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THE EPOCH OF THE LAKSHMANÂSENA ERA.

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

MR. H. BEVERIDGE'S valuable paper on 'the Era of Lachhman Sen,' in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LVII. Part I. pp. 1-7, which I regret to say has only very recently attracted my attention, induces me to discuss now, what I had intended to write on when I should be in a position to treat of a larger number of dates of the Lakshmaṇasêna era than I have been able to collect hitherto. I indeed believe that I shall be able to fix the epoch of the era, even with the somewhat scanty materials which I have at my disposal at present; but I should have preferred presenting to the reader, and strengthening my case by, a longer series of dates, from the earliest to the most modern times. Dr. Râjêndralâl Mitra's *Notices of Sanskṛit MSS.* show that in Bengal there are numerous MSS. which are fully dated in the Lakshmaṇasêna era, but the dates actually given by him with sufficient *data* for verification are few; and in Europe there seem to exist only two or three MSS., the dates of which can be made use of for the present enquiry.

Up to the time when Mr. Beveridge wrote the paper mentioned above, all that had been published about the epoch of the Lakshmaṇasêna era tended to show that that era commenced about A.D. 1106-1107; and the conclusion at which Sir A. Cunningham in his *Book of Indian Eras* arrived, was, that the year 1 of the era corresponded (approximately) to one of the five years from A.D. 1105 to A.D. 1109. Among the materials which furnished this rather vague result, the most valuable, in my opinion, was the date of a copper-plate inscription of king Sivasiṁha, in which the Lakshmaṇasêna year 293, expressed in words and figures, is coupled with the Śaka year 1321, and the details of which undoubtedly work out satisfactorily for the expired Śaka year mentioned.[1] For, this date appeared to prove that between a year of the Lakshmaṇasêna era and the corresponding Śaka year, or at any rate between certain identical months of two such years, there is a difference of 1028 years, and that consequently the Lakshmaṇasêna era began somewhere about Śaka 1028 or A.D. 1106-1107.

Mr. Beveridge now has drawn attention to **a passage in the Akbarnâma of Abu-l-Fazl,** which says that "in the country of Bang (Bengal) dates are calculated from the beginning of the reign of Lachhman Sen," and that "from that period till now there have been 465 years;" and which moreover contains the important statement that, at the point of time to which the writer refers, there had elapsed 1506 years of the Śâlivâhana (or Śaka) era and 1641

[1] See *ante*, Vol. IV. p. 300; Vol. XIV. p. 290; Vol. XVIII. p. 80; *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XV. p. 160; and Sir A. Cunningham's *Book of Indian Eras*, p. 77.

years of the era of Vikramâditya.[2] That Abu-l-Fazl here was speaking of **the Lakshmaṇasêna era**, there can be no doubt; and if what he reports is correct, the difference between a Lakshmaṇasêna year and the corresponding Saka year (or between certain months of two such years) is, not 1028, but 1041 years, and the Lakshmaṇasêna era must have commenced about Saka 1041 or A.D. 1119-20, and not about A.D. 1106-1107.

That there might be a difference of 1041 years between a year of the Lakshmaṇasêna era and the corresponding Saka year, was not altogether unknown to me, even before I had seen Mr. Beveridge's article. For, in his *Notices of Sanskrit MSS.*, Vol. VI. p. 13, Dr. Râjêndralâl Mitra reports that a MS. of the *Smṛiti-tattvâmṛita* bears the date "La-saṁ (*i.e.* Lakshmaṇa-saṁvat) 505 | Śâkê 1546." And in the same *Notices*, Vol. III. p. 141, ll. 23-24, there occurs another passage, which indeed is corrupt, but regarding which this much may be considered to be certain, that in it the Saka year 1127 was coupled with a Lakshmaṇasêna year the unit of which was 6, expressed by the word *rasa*, — pointing again to a difference of [104]1, not of [102]8, years between the Saka and the Lakshmaṇasêna eras.

However this may be, it is clear that **according to Abu-l-Fazl**, whose statement is supported by at least one MS. date, **the Lakshmaṇasêna era commenced about the Saka year 1041**; while, by the copper-plate grant of Śivasiṁha and according to certain modern almanacs of Tirhut, the epoch of the same era would fall about Saka 1028. And since the era cannot have begun both in or about Saka 1028 and also in or about Saka 1041, one at least of the two epochs indicated by these figures must be wrong; and a decision as to which of the two is right, or whether either of them is correct, must be arrived at by an examination and calculation of a number of trustworthy dates, from which the date of the copper-plate of Śivasiṁha itself must of course be excluded.

At present, I have to offer **six such dates**; and I shall now in the first instance show what would be their European equivalents, if the Lakshmaṇasêna era had commenced about Saka 1028, or, to put the case as suggested by Sir A. Cunningham, if the first year of the era had corresponded (approximately) to one of the five years from A.D. 1105 to A.D. 1109.

1. — An inscription from Buddha-Gayâ, first published in *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. V. p. 659, and afterwards republished, *ante*, Vol. X. p. 346, is dated—

Śrîmal-Lakshmaṇasênadêvapâdânâm=atîta-râjyê saṁ 74 Vaiśâkha-vadi 12 **Gurau**, —

i.e. 'on the 12th of the dark half of Vaiśâkha of the year 74 since the (*commencement of the*) reign, (*now*) passed,[3] of the illustrious Lakshmaṇasênadêva, on a **Thursday**.'

The corresponding European dates would be :—

(*a*) for 74 + 1026 = Saka 1100 expired, —

pûrṇimânta : Sunday, 16 April, A.D. 1178.

amânta : Tuesday, 16 May, A.D. 1178.

(*b*) **for 74 + 1027 = Saka 1101 expired, —**

pûrṇimânta : Thursday, 5 April, A.D. 1179; the 12th *tithi* of the dark half ended 18 h. 28 m. after mean sunrise.

amânta : Saturday, 5 May, A.D. 1179.

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[2] In order that there might be no mistake about the above figures, they have been kindly verified for me by Dr. Flemming in the old MS. of the *Akbarnâma* presented by me to the University Library of Göttingen, and they have all three been found correct.

[3] The phrase *atîta-râjyê* has been variously translated, "after the conclusion of the reign," "in the expired reign" (which conveys no meaning to me), "the reign — having passed," "after the expiration of the reign," etc.; but I believe its true and original sense is given above. During the reign of Lakshmaṇasêna the years of his reign would be described as *śrîmal-Lakshmaṇasênadêvapâdânâṁ râjyê* (or *pravardhamâna-vijayarâjyê*) *saṁvat*; after his death the phrase would be retained, but *atîta* prefixed to the word *râjyê*, to show that, although the years were still counted from the commencement of the reign of Lakshmaṇasêna, that reign itself was a thing of the past. In the course of time *atîta-râjyê* is apt to become a meaningless phrase, as may be seen from the *śrîmad-Vikramâditya-dêvapâdânâm-atîta-râjyê saṁ* 1503 in Mr. Bendall's *Catalogue of Buddh. Skr. MSS.*, p. 79.

(*c*) for 74 + 1028 = Saka 1102 expired, —
pûrṇimânta : Monday, 24 March, A.D. 1180.
amânta : Wednesday, 23 April, A.D. 1180 ; the 12th *tithi* of the dark half ended 9 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise.

(*d*) for 74 + 1029 = Saka 1103 expired, —
pûrṇimânta : Sunday, 12 April, A.D. 1181.
amânta : Tuesday, 12 May, A.D. 1181.

(*e*) for 74 + 1030 = Saka 1104 expired, —
pûrṇimânta : Friday, 2 April, A.D. 1182 ; the 12th *tithi* of the dark half ended 1 h. 59 m. after mean sunrise.
amânta : Saturday, 1 May, A.D. 1182.

2. — According to Mr. Bendall in *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.*, N.S., Vol. XX. p. 552, a British Museum MS. of Śrîdhara's Commentary on Bk. X. of the *Bhâgavata-Purâṇa* is dated —
" in the 317th year of Lakshmaṇa era, Chaitra-sudi pratipad **Guraṇ** dinê," —
i.e. 'on the first day of the bright half of Chaitra of the Lakshmaṇasêna year 317, on a **Thursday.**'

The corresponding European dates would be : —

(*a*) for 317 + 1026 = Saka 1343 expired, —
Tuesday,[4] 4 March, A.D. 1421.

(*b*) for 317 + 1027 = Saka 1344 expired, —
Monday,[5] 23 March, A.D. 1422.

(*c*) for 317 + 1028 = Saka 1345 expired, —
Saturday, 13 March, A.D. 1423.

(d) for 317 + 1029 = Saka 1346 expired, —
Thursday, 2 March, A.D. 1424 ; the first *tithi* of the bright half ended 4 h. 2 m. after mean sunrise.

(*e*) for 317 + 1030 = Saka 1347 expired, —
Wednesday, 21 March, A.D. 1425 ; the first *tithi* of the bright half ended 3 h. 37 m. after mean sunrise.

3. — According to Mr. Bendall, *ib.* p. 554, a British Museum MS. of the *Gaṅgâ-kṛitya-vivêka* is dated —
La-saṁ 376 Pausha-badi 13 **Budhê**, —
i.e. 'on the 13th of the dark half of Pausha of the Lakshmaṇasêna year 376, on a **Wednesday.**'
The corresponding European dates would be : —

(*a*) for 376 + 1026 = Saka 1402 expired, —
pûrṇimânta : the 13th *tithi* of the dark half commenced 1 h. 38 m. and ended 23 h. 9 m. after mean sunrise of **Wednesday,** 29 November, A.D. 1480.
amânta : Friday, 29 December, A.D. 1480.

(b) for 376 + 1027 = Saka 1403 expired, —
pûrṇimânta : Wednesday, 19 December, A.D. 1481 ; the 13th *tithi* of the dark half ended 1 h. 55 m. after mean sunrise.
amânta : Thursday, 17 January, A.D. 1482 ; the 13th *tithi* of the dark half ended 13 h. 23 m. after mean sunrise.

(*c*) for 376 + 1028 = Saka 1404 expired, —
pûrṇimânta : Sunday, 8 December, A.D. 1482.
amânta : Tuesday, 7 January, A.D. 1483 ; the 13th *tithi* of the dark half ended 4 h. 41 m. after mean sunrise.

[4], [5] The initial day for the luni-solar year, given in the *Book of Indian Eras*, is wrong.

(*d*) for 376 + 1029 = Saka 1405 expired, —
pûrṇimânta: Friday, 28 November, A.D. 1483.
amânta: Saturday, 27 December, A.D. 1483.
(*e*) for 376 + 1030 = Saka 1406 expired, —
pûrṇimânta: Thursday, 16 December, A.D. 1484; the 13th *tithi* of the dark half ended 2 h. 29 m. after mean sunrise.
amânta: Friday, 14 January, A.D. 1485.

4. — A MS. of the *Mitâkshará*, of the last page of which a photolithograph is given in Dr. Râjêndralâl Mitra's *Notices of Sanskṛit MSS.*, Vol. V. Plate iii., bears the date, —
La-saṁ 399 Vaiśâkha-kṛishṇa-pakshê chaturthyâṁ **Chandrê**, —
i.e. 'on the fourth (lunar day) in the dark half of Vaiśâkha of the Lakshmaṇasêna year 399, on a **Monday.**'
The corresponding European dates would be: —
(*a*) for 399 + 1026 = Saka 1425 expired, —
pûrṇimânta: Saturday, 15 April, A.D. 1503.
amânta: **Monday**, 15 May, A.D. 1503; the 4th *tithi* of the dark half ended 7 h. 18 m. after mean sunrise.
(*b*) for 399 + 1027 = Saka 1426 expired, —
pûrṇimânta: Wednesday, 3 April, A.D. 1504.
amânta: Friday, 3 May, A.D. 1504.
(*c*) for 399 + 1028 = Saka 1427 expired, —
pûrṇimânta: Sunday, 23 March, A.D. 1505; the 4th *tithi* of the dark half ended 21 h. 6 m. after mean sunrise.
amânta: Tuesday, 22 April, A.D. 1505; the 4th *tithi* of the dark half ended 11 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise.
(*d*) for 399 + 1029 = Saka 1428 expired, —
pûrṇimânta: Saturday, 11 April, A.D. 1506.
amânta: **Monday**, 11 May, A.D. 1506; the 4th *tithi* of the dark half ended 5 h. 19 m. after mean sunrise.
(*e*) for 399 + 1030 = Saka 1429 expired, —
pûrṇimânta: Thursday, 1 April, A.D. 1507.
amânta: Friday, 30 April, A.D. 1507.

5. — According to Mr. Bendall in *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.*, N. S., Vol. XX. p. 551, a Cambridge MS. of Bk. X. of the *Bhâgavata-Purâṇa* is dated —
Lakshmaṇasêna-samvat 424 Pausha-śudi daśamî **Śukrê**, —
i.e. 'the tenth (lunar day) of the bright half of Pausha of the Lakshmaṇasêna year 424, on a **Friday.**'
The corresponding European dates would be: —
(*a*) for 424 + 1026 = Saka 1450 expired, —
Sunday, 20 December, A.D. 1528.
(*b*) for 424 + 1027 = Saka 1451 expired, —
Friday, 10 December, A.D. 1529; the 10th *tithi* of the bright half ended 15 h. 56 m. after mean sunrise.
(*c*) for 424 + 1028 = Saka 1452 expired, —
Thursday, 29 December, A.D. 1530; the 10th *tithi* of the bright half ended 18 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise.
(*d*) for 424 + 1029 = Saka 1453 expired, —
Tuesday, 19 December, A.D. 1531.
(*e*) for 424 + 1030 = Saka 1454 expired, —
Monday, 6 January, A.D. 1533.

6.— According to Dr. Râjêndralâl Mitra's *Notices of Sanskrit MSS.*, Vol. V. p. 170, a MS. of the *Âchârachintâmaṇi* is dated —

Lakshmaṇa-bhûpa-sambandhi-trayastriṁśad-adhika-śatachatushṭay-âbdê Kârttika-kṛishṇa-saptamyâṁ **Sukrê**, —

i.e. 'on the seventh (lunar day) of the dark half of Kârttika in the year four hundred and thirty-three of the prince Lakshmaṇa, on a **Friday.**'

And here the corresponding European dates would be :—

(*a*) for 433 + 1026 = Saka 1459 expired, —

pûrṇimânta: Tuesday, 25 September, A.D. 1537.

amânta: Thursday, 25 October, A.D. 1537; the 7th *tithi* of the dark half ended 7 h. 35 m. after mean sunrise.

(*b*) for 433 + 1027 = Saka 1460 expired, —

pûrṇimânta: Monday, 14 October, A.D. 1538.

amânta: Wednesday, 13 November, A.D. 1538.

(*c*) for 433 + 1028 = Saka 1461 expired, —

pûrṇimânta: Saturday, 4 October, A.D. 1539; the 7th *tithi* of the dark half ended 6 h. 14 m. after mean sunrise.

amânta: Sunday, 2 November, A.D. 1539.

(d) for 433 + 1029 = Saka 1462 expired, —

pûrṇimânta: Wednesday, 22 September, A.D. 1540.

amânta: Friday, 22 October, A.D. 1540; the 7th *tithi* of the dark half ended 8 h. 13 m. after mean sunrise.

(*e*) for 433 + 1030 = Saka 1463 expired, —

pûrṇimânta: Tuesday, 11 October, A.D. 1541.

amânta: Thursday, 10 November, A.D. 1541; the 7th *tithi* of the dark half ended 8 h. 38 m. after mean sunrise.

The result of my calculations of the above six dates, with assumed epochs ranging from Saka 1026 expired = A.D. 1104(-5) to Saka 1030 expired = A.D. 1108(-9) is then as follows: —

The dates 1 (the year 74, Vaiśâkha), 3 (the year 376, Pausha), and 5 (the year 424, Pausha), would work out satisfactorily with the epoch Saka 1027 expired.

The dates 2 (the year 317, Chaitra), 4 (the year 399, Vaiśâkha), and 6 (the year 433, Kârttika), would work out satisfactorily with the epoch Saka 1029 expired.

The five dates from 2 to 6 would work out satisfactorily, **if we were to assume that the Lakshmaṇasêna year had commenced with the month Mârgaśira, and that the era had begun on Mârgaśira-sudi 1 of Saka 1028 expired, = the 29th October, A.D. 1106.** For, with these assumptions we might explain the five dates thus: —

(*a*) Date 3; the year 376, Pausha-vadi 13 **Budhê.** The year 376 is a current year, and, with the *pûrṇimânta* scheme of the lunar fortnights, the corresponding date accordingly is **Wednesday,** 19 December, A.D. 1481.

(*b*) Date 5; the year 424, Pausha-sudi 10 **Sukrê.** The year 424 also is a current year, and the corresponding date is **Friday,** 10 December A.D. 1529.

(*c*) Date 2; the year 317, Chaitra-sudi 1 **Gurau.** The year 317 is an expired year, and the corresponding date accordingly is **Thursday,** 2 March, A.D. 1424.

(*d*) Date 4; the year 399, Vaiśâkha-vadi 4 **Chandrê.** The year 399 also is an expired year, and, with the *amânta* scheme of the lunar fortnights, the corresponding date is **Monday,** 11 May, A.D. 1506.

(*e*) Date 6; the year 433, Kârttika-vadi 7 **Sukrê.** The year 433 again is an expired year, and the corresponding date, also with the *amânta* scheme of the lunar fortnights, is **Friday,** 22 October, A.D. 1540.

And it may be added that, with the assumed epoch and a year commencing with Mârgaśira, the date of the copper-plate grant of king Śivasiṁha (the year 293, Śrâvaṇa-sudi 7

Gurau) also would work out satisfactorily (**Thursday**, 10 July, A.D. 1399), if namely we were to take the year 293 as a current year. But in no way would it be possible to explain with the assumed epoch the first of our dates (the year 74, Vaiśâkha-vadi 12 Gurau); for, with that epoch, the date should fall either in A.D. 1180 or in A.D. 1181, according as the year 74 might be considered a current or expired year, and we have seen that Vaiśâkha-vadi 12 was a Thursday neither in A.D. 1180 nor in A.D. 1181. And besides, it may well be urged that a year commencing with Mârgaśira, though not altogether unknown,[6] would certainly be something very unusual, the actual existence of which in more modern times should be assumed only when thereby all independent dates are duly accounted for, and when no simpler course, that *would* account for all such dates, is open to us; that with the assumed epoch we are obliged to regard the dates in dark fortnights partly as *pûrṇimânta* and partly as *amânta* dates; and that the percentage of dates which with the above epoch we have to regard as dates in current years (3 out of 6), is larger than that we are accustomed to in this respect in the case of other eras. The main objection to the assumed epoch, however, would of course always be this, that it does *not* account for the week-day of the oldest date of the era which hitherto has become known to us.

If we now turn to **the epoch suggested to us by Abu-l-Fazl**, according to whose account the difference between a Lakshmaṇasêna year and the corresponding Śaka year would be 1041 years, and the correctness of whose figures would appear to be corroborated by the MS. date La-saṁ 505 = Śâkê 1546, we shall find that with that epoch *all* the six dates which have been examined above, work out in the simplest manner possible. And judging from these six dates, I feel no hesitation in saying that **the Lakshmaṇasêna year was an ordinary southern (Kârttikâdi) year**, with the *amânta* scheme of the lunar fortnights; and that **the first day of the first current year of the era was Kârttika-sudi 1 of the expired Śaka year 1041, = the 7th October A.D. 1119,**[7] = the day of the Julian period 2,130,052. On the basis of these *data*, the results of my calculations are as follows: —

(*a*) Date 6; the year 433, Kârttika-vadi 7 **Śukrê**. The year 433 is a current year, and, with the *amânta* scheme of the lunar fortnights, the corresponding date (for 433 + 1040 = Śaka 1473 expired) is **Friday**, 20 November A.D. 1551, when the 7th *tithi* of the dark half ended 10 h. 33 m. after mean sunrise.

(*b*) Date 5; the year 424, Pausha-sudi 10 **Śukrê**. The year 424 is an expired year, and the corresponding date (for 424 + 1041 = Śaka 1465 expired) is **Friday**, 4 January, A.D. 1544, when the 10th *tithi* of the bright half ended 17 h. 9 m. after mean sunrise.

(*c*) Date 3; the year 376, Pausha-vadi 13 **Budhê**. The year 376 is an expired year, and with the *amânta* scheme of the lunar fortnights, the corresponding date (for 376 + 1041 = Śaka 1417 expired) is **Wednesday**, 13 January, A.D. 1496, when the 13th *tithi* of the dark half ended 10 h. 38 m. after mean sunrise.

(*d*) Date 2; the year 317, Chaitra-sudi 1 **Gurau**. The year 317 is an expired year, and the corresponding date (for 317 + 1042 = Śaka 1359 expired) is **Thursday**, 7 March A.D. 1437. By Professor Jacobi's Tables, the first *tithi* of the bright half commenced 0 h. 43 m. before mean sunrise of Thursday, 7 March, and ended 0 h. 17 m. after mean sunrise of **Friday**, 8 March; but calculated by the *Brahma-Siddhânta* the *tithi* ended about one hour before mean sunrise of the Friday.

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[6] See *Albêrûnî's India*, Sachau's Translation, Vol. II. p. 8.

[7] To convert a year of the Lakshmaṇasêna era into an *expired* Śaka year, we accordingly have to add —
1040 to a current La. year, when the date falls in Kârttika — Phâlguna;
1041 to a current La. year, when the date falls in Chaitra — Âśvina;
1041 to an expired La. year, when the date falls in Kârttika—Phâlguna
1042 to an expired La. year, when the date falls in Chaitra—Âśvina.

(*e*) Date 4; the year 399, Vaiśâkha-vadi 4 **Chandrê**. The year 399 is an expired year, and, with the *amânta* scheme of the lunar fortnights, the corresponding date (for 399 + 1042 = Śaka 1441 expired) is **Monday**, 18 April, A.D. 1519, when the 4th *tithi* of the dark half ended 20 h. 47 m. after mean sunrise.

(*f*) Date 1; the year 74, Vaiśâkha-vadi 12 **Gurau**. The year 74 is an expired year, and, with the *amânta* scheme of the lunar fortnights, the corresponding date (for 74 + 1042 = Śaka 1116 expired) is **Thursday**, 19 May, A.D. 1194, when the 12th *tithi* of the dark half ended 2 h. 50 m. after mean sunrise.

These results may well speak for themselves; and all that I need say in regard to them is that, when, with the epoch A.D. 1118-19, we are obliged to take the year of one out of the six dates exceptionally as a current year, years must be *exceptionally* treated as current also in the case of other eras the dates of which are ordinarily recorded in expired years, and the epochs of which are settled beyond dispute.

Time will show whether I am right or wrong; but I put more faith in the way in which my dates work out with the epoch A.D. 1118-19, than in the modern almanacs of Tirhut, disagreeing as they do among themselves. And with the statement of Abu-l-Fazl, supported by the MS. date La-saṁ 505 = Śâkê 1546 and by the results of my calculations, I would maintain that the equation (La-saṁ 293 = Śâkê 1321) furnished by the copper-plate grant of king Śivasiṁha is wrong; and that that inscription itself, suspicious as it would seem to be also on other grounds,[9] has either been tampered with or is a forgery, got up at a time when the true epoch of the Lakshmaṇasêna era had been forgotten, as in my opinion it has been forgotten by the almanac-makers of Tirhut.

At present I have neither the time nor the means of writing on the history of the Sêna kings. But I would ask: When we are told that, at the conquest of Bengal by Muhammad Bakhtyâr, which by Mr. Blochmann[9] is placed about A.D. 1198-99, the last Hindu king Lakhmaniya had been reigning for 80 years,[10] **does not this really mean that that conquest took place in the year 80 of the Lakshmaṇasêna era, — Śrimad-Lakshmaṇasêna-dêvapâdânâm=atîta-râjyê saṁ 80 ?**

SANSKRIT AND OLD-KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

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

No. 185.—MAHAKUTA PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF MANGALESA.

This inscription was first brought to notice by me in 1881, in this Journal, Vol. X. p. 102; at a time when I was without the means of obtaining a reading of the text of it. Subsequently, in 1882, an ink-impression of it was sent to me by Mr. H. Cousens, of the Archæological Survey of Western India, from which I was able to quote some of the contents of it in my *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 21 f. I now edit it in full, with a photo-lithograph, from the same materials.

Mahâkûṭa is the current name of a group of temples, about three miles away over the hills to the east of Bâdâmi, the chief town of the Bâdâmi Tâlukâ in the Bijâpur District, Bombay Presidency. This is the form of the name that was given to me when I visited the place itself. And it is the form which, on fresh inquiries at Bijâpur, has again been certified to me; coupled now, however, with the remark that the place is called Mâkûṭa and Makuṭa, and occasionally Mâgaḍa, by uneducated people who cannot pronounce the proper word correctly! But there is no doubt that **the real original name is Makuṭa.** It actually occurs in line 9-10 of the inscription of the *Mahâsâmanta* Bappuvarasa inside one of the temples (*ante*, Vol. X.

[9] See *ante*, Vol. IV. p. 300. [9] *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. XLIV. Part I. p. 277.
[10] Sir H. M. Elliot, *History of India*, Vol. II. p. 307.

p. 104), where the words *maguḍake vandu*, plainly mean "having come to Maguḍa, *i.e.* Makuṭa." And, in line 13-14 of the present inscription, the name of the god distinctly occurs as Makuṭêśvaranâtha; not in the now current form of Mahâkûṭêśvara. The temples are in a courtyard, the chief entrance to which is a gateway at the north-east corner of it. About ten yards to the east of this gateway there lay, at the time of my visit, a close-grained **red-sandstone monolith pillar**, which is called in the inscription itself, and in one of the additions below it, a *dharma-jayastambha* or 'pillar of victory of religion,' measuring about 14′ 6″ in height, exclusive of the *kalaśa* or capital, and about 1′ 9½″ in diameter, with sixteen sides or faces; the *kalaśa*, which lay close by, is about 1′ 7″ high, and of a circular shape, about 2′ 8½″ in diameter, with thirty-six deep flutes running down it, and with a square top. The inscription is on the lower part of this pillar.

The **writing**, including the extra two lines at the bottom, covers a space of about 5′ 8″ broad by 3′ 2″ high; each of the full lines running entirely round the pillar. It is in a state of fairly good preservation throughout; very few letters being actually destroyed. But it has suffered somewhat from the weather; and for this reason, and because of the colour of the material in which it is engraved, it is very difficult to read on the original stone. The inscription itself consists of sixteen lines; and the first line is the lowest. Line 1 runs round the pillar on the same level; the other lines wind upward, with, in some instances, considerable irregularity in the directions along which they run; and, partly to shew the way in which the end of one line runs into the beginning of the next, and partly because in a few instances an *akshara* lies, not entirely on either the first or the last face of the stone, but on the dividing edge between them, the lithograph has been so arranged as to repeat an *akshara* or two at the beginning and end of each line.[1] Below the inscription proper, there is a line of writing, beginning on the fourteenth face and continuing nearly all round, in well-formed characters of exactly the same type with those used in the body of the record, which runs — Âryyapura-vâsakaḥ Pubesasya sutau sthâpitâ idaṁ dharmma-jayastambha vyâpâraka[ś]=cha tau; the language is inaccurate, but the meaning is, "the two sons of Pubesa, residents of the town of Âryapura, set up this pillar of victory of religion; and they are traders."[2] And below this, in characters not quite so well formed, there are, on the first four faces, the words — Dâṭa Âna kaṭ[ṭ]idapu (or perhaps kuṭidapu) kam[bh]a, which either specify the maker or makers of the pillar, or possibly give the names of the two sons of Pubesa; and, on the ninth, tenth, and eleventh faces, there are some seven or eight letters as to the meaning of which I cannot satisfy myself. — The **characters** belong to the southern class of alphabets, and are of the regular type of the period and locality to which the record belongs. The average **size of the letters** is between ⅞″ and 1″; but the *dhi* of *yathâvidhi*, line 1, is 1⅛″ high; and there are some other instances of a perceptible excess over the average size. The engraving is bold and good throughout. **Palæographically** we may note that in *adhirûḍhê*, line 8, the *ḍh* is expressed, not by a separate sign of its own, but by the sign which stands for *d* and *ḍ*. Also, that in *maṅgalêśa*, line 8, the vowel *ê* is expressed, not by a modification of the upper part of the *l* which induces much confusion between *li*, *lî*, *le*, and *lê*, but by a distinct sign attached to the lower proper right side of the *l*, which leaves no doubt whatever that the vowel *ê* was intended here; the same vowel-mark, but placed somewhat higher, is used in the *le* of *polekêśi*, in line 8 of the Nerûr grant of Pulikêśin II. (*ante*, Vol. VIII. p. 44, and Plate). — The **language** is Sanskṛit; and the style is good throughout, except for three peculiar mistakes of gender in lines 12 and 13. With the exception of two benedictive and imprecatory verses quoted in line 15 f., the whole record is

[1] Another instance of a pillar inscription commencing at the bottom and running upwards, is the Amarâvatî inscription of the Pallava king Simhavarman II., published by Dr. Hultzsch in the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, 1886-87. In that case, however, the inscription is on only three out of eight faces; and the lines do not run round and mount in the manner in which they do here.

[2] I take it that *dharmma-jayastambha* was intended to be in the accusative case, in apposition with *idaṁ*, which is then a mistake for *imaṁ*. Otherwise, taking it as part of a compound, we might translate — "set up this; and they are dealers in pillars of victory of religion."

practically in prose. There are undoubtedly two half Slôkas in lines 10 and 11, and also some seemingly metrical syllables in lines 2 and 3-4; whether these are quotations, or to what they are to be attributed, is not apparent; but, except in line 3-4, where, moreover, the syllables are not necessarily in metre, the metrical or apparently metrical passages, are complete in themselves, and do not lay the record open to any such remarks as I have had to make in the case of the Kômaraliṅgam grant of Ravidatta (*ante*, Vol. XVIII.) — In respect of **orthography**, we have to notice (1) the use of *ri* for *ṛi* in *ridhyâ*, line 2, *riddhis*,[3] line 3, and *krita*, lines 5, 7, 11, and 13; though there are plenty of cases in which the subscript *ṛi* is employed in this record; and though even the initial *ṛi* was known at this time (see, for instance, *ṛishabhâya*, *ante*, Vol. VI. p. 23, line 12, and Plate); (2) the omission of the *visarga* before an initial *ér*, in *sambhûta*, line 2, and *jyéshṭha*, line 6; this may possibly have been suggested by the Vârttika on Pâṇini, viii., 3, 36, which, however, authorises the omission of the *visarga* only when the initial sibilant is followed by a mute letter; (3) the use of the *upadhmânîya* in *nṛipatêḥ=priya*, line 4, and *śaktiḥ=prathamataram*, line 12; (4) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the *anusvâra*, before the palatal sibilant, in *vaṅś-âmbara*, line 8; (5) considerable irregularity in using the *anusvâra* for the proper nasal; contrast, for instance, especially *sambhûta*, line 2, with *saṁbhûtaḥ*, line 5, and the components of *vaṁg-âṅga*, line 7; but the tendency on the whole is in favour of the use of the proper nasals; (6) the occurrence of the Drâviḍian *ḷ* and *ḻ*, in *chaḷikya*, lines 2 and 8, *kaḷiṅga*, *kêraḷa*, and *âḷuka*, line 7, and *kesuvoḷala*, line 14; and in *dramiḷa* and *chôḻiya*, line 7; (7) the use of *t* for *th* in *avabhṛita*, lines 5 and 7; though the proper sign for *th* occurs in all the other instances; (8) the omission to double a consonant after *r* in *dharma*, line 2, and *bahusuvarṇa*, line 4, and in a few other words; though in the majority of instances the correct practice is followed; (9) the doubling of *k* before *r* in *vikkrama*, lines 3 and 4, *vikkrânta*, line 8, *parâkkrama*, line 6 (twice), and *kkrita*, for *kṛita*, line 11; (10) the doubling of *g*, *t*, and *dh* (by *d*, in the proper manner), before *y*, in *bhâggya*, line 13, *sattyâśraya*, line 4, *bṛihaspatty-uśanaḥ*, line 11, and *anuddhyâtânâṁ*, line 1, though not in other cases; and (11) the use of *siṅgha* for *siṁha*, in *jayasiṅgha*, line 2, and *nṛipatisiṅghaḥ*, line 10.

The inscription is one of **the Early Chalukya king Maṅgalêśa.** It is **a Saiva inscription**; **the primary** object of it being to record that, with the authority of Maṅgalêśa, his father's wife, **Durlabhadêvî**, increased, by the grant of ten villages, a previous endowment of the god Śiva under the name of **Makuṭêśvaranâtha.**

Of the local **places** mentioned in this record, three of the villages granted can be identified. **Kesuvoḷala**, called in other records Kisuvoḷal and Paṭṭada-Kisuvoḷal, is **the modern Paṭṭadakal**, the 'Purudkal' and 'Puttutkul' of maps, on the left bank of the Malaprabhâ, about eight miles east by north from Bâdâmi (see *ante*, Vol. X. p. 162 f.); it ought to be shewn in the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 41 or 58; but it has been omitted, perhaps because it would fall on the very edge of the map, unless it is denoted by the word 'Pag.,' *i. e.* Pagoda, in No. 58. **Kendôramânya** is evidently **the modern Kendûr**, the 'Khenthoor' of the map, Sheet No. 41, four miles north by east of Bâdâmi. And **Nandigrâma** must be **the modern Nandikêshwar**, the 'Nundeekasur' of the map, No. 41, five miles east by north of Bâdâmi. Others of the villages granted were **Śriyaṁbâṭaka** and **Vṛîhimukha**, which I cannot identify. And the names of one or two more are contained in the middle part of the compound, which cannot be properly divided without some clue, not obtained as yet, to the identification of them. **Âryapura**, which occurs in the addition below the record, is the Sanskṛit name of **the modern Aihoḷe** in the Hungund Tâlukâ, the 'Iwullee' of the map, No. 58, about fifteen miles to the north-east of Bâdâmi (see *ante*, Vol. VIII. pp. 237, 287).

A point of leading interest in this inscription is its **date**; the more so because we have as yet only two other dated records of the Chalukyas anterior to the time of Pulikêśin II., and

[3] In this instance, *śauryya-ṛidhis*, for *śauryya-ṛiddhis*, or more customarily *śauryy-arddhis*, may perhaps be taken as an instance of the optional hiatus, in accordance with the commentary on Pâṇini, vi., 1, 128.

there has been a distinct difference of opinion as to the manner in which the dates given in them should be applied. The date on which the pillar was set up to record the making of the grant, is given as "in the fifth glorious year, of the constantly augmenting reign (of Maṅgalêśa), in the current Siddhârtha (*saṁvatsara*), on the full-moon *tithi* of (the month) Vaiśâkha.' The text of the whole passage is perfectly clear; and the details are unmistakable. But here I should state that, when first I drafted my remarks on this date, finding that in no way could the Siddhârtha or Siddhârthin *saṁvatsara*[4] of the Sixty-Year Cycle of Jupiter be made to meet with the fifth year of Maṅgalêśa's reign according to either of the views based on the other two records referred to above, I was disposed to think that the word *siddhârthê*, in line 15, suggestive as it was of the *saṁvatsara* so named, had not really that application, but was simply used as an epithet of *varshê*, and in some such meaning as 'full of success or prosperity.' Prof. Kielhorn, however, to whom I had referred several points of doubt and interest in this record, has given me the opinion that, if the names of the years of the Sixty-Year Cycle were well known and were in general use in the period in question, — (which was more or less undoubtedly the case), — the writer of the record would not be likely to use the word, in such a passage, in an altogether unusual and objectionable sense, when he must have known that it would naturally be taken as denoting the *saṁvatsara*, and when he could easily have avoided all ambiguity by selecting any other adjective that would express his meaning much better; and that, if the reading *siddhârthê* is correct, — (which it certainly is), — the word can only denote the *saṁvatsara*. And, on reconsideration, I have fully adopted this view of the matter. Now, no reference is made to any era. But the period of the present record is determined by the fact that Maṅgalêśa's nephew and successor, Pulikêśin II., commenced to reign in or about Śaka-Saṁvat 533 current. Just before that year, **the Siddhârtha saṁvatsara** occurred, or would occur, as follows: — (1) by the southern luni-solar system, if then in use, it would coincide with Śaka-Saṁvat 522 current; (2) by the mean-sign system it would commence in Śaka-Saṁvat 524 current, on Wednesday, 25th October, A.D. 601, and would end in Śaka-Saṁvat 525 current, on Sunday, 21st October A.D. 602; and (3) by the northern luni-solar system, if then in use and applicable to that part of the country, it would coincide with Śaka-Saṁvat 525 current. Of these three systems, the only one that can be applied for the period and locality to which the present record belongs (see *ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 142), is the mean-sign system, according to which the *saṁvatsara* lasted from **the 25th October, A.D. 601 to the 21st October, A.D. 602.** During this period, **the given tithi,** Vaiśâkha śukla 15, belonging to Śaka-Saṁvat 525 current, ended on Thursday, **12th April, A.D. 602,** at about 13 *ghaṭîs*, 50 *palas*, after mean sunrise (for Bombay). And this is undoubtedly the day that answers to the details given in the original record for the setting up of the pillar. From this it follows that, as the full-moon of Vaiśâkha, Śaka-Saṁvat 525 current, fell in the fifth year of his reign, the full-moon of Vaiśâkha, Śaka-Saṁvat 521 current, fell in his first year; and consequently **the accession of Maṅgalêśa took place,** on some day still to be exactly determined, **in A.D. 497 or 498; either on any day from the *pûrṇimânta* Jyêshṭha[5] kṛishṇa 1 of Śaka-Saṁvat 520 current, up to the end of that year; or on any day from the beginning of Śaka-Saṁvat 521 current, up to Vaiśâkha śukla 15 of that year.**

The date thus obtained for the commencement of Maṅgalêśa's reign, differs materially from that deduced from either of the other two dated records of the same period, spoken of above; and some remarks are now necessary in connection with them. The earlier of them, and the first that came to notice, is **the Bâdâmi cave inscription,** published originally by Prof. Eggeling (*ante*, Vol. III. p. 305 f., with a lithograph) and subsequently re-edited by me (*ante*, Vol. VI. p. 363, with a lithograph in Vol. X. p. 58), which records that, in the twelfth regnal

[4] Both forms of the name occur. The present form, Siddhârtha, is the one used in the *Bṛihat-Saṁhitâ*, viii. 48, 49, Kern's edition.

[5] Or the *amânta* Vaiśâkha. I quote, however, the *pûrṇimânta* month, because that is the correct arrangement for the period in question; see *ante*, Vol. XVII. pp. 141, 142.

year, coupled with Śaka-Saṁvat 500 expired, Maṅgaléśa made a great cave-temple of Vishṇu, and gave a great gift to Brahmaṇs on the full-moon day of Kârttika, and performed certain other acts. Both Prof. Eggeling and myself, following the apparently natural meaning of the text, took the reign, of which the twelfth year is mentioned in this record, to be the reign of Maṅgaléśa himself. And according to that understanding of the date, as the full-moon of Kârttika, Śaka-Saṁvat 500 expired, fell in the twelfth year of his reign, the full-moon of Kârttika, Śaka-Saṁvat 489 expired or 490 current, fell in his first year; and consequently his reign commenced either in Śaka-Saṁvat 489 current, on any day from the *pûrṇimânta* Mârgaśîrsha 1 up to the end of the year, or in Śaka-Saṁvat 490 current, on any day from the beginning of the year up to Kârttika śukla 15. The other is the **Goa grant**, published by Mr. K. T. Telang (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 348 ff., with a lithograph), which records a grant made, with the permission of an unnamed paramount sovereign, by Satyâśraya Dhruvarâja-Indravarman, the governor of four *vishayas* and *maṇḍalas*, stationed at Rêvat-dvîpa; the grant was made on the full-moon day of Mâgha; and in a separate passage, at the end of the charter, there are given the further details of the twentieth year of some unspecified reign or governorship, coupled with Śaka-Saṁvat 532, which is not distinctly described either as current or as expired. On the strength of this grant, Prof. R. G. Bhandarkar (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XIV. p. 24 f., and *Early History of the Dekkan*, p. 38) took a totally different view of the meaning of the Bâdâmi inscription, and held that the twelfth regnal year mentioned in it belongs to the reign of Kîrtivarman I., the elder brother and predecessor of Maṅgaléśa; that Maṅgaléśa was not at that time reigning as paramount sovereign, but "was probably his brother's general or lieutenant;" and that the commencement of the reign of Maṅgaléśa himself took place in Śaka-Saṁvat 514 current.[6] It is unnecessary to recapitulate either the arguments put forward by Prof. R. G. Bhandarkar, or my answer to them (*ante*, Vol. X. p. 57 ff.); for the sequel has shewn that each of us was partially right and partially wrong. But I shall refer further on to the only substantial argument advanced by him. And, on the other hand, while I can find no further arguments in support of his side of the question, I may as well note here two additional points in support of my own views, so far as they are limited to the point that the date in the Goa grant has nothing whatever to do with the accession of Maṅgaléśa. The first is, that I cannot give any certain instance in which the current year of the reign of a paramount sovereign is mentioned, at any rate in the period with which we are dealing, in a detached and separate sentence at the end of a record, in the manner in which the date is given in the Goa grant; whereas this is precisely the manner in which it was customary to quote the years of feudatory officials (see, for instance, my *Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 40, line 24, p. 194, No. 41, line 27, p. 199, and No. 81, line 35 f., p. 296). And the other is, that the Haidarâbâd grant tells us that the new-moon day of Bhâdrapada, Śaka-Saṁvat 534 expired, was in the third year of the reign of Pulikêśin II.; on this date I have made some remarks, *ante*, Vol. XVI. p. 109 ff., and Vol. XVII. p. 141; and I have here only to point out that, if we accept it as it stands, then it follows that the new-moon of Bhâdrapada, Śaka-Saṁvat 532 expired, was in the first year of Pulikêśin II., and much more so was the whole of the subsequent month Mâgha of the same expired Śaka year; and consequently, if the

[6] I quote here Prof. R. G. Bhandarkar's opinion as given in the later of the two passages referred to. In the first of them, he arrived at "512 Śaka, or 590 A.D.," *i. e.* Śaka-Saṁvat 512 expired or 513 current, for the death of Kîrtivarman I. and the accession of Maṅgaléśa; while, in the second of them he has placed these events in "513 Śaka, or A.D. 591," *i. e.* Śaka-Saṁvat 513 expired or 514 current. Either year can be arrived at, according as the given year 532 of the Goa grant is applied as current or as expired; for, if the full-moon of Mâgha, Śaka-Saṁvat 532 expired, fell in the twentieth year mentioned in the grant, then the full-moon of Mâgha, Śaka-Saṁvat 513 expired or 514 current, fell in the first year, and the initial point of the twenty years fell either in Śaka-Saṁvat 513 current, on any day from the *pûrṇimânta* Phâlguna krishṇa 1 up to the end of the year, or in Śaka-Saṁvat 514 current, on any day from the beginning of the year up to Mâgha śukla 15; and precisely the same period, one year earlier, is to be obtained by applying the year 532 as a current year. It is plain, therefore, that, in arriving at the later date, Prof. R. G. Bhandarkar applied the given year 532 as an expired year. And it will be seen that, in now quoting the later date, I give the better chance to his general views connected with it.

unspecified year, Śaka-Saṁvat 532, of the Goa grant, coupled with the full-moon of Mâgha, is to be applied as an expired year, then the grant can only belong to the reign of Pulikêśin II., and not to that of Maṅgalêśa at all.[7] Dismissing the previous controversy with these words, I have here only to shew how both the earlier theories are disproved by the present date. With my own original date for Maṅgalêśa's accession, the full-moon of Vaiśâkha in his first year might fall either in Śaka-Saṁvat 490 current or in 491 current, according to the exact day of his accession; and the full-moon of Vaiśâkha in his fifth year could not fall later than in Śaka-Saṁvat 495 current, nearly twenty years before the commencement of the Siddhârtha *saṁvatsara* by the mean-sign system. And with Prof. R. G. Bhandarkar's initial date, the full-moon of Vaiśâkha in his first year might fall either in Śaka-Saṁvat 514 current or in 515 current, according to the exact date of his accession; but the full-moon of Vaiśâkha in his fifth year could not, by any possibility, fall later than in Śaka-Saṁvat 519 current, leaving still an interval of close upon three years before the earliest possible commencement of the Siddhârtha *saṁvatsara*, by the inadmissible southern luni-solar system. And thus, with neither of the previous theories can the Siddhârtha *saṁvatsara* be made to meet with the fifth year of his reign, even for the full-moon day of Vaiśâkha.[8]

The only substantial argument put forward by Prof. R. G. Bhandarkar against my original views, was in connection with the age of Pulikêśin II. at certain points in his career, and was of the following nature. Both the present record and the Aihole Mêguṭi inscription (*ante*, Vol. VIII. p. 237 ff.) tell us plainly that Maṅgalêśa became king, or was king, on the death of Kîrtivarman I. As Pulikêśin II. had at any rate two younger brothers, he must have been not

[7] I think, indeed, that this is the case, even if the unspecified year 532 is applied as a current year. But this depends on the results for some Eastern Chalukya dates which I have not yet completed. — And, if we attend to extreme nicety of language, the fact is perhaps indicated in the Goa grant itself. For, Satyâśraya-Dhruvarâja-Indravarman made the grant with the permission of a *Mahârâja* who had the *biruda* of *śrîprithivîvallabha*. This *biruda* belonged to Pulikêśin II. and his successors, and is also given in the present Mahâkûṭa inscription to Pulikêśin I. While, in this same inscription, Maṅgalêśa's name is coupled with the higher *biruda* of *śrîprithivîvallabhêndra*.

[8] I had also referred this date to Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit, on the chance of obtaining any other method of making it fit in with either of the previous theories. And, in endorsing Prof. Kielhorn's opinion that the word *siddhârthê* in this passage can mean nothing but the *saṁvatsara* of that name, he has put forward the suggestion that the syllables *pañchama-śrî*, immediately before *varshê*, may be a mistake for *pañchatriṁśê*, "in the thirty-fifth year of the constantly augmenting reign of Maṅgalêśa." The words *pañchama-śrî-varshê* had struck me as a peculiar and exceptional expression, for which I cannot call to mind any analogous instance; but they are quite distinct and unmistakable; and no emendation of them had suggested itself to me. If it were necessary and desirable to amend the text at all, there would be no difficulty about accepting Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit's proposal; for, the number of syllables in his suggested reading would be the same as in the original; the first two syllables, and the consonant of the last, would remain unchanged; and the only radical alterations would be in the entire third syllable, and in the vowel of the fourth, in points in which the palæography of the period might very possibly lead to such mistakes as would then have occurred. Two other emendations are, of course, possible; viz. *pañchadaśê*, "in the fifteenth year," and *pañchaviṁśê*, "in the twenty-fifth year;" but by neither of them can the *saṁvatsara* be made to fit in with Prof. R. G. Bhandarkar's theory. Whereas, a correction of the text in accordance with Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit's suggestion, would fit in admirably with my own previous views. For, as we have seen, the full-moon of Vaiśâkha in Maṅgalêśa's first year was then that of Śaka-Saṁvat 491 current; and so, the full-moon of Vaiśâkha in his thirty-fifth year would be that of Śaka-Saṁvat 525 current; and this, as we have already found, was the full-moon of Vaiśâkha in the Siddhârtha *saṁvatsara* by the mean-sign system, and was the actual date on which the pillar was set up. It would be a curious coincidence if ever we should obtain another record of Maṅgalêśa, unquestionable in its purport, and including the connection of a regnal year with a year of the Śaka era, which will compel us to adopt this emendation of the present text. But I do not at all anticipate any such discovery. And, as it is undesirable to alter an original text in so essential a point, except for very cogent reasons, I am not prepared to accept the proposed emendation simply because of the coincidence, and on the grounds that the expression *pañchama-śrî-varshê* is peculiar and exceptional, and that the difficulty still remains that, according to all analogous instances, the apparently obvious meaning of the Bâdâmi inscription is that Maṅgalêśa was then, in Śaka-Saṁvat 501 current, reigning as paramount sovereign in his own right. We may, I consider, safely hold it to be certainly proved by this Mahâkûṭa record, that the accession of Maṅgalêśa took place in A.D. 497 or 498 (Śaka-Saṁvat 520 or 521 current), within the limits indicated by me in a previous paragraph; and the interpretation of the Bâdâmi inscription, in which there is, at any rate, no distinct statement that Kîrtivarman I. was then dead, must be suited to this fact.

much less than three years old at the time of his father's death. If that event took place in Saka-Saṁvat 489 or 490, according to my original opinion, then Pulikêśin II. must have been about forty-six years old at the time of his accession, in Saka-Saṁvat 533; seventy years old at the time of the Aihole inscription, in Saka-Saṁvat 557; and seventy-four years old when Hiuen Tsiang wrote his contemporaneous account of him, in or about A.D. 639 (Saka-Saṁvat 561 or 562). If, however, the death of Kîrtivarman I. took place in Saka-Saṁvat 514, according to Prof. R. G. Bhandarkar's theory, then the age of Pulikêśin II, at each of the above points, would be reduced to the reasonable figures of twenty-two, forty-six, and fifty years, respectively. The result for the present Mahâkûṭa inscription would still further reduce his age at each point, and, if we keep to the same assumption that his age was about three years at the time of his father's death, would in fact carry the matter rather too far in the other direction; for, he would then be only about fifteen years old at the time of his accession; and this seems to be too young to be ordinary admissible for a reigning king, even in India. Now the Miraj grant (*ante*, Vol. VIII. p. 13 f.) tells us that, on the death of Kîrtivarman I., Maṅgalêśa assumed the sovereignty because Pulikêśin II. was unable to bear the burden of it on account of his childhood, and restored it to him when he became a young man, — *i.e.* when he attained a suitable age. This, however, is a tradition of later times. And a plainly more reliable version of the facts is given in the contemporaneous Aihole inscription, from which we learn that towards the end of Maṅgalêśa's reign there were differences between him and Pulikêśin II.; that Maṅgalêśa attempted to secure the succession for his own son; and that this attempt was defeated in a struggle, in which Maṅgalêśa lost his life, brought on by the faculties of counsel and energy that had been accumulated by Pulikêśin II. From this we can only assume that, at the time of his accession, Pulikêśin II. had attained a fairly ripe age, say about twenty-three years, sufficient at any rate for him to secure a powerful and influential following. And this would place his birth in or about Saka-Saṁvat 510; and would make him about ten years of age at the time of his father's death in Saka-Saṁvat 520 or 521.

This inscription contains a good deal of **historical information.** In the first place, we may note that, like many of the other records of this dynasty, it mentions the members of it as belonging to **the Mânavya gôtra,** and as being **Hâritîputras** or descendants of an original ancestress of the Hârita *gôtra*. In the second place, that it speaks of Pulikêśin I. as **descended from the god Hiraṇyagarbha or Brahman;** just as we find that the Purâṇic genealogy given in some of the later grants of the eastern branch of the family (*e. g.*, *ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 50) takes the descent through the Moon up to Brahman, and through him to Vishṇu, as he was born from the water-lily that grew from Vishṇu's navel. And in the third place, that in lines 2 and 8 it gives the dynastic name as **Chaḷikya.** This form of the name occurs in a few other records; except that in them it is mostly written with the Sanskṛit *l*, instead of with the Drâviḍian *ḷ*. Another form is Chalkya, which occurs in the Bâdâmi cave inscription referred to in a preceding paragraph. But the most usual form is Chaḷukya. I have elsewhere (*Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 41) pointed out the obvious difference in meaning between this form and that of Châḷukya, with the long vowel *â* in the first syllable; this last form belongs only to the restored dynasty, commencing with Taila II.; and, though it has been used throughout by Prof. R. G. Bhandarkar in his *Early History of the Dekkan*, it does not occur in any of the genuine early inscriptions.

The record then takes up the genealogy, commencing with **Jayasiṁha I.,** "the lion of victory," who is here called **Jayasiṅgha,** and to whose name there is attached the epithet of "lord of favourites (*vallabh-êndra*)." The only other early inscription that takes the genealogy back so far, is the Aihole inscription of Pulikêśin II., dated Saka-Saṁvat 556 expired. The Miraj grant of Jayasiṁha III., and a few other precisely similar records, do the same; but they belong to much later times, and are confessedly only based on earlier documents. And the same starting-point was selected in the British Museum grant of Pulikêśin I., purporting to be dated Saka-Saṁvat 411 expired (*ante*, Vol. VII. p. 211 ff.); but this is a spurious grant, not

earlier than the tenth century A.D. On previous occasions (*ante*, Vol. VII. p. 247, and *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 18), I have practically identified with this person the Jayasiṁharâja who is mentioned in the Kaira grant of Vijayavarman. But I expressed myself at the time as not able to assert the identification with absolute conviction; and I subsequently withdrew it (*ante*, Vol. XII. p. 292, note 10). When I rewrite and enlarge my chapters on the Early and Western Chalukyas, including the Gujarât branch, the genealogical table will probably stand much more in accordance with the list as given by Dr Bühler, *ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 199.

The son of Jayasiṁha I. is mentioned by his usual name of **Raṇarâga**, "he who delights in war," which here, as in some similar passages, is explained by "his fondness for war (*raṇasya râga*), which elicited the affection of his own people, and caused vexation of mind to his enemies."

His son, who is best known by the name of **Pulikêśin I.**,[9] is here mentioned only by the *birudas* or secondary names of **Satyâśraya**, "the asylum of truth," and **Raṇavikrama**, "the valorous in war," coupled with the epithet of "favourite of fortune and of the earth (*śrî-pṛithivî-vallabha*)." The same two *birudas* are used to mention him in the Sâtârâ grant of Vishṇuvardhana I. (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. II. p. 1 ff.), which I shall shortly publish in this Journal; and it is now plain that the *biruda* of Satyâśraya was not invented for Pulikêśin II., but was held at least by his grandfather. From a further passage in this record we learn that the wife of Pulikêśin I. was **Durlabhadêvî, of the Batpûra family**, which, though there is a slight difference of spelling in the second syllable, is evidently identical with, or at least a branch of, the Âdi-Mahâ-Bappûra lineage to which, as we learn from the Goa grant referred to above, Satyâśraya-Dhruvarâja-Indravarman belonged.

The sons of Pulikêśin I. are here, as usual, spoken of as two in number. The elder of them, best known by his proper name of **Kîrtivarman I.**, "he whose armour is his fame," is here mentioned only by the *biruda* of **Puru-Raṇaparâkrama**, "puissant in war as Puru." The same *biruda*, Raṇaparâkrama, only without the prefix, occurs as the name of a *Mahârâja* in one of the Lakshmêshwar inscriptions (*ante*, Vol. VII. p. 110); but there, though a Chalukya prince is indicated by the preceding words, it is doubtful who is intended; for, if it may be trusted, that record makes Raṇaparâkrama the father of Ereyappa, a name which does not occur in any other Chalukya record, and then proceeds to mention a *Mahârâja*, named Satyâśraya, who may be either Pulikêśin I. or Pulikêśin II., and who is not necessarily to be identified with, or to be taken as a son of, Ereyappa. Also, the same word occurs in connection with Kîrtivarman I. in line 5 of the Aihoḷe Mêguṭi inscription referred to above; there, however, it is used, not as a *biruda*, but as part of a compound meaning that he acquired the goddess of victory by his puissance in war (*raṇa-parâkrama*). In the present inscription we are told that the victories of **Kîrtivarman I.** included the kings of Vaṅga, Aṅga, Kaliṅga, Vaṭṭûra, Magadha, Madraka, Kêraḷa, Gaṅga, Mûshaka, Pâṇḍya, Chôḷiya, Âḷuka, and Vaijayantî. Most of these names are names of countries, and are already well-known. The form **Chôḷiya**, as a variant of Chôḷa or Chôḷa, is of some interest. The **Mûshaka** country seems to be the part of the Malabar Coast between Quilon and Cape Comorin (see Monier-Williams' Sanskṛit Dictionary, s.v. *mûshika*). **Âḷuka** is a new name; but, as Monier-Williams gives it as an epithet of Sêsha, the chief of the serpent race, it may possibly denote the Nâgas, who in early times were powerful in

[9] I do not feel sure about the meaning of this name. In the Miraj grant, in which it is written Pulakêśin, with the vowel *a* in the second syllable, there is a play on it (*ante*, Vol. VIII. p. 13): — "His son was king Pulakêśin, equal to (Kṛishṇa) the destroyer of (the demon) Kêśin; . . . . . we, while describing king Pulakêśin, have our bodies experiencing the sensation of having the hair standing erect through pleasure (*pulaka-kalita-dêhâḥ*)." But this depends entirely on the spelling used there, which is a corruption of the older form Pulikêśin, with the vowel *i* in the second syllable. I think it is a hybrid word, Old-Kanarese and Sanskṛit, meaning 'tiger-haired,' *i. e.* perhaps 'having a coat of short, thick, and close hair, like that of a tiger.' But the still older form is Polekêśin; and I do not know whether *pole* is an older form of *puli*, = *huli*, 'a tiger.'

the more western parts of the country that became included in the Chalukya dominions. **Vaṭṭûra** also is a new name, and is plainly a Drâviḍian word; like Vaijayanti, it denotes a town or city, not a country.

Kîrtivarman I. was succeeded by his younger brother, who is here mentioned by the name of **Maṅgalêśa**, "the auspicious lord, or the lord of prosperity," coupled with the *biruda* of **Uru-Raṇavikrânta**, "valorous in war as Uru," and with the epithet of "chief of favourites of fortune and of the earth (*śrîpṛithivîvallabh-êndra*)." It would seem that he was a half-brother of Kîrtivarman I.; for, in line 13, the text refers to Durlabhadêvî, not as his own mother (*sva-mâtaram*), but as the wife of his own father (*sva-guru-patnîm*). And a hint to the same effect is perhaps given in line 5, where the father is compared with Vasudêva, and the two sons with Balabhadra and Vâsubhadra. One part of the comparison may very well be taken to rest on the facts that Vasudêva (= Pulikêśin I.) had two wives, Rôhiṇî and Dêvakî; that Balabhadra or Balarâma (= Kîrtivarman I.), was begotten on Dêvakî, but was transferred to the womb of Rôhiṇî, and was actually born from her; and that his younger brother, Vâsubhadra, Vâsudêva, or Kṛishṇa, was born from Dêvakî. Possibly also another similar hint is contained in the *birudas* Puru-Raṇaparâkrama and Uru-Raṇavikrânta. Maṅgalêśa's *biruda* appears, without the prefix, in the simple form of Raṇavikrânta, in the Bâdâmi cave inscription. Here, in the two *birudas*, the prefixes are evidently employed for some special object of contrast and comparison. And, drawing my attention to the fact that, according to the St. Petersburg Dictionary, the Vêdic word *puru*, 'much, many,' occurs in the epic and later literature only at the commencement of some proper names, and, appearing again in the *Bhâgavata-Purâṇa*, which affects rare and archaic words, is found there also only at the commencement of compounds, Prof. Kielhorn has suggested that possibly the two brothers are here compared with Puru or Pûru and Uru or Ûru, two of the sons of Châkshusha-Manu (*Vishṇu-Purâṇa*, Translation, Vol. I. p. 177, and Vol. III. pp. 12, 13). As it would thus seem that the word *puru* at least could not be properly used in this period as an adjective, but should be understood as a proper name, and as the evident contrast suggests that we ought to understand the word *uru* here in just the same way, this or some similar comparison, appears extremely probable. But, whether Pûru and Ûru were half-brothers, and which of them was the elder, I am not able to say. The other forms of Maṅgalêśa's proper name, in early records, are, Maṅgalarâja, in his own grant obtained at Nerûr (*ante*, Vol. VII. p. 161); Maṅgaliśa, in the Aihoḷe inscription of Pulikêśin II., referred to above,[10] and in his own Bâdâmi rock inscription (*ante*, Vol. X. p. 59);[11] and Maṅgalîśvara, in the Bâdâmi cave inscription.[12] I had occasion to make some remarks about his name in this Journal, Vol. VIII. p. 238; and, as pointed out there, it must be borne in mind that there is sometimes considerable similarity between the *li* or *lî* and the *le* or *lê* of the period with which we are dealing. Also, we should naturally expect to have only the forms Maṅgalêśa and Maṅgalêśvara (*maṅgala* + *îśa* or *îśvara*); since the other forms, Maṅgaliśa and Maṅgalîśvara, entail the use of a word, *maṅgalin*, for which I cannot find any authority in the dictionaries. But the present record is the only one which undoubtedly gives the vowel *é* in the third syllable; which it does very distinctly. And, that the forms Maṅgaliśa and Maṅgalîśvara were of real occurrence, and, whatever may be the explanation of them, are not to be taken as actual mistakes, is shown by the Miraj grant and the Yêwûr inscription, in which (*ante*, Vol. VIII. p. 13) his name occurs as Maṅgaliśa, in a metrical passage, and in respectively Nâgarî and Old-Kanarese characters, in both of which no confusion at all is possible between *li* and *lê*; the writer of the draft from which these records were prepared, must be credited with the power of reading correctly the original charters that

[10] The actual reading, lines 5 and 7, is *maṅgaliśa*, with the short vowel *i* in the third syllable; but the metre shews that the long vowel *î* was intended.

[11] Here, again, the short vowel *i* is used in the third syllable; in prose, this time.

[12] Curiously enough, here again, and again in prose, the short vowel *i* is used in the third syllable; but it is undoubtedly a mistake for the long vowel *î*.

he consulted. Like the Aihole inscription, the present record tells us that Maṅgalêśa succeeded on the death of his elder brother. It then proceeds to state that, having set himself to subjugate the northern region, he conquered a king named Buddha, and took away from him all his wealth. This event is mentioned also in the Nerûr grant, which adds the information that Buddharâja, "who possessed the power of elephants and horses and foot-soldiers and treasure," was the son of Saṁkaragaṇa. After this victory, Maṅgalêśa was desirous of setting up a pillar of victory on the bank of the Bhâgîrathî or Ganges. But, considering that it was proper first to set up a pillar of victory of religion to commemorate some noteworthy act of piety, and finding that the property of the Kalatsûri had been already expended in religious ceremonies, he invested his father's wife, Durlabhadêvî, with authority to augment, with the grant of ten villages, a previous endowment of the god Makuṭêśvaranâtha by his father and elder brother, and caused this pillar to be set up in commemoration of the deed. The word Kalatsûri which we have in this passage, is plainly a Sanskṛitised form of the name Kalachuri or Kaḷachuri, which is of frequent occurrence in later times, and which appears in the Aihole inscription in the form of Kaṭachchuri, and in the Miraj grant in the form of Kaḷachchuri; in both records, in connection with Maṅgalêśa, and in metrical passages which account for the double *ch*. The present passage is interesting in shewing the existence of the Kalachuri dynasty and dynastic name in this period. And I think it also proves a point which was originally suggested by Gen. Sir A. Cunningham (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 77); *viz.* that Saṁkaragaṇa and Buddharâja were Kalachuris. We find that the victory over Buddharâja took place when Maṅgalêśa had determined upon conquering the northern region, and that, after it, Maṅgalêśa was minded to set up a pillar of victory on the Ganges; both of which statements indicate, whether Maṅgalêśa actually reached the Ganges or not, a campaign to the north, precisely the direction in which the dominions of the Kalachuris of Central India lay, as compared with those of the Chalukyas of Bâdâmi. The use of the name Kalatsûri at all in this record, after the mention of the victory over king Buddha, is in itself almost sufficient to prove the point. But I think it is also clear that it does so explicitly. Though, in the compound in which it stands, it might have a plural sense, yet it seems to me that the reference in two records to the treasure and wealth of king Buddha, closely followed here by the mention of the expenditure of certain wealth, is significant, and shews plainly that the word is used here to avoid a repetition of the name of Buddha; and consequently, that it is to be rendered in the singular, and that it distinctly stamps king Buddha as a Kalachuri.

TEXT.[13]

1 Ôm[14] Svasti || **Mânavya-sagôtrâṇâṁ Hâritîputrâṇâṁ** apratihat-ôtsâha-bala-mati-pratâpa-śauryya-dhairyya-vîryyâṇâṁ mâtâpitṛi-pâd-ânuddhyâ[tâ*]nâṁ yathâ-vi[15]dhi-hut-âgni(gnî)-

2 nâṁ yathâkâm-ârchchit-ârtthinâṁ anêka-dharma-karmma-puṇya-prasavânâṁ **Chaḷi-kyânâm=anvayê** sambhûta[ḥ*] śrî-**Jayasiṁgha**[16]-vallabhêndrô nṛipaḥ **Maghavân=iva** guṇa-sampannaḥ ridhyâ[17] Vai-

3 śravaṇ-ôpamaḥ [||*] Tasy[18]=ânurûpa-guṇa-śau[19]ryya-riddhis[20]=têj-ôtsâha[21]-vikkrama-smṛiti-mati-pratâpa-naya-vinay-âdhânabhûtât=samutpannaḥ sugṛihîta-nâmadhêyô **Raṇarâg**-âkhya-nṛipaḥ yêna[22] ra-

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[13] From the ink-impression. [14] Represented by a symbol.

[15] These two syllables, *thâvi*, were at first omitted, and then were inserted below the line.

[16] This *gha* was at first omitted, and then was inserted below the line.

[17] Read *riddhyâ*. With the following word, this reads like the last eight syllables of a Ślôka.

[18] From here, as far as *samutpannaḥ*, the construction seems at first sight a little mixed. First we have the genitive *tasya*; then a nominative, ending with *riddhis*, which, because of the first component of it, *anurûpa*, is certainly to be retained as the nominative, qualifying Raṇarâga, and is not to be altered into a genitive in apposition with *tasya*; and then an ablative ending with *âdhânabhûtat*, followed by *samutpannaḥ*. It might perhaps be thought desirable either to alter *tasya* into the ablative (*tasmâd-anurûpa*), in apposition with *âdhâna-*

4 ṇasya râgêṇa(ṇa) janitaḥ sva-jan-ânurâgô durhṛida(n)-manaḥ-santâpaś=[ch]a [॥*] Tasya sadṛiśa-guṇasya nṛipatêḥ=priya-tanûjas=**Satyâśraya**-śrîpṛithivîvallabha-**Raṇavikkram**-âṅka-nṛipaḥ agnishṭôm-âgnichayana-vâjapêya-bahusuvarṇa-pau-

5 ṇḍarîk-âśvamêdh-âvabhṛita(tha)snâna-puṇya-pavitrîkri(kṛi)ta-śa[r]îraḥ **Hiraṇyagarbha**-saṁbhûtaḥ vṛiddh-ôpadêśa-grâhî brahmaṇyas=satya-vâg=avisaṁvâdakaḥ [॥*] Tasya[33] dha[rma]-rata-buddhêr=Vvasudêva-pratima-prabhâvasya Bala-Vâsu-bhadr-ôpama-guṇau sutau samu-

6 tpannau [॥*] Jyêshṭha[ḥ*] śrêshṭha-guṇa-samuday-ôdita-**Puru**[34]-**Raṇaparâkkram**-âṅka-priyaḥ sva-bâhu-bala-parâkkram-ôpârjjita-râjya-saṁpan[n]aḥ paraṛâja-maṇi-makuṭa-parighṛishṭ-âmṛishṭa-viśishṭa-charaṇaḥ bahusuvarṇṇ-âgnishṭô-

7 m-âvabhṛita(tha)snâna-puṇya-pavitrîkri(kṛi)ta-śarîraḥ [॥*] **Vaṅg-Âṅga-Kaliṅga-Vaṭṭûra**[35]-**Magadha**[36]-**Madraka-Kêraḷa-Gaṅga-Mûshaka-Pâṇḍya-Dramiḷa-Chôḷiy-Âḷuka-Vaijayantya**-prabhṛitir-anêka[37]-paranṛipati-samûh-âvamarddalabdha-vijayê d[i]-

8 vam=adhirûḍhê(ḍhê) kaniyân=**Uru-Raṇavikkrânta-Maṅgalêśa**[38]-śrîpṛithivîvallabhêndr-âkhya-nṛipô babhûva dêva-dvija-guru-charaṇ-ânudhyâtaḥ **Chaḷikya-vaṁś**-âmbara-pûrṇṇachandraḥ naya-vinaya-vijñâ[na]-dâna-dayâ-dâkshiṇya-saṁpannaḥ bhaṭa-śakuna-ga-

9 ṇ-âbhilashita-yuvati-madhukari(rî)-kula-kalita-lalita-guṇa-kusum-âkula-puṇyavara-sûryya-kiraṇa-vibôdhita-vibha[va]-Śrî-nishṭha-nṛipati-kamalavanaḥ(ṁ) kamalavana-saumya[ḥ] ripujana-mukha-kula-bhaya-jâta-saṁdâha-tatpara-chara[39]-sêvar(k)-âmala-nayana-śauryyô=

10 grahasta-pratâpa-vîryya-vêg-ôddhṛita-nṛipatisiṁghaḥ mantra-châra-dûta-sandhi-vig[r]aha-sthâna-pra[40]yâṇa-pârshṇigrahaṇa-maṇḍalayâtrâ-durggavidhâna-jâ n a[41] p a d a-p a u r a-mânyavibhâga-kuśalaḥ [॥*] kim=bahunâ [॥*] Mahêndra[42] iva durddharshaḥ Râma iv=â-parâjitaḥ Sibir=Auśînara iva pra-

11 dâtâraḥ[43] Yudhishṭhira iva satya-sandhaḥ Vâsudêva-śrîmantaḥ[44] Mândhâtâra iva[45] kîrtti-saṁpannaḥ dhiyâ Bṛihaspatty-Uśana[ḥ*]-samaḥ samudra[46] iva gaṁbhîraḥ kshamayâ pṛithivî-samaḥ ku-tilaka-dû(bhû)taḥ [॥*] Sag=uttarâdig-[47] vijaya-kkri(kṛi)ta-buddhir=**Buddha**-nṛipam=avajitya ta-

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bhûtât, and in construction with *samutpannaḥ*; or to alter *âdhânabhûtât* into the genitive, in apposition with *tasya*, wrongly used for the ablative in construction with *samutpannaḥ*, in support of which we have apparently a similar wrong use of the genitive in line 5; or even to alter *âdhânabhûtât* into the nominative, as a second adjective qualifying Raṇaraṅga. But on the whole I think we may take it that the genitive *tasya* is correct, and is governed by *anurûpa*, and that the ablative which *samutpannaḥ* requires is provided by *âdhânabhûtât*; and this construction, which entails no alteration of the text at all, is the one that I have followed in my translation.

[33] This *śa* was at first omitted, and then was inserted below the line.

[34] Read *ṛiddhis*; or, according to the more usual custom, *śauryy-ardâhis*.

[35] Read *têja-utsêha*, which is the proper *saṁdhi* of *têjas* + *utsêha*; see Kielhorn's Sanskrit Grammar, § 543 (*a*), combined with § 85 (*c*). [36] Here we seem to have the first eight or eleven syllables of a Ślôka.

[37] Here the genitive *tasya* seems to be certainly used in construction with *samutpannau*; but it may have been suggested by the *upama* in one of the intervening words.

[38] In the first syllable, the *p* is rather imperfect; the upward stroke not having been fully formed. But there is enough of it to shew that *p* was certainly intended.

[39] The second syllable is a little damaged, and may be taken as somewhat doubtful. But I can only read it as *ṭṭû*; and I think that this is what it really is.

[40] This *dha* was at first omitted, and then was inserted below the line.

[41] Read *prabhṛity-anêka*. [42] It should be noted how distinctly the vowel is *ê* in the third syllable.

[43] These two syllables, *chara*, were at first omitted, and then were inserted below the line.

[44] These two syllables, *napra*, were at first omitted, and then were inserted below the line.

[45] These two syllables, *jâna*, were at first omitted, and then were inserted below the line; the *jâ* is below the *na* of *vidhâna*, and is rather damaged. [46] Here we have plainly half of a Ślôka.

[47] Read *prakîrtti*. [48] Read *vâsudêva iva śrîmân*. [49] Read *mândhât-êva*.

[50] Here, again, we have plainly half of a Ślôka.

[51] Read *sa ch-ôttaradig*, or *sa uttaradig*, or *samyag-uttaradig*.

12 sya vasum=aśêsham[38]=upagṛihya **Bhâgîrathî**-kûlê śakti-jayastambha-nirôpaṇ-autsukyêna manasâ dharmma-jayastambha-śaktiḥ=prathamataram=êva nirôpayitavy=êty=avadhṛitya tad-anukaraṇa-yôgya-bhûtâṁ Madayantîm[39]=iva mahâpativratâṁ **Batpûra**[40]**-kula-la-**

13 lâma-bhûtâṁ naikavidha-dharmma-phala-bhâggya-pavitrîkri(kṛi)ta-śarîrâṁ sva-garupatnîṁ **Durl[l]abha-**nâmadhêyî(yâ)n=dêvîm=âhûya ida(ma)m=adhi[kâ]raṁ saṁbôdhayati [1*] **Kalatsûri**-gana-saṁ dêvagṛiha[41]-dêvadrôṇy[û*]ṁ gatam=ima(da)ñ=cha dravyaṁ sva-dêvadrôṇyâṁ Makuṭêś[v]a-

14 ra-nâthasy=âsmâkaṁ pitrâ jyêshṭhêna ch=ôpadatta[ṁ] **Srîyaṁbâṭaka-Tirmmaridvenasavedve-Vrîhimukhagrâma-Kesuvoḷaḷa-Kendôramânya-Nandigrâma**-prabhṛiti-daśa-grâma-paribhôgêna(ṇa) samarppayadhvam=iti [1*] Tad=**uttarôttara-pravarddhamâna-râjya-pañcha-**

15 **ma-śrî-varshê pravarttamânê Siddhârthê Vaiśâkha-pûrṇṇamâsyâm**=imaṁ[42] pratishṭhâpitavân [1*] Uktañ=cha dharmma-śâstrêshu [1*] Bahubhir=[43] vvasudhâ bhuktâ râjabhis=Sagar-âdibhiḥ yasya [yasya*] yadâ bhûmis=tasya tasya tadâ phalaṁ [1*] Shashṭi-varsha-sahasrâṇi svarggê môdati bhûmi-daḥ âchchhê-

16 ttâ ch=ânumantâ cha tâny=êva narakê vasêt [1*]

TRANSLATION.

Om! Hail! **In the lineage of the Chaḷikyas,** — who are of **the Mânavya gôtra;** who are **Hâritîputras;** who are possessed of unrepulsed energy, strength, intellect, splendour, heroism, firmness, and vigour; who meditate on the feet of (*their*) parents; who have kindled the sacrificial fire according to due rite; who gratify supplicants according to (*their*) desires; (*and*) who generate the religious merit of many pious actions, — there was born a king, the illustrious **Jayasiṅgha,** the chief of favourites, who, like (the god) Maghavan (Indra), was possessed of virtuous qualities, (*and*) who in affluence resembled (the god) Vaiśravaṇa (Kubêra).

(Line 3). — Resembling him in virtuous qualities and heroism and affluence, from (*him who was*) a very receptacle of brilliance, energy, valour, memory, intellect, splendour, polity, and refinement, there was born one who was possessed of an auspicious name, the king called **Raṇarâga,** who by (*his*) fondness for war elicited the affection of his own people, and caused vexation of mind to (*his*) enemies.

(L. 4). — Of that king, possessed of virtuous qualities resembling (*those of his father*), the dear son (*was*) the king who had the names[44] of **Satyâśraya,** the favourite of fortune and of

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[38] Read *vasv=aiśsham*. *Vasu* has been improperly used in the masculine, instead of the neuter. There are somewhat similar mistakes in *idam=adhikâram*, line 13, and in *imañ=cha dravyam*, in the same line.

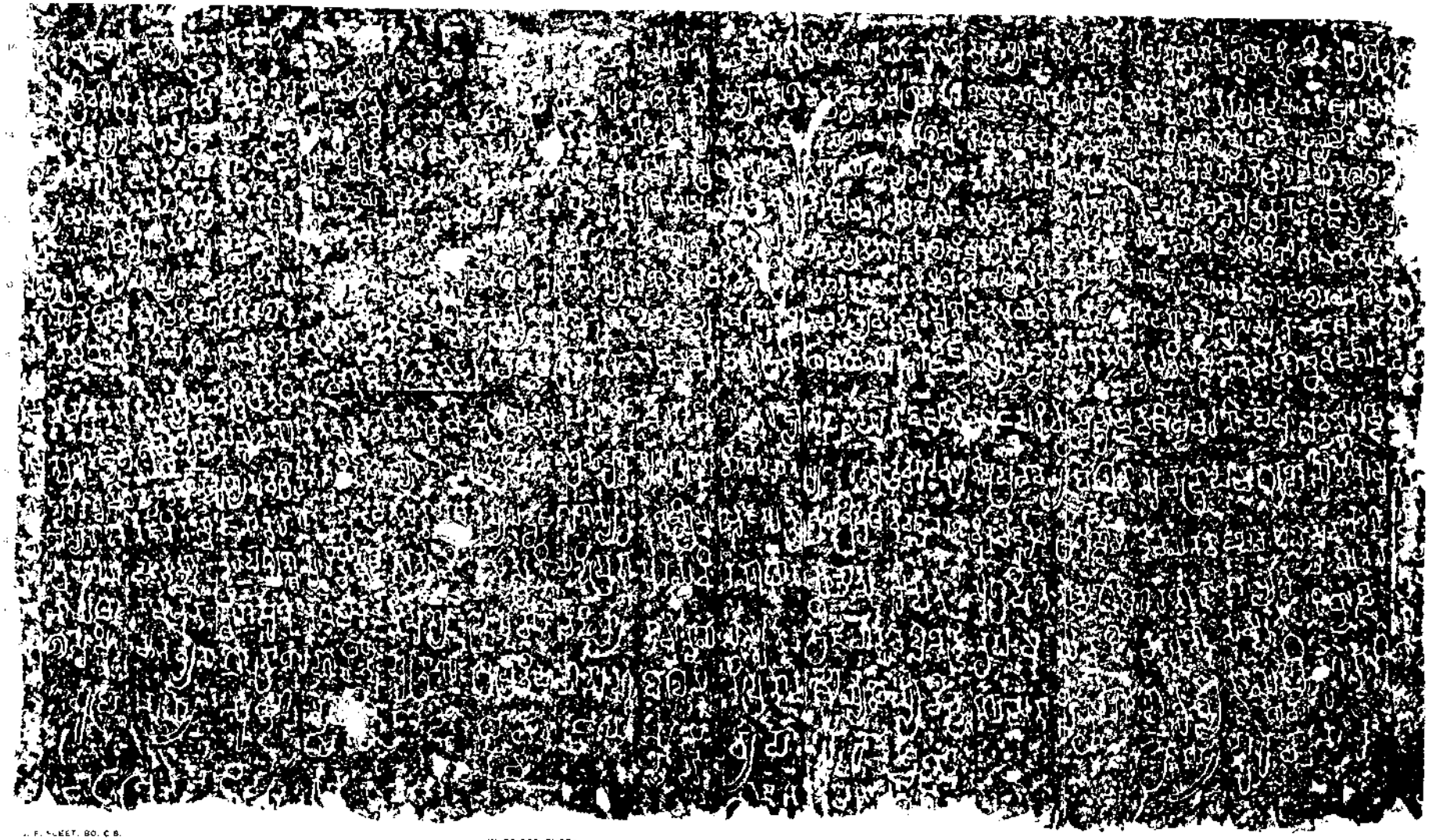
[39] Read *damayantîm*. Madayantî is a real word; being the name of the wife of Saudâsa, otherwise called Mitrasaha and Kalmâshapâda. But she does not seem to have been of any special note. And the real reference clearly seems to be to Damayantî, the well-known wife of Nala.

[40] In this word, the *b* commences on the edge of the face of the column, and is not very well formed there, at the proper right side. Also, from the horizontal top-stroke there are two slight projections, like short horns, as if a superscript *i* was commenced and abandoned. But I feel no doubt that the syllable was intended to be simply *ba*.

[41] Read, probably, *kalatsûri-dhanaṁ sva-dêvagṛiha*. [42] Supply *dharmma-jayastambhaṁ*.

[43] Metre, Ślôka, (Anushṭubh); and in the following verse.

[44] There are certain words in which *aṅka* is undoubtedly an inherent part; *e.g.* the village-name **Charmâṅka,** as proved by the modern form Chammak (*Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 235, 241), and probably **Sarvâṅkâ,** in which we have the feminine *aṅkâ* (in the Kaṇaswa inscription of Śivagaṇa, of which a revised version, by Prof. Kielhorn, will be issued shortly). But I think, especially from the analysis of the Bahuvrîhi compound in line 6, where it occurs again, that in cases like the present it is not an inherent part of the name, but is used as a substitute for, and in precisely the same sense as, *nâman*, 'a name,' or *âkhyâ*, 'an appellation,' or *biruda*, 'a secondary name or title.' In the Lakshmêshwar inscription (see the introductory remarks), the text is *raṇaparâkram-âṅka-mahârâjaḥ*, similar to what we have here; but in the Sâtârâ grant, the text is *raṇavikramanṛipaḥ*, without *aṅka*.



J. F. FLEET, SO. C.S.

SCALE 1/2

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

FROM AN IMPRESSION BY MR. H. COWELL

the earth, and **Raṇavikrama**; whose body was purified by the religious merit of ablutions performed after celebrating the *agnishṭôma, agnichayana, vâjapêya, bahusuvarṇa, paundarîka,* and *aśvamêdha*-sacrifices; who was descended from (the god) Hiraṇyagarbha (Brahman); who accepted the admonitions of the elders; who was good to Brâhmaṇs; who was a speaker of the truth; (*and*) who never broke (*his*) promises.

(L. 5). — Of him, whose mind delighted in religion, (*and*) whose majesty resembled that of Vasudêva, there were born two sons, whose virtuous qualities resembled those of Balabhadra and Vâsubhadra. The elder (*was*) he who was fond of (*his*) name of **Puru-Raṇaparâkrama,** which was rendered illustrious by a multitude of most excellent virtues; who was endowed with sovereignty acquired by the strength and prowess of his own arm; whose choice feet were rubbed and scrubbed by the jewelled diadems of hostile kings (*bowing down before him*); (*and*) whose body was purified by the religious merit of ablutions performed after celebrating the *bahusuvarṇa* and *agnishṭôma* sacrifices.

(L. 7). — When he, having acquired victory by crushing the array of many hostile kings commencing with those of **Vaṅga, Aṅga, Kaliṅga, Vaṭṭûra, Magadha, Madraka, Kêraḷa, Gaṅga, Mûshaka, Pâṇḍya, Dramiḷa, Chôḷiya, Âḷuka, and Vaijayantî,** had ascended to the skies, there was (*his*) younger brother, the king who has the appellations of **Uru-Raṇavikrânta, and Maṅgaliśa,** and chief of favourites of fortune and of the earth; who meditates on the feet of gods, Brâhmaṇs, and spiritual preceptors; who is the full-moon of the sky which is **the race of the Chaḷikyas;** who is endowed with polity, refinement, knowledge, liberality, kindness, and civility; who is a king resembling a group of water-lilies, being an object of desire to crowds of warriors, being surrounded by young damsels, being full of charming qualities, being enlightened by (*his*) excellent religious merit, and being the abode of majesty, just as the group of water-lilies is an object of desire to crowds of birds, is surrounded by female bees, is full of blossoms, is caused to expand by the rays of the sun, and is the abode of (the goddess) Śrî; who is as pleasing as a group of water-lilies; whose heroism has for (*its*) faultless eye (*his*) servants the spies who are intent upon scorching up the whole aggregate of the fear (*that displays itself*) in the multitude of the faces of (*his*) enemies: who has exterminated (*other*) lion-like kings with the majesty and vigour and speed of (*his*) fore-arm; (*and*) who is well skilled in counsel, in (*the selection of*) spies and messengers, in (*arranging*) peace and war, in encamping and in moving forward, in attacking in the rear, in the invasion of territories, in the construction of fortresses, and in the apportioning of honours among country-people and townsfolk. What need is there to say much more? He is as difficult of assault as (the god) Mahêndra; like Râma, he has never been conquered; he is as liberal as Śibi, the son of Uśînara;[45] like Yudhishṭhira, he is faithful to his promises; he is possessed of fortune, just as (the god) Vâsudêva (Kṛishṇa) is possessed of (his wife, the goddess) Śrî; like Mândhâṭṛi, he is possessed of fame; in intellect he is equal to Bṛihaspati and Uśanas; he is as profound as the ocean; in endurance he is equal to the earth; (*and*) he is the ornament of the earth.

(L. 11). — And he, — having set (*his*) heart upon the conquest of the northern region, (*and*) having conquered **king Buddha,** (*and*) having taken possession of all his substance, (*and*), with an eager desire to set up a pillar of victory of (*his*) prowess on the bank of **(the river) Bhâgirathî,** having determined in (*his*) mind that in the first place indeed there should be set up the prowess[46] of a pillar of victory of religion, — calls (*to his presence*) the royal lady[47] named **Durlabha(dêvî),** his own father's wife, — who is fit and worthy to follow (*his*) lead in the matter; who, like Damayantî,[48] was a most devoted wife; who was the ornament of **the Batpûra family;**[49] (*and*) whose body has been purified by participating

[45] Śibi rescued Agni in the form of a pigeon, from Indra in the form of a hawk, by offering an equal portion of his own flesh, weighed in a balance (see Monier-Williams' Sanskṛit Dictionary, *s.v.* Śivi.)

[46] Unless some other meaning can be found for it, the use of the word *śakti* here does not seem very appropriate.

[47] *dêvî.* [48] See note 39 above. [49] See note 40 above.

in the rewards of a variety of religious actions, — and informs (*her*) of this (*assignment of*) authority:—

(L. 13). — "The wealth of **the Kalatsûri** has been expended in the idol-procession of the temple of (*Our*) own god. And (*therefore*) this property, which at (*their*) own idol-procession **was** assigned by our father and elder brother to (the god) Makuṭêśvaranâtha, — supplement it, by (*bestowing the*) enjoyment of the ten villages headed by **Śrîyaṁbâṭaka,** . . . . . **Vrîhimukhagrâma, Kesuvoḷala, Kendôramânya, and Nandigrâma.**"[50]

(L. 14). — Accordingly, **in the fifth glorious year of (his) constantly augmenting reign, in the current Siddhârtha (saṁvatsara),**[51] **on the full-moon day of (the month) Vaiśâkha,** (*in commemoration of the grant of the villages in question*) he has set up this (*column of victory of religion*).

(L. 15). — And it has been said in the writings of religion: — The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara; whosoever 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 enjoys happiness 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!

EXAMINATION OF QUESTIONS CONNECTED WITH THE VIKRAMA ERA.

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

Since the time when I first turned my attention to the study of Indian inscriptions, there have presented themselves to me a number of questions regarding the dates of these documents, to some of which I have not been able to obtain satisfactory answers from other workers, or on which I have found different scholars to hold conflicting opinions. And this has been especially the case in regard to **dates recorded in the Vikrama era**; probably because the inscriptions with which I have been chiefly concerned, were from parts of India in which, and belonged to times when, that particular era was used in preference to other eras. Did the Hindus always record their dates in *expired* years? In what parts of India and at what period was the southern year used; and where and when the northern year? Must the northern year be necessarily connected with the *pûrṇimânta* scheme of the lunar fortnights, and the southern year with the *amânta* scheme? When may a civil day be coupled with a *running tithi*? Must an eclipse have been visible at the spot where the date which mentions it happens to be recorded? What was the exact practice with respect to *Saṁkrântis*? What rules were observed in different parts of India and at different periods in regard to the years of the Bṛihaspati or Jovian cycle? What references are there in the dates to the origin of the era, or in what terms is its reputed founder spoken of? What are the earliest dates, hitherto met with, which contain sufficient *data* for verification? Such are some of the questions that have arisen. And, in order to arrive, if possible, at a settlement of one or other of them, I have from time to time collected and calculated such Vikrama dates as were within my reach; and, relying on the opinion of the Editors of this Journal, that what I have primarily done for myself, may be of some use or save trouble to others, I now begin to publish my list of dates together with the results of my calculations, reserving any remarks of a general nature which may be suggested by the practice of the dates themselves, for a subsequent part of these notes.

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[50] The meaning of this passage is not quite certain. But it seems to be that Maṅgalêśa was desirous of increasing the previous endowment of the god Makuṭêśvaranâtha; that he found that the wealth of the Kalatsûri king, acquired by the victory over him, had already been expended, or mostly so, by himself, on another religious object; and that he accomplished his purpose by directing the assignment of the ten villages in question.

[51] With the present text, compare *pravartamânê Saumya-saṁvatsarê*; *ante*, Vol. VII. p. 304, line 20f. On the analogy, however, of such passages as *ante*, Vol. VI. p. 86, line 25, and Vol. VII. p. 302, line 24, *pravartamânê* might have been construed with *varshê*, and not with *siddhârthê*.

In this list I have tried to include **all trustworthy Vikrama dates of the inscriptions** published in this Journal and in the Journals of the Bengal Asiatic, American Oriental, and German Oriental Societies, as well as of those in the Reports of the Archæological Survey of India which are accompanied by photo-lithographs, and of some found in the various publications of the Archæological Survey of Western India, and elsewhere. And for a fair number of these dates I have been able to use impressions and photo-lithographs, kindly supplied to me by Mr. Fleet and by Dr. Burgess. As regards **dates occurring in MSS.**, I have used the Catalogues of Professors Aufrecht, Bendall, Bhâṇḍârkar, Eggeling, Peterson, and Weber, and of Dr. Râjêndralâl Mitra and myself, and have from them selected chiefly such dates as are given in words, or contain one or more points of special interest; and I have also taken some dates from MSS. of my own. I have not included in my list every one of the dates from MSS. for which I have made the necessary calculations; but, since I have not intentionally suppressed any date the calculation of which has proved to be unsatisfactory, I trust that, for the Vikrama era, my list will, in a fairly complete manner, show the actual practice of dating, from the earliest to the most modern times. Should I have overlooked any dates of importance, I shall be glad to have this pointed out to me, in order that I may be able to complete or improve my list as soon as possible.

In calculating the *tithis*, *nakshatras* and *yôgas*, I have used **Professor Jacobi's Tables**, with such (slight) modifications as have been suggested by the author himself;[1] and for ascertaining the exact beginnings and ends of the solar months, chiefly required for determining the occurrence of intercalary months, I have used the **Tables for the Sûrya-Siddhânta**, published *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 207. The results for new and full-moons I have mostly checked by **Dr. Schram's Tables** for the phases of the moon. For eclipses I have consulted **von Oppolzer's Canon der Finsternisse**; and the duration of the Bṛihaspati years has been ascertained in the manner described by me *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 193 ff. In every case I have calculated all the possible European equivalents, and in the printed list those equivalents which satisfy the special requirements of the Indian dates will be distinguished from the rest by being printed in antique type.

All that I have taken for granted for the purposes of my calculations is that (disregarding for the present the *Âshâḍhâdi* year about which as yet we do not know very much) there is one Vikrama year commencing with the month Chaitra, commonly called **the northern Vikrama year**, and another Vikrama year commencing seven months later, with the month Kârttika, commonly called **the southern Vikrama year**; and that the scheme of the two lunar fortnights may be either the *pûrṇimânta* scheme or the *amânta* scheme. But I have not regarded as proved that the *pûrṇimânta* scheme is necessarily always connected with the northern year, and the *amânta* scheme with the southern year. Accordingly, **the five**

[1] See *Errata*, *ante*, Vol. XVII.—Professor Jacobi's Tables can be applied so as to yield, not infrequently, two results for the ending-time of a *tithi*; (1) the ordinary approximate result (*ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 148 *b*, paras. 1 to 4); and (2) a closer result, to be worked out when the ordinary approximate result is not considered sufficient (*ib.*, last para.). The first process is sufficient for all ordinary purposes, and is the one usually applied by me. I generally apply the second process only when, by the first process, the *tithi* ends within about *three* hours before or after mean sunrise, because experience has shown me that this allows an ample margin for any possible corrections. In applying the second process, it often happens that A. finally comes out larger than the index of the *tithi* pointed out by the first process; in such cases, the difference of time (Table II) deduced from the difference between A. as thus finally determined and the index of the *tithi*, is to be *subtracted* from the ending-time determined by the first process; with the result that, by this refinement, the *tithi* really ended *earlier* than the time arrived at by the first process. In other cases, *i.e.* when A., as finally determined by the second process, still remains smaller than the index of the *tithi* pointed out by the first process, the difference of time is always additive, as in the example given by Prof. Jacobi; with the result that, by this refinement, the *tithi* really did end *later* than the time arrived at by the first process. When, by the second process, A. eventually comes out exactly the same with the index of the *tithi*, then of course there is no difference, additive or subtractive, from the ending-time determined by the first process.—My own experience is that, when by the first process the *tithi* ends late in the day (say, from 21 to 28 hours after mean sunrise), the second process will generally make the real ending-time earlier.

months from Kârttika to Phâlguna being common to the northern and southern years, I have had to ascertain, for dates in bright fortnights of these months, merely the possible European equivalents for the current and expired Indian years, and for dates in dark fortnights, the equivalents for the current and expired years, according to both the *pûrṇimânta* and *amânta* schemes. In the case of the seven months from Chaitra to Âśvina, on the other hand, it was necessary to calculate, for dates in bright fortnights, the possible equivalents for the northern current, the northern expired (or southern current), and the southern expired years, and for dates in dark fortnights, the equivalents for the same three years, again according to both the *pûrṇimânta* and *amânta* schemes. In arranging the dates for my list, I have considered it best to begin with the dates in bright fortnights, and to place the dates of the months Kârttika to Phâlguna before those of the months Chaitra to Âśvina, and generally to group together the dates according to the manner in which the results of my calculations have furnished European equivalents which satisfy the requirements of the Hindu dates.

All those dates for which calculations by the ordinary rules and Tables have yielded no satisfactory equivalents, I shall give separately, as irregular dates; but in using the expression "irregular," I merely wish to say that these dates require each of them a separate examination, and I would not be misunderstood to maintain that we have to do here, in every case, with errors or inaccuracies of the writers who have recorded the dates, or of the scholars who have copied them.

I.—REGULAR DATES.

A.—DATES IN BRIGHT FORTNIGHTS.

1.—Dates in the months Kârttika to Phâlguna.

(a).—Dates in Current Years.

1.—**V. 1304.**—Dr. Peterson's *Third Report on Sanskṛit MSS.* (1884-86), App. p. 239. Date of the composition of Udayasâgara's *Snâtṛipañchâśikâ* :—

Varshê ś bdhi-kh-âgu-îndu-mitê su-ramyê
śrî-Pausha-mâsê cha valaksha-pakshê |
śrî-pûrṇimâyâṁ Sasi-vâsarê cha
śrî-Pâdalipt-âkhya-purê Surâshṭrê ||

V. 1304 current: Monday, 24 December, A.D. 1246; the full-moon *tithi* ended 2 h. 49 m. after mean sunrise.

V. 1304 expired: Friday, 13 December, A.D. 1247.

2.—**V. 1397.**—*Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XXI. p. 143, and Plate xxix. B.—D. Inscriptions on pillars at 'Kevati-Kund' :—

(Line 1) . . . Saṁvat 1397 samayê [or, in D, varshê] Mâgha-sudi 4 Sôma-dinê || tasmin kâlê varttamânê saṁvatsarê || Lûkasthân[ê] mahârâjâ(ja)-srî(śrî)-Hamîradêva-râjyê ||

V. 1397 current: Monday, 3 January, A.D. 1340; the 4th *tithi* of the bright half ended 22 h. 54 m. after mean sunrise.

V. 1397 expired: Sunday, 21 January, A.D. 1341; the 4th *tithi* of the bright half ended 21 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise.

(Sir A. Cunningham, *loc. cit.*, p. 143, takes the corresponding date to be Monday, 22 January, A.D. 1341).

(b).—Dates in Expired Years.

3.—**V. 1016.**—*Proceedings Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. XLVIII. p. 162, and *Kâvyamâlâ*, No. 38. Copper-plate inscription of the *Mahârâjâdhirâja* Mathanadêva, from Râjôrgaḍh near Alvar :—

. . . śrî-Vijayapâladêva-pâdânâm=abhipravarddhamâna-kalyâṇavijayarâjyê saṁvatsara-śatêshu daśasu shôḍaś-ôttarakêshu Mâghamâsa-sitapaksha-trayôdaśyâṁ Sani-yuktâyâm=êvaṁ saṁ 1016 Mâgha-śudi 13 Sanâv=adya śrî-Râjyapur-âvasthitô mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêśvara-śrî-Mathanadêvô . . .

V. 1016 current: Tuesday, 25 January, A.D. 959.

V. 1016 expired: Saturday, 14 January, A.D. 960; the 13th *tithi* of the bright half ended 15 h. 39 m. after mean sunrise.

4. — **V. 1036.** — *ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 160. Copper-plate inscription of Vâkpatirâja of Dhârâ:—

(Line 11) . . shaṭṭṛi(tri)ṁśa-sâhasrika-samvatsarê=smin Kârttika-śuddha-paurṇṇimâyâṁ **sôma-grahaṇa-parvvaṇi.**

V. 1036 current: 18 October, A.D. 978; no eclipse.

V. 1036 expired: 6 November, A.D. 979; **a partial lunar eclipse, visible in India,** 21 h. 33 m. Greenwich time, or, at Ujjain, 20 h. 36 m. after mean sunrise.

(The corresponding date, given by me, *loc. cit.* p. 159, 'the 26th October, A.D. 980,' being for the year V. 1037 expired, is wrong).

5.—**V. 1055.** — *ante*, Vol. XVI. p. 203. Nanyaurâ copper-plate inscription of the Chandêlla Dhaṅgadêva:—

(Line 7) . . . samvatsara-sahasrê pañchapañchâśad-adhikê Kârttika-paurṇṇamâsyâṁ **Ravi-dinê** êvaṁ samvat 1055 K[â*]rtti[ka]-śudi 15 **Ravau** ady=êh=[ai]va Kûśikâyâṁ **Saiṁhikêya-graha-grâsa-pravêśîkṛita-maṇḍalê | Rôhiṇî-hṛiday-ânanda-kanda-hariṇalâñchhanê ||**

V. 1055 current: Monday, 18 October, A.D. 997; no eclipse.

V. 1055 expired: Sunday, 6 November, A.D. 998; **a total lunar eclipse, visible in India,** 19 h. 43 m. Greenwich time, or, at Ujjain, 18 h. 46 m. after mean sunrise.

6. — **V. 1188.** — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XXI. p. 35, and Plate x. C; (and *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. XVII., Part I. p. 321, No. 4); and rubbings supplied to me by Dr. Burgess. Rock inscription at Kâlañjar, of the reign of the Chandêlla Madanavarmadêva:—

(Line 9) . . . Saṁvat 1188 Kârttika-sudi 8 **Sa(śa)n[au] ||**

V. 1188 current: Sunday, 12 October, A. D. 1130; the 8th *tithi* of the bright half ended 5 h. 44 m. after mean sunrise.

V. 1188 expired: Saturday, 31 October, A. D. 1131; the 8th *tithi* of the bright half ended 5 h. 53 m. after mean sunrise.

7. — **V. 1199.** — *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 21. 'Gagahâ' copper-plate inscription of Gôvindachandradêva and Râjyapâladêva of Kanauj: —

(Line 18) . . . samvatsarêshv=êkâdaśa-sa(śa)têshu navanavaty-adhikêshu Phâlgunê mâsi [śu]kla-pakshê êkâ[da]śyâyâṁ[2] tithau **Sa(śa)ni-dinê** tath=âṅkê=pi samvat 1199 Phâlgûna-sudi 11 **Sa(śa)nau ||**

V. 1199 current: Sunday, 8 February, A.D. 1142; the 11th *tithi* of the bright half ended 11 h. after mean sunrise.

V. 1199 expired: Saturday, 27 February, A. D. 1143; the 11th *tithi* of the bright half ended 13 h. after mean sunrise.

8. — **V. 1251.** — Dr. Peterson's *Third Report* (1884-86), App. p. 77. Date of a MS. of Hêmachandra's *Yôgaśâstra*, of the time of the Chaulukya Bhîmadêva II.: —

Svasti **śrî-Vikrama-nṛipatêḥ** saṁvat 1251 varshê Kârtika-sudi 12 **Śukrê Rêvatî-**nakshatrê **Siddha-yôgê** mahârâja-śrî-Bhîmadêva-vijayarâjyê . . .

V. 1251 current: Sunday, 7 November, A.D. 1193.

V. 1251 expired: Friday, 28 October, A.D. 1194; the 12th *tithi* of the bright half ended 12 h. 3 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Rêvatî** up to 21 h. 40 m. after mean sunrise; the *yôga* was Vajra up to 2 h. 30 m., when it was followed by **Siddhi** (No. 16, not Siddha, No. 21).

(The result of the calculation shows that the reading *Siddha-yôgê* in the date is erroneous, and should be *Siddhi-yôgê*).

[2] Read *êkâdaśyâṁ*.

9. — **V. 1266.** — *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 112; also, Vol. XII. p. 294. Copper-plate inscription of the Chaulukya Bhîmadêva II. : —

(Line 1) . . . **Śrîmad-Vikrama-nṛipa-kâl-âtîta**-saṁvatsara-śatêshu dvâdaśasu shaṭa(ṭ)-shashṭy-adhikêshu laukika° Mârgga-mâsasya śukla-paksha-chaturdaśyâṁ **Guru-dinê** atr=âṁkatôḷ=pi[3] **śrî-Vikrama-saṁvat** 1266 varshê **śrî-Siṁha-saṁvat** 96 varshê lauki° Mârgga-śudi 14 **Gurâv**=asyâṁ saṁvatsara-mâsa-paksha-dina-vâra-pûrvâyâṁ tithâv=adya=êha śrîmad-Aṇahillapâṭakê . . .

V. 1266 current : Sunday, 23 November, A.D. 1208.

V. 1266 expired : Thursday, 12 November, A.D. 1209 ; the 14th *tithi* of the bright half ended 10 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise.

10. — **V. 1267.** — *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. V. p. 379. Pipliânagar copper-plate inscription of the Paramâra Arjunavarmadêva : —

In the body of the inscription : . . . saptashashṭy-adhika-dvâdaśa-śata-saṁvatsarê Phâlguṇê 1267[4] śukla-daśamyâm=**abhishêka-parvaṇi** . . . ;

and at the end : — Saṁvat 1267[4] Phâlguṇa-śuddha 10 **Gurau.**

V. 1267 current : Friday, 5 February, A.D. 1210 ; the 10th *tithi* of the bright half ended 6 h. 35 m. after mean sunrise.

V. 1267 expired : Thursday, 24 February, A.D. 1211 ; the 10th *tithi* of the bright half ended 5 h. 19 m. after mean sunrise.

11. — **V. 1275.** — *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. XXVIII. p. 2 ; and *Archæol. Surv. of Western India*, No. 10, p. 111, with photozincograph. Harsaudâ (or Chârwâ) stone inscription of the reign of Dêvapâladêva of Dhârâ : —

(Line 4). — Saṁvat paṁchasaptaty-adhika-dvâdaśa-śatê=ṁkê 1275 Mârgga-sudi 5 **Sa(sa)nau.**

(Line 7). — Adhikê paṁchasaptatyâ dvâdaś-âvda(bda)-śatê śakê [1*]
vatsarê **Chitrabhânau** tu Mârggaśîrshê śi(si)tê dalê ॥ 4 ॥
Paṁchamy-aṁtaka-[saṁ]yôgê nakshatrê **Vishṇu-daivatê** ।
yôgê **Harshaṇa**-saṁjñê tu tithy-arddhê **Dhâtṛi-daivatê** ॥ 5 ॥

V. 1275 current : Sunday, 5 November, A.D. 1217 ; the 5th *tithi* of the bright half ended 12 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise.

V. 1275 expired : Saturday, 24 November, A.D. 1218 ; the 5th *tithi* of the bright half and the *karaṇa* Bâlava, presided over by **Dhâtṛi** = Brahman, ended 15 h. 25 m., and the *nakshatra* was Śravaṇa, presided over by **Vishṇu**, up to 7 h. 53 m., and the *yôga* was **Harshaṇa** from about 11 h. after mean sunrise.

The year **Chitrabhânu**, No. 16, lasted, according to the Sûrya-Siddhânta rule, without *bîja*, from 12 August, A.D. 1217, to 8 August, A.D. 1218, and with *bîja*, from 16 September, A.D. 1217, to 12 September, A.D. 1218 ; and according to the Jyôtistattva rule, from 25 July, A.D. 1217, to 21 July, A.D. 1218. Accordingly, Chitrabhânu was not actually current on the day of the date (24 November, A.D. 1218), but it **was current at the commencement of the solar year** (25 March, A.D. 1218). By the so-called Têlinga rule, the date would fall in the year Bahudhânya, No. 12.

(Dr. Hall, misled by the word *śakê* in line 7, has referred this date to the Śaka era, both when editing the inscription, in *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXVIII., and subsequently, *ib.* Vol. XXXI. p. 126, note, and in *Jour. Americ. Or. Soc.* Vol. VII. p. 24. But, as intimated by Sir A. Cunningham in the *Book of Indian Eras*, p. 21, the date in no way works out satisfactorily as a Śaka date.[5] And there is abundant proof to show that both *śaka* and *śâka* are not

[3] Read *âṁkatô-pi*.

[4] The published version has, both times, 1237 ; but this is clearly a printer's error for 1267, and is shown to be so by the editor's reference to the inscription, in *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. VII. p. 736.

[5] The corresponding date, for Śaka 1275 current, would be Monday, 12 November, A.D. 1352 ; and for Śaka 1275 expired, Sunday, 1 December, A.D. 1353 ; and in no way could either of these dates be connected with the year Chitrabhânu.

infrequently employed in the sense of *varsha*, 'a year.' Compare, *e.g.*, *ante*, Vol. IX. p. 193, line 6 from the bottom, *Vaikramê śakê* 'in the Vikrama year' (No. 56 below); line 5, *tasmiṁn=êva śakê* 'in the same year,' &c.; Eggeling, *Catalogue of the Sanskrit MSS. of the I. O.*, p. 23, *Saṁvat 1650 śakê* = *Saṁvat 1650 varshê* (No. 51 below); Râjêndralâl Mitra, *Notices of Sanskrit MSS.*, Vol. IV. p. 277, *śakê Vikrama-pârthivasya*; and similar expressions.)

12. — **V. 1280.** — *ante*, Vol. VI. p. 197. Kaḍî copper-plate inscription of the Chaulukya Jayantasiṁha: —

(Line 20). . . Asyâṁ tithau saṁvatsara-mâsa-paksha-vâra-yuktâyâṁ gata-saṁvatsara-dvâdaśa-varsha-śatêshu aśîty-uttarêshu Pausha-mâsê śukla-pakshê tṛitîyâyâṁ tithau **Bhauma-vârê** saṁjata uttarâgata-sûrya-saṁkrama-parvaṇi aṁkatô ऽpi saṁvat 1280 varshê Pausha-śudi 3 Bhaumê ऽdy=êha saṁjâta [utta]râṇayana[a]-parvaṇi . . .

V. 1280 current: Wednesday, 7 December, A.D. 1222.

V. 1280 expired: Tuesday, 26 December, A.D. 1223; the third *tithi* of the bright half ended 14 h. 2 m., and the **Uttarâyaṇa-Saṁkrânti** took place 2 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise.

13. — **V. 1283.** — *ante*, Vol. VI. p. 199. Kaḍî copper-plate inscription of the Chaulukya Bhîmadêva II.: —

(Line 16). . . **Śrîmad-Vikramâdi[ty-ô]tpâdita**-saṁvatsara-śatêshu dvâdaśasu tri-[a]śîti-uttarêshu laukî[ka-Kârttika-pûrṇi]mâyâṁ **Guru-vârê** ऽstr=aṁkatô ऽpi saṁvat 1283 varshê laukî° Kârttika-śudi 15 **Gurâv=a[dy=êha]** śrîmad-Aṇahilapâṭakê ऽsyâṁ saṁvatsara-mâsa-paksha-pûrvvikâyâṁ tithau . . .

V. 1283 current: Friday, 17 October, A.D. 1225; the full-moon *tithi* ended 20 h. 50 m. after mean sunrise.

V. 1283 expired: Thursday, 5 November, A.D. 1226; the full-moon *tithi* ended 18 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise.

14. — **V. 1288.** — *Archæol. Surv. of Western India*, Vol. II. p. 170, and *ante*, Vol. XII. p. 293. Girnâr stone inscription of Jayantasiṁha, the son of Vastupâla: —

(Line 1) . . . Svasti **śrî-Vikrama-saṁvat** 1288 varshê Phâguṇa-śudi 10 **Budhê** . . .

V. 1288 current: Thursday, 13 February, A.D. 1231; the 10th *tithi* of the bright half ended 19 h. 38 m. after mean sunrise.

V. 1288 expired: Wednesday, 3 March, A.D. 1232; the 10th *tithi* of the bright half ended 20 h. 46 m. after mean sunrise.

15. — **V. 1292.** — Dr. Peterson's *First Report* (1882-83), App. p. 23. Date of a MS. of a *Yôgaśâsta-vṛitti*: —

Saṁvat 1292 varshê Kârtika-śudi 8 **Ravau Dhaniṣṭhâ**-nakshatrê.

V. 1292 current: Tuesday, 31 October, A.D. 1234.

V. 1292 expired: Sunday, 21 October, A.D. 1235; the 8th *tithi* of the bright half ended 3 h. 58 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Dhaniṣṭhâ** up to 18 h. 24 m. after mean sunrise.

16. — **V. 1337.** — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XXI. p. 52, and Plate xiv. G. **Ajaygaḍh** rock inscription of the reign of the Chandêlla Vîravarmadêva (?): —

(Line 19) . . . Sâgar-âṇala-vêd-êndu-yukt[ê] saṁvatsarê va[rê | ?].
Mâghê mâsi śi(si)tê pakshê trayôdaśyâṁ **Vidhô[r]=dinê** || 14 ||
Saṁvat 1337 **Mâgha-sudi 13 Sômê** ||

V. 1337 current: Tuesday, 16 January, A.D. 1280; the 13th *tithi* of the bright half ended 7 h. 18 m. after mean sunrise.

V. 1337 expired: Monday, 3 February, A.D. 1281; the 13th *tithi* of the bright half ended 3 h. 7 m. after mean sunrise.

(***Sâgara* generally denotes 4; but *sapta sâgarâḥ* is a well-known expression, and the figures 1337 are perfectly clear in the lithograph; and the Prâkṛit word *sâyara* is similarly used for**

[a] Read *uttarâyaṇa-*.

7 in Professor Weber's *Catalogue of the Berlin MSS.*, Vol. II. p. 178. The use of the word *vêda* for 3 in the above may also be drawn attention to.)

17. — V. 1365. — Dr. Peterson's *First Report* (1882-83), p. 88. Date of the composition of **Jinaprabha's** *Ihayaharastava-vṛitti* : —

Saṁvad=Vikrama-bhûpatêḥ śara-ṛit-ûdarchir-mṛigâṁkair=mitê
Paushasy=ôjjvala-pakshi(ksha)-bhâji **Raviṇâ** yuktê navamyâṁ tithau |
śishyaḥ śrî-Jinasiṁhasûri-sugurôsh=ṭîkâm=akârshîm(d)=imâṁ
śrî-Sâkêtapurê Jinaprabha iti khyâtô munînâṁ prabhuḥ ||

V. 1365 current: Tuesday, 2 January, A.D. 1308.

V. 1365 expired: Sunday, 22 December, A.D. 1308; the 9th *tithi* of the bright half ended 16 h. 35 m. after mean sunrise.

18. — V. 1384. — *Proceedings Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. XLII. p. 103; *Zeitschrift D. M. G.*, Vol. XL. p. 57; *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. p. 83; and a rubbing supplied to me by Mr. Fleet. **Delhi Museum stone** inscription of the time of Muhammada Śâhi: [7] —

(Line 15) . . . Vêda-vasv-agni-chaṁdr-âṁka-saṁkhyê=vde(bdê) **Vikramârkkataḥ** |
paṁchamyâṁ Phâlguna-sitê likhitaṁ **Bhauma-vâsarê** || 15 [||*]
Indraprastha-pratigaṇê grâmê Sâravalê=tra tu |
chiraṁ tishṭhatu kûpô=yaṁ kârakaś=cha sa-vâ(bâ)ndhavaḥ || 16 [||*]
Saṁvat 1384 Phâlguna-śudi 5 **Bhauma-dinê** ||

V. 1384 current: Friday, 27 February, A.D. 1327.

V. 1384 expired: Tuesday, 16 February, A.D. 1328; the 5th *tithi* of the bright half ended 20 h. 7 m. after mean sunrise.

19. — V. 1445. — *List of Antiquarian Remains Bo. Pres.* (*Archæol. Surv. of Western India*, No. 11), p. 179. Stone inscription at Vanthalî in Junâgaḍh : —

Śara-yuga-manu-saṁvatsara-1445-varshê Phâlgu-śudi-paṁchamî-**Sômê.**

V. 1445 current: Tuesday, 14 January, A.D. 1388; the 5th *tithi* of the bright half ended 17 h. 38 m. after mean sunrise.

V. 1445 expired: Monday, 1 February, A.D. 1389; the 5th *tithi* of the bright half ended 19 h. 8 m. after mean sunrise.

20. — V. 1458. — From a rubbing supplied to me by Mr. Fleet. See also *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XVII. p. 77. Râypur stone inscription of Brahmadêva, now in the Nâgpur Museum: —

(Line 9) . . . Svasti śrî ss[ṁ]vat 1458 varshê sâ(śâ)kê 1322 samayê **Sarvajita(n)-nâma-saṁvatsarê** Phâglu(lgu)na-su(śu)dha(ddha)-ashṭami(mî)-**Su(su)krê** ady-êha śri Râyapurê mahârâj[â*]dhirâja-śrîmad-râya-[Vira(bra)]hmadêva-râjyê.

V. 1458 current: Monday, 21 February, A.D. 1401.

V. 1458 expired: Friday, 10 February, A.D. 1402; the 8th *tithi* of the bright half ended 20 h. 33 m. after mean sunrise.

The year **Sarvajit**, No. 21, lasted, according to the Sûrya-Siddhânta rule, without *bîja*, from 22 June, A.D. 1400, to 18 June, A.D. 1401, and with *bîja*, from 28 July, A.D. 1400, to 24 July, A.D. 1401; and according to the Jyôtistattva rule, from 2 June, A.D. 1400, to 29 May, A.D. 1401. Accordingly, Sarvajit was not actually current on the day of the date (10 February, A.D. 1402), but it was current at the commencement of the solar year (26 March, A.D. 1401). By the Têlinga rule the date would fall in the year Bhṛiśya, No. 15.

(It may be noted that the Śaka year, corresponding to V. 1458 expired, was Śaka 1323 expired, not, as stated wrongly in the inscription, Śaka 1322).

21. — V. 1490. — Professor Weber's *Catalogue*, Vol. II. p. 167. Date of the composition of **Râmachandra's** *Pañchadaṇḍâtapachchhattrabandha* : —

[7] Muhammad bin Tughlak, A.D. 1324-1351; Thomas, *The Pathan Kings of Dehli*, p. 202.

Vikrama-kâlâch=cha 1490 sham(kha)-nidhi-ratna-samishya(khya)kaiḥ(kê) ।
varshê Mâgha-sitê pakshê śukla-chaturdaśî-dinê ॥ 34 ॥
Pushyê Ravau Stambhatîrthê . . .

V. 1490 current: Tuesday, 3 February, A.D. 1433.

V. 1490 expired: Sunday, 24 January, A.D. 1434; the 14th *tithi* of the bright half ended **4** h. 19 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Pushya** up to 5 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise.

22. — **V. 1531.** — Professor Weber's *Catalogue*, Vol. II. p. 55. Date of a MS. of the *Satapatha-brâhmaṇa*: —

Saṁvat 1531 śâkê 1396 pravarttamânê **Subhakṛita(n)**-nâmni saṁvatsarê dakshiṇâyana-gatê śrî-sûryê śarada ṛitau Kârttika-śudi 9 **Budha-vâsarê Dhanishṭhâ**-nakshatrê **Vṛiddhi-yôgê Kaulava**-karaṇê kumbharâśi-sthitê chaṁdrê ady=êha Râjapura-vâstavyaṁ . . .

V. 1531 current: Friday, 29 October, A.D. 1473.

V. 1531 expired: Wednesday, 19 October, A.D. 1474; the 9th *tithi* of the bright half and the *karaṇa* **Kaulava** ended 13 h. 15 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Dhanishṭhâ** up to 12 h. 29 m., and the *yôga* **Vṛiddhi** up to 13 h. 26 m. after mean sunrise.

The year **Subhakṛit**, No. 36, lasted, according to the Sûrya-Siddhânta rule, without *bîja*, from 10 August, A.D. 1474, to 6 August, A.D. 1475, and with *bîja*, from 16 September, A.D. 1474, to 12 September, A.D. 1475; and according to the Jyôtistattva rule, from 22 July, A.D. 1474, to 18 July, A.D. 1475. Accordingly, Śubhakṛit **was actually current on the day of the date** (19 October, A.D. 1474), but it had not begun yet at the commencement of the solar year (27 March, A.D. 1474). By the Têlinga rule the date would fall in the year Jaya, No. 28.

(Here it may be noted that *saṁvat* 1531 and *śâka* 1396 are *expired* years, notwithstanding the word *pravartamânê* by which they are qualified).

23. — **V. 1555.** — *List of Antiquarian Remains Bo. Pres.*, p. 265. **Stone inscription at** Aḍâlij well near Ahmadâbâd, of the time of the Pâtasâha Mahamûda.[8] **This date having been** fully given by me *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 251, I here repeat only a portion of it: —

(Line 21) . . . Svasti **śrîman-nṛipa-Vikrama**-samay-âtîtâ (*sic*) **Âshâḍhâdi-saṁvat 1555** varshê śâk[ê*] 1420 pravartamânê uttarâyana(ṇa)-gatê śrî-sûry[ê*] śiśaṛutau[9] **Mâgha-mâsê** śukla-pakshê pañchamyâṁ tithau **Budha-vâsarê Uttarâbhadrapad[â*]**-nakshatrê **Siddhi**-nâmni yôgê **Bava**-karaṇê mîna-râśau sthitê chaṁdrê pâtasâha-śrî-Mahamûda-vijayarâjyaṁ . . .

V. 1555 current: Saturday, 27 January, A.D. 1498.

V. 1555 expired: Wednesday, 16 January, A.D. 1499; the 5th *tithi* of the bright half ended 17 h. 13 m., and the *karaṇa* **Bava** about 6 h., and the *nakshatra* was **Uttarâ-Bhadrapadâ** up to 11 h. 10 m., and the *yôga* **Siddha** (!) up to 17 h. 7 m., after mean sunrise.

(The calculation shows that the reading *Siddhi-nâmni* in the date is erroneous, and should be *Siddha-nâmni*. Compare No. 8 above. As in the preceding date No. 22, the word *pravartamânê* is here also used in reference to an *expired* year.)

24.—**V. 1681.**—Râjêndralâl Mitra's *Notices of Sanskṛit MSS.*, Vol. VI. p. 72. Date of the composition of Îśvarakṛishṇa's *Puṇyachandrôdaya-purâṇa*: —

Indv-ashṭa-shaṭ-chandra-mitê Śtha varshê (1681)
śrî-Kârttik-âkhyê dhavalê cha pakshê ।
Jîvê trayôdaśy-aparâhṇa-yâmê
Kṛishṇêna saukhyâya vinirmmitô Śyam ॥

V. 1681 current: Sunday, 26 October, A.D. 1623.

V. 1681 expired: Thursday, 14 October, A.D. 1624; **the 13th** *tithi* of the bright half ended 8 h. 43 m. after mean sunrise.

25. — **V. 1707.** — Professor Weber's *Catalogue*, Vol. I. p. 176. **Date of a MS. of Saṁkara's** *Śârîrakamîmâṁsâbhâshya*: —

[8] Sultân Mahmûd Bigarha, A.D. 1459-1511; Bayley, *History of Gujarât*, pp. 161-227.
[9] Read *śiśirartau*.

Saṁvat 1707 samayê śakê 1572 **Vikâri**-saṁvatsarê dakshiṇâyanê Kârttika-śuddha 3 **Gurau** Viśvêśvara-râjadhânyâṁ (or, as stated in another part of the MS., Kâśyâṁ).

V. 1707 current : Sunday, 28 October, A.D. 1649.

V. 1707 expired : Thursday, 17 October, A.D. 1650 ; the third *tithi* of the bright half ended 21 h. 29 m. after mean sunrise.

The year **Vikârin, No.** 33, lasted, according to the Sûrya-Siddhânta rule, without *bîja*, from 24 July, A.D. 1649, to 20 July, A.D. 1650, and with *bîja*, from 31 August, A.D. 1649, to 27 August, A.D. 1650 ; and according to the Jyôtistattva rule, from 3 July, A.D. 1649, to 29 June, A.D. 1650. Accordingly, Vikârin was not actually current on the day of the date (17 October, A.D. 1650), but it **was current at the commencement of the solar year** (28 March, A.D. 1650). By the Têlinga rule the date would fall in the year Vikṛita, No. 24.

26. — **V. 1729.** — Date of my MS. of Chandrakîrti's *Sâraswata-dîpikâ* : —

Saṁvat 1729 varshê Mârggaśira-śudi 9 **Sôma-vâsarê.**

V. 1729 current : Thursday, 30 November, A.D. 1671.

V. 1729 expired : Monday, 18 November, A.D. 1672 ; the 9th *tithi* of the bright half ended 23 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise.

2. — Dates in the months Chaitra to Âśvina.

(a). — Dates in Northern Current Years.

27. — **V. 1311.** — *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. p. 32. Stone inscription from Dabhoi in the **Barôda territory**, of the time of the Chaulukya Vîsaladêva : —

(Line 59) . . . Saṁvat 1311 varshê Jyêshṭha-śudi 15 **Vu(bu)dha-dinê.**

Northern V. 1311 current : Wednesday, 14 May, A.D. 1253 ; the 15th *tithi* of the bright half ended 19 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise.

Northern V. 1311 expired : Tuesday, 2 June, A.D. 1254 ; the 15th *tithi* of the bright half ended 16 h. 13 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1311 expired : Saturday, 22 May, A.D. 1255.

28. — **V. 1380.** — From Sir A. Cunningham's rubbings, supplied to me by Mr. Fleet. Stone inscription at Udaypur in Gwâlior : —

(Line 1) . . . Saṁvat 1380 varshê Bhâdra[mva(vâ) ?]-sudi 3 **Sômê** | **Hastu(sta)**-nakshatr[ê]ì [Uda ?]pura-nagarê râja-śrî-Vachchhandêvasya sâdhanika . . .

Northern V. 1380 current : Monday, 16 August, A.D. 1322 ; the third *tithi* of the bright half ended 10 h. 8 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Hasta** up to 9 h. 51 m. after mean sunrise.

Northern V. 1380 expired : Friday, 5 August, A.D. 1323.

Southern V. 1380 expired : Thursday, 23 August, A.D. 1324.

29. — **V. 1587.** — Professor Eggeling's *Catalogue of the Sanskrit MSS. of the India Office*, p. 16. Date of a MS. of the *Âraṇya-gâna* : —

Saṁvat 1587 samayê Vaiśâsha(kha)-sudi-pratipadâ-**Śukrê.**

Northern V. 1587 current : Friday, 9 April, A.D. 1529 ; the first *tithi* of the bright half ended 10 h. 59 m. after mean sunrise.

Northern V. 1587 expired : Wednesday, 30 March, A.D. 1530.

Southern V. 1587 expired : Tuesday, 18 April, A.D. 1531.

(b). — Dates in Northern Expired (or Southern Current) Years.

30. — **V. 919.** — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. X. p. 101, and Plate xxxiii. 2 ; *ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 23 ; and a rubbing supplied to me by Mr. Fleet. Dêôgaḍh stone inscription of Bhôjadêva of **Kanauj** : —

(Line 6) . . . Samvat 919 Asva(śva)yuja-śuklapaksha-chaturdaśyâṁ **Vṛi(bṛi)haspati-dinêna Uttarabhâdrapada-nakshattrê** . . .

(Line 10). — Śakakâl-âbda-saptaśatâni chaturaśîty-adhikâni 784.

Northern V. 919 current: Sunday, 21 September, A.D. 861.

Northern V. 919 expired: Thursday, 10 September, A.D. 862; the 14th *tithi* of the bright half ended 22 h. 47 m. after mean sunrise. The *nakshatra* was **Uttarâ-Bhadrapadâ,** according to the general table from 21 h. 1 m., according to Brahma-S. from 9 h. 51 m., and according to Garga-S. from 9 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 919 expired: Wednesday, 29 September, A.D. 863; the 14th *tithi* of the bright half ended 21 h. 24 m. after mean sunrise.

(The expired northern Vikrama year 919 corresponds to the expired Śaka year 784).

31. — **V. 1042.** — Dr. Peterson's *Third Report* (1884-86), App. p. 9. Date of the composition of Pârśvanâga's *Âtmânuśâsana*: —

Dvyargala[10]-chatvâriṁśat-samadhika-vatsara-sahasra-saṁkhyâyâṁ |

Bhâdrapada-paurṇimâyâṁ **Budh-Ôttarâ-Bhâdrapadikâyâṁ** ||

Northern V. 1042 current: Thursday, 14 August, A.D. 984; the full-moon *tithi* ended 7 h. 39 m. after mean sunrise.

Northern V. 1042 expired: Wednesday, 2 September, A.D. 985; the full-moon *tithi* ended 1 h. 38 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Uttarâ-Bhadrapadâ** up to 19 h. 3 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1042 expired: Sunday, 22 August, A.D. 986.

32. — **V. 1215.** — *Archæol. Surv. of Western India*, Vol. II. p. 167. Girnâr stone inscription: —

(Line 1) . . . Saṁvat 1215 varshê Chaitra-sudi 8 **Ravau** ady=êha śrîmad-Ûrjjayaṁta-tîrthê . . .

Northern V. 1215 current: Wednesday, 20 March, A.D. 1157.

Northern V. 1215 expired: Sunday, 9 March, A.D. 1158; the 8th *tithi* of the bright half ended 19 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1215 expired: Saturday, 28 March, A.D. 1159; the 8th *tithi* of the bright half ended 19 h. 59 m. after mean sunrise.

33. — **V. 1216.** — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XXI. p. 115, and Plate xxviii.; and *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 214. Alha-ghât stone inscription of the time of the Kalachuri Narasiṁhadêva: —

(Line 1) . . . Saṁvat 1216 Bhâdra-sudi-pratipadâ-**Ravau** || Ḍâhâlîya-mahârâjâdhirâja-śrî-Narasiṁghadêva-vijayarâjyê ||

Northern V. 1216 current: Tuesday, 26 August, A.D. 1158.

Northern V. 1216 expired: Sunday, 16 August, A.D. 1159; the first *tithi* of the bright half ended 1 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1216 expired: Thursday, 4 August, A.D. 1160.

34. — **V. 1218.** — My *Report on Sanskṛit MSS.* for 1880-81, p. 10. Date of a MS. of the *Kalpachûrṇi*, of the time of the Chaulukya Kumârapâladêva: —

Saṁvat 1218 varshê **dvi°Âshâḍha-**śudi 5 **Gurâv=ady=êha** śrîmad-Aṇahilapâṭakê samasta-râjâvalî-virâjita-samalaṁkṛita-mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêśvara-paramabhaṭṭâraka-Ûmâpati-vara-labdha-prasâda-mahâbhava-saṁgrâma-nirv[y*]ûdha-pratijñâ-praudha-nijabhujaraṇâṁgaṇa-vinirjjita-Śâkaṁbharî-bhûpâla-śrîmat-Kumârapâladêva-kalyâṇavijayarâjyê . . .

Âshâḍha was intercalary in northern V. 1218 expired (or southern V. 1218 current); for in that year the solar Âshâḍha lasted from 5 h. 58 m. before mean sunrise of 26 May to 8 h. 41 m. after mean sunrise of 26 June, A.D. 1161, and there were new-moons on 26 May, 17 h. 57 m., and on 25 June, 3 h. 18 m. after mean sunrise. The 5th of the bright half of the first Âshâḍha was Wednesday, 31 May, A.D. 1161, when the 5th *tithi* of the bright half ended 10 h. 38 m. after mean sunrise; and of the **second Âshâḍha, Thursday,** 29 June, A.D. 1161, when the 5th *tithi* of the bright half ended 16 h. 22 m. after mean sunrise.

[10] In dates, I have hitherto met this word *argala* only here and in line 14 of the Kapaswa inscription, (*ante*, Vol. XIII. p. 164, and see the next number of the Journal.)

35. — **V. 1218.** — *Indian Inscriptions*, No. 10. (Tod's 'Nadole' inscription), lithograph received from Mr. Fleet. Nadôl copper-plate grant of the Châhumâna Âlhaṇadêva.

(Line 18) . . . Saṁ 1218 varshê । Śrâvaṇa-śudi 14 **Ravau** । asminn=êva **mahâchaturddasi-parvvaṇi** ॥

Northern V. 1218 current: Tuesday, 19 July, A.D. 1160.

Northern V. 1218 expired: Sunday, 6 August, A.D. 1161; the 14th *tithi* of the bright half ended 15 h. 35 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1218 expired: Thursday, 26 July, A.D. 1162.

36. — **V. 1232.** — Professor Bhâṇḍârkar's *Second Report on the search for Sanskrit MSS.* (1882-83), p. 220; (compare also p. 35). Date of the composition of Narapati's *Narapati-jaya-charyâ*, of the time of the Chaulukya Ajayapâla:—

Vikramârka-gatê kâlê paksh-âgni-bhânu-1232-vatsarê ।
mâsê Chaitrê sitê pakshê pratipad-**Bhauma-vâsarê** ॥ 5 ॥
Śrîmaty=Aṇahilanagarê khyâtê śrî-Ajayapâla-nṛipa-râjyê ।
śrîman-Narapati-kavinâ rachitam=idaṁ śâkunaṁ śâstram ॥ 6 ॥

Northern V. 1232 current: Wednesday, 6 March, A.D. 1174; the first *tithi* of the bright half ended 0 h. 17 m. after mean sunrise (and it commenced 2 h. 31 m. after mean sunrise of the preceding day).

In northern V. 1232 expired Chaitra was intercalary; for the solar Chaitra lasted from 22 February, 16 h. 57 m., to 25 March, 1 h. 5 m., and there were new-moons on 22 February, 20 h. 16 m., and 24 March, 3 h. 50 m. after mean sunrise, A.D. 1175. The first of the bright half of the first Chaitra was Sunday, 23 February, A.D. 1175; and of the **second Chaitra, Tuesday,** 25 March, A.D. 1175, when the first *tithi* of the bright half ended 1 h. 17 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1232 expired: Saturday, 13 March, A.D. 1176.

(It may be noted that the initial days of the expired Vikrama years 1231 and 1232 are given wrongly in *the Book of Indian Eras*).

37. — **V. 1232.** — *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 131. Benares College copper-plate inscription of Jayachchandradêva of Kanauj:—

(Line 23) . . . dvâtriṁśad-adhika-dvâdaśa-śata-saṁvatsarê Bhâdrê mâsi śukla-pakshê trayôdaśyâṁ=tithau **Ravi-dinê** aṅkatô=pi saṁvat 1232 Bhâdra-sudi 13 **Ravau** ady=êha śrîmad-vijaya-Vârâṇasyâṁ . . .

Northern V. 1232 current: Monday, 12 August, A.D. 1174; the 13th *tithi* of the bright half ended 16 h. 39 m. after mean sunrise.

Northern V. 1232 expired: Sunday, 31 August, A.D. 1175; the 13th *tithi* of the bright half ended 15 h. 56 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1232 expired: Friday, 20 August, A.D. 1176.

38. — **V. 1252.** — *Zeitschrift D. M. G.*, Vol. XL. p. 54; and *Epigraphia Ind.*, Vol. I. p. 215, from impressions supplied to me by Dr. Burgess. Batêśvar stone inscription of the Chandêlla Paramardidêva, now in the Lucknow Museum:—

(Line 24) . . . Paksha-[trya]kshamukh-âditya-saṁkhyê **Vikrama-va[tsa*]rê** ।
Âśvina-śukla-paṅchamyâṁ **vâsarê Vâsar-êśituḥ** ॥

Northern V. 1252 current: Wednesday, 21 September, A.D. 1194.

Northern V. 1252 expired: Sunday, 10 September, A.D. 1195; the 5th *tithi* of the bright half ended 14 h. 14 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1252 expired: Saturday, 28 September, A.D. 1196; the 5th *tithi* of the bright half ended 11 h. 54 m. after mean sunrise.

(Dr. Hultzsch, when editing the inscription, took the year to be 'Vikrama-saṁvat 11[8]2').

39. — **V. 1263.** — *ante*, Vol. VI. p. 194. Kadî copper-plate inscription of the Chaulukya Bhîmadêva II.:—

(Line 13) . . . **śrîmad-Vikramâdity-ôtpâdita-saṁvatsara-śatêshu** dvâdaśasu tṛi(tri)-shashṭi-uttarêshu lau° Śrâvaṇa-mâsa-śukla-paksha-dvitîyâyâṁ **Ravi-vârê** ऽtr=âṁkatô=pi saṁvat [12]63 Śrâvaṇa-śudi 2 **Ravâv**=asyâṁ saṁvatsara-mâsa-paksha-vâra-pûrvvikâyâṁ tithâv=ady=êha śrîmad-A[ṇahilapâṭa]kê ऽdy=aiva **Vyatîpâta-pâ(pa)rvvaṇi** . . .

Northern V. 1263 current: Tuesday, 19 July, A.D. 1205.

Northern V. 1263 expired: Sunday, 9 July, A.D. 1206; the second *tithi* of the bright half ended 13 h. 57 m., and the *nakshatra* was Âślêshâ up to 4 h. 36 m., and the *yôga* was **Vyatîpâta** up to 14 h. 3 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1263 expired: Saturday, 28 July, A.D. 1207; the second *tithi* of the bright half ended 12 h. 15 m. after mean sunrise.

40. — **V. 1272.** — *Journ. Amer. Or. Soc.*, Vol. VII. pp. 27 and 29. Bhôpâl copper-plate inscription of the Paramâra Arjunavarmadêva: —

. . . śrîmad-**Amarêśvara**tîrth-âvasthitair=asmâbhir=dvisaptaty-adhika-dvâdaśa-śata-saṁvatsarê Bhâdrapada-paurṇamâsyâṁ **Chandrôparâga-parvaṇi** Rêvâ-Kapilayôḥ saṅgamê snâtvâ . . . .

. . . saṁvat 1272 Bhâdrapada-sudi 15 **Budhê.**

Northern V. 1272 current: Thursday, 21 August, A.D. 1214; no eclipse.

Northern V. 1272 expired: Wednesday, 9 September, A.D. 1215; **a total lunar eclipse, visible in India, 16 h. 24 m.** Greenwich time, or, at Ujjain, 15 h. 27 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1272 expired: Sunday, 28 August, A.D. 1216; **a partial lunar eclipse, visible in India,** 21 h. 41 m. Greenwich time, or, at Ujjain, 20 h. 44 m. after mean sunrise.

41. — **V. 1340.** — From rubbings supplied to me by Dr. Burgess. Stone inscription at Kâlañjar: —

(Line 3) . . . Chaitra-sudi 3 **Vu(bu)dhê** saṁ 1340.

Northern V. 1340 current: Saturday, 14 March, A.D. 1282.

Northern V. 1340 expired: Wednesday, 3 March, A.D. 1283; the third *tithi* of the bright half ended 19 h. 42 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1340 expired: Tuesday, 21 March, A.D. 1284; the third *tithi* of the bright half ended 18 h. 46 m. after mean sunrise.

42. — **V. 1353.** — *Archæol. Surv. of India,* Vol. XI. p. 118, and Plate xxxvii. 3. Stone inscription at Jaunpur: —

(Line 8) . . . Jyêshṭhê mâsê sitê pakshê dvâdasyâ(śyâ)m=**Vu(bu)dha-vâsarê** [1*]

likhit=êyaṁ sadâ bhâti praśastiḥ **Plava**-vatsarê ॥ Saṁvat 13[5]3 [11*]

Northern V. 1353 current: Friday, 27 May, A.D. 1295.

Northern V. 1353 expired: Wednesday, 16 May, A.D. 1296; the 12th *tithi* of the bright half ended 0 h. 34 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1353 expired: Monday, 3 June, A.D. 1297.

The year **Plava,** No. 35, lasted, according to the Sûrya-Siddhânta rule, without *bîja,* from 13 September, A.D. 1295, to 8 September, A.D. 1296; and with *bîja,* from 18 October A.D. 1295, to 13 October, A.D. 1296; and according to the Jyôtistattva rule, from 26 August, A.D. 1295, to 21 August, A.D. 1296. Accordingly, Plava **was current on the actual day of the date** (16 May, A.D. 1296) **and also at the commencement of the solar year** (25 March, A.D. 1296). By the Têlinga rule the date would fall in the year Durmukha, No. 30.

43. — **V. 1439.** — *Archæol. Surv. of India,* Vol. VI. p. 79, and Plate xi. Mâchâḍî (near Alvar) stone inscription of the time of the Sultân Pîrôja Sâhi[11]: —

(Line 6) . . . Saṁvatsarê=smin **śrî-Vikramâditya-râjyê**(?) saṁvat 1439 sâ(śâ)kê 1304 varshê | Vaisâ(śâ)sha(kha)-sudi 6 **Ravi-dinê** | **Pushya-nakshatrê** | śrî-surat[r*]âṇa-Pîrôja-sâhi râjyê . . .

Northern V. 1439 current: Tuesday, 30 April, A.D. 1381.

[11] Firûz Shâh bin Rajab, A.D. 1351-1388; Thomas, *loc. cit.* p. 269.

Northern V. 1439 expired: Sunday, 20 April, A.D. 1382; the 6th *tithi* of the bright half ended 4 h. 11 m. after mean sunrise; and the *nakshatra* was **Pushya** from about sunrise to about sunrise of the next day.

Southern V. 1439 expired: Thursday, 9 April, A.D. 1383.

44. — V. 1445. — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XVII. p. 41, and Plate xxii. Satî-pillar inscription at 'Boram-Deo' in the Central Provinces: —

(Line 1). — Saṁvat 1445 **Bhâva**-nâma-saṁva[tsa]rê Âsvi(śvi)na-sudi 13 **Sômê.**

Northern V. 1445 current: Thursday, 26 September, A.D. 1387.

Northern V. 1445 expired: Monday, 14 September, A.D. 1388; the 13th *tithi* of the bright half ended 19 h. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1445 expired: Sunday, 3 October, A.D. 1389; the 13th *tithi* of the bright half ended 16 h. 43 m. after mean sunrise.

The year **Bhâva**, No. 8, lasted, according to the Sûrya-Siddhânta rule, without *bîja*, from 17 August, A.D. 1387, to 12 August, A.D. 1388, and with *bîja*, from 22 September, A.D. 1387, to 17 September, A.D. 1388; and according to the Jyôtistattva rule, from 29 July, A.D. 1387, to 24 July, A.D. 1388. Accordingly, by the Sûrya-Siddhânta rule, with *bîja*, Bhâva **was actually current on the day of the date** (14 September, A.D. 1388), and by all the rules it was **current at the commencement of the solar year** (26 March, A.D. 1388). By the Têlinga rule the date would fall in the year Vibhava, No. 2.

(In *the Book of Indian Eras*, Preface, p. ix., the date is given wrongly as '*Aswina badi* 13 *Some*').

45. — **V. 1481.** — *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. LII. Part I. p. 71, and a rough rubbing supplied to me by Dr. Burgess. Dêôgaḍh stone inscription: —

(Line 14) . . . saṁvatsarê=smin=**nṛipa-Vikramâditya-gatâvda(bda) 1481 śakê śrî-Sâlivâhanât** 1346 Vaiśâkha-mâsê śukla-pakshê 15 pûrṇṇamâsyâṁ **Guru-vâsarê** | **Svâ**t-nakshatrê | siṁha-lagn-ôdayê ||, (and evidently repeated in a verse which I am unable to make out at present).

Northern V. 1481 current: Sunday, 25 April, A.D. 1423.

Northern V. 1481 expired: Thursday, 13 April, A.D. 1424; the full-moon *tithi* ended 22 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise; and the *nakshatra* was **Svâti** from about sunrise to about sunrise of the following day.

Southern V. 1481 expired: Wednesday, 2 May, A.D. 1425; the full-moon *tithi* ended 15 h. 14 m. after mean sunrise.

46. — **V. 1496.**—*Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. XVI. p. 1225. Umgâ (in Bihâr) stone inscription of Bhairavêndra: —

(Verse 21): — Jâtê tarka6-navâ9-mbudhî4-ndu-gu(ga)ṇitê **sambatsarê**[12] **Vaikramê**
Vaiśâkhê **Guru-vâsarê** sitatarê pakshê tṛitîy[â*]-tithau |
Rôhiṇyâṁ Purushôttamaṁ Halabhṛitaṁ Bhadrâṁ Subhadrân=tathâ
pratyashṭhâpayad=êkad=aika-vidhinâ śrî-Bhairavêndrô nṛipaḥ ||
And further on:—aṅkatô=pi **Vikramâbdâḥ** || **1496** || Vaiśâkha-sudi-tṛitîyâ-**Gurô(rau)** ||

Northern V. 1496 current: Sunday, 27 April, A.D. 1438.

Northern V. 1496 expired: Thursday, 16 April, A.D. 1439; the third *tithi* of the bright half ended 15 h. 5 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Rôhiṇi** up to 10 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1496 expired: Tuesday, 5 April, A.D. 1440.

(In *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XI. p. 141, the date is given wrongly as 'Wednesday, the 3rd of the waning moon').

47. — V. 1534. — **Professor Aufrecht's *Catalogue*, p. 348; *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 251. Date of a MS. of the *Prabhâsakshêtra-tîrthayâtrânukrama*, of the time of the Pâtasâha Mahimâda:**[13]—

[12] Read *saṁvatsarê*.

[13] Sultân Mahmûd Bigarha, A.D. 1459-1511. See note 8 above.

Saṁvat 15 Âshâḍhâdi 34 varshê[14] Śrâvaṇa-śudi 5 **Bhû(bhau)mê** ad[y*]=êha śrî-Kadanapurê sthânê pâtasâha-srî(śrî)-Mahimûda-vijayarâjyê . . .

Northern V. 1534 current: Friday, 26 July, A.D. 1476.

Northern V. 1534 expired: Tuesday, 15 July, A.D. 1477; the 5th *tithi* of the bright half ended 7 h. 31 m. after mean sunrise.

In southern V. 1534 expired Śrâvaṇa was intercalary; for the solar Śrâvaṇa lasted from 29 June, 9 h. 19 m., to 30 July, 20 h. 35 m., and there were new-moons on 30 June, 5 h. 19 m., and 29 July, 12 h. 59 m. after mean sunrise, A.D. 1478. The 5th of the bright half of the first Śrâvaṇa was Saturday, 4 July, A.D. 1478; and of the second Śrâvaṇa, Monday, 3 August, A.D. 1478, when the 5th *tithi* of the bright half ended 3 h. 54 m. after mean sunrise.

48. — **V. 1555.** — Professor Weber's *Catalogue*, Vol. II. p. 452. Date of a MS. of the *Viyâha-pannattî*, of the time of the Sultân Gayâsadîna[15]: —

Saṁvat 1555 varshê śâkê 1420 **Kshayakṛin**-nama-saṁvatsarê Aśvani-mâsi[16] śukla-paṁchamyâṁ **Vâkya(kpa)ti-vârê** . . . . suratrâṇa-Gayâsadîna-râjyê . . . . . śrî-Saukhyâsya-(spa)dê pattanê anu cha Mâṁgalyapura-varê . . . likhitam=idaṁ.

Northern V. 1555 current: Saturday, 30 September, A.D. 1497.

Northern V. 1555 expired: Thursday, 20 September, A.D. 1498; the 5th *tithi* of the bright half ended 10 h. 29 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1555 expired: Tuesday, 10 September, A.D. 1499.

The year **Kshaya**, No. 60, here called **Kshayakṛit**, lasted, according to the Sûrya-Siddhânta rule, without *bîja*, from 1 May, A.D. 1498, to 27 April, A.D. 1499, and with *bîja*, from 6 June, A.D. 1498, to 2 June, A.D. 1499; and according to the Jyôtistattva rule, from 10 April, A.D. 1498, to 6 April, A.D. 1499. Accordingly, Kshaya **was actually current on the day of the date** (20 September, A.D. 1498), but it had not begun yet at the commencement of the solar year (27 March, A.D. 1498). By the Têlinga rule the date would fall in the year Kâlayukta, No. 52.

49. — **V. 1580.** — Professor Eggeling's *Catalogue*, p. 166. Date of a MS. of the *Prakriyâ-kaumudî*: —

Svasti saṁvat pañchadaśa 15 aśîtau 80 pravarttamânê uttarâyanê(ṇê) śrî-sûryê grîshma-ṛitau mahâmâṁgalya-pradê Jyêshṭha-mâsê asita-pakshê dvâdaśa-ghaṭikâ-paryanta-paurṇamâsî tadanantara-pratipadâyâṁ tithau **Bhṛigu-vârê** ady=êha Sîṁhôdraḍâ-sthânê . . .

Northern V. 1580 current: Monday, 9 June, A.D. 1522.

Northern V. 1580 expired: Friday, 29 May, A.D. 1523; the full-moon *tithi* ended 4 h. 24 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1580 expired: Tuesday, 17th May, A.D. 1524.

50. — **V. 1630.** — Professor Weber's *Catalogue*, Vol. II. p. 355. Date of a MS. of the *Âyâraṁgasutta*: —

Saṁvat 1630 varshê **prathama-Âsâ(shâ)ḍha**-sudi 3 dinê **Maṁgala-vârê**.

Âshâḍha was intercalary in northern V. 1630 expired (or southern V. 1630 current); for in that year the solar Âshâḍha lasted from 29 May, 8 h. 37 m. after mean sunrise, to 43 m. before mean sunrise of 30 June, A.D. 1573, and there were new-moons on 30 May, 20 h. 3 m., and 29 June, 5 h. 40 m. after mean sunrise. The third of the bright half of the first **Âshâḍha** was **Tuesday,** 2 June, A.D. 1573, when the third *tithi* of the bright half ended 18 h. 4 m. after mean sunrise; and of the second Âshâḍha, Thursday, 2 July, A.D. 1573.

51. — **V. 1650.** — Professor Eggeling's *Catalogue*, p. 23. Date of a MS. of the *Kâṇḍânukramaṇikâ-vivaraṇa* (written at Benares): —

Saṁvat 1650 śakê | **Śubhakṛit**-saṁvatsarê Bhâdrapada-sudi-paurṇamâsyâṁ **Bhṛigu-vâsarê** Kâśyâṁ . . .

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[14] Read *varshê*.

[15] Sultân Ghiâsu'd-dîn, son of Mahmûd Khiljî, ruler of Mâlvâ, A.D. 1482-1500. Thomas, *loc. cit.* p. 346 Bailey, *loc. cit.*, Index.

[16] Read *Âśvina-mâsê*.

Northern V. 1650 current : Monday, 11 September, A.D. 1592.

Northern V. 1650 expired : Friday, 31 August, A.D. 1593 ; the full-moon *tithi* ended 17 h. 55 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1650 expired : Tuesday, 20 August, A.D. 1594.

The year **Subhakṛit**, No. 36, lasted, according to the Sûrya-Siddhânta rule, without *bîja*, from 21 March, A.D. 1593, to 17 March, A.D. 1594, and with *bîja*, from 28 April, A.D. 1593, to 24 April, A.D. 1594 ; and according to the Jyôtistattva rule, from 4 March, A.D. 1593, to 28 February, A.D. 1594. Accordingly, Subhakṛit **was actually current on the day of the date** (31 August, A.D. 1593) ; and by the Sûrya-Siddhânta rule without *bîja* and the Jyôtistattva rule it **was also current at the commencement of the solar year** (28 March, A.D. 1593). By the Têlinga rule the date would fall in the year Vijaya, No. 27.

52. — **V. 1664.** — Dr. Peterson's *Third Report* (1884-86), App. p. 337. Date of the composition of Râmarshi's *Nalôdaya-ṭîkâ*, of the time of Sultân Sâhi Salama[17] : —

Vêd-âṁga-rasa-chaṁdr-âḍhyê varshê mâsê tu Mâdhavê ।
śukla-pakshê tu saptamyâṁ **Gurau Pushyê** tath=ôḍuni ॥ 13 [॥*].
Suratrâṇê tathâ Sâhi-Salamê śâsati kshitim ।
Pattan-âkhyê mahâ-durgê Râjaśalyê cha râjani ॥ 14 [॥*] Yuvarâjê Bhôjarâjê . . .

Northern V. 1664 current : Sunday, 4 May, A.D. 1606.

Northern V. 1664 expired : Thursday, 23 April, A.D. 1607 ; the 7th *tithi* of the bright half ended 11 h. 7 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Pushya** up to 5 h. 55 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1664 expired : Monday, 11 April, A.D. 1608.

53. — **V. 1686.** — Professor Eggeling's *Catalogue*, p. 82. Date of a MS. of an *Agnishṭôm-paddhati* (written at Benares) : —

Saṁvat 1686 **Bahudhânya**-nâma-saṁvatsarê Śrâvaṇa-śukla-saptamyâṁ **Guru-vâsarê** tad-dinê Kâśyâṁ . . .

Northern V. 1686 current : Sunday, 27 July, A.D. 1628.

Northern V. 1686 expired : Thursday, 16 July, A.D. 1629 ; the 7th *tithi* of the bright half ended 19 h. 54 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1686 expired : Wednesday, 4 August, A.D. 1630 ; the 7th *tithi* of the bright half ended 18 h. 55 m. after mean sunrise.

The year **Bahudhânya**, No. 12, lasted, according to the Sûrya-Siddhânta rule, without *bîja*, from 20 October, A.D. 1628, to 16 October, A.D. 1629, and with *bîja*, from 27 November, A.D. 1628, to 23 November, A.D. 1629 ; and according to the Jyôtistattva rule, from 1 October, A.D. 1628, to 27 September, A.D. 1629. Accordingly, Bahudhânya **was current on the actual day of the date** (16 July, A.D. 1629) **and also at the commencement of the solar year** (28 March, A.D. 1629). By the Têlinga rule the date would fall in the year Śukla, No. 3.

54. — **V. 1779.** — Dr. Peterson's *First Report* (1882-83), p. 94. Date of the composition of Bhîmasêna's *Sukhôdadhi* : —

Saṁvad=grah-âśva-muni-bhû-jñâtê mâsê Madhau sudi ।
trayôdaśyâṁ **Sôma-vârê** samâptô=yaṁ Sukhôdadhiḥ ॥

Northern V. 1779 current : Thursday, 30 March, A.D. 1721.

Northern V. 1779 expired : Monday, 19 March, A.D. 1722 ; the 13th *tithi* of the bright half ended 15 h. 56 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1779 expired : Sunday, 7 April, A.D. 1723 ; the 13th *tithi* of the bright half ended 9 h. 38 m. after mean sunrise.

55. — **V. 1785.** — Râjêndralâl Mitra's *Notices of Sanskṛit MSS.*, Vol. VII. p 57. Date of the composition of Bhâskararâya's *Saubhâgya-bhâskara* (composed at Benares) :—

Môdachchhâyû-mitâyâṁ śaradi śarad-ṛitâv=Âśvinê **Kâlayuktê**
śuklê **Sômê** navamyâm=atanuta Lalitâ-nâmasâhasra-bhâshyam ॥

[17] I am unable to identify this Sultân. In Professor Bhâṇḍârkar's *Report* for 1882-83, p. 227, verse 3, we have the name *Sâhi-Saléma*.

Northern V. 1785 current: Tuesday, 12 September, A.D. 1727; the 9th *tithi* of the bright half ended 19 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise.

Northern V. 1785 expired: Monday, 30 September, A.D. 1728; the 9th *tithi* of the bright half ended 16 h. 43 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1785 expired: Saturday, 20 September, A.D. 1729.

The year **Kâlayukta,** No. 52, lasted, according to the Sûrya-Siddhânta rule, without *bîja,* from 25 August, A.D. 1727, to 20 August, A.D. 1728, and with *bîja,* from 3 October, A.D. 1727, to 28 September, A.D. 1728; and according to the Jyôtistattva rule, from 5 August, A.D. 1727, to 31 July, A.D. 1728. Accordingly, Kâlayukta was no longer actually current on the day of the date (30 September, A.D. 1728), but it **was current at the commencement of the solar year** (29 March, A.D. 1728). By the Têlinga rule the date would fall in the year Kîlaka, No. 42.

(On the way in which **1785** is denoted here, by *môdachchhâyâ,* see *e.g.* Burnell's *Palæography,* p. 59).

56. — **V. 1874.** — *ante,* Vol. IX. p. 193. Nepâl stone inscription of Lalitatripurasundarî: —

Vêda-sapta-gaj-êndu-mitê 1874 **Vaikramê** sâkê Suchi-śukla-navamyâṁ **Sôm**-ânvitâyâm.

Northern V. 1874 current: Wednesday, 3 July, A.D. 1816, new style.

Northern V. 1874 expired: Monday, 23 June, A.D. 1817, new style; the 9th *tithi* of the bright half ended 12 h. 41 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1874 expired: Sunday, 12 July, A.D. 1818, new style; the 9th *tithi* of the bright half ended 12 h. 3 m. after mean sunrise.

(c). — Dates in Southern Expired Years.

57. — **V. 898.** — *Zeitschrift D. M. G.,* Vol. XL. p. 42. Dhôlpur stone inscription of the Chauhân Chaṇḍamahâsêna: —

(Line 21) . . . Vasu nava [a*]shṭau varshâ **gatasya kâlasya Vikram-âkhyasya** [।]
Vaiśâkhasya sitâyâ[ṁ*] **Ravivâra**-yuta-dvitîyâyâṁ ॥
Chandrê **Rôhiṇi**-saṁyuktê[18] lagnê siṁghasya[19] **Sôbhanê** yôgê ।
sakala-kṛita-maṁgalasya hy=abhû[t*] pratishṭh=âsya bhavanasya ॥

Northern V. 898 current: Wednesday, 7 April, A.D. 840.

Northern V. 898 expired: Monday, 28 March, A.D. 841; the second *tithi* of the bright half ended 15 h. 31 m. after mean sunrise; *nakshatra* Bharaṇî, and *yôga* Âyushmat.

Southern V. 898 expired: Sunday, 16 April, A.D. 842; the second *tithi* of the bright half ended 13 h. 49 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Rôhiṇî** up to 21 h. 40 m., and the *yôga* **Sôbhana** up to 1 h. 19 m. after mean sunrise.

58. — **V. 962.** — My *Report* for 1880-81, p. 9; and Dr. Peterson's *Third Report* (1884-86), App. p. 149. Date in a MS. of Siddharshi's *Upamitibhava-prapañchâ Kathâ*: —

Śrî-Bhillamâla-nagarê . . .
Saṁvatsara-śata-navakê dvishashṭi-sahitê=tilaṁghitê ch=âsyâḥ ।
Jyêshṭhê śi(si)ta-paṁchamyâṁ **Punarvvasau Guru-dinê** [samâptir=abhût ॥]

Northern V. 962 current: Tuesday, 22 May, A.D. 904.

Northern V. 962 expired: Sunday, 12 May, A.D. 905.

Southern V. 962 expired: Thursday, 1 May, A.D. 906; the 5th *tithi* of the bright half ended 16 h. 13 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Punarvasu** up to 5 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise.

59. — **V. 1011.** — *Archæol. Surv. of India,* Vol. XXI. p. 67, and Plate xvi. J; and *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. I. p. 136. Inscription from a Jaina temple at Khajurâhô: —

(Line 1) . . . Saṁvat 1011 samayê ॥
(Line 10) . . . Vaiśû(śâ)sha(kha)-sudi 7 **Sôma-dinê** ॥

Northern V. 1011 current: Saturday, 23 April, A.D. 953.

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[18] Dr Hultzsch suggests *Rôhiṇi-yuktê,* to suit the metre, Âryâ.

[19] Read *simhasya.*

Northern V. 1011 expired : Wednesday, 12 April, A.D. 954.

Southern V. 1011 expired : Monday, 2 April, A.D. 955 ; the 7th *tithi* of the bright half ended 1 h. after mean sunrise.

(Sir A. Cunningham has taken the year of the date to be 1111 ; see my remarks in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. p. 135).

60. — **V. 1139.** — Dr. Peterson's *Third Report* (1884-86), App. p. 306. Date of the composition of Guruchandragaṇi's *Śrîvîra-charitra* :—

Naṁda-sihi-rudda-1139-saṁkhê **vokkaṁtê Vikkamâu kâlammi** |
Jeṭṭhassa suddha-taïyâ-tihimmi **Sômê** samattam=imaṁ ||

Northern V. 1139 current : Friday, 14 May, A.D. 1081.

Northern V. 1139 expired : Tuesday, 3 May, A.D. 1082 ; the third *tithi* of the bright half ended 20 h. 11 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1139 expired : Monday, 22 May, A.D. 1083 ; the third *tithi* of the bright half ended 14 h. 48 m. after mean sunrise.

61. — **V. 1154.** — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. X. p. 103, and Plate xxxiii. 3 ; *ante*, Vol. XI. p. 311, and Vol. XVIII. p. 237. Dêôgaḍh rock inscription of the time of the Chandêlla Kîrtivarmadêva : —

(Line 8) . . . Saṁvat 1154 Chaitra-[śu]di 2 **Ravau.**

Northern V. 1154 current : Thursday, 28 February, A.D. 1096.

Northern V. 1154 expired : Wednesday, 18 March, A.D. 1097.

Southern V. 1154 expired : Sunday, 7 March, A.D. 1098 ; the second *tithi* of the bright half ended 22 h. 13 m. after mean sunrise.

62. — **V. 1220.** — Colebrooke's *Misc. Essays*, Vol. II. pp. 232 and 233 ; and an impression and a photo-lithograph supplied to me by Mr. Fleet. Delhi Siwâlik pillar inscription of Vîsaladêva of Śâkambharî : —

(Line A, 1) . . . Saṁvat 1220 Vaiśâkha-śuti 15.

(Line C, 5). — **Saṁvat śrî-Vikramâdityê** 1220 Vaiśâkha-śuti 15 **Gurau.**

Northern V. 1220 current : Monday, 30 April, A.D. 1162.

Northern V. 1220 expired : Saturday, 20 April, A.D. 1163.

In southern V. 1220 expired, Vaiśâkha was intercalary ; for the solar Vaiśâkha lasted from 24 March, 4 h. 46 m., to 24 April, 2 h. 59 m., A.D. 1164, and there were new-moons on 24 March, 14 h. 57 m., and 23 April, 3 h. 33 m. after mean sunrise. The 15th of the bright half of the **first Vaiśâkha** was **Thursday,** 9 April, A.D. 1164, when the 15th *tithi* of the bright half ended 3 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise ; and of the second Vaiśâkha, Friday, 8 May, A.D. 1164, when the 15th *tithi* of the bright half ended 13 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise.

63. — **V. 1222.**—From Sir A. Cunningham's rubbings, supplied to me by Mr. Fleet. Stone pillar inscription from Udaypur (in Gwâlior) : —

(Line 1) . . . Samvat 1222 varshê Vaiśâkha-śudi 3 **Sômê** śdy=êha Udayapurê **akshaya-tṛitîyâ-parvaṇi . . .**

In northern V. 1222 current Vaiśâkha was intercalary ; for the solar Vaiśâkha lasted from 24 March, 4 h. 46 m., to 24 April, 2 h. 59 m., and there were new-moons on 24 March, 14 h. 57 m., and 23 April, 3 h. 33 m. after mean sunrise, A.D. 1164. The third of the bright half of the first Vaiśâkha was Friday, 27 March, A.D. 1164; and of the second Vaiśâkha, Sunday, 26 April, A.D. 1164, when the third *tithi* of the bright half ended 6 h. 52 m. after mean sunrise.

Northern V. 1222 expired : Thursday, 15 April, A.D. 1165.

Southern V. 1222 expired : Monday, 4 April, A.D. 1166 ; the third *tithi* of the bright half ended 21 h. 35 m. after mean sunrise.

64. — **V. 1224.** — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XXI. p. 74, and Plate xxiii. G. Inscription on pedestal of figure at Mahôba, of the time of the Chandêlla Paramardidêva : —

(Line 1). — Saṁvat 1224 Âshâḍha-sudi 2 **Ravau** ||

Northern V. 1224 current: Wednesday, 1 June, A.D. 1166.

Northern V. 1224 expired: Tuesday, 20 June, A.D. 1167.

Southern V. 1224 expired: Sunday, 9 June, A.D. 1168; the second *tithi* of the bright half ended 7 h. 18 m. after mean sunrise.

65. — **V. 1233.** — *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 136. Bengal Asiatic Society's copper-plate inscription of Jayachchandradêva of Kanauj: —

(Line 24) . . . traya[s*]triṁsa(śa)d-adhika-dvâdaśa-śata-saṁvatsarê Vaisâ(śâ)khê mâsi śu(śu)kla-pakshê daśamyâṁ tithau **Sa(śa)ni-dinê** aṅkatô=pi samvat 1233 Vaisâ(śâ)kha-sudi 10 **Sa(śa)nau** ady=êha śrimad-vijaya-Vârâṇasyâṁ . . .

Northern V. 1233 current: Friday, 2 May, A.D. 1175; the 10th *tithi* of the bright half ended 7 h. 43 m. after mean sunrise.

Northern V. 1233 expired: Tuesday, 20 April, A. D. 1176.

Southern V. 1233 expired: Saturday, 9 April, A.D. 1177; the 10th *tithi* of the bright half commenced about mean sunrise, and ended 22 h. 35 m. after mean sunrise.

66. — **V. 1236.** — *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 140. Bengal Asiatic Society's copper-plate inscription of Jayachchandradêva of Kanauj: —

(Line 21) . . . shaṭtriṁsa(śa)d-adhika-dvâdaśa-śata-saṁvatsarê Vaisâ(śâ)khê mâsi śukla-pakshê purṇṇimâyâṁ tithau **Sukra-dinê** aṅkat[ô*]=pi saṁ 1236 Vaisâ(śâ)kha-sudi 15 **Sukrê** ady=êha śrî-Raṁḍavai-samâvâsê Gaṁgâyâṁ . . .

Northern V. 1236 current: Wednesday, 3 May, A.D. 1178.

Northern V. 1236 expired: Monday, 23 April, A.D. 1179.

Southern V. 1236 expired: Friday, 11 April, A.D. 1180; the full-moon *tithi* ended 19 h. 55 m. after mean sunrise.

67. — **V. 1240.** — From rubbings supplied to me by Dr. Burgess. Rock inscription at Kâlañjar, of the time of the Chandêlla Paramardidêva: —

(Line 1) . . . Srîmat-Paramarddi[dêva]-vijayarâjyê saṁvat 1240 . . . . Vaisâ(śâ)kha-sudi **14 Gurau** . . .

Northern V. 1240 current: Monday, 19 April, A.D. 1182.

In northern V. 1240 expired Vaiśâkha was intercalary; for the solar Vaiśâkha lasted from 25 March, 2 h. 46 m., to 25 April, 0 h. 59 m., and there were new-moons on 25 March, 11 h. 54 m., and 23 April, 20 h. 6 m. after mean sunrise, A.D. 1183. The 14th of the bright half of the first Vaiśâkha was Friday, 8 April, A.D. 1183, when the 14th *tithi* of the bright half ended 17 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise; and of the second Vaiśâkha, Sunday, 8 May, A.D. 1183.

Southern V. 1240 expired: Thursday, 26 April, A.D. 1184; the 14th *tithi* of the bright half ended 10 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise.

68. — **V. 1243.** — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XXI. p. 50, and Plate xii. C. Inscription on jamb of the Upper Gate of Ajaygaḍh: —

(Line 1) . . . Saṁvat 1243 Jyêshṭha-sudi 11 **Vu(bu)dhê.**

Northern V. 1243 current: Saturday, 11 May, A.D. 1185.

Northern V. 1243 expired: Friday, 30 May, A.D. 1186.

Southern V. 1243 expired: Wednesday, 20 May, A.D. 1187; the 11th *tithi* of the bright half ended 4 h. 15 m. after mean sunrise.

69. — **V. 1243.** — *ante*, Vol. XV. p. 12. Faijâbâd copper-plate inscription of Jayachchandradêva of Kanauj: —

(Line 24) . . . trichatvâriṁsa(śa)d-adhika-dvâdaśa-śata-saṁvatsarê Âshâḍhê mâsi su(śu)kla-pakshê saptamyâṁ tithau **Ravi-dinê** aṅkatô=pi samvat 1243 Âshâḍha-sudi 7 **Ravau** ady=êha śrîmad-Vârâṇasyâm . . .

Northern V. 1243 current: Thursday, 6 June, A.D. 1185.

Northern V. 1243 expired: Wednesday, 25 June, A.D. 1186.

Southern V. 1243 expired : Sunday, 14 June, A.D. 1187; the 7th *tithi* of the bright half ended 19 h. 21 m. after mean sunrise.

70. — **V. 1253.** — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XI. p. 129, and Plate xxxviii. Bêlkhara stone-pillar inscription of one of the rulers of Kanauj(?) : —

(Line 4) . . . saṁvat 1253 Vaiśâsha(kha)-sudi 11 **Bhaum[ê*]**. . .

Northern V. 1253 current : Saturday, 22 April, A.D. 1195.

Northern V. 1253 expired : Wednesday, 10 April, A.D. 1196 ; the 11th *tithi* of the bright half ended 19 h. 34 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1253 expired : Tuesday, 29 April, A.D. 1197 ; the 11th *tithi* of the bright half ended 20 h. 8 m. after mean sunrise.

71. — **V. 1256.** — *ante*, Vol. XVI. p. 254. Bhôpâl copper-plate inscription of the Paramâra Udayavarmadêva : —

(Line 11) . . . **śrî-Vikrama-kâl-âtîta**-shaṭpaṁchâsa(śa)d-adhika-dvâdaśa-sa(śa)ta-saṁvatsar-ântaḥprâ(pâ)ti aṁkê **1256** Vaiśâkha-sudi 15 paurṇṇamâsyâṁ tithau **Visâ(śâ)khâ**-nakshatrê **Parigha**-yôgê **Ravi-dinê** mahâ-Vaisâ(śâ)khyâṁ parvvaṇi Gnvâḍâ-ghaṭṭê Rêvâyâṁ snâtvâ . . .

Northern V. 1256 current : Thursday, 23 April, A.D. 1198.

Northern V. 1256 expired : Monday, 12 April, A.D. 1199 ; the full-moon *tithi* ended 20 h. 3 m. after mean sunrise ; *nakshatra* Svâtî, and *yôga* Siddhi.

Southern V. 1256 expired : Sunday, 30 April, A.D. 1200 ; the full-moon *tithi* ended 18 h. 37 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Visâkhâ** up to 13 h. 47 m., and the *yôga* **Parigha** up to 20 h. 9 m. after mean sunrise.

72. — **V. 1265.** — *ante*, Vol. XI. p. 221. Mount Âbû stone inscription of the reign of the Chaulukya Bhîmadêva II. : —

Line 20. — Saṁvat 1265 varshê Vaiśâkha śu 15 **Bhaumê** Chauluky-ôddharaṇa-paramabhaṭṭârâka-Mahârâjâdhirâja-śrîmad-Bhîmadêva-pravarddhamâna-vijayarâjyê . . .

Northern V. 1265 current : Saturday, 14 April, A.D. 1207.

Northern V. 1265 expired : Friday, 2 May, A.D. 1208.

Southern V. 1265 expired : Tuesday, 21 April, A.D. 1209 ; the 15th *tithi* of the bright half ended 17 h. after mean sunrise.

73. — **V. 1500.** — From a rubbing supplied to me by Dr. Burgess. Stone inscription at Mahuva in Barôda (?) : —

(Line 1) . . . Svasti svastimati **prasiddha-nṛipati-śrî-Vikramâtikramât**
saṁvad=Vishṇupadadvay-ê[shu]-jagatî-saṁkhyê **Prâjânâṁpatau** |
mitrê ch=ôttara-gê prachaṁḍa-kiraṇê dhanyê madhau Mâdhavê
śuklê pûrṇṇa-tithau **Gurau** cha **Guru-bhê** sadyôga-bhôga-kshaṇê || 1 ||

(Line 16) . . . Svasti **śrîman-nṛipa-Vikramârkka-samay-âtîta-saṁvat** 1500 varshê **Prajâpati**-nâmni saṁvatsarê | uttarâyaṇê | vasaṁnta-ṛitau | Vaiśâkha-śukla-paṁchamyâṁ **Gurau** |

Northern V. 1500 current : Sunday, 15 April, A.D. 1442.

Northern V. 1500 expired : Friday, 5 April, A.D. 1443; the 5th *tithi* of the bright half ended 4 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1500 expired : Thursday, 23 April, A.D. 1444; the 5th *tithi* of the bright half ended 4 h. 49 m. after mean sunrise, and the *nakshatra* was Punarvasu up to 15 h. 46 m., when it was followed by **Pushya**, presided over by **Guru** (Bṛihaspati) ; *yôgas* Śûla and Gaṇḍa.,

The year **Prajâpati**, No. 5, lasted, according to the Sûrya-Siddhânta rule, without *bîja*, from 19 December, A.D. 1443, to 14 December, A.D. 1444, and with *bîja*, from 25 January, A.D. 1444, to 20 January, A.D. 1445 ; and according to the Jyôtistattva rule, from 2 December, A.D. 1443, to 27 November, A.D. 1444. Accordingly, Prajâpati **was current on the actual day of the date (23 April, A.D. 1444) and also at the commencement of the solar**

year (26 March, A.D. 1444). By the Têlinga rule the date would fall in the year Raktâksha, No. 58.

74. — **V. 1516.** — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. III. p. 131, and Plate xxxix. Inscription on jamb of temple of Gayâsurî Dêvî at Gayâ : —

(Line 26) . . . Varshê [śâstra?]-ku-vâ[ṇa]-cham[dra-sa]hitê **Mêsham gatê bhâskarê**
Chaitrê nâga-tithau sit[ê] **Gurudinê** . . .

(Line 30) . . . Saṁvat 1516 varshê Chaitra-sudi 5 **Gur[u]-din[ê]** ॥

Northern V. 1516 current : Sunday, 19 March, A.D. 1458.

Northern V. 1516 expired : Friday, 9 March, A.D. 1459; the 5th *tithi* of the bright half ended 11 h. 3 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1516 expired : Thursday, 27 March, A.D. 1460 ; the 5th *tithi* of the bright half commenced 11 h. 3 m. before, and ended 12 h. 32 m. after mean sunrise, and the **Mêsha-Saṁkrânti** took place 5 h. 1 m. before mean sunrise.

75. — **V. 1534.** — Date of my MS. of the *Prakriyâ-kaumudî* : —

Svasti śrî saṁvat 1534 varshê dakshiṇâyanê varshâ-ṛitau **prathama-Srâvaṇa-mâsê** śukla-pakshê ashṭamyâṁ tithau **Bhauma-vâsarê** ady=êha Munîṁdrapura-vâstavya-jyôtirvvij-Janârddan-âtmajêna Iladurga-sthêna . . . Viśvanâthêna . . . lishi(khi)tâ.

Srâvaṇa was intercalary in southern V. 1534 expired ; for in that year the solar Srâvaṇa lasted from 29 June, 9 h. 19 m., to 30 July, 20 h. 35 m., A.D. 1478, and there were new-moons on 30 June, 5 h. 23 m., and on 29 July, 13 h. 2 m. after mean sunrise. The 8th of the bright half of the **first Srâvaṇa was Tuesday,** 7 July, A.D. 1478, when the 8th *tithi* of the bright half ended 15 h. 31 m. after mean sunrise ; and of the second Srâvaṇa, Thursday, 6 August, A.D. 1478.

76. — **V. 1645.** — Râjêndralâl Mitra's *Notices of Sanskṛit MSS.*, Vol. VIII. p. 321. Date of the composition of Puṇyasâgara's *Jambûdvîpa-prajñapti-vṛitti* : —

Śrîmaj-Jêsalamêrudurgâ(rgga)-nagarê śrî-Bhîma-bhûmîpatau
râjyaṁ sâ(śâ)sati vâṇa-vâridhi-rasa-kshauṇî-mitê vatsarê ।
Pushy-ârkê(rkshê) Madhu-mâsa-śukla-daśamî-sad-vâsarê **Bhâsu(ska)rê**
ṭîk=êyaṁ vihitâ sad=aiva jayatâd=â-chandra-sûryyaṁ bhuvi ॥

Northern V. 1645 current : Thursday, 9 March, A.D. 1587.

Northern V. 1645 expired : Wednesday, 27 March, A.D. 1588.

Southern V. 1645 expired : Sunday, 16 March, A.D. 1589; the 10th *tithi* of the bright half ended 16 h. 26 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Pushya** up to 12 h. 29 m. after mean sunrise.

77. — **V. 1654.** — Dr. Peterson's *Second Report* (1883-84), p. 128, and Professor Weber's *Catalogue*, Vol. II. p. 268. Date of the composition of Jñânavimalagaṇi's commentary on Mahêśvara's *Śabdaprabhêda* : —

Śrîmad-Vikramanagarê râjach-chhrî-Râjasiṁha-nṛipa-râjyê ।
sallôka-chakravâka-pramôda-sûryôdayê samyak ॥
Chaturânanavadan-êṁdriya-rasa-vasudhâ-saṁmitê lasad-varshê ।
śrîmad-Vikrama-nṛipatô Śtikrâṁtê Śtîva kṛita-harshê ॥
Śubh-ôpayôgê śubha-yôga-yuktê varê dvitîyâ-divasê Śtiśuddhê ।
Âshâḍha-mâsasya viśuddha-pakshê **Pushyarksha**-saṁyukta--**Gabhastivârê** ॥ . . .

Northern V. 1654 current : Tuesday, 17 June, A.D. 1596.

Northern V. 1654 expired : Monday, 6 June, A.D. 1597 ; the second *tithi* of the bright half ended 20 h. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1654 expired : Sunday, 25 June, A.D. 1598 ; the second *tithi* of the bright half ended 12 h. 20 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Pushya** up to 7 h. 13 m., and the *yôga* Vajra up to 21 h. 23 m. after mean sunrise.

(The result of the calculation shows that in the expression *śubha-yôga-yuktê* of the date the word *śubha* cannot be the name of a *yôga*, for Vajra is the 15th and Śubha the 23rd *yôga*).

78. — **V. 1724.** — Professor Weber's *Catalogue*, Vol. II. p. 11. Date of a MS. of the *Śâṅkhâyana-śrautasûtra* : —

Saṁvat 1724 varshê **prathama-A(â)sâ(shâ)ḍha-śudya 7 Sanau.**

Âshâḍha was intercalary in southern V. 1724 expired; for in that year the solar Âshâḍha lasted from 29 May, 22 h. 25 m., to 30 June, 13 h. 14 m., A.D. 1668, and there were new-moons on 30 May, 12 h., and 29 June, 3 h. 50 m. after mean sunrise. The 7th of the bright half of the **first Âshâḍha** was **Saturday,** 6 June, A.D. 1668, when the 7th *tithi* of the bright half ended 22 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise; and of the second Âshâḍha, Monday, 6 July, A.D. 1668.

79. — **V. 1746.** — Professor Weber's *Catalogue*, Vol. II. p. 195. Date of part of a MS. of Jinêndrabuddhi's *Kâśikâvivaraṇa-pañchikâ* : —

Saṁvat 1746 varshê **prathama-Vaiśâkha-śudi 12 Gurau.**

Vaiśâkha was intercalary in southern V. 1746 expired; for in that year the solar Vaiśâkha lasted from 29 March, 7 h. 19 m. to 29 April, 5 h. 32 m., A.D. 1690, and there were new-moons on 30 March, 9 h., and 28 April, 19 h. 33 m. after mean sunrise. The 12th of the bright half of the **first Vaiśâkha** was **Thursday,** 10 April, A.D. 1690, when the 12th *tithi* of the bright half ended 10 h. 8 m. after mean sunrise; and of the second Vaiśâkha, Friday, 9 May, A. D. 1690, when the 12th *tithi* of the bright half ended 22 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise.

(In another part of the same MS. there is the date —

Saṁvat 1746 varshê Vaiśâkhasya sitê pakshê dvitîyâ-**Bhâuma-vâsarê**, —

the month of which, though called simply *Vaiśâkha*, is the *prathama-Vaiśâkha* of the other date. The corresponding date here is **Tuesday,** 1 April, A.D. 1690, when the second *tithi* of the bright half ended 5 h. 57 m. after mean sunrise).

(d.) — A date mentioning a lunar eclipse which fell on the same day in the northern current, northern expired, and southern expired years.

80. — **V. 1200.** — *Indian Inscriptions*, No. 50, lithograph received from Mr. Fleet. Colebrooke, *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. II. p. 301. Ujjain copper-plate inscription of the Paramâra Lakshmîvarmadêva : —

(Line 6) . . . śrîmad-Dhârâyâṁ mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêśvara-śrî-Yaśôvarmmadêvêna **śrî-Vikrama-kâl-âtîta-saṁvatsar-aikanavaty-adhika-śat-aikâdaśêshu** Kârttika-śudi aṣhṭamyâṁ . . . — but no details for verification.

(Line 15) . . . **saṁvatsara-śata-dvâdaśakêsh[u]** Srâvaṇa-śudi-paṁchadaśyâṁ **sômagrahaṇa-parvvaṇi** . . .

The possible equivalents of this second date are, for —

Northern V. 1200 current: 8 August, A.D. 1142; **a partial lunar eclipse,** not visible in India, 12 h. 17 m. Greenwich time, or, at Ujjain, 11 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise;

Northern V. 1200 expired: 28 July, A.D. 1143; **a total lunar eclipse,** not visible in India, 12 h. 38 m. Greenwich time, or, at Ujjain, 11 h. 41 m. after mean sunrise;

Southern V. 1200 expired: 16 July, A.D. 1144; **a partial lunar eclipse, visible in India,** 16 h. 44 m. Greenwich time, or, at Ujjain, 15 h. 47 m. after mean sunrise.

(This shows that Sir A. Cunningham's objection to Colebrooke's result in the *Book of Indian Eras*, p. 93, and note, was unnecessary.

(*To be continued.*)

MISCELLANEA.

A NOTE ON HARSHAVARDHANA'S CONQUEST OF NEPAL.

The inscriptions of Aṁśuvarman, three of which[1] are dated respectively Saṁvat 34 and 39, prove that the Śrîharsha era was introduced into Nêpâl during the lifetime of the great king of Ṭhâṇêsar and Kanôj, who held the whole of Northern India from 606 to 648 A.D. If an Indian prince adopts a new foreign era, especially one founded by a contemporary, that may be

[1] Dr. Bhagvânlâl's Nos. 6 and 7, *ante*, vol. IX. p. 170 f., and Mr. Bendall's *Journey to Nêpâl*, p. 74. No. II.

considered as almost certain proof that the borrower had to submit to the *Śaka-kartṛi* or 'establisher of the era.' For this reason, and because the Nêpâlese *Vaṁśâvalî* (*ante*, Vol. XIII. p. 413) has preserved a reminiscence of the conquest of Nêpâl by an Indian king just before Aṁśuvarman's accession to the throne, most orientalists have accepted it as an indisputable fact that Harshavardhana extended his conquests to the eastern Himâlaya. This view, it seems to me, is further confirmed by a passage in **Bâṇa's Śrîharshacharita**, where we read in the list of wonderful deeds ascribed to Harsha (Kaśmîr edition, p. 208, l. 6) :—*atra paramêśvarêṇa tushâraśailabhuvô durgâyâ gṛihîtaḥ karaḥ*. Like all the preceding ones, this sentence has a double sense, and describes, with the same words, both an act of a god and a feat of the king, in order to point out the resemblance or identity of the actors. It must be translated, as the commentator too states — (1) "Here the supreme lord (Śiva) took the hand of Durgâ, the daughter of the snowy mountain (Himâlaya);" — and (2) "Here the supreme lord (Harsha) took tribute from the land in the snowy mountains, that is difficult of access." The historical information which Bâṇa means to convey is, therefore, that his patron forced the prince of a country situated in the Himâlaya to acknowledge his supremacy. Considering the facts stated above, it is not doubtful that the Himâlayan district, to which he refers, is no other than Nêpâl.

26th September 1889. G. BÜHLER.

CALCULATIONS OF HINDU DATES.

No. 32.

The astronomical writer Utpala has given us his date in two of his Commentaries, on the *Bṛihaj-Jâtaka* and the *Bṛihat-Saṁhitâ* of Varâhamihira.

In his edition of the *Bṛihat-Saṁhitâ*, Preface, page 6, Dr. Kern has quoted the following verse, as giving **the date of the completion of the Commentary on the Bṛihaj-Jâtaka** :—

Chaitra-mâsasya pañchamyâṁ
sitâyâṁ Guru-vâsarê |
Vasv-aṣṭ-âshṭa-mitê Śâkê
kṛit=êyaṁ vivṛitir mayâ ||

"This commentary has been composed by me on the fifth bright *tithi* of the month Chaitra, on Thursday, in the Śaka (*year*) that is measured out by the Vasus (eight), (the numeral) eight, and (again the numeral) eight."

And, with the exception that the figures 888 stand between the words *Śâkê* and *kṛit=êyaṁ*, the reading is exactly the same in the Bombay editions of A. D. 1863, 1864, and 1874; in the Benares edition of A. D. 1861; and in a MS. in the Bodleian Library, Aufrecht's Catalogue, Part I., page 329, No. 780.

Again, in the *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, F. S., Vol. XX. p. 372, note, Dr. Kern has quoted the following verse as giving **the date of the completion of the Commentary on the Bṛihat-Saṁhitâ** :—

Phâlgunasya dvitîyâyâṁ
sitâyâṁ Gurôr dinê |
Vasv-aṣṭ-âshṭa-mitê Śâkê
kṛit=êyaṁ vivṛitir mayâ ||

"This commentary has been composed by me on the second dark *tithi* of (the month) Phâlguna, on Thursday, in the Śaka (*year*) that is measured out by the Vasus (eight), (the numeral) eight, and (again the numeral) eight."

This latter verse has also been quoted, on the authority of "Colebrooke and others," but without any specific reference, by Dr. Bhau Daji, in the same Journal, N. S., Vol. I. page 410.

And I hear from Mr. K. B. Pathak, through Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit, that with a few minor mistakes which do not in any way affect the details, this verse occurs in two MSS. of the commentary, No. 415 of 1881-82 in the Dekkan College Collection (in this instance the figures 888 stand between the syllables *aṣṭ-âshṭa* and *mitê*), and No. 305 of the Viśrâmbâg Collection. Also, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit tells me, it occurs in the Marâṭhî translation of the *Bṛihat-Saṁhitâ*, published at Ratnâgiri.

The two Commentaries, accordingly, were finished in one and the same year, 888. And, giving the word *Śâka* its most ordinary meaning, *viz.*, 'of or belonging to the Śakas,' that was year Śaka-Saṁvat 888, which, in both the verses, is not distinctly specified either as current or as expired. In this year, the commentary on the *Bṛihaj-Jâtaka* was finished on the *tithi* Chaitra śukla 5, coupled with Thursday; and the commentary on the *Bṛihat-Saṁhitâ* was finished on Phâlguna kṛishṇa 2, also coupled with Thursday. By Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, I find that —

In Śaka-Saṁvat 888 current, Chaitra śukla 5 began on Thursday, 9th March, A. D. 965, at about 58 *ghaṭîs*, 22 *palas*, after mean sunrise, for Ujjain,[1] and ended on the Friday, at about 59 *gh.* 52 *p.*; the *pûrṇimânta* **Phâlguna kṛishṇa 2 ended on Thursday, 11th January, A. D. 966,** at about 34 *gh.* 48 *p.*, beginning on the Wednesday, at about 41 *gh.* 2 *p.*; and the *amânta* **Phâlguna** kṛishṇa 2 began on Friday, 9th February, A.D.

[1] The times here are for Ujjain, all through.

966, at about 6 *ghaṭîs*, and ended on the Saturday, at about 22 *palas*.

And in Śaka-Saṁvat 889 current (888 expired), Chaitra śukla 5 ended on Wednesday, 28th February, A. D. 966, at about 23 *gh.* 38 *p.*; the *pûrṇimânta* Phâlguna kṛishṇa 2 ended on Wednesday, 30th January, A. D. 967, at about 41 *gh.* 33 *p.*; **and the amânta Phâlguna kṛishṇa 2 began on Thursday, 28th February, A.D. 967,** at about 11 *gh.* 14 *p.*, and ended on the Friday, at about 4 *gh.* 54 *p.*

Now, the two dates must, I think, be treated with **absolute uniformity.** And, on that condition, correct results can be obtained for them only if we apply the given year **as a current year,** and the given *tithis* **as current tithis.** Indeed, with Śaka-Saṁvat 888 expired, a Thursday cannot be obtained for Chaitra śukla 5 at all. But in Śaka-Saṁvat 888 current, Chaitra śukla 5 might be coupled, as a current *tithi*, with the Thursday, for a short period at the end of the Hindu week-day; and the *pûrṇimânta* Phâlguna kṛishṇa 2 might be coupled as a current *tithi*, either with the Wednesday or with the Thursday, with which latter day alone it could be coupled as an ended *tithi*. In the case of Chaitra śukla 5, the result runs rather close; for, on the Hindu Thursday it was current only for about 1 *gh.* 38 *p.*, or 40 minutes, just before mean sunrise at the *end of the day*. *And with Prof. Jacobi's Tables* the result is run even closer *still*; for, by his ordinary method, the *tithi* commenced at 23 hrs. 22 min. on the Thursday, and ended at 22 hrs. 58 min. on the Friday; while, by his closer method, ending at 21 hrs. 24 min. on the Friday, it commenced at or immediately after mean sunrise, — or a few minutes before apparent sunrise, which at that season would be a little later than mean sunrise, — at the end of the Thursday and the beginning of the Friday.[1] But the time just before sunrise is not an infrequent hour for literary work among the early-rising Hindus. And we may take it for granted that Utpala, wishing to give full details for the completion of his book, would be absolutely accurate in the matter; and, knowing whether a current or an ended *tithi* should be quoted, would carefully determine the *tithi* accordingly, however close it might lie to the end or to the beginning of a week-day.

To his quotation, in the Preface to the *Bṛihat-Saṁhitâ*, of the verse that gives the *tithi* Chaitra śukla 5, Dr. Kern attached the remark that both he himself and Pandit Bapu Deva Shastri had calculated the date; and had found that the resulting week-day was a Thursday, if the date was referred to the Śaka era, and only if it was so referred. He gave no further details as to the exact English equivalent; his object then, in connection with certain points of confusion between the Śaka and the Vikrama eras, being only to apply the general result as proof that, in using the word *Śâké*, Utpala did intend to quote the Śaka era commencing A. D. 77, and not the Vikrama era commencing B. C. 58. But both he and Pandit Bapu Deva Shastri must, I think, have arrived at the date given above; Thursday, 9th March, A.D. 966.

And I take it that the above application of the given year as a current year, and of the given *tithis* as current *tithis*, is correct; that the **Commentary on the Bṛihaj-Jâtaka was finished on Thursday, 9th March, A.D. 966;** and that the **Commentary on the Bṛihat-Saṁhitâ was finished on Thursday, 11th January, A.D. 966.**

There is, however, another possibility, which is worth noting. It is that here, as in some unquestionable instances (see p. 24 f. above, under No. 11), the word *Śâké* is in reality used to denote **a year of the Vikrama era.** And on this hypothesis, the results are as follows:—

Chaitra śukla 5 ended—

In northern Vikrama-Saṁvat 888 current, *at about 15 gh. 2 p., on* **Thursday,** *3rd March, A.D. 830*:—

In northern Vikrama-Saṁvat 889 current, (888 expired) and southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 888 current, at about 17 *gh.* 43 *p.* on Wednesday, 22nd March, A. D. 831:—

And in southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 889 current (888 expired), at about 41 *palas* on Monday, 11th March, A. D. 832.

And the pûrṇimânta Phâlguna kṛishṇa 2 ended—

In Vikrama-Saṁvat 888 current, northern or southern, at about 48 *gh.* 11 *p.*, on Thursday, 2nd February, A. D. 831:—

And in Vikrama-Saṁvat 889 current (888 expired), northern or southern, at about 6 *gh.* 15 *p.* on Tuesday, 23rd January, A. D. 832.

And the amânta Phâlguna kṛishṇa 2 ended—

In Vikrama-Saṁvat 888 current, northern or southern, at about 30 *gh.* 1 *p.* on Saturday, 4th March, A. D. 831:—

And in Vikrama-Saṁvat 889 current (888 expired), northern or southern, at about 39 *gh.* 56 *p.* on Wednesday, 21st February, A. D. 832.

[1] Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit, however, tells me that according to the present *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, the *tithi* began at almost the same time as by Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables; *viz.* on the Thursday, at 58 *gh.* 21 *p.* after mean sunrise (for Ujjain).

And thus, taking the given year as a current year, a correct result can be obtained for both the given *tithis*, as ended *tithis*; the only objection being the improbability of the northern reckoning of the Vikrama era having been started at that time. This reckoning must of necessity be applied in order to obtain a Thursday for Chaitra śukla 5. And, though it is not absolutely necessary in the case of Phâlguna kṛishṇa 2, yet there also we must apply it, for the sake of uniformity.

As a matter of fact, therefore, if these dates are treated as Vikrama dates, and if we admit the use of the northern reckoning of the Vikrama era, equally good results can be obtained, — *viz.* Thursday, 3rd March, A.D. 830, and Thursday, 2nd February, A. D. 831, — as if they are treated as Śaka dates; if not, indeed, better results, since, applying these dates to the Vikrama era, in neither of them have we to understand the *tithi* as a current *tithi*. And this is the more curious and interesting, because the passage thus fails in respect of the very purpose for which Dr. Kern sought to apply it; *viz.* to prove decisively that by the word *Śáka* Utpala meant the Śaka era, with the epoch of A. D. 77-78.

This date, accordingly, should perhaps not be looked upon as finally disposed of; but as still remaining for further consideration. And, as the determination of Utpala's date is of considerable importance in connection with the history of Hindu astronomy, it is to be hoped that someone else may be able to bring forward extraneous evidence to shew clearly what are to be accepted as the English equivalents of the given dates.

J. F. FLEET.

BOOK NOTICES.

NOTES D'EPIGRAPHIE INDIENNE, par M. E. SENART, Membre de l'Institut. Extrait du *Journal Asiatique*. Paris, Leroux.

In this paper, republished from the *Journal Asiatique*, M. Senart has summed up the results of his personal inspection of the **Piyadasi inscriptions at Shâhbâz-Garhi, Mansêrâ, and Girnâr.** Special interest will be attached to his remarks concerning the newly discovered XIIth Edict at the first place, and concerning the copies of the twelve Edicts at Mansêrâ.

The twelfth Edict at Shâhbâz-Garhi was discovered a short time ago by Captain Deane, on a separate piece of rock about fifty yards from the old inscription. M. Senart, during his visit to the locality, was able to take away a copy and rubbing of the new discovery, as well as a collation of the first eleven Edicts. The time at his disposal did not allow him to thoroughly collate the XIIIth and XIVth.

At Mansêrâ the first twelve Edicts only have been found,—inscribed on two rocks. The thirteenth and fourteenth Edicts are probably hidden somewhere in the vicinity, and still await their discoverer. M. Senart succeeded in carrying away rubbings of the first eight Edicts and of the twelfth. Fragmentary rubbings of the remaining ones, which are in a very imperfect condition, were also taken. Some very fine photo-lithographs, of former rubbings of the whole taken for Gen. Sir A. Cunningham, are appended to the paper.

At Girnâr, where the inscriptions are much better preserved, M. Senart contented himself with comparing doubtful passages in the text, as hitherto published, with the original.

M. Senart in the present article gives the **texts of the XIIth Edict** at Shâhbâz-Garhî and Mansêrâ as now ascertained by him, and draws attention to the fact that, at both places this Edict seems to have been assigned a place of honour. At Mansêrâ it has one side of the rock to itself, and at Shâhbâz-Garhî it is inscribed on a special stone. At both places the characters are larger, and the engraving more accurate, than those of any other Edict. This is the more remarkable because it is this Edict which is omitted in the series of Orissa, at Dhaulî and Jaugada. It is the special **Aśóka Edict of Toleration.** It appears as if, in the eyes of the king, counsels of religious peace were specially necessary at this extreme point of the North-West of India. We know that this region, the main route of invasions into India, must always have been the meeting-place of diverse races, divided by religious ideas; and it is also certain that its present population consists of mountain tribes who are most turbulent, and least addicted to the ways of peace. At the other end of India, in Orissa, such advice was doubtless less indispensable. If the XIIIth Edict is there omitted, it is surely because it describes the conquest of the country, and because it paints in energetic colours the violence and disorder which accompanied that conquest. Perhaps, the king also considered it not a little embarrassing for him to preach moderation where he had recently given so practical an example to the contrary; he felt himself compelled to suppress both the mention of the horrors of the invasion, and the sentiments of mercy to which he had been led, as he himself admits, by their spectacle.

M. Senart next deals with the orthography of these two variants of the XIIth Edict. Two of the most interesting points dwelt on by him may be noticed. One is the co-ordination of *pâshaṇḍa* with *pârshada* through a form *pâsharḍa*, which, by the way, gives another proof that the spelling at Shâhbâz-Garhî is not phonetic, but is full of graphic *tatsamas*, in which the old spelling was preserved, although the pronunciation was changed. The other point is the fixing of the character ~ as representing *mu* and not *ma* as hitherto supposed by M. Senart.

The article concludes with a fresh collation of the first eleven Edicts at Shâhbâz-Garhi, and the Edicts at Girnâr, and transcriptions, so far as is possible, of the first eleven Edicts at Mansêrâ. These collations and transcriptions are specially valuable as coming from a scholar, an expert on the subject, who has now had an opportunity of examining the original documents, instead of the copies and rubbings which had hitherto been available to him. GEO. A. GRIERSON.

BENGAL, ITS CHIEFS, AGENTS AND GOVERNORS, by F. C. DANVERS. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, Printers to the Queen.

It has long been well known that Mr. Danvers has been using his official position to collect and arrange in a useful and intelligent manner the older Records of the India Office, which have ever since their acquirement been allowed to remain in such a state of confusion, as to render them almost useless to anyone engaged in inquiring into the history of our rule in the East, unless he has unlimited time at his disposal. The present pamphlet is an outcome of a part of his valuable labours.

By the Governors of Bengal Mr. Danvers means those who have actually held that title at various periods, — fitfully it is true,—from 24th November 1681, to 1st May 1854, when the present Lieutenant-Governorship was established.

Hitherto, the only list available was the Government of India official list, which began with Messrs. Freeke and Crattenden, 1733-1738. But Mr. Danvers has discovered that neither of these gentlemen had ever been Governor at all, and that the title commenced long before that with Sir William Hedges in 1681.

The history of the Governorship is a curious one, and shows, among other remarkable facts, that the Directors of the East India Companies at home were as often as not at violent loggerheads with their chief representatives in Calcutta, whom they frequently "dismissed" and "deposed." Some, like Lord Clive, resigned in consequence of despatches from the Court of Directors, of which, in Lord Clive's words, "almost every paragraph abounded with unbecoming language." Very unpleasant gentlemen the Board of Directors appear to have been in the early days.

The Governorship of Bengal arose out of a Chief of the Factories of Balasôr and Hûghlî in 1650, who became an Agent and Governor in the Bay of Bengal in 1681, and President and Governor in 1683. In the same year the title was reduced to Agent and Chief in the Bay of Bengal, but the title of President and Governor of Fort William was revived in 1690. The title of Commander-in-Chief was added in 1709, and the full title of President in the Bay, and Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Fort William, was continued down to 1774, when Warren Hastings was appointed Governor-General of Fort William. The title and office of Governor-General of India in Council, was created in 1833, when the Governor-General was appointed also Governor of Fort William. This arrangement continued till 1854, when the Governor-General ceased to be Governor of Fort William, and the office of Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal was created, — in the person of Sir Frederick Halliday.

Bengal was off and on under the control of and independent of Fort St. George until 1699; the famous Agent Job Charnock being, for instance, entrusted for life with the "uncontroulable power" involved in the independence of Madras. And during the transition period, while the affairs of the English and London East India Companies were being amalgamated into those of the afterwards celebrated United East India Company, the Governorships on both sides were for a time, 1702-1709, in commission, each member of the Council presiding in turn. The same plan was tried again after the "Black Hole" tragedy in 1756, but was evidently unworkable and ceased of its own accord in 1758.

The above and other valuable and interesting information is to be found in Mr. Danvers' pamphlet, the accuracy of which is beyond impeachment, as it is all taken from the original documents at first hand. We look forward to other productions of the same kind, which cannot fail to be valuable: in the first place because the information given will be of the highest authority; in the second place because the whereabouts of the original documents will be ascertained; and in the third, because those interested in research will know that the documents have been so filed that they can be consulted without any unreasonable expenditure of time.

THE ORIGINAL SURYA-SIDDHANTA.

BY SHANKAR BALKRISHNA DIKSHIT; DHULIA.

THE fact of the existence of **an original Sûrya-Siddhânta, older than and different from the work that is now known to us under that name**, became apparent to me from studying the *Pañchasiddhântikâ* of Varâhamihira.[1] A valuable article on the *Pañchasiddhântikâ* has been published, in 1884, by Dr. Thibaut, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LIII. Part I. pp. 259 to 293; treating chiefly of the mean motions of the planets according to the Sûrya- and Rômaka Siddhântas. But, although the *ahargaṇa* employed in it to explain the *kshêpakas*, and the results arrived at by means of it, are quite correct, yet the epoch, supposed by Dr. Thibaut to be the *amânta* Chaitra śukla pratipadâ of Saka-Saṁvat 428 current (427 expired), is wrong by one lunar month; and my chief object here is to give the correct interpretation of **the epoch which Varâhamihira selected for the Pañchasiddhântikâ.** Also some other points touched by me will, I hope, be useful.[2]

The Pañchasiddhântikâ is a Karaṇa, not a Siddhânta; and therefore the revolutions of the planets in a Mahâyuga or in a Kalpa are not given in it, as is usually done in Siddhântas. A Karaṇa is a practical work on astronomy; and usually the author of it gives the mean places of the planets, which are generally called *kshêpakas*, on the day of, or very near to, the epoch of that Karaṇa; also the daily mean motions of the planets; and also a method of calculating the *ahargaṇa*, *i. e.* the number of days elapsed from the epoch of the Karaṇa up to any given day, for which the places of the planets, &c., are to be found. In some Karaṇas, the annual motions are given; and the mean places of the planets at the beginning of a given year are calculated by means of the annual motions, and of the *varshagaṇa*, or number of years elapsed from the epoch of the Karaṇa; the places for a given day being found by adding the motions for the short period between the beginning of the given year and the given day. In the latter case, the *kshêpakas* are given for the beginning of the epoch-year, taken as a solar year, and supposed to commence either with the mean or with the apparent Mêsha-Saṁkrânti or entrance of the sun into Aries. Varâhamihira has followed the first of these two methods. In this method, the *ahargaṇa* is to be calculated from Chaitra śukla pratipadâ, *i. e.* from the beginning of the epoch-year taken as a luni-solar year. But the *kshêpakas* may be given either for the same day, or for a previous day near to it. For instance, **the epoch of Gaṇêśa Daivajña's Grahalâghava** is Saka-Saṁvat 1442 expired, *i. e.* the end of that year, taken as a current year. With that basis, Chaitra śukla pratipadâ of Saka-Saṁvat 1443 current ended on Tuesday, 20th March, A.D. 1520; but it began on the previous day, though not at sunrise; and the *kshêpakas* are for the mean sunrise on that previous day, *viz.* the *amânta* Phâlguna krishṇa amâvâsyâ of Saka-Saṁvat 1441 expired (or 1442 current), *i.e.* for the mean sunrise on Monday, 19th March, A.D. 1520. **The epoch of the Râjamṛigâṅka**, a Karaṇa attributed to king Bhôja, is Saka-Saṁvat 964 expired. With that basis, Chaitra śukla pratipadâ ended on Tuesday, 23rd February, A.D. 1042. It commenced on the previous day, Monday. But here the *kshêpakas* are not even for the Monday; but are for the mean sunrise on Phâlguna krishṇa trayôdaśî, Saka-Saṁvat 963 expired, *i.e.* on Sunday,[3] 21st February,

[1] [The present article has been recast from a longer paper, written about a year ago, in which Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit, unaware of the results that had been established by Dr. Thibaut, had before him, as one of his principal points, the proof of the existence of the original *Sûrya-Siddhânta*. In the face of what has been done by Dr. Thibaut, it was unnecessary to traverse the same ground again; and the article has been modified accordingly. One of the most interesting and leading points now dealt with, is the epoch and initial day of the *Pañchasiddhântikâ*; a question which was not disposed of by Dr. Thibaut.—J. F. F.]

[2] There are two MSS. of the *Pañchasiddhântikâ* in the Dekkan College Collection; No. 87 of 1874-75, and No. 338 of 1879-80. These, however, having been lent out to someone else, I have not as yet been able to consult them in original: and my present remarks are based on a copy, made by myself, of a copy of one or other of them, made by my friend, Mr. Janardan Balaji Modak, Head Master of the Thâṇâ High School.

[3] One *tithi* was expunged.

A.D. 1042. And the reason of this is obvious. The *aharyaṇa* is to be calculated from the beginning of the luni-solar year, and therefore the *kshêpakas* are given generally for a certain time, — sunrise, or noon, or midnight, — on the day on which the first *pratipadâ* of that year begins, that is, again, on the day on which the last *amâvâsyâ* or new-moon of the previous year ends; and in some instances for one day still earlier. But, as the *tithis* do not always begin or end at a fixed time, — sunrise, or noon, or midnight, — and as sometimes there is a difference of about 25 *ghaṭîs* between a mean and an apparent *tithi*, there is sometimes found a discrepancy of one day in the calculated *ahargaṇa*, as is well known to astronomers,[4] which is to be made up by adding one to, or substracting one from, the calculated *ahargaṇa*. I give the details in order to account for the seeming difference of one day between the day of the *kshêpakas* and the initial day for calculating the *ahargaṇa* which Varâhamihira selected.

In the Pañchasiddhântikâ, Varâhamihira gives more or less of the substance of **five different Jyôtisha Siddhântas**, — the Paulisa, Rômaka, Vâsishṭha, Saura, and Paitâmaha, — which were already in existence in his time. He has not given the different detailed methods of calculating the *ahargaṇa* according to each of the five Siddhântas. Giving first such a detailed method only for the *Rômaka-Siddhânta*, he has given afterwards those figures for the other Siddhântas on which a detailed method can be based. The first of the verses in which the method of calculating *ahargaṇa*, according to the *Rômaka-Siddhânta* is given by Varâhamihira, stands thus in my copy: —

सप्ताश्विवेदसंख्यं शककालमपास्य चैत्रशुक्लादौ।
अर्धास्तमिते भानौ यवनपुरे सौम्यदिवसाद्ये: ॥ 8 ॥ Adhyâya i.

Translation. — "Having put aside the Śaka period that is numbered by (the numeral) seven, the Aśvins (two), and the Vêdas (four) [*i.e.* having come to the end of Śaka-Saṁvat 427, and passing on to the next year Śaka-Saṁvat 428 current], at the commencement of the bright fortnight of Chaitra, (*there was*) the commencement of the week-day Bhauma (Tuesday),[5] when the sun had half set at Yavanapura."

There seems to be a various reading in the latter half of this verse, which is सौम्यदिवसाद्ये, *Saumya-divas-ádyé*, locat. sing., "on the commencement of the week-day Saumya (Wednesday)." My copy reads भौमदिवसाद्यः, *Bhauma-divas-ádyaḥ*, nomin. sing., and gives *Saumya-divas-ádyé*, in the margin, as a various reading. This verse is quoted by Utpala in his commentary on the *Bṛihat-Saṁhitâ*; and there my MS. of the *Bṛihat-Saṁhitâ*, with the commentary, reads भौम, *Bhauma*, and not सौम्य, *Saumya*. Also, the late Dr. Bhau Daji has given भौम, *Bhauma* (*Bhauma-divas-ákhyé*; *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, N. S. Vol. I. p. 407); while Dr. Thibaut has given सौम्य, *Saumya* (*Saumya-divas-ádyé*; *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LIII. Part I. p. 287). It is clear, from these circumstances that the majority is on the side of reading भौम, *Bhauma*. And, that no other reading is sustainable by calculations, will be seen below. **The real epoch and the initial day of the Pañchasiddhântikâ** is the *amânta* Vaiśâkha śukla pratipadâ of Śaka-Saṁvat 428 current (427 expired), which ended on (भौमवार) **Tuesday, 22nd March, A. D. 505.** And the alteration of भौम, *Bhauma*, into सौम्य, *Saumya*, seems to be an afterthought. Seeing only this verse, and finding by calculation that the *amânta* Chaitra śukla pratipadâ, Śaka-Saṁvat 427 expired, ended, not on a Tuesday, but on a Sunday, while the Chaitra śukla pratipadâ of Śaka-Saṁvat 427 current (426 expired) ended on a Wednesday, some antiquarian of the present century seems to have altered भौम, *Bhauma*, into सौम्य, *Saumya*, to suit those results. According to Prof. Chhatre's Tables, the *amânta* Chaitra śukla pratipadâ, Śaka-Saṁvat 427 expired, ended on Sunday, 20th February, A. D. 505, at 58 *gh.* 55 *p.*, Bombay mean time; but I find, from the present *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, that the same *tithi* ended really on Monday, 21st February, at 4 *gh.*, Ujjain mean time; and accordingly it might be thought that we should

[4] See the *Siddhânta-Śirômani*, Madhyamâdhikâra, adhimâsanirṇaya, and commentaries on it.

[5] I think भौमदिवसाख्यः, *Bhauma-divas-ákhyaḥ*, to be the better reading.

change भौम, *Bhauma*, into सोम, *Sôma* (Monday). Taking the year 427 either as current or as expired, and even then with a margin of a year on either side, and taking into consideration all other possible interpretations in that connexion, there is no third alternative. But, when the *kshêpakas* in the *Pañchasiddhântikâ*, given in accordance with the original *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, are taken into consideration, neither of these two dates, nor any other date, stands the test. It is proved beyond all doubt, as will be seen further on, that the *kshêpakas* are for the *amânta* Chaitra krishṇa chaturdasî of Saka-Saṁvat 428 current (427 expired), which ended on Sunday, 20th March, A.D. 505; some of them being for the noon of that day, and others for the next following midnight. The initial day for calculating the *ahargaṇa* should be as near as possible to this date; and it, therefore, must be the *amânta* Vaiśâkha śukla pratipadâ, Saka-Saṁvat 427 expired, which, as a fact, ended on a Tuesday (भौमवार, Bhaumavâra). The discrepancy here of one or two days is explained above. Another apparent discrepancy, *viz.* why this Vaiśâkha śukla pratipadâ is called Chaitra śukla pratipadâ by Varâhamihira, will be explained further on. First, I will prove my assertion that the *kshêpakas* are for the *amânta* Chaitra krishṇa chaturdasî.

Special particulars for calculating the *ahargaṇa* with regard to the original *Sûrya-Siddhânta* are given in the verse: —

वर्षाणुते धृतिघ्ने नववसुगुणरसराः स्युरधिमासाः ।
सावित्रे शरनवखेंद्रियार्णवाशास्त्रिधिप्रलयाः ॥ 14 ॥ Adhyâya i.

As Dr. Thibaut has already translated this verse and demonstrated the statement in it, I need not do so again. It is seen from the verse that **the length of the year according to the original Sûrya-Siddhânta** is 365 days, 15 *ghaṭis*, 31 *palas*, 30 *vipalas*.

With the method of finding **the mean places of the sun and moon, and of the apogee of the moon,** according to the original *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, their *kshêpakas* are given in the following verses of the ninth[6] chapter of the *Pañchasiddhântikâ*: —

युगणे ऽर्कौ ऽष्टशतघ्ने विपक्षवेदार्णवे ऽर्कसिद्धांते ।
स्वरखाग्निद्विनवयमोद्धृते क्रमाद्दिनदले ऽवंत्यां ॥ 1 ॥
नवशतसहस्रगुणिते स्वरैकपक्षांबरस्वरर्तुने ।
षड्[7]व्योमेंद्रियनववसुविषयजिनैर्भाजिते चंद्रः ॥ 2 ॥
नवशतगुणिते रथाग्रसविषयगुणांबरर्तुयमपक्षान् ।
नववसुसप्ताष्टांबरनवाधिभक्ते शशांकोचं ॥ 3 ॥
शशिविषयघ्नानींदोः खार्काग्निहतानि मंडलानि क्षुण्णं ॥
स्वोचे दिग्घ्नानि धनं स्व[8]रंध्रयमोद्धृते विकलाः ॥ 4 ॥ Adhyâya ix.

The verses need not be translated, except the last one, the second half of which remains unexplained in Dr. Thibaut's paper. *Translation.* — "(Verse 4). The revolutions of the moon being multiplied by the moon (one), and the objects of the organs of sense (five) (*i.e.* by 51), and divided by the sky (nought), the suns (twelve), and the fires (three) (*i.e.* by 3120), [the result, which is in] seconds of arc, is to be substracted [from the place of the moon calculated by the rule in the second verse]; [and the revolutions of] her apogee being multiplied by the directions (ten) and divided by the notes (seven), the cavities of the body (nine), and a couple, (*i.e.* by 297), [the result in seconds] is to be added [to the apogee calculated by the third verse]."

According to the original *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, **the revolutions of the moon's apogee** are found to be 488,219 in a Mahâyuga of 1,577,917,800 civil days. Then we find by proportion that 900 revolutions are performed in 2,908,789 — $\frac{46,791}{488,219}$ days. In the last fraction of days,

[6] I call it the ninth, as it stands so in my copy. But in the original MSS. there are, it seems, no indications as to where the fourth and fifth chapters end.

[7] My copy reads °खाद्रिधिन°

[8] My copy reads °षयनेंद्रि°

[9] My copy reads °स्वरदस्रय°. It is shown above that the emendation is necessary.

the motion of the apogee amounts to ($\frac{36,791}{1,577,917,800} \times 12 \times 30 \times 60 \times 60 = \frac{9,529,560}{292,207} =$) 30·21776 &c., seconds of arc. Then, so many seconds more than 900 revolutions take place in 2,908,789 days. But in this number of days only 900 revolutions are supposed to be performed, in the rule of the third verse. Then it follows that ($\frac{30·21776}{900} =$ ·0335753 &c. =) about $\frac{10}{297}$ seconds fall short in every revolution, and must be added; and hence the rule in the second half of the fourth verse.

From the first of these verses it is seen that 800 **revolutions of the sun** are performed in 292,207 days; one revolution, therefore, takes 365 *days*, 15 *gh.* 31 *p.* 30 *vip.*, which accordingly is **the length of the solar year,** according to the original *Sûrya-Siddhânta*; and this is also corroborated by the 14th verse of the first chapter given on page 47 above.

Taking the *ahargaṇa* to be *nil*, we find **the kshêpakas of the sun, the moon, and the moon's apogee,** which are given **in the annexed Table.** They are, as is shown by the last words in the first verse, दिनदले ऽवन्त्यां, *dina-dalê=Vanṭyâṁ*, for noon at Ujjain; presumably of a Sunday, because the *ahargaṇa* is usually counted from Sunday. **The sun's kshêpaka** is 11 signs, 29 degrees, 27 minutes, 20 seconds. He was then short of the mean Mêsha-Saṁkrânti by only 32 minutes, 40 seconds. Taking the above ascertained length of the year, he would take 33 *ghaṭis*, 9 *palas*, to traverse this distance; *i.e.* he would enter the mean Mêsha at 33 *gh.* 9 *p.* after noon, *i.e.*, again, 48 *gh.* 9 *p.* after mean sunrise at Ujjain on the day to which the *kshêpakas* belong. The time of the sun's entrance into Mêsha is the time of the Mêsha-Saṁkrânti. Supposing that, according to the original *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, the Kaliyuga commenced at the midnight of a Thursday (at the beginning of the *amânta* mean Chaitra śukla pratipadâ of Kaliyuga-Saṁvat 1 current, 17th-18th February, B.C. 3102, old style), that is, at that time all the planets, or at least the sun and moon, were, with regard to their mean places, in the beginning of Mêsha; and taking the above determined length of the year, 365 *days*, 15 *gh.* 31 *p.* 30 *vip.*; then the mean Mêsha-Saṁkrânti, Saka-Saṁvat 427 expired, occurred on a Sunday, at 48 *gh.*, 9 *p.* after mean sunrise at Ujjain, *i.e.* exactly at the time deduced from the sun's *kshêpaka*. It is thus proved that the sun's *kshêpaka* is for the noon previous to this mean Mêsha-Saṁkrânti. **The moon's kshêpaka** is also evidently for the same noon. Let us however, test it directly. From the second and the fourth of the above verses, the revolution, of the moon, according to the original *Sûrya-Siddhânta* are found to be 57,753,336 in a Mahâyuga; therefore her mean position at the mean Mêsha-Saṁkrânti of Saka-Saṁvat 427 expired (428 current), which took place, as shown above, on Sunday, at 48 *gh.* 9 *p.* after mean sunrise, was 11 signs, 27 degrees, 28 minutes, 4·8 seconds. Deducting from this the moon's mean motion for 33 *gh.* 9 *p.*, which is the difference between the time of the mean Mêsha-Saṁkrânti and the next preceding noon, we get 11 signs, 20 degrees, 11 minutes, 16 seconds, which exactly agrees with the moon's *kshêpaka*. This agreement both proves and corroborates the fact that the moon's *kshêpaka* is for the noon next preceding the mean Mêsha-Saṁkrânti.[10] It need hardly be proved separately that **the kshêpaka of the moon's apogee,** which is stated along with those of the sun and moon in the above verses, is for the same noon.

Now we have to ascertain **the tithi and month of the mean Mêsha-Saṁkrânti** of Saka-Saṁvat 427 expired, which occurred on a Sunday at 48 *gh.* 9 *p.* after mean sunrise. The moon's mean longitude at that time is found above to be 11 signs, 27 degrees, 28 minutes, 4·8 seconds. Therefore the 29th mean *tithi*, *i.e.* krishṇa-chaturdaśî, was completed, and the thirtieth *tithi*, *viz.* the amâvasyâ, was current at that time by the *amânta* reckoning. From calculations chiefly based on the original *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, I find that this *amânta* krishṇa chaturdaśî ended, as a *spashṭa* or apparent *tithi*, at 35 *gh.* 57 *p.* after mean sunrise on the same Sunday on which the mean Mêsha-Saṁkrânti occurred; and the following amâvâsyâ

[10] By the way, it corroborates the number of the moon's revolutions in a Mahâyuga.

Table of the Elements of the original and the present Sûrya-Siddhântas.

	Original Sûrya-Siddhânta.				Present Sûrya-Siddhânta.
	Kshêpakas on amânta Chaitra krishna chaturdaśî, Śaka-Saṁvat 427 expired; which ended on Sunday, 20th March, A.D. 505.				In a Mahâyuga, *viz.* 4320000 years.	In a Mahâyuga, *viz.* 4320000 years.
	Signs.	Degrees.	Minutes.	Seconds.		
1	2				3	4
	At mean noon at Ujjain.				Revolutions.	Revolutions.
Sun	11	29	27	20	4,320,000	4,320,000
Moon	11	20	11	16	57,753,336	57,753,336
Moon's apogee	9	9	44	53	488,219	488,203
Moon's node	7	26	6	59	232,226	232,238
	At mean midnight at Ujjain.					
Śighra of Mercury	4	28	17	7	17,937,000	17,937,060
Śighra of Venus	8	27	30	35	7,022,388	7,022,376
Mars	2	15	35	4	2,296,824	2,296,832
Jupiter	0	8	6	20	364,220	364,220
Saturn	4	2	28	49	146,564	146,568
The Stars	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,582,237,800	1,582,237,828
					Number.	Number.
Sâvana days	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,577,917,800	1,577,917,828
Solar months	.....	.....	.....	.....	51,840,000	51,840,000
Intercalated months	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,593,336	1,593336
Lunar months	.....	.....	.....	.....	53,433,336	53,433,336
Tithis	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,603,000,080	1,603,000,080
Expunged tithis	.....	.....	.....	.....	25,082,280	25,082,252

Length of the year:—

The original Sûrya-Siddhânta.....365 *days*, 15 *ghaṭîs*, 31 *palas*, 30 *vipalas*;
The present Sûrya-Siddhânta.....365 „ , 15 „ , 31 „ , 31 „ , 24 *prativipalas*;
the latter being in excess by one *vipala* and twenty-four *prativipalas*.

ended, as an apparent *tithi*, on the following Monday at 35 *gh.* 48 *p.* after mean sunrise. Therefore, at the time of the mean Mêsha-Saṁkrânti which occurred on Sunday at 48 *gh.* 9 *p.*, the current *tithi* was the amâvâsyâ, apparent as well as mean. The apparent Mêsha-Saṁkrânti takes place, according to the original *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, about 2 *days*, 14 *gh.* 23 *p.* earlier[11] than the mean Mêsha-Saṁkrânti; and in the present case it must have occurred on Friday, the current apparent *tithi* at that time being, — as I find by actual calculation, — the trayôdaśî[12] of the same fortnight and of the same *amânta* month as that of the mean Mêsha-Saṁkrânti. And as, according to the general rule, that *amânta* lunar month in which the Mêsha-Saṁkrânti occurs is to be named Chaitra, the *amânta* month in which the apparent as well as the mean Mêsha-Saṁkrântis of Śaka-Saṁvat 427 expired occurred, must have been named Chaitra.

[11] This difference varies from 2 *days*, 8 *gh.* 48 *p.* to 2 *days*, 14 *gh.*, 23 *p.*, according to the different authorities.

[12] The current *tithi* at sunrise on this Friday was the dvâdaśî.

The kshêpakas of the five planets are for the midnight next following the noon for which the *kshêpakas* of the sun are given. The mean Mêsha-Saṁkrânti took place on this day, as stated above, at 48 *gh.* 9 *p.* after mean sunrise, *viz.* at 3 *gh.* 9 *p.* after midnight. As the verses from the *Pañchasiddhântikâ*, containing the mean motions of the five planets and their *kshêpakas* according to the original *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, have been translated and demonstrated by Dr. Thibaut, I need not do it again. With the revolutions of the planets in a Mahâyuga, derived from these verses, and with the supposition that at the beginning of the Kaliyuga all the planets were, with regard to their mean places, at the beginning of Mêsha, I have calculated, by means of the *varshagaṇa* and the annual motions, the mean places of the five planets for the time of the mean Mêsha-Saṁkrânti of Saka-Saṁvat 427 expired; and then, deducting from them the motions for 3 *gh.* 9 *p.*, I have obtained the mean places[13] for the preceding midnight, which agree, exactly in some cases, and very nearly in others, with the *kshêpakas* given by Varâhamihira. The disagreement in seconds is of no practical importance.

Thus it is proved clearly that **the kshêpakas in the Pañchasiddhântikâ, according to the original Sûrya-Siddhânta,** are for the *amânta* Chaitra kṛishṇa chaturdaśî of Saka-Saṁvat 428 current (427 expired), which ended at 35 *gh.* 57 *p.* on Sunday, 20th March, A.D. 505, on which day the mean Mêsha-Saṁkrânti occurred at 48 *gh.* 9 *p.* after mean sunrise at Ujjain;[14] some of the *kshêpakas* being for the noon of that day, and others for the next following midnight. And the nearest śukla pratipadâ, *viz.* the *amânta* Vaiśâkha śukla pratipadâ of Saka-Saṁvat 428 current, — which ended, as I find from the original *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, on Tuesday, 22nd March, A.D. 505, at 34 *gh.* 23 *p.* after mean sunrise at Ujjain, — is, in fact, the initial day selected by Varâhamihira for calculating the *ahargaṇa*. It is proved at the same time that, according to the original *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, the Kaliyuga commenced on the midnight of a Thursday, and that at that time the sun, the moon, and the five planets were, with regard to their mean places, at the beginning of Mêsha.

The kalpâdyahargaṇa used by Dr. Thibaut to calculate the *kshêpakas*, and the method by which he obtained that *ahargaṇa*, lead to the same conclusion. "The sum of years (the *varshagaṇa*) from the beginning of the Kalpa to the epoch of the Karaṇa," which, according to him "amounts to 1,955,883,606," allows, as in the present *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, 17,064,000 mundane years for the creation of the world. And accordingly, as well as in agreement with any other *Siddhânta*, the motions of the planets, when they are to be calculated from the beginning of the Kalpa, must be counted from Sunday morning, or rather from Saturday midnight in the case of the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*. Then the *ahargaṇa* 714,403,601,073 used by Dr. Thibaut, which gives one as remainder on being divided by seven, brings us, neither to a Wednesday (सौम्यवार), nor to a Tuesday (भौमवार), but to a Sunday[15] midnight; and consequently the *kshêpakas* which he explains by this *ahargaṇa*, are for a Sunday, as is shown by me above by a different method. Again, in calculating the *ahargaṇa*, though the *adhimâsas* amount to 721,384,203 + $\frac{178,734}{180,000}$, he takes 721,384,204; that is, he counts the fraction as one. It is true that the fraction is very near to one; but he must be aware that we can count it as one, only when a *spashṭa adhimâsa* has actually fallen near before our given day; and, as this is not the case here, we cannot here count it as one, even on the plea of *svalpântara*. But he has taken it as one, only because otherwise he could not explain the *kshêpakas*; and taking one month more, brings us practically one month forward to the *amânta* Chaitra śukla pratipadâ for which his *ahargaṇa* is calculated, *i.e.* to the Sunday nearest to the beginning of the *amânta* Vaiśâkha.

One point remains to be explained, which is, **why Varâhamihira gives to this Vaiśâkha śukla pratipadâ the name of Chaitra śukla pratipadâ** (Chaitra-śukl-âdi). The reason of this

[13] The places thus derived by me, and those arrived at by Dr. Thibaut by means of the *kalpâdyahargaṇa*, agree exactly.

[14] The current *tithi* at the time of this *saṁkrânti* was, as stated above, the amâvâsyâ.

[15] I do not know how, notwithstanding this, Dr. Thibaut chooses the reading सौम्य, *Saumya*, in the verse of the 8th chapter of the *Pañchasiddhântikâ*.

is one or other of the following two. First, the fortnight *amânta* Vaiśâkha śukla was Chaitra śukla by the real *pûrṇimânta* arrangement. The general rule for naming a lunar month is this; that lunar month in which the Mêsha-Saṁkrânti occurs, is to be called Chaitra, and so on, With Saka-Saṁvat 427 expired, the apparent Mêsha-Saṁkrânti took place on the *amânta* Chaitra kṛishna dvâdaśî, Friday, 18th March, A.D. 505. The *pûrṇimânta* month which was current at the time of this Mêsha-Saṁkrânti, commenced on the next preceding pratipadâ of the same dark fortnight (*amânta* Chaitra kṛishṇa), on Sunday, 6th March, and ended with the pûrṇimâ or full-moon of the following bright fortnight (*amânta* Vaiśâkha śukla); and this *pûrṇimânta* month must be named Chaitra according to the correct application of the above rule for naming the lunar months. Consequently, the *amânta* Vaiśâkha śukla pratipadâ in question belonged to the *pûrṇimânta* Chaitra śukla. The second reason is that, in Saka-Saṁvat 428 current (427 expired), by the rule of mean intercalation, the *amânta* month which followed the *amânta* natural Chaitra, was intercalary; and, by the rule contained in the verse मेषादिस्थे सवितरि वो वो मासः प्रपूर्यते चांद्रः। चैत्राद्यः स ज्ञेयः पूर्तेद्वित्वे ऽधिमासोऽन्त्यः, it must have been named Chaitra. Therefore, the *pratipadâ* in question, belonging to the bright fortnight of the month which was Vaiśâkha by the rule of apparent intercalation, belonged to the bright fortnight of Chaitra which was intercalary by the rule of mean intercalation. But this second reason does not seem to apply; first, because Varâhamihira does not indicate that the Chaitra in question was intercalary; and secondly, even supposing that he did carelessly or knowingly omit the word *adhika* or any such term, still there is no reason why he should select as the initial day for calculating the *ahargaṇa*, the pratipadâ of the intercalated Chaitra, instead of the pratipadâ of the preceding natural Chaitra; thus beginning the year wrongly. Therefore, the first reason is the one that is applicable; *i.e.* the pratipadâ of the bright fortnight of the *amânta* Vaiśâkha in question, belonged to the bright fortnight of the *pûrṇimânta* Chaitra. There is no doubt as to the *pûrṇimânta* arrangement being in use in Varâhamihira's time in Northern India; only we have no means of ascertaining whether, in his time, the luni-solar year commenced, in practice, with the dark or with the bright fortnight of Chaitra. But, even where the *pûrṇimânta* system may be in use, astronomically it is more convenient to commence the year with the bright, instead of with the dark, fortnight of Chaitra; and so Varâhamihira adopted the pratipadâ of the bright fortnight of the *pûrṇimânta* Chaitra, as the initial day for calculating the *ahargaṇa*. There is still another reason why Varâhamihira selected the *amânta* Chaitra kṛishṇa chaturdaśî of Saka-Saṁvat 428 current (427 expired) for his *kshêpakas*. It is, that the mean Mêsha-Saṁkranti in that year occurred, according to the original *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, on that day, at 48 *gh.* 9 *p.* after mean sunrise at Ujjain. And so, though Varâhamihira followed, as stated above, the first of the two methods of Karaṇa-works, that is of calculating the mean places of planets by means of the *ahargaṇa*, — as a consequence of which, his initial day is the beginning of the luni-solar year, — still he selected for the epoch a year in which the commencement of the solar year was very near to that of the luni-solar year. This has the special advantage, that one may calculate the mean places of the planets by means of their annual motions and the *varshagaṇa*; by which method the process is much shortened. We have such another instance in the *Khaṇḍakhâdya*[16] of Brahmagupta, in which there is found the same coincidence of the commencement of both the luni-solar and the solar years with the epoch of a Karaṇa.

For the sake of easy reference and comparison, I give, in the accompanying Table, the revolutions of the planets,[17] and the other elements in a Mahâyuga, deduced from the data in the *Pañchasiddhântikâ*, given as belonging to the *Sûrya-Siddhânta* which I have named the original *Sûrya-Siddhânta*; the same elements according to the present *Sûrya-Siddhânta*; and the *kshêpakas*, *i.e.* the mean places of the sun, &c., in the *Pañchasiddhântikâ* according to the original *Sûrya-Siddhânta*. The *kshêpakas* of the five planets are as calculated by me; some of them differ, but by not more than seven seconds, from those given by Varâhamihira.

[16] Epoch, Śaka-Saṁvat 587 expired.

[17] As to the revolutions and the *kshêpaka* of Râhu, or the ascending node of the moon, see remarks further on.

It will be seen from the Table that such of the elements of the two *Sûrya-Siddhântas* as are generally given in the Madhyamâdhikâra, or chapter on mean motions and places, of a Siddhânta-work, differ considerably from each other. It does not, however, follow of necessity that the two works must be different in other chapters also. It is quite possible that the present *Sûrya-Siddhânta* was constructed by changing those verses in the Madhyamâdhikâra of the original *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, which contained elements regarding the mean motions of the planets; and there may have been some other slight changes here and there. There is very little possibility of the original *Sûrya-Siddhânta* being now extant anywhere in its original form.

The elements of the original *Sûrya-Siddhânta* do not, I find, agree with those of the *Pauliśa-Siddhânta*[18] as contained in the *Pañchasiddhântikâ*, but agree, not partly as Dr. Thibaut says (*Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LIII. Part I. p. 292), but wholly, with those of another *Pauliśa-Siddhânta*, as found in the verses in the Âryâ metre quoted from it by Utpala in his commentary on the *Bṛihat-Saṁhitâ*.[19] Again, the elements of the original *Sûrya-Siddhânta* agree with those of the first *Ârya-Siddhânta*, except in respect of the length of the year and other elements depending on it, and the revolutions of Mercury and Jupiter; and except that, while according to the former the Kaliyuga commences at midnight, according to the latter it begins at sunrise.

Albêrûnî[20] has attributed the *Sûrya-Siddhânta* to Lâṭa. I do not know whether it can be ascertained from his writings which of the two *Sûrya-Siddhântas*, — the original, or the present one, — he had seen. But the original Sûrya-Siddhânta is certainly not the work of Lâṭa. In the third verse of the *Pañchasiddhântikâ*, Varâhamihira says that Lâṭa wrote commentaries on the Pauliśa and Rômaka Siddhântas (व्याख्यातौ लाटदेवेन). Lâṭa's writings, therefore, were well known to Varâhamihira. And, if Lâṭa were really the author of the original *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, the matter would not have been a secret to Varâhamihira, and he would not have held the work in reverence as one of divine origin. The very fact that he calls it the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, shows that he did not hold it to be a work of human origin. In the following verse he calls Lâṭa an *Âchârya*, and not a *Ṛishi*, much less a divine being : —

युगणाद्दिनवारास्तिद्युगणोऽपि हि देशकालसंबंधः ।
लाटाचार्येणोक्तो यवनपुरे चास्तगे सूर्ये ॥ *Pañchasiddhântikâ*, Adhyâya xiv.

"The week-day is obtained from the *dyugaṇa* which is connected with (*the question of*) country and time; and the *Âchârya* Lâṭa has declared (*it to begin at*) sunset at Yavanapura." This verse also shows that Lâṭa had written some work in addition to his commentaries, and the fact stated in this verse, that according to Lâṭa the day began at sunset, shows that that other work of Lâṭa differed from the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*; because according to both the *Sûrya-Siddhântas* the *dyugaṇa* is counted from midnight. The point is still more clearly proved from Brahmagupta's writings. He says : —

श्रीषेणविष्णुचंद्रप्रद्युम्नार्यभटलाटसिंहानां ।
ग्रहणादिविसंवादात् प्रतिदिवसं सिद्धमकृतत्वं 46 ॥ *Brahma-Siddhânta*, adhyâya xi.

"The incompleteness of Śrîshêṇa, Vishṇuchandra, Pradyumna, Âryabhaṭa, Lâṭa, and Simha, is proved every day by the discordance of their eclipses and other things." Again he says :—

लाटास्तूर्यशशांकौ मध्याविंदूच्चचंद्रपातौ च ।
कुजबुधशीघ्रबृहस्पतिसितशीघ्रशनैश्चरान् मध्यान् ॥ 47 ॥
श्रीषेणेन गृहीत्वा .... रौमकः कृतः कथा ॥ 48 ॥ *Brahma-Siddhânta*, Adhyâya xi.

[18] There seem to be three different *Pauliśa-Siddhântas*; one contained in the *Pañchasiddhântikâ*; another which is called by Utpala the *Mûla-Pauliśa-Siddhânta*, and from which a verse in the Anushṭubh metre is quoted by him, but which is certainly different from the first; and a third from which Utpala quotes about twenty-five verses in the Âryâ metre.

[19] In these verses, however, I do not find one containing the revolutions of the moon's apogee and node. Colebrook also probably did not find it, as he does not give the number of revolutions of the apogee and node in his note on the subject (*Miscellaneous Essays*, second edition, Vol. II. p. 415).

[20] [*India*, Translation, Vol. I. p. 153. — J. F. F.]

"Srîshêṇa has made the *Rômaka*[21] a tattered garment; having borrowed from Lâṭa the mean sun and moon, the moon's apogee and node, the mean Mars, the mean *śighra* of Mercury, the mean Jupiter, the mean *śighra* of Venus, and the mean Saturn." From these verses it is clear that, in addition to his commentaries on the Pauliśa and Rômaka Siddhântas, Lâṭa wrote an independent work on astronomy, of the nature either of a Siddhânta or of a Karaṇa, and that it was known by his name, and not as the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*. Brahmagupta also alludes to a *Sûrya-Siddhânta*; but it is beyond any doubt that only one and the same *Sûrya-Siddhânta* was known to Varâhamihira and Brahmagupta; and at any rate they do not call it a work of Lâṭa, whose writings they knew full well.

The author of the *Marîchi*, a well known commentary on the *Siddhânta-Sirômaṇi*, quotes a verse from an unknown writer, the fourth quarter of which runs thus:[22] — लाटाचार्यः कथयति पुनश्चार्धरात्रे स्वतंत्रे; — "again Lâṭâchârya in his own book declares (*the beginning of the day*) at midnight." This shows that Lâṭa's work was known by his own name. Possibly Lâṭa's hand may have done something with the *Sûrya-Siddhânta* as now known, which, according to my present opinion, I would place as not later than A.D. 500;[23] though at that time it was probably not known by that name. The original *Sûrya-Siddhânta* must be of much earlier date.

The foregoing remarks are sufficient to convince us that **not either of the Sûrya-Siddhântas is a work of Varâhamihira.** But there is also decisive proof of this. Having given the method of calculating the mean places of the planets according to the original *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, Varâhamihira gives a correction of his own, usually called *bîja*, which is to be applied to those places. It is as follows:—

क्षेप्याः शरेंदुविकलाः प्रतिवर्षं मध्यमक्षितिजे ।
दश दश गुरोर्विशोध्याः शनैश्चरे सार्धसप्तयुताः ॥
पंचद्वया[24] विशोध्याः सिते बुधे खाश्विचंद्रयुताः ॥
खखवेदैं[25]दुविकलिकाः शोध्याः सुरपूजितस्य मध्यात् स्युः ॥ ॥ *Pañchasiddhântikâ*, chapter xvii.

Translation.—"Every year the arrows (five) and the moon (one) (*i.e.* 15) seconds should be added to the mean Mars; ten should be subtracted from Jupiter; seven and a half should be added to Saturn; five and a couple (*i.e.* 25) should be subtracted from Venus; the sky (nought), the Aśvins (two) and the moon (one) (*i.e.* 120) should be added to Mercury; and the sky (nought), the sky (nought), the Vêdas (four), and the moon (one), (*i.e.* 1400) seconds should be subtracted from the mean (*place*) of the one adored by the gods (Jupiter)." — One might think that, if this *bîja* were applied to the original *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, the results would agree with those of the present *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, and would show thereby that the latter is a work of Varâhamihira; but I find from calculations that such is not the case. If either *Sûrya-Siddhânta* were his own composition, Varâhamihira would have given the revolutions of the planets in a Mahâyuga, inclusive of this *bîja*; and there would have been no necessity for him to give the *bîja* separately.

I give here an important discovery in this connexion, which should be interesting to astronomers. It is that **the length of the year and the revolution of all the planets, &c., in a Mahâyuga, adopted by Brahmagupta** in the first part of his *Khaṇḍakhâdya* (Saka-Saṁvat 587 expired), exactly agree with those of the original *Sûrya-Siddhânta*. Brahmagupta is so accurate in this adoption, that he does not neglect even a second. The *ahargaṇa* is to be counted from midnight in both.

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[21] I see clearly, from the *Pañchasiddhântikâ* and the *Brahma-Siddhânta*, that the *Rômaka-Siddhânta* of Srîshêṇa is different from the Rômaka alluded to in the *Pañchasiddhântikâ* by Varâhamihira. See my paper on the Rômaka Siddhântas," which will shortly be published in this Journal.

[22] I take it from Dr. Thibaut's article on the *Pañchasiddhântikâ*.

[23] I am aware that Bentley says that the date of the present *Sûrya-Siddhânta* is A.D. 1091.

[24] This is the reading in my copy. It may be पंचाब्धयो, *pañch-âbdhayô* (45), as Dr. Thibaut gives it.

[25] I take this reading from Dr. Thibaut. My copy reads खखवेदविकलिका :, *kha-kha-vêda-vikalikâḥ*.

I must state here that the fifth verse of the ninth chapter of the *Pañchasiddhántiká*, containing the mean motion and the kshêpaka of Râhu, or the moon's ascending node, according to the original *Súrya-Siddhánta*, is so corrupt in my copy that I have not been able to make out its sense. But, seeing that all the other numbers of the revolutions of the planets in the *Khaṇḍakhádya* and the original *Súrya-Siddhánta* agree exactly, I have given, in the accompanying Table, the number of revolutions of Râhu, derived from the former, as belonging to the latter; and the *kshêpaka* is as calculated from this number.

I would also invite the attention of antiquarians to another interesting point. At present only one work is known to have been composed by the first Âryabhaṭa; it has been published by Dr. Kern; it contains 118 verses in the Âryâ metre; and it is called the *Âryabhaṭíya* or (first) *Ârya-Siddhánta*.[26] In it, the Kaliyuga is made to commence at sunrise at Laṅkâ. But Varâhamihira says: —

लंकार्धरात्रसमये दिनप्रवृत्तिं जगाद चार्यभटः ।
भूयः स एव सूर्योदयात्प्रभृत्याह लंकायां ॥ *Panchasiddhántiká*, chapter xiv.

"Âryabhaṭa declared the day to begin at midnight at Laṅkâ; again he declared (*it to begin*) at sunrise at Laṅkâ." And from this one expects that the same Âryabhaṭa must have written another work, in which the *ahargaṇa* is to be counted from the midnight. Now, I have stated above that the elements derived from the *Khaṇḍakhádya*, with the commencement of the Kaliyuga at midnight, exactly correspond with those of the original *Súrya-Siddhánta*; and this last work differs considerably from the published work of the first Âryabhaṭa, the difference being described above. But in the *Khaṇḍakhádya*, Brahmagupta, while alluding nowhere to the original *Súrya-Siddhánta*, often states that he has followed (the first) Âryabhaṭa. For example, he says at the outset: —

प्रणिपत्य महादेवं जगदुत्पत्तिस्थितिप्रलयहेतुं ।
वक्ष्यामि खंडखाद्यकमाचार्यार्यभटतुल्यफलं ॥ *Khaṇḍakhádya*, chapter i.

"Having saluted Mahâdêva, who is the cause of the creation, the existence, and the destruction of the world, I proclaim the *Khaṇḍakhádyaka*, producing results agreeing with (*those of*) the *Áchárya* Âryabhaṭa." At another place he says: —

अर्धरात्रकार्यभटमध्यसमाः ॥ 7 ॥ *Khaṇḍakhádya*, chapter i.

"(*The mean places of the planets thus arrived at are*) equal to the mean (*places of the planets calculated*) for midnight according to Âryabhaṭa." From these circumstances it necessarily follows that the first Âryabhaṭa must have composed a work, in addition to his known *Ârya-Siddhánta* (*Âryabhaṭíya*), which exactly corresponded with the original *Súrya-Siddhánta*; and it must be this now unknown work of Âryabhaṭa which Brahmagupta followed[27] in composing his *Khaṇḍakhádya*. This point is corroborated by the following remarks of Varuṇa, a commentator[28] on the *Khaṇḍakhádya*, who in the introduction to his commentary on the second Part (*Uttara*) of the *Khaṇḍakhádya* says, इह चोत्तरे यन्नाभिहितं तदार्यभटकरणादेव वक्तव्यं, — "what is not stated here in the *Uttara* (the latter part of the *Khaṇḍakhádya*), should be stated (*i.e.* taken) from the Karaṇa of Âryabhaṭa." And from this it appears that the first Âryabhaṭa had composed a Karaṇa. And, if the wording of Varâhamihira in the above verse is to be taken literally, Âryabhaṭa first composed this Karaṇa in which the *ahargaṇa* was to be counted from midnight, and afterwards wrote the known Tantra or Siddhânta which has been published. It is but natural that the Karaṇa-work, which was in fact an imitation of the original *Súrya-Siddhánta*, should have been composed first; and it must have been followed by the Siddhânta or *Âryabhaṭíya*, which is an independent work.

[26] See *ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 312, note 1.

[27] It is clear from his *Brahma-Siddhánta* that Brahmagupta was also well acquainted with Âryabhaṭa's Siddhânta known to us at present.

[28] The Śaka years 958, 952, 964, 966 and 967, are used by him in his examples; and therefore the date of his commentary seems to be about A.D. 1040.

KANASWA STONE INSCRIPTION OF SIVAGANA; THE MALAVA YEAR 795 EXPIRED.

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

This inscription appears to have been discovered in 1820, and to have been first publicly mentioned by Captain (afterwards Colonel) Tod in a paper, read by him on the 1st of May 1824 before the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.[1] A few years later Colonel Tod gave (what was meant to be) a fuller account of the contents of the inscription in his *Annals and Antiquities of Rájasthán*, Vol. I. pp. 795-96. The text of the inscription was first edited by myself, *ante*, Vol. XIII. p. 163, from an indifferent, and in some places very indistinct, rubbing received through Dr. Bühler; and it was afterwards re-edited, in an improved form, with a translation and an inferior photo-lithograph prepared at Poona, by Professor Peterson, in the *Jour. Bo. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. p. 382. I now re-edit the inscription from an excellent impression which has been supplied to me by Mr. Fleet, and from which the accompanying photo-lithograph has been prepared under his supervision.

According to information furnished to me, the inscription is on a stone which is built into a wall of the temple of Mahâdêva (Siva) at **Kanaswa**, — or **Kaṇvâśrama**, 'the hermitage of Kaṇva,' as the name is spelt in lines 12 and 16 of the inscription,—a few miles to the east of Kôtah, the principal town of the State of Kôtah in Râjputâna, on the right bank of the river Chambal, Lat. 25° 10′ N., Long. 75° 52′ E. It contains 17 lines. The **writing** covers a space of about 4′ 6½″ broad by 1′ 2½″ high; and except that through the peeling off of the surface of the stone about ten *aksharas* near the commencement of line 9 have either gone altogether or become illegible, it is generally well preserved. The **size of the letters** is between ¾″ and ½″.—The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets; though rather more florid, they are of essentially the same type as, *e.g.*, those of the Aphsaḍ inscription of Âdityasêna[2] or of the Horiuzi palm-leaf MSS.[3] They include the sign of the *jihvámúlíya* in *-ânukârâḥ=kvachid*, line 1, and the somewhat rare sign for *jh*, in *jhaṭiṭi*, line 12, and *jhaṅkâra*, line 13. Except in the conjunct *rtha* (in *dharmm-ârthaṁ*, line 13), the sign for *r*, preceding another consonant, is always written above the line. — The **language** is Sanskṛit; and, excepting the introductory *ôṁ namaḥ Sivâya ôṁ* and six *aksharas*, the meaning of which is not apparent, at the end, the inscription is in verse throughout; but, as a poem, it is of little value and hardly repays the labour of translation. As regards grammar and lexicography, we find a wrong *saṁdhi* in *prêyôbhimukhya* (for *prêyaḥ + âbhimukhya*) in line 12, and perhaps in *dattau kshayâ* (for *dattau + akshayâ*) in line 13; through the influence, as it appears to me, of the Prâkṛit, the *anusvâra* has taken the place of a final *n* in *rûpavâṁ and śrîmâṁ*, line 9, and in *asmiṁ*, line 15, and through the same cause a final *t* has been dropped in *bhavê*, lines 13 and 16, and *tapê*, line 14; and the words *anukâra*, in line 1, and *jhaṅkâra*, in line 13, have been wrongly used as adjectives. Besides, attention may be drawn to the ungrammatical use of the instrumental case in the date in line 14, to the peculiar use of the word *argala* in the same line, and to the employment, in line 15, of the word *kârâpaka*, probably denoting 'an agent,' which is not found in the dictionaries.—In respect of **orthography**, it may be stated that the consonant *b* is generally denoted by its own proper sign, and that the several sibilants, on the whole, are used correctly. *V* for *b* we find only in *kavandha*, line 9, and

[1] See *Transactions of the Ro. As. Soc.* Vol. I. p. 137: — "I have an Inscription, in an ancient character, recording the power of a *Jit* prince in the fifth century; his capital, *Sálpúr*, doubtless that situated high in the *Panjáb*, mentioned in the twelfth century as being amongst the conquests of Cumára-Pála, of *Nehrwálá Pattan*, and perhaps the *Syalcote* of our modern geography;" and p. 138 :—"the *Jit* of *Sal-indra-púr* already mentioned, of whom I possess a memorial of this very period."—It would be impossible to guess that in these words Colonel Tod was referring to the inscription here edited, if we had not his own fuller account of the inscription in his *Annals of Rájasthán*. No useful purpose would be served by an attempt to show how some of Colonel Tod's remarkable errors may be accounted for; it may suffice to state here that his 'Jit prince of Sálpúr' in all probability owes his origin to the words *Sambhór-jjaṭâ*, 'the matted hair of Śambhu,' in line 2 of the inscription.

[2] *Gupta Inscriptions*, Plate xxviii. [3] *Anecdota Oxon.*, Âryan Series, Vol. I. Part iii.

wrong sibilants only in *viśa* (for *visha*), line 4, and in *visrambhêṇa* (for *viśrambhêṇa*), line 5; but mistakes in regard to the sibilants have given rise to the wrong *saṁdhi* in *dvishat-sushyach-* (for *dvishach-chhushyach-*), line 8, and in *namach-chhasmita-* (for *namat-sasmita-*), line 12. A final *visarga* has been wrongly omitted in *ahar-aha*, *nirvvastrâ*, *-kshudha*, line 6, and elsewhere; improperly added in *-árayôḥ*, line 6; and wrongly left unchanged in *-bhavaḥ tyaktâ*, line 7, *°gaṇaḥ dhârmmikaḥ*, line 15, and *Sambhôḥ dharmma-*, line 16. Before *r* the consonant *t* is generally doubled, *e. g.* in *nêttra*, lines 1, 2 and 3, *yattra*, line 3, *tattra*, line 6; and after *r*, the aspirate *bh* has been doubled in a wrong manner in *phâṇipair=bhbhôga-*, line 1, and *kîrttir=bhbhavishyati*, line 14. Of individual words, *priya* has been throughout spelt *pṛiya*, in lines 8, 9 and 15, and *ujjvala*, *ujvala*, in lines 3, 5, 10 and 16.

The **inscription**, after the introductory 'ôṁ, adoration to Śiva,' and five verses in honour of that deity (under the names of Sambhu and Sthâṇu), in lines 4–7 glorifies, in conventional terms which tell us nothing, the illustrious **Maurya race**, and a king of that race named **Dhavala**. In lines 7–9 it relates that Dhavala had for his friend a prince of the Brâhman caste, named **Saṅkuka**, whose wife **Dêgiṇî** bore to him the prince **Śivagaṇa**. This Śivagaṇa (lines 10–13) built a temple to Śiva (Paramêśvara, Dhûrjaṭi) at **Kaṇvâśrama**, and endowed it with (the revenues of) **the two villages Sarvaṅkâ and Chôṇipadraka**. Lines 14–17 give the date, the names of the agent employed by the prince, of the writer, &c.; and the inscription concludes with an appeal to the learned, to judge leniently whatever may be faulty in the preceding.

Since from other sources we know nothing yet of the princes mentioned here, our inscription at present is valuable chiefly for the characters in which it is written; and for the manner in which **the date** is expressed in line 14, according to which the temple was built 'when seven hundred and ninety-five **years of the Mâlava lords** had gone by.' After what has now been written on the subject by Mr. Fleet, *ante*, Vol. XV. p. 191, and in his Introduction to *Corp. Inscr. Ind.*, Vol. III. p. 66 ff., it is hardly necessary to say that the era here denoted by the expression 'of the Mâlava lords' is **the Vikrama era**, and that therefore our inscription was put up in A. D. 738-39.

But I may perhaps take this opportunity of expressing my doubts, as to whether a certain phrase (of minor importance), in other dates which refer themselves to the Mâlava era, has as yet been rightly explained. I allude to **the compound gaṇa-sthiti** in the two Mandasôr inscriptions first published by Mr. Fleet, *ante*, Vol. XV. p. 198, l. 19, and p. 225, l. 22. In the first of these inscriptions we read—

Mâlavânâṁ gaṇa-sthityâ yâtê śata-chatushṭayê, | trinavaty-adhikê=bdânâm ;

and in the second—

Pañchasu śatêshu śaradâṁ yâtêshv=êkânnanavati-sahitêshu |
Mâlava-gaṇa-sthiti-vaśât=kâla-jñânâya likhitêshu ||

Professor Peterson, in the *Jour. Bo. As. Soc.*, Vol. XVI. p. 381, has rendered the first passage—"when four hundred and ninety-three years from the establishment [in the country ?] of the tribes of the Mâlavas had passed away." Mr. Fleet has translated the first two words of the first passage by—"by (*the reckoning from*) the tribal constitution of the Mâlavas," and the corresponding words (Mâlava-gaṇa-sthiti-vaśât) of the second passage by—"from (*the establishment*) of the supremacy of the tribal constitution of the Mâlavas," adding in a note that it is very difficult to find a satisfactory meaning for the word *vaśât*. Now I think that, in explaining these (what I may be permitted to call) doubtful phrases, we must start from the very word *vaśât*. *Vaśât* at the end of a compound ordinarily means 'in consequence of, according to, by means of, by'; in fact, it frequently takes simply the place of the termination of an instrumental case, and in the present instance its employment (due no doubt to the exigencies of the metre) shows at any rate that the word *gaṇa-sthityâ* in the first passage must be taken to be an instrumental, and cannot be translated as an ablative case, in the manner proposed by Professor Peterson. At the same time, I do not believe that it would be permissible to supply, as was done

by Mr. Fleet, the words "the reckoning from," simply to bring out the meaning of this instrumental. And the difficulty caused by the instrumental case rather tends to convince me that the word *gaṇa-sthiti* must have another meaning than the one which has been assigned to it. At the end of a palm-leaf MS. of the *Aupapâtika-vṛitti*, which is mentioned in my *Report on Sanskrit MSS.*, p. 50, we read—

granthâgraṁ 3135 akshara-gaṇanayâ sthâpitam=iti;

i. e., "the granthâgra has by counting the *aksharas* been settled to be 3135." Here we have in construction with each other, the word *gaṇanâ*, which is etymologically related to *gaṇa* (one of the synonyms of which is *saṁkhyâ*), and *sthâpita*, derived from the same root *sthâ* from which we also have *sthiti*. *Gaṇanayâ sthâpayitum* means 'to settle or fix by counting, to reckon up;' and, in the absence of anything better, I would claim for *gaṇa-sthiti* a similar meaning, and would accordingly translate the phrases *Mâlavânâṁ gaṇasthityâ* and *Mâlava-gaṇasthiti-vaśât* simply with "by, or according to, the reckoning of the Mâlavas," a rendering which, like the original passages, would leave it doubtful whether the Mâlavas spoken of should be understood to be the people of Mâlava or the rulers of that country. In fact, I would maintain that the expressions *gaṇa-sthityâ* and *gaṇasthiti-vaśât* are to all intents and purposes synonymous with the phrase *-prakâlê gaṇanâṁ vidhâya* in the now well-known *Gupta-prakâlê gaṇanâṁ vidhâya*, which has been fully discussed by Mr. Fleet elsewhere.

As regards the two villages mentioned in the present inscription, I may add here that Professor Peterson has identified one of them, **Chôṇipadraka**, with the village of 'Chaoni' which according to his account, is close to Kôtah. The village **Sarvaṅkâ** I am unable to identify.

TEXT.[4]

1 Ôṁ[5] namaḥ Sivâya || Ôṁ[5] | Namaḥ[6] sakala-saṁsâra-sâgar-ôttâra-hêtavê | tamô-gartt-âbhisaṁpâta-hast-âlambâya Sambhavê || Svêta-[7]dvîp-ânukârâḥ=kvachid=aparimitair=indu-pâdaiḥ patadbhir=nnityasthais=sândhakârâḥ kvachid=api nibhṛitaiḥ phâṇipair=bhbhô(bbhô)ga-bhâgaiḥ [1*] sôshmâṇô nêttra-bhâbhiḥ kvachid=ati-ś[i]śirâ Jahnuka-

2 nyâ-jal-aughair=itthaṁ bhâvair=vviruddhair=api janita-mudaḥ pântu Sambhôr=jjaṭa vaḥ || Bhôg[8]-îndrasya phaṇâ-maṇi-dyuti-milan-maul-îndu-lôl-âṁśavô |[9] nêttr-âgnêś=chhuritâs=sadhûma-kapiśair=jvâlâ-śikh-âgraiḥ kvachit | muktâkâra-marun-nadî-jalakaṇair=âkîrṇa-śôbhâḥ kvachich=ch=êtthaṁ śâśvatu ś̃ushaṇa-vyatikarâḥ Śâmbhôr=jja-

3 ṭâḥ pântu vaḥ ||[10] Sthâṇôr[11]=vvaḥ pâtu mûrddhnâ(rddhâ) sara iva satata-vyôma-Gaṁg-âmbu-lôla-sphûrjjad-bhôgîndra-paṁka-ślatha-v i k a ṭa - j a ṭâ j ûṭa - k a h l â r a-hârî | mandaṁ yattra sphurantyô dhavala-naraśirô-vârijanm-ântarâla-spashṭaḥ prôdyan-mṛiṇâl-âṁkura-nikara iv=âbhânti maul-îndu-bhâsaḥ || Nêttra-krôda-prasakt-ô[j*]jvala-dahana-śikhâ-piṁ-

4 ga-bhâsâṁ jaṭânâṁ bhâraṁ saṁyamya kṛitvâ samam=amṛita-kar-ôdbhâsi maul-îndu-bimbaṁ | hastâbhyâm=ûrddhna(rddhva)m=udyad-viśa(sha)śikhi-vadanagranthim=âtatya nâgaṁ |[12] Sthâṇuḥ prârabdha-nṛittô jagad=avatu lay-ôtkampi-pâd-âṁgulîkaḥ || Chûḍâ[13]-châru-maṇ-îndu-maṇḍita-bhuvaḥ[14] sad-bhôginâm=âśrayaḥ paksha-chchhêda-bhay-ârti-saṁkaṭavatâṁ rakshâ-ksha-

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[4] From the impression. [5] Expressed by a symbol.

[6] Metre, Ślôka (*Anushṭubh*).—*Read namaḥ sakala-*, or *namas-sakala-*

[7] Metre, Sragdharâ. [8] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita. [9] This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

[10] After this sign of punctuation there is, in the original, a small circle, followed by another full stop.

[11] Metre, Sragdharâ; and of the next verse. [12] This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

[13] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita; and of the next verse.

[14] I have no doubt whatever that the correct reading, intended by the poet, is *-bhavaḥ* (representing both *-bhavaḥ* and *-Bhavaḥ*); and, judging from the impression, I incline to believe that the sign for the vowel *u* has been struck out already in the original.

5 mô bhûbhṛitâṁ | dûr-âbhyâgata-vâhinî-parikarô ratna-prakâr-ô[j*]jvalaḥ śrîmân=itttham=udâra-sâgara-samô **Maury-ânvayô** dṛiśyatê || Diṅnâgâ iva jâtya-saṁbhṛita-mudô dân-ô[j*]jvalair=ânanair=vvisra(śra)mbhêṇa ramanty=abhîta-manas[ô][15] mân-ôddhurâs=sarvvataḥ | sadvaṁśatva-vaśa-prasiddha-yaśasô yasmin=prasiddhâ guṇaiḥ ślâghyâ bhadratayâ

6 cha sa[t*]tva-bahulâ[ḥ*][16] pakshais=sasaṁ(maṁ) bhûbhṛitaḥ || Itthaṁ[17] bhavatsu bhûpêshu bhuṁjatsu sakalâṁ mahîṁ | **Dhaval**-âtmâ nṛipas=tattra yaśasâ dhavalô=bhavat || Kây[18]-âdi-prakaṭ-ârjjitair=ahar-aha[ḥ*] svair=êva dôshaiḥ *sadâ nirvvastrâ[ḥ*] satata-kshudha[ḥ*] prati-dinaṁ spashṭîbhavay(d)-yâtanâḥ | râttrî-saṁcharaṇâ bhṛiśaṁ para-gṛihêshv=itthaṁ vijity=ârayôḥ[19] yên=âdy=âpi narêndra-

7 tâṁ su-vipadô nîtâḥ piśâchâ iva || Kôpâl=lûna-mahêbha-kumbha-vigalan-muktâphal-âlaṁkṛita-sphîṭ-âsra-sruti-maṇḍitâ api muhur=yên=ôrjjitêna svayaṁ | unnâlî(lai)r=iva paṁkajaiḥ punar=api chchhinnaiḥ śirôbhir=vvi(dvi)shâṁ vikrântêna vibhûshitâ raṇa-bhuvaḥ(s=) tyaktâ naraiḥ kâtaraiḥ || Itthaṁ tasya chiran-tanô dvija-varas=sann=apy=upâ-

8 ttâyudha-prîti-[20]prêtanarêndra-satkṛiti-m[u][21]daḥ pât[tra][21]ṁ prasiddhô guṇaiḥ | yasy=âdy=âpi raṇ-âṁgaṇê vilasitaṁ saṁsûchayanti dvishat-[22]sushyach-chhrôṇita-marmmarâ raṇa-bhuvaḥ prêta-pṛi(pri)yâḥ prâyaśaḥ || Śabdasy=ârttha iva prapâdana-paṭôr=mmârggas=trayî-saṁj[ñ]itô dharmmasas(sy)=êva viśuddha-bhâva-saralô nyâyasya mûlaṁ sataḥ | prâmâṇya-

9 pragata[sya(?)] — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ yas=sâdhyasya sa[ṁ]siddhay[ê] ta[s]y — [û(?)] ⏑ i — ṁ-[ga(?)][ta]ḥ pṛi(pri)ya-sakhaḥ śrî-**Saṁkuk**-âkhyô nṛipaḥ || **Dêgiṇi**[23] nâma tasy=âsîd=dharmma-patnî dvij-ôdbhavâ | tasyâṁ tasy=âbhavad=vîraḥ sûnuḥ kṛita-guṇ-âdaraḥ || Yaśasvî rûpavâṁ(vân) dâtâ śrîmâṁ(mâñ=) **Śivagaṇô** nṛipaḥ | Śivasya nûnaṁ sa gaṇô yêna tad-bhaktatâṁ gataḥ || Kha-

10 ḍg[24]-âghâta-dalat-taṇuttra-vichaṭad-vahni-spuliṁg-ô[j*]jvala-jvâlâ-dagdha-kava(ba)ndha-kaṇṭha-kuhara-prônmukta-nâd-ôlbaṇê | nârâja(cha)-grathit-ânan-âkula-khaga-prôd-vânta-rakt-âsava-prîta-prêtajanê raṇê rata-dhiyâ yên=âsakṛich=chêshṭitaṁ || Jñâtvâ janma jarâ-viyôga-maraṇa-klêśair=aśêshaiś=chitaṁ sv-ârtthasy=âpy=ayam=êva yôga uchitô

11 lôkê prasiddhaḥ satâṁ | tên=êdaṁ Paramêśvarasya bhavanaṁ dharmm-âtmanâ kâritaṁ yaṁ[25] dṛish[ṭ*]v=aiva samasta[26]-lôka-vapushâṁ nashṭaṁ Kalêḥ kalmashaṁ || Pushp-âśôka-samîraṇêna surabhâv=utphulla-chût-âṁkurê kalê matta-vilôla-sha[ṭpa][27]da-kulê(la-)vyâruddha-dinmaṇḍalê | jâtê=pâṅga-nirîkshaṇ-aika-kathakê nârî-janasya smarê kḷiptaṁ sad=bha-

12 vanaṁ Bha[va]sya sudhiyâ tên=êha **Kaṇv-âśramô** || Kâlê[28]=ndôl-âkulânâṁ tanu-valana-bhar[ã]t=prasphuṭat-kaṁchukânâṁ kântânâṁ dṛiśyamânê kucha-kalaśa-taṭî-bhâji saṁbhôga-chihnê | yasmin=prêyôbhimukhya[29]-sthiti-jhaṭiti-namach[30]-chhasmit-ârddh-êkshaṇânâṁ bhrû-bha[ṅ*]gair=êva ramyô hṛidaya-vinihitas=sûchyatê prêmabandhaḥ || Ma-

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[15] Originally undoubtedly *-manasâ*; but the superscript line of the final *ô*, which has been subsequently added, is faintly visible in the impression, and even in the photo-lithograph.

[16] This sign for *visarga*, too, may have been added in the original.

[17] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

[18] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita, and of the next three verses.

[19] Read *-ârayô*.

[20] I believe that the reading intended is *-prîta*.

[21] The surface of the stone being damaged, the lower portion of these two *aksharas* is broken away.

[22] Read *dvishach-chhushyach-chhôṇita-*.

[23] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh); and of the next verse.

[24] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita; and of the next two verses.

[25] I believe the reading was intended to be *yad-*.

[26] The first *akshara* of this word originally was *sam*.

[27] This *akshara* looks rather like *dpa*.

[28] Metre, Sragdharâ.

[29] Wrongly for *prêya-bhimukhya* (i. e., *prêyasî-bhimukhya*).

[30] Read *-namat-sasmit-*.

13 tta[31]-dvirêpha-jhaṅkâra-sahakâra-virâjitâ[ḥ*] | saṁvîkshya kakubhô bâshpaṁ muṁ-
chanti pathik-âṁganâ[ḥ*] || Dhûp-ûdi-gandha-dîp-ârttharṁ khaṇḍa-sphuṭita-
hêtunâ [|*] grâmau dattau kshayâ nîmiḥ[32] **Sarvvaṅka-Chôṇipadrakau** ||
Pâlayantu nṛipâḥ sarvvê yêshâṁ bhûmir=iyaṁ bhavê[t*] | êvaṁ kṛitê
t[ê*] dharmm-ârthaṁ nûnaṁ yânti

14 Śiv-âlayaṁ || Saṁsâra-sâgaraṁ ghôraṁ[33] anêna dharmma-sêt[u]nâ târayishyaty=
asau nûnaṁ janyau [ch]=âtmânam=êva cha || Yâvat=sa-sâgarâṁ ˚pṛithvîṁ sa-
nagâṁ cha sa-kânanâṁ | yâvad=indus=tapê[d=*] bhânus=tâvat=kîrttir=
bhbha(bbha)vishyati || **Saṁvatsara-satair=yâtaiḥ sa-paṁcha-navaty-
arggalaiḥ** [|*] **saptabhir=Mmâlav-êśvânâṁ** mandiraṁ Dhûrjjaṭêḥ

15 kṛitaṁ || **Alubdhaḥ** pṛi(pri)ya-vâdî cha Śiva-bhakti-rataḥ sadâ | kârâpa[kaḥ][34]
Śabdagaṇaḥ(ṇô) dhârmmikaḥ śaṁsita-vrataḥ[35] || Dakshaḥ prâjñô vinît-âtmâ
guru-bhaktaḥ pṛi(pri)yaṁvadaḥ [|*] t[ṛi]ptô=[rtth ?]ê[36] Raupakaś=ch=âsmiṁ[37]
kâyasthô Gômik-[â]ṁgajaḥ || Utkîrṇâ Śivanâgêna Dvâraśivasya sûnunâ ||[38]
Sûnunâ Bhaṭṭa-Śurabhê[r*]=Ddêvaṭêna

16 śrut-ô[j*]jvalâ[ḥ*] | ślôkâ amî kṛi[tâ*] bhaktyâ mauli-chaṁndra[39]-sudhâ-jushaḥ ||[38]
Kṛishṇa-sutô guṇ-âḍhyaś=cha sûttradhârô=ttra Ṇaṇṇakaḥ ||[38] Êtat=
Kaṇv-âśramaṁ jñâtvâ sarvva-pâpa-haraṁ śubhaṁ | kṛitaṁ hi mandiraṁ
Śambhôḥ[40] dharmma-kîrtti-vivarddhanaṁ || Yati-hînaṁ[41] śabda-hînaṁ mâttrâ-
hînaṁ tu yad=bhavê[t*] | tat=sarvvaṁ sâdhu-chi-

17 ttêna marshaṇîyaṁ budhais=sadâ || || Kaṭarkayôrbap[a]ḥ[42] || ||

TRANSLATION.

Ôṁ !

Adoration to Śiva !

Ôṁ !

(Line 1). — Adoration to Śambhu, who makes (*men*) cross the whole sea of mundane existence, (*and is*) a support for (*their*) hands when they fall into the pit of darkness !

May Śambhu's matted hair protect you, which,— in one place, by the countless rays of the moon falling (*upon it*), resembling[43] the white continent, in another covered with darkness through the ever present close coils of the lord of serpents,—(*here*) heated by the flashes of (*his*) eye, (*and*) elsewhere cooled beyond measure by the floods of the daughter of Jahnu,[44] — creates joy by conditions even so incompatible !

May Śambhu's matted hair protect you,—on which the quivering rays of (*his*) diadem, the moon, meet the lustre of the jewel in the hood of the lord of serpents; which in one place is covered

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[31] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh); and in the following verses.

[33] I believe that the phrase intended by the writer is *akshayâ nîviḥ*, and that the initial *a* of the first word has been wrongly elided after the final *au* of the preceding word *dattau*.

[33] Read *ghôram=anêna*.

[34] This *akshara* was originally *ki*, but it has been altered into *kaḥ*, as may be seen even in the photo-lithograph.

[35] A common mistake for *saṁśita-vrataḥ*.

[36] Of the consonants in these brackets, only the *t* appears to me quite certain. The vowel of the *akshara* was first *i*, which was subsequently altered to *ê*.

[37] Read *=asmin*.

[38] These signs of punctuation are followed by a circle and another full stop.

[39] Read *-chandra-*; the sign of *anusvâra* has perhaps been struck out in the original.

[40] Read *Śambhôr-*.

[41] Originally *yati-hînam=artha-śabda-*; but subsequently the two syllables *martha* were struck out, and the sign of *anusvâra* was put over the *na* of *hîna*.

[42] All these *aksharas*, the meaning of which I do not understand, are quite clear, except the last which may possibly be *puḥ*.

[43] The substantive *anukâra*, 'imitation, resemblance,' is used here for the adjective *anukârin*, 'resembling.'

[44] *i. e.* the Ganges.

with the smoke-encircled brownish pointed tongues of flame of the fire of (*his*) eye, and elsewhere overspread with lustre by the pearl-like drops of water of the river of the gods; (*and*) in which there is thus a constant intermingling of ornamentation!

May Sthâṇu's head protect you, which,— with its uncouth tresses of matted hair, dishevelled by the hissing lord of serpents ever moving to and fro in the water of the heavenly Ganges, — is charming like a lake with its water-lilies loosely clinging to the mud moving about in the water; (*and*) on which, amidst white skulls, shine the gently gleaming rays of (*his*) diadem, the moon, like a mass of fibrous sprouts seen protruding between white lotus-flowers!

May Sthâṇu preserve the world, when, — having tied up the weight of his matted hair, to which a tawny lustre is imparted by the flashing tongues of the fire fixed in the hollow of (*his*) eye, — having put straight the orb of the moon, (*his*) diadem, beaming with rays of nectar, — (*and*) having stretched out above (*himself*) with his hands the serpent from whose knot-like mouth poison-flames shoot forth, — he begins to dance, with his toes trembling to the measure!

(L. 4).—The illustrious **Maurya race**,—which adorns the world with the moon-like beautiful jewels in the diadems (*of its princes*); contains good rulers; is able to protect kings beset with difficulties and distressed through fear of being deprived of (*their*) adherents; is served by armies come from afar; (*and*) is bright with all manner of precious things,—appears thus like the abode of Lakshmî, the majestic ocean, which adorns Bhava[45] with the moon, the beautiful jewel of (*his*) diadem; is the resort of big serpents; is able to afford shelter to mountains in difficulty and distress through fear of having their wings cut; has for its retinue the rivers come from afar; and is radiant with all manner of jewels.

The rulers (*born*) in this (*race*), like the elephants of the quarters, filling the noble with joy by (*their*) faces bright with generosity (as with rutting-juice) together with their adherents confidently take delight everywhere, undaunted of mind (*and*) exulting in (*their*) pride, of known renown on account of (*their*) good lineage (*and*) known for (*their*) virtues, praiseworthy for probity[46] and full of energy.

(L. 6).—Among these kings, who were such (*and*) who ruled the whole earth, there was a prince who, **Dhavala** as he was,[47] was dazzling by (*his*) fame.

For their own sins, which day by day they always openly brought on themselves by their bodies and so forth,[48] he defeated (*his*) enemies and reduced the wretches to such a state that, like evil spirits, naked (*and*) ever famishing (*and thus*) day by day revealing the punishment (*meted out to them, and*) again and again wandering at night to strangers' houses, they even now are kings.[49]

Although the mighty one already had in person repeatedly adorned the fields of battle, abandoned by cowardly men, with thick streams of blood ornamented with the pearls dropping from the frontal globes of lordly elephants wrathfully cut open (*by him*), — he yet, full of valour, decorated them again with the cut-off heads of enemies, as with lotus-flowers torn from the stalks.

(L. 7).—Such (*was he; and*) his dear friend, of long standing, was the illustrious prince, named **Saṅkuka**, known for his excellent qualities; who, although a Brâhman, took delight in doing homage to the king of the dead who is fond of those that take up arms; whose dalliance in the court of battle, the battlefields, dear to goblins, betray, one may say, even to-day, filled as they

[45] *i. e.* Śiva; see note 14, above.

[46] Or, referred to the elephants, 'praiseworthy because they are *bhadra* elephants.' Of elephants there are three or four kinds, one of which is termed *bhadra*, mentioned before the others by both Halâyudha and Hêmachandra.

[47] The expression *dhaval-âtmâ*, of course, is properly equivalent to *dhavala-svabhâva* 'of a pure disposition or character;' and the name of the king is only indirectly suggested by this verse.

[48] *i. e.* by their deeds, words, and thoughts.

[49] *i. e.* they still remained *narêndras*; not however *narêndras* in the ordinary sense of the word ('kings'), but in the sense of 'sorcerers.' I am unable to bring out the double meaning of the word *narêndra* in the translation. It is similarly used in *Śiśupâlavadha*, II. 88.

are with the murmur of the drying-up blood of the enemies; (*who was to Dhavala*) what the meaning is to the word able to convey it (?), what the path, called the triad (of the Vêdas), is to the law; (*who*), of pure character, (*was*) straightforward, the root of fitting conduct, (*and*) . . . for establishing what had to be established . . .

This (*prince*) had for his lawful wife (*a lady*) named **Dêgiṇî**, sprung from a Brâhman (*family*). She bore to him a son who has set high store on virtue, the illustrious prince **Sivagaṇa**, a hero, renowned, of beautiful form, (*and*) liberal; since he has become a devotee of (Śiva), he surely *is* Śiva's host.[50]

Who, gratified at heart, more than once exerted himself in fight, which was loud with the shouts emitted from the cavern-like throats of headless corpses, burnt by the spark-lit flames of fire issuing from armour which burst under the strokes of (*his*) sword, (*and*) in which the spirit-folk enjoyed like liquor the blood vomited forth by birds which took fright at the faces pierced by (*his*) arrows.

(L. 10).—Having found out that life is burdened with every affliction, old age, separation, and death, (*and being aware that*) this is the only fit employment of one's wealth, well known all the world over to the good,—he, pious-minded, had this dwelling of the supreme Lord made, having but set eyes on which everybody in the world is freed from the stain of the Kali-age.

That wise man built the excellent dwelling of Bhava here **in the hermitage of Kaṇva**, in the season which is fragrant with the breezes from Aśôkas in flower, when mango-shoots are blossoming, when the circle of the regions is hemmed in by swarms of intoxicated staggering bees, (*and*) when the love of women is told, more plainly than by anything else, by the glances from the corners of their eyes;—

In the season in which fair women,—when the mark left by love on their round breasts is betrayed by their bodices bursting open through the motion of their bodies, (*as they sit*) bewildered on swings,—face to face with their lovers quickly cast down their smiling half-shut eyes, and only by the knitting of their brows show the pleasing affection that dwells in their hearts;—

(*When*) the wives of wanderers shed a tear, as they see the regions brightened by mango-trees that resound with the humming of intoxicated bees.

For incense and so forth, perfumes and lights, (*and*) for the repair of what may be broken or damaged, he gave the two villages **Sarvâṅkâ and Chôṇipadraka**, as a perpetual endowment.

(L. 13).—May all princes, to whom this land shall belong, protect (*this*)! By doing so they surely, for their righteousness, go to the abode of Śiva!

By this bridge of righteousness a man surely will make his parents as well as his own self cross the awful sea of mundane existence!

As long as moon and sun illumine the earth together with the sea, and with its mountains and woods, so long will (*his*) fame[51] endure!

(L. 14).—(*This*) temple of Dhûrjaṭi was built, **when seven hundred and ninety-five years[52] of the Mâlava lords had gone by.**

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[50] *i. e.* Śivagaṇa, on account of his devotion to Śiva, was really what his name expresses, *Śivasya gaṇaḥ*.

[51] Or, possibly,—'so long will (this) meritorious work endure.'

[52] In the original the instrumental case is used instead of the locative. Besides, the passage is remarkable for the employment of the word *argala* (or *argalâ*) at the end of the Bahuvrîhi compound *sa-pañcha-navaty-argalaiḥ*. *Argala* means 'a bolt or pin for fastening a door, a bar, check,' etc.; and the only other date known to me, in which the word occurs, is in Professor Peterson's *Report* for 1884-86, App. p. 9, where we have *dvy-argala-chatvâriṁśat-sa-madhika-vatsara-sahasra* 'thousand years, increased by forty (which have run on to and are) checked by two,' *i. e.* 1042 years. Similarly the literal translation would be here—'seven hundred (which have run on to and are) checked by (*i. e.* have not gone beyond) ninety and five,' *i. e.* 795 years.

The agent[53] (*in this matter was*) Sabḍagaṇa, free from covetousness, and kindly speaking, always delighting in devotion to Śiva, righteous (*and*) faithful to vows. And the writer, taking delight in this matter, (*was*) Raupaka, the son of Gômika, clever, intelligent, of well-controlled mind, devoted to his elders (*and*) kindly speaking. Engraved (*was this eulogy*) by Sivanâga, the son of Dvârasiva. Dêvaṭa, the son of Bhaṭṭa-Surabhi, full of faith, composed these verses (*which are*) radiant with sacred lore (*and*) partake of the nectar of the moon (*which is Śiva's*) diadem. And Ṇaṇṇaka, the son of Kṛishṇa, rich in good qualities, is here the architect.

Knowing that this blessed **hermitage of Kaṇva** takes away all sin, (*the prince*) forsooth built (*here*) the temple of Sambhu which advances (*both*) religion and (*his*) fame.

Whatever there be defective here in the verses, in language and in prosody, may the wise, benevolently inclined, forgive all that at all times![54] . . . . . .

WEBER'S SACRED LITERATURE OF THE JAINS.

TRANSLATED BY Dr. HERBERT WEIR SMYTH.

(*Continued from Vol.* XVIII. *page* 378).

V. The fifth aṅgam, viyâha or *vivâha*, (or °pannatti,[1]) with the epithet *bhagavatî*, and lastly also [295] merely *bhagavatî* (Hêm. v. 243); in 41 *sayas*, *śata*,[2] of which some are divided into sub-divisions of the same name,[3] and both into *uddêsagas*. The number of the latter cannot be discovered from the MSS. themselves, because the latter books (33—41) contain for the most part nothing but stereotyped descriptions, in reproducing which the greatest freedom has been taken. Some *uddêsagas* are indicated merely by catch-words. According to the usual general survey of extent and division of the work at the end of the MSS., there are in all 138 sayas, including all the sub-sayas, 1925 *uddêsagas*, 184,000 padas; and these statements, especially those in reference to the number of words, are in exact agreement with the actual state of affairs, (see Bhag. 1, 376), and agree, so far as the number of the *uddêsagas* is concerned, with the specific statements on this head in the Vidhiprapâ (V), excepting in the case of an insignificant variation (there are only 1,923 *udd.* see p. 296n). In reference to the great difference especially as regards the extent—184,000 *padas*—as opposed to the statements of *aṅga* 4 and of the *Nandî* the reader is referred to p. 288. Besides, in its general survey of the extent of the *aṅgas*, the fourth *aṅga* has in § 84, where there is no occasion for suspecting its truth, the same statement that the *vivâhapannattî bhagavaṭî* had 84,000 *padas*. This statement was transferred from there to the later general survey (see page 289), although it does not belong there. I do not scruple, therefore, for this very reason to regard it as [296] correct. It would then have to be relegated to a period in which the fifth *aṅgam* had not yet attained the half of its present extent. Cf. on this point the statements in *aṅga* 3, 10 in reference to the *vivâhachûliyâ* as *ajjh.* 5 of the last of the ten dasâ texts there cited. See above, p. 274. The *vivâhach.* is also mentioned in a previous passage in the *Nandî* among the *aṇaṅgapaviṭṭha* texts (*bhagavatichûlikâ*, Schol.). On the other hand it is noteworthy that *aṅga* 4 in § 81, that is to say just before the mention of the 84,000 padas of the *bhagavatî*, refers expressly to its 81 *mahâjummas* (see above page 283); and consequently there is herein a direct reference to its latter books. But these very latter books give one at first glance the impression of containing secondary additions.

That *aṅga* 5 grew only gradually to its present extent of 15,750 *granthâgra* or 184,000 *padas*, is proved by a glance at the different proportions of the single books:—[1—8. 12—14. 18—20

[53] I supply here some such expression as *atra* or *asminn-arthê*, which we actually find below; and take the word *kârâpaka*, which is otherwise unknown, but which from its etymology should mean 'one who causes anything to be done or made,' to denote an agent employed by the prince in the construction of the temple.

[54] The meaning of the six *akshara*s, with which the original ends, I am unable to explain.

[1] Accord. to Abhayadêva and Malayagiri (Schol. on *up.* 4) vyâkhyâprajñapti (cf. Hêm. Schol. p. 319): or *vivâha*° or *vivâdha*° (cf. Wilson Sel. W. 1, 281), s. *Bhagav.* 1, 371-72. See ibid. p. 368n. and below on *upâṅgas* 5 foll., in reference to the name prajñapti and the conclusions to be derived therefrom.

[2] The reason for the name is as yet involved in obscurity.

[3] avamtarasaya in Vidhiprapâ.

with 10 *udd.* each, 9, 10 with 34 *udd.* each, 11 with 12 *udd.*; 15 without *udd.*;[4] 16 with 14, 17 with 17 *udd.*, but 21 with 80,[5] 22 with 60,[6] 23 with 50,[7] 24 with 24, 26—30 with only 11 each, 25 with 12, but 31, 32 with 28 each, 33, 34[8] with 124 each, 35—39 with [297] 132, 40 with 231, 41 with 196 *udd.*] Their contents too prove the gradual extension of *aṅga* 5.

The first 20 books, which are the substructure of all, are clothed in a legendary form, and contain in irregular order, and without any recognizable connecting thread, the most varied legends in reference to the activity and teachings of Mahâvîra; his conversations[9] with his first scholar Indabhûti (Gôyama) at the time of king Seṇia of Râjagiha being made of special importance. In *sayas* 21 ff. there are no such legends, and each *sayam* has not only a harmonious contents, but many of the *sayas* are connected together as groups. 21—23 treat of plants, 24—30 of the different conditions of living creatures (*jîva*) 24 of their origin, 25 of their *leśyâdayô bhâvâh*, 26[10] of their *karmabandha*, 27 of their *karmakaraṇa*[298]*kriyâ*, 28 of their *pâpakarmâdidaṇḍakanavaka*, 29 of their *karmaprasthâpanâdi*, 30 of the 4 *samavasaraṇa* (see above, p. 264); 31—41, finally, in a most peculiar fashion, of their state during the four *jummas* (*yugma* = *yuga*): *kaḍa*, *têôga*, *dâvara*, *kaliyôga*. The make-up of these latter books, is, as I have already said, purely formal, and is almost similar to a mere table of statistics.

Since this is the case it appears to me a matter of tolerable certainty that *sayas* 21 fg. were added at a later period to *sayas* 1—20. It is perfectly clear that we have here to deal with a chance co-ordination of elements. On the other hand, this fact serves to lend a kind of authenticity to the single constituent parts and especially to those of a legendary colouring. After the most naive fashion the discordant parts have been brought into conjunction without any attempt at change. That there was however a guiding hand in this conjunction if evident from two reasons:—(1) Since an introductory verse in *âryâ* precedes each *saya* (only up to No. 26 is this true); which verse briefly marks the contents of each of the *udd.* of the *saya* by means of catch-words (titles). This occurs here for the first time, since it is found in no former *aṅga*; but from this time on recurs with considerable frequency. The (2) second indication occurs for the first time especially in this *aṅga*, and remains henceforth regularly. It consists in the frequent reference to other texts as parts of the *Siddhânta*, which often completely interrupts and destroys the context. There are also frequent references to those texts, which belong to the *upaṅga* group, e.g. *Râyapasêṇaijjaṁ* [299] *Pannavaṇâ*, *Jaṁbuddîvapannatti*, see *Bhag.* 1, 382n. It must however remain an open question whether in each single instance we have to deal with the work of a redactor or with the convenience of the scribe, see supra, pp. 228-232. We must leave in doubt whether some of these citations are really to be found in the work from which it quotes, at least in its extant form. The passage cited from the *Râjapraśnîyam* by Jacobi, *Kalpasûtra*, p. 107 is found, according to Leumann, in the Edit. p. 185 fg.

[4] Gosâlassayam êgaasram V.

[5] With 8 *vagga* each with 10 *udd.* V.

[6] With 6 *vagga* each with 10 *udd.*

[7] With 5 *vagga* each with 10 *udd.* V.

[8] 33 and 39 with 12 *avaṁtarasayas* (of which 8 with 11 each, 4 with 9 *udd.* each); 35—39 with 12 avaṁtaras, with 11 *udd.* each, 40 with 21 av. with 11 u. each; êvaṁ mahâjummasayâṇi (i. e. 35—40) 81, êvaṁ savvaggêṇaṁ sayâ 139, savvaggêṇaṁ uddêsâ 1923, V., to which a *yantrakam* i. e. a tabular enumeration of the *uddêsas* and days belonging to each sayas, is appended.

[9] The question 9, 34, purisê ṇaṁ bhaṁtê purisaṁ haṇamâṇê kiṁ purisaṁ haṇati?—is an interesting parallel to *Bhagavadg.* 2, 19: *Kâṭh. Up.* 1, 2. 18. 19.

[10] In V. and even in the MSS. of the *Bhag.* the foll. names are found for books 26—41: 26 bamdhisâ, 27 kariṁsuga (or karisuga)saê, 28 kammasamajjiṇapasaê, 29 kammapaṭṭhavaṇasaê, 30 samôsaraṇasaê, 31 uvavâyasaê, 32 uvvaṭṭaṇâsaê, 33 êgiṁdiyajummasayâṇi, 34 sêḍhîsayâṇi, 35 êgiṁdiyamahâjummasayâṇi, 36 bêiṁdiyamahâj°, 37 têiṁd°, 38 chaûriṁd., 39 asaṇnipaṁchiṁd°, 40 saṇnipaṁchiṁd., 41 râsîjummasaê. The fact that "*abhihâṇâs*" are expressly mentioned for these 16 sayas alone (*Jôgavih.* v. 37), gives them at the very start a separate place. See the remarks on book 15. Note also that, from book 26 on, the introductory *kârikâs* no longer appear (book 26 has, it is true, one such), and that one of the MSS. of the text which I have before me, has before book 26 (but also before book 17) a special greeting, *namô suyadêvayâê bhagavaîê*. This refers to a new section. If Leumann is correct we are to attribute no importance to the absence of the *kârikâ* in the case of books 27 and foll., since the *kârikâ* that precedes book 26 holds good in the case of the following books, which have the same arrangement as book 26.

The introduction consists of three parts. The actual beginning consists in the so-called *pañchanamaskâra*, a benediction which from this point on recurs frequently :[11] namô arihaṁtâṇaṁ, namô siddhâṇaṁ, namô âyariyâṇaṁ, namô uvajjhâyâṇaṁ, namô lôê savvasâhûṇaṁ, or here with the addition namô bambhîê livîe (see supra, p. 220). Next follows the introductory *kârikâ* of the first *saya* and then, after the insertion of *namô suyassa*, the customary beginning of legends: têṇaṁ kâlêṇaṁ têṇaṁ samaêṇaṁ Râyagihê nâmaṁ nayarê hotthâ, . . Seṇiê râyâ, Chillaṇâ dêvî, . . samaṇê bhagavaṁ Mahâvîrê . . .

Of the legends which are adduced here, those claim a special interest which deal with predecessors or contemporaries of Mahâvîra, with the opinions of his heterodox opponents, *annaüttthiyas*[12] or *âjîviyas*, and with their conversion. Apart from these are named the men, who have patronymic epithet [300] *Pâsâvachchijja* (Pârśvâpatyîya) attached to their names.[13] Herein the name of Pârśva, the immediate predecessor of Mahâvîra can be recognized; so, for example, in 1, 9 Kâlâsa-Vêsiyaputtê (cf. *Bhagav.* 2, 183 fg. Jacobi, *ante*, Vol. IX. p. 160), is styled a *Pâsâvachchijja*, and in 2, 5 there are four of this name: Kâliyaputta, Mêhila, Âṇaṁdarakkhiya and Kâsava, in 5, 9 Pâ°jjâ thêrâ bhagavaṁtô, in 9, 32 Pâ°jjê Gaṁgêê. Pâsa himself never appears here[14] though the conversion of his adherents to the doctrines of Mahâvîra is often alluded to.[15] The Vêsâlî-sâvayas too and their adherents appear as his older contemporaries; this is the case in 2, 1 *Piṁgalaê Vêsâlî-sâvaê* (s. *Bhagav.* 1, 440. 2, 184, 197, 249). 12, 2. See above, p. 262, 263, in reference to *Vêsâlia* as a designation of Mahâvîra himself. The following are additional names :—Niyaṁṭhiputta 5, 8, Saṁkha-ppâmokkhâ samaṇôvâsagâ 12, 1, Pokkhalî *ibid.*, Gaddabhâli 2, 1, Dhammaghôsa 11, 11, Sumaṁgala 15, 5, etc.

Iṁdabhûti appears as the "oldest" scholar of Mahâvîra, Aggibhûti as the "second," Vâyubhûti[16] as the "third." Some of the usual names of the scholars of Mahâvîra are not mentioned at all—especially that of Sudharman; and of those that are referred to, Môriyaputta appears in an unusual connexion, *viz.* as a predecessor [301] of Mahâvîra (3, 1),[17] while Maṇḍiyaputta is here too designated as his scholar (3, 3.) Besides him there are other scholars whose names are not found in the later usual list of Vîra's scholars; *e.g.* Rôha 1, 6, Khaṁdaya, Kachchâyaṇa, 2, 1, Kurudattaputta and Tisaya 3, 1, Nârayaputta 5, 8, Sâmahatthi 10, 4, Âṇaṁda and Sunakkhatta 15, Mâgaṁdiyaputta 18, 3; see Bhagav. 2, 195. We find in 9, 33 the history of his opponent Jamâli and in book 15[18] that of his 'shade of a scholar' (*śishyâbhâsa*) Gôsâla Maṁkhaliputta related in great detail. There are here and there a few statements of an historical colouring; so *e.g.* the incidental mention (7, 9) of a victory of Vajji Vidêhaputta (cf. *up.* 8) over nine (Malaï-Mallaï Mallaki) and nine Lechchhaï (Lechchhaki = Lichchhavi) kings of Kâsi-Kôsala at the time of king Kôṇia, Kûṇia of Campâ, or of Mahâvîra himself; the history (12, 2) of Jayantî [aunt of the Kôsambî king Udâyaṇa, son of Sayâṇiya (Śatânîka) grandson of Sahassâṇiya] who was the patron of the Vêsâlisâvayas, and who, after hearing the sermon of Mahâvîra, became a bhikkhuṇî.

[11] See *up.* 4, *Kalpasûtra*, p. 83.

[12] Abh. explains this by anyayûthika; Haribhadra gives, however, the preferable explanation anyatîrthika, cf. prâkr. tûha-tîrtha, Ind. Stud. xvi. p. 46. See Leumann's glossary to *Aupapât.* s. v. *annaüttthiya.*

[13] See above, p. 266, from *aṅga* 2, 2, 7.

[14] In *up.* 10. 11 he appears in person as a teacher; and even till the present day he has received honours as such. The uvasaggaharastôtram, assigned to Bhadrabâhu, is dedicated to him, see Jacobi, l. c. p. 12, 13, and my remarks on *upâṅg.* 2 below.

[15] Conversion from the châujjâma dhamma to the *pañcha mahavvayâiṁ*, see *Bhagav.* 2. 185; Jacobi, *ante*, Vol. IX. p. 160.

[16] These three names in bhûti are probably nâkshatra names; see *Ind. Stud.* 4, 380. 81, 3, 130: Nakṣh. 2, 320.

[17] See Bhag. 1, 440 in reference to chronological conclusions to be drawn from this name.

[18] Gôsâla's anêkadhâ janma maraṇaṁ cha; according to the Vidhiprapâ this book had another title Gôsâliyasayaṁ têyanisaggâvaraṇâmayê anunnâê. This name, which appears in the MSS. of *Bhag.* at the very close of the book, occurs (see page 224) as that of a text designed for the eighteenth year of study whereas aṅga 5 is designed for the tenth year. Since this book, not like the others, is *êgasara*, i.e. not divided into *uddêsagas*, it may be assumed that it is an independent text, which at a later period found a resting place here. Leumann thinks that he can discover in the *Bhag.* several other of the texts mentioned, p. 224; *e.g.* the âsîvisabhâvaṇâ in 8, 2, 1 (cf. *aṅga* 3, 4, 4,), the châraṇabhâvaṇâ in 20, 9, the mahâsumiṇabhâvaṇâ in 16, 6.

All these legends, [302] the number of which will be materially increased by a special investigation of the contents, give us the impression of containing traditions which have been handed down in good faith. They offer, therefore, in all probability (especially as they frequently agree with the Buddhistic legends) most important evidence for the period of the life of Mahâvîra himself.

Among those statements which may be adduced as witnesses for the first composition of the existing form of the text, an enumeration of foreign peoples asserts the chief place. The names of these peoples recur frequently in some customary form in the remaining texts of the Siddhânta, though accompanied by numerous variations of detail.[19] In 9, 33. 12, 2 there are enumerated the foreign female slaves and waiting-maids in the house of a rich mâhaṇa (brâhmaṇa); consequently the names are all feminine: bahûhiṁ khujjâhiṁ Chilâtiyâhiṁ[20] vâmaṇiyâhiṁ[21] vaḍabhiyâhiṁ[22] Babbariyâhiṁ[23] Isigaṇiyâhiṁ Vâsagaṇiyâhiṁ[24] Palhaviyâhiṁ Hlâsiyâhiṁ Laüsiyâhiṁ Arabîhiṁ Damilâhiṁ Siṁhalîhiṁ Pulimdîhiṁ Pukkalîhiṁ[25] Bahalîhiṁ Muraṁḍîhiṁ (Maruṁḍ° Abh.) Saṁvarîhiṁ (Sav° Abh.) Pârasîhiṁ nânâdêsîvidêsa-paripiṁḍiyâhiṁ. Of these names Palhaviyâ, [303] Arabî, Bahalî, Muraṁḍî, and Pârasî are of special interest, since they deal with a period from the second till the fourth century A.D., the age of the Parthian Arsacids and the Persian Sassanids; cf. on Pahlavas (Parthians), Nöldeke's remarks in my History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 338; on Muraṁḍa, *Ind. Stud.* XV. 280, on Bâhlî, Bactria, *Monatsberichte der Königl. Akad. der Wiss.* 1879, p. 462. The Maruṇḍas especially appear together with the Śakas and the Shâhân Shâhi on the inscriptions of Samudragupta as tributary to him, the tribute consisting, among other things, of girls (Lassen, 2, 952). The mention of the Arabas[26] can be explained by reference (cf. p. 237) to the flourishing state of trade with Arabia at this period. The name of a grain âlisaṁḍaga, in 21, 21, points to commercial intercourse at this date, since it may be explained, as I think, as signifying "coming from Alexandria" or "proceeding from A."[27] It is not explained by the commentary. Alexandria, or the Persian ports Apologos and Omana, carried on a brisk trade with India in παρθένοι εὐειδεῖς, as we learn from the Periplus (cf. Lassen, 2, 557, 957, 1159). Another point confirmative of this fact (see introduction to my translation of the Mâlav. p. 47) is that Yavanî girls appear in Kâlidâsa in the immediate surrounding of the king. Here then we have direct evidence on the part of the Indian tradition. The great frequency of the appearance of foreign female slaves as waiting-maids and as nurses, which is regarded as customary [304] in the Jain texts, is very surprising, and may be regarded as a proof of national pride, called into existence by a few victories over some foreign peoples, which can be ascertained only with difficulty. This national pride permitted these foreigners to appear in these menial capacities alone. In the inscriptions of Samudragupta we find immediate confirmation of this conjecture, as has been remarked above. The origin of these customary lists takes us back to the period of the Guptas.

Besides the above-mentioned list of foreign peoples there is in 15, 17 an enumeration of native races. It contains 16 names:—Aṅga, Vaṅga, Magaha, Malaya, Mâlavaya, Achcha, Vachchha, Kochchha(ttha ?), Paḍha, Lâḍha, Vajjî, Mâlî, Kôsî, Kôsala, Avâha, Subhattara. This list has the stamp of considerable antiquity, especially if we compare it with the similar one, *up.* 4.

[19] I do not propose here to enter into a detailed discussion of these variations; see *aṅga* 6, 1, 117 (Steinthal, p. 28) *up.* 1, 55 (Leumann, p. 60) etc. Besides this enumeration, there is another which occurs only in those texts which are characterized as younger from the fact that they contain this second enumeration. I refer to that of the Mlêchchhas, in which some fifty (not sixteen) names are quoted; see *aṅga* 10, *up.* 4.

[20] Chilâtadêsôtpanna Abh. cf. Kirâta. [21] Hrasvaśarîrâbhiḥ Abh.

[22] Vaḍabhiyâhiṁ maḍahakôshṭhâbhiḥ Abh. (Vakrâdhaḥkôshṭhâbhiḥ Schol. on *up.* 1).

[23] Abh. adds Vaüsiyâhiṁ. [24] Vârugaṇiyâhiṁ Abh. who adds Jôṇiyâhiṁ after this name.

[25] Pakka° Abh. [26] In Brâhman texts they occur only in the list of peoples in Varâhamihira 14, 17.

[27] I would mention incidentally that in 22, 11 pilu is mentioned among the names of trees and in 23, 1 siṁgavêra cinnamon among the spices.

The mention of the planets, the absence of any allusion to the zodiac, (*Bhag.* 1, 441; 2, 228) and the statements in reference to the Brahmanical literature existing at that period[28] (*ibid.* 2, 246. 7) are in harmony with the date which we have assumed above. See above pages 236, 238.

In *aṅga* 4 (or *Nandî*, N) there are contained the full statements of contents:—sê kiṁ taṁ viyâhê[29] ? viyâhê ṇaṁ [305] sasamayâ viâhijjaṁti parasamayâ sasamayaparasamayâ, jîvâ viâ° 3, lôgê 3 viâhijjaï;[30] viyâhê ṇaṁ[31] nâṇâvihasura-nariṁda-râya-risi-vivihasaṁsaïyapuchchhiyâṇaṁ, jiṇêṇa vittharêṇaṁ[32] bhâsiyâṇaṁ, davva-guṇa-khettakâla-pajjava-paêsapariṇâma jahatthiyabhâvaaṇuga-manikkhêva-naya-ppamâṇasuṇiuṇô-'vakkama vivihapagârapâgaḍapayaṁsiyâṇaṁ,[33] lôgâlôgapagâsiyâṇaṁ,[34] saṁsârasamuddaruṁda-uttaraṇasamatthâṇaṁ,[35] suravaïsaṁpûiyâṇaṁ, bhaviyajaṇaypaahiyayâbhiṇaṁdiyâṇaṁ, tamaraya-vidhaṁsaṇâṇaṁ, sudiṭṭhadîvabhûya-jhâmai-buddhivaddhaṇâṇaṁ, chattîsasahassa-m-aṇûṇayâṇaṁ[36] vâgaraṇâṇaṁ daṁsaṇâu[37] suyatthabahuvihappagârâ[38] sîsahiyatthâya[39] guṇahatthâ.[40]

We have for this *aṅga* the commentary of Abhayadêva. For a special table of contents for the first two books, two-thirds of the third book, for books 34—41, cf. my treatise, of which mention has often been made here and which created a new course for Jaina investigations: "On a fragment of the *Bhagavatî*" part first 1866, part second 1867.[41]

VI. The sixth aṅgam, nâyâdhammakahâu, [306] *jnâtâ*[42]*-dharmakathâs*, in two *suyakhaṁdhas* (*śrutaskandha*), which are very different in extent. The first in 19 *ajjhayaṇas* contains the nâyâṇi, which word is explained by *uddâharaṇa, dṛishṭânta, i.e.* edifying tales or parables, designed to serve as moral examples; the second which is much smaller, contains in 10 *vaggas* the *dhammakahâu, i.e.* edifying legends. The specific difference in the contents of both parts is not rendered clear by this method of division,[43] which itself is characterized in the legendary introduction to the text as a constituent part of the same.

In this introduction, which begins with the formula usually found in legends—*têṇaṁ kâlêṇaṁ-têṇaṁ samaêṇaṁ*—the work is referred to a dialogue between Mahâvîra's scholar Suham-

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[28] riuvêda-jajuvêda-sâmavêda-athavvaṇavêda-itihâsa-paṁchamâṇaṁ nighaṁṭuchchhaṭṭhâṇaṁ chaûṇhaṁ vêdâṇaṁ saṁgôvaṁgâṇaṁ sarahassâṇaṁ sâraê vâraê dhâraê pâraê, shaḍaṁgavî, saṭṭhitaṁtavisâraê, saṁkhâṇe sikkhâ-kappê vâyaraṇê chhaṁdê niruttê jôtisâm-ayaṇê, annêsu ya vahûsu vaṁbhannaêsu parivvâyaêsu nayêsu supari-niṭṭhiê.

[29] vyâkhyâyaṁtê . . yasyâṁ sâ vyâkhyâ; viyâhê iti pulliṁganirdêśaḥ prâkṛitatvât; shaṭtriṁśatsahasrâṇâṁ (vyâkaraṇânâṁ) darśanât śrutârthô vyâkhyâyatê iti . . vâkyasaṁbaṁdhaḥ.

[30] N has here the order lôê . ., . ., jîvâ . ., sasamaê . .; the verb is here correct, viyâhijjaï with lôê, samaê, °jjaṁti with jîvâ.

[31] vivâhê ṇaṁ C; the following is omitted in N.

[32] vitthara A; nâṇâvidhaiḥ surair . . vividhasaṁśaya-vaḍbhiḥ pṛishṭânâṁ; Mahâvîrêṇa.

[33] dravya . . pariṇâmânâṁ yathâsthitabhâvânugama-nikshêpanayapramâṇasunipuṇôpakramô vividhaprakâraiḥ prakaṭaṁ pradarśitô yair vyâkaraṇais tâni têshâṁ; . . nayâ naigamâdayaḥ.

[34] lôkâlôkau prakâśitau yêshu . . [35] saṁsârasamudrasya vistîrṇasya uttaraṇe samarthânâṁ.

[36] suṣṭhu dṛishṭâni, dîpabhûtâni . .; anyûnakâni shaṭtriṁśatsahasrâṇi yêshâṁ tâni, iha makârô 'nyathâpadanipâtaś cha prâkṛitatvât anavadyaṁ.

[37] têshâṁ darśanât prakâśanâd uparibaṁdhâd ity a., athavâ têshâṁ darśanâ upadarśakâ ity a.

[38] śrutârthâḥ, tê cha bahuvidhaprakârâś chê 'ti vigrahaḥ, śrutârthânâṁ vâ bahuvidhâḥ prakârâḥ iti vigrahaḥ.

[39] śishyahitârthâya.

[40] guṇamahatthâ (!) B.C.; guṇahastâ guṇaparyâptyâdilakshaṇô hasta iva hastaḥ pradhânâvayava(ḥ) yêshâṁ tê; (cf. Pet. Dict. s. v. hasta 1 i).

[41] In the enumeration of daily labours, 1, 378, the statement in lines 9 and foll. is to be explained thus: "at most a whole sayam on one day, a moderate measure in two days, at least a sayam in three days"—see above p. 250. âyaṁvila in 14 stands for âyâmaṁvila âchâmâmra and signifies a meal taken during a fast consisting of a "sour swallow," a portion of sour pap cf. Leumann Aupap. p. 101, and in a derived sense a division of time necessary for this meal—l. 18 read: "need a day each;" l. 19 read "sêḍhisayâiṁ (book 34)." Much must be now changed in the middle portion of the treatise.

[42] See Schol. Hem. 243 p. 319 (Bgk.-Rieu) for the length of the â in jnâtâ.—The same length is observed in the Vedic compound *idhmâ-barhis*; see also the Vienna Oriental Journal, Vol. III. p. 331, note 2.—L.

[43] Accord. to the Comm. this difference consists herein, that in the first part âptôpâlambhâdijnâtair dharmârtha upanîtaḥ, in the second part sâkshât kathâbhir abhidhîyatê. The second part contains, it is true, no parables and similitudes, but the first, as well as the second contains kathâs. As Leumann informs me the term nâya is treated in great detail in aṅga 3, 4, 3.

ma and the latter's scholar Jaṁbû,[44] which took place at the period of king Kôṇia of Champâ. Suhamma represents the transmission of the [307] sacred texts as proceeding directly from Mahâvîra. He prefaces "the fifth *aṅgam* is now ended (paṁchamassa aṁgassa ayam aṭṭhê pannattê, what is the contents of the sixth *aṅgam*?" and then continues with a detailed presentation of its division as given above, citing the titles of each of the 10 *ajjhayaṇas* of the first suakkhaṁdha. Hereupon follows one of the usual ajjhayaṇa introductions which from this point on is found at the beginning of each of the following *ajjh.*

This style of introduction and of tabulation of the contents recurs[45] in exactly the same form in the case of *aṅgas* 7—11, and proves that these six *aṅgas* especially are bound together and have perhaps been the subject of treatment at the hands of the same redactor. They are connected like links in a chain, inasmuch as in the beginning of each *aṅga* reference is made to the *aṅgas* preceding it. The first four *aṅgas* have a mark of unity in their introductory formula suyaṁmê and in their close ti bêmi. The fifth *aṅga* occupies an isolated position.

The fact that this *introductio solennis* is found in all six *aṅgas* alike, is proof enough of its late origin and of its being the work of a hand which brought all six into close conjunction. If this be so, it is possible to conceive that the explanation of the name ṇâyâdhammakahâu which occurs in *aṅga* 6 (nâyâṇi ya [308] dhammakahâô ya) is not in harmony with its original signification. I prefer the foll. explanation: first separate the word into ṇâyâdhamma and kahâu and understand by nâyâdhamma the "dharma of the *Jnâta*" i. e. of Mahâvîra[46] (see above, p. 261, on *aṅga* 2, 1, 1, 6), and understand the meaning to be "Recitals for the dharma of the Jñâta."

But we must not suppress an objection. In the *aṅga* section in *aṅga* 4 and *Nandî*, both parts of *aṅga* 6 are especially recognized, and in fact by the same titles: nâyâi and dhammakahâu. This misunderstanding, if such here exist, must have been anterior to the date of *aṅga* 4 and N. I cannot however regard this as a cogent objection, since the *Nandî* is the work, according to all probability, of Dêvarddhigaṇi himself (980 Vîra), and the section of *aṅga* 4 is perhaps, in the last instance, the production of a still later period (cf. above, p. 284.)[47*]

The statements in reference to the extent of the second part of *aṅga* 6 contained in *aṅga* 4 and identical with those of the *Nandî*, are full of the most fabulous exaggerations, cf. p. 286, 289. Each of the dhammakahâs is said to contain 500 *akkhâiyâs*, each of these 500 *uvakkhâiyâs*; each uv. 500 *akkhâiya-uvakkhâiyâs* with a total of "$3\frac{1}{2}$ kôṭi," *i.e.* 35 millions of akkhâiâs. This latter sum excites the hostility of surprise since, if we reckon each [309] of the ten *vaggas* of the second part as a dhammakahâ, the result for all 10 is if we trust the above quoted statements, 125 *kôṭis*, namely 10×500^3, i. e. 1250 millions! According to the Schol. on the *Nandî* this riddle is solved by the assumption that of the 125 *kôṭis*, only $3\frac{1}{2}$ *kôṭi* are "apunarukta," and the remaining $121\frac{1}{2}$ *kôṭis* have occurred in the nine *ajjh.* 11—19 of part 1, each of which in turn contains 540 *akkh.* having each 500 *uvakkh.* and these 500 *akkh.-uvakkh* each.

Dismissing such calculations as mere child's-play, let us examine the actual state of things. In the first place the titles of the 19 ajjhayaṇas of part 1 are enumerated at the outset

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[44] The *Prâkṛit* text Jaṁbûdiṭṭhaṁta, or Jaṁbûsvâmikathânakam, in 21 *uddêsas*, deals with him; the Prâkṛit in it is very like the apabhraṁśa.

[45] The tenth has now, it is true, another introductory formula. Abhayadêva however cites a different one which is exactly the same as that found before *aṅgas* 7, 8, 9 and 11.

[46] The length of the â of nâyâ (cf. Pâṇ. 6, 3, 129. 130) is irregular according to both explanations.—See however the first note on this *aṅga*. It certainly militates against the plausibility of the above conjecture, that the recitals of the first part are cited in the references of the redactor under the designation of nâya (jahâ aṇṇâê, jahâ Mallinâê).—L.

[47*] There is no reason whatever to suppose a misunderstanding in the above passages only to please ... etymology of the 19th century; even in this very *aṅga* 6 the term *nâya* is applied to the first and twelfth *ajjh.* as will be seen from their titles given later on. Remember also the term *nâyajjhayaṇâim* spoken of above on *aṅga* 419.

(see page 307), and are found singly in *Âvaśy.* 16, 82. 83 (*Âv.*) and in the *Vidhimârgapâ* (V.)[48] They are as follows:—

1. **ukkhittaṇâê**, utkshiptam: the "raised" but not replaced foot of an elephant, the first birth of prince Mêgha, whose history is here related *ab ovo* (pregnancy of his mother, birth of the child, education, marriage, instruction at the hands of Mahâvîra). See Paul Steinthal: "Specimen der Nâyâdhammakahâ," Leipzig, 1881.[49] The contents are said by Abh. to be anuchitapravṛittikasya śishyasyô'pâlambhaḥ.

2. **saṁkhâḍa** (*Âv.*, saṁghâḍa V), saṁghâṭakaḥ; śrêshṭhichaurayôr êkabaṁdhanabaddhatvam; or anuchitapravṛittikôchitapravṛittikayôr anarthârthaprâptiparaṁparâ.

3. **aṁḍa**, mayûrâṁḍaṁ (cf. p. 270 note 4); pravachanârthêshu śaṁkitâśaṁkitayôḥ prâṇinôr dôshaguṇau [310].

4. **kumma**, kûrma; asaṁlînêṁdriyêtarayôr (*i.e.* asaṁlînêṁdriya-saṁlînêṁdriyayôr) anarthârthau.

5. **Sêlaa**, Śailakô râjarshiḥ; pramâdavatô 'pramâdavataś châ 'narthêtarau (i. e. anarthârthau, evil and weal.)

6. **tumba** (tumbaya V), alâbû; prâṇâtipâtâdimatâṁ karmagurutâbhâvênê 'tarêshâṁ[50] cha laghutâbhâvêna anarthaprâptitarê.[51]

7. **Rôhiṇî**, śrêshṭhivadhûḥ; mahâvratânâṁ virâdhanâvirâdhanayôr anarthârthau.

8. **Mallî**, êkônaviṁśatitamajinasthânôtpannâ tîrthakarî;[52] mahâvratânâm êvâ 'lpênâ 'pi mâyâśalyêna dûshitânâm ayathâvatsvaphalasâdhakatvaṁ, or mâyâvatô 'narthaḥ.

9. **Mâiṁḍî** (Mâyaṁḍi V); Mâkaṁḍî nâma vaṇik, tatputrô Mâkaṁḍîśabdênê 'ha gṛihîtaḥ; bhôgêshu aviratimatô 'narthô, viratimataś chârthaḥ.

10. **chaṁdaṁâ** (chamdimâ V),) chandramâḥ; guṇavṛiddhihânilakshaṇâv anarthârthau pramâdy-apramâdinôḥ.

11. **dâvaddavê** (°gê Âv.), samudratatê vṛikshaviśêshâḥ; mârgârâdhanavirâdhanâbhyâm anarthârthau, or châritradharmasya virâdhakatvam ârâdhakatvaṁ cha.

12. **udaga nâê**, udakaṁ nagaraparikhâjalaṁ; châritrârâdhakatvaṁ prakṛitimalîmasânâm api bhavyânâṁ sadguruparikarmaṇâ bhavati: or saṁsargaviśêshâd guṇôtkarshaḥ.

13. **maṁḍukkê**, Maṁḍûkaḥ naṁdimaṇikâra-śrêshṭhijîvaḥ; saṁsargaviśêshâbhâvâd guṇâpakarshaḥ; or satâṁ guṇânâṁ sâmagry-abhâvê hânir.

14. **Têvalî** 'i ya (Têulî Âv.), Têtalisutâ[53] bhidhânô 'mâtyaḥ; tathâvidhasâmagrîsadbhâvê guṇasampad upajâyatê; or apamânâd vishayatyâgaḥ. See pp. 271 note 2, 317.

15. **naṁdiphala**; [311] naṁdivṛikshâbhidhânataruphalâni; Jinôpadêśât (vishayatyâgaḥ), tatra cha saty arthaprâptis, tadabhâvê tv anarthaprâptiḥ; or vishayâbhishvaṁgasyâ 'narthaphalatâ.

16.[54] **Avarakaṁkâ**, Dhâtakîshaṁḍa Bharatakshêtrarâjadhânî; tadvishayanidânasya sâ (anarthaphalatâ); or nidânâ(t) kutsitadânâd vâ anarthaḥ.

17. **âinnê**, âkîrṇâ jâtyâḥ samudramadhyavartinô 'śvâḥ; indriyêbhyê 'niyaṁtritêbhyaḥ sa (anarthaḥ) uchyatê; or indriyavaśavartinâm itarêshâṁ châ 'narthêtarau.[55]

18. **Suṁsumâ** (Suṁsa Âv.), Suṁsumâbhidhânâ śrêshṭhiduhitâ; lôbhavaśavartinâm itarêshâṁ cha tâv êva (anarthârthau); or asaṁvṛitâśravasyê 'tarasya châ 'narthêtarau

19. **puṁḍarîê**, puṁḍarîkaṁ;[56] chiraṁ saṁvṛitâśravô bhûtvâ 'pi yaḥ paśchâd anyathâ syât tasya alpakâlaṁ saṁvṛitâśravasya cha tâv (anarthêtarâv) uchyêtê.

After the conclusion of *ajjh.* 19 there follows a special conclusion for the first *suyakhaṁdhê*,[57] **then the usual beginning for the second suyakhaṁdhê held in the same strain as the introduction to the** *aṁga* **itself, and giving in detail the contents of each of the ten** *vargas*. These

[48] I extract these explanations or, as the case may be, statements of contents, from the introductions to each of the ajjh. in Abhayadêva's Comm.

[49] On page 4 twenty-one *ajjh.* of part 1 are erroneously spoken of; there are but nineteen.

[50] *vis.* aprâpti°. [51] *i.e.* anarthaprâptyarthaprâpti. [52] See Kup. 10 (800).

[53] Têyaliputtê in the text. [54] Here there is a detailed account of the Dôval (Draupadî.)

[55] *i.e.* anarthârthau. [56] See *aṁga* 2, 2, 1.

[57] The statement that 19 days are necessary to finish the 19 *ajjh.* is found here.

treat of the aggamahisîô, 1. Chamarassa, 2. Balissa Vairôyaṇaraṇṇô, 3. asurimdavajjiyâṇaṁ dâhiṇillâṇaṁ imdâṇaṁ, 4. uttarillâṇaṁ asurimdavajjiyâṇaṁ bhavaṇavâsi-imdâṇaṁ 5. dâhiṇillâṇaṁ vâṇamaṁtarâṇaṁ, 6. uttarillâṇaṁ vâṇam°, 7. chamdassa, 8. sûrassa, 9. Sakkassa, 10. Îsâṇassa.[312].

The actual composition of the text of the second part is quite summary. To the first *vagga* five *ajjhayaṇas* are ascribed,[58] their names being Kâlî, Râtî, Rayaṇî, Vijju, Mêhâ, names of the five wives of Camara. The history of the first alone is really related, and that in quite brief fashion; that of the second is very much abbreviated and is identified with the first by the use of the customary marks of abbreviation (êvaṁ jahâ Kâlî, taṁ chêva savvaṁ jâva); that of the third is still shorter, and the fourth and fifth are settled with a word or two.

The text of the remaining *vargas* is despatched in a like summary fashion with but few words, although quite a number of *ajjh.* are allotted to several of them. Their contents is as follows :—*varga* 2 five *ajjh.*, *vargas* 3 and 4, 54 each, *vargas* 5 and 6 each 32, *vargas* 7 and 8 each 4, *vargas* 9 and 10 each 8.—In the Vidhiprapâ however 10 *ajjhayaṇas* each are allotted to *varga* 1 and 10 to *varga* 2.[59]

The extent of the second part in the MSS. is one-twenty-first of the first part. In one MS. the commentary on part 2 is despatched in four lines. Even if all due regard is paid to the second note on *aṅga* 7 given below on p. 315, how curious are the statements, p. 286, 289, 308, from *aṅga* 4 and *Nandî*.

The events take place in Râyagiha, Champâ, Vârâṇasî, Bâravatî, Vîyasôgâ, Têyalîpura, Ahichchhattâ, Hatthisîsa, Puṁdaragiṇî. In the first account we find an [313] enumeration of non-Aryan peoples; some are not found among those quoted, p. 302, from *aṅga* 5, others are found here which are wanting there. We read (see Steinthal, p. 28) : bahûhiṁ Chilâiyâhiṁ khujjâhiṁ vâvaṇi(!) - vaḍabhi(!) - Babbari - Vauîsi - Jôṇiya - Palhavi - Isiṇi-Thârugiṇi-Lâsiya-Laüsiya-Damili-Siṁhali-Âravi-Puliṁdi-Pakkaṇi Bahali-Murumḍi-Sabari-Pârasîhiṁ. There is, furthermore, mention made here of 72 *kalâs* (cf. p. 282 and Steinthal, p. 29). The word *javaṇiyâ* (St. p. 14), *yavanikâ*, "curtain," refers to a stage-curtain or to the theatrical plays of the Greeks. We must not fail to notice the mention of 18 dêsîbhâsâô (St. p. 29), in a list which does not go into detail (see below, p. 336 and on *up.* 1. Cf. *Ind. Stud.* XVI. 38 on the word talavara (St. p. 14).

There is a commentary by Abhayadêva.

The table of contents in *aṅga* 4, or *Nandî* (N) is :—sê kiṁ taṁ nâyâdhammakahâu[60] ? nâ° hâsu ṇaṁ nâyâṇaṁ[61] nagarâiṁ ujjâṇâiṁ chêiyâiṁ vanasaṁḍâ (ḍâiṁ N) râyâṇô[62] ammâpiyarô samôsaraṇâiṁ dhammâyariyâ dhammakahâu ihalôiyâ paralôiyâ iḍḍhivisêsâ bhôgaparichchâyâ pavajjâu suyapariggahâ tavô'-vahâṇâiṁ pariyâgâ saṁlêhaṇâu bhattapachchakkhâṇâiṁ pâôvagamaṇâiṁ[63] dêvalôgagamaṇâiṁ[64] sukulapachchâyâîô[65] puṇa-bôhilâô[66] aṁtakirîyâô [314] ya[67] âghavijjaṁti *jâva*,[68] ṇâyâ°hâsu[69] ṇaṁ pavvaïyâṇaṁ viṇayakaraṇajiṇasâmisâsaṇavarê[70] saṁjamapaïṇṇagâlaṇadhiimaïvavasâyadullabhâṇaṁ,[71] tavaniyama-tavô'vahâṇa-raṇaduddhârabharabhaggâṇisahâsisaṭ-

[58] paḍhamassa vaggassa paṁcha ajjhayaṇâ paṁ, taṁ : Kâlî . . . Mêhâ.

[59] . . paḍhamavaggô, tammi dasa ajjhayaṇâ, . . vîê dasa ajjhayaṇâ, (see above, p. 231.)

[60] jnâtâny udâharaṇâni tatpradhânâ dharmakathâ jnâ° °thâ, dîrghatvaṁ saṁjnâtvât; nâyâdh° is taken here as karmadh., not as a dvandva.

[61] nâyâiṁ BC, jnâtânâm udâharaṇabhûtânâṁ Mêghakumârâdînâṁ nagarâdiny âkhyâyantê, nagarâdîni dvâi viṁśatiḥ padâni kaṇṭhyâni.

[62] The foll. is inverted in N samô° râ° am° dh°hâô dh°riyâ ihalôgaparalôgîâ riddhivisêsâ bhôgaparichchâgâ pavajjâ pariâgâ suapa° tavôva° saṁlê° bhattapachchakkhâṇâ; in aṅgas 7 fg. the case is similar.

[63] pâuga° A, pâôvaga° N. [64] N&d. has according to Leumann the following just as in *aṅga* 7 (p. 307).

[65] ? pavvaya BC, pávvayaî A, pachchaîô N. [66] °lâbhâ N. [67] °yâu A, °yâô N, °yâtô ya BC.

[68] jâva signifies that here anyâni paṁcha padâni da(r)śyâni, *i.e.*, after âgh., the usual five words pannavijjaṁti parûvi° daṁsi° nidaṁsi° uvadaṁsi°.

[69] *jâva* ṇâyâ° to the end is omitted in N; in which there follows dasa dhammakahâṇaṁ vaggâ and the remarks in reference to the number of the akkhâias.

[70] sâmi omitted in B C. °śâsana-varê śêshapravachanâpêkshayâ pradhânapravachanê ity a., pâṭhântarêṇa : samaṇâṇaṁ viṇayakaraṇajiṇasâsaṇaṁmi (perhaps an older reading) pavarê.

[71] païṇa, thiti, duvvalâṇaṁ A; saṁyamapratijnâ samyamâbhyupagamaḥ, sai 'va duradhigamyatvât kâtaranarakshôbhakatvâch cha pâtâlam iva pâtâlam (other reading), tasya dhritimativyavasâyâ durlabhâ yêshâṁ tê tathâ; pâṭhântarêṇa saṁyamapratijnâpâlanâya dhritimativyavasâyâs têshu durbalâ yê, têshâṁ.

ṭhâṇaṁ,[72] ghôraparîsahaparâjiyâṇaṁ, sahapâraddharuddha-siddhâlayamaggaṇiggayâṇaṁ,[73] visayasuhatuchaâsîvasadôsamuchchhiyâṇaṁ, virâhiyacharittanâṇadaṁsaṇa-jaïguṇavivihappagâraṇissâra-sunnayâṇaṁ,[74] saṁsâra-apâradukkhaduggaïbhavavivihaparaṁparâpavaṁcha[75] dhîrâṇa ya, jiyaparîsahakasâyasennadhiidhaṇiya-saṁjamaüchchhâha ṇichhiyâṇaṁ,[76] ârâhiyanâṇadaṁsaṇacharittajôganissalla[77]suddhasiddhâlayamagga-m-abhimuhâṇaṁ, surabhavaṇavimâṇasokkhâiṁ aṇôvamâiṁ bhottûṇa[78] chiraṁ cha bhôgabhôgâṇi [315] tâṇi divvâṇi maharihâṇi tatô ya kâlakkamachuyâṇaṁ, jaha ya puṇôladdhasiddhi[79]maggâṇaṁ, aṁtakiriyâchaliyâṇa ya, sadêvamâṇusadhîrakaraṇakâraṇâṇi bôhaṇa[80]-aṇusâsaṇâṇi guṇadôsadarisaṇâṇi diṭṭhaṁtê pachchaé[81] ya sôûṇa, lôgamuṇiṇô jaha ya ṭṭhiyâ[82] sâsaṇammi jaramaraṇaṇâsaṇakarê, ârâhiyasaṁjamâ ya suralôgapaḍiṇiyattâ uvêṁti[83] jaha sâsayaṁ sivaṁ savvadukkhamokkhaṁ,[84] êê annê ya êvamâi 'ttha vittharêṇa ya.[85]

(*To be continued.*)

MISCELLANEA.

CALCULATIONS OF HINDU DATES.

No. 33.

The following communication has reached me from Dr. E. Hultzsch:—

"On the wall of the Bilvanâthêśvara temple at **Tiruvallam in the North Arcot District**, Mr. V. Venkayya, M. A., my Brâhman assistant, has just discovered an inscription, the calculation of the date of which might possibly fix the year of the accession to the throne of the **Chôḷa king Kô-Râjakêsarivarman**, *alias* **Râjarâjadêva**. The date is worded in Tamiḷ as follows:—

"Kô-Râjarâjakêsarivammarkku[1] yâṇḍu 7 âvadu . . . . . ivvâṭṭai Ayappaśittingaḷ[2] paunnamâsiyum[3] Irêvatiyum perṟa vishuvil sômagrahaṇattinânru;[4] — "in the 7th year (*of the reign*) of Kô-Râjarâjakêsarivarman, ... on the day of an eclipse of the moon in Vishu, which corresponded to (*the nakshatra*) Rêvatî and to a full-moon *tithi* (*in*) the month of Aippaśi in the (*above-mentioned*) year."

"The only doubtful term in the date is *vishuvil*, 'in Vishu,' which, if taken literally, would refer to the 15th year of the cycle of Bṛihaspati. If this explanation were correct, it would have to be assumed, that, through an oversight, the official, who drafted the inscription, failed to enter the word *vishuvil* in its proper place before the month and the *tithi*. As it stands now,—between the *nakshatra* and the eclipse,—the rules of Tamiḷ grammar force us to connect with it the preceding relative participle *perṟa*, 'which corresponded,' and this would be absurd, if *vishuvil* had its literal meaning, as a year cannot correspond to a *nakshatra* and a *tithi*. It is therefore very probable that *vishuvil* is a mistake, — by no means without parallels in the case of Dravidian scribes, to whom Sanskṛit was not very familiar, — for *vishuvattil*, 'at the equinox.'

"About the approximate period of Kô-Râjakêsarivarman, *alias* Râjarâjadêva, with whom the king mentioned in the present record seems to be identical, I may refer to the abstract table, inserted *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 240. The large Leyden grant[5] is dated in the 21st year of his reign. The Tanjore inscriptions[6] contain his latest known date, the 29th year."

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[72] dudhâra bharabhaggâ A; tapôniyama-tapaûpadhânê, tê êva ranaś cha kâtaranarakshôbhakatvât saṁgrâmô . . , śramakâraṇatvât durbharabharaś cha, tâbhyâṁ bhagnâḥ parâṁmukhîbhûtâḥ, tathâ niḥsahâ nitarâm aśaktâ êva. niḥsahakâ, nisṛishṭâś cha nisṛishṭaṁgâ muktâṁgâ yê tê; prâkṛitatvêna kakâralôpa-saṁdhikaraṇâbhyâṁ bhagnâ ity âdau dîrghatvam avaseyam.

[73] sahaprârabdharuddhâḥ, ata êva siddh'rgâj jnânâdêr nirgatâḥ.

[74] tair êva yatiguṇaiḥ śûnyakâḥ; padatrayasya cha karmadhârayaḥ: virâdhitacharitrajnânadarśana-yatiguṇavividhaprakâraniḥsâra-śûnyakânâṁ.

[75] pavaṁchâ B C. [76] jiya . . sêṇiddhittîdhâṇaya A; jitaṁ parishahakashâyasainyaṁ yaiḥ, dhṛitêr dhanikâḥ svâminaḥ (cf. Aupapât. § 32 p. 126), saṁyamê utsâhô . . avaśyaṁbhâvî yêshâm.

[77] ṇisalla A; niḥśalyô mithyâdarśanâdirahitaḥ. [78] bhuttûṇa B C.

[79] siddha B C. [80] bôdhaṇa B C. [81] pavattê B C, pratyayâṇś cha, bôdhakâraṇabhûtâni vâkyâni.

[82] jahaṭṭhiyâ B C; lôkamunayaḥ . . parivrâjakâdayô yathâ cha yêna prakârêṇa sthitâ(ḥ) śâsanê.

[83] uvêti C, uvêli A. [84] °kkhâ A. [85] êvam âhi 'ttha vichhâêṇa ya A.

[1] "Read *varmarkku*. [2] i.e. *aippaśi-tingaḷ*. [3] "Read *paurṇamâsiyum*.

[4] i.e. *grahaṇattin ñânṟu*. [5] "Dr. Burgess's *Archæol. Surv. South. India*, Vol. IV., pp. 204 ff.

[6] "See paragraphs 4 and 9 of my *Progress Report for July, August and September* 1888, Madras G. O., 7th November 1888, No. 1050, Public."

Aippaśi is the Tamil solar month that begins astronomically with the Tulâ-Saṁkrânti or entrance of the sun into Libra, and civilly at sunrise either on the same or the following day according to the exact time of the *saṁkrânti*;[7] and it ends, under the same conditions, with the Vṛischika-Saṁkrânti or entrance of the sun into Scorpio.

On the supposition that the word *vishuvil* means "**in the Vishu saṁvatsara,**"[8] the facts are as follows:—

By the mean-sign system, **the Vishu saṁvatsara** commenced on the 27th May, A.D. 979, and ended on the 22nd May, A.D. 980. In this period, there was no lunar eclipse in Aippaśi, which fell in A.D. 979. The nearest eclipse was that of the 6th November, about twelve days after the end of the month.

By the northern luni-solar system, **the Vishu saṁvatsara** coincided with Śaka-Saṁvat 903 current. In this year, Aippaśi,— its commencement and end being taken as determined by the *saṁkrântis*,— began on the 25th September, A.D. 980, and ended on the 25th October. On the very next day, 26th October, there was a lunar eclipse. But it is barred; because the Vṛiśchika-Saṁkrânti occurred at less than 30 *ghaṭis* after mean sunrise on the 25th October, *viz.*, at 23 *gh.* 21 *p.* (for Bombay), so that this full-moon day was not in Aippaśi even by the civil reckoning; and because this system of the cycle does not apply to this part of the country. It may also be mentioned that, at sunrise on the day of this eclipse, the *nakshatra* was not Rêvatî, No. 27, but Bharaṇî, No. 2, by all three systems.

And by the southern luni-solar system, **the Vishu saṁvatsara** coincided with Śaka-Saṁvat 904 current. In this year, Aippaśi began on the 25th September, A.D. 981, and ended on the 25th October. And during the month there was an eclipse of the moon, on the 16th October. But the *nakshatra* at sunrise on that day was Aśvinî, No. 1, by all three systems; and Rêvatî had ended at about 1 hour, 40 min., after mean sunrise on the preceding day, 15th October. Consequently, this eclipse cannot be accepted, unless we assume a mistake in the record in respect of the name of the *nakshatra*; and, in the face of the much better result that is shewn below, it is undesirable to do this.

From the above results, and also from its position and context in the sentence, it appears that the word *vishuvil* does not indicate the Vishu *saṁvatsara*; but stands for *vishuvattil*, "**at the (autumnal) equinox.**" And with this view of the case, the facts are as follows:—

Within, and for many years before and after the period to which the reign of Râjakêsarivarman can be referred, the only lunar eclipses which can have occurred at, *i. e.* on the very day of, the Tulâ-Saṁkrânti or autumnal equinox, are those of the—

25th September, A.D. 972;
26th September, A.D. 991;
26th September, A.D. 1010; and
27th September, A.D. 1037.

It appears unnecessary to calculate the details of the first and the last of these; as considerations of contemporaneous history prevent us from placing the seventh year of the reign of Râjakêsarivarman either so early or so late.

In A.D. 991, the Tulâ-Saṁkrânti occurred on the 25th September, at about 20 *ghaṭis*, 54 *palas*, after mean-sunrise (for Bombay); and nowhere in southern India did it occur more than about 30 minutes, or 1 *gh.* 15 *p.*, later on the same day. Consequently, though on the 26th September the *nakshatra* at sunrise was Rêvatî by all the three systems, the lunar eclipse of that day is not admissible, because it occurred on the day after the equinox; not on the day of the equinox.

In A.D. 1010, however, there was the required concurrence in respect of all the given details. The Tulâ-Saṁkrânti or **autumnal equinox occurred on the 26th September**, at about 15 *ghaṭis*, 53 *palas*, = 6 hours, 21·2 minutes, after mean sunrise (for Bombay); and the month Aippaśi commenced, for the civil reckoning, at sunrise on that day. **The lunar eclipse occurred on the same day**; the full-moon-*tithi* ending at about 2 hours, 32 minutes, after mean sunrise. And at sunrise **the nakshatra was Rêvatî** by all three systems; ending at about 3 hours, 17 minutes, after mean sunrise. And this day, **Tuesday, 26th September, A.D. 1010,** is undoubtedly the correct English equivalent of the given date; though the eclipse in question was not visible in India.

The full-moon tithi which ended on this day, at about 6 *ghaṭis*, 20 *palas* = 2 hours, 32 minutes, was that of the lunar month Âsvina, of Śaka-Saṁvat 933 current.[9] And the results shew

[7] Warren's *Kalasankalita*, p. 4.

[8] The more correct name of the *saṁvatsara* is either ṛisha or Bhṛiśya. The name Vishu occurs in some Old-Kanarese inscriptions.

[9] In this year, the Vṛischika-Saṁkrânti occurred at about 9 *ghaṭis*, 6 *palas*, on the 26th October. Consequently the month Aippaśi lasted, for the civil reckoning, from sunrise on the 25th September to sunrise on the 26th October; and it happened to include a second full-moon *tithi*, that of the lunar Kêrttika, which ended

that the accession of Râjakêsarivarman took place in A.D. 1003 or 1004; according to the luni-solar calendar, either on any day from the *amânta* Âśvina kṛishṇa 1 of Śaka-Saṁvat 926 current, up to the end of that year; or on any day from the beginning of Śaka-Saṁvat 927 current up to Âśvina śukla 15 of that year.

J. F. FLEET.

PROGRESS OF EUROPEAN SCHOLARSHIP.

No. 19.

Miscellaneous Essays by European Scholars.

(a) J. Grosset, on Hindu Music.

M. J. Grosset has published an interesting contribution to the Study of Hindû Music,[1] in which that subject is, I believe, for the first time seriously attacked from a European point of view. The Essay is reprinted from Vol. VI. of *La Bibliothèque de la Faculté des Lettres de Lyon*. The author gives the text of the 28th *adhyâya* of the *Bhâratîya-Nâṭya-Śâstra*, of which the 18th, 19th, 20th and 34th *adhyâyas* have been already published by Mr. Fitz-Edward Hall in his edition of the *Daśarûpa*. Other portions of the same work have also been published by M. Paul Regnaud; but the 28th book is now published for the first time. The text is followed by a translation and notes, and being founded on two imperfect MSS. is admittedly incomplete. The notes are valuable and give a clear idea of the principles of the Hindû grâma, or gamut. It was Prof. Weber who first pointed out the connexion between the Skr. *grâma*, the Pr. *gâma*, and the *gamma* of Guido d'Arezzo,—a striking testimony to the Indian origin of our scale of seven notes.

(b) Prof. Weber on old Iranian Star-names.

It is a kindly custom amongst German scholars to celebrate the Jubilee of one of their members taking his Doctor's degree, by dedicating short essays to his honour. Dr. Böhtlingk's Doctor-Jubilee was celebrated last year; and now Prof. Weber publishes his contribution, the issue of which was unavoidably delayed. His essay deals with old Iranian Star-names,[2] and specially with the lunar asterisms. Albêrûnî's lists of the names of these asterisms in Soghd and Khwârism, are compared with the *chortak* of the *Bundehesh*, and the Indian *nakshatras*. Amongst the many interesting points dealt with may be mentioned *Parvî*, equivalent to *Kṛittikâ*, which is connected with the Zend star-name *Pavirya* "the first." *Parvî* is the *first* asterism in Albêrûnî's lists, and is therefore not a corruption of the *Parvîz* of the *Bundehesh*. The latter is, in fact developed from the former by a secondary process of folk-etymology (پروێز = 'victorious') A feminine plural form of *Pavirya, i.e. Pavirýeńî*, becomes پروین, the *Pleiades, i.e.*, the *Kṛittikâs*. In the list of the *Bundehesh Parvîz* is the third asterism (its first, *Padêwar*, corresponding to *Aśvinî*), so that, when this list came into existence, the original meaning of the word must have been forgotten, and *Kṛittikâ* was no longer the first asterism.

For further information regarding other old Iranian star-names, such as *Tistrya* (Sirius), the *Haptô Ireńga* (*Sapta Rishayas*, Septemtriones), *Vanañt* (*Abhijit*), and so on; the reader must be referred to this very interesting Essay itself.

(c) Prof. Sachau on Albêrûnî's transliteration of Indian words.

Prof. Sachau's[3] treatise on the pronunciation of Indian Languages in the first half of the eleventh century deserves far more space than can be allotted to it here; indeed, a whole number of this Journal could be most profitably devoted to it.

The learned translator of Albêrûnî's *Indica* has taken the Indian words quoted in that work, and classified the changes they undergo in their Arabic dress. If we take such words and compare them with Sanskṛit, the differences are great; for instance, we find *vidyut, jihvâ, kaśyapa, pustaka, sûrya, daitya, strî, khaḍga, niśévaśa, jyéshṭhâ, âditya, pradyumna*, represented in Arabic characters by *bîdud, jibbu, kasheśhabu, pôtî, sûrju, daitu, istrî, karku, nishâsu, jêrtâ, âditu, praddumunu*, which are so different from the originals that the incompleteness of the Arabic alphabet will not sufficiently account for the change. Nor will the influence of Prâkṛit account for it, for the Prâkṛit forms of these words would be *vijjû, jîhâ, kâsavô, potthaô, sûrô* and *sujjô, daïchcho, itthî, khaggô, nîsâsô, jeṭṭhâ, âichchô, pajjunnô*. It therefore becomes a question whether the Arabic written forms are not simply mistakes of the scribe; but

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at about 46 *ghaṭîs*, 50 *palas*, on the 25th October. This, however, — there being no lunar eclipse on this day, — does not affect the date that has been worked out.

[1] *Contribution à l'étude de la Musique Hindoue*, par J. Grosset. Paris; Leroux.

[2] *Ueer alt-irânische Sternnamen*, von Albr. Weber.

[3] *Indo-Arabische Studien Zur Aussprache und Geschichte des Indischen in der ersten Hälfte des XI. Jahrhunderts* von Eduard Sachau. Berlin, Verlag der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften. In commission bei Georg Reimer.

this can hardly be, for we find that when Albêrûnî wishes to give Sanskṛit words correctly in certain lists, he does so, so that we have بَدْر *Bhadra*, مَاتُرا *Mathura*, شُورسِيْن *Śūraséna*, پانچال *Pañchâla*, مَگَدْ *Magadha*, and so on. We are thus driven to the conclusion that the other words also were designedly originally written as they have been handed down to us, and that they were transcribed by Albêrûnî as they were pronounced,—incorrectly pronounced be it observed,—by the Pandits who read to him: just as at the present day a Pandit, when speaking colloquially, pronounces his Sanskṛit words in colloquial fashion, though when occasion arises he can, and does, pronounce them in the full traditional manner. We thus have a valuable exhibition of words in Albêrûnî's *Indica* of the pronunciation of North-Western India in the first half of the eleventh century after Christ.

I think that the value of the Persian or Arabic language for this purpose has been much under-estimated. The Muhammadans who conquered India long after Albêrûnî's date, cared little for the rules of Pâṇini, but were compelled by the necessities of their surroundings to record the language of the people among whom they dwelt in the character most familiar to themselves. Even the greatest Hindû vernacular authors of India were tied down by tradition, and were compelled to spell many words, not as they were pronounced, but as tradition ordered them. We trace this compulsion up to the very earliest times,—up to the time of the North-Western inscriptions of Aśôka; but Musalmân writers had no respect for these traditions, and spelled words phonetically as they struck their ears. It is this which makes, as I have elsewhere pointed out, works like the **Padmâwat** of **Malik Muḥammad** (written 1640 A.D.) of such priceless value. It is in Hindî, written in the Persian character, and, though unfortunately the vowels are often doubtful, we have in it an absolutely correct representation of the consonantal system of the language as then existing. To give an example, while Malik Muḥammad's Hindû contemporaries wrote *apsaras*, he gives the correct pronunciation vouched for by the Prâkrit grammarians and wrote اَچْھَرا. It is to these Muhammadan writers that we must look for the correct representation of the pronunciation of the consonants of the mediæval Indian dialects. For this reason, an analysis of the Indian dialects as represented by Albêrûnî, and especially an altogether admirable scientific analysis, such as that offered by Dr. Sachau, is of great value to all students of the history of this country.

(*d*) *M. Winternitz on Snake Worship.*

The first part of the 18th volume of the *Mittheilungen der anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* (Vienna Anthropological Society) contains the first instalment of an important article by Dr. Moriz Winternitz on the serpent-cult. Taking for his text the sarpabali of India, he commences with general observations on the universal character of this cultus. The uncanny eye of the snake was early observed. He was the most sharp-sighted of animals (*ὀξυδερκέστατον τὸ ζῶον*), and from *δέρκομαι*, 'to see,' we find formed the word *δράκων*. Hence came the superstitions about its powers of fascination and its wisdom: "Be ye wise as serpents, and harmless as doves." At an early stage we find serpents connected with magic. The Hebrew for 'snake,' *nakhash*, appears at the head of a series of denominatives signifying 'to enchant,' 'to prophesy.' He is, especially as a white snake (*śvêtabhujaṁga*), continually exhibited as the teacher of the language of birds and beasts. The Oracle at Delphi owed its inspiration to a dragon, and Helen and Cassandra learned the speech of birds from serpents. The fact that the colours of snakes correspond to their habitats gave rise to the origin of the theory that a serpent is the *genius loci*, while the metallic glister of several of them easily suggested the many legends of the snakes as mountain-spirits and treasure-guardians. Both in Asia and America are they believed to carry a precious jewel in the head. "The way of a serpent on a rock" was one of the four things which were too hard for King Solomon, and the rapid shooting motion of these creatures over mountain rocks readily gave rise to the idea of winged serpents or dragons. The power of casting its slough was another source of wonder, and the serpent is regarded as ever renewing its youth. Moreover, we find persons transformed by magic into snakes, who issue from their skins in their proper forms. If the skins can then be seized and burnt the magic is counteracted, and the enchanted person does not go back to his transformation. But the most striking point of all about snakes is their terrible poison. As an Indian proverb says, "No one honours him who does no harm, be he ever so great. Men worship the snake, but not Garuḍa, the slayer of the snake." While, however, he was considered an evil spirit on this account, on the other side there grew up the faith that the being who brings disease and death must also know how to cure and to bring to life. Hence we find the snake in manifold relation with the

art of healing, a dualism clearly seen and clearly outspoken throughout the whole literature of antiquity. Moses was commanded, 'Make thee a fiery serpent, and set it upon a pole; and it shall come to pass, that every one that is bitten, when he looketh upon it, shall live.' Æsculapius appears in many ways connected with the snake. The Lithuanian Zemyne is a snake with one eye. Whom she bites must die at once. But with the blood of the Zemyne, which is black as the night, can men heal all diseases. As late even as the last century were remedies, such as the powdered heart and liver of a snake, considered in Europe as remedies for fever.

It was only a step further to make of the snake a tutelary genius, or even as a genius of good fortune. Some tribes even saw in him the souls of the dead, and men honoured in him the *manes* of their fathers and their heroes. Numberless instances of this are quoted.[4]

The deification of the snake was helped by the resemblances to snakes which men saw in exterior nature. The winding river, the black storm-clouds, the black lightning-clouds, all became personified as snakes. The Swiss have many legends of dragons inhabiting the Alps, who come tearing down the mountain-sides in rain-storms. The storm-cloud snake is familiar to readers of the *Ṛig-Vêda* and of the wars of Indra with Vṛitra, while the Lithuanian myth of the tempest-god Perkunas, who hurled forth fiery snakes upon his enemies, is a good example of the lightning snake.

The last stage of deification through which the serpent has passed is the abstract idea of eternity in the shape of the snake in the form of a closed ring. The Indian examples need not be quoted here. The Orphic God Æon and even Chronos are also so represented.

After these introductory remarks Dr. Winternitz proceeds to discuss more particularly the serpent-cult in India. In the *Ṛig-Vêda* Indra's contest with Vṛitra is well known. A formula of the *Atharva-Vêda* against snakes prays at the same time to snakes. Virâj went first to the *dêvas*, then to the *gandharvas* and *apsarases*, then to the *itarajanas*, and finally to the snakes. The snakes called out to her 'Come thou endowed with poison!' Then Dhṛitarâshṭra Airâvata milked poison from her, and on this poison live the snakes (*Atharva-Vêda*, VIII. 10, 29). The *Chhandógya-Upanishad* (II. 21) mentions snakes in connexion with *gandharvas* and *manes*, and so also Manu (I. 37). *Yâjñavalkya* declares that a Brâhman, a snake, and a Kshatriya are never to be despised. The *Taittirîya-Saṁhitâ* of the *Yajur-Vêda* (III. 1, 1, 1) says Prajâpati, 'wished to create offspring. He performed austerities. He created serpents.' The *Tâṇḍya-Mahâbrâhmaṇa* (XXV. 15) describes an important snake-sacrifice, which serves to bring its performer good fortune and success.

In the Epics snakes play a still larger part than even in the Vêdic and Sûtra literature. The first book of the *Mahâbhârata* contains an important list of all the most famous snake-princes (I. 1549 and ff.). Nala's meeting with the benevolent snake-king Karkôṭaka is well-known. When Bhîma (*Mahâbhârata*, I. 5008 and ff.) was hurled into the Ganges, he fell into the kingdom of the snakes, who gave him the water of strength to drink. The part which Vâsuki, the snake-king, took in the churning of the ocean need not be described here.

The Fable-literature is also a rich mine of snake-lore. We have a snake who was the *genius loci* of a field (*kshêtradêvatâ*) (*Pañchatantra*, I. 244, and ff.), and many stories of marriages between snakes and earthly maidens. The birth of Sâlivâhana, as described in the *Vîracharita*, is a good example of this. He was the son of Śêsha, the king of the snakes. Only the other day a story went round the Indian newspapers of a snake becoming enamoured of a woman (see *ante*, Vol. VII. page 44).

Amongst the Buddhists, the Nâgas were counted as gods, ranking eighth in the list of beings. There are many stories connecting Buddha with snakes, and we find in Buddhist tales instances of snake-charms which closely resemble the Vêdic

[4] [The following extracts from *Wide Awake Stories* (Panjâb Folktales) may be of use in this connection :—

(i) Survey of Incidents in Modern Indian Folktales: *Serpents*: first kill and then restore to life hero's companion, show hero how to get serpent out of his throat, destroy a family leaving only sleeping beauty, kill and restore to life hero, also heroine's bullocks, also heroine, aid hero, must resume their shape at night if they travel, possess power of metamorphosis, can fly through the air, are guardians of a tree, can scorch and burn by their breath, can put on wings; a palace of glass surrounded by a ditch, and a wall of needles sprinkled with salt and water will keep them out. *Tale*: serpent issuing from queen's nostril as thin as thread, kills the king (elected daily) every night, is killed by hero. References are *Wide Awake Stories*, 139 ff., 193 ff.; *Old Deccan Days*, 121; *Folktales of Bengal*, 21, 18 ff., 100; *Legends of the Punjab*, Vol. I., 47 ff., 154-5, 177, 179 ff., 180, 181, 183, 189, 416, 481, 487 ff., 488, 495, 498, 502, 520 ff.

(ii) For modern instances of the *Snake-demon*, *Wide Awake Stories*, 141, 326: *snake-jewel ibid.* 304, 347, 424: see also same pp. for *snake-stone*, *snake-woman*, *ibid.* 193, 195, 331, 1; snake befriends hero, *ibid.* 197 ff: father of snake gives hero a wonderful ring, *ibid.* 198.—R.C.T.]

formulas already mentioned. The only difference is that instead of 'cult,' or 'honouring,' the word 'love' is used.

Not only in literature, but also in sculptures and the like do we see the same serpent-culture. Śiva is the Nâgachûda or Nâgabhûshaṇa, and we often see representations of the *liṅga* encircled by a snake. Sculptures are often given of a male and female snake in close embrace, the former with five the latter with one head. Finally, we find many tribes such as the Nâgas, and the family of the Râjâ of Chutiâ-Nâgpur, boasting of their descent from snakes.

In the *Gṛihya-Sûtras*, we find the serpent-cultus closely connected with the rainy reason. In the *Vêda*, as already remarked, the clouds are inhabited by an evil demon, a dragon, who prevents them giving forth their life-producing drops; and what we, to the present day, call 'a war of the elements,' was then described as Indra's fight with the dragon. So also in other mythologies the gods and heroes, Apollo and Herakles, Odin and Sigurd, Thôr and Siegfried all fight with the dragon. In the *Mahâbhârata* itself we find memories of the origin of this superstition still lingering, and the snakes determining to bring rain-clouds to extinguish the fire of Janamêjaya's sacrifice which was to destroy them. The connexion with water is further extended to lakes. The valley of Nêpâl was originally the Nâga-Hrada, and the Hydra is a water-snake.

Finally, in the rainy season the snakes all come out of their holes and do most mischief. All this accounts for the worship of the snake in the rains, and for the fact that it is in the month of Śrâvaṇa (July-August) there is prescribed in the *Gṛihya-Sûtras* that ceremony, with which the sarpabali and the snake-sacrifice are so closely connected. The ceremony commences on the full moon of Śrâvaṇa and continues daily till the end of the rains, and sacrifices are performed to various gods, specially Agni, with prayers for prosperous rains, and for protection from all danger, especially from the snake. But at the same time the snake is throughout the sacrifice honoured and addressed. The whole ceremony as laid down in the *Gṛihya-Sûtras* is minutely described by Dr. Winternitz, as far as the offerings of flowers and wood. This is followed by the ceremony of the sarpabali itself which is reserved for the concluding portion of the article. With this the first portion of a most interesting paper is concluded. The second portion is promised in the following number.

G. A. GRIERSON.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

ELVES IN MADRAS.

South India has its elves in the kuttichâtrís, who are mischievous, but not malicious.

One favorite trick is to assume the form of an absent relative and knock at the door of the house. If admitted, he will spoil the house food. Food that turns sour or bad, when prepared overnight to stand for the morning, has been the sport of a *kuttichâtrí*! The way to counteract him, is to oblige any person knocking at a door to answer four times before admittance, as the elves only call three times, and if they get no answer they go away.

You can always tell a *kuttichâtrí* by his having no feet, and it is as well to examine the lower extremity of all persons entering your house.

Madras. S. M. NATESA SASTRI.

BOOK NOTICES.

SELECTIONS FROM THE RECORDS OF THE HLUTDAW, compiled by Taw Sein Ko, Government Translator, and published by authority. Rangoon, 1889.

At the taking of Mandalay, a very valuable Record Office and an official library fell to the British Government, the contents of which have been carefully catalogued, and stored at Rangoon, the India Office, and other places. From time to time Selections of the Burmese Records are being published, and the volume before us, which is entirely in Burmese, contains extracts from the Records of the Hluttaw (officially Hlutdaw for some occult reason) or Privy Council Chamber. The main object of the records would appear to be to note the style in which official Burmese was written at the Court. This differs considerably from that in vogue in official correspondence at Rangoon and Lower Burma under the British Government, and is still a source of much grumbling at Mandalay, where the Lower Burma style is held to be harsh, uncouth, and impolite.

But apart from their interest as samples of style, the present extracts are valuable as historical documents, and as an index to modern Burmese customs and manners. They are divided into Royal Orders, Laws, and Regulations, Contracts, Leases and Licenses, Civil and Criminal Law Proceedings, Letters to and from Provincial Officials, Papers relating to the Shân States, Memoranda and Instructions, and Ecclesiastical Papers.

As an instructive commentary on the Edicts of Aśôka and similar documents, and the danger of

laying too much stress on such, as indications of the public character of a ruler, we may cite the following Royal Orders of King Thibaw, contained in these extracts. He commands that "in the interests of the Buddhist Religion" copies should be made of the *Piṭakas*. He appoints twelve titled *sadaws* (= *sayâdaw* = abbot, bishop, chief of a monastery) to be members of the Ecclesiastical Council. He fixes the date on which Lent was to be observed by the Buddhist priesthood in the year 1242 B. E. (1880 A.D.). He commands qualified monks "to recite the *Vibhata Vibhanga* at the Myênandaw Palace" (at Mandalay). He commands the holding of the annual examinations in the Buddhist Scriptures in the Thudama Hall (at Mandalay). He commands the ministers "to make arrangements for His Majesty's visit to the Mahâmyàtmuni Pagoda (the 'Arakan Pagoda' of Europeans at Mandalay) for the purpose of unveiling the image of Gautama-Buddha and offering a crown to be placed on it." And sandwiched among these religious "orders" we find one abolishing monopolies! How purely perfunctory these edicts were, all those acquainted with the real facts of Thibaw's reign must be well aware. At any rate the abolition of monopolies was purely a paper measure. At the same time Thibaw is exceedingly "learned in the law," a good disputant in matters concerning his religion, and exceptionally well posted in the aphorisms connected therewith. Practice was another matter.

These are followed by a series of royal orders granting various important posts, which are hardly of interest except for style; but the order determining the form of the oath of allegiance and King Pagan's address to his army marching to Hanthâwadî (Rangoon) in B. E. 1213 (A.D. 1851) are of general interest. The address was not of much avail, as the army came to signal grief in 1852.

The succeeding chapters are mainly of interest to students of the law and general administration of such a people as the Burmese. We have rules for criminal and civil judicial procedure, and for appeals and legal costs, for the guidance of judges. Instructions also to revenue collectors, provincial governors, town and district officials and magistrates, and as to the grant of waste-lands and the levying of the *thâthamêda* (capitation) tax. We have also specimens of contracts, leases and licenses, petitions, complaints, and depositions. Here some of the subjects are interesting, as giving an insight into the life of the people and the methods of the late Government. There are complaints that a revenue collector had mortgaged his circle and was receiving illegal gratifications, and against an admiralty official (the Burmese Admiralty was confined to the rivers) for taking bribes. There is an application to recover arrears of monopoly revenue and a complaint about the abduction of a wife. Among the "civil suits," of which judgments, sentences, and orders are given in sample, are several which should attract attention; *e. g.*, those about the property of a deceased monk, about lands granted by the Burmese king in feudal tenure, about claims to shares in inheritance of the property of a deceased husband and wife by persons claiming to be separately heirs of each, about the testamentary disposition of his estate by a man who had children by two marriages; about the division of an estate left by a grandmother and an aunt, and of another between the wife and child and a "lesser" wife of the deceased. Shân life is exhibited in the sentence in a case of "raiding into complainant's territory" on the part of a Shân magnate.

Peeps into Burmese Court and official life are to be got in the letters to officials and *vice versâ*. Thus, an escort is to be provided for "a daughter presented to His Majesty by the Chief of Mayittaung," certain people are exempted from contributions for the maintenance of a cavalry regiment, and a Shân Chief is ordered to receive presents from His Majesty "in a respectful manner."

As regards the Shân States generally there are no less than 28 valuable extracts given illustrating their attitude towards the Burmese Court, and among the Ecclesiastical Papers there are sixteen which would be worth translating for the behoof of students in general, especially as showing the time and attention paid by the Court to matters of superstition, which might have been so much better employed in really coping with the administrative difficulties always present, *i.e.*, presuming that any person belonging to it was capable of such work.

A correspondence from the Wungyîs (Ministers) and Atwinwuns (Secretaries of State) to the Sayâdaws (Abbots, Bishops) about a list of monks "learned in religious books" to be sent to distant parts of "the Empire" for the propagation of the Buddhist religion, and the propriety of sending them abroad before the coronation ceremony of King Thibaw, will awaken many a memory in the minds of Indian scholars.

In thus giving a brief outline of this valuable work, we have shown, we think, that it would be worth the while of the Burmese Government to have it translated and to produce many more like it. Of course, in its present shape, its usefulness is very limited, and therefore there is much danger of its contents being lost sight of altogether.

R. C. T.

AN INSCRIPTION IN A BUDDHISTIC VARIETY OF NAIL-HEADED CHARACTERS.

BY CECIL BENDALL, M.A.

THE present inscription is on the pedestal of **a brass image of Buddha,** which belongs to Mr. James Robinson, C.E., of **Gayâ,** the chief town of the Gayâ District, Bengal Presidency, and which seems to have been obtained somewhere in that neighbourhood. It has been incidentally noticed by Mr. Fleet, in his *Gupta Inscriptions* (Corp. Inscr. Indic. Vol. III.), p. 19, note 1; but it is now considered in full for the first time, from Mr. Fleet's ink-impression, and from the lithograph prepared from it.

Mr. Fleet's account of the image &c., is as follows: — "**The image** is about $6\frac{1}{2}''$ high, of which measure about $1\frac{3}{4}''$ are occupied by the pedestal or seat. It represents Buddha, squatting on the pedestal or seat, with his legs crossed and the soles of his feet turned upwards. His left hand rests in his lap, with the palm upwards; his right arm hangs down, with the hand resting on the right knee. His head either is covered with a close-fitting beaded skull-cap, or else has the hair done up in beaded knobs; and the long ends of the hair are wound up into a top-knot on the centre of the head. In the centre of the forehead, just over the root of the nose, there is a silver dot, or the head of a pin. And from the ears there hang long pendants. A band or ribbon hangs over the left shoulder and under the right arm. The right side of the body is naked; but the left side shews a cloth at the back, with one of the ends of it lying over the left shoulder. The legs seem to be unclothed. The **pedestal or seat** is triangular, about $4\frac{1}{2}''$ broad by $2\frac{5}{8}''$ from front to back, with the angles rounded off. It is hollow. And **the inscription** is on the bottom side of a plate which forms the bottom of the pedestal, and which, not having been cast as an actual part of the pedestal itself, slides out at the right side of the pedestal where the beaded rim of it has been broken away. Following the shape of the pedestal, this plate is triangular, about $4\frac{1}{8}''$ by $2\frac{1}{4}''$, with the angles rounded off. Differing from the image and pedestal, which are of brass, the inscribed plate seems to be of copper. The writing is in a state of perfect preservation, except for some lines or furrows, — caused apparently by the plate having rubbed against some hard substance, — which rather spoil the first *akshara* in lines 1 and 2. The **weight** of the image and pedestal is about 1 lb. $12\frac{1}{2}$ oz., and of the inscribed plate, about $2\frac{1}{8}$ oz.; total, 1 lb. $14\frac{5}{8}$ oz."

The **inscription** is as follows: —

TEXT.[1]

1 Śrî-Dharmmavarada-hêtu[2] ॥ Srî-Brahmapautra-Saṁgha-pra-
2 vâla(?)[3] śrî-Râjâksha(?)-Yakshapâla tatputra[4] Âhavama-
3 llasya dêyadharmmô=yam ॥

TRANSLATION.

For the sake of Dharmavarada. This is the votive gift of the scion of the Brahmapautra congregation, Râjâksha (?), Yakshapâla his son, Âhavamalla (or, son of Yakshapâlita).

In the first two examples of **this form of character** to which I called attention soon after **my discovery** of them, a leading feature was a small triangular point at the head of most of **the** vertical strokes of consonants. Hence I named the character 'arrow-headed,' or 'point-

[1] From the ink-impression and lithograph.

[2] *hêtu*, used at the end of compounds, as an indeclinable and equivalent to *artham*, occurs in Pâli, but is not quoted in Sanskṛit.

[3] I am not confident o this reading, as the side-stroke for *r* is somewhat strange in this position and the sign that I take for *v* is indistinct, but perhaps 'scion of the Saṁgha' is an allowable expression.

[4] Or perhaps, *Yakshapâlita-putra*.

headed.'[5] Here, however, this feature is wanting and we get in its place the ordinary 'nail-head' ornament, fairly well-known in Indian epigraphy. It is interesting to note that this, the third specimen of this writing,—for I hope to show that it is substantially the same character as that of the other two examples,—is Buddhistic, and comes from Eastern India. Should other specimens be found with these characteristics, one would be tempted to conjecture that it is none other than the *bhaikshukî lipi* of Albêrûnî, "the writing of Buddha, used in Udunpur in the Eastern Country" (see Sachau's Translation, ch. xvi. p. 173).

In treating of the **palæography of this inscription,** I shall express myself most briefly by referring to my paper already mentioned, citing it by the pages of the complete volume of the 'Arische Section' in the Congress Transactions. (1) The first, then, of what I have regarded as the three leading features,—the triangular top-ornament,—is found in consonants only in the modified, and possibly equally archaic, form of the 'nail-head.' It survives however in the form of medial *î*, which may be compared with the forms given in the second column of the Table accompanying my paper. (2) The second feature (p. 113), — the wedge-like mark on the right-hand side of several letters, — is found in the only two of this group that occur in simple (*i.e.* un-vocalized) form in the inscription, *viz.* in *dha* and (less clearly) in *la*. (3) The third point,—the absence of the vertical side-line found in Nâgarî and kindred alphabets in घ च ध प न ष म ब ल व ष and स, is maintained here also, though perhaps hardly so clearly in the case of the symbol for *ta*. (4) Initial vowels. If I read this name Âhavamalla aright, the *á* corresponds remarkably with the MS. (p. 114). (5) Consonants. *Gh* corresponds (p. 117), but the straight horizontal top is somewhat modern. *P*; the double form of this letter is a characteristic feature of the alphabet. The more archaic form, a survival of the simple hook-like sign of the Aśôka alphabet, occurs, as I have shown in my previous essay (p. 118), in the combinations *pá* and *pi* only. The former may be seen in line 2 of the present inscription. The small cross-stroke distinguishing the character from that for *d*, and similar to the distinction between the Roman C and G, may just be made out. The other form, more modern, but still with open top, is also exemplified here. *M* is an interesting form, as it shows the transition from the Aśôka form, where there is a large loop below the main part of the letter, to the modern form with a small loop at the left-hand side. *Y*; this archaic form corresponds precisely with that of the MS. *R* and *ś*; these are highly curious if not unique forms, as I have observed on the corresponding symbols in the MS. *L*; as a single letter this corresponds with the MS., but in the double form, in line 3, the first part appears slightly more modern. *S* bears a general similarity to the form of the MS., but the distinction between it and *m* is in the present document better preserved by the distinguishing addition (here a figure more like a small square than a loop) being placed still higher up on the left hand of the body of the letter. *H* is somewhat more angular in form than in the MS., and herein corresponds more closely with the example of this character found in the Calcutta Museum (Bihâr, 68). (6) Medial vowels. *I*, *î*; the short vowel I read with some hesitation in line 2, but the long corresponds well with the unique form of the MS. *U*; this occurs in both the forms noted in the MS., *viz.* the curl to the right (here in *tu* only, and that to the left.

I refrain from further comment on an inscription, of which I have not seen the original, as I am not sure of my readings of several of the letters.[6] Possibly a further study of this document in connexion with the inscription above cited in the Calcutta Museum may throw more light on both.

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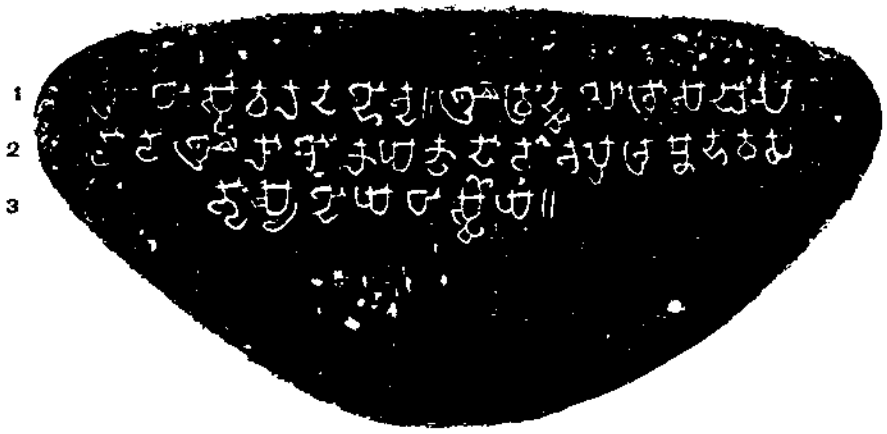
[5] *Verhandlungen des VII. Internationalen Orientalisten Congresses*. Ar. Sect., p. 111. Cf. my *Journey in Nêpâl*, p. 22.

[6] [The lithograph, however, is an absolutely exact reproduction of the original.—J. F. F.]

Inscription at the bottom of an image of Buddha from Gaya.



FULL-SIZE.

Coins of Chalukya-Chandra or Saktivarman.

A

B

C

Coins of Rajaraja II.

D

E

F

J. F. FLEET BO. C.S.

FULL-SIZE.

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LI

SOME GOLD COINS OF THE EASTERN CHALUKYA KINGS SAKTIVARMAN AND RAJARAJA II.

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

The class of coins now under examination seems to have been first brought to public notice in 1846 by **Lieut. Thos. Latter,** who in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XV. Plate iii. No. 6, published a lithograph of a coin almost exactly identical with that shewn as A. in the accompanying Plate, and made the following remarks on it (*id.* p. 240) in his paper on "the Symbolical Coins of Arakan:"— "The coin No. 6, though not belonging to the country, is "represented here, having been found on the seashore of the Island of Ramree with several "others. It is of gold, and thin. The central portion represents an animal like a pig, with a "representation of the Bo-tree above, and a monographic character ꝸ beneath. Around are "certain characters which an intelligent Buddhist priest declares to be old Cingalese, and to "compose the words *Pawaraganran thooradza*, commencing from the letter marked (*a*). The "first letter appears to have been mistaken by him; the first half composing it, being indistinct, "appears to have escaped his attention. The name he gives is that of one of the old kings of "Ceylon."

The only other notice of these coins that I can find, is by **Sir Walter Elliot,** in his *Coins of Southern India* (International Numismata Orientalia, Vol. III. Part II.), pp. 51, 54, 66, 67, and 152 D., and in Plate iii. Nos. 79, 80, where he published excellent autotype facsimiles of the coins shewn as A. and D. in the accompanying Plate. His description of them (*id.* p. 152 D.) is as follows:—

"No. 79. — Gold. Weight, $65\frac{0}{10}$ grains. A large thin plate, having on the *Obv.* the figure "of a boar in the centre under an umbrella, and two chowries with the *taurus* symbol, and a lamp "in front of and another behind the animal; around, impressed by separate punches, old "Canarese letters, reading *Śrî Châlukya Vallabha*. The last word doubtful. *Rev.* Plain. "Another specimen has been figured by Lieut. Latter in J. A. S. B. XV. p. 240, fig. 6.

"No. 80. — Gold. Weight, $66\frac{4}{10}$ grains. *Obv.* Similar to the above, the separate letters "reading *Śrî Râja Râja*, and a doubtful letter which has been read *ndra* or *rya* (pp. 51, 54, 66, "67, 70). With these compare Nos. 19, 20, of Plate i."

Sir Walter Elliot rightly recognised them as **Chalukya coins.** But he was not so correct in his further treatment of them; in consequence of his adhering too closely to the theories regarding 'punch-coins.' And the case of these coins furnishes a pointed instance of the fact that it is useless to build up history on numismatic bases, until the latter have been very carefully tested by and arranged in accordance with epigraphical evidence. 'Punch-coins' are coins on which the symbols, or the letters of a legend, are each impressed by the separate stroke of a punch; and the first appearance of them in India is allotted to a time "long before the appearance of the die-coinage introduced by the Andhras" (*Coins of Southern India*, p. 45). They are, in fact, held to be the first attempts that were made in the direction of a metallic currency, when a desire grew up to avoid the inconveniences of the primitive system of barter. And it is considered that, as the art of coinage developed, "the use of the punch gradually "gave way to the exclusive employment of a matrix or die," which latter "at first was of the "simplest form, and appears to have been a reversal of the superior action of the punch by "striking the gold plate upon the single symbol placed below, and then adding the additional "symbols by the old-fashioned process around the central device, leaving the other side or "reverse plain, except where it shows the grain of the anvil or basis on which it rested" (*id.* p. 54-55). And it is undoubtedly owing to an opinion that the making of punch-coins quite died out when the art of coinage from matrices or dies had fully developed itself, that Sir Walter Elliot came to speak of these particular coins as being "the oldest specimens of gold punch coins hitherto discovered" (*id.* p. 51), and to stamp them as being "apparently the second step in advance from the primitive form" (*id.* p. 54). He further described the characters of the legends

as belonging to the fifth or sixth century A.D. (*id.* p. 67). And noting that the specimens obtained by himself "were found imbedded in the sand of the island of Ramree, the result of some ancient wreck" (*id.* p. 51); that "they have not hitherto been found within the limits of India proper" (*id.* p. 66); and that "the only authentic instances of their occurrence have been on the shore of the island of Ramri, though others have been brought from the kingdom of Siam" (*id.* p. 66, 67), the conclusion at which he arrived, was, that their occurrence in such distant localities might be explained by the exploits attributed to the Early Chalukya king Maṅgalêśa, including "expeditions by sea" and a conquest of **Rêvatîdvîpa**. Mr. Wathen, following Col. Wilford, had suggested that this place might be Sumatra. While Prof. Wilson had given the opinion that it might have been an island off the coast of Malabar. Sir Walter Elliot, however, thought that the discovery of these coins on the coast of Arakan and in Siam, was in favour of a more distant locality; and he plainly seems to have been inclined to identify Rêvatîdvîpa with Ramrî itself, though he does not expressly say so. His final conclusion (*id.* p. 67) was that, if his surmise was correct, we might suppose these gold pieces "to have been coined by Maṅgalîśa or one of his predecessors before the siege of Banawâsi, when the conqueror, struck by the beauty of the *padma-ṭankas*" of the Kadambas of that city, "adopted them as a model in substitution of the ruder type which formerly prevailed in the Chalukya mint."

As regards Maṅgalêśa, however, there are no indications that he made any distant expeditions by sea. All that the Miraj grant says of him, is, that he was powerful enough to invade all islands, and that, crossing the ocean by means of bridges of boats, he effected the plundering of **Rêvatîdvîpa** (*ante*, Vol. VIII. p. 13). While the Aihoḷe inscription simply says that, when he was reducing Rêvatîdvîpa, his mighty army, which had beset the ramparts, was reflected in the water of the ocean, so that it seemed to be the army of Varuṇa, which had come at his command (*ante*, Vol. VIII. p. 243 f.). This indicates an attack on **a fortress on the seashore.** And Prof. R. G. Bhandarkar (*Early History of the Dekkan*, p. 37 f.) has pointed out that **Rêvatî was probably the old name of Rêḍî**, a few miles to the south of Veṅgurla. Rêḍî (the 'Reree' of the map, Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 41, Lat. 15° 45′ N., Long. 73° 44′ E.) is a town and port in the Ratnâgiri District, Bombay Presidency; and the map shews a large fort, commanding the entrance to the creek which forms the port, beyond which there juts out a large promontory to the west, on the south of the fort. Whether this fort is of any great antiquity, I am unable to say. But I notice that the map shews also, at the mouth of another creek on the south side of the promontory, another fort, the name of which is entered as 'Terekhol.' Probably in ancient times this promontory was a regular stronghold, protected by fortresses where the two now stand, and by fortifications between them; and doubtless it was not so well guarded towards the sea as inland; so that an attack on it would be made from one or other of the creeks by means of boats or a bridge of boats. And there can be little doubt, if any, that this really is the place assaulted and plundered by Maṅgalêśa; the word *dvîpa*, *lit.* 'that which has two waters, *i.e.* water on two sides,' being applied to it in the sense of a 'peninsula or promontory,' not in the more usual meaning of 'an island.'

The island of Ramrî, spoken of above, is an island, with a town of the same name, off the coast of British Burma, in the Kyouk-hpyû District, separated from the mainland of Arakan by a narrow but deep channel; it lies between Lat. 18° 51′ to 19° 24′ N., and Long. 93° 28′ to 94° E. And close on the south-west of it, separated by what is known as the Cheduba Strait, there lies the smaller **island of Cheduba**, with a town of the same name, where also, as will be seen, some of these coins have been obtained.

It is curious that these coins should be found only in those localities and in Siam, at such a distance from Southern India across the Gulf of Bengal. But, curious as is the fact, **the proper assignment of the coins** is perfectly easy, and entirely free from doubt. And in connection with numismatic theories, they prove conclusively that the making of 'punch-coins' was at least occasionally revived, long after the time when the use of the die had been fully introduced.

In the first place, I have to point out that even **the characters in which the legends are given,** leave no doubt whatever that the coins belong to a period later by at least about four centuries than the time to which Sir Walter Elliot referred them. And in the second place, the six coins of which I have been able to give representations (see the Plate facing page 78 above), — chiefly through the kindness of Mr. E. J. Rapson, of the British Museum, in making casts for me; — give **the names of two well-known kings of the Eastern Chalukya dynasty,** belonging to just the period that suits the palæographical standard of the legends.

A. is one of Sir Walter Elliot's coins, now in the British Museum, and is the one shewn in *Coins of Southern India*, Plate iii. No. 79; its weight is 65·9 grains. B. also belongs to the British Museum, having been presented by Mr. U. Shwé Bu; weight, 66·2 grs. And C. belongs to General Pearse; weight, 66·1 grs. The reverse sides of these coins, as also of D. E. and F., are quite plain; except that, the coins being thin, the punch-marks show through on the backs of them more or less distinctly throughout. The centre part of each coin is occupied by a group of **emblems**; and it may be noted here that the same punch does not appear to have been used on any of these six coins, either in the emblems, or in the legends. The leading emblem is a boar, of the usual Chalukya type, standing to the proper left. Under the snout of the boar there is, — not the Pâli *ma*, as was supposed by Lieut. Latter; nor the *taurus*-symbol, as Sir Walter Elliot thought, — but on A. and B. the Old-Kanarese character *ra*, and on C. *ka*; what these letters may denote, however, I am unable to say. Directly over the boar, and separated by a line, there seems to be an umbrella, expanded, with a *chaurí* on each side of it. And in front of the boar, and behind it, there is a lamp-stand. Round these emblems there is a Sanskrit **legend,** in seven letters of the so-called Old-Kanarese alphabet; beginning on C. directly over the boar; on A. a trifle to the proper left; and on B. still more to the left. On B. and C., as also on D. E. and F., the last character of the legend is very indifferently formed, and in fact hardly resembles at all what it was intended for; but it is clear enough on A. The other characters have, on all the specimens, been formed with more care. And the whole legend on these three coins is distinctly recognisable as *śrî-Châlukya-Chandrasya*, "of the glorious **Châlukya-Chandra.**" The person thus referred to is **the Eastern Chalukya king Saktivarman,** who reigned over the kingdom of Veṅgî for twelve years, about A.D. 1000 to 1012. He is mentioned by his proper name of Saktivarman in line 19 of the Chellûr grant (*ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 56); and by his *biruda* or secondary name of Châlukya-Chandra, 'the moon of the Châlukyas,' in line 49 of the Korumelli grant (*id.* p. 52).

D. is the other of Sir Walter Elliot's coins, also now in the British Museum, and is the one shewn in *Coins of Southern India*, Plate iii. No. 80; its weight is 66·4 grains. E. and F. also belong to the British Museum, having been presented by Mr. H. Foster, who obtained them on the island of Cheduba; their weights are, respectively, 66·6 and 66·8 grains. Each of these three coins has in its centre the same **emblems,** described above; but there is a difference in the characters below the snout of the boar; that on D. being *ra*, as in the case of A. and B.; while on F. we have *vi*, and on E. apparently the same. **The legend** round the emblems on these three coins, consists of six characters, of the same alphabet as on A. B. and C.; on D. it commences in front of the boar; on F. almost directly over it; and on E. in an intermediate position. Allowing for the very indifferent execution of the last character, the whole legend on these three coins is distinctly recognisable as *śrî-Râjarâjasya*, "of the glorious **Râjarâja.**" And here the reference is to **the Eastern Chalukya king Râjarâja II.**, the nephew of Châlukyachandra-Saktivarman, who succeeded to the throne of Veṅgî in A.D. 1021, and reigned for forty-one years.

From a memorandum which was sent in by Mr. U. Shwé Bu with the coin presented by him, and was handed over to me by Mr. Rapson, it appears that in Ramrî and Cheduba **these coins are known by the name of shwe-tha-bya**; and that, as to the circumstances under

which they came there, there is the following tradition, which very possibly indicates the truth about the matter, *viz.* that they were sent from India as religious offerings: —

"About two thousand years ago, during the time of king San-da-thu-ruja of Arakan, Gautama-Buddha went there from India. The king did worship to the Buddha, being much attracted by his preaching. And when the Buddha was about to return to India, the king and his subjects asked for permission to preserve and worship an image in memory of him. The Buddha assented. And then the king sent out notices to all the Buddhist kings, asking them to contribute metal, according to their means, for the fashioning of an image of the Buddha. With the contributions that came in, there was fashioned in seven metals, gold, silver, brass, copper, &c., an image which is now in Mandalay. Some of the kings brought their contributions to Arakan in person. Others started to do so, but did not arrive in time; and so the offerings brought by them were of no use, and had to be taken away again. On the way home, some of them happened to come to the island of Man-aung (Cheduba); and finding it uninhabited, — [and, I suppose, not wishing to apply to any worldly use articles which, though not actually accepted for a sacred object, had been dedicated to it,] — there they buried in the ground the metals which they had taken with them as religious offerings."

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 Vol.* XVIII. *page* 309.)

CHAPTER III.

THE DETACHED ROCK EDICTS.

I. THE EDICTS OF DHAULI AND OF JAUGADA.[1]

No part of our inscriptions has, I think, profited so much by the publication of the *Corpus*, as the two edicts which I now propose to study. Not only does it render the version of Jaugada for the first time accessible, but in a great many instances it rectifies readings given by Prinsep for Dhauli. Dr. Kern has also again taken up the interpretation of both the inscriptions, and has published a new transcription and a new translation in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. I need hardly say that he has thoroughly improved the version of Burnouf. Nevertheless, our present knowledge of these monuments is still at a stage when the last word is not yet said, with regard either to the reading or to the interpretation. I owe to the inexhaustible kindness of Mr. Burgess the communication of new rubbings of both the rocks; and it is very doubtful if, after so experienced and skilled a hand has passed over them, further examination will bring us more light in the future. Unfortunately the preservation of the rock is very imperfect, especially at Jaugada, where it seems to have undergone intentional mutilation. At any rate, these rubbings have permitted me, as we shall see, to correct General Cunningham in the reading of several passages, and to submit to

[1] Since the work, here translated, was published, these two inscriptions have been studied anew by Prof. Bühler (Journ. Ger. Orient. Society, XL, 1, and ff.). It would lead me too far, should I undertake to introduce here into my commentary and translation the various changes which are necessary, either to embody the progress, which my learned friend has not failed more than once to make towards realizing the exact meaning of the text, or to uphold such of my interpretations as still appear to me to have been unduly rejected. I, besides, consider it necessary that my essay should keep its chronological place in a study which at some future period will certainly be taken up again. I therefore content myself with entering below my original text, line by line, the readings of Prof. Bühler, whenever they differ from mine. No doubt, his revision, founded as it is upon a more recent attempt and upon better documents, will in most cases prove more trustworthy than all previous decipherments. Of course, the differences bear generally on minute details, and the cases are few where these variants are such as to modify the palæographical basis on which my explanations had to rest.—THE AUTHOR.

a decisive test the correctness of various conjectures of my predecessors. Even when they do not introduce new elements to our consideration, the experienced reader will understand how much security the direct inspection of these immediate and necessarily accurate reproductions gives to the commentator. They bring us, I consider, sensibly nearer a definite understanding of the two texts, and all Indian scholars will share my gratitude to Mr. Burgess.

The order according to which the two edicts are numbered has only a secondary importance. It is simplest to preserve that which has been introduced by Prinsep, and which, adhered to by Burnouf, has become in a manner traditional. It is moreover recommended by a further reason which was not noticed by the earliest interpreters; the two edicts, while resembling each other in their general tone, differ essentially in the fact that one refers only to the subjects of the king, and the other to the frontier populations not incorporated in his Empire. It is natural to arrange them in the order which the two interests ought to have occupied in the thoughts of Piyadasi.

FIRST EDICT.

Prinsep, *J. A. S. B.*, 1838, pp. 434 and ff.; Burnouf, *Lotus de la Bonne Loi*, pp. 671 and ff. Lassen, *Ind. Alterth.*, I. p. 268, n. 1-5; Kern, *Jaart. der zuyd. Buddh.*, pp. 101 and ff.; *J. R. A. S.*, N. S., XII., pp. 384 and ff.

TEXT.[2]

DHAULI.

(1) Dêvânaṁpiyasa vachanêna tôsaliyaṁ mahâmâta nagalaviyôhâlaka (2) vataviyaṁ[1] [·] aṁ kichhi dakhâmi hakaṁ taṁ ichhâmi kiṁtî kaṁ . na paṭivêdayêhaṁ (3) duvâlatê cha âlabhêhaṁ[2] [·] êsa cha mê môkhyamata duvâlê êtasi aṭhasi aṁ tuphêsu (4) anu-

JAUGADA.

Dêvânaṁpiyê hêvaṁ âhâ [·] samâpâyaṁ mahâmâtâ nagalaviyôhâlaka hê . vataviyâ [·] aṁ kichhi dakhâmi hakaṁ taṁ ichhâmi kiṁti kamana paṭipâtayêhaṁ[29] (2) duvâlatê cha âlabhêhaṁ [·] êsa cha mê môkhiyamata duvâlaṁ aṁ tuphêsu anu-

[2] Professor Bühler's readings :—

FIRST EDICT.

DHAULI.

l. 1. °hâlakâ.
l. 2. . . vataviya°; °kaṁmana°.
l. 3. °athâ°.
l. 6. °ti tathâ . . muni°.
l. 7. °iyaṁ aṭhê kê°; °dêkhatê hi°.
l. 8. °hôti.
l. 9. °cha . . bahujanê°.
l. 11. °siyêna kilamathêna°.
l. 12. jâtâ°.
l. 13. °ugachh. saṁ°.
l. 14. °saṁpatipâda.
l. 16. °manêatilêkê°; °mînê chu ê°.
l. 17. °satha ta . . . . ânaniyaṁ°; °sôtaviya.
l. 18. °tisê khanasi khanasi°.
l. 19. °likhita hi°.
l. 20. nagalaviyôhâlakâ°; °palibôdhê va.
l. 21. °aṭhâyê°.
l. 23. kalaṁti°; °pi chu kumâlê°.
l. 24. °tiṁni°; °takhasilâtê°.
l. 25. °ahâpayitu°.

JAUGADA.

l. 1. °hê . ṁ va°; °kaṁmana°
l. 2. °âyata pa°; °savamunisê.
l. 3. °pâlalôkikêna hê°; °sêsu nô cha tuphê êtaṁ pâpunâtha âvâgamakê.
l. 4. °aṭhê°; °manâti°; dêsaṁ nê sa°; °phê hisuvitâ°; °bahuka athi vê°; °lêsaṁ hi pâ°; °tata hôti aka.
l. 5. °baṁdhanaṁtika . . cha°; °vêdayati°; °hi ichhi°; °isâyê°.
l. 6. °anâvutiyê âlasyêna°; °niti ê yaṁ°.
l. 7. °uthâyê saṁ°; °vajitaviya pi°; °yê hêvaṁ hêvaṁ cha°; °sa anusathi.
l. 8. °kutê manea ——.
l. 9. °alâpi kha. na s. taviyâ êk . . pi . . va—— manê cha ——
l. 10. °aṭhâyê°; °lipî ê°; °yaṁ yu . yu ti.nê hi——
l. 11. °nikhâmayisâmî°; °achaṁdaṁ aphalahatâ . vachanêtê ———— i . nâlêvâ ——
l. 12. — âjavachanika ada°; °kaṁmaṁ ê . ni pi . n ——

sathi[3] [·] tuphê hi bahusû pânasahasêsu âyatâ panayaṁ gachhêma sumunisâṇaṁ[4] [·] savê (5) munisê pajâ mamâ [·] atha pajâyê ichhâmi hakaṁ kiṁti savêna hitasukhêna hidalôkika (6)-pâlalôkikâyê yujêvûti....[5] munisêsu pi ichhâmi hakaṁ [·] nô cha pâpunâtha âvâga - (7) makê[6] [·] iyaṁ atha kêchha va êkapulisê manâti êtaṁ sê pi dêsaṁ nô savaṁ[7] [·] dêkhatê hi tuphê êtaṁ (8) suvihitâpi niti[8] [·] iyaṁ êkapulisê pi athi yê baṁdhanaṁ vâ palikilêsaṁ[9] vâ pâpunâti [·] tata hôta (9) akasmâ têna[10] baṁdhanaṁtika [·] aṁnê cha . . hujanê daviyê[11] dukhiyati [·] tata ichhitaviyê (10) tuphêhi kiṁti majhaṁ paṭipâdayêmâti[12] [·] imêhi chu jatêhi[13] nô saṁpaṭipajati isâya âsúlôpêna (11) nithûliyêna tûlanâya anâvûtiya âlasiyêna kâlamathêna [·] sê ichhitaviyê kiṁti êtê (12) jatâ nô huvêvu mamâti [·] êtasa[14] cha savasa mûlê anâsulôpê atûlanâ cha nitiyaṁ [·] ê kilaṁtê[15] siyâ (13) na sê ugachha saṁchalitaviyê tu vajitaviyê êtaviyê vâ [·] hêvaṁmêva ê dakhiyê tuphâka[16] [·] têna vataviyê (14) aṁnaṁ nê dêkhata[17] hêvaṁ cha hêvaṁ cha dêvânaṁpiyasa anusathi [·] sê mahâ . lê[18] êtasa saṁpaṭipâdê (15) mahâ-*apâyê asaṁpaṭipati [·] vipa*-tipâdayamînêhi[19] êtaṁ nathi svagasa âladhi nô lâjâladhi [·] (16) duâhalê[20] hi imasa kaṁmasa mê kutê manaatilêkê [·] saṁpaṭipajamînê cha êtaṁ svagaṁ (17) âlâdhayisatha t . . . . . naniyaṁ êhatha[21] [·] iyaṁ cha lipi tisanakhatêna[22] so . viyaṁ (18) aṁtalâpi cha tisêna khanasi kha . - si êkêna pi sôtaviya [·] hêvaṁ sathi [·] phê[30] hi bahûsu pânasahasêsu â . . pana . gachhêma sumunisânaṁ [·] savê munisê (3) pajâ [·] atha pajâyê ichhâmi kiṁtimê[31] savêna hitasukhêna yujêyûti hidalôgikapâlalôkikâyê hêmêva mê ichha savamunisêsu [·] . . . . . pâpunâtha âvagamakê [·] (4) iyaṁ atha kêchâ êkapulisê pi manati sê pi dêsaṁ nê savaṁ [·] dakhatha hi tuphê pisuvitâpi[32] [·] bahukê aṭhi yê[33] êti êkamunisê baṁdhanaṁ palikilêsaṁ pi pâpunâti [·] tata . ta aka (5) smâ têna baṁdha——————cha vagê bahukê vêdayaṁti [·] tata tuphêhi . chhitayê kimti majhaṁ paṭipâtayêma [·] imêhi jâtêhi nô saṁpaṭipajati isâya âsulôpêna nithuliyêna (6) tulâyê anâvûtiyê âlasiyêna kilamathêna [·] hêvaṁ ichhitaviyê kiṁti mê êtâni jâtâni nô hêyûti [·] savasa cha iyaṁ mûlê anâsulôpê atulanâ cha niti iyaṁ[34] [·] ê kilaṁtê siyâ na (7) saṁchalitu uthi[35] . saṁchalitaviyê tu vajitaviyê pi êtaviyê pi [·] nîtiyaṁ ê vê dêkhêyi[36] [·] aṁna nê nijhapêtaviyê hêvaṁ . . . cha dêvânaṁpiya . . nusathi [·] — (8) taṁ mahâphalê hôti asaṁpaṭipati *mahâpâyê hôti [·]* vipaṭipâtayaṁtaṁ nô[37] svagaâladhi nô . lâjâdhi [·] duâhalê êtasa kamasa samê[39] kutê ma——————mâ . nê (9) cha ânanêyaṁ êsatha svagaṁ cha âlâdhayisathâ [·] iyaṁ cha lipi anutisaṁ sôtaviyâ alâpi va. nasâtatilâ ê . ka . pi[39]

cha kalaṁtaṁ tuphê (19) cha-ghatha[23] saṁpaṭipâdayitavê [·] êtâyê athâyê iyaṁ lipi likhitâ hida êna (20) naga-laviyôpâlakâ sasvataṁ sa-mayaṁ yujêvûti nagalajana-sa akasmâpalibôdha[24] va (21) akasmâpalikilêsê va nô siyâti [·] êtâyê cha athâyê hakaṁ dhaṁmatê paṁchasu paṁchasu vasê-(22)-su[25] nikhâ-mayisâmi ê akhakhasê achaṁ-ḍa sakhinâlaṁbhê hôsati [·] êtaṁ aṭhaṁ jânitu tathâ (23) kalati atha mama anu-sathîti[26] [·] ujênitê pi cha ku-mâlê etâyê va aṭhâyê ni-khâmayisati (24) hêdisaṁm êva vagaṁ[27] nô cha atikâ-mayisati tini vasâni [·] hêmê va tâkhasilâtê pi [·] adâ a . . . (25) tô mahâmâtâ ni-khamisaṁti anusayânaṁ[28] ta-dâ ahâpayita atanê kaṁ-maṁ êtaṁ pi jânisaṁti (26) taṁ pi tathâ kalaṁti atha lâjinê anusathîti [·]

——————————
——————————(10) tavê
[·] êtâyê cha athâyê iyaṁ . khi-tâ lipi êna mahâmâtâ nagalaka sasvataṁ sa-mayaṁ . . ka . ya . êna
——————————
——————————
——————————
——————————(11) paṁchasu paṁchasu vasêsu anusaṁyânaṁ nikhâmayisâmi mahâmâtaṁ achaṁ-ḍaṁ phalahata vâchênêlê
. . .
ujêniku
mâlê vi . tasatê
——————————
——————————
——————————
——————————
(12)——————javachanika[40] tada anusaṁyânaṁ nikhamisaṁti atanê kaṁmaṁ——————
——————————
——————————
——————————

NOTES.

DHAULI.

1. *Vataviyaṁ* for *vataviyâ*. Comparison with Jaugada leaves no doubt as to the plural, contrary to the opinion of Burnouf.

2. The difficulty of this sentence resides in the words which follow *kiṁti*. The reading *aṁnaṁ* given by the facsimile of the *Corpus* is not tenable, and there is no room at Dhauli for the four letters supposed by the conjecture *aṁnaṁ êna* of Dr. Kern. Unfortunately the parallel passages are either incomplete (at Dhauli in the 2nd Edict) or (at Jaugada) are not particularly clear, and moreover both contain one character too many. I have, however, little hesitation as to the correct reading. Trusting to the first and third letters (which are very distinct in Mr. Burgess's *facsimile*), I complete the word as *kaṁ[mê]na*. Jaugada lends itself well to this restoration, so far as regards the three last characters. As regards the first, which is certainly *ka* in the 2nd Edict, and probably also in the first, our only resource is to consider it as an erroneous repetition. We shall see lower down, how the Jaugada text presents to us enough examples of very similar pieces of carelessness to justify this conjecture, especially with the evidence of Dhauli, which certainly had only three letters. On the other hand, Jaugada suggests a useful correction for the next word; for, if following the reading *paṭipâ-tayêham* (cf. lower down, line 5, where *paṭipâtayêma* corresponds to *paṭipâdayêma* of Dhauli), we correct the Dhauli reading to *paṭipâdayêhaṁ*, we obtain a translation very consistent with *kaṁmêna*; 'All the views which I entertain, I desire to have brought into practice,' literally, 'to have them practised in fact,' — a very natural antithesis between, on one side, the thought, and, on the other, the action. *Dakh*, therefore, takes here a special shade of meaning; it is

to see in the sense of *recognising, believing*. We may compare the common use in Buddhist language of *dṛishṭi* to mean 'theory,' 'doctrine,' and thence, in particular, 'a doctrine which is peculiar, heretical.' Dr. Kern has well explained *duvâla* by the Sanskṛit *dvâra*, which we must take in its figurative sense of 'means.'

3. Dr. Kern has rendered an essential service to the understanding of the whole of this passage, by recognising in the base *tupha*, the Prâkṛit *tumha* (cf. *Hêmachandra*, Ed. Pischel, III. 31, &c.), instead of the *stûpa*, which misled Prinsep, Lassen and Burnouf alike in interpreting the whole edict (*cf. Jaartell. der zuyd. Buddh.*, p. 102). We shall see, lower down, that our rubbings permit us to add a new form to those which he has recognised. Here they establish a perfect harmony between the two passages, by giving us the reading *tuphêsu*; while as regards the analogous forms, *aphâkam*, *aphêsu*, for the pronoun of the first person, see below in the 2nd det. edict. We may take *aṁ* as a neuter and refer it to *dvâraṁ*, or we may consider it as another spelling of the feminine *yâ*, and connect it with *anusathi*; in either case, the sense remains the same. The principal means of action, according to Piyadasi, are the instructions which he imposes upon his officers.

4. Regarding *âyatâ*, see above Col. Ed. VIII. 1.; IV. 3 and note. With regard to what follows, repeated examinations of the rubbings have convinced me of the correctness of the reading *panayaṁ*, which, with *gachhêma* (the word is perfectly clear), gives a very natural construction. The only matter of doubt, and it is not of great importance, is as to what is the subject of *gachhêma*. It would seem most natural that it should be the king himself, who is speaking; 'I have appointed you that I may gain the affection of good men.' But Piyadasi rarely speaks of himself except in the singular, and besides, it seems to me that *praṇaya* 'affection,' is too modest and familiar a term to be used with reference to the king. I think, therefore, that the verb has for its subject the *mahâmâtras* themselves. We should, strictly, expect an *iti* at the end of the sentence, which however is often wanting in analogous cases; and I understand that the king appointed these officers with the intention that they should set themselves to gaining the affection, the confidence, of good men. This view explains the importance attached by the king to the instructions which he delivers to them. The source of their authority is the very confidence which they succeed in inspiring.

5. As a whole this sentence is quite clear. Traces which are apparent on the rubbing leave me little hesitation in restoring it as *-vûti tathâ savamuni-*. *Tathâ* corresponds well with the *hêmêva* of Jaugada; both are correlatives of the *yathâ* which precedes. We need not divide the sentence after *iti*, it goes on down to *hakaṁ* inclusive.

6. This is the passage in the edict which leaves me in the greatest uncertainty. Unfortunately Jaugada has a lacuna here; but the text certainly contained several characters, whether one word or two, more than that of Dhauli. The reading, *dukaṁ*, of the *Corpus* is condemned by the rubbings which have clearly *hakaṁ*. The sentence therefore only commences with *nô*. With regard to the verb *pâpunâtha*, Dr. Kern seeks in it a third person singular. All analogies are contrary to this interpretation; it can only be a second person plural. Thus not only does the supposed object (*dukaṁ* corrected to *dukhaṁ*) disappear, but we are compelled to admit another subject. I believe that Jaugada in the indistinct characters at the beginning of the sentence gives us both. The reading *nô cha tuphê* appears to me to be almost certain. I dare not be so positive as to the two following characters. It is very probable that the second was a *t*; and the former one can in that case hardly be anything but an *ê*. It is certain, at any rate, that the traces on the stone do not prohibit this suggestion. We are thus driven to translate the first words, 'and you will not obtain that.' It becomes at the same time clear, without our being compelled to assume any material error of the engraver, why the text of Dhauli omits the words *tuphê* and *êtaṁ*. The second person implies of itself that the king here addresses, as above, his officers, and an object so vague as *êtaṁ*, which only refers in a general way to the idea which the king has just expressed, can be omitted without too great

obscurity. A little lower down we shall meet the inverse case, when *êtaṁ* as an object, after *dêkhata*, is expressed at Dhauli and omitted at Jaugada. There remains *áva* (or *vâ*) *gamaké*, which Dr. Kern understands as the Sanskṛit *yâvad gâmyakaṁ*, *yâvadgamyaṁ*, 'as much as possible.' I must confess that I have many doubts as to this interpretation. This pleonastic use of the suffix *ka*, though common enough in Prâkṛit, is rare in the language of our inscriptions. But I have nothing better to propose, and moreover this explanation agrees excellently with my general translation of the whole sentence, and allows me to distinguish more accurately the general purport of the phrase. *Gam* and *prâp* are, as used here, essentially synonyms. The king accordingly says to his officers, 'I desire the welfare of all men; and in this matter, you are not yet attaining to all the results which are obtainable.' Hence the new and more precise instructions which he immediately gives. We may join *iyaṁ* to this sentence without materially changing the meaning, but I prefer to connect it with what follows for two reasons; first, because this arrangement establishes between the two next sentences, *iyaṁ athi kêcha . . . . .*; *iyaṁ êkapulisê pi athi . . . . .*, a formal parallelism which exists also in their ideas; and second, because it is improbable, supposing that I have deciphered Jaugada correctly, that the same object should, in the same sentence, at a distance of only two words, be referred to at one time by *êtaṁ*, and at another by *idaṁ*. There is no more difficulty in taking *iyaṁ* as a representative of the masculine *ayaṁ*, than in considering it as equivalent to the neuter *idaṁ*; for everywhere here the distinction between masculine and neuter is completely obliterated (*cf.* above, Col. Ed. II. note 1).

7. In order to understand this sentence and the following ones, it is important to note the general purport. A very instructive symmetry, between entire periods, rules the whole passage. We have successively three propositions: *iyaṁ athi — êkapulisê . . . . .*, *iyaṁ êkapulisê athi . . . . .*, *aṁne cha bahujanê . . . .*, which are all counterparts of each other. Each points out a fact which is a matter of regret to the king, and is followed by another proposition, in which he indicates to his officers how they ought to cure the evil: *dêkhata hi tuphê . . .*, *tata hôta . . .*, *tata ichhitaviyê*. It will be seen how clearly the formal parallelism manifests itself. The first sentence, which immediately claims our attention, requires only one correction, viz. *aṭha* into *aṭhi* or *athi* (to judge from the rubbings, the difference between ⊙ and ○ is in the whole of this passage hardly distinguishable): a comparison with *athi* in the sentence *iyaṁ êkapulisê pi athi* leaves no doubt in the matter. For the general meaning of the whole passage, the 7th of the fourteen edicts gives us a valuable parallel: *tê* (i.e. *jana*, men) *sarvaṁ vâ kâsaṁti êkadêsaṁ vâ kâsaṁti* (G. l. 2). The objects, *sarvaṁ*, *êkadêsaṁ*, on the one side, and *êtaṁ dêsaṁ*, *savaṁ* on the other, of themselves challenge comparison. Dr. Kern ingeniously refers *ékapurusha* to *ékavîra*, recalling the sense in which the latter is used in a passage of the *Mṛichchhakaṭî*. He takes both in the meaning of a 'bad, culpable man,' 'a rogue;' but as *ékavîra* has the accepted meaning of 'hero,' the passage cited in the play can only be employed in this way ironically. The quotation deals with 'heroes, valiant when pillaging the houses of others, but trembling before the police.' Nothing authorises us to admit for *ékapurusha* the translation which we reject for *ékavîra*. We shall see that the next sentence excludes this interpretation, for the word is used for men who have been imprisoned *without reason*. It is on the contrary, natural to attribute to it a value analogous to that of the Buddhist *pṛithagjana* and to that of our 'individual.' This fits in excellently with the whole sentence. Closely related to the indeterminate *jana* of the 7th edict above quoted, it completes the resemblance between the two passages. The verb alone is different, but *manâti* may with confidence be explained by the meaning of 'to devote oneself to,' 'to pay attention to,' that is to say 'to respect' the orders and instructions. I believe, therefore, that in the notes on the 7th edict, I have not accurately defined the value of *dêsa*. I derived its meaning from the customary sense of the Sanskṛit *dêśa*. Thus translation only with difficulty suits the two other passages where the word occurs, in the 5th of the Fourteen Edicts (G. l. 3) and in the second detached edict of Dhauli and Jaugada in *dêsâyutika*. In the first instance the king, after declaring that those who follow his instructions will

prosper, adds, '*yô tu êtam dêsaṁ pihâpêsati sô dukataṁ kâsati.*' There is no room here for any restriction, and we have been led to take *dêsa* in a sense more general than would suit the passage of the 7th edict. It would, of course, be preferable to adopt a translation which could be maintained uniformly throughout all the instances in which the word occurs. This meaning appears to me to be that of 'order,' 'commandment,' *dêsa* being equivalent to *saṁdêśa*. *Êkadêsa* in the 7th edict will therefore mean 'one order in particular,' and here we can translate *êtaṁ dêsaṁ* by 'such and such an order,' which comes practically to the same thing. There remains *dêśâyutika*, of the next edict, in the sentence *tuphâkaṁ dêśâyutikê hôsâmi*. We shall see that there can be no doubt about the general purport; the king says to his officers: 'It is thanks to you that I shall put my orders into practice.' The meaning which we are led to attribute to *dêsa* in the present passage is therefore again verified. The literal translation would be: 'I shall be having from you application to my orders.' Besides this interpretation, one other only is possible: it consists in taking *dêsa* in a meaning analogous to its use in Sanskṛit, and to translate, 'I shall have you for substitutes, for lieutenants.' But not only would such a use of *dêsa* be very vague, and give an extremely embarrassed turn to the phrase, but we should be thus compelled to state for the word, in that one case, a meaning different from that which is required in the other passages just cited. The former method avoids every difficulty.

8. The reading *dêkhaté* is probably founded merely on a fissure in the rock. Jaugada shows, and the pronoun *tuphê* makes it certain, that we have here a second person plural. The only difference is that Jaugada has *dakhatha*, that is to say, the new Pâli-Prâkṛit termination, while Dhauli preserves the regular orthography of the classic imperative. We have no more sure check for our interpretations than the facility with which they establish a complete harmony between the two versions. It will have been remarked that wherever our rubbings give us new lessons, they tend to render more perfect the agreement between the two texts. Here, nevertheless, they differ in the close of the sentence; but this is only due to a material error in the original. The text of Jaugada is altered and cut short: *pisuvitâ* should probably be read *hisuvitâ*, for *suvihitâ*; while, as for the words *niti iyaṁ*, or simply *niti*, which is sufficient, they have been carelessly omitted by the engraver. The reading of Jaugada appears actually to be unintelligible, while that of Dhauli lends itself to a satisfactory translation. It is sufficient to supply, as is done so commonly, the verb substantive *siyâ* or *hôsati*, 'look to that,' says the king, 'and may the rule of conduct be well established,' 'well directed.' I would refer here to a passage of the 3rd (rock) edict (G. note *f*, and K. note *g*); where I believe that I have established, both at Dhauli and Kapur-di-giri, in passages which are unfortunately uncertain as fragmentary, the phrase *anunîti*. If my conjecture is verified, *nîti* would appear to be applied, exactly as here, to the sum total of moral duties. At any rate, we shall again find this use a little lower down, and it is moreover in entire accord with the classic usage of the word. I may add that Dr. Kern's conjecture, *kiṁti* is altogether set aside by the rubbing.

9. The sentence is sufficiently cleared up by what has been said above in notes 6 and 7. Dr. Kern, misled by his general interpretation of the passage, translates *parikléśa* by 'chastisement.' I need hardly observe that the word does not necessarily imply this shade of meaning, and signifies generally 'suffering,' 'torture.'

10. This is cleared up by a comparison with a passage further on (l. 20-21). The king declares that the aim of this edict is to secure by the zeal of the *nagaravyavahârakas*, that is to say of the same officers as those he is here addressing, that there should be neither imprisonment nor torture without valid motive (*akasmâ*). Here we can only look for the same meaning. Thanks to the reading *baṁdhanaṁtika*, simply corrected to *baṁdhanaṁtikâ*, with the sign of the plural, the construction is clear, and the only difficulty has reference to *têna*. The instrumental *têna* lends itself to no explanation. Some correction or other is unavoidable. At Jaugada the two characters appear with a clearness which excludes all uncertainty as to the reading; but, on the other hand, mistakes of the engraver,

especially in the notation of vowels, are frequent enough to authorise us to use some liberty. *Sânaṁ* might be suggested; the plural would refer to the collective singular of the preceding sentence, — to the people put in prison. But in that case *akasmâ baṁdhanaṁtika*, *akasmâ* being separated from, instead of being connected with, what follows in a compound, could only be translated 'who without motive deliver from prison,' which would be exactly the opposite of the meaning we require, which is 'who delivers from a prison without motive, from an imprisonment which has no motive.' For my part, I see no other expedient (the translation of the whole sentence leaving no room for doubt) than to read in one single word *akasmâtanabaṁdhanaṁtika*, and to admit an adjective *akasmâtana*, formed from *akasmâ*, like *chirantana* from *chiraṁ*, and *sanâtana* from *sanâ*. I do not forget the difficulty that such long compounds are scarcely consonant with the usages of the language of our monuments; but the present instance is one of extreme simplicity and transparency.

11. *Daviyé*, I think, requires correction. Dr. Kern, it is true, recognises in it the Sanskrit *davîya*; and although I entirely differ from him in the general interpretation of the whole passage, the meaning which he proposes for the word, 'moreover,' 'besides,' is not necessarily inconsistent with my analysis of the sentence. But, not only does this figurative meaning appear to me to be unacceptable for *dûra*, above all in a style so level as ours, but the very form, the comparative in *îyaṁs* instead of *dûratara*, would be, to my mind, an archaism *à priori* little likely in this language. Unfortunately Jaugada has here an altogether different expression, and, as it represents *daviyé dukhiyati* by *védayati*, cannot help us by checking the reading. One point is sure, — that we cannot be positive about the vowel which accompanies the *v* at Dhauli. The stone has just at this place suffered injury, so that it is by no means out of the way to propose to read *davâyé*. As regards the use of the Buddhist *davâ*, we have, the explicit witness of the scholiast cited by Burnouf (Lotus, p. 649), who defines it thus *kichchhádhippâyéna kiriyâ*. The nearest meaning is therefore 'violence,' which is confirmed by the Sanskrit denominative *dravasyati*, in the meaning of 'to suffer' (*paritâpa*). The king, after referring to the acts of violence and injustice committed under the shadows of administrative and legal authority, now turns his attention to acts of violence performed by private persons on private persons. So far as regards the form, there need be no serious difficulty, even if the reading *daviyé* is ever definitely verified, in admitting a base *davî* alongside of *davâ*, especially as the feminine *davâ* is itself a new formation if compared with the bases *drava* and *dravas* of classical Sanskrit.

12. The form *majhaṁ* need not surprise us. It is a secondary base formed upon the analogy of the oblique case *majjha* (*Hémachandra*, III. 113), nearly as the forms *tuphé*, *aphé* are drawn from oblique cases like *yushmé*, *asmé*. The object is not expressed, being understood from the neighbouring nominative *bahujané*.

13. I have previously (1st Col. Ed., 12, 3) insisted on the exact meaning of the particle *chu*, which is slightly adversative; 'but,' 'now.' The use of *jâta*, which we find here, is, so far as I know, entirely new. The only explanation for it which I can see is to assume that the neuter *jâtaṁ* is employed, not, as above, to signify 'kind,' 'species,' but rather in the sense justified by etymology, of 'native disposition,' 'inclination.' The nature of the terms comprised under this head appear, as we shall see, to justify this conjecture. After having pointed out the evil and the conduct by which he expects his officers to remedy it, the king now enumerates the qualities necessary to render their action efficacious. Hitherto the terms which follow have been assumed to be vices and imperfections with which the king would reproach men in general; but that is, I think, a mistake which would spoil the sense of the whole passage. I find a twofold proof of this. First, the way in which *sampaṭipajati* and *paṭipâlayéma* (the concluding word of the last sentence) are brought close together, is evidently intentional. In each case the verb must be expected to refer to the action of the same persons, that is to say, both here and above, to the officers of the king. Secondly, the manifest

parallelism between the commencement of the following sentence, *sê ichhitaviyê*, &c., and the commencement of the preceding one, *tata ichhitaviyê tuphêhi*, indicates that both concern the same subject, — the officers of the king. Moreover, the proposition set forth in the direct style, which winds up with *mama*, can scarcely be placed in the mouth of any one but these officers, whom alone the king addresses in this proclamation. I conclude, therefore, that the defects enumerated here are those against which Piyadasi warns his representatives when employed in carrying out his mandates. 'You must,' he tells them, 'desire to set men in the Good Way. But there are certain imperfections which will prevent your succeeding, and of which you should endeavour to free yourselves (*êtê jâtâ nô huvêvu mamâti*).' Amongst these defects, there are several terms of which the meaning has been misconceived. The reading *âsulôpa*, which is certainly correct, as may be judged from its repetition in several passages, excludes at once both Burnouf's translation 'le retranchement de la vie,' 'le meurtre,' (which, not to mention other difficulties, would presuppose a spelling *asulôpa*) and the conjecture *âsulôsa*, i.e. *âśurôsha*, of Dr. Kern. *Âsulôpa* lends itself, in fact, to a very suitable translation; *lôpa* ordinarily means 'interruption,' 'giving up;' *âsulôpa* can therefore be translated 'precipitate giving up,' and, consequently, 'readiness to be discouraged.' It seems to me that the following sentence indirectly confirms this analysis. All this enumeration is in a manner summed up in the two terms *âsulôpa* and *tûlanâ*. Every one agrees in recognising in the second of these an equivalent of the Sanskrit *tvaraṇa*, with the meaning of 'hurry.' To this excess of zeal it is very natural to oppose the opposite excess, — feebleness and discouragement; and the sentence thus brings together, as the two poles of these defects, various others against which the king wished to take precautions. Burnouf derived *anâvuti* from *âvṛitti*, and translated it 'absence de profession, de travail;' but this meaning, which belongs to *vṛitti*, is not used for *âvṛitti*. Dr. Kern transcribes it *anâvṛiti*, and translates 'unheedfulness.' I have already remarked (see above, IV., notes 1 and 9) that the transcription *âyukti* is the only suitable one in the case of the Columnar Edicts, and even in the present edict, a little lower down, it appears to be guaranteed by the evidence of Jaugada. This is a very strong reason for believing that here, again, the same spelling represents the same word. *Anâyukti* can be well translated by 'want of application,' and is naturally connected with *âlasiya*. It is unnecessary to recall how frequent in these texts is the use of the verb *yuj* to signify 'to apply oneself,' 'to make an effort.' The last term of the series belongs to the same order of ideas, and it is surprising that its form has not been previously rectified. We must read *kilamatha* at Dhauli, as we have it at Jaugada; that is to say, as in Pâli, 'fatigue,' 'indolence.' We must without hesitation abandon the ingenious, but arbitrary and really unsatisfactory analysis of the pandits of Prinsep. The rubbing of Jaugada does away with all uncertainty. The participle *kilaṁta* should have set previous interpreters in the right direction.

14. It is clear that *êta*, as is frequently the case, sums up the idea implied in what precedes, — the being exempt from the various defects just enumerated. I have some little hesitation regarding the last word of the sentence. Dr. Kern has already conjecturally corrected the reading *nitichhaṁ* of the *Corpus* to *nitiyaṁ*. *Nitiyaṁ*, i.e. *nîtyâṁ*, suits the passage very well. We have seen above (note 8) that *nîti* is employed in several instances with reference to the duties of the *mahâmâtras*, and it is therefore natural that the king should direct them to avoid, in their 'moral propaganda,' both the discouragement and the excess of zeal. But Jaugada reads *niti tyaṁ*. We are hence compelled to assume either that the disjunction is due to a mistake of the engraver, or that *nîtiyaṁ* ought, as a matter of fact, to be split up into *nîti iyaṁ*. In this latter case the two words must form an independent proposition. We must translate, 'the essential in all this, is to avoid both discouragement and excess of zeal: that is [that which constitutes] the [true] method of conduct.' I prefer, however, the former hypothesis. It supplies a more natural and more simple construction; and at the same time allows us to state here for *nîti* a sense more exactly in agreement with that which the earlier passages assign to it. On the other hand Jaugada has, further on, *nîtiyaṁ* which corresponds to

nothing in Dhauli, or rather which cannot represent the meaning of the phrase *hêvamêvaṁ*, which we meet instead of it at Dhauli. I conclude therefore that this *nîtiyaṁ* is only an erroneous repetition of the stone cutter, and that, hence, his original had really *nîtiyaṁ* (and not *niti iyaṁ*) in the only instance in which it could find a legitimate entry into our text.

15. In this instance, our new rubbings improve the old readings, both at Dhauli and Jaugada in important particulars. The construction is clear. The phrase, as shown by the *hêvaméva* at the beginning of the next sentence, contains a comparison, and *kilaṁta*, which in a general manner applies to every one who is fatigued, contains an allusion to *kilamatha*, 'indolence,' or perhaps also to the exhaustion caused by an intemperate zeal, by *tûlaná*. The only word which requires some explanation is *ugachha* in Dhauli, Jaugada, in this instance, having a different reading. We have in the one case *ugachh.* and in the other *saṁchalitu uthi.*, and I do not hesitate to read *ugachhê* and *saṁchalituṁ uthihê*, two potentials, the second of which warrants for the first the meaning which, while quite intelligible, is not altogether ordinary, of 'to raise oneself,' 'to set oneself in motion.' The repetition of *api*, at Jaugada well expresses the insistance with which the king urges activity, 'and still it is necessary to bestir oneself, to move forward, to go on.' On the other hand, the final *vá* is not admissible, at least unless the king intended to express a particular difference of meaning which I must own I am unable to detect between *vrajitavyaṁ* and *êtavyaṁ*. I suppose that we should read *chá*, a correction which appears to be borne out by Mr. Burgess's facsimile.

16. The construction is here somewhat condensed, though there does not seem to be any doubt about the meaning. We have just had *dêkh* or *dakh* used with reference to the supervision of the *mahâmâtras*. We may therefore translate, 'So also with regard to the supervision which you have to exercise;' in it also it is necessary to bestir oneself, to move forward.

17. We might consider the *têna* as correlative to the *ya* which precedes, but several reasons lead me to reject this explanation. In the first place *têna vataviyê* is a locution frequently used by the king at the beginning of a sentence and without any syntactic connection with what precedes. Besides this, one feels that a close connexion between the two propositions would impart to the sentence a turn neither clearer nor more convenient. Finally, the words *têna vataviyê* do not occur in Jaugada, and this leads one to conclude that they are not essential to the construction of the sentence, the words which precede being, so far as meaning goes, identical. This being settled, there are two ways of understanding *vataviya*; *viz.* as we supply *mayâ* or *tuphêhi* to complete the sentence. 'For this reason I must tell you,' or 'you must tell (the people).' In the first case *nê*, of the sentence following, would refer to Piyadasi; in the second to his officers. Jaugada does not lend itself to this equivocal meaning. *Nijhapêtaviya* is already sufficiently known to us from the 4th Columnar Edict (l. 17-18) where we have had *nijhapayisaṁti* and *nijhapayitâ* (see note 10). According to precedent we must translate the passage in Jaugada thus, 'you must bring (the people) face to face with my orders (and will say to them), "such and such are the instructions of the king dear unto the Dêvas."' It appears that this comparison must be decisive in favour of the former of the two constructions for Dhauli also. One feels nevertheless tempted, to seek, in the phrase *vataviya &c.*, for an equivalent to the causal verb of Jaugada. To make this possible, we must try an altogether different analysis for the words *aṁnaṁ* and *nê*. The first would be the Sanskṛit *anyad*, the second would be equivalent to *nô*, and we should then translate 'bring them face to face with nothing else (but only this), "such and such are the intentions of the king dear unto the Dêvas."' But we have hitherto met only a single example of the confusion of *nê* with *nô* (Kh. XII., 31), and a reference to my notes will show that the confusion is perhaps only apparent, depending merely on an accidental omission. It must also be admitted that the construction last proposed would be very elliptical, and I have therefore the less hesitation in preferring the former explanation. At the most I would propose, in order to reconcile the two versions, to read at Dhauli *dêkhêta*, which would supply a causal verb, as at Jaugada.

18. There is no doubt about the correct reading, *mahâphalê*, nor, consequently, about the meaning of the sentence.

19. The *î* is quite clear both here, in *vipaṭipâdayamînêhi*, and in *sampaṭipajamîne*, a little lower down. We have, in dealing with the 5th Columnar Edict, drawn attention to the analogous form *pâyamînâ*. It seems, however, difficult to doubt the purely accidental nature of these spellings.

20. Dr. Kern has certainly pointed out the true meaning of *duâhala*, which he transcribes *dvyâhara* and which he translates, 'which gives a double profit.' I differ from him as regards the remainder of the sentence. A comparison of the various rubbings leaves me no doubt about our having here, both at Dhauli and Jaugada, not a locative, as Dr. Kern believed, but a genitive *êtasa* (or *imasa*) *kaṁmasa*. From this it follows that, as Dhauli has one syllable less than Jaugada, we must admit one of two things; either that a syllable has been omitted at Dhauli after the termination *sa* of *kaṁmasa*, or that, at Jaugada, the second *sa* is an accidental and erroneous repetition. Dr. Kern, adopting the former theory, explains *samê kutê* as equivalent to *śramê kṛitê*. It is clear, *à priori*, that in either case one explanation must give much the same meaning as the other. If I decide for the second alternative, it is because I find, in the analysis of the learned professor, several difficulties which it is necessary, in my opinion, to avoid. Dr. Kern transcribes the passage *śramakaraṇê manâgatirêkaḥ*. The locative is scarcely admissible: it is very doubtful whether it is ever formed in *é* at Dhauli. That difficulty is not, however, decisive; for it would be sufficient to take *manâgatirêkaḥ* as an adjective. I attach more importance to the embarrassed turn which the whole construction thus takes. Dr. Kern has felt this so strongly that he transcribes *śramakaraṇa*, but that is rather an emendation than a transcription. I feel still greater difficulty concerning the compound *manâgatirêka*. In the first place Piyadasi does not usually represent as light and easy the efforts which he demands in the interests of the *dharma*. It suffices to call to mind only the 10th of the fourteen edicts. Moreover, this association of two entirely antithetic words, such as *manâg* and *atirêka*, which form together an expression which has little neatness to recommend it, is, by reason of both its mannerism and obscurity, contrary to the usual style of the king. I may add that this use of *śrama* would be unique in our texts, which, for expressing this meaning, on several occasions use other terms such as *parâkrama*, &c. If we admit, hypothetically, the reading of Dhauli, *mê* could only be the pronoun, and the substantive used as subject must be *manaatilêkê* (or even *manôatilêkê*, for the vowel is not very clear in the rubbings). The word appears to me to lend itself to a possible analysis as *mana-atirêka*, *i.e.* 'excess of thought,' 'preoccupation.' If the idiom seems to be a little far fetched, the fact may be explained by the desire of turning substantively (so that it may join easily to the idea contained in *duâhala*) a familiar expression of the Buddhist style; *mê kutê manaatilêkê* is easily explained, when considered as the equivalent of *ativa manasikarômi*.

21. In spite of the *lacuna*, the meaning is quite certain. I have hardly any doubt that we ought to restore *-satha tuphê nê chaânaniyaṁ-*. Not only does this reading exactly correspond with the number of characters wanted to fill up the *lacuna*, but there even appear to me traces in the rubbings which favour the adoption of the syllables *tuphê nê*. *Nê* refers to the king (so also at Jaugada), just as, above, we had it in the sentence *aṁnaṁ nê dêkhêta*.

22. I have already in dealing with the 5th Columnar Edict (n. 8), stated my opinion regarding the date here indicated. As regards the continuation of the sentence, the analysis which Dr. Kern seems to adopt is not quite clear to me as regards either transcription or translation, nor does what he apparently means, entirely satisfy me. In the first place, we should not, I think, in *sôtaviya*, seek for *śrâvayitavya*, the participle of the causal verb, but for that of the simple verb. This point is of importance for the correct understanding of *êkêna*. Dr. Kern connects it with *tisêna*, which is compatible neither with the position of the words nor with the addition of the particle *api*. 'These instructions,' says the king, 'must be heard at the festivals

of Tishya,'—here we have to do with a regular and public promulgation,—'and, between times, they must be heard by a man even when alone,'—here we have to do with instructions and reminders addressed to individuals. This translation implies, for the phrase *khanasi khanasi*, an explanation different from that of Dr. Kern, 'on any solemn occasion.' It is clear that, if he is referring to individual acts of advice, the king would avoid directing his officers to reserve them for certain festivals. Moreover, such is not the usual meaning of *kshaṇa*, nor in Pâli of, for example, the phrase *khanê khanê* (*cf.* Dhammap., V., 239), which means 'at every moment,' 'at every favourable opportunity.' This meaning suits the present passage very well.

23. As regards the words *chaghatha* and *saṁpaṭipâdayitavê*, see former remarks (Col. Ed. IV., *n.* 5; I. *n.* 2).

24. I have explained the meaning of *palibôdha* when dealing with the 5th Girnâr Edict, (n. *k.*). The word means 'bond,' 'fetter.' If there were need of a further proof of this we have an irrefutable one in the present passage, in which *palibôdha* is substituted as a synonym of the *baṁdhana* used above (l. 8-9). The reading *palikilêsê*, which is established by the latest rubbings, cuts short, so far as this word is concerned, all difficulty and conjecture.

25. The text of Dhauli appears to omit by accident some rather important words, which give greater clearness of construction to the text of Jaugada. The latest rubbings of the latter appear to have the accusative *mahâmâtaṁ âchaṁḍaṁ*, without any doubt; and it follows that the relative proposition *ê — hôsati*, which is the corresponding passage in Dhauli, ought to be taken as containing the object of *nikhâmayisâmi*. The absence of *mahâmâtaṁ* or some such word, is, strictly speaking, not impossible, but, on the whole, it is not easy to believe that it was intentional. Dr. Kern has correctly transcribed *akhakhasê* as equivalent to the Sanskṛit *akarkaśaḥ*. I think that he is also justified in reading *saṁkhîna*, although the latest rubbing would appear to give clearly enough *sêkhiṁnâ*. I consider however that he has been misled as to the meaning of *âlaṁbha*. This is a technical term of the language of Piyadasi, and we have already found that it signifies the destruction of life. I see no reason for giving it any other meaning here. One difficulty, however, remains. What is the real drift of that enumeration of qualities belonging to the *mahâmâtra*, upon which a peculiar stress is evidently laid by the king? I shall come back to the matter later on. Here it will be sufficient to state that I consider the *anusaṁyâna* as being exclusively reserved to the professional Buddhists, and so, in those epithets, 'mild, patient, never injuring life,' I can only see a periphrastic equivalent of what could have been expressed more shortly by *dhaṁmayuta*, — 'the *mahâmâtras* who adhere to the Buddhist faith.'

26. This must be compared with the concluding words of the edict. In both passages Dr. Kern understands *iti* as referring only to the portion of the sentence commencing with *tathâ*: the king implies that his officers have to inquire whether his subjects carry out his instructions. But this explanation presents several difficulties which render it inadmissible. In the first place, we have here, not *jânâtu* or some such word, but *jânitu*, that is to say, the participle absolute, which makes this portion of the sentence depend upon *kalati*. In the later passage *api* and *taṁ pi*, &c., are unintelligible at the commencement of a proposition in the direct style. On the contrary, they emphasize the successive character of the two actions *jânisaṁti* and *kalaṁti*. *Êtam aṭhaṁ* in the one passage, and *êtaṁ* in the other could hardly refer to something which is to follow. Moreover, if the proposition were meant to define a sort of inquest to which the officers were expected to devote themselves, it would necessarily contemplate both alternatives in the result. The king could not, without too great optimism, expect that they would invariably report that the subjects faithfully carried out his wishes. The form *kalati* cannot easily be taken as a simple indicative, the form *karôti* being familiar to the language of our texts. Finally, the agreement in number between *ê akhakhasê*, &c., and *kalati* on the one hand, and between *jânisaṁti* and *kalaṁti* on the other hand, indicates that throughout each group the subject is the same. If *kalati*, in the present passage, referred to the subjects in

general, it could only be in the plural. We are therefore led to the following translation, — 'that [the *mahâmâtra*] knowing these things, should act according to my instructions; such is the thought which guides me,' and by these words, the king explains his intentions in directing his officers to preside at the quinquennial assemblies. It will be understood that I translate *kalati* as a subjunctive. Its form is that of a real Vêdic *lêt*. This is not the only trace of the use of this mood left in our monuments. I have already drawn attention to *vaḍhati* above (iv. n. 12). Perhaps we have the first person in *kalâmi* [Dhauli vi. l. 29 (Jaugada has a *lacuna*)]. I admit that a comparison with G. seems to indicate a simple present and that the correction to *kalômi* is easy, but we should only take to corrections as a last resource. Now, at Khâlsi, in the parallel passage, we find, not the present, but the future *kachhâmi*. In this place, and the more naturally as the subject is in the first person, the future and the subjunctive are exactly equivalent. Both suit the run of the passage, being associated and co-ordinated with the imperative *paṭivêdayaṁtu*.

27. A short way above, Jaugada (l. 5) employs *vaga* to represent the *bahujana* of Dhauli. It is therefore natural to take the word as having the same value here. In the 3rd of the Fourteen Edicts, Piyadasi mentions as the ordinary participators in the *anusaṁyâna*, in addition to the officers, all the faithful of his belief (*yutâ*). *Vaga* well describes a numerous assemblage of the kind: *hêdisa* refers to what precedes, and marks the crowd as analogous to that assembled directly by the king himself. Dr. Kern, basing his opinion on the analogy of *nikâya* in the 12th edict, considers that the word applies exclusively to the officials; but the text of Jaugada in the preceding sentence seems to show that the officials were called to the meetings in question individually; and this circumstance, together with the different use of *vaga* in the present edict, hardly bears out this interpretation.

28. Dr. Kern has joined the last visible character, *a*, of line 24, with the first of the following line, so as to form one word. He reads *ata*, equivalent to *atra*. In Mr. Burgess's facsimile, however, the *a* appears to have been followed by several characters (as was also admitted by Prinsep) which are now indistinct, and which the *lacuna* in Jaugada does not help us to restore. Besides this, the reading *tê* being now certain, there can be no doubt about its being the demonstrative, in agreement with *mahâmâtâ*. For the general meaning of the sentence, see note 26. We must also compare the 3rd of the Fourteen Edicts, where it is said in substance that some officers of the king must attend the *anusaṁyâna*, as well as to their other duties. Here the thought is identical in substance: the officers are to appear there, without neglecting their other duties. There is, however, one important difference. The first passage summons the *rajjûkas* or *prâdêśikas* to the *anusaṁyâna* in order there to *deliver* religious instruction, whereas the ordinary *mahâmâtras*, here addressed, are called to those assemblies, with the view that they may *receive* religious advice and the king's instructions.

JAUGADA.

As regards Jaugada, I have only to draw attention to a few details, and to refer the reader to the notes on Dhauli where all the various difficulties have been touched upon, and where the elements will be found which are necessary for filling up most of the *lacunas*.

29. The engraving of this edict does not appear to have been done with much care. I have said above (Dhauli n. 2) that ॥, as there seems to be some probability, we must really read *-kiṁti kakamana-*, one of the two *ka* can only be, in my opinion, an erroneous repetition, like, in line 8, one of the two *sa* in *kamasasa mê kutê*. So, again, I consider *nîtiyaṁ*, in line 7, to be an instance of the repetition of an entire word. We shall shortly meet with examples of the reverse, where several characters are sure to have been erroneously omitted.

30. Read *tuphê*. In line 3, *mama* has been forgotten. In line 8, we have *lâjâdhi* for *lâjâladhi*. In line 9, *alâ* for *aṁtalâ*.

31. *Kiṁtimê* is equivalent to *kiṁti imê*, as again lower down. The personal pronoun has no business here. The place which *iti* occupies shows that there has been a transposition ; and that in the original which lay before the engraver the order of the words was certainly the same as that in Dhauli.

32. I take *hi*(or *pi*)*suvitâpi* as incorrect for *suvihitâ pi* ; *nîti* has been forgotten. In this version, a kind of fatality seems to be attached to the word.

33. Although the initial *y* would usually disappear in this dialect, there is no phonetic difficulty in taking *yê* as equivalent to *yaḥ*, both here and at Dhauli. At Dhauli, we have had already (v. 21) *yê apatiyê mê ;* so also at Kh. vi., 18 ; xii., 32, &c. ; and in the Columnar Edicts, ii., 16 ; iv., 3, &c., not to speak of the plural *yê*, which, at Jaugada itself, we find again in line 6 of the next edict.

34. Regarding *nîti iyaṁ* and the *nîtiyaṁ* of the following sentence, see above, Dhauli, note 14.

35. I have already remarked (Dhauli n. 15) that here there is not a complete agreement between the two versions. The resemblance is, however, at least very close, and I have no doubt that we should read *na* [*sê*] *saṁchalitu*[*ṁ*] *uṭhi*[*hê*], 'that person will not get up to put himself in motion.'

36. There is here a simple transposition of vowels ; *dêkhêyi* for *dêkhiyê*.

37. The form *vipaṭipâḍayaṁtaṁ*, appears at first sight to be incorrect. We should expect either an instrumental, as at Dhauli, or a genitive *vipaṭipâḍayaṁtânaṁ*. But compare, however, the analogous construction with an accusative, — at least an accusative in appearance, — which we have observed in the 7-8th Columnar edict (see note 24). We probably have here a new example of this construction. The singular, instead of the plural as at Dhauli, need not surprise us in a collective sentence.

38. I have already stated (note 1 above) that I consider that we must read *-kamasa mê kuṭê*.

39. The ends of all the lines here are unfortunately almost entirely illegible in the rubbings, and the readings of the *Corpus* are manifestly only conjectures more or less doubtful. It would be waste of labour to build other conjectures upon them. We may take an example from the end of line 11. The *Corpus* facsimile reads *achaṁḍaṁ phêlahata–* ; from repeated examinations of the rubbings I am convinced that the stone, instead of *phêlahata*, bore the word *aphalusaṁ*, a very good synonym of *akhakhasa*.

40. I do not think that it is necessary to take [*lâ*]*javachanika* as a substantive directly designating a class of officers. It is rather an epithet, my officers 'faithful to the orders of their king.' Thus, this expression exactly corresponds to the formula which commences our edict at Dhauli.

TRANSLATION.

By order of the king dear unto the Dêvas. — The officers of Tôsalî, in charge of the administration of the city, are to be commanded as follows : (— Jaugada : Thus saith the king dear unto the Dêvas ; — The officers of Samâpâ in charge of the administration of the city are to be commanded as follows :) — All that I believe, I desire to cause to be really practised, and to take measures [to that effect]. Now, the most important measures (Dhauli : for this object) are, in my opinion, the instructions which [I deliver] to you. For ye have been set over many thousands of souls, that ye may gain the attachment of good men. Every man is my child ; and just as I wish, for my children, that they may enjoy every kind of prosperity and happiness both in this world and in the world to come, so also have I the same wish for all men. Now, in this matter, ye have not yet attained to all the results which are obtainable. There is such and such an individual who attendeth to such and such of my orders, but not to all. Watch ye him, and may the moral duties be well defined. There is such and such an individual who is sentenced to prison or to torture. Be ye there to put an end

to an imprisonment, if it hath been ordered for no sufficient cause. Again, there are many people who suffer (Dhauli: acts of violence). In their case also, must ye desire to set everyone on the Good Way. But there are certain dispositions with which, if ye possess them, ye will not succeed: I mean envy, readiness to be discouraged, harshness, impatience, want of application, idleness, and a sense of weariness. Hence ye should desire to be free from these dispositions; and the root of all [success] is to be not readily discouraged and to possess perseverance in moral training. The man who feeleth a sense of weariness, doth not set himself to work, although it is necessary to bestir oneself, to move forward, to go on. So also is it with the supervision which ye should exercise. For this reason I command ye: — Consider ye my orders (Jaugada: Ye must call attention to my orders) [saying], 'such and such are the instructions of the king dear unto the Dêvas.' To do this is [to make sure of] great fruit; not to do this is [to render oneself liable to] great calamities. For such as may neglect to guide the people thus, there is no [hope], either [of] the favour of heaven or [of] the favour of the king. Verily, if I specially direct my attention to these duties [which are entrusted to you], it is because they bestow a twofold advantage; for, by following this line of conduct, ye will both obtain heaven, and will pay off your debt to me.

This edict is to be [publicly] promulgated at each festival of the *nakshatra* Tishya, and, between these festivals, it is to be repeated to individuals each time when any favourable opportunity offers. Do this, and try your best to direct the people in the Good Way. It is for this purpose that this edict hath been engraven in this place, in order that the officers in charge of the administration of the city may display a persevering zeal, and that there may be no arbitrary imprisonment and no arbitrary torture of the inhabitants.

It is also for this purpose that regularly every fifth year I shall summon [to the assembly of the *anusaṁyâna*] every *mahâmâtra*, who will be mild, patient, and a respecter of life, in order that, hearing these things, he may act according to my instructions. The Prince-[Governor] of Ujjayinî also will for this purpose summon an assembly of the same nature, but he shall do so every three years without fail. So also at Takshaśilâ. By attending the *anusaṁyâna*, without at the same time neglecting their other particular duties, my officers will learn these things. Let them act in accordance therewith, following the instructions of the king.

SECOND EDICT.

Prinsep, J.A.S.B., *l.c.*; Burnouf, p. 692 and ff.; Kern, J.R.A.S., N.S., XII., p. 379 and ff.

TEXT.[3]

DHAULI.	JAUGADA.
(1) Dêvânaṁpiyasa vachanêna tôsaliyaṁ kumâlê ma-	(1) Dêvânaṁpiyê hêvaṁ âha [·] samâpâyaṁ mahamatâ la-

[3] Professor Bühler's readings:—

SECOND EDICT.

DHAULI.

l. 3. °hêv . . . . . muni . . n.
l. 4. °kichhaṁd. su° ; °marê i° ; °anuvigina ma°.
l. 5. °dukhaṁ hê° ; °khamisati nê° ; °chalêvû.
l. 6. °â hi dhiti°.
l. 7. °sô hêvaṁ° ; °savâ . . . . ° ; °tatha dê° ; °aphâka°.
l. 8. °paja° ; °cha têsa .
l. 9. °sama.
l. 10. °têsa° ; °khaṇasi khanasi°.
l. 11. sôtaviya°.

JAUGADA.

l. 1. °kiṁti kaṁkamana.
l. 2. °môkniyamataṁ duvâla°.
l. 3. °savêṇê° ; °yujêyû° ; °kiṁti mê°.
l. 4. °ichha°.
l. 5. °êtâ kâ vâ mê° ; °anuvigina°.
l. 6. °ishêyû° ; °khaṁ hêvaṁ°.
l. 7. ê chakiyê°.
l. 8. °anusê ê°.
l. 9. °paṭiṁnâ° ; °êna tê pâpunê.
l. 10. °pita°.
l. 11. °anusâsitu° ; vêditu . mamadhiti paṭiṁnâ.°
l. 12. desâyutikê hôsâmî° ; °têsaṁ°.
l. 13. °pâlalôkikâyê° ; °svagaṁ cha âlâ°.
l. 14. °lipi li° ; °yujêvû°.
l. 15. °chalanâyê cha a° ; °lipi annohâ°.

hâmâtâ cha vataviya [·] aṁ kichhi dakhâmi hakaṁ taṁ

(2) duvâlatê cha âlabhêhaṁ [·] êsa cha mê môkhyamata duvâlâ êtasi aṭhasi aṁ tuphêsu ——— mama (3) atha pajâyê ichhâmi hakaṁ kiṁti savêna hitasukhêna

hidalôkikapâlalôkikâyê yujêvûti hêvaṁ ——— (4) siyâ [·] aṁtânaṁ[1] avijitânaṁ kichh . d . su lâja aphêsû . . . . mava ichha mama aṁtêsu[·] . . pâpunêvu tê[2] iti dêvâ naṁpiyê . . . anuvâgâna mamâyê(5)huvêvûti asvasêvu cha sukhaṁm êva lahêvu mama tê nô dukha [·] hêvaṁ . . nêvû iti khamiti[3] nê dêvânaṁpiyê aphâkaṁ ti [·] ê cha kiyê khamitavê mama nimitaṁ cha dhaṁmaṁ chalêvu (6) hidalôka palalôkaṁ cha ,âlâdhayêvû [·] êtasi aṭhasi hakaṁ anusâsâmi tuphê [·] ananê êtakêna[4] hakaṁ anusâsitu chhaṁdaṁ cha vêditu â . dhiti paṭiṁñâ cha mama (7) ajalâ [·] sâ hêvaṁ kaṭu[5] kaṁmê chalitaviyê asva———i cha tâni êna pâpunêvû iti atha pitâ tathâ dêvânaṁpiyê aphâkaṁ athâ cha atânaṁ hêvaṁ dêvânaṁpiyê anukaṁpati aphê[6] (8) athâ cha pajâ hêvaṁ mayê dêvânaṁpiyasa [·] sê hakaṁ anusâsitu chhaṁdaṁ cha v . . . . phâka[7]

dêsâvutikê hôsâmi êtâyê athâyê [·] paṭibalâ[8] hi tuphê asvâsanâyê hitasukhâyê cha tasê (9) hidalôkikapâlalôkikâyê [·] hêvaṁ cha kalaṁtaṁ tuphê

javachanika vataviyâ [·]aṁ kichhi dakhâmi hakaṁ taṁ ichhâmi hakaṁ kiti kaṁkaṁmana[12] (2) paṭipâtayêhaṁ duvâlatê cha âlabhêhaṁ [·] êsa cha mê môkhiyamatê duvâlê êtasa athasa[13] aṁ tuphêsu anusathi [·] savamuni- (3) sâ mê pajâ atha pajâyê ichhâmi kiṁtimê savênô[14] hitasukhêna yujêyu atha pajâyê ichhâmi kiṁtamê savêna hitasu- (4) khêna yujêyûti hidalôgikapâlalôkikêna hêvaṁmêva mê ichhâ savamunisêsu siyâ [·] aṁtânaṁ avijitâ- (5) -naṁ kiṁchhaṁdêsu lâjâ aphêsûti êtâkâ va mê ichha aṁtêsu [·] pâpunêyu lâjâ hêvaṁ ichhati anuviginâ hêyu (6) mamiyâyê asvasêyu cha mê sukhaṁm êva cha lahêyu mama tê nô kha[15] [·] êvaṁ cha pâpunêyu khamisati nê lâjâ [·]

(7) ê chha kiyê khamitavê mamaṁ nimitaṁ cha dhaṁma chalêyûti hidalôgaṁ cha palalôgaṁ cha âladhayêyu [·] etâyê (8) cha aṭhâyê hakaṁ tuphêni[16] anusâsâmi [·] anêna êtakêna hakaṁ tuphêni anusâsitu chhaṁdaṁ cha vêdi- (9) -tu â mama dhiti paṭinâ cha achala [·] sa hêvaṁ kaṭu kaṁmê chalitaviyê asvâsaniyâ cha tê êna pâpunê (10) yu athâ pitâ êvaṁ nê lâjâti atha atânaṁ anukaṁpati hêvaṁ aphêni anukaṁpati athâ pajâ hê- (11) -vaṁ mayê lâjinê [·] tuphêni hakaṁ anusâsita chhaṁdaṁ cha vedâta[17] . mama chiti paṭinâ châ achala sê . . (12) dêsaâyutikê hôsâmi êtasi athasi [·] alaṁ hi tuphê asvâsanâyê hitasukhâyê cha tasaṁ hida- (13) -lôgikapâlalôkikâya [·] hêvaṁ cha kalaṁtaṁ svagaṁ

svagaṁ âlâdhayisatha mama cha ânaniyaṁ êhatha [·] êtâyê cha aṭhâyê iyaṁ lipi likhitâ hida êna mahâmâtâ svasatâṁ[9] samaṁ (10) yujisaṁti asvâsanâyê dhaṁmachalanâyê cha têsu aṁtânaṁ [·] iyaṁ cha lipi anuchâtuṁmâsaṁ tisêna nakhatêna sôtaviyâ[10] kâmaṁ cha khanôkhanasi aṁtalâpi tisêna êkêna (11) sôtaviyâ [·] hêvaṁ kalaṁtaṁ[11] taphê chaghatha saṁpaṭipâdayitavê [·].

. âlâdhayisathaṁ mama cha ânanêyaṁ êsatha [·] (14) êtâyê cha athâyê iyaṁ lipi likhitâ hida êna mahâmâtâ sasvataṁ samaṁ yujêvû asvâsanâyê cha (15) dhaṁmachalanayê . aṁtânaṁ [·] iyaṁ cha lipi a . châtuṁmâsaṁ sôtaviyâ tisêna aṁtalâpi cha sôtaviyâ[12] (16) khanê saṁtaṁ êkêna pi sôtaviyâ [·] hêvaṁ cha kalaṁtaṁ chaghatha saṁpaṭipâtayitâvê[13] [·]

NOTES.

DHAULI.

1. In all that precedes this word, this second edict is so completely the fellow of the first that comparison with it enables us to fill up with every certainty the *lacunæ* of our present text. It is from this point that the differences between the two edicts begin. The first words are characteristic of them, but owing to their not having been understood, the special object which inspires each of these two writings has hitherto not been clearly developed. *Aṁtânaṁ avijitânaṁ* shows us from the commencement that the king here has in view 'the unconquered frontier populations,' which do not form an integral portion of his empire; and, indeed, towards the end of the edict, Piyadasi expressly declares that he has had this edict engraved *dhaṁmachalanâyê têsu aṁtânaṁ*, 'to cause the Religion to be practised amongst these frontier populations.' For this use of *aṁta* we may compare Kh. xiii., 4, and Sahasrâm, line 5 (and the parallel versions), in which latter Prof. Bühler's translation requires correction. We should also specially refer to Jaugada ii., 6 (Kh. l. 4), where *aṁtâ* is contrasted with *vijita* in such a way that the sentence forms a decisive commentary on *aṁtâ avijitâ*, our phrase here. This explains why the king in this edict omits to mention the assemblies of the *anusaṁyâna* upon which he lays so much stress in the preceding one. It is natural that, when busying himself with populations which escape his direct action, he should not presume to summon them to regular periodical assemblies. I think that Dr. Kern has accurately analysed the word which follows, *kiṁchhaṁdê su*, as equivalent to *kiṁchhaṁdaḥ syid*; the text is certain, being perfectly clear at Jaugada, with which the traces at Dhauli entirely agree; but that he is in error as regards the subject to which he refers the pronoun *aphêsu* (i.e. *asmêsu*). He puts the phrase in the mouth of the people, — the subjects of the king. Given as correct the certain reading and the translation of *aṁtânaṁ avijitânaṁ*, such an explanation would make the construction impossible. Moreover, the experience of the preceding edict ought to guide us here. We have seen therein that it is, throughout, his officials whom the king is addressing, and that it necessarily follows that when he employs the direct style with the first person, there being no express indication to the contrary (cf. l. 4, *gachhêma*, l. 12, *jâtâ nô huvêva mama*), they are the persons whom we must take for the subject. We thus get in the present case a perfectly well-connected sentence, 'If you ask yourselves, — what is the will of the king with regard to us in relation to the unannexed frontier populations? This is my wish in what touches the frontier populations.' The slightly loose use of the genitive *aṁtânaṁ* is sufficiently explained not only by the liberty of idiom which is common in this style, but specially by the impossibility of placing together two locatives, *aṁtêsu* and *aphêsu*, with different syntactic functions.

2. It is certain that two *aksharas* are wanting before *pâpunêyu*. This would be sufficient in itself to put aside Dr. Kern's conjecture, if it were not already condemned by the exact explana

tion of the preceding sentence, which requires *aṁtêsu* and not *aṁtê*. No more can we separate this beginning of the sentence from that of the following one, which is strikingly parallel to it. Completing the second sentence from the reading of Jaugada, about which there can be no hesitation, we find that it commences with *hêvaṁ pâpuṇêvu*, and I have no doubt that this is also the correct reading here. What is more important, is to discover the meaning of *pâpuṇêvu*. If we add to these passages another lower down (l. 7), we shall notice that we have here three times the verb *prâp* followed, not by the enclitic *ti*, but by *iti*, which must refer to what follows, and consequently announces the introduction of the direct style. It is easy to explain this, without departing from the literal translation of the verb. I understand the sentences as meaning, 'that they may arrive at this, that is to say . . . .', or in other words 'that they may become convinced of this . . . .'. The subject *tê* refers of necessity to *aṁtâ*, to the frontier populations. The absence of *iti* at Jaugada does not weaken this interpretation. The fact that in that version it has been either omitted accidentally, or (as happens so often) left out as superfluous, does not do away with the fact that it is written in the Dhauli version, and that there must in consequence be a reason for its being there. It would be a well-nigh desperate enterprise to attempt to remedy formally the entanglement of phrases in the direct style which burdens and mixes up this sentence. We must certainly supply *ichhati* understood, and the words which follow, as indeed is indicated by the use of the singulars *mamâyê*, *mê*, *mama*, express the thoughts of the king, all the other subjects hitherto used being in the plural. Jaugada leaves no doubt as to the reading *anuviginâ*, which Dr. Kern correctly transcribes as *anudviguâ*. I shall return elsewhere to the various forms of the instrumental of the pronoun of the first person. Perhaps it is this same *mamâyê* which we have met at Kh. (v. 14) under the form *mamâva*. *Mamâyê* is, of course, only a variant spelling of the Prâkṛit *mamâi*, referred to by Hêmachandra (III. 109).

3. We must certainly, as has been already suggested by Dr. Kern, correct this word to *khamisati*, as is given at Jaugada. It is equally certain that *aphâkaṁ* concludes the sentence. *Ti* is sufficient to show that the proposition is completed. It is altogether impossible to join the following words to it. The reading *ê cha kiyê* at Dhauli may be taken as established, and we can without hesitation adopt it at Jaugada, where, to judge from the rubbing, the *chha* is the reverse of clear. This *cha* admits of only one explanation, — to connect it with the other *cha* which follows *mama*. Indeed, the relative proposition *ê cha*, &c., taking *kiyê* as the equivalent of the Sanskrit *kiyat*, can only be translated, 'and in whatever way my benevolence may be necessary to them:' whence we get for the entire sentence the general meaning, 'whether because they desire a favour, or whether simply to please me, they (*i.e.* the people of the frontier tribes) may practise the Religion.' This is an appropriate place to remind my readers that, in the 13th of the Fourteen Edicts, we have already met the base *ksham*, — *chhamitaviya* and *chhamana* at K. (l. 7), and *khamitavê* at G. (l. 6), — in a passage which the *lacunæ* of Girnâr, and the condition of the text at Kapur-di-Giri have prevented my translating. I have no doubt that the present sentence will some day help to the right understanding of this passage, when we shall be at last in possession of a final reproduction of the version of the North-West. It appears, in fact, to refer, like our present passage, to frontier countries, *yâ* ——————— *dêvânaṁpiyasa na* ——————————— *vijitê hôṁti*.

4. There appears to be no doubt about the correctness of reading *anunê*. The engraver has transposed the vowels. It should be *anêna*. In what follows (which should be compared with the partially analogous phrase in line 8), the rubbings enable me to correct the readings of the *Corpus* in material points. In the first place, as the reading of the *Corpus* at Jaugada, *anusâsitû*, might have suggested, we must read *anusâsitu*, *vôditu*, which can only be taken as gerunds and not as participles. The readings *âhayâmi* at Dhauli, and *chiti* at Jaugada, cannot be maintained. At Jaugada, I clearly decipher, from the rubbings, *â mama dhiti-*, and at Dhauli the characters *â* . . *ti* are certain at first sight. Guided by the analogy of Jaugada, we can further recognise a *dhi* before the *ti*: the character again preceding that is indistinct.

Comparison with the other version, leaves scarcely any uncertainty as to the meaning which is required. *Mé*, instead of *mama*, would exactly fit the *lacuna*, and the traces on the rubbing lend themselves well enough to this restoration. *Ajalâ* corresponds to *achalâ*, as we have had *libi* for *lipi*, and as we have at Jaugada, *lôga* for *lôka*, &c. This has been previously recognised by Dr. Kern. All the words are therefore clear, and the meaning is easy: 'after having given you (*tuphé* is omitted here, but expressed at Jaugada; at any rate it is easy to borrow it from the preceding sentence) my instructions and made known (*vêditu* for *vêdêtu*, by a confusion of the simple with the causal base, of which we have already met several examples) my orders, my will (*dhṛiti*) and my promises are unchangeable.' There remains only one small difficulty, the nominative *hakaṁ*, which remains isolated, without being the subject of any verb. This is a liberty in construction examples of which are offered by all languages, and which need surprise us the less here with a style so free and flexible as that of our monuments.

5. Dr. Kern has well transcribed this as *taṁ évaṁ kṛitvâ*. It is necessary to read *sé*; and *kaṭu*, as equivalent to *kṛitvâ*, presents no difficulties. As regards the meaning, I am compelled to differ from him. I content myself with referring to a preceding edict (G. iv. 9; Vol. I. p. 207) in order to justify the translation I propose: 'making this reflexion, full of this thought.' We have already seen *kaṁma* applied to the functions of the *mahâmâtras* (Dhauli, the preceding edict, l. 25, and note). Jaugada assists us to fill up the lacuna by reading *-asvâsaniyâni cha-*. This neuter might puzzle us, if the masculine at Jaugada did not, here as higher up, show that *pâpunévu* has for its subject the *aṁtâ*, in whom the officers have to inspire confidence, and who form the object of the king's thoughts throughout the entire edict. It is a curious example of the degree of confusion into which, in that age, the distinctions of gender had fallen.

6. The reading *anukaṁpati* cuts short all conjecture. It is quite certain, especially at Dhauli.

7. It will be seen that here Jaugada deviates from our text. The sentence at Dhauli is, however, quite complete, and the fault is incontestably that of the engraver at Jaugada, who, after the words *chhaṁdaṁ cha vêdêtu*, which also occur a few lines higher up, has borrowed by mistake from the preceding phrase (regarding which see my remarks above) the words *á mama ——— sé hêvaṁ*, which have no right to be, and are quite unnecessary, here. He has on the other hand omitted a word of importance, *tuphâkaṁ*. As regards *dêsâvutiké*, cf. note 7 of the preceding edict (at Dhauli).

8. The expression *paṭibalá* finds a very clear commentary in the synonym *alaṁ*, which I have succeeded in deciphering at Jaugada: 'you are capable of . . . . .' Hitherto we have always had the *aṁtâ* in the plural, and it is therefore a plural which is wanted here. Beside my proposal on the comparison of *tasé* and *tasaṁ*, I would here read in both versions *têsaṁ*. The use of the genitive *têsaṁ*, besides *tâṇaṁ*, is well vouched for, *e.g.* by Kh. xiii., 37; and in this edict itself a little lower down we read *têsu*, which, being in agreement with *aṁtâṇaṁ*, is evidently only a variant spelling (cf. I. p. 19) of *têsaṁ*.

9. Read *sasvataṁ*. As for *samaṁ*, the word can no doubt be explained by translating, 'the entire year.' It is, nevertheless, more probable that, in spite of the agreement of the two versions, the correct reading should be *samayaṁ*; the accidental oversight of the *ya* being possibly aided by the initial of *yujisaṁti*. For the whole of the concluding portion of this passage, see the remarks on the preceding edict.

10. As I have already pointed out (Col. Ed., v. n. 8), this passage appears to me to prove that there were three annual festivals in honour of Tishya corresponding to the three *châturmâsya* sacrifices of the Brâhmaṇs. At the end of the sentence, the text does not exactly correspond with that of the preceding edict, but the sense is similar. We can here distinguish, as in the other instance, two cases: — the public promulgation at the festivals of Tishya, and the individual in-

struction given at will (*kâmaṁ*) in the interval, whenever an opportunity presents itself. The second alternative would in that case commence at *kâmaṁ cha*. Nothing can be more simple, but the text at Jaugada does not lend itself to this method of dividing the words. It repeats *sôtaviyâ* three times, and distinguishes three cases, the public instruction at the festivals of Tishya, the instruction in the intervals between these festivals, and the individual instruction, which is to be as frequent as possible. I am persuaded that the second *sôtaviyâ* is an erroneous repetition, which we should omit, resting satisfied with the meaning of the preceding edict, which well agrees with the text of Dhauli. Why should the festivals of Tishya be specified at all for the public promulgation of these edicts, if the king adds immediately afterwards, 'and also in the interval'? With Dr. Kern, we should correct to *khanêkhanasi*, although the use of the locative in *ê* is rare (Cf. Jaugada), at least unless it is preferred to admit a sporadic use of the cerebral ṭ, *khaṇakha-*

11. *Kalaṁtaṁ* is for *kalaṁtâ* (*cf.* I. p. 16-17) or for *kalaṁtê*, i.e. *kalaṁtaḥ* (*cf.* Col. Ed. vii.-viii., note 24, and note 1 to the Jaugada version of the present edict.)

JAUGADA.

12. I have already said (*cf.* preceding edict, Dhauli, n. 2) that instead of *kaṁkaṁmaṁna* (the reading of the *Corpus*), I read *kaṁména*. The spelling *kaṁmaṁna* for *kaṁména* is not without analogies: a little lower down (l. 11; Dhauli, l. 8) we have *mayê* for *mayaṁ*; and in this edict, l. 16, *saṁtaṁ*, for the locative *saṁtê*.

13. Very possibly we should correct to *êtasi aṭhasi*; but I do not venture to say that it is absolutely necessary. I have several times laid stress upon the very indefinite use of these oblique cases. In this very edict (Dhauli, n. 1) we have seen the genitive *aṁtânaṁ* used in the sense of the locative, and in the preceding edict (Dhauli, l. 13) the phrase *dakhiyê tuphâkaṁ* uses the genitive in the sense of the instrumental.

14. We should evidently read *savêna*.

15. Restore to *-nô* [*du*]*khaṁ*. The form *mamiyâyê* is a curious one. It looks like an orthographical compromise between the forms *mamiyâ* (Col. Ed. viii. 7, which I consider as simply a variant of *mamayâ*, Prâkṛit *mamaê*) and *mamâyê*, which Dhauli has in the corresponding passage.

16. *Tuphêni* is another curious pronominal inflexion. The correctness of the form is vouched for by its being repeated here and line 11, and by the parallel form of the first person, *aphêni*, which we find in line 10. It reminds one of the Apabhraṁśa *tumhaṁ*, *amhaṁ*, given by Hêmachandra for the nominative and accusative. These forms, again, only refer us back to a spelling *tuphani* or *tumhani*, just as *âni*, the termination of the neuter plural, becomes *âṁ*. Compare Hindî *hamani*, Hoernle, Comp. Gram., p. 178.

17. I have already (Dhauli, note 7) stated that, in my opinion, the words which follow *vâdâta* (read *vêdêtu*) up to the end of the line are probably an erroneous repetition. However, as the character *sê* is not very distinct, if we could read *tu* and supply *phâkaṁ* for the two following letters, it would be unnecessary, after supplying *â* before *mama*, to omit anything. The sentence would be correct. In any case the general sense would not be affected.

18. Cf. Dhauli, N. 10, and, for *saṁtaṁ*, note 1, above.

19. It is difficult to doubt, although indeed I have discovered nothing on the rubbing to support the theory, that the stone has really the termination *-itavê*.

TRANSLATION.

By order of the king, dear unto the Dêvas;—The prince and the officers of Tôsalî are to be commanded as follows (Jaugada: Thus saith the king, dear unto the Dêvas;—The king's officers of Samâpâ are to be commanded as follows);—All that I believe I desire to cause to be

really practised, and to take measures [to that effect]. Now, the most important measures for this object are, in my opinion, the instructions which [I deliver] to you. All men are my children; and just as I wish, for my children, that they may enjoy every kind of prosperity and happiness both in this world and in the world to come, so also wish I the same for all men. What is, [you ask yourselves], the will of the king with regard to us relative to the independent frontier tribes? Now, this is my wish relative to the frontier tribes: that they may be assured that the king, dear unto the Dêvas, desires that they should be, as far as he is concerned, free from all disquietude; that they may trust in him and be assured that they will only receive at his hands happiness and not sorrow; that they may be assured of this: — That the king, dear unto the Dêvas, will show unto them benevolence; and that, whether in order to avail themselves of my benevolence, or whether [simply] to please me, they may practise the Religion, and assure themselves happiness in this world and in the world to come. It is with this object that I give my instructions. When, once, in this manner I have given you my instructions, and have made known unto you my orders, my resolutions and my promises are unalterable. Considering this well, perform ye your duty, and inspire these [tribes] with trust, that they may be assured that the king is unto them like a father, that he careth for them as he careth for himself, and that they are unto the king, dear unto the Dêvas, as it were his own children. Having given you my instructions and made known unto you my will (Jaugada *adds*: that is to say how my resolutions, and how my promises are unalterable), I shall possess in you, for this object, persons fit to actively carry out my orders. For ye are in such a position that ye can inspire trust in these [tribes], and assure unto them prosperity and happiness both in this world and in the world to come. By doing thus ye will both obtain heaven and will pay off your debt to me. It is for this purpose that this edict hath been engraven in this place, in order that the officers may display a persevering zeal to inspire trust in these frontier tribes and to cause them to walk in the ways of the Religion.

This edict is to be [publicly] promulgated at each of the three annual festivals in honour of the *Nakshatra* Tishya; and also, in the intervals between these festivals in honour of Tishya, it is to be repeated at will to individuals, when any favourable opportunity presents itself. When ye do this, use ye your best endeavours to direct [the people] in the Good Way.

MISCELLANEA.

CALCULATIONS OF HINDU DATES.

No. 34.

In the copper-plate grant of the Eastern Chalukya king Amma II., from somewhere in the Madras Presidency,[1] which I have edited, with a lithograph, in this Journal, Vol. VII. p. 15 ff., **the date of his accession is given in** the following two verses (line 31 ff.); — giri-rasa-vasu-saṁkhy-âbdê Śaka-samayê Mârggaśîrsha-mâśê=smin kṛishṇa-trayôdaśa-dinê Bhṛiguvârê Maitra-nakshatrê || Dhanushi ravau Ghaṭa-lagnê dvâdaśa-varshâ(rshê) tu janmanaḥ paṭ[ṭ*]aṁ yô=dhâd=udayagir-îndrô(ndrê) ravir=iva lôk-ânurâgâya ||,—"who, like the sun (*rising*) on the lordly mountain of dawn, to the affectionate delight of mankind assumed the fillet (*of sovereignty*) in the year that had the enumeration of the mountains (seven), the flavours (six), the Vasus (eight), in the Saka era, in the month Mârgaśîrsha, on the thirteenth day in the dark fortnight, on Friday, under the Maitra (*i.e.* Anurâdhâ) *nakshatra*, when the sun was in Dhanus, during the Ghaṭa *lagna* (*i.e.* the rising of the sign Kumbha),[2] in the twelfth year from his birth."

Here the given Saka year, 867, is not distinctly specified either as current or as expired. But correct results can be obtained only by applying it as an expired year.

In Śaka-Saṁvat 867 current, the *pûrṇimânta* Mârgaśirsha kṛishṇa 13 ended, not on a Friday, but on Saturday, 16th November, A.D. 944, at about 35 *ghaṭîs*, 50 *palas*, after mean sunrise (for Bombay); nor can the *tithi* here be connected with the Friday, as a current *tithi*; for, the sun was not then in Dhanus, the *saṁkrânti* or entrance into that sign not occurring till seven

[1] The original plates, which belonged to Sir Walter Elliot, are now, I understand, in the British Museum.

[2] For the meaning of *lagna*, see *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 162, note 1.

days later, on the 23rd November, at about 34 *gh.* 16 *p.*; moreover, the *tithi* commenced during the night, at which time it is very unlikely that a formal ceremony of accession should be performed. And the *amânta* Mârgaśîrsha kṛishṇa 13 ended, also not on a Friday, but on Monday, 16th December, at about 18 *gh.* 24 *p.*

In **Śaka-Saṁvat 868 current (867 expired)**, however, the results work out quite satisfactorily. The *pûrṇimânta* Mârgaśîrsha kṛishṇa 13 again ended, not on a Friday, but on Wednesday, 5th November, A.D. 945, at about 37 *gh.* 3 *p.* But the **amânta Mârgasirsha kṛishṇa 13,** — and we have already seen (*ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 142) that the *amânta* arrangement of the lunar fortnights is the one that ought to apply for the period and locality of this grant, — **ended on Friday, 5th December, A.D. 945,** at about 24 *gh.* 32 *p.*[3] And for this day the other details are correct. **The sun was then in Dhanus**; the entrance into that sign having occurred twelve days previously, on the 23rd November, at about 49 *gh.* 47 *p.* At sunrise on that day **there was the Anurâdhâ nakshatra,** by all three systems; and it ended, according to the equal-space system and the Garga system of unequal spaces, at about 7 hrs. 53 min., = 19 *gh.* 42·5 *p.*, after mean sunrise (for Ujjain), and by the Brahma-Siddhânta system of unequal spaces, at about 2 hrs. 38 min., = 6 *gh.* 35 *p.* And Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds that **there was the Ghaṭa lagna** from about 8 *gh.* 23 *p.* to 12 *gh.* 46 *p.*, after apparent sunrise for Râjamahêndri.[4]

Accordingly, **the date of the accession of Amma II. was Friday, 5th December, A.D. 945.**

J. F. FLEET.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

CHARMS AND SPELLS.

In the North-West Provinces.

Children throw oil into a pot of water when it rains, with the idea that, as it breaks upon the surface of the water, the clouds may break.

WILLIAM CROOKE.

In Madras.

In South India male devils are called **pisâsus** (Skr. *piśâcha*) and female devils **môhinîs.** Devils always possess the opposite sex in mankind. It is much more difficult to exorcise a *môhinî* than a *pisâsu.* Lascivious dreams at night are always attributed to possession by *môhinîs.* The cure for this is to take a washerman's virgin daughter by the hand, and bathe in a tank holding her hand, on a Friday evening.

S. M. NATESA SASTRI.

Madras.

BOOK NOTICE.

THE MODERN VERNACULAR LITERATURE OF HINDUSTAN, by G. A. GRIERSON. Calcutta, 1889.

This is another of those solid contributions to our knowledge of India with which the name of Mr. Grierson is now so honorably connected, and which we have had already reason to notice.[1]

The book is the final outcome of a paper read before the International Congress of Orientalists at Vienna in 1886, which the present writer was privileged to hear delivered, and to the very favourable reception of which he is happy now to testify. It deals only with the **modern vernacular literature of Hindustan proper,** and therefore Sanskṛit and Prâkṛit works of all kinds have been excluded from it; but the mere fact that in it Mr. Grierson has been able to bring together the names of 952 authors shows what an advance it is upon the previous standard work on the subject by Garcin de Tassy, *Histoire de la Littérature Hindouie et Hindoustanie,* in which only about 70 authors are mentioned.

Mr. Grierson puts forth his work as a collection of materials to "form a foundation upon which others may build." Those "others," whenever the time comes for them to write, will unquestionably be vastly indebted to the author of these materials, whose industry has afforded

[3] The exact place for which the times of Eastern Chalukya dates should be reduced, has not been determined. The ancient city of Veṅgî is perhaps represented by the modern Pedda-Vêgi, a village in the 'Ellore' Tâlukâ of the Gôdâvarî District (*Archæol. Surv. South. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 36). But a more suitable place, for purposes of calculations, is probably Râjamahêndri in the Gôdâvarî District, Lat. 17° N., Long. 81° 48′ E.; and taking the longitude of Bombay as 72° 53′, the difference in time is $8\frac{53}{60}$ × 10 *palas* = 1 *gh.* 29·1 *p.*, by which the ending-time of the *tithi*, &c., would be later at Râjamahêndri than at Bombay. It does not cause any variation in the general results for the present date.

[4] This calculation is by the present *Sûrya-Siddhânta.* And according to the same authority, the *tithi* ended at 27 *gh.* 30 *p.*, and the Anurâdhâ *nakshatra* ended at 21 *gh.* 46 *p.*, according to the equal-space system and the Garga system of unequal spaces; both these times being after apparent sunrise for Râjamahêndri.

[1] See *ante*, Vol. XV. pp. 60, 244.

them such an excellent foundation upon which to raise a successful superstructure.

The indefatigable compiler of this truly noble book rightly claims for his subject that it carries us from Sanskṛit and Pâli studies, through that of the classical Prâkṛits, to the Gaudian literature, and so from the 12th century A.D. right up to the present day, and enables us to complete the chain of Indian linguistics. It gives **vernacular commentaries on difficult Sanskṛit works** on Grammar, Prosody, Vocabulary and Composition, and is a valuable aid to the student of history, as the **vernacular poetical works are dated, and actual historical works** are revealed to us founded on materials from the ninth century onwards. The poets, too, wrote for the million, and therefore the mere survival of their productions proves the excellence of their intrinsic merit. High as their claims are, they are no doubt just, and this fact alone should convince the sceptical of the importance of this last work from Mr. Grierson's pen.

The contents are **derived almost entirely from native sources**, and the "innumerable texts **bought in the** *bâzârs*," upon which it is based, must in themselves form an invaluable library, which we must presume that it is the author's good fortune to possess. The European authorities chiefly consulted have been Wilson's *Religious Sects of the Hindûs*, Garcin de Tassy's works, especially that above quoted, and Tod's *Râjâsthân*. Native anthologies have been also collated, especially the *Sib Siṅgh Sarôj* (1883), and 18 of these are quoted in the book, dating from 1550 A.D. up to as late as 1887.

The arrangement of this work is best described in the author's own words. "The work is divided into chapters, each roughly representing a period. The sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, the Augustan age of Indian vernacular poetry, occupy six chapters, not strictly divided according to periods of time, but according to groups of poets, commencing with the romantic poetry of Malik Muḥammad and including, amongst others, the Kṛishṇa cult of Braj, the works of Tulsî Dâs (to whom a special chapter has been allotted) and the technical school of poets founded by Kêsab Dâs." Within each group the arrangement is, as far as possible, chronological.

The earliest vernacular literature is found in the bardic chronicles of Rajputâna, commencing with **Chand Bardâî** and finally losing itself in the sea of the other vernacular poets in the 17th century. For historical purposes the value of these chronicles can hardly be over-estimated. In the Gangetic Valley that branch of **Vaishṇavism**, which is represented by the **worship of Râma** and in the works of **Râmânand, Kabîr and Tulsî Dâs**, from the 15th to the 17th centuries, gives us "a doctrine of eclecticism in its best form." Side by side with the noble teaching of this sect there existed the **Kṛishṇa cult** — also a branch of Vaishṇavism — which is best seen in the writings of **Mîrâ Bâî** and **Bidyâpati Ṭhâkur**. In those early days, too, flourished **Malik Muḥammad**, the author of the *Padmâwat*, deeply imbued with the philosophic teaching of the period, and invaluable for its historical allusions, and also as a **representation of the pronunciation of the period.**

Later in the 16th and 17th centuries, the age when nearly all the great writers existed, we find the Kṛishṇa cult at its height with **Kishn Dâs** and **Sûr Dâs** as its chief exponents, and while they were writing, the action of **Akbar's Court at Dehlî** (Dilli) caused the acceptance of the **Urdû language.** At this period, too, rose the great **Tulsî Dâs**, the mightiest poet of modern India, whose book "is in every one's hands, from the court to the cottage, read, or heard, and appreciated alike by every class of the Hindî community, whether high or low, rich or poor, young or old." At other times the writings of **Kêsab Dâs, Chintâmaṇi Tripâṭhî**, and **Kâlidâs Tribêdi**, settled for ever the **canons of poetic criticism.** Nor must we forget the **religious revivals** of the period and the literature thereof, as represented in the works of **Dâdû, Prân Nâth** and **Gôbind Siṅgh** of the *Granth*.

In the 18th century the value of the literature declined, but in the present century there has been a renascence in the *Prêm Sâgar* of **Lallû Jî Lâl** in that new English-invented language, **Hindî.** While the **introduction of printing** has created the spread of a healthy literature in the North, a spirit of criticism, a demand for renderings of the old classics, the spread of educational writings in the North-West, and the production of huge anthologies in Bengal. In this century also has arisen the **Hindî drama.**

All this and much more does Mr. Grierson explain in his introduction in glowing words, born of the enthusiasm which has impelled him to complete so dry a work as a catalogue of the writers, great and small, who have helped to build up so splendid and living a structure as the modern Hindu literature. All we have attempted to do here is to draw what attention we can to the subject, and to exhibit our hearty admiration of Mr. Grierson's success in presenting to the world of orientalists, and perhaps to others, materials on which to base comprehensive accounts thereof.

BUDDHAGHOSA.

BY THE REV. THOMAS FOULKES, F.L.S., M.R.A.S., F.R.G.S.

I.—Introductory.

THE famous name of **Buddhaghôsa** occupies a conspicuous position in **Pâli literature**, similar in some respects to that of Vêdavyâsa in Sanskṛit literature and Dêvaddhigaṇin in the literature of the Jains.[1] The voluminous works, still in existence, of which he is the author or reputed author, have had a continuous supreme influence upon the religious and intellectual life of the **Southern Buddhists** for a very long period of time.

His proper or original name is unknown; **the name Buddhaghôsa**, 'the Voice of Buddha,' is an honorific title conferred on him upon his conversion to Buddhism,[2] or perhaps later on in his career when his reputation had been established as an eloquent expounder of the teachings of Buddha. Professor Rhys Davids has suggested[3] that this name may have reference to that "deep, rich, thrilling voice which so many of the successful leaders of men have possessed," and which Buddha himself possessed in an eminent degree. I write his name in its Pâli form, that is to say, with the dental *s*, rather than in its Sanskṛit form with the cerebral or lingual *sh*,[4] because he has no known connection with Sanskṛit literature, and the name, thus spelt, has come down to us exclusively in Pâli and other cognate books. His name is found spelt in many other ways more or less diverging from these two normal forms, — Buddha Gausa, Bud-dha-gau-sa, Buddha Gautha, Bud-dha-gau-tha, Bouddha-goshu, Booddhu-ghoshu, Booddhu-ghoskû, Budha-ghosa, Budhagosa, Budha-gosa, Budhagosha, Budha-gosha, Budhu-gosha, Boudha-gosha, Boudha-gautha, Buddagosa, Buddagautha, Bud-da gau-tha, Buddagosa-charin, Buddothegooseka, Boodagosaw-chawree, Boudagautha, Bandagot, Prah-Putha-kosa,[5] and others,— some of which are due to different methods of transliteration, and others to loose or unmethodical transcription, some to dialectical peculiarities, and some to slips of the pen or the press.[6] There are many other similar compound names which have the first half of this name, such as Buddhadâsa, Buddha-priya, Buddha-rakshita, Buddha-gupta, Buddha-mitra, Buddha-bhadra, Buddhasiṁha, Buddha-pâlita, Buddha-yaśa, Buddha-nandi; and others which have its latter part, such as Śiva-ghôsha, Aśva-ghôsha, Indra-ghôsha, Ârya-ghôsha, Mañju-ghôsha.

It may be mentioned here at the outset, that although **this name occurs in three early inscriptions** to be noticed presently, at Mathurâ, the Bhêlsa topes, and the Kâṇhêri caves, this eminent Buddhist author is quite **unknown to the Northern Buddhists** and their Chinese, Japanese and Mongolian congeners, throughout the whole stream of ancient and modern Buddhist history, notwithstanding that as a Mâgadha Brâhmaṇ he belongs properly to them: the traditions and

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[1] See Professor Rhys Davids in *Encycl. Brit.* Vol. XIII. p. 544.

[2] Turnour's *Mahâvaṁsa*, p. 251.

[3] *Encycl. Brit.* Vol. IV. p. 428.

[4] See Professor Max Müller's reasons for the use of the Sanskrit form in *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. X. Introd. p. liii.

[5] [Bôgdâgôk and Bôgdâgawtha are the Burmese pronunciations: *aw* as in *awful*: *th* as in *thus*.—R. C. T.]

[6] [The transcription of Burmese words herein adopted is that used now by the Government of Burma after much discussion of the subject. The Burmese have adopted a form of the Nâgarî alphabet, but have forced it to suit their own laws of phonetics. The result is that words are not at all pronounced, though they are spelt, according to the usually accepted pronunciation of Nâgarî letters. Phayre, following others who were taught in his time, adopts a purely fanciful transcription of Arakanese origin, which neither represents the true transliteration nor the Burmese pronunciation, but is an unhappy and inaccurate mixture of both. It represents no actual forms at all; *e.g.* Phayre's *radza* = रज्ज *râja* = Bur. *yâza*; there is no *dz* sound in Burmese: his *weng* = वेङ् = *vaṁ* = Bur. *win* or *win*; there is no *ĕng* in Burmese, but *in*, *iṇ* and *ĕ*, as in *thakĕ* (*th* as in *thing*): his *sheng-bureng* = *śaṁ-bhuraṁ* = Bur. *śiṇ-bayiṇ* or even *śim-bayiṇ*, (*ś* being written *hr*): his *prâ* is *bhurâ* = Bur. *phayâ*. No Burman could make head or tail of his vernacular words without special training. In one point we must herein differ from the Government system. Because *th* = *th* as in *the* or *thing*, the Government writes *ht* for aspirated *t*, and so *hp* for aspirated *p*, and so on. We will, however, use *t'*, *p'*, etc., to show this. But *hl*, *hm*, *hn* will be preserved, as indicating real sounds.—R. C. T.]

legends respecting him are found among the Southern Buddhists alone, in Ceylon, Burma, and Siam.

The first of the three inscriptions to which I have just referred occurs on the base of one of the pillars discovered by Gen. Sir A. Cunningham at **Mathurâ** on the Jamnâ,[7] which are supposed to have formed part of the railing around the *stûpa* of the great monastery erected there by the Indo-Scythic king Huvishka, about the beginning of the Christian era. It is in the Sanskṛit language, and is given together with several others discovered at the same place in Professor Dowson's paper in the *Journal* of the Royal Asiatic Society[8] in these words — "Gift of the mendicant priest [Buddhist monk] Buddhaghôsha, the fruit . . . . . ," the remaining words having been broken off the stone. The company in which he is found here may perhaps warrant the conclusion that the Buddhaghôsha of this inscription was a distinguished member of the Buddhist community of the North-West of India at that early period. There is, however, nothing here to make for an identification of this Buddhaghôsa with the subject of the present paper: and the difference of dates interposes, at least for the present, an insuperable difficulty in the way of such an identification.

Mr. Beal has suggested the great probability that the Chinese pilgrim **Fa-Hian alludes to the Buddhaghôsa** of the Southern legends, when he speaks in his travels of the eminently learned Brâhman of Pâṭaliputra.[9] This supposition would necessitate the sacrifice of the date now generally assigned to Buddhaghôsa. Fa-Hian's description of his learned Brâhman in Mr. Beal's translation, is as follows: — "For something like fifty years the whole country looked up to this man and placed its confidence in him alone;" and Burnouf's translation, in Laidlay's version,[10] is virtually the same: — "For more than fifty years the eyes of the kingdom and its confidence were placed upon this single man." Dr. Legge's translation is as follows;[11] — "He might be more than fifty years old, and all the kingdom looked up to him." Buddhaghôsa, on the other hand, was a young man, according to the Ceylonese legend, — "a Brâhman youth,"[12] — at the time of his conversion not long before his visit to Ceylon; and the Burmese and Siamese traditions of his subsequent career show that a long period of his life was still before him when he left Ceylon. Instead then of upholding Mr. Beal's supposition that Buddhaghôsa was living at Pâṭaliputra towards the close of his career, when Fa-Hian visited that city sometime between A.D. 405 and 409, and had lived there for many years previously, the Ceylonese and Burmese chronicles agree in placing the commencement of his career in the reigns of the Ceylonese king Mahânâma, who came to the throne in A.D. 410,[13] and of the Burmese king Kyaungdayôk, who died in A.D. 413.[14] These dates, if they are to be accepted, combine to show that Buddhaghôsa was in the midst of his work in Ceylon as a young man when Fa-Hian arrived there in A.D. 411, three or four years after his discovery of the learned old Brâhman of Pâṭaliputra. Moreover, the name of this old Brâhman was Artâ-Svâmin,[15] or Râddha-sâmi,[16] and again, he was a professor of the "Greater Vehicle." But for Mr. Beal's note, I should have concluded that this influential old man belonged to a time long before Fa-Hian's visit.

The second inscription occurs on one of the rail-pillars at **Sâñchi**[17] in Central India, in the following words: — "(Gift of) the householder Budhaghôsa." This serves to show that **the name Buddhaghôsa was not unique,** but was borne even by an householder at the very early date of this inscription; for the circumstance that this man was not a monk, precludes the supposition that he might be the same as the subject of the Southern legends, even without any reference to the date.

The third inscription occurs under a standing image of Buddha in the porch of the great

[7] *Archæol. Surv. Reports*, Vol. I. p. 239; Vol. III. pp. 14, 29; Vol. XX. p. 36.
[8] Vol. V. (N. S.), p. 186.
[9] *Travels of Fa-Hian*, p. 104, note.
[10] *The pilgrimage of Fa-Hian*, p. 254: *Foe Koue Ki*, p. 254.
[11] *Travels of Fa-Hian*, p. 98.
[12] Turnour's *Mahâvaṁsa*, p. 250.
[13] Turn. *Mahav.*, Introd. p. lxii.
[14] Phayre, *Hist. of Burma*, p. 21.
[15] Beal, p. 104, note.
[16] Legge, p. 78, and note.
[17] Cunningham, *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 239.

temple-cave at **Kâṇhêri** near Bombay.[18] It is translated by Professor Georg Bühler as follows:[19] — "This image of Bhagavat (Buddha, is) the meritorious gift of the ascetic Buddhaghôsha, the guardian of the great *gandhakuṭi* [this temple-cave], and pupil of the reverend Dharmavatsa, a teacher of the three Piṭakas, who follows the religion of the divine Buddha." Like the above inscription at Mathurâ, it is in the Sanskṛit language. Dr. Stevenson's date of this cave-temple is about 70 B.C.[20] Mr. Fergusson's date is about the 6th century A.D.[21] Dr. Burgess places it between A.D. 100 and 150, but he thinks the statue of Buddha is considerably later than the cave itself, and considers the characters of the inscription to belong to about the 6th century A.D.[22] Professor Bühler's date for the inscription is the 4th or 5th century A.D.[23] On the other hand General Cunningham assigns this inscription, together with the great mass of the other inscriptions at Kâṇhêri, to the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D.[24] Dr. Stevenson has assumed the identity of the Buddhaghôsha of this inscription with the great Pâli scholar;[25] but he has not considered the difficulty arising out of the time in which he places him, namely, about 70 B.C. This date, if it could be maintained, would have the effect of placing the donor of the Kâṇhêri statue in chronological connection with the donor of the Mathurâ pillar: and this circumstance may be held in reserve pending the solution of the question in what measure the Southern traditions of Buddhaghôsa are strictly historical. It must be observed that Dr. Stevenson had more than the identity of the name to support his assumption; for his translation of the inscription made the donor of the statue "the same [Buddhaghôsa] who composed the institutes of the lord Buddha," and although this version cannot be sustained, the direct reference to his connection with the Tripiṭaka, as is still shown by Dr. Bühler's new translation, makes it difficult wholly to set aside the possibility of the identification in the present condition of the Buddhaghôsa question, notwithstanding the apparent chronological difficulty.

II.—The Buddhaghôsa Legends.

A.—The Burmese Legend.

The Buddhaghôsa legend has come down to us in two separate streams, having a certain amount of imperfectly ascertained interdependence, in the chronicles of Ceylon in one form, and in another form in the chronicles of Burma.

Buddhaghôsa was first introduced to European scholars by Father Carpanus, or Carpanius, in his *Alphabetum Barmanum* published at Rome in A.D. 1796;[26] but he does not appear to have attracted particular attention until his name was brought into prominence half a century later in MM. Burnouf and Lassen's *Essai sur le Pâli*.

In the meantime another notice of the Burmese legend was published by the Serhampore Missionary, the Rev. W. Ward, in his *View of the History, Literature, and Religion of the Hindoos*, from information derived from Mr. Felix Carey, a resident of Rangoon: — "The Burmans believe that 650 years after that event, in the reign of Maha-moonee, Booddhu-ghoshu, a Brahmin was deputed to Ceylon to copy the work Vishooddhimargu, which includes all the Jatus, or histories of the incarnations of Booddhu: and it is fabled that the iron stile with which he copied this work was given him by a heavenly messenger; though others will have it that Bodhee-sutwu gave it to him."[27]

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[18] *Jour. As. Soc. Bomb.* Vol. V. pp. 5, 13 ff.; Vol. VI. p. 3.
[19] *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. V. p. 77.
[20] *Jour. As. Soc. Bomb.* Vol. V. p. 4.
[21] *Rock-cut Temples of India*, p. 39.
[22] *Cave-Temples*, p. 352.
[23] *Archæol. Surv. W. Ind.* Vol. V. p. 77.
[24] *Archæol. Surv. India*, Vol. I. Introd. p. xxi.
[25] *Jour. As. Soc. Bomb.* Vol. V. p. 5.
[26] See Sir Wm. Jones' Eighth Discourse, *As. Res.* Vol. III. p. 11, and Leyden's *Languages and Literature of the Indo-Chinese Nations*, *ibid.* Vol. X. pp. 233, 238, 277, 280, 282.
[27] Ward's *Hindoos* (3rd edit.), Vol. II. p. 211. See also Upham's *Sacred and Historical Books of Ceylon*, Vol. III. Pref. p. vii. [Ward's transliteration is perfectly regular and in accordance with the period at which he wrote; and the words in the text should be accordingly Mahâmuni, Buddhaghôsha, Viśuddhimârga, Jâtas, Buddha, Bôdhisatva.—R. C. T.]

The passage in Burnouf and Lassen's *Essai* referred to above, is as follows: — "According to P. Carpanus the History of the Burmans called the *Maharâzoen*[28] (a name derived doubtless from the Sanskṛit *Mahâ-râja*), states that the Pâli books and written character were brought from Ceylon to Pegu by a Brâhmaṇ called Buddhaghôsha ('the voice of Buddha') in the year 940 of their sacred era, that is to say, in the year 397 of ours . . . . . This introduction of Buddhism into Pegu, &c."

The Hon. George Turnour in quoting this passage,[29] remarks that its authors have drawn **two erroneous inferences** from their materials, "First, that Buddhism was originally introduced by Buddhaghôsa into Pegu; and secondly, that his resort to the eastern peninsula was the consequence of his expulsion from India under the persecution of the Brâhmans." Whether that inference respecting his missionary work was justified or otherwise, the Siamese have a similar more general tradition of the introduction of Buddhism amongst the Southern Buddhists by Buddhaghôsa:—"The Buddhist religion, according to the Siamese priests, was introduced into Ceylon 236 years after the death of Gautama,[30] or in the 236th year of their sacred era, by Prah-Putha-Kosa."[31] It will be observed that **in this Siamese tradition, Buddhaghôsa takes the place of Mahinda in the Ceylonese legends,** both as regards the work attributed to him and his proximate date. Professor Rhys Davids has put this tradition in a sounder form, correcting the chronological discrepancy:—"From Ceylon it [Buddhism] was introduced into Burma in the 5th century A.D.,[32] whence it penetrated into Arakan, Kambôja, and Pegu, and finally into Siam in the 7th century of our era."[33] The same tradition in the main is given by Col. Sir H. Yule:—"Kambôjan legend, like that of nearly all the Indo-Chinese countries, couples the introduction of Buddhism (perhaps rather its re-introduction) with the name of Buddhaghôsha. However that may be, it is about the 1000th year of Buddha (*i.e.* according to the ordinary calculation 457 A.D.), and near the date usually assigned to Buddhaghôsha, that the traditions place a great king, Phutamma Surivong, &c."[34]

The **Burmese History**, called by Carpanius the *Maharazoen*, is the (*Mahâyâzawiṇ*) *Mahârâja-weng*, — Buchanan's *Maha-rasa-wayn-gye* and Burney's *Maha-Yazowen* or *Yajawen*.[35] It was from this source that Colonel Burney obtained the materials for his papers on Burma in the *Journal* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.[36] Sir Arthur Phayre used it still more largely in his contributions to the same Journal,[37] and subsequently in his *History of Burma*.[38] It had been previously referred to also by Buchanan in his paper "On the 'Religion and Literature of the Burmese" in the *Asiatic Researches*,[39] and by Leyden in the paper referred to above.[40] It exists in what may be called three recensions, or editions, 'The Great,' 'The Middle,' and 'The New Yâzawiṇ,'[41] which differ from each other in their versions of the legends, and also in the dates

[28] [The word is written in Burmese in characters corresponding to the Dêvanâgarî महाराजवं *Mahârâjavaṁ*, and is always pronounced *Mahâyâzawiṇ* according to the rules of Burmese phonetics. "The learned" will sometimes use *Mahârâzawiṇ*; Phayre's *Mahâ Râja-weng* is fanciful as usual. Burnouf and Lassen were quite right as to the derivation of the word. It is merely *Mahârâjavaṁśa* = 'Genealogy of the Great Kings,' minus the last letter or syllable, as is common in Burmese. Like derivatives are *Dîpawiṇ*, *Bôgdâwiṇ* (*Buddhavaṁśa*), and *Mahâwiṇ*.—R. C. T.]

[29] Turnour's *Mahâwanso*. Introd. p. xxx. [30] B.C. 307.

[31] Crawfurd's *Siam*, Vol. II. p. 91. [*Prah* = 'lord.' In Burmese *Bhurâ* as spelt, or *P'ayâ* as pron. = 'lord master: venerable as applied to things and men, to Buddha himself and to God.'—R. C. T.]

[32] N.B. This is the *Mahâvaṁśa* date of Buddhaghôsa.—T. F.

[33] *Encycl. Brit.* Vol. IV. p. 437, *v.* 'Buddhism.' See also *ibid.* Vol. XXI. p. 854, *v.* 'Siam.'

[34] *Encycl. Brit.* Vol. IV. p. 724, *v.* 'Cambodia.'

[35] [All these are forms of the Burmese *Mahâyâzawiṇ* above explained. *Maharaswayngye* = *Mahâyâzawiṇgyî*. Burm. *kyî*, which in comp. after a nasal, sonant or open vowel = *gyî*, or more usually simply *jî*, means 'great' and is suffixed to words and names to imply venerability.—R. C. T.]

[36] Vols. IV. V. VI., A.D. 1835, 1836, 1837. See also his paper in *Gleanings of Science*, Vol. III. (1831), pp. 182, 184.

[37] Vols. XXXIII. XXXVII. XLII., A.D. 1864, 1868, 1873. [38] In Trübner's *Oriental Series*.

[39] Vol. VI. (1799), p. 303. [40] *As. Res.* Vol. X. (1808), p. 234.

[41] *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. XXXVII. pp. 80, 81.

assigned to the events.[42] It is a compilation made at different times, bringing the record down to the present century; and it appears to have been commenced at no remote date.[43] It corresponds closely, therefore, with the *Mahâvaṁsa*[44] of Ceylon. The Buddhaghôsa legend in this authority is summarized by Sir Arthur Phayre thus:[45]—"It is stated that in his reign [King Kyaungdayêk] the Buddhist scriptures having been brought to Thâtun[46] by the great teacher, Buddhaghôsa, Pugân[47] participated in the benefit derivable therefrom. There are however inconsistent statements on this subject; or, if the books of the *Piṭaka* were brought to Pugân in the time of Buddhaghôsa, they were afterwards lost; for the *Mahâyâzawiṇ* relates how, about 650 years later, King Anawyetâ,[48] in order to reform religion, undertook a war to gain possession of these sacred writings. Kyaungdayêk reigned 25 years, or until about A.D. 413. Another version of this legend, drawn from the writings and conversation of the Burmese, was supplied to Mr. John Crawfurd,[49] by the American Missionary Mr. Judson: —"In the year 930 after Gautama,[50] A.D. 386, Bud-d'ha-gautha[51] transcribed the Buddhist Scriptures with an iron pen of celestial workmanship, and brought them by sea to Pugan, the seat of the supreme government." Later on,[52] Crawfurd re-states it thus: — "In the year 386 of Christ, a Burman Priest, named Budd'ha Gautha,[51] or Gausa,[51] proceeded to Ceylon, and from thence brought with him a copy of the Budd'hist scriptures:" and in his appendix[53] he adds the local dates: — "A.D. 386, Grand Epoch 1078, Sacred Epoch 930, Prome Epoch 308, Bud-d'ha-gau-sa[51] went to Ceylon." General Albert Fytche has also given a version of this legend in the following passage:[54] — "The Buddhist doctrines were propagated here, as elsewhere, orally, and the Talaings, did not possess the Buddhist scriptures in written form until they were conveyed to them from Ceylon by Buddhaghôsa in 450 A.D. The Talaings claim this celebrated monk as a countryman of their own, and their history states that he went from Thâtun to Ceylon, where he stayed three years, and then returned with a copy of the scriptures. This is, however, a fallacy, for he was a native of Magadha, and born near the Bo-tree at Buddha-Gayâ. He went to Ceylon in about 430 A. D., and there compiled his great work, the *Visuddhi Magga*, or *Path of Holiness*, a cyclopædia of Buddhist doctrine; and from the great knowledge he displayed, was employed by the rulers of his order in Ceylon to rewrite in Pâli the commentaries which had till then been handed down in Sinhalese.[55] Buddhhaghôsa was a convert from Brahmanism, and owing to his great eloquence, the appellation of Buddhaghôsa (the Voice of Buddha) was conferred upon

[42] See Phayre's *Burma*, pp. 22 note, 27, 30, 46 note.

[43] See *Encycl. Brit.* Vol. IV. pp. 556, 724.

[44] [The word is clearly the same; see the above explanation of the *written form* of the Burmese word *Mahâyâzawiṇ*. The final letter in the Burmese word corresponds to the Nâgarî guttural nasal *and to anusvâra*. Its power when *final* in a syllable in Burmese phonetics is to change the inherent *a* of the preceding consonant to *i*, and its pronunciation under those circumstances is so close to that of the cerebral nasal as to incline me to write it *ṇ*. When initial in a syllable its power is *ng*, as in the common words *nga* and *ngâ* = ङ and ङा. Other forms in Further India of *vaṁśa* are *wrong* in Kambôjan, *e.g. Surivong* in the text above = *Sûryavaṁśa*: and *wongse* in Siamese, used as a termination to many Royal names.—R. C. T.]

[45] *Hist. Burma*, pp. 20, 21, with p. 34.

[46] [*Th* as in *thing*. The word is really *Thâtôn*.—R. C. T.]

[47] [So always spelt, but always pronounced Pagân. Short unaccented *u* is often so pronounced in Burmese: *e.g. bhurâ* = *p'ayâ*: *bhuraṁ* = *bayiṇ*: *sukhô* = *thak'ô* (*th* as in *thing*)—R. C. T.]

[48] [Spelt Anôrathâ, pronounced Anawyet'â: *aw* as in *awful*.) Phayre spells Anoarahta, as he uses *oa* = to express *aw* in *awful*, and *ht* to express aspirated *t*, because of the Burmese *th* as in *thing* and *the*. The *t* in this word is often distinctly aspirated in Burmese, as it is in the common kindred word *yet'â*, a carriage (not a cart which is *hlé*). *Yet'â* is a Pâli derivative and is always spelt *rathâ*. It should be remembered that Burmese has neither त nor ट, but the true English *t*.—R. C. T.]

[49] Crawfurd's *Ava* (1834), Vol. II. p. 123.

[50] [Gautama in Burmese is written Gôtama and pron. Gawdama. This is the pronunciation which Bigandet represents in his *Life and Legend of Gaudama*, and which is the origin of the common Anglo-Burmese form *goddama* applied to images of Buddha.—R. C. T.]

[51] [These are merely an attempt to transcribe the Burmese written word Buddhaghôsa and which is pron. according to Burman phonetics Bôgdâgawthâ (*th* as in *the*) and spelt Buddhagôsa. Similarly Bôgdâ-bâthâ (*th* as in *the*) is the modern vulgar Burmese expression for the Buddhist religion = *Buddhabhâshâ*.—R. C. T.]

[52] *ibid.* Vol. II. p. 278.

[53] No. VIII. p. 59.

[54] *Burma Past and Present*, (1878), Vol. II. pp. 169, 170.

[55] *Buddhism* Rhys Davids, p. 236.

him." The Burmese legend is given in a still more complete form by Bishop Bigandet,[56] from whom most of the later authorities have derived their information — "The first one [in Burma] who made an attempt to possess himself of a copy of the sacred scriptures was Budhagosa, a religious of Thaton, of the Poṇṇâ[57] race. That man embarked at Thaton which was then on or near the sea. That place is in the Ramagnia[58] country, and is inhabited by a people called Moun.[59] He sailed to Ceylon in the year of religion 943, = to 400 A.C., under the reign of King Mahânâma. He resided three years on that island, wrote on palm leaves with the Burmese characters, the Pitagat,[60] which was found written in the language and characters of Ceylon. In another manuscript we read that he translated into Pâli the scriptures, which were in the language of Ceylon. Buddhagôsa remained three years in Ceylon, in order to complete the work which he had undertaken. During his stay in that island, the people were so much pleased with him that they made him many and costly presents on his leaving their country. With him he brought over to Souwana boumi, [Suvarṇabhûmi] which is in the Ramagnia country, a complete copy of the scriptures. In or about the Pagan [modern Burmese] era 419 = 1058 A.D., the 42nd, some say the 44th King of Pagan, named Anaurata [Anawyet'â], having invaded the Ramagnia country, possessed himself of the Moun's territories, and entered triumphant in the venerable city of Thaton.[61] He took away from that place the collection of scriptures brought over from Ceylon by Buddhagôsa as well as the most learned among the Rahans.[62] With the aid of these distinguished Rahans religion was then firmly established in Pagan."[63]

B.—The Ceylonese Legend.

Down to A.D. 1833 European scholars appear to have known the Buddhaghôsa legend through the Burmese traditions alone. In that year other versions of it, differing in many essential particulars from the Burmese form, were published in Upham's *Collection of the Sacred and Historical Books of Ceylon*. In the most important of these books, the *Mahâvaṁsa*, the Ceylonese legend is given in these words:[64] — "In the reign of this king [Mahânâma] there came from Jambu-dwipa [India] to Ceylon a learned priest whose name was Buddagosa, by whom the king caused to be written a great number of sermons of Budhu, and thus illustrated the doctrine." The *Râjaratnâkari*, another of these books, gives the legend in the following form:[65] — "The next king who ascended the throne was called Mahanawma Raja, in whose time the priest called Budhu-gosha came from Jambu-dwipa, and added to the three books which contained 257,250 sermons of Budhu, 360,550 sermons more, in the Palee language." The *Râjâvali*, another of these historical books, has the following variation of the legend:[66] — "His son, Manam Rajah was the next king: he reigned for twenty years. In the course of this king's reign the two persons called Bandagot [Buddhaghôsa] Nam-watawak and Tenmaha Sin caused to be brought from Jambu-dwipa to Ceylon the books containing the 200,250 orders of Budhu, and the books containing the three lacs and 100,750 sayings of Budhu, which were written in the Palee language, and ordered the same to be published." Another variation is given in the more recent Sinhalese Compendium of Gautama Buddha's doctrine:[67] — "In the sixth year of the reign of the king Maha-Naaone, and in the year of Budhu 930, the high-priest Buddothegooseke Terunwahanse, coming to the island of Ceylon, composed the books called *Visuddhimarge*, &c. Upon his return to Swarna-

[56] *Life of Gaudama* (2nd edit. 1866), pp. 391, 392. On Bp. Bigandet's authorities see *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XI. (1881), Introd. pp. xvi., xvii., xxii., xxxii.

[57] [Poṇṇâ = Skr. Puṇya = in Burma 'a Brâhman.'—R. C. T.]

[58] [Ramagnia = Ramaṅgya of Phayre = रामञ्ञ.—R. C. T.]

[59] [Mun, spelt Mwan = Talaing.—R. C. T.]

[60] [Bidagât, spelt Pitakat, is the modern Burmese form of the word *Pitaka* through (?) *Pitakattaya*.—R. C. T.]

[61] Situated on a tidal creek in the Gulf of Martaban, between the Sittang and Salween Rivers and not far from the latter.—R. C. T.]

[62] [Rahân = Burmese Yehân = अर्हन् = अर्हत्.—R. C. T.]

[63] See also the Bishop's notes, Introd. p. ix. and pp. 120, 351, 381, 389, 390, 393.

[64] Upham, Vol. I. p. 239.

[65] Upham, Vol. II. p. 74.

[66] Upham, Vol. II. p. 242.

[67] Upham, Vol. III. p. 115.

bhumiye, he composed the *Turupittike* also, and employed himself in teaching the doctrine of Budhu; while the king Aniniddha Maha Raja propagated the same persuasion in the country Arunardenepureje." A much fuller variation of the Ceylonese legend[68] appeared four years later in the Hon. George Turnour's translation of a portion of the *Mahâvamsa*, made from a totally different recension of that work from that which had been used by the earlier translators:— "A Brahman youth, born in the neighbourhood of the terrace of the great Bo-tree (in Magadha), accomplished in the *wijja* and *sippa*; who had achieved the knowledge of the three *wedos*, and possessed great aptitude in attaining acquirements, indefatigable as a schismatic disputant, and himself a schismatic wanderer over Jambudipo, established himself in the character of a disputant in a certain *wihâro*, and was in the habit of rehearsing by night and by day with clasped hands, a discourse which he had learned, perfect in all its component parts, and sustained throughout in the same lofty strain. A certain *mahâ thero*, Rewato, becoming acquainted with him there, and saying to himself, 'This individual is a person of profound knowledge; it will be worthy of me to convert him,' inquired, 'Who is this who is braying like an ass?' The Brahman replied to him, 'Thou canst define, then, the meaning conveyed in the bray of asses.' On the *thero* rejoining, 'I can define it,' he, the Brahman exhibited the extent of the knowledge he possessed. The *thero* criticised each of his propositions, and pointed out in what respect they were fallacious. He who had been thus refuted said, 'Well, then, descend to thy own creed, and he propounded to him a passage from the *Abhidhammo* of the *Piṭakattaya*. He, the Brahman, could not divine the signification of that passage, and inquired, 'Whose *manto* is this? 'It is Buddho's *manto*.' On his exclaiming, 'Impart it to me,' the *thero* replied, 'Enter the sacerdotal order.' He who was desirous of acquiring the knowledge of the *Piṭakattaya*, subsequently coming to this conviction, 'This is the sole road to salvation, became a convert to that faith. As he was as profound in his (*ghoso*) eloquence as Buddho himself, they conferred on him the appellation of Buddhaghoso (the voice of Buddho); and throughout the world he became as renowned as Buddho. Having there, in Jambudipo, composed an original work called *Nanodayan*, he, at the same time, wrote the chapter called *Atthasâlini*, on the *Dhammasanyini*, one of the commentaries on the *Abhidhammo*. Rewato-thero then observing that he was desirous of undertaking the compilation of a *Parittatthakathan*, a general commentary on the *Piṭakattaya*, thus addressed him; 'The text alone of the *Piṭakattaya* has been preserved in this land: the *Atthakathâ* are not extant here; nor is there any version to be found of the *wâdâ* schisms, complete. The Sinhalese *Atthakathâ* are genuine. They were composed in the Singhalese language by the inspired and profoundly wise Mahindo, who had previously consulted the discourses of Buddho, authenticated at the three convocations, and the dissertations and arguments of Sâriputto and others, and they are extant among the Singhalese. Repairing thither, and studying the same, translate them according to the rules of the grammar of the Magadhas. It will be an act conducive to the welfare of the whole world.' Having been thus advised, this eminently wise personage rejoicing therein departed from thence and visited this island in the reign of this monarch (Mahanâmo). On reaching the Mahawihâro at Anurâdhapura, he entered the Mahapadhâno hall, the most splendid of the apartments in the *wihâro*, and listened to the Singhalese *Atthakathâ* and the *Therawâdâ* from the beginning to the end propounded by the *thero* Sanghapâli; and became thoroughly convinced that they conveyed the true meaning of the doctrines of the lord of *Dhammo*. Thereupon, paying reverential respect to the priesthood, he thus petitioned; 'I am desirous of translating the *Atthakathâ*, give me access to all your books.' The priesthood, for the purpose of testing his qualifications, gave only two *gâthâ*, saying, 'Hence prove thy qualification; having satisfied ourselves on this point we will then let thee have all our books." From these, taking these *gâthâ* for his text, and consulting the *Piṭakattaya*, together with the *Atthakathâ*, and condensing them into an abridged form, he composed the commentary called the *Wisuddhimaggan*. Thereupon having assembled the priesthood who had acquired a thorough knowledge of the doctrines of

[68] Turnour's *Mahawanso*, p. 250.

Buddho at the Bo-tree, he commenced to read out the work he had composed. The *dewatâs*, in order that they might make his, Buddhaghoso's, gifts of wisdom celebrated among men, rendered that book invisible. He, however, for a second and third time recomposed it. When he was in the act of producing his book for the third time, for the purpose of propounding it, the *dewatâs* restored the other two copies also. The assembled priests then read out the three books simultaneously. In those three versions, neither in a signification, nor in a single misplacement by transposition, nay, even in the *thera* controversies and in the text of the *Piṭakattaya*, was there in the measure of a verse or in the letter of a word, the slightest variation. Thereupon, the priesthood rejoicing, again and again fervently shouted forth saying, 'Most assuredly this is Metteyo Buddho himself,' and made over to him the books in which the *Piṭakattaya* were recorded, together with the *Atthakathâ*. Taking up his residence in the secluded Ganthâkaro Wihâro at Anurâdhapura, he translated, according to the grammatical rules of the Mâgadhas, which is the root of all languages, the whole of the Singhalese *Atthakathâ* into Pâli. This proved an achievement of the utmost consequence to all languages spoken by the human race. All the *theros* and *achârayos* held this compilation in the same estimation as the text of the *Piṭakattayo*. Thereafter, the objects of his mission having been fulfilled, he returned to Jambudîpo [India] to worship at the Bo-tree at Uruwelâya in Magadha."

It is necessary to observe here that **this Buddhaghôsa legend does not occur** in the *Mahâwaṁsa* attributed to Mahânâma **in the fifth century A.D., but** in the continuation of that work by Dharmakîrti **in the thirteenth century.** The *Mahâvaṁsa* of Mahânâma, like the *Dîpavaṁsa*[69] ends with the reign of Mahâsêna,[70] A.D. 275 to 302, upwards of a century before the accession of Mahânâma, A.D. 410 to 432.[71] Regarding the first continuation of that work, in which the above version of the Buddhaghôsa legend appears, Mr. Turnour has the following statement:[72] — "From the period at which Mahânâma's work terminated, to the reign of Prakrama Bâhu in A.D. 1266, the Sulu Wanse was composed under the patronage of the last named sovereign by Dharma Kirti at Dambedeniya."

C.—Combinations of the preceding Legends.

With these perplexing variations in both the Burmese and the Ceylonese traditions before him, M. Landresse, in a note to Remusat's translation of Fa-Hian's travels published in A.D. 1836,[73] gave the legend a new form, which is in effect a compromise combining the principal statements of both of those traditions: — "A learned priest from the continent of India, named Buddhaghosa, after having to a great extent revived the religion of which he was a zealous partisan, had hardly left Ceylon to spread the doctrine beyond the Ganges in Ava[74] and among the Burmans,[75] when Fa-Hian arrived there under circumstances highly favourable for the objects of his voyage."

A somewhat similar compromise occurs in the **New Mahâyâzawin** of the Burmese, quoted by Sir Arthur Phayre in the *Journal* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal:[76] — "About this time it is recorded in the 'Great Râdzâ-weng' [*Mahâyâzawiṇ*], that the celebrated teacher, the lord Bud-da-gau-tha [Bôgdâgawthâ] went from the country of Thahtun [Thâtôn] to Ceylon to bring the books of the *Bi-da-gât* [*Piṭaka*]. In the New Râdzâ-weng [*Yâzawiṇ*] it is said that he crossed from Mits-tsi-mâ-de-tha [Machchamâdêśa, Missimâdêtha]: but the case is really thus; for more than nine hundred years after the establishment of religion, the disciples of Yau-na-ka Mahâ-dham-ma-rak-khi-ta, and of Thau-na and Ut-ta-ra, repeated by heart the three great divisions of the *Bi-da-gât*. There were as yet no letters in Dzam-bu-dî-pa [Jambudîpa]. At that

[69] See Professor Oldenberg's translation, p. 221.
[70] Turnour's translation, p. 238.
[71] These are Turnour's dates in his appendix, p. lxii.
[72] *Mahâvaṁsa*, Introd. p. ii.
[73] *Foe Koue Ki*, p. 347: Laidlay's English translation (A.D. 1848), p. 347.
[74] [The Burmese word is Ēwâ or Ēywâ (*ywâ* = village); accent on *ê*: but Awâ is also known; accent on *â*. Âva with accent on the first syllable is Anglo-Indian.—R. C. T.]
[75] Crawfurd, *Embassy to Ava*, p. 491, and Burnouf and Lassen, *Essai sur le Pâli*, p. 62.
[76] Vol. XXXVII. (1868), pp. 30ff. See also his *History of Burma*, pp. 20ff.

time a young Brahman was living near the Baudi[Bôdhi]-tree. He was learned in medicine and mathematics. Wandering about in Dzam-bu-dî-pa, disputing the doctrines of others, he came to a monastery, and in the vicinity began to recite in a soft voice. The great teacher Sheng-Re-wa-ta[Shiṇ Yêwâtâ] hearing, said, 'This man is wise, it will be proper to discuss with him.' He therefore called out, 'Who is there braying like an ass?' The young man replied, 'You understand then the braying of asses?' and then to his questions Sheng Rewata gave suitable replies. But the young man knew nothing of the divine law. He therefore became a Rahan to study the three great books of the *Bi-da-gât*. From that time he became as celebrated as a Phra [Bhurâ: P'ayâ], and was named Bud-da-gau-tha. He wished to study commentaries on the *Bi-da-gât*. The Sheng Re-wa-tâ knowing this, said: — 'In Dzam-bu-dî-pa there is only the Pâli, there is not the commentary; teachers with various gifts of mind are scarce; but in Ceylon the commentaries are pure. The Pâli divine revelations as repeated in the three great Councils were carried to Ceylon by the lord *Ma-hin-da*. *Going there where the commentaries exist in the Singhalese language*, learn it, and translate them into Magadâ.' Saying this he sent him, as is written in the book *Tsula-weng*."[77] Sir A. Phayre then remarks, — "The history then gives in detail several versions of the story of the sacred books being procured in Ceylon by Bud-da-gau-tha, and brought to the Indo-Chinese nations. The great teacher is represented as the religious benefactor or missionary to the Burmese, Talaings, Arakanese, Shans, Siamese, and Cochin-Chinese. But he was led to Tha-htun[78] by a miraculous direction at the last moment. The history proceeds thus: — "Lo, the lord Bu-da-gau-tha, after having obtained permission from king Mahâ-nâma by presenting him with a white elephant, brought away the book *Wi-thu-di-mag* [*Visuddhi-magga*], the three great divisions of the *Bidagât*, and the commentaries. But when he was on his way to Dzam-bu-dî-pa [India], a Thagya[79] came and warned him saying, "There is no place in Mits-tsi-ma-de-tha [Machchama-dêśa] where religion can be established. The places where it is firmly established are situated on the south-east side of Mits-tsi-ma-de-tha; they are nine hundred *yuyanas*[*yôjanas*] in circumference; they lie on the outskirts, and are known as Tha-re-khet-ta-râ, The-ri-pits-tsa-ra, Râ-ma-ngya, and other countries. Religion shall be established in them for full five thousand years. The books should be conveyed thither. The great teacher accordingly came to Thahtun in the country of Râmangyâ, then called Thû-dam-mâ-wa-ti, and also Thu-wan-na-bhum-mi."[80] The historian states that this event occurred in the year 946 of religion, or A.D. 403. "Thus," he concludes, "in order to set forth distinctly the account of the arrival in the Burma country of the scriptures, the root and foundation of religion, which had been omitted in the Great and the Middle Râdza-weng, I have extracted the narrative from the religious books." In a subsequent passage, p. 105, Sir A. Phayre says; — "In most histories of Burma it is stated that he [Buddhaghôsa] was a native of Thahtun; but this claim now seems to be abandoned. The year given for his arrival, A.D. 403, has no doubt been fixed after consulting the *Mahâvaṁsa* of Ceylon, but still is scarcely consistent with it . . . . . The Burmese *Mahâ-râdza-weng* assumes that the whole of the Buddhist scriptures were at this time brought to Pugân [Pagân]. This is not credible. The intercourse between the Burmese and Talaings at this time appears to have been but small, and, as has been seen, the history subsequently relates the arrival of the scriptures, and the reform of religion, as being brought about in the reign of Anaurahta, or about 600 years afterwards." The same author has a paper in a later volume of the same Journal,[81] *On the History of Pegu*, in which the following passage occurs: — "Up to a recent period the histories written by Talaings or Burmans represented Budhaghosa, as a

[77] This *Tsula-weng* I take to be the *Suluvaṁsa* of Ceylon, the continuation of the *Mâhavaṁsa* of Mahânâma referred to in Turnour's Introd., p. ii. quoted above. If so, the origin of this portion of the Burmese legend of Buddhaghosha is referred to Ceylon. [Tsulaweng = Sulâwin = चूलवं = Suluvaṁsa.—R. C. T.]

[78] "A few miles north of Martaban," *ibid.* p. 105.

[79] [Thagyâ, so pronounced, also Thajâ; *th* as in *thing*, accent on last syllable. It is usually written Thekkya = Sakkra = Śakra = Indra: but in modern Burmese ideas the *thagyâ* is an angel of life.—R. C. T.]

[80] [These words should be I think:—Shri Khêttarâ = Śrikshêtarâ; Śripachcharâ; Râmaña = Sudharmâwati = Suvarṇabhûmi.—R. C. T.]

[81] *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. XLII. (1873), pp. 23 ff.

great Rahân of Thahtun, who went to Ceylon, and brought from thence the sacred books to his native land. This statement has, however, been corrected in the latest edition of the Burmese national history, *Mahâ-Râdzâ-weng*, which was written, or revised, in the palace at Amarapura[82] about forty years ago.[83] The story of Budhaghosa is therein correctly told, and has apparently been derived from the *Mahâvanso* of Ceylon. The date assigned for Budhaghosa's voyage to Thahtun is A.D. 403. Even the Talaing writers, long jealous for the honour of their country, seem now to acknowledge their error as to the birthplace of their great teacher. In a late paper by a learned Talaing which I have perused, it is acknowledged that there are two accounts regarding Budhaghosa: and it is only argued that in returning from Ceylon to the continent of India, he may have come by ship to Thahtun, and revived by his presence the drooping flower of religion. That Thahtun was his native place seems to be silently abandoned."

Turnour himself accepted this compromise, even in the face of the distinct statements of his own translation, under the influence of the *Essai sur le Pâli*.[84] It was also adopted by Professor Horace Hayman Wilson,[85] whose views largely dominated oriental researches for many years: and it has maintained itself as the prevailing solution of the contradictory statements in the legend down to the present time. Nevertheless, it is well to bear in mind that it is a mere compromise of recent origin without any historical value whatever.

III.—Comparison of the preceding Legends.

The points of agreement and divergence in these several variations of the legend may be conveniently exhibited under the following three heads: — **A. Buddhaghôsa's early life; B. His visit to Ceylon; C. His later life.**

A.—Buddhaghôsa's early life.

1. Both streams of the legend, — the *Mahâyâzawin*, Carpanins, Burnouf, Felix Carey, Bigandet, for the Burmese streams, and Turnour for the Ceylonese stream, — and consequently the compromise also, state that he was a Brâhman by birth.

2. Turnour's *Mahâvaṁsa* makes him extensively learned in Brâhmanical knowledge, and an active controversialist against the Buddhists in the early part of his career.

3. All the three groups, — Turnour, Fytche, and the *New Mahâyâzawin*, — agree that he became a convert to Buddhism.

4. Turnour's *Mahâvaṁsa* states that he received his name Buddhaghôsa, "the Voice of Buddha," soon after his conversion, on account of his great eloquence: Fytche's authorities do the same: and the *New Mahâyâzawin* is in agreement with them in so far as it states that he possessed a soft voice.

5. They all agree also, — Crawfurd, Bigandet, Fytche, and the *Râjaratnâkari*, — that he became a priest of his new religion, that is to say, a Buddhist monk: both the Upham and the Turnour recensions of the *Mahâvaṁsa* add the epithet "learned;" and the Upham *Sinhalese Compendium* and Landresse make him a high-priest.

6. Turnour's *Mahâvaṁsa* makes him a Prâkrit author even in this first stage of his career.[86]

7. The Burmese legend, represented by Bigandet and Fytche, makes him a native of Thatôn near Martaban: and the Crawfurd variation probably means the same thing when it

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[82] [Amarapura = Burm. Amâyâpûya, is near Mandalay, in fact it adjoins the southern municipal limits of the town under English rule.—R. C. T.]

[83] A.D. 1873 — 40 = about A.D. 1833. — T. F.

[84] Turn., Introd., p. xxx.

[85] *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. XVI. (N. S.) (1854), p. 240; XXI. (1856), p. 229ff.; *Works*, Vol. II. p. 331.

[86] Dr. J. Stevenson (*Jour. As. Soc. Bomb.*, Vol. V. (1857 p. 5), says that before leaving India for Ceylon, he published several works in defence of his new religion and in opposition to his former co-religionists; but as he gives the *Mahâvaṁsa* as his authority for that statement, the only early works mentioned there are the *Nawûdaya* and the *Atthasâlini*.

calls him a Burman priest; as also does the *Singhalese Compendium* when it speaks of his "return" to Burma from Ceylon.

8. The Burnouf-Lassen variation supposed that he was driven out of India during a persecution of Buddhism by the Brahmans: but none of the indigenous authorities support this supposition.

9. The rest of the authorities are silent on the subject of his early life: and it has been already mentioned that modern Burmese scholars have abandoned the claim set up for Thâtôn as the place of his birth and education.

B.—His visit to Ceylon.

(1) The object of his visit.

1. The Carey variation of the Burmese legend states that he was deputed to Ceylon to copy the *Vissuddhimagga*, — implying that this work, which is generally attributed to Buddhaghôsa, was in existence in Ceylon before his arrival there, and was therefore not composed by him.

2. The Turnour *Mahâvaṁsa* states that his visit to Ceylon was made at the instigation of the superior of his monastery in Magadha, to study the Singhalese language and to translate the commentaries of Mahinda on the *Tripiṭaka* from that language into the language of Magadha, in order to qualify himself to compose a general commentary on the Buddhist scriptures which he had proposed to undertake. The *New Mahâyâzawiṇ* has the same statement.

3. The *Great Mahâyâzawiṇ*, on the other hand, states that he went to Ceylon to bring away to Burma a copy of the *Tripiṭaka*.

4. The Siamese Buddhists have a tradition that he introduced Buddhism into Ceylon. The Landresse variation is perhaps in accord with this tradition when it states that he caused a revival of Buddhism in Ceylon.

5. Colonel Sykes says[87] that he went to Ceylon "for the express purpose of disputations with the heterodox Buddhist priests, as he considered them," thus placing his visit before his conversion to Buddhism; but he gives no authority for the statement, which is probably based upon a misconception of the passage in the Turnour *Mahâvaṁsa*.

(2) His literary work there.

1. The Carey tradition states that he made a copy of the *Visuddhimagga*, including the *Jâtakas*, upon palm-leaves with an iron style presented to him for the purpose by a celestial being. The Crawfurd-Judson variation is to the same effect, substituting, however, the Buddhist scriptures for the *Visuddhimagga*.

2. The Carpanius variation states that he obtained a copy of the Pâli books in Ceylon and brought them to Pegu, and that he introduced the Pâli written character into Pegu at the same time. The Phayre-Fytche-*Mahâyâzawiṇ* variation is to the same effect. So also is the statement of the Phayre-*New-Mahâyâzawiṇ*, which adds that the books so brought over by him were the *Visudhimagga*, the three great divisions of the *Piṭaka*, and the *Commentaries*.

3. The Fytche variation states that he was employed by the rulers of his order in Ceylon to rewrite the Sinhalese commentaries in Pâli; but it does not appear whether the Pâli language or the Pâli character is intended here.

i. One of the Bigandet variations states that he translated the Sinhalese scriptures into Pâli, meaning apparently the Pâli language.

ii. Another Bigandet variation states that he made a copy of the Sinhalese *Tripiṭaka*, merely substituting the Burmese character for the Sinhalese in which he found it written.

[87] *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. VI. (1841), pp. 339, 416.

4. The Upham *Singhalese Compendium* states that he composed the *Visuddhimagga*, &c., while he was in Ceylon: and with this the Turnour *Mahâvaṁsa* and the *New Mahâyâzawiṇ* agree, adding full circumstantial details respecting the occasion and the manner of its composition.

5. The Turnour *Mahâvaṁsa* states that after considerable hesitation and the imposition of severe tests of his competency, the monks of the Mahâvihâra at Anurâdhapura in Ceylon complied with his earnest request for the use of their books, and placed their library at his disposal for the purpose of translating the Sinhalese commentaries; and that in the retirement of a neighbouring convent he translated the whole of those commentaries "according to the grammatical rules of the Magadhas," to which Turnour adds "into Pâli" in brackets. The New *Mahâyâzawiṇ* has the same story: and it relates it on the authority of the *Sulâwiṇ*, which is apparently either the *Sulu-vaṁsa* of the Turnour traditions or a Burmese counterpart of it.

6. The Upham *Mahâvaṁsa* tradition is entirely different from all of the above. It states that the king of Ceylon caused a great number of the "sermons" of Buddha to be written out by Buddhaghôsa; and it does not mention any other work done by him. The *Râjaratnâkarî* variation is also to the same effect, with the additional statement that these "sermons" were so committed to writing by him in the Pâli language.

6. The *Râjâvalî* tradition is still more divergent from all the other records. It states that Buddhaghôsa and another Buddhist monk brought over to Ceylon from India the books containing the "orders" of Buddha, and an immense number of his "sayings." And regarding the work done by him in Ceylon, it simply says that he ordered these books to be published there.

8. The *New Mahayâzawiṇ* and the Bigandet traditions state that he remained in Ceylon for three years: none of the other authorities say how long his visit lasted.

C.—His later life.

1. Burnouf and Lassen state in general terms on the authority of Carpanius that he brought the Pâli scriptures and the Pâli written character from Ceylon to Pegu, returning thither as his home when the object of his visit to Ceylon had been accomplished. The Burmese traditions of Crawfurd, Bigandet, Phayre, and Fytche are to the same effect. Turnour, Hardy, and Wilson also entertained this view.

2. Burnouf and Lassen regarded him, for that reason, as the founder of Buddhism in Pegu.

3. The Judson-Burmese variation states that he brought a copy of the Buddhist sacred books to Pagân in Burma proper by sea from Ceylon, without any intervening reference to Pegu.

4. Hardy states, and perhaps Bigandet also, that the Burmese ascribe a new era to his arrival in their country.

5. The Crawfurd-Siamese tradition states that he introduced Buddhism into Siam, after establishing it in Kambôja and Lao, subsequent to his visit to Ceylon. The views of Dr. Stevenson, Colonel Yule, Sir A. Phayre, and Professor Rhys Davids harmonize in the main with this tradition.

6. The Turnour *Mahâvaṁsa*, on the contrary, states that he returned from Ceylon to Magadha; and the intention of the passage seems to be to record his final retirement to the sacred precincts of the Bo-tree at Buddha-Gayâ after all his work was done. In that case it may possibly imply that he remained in Ceylon for many years down to the close of his active career.

7. The *Great Mahâyâzawiṇ* states that he came to Burma,—meaning apparently Upper Burma,—from the *Machchamadêsa* in the Gangetic valley. Laidlay appears to have adopted this view.

8. The *New Mahâyazawin* states that he left Ceylon with the intention of returning to Magadha, and that his destination was supernaturally changed to Pegu during his voyage up the Bay of Bengal.

9. A modern Peguan scholar, in order to reconcile the conflicting traditions, suggests that he may have touched at Thâtôn on his sea-way from Ceylon to India.

10. One of the Bigandet traditions states that the people of Ceylon gave him many valuable presents on his leaving their island, to testify their pleasure with his work.

11. The *New Mahâyazawin* states that he presented a white elephant to the king of Ceylon, and obtained his permission to bring away the *Visuddhimagga*, the *Tripiṭaka*, and the *Commentaries*.

12. The Landresse-Laidlay variation states that after his return from Ceylon, he spread the Buddhist religion beyond the Ganges in Ava and amongst the Burmese. This view seems to imply that he travelled from Magadha to Ava by the land route.

13. The Upham *Singhalese Compendium* states that he composed the *Tripiṭaka* after his return to Burma, and occupied himself in propagating Buddhism there.

14. Dr. Stevenson, presuming the Buddhaghôsa of the cave inscription at Kâṇhêri to be the great Pâli scholar, suggests that he propagated Buddhism in Western India under the patronage of the early Andhra kings.

15. If this identification can be maintained, that inscription affords three items of information regarding him, namely, (1) that he was the curator of the great cave-temple of Kâṇhêri, near Bombay; (2) that he was a disciple of Dharmavatsa, a revered teacher of the *Tripiṭaka*; and (3) that he erected the large statue of Buddha which still stands in the porch of that temple.

16. In this part of his life, besides the extensive missionary work with which he is credited, place must be found for the rest of the literary works attributed to him other than those which he wrote before his visit to Ceylon and during his residence there.

IV.—Buddhaghosa's Literary work.

The traditions of his connection with the literature of the Buddhists may be distributed into the following four classes, namely, (1) those which make him a mere conveyor and propagator of books already in existence;[88] (2) those which make him a mere copyist of those books;[89] (3) those which make him a mere translator of them;[90] and (4) those which attribute the authorship of them to him, either as their original composer,[91] or as their reviser,[92] or recompiler:[93] while some of those traditions combine two or more of these classes. Without attempting to present an exhaustive list of his works, I bring together here the names of such of them as I have met with in the course of these investigations:—

1. The elegant controversial discourse, which he recited defiantly in the monastery of Rêvata, may or may not have been his own composition; but, as stated above, he wrote the *Nanôdaya* in India soon after his conversion to Buddhism.

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[88] Upham, Vol. II. p. 74, 242: Burnell's *Aindra Grammarians*, p. 63: Mason's *Pâli Grammar*, p. v.: *Buddhaghosa's Parables*, p. v.

[89] Ward's *Hindoos*, Vol. II. p. 211: Upham, Vol. I. p. 239; Vol. II. pp. 74, 128, 129: Vol. III. p. vii, note: Crawfurd's *Ava*, Vol. II. 123, 278: *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. VI. p. 504: Bigandet, pp. ix, 329, 351, 389, 392.

[90] Upham, Vol. I. pp. 239, 344, 345: Turnour, pp. xxx, xxxii, 250 to 253: *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. VI. pp. 506, 717; Vol. XXXIX. pp. 26, 62, *note*: Hardy's *E. Monach.* pp. 171, 192; Bigandet pp. 120, 329, 389, 392; Mason's *Pâli Grammar*, p. v: Burnell's *Aindra Grammarians*, 63.

[91] Upham, Vol. II. p. 106; Vol. III. p. 115: Turnour, p. 250: *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. V. p. 530; Vol. VI. p. 505; Vol. VII. p. 690: *Jour. R. As. Soc.* Vol. VI. p. 510; Vol. XVI. p. 241; Vol. V. (N. S), p. 302: *Jour. Ceylon R. A. S.* for 1874, p. 9.: Hardy's *E. Monach.*, pp. 1, 167, 188, 303, compared with p. 187: Hardy's *Man. Bud.*, pp. 356, 511.

[92] *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. VI. p. 506, 717: *E. Monach.*, p. 174, n.

[93] *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. VI. p. 504: *Sacr. Books of the East*, Vol. X. p. xxv.

2. He also wrote the *Atthasálini* while he was still in India. I gather the intention of this statement to be, that this work was the first instalment of the great undertaking which he was then projecting, namely, a general commentary on the *Tipiṭaka*.

3. The *Visuddhimagga* is said to have been written by him under somewhat romantic circumstances soon after his arrival in Ceylon.[94] On the other hand, as mentioned above, the Ward-Burmese variation[95] implies that it was not written by him, but that it existed in Ceylon before his visit.

4. The Turnour *Mahávaṁsa*[96] and the *New Mahá-yázawin*[97] state that during his residence in Ceylon he translated into Pâli the whole of the Sinhalese commentaries on the *Tipiṭaka* originally composed by Mahinda[98] the son of the emperor Aśôka and the reputed Buddhist apostle of Ceylon. On the contrary, the *Singhalese Compendium*[99] states that he composed the *Tipiṭaka*, meaning probably his commentaries upon it in Burma, after his return from Ceylon. The Siamese legend respecting this portion of his work is somewhat confused; yet it has a right to a place by the side of the traditions of the neighbouring Buddhist countries:—"Mahânâmo directed Buddha-Ghosa to put the Pâli *Sihala Atthakatha* and *Tika* into the Magadha language, in order to preserve the same in Jambo Dwip."[100]

The various views which have been expressed regarding Buddhaghôsa's share in the existing southern recension of the *Tipiṭaka* and its commentaries, — as their propagator, copyist, translator, reviser, recompiler, or author, — may be seen in the passages which I have quoted or referred to above. By their side I will place here two statements attributed to Buddhaghôsa himself, defining the character of his work. The first of them occurs in the introductory verses of his *Brahmajála-sutta*:[101] — "For the purpose of illustrating this commentary, availing myself of the *Atthakathá*, which was in the first instance authenticated by the five hundred Arahantâ at the first convocation, as well as subsequently at the succeeding convocations, and which were thereafter brought from Magadha to Sihala by the sanctified Mahindo, and for the benefit of the inhabitants of Sihala were transposed into the Sihala language; from thence I translate the Sihala version into the delightful classical language, according to the rules of that (the Pâli) language, which is free from all imperfections, omitting only the frequent repetitions of the same explanations, but at the same time without rejecting the tenets of the Theros resident at the Mahâvihâro (at Anurâdhapura), who were like unto luminaries to the generation of Theros and the most accomplished discriminators of the true doctrines." The second passage occurs in his introduction to the *Samanta-pásádiká*:[102] — "In commencing this commentary I shall, having embodied therein the *Mahá-Atthakathá*, without excluding any proper meaning from the decisions contained in the *Mahá-Pachchharí*, as also in the famous *Kurundí* and other commentaries, and including the opinions of the Elders, perform my task well. . . . . The *Dhamma* as well as the *Vinaya* was declared by Buddha; his sacerdotal sons understood it in the same sense as it was delivered; and inasmuch as in former times they (the Sinhalese commentators) composed the *Commentaries* without disregarding their (the sacerdotal sons') opinions; therefore, barring any error of transcription, everything contained therein is an authority to the learned in this priesthood who respect ecclesiastical discipline. From these (the Sinhalese) commentaries, after casting off the language, condensing detailed accounts, including authoritative decisions, and

[94] Turnour, p. 252: Upham. Vol. III. p. 115. See also *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. V. p. 530; Vol. VI. p. 505: *Jour. As. Soc. Bomb.*, Vol. V. 505: *E. Monach.*, pp. 1, 167, 171, 174 n, 184, 303: *Man. Bud.*, pp. 509, 512: Bigandet p. 392: Max Müller's *Chips*, Vol. I. p. 196: *Jour. R. A. S.*, Vol. V. (N. S.), 392.

[95] Ward's *Hindoos*, Vol. II. p. 211. [96] Turnour, pp. 252, 253, (p. 112 above).

[97] *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. XXXVII. p. 80 ff. (p. 113 above). [98] Turnour, p. 251, (p. 111 above).

[99] Upham, Vol. III. p. 115, (p. 111 above). [100] *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. XVII. (Pt. II. 1848), p. 615.

[101] *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. VI. (1837), p. 510; Vol. VII. (1838), p. 920. See also Childers' translation of this passage in *Jour. R. A. S.*, Vol. V. (N. S.), p. 290.

[102] *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. V. (N. S.), (1871) p. 297.

without overstepping any Pâli idiom, I shall proceed to compose. And as this commentary will, moreover, be explanatory of the meaning of words belonging to the Suttas in conformity with the sense attached to them therein, therefore ought it the more diligently to be studied."

These commentaries cover the whole of the *Tripiṭaka* — the *Vinaya*, the *Abhidhamma*, and the *Sutta Piṭakas*.[103] They are distributed into divisions and subdivisions bearing separate titles; and some of these are virtually if not originally separate works.[104] Altogether they are sufficient to occupy seven or eight volumes of ordinary size.[105]

5. A volume of Parables in the Burmese language is attributed to him.[106]

6. He is said to have brought over from Ceylon to Burma a copy of Kachchhâyana's *Pâli Grammar*, and to have translated it into Burmese, and also to have written a commentary upon it.[107] It is, however, not mentioned by the great Pâli grammarian and lexicographer Moggalâna, A.D. 1153 to 1186, nor by the Prâkṛit grammarians Chanda and Hêmachandra,[108] and must apparently be placed amongst the supposititious works of Buddhaghôsa.

7. Hardy mentions a commentary on the *Buddhavaṁsa* by him.[109] This is probably the *Atthakathâ* called *Maduratthavilâsinî*:[110] and if so, Grimblot assigns it not to Buddhaghôsa but to a Buddhist monk living at the mouth of the Kâvêrî in Southern India.[111]

8. Dr. Stevenson says[112] that he published several works in defence of Buddhism and against the Brâhmaṇs in the early part of his career: but, as already mentioned, that statement is not substantiated.

9. Colonel Sykes,[113] followed in substance by Mr. James Fergusson,[114] attributes the continuation of the *Mahâvaṁsa*, or its reduction to its present form, to Buddhaghôsa: and Professor Horace Hayman Wilson seems to have held a similar opinion, notwithstanding that he rightly distinguishes between the *Mahâvaṁsa* and the *Dîpavaṁsa*.[115] No authority is cited for these statements: and they were probably made under some misconception.

10. The Burmese law-code of Manu[116] is also said to have been introduced into Burma from Ceylon by Buddhaghôsa,[117] but the code itself is silent upon the subject.

V.—The Date of Buddhaghôsa.

I have stated in my paper on *the Vicissitudes of the Buddhist Literature of Ceylon* in a former number of this Journal,[118] that various dates have been assigned to Buddhaghôsa ranging from B.C. 307 to A.D. 607. I omit a still earlier date,[119] namely B.C. 543, the year of Gautama-Buddha's death, because it has no claim to be taken into consideration. I also omit an extreme date on the later side, namely An. Bud. 1809, or A.D. 1266,[120] — ("In the time of the said great

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[103] *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. VI. pp. 504, 509, 510; Vol. VII. p. 690: *Jour. As. Soc. Ceylon* for 1846, p. 101: Turnour's *Mahâvaṁsa*, p. iii.: *E. Monach.*, pp. 1, 167. Oldenberg's *Dîpavaṁsa*, pp. 3, 8.

[104] For the names of the principal divisions see Turnour, Introd., p. lxxv.: *E. Monach.*, p. 166. The names of some of the subdivisions occur in the passages cited above.

[105] *E. Monach.*, p. 167.

[106] Rogers, *Buddhaghosha's Parables*, (1870). See *Sacr. Bks. of the E.*, Vol. X. (1881), p. x. &c. Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, Vol. II. p. 72: Bhandarkar, *Jour. As. Soc. Bomb.*, Vol. XVI. p. 276.

[107] Turn. *Mahâv.*, p. xxv.: *E. Monach.*, p. 192: D'Alwis, in *Jour. As. Soc. Ceylon*, (1850): Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, Vol. II. p. 60 and note: Barnell's *Aindra Grammar*, p. 63: Mason's *Pâli Grammar*, pp. i., v. 14: Dr. Rost, Art. 'Pâli' in *Encyc. Brit.* Vol. XVIII. (1885), p. 185.

[108] See Clough's *Pâli Grammar*, p. iv.: Mason's *Pâli Gram.*, pp. vii., 16: Fryer's *Pâli Studies*, in *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. XLIV. pp. 1 ff.

[109] *Man. Bud.*, p. 356.

[110] *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. VI. p. 790; Vol. VII. p. 739; *Jour. R. Soc.*, Vol. XV. (N.S.) p. 432.

[111] Professor Rhys Davids in *Jour. R. A. S.*, Vol. VII. (N. S.), p. 170.

[112] *Jour. As. Soc. Bomb.*, Vol. V. p. 5, quoted above p. 114, note.

[113] *Jour. R. A. S.*, Vol. VI. p. 339.

[114] *Tree and Serpent Worship*, p. 195, note 450.

[115] *Jour. R. A. S.*, Vol. XII. p. 243; Vol. XVI. p. 240.

[116] Translated by Richardson, Maulmain, 1847.

[117] *Encl. Brit.*, Vol. IV. p. 553. See Dr. A. Führer's remarks, in *Jour. As. Soc. Bomb.* Vol. XV. p. 335.

[118] Vol. XVII. (1888), p. 124.

[119] *Calcutta Review*, Vol. IV. p. 276.

[120] Upham, Vol. I. pp. 344, 345.

king [Parâkramabâhu] several parts of the scripture were translated by the high priests Buddagosa-charinvamse," &c.) — since its inaccuracy is sufficiently explained by the parallel passage in the *Rájaratnákari*,[121] — ("Now all the books which had been written from the time of the king called Maha-nawenia [Mahânâma] Rajah by the learned priest called Boodagosawchawree Nahansey till the reign of the last king, and which had been expounded and enlarged upon by his successors," &c.) Another eccentric date is also capable of some explanation, namely A.D. 107,[122] which has been derived from the following passage of Ward's *Hindoos*:[123] — "The Burmans believe that 650 years after that event [Boodhu's death according to Hardy] in the reign of Muhamoonee, Booddhughoshu, a Brahmin, was deputed to Ceylon," — because the "event" referred to in Ward's book is more correctly the propagation of Buddhism in Burma "about 450 years after Boodhu's death," or about 93 B.C.: but even this partial correction gives a new eccentric date, namely A.D. 357, which awaits some further explanation. There still remains one more date outside of the range of the period usually assigned to him, namely, An. Bud. 236, or B.C. 307;[124] but this date has perhaps been sufficiently disposed of in my foregoing remarks upon the Siamese tradition in which it occurs.[125] With these exceptions, and two or three more which scarcely need to be mentioned here, the remaining dates assigned to him group themselves in the main around the reign of king Mahânâma of Ceylon, and depend upon the date of that reign. I will here append these dates in their chronological order, with the authorities on which they are given, but without attempting to explain or to reconcile them :—

B.C. 543. — (*Cal. Rev.* Vol. IV. p. 276).
„ 307. — (Crawf. *Siam*, Vol. II. p. 91).
A.D. 107. — (Hardy, *Man. Bud.*, 512: but see Ward's *Hindoos*, Vol. II. p. 210).
„ 1st or 2nd. cent., — the time of the Andhra kings, — (*Jour. As. Soc. Bomb.* Vol. V. p. 5, with *Rep. Archæol. Surv. West. India*).
„ An early century (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI. pp. 229, 321).
„ 386 = A.B. 930. — (Crawf., *Siam*, Vol. II. pp. 10, 11; *Ava*, Vol. II. 123, 278, app. p. 59: see also *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. XXXVII. p. 81).
„ 387 = A.B. 930 = the 6th year of king Mahânâma. — (Upham, Vol. III. p. 115: Mason's *Pâli Gram.*, p. v.).
„ 388 to 413. — (Phayre, *Hist. Burma*, p. 20: Burnell's *Aindra Gram.*, p. 61).
„ 397 = A.B. 940. — (Carpanius: Burnouf and Lassen).
„ 4th century. — (Burnell, *Aind. Gr.* p. 61).
„ End of the 4th century. — (Bigandet, p. ix.).
„ Beginning of the 5th century. — (*Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. XXVI., p. 24; XXXVII., p. 80 ff: Bigandet, p. 351, n.).
„ 400 = A.B. 943. — (Bigandet, pp. 381n, 389n, 392).
„ 403. — (*Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. XXXVII, p. 105; XLII. p. 28).
„ 408. — (Fergusson, *Tree and Serp. Worship*, p. 195).
„ 410. — (Turn. *Mahâv.* p. lxii: *Jour. R. A. S.* Vol. VI. p. 416: *Jour. As. Soc. Bomb.* Vol. V. p. 13, 177: Ferg. *Tree and Serp. Wor.*, pp. 70, 71, 161, 172).
„ 410 = A.B. 953. — (*Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. XVII. (II.), p. 615).
„ 410 to 432. — (Turn. *Mahâv.*, p. xxx: *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. VI. pp. 338, 423; I. (N. S.), p. 462: Max Müller in *Buddhaghosha's Parables*, p. v. note).
„ 420. — (E. Monach., pp. 1, 167, 171: Cunningham, *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 74: *Sacr. Bks. of the East*, Vol. X. p. xxxix.).
„ 430. — (Max Müller's *Chips*, Vol. I. p. 197: Fytche, *Burma*, Vol. II. pp. 169, 170).
„ 432. — (Bart. St. Hilaire, *Bud. et sa Rel.*, p. 354).
„ 450. — (Phayre, *Burma*, p. 21: Rhys Davids, *Buddhism*, p. 231).
„ 450 or 465 cir. — (*E. Monach.*, pp. 183, 184).

[121] Upham, Vol. II. p. 106. [122] Hardy's *Man. Bud.*, p. 512.
[123] Vol. II. p. 211. [124] Crawfurd's *Siam*, Vol. II. p. 91. [125] Page 108 above.

A.D. 457. — (*Encycl. Brit.* Vol. IV. p. 724).
„ 5th century. — (*Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. V. p. 534: *Jour. As. Soc. Bomb.* Vol. XVI. 276: Max Müller's *Chips*, Vol. I. p. 196: Mason's *Páli Gram.* p. 8: *Sacr. Bks. of the East*, Vol. X. p. xii., xiv. xxiv.: *Encyc. Brit.* Vol. IV. p. 437; V. p. 622).
„ 557 or 607. — (Ward's *Hindoos*, Vol. II. p. 210: Uph. Vol. III., p. vii).
„ 638 (?). — (Crawf., *Siam*, Vol. II. p. 91).
„ 1266 = A.B. 1809. — (Upham, Vol. I. pp. 344, 345; but see Upham, Vol. II. p. 106).

VI. — Conclusions.

My aim in the present paper has been to bring together as much as possible of the materials at present available for forming a correct judgment of the true position of Buddhaghôsa in the History of Buddhism and Buddhist literature. The position in which he is placed by the Buddhists of Ceylon and Burma is one of the highest eminence and importance; and whether those claims are sound, or in any measure fictitious, the influence which the writings which bear his name still retain upon the Southern section of the Buddhist world is so great that an investigation of the traditions of his career which have been handed down to us, is a matter of much more than curious research both to the Buddhists themselves, and as the unravelling of one of the unsolved problems of oriental history. The legends regarding him abound with paradoxes: and nobody who knows them can be surprised at Mr. Lillie's reflection,[126] that "the whole story of Buddhaghôsa and his compilings is very suspicious." The question now is, whether those suspicions are destined to be removed or are doomed to increasing confirmation. In dealing with these paradoxes, an essential preliminary enquiry has yet to be instituted regarding the trustworthiness of the materials available for their solution, both as regards their genuineness, which is at present open to serious doubt, and particularly regarding their true date. It is not as if those materials presented to us mere minor variations of detail illustrating a consistent common tradition; on the contrary, the two main streams of these traditions are directly antagonistic in the chief elements of their story. Nor, on the other hand, is it as if these legends were so obviously the offspring of romancing invention that they might at once be relegated to the great lumber-room of unhistorical fiction; for they have succeeded in obtaining credence with the most eminent European orientalists, who have used them in building up some of the chief supports of the frame-work of the ancient history of India. Moreover, their mutual contradictions are so direct that it would be quite out of place to attempt to amalgamate them into any common shape; one of these two sets of divergences must absolutely succumb to the other; and the simple question in this part of the enquiry is, which of the two will have to give way? One great step has already been made here; the last edition of the *Yázawin*, as already mentioned, has relinquished the Burmese claim to Buddhaghôsa's nationality; and with that concession, though its full effect may not have been foreseen, the rest of the story of his personal connection with their country loses its consistency, together with much of its probability. That admission also leads on to the further conclusion, that the spread of Buddhism in Burma and Siam was the natural consequence of the intercourse of these countries with Ceylon in early times, rather than the result of the preaching of Buddhaghôsa according to the weakly substantiated tradition to that effect. Similarly, a disposition has been shown by the Buddhist scholars of Ceylon to face the difficulties of their records of Buddhaghôsa in a liberal spirit. When consulted on behalf of Mr. Childers[127] for an explanation of the improbable statement in Buddhaghôsa's writings that a commentary on Buddha's sermons, namely, the commentary brought by Mahinda to Ceylon, existed in Buddha's own lifetime, and that the text of that commentary was settled at the council held immediately after his death, their reply acknowledged the gravity of the question "as affecting the credibility of Buddhaghôsa and the authenticity of all the commentaries on the *Tripiṭaka*," and it insisted "on the necessity of giving a wider and more extended signification than is generally allowed to the word *Atthakathá*

[126] *Jour. R. As. Soc.* (N. S.), Vol. XV. p. 433. [127] *Jour. R. As. Soc.* Vol. V. (N. S.), p. 291.

[commentary] as applied by Buddhaghôsa in the passage cited. . . . Taking this wider sense of the word as a basis for the solution of the problem . . . it must be admitted that no actual commentary, in the sense that the Westerns attach to that term, like that which has been handed down to us by Buddhaghôsa, existed either in the lifetime of Buddha or immediately after his death. The reasons adduced by Mr. Childers, apart from others that can easily be added, against such a supposition, are overwhelmingly convincing." And then the solution proposed by them is this ; — " Buddhaghôsa only meant to convey the idea that at the various councils held for the purpose of collecting the discourses and sayings of Buddha, the meanings to be attached to different terms . . . were discussed and properly defined." The statement of Buddhaghôsa's commentary, however, to which they proposed to apply this solution is as follows:—" The commentary . . . praised by Buddha and his apostles . . . upon this scripture was at the first council rehearsed by five hundred holy elders, and in later times rehearsed again and yet again. And it was carried by the saintly Mahêndra to the island of Ceylon, and for the sake of the dwellers in that isle translated by him into the Sinhalese language. And now, rejecting the Sinhalese tongue, adopting the graceful language that accords so well with the order of scripture, . . . I proceed to expound the meaning of my text,[128] . . . "

The time has not yet arrived when any final solution of the Buddhaghôsa paradoxes can be properly attempted ; it must await a fuller acquaintance with the whole range of the literature of the Buddhists, and a fair critical examination of the words attributed to Buddhaghôsa. It may be that any important additions to the main facts of the Buddhaghôsa legend now in our hands, are not to be expected ; but at the same time some important light may naturally be expected to be thrown upon some of the details of the legend from the works in the library of the late king of Burma recently transferred to the India Office, as well as from other sources in Burma which have not hitherto been explored.

It may be that the personality of the legendary Buddhaghôsa is destined to recede from view, gradually dissolving before new facts and under the increasing light of the new criticism. It may be that the name of Buddhaghôsa, when it had once become famous, was attached as a matter of literary policy to the works which have hitherto been regarded as of his own composition, as in the instances referred to above, of the *Burmese Grammar* and the Burmese *Code of Manu*. It may be that one of the old sects of the Southern Buddhists utilized a similar policy as an effective instrument of controversy in building up the orthodoxy of its own school in the face of its adversaries. Or it may even be that, as a counterpart of the Avalôkitêśvara of the Northern Buddhists, emanating from the Buddha and manifesting him to the world,[129] this "Voice of Buddha" may have been incorporated by some far-seeing old ascetic of the Mahâvihâra of Anurâdhapura in the spirit of the prophecy ascribed to Gautama-Buddha,[130]—" When I have passed away and am no longer with you, do not think that the Buddha has left you. You have my words, my explanations of the deep things of truth, the laws which I have laid down for the society ; let them be your guide ; the Buddha has not left you."

TEXTS OF THE ASOKA EDICTS ON THE DELHI MIRAT PILLAR AND OF THE SEPARATE EDICTS ON THE ALLAHABAD PILLAR.

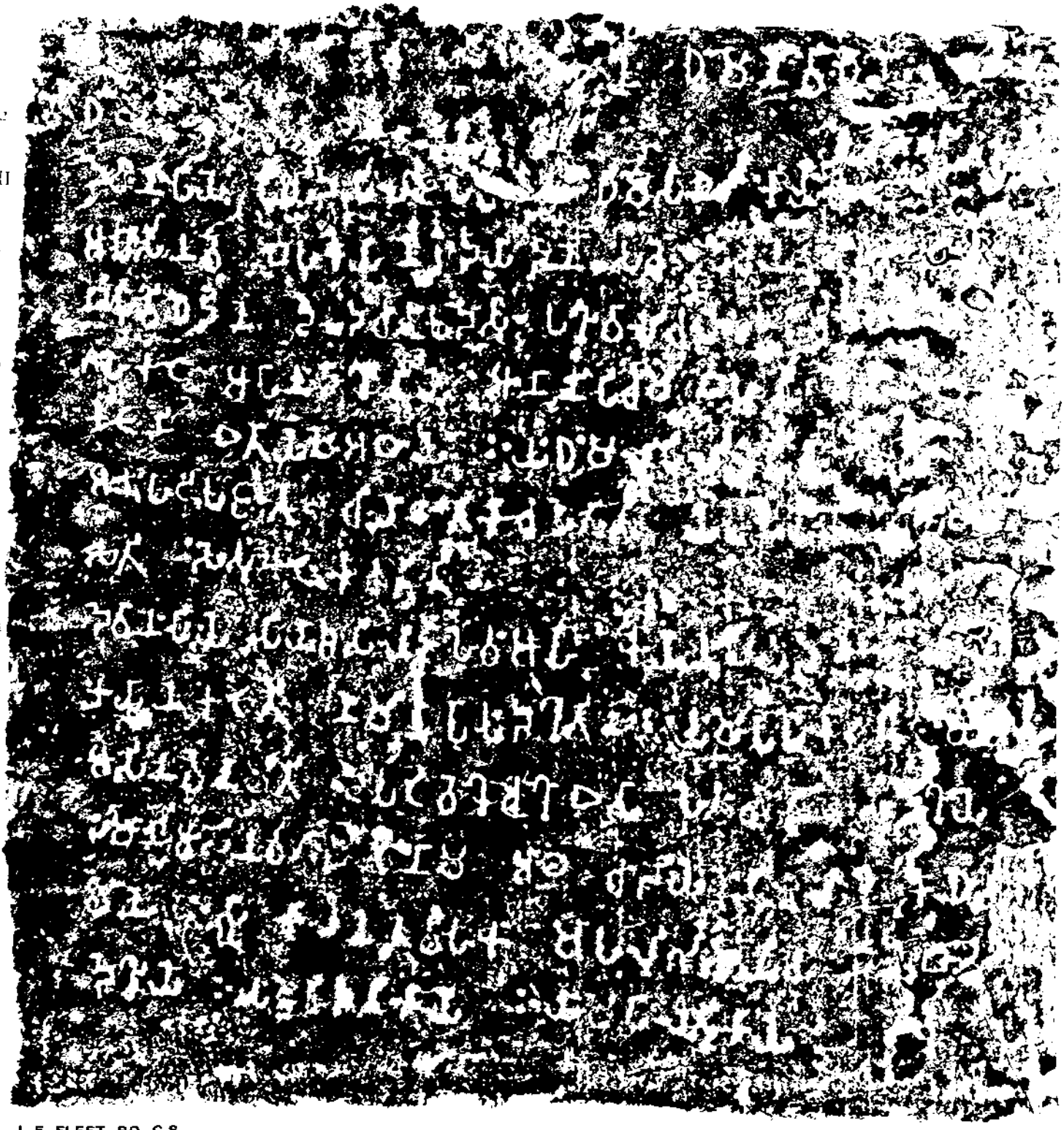
BY G. BÜHLER, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

The subjoined transcripts of the fragments on the Delhi Mirat Pillar and of the two small edicts on the Allahabad Pillar have been made according to Mr. Fleet's impressions, of which the accompanying facsimiles are very faithful reproductions. The impressions are really excellent. One complete set is mounted on cloth, and for the small edicts there is a second, not mounted.

[128] *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. V. (N. S.), p. 296.
[129] *Encyc. Brit.*, Vol. IV. p. 432.
[130] *Encyc. Brit.*, Vol. IV. p. 438.

ASOKA INSCRIPTIONS.

The Delhi Mirat Pillar—North Side.—Edicts I. II. and III.

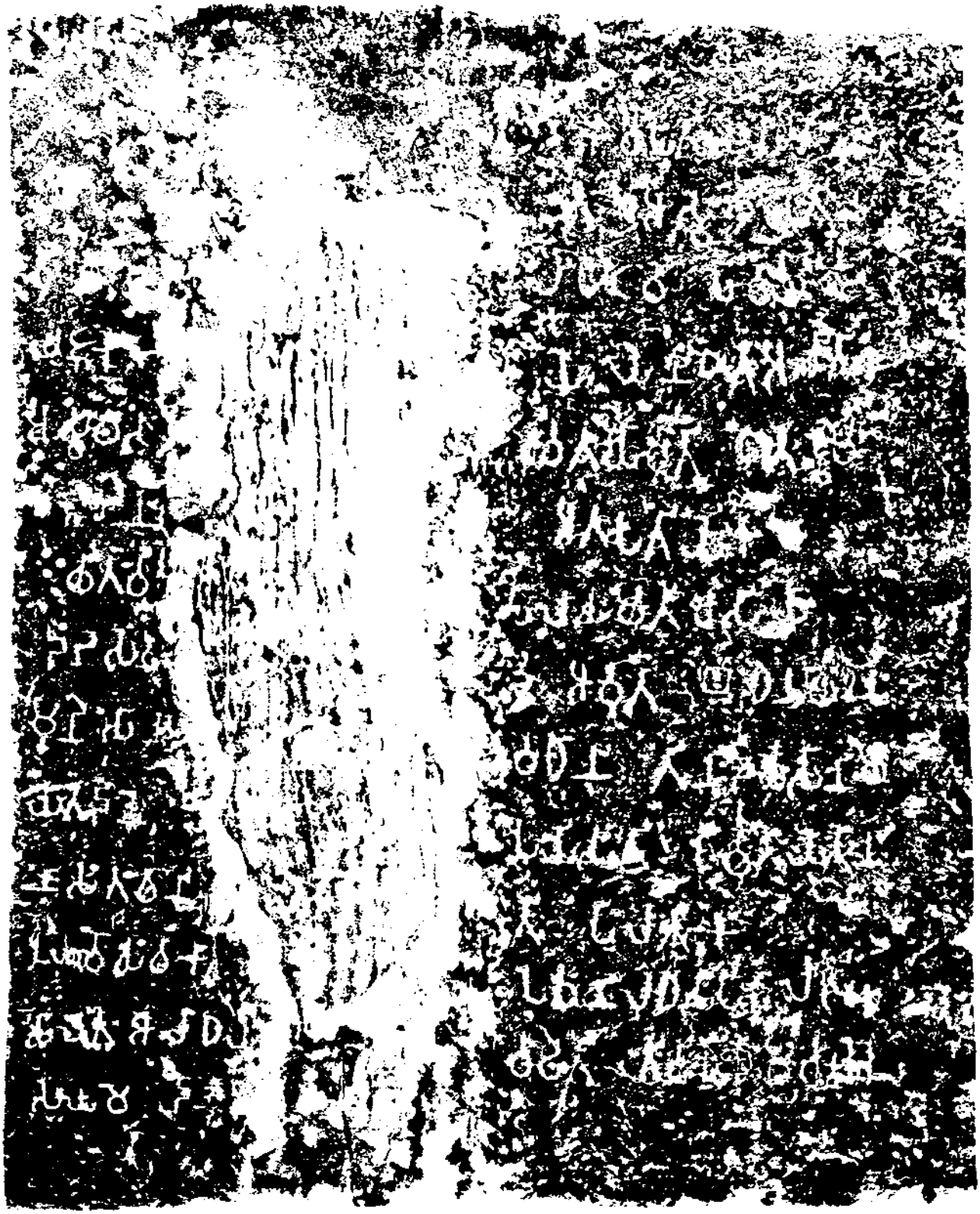


J. F. FLEET, BO. C.S.

SCALE .25

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

The Delhi Mirat Pillar—West Side.—Edict IV.



SCALE .25

The fragments on **the Delhi Mirat Pillar** show that its version very closely resembled that of the Dehli Siwâlik Pillar, not only in the characters and the wording, but also in the grouping of the words. As regards the latter point, there are, irrespective of breaks caused by the arrangement of the lines, only the following differences. Edict II., l. 4, the words *dayâ dânê sachê sôchayê* are all written separately, while they are arranged in D. S. in two groups; *ibidem, l.* 6, *bahûni* is separated from the preceding *aṁnâni=pi=cha=mê*; Edict III., l. 13, *atha* is separated from the following *chaṁḍiyê*; Edict IV., l. 12 *pâlatikaṁ* is separated from the preceding word; *ibidem*, l. 14, *vaḍhati* is separated from the following word; Edict V., l. 1, *av . dh . y .* is separated from the following word; *ibidem*, l. 2, *dâvê* is separated from the following word; *ibidem*, ll. 4, 6, *jîvêna, tîsu*, and *anupôsathaṁ* are separated from the following words; *ibidem*, l. 6, *patipadâ* and *dhuvâyê* are joined together; *ibidem* l. 15, *kaṭâni* is separated from the preceding word. The various readings are :—Edict I., l. 1, [*pâla*]*naṁ* for *pâlanâ*; Edict II., l. 8, *patipajaṁtû* for °*tu*, and *hôtû=ti* for *hôtû=tî=ti*; Edict III., l. 10, *âhâ* for *ahâ*; *ibidem*, l. 11, *pâpaṁ* (not absolutely certain) for *pâpê*; *ibidem*, l. 14, *bâḍhaṁ* for *bâḍha*; *ibidem*, l. 15, *iyaṁ=mê* for *iyaṁ=mana=mê*; Edict IV., l. 13, *vâ* for *va*; Edict V., l. 6, *cha* for *châ*. Only one of these readings, *iyaṁ=mê* for *iyaṁ=mana=mê*, is of any importance, as it omits the difficult word *mana*.[1]

The so-called **Queen's Edict from the Allahâbâd Pillar** possesses some palæographical interest. With the other edicts, found on the same monument, it agrees only in not arranging, the words in groups or separating them.[2] Its characters show a number of cursive and otherwise peculiar forms, which are not very common in Aśôka's inscriptions. The cursive letters are, *ḍ* in *aṁbâvaḍikâ* (l. 3), *d* in *dêvânaṁ* (l. 1) and *dânê* (l. 2), *l* in *âlamê* (l. 3) and *Kâluvâkiyê* (l. 5), *h* in *mahâmatâ* (l. 1). In other respects remarkable is the turn upwards given to the *u*-stroke in °*mâtu* (l. 5), and the use of the letter, which I read *shâ*, in *piyashâ* (l. 1) and in *shê* (l. 4). Some of these peculiarities are observable in the Jaugada version of the separate edicts, and others, among them the last two, occur in the Khâlsî version of the Rock-Edicts. With the language of the latter agree some grammatical forms, the final long *â* in *piyashâ* and *vachanênâ* as well as the aspiration in *kichhi* for *kiṁchit*. Genitives in *sâ* are, however, also found in the Pillar-Edict V. (Dh. M., l. 13 and Dh. S., l. 18), and *kichhi* occurs also in both versions of the separate Edicts. I may add that the long final vowels of the genitives and instrumentals, formed from *a*-stems, are not Prâkṛitic innovations, but archaisms, as they are common in the Ṛig-Vêda. With respect to the interpretation I may point out that the new reading in l. 3, *dânagahê vâ ê* [*vâ*]*pi aṁnê*, alone gives a satisfactory sense. *Dânagahê* corresponds with a hitherto not traceable Sanskṛit *dânagṛihaṁ*, 'alms-house,' instead of which the synonymous *dânaśâlâ* appears elsewhere. The *dânagaha* of Aśôka's times no doubt was the same thing as the modern *sadâvrata*, where doles of food and sometimes shelter for one night are given to travellers. The very plain reading °*mâtu* in l. 5 shows that the preceding word is a proper name, the name of **one of Asôka's sons**, and it is very probable that the last word *Kâluvâkiyê* contains the name of **Asôka's second queen**. According to the generally prevailing custom in ancient India, the latter must be a family or *gôtra*-name and mean "she of the *Kâluvâka* race." The Sanskṛit equivalent of *Kâluvâka* might be either *Kâluvâka* or *Kâruvâka*. Neither of these forms is at present traceable in Sanskṛit. But there is a Vêdic race of *Kârus*. The name standing before °*mâtu* may be either *Titîvala*, or *Tîvala*, if the syllable *ti* is taken as an equivalent of *iti* which in Aśôka's inscriptions (see, *e. g.* Jaugada, Sep. Ed. I. l. 3, II. l. 3-4) occasionally is placed in the middle of a spoken sentence instead of at the end. The name *Titîvala* would, on the analogy of *kṛishîvala* and *âsutîvala*, exactly correspond with a possible, but not traceable, Sanskṛit word *triptîvala*, which perhaps

[1] I identify the latter, as well as *minâ*, Edict IV. l. 11, with the Sanskṛit *manâk*.

[2] The intervals between the letters are most irregular. *Dê* stands an inch apart from the syllables *vânaṁ* (l. 1) which closely follow each other. The same distance intervenes between *vata* (l. 2) and *vi*, as well as between the latter and *yê* though *vataviyê* is one word. A little further on in the same line we ought to read, if the size of the intervals meant anything, *hêtuduti yâ yêdêviyê*.

might mean "the contented one." Other derivations are also possible, but there is none which would yield a known Sanskṛit proper name. *Tivala*, on the other hand, corresponds with the Sanskṛit *Tîvara* which is explained as the name of a mixed caste of hunters, and of the ocean. In the Râjim grant, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 251 ff., *Tîvara* occurs as the name of a king. Hence it seems preferable to divide *Tivvala°*. The lacuna at the end of l. 4 unfortunately makes it impossible to say what the object of Aśôka's order was. The five or six letters, among which the second *va* is alone recognisable, must have contained the word wanted to complete the chief clause which begins with *shê nâni*. For the edict has not lost anything at the end and is complete with line 5. The translation of the remaining portion in my opinion, ought to be,

in Sanskṛit;

Dêvânâṁ priyasya vachanêna sarvatra mahâmâtrâ vaktavyâḥ | yad=atra dvitîyâyâ dêvyâ dânam=âmra-vâṭikâ v=ârâmo vâ dânagṛihaṁ vâ yad=v=âpy=anyat=kiṁchid=gaṇyatê tasyâ dêvyâs=tâny=êtâni . . . . . dvitîyâyâ dêvyâs=Tîvara-mâtuḥ Kâruvâkyâ iti ||

and in English;

"The (*following*) order of **the Beloved of the gods** should be addressed everywhere to the officials; — "What(*ever*) gift (*has been given*) here by the second queen,—be it a mango-garden, or a pleasure-grove, or an almshouse, or whatever else, — is reckoned as proceeding from that queen; those . . . . . of the second **queen Tivara's mother, the Kâruvâkî.**"

With respect to **the Kôsambi Edict**, I can only state my *belief* that it contained an order regarding the feeding of, and perhaps regarding certain honours to be shown to, the Buddhist *Saṁgha*. The word *saṁghasi* (l. 2) seems certain; likewise the phrase *bhôkhati bhikhu=va bhikhuni=va*, i. e. *bhôkshyati bhikshur=vâ bhikshuṇî vâ*, 'will dine, a monk or a nun,' and *ôdâtâni dusâni . naṁ dhûpayitu*; i.e. *avadâtâni dûshyâṇi têshâṁ dhûpayitvâ*. Regarding the usage of spreading white cloth, see Childers, Pâli Dictionary, *sub voce dussaṁ*. The same or very similar phrases occur in l. 4 of the mutilated Sâñchi edict (Cunningham, *Bhilsa Topes*, Plate xix.), which seems to be a second version of the Kôsambi edict. A good impression of the Sâñchi edict would probably permit a complete restoration of the texts.

TEXTS.

I. THE DELHI MIRAT PILLAR.

A. North Side.

Edict I.[3]

1 . . . . . naṁ dhaṁmêna vidhânê
2 dha[ṁ]m . . . khi[ya][4] . . . . . .

Edict II.

3 **Dêvânaṁ=piyê Piyadasi=lâjâ=hêv . . . . dhaṁmê=sâdhu**[5] kiyaṁ . . . [dhaṁmê]=ti
4 apâsinavê bahu=kayânê dayâ dânê sachê [sô]chayê [chakhu-dâ]naṁ=pi=m[ê]
5 bahuvidhê=diṁnê dupada-chatupadêsu pakhi-vâli-chalê . [vividhê=mê=anu]-
6 gahê=kaṭê â=pâna-dâkhinâyê aṁnâni=pi=cha=mê bahû[ni . yânâni]
7 kaṭâni êtâyê=mê=aṭhâyê iyaṁ=dhaṁmalipi=li[khâpitâ] . .
8 anupaṭipajaṁtû chila[ṁthi]tikâ[6]=cha=hôtû=[ti] yê=[cha]=hê . . . . . .
9 sati sê=sukaṭaṁ=ka[chha]tî=ti [||]

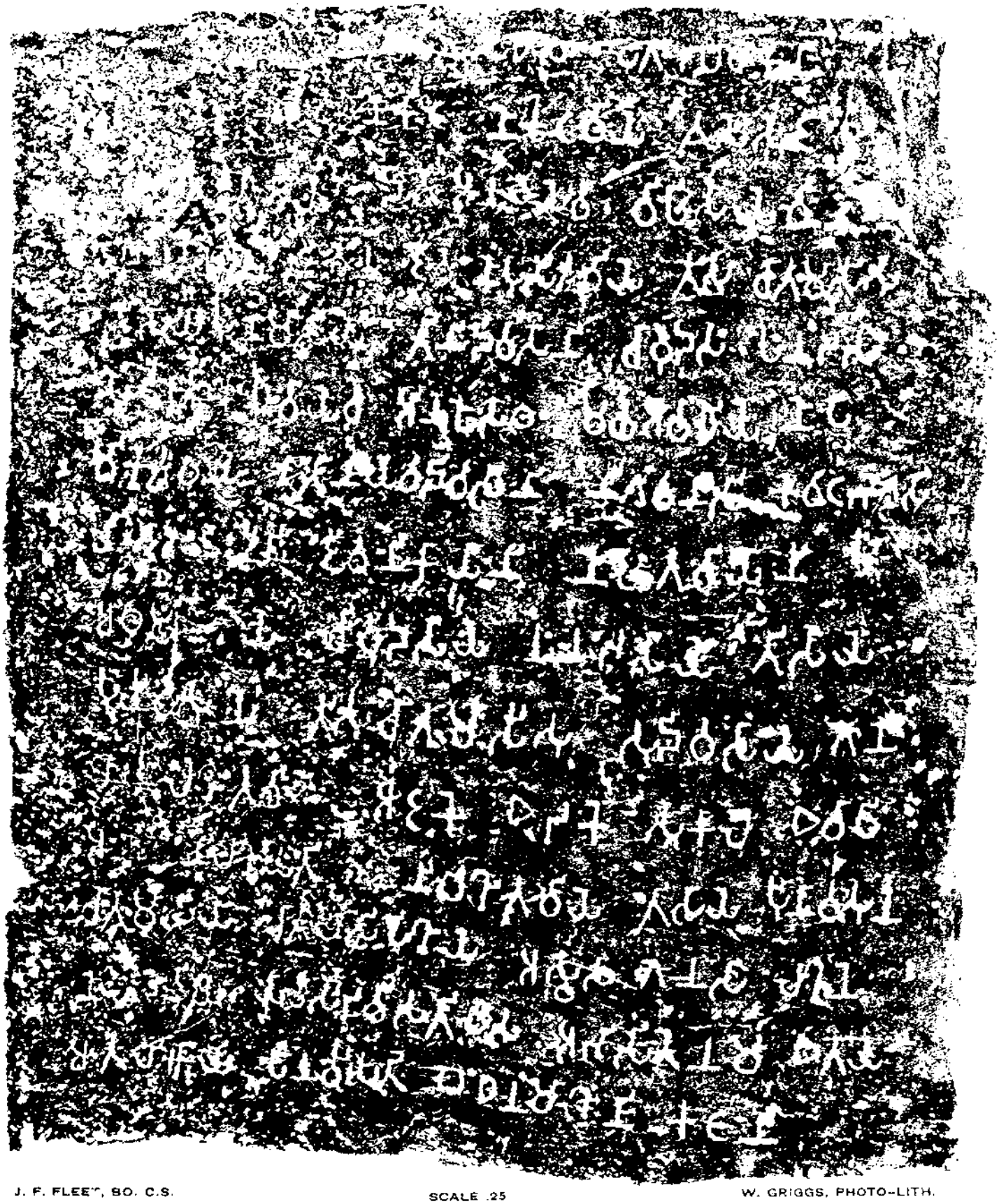
[3] In these renderings the sign = has been used to mean that separate words have been written close together; the single hyphen has been employed, as usually, to separate the parts of compounds. The brackets indicate that the letters are much blurred, but just recognisable.

[4] and [5] The quantity of the last vowel is not recognisable.

[6] The *anusvâra* of *chilaṁ* has coalesced with the upright stroke of *la*; the following letter may also have been *ṭhi*.

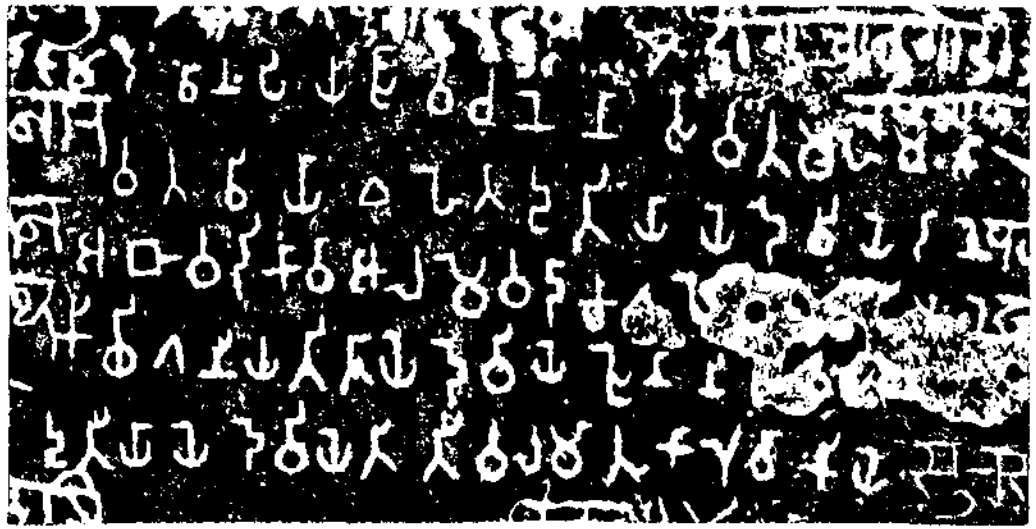
ASOKA INSCRIPTIONS.

The Delhi Mirat Pillar—South Side.—Edict V



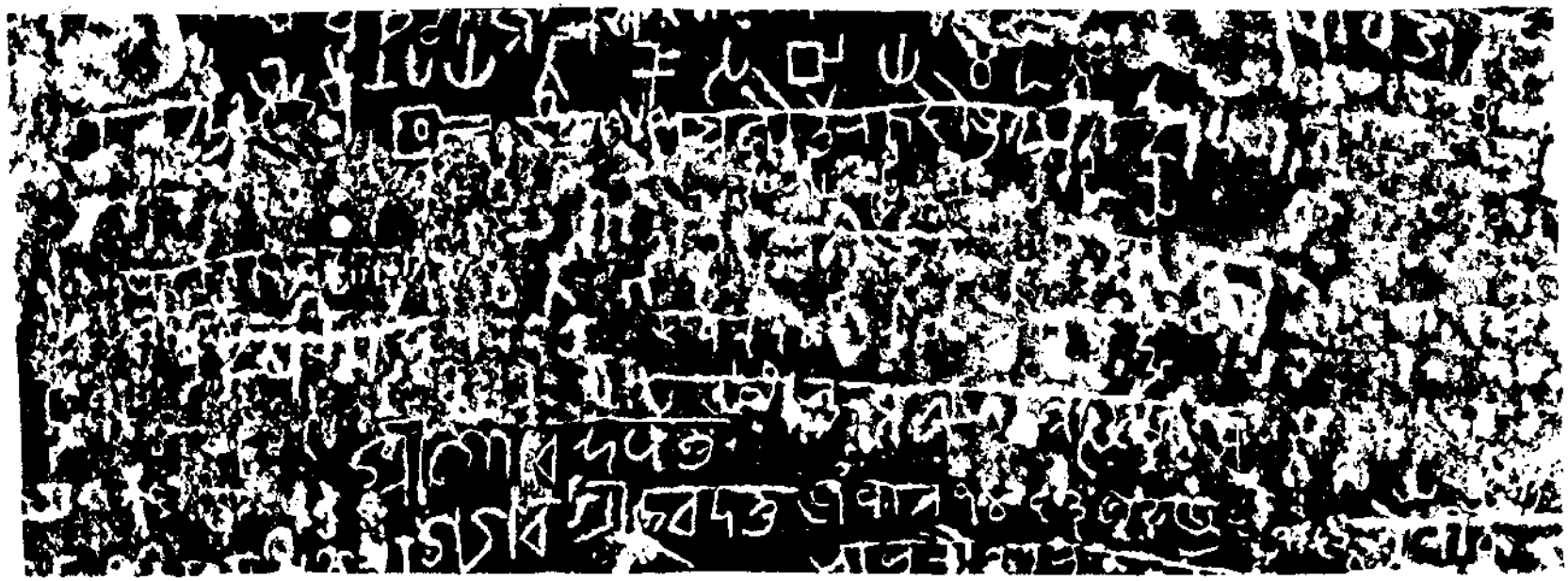
J. F. FLEET, SO. C.S. SCALE .25 W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

A.—The Edict of the Queens of Devanampiya.



SCALE .25

B.—The Kosambi Edict of Devanampiya.



EDICT III.

10 **Dêvânaṁ=piyê Piyadasi=lâjâ=hêvaṁ=âhâ** kayânaṁṁ . . va=d[êkha] . . . . . ṁ .
11 kayânê=kaṭê=tî nô minâ=pâpaṁ=dêkhati [i]yaṁ=mê=pâpaṁ=ka[ṭê=ti iyaṁ=v . .
12 âsinavê=nâ[mâ]=ti[7] dupaṭivêkhê=chu=khô=êsâ hêvaṁ=chu . . . . [sâ] . d]êkhiyê
13 [i]mâni=âsinava-g[âmîui]=nâma atha[8] chaṁḍiyê niṭhû-liyê=kôḍhê
14 mânê isyâ kâlanêna=v[a]=bakaṁ[9] mâ=palibha[sa]yisa . . . bâḍhaṁ
15 dêkhiyê iyam . . ê=[hidati]kâyê iyaṁ=mô=pâlatikâyê [||]

B. West Side.

Edict IV.

1 . . . . . .
2 . . . . . [lajûkâ]chaghaṁti=[â]la[dhayitavê]
3 . . . . . tu asva[ṭhê=hô]ti
4 [viya] . . . . . li[ha]ṭavê h[ê]v[aṁ=mamâ]
5 lajûk[â] . . . . . yê yêna=êtê=a[bhî]tâ
6 asvatha=saṁ . . . . . [pa]vatayêvû=ti êtê[na]=mê
7 . [j]û[kâ]naṁ . . . . . atapatiyê=[kaṭê]
8 ichhitavi . . . . . hâla-samatâ=ch[a]=siyâ[10]
9 daṁḍasa[ṁa] . . . . . [mê] âvuti baṁdhana-ba[dhâ]naṁ
10 munisâna[ṁ] . . . . . vadhânaṁ tiṁni=divasâni=[ṁ]ê
11 yôtê diṁnê . . . . . payisaṁ[t]i jîvitâyê=tânaṁ
12 nâsaṁtaṁ=vâ=ni . . . . . ti pâlatikaṁ
13 u[pa]vâsaṁ=vâ=k[a][11] . . . . . **hêvaṁ=niludhasi=[k]âlasi**
14 [p]âlataṁ=âladhay . . . . . **vaḍhati vividhê=dhaṁma-chalanê**
15 saṁyamô dâ . . . . . [||]

C. South Side.

Edict V.

1 . . . . . [a]v . dh . y .[12] p . t . k . =pi=cha=kâni
2 . . . . kê [vadhi]-kukuṭê nô=kaṭaviyê tusê=sa[ji[vê]
3 . = . . [taviyê] davê ana[ṭh]âyê[13]=vâ vihisâyê=vâ=n[ô]
4 [jhâpêtaviyê] jîvêna jîvê nô=pusitaviyê tîsu châtaṁmâsîsu[14]
5 Tisâya[ṁ]=pu[ṁ]namâ[si]yaṁ tiṁni=divasâni châvudasaṁ paṁnaḍasam
6 paṭipadâ . =dhuvâyê=cha anupôsathaṁ machhê=avadhiyê nô=pi
7 vikêtaviyê êtâni=yêva=divasâni nâga-vanasi kêvaṭa-bhôgasi
8 [yâ] . =[a] . [ni]=pi jîva-nikâyâni[15] nô=[ha]ṁtaviyâni
9 aṭham[î] - . . yê[16] châvude=sâyê paṁnaḍasâyô Tisâyô
10 Punâvasunê tîsu=châtuṁmâsîsu sudivasâyê g[ô]nê
11 [nô=nî]la[khi]tavi[y]ê ajakê êḍakê sûkalê ê=vâ=pi
12 aṁ[nê] nîlakhiya]ti [nô]=nîlakhitaviyê Tisâyê Punâvasunê
13 châtuṁmâsiyê châtu[ṁmâ]sipakhâyê asvasâ gônasâ lakhanê
14 nô= . . viyê yêva=saḍuvîsati-[va]sa abhisitêna=mê êtâyê
15 aṁṭâlikâyê **paṁnavî[sa]ti badhana-môkhâni kaṁṭâni** [||]

II. THE QUEEN'S EDICT.

1 **Dêvânaṁ piyashâ** vachanênâ savata mahâmatâ
2 vataviyâ ê hêta dutiyâyê dêvîyô dânê

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[7] Possibly the reading may have been *nâma*.
[8] There is a stroke on the left of the *tha*, which seems to be accidental.
[9] Possibly *vá* to be read.
[10] Possibly *châ-siyâ* to be read.
[11] An abrasion makes this look like *ka*.
[12] The letters of this word and of the next have lost their tops.
[13] This may also have been *nanthâ*.
[14] Read *châtummâsîsu*.
[15] Looks like *'kâni'*.
[16] The quantity of the vowel of the third syllable is uncertain.

3 aṁbâ-vaḍikâ[17] vâ âlamê[18] va dâna-ga[hê vâ ê vâpi][19] aṁnê
4 kîchhi ganîyati tâyê dêviyê shê nâni . [va] . . . . [20]
5 dutîyâyê **dêviyê** ti **Tivala-mâtu**[21] **Kâluvâkiyê** [||]

III. THE KOSAMBI EDICT.

1 . . . . yê [â]napayati **Kôsaṁbiya** maham[â]-ta
2 . . . . . ma . . saṁghas[i] n[a]chi yê
3 . . . . . [Saṁghaṁ bhô]khati bhikhu=va bhi[khu]nî=vâ . [pi] châ [ô]
4 dâ[tâ]ni [d]usâni . naṁ dhâpayitu âna[pê]sa . . v. . y . y . . . .

FOLKLORE IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

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

No. 32.—THE FOUR GOOD MAXIMS.

Second Variant.

In a certain country there lived a famous but **poor soothsayer,** who had an only **son** whom he loved very much. Suddenly he fell ill, and thinking that his end was approaching, called his son to his bedside, and, taking out an inscribed palm-leaf from underneath his pillow, thus addressed him:—"My son, do not be vexed with me that I bequeath to you no property. If you take this palm-leaf to some king or other, he will amply reward you." Thus saying the poor old soothsayer died, and his son, not troubling much about his father's words at the time, put the palm-leaf in the thatch and attended to the last rites of his departed parent.

After some days had passed, wishing to test his father's statement, he proceeded with the manuscript to a King and, explaining its history, asked for a reward, and the King, who was a very prudent man, promised payment in due time. His object, of course, was to test the truth of the **four maxims** he found in the palm-leaf, before paying for it. They were:—

(1) Do not travel without money or jewels in hand to help you in necessity.
(2) Do not send your wife for a long while to her parents.
(3) Do not seek your sister when you are in misery.
(4) Seek always your friend when you are in misery.

The King, in order to test these four maxims, called his minister to his side and, explaining his intention, made over his kingdom to his charge for a time. He then **assumed the garb of a poor peasant,** but hid in his loin's cloth a **diamond** ring of very great value to serve him in need, remembering the **first maxim** of the soothsayer's son.

Now, a long while before this affair he had **sent his wife to her parent's house,** and desired to follow her there and examine her conduct. To disguise himself, he placed a bundle of fire-wood on his head and appeared in this guise in the streets of the town in which his wife lived. He had not far to walk before he discovered his wife engaged in playing dice with a neighbour-

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[17] It is unnecessary to write °*vâḍikâ*, because the original Sanskrit form *vârtikâ*, 'surrounded by a hedge' (*vṛiti*) may become in Prâkrit *vaṭṭika* and *vâṭika*, and further *vaḍḍikâ* or *vâḍikâ*

[18] This is probably not a mistake, but a vicarious form for *âlâmê*, compare *graha* and *gṛâha* and similar double forms.

[19] Among the bracketed letters *hê* is tolerably plain and perfectly certain. Less distinct, but still probable are *ê vâpi*, while *vâ* is conjectural.

[20] One letter has been lost before the tolerably distinct *va*, or *vaṁ* (in case the following dot is not accidental) and three or four after it.

[21] The bracketed letters are more or less uncertain.

ing musician, in the verandah of whose house she was openly sitting. Wishing to examine further, the King in his disguise stood before the house and said, "Fire-wood to sell! Cheap fire-wood! Who will buy my fire-wood." The musician was attracted by the voice, and demanded the price of the bundle. The King, whose object was to stand there for a time and see what passed, demanded a low price at which he knew his wares would not be rejected. The musician, thinking the price very cheap, ordered him to take it inside the house and throw it on the wood heap. The apparent wood-seller obeyed the order and returned to demand the price. "Wait a moment, you fool, you are a rude fellow that does not know when to speak; wait," said the master. And our hero, glad at heart at the opportunity afforded him to test his wife, gladly consented, saying, "My master, why should you be so much enraged at a poor wood-seller who is ever ready to obey your orders; I will wait the whole day, if you order me to do so." So saying, he sat down below the verandah, looking as if he were waiting for the price of his wood.

In Hindu society, the mere fact of a respectable woman sitting with a musician and playing dice with him would be enough to make a man suspect her character. The familiarity of her speech and other things that followed gave ample proofs of his wife's conduct to the disguised King. The day was almost approaching to its close, and yet the pair had not left off playing. At twilight the lady said she would be absent for only a few *ghaṭikâs* and return to him during the night. When the wood-seller heard this, he praised his good fortune for the opportunity thus offered him of witnessing his wife's conduct. The musician, in the hurry of parting with his lady-love, forgot all about the wood-seller, who remained complacently waiting outside.

Before the first watch of the night was over, the King's wife returned, and in passing into the house trod over her own husband sitting in the dark verandah! Said she, "Who are you, sir, sitting here in the dark?" "Your humble wood-seller whom the master of the house has not yet paid," replied he. She then chided the musician for not having already paid the man and sent him away. But he excused himself by saying that he had no change, and that he intended to give the poor fellow some food for the night and then send him away. "Do me that favour, my lord; that is more than payment to me," cried our hero most piteously.

Food was hastily given him, and then the musician and the King's wife entered their sleeping apartment. Our hero, after eating a little, took his bed in the outer verandah, apparently to sleep, but really to keep himself awake and examine his wife's conduct still further. In this he was very successful, overhearing enough of the conversation that passed between the musician and the lady to give him a clear idea of the latter's character.

Next morning, when the King's wife was returning home, she had suspicions about the wood-seller, who was still asleep in the outer verandah. She had not closely watched him the previous day, and his disguise was not easily to be seen through. But in the morning, when his limbs were fully stretched in the profound sleep that came upon him after his long wakefulness, she, notwithstanding the clever disguise assumed, strongly suspected him to be her husband. The King now suddenly awoke and, still pretending to be a wood-seller, said, "My good lady, the food that the master of the house gave me last night stretched me senseless in this verandah. May God give you long life. I go now." And so saying he made off.

His wife, half suspecting that he was her husband, but hoping that after all he was only a wood-seller closely resembling her husband, returned home hastily, and sent for two murderers, promising them a good reward if they would only fly after the person she described and murder him. They agreed, and she ascended with them to the topmost storey of her house and watched in the direction in which the pretended wood-seller had gone. It had not been very difficult for her to point him out, nor had it been in any way a matter of difficulty to the murderers to mark him down. Then she hastily sent them away, and these ruffians vanished like hawks after their game.

When the King had met his wife face to face in the morning he feared that, being a

cunning woman unfaithful to her husband, she might have read through him, and so he fled out of the town as fast as he could. The ruffians, however, soon came to him and, seizing him by the hair, said that they had been ordered to murder him. "What have I done to deserve this sort of treatment at your hands," demanded our hero. "Nothing to us, but something to a lady who has promised to reward us amply," replied they.

Seeing it was vain to argue with them, the King slyly dragged the ruffians into a conversation and, after praising them, promised to reward them with a jewel worth the three worlds if they would only spare him. Money was their first object in life, and they did not care from whom they got it. And besides, what cause would the lady have to disbelieve them if they said that they had killed the man and demanded the reward of her too? In this way they would be doubly rewarded. Thus argued they, and demanded from the King what he had to give. Then our hero taking a diamond of unparalleled lustre and value from his loin cloth gave it to them, on condition that they let him escape. They agreed to do so, on condition on his part that he never came back to that city. Our hero, who was always careful to turn every event to his own advantage, promised them a thousand times never more to go in that direction and took his leave.

He had thus examined his wife's character and in that way had tested the truth of the second maxim—**Send not the wife long to her parents' house.** He had also examined the truth of the first maxim — **Not to travel without money or jewel in hand,** — for it was the diamond that saved his head.

He had now to examine the truth of the other two maxims, and so he turned towards his sister's town. She had been married to a rich *zamîndâr* at about ten *kôs* distance from the city he had just left. He had an easy road to walk, but not an easy mind, for his wife's conduct pierced his heart, and his only consolation was that he had no issue by her. It was about midday when he reached the city his sister lived in. The sun was still high in the heavens, and the previous night's wakefulness and the morning walk after escape from the ruffians brought upon our hero such thirst and hunger that he was almost fainting. He was, however, fortunate enough to reach the big tank at the entrance of the town and, getting into it hastily, drank half a dozen handfuls of water. Then he went on to the bank, and sitting below a shady banyan-tree, rested his exhausted limbs. A poor Brâhman happened to pass by, and calling him to his side, our exhausted hero mentioned to him the name of his sister, which was well known throughout the city, as she was a very wealthy lady. The disguised King then explained to the Brâhman who he was, and requested him to inform her of his arrival, so that she might send him some food as he was almost dying with hunger. The Brâhman ran off all the harder when he heard that the person he had been talking to was a King, and duly communicated the news to the King's sister. She enquired of him whether her brother had come with all his royal paraphernalia.

"No," replied the messenger; "he is as it were a beggar, half famished now by hunger." She now thought that her brother, by some misfortune or other, had lost all his kingdom and wealth, and instead of being still the more hospitable to him in consequence of his adversity, she, in her pride of wealth, disdained all knowledge of her brother, in his beggar's condition. But she was at least kind enough to send him a plateful of cold rice several days old, not even fit for dogs to eat. The unfortunate King received this through the kind Brâhman who, pitying his fate, brought better food cooked in his house to his royal guest. The King thanked him for his kindness, but said that his sister's food was more tasteful to him, and, after partaking two or three mouthfuls, requested the Brâhman to preserve the plate with the cold rice in it for a few days in his house, telling him that he would have occasion to call for it.

He then left the Brâhman and went to another city where he had a good friend. They had been playmates from their boyhood and had read in the same school and under same teachers; and so to that friend our hero went. He was extremely poor, but for all that, on seeing the

King approach his dwelling, he ran to him with a most welcome face, enquired the reason which had turned his royal friend into a beggar, and wept over his troubles as if they had been his own. The King, whose object was to test the four maxims, invented a tale for the nonce that his kingdom had been taken away by an enemy, and that he was really a beggar. His friend shed tears in profusion and requested him to live in his house as if it were his own palace till better days should come. Though he was poor, he tried his best, as far as his means admitted, to give rich meals to his royal guest, and instructed his wife in the following manner:— "My dear, you must know that our guest is a royal personage who has seen better days. Although he is now a beggar, you must not on that account lessen your respect for him. All that we have in the house we must devote to feeding him. Though we may eat without *ghí* or curds, you must give these to him in abundance."

She, being an extremely well-behaved and virtuous woman, obeyed her husband's words to the letter, and our hero, though he was living in a poor man's house, had every kind of hospitality shown to him. Language had no bounds to express his obligation to them. He tested his friend for more than a fortnight, and on no occasion did he see their care of him diminish.

The King was greatly delighted to see that **all the four maxims** of the soothsayer's son **had proved true**, and was now bent upon returning to his country and rewarding the person who had offered them on payment. So first he explained to his friend that he had come in that disguise to test him, and that he was still the lord of his kingdom. He then sent for his royal paraphernalia, and with all the usual pomp and circumstance made a royal march to the city where his sister dwelt. At a distance of a few miles, he sent messengers, with badges and other outward signs of royalty, to announce to his sister that he was coming to her house for supper. She prepared a grand feast for him, and soon the King and his party arrived. The King's friend came, too, and almost all the noblemen of that city were gathered that night in the King's sister's house to join the royal party, and the party had all sat before their leafy plates for supper, the dishes were being served and everything was ready; when, just as each guest began to eat, the King demanded from his sister the cold rice she had given him in his apparent adversity. She hung her head for very shame, and then he explained to the whole assembly the history of the cold rice, and hastily took his leave, refusing to taste even a single mouthful in his sister's house.

He then proceeded to the town where his wife lived. There also his father-in-law and others made preparations for his visit. He called them all together, including his wife and the musician and explained before them all how he had discovered the illicit love of his wife. **He then had his wife and her unlawful companion impaled**, and returned to his country. He rewarded his minister for his good government during his absence and gave him for his assistant the friend who protected him in his misery. After taking upon himself the kingdom our hero gave a *jágír* for each maxim to the poor soothsayer's son who gave him the palm-leaf containing the four maxims.

MISCELLANEA.

CALCULATIONS OF HINDU DATES.

No. 35.

In the copper-plate grant of the Eastern Chalukya king Râjarâja II., from Korumelli in the Râjamahêndri District, Madras Presidency,[1] which I have edited, with a lithograph, in this Journal, Vol. XIV. p. 48ff., the date of his accession is given in the verse (line 65 ff.), — yô rakshitum vasumatîm Śaka-vatsarêshu vêd-âmbu-râśi-nidhi-varttishu Simha-gê=rkkê kṛishṇa-dvitîya-divasê[2]-Ôttara-Bhadrikâyâm vârê Gurôr=Vvaṇiji lagna-varê=bhishiktaḥ ||, — "who was anointed to protect the earth in the Śaka year that is constituted by the Vêdas (four), the oceans (four), and the treasures (of Kubêra) (nine), when the sun was moving in Simha, under the Uttarâ-

[1] The original plates, which belonged to Sir Walter Elliot, are now, I understand, in the British Museum.

[2] Read *divas°*; the *as* was repeated by mistake.

Bhadrikâ (*i.e.* Bhadrapadâ) *nakshatra* on the second day of the dark fortnight, on Thursday, during the excellent Vaṇij *lagna* (*i.e.* the rising of the sign Tulâ)."

Here, again, the given Śaka year, 944, is not distinctly specified either as current or as expired. But correct results can be obtained only by applying it as an expired year.

In Śaka-Saṁvat 944 current, the *saṁkrânti* or entrance of the sun into Siṁha occurred on the 26th July, A.D. 1021, at about 38 *ghaṭîs*. 8 *palas*, after mean sunrise (for Bombay). And the dark second *tithi* which occurred while the sun remained in Siṁha, was the *amânta* Śrâvaṇa[3] kṛishṇa 2, which ended, not on a Thursday, but on Friday, 28th July, at about 33 *gh.* 45 *p.* after mean sunrise. Nor can the *tithi* here be connected with the Thursday, as a current *tithi*; for, at sunrise on the Thursday, the *nakshatra* was Dhanishṭhâ, No. 23, by all three systems; and Uttarâ-Bhadrapadâ, No. 26, did not occur at all on that day.

In Śaka Saṁvat 945 current (944 expired), however, the results work out quite satisfactorily. In this year the sun entered Siṁha on the 26th July, A.D. 1022, at about 53 *gh.* 40 *p.* The dark second *tithi* which occurred while the sun was still in Siṁha, was the amânta Bhâdrapada kṛishṇa 2, which ended on Thursday, 16th August, at about 24 *gh.* 50 *p.* At sunrise on that day, there was the Uttarâ-Bhadrapadâ nakshatra, by all three systems; and it ended, according to all three systems, at about 16 hrs. 25 min., = 41 *gh.* 2·5 *p.*, after mean sunrise (for Ujjain). And Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds that there was the Vaṇij lagna from about 7 *gh.* 8 *p.* to 12 *gh.* 27 *p.* after apparent sunrise for Râjamahêndri.[4]

Accordingly, the date of the accession of Râjarâja II. was Thursday, 16th August, A.D. 1022.

This grant of Râjarâja II., and the Chellûr grant of Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍadêva II. (*ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 55 ff.), give the following duration of reigns:—

Amma II.	25	years
His elder half-brother, Dânârṇava	3	,,
A time of anarchy[5]	27	,,
Śaktivarman, or Châlukya-Chandra, son of Dânârṇava	12	,,
And his younger brother, Vimalâditya	7	,,
Total.....	74	years

We have found (page 103 above) that the actual date of the accession of Amma II. was Friday, 5th December, A.D. 945, corresponding to the *amânta* Mârgaśîrsha kṛishṇa 13 of Śaka-Saṁvat 868 current. Adding to this year the above seventy-four years, we are brought to Śaka-Saṁvat 942 current, for the accession of Râjarâja II., the son and successor of Vimalâditya. It really took place, however, as we have just seen, in Śaka-Saṁvat 945 current. And this difference of three years in seventy-four, with only four intervening reigns,—or, including the time of anarchy, five intervening periods.—is instructive, in indicating the extent to which we may go in the way of adjustment, in determining the dates of the Eastern Chalukya kings from the duration of the reign of each of them as given in even years in the grants of this dynasty.

J. F. FLEET.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

OMENS.

In Bihâr.

(1) **The quivering of the left eyelid is very unlucky, but that of the right means the return of an absent relative or friend, or happy news during the day.**

(2) **Letting a shoe lie upside down, or letting one shoe fall on the other, means a journey.**

(3) **It is a lucky thing to hear a crow cawing on the roof after breakfast, as it portends the return of a long absent friend. What the crow caws is *thâin*, 'place,' and means that he knows where the absent friend is. If the friend turns up you must feed the bird with curds and rice for its information. But it is unlucky to see a kite, owl or vulture on the roof at such a time, as it means calamity and especially the fall of the house. The people say that the Mâhârâjâ of Darbhaṅgâ abandoned a newly-built palace, merely because early one morning he found a kite sitting on it.**

[3] Or the *pûrnimânta* Bhâdrapada. I quote, however, the *amânta* month, because that is the correct arrangement for the period and locality in question; see *ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 142.

[4] *This calculation is by the present Sûrya-Siddhânta.* And according to the same authority, the *tithi* ended at 28 *gh.* 1 *p.*, and the Uttarâ-Bhadrapadâ *nakshatra* ended at 40 *gh.* 41 *p.* according to the equal-space system; both these times being after apparent sunrise for Râjamahêndri.

[5] In the Chellûr grant, these twenty-seven years are *included as part of the reign of Dânârṇava, which is thus* made out to have lasted for thirty years.

(4) It is unlucky, on rising from your bed, to **see a miser** or any wretched creature.

It is unlucky to name at such a time, or **hear named, a miser** or any wild animal (except perhaps the lion). If such a misfortune occurs, you must beat the ground with your shoes as hard as you can, as a sign of your contempt for the creature named.

It is also unlucky to name the **monkey, owl or bear,** on rising. If you do, or if you happen to hear one of them named, you must say *ba halqa-i-Hātim*. Hâtim Tâi being one of the generous heroes of Muhammadan story (*vide* the *'Arāish-i-Mahfil*) it is a good thing, in order to counteract the evils arising from any of the above mishaps, to mention his name, or that of any other person, living or dead, remarkable for his generosity.

Another safeguard against seeing an **unfortunate face** in the morning, is to look at your own face the first thing in a looking-glass; and against hearing **unfortunate names,** is to mutter a prayer containing the name of God or of a great saint before rising.

After breaking your fast, there is no more danger.

Gaya. SAYYID KHAIRAYAT AHMAD.

BOOK NOTICE.

THE DIARY OF WILLIAM HEDGES, ESQ. (afterwards Sir William Hedges), during his agency in Bengal, as well as on his voyage out and return overland (1681-1687). By Col. Sir Henry Yule. Hakluyt Society, London, 1889. Vol. III. Containing Documentary Contributions to a BIOGRAPHY OF THOMAS PITT, Governor of Fort St. George, with collections on the Early History of the Company's Settlement in Bengal and on the Early Charts and Topography of the Hûgli River.

We have before us here one of the last, if not actually the last, completed work of the great writer who has so recently passed from among us, worked out with his customary skill, exactitude, and detail. In general interest it is not surpassed by any of its many famous predecessors, for it is mostly devoted to the elucidation of the curiously obscure and difficult history of the well-known **Thomas Pitt,** the original holder of the **Pitt Diamond** and ancestor of more than one personage of supreme importance in the history of England.

In the **Diary of William Hedges** we find repeated reference to a **Captain Pitt or Pitts** (as he is called indiscriminately), a prominent and **notorious interloper,** who pursued his commercial adventures in defiance of the Company's claim to exclusive trade, and was only too successful in seducing from their fidelity and involving in his own quasi-contraband business a number of the Company's servants in "the Bay." Beside these notices Col. Yule gives us a long series of independent letters tracing Pitt's history as an interloper from 1675 to 1695, when he left Bengal for England, and he then sets himself to answer the following questions. Was this **Captain Thomas Pitt, interloping adventurer,** identical with Captain **Thomas Pitt, Member for Old Sarum,** who in the end of 1697 was **appointed** by the Court of the East India Company to the **Government of Fort St. George,** an office which he held with eminent reputation for more than eleven years; who was the **owner** and *eponym* **of the Famous Pitt Diamond;** who was the **progenitor of several families holding peerages;** and who (above all) was the **grand-father and great-grand-father of two of the greatest of English Statesmen?**

In great detail Col. Yule shows that Pitt the interloper and Pitt the Member for Old Sarum are unquestionably one and the same person, and that it was the Member for Old Sarum that became Governor of Madras in 1697. He also shows that it is true, however improbable it may seem, that Pitt actually held his seat for Old Sarum, 1689-1695, while he was interloping on the Hûgli! In 1690 he bought the Manor of Stratford (and Old Sarum) from James, 3rd Earl of Salisbury, and represented that borough in the three Revolution Parliaments. Finally the crucial evidence as to whether Pitt the Governor was Pitt the interloper (there is no doubt that Pitt the M.P. was Pitt the Governor) is afforded in a remarkable letter from Pitt as Governor to his cousin John Pitt, King's Consul, Company's Agent, and President on the Coast of Coromandel at Masulipatam, dated November 12th, 1699, in which he says:—

"And for the Supporting my Creditt, I dont remember I was indebted or Concern'd in anything what ever that could be Censured by any, unless it was interloping, which I never repented of to this day."

"*Habemus confitentem reum,*" cries Col. Yule in his satisfaction at the discovery.

Further confirmation from Pitt's correspondence is afforded in passages from three other letters, which are worth quoting here as documentary evidence of a notable historical point.

(1) Letter from Governor Pitt to John Pitt at Masulipatam, dated 5th January 1699-1700:—

"I wonder with what face you can say I carry'd the ballance of your account with me to Bengall in the Seymore."

(2) Letter from Governor Pitt to Sir E. Littleton, President at Hûglî in the Bay, dated 2nd April 1700 :—

" When I was in Bengal last on the Seymore."

(3) Letter to Mr. John Beard of the Old Company in Bengal, dated April 21st, 1700 :—

" I am advis'd that Agent Eyre sold two Gunns belonging to the ship Seymore, which I left in the hands of Mr. Geoye Guy."

This point settled, the rest is plain sailing, and, apart from the side-lights thrown on contemporary history and manners, the remainder of Col. Yule's remarks are mainly interesting as proving in detail the main statements.

Pitt was the second son of the Rev. John Pitt, Rector of Blandford St. Mary, Dorset, and was born on July 5th, 1653. His first appearance in India was, when he was only 21, in 1674, and from that time for 20 years he appears to have " interloped " at intervals in India. In 1697, his quarrels with the Company having been gradually patched up since 1693, he came out as its representative, and not only of it but of the New Company and then of the United Company, till 1711, when he finally returned to England. For the remainder of his long life, for he died in 1726, aged 73, he lived mostly in his native country a well-known man and Member of Parliament. In 1716 he was actually appointed Governor of Jamaica, affairs in that Island having got into a dangerous condition, but he never took up the appointment, and gave way to Sir Nicholas Lawes.

In summing up his character, Colonel Yule says of him that he was bold, decided and shrewd, frank and unrestrained in the expression of his sentiments and a master of " merciless and rasping chaff," a good hater, by no means delicately scrupulous, but a man who lived up to his own standard of duty and honour : hardly an attractive but a most forcible character.

We may now glance at the truth as disclosed in the pages before us about the " abusive story " of the great **Pitt Diamond**, in which our hero was accused of having used his power as a Governor to become the possessor thereof. The stone was really bought at Madras by Pitt in February or March 1699 after a long haggle, lasting over two months and more, for 48,000 *pagodas*, from Jaurchund (? Jawâhir Chand), "one of the most eminent diamond merchants in those parts." He kept possession of it till 1717, when it was sold to the Regent, Duke of Orleans, as a jewel for the French Crown. The price was 2,000,000 *livres* (about £134,000), of which £40,000 was paid down and the balance, which was never paid, was (?) covered by a deposit of jewels belonging to the Crown of France. It cost £6,000 to cut, but the chips were worth more than this, and as its original price could not have exceeded £21,000, it may be looked upon as a good investment in any view of the case.

From the French Crown it passed to the National Assembly and is mentioned in the inventory of the crown jewels taken in August 1792. It was stolen with the Sancy and many other valuables and stones from the Garde Meuble between the 11th and 17th September 1792, and recovered on 10th December 1793. It was then pawned in 1796 by De Parseval as security for the cost of horse-furniture for the national army and redeemed by him in 1797. In 1798 it was again pawned by De Perseval to Vandenberg of Amsterdam and released by Napoleon in 1802. In 1804 it appeared among his crown jewels, whence it passed into the possession of Louis XVIII. and continued as part of the French crown jewellery till 1870, when it became a Government deposit in the Bank of France, where it still lies as the finest diamond in the world.

As to **Pitt's descendants and family**; his second son, Colonel **Thomas Pitt**, became **Earl of Londonderry**, mainly, it seems, from his marriage with the daughter and co-heir of Ridgway, Earl of Londonderry. His daughter, **Lucy Pitt** married the **first Earl Stanhope**, whose grandson, the third Earl, married his relative, Lady Hester Pitt, a great-granddaughter of Thomas Pitt, as he himself was a great-grandson. This lady was the mother of the celebrated **Lady Hester Stanhope**.

The eldest son of Thomas Pitt, by name Robert Pitt, was the father of **William Pitt, first Earl of Chatham**, who by his marriage with **Hester Temple** was the father of **John, the second Earl**, and **William Pitt**. Their sister was the Lady Hester Pitt (**Countess Stanhope**) already mentioned. The same **Robert Pitt's** eldest son, famed Thomas Pitt, was the father of **Thomas Pitt, first Lord Camelford**.

Another daughter of the great Thomas Pitt, Essex Pitt, married Charles Cholmondeley and was the grandmother of **Thomas Cholmondeley, first Baron Delamere.**

From **Sir William Pitt of Iwerne**, Dorset, and Strathfieldsaye, Hants, great-uncle of Thomas Pitt, was descended **George Pitt, first Baron Rivers**, from whose daughter is descended **General Lane-Fox-Pitt-Rivers**, the founder of the great **Pitt-Rivers Museum** at Oxford.

Such in brief outline is the story of a remarkable man, the progenitor both in the male and female lines of a remarkable family.

THE ROMAKA SIDDHANTAS.

BY SHANKAR BALKRISHNA DIKSHIT; DHULIA.

IN this paper I purpose chiefly to show that **the Rômaka-Siddhânta as represented in the Pañchasiddhântikâ, and the Rômaka-Siddhânta of Srîshêṇa, are different and separate works.** The point of the age of both these Siddhântas will also be discussed; and it will be shown incidentally that Lâṭa is not the author of the former. The present Rômaka-Siddhânta also will be noticed. Owing to the discovery of the *Pañchasiddhântikâ*, means have been made available by which we can know something at least, definitely, about the five Siddhântas treated of, though only succinctly, by Varâhamihira. Also copies of the *Brahma-Siddhânta* of Brahmagupta are now available. And fortunately these two writers, not confining themselves strictly to the special subjects treated of, have occasionally allowed themselves to be free in alluding to previous writers. Consequently we are not left only to speculations; and we need not grope in the dark for the points that are to be considered.

It is clear from the *Pañchasiddhântikâ* that only one *Rômaka-Siddhânta* was known to Varâhamihira; and I shall call this **the original Rômaka-Siddhânta,** for the sake of convenience, and to distinguish it from Srîshêṇa's work. Srîshêṇa's name occurs nowhere in the *Pañchasiddhântikâ*. Brahmagupta alludes to the *Rômaka-Siddhânta* in three places, but in them he does not allude to Srîshêṇa; while he does allude to Srîshêṇa's work, by his own name, in twelve places, which will be quoted further on; but in none of them, except perhaps in one, does he use the word *Rômaka*. It seems, in fact, that Brahmagupta does not call Srîshêṇa's work a *Rômaka-Siddhânta*. But, from a quotation from his commentary on the *Brahma-Siddhânta* given by Dr. Thibaut,[1] Pṛithûdaka seems to have called Srîshêṇa's work a *Rômaka-Siddhânta*; and, for the sake of convenience, I will call it **Srîshêṇa's Rômaka-Siddhânta.**

First I quote from the *Brahma-Siddhânta* the three places where there are **allusions to the Rômaka-Siddhânta,** and the twelve places in which **Srîshêṇa's name** occurs, with their translation :—

The first three references are —

(*a*)

युगमन्वंतरकल्पाः कालपरिच्छेदकाः स्मृतावुक्ताः ।
यस्मान्न रोमके ते स्मृतिबाह्यो रोमकस्तस्मात् ॥ 13 ॥ Chapter i.

"The Yugas, Manvantaras, and Kalpas, are said in the Smṛiti to be the standards of (*measuring*) time; and because they are not (*found*) in **the Rômaka,** therefore **the Rômaka** stands outside the Smṛitis."

(*b*)

पौलिशरोमकवासिष्ठसौरपैतामहेषु यत्प्रोक्तं ।
तन्नक्षत्रानयनं नार्यभटोक्तं तदुक्तिरतः ॥ 46 ॥ Chapter xiv.

"That method of finding out *nakshatras* which is stated in the Pauliśa, **Rômaka,** Vâsishtha, Saura, and Paitâmaha (Siddhântas), is not stated by Âryabhaṭa; therefore its statement (*is made by me*)."[2]

(*c*)

युगपद्युगादिरुदये याम्यायां भास्करस्य वारुण्यां ।
रात्र्यर्धात्सौम्यायामस्तमयादिनदलादिद्यां ॥ 2 ॥
अयमेव कृतः सूर्येंदुपुलिशरोमकवसिष्ठयवनाद्यैः ।
यस्मात्तस्मादेकः सिद्धांतो भंयरचनान्या ॥ 3 ॥ Chapter xxiv.

[1] *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LIII. Part I. p. 291.

[2] With this introduction, Brahmagupta gives the unequal-space system of *nakshatras*, which I have named the Brahma-Siddhânta System, and have described in my paper on the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter, (*ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 4 ff.)

"(2) The commencement of the Yuga (*takes place*) at one and the same time, at the rising of the sun in the south, at midnight in the west, at the setting (*of the sun*) in the north, and at noon in the east. — (3) Because the same (*commencement of the Yuga*) is made by Sûrya, Indu, Pulisa, **Rômaka,** Vasishtha, Yavana, and others, therefore (*there can be only*) one Siddhânta; (*i.e.* no matter by whose name they may be called, all Siddhântas must be one and the same in respect of their fundamental principles); any other work is a mere putting together of words."

And the remaining twelve references are :—

(*d*)

(i) मध्यगतिज्ञं वीक्ष्य श्रीषेणार्यभटविष्णुचंद्रज्ञाः ।
सदसि न भवंत्यभिमुखाः सिंहं दृष्ट्वा यथा हरिणाः ॥ 6 ॥ Chapter i.

"Seeing one who has learned the mean motion (*from the Brahma-Siddhânta*), those who know (*only the works of*) **Srishêṇa,** Âryabhaṭa and Vishṇuchandra, do not come before (*him*) in an assembly; just as the deer, seeing a lion (*cannot stand before him*)."

(*e*)

मेषादितः प्रवृत्ता वार्यभटस्य स्फुटा युगस्यादौ ।
(ii) श्रीषेणस्य कुजाद्याः सूर्याद्या विष्णुचंद्रस्य ॥ 46 ॥
(iii) दूरभ्रष्टाः स्पष्टाः श्रीषेणार्यभटविष्णुचंद्रेषु ।
यस्मात्कुजादयस्तेषु न विदुषामादरस्तस्मात् ॥ 47 ॥ Chapter ii.

"(46) (*All*) the apparent (*planets in the work*) of Âryabhaṭa, Mars and others of **Srishêṇa,** and the sun and others of Vishṇuchandra, are not (*made to*) start from the beginning of Mêsha at the commencement of the Yuga. (47) Because the apparent Mars and others in (*the works of*) **Srishêṇa,** Âryabhaṭa, and Vishṇuchandra have gone far astray, therefore the learned have no respect for them.

(*f*)

(iv) कृत्वापि दृष्टिकर्म श्रीषेणार्यभटविष्णुचंद्रोक्तं ।
प्रतिदिनमुदये ऽस्ते वा न भवति दृग्गणितयोरैक्यं ॥ 13 ॥
भमुनिमृगव्याधानां Chapter x.

"Although the *drishṭikarman,* told by **Srishêṇa** and Âryabhaṭa and Vishṇuchandra, is calculated every day, there is no coincidence between the observation and calculation, either about the rising or setting of the *nakshatras,* the Muni (Agastya, Canopus), or Mṛigavyâdha (Sirius).

(*g*)

(v) पंचज्यया यतो ऽर्कग्रहणं श्रीषेणविष्णुचंद्रकृतं ।
आर्यभटोक्तान्यनयोरर्कग्रहणदूषणानि ततः ॥ 31 ॥ Chapter xi.

"Because **Srishêṇa,** and Vishṇuchandra have calculated solar eclipses by means of the *panchajyá* (sines of five kinds), therefore the faults stated (*by me*) in connection with Aryabhaṭa (*are applicable*) to both of them also.

(*h*)

(vi) श्रीषेणविष्णुचंद्रप्रभृत्यार्यभटलाटसिंहानां ।
ग्रहणार्धविमर्दवादात् प्रतिदिवसं सिद्धमकुसत्वं ॥ 46 ॥
युक्त्यार्यभटोक्तानि प्रत्येकं दूषणानि योज्यानि ।
(vii) श्रीषेणप्रभृतीनां कानिचिदन्यानि वक्ष्यामि ॥ 47 ॥
लाटात्सूर्यशशांकौ मध्यावित्यूचचंद्रपातौ च ।
कुजबुधशीघ्रबृहस्पतिसितशीघ्रशनैश्चरान् मध्यान् ॥ 48 ॥
युगयातवर्षभगणान् वासिष्ठान् विजयनंदिकृतपादान् ।
मंदोच्चपरिधिपातस्पष्टीकरणाद्यमार्यभटात् ॥ 49 ॥
(viii) श्रीषेणेन गृहीत्वा रव्योचयरोमकः कृतः कंथा ।
एतान्येव गृहीत्वा वासिष्ठो विष्णुचंद्रेण ॥ 50 ॥ Chapter xi.

"(46) The incompleteness of **Srishêṇa**, Vishṇuchandra, Pradyumna, Âryabhaṭa, Lâṭa, and Simha, is proved every day, by the discordance of their eclipses and other things. — (47) The faults declared (*by me*) with reference to Âryabhaṭa, can, by the exercise of skill, be applied (*and explained away, so that they need not be repeated here*) in the case of each one (*of the other writers whom I have mentioned*). I will (*now*) describe certain other faults of **Srishêṇa** and others. — (48, 49, 50) **Srishêṇa** has made the **Rômaka**, (*which was*) an eminence of jewels, a tattered garment; having borrowed the mean sun and moon, the moon's apogee and node, the mean Mars, the mean *śighra* of Mercury, the mean Jupiter, the mean *śighra* of Venus, and the mean Saturn, from Lâṭa; (*having taken*) the *yuga-yâta* and *varshabhagaṇa* belonging to the *Vâsishṭha-Siddhânta*: (*having used*) the *pâdas* employed by Vijayanandin; (*and having borrowed*) the method of finding the apparent places of the planets and other things from Âryabhaṭa. Vishṇuchandra has done the same to the *Vâsishṭha*, by borrowing the same.

(*i*)

(ix.) तद्युगघ्नो महायुगमुक्तं श्रीषेणविष्णुचंद्राद्यैः ॥ 55 ॥ Chapter xi.

"The multiplication of those Yugas is pronounced a Mahâyuga by **Srishêṇa**, Vishṇuchandra, and others."

(*j*)

(x) दूरभ्रष्टे महर्षे श्रीषेणार्यभटविष्णुचंद्रस्य ।
दृग्गणितविसंवादः संवादः काकतालीयं ॥ 36 ॥ Chapter xvi.

"The (*calculation of*) eclipses of **Srishêṇa**, Âryabhaṭa, and Vishṇuchandra having gone far astray, (*there is now*) a discordance between the observation and calculation (*of them*); the agreement (*sometimes obtained, is only*) accidental.

(*k*)

.. न ततो राहुकृतं ग्रहणमर्केंदोः ।
(xi) एवं वराहमिहिरश्रीषेणार्यभटविष्णुचंद्राद्यैः ।
लोकविरुद्धमभिहितं ..... ॥ Chapter xxi.

"So Varâhamihira, **Srishêṇa**, Âryabhaṭa, Vishṇuchandra, and others, have said, that an eclipse of the sun or the moon is not, therefore,[3] effected by Râhu; which is against the (*belief of the common*) people.

(*l*)

(xii) आचार्यैरज्ञातः श्रीषेणार्यभटविष्णुचंद्राद्यैः ।
गोलो यस्मात् तस्मात् ब्राह्मे गोलः कृतः स्पष्टः ॥ 72 ॥ Chapter xxi.

"Because **Srishêṇa**, Âryabhaṭa, Vishṇuchandra, and other *Âchâryas*, have not understood the *gôla* (the sphere), therefore the *gôla* has been explained in the *Brâhma-(Siddhânta)*."

On reading these passages, we can hardly fail to see, firstly, that Brahmagupta, except perhaps in the 50th verse in (*h*), does nowhere connect Śrîshêṇa's name with the *Rômaka-Siddhânta*; and secondly, that while he refers to the *Rômaka-Siddhânta* in support of his own statement in two out of three places where he alludes to it, he mentions Śrîshêṇa in all the twelve places only to find fault with him. Thirdly, the very wording of the first half of the 50th verse in the passage (*h*) convinces us of a distinction which Brahmagupta was making between an original *Rômaka-Siddhânta* and that of Śrîshêṇa. He compares the former with a mountain of jewels, stating that it was already so; and the latter with a tattered garment.

My fourth argument is as follows: — There was not in the original *Rômaka-Siddhânta* such a Yuga-system as is found in the Sûrya and other Siddhântas; on the other hand, there was such a system in Śrishêṇa's work. I can prove the former assertion directly from the *Pañchasiddhântikâ*. For that purpose we require to know the number of revolutions, in a Mahâyuga of 4,320,000 years, of the sun and moon and of the five planets, and their places at

[3] **तत:** has a connection with the previous part of the passage.

the beginning of the Kaliyuga or any other Yuga. The calculations of the five planets according to the original *Rômaka-Siddhânta*, are not given in the *Pañchasiddhântikâ*. There we find the method of calculating the mean places of only the sun and the moon and of the moon's apogee and node, together with their *kshêpakas* for Saka-Samvat 427 expired. The verses relating to this have been explained by Dr. Thibaut, but only partially; the *kshêpakas*, with which also we are here concerned, being left unconsidered by him. So I now give them fully including a few necessary emendations: —

रोमकसूर्यो युगणात्खतिथिघ्नात् पंचकर्तुपरिहीनात् ।
सप्ताष्टकसप्तकृतेंद्रियोद्धृतान्मध्यमः क्रमशः ॥ 1 ॥
खखरूपाष्टगुणघ्नात् कृताष्टनवकैकवर्जितान् युगणात् ।
त्रिविषयांकखकृताप्तापरिशुद्धान्मध्यशीतांशुः ॥ 4 ॥
शून्यैकैकाभ्यस्तान्नवशून्यरसान्वितार्हिनसमूहात् ।
रूपाक्षिखगुणभक्तात् केंद्रं शशिनो ऽस्तगमवंत्यां ॥ 5 ॥
स्याष्टकगुणिते दस्राब्धिसर्तुयमषट्कपंचकान् राहोः ।
भवरूपाग्न्यष्टिहृते क्रमाद्युखांतोच्यते[4] वक्त्रं[5] ॥ 8 ॥ Chapter viii.

Translation. — "(Verse I) The mean sun, according to the *Rômaka*, (*is found*) in succession (*of revolutions, signs, &c.*) from the *dyugaṇa* (sum of days) multiplied by the sky (nought) and the *tithis* (fifteen) (*i.e.* by 150); (*afterwards*) it is diminished by five and the seasons (six) (*i.e.* by 65), (*and*) divided by the (numerals) seven, eight, and seven, (*the Yugas headed by*) Kṛita (four), and the organs of sense (five) (*i.e.* by 54,787). — (4) The mean moon (*is found*) from the *dyugaṇa* multiplied by the sky (nought), the sky (nought), form (one), (the numeral) eight, and the qualities (three) (*i.e.* by 38,100); (*afterwards*), it is diminished by (*the Yugas headed by*) Kṛita (four), and (the numerals) eight, nine, and one (*i.e.* by 1,984), and is divided by (the numeral) three, the objects of the organs of sense (five), the figures (nine), the sky (nought), (*the Yugas headed by*) Kṛita (four), and the directions (ten) (*i.e.* by 1,040,953). — (5) The moon's *kêndra* for the time of sunset at Ujjain (*is found*) from the sum of days multiplied by nought, and (the numerals) one and one (*i.e.* by 110), (*and then*) it is increased by the (numeral) nine, nought, and the juices (six) (*i.e.* by 609), and is divided by form (one), (the numeral) three, the sky (nought) and the qualities (three) (*i.e.* by 3,031). — (8) Add the juices (six), the seasons (six), a couple, and (the numerals) six and five (*i.e.* 56,266) to (*the aharjaṇa after it is*) multiplied by three times eight (*i.e.* 24); (*afterwards, it being*) divided by the Bhavas (eleven), form (one), the fires (three), and (*the metre*) *ashṭi* (sixteen) (*i.e.* 163,111), (*the result*) is stated to be the mouth (*of Râhu*)."

Some other particulars of the *Rômaka-Siddhânta*, which we can deduce from the first two of these verses, are given expressly in the following verse, and therefore I quote it: —

रोमकयुगमकैंद्वोर्वर्षाण्याकाशपंचवसुपक्षाः ।
खेंद्रियदिशो ऽधिमासाः स्वरकृतविषयाष्टयः प्रलयाः ॥ 15 ॥ *Pañchasiddhântikâ*, Chapter i.

"The sky (nought), (the numeral) five, the Vasus (eight) and the fortnights (two) (*i.e.* 2,850) years, relating to the sun and moon, (*form*) a Yuga (cycle) of the Rômaka. (*In that time there are*) the sky (nought), the organs of sense (five), and the directions (ten) (*i.e.* 1,050) intercalated months, and the notes (seven), (*the Yugas headed by*) Kṛita (four), the objects of the organs of sense (five), and (the metre) *ashṭi* (sixteen) (*i.e.* 16,547) expunged *tithis*."

[4] Here the syllables दुखांतोच्यते seem to be corrupt. I have taken उच्यते as a real word, but am not certain that I am right in doing so.

[5] My copy reads वक्र, and Dr. Thibaut also read वक्र where I have read वक्त्रं, which is undoubtedly the original reading. The tradition about Râhu's mouth and tail is well known; and in the *Pañchasiddhântikâ* itself we find words meaning 'mouth' and 'tail' used respectively for the ascending and descending nodes of the moon. In verses containing information according to the *Paulisa-Siddhânta*, we meet with the words मुख, 'mouth,' and वदन, 'mouth,' for the ascending node, and twice with the word पुच्छ, 'tail,' for the descending node.

From the first verse of the eighth chapter, given above, we see that 150 revolutions of the sun are performed in 54,787 days; then one revolution takes 365 *days*, 14 *gh.*, 48 *p.* (= 365 days, 5 hours, 55 minutes, 12 seconds), which is therefore **the length of the year according to the original Rômaka-Siddhânta.** It is corroborated by the 15th verse of the first chapter, just given. From the fourth, fifth, and eighth verses of the eighth chapter, given above, we see that 38100, 110, and 24 revolutions respectively of the moon, the moon's anomaly, and the moon's node, are performed in 1,040,953, 3,031, and 163,111 days. Subtracting the moon's anomaly from her mean motion, we get her apogee. The revolutions of the sun and moon, and of the moon's apogee and node, in a Mahâyuga of 4,320,000 years, as well as in the Rômaka-Yuga of 2,850 years, derived from these verses, together with some other elements are given in **the accompanying Table.** Taking the *ahargaṇa* to be nil, we find, from the four verses of the eighth chapter given above, the *kshêpakas* of the sun, moon, and moon's apogee and, node, for Saka-Samvat 427 expired; they also are given in the accompanying Table. It is proved as will be seen from my paper on the original *Sûrya-Siddhânta* (page 45 ff. above), that the *kshêpakas* in the *Pañchasiddhântikâ* according to that Siddhânta are for the *amânta* Chaitra krishṇa chaturdaśî, Saka-Saṁvat 427 expired, which ended on Sunday, 20th March A. D. 505. And comparing them[6] with the *kshêpakas* according to the original *Rômaka-Siddhânta*, there remains no doubt that the latter also are for the same day; and from the expression अस्तगमवंत्यां, *astagam=Avaṁtyâṁ*, "for the time of the sunset at Ujjain," at the end of the fifth verse of the eighth chapter given above, it appears that they are for the time of sunset at Ujjain on that day.

The sun's *kshêpaka* is 11 signs, 29 degrees, 34 minutes, 22·4 seconds. He was then short of the mean Mêsha-Saṁkrânti by only 25 minutes, 37·6 seconds. Taking the above ascertained length of the year, he takes exactly 26 *ghaṭîs* to traverse this distance. Therefore, the mean Mêsha-Saṁkrânti of Saka-Saṁvat 427 expired, occurred, according to the original *Rômaka-Siddhânta*, at 56 *ghaṭîs* after mean sunrise at Ujjain on the *amânta* Chaitra kṛishṇa chaturdaśî, Sunday, 20th March, A. D. 505; the current apparent *tithi* at that time being the *amâvâsya*. Calculating back, we find that, according to the original *Rômaka-Siddhânta*, the mean Mêsha-Saṁkrânti of Kaliyuga-Saṁvat 1 current, — *i. e.* the commencement of the Kaliyuga, if such a thing were contemplated at all in that Siddhânta, — took place at 27 *gh.* 12 *p.* after mean sunrise on Saturday, 2nd April, B. C. 3102; *viz.* 43 *days*, 42 *gh.*, 12 *p.*, after that of the original *Sûrya-Siddhânta*. This time is neither sunrise, noon, sunset, nor midnight. This point, together with the moon's place, which was not, as will be seen from col. 4 of the accompanying Table, at the beginning of Mêsha at the commencement of the Kaliyuga, and the number of revolutions and *Sâvana* days &c. in a Mahâyuga given in the same Table, which are not whole numbers, show clearly that in the original *Rômaka-Siddhânta* there was not such a Yuga-system as is found in the *Sûrya-Siddhânta* and similar other works. We have also Brahmagupta's testimony to this. In the passage (*a*) above, he censures the Rômaka for having no Yuga-system in conformity with the *Smṛitis*.[7]

On the other hand, we see from the 46th verse of passage (*c*), from the 49th verse of passage (*h*), and from passage (*i*), that there was such a Yuga-system in Śrîshêṇa's work. I must admit here that I am not at present able to understand fully the force of the expression युगयातवर्षभगण, *yugayâtavarsha-bhagaṇa*, in passage (*h*), and of some verses preceding and following passage (*i*). But in these last verses the word महायुग, *mahâyuga*, occurs twice again; and from all these three passages taken together, I am convinced that in Śrîshêṇa's work

[6] They will be found in column 2 of the Table on page 49 above.

[7] From the passage (*c*) above, a doubt is likely to arise, *viz.* that there was in reality a Yuga-system in the original *Rômaka-Siddhânta*. But, in the first place, that passage is to be taken as true only in a general way. And secondly, we have seen above that there was a sort of Yuga in the original *Rômaka-Siddhânta*, consisting of 2,850 solar years, and that Yuga must be taken as commencing either at sunrise or some other fixed time. And the passage (*c*) is not inconsistent with (*a*).

there was such a Yuga-system at least as was different from that in the original *Rômaka-Siddhânta*, if it was not such as is employed in the Sûrya and other Siddhântas.

Fifthly, we see from passage (*h*) that Srîsheṇa borrowed the method of finding the apparent places of the planets from Âryabhaṭa. The method of finding the apparent place of the sun according to the original *Rômaka-Siddhânta*, is found in the following verses of the *Pañcha-siddhântikâ*, which I give as they stand in my copy :—

रविशशिनोः स्फुटकरणं खखेंदुभवनार्धसंमितैः खंडैः ।
तत्क्रमशश्च पुनस्तैर्मिथुनदलं शोध्यते ऽर्कस्य ॥ 2 ॥
तिथिमनुदशाकृतसहितारसमनुहीनाभविंशतिहीनाः ।
धृतिविषयोना द्विदशाष्टिधृतिषु वृद्धिः कलादिरक्तिला ॥ 3 ॥ Chapter xviii.

The passage is very corrupt; and I must state that I do not understand it fully. Nevertheless I can say that the method in it is certainly not similar to that of Âryabhaṭa; the last words in the second verse alone, establishing the difference between the two *Rômaka-Siddhântas*.

The expression *Mithuna-dalaṁ śôdhyatê ऽrkasya*, "the half of the sign Mithuna is to be subtracted from the sun," — shows that the longitude of the sun's *uchcha* according to the original *Rômaka-Siddhânta* is 75 degrees, while according to the *Ârya-Siddhânta*, — the published work of the first Âryabhaṭa, — it is 78 degrees.[8] Brahmagupta, who has strictly followed Âryabhaṭa in writing the first part of his *Khaṇḍakhâdya*, gives it 80 degrees, in the following words, — *bhâgâśîtir=inôchchaṁ* (v. 14, chap. i.), — "the *uchcha* of the sun is eighty degrees." And this may be taken to be the sun's *uchcha* according to the other work[9] of the first Âryabhaṭa. Srîshêṇa must have borrowed one of these two; and both of them are at variance with the original *Rômaka-Siddhânta*.

Sixthly, the *Rômaka-Siddhânta*, as represented in the *Pañchasiddhântikâ*, contains the calculations of only the sun and the moon; while Srîshêṇa's work had, as is seen from passage (*h*) above, the calculations of the planets also. This, again, shows their difference.

Lastly, in addition to Varâhamihira, the divine authors, and the Ṛishis, the following names of previous writers on astronomy, occur in Brahmagupta's *Brahma-Siddhânta*, — Pradyumna, Lâṭa, Siṁha, Vijayanandin, Âryabhaṭa, Srîshêṇa, and Vishṇuchandra.[10] And these names, except those of Srîshêṇa and Vishṇuchandra, occur also in Varâhamihira's *Pañchasiddhântikâ*. This circumstance tends to show that Srîshêṇa and Vishṇuchandra did not precede Varâhamihira, but followed him.

All these proofs, taken collectively, if not severally, **show clearly that the Rômaka-Siddhânta, treated of in the Pañchasiddhântikâ**, which I have called the original *Rômaka-Siddhânta*, **and Srîshêṇa's Rômaka-Siddhânta, were different and separate works.** Srîshêṇa's date lies somewhere between Śaka-Saṁvat 500[11] and 550 expired (A.D. 578 and 628). At any rate he flourished after Varâhamihira and before Brahmagupta.

I may state, by the way, that almost all of the foregoing remarks, except the fourth argument, apply to **Vishṇuchandra**; that he flourished after Varâhamihira and before Brahmagupta; and that his *Vâsishṭha-Siddhânta* is different from the original *Vâsishṭha-Siddhânta* in the *Pañchasiddhântikâ*. The latter point is proved even by passage (*h*) alone.

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[8] See *Dâśagîtikâpâda*, verse 7.

[9] See my paper on the original *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, page 45 ff., above.

[10] All these names will be found above in passages (*d*) to (*l*). The 58th verse of the 11th Chapter of the *Brahma-Siddhânta* runs thus :—अंकचितिविजयनंदिप्रद्युम्नादीनि पादकरणानि ; where अंकचिति may be the name of an author. But it does not occur anywhere else in the *Brahma-Siddhânta*, nor is it met with in the *Pañchasiddhântikâ*; and therefore I am not certain of it.

[11] I give this limit, on the assumption that Varâhamihira died in Śaka-Saṁvat 509 (A.D. 587). I have, however, some doubt about it.

Table of the Elements of the Original Rômaka-Siddhânta.

	In a Yuga of 2,850 years.	In a Mahâyuga of 4,320,000 years.	Places at the beginning of the Kaliyuga.				Kshêpakas (mean places) on amânta Chaitra krishṇa chaturdaśî, Śaka-Saṁvat 428 current (427 expired), ending on Sunday, 20th March, A.D. 505.			
1	2	3	4				5			
	Revolutions.	Revolutions.	S	°	′	″	S	°	′	″
Sun	2850	43,20,000	0	0°	0′	0″	11	29°	34′	22″
Moon	38,100	$577,51,578\frac{18}{19}$	5	25	33	0	11	29	18	50
Moon's Apogee	$322\frac{288}{5031}$	$4,88,228\frac{13708}{57590}$	3	4	26	34	9	16	58	53
Moon's Node	$153\frac{26589}{169111}$	$232,165\frac{100085}{169111}$	5	11	34	40	7	25	49	3
	Number.	Number.								
Sâvana days	10,40,953	15,778,65,600								
Solar months	34,200	518,40,000								
Intercalated months	1,050	$15,91,578\frac{18}{19}$								
Lunar months	35,250	$53,431,578\frac{18}{19}$								
Tithis	10,57,500	$16,029,47,368\frac{8}{19}$								
Expunged tithis	16,547	$250,81,768\frac{8}{19}$								

The length of the solar year 365 *days*, 14 *ghaṭîs*, 48 *palas*.

Dr. Thibaut, after trying to explain many inconsistencies, seems to have come to the conclusion that "the *Rômaka-Siddhânta*, in that shape at any rate which was given to it by *Śrîshêṇa*, ... was . . . . most probably composed in 505 (A.D. = Śaka-Saṁvat 427 expired)." But I think everyone will now be convinced that Śaka-Saṁvat 427 is not the date of Śrîshêṇa's *Rômaka-Siddhânta*, which is later than that. Also, some other writers on Hindu astronomy, either not knowing or not making any distinction between the original *Rômaka-Siddhânta* and Śrîshêṇa's work, *seem to hold that Śaka-Saṁvat 427 expired (A.D. 505) is the* date of the *Rômaka-Siddhânta*. The reason of this supposition is nothing but the fact that Śaka-Saṁvat 427 is the epoch of the *Pañchasiddhântikâ*, and that, particularly in his method of calculating the *ahargaṇa* according to the *Rômaka-Siddhânta*, Varâhamihira has taken that year as the starting-point. But this reason proves to be a fallacy on the face of it; and the supposition founded on it falls to the ground. If that be the date of the Rômaka, which is only one of the five Siddhântas treated of by Varâhamihira, why should we not say that it is the date of the original *Sûrya-Siddhânta* also? The *kshêpakas*, according to the *Sûrya-Siddhânta* given in the *Pañchasiddhântikâ*, are proved to be for Śaka-Saṁvat 427 expired; and a superficial reader might easily take it to be the date of the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*. And similarly we might go so far as to say that it is equally the date of all the five Siddhântas, not excluding even the Paitâmaha, which, I can say on the authority of the *Pañchasiddhântikâ*, has the greatest

resemblance to the doctrines promulgated in the *Vêdâṅga-Jyôtisha*, and which, therefore, is undoubtedly the oldest of the five. Similarly, that Śaka-Saṁvat 427 expired is a starting-point in the method of calculating the *ahargaṇa* according to the *Rômaka-Siddhânta* in the *Pañchasiddhântikâ*, proves nothing. Varâhamihira had to give that method; and, as it would have been a little superfluous to give it according to all the five Siddhântas, he chose the Rômaka for it; and there is no special reason for his selecting it. It would be foolish to ask why he did not select any other Siddhânta for it. No one can show that he was compelled of necessity to use no other. Instead of the Rômaka, he might just as well have given the method according to any other Siddhânta. And in that case, and even if he had given the method according to all the five Siddhântas, he would have chosen no other year but Śaka-Saṁvat 427. And Śaka-Saṁvat 427 expired, therefore, is not the date of the original *Rômaka-Siddhânta*, as it is not of any of the other Siddhântas in the *Pañchasiddhântikâ*.

Moreover, there is decisive evidence to show that Śaka-Saṁvat 427 expired is not the date of the original *Rômaka-Siddhânta*. The Yuga of the Rômaka, comprising 2,850 years, was a luni-solar Yuga. The *kshêpakas*, in the *Pañchasiddhântikâ*, of the sun and moon for Śaka-Saṁvat 427 expired, according to the *Rômaka-Siddhânta*, are given in the 5th column of the accompanying Table. Calculating from them, with the mean motions of the sun and moon according to the *Rômaka-Siddhânta*, I find that the mean *amâvâsyâ* ended 1 *ghaṭî*, 16·5 *palas*, after the time of the *kshêpakas*, *i.e.* at 31 *gh.* 16·5 *p.* after mean sunrise; and at that time the longitude of the sun and moon was 11 signs, 29 degrees, 35 minutes, 38 seconds. I do not know yet the method of calculating the apparent places of the sun and moon from the mean, according to the original *Rômaka-Siddhânta*; but taking their mean places and *uchchas* from the *Rômaka-Siddhânta*, and applying the method of other Siddhântas, I find that the apparent *amâvâsyâ* ended about 36 *gh.* after the time of the *kshêpakas*, *i.e.* at 6 *gh.* after mean sunrise on the next day; and at that time the apparent longitude of the sun and moon was 2 degrees, 16 minutes, 1 second.

It is seen from these calculations that, at the end of either the mean or the apparent *amâvâsyâ*, the sun and the moon were not at the beginning of Mêsha; and that neither the mean nor the apparent *amâvâsyâ* ended either at sunrise, noon, sunset, or midnight. Whatever be the method of calculating the apparent places of the sun and moon according to the *Rômaka-Siddhântas*, any one familiar with practical astronomy will be convinced, from their *kshêpakas*, that, when they would be together, *i.e.* at the end of the apparent *amâvâsyâ*, they would not stand at the beginning of Mêsha, nor would their coming together take place either at sunrise, noon, sunset, or midnight. And consequently the Yuga of the Rômaka cannot have commenced in Śaka-Saṁvat 427 expired. The original *Rômaka-Siddhânta* was evidently not a Karaṇa, but a Siddhânta; and therefore, its starting-point for calculating the *ahargaṇa* cannot be Śaka-Saṁvat 427 expired, unless that is the year of the commencement of its Yuga, which cannot be the case, as we have just seen. And, therefore, **Śaka-Saṁvat 427 expired is not the epoch of the original Rômaka-Siddhânta** for calculating the *ahargaṇa* and other details.

It might still be urged that the author of the *Rômaka-Siddhânta* may have given the date of its completion specifically, and that this was Śaka-Saṁvat 427. But even if it be so, what influence would that date have had with Varâhamihira? Brahmagupta wrote his *Brahma-Siddhânta* in Śaka-Saṁvat 550; but the epoch of his own Karaṇa, the *Khaṇḍakhâdya*, is Śaka-Saṁvat 587 expired (A.D. 665). Bhâskarâchârya wrote his *Siddhânta-Śirômaṇi* in Śaka-Saṁvat 1072 expired (A.D. 1150); but he employed Śaka-Saṁvat 1105 expired (A.D. 1183) as the epoch for his own Karaṇa, the *Karaṇakutûhala*. It is most unlikely that Varâhamihira should have chosen the year of the composition of the *Rômaka-Siddhânta* for the epoch of his Karaṇa, the *Pañchasiddhântikâ*. The year Śaka-Saṁvat 427 expired, which is the epoch of the *Pañchasiddhântikâ*, has nothing to do with the date of the composition of the *Rômaka-Siddhânta*; and it must be very near to the date of the composition of the *Pañchasiddhântikâ*, if it is not the very year of its composition.

At present we have no means of determining the age of the original Rômaka-Siddhânta with much certainty. But I am of opinion that it is much older than Saka-Saṁvat 427 (A.D. 505) I proceed to give my reasons.

In the introductory verses of the *Pañchasiddhântikâ*, Varâhamihira states: —

पौलिशरोमकवासिष्ठसौरपैतामहास्तु सिद्धांताः ।
पंच-थो ह्यावार्यौ व्याख्यातौ लाटदेवेन ॥ Chapter i., verse 3.

"The Pauliśa, Rômaka, Vâsishṭha, Saura, and Paitâmaha (*are*) the Siddhântas; of these five, the first two have been explained (*with commentaries*) by Lâṭadêva." It is clear from this that the Pauliśa and Rômaka, which are two of the five Siddhântas treated of by Varâhamihira, are the same with those commented on by Lâṭa; and that Lâṭa preceded Varâhamihira. And therefore the *Rômaka-Siddhânta* commented on by Lâṭa must be, taking only this point into consideration, at least fifty years, if not more, older than Saka-Saṁvat 427, the epoch or date of the *Pañchasiddhântikâ*. Before proceeding further, I must dispose of some assertions by Dr. Thibaut; coming from so high an authority, they require consideration. He says about Lâṭa,[12] referred to in the above verse:—"I think it much more likely that he (Lâṭa) preceded him (Âryabhaṭa). A doubt concerning Lâṭa's position might arise from the introduction of the *Pañchasiddhântikâ*, in which it is remarked that the Pauliśa and Rômaka were "*vyâkhyâtau*" by Lâṭadêva. This Lâṭadêva is either to be considered as a writer altogether different from that Lâṭa to whom Śrîshêṇa was indebted for a part of the elements of his Siddhânta, or else we must suppose that Śrîshêṇa's *Rômaka-Siddhânta* was merely a re-cast of an older *Rômaka-Siddhânta* which was written or commented on by Lâṭa." This is a good example of the difficulties that occur in dealing with the inconsistencies arising from the supposition that the *Rômaka-Siddhânta* treated of by Varâhamihira is the same with that of Śrîshêṇa, and that its date is Saka-Saṁvat 427. If the Lâṭa from whom Śrîshêṇa borrowed, were different from the Lâṭa who had "written or commented on" the *Rômaka-Siddhânta*, which undoubtedly forms one of the five Siddhântas in the *Pañchasiddhântikâ*, it follows that Śrîshêṇa's work was different from the Rômaka of the *Pañchasiddhântikâ*; a fact which Dr. Thibaut seems to deny, but which is established without the necessity of supposing that there were two Lâṭas. Besides, there are no reasons for believing that there were two Lâṭas. As to the second assertion, it will be seen clearly from passage (*h*) above, which Dr. Thibaut also has taken into consideration (p. 290 f. of his article), that Śrîshêṇa's Rômaka was not merely a recast of an older Rômaka "written or commented on" by Lâṭa. In the above quotation itself, Dr. Thibaut admits that to "Lâṭa Śrîshêṇa was indebted for *a part* of the elements of his Siddhânta." He writes to the same effect in another place also (p. 289, line 5, of his article). Now, I have demonstrated above that the two were different and separate works. I have to show here chiefly that the *Rômaka-Siddhânta* treated of in the *Pañchasiddhântikâ* was not 'written,' but only 'commented on' by Lâṭa. In the above verse व्याख्यात cannot mean anything but 'commented on.' But supposing it does mean 'written,' we must apply it to both the Pauliśa and the Rômaka Siddhântas. But I can prove conclusively that these two were not written by Lâṭa. The method of calculating the mean place of the sun according to the *Pauliśa-Siddhânta*, is given in the following verse of the *Pañchasiddhântikâ*:—

खार्केऽग्निहताधमनमपास्य रूपाग्निवसुहताधकृतैः ।
हृत्वा क्रमाद्दिनेशो मध्यः...

"Taking away the fires (three) and the fires (three) (*i. e.* 33) from (*the ahargaṇa*) multiplied by the sky (nought) and the suns (twelve) (*i. e.* by 120), and dividing it by form (one), the fires (three), the Vasus (eight), the fires (three), and (*the yugas headed by*) Kṛita (four) (*i. e.* by 43,831); (*the result is*) the mean lord of days (the sun) in succession (*of revolutions, signs, &c.*)."

Here we see that 120 revolutions of the sun are performed in 43,831 days. Then one revolution takes 365 *days*, 15 *ghaṭîs*, 30 *palas*, which is therefore the length of the year according to the

[12] *Journ. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LIII. Part. I. p. 291-92.

Pauliśa-Siddhânta, and which is 42 *palas* in excess of the year of the *Rômaka-Siddhânta*. It is clear, therefore, that these two Siddhântas differ much from each other in the most fundamental principle; and it is impossible that they can have been written by one and the same Lâṭa. They were, therefore, only commented on by Lâṭa, and are evidently much older than him and than Varâhamihira.

On reading the *Pañchasiddhântikâ* and Brahmagupta's *Brahma-Siddhânta*, anyone will see at once that both of them make a clear distinction between the five Siddhântas, — Pauliśa, Rômaka, Vâsishṭha, Saura, and Paitâmaha, — on the one hand, and on the other, the works of Âryabhaṭa and others. Neither of them gives the names of the authors of the five Siddhântas, but they treat them as of divine origin. Such is not the case with other works. I have given above (page 138) seven names of human authors as occurring in the *Brahma-Siddhânta*. But Brahmagupta mentions them all, only to find fault with them. The same may be said of Varâhamihira. He mentions five of the above seven who preceded him, and does not hesitate to censure them, though he is much less severe than Brahmagupta in his attacks. On the other hand, the very fact that the chief object of the *Pañchasiddhântikâ* is to give the purport of the five Siddhântas, and that Brahmagupta mentions them, as is seen from passages (*b*) and (*c*) above, to support his own statement, shows in what respect and reverence they were held in those times. The very names Saura and Paitâmaha, — 'the works which have come from the Sun (as a god) and Brahman,' — show the belief of their divine origin. And it could not be the effect of few years. Some centuries must have elapsed before their real authors were forgotten, and they came to be regarded as divine works.

The length of the year of the original *Rômaka-Siddhânta* is certainly that of Hipparchus. And there is reason to believe that this *Rômaka-Siddhânta* was based on his theories and tables of the sun and moon. It was Ptolemy who "established the theory of the planets in accordance with the principles of that astronomer (Hipparchus)."[13] And the fact that the original *Rômaka-Siddhânta*, as represented in the *Pañchasiddhântikâ*, contains calculations of only the sun and the moon, and not of the planets, greatly tends to show that its author did not know Ptolemy's work on astronomy; an inference that could, I believe, be proved also by comparing the elements of the original *Rômaka-Siddhânta* with those of Ptolemy, though at present I am not able to make the comparison. Ptolemy's work cannot have come into existence in the time of the author of the original *Rômaka-Siddhânta*; otherwise, instead of the work of Hipparchus, that of Ptolemy would have come to India, and would have become the basis of the original *Rômaka-Siddhânta*. It may even be said that probably Ptolemy's work never came to India at all in early times. At any rate Hipparchus's length of the year, and his principles of calculating the places of the sun and the moon, must have come to India before the time of Ptolemy. And my present conclusion is that the latest possible date for the original *Rômaka-Siddhânta*, — which itself, as shown by some indications, is the latest of the five Siddhântas, — is A.D. 150.

A Rômaka or Rômaśa Siddhânta is extant in the present day. But I cannot say at present whether it is the same as, or different from, Śrîshêṇa's work. I have a copy of it. It contains about 375 verses in the Anushṭubh metre, divided into 11 chapters called Adhikâras. In almost all its elements it agrees with the present *Sûrya-Siddhânta*.

SANSKRIT AND OLD-KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

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

No. 186. —BALAGAMVE STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF VINAYADITYA.

This inscription was originally brought to notice by Colonel Henry Dixon, H. M.'s 22nd Regiment M. N. I., in his photographic collection, published in 1865, of inscriptions on stone and

[13] See Grant's *History of Physical Astronomy*, Introduction, p. iii.; also p. 439.

copper from various places in the Maisûr territory. A print from his negative has been published in my *Páli, Sanskrit, and Old-Kanarese Inscriptions*, No. 152. And I have made brief references to it in this Journal, Vol. VI. p. 94, and in my *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, pp. 10, 28. Also, Mr. Rice has given a translation of it in his *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 186; but, owing partly to the blurred and indistinct nature of the photograph, his version of it, except in the first three lines, is but very little in accordance with its real purport. It is now edited in full for the first time, from ink-impressions made in 1885 by my own man. I have also had before me a double photograph, sent to me in 1886 by Dr. Burgess, of two estampages made by one of his subordinates. On one side there is shewn a photograph of the untouched estampage, which represents the original very well, though it has been of no use to me over and above the ink-impressions. On the other side there is a photograph of an estampage which has been touched up with the object of bringing out the writing more clearly; in doing this, some of the letters have been spoilt.

Balagâmve, Balagâmi, or Belagâve, is a village in the Shikârpûr Tâlukâ or Sub-Division of the Shimoggâ (properly Sivamoggâ) District, Maisûr; in the map, Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 42, it is entered as 'Balagauvee,' in Lat. 14° 24′ and Long. 75° 18′. The inscription is on a **stone-tablet**, measuring about 1′ 10″ broad by 3′ 6″ high, as to the position of which I have no exact information.

The **emblem** at the top of the stone is an elephant, standing to the proper left, very well depicted. — The **writing** covers a space of about 1′ 7½″ broad by 2′ 8½″ high, and seems to be on a slightly countersunk surface. It has suffered considerably from the weather; but it is quite legible throughout, and there are but very few *aksharas* in it which are at all doubtful. — The **characters** belong to the southern class of alphabets, and are of the regular type of the period and locality to which the record belongs. The **size of the letters** varies from ½″ to 1¼″. The engraving is bold and good. — The **language** is Old-Kanarese throughout; and the whole record is in prose. It belongs to a period for which, owing to the want of a complete and reliable dictionary, the language presents many difficulties; so that the translations which I put forward can, for the present, as I have remarked on at least one previous occasion, only be regarded as more or less tentative. But in the present case, the only word that has remained unintelligible, is that which I read as *alavaṇa* in line 5-6. We may note that in *alavaḷḷiyará*, line 8, *aṇḍugiyá*, line 10, and *nîrilliyá*, line 10-11, the genitive ends in the long *á*; on the other hand, in *vaḷḷiggámeyara*, line 6, and *amaliyara*, line 7, the termination is the short *a*. — In respect of **orthography**, the only point that needs to be noticed, is the use of *v* for *b* in *viṭṭár*, line 6; *vittidalli* and *veḷeyáde*, line 16; *veḷege*, line 18; and *vaḷḷiggámeyara*, line 6. In other inscriptions, the name included in this last word is almost always written with *b*. And in the other words, since they are not in composition, the use of the *b* would have been at least more regular.

The **inscription** refers itself to the reign of **the Western Chalukya king Vinayâditya**, and to a time when his feudatory, **the Mahârâja Pogilli, of the Sêndraka family**, was governing a part of his dominions. It is non-sectarian; the object of it being only to record the remission of certain fees and duties by an official named **Kândarba**, at the time of his accession to office. It is **not dated**; but, from Vinayâditya's other records, it is known to belong to the period between A.D. 680 and 696. In this inscription, to the name of Vinayâditya there is attached the *biruda* or secondary name of **Râjâśraya**, "the asylum of kings." This is accounted for by the copper-charters (*e. g.* No. 187 below, line 16), which say that he was "like (the epic hero) Bharata, through being the asylum of kings (*râjâśrayatvât.*)"

Several **places** are mentioned in this inscription. First we are told that the *Mahárája* Pogilli's government comprised **the Nâyarkhaṇḍa (district) and Jedugûr or Jeḍugûr.**[1] For

[1] During this period of the alphabet, and for a long time afterwards, it is often impossible, in Old-Kanarese names of persons and places, to distinguish between the dental *d* and the lingual *ḍ*, and to decide whether the vowels *e* and *o*,

the second of these names, I have not been able to obtain any other reference; but it is possibly represented by **the modern Jeḍḍa**, in the Sorab Tâlukâ, Shimoggâ District, Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 42, Lat. 14° 35′, Long. 75° 7′. **Nâyarkhaṇḍa** is evidently a Prâkṛit form of the name of the **Nâgarakhaṇḍa**, or "(territorial) section of the Nâgas," of other inscriptions, in which it is described as a division of the Banavâsi Twelve-thousand, and is called sometimes the Nâgarakhaṇḍa *kampaṇa*, and sometimes **the Nâgarakhaṇḍa Seventy** (e.g. *P. S. and O.-K. Inscrs.* No. 120, lines 41-42, 44). **Valliggâme** is one of the forms of the name of **Baḷagâmve** itself; and is probably the nearest ancient approximation to the modern name. Other Kanarese forms are **Baḷḷigâve** (*ante*, Vol. IV. p. 181), Baḷḷigrâme (*ante*, Vol. V. p. 49), Valligrâme (*P. S. and O.-K. Inscrs.* No. 166, line 39), and Valligrâma (*id.* line 42). Also we have the Sanskṛitised form Balipura (*ante*, Vol. V. p. 18); and in *P. S. and O.-K. Inscrs.* No. 166, line 42 ff., the town is likened to the capital of Bali (*Bali-râjadhâni*). But I have not met with any other instance of the use of the double *gg* in the third syllable; here it is very distinct; and the second *g* must be taken as a Prâkṛitic assimilation of the *r*. Of the other places mentioned in this record, Veḍevaḷḷi (or Veḍevaḷḷi), which might appear elsewhere without the initial *v*, may perhaps be identified with **the modern Yeḍehaḷḷi** in the Lakkuvaḷḷi Tâlukâ, Maisûr, in Lat. 13° 37′, Long. 75° 34′. **Aṇḍugi** (or Aṇṭugi)[2] seems to be **the modern 'Undega'** of the map, close to Sorab, in Lat. 14° 23′, Long. 75° 14′. And **Nîrilli** may perhaps be the modern **Niralgi**, the 'Nerulgee' of the map, in the Hângal Tâlukâ, Dhârwâḍ District, in Lat. 15° 53′, Long. 75° 19′. For the names of Amali, Alavaḷḷi or Alaṁvaḷḷi, and Nâvaḷḷi, I cannot find any representatives in the part of the country to which this record belongs. In lines 11 and 15, mention is made of **the two districts** (*nâḷ* = *nâḍ*), and, more specifically, of **the two Seventies**. These, plainly, are **the Nâgarakhaṇḍa Seventy, and either the Jiḍḍuḷige Seventy or the Eḍenâḍ Seventy**, which are sometimes mentioned in close connection with it (e.g. *P. S. and O.-K. Inscrs.* No. 158, lines 64, 66, 68).

TEXT.[3]

1 Svasti Śrî-**Vinayâditya-Râjâśraya**-śrîpṛithi-
2 vi(vî)vallabha-mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêśvara-bha-
3 ṭârar=pṛithivi-râjyaṁ-keye [1*] śrî-**Pogilli-Sêndraka-**
4 mahârâjar=**Nâyarkhaṇḍamuṁ** **Jedugûr**=âḷgeyân=âḷu-
5 ttu [1*] **Kândarbor**=adhikârigaḷ-âge pêriyâ osageyuṁ a-
6 lavaṇavuṁ[4] aputraka-poraḷumûn=viṭṭâr=**Valliggâmeyara**
7 dâsadiyuṁ **Amaliyara** dêvadiyuṁ **Veḍevaḷḷiyarâ**
8 dêvadiyuṁ **Alavaḷḷiyarâ**[5] Ravichandanuṁ Sorkka-gâmuṇḍa-
9 rûṁ[6] Eḍeya-gâmuṇḍarûṁ Moḷejarâmaṇiya-gâmu-

and sometimes *i*, are short or long, unless some idea can be formed as to the etymology or identification of them. In such cases, it is my practice, with names that remain doubtful, to use the dental *d* and the short vowels, because the distinguishing marks can be subsequently added so easily, if required. This should be taken as a general note, which will avoid constant annotation and repetition. It applies also to a few ordinary words, not names, which cannot be found in dictionaries, or cannot be connected with words that are to be found in them.

[2] There is never any confusion between the simple *ṭ* and *ḍ* (represented by *d*). But, when they occur in composition with the nasal *ṇ*, it is often impossible to decide whether the compound means *ṇṭ* or *ṇḍ*; except, of course, in well-known words, such as the Sanskṛit *maṇḍala*, and the Old-Kanarese *gâmuṇḍa*.

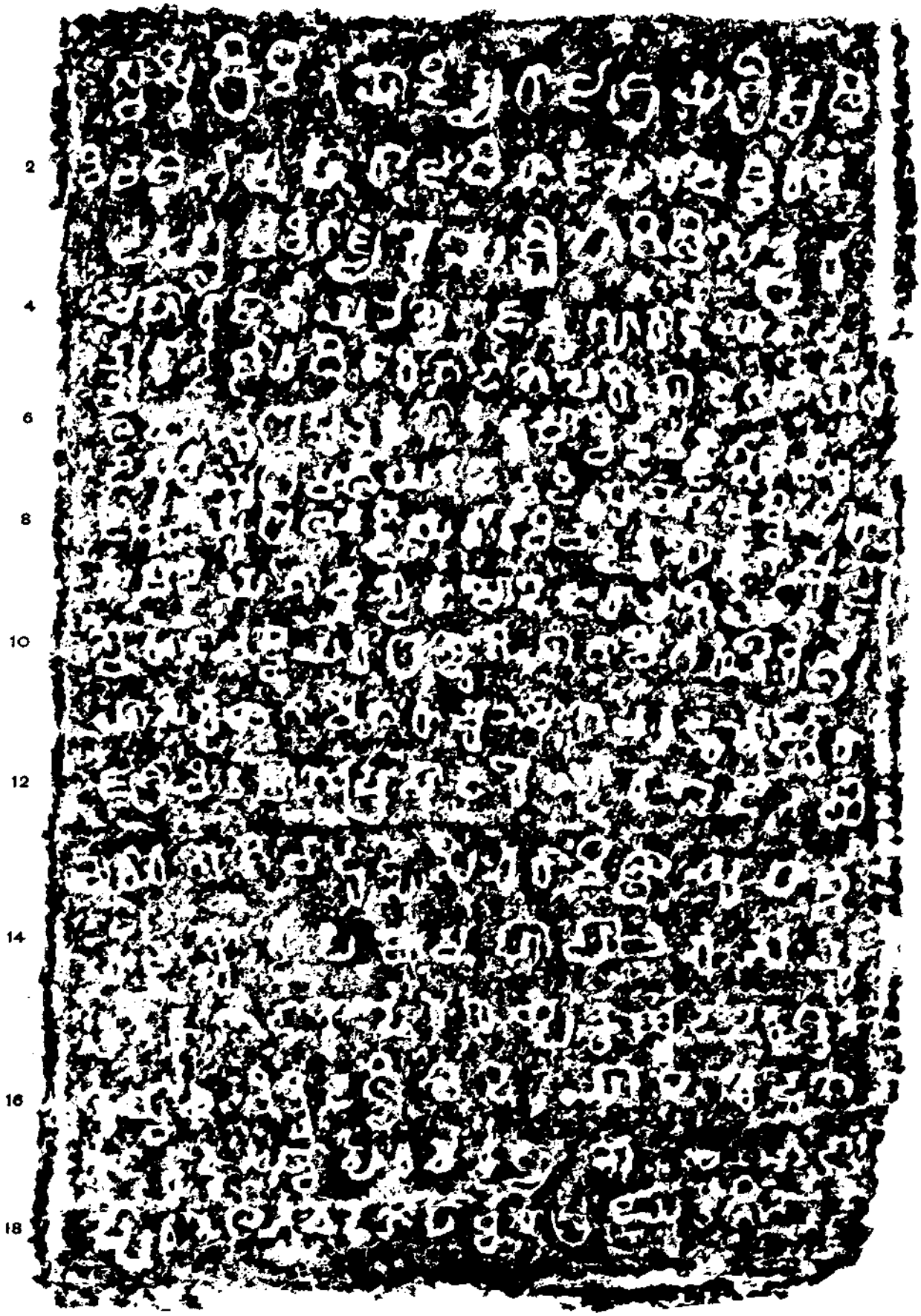
[3] From the ink-impressions, two copies. The lithograph has been prepared from that copy which is the best taken all round.

[4] The initial vowel of this word lies close up on the edge of the inscribed surface, and it is just possible that the long vowel *â* was intended. Also, over the second syllable there is a mark which may perhaps be the *anusvâra*. It is therefore possible, that the crude form is *alavaṇa*, *alaṁvaṇa*, *âlavaṇa*, or *âlaṁvaṇa*. It seems to me, however, that most probably the word is *alavaṇa*.

[5] Or perhaps *alaṁvaḷḷiyarâ*, with the *anusvâra* in the second syllable.

[6] In four instances we distinctly have here the long *û* (*rûṁ*); but in the remaining two, the short *u*(*ruṁ*). The latter is, I consider, the more correct form. The copulative long *û* was adopted, or at any rate became habitual, only at a much later period, when the *anusvâra* was abandoned.

Balagamve Inscription of the time of Vinayaditya.



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

SCALE ·28

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

10 ṇḍarûṁ **Nâvaḷḷiyaruṁ Aṇḍugiyâ**[7] gâmigarûṁ **Nîrilli-**
11 **yâ** Sindeṟa-gâmigaruṁ mukhav-âge **eraḍuṁ-nâḷke** râ-
12 ja-śrâvitam-âge prasâdaṁ-keydûr [॥*] Idân=aḷi-
13 von=Vâraṇaśivaduḷ[8]=sâsira kavileyuṁ pârvva-
14 rumân=konda pañcha-mahâpâtaka-saṁyu-
15 ktan=akkuṁ [।*] idân=koḷe **îr-eḷpattaṟuḷaṁ** okkaltanaṁ-
16 keyvon=â vittidalli veḷeyâde keḍuge [।*]
17 idân=kâdu salvon=parâma-kalyâṇa-tîrtha[ṁ]gaḷ[9]=â-
18 ppâr [।*] nelanuṁ veḷege [।*] pârvvaru[ṁ*] prajeyuṁ taṇige [॥*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! While the glorious **Vinayâditya-Râjâśraya,** the favourite of fortune and of the earth, the *Mahârâjâdhirâja,* the *Paramêśvara,* the *Bhaṭâra,* is reigning over the earth; (*and*) while the illustrious **Pogilli,** the **Sêndraka** *Mahârâja,* is administering **the Nâyarkhaṇḍa (district)** (*and*) the government of **Jeḍugûr**: —

(Line 5) — **Kândarba,** on becoming the officer in charge, remitted[10] (*the fees leviable at*) the festivity of attaining puberty,[11] and the *alavaṇa,*[12] and (*the duty leviable in the case of*) a man dying without a son; (*and thus*) he conferred a favour, in the shape of a royal proclamation,[13] upon **the two districts** headed by the guild of the **Dâsas**[14] of **Vaḷḷiggâme,** and the establishment of the temple of the people of **Amali,** and the establishment of the temple of **Veḍevaḷḷi,** and Ravichanda of the people of **Alavaḷḷi,** and Sorkagâmuṇḍa, and Edeyagâmuṇḍa, and Moḷejarâmaṇiyagâmuṇḍa, and the people of **Nâvaḷḷi,** and the *Gâmigas* of **Aṇḍugi,** and Sinderagâmiga of **Nîrilli.**

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[7] Or perhaps *aṇṭugiyâ*; see note 2 above.

[8] This is rather a peculiar form of the locative of *vâraṇaśi.* We should expect *vâraṇaśiyu* (e.g. *ante,* Vol. VIII. p. 285, line 5) or *vâraṇaśiyoḷ.* But we have elsewhere the genitive *bâraṇasivada,* where we should expect *bâraṇasiya* (*ante,* Vol. X. p. 167, No. 105, line 6); and probably also *vôraṇasivada* (*ante,* Vol. VIII. p. 286, line 5).

[9] The first two syllables of this word are rather damaged. But the first of them is undoubtedly *ti* or *tî*; and I cannot see how the second is to be read, except as *rtha*[*ṁ*].

[10] *viṭṭâr* = *biṭṭâr,* from *biḍu,* 'to put away, leave, relinquish, remit, dispense with.' From meaning 'to give up to,' this verb is constantly used in the sense of 'to grant, bestow;' being then synonymous with *koḍu,* 'to give.' But, in that sense, either it is always accompanied by a dative case, which we have not here; or else the context shews plainly what its meaning is. Here it has only the accusative case, and can hardly be taken except in the sense of 'remitting.' And I think that the obvious meaning of the whole passage justifies and necessitates the words that I have added in brackets. — Mr. Rice translated "presented for the decoration of (the god) Periyadîsa (?);" but this is due only to misreading the initial o of *osage,* and failing to note the copulative termination, *uṁ.* — I have an instance of the use of the causal *biḍisu* in the same sense of 'remitting,' in an inscription, at Dêvagiri in the Karajgi Tâlukâ, Dhârwâḍ District, of a *Mahâsâmantâdhipati* named Śântivarmadêva, which purports to be dated Śaka-Saṁvat 522, the Kîlayukti *saṁvatsara,* but belongs really to a later period; and which, unfortunately, I cannot at present edit satisfactorily, because I can obtain no explanation of the Old-Kanarese word used to denote that which was remitted.

[11] Anyone who has resided in India, will be familiar with the festivity that attends the attainment of puberty by a girl.

[12] This word (see note 4 above) requires explanation. Dr. Bühler has suggested to me that it may possibly stand for the Sanskṛit *âlapana,* and may have a technical meaning like that of the Marâṭhî *âlâp,* for *âlâp,* 'a funeral lament; singing the praises of the dead;' denoting some domestic ceremony of which singing was the chief feature. It looks to me, however, like a purely Drâvidian word. And I should say that the second component is *paṇa,* and that the word denotes something similar to the *aṟuvaṇa,* which was a six-*paṇa* tax or rent on *mânya*-lands. The only other words that I can suggest as possibly connected with it, are, *baluvaḷi, baluvari,* 'a wife's dowry,' and *halaviḷiyu,* 'to miscarry.'

[13] *rôja-śrâvita*; *lit.* 'caused by the king to be heard.' The same term occurs in one of the Aihoḷe inscriptions, *ante,* Vol. VIII. p. 286, line 4; where we have also *nakara-śrâvita.* A somewhat similar term, but not quite so technical in its ultimate meaning, is *râja-rakshita,* 'protected by the king,' which we have had in the Bêlûr inscription, *ante,* Vol. XVIII. p. 274, line 37.

[14] I cannot explain the suffix in *dâsadi* and *dêvadi*; but the meaning of the terms seems obvious. In other Old-Kanarese passages, I have found *dêva* used in the neuter, in the sense of 'an establishment or a temple of a god.' Also the names of gods are used in the neuter in the same way; e. g. *mâṁgêśvaradiṁ baḍaga,* 'to the north of the temple of Maṅgêśvara (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XI. p. 230).

(L. 12.) — Whosoever destroys this, (*being like*) one who has killed a thousand tawny-coloured cows and (*a thousand*) Brâhmaṇs at Vâraṇaśi, let him become invested with (*the guilt of*) the five great sins! He who, appropriating this, practises agriculture in **the two Seventies**, — let that (*which he sows*) rot, without sprouting, as soon as it is sown (or, there where it is sown)! He who behaves so as to preserve this, — they[15] shall become worthy recipients of the most extreme good fortune! Let the earth be fruitful! Let both the Brâhmaṇs and the subjects enjoy satisfaction!

No. 187. — Sorab Copper-Plate Grant of Vinayaditya. Saka-Samvat 614 Expired.

This inscription, again, was originally brought to notice by Colonel Dixon, in his photographic collection. A print from his negative has been published in my *Pâli, Sanskrit, and Old-Kanarese Inscriptions*, No. 16. And I have given a brief notice of its contents in this Journal, Vol. VI, p. 94. Also, Mr. Rice has given a translation of it in his *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 240 ff. But it is now edited in full for the first time.

The original plates are in the possession of someone residing at **Sorab**, the chief town of the Sorab Tâlukâ or Sub-Division of the Shimoggâ District, Maisûr, in Lat. 14° 23′ and Long. 75° 9′. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 42. I have made several attempts to obtain them for examination, but without success, the owner of them being always represented as absent from his village. And on one occasion of reference, Mr. Rice sent me a transcription of the text, in Kanarese characters, which had been made for his own use. But I edit it now from the photographic negative, which has been preserved in the India Office, London, and which is, at any rate, more legible than the prints that can be made from it.

The **plates**, of which the first and last are inscribed on one side only, are three in number; as is shewn by the uniformity, on each side of the second plate, of the slit by means of which the ring was removed from them. The edges of them seem to have been fashioned slightly thicker than the inscribed parts, so as to serve as rings to protect the writing. And the inscription is evidently for the greater part in a state of excellent preservation. At the beginning of some of the lines I have had to mark certain letters in square brackets, as being destroyed or illegible; in some cases this is due to the damage done to the plates in abstracting the ring, and in others, apparently to the plates not having been properly cleaned before photographing them; the letters thus marked, however, can all be supplied with perfect certainty, with the exception of two at the beginning of line 19. For some reason or other, — probably because the record would have ended on the outer side of a plate, and the writing there would have been specially exposed to corrosion and other damage, — the lower half of the second side of the second plate was left blank. At a subsequent time, this space was utilised for **an Old-Kanarese endorsement**, of which there are five lines here, and two on the third plate. But, even with the help of the transcription sent by Mr. Rice, I cannot edit this without an examination of the original plates. — The plates were originally connected by a ring, passing through ring-holes near the proper right end of each plate. But the **ring and seal** of this grant are not now forthcoming; having at some time or another been abstracted from it. This was effected by a fairly clean slit in the second plate; but with the other two plates the same amount of care was not taken, and small portions of them were broken away, in pulling out the ring from them. — The **characters** belong to the southern class of alphabets, and are of the regular type of the period and locality to which the record belongs. They are fairly well formed; and they are of much the same standard with those of the grant of the same king, dated Saka-Samvat 611 expired, of which a lithograph has been given in this Journal, Vol. VI. p. 86. The characters of the Old-Kanarese endorsement belong to exactly the same class of alphabets; but they are of a later date, probably by a century or more; and they are not very well

[15] This change of construction from the singular to the plural, is not infrequent in Old-Kanarese inscriptions.

formed. — Of the record itself, the **language** is Sanskṛit throughout. There is a standard verse in praise of Vishṇu in line 1; and three of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses are quoted in lines 27 to 31; with these exceptions, the record is in prose.— In respect of **orthography**, we have to notice (1) the use of the *anusvâra* instead of the proper nasal, in *ânantara*, line 11; *kâñchî*, lines 11 and 12; *śriṅgasya*, line 12; *nuraṁjanaḥ*, line 15; and *nṛipâṅkuśatrât*, line 16; (2) the use of the Drâviḍian *ḷ* and *ḻ*, in *chôḷa* and *kêraḷa*, line 12, *âḷupêndra*, line 20, and *edevoḷal or eḍevoḷal*, line 23; (3) the use of *v* for *b* throughout, in *praṇivaddha*, line 6; *vâlêndu*, line 14; *valam*, twice, line 14; *vâdhâ*, line 24; and *vahubhir*, line 27; (4) the doubling of *k* before *r*, once, in *parâkkram*, line 5; (5) the doubling of *sh* after *r*, in *varshsha*, line 30; and (6) the omission to double *t* after *r*, in *kârtikêya*, line 3, where the second *t* is etymologically necessary, and in *kîrti*, twice, line 6, where the doubling is customary, though not necessary; in the same word in line 10, the *t* is doubled as usual.

The **inscription** is a record of **the Western Chalukya king Vinayâditya**, who had the *biruda* or secondary name of **Satyâśraya**; and the charter recorded in it, is issued from **his victorious camp at the village of Chitrasedu**. It is non-sectarian; the object of it being only to record the grant of a village to a Brâhmaṇ, which was made at the request of **the Mahârâja Chitravâha, the son of the Âḷupa king Guṇasâgara.**

The local **places** mentioned are, **the village of Chitrasedu,**[1] at which Vinayâditya's camp was, when he made the grant, and which is specified as being **in the Toramara vishaya**; and the granted **village, Sâlîvoge**, which is defined as being **in the Edevoḷal vishaya** in the north-east quarter in the vicinity of **the town of Vaijayantî**. This last word, **Vaijayantî**, is a name of **the modern Bânawâsi**, in the Sirsî Tâlukâ, North Kanara, Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 42 (see *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 7, note 2, and p. 8, note 3), which is also mentioned under the names of **Vanavâsî** in line 6 of this record, in a standard passage, and of **Banavâsi** at the beginning of the Old-Kanarese endorsement; another of its names was Jayantîpura. The names of Edevoḷal, or Eḍevoḷal, for which some other references are given in the second of the notes quoted above for Vaijayantî, and of Sâlîvoge, which in the Old-Kanarese endorsement has the later form of **Salivuge**, remain to be identified.

The details of **the date on which the grant was made**, and which is of interest because it gives **the earliest mention but one of a week-day in an inscription from Southern India**,[2] are: — Śaka-Saṁvat 614, distinctly specified as expired; **the Dakshiṇâyana-Saṁkrânti** or summer solstice, which is to be taken as represented by **the Karka-Saṁkrânti** or entrance of the sun into Cancer; **the Rôhiṇî nakshatra**; and Śanaiśchara**vâra** or **Saturday**. The lunar month, and the *tithi*, or the civil day, are not given. With Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, I find that in Śaka-Saṁvat 615 current, — *i. e.* applying the given year as an expired year, in accordance with the text, — **the Karka-Saṁkrânti occurred on Saturday, 22nd June, A. D. 692**, at about 2 *ghaṭis*, 26 *palas*, after mean sunrise, for Banawâsi.[3] Any rites and ceremonies connected with the *saṁkrânti*, would be performed on this day. And this is evidently the correct English equivalent of the given date. On this day there ended, at about 2 *gh.* 37 *p.*, the *tithi* Śukla 2 of the second or natural Âshâḍha; accepting the statement of the published Tables that in this year the month Âshâḍha was intercalary. But **the nakshatra does not work out correctly.** For, by Prof. Jacobi's Tables, at sunrise on the 22nd June, the moon, instead of being in Rôhiṇî, No. 4, was in Âślêshâ, No. 9, by the equal-space system of the *nakshatras* and by the Garga system of unequal spaces, and in Maghâ, No. 10, by the Brahma-Siddhânta system of unequal spaces. Nor can the *nakshatra* be intended to apply to

[1] See page 143 above, note 1. In the present name, the first two syllables suggest that the last two are probably a corruption of the Sanskrit *sêtu*; but the real name may be Chitrasedu, with the lingual *ḍ* in the last syllable.

[2] The other instance from Southern India, earlier than this, is in the grant, dated in the second year of the Eastern Chalukya king Vishṇuvardhana II., *ante*, Vol. VII. p. 189, line 65 ff.; the equivalent English date is in A.D. 664. The only earlier instance, from any part of the country, is in the Êraṇ pillar inscription of Budhagupta, dated in A.D. 484, from the Central Provinces, *Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 19.

[3] The times here are for Banawâsi, all through.

the sun; for, his position, at the same time, would be in Punarvasu, No. 7, by all three systems. I should remark here that in *P. S. and O.-K. Inscriptions*, p. 12, and in *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 27, note 10, I have given the date of this grant as being "at the time of the sun's commencing his progress to the *north*," *i. e.* at the *winter* solstice; in consequence of then reading *dakshiṇâyana-vimukhê*, "when the sun is facing *away from* the *dakshiṇâyana*." And it happens that, for the winter solstice, as represented by the Makara-Saṁkrânti or entrance of the sun into Capricornus, an almost equally good result is obtainable; though not in any respect a better one. Thus, in the same year, Saka-Saṁvat 615 current, the Makara-Saṁkrânti occurred at about 41 *gh.* 48 *p.*, on Friday, 20th December, A.D. 692; and, in consequence of the lateness of the hour, any rite connected with it would probably be celebrated on the next day, Saturday; on which day there was current the *tithi* Pausha śukla 8, which commenced at about 56 *gh.* 2 *p.* on the Friday, and ended at about 40 *palas* on the Sunday. But, here again, the *nakshatra* does not work out correctly; for, at sunrise on the Saturday, 21st December, by all three systems of the *nakshatras*, the moon, instead of being in Rôhiṇî, No. 4, was in Rêvatî, No. 27, and the sun would be in Uttarâ-Ashâḍhâ, No. 21. From my examination of the negative, I find that, as originally taken by me (*ante*, Vol. VI. p. 94), and as given by Mr. Rice in his *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 241, note, and as given also in the transcription sent to me by him, the reading undoubtedly is *dakshiṇâyan-âbhimukhê*; indicating the *summer* solstice, when the sun was commencing his progress to the *south*.

There is a slight doubt as regards **the regnal year** that is mentioned in this inscription; and it is chiefly on this account that I have desired to obtain a sight of the original plates. In the Kanarese transcription sent to me by Mr. Rice, it is given as the eleventh year (*ékádaśé*); while in his published translation it is shewn as the twelfth year (*dvádaśé*), but with a query attached to it. And in my original notice, as well as in my subsequent references to it, I took it to be the thirteenth year (*trayôdaśé*). The word stands at the beginning of line 19. The syllables *daśé* are quite distinct; and for this reason, as well as for others, the possibility of the fourteenth year (*chaturddaśé*) is excluded. What stands before them is almost quite illegible in the negative, and is perhaps much damaged in the original. But there is ample space for two *aksharas*; which seems to exclude the reading *dvâdaśé*. On the other hand, the space is not properly sufficient for the *trayô* of *trayôdaśé*. While, such traces as can be made out, certainly indicate the *êkâ* of *êkádaśé*. And this, accordingly, is the reading that I have now adopted. Unfortunately, the point cannot be determined by means of Vinayâditya's other dated records. We now have (1) the Lakshmêshwar inscription (*ante*, Vol. VII. p. 112), apparently engraved on stone at some later period from an original record on copper, in which the full-moon of Mâgha, Saka-Saṁvat 608 expired, is stated to be in either the fifth or the seventh current year of his reign; here the reading in the tracing sent to me, seemed to be *pañchama*; but I suggested then that it might perhaps be *saptama*; and I think now, that when a proper impression can be obtained, this will be found to be really the case. (2) The Togarchêḍu grant (*ante*, Vol. VI. p. 85 ff.; and *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. p. 231 ff.), in which the full-moon of Kârttika, Saka-Saṁvat 611 expired, is unmistakably stated to be in the tenth current year of his reign. (3) A grant from the Karṇûl District (*ante*, Vol. VI. p. 88 ff.) in which the full-moon of Mâgha, Saka-Samvat 613 expired, is unmistakably stated to be in the eleventh current year of his reign. (4) The present Sorab grant, in which the second Âshâḍha śukla 2, Saka-Saṁvat 614 expired, is indicated as being in, as I take it, the eleventh current year of his reign. And (5) the Harihar grant (*ante*, Vol. VI. p. 91 ff., and Vol. VII. p. 300 ff.) in which the full-moon of Kârttika, Saka-Saṁvat 616 expired, is unmistakably stated to be in the fourteenth current year of his reign. These dates point to some day between Âshâḍha śukla 2 and Kârttika śukla 15, Saka-Saṁvat 602 expired, for **the accession of Vinayâditya** and the commencement of the first current year of his reign. But, whether the current year in the present record is taken to be the eleventh, or the twelfth, or the thirteenth, it is impossible to find an initial day for the regnal years which will satisfy the conditions of all these five dates. And, what is more remarkable, two of them, in which the readings are unmistakable, and in which

the same lunar day is quoted, are distinctly not in accordance with each other; for, if (No. 2) the full-moon of Kârttika, Śaka-Saṁvat 611 expired, fell in his tenth current year, then (No. 5) the full-moon of Kârttika, Śaka-Saṁvat 616 expired, ought to fall in his fifteenth current year; not in the fourteenth, as recorded. Even if we should assume that the actual day of his accession was itself the full-moon day of Kârttika, Śaka-Saṁvat 602 expired, still, to reconcile these two dates, we should have also to assume that the day was used in No. 2 as the first day of his tenth current year, but in No. 5 as the last day of his fourteenth current year; which is not a very satisfactory solution of the question. Perhaps the means of settling the difficulty may be obtained hereafter. For the present, I can only draw attention to the existence of it; adding that, of Vinayâditya's records, the only one of which the authenticity can fairly be questioned, is the Lakshmêshwar inscription, which is at any rate not the original record of the matter set out in it; for, it stands on the stone below an inscription, dated Śaka-Saṁvat 651 expired, of Vinayâditya's son and successor, Vijayâditya, and also below an intervening Western Gaṅga inscription, dated Śaka-Saṁvat 890 expired.

A curious point about this inscription is that it omits to mention Vinayâditya's grandfather, Satyâśraya-Pulikêśin II. The charter follows the usual form of the Western Chalukya grants. But, after mentioning Pulikêśin I. in line 5, and Kîrtivarman I. in line 6, it proceeds *tasy=âtmajas=samarasaṁsakta-sakalôttarâpathêśvara-śrî-Harshavarddhana-parâjay-ôpalabdha-paramêśvar-âparanâmadhêya-Vikramâditya-paramêśvara-bhaṭṭârakasya*; thus, if we allow for the change of construction from the nominative to the genitive, making Vikramâditya I., instead of his father Pulikêśin II., the son of Kîrtivarman I., and the conqueror of Harshavardhana. The text should properly run *paramêśvar-âparanâmadhêyas=Satyâśraya-śrîpṛithivîvallabha-mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêśvaras=tat-priya-sutasya Vikramâditya-paramêśvara-bhaṭṭârakasya*. There are, however, no apparent grounds for looking on the grant as other than a genuine one; and the omission must be attributed to pure carelessness on the part of the official who prepared the draft from the standard form.

TEXT.[4]

First Plate.

1 Ôm[5] Svasti [||*] Jayaty[6]=âvishkṛitaṁ Vishṇôr=vvârâhaṁ kshôbhit-ârṇṇavaṁ dakshiṇ-ônnata-daṁshṭr-âgra-viśrânta-bhuvanaṁ vapuḥ [||*]

2 [Śrî]matâṁ sakala-bhuvana-saṁstûyamâna-**Mânavya-sagôtrâṇâṁ Hâritî-putrâṇâṁ** sapta-lôkamâtṛibhis=sa-

3 [pta]-mâtṛibhir=abhivarddhitânâṁ Kârt[t*]ikêya-parirakshaṇa-prâpta-kalyâṇa-paramparâṇâṁ bhagavan-Nârâyaṇa-prasâda-

4 [sa]mâsâdita-varâhalâñchhan-êkshaṇa-kshaṇa-vaśîkṛit-âśêsha-mahîbhṛitâṁ **Chalukyânâṁ kulam=alaṁkarishṇô-**

5 [r=aśvamê]dh-â[va]bhṛita(tha)-snâna-pavitrîkṛita-gâtrasya **śrî-Pulakêśi**[7]-vallabha-mahârâjasya sûnuḥ parâkkram-âkrânta-**[Va]-**

6 **[navâ]sy-âdi-para-**nṛipati-maṇḍala-praṇiva(ba)ddha-viśuddha-kîrtiḥ śrî-Kîrtivarmma-pri(pṛi)thivîvallabha-mahârâ-

7 [jas=ta]sy=âtmajas=samara-saṁsakta-sakal-ôttarâpathêśvara-śrî-**Harshavarddhana-parâjay-ôpalabdha-paramêśvar-â-**

8 [para]-nâmadhêya[8] **Vitra(kra)mâditya**-paramêśvara-bhaṭṭârakasya mati-sahâya-sâhasa-mâtra-samadhigata-ni-

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[4] From Colonel Dixon's photographic negative.

[5] It is rather doubtful whether the symbol for this word was engraved; but there seem to be indications of it, a little to the left above the *sva* of *svasti*.

[6] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

[7] The proper form of this name is Polekêśi or Pulikêśi. Here, however, there is no vowel-sign removing the inherent *a*, attached to the *la*.

[8] For the omission here, see the last paragraph of the introductory remarks.

9 ja-vaṁśa-samuchita-chita-râjya-vibhavasya vividha-rasita-sita-samara-mukha-gata-ripu-narapati-vijaya-

10 samupalabdha-kîrtti-sa(pa)tâk-âvabhâsita-digantarasya himakara-kara-vimala-kula-paribhava-vi-

11 laya-hêtu-**Pallavapati**-parâjay-ânaṁtara-parigṛihîta-**Kâṁchîpurasya** prabhâva-kuliśa-dalita-

Second Plate ; First Side.

12 **Chôḷa-Pâṇḍya-Kêraḷa**-dharaṇîdbâra-tû(tra)ya-mâna-mâna-śṛiṁgasya an-anya-samavanata-**Kâṁchîpati**-maṇi-makuṭa-[ku]-

13 ṭa-kiraṇa-saṁî-âbhishikta-charaṇa-kamalasya tri-samudra-madhyavartti-bhuvana-maṇḍal-âdhîśvarasya sûnu[ḥ]

14 [sva*]-pitur=âjñayâ Vô(bâ)lênduśêkharasy=êva Sênânîr=Dđaitya-va(ba)lam=ati-samuddhataṁ trairâjya-**Pallava**-va(ba)lam=avashṭabhya

15 samasta-vishaya-praśamanâd=vihita-tan-manô-nuraṁjanaḥ atyantavatsalatvât Yudhishṭhira iva Śrîrâmatvâ-

16 [d=Vâ]sudêva iva nṛipâṁkuśatvât=Paraśurâma iva râjâśrayatvâd=Bharata iva **Vinayâditya-Satyâśraya**-śrî-

17 [pṛithivî]vallabha-mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêśvaras=sarvvân=êvam=âjñâpayati [1*] Viditam=astu vô=smâ-

18 [bhiś=cha[9]]turddas-ôttara-shaṭ-chhatêshu **Śaka-varshêshv=atîtêshu pravarddhamâna-vijaya-râjya-saṁvatsarê**

19 **[êkâ]daśê**[10] **varttamânê Toramara**[11]-vishayê **Chitra**[12]**sedu**-grâmam=adhivasati vijaya-skandhâvârê **dakshiṇâ-**

20 **yan-âbhimukhê bhagavati bhâskarê Rôhiṇi(ṇî)-nakshatrê Śanaiśchara-vârê Guṇasâgar-Âḷupêndr-âtmaja-śrî-**

21 **Chitravâha**[13]-mahârâja-vijñâpanayâ Dêvarâta-Kauśika-sagôtrâya Ṛigvêda-pâragâya Nâga-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

22 śarmmaṇaḥ pautrâya Saṁkaraśarmmaṇa[ḥ*] putrâya Divâkaraśarmmaṇê śrî-**Vaijayatti(ntî)pur**-ô[pakaṇthê] pûrvv-ô-

23 ttara-vi(di)śâyâṁ **Edevoḷal**-nâma-vishayê **Sâḷivoge**[14]-nô(nû)ma-grâmas=s-ôdakaṁ sa-hiraṁṇyam[15]=a-karam=a-bha-

24 ṭa-pravêśaṁ sa-sarvva-vâ(bâ)dhâ-parihârô dattaḥ [11*] Tad=âgâmibhir=asmad-vaṁśyair=anyaiś=cha râjabhir=âyur-aiśvaryy-â-

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[9] The following syllables, *turddaśôttara*, are so distinct that there is no doubt whatever about the letters which, being illegible, have to be supplied here.

[10] As regards the reading here, see the introductory remarks.

[11] This name was originally read by me (*ante*, Vol. VI. p. 94) as either Toravara or Toramara. But, in the negative, the third syllable is distinctly *ma*.

[12] In this *tra*, and also in the *trê* of *nakshatrê* in the following line, the lower part of the *t*, instead of being left open, is closed up, so that the character is an anomalous one, between *t* and *v* or *r*.

[13] This name was originally read by me (*loc. cit.*) as Chitrapâda. The *ha* is rather damaged; but the *vâ* is quite distinct; and there can be no doubt that the real name is as now given by me, as also in the transcription sent to me by Mr. Rice, though in *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 241, note, he has marked it as doubtful. — As regards the father's name, I originally read *Guṇasâgarâd-Upêndr-âtmâya*, as also has Mr. Rice (*loc. cit.*), which gave the name of Upêndra. But there is no doubt, in the negative, about the correctness of the reading now given by me.

[14] I originally read this word as Sâṭhîvoge. Mr. Rice read it as Salevoge (*loc. cit.*); but it is given as Sâḷivoge in the transcription sent by him. In the first syllable, the long vowel *â*, and in the second, the long vowel *î*, are quite distinct. As regards the consonant in the second syllable, it is badly formed, and is intermediate between *ḷ* and *th*, which latter occurs in *uttarôpathêśvara*, line 7. But, as we distinctly have *saḷivuyeya koṭṭa śâsana* in the second line of the later addition, it seems to be meant for *ḷ* here.

[15] Read *sa-hiraṇyam*.

25 dînâṁ vilasitam=achirâṁśu-chañchalam=avagachchhadbhiḥ â-chandr-ârka-dhar-ârṇṇava-
sthiti-samakâlaṁ yaśa-
26 s=chichîshubhiḥ sva-datti-nirvviśêshaṁ paripâlanîyaṁ ॥ Uktañ=cha bhagavatâ vêda-
vyâsêna Vyâsêna [1*]

Third Plate.

27 Va(ba)hubhir[16]=vvasudhâ bhuktâ râjabhis=Sagar-âdibhiḥ yasya yasya yadâ
bhûmis=tasya
28 tasya tasya tadâ phalaṁ ।(॥) Svan=dâtuṁ su-mahach-chhakyaṁ duḥkham=anyasya
pâlanaṁ dânaṁ vâ pâ-
29 lanaṁ v=êtti(ti) dânâch=chhrêyô=nupâlanaṁ ।(॥) Sva-dattâṁ para-dattâṁ vâ yô
harêti(ta) vasu-
30 [ndharâṁ] shashṭi-varshsha-sahasrâṇi vishṭhâyâṁ jâyatê krimiḥ [॥1*] Mahâ-
31 sândhivigrahika-śrî-**Râmapuṇyavallabhêna** likhitam=idaṁ śâsanaṁ [॥1*]

TRANSLATION.

Ôm ! Hail ! Victorious is the form, which was that of a boar, that was manifested of (the god) Vishṇu ; which troubled the ocean, and which had the earth resting upon the tip of its up-lifted right-hand tusk !

(Line 2.) — Of the *Mahârâja*, the illustrious **Pulakêśin (I.)**, the favourite, whose body was purified by ablutions performed after celebrating the *aśvamêdha*-sacrifice, — who adorned **the family of the Chalukyas**, who are glorious ; who are of **the Mânavya gôtra**, which is praised throughout the whole world ; who are **Hâritîputras** ; who have been nourished by the Seven Mothers, who are the seven mothers of mankind ; who have acquired an uninterrupted continuity of prosperity through the favour of (the god) Kârttikêya ; (*and*) who have had all kings made subject to them on the instant at the sight of **the crest of a boar** which they acquired through the favour of the divine (god) Nârâyaṇa, — the son (was) the *Mahârâja*, the illustrious **Kîrtivarman (I.)**, the favourite of the earth, whose pure fame was established in the territories of the hostile kings of **Vanavâsî** and other (cities), that had been invaded by (*his*) prowess.

(L. 7.) — His son (*was*) [the *Mahârâjâdhirâja* and *Paramêśvara*, **Satyâśraya-(Pulikêśin II.)**, the favourite of fortune and of the earth*],[17] whose other title of 'Supreme Lord' (*paramêśvara*) was acquired by **defeating the glorious Harshavardhana**, the warlike lord of all the region of the north.

(L. 8.) — Of [his dear son*],[18] the *Paramêśvara* and *Bhaṭṭâraka*, **Vikramâditya (I.)**, — who, only by (*his*) impetuosity, assisted by (*his*) intellect, attained (*again*) the appropriate accumulated regal power of his own family ; who irradiated the distant regions with the banner of (*his*) fame, praised in various ways and white, that was acquired by victory over hostile kings who marched in the van of battle ; who received (*by surrender*) **the city of Kâñchîpura**, immediately after defeating **the lord of the Pallavas**, who had been the cause of the humiliation and destruction of the family (*of the Chalukyas*) which was as pure as the rays of the moon ;[19] whose excess of self-confidence rent open, with the thunderbolt that was (*his*) prowess, the self-confidence of the three mountains which were **the three kings of Chôḷa, Pâṇḍya, and Kêraḷa** ; who had the water-lilies, that were (*his*) feet, besprinkled with the water that was the rays of the watering-pot of the jewelled diadem of **the lord of Kañchî,**

[16] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh) ; and in the following two verses.

[17] As regards the omissions here, see the last paragraph of the introductory remarks.

[18] Pulikêśin II. had two other sons ; Âdityavarman, and Chandrâditya. The expression "his dear son" seems to indicate the special selection of Vikramâditya I. as his successor on the throne. See *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 12, note 1, for similar instances of selection in the Early Gupta Dynasty.

[19] This is probably an allusion to the tradition, expressed more clearly in later grants (*e.g. ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 50, line 2), which attributes the Chalukya lineage to the Sômavaṁśa or Lunar Race.

who had bowed down before no other, (*but who performed obeisance to him*); (*and*) who was the supreme lord of the (*whole*) extent of the earth included within the three oceans, —

(L. 13.) — The son (*is*) the *Mahârâjâdhirâja* and *Paramêśvara*, the glorious **Vinayâditya-Satyâśraya**, the favourite of fortune and of the earth, who, just as (the god) Sênânî (Kârttikêya) (*at the command*) of (*his father*) Bâlênduśêkhara (Śiva) arrested the power of the Daityas, at the command of his own father arrested the extremely exalted power of **the Pallavas**, whose kingdom consisted of three component dominions, and (*thus*) gratified his father's mind by bringing all countries into a state of quiet; (*and*) who is like Yudhishṭhira through being of an excessively affectionate disposition, like (the god) Vâsudêva (Vishṇu) through being the beloved of (Śrî) the goddess of fortune, like Paraśurâma through being a very elephant-goad to kings, (*and*) like Bharata through being the asylum of kings. He thus issues a command to all people: —

(L. 17.) — "Be it known to you! By us, **when there have expired six hundred Saka years, increased by fourteen, in the current eleventh year of (Our) augmenting victorious reign,** — while (*Our*) victorious camp is located at **the village of Chitrasedu in the Toramara vishaya, — when his radiance the sun is facing towards the dakshiṇâyana, under the Rôhiṇî nakshatra, on Saturday,** — at the request of the *Mahârâja*, the illustrious **Chitravâha**, the son of **the Âḷupa ruler Guṇasâgara**, — to Divâkaraśarman, of the Dêvarâta-Kauśika *gôtra*, who is thoroughly acquainted with the Ṛig-Vêda, (*and*) who is the son's son of Nâgaśarman (*and*) the son of Saṁkaraśarman, there is given **the village named Sâlivoge, in the vishaya named Edevoḷal,** in the north-east quarter in the vicinity of **the famous city of Vaijayanti,** with libations of water, free from taxes, not to be entered by the regular soldiery, (*and*) with exemption from all drawbacks.

(L. 24.) —"Therefore, by future kings, whether they belong to Our lineage or are of other families, who bear in mind that the charms of life, riches, &c., are as evanescent as lightning, (*and*) who are desirous of accumulating fame that shall endure as long as the moon and sun and earth and oceans may continue, (*this grant*) should be preserved, precisely as if it were a grant made by themselves."

(L. 26.) — And it has been said by the venerable Vyâsa, the arranger of the Vêdas: — The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara; whosoever 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*)! It is very easy to give one's own property, (*but*) the preservation (*of the grant*) of another is difficult; if the question is whether giving or preserving (*is the more meritorious*), — preservation is more meritorious than giving! Whosoever confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself or by another, — he is born as a worm in ordure for the duration of sixty thousand years!

(L. 30.) — This character has been written by the *Mahâsâṁdhivigrahika*, the illustrious **Râmapuṇyavallabha.**

FOLKLORE IN WESTERN INDIA.

BY PUTLIBAI D. H. WADIA.

No. 15. — The Wonderful Tree.

In a certain country there lived, once upon a time, a powerful Râjâ who had **seven daughters,** but no sons. **The eldest** of these daughters however had **one son,** and the **second** of them had **two,** but the Râjâ bestowed all his affection on the two sons of the younger daughter, **and totally neglected the son** of her elder sister, although he was much wiser, braver, and altogether a better lad than they. Perhaps his quiet, retiring nature had

something to do with his not being liked by his grandfather, for, though made of better stuff than his cousins, he was thoroughly unassuming in his manners; while the other two Princes, though they did but little, made a show of doing much and used continuously to boast of their exploits.

Be that as it may, the poor lad took the old King's cold treatment of himself much to heart, and longed for some opportunity of doing him some **signal service** whereby he might win his approbation, for, be it mentioned, that the lad entertained a sincere regard for his grandsire.

Now, one day it happened that the Râjâ was enjoying a noonday siesta from which his *wazîr* awoke him rather abruptly. At this the Râjâ was very angry and frowned upon him in such a manner that the poor old man began to tremble, and falling upon his knees, asked his sovereign's forgiveness, for having so thoughtlessly disturbed his rest. But the Râjâ's wrath was too great to be appeased by this mark of his *wazîr's* repentance, for by being thus rudely disturbed from his slumbers he had lost something much more precious than his noonday rest.

"You have not the slightest idea," cried the monarch fiercely, "what this folly of yours has cost me. Just at the moment you called out to me to awake, I was in the midst of such a very delightful **dream** as seldom falls to the lot of mortals to dream. I found myself in a strange country where, among other strange things, I saw a **wonderful tree** rising up to the skies, whose trunk was made of a solid silver, whose branches were of gold, and whose leaves were nothing but large bright emeralds, while thousands of peerless pearls were hanging on it in place of fruit!

Whilst I was wrapt in admiration at this wonderful sight, somebody was just going to tell me how I could obtain possession of that magnificent tree, when you so rudely snatched me away from dream-land, and the glorious vision vanished, leaving me in the dark as to how I was to become the happy possessor of such a grand work of Nature. I charge you, therefore, to go this instant and **bring me just such a tree,** on pain of forfeiting not only all your worldly goods, but your hoary head as well!"

The poor *wazîr* was ready to faint with fear and gave himself up for lost, for he knew not where to go in search of such a object as the Râjâ had dreamt of. But the two **favourite grandsons** of the Râjâ, who had been attracted there by the noise, went to their grandfather and **begged hard to be allowed to go in search** of the marvellous tree, instead of the old *wazîr*. Now these two **crafty young fellows** had hardly courage enough to undertake any ordinary enterprise, let alone going in search of such an unheard of object, but they hoped by these means to get a lot of money in their hands so that they might go abroad and enjoy themselves. The Râjâ, however, believed them, and giving them great praise for what he called their pluck, handed them as much gold as they asked for and sent them away well equipped and supplied with ample provisions. No sooner were the two young men out of their grandfather's city, than they fell into bad company and began to squander the money away to their hearts' content.

Whilst the two brothers were thus enjoying themselves, their cousin, **the only son of the Râjâ's eldest daughter,** also coming to hear of his grandfather's remarkable dream, got his mother to scrape together some gold, and with it **started quietly off in search** of the wonderful tree.

After wandering about from one country to another for some time, he at last found himself in the midst of a **large forest.** He journeyed through it for some distance, when one day he encountered a huge **nâg** (serpent) who lay stretched at full length in his way, and arrested his further progress. The young Prince, however, was not daunted by this sight. He mustered up all his courage, and drawing his sword, boldly attacked the fierce monster which was in reality a demon in the shape of a serpent and was known far and wide by the name of **Lâl.** This demon.

it was said, **guarded the forest** against all strangers, and was believed to be invincible. But our **hero** fought with him so bravely and dexterously, that in a short time he cut him into pieces and **killed him.** As soon as the breath left the body of his foe, the youth found before him a broad path leading right into the heart of the forest. He walked boldly on for some time till he came in sight of a large **garden,** so charmingly laid out as evidently to appear to be the abode of fairies. Just then, **a very beautiful little fairy** came out of a recess, and looking with great astonishment at the youngster said, "What could have brought *you* here? Surely nothing short of my father's death could have opened the way for a stranger to enter our home!" With this she fell a-weeping, and began to tear her hair and rend her clothes.

The young man tried to soothe her and said, "**Although I have killed your father, my little fairy,** I have done so in self-defence, and I promise you I will not harm a hair on your head; but on one condition, *viz.* that you **tell me where I can find the tree** with the silver trunk, golden branches, emerald leaves, and pearls for fruit; for I have come in search of it and am determined to have it."

"Oh! that I can easily do, young man," she said, "for I myself, who am called the silver *parî* (fairy), together with my sisters, the gold *parî*, the emerald *parî*, and the pearl *parî*, form the tree you are speaking of, and if you only manage to bring us all four together, you will soon see the tree before you."

"Tell me then, where to find your sisters," said the Prince eagerly, "and I shall lose no time in bringing them to you."

"Well then **take this silver ring** and go straight on till you find my sister, the gold *parî*, and give it to her." The youth did as he was bid, and soon catching sight of the gold *parî*, handed her the silver ring and asked her to accompany him to her sister.

The gold *parî* knew why the youth wanted her, so she said, "Before I go with you, you must find out two more of my sisters; so here **take this gold ring** and go further on till you find my sister, the emerald *parî*. He did so, and the emerald *parî* in her turn gave him an **emerald ring** and sent him on to her sister, the pearl *parî*, and that lady, at once recognizing the token, received the youth with great kindness, and **gave him a sword,** which, she told him, when held in a particular position, was endowed with the power of bringing the four sisters together and changing them into **the wonderful tree** with the silver trunk, golden branches, emerald leaves, and pearl fruits; while, as soon as its position was reversed, the tree separated into the four little fairies again.

In order to satisfy himself that the fairy's words were true, our hero tried the experiment there and then, when lo! there stood before him just such a tree as his grandfather had expressed his wish to obtain, and his young heart leapt with joy at the thought of how the old Râjâ would love him and load him with favours, for having been instrumental in realizing his dream. He, therefore, instantly converted the tree into the four fairies once again, and started off with them for his native country.

After a few months' journey, the young Prince one day found himself in a large city, where he fell in with **his two cousins.** They were holding high revel there with a number of companions like themselves, and were very much surprised to see him. The poor youth, in his innocence, recounted to them his adventures in the forest, and **showed them** the four fairies, and **the magic sword,** with which they could be converted into the tree which was the object of their grandfather's desire. This awoke a feeling of jealousy in the heart of those ill-natured young men, and they fell to devising some plan by which to put an end to our hero's life and take possession of his magic sword and his fairies. They, however, thought fit to disguise their feelings for a time, and offered to accompany him to their native country.

After a few days' journey, the three cousins halted for the night on a cool spot near a well, and after taking their meals went to sleep. About midnight one of the two brothers aroused our hero from his slumber, and pretending to be ill, entreated him to fetch a draught of cool

water from the well to quench his thirst. The unsuspecting lad, seeing nothing extraordinary in this request, ran at once to the well, leaving his magic sword under his pillow where he had placed it for the night. The two wicked brothers thereupon followed him stealthily, and just as he was bending over **the well** to draw water, they seized him by the legs and **threw him in**, head foremost. This done, they went back to the place where they had pitched their camp, **took possession of the magic sword,** and telling the fairies that their cousin had gone away in advance to apprise their grandfather of their coming, and to prepare him for giving them fit reception, made arrangements for resuming the journey. The little sprites, however, at once suspected foul play, but seeing that they were in the power of those unscrupulous young men, said nothing at the time, and quietly went away with them. But as they marched along they took the precaution of **throwing large tufts of their lustrous hair** here and there on the road, so that, should their young captor be still alive, he might find no difficulty in following them.

The two brothers journeyed home direct and in due course arrived there. They were received with great joy and delight by their indulgent grand-parent, who was in a fever of impatience to behold the wonderful tree. The two wicked young men soon found however that, though they had become possessed of **the magic sword, they did not know how to use it** so as to convert the fairies into the magnificent tree.

They, therefore, turned the sword about in several ways, passed it backwards and forwards over the heads of the fairies, and tried diverse methods of bringing about the transformation, but in vain, till at last the old Râjâ was very much enraged with them and rebuked them severely for thus imposing upon his credulity.

In the meantime our hero, who had been **taken out of the well** by a passing stranger, had speedily found his way home **guided by the tufts of the fairies' hair.** So one day, just as the Râjâ, being fairly tired of the lies with which his younger daughter's sons were putting him off from day to day, was about to question the fairies themselves as to the truth of their story, the young Prince rushed into the garden where the court was assembled, and stood before his aged grandfather. As soon as **the fairies** spied him, they all **cried out** with joy "Here's the brave young hero, who killed our father, Lâl, and brought us away from fairy-land, and **he alone knows the secret** of converting us into the tree with the silver trunk. These others are murderers and robbers, for they robbed their cousin and tried to kill him."

At these words of the fairies the Râjâ ordered those two grandsons of his to deliver up the magic sword into the hands of their cousin, which they did with crestfallen and downcast looks. Our hero immediately waved it about in the proper way, when behold, there stood the magnificent tree in place of the beautiful little maidens!

The old Râjâ was overjoyed at his dream being at last realized, and embracing his **eldest daughter's only son** with great warmth, he there and then proclaimed him his heir, and on hearing from him of the treatment he had received at the hands of his cousins ordered them to instant execution.

MISCELLANEA.

CALCULATIONS OF HINDU DATES.

No. 36.

In a stone inscription of the time of the Hoysaḷa king Vîra-Ballâḷa or Ballâḷa II., on a tablet which, at the time of my visit, was standing against the outside of the south wall of the courtyard of the temple of the god Trikûṭêśvara at **Gadag,** the chief town of the Gadag Tâlukâ in the **Dhârwâd** District, Bombay Presidency, the date (from the photograph, *Pâli, Sanskṛit, and Old-Kanarese Inscriptions*, No. 99, line 31 ff.), runs — Śaka-nṛipa-kâḷ-âtîta-saṁvatsara-śataṅgaḷu 1121neya Siddhârtthi-saṁvatsarada pratham-Âshâḍa(ḍha)-śukla-paksh-âshṭamî-Bṛihaspativâra-Bya(vya)tîpâta-puṇya-dinadôḷ=ā Bya(vya)tîpâta-nimittaṁ, — "on a meritorious day, (*combining*) **Thursday and the Vyatîpâta (yôga),** which is the eighth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of **the first Âshâḍha** of the **Siddhârthin saṁvatsara,** which is the 1121st

(*year in*) the centuries of years that have gone by from the time of the Śaka king; on account of that same Vyatîpâta (yôga)." The following portion of the record is rather indistinct in the photograph. But, combining with the photograph the transcription given in the *Elliot MS. Collection*, Vol. II. p. 290 ff., it appears that on this occasion, while the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Râyadêva was residing happily at Hallaharadakuppa, and, on account of some victory, was bathing and was making gifts to the goddess Tungabhadrâdêvî, with the sacred water of the Tungabhadrâ he washed the feet of Siddhântichandrabhûshaṇa, the *Sthânâchârya* of the god Svayaṁbhûprasannatrikûṭêśvara, and gave a grant of land for the purposes of the rites of that god.

By the southern luni-solar system, the Siddhârthin saṁvatsara coincided with Śaka-Saṁvat 1122 current, *i.e.* with the given year as an expired year. In this year the intercalary month, according to the Tables of Mr. Cowasjee Patell and Gen. Sir A. Cunningham, was Jyêshṭha. But the record indicates Âshâḍha as the intercalary month. And, with Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, the given tithi, sukla 8 of the first Âshâḍha, — the intercalated month, according to the present custom of Southern India, — ended on Thursday, 3rd June, A.D. 1199, at about 57 *ghaṭîs*, 41 *palas*, after mean sunrise (for Bombay);[1] beginning at about 57 *gh.* 53 *p.* on the Wednesday. With Prof. Jacobi's Tables the results are very nearly the same; being, for the beginning-time, 23 hrs. 45 min. (for Ujjain), = 59 *gh.* 22·5 *p.*, on the Wednesday; and for the ending-time, 23 hrs. 32 min., = 58 *gh.* 59 *p.*, on the Thursday. And at sunrise on the Thursday there was the Vyatîpâta yôga, ending at 14 hrs. 3 min., = 35 *gh.* 7·5 *p.*, after mean sunrise. The given *tithi* is here quoted with the week-day on which it ended; in accordance with the rules in the *Nirṇayasindhu* and the *Dharmasindhusâra*; of which the purport, so far as the eighth *tithi* of the bright fortnight is concerned, is that for any ceremony it is to be taken with the week-day on which it is joined by the ninth *tithi*. In the present instance the date is distinctly that of the ceremony of making the grant; not that of writing or preparing the record.

This date is of interest in including a distinct specification of the intercalary nature of a given month; and also in giving an instance in which the contemporaneous record differs from the published Tables, in respect of the name of the intercalated month.

No. 37.

Another instance from Southern India, in which the intercalary nature of a given month is distinctly specified, is a stone inscription of the Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara Vijayapâṇḍyadêva at Dâvaṇgere, in Maisûr; in which the date (from the photograph, *P. S. and O.-K. Inscrs.* No. 141, line 16 f.) runs — śrîmat-Śaka[2]-varshada 1091neya Virôdhi-saṁvatsarada dvitîya-Śrâvaṇa-śuddha-puṇṇami-Sômavârad-aṁdu, — "on Monday, the full-moon *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the second Śrâvaṇa of the Virôdhin saṁvatsara, which is the 1091st of the glorious Śaka years." The record states that on this day there were given again, to the god Avimuktêśvara, some lands which had formerly been granted and had been confiscated.

The original passage is perfectly clear; and it cannot in any respect be read otherwise than as I have given it above. But nevertheless, the details of this date do not work out satisfactorily.

By the southern luni-solar system, which is the only one that can apply in this case, the Virôdhin saṁvatsara coincided with Śaka-Saṁvat 1092 current, *i.e.* with the given year as an expired year. And for this year the Tables, as well as the contemporaneous record, shew Śrâvaṇa as the intercalary month. But the given tithi, the full-moon of the second Śrâvaṇa, — the natural month according to the present custom of Southern India, — ended, not on a Monday, but on Saturday, 9th August, A.D. 1169, at about 33 *ghaṭîs*, 30 *palas*, after mean sunrise (for Bombay).

There is, however, no apparent reason for doubting the authenticity of the record. And some explanation or other should be found for the discrepancy in the result. Of course the full-moon *tithi* of the first Śrâvaṇa in this case could not possibly end on a Monday, for the reason that it must have fallen twenty-nine or thirty days before the Saturday on which the full-moon *tithi* of the second Śrâvaṇa ended; and as a matter of fact it ended on Thursday, 10th July, at about 54 *gh.* 43 *p.* Again, though it may be noted that the full-moon *tithi* of the next month, Bhâdrapada, did end on the given week-day, *viz.*

[1] The times here are for Bombay, all through. For Gadag, they would be about 28 *palas* later. In future calculations I purpose quoting only the times for Bombay or Ujjain, according to the Tables that are used; unless the difference for the locality to which a record belongs, causes, or might cause, a difference in the resulting week-day; or unless for any other special reasons.

[2] Read *śrîmach-chhaka*.

Monday, 8th September, A.D. 1169, at about 13 *gh.* 24 *p.*, yet I do not see how this *tithi* could possibly come to be taken as belonging to the second Śrâvaṇa. I do not think that there can be any mistake in respect of the given month. Nor can there well be a mistake in the given *tithi*; since it is written in full, instead of being denoted by its number. I feel more inclined to think that we have here a genuine mistake in respect of the given week-day, arising from a confusion between the day on which the grant was made, and the day on which the record was written, or the engraving of it, which must have taken some little time, was completed. I suspect that probably the grant was made on the full-moon *tithi* of the second Śrâvaṇa, which ended on Saturday, as noted above; and that the record was written, or the engraving of it was completed, on the following Monday, 11th August, on which day there ended the *tithi* krishṇa 2 of the same month, at about 41 *gh.* 21 *p.* I would not, however, propose this as a final settlement of the date. In the inscriptions of the Kanarese Country, there are many similar instances, in which correct results apparently cannot be obtained. And possibly an examination of a fair number of them might disclose some uniform rule, by which the results can be adjusted without our having to assume any mistakes in the records.

No. 38.

The only other instance that I can at present give of the distinct specification of the intercalary nature of a month in a record from Southern India, is a stone inscription of the Dêvagiri-Yâdava king Siṅghaṇa II., at Kôlâr or Kôlhâr[3] in the Bâgewâḍi Tâlukâ, Bijâpur District, in which the date (from an ink-impression, line 9 ff.) runs — Śaka-varusada[4] 1145de(da)neya Svabhânu-saṁvachchharada[5] dvitîya-Bhâdrapada-sudhdha[6]-5-Su(śu)kravârad-aṁdu, — "on Friday, the fifth *tithi* in the bright fortnight of the second Bhâdrapada of the Svabhânu saṁvatsara, which is the 1145th (year) of the Śaka years." The inscription records that on this date, while Siṅghaṇa II. was reigning at the *nelevîḍu* or capital of Dêvêndragiri (*sic*, line 8), the *Mahâjanas* and others of Kôlâra gave certain grants of land &c., for the purposes of a temple of the god Śiva under the name of Mallikârjuna.

By the southern luni-solar system, the Svabhânu saṁvatsara coincided with Śaka-Saṁvat 1146 current; *i.e.* with the given year as an expired year. The Tables agree with the contemporaneous record in respect of the intercalary month, Bhâdrapada. The tithi sukla 5 of the second Bhâdrapada, — the natural month according to the present custom of Southern India, — ended on Friday, 1st September, A. D. 1223, at about 14 *ghaṭis*, 35 *palas*, after mean sunrise (for Bombay). And this is plainly the correct English equivalent of the given date; though this instance seems to be an exception to the general rule (of the *Dharmasindhusâra*, at any rate; see *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 317), for the use of the fifth *tithi*, for a religious ceremony, with the week-day on which it commences.

J. F. FLEET.

[3] With the occasional introduction of *h* into this name, we may compare the case of Kôlâpur (the ancient Kollâpura), the chief town of the Native State of the same name. It is often written 'Kôlhâpur;' and it is explained as meaning 'the town of jackals' (Marâṭhî, *kôlhâ*)!

[4] Read *varshada*.

[5] Read *saṁvachchharada*, or *saṁvatsarada*.

[6] Read *śuddha*.

PROGRESS OF EUROPEAN SCHOLARSHIP.

No. 20.

Transactions of the Eastern Section of the Imperial Russian Archæological Society. Vol. III. No. 4.

(*a*) *Meeting of Sept. 29th* (*Oct. 11th*) 1888.

An Essay on Urmân Bêg was received from N. P. Ostroümov at Tashkand to be published in the *Transactions*. He also forwarded a Turcoman talisman against cholera.

S. I. Chakhotin sent 23 coins given to the Society by the Consul at Prisrend, I. S. Yastrebov. These coins on examination appeared to be mostly Byzantine.

Some copies of a work by V. V. Radloff, V. P. Vasiliev and K. G. Saleman, entitled "A Memorandum on the necessity of establishing an Alphabet for transcribing foreign languages on the basis of the Russian letters," were presented by V. V. Radloff.

N. E. Brandenburg offered, in the name of Mr. Alexandrovich, some antiquities from Mariapol and 14 Coins of the Golden Horde, found in excavating *kurgâns*.

(*b*) *Meeting of 11th* (*23rd*) *Nov.* 1888.

E. Th. Kahl gave the numismatic collection of the Society 376 coins acquired by him in Turkistan, some of which are rare and unpublished.

(*c*) *Qalmâq Tales with translation* occupy pp. 307-364 of the *Transactions*.

(*d*) *Precursors of the great Qalmâq Settlement on the Volga, by N. Veselovski.* Towards the close

of A.D. 1613 the Tsar Michael sent an ambassy to Shâh 'Abbâs of Persia. Among other things he wished to complain of the succour granted by the Persians to the second false Demetrius at Astrakhân. The route was a difficult one, as the direct way to Persia by the Caspian Sea was closed to the travellers. The documents concerning this journey are preserved in the Russian Archives. They prove the existence of (Kalmucks) **Qalmâqs on the Volga.** The Muscovite Government did everything that it could to guarantee the safety of the embassy. Many merchants from Khîva and Bokhârâ were detained in Russia as hostages, and in case the ambassadors arrived safely in Persia these merchants were promised exemption from excise-duties. There had been ambassadors to Khiva and Bokhârâ from Russia as early as A.D. 1578. As it was thought that Tikhanov the ambassador might come into contact with the Nôges or Qalmâqs, he carried letters in the Tâtâr language, which was used by them at that time and long afterwards. It seems that the Qalmâqs made their appearance on the Russian confines between A.D. 1606 and 1610 in large numbers, and were anxious to become Russian subjects. Till the time of the discovery of this document it has always been confidently asserted that the first Qalmâqs with Kho-Urliuk at their head came to the banks of the Volga about A.D. 1630 or 1632. It thus appears that they were found in those parts much earlier. In A.D. 1643 the Russian general Plestcheev defeated them at Saratov.

(*e*) *Minor Notes.*

(1) *Numismatics, by V. Tiesenhausen.* (i.) Fraehn mentions on page 414 of his *Recensio*, a silver coin, struck in the year 884 A.H. (= 1479-80 A.D.) by the **Crimean Khân Mengli Ghirei.** He could not however decipher the name of the place where it was coined. But a hoard of coins sent to the Imperial Archæological Commission has enabled the writer of the paper to fix the place. The similar coins of Mengli Ghiri of the same hoard shew that the name of the **mint town** must be read **Kirk-ier (i.e. Chufut Kaleh).** There are many more specimens of this coinage in the hoard.

(ii.) Among the **Crimean Coins of the xvi. century** published by the late V. V. Grigoriev in the first volume of the *Transactions* of the Odessa Historical and Antiquarian Society, there is a badly preserved silver coin of **Gazi Ghiri II.** struck in the year 997 A.H. (= 1589 A.D.) or 1007 A.H. (1598-99 A.D.). The name of the place is difficult to decipher. Grigoriev thinks the coin must have been struck somewhere in Slavonic countries, as Gazi Ghiri was at that time absent on a campaign. His ancestors frequently coined money on their expeditions, as the inscriptions on them testify, *e.g.*, "struck in the horde," *i.e.* "in the camp." He thought as the money was coined in 997 A.H., the year of an expedition to Poland, it might have been struck at Rakov in the palatinate of Lublin, and also suggested other places. But the writer on seeing in 1887 a well-preserved specimen of the same coin thinks that Grigoriev mistook an ornament on the piece of money for a letter. The real **mint-town is Geslev, or Kozlov,** the present **Eupatoria.** In all probability, there were also struck three coins of Gazi Ghiri, which are now preserved in the Museum of the Odessa Historical and Archæological Society.

(iii.) Among the coins of the **Khân Shâdi Bêg** (1399-1407 A.D.) of the Golden Horde, some are of silver and of very bad workmanship. The name of the **mint-town** offers great difficulties. Fraehn suggests Keferda and others, but the writer, from recent specimens furnished to him thinks that the name is **New Kaffa,** now **Theodosia.** Historically the appearance of such an appellation is easily understood, in consequence of the mischief done by Yedigei to Kaffa in the year 799 A.H. (= 1396-97 A.D.)

(iv.) The writer thanks **M. Miednikov** for his correction of a mistake with reference to a **fuls of Al Mansûr.** There is a great deal of confusion about the Khorâsân viceroys of the time in two almost contemporary Arabic writers, Al-Yaqûb and At-Tabarî. Did the governors of Khorâsân receive their powers from Al-Mahdî, and were they styled his viceroys?

(v.) A classification is given by V. Tiesenhausen of the coins, amounting to 376, presented to the Society by M. Kahl. Among them are some rare coins and such as up to the present time have not been published; as, for instance, the **Sassânî silver coin of Firûz,** an **'Abbâsi fuls** of the year 143 A.H. struck at **Samarqand:** a **Tahîrî fuls** of the year 207 struck at **Merv:** a **Sâmanî fuls** coined at **Bukhârâ,** apparently in the year 388: an **Ilak dirham,** struck in the year 407, in the town **Osrushna,** the name of which mint, so far as the writer knows, appears on a coin for the first time; a fuls of a **Khwârizmî Shâh** with the name of **'Alî,** the son of **Mâmûn: Shaibânî silver coins** of Abû-Sa'îd struck in **Bokhârâ** and **Samarqand;** of Kuchkunji Khân, coined at **Mashhad;** of Sayyid Burkhân, Bahâdur Khân, coined in **Bokhârâ;** and of **Aḥmad Timûr,** coined in **Tashkand.**

(2) *The especial meaning of the verb* داشتن *in the Persian spoken language, by V. Zhukovski.*

In the Persian spoken language, also as in some contemporary Persian dialects, the verb داشتن, besides the customary meaning 'to have' and its auxiliary use to form verbs out of substantives, has also meanings, which, as far as the author knows, have not got into the literary language. (*a*) **The Aorist of this verb, standing before the present of any verb, gives to the latter a future sense,** as if the thing would be quickly accomplished, something like the French *aller* with the infinitive, —*je vais faire*. (*b*) **The past tense of this verb standing before the past tense of another verb gives to the latter the sense of a past action only just accomplished:** as in French, —*Je viens de parler*.

(3) *Description of a Persian MS. of the Four Gospels, by N. Marr.* In the Library of the Society for the Diffusion of Education among the Georgians at Tiflis, under No. 16, is preserved a copy of the **Four Gospels in the Persian language, written in Georgian civil characters.** The manuscript is on paper in leathern binding. The text is written in black ink: the headings in red. The scribe is not mentioned by name. The manuscript is without date, but probably belongs to the seventeenth century. The transcription has been carefully made. The writer of the article gives specimens of the translation and adds that the text of this MS. differs remarkably both in vocabulary and construction from the Persian translation published by the English Bible Society, and furnishes material for the study of Persian phonetics. The only other similar work which the writer has seen is a small Georgian-Arabic-Persian glossary, also compiled in the seventeenth century.

(*f*) *Criticism and Bibliography.*

(1) *D. Pestchurov. Supplement to the Russian-Chinese Dictionary, St. Petersburg,* 1888. A valuable work and an excellent supplement to the dictionary of Prof. Vasiliev.

(2) *N. L. Gondatti.* (i.) *Traces of heathen customs among the Manses, from the Transactions of the Moscow Anthropological and Ethnological Society.* (ii.) *Worship of the Bear among the natives of North-Western Siberia.* Russian literature is fairly rich in works of this kind, but we must make haste, as many barbarous races are disappearing and others becoming Russified. Shamanism either gives place to Christianity or changes its appearance under its influence. In 1885 M. Gondatti went to North-Western Siberia and turned his attention to the religious belief of the **Manses** (called among the Russians **Ostiaks and Voguls**), living on the banks of the Sosva, the Sigva, and their tributaries. M. Gondatti gives a description of their gods and heroes, their views of a future state, and their burial customs. They have traditions about the creation of the world and the deluge. In the stories about the creation of man, the influence of Christianity can be traced. **The worship of the bear among the natives of North-Western Siberia** serves as a convincing proof how beliefs are changed into mere formalities, and how difficult it is now to seek out the origin of this or that cultus. He describes the religious festivities in honour of a bear which had been killed. These are accompanied with songs and dances.

(3) *A. L. Ivanov. Routes to India: a short Sketch of the Development of Commercial Relations with the Remote East, with the addition of a Map. St. Petersburg,* 1889, pp. 32. The title of this work is misleading, because the author does not take us any further than the Amu Daria, and that is still a good way from India. Some things which he describes as an eyewitness are interesting; but some of his statements are open to dispute, *e.g.* that at the close of the Eighteenth Century there were about 30,000 Russian prisoners in Bokhârâ. **Caravans go through Kizil Kuma to Kazalinsk** and by this route merchandise from **Bokhârâ** is brought to **Orenburg** in 45 days, whereas to take them from Tashkand to Orenburg 50 is required.

(4) *S. Umanets. A Sketch of the Development of Religious and Philosophical Thought in Islâm.* A poor book, chiefly compiled from Dozy. It is best where the author copies him most closely, as he is unacquainted with Arabic, and therefore working at second-hand. The reviewer exposes some of the many mistakes which the work contains, but, as the author is quite young, hopes that he will eventually produce something worthy of notice.

(5) *Dr. H. Fleischer. Kleinere Schriften, Gesammelt, Durchgesehen und Vermehrt. 3 Bde.* 1885-1888. These three volumes contain the smaller essays of this great scholar, who died in 1888. The reviewer pays a tribute to his generosity of character, and speaks of him as an ideal professor. This collection of his smaller works, the selection and revision of which formed the last labour of his life, will be received by all his admirers with pleasure. The indexes are by his pupil Huber, now also deceased, and his son-in-law, Prof. Mühlau of Dorpat.

(6) *Porta Linguarum Orientalium inchoavit J. H. Petermann, continuarit Herm. L. Strack. Pars XI. Türkische Grammatik mit Paradigmen, Literatur, Chrestomathie und Glossar von August*

Müller unter Mitwirkung von Hermann Gies. Berlin, H. Reuther. 1889. This new work has no pretence of being a complete exposition of all the peculiarities and niceties of the Osmanli language, but will make the student acquainted with its structure, giving him complete paradigms of the forms of the declensions and conjugations. The compiler has fully reached his object. The Turkish words are carefully transliterated, and Prof. A. Müller has had the valuable co-operation of a person who has lived some time at Stambul. The reviewer does not feel satisfied with the treatment of the phonetics in every instance, but wishes the book complete success.

(7) *Continuation by V. Smirnov of the list of Musalmán printed works in Russia since* 1888.

W. R. MORFILL.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

SLANG OF TAMIL CASTES.

The following lists of words peculiar to the Pandârams and the Pariahs of Jaffna appeared some time ago in the *Morning Star*, an Anglo-Tamil newspaper, published by the American Mission at Jaffna.

The Pandârams are a class of mendicants who go about from house to house singing songs and accompanying themselves on small hand-drums of a peculiar shape.

It seems that the Kuravas of South India, a colony of whom has for several years past existed at Kachchai, a village on the south coast of the Peninsula of Jaffna, have also a slang of their own, which is more copious than that of the Pandârams and of the Pariahs. Some of the Jaffna people of the higher castes are well versed in Pandâram and Pariah slang.

Probably some of your correspondents can furnish similar lists of slang words from South India, and may be able to derive and explain those in the lists annexed. With the exception of the Pariah numerals I can only find one or two in Winslow's *Dictionary*, and then not with the same meanings that they have among the Pandârams and Pariahs. For instance, *pôkkaṛ*, which in ordinary Tamil means 'a worthless person,' in Pandâram slang means 'a man of the Naḷava caste;' *viḍalai*, in Tamil 'a male child,' in Pandâram 'a cocoanut;' *valaiyam*, which in Pariah means 'money,' is in Tamil 'a ring, an armlet;' the word for 'to give' in Pariah is in Tamil 'to languish.' The Pariah words for the numerals from two to six are given by Winslow as "cant words, secret numbers peculiar to trades." The word for 'two' is also written *tuvi* and appears to be Sanskṛit (*dvi*).

English.	Tamil.	Pandâram.	Pariah.
Rice(boiled)	*chôru*	*pôṇam*	*viḷampal*
Rice	*arisi*	*taṇḍalam*	.....
Paddy	*nellu*	*koṇḍi-viti-yal*	*periya-rum-pi*
Varaku[1]	*varaku*	*paraḍḍai-vitiyal*	*siṇṇa-rumpi*
Pulse, peas	*payaru*	*uṛukkáṇ*	.....
Brinjal	*kattariḳ-káy*	*kûḍḍaṇ*	.....
Jak-fruit	*palak-káy*	*muḷḷaṇ kûḍ-ḍaṇ*	.....
Coco-nut	*tên-káy*	*viḍalai*	.....
Betel	*vĕṭṭilai*	*mullaigaṇ*	.....
Areka nut	*pákku*	*túvaṇ-káy*	.....
Plantain	*vaḷaip-palam*	*paṇḍil*	.....
Tobacco	*pukaiyilai*	*vâḍḍuśaṇ*	.....
Fish	*miṇ*	*śîrâmal*	.....
Prawn	*iṛál*	*muḍakkaṇ śirâmal*	.....
Flesh	*iṛaichchi*	*asaiyaṇ*	.....
Vellâla[2]	*veḷálaṇ*	*veppuk-kaḷu-kaṇ*	*suḷḷaṇ*
Barber	*ampaḍḍaṇ*	*nakarak-kaḷukaṇ*	*chôraitaḷḷi*
Dhoby	*vaṇṇáṇ*		*tumpaigyáṇ*
Naḷava	*naḷavaṇ*	*pôkkaṇ*	*kôttaiyáṇ*
		siramaik-	*viṇṇiyáṇ*
Toddy-drawer	*sáṇṛán* *sárapáṇ*[3]	*kaḷukaṇ*	.....
Money	*kâsu*	.....	*valaiyam*
One fanam	*oru panam*	.....	*sâp-pani*
Two fanams	*iraṇḍu panam*	.....	*tuvâp-pani*
Three	*múṇṛu*	.....	*tilu*
Four	*nálu*	.....	*páttu*
Five	*aintu*	.....	*taḍḍa*
Six	*áru*	.....	*taḍava*
Seven	*êḻu*	.....	*nulaichcha*
House	*viḍu*	.....	*kaviyal*
Beats	*aḍikkiṛatu*	.....	*ḍâykkiṛatu*
Comes	*varukiṛatu*	.....	*neḍukiṛatu*
Gives	*tarukiṛatu*	.....	*chôrukiṛatu*

J. P. LEWIS.

Ceylon.

[1] *varaku*, a kind of dry grain; the same word *paraḍḍai viḷigal* is used by Pandârams for *sâmi*, another dry grain.

[2] Cultivator caste.

[3] (*sic*) This word denotes some caste or occupation. It is not in Winslow.

SANSKRIT AND OLD-KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

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

No. 188. — MANTUR INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF JAYASIMHA III. — SAKA-SAMVAT 962.

THIS inscription is now brought to notice for the first time. I edit it from an ink-impression made for me, in 1882, by Mr. Govind Gangadhar Deshpande, of the Bombay Educational Department.

Manṭûr is a village about seven miles to the north-east of Mudhôḷ, the chief town of the Native State of Mudhôḷ in the so-called Southern Marâṭhâ Country, Bombay Presidency; in the map, Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 41, it is entered as 'Muntoor,' in Lat. 16° 24′, Long. 75° 26′. It is mentioned in line 16 under the name of **Deyvada-Manṭûr**. The inscription is on a **stone-tablet** at a temple of Lakshmî in this village.

Of the **emblems** at the top of the stone, the only ones reported to me are a *liṅga* and a cow and calf. — The extant **writing** covers a space of about 1′ 8″ broad by 3′ 1¼″ high. With the exception of the last six lines, it is in a state of very good preservation, and is legible very clearly and without any doubt. But after the thirty-fifth line, the remainder of the stone has been broken away and lost. Also from line 21 on the proper right side, and line 9 on the proper left, down to the bottom, parts of the stone have been broken away; so that in line 30 only thirteen letters remain out of about twenty-six; and it is not worth while to offer any transcription of the remaining five lines. — The **characters** are the so-called Old-Kanarese characters, of the regular type of the period and locality to which the inscription refers itself. They include, in lines 5 and 6, the **decimal figures** 2, 5, 6, and 9. The **virâma** is represented only by its own proper sign. The average **size of the letters** in the first six lines is about ⅛″; but after that it diminishes to about ⅛″ at the end of the record. The engraving is bold and excellent. — The **language** is Old-Kanarese. As far as line 21, the inscription is in prose; from there, certainly as far as line 30, and perhaps to the end of the extant portion, it is in verse. — The **orthography** presents nothing calling for special notice.

The **inscription** refers itself to the reign of **the Western Châlukya king Jayasiṁha III.**, who is here mentioned by his *biruda* of **Jagadêkamalladêva**. And it then mentions, evidently as one of his feudatories, **the Raṭṭa Mahâsâmanta Ereyammarasa or Erega**, who also had the name or *biruda* of **Sênana-Garuḍa** or 'the Garuḍa of Sêna.'[1] It is non-sectarian; the object of it being only to record a grant for the purposes of a well.

In addition to mentioning **the village of Manṭûr** under the name of **Deyvada-Manṭûr**, which stands for **Daivada- or Devvada-Manṭûr**, and means 'Manṭûr of the demon or evil spirit, or haunted Manṭûr,'[2] this inscription mentions a town named **Poṭṭaḷakere**, as a *nelevîḍu* or capital[3] of Jayasiṁha III. This name occurs in other records also. In an inscription at Balagâṁve in Maisûr (*Pâli, Sanskṛit, and Old-Kanarese Inscriptions*, No. 155, line 10, and *Elliot MS. Collection*, Vol. I. p. 59), it is mentioned as a *nelevîḍu* of Jayasiṁha III. himself.[4] In a

[1] For some similar names, see *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 188, end of note 1 commencing on p. 186.

[2] Possibly Manṭûr was formerly some such place as now is the well-known Narsobâwâḍî in the Kôlâpur State, at the junction of the Kṛishṇa and the Pañchagaṅgâ (it is shewn in the map, Indian Atlas, sheet No. 40, as 'Murobâwaree'). Here there is a small but celebrated shrine of Dattâtrêya, with impressions of his feet. Possessed people are placed in front of the impressions, exorcisms are performed, and the spirits with which they are possessed immediately quit them. And though the place is thus full of these spirits (Marâṭhî, *bhût*; Kanarese, *dêvva*), its influence is so holy that they do not afflict any of the residents.

[3] See *ante*, Vol. XII. p. 110 f.

[4] In the *Elliot MS. Collection*, the transcription gives *voṭṭaḷakere*, with the vowel *o* in the third syllable. In the photograph this syllable is a little indistinct; but I conclude that the vowel must be *a*, as is very distinctly the case in the Manṭûr and Almêl inscriptions; and I notice that Mr. Rice in his translation of this inscription has taken the vowel as *a* (*Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 146). — The first component of the name, *poṭṭaḷa*, is also written *poṭṭa*, *poṭṭana*, and *poṇa*, and seems to be used here in the meaning of 'a kind of syringe used in discharging the *ôkuḷi*.' The latter word, *ôkuḷi*, means (1) a mixture of chunam, turmeric, and water, forming a red liquid which is squirted upon people at a festival; and (2) a ceremony, in which an idol is placed by a vat filled with the above mixture, with which a Brâhman sprinkles the idol, and dancing-girls &c. sprinkle each other and the spectators.

fragmentary inscription at Almêl in the Shindagi Tâlukâ, Bijâpur District, it is mentioned as a *nelevîḍu* of a Western Châlukya king who is referred to only by the *biruda* of Jagadêkamalla-dêva, but who, though the date of the record is lost, is in all probability Jayasiṁha III., and not a later Jagadêkamalla.[5] And in an inscription at Aḷawaṇḍi in the Nizâm's Dominions (*Elliot MS. Collection*, Vol. I. p. 66), it is mentioned as a *nelevîḍu* of the *Daṇḍanâyaka* Gaṇamayyanâyaka, an officer of Jayasiṁha III.[6] While, in the *Basava-Purâṇa*, chap. li., the name occurs, under the slightly different form of **Hoṭaḷakere**, again in connexion with Jayasiṁha III. When first I brought this place to notice (*Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 44 and note 2), I was not able to identify it. But a closer examination has enabled me to do so now. The mention of it in the Aḷawaṇḍi inscription as the *nelevîḍu* of a subordinate officer, whose authority cannot have extended very far, shews that we must look for it somewhere in the vicinity of Aḷawaṇḍi. And, that it cannot be Aḷawaṇḍi itself, is shewn by the fact that the latter name, written Aḷaviṁḍe in the transcription, occurs in the same record. I do not find the actual name of **Poṭṭaḷakere or Hoṭaḷakere** in the maps. But its locality is determined thus:—Alawaṇḍi is a village in the Koppaḷ Tâlukâ of the Nizâm's Dominions[7] in Lat. 15° 15′, Long. 76° 3′; Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 58. About twenty-six miles in a south-easterly direction from it, in Lat. 15° 8′, Long. 76° 26′, there is, in the Baḷḷâri District, a town or large village, with a very large tank, the name of which is written '**Dunnaikankerra**' in the map; the tank has an extreme length and breadth of about two miles, and must cover an area of well over three square miles. In some of the inscriptions, *daṁṇâyaka* occurs as an abbreviated form or corruption of *daṇḍanâyaka*; while *kerra* is one of the erroneous methods by which the Kanarese *kere*, 'a tank,' is represented in uncritical maps;[8] so that, without doubt, this name really represents **Daṇḍanâyakana-kere.** And taking in conjunction with this, and with the manner in which Poṭṭaḷakere is mentioned in the Aḷawaṇḍi inscription, the fact that about six miles south of 'Dunnaikankerra' there is a village the name of which is given in the map as '**Potelacutta,**'[9] I feel no doubt whatever that **Daṇḍanâyakana-kere is the modern representative of the ancient Poṭṭaḷakere.**[10]

In the mention of **Hoṭaḷakere** in the *Basava-Purâṇa*, chap. li., we are told that the place contained seven hundred *basadis* or Jain temples, and twenty thousand Jain saints; and a narration is given of how Dêvara-Dâsimayya, the *Guru* of **Suggaladêvi**, the wife of **king Dêsiṅga**, despoiled the *Srâvakas* or Jains, and induced Dêsiṅga to adopt the Saiva or Liṅgâyat religion. The same story is epitomised in the *Channabasava-Purâṇa*, chap. lvii., 10, which

[5] Here, in line 6, there was at first written *peṭṭaḷakeṛeya nelevîḍinoḷ*, with the vowel *e* in the first syllable of the name; but the syllable was afterwards corrected into *po*, by the addition of a stroke which, because the *ṭṭa* left no room to form it properly, is rather constrained and faint, so that it might be passed over at first sight.

[6] Here the transcription gives *poṭṭaḷeyakere*, including probably two mistakes.

[7] This is according to the *Elliot MS. Collection*. I notice that Thornton's *Gazetteer* allots Koppaḷ to the Baḷḷâri District; but the book is not free from mistakes (*e.g.* 'Kokatnur,' thirty-two miles east of Bijâpur, is entered as being in the Sholâpur District), and this may be one.

[8] It might perhaps be thought that *kerra*, and still more *kera*, *kaira*, and *keira*, may stand for *khêḍâ*, 'a small village or hamlet,' rather than for *kere*, 'a tank.' And the terminations do occur in the names of some places where tanks are not shewn in the map; *e. g.* the 'Davankaira' of the map, which is the 'Davangere' of Thornton's *Gazetteer* and of the *Railway Traveller's Guide*, in Maisûr, thirty-five miles north-west of Chitaldurg; and the 'Muddykerra' of the map, the 'Maddikera' of the *Gazetteer* and the *Railway Guide*, in the Karṇûl District, fifty-six miles south-west of Karṇûl. But they certainly represent *kere* in the names of the following places, each of which has attached to it a tank of more or less considerable dimensions; the 'Naraindaverkerra' of the map, and the 'Narayanadevarakera' of the *Gazetteer*, i.e. 'the tank of the god Nârâyaṇa,' six miles to the north-west of 'Dunnaikankerra;' the 'Hosskerra' of the map, i.e. Hosakere, 'the new tank,' about nine miles to the south by west of 'Dunnaikankera;' the 'Kerra Bellagul' of the map, twenty-four miles due west of Karṇûl; the 'Lokakeira' of the map, ten miles south of 'Davankaira;' and the 'Holalkaira' of the map, the 'Holalkere' and 'Hollalkaira' of the *Gazetteer*, and the 'Holalakere' of the *Railway Guide*, about eighteen miles south-west of Chitaldurg (here the real name is probably Holalakere, 'the tank of the city.')

[9] Here *cutta* seems to stand for the Kanarese *kaṭṭe*, in the sense of 'a raised platform round the lower part of the trunk of a tree.'

[10] The first part of the name is not unique; Thornton's *Gazetteer* mentions a 'Danayakan Kottai,' probably 'the fort of the *Daṇḍanâyaka*,' in the Coimbatore District.

says that **Suggale**, the wife of the Jinabhakta **Dêsiṅga Ballâḷa**, caused her *Guru* **Dêvara-Dâsa** to dispute with the Jains, and then, transforming a serpent in a box into a *liṅga* made of the *chandrakânta* or moon-stone, she caused him to conquer, and induced her husband to become a *Śivabhakta*. The *Channabasava-Purâṇa* calls Dêsiṅga a Ballâḷa, *i.e.* a Hoysaḷa; but this is evidently a mistake. **Dêsiṅga** is a corruption of **Jayasiṁha**; and the coincidence of the other names of Suggale or Suggaladêvî and Hoṭaḷakere, shews conclusively that the story really refers to the **Western Châlukya king Jayasiṁha III.**, whose wife was **Suggaladêvî**.

The **date** of the grant, in line 5 f., is given as Śaka-Saṁvat 962, expressed in decimal figures, and not specified either as current or as expired, the Vikrama *saṁvatsara*, on the fifth *tithi* in the bright fortnight of the month Mârgaśira, coupled with Âdityavâra or Sunday. And in this passage we have again the puzzling word *śrâhe*, which we have met with in the Guḍigere Jain inscription (*ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 39, line 19); and here, as there, we might divide the text in such a manner as to obtain either *śrâhe* or *aśrâhe*. In the Guḍigere inscription, we had the Kanarese locative singular, *śrâheyoḷ*; used apparently to denote some particular day, time, or festival. And it occurs in the same way in line 10 of one of the inscriptions on the outside of the temple of Siddhêśvara at Sirûr in the Bâgalkôṭ Tâlukâ, Bijâpur District; where the date is simply *Śaka-varsha* 900*neya Kîlaka-saṁvatsarada śrâheyoḷ*. Here, we have the genitive singular; and, from its position, it probably qualifies the name of the month. It may of course qualify either the fortnight, or the *tithi*; but, whereas the given *tithi* happens to be one of the *tithis* for the *nâga-pûjâ* or *nâga-vrata*, I cannot see any connection between the word *śrâhe* and any name for that ceremony; moreover, the text contains no reference to that or to any other rite, but simply gives the date as that of the making of a grant, in no religious connection at all, and the results seem to indicate that the given *tithi* is not the correct one. The results for this date are as follows: —

By the southern luni-solar system, **the Vikrama saṁvatsara** coincided with Śaka-Saṁvat 963 current; *i.e.* with the given year as an expired year. But in this year Mârgaśira śukla 5 ended, not on a Sunday, but on Tuesday, 11th November, A.D. 1040, at about 58 *ghaṭis*, 2 *palas*, after mean sunrise (for Bombay); and it must also have been an expunged *tithi*, as it began at about 4 *gh.* 17 *p.* on the same day. And in the same year Kârttika śukla 5 ended at about 33 *gh.* 12 *p.* on Monday, 13th October; so that, as there seems no reason for taking the *tithi* as a current *tithi*,[11] in which case only, as Kârttika śukla 5, could it be coupled with a Sunday, it does not appear that Srâheya-Mârgaśira is to be taken as another name for, or as identical with, the ordinary Kârttika.

In the preceding year, Śaka-Saṁvat 962 current, with which **the Vikrama saṁvatsara** would coincide by the southern Vikrama luni-solar system, if this system can be established and can be carried back so far,[12] and which seems admissible because there is nothing in the text to prevent our taking the given year as current, Mârgaśira śukla 5 ended, again not on a Sunday, but on Friday, 23rd November, A.D. 1039, at about 19 *gh.* 14 *p.* This result is with the month Âshâḍha intercalary, according to the published Tables. And no better result can be obtained if, instead of that, we take Mârgaśira itself (or any subsequent month) as intercalary; for then the *tithi* śukla 5 of the intercalated (or natural) Mârgaśira would end on Wednesday, 24th October, A.D. 1039, at about 51 *gh.* 29 *p.* The unintelligible word, therefore, cannot be used to distinguish the intercalated from the natural month, or *vice versâ*. And in this year, even Pausha śukla 5 did not end on a Sunday, but on Saturday, 22nd December, at about 51 *gh.* 42 *p.*

Only in Saka-Saṁvat 964 current, can a Sunday be obtained for the given *tithi*. In this year Mârgaśira śukla 5 ended on **Sunday**, 1st November, A.D. 1041, at about 37 *gh.* 40 *p.* But this result can hardly be looked upon as a satisfactory solution; since it necessitates the alteration of the name of the *saṁvatsara* from Vikrama, No. 14, to Vṛisha or Bhṛiśya, No. 15, as well as an alteration in the number of the given year.

[11] For the rules regarding the *tithi*, see *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 317.

[12] See *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 222 ff.

In the three years in question, the Vṛiśchika-Saṁkrânti, which introduces the solar Mârgaśira, occurred respectively on the 26th October, A.D. 1039, at about 39 *gh.* 20 *p.*; on the 25th October, A. D. 1040, at about 54 *gh.* 52 *p.*; and on the 26th October, A.D. 1041, at about 10 *gh.* 23 *p.* And in each year it was the *tithi* śukla 5 of the lunar Mârgaśira that was the fifth bright *tithi* occurring in the solar month. And accordingly the unintelligible word cannot be used to distinguish the solar from the lunar month, or *vice versâ*.

This date, therefore, must remain over for **further consideration.** But I am much inclined to think we have here an instance of **a genuine mistake in the original record,** arising from a confusion between the day on which the grant was made and that on which the record was prepared; that the number of the *tithi* was wrongly written as 5, instead of 2; and that the real day on which the grant was made is **Sunday, 9th November, A.D. 1040,** on which day there ended, at about 15 *gh.* 51 *p.*, the *tithi* Mârgaśira **śukla 2** of Saka-Saṁvat 963 current, which was the Vikrama *saṁvatsara* by the southern luni-solar system. But here again I can find no special name for Mârgaśira śukla 2, and no rite prescribed for the *tithi*, to help to explain the unintelligible word.

TEXT.[13]

1 Óm[14] Svasti Samasta-bhuvan-âśre(śra)ya śrî-pri(pṛi)thvî-vallabha ma-
2 hârâjâdhirâja paramêśvara paramabhaṭṭârakaṁ **Satya-**
3 **śraya-kula**-tilakaṁ **Chaḷuky**-âbharaṇaṁ **śrîmaj-Jagadêka-**
4 **malladêvar** **Poṭṭaḷakeṛeya** nelevîḍinôḷ=sukha-saṁtata[15]-vi-
5 nódadiṁ **râjyaṁ-geyyuttam-iro** [1*] **Sa(śa)ka-varsha 962neya Vikrava(ma)-**
6 **saṁvatsarada śrâheya[16]-Mârggaśira-śuddha-5-Âdityavârad-aṁdu** [1*]
7 [Sva]sti **Sa**madhigatapaṁchamahâśabda-mahâsâmantaṁ jaya-vadhû-
8 **kântaṁ** **Lattalûr-ppu**ravar-ôśvaraṁ pratâpa-Laṁkêśvaraṁ svarṇṇa-Garuḍa-dhvajaṁ
9 trivaḷe-**pareghôshaṇaṁ** raṇaraṁga-bhîshaṇaṁ **Raṭṭa-vaṁś**-ôdbhavaṁ sindûra-lâ[ṁ]-
10 chhanaṁ **birudara-siṁgaṁ** sâmanta-bhujaṁgaṁ **Raṭṭa**-mârttaṇḍaṁ dhaḷa-muṭṭe-
11 gaṇḍaṁ **gaṇḍa-taḷa**-pra[17]hâri **maṇḍaḷaṁ**-gûvaṁ kaligaḷ-âdityaṁ desekâṛara-dê[vaṁ]
12 gaṇḍar-oḍḍ-aḷivaṁ **pisuṇiṁge-muḷivaṁ** vâdya-vidyâdharaṁ sakaḷa-kaḷ[â]-
13 **dharaṁ** **Sarasvatî-karṇṇa-kuṇḍaḷaṁ** karppûra-varshaṁ **Siṁgana-Garuḍa**-nâṁ-[â]-
14 **di-samasta**-praśasti-**sahitaṁ** **śrîman-mahâsâmantan=Eṛeyamm-ara**[san=i]-
15 **ru**l [1*] Svasti **Yama-niyama-svâdhyâya-japa-hôm-ânushṭhâna-paṛâ**[ya]-
16 **ṇar=appa** **Deyvada[18]-Maṁṭûr**-oḍeya Madhusûdanayya-pra[mu]-
17 khu mahâjanaṁ **Raṭṭa**-samudravan=**agaḷisal**=eṁdu paḍeda dâ[n-â]-
18 rtta(rttha)m=âvud=eṁdoḍ=Ûroḷ=ênondu puṭṭida daṇḍâyaṁ=ellaṁ keṛeg=i[ttaṁ]
19 pratisiddhâyadoḷ=**ayvattu** gadyâṇa ponn=â-chaṁdr-ârkka-târaṁ [baraṁ]
20 maḍevud=**Id=Eṛega**-mahâ-nri(nṛi)patiya dânam=Innu sau(śau)ryyam=e[nt-endo]-
21 [d]e ॥ Óm [1*] **Śrî**[19]râmâ-**kucha-kûṭa**-ghaṭṭita-viśâḷ-ôra[ḥ*]stha[ḷ] — —
22 ◡ **Lakshmî-râmâ-ramaṇîya-dakshiṇa-bhujaṁ** kîrtty-aṁganâ-rû(?) ◡ — —
23 — — ṁ **Kalikâla-kânana-surakshôṇîjan=end=urvvarâ-bhâ** — — ◡ ◡
24 — ◡ udâttan=adhikaṁ śrî-**Raṭṭa-Nârâyaṇaṁ** ॥ Ele[20] vairi-kshi[tip] — ◡
25 — ja]ya-vadhû-śrôṇî-**kaṭî-sûtramaṁ** lalit-ôrôja-sudhau(?) ◡ — ◡ ◡ ◡

[13] From the ink-impression.

[14] Represented by a symbol. So also in line 21, where, however, as usual, the symbol is less elaborate than that at the beginning of the record.

[15] Read *saṁkathâ*.

[16] Here again, as in the Guḍigere inscription, line 19 (*ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 39), and in the Śirûr inscription, we might read *saṁvatsarad=aśrâheya*. Also, here there is a blur in the impression which renders it just possible — though I do not think it is actually the fact, — that the vowel ā was attached, rather badly, to the *d*; in that case we should be obliged to read *saṁvatsarad-âśrâheya*; and the puzzling word would be *âśrâhe*. The other instances, however, do not support this.

[17] This *pra* was at first omitted, and then was inserted above the line.

[18] i.e. *daivada*, or *devvada*.

[19] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[20] Metre, Mattêbhavikrîḍita.

26 — va]ktrâbja-kâśmîramaṁ chaḷa-nêtr-â[ṁ*]janama[ṁ] lalâṭa-tiḷa — — —
⏑ — —

27 ⏑ — ⏑ ḷitaṁ mâḍuvoḍ=aṇṇa kâṇvu(?ṇbu)d=adaṟiṁ śrî-**Raṭṭa**-martta[ṇḍanaṁ ॥]
⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ —[21]

28 ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ [i]dir-ânta virôdhige Râmachaṁdran=eṁbudu Baḷabha[d]ra — ⏑
⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑

29 — ⏑ ⏑ Vainatêyan=eṁbudu baḷa-vairiy=eṁbudu ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ —

30 ⏑ — ⏑ — [e]ṁbu[d]u Kali-Karṇṇan=eṁbu[duma(?)]n=e[ṁ*]budu — ⏑ ⏑ —
⏑ — ⏑ — [॥][22]

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

While the glorious **Jagadêkamalladêva-(Jayasiṁha III.)** (line 3), the asylum of the universe, the favourite of fortune and of the earth, the *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, the *Paramêśvara*, the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka*, the ornament of **the family of Satyâśraya** (l. 2-3), the glory of **the Châḷukyas**, is reigning, with the delight of pleasing conversations, at the capital of **Poṭṭaḷakeṟe** (l. 4) : —

On Sunday, the 5th tithi in the bright fortnight of (the month) Śrâheya-Mârgaśira of the Vikrama saṁvatsara, which is the 962nd Śaka year (l. 5) :—

While there is the illustrious **Mahâsâmanta Eṟeyammarasa** (l. 14), — a *Mahâsâmanta* who has attained the *pañchamahâśabda* ; who is the lord of **Lattalûr, the best of towns** (l. 8); who has **the banner of a golden Garuḍa**; who is heralded by the sounds of the musical instrument called *trivaḷe* ;[23] who is born in **the Raṭṭa lineage** (l. 9); who has **the crest**[24] **of an elephant** ;[25] who is a very lion among men of distinction; who is **the sun of the Raṭṭas** (l. 10) ; who is a hero in the clash of armies ; who protects his country ; who is a very sun among brave men ; who is the very god of fortunate people ; who destroys the armies of heroes ; who is incensed with tale-bearers (l. 12); who rains down camphor; and who has the name of **Siṅgana-Garuḍa** (l. 13) : —

The *Mahâjanas*, headed by Madhusûdanayya, the *Ûroḍe* of **the village of Deyvada-Maṇṭûr** (l. 16), — saying "Let us dive into **the Raṭṭa ocean**,"[26] — acquired a grant ; *viz.* he gave, for the tank, the whole of the (*tax called*) *daṇḍâya* (l. 18), as much as accrued in the village ; (*and he also decreed that*), as long as the moon and sun and stars may last, there shall continue (*to be given*) fifty *gadyâṇas* of gold, out of the (*tax called*) *pratisiddhâya*. This is the grant of the great king **Eṟega** (l. 20).

The rest of the inscription contains mutilated verses, praising the heroism of Eṟeyamma or Eṟega, in which he is called **Raṭṭa-Nârâyaṇa**, or "a Nârâyaṇa among the Raṭṭas" (l. 24), and "**the sun of the Raṭṭas**," (l. 27), and is likened to Râmachandra (l. 28), Baḷabhadra, Vainatêya (l. 29), and the Karṇa of the Kali-age (l. 30).

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[21] Metre, Champakamâlâ.

[22] In the remaining five lines there are traces, more or less clear, of respectively fourteen, twelve, eight, six, and three letters. But I cannot make out any intelligible passages in them ; nor can I recognise the metre of them. So it is hardly worth while offering any transcription of them.

[23] The *trivaḷi* and *trivaḷî* of other Raṭṭa inscriptions.

[24] *Lâñchhana* ; see *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 151, note 4.

[25] See *ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 24, note 24, "according to Kêsirâja, *sindhura* is changed into *sindûra*."

[26] *Raṭṭa-samudravan=agaḷisal=endu*. I cannot find any other meaning for these words.

EXAMINATION OF QUESTIONS CONNECTED WITH THE VIKRAMA ERA.

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

(*Continued from page* 40.)

B. — DATES IN DARK FORTNIGHTS.

1. — Dates in the months Kârttika to Phâlguna.

(a). — Dates in Current Years.

(A). — Pûrṇimânta Dates.

81. — **V. 1209.** — Dr. Peterson's *First Report* (1882-83), App. p. 97. Date of a MS. of the *Piṇḍaniryukti* : —

Saṁvat 1209 Kârttika-vadi **12 Sômê**.

V. 1209 current, —

pûrṇimânta : Monday, 8 October, A.D. 1151; the 12th *tithi* of the dark half ended 19 h. 3 m. after mean sunrise.

amânta : Wednesday, 7 November, A.D. 1151.

V. 1209 expired, —

pûrṇimânta : Saturday, 27 September, A.D. 1152.

amânta : Sunday, 26 October, A.D. 1152; **the 12th** *tithi* of the dark half began 0 h. 47 m. before, and ended 20 h. 55 m. after, mean sunrise.

82. — **V. 1296.** — *ante*, Vol. VI. p. 207. Kaḍî copper-plate inscription of the Chaulukya Bhîmadêva II. : —

(L. 19) . . . . **Śrîmat(d)-Vikramâdity-ôtpâdita**-saṁvatsara-śatêshu dvâdaśasu shaṭna(ṇṇa)vaty-uttarêshu Mârggamâsîya-kṛishṇa-chaturddaśyâṁ **Ravi-vârê** śtrśâṁkatô śpi ॥ **Vikrama-saṁvat** 1296 varshê Mârgga-vadi 14 **Ravâv**=ady=êha śrîmad-Aṇahillapâṭakê . . . .

V. 1296 current, —

pûrṇimânta : Sunday, 7 November, A.D. 1238; the 14th *tithi* of the dark half ended 5 h. 36 m. after mean sunrise.

amânta : Tuesday, 7 December, A.D. 1238.

V. 1296 expired, —

pûrṇimânta : Thursday, 27 October, A.D. 1239.

amânta : Saturday, 26 November, A.D. 1239; the 14th *tithi* of the dark half ended 1 h. 51 m. after mean sunrise.

(B). — Amânta Dates.

None.

(b). — Dates in Expired Years.

(A). — Pûrṇimânta Dates.

83. — **V. 1043.**—*ante*, Vol. VI. p. 192. Kaḍî copper-plate inscription of the Chaulukya Mûlarâja : —

(Plate i. L. 8) . . . . . **śrîmad-Aṇahilapâṭaka-sthân-âvasthitair**=asmâbhiḥ **sûryagrahaṇa-parvvaṇi** . . .

(Plate ii. L. 10) . . . Samvat 1043 Mâgha-vadi 15 Ravau.

V. 1043 current, —

pûrṇimânta : Wednesday, 13 January, A.D. 986; a total solar eclipse, not visible in India.

amânta : Thursday, 11 February, A.D. 986; no eclipse.

V. 1043 expired, —

pûrṇimânta : Sunday, 2 January A.D. 987; **a total solar eclipse, not visible in India, 18 h. 22 m. Greenwich time, or, at Ujjain, 17 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise.**

amânta : Tuesday, 1 February, A.D. 987; no eclipse.

84.—**V. 1177.** — *Jour. Amer. Or. Soc.*, Vol. VI. p. 542. Copper-plate inscription of the *Mahârâjâdhirâja* Vîrasiṁhadêva: —

Saṁvat 1177 Kârttika-vadi amâvâsyâṁ[1] **Ravi-dinê** ady = êha śrîman-Nalapura-mahâdurgê . . . paramabhaṭṭâraka-mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêśvara-śrî-Vîrasiṁhadêvô vijayî . . .

V. 1177 current, —

pûrṇimânta: Monday, 6 October, A.D. 1119; the new-moon *tithi* ended 5 h. 53 m. after mean sunrise.

amânta: Tuesday, 4 November, A.D. 1119.

V. 1177 expired, —

pûrṇimânta: Sunday, 24 October, A.D. 1120; the new-moon *tithi* ended 4 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise. (A solar eclipse, visible in India).

amânta: Monday, 22 November, A.D. 1120; the new-moon *tithi* ended 18 h. 51 m. after mean sunrise.

85. — **V. 1208.** — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XXI. p. 49, and Plate xii. A. Inscription on jamb of Upper Gate at Ajaygaḍh, of the reign of the Chandêlla Madanavarman: —

(L. 1.) . . . Saṁvat 1208 Mârgga-vadi 15 **Sa(śa)nau.**

V. 1208 current, —

pûrṇimânta: Tuesday, 21 November, A.D. 1150.

amânta: Wednesday, 20 December, A.D. 1150.

V. 1208 expired, —

pûrṇimânta: Saturday, 10 November, A.D. 1151; the 15th *tithi* of the dark half ended 3 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise.

amânta: Sunday, 9 December, A.D. 1151; the 15th *tithi* of the dark half ended 19 h. 33 m. after mean sunrise.

86. — **V. 1284.** — Dr. Peterson's *Third Report* (1884-86), App. p. 52. Date of a MS. of the *Daśavaikâlika-sûtra*, &c., of the reign of the *Mahârâjâdhirâja* Jaitrasiṁhadêva: —

Saṁvat 1284 varshê Phâlgun-âmâvasyâṁ **Sômê** ady=êha śrîmad-Âghâṭadurgê samasta-rajâvalî-samalaṁkṛita-mahârâjâdhirâja-śrî-Jaitrasiṁhadêva-kalyâṇavijayarâjyê . . .

V. 1284 current, —

pûrṇimânta: Wednesday, 17 February, A.D. 1227.

amânta: Friday, 19 March, A.D. 1227.

V. 1284 expired, —

pûrṇimânta: Monday, 7 February, A.D. 1228; the new-moon *tithi* ended 9 h. 17 m. after mean sunrise.

amânta: Tuesday, 7 March, A.D. 1228; the new-moon *tithi* ended 16 h. 46 m. after mean sunrise.

87. — **V. 1296.** — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. V. p. 183, and *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. p. 119. Inscription in the temple of Vaidyanâtha at Kîragrâma: —

(L. 1.) . . . Saṁvat 1296 varshê Phâguṇa-vadi 5 **Ravau** Kîragrâmê.

V. 1296 current, —

pûrṇimânta: Wednesday, 26 January, A.D. 1239.

amânta: Thursday, 24 February, A.D. 1239.

V. 1296 expired, —

pûrṇimânta: Sunday, 15 January, A.D. 1240; the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 11 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise.

amânta: the 5th *tithi* of the dark half began 0 h. 26 m. and ended 23 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise of Monday, 13 February, A.D. 1240.

(Professor Bühler translates the word *varshê* of the date by 'in the (*civil*) year,' "because sometimes *laukika-varshê* appears in its stead after dates of the Vikrama era." — I have not found the expression *laukika-varshê* in any of the dates examined by me).

[1] Dr. Hall has changed this unnecessarily to *amâvâsyâyâṁ*.

88. — **V. 1372.** — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XXI. p. 54, and Plate xiv. O. Inscription on pillar of gate at Ajaygaḍh : —

(L. 14.) . . . Sa[ṁ]vat 1372 P[au]sha-vadi 10 **Sanau.**

V. 1372 current, —

pûrṇimânta : Tuesday, 3 December, A.D. 1314.

amânta : Wednesday, 1 January, A.D. 1315.

V. 1372 expired, —

pûrṇimânta : Saturday, 22 November, A.D. 1315 ; the 10th *tithi* of the dark half ended 11 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise.

amânta : Monday, 22 December, A.D. 1315.

89. — **V. 1451.** — Dr. Peterson's *Third Report* (1884-86), App. p. 50. Date of a MS. of the *Kammapayaḍi* : —

Saṁvat 1451 varshê Phâgaṇa-vadi 12 **Budhê** ady=êha Stambhatîrthê . . .

V. 1451 current, —

pûrṇimânta : Thursday, 29 January, A.D. 1394 ; the 12th *tithi* of the dark half ended 10 h. 48 m. after mean sunrise.

amânta : Friday, 27 February, A.D. 1394.

V. 1451 expired, —

pûrṇimânta : Wednesday, 17 February, A.D. 1395 ; the 12th *tithi* of the dark half ended 13 h. 11 m. after mean sunrise.

amânta : Thursday, 18 March, A.D. 1395 ; the 12th *tithi* of the dark half ended 20 h. 55 m. after mean sunrise.

90. — **V. 1479.** — *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.*, N.S. Vol. XX. p. 553. Date of a MS. of Durgasiṁha's *Liṅgakârikâ-vṛitti* (written in a Bengali hand) : —

Śrî-Vikramasêṁasy=âtîta-saṁ 1479 Mârgaśîrsha-badi 14 **Sukrê** Kapisiâ-grâmê likhitam.

V. 1479 current, —

pûrṇimânta : Monday, 24 November, A.D. 1421.

amânta : Tuesday, 23 December, A.D. 1421.

V. 1479 expired, —

pûrṇimânta : Friday, 13 November, A.D. 1422 ; the 14th *tithi* of the dark half ended 9 h. 51 m. after mean sunrise.

amânta : Sunday, 13 December, A.D. 1422.

91. — **V. 1503.** — From Sir A. Cunningham's rubbings, supplied to me by Mr. Fleet. Stone inscription at Udaypur in Gwâlior : —

(L. 1.) . . . Saṁvatu 1503 varishê Phâguṇa-vadi 10 **Su(śu)kra-di[va]sê.**

V. 1503 current, —

pûrṇimânta : Saturday, 22 January, A.D. 1446 ; the 10th *tithi* of the dark half ended 13 h. 11 m. after mean sunrise.

amânta : the 10th *tithi* of the dark half began 0 h. 38 m. and ended 22 h. 39 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, 20 February, A.D. 1446.

V. 1503 expired, —

pûrṇimânta : Friday, 10 February, A.D. 1447 ; the 10th *tithi* of the dark half ended 15 h. 39 m. after mean sunrise.

amânta : the 10th *tithi* of the dark half began 2 h. 16 m. and ended 23 h. 47 m. after mean sunrise of Saturday, 11 March, A.D. 1447.

92.—**V. 1693.** — Professor Eggeling's *Catalogue*, p. 174. Date of a MS. of the *Praudhamanôramâ* :—

Likhitaṁ Vârâṇasî-sthânât Vyâsamâdhavajî ॥ Saṁ 1693 varshê Mâgha-vadi 1 **Ravau.**

V. 1693 current, —

pûrṇimânta : Wednesday, 13 January, A.D. 1636.

amânta : Thursday, 11 February, A.D. 1636.

V. 1693 expired, —

pûrṇimânta : Sunday, 1 January, A.D. 1637 ; the first *tithi* of the dark half ended 17 h. after mean sunrise.

amânta : Tuesday, 31 January, A.D. 1637.

93. — **V. 1715.** — Professor Weber's *Catalogue,* Vol. I. p. 22. Date of a MS. of the *Suparṇâdhyâya* : —

Saṁvat 1715 Kârttika-vadi 4 **Bhaumê** Vârâṇasyâṁ likhitaṁ.

V. 1715 current, —

pûrṇimânta : Friday, 16 October, A.D. 1657.

amânta : Sunday, 15 November, A.D. 1657.

V. 1715 expired, —

pûrṇimânta : Tuesday, 5 October, A.D. 1658 ; the 4th *tithi* of the dark half ended 11 h. 46 m. after mean sunrise.

amânta : Thursday, 4 November, A.D. 1658.

94. — **V. 1717.** — Date of the Deccan College Sârada MS. of the *Kâśikâ-Vṛitti* :—

Śrî-nṛipa-Vikramâditya-râjyasya gat-âbdâḥ 1717 **śrî-Saptarshi-matê** saṁvat 36 Pau. [ṣa.] ti. 3 **Ravau Tishya-**nakshatrê sampûrṇâ.

V. 1717 current, —

pûrṇimânta : Monday, 21 November, A.D. 1659 ; the third *tithi* of the dark half ended 23 h. 5 m. after mean sunrise.

amânta : Wednesday, 21 December, A.D. 1659.

V. 1717 expired, —

pûrṇimânta : Sunday, 9 December, A.D. 1660 ; the third *tithi* of the dark half ended 16 h. 52 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Tishya** up to 17 h. 44 m. after mean sunrise.

amânta : Tuesday, 8 January, A.D. 1661.

95. — **V. 1747.** — Professor Bhâṇḍârkar's *Third Report* (1883-84), p. 448. Date of a MS. of Vinayarâma's commentary on the *Kirâtârjunîya* : —

Saṁvat 1747 varshê Phâlguṇa(na)-mâsê kṛishṇa-pakshê ashṭamyâṁ tithau **Kuja-vâsarê** likhitaṁ . . . . śrî-Karṇapura-varê.

V. 1747 current, —

pûrṇimânta : Wednesday, 22 January, A.D. 1690 ; the 8th *tithi* of the dark half ended 18 h. 4 m. after mean sunrise.

amânta : Friday, 21 February, A.D. 1690.

V. 1747 expired, —

pûrṇimânta : Tuesday, 10 February, A.D. 1691 ; the 8th *tithi* of the dark half ended 14 h. 49 m. after mean sunrise.

amânta : Thursday, 12 March, A.D. 1691.

96. — **V. 1875.** — *ante,* Vol. IX. p. 194. Nepâl stone inscription of Lalitatripurasundarî : —

Tasminn=êva **śakê** (*i.e.* bâṇa-svara-nâga-bhû-mitê 1875 **śakê**) **Mârga-**kṛishṇa-pañchamyâṁ **Budhê.**

V. 1875 current, —

pûrṇimânta : Saturday, 29 November, new style, A.D. 1817.

amânta : Sunday, 28 December, new style, A.D. 1817.

V. 1875 expired, —

pûrṇimânta : Wednesday, 18 November, new style, A.D. 1818 ; the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 4 h. 41 m. after mean sunrise.

amânta : Friday, 18 December, new style, A.D. 1818.

(B). — Amânta Dates.

97. — **V. 1303.** — Dr. Peterson's *First Report* (1882-83), App. p. 40. Date of a MS. of the *Âchârâṅga-sûtra*, of the reign of the Chaulukya Vîsaladêva :—

Saṁvat 1303 **varshê** Mârga-vadi 12 **Gurau** ady=êha śrîmad-Aṇahilapâṭakê mahârâjâdhirâja-śrî-Vîsaladêva-râjyê mahâmâtya-śrî-Têjaḥpâla-pratipattau.

V. 1303 current, —

pûrṇimânta : Friday, 17 November, A.D. 1245 ; the 12th *tithi* of the dark half ended 22 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise.

amânta : Sunday, 17 December, A.D. 1245.

V. 1303 expired, —

pûrṇimânta : Tuesday, 6 November, A.D. 1246.

amânta : Thursday, 6 December, A.D. 1246 ; the 12th *tithi* of the dark half ended 15 h. 27 m. after mean sunrise.

98. — **V. 1315.** — *List of Antiquarian Remains, Bo. Pres.*, p. 186. Stone inscription at Siyâl Bêt, Bâbariâwâḍ, Kâṭhiâwâḍ :—

Saṁvat 1315 varshê Phâguṇa-vadi 7 **Sanau Anurâdhâ**-nakshatrê ṡdy=êha śrî-Madhumatyâm . . .

V. 1315 current, —

pûrṇimânta : Sunday, 27 January, A.D. 1258 ; the 7th *tithi* of the dark half ended 17 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise.

amânta : Tuesday, 26 February, A.D. 1258.

V. 1315 expired, —

pûrṇimânta : Friday, 17 January, A.D. 1259 ; the 7th *tithi* of the dark half ended 6 h. 18 m. after mean sunrise.

amânta : Saturday, 15 February, A.D. 1259 ; the 7th *tithi* of the dark half ended 17 h. and the *nakshatra* was **Anurâdhâ** up to 19 h. 3 m. after mean sunrise.

99. — **V. 1322.** — Dr. Peterson's *Third Report* (1884-86), App. p. 109. Date of a MS. of Asaḍa's *Vivêkamañjarî* :—

Chakshur-lôchana-vishṭap-Âtrinayana-prôdbhûta-saṁvatsarê
mâsê Kârttika-nâmni **Chaṁdra**-sahitê kṛishṇ=âshṭamî-vâsarê ।

V. 1322 current, —

pûrṇimânta : Tuesday, 14 October, A.D. 1264 ; the 8th *tithi* of the dark half ended 11 h. 37 m. after mean sunrise.

amânta : Thursday, 13 November, A.D. 1264.

V. 1322 expired, —

pûrṇimânta : Sunday, 4 October, A.D. 1265 ; the 8th *tithi* of the dark half ended 1 h. 17 m. after mean sunrise.

amânta : Monday, 2 November, A.D. 1265 ; the 8th *tithi* of the dark half ended 12 h. 24 m. after mean sunrise.

100. — **V. 1536.** — Professor Eggeling's *Catalogue*, p. 168. Date of a MS. of the commentary *Prasâda* on the *Prakriyâ-kaumudî* :—

Saṁvat 1536 varshê Mâgha-vadi êkâdaśî **Ravau** śrîmad-Ânaṁdapura-sthânôttamê . . .

V. 1536 current, —

pûrṇimânta : Monday, 18 January, A.D. 1479 ; the 11th *tithi* of the dark half ended 18 h. 4 m. after mean sunrise.

amânta : Wednesday, 17 February, A.D. 1479.

V. 1536 expired, —

pûrṇimânta : Saturday, 8 January, A.D. 1480 ; the 11th *tithi* of the dark half ended 1 h. 38 m. after mean sunrise.

amânta: Sunday, 6 February, A.D. 1480; the 11th *tithi* of the dark half ended 15 h. 35 m. after mean sunrise.

101. — **V. 1699.**—Professor Bhâṇḍârkar's *Third Report* (1883-84), Notes, Corrections and Additions, p. vii.; *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 252. Date of a MS. of a commentary on the *Śôbhana-stutayaḥ*:—

Saṁvat 16 **Âshâḍhâdi**[2] 99 varshê Phâlguna-vadi 11 tithau **Sôma-dinê.**

V. 1699 current, —

pûrṇimânta: Tuesday, 15 February, A.D. 1642; the 11th *tithi* of the dark half ended 9 h. after mean sunrise.

amânta: Wednesday, 16 March, A.D. 1642.

V. 1699 expired, —

pûrṇimânta: Sunday, 5 February, A.D. 1643; the 11th *tithi* of the dark half ended 0 h. 4 m. after mean sunrise.

amânta: Monday, 6 March, A.D. 1643; the 11th *tithi* of the dark half ended 10 h. 55 m. after mean sunrise.

102. — **V. 1738.** — Professor Weber's *Catalogue*, Vol. I. p. 71. Date of a MS. of the *Ṛishi-brâhmaṇa*:—

Saṁvat 1738 varshê Phâlguna-mâsê kṛishṇa-pakshê 9 **Sômê** Avaraṅgâvâda-madhyê.

V. 1738 current, —

pûrṇimânta: Wednesday, 2 February, A.D. 1681.

amânta: Thursday, 3 March, A.D. 1681.

V. 1738 expired, —

pûrṇimânta: Sunday, 22 January, A.D. 1682; the 9th *tithi* of the dark half ended 4 h. 41 m. after mean sunrise.

amânta: Monday, 20 February, A.D. 1682; the 9th *tithi* of the dark half ended 21 h. 15 m. after mean sunrise.

(c). — Dates which may be either pûrṇimânta dates of current years or amânta dates of expired years.

103. — **V. 1229.** — Dr. Peterson's *Third Report* (1884-86), App. p. 34. Date of a MS. of Dharmôttarâchârya's *Nyâyavindu-ṭîkâ*: —

Saṁvat 1229 varshê Mârga-vadi 9 **Sômê.**

V. 1229 current, —

pûrṇimânta: Monday, 25 October, A.D. 1171; the 9th *tithi* of the dark half ended 2 h. 8 m. after mean sunrise.

amânta: Tuesday, 23 November, A.D. 1171.

V. 1229 expired, —

pûrṇimânta: Sunday, 12 November, A.D. 1172.

amânta: Monday, 11 December, A.D. 1172; the 9th *tithi* of the dark half ended 15 h. 23 m. after mean sunrise.

104. — **V. 1253.** — *ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 229. Rêwah copper-plate inscription of the *Mahârâṇaka* Salakhaṇavarmadêva, of the time of the Chêdi ruler Vijayadêva: —

(L. 13) . . . saṁvatsarâṇâṁ sa[ṁ]vata(t) 1253 Mârggaśira-mâsê kṛishṇa-pakshê saptamyâṁ tithau **Sukra-dinê** Kakarêḍyâṁ sthânê.

V. 1253 current, —

pûrṇimânta: Friday, 27 October, A.D. 1195; the 7th *tithi* of the dark half ended 7 h. 39 m. after mean sunrise.

amânta: Saturday, 25 November, A.D. 1195.

V. 1253 expired, —

pûrṇimânta: Thursday, 14 November, A.D. 1196.

[2] Professor Bhâṇḍârkar has informed me that this is the actual reading of the MS.

amânta : Friday, 13 December, A.D. 1196 ; the 7th *tithi* of the dark half ended 19 h. 51 m. after mean sunrise.

(*Loc. cit.* p. 228 I have given only one of the possible European equivalents of the Indian date, probably the wrong one).

105. — **V. 1359.** — My *Report* for 1880-81. Date of a MS. of Jinadâsagaṇi's *Visêsanisîha-chuṇṇi* : —

Saṁvat 1359 varshê Mârga-vadi 5 **Sôma-vârê.**

V. 1359 current, —

pûrṇimânta : Monday, 23 October, A.D. 1301 ; the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 1 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise.

amânta : Tuesday, 21 November, A.D. 1301.

V. 1359 expired, —

pûrṇimânta : Sunday, 11 November, A.D. 1302.

amânta : Monday, 10 December, A.D. 1302 ; the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 15 h. 22 m. after mean sunrise.

106. — **V. 1432.** — Dr. Peterson's *Third Report* (1884-86), App. p. 208. Date of a MS. of Prajñânânanda's *Tattvâlôka-ṭîkâ* : —

Saṁvat 1432 varshê Mârgaśîrshê mâsi kṛishṇa-pakshê navamyâṁ tithau **Sôma-vâsarê** ady=êha śrîmad-Aṇahillapattana-vâstavyêna . . . . Srîpatinâ . . . . pustakam=alêkhi.

V. 1432 current, —

pûrṇimânta : Monday, 30 October, A.D. 1374 ; the 9th *tithi* of the dark half ended 8 h. 9 m. after mean sunrise.

amânta : Tuesday, 28 November, A.D. 1374.

V. 1432 expired, —

pûrṇimânta : Sunday, 18 November, A.D. 1375.

amânta : Monday, 17 December, A.D. 1375 ; the 9th *tithi* of the dark half ended 20 h. 51 m. after mean sunrise.

107. — **V. 1535.** — Date of a MS. of the *Tândya-brâhmaṇa* : —

Saṁvat 1535 varshê Pausha-mâsê kṛishṇa-pakshê 13 trayôdaśyâṁ **Budhê** ady=êha śrî-Vṛiddhanagarê.

V. 1535 current, —

pûrṇimânta : Wednesday, 3 December, A.D. 1477 ; the 13th *tithi* of the dark half ended 7 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise.

amânta : Friday, 2 January, A.D. 1478.

V. 1535 expired, —

pûrṇimânta : Tuesday, 22 December, A.D. 1478.

amânta : Wednesday, 20 January, A.D. 1479 ; the 13th *tithi* of the dark half ended 21 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise.

2. — Dates in the months Chaitra to Âśvina.

(a). — Dates in Northern Current Years.

(A). — Pûrṇimânta Dates.

108. — **V. 1202.** — *List of Antiquarian Remains Bo. Pres.*, p. 180. Stone inscription at Mângrol in Kâṭhiâwâḍ, of the reign of the Chaulukya Kumârapâla : —

Srîmad-Vikrama-saṁvat 1202 tathâ **śrî-Siṁha-saṁvat** 32 Âśvina-vadi 13 **Sômê.**

Northern V. 1202 current, —

pûrṇimânta : Monday,[3] 28 August, A.D. 1144 ; the 13th *tithi* of the dark half ended 16 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise.

[3] I would remind the reader that here I am merely giving the European equivalents of the Hindu dates which are yielded by the ordinary rules and tables. It will be matter for further inquiry, below, whether, in the case of dates like No. 108 and No. 109, the European dates printed in antique type are really the true equivalent of the Hindu dates.

amânta : Wednesday, 27 September, A.D. 1144.

Northern V. 1202 expired, —

pûrṇimânta : Sunday, 16 September, A.D. 1145.

amânta : the 13th *tithi* of the dark half began Monday, 15 October, A.D. 1145, 3 h. 58 m., and ended Tuesday, 16 October, 2 h. 37 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1202 expired, —

pûrṇimânta : Thursday, 5 September, A.D. 1146.

amânta : Saturday, 5 October, A.D. 1146.

109. — **V. 1256.** — *ante*, Vol. XI. p. 71. Copper-plate inscription of the Chaulukya Bhîmadêva II. : —

(L. 17) . . . **Śrîmad-Vikramâdity-ôtpâdita**-saṁvatsara-śatêshu dvâdaśasu shaṭpaṁchâśad-uttarêshu Bhâdrapada-mâsa-kṛishṇa-paksh-âmâvâsyâyâṁ **Bhô(bhau)ma-vârê** ऽtr=âṁkatô ऽpi saṁvat 1256 lau° Bhâdrapada-vadi 15 **Bhaumê** ऽsyâṁ saṁvatsara-mâsa-paksha-vâra-pûrvvi-kâyâṁ tithâv=ady=êha śrîmad-Aṇahilapâṭakê ऽmâvâsyâ-parvaṇi snâtvâ . . .

Northern V. 1256 current, —

pûrṇimânta : Tuesday, 4 August, A.D. 1198 ; the 15th *tithi* of the dark half ended 15 h. 1 m. after mean sunrise. (A solar eclipse, not visible in India).

amânta : Thursday, 3 September, A.D. 1198.

Northern V. 1256 expired,—

pûrṇimânta : Monday, 23 August, A.D. 1199.

amânta : the 15th *tithi* of the dark half began Tuesday, 21 September, A.D. 1199, 0 h. 34 m., and ended Wednesday, 22 September, 0 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise (at Ujjain).

Southern V. 1256 expired, —

pûrṇimânta : Friday, 11 August, A.D. 1200.

amânta : Sunday, 10 September, A.D. 1200.

(B). — Amânta Dates.

None.

(b). — Dates in Northern Expired (or Southern Current) Years.

(A). — Pûrṇimânta Dates.

110. — **V. 960.** — *ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 202. Stone inscription from Têrahi : —

(L. 1). . . . Saṁ [॥ ?] 960 Bhâdrapad[a]-vadi 4 **Sanau** ॥ Ady=êha Madhuvêṇyâṁ . . .

Northern V. 960 current, —

pûrṇimânta : Tuesday, 27 July, A.D. 902.

amânta : Wednesday, 25 August, A.D. 902.

In northern V. 960 expired Bhâdrapada was intercalary ; for the solar Bhâdrapada lasted from 26 July, 1 h. 45 m., to 26 August, 2 h. 37 m., A.D. 903, and there were new-moons on 26 July, 22 h. 48 m., and 25 August, 7 h. 39 m. after mean sunrise. The 4th of the dark half **of the first Bhâdrapada** was, —

pûrṇimânta : Saturday, 16 July, A.D. 903, when the 4th *tithi* of the dark half ended 14 h. 48 m. after mean sunrise ;

amânta :[4] Monday, 15 August, A.D. 903 ; and of the second Bhâdrapada, —

amânta : Tuesday, 13 September, A.D. 903.

Southern V. 960 expired, —

pûrṇimânta : Friday, 3 August, A.D. 904.

amânta : Sunday, 2 September, A.D. 904 ; the 4th *tithi* of the dark half ended 0 h. 51 m. after mean sunrise.

[4] In all cases like the above, the day put down for the first month, *amânta*, is of course also the day for the second month, *pûrṇimânta*. .

111. — **V. 1011.** — Professor Bendall's *Journey*, p. 82. Stone inscription at Ambêr in Râjputâna: —

Saṁvat 1011 Bhâdrapadê(da-)badi 11 **Su(su)kra-dina . . .**

Northern V. 1011 current, —

pûrṇimânta: Monday, 8 August, A.D. 953.

amânta: Tuesday, 6 September, A.D. 953.

Northern V. 1011 expired, —

pûrṇimânta: Friday, 28 July, A.D. 954; the 11th *tithi* of the dark half ended 16 h. 13 m. after mean sunrise.

amânta: Sunday, 27 August, A.D. 954.

Southern V. 1011 expired, —

pûrṇimânta: Thursday, 16 August, A.D. 955; the 11th *tithi* of the dark half ended 16 h. 22 m. after mean sunrise.

amânta: the 11th *tithi* of the dark half began 2 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise of Friday, 14 September, and ended 0 h. 26 m. after mean sunrise of Saturday, 15 September, A.D. 955.

112. — **V. 1084.** — *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 35. Copper-plate inscription of the *Mahârâjâdhirâja* Trilôchanapâladêva: —

(L. 8). . . . adya puṇyê=hani **dakshiṇâyana-saṁkrântau . . .**

(L. 16). . . . Saṁ 1084 Srâvaṇa-vadi 4.

Northern V. 1084 current, —

pûrṇimânta: 6 July, A.D. 1026.

amânta: 5 August, A.D. 1026.

Dakshiṇâyana-saṁkrânti: 25 June, A.D. 1026.

Northern V. 1084 expired, —

pûrṇimânta: the 4th tithi of the dark half began 0 h. 55 m. before mean sunrise of 25 June and ended 0 h. 34 m. after mean sunrise of 26 June, A.D. 1027; and the **Dakshiṇâyana-saṁkrânti** took place on **25 June,** 16 h. 32 m. after mean sunrise.

amânta: 25 July, A.D. 1027.

In southern V. 1084 expired Srâvaṇa was intercalary; for the solar Srâvaṇa lasted from 24 June, 22 h. 44 m., to 26 July, 10 h. 1 m., A.D. 1028, and there were new-moons on 25 June, 6 h. 51 m., and 24 July, 15 h. 21 m. after mean sunrise. The 4th of the dark half of the first Srâvaṇa was, —

pûrṇimânta: 14 June, A.D. 1028;

amânta: 13 July, A.D. 1028; and of the second Srâvaṇa, —

amânta: 12 August, A.D. 1028.

Dakshiṇâyana-saṁkrânti: 24 June, A.D. 1028.

113. — **V. 1194.** — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XXI. p. 36, and Plate x. E.; and a rubbing supplied by Dr. Burgess. Inscription in cell near Nîlakaṇṭha temple at Kâlañjar: —

(L. 7). . . . Saṁvat 1194 Chaitra-vadi 5 **Gurau.**

Northern V. 1194 current, —

amânta: Tuesday, 24 March, A.D. 1136.

pûrṇimânta: Friday, 12 February, A.D. 1137; the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 15 h. 56 m. after mean sunrise.

In **northern V. 1194 expired** Chaitra was intercalary; for the solar Chaitra lasted from 21 February, 20 h. 58 m., to 24 March, 5 h. 6 m., A.D. 1137, and there were new-moons on 21 February, 21 h. 20 m., and 23 March, 9 h. 51 m. after mean sunrise. The 5th of the dark half of the first Chaitra was, —

amânta: Sunday, 14 March, A.D. 1137; and of the second Chaitra, —

amânta: Monday, 12 April, A.D. 1137.

pûrṇimânta : Thursday,[5] 3 March, A.D. 1138; the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 17 h. 17 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1194 expired, —

amânta : Saturday, 2 April, A.D. 1138.

(Sir A. Cunningham, *loc. cit.* p. 36, has read the name of the week-day *Budhau*; but the rubbing has distinctly *Gurau*).

114. — **V. 1270.** — *Jour. Amer. Or. Soc.*, Vol. VII. pp. 32 and 33. Bhôpâl copper-plate inscription of the Paramâra Arjunavarmadêva :—

. . . śrî-Bhṛigukachchha-samâvâsitair=asmâbhiḥ saptaty-adhika-dvâdaśa-śata-saṁvatsarê Vaiśâkha-vadi amâvâsyâyâṁ **sûryagrahaṇa-parvaṇi** . . .

. . . saṁvat 1270 Vaiśâkha-vadi 15 **Sômê**.

Northern V. 1270 current, —

pûrṇimânta : Tuesday, 3 April, A.D. 1212 ; no eclipse.

amânta : Wednesday, 2 May, A.D. 1212; a total solar eclipse, not visible in India.

Northern V. 1270 expired, —

pûrṇimânta : Monday, 22 April, A.D. 1213; **a total solar eclipse, visible in India,** 11 h. 48 m. Greenwich time, or, at Ujjain, 10 h. 51 m. after mean sunrise.

amânta : Tuesday, 21 May, A.D. 1213 ; no eclipse.

Southern V. 1270 expired, —

pûrṇimânta : Friday, 11 April, A.D. 1214 ; a solar eclipse, not visible in India.

amânta : Sunday, 11 May, A.D. 1214 ; no eclipse.

115. — **V. 1306.** — Dr. Peterson's *First Report* (1882-83), App. p. 81. Date of a MS. of Râmachandra's *Nirbhayabhîma-vyâyôga*, of the reign of Udayasiṁhadêva :—

Saṁvat 1306 varshê Bhâdravâ-vadi 6 **Ravâv** = ady = êha śrî-mahârâjakula-śrî-Udaya-siṁhadêva-kalyâṇavijayarâjyê.

Northern V. 1306 current, —

pûrṇimânta : Wednesday, 12 August, A.D. 1248.

amânta : Thursday, 10 September, A.D. 1248.

Northern V. 1306 expired, —

pûrṇimânta : Sunday, 1 August, A.D. 1249; the 6th *tithi* of the dark half ended 12 h. 7 m. after mean sunrise.

amânta : Tuesday, 31 August, A.D. 1249.

Southern V. 1306 expired, —

pûrṇimânta : Thursday, 21 July, A.D. 1250.

amânta : Saturday, 20 August, A.D. 1250; the 6th *tithi* of the dark half ended 6 h. 6 m. after mean sunrise.

116. — **V. 1390.** — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XXI. p. 143, and Plate xxix. A. Inscription on pillar at 'Kevati-Kund' : —

(L. 4).—Saṁvat 1390 samayê Bhâdra[myai ?]-vadi 4 **Sa(sa)nau** dinê.

Northern V. 1390 current, —

pûrṇimânta : Monday, 10 August, A.D. 1332.

amânta : Wednesday, 9 September, A.D. 1332.

Northern V. 1390 expired, —

pûrṇimânta : Saturday, 31 July, A.D. 1333; the 4th *tithi* of the dark half ended 6 h. 44 m. after mean sunrise.

amânta : Sunday, 29 August, A.D. 1333.

Southern V. 1390 expired, —

pûrṇimânta : Wednesday, 20 July, A.D. 1334.

amânta : Friday, 19 August, A.D. 1334; the 4th *tithi* of the dark half ended 7 h. 22 m. after mean sunrise.

[5] This would also be the proper equivalent for a *pûrṇimânta* Chaitra of Southern V. 1194 expired.

117. — **V. 1581.** — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. V. p. 144, and Plate xli. H. Inscription on pillar at Delhi : —

(L. 1). . . . Sa[m*]vat 1581 va° Chaitra-vadi 13 **Bhauma-dinê.**

Northern V. 1581 current, —

amânta : Monday, 13 April, A.D. 1523.

pûrṇimânta : Thursday, 3 March, A.D. 1524.

Northern V. 1581 expired, —

amânta : Friday, 1 April, A.D. 1524.

pûrṇimânta : Tuesday,[6] 21 March, A.D. 1525 ; the 13th *tithi* of the dark half ended 20 h. 11 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1581 expired, —

amânta : Thursday, 20 April, A.D. 1525.

118. — **V. 1652.** — Professor Bhâṇḍârkar's *Second Report* (1882-83), p. 229. Date of the composition of Dêvavijayagaṇi's *Râma-charitra*, of the reign of the emperor Akbar :[7] —

Saṁvat 1652 varshê Âśvina-mâsê kṛishṇa-pakshê daśamyâṁ tithau **Guru-Pushya**-yôgê śrîman-Marusthalyâṁ jyêshṭha-sthityâṁ sthitêna paṁ° śrî-Dêvavijayêna śrî-Mâlapura-nagarê śrîmad-Akabbara-râjyê virachitaṁ śrî-Râmâyaṇaṁ.

Northern V. 1652 current, —

pûrṇimânta : Friday, 30 August, A.D. 1594.

amânta : Sunday, 29 September, A.D. 1594.

Northern V. 1652 expired, —

pûrṇimânta : Thursday, 18 September, A.D. 1595 ; the 10th *tithi* of the dark half ended 21 h. 12 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Pushya** up to 19 h. 42 m. after mean sunrise.

amânta : Saturday, 18 October, A.D. 1595.

Southern V. 1652 expired, —

pûrṇimânta : Tuesday, 7 September, A.D. 1596.

amânta : Wednesday, 6 October, A.D. 1596 ; the 10th *tithi* of the dark half ended 19 h. 37 m. after mean sunrise ; *nakshatra* Âślêshâ.

119. — **V. 1717.** — From Sir A. Cunningham's rubbing, supplied to me by Mr. Fleet (Compare *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XXI. p. 136). Stone inscription at Chambâ :—

(L. 1). . . . **Śrîman-nṛipati-Vikramâditya-saṁvatsarê** 1717 **śrî-Śâlivâhana-śakê** 1582 **śrî-Śâstra-saṁvatsarê** 36 Vaiśâsha(kha)-vadi trayôdaśyâṁ **Vu(bu)dha-vâsarê | Mêshê=rka-saṁkr[â]ṁtau . . .**

Northern V. 1717 current, —

pûrṇimânta : Saturday, 9 April, A.D. 1659.

amânta : Sunday, 8 May, A.D. 1659.

Mêsha-saṁkrânti : Tuesday, 29 March, A.D. 1659.

Northern V. 1717 expired, —

pûrṇimânta : Wednesday, 28 March, A.D. 1660 ; the 13th *tithi* of the dark half ended 21 h. 37 m., and the **Mêsha-saṁkrânti** took place 13 h. 1 m. after mean sunrise.

amânta : Friday, 27 April, A.D. 1660.

Southern V. 1717 expired, —

pûrṇimânta : Tuesday, 16 April, A.D. 1661.

amânta : Thursday, 16 May, A.D. 1661.

Mêsha-saṁkrânti : Thursday, 28 March, A.D. 1661.

120. — **V. 1874.** — *ante*, Vol. IX. p. 193. Nepâl stone inscription of Lalitatripurasundarî : —

Tasminn=êva śakê (*i. e.* vêda-sapta-gaj-êndu-mitê 1874 Vaikramê śâkê) **Bhâdra-kṛishṇa-navamyâṁ Suklê.**

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[6] This would also be the proper equivalent for a *pûrṇimânta* Chaitra of Southern V. 1581 expired.

[7] A.D. 1556 — 1605.

Northern V. 1874 current, —
pûrṇimânta : Saturday, 17 August, new style, A.D. 1816.
amânta : Monday, 16 September, new style, A.D. 1816.

Northern V. 1874 expired, —
pûrṇimânta : Friday, 5 September, new style, A.D. 1817 ; the 9th *tithi* of the dark half ended 6 h. 44 m. after mean sunrise.
amânta : Saturday, 4 October, new style, A.D. 1817.

Southern V. 1874 expired, —
pûrṇimânta : Tuesday, 25 August, new style, A.D. 1818.
amânta : Thursday, 24 September, new style, A.D. 1818; the 9th *tithi* of the dark half ended 0 h. 38 m. after mean sunrise.

121. — **V. 1877.** — *ante*, Vol. IX. p. 194. Nepâl stone inscription of Lalitatripurasundarî : —
Pâtâla-lôka-vasu-vasumatî-śakê Jyêshṭa(shṭha)-kṛishṇa-daśamyâṁ **Ravau.**

Northern V. 1877 current, —
pûrṇimânta : Wednesday, 19 May, new style, A.D. 1819.
amânta : Thursday, 17 June, new style, A.D. 1819.

In northern V. 1877 expired Jyaishṭha was intercalary ; for the solar Jyaishṭha lasted from 11 May, 20 h. 51 m., to 12 June, 6 h. 32 m., new style, A.D. 1820, and there were new-moons on 12 May, 8 h., and 10 June, 18 h. 8 m. after mean sunrise. **The** 10th of the dark half of **the first Jyaishṭha** was, —
pûrṇimânta : Sunday, 7 May, new style, A.D. 1820, when the 10th *tithi* of the dark half ended 17 h. 13 m. after mean sunrise ;
amânta : Tuesday, 6 June, new style, A.D. 1820 ; and of the second Jyaishṭha, —
amânta : Wednesday, 5 July, new style, A.D. 1820.

Southern V. 1877 expired, —
pûrṇimânta : Saturday, 26 May, new style, A.D. 1821.
amânta : Monday, 25 June, new style, A.D. 1821 ; the 10th *tithi* of the dark half ended 0 h. 34 m. after mean sunrise.

(B). — Amânta Dates.

122. — **V. 1261.** — Dr. Peterson's *Third Report* (1884-86), App. p. 45. Date of a MS. of Mânatuṅgasûri's *Siddhajayantî-charitra*,[8] of the reign of the Chaulukya Bhîmadêva II. : —
Svasti **śrî-Vikrama-narêṁdra-saṁvat** 1261 varshê Âśvina-vadi 7 **Ravau Pushya**-nakshatrê **Subha**-yôgê śrîmad-Aṇahilapâṭakê mahârâjâdhirâja-śrî-Bhîmadêva-kalyâṇavijaya-râjyê pravarttamânê . . .

Northern V. 1261 current, —
pûrṇimânta : Saturday, 30 August, A.D. 1203 ; the 7th *tithi* of the dark half ended 19 h. 3 m. after mean sunrise.
amânta : Monday, 29 September, A.D. 1203 ; the 7th *tithi* of the dark half ended 4 h. 15 m. after mean sunrise.

Northern V. 1261 expired, —
pûrṇimânta : Friday, 17 September, A.D. 1204.
amânta : Sunday, 17 October, A.D. 1204 ; the 7th *tithi* of the dark half ended 6 h. 57 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Pushya** up to 11 h. 50 m., and the *yôga* **Subha** up to 11 h. 37 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1261 expired, —
pûrṇimânta : Wednesday, 7 September, A.D. 1205.
amânta : Thursday, 6 October, A.D. 1205.

[8] See below, No. 186.

123. — **V. 1350.** — Professor Bhâṇḍârkar's *Third Report* (1883-84), p. 326. Date of the composition of Jayanta's *Kâvyaprakâśa-dîpikâ*, of the reign of the Vâghêla Sâraṅgadêva : —

Śrîḥ saṁvat 1350 varshê Jyêshṭha-vadi 3 **Ravau** | ady=êha Âśâpallî-samâvâsita-śrîmad-vijayakaṭakê sakal-ârâtibhûpâla-maulimukuṭ-âlaṁkâra-bhûshita-pâdapaṁkaja-mahârâjâdhirâja-śrî-Sâraṁgadêva-kalyâṇavijayarâjyê . . .

Northern V. 1350 current, —

pûrṇimânta : Tuesday, 6 May, A.D. 1292.

amânta : Wednesday, 4 June, A.D. 1292.

Northern V. 1350 expired, —

pûrṇimânta : Saturday, 25 April, A.D. 1293 ; the third *tithi* of the dark half ended 4 h. 19 m. after mean sunrise.

amânta : Sunday, 24 May, A.D. 1293 ; the third *tithi* of the dark half ended 17 h. 26 m. after mean sunrise.

In southern V. 1350 expired Jyaishṭha was intercalary ; for the solar Jyaishṭha lasted from 25 April, 18 h. 28 m., to 27 May, 3 h. 59 m., A.D. 1294, and there were new-moons on 27 April, 1 h. 17 m., and on 26 May, 13 h. 32 m. after mean sunrise. The 3rd of the dark half of the first Jyaishṭha was —

pûrṇimânta : Wednesday, 14 April, A. D. 1294 ;

amânta : Thursday, 13 May, A.D. 1294 ; and of the second Jyaishṭha, —

amânta : Saturday, 12 June, A.D. 1294, when the third *tithi* of the dark half ended 12 h. 23 m. after mean sunrise.

124. — **V. 1553.** — *List of Antiquarian Remains, Bo. Pres.*, p. 266. Stone inscription at Borsad stepwell, Khêḍâ (Kaira) :—

(L. 1) . . . Saṁvat 1553 varshê Śrâvaṇa-vadi 13 **Ravau** ady=êha śrî-Staṁbhatîrtha-vâstavya . . .

Northern V. 1553 current, —

pûrṇimânta : the 13th *tithi* of the dark half lasted from 2 h. 33 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, 19 July, to sunrise of Monday, 20 July, A.D. 1495.

amânta : Tuesday, 18 August, A.D. 1495.

Northern V. 1553 expired, —

pûrṇimânta : Friday, 8 July, A.D. 1496.

amânta : Sunday, 7 August, A.D. 1496 ; the 13th *tithi* of the dark half ended 0 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise.

In southern V. 1553 expired Śrâvaṇa was intercalary ; for the solar Śrâvaṇa lasted from 29 June, 4 h. 54 m., to 30 July, 16 h. 11 m., A.D. 1497, and there were new-moons on 30 June, 5 h. 12 m., and on 29 July, 13 h. 42 m. after mean sunrise. The 13th of the dark half of the first Śrâvaṇa was, —

pûrṇimânta : Wednesday, 28 June, A.D. 1497 ;

amânta : Thursday, 27 July, A.D. 1497 ; and of the second Śrâvaṇa, —

amânta : Saturday, 26 August, A.D. 1497, when the 13th *tithi* of the dark half ended 1 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise.

(c). — Dates in Southern Expired Years.

(A). — Pûrṇimânta Dates.

125. — **V. 1192.** — *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. XVII., Part i., p. 322 ; and *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XXI. p. 35, and Plate x., D. Rock inscription at Kâlañjar : —

(L. 4) . . . . Saṁvat 1192 Jyêshṭha-vadi 9 **Ravau.**

In northern V. 1192 current Jyaishṭha was intercalary ; for the solar Jyaishṭha lasted from 24 April, 8 h. 41 m., to 25 May, 18 h. 22 m., A.D. 1134, and there were new-moons on 26 April, 1 h. 59 m., and on 25 May, 12 h. 37 m. after mean sunrise. The 9th of the dark half of the first Jyaishṭha was, —

pûrṇimânta : Thursday, 19 April, A.D. 1134 ;

amânta : Saturday, 19 May, A.D. 1134, when the 9th *tithi* of the dark half ended 10 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise ; and of the second Jyaishṭha, —

amânta : Monday, 18 June, A.D. 1134, when the 9th *tithi* of the dark half ended 0 h. 51 m. after mean sunrise, —

Northern V. 1192 expired, —

pûrṇimânta : Wednesday, 8 May, A.D. 1135.

amânta : Friday, 7 June, A.D. 1135.

Southern V. 1192 expired, —

pûrṇimânta : Sunday, 26 April, A.D. 1136 ; the 9th *tithi* of the dark half ended 14 h. 18 m. after mean sunrise.

amânta : Tuesday, 26 May, A.D. 1136.

126. — **V. 1225.** — From a rubbing supplied to me by Dr. Burgess. Phulwariya (?) stone inscription of the Jâpilîya *Nâyaka* Pratâpadhavala :[9] —

(L. 3). — Saṁvat 1225 Vaisâ(śâ)kha-vadi 12 **Gurau** Jâpilîya-nâyaka-śrî-Pratâpadhavalasya kî[r]ttir = iyaṁ ||

Northern V. 1225 current, —

pûrṇimânta : Tuesday, 18 April, A.D. 1167.

amânta : Wednesday, 17 May, A.D. 1167 ; the 12th *tithi* of the dark half ended 18 h. 28 m. afer mean sunrise.

Northern V. 1225 expired, —

pûrṇimânta : Sunday, 7 April, A.D. 1168.

amânta : Monday, 6 May, A.D. 1168.

Southern V. 1225 expired, —

pûrṇimânta : Thursday, 27 March, A.D. 1169 ; the 12th *tithi* of the dark half ended 5 h. 19 m. after mean sunrise.

amânta : Friday, 25 April, A.D. 1169 ; the 12th *tithi* of the dark half ended 19 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise.

127. — **V. 1240.** — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XXI. p. 72, and Plate xxii. ; and a rubbing supplied to me by Dr. Burgess. Stone inscription from wall of Fort at Mahôba : —

(L. 15) . . . **Vyôm-ârṇṇav-ârkka-saṁkhyâtê Sâhasâṁkasya vatsarê** . . .

(L. 17) . . . Saṁvat 1240 **Âshâḍha-vadi 9 Sô[m]ê.**

Northern V. 1240 current, —

pûrṇimânta : Friday, 28 May, A.D. 1182.

amânta : Saturday, 26 June, A.D. 1182.

Northern V. 1240 expired, —

pûrṇimânta : Wednesday, 15 June, A.D. 1183.

amânta : Friday, 15 July, A.D. 1183.

Southern V. 1240 expired, —

pûrṇimânta : Monday, 4 June, A.D. 1184 ; the 9th *tithi* of the dark half ended 18 h. after mean sunrise.

amânta : the 9th *tithi* of the dark half began 1 h. 38 m. and ended 23 h. after mean sunrise of Tuesday, 3 July, A.D. 1184.

128. — **V. 1318.** —From a rubbing supplied to me by Dr. Burgess. Stone inscription from the walls of the Fort of Jhânsî : —

(L. 19). . . . Saṁvat 1318 Śrâvaṇa-vadi 2 **Vu(bu)dha-dinê.**

Northern V. 1318 current, —

pûrṇimânta : Saturday, 26 June, A.D. 1260.

amânta : Sunday, 25 July, A.D. 1260.

[9] See below, No. 143.

Northern V. 1318 expired, —

pûrṇimânta: Thursday, 16 June, A.D. 1261; the second *tithi* of the dark half ended 5 h. 15 m. after mean sunrise.

amânta: Friday, 15 July, A.D. 1261.

Southern V. 1318 expired, —

pûrṇimânta: Wednesday, 5 July, A.D. 1262; the second *tithi* of the dark half ended 5 h. 19 m. after mean sunrise.

amânta: Thursday, 3 August, A.D. 1262; the second *tithi* of the dark half ended 13 h. 6 m. after mean sunrise.

129. — **V. 1320.** —*ante*, Vol. XI. p. 242, and Vol. XVI. p. 147. Verâval stone inscription of the reign of the Vâghêla Arjunadêva: —

(L. 2). . . . Śrî-Viśvanâtha-prativa(ba)ddha-tau(nau)janânâṁ vô(bô)dhakara-śûla-**Mahaṁmada-saṁvat** 662 tathâ **śrî-nṛipa-[Vi]krama-saṁ** 1320 tathâ **śrîmad-Valabhî-saṁ** 945 tathâ **śrî-Siṁha-saṁ** 151 varshê Âshâḍha-vadi 13 **Ravâv**=ady=êha . . . . . -śrîmat(d). Arjjunadêva-pravarddhamâna-kalyâṇavijayarâjyê . . . . iha śrî-Sômanâthadêvapattanê . . .

Northern V. 1320 current, —

pûrṇimânta: Friday, 16 June, A.D. 1262.

amânta: Saturday, 15 July, A.D. 1262; the 13th *tithi* of the dark half ended 15 h. 44 m. after mean sunrise.

Northern V. 1320 expired, —

pûrṇimânta: Tuesday, 5 June, A.D. 1263.

amânta: Wednesday, 4 July, A.D. 1263.

In southern V. 1320 expired Âshâḍha was intercalary; for the solar Âshâḍha lasted from 26 May, 9 h. 41 m., to 27 June, 0 h. 20 m., A.D. 1264, and there were new-moons on 27 May, 1 h. 34 m., and on 25 June, 9 h. 55 m. after mean sunrise. The 13th of the dark half of **the first Âshâḍha was,** —

pûrṇimânta: Sunday, 25 May, A.D. 1264, when the 13th *tithi* of the dark half ended 6 h. 35 m. after mean sunrise;

amânta: Monday, 23 June, A.D. 1264, when the 13th *tithi* of the dark half ended 14 h. 2 m. after mean sunrise; and of the second Âshâḍha, —

amânta: Tuesday, 22 July, A.D. 1264.

130. — **V. 1490.** — Professor Aufrecht's *Catalogue*, p. 351. Date of a MS. of Halâyudha's *Abhidhânaratnamâlâ*, of the reign of the Sultân Ahamada[10]: —

Saṁvat 1490 varshê Vi(vai)śâkha-vadi 9 navamyâṁ tithau **Sa(śa)ni-dinê** | ady=êha śrî-Vaṭapadra-maṁḍala-karaṇê | suratrâṇa-śrî-Ahamada-vijayarâjyê | malika-śrî-Mahamada-Êdala-pratipattau ||

Northern V. 1490 current, —

pûrṇimânta: Wednesday, 26 March, A.D. 1432.

amânta: Thursday, 24 April, A.D. 1432.

Northern V. 1490 expired, —

pûrṇimânta: Tuesday, 14 April, A.D. 1433.

amânta: Wednesday, 13 May, A.D. 1433.

Southern V. 1490 expired, —

pûrṇimânta: Saturday, 3 April, A.D. 1434; the 9th *tithi* of the dark half ended 10 h. 21 m. after mean sunrise.

amânta: Monday, 3 May, A.D. 1434.

131. — **V. 1503.**—Professor Bendall's *Catalogue of Buddhist Sanskrit MSS.*, p. 70. Date of a MS. of the *Kâlachakra-tantra*: —

Paramabhaṭṭârak-êtyâdi-râjâvalî pûrvavat śrîmad-Vikramâdityadêvapâdânâm=

[10] Sultân Ahmad, A.D. 1410 — 1442; Bayley, *History of Gujarât*, Index.

atîta-râjyê saṁ 1503 Bhâdra-vadi 13 Budhê . . . likhit=êyaṁ Magadhadêśîya-Kajhâragrâma-sâ(śâ)sanika-karaṇakâyastha-śrî-Jayarâmadattên=êti | Kêrakî-grâm-âvasthitêna ||

Northern V. 1503 current, —

pûrṇimânta : Sunday, 1 August, A.D. 1445.

amânta : Tuesday, 31 August, A.D. 1445 ; the 13th *tithi* of the dark half ended 1 h. 29 m. after mean sunrise.

Northern V. 1503 expired, —

pûrṇimânta : Saturday, 20 August, A.D. 1446.

amânta : Monday, 19 September, A.D. 1446.

Southern V. 1503 expired, —

pûrṇimânta : Wednesday, 9 August, A.D. 1447 ; the 13th *tithi* of the dark half ended 11 h. 50 m. after mean sunrise.

amânta : Friday, 8 September, A.D. 1447.

132. — **V. 1538.** — Professor Eggeling's *Catalogue*, p. 217. Date of a MS. of an *Âkhyâtâvachûri* on the *Haima-vyâkaraṇa* : —

Saṁvat 1538 varshê Śrâvaṇa-vadi 1 **Sômê** Sâraṁgapura-nagarê likhitaṁ.

Northern V. 1538 current, —

pûrṇimânta : Friday, 23 June, A.D. 1480.

amânta : Saturday, 22 July, A.D. 1480.

Northern V. 1538 expired, —

pûrṇimânta : Thursday, 12 July, A.D. 1481.

amânta : Friday, 10 August, A.D. 1481.

Southern V. 1538 expired, —

pûrṇimânta : Monday, 1 July, A.D. 1482 ; the first *tithi* of the dark half ended 17 h. 51 m. after mean sunrise.

amânta : Wednesday, 31 July, A.D. 1482.

(B). — Amânta Dates.

133. — **V. 994.** — *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. p. 176. Stone inscription from Sîyaḍôṇî : —

(L. 26). . . . Samvat 994 Vaisâ(śâ)kha-vadi 5 **sa[m*]krâṁtau.**

Northern V. 994 current, —

pûrṇimânta : 16 March, A.D. 936.

amânta : 14 April, A.D. 936.

Mêsha-saṁkrânti on 22 March, and Vṛisha-saṁkrânti on 22 April, A.D. 936.

Northern V. 994 expired, —

pûrṇimânta : 4 April, A.D. 937.

amânta : 3 May, A.D. 937.

Mêsha-saṁkrânti on 22 March, and Vṛisha-saṁkrânti on 22 April, A.D. 937.

Southern V. 994 expired, —

pûrṇimânta : 24 March, A.D. 938 ; Mêsha-saṁkrânti on 22 March, A.D. 938.

amânta : 22 April, A.D. 938 ; the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 19 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise ; and the **Vṛisha-saṁkrânti** took place on the same day, 15 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise.

134. — **V. 1100.** — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. VI. p. 52, and Plate vi. ; Vol. XX., Plate x. *Ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 10, and a photo-lithograph supplied to me by Mr. Fleet. Byânâ stone inscription of the prince Vijayâdhirâja : —

(L. 6). . . . Nâśaṁ yâtu śataṁ sahasra-sahitaṁ saṁvatsarâṇâṁ drutaṁ | **mâ[yâ?]-Bhâdrapadaḥ** sa bhadra-padavîṁ mâsaḥ samârôhatu | s=âsy=aiva kshayam=êtu **Sôma-sa**[hi]tâ kṛishṇâ dvitîyâ tithiḥ . . .

(L. 17). . . . Saṁ 1100 Bhâdra-vadi 2 **Chaṁdrê** kalyâṇaka-di[nê].

Northern V. 1100 current, —

pûrṇimânta : Friday, 6 August, A.D. 1042.

amânta: Saturday, 4 September, A.D. 1042.

Northern V. 1100 expired, —

pûrṇimânta: Tuesday, 26 July, A.D. 1043; the second *tithi* of the dark half ended 16 h. 46 m. after mean sunrise.

amânta: Thursday, 25 August, A.D. 1043.

In southern V. 1100 expired Bhâdrapada was intercalary; for the solar Bhâdrapada lasted from 26 July, 13 h. 23 m., to 26 August, 14 h. 15 m., A.D. 1044, and there were new-moons on 27 July, 4 h. 58 m., and on 25 August, 14 h. 27 m. after mean sunrise. The 2nd of the dark half of **the first Bhâdrapada** was, —

pûrṇimânta: Sunday, 15 July, A.D. 1044, when the second *tithi* of the dark half ended 1 h. 17 m. after mean sunrise;

amânta: Monday, 13 August, A.D. 1044, when the second *tithi* of the dark half ended 13 h. 40 m. after mean sunrise; and of the second Bhâdrapada, —

amânta: Wednesday, 12 September, A.D. 1044.

(The date accordingly belongs to the *adhika* Bhâdrapada, and this I understand to be indicated by my conjectural reading *mâyâ-Bhâdrapadaḥ* 'the false Bhâdrapada').

135. — **V. 1225.** — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XI. p. 125, and Plate xxxvii., 2. Pillar inscription at Jaunpur, of the reign of Vijayachandradêva of Kanauj (?): —

(Line 1). — Saṁvat 1225 Chaitra-vadi 5 **Vu(bu)dhê.**

Northern V. 1225 current, —

amânta: Tuesday, 11 April, A.D. 1167; the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 14 h. 44 m. after mean sunrise.

pûrṇimânta: Thursday, 29 February, A.D. 1168; the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 23 h. 11 m. after mean sunrise.

Northern V. 1225 expired, —

amânta: Saturday, 30 March, A.D. 1168.

pûrṇimânta: Tuesday, 18 February, A.D. 1169; the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 2 h. 59 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1225 expired, —

amânta: Wednesday, 19 March, A.D. 1169; the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 16 h. 47 m. after mean sunrise.

136. — **V. 1260.** — Dr. Peterson's *Third Report* (1884-86), App. p. 42. Date of the composition of Malayaprabhasûri's commentary on **Mânatuṅgasûri's** *Siddhajayantî-charitra*: —

Dvâdaśa-varsha-śatêshu **śrî-Vikramatô gatêshu** shashṭitamê |
varshê Jyêshṭhê mâsê **Śravaṇê** bhê kṛishṇa-pañchamyâm ||
Jîvâdi-vishaya-saṁśaya-tamô-pahâr-aikataraṇi-ruchi-ruchirê |
yôgê ch=**Aindrê** siddhâv=iyaṁ Jayaṁtî-kathâ rachitâ ||

Northern V. 1260 current, —

pûrṇimânta: Monday, 13 May, A.D. 1202.

amânta: Wednesday, 12 June, A.D. 1202.

Northern V. 1260 expired, —

pûrṇimânta: Saturday, 3 May, A.D. 1203.

amânta: Sunday, 1 June, A.D. 1203.

Southern V. 1260 expired, —

pûrṇimânta: Wednesday, 21 April, A.D. 1204.

amânta: Thursday, 20 May, A.D. 1204; the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 21 h. 50 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Śravaṇa** up to 17 h. 4 m., and the *yôga* **Indra** up to 14 h. 3 m. after mean sunrise.

(I believe that the day of Guru or Bṛihaspati, *i. e.* Thursday, is indicated by the first half of the second verse of the date).

137. — **V. 1298.** — Dr. Peterson's *Third Report* (1884-86), App. p. 118. Date of a MS. of Hêmachandra's *Śabdânuśâsana* :—

Saṁvat 1298 varshê **dvitîya-Bhâdrapada**-vadi 7 **Gurau** . . . Vîjâpurê.

Bhâdrapada was intercalary in southern V. 1298 expired; for in that year the solar Bhâdrapada lasted from 28 July, 19 h., to 28 August, 19 h. 52 m., A.D. 1242, and there were new-moons on 29 July, 6 h. 37 m., and on 27 August, 18 h. after mean sunrise. The 7th of the dark half of the first Bhâdrapada was, —

pûrṇimânta : Sunday, 20 July, A.D. 1242 ;

amânta : Tuesday, 19 August, A.D. 1242 ; and of **the second Bhâdrapada, —**

amânta : Thursday, 18 September, A. D. 1242, when the 7th *tithi* of the dark half ended 5 h. 53 m. after mean sunrise.

138. — **V. 1317.** — *ante*, Vol. VI. p. 210. Kaḍî copper-plate inscription of the Chaulukya Vîsaladêva : —

(L. 1). . . . **Śrîmad-Vikrama-kâl-âtîta**-saptadaśâdhika-trayôdaśaśatika-saṁvatsarê laukika-Jyêshṭa(shṭha)-mâsasya kṛishṇapaksha-chaturthyâṁ tithau **Gurâv**=ady=êha śrîmad-Aṇahilapâṭakê . . . . -mahârâjâdhirâja-śrîmad-Vîsaladêva-kalyâṇavijayi(ya)râjyê. . .

Northern V. 1317 current,—

pûrṇimânta : Monday, 12 May, A. D. 1259.

amânta : Tuesday, 10 June, A.D. 1259.

Northern V. 1317 expired, —

pûrṇimânta : Friday, 30 April, A.D. 1260 ; the 4th *tithi* of the dark half ended 18 h. 42 m. after mean sunrise.

amânta : Sunday, 30 May, A.D. 1260.

Southern V. 1317 expired,—

pûrṇimânta : Wednesday, 20 April, A.D. 1261.

amânta : Thursday, 19 May, A.D. 1261 ; the 4th *tithi* of the dark half ended 18 h. 46 m. after mean sunrise.

139. — **V. 1327.** — Dr. Peterson's *First Report* (1882-83), App. p. 38. Date of a MS. of the *Sugaḍâṁga-vṛitti* :—

Saṁvat 1327 varshê Bhâdrapada-vadi 2 **Ravâv**=ady=êha Vîjâpurê.

Northern V. 1327 current, —

pûrṇimânta : Tuesday, 16 July, A.D. 1269.

amânta : Thursday, 15 August, A. D. 1269.

Northern V. 1327 expired, —

pûrṇimânta : Monday, 4 August, A.D. 1270 ; the second *tithi* of the dark half ended 20 h. 3 m. after mean sunrise.

amânta : Wednesday, 3 September, A.D. 1270.

Southern V. 1327 expired, —

pûrṇimânta : Saturday, 25 July, A.D. 1271.

amânta : Sunday, 23 August, A.D. 1271 ; the second *tithi* of the dark half ended 19 h. 46 m. after mean sunrise.

140. — **V. 1485.** — Date of a Deccan College MS. of Jinadêvasûri's *Kriyâkalâpa* : —

Saṁ 1485 varshê Vaiśâkha-vadi 9 **Budhê.**

In northern V. 1485 current Vaiśâkha was intercalary ; for the solar Vaiśâkha lasted from 27 March, 6 h. 3 m., to 27 April, 4 h. 16 m., A.D. 1427, and there were new-moons on 28 March, 4 h. 1 m., and on 26 April, 18 h. 26 m. after mean sunrise. The 9th of the dark half of the first Vaiśâkha was, —

pûrṇimânta : Friday, 21 March, A.D. 1427 ;

amânta : Sunday, 20 April, A.D. 1427 ; and of the second Vaiśâkha, —

amânta : Tuesday, 20 May, A.D. 1427.

Northern V. 1485 expired, —

pûrṇimânta: Thursday, 8 April, A.D. 1428; the 9th *tithi* of the dark half ended 14 h. 31 m. after mean sunrise.

amânta: Saturday, 8 May, A.D. 1428.

Southern V. 1485 expired, —

pûrṇimânta: Tuesday, 29 March, **A.D. 1429.**

amânta: Wednesday, 27 April, A.D. 1429; the 9th *tithi* of the dark half ended 12 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise.

141. — **V. 1510.** — Date of a Deccan College MS. of an *Avachûrikâ* on Hêmachandra's *Śabdânuśâsana-vṛitti*: —

Saṁvat 1510 varshê Bhâdravâ-vadi **14 Sanau.**

Northern V. 1510 current, —

pûrṇimânta: Monday, **14 August, A.D. 1452.**

amânta: Tuesday, 12 September, **A.D. 1452.**

Northern V. 1510 expired, —

pûrṇimânta: the 14th *tithi* of the dark half began 1 h. 25 m. and ended 23 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise of Friday, 3 August, A.D. 1453.

amânta: Sunday, 2 September, A.D. 1453.

Southern V. 1510 expired, —

pûrṇimânta: Thursday, 22 August, A.D. 1454.

amânta: Saturday, 21 September, A.D. 1454; the 14th *tithi* of the dark half ended 9 h. **17** m. after mean sunrise.

142. — **V. 1526.** — Date of Deccan College MS. of Môkshêśvara's *Kṛidvṛitti*: —

Saṁ 1526 varshê Jyêshṭha-vadi 11 **Sani-vârê.**

Northern V. 1526 current, —

pûrṇimânta: Wednesday, 18 May, A.D. 1468.

amânta: Thursday, 16 June, A.D. 1468.

Northern V. 1526 expired, —

pûrṇimânta: Sunday, 7 May, A.D. 1469; the 11th *tithi* of the dark half ended 20 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise.

amânta: Tuesday, 6 June, A.D. 1469.

Southern V. 1526 expired, —

pûrṇimânta: Friday, 27 April, A.D. 1470.

amânta: Saturday, 26 May, A.D. 1470; the 11th *tithi* of the dark half ended 16 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise.

(d). — Dates which may be either amânta dates of northern current years or pûrṇimânta dates of southern expired years.

143. — **V. 1225.** — *Jour. Amer. Or. Soc.*, Vol. VI. p. 548. Inscription of the *Mahânâyaka* Pratâpadhavaladêva,[11] upon a rock denominated Târâchândî, in the vicinity of Sahasrâm in South Bihâr: —

Saṁvat 1225 Jyêshṭha-vadi 3 **Budhê** Jâpil-âdhipati-mahânâyaka-śrî-Pratâpadhavaladêva . . . .

Northern V. 1225 current, —

pûrṇimânta: Tuesday, 9 May, A.D. 1167.

amânta: Wednesday, 7 June, A.D. 1167; the third *tithi* of the dark half ended 16 h. 9 m. after mean sunrise.

Northern V. 1225 expired, —

pûrṇimânta: Saturday, 27 April, A.D. 1168.

amânta: Sunday, 26 May, A.D. 1168.

[11] Compare No. 126, above.

Southern V. 1225 expired, —

pûrṇimânta : Wednesday, 16 April, A.D. 1169; the third *tithi* of the dark half ended 6 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise.

amânta : Thursday, 15 **May,** A.D. 1169; the third *tithi* of the dark half ended 19 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise.

(Colebrooke, *Misc. Essays*, Vol. II. p. 295, gives the date — "Saṁvat **1229,** Jyêshṭha badi 3d, Wednesday." If this were correct, the corresponding date, for southern V. 1229 expired, pûrṇimânta, would be **Wednesday,** 2 May, A.D. 1173, when the third *tithi* of the dark half ended 6 h. 35 m. after mean sunrise).

144.—**V. 1390.** — *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. V. p. 343, and Plate ix. 1. Stone inscription from the Fort of Chunar near Benares : —

(L. 10) . . . Saṁva[t*] 1390 Bhâdra-vadi 5 **Gurau.**

Northern V. 1390 current, —

pûrṇimânta : Tuesday, 11 August, A.D. 1332.

amânta : Thursday, 10 September, A.D. 1332; the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 4 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise.

Northern V. 1390 expired, —

pûrṇimânta : Sunday, 1 August, A.D. 1333.

amânta : Monday, 30 August, A.D. 1333.

Southern V. 1390 expired, —

pûrṇimânta : Thursday, 21 July, A.D. 1334; the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 20 h. 37 m. after mean sunrise.

amânta : Saturday, 20 August, A.D. 1334.

(Prinsep, *loc. cit.* p. 342, gives Thursday, the 5th August, A.D. 1333, as the corresponding date).

(e). — A date which may be either an amânta date of a northern current year or a pûrṇimânta date of a northern expired or southern expired year.

145. — **V. 1315.** — My *Report* for 1880-81, p. 46. Date of a MS. of Hêmachandra's *Śabdânuśâsana-laghuvṛitti* : —

Saṁvat 1315 varshê Chaitra-vadi chaturthî-dinê **Vu(bu)dha-vârê** | Staṁbhatîrthê |

Northern V. 1315 current, —

amânta : Wednesday, 4 April, A.D. 1257; the 4th *tithi* of the dark half ended 14 h. 44 m. after mean sunrise.

pûrṇimânta : Saturday, 23 February, A.D. 1258.

Northern V. 1315 expired, —

amânta : Sunday, 24 March, A.D. 1258.

pûrṇimânta : Wednesday, 12 February, A.D. 1259; the 4th *tithi* of the dark half ended 22 h. 43 m. after mean sunrise.

In southern V. 1315 expired Chaitra was intercalary ; for the solar Chaitra lasted from 23 February, 10 h. 36 m., to 25 March, 18 h. 44 m., A.D. 1259, and there were new-moons on 23 February, 17 h. 29 m., and on 25 March, 11 h. 49 m. after mean sunrise. The 4th of the dark half of **the first Chaitra** was, —

pûrṇimânta : as before, **Wednesday,** 12 February, A.D. 1259 ;

amânta : Friday, 14 March, A.D. 1259 ; and of the second Chaitra, —

amânta : Saturday, 12 April, A.D. 1259.

(f). — Dates which may be either pûrṇimânta dates of northern expired years or amânta dates of southern expired years.[12]

146. — **V. 1332.** — My *Report* for 1880-81, p. 4. Date of a MS. of the *Uttarâdhyayanasûtra* : —

Saṁvat 1332 varshê Vaiśâkha-vadi 3 **Sanau.**

[12] As regards the date No. 149, this is not quite correct, or it is correct only so far as the week-day is concerned, for in reality that date must be regarded as an *amânta* date of a southern expired year.

Northern V. 1332 current, —

pûrṇimânta : Tuesday, 27 March, A.D. 1274.

amânta : Wednesday, 25 April, A.D. 1274.

Northern V. 1332 expired, —

pûrṇimânta : Saturday, 16 March, A.D. 1275 ; the third *tithi* of the dark half ended 7 h. 22 m. after mean sunrise.

amânta : Sunday, 14 April, A.D. 1275.

Southern V. 1332 expired, —

pûrṇimânta : Friday, 3 April, A.D. 1276.

amânta : Saturday, 2 May, A.D. 1276 ; the third *tithi* of the dark half ended 16 h. 13 m. after mean sunrise.

147. — **V. 1337.** — *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XLIII. Part i. p. 110, and Plate x. ; and a rough rubbing supplied to me by Dr. Burgess. 'Pâlam Bâolî' stone inscription from the village of 'Boher' in the Rohtak District, of the time of the Hammîra Gayâsadîna[13] : —

(Line 21). — **Saṁvatsarê=smin=Vaikramâdityê** saṁvat 1337 Śrâvaṇa-vadi 13 **Vu(bu)dhê.**

Northern V. 1337 current, —

pûrṇimânta : Saturday, 8 July, A.D. 1279.

amânta : Sunday, 6 August, A.D. 1279.

Northern V. 1337 expired, —

pûrṇimânta : Wednesday, 26 June, A.D. 1280 ; the 13th *tithi* of the dark half ended 10 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise.

amânta : Thursday, 25 July, A.D. 1280.

Southern V. 1337 expired, —

pûrṇimânta : Tuesday, 15 July, A.D. 1281.

amânta : Wednesday, 13 August, A.D. 1281 ; the 13th *tithi* of the dark half ended 17 h. 38 m. after mean sunrise.

(The published version of the inscription wrongly gives 'saṁvat 1333').

148. — **V. 1437.** — *List of Archæol. Remains, Bo. Pres.*, p. 181. Stone inscription at Dhâmlej, Junagaḍh, Kâṭhiâwâḍ : —

Saṁvat 1437 varshê Âshâḍha-vadi 6 **Sanau.**

Northern V. 1437 current, —

pûrṇimânta : Monday, 6 June, A.D. 1379.

amânta : Wednesday, 6 July, A.D. 1379.

Northern V. 1437 expired, —

pûrṇimânta : Saturday, 26 May, A.D. 1380 ; the 6th *tithi* of the dark half ended 5 h. 54 m. after mean sunrise.

amânta : Sunday, 24 June, A.D. 1380.

Southern V. 1437 expired, —

pûrṇimânta : Thursday, 13 June, A.D. 1381.

amânta : Saturday, 13 July, A.D. 1381 ; the 6th *tithi* of the dark half ended 12 h. 37 m. after mean sunrise.

149. — **V. 1464.** — Date of my MS. of the *Kâśikâ-Vṛitti* : —

Saṁvat 1464 varshê Âshâḍha-vadi tṛitîyâyâṁ tithau **Manmatha**-saṁvatsarê **Budhê.**

Northern V. 1464 current, —

pûrṇimânta : Saturday, 5 June, A.D. 1406.

amânta : Sunday, 4 July, A.D. 1406.

Northern V. 1464 expired, —

pûrṇimânta : Wednesday, 25 May, A.D. 1407 ; the third *tithi* of the dark half ended 5 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise.

[13] Giyâs ud dîn Balban, A.D. 1266—1286.

amânta: Thursday, 23 June, A.D. 1407.

Southern V. 1464 expired, —

pûrṇimânta: Monday, 11 June, A.D. 1408.

amânta: Wednesday, 11 July, A.D. 1408, the third *tithi* of the dark half ended 11 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise.

The year **Manmatha,** No. 29, lasted, according to the Sûrya-Siddhânta rule, without *bîja*, from 19 May, A.D. 1408, to 15 May, A.D. 1409, and with *bîja*, from 24 June, A.D. 1408, to 20 June, A.D. 1409; and according to the Jyôtistattva rule, from 29 April, A.D. 1408, to 25 April, A.D. 1409. Accordingly, Manmatha **was actually current on the 11 July, A.D. 1408,** but it had not begun yet at the commencement of the solar year (26 March, A.D. 1408); and the 11 July, A.D. 1408, is the true equivalent of the date. By the Têlinga rule, the 11 July, A.D. 1408, would fall in the year Sarvadhârin, No. 22.

150. — **V. 1570.**—Professor Aufrecht's *Catalogue*, p. 351. Date of a MS. of Amarasiṁha's *Nâmaliṅgânuśâsana*:—

Saṁvat 1570 varshê Jyêshṭha(shṭha)-vadi 7 **Budhê** | ady=êha Staṁbhatîrtha-vâstavya . . .

Northern V. 1570 current, —

pûrṇimânta: Saturday, 8 May, A.D. 1512.

amânta: Sunday, 6 June, A.D. 1512.

Northern V. 1570 expired,—

pûrṇimânta: Wednesday, 27 April, A.D. 1513; the 7th *tithi* of the dark half ended 11 h. 29 m. after mean sunrise.

amânta: Friday, 27 May, A.D. 1513.

Southern V. 1570 expired,—

pûrṇimânta: Tuesday, 16 May, A.D. 1514.

amânta: Wednesday, 14 June, A.D. 1514; the 7th *tithi* of the dark half ended 18 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise.

(*To be continued.*)

MISCELLANEA.

CALCULATIONS OF HINDU DATES.

No. 39.

In a stone-inscription of the Western Chalukya king **Vijayâditya** at the Huchchîmalli-guḍi temple at **Aihoḷe** in the Bijâpur District, published by me, with a lithograph, in this Journal, Vol. VIII. p. 284 f., the date (line 2 f.) is — trayôdaśa-varshamuṁ mu(mû)ṟutiṁgaḷuḷ . . . . . Âśvayuja-pû[r]ṇṇamâsaduḷ vishupaduḷ,[1] — "both (*in*) the thirteenth year (*of his reign*), (*and*) in the third month, ... on the full-moon day of (the month) Âśvayuja, at the (*autumnal* equinox)."

No reference is made to the year of the Śaka era. But the other records of Vijayâditya shew that this date must fall in, or very close to, Śaka-Saṁvat 630, current or expired. And the results are: —

Śaka-Saṁvat 628 current; in this year the month Âśvayuja was intercalary, according to the published Tables; the full-moon *tithi* of the first Âśvayuja ended on Monday, 7th September, A. D. 705, at about 48 *ghaṭîs*, 45 *palas*, after mean sunrise (for Bombay); the autumnal equinox, as represented by the Tulâ-Saṁkrânti or entrance of the sun into Libra, occurred at about 20 *gh.* 40 *p.* on Wednesday, 23rd September; and the full-moon *tithi* of the second Âśvayuja ended at about 11 *gh.* 40 *p.* on Wednesday, 7th October.

Śaka-Saṁvat 629 current; Âśvayuja śukla 15 ended at about 53 *gh.* 10 *p.* on Sunday, 26th September, A. D. 706, three days after the Tulâ-Saṁkrânti, which occurred at about 36 *gh.* 10 *p.* on Thursday, 23rd September. Here there is an approximation of the *tithi* and the *saṁkrânti*. But the interval of two entire days renders it impossible that any rite in celebration of the *saṁkrânti* can have been performed on the given *tithi*.

Śaka-Saṁvat 630 current; Âśvayuja śukla 15 ended at about 31 *gh.* 50 *p.* on Friday, 16th September, A. D. 707, seven days before the Tulâ-

[1] The customary word is *vishuva*. But I notice that Monier-Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary gives also *vishupa*.

Saṁkrânti, which occurred at about 51 *gh.* 40 *p.* on Friday, 23rd September.

Saka-Saṁvat 631 current; Âśvayuja śukla 15 ended at about 29 *gh.* 45 *p.* on Thursday, 4th October, A. D. 708, eleven days after the Tulâ-Saṁkrânti, which occurred at about 7 *gh.* 15 *p.* on Sunday, 23rd September.

Saka-Saṁvat 632 current; Âśvayuja śukla 15 ended on Monday, 23rd September, A. D. 709, at about 34 *gh.* 50 *p.*; **and the Tulâ-Saṁkrânti occurred on the same day,** at about 22 *gh.* 45 *p.*, while the full-moon *tithi* was current.

Accordingly, the English equivalent of the date of this record is clearly Monday, 23rd September, A. D. 709. And this appears to fix the accession of Vijayâditya as having taken place in A. D. 597, in the month Śrâvaṇa of Saka-Saṁvat 620 current; that month being at any rate counted as the first month of the first year of his reign.

It must here be noted, however, that, just as the regnal years of his father and predecessor Vinayâditya, quoted with specific years of the Saka era, exhibit discrepancies which at present cannot be explained (see page 148 above), so also the above initial date apparently does not satisfy the requirement of Vijayâditya's other records. Thus:—

A. — The full-moon of Jyêshṭha of Śaka-Saṁvat 622 current (621 expired) is placed in his third current year (*ante*, Vol. X. p. 60, No. 83, line 5 ff.). But, to be in accordance with the result arrived at above, it should apparently be placed in his second year.

B. — The full-moon of Âshâḍha of Śaka-Saṁvat 623 current (622 expired) is placed in his fourth current year (*ante*, Vol. IX. p. 128, line 30 ff.). But, in the same way, it should apparently be placed in his third current year.

C. — Śaka-Saṁvat 628 current (627 expired) is coupled with his tenth current year (*ante*, Vol. IX. p. 131, line 29 f.). Here, there is no specification of the month and *tithi*. But apparently the months Chaitra to Âshâḍha of the current Śaka year in question, should be coupled with his eighth year; and the subsequent months, Śrâvaṇa to Phâlguna, with his ninth year.

D. — The full-moon of Phâlguna of Śaka-Saṁvat 652 current (651 expired) is placed in his thirty-fourth current year (*ante*, Vol. VII. p. 112). But apparently it should be placed in his thirty-third year.

Of these, the date D. may, or may not, be genuine and accurate; as the record which contains it, was only copied on a stone, at Lakshmêshwar, at a later time, in or about the tenth century A. D.

But there are no apparent reasons for questioning the authenticity of the other dates.

A. and B. of course are in accordance with each other. But they can be brought into accordance with the Aihoḷe date, only if we assume that, whatever may have been the actual day of his accession, the first year of Vijayâditya's reign ended with the *pûrṇimânta* Chaitra new-moon at the end of the same Śaka year; and that his second year was taken as commencing, with the next Śaka year, on Chaitra śukla 1, — not with the actual anniversary day of his accession. But this does not account for C.; for, his second year coinciding, on that assumption, with Śaka-Saṁvat 621 current, Śaka-Saṁvat 628 current would coincide with his ninth year, — not with the tenth. Nor does it account for D.; for, the month Phâlguna of Śaka-Saṁvat 620 current would still lie in his first year; and the Phâlguna of Śaka-Saṁvat 652 current, still in his thirty-third year. Moreover, if his second year was made to commence with Chaitra, there is no reason why, in the Aihoḷe record, in his thirteenth year the months should again be numbered from Śrâvaṇa, and Âśvayuja should be called the third month, instead of the seventh.

All the dates can be reconciled only by assuming that, in the Aihoḷe record, the thirteenth year is a mistake for the fourteenth. On this assumption, his accession took place in the month Śrâvaṇa of Śaka-Saṁvat 619 current. And then:—

A. — The month Jyêshṭha of Śaka-Saṁvat 622 current, would fall naturally in his third year.

B. — The month Âshâḍha of Śaka-Saṁvat 623 current, would fall naturally in his fourth year.

C. — Any date from the *pûrṇimânta* Śrâvaṇa kṛishṇa 1 to the *pûrṇimânta* Chaitra new-moon of Śaka-Saṁvat 628 current, would lie naturally in his tenth year.

D. — The month Phâlguna of Śaka-Saṁvat 652 current, would fall naturally in his thirty-fourth year.

This, however, is not a very satisfactory way of explaining away the difficulty. At present, I can only draw attention to it, without proposing a final solution of it.

J. F. FLEET.

SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION.

The system of transliteration followed in this journal for Sanskrit and Kanarese, (and, for the sake of uniformity, submitted for adoption, as far as possible, in the case of other languages), — except in respect of modern Hindu personal names, in which absolute purism is undesirable, and in respect of a few Anglicised corruptions of names of places, sanctioned by long usage, — is this :—

Sanskrit.	Kanarese.	Transliteration.	Sanskrit.	Kanarese.	Transliteration.
अ	ಅ	a	ज	ಜ	ja
आ	ಆ	â	झ	ಝ	jha
इ	ಇ	i	ञ	ಞ	ña
ई	ಈ	î	ट	ಟ	ṭa
उ	ಉ	u	ठ	ಠ	ṭha
ऊ	ಊ	û	ड	ಡ	ḍha
ऋ	ಋ	ṛi	ढ	ಢ	ḍha
ॠ	ೠ	ṛî	ण	ಣ	ṇa
ऌ	—	ḷṛi	त	ತ	ta
—	ಎ	e	थ	ಥ	tha
ए	ಏ	ê	द	ದ	da
ऐ	ಐ	ai	ध	ಧ	dha
—	ಒ	o	न	ನ	na
ओ	ಓ	ô	प	ಪ	pa
औ	ಔ	au	फ	ಫ	pha
Visarga	*Visarga*	ḥ	ब	ಬ	ba
Jihvámúlíya, or old *Visarga* before क् and ख्	—	ḥ	भ	ಭ	bha
			म	ಮ	ma
Upadhmánîya, or old *Visarga* before प् and फ्	—	ḥ	य	ಯ	ya
			र	ರ	ra
Anusvára	*Anusvára*	ṁ	—	ಱ	ṛa
Anunásiká	—	m̃	ल	ಲ	la
क	ಕ	ka	ळ	ಳ	ḷa
ख	ಖ	kha	—	ೞ	ḻa
ग	ಗ	ga	व	ವ	va
घ	ಘ	gha	श	ಶ	śa
ङ	ಙ	ṅa	ष	ಷ	sha
च	ಚ	cha	स	ಸ	sa
छ	ಛ	chha	ह	ಹ	ha

A single hyphen is used to separate words in composition, as far as it is desirable to divide them. It will readily be seen where the single hyphen is only used in the ordinary way, at the end of a line, as divided in the original Text, to indicate that the word runs on into the next line; intermediate divisions, rendered unavoidable here and there by printing necessities, are made only where absolutely necessary for neatness in the arrangement of the Texts.

A double hyphen is used to separate words in a sentence, which in the original are written as one word, being joined together by the euphonic rules of *sandhi*. Where this double hyphen is used, it is to be understood that a final consonant, and the following initial vowel or consonant-and-vowel, are in the original expressed by one complex sign. Where it is not used, it is to be understood of the orthography of the original, that, according to the stage of the alphabet, the final consonant either has the modified broken form, which, in the oldest stages of the alphabet, was used to indicate a consonant with no vowel attached to it, or has the distinct sign of the *virâma* attached to it; and that the following initial vowel or consonant has its full initial form. In the transcription of ordinary texts, the double hyphen is probably unnecessary; except where there is the *sandhi* of final and initial vowels. But, in the transcription of epigraphical records, the use of this sign is unavoidable, for the purpose of indicating exactly the palæographical standard of the original texts.

The avagraha, or sign which indicates the elision of an initial *a*, is but rarely to be met with in inscriptions. Where it does occur, it is most conveniently represented by its own Dêvanâgarî sign.

So also practice has shewn that it is more convenient to use the ordinary Dêvanâgarî marks of punctuation than to substitute the English signs for them.

Ordinary brackets are used for corrections and doubtful points; and square brackets, for letters which are damaged and partially illegible in the original, or which, being wholly illegible, can be supplied with certainty. An asterisk attached to letters or marks of punctuation in square brackets, indicates that those letters or marks of punctuation were omitted altogether in the original. As a rule, it is more convenient to use the brackets than to have recourse to footnotes; as the points to which attention is to be drawn, attract notice far more readily. But notes are given instead, when there would be so many brackets, close together, as to encumber the text and render it inconvenient to read. When any letters in the original are wholly illegible and cannot be supplied, they are, represented, in metrical passages, by the sign for a long or a short syllable, as the case may be; and in prose passages, by points, at the rate, usually, of two for each *akshara* or syllable.

THE ABORIGINES OF SOKOTRA; AN ETHNOLOGICAL, RELIGIOUS AND PHILOLOGICAL REVIEW.

BY MAJOR J. S. KING, Bo.S.C.

THE island of Soḳoṭra occupies, in many senses, **a unique position.** Though situated directly in what has been from the earliest historic period—and still is—the chief trade route between the Red Sea and the East, and sighted, on an average, by perhaps two or three steamers every day throughout the year, it is now **less generally known than almost any other island of its size in the world.** In the minds of the majority of people it is associated in a vague sort of way with aloes and Greek colonisation in the time of Alexander the Great; and the most conflicting accounts have been written by the early European voyagers as to its productiveness and general appearance, as well as the origin and language of its inhabitants. The extraordinary diversity of opinion on the latter points excited my curiosity many years ago, and I have since taken every opportunity of collecting information regarding them. I have twice landed on Soḳoṭra, but owing to the brevity of my visit on each occasion, personal observation has added but little to my knowledge of the island and its inhabitants. The latter, who differ considerably from the **inhabitants** of the neighbouring African and Arabian coasts, are characterised by thin lips, straight black hair, rather fair skins and a somewhat European type of feature.

It is a well-known historical fact that **for many centuries** the established **religion** of the island was **Christianity** in some form or other. The Soḳoṭran **language,** which is now **confined to the island itself,** has never yet been classified.

In the present paper my object is, by collating all available sources of information, to contribute something towards the solution of the interesting problem—"**Whence, and who are the aborigines of Soḳoṭra, and what is their language?**"

The island of Soḳoṭra is variously called by the Greek writers, **Dioscorida, Dioscoris, Dioscorides, Dioscurias** and **Dioscora.** Regarding these names, Vincent[1] says they "may have a Greek origin, but it is so near a resemblance to Socotra that it is much more likely to be a nautical corruption of an Arabic term than the application of a Greek one." If they have a Greek origin, the derivation would probably be from **Dioscuri,** meaning Castor and Pollux, who were worshipped specially as protectors of sailors, because Neptune had given them power over the winds and waves. Various authors, however, assert that the Greek name of the island is a corruption of an older Sanskṛit one, **Dvîpa Sukhâdhâra,** from *dvîpa*, 'an island,' *sukhu*, 'happiness,' and *ádhâra*, 'support;' and that this name, contracted into Diuskadra, the Greeks made "the island of Dioscorides."

In a note on this subject Vincent says (p. 159):—"Greater corrupters of foreign names than the Greeks there cannot be, and the first sound that suggested an idea to a Greek generally led him to find a Greek name, and often to add a tale of mythology to the name. There can be little doubt that Zocotra is a native term of the earliest date, but the Greeks turned it into Dioscorides at the first step."[2]

A much more probable derivation of the word سقطرى Suḳuṭra suggests itself from the Arabic سوق *sûḳ*, 'market, emporium,' and قطرة *ḳuṭra*, the vulgar form of قاطر *ḳâṭir*, 'dragon's

[1] *Periplus*, Part II. xv. p. 307.

[2] Vincent might have included the Portuguese in the same category. In the various accounts of their voyages to the East, their corruptions of Oriental words are so extraordinary that it is a matter of no small difficulty to identify them. A notable instance occurs in the name Cape Guardafui, Gardafu or Gardefan, a corruption of the local (Somâli) name *Girdifo*: this is a corruption of old Arabic term جرد أفاوية *Jarad* (or *Garad*) *Afâwîhu*, of which the classical name *Aromatum Promontorium* is a translation. The modern Arabic name of the Cape is *Râs Asîr*. — [The English, the French, the Arabs, the Persians, the Burmese, are just as bad: the Chinese much worse. In fact every nation corrupts foreign words and names. Extension of this category is merely a question of experience.—R. C. T.]

blood.' When first visited by the Portuguese, the capital of the island was Sûḳ or Sôḳ, which they corrupted into Zoko; and traces of the old town are still to be seen about four miles east of Tamarida, the modern capital.[3]

It is now generally admitted that by the help of the regular winds **Hindus and Arabs have from pre-historic times traded** from Western India to Arabia, Africa and Persia, and **that this trade centred in three places:** in **Sokoṭra** and in the Abyssinian and Zanzibar Coasts. Mas'ûdî (A.D. 915) notices that before the Greeks came, the island was colonised by Hindus, and was at that time, and for some centuries afterwards, a centre of piracy.[4]

These facts might appear to be an argument against my Arabic derivation of the name Suḳuṭra; but even if inhabited at this early period by Hindus (which I do not admit), it by no means follows that the island was previously unknown to and unnamed by the Arabs of the neighbouring Hadhramaut Coast. On this subject Vincent says: —"Sabêa, Hadramaut and Omân were the residence of navigators in all ages, from the time that history begins to speak of them; and there is every reason to imagine that they were equally so before the historians acquired a knowledge of them, as they have since continued down to the present age."

The first event in the **history of Sokoṭra** of which we have any published record is the well-known tradition of the **colonisation** of the island **by Greeks** in the time of Alexander the Great, just before his invasion of India, or about B.C. 330. The story is related as follows by Mas'ûdî (10th century A.D.)[5]: —

"In the same sea, and not far from Aden, is the island known as Suḳuṭra, which has given its name to the Suḳuṭrî aloes, for it is there only that this substance is found and exported. Aristotle, son of Nicomachus, **wrote to Alexander,** son of Philip, at the time of his departure for India, and gave him some information about Suḳuṭra, recommending him **to establish there a colony of Greeks** to cultivate the aloe, which is of such frequent use as a purgative, &c. So Alexander sent to this island a certain number of Greeks, most of them from the town of Astâghar **(Stageirus),** the native place of Aristotle. A fleet transported these colonists and their families to the Sea of Ḳulzum.[6] They subdued the Indians who were established there, took possession of Suḳuṭra and carried off a colossal idol which the Indians used to worship. The details of this expedition would be long to relate. The Greek population of Suḳuṭra increased after the death of Alexander; and on the advent of **Christianity** they adopted that religion, which they still profess. This is, I think, the only body of Greeks in the world who have carefully preserved their genealogies, without ever intermarrying with the Romans or other races.[7]

"Suḳuṭra is one of the stations frequented by the Indian corsairs called **Bawârij,** which chase the Arab ships bound for India and China, just as the Greek galleys chase the Musalmâns in the Sea of Rûm along the coasts of Syria and Egypt. From Suḳuṭra are exported the Suḳuṭrî aloes and other drugs. Several curious particulars relative to this island and to the virtues of the plants or medicinal drugs which it produces, are to be found in our preceding works."

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[3] Sir Thomas Herbert (1626) says: — "Socotra is an isle well-known to former ages, to some by the names of *Diescionda* and *Succaba*, but Pliny calls it Topazo, from the great plenty of topaze, found there." As these names are not mentioned elsewhere, and are very unlike the name Sokoṭra, I can only conclude that the writer has made some mistake. [May not the words be merely misprints for *Dioscorida* and *Succatra*?—ED.]

[4] Campbell, *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XIII. Part II. p. 404, and 712, notes.

[5] *Meadows of Gold and Mines of Gems*, Cap. XXXIII.

[6] *Al Kulzum* was the old name of Suez-town, from the Greek *Clysma* (the shutting), hence the Gulf of Suez was named "Sea of Kulzum" (Sir R. Burton, Ar. Nights, Vol. VII. p. 348n.) But Mas'ûdî here applies the term to the Gulf of Aden.

[7] This may possibly have been true at the time Mas'ûdî wrote, but it has certainly not been the case in more recent times.

Mr. Campbell, compiler of the *Bombay Gazetteer*, holds that these **pirates of Soḳoṭra** came from the neighbourhood of Kachh. He says:—"That the Soḳoṭra pirates were the **Sanghârs**, Jâṭs or Jats, and Kerks, who from Sindh, Kachh and Kâṭhiâwâṛ ruled the Indian seas is made probable by Mas'ûdî's statement that Soḳoṭra was a station for the Indian *bawârij*, a name which Al Bêrûnî (1020) applies to the pirates of Kachh and Sômnâth, and which he derives from *baiṛá* or *bêṛá* (बेड़ा), the name of their boat. (Al Bêrûnî in Elliot and Dowson, I. 65, 539). It curiously supports the connection between the **Sanghârs** and the **Zingari** or **Gipsies**, that *bêṛá* the name of the Kachh pirate craft, is also the Romani or Gipsy word for boat."[8]

Bêṛá seems to me a very strained derivation of the word **bawârij**[9] which is probably from the Arabic **bârija**, "a great ship of war" (Johnson, *Arabic Dictionary*) akin to **burj**, a tower. The name may have been given to the ancient piratical craft from their being fitted with some kind of tower — corresponding to the modern 'fighting tops' — to give the crew a command of fire. They probably resembled the classical **biremes** or **dikrota**, that is, ships with two ranks of rowers **which Pliny attributes to the Erythræans.** The *biremis* is generally represented in pictures with a square tower either in the waist or near the bow.[10]

The whole of the Gulf of Aden is at the present day infested by **Sûris**, a peculiar race whose head-quarters are at Sûr, a port between Ras-al-Ḥad and Masḳaṭ. They are always well supplied with fire-arms, and still show their natural inclination to piracy by pillaging wrecks, or forcibly carrying off sheep, &c., from the Somâli coast, whenever they think they can do so with impunity; though their ostensible business is fishing for sharks, porpoises, &c., and extracting the oil. The Sûri craft can generally be distinguished from other Gulf of Aden *bagalas* by having square-shaped instead of triangular lateen sails, and by their peculiarly high stern-posts. According to Arab writers the early pirates of the Erythræan Sea, taking their wives and children, went in mighty fleets, moving long distances as far as Jidda, and occasionally settling in great strength. In like manner the Sûris of modern times often take their families with them and settle for some months on various islands in the Gulf of Aden, erecting temporary huts on the shore.

Putting all these circumstances together, it seems likely that the Sûris are descendants of the ancient Soḳoṭran pirates, and that the latter came originally from the coasts of Sindh, Kachh, and Kâṭhiâwâṛ,[11] during the great Hindu invasions of the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, which took place during the fifth, seventh and eighth Centuries A.D.

Sir Henry Yule[12] is of opinion that the **colonisation of Soḳoṭra by Alexander is probably a fable**, but invented to account for facts. One is naturally reluctant to reject a romantic tradition, which for many centuries has been accepted as gospel, but **a careful study** of the subject **leads** me **to the same conclusion** as Sir Henry Yule. The story is entirely uncorroborated by historic ethnology, and — as we shall see later on — there is **no trace of a Greek element in the Soḳoṭran Language.**

Rejecting, therefore, the traditional origin of the islanders we must now investigate their racial characteristics, social customs, religious history, and language, and see what particular race is indicated by any concurrent evidence there may be on these points. **Lieutenant Wellsted**, of the Indian Navy, who, in company with Cruttenden — then a Midshipman in the *Palinurus*, — surveyed the interior of the island in 1834, is **our chief authority.**[13]

The inhabitants of the island may be broadly divided into two classes: **those who inhabit the mountains** and high land in the interior, and who, there is every reason to believe, **are the aborigines**; and the dwellers in small towns on the shore, who are a mongrel race, the des-

[8] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XIII., 404 and 712, notes.

[9] The singular of *bawârij* is *bârij*, which, according to the Dictionary, means "a skilful sailor."

[10] Vide *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities, s. v. navis.*

[11] Vide *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XIII. p. 714, notes.

[12] *Marco Polo*, 2nd Ed., Vol. II., 401, notes.

[13] Wellsted's *City of the Caliphs*, Vol. II.; also published in *Proc. G. R. S.*, Vol. V.

condants of Arabs, Indians, and Africans of various tribes; and several other nations. It is not necessary for us now to take any notice of the latter classes.

The inhabitants of the hills (**Beduins**, as they are called) are divided into numerous families belonging to a few principal tribes. Of these, the **Karshîn**, who inhabit the western end of the island, claim to be descended from the Portuguese. The **Mômi**, who reside in the eastern end of the island, are said to trace descent from the aborigines and the Abyssinians, whilst the **Kamahên**, who live about Jabal Ḥajar and the hills above the Hadîbu plain, claim to arise from the intermarriage of the aborigines with the Mahrî Arabs from the opposite coast. There is also a small tribe of about one hundred and fifty men, called **Beni Rahov**, in the vicinity of Râs Môrî. Their forefathers are said to have been Jews, and the features of the tribe still retain a strong resemblance to those of that race.

Whatever be their origin, certain it is that the hill people have a very distinct appearance. The men are usually tall and finely made, with broad shoulders, lean flanks and remarkably well formed limbs, reminding one very forcibly of the European build, a facial angle as open as that of Europeans, the nose slightly aquiline, the eyes lively and expressive, the teeth good, the lips thin and the mouth well formed. The hair is worn long, and has a slight natural curl, without approach to a woolly or crisp texture. They also generally wear a beard and whiskers, but never moustaches. They have no characteristics in common with the Arabs and Somâlis, and some points about them are essentially different. Their complexion varies a good deal, some being as fair as the inhabitants of Sûrat, while others are as dark as the Hindus on the banks of the Ganges.

They walk with an erect gait over the worst ground, and bound over the hills like antelopes. From constantly climbing the rocks they have contracted a habit of turning in their toes, which gives them, when on the plains, a slight degree of awkwardness in their walk.

Yet, notwithstanding this defect, the regularity of their features the fairness of their complexions (for those which are dark are but a small proportion of their number), and the models of symmetry which they occasionally present to the eye, render them a remarkably good-looking people, distinct and removed from any of the varieties of the human race seen on the shores of the continent on either side.

Their dress consists of a loin-cloth, one end of which is commonly thrown over the shoulder, usually with a knife stuck in the waist, and they invariably carry a long stick. In their various modes of dressing the hair they display a little foppery; some having it frizzled, others allowing it to curl naturally, while the greater number permit it to grow to a considerable length, and plait it into tresses, confined to the head by a braided cord made from their own hair.

Their skins are clear, shining, and remarkably free from eruptive or cutaneous disorders. Many, however, appear scarred from the application of hot irons, for the removal of local complaints, a mode of cure here in as great repute as among their neighbours the Somâlis and Arabs.

The same remarks may be applied with little alteration to the persons and features of the females. We find in them the same symmetry of form, the same regularity of feature, and the same liveliness of expression: but their complexion does not vary in an equal degree, few being darker than the fairest of the men, and when young they are rarely otherwise than pretty. The legs of many advanced in age are of an astonishing thickness; but this defect is chiefly observable among those who reside in the low lands, and seldom occurs among the highland females.[14]

[14] From the opportunities which he enjoyed of judging on these points, Wellsted's description ought to be considered authoritative. He says (p. 238):—"It was very amusing to observe the terror of the females we passed on our several journeys here; no sooner did they catch a glimpse of our party than, screaming out *Wedah, Wedah!* off they ran, carrying their children either on their backs or beneath their arms. One damsel finding that her progress was impeded by her lower habiliments, threw them without hesitation over her head; and another similarly situated, dropped her only lower garment, and effected a swift escape without it. I could not but observe that their legs, compared to those of the men, were of an astonishing thickness, and Nature, in that part of the human frame which has with Hottentots attracted the attention of our physiologists, appears here to be not less bountiful."

The usual dress of the women is an indigo-dyed cotton garment with very wide sleeves high round the neck and reaching only a little below the knees in front, while behind it trails on the ground. Beneath this is often worn a petticoat of the coarse blankets of goat's hair which they themselves weave. The dress is sometimes kilted at the knees and continued round the waist by a girdle; and a loose cloth is sometimes thrown over the shoulders. Round their necks they wear necklaces made of red coral, coloured glass, amber, or dragon's-blood tears, with sometimes a string of dollars to each ear; they wear also three, and sometimes four, earrings, made of silver, and about three inches in diameter; two are worn on the upper, and one on the lower part of the ear. They wear the hair done up in two plaits which hang down their back, but in front the hair is cut to form a fringe across the forehead. They go unveiled,[15] converse freely with the other sex, and are anything but moral.

Crime is of rare occurrence among the Beduins, and quarrels seldom terminate in death to either party; which may in some measure be owing to their having neither fire-arms nor weapons of any other description, excepting sticks and stones. In general they may be considered as a lively, generous race: but the most distinguishing trait of their character is hospitality, which is practised alike by all, and is only limited by the means of the individual called on to exercise it.

They have a great variety of modes of salutation. Two friends meeting will **kiss** each other on **the cheek** or shoulder six or eight times, then **shake hands**, kiss them, and afterwards interchange a dozen sentences of compliment. They have also the same singular and awkward mode of salutation which is practised at Kishin, where they **place their noses together**, and accompany the action by drawing up the breath at the same time through the nostrils audibly. Male and female relations, in public, salute each other in this manner. Those of different sexes, who are merely acquaintances or friends, kiss each other's shoulder, except in case of the principal individual of the tribe, whose knees the females salute, while he returns the compliment on their foreheads. The old men salute children in the same manner.

The prevalence of **kissing** among the Sokotrans is a notable point of contrast between them and the Somâl, amongst whom this mode of salutation is unknown. The latter fact is noted by Darwin in his "*Expression of the Emotions.*" Burton, too, in his book on *Zanzibar*, says:—"Yet even amongst the Somâl, if you attempt to salute a woman—supposing you have the right—she will draw back in horror from this act of incipient cannibalism."

Wellsted estimated the **population** of the island at about 4,000, or four individuals to the square mile.

As for **occupation**; the men pass their time in tending their flocks and herds, in collecting dragon's-blood and aloes, and in occasional visits to the town, where the two latter productions, with *ghî* (clarified butter) are exchanged for dates, *jowârî* (*holcus sorghum*, or *sorghum vulgare*) and clothes. The principal employment of the females abroad is looking after the flocks; at home they make *ghî*, card and spin wool, which they afterwards weave into camelines or blankets—generally dark brown or light gray in colour, with a fringe at the ends.[16] In addition to their domestic duties — as with most other barbarous nations — much of the toil consequent on their pastoral mode of life, falls principally on them; and at the close of the day, after securing their flocks, the wives have frequently to proceed with their children on their backs a distance of several miles, to fill and bring home skins of water, while their husbands remain with no other occupation than smoking or sleeping.

[15] During one of my visits to Kishin I had the pleasure of seeing a good specimen of a Sokotran lady, wife of the Governor of Sokotra. She was a tall, handsome young woman, with very fair skin, a pleasant expression and a remarkably graceful, majestic gait. She wore over her face a veil of black net with meshes about half an inch square, which did not at all conceal her features from the view.

[16] I once purchased three or four of these from the original manufacturers, at the rate of one rupee each, giving at the same time some presents of glass beads purchased in Aden.

That the Soḳoṭrans possess no maritime enterprise, is at once shown by their having no boats; yet they do not seem averse to commercial pursuits; and the voyager who may have to transact business with them, will find to his cost, unless he be somewhat wary, that their talents for **selling and bartering** are not contemptible. The wants of those who reside on the island are, however, so few and so easily satisfied, that they have but little motive to stimulate them to more industrious pursuits.

They subsist chiefly on milk, and on the grain and dates which they receive in exchange for their *ghí*. When occasion calls for a feast, or a visitor arrives, a goat or sheep is killed. Their mode of cooking is very simple: they separate the meat from the bone, cut it into small pieces, and boil the whole in an earthen pot. They use no dishes, and the meat is placed on a small mat, round which they sit. In eating, contrary to the usual Musalmân custom, **they cut their meat with knives**. They have enormous appetites.

The principles of their **political constitution** are exceedingly simple: all are divided into families or tribes, each possessed of a determined domain on the island, and each having a representative or head, who formerly exercised a patriarchal authority over them. In general the office is hereditary, though it is sometimes filled by persons who have been selected for other reasons.

The **Beduins are nomadic in their habits, and dwell chiefly in caves**. In a humid climate like Soḳoṭra, it would be impossible, during several months, to live in tents; and as the variations of the seasons compel the Beduins to shift with their flocks in search of pasturage, it may be considered as a bountiful provision that they are by these numerous natural excavations, with which the whole island abounds, provided with dwellings. All that is necessary to be done by the person who is about to occupy such a tenement, is with loose stones to portion off a certain space for himself and family, leaving the remainder to shelter his flocks.

The fact of the aborigines generally using caves as habitations is, perhaps, not sufficient in itself to warrant the supposition that they were a troglodytic race before occupying Soḳoṭra. It must be considered in conjunction with other facts to be mentioned shortly.

Besides these caves in the hills, there are some **subterraneous habitations** on the plains. Wellsted describes one of these as follows (p. 258):—

"Our halting-place was about twenty miles from the valley by which we entered the plain; near us was the habitation of an old man, who had occupied for nearly fifty years a cavern beneath the surface of the ground. Wherever limestone rock occurs on the plains, there also it is equally cavernous with the same formation amidst the hills. No indications are given of your approach to these lonely hermitages; you descend by some rude steps, into what might otherwise appear a well; there you find several apartments, each appropriated to a separate purpose. During my stay I frequently visited my neighbour, who had one wife and two daughters. Although I was received with much hospitality, they always retired when I approached. Catching a glimpse one day of their interior apartment, I saw, suspended by a string from the roof, a young infant wrapped in a cameline, forming a rude cradle, which one of the daughters, by swinging, was lulling to repose. Several of these cavernous habitations are spread over the plain; those which are tenanted are widely separated from each other, and there appears amidst the occupants no desire to share each other's society, all appearing to isolate themselves with their families."

Not only do the aborigines use caves as dwelling places, but it appears that they formerly buried their dead in caves. Wellsted saw several of these. He says (p. 278):—"No coffins appear to have been used; a portion of the cave was walled off, and the corpse then placed at full length within, and covered with a layer of earth, of sufficient thickness to admit of others being placed over it in a similar manner."

It is to be regretted that Wellsted says so little about these **sepulchral caves**: a closer examination of them might lead to some interesting antiquarian discoveries.

Having now related all that is known of the characteristics and social customs of the Soḳotran Beduins in modern times, I shall proceed to describe certain **peculiar customs** — evidently relics of paganism — which have survived the introduction of Christianity among the aborigines, and which are likely to furnish an important clue in the present enquiry.

According to Wellsted (page 302) they still **worship the Moon**, and pray to her in times of drought. At the beginning of Lent they make a solemn sacrifice to that luminary, entering their temples and performing various ceremonies at its rising and setting. They are also described as going to their burial-places and striking together two pieces of odoriferous wood. This they perform three times a day, and as often at night; after which, putting a large cauldron suspended by three chains, over a great fire, they dip into it splinters of wood, with which they light their altars and the porch of the temple. They put up their prayers to the Moon, that she will enlighten them with her countenance, shed upon them her benign influence, and never permit foreigners to intermix with them.

They make an annual procession round the temples, preceded by a cross; and the whole ceremony ends upon the priest's clapping together his hands, as a signal that the Moon is tired of their worship. Others say that the signal consists in cutting off the fingers of him who holds the cross; in recompense for which he has a stick given him, on which are certain marks, forbidding all persons, of whatever rank or condition, ever after to hurt or molest him; on the contrary, they are to assist him with all their power, in whatever manner he may require their help; and they are further doomed to suffer corporal punishment, and the loss of an arm, unless they respect and honour him as a martyr to religion.

The Beduins do not **circumcise** their children until they are past the age of puberty; while with other Muhammadans this is performed at a very early age. On the eastern part of the island, amidst the mountains, Wellsted (pp. 317 and 330) was shown a rude stone chair, in which it is customary for the Beduins to seat their youths (who are sometimes brought from a long distance) while the operation is performed. Near it were several burial-grounds, and a small building said to have been an ancient place of worship; but it was in a very dilapidated state, and he did not discover others that threw any light on the subject.

They have preserved the remembrance of a singular **trial by ordeal** formerly practised. An individual supposed to have been guilty of any heinous crime was placed, bound hand and foot, on a summit of some eminence, and there compelled to remain three days. If rain fell during that period on or near him, he was considered guilty, and punished by being stoned to death; but if the weather, on the contrary, continued fair, he was acquitted.

They are, in the more remote parts of the island, said to still retain the custom of transferring their own progeny to another person. During pregnancy, it is left at the will of the mother that the father may give the child away as soon as it makes its appearance in the world. If her consent is obtained, a fire is lighted before the door of their cave, to denote his intention; and the child, as soon as born, is sent to another family, in which it is brought up with every tenderness and attention. Children reared under this singular custom retain through life the title of **children of smoke**. It is common for a father who thus exposes his own, to receive in a similar manner the offspring of another of his tribe.

Some **rock inscriptions** (probably extremely ancient) which Wellsted discovered near **Râs Môrî**—about seven or eight miles west of Tamarida—may, perhaps, furnish an important clue to the nationality of the aborigines, though, in the absence of a photograph or drawing of the inscriptions, it is difficult to come to any decision regarding them. The following is Wellsted's description (196):—

"Quitting Ras Moree to the right, the bushes disappear, sandy tracts follow each other, and a ride of two hours brought us to the inscriptions we sought. They are cut on the face of a limestone rock on the same level as the plains; and the portion over which they are found, irregularly strewn, measures three hundred paces in circumference. They strikingly resemble

those found on the sea-coast of Western Arabia, and are, perhaps, rude representations of early Ethiopic. Besides these inscriptions, there are figures of men, of camels, &c., but more generally their feet are so cut in pairs, as if a soft rock had yielded to their weight. Crosses occur very frequently, as do also figures having a snake's head. Some religious edifice most probably was erected near this, of which there are, however, now no remains; a few rude huts are seen to the south-east."

The **inscriptions on the coast of Western Arabia,** alluded to above, are probably those found by Captain Carless, of the Indian Navy at Wajh, on the east coast of the Red Sea, Lat. 26°15′ N., and described by him in the *Proceedings* of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, July 1845. The annexed plate is a tracing of his drawing. Professor Bayley Balfour, during his expedition to Soḳoṭra in 1880, discovered similar inscriptions on the Kadhâb plain, and took copies of them, but he has not published them in his book (*Trans.* of R. S. Edin. Vol. XXXI. — "Botany of Socotra").

The **crosses** in the inscription discovered by Wellsted, at first view, seem to indicate the work of a Christian race; but I am inclined to think that they belong to a period long antecedent to the introduction of Christianity. It is a well-established fact that among several nations the cross was symbolical of the Garden of Eden with its four rivers, and hence, perhaps, of the submerged continent of Atlantis. In Assyria and Chaldea it was emblematical of creative power and eternity. The "figures having a snake's head" may be representations of the ancient Chaldean god Hea or Hoa, which Professor G. Rawlinson connects with the Arabic Hiya, meaning at once "life" and "a serpent," since, according to the "best authority, there are very strong grounds for connecting Hea or Hoa with the serpent of Scripture, and the Paradisaical traditions of the tree of knowledge and the tree of life."[17]

The worship of the Moon by the **Soḳoṭrans** is another circumstance tending to connect them with the **ancient Chaldeans.** Sin, or Hurki, or Hur[18] was the Moon-god of the latter nation, and the Soḳoṭran word for "the moon" is *ṡrah.* The Chaldean Sun-god was *San* or *Samsi,* and the Soḳoṭran word for "the sun" is *shihan.*

The ancient Chaldean worship of the Moon and other planets was revived in the Middle Ages by the pagan sect known as the **Ḥarrâni Sabeans,** whose seat was the town of Ḥarrân (Hellenopolis) in the north of Mesopotamia, ten miles south-east of Edessa (Orfa) on the banks of the small river Belik, about fifty miles north of its junction with the Euphrates. It possessed, among many others, a temple of the Moon, of an octagonal shape; the city retained its importance down to the period of the Arab ascendancy. ("Ḥarân" in *Enc. Brit.*) Each of the planets had a temple dedicated to its worship, and each temple was of a different shape; thus the temple of Saturn was hexagonal, Jupiter, a triangle; Mars, an oblong; the Sun, a square; Mercury, a triangle; Venus, a triangle inscribed in an oblong; and the temple of the Moon was — as before stated — octagonal. These various forms were connected with certain allegories and mysteries which the Sabeans never divulged. They used to offer sacrifices and burn incense in honour of the stars. One of the temples dedicated to Âzar, the uncle of the patriarch Abraham, had four vaults beneath it, in which were idols representing the celestial bodies and superior divinities.[19] It is not impossible that the subterranean habitations, already described, were at one period used for a similar purpose.

The Ḥarrânis were celebrated **astrologers;**[20] and we learn from Marco Polo that the Soḳoṭrans had a similar reputation. He says: —

"And you must know that in this Island (Soḳoṭra) there are the best enchanters in the world. It is true that their Archbishop forbids the practice to the best of his ability: but 'tis

[17] Rawlinson's *Five Great Monarchies,* Vol. I. p. 153. *Vide* also Ignatius Donnelly's *Atlantis: the Antediluvian World,* Chap V.

[18] "It is not uncommon for the second syllable in an Assyrian or Babylonian god's name to be dropped as unimportant." *Five Great Mon.* Vol. I. p. 167.

[19] *Mas'ûdî,* Chap LXVII

[20] Sprenger's *El Mas'ûdî,* p. 216 *et seq.*, notes.

all to no purpose, for *they insist that their forefathers followed it*, and so must they also. I will give you a sample of their enchantments. Thus if a ship be sailing past with a fair wind and a strong, they will raise a contrary wind and compel her to turn back. In fact they make the wind blow as they list, and produce great tempests and disasters; and other such sorceries they perform, which it will be better to say nothing about in our Book."[21] The **language** spoken by the **Harrânîs** was **Aramaic**.[22] Whether any affinity exists between it and **Soḳoṭran** is a question to be discussed later on.

These notices of the Harrânîs are introduced, not with the object of proving any connexion between them and the Soḳoṭrans, but merely to throw a light on the nature of planetary worship, which appears to have been the religion of the island previous to the birth of Christianity.

Exposure of the aged and sick was another singular custom practised by the Soḳoṭrans: it is thus described by Wellsted (pp. 278-80): —

"One intensely hot day I was strolling along the beach, when my attention was arrested by perceiving something lying there, which an Arab was just leaving. It was an old man stretched on his back, in a hollow scooped out of the sand; nothing but a tattered piece of cloth protecting him from the fiery heat of the sun's rays; before him were some grain and fragments of half-broiled fish: but he was evidently in the last stage of existence. His companion told me that when a man or woman became unable to work, it was customary thus to expose them; food, however, being brought until they expire, when a little earth thrown over them completes their half-formed grave. Such is custom! Yet even this, barbarous as it is, is an improvement on that which formerly was practised.

"An old writer, speaking of the inhabitants of Soḳoṭra, says that "they generally bury their sick before they breathe their last, making no distinction between a dying and a dead person. They esteem it a duty to put the patient as soon as possible out of pain, and make this their request to their friends, when they are on a sick bed — which in all acute disorders, may be called their death-bed. When the father of a family finds himself thus circumstanced, and has reason to believe his dissolution is approaching, he assembles his children round him, whether natural or adopted, his parents, wives, servants, and all his acquaintances, whom he strongly exhorts to a compliance with the following articles of his last will — never to admit any alteration in the customs or doctrines of their ancestors: never to intermarry with foreigners; never to permit an affront done to them or their predecessors, or a beast stolen from either of them, to go unpunished; and, lastly, never to suffer a friend to lie in pain, when they can relieve him by death.

"They commonly perform the last request of the dying man by means of a white liquor, of a strongly poisonous quality, which oozes from a tree peculiar to the island. Hence it is that legal murders are more common here than in any country in the world; for, besides the inhuman custom last mentioned, the other requests of dying men produce numberless quarrels, and, by taking revenge of the injuries done to their ancestors, entail family feuds and bloodshed upon their posterity for a long series of years.

"Such were the inhabitants of Soḳoṭra in the seventeenth century."

Wellsted does not mention the name of the writer of the account which he quotes, and I have not been able to find it in any of the collections of voyages and travels. The intense conservation displayed in the injunction, "Never to admit any alteration in the customs or doctrines of their ancestors," accounts for the preservation of so many pagan customs, apparently of extremely ancient origin. The *lex talionis* is by no means peculiar to Soḳoṭra: it obtains among most savage nations, especially among the Somâlis, who look upon murder as a private offence — not a public one.

Having now related all that can be gathered regarding the early form of religion among

[21] Yule's *Marco Polo*, Vol. II., Chap. 32, 2nd Ed.

[22] Sprenger's *El Mas'ûdî*, p. 218, notes.

the aborigines of Soḳoṭra, we come, in the natural order of events, to the rise and progress of **Christianity** in the island.

It is the universal belief of the Eastern Churches that **St. Thomas** the Apostle, after visiting Mesopotamia, Ethiopia, and many other countries, preached in Soḳoṭra on his way to India (about A.D. 50); and the peculiar veneration in which that saint was held by the Christians of Soḳoṭra (a fact noticed by Francis Xavier and other early European visitors) tends to corroborate the tradition. Abdias, who lived at the end of the first century, and whose work was published by Zazius at Basle in 1552, says he remembered a book in which the voyage of St. Thomas to India was described.[23]

The preaching and martyrdom of this Apostle in India are recognized by most authorities as historical occurrences, although the various accounts differ in many particulars. The favourite tradition of St. Thomas' death is thus related by Marco Polo;—[24]

"Now I will tell you the manner in which the Christian brethren who keep the Church relate the story of the Saint's death.

"They tell that the Saint was in the wood outside his hermitage saying his prayers; and round about him were many peacocks, for these are more plentiful in that country than anywhere else. And one of the idolaters of that country, being of the lineage of those called Govi that I told you of, having gone with his bow and arrows to shoot peafowl, not seeing the Saint, let fly an arrow at one of the peacocks; and this arrow struck the holy man in the right side, insomuch that he died of the wound, sweetly addressing himself to his Creator. Before he came to that place where he thus died, he had been in Nubia, where he converted much people to the faith of Jesus Christ."

Cosmos (6th century) says that **the Ptolemies**, as well as their predecessor, Alexander, sent colonists to Soḳoṭra, and that there was in the island a bishop appointed from Persia, also clergy ordained and sent from Persia to minister among the people of the island. He relates that having landed there he was entertained by some of the inhabitants who at that time spoke the Greek language; and he adds that he found there a great number of Christians.[25]

As to the sect to which these Christians belonged, Sir H. Yule quotes nearly all available authorities on the subject:—

"Abulfeda says the people of Soḳoṭra were Nestorian Christians and pirates. Nicolo Conti, in the first half of the 15th century, spent two months on the island (Sechutera). He says it was for the most part inhabited by Nestorian Christians.

"Some indications point rather to a connexion of the island's Christianity with the Jacobite or Abyssinian Church. Thus they practised circumcision, as mentioned by Maffei in noticing the proceedings of Albuquerque at Soḳoṭra. De Barros calls them Jacobite Christians of the Abyssinian stock."[26]

De Faria says that at the time of Don Francisco de Almeyda's visit to the island in 1505, the inhabitants were Christians of the Jacobite Church, similar in its ceremonies and belief to that which is established in Ethiopia. The men generally use the names of the Apostles, while most of the women are named Maria. They worship the Cross, which they set up in all their churches, and wear upon their clothes, worshipping thrice a day **in the Chaldean language**, making alternate responses as we do in choirs. They have but one wife, use circumcision, pay tythes, and practise fasting.[27]

Francis Xavier, the first of the Jesuit missionaries sent to India, visited the island in the latter end of 1541, and found distinct traces of the Church. The people reverenced the Cross,

[23] Murray's *Hand-book of Madras*, by Prof. Eastwick, 2nd Ed., p. 152. [24] *Yule*, 2nd Ed., Vol. II. p. 340.

[25] *Topographia Christiana*, Book III., p. 178-79, quoted in Gillain's *Documents sur l'Histoire, la Géographie et le Commerce de l'Afrique Orientale*, Vol. I. Chap. VIII. According to Sir H. Yule's quotation of the same passage, Cosmos did not actually land on the island. Yule, *Marco Polo*, Vol. II. p. 401, 2nd Ed.

[26] Yule, *Marco Polo*, Vol. II., p. 401 notes. [27] Kerr's *Collection of Voyages and Travels*, Vol. VI. p. 96.

placing it on their altars, and hanging it round their necks. Every village had its minister, whom they called *kashîsh* (Persian for a 'presbyter'), to whom they paid tythes. No man could read. The *kashîsh* repeated prayers ante-phonetically in a forgotten tongue, which De Barros calls "Chaldee,"[28] frequently scattering incense; a word like *alleluia* often recurred. For bells they used wooden rattles. They assembled in their churches four times a day and held St. Thomas in great veneration. The *kashîshes* married, but were very abstemious. They had two Lents, and then fasted strictly from meat, milk, and fish.[29]

The probable explanation of the discrepancies in the foregoing accounts is that at some period a change occurred in the character of Soḳoṭran Christianity; but the change may have shown itself only in particular portions of the island; and as the travellers did not all visit the same ports, each may have correctly described his own experiences. When the Abyssinian invaders of Yamen were defeated in A.D. 595 by the Persians under Horzâd bin Narsî Wahrâz, numbers of the former fled by sea to the other side of the Gulf of Aden, to avoid the persecution which followed their defeat; and it seems very probable that some of them reached Soḳoṭra and, settling there permanently, propagated their religion. Whatever be the particular sect to which the Soḳoṭrans belonged, the traditions of Christianity appear to have been maintained among them for several centuries after the triumph of Islâm in the countries bordering on Arabia; and although the island itself became submissive to the Marah Arabs of Kishn or Fartâk, Christianity still existed in the beginning of the 16th century when the Portuguese arrived there. It seems to have been on the decline at that period, and received its death-blow in 1800 or 1801 when the **Wahhâbîs of Nejd** invaded the island, and in their fanatical zeal destroyed the churches, crosses, grave-stones and every visible trace of Christianity. At present — as Wellsted says — "every individual in Soḳoṭra professes himself to be a Muhammadan."[30]

The last vestiges of Christianity in Soḳoṭra, so far as we know, are those traced by P. Vincenzo, the Carmelite, who visited the island after the middle of the 17th century. The people still retained a profession of Christianity, but without any knowledge, and with a strange jumble of rites, sacrificing, circumcising, abominating wine and pork. They had churches which they called *muḳâm*,[31] dark, low and dirty, daily anointed with butter. On the altar was a cross and a candle. The cross was regarded with ignorant reverence, and carried in processions. They assembled in their churches three times in the day, and three times in the night; and in their worship burned much incense, &c. The priests were called *odambo*, elected and consecrated by the people, and changed every year. Of baptism and other sacraments they had no knowledge.

The **Soḳoṭran language** — as I have already stated — has never yet been philologically classified: various conjectures have been made as to its origin, but most of them being mere guesses, are rather wide of the truth.

To facilitate the investigation of this important subject, I have compiled from numerous sources of information the **two accompanying comparative vocabularies.** No. 1 (founded upon that published by Dr. J. Bird in the *Journal* of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, July 1845) shows as a heading a certain number of English words such as must occur in every language, no matter how barbarous; and in the columns beneath them are the corresponding words in Soḳoṭran and all the languages which are in the least likely to bear any analogy to it. Owing to want of information, the Soḳoṭran and Chaldean portions are very imperfect, and the Gharah (Kara), which ought to be included, is entirely wanting. Still — meagre though it be — the information afforded by this table is, I think, sufficient to justify us in classifying **the Soḳoṭran language as a member of the Ethiopic branch of the Syro-Arabic or Northern Semitic family.** It bears a closer resemblance to **Gîz** — the ancient language of Ethiopia — than to any others here shown.

[28] Wellsted says (II. 314) that the Ethiopic was commonly called *Chaldean* in the 16th century.
[29] Yule, *Marco Polo*, Vol. II. p. 402. [30] (Vol. II. page 226.)
[31] An *Arabic* word, meaning a place of rising, standing or remaining.

Comparative Vocabulary, No. 1.

Family or Group.	Branch, or Sub-Group.	Language.	Sun.	Moon.	Stars.	Morning.
Semitic Family.	Northern Branch.	1; Arabic	shams	ḳamar	kawâkib (sing. kôkab)	ṣabâḥ, ṣubḥ
	Ethiopic Branch.	2; Gîz, or Old Tigrê	zahâ,î	waraḥ	kakab	nâgâh
		3; Amharic, or modern Abyssinian	zaḥai	tsharḳa	kâkâb	têwât
		4; Hararî, or Aḍarî	îrr	charakâ	tû,âsh (sing. tû,î)	subḥ
	Ethiopic sub-group	5; Somâlî	korâh	daiyah	hêdko (sing. hêdik)	aroryo
		6; Galla	addu, hathû	tshia	artshî	.....
		7; Dankalî, or Afarî	ayrô	âlsâ	hôtûk (sing.)	sâkû
	.....	8; Soḳoṭran	shîhan	îrah	kôkab (sing.)	.....
	.....	9; Mhârî	haiyôm	wârît	kabkob (sing.)	kaṣôbah
	.....	10; Gârawî	.....	.....	.....	.....
	.....	11; Hebrew	shamash	yâṛach	.....	.....
	.....	12; Chaldean	san	yerah	.....	.....
	.....	13; Assyrian	shamas	tsin	.....	.....
	.....	14; Sanskṛit	sûra, sûrya	chandra	târâ	ushas

Comparative Vocabulary, No. 1; continued.

No.	Day.	Earth.	Water.	Fire.	Father.	Mother.	Eye.	Head.
1	yaum, nahâr	ardh	mâi, môya	nâr	abû	umm	'ain	râs
2	âlât	medr	may	âsât	âba	am	ayn	râs
3	âlât	medr	atata, waha	âsât	âbât	anât	ayn	râs
4	ma'altû, ôj (?)	dashî, tash-shîl (?)	mî	isâd	âwa	â,'e	în	urus
5	asho, ḍarâṛ	ḍul	bîyo	dab	aba	hoyo	il	mâdah
6	gâfâ	laffa	bisan	ibita	abba	hata	itsha	mata
7	la'ô lo'ô	bâḷô	lay	gîrâ	âbbâ	inâ	intî	amò, amû
8	.....	.....	rîho rîyoh	shaiwaṭ	.....	.....	.....	rî
9	nahûr	ardh	(ha)moh	shî, ût	ḥêb	hamêk	'ain	(ha)rôh
10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
11	yôm	erets	mô (with article prefixed, ḥammo)	esh	âb	êm	ain	rîsh
12	.....	ki	.....	eshûata (?)	atta	.....	si	zaḳad
13	yumu	ilamu	.....	.....	abu	ummu	.....	.....
14	ahan	pṛithvî	jala, vâri	agni	pitâ	mâtâ	nêtra	mastaka, śiras.

Comparative Vocabulary, No. 1; continued.

No.	Nose.	Mouth.	Tongue.	Teeth.	Hand.	Foot.	One.	Two.
1	anf	famm	lisân	asnân, (sing. sinn)	yad	rijl	wâḥid, aḥad	ithnên
2	anfa	aph	lêsan	san	ad	agr	ahadi	halaitê
3	.....	aph	malas	pras	ad	agrahad	and	halêt
4	aphnatsh	afê	arrât	sin (sing.)	ṭjl	ingir	aḥad	ḳôt
5	san	af	ârrab	ilig (sing.)	ga'n	ag	kau, mid	laba
6	funyan	afan	arraba	ilkan	harkî	mila	tôko	lâma
7	san	af	arrabâ	ikô, bodînâ	gabâ	îbâ, lak	inîk	namâyâ
8	naḥîr	.....	lishan	matîrmish	.....	ṣôb	ḳâṭ, tâṭ, ḥaṭ	tarawah
9	nakḥarîr	ḳḥôk	shîn	.....	ḥaid, hest	madḥâḳat	tâ, ad	tharôh
10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
11	nâḳḥîr	phêh	lâshon	shen	yâd	regel	ekḥad	shênâyim
12	.....	.....	.....	.....	kat	.....	had	.....
13	.....	.....	lisân	.....	.....	.....	ishtin (m.) ikhit (f.)	shanai
14	nâsikâ	mukha	jihvâ	danta	hasta	pâda	êka	dvi

Comparative Vocabulary No. 1; continued.

No.	Three.	Four.	Five.	Six.	Seven.	Eight.	Nine.	Ten.
1	thalâthah	arba'a	khamsah	sittah	sab'ah	thamâniah	tis'ah	'asharah
2	salâsati	arbatî	hemasati	sadsati	sabati	samanati	tasah	.....
3	sasat	arut	amsati	sadsat	sabat	samanati	zattagna	asr
4	shîshtî	harad	hamistî	saddistî	sâtî	sôt, sût	sehtan, zehtayn	assir
5	sadêh	afârr	shan	leh	tadobâ	sidêd	sagâl	toban
6	sâdi	affûr	shân	jâ	tôrba	saddêti	sagâl	kudân
7	sidâhu	farây	kônôwû, kôn	lahây	mâlehân	bahârâ	.....	.....
8	tata'ah	arba'ah	haimish	îtah, yitah	yibî'ah	tamânî	sa'ah	'ashrî
9	shâdṭhêt	rubôt	ḳhamûh	yitît	yibêt, ibêt	thimanît	îsêt	'asharît
10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
11	shalosh	araba	ḳhamesh	shêsh	shaba	shammonch	têsâ	eser
12	telât	'arba'	.....	shîb, shêb	shîb'âh	.....	.....	'ashar
13	shalshat (m.) shîlash (f.)	arbat (m.) arba (f.)	ḳhamish	shashat (m.) shash (f.)	shibit (m.) shibi (f.)	shamnat (?)	tishit (m.) tishi (f.)	isrit (m.) isri (f.)
14	tri	chatur	panchan	shaṭ	saptan	ashṭan	navan	daśan

Comparative Vocabulary No. 2.

English.	Soḳoṭran.		Arabic (Gulf of Aden Dialect).		Mhârî.	
A						
Above	.....	.....	فوق	fûk	حقلا	ḥaklâ
Afterwards	.....	.....	بعد	ba'd	مغورا	maghîrâ
Age	.....	.....	عمر	'umr	عامر	'âmar
Agreement, make no	عن الفراد	'an alfirêd	لا تشرط	lâ tashruṭ	.....	.....
Alive	الظامع	alḍhâma	حيّ	hai-y	.....	.....
Always	.....	.....	دايماً على الدوام	dâyiman or 'ala-d-da-wâm	دويم ذاوقات	doêm-dh-aukât
Anchor	بروصي	barûṣî	بروصي	barûṣî	بوهرت	boharat
Angry	.....	.....	مغيظ	maghîḍh	مغتيظ	maghatîḍh
Ant	.....	.....	نملة	namla	نوميل	nomîl
Antelope	طهرير	ṭahrîr	غزال	ghazâl	.....	.....
Antimony	.....	.....	كحل	kuḥl	كاحل	kâḥil
Arm	ايط	êyat	يد	.....	.....	.....
Arms, the (pl.)	.....	.....	الاذرع	al adhru'	حيدوتن	haidôtan
Army	.....	.....	عسكر	'askar	عسكر	'askêr
Arrow	.....	.....	سهم	sahm	سهوم	.....
As before	.....	.....	كما اوّل	kimâ awwal	هاش هوالا	hâsh hawâlê
Ascend	الّح	allaḥ	طلع	ṭal'a	.....	.....
Ashes	.....	.....	رماد	ramâd	رميه	ramît
At a great distance	شرحق	sharhuḳ	بعيد	ba'îd	.....	.....
At hand, close	شيلي	shêlî	قريب	ḳarîb	.....	.....
B						
Back, the	ظادة	ṭâdah	ظهر	ḍhahr	.....	.....
Bad	دياّ	diyâ	بطال	baṭâl	.....	.....
Bargain, make a	شالم	shâlim	اشرط	ashruṭ	.....	.....
Bark of a tree	.....	.....	قشر الشجرة	ḳasharu-l-shajara	قشيروت	ḳashîrût
Barren	.....	.....	صحال	mimḥâl	هيئور	hê'ûr
Battle	.....	.....	قتال	ḳitâl	غورت	ghôrût
Beak (of a bird)	.....	.....	منقر	minḳar	اخوة	aḳhôh
Beard	.....	.....	لحية	liḥya	الحيت ,دكحن	alḥêt ; dakḥan
Bed	.....	.....	سرير	sarîr	جودري داشنات	jodarî-dh-ashnât. Lit. bed of sleep (?)

Comparative Vocabulary No. 2; continued.

English.	Soḳoṭran.		Arabic (Gulf of Aden Dialect).		Mhârî.	
Bee (honey)	.....	.....	نحلة	naḥla	هانوبات	hânobèt
Behind	.....	.....	خلف , وراء	ḳḥalf, warâ	صنغيرا	manghairâ
Belly	.....	.....	بطن	baṭn	جوف	ḍjôf
Below	.....	.....	تحت	taḥt	مصا (sic)	amsâ (sic)
Bird	.....	.....	طير	ṭair	عقاب	agâb ; dikiwik
Bite	.....	.....	عضه	'adhdha	صوب	ṣôb
Bitterness	.....	.....	مرارة	marâra	مرير	marîr
Black	.....	.....	اسود	aswad	حور	ḥaowar
Blade of grass	.....	.....	(?) السراخ	.....	رهوت	rahût
Blind	.....	.....	اعمى	â 'mâ	عوريت	'awarît
Blood	.....	.....	دم	dam	دم	dum
Blow (with the fist)	.....	.....	لكمة	lakma	كمات	kamêt
Blue	.....	.....	ازرق	azraḳ	حور	ḥaowar
Boat	.....	.....	سنبوق	sambûḳ	سنبوق	sambûḳ
Body	.....	.....	جسد	jasad	جساد	jassêd
Book	كتاب	kitâb	كتاب	kitâb	كتوب	katôb
Bottle	.....	.....	شيشه	shîsha(Pers.)	لوقت	lôjat
Bow	.....	.....	قوس	ḳaus.	مندافات	mandofêt
Bowels	.....	.....	مسارين	mas-ârrain	مشغين	mosghên
Box	صندوق	ṣandûḳ	صندوق	ṣanduḳ	.....	.....
Boy	صبياقي	mubyâḳî	ولد	walad	.....	.....
Bracelet	.....	.....	سوار	siwâr	متاكات	matâkêt
Branch	.....	.....	غصن	ghuṣn	رتات	ratât
Brass	.....	.....	نحاس	naḥâs	نحوس	naḥôs
Bread	ازهر	azhar	خبز	ḳḥubz	خابز	ḳḥâbz
Bridle	.....	.....	لجام	ligâm(Pers.)	فيناج	ghaianêj
Bring(v.imper.)	نكيان	nikyân	جيب	jîb, or gîb	.....	.....
Broken	تيبر	taibar	مكسور	maksûr	.....	.....
Brook	.....	.....	جدول	jadwal	هذهبوت ذنهر	bazhabôt-dh-nahr
Brother	.....	.....	اخ	aḳḥ	غاك	ghâk
Bug	.....	.....	بق	baḳ	كتون	katôn
Bull	.....	.....	ثور	thaur, thôr	ثور	thôr

Comparative Vocabulary No. 2; continued.

English.	Sokoṭran.		Arabic (Gulf of Aden Dialect).		Mhârî.	
Bullocks	الهيتين	al haitain	بقر	bukur	.....	.....
Buoy	.....	.....	شماندرة	shamândara	كوى	kô,i
Button	قطمير	ḳaṭmîr	زبدة	zibda	خزرات	ḳhazarêt
Buy	استنجر	astinjar	اشترى	ishtarâ	.....	.....
C.						
Cable	.....	.....	حبل	ḥabl	مسبؤا	masabû,â
Calm, a (sea)	.....	.....	راكن	râkin	سوّال	shô,âl
Camel	.....	.....	جمل	jamal, or gamal	.....	.....
Cash	.....	.....	فلوس	fulûs	دريهم	darîham (Pers. *dirham.*)
Cat	.....	.....	قطة	kiṭṭa	.....	.....
Chain	سنسلة	sinsila	سلسلة	silsila	سلسلات	silsilêt
Cheeks	.....	.....	خدود	ḳhudûd	ظجمتك	ḍhajamatak
Child (female)	فرهن	farhan	بنت	Bint	غجيت	ghajît
Children	.....	.....	اولاد	aulâd	قليان	galliân
Chin	.....	.....	ذقن	dhaḳan	ملحوت	malḥôt
City	.....	.....	مدينة	madîna	رحبات خيت (?)	raḥabêt, or raḥbait, khit
Civet cat	يربوق	yirbôḳ	سنّور	sinnaur	.....	.....
Clear (op. of foul)	.....	.....	رائق	râ,iḳ	سوال	sô,âl
Close at hand, close to	شيكة , شيلى	shêlî, shîka	قريب	ḳarîb	.....	.....
Clothes	.....	.....	اثواب	athwâb	خلواق	ḳhalwâḳ
Clouds	.....	.....	سحاب	saḥâb	عفور	'afûr
Clouded, cloudy	.....	.....	مغيّم	mughaiyim	عفور ماكن	'afûr-mêkan
Cocoanut tree	.....	.....	نارجيل	narjîl(Pers.)	ميدا	mêdâ
Coffee	.....	.....	قهوة	ḳahwa	قهوا	ḳahwêt
Cold (s)	.....	.....	برد	bard	قاصم	ḳâṣim
Colours (flags)	.....	.....	بيرق	bairaḳ(Pers.)	غالى بيرق	ghalâ-bêriḳ
Comb	.....	.....	مشّط	mashshaṭ	مشريق	masriḳ
Come (here)	تعد به	t'adaba	تعال	t'âl	كالبوه	*kâl bôh*
,, near	توتردي تكودعن	tû tardî ta kud'an	تعال قريب	.....	.....	.....
,, close	توتهر	tû tahar	تقرب	.....	.....	.....
,, back	تكتاتح	taktâtaḥ	.....	.....	.....	.....

Comparative Vocabulary No. 2; continued.

English.	Sokoṭran.		Arabic (Gulf of Aden Dialect.)		Mhârî.	
Conquered	.....	.....	مغلوب	maghlûb	فوصل	fôṣal
Cows, or bullocks	الهيتين	al haitain	بُقُر	bukur	.....	.....
Crooked	قغهن	ḳaghhan	معوّج	mu'awwaj	عواج	'awaij
D						
Daughter	فرهن	farhan	بنت	bint	غجيب	ghajît
Dead	صامي	ṣâmî	مات	mât	.....	.....
Descend	تقافر	takâfa	انزل	anzul	.....	.....
Dog	كلب	kalb	كلب	kalb	كلب	kalb
Dry (adj.)	تاشه	tâsha	يابس	yâbis	قوشه	kôsha
E						
Ears	ادهن	adhan	آذان	âdhân	حيذان	ḥaidhên
Eat	استه	astah	اكل	akul	ته	tah
Eight	تماني	tamânî	ثمانية	thamâniya	ثمنيت	thimanît
Eighteen	تمانتعشر	tamânat-'ashar	ثمانية عشر	thamâniyat-'ashar	.....	.....
Eyebrows	تري عن تفروز تريتعين	tarî'ain tafrûz tariyat'ain	حواجب	ḥawâjib	احجور	aḥajôr
Eyes	طيعن	ṭai'an	عينين	'ainain	.....	.....
F						
Feet, the	صوب	ṣôb	رجلين	rijlain (dual)	مدحاقت	madhâḳat (sing.)
Fingers, the	اصابع	aṣâbi'	اصابع	aṣâb'	شوبع	shôb'a
Fire	شيوط	shaiwaṭ	نار	nâr	شيوط	shli,ûṭ, *vide* note on pronunciation
Fish	صودة	ṣôdah	سمك	samak (pl.)	صيد	ṣait, saiyid
Fishing-line	شوهط	shûhaṭ	خيط	ḳhaiṭ	غلف	ghalf
Five	حيمش	ḥaimish	خمسة	ḳhamsa	خمود	ḳhamûh
Flour	دقيق	daḳîḳ	دقيق طحين	daḳîḳ,ṭahin	.....	.....
Four	اربعه	arb'a	id	.....	ربوت	rubôt
G						
Ghi (clarified butter)	حمي	ḥamî	سمن	samn	.....	.....
Give, do not	عن تندف	'an tandaff	لا تعطي	lâ t'atê	.....	.....
Goat or sheep	ارهن	arhan	غنم	ghanam	حوز	hôz, tibuwit
Go away	تطوهر	taṭôhar	روح	rûḥ	حره	ḥarah

Comparative Vocabulary No. 2; continued.

English.	Sokoṭran.		Arabic (Gulf of Aden Dialect).		Mhârî.	
Go far away	توعد سرحق	tô'ad sarḥuḳ	روح بعيد	rûḥ ba'îd	.....	.....
,, out	شراكح	sharâkaḥ	اخرج	aḳhruj	.....	.....
,, to-day	حيره طهر	ḥaira ṭahar	روح اليوم	rûḥ al yaum	.....	.....
,, to market	تعد سوق	ta'ad sôḳ	روح بسوق	rûḥ basûḳ	.....	.....
Good	.....	.....	طيب	ṭaiyib	مشره	.....
H						
Hair, the	شف	shiff	شعر	sha'r	شف , ساني	shuf, shâff
Haste, make	تعد , تعوه	ta'add, ta'ôh	امشي	amshî	.....	.....
Head	رى	rî	راس	râs	حروه	ḥarôh
Hill, or mountain	فدهن	fadhan	جبل	jabal	جبال	jibêl, kirmûn
Hold, take	تلو	talû	امسك	amsik	.....	.....
Hook, fishing	اقلهه	aḳlahah	كلاب	kullâb	قلاو	ḳalâ,ô
House	قآر	ḳâr	بيت	.....	.....	.....
I						
Iron	حصهن	ḥaṣ-han	حديد	ḥadîd	حديد	.....
K						
Kill	تحريز	taḥrîz	اقتل	aḳtul	.....	.....
Knife	صاري	ṣârî	سكين	sikkîn	عيس	'ais
L						
Lip	شيبه	shîbah	شفة	shaffa	كرفيف	karfîf, shêprah
Long, tall	ريلو	rî, au	طويل	ṭawîl	.....	.....
M						
Man, a	حيهي	ḥaihai	رجل	rajul	غيج	ghaij
Market, bazar	سوق	sôḳ	سوق	sauḳ or sûḳ	.....	.....
Mast of a ship	د قهر	daḳ-ḥar	دقل	daḳal	.....	.....
Meat, flesh	ته	tah	لحم	laḥm	.....	.....
Milk	حوف	ḥûf	حليب	ḥalîb	اشخوف	ishaḳhôf
Month	شهر	shahr	شهر	shahr	ورخ	waraḳh
Moon	ايره	îrah	قمر	ḳamar	واريت	wârît
Mountain	فدهن	fad-han	جبل	jabal	جبال	jibêl,kirmîm

Comparative Vocabulary No. 2; continued.

English.	Soḳoṭran.		Arabic (Gulf of Aden Dialect).		Mhârî.	
N						
Night-time	احتة	aḥtah	ليل	lail	بحلي	baḥalî
Nine	سعة	sa'ah	تسعة	tis'ah	اسات	isêt
Nose	نحير	naḥîr	انف	anf	نخرير	naḳharîr
O						
Oil	سليط	salîṭ	سليط	salîṭ	سليط , مه	salît, mah
One	قاط , تاط , حاط	ḳâṭ, têt, ḥâṭ	واحد	wâḥid	طاُ	tâ,ad
P						
Paper	قرطاس	karṭâs	.....	kâghadh	.....	.....
R						
Roof, top, awning, &c.	ميلءو	mîl'au	ظلال	ḍhalâl	.....	.....
Rope	قيت	ḳêt	.....	.....	.....	.....
S						
Sail of a ship	شيرع	shîr'a	شراع	shirâ'	شروتن	sharôtan (pl.)
Salt water	ريهودرنهم	rîhô darnaham	ماء ي بحر	mâ,î baḥr	.....	.....
Sell, (v.)	كثوعم	kathû'am	باع	bâ'	.....	.....
„ I will	اشيمر	ashîmah	ابيع	abî'	.....	.....
Seven	يبيعة	yibî'ah	سبعة	sab'ah	ابات , يبات	ibêt, yibêt
Shoulders	كورى	kaurî	كتاف (sing. كتف)	katâf (sing. katif)	كتفة	katfah
Sit down	إستحاو	istaḥâ,û	اجلس	ajlis	ثوول	thôwal
Six	ايتة	îtah, yitah	ستة	sittah	يتيت	yitît
Sleep, (v.)	ايدم , تشوف	aidam, tashûf	نام , رقد	nâm, raḳad	.....	.....
Star	كوكب	kôkab	نجم , كوكب	najm, kaukab	كبكوب	kabkôb
Stomach	ميرّ	mîr	بطن	baṭn	كرش	karash
Stop! Stay!	سلوبة	salûbah	اصبر	aṣbur	سلوب	salôb
Sun	شيهن	shîhan	شمس	shams	حيّوم	haiyôm
Sword	شكو	shukkô	سيف	saif	شكى	shakî
T						
Take away, remove	ارح	araḥ	ودى	wadî	.....	.....
Take away, do not	على طيعي	'alâ tiyê'î	لاتودي	lâ tawadî	.....	.....
Take hold	تلو , عر , تزعن	talû,'arr, taz'an	خذ , امسك	ḳhudh,amsik	.....	.....
„ do not	من تزعن	'an taz'an	لاتاخذ	lâ tâḳhudh	هتق	huṭhuḳ

Comparative Vocabulary No. 2; continued.

English.	Sokoṭran.		Arabic (Gulf of Aden Dialect).		Mhârî.	
Tall, long	ريذو	ri,au	طويل	ṭawîl	.....	.....
Teeth	مطيرمش	matîrmish	اسنان , ضروس	asnân, ḍharûs	.....	.....
Ten	عشري	'ashrî	عشرة	'ashara	عشريت	'asharît
Three	ططعة	tata'ah	ثلاثة	thalâthah	شاظات	shâdthêt
Throat, neck	نحاشر	nahâshah	رقبة	raḳabah	قرد	garad
Tongue	لشن	lishan	لسان	lisân	شدن	shin
Town	چيرهفي	chîrhaf	بلد	balad	رحبات	raḥbêt
Two	تروه	tarawah	اثنين	ithnên	ثروه	tharôh
Two months	ترابشهرين	tarâ b-shahrain	شهرين	shahrain	.....	.....
Two years	تري اينر	tarî ainah	سنتين	sanatain	.....	.....
U						
Untrue, a falsehood	تبت	tubat	كذب	kidhb	بادي	bêdî
W						
Water	ريهه	rîho	مآء , موية	mâ, môyah	حموه	ḥa-môh. The syllable ḥa seems to be the article, as in Hebrew
,, salt or sea	ريهه , ريهن	rîho (or rîyoh) rêhan	مآئي بحر	mâ, î baḥr	.....	.....
,, sweet or fresh	ريه حالي	rîyoh ḥâlî	مآئي حلو مآئي حالي	mâ, î ḥalû, or ḥâlî	.....	.....
,, drink	ريه لري	rîyoh larî	مائي اشرب	mâ, î ashrab	.....	.....
,, give some	ابي ريهه	abî rîho	اعطي مآء	â'aṭî mâ, i	.....	.....
,, plenty of	گي ريهه	gî rîho	مآء كثير	mâ, i kathîr	.....	.....
,, scarcity of	ريهو حررهن	rîhô ḥarar-han	مآء قليل	mâ, i ḳalîl	.....	.....
Well, (s.)	ابهر	ab-har	بئر	bi,r, bîr	بير	bîr
White	لبهم	lab-ham	ابيض	abyaḍh	لبون	labôn
Wood	طيرب	ṭêrab	حطب	ḥaṭab	ظرب	ḍtharab, ḳhitab
Write (imper.)	توكتب	to-kuttab	اكتب	aktub	.....	.....
Y						
Yard of a ship	ترمل	tarmal	فرمان	farmân	.....	.....
Year	اينر	ainah	سنة	sana	سنات	sanêt

Gîz, which is the oldest member of the Abyssinian family of languages, shows an affinity in grammatical structure with the ancient Arabic, and is said to be closely allied to the dialects spoken by the Mahra and Ḳara tribes of Southern Arabia; and approximates much more to the Hebrew and Syriac than to the Arabic. It appears to have been the prevailing language of the country at the time the Abyssinians were converted to Christianity; and being of Syro-Arabian, or Semitic origin, has been improperly termed Ethiopic.

It was the vernacular dialect of the Agâzî, who founded the kingdom of Axum, and were the original of that mixed race known by the name of Ḥabshî, of whom the greater part were of Syro-Arabian origin, as proved by the cognate affinities of their language, and by history. An early connection and commercial intercourse existed between the people of this country and those of Southern Arabia; hence the frequent confusion in the use of the term "Ethiopia," which is applied in Scripture and elsewhere both to Southern Arabia and Abyssinia: there was in fact an Asiatic and an African Ethiopia. This intercourse between the two countries probably began about B.C. 769 to 729, when the Cushites — a branch of the Syro-Arabian people — migrated from the kingdom of Midian in Arabia to the western shores of the Red Sea; and from this period frequent similar migrations seem to have taken place, and to have introduced into the African dialects a great many Semitic words.

Gîz is still used in Abyssinia for literary and scientific purposes. It borrowed words largely from foreign tongues — some as mere exotics by translators and scholars, but many others through direct popular intercourse with foreign nations. Aramaic, Hebrew and Greek have been chiefly laid under contribution; the last especially for words technical to Christianity.[32]

Wellsted asserts that the Soḳoṭran language so nearly resembles **Mhârî** as to be readily understood by the Arabs of the opposite coast.[33] This, however, is not the case. **Mahra Arabs** who have settled on the island, or who are in the habit of trading with it, learn to speak Soḳoṭran, and make use of it in their intercourse with the natives; but I do not think the latter ever speak Mhârî, and the resemblance between the two languages is very slight, as will be seen by examining No. 2 Comparative Vocabulary of English, Soḳoṭran, Arabic and Mhârî words.[34]

The Mhârî idiom (كَلَام ث مهرى) *kalâm th'Mhârî*, as spoken by the natives themselves, is a peculiarly sweet language; so much so that they themselves liken it to the conversation of birds.

The **Mahra tribe**, said by many writers to be descended from the ancient Himyari of Hadhramaut,[35] occupy an extent of country exceeding that of any other tribe in the south-eastern part of Arabia. The limits of their coast are generally allowed to be the opening of the great Wâdi Masîla on the S. W., in 51°13′ E. Long., and the town of Damḳôt in the Bay of Al Ḳamar, on the N. E., in 52°47′ E. Long., giving them a coast line of 135 miles. Inland their country extends to the confines of Hadhramaut. In stature they are an undersized race,

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[32] *Jour. B. B. R. A. S.*, July 1845, p. 302. *Enc. Brit.*, *s. v.* "Ethiopian."

[33] It would be interesting to know whether the Bani Ḳara and the Soḳoṭrans understand one another's dialects.

[34] The Soḳoṭran words are taken chiefly from Wellsted's Vocabulary, and the Mhârî from Dr. H. J. Carter's *Vocabulary of the Mahra Dialect*, published in the *Jour. B. B. R. A. S.*, July 1847. The Arabic words are Yamani. It will be advisable here to note certain letters which have a peculiar pronunciation in Mhârî:—

ا, for the most part, has not a broad sound, but is pronounced more like the *a* in *fate*: thus مهرى (Mhârî) ha almost the same sound as the proper name *Mary*.

ج, is generally pronounced soft, though in Yamani Arabic it is, as often as not, pronounced hard, like *g*.

ش, has a very peculiar sound in the Mhârî dialect: it is formed by placing the tip of the tongue against the anterior part of the palate, and allowing the air to pass out of the mouth on one side or the other of it, in the manner of a lisp, following it with the sound of the letter *l*, as in شحوت *fire*, pronounced *shlîôt*.

ز, has the softer sound of the letter *z*, as in زجر, which is pronounced *zêjar*.

ع is usually pronounced the same as the Arabic غ (ġ), and the latter is scarcely distinguishable from *g*.

[35] The Bani Ḳara also claim descent from the Himyari.

and when compared with their neighbours, the Bani Ḳara, may almost be considered diminutive; so that the Mahras, neither in appearance nor language, bear much resemblance to the Soḳoṭrans. How, or at what period they became possessed of the island, I have been unable to discover.

The **Bani Ḳara**[36] (or Beni Quorra, as they themselves pronounce the word) also called (حكلي) Ḥaklî, are a fine race of Beduins inhabiting the Sabhân Mountains, which extend from Râs Marbâṭ to the village of Hâsik. The latter place marks the north-east, and Râs Dtharbat 'Ali (ظربعلي) the south-east termination of their maritime boundary. Between Râs Dtharbat 'Ali and Damḳôt there are as many Mahras as Ḳaras, therefore this interval may be considered neutral ground.

For the purposes of the present inquiry it is necessary to compare the Ḳara (Gharah) tribe with the Soḳoṭrans, and the following account of the former by Dr. Carter[37] is almost as complete as can be desired: —

"Their country is mountainous, and cavernous, and consists of a white stratified limestone formation, rising from four to five thousand feet above the level of the sea. The upper parts of the mountains are covered with good pasturage, and their slopes with a dense thicket of small trees, among which the frankincense and several other species of gum trees are the most plentiful.

"The whole tribe are essentially **Troglodytes**, from the nature of the country in which they live; which, in every direction, affords them much better natural habitations than any they could erect for themselves.

"They consist of a fixed, and nomadic population; those who still continue to inhabit the caverns of their ancestors, and those who wandering from place to place, chiefly seek their subsistence in a predatory life; of the two, the former appear to furnish the most favorable specimens of their tribe.

"The following are their physical and ethnographical characters. They are quick, active, tall, and well made, but too slender to be termed athletic, being more formed for agility and enduring fatigue, than for great bodily exertion: their features are, generally speaking, handsome, and their expression pleasing and generous, with a quick and apprehensive eye; but with no deficiency of boldness, or determination in the character. Their skin is of a light-brown colour, with a shade of red in it; their hair glossy black, long, crisp and curling, and principally confined to its natural localities, the other parts of the body presenting little or none; even on the face there is seldom hair enough to be perceived at the distance of more than twelve paces off. The face is oval, the forehead low, but not receding, the frontal sinuses prominent, and the eyebrows more horizontal than arched: the eyelashes long, black and thick; the eye itself moderate in size, transparent and clear, with a deep, brown-black coloured iris. The nose, which is proportioned to the oval figure of the face, is long, and compressed laterally, with a slight aquiline profile; the nostrils, which are also compressed, have their *alæ* a little elevated, but this elevation appears more than it is in reality, from a prolongation of the *septum nasi* towards the upper lip. The lips are thin, the upper one short, with its superior border slightly elevated. The incisor teeth perpendicular, the chin rather projecting than receding, the posterior angles of the jaw more square than obtuse, and the cheek-bones high and prominent.

"Nothing can be more simple than their clothing; a long piece of coarse blue cotton, wrapped two or three times round their loins, and descending towards their knees, in the manner of a short kilt, is all that the men wear; sometimes, however, they twist a second piece round their waist, which serves as a belt; and to prevent their untrimmed hair from falling over their face and shoulders, they bind a small black cord round the margin of the scalp, so as to include the whole mass within its turns, and then secure the longer portion at the lower

[36] بني قرا or قرة

[37] *Jour. B. B. R. A. S.*, January, 1845.

part of the back of the head, where the whole is fastened. This manner of dressing their hair is more becoming to them than otherwise, the longer and loose portion being allowed to flow down their backs, or to remain between the shoulders in a large bunch, according to the nature of its curl. The band, or cord, with which it is tied, is made from their own hair, and not only serves them for the purpose mentioned, but also for any other use to which it may be applied, in case nothing better is at hand.

"The women are much finer, fatter, and lighter-coloured than the Arab women of the coast, and their features are small and regular. They wear a loose frock, which is also made of blue cotton cloth, and is of the same size from the shoulders to the ground; it is open in front for about a foot, where it buttons tightly round the lower part of the neck, and the sleeves are short and large; behind it trails on the ground, but in front it does not descend much below the knee. In addition to this, they have another portion of the same coloured cloth, which they throw over the back of their head and shoulders in the manner of a *dopatta;* but this they seldom use, and never think of concealing their faces under it, as is the custom with the Arab women. Their hair is divided by a narrow line, braided on the scalp, which passes from the centre of the forehead to the middle of the back part of the head, and they collect the hair into two large tresses, one on each side, which, passing down behind the ears, hangs loosely over the breast. Few possess ornaments, not because they despise them, but because they have no money to purchase them. I have seen large pewter rings in the ears of some, though I am certain gold or silver ones would not have been refused for the same purpose.

* * * * * * * * *

"Their language is the Beduin dialect of the South-east Coast of Arabia; being, like that spoken by the inhabitants of the island of Soḳotra and by those also of the islands in the Bay of Kuria Muria, intensely guttural; and in some of their songs the modulation of the sounds is almost entirely confined to the throat. They do not understand the Arabic spoken in the towns, unless they have had much intercourse with the Arabs, who themselves, on this coast, appear to prefer conversing in the dialect of the Beduins. In their singing they display a great fondness for melody, and their guttural articulation, which is never very harsh, is rendered most agreeable in some of their plaintive airs, which accord much with the European taste.

"That part of the tribe who have permanent places of abode in the mountains, **live in natural caverns of the rock,** which have been hereditarily transmitted to them through their forefathers, and have been selected near some rivulet, or fresh-water spring, for domestic purposes, and for the sake of their cattle. In these caverns, which are of gigantic dimensions, and in the form and proportion of an interior fourth of a hollow sphere, with a stalactite ceiling, they have ample room to pen their flocks and herds at night, or to afford them shelter during heavy falls of rain and wet weather; for which purpose they are surrounded by a dense fence of interwoven brushwood. In the different recesses of the interior, the Beduin and his family live, and towards the outside, still sheltered by the overhanging vault, are the huts of the herdsmen and his dependents. . . . . .

"They encourage blood feuds, and in an affray which ends in the death of one of the parties, the survivors, or one of his relatives, sooner or later, is murdered by the friends of the deceased, when the feud is at an end. . . . . .

"Their mode of salutation consists in placing the tips of the three first fingers of the right hand on those of the persons they salute, and afterwards kissing them audibly; they do this to every member of the assembly, to strangers as well as acquaintances. It is the first passport and best introduction, and should never be neglected by any one who wishes to establish a friendship among them.

"They profess themselves to be Muhammadans, undergo the operation of circumcision, and keep up the ceremony connected with it; but they pay very little attention to the other formalities of the Muhammadan religion. Their chief fear appears to be of ghosts and the devil, and this far exceeds their confidence in the protection of the Supreme Being."

Now compare this description of the **Bani Ḳara** with that already given above of the **Soḳoṭrans**, and it will be seen that they coincide in almost every particular. The only important point of difference is in the sound of the two languages: while the Kara dialect is extremely guttural, Soḳoṭran is, as Colonel Hunter remarks,[38] "not so guttural as Arabic and seems to require less effort in enunciation." But in the absence of any specimen of the Ḳara dialect, it would be rash to conclude that it must differ from Soḳoṭran philologically, merely because it differs in sound.

Several writers have confounded the soft Mhârî with the guttural dialect of the Karas, calling the *former* "Ehhkili" (manifestly a phonetic corruption of Ḥakli), a name applicable only to the Karas. The following remarks by Dr. J. Bird on the two idioms are well worthy of notice:—"The Southern Arabs establish a distinction between the dialect of the **Gâras** and that of the **Mahras**, asserting that the former contains a much less proportion of modern Arabic than the latter; so that an inhabitant of the coast of Shihr شحر, who knew no other Arabic than that of his own proper dialect, would be unable to comprehend the language of the people of Shajr شجر, who are the Gâras occupying the Sabhân Mountains and the coast from Cape Shajr, S. W., to Marbât and Hasik, N. E. These dialects of the two tribes are but idioms, however, of the same language, in which are found many Hebrew words not met with in Arabic; and both are perhaps, as Fresnel supposes, the elder sisters of the former. The proper appellation of the original idiom among the Gâras is the Ehhkili, spoken at Marbât and Zafâr, and throughout the district of Shajr; the geographical limits of which, as we shall presently notice, have been confounded with those of Shihr, or the maritime part of Hadhramaut, chiefly occupied by Mahras, descended as would appear from the more ancient and original tribe of Gâras.

It is principally in the country of **Shihr** that those **Hamyaric Inscriptions** are to be found, which were first brought to light by Officers of the Indian Navy, and which have latterly attracted so much learned attention from those cultivating a knowledge of the Semitic languages.

A now desolate Fort on the sea-shore, in Lat. 14°38′30″ N., Long. 49°27′35″ E., seems to have given name to this tract of country, which corresponds as nearly as may be with the maritime part of Hadhramaut; and is distinguished from that of Shajr, N. E., called after the Cape of this name, situated between Râs Fartâk and Marbât. The latter is called by Abulfeda Sowâhil Zafâr, or the coast of Zafâr, or Dhefâr, an ancient city of this quarter, of which the ruins are now called El Balâd,[39] or the town *par excellence*. It has been frequently confounded with the inland town of the same name belonging to the Sapphoritæ (Sapharitæ), but which has been satisfactorily identified by Niebuhr with a site, where are some Hamyaric inscriptions, about two and a half German miles S.S.E. of Jerim, in Lat. 14° 17′. This identification places the original seats of the Homeritæ, or tribe of **Hamyar**, much further to the westward than the maritime district of Shihr, where those inscriptions have hitherto been chiefly found; and would lead to the inference that the maritime Zafâr was the capital of the Ascitæ, mentioned both by Ptolemy and Pliny, as situated in the neighbourhood of the sea near Cape Syagros, which corresponds with Ras-Shajr.[40] The Ascitæ may have been named from being situated on the Jun-al-Hashîsh, or the Gulf-of-Herbs, which is the Arabic name for the Bay in which Khartan and Martan (the Kuria Muria islands) lie; and though we cannot venture to assert that the name was only another appellation for the Gerræ, a poor people who originally fled from Chaldea to Arabia,[41] there is strong presumptive evidence that the modern Gâras, whose language has so many affinities common with the Syriac and Hebrew, are descendants and remains of this ancient colony."[42]

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[38] Balfour's *Botany of Soḳoṭra*.

[39] A very full account of the ruins and present state of El Balâd, or the maritime Zafâr near Marbât, by Dr. Carter, has been published in the *Transactions* of the Bombay Geographical Society for 1844.

[40] Forster identifies the Syagrian Promontory with **Râs Fartâk**, *Historical Geography of Arabia*, Vol. II. 166 *et seq.* 179, &c.

[41] Strabo, Book XVI., page 766.

[42] *Jour. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. II., July 1844 to July 1847, pp. 365-7.

The Gerræi or Agræi derived their name from Gerra or Ghera (**Ghâra**), perhaps the most famous emporium of antiquity, which Forster, on the authority of Ptolemy and others, places at the foot of the deep bay or inlet on the southern shore of the Persian Gulf, at the mouth of which are situated the islands of Bahrain. He shows that the name is probably an anagram for Hagar, and hence that the Agræi of Ptolemy are identical with the Hagarites, an Ishmaelite tribe whose destruction is recorded in the Bible (I. Chron., V). The city of Ghara or Hagar is said by Strabo to have been founded by Chaldean exiles, but the primitive Chaldeans were Cushite Beduins.[43]

Probably the remnant of the **Gerræi**, after the complete defeat which they suffered at the hands of the sons of Reuben, fled southwards, and so came to the maritime strip of country now occupied by their descendants the **Gâras**. Further persecution may have induced some of them to take the sea: and **Soḳoṭra** is the first land they would come to.

This appears to me to be the most probable origin of the earliest inhabitants of Soḳoṭra, whose religion corresponded with that of the Chaldeans, from whom sprang the Gerræi, or Gâras. Of course, many important links are wanting in the chain of evidence, the chief of which is due to our entire ignorance of the Gârawi dialect. If this, on investigation, prove to be identical or nearly so, with Soḳoṭran, the common origin of the two races will be an established fact. The language of people residing in such isolated situations as do the Gâras and Soḳoṭrans would undergo very little change in the course of ages, except by the addition of foreign words to supply the wants entailed by the slight advance in civilisation.

DELHI SIWALIK PILLAR INSCRIPTIONS OF VISALADEVA; THE VIKRAMA YEAR 1220.

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

An impression of these inscriptions was presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, more than hundred years ago, by Lieutenant-Colonel Polier; and from it an account and partial translation of the inscriptions, as explained by Râdhâkântaśarman, were given, in A.D. 1788, in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. I. pp. 379-382. About the beginning of this century, the same Society was presented with another, apparently very accurate, impression of the inscriptions, "prepared under the inspection of their late member Captain James Hoare;" and from this copy a facsimile and a transcript of the text in modern Dêvanâgarî, and a transcript of the text in Roman characters with an English translation by H. T. Colebrooke, were published, in A.D. 1801, *ib.* Vol. VII. pp. 179-181. Afterwards, the inscriptions were referred to, *ib.* Vol. IX. pp. 188-189, by Captain Wilford, who was the first to point out that the king, whose name occurs in them, is mentioned also in the *Śârṅgadhara-paddhati*, 'nearly in the same words with the inscription;' a remark which caused Colebrooke, in a note, *ib.* p. 445, to amend his reading of the text, and to state that the anthology, referred to by Captain Wilford, actually contains two whole stanzas of these inscriptions. Colebrooke's text and translation, together with his supplementary note, were reprinted in his *Misc. Essays*, Vol. II. pp. 232-237; and his rendering of the text, verified by H. H. Wilson, was also reprinted, in Prinsep's *Essays*, Vol. I. p. 325, by Mr. E. Thomas, who pointed out that one of the names of minor importance, occurring in the inscriptions, had been misread by Colebrooke. I now re-edit the inscriptions, of which a correct text and translation have not been hitherto published, from excellent impressions, which have been supplied to me by Mr. Fleet, and from which the accompanying photo-lithograph has been prepared under his supervision.

These inscriptions are now at **Delhi**, on the pillar which is known as Firôz Shâh's Lâṭ or the Siwâlik Pillar, and which contains the inscriptions of Aśôka of which photo-lithographs from Mr. Fleet's impressions are published in Vol. XIII. of this Journal. According to

[43] *Vide* Forster, I. pp. 186-189, 198 and Intr. LXXV. n.

Mr. Thomas,[1] the original site of this pillar was near Khizrâbâd, immediately west of the Jamnâ, at the foot of **Siwâlik mountains**, whence the pillar was removed to Delhi by Firôz Shâh (A.D. 1351-1388). The inscription A. is on the south-east side of the pillar, above the top line of the Aśôka edicts. B. and C. run right round the pillar, on the same level with each other, immediately below the last line of the Aśôka edicts. The inscription B. commences on the south-east and ends on the north-west; and C. commences on the north-west and ends on the south-east.

The **writing** of A. covers a space of about 1′ 11″ broad by from 8″ to 10″ high; and the size of the letters is between 2″ and 2½.″ The writing of B. covers a space of about 3′ 10½″ broad by about 8″ high; and the size of letters is 1½.″ The writing of C. covers a space of about 5′ broad by about 1′ 1″ high; and the size of the letters is about 1¾″ in the first four, and about 1½″ in the remaining two lines. Throughout, the writing is well preserved, so that the actual reading of the text of the inscriptions is nowhere in the least doubtful. The **characters** are Nâgarî, with nothing remarkable about them except that the sign for *bh* shows a rather peculiar form,—*e.g.* in *Śâkaṁbharî-bhûpati-*, in A., line 2, — which we meet again, *e.g.*, in the 'Pâlam Bâoli' inscription[2] of the Vikrama year 1337. All the three inscriptions were evidently written by the same writer, the *Kâyastha* Śrîpati, a son of Mâhava, of Gauḍa descent (C., line 5). The **language** of the inscriptions is Sanskṛit; A. is in prose, and B. in verse; and of C., lines 1-4 are in verse, and lines 5-6 in prose. As regards **orthography**, the consonant *b* is denoted by the sign for *v* in the word *vrûtê* in C., line 3, the only word in which it occurs.

The **inscription** A. merely contains a date, which will be treated of below; and the statement that this inscription, and clearly also the two others, are inscriptions of the king of **Sâkambharî, Vîsaladêva**, the son of **Avêlladêva**.[3] Lines 1-2 of the inscription C. record that this Vîsala, ruler of Sâkambharî, had conquered the land between the **Vindhya** and **Himâlaya** mountains, and that, by repeatedly exterminating the **Mlêchchhas** or barbarians, he had made **Âryâvarta** once more the abode of the Âryas; while lines 3-4 represent the king, who is here called **Vigraharâja**,[4] the ornament of the **Châhamânas**, as exhorting his descendants to continue the work of conquest, begun by him.[5] Lines 5-6 of the inscription C. repeat more fully the date given at the commencement of A., and state that the inscription was written, at the king's command and in the presence of the astrologer Tilakarâja, by the writer whose name has been already given, and that the post of *Mahâ-mantrin* or great minister was held at the time by the *Râjaputra*, the illustrious Sallakshaṇapâla.[6] Finally, the inscription B. glorifies the king here addressed as **Vigraha or Vigraharâjadêva**, in terms which are of no value for historical purposes.

The inscriptions A. and C. are both **dated**, in figures only, **on the 15th of the bright half of Vaiśâkha of the year 1220**; and C. refers that date distinctly to the Vikrama era, and gives besides the day of the week, a **Thursday**. Now the possible European equivalents for Vaiśâkha śukla 15 would be, —

[1] See Prinsep's *Essays*, Vol. I. p. 324; *Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. I. p. 161; Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. III. pp. 351-2.

[2] *Journal Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. XLIII. Part I., Plate x.

[3] This name was first read *Amilladêva*; Colebrooke read it *Velladêva*, but added in a note that it might also be read *Avêlladêva*.

[4] Colebrooke considered it "impossible to determine from the tenor of the inscription, without other information whether Vigraharâja and Vîsaladêva were names of the same person, or of different princes." Lassen, *Ind. Alterthumskunde*, Vol. III. p. 924, took Vigraharâja to have been a tributary of Vîsaladêva.

[5] Lines 1-4 of the inscription C. are quoted in Śârṅgadhara's *Paddhati*, Professor Peterson's edition, Nos. 1255 and 1256, with the remark — *êtau Nṛiga-nṛipati-pâshâṇa-yajñayûpa-praśastêḥ* 'these two (verses) are from a *praśasti* which is on a sacrificial post, made of stone, of the king Nṛiga.' In the second of the two verses the edition has the various readings *Châhuvâṇa-tilakaḥ*, and *śrîmân=Vigraharâja*, for *Châhamâna-tilakaḥ* and *śrîmad-Vigraharâja* which are quite clear on the stone.

[6] According to Colebrooke, "the fortunate Lakshaṇapâla."

for the northern Vikrama year 1220 current, — Monday, 30 April, A.D. 1162;
for the northern Vikrama year 1220 expired, — Saturday, 20 April, A.D. 1163;
for the southern Vikrama year 1220 expired, in which Vaiśâkha was an intercalary month, —
for the first Vaiśâkha, — **Thursday,**[7] 9 April, A.D. 1164;
for the second Vaiśâkha, — Friday, 8 May, A.D. 1164.

The actual date, therefore, clearly is **Thursday, 9 April, A.D. 1164,** and the calculation shows that the year 1220 of our inscriptions was the **southern Vikrama year 1220, expired,** and that the day belonged to the first (or *adhika*) month Vaiśâkha, although there is nothing in the wording of the date to indicate this.

As regards **the wording of the date,** attention may also be drawn to the fact that, in the place of the ordinary *śudi* or *sudi*, we have here, in both the inscriptions A. and C., *śuti*, a term which to my knowledge has not been hitherto met with in any other purely Vikrama date. On the other hand, **su. ti. or śuti** and **va. ti. or vati,** in which the syllable *ti* is clearly an abbreviation of the word *tithi*, are commonly used in Kaśmîr, in dates which refer themselves, in the first instance, to the Saptarshi era. Thus, according to Dr. Hultzsch in *Zeitschr. D. Morg. Ges.*, Vol. XL. p. 9, an inscription in Śârada characters at Hariparvat is dated — *Saṁ* 60 *Śrâ. va. ti. pra. Sukrê Mahammada-śâha-râjyê*, and a MS. of his collection bears the date — *Saṁvat* 24 *Kârtika-vati-trayôdaśyâṁ Budhê śrî-Śâkaḥ* 1570; and according to Dr. Bühler's *Kaśmîr Report*, App. II. p. lv., a MS. of the *Châṛâyaṇîya-mantra-bhâshya* is dated — *Saṁvat* 47 *Srâ* (*śrâ*). *va. ti. pañchadaśyâṁ* (*?*) *paratah shashṭhyâṁ*. Besides, the Deccan College Śârada MSS. of the *Kâśikâ-Vṛitti* and of the *Śakuntalâ*, which I have examined myself, are dated, the former — *Śrî-nṛipa-Vikramâditya-râjyasya gat-âbdâḥ* 1717 *śrî-Saptarshi-matê saṁvat* 36 *Pau. va. ti.* 3 *Ravau Tishya-nakshatrê*, and the latter — *Saṁvat* 33 *Vai. śu. ti. saptamyâṁ*. And *śuti* and *vati* are throughout employed, for *śukla-pakshê* and *kṛishṇa-pakshê*, in a MS. calendar, belonging to the Royal Library at Berlin, for the Saptarshi year 4869, of which I hope to give a fuller account on a future occasion. The Kaśmîrian practice of which I have given these examples (to which I might add others from dates kindly supplied to me by Dr. Stein) in all probability was followed also in the adjoining hill-states of India; and it is therefore not at all strange that we should find an instance of the usage of *śuti* on a pillar which, at the time when the inscriptions were engraved on it, was standing at the foot of the Siwâlik mountains.

On the general importance of these inscriptions I have nothing to add to what has been written on the subject by Sir A. Cunningham in *Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. I. p. 155ff. In the 'Pâlam Bâoli' inscription of the Vikrama year 1337, which has been already mentioned above, we are told that the country of Hariyânaka, to which 'Dhillî' belonged, was first ruled by the Tômaras, afterwards by the **Chauhâṇas,** and later by the Śaka-rulers, *i.e.* the Muhammadans. And similarly, the Delhi Museum inscription[8] of the Vikrama year 1384 relates that 'Dhillikâ' was founded by the Tômaras, and that it was afterwards the residence of the **Châhamânas,** until it was conquered by the Mlêchchha Sahâbadîna.[9] Our inscriptions show that the **Châhamâna Visaladêva-Vigraharâja,** king of Śâkambharî[10] (or Sâmbhar), had conquered a considerable tract of country even beyond Delhi, and had apparently checked for a time the progress of the Muhammadan invaders by whom his own descendants were utterly defeated 27 years after the date of these inscriptions.

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[7] On that day, the 15th *tithi* of the bright half ended 3 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise; see above, p. 36, No. 62.

[8] Last edited by Professor Eggeling in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. p. 93.

[9] *i.e.* Shahâb-ud-dîn Ghôrî.

[10] It may not be out of place to draw attention here to a remark of the late Dr. Bhagvânlâl Indrajî, quoted *ante*, Vol. VIII. p. 59, "that Sapâdalaksha or Savâlakha is the name of the Siwâlik hills, and that the early Râjas of Kamaon called themselves Sapâdalaksha-nripatis; and that the Śâkambharî Râjas" — who are called *Sapâdalakshîya* and *Sapâdalaksha-kshmâpâla*; see *ante*, Vol. VI. pp. 184 and 188 — "may have originally come from that country."

TEXT.[11]

A. 1 Ôṁ[12] [॥*] **Saṁvat 1220 Vaiśâkha-śuti 15** [॥*]
2 **Śâkaṁbharî**[13]-bhûpati-śrîmad-**Avêlladê**-[14]
3 v-âtmaja[15]-śrîmad-**Viśaladêvasya** ॥

B. 1 Ôṁ[16] [॥*] Aṁbhô[17] nâma ripu-priyâ-nayanayôḥ pratyarthi-daṁt-ântarê pratyakshâṇi tṛiṇâni vaibhava-milat-kâshṭhaṁ yaśas=tâvakaṁ ।
2 mârggô lôka-viruddha êva vijanaḥ śûnyaṁ manô vidvishâṁ śrîmad-**Vigraharâjadêva** bhavataḥ prâptê prayâṇ-ôtsavê ॥
3 Lîlâ-maṁdira sôdarêshu bhavatu svâṁtêshu vâmabhruvâṁ śatrûṇâṁ tu na **Vigraha**-kshitipatê nyâyyô=tra vâsas=tava ।
4 śaṁkâ vâ Purushôttamasya bhavatô n=âsty=êva vârâṁ nidhêr=nnirmmathy=âpahṛita-śriyaḥ kim=u bhavân=krôḍê na nidrâyitaḥ ॥

C. 1 Ôṁ[18] ॥ Â[19] **Viṁdhyâd-â Himâdrêr**=vvirachita-vijayas[20]=tîrtha-yâtrâ-prasaṁgâd=udgrîvêshu prabarttâ nṛipatishu vinamat-kandharêshu prasannaḥ ।
2 **Âryâvarttaṁ** yathârthaṁ punar=api kṛitavân=**Mlêchchha**-vichchhêdanâbhir=ddêvaḥ **Śâkaṁbhar**-îndrô jagati vijayatê **Viśala**-kshôṇipâlaḥ ॥
3 Vrû(brû)tê[21] saṁprati **Châhamâna**-tilakaḥ **Śakaṁbharî**-bhûpatiḥ śrîmad-**Vigraharâja** êsha vijayî saṁtânajân=âtmanaḥ ।
4 asmâbhiḥ kara-daṁ vyadhâyi **Himavad-Viṁdhy**-âṁtarâlaṁ bhuvaḥ śêsha-svîkaraṇâya m=âstu bhavatâm=udyôga-śûnyaṁ manaḥ ॥
5 **Saṁvat śrî-Vikramâdityê**[22] **1220 Vaiśâkha-śuti 15 Gurau** [॥*] Likhitam=idaṁ râj-âdêśât[23] jyôtishika-śrî-Tilakarâja-pratyakshaṁ Gauḍânvaya-kâyastha-Mâhava-putra-Śrîpatinâ ।
6 Atra samayê mahâ-maṁtrî râjaputra-śrî-Sallakshaṇapâlaḥ ॥

TRANSLATION.

A.

Ôṁ! In the year 1220, on the 15th of the bright half of Vaiśâkha. (*A record*) of the illustrious **Viśaladêva**, son of the illustrious **Avêlladêva**, king of **Śâkambharî**.

B.

Ôṁ! Tears forsooth are in the eyes of (*thy*) enemy's consort; blades of grass are perceived between (*thy*) adversary's teeth;[24] thy fame fills the quarters with its glory; forsaken by men is the path which is forbidden in the world,[25] (*and*) desolate are the minds of (*thy*) foes, when the jubilee of thy onward march has come, O illustrious lord **Vigraharâja**!

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[11] From impressions supplied to me by Mr. Fleet.

[12] Expressed by a symbol.

[13] The third *akshara* of this word was originally *bham*, but the superscript *anusvâra* has been struck out.

[14] The small circle below, and touching, the left portion of the *v* of the *akshara vê* of this word is the remainder of a sign of *visarga*, which was denoted by two small circles, of which the upper one also is still faintly visible in the impression.

[15] Between *âtmaja* and *śrîmad* the sign of *visarga* was engraved, but subsequently struck out by a vertical line.

[16] Expressed by a symbol.

[17] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita; and of the next verse.

[18] Expressed by a symbol.

[19] Metre, Śragdharâ.

[20] Originally *vijayaḥ* was engraved, but the sign of *visarga* has been struck out.

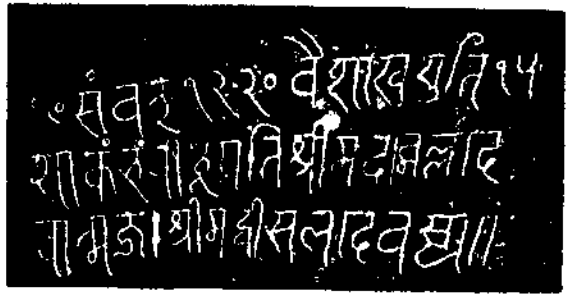
[21] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[22] One would have expected here *-Vaikramâdityê*. Compare the 'Pâlam Bâoli' stone inscription, in *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. XLIII. Part I, plate X, l. 21, *saṁvatsarê-smin-Vaikramâdityê saṁvat* 1337.

[23] Read °*śâj-jyautishika-*.

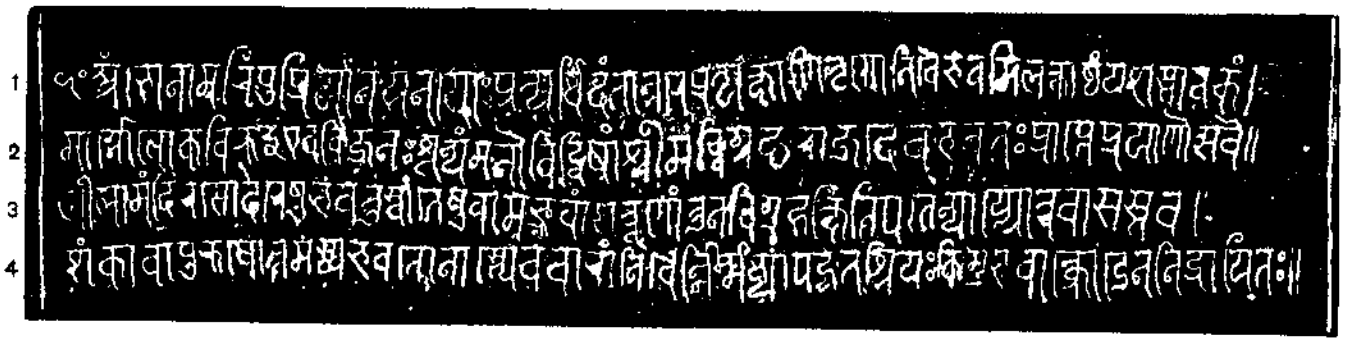
[24] On this I give Colebrooke's note, as corrected by himself in his own copy of the *Asiatic Researches* which is in the Göttingen University Library:—"This alludes to the Indian custom, by which biting a blade of grass is a token of submission, and of asking quarter."

[25] *i.e.* the path of wickedness, to which the king has put an end. The two previous translations of this passage are: "the heart of (thy) foes was vacant, even as a path in the desert, where men are hindered from passing;" and "the minds of thy foes are void [of hope]; their route is the desert where men are hindered from passing."



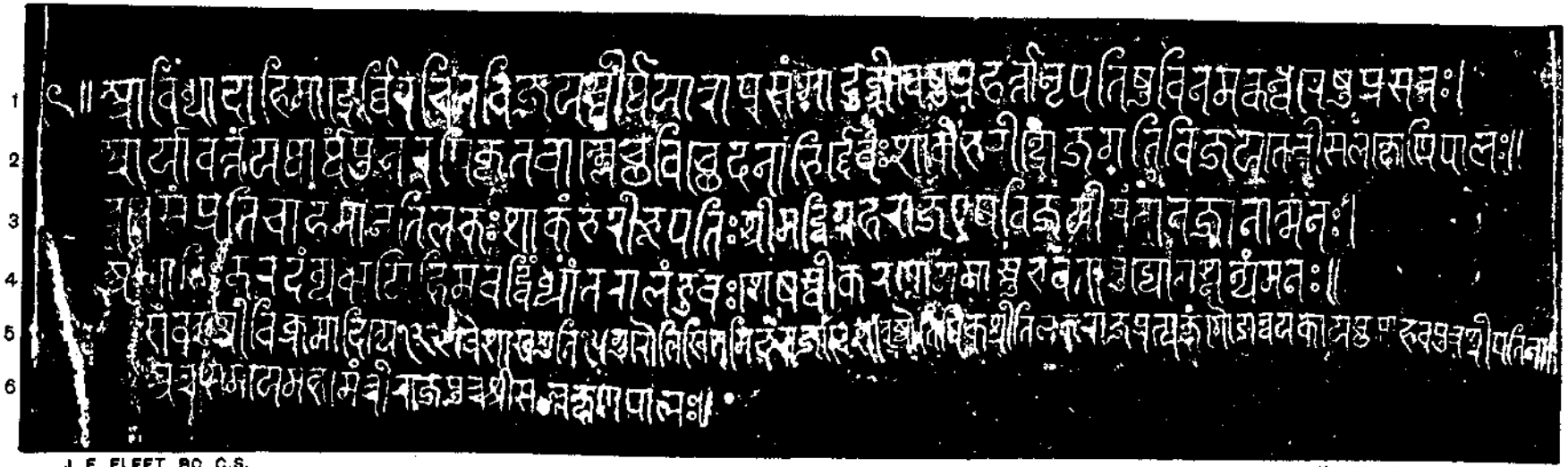
SCALE ·11

B



SCALE ·14

C



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

SCALE ·14

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

O mansion of grace,[26] let thy abode, but not that of thy enemies, be (*fixed*) in the minds, akin to thee,[27] of the women with beautiful eyebrows! Fitting it is that thou shouldst dwell there, O **Vigraha**, sovereign of the earth! Or is there a doubt that thou art the most high of men?[28] Surely there is not. Was it not thou that slept in the lap of Fortune, whom thou didst seize from the ocean, having churned it?

C.

Ôm! Having achieved conquest as far as the **Vindhya** (*and*) as far as the **Himâlaya** in the course of his pilgrimages to sacred shrines, striking at the haughty (*and*) gracious to princes who bend their necks; by repeatedly exterminating the barbarians having once more made **Âryâvarta** what its name signifies,[29] — victorious in the world is the lord, the guardian of the earth **Visala**, ruler of **Sâkambharî**.

The ornament of the **Châhamânas**, the illustrious **Vigraharâja**, king of **Sâkambharî**, the victorious, now addresses here those born in his lineage: "We have made tributary the land between **Himâlaya** and **Vindhya**; let not your minds be void of exertion to appropriate the remainder of the earth!"

In the year 1220 of the illustrious Vikramâditya, on Thursday, the 15th of the bright half of Vaisâkha. This was written at the king's command, in the presence of the astrologer, the illustrious Tilakarâja, by Śrîpati, the son of Mâhava, a *Kâyastha* of Gauḍa descent.

The great minister at this time is the *Râjaputra*, the illustrious Sallakshaṇapâla.

RARE COPPER COINS OF AKBAR.

BY CHAS. J. RODGERS, HONORARY NUMISMATIST TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

The coins of Akbar herein described, which either belonged to my own cabinet, or were obtained by me in my tours as Archæological Surveyor, are now dispersed, having been sent either to the British Museum, or to the Indian Museum in Calcutta, or to the Lâhôr or Lucknow Museum.

They shew us what a vast field the **copper coinage of Akbar** presents to the numismatist, while the many different weights and names, the varieties of the legends, the mints, the years, and the months all tend to create interest. Only 36 coins are shown in the Plates attached, but we have the following mints represented:—Kâlpî or Muḥammadâbâd, Gwâlior, Fort Gwâlior, Jaunpûr, Aḥmadâbâd, Ajmêr, Mâlpûr, Alwar, Chitôr, Hiṣâr Fîrôza, Âgra, Lâhôr, Khairpûr, Kâbul, Burhânpûr, Fatḥpûr (Sikrî,) and Dehlî: seventeen mints in all, which if dotted out on the map would show to a certain extent the boundaries of the empire under Akbar.

When **Akbar** ascended the throne, the markets of India must have been inundated with the large **copper coins of the Sûrî kings**, as well as the **Bahlôlîs and Sikandarîs of the two Lôdhî kings**, and the **anonymous coins of Bâbar and Humâyûn**.

The **peculiarities of these coins** were as follows. The Sûrî issues were distinguished by the names of the kings and the size, and those of the Lôdhîs and Mughals by the mint. Thus, Humâyûn struck copper coins all over the country at Mânḍû, at Champânêr, Dehlî, Lâhôr, Âgra, Jaunpûr and other places, and Shêr Shâh's mints for copper coins were at Hiṣâr, Gwâlior, Nârnôl, Nau, Sambhal, Shêr Gaṛh (Qanauj ?), Alwar, Âgra, Byânâ, Kâlpî, Lakhnau, and Malôṇ.

[26] Colebrooke, reading *śatrûṇâṁ nanu*, instead of the actual reading on the stone *śatrûṇâṁ tu na*, and adopting generally the explanation of Râdhakântaśarman, translated this passage thus: "May thy abode, O Vigraha, sovereign of the earth, be fixed, as in reason it ought, in the bosoms (akin to the mansion of dalliance) of the women with beautiful eyebrows, who were married to thy enemies."

[27] *Viz.*, because they, too, are a home of grace or amorous dalliance.

[28] Or Purushôttama, *i.e.* the god Vishṇu.

[29] *i.e.* the abode of the Âryans.

The Lôdhîs also at any rate struck both at Dehlî and Jaunpûr. Again, Humâyûn never put his name on copper, only the year and the mint. The Sûrîs, however, always did so, and seldom the mint. Thus, but very few copper coins of **Islâm Shâh Sûr** have the name of the mint on them and the same may be said of the copper issues of **Muḥammad Sûr.** There is also no mint given on the few copper coins known of **Sikandar Sûr** and **Ibrahîm Sûr.** Further, the coppers of Shêr Shâh, which are found in great variety and numbers all over the Pañjâb were in all probability meant to be *dâms*, weighing about 320 grains, and those of the other four Sûrî kings were similar in make, size and legend.

Now, **Akbar adopted the dâms of the Sûrî kings,** but sometimes used the style of his father Humâyûn, and sometimes followed a style peculiar to himself, contracting a habit towards the latter part of his reign of placing the name of the coin upon the coin itself. For this purpose (1) *fulûs* was used just as we use 'copper' and meant any sized copper coin ; (2) the *tanka*[1] and its parts, the *nîm* (half) *tanka, chuhârum ḥiṣṣa-i-tanka* (4th), *hashtum ḥiṣṣa* (8th), and *shânzdahum ḥiṣṣa* (16th), as definite coins with fixed weights ; (3) the *niṣfî* (half), as half a *dâm*. This last is a very rare coin, and in one instance I have met with **the actual words** نیم دام **half a dâm** on such a coin (Pl. II. fig. 32). All the coins of this description are rare and in fact all those that I show on the plates attached to this paper are so. They are difficult to obtain, the legends are uncommon and the mints also.

It would seem, too, that **weights were minted in Akbar's time** under the auspices of the mint authorities, though jewellers then, as now, probably kept sets of agate weights. I have seen such minted copper weights from the Lâhôr, Âgra and Kâbul mints, which in my previous papers on the copper coins of Akbar I thought were coins, inasmuch as they have the name of the mint, the year, and the month on them, exactly as the coins have. In Âgra they were called **tânke,**[2] spelt تانکے, and were issued, as far as I know, only as four-*tânke* and two-*tânke* pieces. In Kâbul and Lâhôr they were called **tanke,**[2] spelt تنکے, of which I have seen one one-*tanke* and one four-*tanke* piece. From Kâbul I have a one-*tanke* and a two-*tanke* piece, and I now give a four-*tanke* piece (Pl. II. fig. 29).

The weights of the tânke pieces are a puzzle. Those given in my previous papers,[3] — two one-*tânke* pieces, weighed 59 and 58·8 grains respectively, though much worn ; but the two-*tânke* pieces I have seen vary from 119·5 to 108 grs. ; while the three four-*tânke* pieces described in the present paper vary from 237 to 244·5 grains. This should make the one-*tânke* piece about 61, or perhaps 62 grains. Now the **Âin-i-Akbarî gives the weight of a jeweller's tânk as 24 ratîs,** and on actual weighment I find that 24 *ratîs* = 42 grs., and in this I am supported by Thomas, who says one *ratî* = 1·75 grs. *Therefore a one-tânke piece should weigh 42 grs., but it* does weigh 58·8 to 62 grs. Again in Bâbar's *Table of Indian Weights* given by Thomas the **tang** is said to weigh 32 *ratîs*, equal to 56 grains, but even this weight is less than that of worn copper *tânke* pieces 300 years old. Next, General Cunningham estimates the *ratî* at 1·8229 grs. and Mr. Maskelyne at 1·85. This goes nearer to what we want, if a *tânke* piece of 59 grs. = 32 ratîs, because then 1 *ratî* = 1·844 grs. But this is my lowest weight, whereas the four *tânke* piece weighs 244·5, though it is worn, making one *tânk* = at least 61·1 grs. and 1 *ratî* = 1·91 gr. All this makes me think the **Âin-i-Akbarî is wrong in saying that the tânk was of 24 ratîs,** and that it was really of 32 *ratîs*. It also makes me think that **the ratî was heavier then than now.**

A noteworthy feature in the coins of the second plate is that the names of the old Persian months appear on them, on fig. 20 *Ardibihisht*, on fig. 21 *Khûrdâd*, on fig. 22 *Shahrêwar*, on fig. 23 *Âzr*, on fig. 24 *Amardâd*, on fig. 25 *Farwardîn*, on fig. 26 *Amardâd*, on fig. 29 *Abân*, on fig. 36 *Tîr*. Thus we have the names of eight out of the twelve Persian months.

[1] [See next note as to whether this word should be *tanka* or *tanki*.— R. C. T.]

[2] [May not these words be *tânki* and *tanki* ?—R. C. T.]

[3] *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XLIX. Pt. I. 1881, Pl. xix. fig. 3, and Vol. LIV. Pt. I., 1885, Pl. i. fig. 14.

A word to collectors. The copper coins of Akbar are getting rarer every year, because they contain good copper and are melted down. Of those that are weights, I have seen but few. The people no longer know what they really are, and the few I have come across have always been in heaps of coins. So in any old heap of coppers may turn up a valuable mint-made weight, of which numismatists now know nothing.

The invaluable coin shown on Pl. II. fig. 32 invites me to make a remark as to an old controversy, about which I will now say nothing further than this. **The revenues of Akbar were estimated in dâms.** Now that we know from this coin what the dâm is we can calculate the revenues exactly, or rather, we can see what the values of the sums, put down in the *Âîn-i-Akbarî*, are.

TRANSCRIPTION.

PLATE I.

Fig. 1. Obv.:— دار الضرب محمد آباد عرف كالپي Kâlpî mint.
Rev.:— في سنه ٩٦٤ نهصد شصت (و چهار) 964 A.H.

Fig. 2. Obv.:— دار الضرب خطه كالپي Kâlpî mint.
Rev.:— في التاريخ سنه ٩٦٨ 968 A.H.

Fig. 3. Obv.:— same as on fig. 2. خطه كالپي Kâlpî very plain.
Rev.:— في التاريخ سنه ٩٦٦ 966 A.H.

When Kâlpî was first called Muḥammadâbâd (*vide* fig. 1), or by whom, I do not know. I have a *mohar* of Akbar in which he calls Udaipûr by the same name, adding, however, the epithet conquered to it. The inscription runs thus:— ضرب محمد آباد عرف أدي پور مفتوحه The word خطه is used on coins of Jaunpûr struck in the time of Bâbar and Humâyûn.

Fig. 4. Obv.:— جلال الدين محمد اكبر بادشاه غازى
Rev.:— (في عهد) امير العالمي جلال الدين والدنيا ٩٦٧ (٩) 967 A.H.

Fig. 5. Obv. and Rev. as on Fig. 4, but no year on Rev.:—This coin is half the weight of No. 4. The reverse follows the type originated by Shêr Shâh.

Fig. 6. Obv.:— في زمان جلال الدين محمد اكبر بادشاه غازى
Rev.:— خلد الله تعالي ملكه.....سنه ٩٦٦ 966 A.H.

This coin is, so far as I know, unique.

Fig. 7. Obv.:— ضرب.....دار الخلافر گواليور Mint Gwâlior.
Rev.:— في تاريخ سنه نهصد..... 900 odd A.H.

Fig. 8. Obv.:— قلع گواليور (ضرب ?) Mint Gwâlior.
Rev.:— نهصد هشتاد و هفت 987 A.H.

The coins of the Gwâlior mint are exceedingly rare. In the large one the town is called Dâru'l-Khilâfat, in the small one the قلع fort.

Fig. 9. Obv.:— ضرب فلوس دار الخلافر جونپور Jaunpûr mint.
Rev.:— في التاريخ سنه نهصد هفتاد 970 A.H.

The Jaunpûr coins of Akbar are very rare. This place is also called Dâru'l Khilâfat on his coins.

Fig. 10. Obv.:— ضرب فلوس احمد آباد Ahmadâbâd mint.
Rev.:— سنه نهصد هشتاد ٩٨٠ 980 A.H.

Coins of the Aḥmadâbâd mint of this type are very rare; at any rate they are very seldom seen in the Paṇjâb.

Fig. 11. Obv.:— ضرب اجمير سكر فلوس Ajmêr mint.
Rev.:— سنه نهصد هشتاد (و هشت) ٩٨٨ 988 A.H.

Fig. 12. Obv.:— ضرب مالپور سکہ فلوس Mâlpûr mint.
Rev.:— سنہ نہصد ہشتاد (و پنج) ۹۸۵ 985 A.H.

There are several places called Mâlpûr. I do not know which this is.

Fig. 13. Obv.:— ضرب فلوس الور Alwar mint.
Rev.:— (سنہ) نہصد شصت و ہشت ۹۶۸ 968 A.H.

Coins of the Alwar mint are very rare.

Fig. 14. Obv.:— ضرب چیتور سکہ فلوس Chîtôr mint.
Rev.:— سنہ نہصد و (نود و نہ) ۹۹۹ 999 A.H.

I at first thought this ought to be of the Jaipûr mint (جسور) as the word is without dots, but Jaipûr was not in existence in the time of Akbar. The mint of Chitôr is not mentioned in the *Âîn-i-Akbarî*. Mr. Oliver read this mint as Qanauj (قنوج), *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LV. 1885, Pl. xi., fig. 23.[4]

Fig. 15. Obv.:— ضرب فلوس حصار فیروز (زہ) Hiṣâr Fîrôza mint.
Rev.:— في التاریخ نہصد شصت و ہفت 967 A.H.

Coins of Akbar from the Hiṣâr Fîroza mint are very rare.

Fig. 16. Obv.:— ضرب دار الخلافہ آگرہ Âgra mint.
Rev.:— في التاریخ سنہ نہصد 900 odd A.H.

Fig. 17. Obv.:— ضرب فلوس دار السلطنة لاہور Lâhôr mint.
Rev.:— نہصد ہفتاد و شش 976 A.H.

Fig. 18. Obv.:— ضرب فلوس لاہور..... Lâhôr mint.
Rev.:— في التاریخ نہصد ہفتاد..... 970 A.H.

The last two coins are varieties of the Lâhor mint before 993 A.H.

PLATE II.

Fig. 19. Obv.:— جلال الدین محمد اکبر ضرب سنہ ۹۶۶ year 966 A.H.
Rev.:—The *kalima* in two lines.

This coin is **one of two known specimens** of Akbar's coinages with the *kalima* on the Reverse.

Fig. 20. Obv.:— چو تانکے اکبر شاہي A *four-tânke* piece.
Rev.:— ضرب آگرہ اردي (بہشت) ۴۷ الہی 47 year Ilâhî.

This is the first time a **four-tânke** piece has been published. *Two-tánke* pieces were published some time ago by me, which I mistook for coins. No higher weight has yet been found, although such are mentioned in the *Âîn-i-Akbarî* (Gladwin's Ed., Vol. II. p. 383).

Fig. 23. Obv.:— چوتنکے اکبر شاہي A *four-tanke* piece.
Rev.:— ضرب لاہور اذر ۴۶ الہي 46th Ilâhî Lâhôr mint.

This is another *four-tanke* piece. The name, however, on it is *tanke*, not *tánke*, as on the specimen from the Âgra mint.

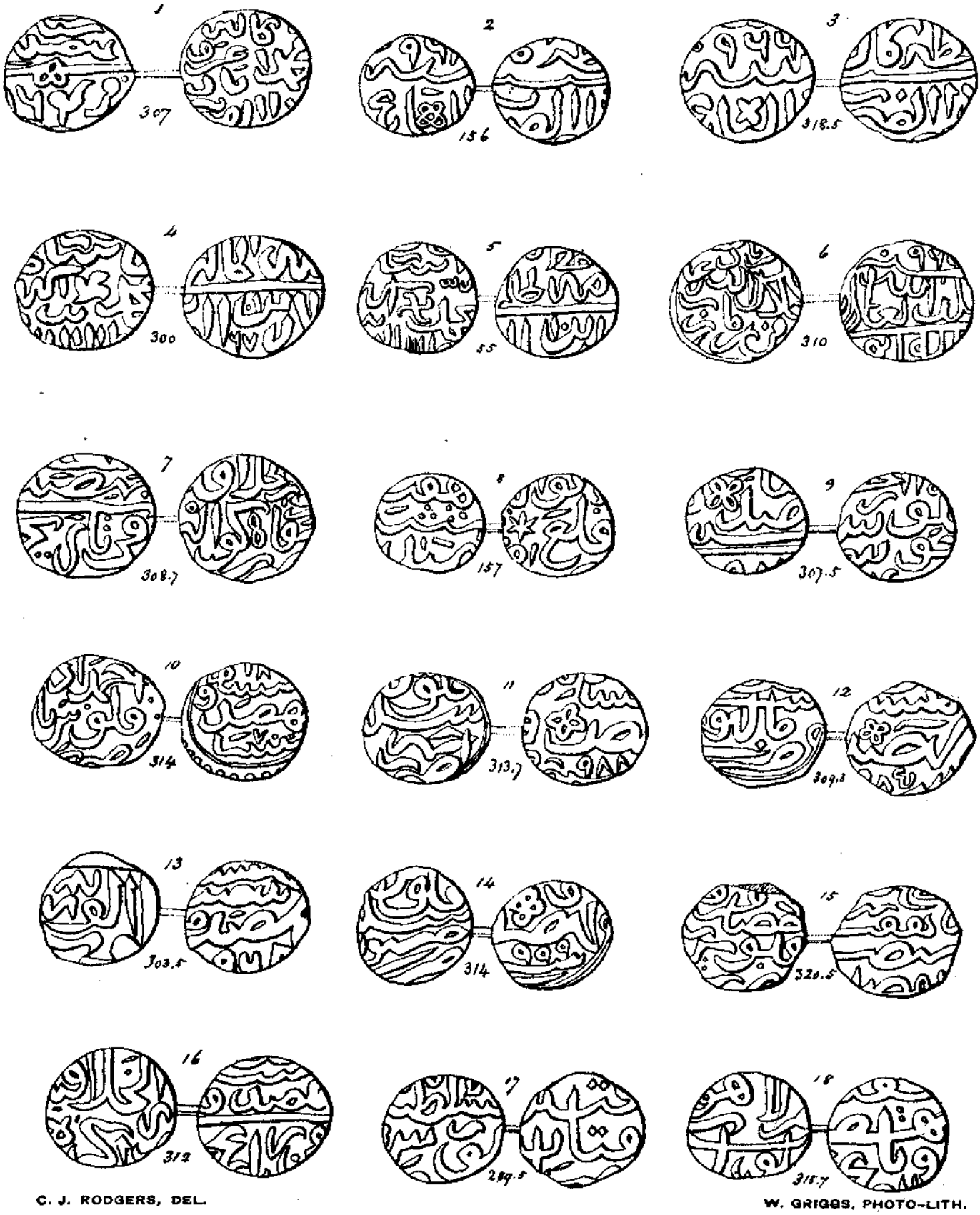
Fig. 29. Obv.:— چوتنکے اکبر شاہي A *four-tanke* piece.
Rev.:— ضرب کابل ابان ۴۷ الہي 47th Ilâhî, Kâbul mint.

This is a *four-tanke* piece of the Kâbul mint.

[4] [Given that Mr. Rodgers has drawn this coin correctly it seems to me to read clearly جسور i.e., چتور and not چیتور as he reads. It cannot therefore read جیپور, though it might possibly read قنوج as Mr. Oliver says, on the original coins. Chitôr چتور is the correct spelling.—R. C. TEMPLE.]

Rare Copper Coins of Akbar.

Plate i.

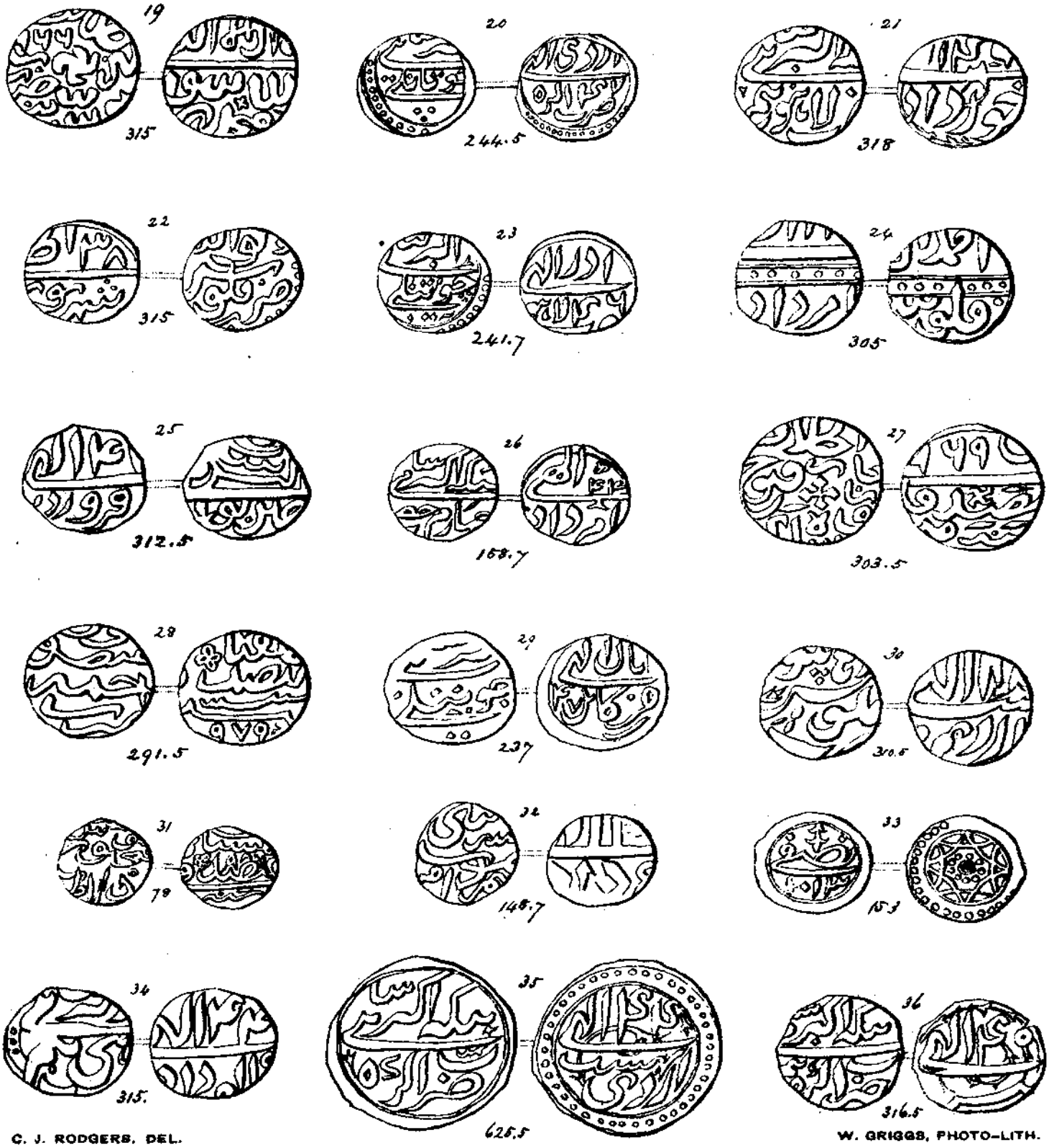


C. J. RODGERS, DEL.

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

Rare Copper Coins of Akbar.

Plate ii.



C. J. RODGERS, DEL.

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

All these three pieces are, so far as I know, unique. They were met with in different parts of the Pañjâb. They show how the mints provided the people with authentic weights, though the actual weights of the pieces vary from 244·5 to 237 grains. Wear and tear, account for the differences. Akbar evidently saw that the only way to provide standard weights for the people was to issue them under his own authority and from his own mints.[5]

Fig. 21. Obv.:— ضرب لاہور نیم تنکہ اکبر شاہی *Half-tanka* of Lâhôr.
Rev.:— خورداد ۴۶ الہی 46th year Ilâhî.

Here we have a *half-tanka*, a coin equal in weight to the *dâms* of the Sûrîs and of the first 30 years of Akbar's reign. I have seen no *tanka*, or *quarter-tanka*, or any other part of the *tanka* from the Lâhôr mint, though they are in existence in all probability. Collectors should keep a sharp look out for them.

Fig. 22. Obv.:— ضرب فلوس گوالیار (ر) A *fulûs* of Gwâlior.
Rev.:— شہریور ۳۸ الہی 38th year Ilâhî.

Here this *dâm* is called a *fulûs*. **This coin of the Gwâlior mint is, I believe, unique.**

Fig. 24. Obv.:— فلوس احمد آباد A *fulûs* of Aḥmadâbâd.
Rev.:— اسرداد.....الہی Year scarcely legible.

This *fulûs* is very rare indeed.

Fig. 25. Obv:— (ضرب) خیر پور سکہ فلوس اکبر شاہی A *fulus* of Khairpûr.
Rev.:— فروردین ۴۷ الہی 47th year Ilâhî.

I do not know where Khairpûr is. **This fulûs is unique.**

Fig. 26. Obv.:— چہارم حصہ تنکہ اکبر شاہی (ضرب) The 4th of a *tanka*.
Rev.:— امرداد ۴۴ الہی 44th year Ilâhî.

There is no mint to this fourth part of a *tanka*. It is an excessively rare coin.

Fig. 27. Obv.:— .....الخلافہ قنوج (ضرب دار?) A Qanauj coin.
Rev.:— سنہ نہصد و شصت و نہ ۹۶۹ 969 A. H.

Here we have an undoubted coin of the Qanauj mint. This place was called Shêr Gaṛh Qanauj on the copper coins[6] of Islâm Shâh Sûr. There are some letters on the obverse I have not been able to make into words. **As yet this specimen is unique.**

Fig. 28. Obv.:— ضرب اجمیر منصو (ر)..... Struck at Ajmêr.
Rev.:— فی سنہ نہصد ہفتاد و نہ ۹۷۹ 979 A.H.

This is an early coin of the Ajmêr mint. What the meaning of *mansûr* and the letters above that word may be I cannot make out.

Fig. 30. Obv.:— ضرب فلوس برہانپور Struck at Burhânpûr.
Rev.:— .....۴۸ الہی 48th year Ilâhî.

This *fulûs* is worn. **Burhânpûr is not mentioned as a mint in the *Âîn-i-Akbarî*. I have several rupees, however, of this mint, though this is the only copper coin I have yet seen struck at this place.**

Fig. 31. Obv.:— ضرب دار الضرب فتحپور فلوس Struck at Fatḥpûr mint.
Rev.:— سنہ فی نہصد ہشتاد و (ہفت) ۹۸۷ 987 A. H.

[5] Since the above was written I have been favoured by that celebrated numismatist, Dr. J. Gerson da Cunha of Bombay, with a sight of some of his immense stores. In these I detected two *four-tânks* pieces struck at Aḥmadâbâd. They were very much worn, but still legible.

[6] Coins from this mint are in my possession, but as yet are unedited. A long paper is in fact wanted on the copper coinage of the Sûrîs, showing the mints and inscriptions.

The weight of this coin, 78 grains, proclaims it to be a *quarter-dâm*. This size is very rare indeed.

Fig. 32. Obv.:— ضرب نيم دام بندر (شاهي) ؟ A *half-dâm* of Port (?)
Rev.:— امرداد .....الهي Year (?) Ilâhî.

This most precious coin has the words *nîm dâm* on it. It is the only one I have seen out of many thousands of Akbar's coins with the name *dâm* on it. It is very much worn. It **establishes the fact that a dâm was equivalent to half a tanka.**

Fig. 33. Obv.:— ۱۰۱۳ نصفي *A nisf* (or half), 1013 A.H.
Rev.:—A geometric design.

Here we have another *half-dâm* with only the word *a half* on it. Its weight, 153 grains (it is very much worn), confirms the weight of the *dâm*.

Fig. 34. Obv.:— ضرب دهلی نيم تنكه اكبر شاهي *half-tanka* of Dehlî.
Rev.:— ماه امرداد ۴۴ الهي 44th year Ilâhî.

This *half-tanka* is worn. It is 3 grains lighter than the Lâhôr specimen, fig. 21, and 1½ grains lighter than the Âgra specimen, fig. 36.

Fig. 35. Obv.:— ضرب آگره تنكه اكبر شاهي An Âgra *tanka*.
Rev.:— ارديبهشت ۴۴ الهی 44th year Ilâhî.

This coin is much eaten by rust, but it still weighs 625·5 grains. I obtained it in Âgra four-and-a-half years ago. One similar to it is in the possession of L. White King, Esq., C.S. This coin shows beyond a doubt that towards the latter end of his reign Akbar's issued coins called *tankas* of about 640 grains in weight.

Fig. 36. Obv.:— ضرب آگره نيم تنكه اكبر شاهي *half-tanka* of Âgra.
Rev.:— تير ۴۵ الهي 45th year Ilâhî.

MISCELLANEA.

THE BHITARI SEAL OF KUMARAGUPTA II.

This interesting seal was discovered, at some time previous to 1886, when the foundations for a new building were being dug at Bhitarî, in the Sayyidpur Tahsîl or Sub-Division of the Ghâzipur District, North-West Provinces. It was presented by a Muhammadan gentleman to Mr. C. J. Nicholls, B.C.S.; and it is now in the Provincial Museum at Lucknow. I owe the opportunity of examining it to the kindness of Mr. A. H. Pirie, the Secretary of the Museum Committee. An account of the seal has been published by Mr. V. A. Smith, B. C. S., in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LVIII. Part I. p. 84 ff. And, in continuation of Mr. Smith's account, Dr. A. F. Rudolf Hoernle has given the text and translation of the inscription on the seal, with a photo-collotype, and with some valuable remarks on the history of the period. I give the text according to my own method, with its translation, on page 225 below.

The seal is oval in shape, pointed at the top and bottom; and its extreme measures are, as nearly as possible, 4⅝″ broad by 5¾″ high. Round the face of it there runs a raised rim, of which the average breadth is about ⅛″, and the average height something under ⅛″. On the back of it there are two projecting knobs, each about ⅜″ in diameter, evidently intended for the purpose of attaching it to some other object, *e. g.*, probably, a copper charter. The metal is of a whitish grey colour, which suggested at first that it was base silver; but it was found, by analysis, to consist of copper, silver and gold, in the proportions of 62·970, 36·225, and 0·405, with a trace of iron; so that it is practically a copper, rather than a silver seal. — The weight of the seal is 59⅜ tolas. — The upper part of the seal, rather less than half of it, is occupied by emblems, of which the principal one is a representation of Garuḍa, in fairly high relief on the countersunk surface. He is shewn with the body, legs, and wings of a bird, and with the head of a man;[1] as remarked by Mr. Smith, the face is "broad and full, with thick lips, and

[1] There are no indications here of the human arms, which, I think, can be discerned on the seal of the Râjim grant of Tîvaradêva (*Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 81).

TEXT.[2]

1 [Sar]v[v]a-râj-ôchchhêttuḥ=pṛithivyâm=apratirathasya **mahârâja-śrî-G[u]pta-pra-**
paut[tr]asya mahârâja-śrî-**Ghaṭôtkacha**-pauttrasya ma[hâ]-

2 [râjâ]dhir[â]ja-śrî-**Chandragupta**-puttrasya **Lichchhav**[i-dauhittras]ya ma[hâdê]vyâ[ṁ
Kumâ]rad[ê]vyâm=utpannasya mahârâjâdhirâja-

3 ś[rî]-**Samudraguptasya** puttras=tat-parig[ṛi]h[î]tô ma[hâdê]vyâ[n=**Da]t[t]ad[ê]vy[â]m**=
utpannas=svayaṁ ch=[â]pratirathaḥ[3]=paramabhâga-

4 [vatô mahâ]r[â]j[â]dhirâja-śrî-**Chandrag[u]p[t]a**[s=ta]sya p[u]t[tr]as=tat-pâd-[â]nu-
d[dh]y[â]tô mahâdêvy[âṁ] **Dhr[u]vadêvyâm**=utpannô mah[â]r[â]-

5 [jâdhi]râja-śrî-**Kumârag[u]ptas**=tasya puttras=tat-pâd-ânuddhyâtô mahâdêvyâṁ=
Anantadêvy[â]m=utpannô mahâ[râ]-

6 [jâ]dh[i]r[â]ja-śrî-**Purag[u]p[t]as**=tasya puttras=tat-pâd-ânuddhy[â]t[ô] mahâ-
dêv[y]â[ṁ] śrî-**Vat[s]adêvyâm**=utpan[nô] ma[hâ]-

7 r[â]j[â]dh[i]r[â]ja-śrî-**Naras[i]ṁhaguptas**=tasya p[u]ttras=tat-[p]âd-â[nu]d[dh]y[â]t[ô]
mah[â]d[ê]v[yâṁ] śrî-**Mahâ[lakshmî(?)]**-

8 **[dê]v[yâ]m**=ut[p]annaḥ=paramabh[â]gavatô mah[â]r[â]j[â]dh[i]r[â]ja-śrî-**Kum[â]ra-**
g[uptaḥ ॥]

TRANSLATION.

Of the *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, the glorious **Samudragupta**, — who was the exterminator of all kings; who had no antagonist (*of equal power*) in the world; who was the son of the son's son of the *Mahârâja*, the illustrious **Gupta**; who was the son's son of the *Mahârâja*, the illustrious **Ghaṭôtkacha**; (*and*) who was the son of the *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, the glorious **Chandragupta (I.)**, (*and*) the daughter's son of **Lichchhavi**, begotten on the *Mahâdêvi* **Kumâradêvî**,—

(Line 3.)—The son (*was*) the most devout worshipper of the Divine One, the *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, the glorious **Chandragupta (II.)**,—who was accepted by him (Samudragupta); who was begotten on the *Mahâdêvi* **Dattadêvî**; and who was himself without an antagonist (*of equal power*).

(L. 4.)—His son, who meditated on his feet, (*and*) who was begotten on the *Mahâdêvi* **Dhruvadêvî**, (*was*) the *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, the glorious **Kumâragupta (I.)**

(L. 5.)—His son, who meditated on his feet, (*and*) who was begotten on the *Mahâdêvi* **Anantadêvî**, (*was*) the *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, the glorious **Puragupta.**

(L. 6.)—His son, who meditated on his feet, (*and*) who was begotten on the *Mahâdêvi*, the glorious **Vatsadêvî**,[4] (*was*) the *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, the glorious **Narasiṁhagupta.**

(L. 7.)—His son, who meditated on his feet, (*and*) who was begotten on the *Mahâdêvi*, the glorious **Mahâlakshmîdêvî (?)**, (*is*) the most devout worshipper of the Divine One, the *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, the glorious **Kumâragupta (II.)**

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[2] From the original seal.

[3] Here Dr. Hoernle has given the alternative readings *svayaṁ ch=âpratirathaḥ*, and *svayaṁ cha pratirathaḥ*; with a preference in favour of the former, which is undoubtedly the correct reading. In the Bhitarî inscription (*Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 13, line 4, p. 53) I gave the reading as *svayam=apratirathaḥ*; to which, of course, there is no inherent objection. There, however, the passage is rather damaged; while, in this seal it is almost quite intact. The *anusvâra* over the *ya* is very distinct. So also is the following *ch*. And I think that there are still faint remnants of the superscript â, attached to the *ch*. The reading in the Bhitarî inscription should be altered, to agree with the present text; the large round mark over the *ya* there, is plainly to be attributed to an expansion of the *anusvâra* in the weathering of the stone.

[4] Or, possibly, "the *Mahâdêvi* Śrîvatsadêvî," as taken by Dr. Hoernle; but see page 226 below.

the hair is arranged exactly like the wig of an English Judge." Round his neck there is coiled a snake, — hooded, I think; its head stands up over his left wing. Over his right wing there is a circle, with a small boss on it, which is probably meant for the *chakra* or discus of Vishṇu; and over his left wing there seems to be a faint representation of the *śaṅkha* or conch-shell of the same god. — Below the above, there are two parallel lines, in relief, across the seal. And below them there is the writing, with a blank space, about one inch high, at the bottom of the seal. It is done in relief. A good deal of it is legible very easily; but lines 2 and 3 are rather badly damaged about the centre; and in other places, where the inscription is a good deal worn, it can be read only by holding the seal in various lights, and with the help of a magnifying glass. The photo-collotype published with Dr. Hoernle's paper, represents the original as well as could be expected; but it naturally fails to render the inscription as legible as it is in reality, especially in respect of details. — The characters are well formed, and are of almost precisely the same type with those of the Bhitarî pillar inscription of Skandagupta (*Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 13, Plate vii.) The average size of the letters is somewhat less than $\frac{1}{8}$". — The language is Sanskṛit. — In respect of orthography we may notice (1) the use of the *upadhmânîya* in °*ôchchhêttuḥ=pṛithivyâm*, line 1; °*âpratirathaḥ=parama*°, line 3; and *utpannaḥ=parama*°, line 8; (2) the doubling of *t* before *r*, in *pauttrasya*, line 1, *puttrasya*, line 2, and *puttras*°, lines 3, 5, 6, and 7; and, of course, in the other instances where part of the conjunct consonant has been destroyed; and (3) the doubling of *dh*, by *d*, before *y*, in the word *anuddhyâta*, in lines 4, 5, 6, and 7.

The inscription on the seal is purely genealogical; as are the inscriptions on the Aśîrgadh and Sônpat seals of Sarvavarman and Harshavardhana (*Gupta Inscriptions*, Nos. 47, 52), and on the seals attached to the grants of the *Mahârâjas* Mahêndrapâla and Vinâyakapâla (*ante*, Vol. XV. pp. 112, 140). And, with the omission of certain epithets of Samudragupta, it follows a standard form from which was taken, as far as it goes in each case, the genealogy given in some of the stone inscriptions. Consequently, as far as the mention of Kumâragupta I., the text of this seal is established without any doubt, even where it is illegible in the original. The interest of it centres in the following passages, which have given us some new names in the Gupta genealogy, that were not known when I completed my *Gupta Inscriptions*.[5]

In line 5, the name of the wife of Kumâragupta I. is certainly **Anantadêvî**, as read by Dr. Hoernle. It is very distinct and indisputable.

In line 6, the name of the son of Kumâragupta I. is undoubtedly **Puragupta**, as read by Dr. Hoernle. The suggestion has been made to me that the text has Sthiragupta, as a variant of the name of Skandagupta, who is the only known son of Kumâragupta I. mentioned in the other records that we have. It is unnecessary to point out other objections to this suggestion, because Sthiragupta is most certainly not the name that we have here. The mark below the consonant in the first syllable is distinctly the subscript *u*, formed as in the case of *mu* throughout; and the smooth surface of the plate here shews that nothing over and above this mark was engraved; the subscript *th* was most certainly not formed. The consonant itself is a little rubbed; but it is distinctly *p*. The idea of a superscript *i*, derived from the collotype, is due, partly to the fact that the up-stroke of the *p* runs a trifle too high; and partly to an indentation in the surface of the seal, above the first part of the *p*, which, in the collotype, has appeared in such a way as to justify the supposition of a superscript *i*; the vowel, however, was not engraved. On the analogy of the names of the other Early Guptas, my own idea, before seeing the original seal, was that the name here might be Suragupta, "protected by the gods." It is, however, indisputably Puragupta; which must mean "protected by a city, or by cities," and is not to be taken as an abbreviation of Purârigupta, Purandaragupta, or any such appellation.

In the same line, in the name of Puragupta's wife, the *va* and the *t* are so distinct; that the text can only be completed as *śrîvatsadêvyâm*. Her name may possibly be Śrîvatsadêvî, as taken by Dr. Hoernle. But I think that the *śrî* here is only the honorific prefix; used from this point with the queens' names, as it is in the Dêô-Baranârk inscription (*Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 46). I, therefore, differ from Dr. Hoernle, and take her name to be **Vatsadêvî**.

In line 7, in the name of Puragupta's son, the letters *naras* are very distinct. The next syllable seems to be certainly *ha*. And I think there is also clearly a remnant of an *anusvâra* over the *s*. Under these circumstances, no hesitation need

[5] This seal, though discovered before 1886, did not come to notice till some three years later; the first announcement of it being in the *Pioneer* of the 13th May, 1889.

be felt in adopting Dr. Hoernle's reading of the name as **Narasiṁhagupta.**

In the same line, in the case of Narasiṁhagupta's wife, we have another name in respect of which I cannot agree with Dr. Hoernle. He gave the reading as *śrîmatîdêvyâm*, and took the name to be Śrîmatîdêvî. But if, as I think, the name of Puragupta's wife was simply Vatsadêvî, then here also we must have the honorific prefix *śrî*, and, to give the name of Śrîmatîdêvî, the text should be *śrî-Śrîmatîdêvyâm*; compare *śrî-Śrîmatyâm* in line 2 of the Dêô-Baraṇârk inscription. Moreover, while the syllable after *śrî* is certainly *ma*, in my opinion it is clearly followed by *hâ*. Further, the proper position of the *dê* of *dêvyâm* is at the beginning of line 8; not at the end of line 7, where Dr. Hoernle placed it. And after the syllables *mahâ*, there appear to me to have been in reality two letters, not only one, at the end of line 7; the second of them is now entirely illegible; the first is much damaged, but, comparing it with the initial of *lichchhavi* in line 2, I think that the consonant was *l*. For these reasons, I think that this name must be taken as **Mahâlakshmîdêvî**; without, however, proposing this as quite a certainty. Failing that, it may be Mahâdêvidêvî; or possibly simply Mahâdêvî, in which case, the *dê* lying where Dr. Hoernle placed it, unnecessary spaces were left at the end of line 7 and at the beginning of line 8.

In line 8, in the name of Narasiṁhagupta's son, the letters *kum* and *rag* are so distinct, that the whole name can be nothing but **Kumâragupta (II.)**, as taken by Dr. Hoernle.

The importance of this inscription lies partly in its extending the Early Gupta genealogy by two generations; and partly in its omitting all mention of Skandagupta; for, undoubtedly, Dr. Hoernle is right in taking **Puragupta** to be, not another name of Skandagupta, but the name of a (younger) brother of his. **Why Skandagupta is omitted**, it is useless at present to attempt to explain conclusively. But in addition to the analogous instance quoted by Dr. Hoernle, I am able to give a still more pointed one from the Eastern Chalukya grants. Almost all of them commence by mentioning Pulikêśin II., and then trace the genealogy from his younger brother Vishṇuvardhana I. But the **Sâtârâ** grant of Vishṇuvardhana I., which takes the genealogy further back, passes straight to him from his father Kîrtivarman I., omitting to make any reference to Pulikêśin II.; and this, in spite of the fact that Vishṇuvardhana I. was then only the *Yuvarâja* of his elder brother. The inference is, I think, that, whether Skandagupta left a son or not, there was a formal division of the **Early Gupta territories** in the generation of Skandagupta and Puragupta, or some dissension between them.

I notice that, in his historical remarks, Dr. Hoernle (p. 96) takes the **Yaśôdharman** and **Vishṇuvardhana** of one of the Mandasôr records (*Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 35), to be one and the same person. I have no special reasons to urge against this view, except the apparently pointed contrast of *janêndra*, applied to Yaśôdharman, with *narâdhipati*, which is connected with Vishṇuvardhana, and the use of *punaś=cha* in the verse that introduces the latter. And I should not hesitate to adopt the identification, if, in line 5, we could read *sa êsha*, instead of *sa êva*, which is the actual reading. As it is, the question demands further consideration, before Dr. Hoernle's proposal can be accepted.

In a footnote on p. 103 f., Dr. Hoernle has expressed his dissent from my opinion that the dates **of the Mahârâjas of Uchchakalpa** might have to be referred to **the Kalachuri era**; but has asked me to explain myself more clearly.

In the Parivrâjaka family, we have **the Mahârâja Hastin**, with the dates of the years 156, 163, and 191, which are expressly referred to the Gupta era.

In the Uchchakalpa family, we have **the Mahârâja Sarvanâtha**, with the dates of the years 193, 197, and 214. Neither in his grants, nor in those of his father Jayanâtha, is there anything to shew distinctly the era that is used. Nor do the dates contain details that can be tested by calculation.

And from the **Bhumarâ** pillar inscription we learn that **Hastin and Sarvanâtha were contemporaries**, in a certain Mahâ-Mâgha *saṁvatsara*.

In the Bhumarâ inscription, there is no mention of the year of any era at all. And Dr. Hoernle's misapprehension is based upon the fact that, in editing that record, at a time when I was under the impression that the Uchchakalpa dates, like those of the Parivrâjakas, could only be referred to the Gupta era, I used the words quoted by him, — "the choice [for the Mahâ-Mâgha *saṁvatsara* in question] lies only between Gupta-Saṁvat 189 and 201" (*Gupta Inscriptions*, Texts and Translations, p. 111); and upon my omission to expressly cancel them when I came (*id.* Introduction, pp. 8 to 10, 119, 121; see also *ante*, Vol. XVII. pp. 331, note 1, 337, 338 f.) to consider another possibility which presented itself subsequently, but which I could not dispose of com-

pletely, because I was not then fully convinced of the real existence of the Kalachuri era as a separate era.

In reality, we are under no necessity whatever of taking Gupta-Saṁvat 189 (A. D. 508-509) as the crucial year, for the synchronism of Hastin and Śarvanâtha. There is nothing to prevent our taking the Mahâ-Mâgha *saṁvatsara* of one, two, or (but for the obstacle that will be shewn below) even three cycles earlier.

Prof. Kielhorn has now shewn (*ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 215 ff.) that correct results can be obtained for all the Kalachuri dates with the epoch of A. D. 248-249. And I can find no reason for assuming that this era was simply invented in later times, and referred to that epoch. The epoch having been established, there are no grounds for refusing to believe that the era was in actual use from the time of its epoch, and that from the commencement of it there was a dynasty which afterwards came to be known as that of the Kalachuri or Chêdi kings.

A Kalachuri epoch later by twenty-five years or so than that established by Prof. Kielhorn, would suit the circumstances of the case best. But there is no essential difficulty even with his epoch.

Referred to the Kalachuri era with his epoch, the latest date of Śarvanâtha is A. D. 248-49 + 214 = A. D. 462-63. While the earliest date of Hastin is A. D. 319-20 + 156 = A. D. 475-76. The occurrence of a Mahâ-Mâgha *saṁvatsara* would be expected in or about A. D. 472. And the two persons might be made contemporaneous by adding on ten years at the end of Śarvanâtha's period, and three at the commencement of Hastin's. But Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds that, in that cycle, the Mahâ-Mâgha *saṁvatsara* was omitted.[6] Consequently, the Mahâ-Mâgha *saṁvatsara* in which the two Mahârâjas were contemporaneous, is the next one, which commenced in A. D. 484, in Gupta-Saṁvat 165;[7] and, in establishing the synchronism, we have to add on twenty-two years to Śarvanâtha's period, giving him altogether a known duration of forty-four years.

That the adjustment is to be made in this way, I have no doubt whatever. Further consideration of the subject has fully confirmed me in that view.

And the explanation of the Bhumarâ record is, that the *Mahârâjas* Hastin and Śarvanâtha, being feudatories of two rival dynasties, could not agree as to which of the two rival eras should be used in a joint record; and compromised the matter by quoting only the year of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter, as a method of reckoning which could hurt the dignity of neither of them.

J. F. FLEET.

BOOK NOTICE.

JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY; Vol. XIII. 1889. New Haven.

The major part of this volume is taken up with the now well-known and remarkable monograph by Prof. Hopkins on the Social and Military position of the Ruling Caste in Ancient India as represented by the Sanskrit Epic. It has been published separately as Hopkins's Ruling Caste in Ancient India, and deserves a far more exhaustive notice than can be given here, so we will not do more than merely note that it is to be found in this volume. It is, however, worth while to give here a table of its contents as indicative of the wide and exhaustive nature of the article. I. Origin of the Epic. II. Historical value of the Epic. III. (A) The social position of the Ruling Caste; the Caste in general; division of the people. (B) Royalty: the king; royal duties and occupations: modes of Government; succession; choice of a king; primogeniture; royal convocation: Assembly and Council: *purôhita* and priestly power: ambassador: Social Relations of the King: royal marriage and burial: the Imperial City: caste exchange. IV. Military position of the Ruling Caste: philosophy of war; general fighting force and military sentiment: military tactics: usages in the field; laws of battle: army force in detail. (A) the chariot, charioteer, chariot steed, chariot knight. (B) the cavalry. (C) the elephant riders. (D) weapons. (E) Armour and defence; magic and science of weapons. (F) Paraphernalia of battle and music in the Epic. (V) Status of women: girl; wife; widow. Finally this very valuable paper

[6] There was a heliacal rising of Jupiter on (the first) Bhâdrapada krishṇa 9 of Śaka-Saṁvat 395 current, corresponding to Saturday, 15th July, A. D. 472; or, by the English calendar, on Sunday, 16th July. His longitude then was 104° 14'. By all the three systems for the ending-points of the *nakshatras*, he was then in Pushya. And the *saṁvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahâ-Pausha. Jupiter's next following heliacal rising took place on Bhâdrapada śukla 8 of Śaka-Saṁvat 396 current, corresponding to Friday, 17th August, A. D. 473; or, by the English calendar, on Saturday, 18th August. His longitude then was 135° 57'. By all the three systems, he was then in Pûrvâ-Phalguni. And the *saṁvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahâ-Phâlguna.

[7] See *ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 338.

winds up with a capital index of secondary subjects.

According to the old custom of the American Oriental Society, now discontinued, its proceedings for three years are appended to the volume, and from them we will proceed to extract what is interesting to scholars in India.

Boston, May 6th, 1885.—A note on Superstitious customs connected with sneezing, by H. C. Warren, in which he gives a rendering of a *Jâtaka* tale introducing a Buddhistic form of "God bless you" on hearing a sneeze. Prof. Whitney added a text from the *Jaiminîya-Brâhmaṇa* to the same purport.

Prof. Avery, on the Garo Language of Assam, notes that it belongs to the Tibeto-Burman group its nearest kindred being the Pani-Kôch, Kachârî, Dêôri-Chutiâ and Tipura tongues. It was first reduced to writing by the American Baptist Missionaries in 1873, who borrowed 28 (an insufficient quantity) characters from the Bengali alphabet for the purpose. The *visarga* was used to denote "a sudden cessation of utterance," which is a pity, as in Burmese the symbol used for exactly the opposite purpose is very like *visarga*. The above peculiarity of pronunciation is most marked in Burmese and is shown on paper by a dot or a small circular under the syllable or letter affected.

There is no gender in Garo, and plurality is shown by adding — *râng*. Generic particles are used with adjectival numerals varying according to the nature of the connected substantive. This is, of course, a law in Burmese, and the connected languages. Prof. Avery remarks that Garo declension is by suffixes, "but these are loosely attached to the base, and may be omitted whenever the case is clear from the context." This is a rule common to Burmese, in which language it is possible to make a complete sentence by merely stringing bases together in a set order — a habit which makes the language an exceedingly difficult one to follow when spoken. Adjectives appear to be chiefly substantives or verbs used adjectivally. This again is analogous to Burmese, whereas in English a word is frequently a substantive, verb, or adjective according to context or position in the sentence without change of form. Garo has no genitive pronoun, and here once more we have an analogy to Burmese, where the genitive pronoun is purely a literary creation and does not enter into speech at all. It uses also a relative particle in place of a relative pronoun, in common with all Asiatic languages that have adopted what may be called the non-Aryan scheme of speech. Prof. Avery's remarks on the verb and the structure of the sentence might be applied almost *verbatim* to Burmese and the connected tongues.

Prof. Hopkins sharply criticises Burnell's argument with regard to the date of the Mânavadharmasastra, which fixed it as between 100 and 500 A.D. from internal evidence. He thinks Dr. Burnell's arguments to be groundless and that there is nothing in the work from which we can judge of its date. In this view Prof. Whitney concurs.

Prof. Whitney, when giving a full account of the roots quotable in Sanskrit literature, added indexes of stems by which he has been able to give an approximate idea of the relative importance of each given formation in the entirety of the language. This work led him to write an article on the numerical results from the indexes relating to Sanskṛit Tense and Conjugation stems which enabled him to present some valuable general facts:—The great superiority in numbers of stems of the second general conjugation and the almost limitation to it of the stems of late formation; the stems of the first general conjugation in the older language considerably out-number those belonging partly to the earlier and later language or to the later language only; in the second general conjugation this relation is reversed; the perfect as a formation is of nearly equal frequency in all periods of the language; the great predominance of the aorist formation in the earlier language and the sporadic character of the *sis*-aorist and the *sa*-aorist.

The publication of Prof. Whitney's "Quotable Roots" above referred to, has enabled Prof. Lanman to consider the question of multiform presents in Sanskṛit. Out of 800 *bonâ-fide* roots, over 112 form presents in two ways, over 50 in three ways, 16 in four ways, 10 in five ways, √*ṛ* in six ways, √*tṛ* in eight ways. In order to ascertain whether these differences of form involved differences of function, the first thing to do is to eliminate such multiform presents as are not original but simply the result of a secondary transfer from some older to some after method of conjugation. Prof. Lanman in the article under notice has set himself to examine these transfer present in some detail.

Prof. Edgren in a short note explains that he could eliminate the tan-class of verbs from Sanskṛit Grammar, on the ground that of the ten roots reckoned as belonging to it four are fictitious, five should be transferred to the *su*-class, and one is irregular.

Prof. Lanman gives a short account of a MS. dated A.D. 1697 of the Nyâya-siddhânta-mañ-

jari found in a shop in Philadelphia, and superscribed "J. Jay Joyce, Jr., presented by Rev. Prof. Banerjea, Calcutta, through kindness of the Rev. S. E. Appleton."

Prof. Bloomfield gives his reasons for believing that the Vedic words *prâś*, 'debate, dispute;' *pratiprâś*, 'opponent, one disputing against another;' *pratipâśita* 'one assailed in debate or (simply) opponent,' are hitherto misunderstood derivatives of √*prâś*.

New York, October, 28*th* and 29*th* 1885. Prof. Whitney drew attention to a gross case of **piracy of Sanskrit works in Bombay.** We give his remarks *verbatim*, as they are instructive. Of course, in other lines of literature the Americans as a nation are the most shameless pirates in the world, and what has happened to the learned professor, will become an inevitable retribution when the Americans themselves begin, as a rule, to produce works that other nations value. Prof. Whitney said that, seeing a **new Hindu edition of the Atharva-Vêda** advertised in Europe, he had sent for it; but he was rather amused as well as disappointed, to find it simply **a lithographed copy, page by page, note by note** (except that the German words contained in the latter are left out), **of the edition published by Prof. Roth and himself, in Germany, now nearly 30 years ago.** Of course, the misprints and errors of the original are faithfully reproduced with the rest; probably there are no more new ones than were reasonably to be expected, the transcription seeming to be made in general with care (though there are, to be sure, two accent signs omitted in the very first verse). **There is nowhere in the work any intimation of its source,** or of credit due to any one but the Hindu editor, **Sêwaklâl Karsandâs.** It is desirable by such a notice as this to put other possibly intending buyers on their guard.

Prof. Hall follows with an interesting **Syriac Table for finding Easter in years of the Seleukid era,** found in the Williams MS. of the Syriac *Acts and Epistles*.

Mr. A. V. Williams Jackson discussed some **Avestic superstitions,** giving parallel customs from other countries:—(1) it is lucky to be the first up after cock-crow; (2) evil spirits come from the North; (3) cut hair and nail-parings are unclean and unlucky.

Prof. Whitney controverts at some length **Prof. Ludwig's views respecting total eclipses of the sun as noticed in the Rig-Vêda.** Prof. Ludwig recognized four different eclipses as referred to in the Vedic hymns with sufficient individuality of detail to make their identification seem a not altogether hopeless task, and two of them he thinks himself actually able to identify with eclipses that took place during the eleventh century before our era. Prof. Whitney, however, is at complete issue with him, and is of opinion that no result possessing presumptive and provisional value as bearing on ancient Hindu chronology has been reached by the investigation.

The learned Professor follows this up with a **severe criticism of the latest translation of the Upanishads** in Vols. I. and XV. of the first series of the *Sacred Books of the East*. "Not half the amount of labour needed in order to produce a good result was spent upon it. It is no help either to Sanskrit scholarship or to the comparative study of religions to print such a product. A new translation of the *Upanishads* is still just as much called for as before the publication of these volumes."

Prof. Avery has a note **on the language of the Lepchas of Sikkim** based on a Lepcha *John's Gospel* (1871) and Col. Mainwaring's *Grammar* (1875). Grammatically Lepcha would appear to be a monosyllabic isolating language with a tendency to agglutination and with a commencement of inflection, which would be a fair description of the Burmese Language.

These proceedings wind up with an interesting article by Mr. A. P. Martin on Hirth's **China and the Roman Orient.** Rome and China, the two great civilized peoples of the ancient world, were separated from each other by Parthia, which neither could conquer or pass. But they heard of each other,—Rome of Serica, the land of milk, and China of Tach'in, the China of the west. The first direct communication was by sea through Annam in the days of Huanti and Antun = Marcus Aurelius, A. D. 166.

Boston, May 12*th*, 1866. Prof. M. Bloomfield has a long note on the **correlation of *v* and *m* in Vedic and later Sanskrit,** offered as a supplement to Ascoli's discussion of the Prâkritic change of *m* to *v* by further pointing out distinct traces of the interchange of these sounds in the classic and Vedic dialects and showing that the change of *v* to *m* also occasionally takes place.

This is followed by a learned article on the **Negative Clauses in the Rig-Vêda by Miss Eva Channing of Boston, Mass.** The paper discusses: (i) acertain problematical construction of the verbs of fearing; (ii) the question of possible double negatives in the *Rig-Vêda*; (iii) the clauses containing *chanâ* unaccompanied by a negative.

Mr. A. V. Williams Jackson has a short note on the ancient Persian's abhorrence of falsehood. On this subject we would merely remark that preaching and practice no more coincided in ancient that they do in modern times, and that constant and stern denunciation of any particular sin or fault is rather evidence of its prevalence than otherwise, though it must be borne in mind that satyrists and social reformers have in all ages grossly exaggerated the evils they would cure. So that on the whole the literary remains of a people are not good tests of the popular feeling on any given social or ethical subject, except in so far as they bear unconscious witness, to current ideas.

Prof. Whitney has an important paper on **Hindu Eschatology and the Kaṭha-Upanishad.** The doctrine of this *Upanishad*, and practically of the others also, on the subject of man after death is (i) the continuation of the old eternal heaven of happiness for those who are worthy to attain it, such worthiness consisting especially in true knowledge; (ii) the absence of any hell for those not found worthy; (iii) the condemnation of such to a return to earthly existence, — which, of course, by contrast with the happiness of the blest is a state of misery.

The Rev. J. S. Chandler, a missionary in Madras, gave an account of **an attempt made by a caste to raise itself** in the social scale. **The Sânârs,** one of the lowest of the Śûdras, are trying to establish themselves as Drâvidian Kshatriyas and have assumed a sacred thread and adopted some Brâhmanical customs. It is to be regretted that only a very meagre use is made of his valuable remarks.

Prof. Avery gives a short account of the **Ao-Naga Language of Southern Assam.** As might be expected this bears a general analogy in structure to the Tibeto-Burman group already noted, when noticing the learned professor's note on the Garo Language.

Prof. Bloomfield then gives his reasons at length for certain proposed interpretations of **three hymns of the first book of the Atharva-Vêda.**

Prof. Bloomfield and Dr. E. H. Spieker contribute an introduction to the study of old Indian Sibilants. The problems which are encountered in an investigation of the old Indian sibilants may be best foreshadowed by the fact that in the Petersburg Lexicon 16 words are quoted which occur written in various texts with all the three sibilants of the Sanskṛit alphabet. So that the work before us consists in (i) fixing the correct orthography in a given word containing one or more sibilants in a given period; (ii) in describing and accounting for the variations by which the correct writing is beset; (iii) in fixing the pronunciation of the sibilants at any given period of Indian literature. The aids in the task in general are threefold: (i) on the hither side we have the history and development of the sibilant in the modern languages of India, beginning with the Pâli-Prâkṛit dialects, and continuing with the vernaculars; (ii) on the further side of the Vedic language lies the testimony to which we must turn for most of the information, the related languages; (iii) a closer scrutiny of the sibilant within the private life of the Vedic and classical dialects should give us most of the information which we may be able to contribute to the subject.

New Haven, October 27th, 1886.—Mr. J. R. Jewett sends from Syria **43 proverbs in the local Arabic dialect.**

Prof. Bloomfield gives two more hymns of **the Atharva-Vêda,** which are further contributions to the exegesis thereof. Dr. A. V. W. Jackson has an interesting note on the use of **conventional similes in the Avesta,** which he says are drawn (i) from the realm of nature; (ii) from animals and their actions; (iii) from man and his relations in daily life.

Boston, May 11th, 1887.—The Rev. J. S. Chandler has an instructive note on the transcription (he calls it erroneously transliteration) of **Sanskṛit proper names in Tamil.** Tamil has no lingual nor dental vowels, no sibilants, no aspirates, no sonants as distinguished from surds, no palatal mutes except the nasal, no *visarga*, and no *anusvâra*. Concurrent consonants must be assimilated or have a vowel inserted between them. No sonant can begin, and no mute of any kind can end, a Tamil word. Nor can a surd stand in the middle of a word without being doubled. But as surds and sonants are convertible, and as the same Tamil character stands for both, these changes are easily made.

Thus:—

(i) *Lingual vowels*:—**Skṛ. ṛ = Tamil ru.** Following the rules above laid down, *Ṛg.-(Vêda)* = *Irukku.*

(ii) *Sibilants*:—**Skṛ. sh = Tamil ṭ. Skṛ. s = Tamil s,** or is dropped. *E.g.* Vishṇu = Viṭṭunu: Kṛshṇa = Kiruṭṭinan: Tvashṭa = Tuvaṭṭa: Yudhishṭhira = Udiṭṭiran, and Sâman = Śamam: Viśvadêvar = Viśuvadêva: Sarasvatî = Śaraśuvadi: Sudarśana = Śudariśanam. Also Skanda = Śikkandan or Kandan.

(iii) *Aspirates*:—Aspirates are dropped. Thus by the rules above laid down, Bhîma = Pîman or Vîman; Dharma = Taruman: Arundhatî = Arundaḍi: Bhârata = Paradan: Vidarbha = Vidarppan; Bhagavân = Pagavan: Brâhmaṇa = Pirâmanam. Or Skr. aspirates = Tamil g., *e. g.* Ahalyâ = Agaliya: Naravâhana = Naravaganam: Râhu = Iragu:

(iv) *Palatals*:—Skr. palatal = Tamil ś; *e. g.* Chaṇḍâla = Śaṇḍalan: Chandra = Śandiran: Piśacha = Piśaśam: Yajur = Eśur: Jâtavêdas = Śâdavedâ.

(v) *Visarga*:—In Tamil visarga disappears and anusvâra = m.

(vi) *Conjunct consonants*. In Tamil conjunct and adjunct consonants are (*a*) one dropped, (*b*) assimilated, (*c*) separated by a vowel *E. g.* (*a*) Kshatriya = Śattiiryan: (*b*) Yaksha = Iyakkan (*c*) Arjuna = Aruśśanan. Also Drôṇa = Turoṇar; Agni = Akkini; Âtri = Attiri; Ârya = Ariyan; Indra = Indiran.

(vii) By following the above rules we have such words as Buddha = Puttan; Nakula = Nagulan; Gautama = Kaudaman.

Prof. Avery has an exceedingly interesting memorandum on the relationship of the Kachârî and Garo Languages of Assam, in which he gives reasons for believing them to be "sister languages."

Prof. Toy gives an account of the Luqmân legend, showing the late date of the famous book of fables popularly attributed to the Arabic sage, with which he can have had nothing to do personally.

Dr. Jackson continues his investigation into similes used in the Avesta, especially those *taken from the animal world*, which he follows up with a translation of the Afrigân Rapithum of the Avesta, a colloquy between Ahura Mazda and Zarathushtra, of which no other direct English translation exists.

The proceedings of this meeting wound up with a review of the introduction to Bühler's Manu by Prof. Hopkins, in which the reviewer arrives at the conclusion that the *Saṁhitâ* cannot be proved to have been in existence much before the middle of the first thousand years A. D., though it is probable that it did exist much earlier.

Boston, October 26th and 27th, 1887.—Dr. A. V. W. Jackson opens the number with an article on the significance of the Gâthâs in the Avesta. Dr. Jackson insists on the pre-eminent importance of the *Gâthâs* as the real foundation of the religion of the followers of Zoroaster, and as containing a true reflection of the mind of the founder. "The Zoroaster of the *Gâthâs*, the subjective hymns is the true one: the Zoroaster of all other portions of the literature, the idealized development." In proof of the estimation they were held in by the Zoroastrians, he quotes Yasna 55, of which he gives a translation with grammatical notes.

Prof. Bloomfield in an article on the jâyânya charm and the apachit hymns attempts to solve one of the most difficult problems of the Atharva-Vêda. He first shows that *jâyânya* is the same disease as *âkshata* and that it was some external skin disease. Secondly, the first part of the hymn, A. V. vii. 76. 1, 2, which contains a charm in v. v. 3 to 5 against the *jâyânya*, is devoted to one against the *apachit*, for which he claims the rendering, 'sore, pustule, boil.' The gist of the whole paper is that the jâyânya charm is directed against tumours.

This is followed by note by the same Professor on the so-called fire-ordeal hymn in the Atharva-Vêda, the object of which is to show that it has nothing to do with ordeals by fire, but is a fierce imprecation against an enemy who is thwarting some pious work with unholy practices.

Prof. Whitney criticises Part IV. of Schröder's Edition of the Maitrâyaṇi-Saṁhitâ which yielded the missing Hindu root *stigh* and doubtfully another *ṛksh*. The text is unsatisfactory and the reviewer adds several emendations to those already made in it.

Prof. Hopkins gives three Sanskṛit proverbs as an aid to the general literature of proverbs.

Dr. Stephen Peet, the well-known editor of the *American Antiquary*, makes some remarks on animal-worship and sun-worship in the East and West. He would show first that in the West, *i.e.* America, idolatry arose thus:—(i) totemism, animals used for symbols; (ii) sun-worship, sun used for symbols: (iii) totem and sun-worship symbols combined; (iv) nature-powers symbolised by animals used as adjuncts to sun-worship; (iv) personification of the sun, symbolised by the human figure. Secondly, he would show that it arose in a similar manner in the East. Thirdly, he would compare the steps in America with those in the East by which was accomplished the transition from animal-worship to sun-worship, and from sun-worship to a reverence for the personal attributes.

Boston, May 2nd, 1888.—These proceedings being devoted to Semitic studies, and those connected with Assyriology, have no particular interest to the readers of this journal.

SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION.

The system of transliteration followed in this journal for Sanskṛit and Kanarese, (and, for the sake of uniformity, submitted for adoption, as far as possible, in the case of other languages), — except in respect of modern Hindu personal names, in which absolute purism is undesirable, and in respect of a few Anglicised corruptions of names of places, sanctioned by long usage, — is this :—

Sanskrit.	Kanarese.	Transliteration.
अ	ಅ	a
आ	ಆ	â
इ	ಇ	i
ई	ಈ	î
उ	ಉ	u
ऊ	ಊ	û
ऋ	ಋ	ṛi
ॠ	ೠ	ṛî
ऌ	—	ḷṛi
—	ಎ	e
ए	ಏ	ê
ऐ	ಐ	ai
—	ಒ	o
ओ	ಓ	ô
औ	ಔ	au
Visarga	*Visarga*	ḥ
Jihvámúlíya, or old *Visarga* before क् and ख्	—	ḥi
Upadhmánîya, or old *Visarga* before प् and फ्	—	ḥ
Anusvára	*Anusvára*	ṁ
Anunásika	—	m̃
क	ಕ	ka
ख	ಖ	kha
ग	ಗ	ga
घ	ಘ	gha
ङ	ಙ	ṅa
च	ಚ	cha
छ	ಛ	chha

Sanskrit.	Kanarese.	Transliteration.
ज	ಜ	ja
झ	ಝ	jha
ञ	ಞ	ña
ट	ಟ	ṭa
ठ	ಠ	*ṭha*
ड	ಡ	ḍha
ढ	ಢ	ḍha
ण	ಣ	ṇa
त	ತ	ta
थ	ಥ	tha
द	ದ	da
ध	ಧ	dha
न	ನ	na
प	ಪ	pa
फ	ಫ	pha
ब	ಬ	ba
भ	ಭ	bha
म	ಮ	ma
य	ಯ	ya
र	ರ	ra
—	ಱ	ṛa
ल	ಲ	la
ळ	ಳ	ḷa
—	ೞ	ḻa
व	ವ	va
श	ಶ	śa
ष	ಷ	sha
स	ಸ	sa
ह	ಹ	ha

A single hyphen is used to separate words in composition, as far as it is desirable to divide them. It will readily be seen where the single hyphen is only used in the ordinary way, at the end of a line, as divided in the original Text, to indicate that the word runs on into the next line; intermediate divisions, rendered unavoidable here and there by printing necessities, are made only where absolutely necessary for neatness in the arrangement of the Texts.

A double hyphen is used to separate words in a sentence, which in the original are written as one word, being joined together by the euphonic rules of *saṁdhi*. Where this double hyphen is used, it is to be understood that a final consonant, and the following initial vowel or consonant-and-vowel, are in the original expressed by one complex sign. Where it is not used, it is to be understood of the orthography of the original, that, according to the stage of the alphabet, the final consonant either has the modified broken form, which, in the oldest stages of the alphabet, was used to indicate a consonant with no vowel attached to it, or has the distinct sign of the *virâma* attached to it; and that the following initial vowel or consonant has its full initial form. In the transcription of ordinary texts, the double hyphen is probably unnecessary; except where there is the *saṁdhi* of final and initial vowels. But, in the transcription of epigraphical records, the use of this sign is unavoidable, for the purpose of indicating exactly the palæographical standard of the original texts.

The avagraha, or sign which indicates the elision of an initial *a*, is but rarely to be met with in inscriptions. Where it does occur, it is most conveniently represented by its own Dêvanâgarî sign.

So also practice has shewn that it is more convenient to use the ordinary Dêvanâgarî marks of punctuation than to substitute the English signs for them.

Ordinary brackets are used for corrections and doubtful points; and **square brackets**, for letters which are damaged and partially illegible in the original, or which, being wholly illegible, can be supplied with certainty. An asterisk attached to letters or marks of punctuation in square brackets, indicates that those letters or marks of punctuation were omitted altogether in the original. As a rule, it is more convenient to use the brackets than to have recourse to footnotes; as the points to which attention is to be drawn, attract notice far more readily. But notes are given instead, when there would be so many brackets, close together, as to encumber the text and render it inconvenient to read. When any letters in the original are wholly illegible and cannot be supplied, they are, represented, in metrical passages, by the sign for a long or a short syllable, as the case may be; and in prose passages, by points, at the rate, usually, of two for each *akshara* or syllable.

THE PATTAVALI OR LIST OF PONTIFFS OF THE UPAKESA-GACHCHHA.

BY PROF. A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE, PH.D.

THE **paṭṭâvalî** of which I give a translation is mentioned on page 15 of the second part of the *Ajñâna-timira-bhâskara*, a Hindî work on Jainism, by the well-known Muni Atmârâm-jî Ânanda-Vijaya-jî. The Muni, at my request, very kindly supplied me with a copy of the *paṭṭâvalî* which is in his possession. The translation is made from my copy, and is as literal as possible. The original is written in a species of language, which it requires a considerable stretch of imagination to dignify with the name of Sanskṛit. In some places it is so utterly ungrammatical as to be almost unintelligible.

It will be seen that this paṭṭâvalî carries **the line of pontiffs back to Pârśvanâtha**, whose line, under the *Gaṇadhara* Kêśin, it appears, merged into the line of Mahâvîra.

Muni Âtmârâm-jî belongs to **the Tapa-Gachchha**. The sixty-first pontiff of that line was Śrî-Vijaya-Siṁha-Sûri. From him arose **the Vijaya-Śâkhâ**, all the *Âchâryas* or *Gaṇis* of which are distinguished by the epithet Vijaya. The tenth, from the founder, was called Śrî-Muṇi-Vijaya-Gaṇi. He had three disciples, Gulâb-Vijaya, Siddhi-Vijaya and Buddhi-Vijaya. The last-named had four disciples, the most prominent of whom is the still living Muni Âtmârâm-jî, called Ânanda-Vijaya-Sûri. He is, therefore, the twelfth in the line of pontiffs of the Vijaya-Śâkhâ. He had fourteen disciples, the oldest of whom was Lakshmî-Vijaya, now deceased, who has left four disciples, the youngest of whom is Haṁsa-Vijaya; and the latter already has two disciples, Hêma-Vijaya and Sampat-Vijaya. With Muni Haṁsa-Vijaya I had the pleasure of making personal acquaintance recently, when he passed through Calcutta on a pastoral visit to the Jain community at 'Âẓimganj (Murshidâbâd) and other places. With the present head of the *śâkhâ*, Muni Âtmârâm-jî, I have been acquainted through a long course of correspondence, during which I have found him a person of great intelligence and kindness, most ready to afford me every information that I could desire.

The lay adherents of the Upakêśa-Gachchha are called **Ôswâls** (*Ôsawâla*). They form one of the leading trading castes of Râjpûtânâ, and are strongly represented in Ajmîr, Jêsalmîr, Mâṛwâr, Bhartpur, Bundî, Daṅgarpur, Bikanîr, &c. They are divided into the following *gôtras* in Bikanîr, — Dada, Kôtârî, Sêṭhiyâ, Sirônô, Sâwan Sûkha, Abanî, Bhantiyâ, Gôlêhâ. The Sêṭhiyâ *gôtra* will be found mentioned in the concluding portion of the *paṭṭâvalî*. The Ôswâl *gôtras* in Mâṛwâr are, — Bhandârî, Môhnôt, Siṅgwî, Muhtâ, Lôdhâ. Members of these *gôtras* have held very high offices in the State of Mâṛwâṛ. Most of the Ôswâls of Mallânî, however, are said to be cultivators. Settlements of Ôswâl traders are found in various other parts of India, *e. g.* in Hôshaṅgâbâd, Poona and Benares. The well-known late Râjâ Śiva Prasâd of Benares belonged to their caste.[1]

The Ôswâls are said to take their name from a place called **Ôsa-nagarî**, near the river Lûnî in Mâṛwâr. I cannot find the place mentioned in any map. Muni Âtmârâm-ji, in his *Âjñâna-timira-bhâskara*, part II., page 16, states that it is situated at the distance of 20 *kôs* to the west of Jôdhpur, and that there is there an ancient Jain temple with a miraculous figure of Mahâvîra.[2] From his manner of speaking of it, it would appear that it is now a deserted and little-known place in the Râjpûtânâ desert. The story of its foundation and of its temple is related in the *paṭṭâvalî*. It was built by a person, Ûhaḍa, on a piece of land given him by the king of Delhî, to which he migrated from a place called Bhînmâl[3] with a large following

[1] See Sherring's *Hindû Tribes and Castes*, Vol. I. p. 289; Vol. II. p. 116, 183; Vol. III. p. 50.

[2] The original Hindî is *mandir mûrti kôdôn rûpaiô kî lâgat kê Yôdhpur sê paśchim diśâ mêṁ Ôsâ-nagarî 20 kôs kê antar mêṁ wahâṁ hai.*

[3] The place was formerly also called Bhîlmâl or Śrîmâl. In the time of Hiuen Tsiang, who calls it *Pi-lo-m-i-lo*, it was the capital of the northern Gurjara kingdom. It was the birth-place of the poet Mâgha (see *Vienna Oriental Journal*, Vol. IV. p. 63), and the residence of the astronomer Brahmagupta. The name Śrîmâl is said to have been changed to Bhîlmâl by king Bhôja, because its people allowed the poet Mâgha to die of starvation (see *ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 122). Possibly there is an allusion to the name Śrîmâl in the name Śrî-Lakshmî-mahâsthâna occurring in the *paṭṭâvalî*.

of Jain relatives and friends. Bhînmâl still exists as a small place about half-way between Mount Abû and the river Lûnî. The temple was built by Ûhaḍa, on the advice of the Jain pontiff Ratnaprabha-Sûri, who consecrated it in the 70th year after Mahâvîra's death. From his time, the Jain community of the place are said to have received the name of Upakêśa, and to be known as the Upakêśa-vaṁśîs. The town similarly became known as **Upakêśa-paṭṭana** or **Upakêśa-nagarî**. In the modern vernacular, the name Upakêśa has become contracted into Ôsa, whence the town is called **Ôsa-nagarî**, and the race of Jains, coming thence, is called **Ôsa-wâla** or **Ôswâl**.[4]

With regard to some terms occurring in the following translation, it may be noted that an *Âchârya* is any *Sâdhu* who has attained the right, not only of reading publicly the Sacred Text (*mûla*), but also of explaining it authoritatively. An *Upâdhyâya*, on the other hand, has only the right of reading, but not of explaining. An *Âchârya* who has risen to the head of his *gachchha* or *śâkhâ*, is called a *Sûri*; others, if they have disciples, are called *Gaṇî*. An *Âchârya* who permits laxity of observances in his own person or that of his disciples, is called a *Sithilâchârya*; on the other hand, he who is strict is called a *Tyâgî-Âchârya*.

The practice of *śithilâchâra* or laxity of observances is said to have established itself in the Tapa-Gachchha from the time of the 63rd *Sûri*, Vijaya-Kshamâ. The separation of the **Vijaya-Śâkhâ**, however, took place at the time of the 61st *Sûri*, Vîjaya Prabha.[5] The cause of the separation appears to have been the following. The predecessor of Vijaya-Prabha was Vijaya-Dêva (the 60th *Sûri*). He appointed as his successor his disciple Vijaya-Siṁha. The latter, however, died in S. 1709, before the death, in 1713, of Vijaya-Dêva, and accordingly never actually occupied the pontifical chair. But, as he had been regularly appointed by the reigning *Sûri* to the prospective *Sûri*-ship, his disciple, Satya-Vijaya-Gaṇî, naturally claimed the right of succession. But the members of the Tapa-Gachchha, disallowing his claims, appointed, in S. 1710, Vijaya-Prabha to the post of *Sûri*. The result was that Satya-Vijaya-Gaṇî, with his following, separated, and established the Vijaya-Śâkhâ.

A *paṭṭa-vṛiksha* or genealogical table of **the pontifical succession in the Tapa-Gachchha**, which is in my possession,[6] gives the succession as follows : —

No. 60 Vijaya Dêva Sûri.	
No. 61 Vijaya Prabha Sûri and	Vijaya Siṁha Sûri.
No. 62 Vijaya Ratna Sûri.	No. 1 Satya Vijaya Gaṇî.
No. 63 Vijaya Kshamâ Sûri.	No. 2 Kapûra Vijaya Gaṇî.
No. 64 Vijaya Dayâ Sûri.	No. 3 Kshamâ Vijaya Gaṇî.
No. 65 Vijaya Dharma Sûri.	No. 4 Jina Vijaya Gaṇî.
No. 66 Vijaya Jinêndra Sûri.	No. 5 Uttama Vijaya Gaṇî.
No. 67 Vijaya Dêvêndra Sûri.	No. 6 Padma Vijaya Gaṇî.
No. 68 Vijaya Dharaṇêndra Sûri.	No. 7 Rûpa Vijaya Gaṇî.
No. 69 Vijaya Râjâ Sûri (still living).	No. 8 Kîrti Vijaya Gaṇî.
	No. 9 Kastûra Vijaya Gaṇî.
	No. 10 Maṇi Vijaya Gaṇî.
	No. 11 Buddhi Vijaya Gaṇî.
	No. 12 Aṇanda Vijaya Sûri. (or Âtmârâm, still living).

I may take this opportunity of noting that Jina-Harsha, the 70th *Sûri* of the Kharatara-Gachchha, with whom closes the *paṭṭâvalî* published by D. J. Klatt (*ante*, Vol. XI. pp. 245-250), died (according to a *paṭṭâvalî* in my possession) in S. 1892. He was succeeded by the 71st *Sûri*,

[4] See *Âjñâna-timira-bhâskara*, Vol. II. pp. 15, 16.

[5] The *paṭṭâvalî* of the Tapa-Gachchha, published by Dr. J. Klatt in this Journal, *ante*, Vol. XI. pp. 251-256, terminates with thie Vijaya-Prabha.

[6] I hope shortly to be able to publish it.

Jina-Mahêndra, who was born in S. 1867, was initiated in S. 1885, became *Sûri* in S. 1892, and died in S. 1914. He was succeeded by the present *Sûri*, the 72nd, Jina-Mukti, who was born in S. 1887, and was initiated in S. 1907. The feast of his installation as *Sûri* took place in S. 1915 in Benares. He is still living.

TRANSLATION.

The successors in the pontifical dignity (*santâniya*[7]) of Pârśvanâtha are the following :—

(1) Pârśvanâtha's first disciple was the *Gaṇadhara* **Subhadatta.**

(2, 3) His successor was **Haridatta.** His successor was **Âryasamudra.**

(4) His successor was the *Gaṇadhara* **Kêśin**, by whom, as related in the *Râjapraśnîya-Upâṅga*, the feudatory king[8] (*pradêśi-nṛipa*) was converted.

(5) His successor was **Svayaṁprabha-Sûri.** Once upon a time when Svayaṁprabha-Sûri was giving instruction, the *Vidyâdhara* Ratnachûḍa, passing over him (*in his aërial chariot*) on his way to Nandêśvara, suddenly felt his chariot to be stopped. Curious as to the cause of this stoppage, he looked down, when he saw below him the *Guru* engaged in giving instruction. He felt that he had been guilty of disrespect in passing over so holy a man (*jaṅgama-tîrtha*). So he came down and worshipped the *Guru*, and having listened to his preaching (*dharma*), he became converted (*pratibudha*). He now informed the *Guru*, that he possessed a favourite image (*priyâgatâ pratimâ*) of the Jina Pârśva, which he regularly worshipped; that this image had been originally in a temple (*chaityâlaya*) of Râvaṇa, the king of Laṅkâ; but that, when Laṅkâ was destroyed by Râma, his elder brother, the prince (*nara-nâtha*) Chandrachûḍa had brought it away to the banks of the river Vînâ;[9] that it was still with him, and that henceforth he wished to devote himself to its service.[10] The *Guru*, perceiving the advantage of the proposal, initiated him into the order (*dîkshâ dattâ*). He now learned, one by one, the twelve *Aṅgas* and the fourteen *Pûrvas*, and was then appointed by the *Guru* to be his successor, in the 52nd year after Mahâvîra's death. Being thus appointed to the dignity of a pontiff (*Âchârya*), he wandered over the earth with 500 monks (*Sâdhu*). Its name[11] was Śrî-Lakshmî-Mahâsthâna. Its original name, in Gujarât (*Gujarâta-madhyê*) during the Kṛita-Yuga, had been Rayaṇa-mâlâ (Prâkṛit for Ratna-mâlâ); and the same during the Trêtâ-Yuga; but in the Dvâpara-Yuga it was called Vîra-nayarî (Prâkṛit for Vîra-nagarî), and in the Kali-Yuga, Bhîna-mâlâ.[12] There Bhîmasêna was king; his son was Śrîpuñja; and his son again was Utpala-Kumara (*sic*; Prâkṛitic for Kumâra). Another name of the latter was Śrî-Kumara. His younger brother (*bandhava*), Surasundara, was the heir-apparent (*Yuvarâjâ*), who administered the kingdom with ability. Their ministers were two brothers of the Châṇḍa family, Ûhaḍa and Ûdharaṇa, who lived there as lay-members of the Jain community (*Śâvaka*).[13] The younger brother was worth 18 *krôṛs* of *suvarṇas*, while the elder brother owned only 99 *lâkhs*. Now, those who owned *krôṛs* were allowed to live within the fort (*durga*), while those who owned only *lâkhs* had to live outside (*bâhya*). Accordingly Ûhaḍa begged of his brother the loan[14] of one *lâkh*; but his

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[7] *Santâna* is a technical term for *paṭṭa-paramparâya* or "pontifical succession."

[8] His name was Paêsî, and he was king of Sêyaviyâ in the Kêkayaddha country. His suzerain king was Jiyasattû of Sâvatthî in the Kunâla country.

[9] I cannot identify this river, unless it should be the Wain Gangâ. There is a river Bîmâ, a tributary of the Bêtwâ near Sâgar.

[10] Original: *tayâ saha ahaṁ châritraṁ grihîshyâmi.* — N.B. Here and elsewhere I quote exactly as spelled in the original MS.

[11] It is not clear to what place this refers. The original has *tasya abhidhânaṁ*, 'its name.' The immediately preceding noun is *dharâ*, 'earth,' to which it cannot refer. Probably it refers to the place, previously called Vînâtaṭa.

[12] Modern Bhînmâl, a small place about 40 miles N.-W. of Mount Abû, on an unnamed small tributary of the Sukrî river. Perhaps this unnamed rivulet is the Vînâ.

[13] The MS. has only *sâ°*, which I take to be an abbreviation of *sâvaka* or *śrâvaka*.

[14] Original, *uchchhêraṇaṁ*, a Śaurasenî-Sanskṛitification of the modern Gujarâtî *uchhînaṁ*, 'a loan'; apparently intended for Skr. *ut-śṛṇa*.

younger brother told him that his coming in would create difficulties in the city.[15] Upon this, Ûhaḍa informed the prince (Surasundara) that he would found a new city, and thus forward his object. (*At that time*) Srîsâdhu was king of Ḍhîlîpur (*i. e.* Dehlî). To him Ûhaḍa made a present of 553 horses, and the king, being pleased therewith, gave him a place for a settlement. Then 18,000 people of his family came away from **Bhînamâla**, and a town, 12 *yôjanas* in extent, arose (*on the new site*).

(6) Near that place **Srî-Ratnaprabha-Sûri**, together with 500 disciples, arrived on the salt-lake hills (*lûṇa-drahî-ḍûṅgarî*). They stayed for a month in the wilderness, and wandered about in the exercise of their calling (*gôchargâ*), but did not obtain any alms, for the people who lived there were unbelievers. So, during their one month's stay they subsisted contentedly by licking their alms-bowls. Then they departed on their peregrinations. Again at another time **Ratnaprabha-Sûri** returned to that place, when he was advised by his tutelary goddess (*sâsaṇadêvî*) to stay four months, after which he would be successful. So the *Guru* stayed there together with 35 other monks (*muni*), fasting for one, two, three and four months. At that point of time the son of the minister Ûhaḍa was bitten by a large snake. Many snake-charmers were called in, but none of them was able (*to cure the patient*). At last they pronounced him dead, and advised to burn him.[16] His wife went to the burning-ground to be burned with him,[17] and the father (*śrêshṭa*) was afflicted with great sorrow. Hearing the sound of musical instruments, a young disciple (*of the Sûri*) came there, and, seeing the bier (*jhampâṇa*),[18] enquired why they were going to burn a living man. They told the *Sêṭh* (*śrêshṭi, lit.* 'banker, or the minister') what the monk (*munîśvara*) was saying. The *Sêṭh* ordered the dead boy to be removed from the bier. Then bringing forward the dead body, he deposited it in front of the *Guru*,[19] who was standing at the back (*of the crowd*), and, placing his head on the *Guru's* feet, he said to him: — "O, merciful one, my *dêva* is angry with me, my house has become desolate, therefore grant me a son again."[20] The *Guru* quickly brought water, and having washed his feet, he sprinkled it over the dead boy, who was suddenly restored to life. Music of joy was now made, and all the people cried that the *Sêṭh's* son had received a new lease of life; while the *Sêṭh* himself placed before the *Guru* a large quantity of gems, pearls, gold, cloths and other things, and asked him to accept them. But the *Guru* said that he had no need of them, and exhorted the *Sêṭh* to adopt the Jain religion, which already numbered one *lâkh* and a quarter (125,000) of adherents. At first the *Sêṭh* began to build a magnificent temple for Nârâyaṇa; but what he built in the day, fell in the night. He questioned all the people who saw it; but none was able to suggest a remedy. Then he asked the *Âchârya* **Ratnaprabha** the reason why his temple fell down every night. The *Guru* enquired, in whose name he was building it. The *Sêṭh* replied, in the name of Nârâyaṇa. The *Guru* said, — "that will not do; make it in the name of Mahâvîra; then you will succeed, and the temple will be erected without hindrance." The *Sêṭh* acted accordingly. Then the tutelary goddess told the *Guru*, that she had begun to make an image of Mahâvîra, worthy of that magnificent building, on the hill called after the salt-lake, towards the north of the temple. Now the *Sêṭh* learned from the talk of the cowherds that at that place there was something that caused the cows (*that grazed there*) to drop their milk. He enquired (*the cause of the phenomenon*) from all who

[15] The original has *nagaraṁ udvasaṁ astî, bhavatâṁ samâgame châsau bhâvishyati*, the exact meaning of which is not intelligible. The *Ajñâna-timira-bhâskara* has *Ûhaḍa mantrî nê tis Bhînnamâla ko kisî nimitta sê ujjâḍ hoṇḍwôlâ jân ke, i. e.* 'the minister Ûhaḍa, knowing that Bhînmâl would become devastated for some reason.' It is clear that the younger brother objected to the admission of the older brother.

[16] Original, *dâgha dîyatâṁ. Dâgha* for *dâha* is noticeable.

[17] Original, *kâshṭha-bhakshaṇê*, lit. 'to be eaten up by the fuel (of the funeral pile).'

[18] A kind of sedan-chair, commonly used in Darjîling and other Hill-stations in the Himâlayas, is called *jhampân*.

[19] The original has *mṛittikâdvâmaṁ* (or °*ddhvâmaṁ*) *pâniyaîya guru agrê muñchati*, which is unintelligible Perhaps it should be *mṛitakadhâmaṁ prâṇîya guru* etc. or *mṛittikâyâṁ ânîya gurû*, etc. The purport, as given in the translation, however, is clear from the context.

[20] The original has *têna kâraṇêna mama putra-bhikshâṁ dêhi* which leaves it open whether the father intended the revivification of the dead son or the birth of a new one.

had seen it; they gave each a different explanation. At last the *Sêṭh* asked the *Âchârya*; and he, according to the information of his tutelary goddess, told the *Sêṭh*, that there was going to be an image at that place, but that he should not attempt to dig it up before six months and seven and a half days. But the *Sêṭh*, being impatient to see it, dug it up a few days earlier, when an image of the size of a lime (*nimbû-phala*) with two nipples on its breast (*hṛidaya-stha-granthi-dvaya-sahitaṁ*) was found. The *Âchârya* said that it was still not quite finished, and advised him to wait; but the *Sêṭh* replied that the touch of the *Guru's* hand would complete it. At that moment messengers arrived from the Faithful (*śrâddha*) in **Kôraṇṭaka**, inviting the *Âchârya* to come and consecrate an image of Mahâvîra (*bhagavat*). The *Guru* replied, that he would come at an auspicious time (*muhûrta vêlâyâṁ*).

Verse 1.

Seventy years after the last Jinapati (Mahâvîra) had attained *mukti*, on the fifth day of the bright half, on Thursday, in the Brahma (or ninth) *muhûrta*, the venerable **Ratnâchârya**, the possessor of every good quality, performed here, with the permission of the whole *saṅgha* (or congregation of Jain monks), the consecration of an image of Mahâvîra.

Verse 2.

Ratnaprabha-Sûri, through his (*miraculous*) power (*śaktyâ*), at the same time performed the consecration of two images of Mahâvîra in **Upakêśa** and in **Kôraṇṭa**.

In his own proper form he performed the consecration in **Upakêśa**, and in a miraculously assumed form[21] (*vaikṛita-rûpêṇa*) he performed it in **Kôraṇṭaka**. The expenses of the ceremony were defrayed by the Faithful. Then the *Sêṭh* was taught by the *Âchârya* **Ratnaprabha** the rules of the whole course of daily worship ((*pûjâ ahô-râtrikâ*) of the image of Mahâvîra which was in **Upakêśapura**; how to bathe it, and adore it, and so forth. Later on, some of the relatives of the *Sêṭh* were converted from their unbelief to the profession of a *Śrâvaka* (Jain layman). Then they were made to adopt the true faith (*samyaktva*) by the *Âchârya*. One day he said to them, — "O ye faithful, ye should not go to the temple of Sachchikâ-dêvî; she is merciless, and incessantly delights in hearing the sound of the breaking of bones and the killing of buffalos, goats,[22] and other animals; the floor of her temple is stained with blood, and it is hung about with festoons of fresh skins; the teachers of her devotion, rites, and service, are cruel men; she is altogether disgusting and horrible." Hearing these words of the *Âchârya*, they replied, — "What you say, O Lord, is quite true; but if we do not go to worship that cruel Dêvî, she will slay us and our families." The *Âchârya*, however, promised to protect them; whereupon they ceased to go any longer to the temple of the Dêvî. Then the Dêvî, appearing before the *Âchârya*, wrathfully exclaimed that she would take means to stop his preventing her servants from coming to her temple. But the *Âchârya* was rich in most effective resources, and had many miracles performed for him by the gods (*sura*); so that the Dêvî for a very long time was not able to prevail over him. At last one day, the Dêvî, observing that the *Âchârya* had been a little remiss in his religious duties (*svâdhyâyâdi*), cunningly produced a pain in the brow of his left eye; and when the *Âchârya* anxiously began to think what the cause of the pain could be, the Dêvî, appearing before him, told him, that she herself had caused it. But the *Âchârya* resolutely replied that he would repay her the injury (*sphêṭayishyâmi*) by his own power. Being now frightened, the goddess humbly said to him, — "It is not seemly, O Lord, for great sages, like yourself, to dispute and quarrel; if you will give me something to crunch and munch,[23] I will remove your pain and be your servant, as long as the

[21] Because he was in two places at the same moment of time, to perform the same ceremony.

[22] Original, *bôtkaḍa*, a Sanskritization of the vernacular *bôkaḍâ* or *bôkaṛâ*. Another vernacular form is *bakaṛâ* or *bakaṛâ*, which is adopted in Skr. dictionaries under the form *varkara*. It may be noted that the vernacular has also a shorter form *bôkâ* or *bôk*, as well as a form *bôtâ* or *bôtû* which means 'an entire goat'; cf. *bût*, *bûtâ*, 'power,' 'strength.'

[23] Original, *kaḍaḍa-maḍaḍa*, an onomatopoetic word; cf. Gujarâtî *kaḍ'kaḍ'vum* 'to crack.'

sun and moon endure." The *Âchârya* replied that he would give her something to crunch and munch; on hearing which, the Dêvî retired. Early in the morning, having caused the *Śrâvakas* to bring two heaps of various kinds of cakes and sweetmeats,[24] together with camphor, saffron, and other nice things, the *Âchârya* Ratnaprabha proceeded with them to the temple of Sachchikâ-dêvî. Then having made worship apart from the *Śrâvakas* (*śrâvakaiḥ pârśvât*), and crushing a quantity of cake (*pakvânna-sunḍaka*) with both his hands, right and left, he said to the Dêvî, — "I have given you something to crunch and munch, henceforth you must be a follower (*upâsakâ*) of me." On his saying this, the Dêvî entered the body of a maiden who was standing near, and thence replied, — "O Lord, I wanted one sort of thing to crunch and munch, but you have given me another sort." The *Âchârya* said that what she wanted was an animal sacrifice, but that it was neither proper for him to give, nor for her to take it. He then gave some further religious instruction (*siddhânta-vâkya*), the result of which was that Sachchikâ-dêvî, who was still in the body of the maiden, was converted, in the presence of all the people who were there, becoming a follower (*bhaktâ*) of Mahâvîra in **the city of Upakêśa**, and a believer in the true faith; so much so that, letting alone flesh, she could not even bear the sight of a red flower.[25] The goddess (*satî*), by the mouth of the maiden in whose body she had entered, now said to her followers, — "Listen; whoever of you shall worship the image of Svayaṁbhû-Mahâvîra[26] which is set up in **the city of Upakêśa**, and shall follow the *Âchârya* **Ratnaprabha**, and shall serve his disciples and the disciples of his disciples, with him I shall be well pleased, his evils (*durita*) I will remove,[27] and his worship I shall heartily accept." In consequence of these words of Sachchikâ-dêvî, spoken by the maiden in whose body she had entered, a large number of people, in the course of time, adopted the profession of *Śrâvakas*. In due time, in the year 84 after Mahâvîra, the *Âchârya* **Ratnaprabha** was translated into heaven.

(7) His successor was the *Âchârya* **Yakshadêva**, who converted the *Yaksha* Mâṇabhadra, and thus relieved the troubles of the congregation (*saṅgha*). (8-13) His successors were (8) **Kakka-Sûri**, (9) **Dêvagupta-Sûri**, (10) **Siddha-Sûri**, (11) **Ratnaprabha-Sûri**, (12) **Yakshadêva-Sûri**, and (13) **Kakka-Sûri**.

Now we will relate the rites connected with the bathing (*snâtra*) of (*the image of*) Svayaṁbhû-Mahâvîra, and when and why they were instituted.

At that very time,[28] a festival which lasted eight days was held by the people in the temple (*of Mahâvîra or of Sachchikâ-dêvî*). Among them there were some young men to whom the evil thought suggested itself, that, as the two knobs on the breast of the blessed Mahâvîra were only an eye-sore to the worshippers, there could be no harm in removing them, just as one would do with pustules of a skin-disease. The old people tried to dissuade them, saying that it was a sacrilege to apply a chisel, especially to a miraculously-created (*svayaṁbhû*) image of Mahâvîra. But they disregarded the old men's advice, and bribed a carpenter secretly to cut away the two knobs.[29] At that very instant the carpenter died, and from the place where the knobs had been cut away, there issued untold streams of blood. Great distress befell the people. Then they called **Kakka-Sûri**, the head (*adhipati*) of **the Upakêśa-Gachchha**, together with the four *saṅghas*, to their assistance, and related to him the whole story. The *Âchârya*, with the four *saṅghas*, now kept a three days' fast. At the end of the third fast-day, the tutelary Dêvî appeared to the *Âchârya* at night, and told him that the young

[24] Original, *pakvânna khajjakâdi-sunḍaka-dvayaṁ*. The word *sunḍaka* is obscure; cf. the Marâthî *sunḍî* or *sûḍî* 'a bundle.' It occurs again below. *Khajjaka*, Hindî *khâjâ*, is a kind of crisp sweetmeat, like pie crust.

[25] Original, *âstâṁ mâṁsaṁ kusumam api raktaṁ n'êchchhati*. Here *âstâṁ* for Prâkrit *achchhaü*, see Hêmachandra, IV. 215 (Pischel's translation), also Beames' *Comparative Grammar*, Vol. III. pp. 182, 183.

[26] It is called *svayaṁbhû*, 'self-made,' because it was not made by men's hands.

[27] Original, *dalayâmi*, used in the Prâkrit fashion, with the meaning of 'to place outside,' 'to remove;' see my edition of the *Uvâsagadasâo*, Vol. II. p. 130, footnote 287. The modern Hindi verb is *ḍâl'nâ*.

[28] *i. e.* apparently in the time of (13) Kakka-Sûri.

[29] This would shew that the image was a wooden one, and apparently had breasts as of a woman.

Śrâvakas had committed an outrage in mutilating the image and depriving it of its round parts (*kalâ*); and that, in consequence, the town of **Upakêśa** would gradually become deserted (*uddha*), a schism would arise in the *gachchha* and quarrels among the *Śrâvakas*, and the guilds (*gôshṭhikâ*) would be dispersed in all directions. The *Âchârya* replied, — "O great goddess, what must be, that must be, but do thou stop the flowing of the blood." The goddess said, — "All the 18 *gôtras, viz.*, the nine right-hand ones, [1, Tâtahaḍa, 2, Vâpaṇâ, 3, Karṇâṭa, 4, Valaharâ, 5, Môraksha, 6, Kulahaṭa, 7, Vîrahaṭa, 8, Śrêśûmâlâ, 9, Śrêshṭî], and the nine left-hand ones [1, Suchantî, 2, Âîchanâ (or Âdrachanâ?), 3, Bhûri (Bhêṭavarâ), 4, Ligâśâkhâ-chhaibhâdra (or Vaibhâdra?), 5, Chîchaṭa, 6, Kumbhaṭa, 7, Ḍiṇḍû, 8, Ranôja, 9, Laghuśrêshṭî] must assemble, and, after having kept a fast for three days, they must bathe (*the image*) with a jar of clarified butter (*ghṛita*), a jar of curds (*dadhi*), a jar of sugarcane-juice, a jar of milk, and a jar of water; in no other way will it be possible to stop (*the flow of blood*)." In the three hundred and third year (303) after the day of the setting up (*of the image*) of Mahâvîra and its original consecration, the loss of the two knobs on the breast of Mahâvîra occurred by the act of fate (*daivya-yôgât*).[30]

(14-16) Kakka-Sûri was succeeded by — (14) **Dêvagupta-Sûri**, (15) **Śrî-Siddha-Sûri**; (16) **Śrî-Ratnaprabha-Sûri.**

(17) After them, in due order, in the 585th year after Mahâvîra, there was (*babhûva*) **Śrî-Yakshadêva-Sûri.** He was a man of great power (*mahâ-prabhâva-kartâ*). During the famine (*durbhiksha*) which lasted for 12 years, the four disciples of Vajrasêna, the disciple of Vajrasvâmin, *viz.* Nâgêndra, Chandra, Nivṛitti and Vidyâdhara, were, after the death of their *Guru* Vajrasêna, initiated by Yakshadêva, and established four *śâkhâs.*

(19-33). He was succeeded by (19) **Kakka-Sûri**, (20) **Śrî-Dêvagupta-Sûri**, (21) **Śrî-Siddha-Sûri**, (22) **Śrî-Ratnaprabha-Sûri**, (23) **Yakshadêva-Sûri**, (24) **Kakka-Sûri**, (25) **Dêvagupta-Sûri**, (26) **Siddha-Sûri**, (27) **Ratnaprabha-Sûri**, (28) **Yakshadêva-Sûri**, (29) **Kakka-Sûri**, (30) **Dêvâgupta-Sûri**, (31) **Siddha-Sûri**, (32) **Ratnaprabha-Sûri**, (33) **Yakshadêva-Sûri.**

(34) He was succeeded by (34) **Kakkudâchârya**, who performed the penance called *shashṭhatapa* with *âchâmla* for twelve years.[31] By means of a hymn in praise of him, the *Sêṭh* Sômaka, in **Marôṭakôṭa**, had his fetters broken. He then resolved to go and worship the feet of him, through the praise of whose name he had got rid of his bonds. So he went to **Bharuvachchha** (Bharôch), where he arrived just when all the *Munis* had gone on their rounds of begging. Only the goddess Sachchikâ (spelt here Sachyakâ) was in attendance on the *Guru*, and the door was closed. On seeing this, he began to form suspicions, whereupon Sachchikâ "gave him a lesson"[32] (*śikshâ dattâ*), and he began to vomit blood from his mouth. When the *Munis* returned, the oldest disciple (*vṛiddha-ganêśa*)[33] informed the *Guru*, that the *Sêṭh* Sômaka was lying at his door. The *Âchârya* at once understood that this was Sachchikâ's doing; so the goddess was called, and Sômaka was asked what he had done. He replied, — "Lord, I have done wrong." (*They reproved him*), — "Thou sinner, how should the *Guru*

[30] Here the MS. adds the following marginal note: — "This occurs as the 172nd ślôka in the *Upakêśa-gachchha-charitra-sûtra.*

[31] The *shashṭha-tapa* is a penance which consists in taking only one meal in every three days, or fasting for two days and a half at a time. The meal is taken on the evening of the third day, before sunset (see my edition of the *Uvâsagadasâo*, Vol. II. p. 51, footnote 141). *Âchâmla* is a Jain technical term meaning 'the eating of dry food simply moistened or boiled in water.' The term is said to be a compound of *âch* and *amla*; the former is said to mean *âśravaṇa*, *i. e.* 'boiling in water;' and the latter is said to mean 'vegetable' (*tar'kârî*). The whole compound is said to mean *rûkhâ bhôjan pânî kê sâth bhijô kê khânâ*, *i. e.* 'to eat dry food moistened with water.' The object, of course, is to intensify the hardship of the fast; only one meal is to be eaten every third day, and that meal is to consist only of dry food moistened in water. Kakkudâchârya kept this fast for twelve years in unbroken continuity.

[32] She must have boxed his ears!

[33] Any disciple, who is put in charge of a few others by his *Âchârya*, is called a *Ganêśa*. If there are several such *Ganêśas*, the oldest among them, *i. e.* he who was first made a *Ganêśa* by his *Âchârya*, is called *Vṛiddha-Ganêśa.*

through the taking of whose name thy fetters have been broken, be capable of indulging in sensual pleasures after the manner of prostitutes; especially as we should be returning immediately." The *Guru* pacified them, and at the intercession of Sachchikâ restored him (*sajjîkṛita*). In the name of both, **Śrî-Ratnaprabha-Sûri and Śrî-Yakshadêva-Sûri,** storehouses were established. They both were very powerful. But this **Kakka-Sûri,** by fixing his stick on the slope of **the Arbudâ mountain,** produced water for the congregation when perishing with thirst, and, out of affection for his co-religionists, brought clarified butter (*ghṛita*) from **Jêsalpur** (now Jêsalmêr) to **Bharuvachcha** (Bharôchh).

(35-40) He was succeeded by (35) **Dêvagupta-Sûri,** (36) **Siddha-Sûri,** (37) **Kakka-Sûri,** (38) **Dêvagupta-Sûri,** (39) **Siddha-Sûri,** (40) **Kakka-Sûri.**

(41) In the year 995 (*of the Vikrama era*),[34] he was succeeded by (41) **Dêvagupta-Sûri,** who was sprung from the Kshatriya caste, and was addicted to playing on the lute (*vîṇâ*). This made him negligent in the performance of his duties; and accordingly the four *saṅghas* placed —

(42) **Śrî-Siddha-Sûri,** the *Viśaviśvôpaka*,[35] in his post.

(43) He was succeeded by (43) Kakka-Sûri, the author of the work called *Pañcha-pramâṇa* ('the five proofs.')[36]

(44) In the year 1072 *A. Vikr.* he was succeeded by (44) **Śrî-Dêvagupta-Suri,** who was the author of the work called *Nava-pada-prakaraṇa*.[37]

(45-49) He was succeeded by (45) **Siddha-Sûri,** (46) **Kakka-Sûri,** (47) **Dêvagupta-Sûri,** (48) **Siddha-Sûri,** (49) **Kakka-Sûri.**

(50) In the year 1108 A. Vikr., he was succeeded by (50) **Dêvagupta-Sûri.** On the occasion of the feast of his installation (*pada-mahôtsava*) in **the town of Bhînamâla,** the Sâh Bhêmsâksha spent seven *lâkhs* of money; and the water with which the *Guru's* feet were washed on that occasion, was found to be a remedy against poison. The same *Sêṭh* Bhêmsâksha who celebrated the feast of the installation of **Śrî-Dêvagupta,** had formerly deposited the **glass bangles**[38] of his wife Bhaîsâ in **Piḍuvâpur.** Being now washed[39] at the advice of the *Guru,* they turned into silver; and from this silver the *gadahîya*-coins were struck[40] (*têna rûpêṇa gadahîya mudrâ pâtita*). That happened in this wise. The mother of Bhaîsâksha[41] once made a pilgrimage to **Śrî-Śatruñjaya.** On the way, in **Pattana,** she ran short of money (*kharch*); so she applied for assistance to the *Sêṭh* Îśvara. He asked her whose mother she was, and on her telling him that she was the mother of Bhaîsâksha, he laughed and said that he thought she was the mother of him who used to carry drinking-water (*pânîya*) to his house. However, she received (*assistance*) from him, and completed her journey; and having paid her devotions to the *saṅgha,* she returned home. Her son then asked her, — "Mother, how far over the country has my fame spread?" She replied — "Your fame reaches as far as the gate of the main street of the town." He was displeased at these words; whereupon she repeated to him the derisive words of the *Sêṭh* Îśvara. He then said, — "I will give the lie (*vâlayishyâmi,* = *vârayishyâmi*) to those words, before I sit down for my evening meal (*dvitîya-vêlâ-bhôjana*)." Having made this promise, he put on a common dress and proceeded

[34] The MS. gives this and the following dates either * * * *varshê* or *saṁvat* * * * *varshê*, which I take to be years of the Vikrama era.

[35] A Jain technical term, meaning 'one in whose body and soul (*śarîr aur âtmâ*) all the marks (*lakshaṇa*) of an *Âchârya* are found.' Muni Âtmârâm-jî could give me no etymology of the word.

[36] A quite unknown work. Muni Âtmârâm-jî says he has never seen it.

[37] On this work see "*Notices of Sanskrit MSS.*," Vol. IX. p. 180, No. 3030.

[38] The MS. has *bagaṇa* which I identify with the Hindî and Gujarâtî *baṁgaḍî*, 'a bangle,' usually made of glass.

[39] Apparently with the water in which the *Guru's* feet had been washed.

[40] This is a very curious story regarding the origin of the well-known "Gadhia kâ paisâ," on which see Prinsep's *Indian Antiquities,* Vol. I. p. 341 (plate xxvii. fig. 13—18). They are generally considered a very crude imitation of Sassanian coins.

[41] The name is spelled varyingly *Bhemsâksha* or *Bhaîsâksha*.

to the market-place at the gate of **Pattana**. There he asked the *Sêṭh* whether he would take silver. The *Sêṭh*, greatly annoyed, replied that he would take all that the other could give. He then took a formal agreement (*sañchakâra*, = *satyaṅkâra*) from the *Sêṭh*. Then having taken one and a quarter *lâkhs* of (*silver*) coins (*mudrikâ*), and loaded it on asses (*gardayá nibhârayitvâ*),[42] he went to **Pattana**, and asked that the silver might be counted. On hearing the amount, the *Sêṭh* was astounded, and he, together with all other *Sêṭhs* of **Pattana**, fell at the feet of Bhaîsâksha. The latter told the *Sêṭh*, that he should bring drinking-water into the **Gurjara country** on a buffalo; after that he would be forgiven. At his direction, the money was spent in the country on a *saptakshêtra*.[43] In this way arose the **Gâdahîya-Sâkhâ**.

(51) He was succeeded by **Srî-Siddha-Sûri**.

(52) In the year 1154 (A. Vikr.) he was succeeded by **Srî-Kakka-Sûri**. On the advice of **Hêma-Sûri**[44] and **Kumârapâla**, he expelled the *Munis* who neglected their religious duties (*kriyâ-hînâ*).

(53) He was succeeded by **Srî-Dêvagupta-Sûri**, who gave away one *lâkh* of money (*dravyaṁ*).

(54) He was succeeded by **Srî-Siddha-Sûri**.

(55) In the year 1252 (A. Vikr.) he was succeeded by **Srî-Kakka-Sûri**, who restored (*pragaṭî-kṛita*) **Marôṭakôṭa**.

(56-65) He was succeeded by (56) **Srî-Dêvagupta-Sûri**, (57) **Siddha-Sûri**, (58) **Kakka-Sûri**, (59) **Dêvagupta-Sûri**, (60) **Srî-Suddha-Sûri**, (61) **Kakka-Sûri**, (62) **Srî-Dêvagupta-Sûri**, (63) **Srî-Siddha-Sûri**, (64) **Kakka-Sûri**, (65) **Dêvagupta-Sûri**.

(66) In the year 1330 (A. Vikr.) he was succeeded by **Srî-Siddha-Sûri**. The feast of his installation was celebrated by the Sâh Dêśala in **Pâlhaṇapura**. Under the patronage of Samara, this **Siddha-Sûri** set up the image of Âdinâtha, of the time of the sixth *Uddhâra*,[45] on **the Satruñjaya mountain**.

(67) He was succeeded by **Srî-Kakka-Sûri**, whose feast of installation was celebrated under the patronage of the Sâh Sahaja in the year 1371 (A. Vikr.). He composed the work called *Machchha-prabandha*, in which the character and conduct (*charitra*) of Samara and Sahaja, the two sons of Dêśala are described.

In this manner there arose many *Sûris* in **the Upakêśa-Gachchha**, who were distinguished through their power, their writings, and their unworldliness. Of these some account shall be given.

(68) The sixty-eighth successor in the pontifical chair was **Srî-Dêvagupta-Sûri**, the world renowned poet, the head-jewel of the whole circle of the learned, the thorough master of the *Siddhânta* (or Jain Canon), the touchstone of all sciences. The feast of his installation was celebrated in **Delhi**, in the year 1409, by Sârandhara, at a cost of five thousand gold *mohurs* (*suvarṇa*).

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[42] I take this to be a clerical error for *gardabhâ nibhârayitvâ*, as there seems to be in it a reference to the name of the coins *gadahiyâ*.

[43] By a *sapta-kshêtra* or 'seven spheres of action' is meant (1) to build a temple (*mandir*), (2) to endow it with an image (*pratimâ*), (3) and sacred books (*jñân kê pustak*), (4 and 5) at the time of doing the above, to bestow food and clothes on the male and female *Sâdhus*, and (6 and 7) to distribute money, according to one's ability, to the male and female *Srâvaks* (or lay adherents).

[44] This is the well known Hêmachandra, the Sanskṛit and Prâkṛit Grammarian and Lexicographer, who is said to have died in 1172 A. D., in his 84th year.

[45] The Jains believe that from the time of Ṛishabhadêva down to the time of Bahâdur Shâh, the son of Aurangzîb, there have been 16 great *Uddhâras* (besides innumerable small ones) on Mount Śatruñjaya. An *Uddhâra* is one who at vast expense rebuilds all the old temples. The figure of Ṛishabha which was set up by the sixth *Uddhâra*, was put away in a hidden cave at the time of the seventh *Uddhâra*. When Samara made the fifteen *Uddhâra*, he got Siddha-Sûri to recover the image of the sixth *Uddhâra* from the hidden cave; and this image was set up again by Samara on the Śatruñjaya mountain.

(69) He was succeeded in the year 1475 A. Vikr. by **Śrî-Siddha-Sûri**, who was full of good qualities. The feast of his installation was celebrated in the town (*pattana*) of **Aṇahallapura** by his patron (*ágraha*, but spelt *ágṛiha*), the Sâh Jhâmbânîmba of the Chôravêḍîyâ *gôtra*.

(70) In the year 1498 A. Vikr. he was succeeded by **Śrî-Kâkka-Sûri**, and the feast of his installation was celebrated in **Chitrakûṭa** (Chitôṛ) by the Sâh Sâraṅga of the Chôravêḍîyâ *gôtra* and the Râjâ of Sônâpur. He it was who in the year 1444 procured the prohibition of all slaughter (*amâri*)[46] in (*the province of*) **Kachha**, who converted to Jainism the Jâm Śrî-Vîrabhadra, from whom came forth ambrosial streams of Sanskṛit and Prâkṛit compositions, in which he deeply dived into all sciences (*śâstra*), who was equal to Vâchaspati in elegance of speech, who was accomplished and fervent in the exercise of all arts, who was very weighty through his knowledge of the Law (*dharma*), and who was foremost in the possession of all good qualities.[47]

(71) In the year 1528 A. Vikr. the installation of his successor **Śrî-Dêvagupta-Sûri** was celebrated with great pomp by his patron the prime-minister Jayanta, the son (*átmaja*) of the prime-minister (*mantríśvara*) Sâhûla of the Śrêshṭi *gôtra*. He built a palatial temple (*prâsâda*) of Pârśvanâtha) and a *pôshadha-śálá* (or a retreat for keeping the *pôshadha* fasts), and made a pilgrimage to **Satruñjaya**. He also appointed five readers (*páṭhaka*), whose names are the following: 1, Śrî-Dhanasâgara-Upâdhyâya;[48] 2, Śrî-Dêvakallôla; 3, Upâdhyâya-Padmatilaka; 4, Upâdhyâya-Haṁsarâja; 5, Upâdhyâya-Matisâgara.

(72) He was succeeded by **Śrî-Siddha-Sûri**, the fill of good qualities. The feast of his installation was celebrated, in the year 1565 A. Vikr., in **Mêdinîpur** (Midnapur), by the prime-minister **Lôlâgara**,[49] the son (*átmaja*) of the prime-minister Daśaratha, of the Śrêshṭi *gôtra*.

(73) He was succeeded by **Śrî-Kakka-Sûri**, who became the head of the *gachchha* (*gachchhâdhipa*) in the year 1595 A. Vikr., in **Yôdhapura** (Jôdhpur). The feast of his installation was celebrated in **Jôdhpur** by the prime-minister Dharma Siṁha, the son of the minister Jaga (*mantrí Jaga*), of the Śrêshṭi *gôtra*.

(74) He was succeeded by **Śrî-Dêvagupta-Sûri**, whose feast of installation was celebrated in the year 1631 A. Vikr., by his patron, the minister Dêda, the son (*putra*) of the minister Sahasa Vîra, of the Śrêshṭi *gôtra*.

(75) He was succeeded by **Śrî-Siddha-Sûri**, on the 13th day of the bright half of the month Chaitra in the year 1655. The feast of his installation was celebrated, with great pomp, in **Vikramapur** (Bikrampur) by the greatest of ministers, the prime-minister (*mantríśvara mantrí-mahámantri*) Vâkûra Siṁha, of the Śrêshṭi *gôtra*, the most competent administrator of the kingdom, known throughout the whole world as the noblest (*lit.* mount Mêru) and most brilliant (*lit.* head-jewel) of ministers.

SANSKRIT AND OLD-KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

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

No. 189. — BHOJ COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF THE RATTA MAHAMANDALESVARA KARTAVIRYA IV. ŚAKA-SAMVAT 1131.

This inscription has been incidentally noticed by me in my *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, page 83; but it is now published for the first time. I edit it from the original plates, which I obtained for examination, in 1879, from Śivagauḍa Bin Satyagauḍa, a member of the Pâṭîls' family of **Bhôj**, which is a village about nine miles north-west of Chikôḍi, the chief town of the Chikôḍi Tâlukâ or Sub-Division of the Belgaum District, Bombay Presidency. The village is entered in the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 40; Lat. 16° 33′, Long. 74° 30′.

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[46] On this, see footnote 324 in my edition of the *Uvásagadasáo*.

[47] In the original these epithets are made to rhyme.

[48] On *upâdhyâya* see the introductory remarks.

[49] Original, *Lôlâgarêṇa*. Perhaps, however, it is a clerical error for *Lôlâgrahêṇa*, 'by his patron Lôla.'

The **plates**, of which the first and last are inscribed on one side only, are three in number, each measuring about 8¼″ by 1′ 2⅜″. The edges of them were raised into rather high rims, and the writing is essentially in a state of perfect preservation throughout. But many of the letters are filled up with so hard an incrustation of rust, which cannot be cleared out, that they hardly show at all in an ink-impression; and this inscription can be properly read only on the original plates. — The **ring** on which the plates are strung, passes through ring-holes in the upper part of each plate. It is about ⅛″ thick, and 4¼″ in diameter. It had not been cut, when the grant came under my notice. The **seal**, in which the ends of the ring are secured, is oval, about 3⅛″ by 2⅞″. It has, in high relief on a deep countersunk surface, the figure of a man kneeling on his right knee and facing full-front, and holding in his left hand what seems to be a sceptre, and in his right hand some small object which is not recognisable. The full details of the figure cannot be made out; but it seems to be a representation of Garuḍa. This, however, is rather peculiar; for, the family, a member of which made the grant recorded in this charter, — the only copper-plate record of the family that has as yet came to my notice, — had the crest of an elephant and the banner of a golden Garuḍa; and, on the analogy of the Chalukya grants, the seal ought to shew the elephant-crest. — The **weight** of the three plates is about 15 lbs., and of the ring and seal, 3 lbs. 3 oz.; total, 18 lbs. 3 oz. — The **characters** are Nâgarî. The *virâma* is represented by a sign which might be mistaken for the subscript long *û*; but that the latter is represented throughout this record by two strokes, each of which might ordinarily suffice for it. The letter *b* is represented throughout by a *v*, with a dot in the centre of the loop. The Drâviḍian *ṟ* is represented by a double *r*, in °*árruva*°, line 103; instances of the same practice, in other inscriptions in the Nâgarî characters, occur in *mârra-kâṁdu*, = *mâṟa-koṇḍu* (*ante*, Vol. IV. p. 276, line 87), and in *kirruvalasigâ*, = *kiṟuvalasigâ* (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. IX. p. 244, line 13); and even in Sanderson's Kanarese Dictionary the practice is the same, in the few instances in which any attempt is made to distinguish the *ṟ* from the ordinary *r*. The average **size of the letters** is about ¼″. The engraving is regular and good. The letters are fairly deep; but, the plates being massive, they do not show through at all on the reverse sides of the first and last plates. Where the letters are not filled up with rust, the interiors of some of them shew, as usual, marks of the working of the engraver's tool; but this is confined chiefly to the curved strokes; and the engraving for the most part is very firm and clean. — The **language** is Sanskṛit. As far as the end of line 85, the record is in verse; except for a short passage of *gadya* or alliterative prose, in lines 61 to 64. The rest is substantially in prose. But one verse is introduced in lines 105 to 108. And, in addition to four of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses quoted in lines 112 to 120, the inscription ends with two verses which give the names of the composer and the writer of it. — In respect of **orthography** we may notice (1) the use of *sh* for the *visarga* before *k* and *p*, in *su-karash=kalit-ôdayah*, line 36, and *yaśash-pûra*, line 42, and in other instances in lines 40, 44, 57, 71, 74, 75, 80, 83, 91, 107, 117, 118; that it is only an affectation, is indicated by such instances as *śêshaḥ kiṁcha*, line 29, and *kalpa-bhûjaḥ parâjitaḥ*, line 31; (2) the doubling of *bh* after *r* by *bh* (instead of by *b*), in *garbhbha*, line 42, and in other words in lines 64, 66, 67, 70; (3) the doubling of *chh* (by *ch*, in the proper manner) after the *anusvâra*, in *láṁchchhana*, line 88, and °*âbhivâṁchchhana*, lines 88-89; and (4) the representation of *rṇṇ* by *rṇn*, *e. g.* in *târṇnaṁ*, line 29; though the double *ṇṇ* is formed correctly in *prakshuṇṇa*, line 27.

The **inscription** is one of **the Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara Kârtavîrya IV., of the family of the Raṭṭas of Saundatti and Belgaum.** It is non-sectarian; the object of it being only to record the grant of a village, to a number of Brâhmaṇs, made by him while, in conjunction with his younger brother, the *Yuvarâja* **Mallikârjuna**, he was ruling at the *skandhâvâra* or camp of **Vêṇugrâma**.

The village granted was the modern **Bhôj** itself, which is mentioned under the older name of **Bhôyija**, and is defined as being **in the Koravalli (i. e. Koravaḷḷi) kampaṇa**, which was a division of **the Kûṇḍi Three-thousand district**. With it there was given its hamlet,

Sonnavâḍa, which, if it is still known by that name, is not entered under it in the map. **Vêṇugrâma**, where Kârtavîrya IV. and Mallikârjuna were ruling, is one of the forms of the ancient name of **Belgaum**. The **Koravaḷḷi kampaṇa** is mentioned also in one of the two Raṭṭa inscriptions which were formerly at Belgaum, but were lost sight of many years ago (see *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 184). The map, Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 40, shews 'Koorolee,' fourteen miles almost due north of Tâsgaum in the Sâtârâ District; 'Kuroolee,' which probably is really Karôḷḷi, seven miles south-east of Tâsgaum; and another 'Kuroolee,' twenty miles north-west of Athṇî in the Belgaum District. Either of these places, with a preference in favour of the last, may be the town from which the Koravaḷḷi *kampaṇa* took its name. The only other place that seems at all possible is 'Koorlee,' or 'Kurali,' about eighteen miles west by north of Chikôḍi in the Belgaum District. The **Kûṇḍi or Kuhuṇḍi Three-thousand** is a territorial division, the boundaries of which were first fixed by the Raṭṭa chieftain Kârtavîrya I. (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 201), about A. D. 1040 to 1070, and which seems to have specially constituted from that time the government of the Raṭṭas. I do not find any place now existing, from which its name can have been taken. But a reminiscence of it seems to have been preserved in the term *Mûru-sâvirad=Ayya*, "the *Ayya* of the Three-thousand," which is the title of an *Ayya* or Liṅgâyat priest at Hubḷî in the Dhârwâḍ District. His predecessors may have been the high-priests of the Kûṇḍi Three-thousand.

The **date** on which the grant was made, was, Śaka-Saṁvat 1131, expressed fully in words, and not distinctly qualified either as current or as expired; the Vibhava *saṁvatsara*; the month Kârttika; the bright fortnight; and the twelfth *tithi*, coupled with Budhavâra or Wednesday.[1] And here we have a clear instance of the use of a **current year of the Śaka era**. For, by the southern luni-solar system, which is the only one applicable in this instance, **the Vibhava saṁvatsara** coincided with Śaka-Saṁvat 1131 current (1130 expired). And in this year the given *tithi*, Kârttika śukla 12, ended on **Wednesday, 22nd October, A. D. 1208**, at about 28 *ghaṭîs*, 2 *palas*, after mean sunrise (for Bombay).

Among the fiscal terms in this grant, mention is made of the **aṣhṭabhôga-têjaḥ-svâmya**, which means literally 'the proprietorship of the glory of the *aṣhṭabhôga*.' The word **aṣhṭabhôga** is given in Sanderson's Kanarese Dictionary as denoting 'eight sources of enjoyment, *viz.* a habitation, a bed, raiment, jewel, women, flowers, perfumes, and areca-nuts and betel-leaves.' But Monier-Williams, in his Sanskṛit Dictionary, s. v. *akshiṇî*, alludes, though without specification, to 'eight conditions or privileges attached to landed property;' and this is more probably the true meaning of the term. In the Bhîmankaṭṭi Maṭh spurious grant (*ante*, Vol. IV. p. 333, line 25 ff.), we have the expression *nidhi-nikshêpa-jala-pâshâṇa-akshiṇî-âgâmi-siddha-sâdhya-têjaḥ-svâmya*; here, *aṣhṭabhôga* plainly has been omitted through carelessness; and, inserting it, we find it preceded by eight specific terms. Again, in a Harihar grant (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc*, Vol. XII. p. 347, line 37 ff.), we have *nidhi-nikshêpa jala pâshâṇa akshiṇi âgâmî siddha sâdhya hechchâṛike* (sc. *hechchugâṛike*) *modal-âda sakala aṣhṭabhôga-têjaḥ-svâmya*; where again, if we now take *nidhi-nikshêpa* as one term, we find the word preceded by eight specific terms. And this second passage seems to give still more clearly the meaning of *aṣhṭabhôga*; the translation being "the proprietorship of all the glory of the *aṣhṭabhôga*, which commences with (or rather, which consists of) deposits of buried treasure, water, stones, the *akshiṇî*, that which may accrue (?), that which has been made property (?), that which may be made property (?), and augmentation." Such passages as the present one, in which the term *aṣhṭabhôga-têjaḥ-svâmya* is distinctly separated from *nidhi-nikshêpa* &c., may tend against the acceptance of such an explanation of its meaning as I propose. But, on the whole, the passages in the Bhîmankaṭṭi Maṭh and Harihar grants, seem to define exactly the *aṣhṭabhôga*; with a slight variation in different parts of the country.

[1] *budhavâra-samanvitâyâm*. The analysis of this compound is *budhavareṇa samanvitâyâm*. And this instance may serve to explain the occasional use of the instrumental case (without any such word as *samanvita*) instead of the more customary locative, to denote the week-day.

TEXT.[2]

First Plate.

Ôm Ôṁ[3] Namaḥ Śivâya || Mahîyasyâ[4] mahî yasya daṁshṭrayâ prôddhat=ô-
dadhêḥ | śriyê(yai) bhûyâd=varâhô=sau jagatâṁ jagatâṁ nidhiḥ ||
Yasy[5]=âliṁgana-ramya-rûpa-Girijâ-saṁbhôga-saṁbhâvita-své-
d-âṁbhaḥ-kaṇa-chumbit-ôbhaya-taṭa-prôdbhâsi bhâl-âṁbakaṁ | prâṁta-prô-
ta-viśuddha-mauktika-lasan-mâṇikya-madhya-srajaḥ śôbhâm=âta-
nutê tanôtu sa Śivaḥ śrêyâṁsi bhûyâṁsi vaḥ || Asti[6] **Raṭṭ**-âhvayô
vaṁśaḥ · **Kṛishṇa-râja**-kṛit-ônnatiḥ | krama-vikrama-saṁpaṁna-saṁpat-saṁpôshi-
ta-prajaḥ || Asmin=samasta-bhûpâla-mauli-lâlita-śâsanaḥ | saṁjâ-
tas=saphal-ârambhas=**Sêna**-râjas=satâṁ mataḥ || Maryyâdâsu sthitâbhyô
yaḥ prajâbhyaḥ prajñay=ânvitaḥ | pramôdaṁ pradadau nityaṁ niyaṁtâ
nîtivittaraḥ || Yat-khaḍga-khaṁḍitâs=saṁkhyê bhûbhujaḥ prathit-auja-
saḥ | pâṇiṁdhamaṁ divaś=chakruḥ panthânaṁ paripaṁthinaḥ || Vâṇî[7]
Śrîr=vvasudhâ tav=âsti vaśagâ kiṁ kânta kâryyaṁ mayâ rushṭ=êv=aiva-
m=ih=âśrit=ônnatimatî yat-kîrttir=âśâ-patîn | sô=bhûn=naṁra-
narêṁdra-mauli-vilasan-mâṇikya-bâlâtapa-vyâkôś-ôj[j*]vala-
pâdapadma-yugalaḥ **śrî-Kârttavîryyas**=tataḥ || Dadhau[8] nija-bhuja-staṁ-
bhê śâlabhaṁjîm=iva sthirâṁ | vijaya-śriyaṁ=âtmîya-guṇa-śrêṇi-va-
śîkṛitâṁ || Yasy[9]=âri-nârî-nayan-âṁbu-dhârâ pîna-stan-âliṁgana-ra-
mya-rûpâ | kânti-chchhaṭâṁ dikshu samudgiraṁtî muktâvalî-vibhra-
mam=âbabhâra || Udayam[10]=upagatô=smâl=**Lakshmidêva**-kshitîśas=sa ki-
la sakala-bhûbhṛin-mastaka-nyasta-pâdaḥ | dalita-dṛidha-tamaskô gô-sa-
hásr-âbhiramyô ravir=iva bhṛita-padmas=tyakta-dôsh-ânushaṁgaḥ ||
Śâkaṁ[11] **Śakaṁbhar-îśô** bhajati na bhajatê **Mâlavô** **Mâlav-â-**
śâṁ **Chôlô** vêlâ-vanâya spṛihayati bibhṛitê **Gû(gu)rjjarô** nirjjan-â-
śâṁ | jêtuṁ jâta-prayâṇê ripu-nṛipa-jagatîṁ **Lakshmidêvê** nṛi-dêvê ya-
sminn=asmin=dravanti drutataraṁ=aparê=py=asta-taṁdrâḥ kshitîṁdrâḥ || Yad[12]-yâ-
trâsu turaṁga-puṁgava-khura-prakshuṇṇa-pṛithvîtala-prôddhût-ôddhura-dhû-
li-dhûsaraṁ=adhas=saṁbhâvya bhû-maṇḍalaṁ | vyôm=ôḍḍîya bhajaṁti bhâ-
nu-turagâs=tûrṇṇa(rṇṇa)ṁ kham=ûrddhvaṁ svataś=Śêshaḥ kiṁcha dadhâti ch=âvani-
talaṁ na-
mrîbhavat-kandharaḥ || Artthinô[13]=nartthitên=âpi prâpt-ârtthân=yêna ku-
rvvatâ | dadad=artthita êv=ârtthaṁ kalpa-bhûjaḥ parâjitaḥ || Vaktrâ-

Second Plate; First Side.

ṇi[14] vairi-pramadâjanânâṁ śaṁsanti yasya prabalaṁ pratâpaṁ | laṁb-âlak-ônmṛishta-
vichitra-patra-vyâpâṇḍu-gaṇḍasthalavanti santaṁ || Jananam[15]=abhavad=asmât=**Kârtta-**
vîryyasya yasya prakṛiti-lalita-mûrttês=sarvva-dig-vyâpi-kîrttêḥ | praṇata-
nṛipati-chûḍâratna-râji-prabhâbhir=dviguṇita-nija-kântiś=Śrî-pad-âṁbhôja-
bhâjaḥ || Yaś=cha || Saṁtupta(shṭa)[16]-vibudhaś=śrîmân=su-karash=**kalit**-ôdayaḥ |
rājatê **Kâ-**
rttavîryyô=yaṁ râjâ kuvalaya-priyaḥ || Yasy[17]=âtapatrê vilasaty=udagrê prachchhâya-
saṁśânta-para-pratâpê | chitraṁ ripu-strîjana-mânasêshu prâbalyam=atyantam=a-
vâpa tâpaḥ || Saṁgrâmê[18] karavâla-kêli-dalita-pratyartthi-bhûbhṛich-chayân=nishkrâ-

[2] From the original plates.
[3] The first *ôm* is represented by a decorative symbol; and the second in writing, — *ôṁ*.
[4] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh). [5] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[6] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh); and in the next three verses. [7] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[8] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh). [9] Metre, Indravajrâ. [10] Metre, Mâlinî. [11] Metre, Sragdharâ.
[12] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita. [13] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh). [14] Metre, Indravajrâ. [15] Metre, Mâlinî.
[16] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh). [17] Metre, Indravajrâ. [18] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

40 madbhir=ajasram=asra-salilais=sampûdya nân-âpagâḥ | svash-kântâ-nikarân=apûm=a-
41 pi nidhîn=kurvvann=ananta-priyân=êka-chchhatram=imâṁ kshamâm=avati yaś=śrî-
Kârttavî-
42 **ryyô** nṛipaḥ || Yad[19]-viśâla-yaśash-pûra-pûritê vyômni saṁcharan | kshîrâbdhi-
garbhbha(rbbha)-
43 vâsasya smarat=îva kalânidhiḥ || Vîra[20]-śrî-ramaṇasya yasya vijaya-prasthâ-
44 na-bhêrîravaṁ śrâvaṁ-śrâvam=arâtayap(sh)=pṛithu-javaṁ pṛithvîdharâṇâṁ guhâḥ |
gatvâ
45 tatra bhayaṁkaraṁ pratiravaṁ śṛi(śru)tv=âtha saṁśêratê kiṁ kurmmaś=śaraṇaṁ
bhajêmahi
46 vayaṁ kiṁ kva pratishṭhâmahê || Kêyûra[21]-sth-êmdranîlasya chchhalên=êyaṁ sthiraṁ
sthirâ |
47 yasya śrî-**Kârttavîryyasya** bhâsatê bhujam=âśritâ || Vîra[22]-śrî-pariraṁbha-saṁ-
48 bhrama-bhṛita-pratyartthi-pṛithvîpati-krôdh-ândhîkṛita-gandha-sindhura-ghaṭâ-kaṇṭh-â-
49 sthi-kuṇṭhîkṛitaḥ | yat-khaḍgô=yam=arâti-mauli-vilasan-mâṇikya-śâ(śô)-
50 ṇôpala-śrêṇi-śrî-parichuṁbana-krama-bhuvâ kântyâ punas=sêvyatê ||
51 Yasya[23] mâtaram=ânamra-jana-paksh-âvichakshaṇâṁ | iti śrî-**Chaṁdrikâdêvîṁ** katha-
52 yantaś=chakâsati || Dôsh-ânushaṁgam=aprâptâ padm-ônmêsha-vidhâyinî | kautu-
53 kaṁ **Chaṁdrikâdêvî** sa-mitrâ nityam=unnatâ || Bhâti[24] ślâghya-guṇâ pativratata-
54 yâ dêvî chiraṁ **Chaṁdrikâ** saṁprâptâ ghaṭa-sarppa-jâta-vijayaṁ **Lakshmîdhara-**
prêyasî |
55 vîra-śrî-vara-**Mallikârjjuna**-yuta-śrî-**Kârttavîryy**-âṁbikâ nânâ-dâna-vinô-
56 da-châru-charitâ châturyya-varyya-sthitiḥ || **Êchaladêvîṁ**[25] kântâṁ kamanîya-ka-
57 lâ-vilâsa-saṁpannâṁ | dhanyas=samajani lôkash=kathayann=iti bhûbhujô yasya ||
58 Yasya râjñî || **Êchaladêvî** Saṁbhôś=chuṁbita-charaṇêna puṇya-bharaṇêna | kumud-êṁ-
59 dîvara-mâlâṁ śṛijyata iva dṛishṭi-mâtrêṇa || Yasya || Mauktika-gôlaka-la-
60 kshmîṁ vidadhânaṁ gagana-rûpiṇaś=Saṁbhôḥ | **Êchaladêvî** râjñî sakalaṁ vimalaṁ
yaśa-
61 s=tanutê || Yasy[26]=ânujaṁ nija-bhuja-bala-vijit-âri-chakraṁ Chakradhara-vikramaṁ
krama-
62 śaraṇaṁ raṇa-raṁga-chaturaṁ turaṁgama-kêli-nilayaṁ laya-rahitaṁ hita-mahita-

Second Plate; Second Side.

63 vâchaṁ Vâchaspati-mahimânaṁ mân-ônnataṁ **Mallikârjjunadêvam=êvam=â-**
64 śîrvvachana-nichayair=abhinaṁdayanti || Dîrggh-âyur[27]=bhbha(bbha)va bhâgyavân=
bhava bha-
65 va Śrî-pâda-bhaktô bhava nyây-âlaṁkaraṇô bhava pratidiśaṁ prakhyâ-
66 ta-kîrttir=bhbha(bbha)va | Śrî-kântô bhava dhârmmikô bhava jan-ânaṁd-âbdhi-
chaṁdrô bha-
67 va tvaṁ jishṇur=bhbha(bbha)va **Mallikârjjuna** chiraṁ lôkêna sêvyô bhava ||
Yô=yaṁ ||
68 Âruhy[28]=âvaśyam=aśvaṁ jita-pavana-javaṁ sarvva-sal-lakshma-bhâjaṁ vaktrê siddhaṁ
vidhâtuṁ
69 nava-patha-chaturaṁ paṁcha-dhârâ-pravîṇaṁ | vâdy-âlî-kêli-saṁpad-bhava-sama-samayai-
70 r=bhbhî(bbhî)ma-bhêrî-ninâdair=nnyakkurvvan=vairi-varggaṁ prachalita-manasaṁ râjatê
Kâ-
71 **rttavîryyaḥ** || Kara[29]-kalita-khaḍga-lêkhâ dharaṇipatêsh=**Kârttavîryyadêvasya**

[19] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh). [20] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita. [21] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh).
[22] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita. [23] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh); and in the next verse.
[24] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita. [25] Metre, Âryâ; and in the next two verses.
[26] This passage is an instance of *gadya*, or alliterative prose.
[27] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita. [28] Metre, Sragdharâ. [29] Metre, Âryâ.

72 yasya ripu-vraja-lakshmî-lipi-karaṇa-samâpti-lêkh=êva ॥ Dadad[30]=â
73 naṁdam=âbhâti pratâpa-tapanas=sadâ । chitraṁ kuvalayây=âsmai ya-
74 sya lakshmî-nidhês=sataḷ ॥ Yaś=cha ॥ Lâvaṇyaṁ[31] vijaya-śriyash=kula-
75 gṛihaṁ satyasya sîm'ônnatêr=unmâdash=pramadâ-vilôchana-tatê-
76 r=utpâda-bhûs=saṁpadâṁ । unmêshas=sukṛitasya maṁḍana-vidhis=tyâga-
77 sya lîlâ dhiyâṁ kshêtraṁ kshatriya-têjasâṁ vijayatê śrî-**Kârtta-**
78 **vîryyô** nṛipaḥ ॥ Vyâptê=smin=bhuvana-trayê narapatêr=yyasy=êṇidu-saṁspa-
79 rddhinâ Kailâsâyitam=Anja(ñja)na-kshitibhṛitâ haṁsâyitaṁ kôki-
80 laiḥ । nîl-âbjaish=kumudâyitaṁ Yamunayâ Gaṁgâyitaṁ sûga-
81 raiḥ kshîrôdâyitam=unnatêna yaśasâ Sarvvâyitaṁ Vishṇunâ ॥
82 Vîra[32]-śrî-bhrâji yasya sthiram=avanim=imâṁ vi(bi)bhratô dôshṇi jishṇô-
83 s=saṁrâjash=prâjya-râjya-prakaṭita-g a r i m a - t t ô (s t ô) m a - d h â m - a i k a - m û r t t ê ḥ ।
84 kîrttiṁ dṛishṭvâ kim=êshâ rajatagiri-taṭî kaumudî kiṁ sudhâ kiṁ
85 Gaṁgâ kiṁ kin=nu châṁdrî tanur=iti kavayas=sâṁprataṁ saṁgirantê ॥
86 *Sô=yaṁ samadhigatapaṁchamahâśabda-mahâmaṁḍalêśvarô*[33] **Lâtta-**
87 **nûr-***ppuravar-âdhîśvaraḥ trivalî-tûryya-nirgghôshaṇô* **Raṭṭa-ku-**
88 *la-bhûshaṇaḥ siṁhâsana-lâṁchchhanas=saphalîkṛita-vidvaj-jan-âbhivâṁ-*
89 *chchhanaḷ vîra-kath-âkarṇṇa(rṇṇa)na-jâta-rômâṁchas=sâhitya-vidyâ-Vi-*
90 riṁchaḥ suvarṇṇa(rṇṇa)-Garuḍadhvajas=sahaja-makaradhvajaḥ saṁgrâma-kau-
91 tûhalîkṛita-nija-gadâ-daṁḍash=kadaṇa-prachaṁḍaḥ siṁdhur-ârâti-baṁ-
92 dhura-kabaṁdha-narttana-sûtradhârô vairi-maṁḍalika-gaṁḍa-tala-prahâ-
93 raḥ para-vadhû-naṁdanô vibhava-saṁkraṁdanaḥ sâhas-ôttuṁgas=samârâ-

Third Plate.

94 dhita-Mahâliṁgaḥ ôvaṁ-âdi-nâmâvalî-virâjamânaś=śrîmân=**Kâ-**
95 **rttavîryyadêvô** râjâ nij-ânujêna yuvarâja-**Mallikârjju-**
96 **nadêvêna** samanvitaś=śrî-**Vêṇugrâma-**skaṁdhâvarê sukhê-
97 na sâmrâjya-lakshmîm=anubhavan ॥ **Śaka-**nṛipa-kâlasy=aika-tri(tri)ṁśad-u-
98 **ttara-śat-âdhika-sahasratamasya Vibhava-**saṁvatsarasya **Kâ-**
99 **rttika-**mâsasya **śukla-**dvâdaśyâṁ **Budhavâra-**samanvitâyâṁ **Kûṁ-**
100 **ḍi-**trisahasra-madhyavartti-**Koravalli-**kaṁpaṇ-âṁtarggataṁ nidhi-
101 n i k s h ê p a - j a l a - p â s h â ṇ - â r â m - â d i - c h a t u s h p r a k â r a - b î r a v a ṇa -
102 pârikhâya-sahitam=ashṭabhôga-têjas-svâmya-daṁḍa-śulka-yuktaṁ mâ-
103 nyêshu dêśa-maryyâd-ârruvaṇ[34]-ânvitaṁ sarvv-âya-sahitaṁ râjñâ râjakîyai-
104 r=apy=an-aṁguli-prêkshaṇîyaṁ pravipṭa(shṭa)-**Somnavâḍaṁ** prasiddha-sîmâ-samanvi-
105 taṁ **Bhôyija-**nâmânaṁ grâmaṁ ॥ Vidhurita[35]-duritêbhyaś=śântiman-mâna-
106 sêbhyas=samadhika-mahimabhyas=sarvva-vidyâ-nidhibhyaḥ । kṛita-nikhila-ma-
107 khêbhyas=satyavadbhyash=kṛiti b h y a s = s i t a k a r a - s a m a - k î r t t i - v y â p t a - l ô k a t r a -
108 yêbhyaḥ ॥ Viṁśaty-adhika-śata-saṁkhyâkêbhyô nânâ-gôtrê-
109 bhyô brâhmaṇêbhyas=samasta-râja-chihn-ôpalakshitaṁ sarvva-
110 namasyaṁ kṛitvâ dhârâ-pûrvvakaṁ bhakti-yuktaṁ dattavân ॥ Ôm[36] ॥
111 Asya dharmmasya pâlanê phalam=iti ha sm=âhur=Mmanv-âdayô maha-
112 rshayaḥ ॥ Dâna[37]-pâlanayôr=mmadhyê dânâch=chhrêyô=nupâlanaṁ
113 dânât=svarggam=avâpnôti pâlanâd=achyutaṁ padaṁ ॥ **Gaṇyantê**
114 pâṁsavô bhûmêr=**gg**aṇyantê vṛishṭi-biṁdavaḥ । na gaṇyatê Vidhâtr=â-
115 pi dharmma-saṁrakshaṇê phalaṁ ॥ Ata êv=âha Râmachaṁdraḥ ॥ Sâmâ-
116 nyô[38]=yaṁ dharmma-sêtur=nnṛipâṇâṁ kâlê-kâlê pâlanîyô bhava-

[30] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh).
[31] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita; and in the next verse.
[32] Metre, Sragdharâ.
[33] It should be noted how the terminations of these epithets rhyme.
[34] i. e. °âgaṇa°.
[35] Metre, Mâlini.
[36] Represented by a decorative symbol, closely resembling that which stands at the beginning of the record.
[37] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh); and in the next verse.
[38] Metre, Śâlini.

117 dbhiḥ | sarvvân=êtân=bhâvinash=pârtthivêndrân=bhûyô-bhûyô yâchatê
118 Râmachaṁdraḥ || Mad[39]-vaṁśa-jâsh=para-mahîpati-vaṁśa-jâ vâ pâpâd=a-
119 pêta-manasô bhuvi bhûmipâlâḥ | yê pâlayanti mama dharmmam=i-
120 maṁ samagraṁ têbhyô mayâ virachitô=ṁjalir=êsha mûrdhni || Iyaṁ[40]
121 vâṇî-var-ônnidra-śakti-vyutpatti-saṁpadaḥ | jayaty=Âdityadêva-
122 sya kṛitir=audûryya-śâlinî || Sâsanaṁ vairi-śilpaka-gaṁdha-siṁ-
123 dhura-kêsarî | Balavarmm=âlikhach=chitraṁ sûtradhâra-Pitâmahaḥ [||*] Om[41] [||*]

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

After a verse in praise of Vishṇu as the Boar, and another in praise of Śiva, the inscription proceeds:—There is **the Raṭṭa lineage** (line 6), the elevation of which was effected by **king Kṛishṇa**.[42] In it there was born **Sêna (II.)** (l. 9). His son was **Kârtavîrya (III.)** (l. 16). His son was **Lakshmidêva (I.)** (ll. 20, 25), **or Lakshmidhara** (l. 54), at whose marching forth **the lord of Śâkaṁbharî** ate only herbs (l. 23); **the king of Mâlava** could not enjoy **the country of Mâlava; the Chôla** longed for a safe refuge in the forests on the sea-shore (l. 24); and **the Gurjara** found his territory deprived of its inhabitants. From him there was born **Kârtavîrya (IV.)** (ll. 33-34, 36-37, 41-42, 47, 55, 70-71, 78), **or Kârtavîryadêva** (l. 71). His mother was **Chandrikâdêvî** (ll. 51, 53), **or Chandrikâ** (l. 54), who was the wife of **Lakshmidhara (i. e. Lakshmidêva I.);** who attained victory over a number of serpents in an earthen water-jar;[43] and who was the mother both of **Kârtavîrya (IV.)** and of **Mallikârjuna** (l. 55). The wife of Kârtavîrya IV. is **Êchaladêvî** (ll. 56, 59, 60), who acquired much religious merit by her worship of Śaṁbhu (Śiva); and his younger brother is **Mallikârjunadêva** (l. 63), **or Mallikârjuna** (l. 67).

While, in conjunction with his younger brother, the *Yuvarâja* **Mallikârjunadêva**, he is enjoying the good fortune of universal sovereignty (!) at the famous **camp of Vêṇugrâma** (l. 96), he, the illustrious **Kârtavîryadêva (IV.),** (ll. 94-95), — a *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* who has attained the *pañchamahâśabda* (l. 86); who is the supreme lord of **Lattanûr,**[44] the best of towns; who is heralded by the sounds of the musical instrument called *trivalî*; who is the ornament of **the Raṭṭa family** (ll. 87-88); who has **the crest of an elephant;**[45] who has **the banner of a golden Garuḍa** (l. 90); who strikes the cheeks of hostile *Maṇḍalikas* (l. 92); and who has appeased the god Mahâliṅga (Śiva) (ll. 93-94), — **on the twelfth tithi, coupled with Wednesday, in the bright fortnight of the month Kârttika of the Vibhava saṁvatsara, which is the one thousand one hundred and thirty-first year of the era of the Śaka king (or kings)** (l. 97), with libations of water has given (l. 110) to one hundred and twenty Brâhmaṇs of various *gôtras* (l. 108), as a *sarvanamasya*-grant characterised by all the signs of royalty, **the village of Bhôyija,** according to its established boundaries (ll. 104-105), — together with

[39] Metre, Vasantatilaka. [40] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh); and in the next verse.

[41] Represented by a symbol, somewhat plainer than those used in lines 1, 110.

[42] *I. e.* the Râshṭrakûta, king Kṛishṇa II.; about Śaka-Saṁvat 797 to 833. — For the full genealogy of the Raṭṭas of Saundatti and Belgaum, see my *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, page 80.

[43] *saṁpriptâ ghaṭa-sarppa-jâta-vijayaṁ*; line 54. Exactly the same expression occurs in the Raṭṭa inscription at Râybâg (*Elliot MS. Collection*, Vol. II. p. 567, line 3); and the same expression, or very similar ones, in the two Raṭṭa inscriptions that used to be at Belgaum. And in a translation of the Râybâg inscription (*Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government*, No. VIII., pp. 415-417) it is interpreted as meaning that "Chandrikâdêvî died of the disease called Ghaṭasarpa (*Cynanche maligna*)"! In the Kalholi inscription (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 223, line 27), in a prose passage, the present words are represented by the epithet *ghaṭ-ôdara-sthita-sarpa-darpa-bhañjane*. When editing that inscription, I thought that the epithet meant that she overcame pride or vanity, which, in its evil effects, is like a venomous serpent safely ensconced in the interior of an earthen vessel. But the words in the present inscription are hardly capable of that interpretation. And the allusion seems to be really to her having killed some snakes which had hidden in a jar.

[44] The Lattalûr of some of the other inscriptions of this family.

[45] *sindûra*; see page 165 above, note 25. The word *sindhura* itself occurs in lines 91 and 122 f. of this record: but not at either place in a technical expression, as the present one may be taken to be.

the contiguous (hamlet of)[46] Sonnavâḍa, — which is in the Koravalli kampaṇa, which is in the Kûṇḍi Three-thousand (ll. 99-100). The grant carried with it the *bîravaṇa-pârikhâya*[47] of four kinds, on deposits of hidden treasure, water, stones, and pleasure-gardens, &c. (ll. 101-102); the fines and duties of the *ashṭabhôga-têjaḥ-svâmya* (l. 102); the *arruvaṇa* (i. e. *aṛuvaṇa*) on *mânya*-lands, as was customary in the country[48] (ll. 102-103); all the *âyas*;[49] and the privilege that it was not to be pointed at with the finger (*of confiscation*) by the king or by any of the king's people (ll. 103-104).

Lines 111 to 120 contain four of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses. And the record ends with two verses, which state that the inscription was composed by Âdityadêva (l. 121); and that the charter was written by Balavarman (l. 123), who was a very Pitâmaha (Brahman) among *Sûtradhâras*.

A NEW COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF GOVINDACHANDRADEVA OF KANAUJ, DATED SAMVAT 1188.

BY PROF. A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE, PH.D.

The original plate was received by me, in October 1888, from Mr. W. Grierson Jackson, the Collector of Fatḥpur-Haswa, in the N.-W. Provinces. In a letter referring to it, dated the 2nd October 1888, he stated that "it had been found a few days previously in the debris of a fallen high bank of the Jamnâ river, close to the inhabited site of the village Rên, not far from the village and police-station of Lalauli." The village Rên lies just within the northern boundary line of the Mutaur Pargaṇâ of the Ghâzîpur Taḥsîl of the Fatḥpur District. The grant is now deposited in the Lucknow Museum.

The plate which is inscribed on one side only, measures 1′ 3″ by 11½″; the edges being slightly raised into rims. It is furnished with a massive, bell-shaped, circular-faced seal, which slides on a thick plain ring that passes through a hole in the top of the plate. The weight of the plate (including the seal) is 6¾ lbs.

The face of the seal is well preserved and shews in high relief, across the centre, the legend *Śrîmad-Gôvindachaṁdra-dêva*. The *anusvâra* of *chaṁdra* is doubtful. *Dêva* is spelt without a final *visarga*, and the vowel *ê* is side-marked; this being the only instance, throughout the plate, of the use of the older fashion of writing that vowel. Above the legend, filling the upper half circle, there is the usual kneeling or crouching figure of Garuḍa, composed of a human body facing to the front and the face of a bird facing to its proper right. The hands are joined, palm to palm, in adoration, across the breast. In the lower semicircle, below the legend, there is the figure of a *śaṅkha* or sacred shell. The margin of the face of the seal is beaded or rather serrated.

Unfortunately the plate was subjected, apparently by the finders, to a barbarous process of cleaning, before it was made over to Mr. Jackson. It has been cleaned and polished with such right good will, that here and there whole letters, and in many other places portions of letters, have been polished away. In fact, in its present state, it would be very difficult, if not

[46] This seems to be the force of *praviśhṭa*, line 104. Compare *praviśhṭa-grâma-dvaya-sahitam* (*ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 317, line 61, with which we have also to take the fuller expression in lines 59-60).

[47] This fiscal term remains to be explained. In *bîravaṇa*, we seem to have the Kanarese *paṇa*, a particular weight or coin, which is also a component of *aṛuvaṇa*, 'six *paṇas*,' a little further on. *Bîra* may be the Sanskrit *vîra*, 'a brave man, a hero.' *Pârikha* or *pârikhâ* may be a Prâkṛit form of *parîkshâ*, 'an investigation, examination.' *Âya* is the word that occurs in *sarv-âya-sahitam*, line 108; it is used both in Kanarese and Marâṭhî to denote the dues or perquisites of hereditary village servants. — In line 35 f. of an inscription at Miraj (*P. S. and O.-K. Inscrs.* No. 96), mention is made of the *haṇavina-pârikhâya*.

[48] *dêśa-maryâdâ-âṛuvaṇa*; or the meaning may be "(in coins or weights) current in the country;" compare *dêśa-parivartana-yôgyaiś chatuḥ-śata-saṁkhyâ-parimita-nishkaiḥ* (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XII. p. 44, line 56 f.)

[49] See note 47 above.

impossible, to decipher the whole of the contents of the grant, if we were not already in possession of several other nearly identical versions.[1] By rare good luck, however, the only really important parts of it, — all names and dates with the only exception of one, — have remained sufficiently uninjured to be fairly distinguishable.

The date is given both in words and figures, and states that the grant was made on Friday (*śukra-dinê*), the fifteenth or full-moon day of the month Kârttika, in the year 1131 of the Vikrama era. This, as calculated for me by Prof. Kielhorn, corresponds to Friday, the 6th November 1131 A. D.; and the year of the date, 1188, is, as usual, an *expired* Vikrama year. It is of importance, as proving that Gôvindachandra was still reigning in the year 1131 A. D.; his latest date, hitherto known, was 1128 A. D. (S. 1185), and his earliest date is 1104 A. D. (S. 1161).

The grant was made at Benares; for, though the city is not mentioned, one of its *ghâṭs*, Âdikêśava, is named as the spot where it was made. The donee was the Brâhmaṇ Lâhaḍa-śarman, a son of Dâhaḍa, grandson of Chalahaṇa and great-grandson of Svâmin. He belonged to the *gôtra* of Garga, and had the five *pravaras* of Garga, Aṅgiras, Viśvâmitra, Jamadagni and Vṛihaspati.

The grant consisted in a certain portion of land, belonging to the village of **Dosahalî**. This name, fortunately, is perfectly distinct; but the name of the district (*pattalâ*) in which it was situated is probably hopelessly injured. The only point certain about it is that it consisted of five *aksharas*. The village Dosahalî has been identified for me by Mr. Jackson as the modern **Dasaulî**, which lies about two miles south of Lalaulî, and six miles south of Rên, close to the river Jamnâ. It is described, in the grant, by the term *haladagâṅgê* (see below). The meaning of this term puzzles me; and very possibly it is not correctly read, though the letters seem fairly enough to be what I read them. As read, however, I take the word to mean — "in that portion (*angê*) (*of the village*) which contains (*ga*) water (*da* for *uda*[2]) and arable land (*hala*)." I would translate the passage referred to thus: "In the above-written village, in that portion of it which contains water and arable land, 10 ploughs (*hala*) of fertile land (*śakva-bhûmi*), with its water and soil, with its iron and salt, &c., is given by me this day," and so forth. The quantity of land, granted to Lâhaḍa, in the village of Dosahalî, is stated to have been *hala* 10, or 'seventy ploughs.' *Hala* would seem to be here used as a measure of land, but I do not know how much land it would exactly indicate. About the numeral figures, I am not quite certain.

The name of the district it is impossible to identify. Mr. Jackson suggests that it may be Argal, which is about sixteen miles off, in a straight line, lying in a north-westerly direction in the Kôrâ Pargaṇâ of the Fatḥpur District. He writes that "it seems most probable that that place, as well as the rest of the Fatḥpur District, formed at the time part of the dominions of the Râjâs of Argal, who were then powerful tributaries of Kananj. The family still survives at Argal, but in the lowest degree of poverty. The family tree[3] of this family shews 34 generations between the time of a Râja Jay, Pâl (also called Ajay Chand) of Kanauj, whose daughter Râja Sriṅg-rikh of Argal married, and that of the Rahṭôr Râja Jay Chand of Kananj. It seems that the Argal Râjâs must have been semi-independent during this period; at any rate they were able to make large grants of lands to members of other friendly Râjpût clans. Râja Ratan Siṅgh of Argal shared the defeat of Jay Chand by Shihâbu-d-dîn Ghôrî, but the family continued to be of note until Râja Hari Baran Deo took the wrong side in the revolt of Shêr Shâh against Humâyûn. Their fort was destroyed, and all semblance of independence taken away after the defeat at Kâlpî about 1560 A. D. by one of Akbar's commanders."[4]

[1] See in particular other grants of this dynasty published by Prof. Kielhorn, *ante*, Vol. XV. p. 6 ff., and Vol. XVIII. pp. 9 ff., 129 ff.; also three grants of Gôvindachandradêva himself, published by Dr. Führer in the *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. LVI. p. 106 ff., where references to other published grants will be found, on page 107.

[2] Compare the word *dagârgala* from *da* = *uda*, *ga*, and *argala* in Monier-Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary.

[3] See Mr. F. S. Growse's notes on the Fatḥpur District, in *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. LIV. p. 157.

Another suggestion is that the district might be the modern Asôthar, which is also an old site, not far off, originally called Aśvatthamapura. A third suggestion is that it might possibly be Ghâzîpur itself, the head-quarters of the Tahsîl in which the grant was found, or rather the old site in its immediate neighbourhood. On this Mr. Jackson writes: "There are also a mile north of Ghâzîpur, in lands now included in the village of Painâ, extensive ruins of an ancient fortified town. The original name of this is lost; but local tradition says that it was originally a stronghold of the Chandêls, from whom it was taken by the Kichars. The present local name Fathgarh probably dates from the conquest. The outer line of walls and towers encloses a large area, and in the centre was a high citadel surrounded by a broad and deep moat. This is not more than 12 miles as the crow flies from Rên (or 14 miles from Dasaulî), and possibly the name in the grant may be the lost name of this place, which must certainly have dominated the neighbouring territory. This is, however, a mere conjecture." Perhaps of the three suggestions, the last conjecture has most probability; and in that case, it is all the more to be regretted that the name has been injured beyond recognition. The two first suggested names, Argal and Asotthar, appear to me to meet with no support from the existing traces of the name. But the present appearance of the letters of the name is altogether deceptive; and it is almost impossible to say what they may not have originally represented.

The **language** of the grant is Sanskṛit, written in Dêvanagarî characters, exactly of the same style as those to be seen in the grants of which facsimiles have been published in the *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. LVI. p. 106 ff. The execution is rather bad; the letters are often very ill-shaped, and the composition is full of errors. A good deal of this imperfection is undoubtedly due to the barbarous process of polishing, by which the real shape of the letters has often been entirely altered, or assimilated to the shape of quite different letters, and this renders the reading of the letters very deceptive. The interlinear or top-marked signs (for *i*, *î*, *ê*, *ô*, *ṁ*, &c.) have especially suffered; in many cases they have entirely disappeared. All this has to be discounted; but enough remains to prove that the grant was prepared by a person who was either very ignorant, or very negligent. Some illustrations of this will be found below in the portions of the text which I shall quote. The letters *m* and *s*, *y* and *s*, *y* and *p*, *v* and *ch*, *v* and *dh*, even after making every allowance for injuries by the cleaning, are constantly confounded.

On the other hand, the new grant exhibits some curious **new readings** which do not occur in any of the previously published grants. In the present condition of the copper-plate, however, it would serve no useful purpose to publish either a facsimile or the full text of the grant. It will suffice to put together all that is either new or peculiar in it.

The grant takes up 24 lines. Up to *Gôvindachaṁdra-dêvô vijayé*, towards the end of the 12th line, it is substantially identical with the published grants (*e. g.* grant, No. I. in *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. LVI. p. 108, down to middle of the 14th line). There occur, however, the following variations: line 1, the salutation is *Ôṁ namô bhagavatê Vasudêvâya*; for *akuṇṭhô*° stands *ákulô*°, °*pîtha*° for °*pîṭha*°, and *śrêyasêsha vaḥ* for *śrêyasêstu vaḥ*.

L. 3 (verse 4), *krâṁta-dvisha-chândralô* (sic) *ripusvôdhata-dhîra-yôdha-timiraḥ*, for the usual *krâṁta-dvishan-maṇḍalô vidhvastôddhata-vîra-yôdha-timiraḥ*.

L. 4 (verse 4), *pradgôpapravaṁ* (sic) for *prajôpadravaṁ*.

L. 5 (verse 5), *dijatâ* (or *dvijatâ ?*) *yajêbhyô* for *dadatâ dvijêbhyô*; *sataustu*° for *śataśastu*° or *satatantu*°; (verse 6) *tatyatsajô* (sic) for *tasyâtmajô*; *ita kutîndra*° for *iti kshitîndra*°.

L. 7 (verse 7), *kumam asau* for *kshaṇam asau*.

L. 8 (verse 8), °*chadhdṭhakaddhanavarâdyagajô* for °*bandhâvarudha-nava-râjya-gajô*; *sâṁdra-bhûtaḥ drava*° for *sâṁdrâmita-drava* or *sâṁdrâmṛita-drava*°; in itself the reading *sâṁdra-bhûtaḥ* would give sense, but it is neither grammatically nor prosodically correct; *prabhô* for *prabhavô*.

L. 9 (verse 9), *raha-kshamâṁ=s=tiṣṭhishu* for *raṇa-kshamâṁ=s=tiṣṭâshu*; this reading yields the sense of "equals in copulation," which suits the context rather better than the usual reading "equals in combat."

L. 10, *paramabhaṭṭârakaḥ mahârâjâ°* for *paramabhaṭṭâraka-mahârâjâ°*; *kanyakubja°* only for *śrî-kanyakubja*.

I might have given a large number of other, sometimes ludicrously, false readings; but owing to the injured state of the plate one cannot be quite certain as to their reality. It will be noticed, on comparing previously published grants, that in some of the cases, above quoted, they give equally false readings.

Towards the end of the 12th line, after *vijayê*, comes the specification of the grant, which runs thus, down to the end of the 15th line: —

. . . . . la[4](?)-pattalayâṁ (read pattalâyâṁ) Dosahalî-grâma-nivasinô (read nivâsinô) janapadân upagatân api (and so forth, as in the other grants) purushâṁ=ś=cha vijñâpayadi[5] bôdhayaty=âdiśati cha yathâ viditam astu bhavatâṁ yad upari-likhita-grâmê hala-da-g-âṅgê (?) hala 10 śakva-bhûmiḥ sa-jala-sthalâ sa-lôha-lavaṇ-âkarâ sa-gartt-ôkhara (read °ôshara)-samatsy-âkara-sa-madhûka-âmba-vana-vâtikâ-tṛiṇa-jûti (sic, read yûti)-gôvavararyahâ (sic, read gôchara-paryantâ) chatur-âghâṭa-visuddhâ (read viśuddhâ) sva-sîmâ-paryantâ ||

With the 16th line commences the statement of the date and the locality of the ceremony, which runs as follows:—

Saṁvad=ashṭâśîty-adhikê êkâdasa (read °daśa)-śatê Kârtika-paurṇṇamâsyâṁ tithau Śukrâdinê='ṅkato=pi saṁ 1188 Kârtika-sudi 15 Śukrê || Ady=êha śrî-Âdikêśava-samîpê Gaṁgayaṁ (read Gaṁgâyâṁ) snâtvâ, and so forth, as usual. There are, however, the following slight variations: °*mahasa-shamu-rôchisham* (sic) for °*mahasam=ushṇa-rôchisham*; *abhyarchya* for *samabhyarchya*; *prachurapâyasêna*, as in some grants, for *prachuratara-pâyasêna*; *jasôbhi* (a vernacularism; compare *jûti*, above) for *yaśôbhi*; *gôkurṇṇa* for *gôkarṇṇa*; *kuśa-pûta* for *kuśa-latâ-pûta*.

Towards the end of the 18th line begins the statement of the particulars of the donee, which runs as follows: —

Garga (read Gârga)-sa-gôtrâya | Garga-Aṁgiras | Viśvamitra | Jamadagni-Vârhaspati (read Vṛihaspati)-paṁcha-pravarâya Svâmi-prapautrâya Chalahaṇa-pautrâya Ḍahaḍa-putrâya Lâhada-śarmaṇê brâhmaṇâya |

About the middle of the 20th line commence the usual concluding verses, introduced by *bhavanti ch=âtra ślôkâḥ*. In the present case the following six verses are quoted; I only give the opening words of each: 1, *bhûmiṁ yaḥ pratigṛihṇâti*; 2, *saṁkhaṁ bhadrâsanaṁ chhattraṁ*; 3, *vât-âbhra-vibhramam idaṁ*; 4, *sarvân etân bhâvinaḥ*; 5, *bahubhir vasudhâ bhuktâ*; 6, *gâm êkâṁ svarṇam êkaṁ*.

The closing words are: *likhitam idaṁ tâmra-paṭṭakâṁ Viśvarûpêṇ=êti*. The writer of this grant, Viśvarûpa, is probably the same person as he who wrote the Raiwân grant of Saṁvat 1180, published by Dr. Führer in the *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. LVI. p. 113.

There is no need to translate the excerpted passages. Full translations of three others of Gôvindachandra's grants, by Dr. Führer, will be found in Vol. LVI. of the Journal above referred to; and of other grants of this dynasty, by Prof. Kielhorn, — who first fixed the translations (see *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 56), — in this Journal, Vol. XV. p. 6 ff., and Vol. XVIII. pp. 9 ff., 129 ff.

[4] Of this name the only certain *akshara* is the last, *la*.

[5] The letters on the plate really look like *vikyupayadi*.

MISCELLANEA.

A DOUBTFUL CHAULUKYA GRANT.

In the **Chaulukya copper-plate grant** which I have edited in this Journal, Vol. XVIII. p. 108 ff., the date (lines 1 f., 5) is — saṁvat 93 Chaitra śu di 11 Ravau ady=êha śrîmad-Aṇahilapâṭakê . . . . . adya saṁkrânti-parvvaṇi, — "the year 93, (the month) Chaitra, the bright fortnight, the (*civil*) day 11 (*and the eleventh tithi*), today, here at the famous (city of) Aṇahilapâṭaka, ... today, at the festival of a *saṁkrânti*."

I was editing at the same time a grant of Bhîmadêva II., which is dated expressly in Vikrama-Saṁvat 1266 and Siṁha-Saṁvat 96 (*id.* p. 110 ff.). And it seemed plain that the year 93 of the grant under notice must be **Siṁha-Saṁvat 93**; with the result that the Bhîmadêva of this grant also was **Bhîmadêva II.** But, in giving the English equivalent of the details, I had to point out that a correct result could be obtained only by assuming a **mistake in the record**, and by altering *śu*, 'the bright fortnight,' into *ba*, 'the bright fortnight'; and this, in spite of the fact that the original is perfectly distinct, so that it is not possible to read any of the details otherwise than as I have given them above.

Some little time back, however, **Dr. Hultzsch** brought to my notice his view that the grant in question should be a record, not of Bhîmadêva II., but of his ancestor, **Bhîmadêva I.** The grounds for this view are:—(1) The identity of the person who wrote this grant, *viz.* the Kâyastha Vaṭêśvara, the son of Kâñchana, with the person who wrote the Râdhanpur grant of Bhîmadêva I. that is expressly dated in Vikrama-Saṁvat 1086 (*ante*, Vol. VI. p. 193). (2) The identity, in each case, of the *Dûtaka*, *viz.* the *Mahâsâṁdhivigrahika* Chaṇḍaśarman. And (3) the probability that the same Vaṭêśvara is the person who is mentioned as the father of the writer of a grant, recently obtained by Dr. Hultzsch, of Karṇa I., the son and successor of Bhîmadêva I.

From this it would follow that the grant under notice is in reality intended to be dated in **Vikrama-Saṁvat 1093**, and gives an instance of "**omitted hundreds.**"

The results for the date, however, are not such as to prove this. They are as follows:—

In northern Vikrama-Saṁvat 1093 current, Chaitra śukla 11 ended on Saturday, 22nd March, A. D. 1035, at about 37 *ghaṭîs*, 10 *palas*, after mean sunrise (for Bombay). The Mêsha-Saṁkrânti occurred on the **Sunday**, at about 48 *ghaṭîs*. But the *tithi* then current was the thirteenth, which commenced at about 35 *gh.* 10 *p.* on the Sunday. And there are no means by which the eleventh *tithi* can be extended to the Sunday, or by which the *parvakâla* of the *saṁkrânti* can be connected with the eleventh *tithi*.

In northern Vikrama-Saṁvat 1093 expired, and southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 1093 current, Chaitra śukla 11 ended at about 13 *gh.* 45 *p.* on Thursday, 11th March, A. D. 1036; and this was twelve days before the Mêsha-Saṁkrânti, which occurred at about 3 *gh.* 30 *p.* on Tuesday, 23rd March.

In southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 1093 expired, Chaitra śukla 11 ended at about 17 *gh.* 10 *p.* on Wednesday, 30th March, A. D. 1037; and this was seven days after the Mêsha-Saṁkrânti, which occurred at about 19 *ghaṭîs* on Wednesday, 23rd March.

And Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit, whom I consulted as to the possibility of obtaining any better result with the first of the above three years, has found that, as a matter of fact, from Śaka-Saṁvat 851 to 1201, there is only one year in which the Mêsha-Saṁkrânti, — the only *saṁkrânti* that can be connected with the given *tithi*, — took place on Chaitra śukla 11, and on a Sunday. The year is Śaka-Saṁvat 863 current; when Chaitra śukla 11 ended at about 43 *gh.* 10 *p.*, and the Mêsha-Saṁkrânti occurred at about 13 *gh.* 5 *p.*, on Sunday, 22nd March, A. D. 940. But this date, belonging to southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 997 current, or northern Vikrama-Saṁvat 998 current cannot in any way be connected with the reign of Bhîmadêva I.

Accordingly, even with Dr. Hultzsch's suggestion, we must assume **a mistake in the record**; in writing the eleventh *tithi*, instead of the twelfth expired, or thirteenth current.

If this grant of the year 93 is to be regarded as a spurious document, — for which view, however, apart from the question of the identification of Vaṭêśvara and Chaṇḍaśarman, there are no apparent grounds, except the impossibility of obtaining a correct result for the date as it stands, — then I am inclined to think that it was concocted on the basis of the grant of Bhîmadêva I. of Vikrama-Saṁvat 1086, or of some document ver similary to that; but that it was really intended to be a charter of Bhîmadêva II., dated in the Siṁha era.

But it is equally possible that the spurious record is the grant of Vikrama-Saṁvat 1086. The only point against this view, is, the possibility of identifying the Vaṭêśvara who is mentioned in

it. with the Vaṭêśvara of Dr. Hultzsch's grant of Karṇa I. This item, however, is not conclusive, without further information as to the father of the Vaṭêśvara of the grant of Karṇa I. And on the other hand, in the grant of Vikrama-Saṁvat 1086. there is the suspicious point that, unlike all the other Chaulukya grants, it omits to give the week-day of the *tithi*; so that the details of the date cannot be actually tested by calculation. Also, even if the two grants really were drafted by the same person, — which seems to me improbable; partly because of the differences in the orthography; and partly because the grant of the year 93 does not use the *avagraha* at all, while the grant of Vikrama-Saṁvat 1086 uses it three times, in lines 15, 16, and 21, — still they certainly were not written or sketched on the copper, for the engraver's guidance, by one and the same hand. I have ink-impressions of the grant of Vikrama-Saṁvat 1086 before me; for comparison with my lithograph of the grant of the year 93. In some respects there is a considerable resemblance in the characters; but not more so than should be due to the preparation of them within a century or two of each other. But there are two letters which appear to settle the point. In the two grants, the lingual *ḍ* has a totally different form. And, whereas in the grant of the year 93 the *r* is throughout the ordinary *r*, as throughout the grant of Mûlarâja I. (see the Plate, *ante*, Vol. VI. pp. 192, 193), — except perhaps in one case, *narakam*, line 14; where, however, it is really *nachakaṁ* that is written, — in the grant of Vikrama-Saṁvat 1086, in eleven instances the ordinary *r* is used, but in the remaining twelve instances the *r* which resembles *ch*, and which occurs, for instance, in *paramabhaṭṭâraka-mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêśvara-paramamâhêśvara* in line 43 f. of the grant of the Râshṭrakûṭa king Kakka III. (see the Plate, *ante*, Vol. XII. p. 263.)

One or other of the two grants seems to be undoubtedly spurious. But which of them is so, is a question that can only be decided hereafter on further information.

When I edited the grant of the year 93, I was under the impression that I was bringing it to notice for entirely the first time. I find, however, that there has been a previous notice, either of it, or of another grant of the same year.[1] Dr. Bühler has bracketed the year (10)93 opposite the name of Bhîmadêva I. in his genealogy of the Chaulukyas (*ante*, Vol. VI. p. 213). And he obtained the reference (see *id.* p. 185, notes) from a Gujarâtî History of Kachh, p. 17. He tells us that "the historian of Kachh says, that Bhîmadêva's "grant is dated in S. 93, and he refers this date to "the years of the Chaulukya dynasty. If the "grant really is dated 93, which may be doubted, "as it has been imperfectly deciphered, it is more "likely that the hundreds have been left out, "according to a very common habit of Hindu "writers."

On this question of "omitted hundreds" for any early times, I am quite open to conviction; if any one will establish the use of the system, without quoting the Lôkakâla reckoning as proof of it. But I doubt completely the use of omitted hundreds as early as even the time of Bhîmadêva I.; and this is one reason for which I am not inclined to refer the grant under discussion to him. Apparently, the earliest instances of "omitted hundreds" in the Vikrama era that Prof. Kielhorn can give, belong to the sixteenth century of that era (see *ante*, Vol. XVIII. pp. 251-253).

J. F. FLEET.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

OMENS.

In Madras.

If a child, when learning to walk or crawl, acquires a way of stopping and looking back between its thighs, it portends the early advent of a brother. As most lively children will do this, such prognostications are frequent, and curiously enough are most persistently made in spite of their necessarily constant failure to turn out correct.

S. M. NATESA SASTRI.

Madras.

In the North-West Provinces.

The *chapkâ*, *i. e.* the goat-sucker bird (*caprimulgus*), flying over an ox or cow, especially over a cow buffalo, and allowing its shadow to fall on the animal, causes its death in a short time. The remedy is for some one to kill the bird and rub his hands or a stick in the blood and then waive it over the animal. There are special men noted for their powers in this respect all over the district.

WILLIAM CROOKE.

[1] It is difficult to say which, without knowing how the plates edited by me came into the possession of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, and how long they have been there.

SOCIAL CUSTOMS; OPPROBRIOUS NAMES.

With reference to *Indian Notes and Queries*, Vol. I. note 219, the custom of giving opprobrious names to avert the jealousy of evil powers is common in the Telugu country: *pichchi*, 'mad;' *verri*, 'idiotic;' *engdi*, 'spittle,' are very potent for the purpose. Another device is to give a Hindu child a Musalmân or English name, such as Badê Sâheb or Râpsan (corruption of Robertson).

Masulipatam. H. G. PRENDERGAST.

THE ONKO RECKONING OF ORISSA.

In connection with the subject of Hindu regnal years, the following passage seems worth quoting from page 2 f. of a small work entitled *South-Indian Chronological Tables* by the late W. S. Krishnanaidu Swami, edited by Mr. R. Sewell, M. C. S. The passage shews the existence, in the neighbourhood of Orissa, of a variety of the luni-solar calendar, according to which each year begins with Bhâdrapada sukla 11 or 12. The *Oṅkos* or years of the reigns of the local princes and Zamindârs, are made to coincide with these luni-solar years; so that, whatever may be the antiquity and origin of this reckoning, it plainly preserves some original system of regnal years. And it is an interesting point that a regnal year commencing in the middle of an Oṅko, does not run its full term of a year, but ends on the following Bhâdrapada sukla 10 or 11.

"A fourth Style of the Luni-solar Calendar, called the *Oṅko*,[1] obtains in a part of Ganjam. This is an Orissa Style. This Style follows the Mârvâdi in the order of the sequence of its fortnights, but begins the year on the 12th (according to some, 11th) of *Bhâdrapada-śuddha*, calling that day, as with the Mârvâdis, the 12th or 11th, as the case may be, not the 1st. In other words, the Year changes its numerical designation every 11th or 12th day of *Bhâdrapada-śuddha*.

"It is impossible, as yet, to say decidedly when the *Oṅko* reckoning commenced. Some perfectly valueless records in the great temple of Jagannâtha at Purî show, and Dr. Hunter repeats, that it commenced with the reign of Subhânideva in 319 A. D., but the absurdity of this is shewn by the fact that the chronicler states that the great Mughal invasion took place in 327 A. D. in the reign of his successor![2] Some say that this reckoning commenced with the reign of Chôḍa-gaṅga or Chôrgaṅga, the founder of the Gâṅga-vaṁśa, whose date is assigned usually to 1131-32 A. D., while Sutton in his *History of Orissa* states that it was introduced in 1580 A. D.

"In the zamindari tracts of Parlakimeḍi, Peddakimeḍi and Chinnakimeḍi, the *Oṅko* Calendar is followed, but the people there also observe each a special Style, only differing from the parent Style and from one another in that they name their years after their own zamindars.

"A singular feature common to all these four kinds of regnal years is that, in their notation, the years whose numerals are 1 or 6, or whose numerals end with 6 or 0 (except 10), are dropped.[3] For instance, the first regnal year of a prince or zamindar is called the 2nd *Oṅko* of that prince or zamindar, and the year succeeding the 5th and 19th *Oṅkos* are called the 7th and 21st *Oṅkos* respectively. It is difficult to account for this mode of reckoning; it may be, as the people themselves allege, that these numerals are avoided because according to their traditions and *śâstras* they forebode evil, or it may possibly be, as some might be inclined to suppose, that the system emanated from a desire to exaggerate the length of each reign.

"There is also another unique convention, according to which the *Oṅko* years are not counted above 59, but the years succeeding 59 begin with a second series, thus, "Second 2," "Second 3," "Second 4," "Second 5," "Second 7," and so on.

"It will also be important to note that, when a prince dies in the middle of an *Oṅko*, his successor's 2nd *Oṅko* (first year of reign), which commences on his accession to the throne, does not run its full term of a year, but ends on the 11th or 10th day of *Bhâdrapada-śuddha* following.

"To find, therefore, the English equivalent of a given *Oṅko* year, it will be necessary first to ascertain the Style to which it relates, *i. e.*, whether it is a Jagannâtha *Oṅko* or a Parlakimeḍi *Oṅko*, and so on; secondly, to value the given year by excluding the years dropped (namely, the 1st, 6th, 16th, 20th, 26th, 30th, 36th, 40th, 46th, 50th and 56th); and thirdly to ascertain the day when the prince or zamindar whose name is given ascended the throne.

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[1] Or *aṅka*? — (R. S.)

[2] The real date of the Muḥammadan invasion seems to be 1568 A. D. (*J. A. S. B.* for 1883, LII. p. 233-4, note). The invasion alluded to is evidently that of the Yavanas," but as to dates these temple chronicles must never be believed. — (R. S.)

[3] Mr. J. Beames states that "the first two years and every year that has a 6 or a 0 in it are omitted," so that the 37th *aṅka* of the reign of Râmchandra is really his 28th year, since the years 1, 2, 6, 10, 16, 20, 26, 30, and 36 are omitted (*J. A. S. B.* 1883, Vol. LII. p. 234, note).— (R. S.)

"There are lists of Orissa princes available, but up to 1797 A. D. they would appear to be perfectly unauthentic.[4] The list of princes from that date forwards is reliable, and below are given the names of those after whom the later *Oṅko* years have been numbered, with the English dates corresponding to the commencement of the 2nd *Oṅkos* (first years) of their respective reigns.

"*Oṅko* 2 (first year) of Mukundadeva ...Sept. 2, 1797.
Do. do. Râmachandradeva .Sept. 22, 1817.
Do. do. Virakeśvaradeva ...Sept. 4, 1854.
Do. do. Divyasiṁhadeva ...Sept. 8, 1859."

BOOK-NOTICES.

CATALOGUE OF HINDUSTANI PRINTED BOOKS IN THE LIBRARY of the BRITISH MUSEUM. By J. F. BLUMHARDT, London: Longmans & Co.; Quaritch; A. Asher & Co.; Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co. 1889.

The indefatigable Mr. Blumhardt has produced in his new catalogue a most valuable book for students of Hindustâni. The catalogue is a comprehensive one, as it comprises — (1) purely Hindustâni works; (2) translations of such works into English or other European languages; and (3) polyglot works, in which occur Hindustâni translations, paraphrases, or commentaries, on Arabic, Persian and other originals. Dictionaries and Grammars written in English for English readers have been excluded. It is perhaps a pity these were not included in an appendix, to complete the references required by students.

The catalogue itself is arranged by authors' names, by which is meant their personal names, but as the various additions and aliases which Muhammadan authors affect all over India and the East, to the great confusion of students, are always given in cross-references, the arrangement will be found to be practical and useful by all who may use the catalogue. We have tested many of the cross-references, and they have proved complete, careful, and well-selected. Higher praise cannot be given to a work of this kind.

The book is completed by an index of titles with references to the catalogue under authors' names, and by a subject-index to the principal works in the catalogue giving titles and authors' names.

THE SAYANA-PANCHANG FOR THE SAKA YEAR 1811. Edited by VISAJI RAGHUNATH LELE, JANARDAN BALAJI MODAK, and SHANKAR BALKRISHNA DIKSHIT. Pripted by Hari Narayan Limaye; the Satyaśôdhaka Press; Ratnâgiri.[1]

During the last few years the editors of the Sâyana-Pañchâṅga have attempted a reform of the Hindu calendar, the nature of which may be readily explained, without entering too much upon minute details or abstruse calculations.

The Hindu luni-solar calendar is to a great extent based on the solar calendar. When we wish to construct an almanac for a luni-solar year, we must first ascertain the duration of the corresponding solar year, and of the several solar months of that year; because the extent of the luni-solar year is regulated by that of the solar year, and because the (lunar) months of the former receive their names, according to certain fixed rules, from the (solar) months of the latter. A solar year begins when the sun enters the first sign, Mêsha (or Aries), of the fixed solar ecliptic; and so a solar month begins whenever the sun enters any one of the twelve signs of the fixed ecliptic. Given the epoch from which we have to start, the times of the entrance or *Saṁkrânti* of the sun into the several signs may be easily calculated from certain *data* which furnish, in days and parts of days, the exact length of the solar year, as well as that of every month of that year. Here, it is only necessary to draw particular attention to the fact that the solar year spoken of, on which the luni-solar calendar has been hitherto based, is the sidereal year (*i. e.* that space of time during which the sun, departing from a star, returns to the same), which, according to the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, contains about 365 days, 6 h. 12·6 m.

If we were to calculate the *Saṁkrântis* and the phases of the moon for the expired Śaka year 1811, the result would be as in Table I, on the opposite page 257.

From that Table it will appear that, by the rule according to which a lunar month receives the name of that solar month in which occurs the new-moon at the commencement of the bright fortnight of the lunar month, the lunar months of the expired Śaka year 1811, lasted —

the *amânta* Chaitra, from the 1st April to the 30th April, 1889;

the bright fortnight of the *pûrṇimânta* Chaitra, from the 1st April to the 15th April, 1889;

[4] Sewell's *Sketch of the Dynasties of Southern India*, p. 64. *Archæological Survey of Southern India*, Vol. II. p. 204.

[1] The *Pañchaṅg* for the Śaka year 1812 is published at the Khandesh Chitragupta Press; Dhulia.

TABLE I.

The Luni-solar Calendar based on the Sideral Year.

Śaka 1811 expired. Samkrântis of the Sidereal Year.		A.D. 1889.	Śaka 1811 expired. Solar Months.	Phases of the Moon.
				● 31 March.
Mêsha (Vishuva),	on	11 April, 18 h. 52·5 m.[2]	Vaiśâkha.	○ 15 April.
				● 30 April.
Vṛisha,	„	12 May, 17 h. 5·4 m.	Jyaishṭha.	○ 15 May.
				● 29 May.
Mithuna,	„	13 June, 2 h. 46·1 m.	Âshâḍha.	○ 13 June.
				● 28 June.
Karkaṭa, or Dakshiṇâyana,	„	14 July, 17 h. 25·4 m.	Śrâvaṇa.	○ 12 July.
				● 27 July.
Simha,	„	15 August, 4 h. 42·2 m.	Bhâdrapada.	○ 11 August.
				● 26 August.
Kanyâ,	„	15 Sept., 5 h. 34·2 m.	Âśvina.	○ 9 September.
				● 25 September.
Tulâ (Vishuva),	„	15 October, 16 h. 31·1 m.	Kârttika.	○ 9 October.
				● 24 October.
Vṛiśchika,	„	14 Nov., 14 h. 9·8 m.	Mârgaśiras.	○ 7 November.
				● 23 November.
Dhanuḥ,	„	14 December, 2 h. 19·5 m.	Pausha.	○ 7 December.
		A.D. 1890.		● 22 December.
Makara, or Uttarâyaṇa,	„	12 January, 10 h. 40·8 m.	Mâgha.	○ 6 January.
				● 20 January.
Kumbha,	„	10 February, 21 h. 35·1 m.	Phâlguna.	○ 5 February.
				● 19 February.
Mîna,	„	12 March, 16 h. 56·7 m.	Chaitra.	○ 6 March.
				● 20 March.
Mêsha (Ś. 1812),	„	12 April, 1 h. 5·2 m.		○ 5 April.

[2] *i. e.* 18 h. 52·5 m. after mean sunrise at Ujjain; and so below.

the *amânta* Vaiśâkha, from the 1st May to the 29th May, 1889;

the *pûrṇimânta* Vaiśâkha, from the 16th April to the 15th May, 1889;

the *amânta* Jyaishṭha, from the 30th May to the 28th June, 1889;

the *pûrṇimânta* Jyaishṭha, from the 16th May to the 13th June, 1889; and so on.

And the same result would be obtained from the rule by which both the *amânta* and the *pûrṇimânta* months receive their names from the *nakshatra*, in which the moon happens to be when full. For, on the 15th April, 1889, the moon was full in Chitrâ, on the 15th May in Viśâkhâ, on the 13th June in Jyêshṭhâ, on the 12th July in the group Ashâḍhâ; and so on. The whole lunar year Śaka 1811, expired, would, of course, last from the 1st April, 1889, to the 20th March, 1890.

Among the twelve *Saṁkrântis*, by which this lunar year is practically regulated, the Mêsha- and Tulâ-saṁkrântis are distinguished from the rest by being called Vishuva-saṁkrântis; and the Karkaṭa- and Makara-saṁkrântis are also called Dakshiṇâyana- and Uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrânti, respectively. *Vishuva* is defined as the time when day and night are of equal length; and, accordingly, the Mêsha-saṁkrânti and the Tulâ-saṁkrânti, since they are called Vishuva-saṁkrântis, should be expected to coincide — the one with the vernal, and the other with the autumnal equinox. Similarly, *dakshiṇâyana* being characterised as the time during which the days become shorter and the nights longer, and *uttarâyaṇa* as the time during which the reverse is the case, the Karkaṭa- and Makara-saṁkrântis, if they are to be really Dakshiṇâyana- and Uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrântis, should clearly take place — the former on the longest, and the latter on the shortest day of the year. But if we turn to our scheme of the Śaka year 1811, we find that, by the ordinary Hindu calendar, the Mêsha-saṁkrânti of that year took place on the 11th April, twenty-two days after the vernal equinox, and the Tulâ-saṁkrânti on the 15th October, twenty-three days after the autumnal equinox; and that, in like manner, the Karkaṭa- and Makara-saṁkrântis took place from twenty-two to twenty-three days after the longest and shortest days of the year respectively. And if, on the same principles, we were to construct a calendar for the Śaka year 2311, we should find that, five hundred years hence, the *Saṁkrântis* mentioned would be later than they would be expected to be, by a whole month.

The reason of this ever-increasing discrepancy is this, that the Hindu calendar, as we have seen above, has been hitherto based on the sidereal year, while the return of the seasons depends on the **tropical year** which, owing to the precession of the equinoxes, is about 22 minutes shorter than the sidereal year. According to some Hindu astronomers, the commencement of the sidereal year coincided with that of the tropical year in Śaka 444.[3] In subsequent years, the sidereal year would, owing to its greater length, commence later than the tropical year, and the time by which it thus commences later, and by which the *Saṁkrântis* therefore fall later than we should expect them to take place, has now increased to about 22 days. And by so much the ordinary calendars at present make the seasons commence later than they commence in reality; and the *Saṁkrântis* put down in those calendars are clearly no longer what, according to the definitions of ancient and authoritative works, they should be.

To put an end to this incongruous state of things, the compilers of the *Sâyana-Pañchâṅg*, (*i.e.*, as I would put it, "a calendar which takes into account the precession of the equinoxes") have based their luni-solar calendar on **the tropical year**. The change which they have thereby effected will be made clear by **Table 2** on the opposite page 259, for which I have calculated the times of the *saṁkrântis* with the help of European Tables,[4] and in which I have again indicated the phases of the moon, for reasons which will appear below.

Here, then, it will be seen that, in the new calendar, the Mêsha- and Tulâ-saṁkrântis do coincide with the vernal and autumnal equinoxes, and that the Karkaṭa- and Makara-saṁkrântis fall really, as they should, on the longest and shortest days of the year. And if the same principle were followed in future calendars, this would be always the case; and, to mention a point which may be of particular weight in India, a Hindu who, in the performance of his religious ceremonies, should allow himself to be guided by these calendars, would at all times perform those ceremonies at the right season, and would not, as might otherwise often be the case, for instance,

[3] I find that in Śaka 444 the Mêsha-saṁkrânti of the sidereal year, calculated by the rules of the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, took place on the 19th March, A.D. 522, 1 h. 35·6 m. after mean sunrise; and that of the tropical year, calculated according to European methods, on the same day, 3 h. 43 m. after mean sunrise. For Śaka 450 expired, the dates for both would be the 18th March, A. D. 528, 14 h. 51·2 m. and 14 h. 52·6 m. after mean sunrise, respectively.

[4] My results will be found to agree so closely with the times put down for the *Saṁkrântis* in the Sâyana-Pañchâṅg that the difference in no case amounts to more than one minute; and I therefore cannot help thinking that the editors too have here used European Tables.

TABLE 2.

The Luni-solar Calendar based on the Tropical Year.

Saka 1811 expired. Saṁkrântis of the Tropical Year.		A.D. 1889.	Saka 1811 expired. Solar Months.	Phases of the Moon.
				● 1 March.
				○ 17 March.
Mêsha (Vishuva), on		20 March, 8 h. 54·6 m.		
			Vaiśâkha.	● 31 March.
				○ 15 April.
Vṛisha,	„	19 April, 20 h. 50 m.		
			Jyaishṭha.	● 30 April.
				○ 15 May.
Mithuna,	„	20 May, 20 h. 46·6 m.		
			Âshâḍha.	● 29 May.
				○ 13 June.
Karkaṭa, or Dakshiṇâyana,	„	21 June, 5 h. 12·6 m.		
			Śrâvaṇa.	● 28 June.
				○ 12 July.
Simha,	„	22 July, 16 h. 7·1 m.		
			Bhâdrapada.	● 27 July.
				○ 11 August.
Kanyâ,	„	22 August, 22 h. 46·1 m.		
			Âśvina.	● 26 August.
				○ 9 September.
Tulâ (Vishuva),	„	22 Sept., 19 h. 39·9 m.		
			Kârttika.	● 25 September.
				○ 9 October.
Vṛiśchika,	„	23 October, 4 h. 10·5 m.		
			Mârgaśiras.	● 24 October.
				○ 7 November.
Dhanuḥ,	„	22 Nov., 1 h. 1·1 m.		
			Pausha.	● 23 November.
				○ 7 December.
Makara, or Uttarâyaṇa,	„	21 Dec., 13 h. 54·6 m.		
			Mâgha.	● 22 December.
		A.D. 1890.		○ 6 January.
Kumbha,	„	20 January, 0 h. 30·6 m.		
			Phâlguna.	● 20 Jan. 22 h. 43 m.
				○ 5 February.
Mîna,	„	18 February, 15 h. 1·8 m.		
			Chaitra.	● 19 February.
				○ 6 March.
Mêsha (Ś. 1812)	„	20 March, 14 h. 44·5 m.		

do during the *uttarâyaṇa* what his sacred books require him to do during the *dakshiṇâyana*, or *vice versâ*.

The change thus inaugurated by the compilers of the *Sâyana-Pañchâṅg*, appears then indeed to be an important reform of the calendar, similar to that reform of the European calendar which was first introduced about 300 years ago. But the editors will no doubt have to agitate for their idea steadily and patiently; and if their endeavours should not at once meet with any very general support, they must remember that a reform which not even now, after more than 300 years, has been introduced in every country of Europe, is not likely to be generally adopted in India in the space of two or three, or even twenty or thirty years.

Highly as I esteem the work of the editors of the *Sâyana-Pañchâṅg* so far, I cannot help thinking that in their treatment of the lunar year there is one point which perhaps will hardly meet with approval. I allude to the fact that the editors have applied to the *pûrṇimânta* months the rule *Mêshâdi-sthê savitari*, which, so far as I can see, without offering any advantages may cause much practical inconvenience and confusion, and which I cannot find to have ever been observed in practice, from any of the numerous dates which I have examined.

From Table 2 it is clear that, by the ordinary rule which hitherto has been generally followed, the lunar months of Śaka 1811 expired, when based on the tropical year, would stand as follows:—

Amânta scheme.

Chaitra, from the 2nd March to the 31st March, 1889;

Vaiśâkha, from the 1st April to the 30th April, 1889;

Jyaishṭha, from the 1st May to the 29th May, 1889; and so on.

Pûrṇimânta scheme.

Chaitra, bright fortnight, from the 2nd March to the 17th March, 1889;

Vaiśâkha, from the 18th March to the 15th April, 1889;

Jyaishṭha, from the 16th April to the 15th May, 1889; and so on.

Here the several bright fortnights would belong to the same months under both the *amânta* and the *pûrṇimânta* schemes, while the dark fortnight of a month would follow the bright fortnight of the same month in the *amânta* scheme, and precede it in the *pûrṇimânta* scheme. The lunar year would begin on the 2nd March, 1889, which would be the 1st of the bright half of Chaitra according to both the *amânta* and the *pûrṇimânta* schemes. All this would agree with the practice which has been followed in India for a long time, and which renders it easy to turn a date of the *amânta* calendar into one of the *pûrṇimânta* calendar, or *vice versâ*.

But the editors of the *Sâyana-Pañchâṅg* name the months by a rule which says that the lunar month, *amânta* or *pûrṇimânta*, which ends while the sun is in Mêsha, is called Chaitra, while the sun is in Vṛisha, Vaiśâkha, and so on; and in their calendar they accordingly give the several months thus:—

Amânta scheme.

Chaitra, from the 2nd March to the 31st March, 1889;

Vaiśâkha, from the 1st April to the 30th April, 1889;

Jyaishṭha, from the 1st May to the 29th May, 1889; and so on.

Pûrṇimânta scheme.

Chaitra, from the 18th March to the 15th April, 1889;

Vaiśâkha, from the 16th April to the 15th May, 1889;

Jyaishṭha, from the 16th May to the 13th June, 1889; and so on.

Here, then, it is the *dark* fortnight which is common to the *amânta* and *pûrṇimânta* month of the same name; and this, though contrary to the practice hitherto followed, might be put up with, if only we could say generally that in the new calendar a dark fortnight will *always* belong to the same calendar month, under both the *amânta* and *pûrṇimânta* schemes. But this is by no means possible. For, when on the same principles we construct a calendar for the Śaka year 1810 expired, we find that during the first five months of that year it is the bright fortnight that is common to the *amânta* and *pûrṇimânta* months of the same name; and, in fact, we find that by the rule *Mêshâdi-sthê savitari* the Śaka year 1810 by the *pûrṇimânta* scheme contains one month more than by the *amânta* scheme, just as we find that by the newly introduced principle the year 1811 commences on different days according as we follow one or the other scheme of the lunar fortnights. In theory all this may be unobjectionable, but it certainly carries with it great practical inconvenience, and may thus tend to retard the general adoption of the *Sâyana-Pañchâṅg*, to which I would wish every success.

Göttingen. F. KIELHORN.

EXTRACTS FROM KALHANA'S RAJATARAMGINI.

BY E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.; BANGALORE.

(*Continued from* Vol. XVIII. p. 105.)

No. 3. — EXTRACTS FROM THE SECOND TARAMGA.

THE Second Taraṁga, containing 171 verses, is the shortest of the eight books of the *Râjataraṁgiṇî*, and treats of six kings, whose reigns fell between that of the banished king Yudhishṭhira I. and that of Mêghavâhana, the first king of the restored dynasty of Gônanda III. Kalhaṇa allots to these six kings a total of 192 years, from B. C. 180 to A. D. 12. He places the reign of the first of them, **Pratâpâditya I.**, between B. C. 180 and 148, and says (verse 5) that this king was brought by the ministers to Kaśmîr from another country, and was a relative of a king Vikramâditya, who had been wrongly identified by 'others' with Vikramâditya, the enemy of the Śaka (*Śak-âri*, verse 6). Neither the starting-point of the Vikrama era (B. C. 58), nor that of the Śaka era (A. D. 78), falls within B. C. 180 to 148, the period to which Kalhaṇa allots Pratâpâditya I., the relative of some Vikramâditya. Therefore, in rejecting the identification made by others of this Vikramâditya with Vikramâditya-Śakâri, Kalhaṇa might be supposed to refer to either of the two eras. In order to answer the question, which Vikramâditya is meant, it will be necessary to remind the reader of some well-known statements regarding the Vikrama and Śaka eras.

In his famous chronological chapter, Albêrûnî discusses successively the era of Vikramâditya and the Śakakâla. He reports that the latter commenced from the battle of Karûr, in which some tyrant Śaka was killed by a certain Vikramâditya, who came from the east; and concludes by remarking: — "Since there is a long interval between the era which is called the era of Vikramâditya and the killing of Śaka, we think that that Vikramâditya, from whom the era has got its name, is not identical with that one who killed Śaka, but only a namesake of his."[1] Albêrûnî's statement regarding the origin of the Śaka era is corroborated by, and was evidently borrowed from, some of the Hindû astronomers, by whom, as he himself says, this era was especially used. The commentator Bhaṭṭôtpala (A. D. 966) explains Varâhamihira's expression, 'the time of the Śaka king' (*Śak-êndra-kâla* or *Śaka-bhûpa-kâla*),[2] by 'the time when the Śaka kings were conquered by Vikramâditya.' And the astronomer Brahmagupta (about A. D. 640) uses, with reference to this epoch, the expression 'the end of the Śaka king' (*Śaka-nṛip-ânta*).[3] In an inscription, which is still earlier by more than half a century, Mr. Fleet discovered the correct explanation of the origin of the Śaka era. This is a Bâdâmi inscription of the Early Chalukya king Maṅgalêśa, which is dated "when five hundred years from the anointment to the kingdom of the Śaka king (*Śaka-nṛipati-râjyâbhishêka*) had passed."[4] It follows from this testimony that Bhaṭṭôtpala's explanation of *Śak-êndra-kâla* or *Śaka-bhûpa-kâla*, — the expression used by Varâhamira (died A. D. 587), — was wrong, and that this term has to be taken in the simple sense of 'the time (*of the anointment*) of the Śaka king.' Thus, the earliest instance of the erroneous substitution of *Śaka-nṛip-ânta* for *Śaka-nṛipa-kâla*, is that of Brahmagupta (about A. D. 640) and his mistake has been copied by Bhaṭṭôtpala (A. D. 966), by Albêrûnî (about A. D. 1030) and, as we shall see presently, by Kalhaṇa (A. D. 1148).

With regard to the so-called Vikrama era, Mr. Fleet has shewn that it existed in the fifth century A. D. under the name of the Mâlava era, and that, in Central India, it was known by this name up to the ninth century A. D.[5] Although Albêrûnî knew the Mâlava era only under its

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[1] Albêrûnî's *India*, translated by Sachau, Vol. II. p. 6.

[2] *Bṛihat-Saṁhitâ*, viii. 20, 21.

[3] Colebrooke's *Miscellaneous Essays*, Madras, 1872, Vol. II. p. 475. Kern's Preface to his edition of the *Bṛihat-Saṁhitâ*, pp. 5 and 14.

[4] *ante*, Vol. VI. p. 363.

[5] *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 66 of the Introduction.

modern designation, by which it is connected with the name of Vikramâditya, and although the expression *Vikramâkhya-kâla* occurs already in an epigraphical record of 898 of the Vikrama era, = A. D. 842,[6] the above-mentioned series of quotations from Hindû astronomers and from Albêrûnî leaves no doubt, that Kalhaṇa's expression, "Vikramâditya, the enemy of the Saka," refers to the supposed founder of the Saka era. The reason for which Kalhaṇa rejected the identification of Vikramâditya, the relative of Pratâpâditya I., with Vikramâditya-Sakâri, was evidently the difference of 258 years between his date for Pratâpâditya I. (B. C. 180) and the starting-point of the Saka era (A. D. 78). He speaks rather contemptuously of 'others,' who had made that identification; but wisely forgets that, in order to save his own chronology, he is obliged to attribute the monstrous reign of 300 years to king Raṇâditya.[7] If Kalhaṇa's lists of ancient kings could be at all relied on, part of these awkward 300 years might be got rid of by assuming that Pratâpâditya I. *was* a contemporary of the founder of the Saka era, and by cutting down the total of the dynasty, to which Raṇâditya belonged, to 589 — 258 = 331 years.

A second incidental mention which must be considered, — though, as will be seen afterwards, only with a negative historical result, — is found in verse 7, where Kalhaṇa says that, during the time from the banishment of Yudhishṭhira I. to the accession of Pratâpâditya I., Kaśmîr was tributary to **Harsha and other kings.** This Harsha must be distinct from Harsha, *alias* Vikramâditya, of Ujjayinî, who will be introduced in Taraṅga iii. verse 125, as a contemporary of king Mâtṛigupta, and who was the father of Pratâpaśila, *alias* Śîlâditya (*ibid.* verse 330), the contemporary of Pravarasêna II. According to Kalhaṇa, Pravarasêna II. reigned from A. D. 111 to 171; Mâtṛigupta from A. D. 106 to 111; and Mâtṛigupta's predecessor Hiraṇya, whose younger brother was Tôramâṇa, from A. D. 76 to 106. All these reigns are considerably antedated. For, in order to reconcile them with the initial point of the Kârkôṭa dynasty (A. D. 601), Kalhaṇa is obliged to allot a reign of 300 years (A. D. 223 to 523) to Raṇâditya, the third king after Pravarasêna II. Among the kings of Kaśmîr, who are mentioned in the third Taraṅga, there is only one, whose name can be connected with a person known from epigraphical records. This is Tôramâṇa, the younger brother of Hiraṇya. He appears to be meant for the historical Tôramâṇa, who, as discovered by Mr. Fleet, was the father of Mihirakula. According to Taraṅga i., Mihirakula reigned from B. C. 704 to 634. Thus Kalhaṇa appears to be guilty of having placed the father no less than 700 years after his own son! Mr. Fleet has shewn that Tôramâṇa's accession probably took place about A. D. 460,[8] and that his son Mihirakula commenced his career about A. D. 515, and established himself in Kaśmîr about A. D. 530. Further, Śîlâditya, the son of Vikramâditya of Ujjayinî and contemporary of Pravarasêna II., may be meant for Śîlâditya of Mâlava, who flourished 60 years before Hiuen-Tsiang,[9] say about A. D. 580. It seems that the only possible method of adjusting the chronology of the third Taraṅga, will be to substitute the dates of Tôramâṇa and Mihirakula for that of Hiraṇya (A. D. 76 to 106), and Śîlâditya's date for that of Pravarasêna II. (A. D. 111 to 171). In this way we should come very near to the initial point of the Kârkôṭa dynasty (A. D. 601), which Kalhaṇa, however, still antedates by some years.[10]

To return to the mention of **a king Harsha** in verse 7 of Taraṅga ii., it can only be said that this Harsha must be different both from Harsha-Vikramâditya of Ujjayinî, whom Kalhaṇa places between Tôramâṇa and Śîlâditya, and from the great Harsha or Harshavardhana of Kanauj, who ascended the throne at a still later date, in A. D. 606.

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[6] *Zeitschrift D. M. G.*, Vol. XL. p. 42; *ante*, p. 35, No. 57.

[7] Taraṅga iii. verse 470.

[8] *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 12 of the Introduction; *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 230.

[9] *Si-yu-ki*, translated by Beal, Vol. II. p. 261. According to p. 267, Śîlâdityarâja of Mâlava was the uncle of the then reigning king of Valabhî.

[10] Cunningham, *Ancient Geography*, Vol. I. p. 91 f. Bühler, *Kaśmîr Report*, p. 55.

CONTINUATION OF LIST OF THE KINGS OF KASMIR.

VI.—The Dynasty of Pratâpâditya I., and its three Successors. Length of reign. Years.

1. **Pratâpâditya I.**; B. C. 180 32

After the banishment of Yudhishṭhira I., Kaśmîr was tributary to Harsha and other kings (7). Yudhishṭhira I. did not attempt to recover his kingdom (2); though 'some' have said that he did so and was eventually caught and imprisoned (4). Pratâpâditya I. hailed from 'another country' than Kaśmîr, and was a relative of king Vikramâditya (5). 'Others' have erroneously identified this Vikramâditya with Vikramâditya, the enemy of the Śaka (*Śak-âri*) (6).

2. **Jalaukas II.**, son of the preceding; B. C. 148 32

3. **Tuñjîna I.**, son of the preceding; B. C. 116 36

He, together with his queen Vâkpushṭâ (11), built a Śaiva temple, called Tuṅgêśvara, and a town (*pattana*), called Katika (14). During their reign lived the great poet (*mahâkavi*) Chandaka, who was the author of a famous drama (*nâṭya*) (16). Once, an early fall of snow destroyed the autumn crops and thereby caused a great famine (17 to 20). This was at last stopped by miraculous flights of dead pigeons, which appeared every day (50, 51). Queen Vâkpushṭâ founded the *agrahâras* of Katîmushâ and Râmushâ, — the modern Kamôh and Râmôh (55). After the death of her husband, she became a *satî* (56). The spot, on which she entered the flames, is even now called 'the forest (*aṭavî*) of Vâkpushṭâ' (57). There she founded an alms-house (*sattra*), which was still in existence at the time of Kalhaṇa (58). Tuñjîna I. left no offspring (59).

4. **Vijaya**, of another family; B. C. 80 8

He surrounded the temple of Vijayêśvara (at Bijbihâra) with a town (*pattana*) (62).

5. **Jayêndra**, his son; B. C. 72 37

He was jealous of his minister Saṁdhimati, and put him to death by empaling him on a stake (65 to 79). Saṁdhimati's *Guru*, called Îśâna, remained at the cemetery near the skeleton of his pupil (82 to 97). At midnight, a troop of witches (*yôginî* or *yôgêśvarî*) restored life to Saṁdhimati, by reconstituting his body, and bestowed on him the two new names of Saṁdhimat (*i.e.* 'the composed') and Âryarâja (98 to 110).

6. **Saṁdhimat**, also called **Âryarâja**; B. C. 35 47

He was a fervent worshipper of Śiva, and made a vow to set up a thousand *liṅgas* of Śiva every day (128). Once, when they were not at hand, he ordered his servants to engrave one thousand Śivaliṅgas all round a rock; these were still visible in Kalhaṇa's time (129). In the cemetery where he was revived, he built a Śaiva temple called Saṁdhîśvara, and another called Îśêśvara after the name of his *Guru*, Îśâna (134). He also founded temples of Śiva, endowed with *maṭhas*, idols and *liṅgas*, at Shêdâ, Bhîmadêvî and other places (135). As this pious king neglected the affairs of government, his ministers became dissatisfied with him (143), and offered the kingdom to Mêghavâhana (151), the son of Gôpâditya, who again was the son of the son's son of the exiled king Yudhishṭhira I. and had lived under the protection of the king of Gândhâra (145, 146). Mêghavâhana was married to Amṛitaprabhâ, the daughter of the king of Prâgjyôtisha; and possessed a wonderful parasol (*chhattra*), which king Naraka (of Prâgjyôtisha) had originally obtained from the god Varuṇa (147 to 150). Âryarâja abdicated voluntarily and retired to Nandikshêtra, where he led the life of an ascetic (152 to 171).

Total 192

TRANSLATION.

(1) Victorious is that body of the lord (Śiva), which is formed of a female and a male half, and which is suitable for him, who is extremely fond of various combinations (*as is shewn*) by his assuming a bow, which is made of one horn of a goat and one of a cow, and (*by his assuming*) an attendant, whose body is composed of one half of a man and one of an elephant.

(2) Old age and the voice of ascetics, (*both of*) which were whispering into his ear, induced that prince (**Yudhishṭhira I.**) to give up the attempt of recovering his kingdom. — (3) This chief of sages, who was exalted by humility, forgot the objects of the five senses (*vishaya*), together with his realm (*vishaya*). — (4) But some have said that, while roaming about with the desire for his kingdom, he was in the course of time caught and locked up in a fortress by his ministers.

(5) Then these (ministers) brought hither from another country **a relative of king Vikramâditya,** called **Pratâpâditya (I.),** and anointed him in the kingdom. — (6) Confounding (this Vikramâditya) with **Vikramâditya, the enemy of the Śaka** (*Śak-âri*), others have written erroneous (*and*) conflicting (*reports*) concerning this (*event*), (*which I have silently*) rejected. — (7) From that time (*i.e.* from the banishment of Yudhishṭhira I.) forward, **this country,** — weakened through internal dissension, — had been for some time **tributary to Harsha and other kings.** — (8) Just as a husband (*cherishes*) his newly-married wife, this shrewd prince (**Pratâpâditya I.**) cherished the earth, as if she had previously belonged to his family, though she had not.

(9) When he had gone to heaven after enjoying the earth for **thirty-two years,** his son **Jalaukas (II.)** became the ornament of the earth. — (10) He (*reigned*) **for the same period as his father,** who had been the reason of his increase; just as, at the equinox, the full-moon shines equally long as the sun.

(11) Then his son **Tuñjina (I.)** delighted the people by ruling the earth together with **(his) queen Vâkpushṭâ,** who was endowed with divine power. — (12) This couple adorned this earth, just as the Gaṅgâ and the digit of the moon (*adorn*) the matted hair of Śiva. — (13) These two righteously ruled the country, which was adorned with various castes, just as the lightning and the cloud hold the rainbow, which is adorned with various colours. — (14) And (*these*) two victorious (*rulers*) built a temple of Śiva (*called*) Tuṅgêśvara, (*which resembled*) a coquettish ornament of the earth; and a town named Katika. — (15) Through their power, a number of trees, which had just been planted, bore fruit at an extremely hot place in the **Maḍavarâjya.** — (16) In their time lived **the great poet Chandaka,** who wrote a drama (*nâṭya*) which was generally admired, and who was a partial incarnation of the sage Dvaipâyana (*i.e.* Vyâsa). — (17) Once upon a time, an unbearable calamity happened to befall the people, in order to test, as it were, the greatness of the power of these two. — (18) In the month of Bhâdrapada, a great mass of snow suddenly fell in the country, whose fields were covered with the autumnal paddy, which was nearly ripe. — (19) In this (*snow*), which resembled (*in whiteness*) the wild laughter of Death, who is about to destroy the universe, the paddy was buried together with the people's hope of life. — (20) There ensued a terrible famine-

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Verse 1. °गोधङ्ग° P. विविध° PT. लटभा° P. The *maṅgala* is addressed to Śiva in his form of Ardhanârîśvara, in which he is half male and half female, and alludes to his bow Âjagava and to his chief attendant Gaṇêśa.

2 Possibly अत्याज्यत must be read instead of अत्यज्यत; compare a similar construction in verse 67.

3 I am unable to explain the double तान्.

4 दुर्गागलिकायां P. °वद्धेत्य° P.

11 भुञ्जेस्तुञ्जिनोरुज्जयत्प्रजाः P. 12 दंपतिभ्या° P. 13 नानावर्णमनो° PT.

14 क्वचिन्मडव° P. °पोत्वये P. According to General Cunningham (A. G., p. 84), the valley of Kaśmîr is divided into a northern half, the district of Kamráj, and a southern half, the district of Meráj. The Trigonometrical Survey Map marks 'Kamraj' in the N.-W. and 'Miraj' in the S.-E. of the valley. Dr. Bühler (K. R., p. 10) has identified Kamráj with Kramarâjya, a district which is frequently mentioned in the *Râjataraṅgiṇî*. It is extremely probable that Maḍavarâjya, which is of equally frequent occurrence, must be identified with the district of Mirâj or Merâj.

16 °कवि: P. चन्दको P. 18 °लक्षन° P. 20 °पेतसमाकुलः P. प्रकारेण P.

plague, in which the starving people looked like ghosts, and which (*therefore*) appeared to be a (*new*) kind of hell. — (21) Feeling weak, greedy and hungry, everybody forgot affection for his wife, love for his children, and respect for his parents. — (22) Kissed by (*the demon of*) self-preservation by food, and ogled at by misfortune, the world forgot shame, pride and nobility, out of hunger. — (23) The father abandoned his emaciated, dying and imploring son, or the son his father, and filled his own belly. — (24) Ghostlike men, of whose disgusting body nothing but sinews and bones remained, but who thought of nothing but preserving their life, were fighting for food. — (25) Of coarse speech, emaciated by hunger, of horrible appearance, and rolling the eyes in all directions, everybody strove to support his own life (*at the sacrifice of that*) of his fellow beings. — (26) In this great and terrible calamity, which was extremely difficult to be borne by living beings, none but that lord of the world (**Tuñjina I.**) shewed sympathy (*with others*). — (27) Having withdrawn the doorkeepers, he removed by his mere sight, that resembled (*that of*) a plant (*which bears*) jewels, the exhaustion of the distressed, (*which was produced*) by the calamity. — (28) He and his wife bought food with their own treasures and with the riches of the ministers, and relieved the people by day and by night. — (29) In forests, in cemeteries, on roads and in houses, no hungry man was overlooked by this prince. — (30) Having completely spent his wealth, he perceived that all the food on the earth was exhausted. Then, once upon a night, he sorrowfully spoke thus to the queen: — [(31 to 44) The king complains that he is unable to cope with the famine and threatens to commit suicide. The queen comforts him as follows:] — (45) "Oh king! whence this perversion of the mind, (*produced*) by the evil deeds of (*thy*) subjects, in which, unlike thyself, thou voluntarily strivest for what is unworthy of the brave? — (46) "Oh protector of the earth! Why is greatness attributed to the great, if (*they have*) no power to stop unsurmounted calamities? — (47) "How could Indra, or Brahman, or the miserable Yama, transgress the commands of kings, who are true to their duty? — (48) "The duty of wives is to be devoted to their husbands; the duty of ministers, not to betray (*their lords*); the duty of kings, to be exclusively engaged in the protection of their subjects. — (49) "Cheer up, foremost of the performers of their duty! How could my words be untrue? Protector of the people! there exists no more danger from hunger to thy people." — (50) When she had emphatically pronounced these words, and had turned her thoughts to the deities, a flight of dead pigeons fell down on every house. — (51) Having perceived this (*miracle*) in the morning, the prince gave up his intention to die, and the people sustained their life with the pigeons, which came (*again*) every day. — (52) Surely, these were no (*real*) pigeons, but some other substance, which this virtuous lady created, in order to support the life of men. — (53) For, beings like her, who are full of unfeigned sympathy with their fellow-creatures, could never stain their virtuous conduct by destroying the life (*even of a pigeon*). — (54) Gradually the sky became as bright as the deeds of the queen, and the famine ceased together with the sorrow of the king. — (55) This pure and virtuous lady founded a prosperous and wealthy *agrahâra* of Brâhmans, (*called*) **Katîmushâ**, and (*another*) (*called*) **Râmushâ**. — (56) When her husband died after (*a reign of*) **thirty-six years**, she got rid of the fever of separation (*from him*) in the flames of fire (*which resembled*) a cover of lotus-(fibres). — (57) The spot on which she, whose conduct was pure, followed her deceased husband, is even now

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[22] °स्मरज्ञज्ञा° P. [23] पुत्रो वा P. [25] रूक्षा° P.

[27] °शोभिना PT. *Ratnaushadhi*, 'the jewel-plant,' seems to be used in the sense of *kalpalatâ*, 'the creeper that yields everything desired.'

[30] ततो P. स दुःखितः P. [48] भक्तिर्वैते P. [53] तादृशां P. कापि P.

[55] कतीमुषां and रामुषां P. According to a MS. note of Dr. Bühler, **Katîmushâ** is the modern Kamôh on the Volular lake, and Râmushâ, Râmôh (*Anglo-Indice* **Râmû**) on the road from 'Shipian' to Śrînagar.

[56] दहनज्वाला° P. The fibres of the stalk of the water-lily (*bisa* or *mṛiṇâla*) are used as cooling applications; see verses 57, 66 and 74 of Kâlidâsa's *Abhijñânaśakuntala* (ed. Böhtlingk). **Kalhaṇa** boldly compares with them the flames of the pyre on which the queen became a *sati*.

[57] °चारित्रया P. °द्वाक्पुष्ट° PT.

called **the forest of Vâkpushṭâ** by the people. — (58) In the alms-house (*sattra*), which this virtuous lady had founded there, crowds of poor people, who arrive on various paths, are fed even now. — (59) The Creator shewed his good taste in not according any offspring to this couple; this was doubtlessly because he thought that no (*child of theirs*) would be able to surpass their deeds. — (60) The Creator shews the highest connoisseurship in not trying to produce a fruit of the sugar-cane; (*for if he did so*) could then (*its*) usefulness, which surpasses (*that of*) the finest nectar-juice, be turned to better account, after having left it? — (61) Some (*say*) that the queen committed her body to the fire, because she thought that the country had been deprived of the sun by a long period of dark days in consequence of some misdemeanour of her own.

(62) Then a descendant of another family, (*called*) **Vijaya**, was king **for eight years**; he surrounded (*the temple of*) Vijayêśvara with a town.

(63) Then the son of this lord of the earth, who had been a very Mahêndra on earth, the long-armed and far-famed king **Jayêndra**, enjoyed the earth. — (64) His arm, that resembled a pillar, bore a statue of the goddess of victory, who was resplendent with a fluttering garment (*consisting of*) the waves of (*his*) constant fame. — (65) This king had a minister, called **Saṁdhimati**, whose history was wonderful, who was adorned with devotion to Śiva, and who was the best of the wise. — (66) There is no means in the world, by which kings can be prevented from lending their ears to slander, just as there is none to prevent rutting elephants from flapping their ears. — (67) Thus, the courtiers filled the king with hatred against that minister, by suggesting that his wonderful intelligence should make him an object of distrust. — (68) Out of anger and without reason, he banished him from the court, confiscated his property, and made him poor for life. — (69) Not even by a report did the courtiers refresh him, who was parched by the hatred of the king, which resembled the steam of the hot weather. — (70) As soon as a speech reaches the profound king, his attendants, like the echoes of a mountain, distinctly repeat the words. — (71) But he did not wince under the king's enmity and (*his own*) poverty, as he delighted in the worship of Śiva, to which he could now attend without obstacles. — (72) Then, through (*the influence of*) the greatness of future events, the unheard-of report spread in every house, that the kingdom would belong to **Saṁdhimati**. — (73) The king, who was reminded by his confidants that no rumour could spread without having been circulated, became frightened and threw him into prison. — (74) After he had there been pining, his feet being compressed by frightful fetters, for ten full years, the king's life came to an end. — (75) About to die without a son, the king was burnt both by the pain of disease and by the thought of him (Saṁdhimati). — (76) Steaming with the fire of hatred, which was burning incessantly, he found no other means to prevent what was to happen, than to kill him. — (77) The very means which dunces adopt in order to lock up coming events, must be considered as the door thrown open (*for them*) by fate. — (78) If the Creator wishes to suddenly impart unequalled power to a spark of fire, which flickers feebly on a heap of glowing coals, he causes a bystander, who wants to extinguish it, to mistake a vessel filled with molten ghee for a pot of water. — (79) By the king's order, cruel executioners killed **Saṁdhimati** at **night, by fixing him on a stake.** — (80) When the sick king heard that he had been impaled, the

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[60] °क्षुरसुधारस° PT. °योग्यता PC. तत्त्वस्मा° P. The allusion is to the fact that the sugar-cane bears no seeds and can be propagated only by slips.

[61] °नष्टार्कं P.

[62] यत्नकार P. On Vijayêśvara or Vijayêśa, the modern Bijbihâra, see A. G., p. 98 f. The temple itself has been mentioned in Kalhaṇa's account of the reigns of Aśôka, Jalauka I., and Mihirakula.

[63] पृथुप्रथः T. [65] °दन्तो P. [68] योपोहितुं PT.

[64] स कोषाचम° P. [72] सरस्वती PT. [73] न्यधात् P.

[76] °मादधे P. [77] °स्यादुधाः [78] °स्तियेः P.

sting of sorrow left him first, and life afterwards. — (81) When, at the end of (*a reign of*) **thirty-seven years**, he had died without offspring, the earth was without a ruler for some days.

[(82 to 120) **Saṁdhimati's Guru**, called Îśâna, remains in the cemetery near the skeleton of his pupil. At midnight, a troop of witches (*yôginî*) reconstitute Saṁdhimati's body, by replacing all the limbs from their own. He regains life and takes part in the orgies of the witches as *chakranâyaka* or 'leader of the circle' (106). At daybreak the circle of the witches (*yôgêśvarî-chakra*) disappears, bestowing on the revived Saṁdhimati the two new names of **Saṁdhimat**, *i.e.* 'the composed' (110, 111), and **Âryarâja** (110, 152). The latter is anointed in the kingdom. Verses 121 to 141 describe his fervent devotion to Śiva.] — (123) In the midst of his royal duties, he did penance on every day (*on which*) he was prevented from visiting (*the temples of*) Bhûtêśa, Vardhamânêśa (*or*) Vijayêśa. — (128) This king's vow, to set up a thousand Śivaliṅgas every day, was never broken. — (129) Even now there are seen one thousand Liṅgas, which were (*once*) engraved on a rock all round by his servants, when, owing to some oversight, these (*liṅgas which he wanted to set up*) were not ready. — (134) Having built (*a Śaiva temple named*) Saṁdhiśvara on the cemetery (*where*) the composing (*saṁdhâna*) of his body (*took place*), he founded (*another temple of*) Hara, (*called*) Îśêśvara after the name of (*his*) *Guru* Îśâna. — (135) He adorned Shêdâ, Bhîmadêvî and other places, step by step, with palaces (*of Śiva*) which were endowed with *maṭhas*, idols and *liṅgas*. — (142) Thus making fruitful the regal power, which he had obtained in a most wonderful manner, the pious (*king*) passed **fifty years diminished by three**. — (143) At that time, his ministers lost their attachment to him, as he was devoted to quietism and neglected the affairs of government. — (144) (*While*) they were searching for some ruler of the kingdom, they heard of a victorious and illustrious prince of **the race of Yudhishṭhira (I.)** — (145) For, at that time **the lord of Gândhâra** afforded protection to the son of the son's son of Yudhishṭhira (I.), called **Gôpâditya**, with the view of conquering the king of Kaśmîra. — (146) Dwelling there without obtaining the sovereignty, this (*prince*) in his turn begat a son, **Mêghavâhana**, (*whose*) unfailing (*success was foretold*) by divine marks. — (147) By his father's command this youth went to **the realm of the Prâgjyôtisha king**, — who was born from **the race of Vishṇu**, — at the occasion of the *svayaṁvara* (*i. e.* the personal selection of a husband) of (*the latter's*) daughter. — (148) There, in the presence of kings, **the king's daughter, Amṛitaprabhâ**, placed on him the bridegroom's garland, while the parasol of Varuṇa cast on him its shadow. — (149) By this sign the people could foresee his future increase, just as that of a cloud by the western wind. — (150) For, this parasol, which **king Naraka** had obtained from Varuṇa, cast its shadow on none but an emperor. — (151) When he returned to his father, accompanied by his wife and by good fortune, the ministers offered him the country, which was suitable for his race. — (152) Having perceived that his kingdom was lacerated by dissension, **Âryarâja** offered no resistance, though able to do so, but remained inactive, as he was desirous of renouncing (*it*). — [(153 to 158) The king resolves to abdicate.] — (159) Next day he assembled all his ministers in the hall of audience, and returned the kingdom to them, like a deposit which had been safely kept. — (160) In spite of all entreaties, nobody could prevail on him to take it back, after he had voluntarily given it up, like the skin cast off by a lord of snakes. — (161) Grasping the *liṅga* of worship, clad in white garments, bare-headed and on foot, the lord of men started for the northern region. — (162) With silent tears the citizens

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[81] प्रशान्तभूमि° PCT; read प्रशान्ते ऽभूमि°.
[158] वेदां च भीमदेवीं and महार्घतां P.
[163] ज्ञम° PT.
[166] वसन्तप्राप्त° P.
[181] वंश° P. °योग्यया PT.
[180] संनिपत्य and प्रत्यर्पय° PCT; read संनिपात्य and प्रत्यार्पय°.
[129] प्रमादा° C.
[145] °ख्यं कश्मीरेन्द्र° P.
[147] स युवा पितु° P.
[152] शक्तोपि तस्थौ तु त्यक्तु° P.
[160] कथित् PT.

followed the path of their lord, who walked along calmly and with downcast eyes. — (163) Having marched one *gavyûti*, he sat down under a tree, and took leave of each of his weeping people with kind words. — [Verses 164 to 168 describe the lonely journey of the king.] — (169) Next day, having duly worshipped the early dawn, and having shaken off sleep at a neighbouring lotus-pond, the ruler of the earth reached **the tîrtha of Bhûtabhartṛi**, which is inhabited by **Nandîśa**, and whose water, (*called*) **Sôdara**, was familiar (*to him*). — (170) While he stayed there **in Nandikshêtra** in the presence of the lord of the three worlds, he was wistfully gazed at (*even*) by old ascetics, as, in order to attain his desire, he covered his body with ashes, arranged his hair in a knot of braids, carried a rosary, and had *rudrâksha* (seeds) for his emblems. — (171) He was treated with great hospitality by (*ascetics*), who had vowed themselves to Śrîkaṇṭha (Śiva), and who wandered about for alms; in every hermitage, female ascetics eagerly hastened to offer him alms; and the trees (*themselves*) filled the skull (*in which he collected*) alms, with heaps of pure fruits and flowers. Thus he, who was worthy of honour, did not undergo the humiliation of begging from others, though he had renounced the world.

(*To be continued.*)

SANSKRIT AND OLD-KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

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

No. 190. — HONWAD STONE INSCRIPTION OF SOMESVARA I. — SAKA-SAMVAT 976.

Honwâḍ is a village in the Bijâpur Tâlukâ or Sub-Division of the Bijâpur District, Bombay Presidency; and is situated about nineteen miles almost due west of Bijâpur. It is entered as 'Honwar' in the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 40, in Lat. 16° 49′, Long. 75° 30′. The old form of the name, **Ponnavâḍa**, occurs in lines 8, 27, 28, and 35, below. The **stone-tablet** containing the present inscription, is in the Collection of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. There appears to be no exact record there, as to the locality from which it was obtained. But the village-officials of Honwâḍ tell me that, forty years or so ago, a fine inscribed stone was taken away from their village by some European gentleman; and the contents of the present record render it quite certain that this is the one. The inscription is, I believe, now brought to notice for the first time. I edit it from the ink-impression made by my own man.

The **sculptures** at the top of the stone are: — In the centre, in a shrine, a standing figure, probably of the Jinêndra Śântinâtha, the building of whose temple is the principal subject of the inscription; and on the proper right side, a cow and calf, with the moon and a crooked sword, dagger, or knife, over them. The sculptures on the proper left side of the stone have been destroyed. — The **writing** covers a space about 1′ 9¼″ broad at the top and 1′ 11¼″ at the bottom, and 3′ 1″ high. It is in a state of perfect preservation almost throughout; and can be read without any uncertainty, except at one place, in line 44, where there has been a correction in the original, in respect of a point which will have to be made clear by extraneous information not at present available. — The **characters** are the so-called Old-Kanarese characters, of the regular type of the eleventh century A. D. They include, in

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169 As remarked in the note on verse 128 (*ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 70), Nandîśa or Nandirudra was the name of a shrine at Nandikshêtra (see the next verse) and Sôdara the name of a spring at the same sacred place. A comparison of verse 169 with i. 148 (Vol. XVIII. p. 71) shews that Bhûtabhartṛi, Bhûtêśa or Bhûtêśvara (see note on i. 347) has to be taken either as a synonym of Nandîśa, or as the proper name of another shrine at Nandikshêtra. Verse 161 suggests that this locality was situated to the north of the capital, and verse 169, that the distance was two days' journey. According to Dr. Bühler, K. R., p. lxxii., 'it is situated in the Lâr Pargaṇâ, not far from the Haramukuṭagaṅgâ, and is a station on the pilgrimage to the latter.'

171 °भिक्षादानो° P. °चयनुपनतपर° P.

lines 33 and 38 to 47, all the **decimal figures** except 8. The *virâma* is represented throughout by its proper Kanarese sign. The average **size of the letters** is about $\frac{1}{8}''$. The engraving is bold and good. — The **language** is Sanskṛit, in verse, in lines 1-2, and 11 to 32; the rest of the inscription is in Old-Kanarese prose. The Sanskṛit portion contains the following words which are not given in Monier-Williams' Dictionary; *saṁbhadratâ*, line 1; *vyâvêshṭana*, line 15; *kalmâshaka*, line 16; *prôjjṛimbhita*, line 21; and *bumbhuka*, line 27. This last word seems to mean something like 'an object of wonder.' Except that the first syllable is spelt with the aspirated *bh*, whereas here the simple *b* is very distinct, it occurs also in an inscription at Kôlâpur, which commences *para-nârapâṭa-bhumbhuka-baḷaṁ*. — In respect of **orthography**, the only points that need be noticed are (1) the use of *j* for *y* in the word *ârjya*, for *âryya*, line 20; (2) the doubling of *d* and *bh* (by *bh*, instead of by *b*), before *r*, in *bhaddram* and *saṁbhaddratâ*, line 1, and in *bhbhramaraṁ*, line 12-13; and (3) the use of *chhchh* for *chchh* in *gachhchhêshu tuchhchhê*, line 19; though not in other places.

The **inscription** refers itself to the reign of **the Western Châlukya king Sômêśvara I.**, who is here mentioned by his *biruda* of **Trailôkyamalladêva.** And it mentions his wife, **Kêtaladêvî**, who was governing or managing the Ponnavâḍa *agrahâra*. It is a **Jain inscription**; the object of it being to record how Châṅkirâja, Châṅkaṇârya, or Châṅkimayya, of the Vânasa or Vâṇasa family, an officer of Kêtaladêvî, built shrines of Śântinâtha, Pârśva, and Supârśva, at Ponnavâḍa, in a *chaityâlaya* called 'the ornament of the three worlds' (*tribhuvana-tiḷaka*), and how the shrines were endowed with certain lands and houses.

Of the **places** mentioned in this record, **Ponnavâḍa** is, of course, **the modern Honwâḍ** itself. It is mentioned as an *agrahâra* in **the Bâge Fifty**; this sub-division probably took its name from the ancient Hûvina-Bâge of inscriptions, which is the modern Raibâg or Raybâg in the Kôlâpur State, about forty-eight miles to the south-east of Honwâḍ. The Bâge Fifty is further described as a *kampaṇa* or sub-circle in **a group of Six-hundred towns**, the name of which is not given, in **the Tardhavâḍi Thousand.** The district that is thus referred to, is the **Tardavâḍi or Taddavâḍi Thousand, or Tardavâḍi nâḍ and Taddavâḍi vishaya**, of other inscriptions, which took its name from a place that still exists as a small village, *viz.* **Taddewâḍi**, — the 'Tuddehwarree' and 'Tudewadee' of maps, — on the south bank of the Bhîma, in the Inḍî Tâlukâ, thirty-seven miles to the north of Bijâpur. The inscriptions establish four forms of this name: — (1) It occurs as **Tardavâḍi** in the Bijâpur inscription of Śaka-Saṁvat 996;[1] in two other Bijâpur inscriptions of Saka-Saṁvat 1073 and 1118; in a Kannôḷḷi inscription of Śaka-Saṁvat 1086; and in a Sâlôṭgi inscription of Śaka-Saṁvat 1092. (2) The form **Taddavâḍi** occurs in a **Managôḷḷi** inscription of the time of Jaitugi I., and in another Bijâpur inscription of Śaka-Saṁvat 1156: here, we probably have the more popularly current form of the name. (3) The present inscription gives the form **Tardhavâḍi**; the actual reading, in line 7, being *tarddhavâḍi*, and the subscript *dh* being very clear; the same reading occurs also in a Sâlôṭgi inscription of Śaka-Saṁvat 1045; while a Śindagi inscription of Śaka-Saṁvat 1050 gives, still more pointedly, *tardhdhavâḍi*, in which the *dh* has been wrongly doubled, after the *r*, by *dh* instead of by *d*; and this last instance seems to shew quite conclusively that, whatever may be the explanation of this form of the name, with the aspirated *dh*, it is at any rate not a mistake. (4) And finally, a Dêûr inscription of Śaka-Saṁvat 985, gives what was evidently the original form of the name, *viz.* **Taḷḍavâḍi**; and this form, in connection with that of Tardavâḍi, which must be the next in

[1] In editing this inscription, — from not altogether satisfactory impressions, — I gave the reading of *taddevâḍi* (*ante*, Vol. X. p. 127, line 9). It is sometimes very easy to confuse the Old-Kanarese superscript *r* with the superscript *e*. But, from Mr. Cousens' ink-impression, I now find that the real reading is undoubtedly *tarddavâḍi*; and the other instances shew that it is not to be treated as a mistake, by the writer or the engraver, for *taddevâḍi*. — Curiously enough, the *Elliot MS. Collection* gives the reading of *taddevâḍi* in every instance in which it includes any of the passages referred to by me above; even in the case where *tardhdhavâḍi* occurs in the original.

order of time, gives an interesting instance of the change, in Kanarese, from *ḷ* to *r*. The grant was made by Sômêśvara I. himself, at the request of Kêtaladêvî, at **the town of Maṇiyûra-Appayanaviḍu on the bank of the river Bhîmanadî.** This must be the modern 'Munnoor' of the map, — undoubtedly **Maṇṇûr or Maṇûr** in correct spelling, — in the Nizâm's Dominions, on the north bank of the **Bhîma**, about seventeen miles east by south from Taddevâḍi. There is also a Maṇûr or Maṇṇûr just opposite, on the south bank, in the Indî Tâlukâ of the Bijâpur District; but it is a smaller place, and is probably a later offshoot from the other town. And lines 44 and 45 mention a place named Kannaḍige, in the Kaḷambaḍi Three-hundred (?), which was a division of the Karahaḍa Four-thousand. **Karahaḍa,** which is mentioned in Nâgavarman's *Karṇâṭakabhâshâbhûshaṇa*, Sûtra 175 (Rice's edition, p. 62), must be a corruption of **Karahâṭa,** which was the ancient name of **Karâḍ** in the Sâtârâ District. **Kaḷaṁbaḍi,** I feel no doubt, is the modern **Kanamaḍi** in the Athṇî Tâlukâ of the Belgaum District, about six miles north of Honwâḍ. **Kanamaḍi** is the recognised official form of the name (see *Bombay Places*, p. 53); and to arrive at it, there must have been two changes; first, from *ḷ* to *ṇ*, which is, I think, not infrequent in Old-Kanarese; and then from *ṇ* to *n*, of which we have an analogous instance in Managôḷḷi, from Mâṇiṅgavaḷḷi, in the Bâgewâḍi Tâluka, Bijâpur District. But the entry of 'Kunburree' in the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 40, shews that it is also known as **Kanabaḍi or Kaṇabaḍi.** And in English petitions I have found the name written 'Kalabadi;' but, whether this stands for **Kaḷabaḍi,** which would come quite naturally from Kaḷaṁbaḍi, — or for **Kalabaḍi,** which entails a third change, *viz.* of the *n* of Kanamaḍi into *l*, — I have not been able to determine. And **Kannaḍige** must be either the former name of **the modern Bâbânagar or Bâwânagar** in the Bijâpur Tâlukâ, six miles north-east of Honwâḍ, or else the name of some other village in that neighbourhood which does not now exist. At Bâbânagar, on a stone-tablet in a ruined Jain temple now known as the temple of Îśvara, there are the remains of a long Jain inscription of the time of the Kaḷachuri king Bijjaladêva, dated in the Vikrama *saṁvatsara* which was the Śaka year 1083 (current).[3] It mentions Kannaḍige four times (lines 28, 40, 42, 63); and the name is in each instance distinctly written with the lingual *ḍ*. In line 28, the context is not clear. Line 40 refers to a Kuḷkarṇi of Kannaḍige (*Kannaḍigeya piṭṭina kuḷakaraṇa* . . . .). Line 63 mentions "the *basadi* of Kannaḍige." While line 42 f., among the specification of the boundaries of some land that was granted, contains the words "to the west of the *mânya*-(land) of the god Râjêśvara-dêva of Kannaḍige;" which distinctly imply that Kannaḍige was at, or in the immediate vicinity of, Bâbânagar.

As regards **the date,** the inscription records that the grant was made on the occasion of the solar eclipse of Monday, the new-moon *tithi* of Vaiśâkha of the Jaya *saṁvatsara*, which was the Śaka year 976. By the southern luni-solar system, which is the one that applies in this case, **the Jaya saṁvatsara** coincided with Śaka-Saṁvat 977 current; *i. e.* with the given year as an expired year. In this year the given tithi, **Vaiśâkha kṛishṇa 15, ended on Tuesday, 10th May, A. D. 1054,** at about 14 *ghaṭis*, 50 *palas*, after mean sunrise (for Bombay). **And on this day there was a total eclipse of the sun,** visible in India. This is undoubtedly the eclipse that is intended. But, why the *parvakâla* of it should be coupled with the Monday, — though of course the new-moon *tithi* may, as a running *tithi*, be coupled with that day, as well as with the Tuesday, — is not apparent; unless the explanation is, that it was taken some three or four hours before the actual moment of the eclipse, and just before the sunrise at the end of the Monday.

In mentioning **Kêtaladêvî as a wife of Sômêśvara I.,** this inscription adds a fourth to his three wives already known (see *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 45), who were —

[3] Line 36 f.; the other details of this date are hopelessly illegible; as is nearly the whole of this record. Line 61, where there begins a second part of the inscription, contains another date; but here all that is legible, is [*saṁ*]*vatsarada Pushya bahuḷa* 12(?13) *Âdiṭyavâra-aṁdu*.

Chandalakabbe or Chandrikâdêvî, who was the *piriy-arasi*, or 'chief queen,' in Saka-Saṁvat 969; **Maiḷaladêvî**, who had the same title, and the government of the Banavâse Twelve-thousand, in Saka-Saṁvat 975; and **Bâchaladêvî**.

The inscription speaks of Kôtaladêvî as governing or managing the Ponnavâḍa *agrahâra* according to **the tribhôg-âbhyantara-siddhi**. This is a fiscal term which has hitherto been unexplained. There is an allusion to the **tribhôga** in the verse, in one of the Halsî grants, — adbhir dattaṁ tribhir bhuktaṁ sadbhiś cha paripâlitam êtâni na nivartantê pûrva-râja-kṛitâni cha, — "that which is given with libations of water; that which is enjoyed by three parties; and that which is preserved by good people; these (*grants*), and those that have been made by former kings, come not to an end (*i. e.* are not resumed)" (*ante*, Vol. VI. p. 27). And in one of the spurious Western Gaṅga grants, we have the same verse; except that, for *sadbhiś cha paripâlitam*, there is substituted *shaḍbhiś cha pratipâlanam* (for °*pâlitam*), which Mr. Rice rendered by "(a gift) maintained for six generations" (*ante*, Vol. V. p. 140). Also, the term **tribhôg-âbhyantara** occurs among the conditions attached to the grant of some villages by Kamalâdêvî, the wife of the Kâdamba Śivachitta-Permâḍi (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. IX. p. 275), and by the Kaḷachuri king Siṅghaṇadêva (*ante*, Vol. IV. p. 277); while, at the end of the inscription recording Kamalâdêvî's grants, certain lands are mentioned as being given **tribhôga-rahita**, 'without the *tribhôga*' (*loc. cit.* p. 270, line 45). In editing the latter two inscriptions, I suggested that the *tribhôga* might indicate something analogous to the Marâṭhî *tripîḍi-dâna*, 'a grant to be enjoyed by three generations.' But the present use of the term, in connection with the tenure enjoyed by the wife of a reigning sovereign, is opposed to that interpretation; unless it could be assumed that she derived her right from a grant made to her grandfather. Moreover, in the verse quoted above, whether the true original reading in the source, — probably some law-book, — from which it is taken, is *sadbhiś cha paripâlitaṁ* or *shaḍbhiś cha paripâlitam*, the words *na nivartantê*, in the second part of the verse, plainly indicate that *tribhir bhuktaṁ* does not indicate a grant the enjoyment of which is to be continued for only three generations, or for any limited time. And the true explanation of the term is undoubtedly supplied by the Ḍambaḷ grant of Harihara II. of Vijayanagara; which describes how he divided the district of Gadag, consisting of sixty-six villages, into three equal portions, each of twenty-two villages, of which he retained one as the king's share, allotted the second for the rites of two gods at Gadag, and gave the third as an *agrahâra*-grant to a number of Brâhmaṇs (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XII. p. 377 f.). This Ḍambaḷ grant does not actually include the term *tribhôga*. But there can be no doubt that the three-fold division recorded in it, illustrates the meaning of the term. And the full expression **tribhôg-âbhyantara-siddhi**, *lit.* 'the accomplishment of that which is included in the *tribhôga* or triple enjoyment,' plainly denotes a joint tenure enjoyed by a private person, a god or gods, and Brâhmaṇs. The same thing is indicated by such gifts as were made to private persons "with the exception of previously-given grants to gods and Brâhmaṇs" (*e. g. Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 190). On the other hand, the term **sarv-âbhyantara-siddhi** (*e. g. ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 83, line 20) plainly denotes a grant with full and complete rights of enjoyment, made to only one class of grantees.

Other terms of the same class are — *êkabhôga* (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XII. p. 347, line 41), *êka-bhôgya* (*id.* p. 385, line 68), and *êkabhôgya-grâma*, coupled with the succession of sons and sons' sons (*id.* p. 389, line 135) which occurs in grants made to one person only, and plainly indicate a sole and entire right of enjoyment; and *gaṇa-bhôgya* (*id.* p. 357, line 120), which qualifies the twenty-two villages that were given by Harihara II. to the Brâhmaṇs on *agrahâra*-terms, and plainly indicates a joint tenure by a number of persons. We have also *ashṭabhôga* (see page 244 above); this, however, refers, not to an eight-fold division of property, but to eight classes of objects to which proprietary rights can attach; so that it is not exactly analogous to the others.

TEXT.[3]

1 Ôm[4] [॥*] Bhaddram[5]=astu Jina-śâsanâya saṁbhaddratâṁ-prati[6]vidhâna-hêtavê anya-vâdi-ma-
2 dahasti-mastaka-sphâṭanâya ghaṭanê paṭîyasi [॥*] Ôm Svasti Samasta-bhuva-
3 n-âśraya śrî-pṛithvî-vallabha mahârâjâdhirâja paramêśvara paramabhaṭṭâ-
4 rakaṁ **Satyâśraya-kuḷa**-tiḷakaṁ **Châḷuky**-âbharaṇaṁ śrîmat-**Traiḷôkyamalladêvara**
5 vijaya-râjyam=uttarôttar-âbhivṛiddhi-pravarddhamânam=â-chaṁdr-ârkka-târaṁ ba-
6 raṁ saluttam-ire [।*] Tad-viśâḷ-ôra[ḥ*]sthaḷa-nivâsiniyar=appa śrîmat-**Kêtaladêviyar**
7 **Tarddhavâḍi**[7]-**sâsiraḍ**-oḷagaṇ=**aṟunûṟuṁ-bâḍada khaṁpaṇa**[8] **Bâgey-ayvattara**
8 baḷiyam=uttamam-agrahâraṁ **Ponnavâḍamaṁ** tribhôg-âbhyaṁtara-siddhiyind=âḷutta-
9 m-ire [।*] Tat-pâdapadm-ôpajîvi gaṇaka-chûḍâmaṇiyu[ṁ*] **Vâṇasa**[9]-**kuḷ**-âṁbara-bhânuvuṁ
10 Arhach-chhâsana-mûḷa-staṁbhavuṁ Kalikâla-śrêyâṁsanuṁ samyakt[v*]a-ratnâkaranum=a-
11 ppa ॥ **Vânasa**[10]-**vaṁśa**-kûrmma-nibha-**Komma**-jagad-vinut-**Âttikâṁbikâ**-sûnur=udâtta-kî-
12 rtti-dhavaḷîkṛita-dig=Jina-yôgi-râṇ=Mahâsêna-munîṁdra-pâdakamaḷa-bhṛibhra (bhra) ma-
13 raṁ paripûṛṇṇa-châru-vidyâ-nidhi-**Châṁkirâja**-vibhur=âśrita-śishṭa-jan-ê
14 shṭa-tushṭi-da[ḥ*] ॥ Gaṁbhîrô[11] bahu-śaṁkha-matsya-makara-śrîmattaḷaṁsâtvikê[12] Lakshmî-ja-
15 nma-gṛihas=samasta-vasudhâ-vyâvêshṭan-ôdyad-yaśaḥ-antar[13]jjyôtita-châru-ra-
16 tna-nivahô nirddhûta-kalmâshakû jîv-ânanda-ras-âkarô vijayatê sa-
17 myakt[v*]a-ratnâkaraḥ ॥ Âhâr[14]-âbhaya-bhaisa(sha)jya-śâstra-dânê tathâ paraṁ **Châṁkaṇ-â-**
18 **ryyas=samô**[15] n=âsti na bhûtô na bhaviśya(shya)ti [॥*] Ôm [॥*] Śrî[16]-**Mûlasaṁghê** Jina-sha(dha)rmma-mûḷê gaṇ-âbhi-
19 dhânê vara-**Sêna**-nâmni gachchhê(chchhê)shu tuchchhê(chchhê)=pi **Pogaryy**-abhikhyê saṁstûyamânô mu-
20 nir=Ârjya(ryya)sênaḥ ॥ Anêka-bhûpâḷaka-mauḷi-ratna-śôṇâṁśu-bâḷâtapa-jâḷakâni(ni)
21 prôjjriṁbhita-śri-charaṇâraviṁda-śrî-Brahmasêna-pra(vra)tinâtha-śishya[ḥ*] ॥ Tasy[17]=Âryya-
22 sênasya mun-îśvarasya śishyô Mahâsêna-mahâ-mna(mu)nîṁdra[ḥ*] samu(mya)ktva-ratn-ô-
23 j[j*]vaḷit-âṁtaraṁga[ḥ*] saṁsâra-nîrâkara-sêtu-bhûta[ḥ*] ॥ Taj-Jaina-yôgîṁdra-padâbja-
24 bhṛiṁga[ḥ*] śrî-**Vânas-âmnâya**-viyat-pataṁga[ḥ*] śrî-**Kommarâj**-âtmabhavas=su-têja-
25 s-samyaktva-ratnâkara-**Châṁkirâja**[ḥ*] ॥ Kaḷaṁka[18]-muktas=satat-aikarûpô dôsh-êtara-
26 śrî-niḷayas=samasta-bhavy-âbja-saṁdôha-vikâsa-hêtu[ḥ*] virâjatê nûtana-**Châṁkirâ-**

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[3] From the ink-impression.

[4] The symbol here is apparently an eight-leaved water-lily, with a bud projecting downwards; it is, I conclude, intended for the word *ôm*. In the other places, in lines 2, 18, 32, 33, 41, and 43, the ordinary plain symbol is used.

[5] Metre, Rathôddhatâ.

[6] Read °*tâ-prati*°. I do not find the word *saṁbhaddratâ*, — nor *saṁbhaddra*, from which it is formed, — in Monier-Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary. It was perhaps invented for the sake of the metre.

[7] See the introductory remarks. [8] See note 26 below.

[9] Here the nasal in the second syllable is distinctly the lingual *ṇ*. In lines 11 and 24, it is as distinctly the dental *n*.

[10] Metre, Utpalamâlikâ. The language here is Sanskṛit. But the metre, I believe, is purely Kanarese; and the usual *prâsa*, or alliteration of the second syllable of each *pâda*, which is a peculiar feature of Kanarese poetry, is followed here.

[11] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita. Here, the *prâsa* is not introduced.

[12] Some emendation is needed here. Perhaps °*śrî-matta-haṁsa-ânvitô* was intended: but it does not seem very appropriate.

[13] The proper reading, if *saṁdhi* were adhered to, would be *yaśô-ntar*. What we have in the text, must be looked upon as a metrical license.

[14] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh). [15] Read °*âryya-samô*.

[16] Metre, Upajâti, of Indravajrâ and Upêndravajrâ; and in the next verse.

[17] Metre, Indravajrâ; and in the next verse. [18] Metre, Upajâti, of Indravajrâ and Upêndravajrâ

27 ja[ḥ*] || Tan[19]-nirmmitaṁ bhuvana-buṁbhukam=aty-udâttaṁ lôka-prasiddha-vibhav-
ônnata-**Ponnavâ-**
28 ḍê raṁramyatê parama-Śâṁti-Jinêṁdra-gêhaṁ pârśva-dvay-ânugata-Pârśva-Supâ-
29 rśva-vâsaṁ || Mahâsêna[20]-munê-chchhâtraṁ **Châṁkirâjêna**[21] nirmmitaṁ drashṭukâm-
âgha-saṁhâ-
30 ri Śâṁtinâthasya biṁbakaṁ || Mahâsêna-munîṁdrasya chchhâtrêṇa Jinavarmmaṇa
chhattrî-
31 kṛita-mahâ-nâgaṁ rachitaṁ Pârśva-daivataṁ || Janakasya **Kommarâjasya**[22]
dharmm-ôddê-
32 śâd=vinirmmitâ râjatê **Châṁkirâjêna** Supârśva-pratim-ôttamâ [||*] Ôm
33 Ôm **Sa(śa)ka-varsha 976neya Jaya-saṁvatsarada Vaisâ(śâ)khad=amâvâsye(sye)**
Sômavârad-aṁdina śû(sû)-
34 **ryya-grahaṇa-nimitya(tta)diṁ Bhîma-nadiya** taḍiya **Maṇiyûra-Appayaṇaviḍi-**
35 **noḷ Ponnavâḍadoḷ Châṁkimayyana** mâḍisida śrî-Śântinâtha-dêvara tribhuvana-
tiḷaka-chai-
36 tyâlayadal=irppa riśi(shi)yar=ajjiyar=âhâra-dânakke sarvvanamasya(sya)v-âge(gi) śrîmat-
Trai-
37 **ḷôkyamalladêvar** śrî-**Kêtaladêviyara** binnapadiṁ mûvattu-gêṇa gaḷeyoḷ
38 biṭṭa nela matta[r*][23] 35 tôṁṭa matta[r*] 1 nivêsaṇad=agalaṁ â gaḷeyoḷ gaḷe
4 gêṇu 17
39 nîḷaṁ gaḷe 9 baḷaṁbe-nivêsaṇaṁ mûḍaṇa beḷadoḷ=â gaḷeyoḷ agalaṁ gaḷe 3
40 nîḷaṁ gaḷe 7 gôpurada mûḍaṇa aṁgaḍigaṁ gâṇa 1 alli besa-geyva kalkuṭiga-
41 ra mane 1 sâvagar=irppa pole-mane 1 [||*] Ôm Alliya Supârśva-dêvara
basadi-
42 ge â gaḷeyoḷ mattara salike aruvaṇada lekkade biṭṭa nelaṁ matta[r*] 355
43 â gaḷeyoḷ tôṁṭa matta[r*] 1 gâṇa 1 [||*] Ôm Tammaṁ Jinavarmmayyana
mâḍisida
44 Pârśva-dêvara basadige **Karahaḍa-nâlchhâsirad**-oḷagaṇa **Kaḷaṁbaḍi-300ṛara**[24] **baḷiya**
45 **Kannaḍigeya** Saṁkharasana magaṁ manneyaṁ Vajjarasana guḍḍe-mânya 500-
matta[r*]-kkey=o-
46 lage mûvattu-gêṇa gaḷeyoḷ=sarvvanamaśya(sya)m-âge(gi) **Châṁkimayyaṁ** mâru-goṇḍa
47 biṭṭa nelaṁ matta[r*] 35 [||*]

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

After a verse invoking prosperity for the *Jina-śâsana* or precepts of the Jain religion, the inscription proceeds: — While the ayslum of the universe, the favourite of fortune and of the earth, the *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, the *Paramêśvara*, the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka*, the ornament of **the family of Satyâśraya** (line 4), the glory of **the Châḷukyas**, the glorious **Traiḷôkya-malladêva-(Sômêśvara I.)** is reigning: —

And while his wife (*lit.* "she whose abode is on his broad breast"), the glorious **Kêtaladêvî** (l. 6), is governing, or managing, according to the *tribhôg-âbhyantara-siddhi* (l. 8), the excellent **agrahâra of Ponnavâḍa,** which is included in[25] **the Bâge Fifty,**

[19] Metre, Vasantatilaka.
[20] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh); and in the following two verses.
[21] Read °*muni-chchhâtra-châṁki*°.
[22] Read *janaka-komma*°.
[23] See note 29 below.
[24] Or perhaps 200*ṛara*. There has been a correction in the first figure. Either 2 was engraved, and corrected into 3; or else 3 was engraved, and corrected into 2. It is difficult to say which was really the case; but I think that the correction was from 2 into 3.
[25] *baḷiya* is another form of the Kanarese *baḷiya*, 'near to, in the vicinity of.' But a comparison of Sanskrit with Kanarese passages shews that it is constantly used in exactly the sense of *madhya-vartin*, 'being in the middle of being situated in.' For a fuller note on the word, see *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 250, note 37.

which is a khampaṇa[26] **of the Six-hundred-towns which are (a group) in the Tardhavâḍi Thousand** (l. 7): —

Her feudatory, a very crest-jewel of *Gaṇakas*, a very sun in the sky which is **the Vâṇasa family** (l. 9), a very foundation-pillar of the precepts of the *Arhat*, the son of **Komma** who was a very tortoise in (*the pond which is*) **the Vânasa race** (l. 11), and of (*his wife*) **Attikâmbikâ, —** is the lord **Châṅkirâja** (l. 13), who is a very king among Jain ascetics, and who is a bee on the water-lilies which are the feet of Mahâsêna, the chief of saints (l. 12).

Two verses follow in praise of Châṅkirâja, who is also called **Châṅkaṇârya** (l. 17); and then there is introduced a fuller mention of the descent of his preceptor: —

In the famous **Mûlasaṁgha** (l. 18), which is the root of the religion of Jina, in **the gaṇa** or sect which has the excellent name of **Sêna** (l. 19),[27] and **in the gachchha** which, small or insignificant though it is among *gachchhas*, has the appellation of **Pogari**, there was the saint Âryasêna (l. 20), spoken of with praise. He was the disciple of the holy Brahmasêna (l. 21). And his own disciple, again, was Mahâsêna, the great chief of saints (l. 22), whose mind is irradiated by the jewel of complete correctness of behaviour, and who is a very bridge over the ocean of worldly existence. And **Châṅkirâja** (l. 25), a very bird in the sky which is **the Vânasa family** (l. 24),[28] the son of the illustrious **Kommarâja**, is a very bee on the water-lilies which are the feet of that same chief of Jain ascetics. By this **Châṅkirâja** (ll. 26, 29), at the well-known **Ponnavâḍa** (l. 27), there was constructed a shrine of the Jinêndra Śânti, having on its two sides abodes of Pârâva and Supârśva; and also an image of Śântinâtha, which removes the sins of those who are desirous of beholding it. Also Jinavarman (l. 30), another disciple of Mahâsêna, fashioned an image of Pârśva, having a great *nâga*-serpent for its umbrella or canopy. And, for the religious merit of his father **Kommarâja** (l. 31), **Châṅkirâja** constructed also a most excellent image of Supârśva.

On account of the eclipse of the sun of Monday, the new-moon tithi of (the month) Vaiśâkha of the Jaya saṁvatsara, which was the 976th Śaka year (l. 33), at **the town of Maṇiyûra-Appayaṇavîḍu on the bank of the river Bhîmanadî** (l. 34), the glorious **Traiḷôkyamalladêva** (ll. 36-37), at the request of the glorious **Kêtaladêvî**, gave the following grants, as *sarvamasya*-grants, in order to provide food for the saints at the *chaityâlaya* called 'the ornament of the three worlds' (*tribhuvana-tiḷaka*), which **Chaṅkimayya** (l. 35) had caused to be built at **Ponnavâḍa**; *viz.* by the measure of a staff of the length of thirty spans, 35 *mattars*[29] of ordinary land, and 1 *mattar* of garden-land; also a house or courtyard, 4 staffs and

[26] The usual form of this word is *kampaṇa*, with the unaspirated *k* in the first syllable, which must be another form of the Kanarese *kampaḷa*, *kampiḷu*, 'a cluster, heap, assembly, multitude.' But I am not prepared to say that the form which we have here, with the aspirated *kh*, is a mistake; it may be a recognised variant.

[27] It seems to be identical with the "lineage of Sêna (*Sên-ânvaya*)," which is mentioned in line 8 of the Jain inscription at Muḷgund (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 191).

[28] One of the meanings of *âmnâya* is 'a family, or series of families.' But the use of the word seems to indicate rather 'a school of tradition' than 'a family' in the strict sense of the word. In lines 9 and 11, however, the words used are *kula* and *vaṁśa*; and these indicate 'a family' in the proper sense of the word.

[29] The proper form of this word is *mattar* or *mattaru*. But, curiously enough, the final *r* has been omitted in this record in every instance in which the word stands in the nominative; and the only indications of the real word are given by the genitive in *mattara salike*, line 42, and by *matta-kkey-oḷage* (for *mattar-kkey-oḷage*), line 45, where the double *k* is caused by the *r*, which, however, has been omitted even here. Similar instances of the omission of the *r*, through carelessness, occur in other records; but generally they give the word at least once in its proper form; *e. g.* in line 60 f. of an inscription at Tâḷgund (*P. S. and O.-K. Inscrs.* No. 219) we have *mattar-oṁdu . . . . . matta 2 . . . . . are-vattara lekkada mattaru 3 . . . . . matta 1 . . . . . kamma 20 aṁtu matta 5 kamma 20*; and the words *mattar-ondu*, 'one *mattar*,' in this passage, are in themselves sufficient to shew the real form of the word. — I have met somewhere with the dative case, *mattariṁge*; but I cannot just now give the reference. The genitive, *mattara*, occurs in the above passage (*are-vattara lekkada*, 'by the calculation or rate of half a *mattar*'), and in line 42 of the present record. — An older form of the word was *mattal*: *e. g.*, *ante*, Vol. XI. p. 70, line 19; and the two forms give another instance of the frequent changes, in Kanarese, between *l* and *r*. — An inscription at Bâḷambîd (*Elliot MS. Collection*, Vol. I. p. 585 ff.) contains the expressions *kamma 50 . . . . . kamma 50 antu mattar-ondu . . . . . kamma 60 . . . . . kamma 40 antu mattar-ondu*; which shew that one *mattar* was equal to

17 spans broad, and 9 staffs in length; also, in the eastern crop-land (*bela* ?), a *baḷambe*-house or courtyard, 3 staffs broad, and 7 staffs in length; also one oil-mill among the shops on the east of the *gôpura*; also, at the request of the stone-cutters there, one house; and also one house of low-caste people, in which the *Sâvagas* were. And to the temple of the god Supârśva at that place (l. 41), by the measure of the same staff, there were allotted, at the rate of half a *paṇa* as the payment for a *mattar*, 355 *mattars* of ordinary land, and one *mattar* of garden-land, and one oil-mill.

To the temple of the god Pârśva, which his younger brother Jinavarmayya had caused to be made (l. 43), Châṅkimayya bought and gave, as a *sarvanamasya*-grant, 35 *mattars* of ordinary land in the cultivable land, measuring 500 *mattars*, which is the *guḍḍe-mânya*[30] of the worthy Vajjarasa, the son of Saṅkharasa of **Kannaḍige** (l. 45), which is included in **the Kaḷambaḍi Three-hundred** (?) which is in **the Karahaḍa Four-thousand.**

FOLKLORE IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

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

No. 33.—The Six Good Maxims.[1]

In the ancient city of **Mathurâ**, in Southern India, there lived a famous king, at whose court was a Paṇḍit for whose sayings he had the greatest respect and the most implicit faith. Now the Paṇḍit's son and the king's son were great friends. Their names were **Nayanamanôhara and Satyaparâkrama.** They were playmates from their earliest boyhood, studied under the same teachers, and from their first acquaintanceship became inseparable companions.

The Paṇḍit's learning and influence with the king had earned him a pretty large fortune, and he was, moreover, a very prudent and cautious man. Being advanced in years he foresaw that he had not much longer to live, and though his son, Nayanamanôhara, was a learned man, he had not much confidence in him. His son was indeed a prodigal, given to the company of loose women, and he was sure that as soon as he died he would waste his property in no time if bequeathed to him. So, calling his wife aside, he spoke thus to her:—

"My dear old wife; something within me tells that I am to die before you, and so you will be left in sole charge of all our property. You must therefore exercise a careful watch over it, for otherwise I fear that our son will get rid of it before long. Now, should it ever happen that notwithstanding your watchfulness he should lose all I have to leave, and finds that he has nothing to live upon, **give him this scroll,** telling him that it is worth six *lâkhs* of *mohars*. But unless such an event happens, **never even mention its existence to him.**" Thus the old man advised his wife, and she agreed to abide by all that he said. After some months the old man was taken suddenly ill, and soon breathed his last.

Nayanamanôhara was now the master of a large fortune, but his old mother was at first very careful and allowed him to have very little to say to the management of it. However, little by little, after repeated cajoling, he won her over and got the management of the whole property into his own hands. This accomplished, he wasted all his wealth in no time, and before a full year had elapsed after the father's death, it was all gone.

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one hundred *kammas*; but the value of the *kamma*, or *kamba*, has not, I think, been yet determined. — Also, line 60 f. of the Tâlgund inscription referred to above, seems to shew that one *mattar* was taken to yield two *khaṇḍikas* of grain (*khaṇḍika* = the Marâṭhî *khaṇḍî*, 'a candy,' and Kanarese *khaṇḍaga*, *khaṇḍuga*; also *khaṇḍaka* occurs, *ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 55, line 116). But, whether this is so, or whether *khaṇḍika* is a land-measure, equal to half a *mattar*, I cannot say for certain, without seeing an ink-impression of the inscription.

[30] This term remains to be explained. *Mânya* means 'lands either liable to a trifling quit-rent, or altogether exempt from tax.' *Guḍḍe* means 'a heap; a square head-cloth, a scant and poor turban;' also 'a grave;' and in certain technical passages, 'a heap of stones over a grave' (see *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 211, note 17).

[1] An amplified variant of the stories of the *Four Good Maxims*, see *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 348; Vol. XIX. p. 126.

One day he was sitting sullenly idle, when his old mother, who, in spite of all his faults, loved him very dearly, approached him and said:—"Why are you so moody today? I have been repeatedly advising you against the company you keep, but in your headlong extravagance you never heeded the words of your poor old mother. You must now pay dearly for your folly. You have wasted all our property, and we have not even a mouthful left for our morning meal! But foreseeing how you would behave, your old father left a scroll with me which he said was worth six *lâkhs* of *mohars*. You can dispose of it now for whatever you like and with the money that you realise live in comfort for a while longer."

Thus spoke the old lady, and Nayanamanôhara was delighted to hear that there was still some valuable property left to him. Being an educated man and having the greatest regard for his father's attainments, he thought that if the old man had fixed six *lâkhs* of *mohars* as the price of the scroll, it must be well worth that amount. So he asked for it; and when it was brought to him, he read in it the following **six maxims**:—

(1) A father should always check and never forgive.

(2) A mother should always forgive and never check.

(3) Do not send your wife long to her parents' house.

(4) When in reduced circumstances do not go to your sister's house.

(5) But when in reduced circumstances seek always your oldest friend.

(6) A country not examined in disguise will always be ruined.

When Nayanamanôhara read these maxims, he shed many tears at the truth conveyed in the first two, which were so applicable in his own case. As long as the old man had lived he was always checking him, and throughout several years of an evil extravagant life he had not lost any of his property. But in the very first year after his death he had managed to throw away everything. He now saw clearly that it was his mother's repeated forgiveness of all his sinful expenditure that was the cause of his ruin. So finding that the **first two maxims** had turned out so true, he took it as an indication of the correctness of the four to follow, and therefore considered that the document was fully worth what his father estimated; so he took it and **cried its value in the streets**, asking who would buy it. Many took him to be mad:—for who would be willing to part with six *lâkhs* of *mohars* for an inscribed palm-leaf? So without any success, Nayanamanôhara at length reached the street in which the palace was situated. **Satyaparâkrama**, the prince of the city, was standing in the topmost storey of his house after his morning bath in scented sandal-oil, arranging his hair, when the words, "A scroll of six maxims to sell; each maxim is worth a *lâkh* of *mohars*," fell on his ears.

The prince turned his eyes in the direction from which the voice proceeded, and was astonished to see that it was his own boyhood's companion who was thus crying out. Calling to him by his name, the prince enquired after his welfare, as they had never met after their school-days. Then Satyaparâkrama enquired, over and over again, whether the maxims were really written by the old Paṇḍit, and on Nayanamanôhara's assuring him as often that they were, and that his father had left them to him as property worth six *lâkhs* of *mohars*, the prince began to think to himself:—"Surely! If the old Paṇḍit fixed the price at six *lakhs*, it must be worth that and more, and my friend, though he may be in reduced circumstances, won't receive any presents from me; so in buying this scroll I shall gain a double benefit: one to myself in buying the sayings of a holy man and testing the truth of them, and the other to my friend in giving him the six *lâkhs* as their price."

Thus argued the prince and bought the scroll for the sum that was named. The Paṇḍit's son returned home with this fresh and larger fortune, and having now learnt the value of money, began to lead a chaste and simple life. His mother also took part in checking his expenses.

Now, three months before the prince had bought this scroll, he had sent his wife to her parents' house, to be present at a wedding that was coming off there. But one wedding had

followed another, and she had been obliged to stay for all of them, and so had been absent a long while. Meanwhile a calamity befell our prince. His father, the old king, on examining his son's accounts, saw six *lâkhs* of *mohars* entered as an item of expenditure for the purchase of a scroll of palm-leaf containing six maxims. Now, he was a miser, and anger came over him. "Fly from my presence, you fool of a prince, who does not know the value of money, and never return to this kingdom without restoring the money thus ill-spent," roared the old man, and **our hero**, the prince, out of shame and disappointment, **ran away from home.** He, who had been from his birth in the enjoyment of the best of everything, was now a homeless fugitive. Unwilling to shew his face to the world as a prince banished by his father for his extravagance, he assumed the **disguise of a beggar.**

Now his wife had jewels which were worth several *lâkhs*, and as he was extremely attached to her, he sent her word secretly, informing her of his reduced condition, and asking her to replace the ill-spent money by the sale of a portion of her jewels so that he might return home happily. In reply he was told that her father had possession of all of them, and that he was unwilling to dispose of any of them. Thus disappointed, our hero went as a beggar from village to village and city to city, till at last he reached the town where his sister was living.

His sister was married to a rich *Pêshkâr* who was a kind of general under the emperor of the Pâṇḍya country to whom Satyaparâkrama's father, the king of Mathurâ, paid tribute, and to her house our hero went. He knocked at the door at about midnight, just as the master and mistress of the house were retiring to rest. "Who is it that knocks?" called out his brother-in-law. "Satyaparâkrama," answered our hero from outside. "Begone thou ghost. Do not lie thus. Satyaparâkrama would never have had any occasion to come here," replied his sister. But after repeated explanations from our hero outside, his sister at last, without the knowledge of her husband, who cared little whether the person outside was his brother-in-law or not opened the door, and when she found that it was her own brother transformed into a beggar, driven from his home on account of his recklessness in spending his father's money, she had no regard for him, but went inside, telling the servants to give the beggar outside some stale gruel. She was ashamed to acknowledge a brother in so lowly a beggar. Her servants did as they were directed, and gave him a little stale gruel, and went away. Satyaparâkrama now thought of the **fourth maxim** in his dearly bought scroll. A mixed feeling of pleasure and pain came over him; pleasure, that, though his father had thought him reckless in paying so much for the scroll, it still deserved that price for the valuable way in which it had generalized truths; pain, that his sister should have gone so far as to renounce her natural feelings of affection because he was in reduced circumstances. His hunger was so great that, though what was given him was gruel, — and that, too, stale, — he heartily drank a portion of it, and left the rest buried with the pan in which it had been served up in the hay-yard adjacent, and left the place.

He next resolved to go to his wife's house, and live there for a while till better days dawned. Travelling many *kôs* for several days he at last reached the town where she lived. It was about midnight when he entered it. Everything in the streets was still, and it was very dark. Not knowing which way to turn, our hero was standing in confusion, when he was accosted by a hoarse voice saying, "Who is there?" "A beggar, newly arrived here, and standing confused because he does not know the way," replied our hero. "Then you can be my lamp-bearer now, and so earn a night's rest in the outer verandah of my house," said the person, who was the *Kôtwâl* or chief police officer of the city.

Satyaparâkrama took the lamp and walked in the direction indicated by the police officer who followed him. The *Kôtwâl* was a very rich man, and his house was near the house of our hero's father-in-law. And what is more, Satyaparâkrama's wife used to visit him every night. It was reached at last, and telling the lamp-bearer to wait outside, the *Kôtwâl* entered it; and at the very threshold he was accosted by a beautiful young lady whose voice was very clearly recognized by the person standing outside.

"What! Is it my own wife, to whom I want to go next morning, that is now talking so very familiarly to the *Kôtwâl*, and reproving him for having made her wait so long? I must see what is going to happen. Fortune has conducted me here by chance, that I might know about my wife's conduct before going to her house." Thus pondered Satyaparâkrama, and the conversation that took place between the lady and the *Kôtwâl* inside, was more than sufficient to indicate her bad character. Unfortunately for the guilty pair, there were no betel-leaves to chew before they retired to bed. "Are we to sleep today without chewing?" asked the woman; and the *Kôtwâl* at once replied, "Don't be afraid, my dear! The fellow who is waiting with the lamp outside, will fetch us some leaves from the nearest *bâzâr*." So saying, the *Kôtwâl* searched for his keys. And the woman, not wishing to lose his company for even the time when he would be absent searching for his money, pulled off a ring from her right middle finger, and, giving it to her gallant, said that that would do for the occasion to fetch them some leaves. The police officer came out and called the beggar:— "Halloo! There is a *bâzâr* at the end of this street where you will find a *Chetṭi* sitting before a lamp with a very small light. Give him this ring, mentioning that the *Kôtwâl* sent it, and fetch me fifty betel-leaves. I will get the ring back tomorrow and give him the price." "Your lordship's orders shall be duly obeyed," said our hero, and instantly disappeared with the ring.

Now our hero did not know that it was his wife that had given the ring as a deposit for a few leaves not worth even a cowry. But the idea that a ring should be sacrificed for a few betel-leaves, awakened in his mind sufficient curiosity to make him examine it to see what it was worth. So he took it to a way-side lamp and examined it, and found it to be his own ring, given by him to his wife just as she was departing for her parents' house. He was pained to see that a wife, who would not part with her jewels to save the life and honour of her own husband, should have so easily given up a valuable ring for a few betel-leaves! But at the same time he was glad of the opportunity thus offered him of proving her guilty character when necessary. So, not wishing to lose it or shew it to any one, he concealed it in his cloth and proceeded to the *bâzâr*. He found the *Chetṭi* there, seated as described, with a very small light, and thus addressed him: — "Sir, I am the servant of the *Kôtwâl* and he has sent me to you for a few betel-leaves to chew, the price of which he has promised to pay you tomorrow. If you fail to oblige him now when he is in necessity, he has warned you to take care of your head tomorrow."

Now, *Kôtwâls* are always objects of dread to the public, and so the poor *Chetṭi* asked our hero to take as many leaves as he wanted. He took about fifty, and, not to be idle on his way, made them into neat halves and folded them up nicely. The master of the house was waiting outside for him, and Satyaparâkrama gave the leaves to him folded in half, and while they were being taken into the house, ran off like lightning for his own safety.

The betel-leaves were duly handed over to the woman inside, who at once saw from the manner of folding, which was a special art acquired by her husband, that the pretended servant was no other than her own husband disguised. This made her change colour, and stand as still as a statue. "What is the matter with you, my dear, that you pull such a long face at a time when you ought to be merry?" asked the *Kôtwâl*. "I am undone," cried she; "the person who has so nicely folded these leaves in this fashion must be my husband. He has traced me out, and I am sure that I am lost unless he is now captured and killed."

Meanwhile our hero was flying for his life, for he was sure that his wife would discover him, and send her sinful companion after him. And even so it was. No sooner did the *Kôtwâl* hear that the pretended servant or beggar was Satyaparâkrama, than he left the house, and with all his men began the search for him. Every possible nook and corner of the town was searched with no success, for Satyaparâkrama had left the town altogether with the quickness of a serpent and disappeared. But the *Kôtwâl*, to console the lady, told her that her husband had been caught and killed.

Our hero, after his escape, went through several places, and at last reached a town. All the way he pondered over his wife's conduct, and was vexed to see that he was partly the cause of it, as, by his sending her away for a long while to her parents' house, he had given her every opportunity to become wicked. In this case, too, he found one of the maxims, which he had so dearly bought, had proved true. Thinking on the way, he heard the sing-song noise of a palanquin passing, and on observing it closely he found an old friend of his seated in it. This at once brought into his mind **the fifth maxim** of the sage, that in adversity we must always seek our friends. To test the truth of it, he proceeded to the side of the palanquin and accosting its inmate in the most familiar style, said: — "Get down, you fool. Are you not ashamed to ride thus in a palanquin while your old friend is walking bare-footed?" The inmate was the young prime-minister of that empire, and was proceeding to the palace. His name was **Snêhapâtra.** He did not recognise his friend and school-day companion in his disguise, but being a wise man, he thought that there must be some meaning in the familiarity, and so at once coming down from the palanquin, he asked his friend to take his place. Our hero did so, and the young minister wrote a letter to his wife recommending the guest to her kind care, and telling her to behave to him in every way as to her husband. And secretly he sent a confidential letter to her of which we shall hear more by-and-bye.

Thus Satyaparâkrama was borne in the palanquin, and reached his friend's house, but his friend was not able to accompany him as there was some important business, pretended or real, on account of which he was obliged to be absent. When the minister's house was reached, the mistress thereof shewed him every kind of hospitality, and our hero found nothing wanting for his comfort. The day passed and night came on, and after supper Satyaparâkrama retired to rest. Just then the minister's wife placed before him her husband's letter, which said that she must behave to her guest as she would to her own husband. But as soon as our hero read it, he rose up and falling down before the lady, he said: — "Madam, you are my mother. For even so must we regard our friends' wives."

Thus saying he shed tears, and that most virtuous woman, — for so she was, as our readers shall soon know, — sent her husband word of what had occurred. This was part of the secret and confidential communication to her. The minister had also secretly informed her that, to see whether the pretended friend, whom he did not know, was a real friend or not, he had tried the trick of offering her up to him for his pleasure, because a true and sincere friend would shudder at the idea. Snêhapâtra had also arranged with the maid-servants secretly, that the guest should be watched and arrested in case he made any attempts to violate decency and take advantage of the letter. The minister's wife too had obeyed her lord in every way, divining the meaning of his proceedings. Snêhapâtra was all the while anxiously waiting in the palace to know the result of his scheme, and as soon as it was communicated to him, he hastened hence, embraced his friend, and like an honest man acknowledged his forgetfulness, and asked him who he was. When it was made known that the person whom he had thus tested was no other than the prince Satyaparâkrama, his joy knew no bounds. He enquired into the cause which had reduced him to such a poor state, and when all the prince's history had been related in detail, he wept for his friend's calamities. He then told him to forget the past, and live comfortably in his house till better days, which he said would not be far off. Thus, here, too, our hero found the wisdom of the Paṇḍit's maxim.

Snêhapâtra had an object in saying that the time would not be long before his friend saw better days. The emperor of that city was the great emperor of the Pâṇḍya country, to whom Satyaparâkrama's father used to pay tribute. He had an **only daughter** who was approaching the marriageable age, and of whom he was very anxious to dispose. But unfortunately he was not able to secure a suitable match for her. The minister knew all this and on the next day secretly tested the emperor's opinion whether His Majesty would have any objection to accept Satyaparâkrama as his son-in-law. His Majesty had often heard of the deep learning of that prince, but of the latter part of his life His Majesty had had no

opportunity of hearing. Seeing that the princess was approaching the age when she ought to be married, he consented with delight to the proposal of the minister, and praising him for his timely advice, gave his daughter in marriage to Satyaparâkrama. Our hero, too, disgusted with his former wife, was only too glad to get a better one in her place. And this was not all. He gained the empire, too, and had his own father for a tributary king, for the emperor's daughter was an only child. Soon after the marriage, he made Satyaparâkrama the prince royal and heir apparent to the empire, and to put him in the way of governing properly, he gave over the management of the whole country to his charge. Thus did our hero emerge from his adversity and was made a king, chiefly through the assistance of his friend Snêhapâtra.

The old king at Mathurâ had no idea of the good fortune that had come to his son, and though he had in haste banished him for his rashness in paying so high a price for the maxims, he afterwards extremely regretted the act. He had sent messengers in several directions to bring back the prince; but every one of them returned after long search, saying that he had been unable to find him. He was visibly growing older day by day, and his only son was banished! So he did not know what to do, and pined away in his misery. All these circumstances were duly brought to Satyaparâkrama's notice by a spy of his, whom he had despatched to ascertain the state of affairs at Mathurâ, and not wishing that he should be the source of trouble to his father, he proclaimed his intention of travelling throughout his dominions and seeing personally the state of his empire. His friend Snêhapâtra followed in his train, and the old emperor took upon himself to rule during his son-in-law's absence. Our hero proceeded by the same route by which he had originally come. So he had first to visit his former wife's house, but just before going to it, he sent word of his coming, and all his wife's people eagerly awaited him.

Except his guilty wife, no one suspected anything, and our hero duly alighted at her father's house. His father-in-law's family were, however, greatly amazed to hear that a young wife was accompanying the king, but as it is usual (in the East) for a king to have more than one wife, they consoled themselves. The royal party were carefully attended to, and the father-in-law shewed the greatest regard for his son-in-law whom he had not seen for so long a time. Meanwhile the first wife consoled herself by thinking that the beggar whom she had suspected to be her husband must have been some other fellow, as he had been killed, so far as she knew.

Our hero kept everything to himself for some time, and was kind and affable to every one, so that not a single person in the house suspected what was about to take place. But when the busy day was drawing to a close and night was fast approaching, our hero called his father-in-law to his side and requested him to send for his daughter and the *Kôtwâl*. It was an imperial mandate not to be disobeyed, and so they both arrived with trembling hearts. The father-in-law of Satyaparâkrama, knowing nothing of the intimacy that had been going on between his daughter and the police officer, did not know the reason of the *Kôtwâl's* being called into the presence, but being a very shrewd man he suspected something wrong; and so, seeing that he was troubled, and to keep him no more in suspence our hero thus began:—

"It is said by great men that a person has two fathers, — one his own, and the other his wife's. There is a proverb:— Did you present your daughter or did you present your eyes to a person in marriage?[2] When you gave me your daughter in marriage, you became my second father. Have you acted up to the position? When I was a houseless wanderer, banished by my own father, begging for my livelihood, and petitioned to you for help, did you assist me? The jewels which I had given to your daughter, you saved up, unwilling to part with them for my honour. But what did your own daughter do? She, for the sake of a few betel-leaves to chew, parted with this ring on account of the *Kôtwâl* who now stands before you! Such is your daughter's chastity! I am glad that I have no issue by her. And I shall not spare her nor her sinful companion." Thus saying he explained his wife's conduct in detail, and committed her and her gallant to the limekiln.

[2] *Peṇṇai koḍuttâyô kaṇṇai koḍuttâyô.*

Then he resumed his march and reached his sister's city. Before going to the house he despatched a special messenger to her, and she and her husband, the *Pêshkâr*, made special arrangements for feasting the emperor. His Majesty put on a smiling face to every one in the house, but when meal-time arrived and every one had sat down to his supper, he asked one of the servants to fetch the stale gruel in the pan from the hay-stall, and rejecting every grand dish that was served before him, began to eat the dirty old mess. Every one was amazed. Then Satyaparâkrama explained its history to the whole assembly, and also the truthfulness of **the maxim that one ought not to seek his sister in adversity.** The *Pêshkâr* and his wife were ashamed, and our hero left that place without speaking a word to any of them after the meal.

Thus passing through these two places our hero reached Mathurâ, where his father was almost on his death-bed. And when the old man heard that not only had his son become the emperor to whom he himself had to do homage, but also that he was himself coming to do the homage of a son to his old father, his sickness left him in a moment, and he sat up like a healthy man to welcome his son. After shedding tears for his former rash act, and overjoyed to see that that was in a way the cause of his son's greatness, the old man embraced Satyaparâkrama, his long lost son. And the son, too, in the joy of the occasion, forgot all his father's former cruelty to him, and kissed his feet. Thus were they again united and lived together for some time.

To reward his friend Snêhapâtra, who had protected him in his days of trouble, and who had secured him the empire, our hero Satyaparâkrama gave him sovereignty over Mathurâ and made him lord of that kingdom. Then he returned with his old father to his father-in-law, and reigned as emperor over the whole Pândya country.

"Thus **five of the six maxims having proved true** in the cases of Nayanamanôhara and Satyaparâkrama our hero was only waiting for an opportunity to find **the sixth and last maxim** true. He was in the habit of taking a nap at noon every day, and, just before doing so, of being shampooed by his maids. This always sent him off into a snooze. One day when he was thus only half asleep, one of the maids said to another near her:—"Sister, see the beautiful face of His Majesty asleep. While possessing such a husband as this moon among men, why should the empress visit the minister's house every night? And how is it that our monarch, so skilful in every thing else, is deceived in this matter?" Replied the other:—"You do not know the trick. I have long known it. Every night the empress gives the monarch a cup of milk, in which she mixes some powder which brings on such a profound sleep that he never gets up the whole night. Taking advantage of this, she spends the whole night in perfect security by the side of the minister." The monarch, at the first hint that the conversation was about his wife, was all wakefulness, but snored purposely, to make the maids round him believe that he was really asleep. He heard it all, and was much grieved at heart to hear the scandal about his wife, and resolved to find out the truth of it that very night.

It came on as usual, and just before retiring to bed, the empress brought him a cupful of milk. Said he, "I have left my snuff-box at the place where I supped, will you kindly fetch it, my dear?" To shew how very obedient she was to her lord, she ran off in haste, but before her return our hero had upset the milk in a corner of the room, and left the empty cup at the place where it was usually left by his wife. She soon returned with the box, and our hero received it from her hands, thanking her for the trouble, and took a pinch before her. He talked on for some time in a kindly way to her, while she all the while was waiting for the working of the medicine in the milk. She had taken a stolen glance at the cup and to her heart's joy found it empty. "Surely he has taken it and he must soon fall asleep," thought she; and Satyaparâkrama, seeing the anxiety in her face, determined to play the villain to catch a villain, and to all appearance fell asleep, while he was really watching the movements of his wife. About a *ghaṭikâ* after he began to snore, the empress got up, and quietly placing a long pillow in her place, left the bed. In a moment more she was out of the room.

Satyaparâkrama would have given no credit at all to the conversation of the maids, had he not known that he was daily given milk by his wife just before going to sleep. He was so much attached to her that even when he avoided the milk that night, he did not altogether suspect her. It might have been the excitement that kept him awake that night. But the suspicious way in which his wife arranged the pillow aroused every doubt. However, he gave her a full opportunity and did not leave his bed until she had time to get well away, and then searched for her secretly through the palace without success. He then proceeded to examine the town in disguise, to see what had taken place. He cursed himself for his stupidity in not having done this long before, and assuming the disguise of a beggar he left his palace by a secret way, and was soon in the streets of the town.

It was a dark night, and the presence of clouds in the sky made it darker still. Signs of approaching rain also set in, and soon the rain began to pour in torrents. In haste he ran for shelter into the outer circuit of a temple of Ganêśa,[3] where he found half a dozen neatherds — suppliers of milk to the palace — collected for a similar reason. Our hero, unobserved by them, sat down in a corner. Just then a lizard began to chirp, and one of the neatherds, who was well up in interpreting such things, said :—"Friends, do you know of anything wonderful tonight ?" They said :—What do we know ? We are not well read like you. Our fathers never taught us anything. If you will come out with one of your wonders we are prepared to listen to you." Said the first speaker: — "I do not know how far it may be true. But, if I am to believe in what my old father taught me, I must tell you that the lizard says that our emperor has left his palace tonight and is now in the town." "You are a great idiot," said one of the others, "to impose upon us with such absurd nonsense. In the dead of night, when it is raining cats and dogs, what could induce an emperor to leave his comfortable palace and expose himself to the wet? You are a fool to say so." Thus was the neatherd, who had nevertheless told the truth, ridiculed, while our hero admired from his hiding-place the deep knowledge of one of his own neatherds !

A *ghaṭikâ* after this the lizard again chirped, and the same neatherd said : — "Friends, you disbelieved me on that occasion; now you shall all know the truth of my statement. The lizard says, that in a minute the empress will pass by this very way to the minister's house !"

Again the other neatherds laughed, and said : — "This is still more absurd. You can thus impose on other neatherds that know nothing of the palace. But we are all suppliers of milk to the emperor and empress, and on several occasions we have met them. Oh ! shut your mouth ! Do not think that such a paragon of virtue would ever do such things." Thus did they ridicule him, but the sarcasms were hardly out of their mouths, before they heard the sing-song noise of a palanquin passing. It was a closed one, and they all then thought that after all the soothsayer must have been right in his remarks. But giving the benefit of the doubt to the empress, they still entertained a high regard for her chastity, and went away from that place. The rain had now ceased, and Satyaparâkrama, admiring the knowledge of the neatherd soothsayer, and abusing himself for having so doted upon his wife who on such a dreadful night had ventured out so shamelessly to her gallant's house, and pondering over the treachery of which she had been guilty, left the place too.

He had not gone far, before there were more signs of impending rain. So he again went into an humble verandah, to lie down and thus avoid the rain. In an opposite corner were sleeping two old Brâhmaṇ travellers, a husband and wife. They had come the previous evening from Benares, and wanted to see the emperor next morning and get a present from him.

In the last watch of the night, the old Brâhmaṇ got up to observe the stars and find out how much longer it would be before the lord of the day would appear in the horizon. While doing so he said : — "We are most unfortunate ! The tree for whose shade we have

[3] From this point the reader will find this story similar in some respects to some portions of *Ranavîrasing*, see *ante*, Vol. XIII. p. 262.

come so far, is to be cut at the root in a few moments." His old wife, on hearing this, was dumb with sorrow for a few moments, and then asked, "what is the matter?" Replied the old pilgrim, "In an hour or so a black serpent will sting the emperor, and he will die." "Can you not save that good soul who is about to be a great help to poor people like ourselves?" asked the old woman.

The Brâhman pointed out to her that, as they were very poor, it would be impossible for them to commence a rite to ward off the evil, because ghee, milk and so on would be wanted for it. Our hero overheard all that passed between them, and as if suggesting to them a way out of the difficulty, he asked the poor Brâhman to go to the neighbouring house and beg for some money. Accordingly he went, but go where he might he was rebuffed and turned out as a wily beggar who was demanding money under false pretences. The time was fast approaching for the serpent to come, and on wringing his hands at the disappointment of the poor Brâhman, our hero felt a ring on his finger which he had entirely forgotten. He at once pulled it off and giving it to the Brâhman, said:—"Here is a brass ring. Take it to the *Chetti* in the corner of this street who keeps his shop open by night only; make a good bargain and buy what little this can fetch and begin the serpent-rite."

The old Brâhman, glad to find that a beggar should be so merciful, ran to the *Chetti's* shop, and he, recognising the emperor's signet-ring in what was presented to him as a brass ring, and wishing to profit by it by returning it to the emperor next morning, asked the Brâhman to take what he liked. He, however, wanted only some rice, firewood and ghee, to conduct the snake-ceremony with, and taking these he returned to the verandah. The preparations were hastily made and the fire for the sacrifice lighted up. Several incantations were pronounced over it. In offering the rice, it was divided into three parts, one of which was presented to the very person on whose behalf the ceremony was undertaken, for the Brâhman called the supposed beggar who had assisted him with his brass ring, and threw into his cloth the third ball of rice, throwing the other two into the fire. Just at the close of the ceremony, a long and fat black serpent had secretly approached the spot where Satyaparâkrama had been watching the sacrifice, but was unable to do him any harm during the charms performed by the Brâhman, and fell before our hero, cut in halves. It was the charm that did this!! Satyaparâkrama, after putting the pieces carefully into a spare cloth and warning his benefactors that they should not leave that spot until they had returned his brass ring, left the place secretly with his bundle. He had made the condition about the ring to his benefactors, to prevent them from leaving that place.

Returning home before dawn, he sent several of his servants to the minister's house, to fetch him over early in the morning. He also sent for all his palace neatherds, to find out who had been the speakers of the previous night, and for the poor Brâhman who had put him under the greatest of obligations. As soon as all had arrived, Satyaparâkrama asked the soothsayer neatherd to relate the previous night's conversation between himself and his friends. At first he hesitated, but on finding out that the emperor was in earnest, told him everything and begged his pardon. Satyaparâkrama rewarded him for his knowledge, and proving the minister's guilt plainly, committed him and his empress to the stakes. The bundle with the halves of the serpent he produced before the poor Brâhman pair, and falling down at their feet said that he himself was the beggar of the previous night. He rewarded them amply and made them stay in the palace with him. Thus the attempts to examine the truth of the sixth maxim, saved our hero's life.

Ever since that memorable day, he made it always his duty to spend part of his nights in going round the town in disguise and relieving people from misery. Two of his wives had proved faithless to him. So he gave up all thoughts of again marrying; but, ever wedded to those six maxims, and praising the day on which he bought them even for so high a price, our hero lived in happiness, conferring peace and prosperity upon his empire.

MISCELLANEA.

THE ROMAKA SIDDHANTAS.

I have just received the May part of the *Indian Antiquary*, and read with interest Mr. Shankar Balkrishna Dikshit's paper on the **Rômaka Siddhântas**. In doing so, my attention was at once arrested by the elements given at p. 139, and first by "the length of the solar year, — 365 *days*, 14 *ghaṭis*, 48 *palas*," these being exactly the figures given by **Ptolemy** (*Math. Synt.* lib. III. cap. ii.), *viz.* 365d 14′ 48″, — for he uses the sexagesimal division of the day, as well as of the circle; and owing to his reducing the precession of the equinoxes by one-fourth of the value assigned by Hipparkhos, he had introduced a sensible augmentation in the length of the tropical year as determined by his predecessor. The coincidence here is remarkable, and at once reminds one of Dr. Bhau Daji's remark (*Jour. R. As. Soc.* N. S. Vol. I. p. 409) that he considered "that the *Rômaka-Siddhânta* was composed in accordance with the work of some Roman or Greek author."

A comparison of the other elements given in the Table with those of Ptolemy may be interesting: thus we have —

Moon's synodic revolution	$1040953^d \div 35250^r =$	29d 31gh 50·09p
Ptolemy's value (*Math. Syn.* lib. IV. cap. ii.) **is**		29d 31′ 50·14″
Moon's tropical revolution	$1040953^d \div 38100^r =$	27d 19g 17·76p
Ptolemy's value		27d 19′ 17·80″
Moon's daily anomalistic motion	$(38100 - 322\frac{288}{3031}) \times 360° \div 1040953 =$	13° 3′ 53·98″
Ptolemy's value		13° 3′ 53·94″
Moon's daily motion from the node	$(38100 + 153\frac{26889}{163111}) \times 360° \div 1040953 =$	13° 13′ 45·69″
Ptolemy's value		13° 13′ 45·66″
Moon's daily angular elongation	$\frac{35250 \times 360°}{1040958} =$	12° 11′ 26·708″
Ptolemy's value		12° 11′ 26·689″

The agreement in all these is very close, but the values do not materially differ from those of the other Siddhântas. The use of Ptolemy's value of the length of the tropical year, — much as Utpala says, "what with us is civil time (*sávana*), is with Puliśaâchârya solar (*saura*) time" (Kern, *Bṛi.-Saṁh.* int. p. 49), — is *the* peculiarity.

It is much to be desired that the texts of the *Pañchasiddhântiká* and *Brahma-Siddhánta* were published, with a faithful collation of *variæ lectiones*, and perhaps a careful analysis, — if not a translation.

With reference to Mr. Dikshit's assumption that Hipparkhos did not treat of planetary astronomy (*ante*, p. 142), I would remark that, beyond the information on stellar astronomy in his extant commentary on the *Phenomena* of Aratus and Eudoxus, we know nothing of the extent and contents of his astronomical works except from the *Syntaxis* of Ptolemy. And the latter was so indebted to the former, that he is sometimes cited as if his data were almost entirely borrowed from Hipparkhos. Statements taken at second hand must, therefore, be used with caution. That Hipparkhos devoted attention to planetary astronomy also is clear from the recorded fact that he 'showed that the hypotheses of his predecessors failed to explain the double inequality of the planets, and pointed out that the only way to do so was by a combination of the two hypotheses of the excentric and the epicycle.' He could only have done this in the course of a pretty full discussion of their motions. His works, however, may not have been published; they are not cited by any writer except Ptolemy, who may have found the only manuscript of them in the Alexandrian Library.

In speaking of the lunar motions, Ptolemy says (lib. iv. cap. 2), that Hipparkhos 'has showed, from the observations he has recorded on this matter, that the least number of days after which eclipses recur in the same number of months and the like other revolutions, is 126007 *days* and one *hour* equinoxial; in this he finds 4267 complete months, 4573 returns of anomaly, 4612 revolutions in the zodiac, and 7½ degrees nearly (ἐγγιστα) wanting of 345 entire sidereal revolutions of the sun.' Again he says, 'after having determined the anomalistic period, Hipparkhos compared the intervals in months between two remote eclipses perfectly alike in quantity and duration,' and shewed that in 5458 months there were 5923 revolutions with reference to the nodes. Ptolemy then adds that Hipparkhos has given the length of the synodical month correctly enough,[1] but that

[1] Hipparkhos's value is 29*d*. 31′ 50″ 8‴ 9ιν 20ν 11νι, and Ptolemy's 29*d*. 31′ 50′ 8‴ 20ιν; the difference is only 0·07 of a *second*; but Ptolemy's periods of the anomalistic tropical revolutions are 2·56*s*. and 4·37*s*. respectively greater than those deducible from the above data.

the other motions are not so correct; and in the next chapter he deduces the elements which he had engraved in the temple of Canopus at Alexandria.

From the above it appears that Hipparkhos assumed the length of the sidereal year at about 365·259859 days;[2] and as his value for the Precesson was 2° in 150 years, his tropical year was 365 *days* 5*h*. 54*m*. 42·8*s*., being 29 seconds *less* than Ptolemy's. For the revolution of the moon's apsis we have, 4612 — 4573 = 39 revolutions in 126007$\frac{1}{24}$ days, or 1 in 3230·9498 days, while Ptolemy's data in the Canopic inscription and *Syntaxis* give 3231·616554. And for the revolutions of the node, $\frac{4267 \times 5923}{5458}$ — 4612 = $18\frac{2961}{5458}$ in the same period, or 1 in 6799·6088*d*., Ptolemy's period being 6796·5367 *days*. The *Rômaka-Siddhânta* values of these two elements are 3231·8196*d*. and 6796·2917*d*. respectively, — differing considerably from those of Hipparkhos.

J. BURGESS.

Edinburyh, 10th July 1890.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

THE DATE OF KALIDASA.

Professor Kielhorn has recently pointed out (Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften und der Georg-Augusts-Universität der Göttingen, 1890) that, in the verse commencing in line 17 of **one of the Mandasôr inscriptions** (*Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 83, and *ante*, Vol. XV. p. 198) the real reading is *râmâ-sanâtha-bhavanôdara-bhâskar-âṁśu &c.*; and has drawn attention to the similarity between the ideas in this verse, and those in **Kâlidâsa's Ritusaṁhâra**, v., 2, 3 (Śiśira-varṇanâ), which run —

Niruddha-vâtâyana-mandirôdaraṁ
hutâśanô bhânumatô gabhastayaḥ ।
gurûṇi vâsâṁsy=abalâḥ sa-yauvanâḥ
prayânti kâlê=tra janasya sêvyatâm ॥
Na chandanaṁ chandra-marîchi-śîtalaṁ
na harmya-pṛishṭhaṁ śarad-indu-nirmalaṁ ।
na vâyavaḥ sândra-tushâra-śîtalâ
janasya chittaṁ ramayanti sâṁpratam ॥

Prof. Kielhorn's point is, that the composer of the inscription must have had these verses running in his mind; and consequently that the **Ritusaṁhâra must have been composed before A. D. 472.** This seems likely enough. And we know already, from the Aihole Mêguṭi inscription (*ante*, Vol. VIII. p. 239), that the fame of Kâlidâsa, as also of Bhâravi, was well established, far to the south of Mandasôr, before A. D. 634.

[2] If the divisor of 344 revolutions 352½° "nearly" were increased or diminished by 4', it would diminish or increase this value by about 17 seconds. Elsewhere Ptolemy gives quotations from Hipparkhos, in which he says 300 tropical years want 5 days of Meton and Euktemon's assigned value: this would strictly give 365*d*. 5*h*. 54*m*. 56·84*s*., but he couples it with the statement that the same period of 300 years would be 'only a day less than if we follow Kalippos,' and this gives 365 + ¼ — $\frac{1}{300}$ days, or 365*d*. 5*h*. 55*m*. 12*s*., which Ptolemy adopts throughout his work.

THE WINDS OF ASHADHA.

During the early part of the Rainy season, up to about the end of August, over the westerly parts of the Dakhan which are beyond the range of the south-west monsoon rainfall, there blows perpetually a cold, violent, and most worrying and uncomfortable wind from the monsoon quarter. The cultivators of the Kanarese country have the following saying about it: — *Âshâḍha-mâsada ghâḷi bîsi-bîsi baḍeyuvâga hêsi nanna jîvavé heṅgas-âga-bâradê*, — "when the gales of the month **Âshâḍha** are blowing in gusts and buffeting us about, O my unhappy soul! why canst thou not become a woman?" That is, the poor *ra'iyat*, shivering over his work in the fields, wishes that he could take the place of his wife, who sits in comfort at home by the warm kitchen fire.

THE VIRGIN MARY AND HER SISTERS.

On a hill near Bândrâ, known as **Mount Mary**,[1] there may be seen a beautiful chapel dedicated to the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, after whom the hill is called. It is believed that the image contained in it was caught in the net of a Christian fisherman, who was told in a dream, the same night, to erect the chapel on the spot where it now stands.[2] This image is very popular for its miraculous cures, and thousands of all castes and creeds flock there throughout the year, particularly in the month of September, when a grand feast, the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, is celebrated with novenas.

[1] Hindus, Pârsîs, and the like, call it *Môṅth Mâulichâ Dôṅgar*; Salsette Christians call it *Môṅthchâ Dôṅgar*.

[2] On the east, i. e. the back of the chapel, is a long flight of steps; and a Roman Catholic procession, on the evening of Palm Sunday, leaves St. Andrew's church and winding its way through the fields ascends these steps, presenting a veritable semblance of the way to Mount Calvary. It then enters the chapel of the Virgin Mary to listen to a sermon.

A curious story is told by some old persons of the neighbourhood in connection with the image,[3] that the Blessed **Virgin Mary was born of Hindu parents, and had six sisters, Sitlâdêvî, Sânthâî, Parbâdêvî, Mahâlakshmî, Mômbâdêvî, and another whose name they do not remember**; and it is believed, that when the novenas commence, the Blessed Virgin is in the habit of taking a boat and visiting her sisters, inviting them to the feast.

There are places called after the names of the **Virgin's "sisters"**: — Sitlâdêvî is at Andhêrî, in Salsette; Sânthâî, at Kantêvârî in Bândrâ; Parbâdêvî at Mahim, where a fair is held annually, and where there is also a temple to her; and Mahâlakshmî, at Bombay, where too is a temple. These are all on the sea-side; so also is the chapel of the Virgin Mary. Mômbâdêvî is in Bombay, not very far from the sea-side. The sixth I cannot trace exactly.

No one in Salsette can give me the origin of the story. Can any of your readers enlighten me on the subject? All that has been told me is that Mary joined the Christian faith, but my informants cannot give me her heathen name. Till very recently the fishermen and other Christians of Salsette were deeply immersed in Hindu superstitions, and to this, perhaps, may safely be attributed the notion of the legend of Mary and her sisters.

Bándrá. GEO. FR. D'PENHA.

BOOK-NOTICES.

GIORNALE DELLA SOCIETA ASIATICA ITALIANA. Vol. III. 1889. Rome.

The volumes issued by this new Society are rapidly increasing in importance, and merit the attention of all Orientalists.

That before us opens with an interesting article on the inspiration received by **Dante**, when writing his **Purgatorio**, from works about **India**. This is by Prof. de Gubernatis, and is followed by an article on **Persian Poetry before Firdusi** by Prof. Pizzi, and then by an important one, the **Âryâchhalaguhyadhâraṇisûtra** and its bearing on the Northern Buddhism.

Another interesting article is on the **Jain tale** of the king Pâpabuddhi and his minister Dharmabuddhi, of which the text is given with a translation. The text is from an unedited MS. discovered by Mr. Bendall, and now in the British Museum Library under the title of **"Pâpabuddhi-Dharmabuddhi-Kathânakam.**

Under the title of "some Italian words said to be of oriental origin," the reference to **Arabic originals** of a good many **Italian words** is discussed.

Dr. Baug, who has already given his notions to the world on the great **Inscription of Behistân**, in the *Journal of the German Oriental Society*, and in the *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, gives the text with a rendering of Col. IV. §§ iii. — xvii.

DIE HYMNEN DES RIGVEDA, herausgegeben von HERMANN OLDENBERG. Band I. Metrische und textgeschichtliche Prolegomena. Berlin, Wilhelm Hertz. 1888.

Prof. Oldenberg is not an idle man. Almost before the world has had time to digest his *Buddha*, he lays before it the first course of another sumptuous feast, in the volume which forms the subject of the present note. The dish may, to some, appear to be rather a heavy one, for it is cram-full of facts, and abounds in theories founded on these facts, but to greedy students like the present writer it forms in itself a welcome repast to which he eagerly invites his friends. It cannot be denied that there is much in this volume which will and must form the subject of controversy, but even his opponents must admit that Dr. Oldenberg has advanced no theory for which he has not found at least some grounds of justification, and that his facts are marshalled with a completeness and with a clearness which must satisfy his severest critic.

Prof. Ludwig's great annotated translation was finished in the year 1888, and the coping-stone was thus laid on one portion of Vedic exegesis. Much has also been done towards Vedic Lexicology and Grammar. But hitherto no deliberately planned attempt has been made to build up a **text of the Ṛig-Vêda**, presenting, so far as in the power of the builder lies, the original form which each hymn bore when it was originally composed. This is the task which Prof. Oldenberg has set himself, and it is fitting that the first volume of his work appears in the same year as that which is signalised by the conclusion of Prof. Ludwig's translation.

This first volume consists entirely of prolegomena, in which the author discusses, the problems set before him. He first deals with the question of metre (pp. 1-190), and the indications which that furnishes towards a critical restoration

[3] I am open to correction as to the actual connection of the story with this image, but I believe I am stating what is the fact.

of the text. Each syllable in each line of every hymn is counted out as short or long, and each apparent irregularity is considered with minute detail. Many of these seeming irregularities are shown to be due to traces of rhythm or stress, which are not exhibited in the text we now possess, owing to its being written in a character which only indicates prosodiacal length. Some of Prof. Oldenberg's remarks on this point are aptly illustrated by the poetry of Modern India. For instance, dealing with the usual double iambic ending of the *Gáyatrí*, *e. g.*

⏑ – ⏑ ⏑
a g n i m í ḷ é p u r ó h i t a m

(it should be remembered that the last syllable is *anceps*), he shows that the most frequent deviation from the rule is for the *páda* to end thus, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏒ instead of ⏑ – ⏑ ⏒. Examples are —

⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –
b a b h r a v é n u s v a t a v a s é

⏑ ⏑ ⏑⏑
k r a t v á d a k s h a s y a r a t h i á m

⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –
m a r t a s y a d é v i a v a s á ḥ

and so on. On this Prof. Oldenberg remarks, "it is not difficult to imagine a method of recitation, by which the *ictus* in such lines retained its wonted place (the last syllable but one). It would be easy, by laying stress either upon the vowel or upon the consonant which follows, for the last syllable but one of each of these *pádas* to so nearly attain to the value of a long one, that the end of the verse would seem to the ear to be iambic." Now we all know that there is nothing of this sort in Classical Sanskṛit, nor in the classical languages of Modern Hindûstân do I know anything like it. But Classical Hindí dates from Kêsab Das, the author of the first important work on Indian Vernacular Rhetoric, who flourished in 1580, and everything of the modern Vernacular literature of Hindûstân which was written before 1580, must be taken as pre-classical. Kêsab Dâs fixed the laws of metre according to one uniform series of rules, which were necessarily to a certain extent artificial. But the pre-classical Hindí may be aptly compared with the language of the Vedic hymns, for both were *volkslieder*, couched in the language of the people, adapted to the ears of the people, and not bound by intricate laws of metre subsequently by scholars for polished production.

By far the commonest Hindí metre is the Chaupâí, a line of which consists of 16 instants[1] divided as follows, 6+4+4+2; *e. g.* the line *dékhi hâṭa kachhu súja na órá* should be metrically divided thus:—

6 (2 + 1 + 2 + 1) 4 (1 + 1 + 2) 4 (1 + 1 + 2) 2

dékhi hâṭa *kachhu sú-* *-jha na ó* *-rá*

The last four instants are especially characteristic of the *chaupâí*, and are almost invariably two long syllables, thus, – –. Of course they *may* be any other arrangement of four instants such as ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, – ⏑ ⏑, or ⏑ ⏑ –, but the usual ending of the line is a spondee, and any other would be as rare as a spondee is in the fifth foot of a hexameter. Hence, to the average reader, the usual practical scheme of a *chaupâí*, is six instants, plus six, plus four, and that four a spondee. The above line would therefore be usually read —

6 (2 + 1 + 2 + 1) 6 (1 + 1 + 2 + 1 + 1) 4 (2 spondee)

dékhi hâṭa *kachhu sújha na* *órá*

This has been the characteristic swing of the *chaupâí* for hundreds of years, and since the time of Kêsab Dâs, *i.e.* in all classical Hindí dating from 1580 A.D., the syllables have been rigidly counted according to prosodiacal length.

But let us go back into the pre-classical Hindí. Take Malik Muḥammad for instance, who flourished in 1540 A.D., and who wrote actually in the vernacular, for the peoples' ears, without being bound by the rules of Kêsab Dâs. In his writings we meet continually, instead of the final spondee, a final iambus, so that there are only 15, not 16, instants in the line. The scheme then becomes 6 + 6 + 3 (iambus).

6 (1+1+1+2+1) 6 (2+1+1+1+1) 3 (1+2)

dadhi samunda *dékhúta tasa* *dahá*

6 (1+1+2+2) 6 (1+1+2+1+1) 3 (1+2)

kahi sandé- *-sa bihaṅgama* *chalá*

and so in many others. Now, no ingenuity of scansion will make the first syllables of *dahá* and *chalá* long: and yet, unless they are pronounced as long, the verse will lose the essential characteristic of a *chaupâí*. The answer to the riddle is that which Prof. Oldenberg gives for the Vedic *pâdas* quoted above. We must use accent, *ictus*, as a substitute for quantity. We must there read *svatávasé*, *-a ráthiám*, *-i ávasáḥ*, just as we may be certain that Malik Muḥammad's reciters said *dáhá*, and *cháláá*. It is more than a mere coincidence that we find the most ancient

[1] An instant is a prosodiacally short syllable. A long syllable is counted as two instants.

and the most modern of the Aryan Vernaculars of India, availing themselves of a power for metre, which is unknown in each case to the more developed later literary languages.

The second chapter of the work under notice deals with **the arrangement of the Saṁhitâ** (pp. 191-270). Here he is treading partly on well-known ground already opened up and explored by the genius of Abel Bergaigne. Bergaigne's lamented death, however, left some questions unanswered, and also left some answers which on subsequent consideration he would no doubt have modified. Prof. Oldenberg has had the courage to follow Bergaigne's elaborate counting of letters and verses step by step, and has thus put the latter's main conclusions to a test which they have well stood. But he parts company with Bergaigne when he comes to the exceptions. Each is considered on its merits and given its value. Bergaigne would have considered each exception to his law as necessarily an interpolation, while Prof. Oldenberg, on the contrary, while admitting that the fact of its being an exception is a suspicious circumstance, refuses to declare it to be an addition to the primitive text, till the particular passage has been weighed and considered in all its bearings.

The third chapter (pp. 271-369) deals with the **variations of the text of the Ṛig-Vêda** as found in the other three *Saṁhitâs*, and in the *Brâhmaṇas*. Each passage, as it occurs elsewhere, is examined and compared with the same minute painstaking accuracy as is shown in the earlier portions of book. The result is **a convincing proof of the general superiority of the Ṛig-Vêda text over that of the other Vêdas**, although occasionally useful corrections for corrupt readings of the older *Saṁhitâ* can be found in them. By the time that the older portions of the Sâman, Yajus, and Atharva texts had received their ultimate forms, the tradition of the text of the *Ṛig-Vêda* was already, with comparatively few exceptions, fixed as we have it to-day. Moreover the superiority of the *Ṛig-Vêda* text must have been recognized at a very early time, for the later we come down, the stronger do we find its influence. The later portions of the texts of the other *Vêdas* followed the *Ṛig-Vêda* tradition far more closely than the earlier portions.

In this connexion we would specially refer to Prof. Oldenberg's remarks on the *Yajus-Saṁhitâ*. They are a model of close reasoning and of diplomatic criticism. After first showing that the popular idea of the *Taittirîya*, as from the first one work of mixed hymns and *Brâhmaṇa*, is not correct, but that the *Brâhmaṇa* forms no original portion of the *Saṁhitâ*, he compares together the readings of the three *Saṁhitâs* of the *Yajus*, the *Taittirîya*, the *Maitrâyaṇî* and the *Vâjasaneyi*, and shows that the text of the last closely agrees with that of the *Ṛik-Saṁhitâ*, while the texts of the two others, though both descending from a common source (which he calls X), frequently differ between themselves. A further process of reasoning leads him to consider the common original of the *Vâjasaneyi* and of X., to be the original ground-text of the *Yajur-Vêda*, and he finally concludes that this ground-text must have been, almost throughout, identical with that of our *Ṛig-Vêda*, — an important guarantee for the age of the latter.

The fourth chapter (pp. 370-489) deals with **the orthography** or (he prefers to call it) **the orthoepy of the ancient Sanskrit Grammarians**. The text of the *Ṛig-Vêda*, we have already seen, was fixed as we have it now at a very early period, but this statement must be taken with one limitation. We have the *words*, it is true, fixed fast, but the regulation of the *letters*, the deciding between, for instance, *divas pari* and *divaḥ pari*, the fixing of the rules for elision or non-elision of initial *a* after *é* and *ó*, the change of *i* and *u* into *y* and *v* before vowels, and so forth, — all these gave scope for speculation, and with regard to them the diaskeuasts felt themselves at liberty to alter the text to suit their rules, while leaving the *words* of the text themselves unchanged. This determination of the orthoepy of the *Ṛig-Vêda*, took place, Prof. Oldenberg shows, after the end of the period of the *Brâhmaṇas*. The quotations in the *Brâhmaṇas* have themselves been edited by the diaskeuasts, but the appearance they thus present, is shown, by the contents of the *Brâhmaṇas* themselves, not to have been the form originally quoted by the authors. This leads to some weighty remarks on the *Saṁhitâ* and *Pada* texts, followed by detailed examinations of each of the orthoepical facts which call for notice.

The fifth chapter (pp. 490-512) deals with **the Śâkala and the Vâshkala recensions of the Ṛig-Vêda**; and the sixth and final one (pp. 513-535) introduces us to the subject of **the Sûtra literature**, and its bearing on the *Ṛig-Vêda* text.

Altogether this is an epoch-making work. In such a mass of detail it cannot be expected that isolated points will not be attacked, or that each isolated conclusion will meet with the concurrence of all Vedic scholars. But the entire volume remains a solid monument of Prof. Oldenberg's patience, energy, and learning, and it will be long before it is superseded by other complete works on the text of the *Ṛig-Vêda*.

G. A. GRIERSON.

SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION.

The system of transliteration followed in this journal for Sanskṛit and Kanarese, (and, for the sake of uniformity, submitted for adoption, as far as possible, in the case of other languages), — except in respect of modern Hindu personal names, in which absolute purism is undesirable, and in respect of a few Anglicised corruptions of names of places, sanctioned by long usage, — is this :—

Sanskṛit.	Kanarese.	Transliteration.	Sanskṛit.	Kanarese.	Transliteration.
अ	ಅ	a	ज	ಜ	ja
आ	ಆ	â	झ	ಝ	jha
इ	ಇ	i	ञ	ಞ	ña
ई	ಈ	î	ट	ಟ	ṭa
उ	ಉ	u	ठ	ಠ	ṭha
ऊ	ಊ	û	ड	ಡ	ḍha
ऋ	ಋ	ṛi	ढ	ಢ	ḍha
ॠ	ೠ	ṛî	ण	ಣ	ṇa
ऌ	—	ḷri	त	ತ	ta
—	ಎ	e	थ	ಥ	tha
ए	ಏ	ê	द	ದ	da
ऐ	ಐ	ai	ध	ಧ	dha
—	ಒ	o	न	ನ	na
ओ	ಓ	ô	प	ಪ	pa
औ	ಔ	au	फ	ಫ	pha
Visarga	*Visarga*	ḥ	ब	ಬ	ba
Jihvámúlíya, or old *Visarga* before क् and ख्	—	ḫ	भ	ಭ	bha
			म	ಮ	ma
Upadhmánîya, or old *Visarga* before प् and फ्	—	ḥ	य	ಯ	ya
			र	ರ	ra
Anusvára	*Anusvára*	ṁ	—	ೞ	ṛa
Anunásiká	—	m̐	ल	ಲ	la
क	ಕ	ka	ळ	ಳ	ḷa
ख	ಖ	kha	—	ೡ	ḷa
ग	ಗ	ga	व	ವ	va
घ	ಘ	gha	श	ಶ	śa
ङ	ಙ	ṅa	ष	ಷ	sha
च	ಚ	cha	स	ಸ	sa
छ	ಛ	chha	ह	ಹ	ha

A single hyphen is used to separate words in composition, as far as it is desirable to divide them. It will readily be seen where the single hyphen is only used in the ordinary way, at the end of a line, as divided in the original Text, to indicate that the word runs on into the next line; intermediate divisions, rendered unavoidable here and there by printing necessities, are made only where absolutely necessary for neatness in the arrangement of the Texts.

A double hyphen is used to separate words in a sentence, which in the original are written as one word, being joined together by the euphonic rules of *saṁdhi*. Where this double hyphen is used, it is to be understood that a final consonant, and the following initial vowel or consonant-and-vowel, are in the original expressed by one complex sign. Where it is not used, it is to be understood of the orthography of the original, that, according to the stage of the alphabet, the final consonant either has the modified broken form, which, in the oldest stages of the alphabet, was used to indicate a consonant with no vowel attached to it, or has the distinct sign of the *virâma* attached to it; and that the following initial vowel or consonant has its full initial form. In the transcription of ordinary texts, the double hyphen is probably unnecessary; except where there is the *saṁdhi* of final and initial vowels. But, in the transcription of epigraphical records, the use of this sign is unavoidable, for the purpose of indicating exactly the palæographical standard of the original texts.

The avagraha, or sign which indicates the elision of an initial *a*, is but rarely to be met with in inscriptions. Where it does occur, it is most conveniently represented by its own Dêvanâgarî sign.

So also practice has shewn that it is more convenient to use the ordinary Dêvanâgarî marks of punctuation than to substitute the English signs for them.

Ordinary brackets are used for corrections and doubtful points; and **square brackets**, for letters which are damaged and partially illegible in the original, or which, being wholly illegible, can be supplied with certainty. An asterisk attached to letters or marks of punctuation in square brackets, indicates that those letters or marks of punctuation were omitted altogether in the original. As a rule, it is more convenient to use the brackets than to have recourse to footnotes; as the points to which attention is to be drawn, attract notice far more readily. But notes are given instead, when there would be so many brackets, close together, as to encumber the text and render it inconvenient to read. When any letters in the original are wholly illegible and cannot be supplied, they are, represented, in metrical passages, by the sign for a long or a short syllable, as the case may be; and in prose passages, by points, at the rate, usually, of two for each *akshara* or syllable.

A NOTICE OF THE GULABNAMA.

BY E. REHATSEK.

THE author of this work, which is in Persian prose, and consists of 419 folio-pages lithographed at Śrînagar in Kaśmîr in Saṁvat 1932[1] was **Kirpârâm, Dîwân of Mahârâjâ Raṇbîr Siṅgh,** then ruling in Jammûṅ and **Kaśmîr,** who compiled it by order. The subject of the biography, **Mahârâjâ Gulâb Siṅgh,** predecessor of Raṇbîr Siṅgh, had previously during his life-time provided the author with the necessary documents, chiefly diaries, for composing it, and assisted him also by verbal information, which was augmented by similar information, often to be cited in the following pages, given by the author's grandfather and father, who had both been Dîwâns of Mahârâjâ Gulâb Siṅgh, and by suggestions of his contemporaries. Pressure of business delayed the composition of the work for a long time. It was, however, completed at last by the express orders of Mahârâjâ Raṇbîr Siṅgh.

All this we learn from the preface, which is headed with a salutation to Gaṇêśa, in place of the *Bi'smi'llah* used in books written by Muslims. Then comes a long chapter containing arguments on the creation of the world and the existence of the Creator of it, purporting to follow the tenets of Greek and Indian philosophers on these subjects. In the next chapter, which is even more prolix, the author has, short of deducing the origin of Gulâb Siṅgh from the "protoplasmal, primeval atomic globule" done for him the best he could, by commencing his genealogy with **Brahmâ himself,** and giving accounts of a long series of mythological ancestors.

As the author's account of the ancient chiefs of Jammûṅ could never be considered to be deserving of much credence, unless supported by at least some chronological data and collateral historical facts derived from other sources, neither of which are forthcoming in any sense till the seventh century of the Christain era, we shall begin to notice the said account for what it is worth from that period.

In St. 724,[2] **Kîrtidhar,** Râjâ of Jammûṅ, determined to aid with his army **Râi Talûk,** the sovereign of Dehlî, who had been attacked by Râjâ Vikrampâl. The latter was, however, wounded in the battle and perished, and Râi Talûk, after gaining the victory became master of 144 kingdoms in India. After this the alliance between him and Kîrtidhar continued, till the latter died after a prosperous and just reign of 60 years. Kîrtidhar's son Ajayadhar reigned 59 years, his grandson Vijayadhar 50, and his great-grandson Bajarladhar 53. Râjâ Sûryadêv, son of the last named, is then said to have divided the administration of his government into seven branches, each of which was assigned to a minister, and dealt with on its appointed day of the week. He reigned 72 years and was succeeded by his son Bhôjdêv, who governed for 66 years, and had four sons, one of whom, Kharandêv, succeeded him. The son of this last king, Bîrdêv, occupied the throne after him, and was succeeded by Kâbûdêv, whose son, Âlhdêv, reigned after him, being in his turn succeeded by his son Mânakdêv. The latter called his residence Mânkôt and was succeeded by his son Udaidêv, whose son Nâgardêv occupied the *masnad* after him. The latter was succeeded by Utamdêv, after whom his son Haricband reigned, and thus the succession went on for several generations from father to son, till the time of **Râjâ Bhôjdêv II.,** an intelligent and far-seeing prince, who had many allies, but was more closely connected with **Mahârâjâ Jaipâl,** the sovereign of the **Pañjâb,** than with any other ruler.

When **Nâṣiru'ddîn Sabuktagîn,** the ruler of **Ghaznî,** conceived the design of conquering India in St. 1032,[3] which corresponds to A. H. 365, and had slain many Hindûs in Kâbul, who had from ancient times been sojourning there, the Mahârâjâ of the Pañjâb collected a large army of Râjpûts to resist him and was joined by Râjâ Bhôjdêv, who left his possessions in charge of his son **Autârdêv.** He was slain in battle, and Râjâ Jaipâl befriended Autârdêv even more than Bhôjdêv. After the death of Nâṣiru'ddîn, his son **Maḥmûd of Ghaznî** continued the

[1] A. D. 1875. [2] A. D. 667. [3] A. D. 975.

war and invaded India in St. 1057.[4] He was met by Râjâ Jaipâl and by Pahlâddêv, sent with troops by the Râjâ from Jammûñ. The hostilities which ensued, subsequently terminated with the flight of **Râjâ Indarpâl**, son of Jaipâl, who took refuge in the mountains after fruitlessly attempting to resist Maḥmûd. During one of Maḥmûd's subsequent invasions Râjâ Autârdêv distinguished himself by repelling the invaders and wounding one of the Shâhzâdâs. He reigned 44 years and was succeeded by his son **Yâsudêv**, who founded the town of **Jasrôṭâ**, and governed his subjects with justice for 30 years. He was succeeded by his son Saṅgrâmdêv, who reigned 41 years, and whose son, Râjâ **Jagdêv**, began his reign of 70 years in St. 1151,[5] during which **Malik Khusrav**, a descendant of Maḥmûd of Ghaznî, conquered a portion of India, and after him the **Sultân Shahâbu'ddîn Ghûrî** continued the conquest. This ruler built the fort of **Siâlkôṭ** with the approbation of the Râjâ of Jammûñ. Jagdêv was succeeded by Râjâ Bharajdêv. Shahâbu'ddîn then conquered Râi Pitôrâ, a dissipated prince, put out his eyes in A. H. 588[6] corresponding to St. 1238 [*sic*], and kept him prisoner near his own person, which last circumstance enabled the captive Râjâ to shoot him dead with an arrow! How a blind man could do this it is rather hard to believe![7]

Timûr invaded India, A. H. 801,[8] conquering Dehlî, where he committed great slaughter, and on his return march to Turkistân massacred wholesale many thousands of pilgrims assembled at Hardwâr. When, however, he approached the mountains, **Râjâ Mâldêv** of Jammûñ surprised him with a numerous army of Râjpûts, and defeated him. Mâldêv reigned 40 years and died in St. 1456.[9] He was succeeded by his son Chamardêv, who governed 26 years, being succeeded by Ajjayadêv, who reigned 31 years. Râjâ Brahmdêv, his son, died after a reign of 45 years, during which in A. H. 932[10] **Ẓahiru'ddîn Muḥammad Bâbar Bâdshâh** crossed the Indus for the purpose of subjugating India. He arrived *viâ* Bahlôlpûr and Siâlkôṭ at the plains of Pânîpaṭ, where he defeated **Sulṭân Ibrâhîm Shâh Sûr**, the sovereign of India. In this reign also **Bâbâ Gurû Nânak**, the founder of the Sikh religion was born. The next Râjâ, Khûkhaṛdêv, died after a just reign of 29 years in A. H. 937,[11] and was succeeded by Kapûrdêv, who governed 41 years, and left two sons, namely, Jagdêv II. and Samâldêv.

Omitting, as being of no interest, the names and accounts of the chiefs who reigned during the next two and a half centuries, we come to **Râjâ Bhôjrâjdêv**, who began to govern Jâmmûñ in St. 1839.[12] He had a quarrel with his relative **Dal Siṅgh**, and one day proposed to present[13] **Mîâñ Ṣâḥib Zôrâwar Siṅgh**, the father of Râjâ Kêśwar Siṅgh, and grandfather of **Gulâb Siṅgh**, the subject of this biography who was born on the 5th of Kârṭak in St. 1849, corresponding to the 2nd of Rabî'u'l-awal, A. H. 1207,[14] with a *jâgîr* if he would slay the obnoxious individual, but met with a refusal. **Mîâñ Môṭâ**, the youngest brother of Zôrâwar Siṅgh, however, executed his design, attacked Dal Siṅgh with an armed force, and slew him, none of his party escaping with his life except his little son Ajît Siṅgh. The reign of Bhôjrâjdêv had, however, not lasted longer than five years, when he incurred the displeasure of **Mahâñ Siṅgh** — father of Mahârâjâ Raṇjît Siṅgh of the Pañjâb — with whom he had previously been on very good terms, and the latter watching his opportunity when Bhôjrâjdêv was prostrate with sickness, arrived with troops and **plundered Jammûñ**. After the departure of Mahâñ Siṅgh, Bhôjrâjdêv continued to reign, till certain Sardârs of the Bhaṅgî Misal waged war against each other, in which he took part and was slain. His Rânî, Chamiâl by name, who had promised to immolate herself on the funeral pyre in case he should fall in battle, fulfilled her vow as soon as his corpse

[4] A. D. 1000. [5] A. D. 1094. [6] A. D. 1192.

[7] [The whole of this narration is interesting owing to the authority who gives it, but it must all be taken for what it is worth only. — R. C. T.

[8] A. D. 1398-99. [9] A. D. 1399. [10] A. D. 1525-6. [11] A. D. 1530. [12] A. D. 1782.

[13] [Mîâñ and Mîân Ṣâḥib are frequently the titles of the younger members of a royal Râjpût house in the Himâlayas, and are used in this sense throughout these memoirs. — R. C. T.]

[14] 18th October A. D. 1792. Long explanations of the horoscope accompanied by two diagrams, according to the Hindu fashion, are given, and when the prosperous future in store for the infant was revealed to his grandfather, it is stated to have caused him great pleasure.

arrived in Jammûñ. The heir to the *masnad*, Siparṇdêv, being at that time only one year old, the administration remained in charge of **Miâñ Môṭâ**. The boy died in his eleventh year, and the lineage of Bhôjrâjdêv having thus come to an end, **Râjâ Ajît Siñgh**, the son of Dal Siñgh, was placed on the *masnad*.[15]

After a while disagreements took place between Ajît Siñgh, **Rânî Bundrâl** and Miâñ Môṭâ, upon whom, as already mentioned, the administration of the country had devolved, so he departed to Pûrmaṇḍal, while Zôrâwar Siñgh took up his residence in his *jâgîr* of Dayâwân. Râjâ Ajît Siñgh was a blockhead, and enjoyed no authority. Every one acted as he listed, and Rânî Bundrâl openly usurped the government. Such being the case, Bhâî Ḥukmâ Siñgh, who governed several *ta'luqas* in the vicinity of Jammûñ on behalf of Mahârâjâ Raṇjît Siñgh, was by his sovereign ordered to attack that town, but Miâñ Môṭâ offered battle with a number of Râjpûts to the invaders at a distance of a few miles from the town, and succeeded in repelling them. This was the first action in which Gulâb Siñgh participated, and he distinguished himself by slaying several of the enemy with his own hands during the fight, contrary to the wish of his grandfather who did not wish him to leave his side. This was in St. 1865[16] when he had not yet completed the 16th year of his age, and the author states that long afterwards, when he had become Mahârâjâ, Gulâb Siñgh several times in conversation alluded to the fact of his having been unable in this action to reach the heads of his antagonists with his sword, and of having had to jump up from the ground every time he struck, as he was a youth of short stature. At this period he indulged in roaming about and hunting. One day he saddled a horse without the knowledge of his grandfather, and a few days afterwards it became known that he had injured it; whereon Zôrâwar Siñgh upbraided him, telling him that he would know the value of a horse only after being able to procure one for himself, but now that he had one for nothing, he could not appreciate it. The youth was sensitive, and being unable to bear the reproach, obtained some ornaments from his mother and fled in the direction of Pêshâwar, intending to proceed with some retainers who accompanied him even as far as Kâbul, because he had heard that Shâh Shujâ'a was enlisting troops. When, however, he reached the banks of the Indus his retainers, who were Ḥindus, refused to go to Pêshâwar and pretended to be afraid of the wrath of Miâñ Môṭâ Ṣâḥib should they do so. Accordingly he retraced his steps, and went to the **Dîwân Khushwakht Râi** who governed the *pargana* of Sûkhû, a *jâgîr* of **Sardâr Nihâl Siñgh Aṭârîwâlâ**, and also enlisted troops. The Dîwân received Gulâb Siñgh with pleasure, and the latter afterwards told the author that his friendly reception was due to a *jam'adâr*, who had formerly been in the service of his grandfather, and had informed the Dîwân about his family. At that time a *zamîndâr* near the fort of Saṅg had revolted against the Dîwân and defeated him, but Gulâb Siñgh with the small force at his disposal succeeded in driving the *zamîndâr* into the fort, whereby he rose in the favour of his employer. Meanwhile the bravery displayed by Gulâb Siñgh in the defence of Jammûñ, having been brought to the notice of the **Mahârâjâ Raṇjît Siñgh**, ruler of the Pañjâb, he ordered Miâñ Môṭâ Siñgh to send for Gulâb Siñgh. When the Dîwân Khushwakht Râi was communicated with on this matter, he presented Gulâb Siñgh with a horse, and the latter having purchased another, proceeded with all speed to Jammûñ, whence Môṭâ Siñgh took him to the headquarters of Raṇjît Siñgh's army, which was at that time encamped at Daskâ, situated ten *kôs* to the south of Siâlkôṭ. This took place in St. 1867,[17] according to our author, who then narrates — without saying a word of what Gulâb Siñgh did during the next two years — that in St. 1869[18] **Râjâ Dhyân Siñgh**, who was then in the vicinity of Rohtâs and had heard of the bravery of Gulâb Siñgh, granted him a monthly salary of sixty rupees, and at the same time took his father Miâñ Ṣâḥib Kêśwar Siñgh into the service of Mahârâjâ Raṇjit Siñgh, with three other troopers, each of whom was paid one rupee per day.

[15] [The author now takes us into well-known Sikh history, and his remarks are chiefly interesting as giving the local view of the events that happened at this period. — R. C. T.]

[16] A. D. 1808. [17] A. D. 1810. [18] A. D. 1812.

Fatḥ Khân Bârukzâi in A. H. 1228,[19] which corresponds to the Vikramâditya year 1868,[20] promised to pay annually eight *lâkhs* of tribute to the government of the Mahârâjâ Raṇjît Siṅgh, if the latter would assist him with an army to subjugate Kaśmîr. The offer was accepted and the **Dîwân Muḥkam Chand** despatched with numerous forces.[21] The Dîwân succeeded in removing **'Aṭâ Muḥammad** who had governed Kaśmîr on behalf of the sovereign of Afghânistân, and demanded the promised tribute from Fatḥ Khân, who at first demurred, but afterwards paid it on compulsion, and leaving his own brother **Muḥammad 'Âẓim** in charge of Kaśmîr, departed to Kâbul. During this march Fatḥ Khân attempted to obtain possession of the Fort of Aṭak, but as soon as his intentions became known to the Dîwân Muḥkam Chand, he attacked him. Gulâb Siṅgh distinguished himself by his bravery in the action which ensued, but his father Kêśwar Siṅgh was wounded. Fatḥ Khân was put to flight, and the Sikh army started to march back to Lâhôr, when Gulâb Siṅgh heard that **Mîân Môṭa Siṅgh** had been assassinated at the instigation of the Râni Bundrâl, by two miscreants named Taṛhdû and Satrû.

When **Muḥammad 'Âẓim** became established in Kaśmîr, he delayed payment of tribute, so the army of the Pañjâb ruler marched in St. 1873[22] to attack him.[23] The Pîr *Pañjâl Pass was crossed, and Kaśmîr entered by the army under the command of the* Dîwân Râmdiâl and Dal Siṅgh, when **Râjâ 'Az Khân,**[24] governor of Rajâorî, who had merely pretended to be friendly to the Mahârâjâ Raṇjît Siṅgh, not only failed in his promise to supply grain, but went so far as to intercept couriers and to send false messages to Raṇjît Siṅgh, that the army, after crossing the Pîr Pañjâl, had been destroyed by the enemy. Gulâb Siṅgh, who was stationed in Maṇḍî, took this information to be true, and retreated in the direction of Baabahir, whereon his troops became so demoralised that they began to flee hastily. The adjacent *zamîndârs*, observing this, commenced to obstruct further progress, and forced on a battle in which, however, Gulâb Siṅgh defeated them. When the army arrived in Lâhôr, Gulâb Siṅgh was rewarded for his bravery by the gift of a *jâgîr* and other honours. On that occasion also **Amîr Chand,** the grandfather of the author, was elevated to the position of Dîwân.

After this the Mahârâjâ Raṇjît Siṅgh went to the Jâlandhar Dôâb for the purpose of conquering the Fort of Garh Danâlâ. Gulâb Siṅgh happened just then to be living in retirement at Jammûṅ, and finding that this displeased the Mahârâjâ he determined to join him, and made his appearance in the camp just as arrangements were being made for the siege of the place. In the final attack Gulâb Siṅgh again displayed much bravery, and was in addition to his other *jâgîrs* rewarded with that of **Râmgarh,** which he had, however, to take by force! In fact, it appears to have been the custom of Raṇjît Siṅgh to shew his liberality in this manner, without reference to the population or to the rights of the previous incumbent, so that taking possession of a *jâgîr* was generally beset with difficulties and preceded by hostilities. During the same year Raṇjît Siṅgh undertook also a campaign to Multân for the purpose of reducing the **Nawâb Muẓaffar Khân** to obedience. In an engagement which took place during the seige, a high officer happened to be slain, and orders having been issued for the recovery of the body, no one ventured to execute them except Gulâb Siṅgh, who, undaunted by a shower of bullets, rushed in among the combatants, and returned to the amazement of everyone with the corpse of the Sardâr. After Raṇjît Siṅgh had obtained the required *nazarâna* from the Nawâb he marched back to Lâhôr, and Gulâb Siṅgh returned to Jammûṅ.

In St. 1874[25] Bhagwân Siṅgh, an official of Raṇjît Siṅgh, brought a deed of gift from the latter to Gulâb Siṅgh, presenting him with the *jâgîr* of **Riâsî,** hitherto in possession of **Dîwân**

[19] Began 4th January 1818. [20] Ought to be 1870.

[21] A somewhat different account of this affair is given in the first half of Ch. 25 of the *Ẓafarnâma* or *Book of the Conquests of Ranjît Siṅgh*, which see *ante*, Vol. XVI. pp. 339 ff.

[22] A. D. 1816. [23] This is alluded to in Ch. 26 of the *Ẓafarnâma*, but there the date is St. 1871 [A. D. 1814].

[24] [Muhammadan Râjpût Chiefs frequently have Hindu titles tacked on to their Musalmân names. — R. C. T.]

[25] A. D. 1817.

Siṅgh, who had been an accomplice in the murder of Mîâṅ Môṭâ Siṅgh. After subduing the opposing parties by defeating them in various engagements, Gulâb Siṅgh at last obtained possession of the *jâgîr*, and having rebuilt the Fort of Riâsî by the advice of the Dîwân Amîr Chand, left a garrison in it and went to Lâhôr to wait upon the Mahârâjâ Raṇjît Siṅgh, but he was soon obliged to return, because the new fort was being besieged by the partizans of **Bhûpdêv**, the previous *jâgîrdâr*. When Gulâb Siṅgh had restored peace Sartâpâ Giyâl, the ringleader of the insurgents, was brought into his presence, and Gulâb Siṅgh reproached him with having summoned the garrison of Riâsî, when besieging it, to evacuate the fort, on the ground that Bhûpdêv was the true *jâgîrdâr*. Sartâpâ Giyâl, however, boldly replied that such was indeed the case, and that Bhûpdêv's family had been in possession for seven generations. This reply so incensed Gulâb Siṅgh that he immediately drew his sword and cut him down, and ordered the body to be quartered and its various portions to be hung upon trees as an example to the population. This terrified them and they sued for mercy, and paid tribute. Gulâb Siṅgh then left one Zôrâwar Siṅgh in charge of Riâsî, as he was under the necessity of attacking Bhûpdêv and Dîdû, who began to plunder Dhansâl, the *jâgîr* of the heirs of Môṭâ Siṅgh. After a desultory warfare Gulâb Siṅgh at last succeeded in compelling **Mîâṅ Dîdû** to take refuge in the mountains.

The Hindûs of Kaśmîr suffered much from the oppression of the Afghân government, and Raṇjît Siṅgh in consequence desired to conquer the province. The opportunity presented itself in St. 1876,[26] when the **Paṇdit Birbal**,[27] with some other refugees from Kaśmîr, went to Lâhôr and invited the Mahârâjâ to undertake its conquest. Gulâb Siṅgh served in the campaign which ensued, and met **Jabbâr Khâṅ**, the brother of 'Âẓim Khâṅ in a battle in which he defeated him. Raṇjît Siṅgh, having soon afterwards subjugated Kaśmîr, appointed the Dîwân Môtî Râm to be governor, and rewarded Gulâb Siṅgh by bestowing upon him the district of Jammûṅ, imposing upon him only the duty of supporting the troops, instead of paying tribute. This was because Gulâb Siṅgh had represented that the levying of tribute in cash from the population would be a matter of extreme difficulty.

After Raṇjît Siṅgh had returned from Kaśmîr and Pêshâwar he undertook the siege of **Ḍêrâ Ghâzî Khâṅ**, during the prosecution of which Gulâb Siṅgh joined him with his forces, and thus contributed to the surrender of the fort. On other occasions too the success of the campaign was due to him. News, however, arrived that Zôrâwar Siṅgh, the grandfather of Gulâb Siṅgh had died, and so he and his father the Râjâ [*sic*] Kêśwar Siṅgh, obtained leave from the Mahârâjâ to depart to Jammûṅ. This campaign terminated with the subjugation of the Nawâb of Mukhêrâ, and the levelling of his fort according to our author.[28] In the next expedition of the Mahârâjâ to punish the rebellious **Yûsafzâis** of the Pêshâwar district Gulâb Siṅgh again took part.

Although Jammûṅ had been brought under the jurisdiction of Sikh government of the Paṅjâb, and Bahrâm Siṅgh and the Dîwân Bhawânîdâs had been appointed to carry on the political and financial administration of the district, **Mîâṅ Dîdû**, who was a brave and fighting man, in the exuberance of his turbulent nature, nevertheless determined to become a robber and plundered the vicinity of Jammûṅ, even coming to blows with the Sikh troops in the town itself, which he several times attempted to occupy. Moreover many Râjpûts and *zamîndârs* of the surrounding country made common cause with him, whilst the Sikh Sardârs only now and then succeeded in capturing some of the minor ringleaders, who were deported to Shêkhupura and imprisoned. The more the Sikhs laboured to establish tranquility, the more bold Mîâṅ Dîdû became, and once he had the impudence to lift all the fruit which had been sent from Jammûṅ to Raṇjit Siṅgh, and to substitute for it balls of dung and other impurities.

[26] A. D. 1819.

[27] In Ch. 28 of the *Ẓafarnâma* the conquest Kaśmîr is narrated, but the name of the Paṇdit is spelt Bîrbar.

[28] According to the *Ẓafarnâma* the fort surrendered, and the Mahârâjâ kindly received the repentant Nawâb in audience.

When the bearers arrived in Lâhôr and the fact became known to the Mahârâjâ, he was enraged and determined at once to march and anihilate Miân Dîdû. On that occasion Gulâb Singh narrated a fable, in which a mouse gnawed off the moustache of a lion whilst he was asleep, who on awakening found he could not avenge himself, but accepted the services of a cat, which succeeded in a short time in catching the mouse. Gulâb Singh thus hinted that it would be better if he were allowed to play in this matter the part of the cat, and save the lion of the Pañjâb the trouble of crushing so despicable a foe. Ranjît Singh approved of the proposal, and taking off the shawl he wore over his shoulders, presented it to Gulâb Singh, who thereupon marched with several other Sardârs of note. Before starting they released a number of the captives, accomplices of Miân Dîdû, detained at Shêkhupura, in order to produce a good impression upon the malcontents by beginning the campaign with an act of mercy. This actually had the effect of alienating many adherents from Miân Dîdû, and when the Sikh forces arrived he was compelled to fly from place to place, and was at last shot. When Gulâb Singh was informed of this event, he felt disappointed that so brave a man, whom he had intended to capture alive and to present to the Mahârâjâ Ranjît Singh, had perished. However, he took his two sons, **Basant Singh** and **Miân Gusâhan** by name under his protection. Some time afterwards in a hunting expedition, when he happened to be with Basant Singh far in advance of their retainers, and quite alone, he stripped himself of his arms, and telling the youth that he had been the cause of his father's death, said to him that being a Râjpût he ought now to avail himself of the opportunity to avenge it. The noble youth, however, replied, that having been overwhelmed with kindness, it would be a dastardly act to repay it in such a manner.

In St. 1879,[29] when Gulâb Singh was sojourning at Akhnûr, a town on the Chînâb, four *farsangs* distant from Jammûn, and **Ranjît Singh** was encamped at Amargarh, the latter issued a *parwâna* by which he **bestowed the râj of Jammûn upon Gulâb Singh, with the râj of Râmnagar,** which had been enjoyed by his forefathers, in perpetuity upon him and his descendants from generation to generation, as a reward for the military services rendered and prowess displayed by him in the conquests of Multân and Kaśmîr and on the right bank of the Indus against the Afghâns. The *parwâna* bore for the signature a saffron-coloured mark of the palm and the five fingers of the right hand of the Mahârâjâ. At the ceremony of investiture Ranjît Singh made with his own hand a mark of the same colour upon Gulâb Singh's forehead, but, contrary to usage, he drew it upside down. A courtier noticed this, but the Mahârâjâ replied that he had planted the tree of Gulâb Singh in the ground that it might last for ever. The *parwâna* bore date, the 4th of the month Hâr, St. 1879.[30] A few days afterwards Ranjît Singh marched back to Lâhôr, and Gulâb Singh returned to Jammûn, where rejoicings took place, banquets were given, and the house tax of two rupees on each domicile generously remitted.

The **Sardâr 'Âzim Khân** now became very turbulent and Ranjît Singh despatched an army of 8,000 men against him under the Prince **Shêr Singh** accompanied by Gulâb Singh, Sardâr Harî Singh Sindhânwâliâ, and the Atârîwâlâ Sardârs. Their forces crossed the Indus near Atak, and had some encounters with the enemy, but when they crossed the river Landâ, which is also called Tehrî, about 40,000 *ghâzîs* made their appearance. The Sardâr Ahmad Khân, commander of the enemy, had 15,000 men under him, and Sayyid Ahmad, the chief instigator of the holy war [*jihâd*], a large number of followers. When Ranjît Singh was informed of the strength of the enemy, he arrived in person, but would not risk a battle in such a locality, and proceeded to attack the fort of Tehrî which he took. The Sardâr Ahmad Khân, who at once embarked his forces in boats, to succour the fort, lost nearly all of it in them, and, barely escaping with his life, fled to Kâbul.[31]

In St. 1881,[32] Gulâb Singh undertook the conquest of the fort of **Samartha,** situated in the *'iláqa* of Pind, in the mountain district near Râmnagar, and under the advice of the

[29] A. D. 1822. [30] A. D. 1822.

[31] This campaign is described also in Ch. 30 of the *Zafarnâma*. [32] A. D. 1824.

Diwân Amîr Chand, collected 1,000 men, marched to the place, dug trenches round it, and commenced to regularly besiege it. As, however, time dragged on, Gulâb Siṅgh determined to take it by storm and made preparations for filling in the ditch with felled trees. He also procured scaling ladders. Meanwhile a message was sent to the garrison, that it would fare very badly indeed, if it delayed surrendering the fort and waited for the actual storm. This admonition proved so effective, that the garrison promised to pay the money demanded and to surrender the fort, if their lives and property were spared. These conditions were agreed to by Gulâb Siṅgh, who took possession of the fort, appointed Miâṅ Bishnâ as *thânadâr*, and marched back to Jammûṅ. When this victory had been reported to Raṇjît Siṅgh, he sent Dilârâm Siṅgh to take possession of the fort, but afterwards gave it to **Suchêt Siṅgh** in addition to Râmnagar with Râmkôṭ and Sauiâ.

The **Sardâr Buddh Siṅgh Sindhâṅwâliâ** obtained information that the Mahârâjâ Raṇjît Siṅgh was dangerously ill and conceived the disloyal idea of taking possession of the fort of Gôbindgaṛh, and presenting himself with his retainers at the gate one night, ordered the keepers to open it for the Mahârâjâ's troops. He was foiled in his attempt by the reply that they had peremptory orders never to do so before sunrise. So he had to withdraw. However, being in need of his assistance, the Mahârâjâ pardoned him, and ordered him at once to march in the direction of Pêshâwar to repel the Afghâns, who had become troublesome. When he arrived in the disturbed province he found numerous Afghân forces ready to oppose him, and commanded by Sayyid Aḥmad, the Sardârs Yâr Muḥammad Khâṅ, Sulṭân Muḥammad Khâṅ, and Pîr Muḥammad Khâṅ, and therefore did not think it prudent to advance further, reporting the matter to the Lâhôr government. Raṇjît Siṅgh then ordered Gulâb Siṅgh who was at Jammûṅ to march in all haste to the relief of the Sardâr Buddh Siṅgh, and the forces at Jhêlam under the command of the Dîwân Amîr Chand joined him as soon as he arrived there. Meanwhile the Afghâns had occupied Ḥasan Abdâl. Suchêt Siṅgh and the Aṭârîwâlâ Sardârs also, by order of the Mahârâjâ, reinforced Buddh Siṅgh, who had in the interval been on the defensive. When all the Sikh forces had arrived and united, they defeated the Afghâns in several engagements, and at last altogether routed them in the battle of **Saidû** which took place on the 14th of the month Phâgun in St. 1882,[33] and was the last in which Gulâb Siṅgh distinguished himself by his bravery.

The administration of Piṇḍ Dâdan Khâṅ, Bahirâ, Miânî, Qâdirâbâd, Dungî, Maṇḍî, and specially in the whole district of the Salt Range along the right bank of the **Jhêlam**, having fallen into great disorder, through the dishonesty of the officials entrusted therewith, the Mahârâjâ appointed Gulâb Siṅgh in St. 1887[34] to take charge of it. He found it infested by robbers, of whom he slew and imprisoned many, and thus established security of life and property among the population, whose welfare he had much at heart and sought to promote. He also endeavoured to bring again under cultivation the many estates which had been abandoned. In St. 1890[35] the Mahârâjâ presented him with the districts of Jhêlam and Rohtâs, and in St. 1893[36] the district of **Gujrât** also came under the administration of Gulâb Siṅgh.

In St. 1891,[37] Raṇjît Siṅgh was informed that **Dôst Muḥammad Khâṅ**, the ruler of Afghânistân, had determined to conquer the district of Pêshâwar, which was governed by the Sardâr Harî Siṅgh. The Mahârâjâ accordingly marched to encounter him, and when he had arrived at Gûjar Khâṅ, the chief Sardârs, such as Gulâb Siṅgh, Harî Siṅgh, Suchêt Siṅgh, the Sindhâṅwâliâs and others, left the fort of Pêshâwar and went to meet him at a distance of a quarter of a *farsang*, but found that the enemy had thrown a dam across the river and diverted its course for the purpose of depriving the Sikh troops of water. The forces of the Mahârâjâ now searched in all directions for water, and at last found the dam in question, and pitched their camp near it, not far from the forces of Dôst Muḥammad Khâṅ. The Mahârâjâ then issued orders to the Sardârs to join him, and when they had done so, he reviewed them ostentatiously every day, so

[33] A. D. 1825. [34] A. D. 1830. [35] A. D. 1833. [36] A. D. 1836. [37] A. D. 1834.

that the noise made by the kettle-drums, fifes, &c., could be distinctly heard in the opposite camp. Sulṭân Muḥammad Khân and Pîr Muḥammad Khân, the younger brothers of the Amîr of Afghânistân, being informed of these parades, and hearing of the pomp of Ranjît Singh's court, desired through the mediation of Gulâb Singh, to whom they sent an envoy, to obtain an interview with Ranjît Singh. The preliminaries having been settled and suspicions removed, the **Sardâr Sulṭân Muḥammad Khân** was introduced by Jabbâr Khân to Gulâb Singh, who received him cordially, embraced him, and took him into the presence of the Mahârâjâ, causing him to pass through the troops, no doubt in the hope that their glittering arms and martial bearing would make a great impression upon him. The result of the interview, however, did not coincide with expectations, because the Mahârâjâ promised again to cede to the Afghân Amîr the district of Pêshâwar and Dêrâ Ghâzî Khân, which had formerly belonged to him, on the sole condition of his annually paying a fixed tribute of horses, swords and fruit. The Sardâr Harî Singh was so dissatisfied with this arrangement that he proposed to the Mahârâjâ to capture the Sardâr Sulṭân Muḥammad Khân, but Gulâb Singh interposed, saying that as he was under a sacred obligation of safe-conduct to the Sardâr, it would be necessary to put him in prison also. Accordingly the Sardâr was permitted in safety to reach the camp of the Amîr Dôst Muḥammad Khân, who, being informed by his brother of everything he had seen, forthwith marched with his army back to Kâbul. Ranjît Singh, nevertheless, secretly desired to have the Sardâr Sulṭân Muḥammad Khân on his own side, and told Gulâb Singh, that as he had originally been the heir-presumptive to the district of Pêshâwar, he ought to bring him back by any means he could devise. This was effected through Faqîr 'Azîzu'ddîn, who was habitually employed as an envoy by both the Sikhs and the Afghâns. Ranjît Singh then made the arrangements necessary for the administration of the district and marched back to Lâhôr after bestowing through the mediation of Gulâb Singh, the districts of Kohât, the Dôâb, Hashtnagar, the dependency of Pêshâwar and Kunja, by way of *jâgîrs*, upon the Afghân Sardârs Sulṭân Muḥammad Khân, Pîr Muḥammad Khân, and Sayyid Muḥammad Khân.

In St. 1894,[38] in the month of Baisâkh, **Wazîr Muḥammad Akbar**, the son of the Amîr Dôst Muḥammad Khân, sovereign of Afghânistân, reached the fort of Jamrûd, which the Sikhs had named Fatḥgaṛh, and the garrison informed **Harî Singh** of the fact, whereon he hastened to relieve it. He marched from Pêshâwar, and when he had reached Takhâl he was met by 500 Afghâns, whilst the rest of them kept themselves in ambush in the rear of a hill near 'Alî Masjid. The Sardâr attacked the Afghâns, who stood fast for a while, but soon pretended to fly in order to give the cavalry, which was in ambush, an opportunity of joining them. The battle was now renewed in earnest and the Sardâr Harî Singh fighting with great bravery, received a mortal wound, and was immediately removed into the fort of Jamrûd. Mahân Singh, the commander, kept the event of his death concealed from the troops,[39] and continued to defend the fort, pretending every morning and evening to send food in to the deceased Sardâr. He, however, despatched a courier with the news of Harî Singh's death to Ranjît Singh, but nobody dared to break to him the sad tidings until at last Faqîr 'Azîzu'ddîn ventured to do so. The Mahârâjâ felt his loss deeply, and sent the Râjâs Dhyân Singh and Suchêt Singh immediately in his place. Their forces were joined at Rohtâs by those of Sujâdâ Râi, and the combined army marched daily 60 *kôs* to Pêshâwar, where the Jam'adâr Khushḥâl Singh, who had been afraid to advance beyond it, had been anxiously waiting for them. They also had the Frenchman Allard[40] with them, and when they advanced, the enemy not daring to encounter them retreated into the Khaibar Pass. Gulâb Singh also, who was at that time in the town of Chiniôṭ, received the Mahârâjâ's order to march to Pêshâwar. At Khairâbâd several of his camels were stolen, but they were again recovered after the pursuit and capture of the robbers, and when his forces had crossed the Landâ River and arrived among

[38] A. D. 1837.

[39] This fact is mentioned also at the end of Ch. 28 of the *Ẓafarnâma* where the campaign is described.

[40] The text has "Lârns" but I have made the above correction because "the Frenchman" was no doubt Allard, and not Lawrence.

the Yûsafzâis, numerous *zamîndârs* submitted, but certain mountaineers offered resistance obstinately and were punished. Afterwards disturbances took place in the *parganâ* of **Pûnchh**, under the leadership of a freebooter, Shams by name, but the rebels were worried, and he lost his life with those of many of his followers, two of his chief adherents being flayed alive. After restoring order in this district Gulâb Siṅgh went to **Rajâorî**.

In St. 1895,[41] the Mahârâjâ Raṇjît Siṅgh paid a visit to **Jammûṅ**, where he was received with due honours by Gulâb Siṅgh and Dhyân Siṅgh, who erected a large tent for his reception, and spent Rs. 1,21,000 upon presents and banquettings. On this occasion also **Raṇbîr Singh** was presented to the Mahârâjâ by Gulâb Siṅgh, kindly received, and placed on a seat opposite to him. Next day the Mahârâjâ went to the *darshan* of the Srî Ṭhâkurs at Ṭhâkurdwârâ, the ladies occupying the locality having been previously removed, but he allowed no one to accompany him except Gulâb Siṅgh and the Râja Dhyân Siṅgh with Miśr Râm Kishan. Conversing with them in a fatherly and familiar manner he ascended to the upper apartments and remarked to them that Gurû Nânak had left no progeny, but disciples and attendants like these Ṭhâkurs who were the champions of ascetism. Raṇjît Siṅgh departed from Jammûṅ after a sojourn of two days and kindly accepted from Gulâb Siṅgh certain presents, consisting of valuable garments, an elephant with a golden *haudâ* and some fleet horses. The courtiers also obtained gifts. **Mr. Frederick Mackison** was given a robe of honour, and Faqîr 'Azîzu'ddîn, who was interpreting, informed him that the house of Gulâb Siṅgh in Lâhôr was at his service.

In the next year, on a Friday, the 15th of the month Hâr, St. 1896,[42] **Raṇjît Siṅgh died**, and Gulâb Siṅgh, who was at that time in Pêshâwar, having been informed of the event, was deeply affected. The **Mahârajâ Kharak Siṅgh**, who succeeded the Lion of the Pañjâb on the *masnad*, entrusted **Chêt Siṅgh**, a man of base character and evil disposition, with the administration of political and financial affairs. Kharak Siṅgh was also short-sighted enough to alienate the population by extortions, and to make vain attempts to slay certain nobles, whose destruction would have brought on the subversion of the government itself. Therefore, several Sardârs of high position, such as the **Râjâ Suchêt Siṅgh**, Jam'adâr Khushḥâl Siṅgh, Lahnâ Siṅgh Majîthîa, &c., waited one day upon his son, the prince **Nau Nihâl Siṅgh**, and informed him of the state of affairs, whereon he replied that although the cutting open of a sore pains the body, its health is restored thereby, and that although the Mahârâjâ Kharak Siṅgh would be distressed by the removal of Chêt Siṅgh, it was necessary to encompass it in order to prevent greater evils, and that therefore the Sardârs ought next morning before sunrise to come to the palace and kill him. This proposal was agreed to and confirmed with an oath by all, except the Sardâr Lahnâ Siṅgh Majîthiâ, who being an ascetic, demurred at participating in such an act, but promised on oath not to divulge the plot. Accordingly the Sardârs arrived early in the morning in the palace and waited upon the prince Nau Nihâl Siṅgh, by whose aid they penetrated into Kharak Siṅgh's sleeping apartment, adjoining the throne-room. The guards about the doors awoke at hearing persons walking, but said nothing when they saw the prince and the Râjâ Dhyân Siṅgh. The Mahârâjâ had already risen and put on his turban, and was attending to his devotions and other matters, when Gulâb Siṅgh shot Kânh Siṅgh and another *farrâsh* [carpet-spreader] dead with his carbine. Upon this the Mahârâjâ attempted to close the door, but it was forcibly kept open by the prince, with whom all the Sardârs entered. The love of the Mahârâjâ, however, for Chêt Siṅgh was so great that he kept him in his embrace till he was torn away. Chêt Siṅgh fled to the *tahkhâna*, where Râjâ Dhyân Siṅgh overtook him and stabbed him to death with his poniard.[43] The Mahârâjâ then broke out in loud wailings and curses against the Sardârs, and more particularly against his own son, whom he reproached with having perpetrated this wicked act to attain the sovereignty, which he assured him he would not enjoy for a single day after his own reign had come to an end.

[41] A. D. 1838. [42] A. D. 1839.

[43] Though the scene here described is not mentioned, the events connected therewith are in Ch. 40 of the *Ẓafarnâma*.

In St. 1897,[44] the **Mahârâjâ Kharak Siṅgh died,** and when **Nau Nihâl Siṅgh** was returning from the funeral with **Miân Adham Siṅgh,** a board detached itself from the roof of the fort-gate under which they passed, and killed them both, falling upon them like a stone from heaven.[45] Having been born in St. 1874, Nau Nihâl was at the time of his death not more than 23 years and a few days old. Gulâb Siṅgh, who was at that time in Râmnagar, immediately departed to Jammûṅ, where he spent a few days in mourning, and then again returned to Lâhôr. Râjâ Dhyân Siṅgh endeavoured for a time to keep the death of Nau Nihâl Siṅgh concealed and had his body conveyed to the Ḥazûrî Bâgh, where he invited surgeons and physicians to come, who were supposed to be treating the prince. But after Gulâb Siṅgh had arrived in Lâhôr, the prince **Shêr Siṅgh,** son of the Mahârâjâ Raṇjît Siṅgh, was informed of what had taken place and invited to Lâhôr, where he performed the funeral obsequies with appropriate pomp. Shêr Siṅgh hoped to succeed to the *masnad* at once, and was supported in his claim by Gulâb Siṅgh, Dhyân Siṅgh and others, but finding that the faction of the Sindhânwâliâ Sardârs and many powerful nobles favoured the succession of the **Rânî Chand Kaṅwar,** he retired to Kâlânûr with **Dhyân Siṅgh,** who afterwards departed to Jammûṅ, after making the arrangements necessary for raising Shêr Siṅgh to the throne, by ordering the officers of the Khâlṣa troops, all of whom were sincerely devoted to him, to receive Shêr Siṅgh with royal honours and to obey him in everything on his arrival in Lâhôr. Karm Singh, who was in the service of Dhyân Siṅgh, returned to the capital, and as soon as everything had been got ready, the prince Shêr Siṅgh entered Lâhôr at the invitation of the officers of the army. Gulâb Siṅgh, desirous of averting hostilities, assembled the officers and told them that, as the Mahârânî was heir to the throne, their duty would be to remain loyal to her. However, while pretending to agree with what he had said, they fired a royal salute as soon as Shêr Siṅgh had arrived near the regiments. Gulâb Siṅgh at once betook himself to the fort, where he made preparations for resistance, and told the **Râjâ Hîrâ Siṅgh,** that as his father Dhyân Siṅgh was outside the fort he ought also to leave it; but he refused, replying that as Gulâb Siṅgh stood to him in the place of a father it would be impossible to abandon him and to leave the fort. Gulâb Siṅgh had merely his own Dôgrâ troops in the fort, amounting to less than 2,000 men, with only one piece of artillery, whilst the forces outside exceeded 50,000 in number with nearly 300 guns. The besieging army having posted itself in the plain of the Ḥazûrî Bâgh, erected a battery opposite the gateway, and demanded its surrender; but the Ṣûbahdâr Chhapâchap, who had charge of it, with a company of sepoys, replied that he could not do so except by order of Gulâb Siṅgh. On this the attack began in which the Ṣûbahdâr and his men perished, and the gateway was reduced to splinters. The Dîwân[46] was at this post, and, with several other men, not only repaired the damage done, but also fired their one cannon, which kept off the besiegers, whilst a musketry fire was kept up from the fort-wall. The greatest execution of all, however, was done by a musket of Gulâb Siṅgh's own invention, called *pârmâr*.[47] The fire was kept up so well, that the enemy could not dig any trenches, and all the gunners and artillery horses of the battery, which had been established in the Ḥazûrî Bâgh, were annihilated. There were also two *paltans* in the fort, who had previously arranged to support Shêr Siṅgh, but Gulâb Siṅgh had by an astute stratagem hindered them from obtaining access to their arms, of which he had taken charge. Gordon Ṣâḥib, who was an artillery officer, proposed to blow up the Pâdshâhî mosque, which was full of ammunition, and used by the Khâlṣa forces as a magazine. The explosion, he averred, would do great execution by annihilating the adjacent localities and Shêr Siṅgh himself, whose aspirations to supreme power would thus be suddenly cut short, but Gulâb Siṅgh magnanimously replied that it was not his intention to destroy the Khâlṣa power.[48]

[44] A. D. 1840.

[45] Thus the prediction of his father, narrated a few lines before, was fulfilled. The event is recorded also in Ch. 4 of the *Ẓafarnâma*, but not exactly in the same way. [46] Father of the author. [47] Full of serpents.

[48] Our author, who had previously stated that Shêr Siṅgh "was supported in his claim by Gulâb Siṅgh," first makes him say to the officers of the Khâlṣa army that "the Mahârânî being heir to the throne their duty would be to remain loyal to her," and then makes him go to the fort to defend it against them. There is no doubt, therefore, that he played

Meanwhile the Râjâs Dhyân Siṅgh and Suchêt Siṅgh, who had been sent for, collected all the Sikh forces they could during their march from Jammûṅ, and as soon as they arrived in Lâhôr sent a message into the fort to Gulâb Siṅgh, asking him how long he meant to resist the troops of the government, all of which had now joined Shêr Siṅgh with powerful artillery. Gulâb Siṅgh replied that the garrison would not cease firing unless the besiegers did so. The **Rânî Chand Kaṅwar,** whom our author henceforth simply calls the **Bîbî Ṣâḥiba,** became frightened, after the manner of women, and sent *parwânas* to Gulâb Siṅgh in which she praised his heroism, but requested him to make any arrangements he might think proper for putting an end to the hostilities. Gulâb Siṅgh also received a *parwâna* bearing the signature of the Mahârâjâ Shêr Siṅgh, followed by the manual marks of the great Sardârs Bijai Siṅgh, Bhâi Siṅgh, and Lahnâ Siṅgh, as well as by the signature in Roman characters of Ventura Ṣâḥib and Shâm Siṅgh Aṭârîwâlâ. This last *parwâna* was to the purport that if the musketry fire from the fort ceased, Bâbâ Mahâṅ Siṅgh would be despatched to bring him to the camp with all honours under safe conduct. But he did not at once comply with this invitation and a correspondence ensued, terminating with the surrender of the fort on the condition of granting the Bîbî Ṣâḥiba a *jâgîr*, with a yearly income of seven *lâkhs* of rupees. At last Gulâb Siṅgh had his elephants and baggage removed from the fort one night, following himself at dawn, and encamping on the banks of the Râvî, where the Râjâs Dhyân Siṅgh and Suchêt Siṅgh soon met him and represented that numberless Khâlṣa troops were in the vicinity, many of whose comrades had been slain during the siege, and that hostilities might easily again break out. Accordingly the camp was next day removed to Shâhdara, where many great Sardârs paid Gulâb Siṅgh visits with the presentation of compliments from the Mahârâjâ Shêr Siṅgh, and asked him what had induced him to offer resistance to the Mahârâjâ. Gulâb Siṅgh replied, that as there was much treasure and valuable property in the fort, it would all have been plundered and dispersed if he had not taken possession of it, and that it was moreover necessary to guard the ladies. Being satisfied with this explanation, the Mahârâjâ Shêr Siṅgh, after bestowing upon Gulâb Siṅgh a dress of honour and a *sanad* for the *jâgîr* of **Manawar**, gave him leave to depart to Jammûṅ.

As Gulâb Siṅgh had, with his paternal uncle, Dîwân Hîrâ Chand, who was the commander of his troops, obtained permission from the Bîbî Ṣâḥiba, whilst she was besieged in the fort of Lâhôr, to conquer the *ta'luqas* of **Gharî** and **Gharîâlî,** so the Dîwân first occupied Sarâî-Aurangâbâd, which the troops of the late Mahârâjâ Kharak Siṅgh had taken after a siege, and then marched to the fort of **Sukhchênpûr,** which had been garrisoned on behalf of the Mahârâja Sarat Siṅgh, but was now surrendered. Another small fort, **Kôṭ** by name, was also easily occupied, but **Maṅgalâ** which is on the top of a mountain, and on three sides surrounded by the river Bhôt, fell only after a long and brave resistance.

In St. 1898,[48] the Mahârâjâ Shêr Siṅgh despatched a Gurkhâ *palṭan* under the command of Prince **Partâb Siṅgh** to punish the malcontents who had slain **Manhêwan Siṅgh, the Ṣubahdâr of Kaśmîr,** and Gulâb Siṅgh, who was at that time at Bahlôl on the bank of the Chînâb, having been ordered to aid the prince, joined him at Bhimbar, with the father of the author and the Dîwân Nihâl Chand, their forces amounting to four *palṭans* and 600 cavalry. The country being too poor to provide for large bodies of troops, Gulâb Siṅgh divided his forces, retaining one-half of them and placing the other at the disposal of the Dîwân Nihâl Chand, marched to Shapiâṅ, where it rained so abundantly as to detain him there. He did not continue his march in the direction of Shêrgarh till the fourth day after reaching it. The troops under the Dîwân Nihâl Chand reached Naipûr, where two *palṭans* of rebels opposed him at the crossing of the river Dûdhgaṅgâ. Here the Prince Partâb Siṅgh joined him with Gulâb Siṅgh, and the combined forces attacked the rebels and defeated them with a loss of 600 men.

a double game. The above bombastic account of the defence of the fort, given by our author, is contradicted in Ch. 41 of the *Ẓafarnâma*, according to which Shêr Siṅgh compelled the fort to surrender after a siege of only three days, chiefly through the mediation of Gulâb Siṅgh, who returned just in time from Jammûṅ to bring the negotiations to a satisfactory issue.

[48] A. D. 1841.

the guards on the road to Bahrâmgala and Pûñchh being ordered to deprive the fugitives of their arms. Gulâb Siṅgh then marched back to Naipûr, where he distributed Rs. 43,000 among the troops who had shared in the battle. He also spoke kindly to all who had been wounded or were sick, and had them treated with medicines. He then left the Dîwân Nihâl Chand in charge of the troops, and marched to Shêrgaṛh, where orders from the Mahârâjâ reached him and the prince to take charge of the **Hazâra District.** They marched thither, but met with no resistance till they reached Pôkhlî and the district of Bâghistân, the population of which had rebelled. Most of the district was reduced to obedience by conciliatory measures and the rest by force. They then marched to the fort of **Kishangaṛh,** where the prince Partâb Siṅgh took up his abode, whilst Gulâb Siṅgh encamped at Baṛâkôṭ at a distance of four *kôs* off.

News having arrived that **Zôrâwar Siṅgh Gahlôriâ,** the *wazîr* of Gulâb Siṅgh, had lost his life in an attack upon **Mansarôbar,** the inhabitants of which had rebelled under the leadership of Paiṇḍâ Khân, he marched thither, and having punished them, remained in that district for some time. On that occasion **Sir Henry Montgomery and Colonel (Sir Henry) Lawrence,** who were marching in the direction of **Kâbul** with the English army under the command of **General Pollock,** had, by the aid of the author's father, an interview with Gulâb Siṅgh, during which they informed him, that if he were to accompany the English army to Pêshâwar, and assist it to march safely through the Khaibar Pass, he would place the British government under great obligations to him. The Mahârâjâ Shêr Siṅgh was in favour of this movement, which would strengthen the bond of friendship between the two governments. Gulâb Siṅgh accordingly marched to Pêshâwar, where, meeting General Pollock and Mr. Mackison with other high officers, he promised them the alliance of the Sikh government, but some time afterwards the Sardâr Buddh Siṅgh arrived on the part of Shêr Siṅgh and instigated the Khâlṣa troops to begin hostilities towards the English as soon as the army had started towards Kâbul. This plot having been revealed to Gulâb Siṅgh, he informed **Sir Henry Lawrence,** who had much friendly intercourse with him, of the intended treachery.[50] After the English officers had held a consultation, they told Gulâb Siṅgh that he might arrange the matter as he thought best. Accordingly he distributed, by way of atonement for their comrades in the Khâlṣa army who had been slain during the war in Kaśmîr, some thousands of rupees of worth of sweetmeats among the troops; and then held a secret council with the principal Khâlṣa officers, in which he told them that his sentiments were identical with theirs, but that they ought not to commence hostilities against the English in this place, because some thousands of their own young men would then be slain for nothing, but that the proper thing to do would be to keep the Khaibar Pass open for the English army, so that in case it should be vanquished by the Afghâns, much of the property and treasure left on this side would fall into the hands of the noble Khâlṣa army. If, on the contrary, it happens to be victorious, the English would for ever consider themselves to be under obligation to them. This advice having been unanimously approved, the Khâlṣa troops accompanied the English army, and Gulâb Siṅgh went in person as far as the fort of Jamrûd, meeting afterwards Sir Henry Lawrence at Jalâlâbâd, who expressed his thanks to him. A letter to the same purport received from **Mr. (Sir George) Clerk, Agent to the Governor-General,** is inserted, dated as late as the 8th April 1842, from Lâhôr.

The **Râjâ of Ladâkh** having revolted, the army of Gulâb Siṅgh, commanded by the *wazîr* Ratanû, invaded his territory, and the Râjâ being unable to offer resistance, was fined Rs. 30,000, of which, however, Rs. 5,000 were afterwards remitted. On that occasion **Muḥammad Shâh, the son of Aḥmad Shâh, Râjâ of Skârdô,** revolted against his father, and took refuge with the army of Gulâb Siṅgh. He was referred by the commander to the Râjâ of Ladâkh, who sent him in disgrace under an escort to Skârdô, where his father obtained possession of him and illtreated him to such an extent that his feet were frostbitten by the snow. Upon this Gulâb Siṅgh's army marched against the Râjâ of Skârdô, whom it deposed, and the campaign was extended to such a distance that the army at last reached the

[50] This service, however, does not appear to have been as great as our author tries to make out.

spot where the British and Nêpâlî possessions are conterminous; but as Gulâb Siṅgh did not participate in person in this expedition, it would be superfluous to narrate the details of it. Nevertheless, it is worth mentioning that the engineer officer, **(Sir Alexander) Cunningham,** who became, in course of time, Director-General of the Archæological Survey of India, happened to be on the above occasion near the British frontier, and had an interview with the commander of Gulâb Siṅgh's army, who then sent two men to examine the boundary between Parang and Nêpâl, and they reported that they had found two stones with inscriptions in Śâstrî and Bhôṭ characters fixing the boundary. The climate being fearfully severe in the mountains, and provisions scarce, the troops suffered exceedingly, and therefore returned to Ladâkh. All this took place in 1841, when, as has been already narrated, Gulâb Siṅgh was in Pêshâwar, and contributed to the safe transit of General Pollock's army through the Khaibar Pass. Another expedition was undertaken to Ladâkh by Wazîr Ratanû and the Dîwân Harî Chand, which ended with a treaty of peace in St. 1899,[61] by which the Râjâ of Ladâkh promised to remain for ever at peace with the Śrî Mahârâj Ṣâḥib Bahâdur Râjâ Gulâb Siṅgjî, with the Emperor of China, and with the Lama Gurû, sovereign of Lâsâ. He also promised to abide for ever by the frontiers fixed from ancient times between Ladâkh and the adjacent countries, and to send annually shawls, wool, and tea according to the old custom, and not to listen to the suggestions of malcontents, who might come to his country from the possessions of the Śrî Râjâ Ṣâḥib, nor to allow them to remain in it. Lastly, he promised not to persecute, but in every way to encourage traders coming to Ladâkh.

Although, as noticed above, the **Mahârajâ Shêr Siṅgh** had been raised to the throne with the co-operation of **Dhyân Siṅgh**, the intriguers by whom the Mahârâjâ was surrounded succeeded in a short time in producing distrust between them. The Sardâr Khushḥâl Siṅgh likewise became estranged from the Mahârâjâ, who also gave utterance to suspicions that the Sindhânwâliâ Sardârs were beginning to favour the aspirations of the Bîbî Ṣâhiba Chand Kaṅwar. The Sardârs 'Aṭar Siṅgh and Ajît Siṅgh therefore crossed the Satluj and sought refuge in the British dominions, whilst the Sardâr Lahnâ Siṅgh, who could not escape, was cast into prison. In short, although the Mahârâjâ outwardly professed friendship towards Dhyân Siṅgh and Gulâb Siṅgh, he inwardly bore them ill-will. It is alleged that Ventura and the Sardâr Lahnâ Siṅgh Majîthiâ being on most intimate terms with the Mahârâjâ, and aware of his intentions, advised him that it would be imprudent to deal with only one of these Sardârs, but that all the three brothers ought to be captured together. Accordingly when Gulâb Siṅgh had settled the treaty of peace with Ladâkh and was living quietly in Jammûṅ, the Mahârâjâ repeatedly expressed his desire by letter to meet him; and Gulâb Siṅgh, although aware of his evil intentions, firmly trusted in Providence, and took the opportunity of the **Mahârâjâ's visit to Kâṅgṛâ** to wait upon him at Jwâlâmukhî. The meeting was apparently cordial, and henceforth the Mahârâjâ kept Gulâb Siṅgh near his person. Meanwhile the Râjâ Dhyân Siṅgh, having become aware of this stratagem, left Râjâ Suchêt Siṅgh in Lâhôr, sent Hîrâ Siṅgh to Jasrôtâ, and himself joined the Mahârâjâ, who took him to the fort of Kâṅgṛâ with the intention of encompassing his destruction. On that day, however, Gulâb Siṅgh did not accompany the party, and the Mahârâjâ refrained from slaying Dhyân Siṅgh alone. It is said that the Sardâr Lahnâ Siṅgh Majîthiâ dissuaded the Mahârâjâ from accomplishing his design by telling him that Gulâb Siṅgh being near at hand, and Suchêt Siṅgh in Lâhôr, a great disturbance would ensue, during which Suchêt Siṅgh would not fail to avenge the death of his brother by putting out the eyes of Partâb Siṅgh, the son of the Mahârâjâ. He, however, ordered some of his musketeers to fire both upon Dhyân Siṅgh and upon Gulâb Siṅgh during a hunting party, but being under obligations to the latter, who had done them many acts of kindness, they revealed the plot to him, whereon he begged leave to absent himself on the plea of some urgent business and retired to his tent, where he was to have been murdered, but took the precaution of sleeping surrounded by his retainers, so that the chance of killing him was again

[61] A. D. 1842.

missed. On the other hand, the Râjâ Dhyân Siṅgh, having wounded a jackal during the chase, found a pretence for remaining awake by watching for him all night from an ambush. About this time Lahnâ Siṅgh, who was on good terms with the family of Gulâb Siṅgh, had several times overheard the false assurances of friendship made to the latter by the Mahârâjâ, and knew that they were appreciated as such by him, sent him one day several vessels full of iced milk, but instead of sugar, put saltpetre into them. When Gulâb Siṅgh tasted the beverage, he expressed astonishment at its bitter flavour, but on the messenger's saying that it was symbolical of the present time, Gulâb Siṅgh ordered him to tell his master that he had fully understood the meaning of the gift. A few days afterwards Gulâb Siṅgh departed to Jammûṅ to celebrate the **wedding of Raṇbîr Siṅgh**, whom he afterwards adopted as his son.

All the preparations having been made for the festivity, Raṇbîr Siṅgh's wedding with the little daughter of Bijai Siṅgh was solemnised, the Râjâ Dhyân Siṅgh being present on behalf of the Mahârâjâ Shêr Siṅgh. After the rejoicings had terminated, Gulâb Siṅgh wished Dhyân Siṅgh to remain longer in Jammûṅ, but he refused and departed to Lâhôr, where the Mahârâjâ received him in the most friendly manner, but gave secret orders to **Ajît Siṅgh** to kill him. The latter who was on good terms with Hîrâ Siṅgh, informed him of the orders, and proposed to kill the Mahârâjâ Shêr Siṅgh instead of Dhyân Siṅgh, but received no answer. Shêr Siṅgh, who entertained no suspicions of the Sindhâṅwâliâ Sardârs, sent an invitation to Lahnâ Siṅgh and Ajît Siṅgh to hold a review of the troops at Shâh Bilâwal near Lâhôr, and they most gladly accepted it. When **Ajît Siṅgh** was on this occasion passing in review with his troops before the **Mahârâjâ Shêr Siṅgh**, he pretended to shew him a double-barrelled gun, but in the act of doing so discharged its contents into his body, **and the Mahârâjâ at once fell dead.** Lahnâ Siṅgh had meanwhile kept his troops ready in the garden of the Jam'âdâr Ṣâḥib, and when he heard the tumult which ensued, and was informed of what had taken place, he forthwith cut off the head of the young prince **Partâb Siṅgh**, whom he had brought to witness the review, and started in the direction of the fort. It happened that the Râjâ Dhyân Siṅgh, who knew nothing of what had taken place, had left his house in a buggy and was driving along the road. He was amazed at meeting a tumultuous crowd with Ajît Siṅgh at its head, who told him that what was to be done had been done, and that for his own safety he ought to accompany him to the fort. Dhyân Siṅgh, who had only three or four men with him, complied perforce, but when he arrived with the crowd in the *hawêlî* of the Kharpâliâs he was shot dead. **Lahnâ Siṅgh**, who came afterwards, sharply reproved Ajît Siṅgh for what had happened, told him to wrap the corpse in a shawl, send it to the Râjâ's house, and get ready for the impending fight.[52]

The population became greatly frightened at these disturbances, and the Râjâ Suchêt Siṅgh, who was in his own house, having been informed of the murder of the Mahârâjâ Shêr Siṅgh, and being most anxious to ascertain what had become of the Râjâ Dhyân Siṅgh because his horse had arrived alone in the stable, sent the Ṣûbahdâr Îśrî Siṅgh to the fort to make enquiries. The messenger soon returned with the news, which was confirmed by the arrival of Dhyân Siṅgh's corpse sent by Lahnâ Siṅgh to the house. Suchêt Siṅgh at once informed Hîrâ Siṅgh, who was at Shâh Bilâwal, of what had taken place, and also sent a letter to Kêśrî Siṅgh with a request to inform the army of the murder of the Mahârâjâ Shêr Siṅgh and Dhyân Siṅgh, in order to excite it to take vengeance and to prepare it for fighting. Râjâ Hîrâ Siṅgh and Râi Kêśrî Siṅgh arrived near the fort at midnight with the army, with which the Sindhâṅwâliâ faction had tampered, but ineffectually, because it was entirely devoted to Hîrâ Siṅgh. Nevertheless, nobody believed that hostilities would really take place till the artillery and musketry fire actually began. The fort was then assaulted and taken by storm. Both **Ajît Siṅgh** and **Lahnâ Siṅgh** perished in this contest. Of the former, however, it is said that he died like a coward, and of the latter that he fell fighting like a brave

[52] These events are narrated somewhat differently at the end of Ch. 42 of the *Ẓafarnâma*.

man. The Rânî of Dhyân Singh immolated herself on the funeral pyre before the fort was taken, after expressing a wish that she should have liked to see the death of her husband avenged. Suchêt Singh assured her that she could certainly do so, in a short time, if she consented to delay the act of *satî*. The **Pandit Jalla**,[53] however, demurred to any procrastination; and she was cremated at the age of 47 years and 26 days, having been born on the 11th of the month Bâdrûñ in St. 1853.[54]

(*To be continued.*)

SANSKRIT AND OLD-KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

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

No. 191.—Satara Copper-Plate Grant of Vishnuvardhana I.

This inscription was first brought to notice in 1844, by Bal Gangadhar Shastri, who edited it, with an indifferent lithograph, in the *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. II. p. 1 ff. The original plates are stated to have been found at **Satara**, the chief town of the District of that name in the Bombay Presidency; and they were acquired at the time by Mr. James Bird, then Secretary of the Bombay Society. They were subsequently lost sight of for a very long time; until, about five or six years ago, they were discovered in some public auction rooms in London, and, being purchased by Mr. A. W. Franks, were presented by him to the British Museum, where they now are. I re-edit the inscription, with a photo-lithograph, from the original plates.

The **plates**, of which the first and last are inscribed on one side only, are three in number, each measuring about 7″ long by 3½″ broad at each end and a little less in the middle. They are quite smooth, the edges of them having been neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims; the writing, however, is in a state of perfect preservation throughout, except for the small portions broken away at the proper left corners of the first plate. The first plate appears at first sight to be numbered, immediately before the commencement of the text; but, as there are no similar numbers on the second and third plates, I take it that we have here a variety of the symbol for *Om*, and not the numerical symbol for 1, much as it resembles the latter. The **ring** on which the plates are strung, and the holes for which are near the proper right-hand end of each plate, is about ¼″ thick, and is oval in shape, measuring about 2½″ by 3⅛″. When the grant came under my notice, the ring had been cut and joined together again with a square bolt, which is now missing; there seems, however, to be no reason for thinking that this is not the proper ring belonging to the plates. The **seal** on it is fashioned out of the piece of metal from which the ring was made, after the usual custom with English signet-rings. The surface of it is roughly circular, about ⅞″ in diameter; and it has, on a slightly countersunk surface, at the top, the moon; across the centre, the **legend** *śrî-Biṭṭ-arasa*, *i. e.* "the illustrious king Biṭṭi or Biṭṭa;" and at the bottom, a boar, squatting on its haunches, and facing to the proper right. — The **weight** of the three plates is about 16¼ oz., and of the ring and seal, 5¼ oz.; total, 1 lb. 5½ oz. — The **characters** belong to the southern class of alphabets, and are of the regular type of the period and part of the country to which the record belongs. From a **palæographical point of view**, we may notice the manner in which the superscript long *î* is formed, by a vertical line across the circle which denotes the short *i*; I cannot quote any similar instance from Chalukya grants. The **average size of the letters** is about $\frac{3}{16}$″. The engraving is bold and excellent; though, as is usual, the interiors of a few of the letters shew marks of the working of the engraver's tool. The engraving is fairly deep; and the letters show through on the reverse sides of the first and third plates. — The **language** is Sanskṛit. The body of the inscription contains verses in lines 4 to 10; and seven of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses are quoted in lines 25 to 35. The use of the affix *ka* in *pravardhamânaka*, line 35, is

[53] The character and influence of this man are alluded to in Ch. 43 of the *Zafarnâma*.

[54] A. D. 1796. Her *satî* took place A. D. 1843.

noteworthy; compare the instances quoted in *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 69. — In respect of **orthography**, the only points that call for notice are (1) the use of *ri* for *ṛi* in *mâtri*, line 2, and in other instances in lines 4, 5, 11, 14, 28 and 29, though the correct vowel is used in *kṛita-kṛityaḥ*, line 7, *kṛitajñaś*, line 8, and *kṛishṇ-âhayó*, line 34; (2) the doubling of *dh*, by *d* in the proper manner, before *y*, in °*ânuddhyâtânâṁ*, line 1, and in *viddhy-âṭavîshv*°, line 33, where, however, it may optionally be attributed to the preceding *anusvâra* (see, *e. g.*, the instances referred to in *Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 192, 197, 236, 244); and (3) the doubling of *k* before *r*, in *parâkkramaḥ*, line 8, though not in *vikrama*, line 4.

The inscription is one of **Vishṇuvardhana I.**, the founder of **the Eastern Branch of the Chalukya family.** It is non-sectarian; the object of it being only to record the grant of a village to some Brâhmaṇs, for the purpose of maintaining the rites of the five great sacrifices.

The village granted was **Alandatîrtha**, which is defined as being in the district called **the Śrînilaya bhôga**, on the north of **the agrâhâra of Aṇopalya, i. e. Aṇopalli or Aṇopaḷḷi**, and on the south bank of **the river Bhîmarathî. Alandatîrtha** is probably the '**Alundah**' of the map, Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 39, in Lat. 18° 12′ and Long. 73° 59′, five miles north-east of Bhôr, the chief town of the Bhôr State, and about thirty-five north of Sâtârâ. It is not actually on the Bhîma; but it is on the south (or west) bank of the Sivagaṅgâ, which is a tributary of the Nîrâ, which again flows into the Bhîma; and it seems, therefore, to answer the description of being on the south bank of the Bhîmarathî. I can, at any rate, not find any other place, the name of which at all resembles Alandatîrtha, anywhere along the Bhîma itself; and I think that the name **Bhîmarathî**, — which occurs also in the Vokkalêri grant of Kîrtivarman II. (*ante*, Vol. VIII. p. 27),[1] — may be taken to denote any tributary of the Bhîma, as well as the principal river itself. Bal Gangadhar Shastri (*loc. cit.* p. 2) expressed the opinion that Alandatîrtha is the modern '**Âlandi**' in the Poona District, about twelve miles north of the latter city. It is a place of some sanctity, and it is on a tributary of the Bhîma, *viz.* the Indrâyaṇî; but it is on the north bank of the Indrâyaṇî, not the south; and, if for this reason only, it does not seem acceptable. The name of **Aṇopalya or Aṇopaḷḷi** is not to be traced on the map. Nor can I at present identify either **the Śrînilaya bhôga**, or **Kurumarathî**, — or possibly **Kurumarathyâ**, — where Vishṇuvardhana I. was, when he made the grant. The former name may perhaps have some connection with the **Śrîbhavana** which is mentioned, *e. g.*, in the Wani grant of Gôvinda III. (*ante*, Vol. XI. p. 162).

As regards the **date** of this grant, we learn from line 13 that it was made on the full-moon **day of Kârttika**; and further, from line 35, that it was in the eighth year of "the glorious *Mahârâja*." The *Mahârâja* here spoken of, is the Western Chalukya king Pulikêśin II., the elder brother of Vishṇuvardhana I. And the date is, accordingly, Kârttika śukla 15 of Saka-Saṁvat 539 current, in A. D. 616, or of 540 current, in A. D. 617.

In this record, the dynastic name is written **Chalikya**, as in the Mahâkûṭa pillar inscription of Maṅgalêśa (page 7 ff. above); the only difference being that the Mahâkûṭa inscription uses the Drâviḍian *ḷ*, whereas here we have the ordinary Sanskṛit *l*. The genealogy starts with **Pulikêśin I.**, who is here mentioned by his *birudas* of **Raṇavikrama and Satyâśraya**, as in the Mahâkûṭa record. His son, **Kîrtivarman I.**, is mentioned by his own proper name. Curiously enough, the **actual reigning king, Pulikêśin II.**, is passed over in this record, even in spite of the fact that his younger brother assumes only the title of *Yuvarâja*; and the succession of names is taken direct from Kîrtivarman I. to his younger son **Vishṇuvardhana I.**; as is also done in one of the grants of Vishṇuvardhana II. (*ante*, Vol. VII. p. 191). Attached to the name of Vishṇuvardhana I., there is his *biruda* of **Vishamasiddhi**, or "he who is successful under difficulties," which is explained in his other grant, shortly to be published; it is used

[1] In the *Bṛihat-Saṁhitâ*, xvi. 9, the name is given as Bhîmarathâ, with Bhîmarathyâ as a various reading.

to denote him in the grant of his son Jayasiṁha I. (*ante*, Vol. XIII. p. 138); and it appears on the seals of the grants of his grandson, Vishṇuvardhana II. (see the Plates, *ante*, Vol. VII. p. 191, and Vol. VIII. p. 320). The seal of the present grant also exhibits his name, taken as simply Vishṇu, in the Prâkṛit form of **Biṭṭarasa**, *i. e.* 'king Biṭṭi or Biṭṭa.'[2]

From the mention here of Pulikêśin II. as "the glorious *Mahârâja*," it is not to be inferred that his position was anything below that of a paramount sovereign, — in, of course, his own dominions. Setting other things aside, Hiuen Tsiang's account alone (Beal's *Buddhist Records*, p. 256 f., and *Life*, p. 146 f.) is amply sufficient to shew what his real rank and power were. And the fact simply is, that **the development of the technical titles of paramount sovereignty in Southern India** was later than in the more northern parts of the country. It will be useful to take this opportunity of sketching the history of them in the south; so far, at any rate, as the Chalukyas are concerned.

We have to take first the case of the **Early and Western Chalukyas**. In Northern India, the primitive title of **Mahârâja** had, two centuries at least before the time with which we are dealing, been superseded by that of *Mahârâjâdhirâja*,[3] with *Paramabhaṭṭâraka* attached to it (see *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 10, note 3, p. 15, note 4, p. 17, notes 1, 3, and p. 25, line 1). In Southern India, on the contrary, it had been retained in its original paramount application;[4] and no change in respect of it was made, so far as our present knowledge goes, till in the generation after Pulikêśin II. The earliest Chalukya grant that uses any formal title at all, is the Goa grant of Śaka-Saṁvat 532, which refers to "the *Mahârâja*, the favourite of fortune and of the earth" (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 365; see also page 12 above, note 7). The next is, either the undated Nerûr grant of Pulikêśin II., which connects the title of *Mahârâja* with his name (*ante*, Vol. VIII. p. 44); or his Haidarâbâd grant of Śaka-Saṁvat 534 expired, which attaches the same title to both his own name and those of his father and grandfather, Kîrtivarman I. and Pulikêśin I. (*ante*, Vol. VI. p. 73). And this latter grant shews also the first step that was made towards a more dignified nomenclature, by mentioning also his other name or title of **Paramêśvara**.[5] As to the origin of this title, the grant in question says that he acquired it "by defeating hostile kings who had applied themselves to the contest of a hundred battles;" while the later inscriptions state, more specifically, that he acquired it "by defeating the glorious Harshavardhana, the warlike lord of all the region of the north" (*e. g. ante*, Vol. VI. p. 78). It is noteworthy that Harshavardhana himself did not use the title in his grants

[2] Another form of the name was Biṭṭiga (e. g. *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XI. p. 244).

[3] As regards the analysis of the term *mahârâjâdhirâja*, it is a question, open to discussion, whether we should take it as *mahârâja* + *adhirâja*, *lit.* 'supreme king of great kings,' or as *mahâ* + *râjâdhirâja*, *lit.* 'great supreme king of kings.' I have hitherto treated it, as if the former is the case; but I am not quite sure that I have been right in doing so. The doubt does not occur to me now for the first time.

[4] It is probably to be interpreted in this way wherever it occurs in the Early Kadamba grants (*ante*, Vol. VI. pp. 22-32; Vol. VII. pp. 33-38); in the Pallava grants (*e. g.* Vol. V. pp. 50, 154; Vol. IX. p. 100); in the Eastern Gâṅga grants (Vol. XIII. pp. 119-124; Vol. XVI. p. 131); and in similar early grants from Southern India, *e. g.* the Śâlaṅkâyana grant (Vol. V. p. 175), the grant of Nandaprabhañjanavarman (Vol. XIII. p. 48), and the grant of Pṛithivimûla (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. p. 114). — On the other hand, as applied to the Sêndraka Pogilli in the Baḷagâmve inscription (page 145 above), it is unmistakably a feudatory title. — The use of the expression *dharma-Mahârâjâdhirâja* in the 'Hirahaḍagalli' grant (*Epigraphia Indica*, p. 2) may help in determining the exact period of that grant. But, while not inclined to agree with Mr. Foulkes in placing it so early as in the second century A. D. (*Jour. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XXI. p. 1118), — [the *aśvamêdha*-sacrifice of this grant, is, in my opinion, to be placed in a period *subsequent* to the revival of that rite by Samudragupta], — I must not be understood as meaning that it belongs to a period later than that in which the title *Mahârâjâdhirâja* was adopted by the Chalukyas. It is very possible that, through their contact with Samudragupta, the Pallavas of Kâñchî came to learn the existence of the title, and brought it into occasional use, long before the time when it penetrated to the western parts of Southern India.

[5] From the use of this title, with that of *Râjâdhirâja*, in the Âḍûr inscription (*ante*, Vol. XI. p. 70), it seems probable now that that record must be referred to the time of Kîrtivarman II., — not of his ancestor of the same name.

(see the Sônpat seal, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 231, and the Madhuban plate, *Epigraphia Indica*, p. 67). And it was certainly not invented in his time; for we find it used, nearly a century earlier, by Vishṇuvardhana of Mâlwa (*Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 153). But it is used, to denote him, in the *Harshacharita* (see, for instance, the special passage quoted by Dr. Bühler at page 41 above). And, very shortly after his time, we find it used technically, in conjunction with *Mahârâjâdhirâja* and *Paramabhaṭṭâraka*, by Dêvagupta and Vishṇugupta of the Gupta family of Magadha (*Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 215), and by Dharasêna IV. of Valabhî (*id.* Introd. p. 41; and *ante*, Vol. I. p. 16, with *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 79). I entertain no doubt, however, that this title was really used in the case of Harshavardhana as a regal title, and not simply as a secondary name or as a substitute for a name; and that, though Pulikêśin II. probably first obtained it from some conquest in the direction of Mâlwa, the special pride in the possession of it by him, exhibited in the grants of his successors, is due to his having been able to resist an invasion of his dominions by the great king of Kanauj.[6] The next step in advance appears, as far as the records at present available go, in the grants of the next generation. Âdityavarman in his grant (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. p. 234) used for himself the titles **Mahârâjâdhirâja and Paramêśvara**, and also attached them both to his father's name. But Vikramâditya I., while using the same titles in his own case, in one instance applied them both to his father (*ante*, Vol. VI. p. 76); in another, — if the grant is genuine, — gave him only the title of *Mahârâjâdhirâja* (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. p. 240); in another gave him the titles of *Mahârâja* and *Paramêśvara* (*id.* p. 236); and in another gave him only the title of *Mahârâja* (*id.* p. 238). To Pulikêśin I. and Kîrtivarman I., all of these grants, following that of Pulikêśin II. of Saka-Saṁvat 534 expired, give the title of *Mahârâja*. This grander title of *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, however, must have been obtained by Pulikêśin II. from Kanauj; and I feel tolerably certain that, if we obtain any formal grants of the later years of his reign, we shall find that it was actually brought into use in his time; only, at present, the first instances are in the grants of his sons. In the next generation, another change was made. The *Mahârâjâdhirâja* was entirely dropped in the case of Vikramâditya I.; but the *Paramêśvara* was retained, and was supplemented by **Bhaṭṭâraka**, which, I suppose, must be looked upon as an amplification of the *Bhaṭṭâra*, or more usually *Bhaṭâra*, of the Old-Kanarese inscriptions.[7] To the name of Vinayâditya himself there were attached, in three cases, the three titles of **Mahârâjâdhirâja, Paramêśvara, and Bhaṭṭâraka** (*ante*, Vol. VI. pp. 86, 89, 92; and Vol. VII. p. 302; also *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. p. 244); while, in one case the *Bhaṭṭâraka* is omitted (page 150 above). In the next generation, again, another change was made, by the restoration of the *Mahârâjâdhirâja* in the case of Vikramâditya I.; and the three titles of *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, *Paramêśvara*, and *Bhaṭṭâraka*, were used for him, his son Vinayâditya, and his grandson Vijayâditya (*ante*, Vol. IX. pp. 127 f., 131). Also, the title of **Paramabhaṭṭâraka** appears for the first time, as a certainty, in this generation;[8] being attached to the name of Vijayâditya in his Bâdâmi inscription (*ante*, Vol. X. p. 60), which, it may also be noted, speaks of his ancestors as "the *Mahârâjas*, Satyâśraya, &c." But in his Aihoḷe inscription (*ante*, Vol. VIII. p. 286), the simple *Bhaṭâra* is used, as in other Kanarese stone records. And the new title of *Paramabhaṭṭâraka* does not appear to have come into habitual use, until the Western Chalukyas were

[6] Pulikêśin II. had acquired the title before the date of his grant of A. D. 612. In Hiuen Tsiang's account, I can find nothing to render it impossible that he had defeated Harshavardhana before that time; all that seems certain, is, that, when Hiuen Tsiang was making his notes (about A. D. 640), the power and activity of Pulikêśin II. were still at their height, and that his successful resistance of Harshavardhana had taken place, at some unspecified time before the moment of writing. Still, if Pulikêśin II. defeated him before A. D. 612, it is almost inexplicable that Harshavardhana's name should not have been specifically mentioned in the record of that year; just as it was mentioned in the Aihoḷe inscription of A. D. 634-35 (*ante*, Vol. VIII. p. 244).

[7] For *bhaṭṭâra*, see *ante*, Vol. XI. p. 125; for *bhaṭâra*, *ante*, Vol. VIII. pp. 285, 286; Vol. X. pp. 103, 164, 165, 166; and other places.

[8] As a matter of fact, it is attached to the name of Vinayâditya in the Lakshmêshwar inscription of Vijayâditya, which, curiously enough, does not attach even the *Bhaṭṭâraka* to the name of Vijayâditya himself (*ante*, Vol. VII. p. 107). That, however, is not altogether a reliable record; having been at any rate not engraved at the time to which it belongs.

succeeded by the Râshṭrakûṭas; *e. g.* in the case of Dantidurga, in A. D. 753 (*ante*, Vol. XI. p. 112). **The final settlement of the Western Chalukya titles** is best illustrated by the grant of Kîrtivarman II., which gives the following specification: — Pulikêśin I. and Kîrtivarman I., are each called *Mahârâja*;[9] Pulikêśin II. is called *Mahârâjâdhirâja* and *Paramêśvara*; and each of his successors, Vikramâditya I., Vinayâditya, Vijayâditya, Vikramâditya II., and Kîrtivarman II., has the three titles of *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, *Paramêśvara*, and *Bhaṭṭâraka* (*ante*, Vol. VIII. p. 26 f.)

Such was the case with the members of the western branch of this family. **The Eastern Chalukyas**, however, were more conservative, so far as they made any use of formal titles in their grants at all. Vishṇuvardhana I., when he ceased to be *Yuvârâja*, assumed only the title of **Mahârâja** (Burnell's *South-Indian Palæography*, p. 137); though there can be no question of the fact that Veṅgî then became a separate and independent kingdom, and that Vishṇuvardhana I. and his successors were paramount sovereigns there, just as their relatives were in Western India. His son, Jayasiṁha I., used the same title (*ante*, Vol. XIII. p. 138). The same title is applied to both of the preceding persons, and is used by Vishṇuvardhana II., in the grants of the latter (*ante*, Vol. VII. pp. 186 f., 191). The same title, again, is applied to Jayasiṁha I. and Vishṇuvardhana II., and is used by Maṅgi in connection with his *biruda* of Sarvalôkâśraya (in a grant not yet published). The same title also is applied to Vishṇuvardhana III. and Vijayâditya I., in the grant of Narêndramṛigarâja-Vijayâditya II.; and this grant gives the earliest instance of the use of the higher titles in this branch of the family, by attaching **Mahârâjâdhirâja, Paramêśvara, and Bhaṭṭâraka**, to the name of Vijayâditya II. himself (Hultzsch's *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. p. 33). Even then, however, these grander titles did not permanently supersede the more primitive one. Guṇagâṅka-Vijayâditya III. gives the title of *Mahârâja* to himself, his father, and his grandfather (in a grant not yet published). And he is called by the same title in one of the grants of Amma I., and in an unpublished grant of Bhîma II.; while, in both of his own grants, Amma I. attaches the same title to his own second name of Vishṇuvardhana, and uses no other in connection with it (*ante*, Vol. VIII. p. 77, Vol. XIII. p. 52, and *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. p. 40). Bhîma II., however, seems to have brought in the permanent use of the higher titles, and also to have been the first in this family to amplify that of *Bhaṭṭâraka* into **Paramabhaṭṭâraka**; in one of his grants, he attaches to his second name of Vishṇuvardhana the single title of *Mahârâjâdhirâja* (*ante*, Vol. XIII. p. 214); in another (unpublished), he uses that title with *Paramêśvara*; while, in a third (*South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. p. 45), he uses the three titles, **Mahârâjâdhirâja, Paramêśvara, and Paramabhaṭṭâraka.** His son, Amma II., gives us in one instance a variety of a conservative tendency, in attaching the title of **Mahârâja** to his second name of Vijayâditya, and in using after it **Râjâdhirâja, Paramêśvara, and Paramabhaṭṭâraka** (*ante*, Vol. VIII. p. 74 f.);[10] in his other grants, however (*ante*, Vol. VII. p. 16, Vol. XII. p. 91, Vol. XIII. p. 249; *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. p. 48; and one unpublished), he drops the title of *Mahârâja*, and uses just the same three fully developed titles, that are used by his father in the third of his grants noted above. From this time, probably, they were quite permanently fixed. We find them used two generations later by Râjarâja II. (*ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 53); and the only subsequent variation that has as yet come to notice, is in the grant of Vîra-Chôḍa, who substituted **Râja-Paramêśvara**[11] for the simple *Paramêśvara*, but used the other two titles untouched (*South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. p. 55 f.)

[9] If any additional evidence is needed in support of the spurious nature of the Kurtakôṭi grant of Vikramâditya I. (*ante*, Vol. VII. p. 217), it may be found in the fact that it gives to Pulikêśin I. and Kîrtivarman I. the titles of *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, *Paramêśvara*, and *Paramabhaṭṭâraka*. — The retention of the title of *Mahârâja* in their case, in the genuine records, may possibly indicate that their power was not as great as that of their successors.

[10] Compare the case of Anantavarma-Chôḍagaṅgadêva of Kaliṅga, who, while using *Mahârâjâdhirâja* and *Paramabhaṭṭâraka* in two of his grants (*ante*, Vol. XVIII. pp. 164, 174), in the third attaches *Mahârâja* to his name, and uses after it *Râjâdhirâja*, *Râja-Paramêśvara*, and *Paramabhaṭṭâraka* (*id.* p. 169).

[11] For another instance of the use of this title, see the preceding note.

I would add here a few remarks on **the true application of the title Mahârâjâdhirâja,** in respect of which there has been a misunderstanding. Mr. Fergusson wrote (*Jour. R. As. Soc.* N. S. Vol. IV. p. 84 f.):— "In India there were three ranks of kings. First, *Râjas*, or simple "princes; *Mahâ-Râjas*, who would rank as kings in Europe; and *Mahârâja Adhirâjas*, kings of "kings, or emperors. The title is identical with *βασιλεὺς βασιλέων* of the Greeks, or Shahan "Shahi of the Persians, and was used in India from the Greek times till probably the Mahomedan "conquest. This would hardly be worthy of remark, but for one circumstance. There might "be any number of *Râjas* or *Mahârâjas* contemporary with one another, but only one *Adhirâja* "or emperor could exist at one time. The consequence is, that whenever we find a king adopting "this title, we know that he was, or at least, assumed to be king of the five Indies, divisions, "which would correspond very nearly with the four Presidencies into which we have divided "India, if the Nizam's and surrounding estates were erected into a fifth. The consequence of "this is that no two emperors could be contemporary with one another, and that whenever we "can trace the dignity from a king in one family to one in another, we know that we have a "true succession, and an historical sequence of the utmost importance. Sometimes these "emperors resided in Magadha, at other times at Canouge or Ougein, and at one time at "Kalyan, — but always in succession."

My attention has been directed again to this passage, which I knew previously, by some remarks made by the Hon. K. T. Telang in connection with Śaṁkaràchârya's statement that, in his time, there was no *Sârvabhauma-râja* or emperor of all India. Mr. Telang has correctly pointed out that the title *Mahârâjâdhirâja* does not denote an emperor of all India. But he himself, if properly reported, has fallen into an error, in saying that "even the *Mahârâjadhirâja* was not really a paramount sovereign, to whom the other *Râjas* owed allegiance as subordinates or feudatories in any way."[12] And Mr. Fergusson's statements contain more than one point open to objection. In the first place, it is most improbable that there ever was any emperor of all India after the time of Aśôka; most certainly, not even the Early Guptas held that position. In the second place, the assertion that the *Mahârâjas* of India would rank as kings in Europe, is correct only for early times; in Northern India, up to the period of Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vâsudêva; and in Southern India, up to the times that have been indicated above, in connection with the Western and Eastern Chalukyas. In the third place, that *Mahârâjâdhirâja* corresponds to *Basileus Basileôn*, is open to question, as the latter appears to have been a perceptibly inferior title; but on this point I am not prepared to write more at present, having not had leisure to complete my intended Note on Hindu and Indo-Scythian Titles of Sovereignty. And finally, that there might be several *Mahârâjâdhirâjas* at one and the same time, is an actual fact, capable of demonstration; for, *e. g.*, in or about A. D. 650 there were, contemporaneously, at least the *Mahârâjâdhirâja* Aṁśuvarman in Nêpâl, the *Mahârâjâdhirâja* Âdityasêna in Magadha, the *Mahârâjâdhirâja* Śîlâditya III. at Valabhî, and the *Mahârâjâdhirâja* Pulikêśin II., or Âdityavarman, or Vikramâditya I., at Vâtâpî. **The title Mahârâjâdhirâja** is the one, — and the only one since the periods indicated above, — which corresponds to the title of 'king' or 'emperor' in Europe. The *Mahârâjâdhirâjas* were paramount sovereigns, each in his own division of India, and each independent of his peers, just as in Europe are the Emperors of Germany and Austria, and the Kings of Denmark and Portugal. And their feudatories were the *Mahârâjas*, *Mahâsâmantas*, *Râjas*, *Sâmantas*, &c., — according to the nomenclature of the different kingdoms, — whose correlatives are the princes and great feudatory nobles of Europe.[13]

[12] Mr. Telang's paper was read before the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society on the 14th July last. My remarks are made on the report of it which appeared in the *Bombay Gazette* of the 24th July.

[13] That there was a misunderstanding on this point, and that I had not distinctly cleared it away, occurred to me when I had finished my *Gupta Inscriptions*; in consequence of which, in the Index, under the headings "paramount sovereigns, titles of," and "sovereigns, paramount, titles of," I inserted the words "*i. e.* of sovereigns supreme in their own dominions, but not necessarily reigning over the whole of India."

TEXT.[14]

First Plate.

1 Ôm[15] Svasti Svâmi-Mahâsêna-pâd-ânuddhyâtânâṁ **Mânavya-sagôtrâṇaṁ H[â]-**
2 **riti-putrâṇaṁ** mâtri(tṛi)-gaṇa-prasâda-parirakshita-bhujârggalânâṁ kshîrôda-
3 dhiśayana-suptôtthita-prasâda-parilabdha-varâhalâñchhanânâṁ **Chalikya-**
4 **nâṁ vaṁsê** saṁbhûtaḥ **śakti-traya-saṁpannaḥ** [1*] Jayati[16] **Raṇavikrama**[17]-
nri(nṛi)pô ni-
5 rasta-ripu-nri(nṛi)pati-śauryya-mada-râgaḥ Kaliyuga-khala-nirmathanai[ḥ*] **Sa-**
6 **tyâśraya-**bhâvitaś=charitaiḥ [11*] Abhavat[18]=tasya sa-kîrtti[ḥ*] **Kîrttivarmâ** sthira-
sthi-
7 ti[ḥ*] | suta[ḥ*] sucharit-âdhâraḥ kṛita-kṛityaḥ pati[ḥ*] kshitêḥ [11*] Tasya
putrô mahâtê-
8 jâ[ḥ*] |[19] Kandarpa iva mûrttimân [1*] dharmma-jñaś=cha kṛita-jñaś=cha |[20]
Pârttha-tulya-parâkkrama[ḥ 11]

Second Plate; First Side.

9 Abhimânam=iv=ôddhartuṁ |[21] narâṇâṁ śastra-jîvinâṁ | Vidhâtrâ vihitô lôkê
10 sa cha Bîbhatsur=êva cha | (11) Têna manêka[22]-sâmanta-praṇata-makuṭa-chûḍâmani-
11 nighri(ghṛi)shṭa-charaṇâravindêna sakala-mahîmaṇḍala-tilaka-bhûtêna śrîpri(pṛi)thi-
12 vîvallabha-**Vishṇuvardḍhana**-yuvarâja-**Vishamasiddhina** **Kurumarathy**-âvasthitê-
13 na mâtâpitrôr=âtmanaś=cha puṇy-âvâptayê **Kârttika-paurṇṇamâsyâṁ** vêda-
14 vêdâṅga-pâragâṇâ(ṇâ)ṁ Ghri(ghṛi)takauśika-sagôtrâṇâṁ Viśvâmitra-vat Lakshmaṇa-[23]
15 svâmi-putrâṇâṁ Achalasvâmi-Vêdasvâmi-Dêvasvâmi[24] Âdityasvâmi-Nâgakumâ-
16 ra-sahitânâṁ putra-pautr-âdînâṁ mavyâtsaṁgên[25]=â chandr-ârka-kshiti-sthiti-samakâlâ[t*]
17 bali-charu-vaiśvadêv-â g n i hô t r a - h a v a n a - p a ñ c h a m a h â y a j ñ - ô t s a r p a ṇ - â r t t h a m

Second Plate; Second Side.

18 **Śrînilaya**-bhôgê **Aṇopaly**-âgrâhârasy=ôttarataḥ **Bhîmarathî**-dakshiṇa-ta-
19 ṭê **Alandatîrttham** nâma grâmô vidhivad=udaka-pûrvvaṁ dattaḥ [1*] Viditam=
astu sa-
20 rvvêshâṁ paryyanta-vishayapati-sâmanta-grâmabhôgika-mahattar-âdînâṁ a-châ-
21 ṭa[26]-bhaṭa-kusîd-âdînâṁm[27]=a-pravêśyaḥ sarvv-âdâna-viśuddhêty[28]=avagamya chala-
22 pavana-prêrit-ôdadhi-jala-taraṅga-chañchalaṁ jîva-lôkam=anuprêkshya
23 tasmâl=lôpô na kâryyaḥ [1*] yô v=âjñâna-timira-paṭal-âvṛiî(vṛi)ta-*matid(r)*=
âchchhi*ṁdy*â-
24 d=âchchhidyamânaṁ yô v=ânumôdê[ta*] sa pañchabhir=mahâpâtakai[ḥ*]
saṁyuktô bha-
25 vishyat=îty=Uktañ=cha bhagavatâ vêda-vyâsêna Vyâsêna || Shashṭiṁ[29] varsha-saha-
26 srâṇi |[30] svarggê tishṭhati bhûmi-daḥ âchchhêttâ ch=ânumantâ cha |[31] tâny=êva
narakê va-

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[14] From the original plates.

[15] Represented by a symbol. The symbol here is very like the numerical symbol for 'one.' But, as the other plates are not numbered, it does not seem intended to be interpreted in that way. [16] Metre, Âryâ.

[17] Over this *ma*, there is a mark which much resembles the *anusvâra*; and there are similar marks in several other places. But they are only faults in the copper, or rust-marks.

[18] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh); and in the next two verses.

[19], [20] and [21] These marks of punctuation are unnecessary.

[22] Read *tên=ânêka*, or *tên=aivam=anêka*. [23] Read, probably, *viśvâmitravat-lakshmaṇa*.

[24] Here, I think, we require a genitive case, and should read °*dêvasvâminâm*.

[25] Read, probably, °*âdînâm=a-vyâsaṁgên*°. [26] Omit the negative particle before this word *châṭa*.

[27] Read °*âdînâm*. [28] Read *viśuddha ity*. [29] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh); and in the following six verses.

[30] and [31] These marks of punctuation are unnecessary.

Third Plate.

27 sê[t*] ॥ Bahubhir=vvasudhâ bhuktâ ।[32] râjabhis=Sagar-âdibhiḥ [।*] yasya yasya yadâ
28 bhûmi- । -s=tasya[33] tasya tadâ phalam [॥*] Tâdri(dṛi)k=puṇyaṁ na dadatâṁ
jâyatê nô dharâbhujâṁ
29 bhuvam=anya-pratishṭhân=tu yâdri(dṛi)g=bhavati rakshatâṁ । (॥) Pûrvva-dattâṁ
dvijâtibhyô ।[34] yatnâd=raksha
30 Yudhishṭhiraḥ[35] [।*] mahîṁ mahimatâṁ śrêshṭha ।[36] dânâ śrêyô[37]=nupâlanam [॥*]
Bra-
31 hma-svê mâ matîṁ kuryyâ[ḥ*] ।[38] prâṇaiḥ kaṇṭha-gatair=api । agni-dagdhâni
rôha-
32 nti ।[39] brahma-dagdhaṁ na rôhati ॥ Sva-dattâṁ para-dattâṁ vâ ।[40] yô
harêta vasundharâm [।*]
33 shashṭiṁ varsha-sahasrâṇi ।[41] kumbhîpâkêshu pachyatê ॥ Viṁddhy-âṭavîshv=
a-tôyâsu
34 śushka-kôṭara-vâsina[ḥ*] । kṛishṇ-âhayô=bhijâyantê ।[42] bhûmi-dân-âpahâri-
35 ṇaḥ [॥*] **Śrî-mahârâjasya pravarddhamânaka-saṁvatsarê ashṭamê** śâsanaṁ
likhitam=iti । (॥)

TRANSLATION.

Om! Hail! **In the race of the Chalikyas**, — who meditate on the feet of (the god) Svâmi-Mahâsêna; who are **of the Mânavya gôtra**; who are **Hâritîputrâs**; whose arms, which are very door-bars, are protected by the favour of the troop of the Mothers (*of mankind*); — (*and*) who possess the crest of a boar, acquired through the favour, when he had arisen from sleep, of him (Vishṇu) whose couch is the ocean of milk, — there was born one who was possessed of the three constituents of regal power: victorious is (*he*), the king **Raṇavikrama**; who overthrew the heroism and pride and wrath of hostile kings; (*and*) who came to be a very **Satyâśraya** ("an asylum of truth"), through his achievements which crushed the wicked people of the Kâli age.

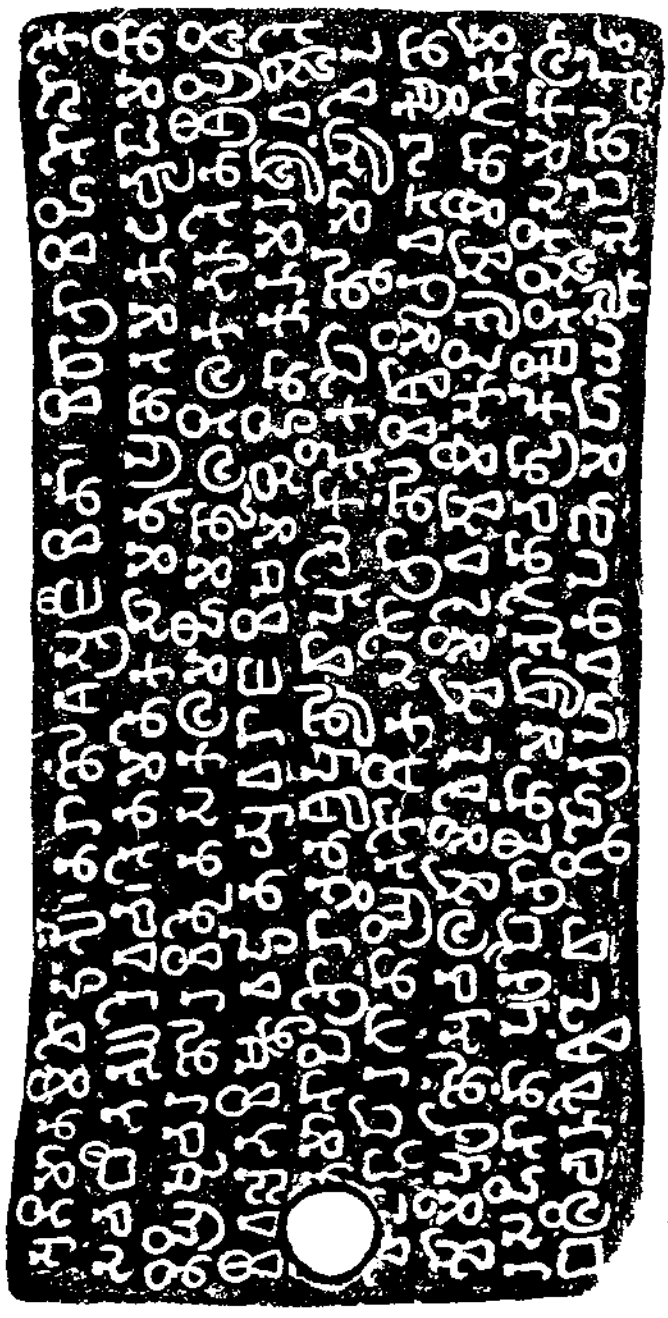
(L. 6.) — His son was the famous **Kîrtivarman (I.)**, of firm endurance; who was a very receptacle of good actions; who did (*everything*) that ought to be done; (*and*) who was (*indeed*) a lord of the earth.

(L. 7.) — His son (*is*) one of great splendour; who is, as it were, a very Kandarpa (Kâmadêva) incarnate; who both knows religion, and recognises favours that are done (*to him*); (*and*) who in puissance is equal to Pârtha (Arjuna). He has been placed in the world by the Creator, — both he and Bîbhatsu (Arjuna), — as if for the purpose of eradicating the pride of men who live by the profession of arms.

(L. 10.) — By him, the favourite of fortune and of the earth, the *Yuvarâja* **Vishṇuvardhana (I.)**, (*also called*) **Vishamasiddhi**, — who has the water-lilies that are his feet chafed by the jewels in the bent-down tiaras of many chieftains, (*and*) who has become the ornament of the whole circuit of the earth, — (by him), stationed at **Kurumarathî** (or **Kurumarathyâ**), for the acquisition of religious merit by his parents and by himself, **on the full-moon tithi of (the month) Kârttika** there has been given, with libations of water according to due rite, the village named **Alandatîrtha, in the Śrînilaya bhôga**, on the north of **the agrâhâra of Aṇopalya**, and on the south bank of **the (river) Bhîmarathî**, to the sons of Lakshmaṇasvâmin who has (*the pravara of*) Viśvâmitra (*&c.*) (?), who are well versed in the Vêdas and Vêdâṅgas, (*and*) who belong to the Ghṛitakauśika *gôtra*, — (*viz.*) to Achalasvâmin, Vêdasvâmin, and Dêvasvâmin,

[32] This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.
[33] Omit the mark of punctuation, and read *bhûmis=tasya*.
[34] This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.
[35] Read *yudhishṭhira*.
[36] This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.
[37] Read *dânât śrêyô*; or, more correctly, *dânâch=chhrêyô*.
[38], [39], [40], [41] and [42] These marks of punctuation are unnecessary.

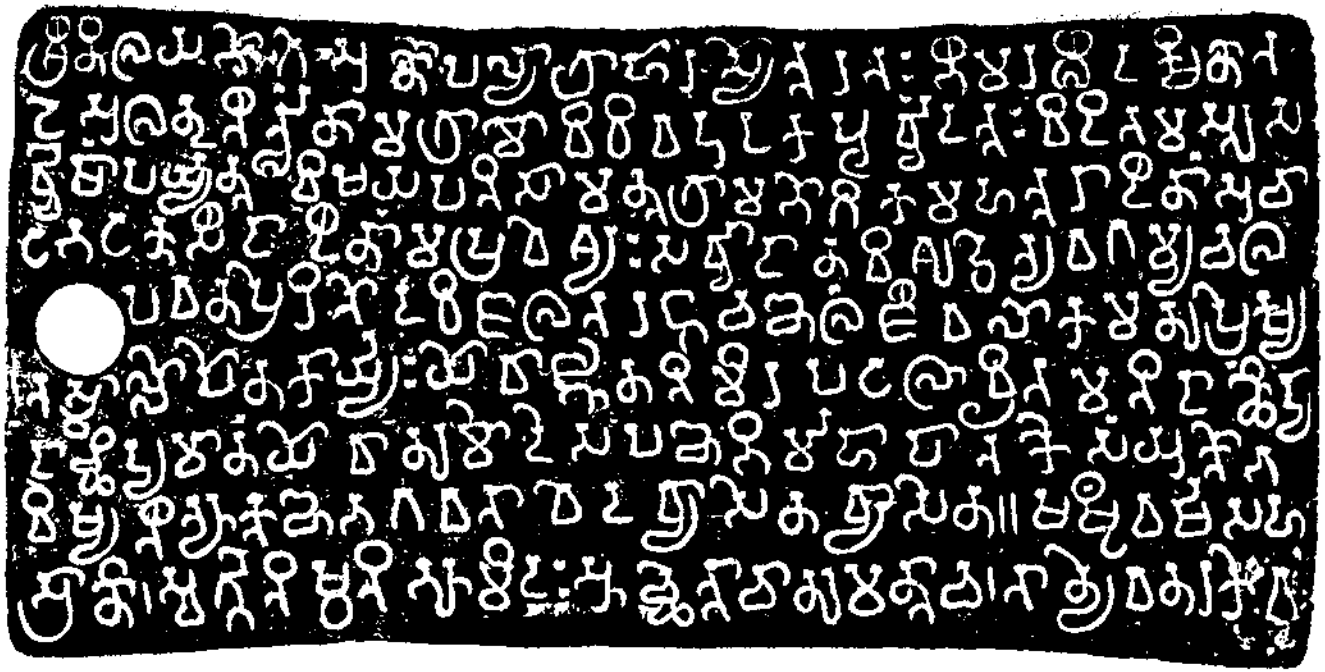
Satara Plates of Vishnuvardhana I.



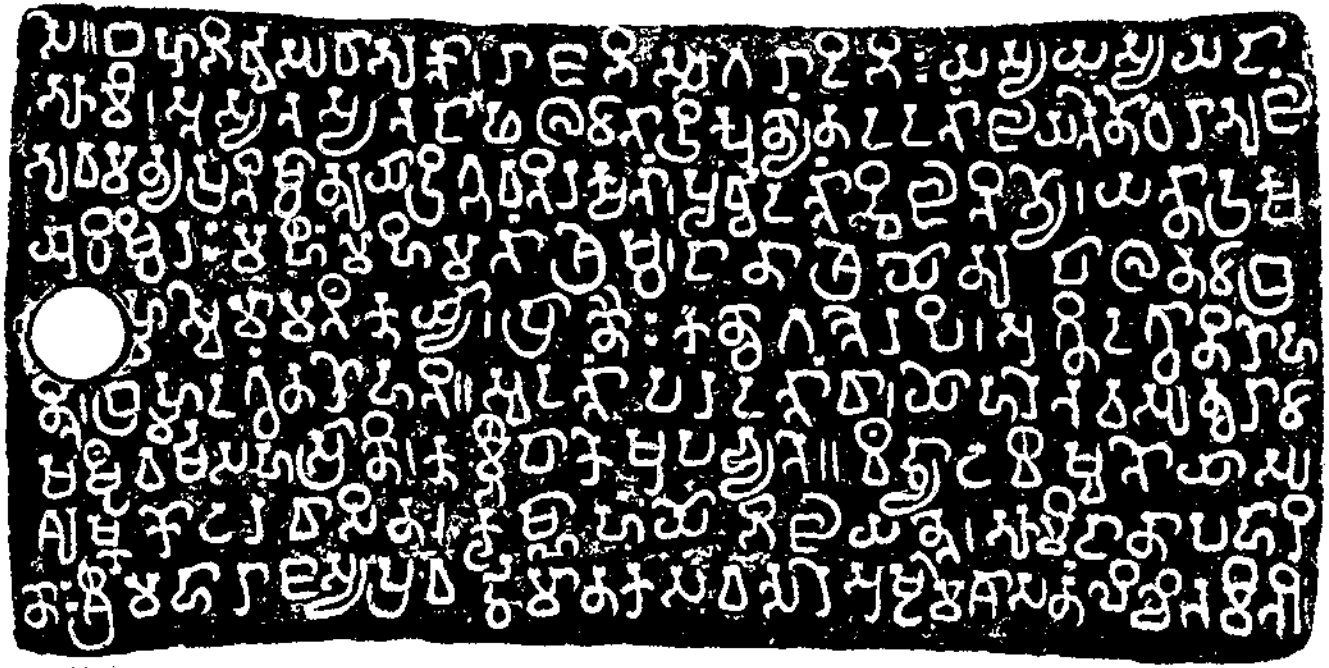
2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16

J.F. FLEET DEL. & LITH. W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH. FULL-SIZE.

iii.



iii.



together with Âdityasvâmin and Nâgakumâra, — without any interruption (?) of (*the succession of*) sons and sons' sons &c., to endure for the same time with the existence of the moon and the sun and the earth, for the maintenance of the five great sacrifices of the *bali*, *charu*, *vaiśvadêva*, *agnihôtra*, and *havana*.

(L. 19.) — "Let it be known to all the neighbouring *Vishayapatis*, *Sâmantas*, *Grâmabhôgikas*, *Mahattaras*, &c., that, — with the understanding that (*this village*) is not to be entered by the irregular or regular troops, money-lenders, and others, (*and*) that it has been freed from any shortcoming by complete acceptance (?); and keeping in view the fact that the world of living beings is as unstable as waves of water driven by an unsteady wind, — accordingly, no interruption (*of the enjoyment of it*) should be caused! And he who, having a mind covered with the veil of the darkness of ignorance, may confiscate, or may assent to the act of anyone who is confiscating (*this grant*), — he shall become invested with (*the guilt of*) the five great sins!"

(L. 25.) — And it has been said by the venerable Vyâsa, the arranger of the Vêdas: — 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! The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (*of this grant that is now made, if he continues it*)! Verily kings do not acquire as much religious merit from bestowing land, as they do in preserving an endowment made by another! O Yudhishṭhira, best of kings, carefully preserve land that has previously been given to the twice-born; (*verily*) the preservation (*of a grant*) is better than making a grant! Set not (*thy*) mind upon the property of a Brâhmaṇa, even when the breath of life has gone to (*thy*) throat (*on the point of departure*); things that are burnt by the fire grow up (*again*); (*but*) anything burnt by (*the curse of*) a Brâhman, grows not (*again*)! Whosoever confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself or by another, — he is tormented in hell for the duration of sixty thousand years! Those who confiscate grants of land, are born as black serpents, dwelling in the dried-up hollows of trees, in the forests of the Vindhya mountains, destitute of water!

(L. 35.) — (*This*) charter has been written in the augmenting eighth year of the glorious Mahârâja.

FOLKLORE IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

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

No. 34. — The Shower of Gold and Scorpions.

In a certain town there lived a great landholder, whose house was only a small one. One day it occurred to him that it was not in keeping with his position, and having plenty of money to spare, he resolved to build himself a mansion befitting his position. So he called the best workmen round about him, and fixing on an auspicious day according to the recommendation of the local soothsayers, he built the mansion strictly according to the advice of the wise men, and it was soon completed; and then our hero, accompanied by Brâhmaṇs reciting the four Vêdas, by musicians playing on various instruments, and by dancing-girls in gay procession, entered and settled in it,[1] finding every part of it to his heart's content. With the feasting of several thousands of Brâhmaṇs in its halls, a busy day closed, and all the guests took their leave, leaving the owner to the sole enjoyment of the house. And he, too, much exhausted by attending upon his many guests, took his supper early, and with his wife and children retired to rest.

[1] It is the opinion of Hindûs that new houses should be entered with music and dancing. The house that is not warmed with the dancing of dancing-girls (courtezans) will never be liked by the gods!

The place being new to him he was unable to sleep that night, and at about midnight he heard a voice saying, "Shall I fall down? shall I fall down?" It proceeded from no person, as far as he could see, but went on and on without any break. Our hero was greatly frightened, thinking it must have proceeded from some devil or other, who had got into the house before he had warmed it. He was also afraid that if he continued to occupy it, the devil would pull the roof down over his head. Horrified at the terrors which his imagination aggravated every moment, he spent the night in the greatest anxiety. And the voice never stopped!

At last the day dawned, and at the first appearance of the light our hero thought to himself: — "The great god, Mahêśvara, has been extemely merciful to me, and has preserved me and my family from the devil throughout this terrible night just past. Surely, if I continue to live here, some day or other I shall be buried alive by the falling debris of my own house! Let the devil enjoy my palace; my old cottage will do for me! In it I have lived comfortably till now, and in it I shall continue to live happily for many a day more."

Thus thinking, the very next morning after he had occupied his new mansion, our hero quitted it for his old cottage! The suddenness with which he moved back to his old house was in itself more than enough to create a talk throughout the town that the mansion was haunted, and it became a most dreaded spot, and story after story was freely invented to spread its notoriety throughout the country round about.

In that same town there lived a poor beggar Brâhman. **Beggars are always notorious for having more children than they can support,** and in obedience to the rule this Brâhman had half a dozen, — three sons and three daughters. They all lived in a miserable hut, where the children were always ill from the damp. Poverty and misery pinched him in every direction, and his troubles increased day by day and hour by hour. At last he became so disgusted with his life which was a very misery to him, that he often resolved upon suicide. But such an idea is most repulsive to a Hindû, because the darkest world and dirtiest hell are the abode set apart for those who give up their lives in that way. So at last he resolved thus within himself: — "What if I go to the house which is said to be haunted? If I sleep there one night, the devil in it will kill me, and there will be an end of my miseries!"

So thought he, and going to the owner, spoke thus: — "My master! I am very poor. The winter is fast approaching, and I have no house to live in. If you would kindly permit me to live in a room or two of your great unoccupied mansion, I shall be highly obliged."

The owner was at first afraid to give him leave, lest some injury should befall himself. But then it occurred to him that if all went right with the poor Brâhman, the evil name it bore would be removed. And wishing to use the Brâhman as an experiment, he promised to let him use the house from that next day, and was so kind as to demand no rent! The Brâhman received the keys, and resolved to give up his life by sleeping in the haunted house the next night. Thought he: — "If I die to-morrow, who will protect my six children? None of them are grown up, and I have no relatives or friends in this world to give me or my children a morsel of rice. So if I leave them behind me, it must be more to their misery than anything else. So I shall take them also with me to the haunted house, and there let what happens to me happen to them also."

Thus this wretched Brâhman, who had at first resolved to give up his life in the haunted house, changed it into an intention of the wholesale murder of his family. His wife was the incarnation of virtue, and though she lived in a state of abject poverty, never gainsaid what her husband resolved upon! And so, with his cares laid aside, the begging Brâhman entered the mansion, apparently to live in it, but at heart in order to sacrifice himself and his whole family to the devil who dwelt there.

The day passed and night approached, and the little children, after partaking of the meagre repast their poor mother could spare for them, retired to rest. They had not even a

covering to protect them from the cold of the night. But being accustomed to a hard life, they nevertheless went composedly to sleep. Their poor mother, too, who always consoled herself with the thought that the God who had given her so many children would somehow or other protect them, according to the doctrine — "He never sends mouths without also sending meat," — she too slept soundly. The poor father alone was awake, and as he trimmed the lamp, he took a farewell look at the innocent faces sound asleep around him. Almost immediately he heard the voice: — "**Shall I fall down?** shall I fall down?" His heart, which he had steeled into preparation for death, fairly gave way. But after deep thought he came back again to his original resolution, and fully determined to die with his whole family, and said aloud:—"Why do you thus threaten me who am boldly resolved already? Fall down at once, and take me and my children away."

Thus saying he lifted his head to see the house fall, but instead there rained from the roof **a torrent of gold mohars,** which soon filled the unoccupied parts of the room. After about a *ghaṭikâ* the torrent of gold stopped, and the Brâhmaṇ rose up and heaped all coins in a corner. He then awakened his wife, and related to her all that he had intended and all that had happened. Finding that fortune had begun to favour him, he gathered money every night, and with it bought houses and jewels and lands and other things he wanted.

The owner of the house, finding him daily growing richer and richer as a result of dwelling in the haunted house, asked him one day the reason of it, and the Brâhmaṇ related to him the whole affair without concealing anything. The owner of the property was then very sorry for his cowardice, and at having missed the opportunities previously offered him; and so he said to the Brâhmaṇ: — "You have now been a long while occupying my house, will you kindly vacate it for me?"

The Brâhmaṇ replied:—"I have been from my birth a beggar, and what I have already gained is more than enough for me. All my present advantages are due to your kindness, and I will vacate it this very moment. Go you and live in it and amass wealth. It is your property."

The owner occupied it without delay, so as to lose no time over his money-making. He did not wait to remove his family, postponing that till the next day. His anxiety was all for the night, and many a time did he curse his timidity for abandoning the mansion at the first sound of "shall I fall down?," and kept on calculating how much money he had already lost by his cowardice. The night approached, and he went into the house to sleep, — or rather to watch. At midnight, just as he was expecting to hear it, a voice fell upon his ear, saying, "**Shall I fall down?** shall I fall down?" He at once fell into a humble posture and said: — "My good gods; excuse my stupidity in having so long refused your good graces. I have come to my proper senses at last. Shower down the *mohars*."

Thus said the owner, and at once the voice stopped, and immediately **a torrent,** alas! not of *mohars*, but **of scorpions,** began to descend on our hero, who, looking for the money, never noticed then. Going up close, one scratch was enough to give him an idea of the shower! Starting back he observed by the light that, instead of *mohars*, scorpions were falling down from the roof. "Stop," said he, unable to bear the horrid sight, and at once the torrent dried up, and our hero fled from the house, almost mad with pain.

However, he kept what had occurred secret, and resolved to try his luck a second night. Secretly he sent servants to examine the whole house, and kill all the scorpions. Several thousands were killed that day, and the following night our hero tried his luck again, seeing torrents of scorpions, but never a *mohar*!

Then he sent for the Brâhmaṇ and asked him whether he could shew him the *mohars* falling. "Agreed," said he, and on the third night they both slept in the mansion. At midnight when the voice was heard, and the permission was given a torrent commenced.

The very sight of it frightened away our hero; but the Brâhmaṇ never stirred a step, and employed himself in heaping up the fall.

"Are you a magician or sorcerer, that these scorpions do not injure you?" cried our hero, from a respectful distance. "No, my master!" replied our Brâhmaṇ; "these are all coins and not scorpions."

Then the owner found out that what appeared to him as scorpions, were *mohars* to the Brâhmaṇ, and calling him to his side, said with much respect:—"Holy Brâhmaṇ, you are indeed fortunate. Take this house and reap the benefit of your good luck. If you give me anything after getting it, I shall be happy to receive it. As for myself, all these coins appear to me as scorpions." Thus said the rich landlord, and made the Brâhmaṇ master of the mansion, and the latter, being a good man, freely shared whatever he got from the house with the owner of it.

The moral as drawn by the Tamiḷ people is, that he who is fortunate will get a thing, while unfortunate will never get it.

FOLKLORE IN SALSETTE.

BY GEO. FR. D'PENHA.

No. 4. — The Snake and the Girl.

There once lived a peasant with his wife. After several years of married life the wife became pregnant, and longed for some kaulâ,[1] and expressed her desire to her husband, who promised to fetch some for her, whatever the risk![2] So he set out the very next morning in search of the kaulâ, and walked and walked for many miles. After several hours' search he came upon a solitary *kaulâ*-bush,[3] but as he stooped down to pluck its leaves, a seven-hooded nâg[4] stopped him and asked him who he was, and what right he had to pluck the leaves. The poor man was terribly frightened, and told him who he was and why he wanted the *kaulâ*-leaves, but the *nâg* would on no account allow him to pluck any. However, after much entreaty, the *nâg* agreed to let him have the leaves on the condition that should a daughter be born to him, he would, after twelve years, give the girl up to the nâg in marriage; but that if a son was born, the *nâg* was to have nothing to do with him. The poor man was at a loss to know what to do. If he agreed he would have to keep his promise, and if he did not agree there would be no chance of his getting any *kaulâ*, which would mean some misfortune to his wife. So at last he agreed, took the *kaulâ*-leaves and went home with sorrow weighing heavily on his heart. As soon as he reached his house, he gave the *kaulâ*-leaves to his wife, who eagerly took them and cooked and ate them to her great satisfaction, little recking of the manner in which her husband had obtained them, for he had told his wife nothing of what had occurred, or of his encounter with the *nâg*.

In due time the wife was delivered of a daughter, to the great grief of her husband. He, however, consoled himself with the thought that she would be with him for at least twelve years. The girl was the pride of her parents, and during the twelve years, grew up to be strong and beautiful; but when they had elapsed, her father remembered his agreement with the *nâg*, and thought that if he did not give her up to him, he would be visited with some trouble or other, and he therefore resolved on keeping his promise. So one day he got her dressed in a new *sâṛî*, put on her what jewels he could, and without informing

[1] A herb thriving in the months of July, August and September. The leaves resemble those of tamarind and taste sour. It is much liked by the Salsette Christians.

[2] It is a general belief that a woman when pregnant conceives a peculiar desire for certain things, and that her desires must, in this respect, be satisfied at any cost; otherwise some misfortune or other is sure to befal her at the time of child-birth.

[3] It grows to only two or three feet high.

[4] i. e. the cobra.

his wife, took her to the *nâg*. When they had reached the *kaulâ*-bush, they saw the *nâg* waiting for them, but before the man could say anything to him he disappeared, and in a tank close by there appeared a large kambal.[5]

The girl was so fascinated by its beauty that she asked her father if she could go and fetch it. The father, who suspected that the *kambal* was nothing but the *nâg* transformed, told her that she might go. The girl accordingly descended into the tank; but the *kambal* went further out, and so, already in knee-deep water, she sang: —

Bâvâ, ḍoṅviáparśiṁ pâṅî zhâilâ kaṁ gâ,
Kambal dûriṁ dûriṁ zâi.

"Father, knee-deep is the water,
The *kambal* goes further and further."

To which the father replied, singing: —

Dhûê, âis kaulâ khâi:
Bâpûs pâvîtâ zâi.

"Daughter, mother ate *kaulâ*:
Father is seeing you off."

While the father was yet speaking, the girl went on following the *kambal*, which went further and further away. The water was now up to her waist, so she turned round and sang: —

Bâvâ, kambrêparśiṁ pâṅî zhâilâ kaṁ gâ,
Kambal dûriṁ dûriṁ zâi.

"Father, waist-deep is the water,
The *kambal* goes further and further."

And her father replied, singing: —

Dhûê, âis kaulâ khâi:
Bâpûs pâvîtâ zâi.

"Daughter, mother ate *kaulâ*:
Father is seeing you off."

Further and further went the *kambal*, and further and further followed the girl, till she was up to her neck, when again she turned round and sang: —

Bâvâ, galiáparśiṁ pâṅî zhâilâ kaṁ gâ,
Kambal dûriṁ dûriṁ zâi.

"Father neck-deep is the water,
The *kambal* goes further and further."

And her father again gave the same reply, singing: —

Dhûê, âis kaulâ khâi:
Bâpûs pâvîtâ zâi.

"Daughter, mother ate *kaulâ*:
Father is seeing you off."

Though the girl was up to her neck in the water, she was so fascinated by the beauty of the kambal that she kept following it, little thinking of the consequences. So she followed the *kambal* till she reached the middle of the tank, when lo! a passage opened, and instead of the *kambal* she saw a handsome young man at the bottom of a ladder in a large palace. The young man invited her to come down and live with him, but as she shewed some unwil-

[5] A water-lily, highly prised by Hindus and also by the Salsette Christians. When a pregnant woman is labouring, the *kambal* (which, even when dry, if put in water, opens out like a fresh flower) facilitates delivery.

lingness to descend, he said: *Dêvâchaṁ aśêl tê ḍêvâvaṁ, nâhin tê sûplibô kaulâ diâvâ âṇi âplês gharâ zâvaṁ,* — "Come down if you wish to, or give me a sieve-full of *kaulâ* and go home."

The poor girl looked up to see if she could get out, but to her utter embarrassment found that the passage was closed against her: and then even if she had been able to find her way out, she did not know where to find the *kaulâ*! So she had no alternative but to go down the ladder without saying a word. She afterwards shewed the same reluctance to perform her domestic duties, but was always taunted with the words: *Karâvâchaṁ aśêl tê karâvaṁ, nâhin tê sûplibô kaulâ diavâ âṇi âplês gharâ zâvaṁ,* — "Do it if you wish to, or give me a sieve-full of *kaulâ* and go home." After a few days, however, she got reconciled to the life in the subterraneous abode of the *nâg*, for **the handsome young man was no other than the nâg who had appeared to the father and to the girl as a kambal.** And so in the end she lived happily with him all her life.

MISCELLANEA.

THE MALAVA ERA.

Some little time ago I came across a date, — hitherto overlooked,[1] — of the **Mâlava era**, which is of particular interest, (1) because its surroundings would prove, quite irrespectively of the Gupta era, that the Mâlava era is no other than the Vikrama era; and (2) because it shews that the Vikrama era was known by the name of **the era of the Mâlava lord or lords**,[2] as late as the second half of the 12th century A. D. The date occurs in an inscription on a pillar over the northern gateway of a palace at Mênâlgaḍh in Mêwâḍ, a rough reading of which was published by Kavirâj Śyâmaldâs about four years ago, in the *Journal Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LV. Part I. p. 46. The inscription refers itself in the concluding lines to the reign of the Chauhân **Pṛithvîrâja**, and the date with which it opens, in the published version, runs thus: —

> **Mâlavêśa**-gata-vatsara-śataiḥ dvâdaśaiś=cha shaṭviṁśa-pûrvakaiḥ, —

words which, though incorrect, apparently are **intended to mean** —

> **when twelve hundred and twenty-six years of (*the era of*) the Mâlava lord or lords had gone by."**

Since for the Chauhân Pṛithvîrâja we possess other dates, of the Vikrama years 1239 (*Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. X. Plate xxxii. 10, and Vol. XXI. p. 174) and 1244 (*ibid.* Vol. VI. Plate xxi.), the year 1226 of our new Mâlava date must also, of course, be referred to the Vikrama era.

F. KIELHORN.

Göttingen.

[1] See *Gupta Inscriptions*, Introduction, p. 66.

[2] The word *Mâlavêśa* being compounded with the following *gata*, it is impossible to say, whether the writer of the date under discussion took it in a singular or plural sense.

THE PULISA-SIDDHANTA.

Of the *Pulisa* or *Puliśa-Siddhânta*, we know a good deal from the quotations of astronomers and of Al-Bêrûnî, in whose time it seems to have been well known. He says it was 'so called from Paulisa the Greek' (يوناني—Yunâni not Rumi), 'from the city of Saintra, which I suppose to be Alexandria.' From a ślôka quoted from a **Mûla-Pulisa-Siddhânta** by Utpala (Kern's *Bṛi.-Saṁ.* int. p. 50), we learn that the length assigned to the solar year in it was 365*d.* 5*h.* 12*m.* 36*s.*, and Al-Bêrûnî (Sachau's *Transl.* Vol. II. p. 18) gives other elements from the work. Has this Siddhânta then been lost since Al-Bêrûnî's time? Or, is it recoverable?

In 1687 M. La Loubére, returning from an embassy to Siam, brought to Paris part of a **MS.** containing astronomical rules, which were analysed by Cassini (1691). The length of the year was exactly that given above, or 292,207 days to 800 years; the Tables were computed for a longitude about 18½° west of Siam, or about that of Kôkanâdâ or Prayâg, — possibly Laṅkâ; the equation of the centre for the sun is given as 2°12′; and of the moon as 4°56′; the sun's apogee was placed 80° from the first point of the zodiac; and the moon's at the beginning of the moveable zodiac 621 days after the epoch of the Tables, which Cassini fixed as 21st March, 638 A. D. But the MS. contained little more. If these data agree with what may be gathered otherwise, they would point to Siam as a likely place to enquire after this and other lost Siddhântas. Will some one who has opportunity examine them?

Edinburgh, 16th July 1890. J. BURGESS.

NANDIKESVARA ; LANJIGESARA.

I have probably made a mistake in identifying the **Nandigrâma** of the Mahâkûṭa pillar inscription with the adjacent village of **Nandikêśvara** (page 9 above); for the reason that the latter village was known in Maṅgalêśa's period by its present name, though in a slightly different form. In his Old-Kanarese inscription on the rock outside the Bâdâmi Cave No. 3 (*ante*, Vol. X. p. 59), it is mentioned as **Lañjigêsara**. While, in line 13 of his Sanskṛit inscription inside the same cave (*id.* p. 57, and Vol. VI. p. 363), the name occurs as **Lañjîśvara**.

The identity of the names was not recognised by me at the time. And in fact, from the occurrence of Lañjâ (with also a possible Lañjikâ) as a name of Lakshmî, I took Lañjîśvara, — for Lañjêśvara, — to be a name of Vishṇu, as a shrine for whom the cave was made, and assumed that the reference was to a village named after him (*ante*, Vol. X. p. 57). But it is plain now that Lañjigêsara and Lañjîśvara are only **Prâkṛit forms** of Nandikêśvara and Nandîśvara, names of Śiva or of Nandi. It may as well be noted here, that I find that the Mahâkûṭa temples are in the lands of the village of Nandikêśvara.

Nandigrâma might reasonably be taken as another name of the village of Nandikêśvara. But in that case, there is no reason why, having been granted to the cave-temple of Vishṇu in Saka-Saṁvat 501, the same village should be granted to the god Makuṭêśvaranâtha only twenty-four years later. As it is, it must be a village which, like Śrîyaṁbâṭaka and Vṛîhimukhagrâma, does not now exist.[1]

The two names, Nandikêśvara and Lañjigêśara illustrate some interesting changes of letters. For the reverse of the change here from *n* to *l*, we have the change from *l* to *n* in the word *liṅga*, in such proper names as Liṅgappa and Niṅgappa, Śivaliṅga and Śivaniṅga, Gurulinga and Guruniṅga. Owing to want of clearness in pronunciation, it is often very difficult to know whether the *l* is being used, or the *n*. J. F. FLEET.

CALCULATIONS OF HINDU DATES.

No. 40.

In the first part of a stone inscription at Miraj, the chief town of the Miraj State in the so-called Southern Marâṭhâ country, the date (from an ink-impression, line 19 f.; see also the photograph, *Pâli, Sanskṛit, and Old-Kanarese Inscriptions*, No. 96) is, at first sight, — [Śaka]-varsha 1065neya Duṁdubhi-saṁvatsarada Bhâdrapada-sudhdha(ddha)-2-Śukravârad-amdu, — "on Friday, the second *tithi* of the bright fortnight of (the month) Bhâdrapada, of the Dundubhi *saṁvatsara*, which is the 1065th Śaka year." And the inscription proceeds to record that on this day there was established a Friday market (*Śukravârada sante*); and to detail certain tolls and duties which were assigned by the people of the district, in a general assembly, for the *aṅgabhôga* of the god Mâdhavêśvara.

Here the given year is a current year. For, by the southern luni-solar system, which is the only one applicable in this case, the Dundubhi saṁvatsara coincided with Śaka-Saṁvat 1064 expired.

But in Śaka-Saṁvat 1065 current, the (at first sight) given *tithi*, Bhâdrapada śukla 2, ended, not on a Friday, but on Monday, 24th August, A. D. 1142, at about 35 *ghaṭîs*, 50 *palas*, after mean sunrise (for Bombay). This result is with the month Âshâḍha intercalary, according to the published Tables. And no better result can be obtained by taking Bhâdrapada itself (or any subsequent month) as intercalary, instead of Âshâḍha; for then the *tithi* śukla 2 of the intercalated (or natural) Bhâdrapada would end at about 13 *gh.* 30 *p.* on Sunday, 26th July, and could not be connected with the Friday even as a current *tithi*.

In this case, the reference to the Friday market shews that the mistake must be in the *tithi*; not in the week-day. And a closer examination of the ink-impression shews that, at some subsequent time, the number of the *tithi* was undoubtedly corrected from 2 into 6. The alteration is discernible in the photograph;[2] but not very conclusively. In the ink-impression, however, it can, on close examination, be recognised very clearly; and it is seen that the resulting 6 is more like the figure as it stands in line 47 of this record, in the date of the second part, than the 6 that occurs in the same line with the corrected *tithi*. And the corrected *tithi* Bhâdrapada śukla 6, ended, as required, on Friday, 26th August, A. D. 1142, at about 32 *gh.* 55 *p.*

This inscription, therefore, is of interest in giving, (1) a current year of the Śaka era;[3] and

[1] There is a Nandihâl, about twenty miles north-west of Bâdâmi; but this is not likely to be it.

[2] It is a photograph of the original stone; not of the ink-impression.

[3] The second part of the inscription also illustrates this. It refers itself to the time of the Śilâhâra *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Vijayâdityadêva. And it is dated in Śaka-Saṁvat 1066, the Rudhirôdgârin *saṁvatsara*, — which coincided with 1065 expired and 1066 current.

(2) an instance in which not only was a mistake made in respect of the number of the *tithi*, but also the mistake was afterwards recognised and corrected.

J. F. FLEET.

PROGRESS OF EUROPEAN SCHOLARSHIP.

No. 21.

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

(*a*) *Meeting, Feb. 8th*, 1889.

V. A. Zhukovski made a communication concerning a manuscript of Nicholas Semeno, containing remarks on the military occurrences of the year 1827 in Persia, at the time of the last Russian war with that country.

(*b*) *Meeting, April 4th*, 1889.

Baron Rosen laid before the members: (1) Some numbers of the *Indian Antiquary*, which had been received; (2) An essay by M. Petrov-Borzna on the *Ruins of the City of Pai-kand*; (3) An atlas of illustrations to the travels of the academician Dorn in the Caucasus. Baron Rosen considered that this might be published with a short introduction and table of contents.

N. J. Veselovski made a communication on the relations of Moscow with Persia at the end of the sixteenth century. He offered to publish in the *Trudy*,[1] a series of documents from the Imperial Archives. His offer was accepted, and these documents will be printed in the nineteenth volume of the *Trudy*.

Father Alexis (Vinogradov) made a communication on the contents of the Library of the Russian Mission in Pekin.

(*c*) *The Coptic Legend of the discovery of the Holy Sepulchre, by O. Lemm.* Constantine the Great undoubtedly occupies one of the first places in mediæval legend, not only among Orientals, Greeks, and Slavs, but also among Western peoples. Such are the legends about the finding of the True Cross and the Holy Sepulchre.

The oldest account of the finding of the Cross is in Cyril of Jerusalem (t. 386), but he does not mention the finder. In the same way John Chrysostom only speaks of the finding. The letter of Cyril of Jerusalem, in which he ascribes the finding to Constantine is of doubtful authenticity. The finder is more often said to have been Helen, Constantine's mother. She is first mentioned by Ambrose of Milan (t. 397). Afterwards this form of the legend was adopted by Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, Rufinus, Sulpicius Severus and others. A new form of the legend appears in the *Acts of Cyriacus* in the fifth century, in which we are first told that a Jew shewed the place where the Cross was found. Besides to Helen, its discovery is ascribed to Protonice, the reputed wife of the Emperor Claudius, especially in the Syrian legend preserved in the so-called *Doctrina Addæi*.[2]

In a Coptic legend of the discovery of the Holy Sepulchre;[3] it is ascribed to a certain Eudoxia, whom the legend calls the sister of Constantine the Great, although in reality he never had a sister. The legend was not invented earlier than the end of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century, under the influence of a story preserved in John Malala.

Undoubtedly the Acts of Cyriacus, which are also preserved in the Coptic language, have had their influence upon the legend, as there are many similar features, *e. g.* that a Jew pointed out the place where the Cross was found. The MS. containing the legend of Eudoxia, the daughter of the Emperor, has not been preserved entire. Its beginning is lost, but the most important parts remain.[4]

(*d*) *Spurious Assyrian Antiquities, by Count J. Tolstoi (illustrated with several engravings).* There has long been an extensive manufacture of spurious Assyrian antiquities cut out of soft stone, to which attention has been called by MM. Clermont-Ganneau and J. Menant. They contain cuneiform inscriptions, but it is impossible to make any sense out of them. Some of the figures represented have their heads uncovered, others wear a peculiar head-dress; some have a long dress reaching to the feet; others a short tunic. Again, on some stones there are representations of processions; on others, of people doing homage. According to Dr. Hayes Ward of America, these fabrications are chiefly made by a Persian family at Kerbelâ. Some of them were sent to St. Petersburg by M. Roïnov, who acquired them in the city of Tamir Khân Shura, and were proved to be forgeries. In one of the figures the curls are like those on the old Assyrian beards, but the man wears a collar, just as a soldier does now, and has epaulettes! In another case the king's head-dress is ornamented with

[1] [The *Trudy* are works published by the Imperial Russian Archæological Society something in the manner of the *Bibliotheca Indica* and the "extra numbers" of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.—R. C. T.]

[2] See a detailed account of these legends in the work of Leipsius, *Die edessenische Abgarsage*.

[3] Preserved in the Museum of Turin.

[4] Here follows a translation.

three gold nails which are driven into the stone! Maspero had some of the fabrications offered to him.

The manufacture of old Persian, Chaldean, Assyrian and Central-Asiatic antiquities, is steadily developing itself, and clumsy though they be, they shew that the fabricator is well acquainted with the habits of educated Europeans. They are probably of Persian origin, as the grouping of the figures shews. Travellers and others should also be put upon their guard against the constant manufacture of bas-reliefs, engraved stones, clay vessels, metallic objects, and pseudo-antique coins.

(*e*) *Epistle to a Pupil by Chandragômin, with notes by J. Minayev.* This epistle was addressed to the king's son **Ratnakîrti.** The prince, on reading it, became a monk and quitted the world. How much historical truth there is in the legend is not known; but **Chandragômin** enjoys a good position in Sanskrit literature, and was celebrated for the purity of his style. He is the author of many works, among others of a grammar. **Târânâtha** gives us some facts about him and mentions the name of his teacher **Sthiramati,** celebrated in Buddhist literature. He tells us that Chandragômin, following the path of Asaṅga, adhered to the idealists (*yôgâchâriya*), whereas Chandrakîrti, approving the comment of Buddhapâlita and others on the works of Nâgârjuna, was one of those who deny the existence of matter. The dispute lasted seven years. We also learn from Târânâtha that our author wrote a grammar, known by the name of **Chandravyâkaraṇa,** and lived at an earlier period than Dharmakîrti, Sthiramati lived probably before the 7th century A. D., and previous to the journey of Hiuen-Tsiang to India. The Chinese pilgrim speaks of him as dead, and tells us that near Valabhipura was a great monastery where Guṇamati and Sthiramati[5] composed their treatises. **Dharmakîrti** is a no less important name. Subandhu mentions the name of one of his works. Subandhu is cited by **Bâṇa,** and **Bâṇa** was the contemporary of Hiuen-Tsiang.

The Grammar written by Chandragômin has not yet been published, but it is known that Jayâditya, the author of the *Kâśikâ*, made use of it. Jayâditya according to I-tsin died in the latter half of the seventh century. In the curious memoirs of I-tsin, a part of which not long since was published in a French translation (*Journal Asiatique*, Nov.-Dec. 1888), are some data in confirmation of the above statements. I-tsin writes as follows:—De tels personnages ne paraissent que très rarement, un ou deux par siècle; aussi les compare-t-on au Soleil, et à la lune ou au dragon et à l'éléphant: tels furent dans les temps anciens, Aśvaghôsha, Nâgârjuna, Âryadêva, etc. dans les temps modernes, Asaṅga, Vasubandhu, Saṅghabhadra, Bhavavivêka, etc., parmi nos contemporains, Jina, Dharmapâla, Dharmakîrti, Śîlabhadra, Siṁhachandra, Sthiramati, Guṇamati, Matipala, Guṇaprabha, Jinaprabha, etc.

Prof. Vasiliev has obligingly communicated an extract from his translation of the same document exhibiting some variations from the above. In this the list of Buddhist writers is divided into three groups. According to I-tsin they are:—(I.) Old Teachers, (*a*) Nâgârjuna, (*b*) Âryadêva, (*c*) Aśvaghôsha. (II.), Mediæval (according to Vasiliev) or modern (according to the French translation) (*a*) Vasubandhu, (*b*) Âryasaṅga, (*c*) Saṅghabhadra, (*d*) Tsin-bian (Jitu). (III.) Teachers nearest in time (or according to the French translation contemporary) (*a*) Chenna (Jina); (*b*) Dharmapâla, (*c*) Dharmakîrti, (*d*) Śîlabhadra, (*e*) Siṁhachandra, (*f*) An-hui (Sthiramati), (*g*) De-hui (Guṇamati), (*h*) Hui-ḥu (Matipâla), (*i*) Guṇaprabha, (*j*) Jen-huan (Jinaprabha).

There is here no mention of Chandragômin, and thus it is clear that he cannot be reckoned among the oldest teachers, nor those of the ensuing period, as Vasubandha and Âryasaṅga are older in point of time than his teacher Sthiramati. He could not be the contemporary of I-tsin, inasmuch as he lived earlier than Dharmakîrti. It is probable therefore that Chandragômin lived in the fourth or at the very beginning of the fifth century A.D.

The writer says that his translation of the **Epistle of Chandragômin** is made from a manuscript in his own possession, which he brought from Kâṭhmâṇḍu. It is a copy from a MS. now in the Cambridge University library, *Add.* 1161. In this Epistle, Chandragômin, who had a great reputation as a stylist, endeavours to put his pessimism into an elegant form. Some of these verses have found their way into celebrated anthologies. The fundamental idea is quite clear. All existence is melancholy. To save oneself from this grief it is possible in only one way to recover one's mental vision, *i.e.* by becoming a Buddha or seer.[6] The article concludes with a Tibetan version of the Epistle communicated by A. Tvanovski, who gives a list of the works ascribed to Chandragômin.

[5] One of the works of the latter was translated into the Chinese language during the rule of the dynasty Lao (397-439 A. D.).

[6] Here follows the translation.

(*f*) *Some remarks on an Aramaic inscription on a Vase found at Moscow, by A. Harkavy.* M. Blau sent to the Imperial Moscow Archæological Society a terra-cotta vase, the bottom of which was covered with an exorcism written in the **Aramaic language in Hebrew letters**. This inscription was not long since published in the *Transactions* of that Society by a young scholar, J. J. Soloveïchik. The paper was conscientiously written and M. Soloveïchik had clearly taken great pains, but as this was his first scientific work, mistakes had naturally crept in. There are several peculiarities about the text. Thus we here find mentioned for the first time **the angels Asriel and Hatmiel.** The article winds up with a note in which the writer expresses his suspicion that the inscription is not genuine, as so many forgeries are now in circulation in oriental matters. He mentions two circumstances among others that are unsatisfactory: —(*a*) the dedication of the inscription to Lilith alone, without the mention of any other evil spirits, and (*b*) the word אנתי which occurs three times.

(*g*) *On the discovery of a Paṭhân dînâr in the year* 1888, *by A. Likhachev.* In his description of a discovery of *dînârs* of the Paṭhân Sultâns of India made in 1884, the writer had expressed a wish that all kinds of **Paṭhân dinârs** occurring in **Russia** should be noted. He is now able to add to the list one more *dînâr* found in 1888. It was brought to **Kazan from Tetush**, and was there bought by the writer's agent, a Tâtâr, who unfortunately neglected to ascertain from the seller the circumstances of the finding. It was probably picked up on the left bank of the Volga, because this is where they have invariably been found. The newly discovered *dînâr* exhibits no novelty: It belongs to the Paṭhân Sultân, **Muḥammad I., the son of Tughlaq Shâh**, coined at Dehlî in 742 A. H. The orthography is very bad and points to the fact that in Dehlî in the eighth century A.H., even for valuable gold coins, educated workmen were not always to be found.

(*h*) *Minor notes.*

(1) *Note by V. Tiesenhausen on an Embassy mentioned in a work by Shihâbû'ddîn Ibn Faẓlu'llah Elomari, which occurred in* 731 A.H. (*15th October* 1330, — *3rd October* 1331). The Embassy was to the Egyptian Court from the Turkish conqueror of the Serbs and Bulgarians, offering the Egyptian Sultân his friendship, and asking him to send a sword and a standard.[7]

(2) *Note by P. Kokovtsov on the Ethiopian MSS. in the Imperial Public Library.* At the present time there are in this library 23 Ethiopic MSS., all, with one exception, written on parchment. Nine MSS. were presented by the Russian diplomatist, Dubrovski, twelve were brought from the East by Constantine Tischendorf, and two belonged formerly to the collection of Porphyrius, Bishop of Chigirin. Of these MSS. those given by Dubrovski have been described by Dorn, and those of the Bishop by the writer of the present notice.[8]

(3) *New Bâbî MSS. by Baron V. Rosen.* Four new **Bâbî MSS.** have been lately presented to the Asiatic Department, which came from Tehrân:—

(i) No. 468, copy of a polemical treatise in *naskhî* characters.

(ii) No. 467. A lithographed edition of the same treatise. It is neatly executed on paper of English manufacture, in *ta'lik* characters. This, as far the writer knows, is the first Bâbî book published in its entirety, and the fact of its existence shews that there is a demand for such publications.

(iii) No. 466. A little MS. of 45 pages, containing an unknown Bâbî treatise in Arabic in *naskhî* characters.

(iv) No. 465. A MS. of 172 leaves containing several Bâbî letters and treatises.

The author of these two last works, appears to be the same **Ḥussain, the Bâbî emigrant** whose adventures in Persia and Baghdâd are well known. We get some fresh details from these new materials. Thus, he was for some time in prison at Akka, and also lived at Adrianople. He appears also to have advanced further in his self-deception, and in his character of the conveyer of a divine revelation is not prevented from changing, in the name of the Most High, some of the decrees of the founder of the Sect. Ḥussain has heard a good deal of political news, and introduces things of the kind into the body of his remarks, see for example his admonition addressed to the "Emperor of Berlin," not to be deceived by the successes he has obtained and not to be too proud of them, but to think of the fate of other conquerors, who were once powerful but, for all that, finally perished.[9] Compare also his rebukes to the Emperor of Austria, because, while going through Akka on his way to Jerusalem, he did not make himself acquainted with the condition of the "dawn of the

[7] Here follow further extracts given from the same work, the MS. of which is in the Leyden Library, Cat. IV. No. 1944.

[8] Here follows a list of the Ethiopic MSS.

[9] Here follows an extract in Arabic.

light of the one God," who (the author means himself), was there in prison. Ḥussain gives his reflections on true liberty, his plan for choosing one language for the whole human race, and one style of writing, which in his opinion would serve as the best means for the establishment of unity and true civilization upon earth.

The writer adds in a postscript that he has recently received from Mr. E. J. Browne a reprint of his Essay on the **Bâbîs of Persia**, from the *Journal of the English Royal Asiatic Society*. In this essay are given new and most interesting details of the Bâbîs and their literature. Mr. Browne also sent the writer an account of his Bâbî MSS. His notes throw much light upon this movement, and enable the writer to say, that MSS. Nos. 468 and 467 are copies of the *T'kân*, whereas No. 466 is the *Lawḥ-i-Akdas*.

(*i*) *Reviews and Bibliography.*

(1) *Eastern Antiquities: Transactions of the Eastern Section of the Moscow Archæological Society, Vol.* 1, *Part I. By the Editor.* — This very elegant and well-edited volume exhibits the first results of the Eastern Committee formed in 1887 in connexion with the Imperial Moscow Archæological Society. It is a proof that the feeling of the great importance of Eastern studies is increasing. He therefore gives the young Society a hearty greeting. Russian Oriental learning may yet stand upon a firm footing and be able to investigate those inexhaustible riches which the immense territory of Russia possesses. Among other papers are noticed :—

(i) S. S. Slutski on the **Nestorian Inscriptions** of the district of the Seven Rivers.

(ii) Th. E. Korsch on the **Turkish words in the Nestorian inscriptions.**

(iii) J. J. Soloveïchik on a newly discovered **Jewish Babylonian Vase.**

The general impression of the work of his Moscow colleagues is pronounced by the reviewer to be favourable. There is a feeling of optimism and of confidence in their own strength among these young writers, which, if properly directed, is a pledge of success; occasionally however a certain unsteadiness is shewn. The essay of S. S. Slutski is the first printed work of a young scholar, and is far from wanting in merit. He carries on a lively polemic with Prof. Chwolson and convicts him of some mistakes, but M. Slutski himself falls into errors which prevent us from having confidence in him. Many of these are of a rudimentary kind, and the same remark applies to Th. E. Korsch.

A paper by M. V. Nikolski on the **forged cuneiform inscriptions**[10] is also noticed. The proceedings connected with the sending of these are wrapped in obscurity. Probably those who sent the antiquities to Moscow, hoped that they would there be subjected to less searching enquiries than in Paris or London.

Among other papers contained in this volume are — (i) V. Th. Müller on the **Jews in the Caucasus**; (ii) I. N. Kholmogorov on an **Arabic inscription at Kazan**; (iii) V. A. Gringmut on the formation of the plural number in the old **Egyptian language**; (iv) B. M. Istrin on the **application of the comparative historical method to the Semitic languages**; (v) A. S. Khakanov on the **Georgian Translations of the Kalilah and Dimnah, &c.**

While praising the collection as a whole, the reviewer has found himself compelled occasionally to make some severe remarks, but he begs the writers to consider that this has only been done in the interests of science, and he wishes all success to their Society.

(2) *Transactions of the Statistical Committee of the District of Sir-Darya in* 1887-1888. *Tashkand,* 1888. *By the Editor.* **The Statistical Committee of Sir-Darya,** which only began its labours in 1887 has commenced work very energetically. Having somewhat enlarged its programme, it has also turned its attention to ethnography and history, and thus it promises to be very useful to Orientalists. Among the papers is one by N. Ostroumov on the **Proverbs of the native population of Turkistân.**

(3) *The Sultâns Kenisara and Sâdik. Biographical Sketches of Sultân Ahmad Kenisara. Edited with notes by E. Smirnov. Tashkand,* 1889. *By the Editor.* This book, published by the Statistical Committee of the Sir-Darya district, shews its activity. It contains Sketches of the lives of two Kirghîz warriors of our days, the **Sultâns Kenisara and Sâdik**, composed by the son of the former and brother of the latter. E. Smirnov invited Sâdik to give a sketch of his life and exploits, but he declined and left it to his brother Ahmad. The translation has been executed by Smirnov, who has also added a large number of appendices. We thus get some good pictures of oriental life. The original text ought, however, to have been printed.

(4) *A Military Russian, French, Turkish and Persian Dictionary. St. Petersburg,* 1889. *Reviewed by the Editor.* This dictionary consists of three parts

[10] See article previously mentioned.

(i) Russian, (ii) French, and (iii) Turkish-Persian. In the first two parts the oriental words are transliterated. In the third the same words are printed in Arabic characters. The name of the author (M. Gamazov) is a guarantee for the excellence of the work.

(5) *V. Nalivkin. A Russian-Persian Dictionary of Words in ordinary use in the Dialects of the Turkistan districts. Kazan. Reviewed by the Editor.* The author is an indefatigable worker. He says that most of his material is taken from Persian literature, especially books published in India. The rest he has gathered together while among the natives. A native of Kaśmír, Kabír Sháh, son of Mustafa Shâh Oglî, living in Turkistán, has been of great service to him. The book is entirely practical, and the reviewer hopes that it may spread the knowledge of a language which is familiar to the educated classes of all Central Asia and India. As regards the Tajik dialect, it is very curious from a philological point of view. The author however ought to have distinguished between the words he has taken from Persian literature and those in use among the natives. In the melancholy condition of contemporary Persian lexicography and the almost complete absence of any investigations of the Tajik dialect, such a distinction of the words would have been very useful, and would have caused the author (comparatively) little trouble. It is to be hoped that he will publish a Tajik Russian dictionary in which he will give only the local words.

(6) *V. Nalivkin. Histoire du Khanat de Khokhand, traduit du russe, par Aug. Dozon. By the Editor.* This work deserves a translation in spite of some trivial errors. M. Dozon has done his work conscientiously. The reviewer finds fault with some omissions of the translator, and his transliteration of names is inconsistent. Moreover, some considerable misprints are to be found in the book.

(7) *A. Freiherr von Kremer.* (i) *Ueber das Budget der Einnahmen unter der Regierung des Hârûn-Al-Rashîd. Nach einer neu aufgefundenen Urkunde. Wien,* 1887. (ii) *By the same author:— Ueber das Einnahme-Budget des Abbasiden-Reiches vom Jahre* 306 *A. H.* (918-919). *Wien,* 1887. (iii) *By the same author: Ueber die philosophischen Gedichte des Abu'l 'Alâ Ma'arri. Wien,* 1888. *By the Editor.* — To Baron Von Kremer, as the author of *Cultur geschichte des Orients unter den Chalifen,* belongs a most honourable place in Oriental study. In the first of these works the author gives us a text, translation and explanation of the calculation of the revenues of the Khalîfas found by him in the *History of the Wazirs and Officials* by Al-Jahshiari who died in 331 A.H. This book was quite unknown until now. The trustworthiness of the author's information is confirmed by the the list of revenues of the *khilâfat* preserved in a somewhat shortened form by the Persian historian Wassâf, first deciphered and explained here by Kremer. The text of Al-Jahshiâri gives the list of revenues which came into the treasury from each province in money and kind in the times of Ar-Rashîd. The general revenue in money amounted to 530,312,000 *dirhams.* Of these 125,532,000 were in gold, and the rest 404,780,000 in silver. There were also many local products in kind, the value of which cannot be exactly estimated.

The second work of Baron Kremer presented greater difficulties. The document here published gives an account of the revenues of the Khilâfat in 306 A.H. in the time of the Khalif Al-Muktadir. The work was very difficult to edit, because it was written partly in *shikasta* and partly in cursive *ta'lik* characters, with the figures in the chancery hand, called *dîvânî,* which is difficult to decipher, and admits of a mass of errors. By sheer hard work Baron Kremer succeeded in making it out. While engaged on the work he naturally took an interest in the man who compiled it, the Wâzir Alî ibn-'Îsâ, and the search for materials for his biography was crowned with complete success, by the discovery of a Gotha MS. pointed out to him by Professor de Goeje, which was an incomplete copy of a work by Subi.

Baron Kremer gives an account of the economic and political condition in the time of Al-Muktadir, an account of the revenue in 306 A. H., and a sketch of the great and honourable statesman 'Alî-ibn-'Îsâ. The higher officials were in the habit of enriching themselves by all means lawful and unlawful, and their wealth was for the most part gained in an unjust manner. The chief authority from time to time took it away from them under the pretext of the musadara, which was at first a means of inflicting punishment for extortion and taking bribes, but soon became the regular means of saving the public treasure chest from continual deficits. Such a punishment involved nothing disgraceful either in the eyes of society or the Government. The official who had become liable to the *musadara* did not lose his chance of again coming into favour, and there were examples when, on the payment of the *musadara,* they were again appointed to their former place. There was a bad side, however, to this custom, in the general insecurity of property which it created, and the

officials, finding themselves liable to be despoiled in this way, plundered as much as they could. As gold, silver and precious stones could be taken most easily, every one tried to get landed property, especially as Musalmân law usually favours this kind of property. The small proprietor could, of course, be easily robbed, but this was not the case with the large landholder who had influential friends at court. Thus the large proprietors increased, and a kind of *latifundia* existed, while the smaller landholders decreased, and were turned into farmers or simple labourers, or went into the great towns and increased the proletariat. The insecurity of the small landed proprietors became so great that they frequently registered their lands in the name of some magnate, according to a mutual agreement.

Guided by the notices of the revenue for 306 A. H., Baron Kremer establishes the following categories of landed proprietorship: — (i) The private possessions of the Khalifa, the revenues from which went into his private chest. (ii) The so-called 'Abbâsî possessions: these were primarily the common inheritance of the family of the 'Abbâsis, but in course of time the management of them came into the hands of the government, so that to their numerous descendants there remained only a poor subsidy. (iii) The so-called *mustahdara* lands or newly cultivated virgin soil. (iv) Large estates with smaller portions of land attached. (v) Lands subject to *haraj*: there were various losses occurring at different times; thus the lands given to common soldiers generally went to ruin, and of course no revenue was collected from lands belonging to provinces which were lost.

That the *khilâfat* did not perish at this time, was owing to honest financiers of the stamp of 'Alî-ibn 'Îsâ, who served his country in various offices for 70 years. This eminent man was born in the year 245 A.H., and was of Persian extraction. His grandfather Dâûd belonged to the official classes, and was *kâtib* to the Khalîfa Al-Musta'în. He was also a literary man. His sons, Muḥammad and 'Isâ, followed the same path as their father, and reached to high posts. 'Isâ, the father of our 'Alî, was one of the most important of the *kâtibs*. 'Alî, his son, was twice *wazîr*, from 300-304, and again 315-16. From 306-311 he was companion to the *wazîr*, and in reality, during the complete incapacity of the latter, he directed everything. In 334 A.D. he died, aged 89 years. His character was exceedingly noble, being free from malice and ambition. He never intrigued for a place, but refused some high posts when they were offered to him. The *khilâfat*, during his time, was surrounded by enemies, and the Government required a man of strong head and iron will. He carefully superintended the work of his subordinates, and tried to cut down the public expenditure, but found it a very difficult task, although he succeeded in limiting the allowances of several court families. He was simple in dress and manner of living, and, for an Oriental, honest.

The third monograph of Baron Kremer is devoted to the poet-philosopher Abû'l-'Alâ-al-Ma'arri, one of the best types of the Musalmân spirit. He passed his long suffering life in deep thought on the highest problems of man's being.

(8) *Otto Böhtlingk. Sanskrit-Worterbuch in kürzerer Fassung. Siebenter Theil. Reviewed by S. O.* [*Oldenburg*].—With this volume the work begun ten years ago finishes. In 1875 the great dictionary was ended, which cost 20 years of labour. Four years afterwards, in 1879, the unwearied author of this large work undertook the shorter one. The quotations were omitted, but all the words were preserved, and many new ones added. Thus the new dictionary is a necessary complement to its elder brother. The name of its author must ever be held in grateful remembrance.

W. R. MORFILL.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

WRONG PREDICTIONS OF ECLIPSES.

The following "observation" by Warren (*Kalasankalita*, p. 347) is worth bearing in mind, in connection with inscriptions which refer to eclipses that do not really occur on the given dates. It is attached to a paper written by 'Sami Naden Sashia,' a calendar-maker, residing in Pondicherry, to illustrate the computation of an eclipse of the moon by means of certain memorial and artificial words, and of shells in lieu of figures; but it may probably be allowed a wider application.

"When it is considered how very coarse and undefined as to the place for which the eclipse is computed, the process used by the Tamul mechanical computers undoubtedly is, it is really surprising that these results should come no wider from the truth. It is not, however, to be believed that they are always equally successful in their predictions, and that the people who are bound to

religious observances when these phenomena recur, are never disappointed in their expectations. I recollect a circumstance which occurred not many years ago, when an Eclipse of the Moon had been announced for a certain evening in the Madras Panchangum; in consequence of which crowds of people had resorted to the Beach for performing their ablutions; but no eclipse appeared; a circumstance which in China might have endangered the mistaken astronomer's life, but with the gentle Indian, only occasioned a good deal of noise; and with a few, some merriment on his ill proficiency. The case I refer to may have proceeded from the ignorance of the *Sastra*; but it is certain (and will be readily believed) that even where the most skilful astronomer is employed, no reliance can be placed on those raw predictions which are never certain within several hours of the time when an eclipse is to occur."

An inscription which mentions an eclipse, is not necessarily to be stamped as spurious, simply because of the non-occurrence of an eclipse on the given date. The point is only one which has to be taken into general consideration, with others according to the particular circumstances of each case, in weighing the authenticity of such a record.

Again, it still remains to be decided, for early times, whether, in order to be the occasions of ceremonies, eclipses should be actually visible, — except, of course for accidental reasons, — at the localities of those ceremonies.

The modern rule seems to be clear enough. For instance, the *Dharmasindhusâra*, parichchhêda i., uddêśa 43, says that the *puṇyakâla* of an eclipse of the sun, or of the moon, lasts as long as the eclipse is visible to the eye (*châkshushadarśana-yôgya*); that, accordingly, if the orb rises or sets eclipsed, there is no *puṇyakâla* before its rising, or after its setting, as the case may be; and that there is no *puṇyakâla* at all in the case of an eclipse which is visible only in another country. And it adds the remark, quite in accordance with commonsense, that, if an eclipse cannot be actually seen because of the obstruction of clouds &c., still the times of contact and liberation can be learned from the Śâstras or by other means, and then one can perform the rites of bathing, making gifts, &c.; *i. e.*, the *puṇyakâla* of an eclipse is not lost through merely accidental invisibility.

Of course there is a natural presumption that the rule must have been the same in ancient times. But a noteworthy instance, apparently to the contrary, is the solar eclipse of the 2nd January, A. D. 987, which is referred to in Prof. Kielhorn's Vikrama date No. 83 (page 166 above). It was a total eclipse. But it was visible only over a comparatively small area in North America and the North Pacific Ocean. And yet it is the eclipse that answers to the other details of the given date.

When the whole question comes to be fully discussed, consideration should be given to the following points: —

(1) Is it not possible that the Hindu processes for the calculation of eclipses, taken with the Hindu view as to the shape of the earth, and coupled perhaps with the introduction of even a slight error in working out individual cases, might naturally lead to the result, not only that occasionally an eclipse would be predicted when none would occur, but that still more often eclipses which were not really visible in India at all, would work out as visible in that country, though possibly only to a small extent?

(2) Under ordinary circumstances, would a person, intending, *e. g.*, to make a grant of land in celebration of an eclipse, wait until he actually saw the eclipse, and then take the matter in hand; or would he accept the eclipse beforehand, from an almanac or from the calculation of his own astrologer, and have all his arrangements complete for the actual making of the grant at the proper time, when, if no eclipse proved to be visible, the Brâhmaṇs would find some specious way of accounting for the fact, and would induce their patron to carry out his intention in spite of it?

Prof. Jacobi (*ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 155, note 12) has given the opinion that eclipses mentioned in inscriptions are generally to be interpreted as calculated, not as actually observed; the reason, in respect at any rate of the smaller solar eclipses, being, that they are seen only under favourable circumstances, and would pass unobserved if not calculated beforehand. And he has indicated that, within the limits of a *possible* eclipse, the Hindus may at any time have predicted an eclipse when none did occur, or may have failed to predict an eclipse when there would be one.

And the concoction of so palpably spurious a charter as the Bhîmankaṭṭi Maṭh grant of Janamêjaya (*ante*, Vol. IV. p. 333 f.), — plainly fabricated in order to deceive some reigning king into the recognition of a right to the lands mentioned in it, — shews that the Brâhmaṇs have looked upon their rulers as persons who could be gulled very easily indeed, and by very clumsy means.

LUCK AND ILL-LUCK.

In Oudh.

It is not safe to fall asleep without drinking water if one is thirsty, or without taking anything else one wishes for, because the soul of the sleeper comes out of the body to get it; and one cannot tell what may happen then.

Once upon a time a man went to sleep wishing for water; his soul came out and crept into a pitcher to drink; some one who was about, covered the latter, not knowing; and the man was found lifeless the next morning. They made *mourning for him, and placed him on a bier to* carry him to his grave, but at that moment somebody accidentally and fortunately uncovered the vessel, setting the soul free. It returned to the body at once, and the man revived.

He related this story to his friends.

G. H. R.

Lucknow.

BOOK NOTICES.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY, at Boston, Mass. May 22, 1889.

The **Proceedings of the American Oriental Society** are now no longer issued with the *Journal*, and it therefore behoves scholars and orientalists to note such contents of these Proceedings as may be issued from time to time.

In the number before us, the latest that has reached India, the first article of interest to Indian scholars is Dr. A. V. Williams Jackson's **note on the "Circle of Sovereignty" in the Avesta.** This is an attempt to render a doubtful line in *Yasht*, X. 67, *rathwya chhakhra hachimnô*, which the writer would translate by "attended by the circle of Sovereignty." He then goes on to show that a "curious circle (wheel, ring, crown or chaplet) is always found accompanying the figures of kings—being held in the hand—on the later Sassanian and ancient Achæmenian rock-cuttings and inscriptions," and he suggests that "this circle or wheel must have been to the Iranians an emblem of majesty, like the crown."

Dr. Jackson gives also **six grammatical jottings on the Avesta.** (1) He remarks that adjectival stems in *-van* show in Sk. a corresponding fem. stem in *-varî*, and quotes three similar instances from the *Avesta* of masc. adjectives in *-van* with fem. *-vairî*. (2) He would connect the Avestic *garenu*, 'itch,' a disease, with Skr. *gridhnu*, 'greedy, hasty,' √*gardh* 'be greedy;' on the analogy of Avestic *bunu*, 'foundation,' = Skr. *budhnâ*. (3) Justi derives Av. *thanvana* from √*tan*, but Dr. Jackson would derive *thanvana*, *thanvara*, and *thanvar* from √*thañj* 'to draw, drive.' (4) he notes that the new Ed. of the *Avesta* has restored at *Yasht*, VI 3, a true instance of strong (middle) stem + postpositive *a* in loc. sing. of *u*-stems, (5) he would look upon the acc. sing. *pathaṁ* as merely a transfer to the *â*-declension. (6) In *Yasht*, IV. 7, in *drujinaṁ*, he would recognize a gen. plural of an *in* -stem. (7) In *Yasht*, X. 141, *qarena* occurs for *qarenaṅha* as the instrumental singular of *qarenah*. The text being *qarena hachimnô*, Dr. Jackson explains the form by this law, "quite strongly developed in the *Avesta*," that the repetition of a like syllable is to be avoided. (8) The nom. sing. masc. pronominal *hâ* in Vsp. XII. 1, *hâ vaŋhush sraoshô*, which is usually looked on as an error for *hô* or *hâu*, Dr. Jackson would consider to be merely an old survival and therefore a correct reading. (9) He quotes passages in support of √*ans*, 'oppose, be an enemy,' as an original root.

Prof. E. F. Moore gives notices of two of the **Arabic MSS. in the Library of the New York University.** The MSS. noted are (1) the **commentary of Shahâbu'ddîn on the Alfiya**, dated A. H. 894. Although this work is known from Hâjî Khalîfa's catalogue of the commentaries on the *Alfiya*, the MS. appears to be unique as regards European libraries. (2) A very fair copy of the well-known **commentary of Al-Ashmûnî on the Alfiya.** Prof. Moore considers the New York MS. to be the commentary mentioned by Hâjî Khalîfa, i, 409 (ed. Flügel) entitled منهج المسالك الى الفيه ابن مالك and beginning with the words الحمد لله تعالى على ما منع من اسباب البيان الخ

Dr. Cyrus Adler is preparing a **Report on the Progress of American Oriental Science during 1888.** A hint might be taken from this work for the preparation of a similar general report annually, by some such body as an International Oriental Congress.

THE HYMNS OF THE RIG-VEDA, translated, with a popular commentary, by RALPH T. H. GRIFFITH, formerly Principal of Benares College. Vol. I.; 8vo.; pp. xviii., 419, xxvi. 1889. And Vol. II., Parts I. and II. 1890. Benares; E. J. Lazarus and Co.

As announced by the author, "this work is an attempt to bring within easy reach of all readers of English a translation of the **Hymns of the Rig-Vêda** which, while aiming especially at close fidelity to the letter and spirit of the original, shall

be as readable and intelligible as the nature of the subject and other circumstances permit."

The Ṛig-Vêda is the oldest, not only of the four Vêdas, but of all the early Âryan literature that has come down to us through the Hindu branch of that great division of mankind. And not the least important feature about it, is, that some of its hymns undoubtedly belong to, or at least indicate the conditions of, the period anterior to the separation of the branch which finally settled itself in India, and thus have a far wider bearing and interest than anything in the purely Indian literature.

As yet, no complete English translation of the Ṛig-Vêda has ever been produced; Prof. Wilson's translation being a rendering of its traditional interpretation, especially as exhibited by Sâyaṇa, rather than of the original itself. Mr. Griffith's object is "to present the original meaning of the hymns themselves; avoiding the mistakes into which the Hindu commentators were led, chiefly through the etymological fictions in which they, and the grammarians who paved or were supposed to pave the way for them, indulged. His translation follows the safest of all texts, that given in Prof. Max Müller's magnificent edition. And, while necessarily based partly on Sâyaṇa's *scholia*, without which much of the original must have remained unintelligible, it has been regulated also "by rational probability, context, and inter-comparison of similar words and passages." This method may not altogether find favour in the eyes of Native scholars of the strictest type, who would hold it a heresy to admit any interpretation differing from that sanctioned by Sâyaṇa's authority. But it cannot fail to recommend itself, as the only sound course, to European students. Those who wish for a knowledge of the contents of the Ṛig-Vêda, without having to read the original themselves, and without requiring an absolutely literal word for word translation, which could only be given in pure prose, may safely take as their guide the translation that has thus been started.

Mr. Griffith is already well-known, not only as a good Sanskṛit scholar, but also as a very successful metrical translator of classical Sanskṛit works. And one of his objects in the present work has been to reproduce, as far as is really practical and desirable, the rhythm and metre of the original hymns. The following selection, — **a hymn to the Dawn** (Vol. II. p. 175), in the Gayatrî metre (in its form of a triplet of three lines of eight syllables each), — may be taken as a typical instance of the nature of the original, as well as shewing the translator's method of dealing with it; while the hymn that immediately precedes it, shews his success in grappling with the more elaborate Trishṭubh metre.

HYMN LII.

1. This lady, giver of delight, after her sister shining forth,[1]
   Daughter of Heaven, hath shown herself.
2. In colour like a ruddy mare, holy, the mother of the kine,
   Friend of the Aśvins was the Dawn.[2]
3. Yea, and thou art the Aśvins' friend, the mother of the kine art thou:
   O Dawn, thou rulest over wealth.
4. Thinking of thee, O joyous one, as her who driveth hate away,[3]
   We woke to meet thee with our lauds.
5. Our eyes behold thy blessèd rays like troops of cattle loosed to feed.
   Dawn hath filled full the wide expanse.
6. When thou hast filled it, fulgent one! thou layest bare the gloom with light.
   After thy nature aid us, Dawn.
7. Thou overspreadest heaven with rays, the dear wide region of mid-air
   With thy bright shining lustre, Dawn.

SOUTH-INDIAN CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES; by the late W. S. KRISHNASVAMI NAIDU. EDITED by ROBERT SEWELL, M.C.S., F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S. Madras; printed by the Superintendent, Government Press. 1889. Pp. v., 97.

The object of this work is to give methods and tables for converting, by a very simple process, **South-Indian dates into English, and vice versâ**. And for that purpose there are given four Tables, A. B. C. D; of which D. relates specially to the Hijra calendar, and C. to Hindu dates.

Table D. gives the week-day and the English date of the commencement of every **Hijra year** from 1 to 1440 (A. D. 622-2018).

Table C. is the most important, occupying no less than 69 pages. Two kinds of reckoning, solar and luni-solar, are in use in Southern India; the former is prevalent in the Tamil, and the latter in the Telugu Provinces. The week-day and the English date of the commencement of every Kaliyuga year, taken both **as a solar and as a luni-solar year,** from A. D. 1 to A. D. 2000, with the synchronous years of the Saka

[1] *After her sister*: when Night has departed.

[2] *The kine*: the early rays of light. *Friend of the Aśvins*: as being worshipped at the same time.

[3] *Driveth hate away*: especially the malignity of the evil spirits of the night.

and Andu eras, and with the *saṁvatsaras* of the Sixty-Year Cycle according to the Southern Indian System, are given in Table C. Also the intercalated months in the luni-solar years are given.

Tables A. and B. are auxiliary to Tables C. and D. The first gives the collective duration in days from the beginning to any date in any month of the **solar, luni-solar, or Hijra year**; and Table B. does the same for the **Christian year.** Any one Śaka or Kaliyuga year extends over parts of two Christian years; and therefore to facilitate the calculation, there is given in Table B. the distance from the first date of an English common year to any date up to the end of the next succeeding English common year. Rules are given for the application of the Tables; and seven examples of turning South-Indian dates into English dates, and seven of the reverse process, are worked out. The process is a very plain one, consisting of not more than five sums, of very few figures, in simple addition and subtraction. And any ordinary person can use the work. Though the book is intended specially for use in Southern India, still that part of it which relates to the luni-solar calendar will be useful all over India.

A calendar like that of the Hindus cannot, as Dr. Schram has rightly observed, be brought with absolute certainty into a simple Table; and it is well that the editor, and of course the author, of the Tables under notice, does not assume to give absolutely certain results. It is explained that "these Tables may often vary by some hours." But as the object of these Tables is to find the equivalent date and not the hours and minutes of a *tithi* or a *saṁkrānti*, the consequence of the difference of "some hours" may often be the difference of one day. Such is the case not only with the lunar, but even with solar dates, obtained from these Tables. But it is a result that cannot be avoided in such general Tables, the real aim of which is extreme simplicity and readiness of calculation.

The articles of **Table C.** which require lengthy calculations, and are therefore liable to errors, are those given in columns 7, 10 and 11, respectively; viz. the dates of the commencement of the solar and luni-solar years, and the repeated months in the latter.

Taking first **the luni-solar calendar**, we should expect that the English date equivalent to the commencement of the luni-solar year, given in column 10, is that which we should find for the first *tithi* of that year in an ordinary Hindu *Pañchâṅg*; that is, again, the date on which Chaitra śukla pratipadâ ends as an apparent (*spashṭa*) *tithi*. But from some actual calculations we find that such, — invariably at any rate, — is not the case; and that what has really been given, is the English date on which Chaitra śukla pratipadâ ends as a *mean tithi*. This ought to have been plainly stated. The difference between a mean and an apparent *tithi* is sometimes as much as 25 *ghaṭîs* or 10 hours; and it may often make the difference of a day in the resulting date. We do not know whether the author and the editor were aware of this, in saying (p. 5) that "at times . . . . owing to the conversion of mean into true time . . . . . the equivalent . . obtained (from the Tables) might differ from the actual one by a day." But, if they were aware of it, they should have used the apparent *tithis*; though, of course, even then the results would not always have been much better. There is sometimes an actual error in the entries of column 10. Whenever the mean Chaitra śukla pratipadâ ends after midnight, the following English date is given as the equivalent. For example, in Śaka-Saṁvat 1797 current, the mean Chaitra śukla pratipadâ ended, according to the present *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, which we know is the prevalent authority for the Telugu luni-solar calendar, on Wednesday, 18th March, A. D. 1874, at 55 *gh.* 58 *p.* for Laṅkâ mean time. But Thursday, 19th March, is given as the English date of the commencement of the luni-solar year. For doing so, there is the excuse that the English date and week-day begin at midnight. But, as a general rule, the practice hitherto followed is that that English date which corresponds for the greater part, *viz.* three-fourths, of a Hindu week-day, is given as the English equivalent of that day. If that practice was intentionally set aside, the fact should have been distinctly stated. We are inclined to think that it was not done intentionally, but through a mistake, which seems to have arisen from following Warren's *Kalasaṁkalita*. Allowing for these two points, the entries in column 10 are, as we find from examining some dates here and there, reliable.

Column 11, giving **the repeated months**, is utterly useless. We say so from a comparison of it with a Table of intercalated months from Saka-Saṁvat 1 to 2000 by Prof. K. L. Chhatre, the accuracy of which we ourselves have tested by several actual calculations.[1] To take an example of

[1] A part of this Table is given in Prof. Chhatre' Book named *Graha-sidhanâchiñ Kîshṭakiñ*. The whole Table is given by him in Vol. I. No. 12 (March, 1851) of a Marâṭhî monthly magazine called *Jñânaprasâraka* (published in Bombay but not now continued). The intercalary months in Mr. Cowasjee Patell's *Chrono-*

recent date, in Śaka-Saṁvat 1802 current (1801 expired) the repeated month is given as No. 6, *viz.* Bhâdrapada. This would be repeated if there were no *saṁkrânti* in it. But in that year the Siṁha-Saṁkrânti took place on Śrâvaṇa kṛishṇa 13, Friday, 15th August, A. D. 1879. The following amâvâsyâ ended, and consequently the following month Bhâdrapada commenced, 47 *gh.* 45 *p.* after sunrise on Sunday, 17th August. That same Bhâdrapada ended 12 *gh.* 4 *p.* after sunrise on Tuesday, 16th September. And the Kanyâ-Saṁkrânti took place more than 30 *ghaṭîs* before the end of that Bhâdrapada, *viz.* on Bhâdrapada kṛishṇa 14, Monday, 15th September, at 40 *gh.* 43 *p.* We give these details from an ordinary *Pañchâṅg* in our possession, prepared from the *Grahalâghava* and *Chintâmaṇi* of Gaṇêśa Daivajña. By no authority can the Kanyâ-Saṁkrânti be made to take place after the end of this Bhâdrapada; and therefore that month cannot be intercalary. Âśvina is the intercalary month in that year. We have tried in vain to obtain the clue to the process by which the repeated months in the work under notice, were calculated. We may remark, by the way, that a rule for finding the intercalary months devised by Dr. J. Burgess, and given in Note III. p. 7 *e*, is wrong and quite useless.

Now as regards column 7. It is not stated what authority and what rules are followed, in giving the English date of the commencement of the solar year. We know that the authority for the Tamil solar calendar is the first *Ârya-Siddhânta*. And the same is followed in the present work. From Śaka-Saṁvat 400, the apparent *saṁkrântis* according to the first *Ârya-Siddhânta* take place before those of the present *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, the difference increasing after that year. In Śaka-Saṁvat 1800 expired, it was about 6 *gh.* 20 *p.* The solar year may begin astronomically at any time of a day; that is, a *saṁkrânti* can take place at any time. But according to one method, when it takes place before sunset, the year or month is made to begin civilly on the same day, while, if it takes place after sunset, the year or month begins civilly on the next day. There is another method (see Note IV. by Dr. Burgess, on p. 7 f.) by which, when the sun enters a sign within 3 of the 5 parts into which the day-time is divided, the month begins on the same day; otherwise, it begins on the next day. In the work under notice the civil commencement of the solar year is taken; and it is that which is obtained according to the first of the two methods just mentioned. All these particulars ought to have been distinctly stated by the author. We have discovered the true state of the case, by actually calculating some cases, and comparing the results with the entries in the book before us. The prescribed rules, moreover, do not seem to have been followed strictly. For example, in A. D. 1780 the Mêsha-Saṁkrânti took place on the 9th April, at 34 *gh.* 13 *p.* according to the present *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, and at 28 *gh.* 20 *p.* according to the first *Ârya-Siddhânta*; both according to Ujjain mean time. In this case, the 9th April is given as the beginning of the solar year; and it is right. But in A. D. 1803, the Mêsha-Saṁkrânti took place on the 10th April, at 31 *gh.* 18 *p.* according to the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, and at 25 *gh.* 18 *p.* according to the first *Ârya-Siddhânta*, both according to Ujjain mean time. But here, not the 10th, but the 11th April, is given as the date of the commencement of the solar year. The entries in column 7, however, may be looked upon as generally reliable.

A few words in conclusion, which we hope will not be taken amiss. The Preface tells us that these Tables are intended ultimately for use in courts and offices, as well as for historians and archæologists. In their present form they are only tentative, and a few copies only have been printed; the intention being to publish the work in a final shape, after seeing the results of criticism and examination. As we have shewn, however, these Tables can only give approximate results, at any rate for the Hindu solar and luni-solar years. And surely, considering the practical interests involved, courts and offices require actual results, just as much as historians and archæologists, if not indeed more so. Equally good approximate results can be obtained from works already published; *e. g.* Mr. Cowasjee Patell's and Gen. Sir A. Cunningham's books, and Dr. Schram's Tables. While, with practically no more expenditure of time and trouble, accurate results can be obtained either from Prof. K. L. Chhatre's book, or from Prof. Jacobi's Tables, by any one who will take the trouble to master them. Under these circumstances, then, what real object can be served by finally issuing these Tables, endorsed by Government authority, for actual use, whether official or otherwise?

logy, and in Gen. Sir A. Cunningham's *Indian Eras*, which (p. 91) admittedly follows Mr. Cowasjee Patell's book in this respect, agree throughout with those in Prof. Chhatre's Table, except for only a few mistakes in the former two. Mr. Cowasjee Patell's *Chronology* was published fifteen years after Prof. Chhatre's Table, and it is possible that it may have some direct or indirect connection in this matter with Prof. Chhatre's Table.

SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION.

The system of transliteration followed in this Journal for Sanskrit and Kanarese, (and, for the sake of uniformity, submitted for adoption, as far as possible, in the case of other languages), — except in respect of modern Hindu personal names, in which absolute purism is undesirable, and in respect of a few Anglicised corruptions of names of places, sanctioned by long usage, — is this :—

Sanskrit.	Kanarese.	Transliteration.	Sanskrit.	Kanarese.	Transliteration.
अ	ಅ	a	ज	ಜ	ja
आ	ಆ	â	झ	ಝ	jha
इ	ಇ	i	ञ	ಞ	ña
ई	ಈ	î	ट	ಟ	ṭa
उ	ಉ	u	ठ	ಠ	ṭha
ऊ	ಊ	û	ड	ಡ	ḍha
ऋ	ಋ	ṛi	ढ	ಢ	ḍha
ॠ	ೠ	ṛî	ण	ಣ	ṇa
ऌ	—	ḷṛi	त	ತ	ta
—	ಎ	e	थ	ಥ	tha
ए	ಏ	ê	द	ದ	da
ऐ	ಐ	ai	ध	ಧ	dha
—	ಒ	o	न	ನ	na
ओ	ಓ	ô	प	ಪ	pa
औ	ಔ	au	फ	ಫ	pha
Visarga	*Visarga*	ḥ	ब	ಬ	ba
Jihvámúlíya, or old *Visarga* before क् and ख्	—	ḥ	भ	ಭ	bha
			म	ಮ	ma
Upadhmánfya, or old *Visarga* before प् and फ्	—	ḥ	य	ಯ	ya
			र	ರ	ra
Anusvára	*Anusvára*	ṁ	—	ಱ	ṛa
Anunásika	—	ṁ̃	ल	ಲ	la
क	ಕ	ka	ळ	ಳ	ḷa
ख	ಖ	kha	—	ೞ	ḷa
ग	ಗ	ga	व	ವ	va
घ	ಘ	gha	श	ಶ	śa
ङ	ಙ	ṅa	ष	ಷ	sha
च	ಚ	cha	स	ಸ	sa
छ	ಛ	chha	ह	ಹ	ha

A single hyphen is used to separate words in composition, as far as it is desirable to divide them. It will readily be seen where the single hyphen is only used in the ordinary way, at the end of a line, as divided in the original Text, to indicate that the word runs on into the next line; intermediate divisions, rendered unavoidable here and there by printing necessities, are made only where absolutely necessary for neatness in the arrangement of the Texts.

A double hyphen is used to separate words in a sentence, which in the original are written as one word, being joined together by the euphonic rules of *saṁdhi*. Where this double hyphen is used, it is to be understood that a final consonant, and the following initial vowel or consonant-and-vowel, are in the original expressed by one complex sign. Where it is not used, it is to be understood of the orthography of the original, that, according to the stage of the alphabet, the final consonant either has the modified broken form, which, in the oldest stages of the alphabet, was used to indicate a consonant with no vowel attached to it, or has the distinct sign of the *virâma* attached to it; and that the following initial vowel or consonant has its full initial form. In the transcription of ordinary texts, the double hyphen is probably unnecessary; except where there is the *saṁdhi* of final and initial vowels. But, in the transcription of epigraphical records, the use of this sign is unavoidable, for the purpose of indicating exactly the palæographical standard of the original texts.

The avagraha, or sign which indicates the elision of an initial *a*, is but rarely to be met with in inscriptions. Where it does occur, it is most conveniently represented by its own Dêvanâgarî sign.

So also practice has shewn that it is more convenient to use the ordinary Dêvanâgarî marks of punctuation than to substitute the English signs for them.

Ordinary brackets are used for corrections and doubtful points; and **square brackets**, for letters which are damaged and partially illegible in the original, or which, being wholly illegible, can be supplied with certainty. An asterisk attached to letters or marks of punctuation in square brackets, indicates that those letters or marks of punctuation were omitted altogether in the original. As a rule, it is more convenient to use the brackets than to have recourse to footnotes; as the points to which attention is to be drawn attract notice far more readily. But notes are given instead, when there would be so many brackets, close together, as to encumber the text and render it inconvenient to read. When any letters in the original are wholly illegible and cannot be supplied, they are, represented, in metrical passages, by the sign for a long or a short syllable, as the case may be; and in prose passages, by points, at the rate, usually, of two for each *akshara* or syllable.

TAMIL HISTORICAL TEXTS.

BY V. KANAKASABHAI PILLAI, B.A., B.L.

No. 2. — THE KALINGATTU PARANI.

THIS is a long poem, giving a graphic account of **an expedition into the North Kaliṅga country, conducted by Karuṇâkara,** the Pallava king and prime-minister of the Chôḷa emperor Kulôttuṅga. Several editions of the work have been published at Madras, the earliest of which was printed about twenty years ago. Two manuscript copies of the poem appear to have formed part of the collection known as the *Mackenzie Collection*. And the name occurs also in the catalogue of the manuscripts compiled by the Rev. W. Taylor, but that scholar evidently did not study the poem critically, and hence failed to discover its importance as a contemporary record of the events that had occurred during the reign of Kulôttuṅga.[1] The language being modern Tamil, there is no commentary accompanying the poem. It is divided into 13 cantos, and contains 593 stanzas. The verses are in the Thâḷichai metre, and are remarkable for the musical flow of the rhythm and the elegance of the language. The cadence, swift and stirring, is well suited for martial strains, and the style, always majestic, appropriate to the grandeur of the theme. Far-fetched and extravagant similes and other rhetorical embellishments, in which oriental poets delight, abound in the poem.

The author's name is given as **Jayaṅkoṇḍân.** This is probably more a title than a name, as it means simply 'conqueror.' One of the predecessors of Kulôttuṅga-Chôḷa, Râjarâjadêva, surnamed Râjakêsarivarman, had assumed the same title and was known as **Jayaṅkoṇḍa-Chôḷa,** and it was customary, during this period, for the chief officers of a king's court to assume the titles of the king himself, or to name their children after them. It is probable, therefore, that the author was born during the reign of that sovereign. No particulars whatever of the author's life are given in the poem.

As it is not desirable to translate the whole of this long poem in the *Indian Antiquary*, I shall give here only a brief **analysis of its contents,** with translations of such portions as will serve to shew the style and contents of the poem, and the texts also of such passages as will be interesting to the historical enquirer.

The poem opens with a prayer, in twenty stanzas, addressed to Umâpati, Vishṇu, Brahman, Sûrya, Gaṇapati, Subrahmaṇya, Sarasvatî, Umâ, and the Seven Mothers, for the long life and prosperity of the Chôḷa emperor. Some of the stanzas may be translated, as follows : —

(S. 1) Let us meditate on Him (Siva), who, to set an example of domestic life, married the daughter of the mountain (Pârvatî), while the cloud-coloured (Vishṇu) poured a libation of water (*and gave away the bride*), and he who dwells on a flower (Brahman) performed the marriage ceremonies ; — (S. 2) So that **Abhaya** ('the fearless'), the most excellent of the two royal lines (solar and lunar), who, by right of inheritance, seized the hand of the daughter of Brahman (the Earth), according to the sacred Vêdas, may live for ever ! — (S. 3) Let us praise the sacred name of that peerless child (Vishṇu), who was incarnate without being born from any womb, and who contained the whole world in his bowels ; — (S. 4) So that the single umbrella of the gracious **Abhaya** may cover all the wide world, like the bowels of that great Vishṇu, for ever ! — (S. 5) Let us praise that first Being, who created the four Yugas, the four elements, and the four Upanishads, and who possesses four faces ; — (S. 6) So that **Kuladîpa** ('the light of his race'), who protects the four lands, the four quarters, the four broad seas, and the four castes, may live for ever ! — (S. 17) Let us worship the twice seven feet of the seven radiant goddesses, on whose banners are painted the buffalo, the bird, the devil, the peacock, the bull, the eagle, and the elephant ; — (S. 18) So that the imperial **tiger-standard,**

[1] *Catalogue Raisonné of Oriental Manuscripts*, by Rev. W. Taylor, Vol. III. pp. 153, 300.

which **the Chembian** planted on Mêru after having lowered the standards of the boar, the plough, the stag, the lion, the lute, the bow, and the fish, may be pre-eminent for ever!

The second canto contains 54 stanzas and is an address to women, inviting them to listen to the song celebrating the deeds of their sovereign. This gives the poet an opportunity to dwell on the charms of the fair sex, their love, little jealousies and quarrels, — subjects so congenial to the imaginative mind of oriental bards. Many of the stanzas do not bear translation; as a specimen, however, I shall translate a few which are free from objection: —

(S. 3) Ye (*maidens*) of soft speech!, come like peacocks, waking from sleep, your tresses waving, your ankle-rings resounding, and open the doors. — (S. 16) Open the doors adorned with gold, ye good girls!, who pretend to sleep till break of day, to punish your lovers for their faults and to thwart their desires. — (S. 38) Open your golden doors, ye maidens!, on whose feet the ankle-rings ever clamour, warning you not to walk, lest your slender waist break, unable to bear the weight of the pair of breasts. — (S. 44) Ye who have heard of the might of the bow, terrible to its foes, wielded by that Karuṇâkara (Râma) who conquered Laṅkâ, open the doors, and let me sing of the battle fought by that **Karuṇâkara who conquered Kaliṅga**. — (S. 43) Ye maidens who, in amorous dalliance, loosen the *kaliṅga* (clothes), keeping the *kâñchi* (girdle), open the doors, and let me sing of the battle in which **the Chenni (Chôḷa)**, who wears the anklet, destroyed **Kaliṅga**, keeping **Kâñchi**. — (S. 45) Ye who think of all the faults of your ardent lovers in their absence, and forget them in their presence, open your massive golden doors. — (S. 54) Open your golden doors, and listen, ye maidens who twist and fasten in your locks, alike the bright red flowers of the *kalunîr* and the hearts of young men full of love.

Cantos 3 and 4 contain imaginary descriptions of the parched desert and weird temple sacred to Kâlidêvî, the goddess of war. As an example of the author's peculiar style and powers of description, I shall translate a few of the stanzas, describing the desert: —

(Canto 3; S. 6) The shadows of the eagles, which circle in the skies in search of prey over that desert, seem to flee from it, afraid of the heat, and stop in no place. — (S. 8) The red ground of that desert appears like a furnace of glowing fire; and like clouds of smoke issuing from the furnace, are the troops of doves flitting over it. — Hear, why the green-colored steeds of Sûrya do not course through the skies at night, as they do in the day. Is it not because they find it hard to pass over the desert, sacred to the goddess, without taking rest after every journey across it? — (S. 13) Alas! It is to screen themselves from the fierce and expanding heat of this desert, that the gods have placed the clouds and the halo in the sky. — (S. 12) Is it not, alas! the sweat, dropping from the panting clouds and moon after they cross the desert, that falls in rain and dew? — (S. 10) Is it not owing to the heat of this desert, into which even men cannot venture, that the gods are afraid to set foot on this earth?

In the succeeding three **cantos 5 to 7**, the goddess, her attendant demons and goblins, and their horrible witchcraft are described.

Canto 8 is entitled *Râchapâramparyam* or 'the royal genealogy,' and contains a short account of **the ancestors of Kulôttuṅga**. To give it a fictitious interest, the poet states that the account is taken from the history inscribed on the side of the mountain Mêru, by the great Chôḷa king Karikâla, as dictated by the *Ṛishi* Nârada, who then foretold the whole of the history of the Chôḷa family, down to the accession of Kulôttuṅga. **The pedigree of the Chôḷas** is traced as follows: —

(S. 9) From the lotus-navel of the first **Vishṇu** sprang **Brahman**; the latter begat the hero **Marîchi**; his beloved son was **Kâśyapa**; and he begat the resplendent **Sûrya**. — (S. 10) His son, **Manu**, while protecting the earth, sacrificed his beloved son, as not dearer to him than the young calf (*which that son had run over*), and was praised by all living beings (*for his stern justice*). **His son was Ikshvâku.** — (S. 11) The heroic son, begotten by **Ikshvâku**, conquered all

his enemies, and, riding on the thousand-eyed Indra, as on an elephant, defeated the Dânavas. — (S. 12) (*Then followed*) that powerful ruler, in whose time the deer drank at the same fountain with the ferocious tiger without fear, — **Muchukunta,** who entering the world of the celestials, displayed his valour in the battle-field ; — (S. 13) (*Then*) he who gave to the gods the nectar that rose from the ocean, when it was churned ; (*then*) he who intrepidly cut off his own flesh ; (*then*) he who entered the scales, to be weighed against a dove. — (S. 14) Then **the Chôḷas,** commencing with **Surâtirâja,** having formed **the Chôḷa maṇḍala,** the two **Râjakêsarîs** governed the seven worlds with the tiger-standard : — (S. 15) (*Then*) he who dictated to Yama what he should do ; (*then*) he who brought the Kâvêrî river ; (*then*) he who subdued the whole of this world and other worlds ; — (S. 16) (*Then*) he who placed Indra as **the tiger in his standard ;** (*then*) he who opened out one ocean to flow into another ; (*then*) he who of his own free will gave up his blood to be drunk ; (*then*) he who compelled Varadarâja to serve him ; — (S. 17) (*Then*) he who stormed the aërial castles ; (*then*) he who raised to the skies his chariot which was adorned with a multitude of brilliant gems ; (*then*) he who assisted the ocean-like army of Dharma, till the Bhârata war was concluded ; — (S. 18) (*Then*) he who ventured alone into the mouth of a cave, and, going through a dark passage, gained the jewel of the Uragas (a Nâga princess) ; (*then*) he who knocked off the fetters from the feet of **Uthiya (Chêra),** and crowned him on hearing the poem *Kaḷavaḷi* recited by Poikai. — (S. 19) Having thus written the history of others (*of his dynasty*), he **(Karikâla),** recorded how the goddess of victory embraced his shoulders, when his matchless elephant trampled on the crowns of **the Vaḷuti (Pâṇḍya)** and **the Chêra.** — (S. 20) (*He recorded further*) how **Mukari** was destroyed, when he rubbed it out of the map, finding that it did not suit the plan prepared for the banks of **the Kâvêri,** which were being constructed by vassal kings. — (S. 21) (*And he described*) the conquest of **Kurumi,** where the *varâl*-fish leap in the waters, and the gift of sixteen hundred thousand *pons* to the bard of pure Tamil, who composed the *Paddinappâlai* in his praise : — (S. 22) The disgrace inflicted on the rival kings, **Uthiya (Chêra) and the king of Madura,** who had never before gone behind another, and who, clothed in rags, were made to hold lighted lamps on their heads : — (S. 23) The prowess of one who, mounted on an elephant, conquered all the land under the sky ; the glory acquired by destroying **Îḻam (Ceylon) and** the Tamil **Kûdal (Madura) :** — (S. 24) The capture of numerous elephants by that king who established the *chathaya*-feast in the **Uthiya (Chêra) maṇḍala,** and who, radiant like the morning sun, stormed **Uthakai,** riding on a single elephant : — (S. 25) The elephants of the **Chôḷa,** drinking the water of the Ganges at **Maṇṇai ;** — the annexation of **Kadâram,** where the roaring limpid waves wash the sand mixed with red gold : — (S. 26) The planting of a pillar of victory at **Kampili ;** — the thorough defeat of the people of the strongly-fortified **Kalyân,** by one who, riding on a huge elephant whose tusks were adorned with rings, caused **the figure of the tiger** to be engraved on the eight mountains : — (S. 27) The extension of dominion by the battle of **Koppai,** where one who, appearing like an elephant riding on another elephant, won the battle, and saved the world : — (S. 28) The growth of virtue and the happiness of the people under the benign sway of the **Chôḷa,** who dispensed justice three or four times better than the ancient Manu, reviving the practice of the Vêdas, the first of all books. — (S. 29) After the reign of that king, who defeated **the Kuntalas at Kûdal-saṅgam,** people will wonder how fortunate the damsel earth was, to be united to him. — (S. 30) As far as the three worlds extend, and as far as the sacred Vêdas are observed, so far, to the bounds of the last circle of mountains, **Abhaya** protected the world wielding the sceptre with justice.

Canto 9 contains an imaginary description of a conversation between Kâli and her attendant spirits, in which one of the latter foretells the approach of **the Kaliṅga war,** and the spirits are joyous at the prospect of another feast on bleeding corpses.

Canto 10 gives an account of the birth of **Kulôttuṅga,** his education and early exploits, his accession to the throne of **the Chôḷas,** and a journey from the capital **Gaṅgâpuri** to **Kâñchi,**

whither he goes to enjoy the pleasures of a hunt on the banks of the **Pâlâr.** — (S. 3) He (Vishṇu) who was incarnate on a banian leaf, appeared again in the sacred womb of the wife of him **of the race of the moon,** which dispels darkness, — the beautiful daughter of **Râjarâja,** of the rival **race of the sun.** — (S. 5) Gentle showers of rain fell at the time; and **the wife of Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-Chôḷa** took up the noble son of her noble daughter in her hands, which were as fair as the flowers of the red lotus. — (S. 6) She saw that in all his limbs he resembled his parents, and said that he was worthy to be her (*adopted*) son, and to increase the fame of **the solar race.** — (S. 7) As a young prince of **the lunar race,** as an infant lord of **the solar race,** he grew up, the joy of the kings of both races, like the fruit of the virtuous deeds of his ancestors. — (S. 9) To make it clear that he was the Kṛishṇa of olden times, who, born as the son of Vasudêva, relieved this earth of its evils, he wore the ornament on which were engraved his five weapons, — the club, bow, sword, conch, and discus. — (S. 11) Like the marriage-thread on the sacred neck of the goddess whose seat is on a flower (**Lakshmî**), the three-fold thread shone on his broad chest, and he appeared distinguished by the rites of a second birth. — (S. 12) He heard from Brâhmaṇs, and repeated, the four Vêdas, which he had once before studied, when he assumed the form of a learned dwarf and begged for a grant of land. — (S. 13) To the joy of the goddess Earth, who knew that her happiest days were near, he wore on his shoulders the figure of the goddess of Victory, and at his waist, a shining short scimitar.— (S. 14) "To this day Sûrya dispels the darkness, driving in a chariot drawn by seven steeds; I will remove the evils of this earth, driving a single horse," — thus he said, and learnt to drive a chariot. — (S. 15) "Indra conquers his enemies, riding an elephant which has four tusks; I will rout my enemies, riding one with only two tusks," — thus he said, and learnt to ride elephants. — (S. 16) The five kinds of weapons, beginning with the discus, being his own (*as an incarnation of Vishṇu*), he learnt to use them, that he might conquer in all directions; and his fair hands did not feel the weight of the arms. — (S. 18) Installed as heir-apparent to the **Abhaya,** who bears a banner of renown, he made up his mind to seize the wealth of rival kings. — (S. 20) He set out with his troops of horses, to meet the wrath of the northern kings, which gathered like the darkness falling upon the earth, when the steeds of Sûrya approach the west. — (S. 23) When the bright brows of **the Chôḷa,** who had quelled the strifes of men, were bent like a bow, then was Yama furious, and **Chakkarakôddam** fell. — (S. 24) When opposing armies fled at every encounter, and **Abhaya** seized the hands of the goddess of Victory, kings offered, in tribute, horses and elephants and wealth of every kind. — (S. 25) The eyes of the kings who came to fight, paled, and their feet reddened, as they fled from the battlefield; while the javelin in the fair hands of **him who was a terror to Virutarâja** was red (*with blood*) and his fame was white (*i. e.* increased). — (S. 26) While **Abhaya,** thus riding an elephant, went into the northern countries, the "king of kings" went to heaven to be a king of gods, and we shall describe what befell the southern land. — (S. 27) The Brâhmaṇs gave up sacrifices; the laws of Manu were not followed; the six sciences were forgotten; and the chanting of Vêdic hymns ceased: — (S. 28) The castes mixed one with another in wild confusion; and forgetting their rules of conduct, none kept to their ancient customs:— (S. 29) One trying to govern another, the temples of the gods were neglected; the women lost their chastity; and fortresses were destroyed. — (S. 30) While the land was thus shrouded in the darkness of evil, he **(Abhaya)** came to save the world, like the sun which rises above the roaring sea, driving away darkness. — (S. 31) He made it his duty to create afresh all the usual safe-guards (*for the people*), and restored to their former state those who had been ruined. — (S. 32) Amid the roar of the four oceans, the chanting of the four Vêdas, and the blessings of the three worlds, he was anointed. — S. (33) While kings, wearing sounding anklets, laid sacred grass at his feet, **the** Brâhmaṇs held the crown, and the laws of Manu revived. — S. (34) On the long crown, studded with many gems in rows, water was poured, and the virtues sprouted. — (S. 35) When the lofty **tiger-standard** was raised, supreme over the world, other kings also raised their banners, and the gods shouted with joy. — (S. 36) While, with hands joined in obeisance, kings stood round the **Abhaya,** who wore the sounding anklet, his umbrella, decked

with pearls, shed a lustre like that of the moon, and the darkness of evil disappeared. — (S. 39) The four directions enjoyed peace; the Vêdas resumed their course; **the Uthiya (Chêra)** took refuge at his feet; and the **Cheḷias (Pâṇḍyas)** fled to the sea. — (S. 45) Having no foe to fight, he (*the emperor*) amused himself with wrestling-matches, debates of logicians, cock-fights, and elephant-fights. — (S. 46) He spent his time in listening to the songs of poets and music, in the company of chosen mistresses, and in studying the law of Manu and the Vêdas. — (S. 47) Having enjoyed a hunt on the banks of **the Kâvêri,** which passes through groves trembling to the wind, he ordered a march to the banks of **the Pâlâr** for a hunt on horseback. — (S. 48) He was pleased to order that it should be proclaimed by beat of drums; and the soldiers gathered from the four directions and poured into the town, as if the people of the whole world were coming into it, subduing the noise of the waves of the sea. — (S. 55) The wives of kings presented garlands of flowers and golden necklaces, and came, mounted on elephants, surrounding the elephant on which was seated the empress **Thiyâkavalli,** who had the right of exercising equal authority with **the Chenni.** — (S. 68) Having obtained the permission of the god (Siva) who has three eyes, and lives on the silver mountain, and dances in the hall, he travelled northwards, and passed through the large town of **Athikai.** — (S. 69) Leaving **Athikai,** by slow and pleasant marches **the Abhaya** approached the wealthy town of **Kâñchi**; and kings, who had umbrellas resplendent like the full-moon, received him with the usual obeisance.

Canto 11 gives a description of the splendour of the emperor's court at **Kañchi,** the expedition to **Kaliṅga,** and the preparation of **the Kaliṅga king** to meet the invading army: — (S. 4) In the sculptured hall in the south-west corner of the palace of red gold, which the thousand-rayed Sûrya is unable to distinguish from the golden Mêru, — (S. 5) Under the shade of a white parasol, beneath a canopy made of pearls in imitation of the heavens, where the full-moon shines radiantly in the midst of clusters of stars, — (S. 6) The two white *chauris*, with which he was fanned from both sides of the parasol, resembling the waves of the southern milky ocean, serving him. — (S. 7) He who bore on his shoulders the whole of this fair world, and planted **the tiger-banner** on the golden mountain, appeared like a powerful lion, seated on the *siṁhâsana* (the throne, the 'lion-seat'). — (S. 9) His fortunate queens sat near him, like the goddesses of victory and wealth, who had never left his arms which have the wealth of all this world. — (S. 10) And around, there were many women of forms divine, who excelled in all kinds of stage-play, in dance, and in song. — (S. 11) Bards and minstrels sang, praising him as the bestower of gold on all who took refuge at his feet. — (S. 12) Those skilled in the violin, lute, or reed, begged to be allowed to display their art in a hundred different styles. — (S. 13) He found fault at once with the performances of some, and presented trumpets and elephants to those who sang without fault in tune and time.— (S. 14) Kings who came on elephants, got down, and fell at his feet, and presented umbrellas and *chauris*, and served him with their own hands, in turns. — (S. 16) His ministers, such as the **Toṇḍaimân,** at whose gate *maṇḍalikas* and kings wait, were also round him. — (S. 17) Then the palace-officer, whose duty it was to present petitioners, having bowed before him, announced that **the vassal kings** were waiting outside to pay their tributes, and they crowded into the hall; — (S. 18) The Pâṇḍyas, Chêrâs, Kûpakas, Châpakas, Chêdipas, Yâdavas, Karṇâṭas, Pallavas, Kaitavas, Kâdavas, Kâripas, and Kôsalas; — (S. 19) The Gaṅgas, Karâlas, Kavintas, Tumintas, Kadambas, Tulumbas, Vaṅgas, Lâṭas, Marâdas, Virâṭas, Mayintas, and Chayintas; — (S. 20) The Siṅgalas, Baṅgalas, Chêkunas, Chêvaṇas, Cheyyavas, Aiyaṇas, Koṅkaṇas, Koṅgas, Kuluṅkas, Chauntiyas, Kuchcharas, and Kachchiyas; — (S. 21) The Mattavas, Mattiras, Mâlavas, Mâgadhas, Matsyas, Mlêchchas, Guptas, the people of the East and the North, Turukkas, Kurukkas, and Viyattas. — (S. 22) With joined hands laid at his feet, they said "You have granted to us towns and countries, and we have brought you the tribute that you have ordered us to pay: — (S. 23) "These are necklaces; these, golden ornaments; these, elephants; these, camels; these, knots and boxes; these, pearls, still wet (*fresh from the oyster*); these, necklaces of the nine kinds of gems; these are priceless brooches:— (S. 24) "Those and these are heaps of precious stones,

and these are heaps of gold; these are fish-shaped earrings, set with gems, which sparkle now bright and now dark; those and these are female elephants of faultless shape; these are male elephants; these are tall banners; and these are the forehead-pieces of those who have lost their birthright: — (S. 25) "Worthy to be ridden, are these one hundred elephants; if, to match them, another king can produce a single elephant, we shall wager our kingdoms;" thus each king spoke highly of his gifts, to please the emperor, and to secure his happiness. — (S. 26) The kings having all bowed at his feet, he was pleased to enquire whether there were any who had failed to pay tribute. — (S. 27) "**The Kadakar** have brought their tribute and bowed at your feet; but with them, **the Chief of north Kaliṅga** has twice failed to come," — so they said. — (S. 28) The kings trembled with fear as to what might happen; and his bright coral lips assumed a smile, — we cannot say why, — while his face seemed to frown slightly. — (S. 29) "Though he be a weak prince, my troops should march quickly, with the elephants at whose rut the bees swarm, and storm his hill-forts, and bring him hither:" — (S. 30) When the emperor issued these commands, **the king of Vaṇḍai-nagara**, who was born in the royal family according to the Vêdas, bowed at his feet, and prayed that he might be allowed to invade **the seven Kaliṅgas**. — (S. 31) When the valiant **Toṇḍaiman** eagerly asked for permission to trample the foes in that direction, he who had raised **the tiger-(banner)**, granted the prayer; and thereupon, — (S. 32) The troops gathered like a deluge; and people wondered, whether such a large force was to churn the ocean, or to level the mountains, or to break the neck of the serpent of the flaming-head, under the sea. — (S. 33) The conch-shells sounded, the big drums thundered, and the reeds and pipes squeaked till the ears of the elephants, which guard the eight points, were deafened. — (S. 34) Rows of umbrellas and banners were unfurled, crowded so that the daylight was hidden and darkness ensued. — (S. 35) But, in the fierce light of the blazing sun, the golden ornaments of the soldiers flashed, and the polished arms dazzled and shed a bright light. — (S. 36) "Had all the mountains of this world turned into elephants? Had all the winds become horses? Had all the clouds become chariots? And had the roaring oceans become warriors?: — (S. 37) "Had the earth become small, that the army appears so large; or was the army so vast that the earth seemed to have shrunk in space?" — (S. 42) There gathered warriors who had many a scar on their limbs, as lasting marks (*of their valour*), and held them as trophies and their sole wealth; who would not go back one step (*in fight*), even if they could get the whole of this world and that of the gods thereby; who held their body as a burden, and sought to purchase glory by selling their life. — (S. 52) The troops ordered by **the Abhaya**, who wears on his round shoulders garlands of cool flowers, having come, **the Chôḷa general Karuṇâkara** mounted an elephant. — (S. 53) The king, who **raised the banner of the bull** which had been borne by the kings of **Toṇḍai**, — **he, the king of Vaṇḍai**, — **he, the king of the Pallavas**, — mounted on the big elephant. — (S. 54) **The king of the Pallavas, of Vaṇḍainagara**, renowned for marching quickly, and waylaying and defeating his foes, mounted an elephant, which was adorned with a plate on the forehead and had a rocking gait, and went forth like a tiger in search of prey. — (S. 51) The oceanlike army marched, raising clouds of dust, starting with the dawn, and resting with the setting sun, and pursued its journey, without stopping a single day. — (S. 55) It crossed **the Palar**, the **Kusaitalai**, and **the old river Ponmukari**, and **the swift Kolli**, and went beyond **the river Peṇṇai**. — (S. 56) It crossed **the Vayalâr, Maṇipulvâi, Maṇṇâru**, and the shining **Kunṛi**, and left behind **the great river Kṛishṇa**. — (S. 57) **The Gôdâvari, the Pampâ river**, and **the Gôtamai**, and their fords of sounding waters, were left behind. — (S. 58) When the army entered, like a vast ocean, even the gods trembled, and whole villages were set on fire, sacked, and ruined. — (S. 59) "The troops have come like an ocean, with the Gaṅgâ on one side; where is refuge, where is defence?; who is king here any more? — (S. 60) "The walls are falling, houses are blazing, and the smoke is rising; all that is fair is being wrecked, and we are ruined," — so they fled crying, "Help, help (*lit.* 'troops, troops')." — (S. 61) "Our king had failed to send the tribute which he ought to pay to the sovereign of this world, and heeded not his commands;

and here is the army sent by the latter." — (S. 62) With stammering speech and trembling bodies, one striving to run before the other, and with the clothes slipping from their waists, they fell at the feet of the lord of men. — (S. 63) **The king of north Kaliṅga,** who had never before known disaster, breathing forth fury, with the wrath of a warrior, clapped his hands, and looked at them. — (S. 64) Then he laughed, shaking his broad shoulders, and said — "Am I to submit, not only to **the Abhaya,** the flowers on whose umbrella yield honey to the bees that swarm on the elephants which guard the eight points, but to his armies also? — (S. 65) "That army seems to come, without ever thinking that this **Kaliṅga country** is defended by jungles, by hills and by the sea, which bound it on all sides." — (S. 66) When the king spake thus, one of his ministers spoke out as follows: — "Listen, I shall tell thee something of him **(Abhaya)**: — (S. 67) "Though kings be enraged, their servants will not fail to tell them the truth: — (S. 68) "Is not his army sufficient to throw down other kings, and must **Jayatara** himself come?:— (S. 69) "Hast thou not heard how **the five (Pāṇḍya kings)** suffered by the armies which he **(the Chōḷa)** sent against them?: — (S. 70) "Has it not reached thine ears, how boastful kings turned their backs (*and fled*), when the army (of the **Chōḷa**) marched to fight them?: — (S. 71) "Is it not the army that crossed the sea, and destroyed **Viḷiñam,** and seized **Sālai**?: — (S. 74) "Were not a thousand elephants captured at **Navilai,** which was guarded by the **Gaṇḍanāyakas**?: — (S. 75) "How many kings have rued, and lost their realms by that army, I cannot count: — (S. 76) "His general is now come with the army; reckon well what is the strength of thy shoulders: — (S. 77) "Thou mayest be furious today, but tomorrow, when thou standest before the army, thou wilt think of my words." — (S. 80) (*Said the king*) — "Like a stranger, who does not know anything of the strength of my shoulders and of my sword, thou hast spoken out of thy ignorance; is this a kingdom to be conquered easily?: — (S. 81) "Quick let our soldiers march with elephants, chariots and horses, and commence the fight with the army sent by **the Chōḷa Kulōttuṅga**: — (S. 82) "Get ready the war-elephants; get ready **the battle-horses**; get ready countless chariots; come in, ye men of arms, come to the battlefield; we have a foe to fight." — (S. 83) These orders resounded through **the seven Kaliṅgas,** and a tumultuous noise arose, as if the seven oceans had mingled their roar, to the astonishment of all.

The battle between the Kaliṅga king and Karuṇākara is described in **Canto 12.** I shall translate only a few of the stanzas:—

(S. 1) "Up! Up! Up! with your arms," was the cry that rose everywhere; and the clamour swelled like that of the sea; "On! On! On! with the troops of horses and elephants, on!, " — these words echoed on all sides. — (S. 3) The two armies met, like raging seas rushing on seas; and like curling waves breaking on waves, the horsemen charged on horsemen. — (S. 4) Like mighty rocks meeting rocks, huge elephants appeared against elephants, and like clouds, contending with clouds, chariots confronted chariots. — (S. 5) Like fierce tigers fighting with tigers, the warriors fought with warriors; like lions pressing on lions, princes pressed on princes. — (S. 6) The eyes of the warriors emitted fire; the arms flashed like lightning; the twang of the bows burst like thunder; and the arrows poured in showers. — (S. 7) Streams of blood flowed on the field, and the (*white*) umbrellas floated on it like froth; and piles of slain elephants lay on both sides, like high banks formed for a river (*of gore*). — (S. 22) To prevent the enemies' missiles from falling on them, **the Kaliṅgas** entrenched themselves behind fortifications, which seemed like fences raised by machinery. — (S. 31) The elephants which fell screaming on that sea of bright blood, resembled dark clouds descending on the sea to lap up water. — (S. 32) The strong men who cut off the trunks of the elephants and carried them on their shoulders, resembled water-carriers, pouring water from the leather bags on their shoulders. — (S. 33) When the archers bent their bows and shot straight on the foe, they pulled out the shafts which had struck in their chests, and shot them back on the foe from their long bows. — (S. 35) Soldiers who had lost both their legs, whirled and threw one of the legs on the elephants advancing on them, and kept the other to throw on the next foe. — (S. 36)

Many a soldier thrust his dagger into his foe, and both plunged their weapons in each other's body till the pair were tied together like one; and both armies shouted at this display of valour. — (S. 40) In the first *poḷutu* (forenoon) **the king of Vaṇḍai,** the minister of the king of kings, the famous **Karuṇâkara,** urged his elephant and pressed on the foe. — (S. 41) While both sides were fighting fiercely, **the Chôḷa army** pressed forward, bearing down **the whole line of the seven Kaliṅgas,** and eager to gain victory. — (S. 42) Forward the whole army advanced, and the gods rushed to see the fight; broken were the rows of elephants, cut to pieces; broken were the lines of chariots and steeds. — (S. 45) Unable to face the advancing foe, and losing his courage, **the king of the seven Kaliṅgas,** who had boastfully brought a thousand caparisoned elephants to the fight, retreated. — (S. 46) Crouching in thickets known to them (*only*), or hiding in lonely caves, or fleeing into the jungle, they disappeared. — (S. 52) Who can count the horses and elephants, which fell into the hands of the conquering heroes, when **the Kaliṅgas** thus fled? — (S. 53) Many were the elephants which lay beset by bees and eagles, with blood issuing from wounds, and with flowing rut. — (S. 55) Many were the elephants which were seized, with the princes that rode on them, as if tigers were caught and bound with the rocks on which they were found. — (S. 56) It was hard, even to the victors, to count how many fleet steeds, chariots, camels, wealth of the nine kinds, and noble ladies, fell into their hands. — (S. 57) Having secured these, **the prime minister of Abhaya** commanded a search for **the king of the Kaliṅgas;** being anxious to return with him as a prisoner. — (S. 58) No sooner was the order given, than an army of scouts marched out with speed, and scoured the hills and searched the jungles. — (S. 59) "No trace of him have we got, but we suspect he is concealed in the summit of a hill; bring our soldiers thither: — (S. 60) "Wherever are the hills or seas or jungles, where **the Kaliṅgas** may retreat, — those hills and those seas will we surround;" — so the army marched, till the sun reached the western hills. — (S. 61) Till daybreak did they guard the hill, fencing it round with spears and bows, like those who watch a wild boar in a fold, when **the Abhaya** comes to the chase with his elephants which have never known defeat. — (S. 62) Rivers of blood ran down the hill, when they began the work of slaughter; and the hill turned red, so that, when the sun arose, he could not distinguish it from (the mountain) Udayagiri. — (S. 63) Many were **the Kaliṅga hill-men,** who covered their bodies with dirt, and plucked the hairs off their heads, and, loosening the clothes from their waists, saved their lives, saying that they were Jains. — (S. 64) Many doubled the bow-strings, and wore them as the three-fold thread on their breast, and said that they were pilgrims who had come to bathe in the Gaṅgâ, and by their fate had been caught on the hill; and so escaped from the pen with their lives. — (S. 65) Many went out, having clothed themselves in the red cloth of the banners, and cropping their hair, and saying, "Can you not recognise Sâkyas (Buddhists) by their dress?" — (S. 66) Many of **the Kaliṅgas,** holding the bells which had been tied to elephants, bowed, and said that they were strolling bards of the Telugu country, and that, having seen the flying army, they had remained rooted to the spot, unable to stir through fear. — (S. 67) None but these escaped; and of **the people of the seven Kaliṅgas,** none remained but the men painted on the walls of their houses; so completely were the rest chased and slaughtered. — (S. 68) Having raided through **the sea-girt Kaliṅga,** and having planted a pillar of victory, **Toṇḍaimân, the king of Vaṇḍai,** seizing huge elephants and heaps of wealth, laid them with pleasure at the feet of **the Abhaya** who owns the sacred shining sabre.

Canto 13 concludes the poem, with a description of the battle-field after the engagement, and an imaginary account of how the evil spirits feasted on the corpses and held high revel. Having fed full, in great glee they sing the praises of **the Chôḷa emperor** and his general, as follows:—

(S. 60) Sing of the fair feet, at which cluster the jewelled crowns of the bowing Chêra, the diadem of the Vaḷuti (Pâṇḍya), and swarms of bees! Sing of the sacred feet of the sovereign! — (S. 61) Sing of the elephants, which come like an ocean, brought in tribute by the lords of the northern countries to Abhaya, who wields the shining long sword! Sing of the odour of

their rut, which flows like the sea! — (S. 62) Sing how his enemies bowed at the ankle-rings of the son of **Paṇḍita-Chôḷa**, whose umbrella covers even the seas! Sing of the might of his bow! — (S. 63) Sing of the victorious umbrella, under which the lady Earth ever smiles in happiness! Sing of **Kulôttuṅga-Chôḷa**! — (S. 64) Sing of **the rich town of Vaṇḍai**! Sing of **Mayilai and Mallai**! Sing of the old towns, and of **the old river Yamunai**! — (S. 65) Sing of the hero who, seizing whole troops of elephants in **Kaliṅga**, crowned our protector with the wreath of victory! Sing of **the prince of Toṇḍai**! — (S. 67) The crown, worn on the head of our sovereign, the supreme **Abhaya**, is but one; the crowns, which crowd round his feet, number a hundred thousand! — (S. 68) The steep hills over which vassal kings have made paths to bring their tribute to one crown, are a hundred thousand! — (S. 69) At the gate of the ministers of **Abhaya** who wears garlands on his shoulders, the offerings of the kings of this earth are a hundred thousand! — (S. 119) They blessed **the lord of the port of Ponni** (the Kâvêrî river); they blessed **the master of Porunai** (the Tâmbraparṇi river); they blessed **the consort of Kanni** (Cape Comorin); they blessed the spouse of the Gaṅgâ. — (S. 122) They blessed **Karikâla-Chôḷa**, who, as his duty, protected, and formed a second time, the world, which had been first created by the god of the lotus-flower.

Interesting as is **the information that is contained in the poem**, it is disappointing to find that the author is led away more by considerations of rhetorical embellishments and conventional descriptions, than by a desire to chronicle full particulars of the historical event he has sought to perpetuate in the poem. For instance, he does not mention the name of the king of the seven Kaliṅgas, or of his capital, or the place where the final battle was fought and from which the Kaliṅga king was forced to fly. Nor does he give the pedigree of the Pallava king. The fate of the Pallavas after they were conquered by the Chôḷas, was hitherto a matter for conjecture; but from this poem it appears that they were content to remain feudatories to the powerful Chôḷas, and held high rank in their court next only to the emperor.

The real hero of this poem is **Karuṇâkara-Pallava**. He is described as a descendant of the ancient family of **the Pallavas**, who, we know, had once been independent sovereigns at Kâñchi. His flag bore **the device of the bull**, which was the banner of the Pallavas; and his capital was **Vaṇḍainagara**. He had **the title of Toṇḍaimân**; and was **prime minister of the Chôḷa**. **Mayilai and Mallai** were important towns under his sway. His territory must have comprised very nearly the whole of the country now known as the districts of Chingleput and South Arcot, in the Madras Presidency.

As the Pallava was at this time a feudatory of the Chôḷa emperor, the poet naturally gives more prominence to the latter, and describes at length his genealogy. The names of **the Chôḷa emperor** are given as **Kulôttuṅga and Karikâla**. He was the grandson of Râjarâja or Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-Chôḷa, by his daughter who had married a prince of **the lunar race**. His grandmother, the wife of Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-Chôḷa, brought him up as destined to represent both the solar and the lunar dynasties; and he was installed as heir-apparent of the Chôḷa empire. While yet a youth, he distinguished himself by a raid into the northern countries, where he stormed **the fort of Chakrakôṭa** and frightened **Virutarâja**. Finding that there was anarchy in the Chôḷa dominions after the death of the "king of kings," he returned from the northern country, assumed the sovereignty, and restored peace. He reigned prosperously for several years, and once, while he was holding his court at **Kâñchi** and was receiving tribute from vassal kings and chiefs, he learnt that the king of North Kaliṅga or the Seven Kaliṅgas, had failed to bring tribute for two successive years. On hearing this, he issued orders that an army should start at once to seize the refractory king. His prime-minister, **Karuṇâkara**, then prayed that he might be honoured with the command of the army; and the emperor was graciously pleased to grant his request. A mighty army got ready, and Karuṇâkara led it to the banks of the Ganges, and there defeated the king of North Kaliṅga in a pitched battle, and, returning to the Chôḷa emperor, presented him with all the booty seized in the country and with the numberless elephants taken in battle. Such is the narrative of the poem.

The name of **the father of Kulôttuṅga** is not mentioned; but it is simply stated that he belonged to **the lunar race.** The royal families which claimed descent from the lunar race, and whose territories lay adjacent to the Chôḷa country, were only the Chalukyas and the Pâṇḍyas. Kulôttuṅga himself, — so says the poem, — defeated five Pâṇḍyan princes, and was engaged in battle on the banks of the Tuṅgabhadrâ (evidently against the Western Châlukyas of Kalyâṇa); but no mention is made of any hostile acts in the Veṅgî *maṇḍala*; and it should be inferred, therefore, that it formed a part of the Chôḷa empire during Kulôttuṅga's reign; especially because it appears that the kings of North Kaliṅga and Kaḍakam (Cuttack), whose territories lay to the north of Veṅgî, were also feudatory to the Chôḷa at this time. It appears therefore, most probable that Kulôttuṅga's father belonged to **the Eastern Chalukya family,** who reigned at Veṅgî. This supposition is confirmed by inscriptions found in the Telugu country, wherein it is stated that Kulôttuṅga I., the son of Râjarâja, first ascended the throne of Veṅgî, and was subsequently anointed to the Chôḷa kingdom,[2] and that his mother was the daughter of the Chôḷa king Râjêndra.[3]

No **date** is given in the poem. But I find from inscriptions in the Tamil country, executed during the reign of Kulôttuṅga, that, — whereas the expedition to Kaliṅga is not alluded to in the grants recorded up to the twentieth year of his reign, — in those made in the twenty-sixth year, the re-conquest of the Kaliṅga *maṇḍala* is mentioned. It follows, therefore, that the expedition must have taken place between the twentieth and twenty-sixth years of his reign. It has been ascertained from the inscriptions of the Eastern Chalukya dynasty, that Kulôttuṅga reigned from about A. D. 1064 to 1113, and that he was anointed to the Chôḷa kingdom not long after his accession to the sovereignty of Veṅgî. **The date of the expedition** should, therefore, be **between A. D. 1084 and 1090**; the twentieth and twenty-sixth years of his reign. And the poem should be taken as having been composed soon after the expedition and during his reign; for, the opening canto in which the poet invokes the gods for the long life and prosperity of Kulôttuṅga, clearly indicates that he was still alive and in power, when the poem was written. Consequently **the poem must have been written certainly not later than A. D. 1113,** in which year Kulôttuṅga was succeeded on the throne by his son.

It is interesting to note that this poem was composed almost about the same time as was the *Vikramâṅkadêvacharita*, which was written by Bilhaṇa in honor of his patron, the Western Châlukya king Vikramâditya VI. Dr. Bühler has shewn in his learned introduction to the printed edition of the *Charita*, that it must have been written about A. D. 1085. The events that took place in the Chôḷa country, as narrated in that poem, quite correspond with, and explain, what is stated in the *Kaliṅgattu-Parani*. Bilhaṇa states that, in his time, the Tuṅgabhadrâ was the boundary of the Chôḷa and Châlukya dominions. The Chôḷa capital was at Gâṅgakuṇḍa. Vikramâditya had married a daughter of the Chôḷa king, and some time after his marriage, he learnt that his father-in law had died, and that there was anarchy in the Chôḷa kingdom. He therefore hastened to Kâñchi, put down the rebels there, and thence proceeded to Gâṅgakuṇḍa, and having subdued all enemies, he installed his father-in-law's son on the throne and returned to the banks of the Tuṅgabhadrâ. Shortly after his return, his brother-in-law lost his life through the enmity of his subjects, and Rajîga, the lord of Veṅgî, took possession of the Chôḷa kingdom. The *Kaliṅgattu-Parani* states that there was anarchy in the Chôḷa dominions, previous to the accession of Kulôttuṅga, but does not allude to the intervention of Vikramâditya, or to the deposition of his brother-in-law. This omission is obviously owing to the desire of the poet to avoid mention of any circumstances, which might detract from the glory of the Chôḷa family.

The most important portion of the poem is Canto 8, which gives **the pedigree of the Chôḷas.** It agrees in many respects, with the accounts given in the inscriptions that have been

[2] See the grants of Râjarâja I. and Kulôttuṅga-Chôḷa II., published by Mr. Fleet in this Journal, Vol. XIV. pp. 48-55.

[3] See the Chellûr grant edited by Dr. Hultzsch (*South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. p. 49).

hitherto published. The usual mythological ancestors, commencing with Vishṇu, and some of the famous kings of **the Solar Race** who ruled in Northern India, are mentioned. Then **the first Chôḷa**, who formed the Chôḷa *maṇḍala*, is stated to be **Surâtirâja.** He is more frequently mentioned in ancient Tamil poems as Suraguru; and he is alluded to by the same name, in the large Leiden grant, but the words *tad-vaṁśé Suragurur asta-vairi-varggô Râjêndrô ravi-kula-kêtur* of the grant have not been correctly rendered into English in the translation, annexed to a copy of the grant published in the *Archæol. Surv. South. India*, Vol. IV. Then followed **the two Râjakêsaris.** Then certain kings who are described as follows: — He who dictated to Yama, the god of death, what he should do (the Mṛityujit of the Leiden grant); he who brought the Kâvêrî river (mentioned in Tamil poems as Kavêra); he who conquered Indra and placed him as **the tiger in his standard**; he who opened one ocean to flow into another; he who of his own will offered his blood to be drunk; he who conquered Varadarâja; he who stormed the aërial castles; he who rode in a self-moving chariot and ascended the sky; he who assisted the ocean-like army of Dharma in the Mahâbhârata war; he who married a Nâga princess (his name is given as Kiḷḷi-Vaḷavan in ancient Tamil poems); he who knocked off the fetters from the feet of the Chêra, on hearing the poem *Kaḷavaḷi* recited by Poikai (this is the Kôch-Cheṅkaṇṇân of the Leiden grant, see my translation of the poem Kaḷavaḷi, *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 258). Then came **Karikâla,** who constructed high banks along the course of the river Kâvêrî, and captured Kurumi, and in whose praise the Paddinappâlai was composed. Karikâla is here placed after Kôch-Cheṅkaṇṇân; but I find from other poems, that Karikâla was an earlier king. In the Leiden grant and in the grant of the Bâṇa king Hastimalla, Karikâla is correctly placed before Kôch-Cheṅkaṇṇân. The words *Kâvêrî-têra-bandhanam* in the Leiden grant, have been translated as "the dam across the Kâvêrî;" but I find that the Tamil poets have always described Karikâla as a king who constructed high banks along both sides of the bed of the Kâvêrî, and never as having built the dam or anicut, which appears to be the work of a much later king.

Subsequent to Karikâla, the leading events are mentioned, instead of the kings; *viz.* the victory over the Pâṇḍya and the Chêra; the conquest of Ceylon and Madura (this refers to the reign of Vîra-Nârâyaṇa-Chôḷa); the conquest of Uthakai; the invasion of the northern countries up to Maṇṇai, on the banks of the Ganges; the annexation of Kadâram; the planting of a pillar of victory at Kampili; the victory at Koppai; and the defeat of the Kuntalas at Kûdal-Saṅgam. This last event appears to have taken place during the reign of Vîra-Râjêndra *alias* Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-Chôḷa, the founder of Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-Chôḷapuram, and the grandfather of Kulôttuṅga. The poem passes over the kings who succeeded Gaṅgaikoṇḍa on the throne of the Chôḷas, before the accession of Kulôttuṅga, because they do not come in the line of the ancestors of the latter.

From the description of **the court of Kulôttuṅga at Kâñchi,** we find that **the empress Thiyâkavalli,** and the highest ladies of the land, appeared in public assemblies, and were not subject to the seclusion to which their sex is now doomed in Hindu society. We also find that tribute was paid in coins; as well as in kind, *i. e.* in costly jewels, gems, elephants and the like. From the account of the youth and education of Kulôttuṅga, we learn that the princes of that time were trained to arms at an early age, and loved manly sports and the pleasures of the chase. The religion of the Chôḷas was then Saivism, as will appear from stanza 68, canto 10.

Most of **the localities mentioned in the poem,** can be readily identified. The capital of the Chôḷa empire was **Gaṅgâpurî** (xiii. 92). The full name of this town is **Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-Chôḷapuram.** It has now dwindled into a small village; but a magnificent temple, — as large as the big temple of Tanjore and of the same style of architecture, — defended by a wall and ditch, and the ruins of a palace and other massive buildings, still attest its former splendour. It is situated in the north-east corner of the Trichinopoly District. The next place of importance was **Kâñchi,** now known as Conjeeveram. It is still a flourishing town, and is a station on the South-Indian Railway, in the Chingleput District. **Atikai,** another large town, which

the Chôḷa emperor visited on his way from Gaṅgâpurî to Kâñchi (VIII. 68), is now known as Tiruvatikai or Tiruvâdi, and is situated in the South Arcot District. **Kôddâru**, where the Chôḷa emperor defeated the Pâṇḍyan princes (III. 21), is still known as Kôtar, and is situated in the Travancore territory, near Cape Comorin. **Kadâram** (VI. 18; VIII. 25), a seaport and capital of a kingdom, is probably a town on the coast of Arakkan or Burma, which was taken by the Chôḷa army and annexed to his dominions. **Kûdal-Saṅgam**, where the Chôḷa defeated the Kuntala forces (VIII. 29), is at the junction of the rivers Tuṅgabhadrâ and Kṛishṇa. **Kampili**, where the Chôḷa planted a pillar of victory, is in the Bellary District. **Vaṇḍai**, the capital of the Pallava, now goes by the name of Vaṇḍalûr; it is a station on the South Indian Railway, in the Chingleput District; a very spacious tank, and the ruins of a native fort to the west of the village, indicate that it must have been a populous town in days gone by. **Mayilai** is the modern Mailâpur, a suburb of the town of Madras, where there is still an ancient temple of Śiva. **Mallai, or Mâmallaipuram** as given in inscriptions, is now erroneously called Mahâbalipuram, and is known to Europeans as "the Seven Pagodas," famous for its sculptured rocks and caves, and monoliths, situated on the sea-coast, about thirty miles south of Madras. **Vaḷavai** is most probably Valavanûr, near Pondicherry. **Chakrakôṭa**, where Kulôttuṅga won his first laurels in battle, I have not been able to identify. From Tamil inscriptions, I find that it was within the territory of the king of Dhârâ. It appears to have been a fortress of considerable importance, and it is mentioned also in the *Vikramâṅkadêvacharita* as one of the places attacked by Vikrama, during the reign of his father Âhavamalla (A. D. 1040-1069).

The power of the Chôḷas had reached its zenith during **the reign of Kulôttuṅga**. The whole of the country along the eastern coast, from the mouths of the Ganges to Cape Comorin, and in the interior up to the banks of the Tuṅgabhadrâ, owned his sovereignty. His territory was as extensive as that of Germany or France in Europe, and several kings and chieftains owed allegiance to him; and he assumed therefore the title of Tribhuvana-Chakravarti or "emperor of the three worlds," which his successors retained for at least two centuries later. Of the neighbouring ancient kingdoms, that of Pâṇḍya had been dismembered, and the five Pâṇḍyan princes, who had shared the kingdom, had to flee before the Chôḷa forces. The Chêra king maintained his authority only within the limits of the mountains which separated his kingdom from the rest of the country. North of the Tuṅgabhadrâ, the Western Châlukya Vikramâditya VI. was undisputed sovereign of the Dekkan.

The *Kaliṅgattu-Parani* furnishes also some information towards the history of **Tamil literature**. It alludes to the *Paddinappâlai*, composed in praise of Karikâla; and to the *Kaḷavaḻi* written by Poikai, describing the battlefield in which the Chôḷa king Kôch-Cheṅkaṇṇân defeated the Chêra Kaṇaikkâ-Irumporai (edited in this Journal, Vol. XVIII. p. 258 ff.)

SELECTIONS FROM THE TEXT.

Canto 8.

(9) **Âtimâl kamala nâpi kamalattayanutit**
tayan marîchi yenumaṇṇalai aḷitta-
parichum
kâtal kûrtaru **marîchi** makanâki valarum
kâchipan katir **arukkanai** aḷitta pari-
chum.

(10) **Avvarukkan** makanâki **manu** mêtini
puran
tariya kâtalanai âvinatu kaṇru nikarêṇru
evvarukkamum viyappa muṟai cheyta-
kataiyum
ikkuvâku ivan maintan enavanta pari-
chum.

(11) **Ikkuvâku** utavum putalvanâna uravôn
ikaluraṉ cheyapuraṉcheytu purantaran
enum
chakkuvâyiramudaikkaliṟu vâkanamena
tâniruntu poru tânavarai veṉṟachaya-
mum.

(12) Oru tuṟaippunal chinappuliyumânumu-
danê
uṇṇavaitta vuravôn ulakil vaittavaru-
ḷum
poruttuṟaittalai pukunta **muchukunta-**
nimaiyôr
puramadaṅkalum orâṇmai cheytuyarnta
pukaḻum.

(13) Kadal kalakka varum innamutu tannai oruvan
kadavuḷ vânavarkaḷ uṇṇa aruḷ cheyta katayum
udal kalakkaṟa arintu tachai iddavanumôr oru tulaippuṟavodokka niṟai pukka avanum.

(14) **Churâtirâchan** mutalâka varu **chôḻanu** munâd
chôḻamandalam amaitta piṟakêḻulakaiyum
irâchakêcharikaḷâm iruvar âṇai enavum êṟuvempuliyin âṇai ena ninṟa aruḷum

(15) Kâlanukkitu vaḷakkêna vuraitta avanum *kâṟiṟippunal koṇarnta avanum puvaniyil mêlanaittulakum ivvakila lôkamumelâm* veṉṟukoṇdavanum enṟivarkaḷ koṇda viṟaḷum

(16) Puliyenakkodiyil intiranai vaitta avanum puṇari onṟinidai onṟu puka vidda avanum vaḷiyinil kuruti uṇkena aḷitta avanum varata râchanai valintu paṇi koṇda avanum

(17) Têṅku tûṅkeyil eṟinta avanum chudar maṇit
tiraḷ vimânam atu vân michai uyarta avanum
tâṅkaḷ pârata mudippaḷavu ninṟu tarumaṉ tan kadaṟpadai tanakkutavi cheyta avanum.

(18) Taḷavaḷikkukaiyinil poḷipilattin vaḷiyê
tani nadanturakar taṅkaḷ maṇi koṇda avanum
kaḷavaḷikkavitai poikai urai cheyya **utiyan**
kâlvaḷittaḷayai veddi arachidda avanum.

(19) Enṟu maṟṟavarkaḷ taṅkaḷ charitaṅkaḷ palavum
eḻuti mîḻa itan mêl **vaḻuti chêran** mudiyil tan tanikkaḷiṟaṇaittaruḷa vîra makaḷ tan tanatadaṅkaḷodu tan puyamaṇainta parichum.

(20) Toḻutu mannarê karai chey ponniyil tudara vantilâ **mukariyai** padat teḻutukenṟu kaṇditu mikaikkaṇen ṟiṅkaḷikkavê aṅkaḷintatum.

(21) Tattu nîr varâl **kurumi** veṉṟatum taḻuvu chentamiḻ parichil vâṇar pon pattodâṟu nûṟâyiram peṟa paṇdu paddinappâlai kondatum.

(22) Oruvar munnor nâḷ tantu pin chelâ **utiyar** mannarê **maturai** mannaren ṟiruvar tammaiyum kiḷikaḷ chuṟṟuvit eriviḷakkuvait ikal viḷaittatum

(23) Vêḻam onṟukaittâvin viṇṇinvây michai adaṅkavum achaiyaveṉṟatum **iḻamum** tamiḻ **kûdalum** chitait ikal kadantatôr ichai parantatum.

(24) Chataya nâḷ viḻa **utiyar** mandalam tannil vaittavan tanior mâvinmêl utaya pânu *ottutakai* veṉṟakôn orukai vâraṇam pala kavarntatum.

(25) **Kaḷiṟu** kaṅkai nîruṇṇa **maṇṇaiyil** *kalavi maṇṇodum kalavu chemponak kuḷiṟu teṇdirai* kurai **kadâramum** koṇdu maṇdalaṅkudaiyuḷ vaittatum.

(26) **Kampili** *chayattamba* naddatum kadiaraṇ koḷ **kalyâṇar** kaddaṟa kimpurippaṇai kiri ukaittavan kirikaḷ eddinum puli poṟittatum.

(27) Oru **kaḷiṟṟinmêl** varu **kaḷiṟṟaiot** tulakuyakkoḷa porutu **koppaiyil** porukaḷiṟṟin mêl mudi kavittavan puvikavippatôr kudai kavittatum.

(28) Panuvalukku mutalâya vêtanânkin paṇdudaiya neṟi putukki paḷayar taṅkaṇ manuvinukku mummadi nân madiyâñ **chôḻan**
vaḷaṅkudaikkîḻ aṟaṅkalikka vaḷarntavâṟum.

(29) **Kuntaḷarai kûdal chaṅkamattu** veṉṟa kôn apayan kuvalayaṅ kâttaḷitta pinnai inta nilakkulappâvai ivan pâṟchêra enna tavañcheytiruntâl enna tôṉṟum.

(30) Evvaḷavu tiripuvanam uḷavâyttôṉṟum evvaḷavu kula maṟaikaḷ uḷavâyniṟkum avvaḷavu tikirivarai alavuñcheṅkôl âṇai chella **apayan** kâttaḷikkumâṟum.

Canto 10.

(1) Anṟilaṅkai porutaḻitta avanê ap pâratappôr muditтuppinnai veṉṟilaṅku katirâḻi vichaiyataran enavutittân viḻambakkêṉmin.

(2) Têvarelâṅkuṟai irappa têvaṟki tan tiruvayiṟṟil vachu têvaṟku mûvulakuntoḷa nedu mâl munnoru nâḷ avatârañcheyta pinnê

(3) Iruḷ muḷutu makarrum vitu kulattôntêvi
ikalviḷaṅku tapanakulat **irâcharâchan**
aruḷ tiruvin tiruvayiṛṛil vantu tôṇṛi
âlilaiyil avatarittân avanê miḷa.

(4) Vantaruḷi avatârañchey talumê
maṇṇulakum maṛaikaḷ nânkum
mantara nîṅkiṉa enna
antara tuntumi muḷaṅki eḷuntatâṅkê.

(5) Alar maḷai pôn maḷai poḷiya
atu kaṇdu **kaṅkaikoṇda chôḷan** têvi
kula makadan kula makanai
kôkanaka malarkkaiyâl eduttukkondê.

(6) Avanivarkku puttiranâm adaiyâlam
avayavattin adaiya nôkki
ivanemakku makanâki
iravikulam pârikkattakuvanenṛê.

(18) Ichaiyudan edutta kodi **apayan avanukki-**
niya
iḷavarachil vaitta piṛakê
tichaiyaracharukkuriya tiruvinai **mukap-**
patoru
tiruvuḷam aduttaruḷiyê.

(20) Kudatichai pukak kadavu **kurakata vita-**
tiravi
kuṛukalum eṛikkum iruḷpôl
vadatichai mukattarachar **varukatamu-**
kattanatu
kurakata mukattaruḷiyê.

(23) Manukkôddam aḷitta pirân
vaḷavar pirân tiruppuruvat
tanukkôddam naman kôddam
paddatu **chakkarakkôddam.**

(26) Mâvukait orutani **apayan** ippadi
vadatichai mêṛchela mannar mannavan
têvanukkarachanây vichumbin mêṛchela
tenṛichaikkup pukuntamai cheppuvâm.

(27) Maṛaiyavar velvi kuṇṛi
manu neṛi anaittumâṛi
tuṛaikaḷôrâṛumâṛi
churutiyumuḷakkam ôyntê.

(28) Châtikaloṇṛôdoṇṛu
talaitada mâṛi yârum
ôtiya neṛiyinillâ
oḷukkamum maṛantu pôyê.

(29) Oruvarai oruvar kaimik
umbar taṅkôyil chômpi
arivaiyar karpiṛ chômpi
araṇkaḷum aḷiya âṅkê.

(30) Kaliyiruḷ paranta kâlai
kaliyiruḷ karakkat tôṇṛum
olikadal arukkan enna
ulakuyya vantu tôṇṛi.

(31) Kâppelâm udaiya tânê
padaippatuṅkadanâkkoṇdu
kôppelâṅ kulaintôr tammai
kuṛiyilê niṛuttivaittê.

(32) Viri punal vêlai nânkum
vêtaṅkaṇânkum ârppa
tiripuvanaṅkaḷ vâḷta
tiru apidêkañ cheytê.

(34) Nirai maṇi pala kuyiṛṛiya
nedu mudi michai vitippadi
chori punal idai muḷaittana
tuṛaikaḷin aṛam anaittumê.

(35) Potu aṛa ulaku kaikkodu
puli vaḷar kodi eduttalum
atu mutal kodi eduttana
amararkaḷ muḷavedukkavê.

(36) Kuvikaikodarachar churṛiya
kurai kaḷal **apayan** muttaṇi
kavikaiyin nilaveṛittatu
kali enum iruḷ oḷittatê.

Canto 11.

(4) Ampon mêru atu kol itu kol enṛu
âyiram katir veyyavan aiyuṛum
chempon mâḷikai ten kuda tikkinil
cheyta chittira maṇdapam tanṛilê.

(5) Moittilaṅkiya târakai vâninam
mukaddeḷunta muḷu mati pattiyin
neyttilaṅkiya nittila pantarin
ninṛu veṇkudai onṛu niḷaṛṛavê.

(6) Mêl kavitta matikkudaiyin pudai
vichukinṛa veṇchâmarai ten tichai
pâl kadal tirai ôriraṇdu iṅkiru
palum vantu paṇi cheyva pônṛumê.

(7) Aṅkaṇ ñâlam anaittum puyattilvaittu
adakak kiriyil puli vaittavan
chiṅkavâchanattu êṛi iruppatôr
chiṅka êṛena chevvi chiṛakkavê.

(16) Maṇdalîkarum mânila vêntarum
vantuṇaṅku kadai talai vaṇdai man
toṇdai mân mutan mantirapparâkar
chûḻntu tan kaḷal chûdi irukkavê.

(17) Muṛaiyidat tarum mantira vêlai âḷ
mun vaṇaṅki muḷuvatum vêntar tam
tiṛai ida puṛam ninṛanar enṛalum
cheykai nôkki vanteyti nerukkavê.

(18) Tennavar villavar kûpakar châpakar
chêtipar yâtavarê
kannadar pallavar kaitavar kâdavar
kâripar kôsalarê.

(19) Kankar karâḷar kavintar tumintar
kadambar tuḷumbar kalê
vankar ilâdar marâdar virâdar
mayintar chayintar kalê.

(20) Chiṅkaḷar vaṅkaḷar chêkuṇar chêvaṇar
cheyyavar aiyaṇarê
koṅkaṇar koṅkar kuluṅkar chountiyar
kuchchavar kachchiyarê.

(21) Mattavar mattiṟar mâḷuvar mâgadar
machchar milachchar kalê
kuttar kuṇattar vadakkar turukkar
kurukkar viyattar kalê.

(22) Ennakaraṅkaḷum nâdum emak
karuḷ cheytanai emmaiyida
chonna tanaṅkaḷ koṇarntanam
euṟadi chûdu karaṅkalodê.

(26) Arachar añchalenṟadi iraṇdum avar
mudiyin vaittaruḷi arachar maṟ-
ṟurai cheyum tiraikaḷ oḻiya ninṟavarum
uḷar kol enṟu aruḷu poḻutilê.

(27) **Kadakar** tam tiṟai kodadaiya vantarachar
kaḷal vaṇaṅkinarkaḷ ivarudan
vada **kaliṅgar** pati avan iraṇduvichai
varukilan tiṟai kodenalumê.

(28) Uṟuvaten kol ena nilai kulaintarachar-
uyir naduṅka oḻir pavaḷa vây
muṟuval koṇda poruḷ aṟikilam chiṟitu
munivu koṇda nilai vatanamê.

(29) Eḻiyan enṟidinum valiya kunṟaraṇam
idiya nam padaiñar kaditu chenṟu
aḷi alampu mata malaikaḷ koṇdaṇaimin
avanaiyum koṇarmin enalumê.

(30) Iṟai moḻintaḷavil **eḻu kaliṅkamavai**
eṟivan enṟu kaḷal toḻutanan
maṟai moḻinta padi marapin vanta kula
tilatan **vaṇdai nakar** arachanê.

(31) Adaiya attichai pakai tukaippan enṟu
âchai koṇd adal **toṇdaimân**
vidai enakkena puli uyarttavan
vidai kodukka appoḻutilê.

(32) Kadal kalakkavô malai idikkavô
kadalidai poṟi paṇa paṇi
pidar odikkavô padai ninaippena
piraḷaiyattinil tiraḷavê.

(52) Tannârin malar tiral tôḷ **apayan**
tân eviya chênai tanak adaiya
kaṇṇâkiya chôḻan chakkaramâm
karuṇakaran vâranam mêl koḷavê.

(53) **Toṇdaiyarkkarachin mun** varum churavi
tuṅka vêḷ kodi uyarttakôn
vaṇdaiyarkkarachu pallavarkkarachu
mâl kaḻiṟṟin michai koḷḷavê.

(54) Maṟittôdi evvarachum chariya venru
varum aṇukkai pallavar kôn **vaḷavai**
vêntan
neṟittôdai ilaṅku nadai kaḻiṟṟin meṟkoṇd
irai vêdda perumpuli pôlikan mêṟchella.

(55) **Pâlâṟu kusaittalai pon mukari**
pâḷavâṟu kadanteṟi **kolliyenum**
nâḷâṟum akanṟoru **peṇṇaiyenum**
nati aṟu kadantu nadantudanê.

(56) **Vayalâṟu** kadantu **manippulvâi**
mannâṟu vayank elu **kunṟiyenum**
peyalâṟu varantu niṟainturuvap
pêrâṟum iḻintatu piṟpadavê.

(57) **Kôtaviri** nati mêlâṟodu kuḷir
pampâ nati odu chantappêr
ôtâ varu nati odu **kotamaiyudan**
oli nîr mali tuṟai piṟakâka.

(58) Kadayil pudai oru kadal ottamarar
kalaṅkum parichu kalaṅkappuk
adaiyap padar eri koḷuvippati kalai
aḻiyach chûṟai koḷ poḻutattê.

(59) Kankâ nati oru puṟam âkappadai
kadal pôl vantatu kadal vantâl
enkê pukal idam enkê ini araṇ
ârê ati pati iṅkenṟê-

(60) Idikinṟana matil eṟikinṟana pati
eḻukinṟana pukai eḻil ellâm
madikinṟana kudi kedukinṟaṇam ena
alaikinrana padai padai enṟê.

(61) Ulakuk oru mutal apayaṟkidutiṟai
urai tappiyatemataracheê em
pala kaṟpanai tanai ninai vurrilai vidu
padai maṟṟavan vidu padai enṟê.

(62) Uraiyiṟ kuḷaṟiyum udaliṟ pataṟiyum
oruvarkkoruvar mun muṟai yiddê
araiyiṟṟukil viḻa adayachchanapati
adiyiṟ puka viḻu poḻutattê.

(63) **Antaramonṟariyâta vada kaliṅgar**
kulavêntan atipan vîram
ventaṟu kaṇ vekuḷiyinâl veituyirttu
kai pudaittu viyarttu nôkki.

(64) Vaṇḍinukkum tichai yânai madam kodukkum
malarkkavikai **apayaṛkanṛi**
taṇḍinukkum eliyanô ena vekuṇḍu
tadam puyaṅkaḷ kuluṅka nakkân.

(65) Kân araṇum malai araṇum kadalaraṇum
chûḻ kidanta **kaliṅgar** pûmi
tânaraṇam udaittenṛu karutâtu
varuvatum attaṇḍu pôlum.

(66) Enṛu kûṛalum yânavan kâriyam
onṛu kûṛavan kêḷ enru uṇarttuvân.

(67) Arachar chîruvarênum adiyavar
uraicheyâtu oḻiyârkaḷ uṛutiyê.

(68) Ênai vêntai eṛiya chayataran
tânai allatu tânavar vêṇḍumô.

(69) Vidda taṇḍinil **mînavar** aivarum
kedda kêddinai kêddilai pôlu nî.

(70) Pôriu mêl taṇdedukka puṛakidum
chôravârttai chevippaddatillaiyô.

(71) Vêlai koṇḍu **viḻiṅam** aḻittatum
châlai koṇḍatum taṇḍu koṇḍallavô.

(74) **Kanda nâyakar** kâkku **navilay**il
kondatu âyiram kuncharam allavô.

(75) Aḻantu tâmudai maṇḍalam taṇḍinâl
iḻanta vêntar inaiyar enṛu eṇṇukên.

(76) Kaṇḍu kâṇuu puyavali niyumat
taṇḍu koṇḍavan chakkaram vantatê.

(77) Inṛu chîṛinum nâḻai achchênaimun
niṇṛa pôḻtil ennai ninaittiyâl.

(80) Ennudaiya tôḷ valiyum enudaiya
vâḻvaliyum yâtum aṛiyatu piṛar pôl
ninnudaiya pêtaimaiyinâl uraicheytây
itu ninaippaḻavil vella aritô.

(81) Vêḻam iratam puravi vempadaiñar
enṛinaiya nampadaiñar chenṛu kaduka
chôḻa kulatuṅgan vida vantu vidu
taṇḍinetir chenṛamar tudaṅkukenavê.

(82) Paṇṇuka vayakkaḻiṛu paṇṇuka vayap-puravi
paṇṇuka kaṇippil pala têr
nannuka padai cherunar nannuka
cherukkalam namakkikal kidaitta tenavê.

(83) **Kaliṅgam** avai êḻinum eḻuntatoru
pêroli kaṛaṅku kadal êḻum udanê
malaṅki eḻum êḻichai enatticbai
tikaippuṛa varun toni eḻuntatenavê.

Canto 12.

(1) Edum edum edum ena eduttatôr
ikal oli kadal oli ikakkavê
vidu vidu vidu pari karikkuḻâm
vidum vidum enum oli mikaikkavê.

(3) Eṛi kadal odu kadal kidaittapôl
irupadaikaḻum etir kidaikkavê
maṛi tirai tirai odu malaitta pôl
varu pari odu pari malaikkavê.

(4) Kana varai odu varai muḻaittapôl
kada kari odu kari muḻaikkavê
ina mukil mukil odum etirttapôl
iratamum iratamum etirkkavê.

(5) Poru puli puli odu chilaittapôl
poru padar odu padar chilaikkavê
ariyin odu ariyinam adarppapôl
aracharum aracharum adarppavê.

(6) Viḻai kanal viḻikaḻin muḻaikkavê
minal oḻi kanal idai eṛikkavê
valai chilai urum ena idikkavê
vadi kanai odu maḻai padaikkavê.

(7) Kurutiyin nati veli parakkavê
kudai inam nurai ena mitakkavê
kari tuṇi padum udal adukkiyê
karai ena iru pudai kidaikkavê.

(22) Vidutta vîrar âyuthaṅkaḷ
mêl viḻâmal yantirattu
edutta vêli pôl **kaliṅgar**
vaddaṇaṅkal iddavê.

(40) Alakil cheru mutaṛpoḻutu **vaṇḍaiyar**
arachan aracharkaḷ nâyakan mantiri
ulaku pukaḻ **karuṇâkaran** tanatu
orukai iru paṇai vêḻam muntavê.

(41) Upaya pelamum vidâtu veñchamam
udalu poḻutinil vâkai munkoḻa
apayan vidu padai êḻ **kaliṅga**mum
adaiya oru mukam âki muntavê.

(42) Aṇikaḷ oru mukam âka muntina
amarar amar atu kâṇa muntinar
tuṇikaḷ pada mata mâ muṛintana
turaka nirai odu têr muṛintavê.

(45) Puraohai mata malai âyiraṅkodu
poruvam ena varum êḻ **kaliṅgar**tam
arachan urai cheyta âṇmaiyuṅkeda
amaril etir viḻiyatu otuṅkiyê.

(52) Appadi **kaliṅgar ôda**
adartteṛi chênai vîrar
kaippadu kaliṛum mavum
kanitturaippavarkaḷ yâvar.

(57) Ivai kavarutapin **eḷu kaliṅgartam**
iraiyaiyum kodu peyartumenṛu
avan iruntuḷi aṛika enṛanan
apayan mantiri mutalvanê.

(58) Uraikaḷ pirpadum alavil oṛṛarkaḷ
oli kadaṛ padai kaditu pôy
varai kalil pudai tadavi appadi
vanam ilai purai tadaviyê.

(59) Chuvadu peṛṛilam avanai maṛṛoru
kavadu perranam oru malai
kavadu paṛṛiyatu namatu adaṛpadai
koṇara apparichu enalum enavê.

(60) Ekkuvadum ekkadalum entakkâdum
inikkaliṅkarkku araṇâvtu inṛê nâñ-
chenṛu
akkuvadum akkadalum vaḷaintu veyyôn
attamanak kuvadu aṇaiyum alaviṛ
chenṛê.

(61) Tôlâta kaḷiṛṛapaiyan vêddaippanṛi
toḷuvadaittu toḷu vatanaikkâppâr pôla
vêlâlum villâlum vêli kôli
veṛpatanai vidi aḷavum kâttu niṛṛê.

(62) Chemmalai yâm oḷi padaittatyâtô venṛu
Cheṅkatirôn utayaũcheytutayamennum
ammalaiyô immalaiyam enna tevvar
aḷi kuruti nati parakka adokkum pôḷtil.

(67) Ivarkaḷ mêl ini oruvar piḷaittâr illai
eḷu kaliṅgattu ôviyarkaḷ eḷutivaitta
chuvar kaṇmêl uṇdanṛi udalkaḷ enkum
tudarntu pidittaṛuttatu munnadaiy
vâṅkê.

(68) Kadaṛ **kaliṅgam** eṛintu chayattambam
nâddi
kadakariyum kuvi tanamum kavarntu
teyva
chadarppadai vâḷapayan adi aruḷ inôdum
chudinân **vaṇdaiyarkôn toṇdaimânê.**

Canto 13.

(60) Vaṇaṅkiya chêran maṇi mudiyum
vaḷuti makudamum **vaṇdinamum**
piṇaṅkiya chêvadi pâdîrê.
perumân tiruvadi pâdîrê.

(61) Oliṛu nedum padai vâḷ **apayaṛku**
uttara pûmiyar idda tiṛai
kaliṛu varuṅkadal pâdîrê
kadan matam nâṛuna pâdîrê.

(62) Pauvam adaṅka valainta kudai
paṇditachôḷan makan kaḷalil
tevvar valaintamai pâdîrê
chilai âdiya vali pâdîrê.

(63) Eṛṛaippakalum veḷḷaṇi nâṇ
irunilappâvai tan kîṇiḷaṛṛum
koṛṛakkudaiyaippâdîrê
kulôttunga chôḷanaippâdîrê.

(64) **Vaṇdai** vaḷam pati pâdîrê
maiyilaiyum mallaiyum pâdîrê
paṇdai vaḷam pati nakai pâdîrê
paḷa nati **yamunaiyum** pâdîrê.

(65) Kâddiya vêḷa vaṇi vârî
kaliṅkapparaṇi nam kâvalanmêl
chûddiya tôṇṛalaip pâdîrê
toṇdaiyar vêntanaippâdîrê.

(122) Pûppatumattavan padaittamaitta
puviyai irandâvatum padaittu
kâppatum eṅkadan enṛu kâtta
kârikâla chôḷanai vâḷttinavê.

THREE UJJAIN COPPER-PLATE GRANTS OF THE RULERS OF MALAVA.

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

The plates which bear these inscriptions were presented, in 1824, to the **Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland**, by Major (afterwards Colonel) Tod, by whom they had been obtained, about twelve years before, from the city of Ujjain;[1] and they are still in the Library of the Society. The inscriptions were first edited, with facsimiles and translations, by H. T. Colebrooke,[2] in the *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. I. pp. 230-239 and pp. 463-466; and Colebrooke's paper on them was subsequently reprinted in his *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. II. pp. 297-314. I now re-edit the inscriptions from Mr. Fleet's photo-lithographs, which will be hereafter published as *Indian Inscriptions*, Nos. 50-52.

[1] See *Transactions Royal As. Soc.*, Vol. I. p. 207.

[2] Colebrooke's readings were amended, in various places, by Dr. F. E. Hall, in his notes on two inscriptions of Arjunavarmadêva, published by him in Vol. VII. of the *Jour. Amer. Or. Soc.*

The three inscriptions are grants of some of the later Paramâra rulers of Mâlava; and they may be shortly characterised thus: —

A. is the concluding portion of a grant of the *Mahârâja* **Yaśôvarmadêva,** dated in the (Vikrama) year 1192.

B. is part of a grant of the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka, Mahârâjâdhirâja* and *Paramêśvara* **Jayavarmadêva,** the successor of Yaśôvarmadêva.

C. is part of a grant of the *Mahâkumâra* **Lakshmîvarmadêva,** dated in the (Vikrama) year 1200, confirming a grant made by **Yaśôvarmadêva,** who is represented as the predecessor and apparently the father of Lakshmîvarmadêva, in the Vikrama year 1191.

To shew the mutual relation of the princes who issued these grants, it appears desirable to refer here, shortly, to other copper-plate inscriptions of the later rulers of Mâlava. Five such inscriptions have been hitherto published, *viz.*: —

D. — The 'Pipliânagar' grant of the *Mahâkumâra* **Harischandradêva,** the son of the *Mahâkumâra* Lakshmîvarmadêva, of the Vikrama years 1235 and 1236, edited by L. Wilkinson in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. VII. p. 736.

E. — The Bhôpâl grant of the *Mahâkumâra* **Udayavarmadêva,** the son of the *Mahâkumâra* Hariśchandradêva, of the Vikrama year 1256, edited by Mr. Fleet, *ante*, Vol. XVI. p. 254.

F. — The 'Pipliânagar' grant of the *Mahârâja* **Arjunavarmadêva,** of the (Vikrama) year 1267, edited by L. Wilkinson in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. V. p. 378.

G. — A Bhôpâl grant of the same, of the (Vikrama) year 1270, partly edited by Dr. F. E. Hall in the *Jour. Amer. Or. Soc.*, Vol. VII. p. 32.

H. — Another Bhôpâl grant of the same, of the (Vikrama) year 1272, edited by Dr. Hall, *ib.* p. 25.

In comparing these eight inscriptions with each other, the first thing to strike us is that (omitting the grant A., the commencement of which is missing) the inscriptions B., C., D. and E. open with two verses in praise of the god Śiva, which are followed by prose passages containing the genealogies of the granters; while the inscriptions F., G., and H. open with nineteen verses, of which four are in praise of the moon and of Paraśurâma, Râma and Yudhishṭhira, and the rest of which is occupied with genealogical matter. Moreover, while in F., G., and H. the granter describes himself as *Mahârâja*, this title, in the other group of inscriptions, is applied only to the granter of A. (and was probably applied also to that of B.); and the three princes, who issued the grants C., D., and E., are content to style themselves by the lower title of *Mahâkumâra*.

The line of princes, presented to us in the inscriptions F., G., and H., is this: — 1, Bhôjadêva, the ornament of the Paramâra family; 2, Udayâditya; 3, Naravarman; 4, his son Yaśôvarman; 5, his son Ajayavarman; 6, his son Vindhyavarman;[3] 7, his son Subhaṭavarman; 8, his son, the *Mahârâja* Arjunavarman, whose grants are dated in the (Vikrama) years 1267, 1270, and 1272.

[3] As the matter may be of some importance, I would point out here that the verse referring to this prince has not been hitherto properly explained. The verse reads thus: —

Dhârây-ôddhṛitayâ sârdham dadhâti sma tridhâratâm |
sâṁyugînasya yasy-âsis-trâtuṁ lôka-trayîm-iva ||;

and it was translated by Mr. Wilkinson: — "The sword of this warrior assumed a threefold edge, when upraised to yield protection to the three worlds;" and by Dr. Hall: — "Of whom, skilled in warfare, the sword, with its edge upraised, as if to deliver the three worlds, assumed a triple edge;" Dr. Hall adding in a note, that "the Sanskrit is here peculiar, the idiom employed being of very questionable purity." Both translators have overlooked the fact that the first word of the verse clearly denotes Dhârâ, the capital of Mâlava, and that in the last word of the first half there is a reference to the Ganges (*tri-dhârâ = tri-srôtas = tri-patha-gâ*), which in its triple course flows through heaven, earth, and the lower regions. I would translate the verse, somewhat freely, thus: — 'The sword of this (*prince*), skilled in war, acquired, with Dhârâ rescued (*by it*), the properties of the Ganges, (inasmuch as, like the Ganges, it now had three *dhârâs*), to protect, as it were, the three worlds.'

In B. :— 1, The *Paramabhaṭṭâraka, Mahârâjâdhirâja* and *Paramêśvara* Udayâdityadêva ; succeeded by 2, the *P. M. P.* Naravarmadêva ; succeeded by 3, the *P. M. P.* Yaśôvarmadêva ; succeeded by 4, the *P. M. P.* Jayavarmadêva.

In C. : — 1, The *P. M. P.* Udayâdityadêva; succeeded by 2, the *P. M. P.* Naravarmadêva ; succeeded by 3, the *P. M. P.* Yaśôvarmadêva (who issued a grant in Vikrama 1191, and another grant in Vikrama 1192) ; succeeded by 4, the *Mahâkumâra* Lakshmîvarmadêva, apparently a son of the former, who confirmed one of his father's grants in Vikrama 1200.

In D. : — 1, The *P. M. P.* Udayâditya ; succeeded by 2, the *P. M. P.* Naravarmadêva ; succeeded by 3, the *P. M. P.* Yaśôvarmadêva ; succeeded by 4, the *P. M. P.* Jayavarmadêva ; apparently succeeded, according to the body of the grant, by 5, the *Mahâkumâra* Hariśchandradêva, who at the end of the grant calls himself the son of the *Mahâkumâra* Lakshmîvarmadêva, and the sun of the lotus of the Paramâra family, and who issued his grants in the Vikrama years 1235 and 1236.

In E. : — 1, The *P. M. P.* Yaśôvarmadêva ; succeeded by 2, the *P. M. P.* Jayavarmadêva ; succeeded by 3, the *Mahâkumâra* Lakshmîvarmadêva ; succeeded by 4, the *Mahâkumâra* Hariśchandradêva ; succeeded by 5, his son the *Mahâkumâra* Udayavarmadêva, whose grant is dated in the Vikrama year 1256.

If we compare these lists with the line of princes furnished by F., G., and H., we see at once that the genealogy in both groups of inscriptions is the same as far as Yaśôvarman, but that the two groups entirely differ after that prince. According to F., G., and H., Yaśôvarman was succeeded by his son Ajayavarman ; and since a lineal descendant of Ajayavarman retained the title of *Mahârâja* which had been borne by Yaśôvarman, it would appear that the princes 5 to 8, mentioned in F., G., and H., after Yaśôvarman's death, represented or pretended to represent the main line of the Paramâra family, and were the chief rulers of Mâlava.

In the groups A. to E., the line of succession after Yaśôvarman is not at once so clear as it is in the other group ; but the actual *data* presented to us are the following :—

According to B., which contains no date, Yaśôvarman, whose grants are dated in Vikrama 1191 and 1192, was succeeded by the *P. M. P.* Jayavarmadêva, whom there appears no reason to identify with the prince Ajayavarman of the inscriptions F. to H.

According to C., which omits Jayavarmadêva, Yaśôvarman had been succeeded in Vikrama 1200 by (his son) the *Mahâkumâra* Lakshmîvarmadêva.

According to D., Yaśôvarman was succeeded, as in B., by the *P. M. P.* Jayavarmadêva, who in his turn had been succeeded in Vikrama 1235 by the *Mahâkumâra* Hariśchandradêva, the son of the *Mahâkumâra* Lakshmîvarmadêva.

According to E., the line of succession is : — Yaśôvarman ; the *P. M. P.* Jayavarmadêva ; the *Mahâkumâra* Lakshmîvarmadêva ; the *Mahâkumâra* Hariśchandradêva ; the *Mahâkumâra* Udayavarmadêva (Vikrama 1256).

Here we naturally ask why the *P. M. P.* Jayavarmadêva should have been omitted in the inscription C., and why the *Mahâkumâra* Lakshmîvarmadêva similarly should have been omitted in the inscription D. Some indications of how these questions may have to be answered, would appear to be furnished by certain expressions which occur in D. and E. In E. we read — -śrîmaj-Jayavarmmadêva-râjyê vyatîtê nija-kara-kṛita-karavâla-prasâd-âvâpta-nij-âdhipatya- . . . . -mahâkumâra-śrîmal-Lakshmîvarmmadêva-, *i. e.* 'the *Mahâkumâra*, the illustrious Lakshmîvarmadêva, who had obtained sovereignty of his own by the favour of the sword which he had taken in his hand, when the rule of the illustrious Jayavarmadêva had passed away ;' and in D., — -śrî-Jayavarmmadêva ity=êtasmât=pṛishṭhatama-prabhôḥ prasâd-âvâpta-nij-âdhipatyaḥ . . . . -mahâkumâra-śrî-Hariśchandradêvaḥ, *i. e.* 'the *Mahâkumâra*, the illustrious Hariśchandradêva, who has obtained sovereignty of his own by the favour of the last ruler, before mentioned, the illustrious Jayavarmadêva.' Taking these expressions in connection

with what is otherwise known to us from the inscriptions, I conceive the succession in the family of Yaśôvarman to have been as follows :—

Yaśôvarman had three sons, Jayavarman,[4] Ajayavarman, and Lakshmîvarman; and he was in the first instance succeeded by Jayavarman. Soon after his succession (and certainly some time between Vikrama 1192 and 1200), Jayavarman was dethroned by Ajayavarman, who and whose successors then became the main branch of the Paramâra family in Mâlava, and continued to style themselves *Mahârâjas*. The third brother, Lakshmîvarman, however, did not submit to Ajayavarman; and, as stated in E., he succeeded by force of arms in appropriating a portion of Mâlava, which he and his son and grandson *de facto* ruled over as independent chiefs. At the same time, Lakshmîvarman and, after him, his son and successor Hariśchandra looked upon Jayavarman, though deposed, as the rightful sovereign of Mâlava, and, in my opinion, it is for this reason that Hariśchandra, in the grant D., professes to rule by the favour of that prince, and that both Lakshmîvarman and Hariśchandra claim for themselves no higher title than that of *Mahâkumâra*, a title which was handed down to, and adopted by, even Lakshmîvarman's grandson Udayavarman.

A. — Copper-Plate Grant of the Mahârâja Yaśôvarmadêva. The (Vikrama) year 1192.

The plate which holds this fragmentary inscription is one of (apparently) two plates, the first of which has never been discovered. It is inscribed on one side only, and measures about $14\frac{7}{8}''$ by $10\frac{5}{8}''$. The edges of it were raised into rims, to protect the writing. The concluding portions of lines 7-13 have suffered somewhat from corrosion; but the writing is nevertheless well preserved and may, with one or two unimportant exceptions, be read with certainty. The **weight** of the plate is 4 lbs. $2\frac{3}{4}$ oz. — The **rings** belonging to this grant, with possibly a seal on one of them, are not now forthcoming. But on the plate itself, in the lower proper left corner, there is a representation of Garuḍa, depicted entirely as a man, except for the wings attached to his shoulders; he is kneeling, half front and half to the proper right; and in his right hand he holds three snakes, which he is about to devour or otherwise destroy. — The **size of the letters** is about $\frac{5}{16}''$. The **characters** are Nâgarî; and the **language** is Sanskṛit. The inscription is carefully written, and in respect of **orthography** I have only to state that *b* throughout is denoted by the sign for *v*. The *avagraha* is used in line 6, in the *saṁdhi* of a final *á* with an initial *a*.

The **inscription** is one of the *Mahârâja*, the illustrious **Yaśôvarmadêva**, and records (in lines 3-6), in terms which call for no remarks, the grant of the village of **Laghuvaiṁgaṇa-padra** and of part of the village of **Ṭhikkarika**, or, as the name is written in line 2, **Ṭhikarikâ**, to two people[5] the names of whom must have been given in the now missing portion of the grant. Owing to the fragmentary state of the inscription, the exact purport of the preceding lines 1-2 is not clear to me;[6] but it would appear that the two villages mentioned were granted instead of other land, somehow connected with a place called **Dêvalapâṭaka**, which had been given to the grantees on the occasion of the annual funeral ceremonies in honour of the lady **Mômaladêvî**, probably the mother of Yaśôvarman. Lines 7-12 contain five of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses. These are followed by **the date**, given in figures only, 'the 3rd of the dark half of the month Mârgaśiras of the year 1192,' corresponding, probably, to either the 27th October or the 25th November, A. D. 1135. Line 13 mentions, as *dûtakas*, 'the *Purôhita*, the *Ṭhakkura*, the illustrious Vâmanasvâmin; the *Ṭhakkura*, the illustrious Purushôttama; the *Mahâpradhâna*, the *Râjaputra*, the illustrious Dêvadhara, and others.' Line 14 contains the usual — '*(may)* bliss *(and)* good fortune *(attend)*!;' followed by the

[4] In the inscriptions Jayavarman is not actually called a son of Yaśôvarman.

[5] The original has, in line 2, the ungrammatical *ubhaya-jana-dvâbhyâm*.

[6] It may be noted that lines 1 and 2 contain the terms *bhû-hala* and *bhû-nivartana*, denoting certain measures of land. The expression *brâhmaṇa-mâpyakîya*, in line 1, also appears to be used in a technical sense.

syllable *Ra*, about the meaning of which I am doubtful.[7] And finally, line 15 contains the signature of the granter, the *Mahârâja*, the illustrious **Yaśôvarmadêva**, which is again followed, in line 16, by words of auspicious import.

The three places, mentioned in the grant, I am unable to identify.

TEXT.[8]

. . . . . .

1 śrî-**Mômaladêvî**-sâṁvatsari[ka][9]-kalpitatvâd=bhujyamâna-**Dêvalapâṭakâd**=bhûhala-
dvaya-parivarttêna vrâ(brâ)hmaṇa-mâ[pya]kîya-bhûhala-
2 dvaya-samva(mba)ddhê **Ṭhikarikâ**-grâma-vibhâga ubhaya-jana-dvâbhyâṁ bhû-nivart-
tana-saptadaśak-ôpêta-bhûhal-aîkâdaśaka-saṁvadh[ê][10] samasta upa-
3 rilikhita-**Laghuvaiṁgaṇapadra**-grâmas=tathâ **Ṭhikarikâ**-grâm-ârddhaś=cha sva-
sîmâ-tṛiṇa-[yû]ti-gôchara-paryantaḥ sa-vṛiksha-mâl-âkulaḥ
4 sa-hiraṇya-bhâga-bhôgaḥ s-ôparikaraḥ sarv-âdâya-samêtaś=cha mâtâ-pitrôr=
âtmanaś=cha puṇya-yaśô-bhivṛiddhayê śâsanên=ôdaka-
5 pûrvvakatayâ pradattas=tan=matvâ yathâdîyamâna-bhâgabhôga-kara-hiraṇy-âdikam=
[â*]jñâ-śravaṇa-vidhêyair=bhûtvâ sarvvam=êtâbhyâṁ sam[n]pa-
6 nêtavyaṁ | Sâmânyaṁ ch=aitat=puṇya-phalaṁ vu(bu)ddhvâ ऽsmad-vaṁśajair=anyair=
api bhâvi-bhôktṛibhir=asmat-pradatta-dharmm-âdâyô=yam=anumanta-
7 vyaḥ pâlanîyaś=cha | Uktaṁ cha | Va(ba)hubhir[11]=vvasudhâ bhuktâ râjabhiḥ Sagar-
âdibhiḥ | yasya yasya yadâ bhûmis=tasya tasya tadâ phalaṁ ||
8 Yân[12]=îha dattâni purâ narêṁdrair=ddânâni dharmm-ârtha-yaśas-karâṇi | nirmmâlya-
vânti-pratimâni tâni kô nâma sâdhuḥ puna-
9 r=âdadîta || Asmat[13]-kula-kramaṁ=udâraṁ=udâharadbhir=anyaiś=cha dânam=idam=abhya-
numôdanîyaṁ | lakshmyâs=tadid-valaya-vudvuda[14]-chaṁ[cha]-
10 lâyâ dânaṁ phalaṁ para-yaśaḥ-paripâlanaṁ cha || Sarvvân[15]=êtân=bhâvinaḥ pârthiv-
êṁdrân=bhûyô bhûyô yâchatê Râmabhadraḥ | sâmâ-
11 nyô=yaṁ dharmma-sêtur=nṛipâṇâṁ kâlê kâlê pâlanîyô bhavadbhiḥ || Iti[16] kamala-dal-
âṁvu(bu)-viṁdu-lôlâ[ṁ] śriyam=anuchiṁ[tya ma]-
12 nushya-jîvitaṁ cha | sakalam=idam=udâh[ṛi]taṁ cha vudhvâ[17] na hi purushaiḥ
para-kîrttayô vilôpyâ iti || **Saṁvat**[18] **1192 Mâ[rgga]-va-**
13 **di 3** [||*] **Dû**[°19] purôhita-ṭhakkura-śrî-Vâmanasvâmi-ṭhakkura-śrî-Purushôttama-
mahâpradhâna-râjaputra-śrî-Dêvadhara-prabhṛitayaḥ ||
14 Maṁgalaṁ mahâ-śrîḥ || Ra[20]
15 Sva-hastô=yaṁ mahârâja-śrîmad-**Yaśôvarmmadêvasya** |
16 Adhi[21] || Śrîḥ ||

B. — Copper-Plate Grant of the Mahârâja Jayavarmadêva.

The plate which bears this inscription is the first of (probably) two plates of a grant, of which only this single plate has been discovered. It is inscribed on one side only, and measures about $10\frac{7}{8}''$ by $8\frac{5}{8}''$. The edges of it were raised into rims, to protect the writing. In a few places the writing is slightly effaced, but on the whole it is well preserved, so that it may

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[7] See below, note 20.

[8] From Mr. Fleet's photo-lithograph; *Indian Inscriptions*, No. 51.

[9] This *akshara* may possibly be *kê*.

[10] As the construction is not clear to me, I am not sure whether this should be *saṁbandhê* or *saṁbaddhê*.

[11] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

[12] Metre, Indravajrâ.

[13] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.

[14] Read *-budbuda-*.

[15] Metre, Śâlinî.

[16] Metre, Pushpitâgrâ.

[17] Read *buddhvâ*.

[18] Read *saṁvat*.

[19] i. e. *dâtakâḥ*.

[20] This *akshara*, which is engraved on a level with the preceding words but is of much larger size, I am unable to explain properly. I can only suggest that it may stand for *rachitaṁ* (which we find in the grants of Arjunavarman), and that it should have been followed by the name of the official who executed the grant.

[21] This may be an abbreviation of *adhikâ*, or it may have to be taken as forming a compound with the following *śrîḥ*.

be read with certainty throughout. The **weight** of the plate is 2 lbs. — The **rings** of this grant, with possibly a seal on one of them, are not now forthcoming. — The **size of the letters** is about $\frac{1}{16}$". The **characters** are Nâgarî; and the **language** is Sanskṛit. As regard **orthography**, *ô* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*; the dental sibilant is used for the palatal in *vinasvaraṁ*, line 14; and the word *triṁśat* is spelt *tṛiṁśat*, in line 8. The *avagraha* occurs twice in line 1, in its proper use; and also in line 15, after the *á* that has resulted from the *saṁdhi* of a final and initial *a*.

The **inscription**, after the words 'Ôṁ, may it be well! Fortune, victory, and prosperity!' and two verses in praise of Śiva (Vyômakêśa, Smarârâti), introduces (in lines 4-7) the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka, Mahârâjâdhirâja* and *Paramêśvara*, **Jayavarmadêva**, the successor of the *P. M. P.* **Yasôvarmadêva**, who had succeeded the *P. M. P.* **Naravarmadêva**, who in turn had succeeded the *P. M. P.* **Udayâdityadêva**. From his residence at **Vardhamânapura** (line 3), Jayavarmadêva (in lines 8-16) informs the officials and people concerned that, when in residence at **Chandrapurî** (line 9), [he granted] the village of **Mâyamôḍaka** (line 8), belonging to the **Vaṭakhêṭaka Thirty-six** (group of villages), to a person living at Râjabrahmapurî,[22] who had emigrated from the place **Adriyalavidâvarî** in the south, and belonged to the Bhâradvâja [*gôtra*], but whose name has not been here preserved. There can, however, be little doubt that the grantee was the same person who is mentioned as grantee in the inscription C., below. The extant portion of the inscription contains **no date**, but the grant may be assigned with certainty to the time between the Vikrama years 1192 and 1200.

The several **localities** mentioned in the grant I am unable to identify.

TEXT.[23]

1 Ôṁ[24] svasti [।*] Śrîr=jjayô ऽbhyudayaś=cha ॥ Jayati[25] Vyômak[ê]śô ऽs[au] yaḥ sarggâya vi(bi)bhartti [t]â-

2 m । aiṁdavîṁ śirasâ lôkhâṁ jagad-vîj-âṁkur-âkṛitim ॥ Tanvaṁtu vaḥ Smarârât[ê]ḥ kalyâ-

3 ṇam=aniśaṁ jaṭâḥ । kalpânta-samay-ôddâma-taḍid-valaya-piṁgalâḥ ॥ Śrî-**Varddhamâna-**

4 **pura**-samâvâsât **paramabhaṭṭâraka-mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêśvara-śrî**[26]-**Udayâdityadê-**

5 **va-pâdânudhyâta-paramabhaṭṭâraka-mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêśvara-śrî-Naravarmmadêva-**pâdânu-

6 dhyâta-paramabhaṭṭâraka-mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêśvara-śrî-**Yasôvarmmadêva**-pâdânudhyâta-para-

7 mabhaṭṭâraka-mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêśvara-śrîmaj-**Jayavarmmadêvô** vijay-ôdayî ॥[27]

8 **Vaṭakhêṭaka-shaṭtriṁ(ṭtriṁ)śat-saṁva(ba)ddha-Mâyamôḍaka**-grâmê samasta-râja-purushân vrâ(brâ)hmaṇ-ôttarân=pra-

9 tinivasi-paṭṭakila-janapad-âdîṁś=cha vô(bô)dhayaty=astu vaḥ saṁviditaṁ yathâ ।[27] **Chaṁdrapurî-samâvâ-**

10 sitair=asmâbhiḥ snâtvâ charâchara-guruṁ bhagavaṁtaṁ **Bhavânîpatiṁ** samabhyarchchya saṁsârasy=âsâratâṁ

11 dṛishṭvâ[28] [।*] tathâ hi । Vât[29]-âbhra-vibhramam=idaṁ vasudh-âdhipatyam=âpâta-mâtra-madhurô vishay-ôpabhôga-

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[22] I am doubtful whether the word *Râjabrahmapuryâṁ* in line 15 should be taken as the name of a town, or be explained to mean 'at the king's *brahmapurî*.' See *ante*, Vol. XV. p. 44, note 130.

[23] From Mr. Fleet's photo-lithograph; *Indian Inscriptions*, No. 53.

[24] Expressed by a symbol.

[25] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh); and of the following verse.

[26] Read *-śrî-Uda°*.

[27] These signs of punctuation are superfluous.

[28] The sentence is continued in line 14, *iti jagatô* . . . ., and the intermediate passage is put in by way of parenthesis.

[29] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.

12 ḥ | prâṇâs=tṛiṇâgra-jalavimdu-samâ narâṇâṁ dharmmaḥ sakhâ param=ahô paralôka-yânê ||

13 Bhramat[30]-saṁsâra-cha[k]r-âgra-dhâr-âdhârâm=imâṁ śriyaṁ | prâpya yê na dadus=têshâṁ paśchâttâpaḥ paraṁ pha-

14 lam || iti jagatô vinasva(śva)raṁ svarûpam=âkalayy=âdṛishṭa-phalam=a[ṁ]gîkṛitya chaṁdr-â-

15 rkkâ[ṇ]ṇava-kshiti-sama-kâlaṁ yâvat=parayâ bhaktyâ Râjavra(bra)hmapuryâṁ dakshiṇa-dêś-â-

16 ntaḥpâti-[31]A[dr]iyalavidâvari-sthâna-vinirggatâya Bhâradvâja-

. . . . . .

C. — Copper-Plate Grant of the Mahârâja Yaśôvarmadêva and the Mahâkumâra Lakshmîvarmadêva.

The Vikrama years 1191 and 1200.

As in the case of the preceding inscription, the plate which bears this inscription is the first of (probably) two plates of a grant, of which only this single plate has been discovered. It is inscribed on one side only, and measures about 16″ by 9⅝″. The edges of it were fashioned somewhat thicker than the inscribed surface. The writing has in several places suffered a good deal from corrosion, and there are in consequence several *aksharas* which cannot be read with absolute certainty. The **weight** of the plate is 3 lbs. 9½ oz. — The **rings** of this grant, with possibly a seal on one of them, are not now forthcoming. — The **size of the letters** is about ¼″. The **characters** are Nâgarî; and the **language** is Sanskṛit. As regards **orthography**, it is sufficient to state here that *b* throughout is denoted by the sign for *v*, and that the dental sibilant is employed for the palatal in *sirasâ*, line 1, and *samî-*, line 8. A few other mistakes will be pointed out and corrected in the text. In this grant, the *avagraha* does not occur.

The **inscription** opens in the same way as the inscription B. above. It then introduces (in lines 2-4) the *Mahâkumâra* **Lakshmîvarmadêva**, who had attained the five *mahâśabdas*, and who is represented as the successor of the *P. M. P.* **Yaśôvarmadêva**, whose predecessors are given as in the preceding grant. Lakshmîvarmadêva (in lines 5-6) informs the officials and people of the village of **Vaḍaûda**, belonging to **Surâsaṇi**, and of the village of **Uthavaṇaka**, belonging to **Suvarṇaprâ[s]âdikâ**, both situated in the **Râjasayana** *bhôga*[32] which was in the **Mahâdvâsaka** *maṇḍala*, as follows (lines 6-15): —

On the eighth lunar day of the bright half of Kârttika of the Vikrama year 1191 (expressed in words), at the annual funeral ceremonies in honour of the *Mahârâja* **Naravarmadêva**, the *Mahârâjâdhirâja* and *Paramêśvara* **Yaśôvarmadêva**, at **Dhârâ**, granted the above-mentioned villages of **Vaḍaûda** and **Uthavaṇaka** to the householder **Dhanapâla**, son of Viśvarûpa and grandson of the *Ṭhakkura* **Mahirasvâmin**, a Karṇâṭa **Brâhman** from the south, a student of two Vêdas, and a follower of the Âśvalâyana *śâkhâ*, who belonged to the Bhâradvâja *gôtra* and had the three *pravaras* Bhâradvâja, Âṅgirasa and Bârhaspatya, and was an emigrant from the place **Adrêlav[i]ddhâvari**.

Having communicated this, Lakshmîvarmadêva (in lines 15-16) further records that **on the fifteenth lunar day of the bright half of Śrâvaṇa in the year 1200** (expressed again in words), **on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon**, he himself, for the spiritual benefit of

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[30] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh). I understand the first half of the verse to mean — 'wealth which has for its seat the circumference of the edge of the revolving wheel of mundane existence.' Colebrooke read *bhramat-saṁsâra-valgâgra-dhârâ-dhârâm*, and translated — 'prosperity, which is the receptacle and bounds of a revolving world.' — *Ante*, Vol. XVI. p. 255, in the Bhôpâl plates of Udayavarman, line 18, we read *bhramat-saṁsâra-chakr-âgra-dhârâm*, the concluding portion of which must be altered to *-âgra-dhâr-âdhârâm*, as required by the metre.

[31] Read °*pâty-â*[*dr*]i°. [32] On *bhôga*, as a technical territorial term, see *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 113, note.

his illustrious father, whom from the context I understand to be Yaśôvarmmadêva, repeated (or confirmed) the above donation; and (in lines 16-18) he directs the people concerned to make over to the donee whatever may be due to him, and exhorts future rulers to protect the grant. The concluding lines (18-20) contain some of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses.

I have already stated that the donee of this grant in all probability also is the donee of the grant B., and I have here only to draw attention to the fact that the name of the place, from which that person is stated to have emigrated, in the grant B. is written **Adriyala-vidâvarî**, while it is here spelt **Adrêlav[i]ddhâvarî**.

Of the two dates given in this grant, the first does not admit of verification. As regards the second date, referring the year 1200 to the Vikrama era, I find for Śrâvaṇa śukla 15 the following possible equivalents: —

Northern V. 1200 current: the 8th August, A. D. 1142, when there was a partial lunar eclipse, not visible in India, 12 h. 17 m. Greenwich time, or, at Ujjain, 11 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise;

Northern V. 1200 expired: the 28th July, A. D. 1143, when there was a total lunar eclipse, not visible in India, 12 h. 38 m. Greenwich time, or, at Ujjain, 11 h. 41 m. after mean sunrise;

Southern V. 1200 expired: the 16th July, A. D. 1144, when there was a partial lunar eclipse, visible in India, 16 h. 44 m. Greenwich time, or, at Ujjain, 15 h. 47 m. after mean sunrise.

It appears, then, that in every one of the three possible years there was a lunar eclipse on the particular day mentioned in the date, and it is therefore impossible to ascertain the true corresponding date with absolute certainty. But since it so happens that of the three eclipses only the last was visible in India, it is highly probable that the last mentioned day, **the 16th July, A. D. 1144**, is the proper equivalent for the day of the renewal of the grant, and that the year mentioned in the inscription, accordingly, is the southern Vikrama year 1200, expired.

Excepting the well-known **Dhârâ**, I am here also unable to identify the localities mentioned in the inscription on the maps at my disposal.

TEXT.[33]

1 [Ôṁ[34]] svasti ॥ Śrî[r]=jayô=bhyudayaś=cha ॥ Jayati[35] Vyômakêśô=sau yaḥ sarggâya vi(bi)bha[r]tti tâṁ | aindavîṁ si(śi)rasâ lêkhâṁ jagad-vij-âṁkur-âkṛitiṁ ॥ [Tanva]-

2 [ntu] vaḥ Smarârâtêḥ kalyâṇam=aniśaṁ jaṭâḥ | kalpânta-samay-ôddâma-taḍid-valaya-piṅ[g]alâḥ ॥ Paramabhaṭ[ṭ]âraka-ma[h]ârâjâdhirâja-paramêśvara-śrî[36]-[U]dayâ-

3 **dityadêva**-pâdânudhyâta-paramabhaṭṭâraka-mahârâjâdhirâja-para m ê ś v a r a - ś r î - **N a r a-varmmadêva**-pâdânudhyâta-paramabhaṭṭâraka-ma[h]ârâjâdhirâja-paramê[śv]ara-

4 śrî-**Yaśôvarmmadêva**-pâdânudhyâta-samastaprasastôpêta-samadhigata p a ṁ c h a ṁ a h â ś a-vd(bd)-âlaṁkâra-virâjamâna-mahâk[u]mâra-śrî-**Lakshmîva[r]mmadêvaḥ** ॥[37] śrî-

5 **Ma[h]âdvâdaśaka**-maṇḍalê śrî-**Râjasaya[ṇ]a**[38]-bhôgê **Su[râ]saṇḍ**-samva(mba)ddha-**Vaḍaüda**-grâma[39] | ta[th]â **Suvar[ṇṇ]aprâ[s]**[40]**âdikâ**-samva(mba)ddha-[41] **Uthavaṇaka**-grâmayôḥ sama-

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[33] From Mr. Fleet's photo-lithograph; *Indian Inscriptions*, No. 50.

[34] Apparently expressed by a symbol.

[35] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh); and of the following verse.

[36] Read *-śrî-Uda°*.

[37] This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

[38] Colebrooke has *-Râjaśâsana-*.

[39] Here the mere base is used, without a termination, as if the word were compounded with the following *Uthavaṇaka-grâma*. The sign of punctuation after *-grâma* is superfluous.

[40] I am doubtful about this consonant, which in the photo-lithograph looks rather like *gh*. — Colebrooke has in the text *têptâuvararṇṇa-prâśâdikâ*, and in the translation *Têptô-suvarṇa-prâśâdikâ*.

[41] Here, and in several places below, which need not be pointed out separately, the rules of *saṁdhi* have not been observed.

6 [sta]-vishayika-paṭṭakila-janapad-âdîn=vrâ(brâ)hmaṇ-ôttarân=vô(bô)dhayaty=astu vaḥ saṁvidita[ṁ] ||[42] ya[th]â śrîmad-**Dhârâyaṁ** mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêśvara-śrî-

7 **Yaśôvarmmadêvêna śrî-Vikrama-kâl-âtîta-samvatsar**[43]**-aikanavaty-adhika-śat-aikâda[śê]shu Kârttika-śudi ashṭamyâṁ** saṁjâta-mahârâja-śrî-[**Nara**]-

8 **varmmadêva-sâṁvatsarikê**[44] tîrth-âmbhôbhiḥ snâtvâ dêva-ṛishi-manushya-pitṛîṁs=tarppayitvâ bhagavantaṁ [Bha]vânîpatiṁ samabhyarchchya sa(śa)mî-ku[śa]-tilâ[nn]-â-

9 [jy][45]-âhutibhir=hiraṇyarêtasaṁ hutvâ bhânavê arghyaṁ vidhâya kapilâṁ triḥ pradakshiṇîkṛitya saṁsârasy=âsâratâṁ dṛishṭvâ nalinî-dala-gata-

10 jala-lava-taralataraṁ jîvitaṁ dhanaṁ ch=âvêkshya[46] | uktaṁ cha | **Vât**[47]**-âbhra-**vibhramam=idaṁ vasudh-âdhipatyam=âpâtamâtra-madhurô vishay-ôpabhôgaḥ | prâ-

11 [ṇâ]s=tṛiṇ-âgra-jala-vîndu-samâ narâṇâṁ dharmmaḥ sakhâ param=ahô para-lôka-yânê || êvam=âkalayya **A[dr]êlav[î ?]ddhâvari**[48]-[sth]âna-vi[nirgga]ta-Bh[â*]ra-

12 dvâja-gôt[r]âya Bh[â*]radvâja-Âṅgirasa-Vâ(bâ)rhaspatya-triḥpravarâya[49] Âślâyana-śâkhinê dakshiṇ-â[yâtaḥ]-Karṇâṭa-vrâ(brâ)hmaṇa-dvivêda-[ṭha]kkura-

13 śrî-[Ma]hirasvâmi-pautra-śrî-Viśvarûpa-suta-âvasthika[50]-śrî-Dhanapâlâya uparilikhita-**Vaḍaüda-**grâma-**Uthavaṇaka-**grâmau sa-vṛi-

14 kśha-mâl-âkulau nidhi-nikshêpa-sahitau vâpî-kûpa-taḍâg-ânvitau chatush-kaṁkaṭa-viśuddhau [ch]aṁdr-ârkkaṁ yâvad=udakapûrvvakatayâ śâ-

15 sanêna pradattau | **Samvatsara**[51]**-śata-dvâdaśakêsh[u] Śrâvaṇa-śudi paṁchadaśyâṁ sôma-grahaṇa-parvvaṇi** śrîmat-pitṛi-śrêy[ô]-rtha[ṁ] [pu]nar=êv=â-

16 smâbhiḥ êtau grâmau udakapûrvvakatayâ śâsanêna pradattau | Tad=anayô[r]=grâmay[ô]r=nivâsi-samasta-paṭṭakil-âdi-lôkais=tathâ ka-

17 rshakai[ś=cha] ya[thô]tpadyamâna-kara-hiraṇya-bhâgabhôg-âdikam=âjñâ-śravaṇa-vidhêyai[r=bhû]tvâ sarvvam=amushmai samupanêtavyam | Sâmâ-

18 [nyaṁ ch]=aitat=puṇya-phalaṁ vu(bu)ddhvâ asmad-vaṁśajair=anyair=api bhâvi-bhûpatibhiḥ dharmam-âdâyô=ya[m=anu*]mantavyaḥ pâlanîyaś=ch=êti | Yatô Va(ba)hubhi[r][52]=vvasudhâ bhuktâ

19 râjabhiḥ Sagar-âdibhiḥ | yasya yasya yadâ bhûmis=tasya tasya tadâ phalam || Sva-dattâṁ para-dattâṁ[53]=vâ yô harêta vasuṁdharâm | shashṭi-varsha-[sa]-

20 hasrâṇi vishṭâ(shṭhâ)yâṁ jâyatê kṛimiḥ || Sarvvân[54]=êtân=bhâvinaḥ pârthiv-êndra[n*]=bhûyô bhuyô yâchatê Râmabhad[r]aḥ | sâmânyô=yaṁ dharm-ma-sê-

. . . . . .

[42] This sign of punctuation is superfluous. [43] Read *-saṁvatsar-*. [44] Read *-sâṁvatsarikê*.

[45] Colebrooke read these very indistinct consonants *dy*; and similarly, Mr. Wilkinson, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. VII. p. 737, l. 15, has *samit-kuśa-til-âṁn-âdy-âhutibhir*. Mr. Fleet, *ante*, Vol. XVI. p. 254, l. 14, read *-til-âṁn-âshṭâhutibhir*.

[46] The sentence is continued in line 11, *êvaṁ=âkalayya . . .*, and the intervening passage is put in by way of parenthesis.

[47] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.

[48] Colebrooke has *Âdrêlavaddhâvari*; but the consonant of the fourth *akshara*, *v*, looks as if it had been preceded by the sign for *i*.

[49] Read *-tripravarâ-Âśvalâyana-*.

[50] Read, as suggested by Colebrooke, *-âvasathika-*. The word occurs again in the Bhôpâl grants of Arjunavarman, *Jour. Am. Or. Soc.*, Vol. VII. pp. 27 and 32; and evidently in the Pipliânagar grant of the same, *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. V. p. 379.

[51] Read *saṁvatsara-*.

[52] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh); and of the following verse.

[53] Read *-dattâṁ*.

[54] Metre, Śâlinî.

EXAMINATION OF QUESTIONS CONNECTED WITH THE VIKRAMA ERA.

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

(*Continued from page* 187.)

2. — IRREGULAR DATES.

(a). — Dates which, though irregular by the Tables,[1] are shewn to be regular, when calculated by one or other of the Siddhântas.[2]

151. — **V. 1207.** — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. X. p. 97, and Plate xxxii. 12. Inscription on pedestal of boar at Châṇdpur : —

(Line 1). — Sa[ṁ*]vat 1207 Jyêshṭha-vadi 11 **Ravau** ||

Northern V. 1207 current, —

pûrṇimânta : Thursday, 5 May, A. D. 1149.

amânta : Friday, 3 June, A. D. 1149.

Northern V. 1207 expired, —

pûrṇimânta : Tuesday, 25 April, A. D. 1150.

amânta : Wednesday, 24 May, A. D. 1150.

Southern V. 1207 expired, —

pûrṇimânta : By the Tables the 11th *tithi* of the dark half commenced 1 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, 13 May, and ended 1 h. 17 m. after mean sunrise of Monday, 14 May, A. D. 1151. But by the *Brahma-siddhânta* the *tithi* commenced 0 h. 11 m. before mean sunrise of the Sunday, and ended 0 h. 10 m. before mean sunrise of the Monday, and accordingly, by that Siddhânta, the corresponding day is **Sunday**, 13 May, A. D. 1151.

amânta : Tuesday, 12 June, A. D. 1151.

152. — **V. 1258.** — *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. XVII. Part I. p. 315 ; and *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XXI. p. 37. Kâlañjar stone inscription of the Chandêlla Paramardidêva : —

Saṁvat 1258 Kârttika-śudi 10 **Sômê**.

V. 1258 current : Thursday, 19 October, A. D. 1200.

V. 1258 expired : By the Tables the 10th *tithi* of the bright half commenced 1 h. 38 m. and ended 23 h. 39 m. after mean sunrise of Monday, 8 October, A. D. 1201, which would make the Monday the 9th of the bright half, and the 10th *tithi* a *kshaya-tithi*. But by the *Brahma-siddhânta* the 10th *tithi* commenced 1 h. 12 m. before mean sunrise of the Monday, and accordingly, by that Siddhânta, **Monday**, 8 October, A. D. 1201, was really the 10th of the bright half.

(In the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* the year of the date is wrongly given as 1298; and in *Archæol. Surv. of India, loc. cit.* p. 38, the corresponding date is stated to be, evidently by a misprint, Monday, the 28th October, A. D. 1201.)

153. — **V. 1365.** — Dr. Peterson's *Third Report* (1884-86), App. p. 231. Date of the composition of Jinaprabha's *Ajitaśântistava-vṛitti* :[3] —

Saṁvad=Vikrama-bhûpatêḥ śi(śa)ra-ṛit-ûdarchchiḥ-śaśâṁkâir=mitê

Paushasy=âsita-paksha-bhâji **Sasinâ** yuktê dvitîyâ-tithau ।

śrîmân(ñ=)śrî-Jinasiṁhasûri-sugurôḥ pâdâbja-pushpaṁdhayaḥ

puryâṁ Dâśarathêr=Jinaprabha-gurur=jagraṁtha ṭîkâṁ=imâm ||

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[1] The Tables here spoken of are Professor Jacobi's Tables. The results for the several Siddhântas, mentioned below, have been worked out from other, unpublished, Tables, which were placed at my disposal by Professor Jacobi.

[2] The above heading is strictly applicable only to the dates Nos. 151—158. About the proper equivalent for the date No. 159 there can in my opinion be no doubt, and I consider the date to be really regular, but am unable to prove this by calculation.

[3] Compare the date No. 17, p. 26 above, which shews that in the present date the year 1365 should be the expired Vikrama year 1365.

V. 1365 current, —

pûrṇimânta : Tuesday, 12 December, A. D. 1307; the second *tithi* of the dark half ended 0 h. 47 m. after mean sunrise.

amânta : Wednesday, 10 January, A. D. 1308.

V. 1365 expired, —

pûrṇimânta : Saturday, 30 November, A. D. 1308.

amânta : By the Tables the second *tithi* of the dark half commenced 0 h. 4 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, 29 December, and ended 0 h. 17 m. before mean sunrise of Monday, 30 December, A. D. 1308. But by the *Ârya-siddhânta*, corrected, the same *tithi* ended 0 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise of the Monday, and accordingly, by that Siddhânta, the corresponding day is **Monday**, 30 December, A. D. 1308.

154. — **V. 1394.** — From Sir A. Cunningham's rubbings, supplied to me by Mr. Fleet. Of two stone inscriptions at Udaypur in Gwâlior, one is dated : —

(Line 1). — Saṁ 1394 Mâha-vadi 1 **Vu(bu)dhê** śrî-Ûdalêśvara-dêvatâ-jâ(yâ)trâ-sa[mayê] ; and the other :—

(Line 1). — Saṁ 1394 varsh[ê] Mâha-vadi 1 **Vu(bu)dhê** Ûdalêśvara-dêvatâ-jâ(yâ)trâyâ[ṁ].

V. 1394 current, —

pûrṇimânta : the first *tithi* of the dark half commenced 1 h. 4 m., and ended 22 h. 26 m. after mean sunrise of Thursday, 19 December, A. D. 1336.

amânta : Saturday, 18 January, A. D. 1337.

V. 1394 expired, —

pûrṇimânta : By the Tables the first *tithi* of the dark half ended 1 h. 21 m. after mean sunrise of Thursday, 8 January, A. D. 1338. But by the *Brahma-siddhânta* the same *tithi* ended 2 h. 42 m. before mean sunrise of the Thursday, and accordingly, by that Siddhânta, the corresponding day is **Wednesday**, 7 January, A. D. 1338.

amânta : Friday, 6 February, A. D. 1338.

155. — **V. 1452.** — *List of Antiquarian Remains, Bo. Pres.*, p. 179. Stone inscription at Mângrol in Kâṭhiâwâḍ, of the time of the Pâtaśâhi Nasaratha :[4] —

Saṁvat 1452 varshê Vaiśâka(kha)-vadi 15 **Ravau** śrî-Yôginîpurê pâtaśâhi-śrî-Nasaratha-vijayarâjyê tanniyukt[ê*] śrî-Gurjara-dharitryâṁ śrî-Dapharkhânê râjyaṁ kurvati iha Surâshṭrâyâṁ śrî-Maṁgalapurê . . .

Northern V. 1452 current, —

pûrṇimânta : Wednesday, 1 April, A. D. 1394.

amânta : Thursday, 30 April, A. D. 1394.

Northern V. 1452 expired, —

pûrṇimânta : Tuesday, 20 April, A. D. 1395.

amânta : Wednesday, 19 May, A. D. 1395.

Southern V. 1452 expired, —

pûrṇimânta : Saturday, 8 April, A. D. 1396; the 15th *tithi* of the dark half ended 16 h. 22 m. after mean sunrise.

amânta : By the Tables the 15th *tithi* of the dark half commenced 1 h. 17 m. and ended 23 h. 17 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, 7 May, A. D. 1396, which would make the Sunday the 14th of the dark half, and the 15th *tithi* a *kshaya-tithi*. But by the *Brahma-siddhânta* the 15th *tithi* commenced 0 h. 56 m. before mean sunrise of the Sunday, and accordingly, by that Siddhânta, **Sunday**, 7 May, A. D. 1396, was really the 15th of the dark half.

156. — **V. 1466.** — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XXI. p. 18, and Plate xiv.; and Sir A. Cunningham's rubbing, supplied to me by Mr. Fleet. Stone inscription at Râsin :—

(Line 1). . . Saṁvat 1466 varshê Chaitra-sudi 7 **San[au]** |

[4] *i. e.* Nusrat Shâh (of Yôginîpura, *i. e.* Delhi), A. D. 1395-98. See Thomas, *The Pathan Kings of Dehli*, pp. 312 and 318 ; *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. VIII. p. 544.

Northern V. 1466 current: the 7th *tithi* of the bright half commenced 1 h. 8 m. and ended 23 h. 13 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, 4 March, A. D. 1408.

Northern V. 1466 expired: By the Tables the 7th *tithi* of the bright half commenced 0 h. 34 m. and ended 23 h. 28 m. after mean sunrise of Saturday, 23 March, A. D. 1409, which would make the Saturday the 6th of the bright half, and the 7th *tithi* a *kshaya-tithi*. But by the *Brahma-siddhânta* the same *tithi* commenced 1 h. 23 m. before mean sunrise of the Saturday, and accordingly, by that Siddhânta, **Saturday**, 23 March, A. D. **1409**, was really the 7th of the bright half.

Southern V. 1466 expired: Thursday, 13 March, A. D. 1410.

157. — **V. 1489.** — Date of my MS. of an *Avachûrṇi* on Hêmachandra's *Liṅgânuśâsana-vṛitti*: —

Saṁvat 1489 **dvitîya-Śrâvaṇa-śudi 6.**

There was **an intercalary month in northern V. 1489 expired.** Calculated in the manner which has been followed in preceding dates (and according to the *Book of Indian Eras*), that month was Âshâḍha; for the solar Âshâḍha lasted from 27 May, 20 h. 59 m., to 28 June, 11 h. 38 m., A. D. 1432, and there were new-moons on 29 May, 15 h. 5 m., and on 27 June, 22 h. 9 m. after mean sunrise. But by the *Brahma-siddhânta* and the *Siddhânta-śirômaṇi* (and according to Dr. Schram's Tables) **the intercalary month was Śrâvaṇa.** For, by the *Brahma-siddhânta* there were new-moons on 27 June, A. D. 1432, 21 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise, when the true longitude of the sun was 90° 31′ 40″, and on 27 July, 6 h. 24 m., when the true longitude of the sun was 118° 33′ 34″; and by the *Siddhânta-śirômaṇi* there were new-moons on 27 June, 22 h. 51 m., when the true longitude of the sun was 90° 40′ 8″, and on 27 July, 8 h. 0 m., when the true longitude of the sun was 118° 39′ 12″; or, in other words, by both the works mentioned there were two new-moons during the solar months Śrâvaṇa.

158. — **V. 1747.** — Professor Weber's *Catalogue*, Vol. I. p. 219. Date of a MS. of Anubhûtisvarûpa's *Śârasvatî-prakriyâ*: —

Saṁvat 1747 varshê **prathama-Vaiśâsha(kha)**-vadi **dvitîya-chaturthî**-dinê **Budhê Śnurâdhâ**-yôgê.

Vaiśâkha was intercalary in northern V. 1747 expired; for in that year the solar Vaiśâkha lasted from 29 March, 7 h. 19 m., to 29 April, 5 h. 32 m., A. D. 1690, and there were new-moons on 30 March, 9 h. 42 m., and 28 April, 19 h. 33 m. after mean sunrise. By the Tables the results for the ending-points of the 3rd, 4th, and 5th *tithis* of the dark half of the **pûrṇimânta first Vaiśâkha** would be as follows: —

the 3rd *tithi* ended on Monday, 17 March, A. D. 1690, 23 h. 5 m. after mean sunrise;
no *tithi* ended on Tuesday, 18 March;
the 4th *tithi* ended on Wednesday, 19 March, 0 h. 34 m. after mean sunrise; and on this day the *nakshatra* was **Anurâdhâ** up to 16 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise;
the 5th *tithi* ended on Thursday, 20 March, 2 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise.

By the Tables, therefore, we should have a *prathama-tṛitîyâ* (Monday) and a *dvitîya-tṛitîyâ* (Tuesday), but only one *chaturthî* (Wednesday). But by the *Brahma-siddhânta* the 4th *tithi* ended 22 h. 54 m. after mean sunrise of Tuesday, 18 March; no *tithi* ended on Wednesday, 19 March; and the 5th *tithi* ended 0 h. 40 m. after mean sunrise of Thursday, 20 March; and accordingly, by that Siddhânta, **Wednesday**, 19 March, A. D. **1690**, is properly called the **dvitîya-chaturthî.**

(*Anurâdhâ-yôgê* in the date is a mistake for *Anurâdhâ-nakshatrê.*)

159. — **V. 1404.** — (See note 2, above). — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XXI. p. 19, and Plate xviii.; and Sir A. Cunningham's rubbing, supplied to me by Mr. Fleet. Stone inscription at the Fort of Marpha: —

(Line 3). — Saṁvat 1404 Kârttika-sudi 14 **Gurau** . . . .

V. 1404 current: Sunday, 29 October, A. D. 1346.

V. 1404 expired: By the Tables the 14th *tithi* of the bright half commenced 1 h. 4 m. before mean sunrise of Thursday, 18 October, A. D 1347, and ended 0 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise of Friday, 19 October. I have no doubt that **Thursday**, 18 October, A. D. 1347, which according to the **Tables was** wholly occupied by the 14th *tithi*, is the proper equivalent of the date; but by the **Siddhântas**, for which I have made the calculations, the 14th *tithi* in every case ended shortly after **mean sunrise** of the following day.

(b). — Dates of which the reading is, or may appear to be, doubtful.

160. — **V. 1181.** — *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. LVI. Part I. p. 115, and Plate vii. Copper-plate inscription of Gôvindachandradêva of Kanauj: —

(Line 16) . . . samvat 1181 Bhâdrapada-sudi [4 ?] **Gurau** ady=êha [Vârâ]ṇasyâ[ṁ] Gaṁgâyâṁ . . .

This date has been already treated by me, *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 58. I have there stated that it is doubtful whether the figure after the word *sudi* is 3 or 4; that, if it be 3, the corresponding day, for **northern V. 1181 expired**, is **Thursday**, 14 August, A. D. 1124, when the third *tithi* of the bright half ended 6 h. 43 m. after mean sunrise; and that, if it be 4, the corresponding day is the same, but that, in that case, the day was coupled with the (fourth) *tithi* which commenced on it.

161. — **[V. 1220 ?].** — *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 343. Stone inscription at Udaypur in Gwâlior, of the reign of the Chaulukya Kumârapâladêva: —

(Line 1) . . . . sha-sudi 15 **Gurau** ||

(Line 11) . . . . . **sômagrahaṇa-parvvaṇi** . . .

I have attempted to shew, *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 342, that the full date, at the commencement of line 1, was —

Saṁvat 1220 varshê Pausha-sudi 15 **Gurau**;

and that the corresponding day, for **V. 1220 expired**, is **Thursday**, 12 December, A. D. 1163, when there was **a partial lunar eclipse, visible in India**, 13 h. 23 m. Greenwich time, or, at Ujjain, 12 h. 26 m. after mean sunrise.

162. — **[V. 1227 ?].** — In *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XXI. Plate xii. B., Sir A. Cunningham has given a photo-lithograph of a stone inscription at Ajaygaḍh, the date of which, *ib.* p. 49, he transcribes thus: —

(Line 1) . . . Saṁvat 1237 Âshâḍha-sudi 2 **Sômê** Jayapuradurgîya- . . .

Supposing this reading to be correct, the possible equivalents of the date would be: —

Northern V. 1237 current: **Friday**, 8 June, A. D. 1179.

In northern V. 1237 expired Âshâḍha was intercalary; for, the solar Âshâḍha lasted from 25 May, 16 h. 2 m., to 26 June, 6 h. 41 m., A. D. 1180, and there were new-moons on 26 May, 6 h. 44 m., and on 24 June, 19 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise. The 2nd of the bright half of the first Âshâḍha was Wednesday, 28 May, A. D. 1180; and of the second Âshâḍha, Thursday, 26 June, A. D. 1180.

Southern V. 1237 expired: Tuesday, 16 June, A. D. 1181; the second *tithi* of the bright half ended 2 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise.

None of these equivalents satisfies the requirements of the date, and the date would therefore appear to be irregular. But, in the photo-lithograph, the third figure of the year of the date, in my opinion, is much more similar to 2 than it is to 3, and taking the year of the date to be 1227, I find that Âshâḍha-sudi 2 of **southern V. 1227 expired**, corresponds to **Monday**, 7 June, A. D. 1171, when the second *tithi* of the bright half ended 11 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise.

(Sir A. Cunningham, *loc. cit.* p. 50, concludes "that *Sômê*, or Monday, was a mistake of the writer for *Saumyê*, or Wednesday.")

163. — **V. 1232.** — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. III. p. 125, and Plate xxxviii. No. 18. Inscription over a statue at Gayâ, of the reign of the Pâla Gôvindapâladêva :—

(Line 3) . . . Samvat 1232 **Vikâri**-saṁmvatsarê | śrî-Gôvindapâladêva-gata-râjyê chaturddaśa-saṁmvatsarê Gayâyâṁ ||

(Line 12) . . . Âśvinê śukla-paĉchamyâ . . . (?).

The year **Vikârin**, No. 33, which is here coupled with the (Vikrama) year 1232, lasted, according to the Sûrya-Siddhânta rule, without *bîja*, from 10 February, A. D. 1175, to 6 February, A. D. 1176, and with *bîja*, from 16 March, A. D. 1175, to 11 March, A. D. 1176; and according to the Jyôtistattva rule, from 25 January, A. D. 1175, to 21 January, A. D. 1176. Accordingly, Vikârin **was actually current during the bright half of Âśvina of northern V. 1232 expired** (17 September to 1 October, A. D. 1175), **and also at the commencement of the solar year** (25 March, A. D. 1175). By the Têlinga rule the bright half of Âśvina of northern V. 1232 expired would fall in the year Manmatha, No. 29.

The 5th *tithi* of the bright half of Âśvina of northern V. 1232 expired ended on Monday, 22 September, A. D. 1175, 5 h. 15 m. after mean sunrise. I am unable to ascertain whether Monday is the day given in the original inscription, or whether the inscription mentions any week-day at all.

164. — **V. 1264.** — *ante*, Vol. XI. p. 337, Dr. Hultzsch has published, with a photo-lithograph, a copper-plate inscription, of the time of the Chaulukya Bhîmadêva II., the date of which he reads thus : —

(Line 1) . . . Saṁvat 1264 varshê lau° Âshâḍha-śudi 2 **Sômê**.

Supposing this reading to be correct, the possible equivalents of the date would be :—

Northern V. 1264 current : Saturday, 10 June, A. D. 1206.

Northern V. 1264 expired : Wednesday, 30 May, A. D. 1207.

Southern V. 1264 expired : Tuesday, 17 June, A. D. 1208; the second *tithi* of the bright half ended 4 h. 28 m. after mean sunrise.

Here, again, none of these equivalents would satisfy the requirements of the date, and the date might therefore seem to be irregular. Referring, however, to the photo-lithograph, I find that the numeral for the day does not look at all like 2, but is very probably 7, or perhaps 8. And calculating for the 7th and 8th *tithis*, I obtain the following results :—

For **northern V. 1264 expired**, Âshâḍha-śudi 7 : **Monday**, 4 June, A. D. 1207, when the 7th *tithi* of the bright half ended 12 h. 7 m. after mean sunrise; and—

for **southern V. 1264 expired**, Âshâḍha-śudi 8 : **Monday**, 23 June, A. D. 1208, when the 8th *tithi* of the bright half ended 8 h. 5 m. after mean sunrise.

165. — **V. 1288 or 1289 ?** — In *Archæol. Surv. of Western India*, Vol. II. p. 173, there is an inscription from Girnâr, the date of which is given thus :—

(Line 2). — **Śrî-Vikrama-saṁvat** 1288 varshê Âśvina-vadî 15 **Sômê**.

The same inscription is published in *Archæol. Remains, Bo. Pres.*, p. 315, where the date is given thus :—

(Line 2). — **Śrî-Vikrama-saṁvat** 1289 varshê Âśvina-vadî 15 **Sômê**.

The possible equivalents of the date for both the Vikrama years 1288 and 1289 would be :—

Northern V. 1288 current,—

pûrṇimânta : Sunday, 8 September, A. D. 1230.

amânta : Monday, 7 October, A. D. 1230 ; the 15th *tithi* of the dark half ended 22 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise.

In northern V. 1288 expired Âśvina was intercalary; for the solar Âśvina lasted from 28 August, 21 h. 39 m., to 28 September, 8 h. 35 m., A. D. 1231, and there were new-moons on 29 August, 1 h. 25 m., and on 27 September, 11 h. 20 m., after mean sunrise. The 15th of the dark half of the first Âśvina was,—

pûrṇimânta : Friday, 29 August, A. D. 1231 ;

amânta : Saturday, 27 September, A. D. 1231 ; and of the second Âśvina,—

amânta: Sunday, 26 October, A. D. 1231, when the 15th *tithi* of the dark half ended 21 h. 41 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1288 expired,—

pûrṇimânta: Thursday, 16 September, A. D. 1232.

amânta: Friday, 16 October, A. D. 1232.

Southern V. 1289 expired,—

pûrṇimânta: Monday, 5 September, A. D. 1233; the 15th *tithi* of the dark half ended 19 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise.

amânta: Wednesday, 5 October, A. D. 1233.

In my opinion, the probability is that the year of the date is 1289, and that the true equivalent of the date therefore is **Monday, 5 September, A. D. 1233.**

166.—**V. 13[8]6.** — *ante*, Vol. XV. p. 360. Hâthasṇî stone inscription of the Mêhara chief Thêpaka:—

(Line 17). — Saṁvat 13[8]6 varshê || **Bhâvê** saṁvatsarê pûrṇê Âshâḍhê **shaḍaśîtikê** saptamyâṁ **Sômavârêṇa.**

This date offers the following difficulties: — 1, According to the transcript the third figure of the year of the date (the 8) is doubtful; 2, the date does not specify the fortnight of the month; and 3, the exact meaning of the term *shaḍaśîtikê*, which the editor of the inscription has taken to mean 'in the eighty-sixth (year),' is not apparent.

The first difficulty is much lessened by the statement that the date was recorded when the Jovian year **Bhâva** was completed, *i. e.* in the Jovian year which followed immediately upon the year Bhâva. For, this statement proves that the year of the date must be either 1326 or 1386, because in the 14th century of the Vikrama era[5] the year Bhâva ended, by the Sûrya-Siddhânta rule, without *bîja*,[6] —

on Pausha śukla 7 of V. 1326 expired = 31 December, A. D. 1269; and

on amânta Vaiśâkha kṛishṇa 8 of northern V. 1386 expired = 22 April, A. D. 1329.

Now, if the year of the date was V. 1326, the month Âshâḍha, mentioned in the date, must have fallen in southern V. 1326 expired; and if the year was V. 1386, the month Âshâḍha may have fallen in either northern V. 1386 expired or southern V. 1386 expired.

Calculating, then, the 7th of both the bright and the dark fortnights of Âshâḍha for the three possible years, we obtain the following results:—

For southern V. 1326 expired, —

pûrṇimânta, kṛishṇa 7: Wednesday, 11 June, A. D. 1270.

śukla 7: Friday, 27 June, A. D. 1270.

amânta, kṛishṇa 7: Friday, 11 July, A. D. 1270.

For northern V. 1386 expired, in which Âshâḍha was intercalary,[7]—

pûrṇimânta, kṛishṇa 7 of first Âshâḍha: Saturday, 20 May, A. D. 1329.

śukla 7 „ „ „ : Sunday, 4 June, A. D. 1329.

pûrṇimânta, kṛishṇa 7 of second Âshâḍha: Monday, 19 June, A. D. 1329, when the 7th *tithi* of the dark half ended 13 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise.

śukla 7 of second Âshâḍha: Tuesday, 4 July, A. D. 1329.

amânta, kṛishṇa 7 „ „ „ : Wednesday, 19 July, A. D. 1329.

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[5] The date cannot be referred to the Śaka era, because during the 14th century of the Śaka era the year Bhâva ended, by the Sûrya-Siddhânta rule, in Śaka 1310 expired and Śaka 1369 expired. Nor can the writer have followed the Têlinga rule, because by that rule the years following immediately upon Bhâva were Vikrama 1332 and 1392 expired, and Śaka 1317 and 1377 expired.

[6] By the Sûrya-Siddhânta rule with *bîja*, and by the Jyôtistattva rule, the dates would be the 4th February, A. D. 1270, and the 15th December, A. D. 1239; and the 28th May and 2nd April, A. D. 1329. In the present case it is immaterial which of the three rules was followed by the writer.

[7] The solar Âshâḍha lasted from 27 May, 5 h. 20 m., to 27 June, 20 h., A. D. 1329, and there were new-moons on 29 May, 7 h. 22 m., and on 27 June, 16 h. 56 m. after mean sunrise.

For southern V. 1386 expired,—

pûrṇimânta, kṛishṇa 7 : Friday, 8 June, A. D. 1330.
śukla 7 : Saturday, 23 June, A. D. 1330.
amânta, kṛishṇa 7 : Sunday, 8 July, A. D. 1330.

Of all these possible equivalents only one, **the 19th June, A. D. 1329,** would so far meet the requirements of the date. For that day fell in northern **V. 1386** expired, one of the three years to which the date is restricted; it fell in the Jovian year which followed immediately upon **Bhâva**, which had ended on 22 April, A. D. 1329; on that day one of **the seventh** *tithis* of Âshâḍha ended, 13 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise; and the day was a **Monday,** as required. It remains to shew, how far or in what sense the term *shaḍaśîtikê* may be applicable to it.

Although the word *shaḍaśîtika*, so far as I know, has not itself been met with elsewhere, it is clear that it is used here in a technical sense, the exact nature of which may be suggested to us by the sense of the better known terms *shaḍaśîti-mukha* and *shaḍaśîti*. According to the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, xiv. 3-5,—

"By solar time are determined . . . . the *shaḍaśîtimukhas* . . .

"Beginning with Libra, the *shaḍaśîtimukha* is at the end of the periods of eighty-six (*shaḍaśîti*) days, in succession: there are four of them, occurring in the signs of double character (*dvisvabhâva*);

"Namely, at the twenty-sixth degree of Sagittarius, at the twenty-second of Pisces, at the eighteenth of Gemini (*Mithuna*), and at the fourteenth of Virgo."

But according to the *Kâlamâdhava*, Calcutta Ed. pp. 331-3, and the authorities cited in that work, *shaḍaśîtimukha*, as well as the simple *shaḍaśîti*, denote both the signs Mithuna, Kanyâ, Dhanuḥ, and Mîna, and also the *saṁkrântis* of the sun into those signs.[8]

Now, as regards our date, it is clear that the term *shaḍaśîtimukha*, in the sense in which the word is explained in the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, would in no way be applicable to the 19th June, A. D. 1329; for in A. D. 1329 the sun was in the eighteenth degree of Mithuna already on the 14th and 15th June. Nor would *shaḍaśîtimukha* or *shaḍaśîti*, denoting the Mithuna-saṁkrânti, be applicable to the above-mentioned 19th June, because that *saṁkrânti* had taken place as early as the 27th May, A. D. 1329. But the two terms would be applicable to the 19th June, A. D. 1329, if, in accordance with the alternative allowed by the *Kâlamâdhava*, they are taken to denote the whole sign Mithuna, for in the present case the sun was in the sign Mithuna up to the 27th June, A. D. 1329. And such being the case, I take the word *shaḍaśîtikê* of the date to be used, for the sake of the metre, for *shaḍaśîtau*, denoting the sign Mithuna, and consider it to be simply synonymous with the phrase *mithuna-râśau sthitê sûryê*. And I accordingly regard **Monday, 19 June, A. D. 1329,** which strictly fulfils every one of the conditions of the date, to be its true equivalent.

By a curious coincidence Monday, 19 June, A. D. 1329, was the 86th day, counted from the preceding Mêsha-saṁkrânti, which took place on 25 March, A. D. 1329, 21 h. 26·9 m. after mean sunrise.

167. — [V. 1583 ?]. — Professor Weber's *Catalogue*, Vol. I. p. 69. **Date of a MS. of the *Târaḍya-brâhmaṇa* : —**

Svasti saṁvat Âshâḍhâdi 83 varshê Vaiśâsha(kha)-sita-dviti[yâ*]yâṁ Bhûmi-tanayê . . .

This date has been treated[9] by me *ante*, **Vol. XVIII. p. 252. I have there shewn that the writer in all probability intended to write—**

saṁvat 15 Âshâḍhâdi 83 varshê,—

and that, for southern V. 1583 expired, the date corresponds to Tuesday, 2 April, A. D. 1527 when the second *tithi* of the bright half ended about 22 h. 37 m. after mean sunrise.

[8] See particularly *Kâlamâdhava*, p. 333 : — Tair-êtaiḥ saṁjñâ-bhêdâi râśayô vyavahriyantê | tad-râśi saṁbandhât-tad-râśi-saṁkrântînâm-api tâny-êva nâmâni ||

[9] I now find that the 'Hâlâri Saṁvat, which commences in Âshâḍha,' had been already mentioned, *ante*, Vo VIII. p. 183.

(c). — Dates which work out satisfactorily only when the day of the date is taken to have been joined with the tithi commencing on it.

168. — **V. 1050.** — Professor Bhâṇḍârkar's *Second Report* (1882-83), p. 228. Date of the composition of Amitagati's *Subhâshita-ratna-saṁdôha*, of the reign of Muñja of Dhârâ :—

Samârûḍhê pûta-tridasa-vasatiṁ Vikrama-nṛipê
sahasrê varshâṇâṁ prabhavati hi pañchâśad-adhikê ।
samâptaṁ pañchamyâm=avati dharaṇîṁ Muñja-nṛipatau
sitê pakshê Paushê **budha-hitam**=idaṁ śâstram=anagham ॥

Although the author does not actually say that he completed his work on **Budha or Wednesday,** yet by the expression *budha-hitam* he undoubtedly suggests that such was really the case ; and calculating the possible equivalents of the date, we find :—

V. 1050 current : Friday, 2 December, A. D. 992.

V. 1050 expired : the 5th *tithi* of the bright half commenced on **Wednesday,** 20 December, A. D. 993, 2 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise, and ended on Thursday, 21 December, 2 h. 50 m. after mean sunrise.

Amitagati therefore completed his work on **Wednesday, 20 December, A. D. 993** (civilly Pausha-śudi 4), after the commencement of the 5th *tithi*.

169. — **V. 1078.** — *ante*, Vol. VI. p. 53. Copper-plate inscription of the *Mahârâjâdhirâja* Bhôjadêva of Dhârâ :—

(Line 8) . . . . . atît-âshṭasaptaty-adhika-sâhasrika-samvatsarê Mâgh-âsita-tṛitîyâyâṁ । **Ravâv**=udagayana-parvvaṇi . . . . śrîmad-Dhârâyâṁ=avasthitair=asmâbhiḥ . . .

V. 1078 current, pûrṇimânta :[10] Wednesday, 4 January, A. D. 1021 ; Uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrânti on 23 December, A. D. 1020.

V. 1078 expired, pûrṇimânta : the third *tithi* of the dark half commenced on **Sunday,** 24 December, A. D. 1021, 3 h. 24 m. after mean sunrise, and ended on Monday, 25 December, 4 h. 7 m. after mean sunrise. And the **Uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrânti** took place on Saturday, 23 December, 20 h. 31 m. after mean sunrise.

There can be no doubt that **Sunday, 24 December, A. D. 1021,** is the proper equivalent of the date, and that the ceremonies connected with the Uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrânti, which took place late on Saturday, had to be deferred to the Sunday, and were permitted to be performed on that day even after the commencement of the third *tithi* ; and the Sunday may, therefore, have been joined here with the (third) *tithi* which commenced on it. At the same time, considering that the Uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrânti took place during the second *tithi* and that the Sunday also was civilly the second, I cannot suppress the suspicion that the word *tṛitîyâyâṁ* of the date may have been put erroneously for *dvitîyâyâṁ*.

(In lines 30 and 31 the same inscription contains the date —
Samvat 1078 Chaitra-śudi 14.

This date does not admit of verification, but it clearly fell later than the other date ; and it may be pointed out that, if the figures for the year of the second date are correctly given, the year in which the first date fell must have commenced with the month Kârttika.)

170. — **V. 1145.** — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XX. p. 99, and Plate xxii. Stone inscription from a temple at 'Dubkund' (south-west of Gwâlior), of the reign of the *Mahârâjâdhirâja* Vikramasiṁha(?) : —

(Line 61) . . . Saṁvat 1145 Bhâdrapada-sudi 3 **Sôma-dinê** ॥

The possible equivalents for V. 1145 and the surrounding years are : —
Northern V. 1144 current : Saturday, 15 August, A. D. 1086.
Northern V. 1145 current : Wednesday, 4 August, A. D. 1087.

[10] In Mâgha, the Uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrânti can take place only during the dark half of the *pûrṇimânta* month.

Northern V. 1145 expired: the third *tithi* of the bright half commenced on **Monday,** 21 August, A. D. 1088, 3 h. 28 m. after mean sunrise, and ended on Tuesday, 22 August, 3 h. 24 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1145 expired: Saturday, 11 August, A. D. 1089.

Southern V. 1146 expired, in which Bhâdrapada was intercalary, —

first Bhâdrapada: Thursday, 1 August, A. D. 1090;

second Bhâdrapada: Friday, 30 August, A. D. 1090.

Southern V. 1147 expired: Wednesday, 20 August, A. D. 1091.

Here the probability is that **Monday, 21 August, A. D. 1088,** is the true equivalent of the date; but, unable to make out the object of the inscription from the published lithograph, I can give no reasons why the day should have been joined with the (third) *tithi* which commenced on it.

171. — **V. 1173.** — *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. p. 147. Date of the renewal, by the Chandêlla Jayavarmadêva, of the Khâjurâhô inscription of Dhaṅgadêva:—

(Line 34) . . . Saṁvat 1173 Vaisâ(śâ)kha-śudi 3 **Sukrê** ॥

The possible equivalents for V. 1173 and the surrounding years are:—

Northern V. 1172 current: Thursday, 9 April, A. D. 1114; the third *tithi* of the bright half ended 22 h. 18 m. after mean sunrise.

Northern V. 1173 current: Tuesday, 30 March, A. D. 1115.

Northern V. 1173 expired: Monday, 17 April, A. D. 1116.

Southern V. 1173 expired: the third *tithi* of the bright half commenced on **Friday,** 6 April, A. D. 1117, 2 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise, and ended on Saturday, 7 April, 2 h. 29 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1174 expired: Thursday, 25 April, A. D. 1118; the third *tithi* of the bright half ended 21 h. 48 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1175 expired: Monday, 14 April, A. D. 1119.

Here, again, the probability is that **Friday, 6 April, A. D. 1117,** is the true equivalent of the date, but no reason is apparent why the day should have been joined with the (third) *tithi* which commenced on it.

172. — **V. 1185.** — *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. LVI. Part I. p. 120, and Plate viii. Copper-plate inscription of Gôvindachandradêva of Kanauj:—

(Line 15) . . . paṁchâśî(śi)ty-adhik-aikâdasa(śa)-sa(śa)ta-saṁvatsarêshu Chaitrê mâsi su(śu)kla-pakshê paurṇṇamâsyâṁ tithau **Su(śu)kra-dinê** aṅkê=pi saṁvat 1185 Chaitra-sudi 15 **Su(śu)krê** [ady=êha] śrîmad-Vârâṇasyâṁ **manvâdau** Gaṁgâyâṁ snâtvâ . . .

The possible equivalents for V. 1185 and the surrounding years are:—

Northern V. 1184 current: Wednesday, 10 March, A. D. 1126.

Northern V. 1185 current: Tuesday, 29 March, A. D. 1127.

Northern V. 1185 expired: Sunday, 18 March, A. D. 1128.

Southern V. 1185 expired: the full-moon *tithi* commenced on **Friday,** 5 April, A. D. 1129, 10 h. 59 m. after mean sunrise, and ended on Saturday, 6 April, 10 h. 50 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1186 expired: Wednesday, 26 March, A. D. 1130.

Southern V. 1187 expired: Sunday, 15 March, A. D. 1131.

I have already stated, *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 59, that I consider **Friday, 5 April, A. D. 1129,** to be the true equivalent of the date, and that I believe the ceremonies connected with the **manvâdi** festival to have been performed late in the afternoon of that day, after the commencement of the full-moon *tithi*.

173. — **V. 1229.** — *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 347. Udaypur (in Gwâlior) stone inscription of the reign of the Chaulukya Ajayapâladêva:—

(Line 1) . . . . Saṁvat 1229 varshê | Vaiśâkha-sudi 3 **Sômê** ॥

(Line 3) . . . . -Ajaya[pâ]ladêva-kalyâṇavijayarâjyê . . .

(Line 7) . . . . **akshayatritîyâ-yugâdi-parvvaṇi** . . .

Northern V. 1229 current: Saturday, 10 April, A. D. 1171.

Northern V. 1229 expired: Wednesday, 29 March, A. D. 1172.

Southern V. 1229 expired: the third *tithi* of the bright half commenced on **Monday, 16** April, A. D. 1173, 1 h. 40 m. after mean sunrise, and ended on Tuesday, 17 April, 2 h. 42 m. after mean sunrise.

I have shewn, *loc. cit.* p. 346, that the ceremonies connected with the **yugâdi** had necessarily to be performed on **Monday, 16 April, A. D. 1173,** because the third *tithi* of the bright half commenced before the 13th *ghaṭikâ* of that day, and ended before the 13th *ghaṭikâ* of the next day, and that the Monday, therefore, is the true equivalent of the date.

174. — **V. 1234.** — *ante*, **Vol. XVIII. p. 139. Copper-plate inscription of Jayachchandradêva of Kanauj:—**

(Line 24) . . . chatustriṁsaty[11]-adhika-dvâdaśa-sa(śa)ta-saṁvatsarê Paushê mâsi su(śu)kla-pakshê chaturthyâṁ=tithau **Ravi-dinê** aṅkatô=pi saṁvat 1234 Pauṣha-sudi 4 **Ravau uttarâyana(ṇa)-saṁkrântau** ady=êha śrîmad-Vârâṇasyâṁ Gaṁgâyâṁ snâtvâ . . .

V. 1234 current: Tuesday, 7 December, A. D. 1176; and Uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrânti on 25 December, A. D. 1176.

V. 1234 expired: the 4th *tithi* of the bright half commenced on **Sunday**, 25 December, A. D. 1177, 4 h. 36 m. after mean sunrise, and ended on Monday, 26 December, 6 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise; and the **Uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrânti** took place on Sunday, 25 December, 5 h. 18 m. after mean sunrise.

The true equivalent is **Sunday, 25 December, A. D. 1177,** and the meaning of the date appears to be, that the donation spoken of in the inscription was made at the Uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrânti which took place during the 4th *tithi* on that Sunday.

175. — **V. 1877.** — Professor Aufrecht's *Catalogue*, p. 61. Date of a MS. of the *Vârâha-purâṇa*, written at Benares:—

Saṁvat 1877 **Khara**-nâma-saṁvatsarê **adhika-Jyêshṭê(shṭhê)** mâsê śuklê pakshê saptamyâṁ[12] **Guru-vâsarê** tad-dinê . . .

Jyaishṭha was intercalary in northern V. 1877 expired;[13] for, in that year the solar Jyaishṭha lasted from 11 May, new style, 20 h. 51 m., to 12 June, 6 h. 32 m., A. D. 1820, and there were new-moons on 12 May, 8 h., and 10 June, 18 h. 8 m. after mean sunrise. The 7th *tithi* of the bright half of **the first or adhika Jyaishṭha** commenced on **Thursday**, 18 May, 8 h. 47 m. after mean sunrise, and ended on Friday, 19 May, 10 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise; and the 7th of the bright half of second Jyaishṭha was Sunday, 18 June.

In my opinion, **Thursday, 18 May, new style, A. D. 1820,** is the true equivalent of the date, and the writer finished his work in the afternoon or evening of that day, after the commencement of the 7th *tithi*.

The year **Khara**, No. 25, lasted, according to the Sûrya-Siddhânta rule, without *bîja*, from 9 August, new style, A. D. 1819, to 4 August, A. D. 1820, and with *bîja*, from 18 September, A. D. 1819, to 13 September, A. D. 1820; and according to the Jyôtistattva rule, from 19 July, A. D. 1819, to 14 July, A. D. 1820. Accordingly, Khara **was current on the actual day of the date** (18 May, A. D. 1820) **and also at the commencement of the solar year** (10 April, A. D. 1820). By the Têlinga rule the date would fall in the year Vikrama, No. 14.

(d). — A date with a wrong week-day.

176. — **V. 1161.** — *ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 103. Basâhi copper-plate inscription of Gôvindachandradêva of Kanauj:—

(Line 8) . . . Saṁvat sahas[r*]-aikê êkashashṭy-uttara-śat-âbhyadhikê Pausha-mâsê śukla-pakshê paṁchamyâṁ **Ravi-dinê** śaṁkê saṁvat 1161 Pausha-sudi 5 **Ravau** | . . . .

[11] Read *chatustriṁśad-*. [12] Read *saptamyâṁ*. [13] See No. 121 above, p. 177.

(Line 16) . . . mahârâjaputra-śrîmad-Gôvindachaṁdradêvêna **uttarâyana(ṇa)-saṁkrâṁtau** . . . .

V. 1161 current: **Sunday**, 6 December, A. D. 1103; the 5th *tithi* of the bright half ended, 1 h. 21 m. after mean sunrise. Uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrânti on 25 December, A. D. 1103.

V. 1161 expired: Saturday, 24 December, A. D. 1104, when **the 5th tithi** of the bright half ended 4 h. 19 m. after mean sunrise, and when the **Uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrânti** took place 7 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise.

In my opinion, **Saturday, 24 December, A. D. 1104**, which is the day of the Uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrânti (which actually took place during the 6th *tithi*), and on which also the 5th *tithi* ended, is the true equivalent of the date, and the words *Ravi-dinê* and *Ravau* of the date have been put erroneously for *Sani-dinê* and *Sanau*.

(e). — Dates which yield no satisfactory equivalent for the year of the date, but which would work out properly for the immediately following year.

177. — **V. 1049.** — *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. VI. p. 783; Prinsep's *Essays*, Vol. I. p. 324, *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. I. p. 355; *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. p. 81; and Sir A. Cunningham's rubbing, supplied to me by Mr. Fleet. Dêwal stone inscription of Lalla, the Chhinda:—

(Line 26) . . . Samvatsara-sahasra 1049 Mârgga-vadi 7 **Guru-dinê** ||

The possible equivalents for V. 1049 and V. 1050 are:—

V. 1049 current,—

pûrṇimânta: Sunday, 1 November, A. D. 991.

amânta: Monday, 30 November, A. D. 991.

V. 1049 expired,—

pûrṇimânta: the 7th *tithi* of the dark half commenced on **Thursday**, 20 October, A. D. 992, 6 h. 6 m. after mean sunrise, and ended on Friday, 21 October, 3 h. 37 m. after mean sunrise.

amânta: Saturday, 19 November, A. D. 992.

V. 1050 expired, —

pûrṇimânta: Thursday, 9 November, A. D. 993; the 7th *tithi* of the dark half ended 5 h. 32 m. after mean sunrise.

amânta: Friday, 8 December, A. D. 993.

Here, either the Thursday was joined with the (7th) *tithi* which commenced on it, and in that case the proper equivalent of the date would be Thursday, 20 October, A. D. 992; or the year 1049 has been put erroneously for 1050. As no reason is apparent why the former course should have been adopted (the date not being connected with any religious ceremony), I would decide in favour of the second alternative, and accept **Thursday, 9 November, A. D. 993**, as the true equivalent of the date.

(According to Prinsep in *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. VI. p. 786, the date corresponds to 'Thursday, 5th November, A. D. 992.' But the 5th November, A. D. 992, was a Saturday, and was the 9th of the bright half of Mârgaśira.)

178 — **V. 1107.** — *ante*, Vol. XVI. p. 205. Nanyaurâ copper-plate inscription of the Chandêlla Dêvavarmadêva: —

(Line 7). — Saṁvat 1107 Vaiśâkha-mâsê kṛi[shṇa]-pakshê tṛitîyâyâṁ **Sôma-dinê** Suhavâsa-samâvâsê . . . . âtmîya-mâtuḥ râjñî-śrî-Bhuvanadêvyâḥ sâmvatsarî(ri)kê . . .

The possible equivalents for V. 1107 and V. 1108 are: —

Northern V. 1107 current, —

pûrṇimânta: Saturday, 25 March, A. D. 1049

amânta: Sunday, 23 April, A. D. 1049.

Northern V. 1107 expired, —

pûrṇimânta: Wednesday, 14 March, A. D. 1050.

amânta: Thursday, 12 April, A. D. 1050.

Southern V. 1107 expired, —

pûrṇimânta: the third *tithi* of the dark half commenced on **Monday**, 1 April, A. D. 1051, 6 h. 40 m. after mean sunrise, and ended on Tuesday, 2 April, 7 h. 48 m. after mean sunrise.

amânta: Wednesday, 1 May, A. D. 1051.

Southern V. 1108 expired, —

pûrṇimânta: Saturday, 21 March, A. D. 1052.

amânta: Monday, 20 April, A. D. 1052; the third *tithi* of the dark half ended 1 h. 55 m. after mean sunrise.

Here, again, either the Monday was joined with the (third) *tithi* which commenced on it, and in that case the proper equivalent of the date would be Monday, 1 April, A. D. 1051; or the year 1107 has been put erroneously for 1108. And I would here, too, decide in favour of the second alternative, and therefore accept **Monday, 20 April, A. D. 1052,** as the true equivalent of the date.

179. — **V. 1182.** — *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. XXVII. p. 243. Copper-plate inscription of Gôvindachandradêva of Kanauj:—

. . . dvyaśity-adhik-aikâdaśa-śata-saṁvatsarê Mâgha-mâsê kṛishṇa-pakshê shashṭhyâṁ tithâv=aṅkataḥ saṁvat 1182 Mâgha-vadi 6 **Śukrê** Śrîśa-Pratishṭhânê Gaṅgâyâṁ snâtvâ . . .

The possible equivalents for V. 1182 and V. 1183 are: —

V. 1182 current, —

pûrṇimânta: Sunday, 28 December, A. D. 1124.

amânta: Monday, 26 January, A. D. 1125.

V. 1182 expired, —

pûrṇimânta: Thursday, 17 December, A. D. 1125.

amânta: the 6th *tithi* of the dark half commenced on **Friday,** 15 January, A. D. 1126, 14 h. 2 m. after mean sunrise, and ended on Saturday, 16 January, 11 h. 37 m. after mean sunrise.

V. 1183 expired, —

pûrṇimânta: Thursday, 6 January, A. D. 1127.

amânta: Friday, 4 February, A. D. 1127; the 6th *tithi* of the dark half ended 14 h. 6 m. after mean sunrise.

Considering that on Friday, 15 January, A. D. 1126, the 6th *tithi* commenced so late as to render the performance of religious ceremonies after the commencement of the *tithi* on that day impossible, I here, too, take the year 1182 of the date to have been put erroneously for 1183, and accordingly regard **Friday, 4 February, A. D. 1127,** as the true equivalent of the date.

180. — **V. 1231.** — *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 83. Copper-plate inscription of the reign of the Chaulukya Ajayapâladêva: —

(Line 11) . . . **nṛipa-Vikrama-kâlâd=arvvâk** êkatriṁśad-adhika-dvâdaśa-śata-saṁvatsar-ântarvarttini Kârttikê mâsi śukla-pakshê êkâdaśyâṁ **Sôma-dinê** upôshya **Kârttik-ôdyâpana-parvvaṇi** . . .

(Line 31) . . . **Saṁvat 1231 varshê Kârttika-śudi 13 Vu(bu)dhê** ॥

The possible equivalents of these two dates for V. 1231 and V. 1232 are: —

Of the first date (Kârttika-śudi 11): —

V. 1231 current: **Thursday, 18 October, A. D. 1173.**

V. 1231 expired: the 11th *tithi* of the bright half commenced on **Monday,** 7 October A. D. 1174, 17 h. 21 m. after mean sunrise, and ended on Tuesday, 8 October, 14 h. 57 m. after mean sunrise.

V. 1232 expired: Monday, 27 October, A. D. 1175; the 11th *tithi* of the bright half ended 16 h. 43 m. after mean sunrise.

Of the second date (Kârttika-śudi 13): —

V. 1231 current: Saturday, 20 October, A. D. 1173.

V. 1231 expired: the 13th *tithi* of the bright half commenced on **Wednesday,** 9 October, A. D. 1174, 12 h. 24 m. after mean sunrise, and ended on Thursday, 10 October, 9 h. 51 m. after mean sunrise.

V. 1232 expired: Wednesday, 29 October, A. D. 1175; the 13th *tithi* of the bright half ended 12 h. 7 m. after mean sunrise.

Here, again, either the *tithis* of both dates were joined with the days on which they commenced, or the year 1231 has been put wrongly for 1232. And I would again decide in favour of the second alternative, and accordingly take **Monday, 27 October,** and **Wednesday, 29 October, A. D. 1175,** as the true equivalents of the two dates; for, in the second date, a so-called current *tithi* would be altogether out of place, and in the case of the first date, too, no religious ceremony could have been performed during the 11th *tithi* on Monday, 7 October, A. D. 1174 (when that *tithi* commenced as late as 17 h. 21 m. after sunrise); and I can find no reason why the ceremonies connected with the *ékádaśí* should not have been performed on the day on which the *tithi* ended, *i. e.* on Tuesday, 8 October, A. D. 1174.

181. — **V. 1288.** — *ante*, Vol. VI. p. 203. Kaḍí copper-plate inscription of the Chaulukya Bhímadéva II.: —

(Line 16) . . . **Śrímat(d-)Vikramádity-ótpádita-saṁvatsara-śatéshu** dvádaśasu ashṭá-śíty-uttaréshu Bhádrapadamásíya-śukla-pratipadáyáṁ **Sóma-várē** ऽtr=áṁkató=pi saṁvat 1288 varshé Bhádravá-śudi 1 **Sómé** ऽsyáṁ saṁvatsara-mása paksha-vára-púrvvikáyáṁ tithév=ady=éha śrímad-Aṇahilapáṭaké . . .

The possible equivalents for V. 1288 and V. 1289 are: —

Northern V. 1288 current: Saturday, 10 August, A. D. 1230.

Northern V. 1288 expired: Thursday, 31 July, A. D. 1231.

Southern V. 1288 expired: Wednesday, 18 August, A. D. 1232.

Southern V. 1289 expired: Monday, 8 August, A. D. 1233; the first *tithi* of the bright half ended 7 h. 22 m. after mean sunrise.

Since the *tithi*, for V. 1288, can in no way be combined with a Monday, I take the year 1288 to have been erroneously put for 1289, and accordingly consider **Monday, 8 August, A. D. 1233,** to be the true equivalent of the date.

182. — **V. 1491.** — Dr. Peterson's *Third Report* (1885-86), App. p. 249. Date of the composition of Śílaratnasúri's commentary on Mérutuṅga's *Méghadúta*: —

Varshé chaṁdra-nidhána-púrva-1491-kalité **śrí-Vikramárkát=tathá**
Chaitr-áṁtar=vadi-paṁchamí-**Budhadiné** śréshṭh-**Ánurádhá**-yuté ||
śrí-jainójjvala-Méghadúta-suvṛihat-**kávyasya** púrṇ=ábhavaṭ=
ṭíká śrí-Aṇahillapáṭaka iti khyátē kshitau pattané ||

The possible equivalents for V. 1491 and V. 1492 are: —

Northern V. 1491 current, —

amánta: Friday, 10 April, A. D. 1433; *nakshatra* at sunrise, Múla (19).

púrṇimánta: Sunday, 28 February, A. D. 1434; *nakshatra* at sunrise, Viśákhá (16).

Northern V. 1491 expired, —

amánta: Tuesday, 30 March, A. D. 1434; the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 3 h. 7 m. after mean sunrise; *nakshatra* at sunrise, Múla (19).

púrṇimánta: Thursday, 17 February, A. D. 1435; the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 19 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise; *nakshatra* Svátí (15), up to 13 h. 47 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1491 expired, —

amánta: Saturday, 19 March, A. D. 1435; *nakshatra* at sunrise, Jyéshṭhá (18).

Southern (or northern) V. 1492 expired, —

púrṇimánta: Wednesday, 7 March, A. D. 1436; the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 19 h. 46 m. after mean sunrise; and the *nakshatra* was Viśákhá (16) up to 3 h. 56 m. after mean sunrise, when it was followed by **Anurádhá** (17).

Since in V. 1491 there is no Wednesday which could in any way be joined with the *tith* and at the same time with the *nakshatra* Anurâdhâ, I take the year 1491 to have been erroneously put for 1492, and accordingly consider **Wednesday, 7 March, A. D. 1436**, to be the true equivalent of the date.

(f). — A date which yields no satisfactory equivalent for the year of the date, but which would work out properly for both the immediately preceding year and the immediately following year.

183. — **V. 1174.** — *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 20. Copper-plate inscription of Gôvindachandradêva of Kanauj : —

(Line 13) . . . chatuḥsaptaty-adhik-aikâdaśa-sa(śa)ta-saṁvatsarê Phâlgunê mâsi kṛishṇapakshê tṛitîyâyân=tithau **Śukra**-dine=ûkê=pi saṁvat 1174 Phâlgu[na-vadi 3(?)] **Śukrê** . . .

The possible equivalents for V. 1174 and the surrounding years are : —

V. 1173 current, —

pûrṇimânta : Thursday, 3 February, A. D. 1116.

amânta : Friday, 3 March, A. D. 1116 ; the third *tithi* of the dark half ended 15 h. 39 m. after mean sunrise.

V. 1174 current, —

pûrṇimânta : Monday, 22 January, A. D. 1117.

amânta : Wednesday, 21 February, A. D. 1117.

V. 1174 expired, —

pûrṇimânta : the third *tithi* of the dark half commenced 12 h. 50 m. after mean sunrise of **Friday,** 11 January, A. D. 1118, and ended 10 h. 55 m. after mean sunrise of Saturday, 12 January.

amânta : Sunday, 10 February, A. D. 1118.

V. 1175 expired, —

pûrṇimânta : Friday, 31 January, A. D. 1119 ; the third *tithi* of the dark half ended 11 h. 41 m. after mean sunrise.

amânta : Saturday, 1 March, A. D. 1119.

Since, on Friday, 11 January, A. D. 1118, the third *tithi* commenced so late as to render the performance of religious ceremonies on that day, after the commencement of the *tithi*, almost impossible, I consider the year of the date to be wrong. And, in my opinion, the probability is that, of the two surrounding Vikrama years, which would yield the proper week-day, the true year of the date is V. 1173 current or 1172 expired, because that year yields the Friday by the *amânta* scheme of the lunar fortnights, which has been apparently followed in other dates of Gôvindachandra and his successor. I would therefore take **Friday, 3 March, A. D. 1116**, to be the proper equivalent of the date.

(g). — Dates which yield no satisfactory equivalent for the year of the date, but which would work out properly for both the immediately preceding year and the next year but one.

184. — **V. 1208.** — From a rubbing supplied to me by Dr. Burgess. Copper-plate inscription of Gôvindachandradêva of Kanauj : —

(Line 16) . . . saṁvatsarâṇâṁ ashṭ-âdhika-dvâdasa(śa)-sa(śa)têshu **Kârttikê** mâsi su(śu)kla-pakshê paurṇṇamâsyâṁ tithau **Bh[au]ma-dinê** śukê=pi saṁvat 1208 Kârttika-sudi 15 **Bhaumê** . . .

The possible equivalents for V. 1208 and the surrounding years are :—

V. 1207 current : Tuesday, 18 October, A. D. 1149 ; the full-moon *tithi* ended 16 h. 1 m. after mean sunrise.

V. 1208 current : Monday, 6 November, A. D. 1150.

V. 1208 expired : Saturday, 27 October, A. D. 1151.

V. 1209 expired: Wednesday, 16 October, A. D. 1152.

V. 1210 expired : Tuesday, 3 November, A. D. 1153 ; the full-moon *tithi* ended 4 h. 7 m. after mean sunrise.

For V. 1208, the *tithi* can in no way be joined with a Tuesday ; and all that can be said is, that the date would work out satisfactorily for either V. 1206 expired, or V. 1210 expired.

185. — **V. 1295.** — *ante*, Vol. VI. p. 205. Kaḍî copper-plate inscription of the Chaulukya Bhîmadêva II. : —

(Line 17) . . . **[śrîmat(d)]-Vikramâdity-ôtpâdita-saṁvatsara-śatêshu dvâdaśasu paṁchanavaty-uttarêshu Mârggamâsîya-śukla-chaturddaśyâṁ Guru-vârê** ऽtr=âṁkatô=pi saṁvat 1295 varshê Mârggê(rgga)-śudi 14 **Gurâv=asyâṁ** saṁvatsara-mâsa-paksha-vâra-pûrvvikâyâṁ tithâv=ady=êha śrîmad-Aṇahillapâṭakê . . .

The possible equivalents for V. 1295 and the surrounding years are :—

V. 1294 current : Thursday, 13 November, A. D. 1236 ; the 14th *tithi* of the bright half ended 18 h. 8 m. after mean sunrise.

V. 1295 current : Wednesday, 2 December, A. D. 1237.

V. 1295 expired : Monday, 22 November, A. D. 1238.

V. 1296 expired : Saturday, 12 November, A. D. 1239.

V. 1297 expired : Thursday, 29 November, A. D. 1240 ; the 14th *tithi* of the bright half ended, at Aṇhilwâḍ, 0 h. 6 m. before mean sunrise of the following day.

Here, again, the *tithi* can in no way be combined with a Thursday in V. 1295 ; but the date would work out satisfactorily for either V. 1293 expired or V. 1297 expired.

186. — **V. 1512.** — Professor Weber's *Catalogue*, Vol. I. p. 281. Date of a MS. of a commentary on the *Aṣhṭâṅgahṛidaya* :—

Saṁvat 1512 pravartamânê sâdhâraṇa-Phâlaguna-śuddha-pratipa **Bhauma-vâra . . .**

The possible equivalents for V. 1512 and the surrounding years are : —

V. 1511 current : Tuesday, 29 January, A. D. 1454 ; the first *tithi* of the bright half ended 18 h. 42 m after mean sunrise.

V. 1512 current: Monday, 17 February, A. D. 1455.

V. 1512 expired : Saturday, 7 February, A. D. 1456.

V. 1513 expired : Friday, 25 February, A. D. 1457.

V. 1514 expired : Tuesday, 14 February, A. D. 1458 ; the first *tithi* of the bright half ended 19 h. 37 m. after mean sunrise.

Here, too, the *tithi* can in no way be combined with a Tuesday in V. 1512 ; but the date would work out satisfactorily for either V. 1510 expired or V. 1514 expired.

(h). — Dates which yield no satisfactory equivalent for the year of the date, but which would work out satisfactorily for the next year but one.

187. — **V. 1190.** — *ante*, Vol. XVI. p. 208. Bândâ copper-plate inscription of the Chandêlla Madanavarmadêva :—

(Line 10) . . . **Bhailasvâmi-samîp-âvâsê navaty-adhika-sa(śa)taik-ôpêta-sahasratamê saṁvatsarê Mâghê** mâsi **su(śu)kla-pakshê pûrṇṇimâyâṁ Sôma-vârê** aṁkatô=pi saṁvat 1190 **Mâgha-sudi 15 Sômê** ॥

The possible equivalents for V. 1190 and the surrounding years are :—

V. 1189 current: Wednesday, 3 February, A. D. 1132.

V. 1190 current: Sunday, 22 January, A. D. 1133 ; the full-moon *tithi* ended 17 h. after mean sunrise.

V. 1190 expired : Friday, 12 January, A. D. 1134.

V. 1191 expired: Thursday, 31 January, A. D. 1135.

V. 1192 expired : Monday, 20 January, A. D. 1136; the full-moon *tithi* ended 22 h. 56 m. after mean sunrise.

Here the *tithi* can in no way be combined with a Monday in the years V. 1189, 1190, and 1191; but the date would work out satisfactorily for V. 1192 expired.

188. — **V. 1287.** — *ante*, Vol. VI. p. 201. Kaḍî copper-plate inscription of the Chaulukya Bhîmadêva II.: —

(Line 11). . . **Śrîmat(d-)Vikramâdity-ôtpâdita**-saṁvatsara-śatêshu dvâdaśasu saptâśîty-uttarêshu Âshâḍhamâsîya-śukl-âshṭamyâṁ **Sukra-vârê** śrî-âṁkatô ऽpi saṁvat 1287 varshê Âshâḍha-śudi 8 **Sukrê** ऽsyâm saṁvatsara-mâsa-paksha-vâra-pûrvvikâyâṁ tithâv=ady=êha śrîmad-Aṇahilapâṭakê . . .

The possible equivalents for V. 1287 and the surrounding years are : —

Northern V. 1286 current : Sunday, 11 June, A. D. 1228.

Northern V. 1287 current : Saturday, 30 June, A. D. 1229; the 8th *tithi* of the bright half ended 14 h. 14 m. after mean sunrise.

Northern V. 1287 expired : Wednesday, 19 June, A. D. 1230.

Southern V. 1287 expired : Monday, 9 June, A. D. 1231.

Southern V. 1288 expired : Sunday, 27 June, A. D. 1232.

Southern V. 1289 expired : Friday, 17 June, A. D. 1233; *the 8th tithi of the bright* half ended 1 h. 21 m. after mean sunrise.

Here, again, the *tithi* cannot be combined with a Friday in the years V. 1286, 1287, and 1288; but the date would work out satisfactorily for southern V. 1289 expired.

189. — V. 1724. — *Jour. Amer. Or. Soc.*, Vol. VII. p. 13; and Sir A. Cunningham's rubbings, supplied to me by Mr. Fleet. Râmnagar stone inscription of the kings of Maṇḍala : —

(From the rubbings, line 64) . . . Vêda-nêtra-hay-êndv-abdê Jyêshṭhê Vishṇu-tithau [ś]itau ॥(।) Sadâśivêna likhitam=utkîrṇaṁ taiḥ suśilpibhiḥ ॥ 52 ॥ Saṁvat 1724 varshê Jyêshṭha-śuddha 11 **Sukra-vâsar[ê]** ॥

The possible equivalents for V. 1724 and the surrounding years are : —

Northern V. 1723 current : Monday, 15 May, A. D. 1665.

Northern V. 1724 current : Sunday, 3 June, A. D. 1666.

Northern V. 1724 expired : Thursday, 23 May, A. D. 1667; the 11th *tithi* of the bright half ended 20 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1724 expired : Tuesday, 12 May, A. D. 1668.

Southern V. 1725 expired : Monday, 31 May, A. D. 1669.

Southern V. 1726 expired : Friday, 20 May, A. D. 1670; the 11th *tithi* of the bright half ended 9 h. 55 m. after mean sunrise.

Here, again, the *tithi* can in no way be combined with a Friday in the years V. 1723, 1724, and 1725; but the date would work out satisfactorily for southern V. 1726 expired.

(Dr. F. E. Hall has read the figures, after the words *Jyêshṭha-śuddha*, as 12; but the 11 is quite clear in both my rubbings, and has been so read also by Captain Fell, *As. Res.* Vol. XV. p. 437. Moreover, Dr. Hall (*Jour. Amer. Or. Soc.*, Vol. VII. p. 22) has given, as the corresponding date, "the fifth of June, A. D. 1667, N.S.;" but the 5th June, new style, A. D. 1667, was a Sunday.)

(i). — Dates which contain other errors.

190. — **V. 794.** — *ante*, Vol. XII. p. 155, and Vol. XVI. p. 197; and the *Book of Indian Eras*, pp. 47 and 48. Dhiniki copper-plate inscription of Jâikadêva : —

(Line 1) . . **Vikrama**-saṁvatsara-śatêshu saptasu chatuṛnavaty-adhikêshv=aṁkataḥ [79]4 **Kârttika-mâs-âpara-paksha**-ê **amâvâsyâyâṁ Âditya-vârê Jyêshṭhâ-nakshatrê ravigrahaṇa-parvvaṇi** । asyâṁ saṁvatsara-mâsa-paksha-divasa-pûrvvâyâṁ tithâv=ady=êha Bhâmilikâyâṁ . . .

Calculating again, as in the case of the preceding dates, for Kârttika-vadi 15 both of V. 794 current and expired, and also of the surrounding years V. 793 current and V. 795 and 796 expired, we obtain the following results: —

V. 793 current, —

pûrṇimânta: Thursday, 20 October, A. D. 735; no eclipse.

amânta: Saturday, 19 November, A. D. 735; no eclipse.

V. 794 current, —

pûrṇimânta: Tuesday, 9 October, A. D. 736; no eclipse.

amânta: Wednesday, 7 November, A. D. 736; no eclipse.

V. 794 expired, —

purṇimânta: Saturday, 28 September, A. D. 737; no eclipse.

amânta: Monday, 28 October, A. D. 737; *nakshatras*, Viśâkhâ and Anurâdhâ; **an altogether invisible solar eclipse**, 8 h. 13 m. Greenwich time, or, at Ujjain, 7 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise.

V. 795 expired, —

pûrṇimânta: Friday, 17 October, A. D. 738; **a total solar eclipse, not visible in India**, Greenwich time 0 h. 11 m. of 18th October, or, at Ujjain, 23 h. 14 m. after mean sunrise of 17th October.

amânta: **Sunday**, 16 November, A. D. 738, when the new-moon *tithi* ended 10 h. 38 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Jyêshṭhâ** up to 22 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise; no eclipse.

V. 796 expired, —

pûrṇimânta: Wednesday, 7 October, A. D. 739; **a solar eclipse, not visible in India.**

amânta: Friday, 6 November, A. D. 739; no eclipse.

From the above it is at once clear that there is no day in V. 794, either current or expired (nor in V. 793 current or V. 796 expired), which would at all satisfy the requirements of the date. In V. 795 expired, which is one year later than the year of the date, Kârttika-vadi 15, by the *amânta* scheme, the adoption of which by the writer is clearly suggested by the term *aparapakshê* of the date, did fall on a Sunday, — the 16th November, A. D. 738, — and on that day the moon *was* in the *nakshatra* Jyêshṭhâ, as required; but there was no solar eclipse. There was, however, such an eclipse, not visible in India, on the preceding new-moon day, the 17th October, A. D. 738. And taking these two facts together, Professor Bühler, when editing the inscription, arrived at the conclusion that the grant was actually made on the occasion of the (calculated) eclipse, *i. e.* on Friday, 17th October, A. D. 738, which was the new-moon day of the *amânta* Âśvina, and that the document was drawn up *exactly one month later*, on the new-moon day of the *amânta* Kârttika, *i. e.* on Sunday, 16th November, A. D. 738. But it may be objected, that the new-moon day of Kârttika, on which Professor Bühler supposes the scribe to have written the date, belonged all over India to the year 795 expired, and not to V. 794, either current or expired, and that therefore even the adoption of Professor Bühler's views would not remove all the difficulties of the date. And besides, from the wording of the date it seems quite certain that the writer distinctly desired to couple the eclipse with the new-moon day of Kârttika and with a Sunday; and I fail to perceive that the present date is at all similar, *e. g.* to that of the Morbi copper-plate, where an eclipse is spoken of in an early part of the document, while at the end of it a date is given on which that eclipse cannot possibly have taken place.

Sir A. Cunningham, in the *Book of Indian Eras*, p. 48, proposes that we should substitute *Âśvina* for the word *Kârttika* of the date, — an alteration by which the date would fall on the last day of southern V. 794 expired, = Friday, 17th October, A. D. 738, the day of the solar eclipse, — and that we should then assume the writer to have put down in the date the following Sunday, — the 19th October, A. D. 738, — because the day of the eclipse, which Sir A. Cunningham assumes to have been Saturday, was a very inauspicious day. Against this proposal it may be said, that the day of the eclipse in India was a Friday; that, even if it had been a

Saturday, no aversion is felt to Saturday in other grants; that the moon was in the *nakshatra* Jyêshṭhâ, neither at the time of the eclipse, nor during day-time of the following Sunday; and that, if we must alter the wording of the date, and besides resort to artificial explanations which after all would not set right all the details of the date, we might as well at once alter the year of the date to 795, and assume that the writer had made a mistake about the eclipse. But, being averse to assuming such an accumulation of errors, I see no way of setting the date right; and I concur in the views of Mr. Fleet, that the unsatisfactory nature of the date is one of the reasons for regarding the inscription in which the date occurs as a forged document.[14]

191. — **V. 1154.** — *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 11. Copper-plate inscription of Chandradêva and Madanapâladêva of Kanauj: —

(Line 11) . . . chatuḥpa(shpa)ṁchâsa(śa)d-adhika-sa(śa)taikâdasa(śa)-saṁvatsarê **Mâghê** mâsi su(śu)kla-pakshê tṛitîyâyâṁ **Sôma-dinê** Vârâṇasyâṁ **uttarâyana(ṇa)-saṁkrântau** aṅkataḥ saṁvat 1154 Mâgha-sudi 3 **Sômê** Vârâṇasyâṁ . . .

I have already stated, *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 10, that the Uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrânti, which introduces the solar month Mâgha, must necessarily precede the new-moon which introduces the bright half of the lunar Mâgha, and that therefore it cannot possibly take place on the third of the bright half of the lunar Mâgha; and that, accordingly, I must regard the quotation of the Uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrânti in connection with Mâgha-sudi 3 as erroneous.[15] Irrespectively of the *saṁkrânti*, the equivalents of the date would be: —

V. 1154 current: Monday, 19 January, A. D. 1097, when the third *tithi* of the bright half ended 10 h. after mean sunrise. (Uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrânti on Wednesday, 24 December, A. D. 1096.)

V. 1154 expired: Friday, 8 January, A. D. 1098. (Uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrânti on Thursday, 24 December, A. D. 1097.)

192. — **V. 1166.** — *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 16. Copper-plate inscription of Madanapâla and Gôvindachandradêva of Kanauj: —

(Line 17) . . . saṁ 1166 Pausha-vadi 15 **Ravau** ॥ . . .

(Line 18) . . . **Rahu-grastê savitari** . . .

The possible equivalents for Pausha-vadi 15 of V. 1166, current and expired, are: —

V. 1166 current, —

pûrṇimânta: Friday, 4 December, A. D. 1108; **a solar eclipse, not visible in India**, 13 h. 38 m., Greenwich time, or, at Ujjain, 12 h. 41 m. after mean sunrise.

amânta: **Sunday**, 3 January, A. D. 1109; the 15th *tithi* of the dark half ended 2 h. 46 m. after mean sunrise; no eclipse.

V. 1166 expired, —

pûrṇimânta: Thursday, 23 December, A. D. 1109; no eclipse.

amânta: Saturday, 22 January, A. D. 1110; no eclipse.

None of these equivalents satisfies all the requirements of the date, because, although the 15th of the dark half of the *amânta* Pausha of V. 1166 current did fall on a Sunday, there was no eclipse on that day. As regards the immediately surrounding years, there was a solar eclipse, visible in India, on the 15th of the dark half of the *pûrṇimânta* Pausha of V. 1165 current, = 16th December, A. D. 1107, but the day was a Monday; and generally, 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 therefore am inclined to assume that the solar eclipse has been erroneously put down in the inscription, and that the proper equivalent of the date is **Sunday, 3 January, A. D. 1109.**

[14] See *ante*, Vol. XVI. p. 198; and compare also the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. VIII. p. 275.

[15] The error would under any circumstances shew great want of thought on the part of the writer; but, as an extenuating circumstance, it may be stated that the date refers to a donation which was made by the predecessor of the king under whom the document was drawn up, and not to a contemporaneous event.

193. — **V. 1187.** — *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. LVI. Part I. p. 109, and Plate vi. Raiwân copper-plate inscription of Gôvindachandradêva of Kanauj: —

(Line 18) . . . saṁvat 1187 Mârgga-sudi pauṛṇṇi(ṛṇṇa)mâsyâṁ tithau **Sôma-dinê** || ady=êha śrîmad-Vârâṇasyâ[ṁ*] **saṁkrântau** . . .

The possible equivalents for Mârga-sudi 15 of V. 1187, current and expired, and the days of *saṁkrântis* are: —

V. 1187 current: Wednesday, 27 November, A. D. 1129. There was a *saṁkrânti* on **Monday**, 25 November, 10 h. 52 m. after mean sunrise.

V. 1187 expired: **Monday**, 17 November A. D. 1130; the full-moon *tithi* ended 1 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise. There was a *nirayana saṁkrânti* on Tuesday, 25 November, 17 h. 5 m. after mean sunrise, and a *sâyana saṁkrânti* on Saturday, 15 November, 20 h. 24 m. after mean sunrise.

Here, again, none of the possible equivalents satisfies all the requirements of the date; and since, as I have shewn (*ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 58), the full-moon day of Mârgaśîrsha in all the years from V. 1180 current to V. 1190 expired fell on a Monday only in V. 1187 expired, and never on the day of a *saṁkrânti*, I assume that the *saṁkrânti* has been wrongly put down in the date, and that the proper equivalent of the date is **Monday, 17 November, A. D. 1130.**

194. — **V. 1299.** — *ante*, Vol. VI. p. 208. Kaḍî copper-plate inscription of the Chaulukya Tribhuvanapâladêva: —

(Line 14) . . . **Śrîmad-Vikramâdity-ôtpâdita-saṁvatsara-śatêshu dvâdaśasu navanavaty-uttarêshu Chaitramâsîya-śukla-shashṭhyâṁ Sôma-vârê** Śtr=âṁkatô Śpi saṁvat 1299 varshê Chaitra-śudi 6 **Sômê**. Śyâṁ saṁvatsara-mâsa-paksha-vâra-pûrvvikâyaṁ sâṁ° lau° Phâgguṇa-mâsîya-amâvâśyâ(syâ)yâṁ **saṁjâta-sûryyagrahaṇa-parvvaṇi** saṁkalpitât tithâv=ady=êha śrîmad-Aṇahillapâṭakê . . .

This date gives us for calculation Chaitra-śudi 6 of V. 1299, which should be a **Monday**; and **a solar eclipse** on the new-moon day of the month Phâlguna, preceding the previously mentioned Chaitra-śudi 6. For Chaitra-śudi 6 the possible equivalents would be :—

Northern V. 1299 current: Wednesday, 20 March, A. D. 1241.

Northern V. 1299 expired: Sunday, 9 March, A. D. 1242, when the 6th *tithi* of the bright half ended 15 h. 52 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1299 expired: Saturday, 28 March, A. D. 1243, when the 6th *tithi* of the bright half ended 9 h. 38 m. after mean sunrise.

None of the three possible years, therefore, yields the desired week-day; nor, I may add, did the 6th *tithi* of the bright half of Chaitra end on a Monday in the surrounding years, northern V. 1298 current and southern V. 1300 expired, or in southern V. 1301 expired.

As regards the other item of the date, there was no solar eclipse in the month Phâlguna, either *pûrṇimânta* or *amânta*, which immediately preceded the 20th March, A. D. 1241, and the 9th March, A. D. 1242; but there was **a solar eclipse** on the new-moon day of the *amânta* Phâlguna (of V. 1299 expired) immediately preceding the 28th March, A. D. 1243. This eclipse took place on Sunday, 22 March, A. D. 1243, 2 h. 2 m. Greenwich time, or, at Ujjain, 1 h. 5 m. after mean sunrise, and it was **not visible in western India.**

In my opinion, there can be no doubt that some at least of the recorded details of this date are incorrect; and the probabilities are that the eclipse, although it was not visible, has been rightly quoted, but that either the *tithi* of Chaitra referred to in the date was really the 8th, or the week-day a Saturday. In the former case the proper equivalent of the date would be **Monday, 30 March, A. D. 1243,** in the latter, **Saturday, 28 March,** of the same year.

195. — **V. 1597.** — Dr. Peterson's *Third Report* (1885-86), App. p. 214. Date of the composition of Pârśvachandra's *Vârttika* on Vîrabhadrasûdhu's *Chatuḥśaraṇa-prakîrṇaka*:—

Muni-naṁd-êshu-chaṁdr-ûbdê vyatîtê **Vikramârkataḥ** |
subhâsi Phâlgunê mâsi trayôdaśyâṁ **Ravêr-dinê** ||
pavitrê **Mûla-nakshatrê** . . .

Here the possible equivalents for V. 1597 and the surrounding years would be:—

V. 1596 current: **Sunday**, 2 March, A. D. 1539; the 13th *tithi* of the bright half ended 18 h. 8 m. after mean sunrise; *nakshatra* Maghâ (10), not Mûla (19).

V. 1597 current: Friday, 20 February, A. D. 1540; *nakshatra* Âślêshâ (9).

V. 1597 expired: Wednesday, 9 February, A. D. 1541; *nakshatra* Pushya (8).

V. 1598 expired: Monday, 27 February, A. D. 1542; the 13th *tithi* of the bright half ended 6 h. 31 m. after mean sunrise; *nakshatra* Maghâ (10).

V. 1599 expired: Friday, 16 February A. D. 1543; *nakshatra* Âślêshâ (9).

These equivalents shew that some of the recorded details of the date must be incorrect; for it appears from them that the moon is never anywhere near the *nakshatra* Mûla on the 13th of the bright half of Phâlguna, and that this particular *tithi* of Phâlguna cannot in any way be joined with a Sunday in V. 1597 current or expired. The proper year of the date *may* be V. 1596 current, but even so the quotation of the *nakshatra* would be incorrect.

APPENDIX.

ADDITIONAL REGULAR DATES.

196. — **V. 811.** — In his *Annals and Antiquities of Râjasthân*, Vol. II. p. 764, Colonel Tod reports that at Chitôr in Râjputânâ he found an inscription which was dated[16]—

'Sambut 811, Mâgha-sudi 5th, **Vrishpatwâr (Thursday).**'

Assuming this statement to be correct, the possible equivalents of the date would be: —

V. 811 current: Thursday, 3 January, A. D. 754; the 5th *tithi* of the bright half ended 20 h. 24 m. after mean sunrise.

V. 811 expired: Wednesday, 22 January, A. D. 755; the 5th *tithi* of the bright half ended 15 h. 43 m. after mean sunrise.

(For Saka 811, current and expired, the equivalents would be Friday, 10 January, A. D. 889, and Tuesday, 30 December, A. D. 889.)

197. — **V. 1244.** — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XX. p. 90, and Plate x. Inscription on pillar of the entrance gateway of the fortress of Tahangaḍh in Râjputânâ: —

(Line 1) . . . Saṁvat 1244 [Jyê]shṭha-su 15 **Gurô(rau).**

Northern V. 1244 current: Tuesday, 3 June, A. D. 1186.

Northern V. 1244 expired: Sunday, 24 May, A. D. 1187.

Southern V. 1244 expired: Thursday, 12 May, A. D. 1188; the 15th *tithi* of the bright half ended 12 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise.

198. — **V. 1317.** — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XXI. p. 51, and Plate xiii.; and Sir A. Cunningham's rubbing, supplied to me by Mr. Fleet. Ajaygaḍh rock inscription of the Chandêlla Vîravarman: —

(Line 14) . . . Sagar-êṁdv-agni-sudhâṁśu(śu)-mitê **Vikrama-vatsarê** . . . Saṁvat 1317 . . . . Vaiśâsha(kha)-śudi 13 **Gurau.**

Northern V. 1317 current: Tuesday, 6 May, A. D. 1259.

Northern V. 1317 expired: Sunday, 25 April, A. D. 1260.

Southern V. 1317 expired: Thursday, 14 April, A. D. 1261; the 13th *tithi* of the bright half ended 21 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise.

[16] I give this date here because, if correctly copied, it is the earliest known regular date of the Vikrama era which admits of verification.

199. — **V. 1510.** — From a rubbing, supplied to me by Dr. Burgess. Gwâlior stone inscriptions of the reign of the *Mahârâjâdhirâja* Ḍuṅgarêndradêva :[17] —

(Line 1) . . . Saṁvat 1510 varshê Mâgha-sudi 8 **Sômê** śrî-Gôpagiran mahârâjâdhirâja-râjâ(ja)-śrî-Ḍuṁgarêṁdradêva-râjy[ê*] pravarttamânê ।

V. 1510 current: Thursday, 18 January, A. D. 1453.

V. 1510 expired: Monday, 7 January, A. D. 1454; the 8th *tithi* of the bright half ended 13 h. 7 m. after mean sunrise.

200. — **V. 1814.** — Professor Eggeling's *Catalogue*, p. 344. Date of a MS. of Chiraṁjîva-bhaṭṭa's *Kâvyavilâsa* : —

Saṁvat 1814 Saka 1679 **Îśvara**-nâma-saṁvatsarê Kârttikê mâsi śukla-pakshê 6 **Guru-vâsarê** shashṭhyâṁ tithau Kârnâṭaka-dêśê Muhabihâḍ-âkhya-grâmê likhitam . . .

V. 1814 current: Friday, 29 October, new style, A. D. 1756; the 6th *tithi* of the bright half ended 4 h. 28 m. after mean sunrise.

V. 1814 expired: Thursday, 17 November, new style, A. D. 1757; the 6th *tithi* of the bright half ended 6 h. 57 m. after mean sunrise.

By the so-called Têlinga rule, the year **Îśvara** (No. 11) coincided with Saka 1679 expired or northern V. 1814 expired. By the Sûrya-Siddhânta rule, without or with *bîja*, and by the Jyôtistattva rule, the date (the 17th November, new style, A. D. 1757) would fall in the year Sarvadhârin (No. 22).

(To be continued.)

PARSI AND GUJARATI HINDU NUPTIAL SONGS.

BY PUTLIBAI D. H. WADIA.

I give text and translation of some of the **nuptial songs sung among Gujarâti Hindûs and Pârsis.** These songs seem to have been **handed down from times immemorial,** and consequently some of the words have been altered and corrupted to such an extent as to render the original meaning almost unintelligible. I hope to give a few more of these songs later on.

TRANSLATION.

No. 1.

Song sung by the Bridegroom's Party on the occasion of a Betrothal.

Playing by the side of the fountain my Sôrâbjî[1] saw her :
Home he came and continued repeating — "Father, have me married."
If I marry at all I shall marry none but Farâmjî's[2] daughter or shall go unmarried through life.
Mêharwânjî[3] asked a question or two : — Farâmjî[2] joined his hands together (in compliance).
Mêharwânjî[3] sent some *pân*-leaves[4]; — Farâmjî[2] accepted them with pleasure :
Mêherbâi[5] sent some flowers : Ratanbai[6] accepted them thankfully.
(The two parties then said) : "We were only as brothers before, (but) now we are *vehvâis* :"[7]
We were only as sisters before, but now we are *vêhvâns*.[7]

[17] By Dr. Rajendralal Mitra, *Indo-Aryans*, Vol. II. p. 383, the above date was read thus : — *Saṁvat* 1510 *varshê Mâgha-sudi* 8 (*a*)*shṭamai*(*myâṁ*).

[1] The bridegoom; any other name might be substituted. [2] The bride's father. [3] The bridegroom's father.

[4] The *pân*-leaves and flowers may be supposed to convey a formal offer of marriage. Among the Pârsîs curds and fresh fish are the first presents sent from the bridegroom's house to the bride's. The offer of marriage, however, does not always come from the bridegroom; it might come from either party.

[5] The bridegroom's mother. [6] The bride's mother.

[7] The parties whose children intermarry are the *vêhvâî* (masculine) and *vêhvân* (feminine) of each other.

No. 2.

Song sung on a like occasion by the Bride's Party.

(On) a golden chair studded with rubies,
Sits my Sîrînbâi [8] and prays to her father:—
"Father, find me such a husband as will grant me all I wish for."
(And to her mother) "Mother, find me such a husband as will bring bracelets and bangles for me."
The Mêhêtâ [9] encounters the bridegroom (who says to him): "Mêhêtâ, on what errand are you bound?
Turn back, Mêhêtâ, (for) I have (already) brought bangles and bracelets."

No. 3.

Song sung when a Brother[10] sends Presents to his Sister on the occasion of her Children's Marriages.

Amadâbâd[11] is in an uproar to-day:
Amadâbâd is full of people to-day.
My mother's son sends (me) his presents.
My (maternal) grandmother's son sends (me) his presents.
"Wherefore these presents, brother?"
"Sister, because thy son is to be married."
The *mosâlûn* makes the house look grand.
There is no end of people in the train (of those who bring it).
Sister mine, go under the *mânḍav*,[12] and put on[13] the (marriage) dress.
The advent of the *mosâlûn* makes the yard resound with music.
I knew that my brother would furnish the *mosâlûn*,
And that my good-luck-bearing sister-in-law would bring it down.
The *mosâlûn* makes the house look grand.
The banker comes with the rupees,
And the goldsmith brings the gold coins.
The whole street looks gorgeous with the splendour of the *mosâlûn*.
The goldsmith brings necklaces and chains,
And the jeweller comes with his diamonds.
The *mosâlûn* makes the house look grand.
The florist brings garlands of flowers.
The *pân*-leaf seller brings packets (*bidâû*) of *pân*-leaves.

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[8] The bride; any other name might be substituted.

[9] The Mêhêtâ is a sort of secretary and accountant in a wealthy family. His duty is to keep all the accounts, write letters for the master and mistress, and do such other jobs for the family. It is generaly the Mêhêtâ, or the family priest, who is entrusted with the match-making.

[10] On the occasion of a wedding, presents, chiefly of clothes, are made to the bride and bridegroom and also to both their parents by all their relatives. But by far the best presents are expected by both the bride's and the bridegroom's mothers from their respective brothers. These presents are called, collectively, *mosâlûn*, *lit.* 'coming from the mother's side.'

[11] *i. e.* Ahmadâbâd. The name of any other place where the wedding takes place might be substituted here.

[12] The *mânḍav* is a canopy, under which the marriage festivities are held.

[13] All the presents, which chiefly consist of suits of wearing apparel and jewellery, are arranged in a tray, with a large conical packet of sugar, a cocoanut, a few *pân*-leaves and betel-nuts, some dry dates, a garland of flowers, a handful of rice, some curds, and some *kunkuṁ*. The recipient of the presents is made to stand on a small stool, and is then either dressed in or only presented with the clothes, the garland of flowers is placed round her neck, the auspicious red mark in *kunkuṁ* made on her forehead, the cocoanut, *pân*-leaves, betel-nuts, and dates placed in her lap, and finally some curds or sugar is placed in her mouth. This done the recipient of the presents bows down, and touching the feet of the woman who represents the donor, makes an obeisance, while the latter in her turn sprinkles some rice over the recipient's head and waving her hands over it, cracks her finger joints against her own temples, at the same time uttering many good wishes, while the women around all join in singing auspicious songs.

At sight of the *mosâlûṅ* the sister's heart rejoices.
The embroiderer comes with gold embroidered *sâḍîs*,
And the shawl-dealer brings shawls and plaids.
The *mosâlûṅ* makes the house look grand.
Present the bridegroom's father with a shawl[14] and a scarf,
And present the bridegroom's uncle with a scarf and a turban.
Dress the bridegroom in gold embroidered robes,
And dress the bridegroom's mother in a gold embroidered *sâḍî*.
So many presents does the *mosâlûṅ* consist of.

No. 4.

Song sung when a Wedding is near.

A wedding is to be celebrated in our house.[15] How do we know ?
The trades-people throng our yard. That's how we know !
A wedding is to be celebrated in our house. How do we know ?
The merchants crowd in our doorway. That's how we know !
There are rejoicings in our house, How do we know ?
The sweet strains of music[16] regale our ears. That's how we know !
Ours is the bridegroom's house. How do we know ?
The horses[17] are standing under the *mâṇḍav*. That's how we know !
Ours is the bridegroom's father's[18] house. How do we know ?
The wedding guests are sitting under the *mâṇḍav*. That's how we know !

No. 5.

Song sung when the Mother-in-law welcomes her Son-in-law.

Be ready mother-in-law with (your) presents. The son-in-law who comes to your door is a merchant.
Be ready mother-in-law with (your) presents (?).[19] The son-in-law who comes to your door is a great man.
Be ready mother-in-law with (your) trays (?).[19] The son-in-law who comes to your door is a petted one.
Sing songs some of you : let every one get acquainted (with him).
Inform Mêharwânjî,[20] the celebrater of the wedding (of his coming).
Some great man's son is coming ! Some gentleman's son is coming !
Some nobleman's son is coming ! Some (great) merchant's son is coming !
With a number of merchants in his train.
Some Rânî's son is coming ! Or one born of a Ṭhâkurânî is coming !
Every street is being swept clean ! The father-in-law orders the floor of the *mâṇḍav* to be sprinkled with water :
(And) the mother-in-law gets figures in pearls[21] made upon the door-sill.

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[14] A shawl is generally presented as a mark of honour to him who does some great or meritorious thing, and among the Pârsîs and Hindûs none can have a better claim to such distinction than "the celebrater of a wedding."

[15] *Lit.* "that our house is full of a wedding."

[16] A wedding in a Pârsî family calls forth the greatest enthusiasm, and gives occasion for much rejoicing. The Pârsî father does not grudge his hard-earned gains on such an occasion, but spends money freely on feasting his relatives and neighbours, and providing bands of musicians and singing women, for he believes that he wins the approbation of Ahûra Mashda by doing so.

[17] Up to a very recent period the Pârsî boy-bridegroom used to ride to the house of his bride attended by all his playmates on horseback dressed in fancy costumes. The custom is still in vogue among the Hindûs.

[18] Greater merit attaches to being of the bridegroom's party, than of the bride's.

[19] The text is unintelligible here.

[20] The bride's father.

[21] These figures are daily made with a kind of powdered *chunam* on the door-sills of Pârsî and Hindû houses with the object of inviting good luck to them. Making them in pearls is nothing but allegory.

The father-in-law gets rose-water sprinkled in the yard :
And orders carpets to be spread along every street (leading up to his house) :
And the mother-in-law has every door decorated with festoons (of flowers).
Music is being played in every street.
The mother-in-law comes out to see the bridegroom's face[23] with her hands full of silver coins.
Brother, thy mother-in-law has brought thee pearls : and my Sîrînbâi[23] is a luck-bringing girl.
We have got such a very handsome son-in-law,
And we have made him sit in our palace.

TEXT.

गीत १.

छोकरांओने अदरावनानी वखते छोकरा तरफथी गावानुं गीत.

हवाडाने कांठे रमतीरे, रमती मारा सोराबजीए दीठीरे.
घरे जइ राहरो धरीओरे, बावा मुजने परणावोरे.
परणूतो फरामजीनी धीरेरे,[24] नहींतर रहीश कुमारीरे.
मेहरवानजीए पुछी बे वातरे, फरामजीए जोडीआ बेइ हाथरे.

मेहरवानजीए मोकळीआं पानरे, फरामजीए राखीआं मानरे.
मेहरबाइए मोकळीआं फुलरे, रतनबाइए राखीआं मुलरे.[25]
आगळ इता आपणे बेइ भाइरे, हवे थया वेहेवाइरे.
आगळ इतां आपणे बेइ बेहेनोरे, हवे थयां वेहेवांणीरे.

गीत २.

छोकरांओने अदरावनानी वखते छोकरी तरफथी गावानुं गीत.

सुनरा[26] माचीरे, माचीए रतन जडाव.
तेपर बेठां मारां सीरीनबाइरे, बावाजीने अरज करे.
बावा एवो वर शोधजोरे, हरख मारा पुरा करे.

माए एवो वर शोधजोरे, चुरावारा जोर लावे.
सामा मळीआ राएवरे,[27] मेहेता तमे शींद चालीआ.
मेहेता पाछा वळजोरे, चुरावारा अमे लावीआ.

गीत ३.

बाप दीकरीने अथवा भाइ बेहेनने वास्ते मोसाळुं मोकळे ते वेळा गावानुं गीत.

अमदावाद धराधर वागे,
अमदावादनी वस्ती छे भाजे.
ममाइ जावा मोकळे मोसाळुं,
माय जावा मोकळे मोसाळुं.
एरे मोसाळुं ते शीदने काजे,
बाइ तारो पुष परणे तेने काजेजी.
मोसाळुं आवे अवास[28] फावे.
एरे मोसाळांनो एरोने छेरो,
बेनुं[29] मारी मांडव हेठे जइ पेहेरोजी,
मोसाळुं आवे आंगणुं गाजे.
एरे मोसाळुं ते वीरो[30] सांचवसे,
भीजाइ पणीनी लइ आवेजी.
मोसाळुं आवे अवास फावे.
नाणावती आवे ने रुपैया लावे.
सोनीजी आवे ने सुनैया लावेजी.

मोसाळुं आवे मोहलो शोभे.
सोनीरो[31] आवे ने हार सांकळी लावे.
झवेरी हीरा लइ आवेजी,
मोसाळुं आवे अवास फावे.
मालीरो[32] आवे ने फुलगजरा लावे,
तम्बोली आवे ने पानबीडा लावेजी,
मोसाळुं आवे बाइ मारी हरखे.
कसबीशेर आवे ने कारचोकी लावे,
झुलइओ शाल पामरी लावेजी,
मोसाळुं आवे अवास फावे.
शाल पामरी ओर वरना बावाने पेहेरावो,
पामरी पाघडी ओर वरना काकाने बंधावो.
कसबी सवागा वरराजाने पेहेरावो,
जरीनी सारी वरनी माएने पेहेरावोजी,
मोसाळुं आवे पेहेरामणीओ लावे.

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[23] It not unfrequently happens among some castes of the Hindûs that the mother-in-law and her party see the bridegroom's face for the first time on the wedding-day. [24] The bride.

[24] धी, 'daughter;' this word is not in common use now. [It is, however, the usual word in Paṛjâbi. — R. C. T.]

[25] *Lit.* 'price.' [26] सुनरा, poetical form of सोनेरी.

[27] राएवर, 'the king-husband.' राएवर or वरराजा is the word used for the bridegroom during the period of his betrothal and marriage. [28] This word is now obsolete. [29] बेनुं poetical form of बेन, sister.

[30] वीरो, *lit.* 'hero;' this word is generally used by the doting sister for her brother.

[31] सोनीरो, poetical form of सोनी. [32] मालीरो, the same as माली.

गीत ४.

लगननना दिवसोपर गावानुं गीत.

अमारां वीहवा भर्यां घेर, केम जाणीए;
एना वेपारीओ उभा बाहार, तेम जाणीए.
अमारां वीहवा भर्यां घेर, केम जाणीए;
जेना सोदागर उभा बहार, तेम जाणीए.
अमारां अलबेलीआं घेर, केम जाणीए;
ज्यां वाजां गावण आपे लेहेर, तेम जाणीए.
अमारां वरराजा घेर, केम जाणीए;
जेना घोडुला[33] उभा मांडव मांहे, तेम जाणीए.
अमारां वर बावा घेर, केम जाणीए;
जेना साहाजनीआ बेठां मांडवमांहे, तेम जाणीए.

गीत ५.

सासु सोपारो लइ जायछे ते वेळा गावानुं गीत.

सासु लेजोरे सोपारी, जमाइ तोरणे आव्यो वेपारो.[34]
सासु लेजोरे सोटकरो, जमाइ[35] तोरणे आव्यो मोटकरो.[36]
सासु लेजोरे वाटकरो,[37] जमाइ तोरणे आव्यो लाडकरो.[38]
कोइ हाल करो हलकार करो, कोइ जाण करो. पिछाण करो.
पेला फरामजी वेहेवाइने जाण करो.
कोइ मोटांनो जायो आवेछे, कोइ साहेबजादो आवेछे,
कोइ उमरावजादो आवेछे, कोइ वणजारीनो जायो आवेछे
बधी वणजार वणजीने[39] लावेछे.
कोइ राणीनो वीरो आवेछे, कोइ ठकराणी जायो आवेछे.
शेरीशेरीना कचरा वरावेछे, ससरां मांडवे पाणी छंटावेछे.
सासु मोतीना चोक पुरावेछे.
ससरा गोलाबनां छांटणां छंटावेछे.
शेरीशेरी गालीचा पंथरावेछे,
सासु फुलनां तोरणो बंधावेछे.
शेरी शेरीमां वाजां वजरावेछे,
सासु मख ओवाने आव्यांरे, बधी रुपैओ लइ आव्यांरे.
भाइनी सासु लाव्यां मोतीरे, मारी सीरीनबाइ छे पणोतीरे.
अमारो भावो रुपाळो जमाइजी,
तेने मोहेरा[40] मोहील बेसाडोंरे.

MISCELLANEA.

A NOTE ON VIMALA.

Dr. Peterson says in his Third Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS. in the Bombay Circle (page 44), that the *Padma-Charita* is probably the work of the Buddhist author of the *Praśnôttara-Ratnamálá*, and that a particular verse in the *Hitôpadéśa* is, in that book, a quotation from the latter work, where it stands in its own context, so to say, as one of a series of answers to a series of questions. Now, having examined a number of copies of the *Praśnôttara-Ratnamálá*, I am in a position to disprove that the author of it was ever a Buddhist, or that he had any connection with the *Padma-Purána* or *Padma-Charita* referred to, the author of which distinctly gives his date in the closing stanzas of his exceedingly interesting and instructive poem.

The personality of the author of the **Praśnôttara-Ratnamála** must remain for the present an open question. Of the different copies that have fallen under my observation, some speak of **Vimala** as the author of it, and contain no clue to his date : —

रचिता सितपटगुरुणा विमला विमलेन रत्नमालेव ।
प्रश्नोत्तरमालेयं कण्ठगता किं न भूषयति ॥

"This excellent series of questions and answers, composed by **Vimala**, a teacher clad in white garments, — does it not adorn one who can recite them, just as a garland of pure gems

[33] Poetical form of घोडा.

[34] वेपारी is incorrect ; it should be वेपारी, but the incorrect form is used here for the sake of rhyme.

[35] सोटकरो seems to be a corrupted form of सोटकुं, 'a die,' but it is not plain why it is used here.

[36] मोटकरो, poetical form of मोटो.

[37] वाटकरो might be a poetical form of वाटी, 'a small cooking pot ;' but it is not plain why it is used here.

[38] लाडकरो, poetical form of लाडको.

[39] वणजीने, past participle formed from the noun वणजार, 'a caravan,' and वणजारी, 'a merchant,' and is only used here in connection with वणजारी.

[40] मोहेरा appears to be a corruption of मारा, 'mine.'

enhances the beauty of a man when placed on his neck?"

While, two of the copies examined by me contain the following ślôka at the end, instead of the one quoted above: —

विवेकात्यक्तराज्येन राज्ञेयं रत्नमालिका।
रचितामोघवर्षेण सुधियां सदलंकृतिः॥

"This garland of gems, an excellent ornament for the learned, was composed by king Amôghavarsha, who gave up his kingdom owing to his discriminative knowledge."

The *Praśnôttara-Ratnamâlâ* is here ascribed to king Amôghavarsha; and, as four sovereigns of the Râshṭrakûṭa line bore this name, it is not practicable to determine exactly the date of the poem. But it should be noticed at the same time, that Amôghavarsha I. is known for certain to have been a Jaina and a devoted worshipper of the Digambara saint Jinasêna, who wrote the well-known *Âdi-Purâṇa*. Amôghavarsha I. reigned in the latter part of the ninth century; the dates occurring in two Kaṇheri inscriptions in which the reigning paramount sovereign is represented to be Amôghavarsha, are Śaka-Saṁvat 775 and 797. If we choose to lay no stress on the fact of Amôghavarsha I. having been a Jaina, and consider the claim of all the kings of that name to the authorship of this work as on a par, all we can say is, that the author must have lived between A. D. 853 and A. D. 973; the last king who had this name having been conquered in the latter year by the Western Châlukya king Tailapa I.

Dr. Peterson regards, with Prof. Weber, the author of the Prasnôttara-Ratnamâlâ as a Buddhist; but, — whichever view is adopted as to the personality of the author, — from the closing stanza, as well as from the commencement, it is evident that he was a Jaina, and belonged to one or other of the rival sects of the Jainas. He begins by paying obeisance to Vîra, the most excellent of excellent Jinas, and in the closing stanza, according to one set of copies, describes himself as a *sita-paṭa-guru* or 'a teacher clad in white garments,' that is, a Jaina *Sâdhu* of the Śvêtâmbara sect. If, on the contrary, Amôghavarsha was really the author of it, the poem must be regarded as a Digambara work.

The author of the Padma-Charita also bears the same name (Vimala), and distinctly states at the end of his work that he wrote it when 532 years had elapsed since the *Nirvâṇa* of Mahâvîra: —

पञ्चेव य वाससया दुसमाए तीसवरिससंजुत्ता।
वीरे सिद्धिमुवगए तओ निबद्धं इमं चरिअम्॥

The date of this *Nirvâṇa* has not as yet been satisfactorily and finally settled; but the majority of orientalists accept B. C. 526. If we reckon from this date, we arrive at A. D. 6 as the date of this work. But if we accept Dr. Jacobi's corrected date of this *Nirvâṇa*, *viz.* B. C. 467, — which, he says, agrees so very well with the adjusted date of Buddha's *Nirvâṇa*, 477 B. C., — the date of this Purâṇa would be A. D. 65. This work was, therefore, written in the first century of the Christian era; and it contains an elaborate version of the *Râmâyaṇa* from the Jaina standpoint. Since Dr. Weber pointed out the importance of the *Daśaratha-Jâtaka* in the history of the Indian epics, I have been trying to secure and study the oldest version of these stories as given in Jaina works. Vimala's *Padma-Purâṇa* is not only one of the oldest *dated* works of this class, but has considerable poetic merit and deserves to be edited by a competent scholar. As a Prâkṛit poem, it is, I believe, superior in many respects to the better known *Râvaṇavahô* and *Gauḍavahô*. I mean to publish an analysis of this work in the pages of the *Indian Antiquary*, as soon as I have sufficient leisure for the undertaking.

Before concluding this note, I wish to take the occasion of making a suggestion which has often occurred to me, but which I have nowhere seen distinctly stated by any one else. It is now admitted by many, that there were two distinct waves of the great tide of the Âryan immigration into India. The distinction that existed in ancient times, as regards culture and customs, between North-Western India, the country of the Kurus and Pañchâlas, and Eastern India or Vidêha, Magadha and Kôsala, has been made clear by recent investigations. Dr. Hoernle has shewn that, unless two waves of immigration are admitted, many linguistic phenomena, — the development and extension of Mâgadhî and Śaurasênî, as well as the differences that characterized them, — cannot be satisfactorily accounted for. While what is called the Brahmarshidêśa by Manu, was the home of genuine Brâhmaṇism whose customs and rights were to be taken as models, the Prâchya or Eastern Land, often named in Vêdic and Sûtra texts in a hostile or contemptuous tone, gave birth to Jainism and Buddhism, so opposed to the spirit of the ancient literature that the North-Western Âryans have bequeathed to us. It was no accident that Eastern India produced Buddhism and Jainism, while the kings who exerted themselves to restore Hinduism to its former position of ascendancy, belonged to the other part of Âryâvarta. Now, it seems to me most probable that, while

the *Mahâbhârata* was originally the national epic of the Kuru-Pâñchâla country, the *Râmâyaṇa* was originally the national epic of the Eastern Âryans, though afterwards remodelled by its Brâhman *rédacteurs*. It is in keeping with this view that, in the ancient literature of North-Western India, the heroes of the *Mahâbhârata* are so often referred to, while those of the *Râmâyaṇa* are conspicuous by their absence. While there is an allusion to Vâsudêva, Yudhishṭhira and Arjuna in Pâṇini, and Patañjali frequently brings in *Mahâbhârata* characters in his illustrations, there is not a single reference to Râma, his brothers, or their father, Daśaratha, in the works of these grammarians. Amarasiṁha, in his list of the synonyms of Vishṇu, gives a good many names derived from the Kṛishṇa legend; but the name of Râma, the son of Daśaratha, does not occur, though Râma or Balabhadra, the brother of Kṛishṇa, is mentioned. It should be noted, on the other hand, that, while a Buddhist (or Eastern) version of the *Râmâyaṇa* (*viz.* the *Daśaratha-Jâtaka*) has been discovered, no such version of the Kṛishṇa legend or of the Kuru-Pâṇḍava war has yet been found among the writings of the Eastern Âryans. All these facts are easily accounted for, I think, if we look upon **the Râmâyaṇa as the national epic of those Âryans who first entered India,** but who in course of time had to recede more and more towards the east before the advancing tide of a new group of Âryans who produced the most ancient monuments of the Indian mind which we possess and which constitute the Vêdic literature. Many of the chronological difficulties created by the hypothesis now generally received and countenanced by high authorities, that the *Râmâyaṇa* is really later than the sister epic, are obviated by the view suggested above.

Jaypur. HARIDAS SASTRI.

CORRESPONDENCE.

CHITOR.

To the Editors of the Indian Antiquary.

SIRS, — In the footnote on p. 222 of the present volume of your *Journal*, you object to چتور spelling *Chitôr*. With dots it may be چیتور *Jaipur* or چیتور. You, however, say چتور is the correct spelling. I have gone through Tod. He spells it everywhere *Cheetore*. Sir Thomas Roe spelt it "*Cytore*." Tod gives a facsimile native letter in which the word occurs and is spelt चीतौर. This is fair evidence that in all probability I am right in assigning the coin to this town, Jaipur being out of the question. I have often heard the word pronounced *Chaitaur*. I compared several coins in my possession before I ventured to make a guess. You say it may read *Qanauj*. On coin 27 I give this mint قنوج. It does not much resemble چتور.

The mint of Islâm Shah's coin, which I mentioned, is شیر گڑھ عرف قنوج. I am certain about this reading, as I have some half dozen coins to back me up.

If now, however, we decide that چتور is not Jaipur and not Chitôr, we must try and find out what it may be.

I hope I did not make the mistake of writing *Gwâlior* on page 221. It ought to have been *Gwâliâr*, as the spelling on coins for more than two centuries was گوالیار.

The *yé* at the end of تانکے may be *é* or *i*. The pronunciation is immaterial, as *bîmâr* is pronounced by Persians *bêmâr* ('without strength'). I don't know how it was pronounced in Akbar's time. The word *tanka*, however, cannot be *tanki*, as it is spelt on the coins تنکہ *tanka*. Your first note on p. 220 overlooked this spelling. In support of your theory for the other words, you have the *yé* going across the coins at the end of الہی and شاہی, both of which are pronounced now as *i*. The origin of the word would shew whether it is *é* or *i*, as we now use these sounds.

Were I going to stay on, I would set to work at the Sûrî copper coins, and write a full monograph on them, but I fear I shall never do it, as my time is fully occupied until September 30th. After that I shall have to work at other subjects and probably in England, and all my knowledge of the coins of India will be a burden to myself and lost to the country.

C. J. RODGERS.

Amritsar, July 28th, 1890.

[The difficulty of arguing with Mr. Rodgers is that his plates are hand-drawn and not reproduced mechanically. — ED.]

BOOK-NOTICES.

ALBERUNI'S INDIA: an account of the Religion, Philosophy, Literature, Geography, Chronology, Astronomy, Customs, Laws and Astrology of India, about A. D. 1030. An English Edition with Notes and Indices. By Dr. EDWARD C. SACHAU. London; Trübner & Co., 1888. Two Volumes; pp. l., 408, 431.

Some years ago I called attention in the pages of this Journal, *ante*, Vol. XV. p. 31 f., to the importance of Bêrûnî's Indica, a translation of which Professor Sachau had then begun to print. This translation has now been some time before the public, and I believe that a further notice is desirable both in the interest of Sanskṛit philology and in acknowledgment of the eminent service which Professor Sachau has rendered to the students of Indian history and literature, by making the famous Muhammadan's work accessible to those not acquainted with the Arabic language.

An Arabist who undertakes the translation of a book like the Indica, has the choice between two different methods. He may either content himself with rendering his text as exactly as possible, leaving it to the Sanskṛitists to make of it what they can; or he may attempt not only to translate, but to do also the work of a commentator and to trace the statements of his text in Sanskṛit literature. Professor Sachau, who is not only one of the most distinguished Arabic scholars of the day, but is also acquainted with the sacred language of the Brâhmaṇs, has chosen the second more ambitious course, which in the case of Bêrûnî's work is particularly arduous and toilsome. For Bêrûnî gives hundreds of quotations from Sanskṛit authors, numerous mathematical or astronomical calculations, and very extensive lists of Sanskṛit names and technical terms, the verification or identification of which frequently presents very great difficulties. The Sanskṛit books which he quotes have by no means all been published and translated. Some are not even known, while others are preserved only in MSS., of which no sufficient account has been given. The Sanskṛit names and words, for the expression of which the Arabic alphabet is at the best not very convenient, have been sadly mangled and distorted in very numerous cases, be it through Berûnî's or his copyist's carelessness. Their restoration frequently becomes so much more difficult, as they have not been preserved in the Sanskṛit works hitherto accessible, and as hence purely conjectural emendations are required. Professor Sachau has manfully grappled with these numerous difficulties and with signal success. His elaborate notes show that he has not only carefully consulted the translations of the *Vishṇu-Purâṇa*, the *Bhagavadgîtâ*, Varâhamihira's *Bṛihat-Saṁhitâ*, the *Sâṁkhyakârikâ* and the Pâtañjala *Yógasûtra*, but that he has even utilised the original texts of which he was able to procure printed copies. Nor has he forgotten Colebrooke's and Prinsep's *Essays*, Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde*, A. Weber's numerous contributions to the history of Sanskṛit literature and antiquities, Cunningham's important works on geography and archæology, and Elliot's *History of India*. Where the published works failed to give the requisite help, Professor Sachau has availed himself of the services of a number of specialists. Thus, our distinguished Viennese astronomer, Dr. Schram, has verified the numerous calculations. And Prof. Kielhorn and other Sanskṛitists have furnished notes on various single points. The result is that a very considerable proportion of Bêrûnî's statements and quotations has been verified, and that a very large number of the dark points have received light. Taken together with the copious and judicious introduction, the notes furnish a very good guide for those who wish to utilise Bêrûnî's work.

These achievements are such that even a Sanskṛitist, and so much more an Arabist, might regard them with just pride. Nevertheless there is yet, as Professor Sachau himself says, (Preface, p. xlix.) something to do for Sanskṛitists in connection with the Indica. It will probably take some time until all the Sanskṛit names and words in Bêrûnî's text have been restored to their proper shape, and perhaps somewhat longer until his sources have been all identified and his treatment of them has been fully elucidated. For the restoration of the rarer names and terms one must wait, as in the case of all more difficult conjectural emendations, for a lucky moment, without which mere laborious poring over the distorted letters remains useless. A few instances which, it seems to me, confirm the truth of this assertion, and which possess some interest, may be here adduced. Bêrûnî repeatedly quotes astronomical works with the title *Srâdhava* or rather *SRVDHV*, which he ascribes to different authors. There cannot be a doubt that the name is corrupt. Professor Sachau suggests that it may be *Sarvadhara* (p. xxxix.) or *Śrôtavya* (p. 158, 307), to which former emendation I gave my adhesion, when Professor Sachau consulted me regarding it. Neither is, however, correct. *SRVDHV* is without doubt the Sanskṛit *Sâroddhâra*, 'an extract of the essentials.' This

word is extremely common (see the smaller Petersburg Dictionary, *sub voce*), both as an independent title and as the second part of a title, which according to the Indian custom of abbreviating long names, may be used for the whole. If I had noticed formerly that Bêrûnî not rarely neglects to note the Sanskṛit *á* by *elif*, I suppose I should have been able to make a better suggestion than to approve of the possible but unusual *Sarvadhara*. Again Bêrûnî quotes, I. p. 157, a title *RAHVNRAKRN*, which he renders by 'the breaking of the Karaṇas.' Professor Sachau transliterates doubtingly *Râhunrâkaraṇa* (?) and adds in the note that one would expect the word *Karaṇa* to stand in the beginning. Nevertheless it seems to me that the Arabic transcription is nearly correct. The Sanskṛit equivalent is *Râhunirâkaraṇa*, which means literally 'the removal of Râhu.' Râhu, the demon of the eclipses and of darkness, has been used figuratively to denote the bad Karaṇas, which by their erroneous teaching obscure the light of science. Similar highflown titles are very common in Sanskṛit literature, and Bêrûnî gives some instances (Vol. I. p. 156). His translation 'breaking the Karaṇas' is also in substance correct. But it may easily mislead. Further, Bêrûnî tells us (Vol. II. p. 178) that the Kaśmîrians celebrated on the second of Chaitra a festival called *agdús*, on account of a victory gained by their king *Muttâi* over the Turks. In the course of some further remarks on this king, we hear that he ruled at a time '*not much anterior to our time*.' This note greatly interested me, when Professor Sachau first communicated it to me some years ago, but I was unable to suggest who *Muttâi* could be. Now the solution appears to me very simple. *Muttâi*, in Arabic مُتّاي, is a mistake of the copyist for مُتّابِر, which latter may stand according to Bêrûnî's method of transcription either for *Muttâpir* or for *Muttâpid*. The latter form is no doubt intended. It is the still used Kaśmîrian Prâkṛit for Sanskṛit *Muktâpîḍa*.[1] Muktâpîḍa is the second name of Lalitâditya, who ruled, according to Sir A. Cunningham's adjusted chronology of the *Râjataraṅgiṇî*, from 726-763 A.D. or about 270 years before Bêrûnî. The *Râjataraṅgiṇî* highly extols his victory over the Tukhâras, to the north of Kaśmîr. These are doubtless the Turks, mentioned by Bêrûnî. A good many other incorrect forms may be set right by a comparison of partly untranslated, partly unpublished Sanskṛit texts, as I shall show further on. Here I will, however, note that the names of the festivals in Chapter lxxvi. (Vol. ii. p. 179) may all or nearly all be emended with the help of Hêmâdri's *Vratakâṇḍa* and many even by an inspection of the *Vratarâja*. Thus Bêrûnî's festival *Harbâlî* (?) on Bhâdrapada śukla 3 is of course the *Hâritâlika-vrata*; *Gâihat* on the 6th of the same month, the *Kapilâ-Shashṭhî* (*gâi*, 'a cow,' being the equivalent of *kapilâ*, 'a brown cow' and *hat* the Prâkṛit form for *shashṭhî*); the festival *dhruvagṛiha* (?) on the 8th of Bhâdrapada, is the *Dûrva-Aṣṭamî* or *Dûrvâṅkura-Aṣṭamî*, and the *Parivartî* (?) on the 11th, is the *Parivartinî-Ekâdaśî*, when Vishṇu-Vâsudêva turns in his sleep.

The second task which awaits the Sanskṛitist in connection with the *Indica*, the verification of the quotations from Sanskṛit authors, is more arduous, particularly in the case of the less known works. But it yields by no means insignificant results. In order to show what may by gained by it, I shall go through Bêrûnî's translations from the *Vishṇu-Dharma*, from which work he quotes more than thirty passages. He describes it (Vol. I. p. 132) as a book on '*the religion of God who in this case is understood to be Nârâyaṇa*.' In his note to Vol. I. p. 54, Professor Sachau very shrewdly points out that some of the quotations contain Bhâgavata doctrines, and conjectures that the work is probably identical with the *Vishṇudharmôttara-Purâṇa* mentioned by Colebrooke (*Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. II. 284, etc.). Until lately I held the same opinion, and expressed it to Professor Sachau, when he consulted me regarding this and other titles. For I remembered that the *Vishṇudharmôttara*, which I discovered during my Kaśmîr tour in 1875, is a Bhâgavata composition and somewhat resembles a Purâṇa. When, however, thanks to the liberality of Mr. Chatfield, who kindly has lent me the MSS. Nos. 89-91 of the Deccan College Collection of 1875-77, I was able to examine the work thoroughly, I found that Bêrûnî has used not only this work, but a second homonymous one, and has erroneously considered both to be one.

The Kaśmîrian *Vishṇudharmôttara*, from which the greater number of his quotations has been taken, is a large book, which contains three Kâṇḍas with about 21,000 ślôkas. It is certainly a production of the Bhâgavata sect. Each Kâṇḍa begins with the well known Bhâgavata Mantra:—

नारायणं नमस्कृत्य नरं चैव नरोत्तमम् ।
देवीं सरस्वतीं व्यासं ततो जयमुदीरयेत् ॥

[1] The shortening of the penultimate *î* is due to the stress which is put on the long *â*. Similarly *Jayapîḍa* is now in Kaśmîrian *Jêpid*.

The type of Vaishṇavism, which it teaches, is not the licentious worship of the shepherd Kṛishṇa, but one similar to that described by Dr. Bhâṇḍârkar in his paper on the Pâñcharâtra or Sâttvata system in the *Transactions* of the Âryan Section of the VIIth Int. Or. Congress. On the whole, the *Vishṇudharmóttara* preaches Smârta doctrines and practices, replacing Brahman by Vâsudêva, and mixing the Vedic rites with Vratas in honour of the latter deity. Some passages, which mention the river Taushî, i.e. the modern Tôhî, the sacred lake Bindusaras, &c., show an intimate acquaintance with the geography of Kaśmîr, and make it probable that the book has been written or received its present shape in Kaśmîr. The whole is stated to have been communicated by the *Rishi* Mârkaṇḍêya to king Vajra, a son of Aniruddha and a contemporary of Parîkshit. As is usual in this class of works, there are, however, a good many other interlocutors. The language shows the slipshod Sanskṛit, common to all Purâṇas, and the author does not shrink from coining the most absurd forms, when they suit his convenience. Thus we find (I. 252,3) the accusative singular *duhitâm* in the following verse :—

ऋक्षस्य वानरेन्द्रस्य दुहितां मानसीं स्वयम् ।
ददौ प्रजापतिः श्रीमान्रूपयौवनसंयुताम् ॥

The first Kâṇḍa, which contains 269 Adhyâyas, very much resembles the first Kâṇḍas of other Purâṇas. It narrates the creation or rather the successive creations of the world, gives the usual Paurâṇic accounts of geography, astronomy and time, numerous genealogies and legends, and some Stôtras, as well as rules regarding certain Vratas and the Srâddhas. Among the legends, a long account of the loves of Purûravas and Urvaśî, which fills Adhyâyas 130-137, deserves to be mentioned, as it comes a little closer to Kâlidâsa's story than the other known versions.

The second Kâṇḍa, which is said to have been originally revealed by Vâruṇi Pushkara to Paraśurâma, is about as large as the first. The chapters are, however, not numbered continuously in the MS. accessible to me, and my statement is therefore only an estimate. It is filled chiefly with treatises on *Dharma* and *Râjanîti*, but contains also something on Vratas, Śântis, medicine, the Dhanurvêda, astronomy and astrology. The portions on Dharma and Râjanîti include many verses found in the *Mânava-Dharmaśâstra*. The section on astronomy, which is chiefly in prose, bears the separate title, *Paitâmaha-Siddhânta*. The preamble states that it was originally communicated by Brahman to Bhṛigu. Next Vâruṇi Pushkara revealed it to Paraśurâma, and finally Mârkaṇḍêya to Vajra.[1] It consists of nine Adhyâyas with about 400 Granthas, *viz.* : I *śikhâ*, II. *jâtaka*, III. *upâkaraṇa*, IV. *grahagati*, V. *tithinakshatra*, VI. *chhâyâ*, VII. *lagna*, VIII. *udayâstamaya*, IX. *paitâmahaṁ siddhântam* (!). After the last colophon, which is no doubt faulty, and stands for *paitâmahê siddhântê* . . . . . , follow the words *samâptaṁ paitâmahaṁ siddhântam*. This *Paitâmaha-Siddhânta* is certainly that on which Brahmagupta in 628-29 A. D. founded his *Sphuṭa-Brâhmasiddhânta*. For it contains the passages, quoted by the commentators of the *Sûrya-Siddhânta* and printed by Mr. Colebrooke (*Misc. Essays*, Vol. II. p. 348 *note* 4; ed. Cowell). Its character has been appropriately described by Dr. Thibaut (*Pañchasiddhântikâ*, p. xxi.), who assigns it 'to the modern phase of Hindu astronomy.' It is full of Greek terms, such as *kêndra*, *lipta*, *sunaphâ*, *kibuja*, &c. I may add that it shows the influence of the Vaishṇavas; for, in the beginning of Adhyâya III., Time is identified with Vishṇu: — अमा धि[वि]निधनः कालः प्रजापतिर्विष्णुस्तस्य ग्रहगत्यनुसारेण गणितम् ॥

It further shows a very close connexion with the section on Time in the first Kâṇḍa, which resemblance may be explained either by the assumption that both portions of the *Vishṇudharmóttara* have been composed by the same author, or that the Siddhânta is an older book, according to which the chapters of the first Kâṇḍa have been modelled.

The third Kâṇḍa gives short treatises on Sanskṛit and Prâkṛit grammar, on lexicology, metrics, poetics, dancing, singing and instrumental music, as well as detailed instructions for sculptors and painters making images of the gods, for architects constructing temples, and for priests consecrating images or sacred buildings. It is much shorter than the other two and contains only 118 Adhyâyas.

[1] It begins:—अथ मार्कण्डेयः । अथ भार्गवो रामो वदनन्दनं पुष्करं पप्रच्छ । भगवन् ज्योतिषामयनं श्रोतुमिच्छामि । तमुवाच वाराहिः । पुरा सुरर्षिमध्यगतं भगवन्तमतीन्द्रियं सर्वज्ञं सर्व[जगत्संभव]पालनसंहारकरं श्रीब्रह्माणं भृगुर्विज्ञापयामास । भगवन् ज्योतिषामयनं श्रोतुमिच्छामि । तमुवाच भगवान्पितामहः । यदा मे त्वं कस्यादौ हृदयाज्जातस्तदा मया ते श्लोकानां चतुर्विंशतिलक्ष्यं[क्षं]ज्योतिर्ज्ञानमुक्तं तदेवास्मिन्वाङ्मये यज्ञे महादेवाज्ञापेन ज्वालां भित्त्वा विनिर्गतस्य जन्मान्तरोत्पन्नस्यातिसंज्ञ-[ज्ञि]तं वक्ष्यामि । तच्छ्रुत्वा सर्वमेव ते पूर्वजन्माभिहितं ज्योतिर्ज्ञानमविभेविष्यति । अथ भगवान्सहस्ररश्मिर्विमलो विमलमयूखः । ...

The last verse is:

वेदास्तु यज्ञार्थमभिप्रवृत्ताः क[का]लानुपूर्व्या विहिताश्च यज्ञाः ।
तस्मादिदं कालविधानशास्त्रं यो ज्योतिषं वेद स वेद सर्वम् ॥

As might be expected from these facts, all Bêrûnî's quotations from the *Vishṇu-Dharma*, in which Mârkaṇḍêya is mentioned as the speaker, have been taken from the Kaśmîrian *Vishṇudharmôttara*. In order to show exactly how Bêrûnî has treated the original, I give here twenty-two passages in full, quoting (1) the Sanskṛit text, (2) my translation, and (3) Bêrûnî's rendering, the latter two in parallel columns. I mark the discrepancies by italics and add explanatory notes regarding them.

I. Vishṇu-Dharmmôttara I. 29, 16 *b*.

स्वद्बिम्बे निर्मले पृथ्वी सशैलवनकानना ॥ १६ ॥
शशाकृतिः सदा दृश्या शशलक्ष्मास्यतोनघ ।
तेनैव कारणेन त्वमुच्यसे मृगलाञ्छनः ॥ १७ ॥

(16.) "In thy[3] pure disk the earth together with its mountains, groves and forests" —

(17.) "Is always visible in the shape of a hare; hence thou art called *Śaśalakṣman* (hare-marked). For the same reason thou art called Mṛigalâñchhana (deer-marked)."

Indica II. 102: — The *Vishṇu-Dharma* says: —

"The moon is called *Śaśalakṣha*,[4] *for the globe of her body is watery reflecting the figure of the earth, as a mirror reflects.*[5] On the earth there are mountains and trees of different shapes, which are reflected in the moon as a hare's figure. It is also called Mṛigalâñchhana, i. e. *the figure of a gazelle, for certain people compare the black part on the moon's face to the figure of a gazelle.*"[6]

II. V. Dh. I. 72, 17 *b*.

आदित्यभागभोगेन सौरो दिवस उच्यते ॥ १७ ॥

(17.) "The solar day is declared (to be completed) by the enjoyment (bhôga) of the share of the sun."

Indica I. 353: —

According to the *Vishṇu-Dharma* this (the solar day) is the time of the sun's passing his bhukti.

III. V. Dh. I. 72, 18 *b*.-19 *a*.

माने मासस्तु नाक्षत्रः सप्तविंशतिभिर्दिनैः ॥ १८ ॥
परिशेषेषु मासे[ने]षु मासस्त्रिंशदिनः स्मृतः ।

(18 *b*.) "In its measure the sidereal month (is completed) by twenty-seven days."

(19 *a*.) "In the other measures the month is stated to consist of thirty days."

Indica I. 354: —

"According to the *Vishṇu-Dharma* the sidereal month has only twenty-seven days, whilst the months of the other measures have thirty days."[7]

IV. V. Dh. I. 72, 19*b*.-23*a*.

सौरेणाऽहस्तु मासे[ने] न यश भवति भार्गव ॥१९॥
सावनेन तु मानेन दिनषट्केन पूर्यते ।
ऊनरात्राश्च ते प्रोक्ताः संवत्सरेण षट् ॥ २० ॥
सौरसंवत्सरस्यान्ते मानेन घटिजेन तु ।
एकादशातिरिच्यन्ते दिनानि भृगुनन्दन ॥ २१ ॥
मास[समा]द्वये साष्टमासे दिनषोडशकानि[न्वि]ते ।
म[ना]लीचतुष्टयान्ते तु तस्मान्मासोतिरिच्यते ॥२२॥
स चाधिमासकः प्रोक्तः काम्यकर्मसु गर्हितः ।

[3] The moon is addressed by Îśvara or Śiva.

[4] *Laksha* is probably due to a clerical mistake.

[5] This is, of course an explanatory interpolation of Bêrûnî's. Regarding the watery nature of the moon, see below No. XVIII., verse 3.

[6] This is again an interpolation by Bêrûnî, who explains *Mrigalâñchhana* wrongly as a Tatpurusha compound.

[7] In his remarks on this statement Bêrûnî says that it must be due to a mistake in the text of the *Vishnu-Dharma*. This is, however, not the case, as various other Sanskrit works give the division of the sidereal month into twenty-seven days in accordance with the ancient number of the Nakshatras.

(19 *b*.) "But when, *O descendant of Bhṛigu*, a year has elapsed according to the *solar measure* (*Saura mâna*),"[8]

(20.) "It must be completed according to the civil measure (Sâvana mâna) by (adding) six days; and (hence) six Ûnarâtras are declared (to exist) in (each) year."

(21.) "But at the end of the solar year eleven days are in excess as compared with the lunar measure (Châṇdra mâna), *O son of Bhṛigu*."

(22.) "In two years *eight months, and sixteen days, at the end of four Nâḍis* (Nâḍikâs) there is for this reason a month in excess."

(23.) "That is called the Adhimâsa (intercalary month), (which is) unpropitious for all reward-desiring rites."

Indica II. 21: — "The author of the Vishṇu-Dharma says: "*Chandra* [read Châṇdra] (*mâna*) is smaller than Sâvana, *i.e.* the lunar year is smaller than the civil year by six days, *i.e.* ûnarâtras. Ûna means decrease, deficiency.[9]

Saura is greater than *Chandra* [read *Châṇdra*] by eleven days which gives in two years and *seven months*[10] the supernumerary adhimâsa month. The whole month is unlucky and nothing must be done in it."[11]

V. V. Dh. I. 73, 13.

मेषादिषट्कगे सूर्ये तेषां दिवस उच्यते ।
तुलादिषट्कगे सूर्ये तेषां रात्रिः प्रकीर्तिता ॥ १३ ॥

(13.) "(The period) during which the sun passes through the six (signs) beginning with Aries is called their (the Dêvas') day; (*the period*) *during which the sun passes through the six* (*signs*) *beginning with Libra is declared to be their night*."

Indica I. 331: —

"Not much better is what the author of the *Vishṇu-Dharma* says: —

'*The half beginning with Capricornus is the day of the Asura*, i.e. *the Dânavas, and their night begins with the sign of Cancer*.'[12] Previously he had said: — 'The half beginning with Aries is the day of the Dêva.'"

VI. V. Dh. I. 73, 14-16.

पितॄणां चान्द्रमासेन अहोरात्रो निधीयते ।
कृष्णपक्षाष्टमे मध्ये तेषां राश्युदयः स्मृतः ॥ १४ ॥
शुक्लपक्षाष्टमे मध्ये तेषामस्तमयस्तथा ।
अर्धरात्रः पौर्णमास्यां पितॄणां समुदाहृतः ॥ १५ ॥
कृष्णपक्षावसाने च तेषां मध्याह्न उच्यते ।
कृष्णपक्षक्षये तस्मात्तेषां भानुः प्रदीयते ॥ १६ ॥[13]

(14.) "A day and a night of the manes is said (to be completed) by a lunar month. On the eighth of *the dark half, in the middle* (*of the day*), *the rising of the zodiacal sign* is stated (to take place) for them;"

Indica I. 328-329: — "After the human day follows Pitṛiṇâm ahôrâtra, *i.e.* the nychthemeron of the forefathers . . . . . *Evidently their moon* (read noon) *is the time of the conjunction or full-moon and their midnight as opposition or*

[8] Here our text seems to be at fault, and Bêrûnî to have the correct reading. For the Châṇdra mâna has six days less than the Sâvana mâna, — *viz.* 354 solar days, against 360.

[9] This is an explanatory note, added by Bêrûnî. It is in substance correct, but he erroneously takes *ûna* for a substantive.

[10] It is difficult to find a good reason why Bêrûnî has given an incorrect figure for the months and has omitted the days and Nâḍikâs, which agree almost exactly with the particulars of his accurate description, which follows immediately after his quotation. I suppose the Arabic text must be corrupt, especially as Bêrûnî does not say that the figures of the *Vishṇu-Dharma* are wrong.

[11] This is a very slovenly paraphrase of the text, which forbids only the performance of those rites by which the worshipper desires to obtain some particular result.

[12] It is very probable that a verse, containing this statement which is not found in the present text, has been accordingly omitted. It probably stood immediately after verse 13.

[13] भानुः is unusual in Sanskṛit; perhaps the author wishes यज्ञः to be understood with it.

(15.) "Likewise *its setting on the eighth of the bright half, in the middle (of the day). The midnight of the manes is said (to be) on the full-moon day.*"

(16.) "*And at the end of the dark half is stated (to be) their midday. Hence the funeral oblations are offered to them at the end of the dark half of the month.*"

new-moon. Therefore the nychthemeron of the forefathers is a complete lunar month, the day *beginning at the time of half moon, when the light on the moon's body begins to increase and the night beginning at the time of half moon when her light begins to wane . . . . . The day of this nychthemeron extends from the last quarter of a month to the first quarter of the succeeding month; the night from the first to the second quarter of one identical month. The totality of these* two halves is the nychthemeron of the forefathers. Thus the subject is explained by the author of *Vishṇu-Dharma* both at large and in detail, but afterwards he treats it a second time with very little understanding, and identifies the day of the forefathers with the black half of the month and their night with the white half, whilst the correct statement is that which is just mentioned. This view is also confirmed by their custom of offering food to the forefathers on the day of conjunction, for they explain noon to be the time of taking food. For this reason they offer food to the forefathers at the same time when they themselves take it."[14]

VII. V. Dh. I. 73, 18-19, 35*b*.-40.

समाग[ष]तैर्द्वादशभिर्दिव्यैस्तिष्ययुगं स्मृतम् ।
द्विगुणं द्वापरं ज्ञेयं त्रेता त्रिगुणमुच्यते ॥ १७ ॥
चतुर्गुणं कृतं प्रोक्तं पिण्डितं चाब्दसंख्यया ।
चतुर्युगं सहस्राणि राम द्वादश कीर्तितम् ॥ १९ ॥
चतुर्युगैकसप्तस्या मन्वन्तरमिहोच्यते ॥ ३५ ॥
कल्पस्तु राम विज्ञेयो मनवस्तु चतुर्दश ।
आदिमध्यान्तरालेषु मनूनां भृगुसत्तम ॥ ३६ ॥
कृतमानप्रमाणेन संधिर्भवति मानद ।
चतुर्युगसहस्रं तु कल्पमाहुर्मनीषिणः ॥ ३७ ॥
कल्पश्च दिवसः प्रोक्तो ब्रह्मणः परमेष्ठिनः ।
सावती च निशा तस्य यस्यां शेते स भार्गव ॥ ३८ ॥
एवंविधैरहोरात्रैर्दिनमासाब्द संख्यया ।
पूर्णे वर्षशतं सर्वं ब्रह्मा भार्गव जीवति ॥ ३९ ॥

[14] Bêrûnî's discussion shows that in his copy of the *Vishṇudharmôttara* the words *krishṇa*, 'dark,' and *śukla*, 'bright,' in verses 14*b* and 15*a* had exchanged places and possibly also the words *ardharâtra* and *madhyâhna* in verses 15*a* and 16*b*. These discrepancies can however only be accidental mistakes, such as have happened also in the Mahâbhârata, XII. 232, 16, where the same error about the day and the night of the manes occurs. For all authorities from the earliest Dharma and Gṛihyasûtras to the latest Prayôgas agree that the manes wake during the dark half of the month and that the Śrâddhas must as a rule be offered during that period, not on the full-moon day, as Bêrûnî asserts. Full-moon Śrâddhas are only exceptionally permissible in the month of Mâgha, which is sacred to the manes. A minor slip in Bêrûnî's discussion is the statement that the night extends 'from the first *to the second quarter* of one identical month.' It ought to be *to the third quarter*. His remark that the same matter is discussed again in the *Vishṇudharmôttara* is true. The 142nd chapter of the first Kânḍa gives the times for the Śrâddhas. They do not differ from the ordinary ones, and, though there is no distinct statement to the effect that the dark half of the month is the day of the fathers, any intelligent reader may gather as much from the tenor of the rules, the first of which enjoins that Śrâddhas are to be offered on the new-moon day. There is further a third passage on this subject in the *Paitâmaha-Siddhânta*, Upâkaraṇâdhyâya; पितॄणामहोरात्रः । तेषां कृष्णाष्टम्यामर्कोदयः । अमावास्यायां मध्याह्नः । शुक्लाष्टम्यामर्कास्तमयः । पौर्णिमास्यामर्धरात्रः । "The day and night

(18-19.) "The Tishya age *is stated*[15] (to consist of) 1200 divya (years). *Know* the Dvâpara to be double (of that); the Trêtâ is *declared to be* treble; the Kṛitayuga fourfold; and a Chaturyuga *is said, O Râma,* (to consist of) the sum of the number of (their) years, *viz.* 12,000."

(35*b*.) "One Manvantara is here declared (to consist) of 71 Chaturyugas."

(36-37.) "*But know, O Râma, that* 14 Manus are one Kalpa. *At the beginning,* in the middle (between each two Manvantaras) and *in the intervals*[16] there is a Saṁdhi, *O lord,* of the measure of one Kṛitayuga. *But the wise call* 1000 *Chaturyugas one Kalpa.*"[17]

(38.) "And a Kalpa *is declared to be* a day of Brahman-*Paramêshṭhin*; and his night *during which he sleeps, O Scion of Bhṛigu,* is of equal length."

(39.) "Brahman lives one whole century *which consists of such nychthemera, days, months and so forth, O Scion of Bhṛigu.*"[19]

Indica I. 372:—"The author of the *Vishṇu-Dharma* says:—

'Twelve hundred divya years are one yuga, called tishya. The double of it is a dvâpara, the triple a *trêtâ*, the quadruple a *kṛita*, and all four yugas together are one chaturyuga, *i.e. the four yugas or sums.*[18]

Seventy-one chaturyugas are one manvantara, and 14 manvantaras, together with a Saṁdhi of the duration of one Kṛitayuga between each two of them, are one Kalpa.'"

Two Kalpas are a nychthemeron of Brahman, and his life is a hundred years, *or one day of Purusha, the first man of whom neither beginning nor end is known.*"[20]

In connection with this passage Bêrûnî states that the above was communicated by Varuṇa to Râma the son of Daśaratha, and that the same information was also given by Bhârgava, *i.e.* Mârkaṇḍêya. Bêrûnî, moreover, adds with respect to the latter: "He is to the Hindus like the angel of death who kills them with his seat, being *apratidhṛishya* (irresistible)." This is a curious mixture of truth and error. The *Vishṇu-dharmôttara* declares indeed, that chapters 72-73 were originally revealed by Varuṇa to Râma, which latter is, however, not the son of Daśaratha, but, as is explicitly stated in the beginning of chapter 71, the son of Jamadagni, who belongs to Bhṛigu's race. The further assertion that the same information was given by Mârkaṇḍêya, and that the latter was a Bhârgava, is correct. But the last note regarding Bhârgava-Mârkaṇḍêya's being like the angel of death who kills with his seat, is sheer nonsense. No such story occurs in the *V. Dh.* or any other Sanskṛit work known to me. Bêrûnî, who knew, as other passages show, the story of Paraśurâma-Bhârgava, seems to have mixed up the latter with Mârkaṇḍêya. Paraśurâma slew all the Kshatriyas with his axe and was indeed *apratidhṛishya*. The mention "of the seat," which is utterly inexplicable, is, I suppose, due to a clerical mistake in the Arabic text.

VIII. V. Dh. I. 73, 60.

मन्वन्तरं पुरा प्रोक्तं वारुणेन महात्मना ।
तावती च निशा तस्य यस्येदं सकलं जगत् ॥ ६० ॥

of the manes. Their sunrise (takes place) on the eighth (day) of the dark (half of the month); midday on the new moon day: sunset on the eighth of the bright (half of the month); midnight on the full-moon day." Though this passage would agree better with his remark, I do not think that he refers to it, because his remarks on the Siddhântas lead one to infer that he did not know the *Paitâmaha-Siddhânta* (see Vol. I. 153-154).

[15] Bêrûnî intentionally omits all the numerous expletive words which the Sanskṛit author requires in order to make up the verse.

[16] The beginning and the end of this phrase have been omitted by Bêrûnî, though it must have stood in his text. For without the words *âdi* and *antarâla* the verse would be incomplete. This omission involves a bad mistake, as it vitiates the calculation. According to Bêrûnî the Kalpa consists of 14 × 71 = 994 Chaturyugas and 13 Saṁdhis = 62,400 years = 5 Chaturyugas and 2,400 years; while it ought to have 7,600 years more, in order to consist of 1,000 Chaturyugas. Bêrûnî states correctly that the Kalpa contains this number (Vol. I. 368).

[17] This clause has probably been omitted intentionally, because it teaches nothing new, but merely sums up the preceding statements.

[18] This explanation is not intelligible and probably due to a corruption in the Arabic text. It ought to be '*i.e.* the sum of the four yugas.'

[19] Bêrûnî omits all this, probably because he considered it to be mere padding.

[20] These words are a translation of verse 60, which is given together with a second rendering by Bêrûnî in the next extract.

(60.) "A day of Purusha is declared to be defined by the life of Brahman, and of equal length is a night of him *to whom the whole world (belongs)*."

Indica I. 332: "The *Vishnu-Dharma* says: 'The life of Brahman is the day of Purusha, and the night of Purusha has the same length.'"[21]

IX. V. Dh. I. 80, 1-2.

वज्र उवाच । ब्रह्मणोस्य समुत्पत्तावारभ्य भृगुसत्तमे: ।
कालस्य गतिमिच्छामि श्रोतुं भृगुकुलोद्वह ॥ १ ॥
मार्कण्डेय उवाच । स्वेनाहोरात्रमानेन ब्रह्मणोस्य जगत्पते: ।
सप्ताष्ट[ट]कं गतं राजन्वत्सु मासास्त्वयैव च ॥ २ ॥
अहोरात्रचतुष्कं च वर्तमानदिनान्वितम् ।
अतः परं प्रवक्ष्यामि तन्मे निगदतः शृणु ॥ ३ ॥
मनवः षड्गताः सप्त संधयश्च तथा गताः ।
सप्तविंशच्चतुर्युगाश्च तथैव च चतुर्युगाः ॥ ४ ॥
युगत्रयं तथातीतं वर्तमानचतुर्युगात् ।
संवत्सराणां दशकं तथा कलियुगाद्गतम् ॥ ५ ॥
यास्[तथा]त्रानेधकालेस्मिन्सह पक्षेण वाहव ।
तथिभ्याख्यानतीतानां ब्रह्मणां मुनिरब्रवीत् ॥ ६ ॥
अनादिगस्त्वात्कालस्य संख्या वक्तुं न शक्यते ।
यैवाद्याः सिक्ता धारा यथा वर्षति वासवः ॥ ७ ॥
श्रुत्वा वचस्तु राजन्य व्यतीताः पितामहाः ।
अन्तवन्तो बुधा कृत्स्नं सर्वस्य जगतीपते: ॥ ८ ॥
तन्मार्गं परिमार्गन्ते ऋषिभ्यो: परमं पदम् ।

Vajra said: —

(1.) "I wish to hear, *O Scion of Bhrigu's race*, the length of time elapsed since the birth of this (present) *most resplendent* Brahman."

Mârkaṇḍêya answered: —

(2.) "Eight years, *O King*, of this Brahman (*who is*) *lord of the world*, have passed, and five months, *measured by the measure of his nychthemera*;"

(3.) "Further, four nychthemera have elapsed (reckoning) from the present day. (*Listen to that what I shall tell thee now!*)"[22]

(4.) "Six Manus have also passed and seven Saṁdhis, — likewise twenty-seven Chaturyugas have gone;"

(5.) "And three Yugas have passed, since (the beginning of) the present Chaturyuga, and ten years out *of the present Kaliyuga*."

(6-9.) "At the time of thy Aśvamêdha, *together with a fortnight, O Scion of Yâdu. The number of* (the years contained in) *the time of the*

Indica II. 2: — The book *Vishnu-Dharma* says: "Vajra asked Mârkaṇḍêya how much of the life of Brahman had elapsed?" Whereupon the sage answered: That which has elapsed is 8 years, 5 months, 4 days, 6 Manvantaras, 7 Saṁdhis, 27 Chaturyugas, and 3 Yugas of the twenty-eighth Chaturyuga, and 10 *divya*[23] years, up to the time of the Aśvamêdha which thou hast offered.[24]

He who knows the details of this statement and comprehends them duly is a sage man, and the sage is he who serves the only Lord and strives

[21] For another translation of this passage see the preceding extract.

[22] This is probably an interpolation, as it needlessly interrupts the enumeration and disturbs the order of the verses.

[23] This word is not in the text.

[24] Bêrûnî's statement is wrong, as he has left out the additional fortnight, *i. e.* divya fortnight mentioned in verse 6a. Without *saha pakshêṇa* the verse would be incomplete.

past and of the future Brahmans cannot be (accurately) expressed, O thou who givest large sacrificial fees, because it has no beginning. The sand of the Gangâ and the rain-drops, as Vâsava sends them, can be counted, (but) not, O King, the past Brahmans. The sages who know that each lord of the world (Brahman) has an end, seek the path to that (place) which is the highest step (paramapada) of Vishnu."

X. V. Dh. I. 81, 1-2.

वज्र उवाच । त्वयोदितानां धर्मज्ञ समासेन पृथक् पृथक् ।
कालस्यावयवानां च श्रोतुमिच्छामि देवताः ॥ १ ॥
मार्कण्डेय उवाच । पौरुषं यदहोरात्रं श्रुतवानसि माधव ।
कालात्मा पुरुषस्तस्य सर्वभूतपतिः प्रभुः ॥ २ ॥

Vajra spoke: —

(1.) "*O thou who knowest the law,* I wish to hear *the deities of time and of its sub-divisions which thou hast briefly and severally explained.*"

Mârkaṇḍêya spoke: —

(2.) "Of which *day and night of Purusha, thou hast heard, O Scion of Yadu, the lord of that is Purusha who is time, and who is the ruler of all creatures.*"

Indica I. 321: —

In the book *Vishnu-Dharma*, Vajra speaks to Mârkaṇḍeya: "Explain to me *the times*;"[25]

Whereupon the latter answers:

"*Duration is Âtmapurusha, i. e. a breath, and purusha which means the lord of the universe.*"[27]

XI. V. Dh. I. 81, 3-6.

कल्पस्य दैवतं ब्रह्मा यस्येदं सकलं जगत् ।
ऋमान्मन्वन्तराणां तु मनवस्तु चतुर्दश ॥ ३ ॥
स्वायंभुवस्तु प्रथमो मनुः स्वारोचिषस्तथा ।
. . . . . ॥ ४ ॥
. . . . . ।
वैवस्वतोथ सावर्णो ब्रह्मपुत्रस्तथैव च ॥ ५ ॥
धर्मपुत्रो रुद्रपुत्रो दक्षपुत्रश्च माधव ।
राइयो [रौच्यो] भौतिश्च [त्यश्च] धर्मात्मा मनवस्तु चतुर्दश ॥६॥

(3.) "The deity of the Kalpa is Brahman, to whom this whole world belongs; but (the lords) of the Manvantaras are the fourteen Manus *according to their order*:—

(4.) "Svâyambhuva, *the first Manu,* next Svârôchisha[28] . . . . . then Vaivasvata, Sâvarṇa, like-

Indica I. 336-7:—In the book *Vishnu-Dharma*, Mârkaṇḍeya gives to Vajra the following answer: "Purusha is the lord of the universe;[29] the lord of the kalpa is Brahman, the lord of the world; but the lord of the Manvantara *is Manu.*

There are fourteen Manus, *from whom the kings of the earth ruling at the beginning of each Manvan-*

[26] Bêrûnî has left out verses 6b-8a probably because he considered them to be irrelevant. His attempt to translate verses 8b-9a is a failure. He has not understood the first line, and makes simply nonsense of it.

[25] Bêrûnî seems to have left out the '*deities*' and the 'subdivisions,' because his immediate purpose was to prove that 'Time is considered by some Hindus to be the primeval thing.'

[27] Bêrûnî's translation shows some very bad mistakes. First it leaves verse 2a out. Secondly it disregards the word *tasya* in verse 2b. Thirdly it assumes the possibility of construing *kâlaḥ âtmapurushaḥ (asti)*, while *kâlâtmâ* (i.e. *kâlaḥ âtmâ yasya*) is an adjective qualifying *purushaḥ*. Fourthly it erroneously supplies the words '*which means*,' instead of '*and who is*.' The result is complete nonsense, such as no Sanskrit author ever wrote.

[28] It is evident that the text is here incomplete. Two lines have probably been lost. The missing names of the Manus are, according to chapters V. Dh. I. 178-181, Auttama, Tâmasa, Raivata and Châkshusha.

[29] The first clause is another attempt at translating verse 2, given in the preceding extract. Bêrûnî seems to have forgotten his previous rendering, and gives here one which is intelligible, but takes into account only two words of the whole verse.

wise Brahmaputra Dharmaputra, Rudraputra, Dakshaputra, *Râiya* (*Rauchya*)[30] and *Bhautya, the righteous one, are, O Scion of Yadu, the fourteen Manus.*"

tara are descended.[31] Svâyambhuva, *Svârôchiya, Auttami, Stâmasa, Raivata, Chakshusha,* Vaivasvata, *Sâvarni, Vishnu-Dharma,* Dharmaputra, Rudraputra, Dakshaputra, *Raibhya* (?), Bhautya."[32]

XII. V. Dh. I. 81, 23*b*-28.

वज्र उवाच । कल्पानां सति सादृश्ये यद्भेदं भृगुनन्दन ॥ २२ ॥
तदहं श्रोतुमिच्छामि तत्र मे कौतुकं महत् ।
मार्कण्डेय उवाच । कल्पानामतिसादृश्ये शृणु भेदं नराधिप ॥ २३ ॥
समतीते यथा कल्पे षष्टे[ष्ठे] मन्वन्तरे गते ।
सप्तमस्य चतुर्विंशे राजंस्त्रेतायुगे तदा ॥ २४ ॥
यदा रामेण समरे सगणो रावणो हतः ।
रामेणैव तदा राजन्कुम्भकर्णो निपातितः ॥ २५ ॥
वर्तमाने तु यद्भूतं कल्पे बहुकुलोद्वह ।
रामस्य चरितं बद्धं तदा वाल्मीकिना शुभम् ॥ २६ ॥
अतीतकल्पे यद्भूतं मया तत्काम्यके वने ।
युधिष्टि[ष्ठि]राय कथितं धर्मपुत्राय पार्थिव ॥ २७ ॥

I. 82, 7*b*-9*a*.

वर्तमाने तदा [तथा] कल्पे षष्टे [ष्ठे] मन्वन्तरे गते ॥ ६ ॥
सप्तमस्यैव च [सप्तमस्य] चतुर्विंशे राजंस्त्रेतायुगे तदा ।
यदा रामेण समरे सगणो रावणो हतः ॥ ७ ॥
लक्ष्मणेन तथा [दा] राजन्कुम्भकर्णो निपातितः ।

Vajra said: —

(22, 23*a*.) Vajra said: — "O son of Bhrigu, I wish to hear the differences between the Kalpas (which exist) in spite of their similarity. Great is my curiosity with respect to that."

Mârkaṇḍêya answered: —

(23*b*.) "Listen, O king, to the differences between the Kalpas (which exist) in spite of their very great similarity!"

(Lacuna). . . . . .

. . . . . .

(24.) *As in the past Kalpa, when the sixth Manvantara had gone, in the twenty-fourth Trêtâyuga of the seventh, then, O king*" —

(25.) "*When Râma had killed Râvaṇa together with his host in battle, then that same Râma slew Kumbhakarṇa, O king;*"

Indica II. 3: — Further the *Vishṇu-Dharma* says: — "Mârkaṇḍêya says in answer to a question of Vajra.

I have already lived as long as 6 Kalpas and 6 Manvantaras of the seventh Kalpa, 23 Trêtâyugas of the seventh Manvantara.

(Lacuna). . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

[30] The correction of the name, which is corrupt in the text, has been made according to chapter 188, where we have *Rauchya* as in other Purâṇas.

[31] The relative clause is an interpolation. The information which it conveys has been taken from *Vishṇu-dharmôttara*, I. ch. 176-189, where the fourteen Manvantaras are described in detail and the kings, sprung from each Manu, are named.

[32] This list has been taken from the table on p. 387. The from *Svârôchiya* is due to a fault of the Arabic copyists who put *ya* for *sha*. *Auttami* is better than *Auttama* which occurs in *V. Dh.* chapter 176. But, as the text has, below and in chapter 183, also *Sâvarṇa* instead of *Sâvarṇi*, it is probable that *Auttama* was everywhere the form of the *V. Dh.*, which Bêrûnî altered according to his other sources. *Stâmasa* is a monstrous form for *Tâmasa*, which occurs twice in Bêrûnî's table. It has been caused by his taking the final *s* of the preceding name (*Auttamas=Tâmasas tathâ*) with this. Bêrûnî's division of *ahargaṇa* into *âh* + *argaṇa* (Indica I. 368) and of *parârdha* into *parâr* + *dha* are exactly similar, and show that his knowledge of the Sanskrit language was very imperfect. *Chakshusha* with a short vowel in the first syllable is probably due to a slip of the pen. The substitution of *Vishṇu-Dharma* for *Brahmaputra* is another clerical mistake. By some accident the *title of the book* from which the table has been taken has been put for *the name of the Manu*. The doubtful *Raibhya* is probably a misreading of the Arabic text Bhautya is the correct form according to V. Dh. I. 189.

(26.) (82. 7*b*-8*a*.) "*Thus in the present Kalpa, when the sixth Manvantara had gone*, in the twenty-fourth Trêtâyuga, *of the seventh, then, O king*!" —

(27.) (82. 8*b*-9*a*.) "When Râma had killed Râvaṇa together with his host in battle, then Lakshmaṇa slew Kumbhakarṇa, *O king*."

(28.) (26.) "But that *holy* life of Râma *which happened in the present Kalpa, O Scion of Yadu's race*, was composed in verse by Vâlmîki."

(29 *a-b*.) (27.) "*That which happened in the past Kalpa*, was narrated, *O king*, by me to Yudhishṭhira, *the son of Dharma*, in the Kâmyaka forest."[33]

In the twenty-fourth Trêtâyuga Râma killed Râvaṇa, and Lakshmaṇa, *the brother of Râma* killed Kumbhakarṇa. The two subjugated all the Râkshasas.

At that time Vâlmîki, the Ṛishi, composed the story of Râma *and Râmâyaṇa and eternalised it in his books.*

It was I who told it to Yudhishṭhira, *the son of Pâṇḍu* in the forest of Kâmyaka *vana*.

XIII. V. Dh. I. 82. 1.

भगवान्वासुदेवश्च तथा संकर्षणः प्रभुः ।
प्रद्युम्नश्चानिरुद्धश्च कृतादीनां च देवताः ॥ १ ॥

(1) "Worshipful Vâsudeva, further the lord Saṁkarshaṇa, Pradyumna, and Aniruddha, are the deities of the Krita and the other (three ages)."

Indica I. 398, the book *Vishṇu-Dharma* says: "*The names of Hari, i. e. Nârâyaṇa differ*[34] in the yugas. They are the following, Vâsudeva, Saṁkarshaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha."

XIV. V. Dh. I. 83. 3-9.

स्याद्धात्रेश्च वैशाखो मासश्चैत्राग्निदैवतः ।
ज्येष्ठः [ज्यैष्ठः] शाक्रः स्मृतो मास आषाढो वैष्णवैवतः ॥ ३ ॥
श्रावणो विष्णुदैवत्य यु[आ]जो भाद्रपदस्तथा ।
अश्वयुक्त्वाश्विनो मास आग्नेयः कार्त्तिकः स्मृतः ॥ ४ ॥
मार्गशीर्षस्तथा सौम्यः पौषः स्याज्जीवदैवतः ।
पित्र्यो मासः स्मृतो माघः फाल्गुनो भगदैवतः ॥ ५ ॥
मासेषु मासदैवत्यः शुक्लपक्षः प्रकीर्तितः ।
वक्ष्यामि कृष्णपक्षाणां दैवतानि तथानघ ॥ ६ ॥

[33] The Sanskrit text of this piece is evidently mutilated. As Mârkaṇḍêya promises to show the differences between the Kalpas, he ought to tell two stories regarding Râma, while our text contains only one referring to the past Kalpa. And the existance of a lacuna is also indicated by the word *yathâ* in verse 24 for which no correlative occurs in the sequel. Now, two more verses, referring to the history of Râma in the present Kalpa are found in the next chapter after verse 7*a*, where they stand in no connection whatsoever with the preceding and following sentences. It is, therefore, most probable that these two verses have to be inserted after 81, 25, as has been done in the translation, and that the unintelligible word *tadâ*, which the first contains, has to be altered to *tathâ* in order to obtain the requisite correlative for *yathâ* in verse 24. The correctness of this view is also confirmed by Bêrûnî's translation. The latter gives also only *one story regarding Râma. But that which it gives, is a loose rendering of the two verses from chapter* 82. It would seem that Bêrûnî's text was likewise mutilated and had preserved only the second story. From Bêrûnî's translation it further appears, that there is a second lacuna in our text before verse 24, as it shows nothing that corresponds to Mârkaṇḍêya's statement regarding the length of his life. As the assertion that Mârkaṇḍêya revealed the Purâṇa 'during the seventh day of Brahman or Kalpa which had elapsed since his birth' occurs also *V. Dh.* I. 78, 1 (सप्तमस्ते महाभाग तस्य दिवसस्त्वयम् । वर्तते ब्रह्मणो ब्रह्मंस्त- — — —) it is very probable that one or two verses, giving accurate details regarding the period, have been lost. In this case Bêrûnî's extract is important for the restoration of the text, in spite of the fact that his text was likewise imperfect. As regards the details of his translation, they show his usual carelessness, important words being omitted, both permissible and improper substitutions being made, and a few absurdities, *viz.* 'the story of Râma *and* the Râmâyaṇa,' in the *forest* of Kâmyaka *vana*, not being wanting.

[34] These words have been inserted in accordance with the last verse of the preceding chapter :—

सादृश्यभेदाविह भूमिपाल कल्पस्य कल्पस्य मयोदितौ ते ।
युगादिभिन्नस्य च देवतानि वक्ष्याम्यतस्तानि निबोध राजन् ।

"I have declared to thee, O King, the resemblances and the differences of each Kalpa, I will now recite the deities of that (Kalpa) which is divided into yugas and so forth, listen to them, O Prince!"

चैत्रे याम्यः स्मृतो राजन्नाग्नेयश्चाप्यनन्तरे ।
ज्येष्टो [ज्यैष्ठे] रौद्रः स्मृतः पक्षस्त्वाषाढः[ढे] सार्प उच्यते ॥ ७ ॥
पित्र्यश्च श्रावणे मासि सावित्रश्चाप्यनन्तरे ।
मैत्रश्चाश्वयुजे मासि शाक्रश्चाप्यग्निदैवते ॥ ८ ॥
तथा च नैर्ऋतः सौम्ये पौषे स्याद्विष्णुदैवतः ।
वारुणश्च तथा पित्र्ये फाल्गुने पौष्ण उच्यते ॥ ९ ॥

Tabular abstract of the deities of the Pakshas :—

	MS.		*Bêrûnî's Indica*, I. 353.	
Month.	Bright-half.	Dark-half.	Bright-half.	Dark-half.
Chaitra	Tvashṭri	*Yama*	Tvashṭri	*Yámya*
Vaiśâkha	*Agni*[35]	Agni	*Indrágní*	*Ágnêya*
Jyaishṭha	*Śakra*	Rudra	*Śukra*	*Raudra*
Âshâḍha	Viśvêdêvâḥ	*Sarpâḥ*	Viśvêdêvâḥ	*Sárpa*
Śrâvaṇa	Vishṇu	*Pitaraḥ*	Vishṇu	*Pitrya*
Bhâdrapada	Aja	*Savitri*	Aja	*Sánta*
Âśvayuja	*Aśvinau*	*Mitra*	*Áśana*	*Maitra*
Kârttika	Agni	Śakra	Agni	Śakra
Mârgaśirsha	Sôma	Nirṛiti	Sôma	Nirṛiti
Pausha	Jîva	Vishṇu	Jîva	Vishṇu
Mâgha	*Pitaraḥ*	Varuṇa	*Pitrya*	Varuṇa
Phâlguṇa	Bhaga	Pûshan	Bhaga	Pûshan.[36]

XV. V. Dh. I. 83. 10-12.

अतः परं प्रवक्ष्यामि यद्दैवत्यो महः स्मृतः ।
अग्निरर्कः स्मृतः सोमो वरुणः परिकीर्तितः ॥ १० ॥
अङ्गारकः कुमारश्च बुधश्च भगवान्हरिः ।
बृहस्पतिः स्मृतः शक्रः शुक्रो देवी च पार्वती ॥ ११ ॥
प्रजापतिः शनैश्चरो राहुर्नैर्ऋतो गणाधिपः ।
विश्वकर्मा स्मृतः केतुर्ये महास्ते पुरा स्मृताः ॥ १२ ॥

The planets.	Deities according to MS.	According to Indica, II. 121.
Sun	Agni	Agni
Moon	*Varuṇa*	*Vyâna* (?)
Mars	*Kumâra*	*Kalmâsha* (?)
Mercury	Worshipful *Hari*	*Vishṇu*
Jupiter	*Śakra*	*Śukra*
Venus	*Pârvatî*	*Gaurî*
Saturn	Prajâpati	Prajâpati
Râhu (the Head)	*Gaṇâdhipa*	*Gaṇapati* (?)
Kêtu (the Tail)	Viśvakarman	Viśvakarman[37]

[35] The reading of the text मासश्चैवाग्निदैवतः is a mistake for चैत्रश्चाग्निदैवतः and Bêrûnî has the correct form.

[36] Bêrûnî's deities *Yámya*, *Ágnêya*, *Raudra*, *Sárpa*, *Pitrya*, and *Maitra* are due to his having taken the *adjectives*, which mean '*he whose deity is Yama*' etc., *for names of the gods*. The form *Sânta* is due to a clerical mistake, and stands for *Sâvitra*; the form *Âśana* is due to the Prâkṛitic pronunciation of *Âśvina*. In both cases the adjectives have likewise been put instead of the simple names of the gods. His *Śukra* instead of *Śakra* is probably due to the Arabic copyist, who mistook the *damma* over *k* for an *u* and placed it wrongly; see also Professor Sachau's remarks on other errors of the kind, in his Preface to the Arabic text, p. xxxii.

[37] Bêrûnî's *Vyâna*, *Kalmâsha* and *Śukra* are due to mistakes of the copyist. *Vishṇu*, *Gaurî* and *Gaṇapati* have been substituted by Bêrûnî for the synonymous terms, standing opposite. They cannot have stood in his text, because they do not fit the metre. Thus the insertion of *Vishṇu* instead of *Hari* would make the Anushṭubh end with a spondee instead of a pyrrhichius.

XVI. V. Dh. I. 83. 13-21.

अतः परं प्रवक्ष्यामि तव नक्षत्रदेवताः ।
कृत्तिका अग्निदैवत्या रोहिण्यां केश्वरः स्मृतः ॥ १३ ॥
इन्वकः सोमदैवत्यो रौद्र आर्द्रात[स्त]था स्मृतः ।
पुनर्वसुस्तथादित्यः पुष्यश्च गुरुदैवतः ॥ १४ ॥
आश्लेषा सर्पदैवत्या मघाश्च पितृदैवताः ।
भाग्यश्च पूर्वफाल्गुन्यार्यमा च तयोत्तराः ॥ १५ ॥
सावित्रश्च तथा हस्तश्चित्रा त्वाष्ट्रा प्रकीर्तिता ।
स्वातिश्च वायुदैवत्यो नक्षत्रः परिकीर्तितः ॥ १६ ॥
इन्द्राग्निदेवता प्रोक्ता विशाखा भृगुनन्दन ।
मैत्रमृक्षमनूराधा चार्कः ज्येष्ठा प्रकीर्तिता ॥ १७ ॥
तथा निर्ऋतिदैवत्यं मूलं तज्ज्ञैरुदाहृतम् ।
आप्यास्त्वा[स्त्व]षाढपूर्वास्तु चोत्तरा वैश्वदेवताः ॥ १८ ॥
ब्रह्मा चैवाभिजित्प्रोक्तः श्रवणो वैष्णवः स्मृतः ।
वासवं च तथा ऋक्षं धनिष्ठा[ष्ठा] प्रोच्यते बुधैः ॥ १९ ॥
तथा शतभिषक् प्रोक्तो नक्षत्रं वारुणं नृप ।
आजं भा[भद्र]पदा पूर्वा अहिर्बुध्नस्तयोत्तरा ॥ २० ॥
पौष्णं च रेवती चर्क्षमश्विन्याश्विनदैवतम् ।
भरण्याश्च तथा याम्यं प्रोक्तास्ते[स्त] ऋक्षदै[दे]वताः ॥ २१ ॥

Nakshatras.	Deities according to MS.	According to Indica II. 121.
Kṛittikâ	Agni	Agni
Rôhiṇî	Kêśvara (the lord Ka)	Kêśvara
Invaka (Mṛigaśiraha)	*Sôma* (the moon)	*Indu* (the moon)[38]
Ârdrâ	Rudra	Rudra
Punarvasu	Aditi	Aditi
Pushya	Guru (Bṛihaspati)	Guru (Jupiter)
Âślêshâ	Sarpâḥ	Sarpâs
Maghâḥ	Pitaraḥ	Pitaras
Pûrva-Phâlguṇî	Bhaga	Bhaga
Uttara-Phâlguṇî	Aryaman	Aryaman
Hasta	Savitṛi	Savitṛi
Chitrâ	Tvashṭṛi	Tvashṭṛi
Svâti	Vâyu	Vâyu
Viśâkhâ	Indrâgni	Indrâgnî
Anûrâdhâ	Mitra	Mitra
Jyêshṭhâ	Śakra	Śakra
Mûla	Nirṛiti	Nirṛiti
Pûrva-Ashâḍhâḥ	Âpaḥ	Âpas
Uttara-Ashâḍhâḥ	Viśvêdêvâḥ	Viśvê[dêvas]
Abhijit	Brahman	Brahman
Śravaṇa	Vishṇu	Vishṇu
Dhanishṭhâ	Vasavaḥ	Vasavas
Śatabhishaj	Varuṇa	Varuṇa
Pûrva-Bhadrapadâ	*Aja*	[Aja Ekapâd][39]
Uttara-Bhadrapadâ	Ahi Budhnya	Ahirbudhnya
Rêvatî	Pûshan	Pûshan
Aśvinî	*Aśvinau*	*Aśvin* (?)[40]
Bharaṇî	Yama	Yama.

[38] The substitution of *Indu* for *Sôma* has probably been made by Bêrûnî, though the metre would permit his form.

[39] This name is omitted in Bêrûnî's text, as Professor Sachau states in his note on this table.

[40] This form is due to Bêrûnî's constant disregard of the terminations.

XVII. V. Dh. I. 83. 48*b*-61*a*.

सर्वासां च तथा कालं राहुर्भुङ्क्ते महाग्रहः ॥ ४८ ॥
कुलिकश्च तथा नागो यक्षः पद्मेति विश्रुतः ।
अङ्गारपर्णश्च तथा गन्धर्वश्चाभिधीयते ॥ ४९ ॥
कुलिकस्य तु या वेला सा वर्ज्या सर्वकर्मसु ।
तस्यां भुक्ते भवेद्व्याधिर्विषं भुक्ते न जीर्यते ॥ ५० ॥
प्रत्यक्षमपि तार्क्ष्यस्य तस्यां दष्टो न जीवति ।
भुक्तं तस्यां तु भैषज्यं न तु कर्मकरं भवेत् ॥ ५१ ॥
सा तु कालविदां ज्ञेया मन्त्रिणां भिषजां तथा ।
अविज्ञाय तु तां वेलां त्वयस्ते राजपुंगव ॥ ५२ ॥
वैफल्याद्क[ङ्का]रणान्मूढाः प्राप्नुवन्त्यवशो महत् ।
प्रत्येव[क]स्यैव वेलायां राहोर्भोगं निबोध मे ॥ ५३ ॥
एकैका तु भवेद्वा[द्धो]रा सार्धं विघटिकाशतम् ।
विनालिकासप्तषष्ट्या रवेः षोडश कीर्तिता (:) ॥ ५४ ॥
घोरा कुलिकवेला तु शेषं कालं रवेः स्मृतम् ।
स्वा होरात्रे[न्ते]तथा वेलाश्च[च]तु[त]स्रस्तु विनाडिकाः ॥ ५५ ॥
राहोः शुक्र[क्र]स्य कथिताः शेषं कालं सितस्य च ।
सौम्यहोरासमारम्भे चषकौ द्वौ प्रकीर्तितौ ॥ ५६ ॥
घोरा कुलिकवेला तु शेषं कालं बुधस्य तु ।
एकसप्तत्यतिक्रम्य होरायां तु निशाभृतः ॥ ५७ ॥
अष्टौ तु कुलिकस्योक्ताः शेषं कालं निशाभृतः ।
षडशीतिर[म]तिक्रम्य चषकाश्चत्वार एव तु ॥ ५८ ॥
यच्छेषं तद्विनिर्दिष्टं कालं च कुलिकस्य तु ।
सप्तसप्तत्यतिक्रम्य सार्धास्तु चषकाः गुरोः ॥ ५९ ॥
राहोस्तु चषकं होरा शेषं कालं गुरोर्मतम् ।
भौमहोरासमारम्भे द्वात्रिंशत्तु विनालिकाः ६० ॥
वेला तु कुलिकस्योक्ता शेषं कालं कुजस्य तु ।

48*b*. *And the great planet Râhu enjoys (some) time of all (the planetary hours).*

49. He is called the Serpent Kulika, *the Yaksha Padma and the Gandharva Angaraparna.*[41]

50. But the time which belongs to Kulika must be avoided in all actions. (If one) eats during that (time), illness will follow; (if one) eats poison, (the food) is not digested.

51. He who is bitten (by a snake) during that (time) lives not; even (if he were) in the presence of Târkshya (Garuda). But medicine, taken during that (time) has no effect.

Indica I. 344-45: — The book *Vishnu-Dharma* mentions among the nâgas or serpents, a serpent called Nâga Kulika. Certain portions of the hours of the planets stand under its influence. They are unlucky, and everything which is eaten during them hurts, and is no use for anything. Sick people who treat themselves with *poisonous* medicines do not recover, but die and perish.[42] During these times no incantation is of any avail against the bite of a snake, for the incantation consists in the mention of the Garuda, and in those inauspicious times the *stork* himself cannot help in any way, much less the mention of his name.[43]

[41] Bêrûnî probably omitted to give in full the contents of this statement, because the unlucky times to which he refers, are usually called in India 'the time of Kulika.' But in doing this he has made it difficult to understand how a serpent can have any connection with the planetary hours. A mention of the fact that the serpent Kulika is another name for the planet Râhu, would have made the point intelligible. In the text (below, verses 56, 60) Râhu is mentioned instead of Kulika as dominant of the unlucky periods. Hence the preamble in verses 48*b* 49 cannot be an interpolation.

[42] This passage has been transposed. The transposition and the insertion of the word *poisonous*, which does not occur in the text, are possibly owing to a mistake with respect to the meaning of the last clause of verse 50. Bêrûnî may have taken it to mean, 'If one eats poison, it is not digested.'

[43] This is a loose but on the whole correct paraphrase of the first half of verse 51. It is only curious that Bêrûnî believed the *man-bird* or *eagle* Garuda to be a *stork*, which idea must strike every Hindu as simply absurd.

52-53. *But that time must be known by astronomers, royal councillors and physicians; if they do not know it, those three foolish ones, O best of kings, suffer great ignominy, the fruitlessness (of their advice) being the cause. Listen to the portion belonging to Râhu in the periods assigned to each planet.*[44]

54-55. Let each planetary hour (hôrâ) consist of 150 seconds. After 67 seconds (of the hour) of the Sun, 16 are declared to be the dread period of Kulika; the remainder is stated to belong to the Sun. But 4 *seconds at the end of the hour of Sukra* (Venus)[45] —

56. Are stated to be Râhu's own time, the remaining period belongs to Sita (Venus). At the beginning of the hour of Saumya (Mercury) 2 seconds are declared —

57. To be the dread time of Kulika; the remaining period belongs to Budha (Mercury). But in the hour of the Moon, after the lapse of 71 (seconds), —

58. Eight are declared to belong to Kulika; the remaining time belongs to the Moon. After the lapse of 86 seconds (of the hour) of the child of the Sun (Saturn), —

59. The remaining time is assigned to Kulika. After the lapse of 77½ *seconds (of the hour) of Guru* (Jupiter), —

60. *One second* is the time of Râhu; the remaining period is considered to belong to Guru.[46] But 32 *seconds at the beginning of the hour of Bhauma* (Mars) —

61. Are declared to be the period of Kulika; the remaining time belongs to Kuja (Mars).[47]

These times are represented in the following table where the planetary hour is reckoned as consisting of 150 parts.

Dominants of the hours.	Sun.	Moon.	Mars.	Mercury.	Jupiter.	Venus.	Saturn.
Number of 150 parts of the hour before the beginning of the time of Kulika.	67	71	...	...	17	144	86
Number of the parts during which Kulika's influence lasts.	16	8	37	2	2 1 2	6	64

XVIII. V. Dh. I. 106. 1-13.

वज्र उवाच । ध्रुवस्याहं द्विजश्रेष्ठ ब्राह्मणानां पृथक् पृथक्[48] ।
संभवं श्रोतुमिच्छामि नक्षत्राणां च मानद ॥ १ ॥
मार्कण्डेय उवाच । ब्रह्मणा सृष्टिकामेन पूर्वमेव नराधिप ।
आदित्यस्तमसां हर्ता तेजसां गोलकः कृतः ॥ २ ॥
तमोमयो गोलकश्च राहुस्तेन तथा कृतः ।
अम्भमयानि तथान्यानि गोलकानि नराधिप ॥ ३ ॥
कृतानि तेन धर्मज्ञ महर्क्षाणां पृथक् पृथक् ।
ध्रुवस्थाननिविष्टाश्च तारकाश्च चतुर्दश ॥ ४ ॥

[44] These two verses have not been noticed in the abstract. Bêrûnî probably considered them irrelevant to his purpose.

[45] Here Bêrûnî's table has a mistake, as *shat*, 'six,' instead of *chataras tu*, 'but four' does not suit the metre.

[46] Here Bêrûnî's table has three bad mistakes. For the readings, which his figures would make necessary, do not suit the metre.

[47] Here Bêrûnî again differs, and it is not possible to make out which of the two versions is the right one, as the reading *saptatrimśat* instead of *dvâtrimśat tu* is possible. Presumably the error is, however, on Bêrûnî's side.

[48] For ब्राह्मणानां we have probably to write ब्रह्मणा च.

तेषां नामविभागं मे गदतः शृणु पार्थिव ।
उत्तानपादस्तस्याथ विज्ञेयः सो[ऽसौ]त्तरो हनुः ॥ ५ ॥
यज्ञोधरस्तु विज्ञेयो धर्मो मूर्धानमाश्रितः ।
[हृदि नारायणश्चास्ते भ्रुवौ पूर्वपार्श्वयोः ॥ ६ ॥
वरुणश्चार्यमा चैव पश्चिमे तस्य सक्थिनी ।
शिश्नः संवत्सरस्तस्य मित्रोपानं समाश्रितः ॥ ७ ॥][49]
पुच्छेमिश्र महेन्द्रश्च मारीचः कश्यपो ध्रुवः ।
ध्रुवस्थाः स्वगु[स्वर्ग] हर्क्षाणामेकीभूताः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥ ८ ॥
ध्रुवेण भ्राम्यते सर्वमायु[श्च]त्तं त्रिदिवं ध्रुवे ।
ध्रुवो हि भगवान्विष्णुः कालो लोकप्रकालनः ॥ ९ ॥
शिशुमारनिबद्धानां तारकाणां पृथक् पृथक् ।
नामधेयानि विज्ञाय दृष्ट्वा च विमलेम्बरे ॥ १० ॥
आयुरभ्यधिकं जीवेद्वर्षाणि तु चतुर्दश ।
अहोरात्रकृतात्पापात्तत्क्षणाद्विप्रमुच्यते ॥ ११ ॥
अम्मयानां महर्क्षाणां मूर्छिताः सूर्यरश्मयः ।
जनयन्ति प्रकाशत्वं नात्र कार्या विचारणा ॥ १२ ॥
स्फाटिकानि विमानानि तथा सुकृतिनां नृप ।
नाके तारकवच्छान्ति अम्मयानीव यादव ॥ १३ ॥

Vajra said: — 1. *O best of twice-born men,* I wish to hear in detail the origin of the pole, *of the planets and of the lunar mansions, O lord.*[51]

Mârkaṇḍêya answered: —

2. Brahman, desirous to create, made formerly, *O king,* the sun, *the destroyer of darkness,* a globe of light.

3-4*a*. *And he made Râhu a globe consisting of darkness*; and, *O king, O thou who knowest the law,* he made *the other* globes of the *planets and* stars consisting of water;

4*b*. And (he created) fourteen stars, placed near the pole.

5. *O king, hear me recite their names and distribution: know that* Uttânapâda is (in) its upper *jaw*;

Indica I. 240:—Vajra, *one of the children of Balabhadhra, the brother of Nârâyaṇa,*[50] asked the Ṛishi Mârkaṇḍêya as to the pole, upon which he answered: —

When God created *the world, it was dark and desert.*[52] Thereupon he made the globe of the sun shining and the globes of the stars watery, *receiving the light of the sun from that side of his which he turns towards them.*[53]

Fourteen of these stars he placed around the pole *in the shape of a Śiśumâra which drive the other stars round the pole.*[54] One of them, *north of the pole,* on the uppermost *chin,*[55] is Uttânapâda, on the lowest *chin* Yajña, on the head Dharma, on the breast Nârâyaṇa, on the *two hands towards the*

[49] These three lines are omitted in the MS. I have taken them from the *Vishṇu-Purâṇa*, II. 12, 33 f. They occur also in the Vâyu and Matsya Purâṇas with very small variations.

[50] This is evidently an explanatory interpolation, made by Bêrûnî, as the introductions to speeches never contain more than 'N.N. said.' The statement that Vajra was a son of Balabhadra is wrong. His father was, according to *V. Dh.* I. 78, 3 and all other sources, Aniruddha.

[51] These words have been omitted by Bêrûnî either for brevity's sake or through carelessness. Without them the verse must remain incomplete.

[52] This biblical sentiment is entirely foreign to the *Vishṇudharmôttara* and all other Purâṇas. It has been imported, because Bêrûnî did not understand the second half of verse 2. He seems to have mistaken *gôḷakaḥ*, 'a globe' for *gôḷôkaḥ* or something like it and to have omitted the words which did not agree with this interpretation. The mistake further induced him to change the position of the words.

[53] This is an explanatory interpolation taken from verse 12.

[54] It is not improbable that these words render a half verse omitted in the MS. For there is no word, to which *tasya*, 'its (upper jaw),' in verse 5, can be referred.

[55] Bêrûnî is not responsible for the substitution of the *chin* for the *jaw*. The words '*north of the pole*' are a second altogether improper rendering of *uttaraḥ*, which means both '*north*' and '*upper*.'

6. *Know that* Yajña is (in) its lower (*jaw*); that Dharma occupies its head; [Nârâyana sits in the heart, the two Aśvins *in the fore-feet*,

7. Varuṇa and Aryaman are its two hind-most haunches, Saṁvatsara its penis, and Mitra occupies *its anus*.]

8. In the tail are Agni, Mahêndra, Mârîcha and Kaśyapa. *Those among the stars and planets which stand near the pole are collectively called Svar (?).*

9. *The pole causes the universe to turn round, the three worlds are dependant on the pole.*[58] For *worshipful* Vishṇu is the pole, he the time *which drives the worlds onwards.*

10. He who knows severally *the names of the stars contained in the Śiśumâra* and *has seen them in the pure sky*,

11. Will live fourteen years beyond his (allotted period of) life, and is forthwith liberated from sins committed during the day or *night.*

12. The *powerful* rays of the sun make that the watery planets and stars shine; *do not doubt about that!*

13. And the *crystal chariots* of the pious, *O king*, shine in the sky like the aqueous (globes of the stars), *O scion of Yadu!*

east the two stars Aśvinî *the physicians*,[56] on the feet Varuṇa and Aryaman *towards the west*,[57] on the penis Saṁvatsara, on *the back*[58] Mitra,

on the tail Agni, Mahêndra, Marîchi and Kaśyapa.

The pole itself is Vishṇu, *the ruler of the inhabitants of paradise*,[60] he is further *the time, rising, growing, getting old and vanishing*.[61]

If a man *read this*[62] and knows it accurately God pardons him the sins of that day,

and fourteen years will be added to his life, the length of which has been fixed before hand."

Indica II. 64:—The *Vishṇu-Dharma* says:—"The stars are watery and the rays of the sun illuminate them *in the night*.

Those who by their pious deeds have obtained a place in the height, sit there *on thrones*, and when shining are reckoned among the stars."[63]

XIX. V. Dh. I. 106, 20*b*-27*a*.

उत्तानपादपुत्रस्तु ध्रुवो विष्णुः प्रकीर्तितः ॥ २० ॥
निबद्धं भ्राम्यते यत्र मरुतां ज्योतिषां गणम् ।
सधर्षिमण्डलं नित्यं तस्याधस्तात्प्रकीर्तितम् ॥ २१
तस्याधस्तादृक्षचक्रं तस्याधस्ताच्छनैश्चरः ॥ २३ ॥[64]
तस्याधस्तात्तथा जीवस्तस्याधस्तात्कुजः स्मृतः ।
तस्याधस्ताद्दिनेशश्च तस्याधस्ताच्च भार्गवः ॥ २४ ॥
तस्याधस्तादुधस्तस्याधस्ताच्च चन्द्रमाः ।

[56] In translating *pûrvapâdayôḥ*, '*on the two fore-feet*,' by '*on the two hands to the east*,' Bêrûnî committed a serious mistake. For, though *pûrva* means both '*east*' and '*foremost*,' *pâda* never means '*hand*.' Moreover the Śiśumâra, which here means 'an alligator,' not, as most translators assume, 'a porpoise,' has four feet, not two hands and two feet. 'The physicians' is an explanatory addition made by Bêrûnî, for which there is no room in the text.

[57] The translation of *paśchimê* by '*towards the west*' is due to an unlucky choice between the two meanings of the word.

[58] The substitution of the '*back*' for the '*anus*' is a serious mistake. Mitra is always connected with the organ of excretion.

[59] Bêrûnî has left out this passage, probably because he had already inserted above the note according to which the Śiśumâra drives the other stars forward.

[60] This phrase seems to be intended as an explanation of the term *bhagavân*, 'worshipful, divine,' but somewhat misrepresents the position of Vishṇu.

[61] The four participles give not a translation, but correct paraphrase of the epithet *lôkaprakâlanaḥ*, 'which drive the world onwards' (from its creation to its destruction).

[62] 'If a man reads this' is a curiously mistaken rendering of *drishṭvâ*, literally 'having seen.' As the last two words *vimalê mbarê* did not fit in with this interpretation Bêrûnî omits them. His mistaken rendering made it of course necessary to change the order of the two accessory sentences. I may note that the Matsya, Vâyu, and Vishṇu Purâṇas have an identical corresponding verse which ascribes the blessings, mentioned in verse 11, to 'seeing him' *i. e.* the Śiśumâra.

[63] The rendering of verses 12-13 is very loose, but does not distort the sense except in one point. According to Hindu ideas the pious do not sit '*on thrones*,' but ride in '*crystal, palatial, self-moving cars*' (vimâna). The idea of '*the thrones*' is Semitic. The word '*crystal*' which the translation omits did occur in Bêrûnî's text of the *V. Dh.* For, before giving the quotation, he remarks that the pious men who have been metamorphosed 'reside in the height of heaven on *thrones of crystal*.'

[64] Verses 22-23*a* contain an enumeration of the names of the Seven Ṛishis.

प्राग्दक्षिणगतिश्चैव (?) ज्योतिषां चक्रमुच्यते ॥ २५ ॥
सर्वे ग्रहाः प्राग्गतवस्तुल्यवेगाः प्रकीर्तिताः ।
तेषां ते संभवं वक्ष्ये प्राप्ते वैवस्वतेन्तरे ॥ २६ ॥
तेषां जननसाहस्रैरतीतैः किं प्रयोजनम् ।

20*b*. *But the pole, the son of Uttânapâda, is stated to be Vishṇu,*

21. *Attached to which the crowd of the (heavenly) lights is made to turn round by the winds.*[65] The orbit of the Seven Ṛishis (the Great Bear) is stated to be always below that.

23. *Below that is the circle of the fixed stars*;[67] below that is declared to be Saturn,

24. Below him Jupiter, below him Mars, below him the Sun, below him Venus,

25. Below her Mercury, below him the Moon. And the motion of the (heavenly) lights towards the south-east is stated (to be like that of) a wheel.

26. All the planets are stated to move towards the east (and) to possess an uniform motion. *I will declare to thee their origin (as it happened), when the Vaivasvata Manvantara had come,*

27*a*. And what was their purpose in the past thousands of births.

Indica I. 287: — The *Vishṇu-Dharma* says:—

"The orbit of the Great Bear is under the pole;[66]

under it the orbit of Saturn,

then that of Jupiter, next Mars, the Sun, Venus, Mercury and the Moon.

They rotate towards the east *like a mill*, in an uniform kind of motion,[68] *which is peculiar to each star, some of them moving rapidly, others slowly*. Death and life repeat themselves on them from eternity a thousand times."[69]

XX. V. Dh. I. 106, 27*b*-28.

अनादिनिधनः श्रीमान्विष्णुर्नारायणः प्रभुः ॥ २७ ॥
स एव देवकार्यार्थं भूत्वा द्वादशधा पुरा ।
अदितेर्जनयामास आत्मानं कश्यपात्प्रभुः ॥ २८ ॥

27. The *glorious lord* Vishṇu-Nârâyaṇa who is without beginning and end,

28. Formerly became twelve-fold in order to accomplish the objects of the gods, and the lord caused himself to be born from *Aditi and* Kaśyapa.

Indica I. p. 216:—The book *Vishṇu-Dharma* says:—"Vishṇu, *i. e.* Nârâyaṇa who is without beginning and without end, divided himself for the angels into twelve parts, which became sons of Kaśyapa. *These are the suns rising in the single months.*"[70]

[65] I have inserted these two lines in order to shew how Bêrûnî gets 'the pole' into his first sentence. Bêrûnî omits them, because they have nothing to do with his immediate purpose.

[66] Bêrûnî has neglected to indicate that he has left out the names of the Seven Ṛishis.

[67] This sentence, which Bêrûnî did require, has been left out through carelessness. Bêrûnî shews that he knew it by stating (p. 288, l. 17) that the author of the *Vishṇu-Dharma is right in placing the fixed stars higher than the planets.*

[68] This sentence, is a condensed rendering of verses 25*b* and 26*a*, the identical portions of the two lines being left out. Besides Bêrûnî does not notice the word *dakshina* in *prâgdakshinagatiḥ* and translates *chakram*, '*wheel*' or '*circle*,' inaccurately by '*a mill*.' His reason probably is that in some Purâṇas the motion of the stars and planets round the pole is compared to that of an oil-mill. The metre forbids the supposition that a word like *tailayantram* can have stood in the text. The *V. Dh.* probably means by the wheel, the 'potter's wheel,' see *Matsya-Purâṇa*, I. 123, 68 ff. The relative clause 'which is peculiar, &c.' is an explanatory note made by Bêrûnî in order to obviate an erroneous explanation of the compound *tulyavêgâḥ*, literally 'of equal impetus' or 'velocity.'

[69] This is a very loose paraphrase of the last words of verse 27*a*.

[70] Bêrûnî has inadvertently left out Aditi, which deity must have been mentioned also in his text. The last words of his passage, as well the table of the suns of the twelve months on p. 317, shew that a number of verses have been lost in our MS. after verse 28. This is also indicated by the line which immediately follows in the latter:— तेषां तु मध्यान्सविता आदित्यस्य तु देवता; "but among them Savitri is the dominant of the Sun." The word *têshâm*, 'among them,' shews that an enumeration must have preceded.

XXI. V. Dh. I. 106, 30.

दशभिश्चैव दिग्भिश्च तथात्रेः सुमहात्मनः ।
विष्णुरेवाभवद्राजन्पुत्रत्वे मृगलाञ्छनः ॥ ३० ॥

30. And, O king, Vishṇu became the Moon, as the son of the *ten* directions and of very high-minded Atri.

Bêrûnî's Indica I. 291:—The *Vishṇu-Dharma* relates that Atri, the star who rules the Great Bear, married the directions, represented as one person, though they are *eight*[71] in number, and that from her the moon was born.

XXII. V. Dh. I. 106, 31-37.

अतः परं प्रवक्ष्यामि तव भौमस्य संभवम् ।
आसीद्दैत्यो हिरण्याक्षो महाबलपराक्रमः ॥ ३१ ॥
स वै कन्यामजनयद्विकेशीं नाम नामतः ।
सा लेभे तपसा केशांस्तां वै स्थाणुरकामयत् ॥ ३२ ॥
तस्यां मैथुनसङ्क्रस्य देवेशस्य पिनाकिनः ।
वह्निसंभवभीतेन विघ्नं कृतमथाग्निना ॥ ३३ ॥
प्रविश्य मैथुनागारं वह्निं दृष्ट्वतस्तदा ।
क्रोधादस्योद्भवः स्वेदो हरस्य समपद्यत ॥ ३४ ॥
आननस्वेदजो बिन्दुर्देवस्यामित्रघातिनः ।
तस्योपतापी [तस्याः पपात] वदने सा पपौ तस्प्रयत्नतः ॥ ३५ ॥
अन्तर्वत्न्यथ तेनासीत् शशाक च तेजसा ।
मोहिता तस्य बालस्य गर्भं धारयितुं तदा ॥ ३६ ॥
उत्ससर्ज ततो गर्भं दीप्तानलसमद्युतिम् ।
तं दधार महीपाल धरा देवी स्व[सृ]रूपिणी ॥ ३७ ॥

31. *Hereafter I will narrate the origin of Bhavma (the planet Mars)*[72] There was a Daitya Hiraṇyâksha, of great power and bravery.

32. He, indeed, begat a daughter, called *Vikêśî* (hairless) by name. In consequence of her austerities she obtained *hair*; her, *Sthâṇu* (Śiva) *loved*.

33. When *Pinâkin, the god of gods, was cohabiting with her*, Agni (the god of fire), afraid of the production of an (other deity of) fire, *created an obstacle*.

34. When Hara saw Agni *entering the nuptial chamber*, sweat arose on his face in consequence of his anger.

35. A drop of the sweat, produced from the face of *the god who destroys his enemies*, fell into *her (Vikêśî's) mouth; she drank it eagerly*.

Bêrûnî, Indica II. 140:—The *Vishṇu-Dharma* mentions the following tradition:—

"Once upon a time there was a *man of the class of the* Daityas, powerful and brave, *the ruler of a wide realm*[73] called Hiraṇyâksha. He had a daughter of the name of *Dkêsh*[74] (?), who was always bent upon worship, and trying herself by fasting and abstinence. Thereby she had earned as reward *a place in heaven*.[75] She was *married* to *Mahâdeva*. When *he was alone with her and did with her according to the manner of the Dêvas, i. e. cohabiting very long and transferring the semen very slowly*, the fire became aware of it and became *jealous*, fearing lest the two might procreate a fire *similar to themselves*. Therefore it determined *to defile and to ruin them*. When Mahâdêva saw the fire, his forehead became covered with sweat from the violence of his wrath, so that some of it

[71] Bêrûnî seems to have put in this number because the Hindus more commonly speak of eight than of ten directions. The metre would, however, allow the reading अष्टाभिश्चैव instead of दशभिश्चैव.

[72] Bêrûnî has given the substance of this preamble at the end of this extract.

[73] This is an addition made by Bêrûnî for which there is no room in the text. The statement that Hiraṇyâksha was a king, occurs *V. Dh.* I. 82. 7.

[74] This monstrous form is no doubt due to the copyist of the Arabic MS. Vikêśî is mentioned also in other Purâṇas as the wife of Rudra-Śiva and the mother of the planet Mars or Lôhitâṅga. But the story of Mars' origin, another version of that of Skanda with whom the planet is identified, is not given in detail in the texts accessible to me.

[75] The way in which Bêrûnî obtained the meaning '*a place in heaven*' instead of *kêśân*, '*hairs*,' seems to be that he read *tapasôkśam*.

36. *Then she became pregnant through that; and she was not able to carry the embryo of that child, being deprived of consciousness by its lustre.*

37. *Then she let fall the embryo, which was resplendent like a blazing fire; the earth, the beautiful goddess, bore it, O king.*

dropped *to the earth. The earth drank it, and became in consequence pregnant with Mars,*[76] *i. e. Skanda, the commander of the army of the Devas.*

Besides the twenty-two passages, quoted above in detail, there is one more reference to the *Vishṇu-Dharma*, which can be easily identified. This is the passage (Indica I. 379-380, 381-82) which contains the description of the four Yugas. It is perfectly plain that Bêrûnî had before him our text of *Vishṇudharmôttara* I. 73, 20-39 and chapter 74. The contents of the two chapters, which contain respectively the account of Varuṇa and that of Mârkaṇḍêya, have been treated with so much freedom that it would not be particularly instructive to confront Bêrûnî's abstract with the entire actual text. Some portions, however, deserve to be discussed. First Bêrûnî declares that the *Vishṇu-Dharma* allots to those men who lived during the Trêtâyuga as long a life as to those born in the Kṛitayuga, and he correctly adds that analogy requires life to be shorter in proportion to the decrease of bliss. It is interesting to find that our text of the *Vishṇudharmôttara* does not contain the absurdity laid to its charge by Bêrûnî. It says:—

त्रिपादविमलो धर्मो राम त्रेतायुगे तदा ॥ २२ ॥
केशवे रक्ततां याते नरा वर्षशतायुषः ।
यज्ञे शुभे प्रवर्तन्ते नित्यं हिंसात्मकेषु च ॥ २३ ॥
अगस्त्यवोत्सरं चैव तदा भवति भार्गव ।

22*b*. Then, O Râma, in the Trêtâyuga Dharma will have a body with three feet.

23. When Kêśava has become red, men, *living one thousand years*, will always be occupied with holy sacrifices and with (deeds) causing the destruction (of living beings).

24*a*. Moreover, O Bhârgava, the world is then under the Kshatriyas.

Indica I. p. 379, l. 29 ff.:—"Thereupon things began to decrease and to be mixed with opposite elements to such a degree that at the beginning of Trêtâyuga the good was thrice as much as the invading bad, and that bliss was three quarters of the whole. There were a greater number of Kshatriyas than of Brahmans and *life had the same length as in the preceding age*. So it is represented by the *Vishṇu-Dharma*, whilst analogy requires that it should be shorter by the same amount than [read that] bliss is smaller, *i. e.* by one-fourth. In this age, when offering to the fire, they begin to kill animals and to tear off plants, practices which before were unknown."

Bêrûnî's precise statement that the *Vishṇu-Dharma* gave the same length of life for the men of the first two ages, makes it probable that he found in his MS. a bad reading; and it is not impossible that he may have read:— केशवे रक्ततां याते चतुर्वर्षशतायुषः । The first three words certainly stood in his copy exactly as we have them. For he gives their contents correctly in the extract (Indica I. 398-99) where he speaks of the colours of Vâsudêva in the four ages

[76] The end of this legend is very much shortened and distorted. Probably Bêrûnî had before him the text which is given above. But he mistook the bearing of *tasyâḥ* in verse 35*b* and erroneously referred it to the Earth named further on. This mistake led him to disregard the last three lines which did not suit his interpretation. I must add that seemingly Bêrûnî's extract from the *Vishṇu-Dharma* goes much further than the portion given above, and narrates a story how Agni became leprous in punishment of the offence committed against Śiva and went into hiding. It is, however, quite certain that this further legend cannot have stood in the chapter from which that regarding the origin of Mars has been taken. For the stories regarding the orgin of the nine planets which fill the latter part of chapter 106, are very concisely told. In this particular case it is evident that the text never contained the story which Bêrûnî adds, because there is one more verse which narrates how Kaśyapa performed the sacramental rites for young Mars and in doing so offered coals (*aṅgâra*) in the fire, whence the planet obtained its name *Aṅgâraka*. This verse forms an appropriate conclusion, and leaves no opportunity for any further addition regarding the punishment of Agni. The latter is not mentioned at all in the *Vishnudharmôttara*, and I believe that Bêrûnî took it from some other work, or from oral tradition.

He says there that according to the *Vishṇudharma*[77] the god is white in the Kṛitayuga (V. Dh. I. 73. 26*a*), red in the Trêtâyuga (our verse 23*a*), yellow in the Dvâparayuga (*V. Dh*, I. 73. 24*b*) when he first became incarnate in human shape and black in the Kali age (*V. Dh.* I. 73. 26*b*). The substitution of चतुर्दश° for नरा दश° is not impossible, especially if the MS. was written in Śâradâ characters, as probably was the case. But the reading of our MS. is, of course, the original one. A second point, which deserves to be noted, is the description of the end of the Kaliyuga (Indica I. p. 382, l. 17 ff.), where the names of the future saviour of the world are much disfigured and Bêrûnî has made a sad mess of a simple story. The passage stands at the end of Chapter 74, where we read :—

वर्तमाने कलियुगे (परि) क्षीणे नृपतिसत्तम ॥ ३९ ॥
कर्की विष्णुयशोनाम[मा] भविष्यति जगत्पतिः।
घातयिष्यति सर्वान्स म्लेच्छान्परबलार्दनः ॥ ४० ॥
म्लेच्छाक्रान्तां वसुमतीं कृत्वा म्लेच्छविवर्जिताम्।
धर्मसंस्थापनं कृत्वा स्वं स्थानमुपयास्यति ॥ ४१ ॥
प्रजासु धर्मयुक्तासु ततः संपत्स्यते कृतम्।
इत्येव भगवान्विष्णुर्युगे क्षीणेभि जायते ॥ ४२ ॥
धर्मसंस्थापनार्थाय नित्यमेव यदूद्वह।

39*b*. When the existing Kaliyuga has come to an end, *O best of kings*,

40. *Karkin, called Vishṇuyaśas*, will become king of the world, he, who destroys the armies of his foes, will slay all Mlêchhas.

41. When he has cleared of Mlêchhas the earth that had been conquered by the Mlêchhas, and has established the sacred law, he will *go to his own place*.

42. *When the creatures diligently fulfil the sacred law*, the Kṛita (age) *will then fully appear; thus worshipful Vishṇu is born at the end of the yuga*,

43. Always in order to establish the sacred law, *O scion of Yadu*.

"But finally at the end of the Yuga, when the evil will have reached its highest pitch, there will come forward *Garga, the son of J-Š.-V.* (?), the *Brahman, i. e. Kali, after whom this Yuga is called*, gifted with an irresistible force and more skilled in the use of any weapon than any other. Then he draws his sword to make good all that has become bad; he cleans the surface of the earth *of the impurity of the people* and cleans the earth of *them*. He collects the pure and pious ones *for the purpose of procreation. Then the Kṛitayuga lies far behind them*, and the time and the world return to purity, and to absolute good and bliss."

The story, given in our text, contains the common account of the incarnation of Vishṇu-Vâsudêva as *Karkin*, in all other works called Kalkin, which, according to most Purâṇas, takes place at the end of the Kaliyuga. Bêrûnî's *Garga* is of course a distortion of the nominative Karkî, due to the copyist, and the *J-Š-V.* are the reversed remnants of *Vishṇuyaśas* for which Bêrûnî may have used the Prâkṛitic form Vishṇujasa. His story is a mixture of statements taken partly from the *Vishṇudharmôttara*, partly from other sources, and possibly of fancies of his own, and it is only in part intelligible. His assertion that Karkin was the son of a Brahman Vishṇuyaśas does not occur in the *Vishṇudharmôttara*, which agrees with the Mahâbhârata and the more ancient Purâṇas in considering Vishṇuyaśas as another name of the great saviour and restorer of purity. Bêrûnî probably got this detail from the *Brahmavaivarta* or the *Kalki-Purâṇa*, in which latter it is told (chapter II. 4 ff.), or from oral tradition. His identification of Kalkin's father with Kali must either be due to a very bad lapsus or to a serious corruption of the text of the Indica. The idea is about as appropriate as if a Hindu asserted that the Mehdi was declared in the Mahommadan sacred books to be a son of Shaitan. The next sentences are awkward paraphrases of our text, which in part are hardly intelligible. The translation of *mlêchchhân*, 'the barbarians' or 'the impure people,' by '*the impurity of the people*,' is very curious, and still more curious the assertion that Kalkin 'cleans the earth of *them*.' It looks as if there was something wrong in the Arabic text. The next sentence according to which Kalkin 'collects the good and

[77] Bêrûnî makes it appear that there are consecutive verses treating of this question. That is not the case, the quotation is made up of parts of the five verses mentioned.

the pious for the purpose of procreation' contains again a remarkable *quid pro quo*. It is possible to understand how Bêrûnî got the notion '*of procreation*.' The latter word seems to be the result of a mistaken rendering of *prajâ*, which means also '*offspring*.' But I am unable to suggest whence he may have got the idea that '*the good and pious were collected*.' Equally inexplicable is the further statement that '*then the Kritayuga lies far behind them*,' instead of which the Sanskrit text and the concluding sentence of Bêrûnî's rendering require '*then the Kritayuga returns*.' The number of self-contradictions and absurdities in this passage is so great, that one cannot help assuming the Arabic text to be seriously corrupt. But making all due allowance for such possibilities, there still remain some cases, where Bêrûnî has made bad mistakes in translation or has falsified the text by interpolating information from other sources.

With respect to two other quotations I am not certain whether I have found the passages to which Bêrûnî refers. According to Indica I. 54, Mârkaṇḍêya asserts in the *Vishṇu-Dharma* that Brahman, Kârttikêya, Lakshmî, Daksha and Umâdêvî have each of them existed in the middle of this Kalpa, and that they have existed already many times. Similar utterances are, of course, not rare in the *Vishṇudharmôttara*. One such passage occurs at the beginning of Chapter 171, where it is said that the Fish, the Tortoise, the Man-lion, the Dwarf, Brahman, Śiva, the Sun, the Moon, Indra and other celestial beings, appear, in order to fulfil the objects of creation, if they are united with the lustre of Vishṇu, and that they disappear when Vishṇu withdraws his light from them. Again in Chapter 190 a much longer list of deities is given, which are stated to have appeared and disappeared many times. As Bêrûnî is not very particular about the names of the deities and often leaves out a great deal, it is not absolutely impossible that his quotation may refer to one of these passages. Again, according to Indica II. 64, the *Vishṇu-Dharma* asserts that 'the sun nourishes the moon and the stars, and that 'if the sun did not exist, there would not be a star nor angel nor man.' I cannot find a passage which actually contains these words. But in the *Vishṇudharmôttara*, I. 30, it is repeatedly stated that everything exists through the sun, and in the hymn, which Îśvara-Śiva addresses there to the Sun, it is said: "Thou nourishest (*pushṇâsi*) all the worlds, hence thou art called Pûshan." I believe it quite possible that Bêrûnî may have made up his 'quotation' out of these utterances. But it is impossible to be positive. For there are some more quotations which I am unable to trace, viz. one short one (Indica II. 64), two longer ones (*ibid.* II. 64-65 and 65-66). These must have been taken from the tripartite *Vishṇudharmôttara*, as in two of them Mârkaṇḍêya is named as the narrator and Vajra as the person instructed. I do not think that I can have overlooked them, as I have gone repeatedly over the astronomical chapters, and I believe it more probable that they have been accidentally omitted in the MS. used, which is only a modern Nâgarî transcript. An examination of the older Śâradâ copies of the Deccan College collection may perhaps shew that they actually are contained in the *Vishṇudharmôttara*. In conclusion, I may add that Bêrûnî seems to have taken a good deal more from the *Vishṇudharmôttara* without saying so.

One instance certainly occurs (Indica II. 191) where Bêrûnî has awkwardly rendered some statements from *V. Dh.* I. 60, and has succeeded in making them look like utter nonsense. He says there that one civil day which includes portions of three lunar days, is called *trihaspaka* or *triharkasha*,[78] and adds: "*It is an unlucky day, boding evil, and it is counted among the punyakâla* [*i. e. the holy days*]." In the *Vishṇudharmôttara, loc. cit.*, Śaṅkara informs Paraśurâma that a civil day including portions of three *tithis* is called *tryahaspṛik*, which form is of course the original of Bêrûnî's corrupt *trihaspaka*. He further states that fasts, the worship of Kêśava, muttered prayers, oblations in the fire and gifts, offered on such days, are most effectual for securing specially desired rewards, but that such days, though most holy and sanctifying, are unsuited for all other business: —

स्यहस्पृक् स विनिर्दिष्टः पुण्यः परमपावनः ।
तत्रोपोष्य शिरःस्नानैः कर्तव्यं केशवार्चनम् ॥
जपो होमस्तथा दानं कामवद्भिर्महत्फलम् ।
कर्मणां परिशेषाणामकार्मण्यं हि तद्दिनम् ॥

This is intelligible, while Bêrûnî's version involves an apparent contradiction.

The remaining three passages, in which Bêrûnî quotes the *Vishṇu-Dharma*, have been taken from a work, which, though likewise a production of the Bhâgavata sect and though likewise called both *Vishṇu-Dharma* and *Vishṇudharmôttara*, has nothing to do with the tripartite *Vishṇudharmôttara*. Professor A. Weber has given a description of the Berlin MS. in his Catalogue of the Sanskrit and Prakrit MSS. of the Berlin library, Vol. II. part 1, p. 338 ff. This

[78] This is in Sanskrit *tryahaṇikasha*.

book consists only of 102 chapters, and is said to have been communicated by Saunaka and other Rishis to Satânika, son of Janamêjaya and grandson of Parikshit. The text of one of Bêrûnî's three quotations has been given by Professor Weber (*loc. cit.* p. 339, note 2). A comparison of the exact words with Bêrûnî's translation shews that he has treated the original in his usual manner, leaving out and adding words, as seemed good to him.

V. Dh. X. 1-4.

पुलस्त्य उवाच । रोहिण्यां च यदा कृष्णपक्षेष्टम्यां द्विजोत्तम ।
जयन्ती नाम सा प्रोक्ता सर्वपापहरा तिथिः ॥ १ ॥
यद्वा[द्वा]ल्ये यच्च कौमारे यौवने वार्द्धि[धे]के च यत् ।
सप्तजन्मकृतं पापं स्वल्पं वा यदि वा ब[ब]हु ॥ २ ॥
तत्कालयति गोविन्दं तस्यामभ्यर्च्य भक्तितः ।
होमजप्यादिदानानां फलं च शतसंमितम् ॥ ३ ॥
संप्राप्नोति न संदेहो यद्यान्यन्मनसेच्छति ।
उपवासश्च तत्रोक्तो महापातकनाशनः ॥ ४ ॥

Pulastya said: — (1) And when (the moon is) in (the constellation) Rôhiṇî, in the dark half (of the month) on the eighth, *O best of twice-born* men, *that lunar day* which destroys all sins is called Jayantî.

(2) Whatever sins, whether great or small, may have been committed during seven births, in childhood, youth or old age,

(3) Those one washes off by devoutly worshipping Govinda on that (lunar day); and the reward of burnt oblations, muttered prayers and the like and of gifts is hundred-fold.

(4) One obtains, no doubt, whatever else one desires in one's heart; and fasting on that (day) is declared to efface mortal sins.

Indica II. 175: — The book *Vishṇu-Dharma* says: — "When the moon is in Rôhiṇî, *the fourth of her stations*, on the eighth day of the black half, it is *a fast day*, called Jayantî.

Giving alms on this day is an expiation for all sins.

It is plain that Bêrûnî's pretended translation is nothing more than a very loose abstract of the contents of the Sanskrit verses, and only just allows us to recognise the identity of the two passages. The same remarks apply to the second quotation (Indica Vol. II. p. 174). It has been taken from Adhyâya XIII., which, as well as the Chapters XIV.-XVI., contains a conversation between Yâjñavalkya and Maitrêyî. The extracts, which Dr. J. Klatt has kindly furnished to me, agree more or less closely with Bêrûnî in the following points: — (1) the vow is to be begun on the second day of the bright half of Pausha and to last for four days; (2) the performer is to wash on the first with (the oil of) white mustard (*siddhârthaka*), not, as Bêrûnî says, with water,[79] on the second with (the oil of) black sesamum, on the third with (the juice of) myrobalans (*vara*),[80] and on the fourth with (a mixture of) various herbs (*sarvaushadhi*); (3) at the end it is stated that Dilîpa, Dushkanta (read, Dushyanta) Yayâti and other kings performed it according to the rule given for fasts (*upavâsavidhânataḥ*). But there is nothing in the *Vishṇu-Dharmâḥ* to shew that this vow saves the children of the performer from 'calamities and bodily defects.' It is said to remove evils, to procure an increase of spiritual merit, and to grant all wishes. Nor is it clear that the observances are to be repeated during a whole year. But the text is, apparently, not quite in order, and statements to this effect may have occurred in it. The section on the same vow in the second Kâṇḍa of the tripartite Kâśmîrian *Vishṇudharmôttara*, which is quoted also by Hêmâdri, Vratakâṇḍa, p. 389 ff., gives it the name *Ârôgyadvitîyâ*, 'second lunar day rite granting freedom from disease.'

The third passage (Indica I. 77 f.) is made up of loose very inaccurate paraphrases and abstracts of a number of verses from the first chapter. Even

[79] Bêrûnî's text seems to have had the varia lectio *śuddhôdakaiḥ*.

[80] This may possibly be the same as Bêrûnî's *galangala*.

the statements in the preamble regarding the interlocutors and the purpose of the conversation, are for the greater part incorrect. Bêrûnî asserts that king *Parîkṣa of the family of Bhṛigu* asked *Śatânîka, the head of an assembly of sages*, for the explanation *of some notion regarding the deity*, and that the sage communicated to him what he had heard from *Śaunaka*, *Śaunaka* from *Uśanas*, and *Uśanas* from *Brahman*. The absurdity of the first portion of these statements will be evident to every Sanskṛitist. For it is well known that Parîkṣha or more correctly Parîkṣhit did not belong to the family of Bhṛigu, as well as that Śatânika was not a sage, but a king and Parîkṣhit's grandson. The *Vishṇu-Dharma* has, of course, no such nonsense. But it says quite correctly (I. 5 f.; see Weber, *loc. cit.*), that certain sages whose leader was *Śaunaka*, came to visit *Śatânîka*, the son of *Parîkṣhit's* son, and that the latter asked the Ṛishis regarding the *worship* (*ârâdhana*) of Nârâyaṇa. They commissioned Śaunaka, who belonged to the family of Bhṛigu and is called, in verse 30, *Bhṛigu-nandana*, to fulfil the king's desire. Śaunaka complied, and first gave some information regarding the relation of the Trimûrti to the highest Brahman (neuter), which Bêrûnî has rendered *more suo* (p. 177, lines 13-17). Next follows Śaunaka's statement regarding the source of his information. He says (*V. Dh.* I. 40-41) that he received it *from his father*, the latter *from his father, the grandfather from Uśanas*, *Uśanas* from *Bhṛigu*, and *Bhṛigu* from *Brahman*. He further adds (verse 42) that Marîchi and other great sages formerly obtained the same instruction from Brahman, and then follow the verses from which the remainder of 'the quotation' has been made up. In order to further prove the justice of my remarks against Bêrûnî, I add the text of Śaunaka's speech, which I likewise owe to the kindness of Dr. Klatt, together with a translation:—

शौनक उवाच । यद्भृच्छसि महीपाल कृष्णस्याराधनं प्रति ।
व्रतोपवासजप्यादि तद्विधैकमनाः शृणु ॥ ३३ ॥
अनादिमत्परं ब्रह्म सर्वदेहविवर्जितम् ।
व्यापि यत्सर्वभूतेषु स्थितं सदसतः परम् ॥ ३४ ॥
प्रधानपुंसोरजयोर्यतः क्षोभः प्रवर्तते ।
नित्ययोर्व्यापिनोश्चैव जगदाद्यौ महात्मनोः ॥ ३५ ॥
तत्क्षोभकरत्वाद्ब्रह्माण्डसृष्टेर्हेतुर्निरञ्जनः ।
अहेतुरपि सर्वात्मा जायते परमेश्वरः ॥ ३६ ॥
प्रधानपुरुषत्वं च तथैवेश्वरलीलया ।
समुपैति ततश्चैव ब्रह्मत्वं छन्दतः प्रभुः ॥ ३७ ॥
ततः स्थितौ पालयिता विष्णुत्वं जगतः क्षये ।
रुद्रत्वं च जगन्नाथः स्वेच्छया कुरुते स्वयः[यम्] ॥ ३८ ॥
तदेकमक्षरं धाम परं सदसतो महत् ।
भेदाभेदस्वरूपस्थं प्रणिपत्य परं पदम् ॥ ३९ ॥
प्रवक्ष्यामि यथा पूर्वं मरिपत्रा कथितं मम ।
तस्यापि किल सत्पित्रा तस्मै प्राह किलौ[लो]शनाः ॥ ४० ॥
तेनापि भृगुमाराध्य प्राप्तमाराधनं हरेः ।
सकाशाद्ब्रह्मणः प्राप्तं भृगुणापि महात्मना ॥ ४१ ॥
मरीच्यिमिश्चैव पुरा परमेतन्महर्षिभिः ।
प्राप्तं सकाशादेतस्य ब्रह्मणोऽव्यक्तजन्मनः ॥ ४२ ॥
योगं ब्रह्मा परं प्राह महर्षीणां यदा प्रभुः ।
समस्तवृत्तिसंरोधात्कैवल्यप्रतिपादकम् ॥ ४३ ॥
तदा जगत्पतिर्ब्रह्मा प्रणिपत्य महर्षिभिः ।
सर्वैः किलोक्तो भगवानात्मयोनिः प्रजाहितः ॥ ४४ ॥
यो योगो भवता प्रोक्तो मनोवृत्तिनिरोधजः ।
प्राप्तुं शक्यमनेकैस्तज्जन्मभिर्जगतः पते ॥ ४५ ॥
विषया दुर्जया नृणामिन्द्रियाकर्षुलाः[र्षकाः] प्रभो ।
वृत्तयश्चेतसश्चापि चपला अतिदुर्जयाः ॥ ४६ ॥
रागादयः कथं जेतुं शक्या वर्षशतैरपि ।
न योगयोग्यं हि मनो भवत्त्वेभिरनिर्जितैः ॥ ४७ ॥
अल्पायुषश्च पुरुषा ब्रह्मन्कृतयुगेष्वमी ।
त्रेतायां द्वापरे चैव किमु प्राप्य कलौ युगे ॥ ४८ ॥

भगवंस्त्वमुपायं तं प्रसन्नो वक्तुमर्हसि ।
अनायासेन येनेममुत्तरेयं भवार्णवम् ॥ ४९ ॥
दुःखाम्बुमग्नाः पुरुषाः प्राप्य ब्रह्मन्महाह्रदम् ।
उत्तरेयुर्भवाम्भोधिं तथा त्वमनुचिन्तय ॥ ५० ॥
एवमुक्तस्तदा ब्रह्मा क्रियायोगं महात्मनाम् ।
तेषामृषीणामाचष्ट नराणां हितकाम्यया ॥ ५१ ॥
आराधयन्ति[त] विश्वेशं नारायणमतन्द्रिताः ।
बाह्यालम्बनसापेक्षास्तमजं जगतः पतिम् ॥ ५२ ॥
इज्यापूजानमस्कारशुश्रूषानिरहर्निशम् ।
व्रतोपवासैर्विविधैर्ब्राह्मणानां च तर्पणैः ॥ ५३ ॥
तैस्तैश्चाभिमतैः कामैर्यै च चेतसि तुष्टिदाः ।
अपरिच्छेद्यमाहात्म्यमाराधयत केशवम् ॥ ५४ ॥
तन्निष्ठास्तद्गतधियस्तत्कर्माणस्तदाश्रयाः ।
तद्दृष्टयस्तन्मनसः सर्वस्मिन्स इति स्थिताः ॥ ५५ ॥
समस्तान्यथ कर्माणि तत्र सर्वात्मनात्मनि ।
स[सं]न्यसध्वं स वः कर्ता समस्तावरणक्षयम् ॥ ५६ ॥
एतत्तदक्षरं ब्रह्म प्रधानपुरुषावुभौ ।
यतो यस्मिन्यथा चैतौ सर्वव्यापिन्यवस्थितौ:[तौ] ॥ ५७ ॥
परः पराणां परमः स एकः पुरुषोत्तम[:] ।
यस्याभिन्नमिदं सर्वं यस्येयं यत्र नें[जगतो?] गति[:] ॥ ५८ ॥
मोक्षकारणमव्यक्तमचिन्त्यमपरिग्रहम् ।
समाराध्य जगन्नाथं क्रियायोगेन मुच्यते ॥ ५९ ॥

Vishnudharma I. 33-59 : —

Saunaka spoke : —

(33) "*Listen, O prince, attentively to (the description of) the vows, fasts, prayers and so forth for worshipping Krishna, regarding which thou askest.*

(34) "The highest Brahma,[81] *which (all)-pervading, exists in all created beings,* is without beginning, without any body, beyond entity and non-entity;"

(35-36) *That Brahma, from which at the beginning of the world the motion in the eternal (all)-pervading mighty Matter and Spirit proceeds, is, because it is the mover, the passionless cause of the creation of the (mundane) egg. (Then) the supreme lord, the soul of the universe, is born (there), though he is without cause.*

(37) *Moreover, in his sport as lord, the lord becomes Matter and Spirit, and then according to his pleasure Brahmâ.*

(38) *Next, being the protector during the existence (of the world) he becomes Vishnu; at the destruction of the world Jagannâtha, of his own will, himself becomes Rudra.*

Bêrûnî, *Indica* I. 77 :—

'God is without first and without last; he has not been born from anything, and he has not borne anything save that of which it is impossible to say that it is He and just as impossible to say that it is Not-he.[82]

[81] I put the word 'Brahman' always in the nominative case, in order to distinguish between the impersonal Brahman a neuter, and the god a masculine.

[82] 'Without last' may be an attempt to render *param*, 'the highest.' The next words 'he has . . . . . not borne anything' seem to represent *sarvadêhavivarjitam*, 'without any body.' 'He and Not-he' correspond to *sad-asat* 'entity and non-entity,' but Bêrûnî has missed the connexion of the words.

(39) *Prostrating myself before that one imperishable highest light, which is greater than entity and non-entity, which has the form of duality and of non-duality, which is the highest sphere* (paraṁ padaṁ),

(40) *I will proclaim* (*the worship of Hari*), *as it was* formerly told to me by *my father*. *To him* (it was *told*) *by his father*: *to him*, Uśanas, indeed, proclaimed it.

(41) But he obtained (*the knowledge of*) *the worship of Hari by worshipping Bhṛigu; high-minded Bhṛigu received it* from Brahma.[83]

(42) *Moreover, Marîchi and other great sages obtained this* (*knowledge*) *formerly from god Brahmâ, who was born from the undiscrete.*

(43) *When the lord Brahmâ had revealed to the great sages* the highest Yôga, which produces liberation (kaivalya) through the stoppage of all functions (of the Manas),

(44) Then the worshipful lord of the world, Brahmâ, *whose womb is the Self* (*and*) *who is benevolent towards the creatures, was, indeed,* (*thus*) *addressed by all the great sages*:—

(45) The Yôga, arising from the stoppage of the functions of the internal organ (manas,) which thou hast proclaimed, O lord of the world, may be attained in (the course of) several births.

(46) The (desire for the) objects of enjoyment, O lord, (is) difficult to conquer, (since) they attract the senses of men; *and also the swift*(*ly changing*) *functions of the internal organ* (chêtas = manas) *are very difficult to conquer.*

(47) *How can passion and the other* (*enemies of quietism*) *be overcome even in hundreds of years?* For the Mind (manas) does not become fit for Yôga without the conquest of these.

(48) Short-lived are men here, *O Brahmâ*, in the Kṛita ages, *likewise in the Tṛêtâ and the Dvâpara*; how much more in the Kali age, when it has come?

How should I be able to ponder on the absolute good which is an outflow of his benevolence and of (*read, on*) *the absolute bad which is a product of his wrath; and how could I know him so as to* worship him as is his due, save by turning away from the world in general and by occupying myself exclusively with him, by perpetually cogitating on him?[84]

"It was objected to him:—

"Man is weak and his life is a trifling matter."

He can hardly bring himself to abstain from the necessities of life,[85]

and this prevents him from walking on the path of liberation.

If we were living in the first age of mankind when life extended to thousands of years, *and when the world was good, because of the non-existence of evil, we might hope that that which is necessary on this path, should be done. But,* since we live in the last age,

[83] Regarding Bêrûnî's mangled analysis of verses 40-41, see above.

[84] The real text furnishes no clue, whence Bêrûnî got the form of his two sentences, or whence he got the contents of the first 'How should I . . . of his wrath,' which are rather Semitic than Hindu. The second sentence seems to be connected with verse 43, where the stoppage of the functions of the Manas, and implicitly the turning away from the world and the concentration of the thoughts on the deity, are recommended. From Bêrûnî's next sentence it is perfectly evident that he must have had the conversation between Brahmâ and the sages, which our text gives. For without that the words 'it was objected to him,' and further 'thereupon Brahman spoke,' are utterly unintelligible. Is the confusion merely owing to Bêrûnî's carelessness and his misunderstanding his informant, or is there something wrong in the Arabic text?

[85] 'The necessities of life' seems to be a loose rendering of *vishayâḥ*, 'the objects of the senses or of enjoyment.'

(49) Hence, *O worshipful one, graciously proclaim* that means, whereby I can escape without trouble from this ocean of births.

(50) *Meditating (on) such (a means) (whereby) men, who are immersed in a sea of misfortune, may obtain, O Brahmâ, a large boat and escape from the ocean of births.*

(51) *Being thus addressed,* Brahmâ, *desiring to benefit men,* then revealed *to those high-minded sages the Yôga of actions (the practical way to salvation).*[87]

(52) Do you, who require external support, *without tiring* worship *that unborn* Nârâyaṇa, *the ruler of the universe, the lord of the world,*

(53) *Day and night,* with sacrifices, (acts of) homage, (hymns of) adoration and obedience, with vows and fasts of many kinds and by gladdening the Brâhmaṇs.

(54) With these (acts) and with approved reward-desiring rites which please your hearts, *worship Kêśava whose greatness is immeasurable,*

(55) Devoted to Him, directing your thoughts towards Him, referring your actions to Him, taking refuge with Him, looking on Him, fixing your hearts on Him, firmly convinced that He (resides) in everything,

(56) Then completely throw all your acts on Him, the Self; *he will work for you the destruction of all that veils (truth).*

(57) *He is that imperishable Brahma, from which both Matter and Spirit (are produced), in which and through which, the all-pervading one, both exist.*

(58) *He is the highest of the highest, the highest of all, He, the One, Purushôttama (the best Spirit), from whom the universe differs not, on whom this development of the world (?) depends.*

(59) He who worships Jagannâtha, *the cause of liberation, the undiscrete, the unthinkable, the incomprehensible one,* will be liberated *through (that) yôga of actions.*

"Thereupon Brahman spoke :—

'Man wants nourishment, shelter, and clothing.[88] *Therefore in them there is no harm to him. But happiness is only to be found in abstaining from things besides them, from superfluous, fatiguing actions.* Worship god, *him alone,* and venerate him; approach him in the place of worship *with presents like perfumes and flowers*; praise him and attach your heart to him, so that it never leaves him. Give alms to Brahmans *and to others, and vow to God* vows — *special ones like the abstaining from meat; general ones like fasting.* Vow to him animals *which you must not hold to be something different from yourselves, so as to feel entitled to kill them.*[89]

Know that he is everything.

Therefore, whatever you do, let it be for his sake, *and if you enjoy anything of the vanities of the world, do not forget him in your intentions.*

If you aim at the fear of God and the faculty of worshipping him, thereby you will obtain liberation, *not by anything else.*

The inferences which may be drawn from the facts stated above, are the following: —First, it is evident that in the beginning of the eleventh century two works with the title *Vishṇudharmôttara* or *Vishṇu-Dharma* existed, and that both were considered to be canonical by Bêrûnî's Paṇḍits who, one and all, were Vaishṇavas.[90] This circumstance possesses a considerable interest, as the

[87] As Bêrûnî places this whole quotation in the section on Kriyâyôga (see p. 176 last line), it is evident that his text must have included the word.

[88] This is a loose reading of *bâhyâlambanasâpêkshâḥ.*

[89] More than half of Bêrûnî's rendering of verses 53-55 consists of interpolations, which are to make the sense plainer. 'Approach him,' etc., seems to be the rendering of *pûjâ,* 'attach your heart to him,' etc., of *śuśrûshâ;* 'vow to him animals,' etc., of *ijyâ.* The prohibition to slay animals at the sacrifices looks like an oral exposition of the text by the Vaishṇava Paṇḍit, who gave the passage to Bêrûnî.

[90] Professor Sachau (Indica, Vol. I. p. xlvii.) has called attention to this fact, and thinks that it is significant for

oldest Indian writer who quotes both works extensively, is Hêmâdri, the minister of Mahâdêva and Râmadêva of Dêvagiri, who ruled from Śaka-Saṁvat 1182 to 1231 or from A. D. 1260 to 1309. The Vratakâṇḍa of his *Chaturvarga-chintâmaṇi* gives whole chapters from all the three kâṇḍas of the Tripartite Kaśmîrian *Vishṇudharmôttara*, as well as from the other shorter work, and the text agrees on the whole with the MSS. which I have used. Though Hêmâdri's quotations alone would make it probable that the two *Vishṇudharmôttaras* do not belong to a very recent period, Bêrûnî's acquaintance with them is yet important, as it proves that they must be at least a hundred years older than his time. With respect to the Kaśmîrian *Vishṇudharmôttara*, it is very likely that the earlier limit of its composition lies much further from the year 1000 A. D. For, as already stated above, some Hindu commentators indicate that Brahmagupta found the *Paitâmaha-Siddhânta*, the basis for his own work, in the *Vishṇudharmôttara*. If this statement is correct, the Kaśmîrian book must have been a canonical work in A. D. 628, and the date of its composition cannot be placed later than about 500 A. D. It would be important to know what Brahmagupta's commentator, Pṛithûdakasvâmin, whom Bêrûnî mentions (Indica, Vol. I. p. 158), says on the source of the *Sphuṭa-Brâhma-Siddhânta*.

Secondly, Bêrûnî's mistakes, especially those which occur in the extract No. IX., shew that he had a MS. of the Kaśmîrian *Vishṇudharmôttara* and himself tried to make out its sense. No Paṇḍit, however poor his knowledge of Sanskṛit might be, would make such absurd a blunder as that which the rendering of *kâlâtmâ purushas tasya sarvabhûtapatiḥ prabhuḥ* involves. As Bêrûnî quotes only from the first Kâṇḍa and did not know of the existence of the *Paitâmaha-Siddhânta*, his MS. was probably incomplete and did not go beyond Kâṇḍa I. With respect to the shorter *Vishṇudharmôttara*, I do not think that he had a MS. His quotations are even more inexact than those from the larger work, and his erroneous statements regarding the interlocutors of the work are such as may be more easily explained by the assumption that he received some oral information from his Paṇḍit and misunderstood it, than by the supposition that he himself read the text.

Thirdly the extracts shew that Bêrûnî's MS. of the larger *Vishṇudharmôttara*, gave a text not much different from that of the Deccan College Collection. In nine passages it certainly was better and either had verses which have been accidentally omitted or readings which have been changed. In four passages these omissions (see extracts Nos. ix., xii., xviii., xix.) are evident without Bêrûnî's translations. In one passage (see extract No. xi.) Bêrûnî has more than our text, but an absolutely necessary portion of the latter seems to have been wanting in his copy. In two other cases (see extract No. v. and page 389,) his MS. evidently had some very bad mistakes which do not occur in ours. A few of Bêrûnî's other mistranslations *may* be due to similar causes, though it is impossible to be positive on the point.

Fourthly, all the other very numerous discrepancies are due to Bêrûnî's desire to be brief and to give only the real substance without the padding, to his wish to make himself intelligible to Muhammadan readers, to carelessness, to his insufficient knowledge of Sanskṛit and of Indian ideas, or finally to corruptions in the Arabic text. His desire to be brief and to the point, induces him to omit all the numerous words and phrases, like, 'O king,' 'O scion of Yadu's race,' etc., which serve to make up the verses. No Purâṇa is or can be without them. Hence it would be a great mistake to infer from their non-occurrence in Bêrûnî's renderings that the texts did not contain them in his times. Other results of his striving after brevity are the omission, in the questions, of all points except that which immediately interests the translator (see extracts Nos. ix. and xviii.) and the elimination of repetitions with which the Purâṇas abound. As the text is metrical, it is not difficult to see that Bêrûnî is not exact. For, if it had contained nothing more than what he gives, the verses must have been incomplete.

Further, Bêrûnî's wish to make himself intelligible to his countrymen has induced him to add a good many interpolations. Some of these are marked by the addition of "*i. e.*," while the greater number has not been distinguished by such a mark. In these cases, too, the metre

the religious condition of India in Bêrûnî's times. I must differ on this point, because there is abundant historical evidence to prove that Śaivism flourished about the year 1000 A. D. About this time a number of great Śaiva teachers, such as Abhinavagupta and Kshêmarâja, shewed a considerable activity in Kaśmîr. The inscriptions from Mâlwa, Gujarât, the Dekhan and other parts of India, prove clearly that Śaivism was the creed of the kings of these countries, and that it counted numerous adherents in their territories. If Bêrûnî knows nothing about it, the reason no doubt is that the Śaivas were in the eleventh century just as unwilling to reveal their doctrines to outsiders and foreigners, as they are in the present day. With the Vaishṇavas the contrary is mostly the case. They are, as a rule, much more open and ready to speak about their system.

sometimes assists us to recognise the explanatory additions. For, the translations contain more than the verses in the text can have contained, and not enough for additional ones. The same wish seems also to have induced Bêrûnî to translate loosely or to substitute expressions more familiar to Muhammadans for those in the text. Instances of this kind are found in his rendering (extract No. xviii.) *bhagavân*, 'worshipful, divine,' by 'the ruler of the inhabitants of paradise,' *lôkaprakâlanah*, (time) driving the world onwards' by '(time) rising, growing, getting old and vanishing,' and *vimâna*, 'self-moving palatial chariot,' by 'throne.' The substitutions of one name of a deity for another, such as occur in the extract No. xiv., are probably due to the same cause, and so are perhaps the transpositions of whole sentences, a perfectly certain instance of which is found in extract No. xxii. With respect to the transpositions, I may add that they are extremely common also in the translations from other works, and that they occur even in such passages where Bêrûnî promises to render the text '*in full and exactly as it is*.' The latter note is prefixed to some quotations from Varâhamihira's *Bṛihat-Saṁhitâ* (Indica, Vol. II. p. 92). Nevertheless he has taken the liberty to place a paraphrase of a great portion of verse 6 of Chapter XII. in the beginning. The construction of the little Praśasti, with which Varâhamihira begins his chapter on the movements of Agastya or Canopus, and its wording, leave no doubt that the order of the verses in our text is correct, and make it impossible to suppose that even a bad MS. can ever have had such a great confusion as Bêrûnî's rendering would ask us to assume. The fact that the transposition nevertheless occurs, and the circumstance that Bêrûnî's translation is in most of the following eighteen verses very imperfect, — the particularly difficult passages being invariably left out, — shew that his ideas of completeness and exactness differed very considerably from the standard applied to translations in our days.

Moreover, it is impossible to deny that Bêrûnî was sometimes very careless. In several cases he convicts himself. If in extract xix. he omits the mention of the orbit of the fixed stars, or in extract xviii. the word 'crystal,' and afterwards refers to these points, it is evident that the omissions are due to slips of the pen. Equally clear is the case in extract No. vii., where his omission of the words *âdi*, 'in the beginning,' and *antarâla*, 'in the intervals,' makes the calculation come out wrong, and in extract xvii., where his neglecting to state that the serpent Kulika is another designation of Râhu, obscures the drift of the whole passage. His carelessness is also evident in some of his explanatory statements, *e. g.* regarding the parentage of Vajra (extract No. xviii.), regarding the parentage of Râma (extract No. vii.), and regarding the deadly power of Mârkaṇḍêya (*ibidem*). He had the book before him, and might in the first two cases easily have got from it the correct information.

Finally, the deficiency of Bêrûnî's knowledge of Sanskṛit is only too patent in these extracts, as well as in other quotations (see *e. g.* Professor Sachau's notes to Vol. I. pp. 351 and 394). Sometimes it happens that a bad blunder is combined, as, *e. g.*, in extract No. xviii., verse 10, with an omission, and it looks as if Bêrûnî had wilfully discarded the words which do not agree with his rendering. This becomes particularly probable by the fact already pointed out, that also in other quotations difficult words or phrases are simply ignored.

The lesson, which the above analysis of Bêrûnî's quotations from the *Vishṇu-Dharma* teaches, is, it seems to me, that, discrepancies between his translations and the Sanskṛit texts, which we possess, do not mean much. A careful investigation of each particular case is required in order to determine what the causes of these discrepancies are, and the probability is that in the great majority of cases they will be owing to Bêrûnî's method of 'translating.' It is, therefore, not advisable to jump at once to the conclusion that his Sanskṛit texts must have been very different from those existing in our times or must have been different versions, because his renderings do not agree. The very bad blunders as to facts, which he makes in his remarks, make it further necessary to be very cautious with respect to all startling statements, of which there is a good number in his work. It will not do to give to them implicit credence, without carefully inquiring whether there are not circumstances which render a mistake on his part certain or probable.

In conclusion, I must state that in spite of all their shortcomings Bêrûnî's Indica remain in my opinion a very important work for the Sanskṛitist, and that their careful study may be recommended to every student of Indian literature and history. Nothing, I think, would contribute so much to make this study truly fruitful, as a detailed examination of all Bêrûnî's quotations on the plan adopted above, which no doubt is still open to improvements. Will not one of the Indian Universities set this investigation as a subject for a prize-essay? The materials are more easily accessible in India than anywhere else, and a young Indian Sanskṛitist would do with such an

investigation much better, for himself and for his science, than by 'bringing up' so and so many Kâvyas or Śâstras.

G. BÜHLER.

Vienna, 10th January 1890.

NOTE.

I have to add an additional note to the Review of Dr. Bhâṇḍarkar's Report for 1883-84, *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 184 ff.

With respect to the correct title of the *Nîlamata*, I must add to my remarks on p. 188, that Kalhaṇa calls the work twice (*Râjataraṁgiṇî* I. 173, 183) a Purâṇa. It is thus not advisable to change the title, which has existed for more than seven hundred years.

As regards the Idar MS. of the *Mahâbhâshya*. Professor Kielhorn has found that the calculation of the week-day clearly shews its date, Saṁvat 1514, to refer to the Vikrama era. Hence I am obliged to strike it off the list of the cases, where Saṁvat seems to stand for Śaka-Saṁvat.

G. BÜHLER.

Vienna, 10th January 1890.

VIER ERZAHLUNGEN AUS DER SUKASAPTATI. Sanskrit und Deutsch. Von DR. RICHARD SCHMIDT. Kiel, C. F. Kaeseler. 1890. 8vo., pp. 52.

The **Sukasaptati or 'the seventy tales of a parrot'** is a collection of short stories, which has obtained great popularity in India and other eastern countries through the medium of vernacular translations. Of its Sanskṛit original, only the first chapter was hitherto known, from Lassen and Gildemeister's *Anthologia Sanscritica*. Dr. R. Schmidt, a pupil of Professor Pischel, is now engaged on a critical edition of the whole work, as a specimen of which he has just published the text of four stories, with various readings, and with a German translation. Most of the MSS. contain a *textus simplicior*, while an apograph from a MS. in the Tanjore Palace Library, which the editor received from Dr. Rost, represents a *textus ornatior*. Dr. Schmidt has printed and translated each of the four tales according to both redactions. An ancient Jaina MS. in the possession of Professor Lanman contains a third version of the text, which stands between the two others, and is probably the most faithful reproduction of the original. Dr. Schmidt's promised edition of the whole work will be gladly welcomed, both by Sanskṛitists and by students of comparative folklore; though, on account of its defective language and of its most objectionable contents, the *Sukasaptati* will never become a school-book.

JOURNAL OF THE CEYLON BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY. Vol. X. No. 35. 1887. Edited by H. C. P. Bell, C.C.S., Honorary Secretary. Colombo, Govt. Press, 1889.

There is no hurry about science in Ceylon evidently, for this number, dated 1887, was printed in 1889, and has reached us in 1890!

The number opens with a very short account of the **excavations of Mr. Boake, Ceylon C. S., at Tirukkêtîsvaram**, a ruined town or temple near the shore of the Gulf of Manaar, which is also known by the names of Mahâtîrtha, Mâtôṭṭam and Mântoṭṭai. He does not appear to have found anything of historical value, except perhaps two unidentified copper coins, and the inscriptions appear to be all in modern Siṁhalese.

This description is followed by an account of the temple by the Hon. P. Râmanâthan, which **connects Tirukkêtîsvaram with Vijaya**, who entered Ceylon in 543 B. C., and shews that in 700 A. D. it was a most flourishing temple. It is one of the two most sacred places of Hindu worship in Ceylon, the other being Tirukkônamâlai (Trincomalee).

The second article gives a translation, without the text, of an **inscription of Śrî-Parâkrama-Bâhu VI., dated in his thirty-eighth year, *i. e.* 1448 A. D.** It was found in the temple at **Moṇṇîsvaram**.

This is followed by a short and interesting note on **the Hilpenkandura at Kandy** by Mr. J. P. Lewis, Ceylon C. S. This is a pillar with a basin at the top, so contrived that three persons can bathe under it at a time, and seems to have been used by the kings of Kandy for bathing purposes, as it was said to contain the best water in the neighbourhood. The supplying stream has now been fouled by *dhôbîs*, and can no longer be used for bathing purposes.

An interesting contemporary account of the capture of Trincomalee by the Dutch from the Portuguese in 1639 is given in a translation from the journal of the Dutch Commander, Antonio Caen. And then follows a **translation of Daalman's Notes on Ceylon in 1687-89**, accompanied by most valuable notes on the text from the well-known pen of Mr. Donald Ferguson.

The number winds up with the publication of a posthumous paper, dated 1875, by the late

Louis de Zoysa, Chief Interpreter to the Ceylon Government, containing **Notes on the Jâtakas**, chiefly in connection with the sculptures at Bharut, to which is attached a correspondence on the subject between the author, Sir Alexander Cunningham, Prof. Max Müller, Mr. R. C. Childers, the Rev. Samuel Beal, and Mr. James Fergusson, all bearing date 1874 and 1875, and a complete list of the **Pansiyapanas Jâtaka**.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE CANADIAN INSTITUTE, October 1889, No. 152. Copp, Clark & Co., Ld.; Toronto.

In August 1889, the Canadian Institute issued a "Sociological Circular" with a view to collecting and recording "reliable data respecting the political and social institutions, the customs, ceremonies, beliefs, pursuits, modes of living, habits, exchange, and the devolution of property and office, which obtain among the Indian peoples" of Canada. The circular gave a list of points upon which information was specially required, much in the manner of the Anthropological and Geographical Societies of England. A very early response to this was made by the Rev. Father A. G. Morice of Stuart's Lake, British Columbia, in an admirable paper on **the Western Denes, their manners and customs.**

We have much pleasure in bringing this article to the notice of Indian readers, as so many of the manners and customs of these denizens of **the extreme North-Western America correspond closely in numerous instances with those of the Mongolian tribes** across the sea in **Northern Asia**, and indeed among the Mongoloid races much further south.

The mode of dressing the hair, the method of washing the hands and face, the forms of the huts, some of the articles of food, the proceedings at banquets, the head-dress of the women, some of the amusements, all bear a **close analogy to those of the Tâtârs and Mughals.** The rules of marriage and divorce again are practically those of **the modern Burmese**, except that the children in case of divorce go to the father and not to the mother, as with the Burmese.

The customs relating to menstruation and parturition bear a most interesting resemblance to those of **the ancient Hebrews**, as detailed in Leviticus and Deuteronomy, and the treatment of widows, for a time at least, is carried out much on the lines approved by **orthodox Hindus.**

Altogether the article not only exhibits great local knowledge and research, but is one that should be known to all students of Oriental ethnology.

TRACTATUS DE GLOBIS ET EORUM USU; a treatise descriptive of the globes constructed by Emery Molyneux and published in 1592. By ROBERT HUES. Edited with annotated Indices and an Introduction by CLEMENT R. MARKHAM, C.B., F.R.S. London, Hakluyt Society. 1889.

The name of the Society which has produced this volume and of the eminent scholar who has edited it are sufficient guarantee of its usefulness and excellence, and it will be unnecessary here to do more than to give a brief notice of its contents.

Helped by information received from the great English navigators and mathematicians of the 16th century and by funds from the great merchants of the day, **Molyneux** constructed and published his famous globes. To aid the many who wished to study them, **Robert Hues**, the celebrated mathematician, published his equally famous book on the use of the **Globes**. The immense sensation caused in the days of Elizabeth by the globes and the tracts to explain them, lasted almost to our own boyhood, when a knowledge "of the use of the globes" was still an indispensable qualification in every household of persons moving in polite society.

The first globes made were the celestial ones whose origin is lost in myth and antiquity. At any rate **Posidonius**, 150 B. C., constructed a revolving sphere to exhibit the motions of heavenly bodies; and in the second century A. D., **Ptolemy** laid down rules for the construction of globes. Thenceforward history and numismatics prove their existence and use among the Romans and Greeks, though the earliest **existing globe is of Arabic origin**, dated as late as **1070 A. D.**

On the other hand **the oldest terrestrial globe known is dated 1492**, and was constructed by **Martin Behaim of Nuremberg.** The only lines on it are the equator, tropics, polar circles and the first meridian passing through Madeira. The meridian is of iron. A brass horizon was added in 1500. From this globe of Behaim's construction Mr. Markham carries us through the exceedingly interesting and instructive story of every known globe, with passing notices of such astronomical and mathematical giants as Leonardo da Vinci, Schöner, Gerard Mercator, Ulpius, Tycho Brahe, Copernicus, Kepler, Galileo, Pontanus and Santucci to Molyneux.

Very little is known of **Molyneux**, the first English globe-maker, beyond that he was known to Raleigh, Hakluyt, Edward Wright and John Davis the Navigator. His work was first adver-

tised in the first ed. of Hakluyt's voyages in 1589 and published in 1592, — his being the largest globes made to that date. They were 2 feet 2 inches in diameter, or 5 inches larger than Behaim's globe.

These Molyneux globes have "graduated brass meridians and on that of the terrestrial globe a dial circle or *horarius* is fixed. The broad wooden equator, forming the upper part of the stand, is painted with the zodiac signs, the months, the Roman calendar, the points of the compass, and the same in Latin in concentric circles. Rhumb lines are drawn from numerous centres over the surface of the terrestrial globe. The equator, ecliptic and polar circles are painted boldly; while the parallels of latitude and meridians at every ten degrees are very faint lines." Their contents are interesting in the extreme, both as shewing the geographical knowledge of the day resulting from the discoveries of Barents, Davis, Raleigh, Sarmiento, Cavendish, Loaysa, del Cano, Drake and so on, and as exhibiting the prevailing belief in the existence of St. Brandon, Maidas, Heptapolis and other mythical islands. S. Matheo a "lost" island visited by Loaysa and del Cano is also shewn in the South Atlantic.

These invaluable documents have been well-nigh lost to the world, though a number were manufactured and sold, for only one set has been preserved, and that mostly by accident in the library of the Middle Temple, of all the places in the world!

To turn to the author of the *Tractatus* under review. **Robert Hues or Husius was born in 1553** near Leominster, and was educated at Brasenose College, Oxford, between 1571 and 1578, and became known as a good Greek scholar. He afterwards travelled on the Continent and voyaged at least twice across the Atlantic, and meanwhile became a good geographer and mathematician. He next wrote his celebrated treatise, and then became the friend of Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, and the friend and executor of Sir Walter Raleigh. He lived his last years at Oxford, where he died in his eightieth year, and finally the poor servitor of former days found an honoured grave and monument in Christ Church Cathedral.

His great work went through thirteen editions before 1663 in Latin, Dutch, French, and English. After a vigorous appeal to the English navigators of the day to study science as well as seamanship, he proceeds to prove the sphericity of the earth by way of preface. He then begins his treatise by describing the globes and their parts: the frame, horizon, meridian, *horarius*, *index horarius*, and the lines and circles. Next he describes the celestial globe and discourses in the most interesting manner on the origin of the Ptolemaic constellations and stars. Then follows an account of the terrestrial globe and discussions on the ancient and modern (up to his time) knowledge of the earth of absorbing interest, and also an account of the various methods adopted to ascertain the circumference of the earth and the length of a degree. Next are his calculations, which were long the only means practical sailors had of finding their way about the earth, and so played an important part in the English explorations of the seventeenth century. So far all the contents of the *Tractatus* were Hues's own work, but as a fifth part it includes a valuable treatise by Thomas Heriot on the rhumb-lines described on the terrestrial globe, the use of which was to shew that, when, of the course, distance, difference of longitude and difference of latitude, any two are known, the other two can be found. The book also contained an index geographicus of all places on the globe with the longitude and latitude of each. For the purpose of identifying old geographical names, this is of course invaluable.

To this monumental work, Mr. Markham has added a most laborious, interesting and valuable biographical index to the names of the astronomers and mathematicians whose names are mentioned in the text, and equally important index of names of the stars and constellations.

As an appendix to the volume are added Sailing Directions for the Circumnavigation of England and for a Voyage to the Straits of Gibraltar from a 15th-Century MS., edited by James Gairdner, with a glossary by Delmar Morgan.

The language of this treatise is unintelligible without a glossary, and the place-names meaningless without an explanatory index; both these have been supplied with great clearness and at an expenditure of immense labour by Mr. Delmar Morgan.

This unique publication is accompanied by a curious and exceedingly interesting map, shewing place-names round England as they were known in the 15th Century.

SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION.

The system of transliteration followed in this Journal for Sanskrit and Kanarese, (and, for the sake of uniformity, submitted for adoption, as far as possible, in the case of other languages), — except in respect of modern Hindu personal names, in which absolute purism is undesirable, and in respect of a few Anglicised corruptions of names of places, sanctioned by long usage, — is this :—

Sanskrit.	Kanarese.	Transliteration.	Sanskrit.	Kanarese.	Transliteration.
अ	ಅ	a	ज	ಜ	ja
आ	ಆ	â	झ	ಝ	jha
इ	ಇ	i	ञ	ಞ	ña
ई	ಈ	î	ट	ಟ	ṭa
उ	ಉ	u	ठ	ಠ	ṭha
ऊ	ಊ	û	ड	ಡ	ḍha
ऋ	ಋ	ṛi	ढ	ಢ	ḍha
ॠ	ಋಾ	ṛî	ण	ಣ	ṇa
ऌ	—	ḷṛi	त	ತ	ta
—	ಎ	e	थ	ಥ	tha
ए	ಏ	è	द	ದ	da
ऐ	ಐ	ai	ध	ಧ	dha
—	ಒ	o	न	ನ	na
ओ	ಓ	ô	प	ಪ	pa
औ	ಔ	au	फ	ಫ	pha
Visarga	*Visarga*	ḥ	ब	ಬ	ba
Jihvámúlíya, or old *Visarga* before क् and ख्	—	ḥ	भ	ಭ	bha
			म	ಮ	ma
Upadhmánîya, or old *Visarga* before प् and फ्	—	ḥ	य	ಯ	ya
			र	ರ	ra
Anusvára	*Anusvára*	ṁ	—	ಱ	ṟa
Anunásika	—	ṁ̃	ल	ಲ	la
क	ಕ	ka	ळ	ಳ	ḷa
ख	ಖ	kha	—	ೞ	ḻa
ग	ಗ	ga	व	ವ	va
घ	ಘ	gha	श	ಶ	śa
ङ	ಙ	ṅa	ष	ಷ	sha
च	ಚ	cha	स	ಸ	sa
छ	ಛ	chha	ह	ಹ	ha

A single hyphen is used to separate words in composition, as far as it is desirable to divide them. It will readily be seen where the single hyphen is only used in the ordinary way, at the end of a line, as divided in the original Text, to indicate that the word runs on into the next line; intermediate divisions, rendered unavoidable here and there by printing necessities, are made only where absolutely necessary for neatness in the arrangement of the Texts.

A double hyphen is used to separate words in a sentence, which in the original are written as one word, being joined together by the euphonic rules of *sandhi*. Where this double hyphen is used, it is to be understood that a final consonant, and the following initial vowel or consonant-and-vowel, are in the original expressed by one complex sign. Where it is not used, it is to be understood of the orthography of the original, that, according to the stage of the alphabet, the final consonant either has the modified broken form, which, in the oldest stages of the alphabet, was used to indicate a consonant with no vowel attached to it, or has the distinct sign of the *virâma* attached to it; and that the following initial vowel or consonant has its full initial form. In the transcription of ordinary texts, the double hyphen is probably unnecessary; except where there is the *sandhi* of final and initial vowels. But, in the transcription of epigraphical records, the use of this sign is unavoidable, for the purpose of indicating exactly the palæographical standard of the original texts.

The avagraha, or sign which indicates the elision of an initial *a*, is but rarely to be met with in inscriptions. Where it does occur, it is most conveniently represented by its own Dêvanâgarî sign.

So also practice has shewn that it is more convenient to use the ordinary Dêvanâgarî marks of punctuation than to substitute the English signs for them.

Ordinary brackets are used for corrections and doubtful points; and **square brackets**, for letters which are damaged and partially illegible in the original, or which, being wholly illegible, can be supplied with certainty. An asterisk attached to letters or marks of punctuation in square brackets, indicates that those letters or marks of punctuation were omitted altogether in the original. As a rule, it is more convenient to use the brackets than to have recourse to footnotes; as the points to which attention is to be drawn attract notice far more readily. But notes are given instead, when there would be so many brackets, close together, as to encumber the text and render it inconvenient to read. When any letters in the original are wholly illegible and cannot be supplied, they are represented, in metrical passages, by the sign for a long or a short syllable, as the case may be; and in prose passages, by points, at the rate, usually, of two for each *akshara* or syllable.

A SELECTION OF KANARESE BALLADS.

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

No. 5. — THE DAUGHTER-IN-LAW OF CHANNAVVA OF KITTUR.

KITTUR, now a Government village in the Sampgaum Tâlukâ or Sub-Division of the Belgaum District, was formerly the chief town of a Dêsâî's estate.[1] The last Dêsâî was Sivaliṅgappa Rudrasarjâ,[2] otherwise known as Bâpû Sâheb. His father was the Mallappa or Mallasarjâ, who is mentioned in the ballad. Sivaliṅgappa died in September 1824; leaving a stepmother, Channavva, and a wife, Îravva or Vîravva, but no children. In order to continue the family, an attempt was made by the Kârbhârî[3] to pass off, as Sivaliṅgappa's adopted son, a son of the Pâṭîl of the neighbouring village of Mâstamardi. And the events which followed, ending in the resumption of the estate by the British Government, will be best described by reproducing Col. E. W. West's account (*Memoir of the States of the Southern Marâṭhâ Country*, p. 199 ff.): —

"On the 12th September 1824 one of the Dêsâî's principal servants came to Mr. Thackeray, the Principal Collector at Dhârwâḍ," — [mentioned in the ballad, verse 4, as *Ṭâkur Sâheb*], — "to announce that his master was dying, and to deliver a letter purporting to be from him, in which the adoption of a son was announced. The letter was dated the 10th July, but it was stated the adoption had only taken place on the day the letter was received. The Civil Surgeon was immediately sent to Kittûr, which is about eighteen miles from Dhârwâḍ, but found the Dêsâî dead, and considered from the appearance of the corpse that he had been dead several hours and most probably before the messenger had left Kittûr for Dhârwâḍ. All the circumstances connected with the alleged adoption seemed to Mr. Thackeray not a little suspicious. In the first place the Dêsâî had never applied for permission to adopt, though he was aware of the proclamation rendering such application necessary. When Mr. Thackeray had seen him a few months previously, though he was very ill and spoke freely of his affairs, he never expressed any wish to adopt. The signature, too, to the letter was scarcely legible, and the characters were quite different from the Dêsâî's usual handwriting, which was remarkably good and distinct. The conclusion therefore irresistibly pressed on Mr. Thackeray's mind was, that, if the adoption had ever taken place it was not performed till the Dêsâî was either dead or insensible.

"In reporting these circumstances for the information of Government, Mr. Thackeray pointed out that the family of the deceased consisted of his wife, who was only eleven years of age, his stepmother, and the young widow of his brother who had died two years previously. The remaining relations were, like the child said to have been adopted, descended from collateral branches so remote that their descent from the common ancestor could not be traced. He reported that he had proceeded to Kittûr to make inquiries into the alleged adoption, and to preserve order pending the decision of Government regarding the succession, and as, if the estate did not revert to Government, there would be a long minority, he proposed for the present to conduct the administration by means of two managers — one on the part of Government, and the other one on that of the Dêsâî's family.

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[1] The term Dêsâî denotes an hereditary officer, the chief local administrator of a *dêśa* or *parganá*, *i. e.* 'district;' another name for the same officer is Dêśmukh. The duties of the Dêsâî or Dêśmukh in the district under him, were very similar to those of a Pâṭîl in his village; and he had, as his coadjutor, a Dêśpâṇḍyâ, corresponding to the Pâṭîl's coadjutor, the Kuḷkarṇi or village accountant. The offices of Dêsâî and Dêśpâṇḍyâ do not exist under the British Government; but the titles are still known and used, as in most cases the service-lands have been continued, as private property subject to certain limited assessments, to the descendants of those who held office under the Pêśwâ's rule. — The wife of a Dêsâî has the title of Dêsâiṇ.

[2] *sarjâ* appears to be a Persian title. It seems to have been conferred upon the Dêsâîs of Kittûr by the Râjâ of Kôlâpur (see West's *Memoir*, p. 196, note).

[3] The Kârbhârî is the principal executive officer of a Hindu Native State.

"On the receipt of this report instructions were given that it should be announced that the British Government did not recognise the adoption, as, if made at all, it was made without sanction, and indeed was as yet unsubstantiated by proofs. Mr. Thackeray therefore was desired to take charge of the principality and to make an inquiry into the circumstances of the adoption. Government, however, declared it to be their intention that if the boy said to have been adopted proved on inquiry to be a descendant of the Dêsâî who possessed the country before the conquest of it by Tippu," — [Ṭîpû Sulṭân of Maisûr], — "the question of adoption would be considered immaterial, and the boy would be allowed to succeed. If, on the other hand, it appeared that the claimant was neither a descendant of the ancient Dêsâî nor a near connection of the late Dêsâî by the female line, the adoption was to be disallowed.

"The inquiries set on foot by Mr. Thackeray showed that the Dêsâî had died on the night of the 11th instead of the 12th September, as reported, without making any adoption, and that after his death Konûr Mallapa, his Kârbhârî, and others of his attendants invested the child with the insignia of Dêsâî. This was fully acknowledged by the parties concerned, who further confessed to having put a pen in the dead man's hands and so written his signature to the letter dated the 10th July which was sent to Mr. Thackeray. Konûr Mallappa, who had been appointed manager on the part of Government, was removed on this account, and also because he had been concerned in the removal of some treasure and jewels and accounts from the late Dêsâî's treasury. In his letter reporting these proceedings Mr. Thackeray writes: — 'All is perfectly quiet here. I anticipate no disorder, and I expect to be able to manage the whole country without any military assistance.' He afterwards submitted the result of his inquiries into the family pedigree, which showed that no descendant of the ancient Dêsâî, or near connection by the female line of the late Dêsâî, was alive.

"While these reports were under consideration, Government were shocked by the receipt of intelligence of a rising at Kittûr which had resulted in the death of the Political Agent and other gentlemen. It appears that on the 21st October Mr. Thackeray, finding that a number of the late Dêsâî's Sepoys in charge of the treasury were notorious thieves, and were commanded by a man of like character, became apprehensive for the safety of the treasure, and reluctantly determined to place a guard of Government Sepoys at each gateway. He also required the head men to give a bond rendering themselves responsible for the safety of the treasury, but they refused to do so without the orders of Channavva, the late Dêsâî's stepmother, who had lately claimed the supremacy. Mr. Thackeray then wished to call on the ladies to explain matters, but they refused to see him that day, promising, however, to see him next day. On the 22nd, however, they still refused to see him, and none of the Sardârs[4] would accompany him to their house. As Mr. Thackeray heard that the Shêtsandîs[5] and Peons were assembling from their villages, he thought it advisable to take precautionary measures, and accordingly requested Captain Black, the commander of a troop of Gôlandâz[6] that had accompanied him, to bring two guns into the fort, which were posted at the gateways. In the morning, when the artillery officer proceeded to the fort to change guard, he found the outer gate locked and the inner fort full of armed men, and was refused admittance. Several messages were then sent by Mr. Thackeray, but as they were not attended to, he ordered up the other two guns, and declared that if the gate was not opened in twenty minutes he would blow it open. At the expiration of the specified period, Captain Black, Captain Sewell, and Lieutenant Dighton, of the Gôlandâz, were preparing to blow open the gate, when a sally was made from the fort by the Peons, who seized the guns and cut down the officers and all with them. At this juncture Mr. Thackeray came up on horseback and attempted to quiet the insurgents, but fell by a shot and was then cut to pieces. The remnant of the British detachment was then

[4] The term Sardâr denotes 'a prince, a chief, a gentleman of rank.'

[5] Village revenue and police officers, holding, for their service, lands rent-free or under a quit-rent, by a *sanad* or written warrant.

[6] Gôlandâz is a Persian word, denoting 'a gunner or bombardier.'

attacked and cut up, and Messrs. Stevenson and Elliott, Assistants to the Political Agent, who had concealed themselves in a house, were made prisoners with some native officials and Sepoys. Gurusiddhapa, the ringleader in these proceedings, and the dowager Dêsâiṇî, who had excited the spirit that led to this *emeute*, when they found what had resulted from their intrigues, were not a little alarmed, and anxiously preserved the lives of the European gentlemen as hostages.

"As the portion of the Dôâb Field Force stationed in Belgaum was too weak to act against a strong fort like Kittûr, said to be garrisoned by some 5,000 desperate men, troops were rapidly concentrated from all quarters. A proclamation was issued offering a free pardon and retention of their *inâms* &c.,[7] to all who should surrender before a fixed date, except Gurusiddhapa, and even he was promised exemption from capital punishment if he surrendered immediately. The Sardârs and Sepoys in Kittûr were warned that they would be held responsible for the safety of the prisoners, and that if any harm was done to them the guilty persons should be punished with such severity as should be a terror to all future offenders.

"In the meantime the insurgents held a very high tone. They addressed several letters to Government complaining of Mr. Thackeray's acts, and demanding the continuance of the Saṁsthân.[8] They also endeavoured to enlist the Râjâ of Kôlâpur on their side, but he gave up their emissaries to the British authorities. On the 30th November the fort was invested, and Mr. Chaplin, the Commissioner in the Dekkan, who had hurried to the scene of operations, called on the insurgents to surrender. They, however, demanded more favourable terms before releasing the prisoners, but were referred to the proclamation. On the morning of the 2nd December, to the great relief of all, the prisoners were released; but as the fort was not surrendered it was attacked on the 3rd and an advanced fortified post carried, where a battery was erected, which on the next day effected a practicable breach, when the garrison surrendered at discretion. The troops engaged on this occasion were the 1st Bombay European Regiment and two companies of Her Majesty's 46th Foot, a battery of Horse, and a company of Foot Artillery, the 4th and 8th Madras L. C., the 23rd Madras N. I., and the 3rd and 6th Regiments of Bombay N. I., the whole under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Deacon, C. B. The casualties were three killed and twenty-five wounded. Among the killed were numbered Mr. Munro, the Sub-Collector of Shôlâpur, who had come to the scene of action after Mr. Thackeray's death, and was mortally wounded in the attack on the advanced post.

"The territory that thus lapsed to the British Government was divided into the three Tâlukâs of Kittûr, Sampgaum, and Bîḍi, containing in all 286 villages and 72 hamlets. The revenue for the Faslî 1234,[9] immediately after the lapse, amounted to Rs. 3,33,647, which in three years increased by upwards of Rs. 22,000. This revenue was exclusive of lands of the value of Rs. 20,040 held by servants of the late Dêsâî, and other lands of the value of Rs. 20,925 held by Shêtsandîs. These lands according to the terms of the proclamation were forfeited, but it was considered at the time impolitic to act on the letter of our rights in this respect. The ladies of the family were liberally provided for."

The ballad, which concerns itself but little with the historical events described above, and is interesting chiefly for the insight that it gives into certain phases of Native domestic life, deals with **the lamentations and death of Îravva,**[10] the widow of Bâpu Sâheb Sivaliṅgappa Rudrasarjâ. When Râyaṇṇa of Saṅgôḷḷi raised his insurrection,[11] he spirited away, apparently with the connivance of the Dêsâiṇî, the boy who was alleged to have been adopted by the

[7] Property held under grants by Government. [8] The technical term for a Hindu Native State.

[9] The Faslî is a Muhammadân revenue reckoning; the years commence with the Mṛiga *nakshatra*.

[10] The title of the ballad is *Kittûra Channavana sose*, "the Daughter-in-law of Channava of Kittûr."—There are several passages in it, difficult to understand. One or two of them remain unexplained. For the explanation of the others, I am indebted to Mr. Shrinivas Ramchandra Savadi, of the Educational Department.

[11] See Ballad No. 1, *ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 295 ff. References to his insurrection are made in the present ballad.

last Dêsâî, — in order to enlist the sympathies of all the people of the district. Îravva was then living at Hoṅgal, — more usually known as Bail-Hoṅgal, — in the Sampgaum Tâlukâ. It was found advisable to remove her to Dhârwâḍ. This nearly excited another rising; in fact, a thousand men assembled at Ânigôḷ, to resist her removal. Most of them, however, submitted, on receiving a promise of pardon; while the rest joined Râyaṇṇa. Îravva was then taken to Dhârwâḍ; or, if the ballad is correct, actually to Kusugal, a large fortified village about twelve miles to the south-east of Dhârwâḍ. She was kept in safe custody there; and shortly afterwards, apparently in July 1830, she died at Dhârwâḍ; "it was supposed by poison, taken by herself, or administered to her."[12]

TRANSLATION.

Chorus.

When the Daughter-in-law of Channavva of Kittûr was leaving Hoṅgal, great, O my brother!, were the lamentations that she made; — "Ah!, if our Mallasarjà had not died, how would my belongings have been carried away?"

First Verse.

"Six elephants; sixteen camels; twelve thousand foot-soldiers; and the cannons, such as those that great kings possess, which were laden and carried away; the palanquin, adorned with pearls, for riding in, and eight or ten state sunshades, with silver staves, which were intended to be held all round; the elegant carts have all gone, so that not one remains; and the *chaurís* for the horses and chariots; and all the light brown colts, which the fierce soldiers would mount in all their bravery. Kalabasappa of Kallûr, and Mallappa of Kannûr, and Awarâdi-Vîrappa, — they were the Kârbhârîs; when such nobles as these have fled to the forests, how great is the calamity that has come upon me!"

(With a change of metre),[13] — "It has happened to me, just as their exile in the woods befell the Pâṇḍavas! When the wicked Duḥśâsana took Draupadî by her robe and dragged her (into the public assembly), what could the five princes do? O wicked one!, listen!; there are none others as sinful as myself." Praising (the god Śiva) who wears a serpent, Îravva reflected upon (Śiva) the Lord of Pârvatî.

(Raising the voice), — "Why did Brahman write upon my forehead such a decree, that the good deeds recorded for my previous life have all proved vain?"

Second Verse.

I will describe[14] the articles that the women used to wear: — The waistbands of gold for the slender waists; the various ear-ornaments, *viz.* the *bugaḍi*,[15] the *bâvali*,[16] the *jumikiwâli*,[17] and the *chaḷatumbu*;[18] the *ryâguṭis*[19] which are placed so charmingly (on the head); the cone-shaped

[12] Stokes' *Historical Account of the Belgaum District*, p. 84. The ballad, however, implies no death by violence, much less any foul play; it indicates that Îravva starved herself to death. — Mr. Stokes seems to place the insurrection of Râyaṇṇa, and the death of Îravva, in 1829. According to Capt. West's account, they both happened in 1830.

[13] *chyâ*, = *chyâla*, or *châlu*; see *ante*, Vol. XV. p. 350, note 6. Another recension of the ballad, extending only as far as the end of verse 7, uses, instead of *chyâ*, the word *praḷâpa*, probably in the sense of 'lamentation, wailing.'

[14] *i. e.* the composer of the ballad.

[15] The *bugaḍi* is explained to me 'as an ear-ornament formed of a round ball at the top, connected below with a *chaḷatumbu* (see note 18).' Sanderson, in his Kanarese Dictionary, defines it as 'a female's ornament, worn in the tip of the ear.'

[16] The *bâvali* seems to be another ornament worn near the *bugaḍi*.

[17] More properly *jumikiwâḷe*. Sanderson gives it as 'an earring with a drop.' It is explained to me as 'an ear-ornament, with two *chaḷatumbus* connected by rows of pearls.'

[18] The *chaḷatumbu* is defined by Sanderson as 'a double cone formed earring.' It is explained to me as 'a plate of gold, having the shape of a small cup or calix.'

[19] A round ornament for the head, made of gold.

THE DAUGHTER-IN-LAW OF CHANNAVVA OF KITTUR.

J. F FLEET, BO. C. S.

chevaris;[20] the golden ornaments for the braided hair; the necklaces worth a thousand pieces of gold;[21] the nose-rings, of *mohars* and pearls, with diamonds set in them; the silver necklets, with *liṅga*-boxes suspended from them, that are worn round the neck; the necklaces of pearls, with oblong plates, gold beads, and square centre-pieces; the necklaces of black glass beads, with gold beads strung between them; the necklaces of pearls set in squares; the shuttle-shaped pendents of the necklaces;[22] the flat collars of gold;[23] the bracelets of gold and coral beads; the coral necklaces; the silver ornaments worn on the great toe, and those worn on the little toe; the ornaments for the second toe; the silver chains, with bells, worn on the leg; the tubes of silver, with pebbles in them, that give a jingling sound;[24] the silver chains (for the ankles); and the rings worn on the second toe. "The kindness of him (Vishṇu) who supported the mountain Mandara (at the time of the churning of the ocean) has failed; and all these things have been taken away, so that not one remains; no refuge is there left for me hereafter."

(With a change of metre), — What did the maid-servants, conversant with all matters, and full of truth, say in illustration (of her state), bidding their sister restrain her grief?: — "Even while Râma and Lakshmaṇa were living together in affection, the wicked Râvaṇa carried off Jânakî (Sîtâ), and hid her in the forest. Then Hanumat went, and burnt Laṅkâ. They gave the crown to Vibhîshaṇa. And then, making them close prisoners,[25] the king (Râma) put to shame all the troops of the demons; and so he, the glory of his family, brought back (Sîtâ) the mother (of his people)."

(Raising the voice), — "So say, O mother!, that the son whom thou hast lost, may be thine (again);"[26] — thus they all spake, consoling her.

Third Verse.

Now I will enumerate the clothes which were carried away, and which were all laden and dispersed over the country-side: — The *sârîs*,[27] embroidered with gold lace, which the girls would wear; the red *sârîs* for the maid-servants; the red and white *sârîs* for ladies; the red and black silken *sârîs* for ladies of rank; the red and black and white striped *sârîs* for young maidens; the dark black *sârîs* for sprightly damsels; the flowered *sârîs* for girls; the mustard-coloured *sârîs* worn by little girls; the silken *sârîs* with costly borders, from Cambay (?), for young women; the caps, and the coats with hoods, with which the babies are covered, — how many more shall I describe?; — the gold jewels, set with diamonds, shaped like leaves of the sacred fig-tree; the gold wristlets for infants; the caps; the ornaments worn above the elbow, shaped like cobras; the cloths without borders; the turbans; the shawls; the coarse woollen cloths; the green jackets set with emeralds; the sweet-scented kerchiefs for the head; and the upper cloths for men, brought from Nâgpur;[28] — all the property accumulated by Mallasarjâ was taken away; as well as I can, I tell the plundering of it.

(With a charge of metre), — "Even when all this left me, alas! my sufferings came not to an end," — (thus lamented) Îravva, beating her forehead with violence on the ground, and saying that she would throw herself on the blades of swords bound crosswise. All her maid-

[20] The *chevari*, or more properly *chauri*, is defined by Sanderson as 'a gold ornament by which some hair of the *yak* is attached to a female's hair.'

[21] The *soradôli* is explained to me as 'a necklace (*sara*) made up of cup-shaped plates of gold (*tâli*), connected with black glass beads.' — The gold coin is the *honnu*, which is now obsolete. Sanderson gives it as 'half a pagoda, &c.,

[22] *dore*. But it has been otherwise explained to me, as 'an ornament worn by women on the wrist.'

[23] The *chintâka* appears to be identical with the Marâṭhî *chitâṅg* or *chitaṅg*.

[24] *kâlkaḍagâ*; or more properly *kâlakaḍaga*. Sanderson says simply 'a leg bracelet.'

[25] *lit.* 'having firmly sealed them.'

[26] This seems to refer to the boy, whom it was sought to palm off as the adopted son of Îravva's husband.

[27] I use here, for convenience, a word (a corruption of *śâḍî*) which is much better known than the Kanarese *śîri* or *śîre* in the sense of 'the cloth worn by a woman.'

[28] Compare *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 354, and note 6.

servants surrounded her, saying "Through the favour of the three-eyed Hara (Śiva), thou hast children, O mother!, and a younger brother; O mother!, what is it that has come upon thee?," thus they spake, with words of comfort, to Îravva; but she ceased not her weeping:—

(Raising the voice), — "An army of twelve thousand men left me and dispersed; it was as if a swollen tank had burst!"

Fourth Verse.

O thou (Śiva) who didst destroy the god of love!, how is it that such trouble came to such great people? Inquire and see what a time of sorrow Îśvara (Śiva) brought upon them! The whole country of Kittûr was weeping in sympathy; saying that such destruction should not have come upon the lords who ruled the district. Two hundred bullocks carried away the wealth of a group of twelve villages, the management of which was with men of merit; of a truth, seventy-seven hundred Liṅgâyat priests could have been fed to satisfaction (with it) in the month of Śrâvaṇa; even without waiting to hear them say that they were hungry, they would have been served, my brother!, with gifts of fruits and milk and sugar and clothes.[29] But I will tell how religion faded, and (aimless) actions took its place, and enmity increased; and how the secret leaked out, and three people died.[30]

(With a change of metre), — All the great men lamented, saying "If Râyanâyaka had not brought confusion on the country, the affairs of state would have gone on smoothly." Having closely imprisoned the installed Dêsâî,[31] they took away Channavva and placed her at Hoṅgal. They said that he was (nothing but) an adopted (or pretended) son. Then Mr. Thackeray came, and was slain and perished, saying "Capture the village, for heroes have been born in it." The people were weeping with loud outcries.

(Raising the voice), — If the moon in the sky should fail to shine so lustrously, what use would be the stars, no matter how many they are?

Fifth Verse.

From time to time, with constant reiteration, they wrote an answer (to Îravva), — a letter saying "Set out to-morrow!" Loosening all her clothes and ornaments, the poor woman throws them on the ground, and weeps, with her eyes brimful of tears. Having straightway laden it all, and saying "Let the carts and bullocks go forward," they loosed and drove on all the cattle. Calling the priest, and sending for a palanquin, and holding up the sunshade over it, they set out, waving the umbrellas and *chauris*. "O Sir!, I am but a young girl; I will declare (all) to you again and again; listen, O noble Sir! to my fault."

(With a change of metre), — They said "Set out! Set out!" She became obstinate, and braced herself in resistance; and when they came to drag her forth, seeing (their intention), she seized their feet; saying "Why did I not enter the fierce fire and die, there where perished the brave men who governed the country?," — she weeps, thinking of her husband. "In the whole world there is no one as unfortunate as myself; if only one son had been born to me, how could the State have come to an end?"

(Raising the voice), — Her life had become unstable; just as if it were a wild jasmine plant, withering at the root for want of water!

Sixth Verse.

Saying "No matter what I do, they leave me not alone," — with resignation she sang the praises of (her dead) brave (husband). Thinking of her sister-in-law and father-in-law, she

[29] The month of Śrâvaṇa, and especially each Monday of it, is the month most sacred to Śiva. The Liṅgâyats celebrate it by, amongst other ways, feeding large numbers of their priests.

[30] The allusion here is not apparent.

[31] *i. e.* the boy who was put forward as the adopted son of the last real Dêsâî.

mounted the litter; and the bearers, my brother!, raising it, took it on their shoulders. Keeping guard around her, they set out, my brother!; three hundred matchlock men in front, and two hundred horsemen behind. Jeering at her with the words "Râyanâyaka is coming!," and saying "Hurry on!," — on the left and the right were eight or ten men with drawn swords. Taking the road . . . . . ,[32] the noble gentleman himself came to Dhârwâḍ, and inquired into her condition. Said he, "Why, rejecting the food that is given to you, have you been displaying so very evil a disposition towards me? And why, sending Râyanâyaka out by night, are you causing the surrounding villages to be burnt by him, in mockery (of us)? (But) kill her not; take her, and place her alone within the walls of Kusugal; there is the place for her."

(With a change of metre), — The palanquin-bearers raised her, and carried her to Kusugal. While she was slowly going into the fort, Îravva made great lamentation. Wailing, and saying "For children that have no mother, there is no support and no prosperity; they should not seek to preserve their bodies," — Îravva implored Siva for death. The lady Îravva made lament, wailing loudly; Îravva fell straightway into a state of dejection.

(Raising the voice), — "I have been pillaged, just as if one had taken a fish out of the water and thrown it aside; (such is) my condition."

Seventh Verse.

Saying that she would live no longer in this world, she refused all food and water. Her arms and legs wasted; and saying "Let the earth be my portion," she let her colour fade away. All her limbs dried up, as if with dysentery; and she was consumed with a fire in her body, like quick-lime. She went to (the god) Kâḍa-Siddha of Nawalgund in the neighbouring country, and there she bathed and put on the sacred cloth. Having drunk the water in which the feet of the priest were washed, she laid aside all care for herself, and concentrated her thoughts in meditation on the *liṅga*. In devotion, she summoned the ascetic priests, and sent for gold enough to fill the scales, and weighed it out, and gave it away. Saying "Give me liberation; thou, O three-eyed Hara (Siva), art my guide!," — she set out and came to Dhârwâḍ.

(With a change of metre), — Hearing it said that her little son Mallasarjâ had been caught,[33] quickly Îravva became quite overcome, and meditated on the three-eyed Hara (Siva). If one has a jar full of gold, what use is it?; it is better to live as a poor woman; if a wife has her husband in the house, then only are ornaments worth wearing. So, she gave away in charity all her ornaments and clothes without exception; and saying that the riches of Kittûr had faded away, Îravva is weeping greatly.

(Raising the voice), — She came to Dhârwâḍ, and when she had been there some three to six days, the time of death came, and she gave up her life.

Eighth Verse.

They all raised up the dead body, and placed it sitting, and, having washed the mouth, spread ashes over it. The virtuous ladies put on her, in folds, the *sîre*, with ends decorated with pearls, that her mother-in-law Channavva used to wear. They anointed her with the fragrant musk, and sending for a case of ornaments, they spread them about over her body. In her nose they placed a nose-ring, set with jewels worth eight or ten thousand gold pieces. Burning countless pastilles of the fragrant sandal-wood powder, they filled and set out the small lamps and the jars with ears of corn arranged in water. The priests who read the ancient books (the Purâṇas), and narrate the stories of the sacred writings, assembled. Saying "It is an unnatural death!," — the people of the whole country-side came together, and stood there and rained down tears.

[32] The word *dâsokadindi* (in the other copy, *dîsogadinda*) is unintelligible. It is not a village-name.

[33] I cannot obtain any explanation of this; unless the name of Mallasarjâ was given to the boy who was alleged to have been adopted by the last Dêsâî. Îravva appears not to have had any children of her own.

(With a change of metre), — *All her maid-servants were weeping:* — "*No mother-*in-law or father-in-law is left for us; no sisters-in-law; weep!, for the time of distress has come, since thou, the mother that bare us, art no more." Her female friends are weeping: — "We have no sisters and brothers, elder or younger; there are none now to roam about the palace!" All the lords were weeping in sympathy; lamenting that she had not been able to say a single sweet word to her husband (at the time of death), and that the noble Bâpû Sâheb had not lived for one year more.

(Raising the voice), — All the dependents who had eaten her salt, fell quickly to the ground; and thinking of the memory of the wife of Bâpû Sâheb, they weep.

Ninth Verse.

All the lords and ladies of the country-side came together, and assembled there. They called a skilful carpenter, and supplied him with all the proper implements, and made a car. On it they arranged mirrors in rows, and they hung on it garlands of flowers in proper order. Round about they fastened clusters of pearls worth eight or ten thousand gold pieces, and shawls with gold and silver lace. They themselves lifted up the dead body, and proceeded on their way; over it they are waving umbrellas and *chauris*. Throwing about, without stint, the fragrant sandal-wood powder in baskets, they set out, passing along the rows of shops. In front went the noble gentleman, causing the tabors and horns, the trumpets, the drums, the bass and treble tabors, and the large tabors, to be sounded. All the people of the whole country made lamentation, gazing upon their elder sister Îravva.

(With a change of metre), — While the people of Dhârwâḍ were weeping, beating their mouths with their hands, her son, who was kept in guard, made a hundred lamentations, praising the god Saṁkara. Seeing the bullock-carts and the riding-horses going in front of the dead body, he made lamentation. Having given charitable gifts, and having finished the prescribed rites, and having placed her in the earth, with praises of (the god) Basava[34] who gives future emancipation, they turned and went away.

(Raising the voice), — Basava, of the charming Hebbaḷḷi, turned into poetry, and described at length, all that he saw.

TEXT.

Pallâ.

Kittûra Channavvana sosi Hoṅgala biṭṭu hôguvâga
mâḍuttidaḷ=aṇṇa maha-dukhkhâ ।
matta namma Mallasarja sattu hôgad-iddara
hottu hôgud=yâka namma badakâ ॥ Pallâ ॥

Ine nuḍi.

Âru âni hadinâru waṇṭi hanneraḍa-sâvira kâla-balâ mârâya-tôpa hôdawu hêri । hattu-hantâ muttina pâliki suttal=hiḍuwa hattu eṇṭu beḷḷi-kâvina aptâgêri । chandadinda chakkaḍigaḷu wondu wuliyad=hôdawu turaṅga-rathada chawari । śittina śipâyigaḷu diṭṭatanadalli hattu-hantâ yashṭu iddâv=alli jarada mari । Kallûra Kalabasappa Kannûra Mallappa Awarâdi Vîrappa iddara kûrbari । hint-intâ saradâru kantara bidda hôdâru hentâ bandito namaga mâri ॥ Chyê ॥ Pâṇḍavarig=ona-dêsa band-ante âditu । pâpi Dusvasa Draupati sîri śaḷed=ôyvavâga bhûpatigaḷ=aivaru idd=enu mâḍuvaru । pâpi kêḷa namm-antâ pâtakar=yâr=illa । Pannaṅgadharana stutisuta Îravvâ । Pârvaty-arasana nenisidaḷo ॥ Yêra ॥ Pûrva-janmada likhitâ puṇṇe ramamadu tappit=endu । baradân=yâka Brahma hintâ bari ॥ 1 ॥

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[34] *i. e.* Nandi, the bull of Śiva. Basava, the establisher of the Liṅgâyat religion, is looked upon as an incarnation of Nandi.

2ne nuḍi.

Heṇṇu-makkaḷ=iḍuwa wastâ baṇṇisi nâ pêḷvenu[35] saṇṇa naḍuvina dâba baṅgârâ | bugaḍi bâwali jamikiwâli chaḷatumbu chendâdall=iḍawa ryâguṭi chewari heḷala baṅgârâ | sâvirad=honnina saradâḷigaḷu mobarada muttina mûgati mêle kettisid-antâ vajjarâ | kaṇṭhaka darisuwa kariḍigi-sarapaṇi kaṭṭaṇi karimaṇi paṭṭigi-muttu ḍore chintâk=haraḍe bawaḷasarâ | hiri-pilligaḷu kiri-pilligaḷu lullu-miṇṭiki ruḷḷiya-gejji kâlkaḍagâ sarapaḷi kâluṅgarâ | Mandaradharana karuṇa tappi wanda wuḷiyada hôdawu munda illo namaga âsarâ || Chyê || Wakkalagitteru | sakalaka śahaṇeru | satyaka śaraṇarâ | sâkshiya hêḷuvar=enu | akka nillisâ dukhkha yenuta | Râma Lakshmaṇa prêmadind=iruvâga keṭṭa Râvaṇa Jânaki wôdu wanadoḷag=iṭṭâ | Hanumanta hôgi Laṅkâ suṭṭi | Vibhishaṇaga kaṭṭyâro paṭṭâ | gaṭṭi śikewu hâki hiṇḍa daityaran=ella baṇḍu mâḍida bhûpa | tâyi tandano kula-dîpa || Yêra || Hôd-antâ maga nimaga âdânu pêḷavvâ tâyi | bhêdisi hêḷuru yellaru || 2 ||

3ne nuḍi.

Hoduwa-hantâ hodikigôḷu bhêdisi nâ pêḷvenu hôdawu yeshṭo râjada mêle bêri | makkaḷa wuḍuwa mandila-sîri tottugaḷ=uḍuwa tôpina-sîri | uttumar=uḍuwa wuḷḷigaṇi-sîri | râṇiyavar=uḍuwa râgâwaḷi-sîri | bâleyar=uḍuwa bâḷipaṭṭi-sîri | chedarer=uḍuwa chandrakâḷi-sîri | huḍigiyar=uḍuwa hûvina-sîri | saṇṇavar=uḍuwa sâsibaṇṇada-sîri | kanyer=uḍuwa kambâvati-sîri | kûsige hochchuwa kulâyi koñchigi yêsondu nâ pêḷali | araḷeli bindali toppige nâga-muri | śelyava muṇḍasa śêlu śakalâti pachcheda aṅgi parimaḷa-pâwaḍa | hoduw-antâ dotara Nâkpuri | yella hôgi illad=âytu Mallasarja mâḍida baḍaku ball-ashṭu hêḷuven=adara sûri || Chyê || Ashṭu hôgi namma kashṭa biḍalill=ayya paṭṭane nelak=baṇiya baḍawuta Îravva kaṭṭi hâyuven=alag=enuta | tottugaḷ=ellaru suttale muttidaru | mukkaṇṇa-Harana dayadinda nimaga makkaḷ=aidâru tâyi yenuta tamman=aidânu | tâyi nimaga bandadd=ênu | ummâyadindale hêler=Îravvaga summan-irada aḷutihaḷu || Yêra || Hanneraḍa-sâvira daṇḍu harada hôti nammana biṭṭu | waḍad-âṅga âditu tumbida keri || 3 ||

4ne nuḍi.

Hantâ dorigaḷu hentâd=âyita Kantuharane kêḷ=avarige hentâ hotta tanda Îsvarâ | nâḍan=âḷuwa dorigaḷig=hintâ kêḍa bara-bârad=andu Kittûra nâḍ=ella marigito marmarâ | mânyê-mânyera âḷu-hantâ hanneraḍa karûti haḷḷi honnu yettugaḷu hêri hôdawu innûra | satyaka Śrâvaṇa-mâsaka yeppatt-êḷa-nûra mandi tṛipti baḍu-hantâ jaṅgamara | hasdên=andara kiviyali kêḷada haṇṇu hâlu sakkari nîḍi dânâ koḍuvar=aṇṇa wastarâ | dharmâ hôgi karmâ hechchi warmâ vetti pêḷuvenu marma sâgawadu maḍadaru mûvaru || Chyê || Râjjeka Râyanâyaka gôja hachchad-iddara | môj-âgi dawalattu sâgatitt=annutali mâjanar=ella maraguvaru | paṭṭa-gaṭṭi dêsâyige gaṭṭi śikewa hâki atti Channavvân=oydu Hoṅgaladâga hâkidarû | sâkida magan=embuvaru | Ṭâkur-sâb bandu ṭâr-âgi maḍadanû dîrar=idaroḷu huṭṭi ûru togoḷar=endu bhôr-iḍuta janar=aḷutiharu || Yêra || Âkâśada mêgina chandra lês-âgi beḷak-illadidra | yês-ond=iddar=êna nakshatra || 4 ||

5ne nuḍi.

Vyâḷê-vyâḷeka wuttara hêḷi-hêḷi baradâru nâḷi hoṇḍ=ambuwa pattarâ | wastâ waḍavi yallâ uchchi poḍavige wagadâḷo baḍavi wudarastâḷo kaṇṇîrû | saṅgaḍ=ella hêri baṇḍi yettu sâgali mundaka yendu bichchi hoḍadar=ella dana-karâ | guravina kariśi pâliki taraśi mêle aptâgêri hiḍasi hârast=hoṇṭara chattara châmarâ | saṇṇa magaḷ=ayyâ nânu sâri nimage pêḷuvenu | tappa kêḷo appa saradârû || Chyê || Hoṇḍa hoṇḍ=andara maṇḍâṭa hiḍadâḷo baṇḍa mâḍi avaru yeḷiyaka hôdara kaṇḍ=avara

[35] This is an archaism. We have the same word in the third verse; also *pêḷuvenu*, in verses 4 and 5; and *pêlali* in verse 3. Other instances of archaisms are, — *idaroḷu*, verse 4; *dikkinoḷu*, verse 5; and *pôguvâga*, verse 6.

kâla hiḍadâḷo | maṇḍalan=âluwa puṇḍaru maḍadalle keṇḍa hâdu nânu prâṇa koḍalill= endu gaṇḍana nenisi aḷutâḷo | dikkinoḷu namm-anta deśigeḍi yâr=illa namma hoṭṭili wondu putranu iddara dêsgati yâka muṇaguwadu || Yêra || Nîra illada malligi bêra wonagi hôd-ante | atantrav=âyitu saṁsâra || 5 ||

6ne nuḍi.

Yeshṭu mâḍidara nammana biṭṭa hôgudillav=endu nishṭadinda mâḍeḷa vîrana stuti | atti-mâvana nenadu hattidaḷu ḍôliya hottar=aṇṇa bôveru yetti | munda munnûra bârina-mandi hinda innûra kuduri-mandi mâḍut=hoṇṭar=aṇṇa pârâgasti | Râyanâyaka baratân=endu rauḍa mâḍi naḍir=endu yaḍa-bala hatt-eṇṭu hirada katti | dâsokadinda dâri hiḍidu Dhârwâḍaka tâṁwu hôgi saradâra kêḷida avara stiti | koṭṭa anna biṭṭakêra keṭṭa buddhiyannu ishṭu mâḍatiddi namma mêga jyâsti | râtrili Râyanâyakan=hachchi rauḍa mâḍi suttina haḷḷi avana kailinda sûḍisti | kolla-byâḍari Kusugalla gôḍiy-oḷaga îkina waidu wobbaḷ=iḍar=endan=all wasti || Chyê || Hottaru bôveru Kusugallige waidaru mellaka kiliyava pôguvâga Îravvâ bal-hâṅga dukhkha mâḍidaḷû | tây=illada makkaḷige ây=illo siriy=illa kâya iḍa-bârad=endu bâya biḍut=Îravvâ sâwa bêḍidaḷu Sivanalli | akka tâ Îravvâ dukhkhawu mâḍyâḷo bakkana bâyava biḍawutal=Îravvâ jakkane jêrig=iḷadâḷo || Yêra || Nîra-waḷagina mîna tagidu byâri chellid=hâṅga | namadu sûri ûti nanma avasti || 6 ||

7ne nuḍi.

Innu î dareyalli muuna ira-bârad=endu anna-wudaka yalla biṭṭaḷû | saṇṇav= âdawu kai-kâḷu maṇṇa pâlav=âgaliy=endu baṇṇa waṇagisi biṭṭaḷû | saṅgrâṇi-byân=anta sarv-âṅgav=ella waṇagisi suṇṇad-hâṅga dêha suṭṭaḷû | nâḍa-waḷaga Nawalagunda Kâḍa-Siddan=hanteli hôgi nîra minadu maḍiyan=uṭṭaḷû | jaṅgama-tîrthava paḍedu aṅgada mêlina smaraṇi maredu liṅgada mêle dhyâna iṭṭaḷû | bhaktili viraktara karaśi takkaḍi tumba bhaṅgâra tarisi tûkâ mâḍi dâna koṭṭaḷû | mukti koḍo namaga nînu mukkaṇṇa-Hara guruvey=endu Dhârwâḍaka hoṇṭa bandaḷû || Chyê || Chikka maga Mallasarja śikkau=embudu kêḷi jakkana jêrige iḷadaḷo Îravvâ mukkaṇṇa-Harana nenadâḷo | koḍa honn=iddar=ênu baḍivy=âg-irawudu lêsu | maḍadigi râyaru mani-walag=iddara waḍavi-wastagaḷ=iḍa lêsu | waḍavi-wastagaḷ=ellâ biḍade dânava koṭṭu Kittûra dawalattu kirad=âdit=embutali bharadind=Îravvâ aḷutâḷo || Yêra || Dhârwâḍaka bandu tânu mûr-âra din=iddu î maraṇa-kâla banda prâṇa biṭṭaḷû || 7 ||

8ne nuḍi.

Satt-anta śravan=ella yetti kundrisi mukhava doḷidu vibhûti mêle dhariśarû | atti Channavvâ wuḍava muttina saragina-sîri wuttumaru nîrig=hoda wuḍaśarû | kastûri-gandhava pûsi wastada-peṭṭigi tarasi vistarisi mai-mêle iḍaśarû | battu-yeṇṭu sâvirad=honnina ratnava tettisida nattu matta mûgin-oḷaga iḍiśarû | bukkiṭṭa wûdina-kaḍḍi lekhkhav-illada suḍuwutale kañchârti kalasgiṇḍi tumb=iṭṭarû | purâṇa-pustaka wôduw-antha śâstara-kathiya naḍasuw-antha nâḍa-nâḍa jaṅgamara neradârû | mâyav-âda maraṇav=endu mâha-nâḍa janaru kûḍi ninta surasaro kaṇṇîrû || Chyê || Atti-mâṁvaru illa attigi-nadaneru illa hotta band-âga maragu hett=avva nî ill=endu toṭṭugaḷ=ellâ aḷutiharû | aṇṇa-akkagaḷ=illa taṅgi-tammagaḷ=illa aramani-waḷaga inna addâdavar=ill=endu âlipariwuta aḷutiharû | purushana kûḍ=ondu kâḷa sarasawu âdalillâ arasu Bâpu-sâb inn=ond=orushav=iralill=endu râhutar=ellâ marugidarû || Yêra || Uppa wuṇḍa makkaḷu yellâ dappana nelaka biddu | Bûpu-sâhebana maḍadi nenad= aluvaru || 8 ||

9ne nuḍi.

Râja-râjeda janar=ellâ rêjagaṭṭ=allige bandu neradâru râhuta-râṇirû | ball-antha baḍigena karisi yellâ sâhita koḍisi mâḍeru vimâna-vistârâ | tara-taraka kannadi

nirata nôdi hondisi sarata nôḍi hâkera hûvina hârû | hattu-yeṇṭu sâvirad=honnina muttina goṇḍegaḷu suttali bigadaru śêlu jaṟatarû | satt-antha śravawu tâṁwu hottu-koṇḍu naḍadaru hârastara mêle chhatra chyâmara | buṭṭi-buṭṭili bukkiṭṭa kaṭṭav=illada hârasta hiḍada houṭara maligi bâjara | haligi kâḷi karni karaḍi sambâḷa samparadâni bârast=hoṇṭa munda saradârû | dikka-dikkina mandi yellà akkâ Îravvana nôḍi dukhkha mâḍyâr=eshṭu janaru || Chyê || Dhâṟwâḍada mandi bhôr-iḍut=aḷuvâga paharadâg=idda maga Śaṅkarana statisuta nûr-ondu dukhkha mâdidanû | yettu-bhaṇḍigaḷu hattuwa kudurigaḷu satta śravada munda sâgi hôguda kaṇḍu śôdhisi dukhkha mâḍidanû | dâna-dharmava koṭṭu ṇêma-nitteva ṟîrśi munda muktiya koḍuwa Basavana stutisuta maṇṇ-oḷag=iṭṭa tiragidarû || Yêra || Sundara Hebbaḷḷi Basava kaṇḍ-ashṭu | kaviya hondisi mâḍida vistârâ || 9 ||

SANSKRIT AND OLD-KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

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

No. 192. — CHELLUR COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF VIRA-CHODADEVA, DATED IN HIS TWENTY-FIRST YEAR.

I edit this inscription from the original plates, which belonged to Sir Walter Elliot, and are now, I understand, in the British Museum. I had them for examination in 1879. A transcription of the text, with a partial translation of it, is given in the Elliot *Telugu Sasanams*, p. 131 ff. And the inscription has recently been edited by Dr. Hultzsch, in his *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. p. 49 ff. I give my own version of it here, because it is required, with some other grants of the same dynasty which I have had on hand for a long time unpublished, in connection with a paper on the Chronology of the Eastern Chalukya Kings.

Chellûr is a village about two miles to the west by south of Râmachandrapuram, in the Râmachandrapuram Tâlukâ of the Gôdâvarî District, Madras Presidency; it is entered in the map, Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 94, as 'Chelloor,' in Lat. 16° 49′, Long. 82° 3′. It is mentioned in line 98 below, as **the Chellûru agrahâra.** The grant appears to have been obtained from the *Karṇam* of this village.[1]

The **plates**, of which the first is inscribed on one side only, but the last partially on the second side also, are five in number, each measuring about 10¼″ by 5¾″. The edges of them were raised into rims; and the writing is in a state of fairly good preservation throughout, except where it has been intentionally interfered with, in lines 103-109, and except for one small breakage at the lower proper right corner of the first plate, and three such on the fifth plate. — The **ring** on which the plates are strung, is about ½″ thick and 6″ in diameter; it had been cut before the time when the grant came under my notice. The **seal** on the ring is circular, about 2¼″ in diameter. In relief on a countersunk surface, it has, — across the centre, the legend *Śrî-Tribhuvan[áṁ*]kuśa*; in the upper part, a boar, standing to the proper left, and surrounded by the sun and moon, an elephant-goad, two *chauris*, two lamp-stands, and a conch-shell; and in the lower part, a water-lily, with a drum, a *svastika*, and a device which on a previous occasion (*ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 49) I have described as being "something like the letter *ga*, which may perhaps be meant for the *makaratôraṇa*," but which may possibly be intended for the *siṁhâsana* or throne, which also is mentioned among the insignia (line 24 below).[2] — The **weight**

[1] In the *Telugu Sasanams*, it is only described as "appertaining to Chellûr;" while, in a separate list, it is entered as being "from Draksharam temple." But the name of Chellûr, though subsequently cancelled, was written on a label fastened onto the plates. The grant was made to a Vaishṇava temple at Chellûr. And Sir Walter Elliot himself, referring to other notes of his, has said distinctly that, with the grant of Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍadêva II. (edited by me, *ante*, Vol. XIV., p. 55 ff.), it was obtained by Mr. G. A. Smith from the *Karnam* of Chellûr (*ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 204). — Under any circumstances, it is better to call it uniformly a Chellûr grant, than to introduce confusion by sometimes speaking of it is as the Drâkshârâma grant.

For a representation of the device, see the proper right side of the lower part of the seal of Râjarâja, No. 1 in the Plate, *ante*, Vol. VII. p. 258. In the present case, the device is more rectangular, and does not shew the curved parts

of the five plates, with the ring and seal, is given in Sir Walter Elliot's list as 353 tolas. — The **characters** are those of the so-called Old-Kanarese alphabet, and are of much the same type with those in the Korumelli grant of Râjarâja I. (*ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 48 ff. and Plates).[3] Throughout this grant, hardly any distinction, if really any at all, is made between the syllables *ja* and *jâ*; in the latter there ought to be a very marked prolongation of the upward stroke that completes the top part of the simple *j* or *ja*. The **average size of the letters** is about $\frac{3}{16}$". The engraving is fairly regular and good. The letters show through on the reverse side of the fifth plate only; the interiors of most of them shew marks of the working of the engraver's tool. — The **language** is Sanskṛit throughout. It is substantially in prose; with passages in verse scattered through it. — In respect of **orthography**, the only points that seem to call for notice, are (1) the doubling of *chh*, by *ch* in the proper manner, after the *anusvâra*, in *pinchchha*, line 24, and *lânchchhana*, lines 24, 31; in a similar way, the *cha* of *charitêna* is doubled in line 94, but here the doubling does not seem permissible, as the *anusvâra* belongs to a separate word; and (2) the doubling of *dh*, by *d* in the proper manner, before *y*, in *addhyarddha*, line 38.

The **inscription** is one of **Vîra-Chôḍadêva, otherwise called Vishṇuvardhana, of the Eastern Chalukya family, who was a ruler of the Veṅgi country.** It is a **Vaishṇava inscription**; the object of it being to record the grant of a village, by Vîra-Chôḍadêva, to a temple of Vishṇu which his *Sênâpati* or General, a Vaishṇava Brâhmaṇ named Mêḍamârya and otherwise called Guṇaratnabhûshaṇa, had built at the *agrahâra* of Chellûru.

This **agrahâra of Chellûru** is, of course, the modern village of **Chellûr** itself. The name of the village that was granted, appears to be **Koleṟu**. Dr. Hultzsch, reading it as 'Kolâṉu, has suggested that it may have something to do with the Kôlâr or Kollerv Lake in the Guḍivâḍa Tâlukâ, Kistna District. But it seems to me to be the modern '**Kalairoo**' of the map, two miles south-west of Chellûr. It is defined as being in **the Guddavâḍi vishaya**, which Dr. Hultzsch has suggested may perhaps be connected with the Guḍivâḍa mentioned just above; the same name, however, occurs also in the case of two villages in the Vizagapatam District. Two other places that are mentioned, are **Drâkshârâma and Piṭhapurî**. The latter word is, I presume, another form of the name of **Piṭṭâpuram**, — the ancient Pishṭapura, — the chief town of the Piṭṭâpuram Zamîndârî in the Gôdâvarî District, in Lat. 17° 6′, Long. 82° 18′; in the vernacular headings of inscriptions in the *Telugu Sasanams*, the name is written 'Pîṭhâpuram,' while in the English Index it is given as 'Piṭhâpuram.' **Drâkshârâma** is the '**Dracharam**' of the map, about four miles south by east from Chellûr; it is described as "one of the most sacred places in the District, with a large and important temple dedicated to Bhîmêsvara" (Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities, Madras*, Vol. I. p. 25). In the original, the name is actually written '**Dâkshârâma;**' and it is given in the same way in many places in the *Telugu Sasanams*. But the correct form of the name appears to be undoubtedly Drâkshârâma (see, *e. g.*, Sanderson's Kanarese Dictionary, as well as the *Lists* referred to just above). And finally Vîra-Chôḍadêva's palace is stated to have been at a town, the name of which appears to be **Jananâthanagarî** (see note 55 below); this place remains to be identified.

below the flat top in the seal of Râjarâja. — As noted by Dr. Hultzsch, the word *makaratôraṇa* is given in Sanderson's Kanarese Dictionary, as meaning 'an honorary wreath or string of flowers, &c., raised upon poles and carried in front of one, as an emblem of distinction.' But this is more properly the meaning of the simple word *tôraṇa*, which denotes also a similar wreath or string suspended over a door or gateway. In the Kanarese country, *makaratôraṇa* is the technical term for the ornamented arch of a door or gateway; probably from an original device which introduced brackets representing *makaras*.

[3] When I edited that grant, I rather inconveniently called the king Râjarâja the *second*, in consequence of his maternal grandfather having had the same name; and I spoke of him in the same way in connection with his coins, and with the date of his coronation (pp. 79 ff., 129f., above). But he was the first king of that name in the Chalukya family; and it will be more correct and more expedient from now, to follow Dr. Hultzsch, and to speak of him as Râjarâja the *first*.

This record gives **a genealogy, mythical, legendary, and historical,** which may be treated in the following divisions : —

(1) **The Purâṇic genealogy.** This commences with the god Vishṇu, as a result of which, the Chalukyas were comprised in the Vishṇuvaṁśa or **lineage of Vishṇu;** and it is taken through Sôma or the Moon, so that they belonged also to the Sômavaṁśa or **Lunar Race.** as is expressly stated in line 49. As far as the name of Yayâti, it agrees with the Purâṇic genealogy of the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga (*ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 170) ; and the last specific name in it, is that of Udayana, the son of Satânîka. Another Purâṇic genealogy of the same style seems to be followed in some of the Kâkatîya records (see Wilson's *Mackenzie Collection*, Introduction, p. 74).

(2) **The legendary connection of the Chalukyas** with the preceding. Without any specification of names, we are told that, including Udayana, fifty-nine emperors sat on the throne at Ayôdhyâ, in unbroken lineal succession. This statement is also preserved in some of the Western Châlukya records (*e. g.*, *ante*, Vol. V. p. 17; also Vol. VIII. p. 12, where, however, after the fifty-nine emperors of Ayôdhyâ, sixteen other unnamed kings, in the south, are introduced before the beginning of the real genealogy). And with it we may compare the statement in the Gaṅga grants, which connects their real with their Purâṇic genealogy, by saying that, after Kôlâhala had founded the city of Kôlâhalapura, his son and seventy-nine other kings reigned there, and then were followed by the historical members of the family, commencing with Vîrasiṁha. When the fifty-nine emperors had reigned at Ayôdhyâ, a member of the family, named Vijayâditya, came to the south, from a desire for conquest, and attacked Trilôchana-Pallava, but lost his life in the attempt. His queen, who was pregnant, escaped with some of her attendants, and, being preserved by a saint named Vishṇubhaṭṭa-Sômayâjin, gave birth to a posthumous son named Vishṇuvardhana. The young prince was nourished ; and, having done worship to the goddess Gaurî on the mountain called Chalukyagiri, he at length assumed all the royal insignia of his family, conquered the Kaḍamba, Gaṅga, and other kings, and established himself as emperor of all Southern India, from the Bridge of Râma, *i. e.* Adam's Bridge, or the ridge of rocks connecting Ceylon with the Coromandel coast, up to the Narmadâ. His son, born of a queen of the Pallava lineage, was another Vijayâditya. With the mountain Chalukyagiri that is introduced here, we may compare the Nandagiri fort which, according to the Kâkatîya legend, was founded by Nanda, the son of Uttuṅgabhuja ; Nanda's father, in a similar manner, came from Upper India, and settled to the south of the Gôdâvarî (*loc. cit.*). And, in very similar fashion, the mountain Mahêndragiri, — in this case a really existent mountain, — is introduced into the traditions of the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga. The foundations for this portion of the genealogy are plainly the facts, that the Chalukyas did come originally from the north, and found the Pallavas in possession of some of the territories afterwards acquired by themselves; coupled with a Kadamba tradition that the founder of that family was Trinêtra or Trilôchana.

(3) **The Early and Western Chalukya genealogy,** as far as it is given; being confined to three names, — those of Pulikêśin I., Kîrtivarman I., and Satyâśraya or Pulikêśin II. According to this account, Pulikêśin I. was the son of the second Vijayâditya of the preceding paragraph. In reality, he was the son of Raṇarâga, who was the son of Jayasiṁha I.

(4) **The Eastern Chalukya genealogy.** This starts with Vishṇuvardhana I. or Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana, a younger brother of Pulikêśin II., and is carried on to the person who makes the grant, Vîra-Chôḍadêva. A continuation of it, for one generation, is given in the Chellûr grant of Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍadêva II. (*ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 55 ff.), from which we learn the name of Vîra-Chôḍadêva's eldest brother, Vikrama-Chôḍa.

The chief interest of this record centres in the information that it gives concerning Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍadêva I. and his sons.[4] There was an intermarriage of the Eastern Chalukyas

[4] I use here the form of his name that is given in the Chellûr grant of his grandson. In the present inscription, he is first called Râjêndra-Chôḍa, and afterwards Kulôttuṅgadêva.

with the Chôḷas two generations earlier, when Vimalâditya took to wife Kûndavâmahâdêvî, the daughter of Râjarâja of the Solar Race, and the younger sister of Râjêndra-Chôḍa (*ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 50). It was from this, that his son was named Râjarâja (I.). The latter, again, found a Chôḷa wife, in Ammaṅgadêvî, the daughter of Râjêndra-Chôḍa, *i.e.*, I presume, of his maternal uncle mentioned just above. His son, in a similar way, was named Râjêndra-Chôḍa after his maternal grandfather, and also Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍadêva I. And he did as his immediate ancestors had done, and married Madhurântakîdêvî, the daughter of Râjêndradêva of the Solar Race. From this time the members of this family were plainly Chôḷas at heart, far more than Chalukyas; this is indicated not only by their names, but also by their personal history.[5] Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍadêva I. was first anointed, like his ancestors, in the sovereignty of Veṅgî, "which was the cause of the rising of his splendour." But subsequently, and apparently very soon, he desired or preferred the Chôḷa sovereignty; and he was anointed to that, and transferred the rule of Veṅgî to Vijayâditya, another son of Vimalâditya. The precise circumstances under which this occurred, — whether through a failure of the Chôḷa succession; or through the breaking out of hostilities between the Eastern Chalukyas, and the Chôḷas, leading to a conquest of the latter, — are not as yet apparent. This much, however, seems clear; that Vijayâditya was not an independent sovereign; but Veṅgî was simply an appanage of the Chôḷa crown, Vijayâditya being his nephew's viceroy there. Vijayâditya governed Veṅgî for fifteen years, and then died. Upon that, evidently reserving his eldest son for the principal succession, Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍadêva I. appointed his second son, Râjarâja II., to govern Veṅgî. The latter, however, was homesick, and returned to his parents after remaining in Veṅgî for only one year. Then Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍadêva I. appointed his third son, Vîra-Chôḍadêva, to the government of Veṅgî; and the latter was with some difficulty prevailed upon to take up the office, and to go to his appointed country.

The date of the appointment of Vîra-Chôḍadêva as viceroy of Veṅgî, is given as being in Śaka-Saṁvat 1001, when the sun was in Siṁha, *i. e.* in the solar month Bhâdrapada, on the thirteenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight, on Thursday, in the Vṛiśchika *lagna*, and under the Śravaṇa *nakshatra*. The year is expressed in numerical words, and is not qualified either as cur rentor as expired. It has to be applied as **a current year**; and the *tithi* has to be taken **as a current tithi,** used with the week-day on which it began. Thus: —

In Śaka-Saṁvat 1002 current (1001 expired), the sun entered Siṁha at about 38 *ghaṭîs*, 35 *palas*, after mean sunrise (for Bombay), on the 27th July, A. D. 1079; the thirteenth bright *tithi* which occurred while the sun was in Siṁha, was Bhâdrapada śukla 13; and this *tithi* ended **at** about 16 *gh.* 30 *p.* on Tuesday, 13th August, and so cannot be connected with a Thursday in **any way.**

But in Śaka-Saṁvat 1001 current, the sun entered Siṁha at about 23 *gh.* 5 *p.* on the 27th July, A. D. 1078; the thirteenth bright *tithi* which occurred while the sun was in Siṁha, was again Bhâdrapada śukla 13; and the exact results, worked by Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit according to the present *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, for the apparent times at Râjamahêndri, are as follows: — The *tithi* **Bhâdrapada sukla 13 began on Thursday, 23rd August,** at 3 *gh.* 11 *p.*, and ended on the Friday at 1 *gh.* 26 *p.* On the Thursday, the moon was in **the Śravaṇa nakshatra,** at sunrise, and up to 19 *gh.* 38 *p.* And **there was the Vṛiśchika lagna,** from 11 *gh.* 25 *p.* to 16 *gh.* 57 *p.* Accordingly the date of the installation of Vîra-Chôḍadêva, as viceroy of Veṅgî, was **Thursday, 23rd August, A. D. 1078.**[6]

[5] Dr. Burnell (*South-Indian Palæography*, pp. 21, 22, 40) treated them, from the generation before Kulôttuṅga-Chôḷadêva I., as actually Chôḷas by descent, and not as Eastern Chalukyas at all; and also made the mistake of identifying Vîra-Chôḍadêva with his father, placing his coronation in A. D. 1079, fifteen years after the date that was obtained for the commencement of his reign. — Some similar mistakes have been made by Sir Walter Elliot (*Coins of Southern India*, pp. 131, 135; I may mention, by the way, that the list referred to on p. 135, was not supplied by me.)

[6] The use of the Śaka year as a current year is exceptional; especially as compared with the manner in which it has to be applied in the dates that give the days of the coronation of Amma II. and Râjarâja I. of the same dynasty (pages 102 f., 129 f., above). Also, I had some doubts as to the year being really 1001. There are some apparently unnecessary and superfluous marks about some of the letters, commencing with the syllable *śi* of the compound that expresses it. My idea

There are some interesting stone inscriptions at **Piṭṭâpuram**, at the temple of Kunti-Mâdhavasvâmi, which ought to be properly copied and edited, in connection with the history of this period. One of them, dated Śaka-Saṁvat 1124 (*Telugu Sasanams*, p. 501 ff.), states, — differing from the present record, and from the grant of Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍadêva II. (*ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 55), — that Râjarâja I. reigned for only forty years; and his son, Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍadêva II. for fifty years, over the five Draviḍas with the Andhra *vishaya* (?); it seems also to mention the latter as being at first a *Yuvarâja*.[7] It also states that his son Vikrama-Chôḍa, — apparently having been first installed in the Veṅgî country, — went away to govern the Chôḷa *maṇḍala*, and left Veṅgî without a ruler (*nâyaka-rahitâ*). Another, dated Śaka-Saṁvat 1108 (*id.* p. 703 ff.), says that Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍadêva I., while reigning over the whole earth, gave the Veṅgî *maṇḍala* to the prince Vîra-Chôḍadêva. It then introduces a feudatory family, several members of which are mentioned. One of them was Goṅka, who served Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍadêva I. A brother of his, named Guṇḍa, had a son named Vedura, who served Vîra-Chôḍadêva, and conquered Pâṇḍyadêva for him. Vîra-Chôḍadêva thereupon gave him half his throne, and a province lying between two rivers (*sindhu-yugm-ântar-âkhyaṁ dêśam*). Also, Goṅka had a son named Chôḍabhûpa; and Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍadêva I. treated him as his own son, and gave him, — perhaps after the death of Vîra-Chôḍadêva, — the Veṅgî *maṇḍala*, consisting of sixteen or eighteen thousand villages.[8] And a third, dated Śaka-Saṁvat 1113 (*id.* p. 715 ff.), seems to mention, in connection with the history just about the time of Râjarâja I., a certain Râjêndra-Chôḍa, to whom his paternal grandfather Râjâdhirâjêndra-Chôḍa gave the Veṅgî country; but the transcription is not very intelligible.

TEXT.[9]

First Plate.

1 Ôm[10] [॥*] Śrî[11]-dhâmnaḥ purushôttamasya mahatô **Nârâyaṇasya** prabhôr=nnâbhî-paṁkaruhât babhûva

2 jagata[ḥ*] srashṭâ **Svaya[mh*]bhûs=tata[ḥ*]** jajñê mânasa-sûnur=**Atrir**=iti **yas**=tasmân=munêr=**Atritas=Sômô** vaṁśa-ka-

3 ras=sudh-âṁśur=udita[ḥ*] Śr?kaṇṭha-chûḍâmaṇiḥ [॥*] Tasmâd[12]=abhût=sudhâ-sûtêr=**Bbudhô** budha-nutas=tataḥ jâtaḥ **Purû-**

4 **ravâ** nâma chakravarttî sa-vikramaḥ || Tasmâd=**Âyus**=tatô **Nahushaḥ** | tatô **Yayâtis**=chakravarttî vaṁśa-karttâ | ta-

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was that the intended word might be *tithi-khadvay-âṁśu*; giving the year 1003. And calculating for Śaka-Saṁvat 1003 expired, and for Bhâdrapada śukla 13, — which here again was the thirteenth bright *tithi* after the entrance of the sun into Siṁha, which took place at about 9 *gh.* 40 *p.* on the 27th July A. D. 1081, — with Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, I obtained approximate results which led me to submit this year also to Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit for accurate determination of the details. And he has given me the following results, calculated, as before, for the apparent times at Râjamahêndri: — The *tithi* Bhâdrapada śukla 13 began two or three *palas* after sunrise on Thursday, 19th August, A. D. 1081, and ended on the Friday, at 3 *gh.* 42 *p.*; on the Thursday, the moon was in the Śravaṇa *nakshatra*, at sunrise, and up to 35 *gh.* 36 *p.*; and there was the Vṛischika *lagna* from 12 *gh.* 4 *p.* to 17 *gh.* 36 *p.* It seemed possible, therefore, that this might be the real day. Since then, however, I have heard from Dr. Hultzsch that he has obtained another grant of Vîra-Chôḍadêva, dated in his twenty-third year, which gives the same details for the date of his installation; and that, with a small and immaterial difference, the Śaka year is expressed by the words *śaśi-kh-âṁbar-êndu*, which are perfectly distinct and indisputable. Accordingly, the real year undoubtedly is Śaka-Saṁvat 1001 current.

[7] The transcription has *tat-putr?=pi yuv-âkhya-pûrva-purushô râjêndra-chôḍa sthitaḥ śrî-paṁcha-draviḍaṁ sahaṁdra-vishayaṁ paṁchâśad=abdân avat*. The word *paṁchâśad* is altered (wrongly) into *paṁchâdaśa* (sic). — It should be noted that the present inscription does not say exactly that Râjarâja I. reigned for forty-one years, but for "forty years and again for one." This suggests the idea of a break in the full period. It may be that he was *Yuvarâja* for one year, before his coronation as king. Or it may be that towards the end of his reign he made over the sovereignty to his son, but subsequently assumed it in person again for one year more. The passage is in verse; but there is no reason why forty-one years should not have been specified in it in a plain and ordinary manner, if that was the real unbroken length of his reign.

[8] The transcription has *pṛitashṭôdaśasêraṁ*. It is difficult to say whether this represents *pṛithaḥ shôḍaśa-sahasraṁ*, or *pṛithô=shṭâdaśa°*.

[9] From the original plates.

[10] Represented by an ornate symbol.

[11] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[12] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

5 taḥ **Puruḥ** tatô **Janamêjayaḥ** tataḥ **Prâchîśaḥ** tatas=**Sê(sai)nyayâtiḥ** tatô **Hayapatiḥ** tatas=**Sârvvabhauma[ḥ*]** ta-

6 tô **Jayasênaḥ** tatô **Mahâbhô(bhau)maḥ** tasmâd=**Aiśânakaḥ**[13] tataḥ **Krôdhânanaḥ** tatô **Dêvakiḥ** tasmâd=**Ṛibhu-**

7 **kaḥ** tasmâd=**Ṛikshakaḥ** tatô **Mativaras**=satra-yâga-yâjî **Sarasvati-nadî**-nâthaḥ tataḥ **Kâtya-**

8 **yanaḥ** tatô **Nîlaḥ** tatô **Dushyaṁtaḥ** [ı*] tat-sutaḥ ı **Gaṁgâ**[14]**-Yamun[â*]-**tîr[ê*] yad-avichchhinnân[15]=nidhâya yû-

9 pân kramaśaḥ kṛitvâ tath=âśvamêdhan=nâma mahâ-karmma **Bharata** iti yô=labhata ı(ıı) Tatô **Bharatâd=Bhûma-**

10 **nyuḥ** ı tatô **Hasti**[16] tatô **Virôchanaḥ** ı tasmâd=**Ajami(mî)laḥ** tatas=**Saṁvaraṇaḥ** tatas=**Sudhanvâ** tataḥ **Parikshi-**

11 **t** tatô **Bhîmas[ê*]nas**=tataḥ **Pradîpanaḥ** tataś=**Saṁtanuḥ** tatô **Vichitravîryyaḥ** tataḥ **Pâṇḍurâjaḥ** ta-

12 taḥ **Pâṇḍavâḥ** ı Yên[17]=âdâhi vijitya Kâ(khâ)ṇḍava-maṭhô gâṇḍîvinâ Vajriṇaṁ yuddhê pâśupat-âstram=A-

13 [ṁdha]karipôś=ch=âlâbhi daityân bahûn Iṁdr-ârddh-âsanam=adhyarôhi jayinâ yat Kâlikêy-âdi-

Second Plate; First Side.

14 kân hatvâ svê(svai)ram=akûri vaṁśa-vipina-śchhê(chchhê)daḥ Kurûṇâṁ vibhôḥ ı(ıı) Tatô=**Rjjunâd=Abhimanyuḥ** tataḥ **Parikshit**

15 tatôḥ[18] **Janamêjayaḥ** tataḥ **Kshêmukaḥ** tatô **Naravâhanaḥ** tataś=**Satânikaḥ** tasmâd=**Udayanaḥ** [ıı*] Tataḥ prabhṛi-

16 tishv[19]=avichchhinna-saṁtân[ê*]shv=**Ayôdhyâ**-siṁhâsan-âsînêshv=êkân-na-shashṭi-ch a k r a-varttishu gatêshu tad-vaṁśyô **Vija-**

17 **yâdityô** nâma râjâ vijigîshayâ dakshiṇâpatha[ṁ*] gatvâ **Trilôchana-Pallavam**=adhikshipya daiva-durîhayâ

18 lôkâṁtaram=agamat ı Tasmin saṁkulê purôhitêna vṛiddh-âmâtyaiś=cha sârddham=aṁtarvat[n*]î tasya mahâdêvî

19 **Muḍivemu**[20]-nâm-âgrahâram=upagamya tad-vâstavyêna Vishṇubhaṭṭa-sômayâjinâ mahâ-muni-

20 prabhâvêṇa(ṇa) duhitṛi-nirvviśêsham=abbirakshitâ satî **Vishṇuvarddhanan**=naṁdanam=asûta [ı*] Sâ ta-

21 sya kumârakasya **Mânavyasagôtra-Hârîtîputra**-dvipaksha-gôtra-kram-ôchitâni karmmâ-

22 ṇi kârayitvâ tam=avarddhayat ı Sa cha mâtrâ vidita-vṛi[21]ttântas=san=nirggatya **Chalukya-girau** Naṁdâ[ṁ*] bha-

23 gavatîṁ Gô(gau)rîm=ârâdhya Kumâra-Nârâyaṇa-mâtṛigaṇâṁś=cha saṁta.ppya śvêtâtapatr-aikaśaṁkha-paṁcha-

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[13] In the grant of Râjarâja I. (*ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 50, line 7), I gave here the wrong reading of *tasmâd-dêśânakaḥ*. Dr. Hultzsch has shewn the right reading, in his edition of the present grant.

[14] Metre, Âryâgîti.

[15] Dr. Hultzsch has proposed to read here *gaṁgâ-yamunâ-tîrayôr=avichchhinnân*; but he has overlooked the metre, — as I myself did, in editing the grant of Râjarâja I.

[16] In the grant of Râjarâja I., the reading is *°bhûmanyuḥ tasmât-suhôtraḥ tatô hasti*.

[17] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita. [18] Read *tatô*.

[19] Read *tataḥ paraṁ tat-prabhṛitishv°*; as in the grant of Râjarâja I.

[20] In the second syllable of this word, the consonant looks at first sight very much like *h*. But a comparison with other words shews that it is not *h*. In the grant of Râjarâja I., the syllable is very distinctly *ḍi*; and there can be no doubt that the same was intended here; simply, the loop at the end of the lower part of the *ḍ* has not been properly formed.

[21] First *vi* (probably as part of *vri*, for *vṛi*) was engraved; and then the superscript *i* was cancelled.

24 mahâśabda-pâlikêtana-pratiḍakka[22]-varâhalâṁchchhana-piṁchchha[23]-kuṁta-siṁhâsana-
makaratôraṇa-kanakadaṇḍa-Gaṁ-
25 gâ-Yamun-âdîni sva-ru(ku)la-kram-âgatâni nikshiptân=îva sâmrâjya-bhi(chi)hnâni
samâdâya **Kaḍaṁba-Gaṁg**-âdi-bhû-
26 mipân=nirjjitya **S[ê*]tu-Narmmadâ**-madhyaṁ sârddha-sapta-lakshaṁ dakshiṇâpathaṁ
pâlayâm-âsa ।(॥) Tasy[24]=âsîd=**Vija-**

Second Plate; Second Side.

27 **yâdityô Vishṇuvarddhana**-bhûpatêḥ **Pallav-ânvaya**-jâtâyâ mahâdêvyâś=cha
naṁdanam[25] ।(॥) Tat-sutaḥ
28 **Pulakêśi**-vallabham[26] [।*] tat-putraḥ **Kîrttivarmmâ** [॥*] Tasya tanayaḥ [।*]
Svasti Śrîmatâṁ sakala-bhuvana-saṁ-
29 stûyamâna-**Mânavya-sagôtrâṇâṁ Hârît[î]-putrâṇâṁ Kaṇśikî**[27]-vara-prasâda-labdha-
râjyânâ[ṁ*] mâ-
30 tṛi-gaṇa-paripâlitânâṁ Svâmi-Mahâsêna-pâd-ânudhyâtânâṁ bhagavaṇ-Ṇarâyaṇa[28]-prasâda-
samâ-
31 sâdita-vara-varâhalâ[ṁ*]chchhan-êkshaṇa-kshaṇa-vaśi(śî)kṛit-ârâtimaṇḍalânâm=**aśvam ê d h**-
âvabhṛidha(tha)-snâna-pa-
32 vitrîkṛita-vapushâṁ **Châlukyânâṁ kulam**=alaṁkarishṇôs=**Satyâśraya-vallabhêṁdrasya**
bhrâ-
33 tâ **Kubja-Vishṇuvarddhanô**=sbṭâdaśa varshâṇi **V[ô*]ṁgî-dêśam**=apâlayat [।*]
tad-âtmajô **Jayasi[ṁ*]-**
34 **ha-vallabhas**=trayas-triṁśatam । tad-anuja **I[ṁ*]drarâjas**=sapta dinâni । tat-
sutô **Vishṇuvarddhanô nava va-**
35 rshâṇi । tat-sûnur=**Mmaṁgi-Yuvarâjaḥ** paṁcha-viṁśatim [।*] tat-putrô
Jayasiṁhas=trayôdaśa [।*] tad-avarajaḥ
36 **Kokkilish**=shaṇ=mâsân [।*] tasya jyêshṭhô bhrâtâ **Vishṇuvarddhanas**=tam=
uchchâṭya sapta-triṁśatam [।*] tat-putrô **Vija-**
37 **yâditya-Bhaṭṭârakô**=shṭâdaśa । tat-tanujô **Vishṇuvarddhana[ḥ*]** shaṭ triṁśa-
tam[29] [।*] tat-sutô **Narêṁdramṛigarâjô**=shṭâ-
38 chatvâriṁśataṁ [।*] tat-sutaḥ **Kali-Vishṇuvarddhanô**=ddhyarddha-varshaṁ [।*]
tat-sutô **Guṇagâṁka-Vijayâdityas**=chatuś-cha-
39 tvâriṁśatam [।*] tad-bhrâtur=**Vvikramâdityasya** tanayaś=**Châlukya-Bhîmas**=
triṁśatam । tat-sutaḥ **Kollabhigaṇḍa-**

Third Plate; First Side.

40 **Vijayâdityash**=shaṇ=mâsân । tat-sutô=**Mma**-râjas=sapta varshâṇi । tat-sutaṁ
Vijayâdityaṁ bâlam=u-
41 chchâṭya **Tâḍapê(pô)** mâsam=êkam । taṁ jitvâ **Châlukya-Bhîma**-sutô
Vikramâditya êkâdaśa mâsân [।*]
42 tat-**Tâḍapa**-râja-sutô **Yuddhamallas**=sapta varshâṇi । tam=uchchhâ(chchâ)ṭya dêśâd=
Amma-râj-ânujô **Râja-Bhî-**
43 **maḥ(mô)** dvâdaśa varshâṇi [।*] tat sûnur[30]=**Amma**-râjaḥ paṁcha-viṁśatiṁ ।
tasya dvê(dvai)mâturô **Dânanṛipas**=trîṇi va-

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[22] Read °*ḍakkâ*, or °*ḍhakkâ*.

[23] Read *pichchha*, probably; but the same word, *piṁchha*, is used in line 27 of the grant of Râjarâja I.; and it has a meaning of its own (see *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 313, note 18).

[24] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

[25] Read *naṁdanaḥ*. The same mistake, between the final *m* and the *visarga*, occurs in *vallabham* in the next line; and must be due, I think, to the use of some peculiar form of the *visarga* by the writer of the charter. The final *m* occurs, properly, in lines 34 ff. below.

[26] Read °*vallabhaḥ*; and see the preceding note.

[27] At first, the *śi* was omitted; and then *kî* was altered into *śikî*.

[28] Read *bhagavan-nârâyaṇa*. [29] Read *shaṭ-triṁśatam*. [30] Read *tat-sûnur*.

44 rshâṇi [।*] taṁtas[31]=sapta-viṁśati-varshâṇi daiva-durîhayâ **Veṁgî-mahir**=anâyik=
âbhavat । tatô **Dân[â*]rṇṇava**-su-
45 tâ(ta)ś=**Śaktiva**[32]**rmma**-bhûpatir=dvâdaśa varshâṇi samarakshad=uvvi[33] [॥*] Tatas=[34]
tad-anujas=sapta vatsarân bhûta-vatsalaḥ ।
46 **Vimalâditya**-bhûpâlaḥ pâlayâm-âsa mêdî(di)nîm । (॥) Tat[35]-tanayô naya-śâli(lî)
jaya-lakshmî-dhâ-
47 ma **Râjarâja**-narê[ṁ*]draś=chatvâriṁśatam=abdân=êkaṁ cha punar=mmahîm=
apâlayad=akhilâṁ ।(॥) Yô[36]
48 rup[ê*]ṇa Mabhanôbhavaṁ[37] viśadayâ kâṁtyâ kalânân=nidhiṁ bhôgên=âpi
Puraṁdaraṁ vipulayâ lakshmyâ
49 cha Lakshmîdharaṁ Bhîmaṁ bhîma-parâkramêṇa vihasan bhûti sma bhâsvad-
yaśâ[ḥ*] śrîmat **Sôma**[38]**-kul**-ê(ai)ka-
50 bhûshaṇa-maṇir=ddîn-aika-chiṁtâmaṇiḥ [॥*] Tasy=âsîd=apakalmashâ su-charitaîr=
Ammaṁga-nâmnâ bhuvi pra-
51 khyâtâ śubha-lakshaṇ-aika-vasatir=ddêvî jagat-pâvanî । yâ Jahnôr=iva Jûhnavî[39]
Himavatô Gaur=îva La-
52 kshmîr=iva kshîrôdâd=**divasêśa-vaṁśa**-tilakâd=**Râjêṁdra-Chôḍâd**=abhût ।(॥) Putras=[40]
tayôr=abhavad=apratighâ-

Third Plate; Second Side.

53 ta-śakti-niśśêshit-âri-nivahô **mahanîya**-kîrttiḥ । Gaṁgâdhar-Âdrisutayôr=iva Kârttikêyô
Râjêṁdra-
54 **Chôḍa** iti râja-kula-pradîpaḥ ।(॥) Bhâsâṁ[41]=unnati-hêtuṁ pradha(tha)maṁ **Veṁg**-
îśvaratvam=adhyâsya yas=têjasâ
55 dig-aṁtân=âkramad=udayaṁ sahasraraśmir=iva ॥ Udyach[42]-chaṇḍatara-pratâpa-dahana-
plushṭ-âkhila-dvê-
56 shiṇâ sarvvân **Kuê(kê)rala-Pâṇḍya-Kuṁtala**-mukhân nirjjitya dêśân kramât
âjñâ maulishu bhûbhṛitâṁ
57 bhaya-rujâ chittêshu durmmêdhasâṁ kîrtti[r*]=dikshu sudhâṁśu-dhâma-dhavalâ
yên=ârppit=ôjjṛiṁbhatê ।(॥) Bhô-
58 gîś[43]-âbhîla-bhâ(bhô)ga-pratibhaya-bhuja-nirbbha[r*]tsan-âtyaṁta-bibhyan-nânâ-**bhûpâla**-
lôka-prahi-
59 ta-bahuvidh-ânargghya-ratn-âbhirâmam dhattê maulim parârddhyô mahati nṛipa-
kulê yaḥ **Kulô-**
60 **ttuṁgadêvô** dêvêṁdratvâd=anûnê surapati-mahimâ **Chôḍa-râjyê**=bhishiktaḥ ।(॥)
Hasta[44]-bhrâjita-śaṁ-
61 kha-chakra-jalajaṁ yaṁ **Râja-Nârâyaṇaṁ** lôka[ḥ*] stauti sa **sûryya-vaṁśa**-
tilakâd=**Râjêṁdradêv**-âṛṇṇavâ-
62 t saṁbhûtâm=**Madhurâṁtak**=îti viditân=nâmn=âpagê(rê)ṇa svayaṁ Lakshmîm=
udvahati sma lôka-mahitâ[45]
63 **dêvîṁ** charitr-ônnatâm ।(॥) Gâṁg-aughâ iva nirmmalâḥ kṛita-tamô-dhvaṁsâ
dinêśâ iva kshôṇidhrâ iva
64 bhû-bhara-śrama-sahâ jâtâs=tayôs=sûnavaḥ tan-madhyê naya-vikram-aika-nilaya[ṁ*]
śrî-**Râjarâjaṁ**
65 prati prêmnâ(mṇâ) vâcham=imâm=avôchata pitâ sa[r*]vv-ôrvar-âdhîśvata(ra)ḥ ।(॥)
Mayâ[46] **Veṁgî-mahî**-râ-

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31 Read *tatas*.
32 This letter, *va*, was at first omitted, and then was inserted below the line.
33 Read *urvîṁ*.
34 Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh).
35 Metre, Âryâgîti.
36 Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita; and in the next verse.
37 Read *manôbhavaṁ*.
38 Read *śrîmat-sôma*°.
39 The *hna* is imperfect in the original; the top stroke of the *h* being omitted.
40 Metre, Vasantatilaka.
41 Metre, Âryâgîti.
42 Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
43 Metre, Sragdharâ.
44 Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita; and in the next verse.
45 Read *mahitâṁ*.
46 Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh); and in the next two verses.

Fourth Plate; First Side.

66 jyaṁ **Chôḍa-râjy**-âbhilâpi(shi)ṇâ mat-pitṛivyê purâ nyastaṁ **Vijayâditya**-bhûbhuji ।(॥) Sa cha paṁcha-

67 daś=ûbdâni paṁchânana-parâkramaḥ mahîṁ rakshan=mahî-nâthô divaṁ dêv-ôpamô gataḥ ।(॥) Ity=uktvâ tâ-

68 n=dhuraṁ dattâṁ guruṇâ chakravarttinâ anishṭa-tad-viyôgô=pi vini(nî)tô vahati sma saḥ ।(॥) Śrî[47]-pâda-sêvâ-su-

69 khatô gurûṇâṁ=na jâtu râjyaṁ sukham=ity=avêkshya saṁrakshya **Veṁgi-bhuvam**=êkam=abdam bhûyas=sa pitrô-

70 r=agamat=samîpam ।(॥) Tad[48]-anujam=adha(tha) dhîraṁ **Vîra-Chôḍaṁ** kumâraṁ guṇam=iva tanu-baddhaṁ vikramaṁ chakra-

71 varttî udayam=iva ravis=tvaṁ prâpya **V[e*]ṁg-îśvata(ra)tvaṁ** vitanu śirasi pâdaṁ bhûbhṛitâm=i[49]ty=avô-

72 chat ।(॥) Ity[50]=âśishaṁ samadhigamya nṛipâd=avavadhyûm[51] dêvyâs=tadh(th)=âgraja-nṛipa-dvitayât

73 kramêṇa ânamya tân=avanatô=varajaiḥ kumâra[ḥ*] sṛishṭa[ḥ*] sva-dêśa-gamanâya sa tailḥ kathaṁchit ।(॥) Śatru[52]-dhvaṁ-

74 tam=apâsya râja-nikarân=ûchchhâdya dhûmn=âparân durvvṛittân=vinivartya bhû-kama[53]linîṁ kṛitvâ tadh(th)=ânaṁdinî[ṁ*] â-

75 rûḍô(ḍhô)[54] **Jananâtha**[55]**-nâma-nagarî**-harmmy-ôdayâdriṁ vibhur=**Vveṁgi-bhûtala**-bhûshaṇaṁ nṛipa-sutô bâl-ârkka-

76 biṁba-dyutiḥ ।(॥) **Śâk-âbdê śaśi-khadvay-êṁdu-gaṇitê siṁh-âdhirûḍô(ḍhê) ravau chaṁdrê vṛiddhimati trayôdaśa-ti-**

77 **thau vârê Gurôr=vvṛischikê lagnê=tha Śravaṇê** samasta-jagatî-râjy-âbhishikrô mn[dê] lôkasy=ôdva-

78 **hati** sma paṭṭam=anaghaḥ śrî-**Vîra-Chôḍô** nṛipaḥ ।(॥) Sa sarvvalôk-âśraya-śrî-**Vishṇuvarddhana**-mahârâ-

Fourth Plate; Second Side.

79 jâdhirâjô râja-Paramêśvaraḥ paramamâhêśvara[ḥ*] paramabhaṭṭ[â*]rakaḥ parama-brahmaṇyaḥ śri-**Vîra-Chôḍadêvaḥ Gudda-**

80 **vâḍi**[56]-vishaya-nivâsinô râshṭrakûta-pramukhân kuṭuṁbinas=sarvvân samâhûya maṁtri-purôhita-sênâpa-

81 ti-yuvarâja-dauvârika-samakshaṁ=i[57]ttham=âjñâpayati । yadhâ(thâ) । Pâvanê[58] brahma-vaṁśê=bhût=param-âhlâda-da[r*]śanaḥ

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[47] Metre, Upajâti of Indravajrâ and Upêndravajrâ. [48] Metre, Mâlinî.

[49] This is an anomalous letter; neither exactly *mâ*, nor exactly *mi*, but a mixture of the two. It occurs again in line 81 below.

[50] Metre, Vasantatilaka. [51] Read *avandhyâm*. [52] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita; and in the next verse.

[53] The *ma* here is expressed by an *akshara* which might very easily be interpreted as *rô*. The *akshara* is of frequent use in the western inscriptions.

[54] Attached to the lower part of this *akshara*, there is a mark which perhaps may be intentional, and intended to express the aspirated *dh*. But I have not met with it elsewhere; and I am more inclined to think that it is due to a slip of the engraver's tool.

[55] The second syllable of this word is cramped and not completely formed; and the value of it is rather doubtful. — Dr. Hultzsch read it as *bha*, which he corrected into *ga*. He thus obtained the name of Jagannâthanagarî. And, taking this as a Prâkrit form of Jagannâthanagarî, he suggested that the place might be identified with Jagannâthapuram, which, according to Mr. Sewell's *Lists*, is "the portion of the town of Coconada lying south of the river." My own reading was *va*; Javanâthanagarî. — But I have since heard from Dr. Hultzsch that, in the grant of the twenty-third year of Vîra-Chôḍadêva, the reading is distinctly *na*; Jananâthanagarî. And, as the doubtful *akshara* may stand for *na* just as well as for *bha* or *va*, that it is the reading that I adopt. — It happens that, in the *Telugu Śasanams*, the reading of *na* is actually given for the present grant also.

[56] Dr. Hultzsch has read the last syllable of this word as *ti*. But I do not agree with him. It is not identical with the *ti* of *sphuṭita* in line 103.

[57] See note 49 above. [58] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh); and in the next four verses.

82 munîṁdrô Mudgalô nâma kshîrôda iva chaṁdramâḥ ।(॥) Yên=âta[r*]ky-
âṇubhâvêna samâhûtê divâkarê yasya ya-
83 shṭis=samâdishṭâ ravi-chêshṭâm=achêshṭata ।(॥) Âsît=pavitra-châritras=tad-gôtrê gôtra-
varddhanaḥ diśô nija-yaśô-dhâmnâ dyô-
84 tayan Pôtan-âhvayaḥ ।(॥) Guṇ-âdhikô guṇa-jñêna **Râjarâj-**âdhipêna yaḥ **Râjarâja-**
brahma-mahârâja-nâmnâ
85 stutô mudâ ।(॥) Tasya puṇya-nidhêḥ patnî Kannamâṁbâ jagan-nutâ Atrêr=iv=
Ânasûy=âsîd=anasûy[â*]-
86 guṇ-ôṇnatâ ।(॥) Sutam[59]=iva Vasudêvâd=Dêvakî Vâsudêvaṁ Guham=iva Girikanyâ
naṁdanaṁ Chaṁdramâ(mau)lêḥ
87 atha tanayam=asûta śri(śrî)-nidhiṁ sâ cha tasmâd=akhila-vibudha-saṁghair=îḍitam=
Mêḍamâryyam [॥*] Uddâma[60]-dhâ-
88 ma-vimalîkṛita-dig-vibhâgê nity-ôdaya-sthitimati pravikâsi-padm[ê*] yatr=ôditê nikhila-
bandhu-kulâni lakshmîr=a-
89 dhyâsta vârija-vanâni vivasvat=îva ।(॥) Yasminn[61]=âśrî(śrî)ta-vatsalê Kṛitayug-âchâr-
aika-dhîrê svî(sthi)tiṁ bibhrâṇâ(ṇê) **Guṇaratnabhû-**
90 **shaṇa** iti prakhyâta-nâmni svayaṁ satya-tyâga-parâkrama-prabhṛitayas=saṁbhûya
sarvvê guṇâ varddhaṁtê
91 guṇa-râśi-lôpa-nipuṇaṁ nirjjitya kâlaṁ Kalim ।(॥) Ḍhi(dhî)ro[62] nity-ânuraktô
dṛiḍa(ḍha)-niśita-matir=brahma-ṛaṁśa-pradîpô
92 lakshmî-bhûr=iddha-têjâ naya-vinaya-nidhiś=śâstra-śastra[63]-pravîṇaḥ mânyaś-
śê(śai)lêṁdra-sâra-sthira iti cha mayâ sâda-
93 raṁ saprasâdaṁ sê(sai)nâpatyê=bhishiktô vahati jana-mudê paṭṭam=ârôpitaṁ
yaḥ ।(॥) Suśrûshayâ[64] gurujanaṁ-

Fifth Plate; First Side.

94 ṁ[65] chcha(cha)ritêna lôkam=mâ[nêna] bandhu-janam=ishṭa-dhanêna śishṭân yô
mâm=madîya-nikhila-kshiti-râjya-bhâra-kṣhâṁty=âbhinaṁda-
95 yati bhakti[66]-bharêṇa Śauri[ṁ ।(॥)] Yasya[67] prâṁgaṇa-bhûmishu prati-dinaṁ
prakshâlyamâṇ-âmita-kshôṇîdêva-samûha-pâdha(da)-vigalad-vâri-pra-
96 vâhaiś=śubhaiḥ śaśvan-mârgga-sahasra-pûrîbhîr[68]=ahô Gaṁgâ-pravâhô(hâ) jî(ji)tâ
dêvêshv=anyatamasya pâda-galitâ mârgga-tray-âyâsitâḥ
97 ।(॥) **D[r*]aksh**[69]-ârâmê pâvanê puṇya-bhâjâ puṇya-kshêtrê **Piṭhapuryyâṁ** cha
yêna bhôkt[u*]ṁ prîtyâ praty-a[70]haṁ brâhmaṇânâm=â-kalp-âṁtaṁ kalpi-
98 taṁ sat[t*]ra-yugmaṁ ।(॥) **Chellûru**[71]-nâma-prathit-âbhirâma-śishṭ-âgrahâr-ôttara-dig-
vibhâgê mahat-taṭâkaṁm[72]=madhur-âṁbu-pûrṇṇam=a-
99 chi(chi)karad=yaḥ karuṇâ-ras-âtmâ ।(॥) Viprair[73]=Agastya-pratimair=asaṁkhyai[r*]=
nnity-ôpabhôgyêna śaśi-prabhêṇa yad=vâ[74]riṇ=âbdhiṁ hasat=îva bhû-
100 yô niśśêsha-pîtaṁ kalaś-ôdbhavêna ।(॥) Mah[75]-anjasâ têna mahâ-mahimnâ grâmasya
tasy=âpara-dig-vibhâgê nirmmâpitaṁ dharmma-
101 parâyaṇêna Vishṇô[r*]=gṛihaṁ Vaishṇava-puṁgavai(vê)na ।(॥) Samunnatê chaṁdra-
marîchi-gô(gau)rê Lakshmî-nivâsê nayan-âbhirâmê
102 tatr=âvir-âsît=svayam=êvê(va) dêvô Lakshmî-patir=llakshita-śaṁkha-chakra[ḥ*] ।(॥)
Tasmai śrî-Vishṇu-bhaṭṭârakâya[76] praty-ahaṁ charu-ba-

[59] Metre, Mâlinî. [60] Metre, Vasantatilaka. [61] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[62] Metre, Sragdharâ. [63] Read, probably, *śastra-śâstra*. [64] Metre, Vasantatilaka.
[65] The repetition of the *anusvâra* here is unnecessary.
[66] These two syllables, *bhakti*, were at first omitted, and then were inserted below the line.
[67] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita. [68] Read *pûribhir*. [69] Metre, Śâlinî.
[70] These two syllables, *praty*, were at first omitted, and then were inserted below the line.
[71] Metre, Upajâti of Indravajrâ and Upêndravajrâ. [72] Read *taṭâkam*. [73] Metre, Indravajrâ.
[74] First the superscript *ô* was formed, and then it was corrected into *â*.
[75] Metre, Upajâti of Indravajrâ and Upêndravajrâ; and in the next verse.
[76] At first *bhaṭṭârarakâya* was engraved; and then the first *ra* was cancelled.

li-pûj-ârttham khaṇḍa-sphuṭita-navaka[r*]mm-ârttham cha bhavad-vishayê **Koleṟu**-[77] nâma-gr[â*]mas=sarvva-kara-parihârêṇa

dêvabhôgîkṛitya udaka-pûrvvakaṁ datta iti viditam=astu vaḥ [||*] Asya grâmasya sîmânaḥ [|*] pûrvvataḥ Ku-

karapolagarusu Naṟu(?)vaya si(sî)mâ âgnêyyâṁ Treṁkipolagarusu Natrena(?)-guṁṭaya si(sî)mâ dakshiṇasyâṁ Treṁ-

kipolagarusu . . . . mediguṁṭaya si(sî)mâ nairṛityâṁ Treṁkipolagarusu . . . . . mêśvarama si(sî)mâ

paśchimataḥ Târu . . . . ma(?)polagarusu Na . . . . da(?)guṁṭaya si(sî)mâ vâyavyâṁ . . . . . .

ru(?)napolagarusu si(sî)mâ uttarasyâṁ Kra(?)ladipolagarusu si(sî)mâ Porâṇa(?)-. . . . . .

garusu Cha(?)ve(?)laṁ(?liṁ)gaguṁṭaya si(sî)mâ sîmâ || Asy=ôpari na kênachid=b[â*]dhâ kara[ṇîyâ yaḥ karô]ti sa

Fifth Plate; Second Side.

paṁcha-mahâpâtaka-yuktô bhavati | Tathâ ch=ôktaṁ bhagavatâ Vyâsêna | Sva-[78] dattâṁ para-dattâṁ [vâ yô harê]ta va-

sundharâṁ shashṭiṁ varsha-sahasrâṇi vishṭhâyâṁ jâyatê krimiḥ ||(||) Gâm=êkâṁ svarṇṇam=êkaṁ vâ [bhûmêr=apy=êka]m=aṁgu-

laṁ | haran=narakam=âpnôti yâvad=â-bhûta-saṁplavaṁ ||(||) Bahubhir=vvasudhâ dattâ bahubhiś=ch=ânupâlitâ yasya

yasya yadâ bhûmis=tasya tasya tadâ phalaṁ ||(||) **Śrî-vijayarâjya-saṁvatsarê êka-viṁśê** dattasy=âsya

śâsanasy=âjñaptiḥ **paṁcha pradhânâḥ** kâvya-karttâ Viddayabhaṭṭaḥ lêkhakaḥ Pennâchâriḥ ||

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

From the water-lily that grew from the navel of **Nârâyaṇa (Vishṇu)** (line 1), there was produced **Svayaṁbhû (Brahman)**, the creator of the world (l. 2). From him there was born **Atri**, a mind-engendered son. From him, **Sôma (the Moon)**, **the founder of a race**. From him there sprang **Budha** (l. 3). From him, the emperor named **Purûravas**. From him, **Âyus** (l. 4). From him, **Nahusha**. From him, the emperor **Yayâti, the founder of a race**. From him, **Puru** (l. 5). From him, **Janamêjaya (I.)**. From him, **Prâchîśa**. From him, **Saṁyayâti**. From him, **Hayapati**. From him, **Sârvabhauma**. From him, **Jayasêna (I.)** (l. 6). From him, **Mahâbhauma**. From him, **Aiśânaka**. From him, **Krôdhânana**. From him, **Dêvaki**. From him, **Ṛibhuka**. From him, **Ṛikshaka** (l. 7). From him, **Matiyara**, the celebrator of sacrifices, **the lord of the river Sarasvati**. From him, **Kâtyâyana**. From him, **Nîla** (l. 8). From him, **Dushyanta**. His son was he who set up sacrificial posts, step by step, in an uninterrupted line, on the banks of **the rivers Gaṅgâ and Yamunâ**, and performed the great rite of the *aśvamêdha*-sacrifice, and acquired the name of **Bharata** (l. 9). From him there was born **Bhûmanyu**. From him, **Hastin**

[77] Dr. Hultzsch has read this name as 'Kolâru.' He quotes Sir Walter Elliot as giving the name as 'Kaleru.' It is given as 'Kâler' in the Index to the *Telugu Sasanams*; but, in the transcription of the text in the same book, it is given as 'Kâveru.' — There are some unnecessary marks in the first syllable; but on the whole it seems to be *ko*, or possibly *ke*; and not *kâ*. On this point, however, I should like to see the original plate again. — The second syllable is rather spoilt, though the *r* of the third syllable having been at first commenced here; and the vowel is of a decidedly anomalous form; but the intended *akshara* seems to be certainly *le*. — From this word, down to just before the second *sîmâ* in line 109, the writing has been deliberately damaged, and at some places rendered quite illegible, by paring down the copper; and here and there some letters have been inserted between the lines, as if to add to the confusion.

[78] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh); and in the following two verses.

(l. 10).[79] From him, **Virôchana.** From him, **Ajamîla.**[80] From him, **Saṁvaraṇa.** From him, **Sudhanvan.** From him, **Parikshit (I.).** From him, **Bhîmasêna** (l. 11). From him, **Pradîpana.** From him, **Santanu.** From him, **Vichitravîrya.** From him, **Paṇḍurâja.** And from him, the **Pâṇḍavas** (l. 12). One of the Pâṇḍavas was **Arjuna** (l. 14), who, armed with the bow *gâṇḍîva*, conquered (the god Indra) who wields the thunderbolt, and burnt the hermitage in the Khâṇḍava (forest) (l. 12); who acquired in battle the weapon of Paśupati (Śiva), from (Śiva) the foe of (the demon) Andhaka; who slew Kâlikêya and many other Daitya, and then, in victory, mounted half of the throne of Indra; and by whom there was effected, just as he liked to do it, the cutting-down of the forest of the race of the lord of the Kurus. From him, Arjuna, there was born **Abhimanyu** (l. 14). From him, **Parikshit (II.).** From him, **Janamêjaya (II.)** (l. 15). From him, **Kshêmuka.** From him, **Naravâhana.** From him, **Satânîka.** And from him, **Udayana.**

Then, commencing with him (Udayana), **sixty emperors, less by one,** in unbroken lineal succession, sat on the throne at **Ayôdhyâ** (l. 16). And when they had passed away, a king of that same lineage, by name **Vijayâditya** (l. 16-17), went to **the region of the south,** from a desire for conquest; and, having attacked **Trilôchana-Pallava,** through the spite of fate he (*lost his life and*) went to the other world. In the confusion that ensued, his queen-consort, who was pregnant, escaped with the family-priest and with the aged ministers, and reached **the agrahâra named Muḍivemu** (l. 19); and being cherished, just like a daughter, by the great saint Vishṇubhaṭṭa-Sômayâjin, who dwelt there, she brought forth a son, **Vishṇuvardhana** (l. 20). And having caused to be performed for that prince those rites which befitted his descent from the two-sided *gôtra*, of those who were of **the Mânavya gôtra** and were descended from an original ancestress of **the Hârîta gôtra** (l. 21), she reared him. And he, being instructed by his mother in the events that had happened, went forth; and worshipped Nandâ, the divine Gaurî, on **the Chalukya mountain** (l. 22); and appeased Kumâra and Nârâyaṇa and the troops of the Mothers of mankind; and assumed **the insignia of universal sovereignty** which had descended to him by the succession of his family, and which had been, as it were, laid aside, *viz.* the white umbrella (l. 23), the single conch-shell, the *pañchamahâśabda*, the *pâlikêtana*,[81] the double drum, the crest of a boar, the feathers of a peacock's tail, the spear, the throne, the *makaratôraṇa*, the golden sceptre, and (the signs of) the Gaṅgâ and Yamunâ, and other insignia; and conquered **the Kaḍamba and Gaṅga and other kings** (l. 25); and ruled over **the (whole) region of the south,** lying between **the Bridge** (*of Râma*) and **the river Narmadâ,** and containing seven and a half *lâkhs* (*of villages*).[82] The son of that same king **Vishṇuvardhana,** and of his queen-consort who was born in **the Pallava lineage,** was **Vijayâditya** (l. 26-27).

His son was **Pulakêśin (I.),** the favourite (l. 28). His son was **Kîrttivarman (I.),** His son:—

Hail! **Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana (I.)** (l. 33), — the (*younger*) brother of **Satyâśraya-(Pulikêśin II.),** the chief of favourites, who adorned the family of **the Châlukyas** (l. 32), who are glorious; who are of **the Mânavya gôtra** (l. 29), which is praised throughout the whole world; who are **Hârîtîputras;** who acquired sovereignty through the excellent favour of Kauśikî (the goddess Durgâ); who have been protected by the troop of the Mothers (*of mankind*); who

[79] According to the grant of Râjarâja I., the succession was, — from Bhûmanyu, Suhôtra; from Suhôtra, Hastin; and so on (see note 16 above).

[80] The correct form of this name appears to be Ajamîḍha, or Ajmîḍha.

[81] An arrangement of flags in rows; see *ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 104 f.

[82] i. e. seven hundred and fifty thousand villages. — Dr. Hultzsch has translated "(*and the revenue from which amounts to*) seven and a half *lakshas*." But the specification refers undoubtedly to the number of villages (of course exaggerated here as in other instances) supposed to be included in the territory; compare the explicit mention of "the three Mahârâshṭrakas, containing ninety-nine thousand villages" in the Aihole inscription (*ante*, Vol. VIII. p. 242, line 12). — The mistaken supposition that the numbers in such cases indicate the revenues, appears to have originated with Dr. Burnell (see his *South-Indian Palæography*, p. 67, last paragraph but one).

meditate on the feet of (the god) Svâmi-Mahâsêna; who have had the territories of their enemies made subject to them on the instant at the sight of the excellent **crest of a boar** (l. 31) which they acquired through the favour of the divine Nârâyaṇa; and whose bodies have been purified by ablutions performed after celebrating the *aśvamêdha*-sacrifice, — ruled over **the Veṅgî dêśa** for eighteen years (l. 33).

His son, **Jayasiṁha (I.)**, the favourite, ruled for thirty-three years (l. 34). His younger brother, **Indrarâja**, for seven days. His son, **Vishṇuvardhana (II.)**, for nine years. His son **Maṅgi-Yuvarâja** (l. 35), for twenty-five years. His son, **Jayasiṁha (II.)**, for thirteen years. His younger brother, **Kokkili** (l. 36), for six months. Having expelled him, his elder brother, **Vishṇuvardhana (III.)**, reigned for thirty-seven years. His son, **Vijayâditya-Bhaṭṭâraka (I.)** (l. 37), for eighteen years. His son, **Vishṇuvardhana (IV.)**, for thirty-six years. His son, **Narêndramṛigarâja-(Vijayâditya II.)**, for forty-eight years. His son, **Kali-Vishṇuvardhana (V.)**, for one year and a half year. His son, **Guṇagâṅka-Vijayâditya (III.)**, for forty-four years. Then **Châlukya-Bhîma (I.)** (l. 39), the son of his (*younger*) brother **Vikramâditya (I.)**, for thirty years. His son, **Kollabhigaṇḍa-Vijayâditya (IV.)**, for six months. His son, **Amma (I.)** (l. 40), for seven years. Having expelled his son **Vijayâditya (V.)**, while he was a child, **Taḍapa** (l. 41) reigned for one month. Having conquered him, **Vikramâditya (II.)**, the son of **Châlukya-Bhîma (I.)**, reigned for eleven months. Then **Yuddhamalla (II.)** (l. 42), the son of that same **Taḍapa**, reigned for seven years. Having expelled him from the country, **Râja-Bhîma (II.)**, the younger brother of **Amma (I.)**, reigned for twelve years. His son, **Amma (II.)** (l. 43), for twenty-five years. His half-brother, born from a different mother, **Dânaṇṛipa**, for three years. Then, for twenty-seven years, through the spite of fate, **the land of Veṅgi was without a lord** (l. 44).[83] Then king **Śaktivarman** (l. 45), the son of **Dânârṇava**, reigned for twelve years. Then his younger brother, **Vimalâditya**, for seven years. Then his son, **Râjarâja I.** (l. 47), for forty-one years; he was a sole ornament of the glorious **Lunar Race** (l. 49). His queen was **Ammaṅgadêvî** (l. 50-51), the daughter of **Rajêndra-Chôḍa of the race of the sun.** Their son was **Râjêndra-Chôḍa** (l. 53-54), who, at first had **the sovereignty of Veṅgi**, "which was the cause of the rising of his splendour," and who conquered in succession the **Kêrala, Pâṇḍya, Kuntala**, and other countries (l. 56). He was also called **Kulôttuṅgadêva** (ll. 59-60); under which title he was anointed in **the Chôḍa kingdom**; and another of his names was **Râja-Nârâyaṇa** (l. 61), because on his hands there were marks of the conch-shell, the discus, and the water-lily. He married **Madhurântakîdêvî** (l. 62-63), the daughter of **Râjêndradêva of the race of the sun.** And they had seven sons.[84] One of their sons, — as a matter of fact, their second son, — was **Râjarâja (II.)** (l. 64). To him his father explained that, when he himself was anointed to **the Chôḍa kingdom**, he had given **the sovereignty of Veṅgi** to his own paternal uncle **Vijayâditya** (l. 66), who ruled there for fifteen years, and then died. He now appointed **Râjarâja (II.)** as Vijayâditya's successor; and the latter, though the separation from his father was unwelcome to him, obediently took up the burden (l. 68); but, feeling that sovereignty was no happiness without the pleasure of being able to worship the feet of his elders, he governed **the country of Veṅgi** for only one year, and then returned to his parents (l. 70). Then Kulôttuṅgadêva appointed **Vîra-Chôḍa** (l. 70), the younger brother of Râjarâja II., to **the sovereignty of Veṅgi**; and, being blessed by his father, his mother, and his two elder brothers, in succession, **Vîra-Chôḍa** was, with difficulty.

[83] The expression in the original here is *sapta-viṁśati-varshâṇi daiva-durvilasâ veṅgî-mahîr anâyik-âbhavat*. In the grant of Râjarâja I. it is said that "for twenty-seven years a feverish desire, to obtain a suitable lord, consumed the earth, which was without a ruler;" and that "Châlukya-Chandra cured the fever of the earth." In another record (*Telugu Sasanams*, p. 777) it is said that *sakaliṅga-sâṁdhra-maḍalam asvâmikam êva vidhi-vaśâd bhûtam*. — The time in question has been understood as a period of anarchy. But the expressions do not seem to necessarily mean that; compare the description of Veṅgî, in one of the Piṭṭâpuram inscriptions (page 427 above), as being *nâyaka-rahitâ* again at a later time, when there was certainly no anarchy.

[84] The number of their sons is not explicitly mentioned; but, as pointed out by Dr. Hultzsch, it is indicated by their being compared with the (seven) streams of the Ganges, the (seven) suns or Âdityas, and the (seven) mountain (see his translation of the verse).

prevailed upon to go to **Veṅgî** (l. 73); and, arriving there, he established himself in the palace at **the city of Jananâthanagarî** (l. 75).[85] And thus, being anointed to the sovereignty of the whole earth (!) **in the Śaka year is that numbered by the moon (one), two skies (a pair of ciphers), and the moon (one)** (l. 76), **when the sun was standing in the sign Siṁha, when the moon was waxing, on the thirteenth lunar day, on Thursday, in the Vṛischika lagna, and under the Śravaṇa (nakshatra),** he, the king, the sinless one, the glorious **Vîra-Chôḍa,** assumed the fillet of sovereignty, to the delight of mankind (l. 78).

And he, the asylum of all mankind, the glorious **Vishṇuvardhana** (l. 78), the *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, the *Râja-Paramêśvara* (l. 79), the most devout worshipper of the god Mahêśvara, the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka*, he who is most kind to Brahmaṇs, the glorious **Vîra-Chôḍadêva,** having called together all the cultivators, headed by the *Râshṭrakûṭas*, dwelling in **the Guddavâḍi vishaya** (ll. 79-80), thus issues a command, in the presence of the *Mantrin*, *Purôhita*, *Sênâpati*, *Yuvarâja* and *Dauvârika* (l. 81):—

"In the Brâhmaṇ race (*i. e.* caste), there was a saint named Mudgala (l. 82). In his *gôtra* (*i. e.* in the Mudgala *gôtra*), there was a person named Pôtana (l. 84), who was praised by **the king Râjarâja (I.)** by the name of 'the great king of the Brâhmaṇs of **Râjarâja**.' His wife was Kannamâmbâ (l. 85). Their son was **Mêḍamârya** (l. 87), who became famous under the name of **Guṇaratnabhûshaṇa** (l. 89-90). He has been anointed by me in the office of *Sênâpati*, and wears the fillet which was placed on his head to the delight of the people (l. 93); and he pleases me by the patient manner in which he bears the burden of rule over the whole of my territories (ll. 94-95).

"**At the pure Drâkshârâma, and at Piṭhapurî,** a place of sanctity (l. 97), he established two *sattras*, for feeding Brâhmaṇs. Also he caused to be made a large tank, in the northern division of the famous **agrahâra of Chellûru** (l. 98). And by him, an eminent person among the Vaishṇavas (l. 101), there was caused to be built a temple of Vishṇu, in the western part of the same village; in which the god himself, the lord of Lakshmî, manifested himself, having his conch-shell and discus distinctly visible (l. 102).

"Be it known to you that **the village named Koleṟu,** in your district, has been given to that same god, the holy Vishṇubhaṭṭâraka (l. 102), for the daily performance of the *charu*, *bali*, and worship, and for the repairs of whatever may become broken or torn, — with exemption from all taxes, and on the terms of a *dêvabhôga* (l. 104)."[86]

Lines 104 to 109 specify the boundaries of the villages. As the passage contains several words that are more or less illegible, and as an identification of the names might shew that some of the legible words have not been properly divided by me, it is needless to produce any part of it here.

Then follow, in lines 110 to 113, three of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses. And the record ends with the statements, that the charter was given **in the twenty-first year of the glorious and victorious reign** (l. 113); that the *Dûtakas* (denoted by the word *âjñapti*) **were the five Pradhânas** or Ministers (l. 114); that the composer was Viddayabhaṭṭa; and that the writer was Pennâchâri.

[86] See note 55, above.

[86] The *dêvabhôga*, 'enjoyment by a god,' is obviously one of the divisions of the *tribhôga*, for which see page 217 above.

FOLKLORE IN BURMA.

BY TAW SEIN KO.

No. 2. — The Two Blind Princes.

Being childless at the time of his accession to the throne of Tagaung, King Thadonâganaing[1] adopted prince Labaduha, brother of his queen Kênnayîdêwî,[2] as his heir.

One day it was reported to the king that a huge wild boar, 18 feet high, was devastating the land, and the Êñyemin,[3] as the prince was now called, was ordered to stop its ravages. The prince marched out with an armed force, and the boar fled southwards and sought refuge in the Shan country, and to this day the place of its entry is known as Wetwin.[4] The chase was continued, and the animal crossed the Irrawaddy (Airâvatî) at a place called Wetmasut[5] without wetting itself, and was not overtaken till it reached an island above Prome now called Wettôgyun,[6] where it met its death. The prince afterwards proceeded southwards, and the lake where he washed his dagger after killing the wild boar, came to be known as Wetthwese-in, now corrupted into Wetche-in.[7]

After accomplishing his mission, Labaduha bethought himself that, in case a son and heir had been born to the King of Tagaung during his prolonged absence, his return thither would only complicate matters. The distance he would have to traverse was great and beset with much danger, and he was not free from apprehension that his return would give rise to intrigues, and perhaps civil commotion, as was the case with most of the neighbouring countries. Besides, he was of an advanced age and would prefer ending his days in peace. He, therefore, resolved to take up his permanent residence in the country of the Pyus,[8] and acquire merit by leading the austere life of an ascetic hermit.

One day the religious meditations of the hermit-prince were disturbed by the cries of an infant near his hermitage, and on repairing to the spot whence the sound proceeded, he saw to his great surprise that a doe had miraculously given birth to a female child. The doe being frightened by human intrusion ran off, and the hermit-prince could do nothing but take possession of the child and carry it to his lonely abode. Fortunately for the sustenance of the child, abundant milk miraculously flowed from both the fore-fingers of the hermit, who had constituted himself its foster father. In due course the child grew into a beautiful damsel, and was named Bedâyî.[9] When she was seventeen years of age, she was sent daily to fetch water and directed not to return home till after sunset. This injunction was given, because it was considered that the presence of a female was detrimental to the spiritual progress of a recluse.

In the same year that prince Labaduha set out on his perilous chase, queen Kênnayîdêwî gave birth to two male twins who were born blind. The king was ashamed of owning them as his children, and ordered them to be done away with. But the queen, with the motherly affection natural to her sex, hid them away and saved their lives. When they were nineteen years old, however, the king discovered that his behest had not been obeyed, and he peremptorily commanded that effect should be given to his previous order. The queen could no longer stave off the fatal moment, and therefore bringing her feminine wit into requisition, she devised a scheme for obeying the royal order and yet at the same time for saving the lives of

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[1] See *ante*, Vol. XVIII. page 275, footnote 2.

[2] Kênnayîdêwî = Kinnarîdêvî.

[3] Êñyemin or Ênshemin literally means 'lord of the eastern house,' and corresponds to the *Yuvarâja* in ancient Hindu kingdoms; *vide* Phayre's *History of Burma*, page 9.

[4] Wetwin means 'boar-entry.' It is in the Shan State of Thônzè, which is to the north-west of Mandalay.

[5] Wetmasut means 'boar-not-wet.' It is situated in the Myingyan district.

[6] Wettôgyun means 'boar-strike-island.'

[7] Wetche-in; a quarter of the town of Prome is still known by this name.

[8] The Pyus are an extinct tribe whose habitat was the Prome district.

[9] Bedâyî; this appears to be a word of the Pyu language, about which nothing is at present known.

her children. She had a magnificent raft built, stored it with provisions, shipped her sons on it, and consigned it with its precious freight to the bosom of the Irrawaddy, invoking at the same time the dryads[10] to exercise special care over her children.

The raft floated down the river, and in due course arrived at the place where Sagaing[11] now stands. Here its further progress was stayed by a projecting branch of a "sit" tree, whose guardian[12] was an ogress[13] called Sandamôkkî.[14] Taking advantage of the blindness of the princes, the ogress daily shared with them their scanty meals without their knowledge, till the brothers made an arrangement to catch the intruder by holding each other's hand and asking whose it was. By this means the princes captured the ogress, and were just waving their swords to kill her, when she cried out: "Hold! spare my life, and you will see how grateful an ogress can be." One of the princes asked: "What do you mean? How will you shew your gratitude?" And the ogress replied that she would undertake to cure their blindness. On this condition her life was spared, and the raft floated down. At the place now called Sagû[15] she began to cure them, and at Ywâlin[16] their eyesight was restored. At Myêdè,[17] just above Prome, delighted with their restored vision, they exclaimed:—

Mô ° gá ° a-pôn °
Myé gá ° a-t'è °
"The sky is a covering dome,
And the earth is below it."

The downward voyage was continued, and the raft was not moored till its arrival at Bûgâgyaung,[18] a creek below Prome. Here they encountered Bedâyî, who was drawing water. Noticing the smallness of the aperture in the joint of the hollow bamboo through which the water was trickling, this being the contrivance of the old *yathé*[19] whereby he succeeded in keeping his foster daughter employed all day long, the princes took the liberty of cutting off the joint in the bamboo end and thus enabled Bedâyî to return home earlier than usual. The hermit enquired why she had, unlike her wont and in disobedience to his express command, returned so early. She explained the cause, and volunteered to fetch the princes and introduce them to the old recluse. This was permitted, and on learning the pedigree of the strangers, who were no other than his nephews, Labaduha married Bedâyî to Mahâthanbawa,[20] the elder of the two princes.

At that time the ruler of the Pyu tribe was a queen, and the *yathé* obtained from her a grant of land of the size of a hide. He, however, construed the grant in a different sense, and cutting up a hide into thin strips, took possession of as much land as could be encircled by

[10] The corresponding term in the Burmese version of the tale for 'dryad' is *nat*. *Nat*-worship, which is pure demonolatry, still prevails in Burma, and the Buddhist monks have never attempted to suppress it.

[11] Sagaing is written in Burmese as 'Sit-kaing,' *i. e.*, the Sit-garden. The *sit* tree is not mentioned in Mason's *Burma*.

[12] Each object in nature, as trees, hills, streams, &c., is believed by the Burmans to be presided over by a guardian *nat*. See note 10, *supra*.

[13] [The description of the "ogress" here is extremely interesting, as by the term is meant merely a foreigner or "barbarian," without any special attribute of inspiring terror. — R. C. T.]

[14] Sandamôkkî is the Burmanized form of the Pâli word *Chandamukhî* (चन्दमुखी).

[15] Sagû means "begin-cure." It is in the Minbû district.

[16] Ywâlin is popularly, but wrongly, identified with Salin in the same district. It is situated in the Malun township of the Thayetmyo district.

[17] Myêdè is in the Thayetmyo district. The Myêdè parallel was taken as the boundary line between Upper and Lower Burma before the annexation of the former.

[18] This creek has been filled up.

[19] *Yathé*, so pronounced but written *rasé*, is the Burmanized from of the Sanskrit *ṛishi*.

[20] Mahâthanbawa is the Burmanized form of the Pâ word *Mahâsambhava*.

the combined length of the leathern strips. Hence the city built on the land was named Thayêk'ittayâ.[21]

When Mahâthanbawa became king over Thayêk'ittayâ, he appointed his brother Sulathanbawa[22] to be Êñyemin[23] or Crown-Prince. The former reigned for six years, and was succeeded by his brother who married[24] his sister-in-law Bedâyi. Sulathanbawa reigned for 35 years and died at the ripe age of 61.[25]

MISCELLANEA.

THE PANCHASIDDHANTIKA.

Whatever I have said in my papers on the original *Sûrya-Siddhânta* and on the *Rômaka-Siddhântas* in connection with Dr. Thibaut's opinion on certain points in the Pañchasiddhântikâ, has reference only to his article published in 1884, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LIII. Part I. pp. 259 to 293; I did not know his edition and translation of the *Pañchasiddhântikâ*, not only when I originally drafted my papers, *viz.* in July, 1889, but for some time even after their publication. Through the kindness of Dr. Thibaut I have now a copy of his work, received at the end of July last. Since then I have had no time to read it carefully; but thinking it to be desirable, nay even to be my duty, to state as early as possible those points criticised by me on which his opinions have changed, as shewn in this edition, I do so here briefly.

The principal point of my criticism was Dr. Thibaut's first view, that the *Rômaka-Siddhânta* treated of in the *Pañchasiddhântikâ*, and Śrîshêṇa's *Rômaka-Siddhânta*, were one and the same. But he has now come to the conclusion that they are different works. His opinion now about the age of the former, as given in his edition of the *Pañchasiddhântikâ*, is, that it was "composed not later than about 400 A. D." I still differ from him in this respect; my conclusion being that it was composed before A. D. 150; and I hope that by-and-bye he will come round to the same view.

Some minor points are as follows:—

(1) (See pp. 46, 47, and 50, note 15, above). He originally read the last expression in the 8th verse of the 1st chapter as सौम्यदिवसाद्ये, *saumya-divas-âdyé*. He has now read it as सौम°, *sôma-divas-âdyé*. But I have shewn in my paper on the original *Sûrya-Siddhânta* that the real reading is भौम°, *bhauma-divas-âdyaḥ*.

(2) (See p. 47, above). The second half of the 4th verse of the 9th chapter is now explained. Here we both, unaware of each other, have made the same emendation for the दल of the original MS. I have put the word रेभ (= 9), and Dr. Thibaut has put नंद (= 9).

(3) (See p. 136, above). The *Kshêpakas* in the 1st, 4th, 5th and 8th verses of the 8th chapter have been taken into consideration. Here, again, we have both made the same emendation in the 2nd half of the 4th verse. I have added the word अंक (= 9) and Dr. Thibaut has added नव (= 9), I may state here that there were several such instances of coincidence in my first paper, not published, on the original *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, of which my published paper on the same is a recast (see p. 45, above, note 1). The satisfaction felt at such an agreement in the results of independent work, will be appreciated by those who have had a like experience.

(4) (See p. 136, above, note 5). Dr. Thibaut now reads वक्र for वक, in the 8th verse of the 8th chapter.

(5) (See p. 141, above). The word व्याख्यातो in the 3rd verse of the 1st chapter is now translated by Dr. Thibaut by "explained."

I would add that the edition and translation of the *Pañchasiddhântikâ* brought out by Dr. Thibaut and Mahâmahôpâdhyâya Sudhâkar Dvivêdî, is a most important work, both in itself, and in

[21] Thayêk'ittayâ: this old-world fable has been invented to account for the name, which Lassen identifies with *Śrîkshêtra*, the 'field of fortune,' and Dr. Forchhammer with *Śrîkshatriya*, the 'glory of the Kshatriyas.' —[We would, however, agree with Lassen! EDS.]

[22] Sulathanbawa: Pâli *Chûḷasammâsa*.

[23] See *suprâ* (note 3).

[24] Marriage with a sister-in-law has died out among the Burmans. It is, however, still prevalent among the Chins: *vide* sec. 21 of Maung Tet Pyo's *Customary Law of the Chins*.

[25] The date assigned to the beginning of this story by the legendary history of Burma, is the 40th year after Gautama-Buddha's death, *i. e.* to say, 503 B. C., if the Burmese date of Buddha's death is to be accepted. [Quasi-historical legends like this are common in Burma, and are always exceedingly interesting and illustrative of the folklore of the Burmese. — R. C. T.].

giving most useful means to add to and correct our knowledge of the Hindu astronomy.

SHANKAR BALKRISHNA DIKSHIT.

Dhulia, 16th September 1890.

CALCULATIONS OF HINDU DATES.

No. 41.

In the Khêdrâpur stone inscription of the Dêvagiri-Yâdava king Siṅghaṇa II., from the Kôlâpur State, published by me in the *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XII. pp. 1, 7 ff., the date (line 8 f.) is — śrî-Śaka-varshê 1136 Śrîmukha-saṁvatsarê Chaitrê sûrya-parba(rva)ṇi Sômadinê, — "in the glorious Śaka year 1136, in the Śrîmukha *saṁvatsara*, in (the month) Chaitra, at the conjunction or festival of (*an eclipse of*) the sun, on Monday." And the inscription proceeds to record that, on this day, Siṅghaṇa II. granted the village of Kûḍaladâmavâḍa for the *aṅgabhôga* and *raṅgabhôga* and other rites of the god Koppêśvara.

Here we have a clear instance of the use of a current year of the Śaka era. For, by the southern luni-solar system, which is the only one applicable in this and the following five cases, the Śrîmukha saṁvatsara coincided with Śaka-Saṁvat 1136 current (1135 expired).

In this year, the new-moon *tithi* of the *amânta* Chaitra ended on Monday, 22nd April, A. D. 1213, at about 26 *ghaṭîs*, 10 *palas*, after mean sunrise (for Bombay). And on this day there was a total eclipse of the sun, which was perhaps visible in India just about sunset (von Oppolzer's *Canon der Finsternisse*, pp. 232, 239, and Plate 116).

With the use in this case of the word sûrya-parvan for the fuller and more customary term *sûrya-grahaṇa-parvan*, we may compare the Surat grant of Trilôchanapâla of Lâṭadêśa (see *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 91). The *tithi* is not specified, and has to be inferred from the meaning of the word *sûrya-parvan*. And the Mêsha-Saṁkrânti or entrance of the sun into Aries, occurred on Sunday, 24th March, at about 51 *gh.* 30 *p.*, and, on account of the lateness of the hour, was probably celebrated on Monday, 25th March. But in the grant of Trilôchanapâla, at any rate, it is certain that the word *sûrya-parvan* denotes an eclipse of the sun, and not a *saṁkrânti*. And it seems only natural and correct to understand it in the same sense, in the present case also.

No. 42.

In the Munôḷḷi stone inscription of the same king Siṅghaṇa II., from the Belgaum District, published by me in the *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XII. pp. 2, 11 ff. (see also *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 233 ff., where a photograph is given, and Vol. III. p. 116 ff.), the date (line 24 f.) is — śrîmatu Saka[1]-varsha 1145neya Chittrabhânu-saṁvatsarada Kârttika sudhdha[2] puṇṇami Sômavâra sômagrahaṇa-bya(vya)tîpâtadalli, — "in the *vyatîpâta* of an eclipse of the moon (*on*) Monday the full-moon *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Kârttika of the Chitrabhânu *saṁvatsara*, which is the 1145th glorious Śaka year." And the inscription proceeds to record that, on this day, at the command of the *Sarvâdhikârin* and *Daṇḍanâyaka* Purushôttama, a certain Jôgadêva granted the village of Kaḷḷavoḷe for the *aṅgabhôga* and *raṅgabhôga* and other rites of the god Svayaṁbhu-Pañchaliṅga, and for the purposes of a charitable dining-hall.

Here we have another clear instance of the use of a current year of the Śaka era. For, by the southern luni-solar system, the Chitrabhânu saṁvatsara coincided with Śaka-Saṁvat 1145 current (1144 expired).

The details, however, do not work out satisfactorily. In this year, Kârttika śukla 15 ended, not on a Monday, but on Saturday, 22nd October, A. D. 1222, at about 25 *palas*. And if the term *vyatîpâta* denotes the *yôga* of that name, then that detail also is apparently incorrect; for, the Vyatîpâta *yôga* ended at about 1 hr. 12 min., = 3 *ghaṭîs*, before the sunrise at the end of the Friday and the beginning of the Saturday. On this day, however, there was an eclipse of the moon (von Oppolzer's *Canon*, p. 362). And I think that this is undoubtedly the eclipse that was intended; though the week-day, Saturday, does not agree with that given in the record. There is no apparent reason for looking upon any portion of the record as not genuine. And, as suggested already in a similar case (*ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 127 *f.*), the explanation is perhaps to be found in the use of the term vyatîpâta. In connection with eclipses and *saṁkrântis*, it seems to have much the same sense as *parvan* and *puṇyakâla*; except that, as it literally means 'falling entirely away, total departure,' it may possibly denote only the latter half, or even the very end, of the *puṇyakâla*. There remains, of course, the difficulty, that the *puṇyakâla* of an eclipse, whether of the sun or of the moon, is limited to the time during which the eclipse is actually visible, except for accidental obstruction by clouds &c. (*Dharmasindhusâra*, i. 43). But special excellence is attached to an eclipse of the sun on a Sunday, or of the moon on a Monday; — (Ravivârê sûrya-grahaś

[1] Read *śrîmach-chhaka*.

[2] Read *śuddha*.

Chandravârê chandra-grahaś chûḍâmaṇi-saṁjñas tatra dân-âdikam ananta-phalam; — *loc. cit.*). And it may be that, within certain limits, the *puṇyakâla* could be extended to the Sunday or the Monday, as the case might be. In the present instance, the eclipse, — one of the moon, — actually occurred on a Saturday; while the record, using the term *vyatîpâta*, connects it with the Monday. While, in the other case of which I have spoken, the eclipse, — one of the sun, — actually occurred on a Saturday; but the record, using the same term, connects it with the Sunday. Moreover, in the present instance, the intervention of an expunged *tithi* during all the hours of daylight on the intervening day, may have something to do with the matter; Kârttika kṛishṇa 1 ended at about 3 *palas* on the Sunday; kṛishṇa 2, the expunged *tithi*, ended at about 58 *gh.* 30 *p.* on the same day; and the *tithi* that ended on the Monday, was kṛishṇa 3, at about 55 *gh.* 35 *p.*

In this case, no better result can be obtained by applying the given year as an expired year, and altering the name of the *saṁvatsara* from Chitrabhânu, No. 16, to Subhânu or Svabhânu, No. 17. For, in Śaka-Saṁvat 1146 current (1145 expired), Kârttika śukla 15 again ended not on a Monday, but on Thursday, 9th November, A. D. 1223, at about 52 *gh.* 30 *p.* Moreover, on this day there was no eclipse of the moon.

No. 43.

In the **Chikka-Bâgiwâḍi copper-plate grant** of the Dêvagiri-Yâdava king Kṛishṇa, from the Belgaum District, published by me, with a lithograph, in this Journal, Vol. VII. p. 303 ff. (originally in the *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XII. pp. 3, 25 ff.), the date (line 19 ff.) is — êkasaptaty-uttara-śat-âdhê(dhi)ka-sahasra-saṁkhyêshu Śak-âvdê(bdê)shv=atîtêshu pravarttamânê Saumya[3]-saṁvatsarê tad-aṁta[r*]gat-Âshâḍha-paurṇṇamâsyaṁ Śanaiśchara-vârê Pûrvv-Âshâḍh[â*]-nakshatrê Vaidhṛiti-yôgê ittham-bhûta-puṇṇya[4]-kâlê, — "when there have gone by the Śaka years numbered by a thousand increased by a hundred raised by seventy-one, in the current Saumya *saṁvatsara*, on the full-moon *tithi* of (the month) Âshâḍha in that (*year*), on Saturday, under the Pûrvâ-Ashâḍhâ *nakshatra*, (*and*) in the Vaidhṛiti *yôga*; at this meritorious time." And the inscription proceeds to record that, at this time, the minister Mallisaṭṭi gave certain lands at Santheya-Bâgavâḍi to the god Mâdhava and thirty-two Brâhmans.

Here the given year is an expired year, as specified in the record itself. For, by the southern luni-solar system, the Saumya saṁvatsara coincided with Śaka-Saṁvat 1172 current (1171 expired).

In this year, the given *tithi* Âshâḍha śukla 15 ended on **Saturday, 26th June, A. D. 1249,** at about 32 *ghaṭis*, 15 *palas*, after mean sunrise (for Bombay). By the equal-space system for the longitudes of the ending-points of the *nakshatras*, the moon was in the **Pûrvâ-Ashâḍhâ nakshatra,**[5] at sunrise, and up to at about 7 hrs. 52 min., = 19 *gh.* 40 *p.* Also, there was the **Vaidhṛiti yôga,** ending at about 14 hrs. 2 min., = 35 *gh.* 5 *p.*

No. 44.

In the **Munôḷḷi stone-inscription** of the same king Kṛishṇa, published by me in the *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XII. pp. 4, 34 ff., the date (line 20 ff.) is — Śa(śa)ka-varsha 1174neya Virô[dhikṛitu]-saṁvatsarada Jêshṭa[6] bahuḷa ya(a)mâvâse sûryya-grahaṇa Su(śu)kravâ[rad-a]ṁdu, — "on Friday, (*at the time of*) an eclipse of the sun, which is the new-moon *tithi* of the dark fortnight of (*the month*) Jyêshṭha of the Virôdhikṛit *saṁvatsara*, which is the 1174th Śaka year." And the inscription proceeds to record that, on this day, the cultivators of Munîndravaḷḷi, and certain other people, granted some lands &c. for the *aṅgabhôga* and *raṅgabhôga* and other rites of the god Jagadîśvara.

Here, again, we have another clear instance of the use of a current year of the Śaka era. For, by the southern luni-solar system, the Virôdhikṛit saṁvatsara coincided with Śaka-Saṁvat 1174 current (1173 expired).

The details, however, do not work out satisfactorily. In this year, Jyêshṭha kṛishṇa 15 ended, not on a Friday, but on Tuesday, 20th June, A. D. 1251, at about 38 *ghaṭis*, 40 *palas*, after mean sunrise (for Bombay). Moreover, on this day there was no eclipse of the sun. The nearest solar eclipses (von Oppolzer's *Canon*, p. 236) were, on Saturday, 22nd April, of the same year, corresponding to Chaitra kṛishṇa 15; and on Sunday, 17th September, corresponding to Bhâdrapada kṛishṇa 15.

Nor can any better result be obtained by applying the given year as an expired year, and altering the name of the *saṁvatsara* from Virôdhikṛit, No. 45, into Paridhâvin, No. 46. For, in Śaka-Saṁvat 1175 current (1174 expired), Jyêshṭha kṛishṇa 15 again ended, not on a Friday, but on

[3] Read *saumya*.

[4] Read *puṇya*.

[5] By the unequal-space systems, the *nakshatra* at sunrise was Uttarâ-Ashâḍhâ; and Pûrvâ-Ashâḍhâ ended on the previous day.

[6] Read *jyêshṭha*.

Saturday, 8th June, A. D. 1252, at about 43 *gh.* 55 *p.*; and at this conjunction also, there was no eclipse of the sun.

In this instance, again, there is no apparent reason for questioning the genuineness of the record. But the word *sûryyagrahaṇa* is unusually, and irregularly, placed before *Śukra-vârad-andu*; and I suspect that the grant was really made on Tuesday, 20th June, A. D. 1251, and that the Friday refers, either to the writing of the record, or to its being engraved on the stone. The sentence may be made complete and accurate, by inserting *-nimittadiṁ* or *-nimittav-âgi* after *sûrya-grahaṇa*. The fact, however, still remains that there was no eclipse of the sun; in respect of this, I can only draw attention to the "observation" from Warren's *Kalasankalita*, quoted at page 323 above.

No. 45.

In the **Bêhaṭṭi copper-plate grant** of the same king Kṛishṇa, from the Dhârwâḍ District, published by me in the *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XII. pp. 4, 42 ff., the date (line 51 ff.) is — paṁchasaptaty-adhika-śat-ôttara-sahasrakê Śaka-varshê varttamânê Svasti Śrîmad-Yâdavanârâyaṇa-bhujava(ba)lapraudhapratâpachakravarttiśrî-Kanharadêva-varshêshu saptamê Pramâdi-saṁvatsarê Chaitra-mâsê kṛishṇa-pakshê amâvâsyâyâṁ Sômavârê, — "the Śaka year one thousand, increased by one hundred raised by seventy-five, being current; Hail!; in the years of the glorious Yâdava-Nârâyaṇa, a universal emperor through the mature prowess of the strength of (*his*) arm, the glorious Kanharadêva; in the seventh (*year, which is*) the Pramâdin *saṁvatsara*, in the month Chaitra, in the dark fortnight, on the new-moon *tithi*, on Monday." And the charter proceeds to record that, on this day, the *Mahâpradhâna* Chaunḍarâja made an *agrahâra*-grant to the Brâhmaṇs of the village of Kukkanûru.

This date is of interest in giving an instance of the improper use of the word **vartamâna**, 'current.' For, by the southern luni-solar system, the **Pramâdin saṁvatsara** coincided with the given year, Śaka-Saṁvat 1175, **only as an expired year.**

The details, however, do not work out satisfactorily. In this year, the *amânta* Chaitra kṛishṇa 15 ended, not on a Monday, but on Sunday, 30th March, A. D. 1253, at about 46 *ghaṭis*, 45 *palas*.

Nor can any better result be obtained by really applying the given year as a current year, and altering the name of the *saṁvatsara* from Pramâdin, No. 47, to Paridhâvin, No. 46. For, in Śaka-Saṁvat 1175 current (1174 expired), the *amânta* Chaitra kṛishṇa 15 again ended, not on a Monday, but on Wednesday, 10th April, A. D. 1252, at about 29 *gh.* 5 *p.*; beginning at about 27 *gh.* 5 *p.* on the Tuesday.

Here, again, there are no apparent reasons for doubting the authenticity of the record. And the only explanation that suggests itself, is, that the grant was really made on Sunday, 30th March, A. D. 1253; and that the Monday refers, either to the writing of the record, or to its being engraved on the copper. Failing that, it would seem that there is a mistake in the month; and that the *tithi* should be **Vaiśâkha** kṛishṇa 15, which began on **Monday**, 28th April, A. D. 1253, at about 16 *gh.* 35 *p.*, and ended on the Tuesday, at about 16 *gh.* 15 *p.*

No. 46.

In the **Paiṭhan copper-plate grant** of the Dêvagiri-Yâdava king Râmachandra, from the Nizâm's Dominions, published by me in this Journal, Vol. XIV. p. 314 ff., the date (line 62 f.) is — Sa(śa)kê cha êkâdaśasu trinavaty-adhikêshv=atîtêshu 1193 varttamâna-Prajâpati-saṁvatsarâṁtargata-Mâgha-śuddha-dvâdaśyâṁ Vu(bu)dhê, — "in the Śaka (*era*), when there have gone by eleven (*centuries*) increased by ninety-three (*years*), (*or in figures*) 1193; on the twelfth *tithi* in the bright fortnight of (*the month*) Mâgha in the current Prajâpati *saṁvatsara*; on Wednesday." And the charter proceeds to record that, on this day, king Râmachandra granted the village of Vâḍâṭhâna, and two others, to a number of Brâhmaṇs, as an *agrahâra*.

Here, by the southern luni-solar system, **the Prajâpati saṁvatsara** coincided with Śaka-Saṁvat 1194 current; so that the given year, 1193, **is rightly qualified as an expired year.**

And in this year, Mâgha śukla 12 ended, as required, on Wednesday, 13th January, A. D. 1272, at about 36 *ghaṭis*, 14 *palas*.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

CORRUPTIONS OF PORTUGUESE NAMES IN SALSETTE AND BASSEIN.

The accompanying lists are in illustration of the corruption which **Portuguese names** have undergone in the mouths of the Christianised Kôlîs and others upon whom they have been imposed. They have been compiled from the Criminal Returns of Magistrates exercising jurisdiction in the Salsette

and Bassein Tâlukâs of the Ṭhâṇâ district. Great help in identifying the Portuguese originals of the various corruptions was given me by Mr. J. L. Britto, Head Clerk in the Registrar's Office (Appellate Side), High Court of Bombay, who has also revised the proofs. In the lists the Portuguese name comes first, the corruptions after it.

Surnames.

Barbosa, Barbôs.
Botelho, Butêl.
Colaço, Kulâs.
Correia, Kurêl, Kunêl.
Coutinho, Kôtin.
D'Abreo, Dâbrê, Dâbrêl.
DaCunha, Kun.
D'Albuquerque, Albukar.
D'Almeida, Almêd.
D'Andrades, Andrâd, Andrât.
DaSilva, Seâl, Silvâ.
DeBrito, Debrît, Dibrît.
DeCarvalho, Karwâl.
DeConceição, Kôsesâw.
DeMello, Dumêl.
DeMenezes, Mînêz.
DeMonte, Montî.
DePenha, Peniâ.
DeSa, Dêsâ, Dâsâ.
DeSouza, Souza, Sôj.
Dias, Dis.
Dos Remedios, Remêd.
Falcão, Falkâo, Falkû.
Fragoso, Phargôl.
Gomes, Gôm.
Gonsalves, Ghôsâl.
Graçias, Grâsi.
Lopes, Lôp.
Pereira, Prêl.
Rebello, Rebêl.
Soares, Sowâr.
Vaz, Wâz.

Christian Names.

Aleixo, Alês, Alîs.
Andrê, Andriâ.
Angelo, Angêl, Angû.
Antonio, Antôn, Antû.
Apollinario, Applûn.
Augustinho, Gustin.
Bernardo, Bernâd.
Bertoldo, Bêtû.
Boaventura, Itûr, Vitur.
Caetano, Kâtû, Kaitân.
Carlos, Kârlû.
Celestino, Sîlû.
Constancio, Kustân.
Dioginho, Dêgîn.
Diogo, Dêgiâ, Dêgir, Dêgû.
Domingos, Duming, Dumâ, Dumji.
Elias, Ellis.
Feleciana, Filsû.
Filipe, Phillû, Pillîâ.
Francisco, Farsû.
Ignacio, Înâs.
Jacintho, Jâsi, Jâsin.
Jeronimo, Jurân.
Joana, Jânû.
João, Jâo.
Joaquim, Jokim, Jâkû.
José, Jujiâ, Zujê, Zujiâ.
Lourenço, Lorês.
Luis, Lûshû.
Luisa, Lûzû.
Manoel, Mânû, Mâniâ.
Maria, Mârû.
Mariano, Mâriân.
Martinho, Mârtîn.
Matheus, Matês.
Mathias, Mâthis.
Miguel, Mingêl, Mangû.
Nathalia, Nathû.
Nicolau, Niklâo.
Pascoal, Paskôl, Paskiâ, Pakû.
Paulo, Paulû.
Pedrinho, Pedrin.
Pedro, Pêdru.
Pobre, Pôbriâ.
Quiteria, Kittû.
Raphael, Raphêl.
Romania, Rumân.
Rosa, Rôzî, Rozû.
Salvador, Sâlû.
Santana, Santân.
Santiago, Santiâg.
Sebastião, Bâstiâo, Bâstav.
Simão, Simaw.
Theresa, Terêz, Terâj.
Thomas, Tomâ.
Vicente, Vishiâ, Vishu.

C. E. G. CRAWFORD.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE VIRGIN MARY AND HER SISTERS.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE "INDIAN ANTIQUARY."

SIR, — In the September issue of your *Journal*, Mr. Geo. F. D'Penha, in his contribution *re* the Blessed Virgin Mary and Her Sisters, gives a one-sided account. The legend told, from a Hindu point of view, may or may not be correct, but this I do not wish to argue. It is generally believed among Natives in the way your correspondent cites it, and this might account for the influx of Natives during the feast-days in the month of September. My Hindu informant tells me that the name of the sixth sister is Lillâvatî, a temple in whose name is near Girgaum.

It is astonishing to find how your correspondent, who is a Catholic, should have ignored the history of "Mount Mary" as related from a Catholic stand-point, and volunteered to commit to writing the other version of the story. With a slight stretch of memory your Bândrâ correspondent could have recollected that in the appendix to the pamphlet published in 1874 by the Very Rev. F. L. G. D'Athaide, on *the Birth of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, a concise account is given of the Chapel of the Mount. I possess a copy of the pamphlet in which the following appears:—

"In the year 1678 a Chapel was built by the Portuguese and named '*Capella de N. Senhora do Monte*,' which was made filial to the ancient Church of St. Anne;[1] when the Marâṭhâs invaded the island of Salsette, the Chapel along with the Church of St. Anne, was demolished and burnt, but the image was thrown into the sea. This image was hidden among the rocks in the creek by some devout person, and lay there for six months, after which it was removed and replaced in St. Andrew's Church. In 1761, when the population of the parish of St. Andrew's numbered more than 10,000 souls, the statue of

[1] On the ruins of this Church now stands the Bândrâ slaughter-house. The large stone cross belonging to this Church may be now seen in the compound of St. Andrew Church, Bândrâ.

the Blessed Virgin Mary was carried to the Hill and a Chapel was built and dedicated to her. The cost of the building was defrayed by subscriptions from the Catholics of Mahim, Bombay, Bassein and Salsette."

I shall feel obliged by the publication of the above, as no doubt the legend, as already told, might have made a non-Catholic impression upon your readers.

Mahim, 22-9-90. B. L. D'SILVA.

[We do not think that our correspondent, Mr. D'Penha, meant any disrespect to the Roman Catholic religion by placing on record his very instructive version of a folktale current among the Natives in the neighbourhood of Bombay. — EDS.]

BOOK-NOTICES.

THE HINDU HOME-LIFE, by KACCOO MAL MANUCHEE, Rai Bahadur. Lucknow, London Printing Press, 1890.

This little volume, invaluable to the student of Indian folklore, contains a long series of discursive notes, arranged in alphabetical order of subjects, on the religious beliefs, social customs, folklore and superstitions of the Hindus of Oudh. They are given without comment or any attempt at generalization, and so form to the anthropologist a most useful mine of information at first hand by a Hindu about Hindus.

The last half of the book is taken up with proverbs and sayings on agriculture and general subjects, arranged on the plan of Dr. Fallon's *Dictionary of Hindustani Proverbs*, and with a quantity of those religious aphorisms which form so important a feature in the practical religion of the modern North-Indian Hindu.

This book contains just the information that European anthropologists so much need, and we hope that the author will be encouraged to give us more of his observations, and that other Native observers will hasten to follow his example.

COMPARATIVE NOTES TO THE MABINOGION, by Prof. H. GAIDOZ, reprinted from *Y. Cymmrodor*, Vol. X. Pts. 1 and 2.

In his "Notes," No. 1, Ransom by Weight, Prof. Gaidoz has done good service in drawing attention to the spread of the well known Indian custom of tulâdân, or weighing against gold or silver, now used as a superstitious prophylactic against sickness, but originally a war custom of the Aryans as a method of valuing the ransom of a prisoner or the payment to be made in consequence of a murder or death.

The custom of weighing against precious metals as a cure for sickness was known in mediæval Europe, and in an attenuated form, in the shape of a staff of a measured thickness and height, was practised both as means of valuing reparation for a wrong and of procuring the birth of children. It survives still in the custom of presenting wax models of the whole or parts of the body at shrines upon recovery from sickness.

The interesting notes collected by Prof. Gaidoz might well be increased by an enquiry into the shapes the custom has assumed in folktales. For instance, take this description from *Wide Awake Stories*, p. 10, — "Now the king had a daughter called Princess Blossom, who was so lovely and tender and slim and fair, that she only weighed five flowers. Every morning she was weighed in golden scales, and the scales always turned when the fifth flower was put in, neither less nor more." The vernacular names for Princess Blossom are Bâdshâhzâdî Phûlî or Princess Flower, and Phûlâzâdî, Born-of-a-flower. Pañchphûlî Râṇî or Queen Five-flowers is an old favourite in Indian nurseries.[1] In *Indian Folktales*, pp. 1 and 2, the heroine weighs only one flower and the same weight is given to the god Indra. Weighing against flowers is again in other folktales a test of chastity.

This favourite point in folktales assumes altogether a new interest, if it be held to be connected with the ideas that have led to the world-wide custom of *tulâdân*.

THE MADRAS CHRISTIAN COLLEGE MAGAZINE, Vol. VII. No. 1, July 1889. Madras, Addison & Co.; London, Elliot Stock.

This number contains a lively and useful controversy between Mr. John Kuriyan and Mr. G. Milne Rae on the Indian Apostleship of St. Thomas, which brings out among other facts that among the Malabar Christians the "title-deeds of the new churches record the fact that the properties were conveyed to St. Thomas personally (*Mar Thomma slihauda manuslingattin gulakku*)." These should be worth examination, to test genuineness and age.

THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES AND OUDH PROVINCIAL MUSEUM, LUCKNOW. Minutes of the Managing Committee from August 1883 to 31st March 1888, with an Introduction. Allahabad, Government Press. 1889.

This is a vain-glorious chronicle of very small beer, got up in the style of a *University Calendar*. It contains pp. ix. and 417. The printing is expensive and good, and the contents may be of use to the compiler, but hardly to any one else.

[1] See *Old Deccan Days*, p. 129.

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ERRATA IN VOL. XIX.

p. 4, line 35, *for* **Sukrê** *read* **Sukrè.**

p. 10, line 9 from the bottom, *for* **A. D. 497 or 498,** *read* **A. D. 597 or 598.**

p. 13, line 13, *for* ordinary, *read* ordinarily.

p. 38, line 26, *for* ṭârâka, *read* ṭâraka.

p. 48, line 29, *for* revolution, *read* revolutions.

p. 50, note 15, *for* st, *read* 1st.

p. 53, line 25, *for* chapter xvii., *read* chapter xvi.

p. 71, note 8, *for* ṛisha, *read* Vṛisha.

p. 79, line 2, and throughout the paper, and in the Plate, *for* **Râjarâja II.**, *read* **Râjarâja I.**; *and see p.* 424, *note* 3.

p. 102 *a*, line 12 from the bottom, and p. 103 *b*, line 16, *for* **accession,** *read* **coronation.**

p. 109, note 53, *the following should be added,* [These eras, according to Burmese chronology, commenced, — G. E. in B. C. 691; S. E. in B. C. 543; P. E. in A. D. 79. The S. E. is the era of the *Nirvâṇa*; and the P. E. is simply the Śaka era. The Burmese now reckon by a local Burmese era (B. E.), which dates from A. D. 639. See Crawfurd, *Ava*, App., p. 31 ff.; *Prinsep's Essays*, Vol. II. Useful Tables, pp. 165, 166. — R. C. T.]

p. 129 *a*, line 5 from the bottom, for **Râjarâja II.**, *read* **Râjarâja I.**; *and make the same correction on p.* 130 *b, lines* 2, 4, 22-23; *see p.* 424, *note* 3.

p. 129 *a*, last line, and p. 130 *b*, line 1, *for* **accession,** *read* **coronation.**

p. 138, line 10, *for* chapter xviii., *read* chapter viii.; and in note 8, for *Dâśa°*, read *Daśa°*.

p. 165, line 28, *for* — saying "Let us dive into the **Raṭṭa ocean,** — acquired a grant," *read, as has been pointed out by Mr. Rice,* "acquired a grant for the purpose of widening (or deepening) the (tank that is called) **Raṭṭasamudra**;" *and cancel note* 26.

p. 189, lines 4, 14, 23, and 24, *for* Soḳoṭra *read* Soḳoṭra.

,, line 19, *for* Soḳoṭran *read* Soḳoṭran.

p. 190, note 3, line 3, *for* Sokoṭra *read* Soḳoṭra.

p. 191, line 32, *for* Sokoṭra *read* Soḳoṭra.

37, *for* Sokoṭran *read* Soḳoṭran.

p. 250, line 6, *for* 1131, *read* 1188.

p. 273, note 26, in the first word of this note, for *baḷiya*, read *baḷiya*.

p. 284 *a*, line 29, *for* Puliśaâchârya, *read* Puliśâchârya.

p. 304, line 7 from the bottom, *for* Mahkâûṭa, *read* Mahâkûṭa.

p. 351, line 32, *for* **Mahâdvâsaka,** *read* **Mahâdvâdasaka.**

p. 382 *b*, line 20-21, *for* by gained, *read* be gained.

p. 385, note 12, *for* accordingly, *read* accidentally.

p. 386, at the end of the first Sanskṛit verse, *for* ১৩, *read* ১৮.

p. 390, at the end of the last two Sanskṛit verses, *for* ৭ *and* ৯, *read* ৯ *and* ৮.

p. 435, note 83, line 4, for *maḍnalam*, read *maṇḍalam*.