievich having composed his work in Eastern Siberia could not use any official documents, except the Complete Collection of Laws published in 1838, from which he has gathered almost all the ukases relating to the territory. In this lies his chief service. He has used besides a Collection of Diplomatic documents between the Russian and Chinese Empires from 1619 to 1792, compiled by Bantish-Kamenski, and edited in 1882 by V. M. Florinski. He should have made himself acquainted with some of the Eastern historians. Thus he tells us that the lamas and Dalai-lama appear first in the time of Guyuk Khân, the grandson of Changêz. whereas Guyuk Khân died in 1248, and the first Dalai-lama could not have existed earlier than 1420. Similar blunders occur also in his account of the Buriats becoming Russian subjects, and the flights of the Mongols into Russian territory, etc.

(4) The Principles of Chinese Life, by Sergius Georgievski. This is the solitary work in European literature on the subject, and it gives the principles upon which Chinese life has depended during the many centuries of its existence. Its foundation is filial piety, based firstly upon primitive religion, and secondly upon the ethics of Confucius.

Having discussed in the first chapter, the primitive faith of the ancient Chinese in the

immortality of the soul, and their funeral customs, the author in chapters second and third treats of the Chinese worship of ancestors expressed by services to them in the temples. In chapters fourth and fifth the author discusses the influence of the dootrines of ancestor worship and filial piety on the private and public life of the ancient Chinese. In the sixth chapter the author treats the genesis of Chinese polytheism, and explains how it gradually obscured the worship of ancestors. The author surveys the development of the old Chinese philosophy, and shows that the latter destroyed the primitive belief in the immortality of the soul, and developed ethical forms of life which led to vulgar cynical Stoicism and Epicureanism. From this China was saved by Confucianism, which system the author proceeds to explain, showing that its centre is filial piety which develops in man love, justice, and energy. In the concluding and longest chapter of his work, M. Georgievaki discusses the future of Ohina, in view of its yearly increasing relations with Europe and America.

(5) On the roots of the Chinese language in connection with the question of the origin of the Chinese, by S. Georgievski, St. Petereburg, 1888. The work of M. Georgievski falls into two closely connected divisions, linguistic and ethnographical. In the first division, the author, establishing his opinion by a series of examples (which occupy in the book 176 lithographed pages), shows :-- (1) that the old Chinese characters were developed from a single root system, dialectic peculiarities being expressed by special characters, preserved to the present day in Chinese lexicography as synonyms; and (2) that in the Chinese language are groups of words cognate with others in the Aryan languages, and the languages of Japan, Corea, Manchuria, Mongolia, Tibet, Annam, Siam, Burma, and Tartary. In the second part M. Georgievski comes to the question of the origin of the Chinese. His chief positions are (1): that the Chinese people colonised the territory of Ohina proper from Central Asia, where they had lived side by side with the ancestors of the Aryans, with whom they were ethnologically connected ; (2) that the territory of China proper was from the earliest times settled by races not of one ethnological type, and not akin to the Chinese; and (3) these races were the forefathers of the Japanese, Coreans, Manchus, Mongols, Eastern Turkistants, and Indo-Chinese, and became incorporated with the Chinese, and the fragments of their language are preserved in Chinese lexicography.

(6) V. Verbitski. A Dictionary of the Altai and Aladag Dialects of the Turkish language,

published by the Orthodox Missionary Society, Kasan, 1884. This dictionary, compiled for practical purposes, contains important materials for the study of the Altaic dialects. The author collected the materials for the grammar published at Kasan in 1869. He tells us that his work embraces two chief dialects (1) Altaic (Teleut, Telengut, Telenget), (2) Aladag. There are no dialectical sub-divisions of the first, but the second is sub-divided into the following dialects, (a) of Kondom, the Upper and Lower, (b) Matir, (c) Abakan, Upper and Lower, (d) Bi (Upper and Lower). The reviewer, (V. Radloff), compares this division of the dialects with his own, as given in Phonetik der nördlichen Türkeprachen, pages 281-283.

Reviewer's division.	Division of M. Verbitski.
I. Dialects of Altai proper	. I. Altaic dialect.
(1) Altaic.	
(2) Teleut.	
II. Dialects of Northern Altai.	II. Aladag dialect.
(1.) Lebedin.	(1) B! (4).
	(a) Upper.
	(b) Lower (Kumanuin)
(2.) Shor.	(2) Kondom.
•••	(a) Upper.
	(d) Matir.
	(b) Lower. (2)
III. Abakan.	III. Abakan. (8)
(1) Sagan.	(a) Upper.
(2) Koibal.	
(8) Kachin.	(b) Lower.
	(D) 10 # 01.

If we compare the vocabulary of the 'Altaic' grammar with that now published we shall see great progress. The number of words is doubled; the definitions are clearer, and they are confirmed by examples which the author has heard from natives. The Reviewer, he says, ought to acknowledge openly that the work of M. Verbitski is of great service to him in the compilation of his dictionary of the Turkish dialects, on which he is now engaged. Some deficiencies, however, in the work are to be remarked; alphabetical order is not always kept, and the transcriptions are not made on a uniform plan.

(7) The Proverbs of the Natives of Turkistan, collected and translated by N. Ostroumov, Tashkand. Proverbs are always a favourite study with ethnographers. It is strange that although the Russians have now been masters of Tashkand for twenty years they have not been collected before. Moreover, there is plenty of material. M. Ostroumov has collected 492, and the places and circumstances connected with them are described. Some are purely local; some entirely original and others adopted, translated from Persian or Arabic.

(8) Catàlogue des Monnaies Musulmanes de la Bibliothèque Nationale, ste. 1887. This vast work is

occupied with the description of 1666 coins of the Eastern Caliphate, failing into the following semi-divisions, (i) Coins of the Byzantine type (96 examples); (ii) Coins Latin-Arab. (42 ex.); (iii) Coins Sassani-Arab. (21 er.): (iv) assigned to the Khalifa 'Ali (1 ex.); (v) Ummayi (619 ex.); (vi) Adherents of the 'Abbåsis (12 ex.); (vii) 'Abbåsi (875 ex). The reviewer says that he has counted 266 which have not been published, and some of which make us acquainted with mints hitherto unknown. A remarkable feature of the Paris collection are the Byzantine-Arab and Latin-Arab coins, in which the Russian collections are very poor. On the other hand, the Parisian collection is poor in Sassani-Arabian coins, of which the Russians have a good quantity. The copper coins of the Khalifas are very interesting, and besides the customary inscriptions we find various representations (branches of trees, ears of corn, crescents, eagles, etc.)

In the introduction M. Lavoix refers to the only dirham of Basra, known to be of the fortieth year of the Hijra. It is in all respects like the latest 'Ummayi dirhams of A.H. 78-132. Relying upon uncertain historical data M. Lavoir ascribes the first attempt to coin among the Musalmans to the Khalifa 'All (35-40 A.H.); but upon the unanimous evidence of Arabian historians, confirmed by many 'Ummayi coins, its introduction belongs to the rule of the Khalifa 'Abdu'l-Malik (65-86 A.H.). If it had happened in the time of 'Ali, the Musalmån Chronicles would have mentioned it, and moreover in the stores of Kufic money excavated in Northern Russia, we should certainly have met with a few examples of the coins of 'Ali. The writer does not venture to say that the coin is the production of a modern falsifier, but does not feel inclined, like Mordtmann, se fléchir devant la brutalité du fait, and to acknowledge it as a coin of .'Ali. Either the engraver made a mis-'ake, or it is a trick of some old supporter of the party of 'All, who wished to magnify the imperial wisdom of the founder of his party. Moreover, it is not yet settled in what year the coining of money was introduced. According to chronicles it was between the years 74 and 77 A.H. The specimens, which were known up to the time of M. Lavoix's Catalogue were as early as A.H. 77. He now makes us acquainted with dirhems of the years 73, 75, 76. In conclusion, the writer hopes for the speedy continuation of the work of M. Lavoix. (9) Bühler, G., Ueber die Indische Secte der

Jaina. Wien, 1887. This is a masterly exposition in a condensed form of the leading principles of Jainism. Professors Bühler and Jacobi are the chief defenders of the independent development of Jainism, apart from Buddhism. To the former weighty reasons in support of this view, new are added, taken from the latest discoveries in epigraphy. In inscriptions of the first century B.C. are found enumerations of different schools of the Jains (gana) with their sub-divisions (sakha, branch, and kula, family), known to us from the traditions of the Jains. This discovery enables us to feel more confidence in these traditions. Bühler gives a complete text of these inscriptions in the Viennese Oriental Journal.

(10) Albéránt's India, edited in the Arabic original, by Dr. Edward Sachau. New editions of valuable Arabic texts are constantly appearing. Bêrûnî, however, always keeps one of the chief places. Arabists and Indian scholars have alike awaited this book with impatience, perhaps the latter most so. A proper estimate will be made when the promised English translation appears. The work of Bêrûni is peculiar. It has no parallel in ancient and mediaval literature of the East or West. We find in it no prejudices of religion or caste, but a careful spirit of criticism, which is imbued with all the power of modern comparative methods. He understands the value of know. ledge, and prefers silence to opinions based upon inadequate facts. His breadth of vision is truly astonishing.

In this book is heard a soul thirsting for truth, and hungering for righteousness, placing that truth above everything, and striving for it unweariedly. He pardons much because he understands much; but at the same time he is free from fanciful idealism. It is indeed wonderful that such a work could have been produced at such a time and in such a country.

A man like Bêrûnî appears to great advantage, if we compare him to European savants of the time. The West was full of prejudices. It had to wait two centuries before it produced the great figure of Frederick II.

The reviewer does not agree with the editor that Bérûnî was a solitary rock in the ocean of Arabic literature, and explains his reasons at considerable length. This edition is a great monument of the critical skill and unwearied labour of Edward Sachau.

W. R. MORFILL.

### NOTES AND QUERIES.

A VARIANT OF THE BLOODY CLOTH. The following is an interesting, if unpleasant,

attached to so many "saints" in Europe. At Chenganůr there is a temple to Siva of considervariant of the legend of the "bloody cloth" | able celebrity. In it there is an image of Parvati, his consort. Pårvati, being female, of course menstruates (!), and periodically a red spot appears on the cloth worn by the image. Whenever this happens the temple is closed for three days and no worship allowed in it. In the works of

Ravivarman Tampi, a celebrated Travancore poet of the beginning of this century, is to be found an allusion to this in some of his very elegant verses.

SUNKUNI WARIYAR.

## BOOK NOTICE.

Madras.

THE LIPE OF HIUEN-TSIANG; by SAMUEL BEAL, B.A., D.C.L. Trübner's Oriental Series. London; Trübner and Co. 1863. Post Svo.; pp. XXXVII., 218.

A most valuable addition has recently been made to Trübner's Oriental Series, in the shape of the Rev. Samuel Beal's Translation of the Life of Hiven-Tsiang, which supplements his translation of the Travels of Higen-Tsiang, published in 1884 under the title of Buddhist Records of the Western World, and completes the English version of all regarding India that was noted by the Chinese pilgrim during his visit to that country in the period of his absence from China from A.D. 630 to 645. Mr. Beal's three volumes now cover in English the same ground as M. Stanislas Julien's French translation published some thirty years ago; and, being brought up to date by notes and comments, are indispensable to everyone who is concerned with the ancient history of India, religious or political. The present volume also contains, in the Introduction, a brief résumé of I-tsing's notices of forty-three other Chinese pilgrims, most of whom visited India, belonging to the period A.D. 627 to 665. It ought to have contained, but does not do so, an index, similar to that provided with the two volumes of the Travels; the absence of an index much impairs the utility of such a book as this.

The Travels were written by Hiuen-Tsiang, and edited by the Shaman Pien Ki. The Life was written in the first instance by Hwui Li, one of Hiven-Tsiang's disciples, and was afterwards enlarged and completed by Yen-thsong at the request of Hwui Li's disciples. For his share of the work, Yen-theong consulted other texts and authorities, besides the writings of Hiuen-Tsiang himself. And thus the Life, which includes, in addition to an account of Hiuen-Tsiang's early years and his life after his return to China, a more or less full epitome of all the information given in his own larger work, corroborates and explains the latter in many important details. The chief object of Hiuen-Tsiang in visiting India. was to study Buddhism as practised there, and to collect, and take back to China, as many Buddhist and other writings as he could procure. The object of his labours, therefore, was primarily religious. But his work contains also a very full account of the political divisions of the countries through which he passed, with many notices of the then rulers of them, and of their predecessors. And this it is that makes his writings so valuable; supplying, as they do, so much historical and geographical information regarding a period for which the epigraphical remains are not as full as might be wished.

Within the limits of this notice, it is impossible to give any account of the details of the book. But it contains one curious and interesting episode, not included in the Travels, which may be briefly quoted here, as shewing the existence then, as until comparatively recent times, of the practice of human sacrifice by the devotees of Durga. Having left Ayôdhya, Hiuen-Tsiang, with about eighty fellow-passengers, was travelling by boat down the Gauges on his way to Hayamukha. The boat was captured by pirates, whose custom it was every year, in the autumn,-which season it then was,-to kill a man of good form and comely features, and to offer his flesh and blood to their goddess, Durgå, in order to procure good fortune. From among their captives they selected Hiuen-Tsiang himself, as the most suitable for their purpose, on account of his distinguished bearing and his bodily strength and appearance. The sacrificial ground was prepared; an altar, besmeared with mud, was erected; Hiuen-Tsiang was bound on it; and the sacrifice was just about to be performed; when the ceremony was stayed by a mighty typhoon that suddenly burst from the four quarters, smiting down the trees, stirring up clouds of sand, and lashing the waves of the river into fury. This fortunate interposition of the powers of nature,- -regarded, of course, by the pirates as a miraculous intervention in favour of a person who must consequently be of great sanctity and importance,-led to explanations which naturally ended in the repentance and forgiveness of the pirates, and their conversion to Buddhism as lay-worshippers. This brief account shews the interesting nature of the episode. But it must be read in full in Mr. Beal's translation, in order to understand all its details, and to appreciate the dramatic vigour of the language in which the narrative is given by Hiuen-Tsiang.

### SANSKRIT AND OLD-KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

#### BY J. F. FLEET, BO.C.S., M.B.A.S., C.I.E.

### No. 178. --- Vizagapatam Copper-Plate Grant of Anantavarma-Chodagangadrva.

### SAKA-SAMVAT 1003.

**I** EDIT this and the following two inscriptions, all three of them being now published in full for the first time, from the original plates, which I obtained for examination, in 1883, from the Government Central Museum at Madras, through the kindness of Dr. Bird. This inscription has been noticed by Mr. Sewell, in the *Archaeol. Surv. South. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 31, No. 212, where the plates are mentioned as having been obtained from the Collector of Visagapatam, in the Madras Presidency.

The plates are five in number, each measuring about  $7\frac{1}{4}$  by  $3\frac{1}{4}$  at the ends and a little tees in the middle; the first plate is inscribed on one side only; the last plate is blank on both sides, and was intended as a guard to the outer side of the fourth plate. The edges of the plates are fashioned slightly thicker than the inscribed surfaces, so as to serve as rims to protect the writing; and, except for five aksharas in lines 9, 10, 17, the inscription is well preserved and quite legible throughout. — The ring on which the plates are strung, is about  $\frac{1}{10}$ thick and 4" in diameter; it had not been cut when the grant left my hands again. The ends of it are secured in the lower part, shaped like and probably intended to represent an expanded water-lily, of a flat circular disc, about 21" in diameter, which takes the place of the ordinary seal. On the upper side of this disc, there is fixed an image of the bull Nandi, conchant, as if on the top of a pillar; and on each side of the Nandi, cut in the surface of the disc, there is what seems to be either an elephant-goad, or a chauri with a long handle; and also a fankhashell, on the proper right side. Possibly there were originally also other emblems, as in the case of No. 179 below, now not recognisable. -- The total weight of the five plates, with the ring, disc, and image, is about 4 lbs. 24 oz. - The characters are a variety of what Dr. Burnell has named the South-Indian Någari alphabet; and they belong to the same stock with the characters used in the grants of Dévêndravarman and Satyavarman, though with differences in several essential points. The engraving is good and fairly deep; and the letters show through on the onter sides of the first and fourth plates. The interiors of the letters shew marks throughout of the working of the engraver's tool. --- The language is Sanskrit. And the whole record is in prose, except for three verses in lines 26 to 33. - In respect of orthography, the only points that call for notice are (1) the doubling of chh, by ch in the usual way, after the anusvára, in láthchchhana, line 8; (2) the repetition of bh, instead of its doubling by b, after r, in chúdámans-zbhbhagavatô, line 6; and (3) the use of v for b throughout, e.g. in savda, line 8; avdakán, line 14; ámvarán, line 28; and ámvuja, line 32.

This inscription, which contains a good deal of genealogical information, is a record of king Anantavarman, otherwise called Chôdagangadêva, of the later Ganga dynasty of Kalinga; and the charter recorded in it, is issued from the city of Kalinganagara. It is a Baiva inscription; the object of it being to record the grant of the village of Châkivâda, in the Samva vishaya, to the god Siva under the name of Rûjarâjêávara, whose temple was at the village of Rengujéd, — *i.e.* to a *linga*-form of that god established at the village in question by Rûjarâja, the father of Anantavarman, and named after him.

Lines 30 to 33 give the date of the accession of Anantavarma-Chôdagangadêva. The details are: -- Saka-Samvat 999, expressed in numerical words, and not specified either as current or as expired; while the sun was standing in the sign Kumbha, *i.e.* in the solar month Philguna; in the bright fortnight; on Ravijadina or Saturday, joined with the third *tithi*; ander the Révatt nakshatra; and during the Nriyugma lagna, *i.e.* during the rising of the sign Mithuns.<sup>1</sup> Here the given year has to be applied as an expired year. Thus, with Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, I find that ---

In Saka-Samvat 999 current, the Kumbha-Samkränti occurred on Sunday, 22nd January, A.D. 1077, at about 32 ghatis, 21 palas, after mean sunrise, for Kalingapatam,<sup>2</sup> and on this day there ended the amanta Magha krishna 10, at about 28 gh. 48 p.; and the Mina-Samkranti occurred on Tuesday, 21st February, at about 21 gh. 4 p., and on this day there ended the amánta Phâlguna krishna 11, at about 54 gh. 57 p. The third tithi of the bright fortnight in this period, while the sun was standing in Kumbha, was the lunar Phâlguna śukla 3, which ended, not on a Saturday, but on Sunday, 29th January, A.D. 1077, at about 48 gh. 43 p.

But in Saka-Samvat 1000 current (999 expired), the Kumbha-Samkranti occurred on Monday, 22nd January, A.D. 1078, at about 47 gh. 52 p., and on this day there ended the tithi Magha śukla 6, at about 11 gh. 39 p.; and the Mîna-Samkranti occurred on Wednesday, 21st February, at about 36 gh. 35 p., and on this day there ended the tithi Philguna sukla 7, at about 31 gh. 41 p. The third tithi of the bright fortnight in this period, while the sun was standing in Kumbha, was again the lanar Phalguna sukla 3, which ended, as required, on Saturday, 17th February, A.D. 1078, at about 54 gh. 36 p. Calculating by the Súrya-Siddhánta and for apparent sunrise, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds, that, on this day, the tithi ended at 54 gh. 12 p.; there was the Revatt nakshatra, ending, according to the equalspace system, at 44 gh. 25 p.; and there was the Nriyugma lagna, lasting from 13 gh. 23 p. to 18 gh. 41 p.

Lines 40 f. give the actual date of the grant itself. And here the details are : --- Saka-Samvat 1003, again expressed in numerical words, and not specified either as current or as expired; the month of Mesha, i.e. the solar month Vaisakha; the eighth tithi of the dark fortnight; on Adityavara or Sunday. As with the preceding date, applying the given year as an expired year, in Saka-Samvat 1004 current (1008 expired) the Mesha-Samkranti occurred on Tuesday, 23rd March, A.D. 1081, at about 44 ghafie; the Vrishabha-Samkranti occurred on Friday. 23rd April, at about 40 gh. 29 p.; and the eighth tithi of the dark fortnight in this period was the lunar amanta Chaitra krishna 8, which ended, as required, on Sunday, 4th April, A.D. 1081, at about 35 gh. 19 p.

This inscription, and No. 180 below, which mentions the month of Vrischika, i.s. the solar month Margasirsha, are of special interest on account of their quoting the solar months, in accordance with what is still the usage in at any rate the Tamil calendars in the Madras With the verse which gives the date of the accession of the Chôja king Presidency.3 Rajaraja II.,4 and which, by the expression "the sun being in Sinha," indicates the solar month Bhådrapada, these are the only published epigraphical instances that I can quote for the use of the solar without any reference to the lunar month.<sup>5</sup>

#### TEXT.

#### First Plate.

- 1 Om Svasti Srimata<sup>7</sup>[m=a\*]khila-bhuvana-vinuta-naya-vinaya-daya-danadâkshi-
- 2 nya satya saucha sauryya dhairyy âdi guna ratna pavitrakânâm≓Å-
- 3 trêya-gôtrâņâm vimala-vichår-åchåra-punya-salila-prakahå-

<sup>1</sup> For the term lagna, see the Súrya-Súddhánta, iii. 43, 49, and the notes in the Bev. E. Burgess' translation. The unqualified lagna seems always to denote, as it has here been taken, the kshitiga-lagna or ' the occurrence of a point of the ecliptic on the horizon.' There is another kind of lagna, vis. the madhya-lagna, which denotes ' the

point of the ecliptic on the horizon. There is another kind of tagna, etc. the whith ya-tagwa, which denotes the point of the ecliptic on the meridian.' <sup>3</sup> The times here are for Kalingapatam, all through. <sup>5</sup> See, for instance, the Sirtya-Paichdigam and the Vakya-Paichdigam, quoted ante, Vol. XVII. p. 208 and note 12, which use the solar year. <sup>6</sup> In the verse which gives the date of the accession of the Eastern Chalukya king Amma II. (asts, Vol. VII. p. 16, lines 31-35), the solar month Pausha is indicated by the words "the sub being in Dhama;" but the principal item is the mention of the lunar month Margafirsha. <sup>7</sup> This id was at first omitted and then inserted below the line. This omission accounts for the conission of

the following ma.

A 1%, 12, 12, 11, A1, A	1 1 14 4.5	······································	
	lmasha-mashiqâm		ndr-schala-
5 sikhara-pratisht	•	101	akala-bhuva-
6 na-nirmmân-aika	*	áánka-chúdámanðr-bhbha	
7 [Gå•]karnnasvå	mned bressdat=s	amâ[sî*]dit-aikaśańkha-h	heri-pańcha-
	Second Plate; F	<sup>N</sup> irst Side.	
		hâmara-varavrishabhalâm	
9 muj[j*]vala-sam	asta-sâmrâjya-mahimnâr	n≖anêka - samara - [sa]ôg	hatta - samu-
10 [palavdha(bdha)	] - vijayalakshmî -	samâlingit - ôt[t <sup>#</sup> ]unga	- bhujáda-
11 nda-manditânâm	Trikaling	a-mahivujan <sup>a</sup>	Gangs-
12 nam-a(a)nvaya	<b>m∞alá(la)nka</b> rish <b>ņôr⇒</b> Vvi	ishņôr=î(i)va vikrâ(kre	a)m-[â*]kri-
13 nti(nta)-dhi(dhi	)rāmaudalasys. Guņan	ahârnnava-mahârâjasya	putra[h*]
	Second Plate; Se	cond Side.	
14 ini-Vajraha(ha)	stadēvas-chatuś-chatvâr	i[m#]śatam=avda(bda)kå	n kshiti-
15 m-arakshît (j			trayam=apå-
16 layat    7	•	• • • •	navadévah
17 [pa]šcha-trimsa		Tasy=ânujô	Vinaya-
	s=tisrah 11 Tatah	Kâmārņņava-tanayô	Vajraha-
19 stah yô :	mada-galita-ganâ(lâ)n	· · · ·	-artthibhya-
•	Third Plate ; F	,	•
20 h samadâta(t) agrasu(sû	· · ·	]śatam=avds(bda)kân II	Tatas=tad-
21 nuh KAm	Arnnavadêvô=rddha-sa	må[m*] [11*] Taha(ta	)s=tad-anujô
	ashipati-11		· -
		aimâturô Madhul <sup>13</sup> -Kan	
28 k-ôna-viméati-va	• •	Kâmârnnsvâd=Vaidum	-
24 samudbhavâyâm		• • •	•
· •	≈atibhlehanam=aáanim	śastry-åbhijaghâna sa	
26 mástam=avda(bd	a)kân-avanim-apâlayat	•	mabhavð=ri-
·	Third Plate; Sec	ond Side.	
27 marddanas=sa Varuu-â-	<b>Bajaraja-k</b> shitipab	kshitim saméh arak	shad=ashfau
28 lay-ânva(ba)rân= Bajêndra	nidhir=gguņânân=Nidhê( ohô-	dhi)pâla-sannibhah H	Tatô <sup>15</sup>
29 lasya tanayâ séd(sû)yat	• •	=tasy=ågra-mahishi sa	ti sutam=
30 Bakts-Avde(bde)		lagana-ganitê Kumbl	s sainsthe
dinêsê b	–	- · <b>-</b> ·	
	<u> </u>		

<sup>\*</sup> Read mahibhuidm.-In the last syllable, first a visarga was engraved, and then it was corrected into the anusodra by partial ensure of the lower circle.

38 Here, in the second syllable, we distinctly have the dental d; but in No. 180, line 15, the lingual d is used.

<sup>24</sup> Metre, Vamantha.
 <sup>24</sup> Metre, Hôka (Anushtubh).

<sup>16</sup> Metre, Sragdharå.

<sup>•</sup> In Mr. Sewell's published notice, this name is given as Gunnama ; but the second syllable is distinctly add. 16 Read trimind.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> In the place where this person is mentioned in No. 179, line 74-75, the text has gundama-rdja; which gives him exactly the same name, Gundama, with his grandfather. In No. 180, line 14, however the reading is the same as here. And though in both places we might assume the proper reading to be gundama-makiputi, on the understanding that the second ma was omitted in accordance with a frequent tendency of Hindu scribes, yet it is equally possible that Gunda is a justifiable shorter form of Gundama. I therefore take the text as it stands, without making any emendation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> In Mr. Sewell's published notice, this part of the name is given as Machu; but, both here and in No. 179, line 75, the second syllable is distinctly *dAu.* Also, in his notice of No. 179, Mr. Sewell gave the prefix as Muchu; but the first syllable, in both places, is distinctly ma.

31	pakshê tri(tri)tiyâ-yuji Ravija-dinê Rêvati-bhê Nriyugmê lagmê(nê) Ga-
32	ng-anvavay-amvu(bn)ja-vana-dinakrid=visva-visvambharåyas=chakram sam- rakshi-
33	tum sad-guņa-nidhir-adhipaś=Chôdagangô=bhishiktah (  Kalinga- nagarāt=pa-
34	ramamabéévara - paramabhattéraka - mahéréjadhiréja - Tri(tri)kaling - á-
	Fourth Plate; First Side.
0F	
35	dhipatih śrimad-Anantavarmmá Chóda(da)gangadévah kuśali samast- âmâtya-
36	pramukha-janapadân-samâhûya samâjñâpayati [1*] Viditam-astu bhayatâm H(I)
37	Samva-vishayê Châkivâd-âkhyê grâmaśschatus-sîm-âvachchhinna-
38	s-sa-jala-sthalas=sarvva - pîdâ - vivarjjitam = å - chandr - årkka - kshiti - sama-
39	kálam yávan-mátápitrőr-átmanaś-cha puņya-yaśô-bhivriddha-
40	yê    <sup>17</sup> Haranayana-viyad-gagana-ohandra-gapitê Sak-avdê(bdê) Mêsha-mê-
41	sa-krishn-åshtamyåm=Åditya-våre Romgujed-åkhya-gråma-nivå.
	Fourth Plate; Second Side.
42	siné Rájarájčévaráya va(ba)li-pújá-nivédy-ôtsava-karaná-
48	ys ch-ismibhir-datta iti ji

# ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

Of the Mahárája Gunamahárnava (II.) (line 13), who adorned the family of the Gangas (line 11), — who are of the Åtrôya gôtra (l. 3.); who through the favour of the divine Gôkarnasvâmin (Siva), (l. 7) established on the summit of the great mountain Mahêndra (l. 4), who is the father of all things animate and inanimate (l. 5), and the sole architect for the construction of the universe (l. 6), possess all the greatness of complete sovereignty resplendent with the single conch-shell, the kettle-dram, the pañchamahásabda, the white umbrells, the golden chámara, and the excellent crest of a bull (vrishabha-lánchhana) (l. 9); and who are the kings of (the country of) Trikalings (l. 11), — the son, the illustrious Vajrahastadéva (III.) (l. 14), protected the earth for forty years.

His son, king Gundama (I.) (1. 15), governed it for three years. After that, his younger brother, Kâmârŋavadêva (IV.) (l. 16), for thirty-five years. And his younger brother, Vinayâditya (l. 17), for three years. Then Vajrahasta (IV.) (l. 18), the son of Kâmârŋava (IV.), reigned for thirty-five years; he presented to applicants a thousand elephants whose throats were trickling with rut. Then his eldest son, Kâmârŋavadêva (V.) (l. 21), reigned for half a year. Then his younger brother, king Gunda (Gundama II.)<sup>16</sup> (l. 21), for three years. And then his maternal half-brother, Madhu-Kâmârŋava (VI.) (l. 22), for nineteen years. Then to Kâmârŋava (VI.), from Vinayamahâdêvi (l. 24) who was born in the Vaidumva<sup>19</sup> family, there was born Vajrahastadêva (V.) (l. 24), who struck back, with his sword, a most terrible thunderbolt, as it fell; he reigned for thirty-three years. Then his son, king Bâjarâja (l. 27), reigned for eight years. His chief queen (*agramahichi*) was Râjasundari (l. 29), the daughter of Bâjêndrachôla. And she bore him a son, king Chôdaganga (l. 33), the sun of the collection of water-lilies which is the Ganga family (l. 82), who was anointed king in the Saka year (l. 30) that is numbered by the Nandas (nine), the apertures of the body (nine), and the planets (nine), when the sun was standing with

18 fies note 11 above.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> This mark of punctuation is unneccemry.

<sup>18</sup> Or perhaps Vaidamys, with the lingual d; see note 18 above.

# **Numbra** in the bright fortnight, on Saturday, joined with the third lunar day, under the Révati nakshatra, and during the Nriyugma lagna.

From the city of Kalinganagara (1, 33), he, the most devout worshipper of the god Mahéévara, the Paramabhattáraka, the Mahárájádhirája, the supreme lord of Trikalinga (1, 34), the glorious Anantavarman (otherwise called) Chódagangadéva (1, 35), being in good health, having called together all the people, headed by the Amátyas, issues a command :—

"Be it known to you (l. 36) that, in the Saka year (l. 40) that is numbered by the eyes of Hara (three), the sky (nought), the expanse of heaven (nought), and the moon (one), on the eighth tithi of the dark fortnight in the month of Mésha, on Sunday (l. 41), the village of Chakivada, in the Samva vishaya (l. 37), has been given by us to (the god) Rájarájéśvara (l. 42), residing (in a temple) at the village of Bengujed (l. 41), (for his use) and for the purpose of performing the oblation of ghee, the worship, the perpetual oblation, and the festival (of the god).

# No. 179,---VIZAGAPATAM COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF ANANTAVARMA-CHODAGANGADEVA. SAKA-SAMVAT 1040.

. This inscription has been noticed by Mr. Sewell in the Archael. Surv. South. Ind. Vol. II. p. 33, No. 19, where the plates are mentioned as having been obtained from the Collector of **Vizagapatam**.

The plates, of which the first and last are inscribed on one side only, are five in number, each measuring about  $8\frac{s}{2}$  by  $4\frac{2}{2}$  at the ends and a little less in the middle. The edges of the plates are fashioned thicker than the inscribed surfaces; and the inscription is well preserved and quite legible throughout. — The ring on which the plates are strung, is about  $\frac{T'}{1}$  thick and 5" in diameter; it had not been cut when the grant left my hands again. The ends of it are secured in the lower part of a flat circular disc, about 21" in diameter, similar to that of No. 178 above, which again takes the place of the ordinary seal. On the upper side of this disc again there is fixed an image of the bull Nandi, couchant; and, cut in the surface of the disc, there are, in front of him, the sun; in front of his left fore-leg, the moon; by the side of his right fore-leg, a linga, on an abhisheka-stand; below the linga, what seems to be a double umbrella; below the latter, a sankha-shell; behind the Nandi, a double drum; on the left side of him, what seems to be a single umbrella; and above it, between it and the moon, some emblem that I do not recognise. - The total weight of the five plates, with the ring, disc, and image, is about 8 lbs. 14 oz. - The characters in this instance are ordinary Old-Kanarese, of the regular type of the period and locality to which the record refers itself. The engraving is good, and fairly deep; but the plates are thick and substantial, and the letters do not show through on the reverse sides of them at all. The interiors of the letters shew marks throughout of the working of the engraver's tool. - The language is Sanskrit. The inscription is entirely in verse as far as line 44; and after that, verses occur in lines 61, 77, 80, 81, and 84 to 103. --- In respect of orthography, the points that call for notice are (1) the preferential use of the anusvárs instead of the proper nasal. e.g. in kalamka-kámti, line 1; though instances of the correct usage occur, and, among them, the rather unusual employment of the guttural nasal in anvabhunita, for anvabhunikta, line 14; (2) the doubling of g after the anusvára, once, in gashgga, line 105; (3) the use of v for h, once, in avdhau, line 87, though in other places the b itself is used ; (4) the use of b for bh in chaturbbis, line 4, and, again when preceded by r, in five similar instances in lines 12, 56, 84, 91, and 96, and probably in line 34; and (5) the use of sámbrájya for sámrájya, Jine 46.

This inscription which contains still more genealogical and historical information, is another record of king Anantavarman, otherwise called Chôdagaùgadêva, of the later Ganga dynasty of Kalinga; in this instance, the city from which the charter was issued, is not mentioned. It is non-sectarian; the object of it being only to record the grant of the village of Tâmarakhandi, in the Samva vishaya, to a person named Mádhava. In lines 93 to 96, we have the same verse that occurs in No. 178, giving the date of the accession of Anantavarma-Chôdagangadêva. And line 114 gives the actual date of the grant itself, which is simply mentioned, without further details for calculation, as a meritorious day in Saka-Samvat 1040, expressed in numerical words and not distinctly specified either as current or as expired, but equivalent, as an expired year,<sup>1</sup> to A.D. 1118-1119.

# TEXT.

#### First Plate.

- 1 Om [11<sup>6</sup>] Lakshm<sup>f3</sup>-nishðvyam=uduråja-kalamka-kâmti bâhâ-chatushtaya-chapam vapu-
- 2 r=ådadhånah prådur-bbabhûva bhuvana-tritayam vidhitsur=vviśva-prasůti-jara-3 !ô(thô) bhagavân=Anamtah !! Tan<sup>4</sup>-nåbhi(bhî)-nalinâd=babhûva bhuvana-prårambha-

dîkshâ-ratô

- 4 Brahma vêda-paramparâ[m\*] paridadhad=vaktraiś=chaturbbi(rbbhi)s=tatah prâjšpatyadhur-âdhirûda(dha)-
- 5 mahasâm=Atrir=mmuninâm prabhur=jjåtas=sarvvajani(nî)na-divya-tapasâ[m\*] vrâtô vapushmâ-
- 6 n=iva || Atrô[h\*]<sup>6</sup> putrôh<sup>6</sup> babhûva Tripurahara-jatâ-jûtâ(ta)-nêpatya(thya)-ratnanôtra-vyâpâ-
- 7 ra-dősa[h\*] Smara-charita-mahâ-nâdi(ți)kâ-sûtradhârah drishtâmtô dâkshiņātyā-mu-
- 8 kha-mukura-ruchâm sarvvarî-ji(jî)vit-ðáas-trailôky-ânamda-kamdô gagana-tala-ma-

9 h-âmbhôdhi-śamkhaś-Saza[m\*]kah I(II) Tatô? jagat-tâpa-bhishajyita-tvishaś=śubha-grahô-

- 10 bhûd=vibudh-àgranir=Bbudhah Pururavas=tat-tanayô yad-uliasad-bhujà bhuji-
- 11 shyâm bubhujê vasumdharâm i(ii) Tasm[â\*]d\*=Âyus=śubham yas=tribhuvana-viditô janma lêbhê
- 12 tadîyah putrô=bhûj=jê(jai)tra-bâhur=Nnahusha-narapatir=bbû(bbhû)bhritâm=agra-ganyah va-

13 h prithvyám=ðka-patnyám=anubhava-vimukhô bhúri-játa-prajáyám svar-vvðsyám kha-

- 14 ndit-Émdrâm pranaya-paravašah paurushên-ânvabhuù[k\*]ta 11 Tatô\* Yayâtirvvijit-àri-
- 15 yht<sup>10</sup>ir=jjajūė tatas=Turvvašur=nrvvar-ėšah sa pūrvva-girvvāņa-gurör-ggarimnā(mņā) mātāma-
- 16 hasy=ôrasi hi pravriddhab I(II) Aputratvam<sup>11</sup> pråptas=suchiram=atikhinnô nripa-vri-

Second Plate; First Side.

- 17 shas-sa Gamgam-aradhyam niyata-gatir-aradhya vara-dam ajêyam Gamgeya-
- 18 m sutam-alabhat-ârabhya cha tadâ kramas-tad-vamśyânâm bhuvi jayati Gamg-ânya-
- 19 ya iti 1(11) Asy<sup>12</sup>-ásít-tanayô Virôchana-vibhur=vvairi-grah-ástáchala[h\*] kahôni(nì)nà-
- 20 tha-ki(ki)rîta-patra-makarî-lagn-â[m\*]ghri-rêņ(?)-û(?)tkarah Lakshmi(kshmi)-Vêgvanitêmahêkula-nadî-[sa]-
- 21 mvédyam=udyôginam Samvédyam samaji(jî)janat=sa nripatir=Ggamg-Anvay-ôttamsakam ((1) Sa-

Metre, Vasantatilaka.

\* From the original plates. \* Metre, Sragdhari.

- \* Read putro.
- " Metre, Varhfastha.
- Metre, Sragdhará.
   Metre, Upajšti of Indravajrá and Upéndravajrá.
   <sup>10</sup> This vowel 4 was at first omitted, and then was inserted, rather i ndistinctly, over the lower part of the 5.
- 11 Metre, Sikharint. 12 Metre, Sårdůlavikridita. 18 Metre, Vasantatilaka.

<sup>22</sup> mvody-atôl3 manir-iv=[â\*]jani nâma bhâsvân<sup>14</sup> bhûpâla-mauli-makutair-upalâlani(nî)ya-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> On the analogy of the results for the dates in No. 178.

Metre Sardülavikridita.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> The use and position of the word *nAma* might possibly be held to indicate that the name of Samvédys's son is to be found in the word *bAdsedn*; in which case the first four syllables of this verse would be taken as one word, with an ablative sense, and the translation would be "from Samvédya there was born Bhásvat by name, (resplendent) like a jewel." But on the whole it would seem that the name Samvédin is intended; and that this name, and that of Datiasens, were purposely placed at the beginning and the end of the stansa.

23 h trûs-âdi-dôsha-rahitas=sa babhûva putrî yat-sampadân	=nidhir=sjâyata Datta-
24 sônah 1(11) Tasy <sup>15</sup> =ôrvvi(rvvi)śvara-mauli-maņdana-maņêr=ásîd	
nripa- 25 ti-áriyam priya-sutas=Sômô=tiramy-âkritih tasmâd=apy	-ndonâdi mâdite ie.
25 ti-áriyam priya-sutas=Sômô=tiramy-âkritik tasmâd=apy 26 gach-chakrô = msudattas = tatas = Sô(sau)râmgô = bhavad = an	
•	As-184-Sale-Sue-La. There-
kri(kri)yâ-pâka- 27 lah I(II) Tasmâch <sup>16</sup> =Chitrâmbarô=bhût=kshititala-valayê râja	-śabd-aika-väbhya(chya)s=
sûnus≈Sâradhva-	
28 jô=sy=åbhavad=akhila-bhuvâm=âdhipatya-prasûti[h*] Dhammê naya-	ba <sup>17</sup> tat-tanûjô nripa-
29 padavi(vî)-pâmtha-mukhyô virêjê babhrâj=âpatyâ(tya)m=asya	kshiti-jaya-paravâu=êka-
	mâninam <b>Jayasênam</b> -
anya- 31 nripa-darppa-śâtanam abhavat=sutô=sya <b>Jayaséna-</b> samjñit.	ah prathayan diśâ-
32 sita-dukûlita[m <sup>*</sup> ] yaśah I(II) Jitaviryyam <sup>19</sup> =asâv=ajîjar	
Second Plate; Second Side.	
33 la-vrisham Vrishadhvajam saha-saktim=alamghya-sâsanam virôdhi-bhî-	vijigishum ssa(su)-
34 shanam i(ii) Tasya <sup>20</sup> Pragarbba(ibha)s <sup>21</sup> =tanayô babhûva	kshitiša-mårgg-åcharana-
pragalbhah ya $[h^*]$ kba-	i de la come de la come
35 dga-dhârâ-jala-dhauta-vairi-nârî-kapôlasthala-patrabhamgah 1(11)	
86 tra-tilaka[h*] kshônibhrid=asy=åtmajô vîraśrî-vanitâ-svayamvri 37 lâhalah nirmmây=ôrjjita-Gamgavadi-vishayê Kôlâhal-âkh	
37 lâhalah nirmmây⇔ôrjjita-Gamgavadi-vishayê Kôlâhal-âkh 38 krê sura-sadma vi(vî)kshana-rasa-pratyûham≔akshnâm Harêh	
sarâsana-ya-	
	ita-pâśa-vidê(dhê)yâm=êka
40 êva sa Virôchana-samjūah [11*] Gatê <sup>24</sup> tatra narêmdrâr	âm Kölähala-puri(ri)-
41 êk-âsîtyâm cha tad-vamsyô Vîrasimhô=bhavan=nyipah ((I)) vas=sû-	
42 nur=Dânârnna(rṇṇa)va-Guṇârṇṇavau Mârasimha iti âkhya-pamcha-	khyâtâ(tô) <b>Vajrahast-</b>
43 mâh !(!!) Atha Kamarnna(rnna)vô dat[t*]vâ pitrivyâya prithvi(thvî)m bhuvam jê-	nijâm=mahîm prâyât=
	sakala-sur-âsura-siddha-
45 vighrishta-masrina-charanapítham=ârâdhya Gôkarnnasvâminan	n=asya prasådåt=samå-
46 sâdita-vara-vrishabhalâmcha(chha)nas=samopalabdha - sakala - sâmk	orâ(râ)jya - chihnô(hnai)r=
upa- 47 śôbhamânas≔sa narêmdrâ(drô) Mahêmdr-âohala-śikharâd=avat	irvva Yudhishthira iva
<ul> <li>48 chaturbbhir = anujair = anugamyamânas = samara - ni(nì)rasika -</li> </ul>	
Third Plate; First Side.	
49 Kamarnnavah Kalimgan=agrahit i tasya ch=apahasita-Surén	· · · · · · · · · · · ·
50 n=nâma nagarì râjadhâny=âsit   asau Dânarnna(rnna) bamdhura-	7 <b>am</b> ≃anujaṁ kaṁțhikâ-
<sup>15</sup> Metre, Mañjubhûshiŋî. 19 Metre, Vaitâliya. 28 Metre, Upajâti of	probably dharmm-Alhyah. Indravajr <b>a</b> and Upéndravajr <b>a</b> .
<sup>21</sup> A correction is necessary here. On the analogy of chaturbbis for chatur instances in this record, we might take the real name to be Pragarbha. But I do not	bbhis, line 4, and some similar find this word in dictionaries.

Instances in this record, we might take the real name to be Pragarbha. But 1 do not that the second state of that word in the context.
 Metre, Sårdůlavikričita.
 Metre, Šláka (Anushubh); and in the next two verses.—Here, instead of gate, we ought to have gatdydm, in apposition with ek-diftydm in the next line.

**.** .

51 50	kamilhara[m*] nidhâya Gunarnnavay=Åmbavaqi-vishayam Marasimhaya Sô(?sô)- da-mandalam Vajrahastaya Kamitaka-varttani(nî)m=adât 1 êvam cha kramêna
52	shaj-tri-
53	misad-varshân <b>Kalimgân</b> zapâlayat !(11) Tasya cha śrimatâm=aśêsha-bhuvana-bhû-
54	pâla-mauli-mâl-âlamkâra-yaśasâm nija-râjya-sampad-apahasita-Mahêm-
55	dranam Mahemdr-achul-amala-sikhara-pratishthitasya sakala-bhuvana-nirmman-aika-sû-
56	tradhårasya [sa*]char-åchara-gurôr=bba(bbha)gavatô Gôkarnnasvâminas=samårådhana-la-
57	bdha-nikhila-manôrathûnâm=Åtrêya-gôtrânâm Gamgânâm kulam-a-
58	lamkarishņôr=Vvishuôr=iva vikram-ākrāmta-sakala-mabīmaņdalasya <b>Kamārņņa</b> -
59	vasy=ânujô Dânârnnava9=chatvûrimśatam=abdakân râjyam=akârshît I(II) Tat-sû-
60	nur=dvitiyah Kamarnnavah pamchasad.varshan=mahimandalam=amandayat i tasya
	tiraskțita-trivishța- pam Nagaran=nâma puram=âsît 11 Tasmin <sup>25</sup> sô=pi madhûka-vțiksha-jananâd=Îśasya
61	limg-åkritôh kritv=âkhyam
62	Madhukĉśa ity=arachayat=präsädam=abhramkasham yad-[d*]vär-ôrdhva-vichitra-patra- latikâś=chitrâni vä paśya-
63	tâm saudhâny=ambaravarttinâm hridi bhavên=nûnam vimân-âruchih !(11) Tat-tanayô
• •	Ranarnnavah pamcha va- rshân mahîm=aharshayat I(II) Tat-sûnur=dvitiyô Vajrahastah pamchadaéa samâh
64	kshamâm=arakshat [1]*]
65	Tasy=ânujas=tri(tri)tiya[h*] Kamarnnavo=rnnavamêkhalâm=êk-ôna-vimisati-samvatsarân=
	samavarddba-
	Third Plate; Second Side.
66	yat I(II) Tat-sutô Gunarnnavas-sapta-vimsatim=abdån=abdhirasanåm vasam= anaishit I(II) Tad-åtmajah Ji-
67	tamkusah pamchadasa vatsaran mahin=nissapatnam=akarshit 1(11) Tatas=tad-bhratus=
	sû(su)tah Kali-
68	galâmkusô dvâdaśa vatsarân Kalimgân≕alamchakâra I(II) Tatas=tasya pitri-bhrâtâ sapta varshân
69	Gundama-râjô mahîmandala-mandanô36 babhûva [11*] Tasy=ânujaś=chaturithah
	Kamarnnavah pameha-
70	vimsati-varshan vasumdharam=anubabhuva i(ii) Tayô[h*] kani(nî)yan=Vinayadityô
71	varsha-trayam dharitrim=atrâyat(ta) 1(11) Tatas=taj-[j*]yêshthasya Kâmârunsvasya
	sutaś=cha- turtthó Vairahastah paṁcha-trimśatam≠abdakàn i yad-datta-daṁti-sahasra-
72	
73	dâna-vârină cha kuvalayam pamkilam=âsît I(11) Tatas=tat-sutal
74	pamehama[h*] Kamarnnavo=rddha-samām t(11) Tatas=tad-anujo dvitiyo Gunda- ma-rajas= <sup>27</sup> trini varshāni l(11) Tasya dvaimāturo bhrātā shashtho Madhu*-
75	
	Kamarupa-
76	va êk-ôna-vimśati-varshâni 1(11) Tatas=tadiya-namdanő Vajrahastas=trimśa-
77	tam=abdakân   Tad-vərqqanê   Vyâptê <sup>29</sup> Gamga-kul-ôttamasya yaśasâ dik- chakravâlê
78	ásái-pradyőt-âmalinêna yasya bhuyana-prablâda-sampâdinâ simdûrair⇒ati-
79	sâmdra-pamka-patalaih kumbhasthali-pattakêshv=âlimpamti punah-punaś=cha hari-
80	tâm=adhôrana vâranan i(II) Anurâgêna <sup>30</sup> guninê yasya na(va)kshô-mukh-å-
81	bjayôh âsînê Śrî-Sarasvatyâv=anukûlê virâjatah 1(11) Na <sup>31</sup> n[â*]matah kê-
	55 Metre, Sårdûlavikridita.

metre, Sardulavikrighta.
 These eight syllables are engraved over some cancelled letters. The reading is a little doubtful, but seems to be as I give it.
 These page 163 above, note 11.
 See page 163 above, note 12.
 Metre, Sardulavikrighta.
 Metre, Slöka (Anushtubh.)
 Upsjäti of Indravajrå and Upëndravajrå,

#### Fourth Plate ; First Side.

valam=artthatô=pi sa<sup>32</sup> Vajrahastas=Trikalimga-nâthah yô Vajri-hastâd=apathah(m) 82 prithivajram patad=vårayitum samarttha[h\*] ((!) Tat-sutô **Rajarajajô**<sup>33</sup>=shta-va-83 vyâm Tad-varnnané i Sa<sup>34</sup> Rajarajah prathamam jaya-śriyah patir=bbabhu(bhû)-84 tsarân | virâjamânâm=atha Rajasu(su)mdarim=ududa(dha)-Dramil-àhav-ôtsavê 85 Ψ9. vâmś=Choda-mahîbhuj-âtmajâm I(II) Tyaktvâ<sup>35</sup> Vemgi[m\*] sapadi parin[â\*]m-ôdayê 86 dyâm=iv=ânyâm Chôda-vyâjê mahati Vijayâdityam=avdhau(bdhau) mima[m\*]kshu[m\*] â-87 vichitram lakshmî-bhâja[m\*] su parama-śaranam **Bajar**ajô pannânâm 88 Tasy<sup>36</sup>=âbn(bhû)d=agra-sûnuh prithuladiáâyâm I(II) chiram=akarôt=paśchimâyâm 89 vimalatara-yanija-bhujā-Vikramāditya-sāras=satya-tyāg-aika-sîmā 90 våg-ullamghi-pratåpah subha-charita-nidhir=bbâ(bbhâ)gyašaś-chamdrikâ-dhanta-lôkah 91 kshônî-prân-âdhinâthas=sakala-ripu-manô-bhamga-daś=Chôdagasaubhâgya-râśih 92 namda-ramdhra-grahagana-ganita Kumbha-samsthê mgah i(il) Sak-abde 93 dinêtê 811-Nriyugmê lagnê Gamgtritiya-yuji Bavija-dinê Révati-bhé paksh8 94 klê ånvasamrakshitum · vay-âmbuja-vana-dinakrid=viśva-viśvambharâyâś=chakram 95 sad-guna-nidhir=adhipaś=Chôdagamgô=bhishiktah || Vîra<sup>37</sup>-śrir=bbu(bbhu)jadanda-96 yugmastambha-dvamdva-niyamtrit-aika-karinî-sâ yasy=åri-darppa-chchhida[h\*] lalitâ 97 Fourth Plate ; Second Side. driśyam=åkli(klri)pyati<sup>38</sup> ; yat-påda-dvitay-åmtika-pranayin[å\*]m kshônîbhritâm=mau-98 sphâyat-padma-yug-ânukả(chû)ri-madhupa-śrêņi-śriyam bibbrati lays[h\*] 99 u Pûrvvasyâm diśi pûrvvam=Utkala-pati[m\*] râjyê vidhâya chyutam paśchât= 100 paśchima-dik-tatê vigadi(li)tam Vemg-imsam<sup>39</sup>=apy=êtayôh lakshmi(kshmî)m vamdana-mâli-101 jaya-śri-tôraņa-stambhayôr=bbadhnâti samiddha-vitta-vibhava[h\*] ema kam=iva 102 árimad-Anamtavarmma-mahárâjô râjâdhi-Sa śrî-Gamga-chûdâmanih II 103 paramabraparamabhattàrakah paramavaishnavah rájaparaméśvarah râjô 104 śri-Chodagamggadevas=Samvamâtàpitri-pâd-ânudhyâta[h\*] hmanyah 140 105 kutumbinas=sarvvân=saraptrakûta<sup>61</sup>-pramukhân vishayê 106 purôhit-âmâtya-yuvarâja-samdhivi-107 grahi - danvârika - pramukha - parijana - samaksham = ittham = âjñàpayati [1\*] mâhûya 108 Asîd=ârryya-kul-ôdbhavô Vâsudêva-nâyathâ II Viditam=astu γô 109 tad-bhâ-Bhîmaya-nâmâ tat-putrô Gandama-nâyikâ yakas=tad-bhāryyā 110 mat-pâd-ôpajîvinê Mådhavas=tasm[ai\*] tat-putrô . Mêdama-nâyikâ ryyà 111 Tamarakhandi-nâma-grâmas=satata-pratibaddhâbhir=avichchhinnabhavad-vishayê 112 sarvy-ôpadrava-rahipallibhis=sârddham sa-jala-sthalam samôpabhôgâbhiś=cha 113 Fifth Plate. m=å-chamdr-årkka-pratishtham=måtåpitrôr=åtmanas=cha pnņya-yasô-bhivriddhayê viya-114 d-udadhi-kh-êmdu-ganitêshu Saka-vetsarêshu punyê=hani sakal-Ôtkala-sâmrâ-115 jya-padavî-virâjamânais=Simdûrapôra-nivâsibhir=asmâbhir=ddhârâ-pûrvvaka[m\*] da-116 ttas=Tad=bhâvibhir-api bhûmipâlaih paripâlanîya iti li 117

<sup>52</sup> This is a very anomalous character, more like a mark of punctuation than anything else; but it can only be meant for so. 35 Metre, Mandâkrântâ.

 <sup>35</sup> Read rájarájó.
 36 Metre, Vanšastha.
 36 Metre, Mandakranta.
 38 Read rájarájó.
 38 Metre, Vanšastha.
 36 Metre, Mandakranta.
 37 Metre, Šárdúlavikridita ; and in the following verse.
 38 Metre, Šárdúlavikridita ; and in the following verse.

Motion, brageness, and in the state with the interview of the first class only, and is conjugated in the dimanepada.
 Here, in composition with 4, it is conjugated in the parasmaipada of the fourth class.

Here, in composition with a, to is conjugated in the permission processary. At Read rashtrakúta.

# ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

Desirous of creating the three worlds, there became manifest the divine (god) Ananta (Vishnu) (line 3).43 From the water-lily (that grew from) his mavel, there sprang (the god) Brahman (1. 4), reciting the Vêdas with his four mouths. From him there was born Atri (1. 5), the lord of sages. The son of Atri was Sasanka (the Moon) (1. 9).43 From him was born Budha (l. 10). His son was Pururavas. From him was born Ayus (l. 11). His son was king Nahusha (l. 12). From him there was born Yayati (l. 14). From him, king Turvasu (l. 15); "he came to maturity on the breast (of his mother) through the power of the ancient preceptor of the gods, his maternal grandfather ('Sukra)."44 Being without sons, and being excessively distressed for a long time (on that account) (1. 16), he (Turvasu), the best of kings, practising self-restraint, propitiated (the river) Ganga, the bestower of boons, who is worthy to be propitiated, and obtained a son, the unconquerable Gangeya (l. 17);45 and, from that time forth, the succession of his descendants has been victorious in the world, under the name of the Ganganvaya (l. 18).

The son of this person was Virochana (l. 19). He begat Samvedya (l. 21), the glory of the Ganganvays. From him there was born Samvedin (1. 22).45 He became possessed of a son through the birth of Dattasena (l. 23). His dear Son was Soma (l. 25). From him there was born Amsudatta (l. 26). From him, Sauranga. From him, Chitrambara (l. 27), who alone, in the whole circuit of the earth, was worthy to be spoken of by the title of 'king.' His son was Saradhvaja. His son was he who had the appellation of Dharma (?) (1. 28).47 And his son was Parikshit (1. 30). He obtained a glorions son, Jayasena (I.). And his son again was named Jayaséna (II.) (l. 31). He begat Jitavirya (l. 32). And he, king Vrishadhvaja (l. 33). His son was Pragalbha (l. 34).48 His son was Kölähala (l. 36), who built the city named Kölähalapura (l. 37), in the great Gangavädi vishaya, and made a temple of the god Hari. And his son was Virôchana (l. 40).

When there had gone by in that city eighty kings, who enjoyed the city of Kölähalapuri (l. 40), in his lineage there was born king Virasimha (l. 41). His sons were five in number; Kamarnava (I.), Danarnava, Gunarnava (I.), Marasimha, and Vajrahasta (I.) (1. 42). Then Kamarnava (I.) gave over his own territory to his paternal uncle (1. 43), and, with his brothers, set out to conquer the earth, and came to the mountain Mahêndra (l. 44). Having there worshipped the god Gökarnasvämin (l. 45), through his favour he obtained the excellent creat of a bull (vrishabha-lanchhana); and then, decorated with all the insignia of universal sovereignty, having descended from the summit of the mountain Mahéndra (l. 47), and being accompanied, like Yudhishthira, by his four younger brothers Kamarnava (I.) conquered (king) Baladitys, who had grown sick of war (l. 48), and took possession of the Kalinga countries (l. 49). And his capital (rajadhani) was the city named Jantavura (l. 49), which quite surpassed the city of (the god) Surendra. Having decorated his younger brother Danarnava with the necklace (kanthika) (of royalty, as a token that he should succeed him in that kingdom) (1. 50), to Gunarnava (I.) he gave the Ambavadi

<sup>46</sup> Here the descent branches off from the Puranic genealogy. According to the Vishuu-Purdna, book iv. chap. 16, Turvasu's son was Vahni; his was Gobhanu; and so on ; and no reference is made to the circumstances mentioned in the present verse.

\*\* See note 14 above. 47 Ses note 17 above.

# See note 21 above.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Accordingly, these Gangas were comprised in the Vishnuvamás or lineage of Vishnu.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> And thus they belonged also to the Sômavamáa or Lunar Bace.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> And thus they belonged also to the Somavainée or Lunar Mace. <sup>64</sup> I have not succeeded in obtaining an explanation of this verse. The story of YayAti is given in the Vishnu-Puréna, book iv. chap. 10; and may be briefly stated thus .- By his wife DévayAnî, the daughter of Sukra, he had two sons, Yadu and Turvaéu; and by his other wife Sarmishihå, the daughter of Vishaparwan, three sons, Druhyu, Anu, and Púru. Being cursed by Sukra, in connection with his marriage to the second wife, he became old and infirm before his time. But subsequently, appeasing his first father in-law, Sukra, he obtained permission to transfer his decreptitude for a thousand years to anyone who would bear it in his place. With the exception of Púru, all his sons refused, and were cursed by him in consequence. Púru, however, relieved his father of the infliction, and in return, when the time had expired, was made by his father his principal successor in the sovereignty; his brothers being appointed viceroys under him. - The preceptor of the gods is properly Brihaspati. But the epithet seems here to be applied to Sukra, the proceptor of the demons.

vishaya (l. 51); to Marasimha, the Söda or Söda mandala (l. 52); and to Vajrahasta (I.), the Kantaka vartani. And thus for thirty-six years he governed the Kalinga countries (l. 53).

Of him, Kamarnava (I.) (l. 58), who adorned the family of the Gangas (l. 57),—who obtained the fulfilment of all their desires by propitiating the divine Gôkarnasvâmin (l. 56), established on the pure summit of the mountain Mahêndra (l. 55), who is the sole architect for the construction of the universe, and the father of all things animate and inanimate (l. 56); and who are of the Atrêya gôtra (l. 57),—the younger brother, Dânarneva (l. 59), reigned for forty years.

His son, the second Kamarnava (l. 60),49 reigned for fifty years ; his city was the city named Nagara (l. 61), in which he built a lofty temple for an emblem of the god Isa (Siva) in the linga-form, to which he had given the name of Madhukéśa (l. 62) because it was produced from, a madhúka-tree. His son, Ranarnava (1. 63), made the earth happy for five years. His son, the second Vajrahasta (1. 64), protected the earth for fifteen years. His younger brother, the third Kamarpava (l. 65), caused the earth to be prosperous for nineteen years. His son, Gunarnava (II.) (1.66), held the earth in subjection for twenty-seven years. His son, Jitankusa (1. 67), kept the earth without a rival wife in his affection for fifteen years. Then his brother's son, Kaligalankusa (l. 67), adorned the Kalinga countries for twelve years. Then his father's brother, king Gundama (I.) (1. 69), was the ornament of the earth for seven years. His younger brother, the fourth Kamarnava (l. 69), enjoyed the earth for twenty-five years. Their younger brother, Vinayaditya (l. 70), protected the earth for three years. Then the fourth Vajrahasta (1. 72), the son of his elder brother Kamarnava (IV.), reigned for thirty-five years; and made the earth as soft as clay with the water that was the rut of a thousand elephants given away by him. Then his son, the fifth Kamarnava (1.74), reigned for half a year. Then his younger brother, the second king Gundama (1.74), reigned for three years. His maternal half-brother, the sixth Madhu-Kamarnava (l. 75), for nineteen years. Then his son, Vajrahasta (V.) (1.76), for thirty years; the whole earth was filled with the fame of him, the ornament of the Gangakula (1. 77); and he, the lord of Trikalings (l. 82), fully deserved the name of Vajrahasta ('he who holds a thunderbolt in his hand'), because he was able to ward off a thunderbolt which, missing its proper path, was falling from the hand of the god Vajrin (Indra) onto the earth. His son Rajaraja (l. 83), reigned for eight years; he first became the husband of the goddess of victory in battle with the Dramilas (1. 85), and then wedded Rajasundari, the daughter of the Chods king (1. 86); and when Vijayaditya (l. 87), beginning to grow old, left (the country of) Vengi, as if he were a sun leaving the sky, and was about to sink in the great ocean of the Chodas, he, Rajaraja, the refuge of the distressed, caused him to enjoy prosperity for a long time in the western region (1.89). His eldest son, equal to (the ancient king) Vikramaditya in the prowess of his mighty arm (1. 90), was Chodaganga (1. 92), who was anointed king of the whole world in the Saka year (1. 93) that is numbered by the Nandas (nine), the apertures of the body (nine) and the planets (nine), when the sun was standing with Kumbha, in the bright fortnight, on Sunday, joined with the third lunar day, under the Révati nakshatra, and during the Nriyugma lagna. He, the ornament of the Gangas (l. 103), first replaced the fallen lord of Utkala in his kingdom in the eastern region (l. 100), and then the waning lord of Vengi in the western region (1. 101), and propped up their failing fortunes.

And he, the illustrious Mahárája Anantavarman (l. 103), the Rájádhirája, the Rájaparamésvara,<sup>49</sup> the Paramabhattáraka, the most devout worshipper of the god Vishau,<sup>50</sup> who is most

<sup>40</sup> It should be noted how, in most cases, in a very exceptional manner, this record uses the ordinal adjectives to distinguish the different kings of the same name.

Here, line 104, rdjaparamésvara seems to be a fuller form of the usual supreme title paramésvara. But, <sup>49</sup> Here, line 104, rdjaparamésvara seems to be a fuller form of the usual supreme title paramésvara. But, on the analogy of similar epithets in other dynastics, it may be a biruda of Anantavarman, meaning 'a very Paraméévara (Siva) among kings.'--It is rather curious that, along with one at least of the paramount titles, the fendatory title of Mahiraja should be attached to the name of Anantavarman.

See also, contrasted with the Nandi on the seal, and with the epithet paramamahilwara in the other two grants, the use of the epithet paramavsishanava here is rather peculiar. But the grantee, Mådhava, and his grandfather, Våsudèra-nåyaka, were plainly Vaishnavas. And the sectarian title in question was possibly assumed out of compliment to them.

kindly disposed to Brahmâns, — he, (otherwise called) the glorious Chódagańgadôva (l. 105), who meditates on the feet (pád-ánudhyáta) of his parents, having called together the cultivators, headed by the *Ráshirakútas* (l. 106), in the Samva vishaya, issues a command in the presence of the *Purôhita*, Amátya, Yuvarája, Samdhivigrahin, Dauvárika, and other officials of his retinue :—

"Be it known to you (1.109) that there was Våsudêvanâyaka, born in a noble family; whose wife was Gandamanâyikâ (1.110). Their son was Bhîmaya; whose wife was Mêdamanâyikâ (1.111). Their son is Mâdhava. And to him, my dependent (*púd-ôpajîvin*), for the increase of the religious merit of Our parents and of Ourself (1.114), in the Saka year (1.115)that is numbered by the sky (nought), the oceans (four), the sky (nought), and the moon (one), on a meritorious day, with libations of water there has been given by Us, decorated with the rank of entire sovereignty over the whole of Utkals (1.115), and residing at the town of Sindurapora (1.116), the village of Tâmarakhandi (1.112), in your vishaya, together with the hamlets that have always belonged to it and have been uninterruptedly enjoyed with it, — including its water and dry land (1.113); free from all exactions; and constituted to endure as long as the sun and the moon. Therefore it should be preserved in grant by future kings also."

# No. 180.-VIZAGAPATAM COPPEB-PLATE GRANT OF ANANTAVARMA-CHODAGANGADEVA.

#### SAKA-SAMVAT 1057.

This inscription has been noticed by Mr. Sewell in the Archaeol. Surv. South. Ind. Vol. II. p. 32, where the plates are mentioned as having been obtained from the Senior Assistant Collector of Vizagapatam, and as belonging to the trustees of the temple of Sangam.

The plates, of which the first and last are inscribed on one side only, are three in number, each measuring about 94" by 45". The edges of the plates are fashioned slightly thicker than the inscribed surfaces; and the inscription is well preserved and legible throughout. --- The ring on which the plates are strung, is about  $\frac{1}{2}$  thick and  $5\frac{1}{2}$  in diameter; it had been not cut when the grant left my hands again. The ends of it are secured in the lower part of a flat oval disc, similar to that of No. 178 above, and measuring about 2" by 1§", which again takes the place of the ordinary seal. On the upper side of this disc again there is fixed an image of the bull Nandi, couchant; and on the surface of the disc there are visible the same emblems as in the case of No. 178. - The total weight of the three plates, with the ring, disc, and image, is about 6 lbs. 8 oz. - The characters belong to the South-Indian Nagari alphabet. As far as the end of line 12, they are of exactly the same type with those of No. 178; but from there to the end they follow a different type of the same class, presenting older characteristics, especially in using the superscript form of the vowel i in combination with a consonant. This change in the characters occurs, it will be noticed, at the beginning of the second plate; but the context runs on quite properly; and for this reason, as well as from the uniform size and appearance of the three plates, and from the fact that the ring had not been cut, there seems to be no doubt that the first plate is the one which belongs properly to the second and third. The engraving is good and fairly deep; but the plates are thick and substantial, and the letters do not show through on the reverse sides at all. As usual, the interiors of the letters shew marks throughout of the working of the engraver's tool. -- The lenguage is Sanskrit ; and the whole record is in prose, except for five verses in lines 18-23, and 27-31, and one of the customary benedictive verses in line 38. The formal part of the record, as far as the end of line 26, agrees almost word for word with the corresponding portion of No. 178. In line 37, the word gali-vanra, or possibly gali-vandha, requires explanation. - In respect of orthography, the only points that call for notice are (1) the use of the dental nasal, instead of the anusvára, before s, in trinsatam, lines 13 and 17; and in vinsati, line 15; (2) the repetition of bh, instead of its doubling by b, after r, in childimanér-bhbhagavatô, line 4; and (3) the use of v for b throughout, e.g. in éavda, line 5; samupalavdha, line 6; avdakán, line 9; ámvuja, line 22; and kutumván, line 26.

This inscription is another record of king Anantavarman, otherwise called Chôdagangadêva, of the later Ganga dynasty of Kalinga; and, as in the case of No. 178, the charter recorded in it, is issued from the city of Kalinganagara. It is non-sectarian; the object of it being to record the grant of the village of Sumuda, with its hamlet, in the Sammag or Sammaga vishaya and in the Kalinga dêsa, to a person named Chôdaganga, evidently a name-sake of the king.

In lines 20 to 23, we have the same verse that occurs in Nos. 178 and 179 above, giving the date of the accession of Anantavarma-Ohôdagangadêva. And line 32 f. gives the actual date of the grant itself, which, without full details for calculation, is in the month of Vrišchika, i.e. in the solar month Mârgasîrsha, in Saka-Samvat 1057, expressed in numerical words. Here, again, the given year is not distinctly specified, either as current or as expired. As an expired year,<sup>1</sup> it is equivalent to A.D. 1135-36.

# TEXT.3

# First Plate.

- 1 Om Svasti Srimatâm-akhila-bhuvana-vinuta-naya-vinaya-dâya<sup>3</sup>-dâna-dâkshinya-satyaśaucha-śau-
- 2 ryya-dhairyy-ådi-guņa-ratna-pavitrå(tra)kiņām=Åtrôya-gôtrāņām vimala-viyâ(châ)râchāra-puņya-salila-
- 3 prakshâlita-Kalikâla-kalmasha-mashinâm mahâ-**Mahêndr-âohala-**sikhara-pratishthitasya sachar-âchara-gu-
- 4 rôh sakala-bhuvana-nirmmâņ-aika-sātradhārasya sasāņka-chūdāmaņi(ņē)r=bhbha(bbha)gavatō Gökarņņasvāmi-
- 5 nah 14 prasâdât-samâsâdit-aikaśańkha-bhêrî-pañchamahâśavda(bda)-dhavalach[chh#]atrahêmachâmara-varavrisha-
- 6 bhalâñcha(ñchha)na-samuj[j<sup>‡</sup>]vala-samasta-sâmrâjya-mahimnâm=anêka-samara-sanga(ngha)tta-samu(mn)palavdha(bdha)-vi-
- 7 jayalakshmi-samálingit-ôt[t\*]unga-bhujadanda-manditânâm 1<sup>5</sup> Trikalinga-mahibhujâm 1<sup>6</sup> Ga-
- 8 nganam=anvayam=alankarishnôr=Vvishnôr=iva vikram-äkrânta-dharâmandalasya Gunama(ma)harnna-
- 9 va-mâ(ma)hârâjasya putrah !? śrî-Vajrahastadêvat-chatuś-chatvârimśatam-avda(bda)kân kshitim-arakshît
- 10 || Tat-tanayô Gundama-râjâ(jô) varsha-trayam=apâlayat [!|\*] Tad=anu tad-anujah Kêmârnnavadêvah pa-
- 11 ñcha-triméad-varshâni 11 Tasy=ânujô Vinayâdityah samâs=tisrah 1(11) Tata[h\*] Kâmārņņava-
- 12 tanayô Vajrahasta[h\*] yô mada-galita-galân=gajâna(n) sahasram=artthibhyah samadât=sa

#### Second Plate ; First Side.

- 13 pañcha-trinśa(mśa)tam=avda(bda)kân II Tatas=tad-agra-sûnuh Kâmārnna(ruus)vadêvô= rddha-samâm II
- 14 Tatas=tad-anû(nu)jô Gtû(gu)nda-mahîpatis<sup>9</sup>=trîni va[r<sup>a</sup>]shâņi H Tad-anû(nu)jaś=cha dvaimâturah KAma-
- 15 [r\*]ppava êk-û(ô)na-vinśa(mśa)ti-varshâņi !! Tatas-tu Kâmâ[r\*]ppavad-Vaidumv-\* ânvava-samudbhavâyâm
- 16 Vinayamahadévyam játah éri-Vajrahastadévő [yő\*] divah patantam-atibhíshana-

<sup>1</sup> On the analogy of the results for the dates in No. 178 above.

<sup>\*</sup> See page 163 above, note 11.

<sup>\*</sup> See page 168 above, note 13.

_	JUNE, 1889.
17	m=aśaniṁ śastry⇒âbhi <sup>10</sup> jaghâna sa <sup>11</sup> trayas-trinśa(ṁśa)tam=adva(bda)kân=avanim= apâlayat I(II)
18	Tatas <sup>12</sup> =tu tasy=âtmabhavô=ri-marddanas=sa Râjarâja-kshitipah kshitim samâh
19	arakshad=ashtau Varun-âlay-âmva(ba)râ[m*] nidhîr=gunânâm Nidhipâla-sannibhah   Tatô <sup>13</sup> Bâjôm-
20	drachôlasya tanayâ Bâjasundarî râjñas=tasy=âgra-mahishî satî sutam=asûyata   Bâ-
21	k <sup>14</sup> -ávdé(bdé) nanda-ranta(ndhra)-grahagana-ganité Kumbha-samsthé dinésé suklé pakshé tritiyam <sup>16</sup> -yuji
22	Ravija-dinė Rėvati-bhė Nriyugmė lagnė Gang-anvavay-amvu(bu)ja-vana-dinakrid= višva-višvambha-
	Second Plate; Second Side.
2 <b>3</b>	râyâś=chakram samrakshitum sad-guņa-nidhir=adhika (pa)ś=Chôdagangô=bhishiktah    Kalinga-naga-
24	råt=paramamâhĉśvaraḥ paramabhaț[ț*]âraka-mahârâjâdhirâja-Trikalingâdhipati[ḥ*] śrîmad-Ana-
<b>2</b> 5	ntavarmmā Chôdagangadāvah kušali i samast-āmātya-pramukba-janapadān <del>.</del> Sammag <sup>18</sup> -visha-
26	ya-våsinah kutumvân <sup>17</sup> =sarvân=samåhûya ittham=âjñâpayati [1*] Vidi[ta*]m=astu bhavatâm !
27	Śriman <sup>18</sup> Permâdirâja dvishad-avanibhritâm śôņit-âmbhah kavôshņam tîvr- ôdanyasya pâtum sa-
<b>2</b> 8	mara-bhuvi bhavat-tikshņa-kôshêshakasya <sup>19</sup> ; dhârâm=ullaṃghya gamtu[m*] ripu- narapatayah kê
29	samarthâ vadadhvam <sup>20</sup> =majjanty=atr=aiva tûrnna(rṇṇa)m ripu-va(ba)la-vipina- prauda(dha)-kâmtâra-vahnê    Bhâry <sup>21</sup> =âpi
30	yâ tasya [sa*]majña(?)-rûpâ sat-putra-sûr=Mâmkama-nâmadhêyâ putras=tayôs=sad- guņavritta-sâlî śrî-Chô-
31	dagangah prathit-ôru-śauryah 11 Tasmai Chôdagangây=âsmâkam=âpta-kri(kri)yâya Kalimga-dêśê 1 <sup>22</sup>
32	Sammaga-vishayê Sumuda-nâma-grâmas=Tittillimgi <sup>23</sup> -nâma-vâțakam grâmaś=ch= âsît [1*] śr[î*]-Sak-âvdê(bdê)-
33	shu muni-sa(82)rə-viyach-chha(cha)mdra-ganitəshu Vrischika-müsə sa-jala- sthalas=sarva-pida-vivarjitam=à-chamdr-ârka-[sa*]mu-
34	pabhôgînam=mâtâpitrôr=âtmanaś=cha puņya-yaśô-bhi[vri*]ddhayê dhârâ-pûrvvakam= asmâbhir=datta iti ll
	Third Plate.
35	Asya grâmasya sîmâ-lingâni likhyantê 11 Pûrvvatah Vengim-vilva-sêtu[h*] âgnê[ya*]tah Go-
36	nga-râpi <sup>34</sup> ( tatô <b>Pommikeņda</b> ( dakshiņi(ņa)tah trikûţa-vana-râji-sêtuh ) pašchima- tah kêsa(śa)-va(ba)dara-sê-

<sup>12</sup> Metre, Vamáastha.

- <sup>12</sup> Metre, valuesourse
   <sup>15</sup> Read Witten, Stagdharå.
   <sup>16</sup> In line 32 below, this name is written Sammagn.
   <sup>17</sup> A lastembings.
   <sup>18</sup> Metre, Sragdharå.
   <sup>19</sup> Metre, Sragdharå.
- 18 Bead kaukshéyakasya. I owe this emendation, without which the verse was unintelligible, to Prof. Kielhorn. <sup>22</sup> Metre, Indravajrå.
- 29 Read vada tvath, or vadarva. <sup>23</sup> This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.
- Dr perhaps the text is gramo-sh trillingi.
  Read ganga-vapt ; see line 89.

- 37 tuh 1 uttaratah Ganga(i)-raņa-gali-vanrah<sup>35</sup> 1 iśânyatah vana-trikûța<sup>26</sup>-vața-namdivriksha-sahita-sê-
- 38 tuh 11 Va(ba)hubhir<sup>27</sup>=vvasuddhâ dattâ râjabhis=Sagar-âdibhih 1 yasya yasya yadâ bhûmis=tasya tasya tadâ pa(pha)lam 11
  - Mahâdêvi(vi)-taţâk-âbhyantara-Gang-[â\*]khya-vâpi(pî) 🛛

#### ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

Of the Mahárája Gunamaharnava (II.) (line 8), who adorned the family of the Gangas (1. 7), — who are of the Åtråya götra (1. 2); who, through the favour of the divine Gökarnasvämin (1. 4), established on the summit of the great mountain Mahândra (1. 3), who is the father of all things animate and inanimate, and the sole architect for the construction of the universe (1. 4), possess all the greatness of complete sovereignty resplendent with the single conch-shell, the kettle-drum, the pañchamahásabda, the white umbrella, the golden chámara, and the excellent orest of a bull (vrishabha-láñchhana) (1. 6); and who are the kings of (the country of) Trikalinga (1. 7), — the son, the illustrious Vajrahastadeva (III.) (1. 9), protected the earth for forty-four years.

His son, king Gundama (I.) (l. 10), governed it for three years. After that, his younger brother, Kamarnavadeva (IV.), for thirty-five years. And his younger brother, Vinayaditya (1. 11), for three years. Then Vajrahasta (IV.) (1. 12), the son of Kamarnava (IV.), reigned for thirty-five years; he presented to applicants a thousand elephants whose throats were trickling with rut. Then his eldest son, Kamarnavadeva (V.) (l. 13), reigned for half a year. Then his younger brother, king Gunda (Gundama II.)<sup>29</sup> (l. 14), for three years. And then his maternal half-brother, Kamarnava (VI.), for nineteen years. Then to Kamarnava (VI.), from Vinayamahadévi, who was born in the Vaidumva<sup>29</sup> family, there was born Vajrahasta (V.) (1, 16), who struck back, with his sword, a most terrible thunderbolt, as it fell; he reigned for thirty-three years. Then his son, king Bajaraja (l. 18), reigned for eight years. His chief aneen (agramahishi) was Rajasundari (l. 20), the daughter of Rajandrachois. And she bore him a son, king Chodaganga (1. 23), the sun of the collection of water-lilies which is the Ganga family (1.22), who was anointed king in the Saka year (1. 21) that is numbered by the Nandas (nine), the apertures of the body (nine), and the planets (nine), when the sun was standing with Kumbha, in the bright fortnight, on Saturday, joined with the third lunar day, under the Bévati nakshatra, and during the Nriyugma lagna.

From the city of Kalinganagara (l. 23), he, the most devout worshipper of the god Mahêśvara, the Paramabhattâraka, the Mahârájádhirája, the supreme lord of Trikalinga (l. 24), the glorious Anantavarman, (otherwise called) Chôdagangadêva (l. 25), being in good health, having called together all the cultivators, headed by the Amátyas, in the Sammag vishaya, issues a command :--

"Be it known to you (1.26):<sup>30</sup> — 'O illustrious Permâdirâja (1.27),<sup>31</sup> what hostile kings are able to cross the stream that is the edge of thy sharp sword, when in the battle-field it is eagerly thirsting to drink the tepid water which is the blood of inimical princes? say thou, (since none other can answer the question): straightway they are drowned in it, O thou mighty

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> In Monier-Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary, vance is given as meaning 'a co-partner, a co-heir.' Here, however, it may perhaps be a mistake for vandha, i.e. bandha. The preceding two syllables, gali, may perhaps represent the Kanarese kali, 'a valiant man, a here.'

<sup>\*</sup> Here we should probably read triketa-yana, as in the preceding line.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Metre, Slôka (Anushtubh).

<sup>23</sup> See page 163 above, note 11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> See page 163 above, note 13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> The proper context is "to him, Our trusty agent, Chôdaganga," &o., in line 31. The intervening matter is by way of a parenthesis, introducing the grantee, and giving his parentage.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> The Western Châlukya king Vikramâditya VI., whose reign ended only about ten years before the time of this grant, had the name of Permådi; but he does not seem to be the person mentioned in this parenthetical verse. At any rate, the name of Mähkamadêvî does not occur in the list of his known wives, who were seven in number (Dynastics of the Kanarese Districts, p. 49 f.)

forest-fire for (consuming) the thicket that is the forces of (thy) enemies | '32 His (Permådirâja's) wife was she who had the name of Māškams- (l. 30).43 And their son is the illustrious Chôdaganga (l. 31). To him, Our trusty agent,34 Chôdaganga, the village named Sumuda (1. 32), with the hamlet named Tittilingi,35 in the Sammaga vishays in the Kalinga deta, has been given by Us, for the increase of the religious merit and fame of Our parents and of Ourself, in the Saks year (1. 33) that is numbered by the Sages (seven), the arrows (of Kamadeva) (five), the sky (nonght), and the moon (one), in the month of Vrischika; including all the water and dry land, free from all restrictions, and to be enjoyed as long as the moon and sun may endure."

The boundaries of this village (1.35) are :- On the east, the bridge or causeway (setu) called Vengimvilvasetu ; on the south-east, the irrigation-well called Gangavap?, and then (the village of) Dommikenda; on the south, the bridge or causeway running along by the wood called Trikûtavana; on the west, the bridge or causeway of the késa and badara-plants; on the north, fig-tree and a nandri-tree of the wood called Trikûtavana (?) (1.37).

Line 38 contains one of the customary benedictive verses. And the record ends with the statement, in line 39, that the irrigation-well called Gaigavapi, spoken of in line 35-36, is in the interior of the tank called Mahadévi-tataka.

# SOME FURTHER CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY OF GUJARAT.

BY G. BÜHLER, PR.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

## Kåyåvatåra.

In my article on the Bagumrå grant of Dadda II., ante, Vol. XVII. p. 193, note 36, I objected to Dr. Bhagvanlal Indraji's identification of Kayavatara with Kavi, because the latter town is called Kapika in the Rather inscription of Govinda IV. I was, however, unable to offer a definite counter-proposal. I think I can now make up the deficiency, and show that Kayavatara is probably the modern Karvan, a large village situated at the junction of the B. B. and C. I. and Dabhôi Railways in lat. 22° 3' N. and long. 73° 10' E. According to the Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. VIII. pp. 550-551, it is an ancient place of great sanctity, famous for its Saiva temples. The local Måhåtmya, the legends of which look modern and apocryphal, still retains the tradition that the name of the village is connected with Kåya. It asserts that Kårvån is derived from Kåyavirðhan or Kåyårahun (p. 19). Philological reasons make it impossible to agree with these derivations. But it is very possible that the first syllable of the word Kår-vån represents Kåyävatåra. For in Pråkrit the latter would became Kååvaåra, which in Gujaráti must be contracted to Kâvâr, and, on the analogy of Vatapadra-Vardia, Râivaka-Râyâ(mâla), and so forth, might even become Kâr. The termination van has probably to be taken as the adjectival affix corresponding to Sanskrit sat. The whole name would thus mean '(the village) possessing the Kâya-manifestation.' Now this appellation would suit particularly well, because in Kârvân the chief deity is Brahméśvara-Mahâdêva, which might also be called Kayéávara, because Ka and Brahman are synonyms. An ancient linga, which, as the Gasetteer states, was found some years ago, shows how the name Brahmêśvara arose. Its front part is "shaped into an image of Brahman with a small Vishnu on its head." I may add that Karvan is not very distant from the village of Sâmrî where Jayabhata IV. granted a field while encamped at Kâyâvatâra.

<sup>55</sup> In giving me the emendation which cleared up the meaning of this verse, Frot. Rielhorn has address the following analogous verse by Hémachandra: — Mülaraj-Sai-dhårsyssin nimagnå yé mahibhujah ; Unmajjantö vilökyanté svarga-Gangé-jaléshu té H
 <sup>53</sup> Owing to the construction of the text, this name has a masouline termination. Her real name may be taken either as Maùkamadêri (Sanskrit), or Mahkanma (Kanarese).
 <sup>54</sup> Apta-kriya; compare dota-kdrin, in Monisr-Williams' Sanskrit Diotionary.
 <sup>55</sup> Or perhaps Trillingi; see note 28 above.
 <sup>56</sup> The meaning of gonga-rang-goli-vanca, line 37, is not apparent.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> In giving me the emendation which cleared up the meaning of this verse, Prof. Kielhorn has adduced the

# The villages mentioned in the Chaulukya grant No. 4.

The Chaulukya grant No. 4, ante, Vol. VI. p. 197, plate II. II. 3-4, disposes of two objects, (1) of the village of Sampavada in the Varvvi (read Vardhi) Pathaka, (2) of the piece of land "out of the middle of the village at Sêshadêvati, (but) belonging to the village of Dôdiyâpâţaka in the Gambhûtâ Pathaka" (tathá Gambhûtápathaké Séshadévatigrámamadhyát Dódiyâpâţakasatkabhámikhanada 1. The following lines 6-11 describe the boundaries of the village and of the piece of land. A comparison of their contents with the actualities on No. 77 of the Trigonometrical Survey Map, Gujarât Series, yields the following results :--

rvey map, oujante corres, freids the remember ing re-	
According to the inscription.	According to the map.
(1) Sâmpâvâdâ,	Såmpawårå $\begin{cases} lat. 23^{\circ} 33' N. \\ long. 72^{\circ} 3' E. \end{cases}$
bounded east by Séshadévata	o
	f Phêchari.
" south { Phîmchadî Hâmsalapura	[Hassipur [Viramgåm Tâlukå].
, west [names lost]	•
r Bâņêlôya	í °
" north / Khâmbhula	Khambêl. Âdiyûrâ.
" north { Râņêlôya Khâmbhila Ádhiyâvâdâ	LÂdivâră.
(2) Land in Seshadêvati	<b>O</b>
belonging to <b>Pôdiy</b> åpåtaka	Dôriwâr4 { lat. 23°, 32', N. long. 72° 5' E.
c Ițilå <sup>1</sup>	/ India.
bounded east by Kålhari	Kålri.
<b>V</b> ahichara	Bechar [Map No. 78].
" sonth Phinchadi	Phêchari.
,, west Bhattåraka-Séshadévatá	́о
,, north Dôdiyâpâtaka	Dôriwârâ.
	1 - 1 - 1 + + + + - + + + +

Though the Trigonometrical Survey Map does not give the names of Seshadevati and Seshadêvatâ, it still indicates their sites. For it marks about a mile south of Dôriwârâ a nameless temple near a tank. This is the Séshadêvatà of our grant, as may be recognised from the two statements, 1st, that it lay east of Sâmpawârâ ; 2nd, that it lay west of the land in Sashadêvati, which itself lay south of Dôriwârâ. Sêshadêvati was, of course, a hamlet built close to the temple and lay just east of it. The grantees of the village and the piece of land were according to the grant, loc. cit. Il. 5-6, the temples of Analésvara and of Salakhanésvara in Salakhanapura. The latter village is without a doubt the modern Sankhalpur in lat. 23° 2' N. and long. 72° 4' E. As happens frequently in Gujarâtî words, two letters in this case, n and l have been transposed. As regards the districts named, the Vardhi Pathaka is the modern Vadhiar (vriddhikara) which according to popular usage is the name for the eastern coast of the Ran of Kachh, and comprises parta of the Vîramgâm Tâlukâ, of the Gaikôvâdî division of Kadi and of Râdhanpur. Our inscription shows that Sâmpâvâdă-Sâmpawâră lay on its eastern boundary. For Dôdiyâpâțaka, Döriwara and Seshadevati immediately to the east of Sampavada belonged to the Gambhuta Pathaka. The latter, therefore, corresponded with the eastern portion of the Vadavli sub-division of the Kadi district. According to the colophon of MS. 13, described in Prof. Kielhorn's-Report of 1880-81, App. p. 11, it was a rather large district, containing one hundred and forty-four. villages (Gambhütáchatuśchatvárinsachhatapathaké). If the village Châharapalli mentioned there, is identical with Chârol<sup>s</sup> in lat. 23° 24' N. and long. 72° 14' E. (Trig. Survey Map. Guj. Ser. No. 78), it extended chiefly southwards. Its name appears to be derived from a village or town called Gambhûtâ, which is identical with the modern Gambhu, just south-east of Vádávli in lat, 23° 36' N. and long 72° 14' E. The names correspond exactly according to the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This is a mis-spalling for Indilå, which form occurs in grant No. 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The names agree exactly, but there may have been another Chirol which has disappeared.

principles of Gujaråti phonetics, and it is still a considerable place with 1813 inhabitants according to the Trig. Surv. Map. This Gambhûtâ-Gâmbhu is, of course, the place where Silânkāchārya wrote his *Achārdāgaļikā*, ante, Vol. XV. p. 188. Mr. Fleet's suggestion, *loc. cit.*, that Gambhûtâ might possibly be Cambay, appears to me untenable also for other reasons. For the word Gambhûtâ can never be corrupted to Cambay. Moreover, the correct name of Cambay is Khambhâyat; and the Prâkrit form is Khambhaittha, derived from Skambhatîrtha. The latter is a synonym for Stambhatirtha, the usual Sanskrit name of Cambay in the Prabandhas and the inscriptions.

## The villages mentioned in the Chaulukya grant No. 10.

In the Chaulukya grant No. 10, ante, Vol. VI. p. 208ff., Tribhuvanapåla presents to the Sattrágára in the Talapada of Mâûla,<sup>3</sup> (1), the village of Bhâmshara in the Vishaya Pathaka (plate I. l. 13); and (2), the village of Bâjapuri in the Daṇḍàhî Pathaka (plate I. l. 13). The boundaries of the two villages are described with great accuracy on plate II. 11 3-9. Nearly all the places named there are found on Nos. 76 and 78 of the Trig. Survey Map, Gujarât Series. A comparison of the statements in the inscription with the actualities on the maps, gives the following results :--

According to the inscription.	According to the map No. 76.
(1) Bháinshara	Bhâkhar { lat. 23° 51' N. long, 72° 28' E.
bounded east by { Kurali	{ o
Dissyajs	Dâsaj
" south { Kurali	{ o
Tribha	{ Tarabh
" west { Arathaura	{ Aithôr#
Umjhâ	{ Unjha
,, north Dâsayaja	Unjha Z Dâsaj
L Kâmbalî	Kâmbli [actually north]
(2) Râjapuri	$\begin{array}{c} {\rm Rajapur} & \left\{ {\begin{array}{*{20}c} {{\rm lat};23^{\rm b}\;19'\;{\rm N},} \\ {{\rm long};72^{\rm o}26'{\rm E},} \end{array} \right\} & {\rm Map} \\ \end{array} \\ \end{array}$
bounded east by { Kûlâva[sáṇa]	[ Jhulâsan [Map No. 6].
Dâmgarauâ	[ Dûngarwa
,, sonth-east { Chamdâvasaņa	{ Char <b>èsan</b>
Indrâvada	Idarâd
" sonth Áhîrâņâ	Irânâ
" west { Sirasâvi	{ Sarsâð
Namdâvasana	{ Nandâsan
,, north-west { Umtaûyâ	{ Utwa
Sirasâyi	Sarsâô
,, north Namdâvasaņa	Nandâsan
north-east Knîyala	Kiði.

I may add that Kurali probably exists. The map, No. 4, on which it ought to stand, is at present not accessible to me. I suspect that there is a mistake in one of the two names, Küläva-[sana] and Jhulåsan, which do not properly correspond. Possibly the sign on the inscription has been misread. In Kuiyala-Kiël, the transposition of the second and third letters onght to be noted.

The results show that the Vishaya Pathaka included the districts south-east of Sidlipur, and the Damdahi Pathaka those east of Kadi. The meaning of the first name is clear; that of the second I am unable to explain.

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# SIRPUR STONE INSCRIPTION OF SIVAGUPTA.

# BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

This inscription, which, at Mr. Fleet's request, I edit from rubbings supplied by General Sir A. Canningham, was discovered in 1874 by Mr. Beglar,<sup>1</sup> at a temple of the village of Sirpur, - or Sripura, as it is called in the inscription itself, - about forty miles east by north from Râypur, in the Central Provinces; and an account of it, accompanied by a photo-zincograph,<sup>2</sup> was given by Sir A. Cunningham, in Archaeol. Survey of India, Vol. XVII. pp. 25-26, and Plate xviii. A. When first discovered, and when the rubbings were taken, it was complete; according to Sir A. Cunningham, in 1881 the upper proper right corner of the stone had subsequently peeled off, carrying away the beginning of each of the first three lines.

The inscription contains 17 lines. The writing covers a space of about  $13\frac{17}{3}$  broad by 142" high, and was, at the time when the rabbings were taken, in a fair state of preservation; Judging from the rubbings, about ten aksharas were even then almost completely effaced; but every one of these can be readily supplied, so that the actual reading of the inscription, in my opinion, does not admit of any doubt whatever. The size of the letters is between #" and #" The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets ; they resemble those of the Ghôsrâwâ inscription, of which a photo-lithograph is given ante, Vol. XVII. p. 310, and may be referred to about the eighth or ninth century A. D. The language is Sanskrit; and, excepting the introductory on namah Sivaya, the inscription, composed by Krishnanandin, the son of Devanandin, is in verse. In respect of orthography, I have only to note that b throughout is denoted by the sign for v.

The proper object of the inscription is, to record that two persons, named Någadêva and Kéśava, subjects of a prince Sivagupta, assigned certain funds for providing garlands of flowers for the worship of Siva at the town of Sripura. And, by way of introduction, it is stated that Sivagupta, also styled Bálárjana, was a son of Harshagupta, the son of Chandragupta, who was a son of Nannadêva, also called Nannêśvara, the son of Indrabala, who was a son of the prince Udayana, of the family of Sasadhara, 'the Moon,' i.e. of the lunar race; not, as has been stated elsewhere, in consequence of a misreading, 'of the race of Savaras' or 'of the Savara lineage.' Considering the promise given by Mr. Fleet in Corpus Inscr. Ind. Vol. III. p. 294, I will only state here that, of these princes, Indrabala and Nannadeva are clearly the two chieftains who are mentioned in line 16 of the Rajim Copper-plate Inscription of Tivaradêva, ib. p. 295.

The inscription is not dated, but it may, as intimated above, on palæographical grounds, be referred to the eighth or ninth century A.D. And this, too, is the time to which, on the grounds of language and style, I would assign the copper-plate grant of Tivaradêva. I am, at any rate, convinced that neither inscription can be older than A.D. 700.

In Archael. Survey of India, Vol. XVII. Plates aviii, B., and xix. C.D., Sir A. Cunningham, has given photo-zincographic copies of three other (fragmentary) inscriptions from Sirpar, the characters of which closely resemble those of the present inscription, and which also are undated. Of these, the inscription B. has the name of Sivagupta in line 11; and C., the name of Harshagupta, which was followed by that of his son Si[vagupta], in line 4, and also the name of Sripuri, in line 8; as has been pointed out already by Sir A. Canningham. I cannot attempt to edit these inscriptions from the published photo-zincographs.

#### TEXT.3

vushmån=ka[ntha]-mêchaka-rôchishâ ( Pâyâd<sup>e</sup>=âlingitâ 1 Om4 namah Sivâya II Sambhô[ r=bha]6-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Archeol. Survey of India, Vol. VII. p. 169.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> This photo-zincograph appears to have been taken from a rubbing so much touched up by hand that some of the letters are quite disfigured and spoilt; notably, at the end of line 2, the first sa of sasadhar-dawayah. It is a matter for regret that the rubbings before me are not suitable for photo-lithography.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Metre, Slöka (Anushtubh); here, and throughout. • From the rubbings. 4 Expressed by a symbol.

- 2 sm-ângarâgasya chchhâyâ-kri[shnâ ta]<sup>6</sup>nu-chchhavilı II Âsîd=Udayanô nâma nripalı [**3a**]<sup>7</sup>-
- 3 sadhar-anvayah i abhûd=Valabhidâ tulyas=tasmâd#Indrava(ba)lô va(ba)lî ii Tatah árî-
- 4 Nannadêvô=bhûd=abhimâna-mahôdayah | pûrnnâm Nannêsvar-âkhyô yaź=chakâr= ô[r]vv[îm Si ?]-
- vàlayaih II Chandraguptô bhuvô gốptâ tasya jajữê ant-ôttamah I tata[h] 6 árl- Harshaguptô=bhûj=ja[gad-dha]<sup>9</sup>rsha-niva(ba)ndhana[m] II Tasy=âjanisht=ôshtaranah

dhanur-vvijnåna-mukhyð khyâtô Vâ(bâ)lâ-7 Sivaguptô mahipatih | **ya**ի ։ rjun-åkhyayâ li kritvå kara-sangin[îm] | Syâmâm=asi-latân samkhyð yah 8 nirjjitya matta-matanga-mauktikaih II nirjjitya 9 priyâm=iv=âlankurutô Yasya sáyakaih I râjakam≠iva strainam=arppayati 10 su-bhritya [vyu]tthitam iva Kêśavaś=cha dvij-ôttamah | Smarah 11 bhritya-[vi]śêshô-sti Nâgadêvô 11 Tasya grihikal-ôdagrô vyagrah sukrita karmmabhih († Tâbhyâm sambhûya sâdhubhyâm 12 saryva-Sripura-vasibhyð målikébhyas=Trisúliné II Kri-13 två vitta-vistaraih [tana]<sup>9</sup>-kilvisha-vighnäya kasht-åpat-pratighåtinë i purusha-pramänam dattam [ku]su-14 ma srak-sha(cha)tushtaya[m] H Étad=å médini-nááid=åmôd-ônmada-shatpadam I astu 15 Srikanihasy=årchchanå-kritå [N] Praśastim=atanôd=êtâm vaidya-16 shatpada-kanthasya naya-praņaya-kêtanam li árí Krishnanandi tanayô 17 árl-Dévanandinah |

#### TRANSLATION.

## Om ! Adoration to Siva !

(L. 1.)-May the hue of the body of Sambhu, who covers himself with ashes, guard you,-which is darkened as it were by a shadow, encircled as it is by the dark-blue lustre of (his) neck !

(L. 2.)—There was, of the family of the Moon, a prince named Udayana. From him sprang the mighty Indrabala, equal to the destroyer<sup>10</sup> of Vala. From him sprang the illustrious Nannadêva, the possessor<sup>11</sup> of self-reliance; who, called 'Nanna, the lord, '<sup>12</sup> filled the earth with 'temples of (the lord) 'Siva. As his most excellent son, there was born Chandragupta, a protector of the earth; (and) from him sprang the illustrious Harshagupta, a cause of joy to the world. To him was born the lord of the earth, Sivagupta, fond of war; who, foremost in the knowledge of the bow, is famous under the appellation of Balarjuna;<sup>13</sup> who in battle, holding the dusky creeper-like sword in his band, decorates it, like a mistress, with the pearls (struck out of the frontal globes) of infuriated elephants; (and) to whom the god of love, like a good adherent, hands over the women-folk, having repeatedly conquered them with (his) arrows, like unto the lawless kings (subdued by his master Sivagupta).

(L. 11.)—His devoted servant is Någadèva, a distinguished twice-born; and Kéśava, highly proficient in the arts (and) zealous in the performance of good deeds. These two good men together have given four garlands of flowers,<sup>14</sup> of the measure of (the height of) a man, to the bearer of the trident,<sup>15</sup> who takes away all sin (and) counteracts misery and misfortune, having obtained them for abundant money from all<sup>16</sup> the gardeners dwelling at Sripura. Until the

<sup>\*</sup> These aksharas are almost completely effaced.

<sup>7</sup> This akshara is faintly visible, but sufficiently clear to enable me to say that it is sa, and bears no recomblance whatever to the *ti* in Sir A. Cunningham's photo-sincograph. The second akshara of the following line, too, is distinctly dha, and cannot possibly be read va (or ba).

<sup>\*</sup> These akeharas are almost completely effaced. \* This akehara is almost completely effaced.

<sup>10</sup> i.e. Indra. Il mahódaya = sedmin, a meaning for which the dictionary has no quotation.

<sup>15</sup> Or Nannésvara. 15 I.e. the young Arjuna ; Arjuna was famous as an archer. 16 In connection with the verse in line 15-16, I understand this to mean that they provided funds for always

decorating the idol of Siva with four garlands, or made a payment to that effect to the gardeners of Sripurs. <sup>16</sup> i.e. Siva. <sup>16</sup> I take the word save of the text to refer to mdlikebhyas.

destruction of the earth, may these (garlands), the fragrance of which intoxicates the bees, serve for the worship of Srikantha, whose neck is (black) like a bee !

(L. 16.) — The illustrious Krishaanandin, a home of prudence and kindness, the son of the illustrious Dêvanandin, the physician,<sup>17</sup> has composed this eulogy.

# WEBER'S SACRED LITERATURE OF THE JAINS.

#### TEANSLATED BY DR. HERBERT WEIR SMYTH.

#### (Continued from Vol. XVII. p. 345).

7. kusîlaparibhâsiyam <sup>o</sup>bhâsâ V, kusîlaparibhâshâ, with 30 vv. ; sarvê jîvâh sukhaishinah.

8. vîriyam with 26 vv.; of bâla and of panadiya; in v. 25 buddhâh in a good sense = jnâtatattvâs.

9. dhammő with 36 vv.; in v. 1 máhanéna maïmayá, bráhmanéna matimatá referred by the Schol, to Vira. It concludes : gôraváni ya savváni nivvánam sandhaé<sup>1</sup> muni tti bémi [264].

10. samåhî, samådhi, with 24 vv.; it concludes: nő jiviam nő maraná 'bhikamkhi charejjá bhikkhú valagá vimukko tti bémi; in place of valagá we find in 12,22, 13,33, where the same conclusion recurs: valayâ, and in the schol. valayam is explained by bhávavalayam, máyá, samsårah. If this reading is correct, perhaps Vêdic valaga might be thought of.<sup>2</sup>

11. maggô, márga, with 36 vv.; in v. 1 máhanéna matimatá as in 9, 1.

12. samósaranam, samava<sup>o</sup>, with 22 vv.; kumárgatyágah; four samavasaranáni paratirthikábhyupagamasamúharúpáni, i.e. the 180 kiriyávái etc. (see p. 259, 266).

13. ahataham, yathâtatham (hence by the ampliative ika or ya also): áhattahié, âhittihiê, áhattahijjam; avitaha (Âv.), with 23 vv.; samyakcharitram.

14. gamtha (gamdhô V), grantha, with 27 vv.; gramtham dhanúdikam tyaktvá. . .

15. jam-alam, yam atltam (according to the opening words), or ddaniyam; with 25 vv.

16. gâhă or gâthâshôdaśakam;<sup>3</sup> despite this name, a prose explanation of the names mâhaņa, samaņa, bhikkhu, niggamtha and their identical signification (ékártha).

# b. Second brutaskandha.

1. pumdariê, <sup>a</sup>riyam  $\nabla$ , pundarika.<sup>4</sup> Comparison of the bhikkhu with a lotus flower in the middle of a pond; it begins (see above, p. 248): suam mê dusam, tênam bhagavayd [265] évam akkhûyam: iha khalu pondariya nûmam ajjhayanê, tassa nam ayam atthé pannatté. This introductory formula, the second part of which occurs again in anga 6 et seq., is repeated with corresponding modification in ajjh. 2-4. All four ajjh. are in prose.

2. kiriyathaqam, of the 12 or 13 kriyasthana.

3. áháraparinnâ, °parijñå. In the schol. a variant of the scholars of Någårjuna is adduced with the words Någårjun1(yå)s tu pathamti. *Någajjunavåyaga*, or °*nåyaria*, °*narisi*, is mentioned with great honour in the opening of the *Nandi* and of the Åv, in the list of teachers v. 39, 40, 45, and in fact as separated by three gradations merely — Bhûadinna, Lôhichcha and Důsagani — from the author himself, whom the scholiast calls Dôvavâchaka == Dôvarddhigani, Jacobi, *Kalpas*. p. 15n.

4. pachchakkhâņakíriyā, pratyākbyānakriyā.

5. in S. Av.  $\nabla$ . anagâram (°rasuya S.); here however correctly anâyârasutam, anâchâraśrutam, in 34 vv.; it opens as follows : âdâya bambhachêram cha âsupannê (âśuprajñah panditah) imam charam | assim (asmin) dhammê anâyâram n'âyareyyâ kayâ i vi ||

6. Addaijjam, Årdrakiyam, in 55 vv. A sermon of Årdraka, the son of a merchant who, according to the scholiast, from the sight of a picture of Jina sent to him as a debt of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Or, simply, 'the learned.' <sup>1</sup> môkshain samdadhyst.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> of also the manner of death valayamayakam up. 1.70, "death by magic arts?" Little can be made out of the commentaries. See the excellent glossary of Leumann which reaches me, May 1883, while these sheets are in the press.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> gátháshódasákhyam shódasam adhyayanam. In V.: gáhásólasagó námagaó.

gratitude by Abhayakumâra (the son of the king Srênika of Râjagriha), obtained jätismaranam and turned to pravrajya so as to receive the pratyekabuddha dignity, etc. The sermon appears to be addressed to Gôśâla. In the last verse : buddhassa ándé imam samáhun (tattvajňasya árî Wirasya *ájňáyúm .* .), buddha is used directly as a name of Vira [266].

7. Nâlamdaïjjam, °dâ V., Nâlamdiyam,<sup>6</sup> in prose; śrâvakavidhih).<sup>6</sup> Legend of Udaya (Udaka) Pédhâlaputta Mêtajja,<sup>7</sup> a Pâsâvachchijja, Pâršvâpatyîya, i.e. scholar, or follower of Pâráva, whom the bhagavam Goyama (Indrabhûti) leads to Mahâvîra, after he has heard the same from the Kumáravuttiyá (Kumáraputríya), náma samaná niggamthá. Udaya thus<sup>9</sup> leaves the châujjâma dhamma of Pârśva and accepts the pańchamahavvaïyam sapadikkamanań dhammam of Mahávira.

The table of contents in anga 4 (or Nandi) is as follows : - kim tam sûyagadê ?\* sûyagadê nam sasamayâ sûijjamti parasamayâ s. sasamayaparasamayà s., jîvâ s. ajivâ s. jîvâjîvâ s., lôgô s. alôgô s. lôgalôgô s. ;<sup>10</sup> súyagadê nam jîvâjîva<sup>11</sup>-punna-pâv'-âsava-samvara-nijjara-bamdha-môkkhāvasāņā payatthā sūijjamti; samaņāņam achirakālapavvaīyāņam kusamayamôhamatimôhiyânam samdêhajâya-sahajabuddhi-parinâma-samsaīyânam<sup>12</sup> pâvakaramalinamaïgunavisôhanattham, asiyassa kiriyâvâisayassa, chaürâsiê akiriyâvâîņam, sattatthiê annâniyavaîņam, vattisâê vênaiyavâînam, tinham têsatthânam annaditthiya<sup>13</sup> sayânam bûham<sup>14</sup> [267] kichchâ sasamaê thâvijjaï ;15 nênâditthàamta<sup>16</sup> vayana nissâram sutthu darisayamtâ vivihavittharânngamaparamasabbhâva-guņavisitthā môkkhapahôdāragā<sup>17</sup> ndārā annāņatam'amdhakāraduggēsu divabhūyā söpāņā chêva siddhisugaïgharuttamassa<sup>19</sup> nikkhôbhanippakampasuttatthâ.<sup>19</sup>

I have before me the commentary of Harshakula,20 from the Tapágacha. It was composed "varshs 1583," but not after Vira, but after Vikrama, i.e. A.D. 1527.21 The origin of the Tapágacha dates from Vira, 1755.

III. The third angam, thanam sthanam; an enumeration arranged in categories designed for the instruction of the more advanced and in fact for the eighth year of their instruction.22 The categories comprise successively subjects or conceptions conceived as one, two, and so on up to ten. Hence the whole text consists of 10 ajjhayana, which are called ékasthána, dvisthána, etc.; ajjh. 2-4 each contain 4 udd., ajjh. 5 three udd., the rest of the ajjh. have no such sub-division, and exist as égasaráni (V) of one udd. each.

From the miscellaneous contents of this compendium I extract the following : - the nakshatras : addá, chittá, sáti [268] are designated as égatáró, and then the number of the stars of the other nakshatras is enumerated.<sup>31</sup> In an enumeration of the divisions of time in 2, 4 — beginning with avaliya and reaching to sisapahêliya.24 pallovama, súgarôvama, ôsappim, ussappinî - the

12 samdéhajátás obs sahsjabuddhiparinámasaméayitás obs yé. <sup>11</sup> jivåji° to visôhaņattham is omitted by N.

<sup>14</sup> pratikshépam. 12 påsamdiya N. <sup>10</sup> °vijjamiti N.

18 sütram châ'rthas cha niryukti-bhâshya-samgrahanî-vritti-chûrni-pamjikâdirûpa iti sûtrârthan.

2 We have a commentary to the fourth painna by a certain Harshakuśala.

<sup>21</sup> The statements in reference to genealogy at the end are in agreement with Dharmasigara's (Arroivall of the Tapigacha, of the members of which patriarchs 44, 52-57 are mentioned; so that between 53 and 54 a Jaguchchan-dramum is referred to. See KI. p. 257 ab.

⊐ tatra bhavyasya môkshäbbiläshinah sthitagurüpadésasya pråninö, paryäyasyai 'va sütratö 'pi sthänämgam déyam, Abhayadéva ; see above, p. 223, 224. 'shtavarshapramânapravrajyå-

<sup>15</sup> See my treatise on the nakshatras, 2, 381. Ind. Stud. 9, 448. 10, 293. Accord. to the sohol. we have here to do with the kritikk series of Bhag. 1, 373. 441. The names of the nakshatras appear here invariably in their secondary form: chanitha, bhaddavay\$, etc. The name of the ahibudhnys is (2, 3) corrupted into vividdhs (see Ind. Stud. 10, 295).

🛎 A number of 194 places ! tasyšin chaturnavatyadhikain amkasthänaistain bhavati.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Named from Nålandå, a suburb (? båhirikå) of Råjagriha.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> In the preceding 22 ajjh. sådhv-åchårah prarûpitah.

<sup>7</sup> Médáryagótréna schol.; I conjecture that this is a misunderstanding for Mévárya — see above, p. 285. Métaryá is regarded as the tenth scholar of Mahávîra; see Rém. v. 32.

<sup>\*</sup> s. Bhagavati 2, 185 and Jacobi, ante, Vol. IX. p. 160.

süchanät sütram, sütrépa kritam tat sütrakritam.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> In N. we first read lôt alôt, lôyálôt, then jîvâ aj. j. lastly sasamat p. sasamaaparazamat; so also in the following angas. The verb is in each of the pine instances in the plural: stijjamti. The triads: jîvâjîvâ, jîvân (jîvâ ajîvâ jîvâ) lôkô'lôkô lôkah (lôkâlôkah), sat asat sad-asat are assigned specially to the Térásiyas, Trairátika, by Abh. on abga 12, 1.

<sup>17</sup> môkehapathāvatāraka. 18 gribôttannasya. 14 hånå° etc. omitted in N.

yaga is inserted between the year and the century as intermediate gradation and the quinquennial gugam is thereby still used as a means of calculation. On the other hand, we have here the same enormous extension of periods of time, which we find in updaga 6 (Jambuddivapannatti), and in the Anuyogadudrasutra; see Bhagav. 1, 427,25 though the latter works contain some modifications not present here. The existence of the above-mentioned updigs is furthermore recognized directly in 4, 1: chattári pannattiu amgabahiriyáu pam(nattáu), tan (jahá): chamdapannatti, súrapannatti, Jambuddívapannatti, dívaságarapannatti. The three pannattis, which are here mentioned in addition, occur again in 3, 1: tao pannattiu kélénam ahijjaniti, tan : chandapannatti, súrapannatti, divaságarapannatti. Here and in 4. 1, are found the titles of upuaga 7, 5, 6, in 3, 1, those of up. 7, 5; to which in both cases the dizasdo is joined, which, though not an independent member of the Siddhanta, appears however as a section of the third upunga. That we have here to deal with the upungas respectively named so and not merely [269] with homonymous doctrines, is proved by one circumstance especially; that besides the above-mentioned enumeration of the periods of time, the abhijit series of the nakshatras, which belongs to these works, is here already known - see ajjh. 7 near the end.26 And even if the direct mention of updaga texts is in this case doubtful because such mention in the aigas does not occur in the text, but in the insertions at the hand of the redactor, in this case the designation (in 4, 1) of the four texts as anyabdhiriya is so distinct and so points to their actual existence apart from the aigas, that all doubts are put at rest. How far the existing texts of upáiga 7, 5, 6, are meant by this, is, as we shall soon see, still an open question. One circumstance is worthy of note : - the order of names here is different from that of the existing texts; and the fourth name is equivalent merely to a part of the third updigs and not to the updigs itself.

We find in chapter 10 a second and more important statement or mention of texts existing apart from the aigas. In that chapter are specified not merely the names [270] of ten dasúu (i.e., texts containing ten ajjhayanas), but also the names of each of the 10 ajjh. Among these are the names of four angas (7 - 10), references to a fifth (11), and the name of the fourth chhédasátra; the other four names have in our Siddhánta no place whatever (asmúkam apratitáh, Abh. fol. 285a).

At the head stand the kammavivagadasan; by this name the eleventh anga is meant - vivágasuć, vipákaśrutam; it contains, however not merely 10 but 20 ajjh.; and the names adduced here as being those of the ten ajjh. are found only in part in anga 11. Two of them, at least, are exactly the same (1, 4) and three partly so (6-8); so that we cannot gainsay that there is some connection<sup>27</sup> between these dasau and anya 11. The names of the ten ajjk. here are : Miyaputté, 28 Guttasé, 29 amde, 30 Sagade 'ti a varé 31 | mahané, Namdisênê<sup>33</sup> ya, Sorie<sup>33</sup> ya, Udumbarê | sahassuddáé ámalaé<sup>34</sup> kumáré Lêchaî 'ti ya |. It is well to be noted that in aiga 4 (§ 13) too a text entitled kammarivaya is mentioned, [271] though 43 ajjh. are ascribed to it ; and in the Kalpasútra Jinachar. (§ 147) 55 ajjh. are attributed to the pávaphalaviváyáim alone : this was a subject which invited repeated working over !

The titles of aigas 7 - 9 appear as dasau 2 - 4; and complete agreement exists in reference

" Mrigå, wife of Vijaya, king of the city Mrigagrama.

🕫 gås träsitavån iti Götråsô . . idam éva chû 'jjhitaka námnä Vipäkaśrute ujjhitakam uchyatě. 38 of. anga 6, 1, 5,; kukkuisdyanékavidhámdakabhûmdavyavahárinő . .; Vipákasruté chá bhaggaséna ill 'dam adhyayanam uchyaté.

32 Vipákaśruté cha Namdivardhanah śrůyaté. 33 Saurika.

According to Leumann's communication this occurs also in aiga 5,5,1. 6,7, 25, 5,

According to Leumann s communication this occurs also in maga 5,0,1. 0,7. 20, 0.
 \* mahânakkhattê sattatârê pam tam : abhitisiyê nam satta nakkhattê puvvadëriyê pam tam : abhit, savanê, dhanithê, sattabhisayê, uttarabhaddarayê, rêvatî : assinîyêdiyê nam satta nakkhattê dâhinadêriyê pam, tam : assinî, bharanî, kattiyê, rôhini, magasira, addê, punavvsa'ı, passîtiyê nam satta nakkhattê avaradêriyê pam, tam : fam : pussê, asilêsê, mahê, puvvêbbagguyî, uttarêphaggunî, hattiv, chittê; sâtiyêdiyê nam satta nakkhattê avaradêriyê pam, tam : uttaradêriyê pam, tam : satta nakkhattê avaradêriyê pam, tam : satta nakkhattê avaradêriyê pam, tam : pussê, asilêsê, mahê, puvvêbbagguyî, uttarêphaggunî, hattiv, chittê; sâtiyêdiyê nam satta nakkhattê uttaradêriyê pam, tam : sâti, visêbê, anurêhê, jêttbê, mûlê, puvvê êsêdhê, uttarê êsêdhê. cf. Naksh. 2, 377n, Iad. Stud. 10, 304, and see my comments on nêha 4, 7.

<sup>#</sup> Abh. identifies them directly with the first irutaskindha of the eleventh air a and represents the names and the contents of the single 10 adhy. as being all in harmony with the contents of the 10 adhy. found there.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> jakatam iti châ 'param. 24 sahassuddáé A (with A fallen out), sahasuddúhé B: sahasá akasmád uddáhah prakrishtó dáhab sahasránám vá Iókasyó 'ddáhab sahasróddáhab, ámalaé tti rasrutér lasrutir íty ámarakab samastyéna márir . .

to the uvásagadasáu (anga 7), even as regards the names of the ten ajjhayanas. The eighth and ninth anga, the antagadadasáu and the anuttarôvavátiyadasáu have here however only ten ajjh allotted them, whereas in the Siddhánta they have 93 or 33. The names of the ten ajjÅ. are for antagadad : Nami Mayangê Somilê Rêmaguttê<sup>35</sup> Sudamsanê chêva i Jamâlî ya Bhagâlî ya Kimkammê Pillatê ti ya i Phêlê Ambatthaputtê<sup>36</sup> ya êm (êvam) êtê dasa âhiyâ ii Among these I can discover but one name, Bhagáli, which shows any connection with anga 8,  $4 \ge (Mayâlî)$ ; or perhaps we may extend the number to two names connected with 9,  $3 \le 6$  Pellaê, Rêmaputtê. The names of the ten ajjh. of the anutt<sup>o</sup> are, Isidâsê ya Dhannê ya Sunakkhattê kattitê (Kârttika) ti ya i Samdhânê Sâlibhaddê ya Ânamdê Têyalî<sup>37</sup> ti ya i Dasannabhaddê Aïmuttê êm êtê dasa âhiyâ ii Among these there are at least three names which recur in anga 9, 3, 1-3

It is perfectly manifest that the author of anga 3 possessed entirely different texts of angas 8, 9, than those in our possession. The same holds good in the case of anga 4, since it ascribe to these angas only ten ajjh. each. See below. The means made use of by Abhayadêva to reconcile this discrepancy are very simple. He says, on anga 8, after [272] recognizing the fact of the discrepancy :-- tató váchanánhtarápékshayání (°kání ?) 'mání' ti sambhévayámő, navajanmánhtaram apékshayai 'táni bhavishyanti' 'ti váchyand, janmánhtaránóm tatrá 'nabhávháy' mánatvád iti — and likewise on anga 9:- tad évam ihá 'pi váchanánhtarápékshayá adhyayanavibhága uktó, na punar upalabhyamánaváchanápékshayé 'ti. His statements in reference to the stories themselves are given with tolerable detail on anga 9.

As the fifth member of the ten dasan the ayaradasau are enumerated. The names cited for the ten ajjh, belonging to these are identical with those of *chhédasútra* 4. This therefore proves that the latter is to be understood by the ayaradasau.

(To be continued.)

# BOOK NOTICE.

REPORT ON THE SEARCH FOR SANSKRIT MSS. in the BOMBAY PRESIDENCY during the year 1883-84 by B. G. BHANDABKAR, M.A., Ph.D., Bombay Government Central Press, 1887. Pp. 479, viii.

Dr. Bhandarkar's Second Report is a worthy successor of the first. It shows the most conscientious devotion to the Search, and is full of instructive and interesting matter. The beginning describes the results of a journey to Anhil. våd Påtan (this, not Påthan, is, p. 1 note, the correct spelling), which Dr. Bhandarkar undertook in 1883 together with Professor A. V. Kathvâte of Ahmadâbâd. The two scholars visited the old Jaina Bhanders, which I saw in 1875 and 1879, and obtained access to some hitherto unknown important Bråhmanical libraries. In the Bhandars they found at least something to glean, though most of the works, which Dr. Bhandarkar enumerates as inspected, are represented by one or several copies in the earlier portions of the Deccan College collection. To these books, known already some years ago and partly copied for Government from the Påtan MSS., belong the important Vyutpattidipikd, the Prâmananjari,

Vijayapralasti, the Seshasamgraha, the the Kumdrapdlacharitas of Jinamandana and, if I mistake not, of Javasimhasúri, the Sammatitarkatikd, the Aptamim4ms4lamkara, and the Karyakalpalatávritti. Among the new finds, on the other hand, may be mentioned as particularly valuable a good old copy of the rare Kirtikaumudi and a mutilated Abhilashitachintdmani. Dr. Bhandarkar had also made a catalogue of the Bhandar of the Tapágachha and prints it in Appendir J. Another copy, which I had prepared in 1875, ought to be in the Deccan College. I did not print it, because the descriptions of the books are too imperfect. I merely marked certain books which Pandit Nårusamkar examined, and some of which, e. g. the Vijayaprafasti, and the Narandrdyandnandakávya by Vasantapála, recte Vastupála, I then had copied, and included in the collection of 1875-77. Among the Brahmanical libraries discovered at Pâțan by Dr. Bhândârkar, that of Jasvantrâi Gôpâlrâi seems to be the most important, as it contains six of the, in Western India, rare Samhitâs of the Bhagavata-Pancharatra sect.

<sup>36\*</sup> Râmaputra, with the Digambaras, see the Tattvårthavårttika in Prof. Peterson's Second Report, p. 157. Also the existent Svêtâmbara text presents Rômaputte, see below p. 324.—L.

<sup>369</sup> Thus B. Avvaddha<sup>o</sup> A. With the Digambaras we find (l. c.) Yamau kavalika-Nishkambala-Pål'. Ambashtaputra. In some better MS, the first name might turn out to be Yamåll and in the second some name corresponding to Bhagåli may be hidden.-L.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Taitalisuta iti yô jäätädhyayanêshu (anga 6, 1, 14) érûyatê sa ná 'yam, tasya siddhigamanaéravanát. We have here in all probability an intentional variation.

# June, 1889.]

Dr. Bhåndårkar's important new views on the doctrines and the age of the Bhågavatas will be noticed below. His discoveries make it desirable that all the sacred works of the sect should be collected and be carefully studied. I would recommend that copies of those not yet produced should be obtained from the Sårasvata Bhåndågåra of the Mahârâja of Mysore (see Dr. Kielhorn's Supplementary Catalogue). The great Bhågavata Math at Mulhêr in Khåndôsh, which I have never been able to visit, might also be tried.

Two MSS. acquired at Påtan, a copy of Halåyudha's Kavirahasya and a curious fragment of a brief history of Gujarst from the beginning of the Chapôtkata dynasty down to the reign of Aurangzeb, induce Dr. Bhåndårkar to offer some historical remarks. With respect to the former work he maintains, in my opinion correctly, that it was written during the reign, not of Krishnarsya of Vijavanagara, but of an older Råshtrakûta prince, called Krishna. The verses printed in App. III. are found in all MSS. from Bombay and Gujarat, and occur also in a copy of my private collection, (now in the India Office Library), which is accompanied by the commentary of one Ravidharman. The Dekhant text, which leaves out the name of the Råshtrakútas, is, as Dr. Bhåndårkar shows, not worth much. I also agree with Dr. Bhandarkar in believing it probable that the Abhidhána. ratnamdld has been written by the author of the Kavirahasya. It is an ancient Kôsha, as it is quoted by Hêmachandra and his pupil Mahêndra, and probably has been used by Yadavaprakasa for his Vaijayanti about 1000 A.D. Which of the three Råshtrakûta Krishnaråjas is the theme of Helâyudha's laudation, cannot be determined for the present. It may have been Krishnaråja I., as Dr. Bhåndårkar thinks, but there is no proof for the assertion. The Kavirahasya is, however, certainly more than 900 years old.

A full account of the contents of the histori. cal fragment is given in pp. 9-14 and App. III. L. The piece is certainly very interesting. But I doubt that it deserves the great confidence which Dr. Bhåndårkar places in it. Among its dates and statements which we can control, there are numerous errors. In the Hindu period the dates of Kumårapåla and Målaråja II. are, as Dr. Bhåndårkar admits, very much out. Its assertion, too, that Kumårapåla's mother was a sister of Siddharaja-Jayasimha is incredible. Tribhuvanapâla, the father of Kumårapâla, was Jayasimha's second cousin. Hence a marriage with the sister of the latter would have been opposed to the sacred law and to the custom of the Råjputs, who all practice exogamy and are very strict in this respect. Jinamandana's statement in the Kumárapálacharita, that the mother of his hero was a Kaśmirian princess, is more plausible. In the statements on the Muhammadan period there are a number of very bad errors. Mudåpar (Muzaffar) began to reign, not in  $\nabla$ . S. 1418 or 1361-62 A.D., but in 1386 A. D.; Ahimud (Ahmad I.), not in V.S. 1436 or 1379-80 A.D., but in 1412 A.D. The reigns of Sultán Muhammad from 1443 A.D. and of Kutb from 1451 A.D. have been left out. Dåud Shåh did not reign 36 years from V. S. 1468 or 1411-12 A.D., but for seven days in 1459 A.D. Under these circumstances I cannot consider the new document more trustworthy than the Vichdrasreni of Mêrutunga, for my reliance on which Dr. Bhåndårkar blames me-The text of the latter work no doubt contains mistakes which are due to clerical errors in the original of the bad copies of the Government and Bhan Daji's of lections. (Thirteen or fourteen years ago I saw a really good copy at Baroda, but could not obtain it.) But late researches have convinced me that the mistakes are not as formidable, as I formerly thought, and as Dr. Bhandarkar holds. I am now able to prove that an old tradition existed, which asserted the existence of eight Châpôtkața kings, and assigned a long reign to the last of them. Hence I do not attach any weight to the new dates for Tribhuvanapåla, Visaladèva, and the other Våghêlâ kings. The latter, though corroborated by another late writer, Dharmasâgara, p. 150, are contradicted by a Pattåvali, an abstract of which Mr. Bhan Daji published in the Jour. Bo. Br. E. A. S. Vol. 1X. p. 137. According to this work, Tribhuvanapála ruled not four years but two months and twelve days, Visaladêva 18 years, 7 months and 11 days. Arjunadêva 13 years 7 months and 26 days, Sårangadêva 21 years, 8 months, and 8 days. These circumstantial statements look more trustworthy than the round figures of the other sources. But I would not now pin my faith on any Pattavali or Prabandha, whose assertions, like those of the Puránas, can only be accepted provisionally in the absence of really historical information from contemporary works, inscriptions, and MSS.

On his return from Påtan, Dr. Bhåndårkar looked over some portions of the Jaina Bhandårs at Ahmadåbåd. His personal examination of their contents was rewarded by several very interesting discoveries. The most important find is a large fragment of a second copy of Bilhana's Vikramänkadévacharita, including cantos i. 62 to vii. 76. The MS., though much younger than the Jésalmir copy, is yet, as Professor Bhåndårkar says, very valuable. On examining the varietas lectionum given in App. III. R., I find that it allows us to correct the printed text in 41 verses, while in some THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY.

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other cases it confirms the corrections which I pointed out as necessary in the Addenda and Corrigenda. Two of these various readings are also important in other respects, as they make it probable that Bilhana wrote the first copy of his poem in the Såradå characters of his native country. The Jesalmir copy reads, v. 7, तन्मदाई. रतपादचाणितं सैन्यमेककवलं चकार सः II, while the Ahmadabad MS. has उन्मद. The latter is without a doubt the correct reading. The error of the writer of the Jesalmir MS. is most easily explained. if it is assumed that he transcribed from a Såradå MS., because in that alphabet a and 3 are almost indistinguishable. The same supposition best explains in vi. 49 the mistake जनमनामितधान-नानुकपं for जवसमुचितधावनानुकपा. For in the Sarada alphabet there is very little difference between w and w and between w and w. The majority of the remaining 180 or 190 new readings is made up of mistakes, or is due to the rage of the Pandits for altering the old texts, which has caused so much mischief in most classical Sanskyit works. I trust that at some future visit to Ahmadåbåd Dr. Bhåndårkar's hope of finding the missing portion of the MS. may be realized.

Another very valuable find is Sôméśvara's second Mahâkâvya, the Surathótsava, pp. 19-20, App. III. S, which in its fifteenth canto gives an account of the author's ancestors, the Purôhitas of the Chaulukya kings, and contains various important notes on the history of Gujarat. The name of Sômêśvara's family was, according to the Sanskrittent, Gulêcha, not Gulêva, as Dr. Bhândârkar doubtingly writes on p. 20, and this race belonged to the Någars sub-division of the Gujaråt Bråhmans. Even this note possesses considerable interest, as it shows that the Nagaras were in the tenth century as influential as they are in the present day, and that the modern Gulêchas, whose name I remember to have met with in Gujarst, can boast of a prouder pedigree than most of the noble houses of Europe. The first member of the family who attained to the dignity of domestic priest to the sovereign of Gujaråt was Söla, and the king. who appointed him was Mülaraja I., the founder of the Chaulukya dynasty. These statements too possess a considerable significance. The appointment of a new Purôhita proves that on Mülaråja's accession considerable changes in the royal household were made. Such things would not have happened, if the Chaulukya prince had ascended the throne of Gujarat by the right of succession on the extinction of the Chauda line. But they were only too natural, if Mülaråja I., as his land-grant asserts, "conquered the Garjaramandala by the strength of his arm." Among Sôla's descendants

was Åma who saved the life of the sixth Chaulukya prince, Karpa. Regarding him it is said that he made a Krityå or evil spirit which the Purôhita of the king of Målvå had raised, turn against its author. The reason which moved the Målava priest to use his magic skill is stated to have been, that the territory of his master was harassed by the king of Gujarat. Here we have again an indication that the reign of "goodman" Karna, was not as peaceable as the Dvydérayamahdkdvya and the Prabandhas represent it to have been. While these works do not mention any wars, Bilhana's drama, Karnasundarí, which Pandit Durgåprasåd has lately discovered and published in the Kavyamala, speaks of a successful expedition against the Muhamma. dan rulers of Sindh and their Kabuli allies. Now we learn that the hereditary feud between Malva and Gujarat did not sleep during Karna's reign. I will add that a contemporary of Sômeśvara makes the same assertion, as a paper to be published in the Transactions of the Vienna Academy will show. It is also interesting to see that in the eleventh century A.D. the Purchitas had to show their skill in the foul rites of the Atharvavéda, which made their office the object of much obloquy. In the notes on the exploits of Siddharåja, the employer of Ama's son. Kumåra, the assertion that the king humbled the prince of the Sapådalaksha country, or of Såkambhari-Såmbhar in Råjputånå, deserves attention. Curiously enough Hêmachandra, Siddharája's court Pandit and annalist, does not speak of this war, nor do the later Prabandhakåras. Only Soméévara mentions it in the Kirtikaumudi. and again in the Surathótsava. In spite of Hêmachandra's silence it is perfectly credible, because it helps to explain Arnôrâja's attack on Gujarât. which occurred immediately after Jayasimha's death. It may, however, be doubted whether the result of the war was as favourable to Gujarat as Sômésvara asserts. It is more probable that Jayasimha tried to extend his sway also to the north-east, but failed. That would explain Hômachandra's otherwise inexplicable silence regarding the event. The next name in the list of Sômêśvara's ancestors, that of Åmigs, is chiefly interesting because it occurs in the Prabandhas. Mérutunga's Prabandhachintámani, p. 205 (Bomb. edition), and the Prabhavakacharita, tell of a squabble of his with Hémachandra. The latter work places the event in the reign of Jayasimha, while Mérutunga, I think with Dr. Bhandarkar, more correctly assigns it to the time of Kumårapåla, Both works mention that Amiga held the office of Purôhita. The remarks on Amiga's sons contain too, something new. First, the statement that

Kumárapála, though a convert to Jainism, received an orthodox burial and that his ashes were thrown into the Ganges, possesses some interest. It shows that the Bråhmanical reaction on Ajayapåla's accession to the throne was indeed complete, as the Jaina Prabandhas too assert. More startling and hardly credible is the second statement that Kumārapāla had a son who became king. According to the Surathótsava, xv. 31-32, it looks as if Sôméévara meant to say that this son of Kumårapåla was Ajayapåla. All the Prabandhas, as well as Krishnåji, the author of the Batnam 41d, assert that Kumárapála had no son, and that Ajayapála was the son of his brother Mahipala, whom, according to some, he tried to set aside in favour of his daughter's son, Pratapamalla (see my essay Über das Leben des Jaina Mönches Hemachandra p. 50, Denkschriften der Wiener Akademie 1889). It may be that Sôméévara has made a slip, just as in the Kirtikaumudi ii. 32, where he calls the king of Målvå, made prisoner by Javasimha, Naravarman, while it was Yasôvarman, Naravarman's son, according to Hêmachandra, an eye witness of the king's triumphal entry on his return from Målvå. It would lead me too far, if I were to discuss the further details on the history of Sômésvara's father. Kumåra, who was Åmiga's second son, those on the author's own life, and those on Vastupåla, his Jaina patron and friend. I will only add that the panegyric on Vastupåla indicates that the work was written before the death of the latter in Vikrama-Samvat 1297. The Dabhoi Prasasti of V. S. 1311 shows that Sôméśvara survived his friend by many years.

Amongst the other works which Dr. Shan. darkar saw in Ahmadabad the complete copy of Jayanta's commentary on the Kdvyaprakdéa possesses a considerable value, as it proves that Mammata's treatise was in great repute at the end of the 13th century even in Gujarat, and as the author turns out to have been the son of the Purôhita of king Sårangadêva's minister. The date of the work V. S. 1350 is the same as that of Sarangadêva's inscription at Åbû.  $T_0$ Dr. Bhändårkar's remarks, p. 17, No. 13, on the Pråkrit Subhdshitávali of Jayavallabha, which is variously called in the MSS. Vajjdlayo, Vijjdlayo, Vijjálaggá and Vijjáhalao, I may add that I have drawn attention to its existence in my Report for 1874-75, when I was shown a copy by the keeper of Hemachandra's Bhandar at Påtan. I then secured one copy, and later, in 1879-80, a second. With respect to No. 8, I must state that I believe the title Katikaitka which is given on p. 65, to be the correct one. The copy in my private collection (now in the I. O. L.) of a portion of the work, which was transcribed

from a MS. of the Madras Government Collection, gives too Kdšikd, not Kdrik1.

The next portion of Dr. Bhåndårkar's Report, pp. 23-157, contains very full and most instructive notes on the MSS purchased for Government in 1883-84. The number of his acquisitions amounts (see App. II.) to 737, 325 of which come from Gujarât and North-Western India, and 412 from the Marâtha Country. Under the heading Vêdas, there is, besides some not very important works, at least one curiosity, a MS. containing portions of the Vajanèyisamhita in the Krama- and Jatá-pâthas. I have seen a similar MS. in the library of the Asiatic Society in Bombay.

In the second section we have large fragments of the Srautasütras of Aśvaláyana, Baudháyana, Apastamba, and Katyayana, accompanied by the glosses of ancient commentators, and a host of Kárikás and Prayógas, together with a sprinkling of works belonging to the other Angas. Dr. Bhandarkar offers short remarks on the majority of their authors, and gives a full analysis of the authorities quoted by Trikandamaudana-Bhaskaramisra, of whose important Karikas he has obtained a complete MSS. He shows that Trikandamandana is quoted by Hêmâdri, and must therefore be anterior to the latter half of the thirteenth century A.D. His authorities, of course, date from still earlier times, To them belong Karka, the commentator of the Sútras of Kåtyåyana, Dhúrtasvâmin, the author of a Bháshya on Ápastamba, Gårgya-Nåråyana, and Bhavanåga, commentators of Asvalåyana, and Bhavasvämin, the commentator of Baudhiyana. Among these Bhavasvâmin must be particularly ancient, because he is quoted by Késava, the author of the Prayógasára, who himself is one of the authorities of Trikandamandana. Bhavasvåmin must therefore have flourished before the tenth century. The same may be said of Dêvasvâmin, according to whose commentary on Aśvalšyana [Gårgya-] Nåršyana composed his own Vritti on the Srautasatras. Dr. Bhandarkar further remarks that among the ancient commentators and writers on Mimāmså, as well as in ancient inscriptions, the title svamin is common, while it does not occur during the last six centuries. He therefore thinks with Professor Weber that it is a mark of antiquity. With respect to Sabarasvâmin, the most ancient commentator on Mimamså, he shows that he cannot be placed later than 400 or 500 A.D., as his Bhashya was explained by Kumarila, who lived about 700 A.D. He finally conjectures that Bhavasvåmin, Dévasvåmin and Agnisvåmin flourished about the same time. I can only say that I fully

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agree with Dr. Bhandarkar in thinking that most of the Bhåshyas on the Sútras belong to a very much higher antiquity than European Sanskritists usually assume. With respect to Naidhruva-Nârâyana, the son of Divâkara and author of the Grihyavritti, and Dévasvâmin, this may also be proved by means of the Asvaldyana. grihyakáriká by Bhatta-Kumárilasvámin, a copy of which, No. 509, is in Dr. Bhandarkar's collection of 1883.84. This work, which I know through a MS. of my private collection (now in the I. O. Library), frequently quotes the opinions of Náråyana, of Jayanta, the author of the Vimalôdaya. mala, and of the Bhagavadvrittikara. In the verses appended to the printed Vritti of Nårayana (Calcutta ed., p. 264), it is stated that the Bhashya of the Grihyasútras was composed by Bhagavat-Dévasvámin, and that the Vritti was written by his favour, i. e. cribbed from the Bhashya. Now it seems to me from the style of the Karikas that they really belong, as Dr. Burnell too says in his remarks on the Tanjore copy, to the great Mimámaaka Kumárilabhatta. Thus we obtain the sequence : Kumårila, circiter 700 A.D., quotes Naidhrava-Nåršyana, who in his turn quotes Bhagavat-Dôvasvâmin. The title bhagavat given to the latter, indicates that he was in Nars. yana's times a half-mythical personage and lived centuries before him. As Naidhruva-Nåråyana himself cannot be placed later than 600 A.D. Dr. Bhåndårkar's estimate that Dévasvåmin flourished about 400 or 500 A.D. is very moderate,

- in fact too moderate. In Dr. Bhandarkar's notes on the Srautasatras quoted by Trikandamandana, pp. 29-30, the discovery that Upavarsha, the Mimimsaka, wrote a work of this class, is valuable. He probably belongs to the historical times of India, and if his works were recovered, we might get a chance of settling a portion of the chronology of the so-called Vêdic period. The discovery of the existence of a Paniniya-Charana is also interesting, though it could be inferred from the quotations from a lawbook by a Pâņini. With respect to Laugåkshi, it may be noted that according to Dévapåla's commentary on his Grihyasütra, it contained 39 Adhyayas. The Bhåradvåja Srautasütra is not so very rare as Dr. Bhåndårkar thinks. There is a copy of nine Praénas in the Bombay University Library, another in Munich, and a third in Berlin, all three of which are transcripts of the Barôdá MS. And Dr. Oppert's Catalogue enumerates various MSS. in the Madras Presidency, the original home of the Charana. A portion of the Grihyasutra with the commentary of Kapardisvåmin is in the Elphinstone College Library Collection of 1866-68.

Dr. Bhåndårkar next turns, pp. 32-44, to a brief description of the Srauta rites, interspersed with remarks on their development. His views on the latter show that he may be reckoned as an adherent of the critical and historical school of philology, and is a good deal ahead of most of his compatriots. There is only one point on which I must differ from him. I do not think that the arguments which he brings forward on p. 34, are sufficient to show that Baudbayana is younger than Bhåradvåja and Åpastamba. There is too distinct a current of tradition, corroborated by much circumstantial evidence, that Baudhsyana, the Pravachanakartå, wrote the first Sütra of the Taittiriya school. It is, however, quite a different question if his Stautasatras have not

been largely added to. This is certainly the case

with the Dharma and Grihya-sttras. In the third class there is a copy of the Nilamata-Purdna or, as Dr. Bhåndårkar prefers to call it, " the Kaśmiramähätmya according to Nilamata," which, he says, is complete. If so, it is a very valuable acquisition, because the copies which I brought from Kaśmir are, with the exception of that restored by Såhebråm, certainly full of lacunæ, especially in the beginning. In this portion occur the statements which Kalhana used for his *Edjataramgint*, and it would be well worth the while to print them. I would ask Dr. Bhandarkar to do this in the Appendix to his next Report. As regards the title, Dr. Bhåndårkar will find one of the reasons why I have called the work a Puråna at the end of the extracts in my Kaśmir Report. p. lx. l. 10. Another reason is that in Kaśmir, its home, all the Pandits call it a Purana, not a Måhåtmya, though, as I have shown at length in my Report, p. 41, its contents are the same as those of a Måhåtmya. The larger Måhåtmyas are sometimes, gauravarthum, called Purshas; compare e.g. the so-called Sthalapurapas of Southern India. Under these circumstances I do not think it necessary to alter the title of the work.

Under Dharma also there are some valuable acquisitions, such as a second copy of the Kaśmir text of Manu (the first being that which I acquired in 1876), two Kåndas of Aparåditya's commentary on Yájílavalkya, of which the Deccan College has now a fine store, a MS. of the Madanapárijáta, of the Asvaldyanagrihyakarika of Bhatta Kumarilasvåmin, as well as numerous more modern treatises, the dates of which Dr. Bhandarkar mostly settles very satisfactorily. In connection with the subject I am glad to point out that Mr. Sridhar R. Bhåndårkar's date for Visvésvara exactly agrees with that which I have given at p. cxxv. of the introduction to my translation of Manu on the strength of Dr. Schram's calculations. I took the

verse from Mr. Sarvådhikårin's Tagore Lectures, but have since verified it, as well as the pedigree of Madanapåla in the copies of the Madanavinődanighantu preserved in the India Office Library. Visvěšvara's date is of some importance, because his commentary on the Mitákshará is held to be of authority, and because his patron rescued the Manubháshya of Mêdhâtithi from destruction. The remarks on the Vivádárnavabhañjana have been made before in Dr. Peterson's Second Report, p. 53.

In the next class, — Poems, Plays, and Fables, there are some new anthologies, one of which comes from Kaśmîr, and a new commentary on the Mahánátaka by Balabhadra. The Vrittis on Kâlidâsa's and Bhâravi's poems are already represented in the earlier collections, and among them Jônarâja's commentary on the *Kirátárjuntya*, by five copies which I brought from Kaśmir. Dr. Bhândârkar shows that Jônarâja wrote this work in Saka-Samvat 1370.

An ancient copy of a portion of the Kdšikd-Vritti on Pånini's Sütras permits Dr. Bhåndårkar, p. 58, to slightly modify the prevailing opinion as to the share which each of the two joint authors took in its compilation. Jayâditya, it now appears, wrote the notes on Adhyâyas i. v. and (not i.-iv.) and the remainder belongs to Vâmana. The general results of an elaborate note, pp. 59-60, on the family of Râmachandra, the author of the Prakriydkaumudi, are, that it belonged to the Tailangî subdivision of Brâhmans, and that it counted among its members several writers on the Såstras. From the copy of the Puna Sanskrit College Collection it appears that Râmachandra wrote in the middle of the fifteenth century.

Under the heading Kôshas, p. 61ff., Dr. Bhåndårkar gives, in connection with the description of a copy of Råyamukuta's Padachandrika, a list of the authors and works quoted by that voluminous scholiast in his notes on Kånda i of the Amarakôsha. This list is further extended to Kåndas ii. iii., on p. 467ff., by Paudit Durgåprasåd. It seems to have escaped the notice of Dr. Bhåndårkar that the same task had already been done according to three MSS. by Professor Aufrecht in the Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Vol. XXVIII. pp. 109-121, still more elaborately and on principles which make the verification of the quotations much easier.

In the next section Dr. Bhåndårkar discusses the contents of the philosophical works purchased, among which those on Råmånuja's system and on Kaśmirian Saivism are particularly interesting. Here we have also, pp. 69-74, the nucleus of his new theory on the Bhågavata sect, which has been set forth more fully in his valuable paper inserted in the Abhandlungen der Arischen Section des VII. Intern. Orientalisten Congresses, pp. 101-109. He shows that the Visishta Advaita system of Râmânuja is a somewhat modified and more methodical form of the ancient Bhagavata, Påācharâtra or Sâttvata religion, which is named and described in the Santiparvan of the Mahabhârata. This creed, which inculcates the worship of the supreme Våsudêva and teaches the doctrine of bhakti, has originally nothing to do with the Védas and Upanishads. It arose from the same current of thought from which the Bhagavadgitåli sprang. Its sacred books are the Samhitås of the Nåradapañcharåtra, some of which turned up at Anhilvåd, while one has been printed and known long ago. Its founder was a Kshatriya, like Sâkyamuni-Gôtama and Vardhamâna, theJiiâtrika who originated the systems known as Buddhism and Jainism. He seems to have been Vâsudêva of the Såttvata sub-division of the Yådava tribe. Or it may be that this Våsudêva was a king of the Sáttvatas, who after his death was deified, that a body of doctrines grew up in connection with his worship, and that the religion spread from his clan to other classes of the Indian people. In its origin this religion must have developed into the Pancharatra system of the Samhitâs. Then it was mixed with other elements, indicated by the names of Vishnu, Nåråyana, Krishna, Râma, gods and deified heroes, who were identified with Våsudôva. Hence arose the various forms of modern Vaishnavism. In order to prove the great age of the original worship of Våsudèva, Dr. Bhåndårkar points to the oftenquoted Satra of Papini, iv. 3, 98, where the formation of the name of a devotee of Vasudêva is taught, and to the remarks of Patañjali thereon, who states that the Våsudéva meant is tatrabhagavat. He further shows that the Paücharåtra system was known to Samkaråchårya as well as to Bana, and that one of the Samhitas is quoted by Râmânuja.

I believe that Dr. Bhândârkar is on the right track, and that, if he fully works out his ideas with the help of all available materials, he will be able to offer the outlines of the earlier history of Vaishnavism. The task is of course a very difficult one. It will require a careful study of the Samhitâs, and of their history, and a careful utilization of the hints contained in Brâhmanical, Jaina, and Buddhist literature, as well as in the inscriptions.

It will, I firmly believe, eventually appear that both Vaishnavism and Saivism, which Dr. Bhândârkar too declares, p. 76, to be perhaps as old as the worship of Vishnu, are co-eval with even the earlier portions of the so-called Védic period.

Already in my discussion of the great Nånåghåt inscription of Queen Nåyanikå, Arch. Surv. W. India, Vol. V. p. 74, I have pointed out that the invocation nams Samkamsana. Vdsudéednam Chandasa[ta]nam furnishes additional proof for the age of the worship of Krishna in India. Of late an apparently still older inscription has been discovered in Rajputana and published by Kaviraj Syamaladasa and Dr. Hoernle in the Proceedings of the Asiat. Soc. of Bengal, Vol. VI. p. 77ff., in which "the worship of Bhagavat Samkamsana and Våsudeva," and a Vaishnava temple, are mentioned. This is another valuable piece of evidence for the antiquity of the worship of Våsudèva. The earliest mention of the Sattvata sect, known to me, occurs in the Tuśâm rock inscription, Corp. Inscr. Indic. Vol. III. p. 270, where an aryya-Sattvatta-yógacharya is mentioned; Mr. Fleet assigns it to the end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century A.D. Professor Kern, who too is convinced that Vaishnavism does not date from modern times, states, Geschichte des Buddhismus, Vol. I. p. 17, that the Ajivikas, who existed in Buddha's times, and who received caves from Aśôka, and from his son, Daśaratha, were Bråhmanical ascetics worshipping Nåråyana. Dr. Bhåndårkar will, perhaps, be able to say in a future report whether this assertion receives support through the Samhitås of the Pancharatra religion.

No less interesting are Dr. Bhandarkar's remarks on Kaśmirian Saivism, which show that the doctrines of the Spandasütras, in spite of numerous points of resemblance, yet differ from Sâyana's Saivaśdstra, with which I identified it in my Kaśmir Report. The system is, it now appears, non-dualistic, and a pure idealism like the Pratyabbijňådarśana, of which it seems to have been the forerunner. In his notes on its literature, Dr. Bhåndårkar tries to make out that the Spandakârikâs belong, not to Vasugupta, but to his pupil Kallata. As the tradition is conflicting, the point must remain doubtful. With respect to Utpala's Spandapradipika, he shows that its author is different from the Utpala who wrote on the Pratyabhijia-system. The former was the son of Trivikrama, while the father of the latter was called Udayåkara.

The MSS. on Kaśmirian Saivism purchased in 1882-83 are eleven in number, and they are all represented in the earlier parts of the Deccan College collection. But Dr. Bhândârkar was right in taking them, as they come not from Kaśmir itself, but from the Paũjâb, where frequently better texts are obtainable than in the valley (see my Kaśmir Report, p. 83).

In the 13th section there are no works of any great importance. But the extracts from a Kaśmirian Khandakhádyóddharana are interesting, as they furnish new rules for converting Laukika into Saka years. Their results agree with those obtained by means of the verse given to me by the Kaśmirian Jôshis, if the Kali years are considered as *past*, and the Laukika years as *current*. I believe it will be advisable to test these and all other statements regarding the Saptarshi era by calculations of the numerous dates with week days added, which are found in the MSS. of the Deccan College collection and elsewhere. Dr. Kielhorn's articles on the Chêdi and Nêpâl eras show that the labour expended on such calculations is by no means useless.

Under the heading Tântrika literature, p. 87, we find twenty works written in the Sâradâ character, more than half of which, as Dr. Bhândârkar remarks, are not included in my collection of 1875-77. The very clear sketch of the Sámbhavadaréana, pp. 89-90, is interesting and most amusing. One of the aims of the faithful student is, it appears, to imagine that he is a woman. Dr. Bhândârkar adds — "There is a Sâkta ascetic in a village in the vicinity of Poona, who, I am told, dresses himself like a female."

The purchases in the first sub-division of Class XVII. Digambara literature, amount to about forty, and contain several important novelties, such as the Niyamasára of Kundakundáchárya, one of the ancient teachers of the Nagnatas. The Pravachanasdra of the same author, which Dr. Bhåndårkar takes to be a new acquisition, is already contained in No. 639 of my Collection of 1875-77. The steady growth of the store of Digambara books in the Bombay collections is most satisfactory. Both Dr. Peterson and Dr. Bhåndårkar have made year by year very im. portant additions, the purchases being chiefly effected at Jaypur and in the Panjab. I think it would be advisable if efforts were made to obtain also books from the Southern Maratha country. Kanara, and the Madras Presidency. The operations will be somewhat more difficult in these districts, but they will eventually yield ample reward, because a very large number of the more ancient Digambara works have been composed in Southern India, and the northern MSS. are transcripts from southern copies written in Kanarese, Telugu, or Grantha characters. Dr. Bhandarkar's extracts from the Digambara works, which he purchased, pp. 92-126, are most judiciously and carefully made, and furnish much important new information. His analysis of the contents of the Pravachanasára, of Sakalakirti's Tattvárthasáradípiká, and of the Kárttikéyánuprékshá with Subhachandra's commentary, gives a very clear and intelligible view of the religious teaching of

the Digambaras and of their tradition regarding the Jaina literature; while the extracts from a number of Prasastis furnish a considerable number of new dates and statements regarding the succession of the teachers of the sect. In between we find also other valuable historical and literary notes, such as, pp. 104-105, those on the Paramåra princes of Målvå in the thirteenth century, under whom that most fertile author Ásâdhara wrote his numerous works, and those on the Råshtrakútas Amôghavarsha and Akâlavarsha, p. 121; see also Corrigenda, p. H. It is impossible for me to notice in detail all the important points in this portion of the Report, but I strongly recommend its study to scholars interested in the religious history of India. In connection with his abstracts, Dr. Bhandarkar gives us also his views on the origin and the history of the Jaina sect. Like Professor Jacobi, myself, and other Sanskritists, he denies, p. 102 and p. 125, that the Jainas are a Buddhist sect, and admits that their founder may have been a contemporary of Såkyamuni-Gautama. But he holds that Jainism as a system is later than Buddhism, that it was remodelled about the first century of our era, after the men who knew the original doctrines by heart, had died, and that it received a new set of sacred books about the year 139 A.D. He thinks that the sect must have been unimportant up to that period, and adds that this view is corroborated by the scarcity of ancient Jaina inscriptions. It would lead me too far if I were to enter on a discussion of these views and the arguments by which they are supported. I will only say this much, that I am glad to note our agreement as to one of the main points, -- the independent origin of the Jaina religion. With respect to the other points, on which I must differ from Dr. Bhåndårkar, I will add that the Asôka inscriptions, which speak of " countless -religious communities consisting of ascetics and householders," mention by name only three, the Buddhists, the Nigamthas or Jainas, and the Ajivikas, which therefore must have been those most noteworthy in the 3rd century B.C. and that the Mathurá inscriptions of the Indo-Scythic period which confirm the Svêtâmbara (not the Digambara) tradition regarding the old teachers and schools, become every year more numerous. Last year brought us Dr. Burgess's important inscription, dated in the seventh year of Kanishka; this year Dr. Führer has unearthed four very valuable documents of the same period. Among the thirty-seven Svêtâmbara MSS. pur-

chased in 1883-84, there does not seem to be anything new or very important. In making his extracts, pp. 144-155, from Dharmasågara's Pravachanaparikshd or Kupakshakausikûditya, Dr. Bhåndårkar seems to have overlooked that Professor Weber has published an elaborate treatise on the same work in the Transactions of the Berlin Academy. A great portion of the extracts, p. 138 ff., from Samayasundara's commentary on the Kalpasutra had already been given by Professor Jacobi in the notes to his edition of the Kalpasûtra.

The concluding pages of the Second Report are directed against a remark which I made in my review on Dr. Bhåndårkar's First Report, ante, Vol. XIV. p. 62. I there pointed out that it was not safe to refer every date in the MSS. to which the word Samvat is prefixed to the Vikrama era, because at least some cases occurred in which the word referred to the Saka era, and I gave two instances to the point. Dr. Bhandarkar answers that the meaning of the word Samvat admits of no dispute, and during the last five centuries has always been used to denote the Vikrama era. He maintains that, if the usual interpretation of the word Samvat leads to wrong historical results, the cause must be a mistake of the writer, and he suggests that the writer may have copied a real old Samvat date from his original, and have added some historical note regarding his own time, or that he may have put in a wrong date by a slip of the pen. With respect to one of my cases, that of the MS. of the Idar copy of the Mahâbhâshya, he thinks that it will not do to take Samvat 1514 as equivalent to 1592 A.D., because Råd Nåråyanadåsa lost his throne in 1576, and Mr. K. Forbes immediately after speaks of his successor Viramadêva. Dr. Bhåndarkar then goes on to prove his main point by giving a number of Samvat, i.e. Vikrama-Samvat dates which in MSS. occur together with Saka dates, and by quoting a passage from a commentary on the Bhisvatikarana, composed in Saka-Samvat 1577, where the author declares that the era of Vikramâditya bears the name Samvat.

The question whether particular dates in the MSS. to which the word Samvat is prefixed, do refer to the Saka era, cannot, it seems to me, be decided on general grounds, but only on the merits of each single case. I therefore deal first with Dr. Bhândârkar's objections to my two cases and with his attempts at explaining them in a manner differing from mine. As regards the difficulty about Ráô Nùrâyanadâsa II.,<sup>1</sup> the fuller informa-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> As the Gazetteer, loc. cit. pp. 402-403, shows, there was an earlier Ráô Nôrê; sanadêsa I., who began to rule in 1428 A.D. He died (the date is not mentioned), before 1445 A.D., in which year Ráô Bhên was on the throne.

He cannot be meant in the colophon of the MS. of the Bhåshya, as its dates, if referred to the Vikrama era, would be equivalent to 1455-56 and 1456-57 A.D.

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tion in the Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. V. p. 404, shows that he was conquered by Akbar in 1576 A.D. and that his capital fell into the hands of his foes. But the Gazetteer adds :-- "Following his usual policy, Akbar, asking for no more than an admission of his supremacy, restored the Råo to his state, and made him commander of 2000 infantry and 500 cavalry." His reign did, therefore, not come to an end in 1576, and there is no reason why he may not have been alive and ruler of Idar in 1592. Unfortunately the Gazetteer does not give the date of the beginning of his successor's reign, and I have no means to supply the omission. As regards the suggestion that the writer may have put in an older Samvat date and have added an historical note referring to his own time, that is, in my opinion, very improbable. For the fact that an historical note is given, shows that the man did not work mechanically, but did think about the date, and it is hence not likely that he made so absurd a mistake. It is, however, unnecessary to continue this discussion of the probabilities, as there is another case in which no doubt or other explanation than that given by me is possible. This is the date of the oldest MS. of the Ganaratnamahododhi, see Professor Eggeling's edition, p. v. Its colophon runs as follows: samvak (i. e. samvat) 1151 virðdhf (i. e. virodhi)-samvatsarð karttika vadi (i. e. badi) 5 budhé. That this is a date of the Saka-Samvat is proved, as Professor Eggeling has first stated, by the mention of the Virôdhi samvatsara of the Sixty-Year Cycle, which corresponds only to Saka 1151, according to the southern luni-solar system. It is further proved by Dr. Schram's calculation of the tithi and of the week-day, the whole being equivalent to 7 Nov. 1229 A.D. which was a Wednesday. In this case the figures of the date cannot have been copied from an older MS. dated Vikrama-Samvat 1151, because the Ganaratnamahodadhi was composed when 1197 years of that era had elapsed (Eggeling, loc. cit. p. viii.). Nor is an error of the copyist in the figures possible, because the details agree accurately with the requirements of the Saka era. The fact that this writer uses Samvat, or to be quite exact Samvak, for Sakakâle or Sakusamvat, is therefore indisputable, and it is very remarkable, because Colonel Tod obtained this MS. from one of the Jaina libraries of Râjputână. The Jaina scribes have since even earlier times than the thirteenth century A.D. very frequently and as a rule used Samvat for the era of Vikramâditya, and this era alone has been the official and the popular one in Rajputana as well as in Gujarât, at least since the tenth century. Yet we have here an indisputable deviation from an otherwise hard and fast rule. Whatever the explanation may be, the fact, it

seems to me, makes it advisable to be cautious with Samvat dates, even if they occur in MSS. coming from districts where the term Samvat is usually understood to denote the era of 58 B.C. Dr. Bhåndårkar's assertion that the term Samvat is used in the present day and has been used since some centuries for the Vikrama era is, with certain restrictions, perfectly correct. The restrictions are that the conventional use of the term does not extend to Kasmir and the adjacent Hillstates of the Pañjâb nor to Nêpâl. In Kaśmir and the hill territory Samvat still refers as a rule to the Saptarshi era or Lôkakåla, and in Nêpâl to the era of A.D. 878-9. In the other parts of India of which I have personal knowledge, the majority of the Pandits and Joshis would unhesitatingly make the same remark about Samvat which, as Dr. Bhåndårkar shows, a commentator of the Bhdsvatikarana has put down in writing. This point I have not disputed and do not dispute. What I mean to say is that in spite of this state of things, there are cases in which the writers of MSS, have used Samvat for Saka-Samvat, and that it is advisable to make certain of the meaning of Samvat in all cases where it is worth the while and possible to do so. For as long as these apparent counter-instances are not removed, the popular usage creates only a strong presumption, not an absolute certainty, that in each given case a Samvat date is a Vikrama-Samvat date. If Dr. Bhândârkar succeeds in removing them, I shall be glad of his success, as he will have eliminated one of the many elements of uncertainty which have to be taken into account by those dealing with Hindu dates.

In conclusion, I cannot but give expression to my conviction that Dr. Bhandarkar has again proved by his Second Report how eminently useful the search for Sanskrit MSS. may be made for Oriental philology, and that he is entitled to the gratitude of all his fellow-workers for his patient industry and for the ability with which he has utilized his materials. I would add the request that his Third Report may not be delayed too long, and that his promise to issue preliminary annual lists of his purchases may be kept. I would also ask both him and Dr. Peterson to extend their operations to the South of India. at least by procuring MSS. from the Madras Presidency. Dr. Oppert's Catalogue shows that many valuable works not yet represented in the Deccan College collection, and probably not obtainable in the Bombay Presidency, are extant in Madras; and in Bombay agents are available to whom, it seems, na kinchid agamyam.

G. BÜHLER.

Vienna, 20th February, 1889.

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## THE SIXTY-YEAR CYCLE OF JUPITER.

#### BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.L.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

WHILE engaged in calculating or verifying Hindu dates in which the year of one era or another is coupled with a year of the Sixty-Year Cycle of Jupiter, I have had frequent occasion to resort to the third memoir of Warren's invaluable Kala-Sankalita, pp. 197-216, and I have often admired the ingenuity and clearness with which that great scholar has treated his subject. At the same time, I cannot but confess that the use of Warren's Tables is somewhat troublesome; and it has appeared to me that the process of finding the exact beginning and end of a cycle-year, according to the different rules, might be simplified by giving certain fractions of days, etc., in decimals of days, and by expressing the epochs of the several eras, as well as other items, in days of the Julian period, a method which has been followed successfully by Dr. Schram in his Hilfstafeln für Chronologie.<sup>1</sup> Besides, Warren's book is now difficult to obtain. The following simple rules and Tables may therefore not be altogether unwelcome to scholars who either do not possess a copy of the Kala-Sankalita themselves, or have no large public library within easy reach.

A .- The beginning and end of the Cycle-year according to the Surya-Siddhanta.

(a)-According to the Surya-SiddkAnta, the epoch of the Kaliyuga, expressed in days of the Julian period, and in such a manner as to yield current days and hours, etc., after mean sunrise (at Ujjain), in the final results, is ---

588 465 7500 days.\*

(b)-The length of one solar year is-

365.2587565 days.8

(c)-The length of one year of Jupiter's cycle, without Bija or correction, is -361 02672103 days.

(d)-The length of one year of Jupiter's cycle, with Bija or correction, is -361.0346511 days.

#### Rules.

1. To find the beginning of any year of the Kaliyuga, in accordance with the Súrya-Siddhanta, multiply (b), i.e. the length of one solar year, by the number of years expired, and to the product add 588 463.6024 (i.e. the epoch of the Kaliyaga diminished by 2.1476, the time by which the apparent Mesha-samkranti at the commencement of the Kaliyuga, according to Warren, preceded the epoch). Convert the result into the European date by Tables I. and II.

Thus, for the beginning of Kaliyuga 4871, current, we find-

 $365 \cdot 2587565 \times 4870$ 1778 810-1441550 + 588 463.6024

2367 273 7466 days of the Julian period, which by Tables I.

and II. correspond to

9th April, A.D. 1769, new style, 17 h. 55 l m.

In other words, the solar year Kaliyuga 4871, current, according to the Súrya-Siddhánta. commenced 17 h. 55.1 m. after mean sunrise (at Ujjain) of 9th April, A.D. 1769, new style.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> That portion of Dr. Schram's work which has reference to the Hindu Inni-solar calendar, has now been re-cast by the author, and will be published in a following number of this Journal. Dr. Schram's Table for converting a day of the Julian period into the European date, (the use of which will appear from the examples given at the end of this article) is, for the sake of ready reference, by the author's permission, appended also to the present paper (Table 1.). (Table I.).

 <sup>3</sup> i. 6. midnight between the 17th and 13th February, 3102 B.C.
 <sup>3</sup> These figures (b), (c), and (d) are based on the following data: — The number of civil days in a Mahâyuga is
 1577917828; in the same period there are 4320000 revolutions of the sum; revolutions of Jupiter (without correction) 364220; and revolutions of Jupiter, as corrected by the Bija, 864212.

2. To find the end of any one year of Jupiter's cycle, without or with Bija, multiply either (c), *i.e.* the length of one cycle-year without Bija, or (d), *i.e.* the length of one cycleyear with Bija, by the number which that particular year holds in the series of Jupiter's years counted from the beginning of the Kaliyuga (and which, as will be shown under 3, below, in practice can be readily ascervined), and to the product add (a), *i.e.* the epoch of the Kaliyuga. Convert the result into the European date by Tables I. and II., as before.

Thus, assuming a year Vilamba to be the 4926th of Jupiter's years, counted from the commencement of the Kaliyuga, we find-

(a) for the end of Vilamba without Bija :---

<u>361.02672103 × 4926</u> 1778 417.62779378

+ 588 465.7500

2366 883 3778 days of the Julian period, which by Tables I. and

II. correspond to

15th March, A.D. 1768, new style, 9 h. 4 m.

In other words, the year Vilamba without Bija ended (and the following year Vikårin commenced) 9 h. 4 m. after mean sunrise (at Ujjain) of 15th March, A.D. 1768, new style.

(b) for the end of Vilamba with Bija :----

361 0346511 × 4926 1778 456 6913186 + 588 465 7500

2366 922-4413 days of the Julian period, which by Tables I.

and II. correspond to

23rd April, A.D. 1768, new style, 10 h. 35.5 m.

In other words, the year Vilamba with Bija ended (and the following year Vikarin commenced) 10 h. 35 5 m. after mean sunrise (at Ujjain) of 23rd April, A.D. 1768, new style.

Having found the end of Vilamba, we find the commencement of Vilamba by deducting the length of one cycle-year, without or with Bîja, as the case may be, thus :---

end of Vilamba without Bîja, 2366 883-3778

less one year without Bija, - 361.0267

remainder 2366 522.3511,

i.e. 20th March, A.D. 1767, new style, 8 h. 25.6 m., - beginning of Vilamba without Bija; end of Vilamba with Bîja, 2366 922.4413

less one year with Bija, - 361.0347

remainder 2366 561.4066.

i.e. 28th April, A.D. 1767, new style, 9 h. 45.5 m., - beginning of Vilamba with Bija.

3. How to find the number of any year of Jupiter, mentioned in a date, in the series of Jupiter's years counted from the commencement of the Kaliyuga, may be best shown by two examples :—

First Example.

An inscription on a Sati-pillar at 'Boram-Dêo' in the Central Provinces, (Archaol. Survey of India, Vol. XVII. Plate xxii.) is dated-

Samvat 1445 Bhava-nâma-samvasa(tsa)rê Åsvi(śvi)na-sudi 13 Sômê;

*i.e.* 'the (Vikrama) year 1445, in (Jupiter's) year named **Bhava**, the 13th of the bright balf of Åsvina, on Monday;'—and the corresponding European date (for the northern expired Vikrama year 1445) is Monday, 14th September, A.D. 1388, when the 13th *tithi* of the bright half ended 19 h. after mean survise.

The question here is: — Which year of Jupiter, counted from the commencement of the Kaliyuga, was the year Bhava (the 42nd year in the Sixty-Year Cycle, when counted from Vijaya as No. 1; see Table III.), which is mentioned in this date?

To answer this question, we substitute for the Vikrama year (1445) of the date the corresponding year of the Kaliyuga (4489), obtained by adding 3044; this year of the Kaliyuga (4489) we divide by 85; and we add the quotient to the dividend, counting fractions exceeding  $\frac{1}{4}$  as I, thus (4489 divided by 85 =  $52\frac{69}{85}$  = 53; 4489 + 53 = 4542); dividing the sum (4542) by 60, the remainder will be, approximately, the number which the year we are concerned with holds in the Sixty-Year Cycle, when counted from Vijaya as No. 1; (4542 divided by 60 leaves remainder 42). Where the remainder actually corresponds with the number of the year of the date in the Sixty-Year Cycle, counted from Vijaya, (as is the case in the present instance), the sum previously divided by 60 (here 4542), is the very number sought (here 4542). But where the remainder falls below or exceeds that number (which would have been the case here if the remainder had been 41 or 44), the difference (in the assumed case, either 1 or 2) must be either added to, or subtracted from, the sum (here 4542) divided by 60 (in which case the year songht would have been either 4543 or 4540, respectively).<sup>4</sup>

In the present date, then, Bhava was the 4542nd year of Jupiter from the commencement of the Kaliyaga; and we now find, by the rale given under 2, ---

(a)	for th	e end of Bhâva without Bîja :
		361-02672103 ·× 4542
	1639	783-36691826
	+ 588	465'7500
	2228	249 1169, i.e. 12th August, A.D. 1388, 2 h. 48.3 m.;
(b)	for t	he end of Bhâva with Bija :
		361-0346511 × 4542
	1639	819-3852962
	+ 588	465.7500
	2228	285.1353, i.e. 17th September, A.D. 1388, 3 h. 14.8 m.

The result is, that the year Bhava, whether without or with Bija, was current at the commencement of the solar year Kaliyuga 4489 (==  $\nabla$ . 1445) expired; and that, with Bija, it actually included the day (the 14th September, A.D. 1388) which is mentioned in the inscription.

## Second Example.

My manuscript of the Käsika-Vritti is dated -

Samvat 1464 varshe Åshådha-vadi tritlyåyåm tithan Manmatha-samvatsare Budhe ;

i.e. 'in the (Vikrama) year 1464, on the third lunar day of the dark half of Åshådha, in (Jupiter's) year Manmatha, on Wednesday.'

Here it so happens that, had the year Manmatha not been mentioned in the date, the corresponding European date might be either, ---

for the northern expired Vikrama year 1464, by the *purnimanta* reckoning, Wednesday, 25th May, A.D. 1407, when the third *tithi* of the dark half ended 5 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise; or ----

for the southern expired Vikrama year 1464, by the amanta reckoning, Wednesday, 11th July, A.D. 1408, when the third tithi of the dark half ended 11h. 12m. after mean sunrise.

In fact, the question as to which of these two dates is the date on which the writing of my MS. was finished, must and can only be decided by the year Manmatha.

**Manmatha** is the 3rd year of the Sixty-Year Cycle, counted from Vijaya; and proceeding as before, we have: — Vikrama 1464 + 3044 == Kaliyuga 4508; 4508 divided by  $85 = 53_{3^{2}x}$ ; 4508 + 53 == 4561; 4561 divided by 60 leaves remainder 1; this being 2 less than Manmatha

<sup>•</sup> It will be clear from the above that, the first thing to do. is always to substitute for the year of the date the corresponding year of the Kaliyuga; and in this respect it makes no difference whatever whether, the Vikrama year of a date is a northern or southern year. Should the year of the date be a Baka year, we should also first substitute the corresponding year of the Kaliyuga, obtained by adding 3179; and we should proceed similarly in the case of any other era.

(3), we have 4561 + 2 = 4563 as the number (from the commencement of the Kaliyuga) of the year Manmatha of our date. We now find —

(a) for the end of Manmatha without Bija :---

 $\frac{361 \cdot 02672103 \times 4563}{1647 \ 364 \cdot 92805989}$ 

+ 588 465.7500

2235 830 6781, i.e. 15th May, A.D. 1409, 16 h. 16 5 m.;

and for the beginning of Manmatha without Bija, by deducting one year without Bija :---

 $\frac{2235 \ 830 \cdot 6781}{--- \ 361 \cdot 0267}$ 

2235 469.6514, i.e. 19th May, A.D. 1408, 15 h. 38 m.

(b) for the end of Manmatha with Bija :--

 $361.0346511 \times 4563$ 

1647 401·1129693

+ 588 465.7500

2235 866.8630, i.e. 20th June, A.D. 1409, 20 h. 42.7 m.;

and for the beginning of Manmatha with Bija, by deducting one year with Bija :---

2235 866-8630 --- 361-0347

2235 505.8283, i.e. 24th June, A.D. 1408, 19 h. 52.8 m.

The year Manmatha, without Bija, therefore lasted from-

19th May, A.D. 1408, 15 h. 38 m., to 15th May, A.D. 1409, 16 h. 16.5 m.; and the same year, with Bija, from —

24th June, A.D. 1408, 19 h. 52.8 m., to 20th June, A.D. 1409, 20 h. 42.7 m.; and it is clear that of the two otherwise possible European equivalents of the Hindu date (Wednesday, 25th May, A.D. 1407, and Wednesday, 11th July, A.D. 1408) only the second can be the true date, because only this date falls in the year Manmatha.

4. It is apparent that the above rules may be combined to ascertain or verify the occasion of a kshaya or expunged year of Jupiter. Thus it may be shown that Subhakrit, the 10th year of the cycle, counted from Vijaya (inclusive), with Bija, was such a year in Kaliyuga 4873, current. By the above we find that Kaliyuga 4872 ended, and Kaliyuga 4873 began —

365·2587565 × 4872 1779 540·6616680 + 588 463·6024 2368 004·2640680, *i.e.* 10th April, A. D. 1771, new style, 6 h. 20·3 m.;

and that Kaliyuga 4873 ended —

2368 004·2640680 + 365·2587565

2368 369.5228, i.e. 9th April, A.D. 1772, new style, 12 h. 32.8 m.

We also find that (since Subhakrit in Kaliyuga 4873 must have been the 4930th year of Jupiter from the commencement of the Kaliyuga) Subhakrit with Bija commenced, or the preceding year Plava (4929) ended —

<u>361·0346511 × 4929</u> 1779 539·7952719 <u>+ 588 465·7500</u> 2368 005·5452719, *i.e.* 11th April, A.D. 1771, new style, 13 h. 5·2 m.; and that Subhakrit with Bija ended ----

#### 

2368 366 5799, i.e. 6th April, A.D. 1772, new style, 13 h. 55 1 m.

It is therefore clear that Subhakrit, since it commenced after the beginning of Kaliyuga 4873 current, and ended before the end of Kaliyuga 4873 current, was a kshaya or expunged year in 4873. And by deducting the sum of days for the commencement of Kaliyuga 4873 from the sum of days for the commencement of the year Subhakrit, we find that the commencement of Subhakrit with Bija was due 1 day, 6 h. 44 m. 54 s. after the commencement of Kaliyuga 4873 current.

5. By Warren's Rules and Tables the Jupiter's years will be found to begin and end about 2.1476 days, = 2 days 3 h. 32 m. 30 s., earlier than by the above rules. Thus, according to the Käla-Sankalita, p. 201, the commencement of the year Vikarin (or the end of Vilamba), with Bîja (above, 2), fell on 21st April, A.D. 1768, new style, instead of falling on the 23rd April; and the solar time of Vikarin expired, at the commencement of Kaliyuga 4871 current, according to Warren, was —

353 days 27 d. 10 p. 31.0640 c., *i.e.* about 353 days 10 h. 52.2 m. = 353.4529 days, whereas by my rule it was only 351.3053 = (353.4529 - 2.1476) days. Similarly, by Warren's Tables, the year Bhiva, with Bija, (above, 3, *First Example*), would end on the 14th September, A.D. 1388, 23 h. 42.2 m., whereas by my rule it ended on the 17th September, A.D. 1388, 3 h. 14.8 m., *i.e.* 2 days 3 h. 32.6 m. later. And according to the *Kâla-Sankalita*, p. 206, Plava, with Bija, was an expunged year in Kaliyuga 4872, current, while by the above rules Subhakrit was an expunged year in Kaliyuga 4873, current.

The reason of this difference is that Warren has calculated the Jupiter's years from the apparent Måsha-samkrånti at the commencement of the Kaliyuga, whereas they should have been calculated from the mean Måsha-samkrånti or the vulgar epoch of the Kaliyuga, which, according to Warren, was 2<sup>-1476</sup> days later than the apparent Måsha-samkrånti. This important correction I owe in the first instance to Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit, and I have found Mr. Dikshit's remarks on the subject confirmed by the practice of four MS. calendars in the Royal Library at Berlin. Thus, to give only one instance, in a calendar for the expired northern Vikrama year 1841 we read :--

Samvat 1841 Sákê 1706 .... Rakshasa-nâma-samvatsara-pravrittih | Tasya guru-mânêna mêshât prâg bhukta-mâsâdi 3 2 33 36 ];

*i.e.*, at the commencement of the (expired) Vikrama year 1841 or the (expired) Saka , ear 1706 ( = Kaliyuga 4885, expired), the Jupiter's year current is **Rakshasa** (the 4943rd year from the commencement of the Kaliyuga); and of this year there have elapsed at the time of the Mêsba-samkrânti (of Kaliyuga 4885 expired) 3 months, 2 days, 33 dandas, 36 palas, = 92.5600 days, of Jupiter's own time.

By my own rules, we have end of Kaliyuga 4885, current, = 2372 752.6279 — beginning of Råkshasa, without Bija, = 2372 659.8053 remainder 92.8226;

i.e., the beginning of the year Råkshasa, without Bîja. preceded the commencement of Kaliyuga 4885, expired, by 92.8226 solar days. To convert these into days of Jupiter's own time, say, as 361.0267 solar days (the length of the Jupiter's year without Bija) to 360 days of Jupiter's own time, so are 92.8226 solar days to 92.5586 days of Jupiter's own time. Deducting 92.5586 from 92.5600, the remainder will be 0.0014 days = 2 minutes, by which the year Råkshasa, according to my rule, will commence later than it does according to the MS. calendar. According to Warren, the commencement of Råkshasa, without Bija, would precede the commencement of Kaliyuga 4885, expired, by about 94.9721 solar days, *i.e.* Råkshasa would commence about 2 days 3 h. 33.3 m, earlier than it is made to begin by the MS. calendar.

B .-- The beginning and end of the Cycle-year according to the Jyôtistattva.

(a)—According to the Arya-Siddhánta, the epoch of the Sake era, expressed in days of the Julian period, and in such a manner as to yield current days and hours, etc., after mean sunrise (at Ujjain), in the final results, is — 1749 621:1979 days.

(b)-The length of one solar year is -

365.25868055 days.

#### Rules.

1. To find the beginning of any year of the Saka era, in accordance with the Arya-Siddhanta, multiply (b), *i.e.* the length of one solar year, by the number of years expired, and to the product add (a), *i.e.* the epoch of the Saka era. Convert the result into the European date by Tables I. and II.

Thus, for the beginning of Saka 1680, current, we find-

 $365 \cdot 25868055 \times 1679$ 

613 269 32464345

+ 1749 621.1979

2362 890 5225, *i.e.* 9th April, A.D. 1757 new style, 12 h. 32 4 m., which differs by six seconds from the commencement of Saka 1680, current, as given in Warren's First Chronol. Table, p. xxiv.

And similarly, for the beginning of Saka 1311 expired (or 1312 current) we find-

 $365 \cdot 25868055 \times 1311$ 

478	854-13020105
1749	621.1979

2228 475 3281, *i.e.* 26th March, A.D. 1389, 7 h. 52 5 m. which agrees to the very second with the result obtained from Warren's Table XLVIII., Second Part.

2. The Jyôtistattva rule yields, for the commencement of any expired Saka year, the last expired Jupiter's year; and since it furnishes the means of determining what portion of the current Jupiter's year had elapsed at the commencement of the said Saka year, it enables us to calculate accurately the moment when the last expired Jupiter's year ended or the current one commenced. The rule is given by Davis (Asiat. Res. Vol. III, p. 214) and Warren (Kála-Samkalita, p. 202), as follows:---

"The Saka year note down in two places. Multiply (one of the numbers) by 22. Add (to the product) 4291. Divide (the sum) by 1875. The quotient (its integers) add to the second number noted down, and divide (the sum) by 60. The remainder or fraction will show the year last expired, counting from Prabhava (inclusive) as the first of the cycle. The fraction, if any, left by the divisor 1875, may be reduced to months, days, etc., expired of the current [Jupiter's] year."

Applying this rule, e.g. to the expired Saka year 1311, we find-

$$\frac{1311 \times 23 + 4391}{1876} = 17 \frac{1353}{1785}; \text{ and } \frac{1311 + 17}{60} = 22 \frac{3}{60}.$$

Here the numerator of the second fraction  $\binom{8}{60}$  shows that at the beginning of Saka 1311, expired, the last expired year of Jupiter was the 8th, counted from Prabhava (inclusive), *i.e.* Bhava. And the first fraction  $\binom{1358}{1376}$  indicates that the end of Bhava occurred  $\frac{1359}{1676}$  of one solar year<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Thie may be seen from the fact that 1875 reduced to days by Table IV. yields one	solar	year (in accordance
with the Arya-Siddhanta) :-		
1000 = 194 80463 days.		
$800 = 155 \cdot 84370$		
70 - 13 08632		
<b>6</b> - 0.97409		

1875 - 865 25867 days.

before the commencement of Saka 1311, expired, (or the end of Saka 1311, current). This fraction may be reduced to days by my Table IV. (which is based on Warren's Tables XIV. and XVI.), as follows :---

numerator	1000	Ħ	194.80463	days.
**	200	===	38.96093	**
13	50	=	9.74023	,,
29	8	=	1.55844	31
<u> </u>	1259 1875	=	245.06423	days.

And deducting this amount from the commencement of the expired Saka year (which in the present instance has been found already under 1), we find exactly when the year Bhava ended, or, which is the same, when the following year Yuvan began :---

i.e. 24th July, A.D. 1388, 6 h. 20 m.,-end of Bhâva or commencement of Yuvan.

Or, to give another example (Kála-Samkalita, p. 203), for the commencement of Saka 1 current, = Sake 0 expired, we find -

$$\frac{0 \times 23 + 439}{1875} = 2 \frac{541}{1875}; \text{ and } \frac{0 + 2}{60} = 0 \frac{2}{60}; i.e. \text{ Jupiter's year expired } 2 = \text{Vibhava.}$$
  
And numerator 500 = 97.40231 days;  
,, 40 = 7.79218 ,,  
,, 1 = 0.19480 ,,  
$$\frac{541}{1875} = 105.38929 \text{ days;}$$

i.e., at the commencement of the Saka year 1 current, there had elapsed of the current Jupiter's year 3 = Sukla, 105 days 9 h. 20.6 m., which agrees with Warren's result to the very second ;6 and the year Sukla began-

i.e. 19 h. 24.4 m. after mean sunrise (at Ujjain) of 29th November, A.D. 77.

3. The working of the Jyôtistattva rule shows that, according to the rule, the length of the ordinary Jupiter's year is 1853 of a solar year, i.e. 360-9730 (or, more accurately, 360.972978706) days; and, having found the end of one Jupiter's year, we therefore find the beginning of the same year, or the end of the following year, by simply either deducting that amount from, or adding it to, the number of days previously found (without starting afresh from the preceding or following Saka year). For instance, -

-	end of Bhâva (under 2)		230·2639 360·9730	
	remainder	2227	869-2909,	

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> In a note on pp. 203 and 204 Warren has shown by an elaborate calculation that, by the Súrya-Siddhânta rule, there had elapsed of the year Sukla, at the end of Kaliyuga 3179 or the commencement of Saka I current -

As the year Sukle (the 37th year of the cycle, when counted from Vijaya) in Kaliyuga 3179 was the 3217th year, and the preceding year Vibhava the 3216th year of Jupiter, from the commencement of the Kaliyuga, we find —

end of Kaliyuga	$8179 = 1749 \ 621 \ 1893$
less end of Vibhava	

remainder

i.e. the end of Vibhava or commencement of Sukla preceded the end of Kaliyuga 3179 really by only 68 0015 days (or by 21475 days less than was found by Warren).

68.0015 ;

*i.e.* 29th July, A.D. 1387, 6 h. 5<sup>8</sup>9 m., — beginning of Bhåva; end of Bhåva (under 2) 2228 230 2639 + 360 9730

sum 2228 591·2369,

*i.e.* 20th July, A.D. 1389, 5 h. 41.1 m., - end of Yuvan.

And in a similar manner it would be possible, without starting a new calculation, to ascertain the end of any previous or subsequent year (as will be shown below, not separated from the year the end of which has already been found, by an expunction), by either subtracting or adding one ordinary Jupiter's year multiplied by the difference in the Sixty-Year Cycle between the year the end of which we know and the year the end of which we wish to find. For instance, given the end of Bhâva (No. 8), we find the end of the year Târaṇa (No. 18), by adding 360.9730 (or 360.97298)  $\times$  10, thus :—

<b></b>	sum	2231	839-9937,
+ (360·97298×	10) =	3	609.7298
end of Bhâva .		2228	$230 \cdot 2639$

i.e. 11th June, A.D. 1398, 23 h. 50 9 m., --- end of Târana (No. 18).

4. Were we to calculate the Jupiter's years, e.g., for the expired Saka years 60 and 61, the result would be as follows:--

				$\frac{60+2}{60}=1$	
$\frac{61 \times 22 + 4291}{1675}$	- == 3	8 1875>	and	$\frac{61+3}{60} = 1$	4 60 •

Here the numerators of the second fractions  $\left(\frac{2}{5v} \text{ and } \frac{4}{60}\right)$  tell us that, at the commencement of Saka 60 expired, the Jupiter's year last expired was No. 2 = Vibhava, and the Jupiter's year current was No. 3 == Sukla; and that, at the commencement of Saka 61 expired, the Jupiter's year last expired was (not No. 3, but) No. 4 == Pramôda. The year Pramôda accordingly commenced after the beginning of Saka 60 expired; and since it ended before the close of the same year, it was a kshaya or expunged year. And from the first fractions  $\left(\frac{1861}{1875} \text{ and } \frac{8}{1875}\right)$  we see that the duration of the year preceding the expunged year amounted to exactly one solar year, as may also be clearly demonstrated by the following figures:--

Numerator 1861 by Table IV ==	$362 \cdot 53141$	
" 8, " , =	1.55844	
Beginning of Saka 60 expired = 1771	L 536.71873	
deduct for 1881	<b>3</b> 62 <sup>.</sup> 53141	
End of No. 2 = Vibhava 1771	174.18732	
Beginning of Saka 61 expired = 1771	901 97741	
deduct for $\frac{8}{1875}$	— 1·55844	
End of No. $4 = Pramôda \dots 1771$	900.41897	•
deduct for end of No. 2 = Vibhava, - 1771	174.18732	
remainder	726-23165	days;
which is made up of one solar year ==	<b>3</b> 65·25868	• •
+ one ordinary Jupiter's year =	360.97297	
sum	726-23165	days.

With the above data, and assuming the occasions of expunged years to be known,<sup>7</sup> we might now of course calculate the end of any of Jupiter's years whatever, taking as our basis the end of any one year which may happen to be already known to us. For instance, the end of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Expunged years fell within the expired Saka years 60, 145, 231, 316, 401, 486, 571, 657, 742, 827, 912, 998, 1088, 1168, 1253, 1339, 1424, 1509, 1594, 1679, 1765.

year Bhâva, which precedes 'Saka 1311 expired, being known, we find the end and value of the Jupiter's year immediately preceding the present year, Saka 1811 expired, thus :---

i.e. 27th September, A.D. 1888, new style, 7 h. 18'9 m., — end of the Jupiter's year which preceded the commencement of Saka 1811 expired. And since Bhâva was the 8th year of the cycle, the year, the end of which we have thus ascertained, is  $(8 + 500 + 6 = \frac{514}{60} = 8\frac{34}{60})$  Sarvarin, the 34th year of the cycle.<sup>8</sup>

#### C.-The Bribat-Samhita rule.

The Brihat-Samhita rule (Kern's translation, Jour. As. Soc., N. S., Vol. V. p. 48, agrees with the Jyôtistattva rule, except that, — instead of multiplying by 22, adding 4291, and dividing by 1875, — we are directed to multiply by 44, to add 8589, and to divide by 3750. Applying this rule to the Saka year 1311 expired, we find :--

 $\frac{1311 \times 44 + 8639}{3730} = 17 \frac{2523}{8750}$ , and  $\frac{1311 + 17}{60} = 22 \frac{8}{60}$ .

numerator 1000 = 194.80463 days;, 200 = 38.96093 ,, , 60 = 11.68828 ,, , 1 = 0.19480 ,, ,  $\frac{1}{2} = 0.09740$  ,,  $\frac{1261\frac{1}{2}}{1875} = \frac{2523}{3750} = 245.74604 \text{ days}.$ 

Deducting this amount from the commencement of

Saka 1311 expired = 2228 475 3281

		820		
				-
we obtain	2228	229.	5821,	

i.e. 23rd July, A.D. 1388, 13 h. 58 2 m., for the end of Bhâva or commencement of Yuvan, according to the Brihat-Samhitâ rule.

In other words, the Jupiter's year, by this rule, ends earlier than it does by the Jyôtistattva

\* Calculating in the ordinary way, we have-  $\frac{1811 \times 22 + 4291}{1875} = 23 \frac{1008}{1875}, \text{ and } \frac{1811 + 23}{60} = 30 \frac{34}{60}.$ Tear last expired: 34 = Sarvarin, the end of which precedes the beginning of Saka 1811 expired by numerator  $1000 = 194 \cdot 80463$   $\cdot \quad 8 = 1 \cdot 55844$   $\frac{1008}{1875} = 196 \cdot 36307 \text{ days}.$ Beginning of Saka 1811 expired:  $365 \cdot 25368055 \times 1811$   $661483 \cdot 47047605$   $+1749621 \cdot 1979$   $2411104 \cdot 66887$ deduct for 1003 - 196 \cdot 36507 1875remainder  $2410908 \cdot 3053$ ; which differs from the above result by 42 seconds.

I may state that handy Tables for the Jupiter-years according to the Jyötistattva, based on the above data, and similar Tables for the Súrya-Siddkánta, will be published in a following number of this Journal. rule (B 2, above), exactly as much as  $\frac{8589}{3750}$  is larger than  $\frac{4291}{1675}$ . The difference between these two fractions amounts to  $\frac{7}{3750} = \frac{33}{1875} =$ numerator 3 = 0.58441 days,

 $\frac{1}{3} = 0.09740 \quad \text{,}$   $\frac{7}{3750} = 0.68181 \text{ days};$ 

and this is the very difference between the results of the two rales;<sup>9</sup> for ---

end of Bhâva by Jyô. t. rnle 2228 230.2639;

deduct ,, ,, ,, ,, Bri. S. rule 2228 229 5821;

end of Bhâva by Jyôt. t. rule, later by 0.6818 days = 16 h. 21.8 m.

# D.-The Cycle-year according to the so-called Télings rule.

According to this rule, the Japiter's year coincides with the luni-solar year; and the name of the current Japiter's year may be found thus :--To the expired year of the Kaliyuga add 13; to the expired Saka year, 12; and from the expired Vikrama year subtract 3; divide (the sum or the remainder) by 60; the remainder gives the number of the current Jupiter's year, counting from Prabhava (inclusive).<sup>10</sup> Thus-for K. Y. 4490 expired = S. 1311 expired = W 1440 = in the sum

г К. І. 4490	expired, = S. 1311	expired, $= \nabla$ , 1446	expired, we have :
4490	1311	1446	
+ 13	+ 12	- 3	
4503	1323	1443.	

divided by 60 in every case the remainder is 3 =Sukla.

# Simplification of a portion of the preceding Rules.

The working of the Sûrya-Siddhânta and Jyôtistattva rules, as described above, is rendered somewhat tedious by the various multiplications which have to be gone through to find the ends of the several years. To facilitate this part of the process, I append Tables V. and VI., from which the ends of the years may be found simply by addition. In these Tables the figures for the epochs of the eras have been included in the figures for the days corresponding to the units of the years; and, as regards their use, it need only be observed that the figures for the days corresponding to the year 0 must necessarily be added up with the rest, whenever the unit of the figures for the year is 0.

To show the working of these Tables," we will ask :----

- (a) On what day of the Julian period, according to the Súrya-Siddhanta, did the solar year Kaliyuga 4870, current, end (or the year 4871, current, begin)?
- (b) When did Jupiter's year 4926 (Vilamba), without Bija, end P
- (c) According to the Arya-Siddhanta, when did Saka 1311, expired, begin ?

<sup>\*</sup> So far as I can see, the only important difference in the results obtained by the Brihat-Samhitä rule is that, in accordance with it, expunctions take place in the expired Saka years 230, 997, and 1838, instead of taking place, as is the case by the Jyôtistattva rule, in the expired Saka years 231, 998, and 1839.

<sup>10</sup> When I wrote the above, I had not seen the following passage in Albernn's India, Sachau's Translation, Vol. II. p. 129 :-- "This is the method for the determination of the years of the sheehyabda, as recorded in their books. However, I have seen Hindus who subtract 3 from the era of Vikram&ditya, and divide the remainder by 60. The remainder they count off from the beginning of the great yuga. This method is not worth anything. By the by e: it is the same whether you reckon in the manner mentioned, or add 12 to the Sakakaka."

By the bye: it is the same whether you recton in the manner mentioned, or add 12 to the Sakakia." <sup>11</sup> The results obtained from Table VI. for the commencement of the Saka year, in accordance with the drya-Siddhanta, agree exactly with the beginnings of the years, as put down in Warren's First Chronological Table, pp. rit -- rxvt. As regards the results obtained from Table V. A., for the commencement of the solar year in accordance with the Sarya-Siddhanta, I may state that they will be found to be uniformly later by 28 minutes 86 seconds than the results obtained from Professor Keru Lakshman's and Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit's Tables, published onte, Vol. real difference is 15 minutes 86 seconds, by which my results are uniformly later, and by which, accordingly, Kera Lakshman has put the Mésha-sankranti at the commencement of the Kaliyaga earlier that I have done. Taking the difference between Ujiain time and Bombay time to be 13 minutes, Kera Lakshman's Mésha-sankranti, expressed in days of the Julian period, would be 588 463 5916 days.

# THE SIXTY-YEAR CYCLE OF JUPITER.

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### TABLE I.

# For converting a day of the Julian period into the European date.

		1	ł	I	II	nı	1 17	( <b>v</b>	VI	v11	VII	1 13	x	x1	( <b>X</b> 1	1	1	I	111	111	11	v	• VI	γп	VII	1  1X	x	II	хи
Old	Style,	Year.		Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May	June	July	Ang.	Sept.	et e	N04.	Dec.	Year.		Jan,	Feb.	March	April	May	June	A'lef	Ang.		et.	Nov.	De,
Year A.D.	Day of Julian	00	} {} {} g.	<u>K.</u> }001		<u>'</u>	÷	<u>.</u>	<u></u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u>+</u>	÷	4 303	<u>+</u> _	+	<u> </u>	i											
0 100 200' 300	period. 1721 057 1757 582 1794 107 1830 632 1867 157	01 02 03		000 366 731 1 096 461	397 762	<pre>/425 ≥790 /155</pre>	456) 821) 186	486 851 216	517 882 247	547 912 277	578 943 308	60) 974 33)	9 639 4  <i>004</i> 9 369	1 305 9 670 9 035 9 400 9 766	700 <i>065</i> 430	51 52 59	19	628 993 359	294 659 <i>024</i> 390 755	687 <i>053</i> 418	718 <i>084</i> 449	748 114 479	$779 \\ 145 \\ 510$	809 175 5 <b>4</b> 0	840 <i>206</i> 571	871 237 602	901 267 632	932 208 663	962 <i>528</i> 693
600 700 800	1903 682 1940 207 1976 732 2013 257 2049 782	06 07 08		827 192 557 922 288	223 588 958	$251 \\ 616 \\ 982$	282 647 <i>013</i>	312 677 <i>043</i>	343 708 074	373 738 104	404 769 135	$435 \\ 800 \\ 166$	465 830 196	131 496 861 227 592	526 891 <i>25</i> 7	56 57 58	21	454 820 185	$\frac{485}{851}$	514 879 244	545 910 275	575 940 305	606 971 386	636 <i>901</i> 366	667 <i>032</i> 397	69 <b>8</b> <i>063</i> 428	728 <i>093</i> 458	759 <i>124</i> 489	789 <i>154</i> 519
1100 2 1200 2 1300 2	2086 307 2122 832 2159 357 2195 882 2232 407	10 11 12 13 14	4	653 018 383 749 114	049 414 780	077 443 808	108 474 839	138 504 869	169 535 900	199 565 930	230 596 961	261 627 992	291 657 <i>022</i>	688	352 718 <i>083</i>	61 62 63	22 23	915 281 646 011 <b>3</b> 76	$312 \\ 677 \\ 042 $	340 705 070	371 736 101	401 766 131	432 4 797 8 162 3	462 327 192	$\frac{493}{858}$ 223	524 889 254	554 919 284	585 950 315	615 980 345
1600 2	2268 932 2305 457 2841 982	15 16 17 18 19	6	479 844 210 575 940	875	904 269 634	935 300 665	965 830 695	996 361 3 726 3	<i>026</i> 391 756	<i>057</i> 422 787	<i>088</i> 453 818	<i>118</i> 483 848	<i>149</i> 514 879	179 544 909	66 67 68	24	742 107 472 837 203	138 508 ( 868 (	1661 531 5 397 9	97 62 28	227  2 592  0 958  9	258 2 323 6 989 0	88 53 19	319 684 050 (	350 7 <b>1</b> 5 <i>981</i>	380 4 745 7 111 7	111 76 8 (42)	141 306 172
		20 21 22 23 24		671 036	432	730 095 <b>1</b> 60	761 126 491	7 <b>9</b> 1 8 156 1 321 8	822 3 187 2 552 3	352 217 582 (	883 248 613	914 279 644	944 369 674	975 340 705	<i>005</i> 370 735	$\frac{71}{72}$	26	568 933 298 664 029	964 9 329 3 695 7	920 3583 7237	)23 (  89 4  54	) <i>53</i> ( 119 4 784 8	$\frac{841}{504}$	14 1 80 8 45 8	145 511 376	1762 542 9079	206 2 572 ( 937 :	2 <i>37 ±</i> 508 ( 968 9	267 333 998
		25 26 27 28 29		$\frac{862}{227}$	163 528 893 258 624	5563 921 9 2 <b>8</b> 7 3	587 ( 952 9 318 3	317 ( )82 ( )48 8	3486 2 <i>130</i> 3794	578   24 <i>3</i>   109	709 274 140	740 1 <i>05</i> 471	770 <i>135</i> 501	801 166 582	831 <i>196</i> 562	76 77 78	28	394 759 125 490 855	790 8 156 ] 521 8	3198 1842 1495	50 15 80	380 9 245 2 310 6	$   \begin{array}{c}     11 \\     76 \\     3 \\     41 \\     6   \end{array} $	41 06 71	972 337 702	<i>005</i> 368 733	<i>093 (</i> 398 4 763 7	264 ( 129 4 794 (	294 159 124
	Day	30 31 32 33 34		323 688 054	989 354 719 085 450	382 4 748 7 113 1	113 4 775 8 144 1	43 4 309 8 74 2	1745 3408 2052	604   170   135	535 901 266	566 932 297	596 962 327	627 993 ( 358 (	657 023 388	81 82 83	30	220 586 951 316 681	617 (6 982 (6 847 (9	8456 9100 8754	76 7  41 0  06 4	706 7 271 1 136 4	377 021 674	67 7 <i>32</i>  5 97 1	798 ( 1 <i>63</i> ) 528	3298 1942 5594	359 8 224 2 589 6	390 9 255 9 220 (	)20 ? <i>85</i> 350
<b>{18</b> 00 <b>}</b> ,2:	378 495 415 019	37 38		149 515 880	815 180 546 911 276	209 574 ( 939 9	240 2 605 6 970 2	270 8 335 6 200 6	301 3 366 6 2 <i>51 0</i>	31 96 01	362   727   29 <i>2</i>	393 758 1 <i>23</i>	423 788 1 <i>53</i>	454 4 819 8 <i>184 3</i>	484 349 214	86 87 88	32	$\frac{412}{7778}$	143 4 808 8 173 2	715 368 022	02 5 67 5 33 2	532 5 397 9 263 2	63 5 28 9 94 3	93 { 58 \$ 24 ;	624 ( 989 ( 355 ;	8556 9206 3864	5857 2500 1164	16 )81 )47	746 (11 (77
		43	15	976 341 706	641 007 372 737 102	9 <i>35 (</i> 100 4 765 7	266 (0 131 4 796 8	96 1  61 4  26 8	271 925 3578	57 2 22 8 87 9	(88) 553   918	219 584 949	249  614  979,	280 : 645 ( 010 (	310 375 940	91  92  93	<b>33</b> (	603 ( 969 (	269 2 634 6 200 0	97 3  63 6  28 0	28'8 94 59(	358 3 24 7 29 1	894 557 201	19 4 85 8 50 1	150 316 181	481 347 81 <i>2</i> 2	511 ( 377 9 842 2	425 089 735	72  38   <i>CS</i>
		45 46 47 48 49		802 167 532	468 833 8 198 2 563 8 929 9	361 8 26 2 592 6	392 9 257 2 523 6	22 9 87 3 53 6	)53 9  18 3  84 7	83 ( 48 ( 14 (	014 ( 379 4 745 7	745 110 76	075 440 806	106 1 471 5 837 8	<i>136</i> 501 367	96 97 98	85 ( :	430 4 795 8	095 1 461 4 326 8	24 1 89 5 54 8	55 1 20 5 85 9	(85)2 (50)5 (15)9	$   \begin{array}{c}     16 2 \\     81 6 \\     46 9 \\   \end{array} $	$   \begin{array}{c c}     46 \\     11 \\     76 \\     6   \end{array} $	277 8 542 ( 207 (	308 3 578,7 758,0	338 3 703 7 268 0	69 3 34 7 99 1	99 64 29

<sup>12</sup> When calculating for one of the secular years 1700, 1800, 1900, new style, use the line 00 §g. K. ;, not 00.

		(1) Guine and the				
(a) End of Kaliyuga 4870 current, by Table V, A.	(b) End of Japiter's year 4926, without Bija,	(c) Commencement of Saka 1311, expired,				
•===••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••	by Table V, B.	by Table VI.				
$4000 = 1461 \ 035 \cdot 02600$	$4000 = 1444 \ 106 \ 88412$	$1000 = 365 \ 258 \cdot 68055$				
$800 = 292 \ 207.00520$	$900 = 324 \ 924 \ 04893$	<b>3</b> J0 == 109 577 60416				
$70 = 25 568 \cdot 11295$	20 = 7 220;53442	$10 = 3 652 \cdot 58681$				
$0 = 588 \ 463 \ 60240$	$6 = 590 \ 631 \ 91033$	·1 == 1749 986·45658				
$4870 = 2367 \ 273.74655;$	4926 = 2366 883 37780;	$1311 = 2228 \ 475 \ 32810;$				
	102 104 and 108 he mal	tiplication and by the additic				

just as has been found above, pp. 193, 194, and 198, by multiplication and by the addition of the epochs.

#### The Samkrantis and Solar Months.

For those who would wish to use the Tables V. A. and VI. to ascertain the exact end of a solar month or the occasion of a Samkranti, I have added Table VII. which gives the collective numbers of days of the solar months. To give an example for the use of this Table, we will ask : ---When did the Uttarâyaṇa-samkranti, according to the Súrya-Siddhánta, take place in Vikrama 1234 = Kaliyuga 4278 expired (above, p. 138) ?

By Table V. A,  $4000 = 1461\ 035\ 02600$   $200 = 73\ 051\ 75130$   $70 = 25\ 568\ 11295$   $8 = 591\ 385\ 67245$ By Table VII., Uttarâya<u>na-samkrânti</u> = 275\ 65844 sum 2151\ 316\ 22114;

which by Tables I. and II. corresponds to 25th December, A.D. 1177, 5 h. 18<sup>4</sup> m. Accordingly, in Vikrama 1234 expired, the Uttarâyaņa-samkrânti took place, at Ujjain, 5 h. 18<sup>4</sup> m. after mean sunrise of 25th December, A.D. 1177.

#### An Example for all Rules.

To show the working of the above rules, I select a date which is given in Professor Weber's Catalogue of the Berlin Sanskrit MSS., Vol. II. p. 55, and which runs thus:---

Sainvat 1531 Sâkê 1396 pravarttamânê Subhakrita(n)-nâmni sainvatsarê.....Kârttikaindi 9 Budha-vâsarê Dhanishthâ-nakshatrê Vriddhi-yôgê Kanlava-karanê . . . i.e. 'while the (Vikrama) year 1531 (and) the 'Saka year 1396 is proceeding, in (Jupiter's) year Subhakrit, on the 9th of the bright half of Kârttika, on Wednesday, the nakshatra being Dhanishthâ, the yôga Vriddhi, and the karana Kaulava' . . .

The corresponding European date (for the Vikrama year 1531 and the Saka year 1396, both expired, notwithstanding the expression pravartamáné in the date), undoubtedly is Wednesday, 19th October, A.D. 1474, when the 9th tithi of the bright half and the karana Kaulava ended 13 h. 15 m. after mean sunrise, and when the moon was in Dhanishthâ up to 12 h. 29 m., and the yôga was Vyiddhi up to 13 h. 26 m. after mean sunrise. And what concerns us now, is to find the beginning or end, or both, of the year Subhakrit which is mentioned in the date, in accordance with the different rules.

# (a). The year Subhakrit according to the Surya-Siddhanta.

To find the commencement of Subhakrit, is equivalent to finding the end of the preceding year Plava, which is the 9th year of the cycle counted from Vijaya (inclusive). We now have :---

Vikrama 1531 + 3044 = Kaliyuga 4575; divided by  $85 = 53 \frac{70}{85} = 54$ ; 4575 + 54 = 4629; divided by 60 leaves remainder 9.

Accordingly Plava (the 9th year of the cycle, from Vijaya) was the 4629th year of Jupiter

Ξ

# TABLE II.

For converting the decimals of the day into hours and minutes.

d 0.	b m	d 0.	h m	d 0.00	m	d 0-00	m
00 01 02 03 04	0 14·4 0 28·8	50 51 52 53 54	$\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	00 01 02 03 04	0.0 0.1 0.3 0.4 0.6	50 51 52 53 54	7·2 7·3 7·5 7·6 7·8
05 06 07 08 09	$ \begin{array}{c} 1 & 12 \cdot 0 \\ 1 & 26 \cdot 4 \\ 1 & 40 \cdot 8 \\ 1 & 55 \cdot 2 \\ 2 & 9 \cdot 6 \end{array} $	55 56 57 58 59	$\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	05 06 07 08 09	0.7 0.9 1.0 1.2 1.3	55 56 57 58 59	7 9 8 1 8 2 8 4 8 5
10 11 12 18 14	2 24.0 2 38.4 2 52.8 3 7.2 3 21.6	$     \begin{array}{c}       60 \\       61 \\       62 \\       63 \\       64     \end{array}   $	$\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	10 11 12 13 14	1 4 1 6 1 7 1 9 2 0	60 61 62 63 64	8.6 8.8 9.1 9.2
15 16 17 18 19	3 36.0 3 50.4 4 4.8 4 19-2 4 33.6	65 66 67 68 69	15 86.0 15 50.4 16 4.8 16 19.2 16 33.6	15 16 17 18 19	2·2 2·3 2·4 2·6 2·7	65 66 67 68 69	9·4 9·5 9·6 9·8 9·9
20 21 22 23 24	4 48.0 5 2.4 5 16.8 5 31.2 5 45.6	70 71 72 73 74	16 48.0 17 2.4 17 16.8 17 31.2 17 45.6	20 21 22 23 24	2·9 3·0 3·2 3·3 3·5	70 71 72 73 74	10·1 10·2 10·4 10·5 10·7
25 26 27 28 29	$\begin{array}{cccc} 6 & 0.0 \\ 6 & 14.4 \\ 6 & 29.8 \\ 6 & 43.2 \\ 6 & 57.6 \end{array}$	75 76 77 78 79	18 0.0 18 14.4 18 28.8 18 43 2 18 57.6	25 26 27 28 29	3.6 3.7 3.9 4.0 4.2	75 76 77 78 79	10.8 10.9 11.1 11.2 11.4
30 31 32 33 34	7 12.0 7 26.4 7 40.8 7 55.2 8 9.6	80 81 82 83 84	$\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	30 31 32 38 34	4·5 4·6 4·8	80 81 82 83 84	11-5 11-7 11-8 12-0 12-1
35 36 37 38 39	8 24.0 8 38.4 8 52.8 9 7.2 9 21.6	86 87 88	20 24.0 20 38.4 20 52.8 21 7.2 21 21.6	85 36 37 38 39	5-2 5-3 5-5	85 86 87 88 89	$     \begin{array}{r}       12.2 \\       12.4 \\       12.5 \\       12.7 \\       12.8 \\       12.8 \\     \end{array} $
40 41 42 43 44	9 36.0 9 50.4 10 4.8 10 19.2 10 33.6	91 92 93	$\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	40 41 42 43 44	$5.9 \\ 6.0 \\ 6.2 $	90 91 92 93 94	13.0 13.1 13.2 13.4 13.5
45 46 47 48 49	10 48.0 11 2.4 11 16.8 11 31.2 11 45.6	96 97 98	22 48 0 23 2 4 23 16 8 23 31 2 23 45 6	45 46 47 48 49	6.6 6.8 6.9	95 96 97 98 99	13·7 18·8 14·0 14·1 14·3

# TABLE III.

# The Sixty-Year Cycle of Jupiter.

(The figures to the right refer to the Súrya-Siddhanta rule only.)

No.Name.No.No.Name.No.1Prabhava3531Hêmalamba52Vibhava3632Vilamba63Sukla3733Vikârin74Pramôda3834Sarvarin85Prajâpati3935Plava96Angiras4036Subhakrit107Srîmukha4137Sôbhana118Bhâva4238Krôdhin129Yuvan4339Viśvâvasu1310Dhâtri4440Parâbhava1411Ísvara4541Plavańga1512Bahudhânya4642Kilaka1613Pramâthin4743Saunya1714Vikrama4844Sâdhârana1815Bhriśya4945Virôdhakrit1916Chitrabhânu5046Paridhâvin2017Subhânu5147Pramâdin2118Târana5248Ånanda2219Pârthiva5349Râkshasa2320Vyaya5450Anala2421Sarvajit5652Kâlayukta2623Virôdhin5753Siddhârthin2724Vikrita5854Raudra <td< th=""><th></th><th></th><th></th><th></th><th></th><th></th></td<>						
2       Vibhava       36       32       Vilamba       6         3       Sukla	No.	Name.	No.	No.	Name.	No.
2       Vibhava       36       32       Vilamba       6         3       Sukla		<b>D</b>	<u>م</u>			
3       Sukla	-		-			_
4Pramôda3834Sarvarin85Prajâpati3935Plava96Angiras4036Subhakrit107Srímukha4137Šóbhana118Bhâva4238Kródhin129Yuvan4339Viśvávasu1310Dhâtri4440Parâbhava1411Ísvara				1		-
5       Prajåpati	-	1 1				
6       Angiras		1				
7       Srímukha       41       37       Sóbhana       11         8       Bhâva       42       38       Kródhin       12         9       Yuvan				-		-
8       Bhâva       42       38       Kròdhin       12         9       Yuvan       43       39       Viśvâvasu       13         10       Dhâtri       44       40       Parâbhava       14         11       Îśvara       45       41       Plavanga       15         12       Bahudhânya       45       41       Plavanga       16         13       Pramâthin       47       43       Saumya       17         14       Vikrama       48       44       Sâdhârana       18         15       Bhriśya       49       45       Virôdhakrit       19         16       Chitrabhânu       50       46       Paridhâvin       20         17       Subhânu       51       47       Pramâdin       21         18       Târana       52       48       Ånanda       22         19       Pârthiva       53       49       Râkshasa       23         20       Vyaya       54       50       Anala       24         21       Sarvajit       56       52       Kâlayukta       26         22       Sarvajit       57       53					Subnakrit	
9       Yuvan						
10       Dhâtri	-					
11       İśvara       45       41       Plavańga       15         12       Bahudhânya       46       42       Kilaka       16         13       Pramåthin       47       43       Saumya	-		-			=
12       Bahudhânya       46       42       Kilaka	- •					
13       Pramåthin       47       43       Saumya       17         14       Vikrama	_				Plavanga	
14       Vikrama       48       44       Sådhårana       18         15       Bhrišya       49       45       Virôdhakrit       19         16       Chitrabhånu       50       46       Paridhåvin       20         17       Subhånu       51       47       Pramådin       21         18       Tårana       52       48       Ånanda       22         19       Pårthiva       53       49       Råkshasa       23         20       Vyaya       54       50       Anala       24         21       Sarvajit       55       51       Pingala       25         22       Sarvajit       56       52       Kålayukta       26         23       Virôdhin       57       53       Siddhårthin       27         24       Vikrita       58       54       Raudra       28         25       Khara       59       55       Durmati       29         26       Nandana       60       56       Dundubhi       30         27       Vijaya       1       57       Raktåksha       32         29       Manmatha       3       59       Krô				r		-
15       Bhrišya       49       45       Virôdhakrit       19         16       Chitrabhânu       50       46       Paridhâvin       20         17       Subhânu       51       47       Pramâdin       21         18       Târana       52       48       Ånanda       22         19       Pârthiva       53       49       Râkshasa       23         20       Vyaya       54       50       Anala       24         21       Sarvajit       55       51       Pingala       24         22       Sarvajit       56       52       Kâkyukta       26         23       Virôdhin       56       52       Kâkyukta       26         23       Virôdhin       57       53       Siddhârthin       27         24       Vikrita       58       54       Raudra       28         25       Khara       59       55       Durmati       29         26       Nandana       60       56       Dundubhi       30         27       Vijaya       1       57       Raktâksha       32         29       Manmatha       3       59       Krôd						
16       Chitrabhânu       50       46       Paridhâvin       20         17       Subhânu       51       47       Pramâdin       21         18       Târana       52       48       Ânanda       22         19       Pârthiva       53       49       Râkshasa       23         20       Vyaya       54       50       Anala       24         21       Sarvajit						
17       Subhânu       51       47       Pramâdin       21         18       Târana       52       48       Ânanda       22         19       Pârthiva						
18       Tårana       52       48       Ånanda			- +			- •
19       Pårthiva       53       49       Råkshasa       23         20       Vyaya       54       50       Anala       24         21       Sarvajit       55       51       Pingala       25         22       Sarvajit       56       52       Kålayukta       26         23       Virôdhin       57       53       Siddhårthin       27         24       Vikrita       58       54       Raudra       28         25       Khara       59       55       Durmati       29         26       Nandana       60       56       Dundubhi       30         27       Vijaya       1       57       Raktåksha       32         29       Manmatha       3       59       Krôdhana       33						
20       Vyaya				-		
21       Sarvajit						
22       Sarvadhårin       56       52       Kålayukta       26         23       Virôdhin       57       53       Siddhårthin       27         24       Vikrita       58       54       Raudra       28         25       Khara       59       55       Durmati       29         26       Nandana       60       56       Dundubhi       30         27       Vijaya       1       57       Rudhirôdgårin       31         28       Jaya       2       58       Raktåksha       32         29       Manmatha       3       59       Krôdhana			-			
23       Virôdhin       57       53       Siddhârthin       27         24       Vikrita       58       54       Raudra       28         25       Khara       59       55       Durmati       29         26       Nandana       60       56       Dundubhi       30         27       Vijaya       1       57       Rudhirôdgârìn       31         28       Jaya       2       58       Raktâksha       32         29       Manmatha       3       59       Krôdhana       33			1			
24       Vikrita       58       54       Raudra			1			
25       Khara						
26         Nandana         60         56         Dundubhi         30           27         Vijaya         1         57         Rudhirôdgårin         31           28         Jaya         2         58         Raktåksha         32           29         Manmatha         3         59         Krôdhana         33						
27         Vijaya         1         57         Rudhirôdgårin         31           28         Jaya         2         58         Raktåksha         32           29         Manmatha         3         59         Krôdhana         33			59			
28         Jaya         2         58         Raktâksha         32           29         Manmatha         3         59         Krôdhana         33	26	Nandana	60	56		30
29 Manmatha 3 59 Krôdhana 33	27	Vijaya	1	57		31
	28			58	Raktâksha	32
30 Durmukha 4 60 Kshaya 34	- 29	Manmatha	3	59	Krôdhana	33
	<b>3</b> 0 ]	Durmukha	4	60	Kshaya	34
	1	I				

### TABLE IV.

For converting the fraction of the first term of the Jyôtistattva and Brihat-Samhitâ rules into days.

Nume- rator	Days.	Nume- rator,	Days.	Nume- rator.	Days.
1000 900 800 700 600 500 400 300 200 100	194 80463 175 32417 155 84870 136 36324 116 88278 97 40231 77 92185 58 44139 38 96093 19 48046	$     \begin{array}{r}       100 \\       90 \\       80 \\       70 \\       60 \\       50 \\       40 \\       30 \\       20 \\       10 \\     \end{array} $	19.48046 17.53242 15.58437 13.63632 11.6828 9.74023 7.79218 5.84414 3.89609 1.94805	10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 1	1.94805 1.75324 1.55844 1.36363 1.16883 0.97402 0.77922 0.58441 0.38961 0.19480 0.09740

since the commencement of the Kaliyuga; and to find the end of Plava (or commencement of Subhakit), without Bija, we proceed by Table V,  $B_{\cdot}:-$ 

4000	=	1444 106·88412
600	=	216 616 03262
<b>20</b>	=	7 220.53442
9	=	591 <b>7</b> 14·99049
4629	=	2259 658 4416,

i.e. 10th August, A.D. 1474, 10 h. 35 9 m., — end of Plava, or commencement of Subhakrit, without Bija; and, to find the end of Subhakrit without Bija, by adding one year without Bija, —

225	9 658 4416
+	361.0267
226	0 019-4683,

i.e. 6th August, A.D. 1475, 11 h. 14.4 m., - end of Subhakrit, without Bija.

Similarly, for the end of Plava (or commencement of Subhakrit) with Bija, we have by Table  $\nabla$ , C. :--

4000	=	<b>1444</b> 138.60424
600	=	216 620 79064
20		7 220 69302
9	=	591 715 06186
4629	=	2259 695 1498,

*i.e.* 16th September, A.D. 1474, 3 h. 35.7 m., — end of Plava, or commencement of Subhakrit, with Bija; and, for the end of Subhakrit with Bija, by adding one year with Bija,—

2259	695.1498
+	361.0347
9960	056-1845

i.e. 12th September, A.D. 1475, 4 h. 25.7 m., -- end of 'Subhakrit, with Bija.

Anyone who will take the trouble to calculate, e.g., the commencement of Subhakrit with Bija, by Warren's Tables, will find that, according to them, Subhakrit began 194 days 16 h. 4 m. 38 s. before the commencement of Kaliynga 4576 expired ; while according to my result it began only 192 days, 12 h. 32 m. 6 s. before the same moment, *i.e.* 2 days, 3 h. 32 m. 32 s. later (Kaliynga 4576 expired having begun, according to the *Surya-Siddhanta*, 27th March, A.D. 1475, 16 h. 7 8 m.,—though for us this is of no moment whatever). And in the present case, one disadvantage of the rules given in the *K&la-Samkalita* is that, starting as we must from Vikrama 1531 = Kaliynga 4575 expired, we do not find the beginning of 'Subhakrit at all, and that, after we have written out one set of figures and have discovered the uselessness of proceeding any further, we must start a new calculation and write out another set of figures, with the basis of Kaliynga 4576 expired.

#### (b). The year Subhakrit according to the Jyotistattva.

Here it must be borne in mind that Subhakrit is the 36th and Plava the 35th year of the cycle, counted from Prabhava inclusive.

Starting now from Saka 1396 expired, the year mentioned in the date, we have -

$$\frac{1396 \times 22 + 4291}{1875} = 18 \frac{1258}{1875}$$
, and  $\frac{1396 + 18}{80} = 23 \frac{34}{60}$ 

Here the numerator of the second fraction  $(\frac{34}{60})$  at once shows that, at the commencement of Saka 1396 expired, the last expired year of the cycle was only 34 = Sarvarin; but (to avoid a fresh start with the basis of 'Saka 1397 expired) we shall nevertheless go on with our calculation, to find the end of 'Sarvarin; to which we shall then add one ordinary Jupiter's year to find the end of Plava (or commencement of 'Subhakrit); having found which, we shall add another year

# TABLE V.

For finding the end of any solar year of the Kaliyuga, and of the Cycle-year without or with Bija, according to the Surya-Siddhanta. TABLE VI.

# For finding the end of any solar year of the Saka era according to the Ârya-Siddhanta.

Years.	ADays for solar years.	B.—Days for cycle-years without Bija.	C.—Days for cycle.years with Bîja.	Years.	Days for solar years of the Saka era.
3000 4000	1826 293 · 78250 1461 035 · 02600	1805 133.60515 1444 106.88412 1083 080.16309	$\begin{array}{r} 1805 \ 173 \cdot 25530 \\ 1444 \ 138 \cdot 60424 \\ 1083 \ 103 \cdot 95318 \end{array}$	1000	365 258 68055
3000 2000 1000	1095 776 26950 730 517 51300 365 258 73650	$\begin{array}{c} 1083 \ 080^{\circ} \ 16309 \\ 722 \ 053 \cdot 44206 \\ 361 \ 026 \cdot 72103 \end{array}$	722 069 30212 361 034 65106	900 800	328 732 81249 292 206 94444
900 800 700	328 732 88085 292 207 00520 255 681 12955	324 924 04893 288 821 37682 252 718 70472	324 931 18595 288 827 72085 252 724 25574	700 600 500	255 681.07638 219 155.20833 182 629.34027
600 500 400	219 155 25390 182 629 37825 146 103 50260	216 616 03262 180 513 36051 144 410 68841	216 620 79064 180 517 32553 144 413 86042	400 300 200 100	146 103 47222 109 577 60416 73 051 73611 36 525 86805
300 200 100	109 577 62695 73 051 75130 36 525 87565	$\begin{array}{c} 108 \ \ 308 \cdot 01631 \\ 72 \ \ 205 \cdot 34421 \\ 36 \ \ 102 \cdot 67210 \end{array}$	108 310 39532 72 206 93021 36 103 46511	90	32 873-28125
90 80	32 873 28808 29 220 70052 25 568 11295	$\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	$\begin{array}{r} 32 \ 493 \cdot 11860 \\ 28 \ 882 \cdot 77208 \\ 25 \ 272 \cdot 42557 \end{array}$	80. 70. 60.	29 220 69444 25 568 10764 21 915 52083
70 60 50 40	$\begin{array}{c} 25 & 303 & 11233 \\ 21 & 915 \cdot 52539 \\ 18 & 262 \cdot 93782 \\ 14 & 610 \cdot 35026 \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} 21 & 661 \cdot 60326 \\ 18 & 051 \cdot 33605 \\ 14 & 441 \cdot 06884 \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{r} 21 & 662 \cdot 07906 \\ 18 & 051 \cdot 73253 \\ 14 & 441 \cdot 38604 \end{array}$	50 40 30	$\begin{array}{c} 18 \ 262 \cdot 93403 \\ 14 \ 610 \cdot 34722 \\ 10 \ 957 \cdot 76042 \\ 1 \ 957 \cdot 15921 \end{array}$
30 20 10	10 957 76269 7 305 17513 3 652 58756	10 830 80103 7 220 53442 3 610 26721	$\begin{array}{cccc} 10 & 831 \cdot 03953 \\ & 7 & 220 \cdot 69302 \\ & 3 & 610 \cdot 34651 \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} 20\\ 10\end{array}$	7 305+17361 3 652+58681
9 8	591 750-93121 591 385-67245	591 714 · 99049 591 353 · 96377	591 715+06186 591 354+02721	9 8 7	$\begin{array}{r} 1752 \\ 908^{\circ} 52602 \\ 1752 \\ 543^{\circ} 26734 \\ 1752 \\ 178^{\circ} 00866 \end{array}$
7 6 5	591 020-41370 590 655-15494 590 289-89618	590 992-93705 590 631-91033 590 270-88361 589 909-85688	590 992-99256 590 631-95791 590 270-92326 589 909-88860	7 6 5 4	$\begin{array}{r} 1751 \ 812 \cdot 74998 \\ 1751 \ 447 \cdot 49130 \\ 1751 \ 682 \cdot 23262 \end{array}$
4 3 2 1	589 921 63743 589 559 37867 589 194 11991 588 828 86116	589 909 83085 589 548 83016 589 187 80344 588 826 77672	589 548+85395 589 187+81930 588 826+78465	9 2 1	$\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$
0	588 463 60240	588 465 75000	588 465 75000	0	1749 621 19790

# TABLE VII.

For collective days of Solar Months.

End of month	Samkrânti.	By Súrya-Siddhânta.	By Àrya-Siddhànt
1Vaišākha.2Jyaishtha.3Åshādha.4Srāvana.5Bhādrapada.6Åsvina.7Kārttika.8Mārgaširas.9Pausha.10Māgha.11Phālguna.12Chuitra.	Vrisha. Mithuna. Karkata ; Dakshinayana. Simha. Kanya. Tula. Vrišchika. Dhanulu. Makara ; Uttarayana. Kumbha. Mina. Mésha.	$\begin{array}{c} 30\cdot 92557\\ 62\cdot 52891\\ 93^\circ 93948\\ 125\cdot 46949\\ 156\cdot 14562\\ 186\cdot 90174\\ 216\cdot 85670\\ 246\cdot 85670\\ 246\cdot 85670\\ 246\cdot 85670\\ 246\cdot 85670\\ 25\cdot 65844\\ 865\cdot 11290\\ 534\cdot 91958\\ 365\cdot 25876\end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} 30\cdot 92556\\ 62\cdot 52890\\ 93\cdot 93946\\ 125\cdot 40947\\ 156\cdot 44558\\ 186\cdot 90170\\ 216\cdot 80365\\ 246\cdot 31052\\ 975\cdot 65838\\ 005\cdot 11283\\ 034\cdot 91950\\ 365\cdot 25868\end{array}$

to find the end of Subhakrit (the next expunction being due only in Saka 1424 expired). We have then—

	numerator	1000 = 19480	1463 days
	"	200 = 38.96	<b>6093</b> "
	"	50 = 9.74	.023 ,,
	,,	<u>) = 0.58</u>	441 ,,
		$\frac{1253}{1875} = 244.09$	020 days;
and for	r the commen	cement of Saka	1396 expired, by Table VII. —
	1000 =	365 258 680;	55
	<b>3</b> 00 =	109 577.604	-16
	90 =	<b>3</b> 2 873-281:	25
	6 =	1751 812.749	98
	1396 =	2259 522-315	9 commencement of Saka 1396 expired ;
		- 244.0902	2
		2259 278-2257	7 end of Sarvarin (No. 34);
		+ 360-9730	0
		2259 639·1987	7 end of Plava (No.35) or commencement of Subhakrit;
		+ 360.9730	

2260 000.1717 end of Subhakrit (No. 36).

Converting now the days of the Julian period for the beginning and end of Subhakrit, we find :---

commencement of Subhakrit: 22nd July, A.D. 1474, 4 h. 46.1 m.;

end of Subhakrit : 18th July, A.D. 1475, 4 h. 7.2 m.

#### (c). The year Subhakrit by the Brihat-Samhita rule.

Having already found the commencement and end of Subhakrit by the Jyôtistattva rule, we find the same, in accordance with the Brihat-Samhitâ rule, by deducting from the sums of days found, in either case, 0.6818[1].

Commencement of 'Subhakrit by Jyôtistattva rule: 2259 639 1987

	- 0.9318	
2259	638.5169.	

i.e. 21st July. A.D. 1474, 12 h. 24.3 m., - commencement of Subhakrit by Brihat-Samhitå rule.

# End of Subhakit by Jyôtistattva rule: 2260 0001717

# - 0.6818

2259 999 4899,

i.e. 17th July, A.D. 1475, 11 h. 455 m., - end of Subhakrit by Brihat-Samhita rule.

### (d). By the Télinga rule

the Jupiter's year for Vikrams 1531 and Saka 1396, both expired, would be the 28th year of the cycle, counted from Prabhava, *i.e.* Jays, and the year Subhakit would not be due till Vikrama 1539 or 'Saka 1404, expired.

The result then is that the year Subhakrit, which is mentioned in the date, lasted, — by the Sûrya-Siddhânta rule, —

without Bija, from 10th August, A.D. 1474, 10 h. 35.9 m., to 6th August, A.D. 1475, 11 h. 14.4 m.;

with Bije, from 16th September, A.D. 1474, 3 h. 35.7 m., to 12th September, A.D. 1475, 4 h. 25.7 m.;

by the Jyôtistattva rule, —

from 22nd July, A.D. 1474, 4 h. 461 n., to 18th July, A.D. 1475, 4 h. 72 m.;

by the Brihat-Sambita rule, ---

from 21st July A.D. 1474, 12 h. 24.3 m., to 17th July, A.D. 1475, 11 h. 45.5 m.

And accordingly, by every one of the three rules, the date, Wednesday, the 19th October, A.D. 1474, did fall in the year Subhakrit, and the writer of the date was strictly correct in quoting that year. — The result shows how necessary it may be to calculate exactly the commencement of a Jupiter's year; for, in accordance with the ordinary (and on the whole very useful) Tables, the writer certainly ought to have quoted the year Plava, because that year was current at the commencement of the solar year in which the date was written.

#### Illustration of the use of Table I.

(a) What was the European date (old style) for the day 2259 999 ?
Given the day 2259 999
Deduct next lower figure in column of centuries 2232 407 = A.D. 1400 (old style)
Remainder 27 592
Deduct next lower figure in table of years 27 575 = 75, July;
Remainder 17, A.D. 1475, July.
Answer :17th July, A.D. 1475, old style.
(b) What was the European date (new style) for the day 2410 637?
Given the day 2410 637
Deduct next lower figure in column of centuries (new style) - 2378 495 = A.D. 1800 (new style);
Remainder 32 142
Deduct next lower figure in table of years 32 111 = 87, December ;
Remainder 31, A.D. 1887, December,
Answer : 31st December, A.D. 1887, new style.

### INSCRIPTIONS OF THE KINGS OF CHEDI.

#### BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

I edit the first four of these inscriptions from rubbings supplied to me by Mr. Fleet, to whom they were made over by Sir A. Cunningham. And my account of the fifth inscription is also from a rubbing received in the same way; but in this instance, owing partly to the condition of the original inscription and partly to the deficiencies of the rubbing, I can do little more than point out the names of royal personages, which happen to be legible in the record, as it presents itself to me in the rubbing.

#### A. -- Têwar Stone-Inscription of Gayakarnadêva.

#### The (Chêdi) year 902.

This inscription, according to Sir A. Cunningham,<sup>1</sup> is on a light-green stone, which appears to have been found at Tewar, the ancient Tripuri, once the capital city of the main branch of the Kalachuri rulers of Chedi, and now a village about six miles to the west of Jabalpur, in the Central Provinces. No information is available as to where the stone is at present.

The inscription contains 22 lines. The writing covers a space of  $12\frac{3}{4}$ " broad by  $14\frac{3}{4}$ " high, and with the exception of perhaps one *akshara*, which is indistinct in the rubbing, it is in a state of perfect preservation. The size of the letters is between  $\frac{3}{6}$ " and  $\frac{7}{16}$ ". The characters are Någarî. The language is Sanskrit; and, with the exception of the introductory ôm namak Siväya, the inscription is in verse throughout. As regards orthography, b is denoted by the sign for v, everywhere except in *bbhavét*, line 16, *abdhih*, line 19, and *abda* (?), line 21; and the dental is twice put for the palatal sibilant.

<sup>\*</sup> Archaol. Survey of India, Vol. IX. p. 90, No. vi.

The inscription was composed by Prithvidhara, the son of Dharauidhara, and engraved by Mahidhara<sup>2</sup> (lines 17-20); and its proper object is to record (in lines 5-17) the erection of a temple of 'Siva by a Pásupata (or pañcharthika3) ascetic, named Bhavabrahman, a disciple of the ascetic Bhâvatêjas of the Ananta gólra. There is nothing of special interest in this part of the inscription, excepting the name Gahunda in line 15, which appears to be a local designation of Siva.

By way of introduction it is stated (in lines 3.4) that in the gotra of Atri there was the king Karnadêva, whose son was the king Yašahkarna, from whom again sprang the ruling king Gayakarnadêva; and (in lines 4-5) the wish is expressed that this Gayakarna together with his son, the Yurardja or heir apparent, Narasimha, may rule the earth for ever. And Gayakarnadeva is mentioned again in the date, in the concluding lines 20 22, according to which this eulogy was put up "on Arkavara or Sunday, on the first lunar day in the bright half of the month Suchi (or Åshâ(ha), while the illustrious Gayâkernadêve was protecting the country, when the Chédi time had gone on increasing to nine hundred and a couple of years;" i. e., in the Chedi year 902, on Sunday, the first of the bright half of Åshådha.

In the original, the first portion of the date (nava-sata-yugal-abd-adhikya-ge Chedi-dishte) is oddly expressed; but as, with the exception of the first akshara in line 21, which might possibly be nka, every letter of the original is perfectly clear, and since nava-sata is 900 and yugala 'a pair' or 'couple' or 'two,' I do not see how nava-śata-yugala could mean anything bat 902. Nor have I any doubt about the meaning of Chedi-dishte'; for according to the lexicographers dishta is one of the synonyms of kala,4 and Cheli-dishta therefore is equivalent to Chedikála, with which may be compared the well-known Málava-kála, used to indicate another era. I need hardly point out that, even if it had not been dated, the present inscription, in which Narasimha is described as Yuvarája, would necessarily have had to be placed before the Chêdi year 907, the date of Alhanadêvî's inscription in which the same Narasimhadêva is spoken of as ruling prince.

As regards the European equivalent of the date, I have shown ante, Vol. XVII, p. 216. No. 5, that, with my epoch of the Chedi era, it is Sunday, 17th June, A. D. 1151; and having convinced myself that Sir A. Cunningham's latest statements regarding the original date are substantially correct, I now attach to the date its due value for helping to fix the epoch of the Chêdi era.

#### TEXT.<sup>5</sup>

- 1 Om namah Sivâya II Trailôkya8-saudha-śilpî yas=trivêdî vâkya-satkavih ( nityaprayatna vô(bô)dh-schchhah sô=shiamûrttih śriyê=stu vah u
- Kaladhauta<sup>7</sup>-śaktir=iva 2 chamdra-kalâ jayati Smarantaka-śirô-vidhrita | alik akshivahni-janit-ôgra-trishâ sutayâ gi-
- 3 rêh surasarit-payasê || Âtrêya<sup>9</sup>-gôtrê Skhila-râja-chakra-jigîshu-ràjô=jani Karnnadêvah i tasmâd=Yasahkarnna-narêsva(śva)-
- rô=bhût=tasy=âtmajû=yam Gayakarnnadêvah # 4 A-kalpam<sup>9</sup> prithivîm śâstu 6rîl Gayakarnna-parthivalı ( samgatô Narasimhêna yu-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The same persons are mentioned in lines 26-29 of the inscription of Alhanadêvî of the Chédi year 907; Journal Americ. Or. Soc. Vol. VI. p. 508, and Archaol. Survey of Western India, No. 10, p. 109. And, as was first pointed out by Dr. Hall, in Jour. Am. Or. Soc. Vol. VI. p. 533, Nămadêva, the son of Mahidhara, engraved an inscription (anpublished) of the year 926, which is now in the Nägpur Museum.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The dictionaries have no quotation for this word from the actual literature. Its meaning is evident from the Sarvadarsana-sungraha; see translation by Cowell and Gough, p. 103.

Compare, e. g., Amarakása, Bo. Ed., p. 22, l. 8, kili dishto-py-anth-api.—The word dishta does not appear to have been met with before, in this sense, in actual literature. Our writer, in my opinion, preferred it to the ordi-nary word kâla, because it begins with the same syllable with which the word Chi di ends. <sup>5</sup> From the rubbing.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Metre, Slöka (Anushțubh),

<sup>7</sup> Metre, Pramitâksharâ; the second half of this verse does not admit of a proper construction. <sup>8</sup> Metre, Upajáti.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Metre, Ślóka (Anushtubh).

- varâjêna sûnunâ 11 Gôtrê<sup>10</sup> 5 namta-samâhvayû=bhavad=ina-prakhyas=tapas-têjasâ drishţâð drishta-visuddha-karmma-niratah srî-Bhâva-
- guruh II(I) acharyô=dbhuta-kêval-artha-vachasam panchartthikô têjâ yah sudhîh kâma-krôdha-ja-vargga-durgga-vipina-plôsha-
- dâv-ânalah 11 Srutvâll samast-âgama-yôga-śâstram eya. vyâkhyâya cha nyâya-Kanâda-śâstram i abhyasya yah Pâśnpatam cha yôgam
- R Sivasya sâyôjyam=avâpa vô(bô)dhât (i Prathamas<sup>12</sup>=tasya śishyô=yam Bhûyavra(bra)hma-tapôdhanah i tapah-karmma-ratô nityam karmma-sa[m]-
- 9 nyåsikô=pi yah 11 Kaupinamåtral3-vasanah suchi-bhasma-såvî pameharttha-vô(bô)dhasukrití mita-bhaiksha-bhôjí ( vô vra(bra)hmacharya-
- vidhin=anya-Sanatkumarah Patanjal-agama-nirûpita-yôga-samgah H Bhiksh14-ôparijita-10 kânchan-ânna-vasanaih samprinayaty=a-
- 11 rtthinah snéhéna praguuikarôti sudhiyah samtarpitán=sûnritaih klêś-ônmûlanadharmmya-karmma-niratah sâkshâtkrita-
- Tryamva(ba)kô Bhâvavra(bra)hma-samas=tapasvishu kalau drishtô na pâūchârtthikah II 12 Parigraha<sup>15</sup>-vimnktô=pi [grihnâ]ti hridi ya[h\*] Sivam I
- kâma-krôdhau nigrihņâti kshamāvān=api sad-vrataih 11 Prāņāyāma18-samādhi-siddha-13 niyama-dhyân-âsanair=anv-aham yah kritvâ
- hriday-âmvu(bu)jê Smara-ripum vu(bu)ddhyâ samabhyasyati i maitrî tasya 14 sudbîbhir=âtma-muditâ śâstr-âgamê yôginah śishyâņâm karuņâ
- bhavêch=cha vishay-ôpêkshû Siva-jilînatah 11 Rathayûtrôtsay17-ârchchâbhir=Ggâhumda-15 jagatîm=imâm | sô=lamchakâra prâkâra-devâgâra-mathair=a-
- pi II Pürttöna<sup>10</sup> dharmmêna nivarttakêna muktir=bbhavêt=samyaminaś=cha 16 vô(bô)dhât i êtad=[d\*]vayam prîptum=ayam mumukshur=vvyadbûpayad=dêvam= imam Sivasya II
- 17 Bhikshå<sup>19</sup>-dhanèna tên=êdam mamdiram Kîma-vidvishah 1 kâritam muktayê bhaktyâ kîrttayê cha kritâtmanâm (| Sruti<sup>20</sup> smrit-îhâsa<sup>21</sup> purâna-vêttâ
- śrî-Dharanidharô=bhût | vyadhâd=imâm 18 viprah sudhîh tat-tanayah praśastim Pritthvidharas22=tarkka-visuddha-vu(bu)ddhih || Yûvan23=Mêruh sva-
- prithivyâm yâvad=Gamgâ yâvad=abdhih i yâval=lôkê 19 rnna-kumbhah varttatê chamdra-süryau chakâstah Sambhôr=êtat=kîrttanam tâvad=âstâm []
- śâstram vêtti yô=rthêna karmmanâ | ntkîrunavûn=imâm Viśvakarmma<sup>24</sup>-kritam 20 śastâm praśastim sa Mahidharah || Nava<sup>25</sup>-sa(sa)ta-yugal-a-
- 21 [bd ?]-Adhikya-ge Chedi-disht[e] ja[na\*]padam=avat=imam sri-Gayakarnnadeve | pratipadi Suchi-masa-svēta-pakahē=rkka-vā-
- 22 rê Siya-şarana-şamîpê sthûpit≈êyam praşastih || <sup>26</sup> ||

# B .--- Lal-Pahad Rock-Inscription of Narasimhadeva.

### The (Chêdi) year 909.

This inscription' is rudely engraved on a piece of rock, on the top of a hill called Lel-Pahad, near Bharhut (properly Bharaut) in the Central Provinces; Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 89, Lat. 24° 27' N., Long. 80° 55' E. It was discovered in 1873-74 by Sir A. Cunningham. by whom a transcript of it, accompanied by a photozincograph, was published in Archael. Survey of India, Vol. IX. p. 94, and Plate ii.

19	Mətrə, Sårdûlavîkridita.		
11	Metre, Upajŝti.	<sup>12</sup> Metre, Ślôka (Anushtubh).	18 Metre, Vasantatilakā.
	Metre, Sârdûlavikridita.	16 Metre, Ślóka (Anushiubh).	16 Metre, Sårdûlavikridita.
27	Metre, Ślôka (Anushtubh).	<sup>18</sup> Metre, Upajāti.	29 Metre, Slöka (Anushtubh),
	Metre, Upajâti.	<sup>21</sup> The writer clearly meant to say -smrit ftih	
	For the doubling of the conson	ant th of prithvi° see Pânini viii., 4, 47.	
22	Metre, Sâlini.	24 Metre, Ślóka (Anushtubh).	<sup>25</sup> Metro, Mâlinî.

28 Between these signs of punctuation there is an ornamental full stop.

<sup>20</sup> Metro, Mâlinî.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Archael. Survey of India, Vol. IX, p. 1.

The inscription contains eight lines, of which the last appears to be separated from the rest by an empty space. The writing of the first seven lines covers a space of about  $17\frac{1}{2}$  high by 2'6" broad in the first three, and 1'94" broad in the following lines; while the separate eighth line is 16" long. Throughout, the writing appears to be well preserved, though in the rubbing one or two aksharas are not as distinct as one could wish them to be. The size of the letters is between 11" and 2". The characters are Någari; and the language is Sanskrit. As regards orthography, b is denoted by the sign for v, and the dental sibilant is employed for the palatal everywhere except in the word iri.

After the introductory "On, may it be well! (may) fortune (attend)!" the inscription (in lines 1-5) has (corresponding to the ordinary "in the reign of victory of," etc.) the words a "the feet of the Paramabhattaraka, Maharajadhireja, and Paramésvara, the devout worshipper of Mahêśvara (Siva), the illustrious Narasimhadéva, the lord over Trikalinga, who by his own arm has acquired the (title of) lord over the three Rajas, (viz.) the lord of horses, the lord of elephants, and the lord of men, - (and) who meditates on the feet of the Paramabhattáraka, Mahárájádhirája, and Paraméinara, the illustrious Vamadeva;" on the particulars of which see ante, Vol. XVII. p. 225. Lines 5-6 state the proper object of the inscription, which, if I understand the words rightly, is to record the construction of a vaha,<sup>2</sup> or water-channel, by Ballaladevaka, (or as he calls himself in line 8, the Rauta, the illustrious Ballaladeva), son of the illustrious Kesavaditya, Maha-rajoputra of the village of Vadyava, --- probably some official or dependant of the king Narasimhadéva.<sup>3</sup>

In line 7 the inscription is dated in the year 909, on the 5th of the bright half of Sråvana, on Budha or Wednesday; corresponding, as I have tried to show, ante, Vol. XVII. p. 217, No. 7, to Wednesday, 2nd July, A.D. 1158. In the same place I have stated that in A.D. 1158 Sravana was an intercalary month, and that Wednesday, 2nd July, belonged to the first bright fortnight of the two Sråvanas or the adhika Sråvana; and, to obviate the possible objection that this should have been indicated in the original date, I may for the present point ont the date of the Dehli Siwûlik pillar inscriptions of Vîsaladêva,<sup>4</sup> of the (southern) Vikrama year 1220, as a clear and undoubted instance in which (just as is the case in the present inscription) a day of the adhika month is denoted by the date, though there is nothing in the wording of the date to show this. Another Chedi date in which the adhika month has not been specified as such, has been already treated of hy me, ante, Vol. XVII. p. 217, No. 9.

The village Vadyava, which is spoken of in the inscription, I am unable to identify.

#### TEXT.5

1	[Om?]* svasti	śrî[h   *] Paramabhattâraka-mahârâjâdhi[r]âja-pava(re)môsva(áva)ra-śri.
2	Vámadéva -	
3	mêsva(śva)ra -	paramamåhésva(sva)ra - Trikalimgadhipati - nijahhujópar[ji]ita - a7-
4	ava(šva)pati <sup>s</sup> -	gajapati - narapati - râjatry(tray) - âdhipati - [ś]riman - Nara-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Compare ante, Vol. XVI. p. 206, note 38.

Colebrooke, Miscellaneous Essays, Vol. II. p. 283. This and similar dates will be treated of in a separate DADET.

From the rubbing.

Iudging from the rubbing, I am almost certain that the symbol for on stands at the beginning of the line.

7 Read 'jit.d.,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Compare ante, Vol. X VI. p. 206, note 58.
<sup>b</sup> On Rájaputra, used probably as the title of some official, see Mr. Fleet's note in Corpus Inser. Ind. Vol. III. **518.** Mr. Fleet's suggests to me that Mahd-réjaputra may denote here an official of higher rank than was held by the Bájaputra; and it may be pointed out that, just as in the present inscription the father, Késaráditya, is described as Mahd-réjaputra, and the son. Balléladéva, as Rduta (= réjaputra), so in the next inscription the father, Jálhaya, is described as Mahd-réjaputra, and the son. Balléladéva, as Rduta (= réjaputra), so in the next inscription the father, Jálhaya, is described as Mahd-réjaputra, and the son, Chhihula, as Rduta (= réjaputra), so in the next inscription the father, Jálhaya, is described as Mahd-réjaputra, and the son, Chhihula, as Rduta (= réjaputra), so in the next inscription the father, Jálhaya, is described as Mahd-réjaputra, and the son, Chhihula, as Rduta (= réjaputra, and compare and the son of Réja Narasinhadéva.' But it appears to me that the genitive Yadyavd-grdmakasya must necessarily be made dependent on mahd-réjaputra as the title of an official, just as in the next inscription "durgaya depends on the following makd-data, and since we know from the inscription A. that Narasinha in the Chédi year 902 was still Yuverdja, it is extremely improbable that only seven years later a grandson of his would have been spoken of as Balléladéva is in the present inscription.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The whole word asvepati appears to have been originally omitted; and the three aksharas suppati are any average before line 4, while the initial a has been added at the end of line 8.

5	simhadêva-charanâh II	Vad	lyava-g	râmakasya		ma	hâ-râ-
6	japutra - śriKēsa(s	a)vāditya - putra	• <b>V</b>	a(ba)llâladêva	kasya	vahah	[u*]
7	Sa[m]vat (9 909	Srå(brå)vana-sudi	5	Vuddh[6] <sup>10</sup>	0 <b>*</b> 1	Sri[h]11	{ <b>u</b> *1
8		Râuta <sup>19</sup> -śri Va(ba)ll	lâladêv	a[ļi ii*]			

#### C .- Alha-Ghat Stone-Inscription of Narasimhadeva.

#### The (Vikrama) year 1216.

This inscription,<sup>1</sup> together with two others, is on a block of stone which is about a hundred yards from a large cave, somewhere near the foot of the Alha-Ghât, "one of the natural passes of the Vindhya hills by which the Tons river finds its way from the table-land of Rêwah to the plain of the Ganges;" Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 89, about Lat. 24° 55'N., Long. 81° 27'E. It was discovered in 1883-84 by Sir A. Cunningham, by whom a transcript of the text, accompanied by a photolithograph, was published in *Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. XXI. p. 115, and Plate xxviii.

The inscription contains seven lines. The writing covers a space of about 2' broad by 1' high, and is well preserved nearly throughout. The size of the letters is between  $1\frac{1}{3}$ " and  $1\frac{1}{4}$ ." The characters are Nâgarî. The language is ungrammatical Sanskrit, exhibiting, e.g. in line 4 the form *karápitá*, and in line 6 *udharitah*, a word which may have its origin in the vernacular and the meaning of which is not apparent. As regards orthography, b is denoted by the sign for v; and j is used for y in juga, line 3; s for s in *Kausámvi*, line 5; and sh for kh in *lishitain*, line 6.

The object of the inscription is, to record (in lines 2-5) that the Ránaka, the illustrious Chhlhula, a son of the illustrious Jalhana, Maháránaka of Pipal[6au?]durga, performed some meritorious deed in connection with or near the Shatashadika Ghat, which may have consisted in the building of a road or the erection of a temple of the goddess Ambikå, or both, but the eract details of which are not clear to me. Line 5 appears to mention some person from Kausambi who had something to do with carrying out the Ránaka's orders; and lines 6 and 7 give the names of the writer of the inscription and of the artizans who were engaged in the work spoken of before.

But the really important part of the inscription are the introductory lines 1-2, from which we learn that what is stated in the sequel, took place " in the reign of victory of the illustrious **Narasimhadéva**,<sup>3</sup> the *Mahárájádhírája* of **Dåhála**," and which contain the date — " the year 1216, the first lunar day of the bright half of Bhádrapada, on **Ravi or Sunday**." For these statements, on the one hand, give us some idea of how far the kingdom of Narasimhadêva extended in the north or north-east; and on the other hand, the date being clearly recorded in the Vikrama era, they enable us to test in a general way the correctness of any conclusion regarding the epoch of the Chédi era which may be arrived at on other grounds, and they have been so used by me, ante, Vol. XVII. p. 218. As regards the epithet **Dåháliya** which is applied here to the king Narasimha, it has long been known that lexicographers give *Dáhala* as a synonym of *Chédi*; and for passages in which the word is actually used in literature, I may refer to the *Vikramáńkadévacharita*,<sup>3</sup> i. vv. 102 and 103, and xviii. vv. 93 and 95, and to Professor Peterson's *Thirá Report on Sanskrit MSS.*, Appendix, p. 243, 1, 5, where, in an enumeration of places and countries, Dàhála is placed near Kôsala.

This sign is superfluous.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Read Budhe; as the matter is of some importance, I may as well state that the first akshara and the consonants of the second akshara are clear in the rubbing.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> I believe that the akshara iri of this word is quite certain.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> According to Sir A. Cunningham, Archael. Survey of India, Vol. IX. pp. 1 and 94, these words (which I give from a separate rubbing) are below the rest, apparently separated from lines 1-7 by an empty space; but they were clearly engraved by the same artizan.

J Archaol. Survey of India, Vol. XXI. p. 114, and preface, p. iv. <sup>9</sup> The name is spelt Narasinghad va.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Here Karna, one of Narasimhadeva's ancestors, is described as *iri-Dúhála-kshitiparivridha* and Dúhal-údhíia, and his country is called Dúhal-úrví.

Kali-ju(ya)ga-

The date having to be referred to the Vikrama era, the possible equivalents would be :for the northern Vikrama year 1216, current, - Tuesday, 26th August, A.D. 1158 ; for the northern Vikrama year 1216, expired,

or the southern current year, - Sunday, 16th August, A.D. 1159, when the first tithi of the bright half ended 1 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise; and

for the southern Vikrama year 1216, expired, - Thursday, 4th August, A.D. 1160.

The true date therefore is Sunday, 16th August, A.D. 1159-; and the year 1216 of the date must accordingly be taken to be the northern expired (or southern current) year.

Of the localities mentioned in the inscription, Kausambi clearly is the village of Kôsam, of which I have spoken above, p. 137; and Shatashadika-ghata I take to be the more ancient name of the Alha-Ghât. Pipal[oau P]durga I am unable to identify.

#### TEXT.4

Ôm<sup>5</sup> [11\*] Samvata(t) 1216 Bhådra-sudi-pratipadā Bavau 11 Dahāliya-mahārājā-1  $\mathbf{2}$ vi(dhi)râja-śrîNarasimghadêva-vijayarâjyê 11 Pipal[0]6[au ?]-durgga[sya ?]7 mahâ-

- 3 ranaka-śriJalhana<sup>8</sup>-putra-ranaka-śriChchhi<sup>9</sup>hulasya
- Shatashadika-ghûta-[va(ba)m]dhana-mârgga-ta[t?]<sup>10</sup>-Âm[v]i(mbi)kâ-4 dharmm-årtha[m?] dêva karû.

5	pitâ	iti II	dharmm-årtha-kâma-môksha-sâdhana	[m ?]	] 11	Kauså(så)mvi(mbi	)-nikâsa-11-rau-
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- 6 ti[a]nâmajâti udharitah 🛽 Thakura-śriKamalâdhara<sup>12</sup> lishi(khi)tam [1\*]
- 7 Sûtradhâra<sup>13</sup> Kamalasihâh Sômê t Kôkâsa II Pâlhana 1 [Da?]lhana H

# D.-Karanbêl Stone-Inscription of Jayasimhadêva.

According to a remark in pencil on the back of the rubbing, the stone which bears this inscription<sup>1</sup> was found at Karanbêl,<sup>2</sup> now a heap of ruins a few miles from Bhêra-Ghât, near Jabalpur in the Central Provinces; and it was lying at the house of a stone-cutter, when the rubbing was taken. The stone is broken right through in the middle, from top to bottom, but the fracture is so clean that hardly a single akshara has been lost.

The inscription contains 25 lines. The writing covers a space of 3'  $6\frac{1}{2}$ " broad by 1' 7" high, and it is well preserved throughout, so that the actual reading of the inscription is hardly anywhere doubtful. The size of the letters is about  $\frac{1}{2}$ . The characters are Någarî, carefully drawn and skilfully engraved. The language is Sanskiit and, excepting the introductory ôm namah Siváya, the inscription is in verse. A curious grammatical mistake we meet in line 4, where the writer has formed the aorist of kirtayati as achikirttayat; otherwise the inscription is remarkably free from errors, and in respect of orthography I have only to note that b is written by the sign for v everywhere except in vapurbbhir, line 2, abja, line 3, bibhrad, line 5, babhára, line 19, and bibhartti, lines 23 and 24; that the rales of saidhi have not been observed in sukhayan=jaganti, line 13, and bhuvanam=visva°, line 23; and that for ujjvala we have ujvala, in line 16.

<sup>7</sup> This akshara is doubtful. In the rubbing it looks like *tri*, with a vertical line before it; but I am almost certain that in the original there is a conjunct consonant, the second part of which is y.

\* Perhaps altered to na-.

In I give these words, up to udharitah, as they appear in the rubbing and in the photolithograph. But the third akshara of nikisa may really be si, and the whole word nivisi; and the vowel of the first akshara of line 6 appears to have been struck out, so that the word following upon nivisi would seem to be ratin, for ratia. For the first akshara of the first akshara of the first akshara of the first akshara of the second sec the following aksharas I cannot suggest any suitable meaning or emendation, beyond saying that the oddly shaped 4, the second akshara in line 6, may really be sri.

22 Read odharena.

<sup>1</sup> Archael. Survey of India, Vol. IX. p. 96, No. 1. <sup>2</sup> Journal Amer. Or. Soc. Vol. VI. p. 617, note g.

<sup>·</sup> From the rubbing. <sup>5</sup> Expressed by a symbol. <sup>6</sup> This vowel is perhaps d.

<sup>\*</sup> In the original really Chhchi.-One would expect the instrumental case Chhihulina.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> This letter is doubtful. In the rubbing it looks like t, and the word intended may be tata; but it may also be tathe, or tatra, or tasya. In the following word Amvike, the v of the second syllable is very indistinct, but I believe that it is there. The next aksharas, up to iti, are quite distinct. One would expect some case-termination after deva : and for the following kard kied after deva; and for the following kara, kura.

<sup>18</sup> Here again, and in some of the following names, the case-terminations have been omitted.

Judging from the introductory verses, the inscription probably was intended to record the erection of a temple of Siva; but it has clearly been left incomplete. For there is nothing in it to show why it was engraved; and we miss at the end the names of the author and of the engraver, which, in a carefully executed inscription like the present one, had it been finished, would hardly have been omitted. In consequence, the inscription also is left undated.

The contents of the inscription may be given in very few words. After the introductory "Om, adoration to Siva !" and six verses invoking the blessings of Siva, Gajânana, and Sarasvatî (11. 1-4), the author relates that Prajapati, the lord of the creatures, begat Atri, from whom proceeded the moon, whose son again was Budha; and that in the lunar family so founded, there was the famous king Arjuna (il. 4-6). The family became generally known under the name of Kalachuri, and in it there was born the king Yuvarajadeva, who conquered all regions and dedicated the wealth which he took from other kings to the holy Somesvara (11. 6-7). He begat the king Kokalla, from whom sprang Gangeyadeva (11. 7-10). His son again was Karna, who was waited upon by the Choda, Kunga, Huna, Gauda, Gurjara and Kira princes (il. 10-12); and his son was Yasahkarna (il. 12-13). Yasahkarna's son was the king Gavakarna, who married Alhanadevi, the daughter of king Vijayasimha (the son of the king Vairisimha who was a son of the king Hamsapala in Pragvata) and his wife Syamaladevi (the daughter of Udayaditya, the king of Dhara), who bore to him the two sons Narasimhadeva and Jayasimhadeva (ll. 13-17). Narasimhadeva ascended the throne after the death of his father (ll. 18-20), and was on his death succeeded by his younger brother Jayasimhadeva, who ruled the country when the inscription was composed (II. 20-25).

It will be seen that the contents of the inscription are almost identical with those of the introductory portion of the Bhêra-Ghât inscription of Alhanadêvî,<sup>3</sup> and a comparison of the two inscriptions leaves no doubt that our author knew that inscription and closely followed it, when writing his own prasasti. What is peculiar to our inscription, is mainly only this, that the genealogy (similarly to what is the case in the Kumbhi copper-plate inscription)<sup>4</sup> begins here with Yuvarâjadêva, and is continued to the ruling prince Jayasimbadêva. As of some importance however, it may be noted that Yuvarâjadêva is represented here as worshipping Somesvara, the famous Somanâtha in Gujarât, a story which is told also of Lakshmaņarāja (the son of Kêyûravarsha-Yuvarâjadêva and Nôhalâ) in the Bilharî inscription;<sup>5</sup> that Vijayasimha, the father-in-law of Gayakarna, and his ancestors, whom we know to have ruled in Mêwâd,<sup>6</sup> are described as kings of Pragvata, and Udayâditya as lord of Dhara; and that the name of one of the peoples whose princes waited upon Karna, is spelt here distinctly Kunga, not Kanga, which is the reading of the published version of Alhanadêvî's inscription.7 The word Pragvata occurs several times e.g. in Professor Peterson's Third Report on Sanshrit MSS., Appendix, pp. 37, 40, 45, 187; but I am unable to determine whether it is only another name for Mêdapâta, or denotes a more extensive tract of country of which Mêwâd formed part. Kunga clearly is the Kongu or Kongu-desa of Southern India, corresponding, generally, to the present districts of Salem and Coimbatore.\*

Considering<sup>9</sup> that Narasimhadêva was ruling in A.D. 1159, and Vijayasimhadêva, the son of Jayasimhadêva, in A.D. 1180, our inscription must have been composed between A.D. 1160 and 1180.

<sup>\*</sup> ib. pp. 502-8; and Archael. Survey of Western India, No. 10, pp. 107-9.

<sup>+</sup> Journal Beng. As Soc., Vol. XXXI. p. 116.

<sup>5</sup> ið. Vol. XXX. p. 330, verses 61 and 62. Dr. Hall misread verse 46, and in consequence he wrongly identified Lakshmanarája with Yuvarájadéva. In reality Lakshmanarája, according to the Bilhari inscription, was the son of Yuvarsjadeva and Nobals.

<sup>6</sup> ante, Vol. XVI. p. 346.—I am glad to be able to state that, in a short inscription from Udaypur in Målava, I have at last discovered a reliable date for Udayåditya, the grandfather of Alhanadêvî,—Vikrama 1137 = A.D. 1080. In reality, the reading of the original inscription probably is Kunga, but the first akshara of the word is damaged.

<sup>•</sup> See, e.g., Archaeol. Survey of Southern India, List of the Antiquarian Bemains in the Presidency of Madras, Vol. I. p. 193.

See ante, Vol. XVII. p. 218.

#### **TEXT.**<sup>10</sup>

- 1 Om namah Sivâya II Dêvah<sup>11</sup> sadâ samudit-âdbhuta-bhûti-sampat=sampâdayatv= abhimatam bhavatâm sa yasya I svahsimdhu-samgata-jaţê śiras=îmdu-lêkhâ navy-âmkura-śri[ya]m=anâratam=âtanôti II Yan<sup>12</sup>=nityam dravatâm vi(bi)bhartti gurntâm dhattê tatê=nyach=cha yad=yê cha sparšavatî gurutva-rahitê bhûtam yad=asparšavat I
- 2 yat-karmm=ôpahitam karôti bhuvanam kâl[ai]h kal-ôllâsi yad=yasmin=yajñaphalam vapurbbhir=avatâd=yushmân=amîbbih Sivah 11 Dbanyâs=tâ vahasê śirasy=aviratam yâsâm kapâ[la]-srajam vaktavyam ta iti vra(bra)vîmy=ata idam pumstvêna samkîrttaya i n=aitad=yuktatamam bbavên=na [cha] mayâ strîtvam tyaj=êty=uchyatê tach=ch=âśakyam=iti priy-ô-
- 3 ttara-vidhau vyagrô Harah pâtu vah II Bhûshâ<sup>13</sup> nêtraśruti-virachitâ yatra yatra Âbjajanma<sup>14</sup>-vyâkôśa-śrih prabhavati mudê yatra nishthâ prajânâm I mûrttâv=êva prasarati rajô yatra yatr=â[st]i sâkshât=kûtasthâ dhîh sa diśatu sadâ Sambhur=abhyarthitam vah II Yô<sup>15</sup> Dhûrjjati-jatâjâta-mukutâd= aparam vidhôh I dhattê=rddban=damta-mishatah sa vah pâyâd=Gajâna-
- 4 nah II Chatur-ggatiś=chatur-vŗittiś=chaturvvargga-prayôjanâ i prapamchayatu châturyam satâm satyam Sarasvatî II<sup>16</sup>II Prajâpatir=abhidhyâna-prava(ba)mdhât= samajîjanat i atritiyatayâ putram yam=Atrim=achikîrttayat<sup>17</sup> II Tasmât<sup>18</sup>=samastabhuvan-âbhyuday-aika-dhâma<sup>18</sup> râmâ-msuah-sarasa-sammada-keli-kamdah i vistârahêtu-kiranah kumud-âka-
- 5 râņâm Bhûtêśa-bhûshaņa-śirômaņir=âvir-âsît 11 Manasa<sup>20</sup> iv=âtiviśuddhâd=vô(bô)dba iv=âbhûd=Vu(bu)dhas=tasmât 1 bhuvan-âbhaya-krid=bhûbhrid-vamsas=tôn=âjani sthêyân 11 Âsît<sup>21</sup>=Kalânidhi-kulê=tra karân=sahasram bibhrad=div=êva rajanâv=api sa-pratâpah 1 bhûmîbhrid=Arjjuna iti prathitêna nâmnâ yasy= ûdhun=âpy=abhimatâny=a-
- 6 bhitô bhavamti 11 Tê tâdriśâh katichid=êva kadâchid=êva bhâgyair=bhavamti bhavinâm bhuvan-aika-nâthêh 1 gôtrê=tra yê samabhavann=adhik-âdhik-ôchchasampattayê=dhipatayah prithiv-îŝvarânâm 11 Asminn=avâmtara-mahârha-viśêshayôgât=prâptê kulê Kalachur=îty=abhidhâ-prasiddhim 1 janm=âsasâda sukritair= jja-
- 7 gatâm Yayâti-tulyô guņair=nusrapatir=Yuvarâjadêvah II Yên=ôrjjitêna jagatî-patinâ vijitya sarvvâ diśah samabhihri[tya] narêśvarânâm I tâs=tâh śriyah pa[ra]ma-bhakti-bhara-śritâ śri.Sômêsvarâya samupâyanam=akriyamta II Tên=âvanîśapatinâ bhuvan-aika-mallah Kôkalla ity=ajani bha-
- 8 rtsita-vairi-bhallah i yat-kîrttanaih kati na vi(bi)bhrati bhûri-áôbhâm=anyônyavibhrama-sahasra-dharair=jjaganti || Janit<sup>32</sup>-âtiśayita-śaktir =vva(bba)hutara-samdarśit-ôru-Bhava-bhaktih | Himavân=iva bhuvana-bhayam yô jahrê vâhinînivahaih || Tasmâd<sup>33</sup>=va(ba)bhûva bhuvan-âbhyudaya-pragalbha-gâmbhîryagaurava-sahô-
- 9 dara-śaurya-dhairyah i Gâmgôyadôva iti guptishu yasya bhûpâ lajjâm jahur= Ddaśamukh-Árjjunayôh kathâbhih ii Naman<sup>24</sup>-nripa-śirôbhir=yat-pâda-padmau

<sup>19</sup> From the rubbing.	<sup>11</sup> Motre, Vasantatilakå.
<sup>12</sup> Metre, Sårdûlavikridita; and of the next verseC	ompare Dr. Hall in Journal Amer. Or. Soc. Vol. VI.
p. 502, verse 3, and pp. 524-25.	
<sup>15</sup> Metre, Mandákrántá.	14 Originally nm <sup>4</sup> , altered to nma.
<sup>15</sup> Metre, Ślôka (Anushtubb) ; and of the two next verse	s.—Compare ib. p. 502, verse 5.
<sup>16</sup> Between these signs of punctuation there is an ornam	nental full stop.
17 achikirtheyat, wrongly for achikirtat or achikritat.	<sup>16</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakå.
1 Originally md, altered to ma.	29 Metre, Upsgîti.
22 Metre, Vasantatilaka; and of the four next verses (	Compare ib. p. 503, verse 7.
22 Metre, Åryš. 25 Metre, Vasantatilakš.	24 Metre, Slôka (Anushtubh).

virêjatuh | kripâņa-jala-samjâta-jayaśri-jalajair=iva || Vairi<sup>25</sup>-vikrama-niśà diśàm mukha-śri-kuramgamada<sup>26</sup>-patravallarî | bhrû-latâ vijaya-

- 10 vârija-sthitês=tasya khadga-latik=âkarôn=na kim || Samuttîrņu<sup>27</sup>-ârņņavâ sênâ yasy= âjñ=êva mahîbbritali | varņņanîya-guņa-grâmalı Karņņali sa samabhût=tatalı || Avimukta<sup>28</sup>-pâda-kaţakailı prithutara-hâr-âvagumţhita-vikamţhaili<sup>39</sup> | pura iva vipinê=py=ari-nripa-nârîbhir=yasya samtatam tasthê || Nîchaili<sup>30</sup> samchara Chòda Kumga<sup>31</sup> ki-
- 11 m=idam phalga tvayâ valgyatê Hûn=aivam raņitum na ynktam=iha tê tvam Gauda garvvan=tyaja | m=aivam G[û]rijara garjja Ktra nibhritô varttasva sêvâ-gatân<sup>92</sup>=ittham yasya mithô-virôdhi-nripatin dvâ[h]sthô vininyê janah || Anfyamta<sup>33</sup> parâm viiddhim yaśah-samvêdana-śriyah | manô-vinôdanair=yasya kayîm-
- 12 drair=imdriyair=iva 11 Ajâyata Yasahkarnnah Karnnât=Svarnna-mahîbhritah | Trikûța iva kâțastha-guna-ratnâkarîkritah 11 Namayaty<sup>34</sup>=ârttin=dhanushô yasminn=ârtt-âmrita-prâyê | va(ba)bhrê sâ punar=unnati-bhûyishthâ vairibhûpatibhih 11 Yasôbhir<sup>35</sup>=imdu-visadaih karmmabhis=ch=âtidushkaraih 1 disah prasâdhayam-âsa sa
- 13 Trivikrama-vikramah II Yathâ-yatham sa chaturaś=cbaturbhir=abhivâmchchhi(chhi)tân I arthân=upâyaih prathitair=nyâya-vit=pratyapadyata II Udapadyat<sup>36</sup>=ôditamahârha-rûpayâ sahitah śriyâ sakala-śuddha-maadalah I dhaval-âmvu(mbu)dhôr=iva tatah kalâ-nidhih sukhayan(n)=jaganti Gayakarnna-bhûpatih II Karavâla<sup>37</sup>-tamâla-pallavah ka-
- 14 ra-samchâry=api yasya bhûpatêh ı parimrijya rajô=sra-vrishtibhih parichashkâra ranê jaya-śriyam 11 Vainatêya<sup>98</sup>-sama-vikrama-kramah kêvalam sa na chakâra prishthatah ı Achyutam su-charitô na ch=âcha[ra]t=karmma 'kimchid=api pakshapâtatah 11 Dvâparô<sup>39</sup>=pi na tasy=âsit=karmma-kândê kutah kalih 11 kritam=êva sad=âdrâkshuh kâryam vidvêshinô=pi yat 11
- 15 Prágvätö<sup>40</sup>=vanipila-bhâla-tilakah śrî-Hamsapälö=bhavat=tasmâd=bhûbhrid=asûta<sup>41</sup> satya-samitih śrî-Vairisimh-âbhidhah | yaj-janma dvishatâm bhayâya suhridâm=ânanda-sampatta[yê] śrêyah-śrî-sadanûya śaurya-mahasê viśv-ôtsavây= âbhavat || Vijayasimha<sup>42</sup> iti kshitipas=tatah samajanishta vinashta-kalih ki-
- 16 la I kshitibhrid-indra-śirah-krita-samcharalı prahata-matta-mahâ-ripu-kumjaralı II Dhâr<sup>43</sup>-ûdhîś-Ôdayâditya-sutâ Syâmaladêvy=abhût | vallabhû tasya bhûpasya Saty=êv=Âsura-vidvisha[h II] Tasyâm=Alhanadêv=îti kanyâ-ratnam=asûta sah | Mênûyâm=Avanîbharttâ Gaurîm=iva guŋ ô[j\*]jvalâm || Tasyâh sa pâņinâ pânim Gaya-
- 17 karnna-mahîpatih | jagrâha jagatâm sthityai Sivâyâ iva Samkarah || Ajanayad<sup>44</sup>=
   Alhanadêvyâm Gayakarnna-mahîpatis=tanujau | Samjnûyâm Divasa-patir= Ddasrâv=iva sarvva-duh[kha]-harau || Narasimhadêvam<sup>45</sup>=êkam chakrê janakas=tayôr=nnâmnâ | Jayasimhadêvam=aparam lôkô yau Râma-Lakshmanau mênê || Su-kritaih<sup>46</sup> svarggam=a-

<sup>🏽</sup> Metre, Rathoddhatå.

<sup>26</sup> The word kuranga-mada, 'musk' ( = kuranga ndbhi ) is not found in the dictionaries.

<sup>27</sup> Metre, Ślôka (Anushtubh). 28 Metre, Gîti. 29 I am unable to give the exact meaning of vikantha.

Metre, Sårdålavikridita.-Compare, ib. p. 504, verse 12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> This is quite distinct here ; and it is not Kanga.

<sup>82</sup> Or, perhaps, sculin gatan. 33 Metre, Slöka (Anushtubh); and of the next verse.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Metre, Upagiti.-Artti means both 'the end of a bow' and 'misery.'

<sup>35</sup> Metre, Slôka (Anushtubh) ; and of the next verse.

Metre, Mañjubháshinî. 37 Metre, Vaitaliya. 38 Metre, Rathôddhatå.

<sup>🌣</sup> Metre, Slôka (Anushtubh). 🏘 Metre, Sárdúlavikridita.

<sup>11</sup> Contrary to the usage of the later language. asita is here used in a passive sense.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> Metre, Drutavilambita. <sup>63</sup> Metre, Slôka (Anushtubh); and of the next two verses.

Metre, Upágîti.

<sup>45</sup> Metre, Udgîti. 46 Metre, Upagîti.

- 18 n-arggalam=adhitasthushi Sakra-vaj=janakê ( Narasimhadêva-nipatih paryashkârshîn= mahîm=êtâm || Prášaśâsa<sup>47</sup> mahîm mah-aujasâm=apy=abhibhûshuur=Nnarasimhadêva-bhûpah | para-lôka-bhay-â[na]bhijũatâyâm=bhuvanam samdadhad=Achyutôchcha-rûpah || Yasmimš<sup>48</sup>=chalati dhûlînâm paţalais=tapanê tathâ | nihnutê= py=ari-bhûpânâm samtâpah paryavarddhata ||
- 19 Mahádân-âdy-aśûnyâni kurvvan=parvvâŋy=anêkaśah | dharmmasy=âvîvridhad=yô=mhrîn= Va(ba)lir=Vvishnör=iv=ôdyatalı || Panânasya jagat=sarvvam nitâmtam timiradruhah | yat-kîrtti-śaśinah śnkrê śaśâ[ñkô]=pi śaśô=bhavat || Sa tatbâ sukhaśayyâsu râtrâv=atrasta-mandalah | śvapann=apy=aniśam vairi-hridayêshv=abhyajâgarît || Śriyam babbâra vidhiva-
- 20 d=Dânav-ârâti-tôshitah ( Mahêmdra-vad=dvíja-śrêshiha-varggas=tat-samgam=âgatah )) Svarllôka<sup>49</sup>-nâth-âtithitâm prayâtê tesmin=nripê ś: î-Narasimhadêvê ; chirâya pushnâtu satâm hitâni śrîmân=mahîbhrij=Jayasimhadêvah || Yasy<sup>50</sup>=ôru-ratnarachit-âmchita-châru-śôbhâ-vismêra-bhûri-kațakasya sad=ônnatasya | bhûmîbhritâm=adhipatêh sura-vâhin=î.
- 21 va kîrttir=jjagantí na kiyaati punâty=anantâ II Yêna<sup>52</sup> prâchî-vijaya-rabhasân= nitya-matt-êbha-kumbh-ârûdhân=praudha-prathita-yasasah saurya-bhâjô=vanîndrân I kurvvânêna tridasa-bhavanam [gâ]minô nir-vvisamkam chakrê chittam chakita-chakitam nâkinâm nâyakasya II Yad<sup>52</sup>-vaktra-vârija-vikâsa-vasêna dînavarggê=pi valgati niramta-
- 22 ram=êva lakshmîlı | yad-bhrû-vibhamga-bhaya-jaś=chu nar-âdhipânâm vyâdhir=nna naśyati van-aushadhi-sêvay=âpi || Kiyantô<sup>53</sup> n=âbhûvan=bhuvi bhuvana-sambhâvita-gunâlı paņâyyantê yêshâm kriti[bhi]r=adhun=âpi sthiti-pathûlı | aya[m] tv=anyas=têshâm=api guṇa-gaṇ-ôdâharaṇatân=dadhânaḥ śuddha-śrîr= jjayatu Jayasimhaḥ kshiti-patilı || Yasya<sup>64</sup>
- 23 pratápa-tapanah párthiv-éndbana éva yat j tach=chitram yach=cha kumuda-dvéshî kîrtti-sudhâkarah II Mitrânâm<sup>55</sup>=upakâra-kâriņi sadâ san-mârgga-samchârini prajñ-ôtkarsha-vidhârini praguni[nâm] tyàg-aika-vistârini i śatrûnâm=avirâmaśaurya-vijaya-prôdyan-mad-ô[chchâ]rini prîtim yatra parâm bibhartti bhuvanam(m)=viśvambharâ-dhârini II
- 24 Yaś<sup>68</sup>=chalan=dhûli-patalaih payâmsi payasâm nidhêh 1 na kêvalam tirôdhattê têjâmsy=api vibhâvasôh 11 Pramânân=îva chatvâri sên-ângâny=adhitishthatâ 1 yêna nyâya-pravînêna parêshâm [kha]ndyatê sthitih 11 Na mumchati kad= âpy=asya jaya-śrîh kara-pushkaram 1 bibhartti rana-vâdyêshu tândav-âdamva-(mba)ram param 11 Srutvâ<sup>57</sup> śrî-Jayasimhadê-
- 25 va-nripatêh karmm=âtivismâpakam Pârthasy-êva parair=amuchyata nripaih pûrvvam yuyutsâ-rasah i śrîh paśchât=sa-rasâ tataś=cha nagarî putrâh kalatran=tatas= trâsah kêvalam=adri-gahvara-ga[tai]r=nn=ângîkritas=tyajyatê ii

### E.-Gopalpur Stone-Inscription of Vijayasimhadeva.

This inscription was discovered in 1862 by Dr. F. E. Hall at the village of Gopalpur, about two miles to the south of Bhêra-Ghât, where it is said to have been brought from Karanbêl; and it has been previously noticed in the Journal Beng. As. Soc. Vol. XXXI. p. 113, and in Archaeol. Survey of India, Vol. IX. p. 99, No. xv. In an attempt to remove it, the stone on which the inscription is was broken right through from top to bottom.

The inscription contains 21 lines. The writing covers a space of 4'5" broad by  $1'9\frac{1}{2}$ " high. The larger portion of it, on the proper left part of the stone, is in a fair state of preservation;

- Metre Slôka (Anushtubh) ; and of the next two verses.
- 49 Metre, Upajati.
- <sup>\$2</sup> Metre, Vasantatilaka.
- 55 Metre, Sårdûlavikridita.
- 87 Metre, Sårdûlavikridita.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Metre, Aupachchhandasika.

<sup>&</sup>quot; Metre, Ŝlôka (Anushtubh); and of the next four verses.

Metre, Vasantatilakā. 51 Metre, Mandâkrântā.

<sup>53</sup> Metre, Sikharini. 54 Metre, Siôka (Anushtubh).

and on the smaller right part the upper five or six and the concluding three or four lines, and generally about eight or ten aksharas at the commencement of each line, are sufficiently well preserved to be made out from a careful impression. The size of the letters is about  $\frac{5}{6}$ ". The characters are Nâgarî. The language is Sanskrit, and excepting the *om namo bhagavato* Vásudéváya at the commencement of line 1, and the words *śri-Somardja-kritam rájávali*varnanam=iti in line 16, the inscription is in verse.

The inscription contains no date. Its object is to record (in lines 16-21, in which the names of the private individuals Malhana, Jógalâ, Harigana and Mahâdêvî occur), the erection, by a member of the Kaśyapa family, of a temple of Vishnu; and by way of introduction it gives an account of the Kalachuri kings, from Karnadêva, as it appears, to the ruling prince Vijayasimhadêva. In this introductory part I notice the following names:—line 6, Sahasrārjjuna; line 7, Kalachuri-kula; line 9, Karnnadêva; line 11, śrî-Yasahkarnnadêva; line 13, śrî-Gayakarnnadêva; at the beginning of line 15, śrî-Narasimhadêva; in the second half of the same line, — rarâja râja-vraja-Dharnmarâjas=tasy=ânujah śrî-Jayasimhadêvah; at the beginning of line 16, śrîmad-Gôsaladêvî; and in the same line, in the verse following immediately upon the verse which speaks of Gôsaladêvî, — jayati tad-añga-sujanmâ śûrah śrî-Vijayasimhadêva-nripah. From this I have no doubt whatever that Gôsaladêvî is represented here as the wife of Jayasimhadêva and mother of Vijayasimhadêva, and that she was not (as has been erroneously inferred from the Kambhî copper-plate inscription<sup>1</sup>) the wife of Vijayasimhadêva.

Since for Vijayasimhadêva we have the dates<sup>2</sup> A D. 1180 and 1195, the inscription must be referred to about the last quarter of the 12th century A.D.

#### MISCELLANEA.

## COBPUS INSJRIPTIONUM INDICARUM, VOL. III.

Owing to the friendly suggestions of Professor Kielhorn, I am able to notify the following improvements in my treatment of some of the records published by me in *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III., "the Gupta Inscriptions."

#### Indor Grant of Skandagupta.

No. 16, Plate ix. B., p. 68 ff. — In line 1, notwithstanding the analogous instance of dyata-st4 quoted in note 3, the word *eka-tâna-st4* is an impossible word. For the proper interpretation of the text, we must correct stuvah into stumah; and take dhyan-aikatand as a nominative plural, the final visarga of which has been omitted before the following initial st, (in accordance with the Vårttika on Pånini, viii. 3, 36). The translation will thus be — "May that Sun, the rich source of rays that pierce (the darkness which is) the envelope of the earth, protect you, — whom we Bråhmans, of enlightened minds, praise according to due rite, having (our) thoughts entirely concentrated in meditation (on him)," &c.

# Mandasor Pillar Inscription of Yasodharman.

No. 33, Plate xxi. B., p. 142ff.; and ante, Vol. XV. p. 253 ff. — The verse in line 3 may be

1 Journal Beng. As. Soc. Vol. XXXI. p. 115.

better translated thus: — "He in whom, possessed of a wealth of virtue, (and so) falling but little short of Manu and Bharata and Alarka and Måndhåtri, the title of 'universal sovereign,' which, in this age that is the ravisher of good behaviour, applied with a mere imaginary meaning to other kings, of reprehensible conduct, has not shone at all, (being in their case) like an offering of flowers (placed) in the dust, — shines even more (than it ordinarily does), like a resplendent jewel (set) in good gold."

And in the verse in line 6, the force and importance of the reference to Mihirakula may be much heightened by taking the construction differently and translating thus : - " He (Yasodharman) to whose two feet respect was paid, with complimentary presents of the flowers from the lock of hair on the top of (his) head, by even that (famous) king Mihirakula, whose head had never (previously) been brought into the humility of obeisance to any other save (the god) Sthanu, (and) embraced by whose arms the mountain of snow falsely prides itself on being styled an inaccessible fortress, (and) whose forehead was pained through being (now for the first time) bent low down by the strength of (his) arm in (the act of compelling) obeisance."

The verse, thus taken, contains a double and very emphatic statement that Mihirakula had never

<sup>1</sup> ante, Vol. XVII. p. 218.

been subdued by any other king, but was conquered by Yajôdharman; and also an indication that Mihirakula exercised sovereignty in the region of the Himâlaya mountains.

Note 4, on p. 148, is to be cancelled.

### Mandasor Inscription of Yasodharman and Vishnuvardhana.

No. 35, Plate xxii., p. 150 ff.; and ante, Vol. XV. p. 222 ff. — In line 16, for chi[nva?]n, read vi[ghna]n : — "Abhayadatta, maintaining a high position, (and) preventing any fear on the part of (his) subjects." The word dharittryam, in line 15, is to be construed with adrishtam; not with dadhanah.

#### Rajim Grant of Tivaradéva.

No. 81, Plate xiv., p. 291 ff. — In my list of Errata at the end of the volume, I have already stated that in line 1 the reading of the original is stam $bha[h^*]$ , not sütra[h^\*]. And it seems better not to turn jagat-traya-tilaka into a separate word by inserting a visarga, but to take it in composition with kshitibhrit-kula-bhavana. The translation will thus be — "Victorious is the illustrious Tivaradàva, the auspicious pillar (for the support) of the palace that is a family of kings which is the ornament of the three worlds," &c.

The first thirteen lines of this record presented several points of difficulty, some of which have now been made clear. Thus —

In line 4, pditia, 'struck down,' which is the reading of the original, must be treated as a mistake for pdita, 'split open;' and it qualifies kumbha, 'the foreheads or frontal globes of the elephants,' not the elephants themselves; in the Vdsavadattâ, p. 42, jarjarita, 'torn open,' occurs in an analogous passage. Also, in line 5, for sad-dsikta, read satd-sikta; — " pearls that are besprinkled with the copious streams of blood trickling down from the round foreheads of the elephants of (his) enemies which are split open by the crushing blows of (his) sharp sword."

In line 8, for kunkumapatra-bhangat, read kunkuma-patrabhangat(h); and translate — "who wipes away the collyrium below the eyes of the wives of (his) enemies, and the decorative lines drawn with saffron on (their) tender cheeks."

In line 10, for gdda(dha)-svachchha-prasanna, &c., read gida(dhah) svachchha[h\*] prasanna, &c.; and, construing the six adjectives commencing in this line with the six locatives commencing in line 9, translate, — "who, moreover, is worshipped by mankind in (respect of his) penance, performed in a former existence, because it was so severe that the effects of it have not yet been fully expended; who is never satisfied in (the accumulation of) fame; who is reserved in the matter of keeping secrets; who is very keen in (his) faculty of reasoning; who is pure in sight; and who, in (beauty of) form, is decorated with a complacent countenance." Here, the praktanam tapas is indicated as aklishtam, 'not yet expended;' klishtam tapas would be analogous to klishtam punyam, which expression occurs in the Abhijādan Sakuntala, Act 6.

In line 11, ku-trishna cannot properly be taken as an adjective by itself. We must treat the visarga of anujjhitah as a mistake, and read anujjhita-kutrishno=pi:---"who, though he has not abandoned the desire for (conquering or acquiring) land, is yet exceedingly liberal (in granting lands to gods and Brâhmans)."

In line 12, the visarga of aparushah must be treated as a mistake, and we should read aparushasvabháva[ $h^*$ ], — " who, though he is adorned with majesty, is yet of a disposition that is not harsh." The contrast here is that the king, though, like the god Śiva, he is adorned with bhúti ('majesty,' as applied to the king; 'ashes,' as applied to the god), is yet, differing from Śiva, of a gentle disposition.

In line 13, for dharm-drjanéna sampal-lábhé svalpa-kródhéna prabhávé, read dharm-drjané na sampal-lábhé svalpa[h\*] kródhé na prabhávé; and translate — "who is never quite satisfied in accumulating religion, (though such is) not (the case) in respect of the acquisition of wealth; who is insignificant as regards anger (i. e. who shews but little anger), (but) not as regards majesty."

In line 14, for sa(sa)k[l]ah, read sak[t]ah ="who is fond of excellent conversations, (but) is not addicted to dallying with wanton women."

In this inscription, there are still two passages that require further consideration. One is in line 3, where Prof. Kielhorn is of opinion that, for kanthad-unmukha, it might be better to read  $kanth[d^*]d=unmukha$ ; the idea being that the goddess of the fortunes of the hostile kings clings to their necks, and that Tivaradéva drags her away by her hair from that position. But then the detached ablative would occupy a rather anomalous position with respect to dkarshana, by which it must be governed.

The other passage is in line 11, where I have read sv4mi-bhavan $[i^*]=py=a$ -bahu-lapanô. Since anujjhitah is to be corrected into anujjhita, and taken in composition with kutrishnö, we require before api, not a locative, but an epithet of which the contrast is provided by the compound following api. Prof. Kielhorn is inclined to read sv4mi. (mi)-bhavan $[n^*]$  (or sv4mi(mi) bhavan $[n^*]$ )=apy= a-bahula-panô(ni): — "who, lord or possessor of much property though he is, yet is not much addicted to gambling;" where the contrast would be furnished by the other meaning of *a bahula*. *pana*, 'not possessed of much coin.' Accepting the first correction, but maintaining *lapana*, 'the act of speaking, talking,' I feel more inclined to prefer — "who, lord though he is, yet does not indulge in (*tao*) much (*needless*) talking."

#### Miscellaneous.

P. 138, note 2, on the word bhamichchhidra. For krishya-yógyd bhah &c., read krishy-ayógyd bhah, 'land not fit for cultivation.'

6th March, 1889. J. F. FLEET.

#### A NEW SYSTEM OF THE SIXTY YEAR CYCLE OF JUPITER.

On the Sixty-Year Cycle of Jupiter, a valuable paper by Prof. Kielhorn, with Tables for calculation, is given at page 193ff. above. And I hope that hereafter we shall have a full historical account of it from Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit. Meanwhile, for my present purpose, I have to note that the following three varieties of this cycle are already known: —

(1) The true astronomical system, usually called the northern system, but, — since, in early times, it was current in Southern, quite as much as in Northern, India, — more appropriately named by Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit<sup>1</sup> the mean-sign system. According to this, the commencement of each samvatsara is determined by the passage of Jupiter among the signs of the sodiac; and, on the exact analogy of expunged titkis, on certain occasions a samvatsara is expunged, or, more properly, for the purposes of the civil reckoning its name is omitted, though astronomically the period of the samvatsara remains extant.

For modern times, an instance of this, coupled with an illustration of (3) below, is furnished by the Gwâlior almanac for Śaka-Samvat (1808 expired and) 1809 current, and northern Vikrama-Samvat (1943 expired and) 1944 current;" which, following in this respect the practice of Southern India, gives Vyaya, No. 20, as the name, according to the chandra-mana or lunar reckoning, of the luni-solar period from the 5th April, A.D. 1886 (Chaitra sukla 1), to the 24th March, A.D. 1887 (amdata Phâlguna, or purnimanta Chaitra, krishna 15); but adds that, according to the bdrhaspatya mana or reckoning of Jupiter, in documents the name of Vilambin, No. 82, is to be used from a certain time on Asvina krishna 7, Friday, in the preceding year, corresponding to the 30th October, A.D. 1885, up

to a certain time on Åśvina krishņa 14, Tuesday, of the current year, corresponding to the 26th October, A.D. 1886, and, after that time, the name of Vikârin, No. 33.

(2) A development of this system in Northern India, which would best be named the northern luni-solar system. According to this, each samvatsara extends over the same period with a Saka or a northern Vikrama year, commencing, for the civil reckoning, with Chaitra sukla 1; and every eighty-sixth samvatsara, or nearly so, is actually expunged or passed over altogether.

An instance of this, coupled with the next system, is furnished by the Sdyana-Pañcháng for Šaka-Samvat (1808 expired and) 1809 ourrent,<sup>8</sup> and northern Vikrama-Samvat (1943 expired and) 1944 current; which tells us that the same lunisolar period, from the 5th April, A.D. 1886, to the 24th March, A.D. 1887, is known, on the south side of the Narmadâ, by the name of Vyaya, No. 20, and, on the north side of that river, by the name of Vilambin, No. 32.

And the real rule for it must be, that, whatever samvatsara is actually current according to the mean-sign system at the commencement of a Saka year, that samvatsara is to be taken as coincident with the whole Saka year, and with the entire Vikrama year which, at some period still to be determined, came to be made identical in Northern India with the Saka year.

The time at which this system was developed and brought into use, remains to be determined. When it can be fixed, we shall probably find that the system started with a year in which two at least of the following conditions occurred on one and the same day; viz. the ending of Chaitra sukla 1, as the beginning of the civil luni-solar year; the Mêsha-Samkrânti, as the beginning of the solar year; and the commencement of a samuatsara by the mean-sign system.

(3) The so-called southern system, which would best be named the southern luni-solar system, and which must be the South-Indian development of the original mean-sign system. According to this, each samvatsara extends over the same period with a Saka year, commencing, for the civil reckoning, with Chaitra sukla 1; and the samvatsaras run on in regular unbroken succession, without any expunctions.

An instance of this, in addition to that noted under (2) above, is furnished by the Siddhanta-Pañchangam for Saka-Samvat (1808 expired and) 1809 current, and the Telugu Calendar for Saka-Samvat 1809 current;<sup>4</sup> which give Vyaya.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See ante, Vol. XVII. p. 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> See ante, Vol. XVII. p. 206.

<sup>\*</sup> See ante, Vol. XVII. p. 207, and note 10,

<sup>\*</sup> See ante, Vol. XVII. p. 207.

No. 20, as the name of the same luni-solar period from the 5th April, A.D. 1886, to the 24th March, A.D. 1887.

The exact time at which this system was developed and introduced remains to be determined. But apparently we have to look for it between<sup>8</sup> A.D. 804 and 866. And the invention of the system was probably due to a similar coincidence of occurrences with that suggested under (2) above.

In addition to these, there would appear to be another system, which is really fitted to the Saka years, but curiously enough is mentioned only in connection with the southern Vikrama years; and which might, therefore, for convenience in distinction, be named the southern Vikrama luni-solar system, provided it is borne in mind that the samuatsaras do not coincide with the southern Vikrama years. This system does not seem to have been previously noticed; and my attention has been drawn to it by a further examination of Ganpat Krishnaji's and K. L. Chhatre's almanacs.

Their almanacs for Saka-Samvat (1808 expired and) 1809 current,\* and southern Vikrama-Samvat (1492-93 expired and) 1493-94 current, give Vyaya, No. 20, as the name of the luni-solar period from the 5th April, A.D. 1886, to the 24th March, A.D. 1837, as equivalent to the Saka year; following, in this respect, system (3) above, the standard system of Southern India. But they treat the Vikrama year differently. Thus, southern Vikrama-Samvat 1943 current commenced, in the preceding Saka year, on the 7th November, A.D. 1885 (Kårttika sukla 1), and ended, in the current Saka year, on the 27th October, A.D. 1886 (amanta Asvina krishna 15); and southern Vikrama-Samvat 1944 current commenced, in the current Saka year, on the 28th October, A.D. 1886, and ended, in the following Saka year, on the 16th October, A.D. 1887. On the title-page of Ganpat Krishnaji's almanac, we have simply "in Saka 1808 (expired), in the samvatsara named Vyaya." But, on the titlepage of K. L. Chhatre's almanac, we have "in Saka 1803 (expired), in the samvatsara named Vyaya; (in) the (Vikrama) year 1942 (expired) and 1943 (expired), in the samvatsara named Hemalamba; A.D. 1886 and 1887." In the samvatsara-phala we have, in both almanacs, "in the year 1942 expired from the time of the glorious king Vikramårka, (and) in the Hômalamba samvatsara ; so also in the Saka (year) 1808 (expired) of the glorious king Salivahana, (and) in the Vyaya samvatsara; in this year, the king

• See the results for Dates Nos. 9 and 10, ante, Vol. XVII. pp. 141, 142.

(is) the Moon." And in the samkranti-phala we learn that the Makara-Samkrånti, as the commencement of the uttardyana or period during which the sun is moving from south to north, should take place, according to Ganpat Krishnaji's almanac, at 38 ghatts, 44 palas, after sunrise on Pausha krishna 3, corresponding to the 12th January, A.D. 1887, and, according to K. L. Ohhatre's almanac, at 47 ghaffs, 20 palas, after sunrise on Pausha sukla 13, corresponding to the 8th January, A.D. 1887, "in the year 1943 expired from the time of the glorious king Vikra. mêrka, (and) in the Hêmalamba samvatsara; and also in the Saka (year) 1808 (expired) of the glorious king Śâlivâhana, (and) in the Vyaya samvat. sara." Here we find that in each instance the name of Vyaya, No. 20, is coupled with the Saka year; but the name of Hémalamba, No. 31, is coupled, in the samvatsara-phala with southern Vikrama-Samvat (1942 expired and) 1943 current, and in the samkranti-phala with (1943 expired and) 1944 current. And the names of the samvaisaras are given in precisely the same way, and in unbroken succession, in the preceding almanacs, back to that for Saka-Samvat (1799 expired and) 1800 current and southern Vikrama-Samvat (1933-34 expired and) 1934-35 current. The accompanying Table, arranged for current Saka and Vikrama years, shews how the samuatsaras run, for these ten years, according to the two southern systems followed in these almanacs, and according to the northern luni-solar system. And it will be seen that, by this southern Vikrama luni-solar system, the samuatsaras come just one year later than by the northern luni-solar system.

Now, that the samuatsaras connected in these almanace with the southern Vikrama years, are not solar periods, commencing either with the Makara-Samkranti as the commencement of the uttarayana, or with the Tulà-Samkranti or autumnal equinor, as the commencement of the solar month Karttika and the astronomical commencement of the southern Vikrama year as a solar year (if such a year was ever required), nor lunisolar periods commencing with Kårttika śukla 1 as the civil commencement of the southern Vikrama year, can easily be shewn. Taking Ganpat Krish. naji's details, - (in Saka-Samvat 1809 and) southern Vikrama-Samvat 1944, both current, the Makara-Samkranti occurred on Pausha krishna 3. corresponding to the 12th January, A.D. 1887, for which day the samvatsara is specified as Hémalamba, No. 31; the Tulá-Samkránti occurred on Aśvina krishna 2, corresponding to the 15th October, A. D. 1886; and Karttika sukla 1 ended on

<sup>\*</sup> See ante, Vol. XVII. p. 206.

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# Luni-solar Samvatsaras of the Sixty-Year Cycle, with current Baka and Vikrama years.

	NOBTHERN INDIA.			SOUTHERN INDIA.					
	Northern Luni-solar System.			Southern Luni-solar System. Southern Vikrama Luni-sola System.					
<b>▲</b> . ₽.	Saka. Vikrama		Samvatsara.	Śaka. Samvatsara.		Vikrama.	Samvatsara.		
1877-78	1800	1935	Virôdhin, 28	1800	İóvara, 11	{ <sup>1934</sup> }	Sarvadhårin, 22		
187879	1801	1936	Vikriti, 24	1801	Bahudhânya, 12.	${1935 \\ 1936} \dots$	Virôdhin, 23		
<b>1879-</b> -80	1802	1937	Khara, 25	1802	Pramåthin, 13	${1936 \\ 1937}$	Vikriti, 24		
188081	1803	1938	Nanduna, 26	1803	Vikrama, 14	${1937 \\ 1938} \dots$	Khara, 25		
1881-82	1804	1939	Vijaya, 27	1804	Vrisha, 15	{1938} {1939}	Nandana, 26		
1882-83	1805	1940	Jaya, 28°	1805	Chitrabhâne, 16.	{ <sup>1939</sup> } {1940}	Vijaya, 27		
1983- <b>84</b> .	1806	. 1941	Manmatha, 29	1806	Subhânu, 17	{ <sup>1940</sup> }	Jaya, 28		
188485	1807	. 1942	Durmukha, 30	1807	Та́гала, 18	${1941 \\ 1942 } \dots$	Manmatha, 29		
1885-86	1808	1943	Hêmalamba, 31 . -	1808	Parthiva, 19	{ <sup>1942</sup> }	Durmukha, 30		
1886-87	1809	1944	Vilambin, 32	180 <b>9</b>	∀уауа, 20	${1943 \\ 1944}$	Hêmalamba, 31		

the 28th October, A.D. 1886. And in the preceding year, the Makara-Samkranti occurred on Pausha śukla 7, corresponding to the 12th January, A.D. 1886, for which day the samuatsara is specified as Durmukha, No. 30; the TulA-Samkranti occurred on Asvina sukla 7, corresponding to the 15th October, A.D. 1885; and Kårttika sukla 1 ended on the 7th November, A.D. 1885. If Durmukha, No. 30, extended either from the 15th October, A.D. 1885, to the 14th October, A.D. 1886, or from the 7th November, A.D. 1885, to the 27th October, A.D. 1886. or from the 12th January, A.D. 1886, to the 11th January, A.D. 1887, then it, and not Hemalamba-No. 31, would have to be quoted as the samvatsara current on the day, viz. Chaitra sukla 1, corresponding to the 5th April, A.D. 1886, when "the king was the Moon."

Since Hêmalamba, No. 31, was current on Chaitra sukla 1 (5th April, A.D. 1886), and Durmukha, No. 30, was current on the preceding Pausha sukla 7 (12th January, A.D. 1886), and since between these two dates there is no occurrence that could suitably be selected for the commencement of a samvatsara, - for the reason that the Mesha-Samkranti or vernal equinox did not occur till Chaitra sukla 8 (12th April, A.D. 1886), --- it is evident that Chaitra sukla I was the actual commencement of Hômalamba, Accordingly, it is plain that the samvatsaras of this system, though quoted with the southern Vikrama years, are really fitted to the Baka years. And Hêmalamba, No. 31, was therefore coincident with Saka-Samvat 1809 current, and extended from the 5th April, A.D. 1886, to the 24th March, A.D. 1887; and it included the last seven lunar months, from the 5th April to the 27th October A.D. 1886 (Chaitra sukla 1 to Aśvina krishua 15), of southern Vikrama-Samvat 1943 current, and the first five lunar months, from the 28th October, A.D. 1886, to the 24th March, A.D. 1887 (Kårttika sukla 1 to Phålguna krishna 15), of southern Vikrama-Samvat 1944 current; and so with the preceding samvatsaras given in the Table.

The period to which this system can be carried back, its origin, and the reason for which its samuatsaras come just one year later than by the northern luni-solar system, remain to be determined. It can hardly be connected with the divergence in the Vikrama reckoning, unless a current Vikrama year was deliberately turned, in Northern India, at some time or another, into an expired year.

But of course the fact of its real existence remains to be established. And I take this opportunity of bringing the matter forward, as one that calls for inquiry, because the almanacs in question apparently do indicate the existence of such a system, at least now; and because I find that its existence in former times would explain some dates, for which correct results seemingly cannot otherwise be obtained.

#### J. F. FLERT.

#### ONOMATOPEIA IN HINDUSTANI.

Onomatopoetic expressions in Hinduståni are very common : here are a few which may be of interest.

- 1. Bill ghur-ghurátl hai : mű-mű kartt hai. The cat purrs : mews.
- 2. Bhéri mamidil hai,
  - The sheep bleats, Gdf hunkdrti had.
- The cow lows.
- Ghörá hinhindta hai. The horse neighs.
- 5. Gadhá ringtá hai. The ass brays.
- Chuhd chún-chú kartá hai, The rat squeaks.
- Súar kákhtá hai. The hog grunts.
- 8. Sher babar ganjta hai. The lion roars.
- 9. Eichh ghurdta hai. The bear growls.
- 10. Kutta bhaunkta hai. The dog barks.
- Hdthi chingharta hai. The elephant trumpets.
- 12. Bail dakārtā hai. The bull bellows.
- 13. Samp phunkarta hai. The snake hisses.
- 14. Méndak turm-turm karta hai. The frog croaks.
- Gidar bhaunktā hai.
   The jackal howls.
- Murghá bang détá ha ? The cock crows.
- 17. Murghi karkardti hai. The hen cackles
- 18. Ullá hú-há kartá hai. The owl hoots.
- 19. Chirid chin-chin karti hai. The sparrow chirps.
- 20. Shahad-makhi bhinbhináti hai. The bee hums.
- 21. Kavrd kán-kán kartá hai. The crow caws.
- 22. Koile chitakhte hain. The coals crackle.

Ambala.

J. G. DELMERICK.

# THE COINS AND HISTORY OF TORAMANA.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo.C.S., M.R.A.S., C.I.E.

WHEN I wrote my paper on the Legends on the Silver Coins of the Early Gaptas and others connected with them, ante, Vol. XIV. page 65 ff., I had not had an opportunity of inspecting the coins of Toramana. Later in the same year, I examined the only two certain specimens of his coinage, both of them silver, which, I believe, are known to exist, and which are in the British Museum; one of them being known as Colonel Bush's coin, and the other as Miss Baring's. And I have included some remarks on them in my Introduction to "the Gupta Inscriptions," Corp. Inscr. Indic. Vol. III. p. 11 f. I take this opportunity of considering them more fully, and of making some further observations.

Of both of these coins very good collotypes have been published in the Archael. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. II. Plate vii., facing p. 36, Nos. 27 (Colonel Bush's coin) and 28 (Miss Baring's); with an account of them, on p. 66, by Mr. Thomas. And they have also been photolithographed, but not so successfully, in the Archael. Surv. Ind. Vol. IX. Plate v., Nos. 18, 19, with a notice by Gen. Sir A. Cunningham on p. 26 f. But, in the treatment of them by these two scholars, there are two points to which objection has to be taken. One is Mr. Thomas' interpretation of the date, as being "82, or rather 182; the figure for 100 is obliterated." The other is that both he and Gen. Sir A. Cunningham made the legend include and commence with the epithet déva-janita, which, being interpreted as meaning "begotten by the gods," might be held to be justified by, and to be closely connected with, the titles Dévaputra and Daivaputra, "son of the gods, or of the deities;" the former of which, — unless it is only an imperfect rendering of the latter, — isapplied to Huvishka in his inscriptions of the years 39 and 47, and to Vâsudêva in his inscription of the year 44 (?); and the latter of which, in connection with the names Shâhi and Shâhânushâhi, occurs in the Allahâbâd pillar inscription of Samudragupta.

In passing, it may be noted that the same epithet *déva-janita*, rendered by "begotten of Dêva (or, of the Dêvas)," is also given by Mr. V. A. Smith in his proposed restoration of the legend on certain gold coins of Kumâragupta (*Jour. R. As. Soc.*, N. S., Vol. XXI. p. 100). I have not been able to trace his authority for this, or to examine the coins in question. But it may be taken as quite certain that there also the epithet does not really occur; and that the error is of precisely the same nature as in the case of Tôramâna's coins. And the same mistake has also been made in the case of certain silver coins of Kumâragupta, Skandagupta, Bbîmasêna, and Îśânavarman; on which Gen. Sir A. Cunningham read the same epithet, and rendered it by "His Majesty" (*Archeol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. pp. 24, 25, 26, 27.)<sup>1</sup>

Of the two examples of Tôramâna's coinage, Colonel Bush's coin is by far the best specimen, both in execution and in preservation. On the obverse, there is the king's head, facing to the proper right. And in front of the face there is the date 52, in numerical symbols which run right onto the edge of the coin. The symbol for 2 is below the symbol for 50. Above the latter there is ample room for part of the symbol for 100, or for any following century, if it had been included on the die; but there are not any indications of this having been the case; there are no grounds for supposing that the symbol for any century was stamped, but has become obliterated, or was engraved on the die, but, in the stamping, fell beyond the edge of the coin; and I am quite sure that the date never included such a symbol. On the reverse there is the more finished representation of the peacock, very well depicted with outstretched wings and fully expanded tail, and almost identical with the peacock on the Early Gupta silver coins of Class B., as distinguished by me from the ruder representation on the coins of Class A., ante, Vol. XIV. p. 65. And round this, in characters of the same type with those of Tôramâna's inscription on the boar at Eran, (Corp. Inscr. Indic. Vol. III. No. 36, p. 158, and Plate xxiii. A.), there is the marginal legend—

<sup>1</sup> See ante, Vol. XIV. p. 66, note 6.-I have not seen Bhimasèna's coin. But there is no doubt whatever about the mistake and its origin.

Vijit-âvanir=avanipati-śrî-Tôramânô dêvô jayati ; — "victorious is his majesty, the lord of the earth, the glorious Tôramâna, who has conquered the earth."

Here the legend again, as well as following the same wording, agrees with the legends on the Early Gupta coins of Class B. in respect of the point that the superscript vowels were properly engraved on the die; but they have mostly fallen beyond the edge of the coin, or otherwise have been rubbed and obliterated; and the i of iri is the only one that is at all fully recognisable. The legend commences a little to the proper left above the peacock's head. And it is the last two words,  $dev\delta$  jayati, which were wrongly taken by Mr. Thomas and Gen. Sir A. Conningham, to be the commencement of it, and to be the epithet deva-janita. That this was a mistake, even the collotype is really clear enough to shew.

Miss Baring's coin is exactly similar in all essential points, on both the obverse and reverse; but it was struck from another die; and it is not so good a specimen, either in execution or in preservation. Here, again, on the obverse there is the same date of 52; and again without any indication of any third symbol. And on the reverse there are parts of the same legend; but only the syllables śri-Tôramánô are distinctly legible.

In my previous remarks on Tôramâna's coins, referred to above, I would not then give a final opinion as to the exact value of the first symbol of the date ; " since, though probably a 50, it is possibly an 80, turned half round on the die, so as to lie vertically, instead of horizontally, in order that it might not fall chiefly beyond the edge of the coin." But I do not now entertain any doubt about the propriety of reading it as 50; as it was read by Gen. Sir A. Cunningham. The symbol for 2 stands in a perfectly normal position. In order to interpret the other symbol as 80, we must read it at right angles to the direction in which the 2 lies on the coin ; and this is an irregularity for which no analogous instance, as far as I know, can be quoted, and which is probably not in any way justifiable. The symbol is given in Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's Table, ante, Vol. VI. p. 45, cols. 6 to 9 ; but is shewn there only for later times, and not for the Gupta and Valabhi periods, during the latter of which, in the Valabhi grants, a radically different symbol was used. But its existence can be traced to a very early period ; for it occurs in the Sahasram rock edict of Dêvanampiys of the year 258 (Corp. Inscr. Indic. Vol. I. p. 94; and ante, Vol. VI. p. 155), in which its value is explained in the passage in words. And its continued preservation and use are shewn by its employment in the Népál inscription of Jayadêva II., of Harsha-Samvat 153 (ante, Vol. IX, p. 178), and in the Dighwa-Dubauli grant of Mahêndrapâla, of Harsha-Samvat 155 (ante, Vol. XV. p. 112). It remains, therefore, accepting the value of this symbol as 50, and reading the whole date as (the year) 52, to see what the application of the date may be.

From the Gwâlior inscription (Corp. Inser. Indic. Vol. III. No. 37, p. 161), we have learned (ante, Vol. XV. p. 245) that **Toramana was the father of the great king Mihirakula**, who accomplished the final extinction of the Early Gupta sovereignty, so far as we are concerned, with the line ending with Skandagupta, and with the supremacy of the Guptas over the whole of Northern India. As is shewn by, amongst other things, their names, both of which plainly indicate a non-Hindu origin, and by the use of the title Shåhi on Mihirakula's copper coins and in a recently discovered inscription of Tôramâna himself, — the two persons, father and son, belonged by birth either to the same foreign race to which belonged Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vâsudêva, and the members of which, whether best and most properly known by the name of Indo-Scythians, Sakas, Hûnas, or Turushkas, had established themselves in the Paõjâb in the first century A.D.; or else to one or other of the foreign tribes which succeeded Kanishka's dynasty in the Paõjâb, and, as can be proved even from their coins, continued in power down to at least the time of Samudragupta, and the members of which adopted in several respects the characteristics and attributes of Kanishka's dynasty.<sup>3</sup> As we learn from Hiuen Tsiang, Mihirakula's capital was Sakala in the Pañjâb, which is the modern

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> I refer to the coins on some of which a paper by Mr. Thomas, entitled "Indo-Scythian Coins with Hindi Legends," has been published in this Journal, Vol. XII. p. 6 ff.

Sångalawâlâțibbâ, — the 'Sangla Hill, G. T. S., of the map, Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 30, Lat. 31° 42' N., Long. 73° 26' E., — in the 'Jhang' District, and on the borders of 'Gujrânwâlâ,' about forty-four miles west by north of Lâhôr. And **Tôramâņa has recently been connected** with the same part of the country, through Mr. M. F. O'Dwyer's discovery,<sup>3</sup> at 'Kura' in the Salt Range, of an inscription of the Shâhi or Shâha Tôramâṇa, whom I hold to be undoubtedly the Tôramâṇa whose coins I am discussing. Mihirakula's date is now known sufficiently closely; for, as I have shewn on a previous occasion (*ante*, Vol. XV. p. 252), his fifteenth year, recorded in his Gwâlior inscription, must fall somewhere very close to A.D. 533-34, which is the recorded date for Yaśôdharman, who overthrew him in Western and Central India; and we shall be very near the mark, if we select A.D. 515 for the commoncement of his career.

This fixes Toramana's date, approximately. But it is also determined, and for just the same period, by independent considerations. The Eran pillar inscription, dated in the reign of Budhagupta (Corp. Inscr. Indic. Vol. III. No. 19, p. 88), records the erection of the column by the Mahárája Mâtrivishau and his younger brother Dhanyavishau, and thus shews that at that time both of these persons were alive. On the other hand, the Eran boar inscription, referred to above, dated in the first year of the reign of Tôramûna, records that the temple, in the portico of which the boar stands, was built by the same Dhanyavishna, after, as is distinctly stated, the decease of his elder brother, the Maharaja Matrivishnu. These two records accordingly shew that Tôramâna came, in Eastern Mâlwa, after Budhagupta, and within the remnant of the generation to which the brothers Matrivishnu and Dhanyavishnu belonged. For Budhagupta we have the date of A.D. 484, from the pillar inscription ; and from his coins (ante, Vol. XIV. p. 67 f.), the date of A.D. 494-95, and possibly a somewhat later date, corresponding to Gupta-Samvat 180 (A.D. 499-500), with or without a numeral in the units place. The next native king after Budhagupta, in the same part of the country, was, as far as our present information goes, Bhânugupta ; for whom we have the date of A.D. 510, from the Erau pillar inscription of Göparâja (Corp. Inser. Indic. Vol. III. No. 20, p. 91). And further, we have the grants of the Parivråjaka Mahárájas Hastin and Samkshöbha (id. Nos. 21, 22, 23, 25, pp. 93, 100, 106, 112), dated in A.D. 475, 482, 511, and 528; which, though they do not give the names of the paramount sovereigns, distinctly record that the dominion of the Gupta kings was then still continuing. These various records and dates, taken together, shew that in the period there was an interruption of the Gupta sovereignty by foreign invaders, led by Tôlamâņa and Mihirakula. But they shew also that, in Mâlwa at least, this interruption did not last for any great time; and that the first year of Toramâna, mentioned in the Eran boar inscription. must fall either between A.D. 494 and 510, or between A.D. 510 and about 515, when he may be supposed to have died and to have been succeeded by Mihirakula. Under any circumstances, taking even the latest date of A.D. 533-34, when Mihirakula in his turn had been overthrown by Yasôdharman, the whole period of the tenancy of Mâlwa by these foreign invaders did not amount to more than forty years. And, accordingly, the year 52 on Tôramâna's coins cannot have a local application, and cannot be reckoned from his conquest of Målwa.

Others of the records throw still more light on the history of the period. The Mandasôr inscription of Mâlava-Samvat 529 expired (Corp. Inscr. Indic. Vol. III. No. 18, p. 79) shews that Kumâragupta's rule included Western Mâlwa in A.D. 436; but that, between then and A.D. 473, that part of the country passed under the power of other kings, and the Early Gupta sway there ceased, at least temporarily. Other specific references to a serious interruption of the Early Gupta sovereignty at that time, and to the enemies by whom it was effected, are to be found in the Bhitari pillar inscription (id. No. 13, p. 52) of Kumâragupta's

<sup>\*</sup> Notified in the Academy, 12th January, 1889, p. 29. I have seen an impression of this inscription, through the kindness of Dr. Bühler, who has it in hand for publication elsewhere. It is dated; but unfortunately the passage is much damaged, and, as an estampage may make the passage somewhat clearer hereafter, it is useless to speculate on the possible readings of the date here; and I will only point out that, if it is dated in an era, that era must of necessity be the Saka era, though probably not mentioned by that name. For present purposes, it is sufficient to state that, on palaeographical grounds, the inscription may undoubtedly be referred to the time of Toramána, the father of Mihirakula.

son and successor Skandagupta, who "conquered the Pushyamitras," and "joined in close conflict with the Hunas," and, " after his father's death, established again the ruined fortunes of his family." It seems likely that the Pushyamitras are to be placed in Central India, somewhere in the country along the banks of the Narmada;<sup>4</sup> and possibly it was by them that Kumåragupta's power in Mâlwa was overthrown. But the Hûnas belonged to the extreme north-west of India; and, however far they may have been successful in isolated attacks on the northern frontier of the Gupta kingdom, they had not then broken through the Gupta territory and invaded the more southern parts of it. In the first place, the Junagadh rock inscription of Skandagupta (id. No. 14, p. 56), and his Kahâum pillar inscription (id. No. 15, p. 65), shew that, during the period A.D. 455 to 466, he held the supremacy right across the lower part of Northern India, from Kåthiawad to the confines of Népâl. And in the second place, the Valabhi records shew pretty closely the period when the passage of the Hûnas to the south did take place. From them we learn (e.g., id. No. 38, p. 167) that the Sénápati Bhatûrka, the founder of the Valabhi family, "was possessed of glory acquired in a hundred battles fought with the large armies, possessed of unequalled strength, of the Maitrakas, who had by force bowed down their enemies;" i.e. that he fought successfully, in Kâthiâwâd or on its frontier, against the Maitrakas, i.e. the Mihiras, i.e. the particular family or clan, among the Hûnas, to which Tôramâna and Mihirakula belonged. For Bhatarka's third son, the Mahárája Dhruvasêna I., we have the date of A.D. 526 (Gupta-Valabhî-Samvat 207, the month Kârttika; ante, Vol. V. p. 206), --- the earliest recorded date of the family. Between them there intervened the two elder brothers of Dhruvasêna I., the Sénápatı Dharasêna I., and the Mahárája Drônasimha. And Bhatârka is thus to be placed, roughly, in the period A.D. 490 to 500; just synchronously with the latest date for Budhagupta in Mâlwa. As we have seen, just after Badhagapta we find Tôramâna established as king of Eastern Mâlwa. And the reference to the Maitrakas in connection with Bhatarka, who evidently prevented an invasion of Kathiawad by them, shews precisely the period when his troops were marching to the south. Skandagapta, the last of the direct line of the Early Gupta kings, had commenced to reign in or about A.D. 450; and doubtless it was his death that enabled the Hüpas, who had already proved troublesome enemies enough, to assume an aggressive attitude again, under Tûramâna; and on this occasion with such success as to penetrate even to Central India, and to hold good their position there, till Mihirakula was overthrown by Yasôdharman in the west and by Baladitya in the direction of Magadha.

We have seen that the date 52, on Toramana's coins, can have no local application, reckoning from his conquest of Malwa. Nor can it be reckoned from the Gupta epoch ; for its equivalent would then be A.D. 371-72, almost a century and a quarter too early. Even if, for the sake of argument, we admit that the system of "omitted hundreds" was used anywhere in India before the invention and application of the Lôkakâla reckoning in considerably later times, and so, while reading the date as 52, we interpret it as 152, and refer it to the Gupta epach with the result of A.D. 471-72, it would still be twenty-five years too soon; to say nothing of the improbability of Tôramâna consenting to use the Gupta era. Thus, no explanation of the date can be found by any of these applications of it. Further, the omission of the name of Tôramâna's father in the Eran boar inscription, contrasted with the fact that his own name, as that of the father of Mihirakula, is given in the Gwalior inscription dated in Mihirakula's reign, indicates plainly, if interpreted on the analogy of other epigraphical records drafted by Hindus, that Tôramána was the first of his tribe or clan to establish himself in Mâlwa. And in this connection, a comparison of the details of the two Eran records with which we are concerned, is instructive. The pillar inscription opens with a verse in praise of Vishnu as the four-armed god. Then follows the date, - " in a century of years, increased by sixty-five; and while Budhagupta (is) king; on the twelfth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Ashadha ; on the day of Suraguru ; (or in figures) the year 100 (and) 60 (and) 5 ; and while

<sup>\*</sup> See the Vishnu-Purana, Translation, Vol. IV. p. 215, note.

Sursémichandra is governing, with the qualities of a regent of one of the quarters of the world, (the country that lies) between the (rivers) Kalindi and Narmada, (and) is enjoying in the world the glory of (being) a Mahárája." And so far, with the exception of the words again 100 60 5, the record is in verse, with an irregularity in the first páda of each of the first two stanzas. Then, in prose, commencing with the words "on this (lunar) day, (specified) as above by the year and month and day," there comes the description of the brothers Matrivishon and Dhanyavishou, with their ancestry for three generations; and the statement that they conjointly set up the column, as a flag-staff of the god Janardana. And the record ends with the benediction. --- " let prosperity attend all the subjects, headed by the cows and the Brâhmans!" The boar inscription opens with a verse in praise of Vishnu in the form of the Boar. Then follows the date, --- " in the first year; while the Mahárájádhirája, the glorious Tôramáns, of great fame (and) of great lustre, is governing the earth ; on the tenth day of (the month) Phålgnna ; on this (lunar day), (specified) as above by the regnal year and month and day, (and) invested as above with its own characteristics." And, in a very similar fashion to the irregularity in the metre in the opening verses of the pillar inscription, the first half of the passage containing the date, lying between two verses in the Arya metre, commences in the same metre, and was evidently intended to be completed as a verse; but it winds up in prose, probably because the composer found it difficult to adapt the paramount title, mahurájúdhirája, to the metre. The rest of the record is in prose; and except for the differences due to the necessity of here describing Mâtrivishnu as deceased, and to the fact that the object of this record was a stone temple of the god Narayana (Vishnu) in the form of the Boar, it is word for word identical with the corresponding portion of the pillar inscription. And it ends with the same benediction, - " let prosperity attend all the subjects, headed by the cows and the Bråhmans!" The apalogous shortcomings in the metrical portions, suggest that the two records were composed by one and the same person, --- a man not quite perfect in the art of versification. But at least it is plain that all the formal part of each was taken from the same standard draft. And from either point of view, the contrast between the manner in which the year of the Gupta era, and no regnal year, is used in the pillar inscription, and the manner in which the boar inscription is dated, not in any year of an era, but only in the first regnal year (rajya-varsha), shews emphatically that this latter record was composed and engraved during the very first year of Tôramaņa's possession of that part of the country.

But, coming down, as Toramana did, from the extreme north-west corner of India, it is impossible that he could establish himself, as the first of a new, hostile, and foreign dynasty, in the most southern part of the Gupta territory, in absolutely the first year of his reign. Such a journey and such a conquest can only have been the work of much time, facilitated by power accumulated during several years of sovereignty elsewhere. And such sovereignty elsewhere, in his own part of the country, is proved partly by the use, on his coins, of the year 52, which, as we have now seen, cannot possibly denote the duration of his reign is Mâlwa, and must be reckoned from some initial year considerably anterior to the date of his appearing in that part of the country; and partly, and even still more plainly, by the . 'Kura' inscription referred to above. In that record, indeed, he has the title of *Mahárája*; which, interpreted in accordance with the purely Hindu custom of the period, would indicate only feudatory rank. But before it there stands another title, now partly effaced, which was either *Rájátirája* or *Rájádhiraja*. And the two together are precisely the two titles which the Indo-Scythians, differing from the Hindu custom, and in spite of the fact that many of their records must have been drafted by Hindus, used to indicate paramount sovereignty.<sup>5</sup>

It is plain, therefore, that Toramana did exercise sovereign sway in the Panjab; at the beginning of his career, and before he commenced the campaign in the course of which he eventually reached Mâlwa. If, now, we interpret the year on his coins as a regnal year, it

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> I hope to write ere long a full note on Hindu and Indo-Soythian Titles of Paramount Sovereignty. Meanwhile, see some remarks, in connection with the title Mahárója, in Corp. Inscr. Indic. Vol. III. p. 15, note 4.

certainly indicates a long reign. But analogous instances could be quoted for this; and no special exception need be taken to it. And this interpretation of the date is at any rate better than the assumption that it is reckoned from some period, anterior to Tôramâna's accession, at which his own branch of the Hânas first rose to power; for that would mean that, not satisfied with the Saka era, which was the hereditary and national era of that part of the country, and probably of his own ancestors also, he songht to establish a new era, dating from that event. This, accordingly, is the interpretation that I place upon the date. And, reckoning back from A.D. 515, which is very closely the latest terminal date that can be applied, it follows that the commencement of his reign, at his own capital in the Pańjab, is to be placed approximately in A.D. 460.

#### SANSKRIT AND OLD-KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

#### BY J. F. FLEET, Bo.C.S., M.B.A.S., C.I.E.

#### No. 181.-MULTAI COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF NANDABAJA.-SAKA-SAMVAT 631.

This inscription was first brought to notice and published, with a lithograph, by Mr. James Prinsep, in 1837, in the Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. VI. p. 869 ff., and Plate aliv., from the original plates, which were sent in to him by Mr. Mannaton Ommauney, C.S., who had them from Kamal Bharti, a Gosain, resident at Multat,<sup>1</sup> the chief town of the Multai Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Båtůl<sup>2</sup> District, Central Provinces. Owing to certain inaccuracies in the passage containing the date, Mr. Prinsep was not able to determine the exact period of this record ; but had to leave this point uncertain, " wavering between 630 and 830 " of the Saka era. This question has remained unsettled up to the present time. And, in fact, owing to the omission of a syllable in the published Hthograph, it could not well be finally decided without a re-examination of the original. I am, therefore, glad to be able now to re-edit this inscription from the original plates, which were recently re-discovered, and have been sent to me, by Colonel J. A. Temple, Deputy Commissioner, who obtained them from Suphal Bharti. From Colonel Temple's memorandum it appears that this line of Gôsains, the members of which are celibate, and the succession in which passes from teacher to disciple, inhabit a matha or religious college on the banks of a small tank at Multaî, in which there are the springs that are considered to be the source of the Tapi or Tapti. The tradition is that the first settlement here was made in the middle of the eleventh century A.D., by one Tâpî Bhârti, who threw up an earthen dam, enclosing the springs in question, and built the present matha. By the records of the matha, Suphal Bhârti, who is the immediate successor of Kamal Bhârtî and the present representative of the line of Gôsains, is the tenth in succession after Tapi Bharti ; and he holds, rent-free, the village of Khada-Amla. The matha claims to have possessed, under the Gond dynasty and the Marâthâs, also the villages of Bårchhî, Bhawûrî, Dâtôrâ, Dhârnî, Jamwâdâ, Jamwadi, Pisata, Rajganm, and Tawli, which were resumed by the Government in or about 1815, when Kamal Bharti and a number of other Gosains refused to accept the introduction of the British rule, and attacked the British forces. And the present grant is supposed to be the titledeed of Khada-Åmlå and the other nine villages ; and it came to notice through being produced before Mr. Ommanney in the course of an inquiry into rent-free tenures. It does not, however, contain any name answering to any of the above. And Mr. Ommanney, who read the names, except that of Arjunagrama, with sufficient correctness for the purpose, reported that neither have the villages mentioned any resemblance in name to any in the Multal District, nor could he discover any at all like them at Höshangabåd or Jabalpur. It is, therefore, not even certain that the grant really belongs to the locality in which the holders of it have resided for so long

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The 'Mooltai, Mooltye, Multáye, Multai, and Multái,' of maps, &o. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 72. Lat. 21° 46' N.; Long. 78° 18' E.

<sup>2</sup> The 'Baitool, Baitul, and Betúl,' of maps, &c.

a time. All that can be said on this point is, that the characters shew that it belongs to some part of Central India or of the Central Provinces.

The plates, of which the first is engraved on one side only, but the last on both sides, are three in number, each measuring about  $7\frac{14}{12}$  by  $3\frac{2}{7}$ . The edges of them were fashioned slightly thicker than the inscribed surfaces, with small depressions ranning round inside the rims thus formed. The writing on the first and third plates is in a state of almost perfect preservation. That on the second plate, on both sides, has suffered a good deal from corrosion ; but the only word that is at all doubtful, is ketuh, in line 10; all the rest can be read on the original plate without any uncertainty. - The ring on which the plates were strung, and the holes for which are in the lower part of the first plate and the upper part of the other two, is about 1" thick, and is oval in shape, measuring about  $2\frac{1}{8}''$  by  $2\frac{5}{8}''$ . It had been cut when the grant came into my hands; and it probably was thus cut for the purposes of the lithograph issued with Mr. Prinsep's paper. The seal on it is not a separate arrangement, attached to the ring by soldering, or by socketing the ends of the ring in it; but is part of the ring itself, the copper wire having been here beaten out into a surface, following the curve of the ring, about & thick, and roughly oval in shape, measuring about 14" by 24". In the upper part of the seal there is engraved in outline a figure which undoubtedly seems to be meant for Garuda,3 depicted with a man's legs, extended as if running, with expanded wings, and with the head and beak of a bird, facing to the proper right; and below this there is the legend iri-Yuddhasurah, which quotes what is given in line 14-15 of the record itself as a second name or biruda of Nandaråja. --- The weight of the three plates is 2 lbs. 93 oz., and of the ring and seal, 35 oz.; total, 2 lbs. 13 oz. - The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets; and are of the transitional type from which the northern Någari was shortly afterwards developed. The following palæographical points call for notice. (1) In the ja of jatas, line 8, and in the jud of ajudna, line 24, the d is an upward stroke attached to the middle of the j; and it is written in the same way, as a component of  $\delta$ , in  $t \ell j \delta$ , line 4; but in rájó, line 3, the same component of  $\delta$  is formed by a downward stroke attached to the top of the j. (2) In the bhi of rajábhis, line 27, the form of the vowel differs entirely from that which is used throughout the rest of the inscription ; compare, for instance, hetubhih, line 3. Owing to a fault in the copper, it is formed in rather a slanting and cramped manner; but it is evidently intended for the older circular superscript i. The consonant itself is not very well formed here; but it is evidently the bh that is used throughout the rest of the record. (3) In the på of parovena, line 20, and parovana, line 22, the a differs entirely from that which is used throughout the rest of the record, and which is very clearly illustrated in bhúmis. line 27. (4) In the ké of kétuh, line 10, and in the dé of anumôdéta, line 25, the é, unless it is omitted altogether, is formed quite exceptionally, by being attached, according to the older method, to the top of the consonant, instead of being superscript, as, for instance, in anvayé, line 2. (5) In the yd of pipparikáyá, line 20, the y has a totally different form from that which is used throughout the rest of the record. It is not altogether well shaped; but it is evidently intended for the well-known older y. For an analogous difference in Central India, in respect of the same letter, see Corp. Inscr. Indic. Vol. III., No. 23, p. 106; where, however, the exceptional form is the later one, which in the present record is the standard form. And (6) the i used in iaka, line 29, is perceptibly of a squarer and more antique shape than that used otherwise throughout, for a clear instance of which see yaiasi, line 1. The average size of the letters is about 1.". The engraving is good and fairly deep ; but, the plates being thick and substantial, the letters do not show through at all, even on the reverse side of the first plate. The engraver's work was done steadily and smoothly; and it is only in the interiors of a few of the letters that any marks of the working of the tool can be detected. - The language is Sanskrit. Except for the opening words, Om and Svasti, and for some words in lines 5-6 which will be the subject of comment further on, the first twelve lines of the record are in verse. And two of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses are quoted in lines 26 to 29. - In

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The epithet paramabhágavata, which is applied to Nandarája-Yuddhásura in line 14 of the record itself, indicates that he was a Vaishnava.

respect of orthography, the only points that call for notice are (1) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the anusvára, in vańsyair, line 22; (2) the use of v for b in vrahmanya, line 14; though the proper sign for b itself is used in bahu, line 9, and in bahubhir, line 26, and probably also in samanubôdhayati, line 16, where, however, the letter is much damaged; (3) the doubling of m before y, in rammyé, line 2; and (4) the doubling of t before r, in mátápittrór, line 17, and in sagóttráya, line 18; though not in mitra in the same line, and in other words.

The inscription is one of a Rashtrakûta chieftain named Nandaraja, and otherwise called Yuddhasura, whose subordinate feudatory rank is indicated by the absence of any of the paramount or even ordinary regal titles in the description of him and his ancestors, and by the fact that his official, under whose direction the charter was written, was only a Saindhiviyrahika, — not a Mahāsāndhivigrahika. It is non-sectarian; the object of it being only to record the grant, to a Brahman, of the village of Jalaukuhe, bounded on the east, south, west, and north, by the villages of Kinihivatțara, Pipparikâ, Jalukâ, and Arjunagrama, respectively. These places have not yet been identified; and the record itself does not give any indication as to the neighbourhood in which they should be found. For such cases as the present we much require, for other parts of India, similar lists to that of the very useful Postal Directory of the Bombay Circle, which was issued in 1879 under the superintendence of Mr. H. E. M. James, Bo.C.S., and which gives the name of every town and village the postal arrangements of which are under the Government of Bombay.

As regards the date of this record, from line 21-22 we learn that the grant was made on the full-moon day of the month Karttika. And in line 29 f. we have, for the writing of the charter, Saka-Samvat 631, expressed in words, and not specified either as current or as expired. The period of the grant is thus A.D. 708-709, or 709-710, according as the given year is applied as current or as expired. But there are no details that can be tested by calculation. Mr. Prinsep's difficulty in respect of the date arose from his failing to recognise, in line 30, that shatchhv is a mistake for shatsv, which stands for shatsu in combination by saudhi with a word, ëka, commencing with a vowel; and that what we have after shatchhv=6 is evidently the upper part of a ka, which plainly at first was omitted altogether, and then was not properly inserted, because the ring-hole left hardly room enough to form the whole letter conveniently. In his text, which was primarily based on Mr. Ommanney's decipherment, with amendments by his own Pandit, he gave the reading Saka-kala-samvatsare sateshu shatkena(?) trimi-ottareshu. And he repeated this in his introductory remarks ; adding the words "the obvious meaning of this is six handred and thirty besides." But, as giving rather his own interpretation, he proceeded to write "after the word sateshu, 'hundreds,' in the plural number, two unknown characters "follow, which may be very probably numerals. The second has much resemblance to the " modern 8, but the first is unknown and of a complex form : its central part reminds us of the " equally enigmatical numeral in one of the Bhêlsû inscriptions. It may, perhaps, designate in a " cipher the word anks, ' in numerals,' thus purporting ' in the year of Saka, hundreds, numeri-" cally 8, and thirty over.' A fertile imagination might again convert the cipher into the word " ashtaké, 'eight,' afterwards expressed in figures ; but I must leave this curious point for "future elucidation, wavering between 630 and 830 for the date of the document." As I have indicated above, the difficulty in the way of settling this date before now, has been due to the fact that for some reason or other the shu of satishu was omitted in the lithograph, which appears to be chiefly based on a hand-drawing by Mr. Ommanney. There is in reality no puzzle at all in the correct reading of the date, which was, in fact, quite evident on my examination of a drawing of the second side of the third plate, which was sent to me as a sample from which to decide whether the original plates were worth transmitting. The passage containing the date includes no numerals, and it simply means " in six centuries of years, increased by the thirty-first year, of the Saka era."

A really curious point in this inscription is the irregular way in which a short prose passage is introduced in line 5-6. The words *tasy=átmaván átmajah*, at the end of line 6, are the last seven syllables of a line in the Sardúlavikridita metre; whereas, the immediately AUGUST, 1889.]

preceding passage, which is the direct context of them, commencing with tasya sûnur in line 5, is in prose. To the words tasy=útmavún útmajah Mr. Prinsep attached the note - " the " metre requires here an addition of 12 syllables to the 9" (properly, seven) "found in the " text, to complete the Sårdûlavikridita verse; these Kamalâkânta would supply thus, --- dhîr-"ánanda-sudhákarasya jagatám, ' the moon of the happiness of the wise.' " But what we have here is the end of the second line of a stanza, which terminates with the word sarvvatah in line 8; and we require not twelve, but thirty-one syllables, to complete the stanza. This, of course, is on the assumption that the words tasy=atmaxan atmajah are really intended to be metrical; and that they are really part of the sentence that runs on in metre in line 7. As regards the latter point, of course it is possible that an entire plate, with two sides of writing, and containing any number of names between that of Gövindaråja who is mentioned in line 6 and that of Svâmikarâja who is mentioned in line 7, may have been lost. As, however, Mr. Prinsep spoke of "three copper-plates connected by a ring and seal in the usual manner," I think we may infer that, when the grant reached his hands, or at any rate when it was discovered by Mr. Ommanney, the ring was still uncut, and that no part of the record is missing. And as regards the first point, unless the words in question were distinctly intended to be metrical, there is no reason for the introduction of the epithet atmaván, 'self-possessed,' which means nothing of any particular importance, and is useful only for the purposes of the metre; also, from vistingne, line 1, to yo=rthinain, line 12, the whole text, with the exception of the short passage now being discussed, is in verse, and in one and the same metre, Sardûlavikridita. I take it, therefore, that the words tasy=atmaván atmajah were certainly intended to be metrical; that nothing is lost here; and that the continuation of the same sentence follows in line 7. The beginning of the stanza can be made in a very simple manner, by altering tasya sunur asit, in line 5, into tasmat sunur adhut. But it is more difficult to adapt the following eighteen syllables to the metre; especially as they have to be expanded into twenty-five. And the real intended reading here, and the manner in which the present text was arrived at, must remain a puzzle, until we obtain some other record, following the same original draft, and written ont correctly. Only this much seems clear ; that, in view of the use of arjjita instead of the more customary uparjjita, the words sahas-arjjita-yasah appear to be part of the original draft.

Accepting the direct continuation of lines 6 and 7, this inscription gives us the following names in the Bashtrakuta lineage ; Durgaraja ; his son, Govindaraja ; his son, Svamikaraja ; and his son, Nandaråja, otherwise called Yuddhåsura. In what relation these persons stand to the well-known Råshtrakûtas of Mâlkhêd in the Dekkan and of Gujarât, there are at present no means of determining. There are also other early Rashtrakutas, in respect of whom the same remark has to be made. One of them is the Krishnaraja, whose coins' have been obtained from Dêolânâ in the Bâglân Tâlokâ, Nâsik District, and who is to be referred to about the commencement of the fifth century A. D. And others are Mananka ; his son, Dêvarâja ; his son, Bhavishya; and his son, Abhimanyu; whose names occur in the grant published by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji in the Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. XVI. p. 89 ff., and allotted by him, on palmographical grounds to about the fifth century A. D., though I would place it much nearer to the period of the present record. According to that grant, Abhimanyu's residence was Manapura ; which Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji was inclined to identify with the well-known Râshtrakûța city of Mânyakhêța, i. e. Mâlkhêd. But in my opinion the interchange of manya and mana, and still more the substitution of pura, 'a town,' for khéta, 'a small town,' " for the purpose of indicating or magnifying the importance of the place," are not justifiable. I consider that we must certainly look for Manapura in some place that still bears that name ; and that it may very possibly be found in the modern Manpur<sup>5</sup> in Malwa, the chief town of the

<sup>See ante, Vol. XIV. p. 68.
Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 36. Lat. 22° 26' N.; Long. 75° 41' E. — I should state, however, that in the neigh bourhood of this Manpur I cannot find in the map any place-names answering to the Pethapabgaraka and Undika-vAtika which are mentioned in the grant, and which should be useful in fixing its locality. The grant came to</sup> 

Månpur Parganå under the Bhöpñwar Agency in Central India, about twelve miles south-west of Mhow. The preceding names all belong to a time anterior, or nearly so, to that of the first of the Råshtrakûtas of Målkhêd. In a considerably later period, we have the name of the Råshtrakûta Mahásámantádhipati Golhanadèva, a feudatory of the Kalachuri king Gayakarna, mentioned in an inscription on the pedestal of a Jain image at 'Bahuriband' in the Jabalpur District, Central Provinces,<sup>6</sup> which belongs to about the first quarter of the twelfth century A. D. And, from the syllables śri-ráshtra, which are extant in line 5, it seems likely that there was an intermediate notice of the Råshtrakûta family in the same part of the country, to be referred to the eighth or ninth century A. D., in one of the inscriptions of Sivagupta, the son of Harshagupta, at Sirpur in the Râypur District, Central Provinces.<sup>7</sup>

#### TEXT.<sup>8</sup>

#### First Plate.

sthiti-pâlan-âpta-yaśasi 🐋 ári-RA-Vistîrnnê<sup>10</sup> Óm<sup>9</sup> Svasti [11\*] 1 kshiranidhav=iv=endur=abhavat=śri11-Durggashtrakut-anvayê rammyê 2 lôk-âhlâdana-hêtubhih pravitatais=téjô-vi-3 raio nripah vidbivat=paksha-dvayam vigâbya śêsh-ôdayai[h\*] yên=â(ô)chchaih-padavîm 4 sünur=âsîd=anêka-samara-sâbas-ûrjji-Tasya<sup>12</sup> bhasitam [u\*] 5 tasy=âtmavân=âtmajah śr!-Gôvindarajah ta-yaśâh 6

# Second Plate ; First Side.

yasy≈ðrjjitam érimâm(n) Sv[â\*]mikarâja ity=anupamô paurusham sam-7 sarvvatah [11\*] Jâtagrâmâd=anivarttinô vijevineh samgîyatê R kŝśri-Namndal'rajah kriti satā[m] bahu-matah sutah 9 s=tasys kêtuh<sup>14</sup> karâlô dvishâm kalanka-rahitah tta(nta)h kâr[u]ņikah 10 mâninâm тала-sahas-ahita-dhiyam=agrésarô dhaur[6\*]yô 11 yð=rthin4[m] [11\*] kalpa-drumô vaidagdh-ôddhata-chêtasâm=adhipatih 12

### Second Plate; Second Side.

13	Yaś-cha	sa[m∎]ár	aya-viśês	ha-lôbhâd=iva		-abhigamikair-ita-
14	raiś-cha guņa	air-upêtah j	arama-v	ra(bra)hmaņya[ḥ*]	•	agavatah śrî-Yu-
15	ddhasura-par	anâmâ	88	sarvvûn=ôva	râja-s	åmanta-vishayapa-
16	ti-grâmabhôgi	k-ådî[n●]		samanubôdhayati		Viditam-astu
17	bhavatâ[m]	yath=åsn	<b>áb</b> hih	måtåpittrör=åt		
16	vri[d•]dhayê	Kautsa-sag	)ttrâya	Mitra-chaturvvéda	-pantrû <b>ya</b> ]	Rakta <sup>15</sup> prabha-cha-
			Third	Plate ; First Side	<b>3.</b>	

19	cha16	turvvêda-putrâya	Srîprabl	na-chaturvvêdâya	Kiņihiv	ațțarat-paschime-
20		Pipparikâyâ	nt[t <sup>*</sup> ]arêna	Jalukšyš[h*]	pürvvêņa	Arjunagrama-

light through being in Dr. Bhau Daji's collection; but no information seems to be forthcoming as to the place where he obtained it. — I notice that, within the limits of the Bombay Presidency, there are two places, named Manpur in the Gaikwar's Dominions; one in the Bansda or Vinsda State; one in Khandesh; three in the Radhanpur State; and two in the Mahl-Kautha. But I have not had the opportunity of searching the maps for the neighbourhood of these places.

Archaol. Surv. Ind. Vol. IX. p. 40. 7 id. Vol. XVII. Plate xix. C., line 5.

From the original plates. • Represented by a symbol.

14 Metre, Sårdulavikridita ; and in the following two verses. 11 Read abhavach-chart.

<sup>13</sup> As regards the occurrence of these words in prose, see the introductory remarks.

1 Bead nanda.

<sup>14</sup> Princep read here kilsh, "a dreadful avenger on his enemies." But that is certainly not the reading of the original. The first syllable is either ke or ka. And in the second syllable there seems to be undoubtedly a t; and below it there is a mark which may well be the sign for the subscript u, rather damaged. Of the visarga, the lower part is damaged.

<sup>15</sup> I think rakta is what was intended here. The two syllables might possibly be read raja. But they certainly are not rana, for rana, as taken by Prinsep.

<sup>16</sup> This second the is unnecessary. The preceding the, however, at the end of line 19, stands in the margin, as if it was inserted on a revision of the document.



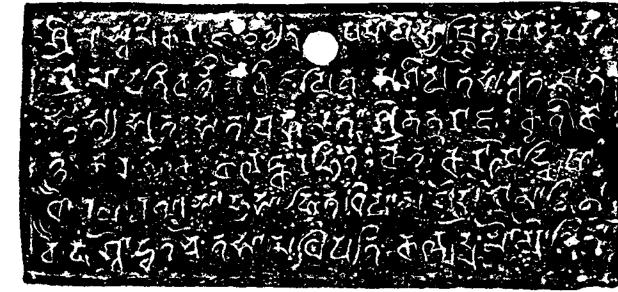




8

10

12



J. P. FLEET, 80. C.S.

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

ii b 14 16 18 iii a 20 22 24 24.00 iii d 26 E Άľ ξł 21 たび 21 "ta į1 TOIN Tra 28 3 あび 1 4 Ŷ 乙 ή 30 (Zo) <u>S</u> あろが 5-1 Ŕ

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21	d=[d*]akshinôna	êbhir=âghâțanaih <sup>17</sup>	Jalaŭku	ihe <sup>is</sup> -nâm	a-grâma[h*]	Karttika-
<b>22</b>	paurnnamásyám	udaka-pûrvvam	pratipâditah	[ <b>[*]</b> ] ]	Yatô=smad-vai	isyair=anyai-
23	r=vv=âgâmi-nripati	bhír=asmad-dâyô⇔n	umantavyah		р	ratipâlayita-
24	vyaś=cha [t*] yô v=ajñana=timira-patal-avrita-matili achchhindyad=achchhidya-					
<b>25</b>	mânam v=ânumâ(mô)dita sa <sup>19</sup> pañchabhiu=mahâpâtakais=samyuktas=syâd=iti [1]*]					
		Third P	late; Second	Side.		
<b>26</b>	Uktań cha bhaga	vatá véda-vyáséna	n Vyâsêna (	[*] Bah	ubhir <sup>20</sup> =vvasuo	lhâ bhuktâ
27	râjabhis=Sagar-âdih	ohih yasya	yasya	yadâ	bhûmis=tasya	tasya
28	tadă phalam II S	hashtim varsha-sa				ıûmi-da[h*]

29 âchchhêttâ ch=ânumantâ chcha(cha) tâny=êva narakê vasêt li **Saka-kâla-**30 samvatsara-satêshu shaţchhv<sup>21</sup>=êka-tri[m\*]\$-ôttarêshu likhitam=idam

31 śasana[m\*] sandhivigrahika-Naula-likhitam II

#### TRANSLATION.

Om ! Hail ! In the widely spread (and) pleasing glorious **Råshtrakû**ta lineage, which has acquired reputation by the preservation of stability, there was a king, the illustrious **Durgarâja**, by whom, having attained a high position, the two parties (of his friends and his foes) were properly illumined with the widely expanded rising of the excess of (his) glory, which cansed the happiness of (his) people ; just as in the broad (and) charming ocean of milk there was produced the moon, by which, when it has reached the track of the zenith, the two fortnights are irradiated with the wide-reaching rising of the excess of (its) lustre, which causes the happiness of mankind.

(Line 5.). — His son was the illustrious Gövindaråja, who acquired fame by (his) daring in many battles; (a.d) his self-possessed son (was) that unrivalled one, known as the illustrious **Svåmikaråja**, who never turned back from war (and) who was (always) victorious, and whose great manliness is celebrated everywhere in song.

(L. 8.). — Of him there was born a son, the illustrious Nandaraja, highly esteemed by good people, accomplished, handsome, compassionate, free from faults (and thus resembling the moon, free from spots), (but) a very comet boding evil to (his) enemies, fit to be yoked (in the front rank) of those whose thoughts are devoted to daring in war, foremost among the haughty, the leader of those whose minds excel in intelligence, (and) a very kalpa-tree to supplicants.

(L. 13). — And he, — to whom, as if from a strong desire for the choicest of all restingplaces, resort has been made by all the virtuous qualities of an inviting kind,<sup>23</sup> and others also; who is most kind to Brâhmans; who is a most devout worshipper of the Divine One (Vishan); (and) who has the other name of the illustrious Yuddhasura, — informs all the Rájas, Sámantas, Vishayapatis, Grámabhógikas, and others : —

(L. 16.) — " Be it known to you that by Us, for the increase of the religious merit of (Our) parents and of Onrself, to Srîprabhachaturvêda of the Kautsa gôtra, the son's son of Mitrachaturvêda (and) the son of Raktaprabhachaturvêda, on the full-moon day of (the month) Karttika, with libations of water there is given the village named Jalaukuhe, [thus specified\*] by (its) boundaries; (viz.) to the west of (the village of) Kinihivattara, to the north of (the village of) Pipparika, to the east of (the village of) Jaluka, (and) to the south of the village of Arjunagrama.

(L. 22.). — "Wherefore, (this) Our gift should be assented to, and should be preserved, by future kings, whether of Our lineage, or others. And whosoever, having a mind covered over by

<sup>17</sup> upalakshitah, vijuddhah, or some similar word, has to be supplied here.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> The third syllable here is rather doubtful; but on the whole I think that  $\hat{u}$  was intended.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> We have here rather an anomalous character, between the single and the double s.

<sup>»</sup> Metre, Ślôka (Annshtubb); and in the following verse.

<sup>\*</sup> Read sha; sv; and for the following syllable see the introductory remarks.

<sup>22</sup> abhigamika gundh; see Corp. Inscr. Indic. Vol. III. p. 169, note 2.

the dense darkness of ignorance, may confiscate (this grant) or assent to its confiscation, he shall become invested with (the guilt of) the five great sins."

(L. 26.). — And it has been said by the venerable Vyåsa, the arranger of the Vêdas : — The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara; whose ver at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (of this grant that is now made, if he continue it)! The giver of land abides in heaven for sixty-thousand years; (but) the confiscator (of a grant), and he who assents (to an act of confiscation), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell !

(L. 29.). — This charter, written by the Saudhivigrafika Naula, has been written in six centuries of years, increased by the thirty-first (year), of the Saka era.

#### CHANDELLA INSCRIPTIONS.

#### BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

I edit these inscriptions from rubbings which were received from General Sir A. Cunningham and supplied to me by Mr. Fleet.

# A. -- Dudahi Stone Inscriptions of Dévalabdhi, a grandson of Yasóvarman.

These six short inscriptions are in a temple of the village of **'Dudahi'** or **'Doodhai**,' in the Lalitpur District of the North-West Provinces, Indian Atlas, quarter-sheet No. 70 N. W., Long. 78° 27' E., Lat. 24° 25' N.; and an account of them, accompanied by photozincographs of five of them, was given by Sir A. Cunningham, in *Archeol. Survey of India*, Vol. X. pp. 94-95, and Plate xxxii., 1-2, and 4-6.

The inscription a. contains eleven lines, which cover a space of  $3\frac{1}{4}''$  broad by 10" high; b., ten lines, which cover 3'' broad by  $3\frac{1}{2}''$  high; c., five lines, which cover  $6\frac{1}{4}''$  broad by  $4\frac{3}{4}'$ high; d., three lines, which cover  $6\frac{1}{4}''$  broad by 3'' high; e. consists of a single line,  $6\frac{1}{4}''$  long; and f. also consists of a single line, 4'' long. The average size of the letters of a. and b. is  $\frac{1}{2}''$  to  $\frac{1}{2}''$ ; of c., d., and e.,  $\frac{1}{3}''$  to  $\frac{3}{4}''$ ; and of f., one inch. The characters of all are Nâgari, of about the 11th century A.D.; their language is Sanskylt, and all are in prose. As regards orthography, the consonant b of the name Dévalabdhi is throughout denoted by the sign for v.

The inscription f. contains only the name — 'the illustrious Dévalabdhi;' and a. to e. record that this personage erected the temple (kirtana), at which the inscriptions are. In d., Dévalabdhi is described as belonging to the Chandrélla family, and as the son of the illustrious Krishnapa and the lady Ásarvá;<sup>1</sup> and a. to c. besides state that he was the grandson of the Mahárájádhirája Yasóvarman. This Yaśôvarman undoubtedly is the Chandélla (or Chandrátrêya) king Yaśôvarman, of whom we have a long inscription, of the Vikrama year 1011, at Khajurâhô,<sup>2</sup> and who is mentioned as the immediate predecessor of Dhańgadêva, in Dhańga's copper-plate grant of the Vikrama year 1055, published by me, ante, Vol. XVI., p. 202; and our inscriptions, though not dated, may therefore be referred with certainty to about the first half of the 11th century A.D.

The main interest of these inscriptions will probably be considered to lie in this, that they furnish an older form of the name of the royal family which we are here concerned with, — Chandrella, instead of the later Chandella. This spelling, Chandrella, is quite distinct and certain in the rubbings of b.; and the rubbings of a., c., and d., too, clearly show that the consonant of the second akshara of this name is not simply d or nd, but has another consonant attached to it, which might possibly be read as v, if we did not know from b. that it must be r.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This somewhat unusual name we meet again, denoting another lady, in line 19 of the Man inscription of the Chandélla Madanavarmadéva ; Epigraphia Ind., Vol. I. pp. 204, 209.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> ib., Vol. I. p. 122.—Another Yasôvarman is mentioned, in the Battsvar inscription of Paramardideva of the Vikvama year 1252, as the son of Madanavarman and father of Paramardin; but his name is omitted in other accounts of the Chandella kings. See ib., Vol. I. p. 211.

The word Chandrella I take to be a derivative, by means of the Prakit suffix illa, from chandra, 'the moon,' fori\_ed like Bhäilla from bhas, and I suspect that the name Chandratreys for the members of the same family is really a later word, which owes its origin to a desire of having a somewhat more Sanskrit-like name.

# TEXT.3

- b. 1 Chamdrell-anvaya--1 Maharajadhi-2 maharajadhi-2 raja-śri-Yaso-3 rája-śrî-Yasôvarmma-naptrá śri-3 varmma-napt[ri]6-śri-Krishnapa-sutèna 4 4 5 Krishnapa-suta-5 mâtri-śri-Åsa-6 śri-Asarvva-u-6 rvva4-adarôdbhavêna 7 darôdbhava-írî-Dê-7 Chamd[r]ell-anvayena 8 valavdhi(bdhi)yam kiśrî-Dêva[la]vdhi(bdhi)-8 9 rttanam=idam sarvva-9 nā kirttanam=i-10 m=a[p]i ‼ 10 dam sarvva[m] kâri-11 tam II Maharajadhiraja-śri-Yavoa — 1 2 varmma-naptuh<sup>6</sup> śri-Krishnapa-sutamâtri-śri-Asarvva-udarôdbhava-3 Chand[r]ell-anvaya-śri-Devalavdhi(bdhi)yam 4 sarvva-kirttanam=idam II 5 d. - 1 Srî-Krishnapa-suta-mâtri-śrî-Â-
- •. Sri-Devalavdhi(bdhe)h kirttanamaidam [11\*]
- 1. Sri-Dévalavdhi(bdhih) [il\*]

## B. - Déógadh Rock Inscription of Kirtivarman.

### The (Vikrama) year 1154.

This inscription is on a rock near the river-gate of the Fort of the town of Deogadh, situated at the western end of the table-land of the Lalitpur range of hills, immediately overhanging the river Bêtwa; Indian Atlas, quarter-sheet No. 70 N.W., Long. 78° 18' E., Lat. 24° 32' N. A rough transcript of it, accompanied by a photozincograph, was given by Sir A. Canningham, in Archaeol. Survey of India, Vol. X. p. 103, and Plate xxxiii., 3; and it has been re-edited, from Sir A. Cunningham's photozincograph, by Dr. Hultzsch, ante, Vol. XI. p. 311.

The inscription contains 8 lines. The writing covers a space of 2' 2" broad by 1'  $1\frac{1}{4}$ " high, and is well preserved throughout. The size of the letters is about  $1\frac{1}{4}$ . The characters are Någari, and many of the letters are peculiar in having a sancer-shaped head formed by a curve under the straight top-line. The language is Sanskrit, and, with the exception of the introductory on on namah Sivaya and the date at the cold, the inscription is in verse. The total number of verses is seven, the first six of which are numbered with the ordinary numeral figures. As regards orthography, b is denoted by the sign for v in vrahmandam, line 8, (but not in babhuva, lines 1 and 6, and -abdhitah, line 4); the dental sibilant is used for

- saryva-udarodbhava-Chand[r]ell-anva[ya\*]-śri-2
- 3 Di(dê)valavdhû(bdhê)h satkam<sup>7</sup> kîrttanam≠idam II

From the rubbings.

<sup>•</sup> Originally -naptrd.

<sup>·</sup> Read sry-Asarvv-odaro, here and below.

Read -noptri-.

<sup>\*</sup> As in other inscriptions of the period, the word satks, 'belonging to,' expresses the meaning of the genitive wase or of a possessive suffix, and is here used redundantly.

the palatal in vanuesa, line 1, subbrann, line 3, and satror, line 7; and the dental d for the lingual d in -ôdu, line 4.

The proper object of the inscription is, to record (lines 5-8) that Vatsaråja, a son of Mahidhara and chief minister of the king Kirtivarman, built a flight of steps called " the Ghas of the illustrious Vatsaråja," Lear which the inscription must be supposed to have been engraved. Vatsarâja himself was a native of Ramanipur, and it is recorded of him that he wrested the surrounding district from the enemy and made "this Fort of Kirtigiri;" and his master Kirtivarman is described (lines 1-5) as the descendant of the prince Vijayapala, who was a son of Vidyådhara, of the Chandella family.

The inscription is dated, at the end of line 8, in figures only, on Sunday, the 2nd of the bright half of Chaitra, of the year 1154. Referring this date to the Vikrama era, the possible equivalents for Chaitra sukla 2 would be : --

for the northern year 1154 current, - Thursday, 28 February, A.D. 1096 ;

for the northern year 1154 expired, or the southern year 1154 current, - Wednesday, 18 March, A.D. 1097;

for the southern year 1154 expired, - Sunday, 7 March, A.D. 1098.

The actual date, therefore, is Sunday,<sup>1</sup> 7 March, A.D. 1098, and the calculation shows that the year 1154, mentioned in our record, was the southern Vikrama year 1154, expired, i.e. the northern year 1156, carrent.

As regards the localities mentioned, I consider Kirtigiri-durga to be Déôgadh itself; Ramanipur I am unable to identify.

# TEXT.3

- namah Sivâya II Chamdella4-vamsa(sa)-kumud-êndu-visâla-kîrttih Ômi³ ômi 1 khvátô babhûva nripa-samgha-nat-âmhri-padmab 1
- Vidyådharð narapatih Kamali-nivåsô jitasotatô Vijayapâla-nripô nrip-êndrah H l H 2 Tasmåd5=va(dha)rmma-parah śrîmå-
- 3 n=Kirttivarmma-nripô=bhavat | 78878 kirtti-sudhå-su(su)bhram trai<sup>8</sup>lôk yam saudhatâm≈agât 11 2 11 Agadam nûtanam Vishnum=âvirbhûtam=avâpya
- nçip-âbdhitah samâkrishtá Srîr-asthairyam-amûrjjayat 11 3 11 Râj7-ôdu(du). vam 1 madhya-gata-chandra-nibhasya yasya nûnam Yudhishthira-Sadáśiva-Râmacha-
- ndráh I êtê prasanna-[guņa<sup>9</sup>]·ratnanidhau nivishtâ ya<sup>9</sup>t-tad-guņa-prakara-ratnamayê 5 ásrírð 11 4 11 Tadíy<sup>10</sup>-àmátya-mantr-indró **Bamanipúr-vvi**nirga-
- Vatsaraj=êti vikhyâtalı śrîmân=Mahidhar-âtmajah 11 5 11 Khyâtôn talı 1 babhűva kila mantri-pad-aika-mâtrê Vachaspatis=ta-
- mantra-supaurushábhyám i yô=yam 7 d=iha mandalam-áźn sa(śa) trôrsamastam=api åchebhidya Kirttigiri-durggam=idam vyadhatta 11 6 11
- 8 Srî<sup>12</sup>-Vatsarûja-ghattô=yam บนิบลท่า kâritah 1 tên=ûtra vra(bra)hmâņdam=ujjvalām kîrttim=ârôhayitum=âtmanah II [7 II\*] Samvat 1154 Chaitra-[su]13di 2 Ravau<sup>14</sup> [#\*]

<sup>5</sup> Metre, Slöka (Anushtubh); and of the next verse.

This akshara originally was tri ; but it has been altered to trai. <sup>†</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā,

<sup>8</sup> The consonant of the first of these two aksharas is g; but the way in which the vowel u has been attached to it, gives to the whole a partial appearance of mu. The second vertical stroke of the second akshara at the bottom meets the third vertical line, and thus gives to the n an unusual shape; but the akshara is not kha.

This akshara is distinctly ya, not sta.

<sup>11</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā.

15 Metre, Ślöka (Anushţubh).

18 The consonant of this akshars is indistinct, but the vowel u is quite cleur; and thus we can only read its, not bo, as was read by Dr. Hultzsch. The formation of the akshara is very cramped, perhaps indicating that it was omitted at first and was inserted on revision; and this is why it appears as vivarga in Sir A. Cunningham's photozincograph.

14 This word, ravau, is quite clear in the rubbings.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> On that day, the second *tithi* of the bright half ended 22h. 13 m. after mean sunrise. It may be noted that the initial days of the expired northern Vikrama years 1153, 1154 and 1155 are given wrongly in the Book of Indian Eras. <sup>2</sup> From the rubbings. Metre, Vasentatilakå.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>16</sup> Metre, Slöka (Anushtubh).

## TRANSLATION.

# Ômŀ

## Om ! Adoration to Siva !

(Verse 1). — There was a renowned prince, Vidyadhara, an abode of Fortune, whose widespread fame was to the Chandella race what the moon is to night-lotuses, (and) whose lotus-feet were bowed down to by crowds of princes. From him was born the prince Vijayapala, the chief of princes.

(V. 2). — From him sprang, devoted to the law, the illustrious prince Kirtivarman, brightened by the white-wash of whose fame the three worlds have become a white-washed mansion.

(V. 3). — When Fortune, withdrawn from (other) princes, just as (she was recovered by Vishau) from the sea, came to him who appeared like a new Vishau, without his club,<sup>15</sup> she left off (her) fickleness.

(V. 4). — Resembling as he does, among kings, the moon moving in the midst of the stars, surely Yudhishthira, Sadišiva,<sup>16</sup> and Rămachandra, (*all*) these have entered his body, (*which is*) abundantly decorated, as with precious stones, with multitudes of manifold excellencies (and is indeed) a pellucid sea of excellencies.

(V. 5). — The chief counsellor among his ministers (is) the illustrious son of Mahldhara, the renowned Vatsaraja, who has gone forth from Ramanipur.

(V. 6). — He indeed became famous, a (very) Vâchaspati<sup>17</sup> in his unique office of counsellor, he who, having quickly wrested from the enemy this whole district (mandula) here by his counsel and excellent valour, made this Fort of Kirtigiri.

(V. 7). - He indeed caused this flight of steps to be built here, (called the Gha!) of the illustrious Vatsarâja, in order to make his bright fame ascend up into the universe.

The year 1154, the 2nd of the bright half of Chaitra, on Sunday.

#### THE COUNTRY OF MALAKOTTA.

#### BY E. HULTZSCH, PE.D. ; BANGALORE.

One of the countries, which the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-Tsiang visited on his memorable tour through India, was Dravida with its capital Kanchipura (Conjeeveram). He reached Dravida from the north, and proceeded from it north-west<sup>1</sup> to Konkanapura, Maháráshtra, and Bharukachchha (Bharôch). Hiuen-Tsiang mentions another country, called Mo-lo-kiu-ch'a, which was situated to the south of Dravida. According to the Si-yu-ki, he visited this country in person,<sup>3</sup> and returned from it to Dravida; while Hwui-li's narrative seems to imply, that the pilgrim's report on Mo-lo-kiu-ch'a was based merely on hearsay.<sup>3</sup>

In a former volume of this Journal,<sup>4</sup> the late Dr. Burnell identified Mo-lo-kin-ch'a with the delta of the Kavari. He based this opinion on "the great Tamil inscription of Kulôttuùga-(Vira)-Chôla (A.D. 1064 to 1113) which surrounds the shrine of the chief temple at Tanjore," and on the mention in it of a village called Malakûta-chûdìmani-chaturvêdi-mangalam, which was situated in Âvûr-kûrram, *i.e.* in the subdivision of Âvûr near Kumbhakônam. A perusal of the inscriptions of the great temple at Tanjore convinced me that Dr. Burnell's statements

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> The word agad? also means "free from disease, healthy."

<sup>16</sup> Saddiew is an epithet of the god Siva, and also a proper name of men; but it is not apparent whom the author of the verse here refers to.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> "The lord of speech," — a usue of Brihaspati, the teacher of the gods. — The word mantri-pad-aika-m4trf does not admit of a proper grammatical explanation; I understand it to mean mantri-pads skasmin (i.e. advittys) sva.

Beal's Life of Hiusn-Teiang, p. 146. The Si-yu-ki (Vol. II. p. 258) has ' north,' which is impossible.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Beal's Si-yu-ki, Vol. II. p. 230, note 123.

<sup>\*</sup> Life, p. 140. \* ante, Vol. VII. p. 39f.

require some modifications, which I subjoin here with due respect to that able scholar, who, if he still lived, would gladly approve of a correction of some details of secondary importance. First, the central shrine of the Tanjore temple does not bear only one inscription of about A.D. 1100,5 but a considerable number of inscriptions of various kings and dates, one of which is dated as late as Saka 1377 (expired). Secondly, none of the Tanjore inscriptions mentions either Kulóttunga-Chóla or Vira-Chóla. Kulóttunga-Chódadóva I. (A.D. 1063-64 to 1112-13). also called Rijendra-Choda after his maternal grandfather Rijendra-Choladeva, was the son of the Eastern Chalukya king Bajaraja I. (A.D. 1022-23 to 1063.64) and inherited the Chole kingdom from his father-in-law, the Chôla king Rajendradeva. The two Chôla kings, to whose reigns most of the inscriptions of the Tanjore temple belong, are Bajarajadeva, the founder of the temple,<sup>8</sup> and his son Rijendra-Choladeva, the father-in-law of the Eastern Chalukya king Rajaraja I. (A.D. 1022-23 to 1063-64), who had received his name from that of his maternal grandfather. The subjoined table, which is based on a number of Sanskrit and Tamil inscriptions, shows the relations of the three above-mentioned Chôla kings to the Eastern Chalukyas, and contains the names of their Western Chalukya contemporaries :---7

Western Châlukyas. Chôlas. Eastern Chalukyas. (Sûryavamia). (Sômavamía). 1. Satyáśraya II. fought with Rajarajadêva, who was the father-in-law of Vimaladitya, (Saka 919 to about 930.) (about Saka 926.) (Saka 937 (?) to 944.)

- 2. Jayasimha III. fought with R'ijendra-Choladeva, who was the father-in-law of Rajaraja I. (about Saka 940 to about 964.) (Saka 944 to 985.)
- 3. Åbavamalla II. fought with Rajendradeva, who was the father-in-law of Rajendra-Choda or Kulöttunga-Chödadêva I.

(about Saka 964 to about 990).

(Naka 985 to 1034). Thirdly, Dr. Burnell states in his paper, that the Tanjore inscriptions mention a village called Malakûta-chûdâmani-chaturvêdi-mangalam. The reference is to an inscription of the 29th year of the Chola king Ko-Rajakesarivarman, alias Rajarajadeva, and to an inscription of the 10th year of Ko-Parakesarivarman, alias Rajendra-Choladeva. Each of these two inscriptions reads in clear Tamil and Grantha letters of 2 to 3 inches height :-- Nittavinôda-valanáttu Ávűr-(k)kűrrattu brahmcdéyam Irumbudal-ágiya Manukula-chülámani-(ch)chaturvéli-mangalattu sabhaiyár; "the members of the sabhá of Irumbudal, alias Manukula-chulamanichaturvedi-mangalam, a brahmadéya in Avur-kurram, (a subdivision) of Nittavinoda-valanadu." This disposes finally of the possibility of identifying Hiuen-Tsiang's Mo-lo-kin-ch'a with Kumbhakônam, and the name of Malakûța has to be struck out on the map, which is prefixed to Dr. Burnell's South-Indian Palæography.

The first half of the name Mo-lo-kiu-ch'a is no doubt the well-known Dravidian word mala, 'a hill' (mala in Malayalam and malai in Tamil), and the second may be connected with kúrram, which means 'a division,' or more probably with kôttam, which means 'a district' in Tamil inscriptions. Thus Mo-lo-kiu-ch'a or Malakôtta would be a synonym of Mala-nadu or Malai-nadu, 'the Hill-Country.' The former is used in Malayalam and the second in Tamilas a designation of the country of Malabar.\* But, as Hinen-Tsiang places Malakôțta to the south of Dravida and attributes to it a circuit of 5,000 U, General Cunningham<sup>10</sup> is doubtlessly right.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Compare Dr. Burnell's South-Indian Paleography, 2nd edition, p. 40 and passim. <sup>6</sup> According to an inscription of his 26th year, the temple was called after him Bájarájéávara. Two undated inscriptions record that the prákára (tiruchchur; umáligai) of the temple was built at his orders by the commander of his forces (schopati).

of his forces (schopari). <sup>7</sup> For full details see three of my Progress Reports (Madras G. O., 27th July 1888, No. 745; 6th September 1888, No. 877; 7th November 1888, No. 1050) and my forthcoming first volume of South-Indian Inscriptions, p. 32 and Nor. 33, 40, 67, 82, 127. <sup>8</sup> This name means the Brühmanical village (called after) Manukula-chûdâmani (i.e. the crest-jewel of the race

of Manu; viz., the Chôla king).' 9 On this vox hybrida see Yule and Burnell's invaluable Hobson-Jobson, p. 411.

<sup>10</sup> Ancient Geography of India, Vol. I. p. 549.

if he supposes that it must have included, besides Malabar, the whole southern part of the Madras Presidency beyond the Kâvêrî. According to Mr. Beal, the Chinese editor remarks in a note that Malakôtta was also called **Chi-mo-lo**. These syllables are satisfactorily identified by Dr. Caldwell<sup>11</sup> with **Tamila**, the name of the Tamil people, whose country is called **Damirice** (*i.e.* Tamil-1277) on the Pentinger Tables.

Four centuries after Hiuen-Tsiang, the term Malaya was in use for the same tract. For Albérunt<sup>13</sup> enumerates the possessions of Jaur (*i.e.* the Chôla) along the coast in the following order :--Daraur (Dravida), Kânjî (Kâńchi), Malaya, and Kûnk (Końkan). A second enumeration<sup>13</sup> of the countries along the coast begins from the opposite side :--Lârân,<sup>14</sup> with the city of Jimûr, Vallabha, for which Bashidu'd-din supplies the correct reading Malaya,<sup>15</sup> Kânjî, and Darvad (Dravida). Albérûni's first list places Malaya between Dravida and Kâñchi on one side and the Koûkan on the other, just as Hiuen-Tsiang places Malakôtta between Dravida with its capital Kâñchipura on one side and Koñkanapura on the other. The second list begins from Lâta or Gujarât and omits the Końkan, though in the preceding sentence it mentions Thână (on the island of Salsette), which, according to p. 203, was the capital of the Końkan.

According to Hiuen-Tsiang, Malakôțta was bounded on the south by the Malaya mountains, which bordered the sea, and in which sandal-trees were found. To the east of the Malaya mountains was Mount Pôtalaka, on the top of which was a lake from which there flowed a great river, and which was the residence of the Bôdàisattva Avalôkitêsvara. Going north-east from this mountain, on the border of the sea, there was a town, from which people embarked for Ceylon.

In Sanskrit and Malayalam, the term Malaya is applied to the Western Ghâts. and the sandal is called Malaya-ja, i.e. ' the produce of Malaya.' In Tamil, Malayam or Malaiyam. besides being used in the same sense, is the name of another mountain, which is also called Chandanachala or Chandanadri (i.e. ' the mountain of the sandal'), Podigai or Podiyam, which is supposed to be the residence of the sage Agastys, and after which the Pandya king is called Podiya-verpan (i.e. 'the lord of the mountain Podiyam'). Dr. Caldwell<sup>16</sup> states that the source of the Tamraparn1 river is in the mountain Podigai, and identifies the latter with Ptolemy's Byrreyé, in which the Σαλήν took its rise. In a footnote of his paper on Pôtalaka,<sup>17</sup> Mr. Beal suggests, with some diffidence, that Hiuen-Tsiang's Pôtalaka might be the same as Podigai and as Ptolemy's Byrrivé. It seems to me that the agreement between the two words Podigai and Pôtalaka is close enough to justify this identification, which struck me independently before I had seen Mr. Beal's paper. The river mentioned by Hiuen-Tsiang would then be intended for the Tâmraparni. According to Târanâtha's History of Buddhism,18 Pôtala was the name of a mythical mountain (pp. 141, 142 f., 223) in the south (p. 139), the seat of Avalokitebvara. On the way to it, the ocean (p. 157), a great river, and a lake, had to be crossed (p. 142). This myth of the northern Buddhists must have been known to Hinen-Tsiang, and the change of Podiyam or Podigai into Pôtala or Pôtalaka may be due to a popular etymology, which Hinen-Tsiang made either unconsciously or from a desire to connect the information collected on his visit to Southern India with that contained in his holy books. From similar motives, either Hiuen-Tsiang or his Buddhist informants seem to have transformed Agastya, who is supposed to reside on Podigai, into the Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara.

In the case of the Malaya mountains, it must be assumed that Hiven-Tsiang was misinformed, if he placed them to the south instead of the west of Malakotta. As for an

<sup>14</sup> Lárán is the same as Lár-désh, i.e. Láta-déás or Gujarát, on p. 205. Jimúr or Saimúr is probably the modern Choul ; see Yule and Burnell's Hobson-Jobson, s. v.

13 ibid. p. 209.

<sup>&</sup>quot; Comparative Grammar, 2nd edition, p. 14 of the Introduction.

<sup>17</sup> Alberúni's India, translated by Sachan, Vol. I. p. 200.

<sup>15</sup> Elliot and Dowson's History of India, Vol. I. p. 66.

<sup>14</sup> Comparative Grammar, 2nd edition, p. 100 f. of the Introduction.

<sup>17</sup> Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, New Series, Vol. XV. p. 388.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Translated from Tibetan into German by Schiefner, St. Petersburg, 1869.

identification of the port-town to the north-east of Mount Pôtalaka, Mr. Beal's quotations from I-tsing19 show that shortly after Hiuen-Tsiang's time the port for Ceylon was Nagavadana. Accordingly, the town, which Hiuen-Tsiang mentions, seems to be intended for Nagapattanam or Negapatam in the Tanjore District.

The unnamed capital of Malakotta is placed by Hinen-Tsiang 3,000 li to the south of Kanchipura, and by Hwui-li 3,000 li or so from the frontier between Dravida and Malakôția. As General Cunningham points out,<sup>39</sup> even the first mentioned distance would take us out to sea beyond Cape Comorin and must have been exaggerated by the pilgrim's informants. Mr. Beal, who identifies Chi-mo-lo (see above) with the Tamil Kumari (Sanskrit : Kumâri), thinks of Cape Comorin itself. But there is no tradition of a capital having been situated there. Perhaps Hinen-Tsiang refers to Korkai in the Tinnevelly District, the Kolxon of the Periplus and of Ptolemy, which was, according to Dr. Caldwell, the ancient capital of the Pandyas.<sup>21</sup>

# THE BALLAD OF THE GUJARI.

# BY PUTLIBAI D. H. WADIA.

I give the text and translation of this celebrated Gujaráti ballad as it is sung at Ahmadabad. In other parts, especially in Sürat, a somewhat different version obtains. This version contains a curious admixture of Hindustant and Gujarati words. The ballad is of the class called gurbá, and is sung by women who form themselves into a ring round a lighted lamp, and sing the verses as they go round and round, beating time with their hands.

#### TRANSLATION.

# The Ballad of the Gujari.<sup>1</sup>

The Bâdśâh is on his way to invade Kâbul and all the ministers of Dilhî are with him. The Bâdáâh takes up his abode in a garden : on what pretext shall I go to have a look (at them)?

I shall take a red earthen pot in my hand and go (dressed) as a dairy-maid. The Bådsah, &c.

(Her) skirt of brocade, and a gold border to (her) sddi;

5 Kallan, and kanbi, and anvat, bichhunva, and jhanjara jingling (on her person) ;

- Armlets round her arms, and rings on all her ten fingers: Kaláphuls<sup>2</sup> adorning her ears, and a costly jhál<sup>2</sup> glistening ; Páiiyáis adorning her throat, and a single-string necklace round her neck ; Her cloth (sadi) being of green gaji,3 and the necklace of pearls;
- 10 A ring adorning her nose, and a brilliant red mark glistening on her brow : She made (some) curds in a small earthen pot, and took the best of milk (with her) : (Thus arrayed) the Gujari set forth to sell curds, and arrived at the Bådsah's darbar, (And cried) — "Who'll buy my curds! who'll buy my sweet milk !" Says her mother-in-law,<sup>4</sup> --- " Listen daughter-in-law, do not go into the camp,
- 15 Or the Badsah of the city of Dilhî will keep thee in his palace." The daughter-in-law heeds not the mother-in-law and goes forth to sell (her) curds: Goes forth the Gujarians to sell curds and takes her seat in the Lal Bajar. The Badáah being informed (of this) comes to have a look at the Gujari.

١

The same as Gujari.

<sup>\*</sup> Ancient Geography of India, Vol. I. p. 549. 19 Life, p. xxxi. ; Si-yu-ki, Vol. II. p. 233, note 131.

<sup>. 22</sup> For references on Korksi see Mr. Sewell's Lists of Antiquities, Vol. I. p. 312.

<sup>1</sup> The word gujari means 'a Gujarati woman.'

Names of different gold and silver ornaments for women.

<sup>\*</sup> goji is a sort of silk fabric manufactured in Gujarat, so called from its being just one goj ( = ghas = 1 of a yard) in width.

This ought to have come before the two preceding lines.

"Why do you go about lanes and alleys, fair one, you onght to live behind the pardd." 20 "The lanes and alleys are good enough for me, to thy pardd I shall set fire."

"Thon art a base born Hindwâni, thus to give (impertinent) retorts to thy sovereign !" Says the Bûdśûh, "Listen Gujari, listen to what I have to say.

"What is the use of wearing ornaments of base metals, fair one? You ought to wear a ser of gold."

- "My ornaments of base metals are good enough for me, to thy gold I shall set fire." "Thou art," &c.
- 25 "What is this black coarse cloth that you wear, fair one? You ought to wear Dakhani silks."<sup>6</sup>

"My black coarse cloth is good enough for me, to thy (Dakhani) silks I shall set fire." "Thou art," &c.

- "I have a wonderfully fine elephant, fair one; come and have a look at my elephant."
- "What is there to look at in thy elephant? I have some grey cow-buffaloes at home,
- "That give a man<sup>7</sup> and a quarter of milk each time, and they are (therefore) far better than thy elephant."
- "Thou art, " &c.

30 "My moustache is wonderfully formed, fair one; be allured by my moustache."

- "What is there to look at in thy moustache? It is only like the tuft of hair at the end of my goats' tails !"
- "Thou art," dec.
- "Which is your parents-in-law's house ? And to what man are you wife ?"
- "The Fort of Gôkul is my parents-in-law's house, and to the man Chandů I am wife." "Thou art," &c.
- "To what country dost thon belong, shepherdess? And what is thy name ?"
- 35 "I am (the) shepherdess of Fort Mündav, and Mênâ the Gujarî is my name."
  - "Now fix the price of your small earthen pot; and, fair one, what may be its price ?"
  - "If I name the price of my small earthen pot, thy senses would desert thee !"

"Thon art," &c.

- "What is this meaningless jargon that thou talkest, fair one? Talk sense.
- "With what arrogance thou speakest, fair one! I could give thee two or four slaps"!"
- 40 "Do not think I am alone (unprotected): nine lakks of my Gujars will come down (to defend me)!
  - "I will give thee such a slap that thy turban will roll off thy head, and thy face will grow red !
  - "I will cause thy ponies to be sold for a taka each, and thy camels at ten to a damri :"
  - "I will cause thy shields to be sold at a *lakú* apiece, and thy swords at two *köris* (cowries) each!"

The Büdśâh was enraged at this and had her cast into irons.

- 45 "I entreat thee brother Bråhman:<sup>10</sup> I will give thee the necklace (that is) next my heart,
  "If thou wilt go and give this letter into the hands of my husband's brother, Hîrîya."<sup>11</sup>
  When Hîrîya read the letter (he said to his brother) "Brother, our Gujarî has been cast
  - when Hiriya read the letter (he said to his brother) " Brother, our Gajari has been cast into prison."
  - (And then he said to the soldiers,) -- "Gird on tightly your shields and swords, brothers, and gird on tightly all your weapons:
  - "Let only those who are brave of heart accompany us, for cowards are not wanted (where we shall go).

<sup>•</sup> Costly silks manufactured in the Dakhan. • • An Indian weight equal to about 80 lbs.

<sup>•</sup> Here there is a pun on the two meanings of the word उत्तर, अत्तर, उत्तर meaning ' with arrogance' and उत्तर egain meaning ' a slap.'

One-twenty fourth part of an and.
 <sup>10</sup> The scene changes here, and the Gujari addresses a young Brahman.
 <sup>11</sup> Note that it is improper for a Hindu wife to address her husband even by letter.

50	" Put on saffron-coloured robes13 brothers,	
	And Hîrîya ran from thence and went to h	
	"Tiel <sup>3</sup> the girths of your saddles tight and	
	"For I mean to return home after conquer	
		and nine lakhs of Gujars mounted (theirs).
55	As Hîrîya entered (the city of Dilhi) the V	
	And as Chanda's horse galloped in, the dai	-
	The cannon boomed forth loudly and all as	
		inety-two lakhs of Mugals poured into the field.
	The large copper drum was sounded and a	-
60	On the fourteenth day of the month of Phi	igan the affair was in fall swing.
	After a long silence the Gujarî spoke and s	poke but one word :
	"Let Hiriya wear my bangles, <sup>16</sup> and let m	
	" And I shall fight with the Bâdśâh in enc	h a brave manner as to immortalize my name."
	"Pitch tents in a row on two sides <sup>17</sup> and l	eave an open space in the middle,
65	"And let the Gujari stand in that vaca take her."	nt space, brothers, and he who wins her may
	Upon this Hiriya and Chandâ said (to the	Bâdáâh) — " Rájâ, <sup>19</sup> listen to what we say :
	" It becomes you to give the first blow, for	
	And the Bâdśâh dealt the first blow in the	
		ged, fell (upon the Mugal army) like tigers
70		d a shower of blood rained down
••		(8) — "We give your Gujarî (back) into your
	charge, (for) to us the Gujari is as a s	
	TE	XT.
	गुजरीनो	गरबो
1	के काबुलपर बारवाह चढे, ने सारी हिल्हिका रीयानरे	के कोटे ते पारीआं शोभतां, एने कंडे एकावळ हाररे
	के बाद्साहारे उत्तरे बागमें, में क्या मल देखन जाउंरे	के लीली से गर्झानुं कापडुंरे, एने गळे मोसीनो हाररे
	के हायमेरे लेड लाल मदुली, कंशेयण होके आउंरे	10 के नाके से वाळी सोभती, एने डीलडी® सपे लेलाटरे
		के छोटी मटकीमें रहीं जमायो, वुध लीओ खुब सारोरे
;	के फुल्फगरनो पाधरी, ने साळुडे'' कसबी कोररे	को चली गुजरीओं भेरहीं बेचनकुं, आई बार्श्शाहके
	के कहारे कांबी ने अणवट बीछुंदा, सांसरने।	मा परण उत्पर्धनाः २३३ मधनकुः आद्य मार्यसाहाकः इरमारदे
	समकारदे	के अबर लो कोई महीयर"ल्यो, कोइ लोने मीठडां*
;	के हाथे बाज्रुवंध बेरखा ने. एनी रुघे आंगळीए वेढरे	मा नगर के मारह कहा कर रखा, वाहि लाग माठका तुर्धरे
	के काने कलाफुल घोगतां, ने वळी सबके मेंघी झालरे	
7	<sup>2</sup> Saffron-coloured robes are worn as a sign that the a	rmy is determined either to conquer or to die to a man.
	<sup>13</sup> Addressing the soldiers. <sup>14</sup> A caste known for their cowardice, as well as for their control of the soldier.	Bit evenion to destroy life either homen or ening?
	<sup>16</sup> Being of the same caste as Véniyás. This is sarcas	
1	<sup>16</sup> In order to insinuate that Hiriya was a coward.	<sup>17</sup> It is not plain who makes this proposal.
	18 Who llinds booth on address the (sid) Massal on 1970	light after that any fait.

<sup>18</sup> The Hindu brothers address the (sic) Mugal as "Råjå" after their own fashion.

15 सासुदे used poetically for साउंगि or सामे 'to the sadl ;' सादी or सामो being the proper word for the long piece of eloth that Indian women wrap round their bodies, and draw as a veil over their heas.

\* ਟੀਲੇਡੀ used poetically for 건전, the red mark that all women (except widows) make on their brows.

\*1 गुजरीओ used postically for गुजरी.

22 अयर लो कोइ महींयर लो, &c. अयर and महींयर are reduplicated words, though somewhat separated. महींयर is a postical form of मही, an equivalent of दही, 'ourds.'

\* मीठडां poetical form of मीठां 'sweet.'

\* ब्बरीयां used poetically for बब, Hindustant for ' daughter-in-law.'

के दिल्ही रोहेरका बारघाहा, मुझे रखे मेंहलन*5मांहरे	के मारुं तमाचा ने उड जाव पघडी, मुखडा ह
के सासुनां वार्यों ना वरे वह, महीं वेचवाने जायरे	जाय लालरे.
के चली गुजरीओं नहीं बेचनके, बेठी लाल बजाररे	के टके टके तेरा टडु बेचांडं ने इमडीका इझ उंटरे.
	को इक टको तेरी डाल बेचांऊ ने दो कोडी सलवारहे.
	के बादशाहाकु तो घुस्सा लगा, ने डाली बेडी मांयरे
मांहरे	45 के झाहाण वीरा विनुदु, तने आलुं हैयांनी हारहे
के अलीयारे मलीयां बोहोत भली, तेरे पडरेक लगा	के कागल जईने आलजे. मारा हीरीआ हीयरने हाय
	के हीरीए कागळ वांचीओ भाइ गूजरी पडी बेर्ड
• • • • • •	માંચરે.
	के ताली बांधों आई ढाल तलवारी ने माली बांध
	मधीबाररे.
	के गुरा होय सी संग चले ने, नहि कावरका कामरे
	50 के केसरीआ भाइ वागा पेहेरो. ने हो जाव जान
क काय कयार भरा बाहात मला, तर साम लगा इक्त आगरे:-के हिंद	गुसालरे,
के काली कामलने क्या ओडना, गोरी ऐहेरी इखपी	के स्यांधी हीरीयो दोडीयों ने, गयों वोडानी पासरे
चीररे 👘	के ताणींने बांधी संगडी ने, ढीली मेलो लगामरे.
के काली कामळ मेरे बोहत भली, तेरे चीरकु लगा	के हिल्ही जीतीने घेर आउंसो, रेवत मारु नामरे.
	के हीरीयों घोडे एक ज चढगों ने गुजर चढगा नव
के नकना हाथी अजब बना, गोरी हाथी रेखन आवरे	लाखरे
के तेरे हाथींने क्या देखनां, मेरे घेरे भूरी भेंसरे	55 के हीरीयों पेठो घहेरनां ने, वाणीया नाठा जायरे.
के हंके सदामण दूध करे तारा हायीयी भलेरी3 मारी	के चंदे घोडो खेडीयों ने, कंदोइ" नाठा जायरे
नेसरेके हिर	के तोपोकी धुमरोळ हुइ ने हुवा अधारा घोररे.
के मेरी मछी अजब बनी, गोरी मुछोपर मोही आवरे	को सुतो बादगाह जागीयों ने, मुगल चढघा बापु
के सेरी महामे कवा देखना, मेरे मकरे जेसा पूछरे-	लाखरे.
के हिंद	के संबानी नॉबत गणगण, जेना उनके वाग्यां टॉलरे
के कवा तमाह सासह, ने कीया पुरुष घेरे माररे	60 के फागण सुद चौदसने इहाडे मामलो मच्यो जोररे
के बाद गोकल मारुं सासरुं, ने चंदा पुरुष घेरे नाररे	के गुजरी रहीने बोलीओं ने बोली एकज बोलरे
	के हीरीयों पेंहेरे बांगडी ने हथीआर मुजने आलरे
के कांच देशकी गोवालभी, ने शे छे सारुं नागरे.	के बादशाह साथ एसी लडुं नेरा जुगमां हो जाय
के गढ मांडवकी गोवालणी, ने मेना गुजरी मार्र	नामरे.
	के अगाडी पछाडी देरा तानो, बीचने रखी नेतानरे.
के कोही मटकीका मल कही ने, गोरी उसका क्या	65 के बचमां राखी गुजरी भाष, जे जीते से लेव जायरे
	के हीरीयों ने चंहीओं बोलीआ, राजा स्वांभको
के सोगी सरकीका मल कहे में तेरी धुद्ध हुने	अमारी वातरे.
जाते अलीके हिंद	के पेहेलों ते घाव वळी तमें करों ने, अने तमारी रेवतरे
के जनमय गजमत सना बोलती. गोरी बोलो समजकी	के पेहेलों से धाव बाइशाहे कीथो, गुंबर लदकर
	मांबरे.
भाषाः के समय समय? जोडी हमा बोलती. कई छकड	के हीरीको चंदीओ छुस्से थया, जेम बकरांमां पडीया
या व्यक्तप्र छात्र पारा नेपा नामगा गर उनाव स्वतन्त्र के कार्य	वाघरे.
लगाउ ए। पारर-	70 के सलवारोनी साळी पडे ने, लोहीनो वरस्वो मेघरे.
काखरे.	के तमारी गुजरी तमने छंपी गुजरी हमारी बेनरे.
	के भलों गुजरीओं यहां बेभनकुं, बेठी लाल बजाररे के बादशाहाकु तो खबर इइने, गुजरी इंखन आयरे के अलीयांरें गलीयां बोहोत भली, तेरें पडरेकु लगा एउं आगरे के हिंदवाणी नुं शामजादी बादशाहकु देवे जवाबरे के बादशाह कहवे छण गुजरी, तुम छणे हमारी बातरे के बाद कथारा ब्या पेहरना, गोरी पेहरो सोना सेररे के काली कामलने क्या मेहना, गोरी पेहरो हरणा वरे आगरे-के हिंद के काली कामलने क्या भोडना, गोरी पेहरी इखणी चीररे के काली कामल मेरे बोहत भली, तेरे चीरकु लगा हउं आगरे-के हिंद के मताना हाथी अजब बना, गोरी हाथी देखन आवरे के दे हाथीने क्या हेखनां, मेरे घेरे भूरी भेंसरे के दे हाथीने क्या हेखनां, मेरे घेरे भूरी भेंसरे के हेके सदामण हुध करे तारा हाथीथी भलेरी <sup>39</sup> गारी जेसरे-को हिंद के मेरी मुछो अजब बना, गोरी मुछोपर मोही आवरे के सेरी मुछो अजब बना, मेरे बकरे जेसा पूछरे-

- \* मोहोलन used postically for मोहोल Hindustani for ' palace.'
- अ अस्तीयां रे गस्तीयां reduplicated words : मसीयां meaning 'lanes.'
- ग काथ कथीर reduplicated words : कथीर meaning ' base metal.'

अलेरी used postically	y for भली, 'good .' there being no comparative form in Gujarsti, भली 'good ' is	used for
'better, ' with the mflix ui,	'than,' added to the preceding word Eraft.	

- \* JE JE also reduplicated words, both words separately meaning 'sense, reason.'
- sans 543 also reduplicated words, 8443 meaning ' with arrogance. '

#### MISCELLANEA.

# PROGRESS OF EUROPEAN SCHOLARSHIP.

# No. XVII.

#### Revue de L'Histoire des Religions.

The Revue de L'Histoire des Religions, published in Paris, by Leroux, is a periodical which is not so well known in India as it deserves to be. Its purpose is indicated by its name, for it is purely historical, and excludes all polemic and dogmatic matter. The following are some of the articles which have appeared during the last three years, and which will be of interest to Indian students.

(a)-Vol. XIV. No. 1, July and August, 1886.

M. E. de Pressensé contributes an interesting article on the Chaldso-Assyrian Religion, divided into three parts, viz. I., Its sources; II., The phases of the religious evolution; III., The Assyrian religion. The religion is traced from an animism full of despair and terror overmastering men who are everywhere surrounded by the evil powers of the river, the wind, the storm, and the miasma. It was then a religion of charms and exorcisms, of appeals to kindly deities for protection, and of talismans. The superior elements contained in it eventually developed in a regular mythological evolution. Thus we find gradually coming into prominence, Anna, the god of the sky, Ea, of earth, and Mulge, of the lower abyss; each of whom was a male deity, with his spouse, a kind of feminine hypostasis of his attributes. These gods had so far no distinct personality, and it was they who war with the evil spirits, authors of ill. Prayer occupied the first place in this cult, but sacrifice is also mentioned, though destitute of elevation or morality. Such was the religion of the Accadians, which received a further development through the influence of the Semitic Kushites. We now find the fundamental idea of a divine unity in a pantheistic sense. The hidden God, who contains all things within himself, manifests himself in a diversity of phenomena. Secondary gods, ranged below him, only personify his attributes. The god is Ilu, Babylon is his city,---the city of Ilu;--and from him emanates the first triad----

> Anu, or primordial chaos, Bel, the Demiurge,

Nuah, the saviour, the intelligent guide.

Each of these three has his corresponding feminine divinity, viz. Anat, Bélit, and Tihamti, respectively. A second triad is composed of the sun, the moon, and the atmosphere, who are followed by the five planets.

Really this new mythology is the same concep-

tion as that of the ancient Chaldmans, with a sidereal element in addition. We have the same mysterious supreme god, whether called Ilu or Anna. The first triad corresponds to the old three regions of the universe. Only the feminine element occupies a more important position in the new pantheon, Anat, Bélit, and Istar (the planet Venus) representing it in its fecundity and in its sexual pleasure. It is this which explains the compulsory prostitution of every woman in the temple at Babylon.

Assyria, in possessing itself of Babylon, and founding its immense empire, changed nothing but one name in the Chaldwan pantheon. It raised its god Assur to the dignity of the Supreme God, but without essentially modifying the character of the latter. It, however, gave him a striking personification upon earth, in the person of its conquering king, and from this point history becomes an important factor in the development of religion.

The king described his victories as brought about by Assur.—"The god Assur, my lord, told me to march forth, &c." The splendid palaces raised to the glory of the king were temples of that magnificent royalty of which the god Assur was the august type. This striking representation of the victorious war of the national deities against evil powers became a real religion, and we thus emerge from the placid sidereal pantheon of the Chaldzeans, although, after all, the new element is simply superimposed over the primitive basis of the ancient religion.

But, beside the development of the official religion, a sense of personal sin grew up gradually amongst the Chaldmans. The voice of conscience began to be heard, purifying the cowardly terrors of superstition. It is impossible that this development of conscience should not have co-existed with an idea, more or less confused, of retribution in a future life. We thus find a privileged place awarded to valiant soldiers in the abode of the dead. But it is to Assyria that is owed a new development in the conception of the future life. We now find a distinct progress in the idea of retribution attached to a future life. We find two frightful monsters, representing retributive torments, in the lower regions, and above, on the earth, the dead placed between two protecting gods. There is therefore recourse to the gods against the terrible power of hell.

(b)-Vol. XIV. No. 3, Nov. and Dec. 1886.

(1) M. Edonard Montet describes the Persian Drama, and its intimate connexion with religion. It is a modern growth, contemporary with the decline of Persian political influence, and with the religious revival marked by the rise of Babiem.

The tragic dramas are founded, like miracleplays, on religious subjects, the theme being the death of the descendants of 'Ali. The authors are generally unknown, and the actors take great liberties with the text. They are of inordinate length, one play lasting a whole Muharram, which is the season at which they are usually performed. A play begins with the history of Joseph, his sojourn in the well being considered a type of Hussain's capture. Thence we are taken day by day through the religious history of the Shi'as, the last act transporting us to the resurrection, in which Jacob, Joseph, Abraham, David, Solomon, Noah, Muhammad, 'Alî, Fâtima, Hassan, Hussain, &c., come to life. While the patriarchs and kings of Israel only think of their own salvation, Muhammad and his descendants intercede for sinners, who, saved by the blood shed at the Karbala, enter into paradise. The final moral is, therefore, that the belief of the Shi'as is the only true religion.

(2) M. L. Feer discusses Vritra and Namuchi as described in the Mahdbhdrata. Indra's combat with Vritra is described twice in that poem, once in the Vana-Parva (ślóka 8691), and once in the Udyóga-Parva (ślóka 239). M. Feer maintains that, as these two accounts are mutually irreconeilable, the latter must refer to Namuchi, and not to Vritra. References to the Védic traditions show that Vritra and Namuchi are confused at a very early period. They both represent the storm-clouds, which only yield to the god of the thunderbolt after a terrific combat.

(c)-Vol. XV. No. 1, January and February, 1887.

Mr. Paul Regnaud discusses the meaning of the Vádic adjective amûra, which Roth translates as "infallible" (connecting it with the root mar, 'break'), and Grassmann and Ludwig, as 'not benumbed,' 'wise' (connecting it with a root mår, nearly related to mårchk, and signifying, 'be stupid'). M. Regnaud prefers the latter interpretation, comparing the Sanskrit mårta, 'dried,' 'hardened,' mårti, 'a hard thing,' whence 'a material form'; the Greek  $\mu \omega \rho \delta$  'a fool,' and the Latin môles and mårus. The common idea of the whole family is 'the condition of dryness.'

In the three passages in the Rig-Véda, in which mära and amära are opposed, mära designates men (the benumbed), and amära, the gods (the awakened). Comparing this with the cognate terms marta-amrita, it seems as if the original meaning of the root mar, 'to die,' was 'to be dry, hard, unmovable.' (d)-Vol. XVI. No. 1, July and August, 1887.

(1) M. Paul Regnaud discusses the Vêdic word rita, which is usually translated 'that which is applied.' The objection to this is that it is not the root ar (ri), but its causal, which means 'to apply.' When the primitive form is used in this sense, it has the prefix  $\hat{a}$ , prati, or sam.

Ar means properly 'to go,' 'to set oneself in movement,' hence 'to reach,' 'to bring oneself near to,' which explains the meaning of the causative, 'to cause to approach,' 'to join,' 'to adapt.'

Rita, therefore corresponds, primitively, to the idea 'set in motion'; but we see from the Sanskrit riju, Latin rec-tus, German recht, &c., (root arj, raj, 'to go,' 'to advance,' 'to approach') that the meaning of 'right,' at first physically, and afterwards morally, naturally proceeds from that of 'set in motion,' 'sent forth,' 'directed.' It seems, therefore, to M. Regnaud, that there is little doubt that rita eventually came to mean 'that which is good,' 'that which is just,' 'that which should be done,' through the idea of ' right,' 'in right line.' Its contrary is an-ri-ta, a word of which the meaning 'not right,' 'false,' has remained in the carlier stage. The use of the word rite, 'without,' is also easily explained by the original meaning of 'set in motion;' rite toat means ' being set in motion to depart from thee,' or simply 'separated from thee,' 'removed from thee,' ' without thee.'

(2) The same number contains a translation into French by M. J. A. Decourdemanche of the Turkish Akhlaq-i-Hamidi of Muhammad Sa'id Effendi. The work is a treatise on-Muhammadan morals. The translation is continued in the following number, and concluded in the first No. of Vol. XVII.

#### (e) - Vol. XVI. No.2, September and October, 1887.

(I) Dr. Ign. Goldziher gives an interesting paper on the Monotheism of the Musalmans.

(2) M. Paul Regnaud follows with a note on jeux de mots in the Vêdas. These are puns, but are natural and not intentional. The authors, instead of deliberately playing upon a twofold meaning, are misled by it. Thus Agni is properly Fire, and more specially the Fire of Sacrifice, but he is first of all the brilliant one (root ak, aksh), and as such is a déva, 'a god' (root dio, to be brilliant). In this way he gets all the characteristics of the dévas.

So also Indra was primitively the brilliant, or the burning one (root *ind*, *indh*) and therefore a *ddva*. But, as brilliant and burning, he has become the ardent, the energetic one,—whence his struggles and his victories.

(1) This number contains an interesting review, impossible to summarise satisfactorily, being a summary itself, by M. Eugène Monseur, of Dr. Meyer's work on the Myth of Achilles. The foundation of the Iliad appears to Dr. Meyer to have been a little poem, the Achilleis, composed, about 850 B.C., by a singer of genius, who was possibly called Homor. This poem consisted of three parts; the first, the quarrel between Achilles and Agamemnon; the second, the defeat of the Achwans, and the exploits of Agamemnon ; and the third, the victory of Achilles over Xanthe and Hector. This legend is then worked out with its parallels in other Aryan nationalities, including India and Germany. As already explained, it is impossible to summarise this portion of the article, which is that most interesting to Indian students. As a rule, Peleus is compared with Purdravas, Thetis with Urvasi, and Achilles with Aya and Arjuna.

(2) In the same number M. Paul Regnaud combats Professor Max Müller's theory of the Sources of Mythology, and maintains :---

(i) In the beginning, language was applied to objects, rather than to the thinking and speaking subject.

(ii) The conscient idea or image of the objects is anterior to the names which they have received, and can remain independent even after the creation of the names.

(iii) Mythology, which is developed by the help of words, took its birth independently, and rests on an alternate basis which is logical and psychological rather than verbal.

(g)-Vol. XVII. No. 2, March-April, 1888.

This number contains a long review, by M. J. Halévy, of Prof. Sayce's Hibbert Lectures on the Religion of the Ancient Babylonians.

GEO. A. GEIERSON.

#### THE BODLEIAN COLLECTION OF COINS.

The richness of the cabinet of coins under the care of the Curators of the Bodleian Library is not, 1 think, generally known. In his recently issued valuable report Mr. E. B. Nicholson, Bodley's Librarian, states that "the Bodleian collection of coins and medals numbers upwards of 50,000 pieces, and is the second largest in the empire."

A printed catalogue of its contents was issued in 1750, but since that time many additions had been made, and the coin-room had been so much neglected that it was of very little service to students. Mr. Nicholson passes lightly over the evidence of his predecessors' neglect, though he ventures to remark that "it may pretty safely be said that at the beginning of 1884, the collection was not known to contain half as many pieces as were actually in it."

In 1884 the Librarian undertook the reorganization of the department. His first work was to examine the multitude of cabinets, and to turn out of the coin-room the hundreds of trays found to be empty. The contents of the remaining trays and the loose coins were then sorted and roughly counted by the Library staff with the assistance of Mr. C. W. C. Oman, Fellow of All Souls, the late Mr. Vaux, F.R.S., and Mr. C. P. Shipton.

The result obtained from the rough counting was that the collection was found to contain in all 50,417 coins, of which 22,677 pieces have been arranged, more or less accurately, and 19,771 have been catalogued in 48 catalogues.

The Oriental class of coins is defined as "including those of all countries east of the Euphrates, those of autonomous Judæa, and all Muhammadan coins." This class comprises 5,249 specimens, of which 2,038 are returned as arranged, and 1,171 as catalogued in one catalogue.

The statistics above quoted are for Nov. 8, 1884. Since that date the Clarendon Press has published an illustrated catalogue of the Muhammadan coins, compiled by Mr. Stanley Lane Poole, "the first Bodleian coin-catalogue issued for 138 years."

"In 1884-85 Mr. Oman arranged and labelled the Roman Republican coins in terms of Cohen's *Monnaies de la République Romaine*. The subsequent appearance of Babelon's still more complete work made it desirable that the latter should be substituted as the standard of reference, and an adaptation has been carried out by the Librarian as far as the coins without family-name are concerned.

"In 1886 Mr. Oman began to arrange and label the 'Greek' series in terms of the corresponding volumes of the British Museum coin-catalogues, and at the end of 1887 had finished the sections comprised in the volumes lettered 'Italy,' 'Sioily,' 'Thrace, etc.,' 'Macedon, etc.,' 'Thessaly to Ætolia,' 'Central Greece,' 'Crete and Ægean Islands,' and 'Seleucid kings of Syria:' he had also provisionally arranged the sections for Attica and the Peloponnese, the volumes corresponding to which had not then been issued."

In 1888 I examined the Gupta series of Indian coins in the collection, and supplied the Librarian with a manuscript catalogue of the gold and

<sup>1</sup> The Boilleian Library in 1882-87. A Report from the Librarian. Published by permission of the Curators. Oxford : December, 1888.

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copper pieces, and some brief notes on the silver pieces, in accordance with which the series was promptly re-arranged. My notes have since been published in full in my paper entitled "The Coinage of the Early or Imperial Gupta Dynasty of Northern India," which appeared in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for January, 1889.

The Bodleian collection of Gupta coins is specially distinguished by the unique specimen of Kumåragupta's coinage. I found two small copper coins of Chandragupta among the unclassed specimens, and, since the publication of the paper referred to, five or six more examples of the copper money of the same king have been rescued from the crowd of unassigned coins.

The time at my disposal did not permit me to examine in detail the other classes of early Indian coins, but a hasty glance at some trays showed me that the collection includes many examples of the coinage of the Mitra kings, and other ancient pre-Muhammadan dynastics of India.

A catalogue of the Bodleian Buddhist and Hindu coins cannot well be attempted until the British Museum leads the way by catalogning its possessions of the kind, and unfortunately the difficulties in the way of such an undertaking are very formidable. But in time these difficulties will doubtless be surmounted by the energy of Mr. R. S. Poole and his able colleagues, which has already triumphed over so many obstacles, and it will then be easy to complete the catalogue of the Bodleian numismatic treasures.

15th March 1889. V. A. SMITH.

#### THE TITHI OF A SAMKBANTI.

In the samkranti-phala of Gannat Krishnaji's almanac for Baka-Samvat 1799 (expired) (A.D. 1877-78), there is the following passage : - Svasti ; ériman-nripa-Vikramârkasamay-åtita-samvat 1934 Sarvadhåri-nämasamvatsarô; tathA śriman-nripa-Bâlivâhana-Saké 1799 İávara-nāma-samvatsaré; dakshinâyanê hêmamta-ritau Pausha-masé suklapakshé tithau 8 ghatikah 5 palani 10 param 9 samkramana-tithau Mainda-väsaré näkshatra<sup>1</sup> Aśvinî ghatikâh 41 palâni 37 samkraman-arkshê yôga Siddhi ghatikah 25 palani 15 samkra. mana-yôgê tâtkâlikê Bâlava-karanê êvam-âdi-pamchâmga-suddhâv atra-diné sri-martamdamamdal-ôdayad gata-ghatikah 19 palani 0 samayê Makara-râsan ravêh samkramanam syat. Tadâ dakshinâyana-hêmamtaritu-Dhana-

samkrâintayô nivrittâh ; dagayana-śiśinaritu-Makarasaiakrâintayah pravrittâh. Tadâ dêvânân din-ôdayah; daityânâm râtry-udgamah Asya punya-kâla samkramana-samayât súry-ástaparyamtain. From this, with the page for the month of Pausha in the body of the almanac, we learn that the sirayana Makara-Samkrânti occurred, or was cast to occur, at 19 ghatis after sunrise on Mandavåsara or Saturday, 12th January, A.D. 1878. On that day there ended the tithi Pausha sukla 8; and this is the tithi of the day for all ordinary purposes. But this tithi had actually ended at 5 gh. 10 p. after sunrise; or 13 gh. 50 p., = 5 hrs. 32 min., before the time of the samkranti. And the passage quoted above goes on to say, " after this time there is the tithi 9;" to stamp this as the samkramana-tithi or tithi of the samkranti; and to connect this tithi with the Saturday, though, as it ended at 7 gh. 43 p. after sunrise on the Sunday, the latter day is the one with which it is ordinarily to be connected. Exactly similar passages occur in Ganpat Krishnaji's almanacs for Saka-Samvat 1800, 1801, and 1805 (expired); in each of which years, in the same way, the Makara Samkranti occurred, or was cast to occur, at a moment later than the ending-point of the expired tithi ordinarily belonging to the day. In the other years examined by me, Saka-Samvat 1802, 1803, 1804, 1807, and 1808 (expired), the circumstances awere different; in each case the moment for the sankranti is earlier than the ending-time of the expired tithi properly belonging to the day; and no reference is made to the next tithi.

I find the practice to be the same in the Patwardhani Panchang.<sup>4</sup> In each of the years Saka-Samvat 1799, 1802, 1803, 1805, 1806, and 1807 (expired), the Makara-Samkranti occurred, or was cast to occur, before the ending-time of the expired tithi properly belonging to the day; and no reference is made to the next tithi. But in the years Saka-Samvat 1800, 1801, 1804, and 1808 (expired), the circumstances were analogous to those of Saka-Samvat 1799 (expired), according to Ganpat Krishnaji's almanac; and in the same way there is named, first the tithi ending on the day, and then the next tithi, commencing at that moment, and current at the time of the samkranti. And, as it emphasises in a special manner thepoint that I have in view, I will quote in full the passage in the samkranti-phala of the PatwardhaniPanchang for Baka-Samvat1808

Naufa othard Patvardhant Paüchâng, " the New or Patwardhani Paüchâng." As I have stated on a previous occasion (ante, Vol. XVI. p. 81), this almanac appears to be rather a theoretical one, intended to improve and rectify the calendar; and Ganpat Krishnaji's almanac is the one most in actual use in the Bombay Presidency.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> I give the passages, throughout, just as they stand in the original almanacs. <sup>2</sup> This is the most convenient name for quoting the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> This is the most convenient name for quoting the almanac started by Prof. K. L. Chhatre. Since his death, it has been continued by his collaborateurs, apparently on the same lines, and with the same title of

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(expired) (A.D. 1886-87). It runs thus :--śriman-nripa-Vikramarka-samay-âtîta-Svasti : samvat 1943 Hêmalamba-nâma-samvatsarê ; tathâ śrîman-nripa-Sâlivâbana-Sakê 1808 Vyaya-nâmasamvatsaré : dakshinâyanô hêmainta-ritau Pausha-másé sukla-pakshé tithau 18 gha 3 pa 49 param 14 samkramana-tithau Mamdavasarê nakshatra Mriga gha 10 pa 7 param Årdrå samkraman-arkshê yêga Aindra 52 pa 19 samkramana-yôgê tâtkâlikê Vanija-karapê êvamsri-sûryådi-pamchämga-suddhåv atra-diné ódayád gata-gha 47 pa 20 samayê Makararasau ravéh samkramana syàt. Tadâ dakshinâyana - hêmanitaritu - Dhanasanikrâmtayô nivrittah ; udagayana-sisiraritu-Makarasamkramtayah pravrittâh. Tadâ dêvânam din-ôdayah : daityânâm râtry-udgamah. Asya punya-kâlah Pausha-śu-15-Ravau gha 7 pa 20 paryamtam uttamah, tad-agrê gaunah. From this, with the page for the month of Pausha in the body of the almanac, we learn that the nirayana Makara-Samkranti occurred, or was east to occur, at 47 gh. 20 p. after sunrise on Mandavåsara or Saturday, 3th January, A.D. 1887. On that day, there ended (1) the ordinary tithi of the day, Pausha śukla 13, at an earlier moment, viz. at 3 gh. 49 p. after sunrise; and (2) the tithi sukla 14 at 55 gh. 30 p., after the time for the Makara-Samkranti. According to the usual rule, this latter tithi was an expunged tithi, for all ordinary purposes; and it is so shewn in the almanac. This tithi, however, though thus expunged, is the one which, being actually current at the moment of the samkranti, is quoted as the lithi of the samkranti. In this case, the nakshatra is specified in exactly the same way; so also both the nakshatra and the yoga, in both almanacs, in some others of the ten years examined. For this, I can see no particular reason; as it seems self-evident that the actually current nakshatra and yoga should always be quoted. But instances of mentioning in this way, first the expired and then the current nakshatra and yoga, are to be found in the Newar dates Nos. 13 and 16, given by Prof. Kielhorn, ante, Vol. XVII. pp. 249, 250.

In respect of the samkramana-tithi, the same practice is disclosed in the Sâyana-Pańcháng for Baka-Samvat 1808 (expired) (A.D. 1886-87), where, in the sâyana samkranti-phala, we have — Svasti; samvat 1943 Vilambi-nâma-samvatsarê; tathû cha śrî-Sâ-Sa 1808.Vyaya-nâma-samvatsarê; hêmamta-ritau Paushê másê krishna-pakshê

ékádási gha 29 pa 31 vartamána-dvádasyám Bhauma-vasarê Anurådhå-dina-nakshatrè Vriddhi-yôgê tâtkâlikê Kaulava-karanê suryódayát gha 50 pa 56 tadá Makara-rásau ravéh sam kramanam bhavati. Tada udagayanapravrittih. Samkrámtí-punya-kálah dvádasyám Budha-vâsarê sêry-ôdayât asta-paryamtam. Here the details are for Tuesday, 21st December, A.D. 1886. The ordinary tithi of the day was Pausha krishna 11, which ended at 29 gh. 31 p.; but the hour for the suyana Makara-Samkrânti being later,<sup>3</sup> viz. 50 gh. 56 p., the tilhi that is quoted as the actual tithi of the samkranti, is krishua 12, expressly specified as "current," and connected here with the Tuesday, though in the passage for the punya kâla it is connected with the Wednesday, to which it ordinarily belongs as an expired tithi, ending at 26 gh. 26 p. So also in the same almanac for Baka-Samvat 1809 (expired) (A.D. 1887-89), in the Grahalaghava samkránti-phala we have - Svasti; śrimannripa-Vikramårka-samvat 1944 Vikåri-nämasamvatsarê; tathâ cha śrîman-nripa-Sâlivâhana-Sakê 1809 Sarvajin-nâma-samvatsarê ; hêmamtaritau Pausha-kri-14 gha 20 pa 31 vartamanamavasyayam Guru-vasaré súry-òdayat gha 55 pa 83 tadà Pûrv-Åshâdhâ-di[na\*]nakshatrê Harshana-yôgê Nâga-karanê Makararásau ravaih samkramanam bhavati. Tasya punya-kôlah Bhrigu-vâsarê sûry-ôdayêt sûryâsta-paryamtam. Here the details are for Thursday, 12th January, A.D. 1883. The ordinary tithi of the day was Pausha krishna 14, ending at 20 gh. 31 p.; the nirayana Makara-Samkranti occurred at 55 gh, 33 p;<sup>\*</sup> and the *tithi* then current was the amavasya or new-moon, Pausha krishna 15 or 30, which ended at 18 gh, 7 p, on the Friday.

From these passages we see that, in specifying the tithi of a samkranti, the custom is to quote the tithi that is actually current at the moment of the samkranti. And the rule thus disclosed will doubtless help to solve some dates which otherwise may not apparently yield correct results. It will be necessary, however, in dealing with dates mentioning samkrantis, to note the actual wording of them, and to determine whether the given tithi is intended to be the tithi of the occurrence of the samkranti, or the tithi of the punyakdla or meritorious time for celebrating any rites and ceremonies connected with the samkranti. For the punyakdla, which is too

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The nirayana Makara-Samkranti occurred at 39 gh. 53 p. on Wednesday, 12th January, A.D. 1937, Pausha krishaa S, ending at 41 gh. 11 p.; and this is the only tithi mentioned in the Grahaldshava samhranti-phala.

<sup>\*</sup> In the body of the almanac, the palas are given as

<sup>30;</sup> there being thus a misprint at one or other of the two places.—The signal Makara-Samkranti occurred at 5.gh. 19 p. on Thursday. 22nd December, A.D. 1887, Panelua sukla S, ending at 48 gh. 15 p.; and this is the only tithi mentioned in the signal samkranti-phala.

involved a question to be considered in the present note, probably the ordinary expired *tithi*, and not the current *tithi*, would always be quoted.

J. F. FLEET.

# THE VIKRAMA YEAR COMMENCING WITH THE MONTH ASHADHA.

The existence of a Vikrama year commencing with the month Ashadha became first known to me, several months ago, through a note of Mr. Fleet's, on page 79 of the Introduction of his Gupta Inscriptions. Since then, Mr. Flect has drawn more prominently attention to this curious year, page 93 above, and it is in response to the request expressed in his concluding paragraph, that I publish the following dates, which distinctly refer themselves to the Ashadhadi samvat. According to the information collected by Mr. Fleet, the Ashd/hadi year is a Vikrama year which commences three months later than the northern (Chaitradi), or, which is the same thing, four months earlier than the southern (Karttikadi) year; and, assuming this to be true. any dates of the Ashadhadi year failing in any of the nine months from Åshådha to Phålguna must, for the purpose of calculation, be treated as northern dates, while such dates as fall in the three months Chaitra, Vaisâkha, and Jyaishtha, must, for the purpose of calculation, be regarded as southern dates. My dates, which fall in the months Magha, Śravaņa, Valšakha, and Phålguna, prove that on this point Mr. Fleet's information is correct; and the last date, belonging to a dark fortnight, shows that (in this instance) the arrangement of the lunar fortnights of the Åshådhådi year is the amanta (southern) arrangement. The dates are as follows : ---

1.— In Archæol. Survey of Western India, No. 2. List of Antiquarian Remains, pp. 264-265, there is (what appears to be) a rough transcript of an inscription at Adålij, 12 miles north of Ahmadâbâd, which records the building of a well by the Rant Bùdâ, the wife of the Vâghêla chief Varasinha of the Dandâhi-dêśa, and of which the date is given in the following passages: —

- L. 1. Samvat 1555 varshê Mâgha-mâsê pamchamî - dinê pâdasâha - śrî - Mahimûdarâjå(jyê ?);
- L. 9.— Svasti śri-nripa-Vikramårka-samayâtitô kâlê (!) sâmpratani samvat=pamchadaśê tu pamcha-militê varshê châpamśati (cha pamchâśati ?) I . . . . . . . . . . . . Kaubêrîm diśam=âśritê dina-patau mâsê cha Mâghâbhidhê pakshê śuklatamê tithau phanabhritô vârê Budhasy=Ôttara-nakshatrê Bha(ba)va-samjîlakê cha karanê yôgê va (cha) Siddhôparê(!) I . . . . ; and —

L. 21. --- Svasti śrîman-nripa-Vikrama-samayâtîtâ (!) Âshâdhâdi-samvat 1555 varshê Sâk[ê\*] 1420 pravartamânê uttarâyana (na) gatê śri-sôry[ê\*] śiśarutau(šiśirartau) Mâgha-mâsê pamchamyâm tithau Budhavâsarê Uttarâbhadrapad[â\*]-nakshatrê Siddhi-nâmni yôgê Bava-karanê Mînarâśau sthitê chamdrê pâtasâha-śrî-Mahamuda-vijayarâjyam(jyê) 1.

There can be no doubt that the inscription has been either carelessly executed, or, which appears more probable, negligently copied. However this may be, it is certain that it is dated in the reign of the Sultân Mahmud, in the Åshddhådi Vikrama year 1555, corresponding, so far as the day is concerned, to the Śaka year 1420, on the fifth lunar day of the bright half of the month Mâgha, on a Wednesday, under the nakshatra Uttarå-Bhadrapadâ, and when the yóga was either Siddha or Siddhi, and the karana Bava. Calculating now for the ordinary (northern or southern) year, we obtain, as the possible equivalents of Mâgha śukla 5, —

- for Vikrama 1555 current, Saturday, 27th January, A.D. 1498, when the fifth *tithi* of the bright half ended 18 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise; and when, at sunrise, the *nakshatra* was Rôvatì, the yóga Sàdhya, and the *karana* Bava:
- for Vikrama 1555 expired, -- Wednesday, 16th January, A.D. 1499, when the fifth tithi of the bright half ended 17 h. 34 m. after mean sunrise, and when the nakshatra was Uttarå-Bhadrapadå up to about 11 h. 10 m., the yögä Siddha up to about 13 h. 24 m., and the karaya Bava up to about 6 h., after mean sunrise.

The second of these two days is evidently the one mentioned in the inscription; and this date accordingly proves that the month Mågha of the ordinary (northern or southern) Vikrama year is also the Mågha of the same Åshádhádi year; or, more accurately, that, so far as the bright half of the month Mågha is concerned, there is no difference between the northern or southern, and Åshádhádi years. As might have been expected, the year 1555 of the date is the *expired* year; and so is the Saka year 1420, mentioned together with it, notwithstanding the term *pravartamáná*, by which it is qualified.

2. — According to Professor Aufrecht's Catalogue of the MSS. of the Bodleian Library, page 348, a manuscript of the Prabhásakshéiratírthaydtrdnukrama bears the following date : —

samvat 15 Åshådhådi 34 varashê (varshê) Srâvana-sudi 5 Bhû(bhau)mê ad[y<sup>\*</sup>]=êha śri-Kadanapurê sthânê pâtasâha-srî(śrî)-Mahimûda-vijayarâjyê . . . .

Sravana in the Ashadh4di (Vikrama) year 1534, here, at the place Kadanapura, in the reign of victory of the Sultan, the illustrious Mahmud."

Calculating, again, for Sravana sukla 5 of the ordinary northern and southern Vikrama years, we obtain the following results ;  $\rightarrow$ 

for the northern year 1534, current, - Friday, 26th July, A.D. 1476:

for the northern year 1534, expired,

or the southern year 1534, current, -Tuesday, 15th July, A.D. 1477, when the fifth tithi of the bright half ended about 7 h. 43 m. after mean sunrise;

for the southern year 1534 expired, in which Sravana was intercalary,

for the first Sravana, - Saturday, 4th July, A.D. 1478;

for the second Sråvana, - Monday, 3rd August, A.D. 1478.

Of these, Tuesday, 15th July, A.D. 1477, is clearly the day intended by the date; and since Indian dates, as a rule, are recorded in expired years, we are justified in assuming that the year 1534 of the date was the expired Ashadhadi year, and that the bright half of Sravana of this Ashd. dhddi year was also the bright half of the same month of the same northern year.

3. - According to Professor Weber's Catalogue of the Berlin MSS., Vol. I., page 69, a manuscript of the Tandyabrahmana, which was evidently written in Gujaråt, is dated : ---

> svasti samvat Åshådhadi 83 varshe Vaisä. sha(kha)-sita-dviti[yå\*]yåm Bhumitanayê ....

i.e., apparently, "on Tuesday, the second lunar day of the bright half of Vaisakha in the Ashddh4di (Vikrama) year 83."

Here the figures for the century have, either purposely or negligently, been omitted; but, learning from Professor Weber that the MS, is an old one, and "may well have been written about samvat 1583," I feel no hesitation in saying that the year of the date is 1583, and that the copyist. similarly to what we have seen in the preceding date, intended to write or should have written "samvat 15 Åshådhådi 83 varshê." And calculat. ing for Vaiáškha áukla 2 of the ordinary northern and southern years, I find the following equivalents : ---

for the northern year 1583, current, -- Monday, 24th April, A.D. 1525;

for the northern year 1583, expired.

or the southern year 1583, current, -Friday, 13th April, A.D. 1526;

for the southern year 1583, expired, - Tues. day, 2nd April, A.D. 1527, when the second tithi of the bright half ended about 22 h. 37 m. after mean sunrise.

The true day, therefore, clearly is Tuesday, 2nd April, A.D. 1527, and the date proves that the bright half of Vaisakha of the Ashadhadi year is also the bright half of the same month of the same southern year.

4 - On page VII. of the Notes, Corrections and Additions to his Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS. for 1883-84, Professor Bhandarkar has given the date of a MS. of a commentary on the Sobhana-stutayah, evidently also written in Gujaråt, thus : ---

samvat 16 Åshådha vadi 99 varshê Phâlguna. vadi 11 tithau Soma-dine.

Here the words Ashadha vadi, of course, are meaningless; and there can be no doubt that the writer, who was not copying from another MS., but wished to give the date on which he finished his own copy, meant to write or, and this appears more probable, actually has written ---

samvat 16 Ashadhadi 99 varshê, ----

i.e. "in the Achadhadi (Vikrama) year 1699, on the 11th lunar day of the dark half of Phålguna. on a Monday." And calculating, again, for Phålguna krishna 11 of the ordinary (northern or southern) Vikrama years, and for both the parnimanta and the amanta schemes of the lunar fortnights, I obtain the following results :--for Vikrama 1699 current.

parnimanta -- Tuesday, 15th February, A.D. 1642;

amanta — Wednesday, 16th March, A.D. 1642;

for Vikrama 1699 expired,

- purnimanta -- Sunday, 5th February, A.D. 1643;
- amanta Monday, 6th March, A.D. 1643. when the 11th tithi of the dark half ended 10 h. 55 m. after mean sunrise.

The true day, therefore, clearly is Monday. 6th March, A.D. 1643, and the date proves that the arrangement of the lunar fortnights of this Ashadhadi year was the amania arrangement of the ordinary southern Vikrama year.

As regards the above dates in general, it may be noted that out of several hundreds of Vikrama dates in inscriptions and MSS. which I have examined, they are the only dates hitherto discovered which mention the Ashddhddi year; that they are all from Gnjarst, and that three of them belong to about the same time (Vikrama 1534, 1555, and 1583). Moreover, attention deserves to be drawn to the peculiar manner in which the year of the date is expressed in the second, third and fourth dates, and in line 9 of the first date, by separating the figures for the century from the figures for the year within the century, and altogether omitting the word for 'hundred.' And in this respect I may be permitted to quote here, from page 166 of Professor Eggeling's *Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. of the India Office*, as an even more instructive example, a date of about the same time and from the same part of India, which runs as follows :--

> svasti samvat pańchadasa 15 asitau 80 pravarttamânê uttarâyanê(nê) śri-soryê grîshma-ritau mahâmângalya-pradê Jyê-(jyai)shtha-mâsê asita-pakshê dvâdašaghaikâ-paryanta-paurnamâsî tadanantarupratipadâyâm tithau Bhrigu-vărê ady=êha Bimhodradâ-sthânê . . . .

*i.e.*, omitting useless details, "in the (Vikrama) year fifteen-eighty, in the month Jyaishtha, in the dark half, on a Friday, when the full-moon *tithi* lasted twelve ghafikús (after sunrise) and was then followed by the first *tithi* (of the dark half). here at Simhödrada" . . . ; corresponding (when referred to the southern Vikrama year 1580, current) to Friday, 29th May, A.D. 1523, when the full-moon *tithi* by Professor Jacobi's Tables ended 4 h. 28 m., and by Dr. Schram's Tables 4 h. 49 m. after mean sunrise, as near 12 ghafikús as can be expected.

Göttingen.

F. KIELHORN.

# BOOK NOTICES.

A GRAMMAN OF THE SANSKEIT LANGUAGE, by F. KIELHORN, Ph.D., C.I.E., Professor of Sanskeit in the University of Göttingen. Third edition, revised and enlarged. Bombay Government Central Book Depot; Bombay, 1883. Boyal 8vo.; pp. xv. 286.

The study of Sanskrit Grammar may be profitably regarded, as having like that, for example, of Euclid, an interest and educational importance quite apart from its practical bearing. The Påniniyan system, though no critical student would venture to hold it "p as an ideal, is in itself so marvellous a monument of human ingenuity and withal so characteristic of India, that no real and scientific student of the speech of the country can entirely dispense with a knowledge of it. Its influence indeed extended, as was so ably shown by the late Dr. Burnell, throughout the Peninsula and beyond the confines of Aryan speech. The modern Indian student, for whom he present work is principally intended, may be regarded as occupying a place midway between the superficial learner in Europe for merely philological purposes, and the old-fashioned Indian sishya who seems to have spent years in committing to memory rules. of which he probably understood at first even less than our own Eton students of their old Latin grammar.

The general plan adopted by Prof. Kielhorn has been, to adapt the rules of the chief Native grammarians to the requirements of teaching after Western methods. This has involved the inclusion of a considerable number of forms not actually occurring in Sanskit literature. For all this, the grammar is not to be regarded as a mere introduction to the theoretic study of grammar above referred to; but rather, as Prof. Kielhorn puts it, in introducing his chapter on Syntax, which forms a new and acceptable feature of the present volume: "The forms . . . taught . . "are not learnt for their own sake, but for the use "to be made of them in *the sentence*." Thus recognizing as all must do who have been privileged to hold converse with the best culture of India even of to-day, the great importance of Sanskrit as a medium of practical intercourse, Prof. Kielhorn in this work provides his readers with a book of instruction and reference to supply forms that can be justified from the main authorities still deferred to.

In the Chapter on Letters, spaced Roman type has been used for the more difficult forms, to great advantage. Indeed for European students it might have been well to have added it further on in the work for the more difficult paradigms, as has been done so successfully by Mr. Macdonell in his new edition of Prof. Max Müller's Grammar.

In the Declension-section, ana/nh, beloved of grammarians, appears in full proportions, in spite of its great rarity in the classical language, and even the theoretical feminine is retained, perhaps in deference to the Indian reader's feeling of reverence for the sacredness of its meaning; but it is satisfactory, and more characteristic of the general method of the work, to note that fictions like *priyachatvar*, discussed by the commentators in the same passage of Pânini (vii., 1, 98, 99), are excluded.<sup>1</sup> In the rules for verbs, it might be of assistance to add at abular summary of the sandhi-rules, and in particular to note a case like vatsyati, where the rule for the general tenses differs from that for the special tenses.

In the rules for the insertion of i, the use of the native terms set and anit is most convenient. but European readers must. I fear, be content to envy the native memory that could learn the 100

And yet I well remember being set to learn this form by even a Enropean teacher, who rendered it, by-the-by,

into a monstrosity of English worthy of the original: dears-four-(having).

" anif' roots given in the five formidable couplets on p. 110. I may perhaps be allowed to record my own experience in learning and teaching, that the best way to master this crux is to divide the final consonants into two groups, according as they tend to cause the insertion or rejection of the i. The exceptions amongst verbs in ordinary use will be found to be very few, when this has been done, as it easily may be done, from the tables in Monier-Williams and Whitney.

In other cases, where the Påpinîyan nomenclature is concise, and not difficult even for beginners to acquire, *c.g.* the names of tenses, it might be added parenthetically. This would facilitate intercourse with Pandits and their books, as well as prepare the way for the study of the older authorities.

The list of Irregular Verbs (§ 403) is printed with admirable clearness; but in some cases the verbs selected are of rare occurrence, at least in the forms tabulated. For example, the first root of seems only to occur in the "Classical" Language in the Parasmai Special Tenses; the same applies to  $\sqrt{mi}$ ; while  $\sqrt{u}$ rnu is, like anaduh, to the ordinary student, little more than a grammatical curiosity. The statistical school, as represented by Prof. Whitney, would, it is to be feared, make great havoe of the elaborate rules for forming causal aorists from vowel-initial roots, interestingly parallel though they are to Greek forms like  $\tilde{\eta}_{yayov}$ ; for we now learn that only three of these forms have been found in literature (Whitney, · Verb-forms,' pp. 224, 225). Still it must by no means be concluded that the study of Indian grammar, as set forth from traditional sources, when unconfirmed by the statistics, confessedly and indeed necessarily imperfect, of modern research has no more than the theoretic value to which we referred at the outset. Much important literature in Sanskrit itself still remains to be explored: while the scientific study of the Pråkrits<sup>2</sup> and Åryan vernaculars is daily progressing and throwing side-lights on the ancient grammatical learning.

A special feature of the edition is the addition of a Chapter on Syntax, which has great value as one of the first expositions of this portion of grammar by a European scholar already distinguished as an exponent of the Native authorities.

I must conclude this very inadequate notice by an observation on two syntactical points, which have always interested me, and on which it would be extremely useful to hear the further opinion both of Dr. Kielhorn himself and of the traditional interpreters of the old *ryakarana*, such as might be easily gained by many an Indian reader of this Journal with little trouble to himself and possibly great profit to us in Europe.

(1) In § 584 (a) Dr. Kielhorn states that "in the classical literature the three past tenses are used without distinction."

This no doubt holds good as a general statement as far as concerns the Imperfect and Aorist. But as for the Perfect Dr. Speijer's<sup>3</sup> illustrations of the Paniniyan satra (iii, 2, 115) parôkshé lii, from Dandin and Sômadêva, merit consideration, as tending to show that good prose writers do observe Pânini's rule; and to the same conclusion we are led by the rarity of the occurrence of the 1st and 2nd persons of the tense.

(2) In explaining the rule for the case assumed by the agent of the primitive when it becomes a causal, Dr. Kielhorn adheres to the old rule of Pânini (I. iv. 52, gatibuddhi<sup>o</sup>).

But surely there is much force in the objections urged by Bâbû Ånandarâma Vaduyâ<sup>4</sup> and by Dr. Speijer (op. cit. § 49), who point out that really the instrumental is always used when actual agency or instrumentality is emphasized : e.g., Manu, viii., 371, तां चभिः खारयेत्राजा, which is against Pàuini but still, I venture to think, a perfectly good construction, because the point is, not that the king makes the (possibly willing) dogs devour the criminal, but that the criminal meets her death by such degrading means. With this contrast another citation of Dr. Speijer, Kathdsaritsdgara, Tax. ix. śló. 10: चर्र राही प्राह्यसन् ; where the point is, not getting the porridge caten by someone, but making the queen cat it. So too it would seem that, in spite of authority, the process of making a person pay ( तपदा ), doubtless always familiar to Orientals, could not be expressed by so gentle a means as the instrumental construction but takes two accusatives.

#### CECIL BENDALL.

FA-HIEN'S RECORD OF BUDDHISTIC KINGDOMS; translated by JAMES LEGGE, M.A. LL.D. OXPORD; the Clarendon Press. 1886. Small 4to; pp. iv., viii., 123, and 44 of Chinese text; with a Map and nine Illustrations.

Mr. Legge has done good work in bringing out this new translation of Få-Hien's Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms. And we regret not having been able to notice his book at an earlier date; the more so because, in addition to including

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> This applies to the *Dhálupátha* likewise.  $\checkmark$  hind, 'wander,' treated by European authorities as a doubtful *áπaξ εἰρημένον*, is found in Pâli as early as the Mahavagga (Vol. I. p. 23) and is still in use in Hindi and Maráthi.

<sup>\*</sup> Sanskiit Syntax (Leyden, 1886), § 330.

<sup>+</sup> Higher Sanskrit Grammar (Calcutta, 1879), §§ 159, 160.

a new and noteworthy feature, in the production of the Chinese text, from a copy obtained through Mr. Bunyiu Nanjio, it is enriched with such ample notes, embodying all the advances up to date attained by recent researches in this line of study, that it must almost entirely supersede previous translations and expositions of the same work.

The visits to India, paid in the early centuries of the Christian era by eager Chinese pilgrims, are most interesting historical events. They stand out to great advantage from the mass of myths and legends which do duty as Hindu history. The spirit which drove these restless monks, the Luthers of an earlier Reformation, to seek truth at the cradle of their faith, preserved the records they left behind them from all taint of fable or exaggeration; and the result is in many respects a trustworthy tale. Nor are those elements wanting which might move us to deeper feeling than a mere passing interest. When we consider what a journey from China to India by way of Central Asia means even in these days, we may well be moved to admiration by the devotion, the zeal, and the fortitude which must have inspired a humble traveller to venture on such a journey fourteen centuries ago. It is true that Få-Hien took his time over it. After his start from China in A.D. 329 or 400, fifteen years passed away before he rested again in Nankin, having pierced Central Asia, crossed India from Peshawar to the mouth of the Ganges, visited Ceylon, and returned home by way of Java. In view of the large tracts of country crossed and the ample leisure Få-Hien allowed himself, it must be admitted that his diary is meagre; the whole story reproduced in Chinese characters only taking up forty-four pages of Mr. Legge's book. It deals entirely with the religious state of the countries he visited. In this respect, therefore, it is a work of less value than that of Hiuen Tsiang, which tells a great deal of the political conditions of India. Hiuen Tsiang clearly made good use of his time, but it cannot be said that Få-Hien, as a diarist, was equally industrious; and it is a most peculiar point that, though his visit to India was made at the time when the power of the Early Guptas of Northern India,- by whom Buddhism appears to have been favoured quite as much as the national religions of India, - was still almost at its zenith, yet no references to that dynasty are to be found in his book. He saw or noted nothing but the special objects of his journey, which were the state of the Buddhist faith, the most approved views of Buddha's doctrine, and the degree of piety with which its services were performed. He writes, however, as a simple, pious, single-eyed

man; his writing is interesting in proportion to his zeal, and there is a fervour and simplicity about his diary which is very winning.

Mr. Legge, distrusting the power of Få-Hien's words alone to interest any but scholars, has inserted an attraction for the general reader, by illustrating the narrative with a series of interesting Plates. It would have added to their value, if Mr. Legge had told us something of the age and history of the original drawings. So far as we can judge, they are studies by a modern Chinese artist from older drawings. A few touches here and there are clearly modern, and some points, especially in the treatment of landscape, might well be the work of an artist who knew something of the way Europeans deal with the subject. These illustrations, however, are of great merit. They are taken from what Mr. Legge enthusiastically calls a superb Chinese edition of the Life of Buddha. There are nine in this book, and all are so good as to make us wish there were more. As illustrations by a Buddhist artist of incidents in the life of the great Buddhist Teacher, and as furnishing some striking examples of the likeness of the chief incidents of the Buddhist and Christian creeds, they are of special interest. The frontispiece, for example,--" The Dévas celebrating the attainment of the Buddha-ship,"---might almost be the work of some Mongol Fra Angelico. The Buddha sits cross-legged on a lotus, surrounded by ranks of adoring hierarchies. Allowing for the difference of the Christian and Buddhist symbols, there is much in this picture to recall Fra Angelico. The handling of the Chinese hagiology, in fact, pointedly recalls the work of the Christian monks. The other illustrations, though not so striking, are remarkable and will repay study.

A further help to reading the story is to be found in Mr. Legge's profuse and scholarly notes, which occupy on an average one-half of each printed page. But, in respect of both the notes and the text, we cannot help remarking that an undesirable course has been followed in omitting to give always a transliteration of the exact Chinese representation of all the Hindu and other non-Chinese words and names that occur in the book. In respect, for instance, of the geographical names, no doubt the identification of most of the better-known places is now sufficiently well established. Yet on many points there is still room for doubt and controversy. And, as much for help in following the writings of other Chinese pilgrims, as for further investigation of doubtful points in connection with the present book of travels, the exact Chinese equivalents ought to have been given throughout, along with the established or supposed Hindu and other names. The sketch map of Få-Hien's travels is very good as it stands, and shows the whole course of the journey in a way which is indispensable to following the text. It would have added to the value of the book, however, had this map been supplemented by others, on a larger scale, of portions of the countries he visited. Such detail is, of course, impossible when one has to show half Asia and Polynesia on a quarto page.

MANAVA-DHARMA-SASTEA, THE CODE OF MANU; THE ORIGINAL SANSKRIT TEXT, critically edited according to the staudard Sanskrit Commentaries, with Critical Notes, by J. JOLLY, PH.D., Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Wirzburg; late Tagore Professor of Law in the University of Calcutta. TEUBNER'S OBLEVIAL SERIES; London; Trübner & Co. 1587. Post 8vo; pp. xix., 346.

Professor Jolly's edition of the text of the Manava-Dharma-Bastra or Manu-Smriti, popularly known as the Code of Manu, is a very useful addition to the list of reliable texts of important Sanskrit works. Of this book "the two European editions, Sir G. C. Houghton's published in 1825, and Loiseleur Deslongchamps' published in 1830, though very creditable productions in their own time, belong to a bygone period of Sanskrit studies, and have long been out of print, while the numerous Indian editions are on the whole nothing but reprints from the two carliest Calcutta editions, published in 1813 and 1830." These remarks, in his Preface, by the editor of the present Text, will be fully understood and appreciated by anyone familiar with the usual quality of the Hindu "editions," so called, of Sanskrit works, prepared otherwise than under European superintendence, or by those who have studied under European teachers and have acquired the Western method of critical editing; and will serve to indicate the special importance of the present version of this ancient book. In addition to the previous printed editions, and to manuscripts of the text only, the preparation of the present Text has been facilitated by the recovery of early Commentaries, by Mêdhâtithi, belonging probably to the ninth century, - of which nine copies have been consulted, -- and by Govindaraja, composed apparently in the twelfth or thirteenth century, and somewhat later ones by Sarvajña-Nåråyana, Råghavånanda, and Nandana, including also an anonymous commentary from Kaśmir " contained in an ancient carefully written and corrected birch-bark MS. in the Såradå character," which is now in the Deccan College Library; selections from all of which are being published by Professor Jolly in the Bibliotheca Indica Series, and will of course form a useful and indispensable aid in any detailed study of the original precepts. And a curious result is,

that it is now found that Kullúka's commentary. which until recent times was always thought to be the most authoritative exegesis of the Code, and was always associated with it, does not possess the claims to special consideration with which it was invested by the early editors and translators of Manu, but, belonging apparently to the fifteenth century, is most substantially indebted to the preceding commentaries, and in particular to that by Gôvindarâja. Copious notes on the various readings of the Text are given in pages 287 to 335; and these are followed by a special feature, viz. a synopsis of the more important discrepancies between the present edition and the text as rendered in the four principal translations, by Houghton, Deslongchamps, Burneli,

and Bühler. The last two translations, of which Burnell's was completed and brought out by Hopkins, are of recent date. To them the present edition of the Text, beautifully printed by W. Drugulin, Oriental and Old Style Printer, Leipzig, will be a most valuable accompaniment.

THE COINS OF THE DUBEANIS, by M. LONGWORTH DAMES. Reprinted from the Numismatic Chronicle, Vol. VIII. Third Series, pp. 325-363. London, 1888.

This is a learned and very useful pamphlet on the coins of the successors of Ahmad Shah Durrani, who stamped his mark literally on all the coinage of the Pañjâb, excepting that of Låhôr and Amritsar and of Ksśmîr.

This paper, however, only deals with the coinage of his successors on the throne he established from 1773 to 1842. The history of the Durrânis is, as Mr. Dames very rightly remarks, "an almost unparalleled series of treasons, rebellions, plots and murders," and as their coins very fairly represent the various fluctuations of power which so rapidly succeeded each other, Mr. Dames has done good service in recording them.

Ahmad Shåh was succeeded by Taimur Bhåh, his son, who reigned 20 years, and between his death in 1793, and the extinction of the dynasty in 1842, there were 11 reigns over the whole or a part of the kingdom. In this interval, too, one ruler, Shujâ'u'l-Mulk Shåh, reigned three times, and another, Mahmúd Shåh twice. Of the sons of Taimur Shâh that came to the throne, there were Zamån Shâh, Shujâ'u'l-Mulk Shâh, Mahmúd Shâh, Sultân 'Ali Shâh, and Ayyûb Shâh. Of his grandsons there were Kâmrân, Qaisar Shâh and Fath Jang.

The varying fortunes of these princes can all be noted in the 156 carefully described coins to be found in Mr. Dames' pamphlet as issued from 15 mint-towns in the Pañjâb, Kaśmír, Afghânistân, and Turkistân.

### A DATED GRÆCO-BUDDHIST SCULPTURE.

#### BY V. A. SMITH, B.C.S.

**THE** date of the interesting School of Græco-Buddhist Sculpture in the Kabul Valley has formed the subject of discussion, and is still unsettled. The paucity of inscriptions has rendered the solution of the problem especially difficult. The few which have been found are all in the Arian character.

The only published inscriptions which are directly associated with Græco-Buddhist Sculptures have been found at Jamålgarhi and Kharkai. Those at the former place consist of some masons' marks, the Hinda names of a weekday and a month on a pilaster, and seven characters, read as Saphas danamukha, on the back of the nimbus of one of the statues supposed to be those of kings. The record from Kharkai consists merely of the three characters *a*, *ra*, and *dé*, on the sides of a relic-chamber. Sir A. Cunningham wishes to read these as equivalent to the name of Årya-Dêva, a Buddhist leader at the beginning of the Christian era; but this interpretation is too conjectural to command confidence. Masons' marks in Arian characters were also noticed at Kharkai.<sup>1</sup>

I reserve for another occasion a full discussion of the chronology of Græco-Buddhist art. My present purpose is confined to the publication of the only dated inscription which has yet been discovered, associated with an Indo-Hellenic work of art. I am indebted to the liberality of the discoverer, Mr. L. White King, B.C.S., for permission to publish this unique record.

In or about the year 1883, at Hashtnagar, the site of the capital of Penkeloaitis, in the modern district of Peahâwar, Mr. King came across a statue of the standing Buddha, which was ignorantly worshipped by the Hindus as an orthodox deity. He could not carry away the statue, but was allowed to remove its inscribed pedestal. This pedestal, like most of the Gandhâra sculptures, is composed of blue slate, and is 14<sup>4</sup>/<sup>4</sup> long by 8" high. Its front is adorned by an alto-relievo, enclosed between two Indo-Corinthian pilasters, representing Buddha, seated, and attended by disciples, who seem to be presenting offerings to him. An Arian inscription, consisting of a single line of characters, deeply and cleanly cut, and in greater part excellently preserved, occupies a smooth band below the relief. This band was evidently prepared for the inscription, which must have been executed at the same time as the sculpture. The accompanying facsimile is from a rubbing taken by Sir A. Cunningham. The record is incomplete at the end, and it is probable that the lost portion contained the name of the person who dedicated the image. The extant portion was read, for Mr. King, by Sir A. Cunningham, as follows :--

Sam 274 emborasmasa masasa mi paāchami 5.

Scale .50

The record, as it stands, consists of a date, and nothing more. The month is stated to be intercalary, but is not further named. The numerals are distinct, and their interpretation appears to be certain; the 274 is expressed by two units, a symbol for 100, three symbols, each value 20, one symbol for 10, and one for 4; and the 5 is expressed by 1 and 4.

The main question suggested by the inscription is the identity of the era referred to. It may be the Saka era of A.D. 78, which was probably used by Kanishka; if so, the date of the record is A.D. 351 or 352. Or the era may be that used by Gondophares in his Takht-i-Babi inscription from the same region where this pedestal was found. The Takht-i-Bahi inscription is dated in the year 103, and numismatic evidence shows that Gondophares ruled in

<sup>1</sup> Archaol. Surv. Ind., Vol. V. pp. 54, 63, Pl. xii. xvi.

the first half of the first century A.D.<sup>3</sup> The era used by him, consequently, cannot have differed very much from that beginning in 58 B.C., which afterwards became known by the name of Vikrama. I do not, of course, mean to assert that the Vikrama era was actually used by Gondophares; I merely note the fact that he used an epoch which closely approximated to that known as the era of Vikrama. The era employed by Gondophares may have been that of the "great king Moga," in the 78th year of which the Taxila inscription of the Satrap Liako-Kusulako is dated.<sup>3</sup>

I hope that some one more learned in eras than I am, may solve the problems propounded by these inscriptions from the Yusufzai country. The style of the Hashtnagar relief is not very good, the figures not being undercut, as they are in the best examples of Greeco-Buddhist art; and I feel more inclined to date the work in A.D. 351-52, than in or about A.D. 210-220; but I cannot say that the earlier date is impossible.

#### TAMIL HISTORICAL TEXTS.

#### By V. KANAKASABHAI PILLAI, B.A., B.L.

There are several ancient poems still extant in the Tamil language, which are of great historical value, but are as yet unknown to European scholars. I do not speak of those poetical works, which are only professedly historical, such as the Madhurd-Sthala-Purana and the Káńchi-Purána, which are translations of Purânas composed in Sanskrit by pious Brähmans for the glory of the temples or local deities in which they were interested; they are fall of absurd stories spun out of the imagination of the authors, interspersed with a few legendary traditions, and are utterly unreliable as historical guides. But I refer to those poems which were composed in praise of contemporary kings or chieftains, and which belong to the class of metrical compositions known in Tamil by the name of Kôvai, Ulå, Parani, and Kalambakam. They are all written in a conventional style peculiar to each class. The Kovai is an amatory poem, in every stanza of which the praises of his patron are cunningly brought in by the author. The Ula gives a description of the personal appearance of a king or hero, when he comes out of his palace sarrounded by his nobles and officers of state, and of the enamoured behaviour of women, young and old, who are fascinated by his beauty. The Parani describes a battle or campaign, in which the victor is the author's patron. The Kalambakam is a poem very similar to the Kôvai, with only this difference, that in the former each stanza is of a different metre, and is addressed to the patron as uttered by his mistress, while in the latter the stanzas are all of one metre, and the patron is not one of the lovers. A poem of any of these kinds would be usually read by the author in a public assembly presided over by his patron, who on the conclusion of the recital would reward the poet with gifts of money or. land, and with costly presents such as horses, chariots, elephants, and the like.

These poems owe their preservation to the esteem in which they have been held, not as records of historical events, nor as relics of the poets who composed them, but as rare specimens of the class of metrical compositions to which they belong. Making due allowance for the exaggerations that would naturally find their way into eulogistic verses addressed by poets to their patrons, there is no reason to question the truth of the main events narrated in them; and to the antiquarian and archeeologist who have now to elucidate the ancient history of India from inscriptions on temples and copper-plates, such works should be of great interest. The facts that may be gathered from this class of Tamil literature, would enable such enquirers not only to correct or confirm the information they have already collected from inscriptions, but also to trace the history of those periods for which no information can be gathered from the inscriptions.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cunningham, Archaol. Surv. Ind., Vol. II. p. 60; V. pp. 59, 60; Gardner, Catalogue of Coins of Greek and Scythic kings of Bactria and India, p. zliv.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Cunningham, Archael. Surv. Ind., Vol II. p. 132; V. 67; Gardner, p. 11ix.

With this view, I have commenced the translation of a few of the poems, which I consider would be most interesting to those who wish to study the ancient history of Southern India. I give below the translation of a small poem, belonging to the class of *Paranis*, called---

# Kalavali or the Battle-field.

It is popularly known as the Kalavali-Nárpatu, or "forty stanzas on the battle-field." But all the extant manuscripts which I have examined, contain forty-one stanzas. A printed edition published some years ago by Subbarâya Chettiyâr, late Tamil Pandit in the Government Normal School, Madras, also contains forty-one stanzas. The metre of the poem is known in Tamil prosody as Venpâ. Each line consists of four feet, except the last one in each stanza, which contains only three feet. There is no restriction as to the number of lines in a stanza; but usually it is never less than four. The rhyme is always at the beginning of each line, and not at the end as in English poetry. A few lines of prose, prefixed to the poem, state that, when the **Chôla Cheùkannan and the Chéramán Kanaikká-Irumporai**, engaged in battle, and the latter was defeated and taken prisoner, the poet Poikayår recited this poem before the Chôla king and obtained the release of the Chêra from captivity. This fact of the Chôla releasing the Chêra king on hearing the Kalavali, is mentioned in many later poems which I shall translate hereafter.

It appears from the poem that the battle which it commemorates was fought at a place called Kalumalam (stanza 36) which was situated somewhere in the Kongu or Chera country. There was then a famous town of the same name in the heart of the Chôla country, which is now known as Shiyali (a Station on the South Indian Railway, in the Tanjore District); but this cannot be the place mentioned in the poem. The battle was evidently a very sanguinary engagement, and was fought on a forenoon (St. 1.) The Chera army was particularly strong in elephants, while the Chola had a numerous band of archers and horsemen. The elephants were unable to stand the ceaseless fury of the arrows shot by the Chôla archers, and were slaughtered in great numbers by the cavalry and swordsmen. The Chôla king drove in a chariot drawn by horses with cropped manes (St. 33). He is described as young, valiant, and terrible in war. He wore ornaments made of gold and of precious stones, a sword and scabbard, and garlands of fragrant flowers. His name was Chenkan or "Red-eye" (St. 4, 5, 11, 15, 21, 29, 30, 40). He is also described as the lord of Punal-Nådu (" the land of floods," a name of the Chôla country), Chembian (a descendant of 'Sibi) and king of the country watered by the Kaveri. Nothing is said of his rival, the Chera prince, beyond that he was the king of Vanji (St. 39) and that his soldiers were Kongas (St. 14). The modern name of Vañji is Karûr, according to the Tamil metrical dictionary Tivdkaram. But the identification of this town with Karur in the Coimbatore District, by all the European scholars who have discussed the Ancient Geography of Sonthern India, is erroneous. They were apparently misled by the similarity of the names. Ancient Tamil works however describe Vanji as situated west of the Western Ghauts. In the Peria-Purdnam, a history of Saiva devotees, which was written in the eleventh century A.D., during the reign of the Chôla king Anabhâya-Kulôttunga, Vañji is mentioned as the capital of the Chêra king, and it is stated that it was known also as Makôtai or Kodnůkôlůr. The name Makôtaipattanam occurs in the Chêra grants in the possession of the Syrian Christians of Cochin, and it is alluded to therein as the capital of the Chêramân. Ptolemy correctly places it (Carnra Regia Cerobothri) near the western coast, on a river flowing into the sea, close to the port of Muziris. In the Kéralólpatti, a legendary history of the Malabar country, Karûr or Tirukkarûr (the prefix tiru means 'sacred') is mentioned as the capital of a Chêramân who embraced the Buddhist faith. The site of the ancient Karûr should therefore be found somewhere near the modern towns of Kodunkôlûr or Tirukkarûr in the Cochin Territory.

We also gather from the poem that swords, javelins, lances, bows, and arrows, were used as weapons of war. Leathern sandals were worn by the soldiers to protect their feet. Big thundering drums were carried to the battle-field on elephants, and tall banners were borne on chariots as well as on elephants. The soldiers fought on foot or on horseback; the nobles and princes rode on elephants, while the commanders drove in chariots. Umbrellas, with straight handles and flat circular tops covered with white cloth, were carried behind the officers of the army as tokens of their dignity. Another curious fact mentioned in the poem is that women went to the battlefield, to recover the bodies of their slain kindred (St. 29). Such of the bodies as were not taken away by their relations, lay on the field to be devoured by crows, hawks, eagles, and jackals. The Kârttikai feast or the "feast of lights," peculiar to the Drâvidian people, is also alluded to in the poem (St. 17).

The date of the poem cannot be later than the sixth or seventh century A.D.; for Chen-Kannan or Köchchenkannan (the prefix  $k\delta$  means 'king') is mentioned in the Leiden grant (see Archael. Surv. South. India, Vol. IV. p. 217) as one of the ancient and illustrious ancestors of Råjaråja-Chôla, who lived in the eleventh century A.D., and the poem is to be taken as composed in his life-time, very shortly after the battle described in it. He is similarly mentioned as a progenitor of Vira-Nåråyana-Chôla, whose date is presumed to be about A.D. 935 to 955 (see the grant of the Bana king Hastimalla, published by Mr. Foulkes, Manual of the Salem District, Vol. II. p. 369). It will be seen from other poems which I shall translate, that his date is also anterior to that of Pallava-Malla-Nandivarman, who lived most probably in the seventh or eighth century A.D. (see his grant published by Mr. Foulkes in the Manual of the Salem District, Vol. II. p. 355). In the later Tamil poems which I shall notice hereafter, Chenkan is described as having extended his authority over the Pandya and Chera kings; as having settled Bråhmans, and built for them houses, at Chirrambalam (now known as Chillumbrum, a station on the South Indian Railway, in the South Arcot District), where there is a famous temple of Siva ; and as having built no less than seventy temples, dedicated to the worship of that god, in different parts of the Chôla country. He was, in fact, one of the earliest of the Chôla kings who favoured Saivism, and helped the revival of the Brahmanical religions in Southern India.

#### TEXT.

- (1) Nâŋ ñâyirarra cheruvirku vilntavar vâŋ mây kuruti kalirulakka tâŋmâyntu mun pakal ellâm kulampâki pin pakal tuppu tukalil kelûum punanâdan tappiyâr adda kalattu.
- (2) Nådpinul eñchiya nålanchêr yánaikkîl pôrppil idi murasinûdu pôm onkuruti kårppeyal peytapin cheňkulak kôddukkil nirtûmbu niramilya pônia punanådan årttamar adda kalattu.
- (3) Olukkuńkurati alakkittalarvár ilukkuńkalirrukkôdůnri eluvár malaikkuran mâmurachin malku nir nádan pilaittárai adda kalattu.
- (4) Uruvakkaduntêr murukki mariattêr parutichumantelunta yûnai yiruvichumbil chelchudar chêrnta malai pônra Chenkanmâl pullârai adda kalattu.

- (5) Terikanai ehham tiranta vâyellâm kuruti padintunda kâkam uruvilantu kukkil puratta chiralvâya Chenkanmâl tappiyâr adda kalattu.
- (6) Nånårrichaiyum piņam piranka yånai adukkupu örrikkidanta iditturari aňkaņvichumpin urumerinteňkum perumalaittűrerintarrê arumaņi půņêntelin mârpiyarrindêrch Chembian tev vêntarai adda kalattu.
- (7) Añchanakkun;êykkum yânai amarulakki iñkulikak kun;ê pôrrônram cheńkan varivarâl mînpiralum Kâviri nâdan porunarai adda kalattu.
- (8) Yánai mêl yânai neritara ânâtu kaŋŋêr kaduñkaŋai meymmâyppa evvâyum eŋŋarum kunril kurîinam pônŋanavê paŋŋâr idi murachil pây punal nîr nâdan naŋŋârai adda kalattu.

- (9) Mélôrai kîjôr kurnki kuraittidda kâlâr chôdurra kajal kâliruñkadalul nîla curapiralva pônra punanâdan nêrârai adda kalattu.
- (10) Palkaņai evvâyum pâytalil chelkalâ tolki uyankkum kalijellâm tolchijappij chevvalankunjam pôjjônjum punanâdan tevvarai adda kaļattu.
- (11) Kalumiya ñâdpinul maintikantâr idda olimuracham onkuruti âdi tôlinmadintu kankânâ yânai utaippa ilumena mankul malayin atirum atirâppôr Cheňkanmál adda kalattu.
- (12) Ovâk kaņai pâya olki yeļil vêļam tîvây kuruti iļitalāl chentalai pûvalaŭkunţam puyaţkêţpa pônţanavê Kâviri nâdan kadâikkaditāka kûdârai adda kaļattu.
- (13) Nirai katir nilohham nîddi vayavar varai purai yânaikkai nûra — varai mêl urumeri pâmbil puralum cheru moimbil chêy porutadda kalattu.
- (14) Kavalaňkol yánaiyin kai tunikkappaddu pavalaňchoritaru pai pôr — tivalolya oņcheňkuruti umilum punanádan konkarai adda kalattu.
- (15) Kolyânai pâyakkudai murukki evvâyam pukkavâyellâm piņampiraňka — tachchan vinai padu palliyil tônrumê Cheňkan chinamâl poruta kalattu.
- (16) Paruma inamàkkadavitterimaravar ükki eduttavaravattinärppañchäk kuñcharakkumbattu pâyvana kunrivarum vênkai irum puli pônra punanâdan vêntarai adda kalattu.
- (17) Årppelunta üådpinul ålåletirttödi täkki eritara viltarum on kuruti Kärttikai chärrir kalivilakkai pönranavå pörkkodittänai poru punal nir nådan årttamar adda kalattu.
- (18) Najinta kadalul timişiraî pôlenkkum vilintâr piņam kurati îrkkum telintu tadaşşidankkol vâddalai avilum târ chêy udaşşiyâr adda kalattu.
- (19) Idai maruppin vidderinta ehham kâl mûlki
   kadai maņi kâņvarattônri nadai melinta

mukkôdda pônga kaligellâm nir nádan pukkamar adda kalattu.

- (20) Iruchiyakar îrkku parappi eruvai kuruti piņaňkavarum törram tiravilà chîrmuļa paņņamaippān pônya punanādan nêrârai adda kaļattu.
- (21) Iņai vēl eļinmaramattiúka puņ kûrntu kaņai alaikkolkia yânai—tuņai ilavâi tol vali âŗŗi tuļaŭkinavâi mella nilaňkâl kavarum malai pônŗa Cheňkaņ chinamâl poruta kaļattu.
- (22) Iru nilaõchêrata kudaikkîl varinutal âdiyal yânai tadakkai oliruvâl ôdâ maravar tuņippa tuņintavai kôdu kol oņmatiyai nakkum pâmbokkumô pâdâr idi murachil pây punal nir nādan kûdârai adda kaļattu.
- (23) Eddivayavar eriya natal pilantu neyttörppunalul nivanta kalirrudampu chekkarkolvânil kaduňkoņmûppônravê korravérrûnai kodittindêr Chembian cherrârai adda kalattu.
- (24) Tindôn maravar eriya tichaitôrum paintalai pârir puralpavai—nankenaittum pennaiantôddam peruvali pakkarrê kannâr kamal teriyal Kâviri nîr nâdan nannârai adda kalattu.
- (25) Malai kalańkap pâyum malai pôl nilai koļļâ

kuñcharam pâyak kodi eluntu-poùkupu vânantudaippana pônra punanadan mêvârai adda kalattu.

- (26) Evvâyam ôdi vayavar tuņittidda kaivâyil kondeļanta ohenchevi punchêval aivâi vayanâkam kavvi vichumbivaram chevvâi uvaņatti;rônram punanâdan tevvarai adda kaļattu.
- (27) Cheñ chêrrul chel yânai chîri mitittalâl on cheňkurutikal tokkîndi ninravai pû nîr viyanra midâ pônre punanâdan mêvârai adda kalattu.
- (28) Odâ maravar uruttu mataücherukki pîdudai vâlâr piraûkiya Bâdpinul kêdakat tôdarra tadakkai kal kondôdi ikalanvâiturriya torram ayalârkku kannâdi kânpârirrorrum punanâdan nannârai adda kalattu
- (29) Kadi kâvil kârrurreriya vedipaddu vîrru vîrru ôdum mayil inam pôl nârrichaiyum kêlirilantâr alarupavê Chenkan chinamâl porata kalattu.

(30) Madańka crintu malai uruddu nir pôl tadańkongs oņkuruti kolkaļiţîkkum madańkan ma**ņa** moimpil **Cheńkad**chinamâl

adaúkârai adda kaļattu.

- (31) Ödå maşavar eriya nutal pilanta kôdêntu kol kalirru kumbattu elilêdai minnukkodiyin milirum punanâdan onnarai adda kalattu.
- (32) Maiyin mâmêni nilamennum nallavaļ cheyyatu pôrttâl pôr chevvantâl—poitîrnta pûntâr muraci; poru punal nir nadan kâintârai adda kalattu.
- (33) Poikai udaintu punal pâynta vâyellâm neytal idai idaî vâļai piralvanapôl aitilankehbinaviroli vâl tâyinavê koichuvan mâviş kodittiudêr Chembian tevvarai adda kalattu.
- (34) Inariya nâdpinul êrrelunta maintar chudarilańkehbam eriya chôrntukka kudar kondu vâňkum kurunari kantil todarodu konái puraiyum adar paimpûn chêy porutadda kalattu.
- (35) Chevvaraichchenni arimânôdavvarai olkiurumir kudaintarrân—malki karaikoprilitarûuň Kâviri nâdan uraichâl udampidi mûlka arachô darachuvà vîlnta kalattu.

- (36) Oo uvaman ujalvinri ottatê Kâviri nâdan Kalumalam kondanâl mâvutaippa mârrâr kudai ellâm kîlmêlây âvutai kâlâmbi pônra punanâdan mêvârai adda kalattu.
- (37) Arachar piņāňkânra neyttör murachödu muttudai ködda kaļiņîrppa — ettichaiyum pauvvam puņar ambi pönņa punanādan tevvarai adda kaļattu.
- (38) Parumap paņai eruttir pal yānai punkūrnt urumeņi pāmbir puraļum cheru moimbir ponnāra mārpir punai kaļar kāl Chembian tunnārai adda kaļattu.
- (39) Maintu kâl yâtta mayaňkiya ñádpinul pnintu kâl pôki pulân mukanta veņkudai pañchi pey tâlamê pônra punanádan vañchi kô adda kalattu.
- (40) Velli vennáň chilán ňalamuluvanapôl ellák kalirum nilam chêrnta — pal vêr panai mulaňku pôrttánai Cheňkadchinamál kanai mári peyta kalattu.
- (41) Vênişaittinka vayavarâl êşundu kanilankollûkkalanki chevichâittu mânilankûşu maşai kêdpa pônravê pâdâr idi murachiş pâi punal nir nâdan kôdârai adda kalattu.

# TRANSLATION.

(Stanza 1) In the forenoon it was miry with the blood flowing from the sword-wounds of those who fell in the fight, trampled by elephants; and in the evening it was bright with dust of a coral hue, — in the battle-field where the lord of Punal-Nadu killed those who had failed in their duty.

(2) The bright blood of the elephants which had dropped during the strife, streamed through the torn drums that were tied to their backs, like water bursting through sluices in the high embankment of a tank, — in the field where the lord of Punal-Nadu rushed to the battle shouting the war-cry.

(3) The warriors who sank with weariness from wading in the blood that was spilt in the fight, rose again by holding the tusks of slain elephants, — in the field where the lord of the land abounding in water killed those who had erred.

(4) The elephants, which rose lifting up on high the shining wheels of strong and well shaped chariots which they had broken, resembled mountains on the brow of which descends the setting sun, — in the field where **Chenkanmal** killed his foes.

(5) Red as jungle-cocks were the crows which dipped in and drank the blood flowing from wounds caused by the well-directed arrows and lances, — in the field where Chenkanmal killed those who had failed in their duty.

(6) Piles of slaughtered men and elephants lay on all sides like the boulders of a mighty rock scattered by a terrific thunderbolt, — in the field where the Chembian, riding on a strong chariot, and bearing on his breast jewels set with rare gens, killed the rival kings.

(7) Elephants which looked like black rocks, when they entered the fight, resembled hills of red, sand after the conflict, — in the field where the king of the country watered by the **Kaveri**, in which the striped varál-fish (delight to) sport, killed his foes.

(8) Elephants, huddled one with another, and pierced on all sides by swiftly shot arrows, appeared like countless rocks with birds perched on them, --- in the field where the lord of the land of the bounding waters, who owned thundering drums, killed those who slighted him.

(9) The feet of the horse-soldiers covered with leathern sandals and adorned with anklets, which were cut off by the warriors on foot, rolled in the flowing blood like blue sharks in the great ocean, — in the field where the lord of Punal-Nadu killed his enemies.

(10) The elephants, which, unable to bide the storm of numberless arrows flying on all sides, were in great distress, appeared like the famous red mountain (Mårn), — in the field where the lord of Punal-Nadu slaughtered his enemies.

(11) The drums, abandoned by the weak in the thick of the fray, bathed in blood, and kicked by blinded elephants, resounded like thunder proceeding from dark-clouds, — in the field where the dauntless Chenkanmal destroyed his foes.

(12) Majestic elephants, shedding crimson blood, having been pierced by ceaseless arrows, appeared like rocks with red peaks, washed by rain, — in the field where the king of the country watered by the Kaveri, charged fiercely and killed those who would not be his friends.

(13) The trunks of elephants, lofty as mountains, which were cut down by warriors flourishing their bright and long swords, rolled on the ground like huge rocksnakes struck by lightning, — in the field where the young king, valiant in war, killed (*his foes*).

(14) The bright blood flowing from the maimed trunks of elephants, fell like strings of coral dropping from bags, — in the field where the lord of Punal-Nadu defeated the Kongas.

(15) The furious elephants having broken umbrellas and killed men wherever they charged, the scene appeared like the workshop of a carpenter, — in the field where the wrathful Chenkanmal engaged in battle.

(16) Like tigers springing on rocks, columns of mailed steeds, ridden by veteran warriors, charged against the elephants which stood (motionless) unawed by the shouts of the horsemen, — in the field where the lord of Punal-Nadu slaughtered his rivals.

(17) Amid the battle-shouts the bright blood, shed by warriors who rushed on each other, resembled the lights in the Kârttikai feast, — in the field where the lord of the land of raging waters, who leads bannered hosts, killed his enemies with a loud shout.

(18) Corpses floated in the running blood like ships in the broad sea, — in the field where the young king, who wears garlands of full-blown flowers (on his breast), and a sword and scabbard (at his waist), killed his enemies.

(19) Elephants, pierced by javelins which had entered deep between the tusks, appeared as if they had three tusks, -- in the field where the lord of the land of waters killed his enemies.

(20) The eagles, flapping their extended wings, and feeding ravenously on the bleeding corpses, appeared like musicians beating their drums with both hands, — in the field where the lord of Punal-Nadu killed those who opposed him.

(21) Pierced in the chest by rows of javelins, and sorely wounded by waves of arrows, helpless, faint, and weary, the elephants sank on the ground like falling rocks, — in the field where the wrathful Cheńkanmal engaged in battle.

(22) The massive trunks of elephants, whose foreheads are wrinkled, cut off by undaunted swordsmen, lying on the ground alongside of the umbrellas, appeared like serpents licking the full-moon, — in the field where the lord of the land of surging floods, possessing thundering drums, killed those who would not be reconciled.

(23) Slain elephants, floating in blood, with their foreheads cut open by warriors, appeared like dark clouds in a red sky, — in the field where the Chembian, who possesses the bannered, chariots and the ever-victorious army of lancers, killed those who frowned at him.

(24) Men's heads, cut off by strong-shouldered warriors, rolling on the ground, appeared like (the round black fruits which had dropped down in) a grove of palmyra-palms shaken by a storm, — in the field where the king of the country watered by the Kåveri, who wears garlands of fragrant flowers, killed those who would not be attached to him.

(25) Like rocks advancing on rocks, elephants rushed against elephants, and the tall banners borne aloft on them shook and fluttered as if brushing the sky, — in the field where the lord of Punal-Nadu killed those who would not be united with him.

(26) The red-cared hawks, which fiew upwards holding in their months the hands cut off by warriors, appeared like the red-beaked cagle which soars in the sky, seizing a five-headed snake, — in the field where the lord of Punal-Nådu killed those who would not submit to him.

(27) The bright crimson blood which gathered in the deep foot-prints, left in the red mire by furious elephants, appeared like the juice of flowers collected in pots, — in the field where the lord of Punal-Nadu killed those who would not be allied to him.

(28) The jackals which snatched away the hands of warriors, with shields in their grasp, cut off by heroes who had never fled (*from their joes*) and who rushed furiously brandishing their massive swords, appeared as if holding up mirrors, — in the field where the lord of Punal-Nadu killed those who would not approach him (to be his friends).

(29) Like troops of peacocks flying from groves shaken by a tempest, came women, wailing for their kindred slain in the fight, — in the field where the furious Chenkanmal engaged in battle.

(30) Like floods which washed down rocks, was the flowing blood that dragged down the elephants, — in the field where the wrathful **Chenkanmal**, brave and strong as a lion, killed those who would not submit.

(31) The gold plates adorning the foreheads of ferocious elephants killed by fearless warriors, were dazzling, like flashes of lightning (*mid dark clouds*), — in the battle-field where the lord of **Punal-Nådu** killed his enemies.

(32) The faultless fair lady earth crimsoned, as if she had clothed berself in red, — in the field where the glorious lord of the land of raging floods, who possesses drums adorned with garlands, killed those who offended him.

(33) Broken swords of shining steel lay glittering in streams of blood, like fishes struggling on land inundated by floods which had burst suddenly from a tank, — in the field where the Chembian, driving in a bannered chariot drawn by horses with cropped manes conquered his enemies.

(34) The jackals which tugged at the entrails cut out by warriors with flashing swords in the mélée, appeared like chained wolves (struggling to get free), — in the field where the youthful king, adorned with ornaments of gold, killed (his enemies) in battle.

(35) Like rocks rolled down with lions on them by the shock of a thunder-clap, the royal elephants fell, with the princes that rode them, — in the field where (*fought*) the king of the country watered by the Kavéri which bursts its banks when swollen by floods.

(36) Like mushrooms trodden by cattle, were the enemies' umbrellas trampled by warsteeds, and the comparison was indeed too true, — in the battle-field where the king of the country watered by the Kavêrî seized Kalumalam.

(37) Big drums, and the dead bodies of princes and of tusked elephants, floated on all sides, like ships at sea, — in the field where the lord of **Punal-Nadu** killed his enemies.

(38) Huge caparisoned elephants, wounded and sore, rolled like snakes struck by lightning, — in the field where the Chembian, valiant in war, and adorned with necklaces and anklets of gold, killed those who would not approach him (*in friendship*).

(39) Where hardy warriors strove, setting foot against foot, the white umbrellas, lost by the enemy, lying without handles, and filled with blood, appeared like salvers containing water coloured with red cotton. — in the field where the lord of Punal-Nadu defeated the king of Vanji.

(40) The elephants all dropped down, and seemed as if raking the soil with silver ploughs — in the field where the fierce Chenkanmal, with an army possessing thundering drums, and countless lances, showered arrows on his enemies.

(41) The elephants, pierced in their breast with lances by warriors and unable to stand, dropped, and laid their ears on the ground, as if to hear the secrets of the earth, — in the field where the lord of the land of leaping floods, who possesses thundering drums, killed those who would not unite with him.

# BAGUMRA GRANT OF NIKUMBHALLASAKTI; DATED IN THE YEAR 406.

# BY G. BÜHLER, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

The subjoined edition of the Bagumrå grant of Nikumbhallasakti<sup>1</sup> has been prepared according to an excellent ink-impression taken by Mr. Fleet. It is frequently the case with imperfectly preserved inscriptions that a good impression is easier to read than the original, where the half-effaced strokes are difficult to recognise. And it thus happens that, thanks to Mr. Fleet's work, I am able to restore now the whole text, and to give a number of important emendations of the version published in my German article "Ueber eine Sendraka Inschrift ans Gujaråt" (Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie, Band CXIV. p. 169ff.) from the original plates. The most important is the new reading of the date, which I formerly gave as samvatsaraisatachatushtari shatchatvárimisadadhiké, etc. The reading shaduttaré is plain on the accompanying lithograph. It was first recognized by Mr. Fleet.

The grant is engraved on two copper plates, - now in the British Museum, - each measuring about  $7\frac{1}{3}$  by  $5\frac{1}{3}$ . The rims are raised. Two holes on the lower broad side of the first plate and on the upper one of the second, show that they were held together by two rings which have been lost. Only the inner sides of the plates are inscribed ; the first has ninetcon, the second twenty lines. The technical execution is very bad. The letters are often badly formed, of unequal size, and sometimes stand so close together that they run into each other. The upper part of the first plate and the lower one of the second have considerably suffered by oxydisation. The letters closely resemble those of the Kavi and Nausari inscriptions<sup>2</sup> of the Gurjara king Jayabhata IV. A few pecaliarities, such as the round form of the subscribed ma in Clakshmikah (1. 9) and in brahmanottaran (1. 17), occur also in the later Valabhi inscriptions. The abnormal form of the same letter, which looks like sha, e.g. in Nikumbhallasaktik (l. 15), and in gramarie (l. 17), is probably due to want of skill on the part of the engraver. The language is throughout Sanskrit, and, with the exception of the introductory verse and the quotations from Vyasa towards the end, very faulty prose. The grammatical knowledge of the author of the document must have been very limited. He uses the accusative instead el the nominative in savitáram ivôdayavantam anuraktamandalam cha (l. 7), kalpadrumam iva, and Janarddanam iva (1. 8), makes the accusative plural of the a-stems and i-stems end in the anusvara before consonants and in m before vowels (il. 17-18), and forms compounds like vikasitamahatiyaśasi (1. 2-3), instead of vikasitamahayaśasi, °amalayaśasah (1. 7.), instead of °yasáh, and apahritamaséshabalirájya (1. 8-9), instead of apahritáséshabalirájyah. It is to his ignorance and carelessness that we owe the monster rajahśrih (1. 29), instead of rajaśrih or

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Regarding its discovery, see ante, Vol. XII. p. 179. <sup>2</sup> ante, Vol. V. p. 113, and Vol. XIII. p. 70.

 $r a_{jj} a_{j} r i h$ , as well as the omission of various consonants, vowels and visargas, the erroneous repetition or transposition of words, and numerons mistakes in spelling. The details may be learnt from the transcript where the necessary corrections have been inserted.<sup>3</sup>

The object of the inscription is to record the grant of the village of Balisa which was situated in the ahara of Treyanna to a Brâhman called Bappasvâmin Dîkshita, an inhabitant of Vijaya-Aniruddhapuri, a member of the Bhûradvaja gôtra, and a student of the Mâdhyandina śakha of the White Yajur-Véda. The grantor was the illustrious Prithivivallabha-Nikumbhallasakti of the Sendraka line of kings, whose father was the illustrious lord of men, Ådityasakti, and whose grandfather was the illustrious lord of men, Bhanusakti. Trèyanna is no doubt the same place as Trènna, or Tèna, the modern Tèn, near Bàrdôlî, which the Rathor grants mention as the head-quarters of a political district;<sup>4</sup> and Baliss, the modern Wanesa,<sup>5</sup> south-cast of Tên. Both localities thus are not very distant from Bagumrå, the place where the plates were found. Regarding Vijaya-Aniruddhapuri, the residence of the grantee, I am not able to offer any conjecture. The above identifications make it certain that the Sendraka Prithivivallabha-Nikumbhallasakti held a portion of southern Gujarat. As far as the information, furnished by the formerly known inscriptions, went, the Söndrakas appeared to have been settled exclusively in the Kanarese country and in Maisûr. In one of the Kûdamba grants published by Mr. Fleet, ante, Vol. VI. p. 32, the Kâdamba Harivarman grants the village of Måradê to certain Jainas " at the request of Bhanusakti-raja, the ornament of the Sendraka race." Again the Chalukya Vikramáditya I. (A.D. 670-80-81) presents ten Brahmans with some fields in the village of Rattagiri "at the request of the illustrious Devasakti-raja, who was famous in the Sendraka family" (Jour. Bo. Br. R. A. S., Vol. XVI. p. 239). Further, in a third inscription (Fleet, Pdli, Sanskrit, and Old-Kanarese Inscriptions, No. 152) the name of the Chalukya Vinayâditya (A.D. 680-81-96) is found together with that of the illustrious Sendraka Pogilli. Finally, in Mr. L. Rice's Mercara inscription (Inscriptions from Mysore, p. 283), a Sendraka is named among the witnesses. The first three documents indicate, as Mr. Fleet has stated in his Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts. p. 10, that the Sendrakas were feudatories first of the Kadambas and later of the Western Chalukyas who overthrew the former. The appearance of Sendrakas in Gujarat must under the circumstances excite surprise, and it would be inexplicable, if we did not know that southern Gujarat was conquered about the middle of the seventh century by the Western Chalukyas. The oldest document which proves this conquest, is the Khêdâ grant of Vijayarája, who in (Chédi)-Samvat 394 or A.D. 642-43 held the Káśakûla vishaya, immediately north of the Tapti.<sup>6</sup> To somewhat later times belong the grants of the Yuvarája Siláditya-Sryáśraya, dated (Chédi)-Samvat 421 and 443, or A.D. 669-70 and 691-92, the grant of his brother Maigalarája, dated Saka-Samvat 663 or A.D. 731; and the grant of Pulakési-Vallabha-Janáśraya, dated (Chêdi)-Samvat 490 or A.D. 738-39.7 As the Sêndrakas in Kanara were fendatories of the Chalnkyas, it seems probable that they came to Gujarât in the service of their liege lords, and were rewarded with grants of districts on the conquest of the country. In support of this conjecture it may be pointed out that the titles, 'the illustrious lord of men' and 'the illustrious,' which are applied respectively to Bhanusakti and Âdityasakti, and to

The first line is quoted by Vâmana in his Kāvyālamkārasūtravitti, v. 1, 2, and the verse no doubt goes back

to carly times.

\* Soe ante, Vol. XII. p. 181, and Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Bd. XL. p. 322. Ten is to be found on the Trig. Surv. Map. Guj. Ser., No. 34. <sup>6</sup> The change of *la* to na is very common in Gujaråti, e.g. in nahán for lahán.

<sup>6</sup> For the grant itself, see ante, Vol. VII. p. 248, and for the identification of the geographical names, ante, Vol. XVII. p. 197.

' See Dr. Bhagwanlal's papers, ante, Vol. XIV. p. 75, Jour. Bo. Br. R. A. Soc., Vol. XVI. p. 1 ff., and Verhandlungen des Siebenten Int. Or. Congr. in Wien, Arische Section, p. 210ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> I have intentionally not changed those words where the samuchi has been simply neglected in prose sentences. Permission to make any number of breaks in prose and to use then, instead of the Samhitå, the final forms of the single words, is clearly given by the well known Karikå :--Samhitnikapadê nityâ nityâ dhâtûpasargayôh I

nityê samêsê vêkyê tu sê vivakshâm apêkshatê !!

Nikumbhallaśakti, indicate their being vassals of some great power. It may further be urged that the possessions of the last chief lay exactly in those districts which we know to have been included in the Chalukya possessions. A connection of these three personages with the Southern Séndrakas of Harivarman's and Vikramâditya's inscriptions is, I think, indicated by the not very common termination *sakti*, which occurs in both sets of names. If this conjecture is to stand, it is, of course, necessary to refer the year 408, in which our grant is dated, to the Chedi era, and to take it as equivalent to A.D. 654-5. The characters of the inscription too may be adduced in support of this view. They cannot, I believe, be assumed to belong to an earlier period. The specification of the date, "the full-moon-day of the month of Bhadrapada," without any such details as the week-day, does not permit us to test its exact equivalent by calculation.

In conclusion, I will add that, when I sent my German paper on this inscription to the late Dr. Bhagwanlal, he informed me that he possessed several sets of Sendraka plates from southern Gujarat. It is advisable that they should be looked for and published. They will probably bring us certainty regarding the points which at present are merely conjectures.

# TEXT.

### First Plate.

- O[m\*]\* 1 Prathama9-dik-sarasi-pri(pri)thu-pamkajam gagana-váridhi-vidruma-pallava m tridaśa-rakta<sup>10</sup>-japâ-kusumam navam F1#1
- diśatu ravi-mamdalam II νô vijavami Svasti Mêru-mahîdhara-vijara-sthirarachita-samunnatê vikasi-
- ta-mahati-yaśasi<sup>11</sup> Semdraka-rajnam-anvayê naika-chânu(tu)rddanta-gaja-ghatôha-samada-sanghatta-la-
- bdha-vijayô vijit-ásésha-ripu-ganah sva-bhuja-bala-vikkram-åkrånta12-mahi-mamdalah pranat-âśê-
- 5 sha-sâmanta-śirô-muku[ta\*]-nighrishta-pâda-pamkajah naya-vinaya-satya-śauch-âchāradama-dayâ-dêna-dâ-
- kshinya-śrî-sampad-upêtô 6 narapatih śrimad-Bhanuzaktih tasya putras=tat-padânudhyâtô(tah) śarad-ama-
- la-śaśâmka-mamdal-âmala-yaśasah<sup>13</sup> savitāram=iv=0dayavantam14=anurakta-mamdalam(s)= 2 cha kalpa-lu(dru)-
- mam=iv18=abhivamehhit-aséshajan-ôpabhujyamana-vibhavô Janårddanam=iv<sup>16</sup>=åpa-8 hri(hri)tam-aśćsha17-Bal[i\*]-
- para-chakr-ånurakta-lakshmikah śriman-[n\*]arapatih Ådityasaktih 9 râjya[ḥ\*] tasya putras=tat-pâd-ânudhyâta[h\*]
- śrîmân dakshina-gur[u\*]-bâhu-damdah(da)-pri(pri)thivî-pâlana-kshamô vyapagata-sajala-10 jala<sup>19</sup>-jaladhara-
- patala-dhyâ(vyô)ma-tala-gata-śarad-indu-kiraņa-dhavalatara-yaśô-visânala<sup>19</sup>-vitûnô 11 dhiy[û\*] para-20
- parama-gabhîrô 12di(dê)va-dvijât[i\*]-tava21-jana-b[â\*]mdhav-â(ô)pabhujyamâna-vibhavô Bhava-súnur=iva pra-
- tihat-árátih Sattir=iv=ôpâtta-râjyah samada-dvirada-vara-salila-gatir=Arjuna iv= 13 ásésha-sam-
- grāma-vijayī anavarata-vikkram-û(0)tsāha-šakta-shapanah<sup>22</sup> Kāma iva samāna-yuvati-14 jā(ja)na-

\* Expressed by the Valabhi symbol for 9. º Metre, Drutavilumbità. 10 rakta is doubtful.

11 If the text stands thus, then read make-yajasi; but the syllables makati-yaja are doubtful. 14 Read savit=6v=6dayaván.

12 Possibly akkranta. 15 Read kalpa-drama ivº.

- 10 Read yaidh. 16 Read janarddana iv.
- 18 Dele this word.
- 19 Dele this word.
- 17 Read apahrit-Giesha.

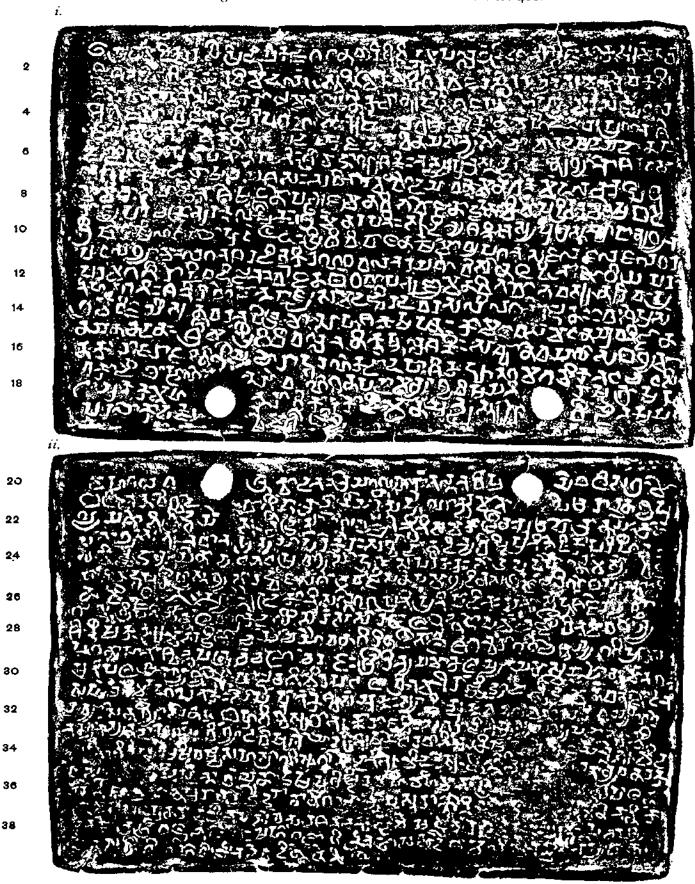
21 Read guru.

- 22 Read fatru-mardanah.
- 29 Dele these two syllables.

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15	nayan-ana danah <sup>23</sup> śrîma[t*]-Pri(p;i)thivivallabha-Nikumbhallabaktih sarvân= êva yathâ-sa[m*]badhyamâ-
16	naka[n*] râja-râjasthûnîya-chôrû(rô)ddbaraņika-dâmdapâśika-dûta-gamagamika-bhata- châta-si(sĉ)-
17	vak-ûdî[n*] brûhman-ôttarûm(n) vanig-da(ja)napadâm(n)=anyâ[m*]ś=cha vishaya[pa*]ti- rûshtyagrûmarû(kû)-
18	rasnijagramaru(xu) <sup>2</sup> t-[å*]yuktaka-mahattar-âdhikârik-âdîm(n)=anayuty <sup>24</sup> =Astu vô vidita[m*] <sup>25</sup> may[â*]
19	para-lôk-âvôkshatvam=a[m*]gîkri(kri)tya
~~	Second Plate.
	and the second second the Artenancia michara Boliga crima
20	mahartham va(cha) sratva datai- 1109 and and and gada there is bali-chara-vaisvadêv-âgnî(ni)hôtr-âdi-kriy-ôtsarppaņ-ârtitha[m*] mâtâ-pitr[ô*]r=âtmanas=
21	cha pu-
22	nya-yasô-bhivri(vri)ddhayê â-cha[n*]dr-ârki(kk)-ârnnava-kshiti-sthiti-samakâlînalı putra-
	pô(pan)tr-ânvaya-kram-[ô*]-
23	pabhôgyah sabhûta-vâta-praty[â]y-ôparikarah <sup>27</sup> sarvv-âdâna-ditya-vishți-pr[â*]tibhêdikâ- parihînah
24	bhûmichchhidra-nyâyên=âchata-bhata-pravasyam <sup>28</sup> sôdramgah s[ô*]parikarah Bhadrapada-
	psurņam[â*]syām Vija- y-Âniruddhapuri-vāstavya -Bhāradvāja-sagôtra-Vāji(ja)sanêy[i*]-M[â*]dhyamdina-sabra-
25	hmachârinê Bappasvâmi-
26	n[ê*] Dîkshitasyityê <sup>29</sup> udak-ûtisarggêņa pratipâditah [I*] yatô=smad-va[m*]śajair=
	anyair=:vv=û-
27	gâmi-nri(nri)patibbir=nnala-v[ê*]ņu-kadalî-sûram samsâram jala-budbud-ôpamam
	cha jîvitam≂avadbûryya áirîsha-kuşuma-şadri(dri)ś-âchampâcha <sup>30</sup> yauvana[m*] giri-nadi-salila-gatvarâni ch=
28	siérory [â#]ni prabasa/la]-
29	pavan-åhat-åsvuttha-pat[t*]tra-chamchalå cha rajah-śrîr <sup>31</sup> =ity=ayam <sup>32</sup> =åkalayy=åyam= asmad-däyö=numamtavah <sup>33</sup>
<b>3</b> 0	pratipâlayitavyaś=cha yô v=âjūâna-timira-paţalâ-vri(vri)ta-matir=âchchhhan yâd= âchchhidyanıânam v=[â*]numôdôta
31	sa pamchabhir=mmah[â*]p[â*]takaihopa sêpapâtakais=cha <sup>31</sup> samyaktah syâu=ity=
	uktem cha bhagavatû Pûraśaryyèpe vê-
32	da-vyûsêna Vyûsêna li Bahubhir=vvasudhâ bhuktû rûjabhih Sagar-âdibhir=yyasya yasya yadû bhûr:i[s*]=
<b>3</b> 3	tasya tasya tadâ phalam 11 Vindhy-ûțavîshu tôyâsu <sup>35</sup> śushka-kôțara-vâsinah kri(kri)shp. ûhayô hi jûyantê bhûmi-d[û*]-
34	× x ranti yê il Shashți[m*] varslisha <sup>36</sup> -sahasrani svargge modati bhuini-
	dah [1*] åchchhôttia ch=a × manta cha tâny=ôva narak[ô*] vasê × × × × para-datta[m*] vam(vâ) ya[t*]nâd=raksha Yndhishti(shthi)ra
35	vasê × × × × para-datta[m*] van(va) ya[t] nadelaksini i bantin(en,b); mah[î*]m mah[î*]matâm śrê × × × × yô=nupâlanato[11*]
36	Yân=îha dattâni purâ narêmdrair=ddânâni dharmmârttha-yasaskarâni ni × ×
00	× × × × mâni tâni kô
37	nâma sâdhuh punar=âdadîta 11 Samvatsara-sata-chatushtayê shad-uttarê
	Bhådrapada-su(su)ddha-pamchadasy[am*]
	<ul> <li>23 Read ánandanah.</li> <li>24 Read anudarsingaty.</li> <li>25 Insert yathå after this word.</li> <li>28 Read ins, i.e. otas.</li> <li>29 Read chidhabhaiaprávésiyab.</li> <li>29 Read dikshitáya or dikshitáyéty.</li> <li>29 Read dikshitáya or dikshitáyéty.</li> <li>20 Read onumantaryah.</li> <li>31 Read réjairir.</li> <li>32 Dele ayam, which gives no sense and is superfluous.</li> <li>33 Read anumantaryah.</li> <li>34 Delo cho.</li> <li>35 Read varsha<sup>o</sup>. The ungrammatical doubling of sibilants which are preceded by a ra and followed by a rel, is, however, from din all MSS. from Southern India. Its occurrence in this inscription may indicate that the aft who composed it was a Southerner.</li> </ul>
rai	The are compared as and a second and



J. F. FLEET, BO. C.S.

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

38 dûtakô=tra Srîvallabha-Bappah [l\*] 'mahûbalâdhikri(kri)ta-Mâsam-âdôśâma<sup>37</sup> likhitam=i[dam] tasy=aiv=ânu-<sup>38</sup>

39 [jê]na sa[m]dhî(dhi)-vigrah-âdhikri(kri)ta-Dêvadinnên=êti

# TRANSLATION.

Om! May the orb of the sun, the broad water-lily of the lake-like eastern region, the coral-branch of the ocean of the sky, the newly-(opened) flower of the red Japå of the gods, grant you viotory !

(Line 1.) — Hail ! In the race of the Séndraka kings that is free from decay, firmly fashioned and high like mount Mêra, the great fame of which has unfolded itself, (*there was*) he who obtained victory by the furious<sup>39</sup> onslaught of arrays<sup>40</sup> of troops of four-toothed elephants, he who conquered the crowd of all his foes, he who gained the circle of the earth by the valour of his arms, he whose lotus-feet were scratched by the crowns on the heads of all his bending vassals, he who was endowed with political wisdom, modesty, truthfulness, purity, virtuous behaviour, self-restraint, mercy, liberality, kindliness, glory and wealth, the lord of men (*narapati*), the illustrious Bhanusakti.

(L. 6). — His son, who meditated on his (*father's*) feet, (*was*) he who possessed a fame spotless like the orb of the pure autumnal moon, he who (*daily*) rose (*higher*) (*udayaván*) and had a loyal kingdom (*anurakta-mandalah*) and thus resembled the sun who (*daily*) rises (*udayaván*) and whose orb is coloured (*red in the evening*) (*anuraktamandalah*), he who resembled the tree of paradise, his wealth being desired and constantly enjoyed by all people, he who took tribute or (*their*) empire (*balirájya*) from all (*kings*) and thus resembled Janârdana who took the whole kingdom of Bali (*balirájya*), he whose Fortune was attached to the kingdoms of his foes,<sup>41</sup> the illustrious lord of men (*narapati*), Adityasakti.

(L. 9). — His son, who meditates on his (*father's*) feet, who is glorious (and) able to protect the earth with his weighty staff-like right arm, whose canopy of glory is more brilliant than the rays of the antumnal moon that stands in the sky from which the water-laden clouds have departed, who is most deep in intellect, whose wealth is being enjoyed by gods, Brâhmans and his Gurus, who like the son of Bhava repulses his enemies, who like Satti<sup>42</sup> has gained a kingdom, who has the coquettish gait of a most excellent rutting elephant, who like Arjuna is victorious in all battles, who destroys his foes by unceasing acts of bravery and energy, who like Cupid is the joy of the eyes of the courtezans, the illustrious Prithivivallabha-Nikumbhallabakti instructs even all, however they may be connected (with him,) (vis.) kings, viceroys, thief-catchers,<sup>43</sup> policemen, messengers, Gamagamikas, regular and irregular soldiers, servants and so forth, Brâhmans, traders and lower provincials and others, rulers of vishayas, heads of ráshfras and of villages, officials (dyuktaka), Mahattaras, persons in anthority (ddhikdrika), and so forth (as follows) :~

(L. 18). — "Be it known to you (*that*), being convinced of the reference (of donations of land) to the next world,<sup>44</sup> and having been taught (*their*) great advantage, I have therefore granted, (confirming the gift) with a libation of water, for the increase of my own and my parents' merit and fame, the village of Baliss in the vishays included in the ahars of **Treyanna**, for a period equal to the duration of the moon, sun, seas and earth, — (*the said village*) being to be enjoyed by (*the dones's*) sons, grandsons, and their offspring, together with the *bhútavátapratyáya*, together with the *udraiga*, (and) together with the taxes payable by non-

or Read mdsammaddidt (?) <sup>26</sup> The syllables dam and js are very faint.

<sup>&</sup>gt;> The connexion of samada, 'furious,' with a word not denoting an animal is most unusual. Probably it should stand before gaja.

<sup>&</sup>quot; I translate tha by 'array,' as the author seems to have used it in the sense of vytha.

<sup>41</sup> This means, I suppose, that his Fortuna was not contented with his empire, but desired to possess those of his foes and induced him to conquer them.

<sup>42</sup> This name is, of course, corrupt. 48 Probably the Pagis are meant.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> I understand bhumiddnasya, with parallkdvikshatvam and mahartham.

resident cultivators, being exempted from all ádána, ditya, forced labour and prátibhédiká, (and) not to be entered by irregular or regular soldiers, — (the grant being made) according to the maxim concerning land unfit for tillage,<sup>45</sup> on the full-moon day of Bhådrapada, to Bappasvâmin-Dîkshita, an inhabitant of Vijaya-Aniruddhapuri,<sup>46</sup> a member of the Bhâradvâja family, a student of the Mâdhyandma (branch) of the Vûjasanêyi (or White Yajur-Vêda) in order to defray the expenses of the bali, charu, vaišvadéva, agnihôtra, and other rites. Wherefore future kings, whether of our line or others, understanding that worldly existence possesses (as little) kernel as a reed, a bamboo or a plantain-tree, and that life is comparable to a water-bubble, and considering that youth is liable to fade like the śirisha-flower, that sovereignty passes away like the water of a mountain-torrent, and that regal splendour is unstable like an aívattha-leaf which is struck by a very strong wind, should agree to and protect this our grant. But he, who with a mind covered by the dense darkness of ignorance resumes it, or allows it to be resumed, shall be gailty of the five mortal and the minor sins. And it has been said by the worshipful son of Parâsara, Vyâsa, the arranger of the Vêdas . . . . . . . .

(L. 37). — In the year four hundred and six, on the fifteenth (lunar day) of the bright half of Bhadrapada. The messenger for (the conveyance of) this (grant) is Srivallabha-Bappa. By order of the great general (mahábaládhikrita) Mâsama, this has been written by his younger brother Dêvadinna, the minister of peace and war (samdhivigrahádhikrita).

# SANSKRIT AND OLD-KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

## BY J. F. FLEET, BO. C.S., M.R.A.S., C.I.E.

No. 182.—Belur Inscription of the time of Jayasimha III.—Saka-Samvat 944.

Bélûr is a village about seven miles south-east of Bådâmi, the chief town of the Bådâmi Tâlukā or Sub-Division of the Bijâpur District, Bombay Presidency; in the map, Indian Atlas Sheet No. 41, it is entered as 'Belloor,' Lat. 15° 51' N., Long. 75° 49' E. It is mentioned in this record by the old name of the Pérûr agrahara, in line 33; and as simply Pérûr, in lines 35 and 38. There are two inscriptions at this village; both inside the Fort. One of them is on a large stone-tablet that stands facing a modern shrine of the god Hanumanta. On this stone there are the remnants of an Old-Kanarese inscription of sixty-seven or sixty-eight lines of about thirty letters each; but a great deal of this record is now illegible; and, at my visit, I only noted that the date (line 32 f.) is Saka-Sainvat 962, the Vikrama sainvatsara.<sup>1</sup> The other inscription, which I am now editing, is on a stone-tablet at an old temple, now known as the temple of the god Nârâyaya. A photograph, from my estampage, has been published in *Páli, Sanskrit, and Old-Kanarese Inscriptions*, No. 70. And I have noticed it in *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 43 f. But it is now edited for the first time.

The temple, which is now half below the level of the ground, is of some interest, though it does not present any elaborate architectural decorations. Instead of having the usual porch and entrance-hall, it is entered by a small door about 5' 6" high by 3' 0" broad. The first hall, the roof of which is supported by sixteen pillars, is about forty-five feet square. The second half is smaller, about thirty feet long by twenty feet broad. Over the door from the first hall to the second, there is a sculpture of Lakshmi and her elephants; and the same is repeated over the door from the second hall into the shrine. In the shrine, standing on an *abhishéka*-stand, there are three stone images, between three and four feet high, of the gods Brahman, Vishun, and Siva, with emblems and attendant figures, and of beautiful antique workmanship. They are, in fact, among the best specimens of their class that I have ever seen; and, if they are still in a state of perfect preservation, as at the time of my visit in January, 1877, it would

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<sup>45</sup> See Gupta Inscriptions, p. 138, note 2, and the rectification on p. 221 above-

<sup>\*\*</sup> I suppose that the real name of the town is Aniraddhapuri, and that the prefixed vijaya means 'viotorious' as in Vijaya-Vaijayanti, Vijaya-Paldiika, etc.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In connection with the results for the date in the inscription now edited, it would be useful to have the full details of this date. But, as they are not in my notes, they are probably illegible.

be well worth while to remove them to a Museum; this could probably be easily arranged, as I found that the temple was not used for purposes of worship; and, as the roof had begun to fall in, it is desirable that the images should be secured and removed. The presence of these three images in the shrine, is in accordance with line 34 of the inscription, which speaks of "the hall of the Traiparushas," *i.e.* of the three gods Brahman, Vishau, and Siva. And the record shews that they date, with the temple, from in or about A.D. 1020. The inscription is on a stone-tablet which stands outside the temple, against the east or front face, on the south side of the door. As it is fixed in its position, I could not remove it, to place it in safety inside the temple; but I covered it with stones, so as to guard it from further injury.

The emblems at the top of the stone have at some time or another been purposely defaced; but enough of them remains to shew that they were : — In the centre, a *linga* on an *abkishéka*stand, with an officiating priest; on the proper right, the bull Nandi or Basava; and on the proper left, a cow and calf. There must have been also the sun and moon; but these have been quite destroyed. — The writing covers a space of about  $1' 9\frac{1}{3}''$  broad by  $5' 1\frac{1}{3}''$  high. It is in a state of fairly good preservation; not many letters having been destroyed. — The oharaoters are the so-called Old-Kanarese characters, of the regular type of the period and locality to which the record refers itself. They include, in line 30, the decimal figures 4 and 9. The virams occurs only twice, in *médinuyol*, line 13, and *déviyar*, line 28; and is represented by its own proper sign. In *bedaingiyum*, line 27, we have very clearly the separate form of *d*, as distinct from *d*. The engraving is bold and excellent. — The language is Old-Kanarese; with four Sanskyit verses in lines 42 ff. And the inscription is in verse and prose mixed. — In respect of orthography, the only points that call for notice are (1) the preferential use of the *anusoára*, instead of the proper nasal; and (2) the repetition of *bh*, instead of its doubling by *b*, in *nirbhbhatsaná*, for *nirbbhartsaná*, line 16.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the Western Châlukya king Jagadêkamalla-Jayasimha III. And its object is to record that, while governing the district known as the Kisukâd Seventy, his elder sister Akkâdêvî, apparently in memory of her elder brother Tribhuvanamalla-Vikramâditya V., made a grant of the Pêrûr agrahâra, and caused to be built there "a hall of the Traipurnshaa," the Elders of which granted some land for the purpose of feeding and clothing students. The inscription is of interest in giving an instance of the combined worship of the three gods, Brahman, Vishnu, and Siva. And we also learn from it that Akkûdêvî practised the religious observances of Jina and Buddha, as well as those of Vishan and Siva.

As regards the identity of the names Pérùr and Bélûr, there can be no doubt about the fact, though the record contains no specification of the boundaries of the Pérûr agrahára. In the first place, there is no other name in the vicinity at all resembling Pérûr. In this part of the country, the only Herûr or Hêrûr, written 'Yehroor' in the map, is in the Hangund Tâlukâ, about twenty-seven miles from Bêlûr, in a north-easterly direction. And, though in the Parasgad Tâlukâ there is a Hirûr, yet this is a different name altogether, and the village is about forty miles distant from Bélûr, to the east. And in the second place, the text tells us distinctly that "the hall of the Traipurushas," *i.e.* plainly the temple at which the inscription stands, was in the Pérûr agrahára. I may mention that, in spite of the spelling in the map, Belloor,' which might be thought to indicate the short e, the  $\delta$  in Bélûr is long. And the metre, in line 38, distinctly marks the  $\delta$  in Pérûr as long. In this name,  $\tau$  has been changed to i; an instance of the opposite change, from l to  $\tau$ , occurs in Kâdalavalli, which appears elsewhere as Kâdaravalji, and is now Kâdarôlji (see the Kalbhâvi Jain inscription, in the next number of this Journal).

The date is given as Saka-Samvat 944, expressed in decimal figures, the Dundubhi samvatsars; the Uttarayana-Samkranti or winter solstice; a vyatipata; on Âdityavâra or Bunday. The month and the *tithi* are not given. And the details that are given, refer to the making of the grant; not to the writing of the record. By the sonthern luni-solar system, the Dundubhi samvatsara coincided with Saka-Samvat 945 current; *i.e.* with the THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY.

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given year, 944, as an expired year. But I find, with Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, that in this year the winter solstice, as represented by the Makara-Samkranti, occurred, not on a Sunday, but on Monday, 24th December, A.D. 1022, at about 5 ghafis, 19 palas, after mean sunrise, for Bådâmi ;<sup>2</sup> and this must, apparently, have been the proper day for the celebration of any rites connected with it. For, the general rule regarding the punyakala- of the Makara-Samkranti is that, lasting according to some for twenty ghatis and according to others for forty ghatis, it comes after the samkranti; and, though there are certain exceptions to this, and though there is a rule that, at the solstices and at the equinoxes, the rites of bathing, making a grant, &c., should be performed after fasting for either three nights or one night beforehand. yet this seems to refer only to the fast, and neither in the Nirnayasindhu nor in the Dharmasindhusåra can I find any authority by which, as this samkránti occurred after sunrise on the Monday, the making of the grant could properly have been performed on the Sunday. The term vyatipata ought to help in explaining the date; but what it may mean in this passage, is not apparent; and all that I can say is that it does not seem to denote the Vyatîpûta yôga. For, by Prof. Jacobi's Tables, at sunrise on Sunday, 23rd December, the yôga was Vriddhi, No. 11; and at sunrise on Monday, 24th December, the yôga was Dhruva, No. 12; so that the Vyatîpâta yôga, No. 17, did not occur even on this day. Later on the Monday there commenced the Vyaghata yoga, No. 13; but the vyatipata of the text is very distinct, and can hardly be a mistake in writing for vyágháta. In the preceding year, however, Saka-Samvat 944 current, the Makara-Samkranti occurred at about 49 gh. 47 p. on Saturday, 23rd December, A.D. 1021; and it must apparently have been then celebrated on the Sunday, in accordance not only with the general rales, but also with a special rule in the Dharmasindhusdra which states that, if the Makara-Samkranti occurs in the night, - in the present instance about 43 minutes after midnight, -- its punyakála is always on the following day. This date, accordingly, Sunday, 24th December, A.D. 1021, may perhaps be the day that is intended. This solution entails the application of the given year as a current year; but to this there is no obstacle in the expression that is used in the text.<sup>3</sup> And as regards the sanivatsara, it is at least a curious point that, by the southern Vikrama luni-solar system, if it can be established and can be carried back so far, the Dundubhi samvatsara would coincide with 'Saka-Samvat 944 current; for, by the mean-sign system, with Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit's Tables, it commenced on the 5th December, A.D. 1019, in Saka-Samvat 942 current ; and by the northern lani-solar system it coincided with Saka-Samvat 943 current. But here, again, the term vyatipata fails to help in deciding the question; for, at sunrise on Sunday, 24th December, A.D. 1021, the yoga was either Prîti, No. 2, or Ayushmat, No. 3. This date, therefore, must remain for further consideration, when the rules regarding the punyakula of samkrántis have been fully elucidated, and when we can determine what is meant by the use of the word vyatipata in this passage.

The exact meaning of the mention of Vikramåditya V. in this record, seems to call for some remark. His name is introduced in line 32, where it stands in the dative case, and is apparently governed by the immediately following word parôksham. This word in Sanskrit governs the genitive, and means 'out of sight, behind one's back, in the absence of, without the knowledge of.' And we have met with it in a rather peculiar passage in the Miraj grant (ante, Vol. VIII. p. 17; see also Vol. XVI. p. 19), where Vikramåditya V. himself is mentioned as supporting the earth "behind the back, or in the absence (parôksham)," — i.e., as I take it, " in succession after the deatb," — of Satyâśraya II. Now, the latest certain date that we have for Vikramåditya V. is Saka-Samvat 933, in an inscription at Galagnâth in the Råalbennûr Tâlakâ (*Elliot MS. Collection*, Vol. I. p. 40), which mentions him as then reigning. While, in an inscription at Hirûr in the Hângal Tâlukâ (*id.* Vol. I. p. 44), Jayasimha III. is mentioned as the reigning king in Saka-Samvat 940. The inference is that Vikramåditya V.

\* See page 222 ff. above.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The difference of time for Bombay is only 30 palas earlier; so that nowhere in India did the sumirdati

<sup>\*</sup> See my remarks, onts, Vol. XVII. p. 119 f.

died in the interval, and at least four years before the date of the present record. And the same inference is to be drawn from the omission of his name in the genealogical part of this record. The use here of the dative case with paroksham seems certainly peculiar, even in Old-Kanarese. And the sense of the passage could be considerably altered by the insertion of an anusvára after Tribhuvanamalla, in line 32; thus making it a nominative case, instead of taking it, as part of a compound. The meaning might thus be arrived at, that it was Tribhuvanamalla, i.e. Vikramâditya V., who had previously granted the Pôrûr agrahára, to a god named Vikramådityadeva after himself, and who had caused the hall of the Traipurushas to be built; and that, on the specified date, Akkidêvî simply made a grant of land for the purpose of feeding students. But this seems hardly a satisfactory method of dealing with the passage; especially because it leaves parôksha[m vi]nayadim, line 32-33, and mánigal=aynúr. varum, line 34, without any apparent context and meaning, and because line 40 expressly refers to a "pious act of the Five-hundred" which can only be found in line 34f. And taking the passage as it stands, including the perhaps wrong or at least exceptional use of the dative case with parôksham, the meaning seems certainly to be that Akkâdêvî granted the agrahára and caused the hall to be built, and did so " behind the back, or in the absence," or, as I understand it, "after the death, and in memory," of Vikramâditya V.

## TEXT.

1	[Om Sva]st[i] Samastabhuvanâśraya śrîpri(pŗi)thvîvallabha mahâ- râjâdhirâja
2	[pa]ramêśvara paramabbațiârakam Satyasraya-kuļa-tiļakam
3	[Chá]]uky-âbharanam śrimaj-Jagadêkamalladêvara vijaya-râ-
4	[jya]m=uttar-ôttar-âbhivriddhi-pravarddhamânam=â-chandr-âr k k a -t â r a m
5	[sa]luttam-ire [1*] tad(j)-Jayasimha-chakravarttiya nij-âgrajâte []
6	[Ka]m <sup>6</sup> II Srî <sup>7</sup> -vanitey=enisid=Akkađêvige vâg-dêvig=akhila-jana-
7	nuta-Sitàdêvige Mâdêvige <sup>8</sup> bhû-dêvige saman=emba nri-
8	pa-sutâ-samudayamam !! Gunada-bedamgiy=enal=sad-guna-
9	mam negald=êkavâkyey=ene sûnritamam rana-Bhairaviy=ene sau(sau).
10	ryyada gunaman=ad=en=emda bannipem nri(nri)pa-suteyam ( Vri <sup>9</sup> )
11	[Ja]nakam <sup>10</sup> śri-Dasa(sa)varmmadévan=abhayam Chalukya-vajram
	ainésa-nibham Bhâga-
12	ladêvi punyavati saty-âlâpe tây=chakravartti nija-prôj[j*]vala-kirtti.
13	mûrtti Jayasimham tamman=amd=amde mêdiniyol śri-negald-ê-
14	kavâkyeya yasa(śah)-prakhyāti sâmānyam=ē 11 Avinamn(mr)-āri-nri(nri)-
15	pâlaka-prale(la) ya-sampâda-ksham-oohchanda-Bhairavi tân=âgiyum=o-
16	yde śâmtatara-rûp-ânvîte <sup>11</sup> nirbhbhatsanâ <sup>12</sup> -rava-simh-âgrajey=â-
17	giyum mada-gaj-ôdyad-yâney=emd=amdu dhâ(dhau)ta-vichitram negald=êka-
18	väkyeya charitram bhûri-bhûchakradol 11 Jina <sup>13</sup> -Buddh-Ânanta-Ru-
19	dr-ågama-nigadita-dharmmangala[m] mådi kayyåmtana[———] vrajakkŌpp-e-
<b>2</b> 0	nitan=anudinam koțța sarvy-ôrvyiyol=dâna-nay-âlamkâre rârâ-
21	jisidal=akhila-vidyârtthi-dîn-âvali-nandiniy≃Akkâdêvi dharmm-âgra-
22	n[i*] vimaļa-vacha[h*]śrî-jayaśrî-yaśa[h*]śrî    Vachana    Antu saka-
23	ia-jagat-praņūteynm samasta-ripuncipa-charaņāravinde-
40	ie-leges-hreintelen 2 22 22 22 22 22 22 22 22 22 22 22 22

From the original stone.
 i.e. kanda.
 Metre, Kanda ; and in the next verse.
 i.e. vritta.
 Metre, Mattebhavikrigita ; and in the next verse.

12 Read nirbbharteand.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Monier-Williams gives both forms, anvita, and anvita. I have met with the latter in other Old-Kanarese inscriptions, and also with prantite, which occurs in line 23 below, or else with vinüta; though I cannot just now give the references.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Metre, Mahå-Sragdharå ; i.e. Sragdharå, with two short syllables, instead of one long, at the commencement of each pada.

dîn-ânâtha-chimtâmanivivê[ka]-chûdâmaniyum [y]um14 24 [sva-vamia(?)]-varddhan-aika-såkshål-Lakahmiyum parijana-25 y[u]ù vasudhâ-jana-kâmadhênuvum=êka-vâ-[ka]]p[a]vri(vri)[kshe]yum 26 śrimagonada-bedamgiyum≕enisi negalda 27 kvevum sukha-samkathå-vi-Kisukad-erppattam d-Akkadêviyar 28 Sa(sa)ka-nripa-kal-atita-samvatsaranôdadin=âļnttam-ire 29 Dumdubhi-samyatsarad=uttarayana-944neva 30 [sa]tamga[]\*] angam vyatipåtamum≑Ådityavårad a[m\*]du sam krantiyum 31 **vi]**parôksha[m Tribhuvanamalla-ari-Vikramådityadévarge 32 bitt=alli sarvva-namaéya(sya)m Péruram navadin=agrahûram 33 mânigal-aynûrvvaroŵ ááleya. Traipurushara mûdisida 34 mattar=Ppårûrovidyårtthigalg=asan-åchchhådanake nelam kotta 35 mattar=eradu půvina-tômta maney=ayvattu l=aynûru 96 nasaye<sup>15</sup> rājā(ja)-rakshitam chatus-sîmê(mû)-paryyamtam=eradam 37 dharmma II nâlnůmahâjanam=oraldu Pérùra Vîra16-guņar=int=idam Kam u 38 rvvarum=urvvî-ramaņar=akhila-guņa-gaņa-sārar=ppālisuge vå-39 dharmm-Mannisiy=aynûryvara rddhi-nagam=ull-inega[m\*] II 40 ê(ô)nnatiyam kamanneya-Manneya-Chattam bittam ndu Panduvamsa-lalāmam 41 Sva<sup>17</sup>-datt[â\*]m Slôkam II nêsar=uli-annevaram il nelada 42 mam para-datt[ā\*]m vâ yô harêta vasundharâ[m\*] shashtir-vvarsha<sup>10</sup>-sahasrâni vi-43 Bahubhir=vvasudhå bhuktå krimi[h\*] II jâyatê shthayâm 44 bhûyadâ yasya vasya råjabhis=Sage(ga)r-ådibhih 45 v=[8\*]ti pha(pâ)lanam mih tasya tasya tadá phalam 11 Dânam vâ 46 dânât⇒svarggam=avâpnôti dânâch=chhrêyô=nupâlanam 47 dha-Sâmânyô<sup>19</sup>=yam padam II pâlanâd=sohyutam 48 pâlaniyô hhakalê-kalê rmma-sêtur=nripâņâm 49 Եհմpårtthivåndrö(ndrån) bhagi(vi)nah sarvvân=êtân vadbhih 50 Mamgala-ma-Råmabhadrah II yâchatê yô-bhûyô 51 Ôm<sup>20</sup> Om [11\*] hà-śrî[ḥ\*] 52

# ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

During the reign of the asylum of the universe (samastabhuvanášraya ; line 1), the favourite of fortune and of the earth, the Mahardjadhirdja, the Paraméévara, the Paramabhaijáraka, the orna nent of the family of Satyasraya (1. 2), the glory of the Chalukyas, the glorious Jagadêkamalladêva (l. 3.):---

The elder sister of that same Chakravartin Jayasimha (III.) (1.5) is Akkadevi (1.6). who has the epithets of 'she who is charming by reason of her virtues' (gunada-bedangi, 1.8; and gonada-bedangi, 1. 27), and 'she whose speech is single and uniform' (&kavakye, 11. 9, 13-14, 17-18, 26-27), and who is a very Bhairavi in battle and in destroying hostile kings (1. 9, 15). Her father was the glorious Dasavarmadêva (l. 11),<sup>11</sup> the Chalukya diamond or thunderbolt; her mother was the virtuous Bhagaladevi (11. 11-12); and her younger brother is the

<sup>14</sup> Here we ought to have something like arip-Archchita-charandravindeyum.

<sup>15</sup> This word is quite distinct ; but what it is intended to mean, is not apparent. Perhaps it is connected with ness, 'delight, joy ;' or with ness, 'little.'

<sup>16</sup> Metre, Kanda; and in the next verse.

<sup>18</sup> Read shashti-versha. if Metre, Slöka (Anushtubh); and in the next two verses.

<sup>\*</sup> Represented in both places here by a symbol.

<sup>19</sup> Metre, Salini. \$1 This is one of the metrical passages spoken of in connection with my remarks on his name, ante,

Vol. XVI. p. 19 f.

Chakravartin Jayasimha (III.) (1. 13). And she has practised the religions observances prescribed by the rituals of Jina (l. 18), Buddha, Ananta (Vishnu), and Rudra ('Siva).

While she, the glorious Akkadevi, is governing the Kisukad Seventy (1. 28) with the delight of pleasing conversations ; ---- (At) the Uttarayana-Samkranti (l. 31) of the Dundubhi sam vatsara, which is the 944th (year in) the centuries of years that have gone by from the time of the Saka king (l. 29); and (at) a vyatipata (l. 31); on Sunday, - in the absence<sup>22</sup> of her elder brother the glorious Tribhuvanamalla-Vikramadityadeva (V.) (1. 32), she with reverence allotted the Perur agrahara (1.33) as a sarvanamasya-grant, and caused to be made there a hall of the Traipurnshas (1.34), the Five-hundred Elders<sup>23</sup> of which, for the purpose of feeding and clothing students, gave (one) mattar of land, and two mattars out of the flower-garden, consisting of fifty (mattars), belonging to the five-hundred houses<sup>24</sup> at Pérur (1, 35).

The Four-hundred Mahájanas of Pérur (1.38) shall preserve this grant, as long as the ocean and the mountains endure. And seeing, and honouring, the excellence of this pious act of the Five-hundred (1.40), Manneya-Chatta, the ornament of the Panduvamsa (1.41), gave a manneya-grant, to endure as long as the sun.

The inscription ends with four of the customary Sanskrit benedictive and imprecatory verses, in lines 42 to 51.

# FOLKLORE IN BURMA.1

## BY TAW SEIN KO.

# No. 1.-Maung Pauk Kyaing,<sup>2</sup> or the Dull Boy who became a King.

In former times at Tetkatho<sup>3</sup> there were congregated, for their education, sons of Mins, Pônnas, Thatês and Thagywes,<sup>4</sup> from all parts of Zabudeik.<sup>5</sup> Among them was Maung Pauk Xyaing, a young man of obscure birth, who, despite his long residence at the schools, was found to have made no progress whatever in his studies. His restless energy, his superior physical strength, and his aversion to books, convinced those who came in contact with him that his sphere lay not in secluded cells and cloisters, but in the wide work-a-day world. His preceptor, therefore, taught him the following three formulæ and enjoined on him to make good use of them as occasion required :---

- (1) Thud & ba myd & hkayi & yauk :- Distance is gained by travel ;
- (2) Me ? bd myd ? sagd ? ya :--- Information by inquiry ;
- (3) Ma eik ma né athet shé :--And long life by wakefulness.

Maung Pauk Kyaing bade his preceptor good-bye and started for his home. Arrived there he could find no congenial occupation for his restless spirit, so he resolved to leave his country and carve out a fortune for himself.

\* Tetkatho = Takebasilâ (Skr.) = Taxila (Greek), near Ràwal Pindi in the Pañjâb.

<sup>4</sup> Mins, Pónnas, Thatês, and Thagywes = Kabatriyas, Brâhmans, and Vaisyas : Thatês and Thagywes being classed under the third casts. Observe the precedence accorded to the warrior-casts, to which Gautama Buddha belonged.

Zabudeik = Jambudvipa, the southern continent in the cosmogony of the Buddhists.

<sup>22</sup> parsksham; see the introductory remarks.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> mani seems to be a corruption of the Sanskrit manya, 'respectable, venerable;' and the present meaning is doubtless to be given to it in also the Aihole inscription, *aute*, Vol. IX., p. 74, No. 63.

This passage seems to give the average size of the village at that time; and to indicate the proper meaning of such expressions as "the Sixty Cultivators," "the Ugara Three-hundred," and "the Five-hundred-and-four," which occur, for instance, in Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. XII. pp. 21, 22, 23. The point, however, requires for the consideration. further consideration.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The transliteration.
<sup>1</sup> The transliteration, or rather the method of rendering Burmese sounds,—for strict transliteration is impossible,—adopted, is that usually used officially in Burme, so that those acquainted with the Burmese language may at once mow how the words are spelt in the original. Pronounce ei as short *t*, aw as in awfut; *t* as an in *air*; *t* as in English, i. e., as in the or thing according to context. In aspirated consonants h is placed before the letter, thus ht, hp, hs, though it is pronounce after the consonant a usual; but in the case of aspirated semi-vowels and usuals, it is pronounce the form the function system. The heavy accent of Burmese is rendered here by a mark resembling the English colon, after the letter affected; and the light staces to accent by § under the letter affected.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Maung Pauk Kyaing is a well-known character in legendary Burmese history, as ThadonAganaing. He was the ninth of the 2nd dynasty of Sakya Kings supposed to have reigned at Tagaung.

Applying the first formula of his preceptor to his case, he travelled on and on and passed through strange scenes and countries. During his journey he asked the people he met questions on various subjects, and gained much information. At last he reached **Tagsung**,<sup>6</sup> the most ancient capital of the kings of Burma. His inquisitive spirit scon made him acquainted with the condition of the country he was in. The King had been dead for some time, and his **Queen had taken a Någa**,<sup>7</sup> or a huge scrpent, for her spouse, much against the wish of her people. The ministers and her other subjects wanted a human being to rule over them; but their wish was foiled because every one of the candidates elected by them to be their King, was killed by the Någa after passing a single night in the palace.

Maung Pank Kysing became desirons of aspiring to the hand of the widowed Queen, in spite of the rumours that all that had done so met with sure death. He accordingly intimated his wish to the ministers, and was, in due course, ushered into the palace. He observed that the Queen was sedate and silent, and he vainly tried to put her in good humour by his joviality.

Night came on, and the Queen put on her blandishments to induce Maung Pauk Kyaing to fall into a slumber. But he was too sharp for her. He had ascertained that all the former aspirants to her hand were killed by a Måga, whose spouse she was, and that to sleep in the palace was to sleep for ever.

He therefore pretended to go off to sleep and snore as loudly as possible. The Queen slept by his side. As soon as he found out that she had fallen into a natural slumber, he got up and placed the trunk of a plantain-tree on the bed, covered it up with his own blanket, and retired behind a screen to see what would happen. He had not to wait long. Out from the darkness came a huge serpent hissing and wriggling along in a fearful manner. It reached the place where the Queen was sleeping, and taking a well-directed aim its head descended on the plantain tree with a tremendous crash. The Någa could move no more. Its fangs had been deeply buried in the fibrous tree, and tenaciously held there, while Maung Pauk Kyaing with the quickness of lightning, darted forth from his hiding place and plunged his dagger into the Någa, cutting it in twain.

In due course Maung Pauk Kyaing was crowned King. There was great rejoicing and jollification among his subjects, but the Queen would not cast off her sullen and melancholy aspect.

The news of the good fortune that befell Maung Pauk Kyaing soon reached his parents, who accordingly set out for their son's kingdom. On nearing Tagaung they rested under a tree on which two orows, who were husband and wife, were perched. The male bird said : "Wife, to-morrow we shall have a good feast." "Why?" asked the female bird. "Because the King is to be executed. He and the Queen, you know, laid a wager that on his failure to solve a certain conundrum he was to forfeit his life, but that if he was successful, the Queen was to die." `"What may that conundrum be ?" "It is this :--

> Htaung pe ? lo hsôk Yá pe ? lo chôk Chit tè lú ayo ? sado ? sagyin lôk. " A thousand is given to tear; A hundred to sew ; And the bones of the loved one Are made into hair-pins."

The female crow observed that its solution was very easy, and she said : --- " This commdram refers to the Néga, the loved one of the Queen. A thousand coins were paid for tearing

<sup>•</sup> Tagaung is on the left bank of the Irrawaddy, and lies about a hundred miles north of Mandalay. It is supposed to be the most ancient capital of Burna, and to have remained as such during the raign of 50 kings. Its founder was Abiyaza (Abhiraja) who immigrated from the valley of the Ganges long before the birth of Gantama-Buddha (628 B. C.).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> The Magas play an important part in Burmese folklore. They are represented as lange sorpeuts ; but as a matter of fact they are the indigenous Naga races inhabiting the country.

off its skin, and a hundred to sew it into pillows and cushions; and its bones were made into hairpins, which are worn by the Queen."

The aged parents of Maung Pauk Kyaing overheard the conversation of the crows, and with increased speed they resumed their journey. They were just in time to save the life of their son; and the Queen, in accordance with the terms of the wager, offered herself to be killed. But the King, with great magnanimity, characteristic of a real hero, spared her life.

Eventually the Queen became reconciled to Maung Pauk Kyaing, who assumed the title of Thadonaganaing;<sup>8</sup> and they reigned happily together.<sup>9</sup>

## MISCELLANEA.

PROGRESS OF EUROPEAN SCHOLARSHIP.

## No. XVIII.

Transactions of the Eastern Section of the Bussian Archaelogical Society, Vol. III. Part 3.

(a) The finding of a hoard of Bulgarian Coins in the year 1887; by A. Likhachev.

On the subject of Jucht numismatics there is an interesting question, which remains to the present time unsettled. Among the coins of the Juchi dynasty relating to the XIIIth-XVth conturies, a whole series is met with, struck in the city of Bulgar in the name of the Baghdadi Khalifa An-Nasir-li-din-Allah who is known to have ruled the Eastern Khalifate from 585 to 622 A.H. (=1180-1225 A.D.). On these coins are no dates, and the time when they are coined can only be ascertained relatively. The obverse contains the Khalifa's name and title ' Commander of the Faithful': the reverse the name Bulgar and some pious expression. It is found both in silver and copper. Among the latter some are stamped with the Juchi mint in the name of Mangu, the Mongolian Khan. The name of the Khalifa An-Nasir li-din-Allah is met with earlier than that of Mangu Khån. In consequence of this fact, Ch. D. Fachu thought that the money coined at Bulgar in the name of An-Nastr was an independent coinage during the XIIth and the first quarter of the XIIIth century, before the country had been conquered by the descendants of Changez Khan. This opinion gained ground from the antiquity of the coins. Thus these coins were considered the last monument of independent

Bulgaria on the Volga, which from the tenth century became connected with the Eastern Khalifate and Muhammadan. Fachu found that the Bulgarian maliks as they were called, coined their own money, like the Samani dirhams. He found among the hoards of Kufic money some Bulgarian coins, upon which are recognized the names of Talib, the son of Ahmad, who coined money, A.H. 338, in Suvar, and his brother Mumin, A.H. 366, in the towns of Bulgar and Suvar. He was able to furnish a quantity of dynastic knowledge, adding to the information gained from coins thus preserved in their histories. The coins discovered by Fachu are very rare. They differ from the Samani dirhams by the inscriptions which resemble those found on monuments on the soil of ancient Bulgaria, and sometimes barbarous corruptions of words are found Besides the coins described by Fachu, there was found at Bulgar in 1868 a dirham of Tâlib. the son of Ahmad, coined A.H. 338. It has come into the writer's collection, and as so far as concerns the place where it was struck it is still unpublished. he calls attention to it. After these coins, till the end of the twelfth century, no independent Bulgarian money is met with, and the cause of the long interval is unknown. Judging by the rarity of these Bulgarian coins of the tenth century, we may conclude that they were never much used and could not supplant the Kufic money introduced into the country in large quantities. Consequently they are only attempts at establishing a national coinage. But the plan was abandoned, probably because, there was not

<sup>\*</sup> ThadonAganaing = "the Prince who conquered the Någas :" vide note 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> The above tale is widely known among the Barmese. It was narrated to me by Maung Tin. late Sayegy' (clerk) of the Hluttaw (Late Boyal Council Chamber at Mandalay), but now employed in the Burma Secretariat.

of the Hluitaw (Late Boyal Council Chamber at Mandalay), but now employed in the Burma Secretariat. [This take is common in many variants throughout India. See Wide-Awake Stories, p. 401, where many instances are quoted : and again pp. 24, 25, above, where the tale crops up in Bombay. S. D'Oldenbburg, quoted in Trübner's Record, Srd series, Vol. I. Pt. I. pp. 14-15, says—"The oldert known version of the legend about the anake and the girl is found in Kathdsaniteigara, vi., 86, where Gunádhya is the child. For other various of the birth of Salivahana, see the Steinholsanadvatrimiska. In Buddhist books scrpents and Naga tribes ard often confounded with one anobher. Concerning *fimitusthana*, compare a number of soake stories in Taranatha's History of Buddhism, especially pp. 108, 109. For Buddhistic stories about scrpents, see further the portion of the Meghastera ed. Bendall (J. R. A. S., April, 1880): Th. Pavie, Quelques observations sur le mythe du scrpent ches les Indous (Journal Asiatique, 5th series, Vol. V. pp. 498-529), and the Nagapufdeidhi, s small Buddhist tract (Paris, Bibl. Nat. D 117)." These scrpent tales are by no means confined to Aryan and the old world folkiore, but are common to America: See Journal of American Folkiore, Vol. I., No. 1, pp. 445, and 745.--P. C. T.]

enough of workmen and there was no experience in the technical parts. They therefore returned to the use of foreign money. While there was so much of this the attempt to coin native money was not stimulated by any need, but was only the fruit of the ephemeral fancy of royal personages. This is further proved by the fact that, when in the first quarter of the eleventh century the importation of foreign money was stopped, there was no fresh attempt at coining. Coined money was exchanged for bars of silver of various kinds, such payments being common at the time. In hoards, besides perfect coins, many such bars are found which have been cut, and sometimes scales are discovered with a balance. Thus we see that money was taken according to the weight of the metal. So matters went on to all appearance till the close of the twelfth century, when a new attempt was made to coin real Bulgarian money, and the issue lasted not only till the end of the independent kingdom of great Bulgaria, but even after the conquest of the country by the descendants of Changez Khan. These coins are totally different from those of the tenth century. They are coined, however, like them, by illiterate workmen. There was thus felt to be a complete want of good coiners. But still coins were struck in great numbers. They bear the name of the Khalifa An-Nasir-li-din-Allah, and it is by the years of his reign that we are enabled to tell their date. The coining was protracted even after his death. Their transformation into Juchi coins only occurred in the time of Manga Khan. He was elected in 1250, whereas the conquest of

Bulgaria on the Volga occurred in the year 1237. That the Khans of the Golden Horde did not establish the use of their money in the country immediately after its conquest, is explained from the descendants of Changez never destroying the institutions of a conquered country unless they were opposed to their interests. Besides, they thought only of new conquests, and being able to gain what they wanted by plunder they had no need of money.

Among the Jüchi there have been found other coins, struck in the name of the Khalifa An-Nasir-li-dîn-Allah, but with the date A.H. 692-693 ( == 1293-1294, A.D.), exhibiting a completely inexplicable anachronism. They only resemble the previously mentioned coins in having the Khalifa's name, and were coined in the Jüchi epoch in the time of Tokhtů Khån. Why was the Khalifa's name on them, when he had been dead already seventeen years? This led Fachu to alter his views about these coins and look upon them as Jochi,<sup>1</sup>

P. S. Saveliev, however, the Russian numismatist, looks upon these as special coins of the independent Bulgaria of the Volga, and makes a class of their coins before the Mongols. The periods he subdivides into (a) Xth century, (b) the end of the XIIth and first quarter of the XIIIth. These coins only agree in having been coined in the names of the 'Abbåsî Khalîfas, whose spiritual power was reverenced in Bulgaria, when converted to Islam. But on the first coins, together with the names of the Khalifas Mustafi B'illah, Muta B'illah and Tai-B'illah, there were also included

on such subjects, said that the same supprised or anachronistic coins to local uses was the universal role among the native states in Kachh. In Burma King Mindôn Min (1852-1878 A.D.) estab-lished a mint, indenting on London and Calcutta for his dies. This was about A.D. 1860, but his earlier coins all bear date Burmese era 1214 = A.D. 1852. All in Mandalay tell me that Mindôn Min need the peacock as his crest, and his son, Thibö Min (1878-1885 A.D.), whom the Eoglish deposed, used the lion (or dragon). But I have "lion" coins dated 1214 = A.D. 1852. I am told by a man who was once employed in the mint, that this was because the Burmans would sometimes use the reverse die of one coin with the obverse die of another! It is also doubtful whether the Paijâb chiefs really coined before Sativat 1820 = A.D. 1763, though their coins bear date A.D. 1751. The coins of the Buddhist kings of Arakan bore Muhammadan titles and designations and even the kalima long after the country ceased to be tribulary to the

Muhammadan tries and designations and even the kalimations after the country ceased to be tributary to the Muhammadan Kings of Bengal, Phayre's History of Burma, p. 78. The history of the early British coinage in India strongly exhibits the same falsification of facts and is described by Prinsep as an "unhappy tissue of misstatements as to names, places, and dates :" Useful Tables, Pt. J. n. 4

Pt. I. p. 4. The inferences therefore are (1) that anachronisms are the rule, not the exception, in the coinage of Minor Oriental Mints; (2) by analogy the deductions about the Bulgarian coinage are probably all correct.—B. C. TRUPLE.]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> There had been already an attempt to coin money among the Mongols in the time of Change's Khân, [Tiesenhausen]. The above abstract has much interested me because I think I can throw light on its subject. A paper will be shortly published in this Journal Illustrating my collection of the coins of the modern Paňjáb Native Chiefs. All these coins are now in the British Museum. The modern Paňjáb Native Chiefs who are estilted to coin mouey are Patilák, Jiad, Nábhá and Málér Kótlá. They obtained the right in the last quarter of the XVIIIth century, originally from Almad Sháh Abdáli (Durfan) Afgbán comparer of Deblí. Patilák, Jind, and Nábhá are Sikhs, Málér-Kötlá is Afgház. They all coined as inde-pendent Chiefs, and used the coin of Ahmad Sháh of his fourth year, i.e., of A.D. 1751, exactly as it stood. From that day to this there has been no change in the die beyond a mark, as the reigning Chief's special mark or crest. A gold coin struck for me at the mint at Patials in 1894 in my presence, hore the date 1751, i.e. year 4 of Ahmad Sháh Shah

The only attempt to vary the die has been made by Nåbbå.

The only attempt to vary the die has been made by Nåbhå, which State dates its coins by the Vikrama Samvat on the obverse, and uses the couplet adopted by the Sikhs of Léhôr in the days of Ahmad Shéh. The reverse bears the date, "Sanh-i-jalås 4." I once had a set of gold mohars from the Råjput (Hindu) State of Juypur, purporting to have been struck during each year of Bahådur Shåh the last emperor of Debli (1838-1357 A.D.) But Jaypur was at no period of Bahådur Shåh's reign under his suzersinty, but was more under British suzerainty than any other Råjput State. The fact is that the Råjås used the Debli coin as a

convenience. The legends contained no record of real

Convenience. The regions contained no record of rear historical or political facts. In a letter to me the late Mr. Gibbs, a good authority on such subjects, said that the same adaptation of anachronistic coins to local uses was the universal rale

the names of the Bulgarian kings Tâlib and Mûmin. On the coins of the second class is only read the name of An-Nasir-li-din-Allah. Saveliev considers them the last memorials of the independent Bulgarian Empire, and thinks that they were coined in great quantities.

These coins are generally copper, and of an antique type. The silver money is rarest with the inscription :--- "Use life, short as an hour, in honourable works." The writer disagrees with Saveliev's opinion that many were coined. On the 2nd of December, 1887, some silver coins were brought to the writer from Al-Kasar. The discovery had been made while a grave was being dug. 104 silver coins were found in a heap. There was no Jucht coin among them. Their condition showed that they had long been buried. They were rudely fashioned, and the inscriptions ungrammatical.

He then proceeds to give a few of the most interesting-

1. Obverse: — En-Nasîr-li-dîn Allah, Commander of the Faithful.

Reverse :--- a dindr, coined in Bulgaria.

The Khalifa's name is spelled wrong: and instead of *dindr*, which means gold coin, *dirham*, silver coin, should have been used.

2. Obverse and reverse the same as above, but on the reverse a kind of zigzag is cut.

3. On the obverse there are three stars placed horizontally. Reverse : the inscription is, "Life is an hour; use it for piety."

Some of these coins are rare. The writer, during thirty years, has had only one example of No. 3. He concludes by stating that the coins are independent Bulgarian money, the coining of which continued after the conquest of the country by the Mongols till the establishment of an independent Jachi rule.

Finds of large hoards of money coined in the name of An-Nasîr-li-din-Allah were not known ap to this time.

(b) Nicholas Spathari, before his arrival in Bussia; by P. Sirku.

There is a Chinese account in the Manchu language of the stay of Nicholas Spathari in Pekin. This document is valuable, because it explains the relations existing between Russia and China. Only some extracts have previously appeared in the *Manchu Chrestomathy* of Prof. Vasiliev. The writer of the article does not propose to give a complete account of Spathari, but some new material about him, especially from the Greek State Papers. He was born about 1625 in Moldavia, of a family which had come from the Peloponnesus, and was educated at Constantinople. Here he acquired ancient Greek, Turkish and Arabic, and afterwards probably finished his education at Padua. In 1653 Stephen Giorgitsa seized the hospodarship of Moldavia from Basil Lupu, and Nicholas became his secretary and private friend. In 1657 George Ghika was hospudar, and into his good graces Spathari insinuated himself. But under a subsequent governor we find Spathari caught intriguing, and he had his nose cut off, hence he was called Kurnal or the snub-nosed. Afterwards on the recommendation of Dositheus, the patriarch of Jerusalem, he was received into the Russian service. In consequence of his great knowledge of foreign languages, the Tsar Alexis sent him as ambassador to China in 1675.

(c) List of Persian-Turko-Tatar and Arabic manuscripts in the Library of the University of St. Petersburg (concluded) : extends from page 197 to page 220; by V. Rosen.

In a note at the conclusion, the writer thanks J. Gotwald for the presentation to the Library of a very old copy of the celebrated work of Gazzált. It is true that a Buláq edition exists of this work; but a good old manuscript always preserves its value, inasmuch as the greater part of the oriental editions are only reproductions of some one manuscript, and it is good to test them by other copies.

There is also an additional list of ten manuscripts given by E. F. Kahl, which he collected in Bokhåra and Tashkand.

(d) 'The Wisdom of Balavar,' a Georgian version of the History of Varlaam and Joasaf.

The writer became acquainted with this Georgian version of the story of Barlaam and Joasaph during his stay in the Caucasus. He was told of two copies, one in possession of the priest of the Alaverd monastery, Simeon Gadzeliev, and the other in that of Ivan Berdzenov, who died two years ago. There were also in Guria some persons with the name of Balaver, which might point not only to the existence of a book about Balavar, but also to its popularity in Georgia, because in that country personal names are often taken from popular works. In the Georgian Gazette (Iveria), was an account of some books, which had been given to the Society for Spreading Education among the Georgians, and among these was mentioned the Wisdom of Balavar. When the writer was in Tiflis, he copied the whole MS. It was of the very recent date 1860, but this very circumstance gave hopes of finding the original, and with this object he put a notice into the Iveria of his desire to find it. Soon after, in the Gasette, No. 104, there was a communication that the copy of the Wisdom of Balavar had been made from that of the

Miltaurovs, inherited by them from the Georgian Tsareviches, under one of whom a Miltaurov was the court captain. The manuscript, which belongs to the Society and includes the Wisdom of Balavar, has the form of an ordinary pamphlet. The story of Balavar, which occupies the first 153 pages is followed by 20 pages containing various poems, and an interpretation of the Lord's prayer. The last ten pages are blank. It is in the civil character, with the exception of the capitals, which are in the ecclesiastical. The pagination is in Arabic numerals.

At the beginning of the manuscript we read:— The Wisdom of Balavar: the work of Father Sophronius of Palestine, the son of Isaac. There are some lines at the beginning of the tale, apparently by the author, pointing to the Ethiopian i.e. Indian, origin of the book: — "Once I was in the country [Ethiopia] where in the library of the king of the Indians, I found this book, in which his deeds are described." The following is the inscription at the end: — "On October 6th, 1860, this tale was copied by the Government Secretary, the noble Anthony Zakharievich Daphviev.

"The hands of the labourers are turned to dust :

"Their work will remain, like a treasure."

The language is ecclesiastical, with all those peculiarities of style which we find in the Bible and religious authors of the best period of Georgian literature. The use of the demonstrative pronoun in the place of the definite article, and many other archaic forms of speech and ancient words,—thus the proper word for nightingale, *nitchrinavi*, which has become supplanted in modern Georgian by the Greek *àndàw*, &c. &c., all show the value of the manuscript.

Up to the discovery of the Georgian manuscript, two chief redactions of the tale of the Indian king's son were known : the Greek, which was most celebrated, and the Arabic, which was only recently published from a defective manuscript. In it the story is interrupted at the moment when Balabhar has bidden adien to the king's son, and the king 'takes counsel with the wizard how to bring back his disobedient child. Hommel, of Munich, reckons among the sources of the Fihrist some books about Bilay. hara, translated from Pahlavi into Arabic, and thinks that this tale is in the closest connexion with the Kalila and Dimna, also translated from the Pahlavi. At the same time be states that the Hebrew redaction, called The Son of the King and the Wrestler, is a translation from this Arabic redaction, which is Musalman and not Christian. There were many versions of the history of Barlaam in Pahlavi, whence there was an Arabic translation, which was turned into Greek by John, a monk of the Savva Monastery. There is also another Arabic translation from the Pahlavi which is the original of the Hebrew *rifacimento* of Ibn-Khisdan.

In the tale about the son of the Indian king, if we contrast the Georgian version with the Greek and Musalman Arabic, we can distinguish three elements: -(1) A fable; (2) A parable; (3) Religious teaching.

The writer compares the various redactions and alludes to an edition of the Georgian text which he is about to publish. He gives the Georgian version with a translation. The Greek and Arabic redactions are also compared. The Arabic version appears to be of the least importance: in the Greek two of the creeds are cited: in the Georgian, only one. The article concludes with a list of proper names contained in the tale, in Georgian, Greek, and Arabic. The author hopes in a forthcoming work to trace the progress of this tale from the East to the West.

(c) Various Notes.

(1) Baron V. Rosen on the Anthology of Ahmad Ibn-Abi-Tdhir.

In the British Museum (MS. Add. 18532), is preserved a fragment of the anthology of one of the remarkable writers of the third century, A.H., namely Abu'l-Fadhl, Ahmad-ibn-abi-Tahir Taipna, ob. 280 A.H. (893-94 A.D.). This is a most important century of Arabic literature, as all Arabists know. These works were driven from popularity by the great compilations, such as the History of Tabari, the Book of Songs (Ritdbu'l-Agdni) of 'Alf Ispahani, and others, which have not preserved all the material which existed. The anthology cited above had been described by Dr. Rieu in his Arabic Catalogue, and the writer, during his stay in London in 1875, made some extracts from it, in the hope that interest may be awakened in it.

Ibn-Abi-Tahir, the author of the Fibrist tells us, came from a family of Khuråsån, and was born at Baghdåd A.H. 204. He died in the 76th year of his age. He is accused of pilfering from other poets. Of his numerous works mentioned in the Fihrist, not one has come down complete, as far as the writer knows. Only fragments of two of them have been preserved : vis. (1) The Book about Baghddd; (2) The Book of Prose and Verse. These fragments are in the British Museum. The Book about Baghdad treats of the history of the 'Abbieis;' the London fragment is that which treats of the Khalifa Måmun. The Book of Prose and Verse is an anthology. According to the Fibrist it consisted of 14 parts, but only thirteen were published:

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the London fragment contains parts 11 and 12. The loss of the greater part of this manuscript is much to be regretted. The eleventh part is entirely devoted to women, distinguished and undistinguished, free and slave, clever and stupid, pre-islamite and post-islamite: their speeches, and witticisms are introduced with many anecdotes. The author gives some of the heads of the chapters which he noticed, as a supplement to Dr. Rieu's work. In the twelfth part two poets especially deserve attention : Ahmad Ibn-Ali-Karim has an elegy on an old shirt, the whole history of which the author lays before us; the other gives a very realistic picture of the sufferings which were endured from the taxgatherers, &c.

The text of the London manuscript is very mutilated. One chapter is devoted to the 'incomparable verses' of various poets. The author was to all appearance a special worshipper of Nabigi. Among other things there is an Epistle of Abu'l Kabi-Muhammad-ibn-al-Lais to Constantine, the emperor of the Greeks, which is no doubt the same as the book of the Answer to Constantine in the name of Haran which the Fibrist mentions among the works of that celebrated secretary. It contains an enthusiastic defence of Islâm, with a quantity of citations from the Old and New Testament, and deserves notice as one of the oldest specimens of Muhammadan polemic with Christianity. The Epistle appears to be complete.

The rest of the MS. contains letters and fragments. Enough will have been said to shew the character and importance of this anthology.

We see from this manuscript that (1) the ancient poems, or mu'allahs, as they were called in later times, in the time of our author, i.e. the third century A.H., already formed a subject of study. (2) The Khalifa 'Abdu'l-Malik collected seven pieces of poetry, which up to that time had never been gathered into any recueil. Among this number were six pre-islamite; and, strange to say, there was not one production of the Yaman or South-Arabian races. Finally, it is curious that our author does not make use of the term mu'allah, and knows nothing about the mu'all the or any other ancient poems, which were written in golden letters and hung at the Ka'aba: so we must consider Ibn.' Abd-u'r-Rabbi, as the oldest author acquainted with this legend.

(2) The latest discoveries in Egypt and Southern Arabia.

V. S. Golenistchev has already communicated on pp. 121-126 of the Journal of the Russian Archaeological Society, some notes on the

discoveries made in Egypt in Tal-el-Amarna, cuneiform tablets and rubayat (a collection of portraits). Bezold has contributed further information to the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, his report being partly compiled from that of L. A. Budge.

(3) Rosen adds a further note on the Essay by F. Hommel on 'Eduard Glaser's *Reise nach Marib* (*in Südarabien*). For all Arabists this book preserves great interest and throws much light on the Early history of Yaman.

(4) The Persian Version of the Story of Varlaum and Joasaf.

S. F. Oldenburg in a letter from London, dated 17/29 of October has written to say that there is a Persian Varlaam and Joasaf in the British Museum. The MS. is without date: it came from the Churchill collection, and belongs to the last century. It is in *talik* handwriting, and contains 33 leaves. This MS., the speedy publication of which would be very desirable, will perhaps give the full text of the Musalmân version of the Romance, which in its Arabic form has no conclusion. The opening lines of the MS. quoted in the letter of Oldenburg, give us the first account of the Romance among Musalmâns.

The Ibn-Bataveih mentioned in this part, must be the celebrated Abu-Ja'far-Muhammad-ibn-Ali-ibn-Bataveih-al-Kummi, ob. A.H. 381 (A.D. 991), whom the Shi'a authors considered the best of the scholars that came from Kumm, and one of the most notable Shi'a teachers. He compiled about 300 books, of which a few are preserved in the great European libraries. There is also mention in the same passage of Abu-Bakr-Muhammad ibn-Zakari-ar-Rasi, the celebrated philosopher, surgeon and polyhistor, who died probably A.H. 320. Among his numerous productions is the Book of the man who has not a surgeon at hand, a short guide to medicine. Ar-Razi was a many-sided writer, among other things on Ethics, and in his works we might hope to find mention of the Romance; moreover he was not unacquainted with foreign languages.

(5) N. Misdnikov: on the coin No. 1 of the collection of A. V. Komarov.

On a previous page is described the 'Abbast fels coined at Merv, A.H. 15¢, in the reign of the Khalifa Al-Mahdi. Here an inaccuracy has crept in, inasmuch as Al-Mahdi ruled from 158 to 169 A.H. (A.D. 7/5.785). This fels was not coined in the time of Al-Mahdi, but in that of his predecessor Al-Mansor.

(f) Criticism and Bibliography.

S. Georgievski. An analysis of the Chinese Characters, &c. St. Petersburg, 1888.

The book is uncritical : the author connects the Chinese language among others with the Åryan. An attempt is made, by an analysis of the characters, to, give a sketch of the old Chinese culture. The results already obtained by the study of early Aryan culture are well known, but these results have been brought about by a comparative study of roots, which are unquestionably connected, but even about which scholars are not uniform in their opinions. Our author only investigates the Chinese language, and is very fantastic in his explanation of the Chinese combined characters. And in the Chinese characters the same group has a different meaning with different keys.

There is also this radical fault in his interpretation : he accepts the idea that the present style of writing is nothing else than simplification of the ancient styles. But why should we not believe that, as the culture changed, the writing changed, so that in their different conditions the people would naturally express their thoughts by different combinations and thus change the old methods ? He frequently treats as old characters those which are late. He attempts to prove, among other things, that the Chinese, at the time when they settled in the east from Central Asia, had not black hair, and were of a fair complexion. but not one of the examples introduced confirm this. He interprets the combination of characters which Vasiliev takes to mean 'black-haired' as signifying 'ploughmen, agriculturists,' which he holds the primitive Chinese to have been.

The writer is too fond of seeing allusions to foreigners everywhere. He is led to this by the fact that the names of foreigners are written with keys denoting the dog, snake, &c., but this may point to the custom of calling races after animals, and does not shew any attempt to look upon them with dislike. Throughout, the author interprets the characters from preconceived notions, and also explains the same character differently in different parts of his book. Thus, as explaining the earliest unit of the Chinese family, father. mother and son, he interprets the character tera. on page 21, as ' three people under a roof,' and on page 97 he says, 'the character tera, ' house or family,' is compounded of mian, 'a roof,' and shi, 'swine,' --- i.e. each Chinese family had swine.

To conclude: the Chinese language and its literature are still too little studied for it to be possible to investigate the primitive culture of the Chinese people: the analysis which our author gives, is arbitrary and can lead to no satisfactory results.

(2) Z. Matusovski. A. Geographical Survey of the Chinese Empire. St. Petersburg 1888.

This work answers a want long felt in Russia. It is valuable both to the general public and to specialists. There is not only a careful map appended, but plans of some of the Chinese towns. Perhaps the former is somewhat overcrowded with names, but the work is a very valuable one.

(g) Catalogues of Oriental MSS.; by Rosen.

(i) Catalogue of the Turkish manuscripts in the British Museum, by Ch. Rieu. London, 1888.

(ii) Verzeichniss der persischen Handschriften der Kgl. Bibliothek zu Berlin von Wilhelm Pertsch. Berlin, 1888.

(iii) Verzeichniss der arabischen Handschriften der Kgl. Bibliothek zu Berlin von W. Ahlwardt. Erster Band. Berlin, 1887.

The materials for the study of these three Muhammadan languages are constantly increasing; the British Museum and the Library of Berlin being very active in their purchase. Dr. Rieu's *Turkish Catalogue* will be warmly greeted, because, with the exception of that of the Viennese Library by Flügel, there was little to aid our study of Ottoman literature.

The collection of the British Museum contains 444 Ottoman MSS. (including some from Azurbijan) and 39 Chughatai. It is rich in ancient works preserved in ancient copies. In this respect it almost surpasses all other collections. Those of Paris and Oxford, of which up to the present time there is no description, perhaps will prove richer. The British Museum has no copy of the Kudatku-Bilik, of which Vienna is justly proud, and manuscripts in the Uighur character are wanting, but it boasts an old copy of the History of the Prophets by Rubguzi, compiled A.H. 710, and referred by Dr. Rien to the XV. century. The MS. is not dated. but we can rely upon such a competent scholar as Dr. Rieu. He identifies the Amir Nåsiru'd-din Tukboga, mentioned in the preface of Rudguzi, to whom the whole work is dedicated, with the Amir Tukboga, whom Ibn-Batûta (A.H. 733) saw in the camp of Sultan Termashirin, near Naksheb. When Rudguzi is edited again, - which is much to be desired,-the London copy must be compared with the text.

Besides this pearl, we find (p. 290) a rare old Chughatai work, Muhabbat-ndmah, by a certain Khwarizmi, compiled in A. H. 754, in a manuscript of the year 914, which also contains the Makhsanu'l-isrdr of Haidar Telbë, the Gul-i-Náráz of Maulânâ Lutfi and also his dívdn, the De-ndma of Amiri (compiled in A.H. 833), the Qasida of Shaibâni Khân, the Latdfat-ndma of Khozhdeni (a work up to the present entirely unknown), the Ta'ash-Shah-ndma of Sidî Ahmad ibn-Mîrân Shâh and some other small poetical productions. There is also the Diván of Sakkâkî, the oldest contemporary of Mir'Alishêr, unfortunately

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incomplete. The works of Mir 'Alishêr are to be found in several examples : especially remarkable is the dated copy of his diván of the year A.H. 887 and the copy of his Majdlis-an-nafaris of A.H. 987. There is also the historical work of Taváríkh-Guzida-i-Nusrat-ndma, compiled in A.H. 908, which contains the history of Shaibani Khân. The Shaibani-nama, according to Dr. Rieu, appears to be an abridgment of this work. The London copy is incomplete. Among Chughatai MSS. is the only known copy of the great Chughatai-Persian dictionary, Seng-Lakh, compiled by Mîrzâ Mahdi Khân, the historian of Nâdir Shâh. Among Osmânlî MSS. very rare are the Turkish translation of Tabari (in MSS. of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries), the diván of 'Ashiq Påshå, the contemporary of Dante in an excellent copy, a treatise on Sufism by the patron of the Janissaries, Hâjî Bakbâsh, the Iskandar-Nama, of Ahmadi, composed A.H. 792 in three copies. Futuh-ash-Sham by the Pseudo-Wakidi, (compiled, according to Dr. Rieu, A.H. 795, by Zarir-Mustafa of Erzerum), the very rare Safi treatise Bashárat-náma, by a certain Rafi who wrote A.H. 811, the Khushrav and Shirin of Shaikhi in three old copies. These books must be studied if we wish to have a really scientific Ottoman grammar and Ottoman dictionary.

In history the British Museum Collection is poorer than that of Vienna, but it possesses a small number of valuable MSS. even in this branch. In some of them we may hope to find fresh information about the Crimean Khanate, or events connected with Russian history: for example, the History of the Ottoman Sulidns from Ilderine Bayazid to the death of Muhammad II., written by Sinan Chelebi, surnamed Bihishth the contemporary of Neshri,-the Histories of Bayazid II. and Selim I. by an unknown author, but a contemporary. Here we should perhaps find an account of the stay of Salim at Kaffa and the visit he paid to Mengli Ghirei. Valuable are the works of Koji Nishânji and Mustafa-Jalâlgâda on Sulaimân the Great and Selim I. The London copy of the latter work is the third which has been found.

The History of Islám-ghirei from A.H. 1054-1060 (1644-1650) has a direct connection with the Crimea; the copy is almost unique. The conquest of Georgia, by Lâla-Mustafa-Pâshâ, is told in the Wusrat-ndma, written by 'Alî of Gallipoli, his secretary, which is preserved in an excellent copy.

In the collection of Letters of Abu'l-Kasim we appear to have the oldest specimens of Ottoman prose. In another collection are letters from and to Peter the Great, and a copy of

the treaty of the Pruth in July, 1711. There is also a very old cosmography, translated from the Persian. The original Dr. Rieu assigns to the beginning of the fourth century A.H., but it has not been found. Everyone who is acquainted with the Persian Catalogue of Dr. Rieu, will find in this new work the same excellent qualities which made that a model. We see in it the same vast erudition and perfect criticism. Moreover there is a copious index.

The Persian Catalogue of Dr. V. Pertsch, contains a description of about 1150 manuscripts. Numerically Berlin is the richest in this branch, but in quality it yields to the British Museum and probably to Paris and Oxford. There are however some ancient MSS. one a Recueil of Edifying Tales, dated A.H. 543. Six dated MSS. refer to various years of the seventh century A.H. We may here mention the Persian translation of the Kalila-wa-Dimna of A.H. 669, the very rare Astronomy of Muhammad-al-Mosú'dí of A.H. 685, the Cosmography of Tiss of A.H. 687. There are six MSS. belonging to the eighth century A.H. One of A.H. 731, a very rare translation of Samarkandî. One of A.H. 734, a little treatisc on the difficult words in the Quran, &c.

Persian MSS. of the ninth century A.H. meet us pretty often in all great libraries. The writer has not remarked many rare ancient works on going through the Catalogue. There are, however. a short encyclopædic work of Avicenna, almost unique; a rare Tazkira of Aufi, a valuable copy of the mystic poem of Senaie, and the Divan of his pupil Sozeni; and some comparatively old copies of the works of Nizâmî. No ancient copies of the Shah. Nama of Firdusi are to be found in this library, and the manuscript of the Vis-u-Ramin has no value. But an old copy of the great Medical Encyclopædia of Jurjant and two copies of the Cosmography of Tusi deserve notice. This last work is very interesting both in contents and language, and deserves editing.

Besides these there is a copy of Tabakili-Ndsiri, incomplete but somewhat old; two good copies of Zafar-Ndma; a comparatively rare Dustár-u'l-Vusard of Khondamir; the History of the Kirman Seljúks, not long since edited hy Houtsma; the History of Haidar-Rázi; the Memoirs of Shah Tahmásp, important for the modern history of Persia; &c.

Generally speaking, the Berlin Collection is richest in Indo-Persian history and literature, as might be inferred from the fact that the greater part was brought by Sprenger from India. The Catalogue here published is the best known of Persian literature, with the exception of that of Dr. Rieu. The condition of Dr. Pertsch in oriental literature is already known from his *Catalogue of the Arabic books at Gotha*. The reviewer has only two faults to find: --(1) There is no systematic reference to copies of the books in other libraries; (2) The author in the case of the minor *taskira* gives full lists of the poets mentioned in them; of these there are about 4,000; our knowledge of Persian poetry is certainly thereby increased, but instead of so many names of mere rhymesters it would have been better to have given extracts from rarer works.

The indices are copious: these include the geographical names and ansdb, lists of Indian words in Arabic transcriptions, and indices of MSS. in which are found seals, miniatures, remarkable arabesques, beautiful bindings, &c. The Catalogue of Dr. Pertsch will undoubtedly take an honourable place in the library of all students of Persian literature.

The first volume of the Arabic Catalogue of Prof. Ahlwardt embraces about the sixth part of the vast collection of the Berlin Royal Library, which in all possesses about 6,500 vols. of Arabio MSS. The great characteristic of the Library is its richness in the works of all periods of Arabio literature.

The following MSS. are especially worthy of attention: ---

Fragments of the Encyclopædia of Nuvairt (with the author's autograph) written in A.H. 738, an old copy, about A.H. 600, of a work of Khwarizmi which up to this time was considered unique in the Leiden collection, a work by Gazzárî, ertracts from the Qurán in Kufic writing, two very rare Kufic fragments of an historical character, a Qurán of A.H. 883, with Turkish interlinear translation, three copies of Abd-u'l-Azîz-al-Kinânî, a work of Abu Obaid-al-Kârim-Ibn-Sallâm, almost unique, rare and important works on the various readings of the Qurán by Mikhî, a valuable Dictionary to the Qurán by Rajab Isfabânî, and some very rare commentaries on the Qurán forming a complete series.

The Catalogue of Prof. Ahlwardt is compiled upon a plan in complete contrast to those of similar works. In the descriptions of the books, the European literature on the subject is completely ignored. The various parts of a manuscript are described under different heads, and therefore we do not realise what were the literary tastes of the compilers of the recueils. The reader is obliged to be constantly referring to the indices. There are quantities of cross, references. It would have been better to describe each manuscript separately, and to add, as Dr. Rieu does, at the end a systematic index

to the subjects. As regards ignoring European literature, it leads to constant repetitions. The author catalogues with equal accuracy the rarest MSS, and those in everybody's hands. At the end of each section he gives a kind of summary of Arabic literature on the subject, but the reviewer does not think this beneficial. The history of Arabic literature will be produced by the united labours of many generations, founded on a great number of monographs, and in no other way. The ordinary system of a detailed description only of unknown or little known books is the best.

The reviewer then proceeds to shew some instances of confusion in the Catalogue, but concludes that he is far from wishing to undervalue the importance of the work of Prof. Ahlwardt. He looks upon the Catalogue as a triumph of erudition and industry, and dwells with affectionate enthusiasm upon the time when he sat at the feet of the author. For a course of more than twenty years Prof. Ahlwardt devoted himself for ten hours a day to the compilation of this Catalogue. But great as is the work, the author might have found some more original task more worthy of his splendid abilities.

W. R. MORFILL.

#### A LITERARY QUEBY.

Can any of your readers, more especially those in South India, give me any particulars as to the authorship or date of a Sanskrit philosophical work called *Gurujňanavásishtha*? A quarto edition of a portion (*Jňána-Kánda*) of this work appeared at Madras in 1882, under the editorship of Appayadikshita of Pattamadai (? a descendant of the well-known writer on alamkára, etc.) It would seem, from the preface in Telugu, that the book has other Kándas (Upásana-k°, Karma-k°); but if it is connected with the Yóga-vásishtha or Jňána-vásishtha-rámáyana, it must belong to an unknown recension of that work, as the latter work is not divided into Kándas.

More recently, an extract from the same Gurújñânavdsistha has reached me (Kânda I, 'vada i. adhyâya, xi. 45 --- xiii.), under the curious title Yajñavardha-bhagavadgita, and edited with an extensive Telugu commentary by a scholar whose name is itself a crux, -- Mantri Lakshmi Nârâyana. This appeared recently, undated, at the Ådi-Kalânidhi Press, Madras. As to the editor's name, I at first took Mantri for a kind of family epithet, and the remainder for a compound personal name, children being, in North India at least, often dedicated to two deities. But this supposition is rather discountenanced by the circumstance that in a Sanskrit Slôka at the beginning, the Lakshm4- is dropped, as if an unessential part of the name. Even if no one can settle my bibliographical query, perhaps some correspondent can at least solve this point of nomenclature.

According to Dr. Oppert's Catalogue (i. 7053), a copy of the Gurujňánavásistha exists at Kottapêța, Vijayanagaram (Library of Mandadi Kondayya Pantulu).

British Museum.

CECIL BENDALL.

# CALCULATIONS OF HINDU DATES. No. 29.

In the spurious copper-plate grant of the Western Chalukya king Vikramåditya I., from Kurtakóți in the Gadag Tâlukâ, Dhârwâd District, published by me, with a lithograph, ante, Vol. VII. p. 217 ff., the passage containing the date (line 20 ff.), with all its inaccuracies, runs --viditam=astu sô=småbhi batrimś-ôttara-pamchaśatêshu Saka-varshêshv=åtîtêshu vijaya-râjyasambachohara-shôshaśa-varshê \_\_pravarttamana Kisuvolal-mahá-nagara vikhyáta sthitvá tasya Vaiśákha - Jéshthá - mása - madhyam - amavásya-Bhåskara-diné Rôhinya-rikshé madhyåhna-kâlê Vikra[må]dityasya åtmå cha åtma vinitô nåma mahå-dêvitayôhr=ubhayôr=Vvrishabha-ráśau tasmin Vrishabba-ráśau súryya-gráhana sarvvamási (read sarvvagråsí)bhûtê, --- " be it known to you that by Us, when there have expired five hundred Saka years, increased by the thirty second (year); in the current sixteenth year of the years of the victorious reign; (by Us) stationed at the famous great city of Kisuvolal ; on Sunday, which is the new-moon day between the months Vaisakha and Jyêshtha of that (year); (the moon being) in the Rôhini nakshaira; at noon; ......

. . . (the sun being) in the sign Vrishabha ; there being a total eclipse of the sun." And the charter goes on to record a grant of the village of Kurutakante,—the modern Kurtakôți,—or of some land at that village, to a Brâhman.

Here the details for calculation are—Saka-Samvat 532, distinctly specified as expired; the new-moon day between the months Vaisâkha and Jyêshtha, i.e. the new-moon tithi of the amanta Vaisâkha, since, by the *purnimedata* arrangement of the lunar fortnights, the phase of the moon that separates these two months, is the full-moon of Vaiśŝkha, and the new-moon of Vaiśŝkha, or of Jyêshtha, falls in the middle of its month; Bhŝskaradina or Sunday; the Rôhint nakshatra, for the moon; the sign Vrishabha, for the sun; and a total eclipse of the sun, apparently indicated as central at noon, or at any rate as including the hour of noon in its duration.

With Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, in the given year Saka-Samvat 533 current (532 expired), the new-moon tithi of the amanta Vaisakha<sup>1</sup> ended, not on a Sunday, but on Tuesday, 28th April, A. D. 610, at about 59 ghatis, 20 palas, after mean sunrise for Bådåmi.<sup>2</sup> On this day, the sun was in Vrishabha ; having entered that sign at about 46 gh. 39 p. on Sunday, 19th April. And, though by the equal-space system of the nakshatras with Prof. Jacobi's Tables, Krittiks, No. 3, commenced at about 8 gh. 42 p., and Rôhini, No. 4, did not commence till the next day, yet by both of the equal-space systems there was the Rohini nakshatra, commencing by the Brahma-Siddhånta system at about 36 gh. 38 p., and by the Garga system at about 39 gh. 55 p. On this day, however, there was no eclipse of the sun, visible or invisible. The eclipse, a total one, which was not visible in or anywhere near India, but only in northern Europe, North America, and the Pacific Ocean,<sup>3</sup> took place on Monday, 30th March, on which day there ended, at about 40 ghatis, the the new-moon tithi of the amanta Chaitra or the pürnimanta Vaišākha. This eclipse, however, is expressly barred by the wording of the text, which distinctly specifies the new-moon of the amanta Vaiśäkha. Moreover, the week-day is not correct; for, even if the word madhydhna.kdlf is not to be connected with the eclipse, still the tithi only commenced at about 44 gh. 37 p. on the Sunday, and was not current at noon (15 ghaffs) on that day. Also, the sun had not then entered Vrishabha. And the nakshatra at sunrise being Asvint, No. 1, by all three systems, there was no Rôhini, No. 4, at all on that day.

If it should be thought that the given year is wrongly specified as expired, then we have to consider the circumstances for Saka-Samvat 532 current (531 expired). In this year the newmoon tithi of the amanta Vaisakha ended, again not on a Sunday, but on Friday, 9th May, A. D. 609, at about 15 gh. 19 p. On this day the sun was in Vrishabha; having entered that

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The tithi was nominally aniata Vaisikha krishaa 14. The fourteenth tithi ended at about 5 gh. 29 p. on the same day; and consequently the fifteenth fittie was erpunged. The results with Frof. Jacobi's Tables are very nearly the same; the ending-times being respectively 2 hrs. 25 min. = 6 gh. 2 p., and 29 hrs. 51 min., = 59 gh. 38 p.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The times here are for Bådåmi all through; that place being the Western Chalukya capital, and Kisuvolal being the modern Pattadakal, quite close to Bådåmi.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> For this and the following eclipses, see von Oppolzer's Canon der Finsternisse, pp. 174, 175, and Plate 87.

sign at about 31 gh. 7 p. on Saturday, 19th April. And by all three systems the Rohini nakshatra was current at sunrise, and up to about 38 ghatis. But there was no eclipse of the sun, visible or invisible. The proceeding new-moon tithi, of the amdnta Chaitra or the purnimenta Vaiśškha, ended at about 57 gh. 18 p. on Wednesday, 9th April. At this new-moon, again, there was a total eclipse of the sun, which, owing to the difference of longitude, is entered in the Tables for Thursday, 10th April; and which again was not visible in or anywhere near India, but only on the west coast of North America, in the Pacific Ocean, and in Australia. In addition, however, to the week-day not being correct, and to this not being the given new-moon tithi of the record, the sun, as we have seen, did not enter Vrishabha till ten days later; and by all three systems the nakshātra at sunrise was Aśvini, No. 1, so that Rôhini, No. 4, could not occur at all on that day. This eclipse again, therefore, is not admissible from any point of view.

If it should be held that the Prakrit word ba, ' two, ' is not acceptable as part of the date, but is a pure mistake, e. g. for the visarga of the preceding word asmabhih, which otherwise was omitted, then we have to consider the circumstances for Saka-Samvat 531 current (530 expired). In this year the new-moon tithi of the amanta Vaisakha ended, again not on a Sunday, but on Saturday, 20th April, A. D. 608, at about 16 gh. 42 p. The sun was then in Vrishabha; having entered that sign at about 15 gh. 46 p, on the preceding day, Friday, 19th April. By the equalspace system of the nakshatras, Krittikå, No. 3, commenced at about 15 gh. 7 p.; and Rôhini No. 4, did not commence till the next day, Sunday; but by both the unequal-space systems there was the Rohini nakshatra on the Saturday, commencing by the Brahma-Siddhanta system at about 43 ghatis, and by the Garga system at about 46 gh. 20 p. And on this day there was a total eclipse of the sun ; though it was visible only in Australia and towards the South Pole, and not in or anywhere near India. As we have seen, however, the week-day is not correct; and therefore this eclipse also fails to give a completely satisfactory solution. In this year there was no solar eclipse, visible or invisible, at the preceding new-moon, of the amanta Chaitra or the purnimanta Vaisakha. And in A. D. 607 the only solar eclipse in this period of the year was a partial eclipse, not visible anywhere north of the equator, on Wednesday, 31st May, at the new-moon of the amanta Jyêshtha or the parnimânta Ashâdha.

Thus, in no way can a completely satisfactory solution of this date be obtained. This result was not needed in order to establish the spurious nature of the grant, which is perfectly clear (1) from the extreme inaccuracy of the language and orthography; (2) from the standard of the palæography, which marks at least the ninth or tenth century A. D. as the period of its composition ; and (3) from the fact that, according as we omit or retain the syllable ba as part of the date, it gives a day corresponding either to the 20th April, A.D. 608, or to the 28th April, A.D. 610, as falling in the sixteenth year of the reign of Vikramåditya I., whereas we know perfectly well from the unquestionably genuine records of this family that his father Pulikêsin II. only commenced to reign in A. D. 608, 609. or 610, and continued to reign at least up to A. D. 634-35. But the important point that attracts attention is the analogy between this spurious grant and the spurious Umeta, Bagumra, and Ilao grants of the Gurjara chieftain Dadda II., dated Saka-Samvat 400, 415, and 417. The Umèta date cannot be actually tested; and the nature of the record has only to be decided in accordance with that of the other two. As we have seen (page 93 above), the possibility of obtaining uniform results for the Bagumrå and Ilåô dates rests entirely upon the use, by the person who calculated them for the forger of the grants, of the aminta arrangement of the lunar fortnights, not only for his calculation, but also for the purpose of actual record in the civil reckoning for a period when it is not at all likely. that this arrangement was used with the years of the Saka era, even in Gujarat; supposing that the era itself was then used there, which I do not believe to be possible. In the case of the present grant, it is not easy to decide whether the calculator worked out the eclipse of Saturday, 20th April, A. D. 608, with a correct result, except for the week day,<sup>5</sup> and except for his improper use of the amanta instead of the purnimenta month in formulating his results for record in the charter according to the civil reckoning; or whether he worked out the eclipse of Monday, 30th April, A. D. 610, again with a wrong weekday, and also with the mistake of a month either in the course of his work, or in formulating the results. And perhaps, under all the circum-

<sup>\*</sup> Here, also, the tithi was nominally and nto Chaitra krishna 14. The fourteenth tithi ended at about 3 gh. 45 p. on the same day; and consequently the fifteenth tithi was expanged. With Prof. Jacobi's Tables the ending-times are respectively 1 hr. 55 min. = 4 gh. 47 p.,

and 23 hrs. 13 min = 58 gh. 2 p.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> This point could be pot right by assuming that *bhiskara-diné* is a mistake for *bhâskaraputru-diné*, Sani, the regent of the planet Saturn, being a son of the Sun.

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stances, the former hypothesis, resting upon the rejection of the syllable ba as part of the date, may be considered the more acceptable of the two. But, whatever opinion may be held on this point, the very specific expression used in formulating the details of the date, viz. "the new-moon day between the months Vaiśâkha and Jyêshtha," - an expression which cannot possibly be interpreted as meaning anything but the new-moon of an amanta month, in this case Vaisakha, - shews that the calculator, working,

as is proved by the palæography of the grant. at a time when the amainta arrangement of the lunar fortnights had probably been adopted for all purposes in Southern India, not only used that arrangement for his work, as was proper enough, but was distinctly under the impression that it was valid for the civil reckoning in a period when, as we have already found (ante, Vol. XVII. pp. 141, 142), the purniminta arrangement was used with the Saka years, even in Southern India. J. F. FLEET

# NOTES AND QUERIES.

Srinagar.

Madras.

BOMBAY SOCIAL CUSTOMS; PREGNANCY.

On eclipse days, whether the eclipse be of the sun or of the moon, a pregnant woman is strictly prohibited from cutting anything asunder by means of a knife or any other cutting instrument, lest on her delivery she should have the child, then in her womb, injured.

#### Bombay.

R. JAGANNATHJI.

# SOCIAL CUSTOMS; DEATH. In Bombay.

One of the funeral rites amongst the Parsis is to carry a dog into the presence of the dead a certain number of times, from the time of death to the time the body is carried away. The dog's eyes are made to turn in the direction of the face of the dead. Does this custom bear any reference to the 'dog-hound,' the Kerberos of the Greeks ?

Mandalay.

H. E. B.

#### In Kasmir.

With reference to Indian Notes and Queries, Vol. I., notes 333 and 917, most Musalman

tombs in the valley of Kasmir have oblong hollows on the top, whether the tombs of men or women or children. The friends of the deceased are accustomed to meet round the grave once a year when the roses are in bloom, and to pour water and about a ser of rose-leaves into these hollows. A few prayers are then offered and the company depart.

J. HINTON KNOWLES.

MADRAS SOCIAL CUSTOMS; PARTURITION.

In South India, before a woman is confined, the room, in which her confinement is to take place, is smeared with cowdung, and in the room at the outer gate, to the height of four or five feet from the floor, are fixed small wet cowdung cakes. These cakes are stuck to the wall and are then covered over with Margosa (Hindustani nim, Sanskrit nimba) leaves and cotton peeds. The cakes with these leaves and seeds are supposed to have a very great power in averting evil spirite from entering the room and doing mischief to the new-born baby or the lying-in woman.

S. M. NATESA SASTEI.

### BOOK NOTICES.

MASNAVI-I-MA'NAVI, THE SPIRITUAL COUPLETS OF MAULANA JALALU'DDIN MUHAMMAD-I-BUMI; trans-lated and abridged by E. H. WHINFIELD, M.A. late B.C.S., London. Trübner & Co.

In issuing a judiciously abridged translation of this work, so widely celebrated and respected throughout the East, Mr. Whinfield has added to the laurels already gained by his charming rendering of the quatrains of 'Umr Khayyâm.

The Masnavi of Jalalu'ddin Rumi, which Mr. Whinfield rightly calls the Divina Commedia of Islam, is well deserving of a rendering into English, and we may congratulate ourselves on the task having fallen into such competent hands. We may further congratulate ourselves on the judiciousness that has reduced its 26,000 couplets to a readable size, without detracting from the value of the abridgment as an exponent of Eastern philosophical thought.

The philosophy of Jalâlu'ddîn Rûmî was that the true basis of religion is love, and that all faith and piety not based on love are false. In illustrating at interminable length his doctrine that the visible universe is but what medical science would call the "symptom" of the spiritual reality within, the great poet took as his bases the Quran, the Hadises, and the writings of the theologians and of the Safts. By his "Love" ('Ishq) the poet, as Mr. Whinfield insists at some length, meant the " Love," the " Charity" of the New Testament, and his "Knowledge" (Gnosis) is the result of this Love. "The more a man loves, the deeper he penetrates the purposes of God."

The "Knower" (Gnostic, 'Arif) therefore is he who possesses this Love, and whose "faith" is based on love alone. No writer, in fact, deals more severely with that faith which consists of orthodox dogmas (jam4'at) and is based on orthodox customs (taglid). For mere ritual he expresses no respect.

Taking the above as a very brief expression of the cardinal points of the Sufi faith, as expounded by one of their greatest representatives, it will be sufficient here to note one or two points of the practices he inculcated and of the doctrines he taught, to show what a remarkable thinker and teacher we have before us in this book. The Sufis aimed at perfection by self-annihilation ( fand) and Jalalu'ddin Rûmi countenanced ecstasy (hal) as an attendant of fand, though he was aware of its liability to abuse. He believed in saints as the special favourites of heaven, gifted with miraculous powers, which were not, however, of much consequence; and he also taught the doctrine of unrecognised saints, or those who were endowed with spontaneous good. ness :- " against such as these there is no law."

The poet also always, as emphatically as he could, taught the "paramount obligation of compassion, humility, toleration, patience, and the peaceful temper": the mystical meaning of the text of the Qurán; the final restitution of those who throw themselves on the mercy of God at the Day of Judgment; and the doctrine that woman is "not a mere plaything of man but a ray of the Deity."

We may justly quote, from Mr. Whinfield's book, his dying instructions (ob. A.D. 1273) to his followers as a means of judging what manner of man this remarkable philosopher was : " My testament is this, that ye be pious towards God in private and in public ; - that ye eat little, sleep little, speak little ; - that ye depart from wickedness and sin ; - that ye continue instant in fasting and steadfast in vigilance ; --- that ye flee from carnal lusts with all your might ; - that ye endure patiently the contumely of all men ; ---that ye shun the company of the base and foolish. and consort with the noble-hearted and the pious. Verily the best man is he who doth good to men, and the best speech is that which is short and guideth men aright. Praise be to the God, who is the Unity !"

INDIA: A DESCRIPTIVE PORM, by H. B. W. GARRICE, Assistant Archmologist to the Government of India. London; Trübner & Co. 1889.

Before Mr. Garrick issues anything else, he might advantageously get some competent friend

<sup>2</sup> Pubblicazioni della Società Asiatica Italiana, Volume II. Xrepaverne Kas I Xunharne Quattro Becensioni della to revise his spelling of Sanskrit and other Indian words and names. Note 1, page 2, in addition to giving  $P\bar{u}r\bar{a}nas$  and *Bhagavat* instead of *Purānas* and *Bhāgavata*, contains no less than six mistakes in the well-known names which (according to the system simed at) would properly have been written Jambudwīpa, Kuru, and Siddhapurî. And a still more remarkable peculiarity is Mr. Garrick's use, all through the book, of the long  $\bar{u}$  in Būddha and Būddhism, though the merest tyro should know that this is a mistake.

Some of the footnotes are very wonderful from other points of view. In note 1, page 56, Mr. Garrick tells us that " Merū is the Olympus of the Hindus: hence the generic form of mer for a mountain or mountainous district, and hence also the affix of mer to such place-names as Ajmer, &c., in India." ! ! ! And in the note on the next page he arrives at B.C. 1424 as the date of the Bhårata War; an error of 1024 years, since the real date is B.C. 2448, as established by the wellknown complete version, — quoted by Varåhamihira and Kalhana, - of the first of the data mentioned by him. These are only typical instances out of a large number of mistakes which ought not to occur in even the lighter writings of one who tells us, on the title-page of the present book, that he is an Assistant Archæó. logist to the Government of India.

As to the "poetry," the kindest thing we can say of it is that it is on a par with the archæological knowledge and scholarship displayed throughout, as just noted. We can only hope that it will afford as much pleasure, as it will no doubt afford amusement, to that master of verse, the Earl of Lytton, to whom we observe it has been dedicated "by kind permission."

FOUR EDITIONS OF STEGANITHS KAI IXNHAATHS, the Greek version of مَنَابٍ كَلْمِلْم و دِعْمَة, by VITTOBIO FUNTONI. Publications of the Italian Asistic Society, Vol. II. Bome, Florence and Turin; Hermann Loescher, 1889.

The Fables of Bidpai, equally well known by their other title of Kalilah and Dimnah, in their Arabic and Syriac forms have long attracted the attention of Orientalists; and the distinguished Italian scholar who has now presented us with four distinct editions of Stephanites and Ichnelates, as the title of the Greek version runs, has earned the gratitude of all students of this class of Folkfore and conferred a lasting benefit on the newly formed Italian Asiatic Society.

Versione Grees del كتاب كليلم ورمند publicate da Vittorio Puntoni. Roma-Firenze Torino, Libreris di Er. manno Losscher, 1889.

# AN ANCIENT TERRA-COTTA SEAL FROM BULANDSHAHR.

# BY F. S. GROWSE, M.A., C.I.E., B.C.S.; FATEHGABH.

THE curious terra-cotta seal, of which a full-size print is here given from a wax impression, was found about eight years ago at Bulandshahr, the capital of the District of that name, in the North-West Provinces. The site was a piece of high broken ground immediately to the west of the modern town. This was popularly known as the 'Môtî Chauk' or 'Môtî Bâzâr,' meaning, of course, not that it had ever been a 'pearl-market,' in the literal sense of the words, but that it was once the principal bâzâr of the place; in the same way as the beautiful mosque in the Ågra Fort is called the 'Môtî Masjîd.' The spot is now occupied by the new Town-Hall and Municipal Garden, the latter — in order to preserve the old tradition — being styled the 'Môtî Bâgh.'

The seal was turned up accidentally in levelling the ground, and was only a few inches below the surface. Though probably some fourteen hundred years old, the lettering is perfectly fresh and clear, and the rudely moulded ring that forms the back of the seal, still shows the texture of the workman's fingers who had handled the moist clay. It was inside a closed earthen jar, which accounts for its excellent preservation. It is oval in shape, with a dotted rim, and is divided into two equal compartments by a pair of parallel lines across the centra. In the upper portion are two devices, one of which is a conch-shell; the other, which is raised on a little stand, looks like a wing. Mr. Fleet was inclined to take it for a nautilus; but it seems difficult to understand how such an emblem could be used so far inland. I myself had

at first thought that it might be intended to represent the *chakwd* or Brâhmani duck, so frequently introduced in old Hindu painting and sculpture. In the lower compartment is the owner's name, in characters of about the 5th century A.D. Though the letters are so clear, they are somewhat abnormally shaped, and there has been considerable difference of opinion as to how they should be read. My first proposal was 'Sattila,' which Gen. Cunningham corrected to 'Mattila,' and this has been finally endorsed by Mr. Fleet, who thinks the person in question may possibly be identified with the king Matila, of the Allahâbâd pillar inscription, where the omission of the second t may have been a mistake. Dr. Hoernle had suggested 'Hattiya;' and Mr. Pincott, 'Hattipa.'

In spite of its modern Muhammadan designation, which is more correctly restricted to the Fort, the town of Bulandshahr, which stands on an eminence overlooking the river Kälindi, is of prehistoric antiquity. It



was originally called Baran (the Sanskrit varana), and the name still survives as the title of the Pargana. Bactrian and Gupta gold coins have frequently been found, which attest its existence as a place of some wealth in those early days; and at the time of the invasion of India by Mahmud of Ghazni in 1017 A.D., Har-datt, the Râja of Baran, though nominally a feudatory of Kanauj, was virtually the independent sovereign of all the country now included in the districts of Aligarh, Bulandshahr, Mêrath and Dehli, with parts of Murâdâbâd, Mathurâ, and Etâ. He was a Dôr Râjput, and, according to a copper-plate grant of one of his successors dated in the year 1076 A.D., he was the seventh of his line who had ruled at Baran. The Dôrs,—now almost extinct,—claim to be a branch of the great Pramâr clan.

## TABLES FOR THE APPROXIMATE CONVERSION OF HINDU DATES.

#### BY DR. ROBERT SCHRAM ; VIENNA.

Professor Kielhorn's kind remark upon my Hilfstafeln für Chronologie, in his valuable paper on the epoch of the Nêwâr era, ante, Vol. XVII. p. 247, and the wish he expresses that these Tables may become more widely known, induce me to place before the English reader those of my Tables which treat of the Hindu luni-solar year, hoping that they may prove useful for an approximate, but rapid, conversion. The resolution of years and months in days, which in most cases facilitates the conversion of dates given in different eras, is especially fit for the Hindu year, in which the counting up of the ahargana, or number of days, is a constant practice. The reader must, however, be cantioned that Tables like the following cannot, for the Indian dates, be expected to give always absolutely true results. There must remain some uncertainty, which, it is true, will not generally exceed one day, but which in exceptional cases may even amount to two days. This must always be borne in mind; as well as the circumstance that the place of an intercalated month also may sometimes be found to be different by the different rules. A calendar like the Indian one cannot be brought with absolute accuracy into a simple Table; and I consider it not a little dangerous to give dates as absolutely certain ones, which by means of a general Table cannot really be fixed with accuracy.

Tables 1 and 2 serve for converting dates of our own calendar (old or new style) into days of the Julian period, and vice versá. Table 1 gives the number of days elapsed since the beginning of the Julian period to the beginning of each century; whilst Table 2 gives the number of days elapsed from the beginning of the century to the beginning of each month of every year within the century. And to obtain the day of the Julian period corresponding to a given date, we simply add up three quantities, viz. (1) the number of days corresponding to the given century; (2) the number of days corresponding to the given year and month; and (3) the given date of the month.

As regards Table 2 it will be observed that it is arranged after the manner of logarithmic tables, the first number of the first column being common to all columns; e.g., for the 22nd year January, we have the number of days 8036; for the same year, September, the number of days is 8279. There are always to be taken the *preceding* numbers, so long as the figures in the column of the months are not printed in italics, in which case the *following* number should be taken. So, e.g., the number of days for the year 65, February, is 23773, while for the same year, November, it will be 24046. Supposing it now to be proposed to find the day corresponding to the 20th October, A.D. 879, we shall have the following calculation : —

 Table 1, century 800, old style
 2013
 257

 Table 2, year 79, October
 29
 128

 Date of month
 20

i.e. the 20th October, A.D. 879, corresponds to the day 2042 405 of the Julian period. Similarly, for the 10th February, A.D. 1889, we find :---

 Table 1, century 1800, new style
 2378
 495

 Table 2, year 89, February
 32
 539

 Date of month
 10

## Sum 2411 044;

i.e. the 10th February, A.D. 1889, corresponds to the day 2411 044 of the Julian period.

The date of the month, which is always a number not exceeding 31, may with some advantage be added immediately to the number taken from Table 2, so that the two above examples would stand as follows :---

Sum 2042 405;

Table 1, century 800, old style2013	257
Table 2, year 79, October, + 20 29	148
Sum 2042	405;
and Table 1, century 1800, new style2378	495
Table 2, year 89, February, + 10 32	549
Sum 2411	044.

Two other remarks are necessary. When calculating for one of the years 1700, 1800, 1900; 2100, 2200, 2300; 2500, etc., new style, one should in Table 2 use the line 00 g. K. ; (and not the line 00). Accordingly, for the 3rd February, A.D. 1800, we find : --

Table 1, centary 1800, new style	95
Table 2, year 00{g. K.}, February, + 3	35

Sum 2378 530.

When calculating for a year B.C., we should bear in mind that years are given here as counted by the astronomers, who count the year commonly called 1 B.C. as 0, the year 2 B.C. as -1, the year 3 B.C. as -2, and so on. The number expressing years B.C. must therefore be diminished by 1, to get the negative number of years counted in the astronomical manner. Moreover, it must not be forgotten that, whilst the number of the centuries B.C. in Table 1 are negative, the number of years in Table 2 are always positive; and that therefore, in case we had to calculate e.g. for -813, we would have to take -900 from Table 1, and 87 from Table 2, because -900 + 87 = -813; in other words, we must always take from Table 1 the preceding century, exactly as in the case of years A.D. we take the (completed) preceding century. If then we should have to find the day corresponding to the 18th February, B.C. 3102, we should have (since B.C. 3102 = -3200 + 99): -

Sum 588 4	66;
Table 2, year 99, February + 18 36 2	09
Table 1, century - 3200	57

i.e. the 18th February, B.C. 3102, corresponds to the day 588 466 of the Julian period.

If, on the contrary, the day of the Julian period be given, and we have to find the corresponding day of our calendar, we must first substract from the given number of days the next lower number in Table 1 to find the century. From the remainder we must substract the next lower number in Table 2; the place which this number occupies in Table 2 gives the year and the month, and the remainder gives the day of the month. For instance, having to find the date corresponding to the day 2042 405 of the Julian period, we have —

given number of days ...... 2042 405 - next lower number in Table 1 old style ...... 2013 257 = century 800, old style ; Remainder 29 148

- next lower number in T. 2. 29 128 = year 79, October; Remainder 20;

i.e. the day 2042 405 of the Julian period corresponds to the 20th October, A.D. 879, old style.

Here, again, the substraction of the number in Table 2 can be easily made, without writing it down. Thus, for converting the day 2411 044 into a date of new style, we simply have the following calculation : -

Remainder 32549 = year 89, February; remainder 10, i.e. the day 2411 044 of the Julian period corresponds to the 10th February, A.D. 1889, new style.

## TABLE I.

# Tables for the Julian and Gregorian Calendar.

Years B.C. counted astronomically.

Years.

----3100 -----3000 **—28**00 -2600-2500---2300 -2100 ---**2**000 -1900 -1700 -1600 

**--11**00

# Years A.D. Old Style.

# Years A.D. New Style.

.

Day of ulian period.	<b>Үеаг</b> я.	Day of Julian period.
442 682	0	1721 057
479 207	100	1757 582
515 732	200	1794 107
<b>552 257</b>	300	1830 632
588 782	400	1867 157
625 807	500	1903 682
661 832	600	1940 207
698 357	700	1976 732
734 882	800	2013 257
771 407	900	2049 782
807 932	1000	2086 307
844 457	1100	2122 832
880 982	1200	2159 357
917 507	1300	2195 882
954 032	1400	2232 407
990 557	1500	2268 932
1027 082	1600	2305 457
1063 607	1700	2341 982
1100 132	1800	2378 507
1136 657	1900	2415 032
1173 182	2000	2451 557
1209 707	2100	2488 082
1246 232	2200	2524 607
1282 757	2300	2561 132
1319 282	2400	2597 657
1355 807	2500	2634 182
1892 832	2600	2670 707
1428 857	2700	2707 232
1465 382	2800	2743 757
1501 907	2900	2780 282
1538 432	L	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
1574 957		
1611 482		
1648 007		
1684 532		

Years.	Day of Julian period
{ 1500 }	2268 922
1600	2305 447
\$ 1700	2341 971
§ 1800 (	2378 495
{ 1700 { { 1800 } { 1900 }	2415 019
2000	2451 544
{ 2100 }	2488 068
2200	2524 592
§ 2800 }	2561 116
2400	2597 641
2500 }	2634 165
2600 S	2670 689
2700 E	2707 213
2800	2743 738
{ 2900 }	2780 262

When calculating for one of the secular years put in brackets, use the line 00 § g.K. § of Table 2 (not the line 00).

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					T	able	)B f	or	the	Ju	liar	1 81	ıđ	G	ego	ria	<u> </u>	ale	nda	ar.	_					. <u> </u>
Π	I	ш	nı T	ĩ۷	۷		411	VIII	IX	x	xı	xn			I	п	цц цц	IV		1	1IV	VIII		x		xII
Year.	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Deo.	Теаг.		Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May	June	July	Аъв.	Sept.	Oct.	N 07.	Dec.
00	{ <sub>g.K.</sub> } <sub>001</sub>	032 0	60	091	121	152	182	231	244	274	305	335														
00 01 02 03 04	000 366 731 1 096 461	031 0 397 4 762 7 127 1 492 5	$\frac{25}{90}$	456 821 186.	$\frac{486}{851}$	517 882 247	5 <b>47</b> 912 277	578 943 308	609 974 339	639 <i>004</i> 369	670 <i>035</i> 400	700 <i>065</i> 430	51 52 53	1 <b>9</b>	628 993	659 <i>024</i> 390	687 <i>053</i> 418	718; <i>084</i> 449i	748 114 479,	$779 \\ 145 \\ 510 \\ 10$	809 175 540	840 <i>206</i> 571	871 237 602	901 267 632	982 <i>298</i> 663	962 <i>328</i> 693
05 06 07 08 09	827 2 192 557 922 3 283	8588 2232 5886 9539 3193	$\frac{51}{16}$	282 347 013	312 677 <i>043</i>	343 703 074	373 733 104	404 769 <i>13</i> 5	$\frac{435}{800}$ 166	465 830 <i>19</i> 6	496 861 227	526 891 <i>257</i>	56 57 58	21	454 820 185 550	485 851 216 581	514 879 241 609	545 910 275 640	575 940 305 670	606 971 336 701	636 <i>001</i> 366 731	667 <i>03.3</i> 397 762	698 <i>063</i> 428 793	728 <i>093</i> 458 823	759 124 489 854	789 <i>154</i> 519 884
10 11 12 13 14	653 - 4 018 333 749 5 114	684 7 049 0 414 4 790 8 145 1	77 43 08	103 174 339	138 504 369	169 535 900	199 565 930	230 596 961	261 627 992	291 657 032	322 688 <i>053</i>	352 718 <i>089</i>	61 62 63	28	646 011 376	312 677 042 407	340 705 070 436	371 736 101 467	401 766 131 497	402 797 162 528	462 827 192 558	493 858 223 589	524) 889 254] 620]	554 919 2 <b>84</b> 630	585 950 315 681	615 980 345 711
15 16 17 18 19	479 844 6 210 575 940	510 5 875 9 241 2 606 6 971 9	04 39 31	935 300 665	965 330 495	996 361 726	<i>036</i> 391 756	057 422 787	088 453 818	118 483 843	$rac{149}{514} \\ 879$	179 544 909	66 67 68	24	472) 837 203	138 503 868 234	166 531 397 262	197, 562 928 293 293	227 592 958 323	258 623 999 354	288 653 <i>019</i> 384	319 684 <i>050</i> 415	350) 715 <i>081</i> 446	330) 745 111 476	411 776: 143 507	441 806 <i>172</i> 537
20 21 22 23 24	7 305 671 9 035 401 766	336 3 702 7 067 0 432 1 797 3	30 95 80	781 126 491	7 <b>91</b> 156 521	$\frac{822}{187}$ 552	352 217 532	833 249 613	914 279 644	944 309 674	975 340 705	005 370 735	$\frac{71}{72}$	26	664 029	964 329 695 060	992 358 723 088	023 339 754 119	053 419 784 149	084 150 815 180	$114 \\ 480 \\ 845 \\ 210 \\$	145 511 876 241	176 542 907 272	205 572 937 302	?37 603 968 333	267 633 998 363
25 26 27 28 29	9 132 497 862 10 227 593	163   523 5 893 9 253 2 624 6	56 21 87 52	587 952 318 583	617 932 343 713	618 <i>013</i> 379 744	378 043 409 774	709 074 440 805	740 <i>105</i> 471 836	770 <i>135</i> 591 366	801 <i>166</i> 532 897	831 195 562 927	76 77 78 79	28	125 490 835	790 156 521 883	819 184 549 914	330 215 580 945	830 245 610 975	911) 276 641 006	941 303 671 <i>036</i>	972 337 702 067	003 363 733 098	<i>033</i> 393 763 1 <i>28</i>	064 429 794 159	094 459 824 189
30 31 32 33 34	11 323 688 12 034	7197 0351 4504	82 49 13 78	113 779 144 509	413 809 174 539	474 810 205 570	504 870 235 600	535 901 266 631	566 932 297 662	596 962 327 692	627 993 353 723	657 023 333 753	81 82 83 84	30	586 951 316 681	617 982 347 712	645 010 375 741	676. 041 406 772	706 071 435 802	102 102 467 833	767 133 497 863	793 163 523 894	828 194 559 925	824 824 539 955	890 255 620 936 (	920 285 650 016
35 36 37 38 39	13 149 515 880	180 2 516 5 911 9	09 74 39	240 505 970	270 635 000	301 666 <i>031</i>	331 695 <i>061</i>	362 727 093	393 758 123	423 783 <i>153</i>	151 819 184	431 319 214	86 87 88	32	412 777 142 503	443 803 173 539	+71 836 202 567	504 367 233 598	897 263 628	928 294 059	958 324 689	939 355 720	0.30 396 751	050 416 781	081 417 812	111 477 842
40 41 42 43 44	976 15 341 706	641 6 <i>907 0</i> 372 4 737 7 102 1	35 00	066 431 206	095 461	127	$\frac{157}{522}$	188	219	$   \begin{array}{c}     249 \\     614 \\     070   \end{array} $	280 645	310 675 010	91 92 03	33	603 969 334	269 634 <i>000</i> 365	297 663 <i>028</i> 393	323 694 <i>059</i> 424	359 724 <i>089</i> 454	339 755 1 <i>20</i> 435	119 785 <i>150</i> 515	450 816 <i>181</i> 546	431 847 <i>212</i> 577	511 877 242 607	542 908 273 638	572 938 <i>303</i> 668
45 46 47 48 49	802 17 167	468 4 833 3 198 2 563 5 929 9	61 26	892 257	922 237	$953 \\ 318 \\ column$	$\frac{983}{348}$	014 379	045 410	075	106	135	96 97	35	430	095 461 958	124 439 854	155' 520	185 550 915	216 531 946	$245 \\ 611 \\ 976$		303 673 <i>038</i>	338 703 <i>068</i>	369 734  <i>092</i> ,	399 764 1 <i>29</i>

# TABLE 2.

Tables for the Julian and Gregorian Calendar.

These examples will suffice to show how dates of our own calendar are converted into days of the Julian period and *vice versá*, by Tables 1 and 2. By the construction of similar tables for the Hindu calendar, we shall now be able, when a Hindu date is given, to convert it first into days of the Julian period and afterwards into a date of our own calendar; or, when a date of our own calendar is given, to convert it first into days of the Julian period, and afterwards into the corresponding Hindu date.

The Tables 3 and 4 for converting Hindu luni-solar dates into days of the Julian period, and vice versa, are arranged in exactly the same manner as the Tables 1 and 2; the only difference being this, that in Table 3, which takes here the place of Table 1, the argument does not proceed by complete centuries, but in a rather irregular manner, by periods of 19 or 122 years. To calculate the day of the Julian period corresponding to a given date, we first take out from Table 3 (using either the column *expired* or the column *current*, as the case may be) the number corresponding to the year next lower than the year of the date. We then add from Table 4, the number for the month of the date, in the line corresponding to the difference between the year of the date and the year taken out of Table 3; and to the sum we add the given date of the month. Thus, to ascertain which day of the Julian period was Kârttika śukla 1 of the Vikrama year 937, current, we have —

given year 937 - next lower year in Table 3, Vikrama current 845 = 2008 562 Remainder 92 Table 4, year 92, month Kårttika, + date 1 = 33 843 Sum 2042 405;

i.e. Kårttika šukla 1 of the Vikrama year 937, current, corresponds to the day 2042 405 of the Julian period. And as this day has been already found (see above) to correspond to the 20th October, A.D. 879, this is the European date which corresponds to the given Hinda date.

The Table 4 is arranged for the *amdnta* scheme, by which the dark half of a month follows upon the bright half of the same month. Here the nth day of the *śukla-paksha* or bright half is, of course, the nth day of the month, while the nth day of the *krishna-paksha* or dark half is to be sought as the (15 + n)th day of the same month. With the *purnimanta* scheme, by which the dark half of a month follows upon the bright half of the preceding month, the nth day of the *śukla-paksha* will likewise be the nth day of the month; but the nth day of the *krishna-paksha* must be sought in Table 4 as the (15 + n)th day of the *preceding* month. But in applying this rule, we must always keep strictly to the year of the date, and must on no account calculate for the preceding year. Thus, calculating for Chaitra krishna 9 of the northern Vikrama year 837, current, we have to look in the tables for Phâlguna (15 + 9 =) 24of Vikrama 837, current (not of 836 current). The reason of this is that, even with the *psirnimánta* scheme of the lunar fortnights, the year always begins with the bright half of the month; and consequently Chaitra krishna 9 belongs to the end of the given year.

It will be seen that in every second or third line of Table 4, two numbers are given for one and the same month; e.g., for the month Jyaishtha of the year 00. This shows that the month to which the numbers refer, is an intercalary month; and in such a case the upper number serves for the first or adhika, the lower one for the second or nija month of the name.

A few examples, suggested by Professor Kielborn or taken from his papers on the Chédi and Néwâr eras (the results of which have been adopted in the construction of Table 3) will show the practical working of Tables 3 and 4, in conjunction with Tables 1 and 2 :--

1. Which day of the Christian era corresponds to Vikrama 1397, current, Mâgha sudi 4 (Archael. Survey of India, Vol. XXI., Plate xxix.)?

Given year : Vikrama 1397, current. Table 4, 26, Mâgha + 4 ..... 9 807 Sum 2210 495 - Table 1, old style, next lower number 2195 882 = century 1390, O.S. 14 613 Remainder - Table 2, next lower number 14 610 = year 40, January Final remainder 3. Answer: 3 January, A.D. 1340. 2. Which day corresponds to Vikrama 1275, expired, Mårga andi 5 (Archaeol. Survey of W. India, No. X. p. 111) ? Given year : Vikrama 1275, expired. Table 4, 46, Mårga + 5 ..... 17 073 2166 260 Sum Remainder 6903, by Table 2 = year 18, November 24. Answer : 24 November, A.D. 1218. 3. Which day corresponds to southern Vikrams 1224, expired, Ashâdha sudi 2 (Archael. Survey of India, Vol. XXI. Plate xxiii. G.)? Southern Vikrama 1224, expired. - Table 3, column for Åshådha, 1106 2104 625 Table 4, 118, Åshådha + 2 ..... 43 205 2147 830 Sum - Table 1, old style, 2122 832 = century 1100, O. S. 24 998 by Table 2 = year 68, June 9. Remainder Answer : 9 June, A.D. 1168. 4. Which day corresponds to Nêwâr 923, expired, Mârgaśîrsha vadi 10 (ante, Vol. XVII. p. 248) ? Since the Newer year has the amanta arrangement of the lunar fortnights, Margasirsha vadi 10 = Mårgaáirsha 10 + 15 = 25; and we accordingly have :-Nêwâr 923, expired. - Table 3, column for Mårgasirsha 819.....2341 313 Table 4, 104, Mårga + 25..... 38 266 2379 579 Sum - Table 1, new style. 2378 495=century 1800, N. S. 1 084 by Table 2 = year 2, December 19. Remainder Answer : 19 December, A.D. 1802, new style. 5. Which day corresponds to Chêdi 793, current, Phâlguna vadi 9 (ante, Vol. XVII. p. 215)? Since the Chêdi year has the purnimunta arrangement of the lunar fortnights, Phålguna vadi 9 = Mågha 9 + 15 = 24; and we accordingly have :---Chédi 793, current. --- Table 3, Column for Mågha 680 ..... 2060 064 113, Mågha + 24 ... 41 602 Table 4, - Table 1, old style ...... 2086 307 = Century 1000, O. S. 15 359 by Table 2. = year 42, Jan. 18. Remainder

Answer: 18 January, A.D. 1042.

# THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY.

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Nêwâr Era.		Chêdi or l	Kalachuri.	\$a	ka.	· · ·	Vikrai	na Ers	<b>.</b>	Kali	yugs.	Day	of the lian
			[							Exp.	Curr.		niod.
This column serves for the months : Chaitra Vaiśškha Jyaishtha Åshådha Śrāvaņa Bhådra Åśvina	This column serves for the months: Kårttika Mårgašira Pausha Mågha Phålguna	This column serves for the months: Chaitrs Vaišākhs Jyaishtha Åshādha Šrāvaņa	This column serves for the months: Bhådra. Âśvina Kårttika Mårgašira Pausha Mågha Phålguna			Sout Thi colum serve for ti Mont Chait Vaisá Jyais Áshá Sráva Bhád Ásvin	is 11 8 he hs :ra kha b tha b tha ina ra	(Chai ye Thi umn e for al montl this y	kådi) s nn s he hs: ika Asira as	$\begin{array}{c} 0\\ 122\\ 244\\ 263\\ 385\\ 507\\ 526\\ 648\\ 770\\ 789\\ 911\\ 1033\\ 1155\\ 1174\\ 1296\\ 1418\\ 1437\\ 1559\\ 1681\\ 1437\\ 1559\\ 1681\\ 1803\\ 1822\\ 1944\\ 2066\\ 2085\\ 2207\\ 2329\\ \end{array}$	1 123 245 264 386 508 527 649 771 790 912 1034 1156 1175 1297 1419 1438 1560 1682 1804 1823 1945 2066 2206 2208 2208 2208 2208	588 632 677 684 729 773 780 825 869 876 921 965 1010 1017 1061 1106 1113 1157 1202 1246 1258 1318 1350 1394 1439	437 998 560 500 623 563 124 686 626 187 749 310 250 812 373 813 875 436 998 938 499 938 499 001 562 124
2		Esp. Curr.	Exp. Carr.	Exp.		-68 54	-67	Exp. -67 55	-66 56	2451 2470 2592 2714 2733 2855 2977 3099	2978	1483 1490 1535 1579 1586 1631 1675 1720	686 625 187 749 638 250 812 373
Exp. Curr. 9392 29 30 48 49 170 171 292 293 414 415 433 434 555 556 677 678 696 697 818 819 940 941 959 960 1081 1082 1203 1204 1325 1326 1344 1345 1466 1467	$\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	-111         -110           111         12           30         31           152         153           274         275           396         397           415         416           537         538           659         660           678         679           800         801           922         923           1044         1045           1063         1064           1307         1308           1326         1327           1448         1449           1570         1571           1589         1590           1711         1712           1833         1834           1955         1956	-110 -109 12 13 S1 32 153 154 275 276 397 398 416 417 538 539 660 661 679 680 801 802 923 924 1045 1046 1065 1186 1186 1187 1308 1309 1327 1328 1449 1460 1571 1572 1590 1591 1712 1713 1834 1835 1956 1957 1975 1976		1095 1217 1236 1358 1480 1499 1621 1748 1762 1884 2006 2128 2147	1369 1491 1613 1632 1754 1876 1895 2017 2139 2261	1229 1351 1370 1492 1614 1638 1755 1877 1896 2018 2140 2262 2281	1107 1229 1851 1370 1493 1614 1633 1755 1877 1896 2018 2140 2262 2281	1108 1230 1352 1371 1493 1615 1634 1756 1878 1897 2019 2141 2263 2282		$\begin{array}{r} 3119\\ 3241\\ 3363\\ 3504\\ 3504\\ 3504\\ 3502\\ 8748\\ 3767\\ 8889\\ 4011\\ 4030\\ 4152\\ 4274\\ 4396\\ 4415\\ 4274\\ 4396\\ 4415\\ 4537\\ 4678\\ 4922\\ 4941\\ 5063\\ 5185\\ 5326\\ 5326\\ 5448\\ \end{array}$	2200 2245 2289 2341 2385 2392 2437 2437 2481 2526 2533	813         875         436         978         938         499         061         001         562         124         064         625         187         749         688         250         812         7513         814         376         938         499         439         001

# TABLE 3. Tables for the Hindu Luni-Solar Year.

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## TABLE 4.

Tables for the Hindu Luni-Solar Year.

Year.	Chai.		Vais.	Jyai.	Åshå.	Śrây.	Bhfd.	Åśvi.	Kârt.	Mårg.	Paush.	MAgh.	Phál.	Year.	÷		Vaiś.	Jyai.	Åshå.	Śrâv.	Bhâd.	Àsvi.	K årt.	Mârg.	Paush.	Magh.	Phál.
00 01 02 03 04	1	384 738		443	473 827	857 240	532 886 270	561     916     299	591 945	266 620 975 358 712	$\begin{array}{c} 650\\ 004 \end{array}$	679 <i>034</i> 417	355 709 <i>063</i> 447 801	64 65	23	388 742	418 772	708 092 447 \$31	738 122 477 861	151 506 890	827 181 536 920	565 949	886 240 595 979	531 915 269 624 008	945 299 654 <i>038</i>	974 328 683 <i>0</i> 67	097
05 06 07 08 09	2 9	214 569	244 599 953	889 273 628 366	919 303 658 <i>042</i> 396	332 687 <i>071</i>	362	391 746 <i>130</i>	$776 \\ 160$	189	$\frac{835}{219}$	$155 \\ 509 \\ 864 \\ 248 \\ 602 \\$	894 278	67 68	24 25	480	156 510 895 249 603	185 539 924 278 632	569 954 308	598 983	$\begin{array}{c} 628 \\ 013 \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} 042\\ 396 \end{array}$	687 <i>072</i> 426	716 <i>101</i> 455 839	<i>131</i> 485 869	898	451 805 <i>190</i> 544 928
10 11 12 13 14	4	661 015 399 754 1 <b>3</b> 8	690 429 784 168	103 458 813	749 133 488 843 227	$162 \\ 517 \\ 872$	547	221 576 961	606 991	280 635 <i>020</i>	310	339 694	369	71 72 73 74 75	26 27	666	987 341 696 080 434	016 370 725 109 463	046 400 139 493	814	105 459 844 198 552	873 227	908 257 611	547 932 286 640	577 962 316 670	991 345 699	375 729
15 16 17 18 19	6	1	522 876 260 615		581 319	610 994 348 703	640 <i>024</i> 378 733 <i>117</i>	669 <i>053</i> 407 762	699 08 <b>3</b>	728 112 466 821 205	758 142 496 851 225	787 171 525 880 264		78 79		497 880	172 527 910 265	$\begin{array}{c} 201 \\ 556 \end{array}$	231 586 969		028	965 <b>319</b> 703 <i>0</i> 57 412	849 733 <i>0</i> 87	$\frac{762}{116}$	408 792	437	
20 21 22 23	7	323 678 062 416	353	382 737 121	412 767 150 505	441 796 180 534	210	500 885 289 593	530 914 269 623	559 944 298 652 036	$\begin{array}{c} 328 \\ 682 \end{array}$	357 711	387 741	84	30 31	682	619 <i>003</i> 357 712 096	648 <i>032</i> 386		445 830	$\frac{475}{860}$	150	180 534 919	855 <i>209</i> 563 948 302	<i>239</i> 593 978	914 268 622 007 861	944 298 652 037 391
24 25 26 27 28 29	9 10	154 508 863	184 538 893 277	213 567 306	243 597 982	272 626 <i>011</i> 365	302 656 <i>041</i> 395 749	331 685 <i>070</i> 424	361 715 <i>100</i>	390 744 <i>129</i> 483 837	<i>15</i> 9 513	449 803 188 542 896	479 833 218 572 926	86 87 88 89 90	32	420 158 513 897	450 834 188 543 927	479 863 217 572 956	247 602	922 276	952 306 691		<i>011</i> 365 750	394 779	070 424	715 099 453 8 <b>3</b> 8 192	745 129 483 868 222
30 31 32 33 34	11 12	339 694 077 432	015 369 724 107	044 398	074 428 783 166	103 457 111 195	<i>133</i> 487 871	<i>162</i> 516 900 2 <b>5</b> 4	192 546 930 284	959	989 343		048 402	92 93	34	605		403	078 433	753	783 <i>13</i> 7 492	812 <i>166</i> 521	842 <i>196</i> 55]	871 <i>225</i> 580	255	284	576 960 514 669 055
35 36 37 38	13	786	816 200 554	845 229 583 968	259 613 998	934	964 318 672 057	993 347 701 <i>086</i>	023 377 731 116	406	436 790 175	465 819 <i>204</i>	495	97 98 99	36	082 436 820 175 529	$\frac{112}{466}$		525 909	200 554 938 293	968	643 997 352	673 <i>02</i> 7 382	702 056	$\begin{array}{c} 086 \\ 441 \end{array}$		884
40 41 42 43 44	15	617 001 355 710	647 031	676 060 414	6 706 0 090 1 444	3 735 119 473	149 149 503	824 178 532 917	854 208 562 947	883 237 591 976	913 267 621 <i>006</i>	942 296 650 <i>035</i> 389	972 326 680 <i>065</i>	101 102 103 104	37 38	360	390	326 964 419	094 449	385 769 123 478	799 153 508	444 828 182 537	212 567	503 887 241 596	$\begin{array}{c} 271 \\ 626 \end{array}$	208 562 946 300 655	238 592 976 330 685
45 46 47 48	17	448 802 186 541	478 832 216 571	502 243 600	537 921 275		596  980  334	625 009 363	655 039 393	684 068 422	714 <i>098</i> 452	743 127 481	773	106 107 108	39	098 452 936	128 482 866	157 511 895	187 541 925	216	246 630 984	013	505 689 <i>043</i> 398	034 718 072 427	304 748 <i>102</i> 457	777 131 486	807 <i>161</i> 516
49 50 51 52 53 54	18 19	279 633 017 372	047	331 695 7 070 2 43	3 368 2 729 3 106 1 461 5	397	427 811	456 840	6 486 870	515  899  899	545 929	5 <sup>1</sup> 574   958	604 9 <b>8</b> 8	111 112		545 929 283 638 022	575 959 313	604 988 342 727 081	<i>018</i> 372 757 111	693 047 401 786 140	723 077 431 816 170	752 106 460 845 199	782 136 490 875 229	165 519 904 258	195 549 934 288	224 578 963 317	254 608 993 347
55 56 57	20 21	110 464 819 202		16 52 90 26	9 199 3 553 7 937 1 291 3 64	) 228 3 582 7 966 1 320 5 675 9 059	258 612 996 350	287 641 641 642 022	2 317   671 5  <i>053</i> 9 409	346 700 8084 823	376 730 114 468	6 405 759 4 143 8 497 8 882	5 435 9 789 8 173 7 527 2 915	116 117 118 118 119 120	3 43	376 760 114 469	406 790 144 499	435 819 173 528	465 849 203 558 941	494 878 232	908 262 646	937 291 675 029	967 321 705 059	996 350 784 088	026 380 764 118	055 409 793 147	085 439 823

Amanta scheme : nth sudi = nth of same month : nth vadi - (15 + n)th of same month. Pùrnimânta scheme : nth sudi = nth of same month ; nth vadi = 15 + n)th of preceding month.

6. Was Åshådha an intercalary month in Chêdi 958, current (ante, Vol. XVII. p. 219)? Deducting by Table 3, Chêdi, column for Åshådha, current, the next lower year 923 from the given year 958, we have a remainder of 35; and turning with 35 to Table 4, we find that in that year Åshådha was intercalary.

7. As a last example, we will ask, to which date of which northern Vikrama year current, corresponds the 2nd April, A.D. 1036?

Table 1, century 1000, old style	· · · · • • • • •	2086	<b>3</b> 07			
Table 2, year 36, April, + 2, .		13	242			
	Sum	2099	549			
Table 3		<b>2</b> 060	064	= northern `	V. 986,	current.
Rema	ainder	39	485	by Table 4	= year	108, Vaiśâkha 3.

Snm, north. Vikrama 1094, current, Vaišakha 3.

Accordingly the 2nd April, A.D. 1036, corresponds to the 3rd of the bright half of Vaiśäkha of the northern Vikrama 1094, current (ante, Vol. XVII. p. 252, No. 24).

For the Hindu solar year it is generally more convenient to use Tables which give directly the beginning of the different months, according to the European calendar, without necessitating the conversion into days. But as it may be sometimes useful to have ready at hand, also for this year, Tables like those for the luni-solar year, our **Tables 5 and 6** may not be altogether superfluous. The arrangement of these Tables is exactly like that of the rest, and requires no further explanation They will be found convenient when we seek the solar date corresponding to a luni-solar date, e. g., the solar date of the beginning of the lunisolar month; and they will also be useful for the computation of Samkrântis. As the new-moon days correspond to the 0th days of the luni-solar months, so the Samkrântis correspond to the Oth days of the solar months; and we have—

0thVaiśâkha =Mêsha-samkrânti 🗙	Oth Kårttika =Tulå-samkrånti	<u>≁</u>
0th Jyaishtha = Vrisha " 8	Oth Mârgaśira=Vriśchika "	m
0th Âshâdha ==Mithuna " Π	0th Pausha == Dhanuh "	\$
$Oth Srâvana = \begin{cases} Karkața ,, \\ Dakshinâyana,, \end{cases} \mathfrak{B}$	0th Mâgha { Makara ,, Uttarâyaṇa ,,	} #12
0th Bhâdrapada=Simha " 8	)th Phâlguna=Kumbha ,,	<i></i>
Oth Áśvina —Kanyâ " m	Oth Chaitra = Mina "	×

Two examples may show the application of Tables 5 and 6 :--

1. Which day of the solar Chaitra corresponds to the beginning of the luni-solar northern Vikrama year 1881 expired ?

Northern Vikrama 1881, expired ;

Table 4, 4, Chaitra	+ 1	1	477
	Sum <sup>1</sup> 2	387	352
-next lower number in Table 5		361	429
		· · · · ·	

Remainder... 25 923; by Table 6 corresponds to the 20th Chaitra.

Accordingly Chaitra sudi 1 of the luni-solar northern Vikrama year 1881, expired, corresponds to the 20th solar Chaitra (Warren, Kála-Sankalita, p. 315).

# TABLES 5 and 6.

\_\_\_\_\_

Tables for the Hindu Solar Year.

Table 5.										
Kaliyuga current.	Day of the Julian period.	Kaliynga current.	Saka current.	Day of the Julia period.	E Kaliyuga current.	Saka current.	Day the Ju perio	lian		
$\begin{array}{c} 1\\ 59\\ 144\\ 229\\ 87\\ 372\\ 430\\ 515\\ 600\\ 659\\ 743\\ 886\\ 944\\ 1029\\ 1114\\ 1172\\ 1315\\ 1400\\ 1485\\ 1543\\ 1628\\ 1686\\ \end{array}$	588 463 609 648 640 695 671 742 692 927 723 974 745 159 776 206 807 253 828 438 859 485 880 670 911 717 932 902 963 949 994 996 1016 181 1047 228 1068 413 1099 460 1130 507 1151 692 1182 739 1203 924	2428 2513 2571 2656 2714 2799 2884 2942 3027 3085 3170	-9 49 134 219 277 362	$\begin{array}{c} 1256 & 15\\ 1287 & 20\\ 1318 & 25\\ 1339 & 43\\ 1391 & 66\\ 1422 & 71\\ 1443 & 89\\ 1474 & 94\\ 1505 & 99\\ 1527 & 17\\ 1558 & 22\\ 1579 & 41\\ 1610 & 45\\ 1641 & 50\\ 1662 & 68\\ 1693 & 73\\ 1714 & 92\\ 1745 & 96\\ 1767 & 15\\ 1798 & 20\\ 1745 & 96\\ 1767 & 15\\ 1798 & 20\\ 1829 & 24\\ 1850 & 43\\ 1881$	$\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	505 563 648 733 791 876 934 1019 1104 1162 1247 1305 1390 1448 16761 1761 1819 1904 1989 2047 2132	1954 1985 2016 2038 2090 2121 2152 2173 2204 2225 2256 2278 2309 2340 2361 2392	711 8963 9943 9990 1755 2407 4544 4501 6686 733 9165 1507 1244 4766 6611 755 940 755 940 9172 2429 9159 1977 2444 755 940 9157 2444 755 940 9957 9957 9957 9957 9957 9957 9957 995		
1771	1234 971	3599	420	1902 66	34 5 <b>4</b> 54	2275	2580	219		

Table 6.

100 01 02	91∎A 000 36ŏ 730	14 1 031 396	Yabâ 062	Štåv.	Bhâd.	Åávi.	Kârtt.	Mårg.	Paush.	Mâgh.	Phâlg.	Саві.
01 02	36ŏ		062	المما					<b>H</b>	2	Щ	0
04         -           05         06           07         08           09         -           10         -           11         12           13         14           15         16           17         18           19         -           20         21	1 096 461 826 2 191 557 3 287 652 4 018 333 748 5 113 479 844 6 209 575 940 7 305 6 706 8 076 401 7 66	$\begin{array}{c} 761\\ 127\\ 492\\ 857\\ 2222\\ 5588\\ 953\\ 318\\ 683\\ 3318\\ 683\\ 3318\\ 683\\ 318\\ 683\\ 941\\ 414\\ 779\\ 144\\ 510\\ 875\\ 340\\ 603\\ 971\\ 336\\ 603\\ 971\\ 336\\ 433\\ 971\\ 966\\ 433\\ \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{r} 427\\ 793\\ 5523\\ 888\\ 254\\ 619\\ 984\\ 350\\ 715\\ 080\\ 715\\ 080\\ 715\\ 080\\ 811\\ 176\\ 541\\ 906\\ 272\\ 637\\ 002\\ 367\\ 733\\ \end{array}$	824 190 555 920 285 651 016 381 746 112 477 842 207 573	$\begin{array}{r} 491\\ 856\\ 2211\\ 586\\ 952\\ 317\\ 682\\ 047\\ 413\\ 508\\ 874\\ 239\\ 604\\ 969\\ 935\\ 700\\ 065\\ 700\\ 065\\ 796\\ 161\\ 526 \end{array}$	522 887 252 617 983 348 713 078 444 809 174 539 905 270 635 000	744 109 474 839 205 570 935	582 947 3128 407 407 504 77 504 82 500 505 605 60 60 4261 4261 457 582 52 582 500 60 60 4261 582 582 582 582 582 582 582 594 77 582 594 77 582 594 77 597 75 77 75 77 75 75 75 75 75 75 75 75 75	611 977 342 707 72 438 803 168 533 899 995 360 725 995 360 725 995 360 725 995 360 725 995 360 725 995 360 725 995 360 725 264 456 821 797 72 551 797 282 551 551 551 551 551 551 551 551 551 55	641 006 371 102 467 832 198 563 928 293 659 0244 120 0244 120 0245 563 928 293 659 0244 120 0245 120 253 553 120 253 253 553 253 553 553 553 553	$\begin{array}{c} 131\\ 497\\ 862\\ 227\\ 592\\ 958\\ 323\\ 688\\ 053\\ 419\\ 784\\ 149\\ 514\\ 880\\ 245\\ 610\\ 975\\ 341\\ 706 \end{array}$	3355 700 065 431 796 526 892 257 622 987 353 353 7083 448 814 179 544 909 2755 640 005 370 736 101

	l ,	Ŷ	8	п	63	શ	ηŋ	4	m	1	Ł		×
Year.	:	Y 818.	Jyai.	Åshâ.	Śråv.	Bhåd.	Áśvi.	Kårtt.	Mårg.	Paush.	MAgh.	Phâlg.	Chai.
25	9	131	162	194	225	257	288		 348	378	407	436	466
26		497	528	559	591	622	658		713	743	772	802	839
27		862	893	924	956	987	018		079	108	137	167	197
28	10	227	258	289	321	352	384		444	473	503	532	56
29	_	592	623	655	686	718	749		809 174	839 204	868 233	897	$\frac{92}{50}$
30		958 902	989 354	<i>020</i> 385	05 <b>2</b> 417	083 448	114 479	$\frac{145}{510}$	174 540:	<b>204</b> 569	200 599	263 628	293 658
$\frac{31}{32}$	11	$\frac{323}{688}$		750	782	814	845	875	905	934	964	993	023
32 33	12		084	116	147	179	210		270	300	329	358	388
34		419	450	481.	513	544	575		635	665	694	724	754
35		784	815	846	878	909	940		001	030	060	089	119
36	13	149	180	211	243		306	336	366	395	425	454	481
37		514	545	577	608	640	671	701	731	761	790	820	849
38		880	911	942	974	005	036		096	126		185	215
39	14	245	276	307	339	370	401	432	462	<u>491</u>		550	580
40		610	641	673	704	736	767		827	857	886	915	945
41		975	006	038	069	101	132	162	192	221	251	281	310
42	15	341	372	403	435	466	497 862	528 893	558 923	587 952	$\frac{616}{982}$	646 011	676 041
43	110	706 071	737	768 134	800 165	831 197	228	258	288	318	202 347	376	406
44	10		46?	499	530	562	593		653	682	$\overline{712}$	742	771
$\overline{45}$ 46		436 802	833	864	896	927	958		019	048		107	137
47	17	167	198	229	261	292	323	354	384	413		472	502
48		532	563	595	626	658	689	719	749		808	837	867
49		898	928	960	<b>9</b> 91	023	054	084	114	144	173	203	232
50	18	263	1294	325	357	388	419	450	480	509	538	568	598
51		628	659	690	722	753	784	815		874	904	933	963
52		993	024	056	087	119	150			240	269	298	328
53	19	359	389	421	453	484	515			605	634	664	693
54	!	724	755	786		849		<u>911</u>	941	970	999	039	059
55	20	089	120	151	183	214	246	276	306	335	365	394	424
56	•	454	485	517  882	548 914	580 945	611 976		671 <i>036</i>	701	730 <i>095</i>	759	789 155
57 58	21	820 185	$\frac{851}{216}$	247	279	310	341	372		431	461	490	520
50 59	41	550	581	612	644	676	707	737	767	796	826	855	885
60		915	946	978	009	041	072	102	132	162	191	220	250
61	22	281	312	343	875	406	437		497	527	556	586	616
62		646	677	708		771	802	833		892	922	951	981
63	23	011	042	073	105	137	168		228	257	287	316	346
64		376	407	439	470	502	533	563		623	652	682	
$\overline{65}$		742	773	804	836	867	898		958	988		047	077
66	24	107	138	169	201	232	263		324	353	383	412	442
67		472	503	535	566	598	629	659	689	719	748	777	807
68	or	837	863	900	931	963	994 359	200	<i>054.</i> 419	084 449	110	$\frac{143}{508}$	172 538
<u>69</u>	25	203	234	265	297 282	$\frac{328}{602}$	724	755	705	214	844	873	903
70 71		568	$\overline{599}$ 964	030 996	662 097	693 <i>059</i>	090	120	150	180		238	
$\frac{1}{72}$	26	$\frac{933}{298}$	804 829		392	424		485	515	545	574	604	633
73		664	695		758	789	820	851		910	939	969	999
74	27	029	060	091		154	185	216	246	275	305	334	364
75		394	$\overline{425}$	457	188	520	551	581		641		699	729
76		760	790	822	853	885	916	946	976	006		065	094
77)	<b>28</b>	125	156	187	219	250	281	312		371	400	430	460
78		490	521	552	581	615		677	707	736	766	795	825
79		855		918	949	<u>981</u>	$\frac{012}{2}$	042		102	131 100	160	190
80	29	221		283	314	346	377	407		467	495	526 901	555
81		586		648	680	711	742	773 138		832 <i>19</i> 7	861 227	891 <i>256</i>	921 286
		951		013	$\begin{array}{c} 045 \\ 410 \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} 076 \\ 442 \end{array}$	$\frac{108}{473}$	158 503		563	592	621	
82	00												
82 83 84	30	316 699	347 713	379 744	776		938	868		928	957	987	016

Table 6.-(cont.)

 Was there a Samkranti on the 13th of the bright half of Margasirsha of Vikrama 1187, current (above, p. 57) ? Vikrama 1187, current,

- next lower year in Table 3, 11		2104 625	
Table 4,	79, Mârga + 13,	29 129	
	Sum	2133 754	-
- next lower number in Table 5	******	2121 454	
	Remainder	12 300;	b

...... 12 300; by Table 6 corresponde to the 0th of Pausha or the Dhanuh-samkranti.

And accordingly there was a Samkranti on Margasirsha sudi 13 of Vikrama 1187, current.

In conclusion, it may be added that the Tables may be used for finding the weekday in a very simple manner. For, dividing the day of the Julian period by 7, the remainder 0 always indicates a Monday; 1, a Tuesday; 2, a Wednesday; 3, a Thursday; 4, a Friday; 5, a Saturday; and 6, a Sunday. E.g., as 2133 754 divided by 7 leaves remainder 0, the Sainkränti spoken of in the last example took place on, and Märgaśirsha sudi 13 of the example was, a Monday.

# THE INSCRIPTIONS OF PIYADASI.

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Translated by G. A. Grierson, B.C.S., and revised by the Author.

(Continued from p. 108.)

# SEVENTH AND EIGHTH EDICTS.

(Formerly a seventh and an eighth edict were distinguished, the latter being engraved circularly round the base of the column. Really, as Dr. Bühler has pointed out, these two form only one, and it is convenient to reunite them in a continuous text. A separate enumeration, 1, 2, &c., is however retained for the lines which go round the pillar.)

Prinsep, pp. 597 ff.; pp. 602 ff. - Lassen (p. 270, n. 1; p. 275, n. 3) and Burnouf (p. 749 ff.) have only commented upon or given new translations of short fragments.

## TEXT.

- 11 Dêvânampiyê Piyadasi lâjà hêvam âhâ [.] yê atikamtam
- 12 amtalam lájánð husu hövam ichhisu katham janð
- 13 dhammavadhiya vadhêya nô chu janê annlupâyâ dhammavadhiya
- 14 vadhithâ [.] êtam' dêvânampiyê Piyadaşi lâjâ hêvam âhâ [.] êsa mê
- 15 hutha atikamtam cha<sup>s</sup> amtalam hêvam ichhisu lâjânê katham janê
- 16 anulupâyâ dhammavadhiyâ vadhêyâti nô cha janê anulupâyâ
- 17 dhammavadhiyâ vadhithâ [.] sê kina su janê anupatipajêyâ
- 18 kina su janê annlupâyâ dhammavadhiyâ vadhêyâti kina su kâni
- 19 abhyumnamayêham<sup>6</sup> dhammavadhiyâti [.] êtam dêvanampiyê Piyadasi lâjâ hêvam
- 20 âhâ [.] êsa mê huthâ dhammasâvanânis sâvâpayâmi dhammânusathini
- 21 anusisâmi êtam janê sutu anupaţîpajîsati abhyumnamisati
- 1 (4) dhammavadhiyā cha bâdham vadhisati [.] êtâyê mê athâyê dhammasâvanâni sâvâpitâni dhammanasathini vividhâni ânapitâni [.] yathatiyipâ' pi bahunê janasi âyatâ êtê paliyôvadîsamti pi pavithalisamti pi [.] lajûkâ pi bahukêsu pânasatasahasêsu âyatâ tê pi mê înapitâ hêvam cha hêvam cha paliyôvadâtha

- 2 janam dhammayutam<sup>8</sup> [.] dêvânampiyê Piyadasi hêvam âhâ [.] êtamêva mê anuvêkhamânê<sup>9</sup> dhammathambhâni kaţâni dhammamahâmâtâ kaţâ dhamma . . . katê [.] dêvânampiyê Piyadasi lâjâ hêvam âhâ [.] magêsu pi mê nigôhâni lôpâpitâni chhâyôµagâni<sup>10</sup> hôsamti pasumunisânam ambâvadikâ lopâpitâ adhakôsikâni pi mê udupânâni
- 3 khânâpâpitâni nimsi chayâ<sup>11</sup> cha kâlâpitâ âpânâni mê babukâni tata tata kâlâpitâni patîbhôgâyê pasumunisànam [.] sa — êsa patîbhôgê nâma<sup>18</sup> [.] vividhayâ hi sukhâyanâyâ pulimêhi pi lâjîhi mamayâ cha sukhayitê lôkê imam chu dhammânupatîpatî anupatîpajamtu tâ êtadathâ mê
- 4 ésa kaţê [.] dêvânampiyê Piyadasi hêvam âbâ [.] dhammamahâmâtâ pi mê ta<sup>13</sup> bahuvidhêsu aţhêsu ânugahikêsu viyâpaţû sê pavajîtûnam chêva gihithânam cha sava . . dêsu pi cha viyâpaţû sê<sup>14</sup> [.] samghaţhasi pi mêb kaţê<sup>16</sup> imê viyâpaţâ hôhamti ti [.] hêmêva bâbhanêsu âjîvikêsu pi mê kaţê
- 5 imê viyûpatâ hôhamiti ti [.] nighamithêsu pi mê katê imê viyâpatâ hôhamiti [.] nânâpâsamdêsu pi mê katê imê viyâpatâ hôhamiti ti [.] nânûpâsamdêsu pi mê katê imê viyûpatâ hôhamiti ti [.] pativisitham patîvisitham têsu têsu tê tê mahâmâtâ<sup>16</sup> dhammamahâmâtâ chu mê êtêsu chêva viyâpatâ savêsu cha amnêsu pâsamdêsu [.] dêvânampiyê Piyadasi lâjâ hêvam âhâ [.]
- 6 êtê cha amnê cha bahukâ mukhâ<sup>17</sup> dânavisagasi viyâpatâ sê mama chêva dêvinam cha [.] savasi cha mê ôlôdhanasi tê bahuvidhêna â lêna<sup>18</sup> tâni tâni tuthâyatanâni patî . . . [.] hida chêva disâsu cha dâlakânam<sup>10</sup> pi cha mê katê amnânam cha dêvikumâlânam imê dânavisagêsu viyûpatâ hôhamti ti
- 7 dhammâpadânathâyê dhammânupatipatiyê [.] êsa hi dhammâpadânê dhammapatîpati cha yê iyam<sup>\*0</sup> dayê dânê sachê sôchayê madayê sêdhayê cha lôkasa hêvam vadhisati ti [.] dêvânampiyê ... lâjâ hêvam âhê [.] yêni hi kêni chi mamiyê sêdhayêni katêni tam lôkê anûpatîpamnê tam cha anuvidhiyamti têna vadhitê cha
- 8 vadhisamti cha mâtâpitisu sususâyâ gulusu sususâyâ vayômahalakânam anupaţîpatiyâ bâbhanasamanêsu kapanavalâkêsu âvadâsabhatakêsu sampatîpatiyâ<sup>3</sup>. [.] dêvânampiy...dasi lâjâ hêvam âhâ [.] munisânam chu<sup>\*</sup> yâ iyam dhammavadhi vadhitâ duvêhi yêva âkâlêhi dhammaniyamêna cha nijhatiyâ cha [.]
- 9 tata chu lahu sê dhammanîyamê nijhatiyâ va bhuyê [.] dhammaniyamê chu khô êsa yê mê iyam katê imâni cha imâni jâtâni avadhiyâni amnâni pi chu bahu..dhammaniyamâni<sup>38</sup> yânî mê kaţâni [.] nijhatiyâ va chu bhuyê munisânam dhammavadhi vadhitâ avihimsâyê bhutânam
- 10 anâlambhâyê pânânam [.] sê êtâyê athâyê iyam katê putâpapôtikê chamdamasuliyikê hôtu ti tathâ cha anupatîpajamtu ti [.] hêvam hi anupatîpajamtam hidatapalatê âladhi<sup>36</sup> hôti [.] satavisativasâbhisitêna<sup>38</sup> mê iyam dhammalibi likhâpâpitâ ti [.] êtam dêvânampiyê âhâ [.] iyam
- 11 dhammalibi ata\* athi silâthambhâni vâ silâphalakâni vâ tata kataviyâ êna êsa chilathitikê siyâ [.]

#### NOTES.

1. The correct form would be human. We have already met the two spellings human (Kb. viii, l. 22) and ahuman (G. viii, l. 2), and we shall subsequently come across husan (S. l. 2.) and husu (R. l. 2). This word is the form which corresponds to the abhuman or abhuman of

<sup>(</sup>b) The m here has both the signs for the towel s and for the vowel u.

Buddhist Sanskrit. With regard to third persons in thú, like vadhithú, and in the next sentence huthú, cf. Mahúvastu, I. p. 378. It is plain that we must supply an *iti* after vadhéyú, as we see is done when the sentence is repeated lower down, the phrase expressing the intention of these ancient kings. Anulúpa, 'conformable,' appears to refer to the wishes of the kings.

2. I strongly doubt if écos should be taken as a pronoun, either here or when the sentence is repeated in line 19. A stereotyped formula, such as we have here, would scarcely be modified, and least of all by an addition of so little meaning. In dealing with Girnâr (viii. 1. 3) and Khâlsi (viii. 1. 23), I have mentioned examples of éta representing atra (Pâli éttha); I believe that we have here another case of the same use (étain, as we have at Kh. étá, and as we have had savatain, &c.), and that in both the sentences the word would be exactly represented by our 'now.'

3. The repetition here gives a singularly embarrassed and clumsy turn to the whole idea of the passage. The two formulas  $d\hat{e}v\hat{a}nahpiy\hat{e}$ ...  $\hat{a}ha$  are, so to say, on different levels. The first simply introduces the observations made by the king; the second, the practical solutions and the decisions to which he comes regarding them; for this is the drift of  $\hat{e}sa$  mé huthá, 'I have taken this resolution,' as its repetition in line 20 shows. The cha which appears in this connection, corresponds to the one which follows in nó cha jané.

4. It is kinassu which we should understand here; for the exact form of this instrumental is kiná, see Hémachandra, III. 69. It is the Páli kénassu, in Sanskrit kéna svit. The phrase is shortly afterwards completed by the addition of káni, which particle I have already explained in dealing with a former edict.

5. The active form abhyunnamati is, as we see from line 21, used here in the sense of 'to rise up,' which in Pali (Lotus, p. 456) is applied to unnamati, and which we should only expect to find in the passive. Abhyunnamayati therefore signifies 'to cause to go forward.' We have several times had occasion to refer to the potential in *éham*, for *éyam*.

6. With regard to sávana, cf. l. l of the circular part. We shall again come across it at Rûpnâth (l. 5), and at Sahasrâm, where it is erroneously written savané. The d must be long, for the word refers to causing to hear, to the promulgation, the preaching of the religion. It is hardly necessary to point out that anusisámi, is a false reading for anusásámi.

7. This word must be very much defaced on the original stone. The first facsimile, 上E山GG, read yajayapdpi, marking the first three letters as not clearly apparent. General Cunningham gives LOKCCC, yathatiyipápi, but in the transcription he places the first four characters in brackets, thus signifying that he has not read them with certainty. Anyhow, both the divergence of the two readings and the fact that neither of them gives a satisfactory interpretation, prove that the text is here very doubtful. We are thus compelled to have recourse to conjecture. From the detached edicts of Dhauli and of Jaugada we see, and this is also implied elsewhere by the very nature of the circumstances, that the king had, with the view to the moral and religious surveillance which so much occupied his attention, distributed over the country his various orders of functionaries by towns or by provinces. I would therefore prefer to read LO 5 d L C yathávisayá pi,-- ' several officers have been commissioned, district by district.' A priori this restoration would not appear violent, but it is clear that only an attentive revision of the original stone would enable us to judge of the degree of probability which it may possess. Regarding *áyatá*, see above, Edict IV. note 1. Pavithalati indicates that the officers should orally 'develop' the advice, which the king, in his inscriptions, can only give in abstract.

8. Regarding this phrase see above, Edict IV. note 4. As for the form of the Imperative in *dtha*, it is known in Pâli, *cf.* also *Mahávastu* I. 499.

9. Regarding the orthography of anuvékhamána, see above, Edict III. note 3. Between dhamma and katé there is a lacuna of about three aksharas, happily without any serious influence on the general sense. We might suggest that the stone, in its integrity, originally bore the words dhammasdvané katé. I must, however, state that General Cunningham, in his transcription, writes a kha in brackets after dhamma. I conclude that this reading is far Остовев, 1889.]

from clear. If it is really the true one, I confess that I can think of no expedient for completing the word.

10. For the commencement of this sentence, compare Girnar, II., l. 5, and following. I have elsewhere given my reasons for considering the sign ± in the words aubávadiká and adhakôsikání to be a simple variant in form of +. We actually meet the former word again in the Queen's Edict, under the usual form ambávadiká. This word, indeed, puzzles me more as regards its derivation, —at least, as regards the derivation of its second term. The first, amba = amra, gives no room for doubt. Bornouf, following the example of Prinsep, translates the whole compound by 'plantations de manguiers,' without stopping for a detailed explanation. It is, I presume, by a simple inadvertence that he applies the epithet adhakosikani to it. The pandits of Prinsep translate the compound by 'mango-trees,' transcribing it on one occasion as *amravriksha* which is inadmissible, and another time as *amravalikah*, from which I can draw no meaning. An analysis into amra + avali, would give 'lines' or 'rows of mango-trees,' but this is excluded by the spelling vadiká common to the two passages. The word might be taken as a popular spelling for vatika, vati, (as we have libi = lipi) being equivalent to vata, the whole meaning 'mangos and fig trees.' But then we fall into a new difficulty ; for in the Queen's Edict this translation does not fit properly into the sentence ; there the word being co-ordinated with alamé, Aramah, could scarcely be anything but a singular with a collective meaning. On the other hand, an inscription at Junnar (Burgess and Indraji, Cave Temple Inscriptions, p. 47, No. 15) has úbikúbhati. which must be compared with, in the neighbouring inscriptions, jububhati (p. 46, No. 14) and karajabhati (p. 48, No. 17). The last two expressions are rendered by Burgess and Bühler as 'plantation of jambus,' and 'plantation of karanijas,' respectively (Archeological Survey West. Ind., Vol. IV., p. 97); and for the first Burgess and Indraji suggest 'mango-field.' I suppose that, in either case, it is the transcription bhriti which is thought of. Although, at least so far as I am aware, the word is not commonly used in such a meaning, still this translation is possible from But, however tempting the apparent connection between abikabhati and its etymology. ambávadiká may be, it seems to me to be difficult to admit their complete identity. Such an orthography as vadi for bhriti, beside the usual one of bhati, could hardly occur on our monuments; and hence this analogy, if it has appeared to me to be sufficiently curious to demand attention, does not bring our perplexity to a close. On the whole, it appears to me to be almost certain that we must explain ambávadiké as a feminine substantive meaning some such thing 'as a mango plantation' or 'mango grove;' and that most probably we must seek in vadiká for vádiká a popular spelling of vátá, váti, in its sense of 'enclosure' and hence ' park' or 'orchard.'

11. Although General Cunningham marks no lacuna between si and dha in his transcription, and although the line immediately above shows a fault in the rock which existed previously to the engraving, it appears to me to be indubitable that several characters are missing here. The reading as given nimsidhaya gives no meaning ; but it is the more difficult to complete the imperfect word or words with likelihood, as, owing to the fault in the stone, we are unable to calculate the exact number of missing letters. One single point appears to me to be extremely probable, that the characters dhayd ought to be read dhaye, or dhiye, and should form the concluding syllables of the word  $[p\delta]dhiy\delta$  or  $[p\delta]dhay\delta$ . This form  $p\delta dhi$ , equivalent to the Sanskrit prahi, continually reappears in the cave inscriptions; it is sufficient to refer the reader in general terms to the work cited in the preceding note. These ' springs ' are exactly what à priori we should expect here. As for the former portion of the word I have nothing positively convincing to propose. Before going further, we must know with more precision the exact condition of the stone. I do not know whether the characters read as ninsi are subject to doubt or not. If it is allowable to correct them, the expression sinúnapôdhi, equivalent to snanaprahi, which an inscription (Cave-Temple Inscriptions, p. 16, No. 21) appears to use, is suggested to us. In that case we might restore it here as naha[nap6]dhiy6, and tanks would be here referred to. A future revision of the monument will decide as to the lot which this provisional hypothesis deserves.

As far as pasumunisdnam the phrase develops with entire clearness. Thereafter the 12. lacuna which follows sa throws us into uncertainty. About one thing there can be no doubt,that hitherto the following words have been wrongly divided into phrases. Following Prinsep and Lassen, Burnouf connects ésa pațibhôgé náma with the succeeding proposition; but the hi which accompanies vividhaya proves that a new sentence begins with this This sentence stands by itself, the particles pi and cha being correlatives, and word. means, 'in fact, former kings, as much as I myself, have favoured the happiness of their subjects in various ways.' The rest, imam chu, &c., is marked by the particle chu as forming a kind of antithesis with the former portion of the sentence, such as would ensue from the following translation, 'but the great wish, which has inspired me, has been the desire of developing the practice of the Religion.' It hence follows, on the one hand, that one sentence is completed by pasumunisanam, and, on the other, that another, equally complete, commences with vividháyá. The words sa... ésa palibhógé náma must therefore, for their part, form a complete proposition. One of the turns of style most commonly employed by the king consists, as we have seen from several examples, in taking up a term, which has just been used in an ordinary and familiar sense, in order to transfer it by some addition or allusion into the domain of morals and religion, e.g. 'traditional practices are a very good thing, but the great object is the practice of the Religion' (G. 9); the giving of 'alms is very praiseworthy, but his true alms are the alms of religious exhortation' (ibid.); 'there is only one conquest which is worthy of the name, the conquest of souls to the Religion, only one real pleasure, the pleasure found in practising and favouring the Religion' (13th Edict), &c. Here we have a similar rhetorical figure. The king has just been speaking of 'enjoyment' (pasibhoga) in a material and physical sense, as in the 2nd Edict; and immediately he goes on,-- ' but this is the true enjoyment' (patibhôga náma), to do that which I do, in regard to the Religion and its progress among the people. At the same time, as this enjoyment does not fall to the lot of everyone, I presume that here the king opposes his peculiar form of enjoyment to the vulgar enjoyments of beings in general (pasumunisánam), and I would be willing to admit that the lacuna ought to be filled up as sa [tu mama] ésa or some such phrase. Whatever be the value of this sugges. tion, the way in which the sentences should be divided, and the meaning of the whole, appear tome to be sufficiently certain. We should, of course, read sukhiyanáya. On a former occasion (Vol. I., 135, 136) I have referred to the instrumental mamayd, which we meet again lower down in line 7 as mamiyá. We must certainly take étadathá as equivalent to étadatham, and anupafipati as equivalent to anupatipatish. If the reading of the facsimiles were less plain, we might be tempted to return to the analogy of most of the passages where this phrase occurs, and read étadatháyé ésa°, but I do not consider the change indispensable.

13. As we have the text delivered to us, we can only consider the words dhammanhåmåtå pi må as forming a complete sentence, and correct the ta following into tå. But it is curious that the king does not return here to his usual phraseology which would be <sup>o</sup>må katå, and all the more so because the pronoun tå is repeated in its equivalent så which follows vyåpatå. We have previously met this phrase vyápataså, and I have already (Vol. I. 131), given reasons which scarcely allow us to take så as anything but a parallel form of tå. These reasons are strengthened by a fact which we can remark here, where we see *imå vyåpatå* and *vyåpatå* sé used as interchangeable, and supplementing each other. Under such circumstances, the concurrence of tå and sé in the same sentence would be hardly probable.

14. For the second member of the sentence, see G. V. l. 4, which allows us to fill it up with certainty as sava[pdsam]desu.

15. We could easily construe the locative samphathasi with kata, and in the sense 'with regard to, looking to, the interests of the sampha.' But this construction becomes less probable in the phrase which follows, for nigamthésu, &c., and is altogether inadmissible in line 6 for dalakanam. Besides, everywhere here, vyapata necessarily requires an object. I therefore conclude that, in this series of propositions the words mé katé represent a kind of parenthesia, and the krita is hence to be taken, as we have seen kichcha at Girnår (IX. 9), in the sense

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of 'thinking,' 'desiring,' — 'they will occupy themselves, such is my thought, such is my aim, in the interests of the *samgha*, &c.' With regard to this duty of surveillance over the clergy entrasted by the king to his officers, compare Girnâr VI., 1. 7-8.

16. The letter which follows té appears to have been still legible at the time when the first fac-simile was taken. At any rate we cannot besitate to read, with it, té té, a distributive repetition corresponding to tésu tésu, each mahámátra finding himself thus charged with some special sect (pativisithath). Moreover, a distinction is made between the mahámátras charged each with one of the particular sects who have just been mentioned, and the dhamamahámátras to whom a general surveillance, both over these corporations and over all others, is entrusted.

17. I do not think that there can be any doubt as to the division of the words bahuká mukhá. The figurative sense of mukha, 'means,' seems sufficient to warrant the only interpretation which is possible, that of 'agent,' 'intermediary.' We may, in a manner, compare the use of dvára (duvála) in the detached edicts of Dhauli, i. 3; ii. 2. 'These, with many others, are my agents. Their duties will be to distribute the alms which come from me and also those which come from the queens.' As to what comes from the latter we have an express allusion to their intervention in the fragment of the Allahåbåd Edict.

18. It is certain that we must complete to d[ka]léna. Tuthdyatanáni gives no admissible sense, and the word is certainly incorrect. I think that it is easy to suggest the remedy, and to read yathâyatanâni:  $\bigcup$  for  $\bigwedge$  is a very easy correction. The verb is unfortunately incomplete, but whatever it was in its integrity, whether pairvékhaintí, or patijaggaintí, or what not, there is no doubt about its general meaning. The officers put in charge by the king of the interior of his palace (cf. the fifth of the Fourteen Edicts) 'are each to supervise the rooms to which he is detailed.' Ayatana designates a portion of the *óródhana*, the inner apartments taken as a whole.

19. I confess that I have some difficulty in ascertaining the exact shade of meaning which separates dálaka from dévikumára. The first designates, in general terms, ' the children' of the king. As for dévikumúra, as we have just above been dealing with the subject of the alms of the queens (devinam cha), it is extremely probable that we should take the compound, not as a dvandva, but as a tatpurusha. On the other hand, if we translate literally, 'our children and the other princes, sons of the queens,' it will become necessary to admit that the darakas form a special category among the devikumaras; but this is just the opposite of what we should expect ; the sons of the recognised queens should form a particular and privileged class amid the offspring of the king. I only see one way out of the difficulty,-to admit bere for anya the same appositional use which we find in Greek (of and of fupuaxor, the others, that is to say, the allies) ; ddlaka would mean specially those sons of the king who were not assured an official title by the rank of their mothers, while dévikumára would be those who had the rank of princes. I have remarked above that the genitive dúlakánam, substituted here for the locative which appears in the earlier phrases can only be construed with dánavisagésu. In dhammápadána, I take apudána, in its Pâli sense of 'action,' 'noble deed,' and as equivalent to the Sanskrit avadána. Even in Sanskrit apadána is sometimes met in this sense (St. Petersb. Dict. s. v.). The meaning would therefore 'be in the interests of religious practices.'

20. For yá iyan, equivalent to yad idam, see above, Edict I., note 6. As for the enumeration which follows, it strongly recalls that in the 2nd Edict, 1. 12. We must read sochávé, for socháyé, instead of sochavé. We have already (Kh. xiii. 2) met mádava, i.e. márdavan, in an analogous meaning. We should of course read sádhavé not sádhanmé; especially as the first facsimile indicated the letter read as  $\aleph$  by dots only, thus showing that the reading was already then indistinct and hypothetical.

21. The whole of this sentence has been perfectly explained by Burnouf; he has made a mistake about one word only. He translates kapanavalákésu, 'the poor and children,' as if he had before him bálakésu, but this transcription is inadmissible. We must here substitute the Sanskrit kripanavarákéshu, the exact form supposed by our text, *i.e.* 'the poor and the miserable.'

The particle chu can very well commence the sentence : we have seen (I. note 3) that 22. it implies slight opposition, 'but,' ' now,' a statement which is immediately verified once more in the following sentence. The only difficulty which exists, is in the words dhawmaniyama The first is sufficiently defined by the sequel. It means the 'rules, the and nijhati. prohibitions inspired by the Religion,' such as the forbidding the slaughter of such and such animals. Nijhati is less clear. However, after what has been said above (IV. note 10) about the verb nijhapayati, I think that we need not hesitate to derive from it the substantive nijhatti, as we do vijňapti from vijňápayati. It would, in that case, mean 'the action of calling the attention, reflexion.' If this is correct, the two conditions of progress which the king distinguishes would be, on the one hand, positive prohibitions, duly enumerated, and on the other, the personal feelings awakened by the prohibitions, and, in general, by religions instruction. It seems to me that what follows confirms this interpretation. Twice does Piyadasi warn us that it is the nijhati which alone gives all its importance and all its development to the niyama, which by itself is but a small thing. Regarding the meaning thus given to lahu, laghu, we may compare not only lahuka in the sense of 'contempt' in the 12th edict of Girnar, but especially the adjective lahukd in the 13th edict of Khalsi, l. 12, note w. The meaning appears to me to be very clear : it is natural that the king should attach less importance to the material observance of a few necessarily limited rules, than to the spirit which he would propagate among his people and which would inspire them, for example, with a still wider and more absolute respect for life (avihinsáyé bhútánam análambháyé pánánam).

23. It is doubtful how many characters are here missing. At first sight one would be inclined to read bahu[vidháni]; but the facsimile of the Corpus appears to have traces of a horizontal mark which hardly belong to anything but a +, so that an almost certain restitution would be bahu[kdni], which has, however, the same meaning.

24. The construction here is extremely awkward; it exactly corresponds to a difficulty which has already been considered in the 11th (Rock) Edict; I refer to what I have said there (Vol. I. 245-47). If we had not this precedent, we should be tempted to take the accusative *paijpajantain* as governed by the verbal idea contained in the substantive *diadha*. But in the other passage, neither the form *karu* at G., nor the pronoun sô at Kh. and at K., allow us to have recourse to this. We must therefore take it here either as an accusative absolute (cf. Trenckner, *Páli Miscellany*, I. 67 note) equivalent to the nominative absolute, as I have concluded above, or take the spelling *paijpajantain*, as equivalent to *paijpajantii* (cf. Edict IV. note 7; saintain = sainté, santak) and as consequently representing a nominative. I incline rather to the second solution.

25. At the time of the first facsimile, the correct reading ovasdb bisitina was still distinct.

26. It is unnecessary to remark that ata represents yatra and not atra, and that it has its correlative in the tata following. Siláthambháni vá siláphalakáni vá is in apposition to, and explains, dhammalibi, and comes to this 'these edicts, whether they are carved on pillars, or inscribed on rocks.' We see, I may remark, here, in iyam dhammalibi, ésa chilathitiké, what confusion reigns in the use and application of the genders.

# TRANSLATION.

Thus saith the King Piyadasi, dear unto the Dêvas :--Kings who ruled in the past did bave this wish,---How can we secure that men shall make progress in the Religion ? But men did not make progress in the Religion according [to their desires]. Now, thus saith the king Piyadasi, dear unto the Dêvas :-- Thus have been my thoughts,---because kings who ruled in the past did have this wish,--how can we secure that men shall make progress in the Religion ? and because men did not make progress in the Religion according [to their desires], by what means can I bring men to walk in the Good Way ? By what means can I secure that men shall make progress in the Religion according [to my desires]? By what means can I cause them to advance in the Religion ? Now, thus saith the king Piyadasi, dear unto the Dêvas :---Thus have I resolved; I will spread abroad religions exhortations, and I will publish religions teachings. So, when they hear [these words], will men walk in the Good Way, will advance [in welfare], (*Circular edict commences*) and will make rapid progress in the Religion. It is for this reason that I have promulgated religious exhortations, and that I have given various directions in regard to the Religion. I have appointed numerous [officers] over the people, each having his own jurisdiction, that they may spread abroad my instructions, and develop [my wishes]. I have also appointed rajjúkas over hundreds of thousands of living beings, and they have been ordered by me to instruct the faithful.

Thus saith Piyadasi, dear unto the Dêvas : — It is with this object alone that I have erected columns, [covered with] religious [inscriptions], instituted overseers of the Religion, and spread abroad religious exhortations (?).

Thus saith the King Piyadasi, dear unto the Dévas: — Along the roads have I planted nyagródhas, that they may give shade to men and animals; I have planted mango-orchards; at every half króśa have I sunk wells; I have had tanks ( $\hat{r}$ ) dug; I have had many inns built for the enjoyment of men and animals. But to me the true enjoyment is this, that, while former kings and I myself have contributed to the welfare of men by various benefits, they should also be led to walk in the path of the Religion. It is to this end, therefore, that I direct my actions.

Thus saith Piyadasi, dear unto the Dêvas: — I have also appointed overseers of the Religion whose duty it is to busy themselves with all matters of charity, and their duties will also extend to all the sectaries, whether those of monks or of householders. I have also borne in mind the interests of those in holy orders, with whom the duties of these officers will lie; the interests of the *bråhmaņas* and religious ascetics, with whom their duties will lie; the interests of the *nirgranthas*, with whom their duties will lie; and the interests of all the sectaries, with whom their duties will also lie. The *mahdmåtras* will deal with only one or other of these, each to each body, but the overseers of the Religion will occupy themselves in a general manner both with these sectaries, and with all others.

Thus saith the King Piyadasi, dear unto the Dêvas : — These and many other officials are my agents, and it will be their duty to distribute my alms and those of the queens. In my entire palace they [will employ themselves] in various ways, each according to the apartments confided to him. I purpose that, both here and in the provinces, they should employ themselves in the distribution of the alms of my children, and especially of those of the royal princes, so as to encourage the Religion, and devotion to the practice of the Religion. For devotion to the Religion means practice of the Religion, mercy, charity, truth, purity of life, gentleness, and goodness.

Thus saith the King Piyadasi, dear unto the Dêvas : — Now, whatever acts of goodness have been performed by me, so in these the people follow after me, these they take as their examples. Therefore have they grown up, and will they grow up, in obedience to their parents, in obedience to their teachers, in reverence to those advanced in age, in consideration towards brahmanas, iramanas, the poor, the miserable, and even to slaves and servants.

Thus saith the King Piyadasi, dear unto the Dêvas : — But this progress of the Religion among men is promoted in two ways; by positive rules, and by the sentiments under which they are practised. Of these the positive rules have only a moderate importance, and it is the sentiments under which they are practised which give them a high value. The positive rules are such as when I forbid the slaughter of such and such kinds of animals, and the other religious prescripts which I have issued in great numbers. But it is only by the change of personal sentiments that the progress of the Religion really takes place, in the [general] respect for life, and in the exercise of care not to kill any living being. It is with this object that I have set up this inscription, for my sons and for my grandsons, to endure as long as the sun and moon, that they may follow my instructions; for by so doing they will obtain happiness both here below and in the world to come. I have had this edict engraved in the twenty-eighth year of my coronation.

Thus saith the [King], dear unto the Dêvas: - Where this edict exists, whether on columns of stone or on walls of rock, there care must be taken that it may long endure.

# THE QUEEN'S EDICT AT ALLAHABAD.

Prinsep, p. 966 and ff.

# TEXT.

- l Dêvânampiyasa vachanêna savata mahâmatâ
- 2 vataviyâ [.] ê hêta dutîyûyê dêviyê di [?]nê
- 3 ambâvadikâ vâ âlamê va dâna ê hêvâ êtasî amnê
- 4 kichhi ganîyati tûyê dêviyê sê nâni sava
- 5 dutiyêyê dêviyê ti tîvalamâta kaluvâniyê

# NOTES.

Although General Cunningham does not express himself on this point with all the clearness which one would desire, it appears to me to be certain, as Prinsep practically admitted, that these five lines preserve for us the commencement only of an inscription which the detrition of the stone interrupts from the sixth line. Has this detrition made itself felt in the fifth line ? We shall at least see that, according to my opinion, and so far as one can judge from a single portion of a sentence, the reading of the last few words require much more correction than the rest of the fragment. On the other hand, I see no necessity for assuming that the lines which have come down to us are themselves incomplete, as Prinsep supposed with regard to the fourth. In any case, there can be no hope here of a really certain translation, but there are at least some details which can be rectified with confidence, and the Queen Kichhigani, for example, re-enters into that non-existence, from which she should never have emerged.

The first phrase is clear enough : it closely follows the commencement of the detached Edicts of Dhauli and Jaugada. Of what follows, we have only the beginning. The verb is missing, so that we cannot construe the sentence. However, as far as tivalamáta, &c., the functions of the different sub-phrases appear to be pretty clear. We have two relative propositions : é héte, &c., and é hévé, &c., but is the sé of sé múni, &c., their antecedent, so that the iti refers back to the whole of this first portion of the sentence ? I think not. The meaning hardly lends itself to this construction ; for then the thought attributed to the ideal interlocutor, rendered indeterminate by the mutilation of the stone, would come to something like this : 'All the alms given by the second queen belong to the second queen' or ' come from the second queen,' an observation the purport of which it is not easy to discover. I have therefore no hesitation in considering that the two relative propositions, contain the subject of the principal proposition, the verb of which has been lost, and that the its refers only to the proposition se nani, &c. This admitted, the division of the words presents no exceptional difficulties. Hita is for *ëttha*, atra. In the last word of the second line, read dans by Prinsep, the first character is curiously wanting in clearness. It looks something like a >, and the reading dane suits the meaning well. We have discussed ambavadika (Ed. VIII. l. 2) above ; and this word gives a useful basis for the correction of alams to alams, 'garden, grove.' There can be no doubt about the words which follow : 6 anné hichhi, which must certainly be transcribed yadanyat kiñchit, and ganiyati, which is the passive of the verb ganayati, in the meaning of 'to prize,' 'to esteem.' Etasi is doubtless to be taken adverbially, and gives a meaning equivalent to the *étarahi* of Páli, and the étarhi, etarahish of Buddhist Sanskiit. Instead of seeking for an imaginary general in sénáni, we can remind ourselves that we have already had twice to correct náni into káni, so as to restore a particle hitherto always misunderstood, and we shall thus write sé háni, that is to say, in Sanskrit, tat khalu. The last words, - those which follow ti. -are unfortunately obscure. Although Prinsep's attempted interpretation requires no formal refutation, it is by no means easy to substitute anything which would be accepted as probable. I can only offer a conjecture. The first word appears to be tive, which we have already met (G. XIII. 1; Kh. XIII. 35) as marking the activity of the religious seal. This comparison leads me to suggest the correction of lamd to dhamd, -) to (]. In the following

# OCTOBRE, 1889.] KALBHAVI JAIN INSCRIPTION.

characters there is a variant between the two facsimiles; that of Prinsep has clearly kiyé, while that of the Corpus has niyé. It seems most probable that we have here the feminine termination of some adjective agreeing, for instance, with déviyé, and I therefore read kálunikáyé, from káruniká, 'full of compassion.' The correction of b to  $\underline{\Gamma}$  is sufficiently easy. When we have once adopted this division of words, the correction of the character to necessarily follows. The first word must be, like the second, an epithet of the queen, and I complete it by reading -dhamáya, or, more accurately, -dhamáyé. I cannot bring together these observations into a kind of translation, without conjecturally supplying a word on which táyé déviyé—kálunikáyé can depend. I need hardly say that this restitution is entirely hypothetical, and is only an outline taken at hazard, to bring together the disjointed fragments.

# TRANSLATION.

Here followeth the order directed by command of the [king] dear unto the Dêvas to the Mahâmâtras of all localities : — For every gift made by the second queen, a gift of a mangoorchard, of a garden, as well as of every article of value found therein, [it is right to do honour] to the queen, whose religions zeal and charitable spirit will be recognised, while one says, — 'all this comes from the second queen \* \* \*.'

### KAUSAMBI EDICT.

This fragment is so designated by General Cunvingham, because it is addressed to the Mahâmâtras of Kauśâmbî. This is the only positive fact which we are entitled to draw from it. I can make nothing of the remainder of the transcription, which is too incomplete, and too imperfect to serve as a basis for useful conjectures. I only reproduce it here, as given in the Corpus, for the sake of completeness.

# TEXT.

l Dêvânampiyê Anapayati Kôsambiya mahâmata

2 -----ramari (?) . . samghasi nilahiyô

S i . . . . . . . . thatibhiti . bhamti nita . . chi

4 ba . . . pinam dhapayita ata satha amvasayi.

# SANSKRIT AND OLD-KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

#### BY J. F. FLEET, Bo.C.S., M.B.A.S., C.I.E.

# No. 183. - KALBHAVI JAIN INSCRIPTION.

This inscription, which is now brought to notice for the first time, was discovered in 1882 by Mr. Kalyan Sitaram Chitray, who then held the post of Måmlatdår of the Sampgaum Tålukå. I edit it from the ink-impression made by my own copyist.

Kalbhávi is a village about nine miles to the south by east from Sampgaum, the chief town of the Sampgaum Tâlukă or Sub-Division of the Belgaum District, Bombay Presidency; in the map, Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 41, it is entered as 'Kulbavee,' in Lat. 15° 41' N., Long. 74° 58' E. It seems to be mentioned in lines 8, 15, and 21, under the older name of Kummudaváda. The inscription is on a stone-tablet, outside a temple of Rámalínga in the village.

The emblems at the top of the stone are: — In the centre, inside a small shrine, an officiating priest, standing by a *lings* on an *abhishéka*-stand; on the proper right side, inside another shrine, a Jain figure, squatting cross-legged, with two attendants standing beside him, and, above the shrine, the sun; and on the proper left side, a cow and a calf, with the moon above them. — The writing covers a space of about 2' 9<sup>4</sup>/<sub>2</sub>" broad by 3' 8" high. It is in a state of very good preservation, and is legible, without any doubt, almost throughout. — The oharacters are the so-called Old-Kanarese characters, of the regular type of about the eleventh century A.D. and of the locality to which the record belongs. They include, in line 14, the decimal figures 1, 2, and 6. The virâma is represented in both ways, as noted at page 35 above in respect of the Gudigere Jain inscription. The average size of the letters is about  $\frac{4}{3}$ ". The engraving is bold and excellent. — The language is Old-Kanarese, with five Sanskrit verses in lines 1 f. and 29 to 33; and the inscription is mostly in prose. — In respect of orthography, the only points that call for notice are (1) the preferential use of the anusvára instead of the proper nasal, e.g. in gambhíra and lámchhana, line 1; bamdha, line 4; and komguni, line 3; but not in the case of the lingual nasal in mandaléśvaram, lines 3, 4, and 24; and (2) the repetition of bh, instead of its doubling by b, in *or-bhbhágadim*, twice, in line 20.

The inscription recites that, a king named Amóghavarsha having washed the feet of a Jain teacher named Dêvakirti who belonged to the Mailapa lineage and the Kâreya gana or sect, his feudatory, the Ganga Mahamandalesvara Saigotta-Permanadi or Saigotta-Ganga-Permanadi, otherwise named Sivamara, built a temple of Jinendra at the village of Kummudavada, and granted the village to it; making also other grants to the dána-sále or almshonse. The date of this grant is given as Saka-Samvat 261, the Vibhava samvatsara. But this, of course, is a spurious date. And the real record is contained in lines 24 to 26; where we learn that the grant, which in the meantime evidently either had been confiscated or had lapsed from neglect, was restored by another Ganga Mahamandalesvara named Kancharass. Of course it may be argued that the whole inscription is a spurious one. But I am inclined to think that the fact recorded in the latter part of it is genuine ; and that the introduction of a spurious date for the grant itself, is to be attributed to a loss of the original charter, so that it was not known which of the Râshtrakûta kings named Amôghavarsha was reigning at the time, coupled with the desire to claim as great an antiquity as possible. The composition of the record may be referred to about the eleventh century A. D. Probably its exact period can be determined hereafter through the mention of the Mahamandalésvara Kancharasa. And in the same way, the period of the original grant may perhaps be established through the mention of the teachers Gunakîrti, Nâgachandra, Jinachandra, Śubhakîrti, and Dêvakîrti, of the Mailapa lineage and the Kareya sect. Another record mentioning this sect and family, is the Saundatti inscription, which, referring to a grant made in Saka-Samvat 797 by the Rüshtraküta king Krishna II., gives us the names of Mullabhattaraka, a teacher in "the Kareya sect of the holy Mailapatirtha ;" his disciple, Gunakirti ; his disciple, Indrakirti ; and his pupil, the Ratta Mahásámanta Prithvírâms (Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. X. p. 199.)

Of the local places mentioned in this record, Kummudavåda would seem to be an older name of the modern Kalbhåvi itself; though the record of the boundaries does not contain any details that actually prove this. At least, I can find no other name in the neighbourhood resembling it. Kådalavalli, the chief town of a circle of thirty villages which included Kummudavåda, is the modern Kådarölli, — the 'Kadurwullee' of the map, — about seven miles to the south by west from Sampgaum; the name appears elsewhere as Kådaravalli (e.g., ante, Vol. I. p. 142). In this name, *l* has changed into r; we have had an instance of the opposite change, from r to l, in the names of Pêrûr and Bêlûr, at page 271 above.

The real record of the restoration of the grant is not dated. The date that is given, in decimal figures, for the original making of the grant, is not only spurious, but also incorrect in its details, which are Saka-Samvat 261, the Vibhava samvatsara, Pausha krishna 14, Sômavâra or Monday, and the Uttarâyana-Samkranti or winter solstice. But the Vibhava samvatsara coincided, by the southern luni-solar system, with Saka-Samvat 231 current; and by the mean-sign system, which is the one that would apply for this period, it commenced on the 8th March, A.D. 314, in Saka-Samvat 237 current, and ended on the 4th March, A.D. 315, in Saka-Samvat 238 current. In Saka-Samvat 231 current, the purpindenta Pausha krishna 14 ended, by Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, on Sunday, 28th November, A.D. 308, at about 52 ghatis, 10 palas, after mean sunrise, for Bombay;<sup>1</sup> the winter solstice, as represented by the Makara-Samkranti, occurred at about 19 gh. 41 p. on Friday, 17th December; and the amánta Pausha krishna 14 ended on Tuesday, 28th December, at about 37 gh. 48 p. And, in the

<sup>1</sup> The times here are for Bombay, all through.

duration of the sameatsara by the mean-sign system, in Saka-Samvat 237 current, the purpimanta Pansha krishna 14 ended on Tnesday, 23rd November, A.D. 314, at about 12 gh. 56 p.; the Makara-Samkranti occurred at about 52 gh. 50 p. on Friday, 17th December; and the amanta Pausha krishna 14 ended on Wednesday, 22nd December, at about 40 gh. 36 p. Thus, a correct result cannot be obtained for the given samvatsara. Nor can a correct result be obtained for the given Saka year, irrespective of the samvatsara. For, in Saka-Samvat 261 current, though the purpimanta Pausha krishna 14 ended on Monday, 27th November, A.D. 338, at about 10 ghafis, 6 palas, yet this was twenty-one days before the samkranti, which occurred at about 5 gh. 27 p. on Monday, 18th December; while the amanta Pausha krishna 14 ended on Tuesday, 26th December, at about 44 gh. 41 p. And in Saka-Samvat 262 current (261 expired) the purpimanta Pausha krishna 14 ended on Sunday, 16th December, A.D. 339, at about 13 gh. 35 p.; the Makara-Samkranti occurred at about 20 gh. 58 p. on Tuesday, 18th December; and, though the amanta Pausha krishna 14 ended on Sunday, 16th December, A.D. 340, at about 43 gh. 47 p., yet this was twenty-seven days after the samkranti.

#### TEXT.<sup>3</sup>

- 1 Ôm<sup>3</sup> !(II) Śrimat<sup>4</sup>-parama-gambhira-syâdvâd-âmôgha-lâmchhanam jîyât=[t\*]railôkyanâthasya śâsanam Ji-
- 2 na-śâsanam II Svasty=Amôghava[r#]shadêva-paraméśvara-paramabhaţţâraka-vijayarâjyav(m)=uttarôttar-âbhivri-
- 3 ddhi-pravarddhamânam=â-chamdr-ârkka-tûram baram saluttam-ire [l\*] tat-pâdapadmôpajîvi samadhigatapamchamahâśabda-mahâmanda-
- 4 lésvaram Kuvalâla-puravar-êśvaram Padmâvatî-labdha-vara-prasûditam Komgunipaţţabamdha-virâjitam śâsanadêvî-vijaya-bhêrî-nirgghôsha-
- 5 ņam bhagavad-Arhan-mumukshu-pimchhadhvaja-vibhûshaņam aakala-bhûpála-maulimûņikya-châdâratna-ramjita-charaņam vidvishta-manôram-álam-
- 6 kûra-haraņam sârasvata-janita-bhâshâtraya-kavitû-lalita-vâglalanâ-lîlâ-lalâmam gajavidyâ-dhâmam śrîmat-**Bivamar<sup>6</sup>-â**bhi-
- 7 dhàna-Saigotta-Gamga-Permmanadigal maradalumetey-âge Gamgavadi-tombhattarusâsiramam sukha-samkathâ-vinôdadim pratipâlisutt-i-
- 8 ldu Kadalavalli-müvattar-olagana Kummudavadadol Jinêmdra-mamdiramam mâdisidan-adê dorey=ad=emdode || Vri<sup>6</sup> || Idu<sup>7</sup> Gamg-8-
- 9 dhibvara-śri-griham=idu vilasad-Gamga-bhūpāļar=āmnāyada kirttiśri-vihār-āspadakaram=idu Gamg-āvanināthar=audā-
- 10 ryyada janma-sthånam=emb-ant-ire vibudha-jan-ånamdamam bhavya-sampat-padamam Baigotta-Permmanadi Jina-gribamam mådidam bhaktiyimdam ()
- 11 Â Jina-mamdirakke ; Vți | Vimaļa<sup>6</sup>-śrî-Guņakîrtti-dêvar=avar=amitêvâsigaļ=Nâgachamdra-munîmdrar=tad-apatyar=udgha-Jinachamdr-âkhyar=tta-
- 12 dîy-âtmajar=ddamit-ûghar=Siubhakîrttidêvar=ceedar=ttach-chhishyar=udyad.vachôramaçiyar=ssale Dêvakîrtti-gurugal=vâd-îbha-kaņthîrava[r || ]
- 13 Â paraméśvarar=ppara-vâdi-vidbvańsigaļum vidit-âśêsha-śâstrarum Mailap-ânvayam= enisida [K]âreya-gana-gagana-chû-

14 dámanigalum=appa Dêvakîrtti-pamidita-dêvara kâlam karchchi || Ôm Saka-varsha 261neya Vibhava-samvatsarada Paushya(sha)-bahula-

- 15 ohaturddall-Sômaváram=uttaráyaņa-samkrántiy-amdu Saigotta-Gamga[m\*] Kummudavádam∞emb⊨ûram bittan=Alliye mattam
- 16 dâna-sâlege polanamam Kammudabbeya dêguladim badaga pôgi mûda mukham kêrivumam basadiyim mûdalu dâ-

i. e. vritta, ' metre.'

<sup>\*</sup> From the ink-impression.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Represented by a symbol throughout. Here, and at the end of the record, there is used an elaborately decorative symbol, of which the basis or essential part is the plain symbol itself as it occurs in lines 14, 23, 24, and 23.

<sup>Metre, Slôka (Anushtubh).
Metre, Sragdhará.</sup> 

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Read śrímach-chhivamár.
 <sup>8</sup> Metre, Mattébhavikrídita

17	na-sålege panni[r*]-kkayi-nivêsanamumam   ûrim mûda Sapasi(?)mge-ga[r*]ddeyum bayalumam bitta-    -n=Â <sup>0</sup> grâ-
18	mada sîmey=emt-e[m*]dode   âligomdadim   Sidilanerilim   Sameyadâtana-kereyim   malappa-bûdanim   tolapa-
19	balapa-biliyalariyim ( Gamgarolâduva-sankiya-kereyim ( Hichchalagereya kôdiyim ) nimdabelim ( Simdagiri-vo-
20	r-bhbhå(bbhå)gadim   Såmdigereya nîra tatav-ôr-bhbhå (bbhå)gadim   Simgasa- gereyim   Kadikotta-Balivali-garddeyim-   -d-olag <sup>10</sup> =nlla bhûmi
21	Kummudavadakke ii Mattam=ârim temka dâna-sâleya polakke Erapa-kereya mûdana kôdiya badagana
22	guttiya tomka mukhado mûdal=mêre ( temka[lu*] Balivali-garddeynm ( âligomdamum mêre ( badagal=Imvina-kereya
23	madhyam mêre i paduvalu Bikkiya-beştada temkana bâg-olag-âgi mêre ii(i) illimd-olag=ulla bhûmi dâna-sâlege ii Ôm [ii*]
24	Öm Svasti Samadhigatapamchamahâśabda-mahâmaṇḍaḷêśvaram KuvalAla-puravar- êśvaram Padmâvatî-labdha-va-
25	ra-prasâditam Komguni-paṭṭabandha-virājitam sā(śā)sanadēvī-vijaya-bhêrî-nirgghôsha- ṇam bhagavad-Arhan-mumukshu-pim-
26	chhadhvaja-vibhüshananum=appa źrîmat-Kamch-arasar=Ssaigotta-Gamganim bamda dharmmamam samuddharisidan=Idan=tappa-
27	de pratipāļisid-ātam Vāraņāsiyoļ <sup>11</sup> sāsirvvaru brāhmaņargge sāsira kavileya[m*] kotta pha-
28	lam i idan=alid-âtam Vâņarâsiyol <sup>13</sup> sâsira kavileyumam sâsirvvar=ttapôdhanarumam sâsirvvar=brâhma.
29	naruman=alida pâtakam=akku [11*] Ôm [11*] Sâmânyô <sup>13</sup> =yam dharmma-sêtum nripâņâm <sup>14</sup> kaļē-kâļē pâļanîyô bhavadbhis=sa-
30	Sva <sup>15</sup> -dattâm para-dattâm vâ yô
31	harêta vasumdharâm ahashtir-basha <sup>10</sup> -sahaśrâ(srâ)ņi vishthâyâm jâyatê krimih 1(11) Na visham visham-ity-âhuh dêva-
32	svam visham=uchyatê visham=êkûkinam hantî dêva-svam putra-pautrikam    Bahubbir=vvasudhâ dattâ
33	râjabhis=Sagar-âdibhih yasya yasya yadâ bhûmi[s*]=tasya tasya tadâ phalam 11 Ôm [11*]
	ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.
	After a verse in praise of the doctrine of Jina, the lord of the three worlds, the incommission

After a verse in praise of the doctrine of Jina, the lord of the three worlds, the inscription proceeds to record that, in the reign of the Paramésvara and Paramabhattáraka Amôghavarshadêva (line 2), his feudatory (pádapadm-ôpajivin), the illustrious Saigotta-Ganga-Permanadi (l. 7), who also had the name of Sivamara (l. 6), — who was a Mahámandaléávara, invested with the pañchamaháiabda (l. 3); who was the lord of Kuvalala, the best of cities (l. 4);<sup>17</sup> who was favoured with a boon acquired from (the goddess) Padmávati; who was decorated with the binding on of the Konguni fillet of sovereignty (patta-bandha); who was entitled to (be heralded in public by) the sounds of the victorious drum of a Sásanadévi;

**31**2

<sup>\*</sup> Read bittan II Å. 18 Read garddeyind-olag.

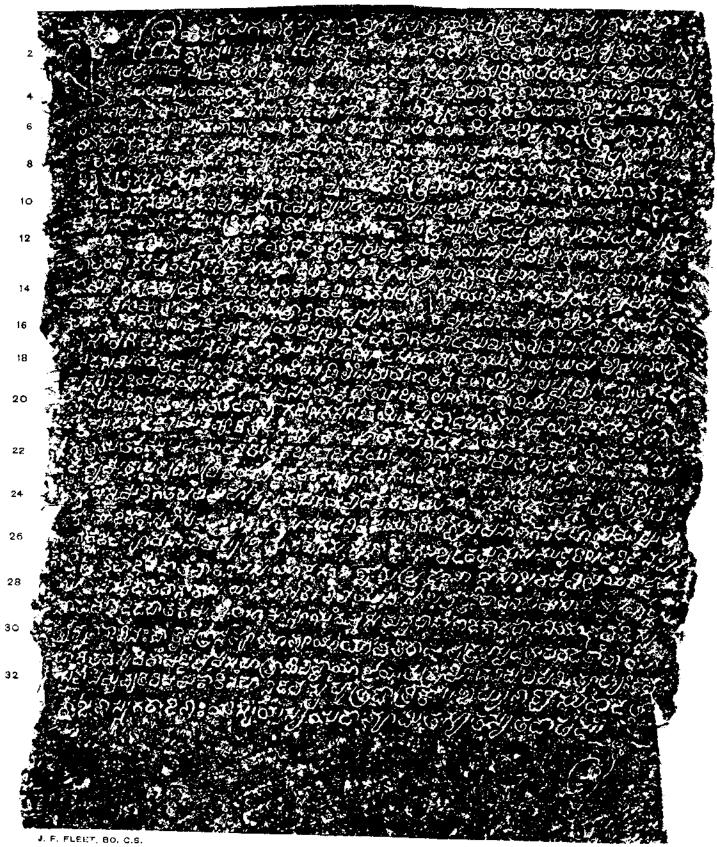
<sup>11, 12</sup> The use of the two forms Váranási and Vánarási in one and the same inscription, is rather exceptional.

<sup>18</sup> Metre, Salini. 14 Read edtur-nripánám.

<sup>16</sup> Metre, Sloka (Anushtubh) ; and in the following two verses.

<sup>16</sup> Read shashfi-varsha, or shashfim varsha.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> This is a hereditary Ganga title ; and does not necessarily imply that Saigotta-Ganga-Permanadi's seat of government was actually at the city in question.



SCALE -20

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

who had for an ornament the banner of a bunch of feathers,<sup>18</sup> which was the banner of the divine Arhat, desirous of emancipation (l. 5); who was the principal place for the sportive play of the charming goddess of speech, in the form of poetry, in three languages,<sup>19</sup> composed by eloquent people (1. 6); and who was the dwelling-place of the science of (training and managing) with the delight of pleasing conversations (sukha-samkathá-vinôda),

At the village of Kummudavada, in the Kadalavalli Thirty (l. 5), he, Saigotta-Pormanadi (1. 10), caused to be built a temple of Jinêndra, which was the delight of learned people, through being the very abode of the fortunes of the Ganga rulers (1.8); the very pleasure-ground of the goddess of the fame of the succession of the Ganga kings (1.9); and the very birth-place of the greatness of the Ganga lords of the earth.

There was (a saint named) Gunakirtidèva (l. 11). His disciple was Nâgachandramunindra. His son was Jinachandra. His son was Subhakîrtidêva (l. 12). And his disciple was The Paramésvara (i.e. Amöghavarshadèva) (l. 13) washed the feet of Dêvakîrtiguru. Dêvakirtipanditadêva (l. 14), who was the ornament of the sky that is the Kareya gana, which is also known as the Mailapa lineage (1.13); and then, - at the time of the Uttaravana-Samkranti, (on) Monday, the fourteenth lunar day of the dark fortnight of (the month) Pausha of the Vibhava samvatsara, which was the 261st Saka year, - to that temple of Jina (l. 11), Saigotta-Ganga granted the village named Kummudavada (l. 15). Also, to the almshouse (dana-sole) at that place (1. 16), he granted a field ; and a street, facing to the east as one goes to the north from the temple (dégula) known as the temple of Kummudabbe; and a courtyard (nivésana), measuring twelve cubits, on the east of the Jain temple (basadi); and the rice-land called Sapasingegarde, and the waste land, on the east of the village.

Lines 18 to 23 specify the boundaries of Kummudavada, and of the field that was given to the almshouse. But no village-names now to be found in the map, occur here. Nor are all the terms intelligible. The words which are recognisable as appellatives, are those which give the names of Sidilaneril ('the refuge of, or from, the thunder-bolt'); the tanks called Samevadåtana kere, Gangarolåduvasaňkiya-kere, Hichebalagere, Sundigere, Singasagere, Erapakere, and Imvina-kere, ('the sweet tank'); the hills called Sindagiri and Bikkiyabetta; and the rice-lands called Kadikotta-garde and Balivali-garde.

Lines 24 to 26 record that the illustrious Kancharasa (l. 26), - who was a Mahamandalésvara invested with the panchamahásabda (l. 24); who was the supreme lord of Kuvalala the best of cities; who was favoured with a boon acquired from (the goddess) Padmåvati; who was decorated with the binding on of the Konguni fillet of sovereignty; who was entitled to the sounds of the victorious drum of a Sasanadevi; and who had for an ornament the banner of a bunch of feathers, which was the banner of the divine Arhat, desirous of emancipation, - raised up, i.e. restored, this religious grant that had come down from (the time of) Saigotta-Ganga (l. 26).

And lines 27 to 33 contain the customary benedictive and imprecatory sentences ; followed by four of the usual Sanskrit verses of the same purport.

#### THE NAMES OF THE COINS OF TIPU SULTAN.

#### BY E. HULTZSCH, PR.D.; BANGALORE.

In the fifth year of his reign, A. H. 1201 or A.D. 1786-87, Tipu Sultan of Maisur replaced on his coins the era of the Hijra by a new one of solar years, called the Mauludi

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Here, in line 5, and again in line 25-26, the original has pimichha, i.e. pińchha, which is given by Monier-Williams, in his Sanakrit Dictionary, as meaning 'a wing;' and hy Sanderson, in his Kanarese Dictionary, as meaning 'a peacook's tail.' But Mr. K. B. Pathak, in shewing how this word was atrived at, by a particular method among the Karnátaka Jains of writing the word pichchha, in such a way that the ch was represented by a sign which resembles and eventually came to be mistaken for the anusvara, has explained that it means 'a bundle of feathers carried about by a Jain ascetic' (ante, Vol. XI. p. 273, note 1.)

<sup>19</sup> i.e. Sanskrit, Old-Kanarese, and probably Mahardahtri-Präkfit.

<sup>#</sup> maradalumetey-dge, line 7, requires explanation.

era, which commenced from the birth of the Prophet in A.D. 571, and which, at that particular point, was 14 years in advance of the lunar era of the Hijra.<sup>1</sup> One year later he invented a series of new names for his gold and silver coins. These names are well-known; but so far as I can ascertain, they have not yet been satisfactorily explained. Most of the explanations which are given belo. were suggested to me by a Muhammadan gentleman, Mr. Habibu'd-dîn, of the Haidarâbâd Civil Service, whose acquaintance I had the pleasure to make on a short holiday-trip to Maisûr and Srîrangapattanam.

The names of Tîpû's series of copper coins, which, with one exception, appear first on part of the issue of his eleventh year, the Maulûdî year 1221 or A.D. 1792-93, present no difficulty. They are nothing but the Persian or Arabic designations of certain stars.

آثان مديقي Tîpû's gold muhr (vulgo, môhar) is called اهمدي المسطط المسطط, his half gold muhr (vulgo, môhar) is called المحدث المسطط المسطط المسطط المسلحين المسلحي مسلحين المسلحين سلحين المسلحين المسلحين المسلحين المسلحين المسلحين المسلحيين المسلحين المسلحين المسلحين المسلحين المسلحيين المسلحيين ال

Among the silver coins, the rupee or Imânî is undoubtedly called after the twelve Imâms. This fact gives us a clue to the derivation of the names of the remaining silver coins. Each of them, except the smallest, refers to the name of a single Imâm. The largest coin, the double rupee or Haidarî, is derived from على Haidar, a surname of the first Imâm 'Alî. The fractions of the rupee are successively named after the 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th Imâms, viz., the 'Àbidî after معد وين العابدين Zainu'l-'Abidî nor مابد وين العابدين 'Abid Bîmâr ; the Bâqirî after vie., the 'Àbidî after زين العابدين Jaifar Sâdiq ; and the Kâgimi after معد باقر Muhammad Bâqir ; the Ja'farî after جعفر صادق Muhammad Bâqir ; the name of the half-anna piece or Khizrî<sup>3</sup> is derived from موسي كاظم Khwâja Khizr, a prophet who is said to have drunk of the fountain of life and is considered as the saint of the waters.

The largest of Ţîpû's copper coins is the double paisá.<sup>3</sup> It bears two names, عثمانی "Uşmanı and مشتري Mushtarı. The first of these names is met with on coins of the Maulûdi years 1218 and 1219. It is derived from عثمان بن عثمان "Uşman ibn 'Affan, the third Khalîfa, and is thus connected with the above-mentioned series of the names of gold coins. But when, in the Maulûdi year 1221, Tîpû had started a series of names for his smaller copper coins, which consisted of the names of different stars, the designation 'Uşmânî did not agree with the rest. Accordingly, the double paisás of the Maulûdî year 1222 and of the following years bear a new denomination, viz., Mushtari, the Arabic name of the planet Jupiter. The name of the paisá is the janets Venus and Mars respectively. The quarter paisá is the Jakhtar, which means "a star" in Persian.

Marsden<sup>5</sup> notices "a minute coin intended for a half Akhtar, or eighth part of a *paisé*, on one side of which is the elephant, with the letter  $\infty$ , and on the other, the denomination of the money, being a word that may be read *identication*, but is by no means distinct." My

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Marsden's Numismata Orientalia Illustrata, Part II. p. 700 f.

<sup>\*</sup> A copy of this rare coin is in the Bangalore Museum. It is mentioned in Dr. Buchanan's Journey through Mysore, Canara, and Malabar, Vol. I. p. 128, note.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Moor's Narrative of the Operations of Captain Little's Detachment, p. 475.

tis found on the coine struck at Pattan (Seringapatam), the Hindustant spelling زهرة is found on the coine struck at Pattan (Seringapatam), the Hindustant

on those struck at Nagar. ز هر

Numismata Orientalia Illustrata, Part II. p. 725.

collection contains two different varieties of this coin.<sup>6</sup> Both have on the obverse an elephant facing the right, and on the reverse the legend  $\dot{\sigma}_{q,\psi}$ , "struck at-Pattan," and over it the designation which is clearly not  $\dot{\epsilon}_{d,\psi}$ , but  $\dot{\epsilon}_{d,\psi}$ , the Arabic name of the Pole-star, which fits the whole system followed by  $\tilde{1}$  pû in naming his other copper coins. The first of the two coins has the letter I over the elephant on the obverse, and the date 1224 over the legend on the reverse; the second coin bears the letter  $\psi$  and the date 1225 in the corresponding places. As on Tipû's larger copper coins the letters I,  $\psi$ ,  $\psi$  and  $\dot{\omega}$  are combined with the dates 1224, 1225, 1226 and 1227 respectively," Marsden's coin, which had the letter  $\dot{\omega}$ , must have been struck in the Maulûdi year 1226 or A.D. 1797-98.

When introducing his new era, Tîpû made another innovation by reversing the order of the Arabic numerals on the dates of his coins. On the coins of the Maulûdî year 1215, we find both the old order 1010 and the new one 0101. In 1216 the only exceptions from the new rule are the *paisá*, half *paisá* and quarter *paisá* struck at Bengalûr. From the year 1217 to the year of Tîpû's death, the Maulûdî year 1227 or A.D. 1798-99, the dates on all the coins run from right to left.<sup>9</sup> There are a few specimens, on which the engraver of the die did not only reverse the order of the numbers, but turned the numbers themselves. Thus a quarter *paisá* struck at Faiz-hisâr (Gutti)<sup>9</sup> and one struck at Khâliqâbâd (Chandagâl) bear the date 0111, which is meant for 1000; and two quarter *paisás* struck at Faiz-hisâr have the dates 7111 and 9111. These are both meant for 1000; in each case the two middle figures are reversed, and in the second the unit has undergone the same process.

# THE FATE OF ST. MARK ACCORDING TO AN ARAB HISTORIAN OF THE TENTH CENTURY.

## BY MAJOR J. S. KING, BO.S.C.

The following is a translation from Chap. xxviii. of Al Mas'Adt's historical encyclopædia, entitled "Meadows of Gold and Mines of Gems";<sup>1</sup> a remarkable work, in which he describes the state of the nations and countries of the East and West as they were in his age, that is to say, in A. H. 330 (A. D. 941). The chapter in which occurs the passage here selected is devoted to the history of Bum.

"The disciples of Jesus of Nazareth dispersed themselves over all the surface of the earth. Mari betook himself to the neighbouring part of 'Irâk, and died in the town of Dair Kunna<sup>3</sup> and As-Sâfîa, on the bank of the Tigris, between Baghdad and Wâsit, which is the country of 'Ali bin Dâ'ûd bin Al Jarrah, of Muhammad bin Dâ'ûd bin Al Jarrah, and other learned men. The tomb of Mârî is there, in a church, where it remains up to the present year 332 (A. D. 943); the Christians hold it in great veneration.<sup>3</sup> Thomas, who was one of the twelve disciples, went to India, where he called the people to the law of the Messiah, and where he died. Another disciple penetrated to the most remote parts of <u>Kh</u>urâsân, and died there.

\* The only exception is a quarter paied struck at Faiz-bissr, which bears the letter - but the date 1224.

• Instead of اختر, this coin bears the denomination اجتر, which the engraver seems to have copied by mistake from a balf paied.

كتاب مروج الذهب و معادن الهوهر \*

د ير قنيَّ والصافية •

<sup>6</sup> In his valuable Catalogue of Mysore Coins in the Madras Museum, Mr. Thurston figures all-paisd struck at Beigalür in 1218 and one struck at Salémábåd (Satyamangalam) in the same year. I possess three other } paisds, of which one was struck at Pattan in 1218 and the second at Bengalür in 1219. The third bears the date 1222, and on the raverse the two words ; the name of the mint-town seems to be omitted by the engraver.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> A solitary instance of a relapse is a half paisd struck at Pattan with the date  $117^{\circ}$  (1220). The engraver of a paisd struck at Faiz-hishr in the same year has not completely succeeded in reversing the figures from  $177^{\circ}$ to  $171^{\circ}$ , but has written them as  $1^{\circ}$  [].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> No such person as Märl is mentioned in the Bible; but I think we may take this passage as sufficient suthority for determining that Mari was the name of one of the "other seventy" (or seventy-two) mentioned in Luke X. 1. According to Johnson (Arabic-Eng. Dictionary) "Mär Y'akub" was the name of a heretical teacher of Christianity.

The site of his tomb is known and venerated by the Christians; but others say that he died in the country of Dakûka, <u>Kh</u>ânîjâr and Kar<u>kh</u> Hudân, on the confines of 'Irâk. The place of his sepultare is known.

"Mark died at Alexandria, in Egypt, where is his tomb. He is one of the four disciples who have composed the Gospel. Strange particulars are related of that which passed between him and the Egyptians at the moment when he was pat to death. We have already stated on what occasion that took place, in our Middle History,<sup>4</sup> to which work the present is a sequel. There we have related in detail how Mark, when on the point of starting for the land of the West,<sup>5</sup> charged them, saying :--- 'Whosoever shall present himself to you in my likeness, kill him ; for you will see, coming after me, men who will resemble me; but hasten to put them to death, and do not accept their teaching.' Then he left them. After having been absent a long time, being unable to reach the place where he wished to go, he returned to the Egyptians. When he saw that they were about to kill him, he said to them :-- 'Woe unto you ! I am Mark.'-- 'No,' replied they ; 'verily our father, Mark, told us to kill whoever should come to us in his likeness.'-- 'But it is I myself who am Mark.'-- 'We cannot let you go, and it is absolutely necessary that we put you to death.' So they killed him.

"Formerly they had demanded of him some proofs in support of his statements, and had begged of him to work some miracles. Some among them had said to him :— 'If that which you affirm to us is true, ascend to heaven before our eyes.' Then they stripped him of his pontifical robe (;;;), and clothed him in a dress of camel's hair, so that he might ascend to heaven. But many of his disciples attached themselves to him, saying :— 'If thou departest, what will remain to us after thee, for thou art our father ?' Then happened to him that which we have related above.

"The disciples of the Messiah are seventy-two in number, besides whom twelve more have to be counted. Those who have transmitted the Gospel are :---Luke, Mark, John, and Matthew. Luke and Matthew are ranked among the seventy-two; the latter is also classed among the twelve, but I know not the reason of it." The two who make part of the twelve are :--John, son of Zebedee, and Mark, patriarch of Alexandria. The third, who arrived at Antioch, where he had been preceded by Peter and Thomas, is Paul. He is the person alluded to in the Kur'án under the title of the 'third,' when God says :--- 'Wherefore we strengthened *them* with a third."

"Of all the Christian Monks, those of Egypt are the only ones who eat meat; because Mark permitted them to do so."

#### MISCELLANEA.

## CALCULATIONS OF HINDU DATES. No. 30.

In the stone inscription of the Mahásámanta Bappuvarasa, on a pillar inside a temple at Mahákūța, Mákūța, or Makuța, near Bádāmi, in the Kalādgi District, Bombay Presidency, published by me, with a lithograph, in this journal. Vol. X. p. 104 f., No. 96, the date (line 6 ff) is — Śaka-nripa-kâl-âtita-samvatsara-śatamgal entunûga ayivatta Aganeya Jaya-samvatsarada Kârttika-śuddha-pañchamiyum Budhav&rad-andum, — " the fifth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of (the

of the text has no apparent meaning; it is probably a misprint either for the Persian (ربانقده The word زربانقده of the text has no apparent meaning; it is probably a misprint either for the Persian ' زي نقابته of the Arabic ; وبافندة

' There has always been a tradition that St. Luke was one of the seventy; and this is mentioned as early as the 3rd and 4th centuries by Origen and Epiphanius : so Mas'udi may be right in his case, but from what he says regarding Matthew (w) it seems likely that he confounded him with Matthias. Eusebins, as well as Epiphanius, says that the latter was one of the seventy; and we know that he became one of the twelve after the Ascension. The "Gospel of Matthias" is one of the thirty-four Gospels rejected by the Christian Church as being uncanonical.

<sup>•</sup> The work here referred to is probably Mas'udi's "History of Time," (في اخبار الزمان), mentioned in the opening of the first chapter.

ارض آلمغرب \*

<sup>&</sup>quot;Vide Kur'án, Sale, Chap. XXXVi. page \$61-62, notes. It is necessary to read this in order to understand the allusion.

month) Kårttika of the Jaya samvatsara, which is the eight hundred and fifty-sixth (year in) the centuries of years that have gone by from the time of the Saka king, and on Wednesday." And the inscription records that on this day Bappuvarasa came to the place, and made a grant of (an image of) Nandikêśvara, i. e. Nandi, and of some rice-land.1

Here the mention of the Jaya samvatsara would permit us to take the given year either as current or as expired. For, by the mean-sign system, with Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit's Tables, Jaya commenced on the 10th December, A.D. 932, and ended on the 6th December, A.D. 933. And in this period Kårttika sukla 5, of Saka-Samvat 856 current, ended on the 26th October. A.D. 933, at about 18 ghatis, 26 palas, after mean sunrise, for Bådåmi.\* This day, however, was a Saturday. And the details of the date cannot be explained in this way.

On the other hand, by the southern luni-solar system the Jaya samvatsars coincided with Saka-Samvat 857 current, i. e. with the given year 856 as an expired year. And in this year, with Prof. K. L. Chattre's Tables, Karttika áukla 5 began at about 5 gh. 15 p. and ended at about 59 gh. 55 p. on Wednesday, 15th October, A.D. 934. With these results, it would be an expunged tithi. But the ending-time is so very close to the following sunrise, that most probably a calculation by any of the Siddhantas would make it end after sunrise on the Thursday; as is the case with Prof. Jacobi's Tables, according to which it began at about 2 h. 33 m., = 6 gh. 22.5 p., on the Wednesday, and ended at about 34 m., =1 gh. 25 p., on the Thursday. And I think it may safely be taken for granted that the tithi did end on the Thursday, according to the almanac consulted by the person who drafted the record. Consequently, the date of Wednesday, 15th October, A.D. 988, can be accepted only if the tithi was used as a current tithi.

Now, as regards the application of the given tithi, the Nirnayasindhu, pari. i., p. 7 b, line 13 f., gives the general rule that the fifth tithi is to be used or celebrated when it is joined by the sixth tithi, i. e. on the day on which it ends. Whereas the Dharmasindhusdra, pari. i., p. 5 a, line 5 f., states that the fourth and fifth tithis form a couple; as a consequence of which the fifth tithi may be used when it is joined by the fourth, i.e. on the day on which it begins. But, in the more detailed rules, the Dharmasindhusdra, i., p. 8 a, line 11 ff., states explicitly that, except in the case of the Skandôpavdsa and the Ndgavrata, "in any ceremony whatsoever the fifth tithi, both in the bright and in the dark fortnight, is to be taken when it is cleft by the fourth tithi;" and the Nirnayasindhu, i., p. 13 b, line 12 ff., though seeming on the whole to maintain the correctness of its own rule, quotes several precepts to the same effect. Also, Prof. Kielhorn has given me the following quotation from the Kalamddhava. ---- Skandôpavåsê pañchamî para-viddhâ, anyatra pûrva-viddh=êti sthitam, --- " it is established that at the Skandopavdsa the fifth tithi (is to be used) when it is cleft by the following; on other occasions, when it is cleft by the preceding." In the present instance the details of the date distinctly refer, not to the writing of the record, but to the occasion on which the ceremony of making the grant was performed. Consequently, it appears that the tithi would be properly connected with the Wednesday, on which day it began ; and that the correct English date is Wednesday, 15th October, A.D. 933, as found above.

In addition to this illustration of the use of a current tithi, this date is of interest in giving an instance of the use of the southern luni-solar system of the Sixty-Year Cycle of Jupiter, for a time not very long after the period that I have indicated for its introduction (see ante, Vol. XVII. pp. 142, 143.)

J. F. FLEET.

# NOTES AND QUERIES.

# VENKATACHALAPATI; A MADRAS LEGEND.

Every now and then, throughout Madras, a man dressed up as a buffoon is to be seen leading about a bull as fantastically got up as himself with cowries and rags of many colours from door to door, for the purpose of procuring religious alms. The operation is accompanied by such music as the man can command.

The bull is called in Tamil Perumál erudu and in Telegu Ganga eddu, the former meaning

Vishnu's bull and the latter Ganga's bull. The origin of the first is given in a legend, but that of the last is not clear.

The conductors of these bulls are neatherds of high caste called Pûidaiyan, i.e. Flower Neatherds. and come from villages in the North and South Arcot (Arkat) districts. They are a simple and ignorant set, who firmly believe that their occupation arises out of a command from the great god Venkatachalapati -- the Lord of the Venkata-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> I think that in line 10 f., instead of nandikeeara-mu(mu)-nellu-geguvam, "three rice-fields at (the village

of) Nandikéévara," as published, we should read nandikésaramu[m] nellu-geyuvam. 2 The times here are for Bådåmi, all through.

Madras.

chala Hills near Tiruppadi in the North Arcot District.

Their legend is as follows : --- Among the habitual gifts to the Venkatächala temple at Tiruppadi were all the freaks of nature of the neighbourhood as exhibited in cattle such as twotailed cows, five-legged bulls, four-horned calves, and so on. The Púidaiyans, whose original duty was to string flowers for the temple, were set to graze these abortions. Now to graze cows is an honour, but to tend such creatures as these the Paidaivans regarded as a sin. So they prayed to Venkatachalapati to show them how they could purge it away. On this the god gave them a bull called after himself the Perumal bull, and said --"My sons, if you take as much care of this bull as you would of your own children and lead it from house to house, begging its food, your sin will be washed away." Ever since then they have been purging themselves of their original ain !

The process is this. The bull-leader takes it from house to house and puts it questions, and the animal shakes its head in reply! He then abuses it and it butts at him in anger! This is proof positive that it can reason !

The fact is the animal is bought when young for a small sum and brought up to its profession. Long practice has made its purchasers experts in selecting the animals that will suit them. After purchase the training commences, which consists in pinching its ears whenever it is given bran, and it soon learns to shake its head at the sight of bran. I need hardly say that a handful of bran is ready in its conductor's hands when the questions are put to it. It is also taught to butt at any person that speaks angrily to it.

As regards the offerings made to these people, one-sixth goes to feeding the bulls and the remaining five-sixths to the conductors. They look upon it as a "good work," but the village boys and girls think it the greatest fun in the world to watch its performances, and the advent of a Vishnu's bull is hailed by the youngsterr with the greatest delight.

The demeanour of the bulls has led to a well known South Indian proverb: — "As mild as Vishnu's (or Ganga's) bull." In Tamil it is avan Perumal madu appa: in Telugu vadu Gangi eddu vale sadhu.

S. M. NATESA SASTRI.

#### KALI NAG; A KASMIR LEGEND.

Just outside (on the river side of) the Shål Hamadån mosque in the heart of Srînagar city, is a little stream constantly running, The stream is sacred to Kali and is called Kali Nag. A Bråhman is generally to be seen sitting near to offer the prayers and receive the presents of worshippers. The water emerges from the ground inside the mosque. On this account several Hindå rulers have tried to get the place and offered large sums of money for it, but without avail. Oolonel (?) Miyân Singh determined to raze the mosque to the ground, but being afraid of a rebellion on the part of the Musalmåns, he changed his mind.

It is said that nobody can look upon the spring itself without losing his sight. Some curious folk essayed to do so, and came away blind. Afterwards, in order that others might not come into the like misfortune, a great stone was placed over the *ndg*, which remains there to this day The spring is said to have appeared here when Råvana's house was destroyed by Råma, and is therefore supposed to have come from Ceylon.

J. HINTON KNOWLES.

Srínagar.

## BOOK NOTICES.

ALDERCON'S INDIA. An account of the Religion, Philosophy, Literature, Chronology, Astronomy, Customs, Laws and Astrology of India, about A.D. 1030. Edited in the Arabic Original by Dr. EDOUAED SACHAG. Published by the Secretary of State for India. London: Trubner and Co. 1887. 4to; pp. xli., 365.

Upwards of three years ago, ante, Vol. XV. p. 31f, we had the pleasure of publishing a preliminary notice by Dr. Bühler of this mighty work, and we have now to notice its actual production.

We have at last before us the Arabic text of the great original. But the book as it stands is consequently available only to Arabic scholars. For this reason the publishers have extensively advertised it in vernacular papers in India, but whether this will repay them is doubtful, as Natives of India usually either can not or will not buy expensive works, such as this necessarily is. If we may be allowed to express an opinion on such a matter as this, we should say that the outlay would be more likely to be profitable if made in freely advertising it in English papers and journals, and in sending copies of it liberally for notice in the same.

As all the world knows, the peculiar value of Albérûni's work is that it is practically almost the only authority we possess for Indian history and mode of thought at a period which is otherwise as a sealed book to us. To have, therefore, made available a text, which is as accurate as we can reasonably expect, is a matter of no small Остовев, 1889. ј

importance, and the thanks that we owe to Dr. Sachau should be proportionately great.

Alberani flourished in the time of Mahmad of Ghazni, when the Brahmanical civilization. which had superseded the Buddhistic, was in its turn about to be overshadowed, first by that of the Musalman and eventually by that of the Christian. And it is, indeed, fortunate for the world, that, at the very commencement of the epoch of destruction inaugurated by Mahmud, there should have been living and writing a scholar gifted with sufficient breadth of view to enable him to study sympathetically the system that was passing away; sufficiently endowed with the critical faculty to appreciate modes of thought so opposed to those with which he had been himself imbued from his birth; and possessed of sufficient energy and skill to record what he had learnt for the benefit of his contemporaries and successors. He wrote in A.D. 1030, and among his predecessors in the description of India were the Greek diplomatist Megasthenês about B. C. 295, and the Chinese monks in the 5th, 6th, and 7th centuries A.D. But Albérúnî is incomparably, as far as we are concerned, the most important writer of them all. Of Megasthenês we have but fragments, and the Buddhist monks from China are as babes compared with the highly cultivated and wellinformed scholar whose work we are now conaidering.

There are three MSS. of the great book in Europe :--- (1) in the library of M. Schefer, Membre de l'Institut : (2) in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris: (3) in the library of the Mehemet Köprülü Medrese at Constantinople. The last two are copies of the first, which purports to be a copy of the author's autograph, "with which it has been collated as carefully as possible" by some unknown hand long ago. With the exception of some lacunæ and blunders, probably resulting from partial illegibility or from wormholes in the autograph, and of the misplacement of the leaves at the end, Dr. Sachau considers M. Schefer's MS. to be "of very rare merit, one of the most accurate I have ever known." This is the MS. Dr. Sachan has followed, and on which, with the advantage of emendation where neceseary by the light of modern Arabic and SansLrit learning, his text is based. The nature of Albêrûni's work has prevented its being copied and treasured up in the libraries of the East, and so far it has not been found there. This fact, however, while it renders us all the more grateful to the European scholars who have saved Albêrûnî from the fate which has overtaken Megasthenês, does not, Dr. Sachau thinks, lead us to suppose that, should more MSS. be found hereafter, the text, as he has given it, will have to be materially altered.

Dr. Sachau enters at some length into the probable date of the book, and arrives at the conclusion that it was written between 30th April and 30th September A.D. 1030, meaning by "writing" the final composition of a work, the various parts of which had long previously been completed. It appears to have been composed at Ghazní during the troubled period which succeeded the death of Mahmud, and Albéruni probably got most of his information from Hindu residents of that place, who were then, no doubt, very numerous. His actual travels in India do not seem to have extended beyond the Pañjåb; the districts about Pêshâwar, Jhêlam, Siâlkôt, Lâhôr, and Multân, being familiar to him.

But it is not so much from his record of what he saw, as from his record of what he read, that Albérúnî has become of world-wide fame. His learning in Sanskrit literature was for his time wonderful, because, it was against his religious teaching to study systems foreign to Islam, and in the few cases where this prejudice has been overcome no other instance exists of a Muhammadan trying to procure his foreign learning at first hand. As a translator, he rendered from Sanskrit into Arabic, Kapila's Samkhya, the book of Patañjali, the Paulisa-Siddhdnta, the Brahma-Siddhanta, the Brihat-Samhita, and the Laghu-Játaka; while from Arabic into Sanskrit he rendered Euclid's Elements, Ptolemy's Almagest, and a book of his own on the construction of the Astrolabe.

This list of works raises the questions as to how much he acquired of Sanskrit, and as to how far he was a real translator, or merely the mouthpiece or supervisor of those who explained or translated for him. Dr. Sachau gives reasons at some length for considering that he really knew enough of Sanskrit to enable him to go alone in the language to a small extent without blundering, but that he read his Indian books with the aid of Pandits and made his translations into Arabic from their dictation; while his translations from Arabic into Sanskrit meant that he explained to Pandits, who converted his explanations into *ślókas* of approved form. All this involves the assumption that Alberani and his Pandits spoke or understood well some common vernacular, and there seems to be abundant internal evidence in the Indica that Albérani was well acquainted with the vernacular of the period. whatever it was, then current in the extreme north-west of India.

In explaining the extent of Albéráni's Sanskrit scholarship, Dr. Sachau has to tread along the dangerous and delicate path of testing it by his transliteration of Sanskrit words. And in doing so he shows where Sanskrit compounds have been wrongly divided and so mistranslated, e.g. साल्यनीपीजिलाग into ممالني and where parts of compounds have been misunderstood, e.g., सनासनितिपर्ययः, in which Albêrûnî thought that पर्षयः was the name of the 7th Rishi, خَرَشُ as he calls him. In this connection Dr. Sachau prints in this volume an "index of words of Indian origin" in 42 pp. double column,<sup>1</sup> and he promises a comparison of Albêrûni's Indian names with those in his Sanskrit sources. It need hardly be said that this comparison will be looked for with much interest.

Like all scholars from his time downwards Albêrani was oppressed with the difficulty of transliterating Indian words into his own character, and like all scholars of all countries he adopted a system of special diacritical marks combined with a deferential acquiescence in existing custom in the case of well-known words. So his रूरे (वेर) and his ابارث. (भारत) have formed a puzzle on their own account, as no doubt will our English " cooly" (قلى) and "boy" (على) in the dim future. Dr. Sachau has treated this part of his subject with conspicuous skill, and he well explains the difficulty of getting at Albérani's meaning in his transliterations. Thus, he evidently endeavoured to write in Arabic the sounds of the Indian words as he heard them, and since he took them down sometimes orally and sometimes from books, he at one time would transliterate from bad and variant pronunciations and at others from the written words. We then get two or more forms of the same word ; e.g. منس and z for मरस्य Then again, while purporting to transliterate he would be really rendering some vernacular form; e. g. بهادربت for आइपड. Sometimes he mixed up the vernacular with Sanskrit; e.g. when he says شديد = 60 years. Like many another scholar, too, Albérini, after devising a system of diacritical marks, based in his case on those in Persian, did not stick to them; e.g. while adopting - for p he would write for b and - for p, and so on. The diacritical markings in the MS. of M. Schefer are also rendered all the more uncertain from the fact that at the time it was written the modern system of marking Arabic was hardly yet in vogue. The old and the then new system of marking were both at times followed by the scribe in some cases, as in and in, resulting in much ambiguity. Lastly, Albôrânî, in quoting or adapting from old works as from Al-Erânshahri on Buddhism, follows the old corrupt spelling, whereby we get for WA! However, it is gratifying to find that Dr. Sachau can nevertheless confidently assert that "the consonantal skeletons of the words are very trustworthy and offer a sufficient basis for their reconstruction."

The value of Albérúni's work to the student of things Indian, can be seen by a mere reference to its contents. He opens with an account of Hindu religion and philosophy, including a disquisition on caste. He then proceeds to describe the literature of the Hindus, their science, metrology, and mathematics. The chapter on "Hindu sciences which prey upon the ignorance of the people" should attract attention. Then we have a description of Hindu geography and cosmogony; and much astronomy and computation of time. --the most valuable part of the work, - which will be much appreciated by students of this Journal. And finally Hindu manners, customs. customary law, and astrology have a fair share of attention. There are chapters here in which the folklorist and anthropologist should alike revel.

THE MSS. IN THE LIBEART AT COLOMBO. Ceylon Administration Reports, 1887. Pt. IV., Miscellaneous, Colombo Museum, by Mr. F. H. M. CORET, Librarian.

It is a comfort to find from the date of this Report that other people besides Indian officials are apt to be behind time in recording the practical work performed by them. However, there is much to interest us in the short report on Simhalese MSS. now before us, as the collection of these in the Colombo Museum Library, — an institution which does not otherwise seem to be of any note, — is no doubt in a fair way of becoming very valuable.

The old manuscripts, consisting of original texts of the Buddhist Canon, commentaries, histories, philological, poetical, scientific and medical works, are worth serious attention.

The Canonical Books, however, are themselves incomplete, but the commentaries are in a much better condition. Of histories there are fifty, and of philology and poetry there are 76. In science and medicine there is only a beginning of what no doubt will become a valuable collection later on.

It is satisfactory to note that the arrangement of the MSS. is systematic and practical.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> It is a pity that this Index loses much if not all of its value for Sanskrit students, to whom chiefly it is of interest, through being arranged according to the order of the Arabic alphabet. All such Indexes ought to

follow the order of the Roman alphabet. It is only Dictionaries that require to be arranged according to the alphabet of the language to which they belong.

# THE COINS OF THE MODERN NATIVE CHIEFS OF THE PANJAB.

#### BY CAPTAIN E. C. TEMPLE, B.S.C., M.E.A.S.

#### I. - GENERAL REMARKS.

THE coins which form the subject of this monograph, were collected mostly by myself in the Pañjâb about eight years ago, with the kindly personal assistance of the Chiefs of the Pañjâb Native States, one of whom has since died. These coins I had the pleasure of presenting to the British Museum. The remainder are taken from former presentations to the Museum, and I am indebted to the courtesy of the Keeper of the Coins for being enabled to represent them in the plates attached hereto. I am also specially indebted to Mr. Grueber, of the Numismatic Department, for the trouble he has taken in having both the coins I collected and those previously presented to the Museum properly reproduced for me. In the detailed description attached to this paper the coins given by myself to the British Museum and those of other donors are carefully distinguished. There is, as far as I am aware, no other collection of these coins in existence.

Properly speaking, the Coins of the Modern Native Chiefs or the Pañjâb should include those of the Mahârâjâs of Lâhôr and of the Mahârâjas of Jammûn and Kaśmîr. But the Sikh coinage is a study in itself, and so is the ancient coinage of Kaśmîr. This paper is therefore confined to the productions of the mints of the Chiefs of the Pañjâb, that have now, or have had in recent times, the right to issue coins of their own. These are the Mahârâjâs of Pațiâlâ, the Bâjâs of Nâbhâ and Jind, the Sardârs of Kaithal, and the Nawabs of Kôțlâ-Mâlêr (more commonly called Mâlêr-Kôțlâ). Of these the Mahârâjâs of Pâțialâ, the Râjâs of Nâbhâ and Jînd and the Sardârs of Kaithal,<sup>1</sup> belonged to one great family of Chiefs known in the Pañjâb as the Phulkian.

To the student of numismatics the coins of these chiefs have a special interest, as affording valuable examples of the principles governing the evolution of the coinage of partially civilized peoples. The theory of the evolution of coins, first made known by Mr. Evans<sup>3</sup> in his well-known work, has been applied with great acuteness and ability by Mr. Keary in his *Morphology* of Coins (1886) to Oriental coins. It is in support or criticism of its application to the coins of semi-barbarous peoples that the following pages will be found to be chiefly valuable.

Mr. Keary makes two remarks in his little book which the reader will do well to bear in mind throughout his perusal of this article. At page 9 he says :— "There is a peculiar sort of morphology (of coins) shown when a barbarous or semi-barbarous people, incapable of inaugurating or much modifying a coinage of its own, takes as a model the money of some other State and makes either imitations or reproductions of it in a descending order of degradation. Examples of this class take generally one of two forms : a. — If the nation is not very barbarous, it sometimes invents for itself a new type founded on the parent type, and adheres to that for a long succession of years. Such people are not artistic enough or original enough to produce variations of importance on this fixed type. b.— A much more barbarous people, who are incapable of either inventing any type for themselves or of copying correctly that which is before them, produce a series of successive degradations which are very curious and interesting to trace." At page 13 he further remarks :— " The local issues of different (Greek) cities may be regarded as a kind of token money, not acceptable except by weight outside a narrow area." How far the semi-barbarous coinage of the modern Native Chiefs of the Pañjáb bears out these observations the reader will be able to judge for himself.

In the year A.H. 1164, or A.D. 1751, being the fourth year of his reign, the famous Ahmad Shah Durrani (or Abdål!) made a raid into the Pañjâb and overran the greater part of it; and it is a common historical statement<sup>3</sup> in the Pañjâb, that in that year he granted to the chiefs of Patiâlâ, Nâbhâ, Jînd, and Kôtlâ-Mâlêr the right to coin within their respective States. The now extinct State of the Sardârs of Kaithal also seems to have acquired the right to use the me coinage within its territories, but how or when I have been unable to ascertain. Besides these the Sikh State of Kapurthalâ and the extraordinary adventurer, George Thomas, Raja of Hânsi, are said to have each had an independent coinage, of which more anon.

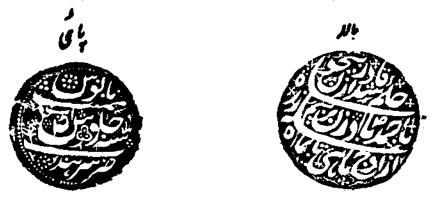
Now the coins of Ahmad Shah bear a distinctive legend, as is well known. It runs thus :---

obverse

reverse

The words and figures following the words خوب and جلوس naturally vary with the year and place. In plate I., figure a, I, give a fine specimen of the full legend, bearing the date it'", i.e., A.H. 1173, (A.D. 1761), and the year of the reign 14, and showing the mint as that is, Dehlî.<sup>4</sup>

In the fourth year of his reign Ahmad Shah coined at Sarhand, better known as Sirhind, now a town in the Pațiâlâ State. The exact form of his coin I do not know, but, for reasons given further on, it can be guessed from the impressions of the die given below, which is that now in use at Kôțlâ-Mâlêr, and which I am able to introduce here through the kindness of the Khân Sâhib, 'Inâyat 'Alî Khân, brother of the Nawâb of Kôţlâ-Mâlêr.



Now the point for the present argument is this : — from that day, nearly 140 years ago, to this, the coins of all these States — Pațiala, Nabha, Jind, Kaithal and Kôtla-Malér, with the exception of some of the issues of the Nâbhâ mint; have never changed either the legend, the date, or the mint. The dies have been cut and re-cut over and over again, but no material change has ever taken place beyond adding, in some cases only, the mark or sign of the particular chief issuing the coin. To all outward appearance they are all — even those of a year ago — the coins of Ahmad Shâh minted in the fourth year of his reign (A.D. 1751)! Nâbhâ alone has had the originality to vary the type to a limited extent, using for that purpose, of later years, the ordinary legend of the Sikh coins of the late Mahârâjâs of Lâhôr. The issues of the Sardârs of Kaithal show a falling off in the artistic capacity of the moneyers of this distinctly "Minor State" in comparison with the others above noticed, that will be found to be specially valuable and interesting in the present connection.

The History of the modern Native States of the Panjab, being of so recent a character, is to a certain extent well known<sup>5</sup> and is therefore of much value as evidence for

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> This is a large thin gold coin which belongs to the British Museum, to the authorities of which I am indebted for the reproduction. It may not be a real coin at all, but one of those medals that used to be struck in India to be thrown amongst the populace on special occasions, or it may have been struck in commentoration of the capture of Dehli in that year, for 1178 A.H. was the year of the notorious massacre he caused to be committed there.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> I say to a "certain extent" advisedly, for it is much more obscure than one would suppose possible.

or against the theories of Messrs. Evans and Keary, — for we now have the advantage of studying a semi-barbarous coinage of precisely the same nature as that which has flourished throughout the East any time these thousand years, side by aide with otherwise verifiable historical facts regarding the coiners.

# II. HISTORY.

The Phulkian family of chiefs are Siddhu Jatts and claim, as is usual in the Paniab. among persons of importance, a Rajput origin : - in this case from Jaisal, the founder of Jaisalmêr in the twelfth century A.D. The descent from Jaisal through Siddhu, the eponymous founder of this now great clan of the Pañjâbî Jatts, is legendary in the extreme.<sup>6</sup> However, whatever may have been their origin, the ancestors of the Phûlkîân house must have been people of much consideration, for in A.D. 1526 the emperor Babar created the son of Saughar, the head of the family, a Chaudhari? for services rendered in that year by his father at the battle of Panipat, where he was killed. The headship or chaudhariyat thus won was confirmed by the emperor Humâyûn on Sangbar's grandson in A.D. 1554, and a hundred years later we find Sanghar's descendant Phul, the direct founder of the Phulklan, succeeding his father in the chaudhariyat about A.D. 1618, and dying as the great Chaudhart Phul in 1652.\* Phul left six sons -- the two eldest of whom we may call the major and the rest the minor sons. From the two major sons, Tilokha and Bama, spring the present great chiefs of the Siddhu Jatts, and from the rest the Jiûndân Sardârs and what are called the Landghariâ, or "Minor Branch," Sardårs. All are personages of high standing in the Pañjâb. From Tilokha, who succeeded to the chaudhariyat, come the Rajas of Nabha and Jind, and from Rama the Maharajas of Patiala, the Sardûrs of Bhadaur (absorbed by Pațialâ) and the Malaudh families. At the present day they rank as follows, Patiâla, Jînd, Nâbhâ, Bhâdaur, Malaudh; - but by descent their seniority is Nabha, Jind, Bhadaur, Pațiala, Malaudh, while their originally absolute equality is proved by the fact that the village of Bhaî Rûpâ, founded by Tilôkha and Rama jointly, is still owned in equal shares by all the above chiefs. There are seventeen great Sikh families in all sprung from Chandhari Phul, and of these three have become "royal" and have still the right to issue their own coinage. It is with these three, Patiala, Jind and Nabha, that we have now to do.

At the present day by far the most powerful of these families is that of Patiala, and we will take it first into consideration. **Bama**, the second son of Phûl as above described, carved out for himself by the sword, after the manner of the time, a small semi-independent territory, and after a turbulent career, was murdered in extreme old age in A.D. 1714. Some 15 years later (A.D. 1729) on the death of his second son, Sabhâ, his third son, **Alha Singh**, came into possession of Râmâ's residence and petty principality of Hôdiana; the eldest son, Dûnâ, having obtained another estate, now held by his descendant, the Sardâr 'Atar Singh of Bhadaur From this small beginning, to which he added certain other little territories won by the sword, Âlhâ Singh, in the course of a warlike career, before his death in A.D. 1765, had founded Patiala Town and State, had been a prisoner of Ahmad Shâh (in 1762), had next destroyed and annexed the great Muhammadan provincial capital of Sarhand or Sirhind,<sup>9</sup> and had finally been created chief of the whole of his district (*chalka*) by Ahmad Shâh. The right to coin given by Ahmad Shâh to the Phulkian States was therefore clearly given in his time and the coins depicted

<sup>\*</sup> Sir Lepel Griffin, Edjds of the Pañjdb, p. 9, gives 21 generations between Sanghar (ob. 1526) and Jaisal (ob. 1168), which is an apparent impossibility, and at p. 8 there is a legend to account for the birth of Siddhu in "as Rajpút's house."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Chief local revenue authority : always chosen from among the local magnates.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> It is to be observed that in the genealogy above alluded to we again get 6 generations in 100 years between Saughar and Phûl, when dates are admitted by the tribe to be vague, and only 8 generations in over 200 years between Chaudharl Phùl and the present Mahárájá of Pajiálá, when dates have been accurately recorded.

Sarhand موهند is the proper spelling of this word on the coins and in MSS., not مرهند "Sahrind" as Mr. Bodgers states, J. A. S. B., Part I., Vol. LIV., p. 73.

in figs. 1 and 2 are universally attributed by the local bankers (mahájan, Sráf) to him, his mark being the kalghi, or aigrette plume.10

Alha Singh was succeeded by his grandson, Amar Singh, after a struggle for the chiefship with his elder half-brother Himmat Singh, the offspring of an irregular marriage, known in the Pañjâb as the karéwá, and which is in fact the levirate. This chief reigned till 1781 and was in his turn petted by Ahmad Shah, during the latter's last irruption into India in 1767, being given the title of Råjå-i-Růjgån Bahûdur in addition to that of Råjå already conferred on his grandfather. Like Alba Singh he was a great soldier, and made Pațiala the most powerful of the Cis-Satluj states. He is represented in the coins by fig. 3; his mark being like that of Alha Singh, the kalght."

He was succeeded by Sahib Singh, his son, then but six years old, who reigned till 1813. This chief, who was more or less a madman, injured his State almost as much as his predecessors had improved it, and although he secured the title of Mahûrâjâ from the Dehl? Emperor, Akbar II., in 1810, he left Pațiâla in such a condition that no one respected its authority. His days saw the rise of Ranjit Singh of Lühör, and his court was much concerned in the diplomatic struggles between that great ruler and the British Government, in the course of which it became entirely subservient to the latter. Sahib Singh's coinage is represented in fig. 4; his mark being the same as his predecessor's.13

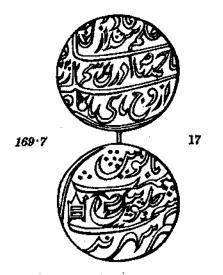
Sahib Singh's successor was his son Karm Singh, who reigned on till 1845, his last act in joining the British against the Lâhor Government on the outbreak of hostilities doing much towards wiping out the injury done to his State by his wild and imbecile predecessor. He did not, however, live to reap the reward of his loyalty, for he died on 23rd Dec. 1845, the day after the battle of Phêrûshahr (Ferozeshah). His coin is shown in figs. 5 and 6, the special mark being a saif or two-handed sword.13

The next chief was Narindar Singh, the son of Karm Singh, who died in 1862, after doing as much for his State as the ablest of his predecessors had done, and whose comparatively loyal action in the Sikh War and whole hearted loyalty in the Mutiny enlarged its borders to their present extent. His coin is shown in fig. 7 with a spear-head as his special mark.14

Narindar Singh was succeeded by his son, Mahindar Singh, who did nothing remarkable

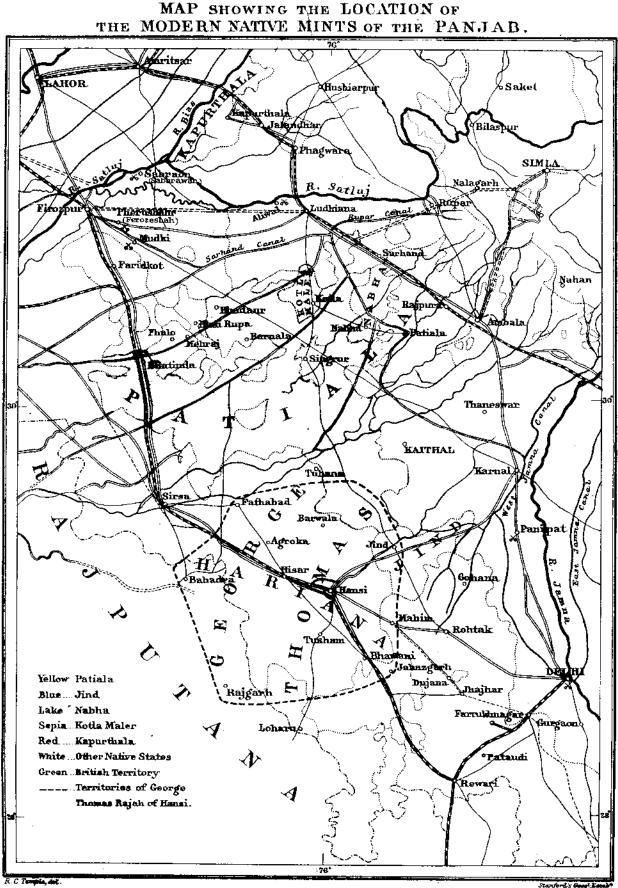
during his 14 years of rule up to his death in 1876. His coin is depicted in fig. 9 with a halberd head for the distinguishing sign.<sup>15</sup>

Rajindar Singh, the son of Mahindar Singh, is the present Maharaja of Pațiala, to whose kindness, through his Minister - for he was a small boy when I procured the collection -the bulk of the Pațiâlă coins reproduced in the plate attached to this paper are due. His peculiar sign is the well-known katar or dagger of India. His coin is represented in figs. 8, 10, 11, 12, 13 and 14. No 14, a gold coin, was specially struck for me on the occasion of my visit to the Patiala mint in 1884. In this connection I should draw attention to a curious coin represented by Mr. Rodgers as fig. 17, Plate II., of his Coins of Ahmad Shah Abdall, in Vol. LIV., Part I., (1885), of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. It is reproduced here for reference.



Bodgers's Coin of Båjindar Singh of Pațiâlă.

- <sup>14</sup> But see post, pp. 825, 835, 836.
  <sup>14</sup> But see post, pp. 825, 835, 836.
  <sup>14</sup> Griffin, op. cit. p. 336, seems to argue that Amar Singh was the first Patiala Edia to use Ahmad Shah's coins but I hardly think this is likely under the circumstances and it is against the testimony of the local bankers.
  <sup>15</sup> But see post, pp. 825, 336.
  <sup>16</sup> But see post, pp. 825, 336.
  <sup>18</sup> But see post, pp. 825, 336.
- But see post, pp. 325, 386.
   But see post, pp. 825, 886.



At p. 75, in describing it he calls it "a modern Patiala rupee presented to me by the Foreign Minister of the State." It is, however, doubtful whether any such coin was ever current, as it is much larger and must be very much thinner than the regular Patiala rupee. Most likely the Minister had a medal struck for him exhibiting the whole die or nearly all of it. Its chief value is that it gives the whole legend for all practical purposes.<sup>16</sup>

We have therefore before us, as regards the Patiala State, a specimen of the coinage of each ruler that has had the right to coin in his own name, or rather on his own account, and so can trace the coins from generation to generation. These rulers reigned as follows :---

Rájá Álha Singh A.D. 1729-1765	36 years.
Rájû Amar Singh 1765-1781	16 years.
Mahârâjâ Sâhib Singh 1781-1813	32 years.
Mahârâjâ Karm Singh 1813-1845	32 years.
Maharaja Narindar Singh 1845-1862	17 years.
Mahârâjâ Mahindar Singh 1862-1876	14 years.
Mahârâjâ Râjindar Singh 1876 to date	

I think the fair inference to be drawn from these coins is that in the 140 years during which they have been issued no material change has taken place in the artistic merit of the die-cutters.

Another interesting result from the study of this set of coins is that, although all of them are modern and many of them quite recent, there is a conflict of competent opinion as to which ruler the various types are to be assigned. This shows how very uncertain and difficult is accurate enquiry into the historical facts connected with semi-barbarous oriental peoples.

Griffin, op. cit. (p. 286, footnote), quoting official documents, says that Amar Singh established the Patiâlâ mint and was the first to coin rupees: — "in fact in another place in the Pâtiâlâ Reports Sanvat 1820 (A.D. 1763) is mentioned as the year." But Amar Singh did not succeed till 1765. And though it is quite possible that in minting the first coin, an old coin (*i.e.* of the year 4) and not a current coin (*i.e.* of the year 14 or 16) of Ahmad Shah was taken as the sample, yet the Patiâlâ and indeed all the Pañjâb Rupees bear the date the date +

Again says Griffin : — "Mahârâjâ Amar Singh's rupee is distinguished by the representation of a kalghî (small aigrette plume); Mahârâjâ Sâhib Singh by that of a saif (or two-edged sword); Mahârâjâ Karm Singh had a shanskêr (bent sabre) on his coin; Mahârâjâ Narindar Singh's coin had a kat!!á (or straight sword) as his distinguishing mark. The present Mahârâjâ's rupee is distinguished by a dagger." At Pațiâlâ I found that the officials knew very little, but that the bankers knew a great deal, and traditionally knew to whom to assign the various rupees at once. Their statements were that Âlhâ Singh, Amar Singh, Sâhib Singh all used the kalghi, Karm Singh the saif, Narindar Singh a spear-head, Mahindar Singh, (the "present Mahârâjâ" of Griffin.) a halberd-head, and Râjindar Singh, subsequent to the date of Griffin's book, a dagger. It seems to me to be hardly possible that the bankers could err on so recent a coinage as that of Mahindar Singh and Narindar Singh when confronted with it, and I have preferred their statements, as given to me direct, to those of the books.

The next set of coins on the plate belongs to the **Rajas of Jind**, whose history we will now examine. Tilokha, the eldest son of Phûl, had two sons, Gurdittâ and Sukchain, from the former of whom sprang the Râjâs of Nâbhâ and from the latter the **Rajas of Jind**.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Mr. Bodgers gives a hand-drawn illustration, which may not be quite correct. After the word  $\lambda = 10^{-1}$  and above the word j on the obverse is an inexplicable date  $\forall I$ . This might mean A. H. 1272 which = A.D. 1855-6. or St. 1872 which = A.D. 1815, or Saka St. 1772 (very unlikely) which = A.D. 1850. All are impossible dates for Beijindar Singh, who came to the throne in 1876. Perhaps we should read PI for  $\forall I$ , taking  $\forall$  to be a misreading for the latter portion of I'', which would make the date St. 1982 = A. H. 1292 = A.D. 1875-6.

Sukchain died in 1751 without doing anything remarkable, leaving three sons - Alam Singh who died in 1764, Gajpat Singh, the founder of the Jind State, and Buliki Singh, the founder of the Diålpuriå family. Alam Singh was a good soldier and took part in the capture of Sarhand already mentioned, getting a large accession of territory in consequence. But he died childless a year or so afterwards, Gajpat Singh succeeding to his estates. Gajpat Singh was a remarkable man and a prominent figure in those troublous times. Like all the Sikh chiefs of the day he underwent many ups and downs, alternately fighting and serving the feeble Court of Dehli, being sometimes its prisoner, sometimes its petted official, and sometimes its open foe. In 1772 he received the title of Raja from the Emperor Shah 'Alam and according to Jind History began to coin as an independent prince in that year. If this be correct — and it would seem to be so -- his coinage and that of his State is exceedingly interesting, as showing that he actually borrowed the die in use in the Pațiâlâ State in its entirety, although it showed Ahmad Shah to be suzerain, whereas his own suzerain was Shah 'Alam. Ordinarily, of course, if he borrowed a coinage at all it would have been that of Shah 'Alam.17 Gajpat Singh died in 1786 and was succeeded by his son, Bhag Singh. His coin is shown in fig. 15.

Bhâg Singh was also a prominent ruler and had a long reign, dying in 1819. He was distinguished as being the first Sikh Chief to seek an alliance with the British Government. This was in 1803. He was also the uncle, but hardly the friend, of the great Rañjit Siúgh of Lâhôr, whose mother, the ill-starred Bibi Râj Kanwar, was his sister. He did much for his State, though his later years were clouded by illness and family troubles. He is represented by figs. 17 and 18, his coins being peculiar in having the reverse quite blank.

Bhåg Singh was succeeded by his son Fath Singh, who had a short and uneventful reign, dying in 1822. I have no specimen of his coin.

He was succeeded by his son, Sangat Singh, an extravagant debanchee, who thoroughly misgoverned his State and died childless in 1834. His coin is that shown in fig. 16.

On the death of Sangat Singh, under Sikh law the state lapsed to its suzerain, the British Government; but after some consideration the collateral heir, **Sarop Singh**, was allowed to succeed to the major portion of it. A fine and gallant soldier, a just and honest man, a truly loyal fendatory of the British Crown, — doing signal service in the Mutiny, — he greatly increased the importance and prestige of his State during his long and prosperous reign. He died in 1864. His coin is represented in fig. 21.

His successor, Raghbir Singh, who died as lately as 1885, was worthy of his illustrious father. It is to him that I owe the two specimens of his coinage given in figs. 19 and 20.

These dates correspond exactly to facts, for Bahédur Shéh succeeded in 1837, so that his year 10 is 1847, which is also A.H. 1263. The coin of the year 19 is interesting as being one of the very last coins struck under the Mughal Dynasty. [It afterwards passed into the collection of the late Mr. Gibbs].

Prinsep's Useful Tables, 1834, Part I., pp. 2 to 4, may be usefully read in connection with the above remarks.

1

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> As a commentary on the above and on the fact of *all* the Pañjâb coine even to the present day purporting to acknowledge the suzerainty of Ahmad Shâh, I may here quote the following remarks regarding the Jâypûr State coinage, made by me in *Punjâb Notes and Queries*, Vol. 11., note No. 695.

<sup>&</sup>quot;A quantity of gold mohars of the Jâypûr Rêjês that lately (1983) passed through my hands, exhibited that numismatie falsification of history which appears to be the rule in the modern coins of the petty States of India.

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These coins then clearly show Bahâdur Shâh as suzerain of the late Mr. Gibbsj. The British Government took over Järpür as suzerain in 1818, vigorously asserted its rights in 1835, when the Rájá, Mangal Sen, in whose time all these coins were struck, came to the throne, and especially interfered in the management of the State until 1857."

The coins therefore of the Jind State show those of rulers who reigned as follows : ---

Rájá Ga	jpat Singh, A.I	D. 1764-1786		22 years.	
Rájû Bh	âg Singh "	1786-1819		33 years.	
[Râjâ F	th Singh "	1819-1822		3 years.] <sup>18</sup>	
	ngat Singh "	1822-1834		12 years.	
•	rûp Singh "	1834 - 1864		30 years.	
	ghbîr Singh "	1864-1885	· • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	21 years.	
	nbîr Singh "	1885 to dat	te.	-	

I think the same inference may be drawn from this set as from that given of the Mahâràjâs of Patiâlâ — that the type has not materially changed throughout 120 years.

We must pass on to the history of the owners of the next set of coins shown in figs. 22 to 26, viz., the Sardars, or more popularly, the Bhais of Kaithal. The State is now extinct, and I have not found it possible to refer the individual coins to particular rulers, though distinctions were apparently made between their issues.

The Kaithal family traces its descent direct from the eldest son of Siddhu, whereas the Phulkian descent springs from the second son. Its connection with the Phulkian Rajas is therefore a very distant one, but it has always been recognized, and a short time before the State lapsed to the British Crown under the Sikh law of inheritance, the Bhais of Kaithal were most important chiofs; -- the last, Bhâi Udai Singh, being received at a Governor General's Darbâr in 1828, as of equal rank with, and senior to, the Râjâs of Jind and Nâbhâ.<sup>19</sup> The loss of their State to the family under the operation of the law was directly due to the action of its own representatives; for on the death of Sangat Singh of Jind in 1834, as above described. without heirs, a plain opportunity was given by the British Government to the principal Sikh Chiefs to choose between the payment of a fixed tribute, or the existing freedom from payment coupled with the chance of lapses to Government on the failure of direct heirs. The chiefs finally "preferred the easy terms which they enjoyed in the present to a more secure future which involved some present sacrifice." The result was the almost immediate lapse of a part of Jind and the total lapse of Kaithal within nine years.<sup>20</sup> The folly of the decision of the chiefs becomes the more apparent when it is considered that failure of direct heirs has always been a common occurrence in great Sikh families, owing to the intemperance and private vices so frequent, at any rate at that time, among them.

The founder of the Kaithal Chiefship was Bhåt Gurbakhsh Singh, friend and contemporary of Råjå Álhå Singh of Patiälå (1729-1765). He was succeeded by his fourth son, Bhåt Dåsh Singh, who actually conquered Kaithal town from some Afghån Chiefs in 1767, and afterwards much enlarged his borders. He died in 1781, and was practically succeeded by his second son, Bhåt Lål Singh, after the latter had murdered the heir, his elder brother, Bhåt Bahål Singh. An able, utterly untrustworthy, violent and unscrupulous man, he greatly enlarged his estate in those troubled times, and became the most powerful Cis-Satluj Chief after Patiälâ. He died an old man in 1819, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Bhåt Partáb Singh, and then in 1824 by his younger son, Bhåt Udai Singh, a prominent figure in his day, who died childless in 1843. Upon this all but an insignificant part of the State became British territory.<sup>21</sup>

The Bhâis of Kaithai therefore ruled as follows<sup>22</sup> :--

14 years.
38 years.
5 years.
19 years.

<sup>15</sup> No coin of this Råjå has been found.
 <sup>15</sup> Griffin, op. cit. p. 370 n.
 <sup>26</sup> Griffin, op. cit. p. 330.
 <sup>27</sup> Bhål is the title of a Sikh saint or holy man, and is used as a prefix by his descendants. The Kaithal Chiefs got their title of Bhål from Bhål Råmdiål, the father of Gurbakhah Singh, a personage of great sanctity in his time.
 <sup>26</sup> As an instance of the great difficulty of dates when writing of such histories as this, I may say that Ibbetson's Gazetteer of the Karal District, pp. 38-40, differs somewhat from Griffin's Köjds of the Pañjdb, pp. 48-49, and that both authors worked on the best original sources of information procurable on the spot.

The coins of these chiefs are very rough but interesting, as showing a falling off in artistic merit from those of the surrounding Râjâs. They are all of one type, but the "minor marks" differ considerably.<sup>23</sup>

We must now turn to the history of the Afghans of Kóţla-Maler, because their coins follow the general type of those of the chiefs already discussed, although, properly speaking, the history of the Phûlkîân State of Nûbhâ should come next.

The history of Kötlâ-Mûlêr has been written in a useful little book — A Description of the Principal Kötlâ Afghâns, by Khûnsâhib 'Inâyat 'Ali Khân of Mâlêr-Kötlâ, (Lahore, "Civil and Military Gazette" Press, 1882.) The Khûnsâhib is the brother of the present Nawâb Ibrâhîm 'Ali Khân, and the book was kindly sent to me by him. It is somewhat confused, but we may take it to be the best public information on the subject in existence.

The founder of the Kötlâ family at Mâlêr was Shêkh Sadr Jahân, a Sarwânl Afghân, who was a Sûfî saint of much celebrity in his time, and who came into prominence from his connection with Sultân Bahlôl Lôdi. This ruler, in fulfilment, it is said, of a vow, gave him a daughter in marriage in 1454 A.D. with, of course, a suitable dowry in the shape of land. After this the Shêkh contracted a second wealthy marriage into the family of a local magnate. He left three sons — Hasan, 'Îsâ and Mûsâ. Hasan by the Lôdî Princess, and 'Îsâ and Mûsâ by the local lady. The present Kôțlâ-Mâlêr family is descended from 'Îsâ, the descendants of Hasan being nowadays merely the *mujawwirs*, or attendants at the shrine of Sadr Jahân.

Originally the property acquired by Sadr Jahân was equally divided amongst his sons, and this gave rise to a pernicious custom which was, that every scion of the house got his own share of the State, with full rights, fiscal, judicial and administrative over it, the eldest living member being the Rafs or Chief. The Chief was thus really only primus inter pares, and the State never had much power in consequence. The rule of primogeniture as regards the chiefship was introduced in course of time through the action of the British Government, but the rights of sovereignty were not vested in the Chief alone until quite recently. Much of the revenue of the State is still split up amongst the collaterals of the Chief.

The fifth in descent from Sadr Jahân, Bazid Khân, was the first to considerably enlarge the family estates, and founded Kôțlâ, near Mâlêr, in 1657. His grandson, Shêr Muhammad Khân, was a prominent general of his time, and in his days began that incessant fight with the Sikhs, under Gurâs Têgh Bahâdur and Gobind Singh, which lasted up to quite modern times and almost wiped out the State of Kôțlâ-Mâlêr. He did not, however, suffer much himself, and died in 1712, after converting the State into one of some importance. The next Ra'is was his son, Ghulâm Hussain Khân, a timid man, and on his death his sons were excluded from the chiefship for what was considered to be pusillanimity. His successor was his brother, Jamâl Khân, a great chief in his day and the ancestor of all the present Kôțlâ Afghâns of any importance.

On the death of Jamil Khân, the principality was split up into five sections among his five sons, of whom the eldest, Bhikan Khân, became Ra'is under the law above explained. He seems to have been a temporizer and to have been a friend of the Sikhs and Ahmad Shah Durrant alternately. From the latter he received the right to coin in his own name, and was killed by the former in 1763. I have no specimen of his coin unfortunately.

Bhikan Khân left two sons. Wazîr Khân, and Fath Khân, but his brother, Bahadur Khân, succeeded under the local law of seniority. I have no specimens of his coin.

Bahådur Khân also left two sons, Himmat Khân and Dalíl Khân, but again the chiefship went to the next eldest brother, 'Umr Khân. His coin is shown in figs. 27 and 28, being the best from an artistic point of view of the whole series. Asadu'llah Khân, the fourth brother, next became Râ'is and lived amicably with his neighbours until his death in 1782. His coin is represented in fig. 29.

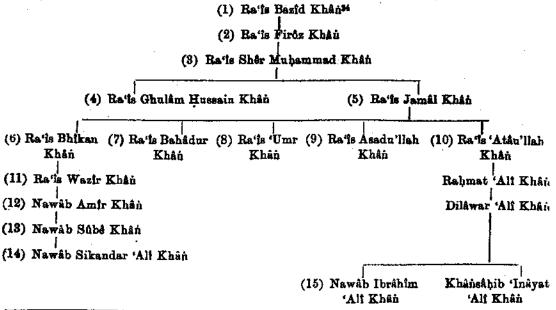
'Atâu'llah Khân, the last of the five sons of Jamâl Khân, succeeded him. He lived in troublous times and practically lost his State to that arch-devourer, Rañjît Singh of Lâhôr, but it was restored him in part under British protection by Sir David Ochterlony. He died in 1809, leaving three sons, Rahmat 'Ali Khân, Fazal 'Alî Khân and Imâm 'Alî Khân, but the family law of seniority made the title of Ra'îs revert to Wastr Khân, the eldest son of Bhîkan Khân. This was the last time it was applied, for the British Government now stepped in, and no doubt taking advantage of the fact that Wazîr Khân happened to be the eldest son of the eldest son directed that the law of primogeniture should apply in future. I have no coin of 'Atâu'llah Khân. Wazîr Khân led an uneventful life, dying in 1821. I have no specimen of his coin.

He was succeeded by his son, Amir Khân, and was the last to bear the title of Ra'is, for the British Government conferred on him the title of Nawâb. He died in 1845 (?). Three specimens of his coins are figured in the plate, Nos. 30, 31, 32.

His son was Mabbub 'All Khân, better known as Sube Khân. Like his Sikh neighbours, he was on our side in the Mutiny and died in 1859. His coin is shown in fig. 34.

His son was Sikandar 'Ali Khân, who is said to have been an hermaphrodite and seems to have spent all his time in quarrelling with his relatives. He was credited with two sons, Ghans Muhammâd Khân and Roshan 'Alî Khân, who both died early and so saved the dispute as to legitimacy, which was contemplated, had they outlived their reputed father. He died in 1871, and on his death there was a dispute as to the succession, which was decided in favour of the present ruler, Ibrahim 'Ali Khân, the eldest surviving descendant of 'Atân'llah Khân. Advantage was taken of this decision to make the holder of the title of Nawâb, already made hereditary by strict primogeniture, the head of the State in every way, instead of allowing his collaterals to exercise independent powers within their own shares of the family possessions. Fig. 33 represents the coin of Sikandar 'Ali Khân, and figs. 35 and 36 that of Ibrâhîm 'Ali Khân.

The following table may help to explain the complicated succession of. Raises and Nawabs of Kötlå-Målår :---



" The figures in brackets show the order of succession to the chiefships.

As regards the coins of these chiefs they extend over the following reigns :---

[Ra'îs Bhikan Khận A.D.	1761-1763 reigned	1 2 years. ]25
[ <b>Ra'îs Bahâdur Kh</b> ân	1763-1768 "	5 years.]
Ra'is 'Umr Khân	1768-1778 "	10 years.
Ra'îs Asadu'llah Khân	1778-1782 "	4 years.
[Ra'îs 'Atâu'llah Khan	1782-1809	27 years.]
[Ra'îs Wazîr Khân	1809-1821 "	12 years.]
Nawâb Amîr Khâń	1821-1845 "	24 years.
Nawâb Sûbê Khân		14 years.
Nawâb Sikandar 'Alî Khân	1859-1871 "	12 years.
Nawâb Ibrâhîm 'Alî Khân		

We have no coins of the chiefs before 'Umr Khân; but from his time to the present, about 100 years, we find no great difference in type, except that his coin, i.e. the oldest coin, is the best cut of all.

We must now turn to the last set of coins on the plate, those of the **Rajas of Nabha**. As above explained these chiefs are sprung from **Gurditta**, the eldest son of Tilôkhâ, the eldest son of Phûl. He founded Sangrûr, long the head-quarters of the Nabhâ State, but now included in Jînd. He died in 1754, his estates passing to his grandson, **Hamir Singh**, who was a brave and energetic chief, and practically the founder of the Nabhâ State.

Hamir Singh established a mint, how is not exactly known, and became independent. He died in 1783, and was succeeded by his son, Jaswant Singh, then a boy. I have unfortunately no specimens of his coin.

Jaswant Singh ruled all through the troubled days of Ranjît Singh of Lâhôr, during which he managed to uphold the honour of his State. He obtained the title of Râjâ by patent from the Court of Dehlî. Grasping and unscrupulous as regards rival potentates, he was a good administrator and ruled his State well. He died in 1840, and throughout his career was a firm friend of the English Government. Figures 37, 38, 39, and 40 represent his coinage.

He was succeeded by his son, Dêvindar Singh, a vain, foolish, and arrogant prince, whose unfriendly conduct during the Sikh war of 1845-6 ended in his deposition by the British Government in the latter year, and the confiscation of one-fourth of his territory. He was succeeded in that year by his son, Bharpûr Singh, then seven years old, but lived on at Mathurâ and Lâbôr as a state prisoner till 1865. I have no specimen of his coin.

Bharpur Singh attained his majority in the year of the Mutiny, when he greatly assisted the English with men and money in every way, and reaped his reward in an accession of territory and the right of adoption. He was an intelligent and earnest prince, and was moreover a good vernacular and English scholar, a rare accomplishment for a Sikh prince in his days. He died in 1863 without issue, and was succeeded by his younger brother, Bhagwan Siagh. His coinage is represented by figs. 41, 42, 43, and 44 Plate II.

Bhagwan Singh commenced his reign under circumstances of great domestic trouble, which led to a commission of enquiry being ordered by the Government of India; but he came out of the ordeal without loss of dignity or character, and ended his days in peace in 1871. I have no specimen of his coins. He was succeeded by his son, HirA Singh, whose coins are represented in figs. 45 and 46. It is to his personal kindness and interest in such matters that I was enabled to obtain the specimen of the Nâbhâ coinage now published.

The coins of the Nåbhå State therefore extend over the reigns of all the chiefs of that State, thus:--

> [Sardâr Hamîr Singh 1754-1783 reigned 29 years.]<sup>26</sup> Râja Jaswant Singh 1783-1840 " 57 years. [Râjâ Dêvindar Singh 1840-1846 " 6 years.]<sup>26</sup> Râjâ Bharpûr Singh 1846-1863 " 19 years. [Râjâ Bhagwân Singh 1863-1871 " 8 years.]<sup>26</sup> Râjâ Hirâ Singh 1871 to date

26 I have no coins of the chiefs whose names are in brackets. 28 I have no specimens of the coins of these rulers.

NOVEMBER, 1889.

The Nabha coins are remarkable for an attempt to vary the stereotyped form of the coinage of these Panjab chiefs, but it will be observed that originality has not gone beyond imitating the legend of the overshadowing State of Lahor. In one instance (No. 40) the year of the reign has dropped out to make way for the date of the era in use. The Nabha legend runs thus :----

Griffin, who had never seen the coins, and writing from information, says, p. 288, footnote, that the words فرب نا بها should be , سرکار نا بها but the coins themselves have obviously on them what is above given. The above is the ordinary Sikh or Nanakshahi legend, and the change in legend seems to take place with the reign of Bharpur Singh ; but as there are no specimens of Dêvindar Singh it is not possible to say whether the change should be ascribed to the Sikh fansticism of Dêvindar Singh or to the scholastic tendencies of Bharpur Singh. There is no appreciable change otherwise in type to be observed in these coins between the earlier and the later specimens.

Some reference should here be made to the coinage, real or mythical, of the Kapurthala This state was founded by Jassa Singh Ahluwalia (1718-1783 A.D.) one of the most State. prominent Sikh chieftains of his day. He is said to have struck a coin, a story widely spread all over the Pañjâb, with the following extraordinary legend :---

> سكر زد درجهان بفضل اكال متلك المبد كرفت جسا كلال

Griffin, in his Rajds of the Pańjab, p. 460, note 2, remarks that the coin could not have been struck before 1762, (whereas Cunningham, History of the Sikhs, makes out they were struck in 1757-8,) that he had never seen one himself, and that the Raja of Kapurthala did not possess one. He then goes on to say :-- "The Tawarikh-i-Panjab of Ganês Das states that the Sikhs did not strike the coin, but that the Qûzis and Mullas in 1764, after the famous Nânakshâhî [Låhôr] rupee had been struck, desiring to anger Ahmad Shâh against the Sikhs, coined twenty rapees with this inscription themselves and sent them to the Shah at Kabûl, who was as indignant as they anticipated at the insolence of the Distiller, (kaldh,) who claimed to have seized his country, mulk-i-Ahmad ! The title or term Jassa Kalal is an allusion to the humble origin of the Åhluwalia family. Cunningham, p. 97, 2nd ed. quotes Browne, Tracts, ii. 19; Malcolm, Sketch of the Sikhs, p. 93 [wrongly, should be p. 95]; Elphinstone, Caubul, ii. 289; and Murray, Runjeet Singh, p. 15; and he no doubt took his information direct from Malcolm. Mr. Rodgers, Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, part I., 1881, pp. 77-8, gives the couplet and makes the remark that he has never been able to find the coin. I may add that I have frequently made similar attempts myself without success. It seems that the Kapurthala Rajas never had a coinage otherwise.

Among the more notorious Indian adventurers towards the end of the last century was the whilom able seaman, George Thomas, Raja of Hansi. The authority on the subject of his exploits is the Military Memoirs of Mr. George Thomas, by William Francklin, and they have been dealt with in more or less detail by several writers.28 Thomas originally came to India in

is a mock Arabicism for ديگ a pot, cauldron, and refers to the langar or public kitchen then

<sup>27 25</sup> is a model Arabidiam for C2.3 a pot, cauldron, and refers to the langar or public kitchen then kept up by every Sikh Chief.
28 Military Memoirs | of | Mr. George Thomas, | who by extraordinary talent and enterprise, rose | from an obscure situation to the rank of a general | In the service of the Native powers in the North-West of India— Through the work are interspersed | geographical and statistical accounts of several of the states composing the interior of the Peninsula, especially the countries of Jypoor, and Oudipoor, by Geographers denominated Rajputaneh, the Seike of Punjab, the territory of Beykaneer and the country adjoining the great desert to the westward of Hurriauch. | Compiled and arranged from Mr. Thomas' original documents. | By William Franck-lin | Captain of Infantry. | Member of the Asiatic Society | Author of a tour to Persis | And the History of Shah Aulum | Mores, populos et pratia dicam | Calcutta | Printed for the author at the Hurkarn Press | A.D. 1803 | entered at Stationer's Hall.

a man-of-war in 1781-2, and entered the service of various chiefs in Southern India, and by 1787 had found his way into the far North-West to the Court of the Bogam Samra at Sardhana, whose service he entered. This he quitted in 1792, for that of Apa Khanda Rav, with which Maratha chief he quarrelled in 1795. He was now a personage of importance in possession of a jagir granted by his late chief and was able to help Bêgam Samrû when in distress. Upon Âpâ Khandâ Râv's suicide in 1797, Thomas seems to have been on uniformly bad terms with his successors, and spent most of his time in defending his jágir from their attacks. In 1798, taking advantage of the troubles of the times, he appears to have given up the lands he held from the Maråthás, and to have seized the district round Hisar and Hansi, known as Hariana. The latter town he made his capital and established himself as Râjâ thereof. His territory, according to Francklin, comprised 253 villages and paid a revenue of about Rs. 3,00,000. Again, according to Francklin, p. 93, to quote the remarkable words he has put into Thomas's mouth, "'here, says Mr. Thomas (with that energy and spirited animation which distingnished him throughout the scenes of his extraordinary life), 'here I established a mint and coined my own rupees, which I made current in my army and country, etc." After establishing himself at Hâusî, the rest of Thomas's life, like that of the neighbouring chiefs, was one of perpetual war : in his case, against the Marathas and the Sikhs, as represented chiefly by the chiefs of Pațiâlâ, Nâbhâ and Jind. In his case also, it ended in a general combination against him, his flight into British Territory and his death at Berhampore (Babrampur) in 1802.

The Tarkh Makhzan Pañjáb of Mufti Ghulâm Sarwar Qurêshî of Lâhor, published by Nawal Kishor at Lucknow in 1877, repeats the assertion about the coinage of George Thomas, in its account of him, pp. 17-18. الكريزكا ماحب عرف جهاز ماحب الكريزكا. The actual words at the bottom of p. 110 are الكريزكا مكاجاري كيا "after completing his administrative arrangements Mr. Thomas issued coins in his own name." Thomas, it is true, ruled only for a very short time, and all trace of his coins may have been lost; but, if issued in any quantity, this seems hardly possible. He built a fort, due east of, and not far from, Dehli, which he named after himself George-garh, but which is now known as Jaházgarh, just as he is known as Jaház Sâhib, apparently in conscious recollection of his origin, for says the Tarikh Makhsan Pañjáb :

جارج طامس ماحب انگريز بهي بعهد عملداري مرٿهون ے ايک رئيس ڪود مشتار ضلع پريائر وغيرہ مين ہو گذرا ہي پُہلے يہ شخص انگريزي جہازون مين ذليل عہدو پر نوکر تھا.

In his territory also were the towns of Hânsî, Hisâr, Bhawânî, Fathâbâd, Jînd and Tuhânâ. In some of these places therefore there may be coins belonging to him lurking in money-changers boxes. It is worth while searching. I have never myself been able to make a personal search for Thomas's coin, nor have I ever heard of any one who has possessed or seen one, though I have frequently enquired in likely directions.

# III. MINOR MARKS.<sup>39</sup>

It will have been observed already that the only method of distinguishing the coin of one chief from another's is by the **special mark** each ruler puts upon those issued in his time. Thus, Alha Singh of Patiala had a kalght, Karm Singh a two-handed sword, Narindar Singh a spear head, and so on. Again, the Malèr-Kôèlà Nawâbs used the initials of their names as their distinguishing marks. But there is another possible method of separating out the coins of the rulers in cases like the coinage under consideration. Each would start a new die as he succeeded, which die would have to differ in some respects from that of his predecessors, and hence it might be possible to detect each ruler's coins by the **minor marks** and ornaments on it. These would then become important as the chief, and in many cases the only, method of

<sup>\*</sup> The importance of noting these on Indian coins was pointed out by Prinsep more than 50 years ago, but seems to be have been lost sight of by numismatists. See his remarks, Useful Tables, Part I, pp. 35, 36 and 53 to 56; and Plate III.

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identifying the coins. In the following detailed description I have therefore very carefully considered the minor marks on the 46 coins of the plates. The result shows that the minor marks are a good, though not complete, indication of the ownership of a particular coin, because some rulers used more than one die and the moneyers were not always careful to preserve the ornaments intact in duplicating the die. E.g., the two coins of Alha Singh of Patisla (figs. 1 and 2) are from different dies, and exhibit different marks. The same remark holds good of the two specimens (figs. 19 and 20) of coins of Raghbir Singh of Jind, of 'Umr Khûn of Mâlêr-Kôțlâ (figs. 27 and 28) and of Ibrâhim 'Alî Khâu of Mâlêr-Kôțlâ (figs. 35 and 36). Again, as to the coins of Nabha, which are dated and thus distinguished, of the four specimens of Jaswant Singh of Nabha (figs. 37, 38, 39, 40), all are of different dies and have different minor marks; while the four specimens of Bharpûr Singh of Nâbhâ (figs. 41, 42, 43, 44) are from three dies, 30 each die differing in its marks. On the other hand, Râjindar Singh of Pațiâlâ has apparently only used one die (figs. 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14), Bhâg Singh of Jind two dies without alteration of marks (figs. 17 and 18), as have also Karm Singh of Pațiâlâ (figs. 5 and 6), Amîr Khûn of Mûlêr-Kôțlâ (figs. 30, 31, and 32),<sup>31</sup> and Hîrâ Siùgh of Nûbhû (figs. 45 and 46). And in all the cases of single specimens, the dies and marks are both peculiar to each ruler; e.g., Narindar Singh and Mahindar Singh of Pațiâlâ; Gajpat Singh, Sanghat Singh, and Sarûp Singh of Jînd ; Sikandar 'Âlî Khûn and Sûbe Khân of Mûlêr-Kôțlâ.

A complication in using the minor marks for the purposes of identification is caused by the facts that successive rulers, such as Amar Singh and Sähib Singh of Patiâlâ, have used apparently the same die (figs. 3 and 4), and that the coin of Asadu'llah Khân differs from that of his successor Amîr Khân of Mâlêr-Kôtlâ only in the form of the distinguishing initial letter 6

The coins of Kaithal are too crude to help us much here: but figs. 22 and 24 seem to be from the same die; while figs. 23, 25, and 26 have all distinctive marks, are struck from different dies, and belonged (?) to separate chiefs of that line. Indeed, one is almost tempted to apportion the coins respectively to Bhâi Dêsâ Singh, Bhâî Lâl Singh, Bhâî Partâb Singh, and Bhâî Udai Singh.

## IV. METHOD OF MINTING.

Griffin, *Rhids of the Pañjáb*, in a long footnote extending over pages 286-289, gives the detailed report of General R. G. Taylor, at one time Agent to the Lieutenant-Governor of the Pañjâb for the Cis-Satinj States, on the mints of those States, which is of much value in connection with this paper, and, indeed with the study generally of the methods of Oriental mints. Any one who has entered into Indian or Oriental numismatics generally, must be convinced that, where the European method of minting has not been adopted, Orientals coin now as they have done at any time these 2,000 years. Any knowledge, then, that we can gather now of the working of a genuine Eastern mint will no doubt explain what has occurred in Eastern mints as a rule since the days that coins began to be used.

General Taylor asked the authorities at Patiâlâ, Jînd, and Nâbhâ, six questions, viz :---

(1) The political condition of the coinage.

- (2) The nature, title, and character of the coinage.
- (3) The annual outturn of the establishment and value of the coinage as compared with that of the British Government.
- (4) The process of manufacture and any particulars as to the artificers employed.

(5) The arrangements for receiving bullion and the charges (if any) levied for its conversion into coin.

(6) The extent of the currency.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Figs. 48 and 44 have been struck from the same die.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Figs, 31 and 32 are from the same die.

Patiâlâ, as might be expected, gave the best answers; and as regards the first question we may pass over all the replies, as recapitulating what has been already written herein, except to note that in 1857 Patiâlâ very nearly succeeded in ousting her old coinage for a modern English rupee on the plan that Alwar adopted later, and as Mindôn Min of Burma succeeded in doing for his country about the same time. Passing on, we find that the Patiâlâ rupees are called Bajashahi, the Jind rupees Jindiâ, and the Nabhā rupees simply Nabhā.

Only silver, and occasionally gold, is coined. The Patiâlâ rupee weighs 111 máshas of pure silver and is of the full value of a rupee. The weight of the Jînd rupee is the same, but its value is only about 12 ands ( $\frac{1}{2}$  rupee). The Nûbhâ rupee is also of the same weight, and is valued at 15 ands ( $\frac{15}{2}$  rupee).

The Pațiilâ mohar is a valuable coin, being 10<sup>‡</sup> máshas of pure gold. Jind does not coin gold, but the Nübha Government sometimes strikes a mohar of 9<sup>‡</sup> máshas of pure gold.

In none of these States is there any regular outturn of coinage. Special occasions and sometimes economical necessities oblige the mint to become active by fits and starts. In fact the moneyers only work when "necessity drives." In Jind and Näbhâ, royal marriages and great state functions are practically the only occasions when money is coined in any quantity.

Jînd apparently keeps up no establishment for its mint, but Pațiâlâ and Nâbhâ do so. The Pațiâlâ establishment consists of a superintendent, a clerk, two assayers, one weigher, ten smiths, ten moneyers, four refiners and one engraver. The Nâbhâ establishment is on a still smaller scale, viz., one superintendent, one assayer, one smelter, one refiner, one smith. The refining is carefully performed in both cases, and the silver and gold kept up to standard.

Jind has never received bullion for coining, but Pațiâlâ receives both silver and gold, and Nâbhâ silver. For silver Pațiâlâ charges the public  $l_{16}^{1}$  per cent. and for gold Rs. 24 per 100 coins, or  $l_{5}^{1}$  per cent. Nâbhâ charges less, only  $\frac{7}{3}$  per cent. for coining silver.

Jind rupees are current only within the State, but the Patiâlâ coins find currency both in the State and in its immediate neighbourhood in some quantity; while only a few Nâbhâ coins find their way outside the State.

The Målér-Köţlâ mint issues its coins apparently on precisely the same lines, the rupee going by the name of the Köţla rupee. Extensive frauds on the part of the mint masters, twice detected of late years in fraudulently alloying the silver, has depreciated the value of this rupee to 12 ánás (‡ rupee).<sup>32</sup>

'Umr Khân, 1768-78		9 máshas 4 rattis		
Amîr Khân, 1821-45	9	,, 2 ,,		
Mahbûb 'Alî (Sûbê) Khân, 1845-1859	8	"4"		
Sikandar 'Alî Khân, 1859-1871	8	., 2 ,,		
Ibrâhîm 'Alî Khân, 1871 to date	8	" l "		

No wonder the Khâisâhib 'Inâyat 'Alî Khân in the passage just quoted remonstrates against the practices of the Kôțlâ mint !

The present writer, as has been already noted, had the good fortune some five years ago to be escorted over the Patiala Mint, and to have been given an opportunity of noting what occurred.

The Mint is an ordinary Pañjâbi Court-yard, about 20 feet square in the open part, entered by a gateway leading into a small apartment doing duty as an entrance hall, the remainder of the courtyard being surrounded by low open buildings opening into it. These buildings, which looked like the "rooms" of a sarái, are the workshops.

<sup>39</sup> Principal Köllå Afghåns, p. 19, footnote.

The method of coining in this very primitive "Mint" is as follows :--- 35

The silver after being assayed is cast into small bars (reni) by being run into grooved iron moulds. The melting is done in the courtyard in very small quantities in little furnaces improvised for each occasion. The thickness of the bars is about the diameter of the rupees (vide the plate attached), and when cold they are cut up by a hammer and chisel by gness work into small weights, (gélrá), and weighed in small balances as accurately as hand-weighing will permit. These gélrás are afterwards heated and rounded by hammering into discs (mutallis) and again weighed by hand and corrected by small additions of silver hammered in cold, or by scraping. After this the disc is handed over to the professional weigher (wazankash) who finally weighs it by hand and passes it. It is then stamped by hammering, being put between two iron dies placed in a strong wooden frame. The lower die (reverse) is called páin and the apper (obverse) bálá. These dies are very much larger than the coins, so that only a portion of the legend can come off, and the coiners are not at all careful as to how much appears on the coin. The only thing they look to is to try and make the particular mark of the reigning chief appear. If they do not succeed it does not matter much.

Sir Richard Temple mentions in his diary kept in **Kasmir**, that in 1859<sup>34</sup> he visited the mint at Srinagar, and this is what he saw: "In the afternoon we went to see the Mahârâjâ's mint on the banks of the Nahari Mâr. The building and the whole workshop are very rude. The process of coining was as follows:—The silver and the alloy of base metal was first melted and fused. A piece of the required weight was then separated, made as nearly round as a rough hand could make it, and struck with a hammer over a die ! Thus was a rupee worth about 10 ánás ( $\frac{5}{6}$  rupee) of the East India Company's money produced !"

#### V. DETAILED DESCRIPTION.

Patiala.35

No. 1.— Coin of Ålhå Singh : ex coll. R. C. T.<sup>36</sup> Obverse :-- Legend

Marks : -- P over wand to over .

Reverse :--- Legend

در Marks: ---- wafter جلوس in من and the و Marks: ---- wafter ما س

No. 2. - Coin of Alha Singh .: ez coll. B. M.37

Obverse :--- Legend, badly cut

Marks : — P over بعد between باحدد and side ; de after s in side . What read like rif are really not figures, but the apparent r is the tail of p in the side as can be abundantly seen throughout the coins and the ' is part of the ornament.

Reverse :- Legend

Marks :-- S after the س of جلوس , being the kalght or full sign of Ålhå Singh, and S over the P; part of the border also appears in this coin.

<sup>38</sup> See Pañjáb Notes and Queries, Vol. II. note 188.

<sup>\*</sup> Journals kept in Hyderabad, Kashmir, Sikkim and Nepal, Vol. II. pp. 75-76.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Only the words actually visible on the coins are given. The letters of these words which are not actually visible owing to rubbing or cutting off are shown in brackets. All the coins are silver unless otherwise specially stated.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> That is ez coll. R. C. Temple.

T That is ez coll. British Museum. These coins are added to the plates to complete the evidence available.

No. 3.— Coin of Amar Singh : ex coll. R. C. T.

[<sup>قا</sup>]در [بیچ]ون [<sup>با</sup>] د شاهٔ سکر زن بر سیم و زر Obverse :- Legend Marks : - Obscure. [ضر] ب [ج] لوس [ميمذ]ت [مانو] س ُ Reverse : - Legend

Marks :- Apparently the same as those of Alha Singh, but coin recognized without hesitation as that of Amar Singh by local dealers.

No. 4.- Coin of Sahib Singh: ex coll. R. C. T.

[ حك]م [ب] المهد بادش [الا] س[كم] زن بو [ا] زاوج [م]اب[ي] Obverse :- Legend

Marks :-- W over y and & after c). It is to be observed that the tail of the p in comes clearly down between and i in this coin, as in No 1. This is the key to an حكم otherwise inexplicable letter throughout these coins.

Reverse :- Legend : same letters visible as on the preceding coin.

Marks : --- The same as on the preceding coin ; but coin recognized by dealers as Sahib Singh's. It would seem therefore that the first three Patiâlâ Râjâs did not vary their coins.

No. 5.— Coin of Karm Singh : ez coll. B. M.

[ ش] داز [ <sup>بی</sup>چ] ون [ با د] شاه [ س] کم زن برسیم و زر Obverse :- Legend Marks : -- None. [جلو]س 4 [ميمذ]ت

Reverse :--- Legend

Marks: -- M between the e and the من of جلوس and a fine two-handed sword (saif) after the س, being the full sign of Karm Singh.

No. 6.- Coin of Karm Singh : ex coll. R. C. T.

Obverse :---- Legend : same letters visible as in the previous specimen.

Marks : -- None.

Reverse :- Legend. Same letters visible as in the previous specimen.

Marks : - The same also, but the sword is not nearly so well cut.

No. 7.- Coin of Narindar Singh: ex coll. R. C. T.

شد [با] همه بادش [۶۱] س [کم] زن بر سد [م] اوج م [۱] ، [ي] Obverse : Legend

Marke : -- Pover Jacob

Reverse :-- Legend

[جلو]س 🎙 [ميمذ]ت [مانو]س

is to be observed that these particular marks do not thenceforward change. There is also after the جاوس of جاوس a spear-head-the full sign of Narindar Singh.

No. 8.-Coin of Rajindar Singh : ex coll. R. C. T.

This coin has got into the wrong order in the plate and will be considered below with Nos. 10, 11, 12, 18, and 14.

No. 9. - Coin of Mahindar Singh : ex coll. R. C. T.

Obverse :- Legend, unfortunately much rubbed but still visible :

[ش]داز[<sup>8]</sup>د]ر[<sup>بي</sup>ه]ون [ز]ن برسي[م]

Marks : - None.

Reverse : - Legend

[ جلو ] س 🎙 [ ميمذ ] ت [ مانو ] س

Marks : --- In addition to those in No. 7 + after the من of جلوس and oo over it ; R or halberd-head-the full sign of Mahindar Singh-

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# Nos. 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, and 14.-All coins of Rajindar Singh : ex coll. R. C. T.

## Jind.<sup>88</sup>

No. 15.— Coin of Gajpat Singh: ex coll. R. C. T. Obverse: Legend roughly cut [ع] زن بوم[يم] Marks: — None.

No 16.— Coin of Sangat Singu: ex coll. B. M. Obverse: --- Legend roughly cut Marks. -- None.

Reverse :- Legend clearer

Nos. 19 and 20.- Coins of Raghbir Singh: ex coll. R. C. T.

Legends well cut and clear, though coins are rubbed, and useful for completing couplets On No. 19 حکم عده comes out quite clearly, as also does the also of بادشاد , not usually visible on these coins. On both reverses صرب سر بند is clear, as also is the word which is not usually found in full.

No. 21,--- Coin of Sarup Singh: ex coll. B. M. [حكام شد از [با] حمد بادش[الا] س[كم] زن برس[يم] Obverse .-- Legend Marks : - P above [مر]ب جلوس 🎙 ميبنت مانوس Reverse : - Legend جلوس of و Marks :-- ، over the Kaithal. No. 22. Coin of the Sardar of Kaithal : 'ex coll. B. M. [باهم] ۵ باه ﴿شالا] س [کم] ارج Obverse :--- Legend Marks :--- None. [ضر] ب [جد] وس 🎙 [ميمذ]ت Reverse :-- Legend Marks :--- None. No. 23. Coin of the Sardar of Kaithal : ex coll. B. M. باد[شائ] س[كم] زي Obverse : - Legend, very rough.

Marks :--- Obscure.

[با]دش[الا] س[كم] زي برسيم

[ضر]ب [ج]لوس 4 [مد]منت

The coins of these Råjås are unfortunately not given in the order of reigns, which really occurred as follows, ---Gajpat, Bhåg, Fath (no specimen), Sangat, Sarüp, Raghbir.

[ ضر]ب [ جد ] وس 🎾 [ ميمد ] ت Reverse :--- Legend, very rongh Marks : -None. No. 24.-Coin of the Sardar of Kaithal ; ex coll. R. C. T. Obverse :- Legend, rough but better than the two preceding. [با] حمد با دش[الا] س [کر] زن [ ضر] ب [ جلو] س 4 [ميمذ]ت Reverse :--- Legend جلوس of س Marks : --- 8 before the No. 25.-Coin of the Sardar of Kaithal: ex coll. R. C. T. Obverse :- Legend, badly cut and worn بادش[الا] س[كم] ز[ن][س]يم Marks : --- None, but the mark  $\iint$  is apparently meant for the tail of the r of r. [ ضر] ب [ جا: ] و س 🖞 Reverse : Legend Marks : --- None. No. 26.-Coin of the Sardar of Kaithal ex coll. B. C. T. Obverse :- Legend, very rough شر، [با] حم[ ۵۰] [باد] ش[ <sup>ا</sup>لا] Marks : - 88 after . إ جاري 4 [ميمذ]ت Reverse :--- Legend جلوس of من Marks: --- 8 before the Kötla-Maler.

No. 27.-Coin of 'Umr Khan: ex coll. R. C. T. Obverse :- Legend, finely cut

[حك] م شد از [با] حمد بادش [ الا] س [كم] زن برسيم [ ا] وج [ سم] ابي

Marks : -- Numerous and peculiar to this coin : @ over باحدد ; & under it ; & under ; . اوج inside the ن of ن ; of under ; % after اوج Reverse :- Legend

{ مُسراً ب [سريد] ه [ج] لموس [ميمدًّ] ت [<sup>ما لُ</sup>] وس Marks : - Y after the , of , etween the , and , of this word; and over , Se.

after جلوس instead of 🖗 we have the letter علوس instead of 🖗 we have the letter علوس the initial of 'Umr Khân's name as his sign. All the Kôtlà-Mâlêr coins have such an initial as a distinguishing mark. The omission of the place in this place is very rare in these series. About ε are 🛞 and 😚 as marks.

No. 28.-Coin of 'Umr Khan : ex. coll. B. M.

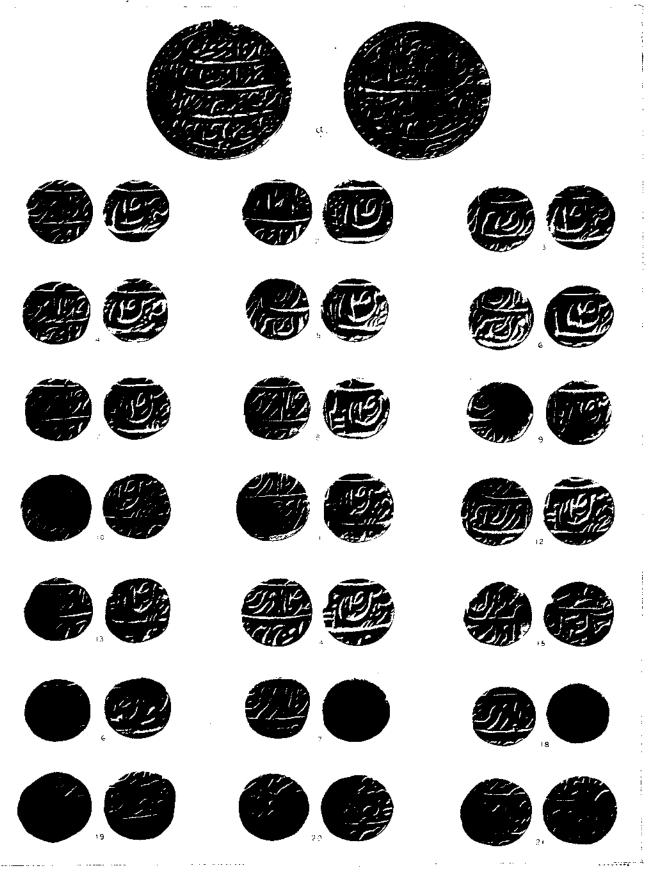
Identical with the preceding specimen, except that the rare words style on these coins are indicated on the obverse, and So is obviously used as an ornament in the مانوس of مانوس on the reverse.

No. 29.-Coin of Asadu'llah Khan : ex. coll. R. C. T. Obverse :- Legend [هک]م شد از [بیچو]ن [باهم]د باد ش[اه] س[کم] زن برسد[م] Marks : - P over see. [ضر]ب [جد]وس 🌾 [ميمذ]ت [ما [نوس Reverse:-Legend

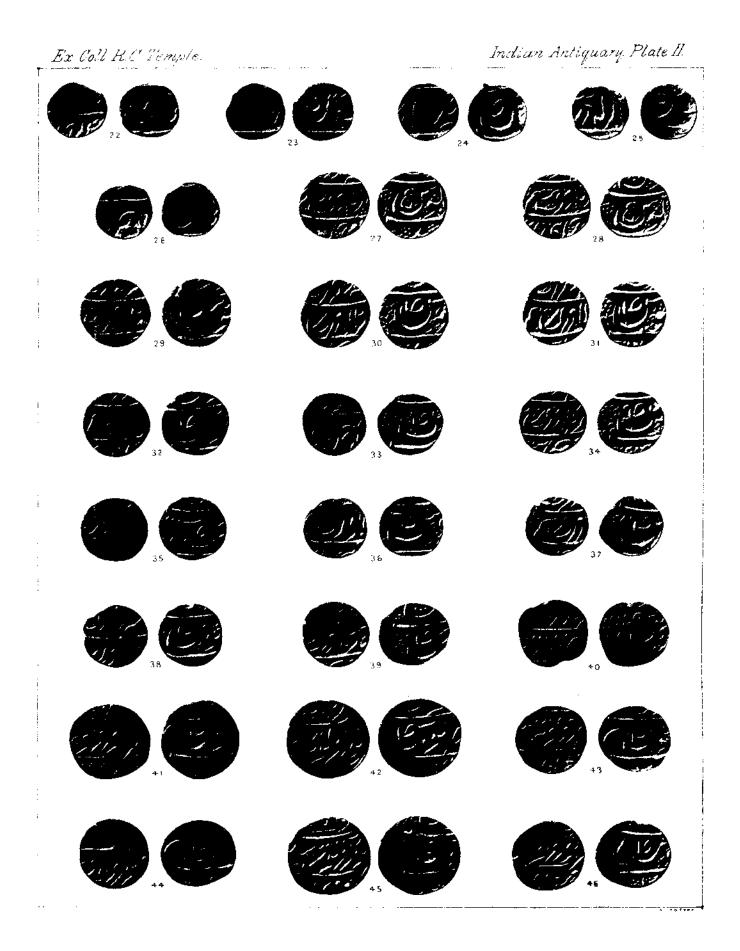
Marks : - 🖉 between س and , in جاوس in the same word ; indications of the same flower ornament as in No. 27 and of a trefoil ornament in the مانوس of مانوس. The distinguishing sign of this ruler is a straight | after the P in the  $\omega$  of  $\varphi$ ,

Ex Coll. R.C. Temple.

Indian Antiquary Plate I



COINS OF THE MODERN NATIVE CHIEFS OF THE PANJAB. Full size.



COINS OF THE MODERN NATIVE CHIEFS OF THE PANJAB. Full size.

Nos. 30, 31 and 32.-Coins of Amir Khan: Nos. 30 and 31 ex. coll. R. C. T.; No. 32 ex. coll. B. M.

These coins are practically the same as No. 29, except that the alif standing for the initial of is a curved one, whereas that standing for the initial of اسدالله is straight. No. 32 is a rough, worn specimen.

No. 33.-Coin of Sikandar 'Ali Khán : es coll. R. C. T. حکم شد از [بنچو]ن [ب]لمبد با دش[الا] Obverse : - Legend Marks :- P after we . [ضر]ب [جد]وس 🄑 [ميبد]ت [مانو] س Reverse :-- Legend Marks : - K (being a clear kalght or crest) after the ... of جلوس ; and within the ... of that

word the letter was the initial of word the letter w

No. 34 .-- Coin of Subé Khan alias Mahbub 'Ali Khan : ex. coll. R. C. T.39

[حكم شد [باحم] د بادش[الا] س[كم] زن برس[يم] [او]ج [م] ابي Doverse :--- Lugend

Marka : \_ after ........

Reverse :-Legend [ صر]ب [جلو] س 4 [ ميبذ ]ت [مانو] س Marks :--- Same as on the preceding, bat in جلوس fo س fo letter as the initial of ; مصبوب and 🛞 under it. There are signs also of 🛞 under the جرب of جرب

Nos. 35 and 36. Coins of Ibrahim Khan : ex. coll. R. C. T.

Two separate types : No. 35 is a fine coin with, on the obverse, 🏶 over the s of sub and

and جلوس fo س of درج The marks on the reverse are remarkable: 👹 after the من م of جلوس and

within it, and to over it. براهم for الراهم are clear in both coins. The kalghi is here, it will be observed, turned into a flower.

In No. 36 there is a clear return to the kalghi and the ornaments of Nos. 33 and 34, the mark .. peculiar to the top of the kalght being visible after the معلوس of جلوس on the reverse, There are however (8) within the u and to over it, as in the last coin. On the obverse the elaborate ornament over the د of بادهاة turns into a simple db.

#### Nabha.40

No. 87.-Coin of Jaswant Singh : ez coll. R. C. T.

Obverse :--- Legend Marks :- None.

Reverse :- Legend

[ميمذ]ب [جلو]س 4 ٨٣

از [بیچو]ن[با] دشا [۲] سکرزن برسیم و

- 🗣 rade kalghi, the mark of Jaswant Singh ; 🗤 is for ۱۸۸۲, i.e., St. 1883 = A. D. Marks :--1826.

No. 38 .- Coin of Jaswant Singh : ex coll. R. C. T.

[هک]م شد از قادر [بنچر] رو بادش[الا] زن برس[ دم] Obverse :- Legend

Marks :- P before & in ala ....

<sup>35</sup> These No. 33 and 34 have become reversed on the plate unfortunately. Sabé (or Mabbub 'Alt) Kielo preceded Sikandar 'All Khāb,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> The coins of this State in the plate are not according to date of striking, the order of which is 38 (probably), 39, 37, 40, 42, 41, 43 (P), 44, 45, 46.

Reverse :-

[ ضر]ب [جا]وس 🏘 [ميبذ]ت [مانو] من Marks :-- op over , in جلوس and X between , and e, signs after kalghi of . No Hindu date on this coin, but I think it is undoubtedly Jaswant Singh's, because of his mark thereon, assuming that the local dealers in Pațiûlâ were right in assuring me that it is a Nâbhâ coin.

No. 39.-Coin of Jaswant Singh : ex coll. B. M. [حك]م شد از [با] حمد بادش [ات] س[كم] زن برس [يم] (badly preserved) مد از [با]

Marks :- P after Jack

Reverse :- Legend

Marks :—Part of the marginal ornament visible :—A kalghi partly visible ;  $\bigvee$  after the  $\smile$ of جلوس; Safter the س of مانوس; Sapartly visible within it. w is for ۱۸۷۷, i. e., St. 1877 = A. D. 1820.

This coin is of a type differing from the rest in having no  $\mu$  as the date of the ...

No. 41.-Coin of Bharpur Singh : ex coll. R. C. T.

Obverse :--- Legend, now peculiar to Nabha as dropping the familiar legend of Ahmad Shah, and adopting the equally familiar Sikh legend.

الدينغ ند [ج] فصوت يافت از گورو گوبذ[د] س[نگهم] Marks :=-١٩١٧ over كورو giving date St. 1917 == 1860 A. D.

[ضر] ب [1] به [1] [ج] لوس 4 ميمنت [مان]وس Reverse :- Legend

Marks :- The Dipal leaf of the Sikh coins is evidently the mark of Bharpûr Singh .س and و between 😨 star

No. 42. - Coin of Bharpur Singh: ez coll. R. C. T.

Obverse :-- Legend [نصو]ت [یا] فت ازنانک گورو گوبند سد[ گهم ] Marks :-- 🔌 below the بافعه of بافعه and محمد above it ; ۱۹۰۷ over کورو giving date St. 1907 = 1850 A. D.

Reverse :-- Legend [قسر]ب [أ] ا [به] ا جلوس 🄑 [شيد]ت [ماد]وس Marks :--- Same as in preceding coin, and <u>الأ</u> added over ب in بهرب in بهرب the voir the point of the states in preceding coin, and المراجع على ال

ينا بها over the c of the same words; 8 between the , and of من و the same words; 8 between the two alifs of منابعا

No. 43.- Coin of Bharpur Singh : ex coll. R. C. T.

Obverse :-- Legend [اند] غ فنتج بدد[رنگ نصو]ت [گاورو گوبند [سد] گمهم [یاف] ت Marks :-- ۱۹۱ over کورو giving a date between St. ۱۹۱' and ۱۹۱۱ or between A. D. 1853 and 1862.

No. 44.— Coin of Bharpur Singh: ex coll. R. C. T.

1

د يك is an interesting word as being a false Arabicism rhyming to خخ following. The word is really ديك a cauldron. The verse means "the pot, the sword, the viotory, the conquest, Guru Gobind Singh obtained from Nanak": "the pot" corresponding "to the purse," for with the old Panjab Chiefs he that could fill the stomachs of his followers was sure to obtain many.

Obverse :- Legend

گورو گود[ند] س[ نگهم] یافت از نانک

Marks :- 197" over كررو giving date St. 1920 = A. D. 1863.

Reverse: --- Same as that of No. 43.

No. 45.-Coin of Hirå Singh : ex coll. R. C. T.

[1] فلاج بيد[رنگ] [نصر]ت گورو گوبند سنگ[به] [یا]فت آزنانک Obverse :--- Legend

Marks :--- Numerous small strokes and dots about the letters; the long cross stroke of the is clearly visible over the ما منكورو معام مالا . يافت of منكور is clearly visible over the منكور of منكور is clearly visible over the منكور of

Reverse :--- Legend (rubbed) [فسر]ب نابها [جدً] وس ۴ [مديمذ]ت [مالو]س Marks : --katár or short dagger after the س of ماهوس من which is the mark of Hirâ Singh ; accom-

panied by a flower earrow; the star peculiar to these coins between the , and  $\cdots$  of eq, part of the marginal ornament visible.

No. 46.-Coin of Hira Singh : ez coll. R. C. T.

Obverse :-- Legend and marks same as in the preceding coin, but date MPA, i.e., St. 1929, = A. D. 1872.

Reverse :--- Legend and marks same as last coin, but clearer.

Marks :- Numerous lines and dots about the letters with a after each alif in 40.

# THREE INSCRIPTIONS FROM UDAYPUR IN GWALLOR.

# BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

I edit these inscriptions from rubbings placed at my disposal, together with others, by Mr. Fleet, to whom they were made over by General Sir A. Cunningham. The originals are at Udaypur,<sup>1</sup> a town now belonging to the State of Gwalior, and once forming part of the kingdom of Milava; Indian Atlas, quarter-sheet No. 52, Lat. 23° 54' N., Long 78° 7' E. The inscriptions A. and C. are important, chiefly because they show that the Chaulukya rulers of Annilwad do not vainly boast when in their inscriptions<sup>2</sup> they claim to have repeatedly defeated the kings of Malava. And the inscription B. is of some interest, both for its date and because it contains the name of one of the districts which is mentioned in the inscription C. I may add here that there is another inscription at Udaypur, which in line 3 professes to have been recorded during the reign of victory of Jayasimha,<sup>3</sup> the predecessor of the king Kumarspaladeva who is mentioned in the inscription A., but that the condition of the rubbing renders its publication at present impossible. According to a statement in pencil which is on the rubbing, this last inscription is ontside the entrance of the great temple of the town; it contains 12 lines of writing which cover a space of about 2' 8' broad by 1' 5' high.

# A,-Stone Inscription of Kumårapåladeva.

## (The Vikrama year 1220 ?).

This inscription is stated to be inside the east entrance of the great temple of the town. It consists of 20 lines; and the writing covers a space of about 1' broad by 1'11" high. But the inscription is incomplete now; for, at the beginning of each line we miss from about eight to ten aksharas, which may have covered a space of about eight inches broad, all the way down, on the proper right of the actually preserved writing. The size of the letters is between 1" and 11. The characters are Nagari, and the language is Sanskrit ; and, judging from what

<sup>1</sup> See Archaol. Survey of India, Vol. VII. p. 81, and Vol. X. p. 65.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See ante, Vol. VI. p. 186. Compare also ante, Vol. IV. p. 266; Kirtikaumudi, Introduction, p. xii. : Professor Bhandarkar's Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS. for 1883-84, pp. 20-21, and the verses at the end of the several paddes of Hemachandra's Sanskrit grammar.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Regarding the word Tribhuvanaganda, spoken of ante, Vol. VI. p. 186, I would point out that in a MS. which was written during the reign of Jayasimha, Tribhuvanaganda is a name applied to Jayasimha himself. See my Report for 1880-81, p. 25, No. 41. Compare also Archael. Survey of Western India, No. 2, p. xiii., No. 56, line 2.

remains, the whole inscription was in prose throughout. The writing appears on the whole to be well preserved; but, the rubbing of the lower part being in some places very indistinct, and the inscription being incomplete, all I can say about the specific purpose for which it was put up is, that the inscription was intended to record certain donations in favour of the temple of the god Udalė́svara<sup>4</sup> at the town of Udayapura, by a personage whose name appears to be Vasantapàla, and who belonged to a family the name of which is given in line 9, but which I am unable to make out with certainty.

The historically important portion of the inscription is contained in lines 1-8, from which we learn that the above-mentioned donations were made during the reign of the (Chaulukya) king Kumarapaladôva of Ana[hilapataka], the vanquisher of the king of Sakambhari and of the lord of Avanti (*i. e.* the ruler of Malava), while Yasôdhava[1a] was prime-minister, and when a certain Râjya[pâla?], who is described as mahd-sādhanika,<sup>5</sup> and who had been appointed by Kumarapāladêva, was governing Udayapura. For this statement proves beyond doubt that, when the donations were made, the town of Udayapura, probably together with the surrounding districts, formed part of the kingdom of Anbilwâd.

The date of the inscription was fully given at the commencement of line 1, but all that remains of it now, is the aksharas sha-sudi 15 Gurau, *i. e.* 'on the 15th of the bright half of a month the name of which must end with the syllable sha (or possibly kha), on a Thursday." Nevertheless, the statement contained in line 11, that the donations were made on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon, enables us to calculate the date and to supply the missing portion of it at the commencement of line 1, in my opinion, with absolute certainty.

From the inscription C. below we learn that Kumårapåladêva had ceased to rule in April, A.D. 1173; and from other sources<sup>6</sup> we know that he had ascended the throne about A.D. 1143-44. In an attempt to settle the proper date of our inscription, we must then first find out what lunar eclipses from about the beginning of A.D. 1141 to April 1173 fell on a Thursday, and what dates of the Hindu calendar corresponded to the particular Thursdays so found. The result of our proceeding in this manner is as follows:—

There were lunar eclipses on Thursday,----

the 12th February,	A.D. 1142, = Phålguna-sudi 15;
the 16th June,	A.D. 1155, = Ashådha-sudi 15;
the 9th October,	A.D. 1158, == Åśvina-sudi 15;
the 18th August,	A.D. 1160, = Bhådrapada-sudi 15;
the 1st February,	A.D. 1162, = Magha-sudi 15;
the 12th December,	A.D. 1163, = Vikrama 1220 expired, Pausha-sudi 15:
the 12th December, the 27th May,	
,	A.D. 1163, == Vikrama 1220 expired, Pausha-sudi 15; A.D. 1165, == Jyaishtha-sudi 15; A.D. 1167, == Chaitra-sudi 15;
the 27th May,	A.D. 1165, = Jyaishtha-sudi 15;
the 27th May, the 6th April,	A.D. 1165, = Jyaishtha-sudi 15; A.D. 1167, = Chaitra-sudi 15;

From this statement it appears that during the whole reign of Kumàrapáladéva there was no lunar eclipse on a Thursday in a Hindu month the name of which ends with kha; and during the same period there was only one lunar eclipse, that of the 12th December, A D. 1163, on a Thursday in a Hindu month the name of which ends with *sha*. Accordingly, **Thursday**,<sup>7</sup> the 12th December, A.D. 1163, = Pausha-sudi 15 of Vikrama 1220 expired, must be the date of our inscription, and the full date at the commencement of line 1 must have been Samvat

<sup>\*</sup> The name of this deity, Odalsioura-deva, occurs in several other inscriptions at Udaypur; and we also find it in line 5 of an inscription from Bhadréévar, in Archaeol. Surv. of Western India, No. 2, page xiii., No. 56. Srt-Odala occurs in Archaeol. Surv. of Western India. Vol. II., p. 218. We may perhaps compare Udalakasyapa, which in the Paraskara-grihyasiltra occurs as the name of a goddess of agriculture.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> This title occurs in the grant of Våkpatiråja of Dhårå, ante, Vol. XIV. p. 160, I. 9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>\$</sup> See s.g. ante, Vol. VI. p. 218.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> According to von Oppolzer's Canon der Finsternisse the sclipse (a partial one) would have taken place, at Uijain, 12 h. 26 m. after mean sunrise. And by Professor Jacobi's Tables the full-moon tithi ended 12 h. 24 m. after mean sunrise.

1220 varshé Pausha-sudi 15 Gurau. And I may point out that this result is in perfect accord with a statement at the end of a MS. of the *Kalpachárni*, given by me in my *Report on* the Search for Sanskrit MSS. for 1880-81, p. 10, according to which the same Yabodhavala, who is mentioned as prime-minister in the present inscription, held the same position under Kumårapåladdva in "Samvat 1218 varshé dvi° Åshådha-sudi 5 Gurau," = Thursday, 29th June, A.D. 1161, *i. e.* within two years and a half of the date which I assign to the present inscription.

## TEXT.<sup>3</sup>

1 . . . sha<sup>9</sup>-sudi 15 Gurau II Ady=éha śrîmad-Ana-<sup>10</sup>

2... [j]âvalî-virâjita-paramabhattâraka-mahâ.<sup>11</sup>

3... ti-vara-ladhva(bdha)-praudhapratápa-nijabhnja-[vikra]-13

4 . . . Sa(sa)kambharibhupala-śrid<sup>13</sup>-Avamtinatha-śrimat-Ku-<sup>14</sup>

5 . . . tan-niyukta-mahâmâtya-śrî-Jasôdhava-15

6 . . . [sta]-mudrå-vyåpårån=paripamthayat=ity=êta-16

7... [jå]dhiråja-śrî-Kumarapaladevena nija-17

8... lê tan-niyukta-mahâsâ[dha]nika-śrf-Râ[jya]-

9... [dhva(bdha)?]-śrî-Udeyspur[ê] [Sthârôm ?]vak-ânvaya-mahârâ[ja]-

10 . . . mahårújaputra-śrî-Vasamtapål[ôn=åtra anu- ?]

11 . . . khya[tê]<sup>19</sup> yathâ !! Adya sômagrahana-parvvani

12 . . . [svarnna?]19-samáhrita-tîrthôdakaih snátvů jagad-[gu]-

13 . . . [sva]-puņya-jasô-tivridhayê 20 Udayapurê kâri-

14 . . . grih-ôpôta[m] dêvagrih-â[vâ]sana-pânîya[kô]-

15 . . . lú[di]-grih-ôpéfam simgha-[dvau?] 2 tura[gáś=ch=åshtau?]

16 . . . m-ôpêtam śrî-Ūdalêsva(śva)ra-dêvâya sa[ttra]m=a-

17 . . . så(śň)sanéna pradatta[m] tathá sré(áré)shthôda[kuka?]-

18 . . . kôdávó 1 éká pradattá [1]\*] Asmat=prada-

19 . . . vamsa(śa)jaih pâlaniyam [u\*] Asy=ârthê [yâ anya-lô?]-

20 . . . mangalam mahâ-śrî[h\*] 11 "

## B .-- Stone Pillar Inscription of the (Vikrama) year 1222.

This inscription is stated to be on a pillar south of the east entrance of the great temple of the town. It consists of five lines. The writing covers a space of about 1'3" broad by  $6\frac{1}{4}$ " high, and appears to be well preserved. The size of the letters is between  $\frac{1}{4}$ " and  $\frac{1}{4}$ ". The characters are Någari; the language is Sanskrit; and the whole is in prose.

The inscription records that the Thakkura, the illustrious Chahada,<sup>20</sup> apparently for the

• I believe the commencement of this line to have been : Orth sortwat 1220 varsh? Pausha-sudi 15 Gurau. See my introductory remarks.

10 i. e. Anahilapájakt samasta-rájávalt.

11 i. e. -mahárájádhirdja-paraméivar. Omépativara-, or words to the same effect.

19 One would expect some such phrase as vikrama-randigana-vinirjita-.

13 This, stide, appears to have been the original reading of the stone; but the rubbing looks as if the two skeharas had been struck out and as if the proceeding is had been altered to 14, thus suggesting the reading -bhapdi-Avantinatha.

<sup>14</sup> i. e. Kum4rap4ladéva-kaly4na-vijaya-rájyé.

16 i. e. - Yaiódhavals irtirikaranádau samasta-mudrď-vyápárán.

14 i. e. Atamin kils pravartamine mahardjädhirdja.

<sup>17</sup> Here I should expect some phrase like nija pratap-sparjita-, followed by the name of a district or province, followed again by the word -mandals.

18 i. e. lithyats; compare e. g. Professor Bhandarkar's Report on Sanskrit MSS. for 1882-83, p. 228, l. 23.

<sup>19</sup> Here and below the rubbing in certain places is so indistinct that I cannot be absolutely certain about the actual readings.

\* Read -punya-yass-bhivriddhays.

<sup>21</sup> Below this, there is one more line of writing which appears to be in a different hand and not to be connected with the preceding.

<sup>22</sup> Châhada appears to be the name of one of Kumārapāladēva's generals ; see onte, Vol. IV. p. 267.

<sup>\*</sup> From the rubbing.

spiritual benefit of his deceased parents,<sup>33</sup> gave half the village of **Samgavatta** in the **Bhrimgari-ohatuhshashti**, *i. e.* the group of sixty-four villages called Bhrimgari, (probably to the temple at which the inscription was put up) at **Udayapura**. And the inscription is chiefly interesting for the statement in lines 1-2, according to which the donation was made on the occasion of the **akshaya-tritiya**, on the 3rd of the bright half of Vaiśûkha of the year 1222, on a **Monday**.

Referring this date to the Vikrama era, we obtain for Vaiśâkha śukla 3 the following possible equivalents : --

for the northern year 1222 current, in which Vaisakha was intercalary,-

for the first Vaiśâkha, - Friday, 27th March, A.D. 1164;

- for the second Vaiśâkha, --- Sunday, 26th April, A.D. 1164;
- for the northern year 1222 expired, or the southern current year,---Thursday, 15th April, A.D. 1165;
- for the sonthern year 1222 expired, Monday, 4th April, A.D. 1166, when the 3rd tithi of the bright half ended 21 h. 35 m. after mean sunrise.

The true date therefore is clearly Monday, 4th April, A.D. 1166, and the result shows that the year 1222 of the date is the southern expired Vikrama year.

The localities Sâmgavațtâ and Bhrimgâri, the second of which we shall meet again in the inscription C. below, I am unable to identify.

#### TEXT.<sup>24</sup>

1 Ôm<sup>25</sup> samvat 1222 varshe Vaibakha-sudi 3 Sômé sdy=éha Uda-

2 yapurê akshayatritiyê-parvanî Avômiî-26[G]ôpâ[la]-[punya?]-s[au(sau)]-

3 [cha.dharmma]ya tha<sup>927</sup>-śri-Chahadôna udaka-pûrvakam ûchamdra-kâli-

4 kam Bhrimgari-chatu[h\*]shashthau(shtau) Samgavatta-gràm-àrddham pradattam ||

5 Yô na pâlayati sa mahâ-pańichapâpa-bhûgî bhavatu II

## C.-Stone Inscription of Ajayapaladêva.

## The (Vikrama) year 1229.

This inscription was found by Dr. F. E. Hall 'in Udayâditya's magnificent temple to Siva,' and was first edited<sup>29</sup> by him in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. XXXI. p. 125. 'According to Dr. Hall, it is on a thick slab of stone, which is detached from its original setting. The lower edge of the stone is broken away or otherwise injured; and, in consequence, line 22 of the inscription, which would seem to have been the concluding line, has almost completely disappeared, and a few aksharas are missing towards the end of line 21. Otherwise the writing is well preserved, and, excepting two aksharas in line 8, and one each in lines 12 and 21, there is nowhere any doubt about the actual reading of the inscription.

The existing writing covers a space of 1'6" broad by 1'  $11\frac{1}{2}$ " high. The size of the letters is between  $\frac{1}{4}$ " and  $\frac{1}{4}$ ". The characters are Någarî; the language is Sanskrit; and, excepting three benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 14-19, the inscription is in prose. The orthography calls for no particular remark; and, as regards grammar in general, it need only be stated here that the word grama has been throughout used as a neuter.

The inscription, after the words 'Om, om, adoration to Siva,' and a date which will be treated of below, refers itself<sup>29</sup> (in lines 1-5) to the reign of the (Chaulukya) king Ajayapa-

<sup>36</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>🏁</sup> In the original this passage is doubtful ; see below, note 26.

<sup>\*</sup> From the rubbing.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> The whole passage, from here up to dharmmdya, is indistinct in the rubbing, and some of the akeharas may have to be read differently.

<sup>27</sup> i. e., thakkura.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> An important correction of the text published by Dr. Hall was first suggested by Dr. Hultzach, ante, Vol. XI. p. 244, note 12.

<sup>\*</sup> It may be noticed that in line 1 the words ady-sha 'to day here, (at Anahilapâtaka)' have been thoughtleesly copied from other Chanlukya grants; for the present grant was made (line 6) at Udayapura.

ladeva of Anahilapataka, and to the time when Somesvara was that king's chief minister.<sup>30</sup> At that time (lines 5-11) the illustrious Lunapasaka, an officer appointed<sup>31</sup> by the king to govern Udayapura, which was in the Bhaillasvami-mahadvadasaka province (mandala), i.e. the great group of twelve called Bhâillasvâmin, - a province acquired by the king's own prowess,32 - on the occasion of the yugadi which coincides with the akshaya tritiya, gave the village of Umaratha, which was in the pathaka called Bhrimgarika-chatuhshashti, i. e. the group of sixty-four villages called Bhrimgårikå, to the god Vaidyanatha (Siva) at the town of Udayapura, for the spiritual benefit of the deceased Rdia, the illustrious Sôlanadêva, a son of the Rajaputra, the illustrious Vilhanadeva, of the Muhilaündha (?) family.33 The boundaries of Umarathâ were (lines 12.13), --- to the east, the village of Naha; to the south, the village of Vahidau[mtha]; to the west, the village of Douli; and to the north, the village of Lakhanaüda. Lines 14-19 contain three benedictive and imprecatory verses, together with an admonition to preserve the above grant. Lines 20-21 state that this donation was received (upárjitam; on behalf, as I take it, of the god) by the most pious and highly reverend, the holy Nîlakanthasvâmin; and the concluding line appears to have contained some imprecation, directed against people who might interfere with the grant.

Since we know from the preceding inscriptions that the town of Udayapura belonged to the kingdom of Anhilwâd already under Jayasimha and Kumârapâladêva, the historical value of the present inscription lies mainly in this, that it furnishes a date, which admits of verification, for the reign of their successor Ajayapâladêva.

To my knowledge, two such dates have been hitherto made public. One of them, corresponding according to Mr.-Fleet to the 27th (and 29th) October, A.D. 1175, is furnished by the copper-plate grant published above, p. 82. The other occurs in the Narapatijayacharyd, a treatise on omens by Narapati, and is contained in the following verses<sup>34</sup>:---

Vikramârka-gatê kâlê paksh-âgni-bhânu-1232-vatsarê ( mâse Chaitrê sitê paksbê pratipad-Bhaumavâsarê () Srîmaty=**Aŋahilanagarê** khyâtê śrî-**Ajayapâla**-nripa-râjyê ( śrîman-Narapati-kavinâ rachitam=idam śâkunam śâstram ()

i.e., 'this work on omens was completed by the illustrious poet Narapati at the famous town of Anahilapataka, in the glorious reign of the illustrious king Ajayapala, in the year 1232 of the time of Vikramarka, on the first of the bright half of the month Chaitra, on a Tuesday.' The proper equivalent of this date (for the northern expired Vikrama year 1232, or the southern current year, and for the *nija* Chaitra) is **Tuesday**, 25th March, A.D. 1175, preceding the last-mentioned date by about seven months.

The present inscription, now, in line 1 is dated, in figures only, 'in the year 1229, on the 3rd of the bright half of Vaišākha, on a Monday;' and according to line 7 the donation, which the inscription is intended to record, was made for the spiritual benefit of a deceased person (probably the grandfather of the donor) on the occasion of the yugādi which coincides with the akshaya-tritiyā. Akshaya-tritiyā is the well-known name of the third tithi of the bright half of Vaišākha, and this same tithi is regarded as the commencement of the Krita-yuga; and religious ceremonies in honoar of the dead are prescribed for the akshaya-tritiyā as well as for the yugādi.<sup>35</sup> Referring our date to the Vikrama era, and calculating for Vaišākha śukla 3, we find —

for the northern year 1229 current, - Saturday, 10th April, A.D. 1171;

<sup>39</sup> For the further particulars, see above, p. 86.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>81</sup> The technical expression is niyukta danda, which occurs again e. g. in Professor Bhandarkar's Report for 1882-83, p. 223, l. 21, and for which we find nirupita-danda in Professor Peterson's Report for 1884-86, App., p. 51. Compare with it niyukta-mahusadhanika in line S of the inscription A. above.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Considering that Udayapura belonged already to Ajayapâla's predecessors, the above expression can hardly be taken literally.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> See below, note 46.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> See Professor Bhandarkar's Report for 1882-83, p. 220. Attention may be drawn to the fact, mentioned in a preceding verse, that Narapati's father Âmradêva lived at Dhârâ in Mâlava.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Compare for this and the following the Dharmasindhu, Bo. Ed. of Saka 1798, p. 72.

for the northern year 1229 expired, or the southern current year, -- Wednesday, 29th March, A.D. 1172;

for the southern year 1229 expired, - Tuesday, 17th April, A.D. 1173.

In none of the three years did the third *tithi* end on a Monday; but since in the southern expired year 1229 it covered at least part of a Monday, we must for this particular year find the exact beginning and end of the given *tithi*, and must inquire whether there is anything in the nature of the festive days or the religions ceremonies with which the date is connected, that would allow or oblige us to combine the third *tithi* with the Monday on which it commenced.

By Professor Jacobi's Tables the third tithi with which we are concerned, commenced 1 h. 40 m. after mean sunrise (for Ujjain) of Monday, 16th April, A.D. 1173, and it ended 2 h. 42 m. after mean sunrise of Tuesday, 17th April; by Professor Keru Lakshman's Tables it commenced 4 gh. 13 p. after mean sunrise (for Bombay) of the Monday, and ended 7 gh. 15 p. after mean sunrise of the Tuesday ; and, allowing for any possible differences of time, we may say that the tithi certainly had begun at Udaypur before the 8th ghatika of the Monday and had ended before the 11th ghatika of the Tuesday. Now in regard to a Yugadi-iraddha in the light half of a month, the rule laid down in the Purusharthachintamani and quoted with approval by the author of the Dharmasindhu is that, when a tithi covers part of two days in such a manner that it ends before the 13th ghatika after mean sunrise of the second day, while it occupies the 13th, 14th, and 15th ghatikds after mean sunrise or part of those ghatikds of the first day, the śrâddha-ceremonies must invariably be performed on the first day.36 This rule is strictly applicable in the present instance; and, in accordance with it, the ceremonies referred to in the inscription, and everything connected with them, had necessarily to be performed on the Monday,<sup>37</sup> and could not possibly have been deferred to the Tuesday; and the Monday is rightly coupled with the third as a running tithi. Accordingly, Monday, the 16th April, A.D. 1173, is the true equivalent of the date of our inscription ; and the result shows that the year 1229 of the date is the southern expired Vikrama year, exactly as was the case with the year in the date of the preceding inscription B.

The third trustworthy date which we have thus found for the reign of Ajayapáladêva, is, then, Monday, 16th April, A.D. 1173, civilly the second of the bright half of Vaiáåkha of the southern expired year 1229, or the southern current year 1230; and, if there be any trnth in the traditional statement, according to which he began to rule on Pausha-sudi 12 and reigned for three years, Ajayapála's accession should have fallen on the 28th December, A.D. 1172, == Pausha-sudi 12 of Vikrama 1229 expired, or 1230 current.<sup>38</sup>

As regards the illustrious Lûnapasâka, who made the grant, it is clear that his name is a corrupted form of Lönapasâya, the regular Prâkrit equivalent of the Sanskrit Lavanaprasâda. Another form of the same name is Lûnapasâja, which occurs in line 13 of the copper-plate grant of the Vikrama year 1317, published ante, Vol. VI. p. 210. There Lûnapasâjadêva is described as Rânaka, and as the grand-father of the person who made the donations recorded in that inscription; and I do not consider it impossible that he may be identical with the Lûnapas

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> The main rule is that, in the light half of the month, the Yugddi-śróddha (or akshayatrittyd-śróddha) should be performed during the 13th, 14th and 15th ghalikas of the day. And accordingly, in the inscription B. above, where the tithi ends 21 h. 35 m. after sunrise of the second day, it is correctly coupled with the second day. And the same is the case in a date, quoted ante, Vol. XII. p. 209 (... Saka-saivat 1078... Vaisäkha-śuddha-akshayatrittykyśni yugádi-parvvani Bhaumadiné ..., = Tuesday, 24th April, A.D. 1156), where the tithi ends 13 h. 58 m. after sunrise of the second day (the Tuesday). — In the dark half, the Yugddi-śráddha should be performed during the 18th, 17th and 18th ghalikos of the day. An example for this is furnished by the date, quoted ante, Vol. XII. p. 212 (... Saka-varsham 1047... Bhådrapada ba 13 Sukravára mahátithi.yugådiy-amdu, = Friday, 28th August, A.D. 1125), where the tithi ends 16 h. 9 m. after sunrise of the second day (the Friday).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> As coremonies performed on the akshaya-trifty? are said to be particularly meritorions when the akshayatrify? is joined with the nakshatra Rôhinî and with a Wednesday, I may add here that on the above Monday the nakshatra leas Rôhinî up to about 15 h. after sunrise.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Professor Bühler informs me that, according to the Vichdrairéni, Kumérapéla, the predecessor of Ajayapéla, died Vikrama-sainvat 1229, Pausha-sudi 12; according to all other Prabandhas, Vikrama-sainvat 1280, Pausha-sudi 12. Mr. Kathavate, Kirtikaunudi, Introduction p. xiii., quotes '1232, dvådasi Phölguna-sudi,' which must be wrong for the accession of Ajayapéla, and may rather be the traditional date of his death. Dharmaségara'a Pravachanopariéshé, in Professor Bhandarkar's Report for 1883-84, p. 457, has :-- 'tatah 1230 Ajayapéla-réjyam varsha 3.'

såka of the present inscription, although an interval of 88 years between grandfather and grandson may appear rather long.

Of the localities mentioned in the present inscription, Bhaillasvamin has been already identified with the modern Bhêlsa,<sup>39</sup> a town on the eastern bank of the Bêtwa river, about 34 miles south of Udaypur. The various villages and the district of Bhrimgarika, which is also mentioned in the inscription B., still await identification.

#### TEXT.40

- 843 varshê |<sup>42</sup> Vaisäkha-sudi 1229 Sivâva II Samvat Om<sup>41</sup> IL Ôm namah 1 Sômê il Ady=êha śr[î]-
- samastarâ jâvalîvirâ jita-mahârâ [jâ]dhirô ja-paramê śvara-2 mad-Anahila[pa]14take
- paramamahêśvara-śrî-Ajaya[på]<sup>44</sup>ladêva-kalyûņavijayarûjyê tatpådapadm-opajîvî(vi)-ma-3
- paripamthayat=îsamasta-mudrâ-vyâpârân śriśrikaranadau hâmâtya-śrî-Sômêsvarê 4
- nijapratàpôpàrjita-śri-Bhâillasvâmi-mahâdvâdasakapravarttamânê kâlê 5 ty⇒êvam [mam]-
- tên=aiva prabhuņā niyuktadamdaady=êba śri-Udayapurê dala-prabhujyamânê<sup>45</sup> 6 śrî-Lûņapa-
- sakona dhauta-vasasî paridha[ya] parama-dharmmikêna [bhû]tvâ akshayatritîya-7 yugadi-
- râjaputra-śri-Vîlhanadêva-putra-paramalôk-[Mu]hilaü[ndh ?]46-ânvayê 8 pervvani âmtarita-râ-
- Bhrimgarika-chatuhshaatratya-dêva-śrî-Vaidyanâthâya ja-śrî-Sôlanadê va-śrêyasê 9 shthi(shti).
- trina-[ja]lâśay-ôpêtam savrikshamâl-âkulam pamchôpachâra-pûjâ-nimittam pathakê 10 pradattam II Âghâțà<sup>48</sup> Umaratha-gràmam47 śâsanêna
- chatar-aghata-samanvitam 11 [ya]thû [
- Vahidau[mth8]-grâmam grâmasya půrvvatô Naha-grâmam dakshinatô 12 Asya paśchimatô
- chatuhkamkata-49 Lakhanaüdā-gramam=)vam hi uttaratô Dêuli-grâmam 13 vi[su]ddham gra[mam] [11\*]
- yadâ Va(ba)hubhir<sup>50</sup>=vvasudhâ bhuktâ râjabhih Sagar-adibhih 1 yasya yasya 14 bhûmis=[ta]-
- harêta para-dattâm vâ уô phalam il Sva-dattâm chha II tasya tadà 15 ву8 vasumdharam i shashthi(shti)-va-
- sa-mahipatih Mâmdhâtâ<sup>51</sup> krimih 11 chha 11 jâyatê amêdhyê 16 rsha-sahasrâni krita-yu-

<sup>43</sup> This figure, for 3, is quite clear in the rubbing; but before it, there is a vertical line, evidently a sign of punctuation, which has been prolonged above the top line of the letters; and after the 3, and partly covering it, there is the sign of visarga.

- er The word grama is used as a neuter here and below.
- 40 Read chatush-kathkata-. 18 One would expect to read asya gramisy=aghith yathh ! purvati, &c.
- 50 Metre, Slôka (Anushiubh), of this verse and of the next.

61 Metre, Shrdulavikrijdita. —On this verse see Hall in Jour. Beng. As. Soc., Vol. XXX. p. 203; Böhtlingk, Indische Sprüche, No. 4931: Bhandarkar, loc. ci. p. 225. In our text, the end of the third Påda, ydvadbhavd bhipatir, gives no sense; Böhtlingk (who would seem to have missed the meaning of the verse) has ydvad-bhavdn= bhūpatir instead, Bhandarkar's MS. ydvad-bhavin bhūpati, and Hall ydvanta twobbhavan.

<sup>39</sup> Jour. Beng. As. Soc., Vol. XXXI. pp. 111 and 127.

<sup>49</sup> From the rubbing.

<sup>41</sup> Expressed by a symbol. 42 This sign of punctuation is superfluous, and has perhaps been struck out already in the original.

<sup>&</sup>quot; Originally pa; altered to pd.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> I take the meaning to be :-- Bhåillasvûmi.mahûduddajaka-man<sup>1</sup>alê (Lûnapasîkêna) prabhujyamûnê iri. Udvyapurê, i.e., ' at Udayapura, which is in the enjoyment of (or governed by) L. (and is situated) in the Bhåillasvâmi-mahûdvâdašaka man<sup>1</sup>ala.' Compare, e. g., ante, Vol. VI. p. 210, No 11, l. 8, and Professor Bhan-darkar's Report for 1882-83, p. 223, l. 21; and, for the similar use of bhukke, ante, Vol. XIV. p. 160, l. 0.

<sup>46</sup> I am not certain that the consonants in these brackets are really ndh; but the way in which the sign for the vowel 4 is joined to the consonants appears to show that the akshara does contain the consonant dh.

NOVEMBER, 1889.

- sêtur=yêna mahôdadhau virachitah kv=åsau slamkára-bhútô 17 gê . gatah Da(da)śâsy-âmyâvad-bha[v]â bhûpatir=n= anyê Yudhishthira-prabhritayô 18 ch=âpi takrit I
- 19 samam gatâ ka(va)sumatî manyê tvayê yêsyati 11 chha 11 Ity-âdi paribhâvya
- 20 śāsanam=idam pâlanîyam 11 chha 11 Paramanaishthika-mahâbhattâraka-śrî-[N]î-
- 21 lakamtha[sv]âminâ [u]pûrjitam=idam 11 chha 11 Yah kaśchid=atra<sup>52</sup> . . . . rakô bhavati tê-
- 22 .53 . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .

## FOLKLORE IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

## BY PANDIT NATESA SASTRI, M.F.L.S.

## No. 31.-THE FOUR GOOD MAXIMS.

#### First Variant.

In a certain village there lived a poor merchant of the Chetti caste. He had an only son, to whom, on his death-bed, he handed a palm-leaf as his only property. The following four maxims were inscribed on it :---

- (1) "Travel not without a living assistant.
- (2) "Sleep not in an inn.
- (3) "Neglect not what four or tive people say.
- (4) "Be not always open towards your wife."

Receiving the leaf containing the four maxims, the old Chetti's son, who had the greatest regard for his father, promised him, in his last moments, that he would observe each and every one of those maxims to its last letter. Then the old man died, and the funeral rites were duly performed over him.

After the death of the old Chetti, the difficulties of his son increased, for he had nothing to live upon. So he **resolved to travel** to some distant place, and there to earn his livelihood. While he was thinking over this, **Somusetti**, — for that was the youth's name, — bethought him of his father's first maxim, — not to travel without a living assistant. But where was he to go for an assistant in his poverty-stricken condition? As he was thinking and worrying over this, a crab happened to crawl slowly past him, and placing a literal interpretation on his father's words, he took hold of **the crab**, and put it in an earthen pan full of water, and covering the mouth with a cocoannt-shell started on his journey, with his mind at ease; for had he not now a living assistant for his journey?

In this way Sômusetti travelled for about a day, till only one watch remained before the lord of day should sink out of sight. He was extremely tired, and seeing a fine shady banyan tree, he laid himself down overcome by exhaustion, under the cool shade to sleep and give rest to his wearied limbs. The pan, with the crab in it, he kept by his side.

Half-an-hour or so after Sômusetti had gone to sleep, a crow, which had its nest on the top of the banyan tree, began to caw. Now this was a very dangerous crow, for as soon as it cawed, a serpent — the incarnation of Death itself — used to come out of an ant-hole near the tree and drink up the life of any sleeper lying in its shadow. Not one sleeper till that day had ever survived his sleep, and so the tree was much dreaded. However, on this occasion, the crab came out of its pan and pinched Sômusetti's hand, and he suddenly awoke in consequence. Getting up, he saw the huge black serpent coming towards him, and away he ran with all the speed that he could command.

<sup>52</sup> Here about five aksharas are entirely illegible or altogether gone.

<sup>\*</sup> The writing in this line is almost completely gone, and only the tops of a few letters are visible in the rubbing.

a man has slept under that tree, but not one, except yourself, ever rose up alive. It is the most dreaded tree in the neighbourhood, and is known by the name of the **crow-cawing tree**. No one from our villages near ever approaches that tree, but only weary travellers, whom we cannot warn or persuade, for we all try to do so when we can; and whenever they resort to it, they always die. So saying the boys went about their duties, and Sômusetti, too, thanking his stars and wondering at the wisdom of his father's first maxim, through which alone he had been saved, pursued his course and before twilight reached a village.

He went down the street crying, "Who will feed this beggar with a handful of rice?" Half-a-dozen of the villagers gave him each a handful or two of cooked rice, which served our here for his simple supper. He then went begging for a lodging wherein to sleep. But though a few would feed him, not a single soul in the whole village would permit him to sleep in his house. Not that the poor villagers were wanting in hospitality, for such kindness has always been proverbial among the rural population of India, specially among Hindus. But unfortunately for Sômusetti, this particular village was subject to attacks by robbers; and every now and then some crafty robber had visited it as a beggar or a traveller, and requested the villagers for a place to sleep in. Many a time had their hospitality been requited by plunder; for the pretended traveller would open the door of his host to his comrades, and thus help them to do their terrible work. The misery that the villagers had on several occasions experienced, had obliged them, without making any distinction between good and bad, never to allow anyone to sleep in their houses. They all suggested that Sômusetti should go to the village-inn to sleep. But our hero, remembering his father's second maxim, - not to sleep in an inn, - preferred the open plain adjoining the village. Thither he went, and spreading a couple of rags on the ground, prepared himself for sleep, thinking over his father's words which had saved his life the preceding night, and admiring his sagacity.

The day's adventures were so impressed upon his mind that, though he was very weary, he did not for a long time fall asleep. At last nature overcame him and he closed his eyelids, but only for a short repose. For as soon as he had stretched his limbs in sleep, he dreamt that a serpent was pursuing him and was almost at the point of biting him. This dream, which was nothing but a recollection of his previous adventure, was not yet finished, when he imagined that several persons were beating him. This was no dream, but a stern reality; for on opening his eyes, he discovered that he was surrounded by a gang of robbers, each one of whom was giving him a blow, saying :—" Give me what you have in your hand." Unable to bear the severe beating to which he was being subjected he collected the rags spread on the ground, and in a pitiable tone said :—" These are all I have in this world; take them and spare my life." Some of the robbers, a little better-hearted than the others, said that he was a pauper, and that it would be as well for them to leave him alone. Others however gave him additional blows for not having anything of any use with him, and walked off with his rags.<sup>1</sup>

All soon left him and proceeded towards the village. Sômusetti sat up stupefied, not knowing what to do. He had avoided the village inn as he had been bidden, and had chosen the most harmless spot he could find, and yet thieves had plundered him of his rags 1 The danger of the day and horror of the night, not yet over, passed and repassed before his mind, and the more he thought the more stupefied he became. At last, after thinking and thinking for some two or three honrs, he rose up from that place, resolving to go to the village inn, notwithstanding his father's warning words, and spend the remainder of the night there. However, he had not proceeded far when he saw the robbers again. He kept out of their way, and after they had passed, proceeded to the village and to the inn, against entering which his father had so wisely warned him. And the spectacle that met his eyes there ! He found the whole village assembled outside the inn, for the robbers had chosen that spot for their havoc that night, and had murdered every soul sleeping in it ! Not a soul that had slept there had escaped the cruel hands of the bloodthirsty ruffians, who had come there specially that night because they had heard

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> A practice very common among the predatory classes in India, who almost always treat their poorer victims in this way.

from one of their spies that a rich traveller was then sojourning there. Somusetti, who a moment before had been calling himself a fool for not having gone into the public inn for his night's repose, now shed tears of joy to the memory of his father.

By this time it was dawn, and the villagers requested Sômusetti to oblige them by burying the murdered persons. It is loathsome work to bury the unclaimed dead, and our hero would have avoided the task, but the old Chetti's third maxim, - " neglect not what four or five people say," -- rushed into his mind, and, true to his promise, he willingly consented to perform the disagreeable task. In return, the villagers promised to pay him at the rate of five fanams for every dead body interred, and gave him the privilege of taking for his own use any property that he might find on the dead. Our hero thus gained a double advantage ; he was obeying his father's third maxim, and he was profiting himself materially by it. His reward was indeed a double one, for though the robbers had plundered all the people in the inn before putting them to death, still a great deal remained on the bodies. One of them, indeed, who had been a Chetti, had in his waist-cloth nine rubies tied up in a rag, and these our hero secretly removed and secured without arousing any suspicions. The great wealth he thus acquired in the remuneration for his duty, made him at once very rich, in addition to the possession of the nine rubies. He thought that he had now enough to live upon, and returned to his own village. Near it there was an old temple of Kali, in ruins, and to this our hero resorted in the dead of night, and underneath the idol itself buried his nine rubies and a great part of his other treasure. What remained with him was enough for him to lead a respectable life. He took to wife a girl of respectable family, and lived with her for a while in happiness and comfort.

Unlike the usual run of Chettis, who are proverbial for their stinginess, our hero was known in his village for his liberality. And whenever all his available tash was exhausted, he would ask his wife for a little rice for a meal or two, as he was going to a village near, to try and make some more money. Now our hero had never informed his wife where he had buried his treasure. for his father's fourth and last maxim was, "be not always open with your wife." And Sômusetti had benefited so much by the strict observation of the first three maxims, that he had every reason to give more than usual weight to the last one. So he always kept his treasure underneath the image of Kall a dead secret; but he now and then went to it, in the dead of night, when his cash was exhausted, pretending to be absent from the village, and always returned with enough for his expenses. This he did for a long time, and little by little he bought land, extended his house, and made jewels for his wife. She was a very simple and good-natured woman, but even she began to suspect that her husband must be the master of some miraculous power, to be growing rich in this way. She often asked him how he managed, every time he left the village, to return with so much money. He kept the truth from her for a long time, but she went on worrying him repeatedly. Even iron by constant hammering gives way, and the heart of a man, especially under feminine charms, has much less chance. So, notwithstanding his strict resolution to observe his father's words to their last letter, our hero at last told the whole truth to his wife, warning her at the same time to keep it a dead secret, and never to open her lips to anyone about it. He told her that he had brought with him a great quantity of money and nine rubies, that all the money had been spent, that he had sold one of the rubies for nine karóre of mohare, on which money he was still living, and that when that was gone, he had still eight more rubies, each of which was worth the same enormous snm. How great was his wife's joy when she heard this news from her busband! Her whole face beamed over with it, and she swore to keep the secret. Thus did our hero, for once in his life, notwithstanding his strict resolution to observe his father's maxims, deviate from the last of them, and we shall now see the consequences.

The very next day the mistress of the neighbouring house, paying her usual visit to our hero's wife, observed unusual brightness in her face, and on repeatedly enquiring the cause of it learnt all the secret of Sômusetti's wealth. In fact Sômusetti's wife told all about the rubies, the place where they lay buried, and everything else, to her friend, repeatedly asking her to keep the secret, as of course she swore over and over again to do. The conversation was very engrossing. The more attentively the neighbour listened, the more excited Sömusetti's wife became, and went over and over the same facts. Having thus learnt the whole affair, the neighbour took her leave, and naturally the first thing she did was to communicate it to her husband, who in his ambition and covetousness at the increasing prosperity of Sömusetti, robbed him of the remaining eight rubies that very night.

A day or two passed without our hero knowing of the heavy loss that had befallen him. but, on the third day after the communication of his secret to his wife, Sômusetti began to be a little uneasy in mind at having disclosed it in spite of his father's strict injunctions, and resolved to go that very night to the temple of Kâll to examine his treasure. Accordingly he went, without informing his wife about it, and from that moment his happiness left him. When he missed his rubies, he stood like a stone for a while and then went mad.

Plucking wild flowers, making them into wreaths, and adorning his body with them, he began to wander from village to village and from city to city, crying "Give me back my eight rubies," and saying nothing else, no matter what people might say to him. His wife, who knew well enough why the change had come over her husband, cursed herself for her carelessness, and not knowing what else to do, followed her husband, secretly watching him and feeding him. For very shame, she never gave out the reason of her husband's madness, nor mentioned her relationship to him; but as her inward conscience chided her for being the cause of all his grief, she, like a good wife, determined to share his miseries. In this way more than two years passed. And Sômusetti, among other peculiarities, would never taste a morsel of rice, even when hungry. If rice was placed before him by some one through the kindness of his wife, he would fling it away, muttering, "Give me my eight rubies."

Thus wandering over several countries, our mad hero at last reached a great city, the king of which was famous throughout the country for his liberality to beggars. Never would he taste a handful of rice without feeding them first, and for their special entertainment he had built a large dining-shed, and used to superintend their meals in person. The day on which Sômnsetti joined the beggars of the city at their dinner, the king, as usual, came to watch the feeding. Every beggar was soon engaged at his meal, except our hero, who was almost famished with hunger. A man in his state would naturally go straight for his dish. But Sômasetti cared for nothing that was placed before him, but kept muttering "Give me back my eight rubies," sometimes to the wall, sometimes to the leaf-plate in front of him, and sometimes to the servants. The king's attention was drawn to this unfortunate beggar, who never even tasted the rice, famished though he was, but kept on talking about rubies instead. He thought that there must be some connection between rubies and his madness, and as he had bonght a ruby the previous day from a merchant, he sent for it, in the hope that the beggar might take a little food on seeing it. The ruby was brought and placed before our mad hero, who seized it and said : --- " One has come ; bring back the other seven." This he kept on saying incessantly. The king now concluded that there was some special reason for his madness, and ordered his servants to watch him carefully, and do their utmost to feed him. He also secretly issued orders to have the merchant who had sold him the ruby the previous day brought to him. Now this man, it must be explained, was no other than the neighbour of Sômusetti who had stolen the rabies. To avoid all suspicion he had travelled to this distant country to sell his ill-gotten gains, but fearing that a sudden sale of all the rubies might awaken suspicion, he had begun, on the previous day, by selling one only to the king, promising to bring another the next evening. In the evening, according to his promise, he brought the second raby. The king gladly bought it, and, promising to double the price for a third, demanded it on the third evening. Thus the rubies began to come to him one after another, and every evening, after a purchase, the king returned with it secretly to Sômusetti, whose madness began to decrease by degrees on the recovery of his lost rubies one by one. The king went on playing the trick of promising double and treble the price, till the last and eighth ruby was bought, and then he at once issued orders to have the merchant arrested and imprisoned till the history of the rubies was known. On the production of the eighth ruby Sômusetti was entirely

cured of his madness, and falling at the feet of the king related the whole story of the four maxims, how he had disobeyed the last of them, and what calamities had come upon him in consequence. The king was highly pleased, and after punishing the pretended merchant with death, he restored the rubies to their rightful owner, Sômusețti. And our hero, not to be outdone for his liberality, presented half of them to the king who had taken so much pains in bringing him back to his senses, and returned with the other four to his own country.

As soon as he was restored to his original state, he learnt about his wife, how she had guarded and followed him all along throughout his miseries; and forgetting that she was the cause of all of them, he pardoned her faults and lived happily with her. And the good woman too, seeing that all these miseries had resulted from the wealth not being placed in the house, exercised a most scrapulous care over her husband's property, especially remembering the sufferings that both had undergone.

#### NOTES AND QUERIES,

#### PERPETUAL FIRE IN MADRAS.

Uliyanur Perinthachan (lit. master-mason) is the legendary celestial architect of the Malabar Coast, and is held to be an incarnation of the Deity. The stone lamp at the holy city of Jarunanaya, which remained perpetually burn, ing for several years (there is a similar lamp in Travancore burning in the open air mentioned in Isis Unveiled), and the tank at Hanumán Kairi in the Betulnad ta'luga of British Malabar, containing 18 ghats, but now in ruins, are attributed to him.

Madras.

SUNKUNI WARIYAR.

## BOOK NOTICE.

The NicoBAR Islanders. By E. H. MAN. London : Harrison and Sons. 1889.

Mr. Man's books are always a delight to the student of anthropology, and this last monograph from his pen is no exception to the rule. Minuteness, carefulness, completeness and accuracy have already characterised his work, and all these admirable qualities are as abundantly present in this pamphlet on the Nicobar Islanders as in any of its predecessors. We are indeed fortunate in having results before us at first hand of the researches of sp painstaking and competent an anthropologist.

At present we have only an instalment of what Mr. Man has to say about the Nicobarese, and the remainder will be looked forward to with some eagerness, especially as the Government is abandoning its stations there, and much more information is not likely to be procured for a long while.

On the versed question as to the origin of the Nicobarese, Mr. Man decidedly inclines to the Malayo-Burman theory, and gives twelve arguments in its favour.

In stature the Nicobarese are of medium height; very few reaching 6 feet, not many to 5 fb. 7 in., and the majority ranging from 5 ft. 5 in. to 5 ft. 3 in. The women are about 3 inches shorter. The average chest measurement is 344 inches and the average weight about 10 stone; while the women weigh over 84 stone. Otherwise they are a well-fed and well-developed people of ungainly aspect and devoid of beauty. Their great physical peculiarity lies in their hideous teeth, which are covered with a deforming encrustation caused by chewing betel and lime. Their physical powers are good, but not much developed, and their senses sufficiently acute. But owing to the quantities in which food is supplied by nature they are not given to much or prolonged exertion.

The Nicobarese will cross with Malays and Burmans, but not readily with other races. The limits of life are low, but apparently higher than that of Indo-Chinese races generally. They appear to be free from the epidemics of the East, in spite of the miasma that surrounds the dwellings of many of them, proving so fatal to all strangers, and their recuperative powers are like those of many Indo-Chinese races, quite remarkable.

Their colour is decidedly dark but not by any means black, and they are not naturally offensive as to odour. The hair of the head is not black, but a dark rusty brown, and is much lighter in young children than in adults. Hair on the body is not common.

Such in the briefest form possible are the results of Mr. Man's investigations, so far as yet published, on this very interesting race. Let us hope that we shall not have to wait very long before we are favoured with a further instalment.

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## A SELECTION OF KANARESE BALLADS.

### BY J. F. FLEET, BO.C.S., M.B.A.S., C.I.E.

(Continued from Vol. XVI. p. 361.)

## No. 4. - THE CRIME AND DEATH OF SANGYA.

THIS ballad, a very favourite one in the Belgaum District, owes its popularity to the pointed way in which it comes home to many a poor cultivator, who, situated as Saigya was, would very heartily endorse the sentiment (at the end of verse 8) that "very strict are the English laws; no one can play any tricks under them."

The action is based on a murder, which took place on the 13th October, A. D. 1863 (see notes 16, 32, below), at Hougal, or, as the town is more usually called, Bail-Hougal or "Hougal of the open country." The victim was a money-lender named Basalinganna, whose business and personal habits are described in the opening verse. Among his debtors was a cultivator named Sanga, Sangya, or Sanganna, who, in the usual manner, had pledged his field as security for the advances made to him. At length the creditor, who, as the song says, "took care to shew no harshness beyond what the law allows," sues Sangya in the Subordinate Judge's Court at Saundatti, and obtains a decree against him. Sangya appeals to the District Judge at Dharwad : but without success. And then in due course a clerk of the court is sent to execute the decree, by selling the field by auction; and, Sangya being unable to buy it in, and failing to obtain any further respite from his creditor, the field is made over into the money-lender's possession. Then Saugya, taking counsel with his brother Parsya, determines to have his revenge by killing Basalinganna. Rising at dawn next day, Sangya prostrates himself at his mother's feet; and then he and Parsya, after a prayer for success to their patron-god Basavanna, set out. They think first of killing Phakiranna, one of Basalinganna's brothers. but cannot find him ; for, "Paramésvara (the supreme god) protected him," and he had fortanately left his house. Again they do worship to Basavanna, and then decide upon killing Basalinganna's other brother, Rachappa; but him, again, they fail to meet with, since, happily for him, " the protector is more powerful than the slayer, and very fortunate was his lnck." Then they go straight to Basalinganna's house, and find him there, engaged in business ; "his thoughts being only on his rupees." And without any more ado, heedless of the spectators, Sangya pulls out his sickle from where it is hidden up his sleeve, and cuts him down; "the blood poured out in torrents from his mouth; his senses failed; he fell and died." No particular attempt at escape is made ; in fact, Sangya's remorse allows him not to try ; and straightway he and Parsya are seized and taken to the village police-station. Two very characteristic touches are introduced here; the binding of Sangya and Parsya face to face to a post, where they are beaten till they confess ; and their attempt to implicate an innocent man, Hüvina-Rama, to gratify some private spite against him. The Chief Constable then comes to investigate the matter; and the prisoners are taken on to the Mamlatdar at Sampgaam. From there they are forwarded to Belgaum, to stand their trial. And at length, Havina-Râma is duly acquitted; Parsya is let off with transportation for life; and Saugya is sentenced to Sangya is first taken to the jail at Dhârwâd, which then was the principal jail death. for the two Districts. But, in accordance with a frequent custom in the case of exceptional murders such as the present one, it was decided to carry out the sentence at the village of Hongal itself. And the rest of the ballad is occupied with the journey, with Sangya's farewell to his parents, with his lamentation over his untimely fate, and with the description of the execution. Here there are many touching passages; and the whole account is extremely graphic.

A short addition at the end shews that this ballad was composed by a professional balladmonger named Appu, a Maratha; and that the great merit of it obtained at once for his party the victory in a contest of singing with some rivals of the same profession.

#### TRANSLATION.

## Chorus.

A very bad thing is poverty! The poor man felt much wrath! When he had to pay his debt to the money-lender, great distress came upon Sangya!

#### First Verse.

In the city of Hoùgal there is a money-lender; Dûravajanti is his name.<sup>1</sup> In silver and gold, small change and silver currency, and cotton, are his dealings and trade. The silversmiths receive his money, for making various kinds of *chaukas*<sup>2</sup> of pure Chinese silver; and every week, on Saturday, the running accounts of the *chaukas* are made up. Of manifold kinds are his functions; and eight or ten are his servants. Innumerable women clear his cotton from the seed, in both the winter and the rainy season.

(With a change of metre),<sup>3</sup> — How shall I describe his business? He carried on all the duties of a money-changer. His two brothers, elder and younger,<sup>4</sup> (assisted him with) great intelligence; in what they did, there was no lack of gain; no one in the village felt any dislike (*for them*); with great honesty they carried on the business of a money-lender.

(Lowering the voice), — I will describe to you his apparel; listen now! He used to stroll along the streets, wearing a very fine *chauka<sup>5</sup>* fastened round his neck; and on his head a turban with a border worked with gold threads; look at him! His upper-cloth was from Någpur;<sup>6</sup> on his body there was a separate jacket of camlet;<sup>7</sup> how beautiful were his *chaudrahára* and gópa,<sup>8</sup> with the gold glittering so lustrously upon his breast; on his finger he wore a pure and holy ring.<sup>9</sup>

(Raising the voice), - In speech he was very firm; not the least particle of falsehood (was in him) !

#### Second Verse.

Listen first to the origin of the matter. See !; the field in (Saigya's) occupancy was good black soil. He (mortgaged it for a loan, and) executed a deed in due form, with a period of five years; last year they went to law; (the lender) shewed no harshness beyond what the law allows; according to (the value of) the produce, he laid his plaint; and the quarrel came up (for trial) in the Saundatti Court. (Sangya) presented the stamped paper (containing his plea), admitting that Basalinganna's words were true, and did obeisance. The Munsiff<sup>10</sup> (pronounced against him, and) said, — "Go to Dhârwâd, and make your petition of appeal."

(With a change of metre), — From there he came to Hongal, and made, Sir, preparation for the journey. Taking with him a hundred rupees, he set out thence for Dhârwâd. He presented to the Government<sup>11</sup> the petition of appeal, and straightway retained a Vakil.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This must be his surname. The word has also been explained to me as meaning that his name was known "far and wide." But I cannot find any authority for this.

<sup>\*</sup> A chauka is a box in which a linga, the phallic emblem, is carried ; it is usually worn suspended from the usek.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> chyé stands for chyála, = chála; see ante, Vol. XV. p. 350, note 6.

<sup>\*</sup> The Råchappa and Phakiranus who are mentioned further on.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> sikhamani seems to be used here to qualify chauka, and to denote 'a chauka, the best of its kind ; a very excellent chauka.'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> This is the Någpur of the Central Provinces, which has long had a great reputation for the manufacture of dhôtars, or the cloths worn by men. Two such cloths are worn; one fastened round the waist, and hanging down; and the other round the upper part of the body. Here the verbal adjective hott-iru, i.e. hott-iruwa, specifies the upper cloth. The lower cloth is called utta-konda dhôtra.

<sup>?</sup> The word in the text, kemalata, is an adaptation of the English word. I am told that camlet stuff was formerly much used in this part of the country.

<sup>\*</sup> These are gold necklets of different patterns.

<sup>The third finger of the right hand is called partirada beraks, 'the pure finger,' as being considered purer than the others; and partirada ungara is the technical name of a ring, made of gold, for this finger.
The Native judge of the local court. The official title now is 'Subordinate Judge.'</sup> 

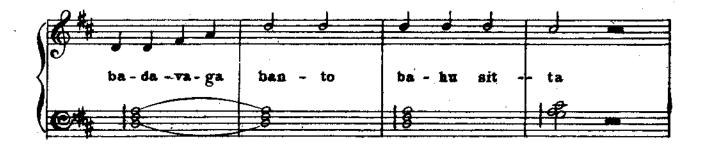
<sup>11</sup> i.e. to the Court of the District Judge.

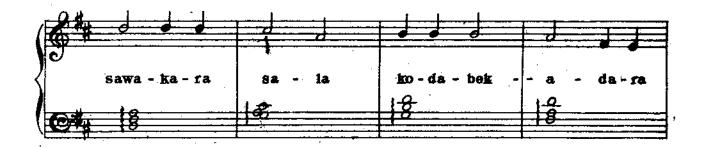
<sup>15</sup> A Native lawyer, a ' Pleader.'

## KANARESE BALLADS.

# THE CRIME AND DEATH OF SANGYA.









J.F.FLEET, BO.C.S.

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(Lowering the voice), - "Present now a petition for me," he said; "take these hundred rupees, of the Government currency;<sup>13</sup> tell me quickly what you say to me." The Vakil took thought in his mind, see now !, and gave a promise to devote his energies to the case, and said, - "Why do you feel anxiety (about the result), since you have given your Vakil a hundred rapees, into his very hand ?" The first day of the month was Sunday; and the date (of hearing the appeal was fixed for) the next day, Monday; and straightway there was issued an order of

attachment. (Raising the voice), - The Karkûn<sup>14</sup> brought and executed the order of attachment. Thus Basalinga carried into effect his pertinacious design !

#### Third Verse.

The Karkûn says, -- "Call Saugya and tell him. 'a decree has been passed against you for (the value of) the produce, reckoned at three hundred rupees: how much do you bid (to retain it in your own possession) '?" A great web (of trouble) was cast round Saugya. He explained what was convenient to himself, saying - "I will pay the money according to the decree; set free my share in the field; the whole fault is truly mine; apart from you I have no refuge; I will never disobey the orders of Basalinganna." Thus saying, he joined his hands in supplication and embraced his feet.

(With a change of metre), -- "Since the order of attachment has come, what can I say?; to-day your field is lost." Thus Basalingana hardened his heart; and the field passed into the possession of (his brother) Phakiranna. Going home, Sangya pondered, - "To-day my field, belonging to me by right of occupancy, has been lost."

(Lowering the voice), — Sanga and Parsya, the two together, made another plan, see !. a secret device, conversing with laughter, - " The speech between me and you, let it be known to no one; without letting anyone know, let us do that which we can; we will rise in the early morning and go (to do it)." They sharpened their sickles, as they sat, saying, - "We will kill him, even though to-day we lose our heads; let that happen which must; except life, (nothing is left to us)."

(Raising the voice), - Basalinga left the village of Wakkund ; on the morrow the festival of the Mahánavamí<sup>15</sup> was to be celebrated !

#### Fourth Verse.

On the Tuesday,<sup>16</sup> at dawn, he (Salgya) rose of his own accord, and went and fell at the feet of his mother. Then Sangya and Parsya said, - "O (god) Basavanna, carry through our quarrel to its accomplishment !" Sharpening his sickle, and concealing it under his arm-pit, he set out, and at the third hour of the day he came to Phakiranna's house. At his house they ask, -- "Where has he gone ?; we had much business with him." Says Tukkanna, -- "Why hast thou come ?; what business hast thou with me ?"

(With a change of metre), - Hearing this, he went back again, and searched in the field and on the stream. Had he been found, his life was lost; but Paramésvara (Siva) protected Phakiranna! Having searched everywhere, he came to a shop, and bought some campbor and a cocoanut.

(Lowering the voice), -- Quickly he went to the god Basavanna, and broke the cocoanut, and ignited the camphor and waved it (round the head of the god), and did reverence, and then

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Lit. "rupees (which have os there) the face (of the Sovereign), (and which are) of a regular round shape." The intention is to distinguish them from the so-called Surti rupees, of very different make, which at the time of this ballad had not yet entirely ceased to be current.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> One of the clerks of the Court.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> bit. "the pot of the Mahdnavami was to be placed." The Mahdnavami, which is better known in other parts of India as the Durghyld, is a festival in honour of the goldess Durgh, commencing on the first tible of the bright fortnight of the month Asvina. On that day water-pots, filled with water, are placed near the gods, who are supposed to reside in them till the navami or ninth tible.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> The 18th October, A.D. 1868; see further on.

took the road to Hongal. Sanganna went on in front, and then (came) Mêguți-Parsya, who said, — "First let us seize Râchappa and kill him." Talking thus together in various ways, they went to Râchappa's house, and asked the old house-wife, — "Where has Annappa<sup>17</sup> gone !"

(Raising the voice), — The protector is more powerful than the slayer; very fortunate was his (Råchappa's) luck!

#### Fifth Verse.

Say they, — "Our coming has been in vain;" they became wrathful in their minds. They went to Basalinganna's house; their secret intention was not known. At the ninth hour (*i.e.* 3.0 p. m.), that which was predestined came to pass. Saugya and Parsya saluted, and went and stood close by him. Basalinganna's thoughts were on his rupees; near him there stood three or four men; he knew not that they would slay him; but Siva brought the (*fatal*)<sup>\*</sup> wreath and fastened it (*round his neck*).<sup>19</sup>

(With a change of metre), — Pulling up the sleeve of his jacket from over his wrist, Sangya took out the sickle from under his armpit, and, taking aim as he stood there, cut him fiercely down. In the same way he drew out the sickle, and, having wounded him, slunk round behind him, and, calling Parsya, ran away.

(Lowering the voice), — In great agony Basalinganna rose, bowing his head; the blood poured out in torrents from his month; his senses failed; he fell and died. The people sitting there went out in great confusion; they all said, — "Seize him! seize him! there he runs; he cut right through the neck." Those who met him, face to face, and close, not one of them seized him. Then, hearing the tidings, the Halabs<sup>19</sup> came.

(Raising the voice), — Throughout the village there was a great outcry; he could not pass beyond the gate<sup>30</sup> of Hongal.

### Sixth Verse.

Then ceased the anger of his mind. Quickly a crowd assembled. Hurling away the sickle from his hand, he threw it down. His (sense of) sin allowed to go no further. (In) a strait road, a narrow lane, quickly the Halabs seized him, and, cuffing and beating him, dragged him to the chaudi;<sup>21</sup> no respect was left, to be shewn to Sangya. The Kulkarn<sup>22</sup> came and looked. The Police Pâțîl<sup>33</sup> said, — " Beat them !" Face to face tightly they bound Sangya and Parsya to a post.

(With a change of metre), — "Beat us not without necessity; now and here we confess that we killed him; arrest us, and send us to Sampgaum." An enquiry was made in the Kachêri.<sup>24</sup> They said, — "Hûvina-Râma was in the business with us; he is at the village of Wakkund; he is there."

(Lowering the voice), — The Halabs got ready and went to the village of Wakkund; there he was found, Hûvina-Râma. He became confused, and was in terror for his life; "they accuse me through enmity," (he cried); in fear, he staggered about, in an agitated manner; saying, — "What is this that has happened?," he wept. All the people in the village told him to be brave; "if you were not in this crime, nothing can happen," say his friends.

(Raising the voice), - In the dead of night he set out; they would not let him eat even a morsel.

<sup>17</sup> i.e. Råchapps. The word annapps is a respectful form of anno, 'an elder brother, '

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> This is the meaning of the passage ; but I have not been able to obtain an explanation of this allosion.

<sup>19</sup> haleba, 'one of the ancients, an old servant, an old inhabitant,' is one of the Kanarese names, the other being wdlikurs, for the village police or watchmen. They are employed on all miscellaneous revenue and police duties.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> The original has the words gets, which is the English 'gate.' It may mean either 'the village gate,' or 'the Police-Station.'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> The office of the Patti and Kulkarni, where all the business of a village is transacted.

<sup>22</sup> The village accountant ; the Patil's right-hand man and assistant.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> The Patil is the head man of a village. In the larger villages, as in the present case, there are separate Patile for the police and revenue daties. The police of the text is the English word 'police;' the word in composition with it, is the Kanarese gauda, which is the equivalent of the Marathi patil. The Revenue Patil is called wulki-patil or multigauda.

<sup>\*</sup> i.e. in the Mämlatdär's office at Sampgaum, the chief town of the Tälukä or Sub-Division.

#### Seventh Verse.

The Police Patil and the Kulkarni said (to the guard), --- "Be very watchful; they have killed a most respectable rich man; never before has such a thing happened." They made a report,# writing it on paper; a Halab took it, and went to Sampgaum. He delivered the report in the Kachêri; the Subhêdâr<sup>36</sup> read and examined it. Very speedily the Phaujdâr<sup>37</sup> got ready, and said, - "Put quickly the saddle on my horse." Taking a Peon, 20 on Wednesday, in the evening, he arrived.

(With a change of metre), --- The Phaujdår came, and stood and looked ; with his own eyes he saw the blood ; looking at the corpse, he grieved in sympathy. "Why were the gods Hari and Brahman wroth with him," (he said); "when they killed him, who were there ?" (The answer was), - "Three people; (two) Lingayat priests of Mantur, and Panchappa."

(Lowering the voice). - Hearing this much, he told them to bury him. In great affliction the mother and father (of Basalinganna) are weeping, falling flat on their faces, and rolling about in grief, crying, - "Evil is our luck; through his kindness there was nothing wanting in our happiness; (when he was born), what was the (evil) boon that he got from Siva,<sup>29</sup> that our son has now left us and gone ?; great is the grief of his wife; she has torn off and thrown away her marriage-thread, decorated with jewelled beads;<sup>30</sup> what now remains for us, since he is hidden in the earth ?"

(Raising the voice), - O Vaikuntha (Vishpu)! an untimely death was his; who can understand the pranks of Siva?

#### **Righth Verse**.

"The day of the Mahdnavami new-moon<sup>31</sup> was Monday ; the first day of the bright fortnight of Asvayuja is Tuesday ; it is the Saka year seventeen hundred and eighty-five, and the samuatsars named Rudhirodgårin', 33 thus they reckoned it up, -- the Police Patil, the Kulkarni, and the Phaujdar. With Sangya and Parsya in close custody, the Halabs set out. "Be very much on the alert in this matter; attend at the Kachèri; if you fail to be on your guard, no one knows what may become of you ;" - thus the Mâmlatdâr gave the order.

(With a change of metre), --- They left this Tâlukâ, Sampgaum, and carried them to the District town of Belgaum. The gentleman<sup>33</sup> called for them, and made the adjudication. To Sangya, it was as if he had fallen into a tank or a well. They wrote the proceedings, and sent them to Bombay;34 (and reported that) the bringing of Huvina-Râma (into the matter) was unjust.

(Lowering the voice), - After three months the answer came; the noble officer read and examined it; "let Parsya off with transportation, 35 this is enough." As to the principal prisoner, Sanganna, the settlement was thus; the gentleman said, -- "Go to Dharwad; it is

29 The Budhiródgårin sushvatsers coincided with Saka-Samvat 1785 as an expired year. And the corresponding Inglish date for the details given in the text, is, Tuesday, 18th October, A.D. 1863, on which day the *tith*' Asvina sukla 1 ended.

15 i.e. the Sessions Judge.

<sup>\*</sup> The word in the original here, and a little further on, is raporta, which is an adaptation of the English word.

<sup>\*</sup> The Mamlatdar; the head revenue and magisterial officer of the Taluka.

<sup>#</sup> The ' Chief-Constable' of the Tâlukā.

<sup>\*</sup> bill manushya, lit. 's man who wears a brass badge on a belt slung over his shoulder or worn round his waist.' The more usual term is pattewold, from the Hindastan patta, which denotes the same belt with its badge. The word bill is an adaptation from the Regist, and is, I imagine, the word 'bill.' But it is supposed by the Natives to be an adaptation of 'buckle,' which is often used for the same badge.

<sup>.</sup> Here, again, I cannot get an explanation of the allusion.

<sup>\*</sup> The guiddle is a more elaborate kind of tali, 'the marriage-badge worn by married women round the neck,' which is removed when a wife becomes a widow.

<sup>#</sup> Mahdnavamf-amdudsyd is the popular name, in the Kanarese country, for the new-moon of Bhådrapada, which immediately precedes Åávina šukla 1. The present new-moon tithi ended on Monday, 12th October, A.D. 1863.

<sup>\*</sup> i.e. in order to obtain confirmation of the death-sentence. It would seem that, in the Sessions Court, Parsya, as well as Sangya, was sentenced to death; but that in his case the High Court commuted the sentence into one of smasportation.

<sup>\*</sup> kari-nird, bit. 'the black water.' This is the popular term for transportation, because it entsils crossing the sea, to the Andaman islands. The Marâthî expression kâkl-pân; has exactly the same meaning.

notified that the sentence is (that he is to be hanged) by the neck." A guard of soldiers on him, all around, took him to Dharwad; not any device (for saving himself) suggested itself to him after that.

(Raising the voice), - Very strict are the English laws; no one can play any tricks !

#### Ninth Verse.

He left the village of Dhârwâd, and came away; no one could save him. "Take him, and go to Hongal," said the gentleman, the Subhédâr, the Phaujdur, and the Kârkûn; "be wide awake, with great watchfulness." In front of him and behind, there was an escort with drawn swords; there was all the apparatus for hanging him; and Sangya was seated on a cart. They brought him in close restraint.36 He converses without any fear. On the Thursday he sent for his elder and younger brothers, and his mother.

(With a change of metre), - To the mother that bare him, he says, - "Why dost thou weep ?; all that which was to happen, has occurred; it has befallen me as it did to Abhimanyu in the battle-field; for me from no one was there any aid;<sup>37</sup> to-day the debt is paid; cease now to grieve for me."

(Lowering the voice), --- Saying this, he made the funeral lament, for just a little while, - " That my fate has been settled thus, (is the decree of) an unjust court; they inquired not into my fault; I thought that they would let me go free, with imprisonment for only a year; I have been caught and captured; my fault has been in accordance with that which (the god) Brahman wrote ;38 my fate (is like that of ) a lamp that has gone out unintentionally while still there is oil left; (to nourish) enmity is very evil; anger should not be felt."

(Raising the voice), - Disputing at every word is bad; to a good man, a (mere) word is a blow !

## Tenth Verse.

The market-day was Friday ;39 that same day the people of the neighbourhood gathered together. He talks with catching breath, and is beside himself. They brought him outside Joining his hands in respectful salutation, he made a little request to the the village. gentleman,<sup>40</sup> — "Spend five rupees, and have me buried in a matha."<sup>41</sup> His face shrivelled and grew small; his colour lost its lustre, and faded away. Saying "Hara! Hara!", he took his way (to the gallows), and, mounting, stood on the appointed place.

(With a change of metre), --- They fastened the rope around his neck, right round his throat; he trod the path of heaven to Kailâsa.43 His elder and younger sisters, his elder and younger brothers, and his mother, (made) lament; the people were standing all around. Four months and twelve days (had elapsed since) the date of the Awarderi new-moon.43

(Lowering the voice), - The village of Bail-Hongal is a great city, this is well known ; it is famed far and wide in the surrounding kingdom. (There there is) the god Hanumanta, to whom be reverence ! Tukârâm is our teacher; the ballad-monger Appu has composed (this song); the hand-writing, in which there is no fault, is that of Dêmanna, on whose drum there is

<sup>&</sup>gt; lit. " confined in a net."

The more literal meaning is "no one was my charioteer." I have not a book to refer to; but it seems that Abhimanyu was killed in single fight, hemmed in by the Kauravas, with none of his own party near at hand to help him. <sup>28</sup> Brahman is supposed to write on a man's forehead all that he is destined to do during his life.

Se We are told further on that this day was four months and twelve days after the new-moon of Pausha.

This latter tills ended on Sunday, 7th February, A.D. 1864. And so we seem to have either Friday, 19th June, or Friday, 26th June, for the day of the execution. \* i.e. the Magistrate, or the District Superintendent of Police, who attended the execution.

<sup>41</sup> Compare ante, Vol. XIV. p. 800, where the amount is ten rupecs. A matha is a kind of religious college, or residence of priorts.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> The monutain Kailåss, supposed to be one of the lofticet peaks in the Himålayas, is the paradise of Siva. The term Kailåsa väsin, 'now residing in Kailåsa,' is of constant occurrence in speaking of deceased persons.

<sup>43</sup> Awardiri-andward is the popular name, in the Kanarcee country, of the new-moon day of Paushs. I have been told that it is a corruption of availars-firi; but I do not see how it can be connected with any of the availarus. A more probable explanation is that it stands for aware-rdiri, 'the night on which people can begin to est the avare-bean after its harvest.'

a plume of pearls, with feathers and tinsel, and gold and silver lace. Santu and Basanua, our firm friends, have completely overcome our enemies;<sup>44</sup> defeat has come<sup>45</sup> to the kalagi.

(Raising the voice), — Mâdhavarao became a sore trouble to the kalagi; in singing he has everything at the tip of his tongue.

#### TEXT.

#### Pallâ.

Badatana ambudu bala-ketta badavaga banto bahu śitta | sâwakâra sâlâ koda-bêk-âdara Sangyâga âdito sankashta || Pallâ ||

## lne nudi.

Sahar Hongaladâga sâwakâra i Dûravajanti avana hesara i belli bangâra rokka rupâyi alliya wahiwata vyâpâra i Chinâya kurêda chauka-tara i rupâyi wôyuttâra pattâra i wâra-wâra chalati chauka-lekkha mâdodu Saniwâra i andâdundi avana kârbhâra i hatt-entu mandi avana manushyara i mâgi maligâla hatti arawutâra gotta illada hengasara ii Chyê ii Yena hêlal=evana<sup>46</sup> kârbâraki i ava mâdut-iddano chinawâraki i anna-tammar=ibbaru tilavaliki i avara mâdudaka kadim=illa galiki i ûrâga yârigâg=illa bêsariki i bahala sâche ittada sâwakâriki ii Ilava ii Avana pôshâka hêlatena nimaga i kêla îga i ava hidada teragat-idda wôni i chaukaśikhâmani i hâkidda koralâga i jerakâți rumâla tali-mêga i nôda avaga i hott-iru dôtra Nâkpuri i kemalata bêre i angi maiyâga i chandrahâra gôpa chanda hyânga i yedi-mêga i talatala holudu bangâra i pavitrad=ungarâ i ittidda beralâga ii Yêra ii Mâtili iddana bahu-diția i sulla mâta illa yall-ashța ii 1 ii

#### 2ne nudi.

Modala kêļa mâtina jari i khâteda hola nôda jâta yeri i aida varashada dina muddata mâdidana bara-koțta kâgada barâbari i nyâya bandito hôda-bari i jôri mâdalilla kâyade mîri i mâsîli-prakâra phiryâdi mâdidana Sawadatti-kôrținyâga bitta muri i Basalinganana mâta sari i shtâpa chelli mâdida mujari i Munsupha antana aphil-arji Dhârwâdake hôgi mâdari ii Chyê ii Allinda bandana Hoâgalaka i masalatta mâdida hogudak=ari i nûra rupâyi togonda hantêka i illinda bonțana Dhârwâdaka i aphil-arji kotțana sarakâraka i vakilan=itțano âgina-kshanaka ii Ijava ii Arji anta mâdi koda namaga nî îga i nûra rupâyi togo mâri gâdi i hêla lagu mâdi i yên=anti namaga i vakîla tilada manadâga i nôda âga i hîng=anta koțta wachana i kațiêda sandana i chinti yâko ninaga i nûra rupâyi koțța vakîlage i kaiyâga i pahilâ târîkha muddata Âdityawâra i munda Sômawâra i jabati banta bêga ii Yêra ii Kârkûna tanda jabati itta i Basalinga nadisida tanna hața ii 2 ii

#### Sne nudi.

Munnûra rupâyida mâsîlâ i nina mêl=âyito phaisalâ i kârkûna antana Sangenna karasu nî yêna mâdati sawâlâ i Sangyâga bitto maha-jâlâ i hêli-konda tana anakûlâ i phaisala-prakâra rupâyi kodatena holada-walaga bidasari pâlâ i sarva tappa nanda âyit=allâ i ninninda horata gatiy=illâ i Basalingannamâta mîrudilla i

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> The allusion here is to a singing-match between two rival parties of ballad-singers. The members of one party have on their drams the turd or 'plume of feathers and pearls and tinsel, with gold and silver lace;' and those of the other party, a kalagt, which seems to be 'a plume of feathers for a horse's head.' The two parties sing alternately, until one is declared to have surpassed the others. In the present case the turd party, to which belonged the composer of this ballad, is declared victorious.

<sup>45</sup> bit. "water has descended upon." The metaphor seems to be of Marath origin; see Molesworth and Candy's Dictionary, s. v. pane.

<sup>48</sup> We have here, in helal-scana, = helali + avana, another instance of the customary, though irregular, euphonic conjunction to which attention has been drawn, ants, Vol. XV. p. 358, note 19. Other instances occur in verse 7 below, in kodar-endó, = kodari (kodiri) + andd, and in verse 9, in mader-endd, == nadiri + andd.

THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY.

kai-mugada hidadana kâlâ II Chyê II Japti banda-balika yêna hêlali I indige ninna hola hoyiti I Basalinganna mâdidana châti I Phakirannana jumeka hola âti I Sangyâ manige hôgi mâdyâna chinti I khâteda holâ indige yarav=âti II Ilava II Matt-onda mâdyâra masalatta I nôda bêta I Sanga Pariśyâ ibbaru kûdi I nagata mâtâdi I yârig=illa gotta I namma-nimmara wolagina mâtâ I hîng-antâ I yâr-yârige tiliya-bârada hînga mâdunu ball-ânga hôgunu haryâna hotta I avara masadara kudagola kunta I kadunu anta I indige hôgali namma tali I âguvadu âgali I jîvadinda horatâ II Yêra II Wakkunda wûra Basalinga bitta I nâle hâkudu mâhanaumi-gațța II 3 II

## 4ne nudi.

Mabgalâra udayaka tâ yadda i tâyi-pâdaka hôgi bidda i Sangyâ Pariśyâ ibbaru antara Basavanna nadasu nama jidda i kudagola masada ava hidada bagalaga muchchi-konda tâ nadada i mûra tâsa hott=êrita âga Phakirannana manige banda i maniyâga kêlatâra yelli hôda i bahala kelasa itta avaninda i Tukkanna antana yâtaka bandi yêna kelasa nana munda ii Chyê ii Ishta kêli hindaka tirigi hôda i holadâga holyâga hudikidâ i ava śikkara prâna hôgudâ i Phakîrannana Paramêśwara kâda i hudiky-âdi abgadige banda kappara kâya togonda wonda ii Ilava ii Basavanna-dêvarige nadada mûdi jalada i kâyi wadada beligi kappara mâdi namaskâra Hongala dâri hididâ i Sanganna banda munda-munda i allinda i Meguți-Parasa yên-anda i muñche kadun=anda i Bâchappana hididâ i bînga mâtâdi pariparidinda i wond-oodâ i Râchappana manige hôgi kêlyâra mudikigi Annapa yelli hôdâ ii Yêra ii Kollavanakinta kâyava śrêshtha i bahala chelo avara

### one nudi.

Bandadd-sti antåra kâli i bitta ådara tamma manadalli i Basalingannana manige hödaro tiliyalilla ibbara neli i wombat-tåsa völeda möle pürva-likhita wadagita alli i Sangya Pariáya mujari mädikyära högi nintaro avana badiyali i Basalingannana chitta rupáyi möle i müru näku mandi avana badiyalli i kadadáru ambudu avaga tiliyalilla i Siva tanda häkida mäli ii Chyë ii Sangya mungaiyy-angiya tödi-konda bagalanna kudagöla takkonda i ninta nödi kadadano avana chanda i adaranta kudagöla yala-konda i kadad-avana hindaka sara-konda i wödi hödana Pariáyänna kara-konda ii Ilava ii Basalinganna yedda sangat-ågi i sira bågi i bâyili surita nettarå i härita kabarâ i biddana jîva hôgi i kunt-iru mandi gába âgi horaga hôgi i yellaru antara hidi hidi wödatana wödi i köda kuttigi i baruhanta mandi idarigi badig-âgi avana hidiyalilla yâr-yârâ i bandara halabarâ âga suddy-âgi ii Yêra ii Urûga âdita babbâta i dâtalilla Hongala gêta ii 5 ii

### 6ne nudi.

Biţţa tîrita avara manad=andâ | mandî kûdîto sutvaradâ | kaiyâna kudagôla bisâți wogedâna pâpa hôga-godalilla mundâ | bikkaţta hâdî wôniya sandâ | haļabara hididara mâdî jaladâ | hoda-konta bada-konta châwadīg=ôdara maryâde uliyalilla Sangyândâ | kulakarni banda nôdidâ | pôlisa-gawada hodi andâ | idara-badara Sangyâna Parišyâna kambaka katyâro biga-bigada || Chyê || Sulla badiya-bêdari niva namaga | kadad-ânga kabûl=adêv=îga | nammana hidada kalavari Sampagâmvyâga | chaukâsi âdita kachêryâga | Hûvina-Râmâ iddana idarâga ! ava ayidâna ayidâna Wakkunda-wûrâga !| Ilava || Wakkunda-wûrîge hontaro halabarâ tayârâ ! ava áikka Hûvinâ-Râmâ | âgî bêpâma jîvaka banta gôrâ | adawatige hêlatâra avara ibbarâ | añji nadagatêna tara-tarâ | id=ena âkâra kannige tanda nîrâ ! ûrâga hêlatâra dîrâ | yellârâ ! î pâpadâga jar illa yên-ên=âgudilla antâra geniyarâ || Yêra || Râto-râtrili ava honta | una-godalilla wand=îta || 6 ||

#### 7ne nudi.

Pôliça kulakarni yên-anda i bahaļa huśâri ira-bêk-anda i wole sâwakârana kadāda hâkidâra hint-âda âgakilla yend-enda i rapôrţa mâdera kâgada barada i haļaba togoņda Sampagâmvige hôda i kachêri-wolaga rapôrţa chelyâna subhêdâra wôdi nôdida i phaujdâra lagu-bêga tayâra âda i kudurigi tadi bêga hâk-anda i billimanushyana togoņda Budhawâra cheñji-vêledali ava banda i Chyê ii Banda ninta nôdida phaujdâra i kaņili kaņdana nettarâ i bena nôdi maragida maramarâ i yêna munidâna Hari-Brahma-dêvarâ i ivana kadadâga iddara yâr-yâra i Manţûra ayyagôla Pañchappa mûvara ii Ilava ii Ishta kêli manņa kodar=endâ i aratindâ i tâyi-tandi alatâro bôryâdi i bidda horalyâdi i adarushta kam namadâ i yêna kadimiy=illa ânandâ dayadindâ i yêna bêdi bandana Sivanalli namma hotțili maga bitța bôdâ i nânâ-pari dukkha strîyaladâ i bâkidâ gunda-guladâli wogadâla harada i inn-êna ati nanda i mannigi mari âda ii Yêra ii Dur-mana âdito Vaikunțha i yârige tilayado Sivan=âta ii 7 ii

## 8ne nuđi.

Mahanaumi amåsi Sômawâra i Áświja śudda pådya Maŭgalâra i Sake sattaråse pañchå-aimśi<sup>47</sup> Rudródgâri-nâma-samvatsarâ i hînga mâdidara vichâra i pôlisa kulakarni phanjdârâ i Sańgyāna Pariśyâna kaida-wolaga saŭgata hontara halabarâ i idara mêga bala-huśâra i kachêri-wolaga hâjarâ i yachchara tappi yattara hôdiri hukuma mâdidâna mâmledârâ II Chyê II Illi tâlûka bittara Sampagâmvi i wôda hâkyâra jille Belagâmvi i karasi sâhêba mâdida nirnyâyi i Saŭgyâga bidd-âñga âdita keri bâmvi i katta barada kalivyâra Mammâyi i Huvvina-Râmana tandadda anyâyi II Ilava II Mûra tiúgalige banta uttarâ-majakûrâ i wôdi nôdidâna saradûrâ i Pariśyâna kari-nîrâ i bidudu ati pûrâ i Saŭganna awala kaididâra i karûra i Dhârwâdaka sâhêba hôg=anda sajâ gallinda âti jâhirâ i sutta-mutta avana mêli pârâ i chetigârâ i Dhârwâdaka hâkidara tanda hunâra mundinda tiliyalilla jarâ ii Yêra ii Ingreji kâyide bikkatța i naduvadilla yâr-yâra âta II 8 II

## 9ne nudi.

bandâ i ulasana âgalilla yârindâ t sâhêba Dhârwâda-wûra bitta subhêdàra phaujdâra kârkûna Hongalaka tokonda nadir-endâ 1 yachcharike ira-bêka yachcharadinda ( hirada katti pârâ hinda mundâ ( gallig=hâkudu sâmâna yella ) Sangya chekkadi mêga kunt-idda 1 mâdi tandaro bali-banda 1 mâtâdatâna daraj= illada | Beståra-divasa anna-tammarana tanna tayina karisida || Chyè || Hadeda tâyavvag=antâno yak=alati | âguhantâd=ellâ âgi hôti | rana-mandala Abhimanya nanag=ati | nanaga yar-yara illad-anga ato sarati | indige rina harada hôti | inna bitta-koda nanna kakalâti II Ilava II Ishta hêli mâdida alâpa 1 wandu swalpa 1 nanda hinga itta-pramâna kețța diwânâ i kêļalilla tappa i mâdi bitțûr=antinni mâpâ varasha têpâ i śikk-ânga âto kaiśeri Brahma bareda bari mâdid-antâ tappâ i yenn-irata hôd-ânga dîpâ âkalpâ i hint-âda nanna adarushta i jidda bali-ketta ira-bârado kôpă II Yêra II Mâta-mâtige mathana ketta I chelô manushyaga mâtina pettä 11 9 11

#### 10ne nudi.

Santi Sukrawârâ ada dina suttina mandi kûdita janâ 1 bavva hâri kabar=illada mâtâdatâna wûra horaga tandâro avanâ 1 sûhêbaga hêli-koṇḍa yên-êna kaimugada mâdida śaraṇa 1 aida rupâyi kharchu mâdikyâra mathada wolaga kodasari manna 1 mâri bâdi âdita saṇṇa kale gundi hârita baṇḍâ 1 Hara-Harâ anta hâdi

<sup>\*\*</sup> The numeral-words here are Marathi, according to the general custom of the Marathi people, who use their own words for numbers and dates, even when speaking Kanarese. Amongst other Marathi features in this ballad, due to the composer being a Maratha, we may note especially the use of the particle jar, 'if,' near the end of verse 6.

koraligi sarakâ I tanna tikâna II Chyê 🛛 Gallige hâkyåra hidadano hatti ninta swargada dari hidadano Kailasaka ( akka-tangera anna-tammara tayi dukkha ( suttaawarâtri amási tàrîkhâ 👭 gațți nintita jana-lôkû | nâka tingaļa hannerada dinaka | râjyada hesarâ i Ilava II Úra Bail-Hongala dodda sahara I jahírá I sutta walaga éñyirå-kavi Hanumanta-dêvarâ avaga namaskârâ | Tukârâma wastadarâ | namma kasara | avara dabbina mêga Apu mâdida tayâra i Dêmannan=akshara illad-ânga muttina tûrâ | jartarâ | Santu Basanna jîvada mâdyâra jêra I geneyarâ l wairigi ilita kaligigi nîrâ 11 Yêra 11 Mâdurâwa kaligige biddâna hâdina walaga gantâ | mukapâța il 10 il

## SANSKRIT AND OLD-KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

## BY J. F. FLEET, Bo.C.S., M.B.A.S., C.I.E.

# No. 184. -- KOMARALINGAM COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF RAVIDATTA.

This inscription, which, I believe, is now edited in full for the first time, was originally brought to notice by Mr. Rice in this Journal, Vol. XII. p. 13. His remarks on it have been reprinted by Mr. Sewell in Archaeol. Surv. South. Ind. Vol. II. p. 226. And in the same volume, p. 27, No. 185, the original plates are described as being in the possession of Kômaralingam Râmayya, residing at Kômaralingam in the Udamalpêt Tâlukâ or Sub-Division of the Coimbatore District, Madras Presidency. I edit it from the original plates, which I obtained for examination, through the District authorities, in 1883.

The plates, of which the first is inscribed on one side only, but the last on both sides, are three in number, each measuring originally about  $8\frac{1}{8}$  by  $3\frac{7}{8}$ . The second plate is entire. Of the first plate, small portions have been broken away at the ends of lines 1, 2, and 5 to 7. And of the third plate, about an inch has been broken away, all the way down, at the ends of the lines. The plates are quite smooth, the edges of them having been neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims; but the writing is in a state of very good preservation, and is quite legible throughout. - The ring on which the plates are strung, passes through ring-holes at the proper right end of each plate. It is a plain copper ring, about  $\frac{1}{4}$ " thick and 21" in diameter. It had been cut, when the grant came under my notice. No seal is forthcoming; and the ring presents no indications of having had a seal attached to it. or of having been soldered into the lower part of a seal. - The weight of the three plates is about 1 lb. 2 oz., and of the ring, 2 oz.; total, 1 lb. 4 oz. - The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets. The average size of the letters is a little over #". The engraving is good; but it is not very deep, so that, though the plates are rather thin, the letters do not show through on the reverse sides of them at all. A few of the letters shew marks of the working of the engraver's tool. - The language as far as line 15 is Sanskrit, very bad both idiomatically and from an orthographical point of view. This portion of the record, as far as line 11, is in mixed verse and prose; but the only complete verse is the first, in lines 1-2; the other metrical passages are mere fragments of verses, plainly quoted from some other source or sources, and mixed up in the most remarkable manner with the prose passages that complete the sentences. A perusal of the text by anyone who can understand it, will satisfy him that these metrical passages really are fragments of verses; not words which only incidentally have assumed a metrical shape. In line 16, in the middle of a sentence, the language changes abruptly to a dialect of Old-Kanarese, with a curious mixture of Sanskrit words and inflections in it; and from that point, as far as line 28, the record is in prose. The remainder of it is in Sanskrit, with four of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 32 to 36. - The orthography is so had throughout, that it is useless to select any points for special notice, except the occurrence of the Dravidian 1 in the village name Kolûr, line 14, and in a few words in the Kanarese portion, and of the Drâvidian r in two words, lines 25 and 26, in the same portion. I will only remark that the use of singa (with g, not gh) for simha in simpavermma, line 7, and the use of b for v in bbasudhá, line 33, are in themselves almost sufficient to prove that the record belongs by no means to the early period to which it has been assigned by Mr. Rice.

The inscription purports to be the charter of a grant made by a ruler named **Bavidatta**, while his victorious camp was at a town the name of which is **Kitthipura** as it stands in the text, but was probably intended to be **Kirtipura**. It is non-sectarian; the object of it being only to record the grant of some villages to some Bråhmans.

As regards the **date**, the grant purports to have been made on Sunday, the new-moon day of the month Phålguna, under the Rêvatî *nakshatra*, and on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun. But no reference is made to any era; and Ravidatta is not known from any other record. Consequently, the details cannot be tested by calculation.

Of the places mentioned in addition to Kitthipura or Kirtipura, the first village is Pungisoge, which is defined as being in the east-central désa in the Kudugur nedu in the Punnadu vishaya. The other villages granted are Kolur, Kodamuku, Dvatogeyanur, Tanagundur, and Pattal. And the village of Elagovanur is mentioned in the specification of boundaries. All of these names remain to be identified. Mr. Rice (ante, Vol. XII. p. 13) has suggested that Punnadu appears as Pannata and Pannuta in Lassen and Yule's maps of Ancient India; and has added his opinion as to its modern representative. As indicated by him, the Punnadu vishays of this record is doubtless identical with the Punadu district, supposed to be a Tenthousand district, which is mentioned in the Merkara grant (ante, Vol. I. p. 365, and Mysore Inscriptions, p. 283). And the statement in line 30 of the present record, that the witnesses were the subjects of the Ninety-six-thousand vishaya, shews that the Punnadu vishaya was a sub-division of the well-known Gaagavadi Ninety-six-thousand. But it is difficult to follow his further identification of the Pûnâdu Ten-thousand (?) with "the Padinad or Ten Nad country," mentioned in the Yelandur inscription of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries A.D. (Mysore Inscriptions, p. 334 ff.), which he has located in the south-east of Maisûr (id. p. xliii.), and the name of which, he tells us, "survives in the existing Hadinadu, now corrupted into Hadinara, a village on the Kabbani river, not far from its junction with the Kaveri." Hadinara (hadin-aru), if this is exactly the right spelling of the name, means 'sixteen.' And there are the following objections to Mr. Rice's identification. In the first place, it is at least extremely doubtful whether the d of nadu can change, or even can be corrupted, into r in Hadinaru, except in the preparation of an English map by someone who would confuse the two sounds. Secondly, though the syllables hadi, or padi in the older stage of the language, do mean 'ten' in hadi muru, 'thirteen,' and in hadi-malku, 'fourteen,' yet, as the second part of the word is not a numeral, it is not easy to see how they can be used in that sense in such a name a-Hadinadu or Padinadu ; assuming again that this is exactly the right spelling, and that the second syllable is really di, not di. And, thirdly, it is still more difficult to imagine how the first two syllables of Padinâdu came to be substituted for the pun or pû of Punnâdu or Pûnâdu. The identification seems really to be based upon the supposition that each division of "the Padinad or Ten Nåd country" contained one thousand villages, in support of which there is, at any rate. nothing in the Yelandur inscription ; and upon the view that the Punidu vishaya was a Tenthousand district. This latter point rests upon the opinion, held by Dr. Burnell (South-Ind. Paleo. p. 67), that in the Merkara grant, line 18, a certain akshara, which stands between the words Panadu and sahaira (sic), is the numerical symbol for 'ten.' But the form of the akshara as given in Dr. Burnell's book, differs essentially from the form that it has in the lithograph of the grant (ante, Vol. I. p. 362). Nor, as it stands in the lithograph, does the akshara really resemble closely any of the known forms of the symbol for 'ten.' As it stands, it distinctly reads as child. Without, at any rate, an inspection of the original plate, I will not venture to say what it may mean. But, because it does not agree with the known forms of the symbol for 'ten,' and because the use of a numerical symbol at all is so unlikely in the period to which the Merkars plates really belong, and still more because the use of a numerical symbol as part of a compound, with a fully written word on each side of it, is so very extraordinary that without

genuine analogous instances it cannot possibly be accepted, I cannot take it as proved even that the Punnûdu vishaya was a Ten-thousand district.

As regards the full genealogical and historical purport of this inscription, it will be desirable to quote here exactly what was said about it by Mr. Rice, who brought it to notice in connection with the Kadaba grant of Prabhûtavarsha-Gôvinda III., dated Saka-Samvat 735 expired, - of which, by the way, the authenticity is at least very doubtful. He wrote (ante, Vol. XII. p. 13) :- "I have, through the kindness of Mr. R. Sewell, seen a grant of the "Punnata Rajas which must belong to early in the sixth century. In it their succession is "thus given : - (1) Kâśyappa Râshtravarmma; (2) Nûgadatta, his son; (3) Singa Varmma, "son of the last; (4) his son (not named); (5) Skandavarmma, son of the last; (6) Ravidatta, " his son. The addition to the first name may point to a suzerainty of the Råshtrakûtas. "But from other inscriptions (ante, Vol. V. p. 140, Vol. VII. p. 175; Mysore Inscriptions, "pp. 292, 295) we know that in the time of Skandavarmma the Punnad kingdom was "annexed to the Ganga dominions by Avinita who married the king's daughter." Of the two references given by him, only in the first (ante, Vol. V. p. 140, and Mysore Inscriptions, p. 292). and in no other document, can I find the passage which he intends. This is one of the Mallôhalli grants; and from it we learn that the son of Konganimahadhiraja, of the Western Ganga line, was Avinita, otherwise named Konganivriddharûja and Durvinîta, "whose broad chest "was embraced by the beloved daughter of Skanda Varmma, the Punnad Raja' who herself " had chosen him though from her birth assigned by her father, according to the advice of his "own guru, to the son of another," and who was "the ruler of the whole of Panuad "( ? Påkhåd) and Punnåd." Now, this Mallôhalli grant, though Mr. Rice will not see it, is a spurious grant, belonging to a much later period than the date, Saka-Samvat 435 or A.D. 513-514, to which he has referred it (ante, Vol. V. p. 140). This date was arrived at by him as part and parcel of his theories regarding the Western Gangas, which are erroneous throughout, because they are based on nothing but a series of spurious and unreliable grants. And, having given up his original suggestion that Punnâțarâja-Skandavarman, the father-in-law of Avinîta, might be a Pallava king or a feudatory of a Pallava king (ante, Vol. V. p. 135), and having identified him instead with the Skandavarman of the present record, it followed that, having fixed Saka-Samvat 400 or A.D. 478-79 for the beginning of the reign of Avinita, he was naturally obliged, as part and parcel of his theories, to refer to an early period in the sixth century A.D. the present grant of Ravidatta, whom he took to be the son of Skandavarman. I shall dismiss, without further comment, the exact dates arrived at by him. It is only necessary to point out that his remarks quoted above shew plainly that he treated the present inscription of Ravidatta as a genuine record; and that he used it for historical purposes, either as corroborative of, or as corroborated by, another record, which he supposes to be genuine and ancient.

I differ considerably from Mr. Rice in my interpretation of this inscription. In the first place, instead of finding six generations in unbroken succession of father and son, with Ravidatta in the last of them, I find that Skandavarman's son was Punnâțarâja, and that Ravidatta is simply mentioned as a descendant of Punnâțarâja, — with what interval between them it is impossible to say. In making Ravidatta the son of Skandavarman, Mr. Rice seems to have taken the word *Punnâțar6jasya*, line 9, simply as an epithet, either of Skandavarman or of Ravidatta, meaning that the person to whom it applies was a ruler of the Punnâța or Punnâdu country. The construction of the passage is, of course, bad to a degree; and especially so is the use, — evidently intentional, though the vowel *â* has been omitted, — of the Taddhita affix *âyana*, which is restricted to the special words *âmushyâyaņa* and *doyâmushyâyaņa*, and to such derivatives as Âśvalâyana, Bâdarâyaṇa, Kâtyâyana, &c, and which cannot be correctly used as it has been here, vis. as a separate word after *Punnâțarâjasya* which is in apposition with *tat-putrasya*. But, doing the best that is possible with the text, it certainly

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The original, however, distinctly has punnatardia, like the present inscription. -- I have quoted this passage from its later version, Mysore Inscriptions, p. 292. In ante, Vol. V. p. 140, the only difference is that we have "of the Punnad raja Skanda Varmma."

seems to mean that Skandavarman's son was named Punnâțarâja, and that Ravidatta was a descendant of the latter person, in some unspecified degree. In the second place, it is impossible to agree with Mr. Rice in taking Någadatta's son to be Singavarman, i.e. Simhavarman. The text, line 7, distinctly gives the name of Någadatta's son in the word bhujagdinvarágah, which, judged by the metre, seems to stand for bhujamgadhirajah. And it proceeds to mention, not a son, but a daughter of Singavarman; and she is plainly intended to be introduced as the wife of Nagadatta's son, though the exact words are missing. And in the third place, I do not feel quite sure that we have the whole of the inscription before us. I do not find any record as to whether the ring was still uncut when the grant first came to notice ; and even if it were so, it is possible that an original ring, with a seal attached to it, was abstracted; that the present plain ring was substituted; and that, in the course of this, part of the original charter was lost. The doubt arises in connection with the context of lines 7 and 8. The last two letters of the first plate, in line 7, have been broken away. And it is impossible to supply for them anything that can satisfactorily connect the last extant word on this plate with the first word on the second plate, in such a way as to give what is required here, viz. the name of Singavarman's daughter, and the distinct mention of her as the wife of Bhujamgadhirâja (?). Either her name and the other words were carelessly emitted altogether; or else they came on another plate which, possibly with others also, is now missing between lines 7 and 8. In the face, however, of the worthlessness of the whole inscription, this is not a point of any special importance. And, assuming, as Mr. Rice plainly did, that the entire record is practically before us, I find that it gives the following succession of names : - (1) Råshtravarman, who seems to be described as belonging to the Kåsyapa götra; (2) his son, Någadatta; (3) his son, Bhujamgådhiråja (?), who married a daughter of Singavarman, i.e. Simhavarman, but the name of whose wife either was omitted or has been wrapped up in some unrecognisable shape in the syllables vidyd . . . . nayand, line 7-8; (4) his son, Skandavarman ; (5) his son, Punnâțarâja ; and (6) his descendant in some unspecified degree, Ravidatta. In the description of these persons, there is nothing to indicate anything higher than feudal rank. And, on the other hand, the statement that Ravidatta made the grant with the permission of Cheramma, seems not only to shew plainly that he was merely a subordinate chieftain, but also to give the name of his master. His anthority was probably confined to the Punnadu vishaya, which is the first and chief territorial division mentioned in specifying the position of Pungisoge.

I also differ entirely from Mr. Rice in my appreciation of the value of this inscription. Amongst its peculiarities, the first point that attracts attention is the abrupt manner in which, after the words Om Svasti, it opens with a verse that commences with tad=anu jayati, "after that, victorious is . . . . . . . . . . . Ravidatta." This abrupt opening shows that the record is not complete even at the beginning of it, and that at any rate some invocatory verse or verses, which ought to have been included, must have been omitted here; compare, for instance, the Junagadh inscription of Skandagupta (Gupta Inscriptions, p. 58), and the Aihole inscription of Pulikésin II. (ante, Vol. VIII. p. 241), which open with an invocation of respectively Vishnu and Jinôndra, and then introduce the reigning kings with verses of which one, that in the Junagadh inscription, commences with tad=anu jayati, and the other, that in the Aibole inscription, commences with tad=anu, having jayati at the end of the second pada. The next point, of course, is the extraordinary corruptness of the Sanskit portion. With the exception of the opening verse, which very curiously contains only one real mistake, viz. sampadánti for sampatanti, the errors, both of idiom and of orthography, are of a more marked kind even than in the ordinary spurious inscriptions. I cannot call to mind any other instance in which the idiom and construction are faulty to the same extent. But the orthographical mistakes are of the kind which occur more or less in all the spurious grants, except in the British Museum plates of Pulikêsin I., dated 'Saka-Samvat 411 expired (ante, Vol. VII. p. 209 ff.), and in the Pimpalner plates of Pulikésin I. or II., dated Saka-Samvat 310 (ante, Vol. IX. p. 293); and in no genuine grants, except THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY.

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perhaps some of the latest of the Valabhi records. Another point is the wonderful mixture of verse and prose in lines 2 to 11; in respect of which as I have said above, anyone who can understand the text can satisfy himself that the metrical passages really are fragments of verses, taken plainly from some other document, and not words which only incidentally have assumed a metrical shape. For this I can call to mind no parallel whatever. And another point is the abrupt transition from Sanskrit to Old-Kanarese in line 16, not only in the middle of a sentence, but even in passing from an adjective in Sanskrit, used moreover erroneously in the nominative case, to the Kanarese dative which it is intended to qualify. For this, again, I can call to mind no analogous instance. In fine, how anyone can apply the present record seriously, is to me quite incomprehensible. The points to which I have drawn attention stamp it unmistakably as a document that has been pieced together, in the most careless fashion, and by a very ignorant and clumsy person, from perhaps half-a-dozen different sources; so that, whatever substratum of fact there may be in any of the passages included in it, taken as a whole it is a worthless document, utterly useless for any historical purposes. It is by no means the first specimen of its kind from the same part of the country. On the spurious Western Gauga grants, of which one is the Mallôhalli record referred to above, through which the present record has been connected with them, I have written elsewhere (Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, p. 11 ff). Wearisome as is the task of dealing in detail with such records, I have now treated fully of the present inscription, because, like the Western Gauga grants, and in special connection with one of them, it has misguidedly and misleadingly been accepted from a serious point of view; and because, in the face of such treatment, it was necessary that its nature should be plainly exhibited. As far as it can be determined palaeographically, and especially by the marked wave in the upper part of the vowel  $\vec{a}$  as attached to consonants, which first began to appear about the end of the seventh century A. U., -see, for instance, the Harihar grant of the Western Chalnkya king Vinayâditya, ante, Vol. VII. p. 300, Plate,--the date of its concoction might perhaps be placed about the commencement of the eighth century A.D.; but certainly no earlier. As, however, I cannot find any date in the eighth century which gives us the Rêvatî nakshatra, at sunrise or at any time during the day, coupled with an eclipse of the sun on a Sunday answering to either the parnimanta or the amanta Phalguna new-moon, it would appear that, unless the given details are purely imaginative, the record must be referred to a later time than A. D. 800.

#### TEXT.<sup>2</sup>

#### First Plate.

- I Ôm<sup>3</sup> Svasti [11\*] Tad<sup>4</sup>=anu jayati rájā rájamāns[h\*] sva-diptyā ravir=iva. Bavidatto dattavān dharmma<sup>5</sup>-kārah d[iši]-
- 2 diśi vijit-ârôr=yyasya vîryya-pratâpâh sakalam=avani-dêśam santatam sampadà(ta)nti [ii\*] Vidyâ;v[i]-
- 3 nâ(na)y-âtivihita-vrittah nîti<sup>6</sup>-sâstra-prayûgâ[t\*] ûsîd=râjâ vidita-vijayah Kabyapô
- 4 Rashtrave(va)rmmä tat-putrô=bhût samara-mukka-huta-prâ(pra)huta-śûrapurnshaturaga-va-
- 5 ra-vârê(ra)na[h\*] chaturddasa(śa)-vidyâsthân-âdhigata-vimala-ma<sup>7</sup>tih gaja-varu(rû)thagatir<sup>3</sup>=Nnâgadattô nărêndrah tat-putrasya
- 6 rddânta<sup>9</sup>-vimardda-vimridita-viśvamba(mbha)rùdhipa-mauli-mäl[â<sup>\*</sup>]-makaranda-pumjapinjari[ta]-šatru-chchô(chû)dâ-vih[i<sup>\*</sup>]ta-yaśas-sâsa

Road chaineddanta.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> From the original plates.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Represented by a symbol.

<sup>\*</sup> Metre, Malini. This is the only complete verse in the body of the grant.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> After this rmma, a na or n seems to have been engraved and cancelled.

<sup>6</sup> Metre, Mandákrántá; as far as putró-bhút or samara.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> First mi was engraved ; and then the i was partially cancelled.

Motre, Mandákrántá or Sragdhará ; as far as naréndra h.

7 nîyân k[û\*]nty<sup>10</sup>-Ânamgô yuvatishu nțipa-śri(śrî)-Bhu<sup>11</sup>jagâmvarâgah<sup>13</sup> śri<sup>13</sup>-Simgave(va)rmma<sup>14</sup>-nripatês=tanayâ vibhâti vidyû . . . .

#### Second Plate: First Side.

- nayanô<sup>15</sup> sva-bhuja-bala-parâkrama-kraya-vîryya-sampanna-Skanda-8 tat-putrasya ve(va)rmmana[h\*] tat-pu-
- Punnața-rajasy=[â\*]yanô drimta<sup>16</sup> s[v\*]a-bhuja-vikrama-datta-mâly-[â\*]dêr= 9 trasya E(i)ndra17.vikramô mri-
- samasta-sâmanta-tha(bha)ta-pravarddhana[h\*] danga-gavira<sup>18</sup>-ninâda-nisvanah praśâsti 10 růjâ suchiram vasundharů[m\*]
- Kitthi<sup>19</sup>-puravarav(m)=adhivasati Ravidatta-nâmadhêyah [11\*] vijaya-11 śrimân skândâvârê<sup>20</sup> Cheramm-anu-
- Pålgunamasyam<sup>23</sup> Ådityavarð Bévati(ti)-nakshatrð suryya-gráhanð<sup>23</sup> jñeyât<sup>21</sup> 12 Punnadu-
- vishayê Kudugûr-nnâdol pûrvva-madhya-dêsê Pungisoge-nâma-grâmam(h) udaka-13 pürvvan=dattah Dvivi-vi-
- sarvva-bâda(dha)-parihârê[ņa\*] janma kshêtram Kolu(lu)r-nnâma-grâmam 14 prasya Sômasa(śa)rmma-bhațțah Kodamuku-nâ-
- ma-grâmam Kumba(mbha)sa(śa)rmma-bhattah Dvatogeyanur-nnåma-grâmam Kâśyapa-.15 gôtrah Kâmarave(va)rmma-shadâ(da)m-

#### Second Plate: Second Side.

- Atrêya-gôtrâya Paduvasa(śa)rmmagam inti irvvorggam ékő 16 gaviya(da?)rggam bhagam(h) sê(sê)shasya ja-
- chêvatram<sup>24</sup> Tânagundûr-nnâma-grâmam Srîdhara-chauvêra-putrasya nma-kshêtram 17 Binamma-dvédi25 Patta-
- 1-náma-gramam dvija36-guru-dêvata-pûdya27-Gauanâyaka tutya28 samasta-ni(nî)ti-sâstra-13 prayôgi
- Têtriya29-charaņa-prâ(pra)vachana-kalpa Vatsa-gôtrah Mâda(dha)va-chauvêrarggam îsau30 19 Kâpyâ-
- Kêsa(śa)va-kramayitarggam inti irvvorggam êkô bhâgam(h) dvishu **2**0 yana sagôtrah bhaga-
- sîmântarâni pûrvvasyân=disi(śi) kammâtthivâya allim vîrttandakolliya 21 tasya sya pala-
- tnldilgâlâ-mûțâyolbe ebella<sup>31</sup>degalla-mû(?)țâya poreë(ye) bandu teruņa(?)-22 mpeyâle bâ(?)lliya(?ye)
- ku(kû)di dakshinasyân=disi(śi) Elagovanûra badagana si(sî)meyal 23 bandu ka(?)lipolekkâl-tenne(nno)lbe tala ...

27 This is perhaps a mistake for pljya.

21 Read anujñaya.

23 Read grahane.

\* What was intended here is not apparent.

19 Read, perhaps, kirtti.

<sup>10</sup> Metre, Mandákrántá ; sa far as bhujagámvarágah for bhujamgádhirájah.

<sup>11</sup> This bhu was at first omitted, and was then inserted below the line, with a mark to indicate the omission.

<sup>12</sup> Some correction is necessary here; and bhuj ing ddhirdjak would satisfy the requirements of the metre, and agrees pretty closely which what is actually engraved.

<sup>13</sup> Metre, Vasantatilaka ; as far as vidyd. 14 First rmmd was engraved ; and then the 4 was partially cancelled.

<sup>18</sup> As regards the connection between this and the preceding line, see the introductory remarks. 17 Metre, Vainšastha ; as far as vasundharam.

<sup>16</sup> What was intended here is not apparent.

<sup>10</sup> Read gambhira.

<sup>2</sup> Bead skandhåvåré.

n Read pháigun-dmávdeyám.

<sup>25</sup> Read dvivedi, or duvedi. \* This may perhaps be intended for ch-aiv-átra.

<sup>26</sup> This ja was at first omitted, and then was inserted, in a very cramped style, between the dvi and the gu.

<sup>25</sup> What was intended here is not apparent.

<sup>#</sup> Read taittirlys.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> After this lla, some letter seems to have been engraved and cancelled.

#### Third Plate; First Side.

24	nbboņarkkellodiļda aduvim bada(?da) olbe ekkuttam dirggase
25	âlakkâl-tennolbe ekiruvadikkâl-tennolbe ekuldakkâl-tennolbe ekarkkâlliku b
26	ba(?be)rkku-gereyalliye va(ba)ndu suņņa-kkolliyol ku(kû)dittu paśchimasyân=disi(śi) suņņa-kkolli
27	di bandu kuņdinadoļ=ku(kû)di badaga rekkakadadubadagây-vețtadim bilda-kolliya ta(?u)
28	bettada mél-porale bandu múdáy-si(si)meyul ku(ků)dittu II Tat-kâlê tad-visbayê kada
29	sya udaka-pûrvvam dattah kritya-kuchcha-vyavabûrê agra-vâkyê agra-pûje pa [1] A]-
30	sya dânasya sâksbinah shannavatisahâ(ha)sra-vishaya-prakritayah [11*] Yô=sy≈ âpa[harttâ]
31	[m]ôhât=pramô(mâ)dêna vâ sa pañchabhir=mahûbhi tpâtakai <sup>32</sup> samyuktô bhavati yô râ(ra)kshati ssa(sa) puṇyâ(ṇya)m=a[vâpnôti 11]
	Third Plate; Second Side.
32	[S]v[an] <sup>33</sup> =d[â]tum su-mahach-chhakyam duhkham=anyasya pâlanam dânam vâ pâlanam v=êti dânâch=chhrê[yô=nupâla]-
3 <b>3</b>	nam [11*] Bahubhir=bba(vva)eudhâ bhuktâ râjabhis=Sagar-ûdhi(di)bhih yasya yasya yadâ bhû[mis=tasya tasya]
34	tadâ phalam II Sarvv[â*]n <sup>34</sup> =ëta[n*] prârtthayaty=êpa(va) Râmô bhûyô-bhûyô <sup>35</sup> bhâvinah pâ[rtthivêndrân sâ]-
35	mânyô=yam dharmma-sêtur=nripâņâm kâlê-kâlê pậlani(nî)yê mahâ(ha)dbhih 11 Bra[hma-svam <sup>36</sup> tu vi]-
36.	sham ghômram <sup>37</sup> na bhi(vi)sham visham=nchyatê visham⇒êkâkinam hanți brahma, svam pu[t]ra-[pautrikam 11]
	ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS,
<i>(</i> <b>)</b> '	After the words "Om ! Hail !", the record opens with a verse introducing the name of the

It then gives Ravidatta's genealogy. It states that there was a 'king' named Råshtravarman (l. 4), who seems to be described as belonging to the Kåsyapa götra (l. 3). His son was 'king' Någadatta (l. 5). His son was the 'king,' the illustrious Bhujamgadhiråja (l. 7), if we accept the correction that suits the metre and is suggested by the syllables that actually occur; and in connection with this person, and evidently as his wife, mention is made of a daughter of the 'king,' the illustrious Singavarman, but her name either was omitted or cannot be made out. His son was Skandavarman (l. 8). His son was Punnåtaråja (l. 9), And his descendant is the 'king,' the illustrious Ravidatta (l, 11), who has now been governing the earth for a long time.

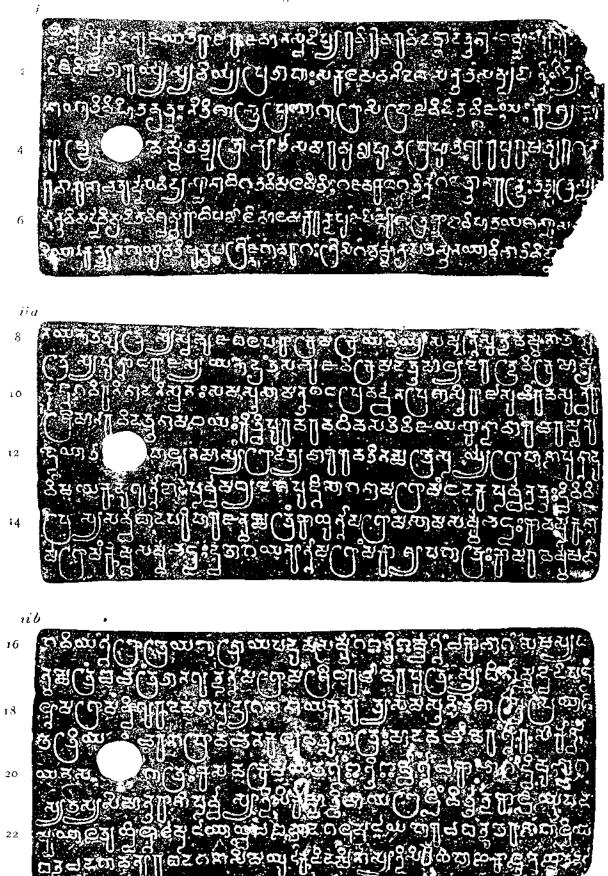
While his, Ravidatta's, victorious camp is at the town of Kitthipura, or perhaps Kirtipura, which is the best of towns (l. 11), with the permission of Cheramma, on the new-moon day of Phalguna (l. 12), on Sunday, under the Révati nakshatra, and at an eclipse of the sun, the village named Pungisoge (l. 13), which is described as being in the east-central désa

36 Metre, Ślóka (Anushtubh). 57 Read ghóram.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Bead mahadbhih pátakaih, or mahápátakaih. <sup>33</sup> Metre, Ślôka (Anushinbh) ; and in the next verse.

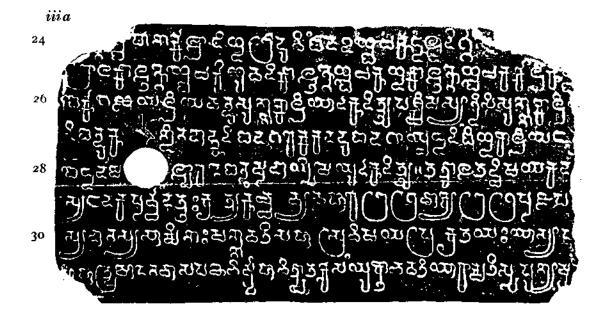
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Metre, Sälini. <sup>26</sup> First bhävinah was engraved here, and then it was corrected into bhayô.

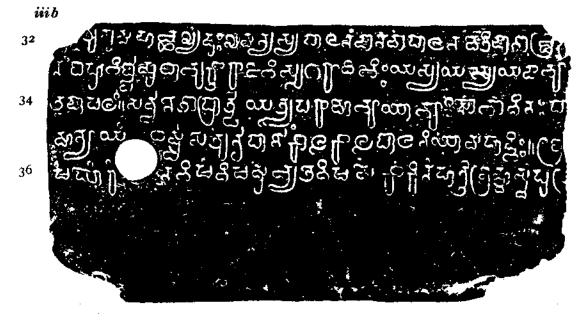
Komaraling un Plates of Ravidatta.



J. F. FLEET. 80. C.S.

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.





in the Kudugur nad which is in the Funnadu vishaya, has been granted, free of all obstruction, apparently to a Bråhman named Dvivivipra.

Also the following grants seem to have been made. The village of Kolur (1. 14). to Sômasarmabhatta; the said village apparently being his birth-place (janmakshetra). The village of Kodamuku, to Kumbhasarmabhasta. One share, apparently, of the village of Dvatogeyanur (line 15), to Kâmaravarmashadangavid, of the Kâśyapa gôtra, and to Paduvasarman of the Atrêya gôtra; and the text seems to intimate that their birth-place was here. and that the rest of the village belonged to them by right of that fact. The village of Tanagundur (l. 17), to Binammadvivêdin, the son of Sridharachauvêra. And, apparently, one portion of the village of Pattal to Gananâyaka, and the other to Madhavachauvêra, of the Taittirfya charana and the Vatsa gôtra, and to Kêśavakramayita of the Kânvâyana gôtra.

Lines 20 to 28 contain a specification of boundaries, in the course of which there is mentioned the village of Elagovanur (l. 23). But it is not clear whether the boundaries are those of Pungisoge; or of all the villages, on the understanding that they formed one compact block; or of a portion only of the lands that were granted.

Lines 28-29 seem to refer to some other grant which was made at the same time, but the nature of which is not apparent. Lines 29-30 state that the witnesses to the grant were the subjects of the Ninety-six-thousand vishaya. And lines 30 to 36 contain a precept in prose, and four of the customary Sanskrit benedictive and imprecatory verses, with which the record ends.

# WEBER'S SACRED LITERATURE OF THE JAINS. TRANSLATED BY DR. HERBERT WEIR SMYTH.

#### (Continued from p. 184.)

As the sixth of the dasau texts the panhavagaranadasau are named. This is to be sure the name of the tenth anga, which is also divided into 10 ddras but not into 10 ajjh. The names of the ten aijh. quoted here show very plainly that here, as in the case of angas 8. 9, the author had quite a different, and in fact an older, text before him than the one we now possess. These names are in agreement with the name of the anga itself, whereas our text of this anga shows no connection with it. The names are : uvamá, samkhá, isibhásiyáim, 1\* áyariyabhásiydin. Mahávirabhásiydin, khómagapasindin, kômalapasindin, addágapasindin, angut thapasindin, bahupasindin. The names of ajjh. 6, 8, 9, 10 recur in that table of contents of anga 10 which is found in anga 4 (and Nandi) so that there the text which existed at the period of anga 3 and not our present text, is meant. Abhayadêva says, in so many words : prainavyá karanadaiá ihó 'ktarúpá na driéyamté, driéyamánás tu pancháéravapanchasannvarátmikA iti, ihőktánAm tů pamádínám adhyayanánám aksharárthah [273] pratiyamána évé ti.\*

The names of the following four dasau do not recur elsewhere. The names of the 10 ajjh. of dasd 10 are mentioned, not as parts of the Siddhanta but as belonging in or to it. In the seventh place appear the bandhadasau, the 10 ajjh. of which have the following names: bandhé<sup>3</sup> ya mokkhé ya déviddhi Dasaramamdalê ti ya i ayariyavipadivatti uvojjhäyavippadivatti bhävand vimotti säsaté kammé. In the eighth place we find the dogiddhidasou (dvigriddhi<sup>o</sup>) with the following names vate vivate sukhette kasine ti ya ( bdyálísan suviná tísam mahdsuviná háré<sup>5</sup> Ràmagnttê ya éyam éé dasa dhiyá.<sup>6</sup> In the ninth place the diha-dasáu with following names : chandé stré ya sukké ya, Siridêvî, Pabhâvaî | divasamuddovavatti, Bahuputti, Maindare ti ya | there Sambhuyavijae, there Pamha-ussisanissâsê 11. Abhayadêva points out here some connection with the narakávaliká-, or nirayávaliká-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> This text is treated in greater detail on anga 4 § 44.—It has been discovered by Prof. Peterson, see his Third Report, p. 26 and 253.—L.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> kshanmakâdishu dêvatêvatêrah kriyata iti, tatra kshanmakam vastram, addâgô âdaréah. <sup>3</sup> bamdhâdy-adhyayanâni, śrautênâ 'rthêna vyâkhyâtavyâni.

duig ihi (!) dafti cha svirûpati 'py anavisith.
 Those are but nine; in a MS. belonging to Sir Mon. Williams, according to Leumann, bâvattariva savvasami i are named in the tenth place. For the dreams of the mahdeuvind above, p. 224, also cited among the anasynpavitika texts in the Påkshikas, and in the Vidhipr.

srutaskandha, i.e. updngas 8-12.7 Finally in the tenth place are the samkhéviyadashu<sup>8</sup> with the foll. names khuddiyd vimánapavibhatti, mahalliyá vimána[274]pavibhatti, amgachiliyá, vaggachúliyá viváhacháliyá, Arunôvavâê, Varanôvavâê (Varn° in the Schol., perhaps Dhara°) Garulôvavâê, Vêlamdbarôvavâê, Vêsamanôvavâê. All these names recur in the anangapavittha list of the Nandi (Pakshikas. Vidhipr.). We have seen above, p. 223, 224, that the five<sup>9</sup> ajjhayanas beginning with khuddiyavimana, are designed for the eleventh year of study, the five ajjh. which begin with arunôvavda for the twelfth year of study. From this two facts are plain : first, that they still existed at the date of composition of the versus memoriales in question, secondly, that they were of great importance in so far as their study is made to occur after that designed for anga 5 i.e. the tenth year. By viváhacháliya (vyákhyá bhagavatá, tasyás chúliká) we may remark in passing, we are to understand one or more of those supplements to anga 5, all of which now appear to have been incorporated in that anga.

We cannot doubt that all the texts mentioned above were thus constituted at the period of the existence of anga 3. Hence the extreme interest of this detailed presentation of the subject. It is only as regards anga 7 and chhédaeútra 4 that this account is in entire agreement with the existing text of the Siddhanta; in all other particulars this account is either widely different or has reference to texts,<sup>10</sup> which are not found in the Siddhanta at all. The proof here given of the fact that from the mention of a work in one place or another there does not [275] follow the identity of the then existing texts with the present (though in reality proof of a fact that is self-evident) is nevertheless not out of place in the present case, since it has become so customary in these days to draw from the titles of Chinese, etc., translations of Buddhistic works conclusions in reference to the existence of the latter in their present form. The proof here carried out in reference to anga 8 to 10 is intended as a reminder that greater caution must be used in the future. (See Ind. Stud. III. 140).

Of great interest is furthermore the enumeration in ajjh. 7 of the names of the seven schisms<sup>11</sup> together with those of their founders and of their localities : évan chéva samanassa bhagavató Mahavirassa titthammi satla pavayananinhagd pam tam : bahurayá, jirapadésiyá, avvattiya, samuchchhétiya, dôkiriya, térásiya, avadhdhiya (!); éési nam sattanham pavayananinhagânam satta dhammáyariyá hotthá, tam : Jamáli, Tisagutté Ásúdhé, Ásamitté, Gamgé, Chalué, Gotthámákilé : éési nam pa<sup>o</sup>nan satta uppattinagard hotthá, tan : Sávatthî, Usabhapuran, Séyabiyû, Mihilâ, Ullagâtîram, puram Amtaramji, Dasapura(m) ninhaga-uppattinagaráim. According to Avasy nijj. 8, 61. 88, the last of these schisms occurred in the year Vira 584; from this we may derive some basis for chronological determination.<sup>12\*</sup> See Jacobi, Kalpas. p. 15.

An exact examination of this important text is a great desideratum, since in it are contained a large number of significant [276] statements and data. It constitutes a perfect treasure-house for the correct understanding of innumerable groups of conceptions, in distinguishing which from one another the pedantic formalism of the Jains was wont to run riot.

The table of contents in anga 4 and Nandi (N) reads : sô kim tam thanê ? thânê nam sasamaya thâvijjamti parasamaya sasamayaparasamayâ; jîvâ thâvijjamti ajîvâ jîvâjîvâ; lôgô alôgô lôgâlôgô thâvijjamti ;<sup>13</sup> thânê nam davva-guna-khetta-kâla-pajjavapayatthâ nam sêlâ salilâ

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> dîrghadasâh avarûpatê'navagatê êva, tad-adhyayanâni (kêni) chin narakêvalikê-śrutaskamdha upala-bhyamtê; tatra chamdravaktavyatêpratibaddham chamdram adhyayanam, tathê hi : Rêjagrihê . . .; sêshênî trîny apratitani.

<sup>\*</sup> samkshépikä dasa apy anavagatasvarůpä éva, tadadhyayanånäm punar arthab: khuddiê tyádi, ihá'valiká-pravishtétaraviménspravibhajanam yaträ 'dhyayanê tad vimánapravibhaktib, tach chai 'kam alpagramthärtham, tathà 'nyan mahágranthärtham.

<sup>•</sup> This first 5 of the preceding ten ajjh. are doubtless meant by this statement. At least in the Nandi they preserve the same order of succession. <sup>10</sup> These texts may be concealed, i.e., absorbed by larger texts—a conjecture which is very probable e.g. in the case of the *visidhachdlivid*. See above.

n of. Kup. 794 (4), where the words "in connection with Ayyarakkhia and Püsamitta" belong to the last line

after Gotthâmâhila ; see Av. N. 8, 89. 12\* The Jain records on the above seven schisms have been translated into German by Leumann, Ind. Stud.

XVII., p. 91-135.—L. 18 In N. we read jiva ajiva jivaj, at the beginning : then follows lat alst layalot ; and sasamat p. easamayaparasamas forms the conclusion, (as also in the case of angas 4 et seq.); the verb is the wijjanti in each one of the nine cases-i.e. in the plural.

ya samudda-sûra-bhavana-vimâna-âgaranadiò nidhayô purisajâyâ<sup>14</sup> sara<sup>15</sup> ya gottâ ya jôisamvâlâ<sup>10</sup> ; èkavibam vattavvayam duviham jäva dasaviham vattavvayam jiväna põggalana ya lõgatthäim cha nam parûvanayê âghavijjaï.<sup>17</sup>

The commentary is by Abhayadêva, who both here at the end and elsewhere is frequently called navangivrittikarah. Commentaries to angas 3-11 are ascribed to him; and we have one from his hand on upánga 1.

He calls himself a scholar of Jinéśvaracharya<sup>18</sup> and of Buddhisagara the younger [277] brother of the former. The present commentary was prepared by him Samvat 1120 (A.D. 1064) in Anahillapátaka with the help of Yasódévagani, a scholar of Ajitasinháchárya, for a panditaparshad, conducted by śri Drônâchârya. According to Dharmasâgara's Gurvavali, the "navâmgavrittikrit," Abhayadêva died Samvat 1135, according to others 1139. See Kl. 248b. 253b. (12.30).

IV. The fourth angam, samavaya, "association, group, rubric," in one ajjhayana, that consists of very heterogeneous parts. The contents of the first two-thirds is in general the same as that of the third anga, both being designed for instruction in the eighth year. See above. There is however the difference that the categories here exceed 10,<sup>19</sup> and continue by progression up to 100,30 and then per saltus far exceed 100. Immediately following, but without any logical connection with this, is a detailed table of contents and extent of all the twelve angas; then all sorts of statements which cannot be united into one class and which deal partly with doctrine, partly with hagiology and, if we may use the expression, history or legend. This third part is without doubt to be regarded as an appendix to the first part, and the whole as a supplement to the third anga; as in fact we learn from § 57 that angas 1 to 3 were regarded as a connected unit. We have here a compendium of everything worth knowing, [278] a perfect treasure-house of the most important information which is of the greatest value for our understanding of the Siddhanta. Of especial significance are, in the first place, the statements of literary and historical content in § 1-100, in reference to the extent and division of the separate anguas, etc., (statements which were doubtless the principal cause of the addition of the full treatment of this subject); the mention of various celebrated Arhats of the past<sup>31</sup> together with the number of their scholars (this was the cause of the addition of the concluding part); and the frequent reference to the lunar and nakshatra computation of time and to the quinquennial yugam. The references to the yugam are exactly in the manner of the jyótisha védánga, Krittika, etc., being the beginning of the series of the nakshatras.

Anga 4 begins, after prefacing the customary introduction (suyam mé dusam, ténum bhagavanténam évam akkhdyam) with a fresh statement in reference to the authorship of Mahavîra :---iha khalu samanênanî bhagavayê Mahavîrênanî (then follows the regular varnaka with about 40 attributes, among which are Jinénan . . . buddhé nam bohaé nam . . .) iné durülasamgé ganipidagé<sup>22</sup> pannatté, tam jahá: (then follow the names of the 12 angas)<sup>23</sup> [279]

18 The founder of the Kharataragachehha; see the pattavall at the end of the Sabdaprubhédatiká v. 2 (ms. or. fol. 813), and Kl. 243a (11).

19 In § 1-10 there are many statements which recur in the same form in anga 3.

29 They are counted up to 100 as first, second, third samavaya (or in the neuter samavayam) up to the

<sup>21</sup> e.g. Kumtha § 27. 81, Kumthu § 95, Påsa § 38, 70, 350. Panami (Nami B.C.) § 39, Aritthanémi § 40, Nami § 41, Vimala § 44. 56, Munisuvvaa § 50, Malli § 55. 57, Usabha Kôsalia § 63. 83. 89. Môriyaputta § 65, Suvihi Pupphadanta § 75. 36, Bharaba § 77, Seyyasa § 80, Siyyamsa § 84, Siyala § 83, 90, Mamdiyaputta § 63, Supåsa § 86, 95. 200, Ajjiya 90, Indabhüti § 92, Camdappaha § 93, Samti § 93, Sumaï § 300, Sambhava § 400, Ajia § 450, Sagara 450, Våsupujia § 700.

<sup>22</sup> This word, which in § 57 is used especially for aigas 1---S, belongs of course to the tipitaka of the Påii texts, but has no reference to the number three. The designation of "basket" inclines one to think of its having been committed to writing. On the first mention of the name tipitaka see Ind. Stud. 5, 26; Vorles. Ind. Lit.-G.<sup>2</sup> 311, appendix, page 15.

23 All of the preceding from the khalu on gives an impression of secondary origin. This is the first occasion that we meet with the varnake of Mahavira.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Purissjäya tti purushaprakära nunatapranatédibhédal; páthämtaréna : pussajôga tti upalakabanatvát pushyádinakabatránám ohamdréna saha pasohimágrimóbhayapramádádikú yógah.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> °chātā B C; jyötishak törörüpasanhválanáni (cál<sup>9</sup>).
<sup>17</sup> N. has instead of thânê naủ davva' the following : tamkâ kâdâ sêlâ siharinö pabbhârâ kundâin guhâô âgarâ dahâ naiö âghavijjamti ; thânê nam êgâlyâê êguttariyâê vuddhiê dasatthânavivaddhiyânam bhâvânam parûvanâ âghavijjamti.

tattha nam jë së cautthë angë samavdë ti ahië,<sup>24</sup> tassa, nam ayam atthë . . . In angas 1-3 we do not find at the outset any such designation as first, second, third angam.

I extract the following from the remainder of the anga. In § I repetition of the statements of the third anga in reference to the asterisms adda, chitta, sati being called egatera; further on the same statements are made about the remaining nakshatras; in § 7 the 28 nakshatras are divided into four groups, viz.: kittiyaiya (°adika) in the East (puvvadariya), mahaiya in the South, anurá háiya in the West, dhanifiháiyá in the North. After<sup>25</sup> the sentence kitiyáiyáiyá satta nakkhatta puvvadáriya pam (pannatta) the words pathámtaréna abhahiyadiya (A, abhiyaiya BC) are inserted ;26 whereby, as the schol. explains, abhijit, asvint, pushya, sväti are indicated rather than the names in question. This insertion purposes to put the series of nakshatras, first invented by the Jains and taught especially in updiagas 5, 7 (see Ind. Stud. 10, 220, 304) in the place of the old krittiká series, which still maintained its validity at the time the fourth anga was first composed.<sup>27</sup> The new view had not yet received the authoritative stamp of orthodoxy. [280] We must however here notice that (cf. p. 269) in the third aiga § 7 we find statements completely identical with those in this insertion .-- In § 18 enumeration of the 18 kinds of writing usual for the bambhi livi (but not so correct as in up. 4 on which account I cite them there); -  $\frac{5}{28}$  atthi-the 19 nayajjhayanas, i. e. of the 19 books of anga 6, in karika form ; -in § 23 enumeration of the 23 soyagada jihayanas, i. e. of those of anga 2; —in § 25 enumeration of the 25 ajjh. of anga 1; ayarassa bhagavaô suchûliyûgassa, the maháparinnú being mentioned in the ninth place and the nisihajjhayana being designated outright as "25th ajjh." The latter is probably the chiliva (see § 37 and p. 254); the designation as bhagavant is found also in § 85, cf. also § 84; -- in § 36 enumeration of the 36 ajjh. of the uttarajjhayana, i.e. of the first mulasutra, and in fact with a few insignificant variations of the names given here; see below-§ 43 téyálisan kammavivágajjhayaná pam(nattá); the names are however not enumerated; accord. to the schol. the 20 ajjh. of the eleventh aiga, called vivágasuya are hereby referred to, as also the 23 of the second (!) anga. Cf. page 270 in reference to the kammavivågadasån in ten ajjh. mentioned in anga 3, 10; — § 44 chôyálísam ajjhayaná isibhAsiya dévalógachuyabhásiyá pam(nattá); both of these texts, at least under these names, are no longer extant,<sup>29•</sup> I have found the dévalógachuyabhásiyá mentioned in this place alone; the isibhásiyá however are often mentioned. We have already come across them (see p. 272) in anga 3, 10 as third ajjh. of anga 10 (!) [281] In the Nandi they appear among the anangapavitha texts; the author of the Avasy. nijj. confesses that he  $(2, \epsilon)$  is author of a nijj. to the isibhásiái too, and (8, 54), placing them in the second place, describes them together with káliasua, súrapannatti and ditthivid as the four kinds of anuoa (see p. 258); Abhay. however here characterizes them as kälikasrutaviseshabhütäni. Haribhadra on Av. identifies them, on one occasion (2,  $\epsilon$ ) with painna 7, on another (8, s), he calls them uttarádhyayanádáni! See above, p. 259. They appear also in connection with the painnas, embracing 50 (!) ajjh. in the Vidhiprapa, where their connection with the Uttarajjhayana as mathintara is also referred to - § 46 ditthindy as a name chháyálísan mauyapaya (mátrikápadáni) pani(nattá); banbhíé nan livié chháyálísan máuarakkhá (máurakará BC, perhaps máuakhhard? mátri + aksh<sup>o</sup>) pain. In reference to the 46 máuyápayá of anga 12 see below. By the "lékhyavidhau 46 mátrikáksharáni" of the Scriptures, are according to the schol., to be understood<sup>39</sup> a to ha, with the addition of ksha, but with the

25 Thus in A; in BC before.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> ákhyáta, I assumed several years ago (see *Bhag.* 1. 410, 2, 251) under the erroneous belief that this form belonged especially to the Süryaprajüapti (see *Ind. Stud.* 10, 254) that *áhia áhijiai* were derived from the root khyå weakened to khi, hi. I should now prefer to regard them as a species of retrogressive formation from the common *dhallow* (root ah).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> The same case is found § 72.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> The schol. however regards the abhijit series as siddhántamatam: he then adds: iha (in the text) tu matanturam ásritya krittikádáni . . bhanitáni : chamdraprajñaptau tu buhutardui matáni daršitáni) (Ind. Stud. 10, 285).

<sup>28\*</sup> See however the last but one asterism note.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> The Pániniyá šikehá counts 63 or 64 varnes and (as is very remarkable) " both for Sanskrit and for Prákrit (!)" See Ind. Stud. 4, 348, 849.

omission of jha-da-tri(?)-uni(?)-la (?) 130 These statements are of the most remarkable character. The number of 46 aksharas, whether written signs or sounds (which can have reference to Sanskrit alone and not to Prákrit, since ksh is included in the list), I am as yet entirely unable to explain<sup>81</sup> § 57 tinham ganipidaganam dydrachúliyavajjánam sattávannam ajjhayaná pam (nattd) dydré 24, sûyagadé 23, !háné [282] 10; here the first 3 angas are taken together as a unit and called 'the three ganipidagas' par excellence. It is here worthy of note that only 24 ajih. are ascribed to the *dyára* after the separation of the *dyárachúliyá*, and in fact (p. 254) only the nishajihayanam, which in § 25 is called the 25th ajjh., can be meant by *dyfrachillyd* :---in § 59 fifty-nine day-nights (rationdiya) are allotted to each season of the lunar year; § 61 vanchasanvachchharassa nam jugassa ridumásénam miyyamánassa égasatthi udumásá pam(núttá); see on this Jyótisha v. 31 (my treatise, p. 93); - § 62 the quinquennial yugam has 62 full moons, 62 new moons; - § 67 67 nakkhattamásá; according to § 71, the winter of the fourth lunar year (in the yuga) has 71 vuybhuepa—chaütthussa nanh chandasanivachchharassa hémanitú namékusattarié rátindiyéhin vítikkamitéhini ;—in § 72 enumeration of the 72 kalas which are essentially identical with those which recur in anga 6, 1, 119, upanga 1, 107 and elsewhere; 32 the repeated use of the word lakkhana probably forms a literary synchronism with the Mahabhashya and the Atharvaparisishtas. See Ind. Stud. 13, 460 Burnell, Tanjore Catalogue, p. 9 fg. ; the names are :---

Léham 1, ganiyam 2, rûvam 3, nattam 4, gîyam 5, vâiyam 6, saragayam 7, pukkharagayam 8, samatâlam 9, jûyam 10, janavâyam II, pôrêvachcham (A, kavvam B.C.)33 12, atthâvayam 13, dagamattiyam 14, annavihim 15, pânavihim 16, lênav.34 17, sayanav. 18, ajjapahêliyam (ajjam pa ° BC) 19, magahiyam 20, gaham<sup>35</sup> 21, silôgam 22, gamdhajuttim 23, [283] madhusittham 24.36 abharanavihim 25, tarunîpadikammam 26, ittbîlakkhanam 27, purisal. 28, hayal. 29, gayal. 30, gônal.<sup>37</sup> 91, kukkudal. 32, midhayal. 33, chakkal. 34,<sup>38</sup> chhattal. 35, damdal 36, asil. 37, manil 38, kâganil. 39, chammal. 40,38 chamdayal. 41, sûrachariyam 42, râhuchariyam 43, gahachariyam<sup>40</sup>, 44. sôbhâkaram 45. dôbhâkaram 46. vijjâgayam 47. mamtag. 48. rahassag. 49. sambhâvam 50. vâram (? châram BC) 51, padivâram (châram BC) 52,41 bûham 53, padibûham 54, khamdhâvâramânam 55, nagaramânam 56, vatthumânam 57, khandhâvâranivêsam 58. nagaranivêsam 59. vatthunivêsam 60, îsattham 61, chharuppavâyam (pagayam BC) 62, âsasikkham 63, hatthisikkham 64. dhanuvêdam 65. harinavâdam (hirannavâyam BC) 66. suvannavâdam 67. manipâgam 68. dhânpâgam 69, bâhujuddham 70, damdaj. 71, mutthij. 72, atthij. 73, juddham 74, nijuddham 75, juddhâtijuddham 76, suttakheddam 77, nåliyâkheddam 78, vattakheddam 79, dbammakheddam42 80, chamharevattam (! pamhakheddam BC) 81, pattachheyyam 82, kadaga(kannaga BC)chheyvain 83, pattagachheyyam 84, sajivam 85, nijivam 86, saünaruyam 87 iti. Of these 87 names, 15 are to be removed, whether they are páthántaras (see on No. 80) or interpolations. For the v. r. from Nay. see below ; - § 81 vivahapannattie (in the fifth anga) ékkásium mahajummasayá [284] (maháyugmasatáni) pan(nattá); - § 84 viváhapannattiss nam bhagavaié chaitrásin payasa-

<sup>52</sup> See Paul Steinthal, Specimen of the Nåyådh. p. 22 and Leumann Aupapät. p. 77, where especial notice is taken of the variant readings here.

<sup>35</sup> Nay, has here posayam and reverses the position of 12 and 13.—\*The right name of the 12th kald is no doubt portkachchash-pouraskityam.—L.

34 Vilévana Náy. with the addition of vatthav, 35 Náy. adds gitiyam.

36 Instead of 23. 24 Nay. has hirannojuttim, suvannaj, chwinaj. 57 Steinthal has gasal.

78 Nây. omits 33, 34. 79 40-50 omitted in Nây.

# Are they to be regarded as planets or are they to be understood according to the fashion of the Ath. Paris. 53. 54?

41 Instead of 51-57 there are in Ndy. the following 31 names; vathhuvijjan, khamdháramánam 56, 53, 54, 51 (BC), 53 (BC) chakkavúham, garulavúham, saga avúham, 74-76, 73, 72, 70, hyájuddham, 61, 62, 65-67, 77, 79, 78, 81, 82, 85-87.

4º Omitted in BC, where we read instead phramitaré (póthûniaré) chamha<sup>o</sup>, by which chamha<sup>o</sup> is manifestly designated as v. l. to pamha<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Among the Brahmans too there is found an enumeration of the alphabet in order to form a diagram. Cf. my treatise on the Rama Tâp. Up. I. 62, p. 309. This enumeration contains 51 akshorus (16 vowels, 85 consonants), which, after deducting 5 aksharas, shows the 46 mauyakkhord ascribed in onga 4, as to the bankhol live. In reference to their use see page 462. It is however doubtful whother the use of the latter (on page 462) represents an example of the mauyakkhara.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> tâni châ 'kârâdini hakârâmdatâni (°râmtâni) saksha kârâni jha-da-tri-ûm-lam(!). (Leumann proposes to me to read ri, fî, li; but what is the meaning of jha and da !) ty eva (!) ity ètadaksharapamchakavarjitâni sambhâvyamtê.—The letters meant are indeed 7:, ??, ]i, ]î and ]., see Weber's Cat. II., p. 408, n. 2.—L.

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hassá padaggénam pannattá. Later on in the course of our investigation we will recur to the fact that this statement in reference to the extent of the text is less by 100,000 padas than that of the present text. See § 85 and § 25 on the designation as bhagavati, which has remained the exclusive property of this text.--- § 85 ayarassa nam bhagavatô sachúliyágassa pamchásiin uddésanakálá ; — § 88 ditthivayassa nam atthásim sutláin pan tan : ujjusuyam, parinayáparinayam, évan atthásin suttáni bhániyavváni jahá Namdíć. This reference to the Nandi, by which any further enumeration has been spared, is very remarkable from the fact that the statements in it, a few pages further on, are found in exactly the same detail in the fourth anga itself at this very point, in the consideration of the contents and extent of all the angas. This being the case the reference ought to have followed the collective statement found several pages further on in the same anga. We are therefore compelled to believe that the Nandi is the original source of information for this presentation, common to anga 4 and the Nandi, and that this presentation was at a later period taken from the Nandi and inserted in aiga 4; furthermore, this insertion must have occurred at a period succeeding that to which the above reference of the redactor belongs. Or have we merely to do with a later act of the scribes ? Were this the case, this act of theirs is at least very remarkable, if not unfortunately executed. There is, however, one difficulty in the way of the assumption that the Nandi is the ultimate source, viz. :- there are all manner of differences between the treatment in the Nandi and that here, differences in which the Nandi does not always [285] contain the more ancient statements. See below. The fact that the table of contents in N. is much shorter than that here makes, it is true, so ipso, an impression of greater antiquity; and N. offers in this table of contents many readings which are decidedly older and better.

We have now reached a point where we may discuss the collective presentation itself. It begins simply: duv&lasanige gampidage pain(natte), tain: . . then follow the names of the 12 angas and then the details in reference to contents, division and extent of each of the twelve. I insert here what I have collected from the statements in reference to division and extent, that the reader may obtain a general survey of the whole. I subjoin the v. r. from the Nandi (N) which, after what I have said above, may in the last instance claim priority over those of the anga.

1. **ayare**, 2 suyakhamdhâ, 25 sjjhayanâ, 85 uddêsanakâlâ, 85 samuddêsanakâlâ, 18 payasahassâim payaggênam.

2. súyagadé, 2 suyakh. 23 ajjh., 33 udd., 33 samudd., 36 padasahassâim (36,000) padaggéaam.

3. thane, I suyakh., 10 ajjh., 21 udd., 21 samudd., 72 payasahassâim (72,000) payaggênam.

4. samevaê, 1 ajjh., 1 suyakh., 1 udd., 1 samudd., êgê chôyâlê payasayasabassê (144,000; saya is omitted in the incorrect Berlin MS. of N, but accord. to Leumann is in the N Ed.) pay.

5. viyahe, 1 sny., 100 ajjh. with a residue (! égé sáirégé ajjhayanasayê), 10 uddêsagasahasskim, 10 samuddêsagasahassâim, 36 vâgaranasahassâim, 84 (!) payasahassâim (84,000) payaggênam :-- the latter statement is found also in § 84---see above page 284---N, however, has : do lakkhâ ațțhâsîi (288,000) payasahassâim, which corresponds to twice the former steady increase in 1---4.

6. [286] náyádhammakaháu, 2 snyakh., 19 (A N Edit., 29 BCN) ajjh.<sup>43</sup> 10 dhammakahánam vaggå (this omitted in N), 19 (A N Ed., 29 BCN) uddésanakálá, 19 (A N Ed., 29 BN) samuddésanakálá, samkhéjjáim payasayasahassáim p. (saya omitted in N., also in Ed.; 576,000 Schol.)--- Between 10 dh. vaggå and 19 (or 29) udd. we find inserted: in each dhammakahá 500 akkháiyá, in each akkháiyá 500 uvakkháiyá, in each uvakkháiyá 500 akkháiyá-uvakkháiyá, in all 3½ akkhaiyakôdiô.<sup>44</sup> In N this statement from dasadhammakahánam vaggå (inclusive) on, is at an earlier place in the description of the contents.

7. uvasagadasaô, 1 suyakh., 10 ajjh., 10 udd. kâlâ, 10 samud<sup>o</sup>lâ, samkhêjjâi payas ayasahassâim p. (saya omitted in N, also in Ed.; 1,152,000 Schol.).

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<sup>#</sup> êgûnavîsam A N Ed., êkônavîniatî Schol. (also on N), êgûnattîsam BCN.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. my remarks on anga 6 in reference to this remarkable number. We are lead to expect a much higher figure. N Ed. has kahānagakô<sup>o</sup> accord, to Leumann instead of akkhānakādió.

8. amtagadadasao, 1 suyakh., 10 ajjh. (N omits), 7 (8 N) vaggå, 10 (8 N) ud°lå, 10 (8 N) samud'lâ, samkhêjjâim payasayasahassâim p. (saya omitted in N, also in Ed.; 2,304,000 Schol.).

9. anuttarôvaväiyadasáô, 1 suyakh., 10 ajjh. (omitted in N Ed.), 3 vaggå, 10 (3 N) udd°lå, 10 (3 N) sam°lå, samkhêjjâim payasayasahassâim p. (saya omitted in N, also in Ed.; 4,668,000 Schol.).

10. panhavagaranani, 1 suyakh., [45 ajjh. N], 45 udd°lå, 45 samudd°lå, samkhêjjâni payasayasahassâni p. (saya omitted in N, also in Ed. ; 9,216,000 Schol.).45

11. vivayasue, [2 suyakh. N], 20 ajjh., 20 udd°lå, 20 samu°lå, samkhejjäim payasayasahassâim p. (eaya omitted in AN, also in Ed.; 18,432,000 Schol.)46

12. [287] ditthivas, 1 suyakh., 14 puvvâim, samkhijjâ vatthû, samkhejjâ chûla (chulla N) vattau, samkhejja pahuda, s. pahudapahuda, samkhejjau pahudiyau, samkhejjau pahudiyapâhudiyâu, samkhejjâni payasahassâni.

The most remarkable feature of the above is the statement in reference to the number of the words of each anga. According to Abhayadêva in the scholia,47 the number of words in the case of angas 1-4, increases continually by half till the eleventh anga is reached; and the Nandi and an anonymous writer thereupon asserts the same with the modification that, instead of angas 1-4, angas 1-5 are said to show this increase. This view is however in direct opposition to the actual facts of the case, for angas 7-11 are the least of all as regards their extent; which is so very small that there can be no thought of "100,00048 countable padas,"40 " countable " meaning here probably " those that need a special count," "numerons" or "innumerable." If we reckon on the average for each padam three aksharas<sup>50</sup> and for each granths (floks i.e. 32 aksh.), twelve padas, the following is the result of a comparison of the number of these granthas, stated<sup>51</sup> as in the MSS., with the above pada numbers [288]. of 18 000 p 529

1	s Sga	2564 gr.,	i. e.	30,648 padas,	instead	OI TO'ANA D'	
~	-	, 2300 gr.,		27,600 padas,		36,000	
3.		9780		45,000 pades,	**	72,000	
	-	, 1607 gr.,		19,284 padas,	,,	144,000	
5.		, 15,750 gr.,		189,000 padas,	**	84,000	
. Đ,	•	, 100 00 B			OT	(288,000 N	
6.		,5,975 gr., <sup>63</sup>		64,500 padas,	71	576,000	
7.		812 gr.,		9,744 padas,	.,	[1,152,000]	
-		890 gr.,		10,689 padas,	1)	[2,804,000]	
-	- ,	, 192 gr.,		2,804 padas,	,,	[4,608,000]	
10.		1300 gr.,		15,672 padas.	**	[9,216,000]	
11.		1816 gr.,		16,792 padas,	**	[18,482,000]	
				·			

45 Dvinavatir lakshäh shödasasahasrådhikäh.

# ékő padakótis obaturaútir laksháb dvátribéac cha sabasrápi.

47 Likewise also Némiohandra in the Pravaohanasåröddhöra § 92 v. 726 : padhamam áyáramgam atthárasasahas sapayaparimânam i êvam sêsamgâna vi duguşê dugunappamânam ij

\* N at least has only "thousands."

49 Accord. to Leumann samkhejja signifies merely an indefinite number that is still to be counted, and not

atways a large number. 50 See Bhagav. 1, 377. This is true in the case of the prose; in verse we must reduce the number somewhat. The preliminary question is of course—What does the author understand by padz? [Malayagiri in the Namd. The preliminary question is of course—What does the author understand by padz? [Malayagiri in the Namd. Malayagiri in the Namd. Malayagiri in the namd. Malayagiri in the namd. In this approximation of three aksharas to a pada I have reckoned the single members of compounds as a single word, in so far as the compounds can lay claim to be unrelevant as the single members of compounds as a single word, in so far as the compounds can lay claim to be considered as such.

51 See above, p. 250. The grantha enumeration is of secondary origin in comparison with the pada enumeration.

<sup>51</sup> See above, p. 250. The granths enumeration is of secondary origin in comparison with the pade enumeration. <sup>526</sup> So also in misithubhishya peih. 1 (taken from the Achira-niry.). It must, however, be noted that the above number (18,000) is referred to the first frutaskandha only. Malayagiri says [Nandi-tikk, p. 425]: atra above number (18,000) is referred to the first frutaskandha only. Malayagiri says [Nandi-tikk, p. 425]: atra above number (18,000) is referred to the first frutaskandha only. Malayagiri says [Nandi-tikk, p. 425]: atra bara aha yath Achire dvan śrutaskandhau patiohavinśatir adhyayanâni padägrêna châshtâdafa pada-sahasarâ tarhi yad bhanitain nava bambhachéramais atikárasa paya-sahasad véš it tad virudhyatë; atra hi navabrahmashari yádhyayana. mátra évéshtádafa-padasahasra-prauñas Achâra uktó, 'smins tv adhyayanê dvau śrutaskandhan pafichavinéatir adhyayanâni état samagrasy Achâraeya pariménam uktam, ashtâdafa pada-sahasarâni punah prathama-srutaskandhasya navabrahmacharyidhyayanasya. vichitrártha-nibaddhéni hi stráni bhavanti, ata éra chaisháni samyagarthévagamd garûpadétató bhavati nányath, áha cha chárnikri: dő suyákhandhd panarisan ajhayanáni, éyain áyáragéahiyassa (?) Áydrassa paminam bhaniyam; athérasa paya-sahassa pana padhana-ajhayanáni, éyain avabrahmacharyidhyayanayi vichitta-atiha-nibaddháni ya suttani, gurúndésa ésim atihá jániyavo tti. This view of the Chârnikrit (translated by Malayagiri into Sanakrit) seems to be al the more right as the Digambaras asoribe also 18,000 pudas to the Áchára without soknowledging any second Srutaskandha, see Prof. Peterson's Becond Report, p. 184.--L. is Another statement 5,500 gr., or 4,155 gr.

st Another statement 5,500 gr., or 4,155 gr.

In the case of angas 1 and 5, the numbers above given are less, in the case of all the others, greater than the actual state of the case. In a majority of cases the difference is simply ridiculous. The statement in reference to anga 5 (84,000)54 is not in harmony with the increase in 1-4 i.e. twice the number of the previous. We should expect that anga 5 should have preserved the same ratio, as is the case in N. This statement is in direct contradiction to those statements which are found in the MSS. of anga 5; according to which its extent is not 84,000 (and not 288,000, as is stated in N) but 184,000 padas (Bhag. 1, 377), which corresponds well enough to its actual extent: 15,750 gr. = 189,000 padas. The peculiar nature of our statement in reference [289] to 84,000 padas is, finally, rendered more apparent by the fact that it is found in § 84 of the first part of our anga, on the strength of which it has again found a place here.<sup>55</sup> In that § it is so free from suspicion that I consider it correct for that period, and find in this very circumstance a critical criterion or testimony that, at that time, the fifth anga had not yet reached its present extent.

As peculiar as the statements in reference to numbers of padas are those concerning the •32 koti" i. e. 35 millions, in anga 6. That all this is perfect nonsense, is perfectly apparent. See below. Finally there are several differences of a very surprising nature in the other statements which are not so readily set aside as incorrect or impossible, differences which exist partly in these statements themselves, partly in their relation to the actual facts. First, the difference in reference to the number of ajjhayanas in anya 6; according to A and Abhayad, there are 19 and such is the actual state of the case-but according to BCN560 there are 29. Then as regards anga 8 the 10 ajjh. are wanting in N.57 The number of the vaggas (7), of the udd. (10) and of the samudd. (10) is in N everywhere 8; likewise as regards anga 9 N has the number 3 as in the case of the vaggas, and in that of the udd. and schudd.; in the case of anga 10 N adds 45 ajjh. and in that of anga 11 likewise 2 suyakh. In reference then [290] to the actual facts, we must make the preliminary observation that the division into uddésagas in the case of angas 8-11, and that into samuddésagas in general in all the angas, is not denoted in the MSS.58\* The other differences refer chiefly to the fifth angam which has no division into ajjhayanas; in that anga they are called saya (kata), and their number is not 100 bat 41 or, including the sub-sayas, 138; likewise the existing text has only 1925 (not 10,000) uddésagas. A special demarcation of vágarana sections is unknown.<sup>59</sup> What can possibly be the meaning of 36,000 vágaranas and only 84,000 padas! (cf. Bhag. 1. 376). The differences in reference to angas 8-11 are not less remarkable. As regards the vaggas (8), anga 8 agrees with N, but has, not 10 (cf. anga 3, 10), but 93 ajjh. ;-anga 9 has likewise not 10 (cf. again anga 3, 10), but 33 ajjh ;-anga 10 has ten dáras; cf. the ten ajjh. in anga 3, 10, whereas we have here no information about daras or ajjh., and N, on the other hand, speaks of 45 ajjh .-- anga 11 has in agreement with N the 2 suyakh., which are not mentioned in the source of information before us. In the case of anga 12 there is no possibility of comparing the statements in question with the text, since there is no longer any such extant .-See below.60

<sup>64</sup> Or sarva-milanéna 1841 (v. l. 1894) granthas !

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> So also Abhayadéva, who shows that he is evidently embarrassed in his statement : chaturasîtipadasahasrâni padâgrênê 'ti samarayâpêkshayâ ('' in reference to § 84'') dvigunatayâ (tâyâ?) iti (?) năsrayanật (?), anyathâ tad dvigunatvê dvê takadê ashtâsith sahasrânî chu bhayamti. In the following anga he states the number of padas ta be 576,000 i. e. twice that of these in anga 5, according to his computation.

<sup>66#</sup> According to Leumann NEd. has 19 and not 29.—Here again, as with anga 1, only the first Srutaskindha is intended by the assortion of there being 19 ajjkeyance and not 29. In the same way only Part I. of anga 11 has been known to the author of anga 3, 10 as has been shown above on p. 270.—L.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> According to Leumann this is not so in NEd.

<sup>\*\*</sup> This statement requires some modification; see the closing words of angas 8-10 in Weber's Cat. II., 502 (8). 507 (9). 520 (10: dasasa cheva divasisa uddisijanti . . .); avgs 11 has in the place a reference to avga 1 (see ibid, 534) which, however, has the same bearing. L.

M This domarcation, or the number 36,000 representing it, is also found in the table of contents of anga 5 preceding the statements in reference to the extent.

<sup>•</sup> I will note here merely the fact that in the section in reference to the twelfth angam, Bhaddabhu is mentioned by name, whom tradition proclaims to be the last teacher of this angam or of the fourteen pirvas; see above, p. 214. It is furthermore stated that therein was contained a section in reference to Bhaddabáhu and to be better his history.

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The question now arises how are these differences to find a fitting solution? It is selfevident, that, so far as the extraordinary character [291] both of our information in regard to the number of padas, and of the akkháias in anga 6 is concerned, they are a fabrication of the author; nor is it improbable that a similar explanation may hold good in the case of the special differences of detail. The carefulness of statement which we notice here, renders it, on the other hand, possible that the author has based his statements on those of his authorities, and that we have to deal with genuine discrepancies between two different texts. Abhayadêva declares here that he is unable to explain the contradiction<sup>61</sup> in the case of angas 8 and 9 and in the case of anya 10 all that he does is to admit the existence of the conflict.62 But in his commentary on anga 10 he adduces (1) a further case of divergence-an introduction at variance with the general character of the introductions in that it allots to the anga two suyakkhandhas, and (2) refers especially to the conflict between the purvacharyah and the aidamyuginah. See below. Of primal importance for angas 8 to 10 (11) is the fact that the statements in anya 3, 10 too render it [292] probable, that these aigus had then a text different from our own. The irreconcilability of title and contents show that in the case of anga 10 something must have occurred to cause the present condition of affairs.

As we have seen that there are important differences between the statements made here or in N. and the actual state of things in the eleven angas, so far as extent and division are concerned, we now discover that the same holds good as regards the statements, now under examination, concerning the contents. These statements, which in N are much more brief than those in anga 4, are, it must be said, of so general a character and so colourless that their real contents can only be discovered with difficulty. They appear in a form that is purely stereotyped (see the common introduction in angas 2 to 5,63 and in 6-9 and 11,64) whereas there is no such similarity of contents between each of the single members of these two groups; and the statements in question are not in exact accordance with the contents of any single one. This latter remark holds good in the case of the special statements in reference to the contents of anga 10, to which we do not find any such stereotyped introduction. These special statements suit the name of the anga, but not its present contents. It is of great significance that the statements in anya 3, 10 (see above, p. 272) are essentially in accordance with these now under discussion. This agreement [293] makes it extremely probable that the contents of the tenth angam, as it then existed, was in harmony with these statements.

To the detailed consideration of the 12 angas there is appended here, as in the Nandi, a passage on the entire duvélasamgam ganipidagam. This deals partly with the attacks, which it was subjected to in the past,65 which it now experiences in the present and will experience in the future, partly with the devoted acquiescence which is its lot to meet with in these three periods and concludes with the declaration of its certain existence for ever: na kayâi ne âsi, na kayâi na 'tthi, na kayâi na bhavissati.

The coucluding portion of the fourth anya consists of frequent reference to the legendary hagiology and history of the Jains, genealogical enumerations (and others of different content) of parents, wives, etc. of the kulakaras, 24 titthakaras, 12 chakkavattis, 9 Baladêvas, 9 Dasaras, 9 Vasudévas, partly in metrical form (*sloka* and ary d). Towards the end there is a transition to prophecy (construction in the future). Our information here varies in part very materially from that contained in Hôm. 26 fg. 691 fg. and is not preserved in the MSS. with any

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<sup>62</sup> Yady apl 'ha adhyayanânâm da atvâd dasal 'vû 'ddôšanakâlâ bhavamti, tathâ 'pi vûchanâmtarâpêkshayâ (cf. N) pamehachatvârizsad iti sambhâvyamtê iti panayâlisam ity âdi aviruddham (!).

<sup>63</sup> Samaya, lóya, jîva

<sup>\*</sup> Nayarsin etc. N limits herein its treatment of the subject entirely to this common introduction and gives nothing else in addition.

<sup>56</sup> According to Abh., attacks at the hands of Jamali, Goshthamahila, etc., i.e. the representatives of the suven schisme.

great consistency. Hence it appears that our knowledge is not complete, but is derived from accounts of a partial nature which is in need of additional supplementary testimony. Some of the MSS. afford at one time generous information and at another limited data.

The survey of contents of anga 4, contained in the detailed account of the angas, runs as follows: sê kim tam samavaê? samavâê nam sasamayâ sûijjamti [294] parasamayâ s. jäva lögalögê sûijjamti<sup>86</sup>; samavâênam êgâdiyânam êgatthânam êguttariyaparivaddhiya<sup>87</sup> (duvâlssamgassa ya ganipidagassa pallavaggê samanugâijjaï)68 thânagasayassa89 bârasavihavittharassa70 suyanânassa jagajîvahiyassa<sup>71</sup> bhagavatô samâsênam samâyârê<sup>72</sup> âhijjaï ; tattha ya nânâvihappagârâ jîvâjivâ ya vanniyâ<sup>73</sup> vittharôņam, avarô vi ya bahuvibâ visêsâ naraya tiriya<sup>74</sup>-maņuyasuragaņāņam âhâr'-ussâsa-lôsa-âvâsa-samkhā-âyaya - ppamâna - uvavâya - chayana - ogâhan' - ôhi<sup>76</sup> - vêyauâvihânauvaôga<sup>76</sup> jôga-imdiya-kasâya,<sup>77</sup>\* vivihâ ya jîvajônî vikkhambh'-ussêhaparirayappamanam vidhivisêsâ<sup>78</sup> ya, Mamdarâdînam mahîdharânam, kulagara-titthagara-ganaharânam samatta Bharaháhivánam<sup>79</sup> chakkina chêva chakkahara-halaharâna ya, vâsâna<sup>80</sup> ya niggamâ<sup>81</sup> samâê, êtê annê ya êvam-âi ettha<sup>62</sup> vittharênam atthâ samâsejjamti.<sup>83</sup>

The commentary is by Abhavadêva.

(To be continued.)

#### MISCELLANEA.

#### GUSTAVE GARREZ.

The year 1888 was darkened by the deaths of two great French oriental scholars,-Abel Bergaigne, and Pierre-Gustave Garrez. Neither could be spared, for each was a high authority in his own domain. Bergaigne's Vedic studies were cut short by a tragic accident which occurred while he was still in the active vigour of his maturity, and Garrez's death, as sudden as it was unexpected, has left a void which will be none the less felt, because his modesty prevented his name being widely known beyond the immediate circle of the Société Asiatique.

A short memoir of the career of the latter, from the pen of M. E. Senart has appeared in the pages of the Journale Asiatique, and a brief account of the salient facts of his life will no doubt be acceptable to the readers of the Indian Antiquary.

He was born at Rome in the year 1834, was brought up in Paris, and as a young man saw military service in the Crimean war. He left the army in 1857, and abandoned himself to study with that inexhaustible energy, that labor improbus, which characterised all that he did, and which resulted in the acquisition of a vast

amount of learning of varied kinds. His bent was always towards foreign tongues, and he commenced with German and Italian. The perusal of Max Duncker's Histoire de l'Antiquité turned his attention to the East, and armed with Benfey's Manual, he commenced, unassisted, the study of Sanskrit. The range of his studies quickly extended. India led him to Iran, and Iran to the Semitic languages and civilisations of ancient Asia. He studied, in turn, Zend, Persian, Pahlavi, Armenian, Hebrew, Arabic, and Syriac, without allowing the wide extent of his reading to interfere with its depth. In India, too, the boundaries of his researches approached nearer and nearer to the present day, and he made himself master of the Pråkrits, of the dialectic Sanskrit of Buddhism, and of the modern languages,-not only those of the Aryan stock, but also the Dravidian ones, and more especially Tamil.

All this time spent in the acquisition of learning gave him little leisure for the production of original compositions. Moreover, never satisfied with anything short of perfection, an unsparing and severe critic, he could not be prevailed upon to publish to others that with which he was not himself entirely satisfied. With such

🕈 parivuddhiya A. <sup>68</sup> pallavå avayavås, tatparimånam samanuglyaté pratipådyaté.

<sup>81</sup> So A, samâhijjamti BC samâériyantê, athav**ā samisya**mtê.

<sup>🥙</sup> N has instead of súijjamti everywhere samásijjamti and, as in the case of 8, the order jivá . ., 13ê . ., sasamað .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> N is much better: samavâê nam êgâi-êguttariya thânasayavivaddhiyânam bhâvânam purûvanâ âghavij-jati: duvâlasamgassa ga<sup>9</sup> gassa pallavagge samāsijjai, N omits all the following. As the words duvâ' gâijjai interrupt in anga 4 the connection, I have enclosed them in brackets. <sup>76</sup> bårassa<sup>o</sup> A. <sup>†1</sup> jiviyassa hi A. <sup>72</sup> °yâri A. <sup>78</sup> viņiyā A ; varņitāb.

<sup>64</sup> naragatariya A. 75 uggáhiyőyahi A ; avagáhaná, avadhi. <sup>76</sup> uvaüge A B C.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77#</sup> kasäyä A B C; prathamä . . lôpab. So upäñga 1, 165 presents Árana Achchuyä tinui ya (see p. 88, note 6 of my ed. of the text). L.

<sup>78</sup> viddhaaésa A. 79 samasta Bharatádhipánám. 53 ådi 'ttha A.

<sup>\*\*</sup> varshågåm Bharatådikshëtrånåm. \*1 °gamå ya BC.

## DECEMBER, 1889.]

severe self-criticism, there is the danger of writing too little, and into this danger Garrez fell. His ripe learning, his power for comparative philology, have been lost to the world. His two principal essays, the one on the Bundehesh of Justi (1869) and the other on Weber's Hdla (1872), are monuments of erudition. He showed himself able to thread his way with equal ease amid the mazes of Zend and Pahlavi, Arabic and Armenian, Pråkrit and Sanskrit, ancient and modern India. His review of Håla's Saptasatika is probably that which is best known in India, and its readers will remember with what sobriety, yet decision, he put forward theories then altogether new, but since in great measure confirmed, regarding the comparatively late development of the classical literature of India, and the previous existence of a literature couched in the popular dialects. Other shorter essays, published in the Journale Asiatique, and in the Revue Critique, need not be refer. red to here, though we may direct attention to his luminous criticism (Rev. Crit. March 1873) of the first volume of Mr. Beames' Comparative Gram. mar. The writer of these lines well-remembers a pleasant afternoon spent at the rooms of the Société Asiatique in Paris, in the winter of 1886, and how delighted he was with the learning and the originality of some remarks on Hindi put forward by Garrez in the course of an ordinary conversation.

His private means were sufficient to render it unnecessary for him to submit to the drudgery of a professorship, and at the same time prevented his feeling the at times useful spur of necessity. Hence, beyond the range of his intimates, his name was as little known, as his writings were rare.

M. Senart's closing remarks deserve quoting in their original form, - "Cette vie se ferme sans avoir conquis dans le public la réputation legitimement due à tant de travail et de mérite. C'est une tristesse pour les amis de Garrez. Quant à lui, jamais une pareille préoccupation ne l'a efficuré. Il était aussi supérieur à la vanité qu'étranger à l'ambition. Sa noble carrière, toute pleine d'une activité sans agitation, quoique sans repos, gouvernée par une âme haute et sereine, éclairée par un esprit admirablement ferme et étendu, restera inoubliable à ses confrères et à ses amis; elle leur sera, mieux qu'un cher souvenir. un modèle fortifiant. Quelle récompense plus enviable pour un homme qui, avec la patrie, a surtout passionément aimé deux choses; la science et l'amitié ?"

#### CALCULATIONS OF HINDU DATES. No. 31.

In the Talgund stone inscription of the time of the Western Chalukya king Jayasimha III., from Maisar, published by me in this Journal, Vol. IV. p. 278 f. (see also Pdli, Sanskrit, and Old-Kanaress Inscriptions, No. 215), the date (line 8 ff.) is — Saka-varsha 950neya Vibhava-samvat. sarada Pushya-śuddha-5-Sômavårad=uttarâyana. samkråntiy-andu, --- " at the time of the Uttarâyana-Samkranti of Monday,' the fifth tithi of the bright fortnight of (the month) Pushya (i.e. Pausha) of the Vibhava samvatsara, which is the 950th Saka year." And the inscription goes on to record that, on this occasion, the Thirty-twothousand (Mahájanas) of Sthânakundûr, an agrahdra that had existed from time immemorial, made a grant of twelve marus (of land), by the measure of the staff called gadimbada-gale of the god Pranamésvara.

By the southern luni-solar system, the Vibhava samvatsara coincided with Saka-Samvat 951 current; *i.e.* with the given year 950 as an expired year. In this year the given tithi, Pausha sukla 5, began on Sunday, 22nd December, A.D. 1028, at about 56 ghatis; 42 palas, after mean sunrise (for Bombay); was current all through the Monday; and ended on the Tuesday, at about 1 gh. 7 p. And the Uttarayana-Samkranti, as represented by the sun's entrance into Makara, occurred on the Monday, at about 37 gh. 58 p. Accordingly, the English equivalent of the given date is Monday, 23rd December, A.D. 1028.

This date gives an instance of the custom to which I have drawn attention at page 260 above, of quoting, as the *tithi* of a samkranti, the tithi that is actually current at the moment of the samkranti. It is not a very pointed instance; because there was no other *tithi*, current or ended, on the day of this samkranti. But there was no absolute necessity for the original to quote the fortnight and *tithi* at all; there are plenty of instances in which these details, and sometimes even the name of the month, are omitted, in connection with a samkranti. And therefore this date is an instance of the custom in question; though doubtless we shall obtain more pointed instances hereafter.

In this instance we find that, though the samkranti occurred more than three ghatis after sunset, its punyakala was not deferred till the next day, but was taken to be on the day of the occurrence of the samkranti.

<del>G</del>. A. G.

J. F. FLRET.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Bice (Mysore Inscriptions, p. 201) has given 'Sunday;' but this is a mistake; the syllables somawara are very distinct.

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## THE SIXTY-YEAR CYCLE OF JUPITER.

In order still further to facilitate the finding of the exact commencement (and end) of a Jupiter's year which may be mentioned in a Hindu date, I have constructed<sup>1</sup> the accompanying Tables from the *data* in my paper on the Sixty-Year Cycle, *ante*, pp. 193-209. Tables 1 and 2 serve for the Burya-Siddhanta rule; Tables 3 and 4 for the Jyotistattva rule.

In Table 1 the last two columns give the day of the Julian period for the commencement (or end) of a complete cycle of sixty years, counted from Vijaya as the first year of the cycle, without and with Bija; and the first column gives the European date for the day put down in the same line under the heading 'without Bija,' while the second and third columns give the expired (northern) Vikrama and Saka years to which that European date belongs. Table 2, on the other hand, gives the number of days for the commencement of every year within the sixtyyear cycle, also without and with Bija. And all that is necessary to find the European date for the commencement of any year, is, to add up one set of figures from Table 1 and another set of tigures from Table 2, and to convert the sum into the European date, and into hours and minutes after mean sunrise (for Ujjain), as may be seen from the following example :---

According to Archeol. Survey of India, Vol. XI. Plate xxxvii. 3, a stone inscription at Jaunpur is dated—

Jyő(jyai) shthê mâsê sitê pakshê dvâdasyâ(éyâ)m=Budha-vâsarê . . . Plava-vatsarê || Samvat 1353 ||, --

corresponding to Wednesday, 16th May, A.D. 1296. The cycle of sixty years, of which the year **Plava**, which is here coupled with the Vikrama year 1353, forms part, must be the one which by Table 1 commenced in Vikrama 1344 expired; and we accordingly have, for the commencement of this year Plava, without Bija, —

by Table 1, commencement of

cycle, without Bija, for

	<b>V</b> . 134			2191	424 3914
+		2, cor	amencemer		000-0100

P	'lava,	without Bij	a.,		- 2	000/210	10
		81	100	21	194	312.605	52
i.e., the	13th	September,	A.D.	1295,	14 h	31·5 u	α.

after mean sunrise; and similarly, for the commencement of Plava, with Bija,-

by Table 1, . + by <b>Ta</b> ble 2,					 459 <sup>-6007</sup> 888-2772
	<u>.</u>		<u> </u>	~~~~	 347 8779

<sup>1</sup> The construction of these Tables has to some extent been suggested to me by the general practice of Dr. Schram's Hilfstafeln für Chronologie, and by some MS. i.e., the 18th October, A.D. 1295, 21 h. 4.2 m. after mean sunrise.

Having found the commencement of a year, we find the end of the same year by adding to the sum found, for the year without Bija 361 0267 days, and for the year with Bija 361 0347 days, as shown in my former article, thus :--

Commencement of Plava, with-

out Bija,	 •	•	٠	٠	•		•	2194	312.6052
							+	-	361.0267
	 			 •	_	_			450 4074

sum. . . . 2194 673 6319

i.e., the 8th September, A.D. 1269, 15 h. 9.9 m. after mean sunrise, — end of Plava without Bija; and

Commencement of Plava, with

Bija, .	•		•	•		347 <sup>.</sup> 8779 361 <sup>.</sup> 0347
 a		 +			_	708.9126

i.e., the 13th October, A.D. 1296, 21 h. 54 l m. sfter mean sunrise, — end of Plava, with Bija.

To show how to find by the Tables the Jupiter's year current at any given moment, and, at the same time, to test once more the accuracy of the Tables, we will ask —What year, without Bija, was current, and what portion of that year had elapsed, at the time of the Mêsha-Samkrânti of the expired Saka year 1713?

By the Tables given in my paper on the Sisty-Year Cycle, the day of the Julian period for the commencement of the solar year Saka 1713 expired, = Kaliyuga 4892 expired, is-

2375 309 4392 (Mésha-Samkrânti).

Deduct next lower complete cycle, without			
Bija, in Table			
1, 2	364	717 2175	
remainder		592.2217;	
deduct next			
lower figure,			
without Bija,			
in Table 2,	10	469 7749	(commencement of Dundubhi).
·		103	

remainder 122-4468.

Accordingly, by the Tables, the year without Bija, current at the time of the Mésha-Samkránti of Saka 1718 expired, was Dundubhi, and of this year there had elapsed, at the same moment, 122:4468 days = 122 days, 10 h. 43 4 m. of solar time. Now, by a MS. calendar for Saka 1713 expired, which is in the Royal Library at Berlin, the Jupiter's year current at the commencement of the year was Dundubhi, as found above; and

Tables for the Súrya-Siddhånta rule, without Bija, constructed on similar principles, though without reference to the Julian period, by Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit.

since of this year there are stated to have elapsed, at the time of the Mêsha-Samkrânti, 4 months, 2 days, 6 dandas = 122 days, 2 h. 24 m. of Jupiter's own time, which are equal to about 122 days 10 h. 45:4 m. of solar time, the result obtained by the Tables for the actual commencement of the year Dundubhi differs from the statement in the MS. calendar by about two minutes.

Owing to the unequal length of the Jovian years. the Jyótistattva rule requires another treatment, and the arrangement of Table 3 and 4 will therefore be found to differ considerably from that of Tables 1 and 2. Here, Table 3 gives in the last column the day of the Julian period for the end of the Jovian year, the number and name of which are given in the column immediately preceding the last. The first column gives the European date for the day of the Julian period put down at the end of the same line, the third column the expired solar Saka year in which that European date falls, and the second column the expired (northern) Vikrama year which approximately corresponds to that Saka year. It should be particularly noted that the Jovian years are here counted as shown in the auxiliary Table at the foot of Table 3. Table 4 gives the number of days for the commencement of a series of Jovian years, the numbers of which must not be confounded with the number of the years in Table 3. The use of the two Tables will appear from the following examples :--

According to Professor Eggeling's Catalogue of the Sanskrit MSS. I. O., p. 23, a MS. of the Kandanukramanká-vivarana is dated in the Vikrama year 1650, in the year Subhakrit. The year Subhakrit, — by the auxiliary Table the 36th year of a cycle, — which is here coupled with Vikrama 1650, must have followed upon the year 29, Manmatha, which in Table 3 is coupled with Vikrama 1644; and it is clear that, to find the day of the Julian period for the beginning of Subhakrit, we must add, to the day of the Julian period put down in Table 3 for the end of the said year Manmatha, from Table 4 the number of days for the commencement of the (36 - 29 =) 7th year, thus: —

Table 3, V. 1644, end of year

Above we have seen that an inscription at Jaunpur is dated in the Vikrama year 1353, in the year Plava. In Table 3 we find, in a line with

Vikrama 1303, the day of the Julian period for the end of the year Sådhårana, the 44th year of a cycle. The year Plava of our date is the 35th year of a cycle, and, coupled as it is with Vikrama 1358, it is clear that Plava does not fall in the same cycle with the year 44, Sådhårana, of Table 3, but belongs to the next cycle. To find the commencement of Plava, we must therefore take from Table 3 the day of the Julian period put down for the end of the year 44, Sådhårana, in a line with Vikrama 1303, and must add to it, from Table 4, the number of days for the commencement of the (16 + 35 =) 51st year, thus :--Table 3, V. 1303, end of year

sum, commencement of year 95 == 60 + 35 (Plava) . 2194 294 5182 i.e., the 26th August, A.D. 1295, 12 h. 26 2 m. after mean sunrise.

Similarly, if we had to find the commencement of the year Khara, the 25th year of a cycle, which in Table 3 is coupled with Saka 912, we should start from the day of the Julian period put down in Table 3 for the end of the 59th cycle-year Krôdhana, in a line with Saka 827, and should add to it from Table 4 the number of days for the commencement of the (1 + 60 + 25 =) 86th year, because here the difference of 85 solar years between Saka 827 and Saka 912 would show us that there lies a complete cycle of 60 years between the end of the year 59, Krôdhana, which we know from Table 3, and the commencement of the year 25, Khara, which we are to find. Our calculation would accordingly stand thus :---Table 3. Saka 827, end of year

+ Table 4, commencement of	sum, commencement of year $145 = 60 + 60 + 25$ (Khara)	2082 375·7520
	-	<u>90 682 708</u> 2
Table 5, Baks 627, end of year onei cos 400	59	2051 693-0488

i.e., the 26th March, A.D. 989, 18 h. 2.9 m. after mean sunrise.

Having found the commencement of a year, we find the end of it by adding 360 9730 days. But the end of the years actually put down in Table 3 must always be ascertained from that Table itself. Thus, in the case of our two first examples, we find :--

Commencement of Subhakrit . . . 2302 964-5276 + 360-9730

aum 2303 325 5006

i.e., the 28th February, A.D. 1594, 12 h. 0.9 m. after mean sunrise, - end of Subhakrit; and,

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## TABLE 1.

# Sarya-Siddhanta Bule.

# Day of Julian Period for the commencement of a complete Cycle of Sixty Years, counted from Vijaya as the first year of the Cycle.

<u>.</u>	A.D.	Vikrama expired.	Saka expired.	Without Blja.	With Bija.
0.S.	101, September 1	158	- 23	1758 192-3261	1758 218.0194
	160, December 21	217	82	1779 853 9294	1779 880.0985
	220, April 12	277	142	1801 515 5327	1801 542·1776
	279, August 3	336	201	1823 177.1359	1823 204-2566
	338, November 22	395	260	1844 838·7392	1844 866 3357
	398, March 14	455	320	1866 500 3424	1866 528.4148
	457, July 3	514	379	1888 161.9457	1888 190-4938
	516, October 23	5 <b>73</b>	438	1909 823 5490	1909 852 5729
	576, February 13	632	497	1981 485·1522	1931 514·6519
	635, June 4	692	557	1953 146 7555	1953 176·7310
	694, September 24	751	616	1974 808 3588	1974 838-8101
	754, January 18	810	675	1996 469·9820	1996 500.8891
	818, May 5	870	<b>79</b> 5	2018 131·5653	2018 <b>162</b> -9682
	872, August 25	929	794	2039 798·1685	2039 825 0473
	931, December 15	988	853	2061 454 7718	2061 487 1263
	991, April 6	1048	913	2083 116.3751	2083 149 2054
	1050, July 26	1107	972	2104 777 9783	2104 811 2845
	1109, November 15	1166	1031	2126 4 <b>3</b> 9 • 5816	2126 473 3635
	1169, March 7	1226	1091	2148 101 1848	2148 135 4426
	1228, June 26	1285	1150	2169 762 7881	2169 797 5216
	1287, October 17	1344	1209	2191 424 3914	2191 459 6007
	1347, February 5	1403	1268	2213 085 9946	2213 121.6798
	1406, May 28	1463	1328	2234 747 5979	2234 783 7588
	1465, September 17	1522	1987 -	2256 409 2012	2256 445 8379
	1525, January 6	1581	1446	2278 070 8044	2278 107 9170
	1584, April 28	1641	1506	2299 732 4077	2299 769 9960
	1643, August 19	1700	1565	2321 <b>394</b> -0109	2321 432 0751
	1702, December 8	1759	1624	2343 055 6142	2843 094 1542
N.S.	1762, April 10	1819	1684	2364 717 2175	2364 756 · 2332
	1821, July 31	1878	1743	2386 378 8207	2386 418 3123
	1880, November 20	1937	1802	2408 040 4240	2408 080 3913

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# TABLE 2.

# Sarya-Siddhanta Rule.

# Number of days for the commencement of every year within the Cycle.

		······				<u> </u>	<u> </u>
No.	Year.	Without Blja.	With Bija.	No.	Year.	Without Bijs.	With Bija.
1	Vijaya	000.0000	000.0000	31	Rudhirôdgârin	10830-8016	19831.0395
2	Јауа	<b>361</b> • 0267	361-0347	32	Raktâksha	11191-8284	11192.0742
8	Manmatha	722.0534	722.0693	33	Krôdbana	11552 . 8551	11553-1088
4	Durmukha	1083 0802	1083 • 1040	84	Kshaya	11913 8818	11914 · 1435
5	Hêmalamba	1444 • 1069	1441 1386	35	Prabhava	12274 9085	12275:1781
6	Vilamba	1805 • 1336	1805 • 1733	36	Vibhava	12685 • 9352	12636 - 2128
7	Vikšrin	2166 • 1603	2166 • 2079	37	Sukla	12996 • 9620	12997 • 2474
8	Sarvarin	2527 • 1870	2527 • 2426	38	Pramôda	13357 9887	13359-2821
9	Plava	2888·2138	2888 • 2772	39	Prajåpati	13719.0154	13719-3167
10	Subbakrit	3249·2405	3249·3119	40	Angires	14080.0421	14080 • 3514
11	Sôbhana	3610 - 2672	3610 3465	41	Srimukha	14441.0688	14441 3860
12	Krôdhin	3971 • 2939	3971 3812	42	Bhåva	14802 • 0956	14802 • 4207
13	Viśvâvasu	4332 • 3207	4332 4158	43	Yuvan	15163 • 1223	15163-4553
14	Paråbhava	4693 • 3474	<b>4693 • 45</b> 05	44	Dhâtri	15524 • 1490	15524 • 4900
15	Plavanga	5054 . 3741	505 <b>4</b> • 4851	45	İśvara	15885-1757	15885 - 5246
16	Kilaka	5415-4008	5415·5198	46	Bahudhânya	16246 . 2024	16246 · 5593
17	Saumya	5776·4275	5776 5544	47	Pramåthin	16607 - 2292	16607-5939
18	Sådhäraņa	6137 • 4543	6137 <i>•5</i> 891	48	Vikrama	16968 • 2559	16968 · 6286
19	Virðdhakrit	6498·4810	6498 6237	-49	Bh <del>r</del> iśya	17329 - 2826	17329-6633
20	Paridhāvin	6859 5077	6859 · 6584	50 ·	Chitrabhánu	17690-3093	<b>17690-697</b> 9
21	Pramådin	7220 • 5344 ·	7220+6 <b>93</b> 0	51	Subhânu	18051 8361	18051-7326
22	Ånanda	7581-5611	7581.7277	52	Tårsna	18412·3628	18412 • 7672
23	Råkshasa	7942.5879	7942 · 7628	53	Pårthiva	18773 · 3895	18773 · 8019
24	Anala	8303 • 6146	8303 • 7970	54	<b>V</b> уауа	19184-4162	19134-8365
25	Pingala	. 8664 6418	8664-8316	55	Sarvajit	19495-4429	19495 • 8712
26	Kålayukta	9025 • 6680	9025-8663	56	Sarvadhārin	19856 • 4697	19856-9058
2 <b>7</b>	Siddhårthin	9386+6947	9386 • 9009	57.	Virôdhin	20217 • 4964	20217-9405
28	Raudra	9747 • 7215	9747 9356	58	Vikrita	20578 5231	20578 • 9751
29	Durmati	10108 • 7482	10108-9702	59	Khara	20939 - 5498	20940-0098
30	Dundubhi	10469 7749	10470-0049	60	Nandana	21300 • 5765	21301.0444
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# TABLE 8.

# Jyötistattva Rule.

# Day of Julian Period for the end of the Jovian year which precedes an Expunged Year.

A.D.	Vikrama	Śaka	[]	End of year.	Day of Julian
A,D,	expired.	expired.	No.	Name.	Period.
O.S. 138, March 18	195	60	3	Sukla	1771 539 4460
223, March 20	280	145	29	Manmatha	1802 587-4079
309, March 17	366	281	56	Dundubhi	1833 996·3427
394, March 19	451	816	22	Sarvadhārin	1865 044·3046
479, March 21	536	401	48	Ananda	1896' 092 - 2665
564, March 22	621	486	14	Vikrama	1927 140-2283
649, March 24	706	571	40	Paråbhava	1958 188·1902
735, March 22	792	657	7	Śrimukha	1989 597·1250
820, March 23	877	742	35	Vikårin	2020 645·0869
905, March 25	962	827	59	Krôdhana	2051 693.0488
990, March 27	1047	912	25	Khara	2082 741.0107
1076, March 23	1133	998	52	Kâlayukta	2114 149-9455
1161, March 25	1218	1083	18	Тбгала	2145 197 9074
1246, March 27	1303	1168	44	Sâdhâraņa	2176 245 8692
1331, March 29	1388	1253	10	Dhâtri	2207 293 8311
1417, March 26	1474	1339	37	Sôbhana	2288 702 · 7660
1502, March 28	1559	1424	3	Sukla	2269 750 7278
1587, March 30	1644	1509	29	Manmatha	2300 798 · 6897
1672, March 31	1729	1594	55	Durmati	2831 846+6516
N.S. 1757, April 18	1814	1679	21	Sarvajit	2862 894·6134
1843, April 12	1900	1765	48	Ananda	2894 803.5453

## The Sixty-Year Cycle.

1. Prabhava.	11. Îśvara.	21. Sarvajit.	S1. Hémalamba.	41. Plavanga.	51. Piùgala.
2. Vibhava.	12. BahudhAnya.	22. Sarvadhårin.	32. Vilamba.	42, Kilaka.	52. Kålayukta.
3. Sukla.	13. Pramâthin.	28. Virðdhin.	88. Vikārin.	43. Saumya.	58. Siddhårthin
4. Pramôda.	14. Vikrama.	24. Vikrita.	84. Sarvarin.	44. Sadharana.	54. Baudra.
5. Prajšpati.	16. Bhrifya.	25. Khara.	85. Plava.	45. Virôdhakrit.	55. Durmati.
6. Angiras.	16. Chitrabhânu.	26. Nandana.	86. Šubhakrit.	46. Paridhāvin.	56. Dundubhi.
7. Śrimukha.	17. Subhânu.	27. Vijsya.	37. Söbhana,	47. Pramádin.	57. Budhirödgårit
8. Bhâva.	18. Târaņa.	28. Jaya.	88. Krödhin.	48. Ânanda.	58. RaktAksha.
9. Yuvan.	19. Parthiva.	29. Manmatha.	89. Viávávasu.	49. Rákshasa,	59. Krödhana.
0. Dhâtri.	20. Vyaya.	30. Durmukha.	40. Parabhava.	50, Anala.	60. Kshaya.

## TABLE 4.

## Jyötistattva Rule.

Number of days for the commencement of Jovian years.

Year.	Days.	Year.	Days.	Year.	Days.
I	000.0000	30	10 468-2164	59	20 936-4328
2	360 • 9730	31	10 829 1894	60	21 297 - 4058
3	721 9460	32	11 190-1628	61	21 658.3787
4	1082-9139	38	11 551-1353	62	22 019.3517
5	1443 · 8919	84	<b>11 912 · 1083</b>	63	22 380 3247
6	1804 • 8649	35	12 273.0813	64	22 741.2977
7	2165 8379	36	12 634 0543	65	23 102.2707
8	2526·8109	37	12 995-0272	66	23 463 2436
9	2887 - 7838	38	13 356 0002	67	23 824·2166
10	3248 7568	89	13 716 9732	68	24 185·1896
11	3609 - 7298	40	14 077-9462	69	24 546·1626
12	<b>3970 · 7</b> 028	41	14 438 9192	70	<b>24</b> 907 · 1356
13	4331·6757	42	14 799 8921	71	25 268·1085
14	4692 6487	43	15 160·8651	72	25 629·0815
15	5053 6217	44	15 521 8381	73	25 990-0545
16	5414 - 5947	45	15 882-8111	74	26 351 0275
17	5775 5677	46	16 243 7841	75	26 712·0004
18	6136 • 5406	47	16 604.7570	76	27 072 9784
19	6497 • 5136	48	16 965·7300	77	27 433·9464
20	6858+4866	49	17 326·7030	78	27 79 <b>4-9194</b>
21	7219 4596	50	17 687 6760	79	28 155 8924
22	7580 4326	51	18 048·6490	80	28 516·8653
23	7941 4055	52	18 409·6219	81	28 877 · 8383
24	8302 • 3785	53	18 770·5949	82	29 238·8113
25	8663 3515	54	19 131·5679	83	29 599·7843
26	9024-3245	55	19 <b>492</b> ·5409	84	29 960-7573
27	9385+2975	56	19 858 5138	85	30 321-7302
28	9746 2704	57	20 214 • 4868	86	<b>30</b> 682.7032
29	10 107 . 2434	58	20 575-4598	87	31 043·6762

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		2194	655.4912
Commencement	of Plava		294·5182 360·9730

i.e., the 21st August, A.D. 1296, 11 h. 47.3 m. after mean sunrise, - end of Plaza.

But the year Khara of the third example ended as put down in Table 3, on the day of the Julian period 2082 741 0107, *i.e.*, on the 27th March, A.D. 990, 0 h. 15 4 m. after mean sunrise.

Finally, to show here also how to find by the Tables Jupiter's year current at any given moment, we will ask: What year was current, and what portion of that year had elapsed, on the 30th September, A.D. 1889, 8 hours after mean sunrise?

Expressed in days of the Julian period, the 30th September, A.D. 1889, new style, 8 hours after mean sunrise, is ---

2411 276 3333. Table 3. — 2394 303 5483 = end of year 48-

remainder 16 972.7850;

Table 4,  $-16\ 965\ 7300 = \text{commencement}$  of year 48.

remainder 7.0550; sum 96 = 60 + 36(Subhakrit).

Accordingly, the current year is Subhakrit, and at the given moment there had elapsed of that year 7.0550 days = 7 days, 1 hour, 19.2 minutes. F. KIELHOEN.

Göttingen.

# NOTES AND QUERIES.

RUSTIC CUSTOMS IN OUDH.

#### LAKHIA BHUT.

Lakhia Bhut, is the name of a festival which is, I hear, of Gurkha origin, and is held at the planting of the paddy during the monsoons.

Two men, masked, and with horns tied to their heads, are yoked to a plough. Two rows of men, facing each other, walk sideways behind them, advancing towards and retreating from each other, while imitating the planting of the paddy. When they meet a pool of water, the 'oxen' drop down on their hands and knees and are freely bathed in it.

The procession is followed by a crowd, with music and songs, and the Lâkhia Bhût dancing wildly in the midst. The *bhût* is dressed up in a woman's dress, wears a large mask, and flowing hair made of the tail of the *chdwar gde* (yak).

Query.--Who or what is the "Lakhia Bhat"? Lucknow. G. H. R.

## BOOK NOTICE.

PHILOBOPHISCHE HIMNEN AUS DER EIG- UND ATHAEVA-WEDA-SAMHITA, VERGLICHEN MIT DEN PHILOBO-PHEMEN DER ALTEREN UPANISHAD'S von Dr. Lucian Scherman; Strassburg, Karl J. Trübner. 1337; Svo. pp. vii., 96.

In 1883 the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Munich offered a prize for an investigation into the philosophic hymns of the Rig- and Atharva-Weda-Samhita, with regard to themselves, and in relation to the philosophy of the older Upanishads. The prize was won by Dr. Scherman in 1885, and his essay, revised and corrected, has since been published. The author first gives a revised translation of six hymns or portions of hymns of the Rik-Samhita, and of thirteen of the Atharva-Samhild. Each translation is supplied with copious notes, and (when necessary) with a short paraphrase or interpretation of its contents, and of their philosophic import. It is then, in each case, followed by a comparison of similar tenets put forward by the older Upanishads. The author finally sums up, in seven pages of concluding remarks, the principal points of connexion between the hymns and the Upanishads.

These are: (1) The primitive condition of All is a general denial of all existence and nonexistence, while, however, simultaneously in this absolute "Nothing" a Primitive Being is involved, which out of the non-existing (as out of one of its own limbs) causes the Universe to proceed.

(2) The main factors, which the Primitive Being used for the development of the world, are the abstracts, Tapas, Káma, and Manas, i.e., the Working of the Spirit, the Will, and Absolute Thought, of which the last two work reciprocally. Tapas eventually became identified with (the neuter) Brahman.

(3) The act of creation is similarly explained in the hymns and in the Upanishads. With the help of Tapas (i.e. Brahman), Manas, and Kama, the universe arises in a perpetual order of development.

(4) With the recognition of the impossibility of a clear explanation of the development of the world, the way is opened for the confession that the soul of man is not able to solve such questions.

The above does not pretend to do more than indicate the direction of the conclusions arrived at by the author in his very interesting and learned paper to which the reader must be referred for further particulars.

GEO. A. GBIEBSON.

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<ul> <li>viráma, the ; instance of a pronunciative value attaching to one of the Kanarese methods of representing it</li></ul>	<ul> <li>Weber, Prof. A.; notice of his Catalogue of Sanskrit and Pråkrit MSS. in the Berlin Library, 96; — translation of his paper on the Sacred Literature of the Jains181, 369</li> <li>wehrgeld in the Vödas</li></ul>
<ul> <li>Wanesa, a village in Gujaråt; mentioned under the ancient name of Balisa</li></ul>	Yudhisthira I., also called Andha-Yudhish- thira, a king of Kaśmir

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- p. 30 b, No. 21, line 7-8, for Sravana, read Srâvana; and line 8, for pakshê=valakshê, read pakshê valakshê.
- p. 35, lines 1 and 2 from the bottom, for dhatriyolu, read dhatriyolu; and for gudigereyolu, read gudigereyolu.
- p. 40, Text line 38, for umbaliy read umbaliy; and in line 42, for mishthäyäm, read mishthäyäm.
- p. 63 a, line 36, for nirvana, read nirvana.
- p. 73, line 1, for Kanțakôtsa, read Kanțakôtsa.
  - " line 9, for (thus, read (thus).
- ,, line 10, for country), read country,
- p. 75, line 15, dele the semicolon after them.
- p. 76, line 3 from the bottom, for masaim, read masam.
- p. 81, note 1, for meaning, read meanings.
- p. 82, line 11, for four-months', read four-months.
  p. 83, Text line 8, for anuśasan, read anuśasan(t).
- " note 15, for apátá, read ápáta. p. 85, note 33, at the end of the note add the words, See Vol. VI. p. 212, note, where it is said that it means Brâhmans who had not been fed before, and were not to be fed again.
- p. 94 a, line 24, for śrima [ch\*], read śrima[ch\*].
- p. 95 a, line 29-30, read Also, not one of the three lithographs of these inscriptions &c.
- p. 96 a, line 35, for the colon after Siddhanta, substitute a full-stop.
- p. 101, line 32, insert a comma after Chakradhara.
- p. 102, note to verse 299, read of Irânian origin, the term yamusha might &c. The sentence, as it stands, has been wrongly divided by the substitution of a fullstop after origin.
- p. 112, Text line 6, for Chamu-[m\*]-da, read Chamu[m\*]da-.
- p. 113, Text line 23, for Vamanasthai-iśrika-, read Vamanasthali-śrika-.
- p. 130, Text line 7, for nilin-ånanah I, read nilinânanah II.
- p. 136, G. line 1, for 21" by #", read 21" by 16#"
- p. 146, note 27, for see note 19 above, read see note 20 above.
- p. 171, noto 50, for paramamahéévara, read paramamáhéévara; and for paramavaishanava, read paramavaishnava. In V&sudêva-nêyaka, dele the hyphen.
- p. 200, line 1, for 5.89 m., read 58.9 m.
- p. 267, note 22, for satru-mardanah, read saktisampannah.
- p. 268, Text line 15, for ana danah<sup>29</sup>, read -anadanah<sup>22</sup>.
- p. 269, l. 10, for four-toothed, read four-tusked.
- 1. 30, for who destroys his foes &c., read who is endowed with bravery and energy and the (royal) powers.

- p. 270, 1. 14, for Parksara read Parkénra; and at the end of the line insert ", to mark the end of the donor's speech.
- pp. 277-278-279, for An-Nasir-li-din Allah, wherever the words occur, read An-Nasirli-din Allah.
- pp. 277-8, for Ch. D. Fachu, wherever the words occur, read Ch. D. Frachn.
- p. 278 b. lines 33, 34, for Khalifas Mustafi B'iliah, Muta B'illah, and Tâi-B'illah, read Khalifas Mustakfi-B'illah, Muti-L'illah and Tâi-L'illah.
- p. 279 *a*, line 13, for from Al-Kasar, read at Kazan.
- p. 279 b, line 20, for J. Gotwald, read J. Gottwaldt.
- p. 280 a, line 1, for Miltaurovs, read Melitaurovs.
- p. 230 a, line 3, for Miltaurov was court captain. read Melitaurov was court chaplain.
- p. 280 a, line 14 from bottom, for Balabhar, read Balawar.
- p. 280 a, line 4 from bottom, for Wrestler, read Hermit.
- p. 280 b, line 30, for Taipna, read Taifur.
- p. 281 a, line 12, for Ahmad-Ibn-Ali-Karim, read Ahmad-Ibn-Abi-Karim.
- p. 281 a, line 21. for worshipper of Nabigi, rsad admirer of Nabiga.
- p. 281 a, line 22, for Abu'l-Kabi-Muhammadibn al-Lais, read Abu'r-Rabi-Muhammadibn-al-Lais.
- p. 281, for mu'allah, wherever the word occurs. read mu'allaka.
- p. 282 b, line 16 from bottom, for Rudguzi, read Rubguzi.
- p. 282 b, line 6 from bottom, for Khozudeni, read Khojandî.
- p. 282 b, line 4 from bottom, for Ta'ash-Shahnáma, read Ta'ashuk-náma.
- p. 283 a, line 4, for Majális-au-nafaris, read Majális-an-nafais.
- p. 283 a, line 19, for Håji Bakbâsh, read Håji Baktåsh.
- p. 283 a, line 22 from bottom, for Ilderine Bayazid, read Ilderim Bayazid.
- p. 283 a, line 15 from bottom, for Mustafa Jalålgåda, read Mustafa Jalålzådå.
- p. 283 a, line 7, from bottom, for Wusratndmah, read Nusrat-ndmah.
- p. 284 a, line 19 from bottom, for Abn-Obaidal-Kårim-Ibn-Sallâm, read Abn-Ubed-al-Qåsim-Ibn-Sallam.
- p. 284 a, line 16 from bottom, for Mikhî, read Makkî.
- p. 284 a, line 15 from bottom, for Rajab Isfahànî, read Ragbi Isfahânî.
- p. 358, note 43, for avatárar-átri, read avatárarátri.