

THE
INDIAN ANTIQUARY,

A JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH

IN

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

EDITED BY

JOHN FAITHFULL FLEET, C.I.E.,
BOMBAY CIVIL SERVICE,

AND

RICHARD CARNAC TEMPLE,
MAJOR, BENGAL STAFF CORPS.

VOL. XIX.—1890.

BOMBAY:

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED AT THE EDUCATION SOCIETY'S PRESS, BYCULLA.

LONDON: KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER & Co.

BOMBAY: EDUCATION SOCIETY'S PRESS.

NEW YORK: WESTERMANN & Co.

LEIPZIG: OTTO HARRASSOWITZ.

PARIS:

BERLIN:

VIENNA:

E. LEROUX.

A. ASHER & Co.

A. HOLDER & Co.

CONTENTS.

The names of Contributors are arranged alphabetically.

	PAGE		PAGE
SAYYID KHAIRAYAT AHMAD :—		A SELECTION OF KANARESE BALLADS :—	
Omens in Bihâr	130	No. 5. The Daughter-in-Law of Channavva of Kittûr... ..	413
CECIL BENDALL, M.A. :—		The Bhitari Seal of Kumâragupta II.	224
AN INSCRIPTION IN A BUDDHISTIC VARIETY OF NAIL-HEADED CHARACTERS	77	A Doubtful Chaulukya Grant... ..	253
G. BUHLER, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E. :—		Nandikêśvara, Lañjigêsara	317
TEXTS OF THE ASOKA EDICTS ON THE DELHI MIRAT PILLAR AND OF THE SEPARATE EDICTS ON THE ALLAHABAD PILLAR	122	Calculations of Hindu Dates :—	
A Note on Harshavardhana's Conquest of Nêpâl. 40		No. 32. The Dates of the completion of Utpala's Commentaries on the Brihaj-Jâtaka and the Brihat-Samhitâ	40
Albêrûni's India, by Edward C. Sachau	381	No. 33. Bilvanâthêśvara temple inscription of the Chôla king Kô-Eâjâkêsarivarman	70
J. BURGESS, LL.D., M.R.A.S., F.R.G.S. :—		No. 34. The Coronation of the Eastern Chalukya king Amma II.	102
The Rômaka Siddhântas	284	No. 35. The Coronation of the Eastern Chalukya king Râjarâja I.	129
The Pulisâ-Siddhânta	316	No. 36. Gadag inscription of the time of the Hoysala king Ballâla II. ; Saka-Samvat 1121... ..	155
C. E. G. CRAWFORD :—		No. 37. Dâvangere inscription of the Mahâ-manḍalêśvara Vijayapândyadêva ; Saka-Samvat 1091	156
Corruptions of Portuguese Proper Names in Salsette and Bassein	442	No. 38. Kôlâr inscription of the Dêvagiri-Yâdava king Singhana II. ; Saka-Samvat 1145... ..	157
WILLIAM CROOKE, B.C.S. :—		No. 39. Aihole inscription of the Western Chalukya king Vijayâditya	137
Charms and Spells in the North-West Provinces... ..	103	No. 40. Miraj inscription ; Saka-Samvat 1065... ..	317
Omens in the North-West Provinces	254	No. 41. Khêdrâpur, inscription of the Dêvagiri-Yâdava king Singhana II. ; Saka-Samvat 1136	440
SHANKAR BALKRISHNA DIKSHIT DRULIA :—		No. 42. Munôlîi inscription of the same king ; Saka-Samvat 1145	440
THE ORIGINAL SURYA-SIDDHANTA	45	No. 43. Chikka-Bâgiwadi grant of the Dêvagiri-Yâdava king Krishna ; Saka-Samvat 1171	441
THE ROMAKA SIDDHANTAS	133	No. 44. Munôlîi inscription of the same king ; Saka-Samvat 1174	441
The Pañchasiddhântikâ	439	No. 45. Bêhatti grant of the same king ; Saka-Samvat 1175	442
J. F. FLEET, B.C.S., M.R.A.S., C.I.E. :—		No. 46. Paithan grant of the same king ; Saka-Samvat 1193	442
SANSKRIT AND OLD-KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS :—		REV. THOMAS FOULKES, F.L.S., M.R.A.S., F.R.G.S. :—	
No. 185. — Mahâkûta Pillar Inscription of Maṅgalêsa	7	BUDDHAGHOSA	105
No. 186. — Balagârîve Stone Inscription of the time of Vinayâditya	142	G. A. GRIERSON, B.C.S. :—	
No. 187. — Sorab Copper-Plate Grant of Vinayâditya ; Saka-Samvat 614 expired	146	THE INSCRIPTIONS OF PIYADASI, THE EDICTS OF DHAULI AND JAUGADA, FROM THE FRENCH OF M. E. SENART	82
No. 188. — Mañḍûr Inscription of the time of Jayasînha III. ; Saka-Samvat 962	161		
No. 189. — Bhôj Copper-Plate Grant of the Raṭṭa Mahâmanḍalêśvara Kârtavîrya IV. ; Saka-Samvat 1131	242		
No. 190. — Honwâd Stone Inscription of Sômêśvara II., Saka-Samvat 976	263		
No. 191. — Sâtârâ Copper-Plate Grant of Vishṇuvardhana I.	303		
No. 192. — Chellûr Copper-Plate Grant of Virâ-Chôḍadêva ; dated in his twenty-first year	423		
SOME GOLD COINS OF THE EASTERN CHALUKYA KINGS SAKTIVARMAN AND RAJARAJA I.	79		

PAGE	PAGE
Progress of European Scholarship :—	V. KANAKASABHAI PILLAI, B.A., B.L. :—
No. 19. Miscellaneous Essays by European	TAMIL HISTORICAL TEXTS; THE KALINGATU
Scholars : (a) J. Grosset on Hindu Music; (b)	PARANI 329
Prof. Weber on old Iranian Star-names; (c)	H. G. PRENDERGAST :—
Prof. Sachau on Albérún's transliteration of	Social Customs : Opprobrious Names 255
Indian Words; (d) M. Winternitz on Snake-	CHAS. J. RODGERS :—
Worship 72	RARE COPPER COINS OF AKBAR 219
Notes d'Epigraphie Indienne, par M. E. Senart ... 43	Chitor 380
The Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindu-	G. H. R. :—
stan 103	Luck and Ill-Luck in Oudh 323
Giornale della Societa Asiatica Italiana 286	E. REHATSEK :—
Die Hymnen des Rig-Véda, herausgegeben von	A NOTICE OF THE GULABNAMA 289
Hermann Oldenburg 236	HARIDAS SASTRI :—
PROF. A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE, PH.D. :—	A Note on Vimala 378
THE PATAVALI OR LIST OF PONTIFFS OF THE	PANDIT S. M. NATESA SASTRI, M.F.L.S. :—
UPAKESA-GACHCHHA 233	FOLKLORE IN SOUTHERN INDIA :—
A NEW COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF GOVINDA-	No. 32. The Four Good Maxims. (Second
CHANDRADEVA OF KANAUJ 249	Variant) 126
E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.; BANGALORE :—	No. 33. The Six Good Maxims 275
EXTRACTS FROM KALHANA'S RAJATARAMGINI :—	No. 34. The Shower of Gold and Scorpions ... 311
No. 3. Extracts from the Second Taraṅga ... 261	Elves in Madras 75
PROF. F. KIELHORN, C.I.E., GÖTTINGEN :—	Charms and Spells in Madras... .. 103
THE EPOCH OF THE LAKSHMANASENA ERA ... 1	Omens in Madras 254
EXAMINATION OF QUESTIONS CONNECTED WITH	E. SENART, MEMBRE DE L'INSTITUT DE FRANCE :—
THE VIKRAMA ERA 20, 166, 354	THE INSCRIPTIONS OF PITADASI :—
KANASWA STONE INSCRIPTION OF SIVAGANA ;	CHAPTER III. The Detached Rock Edicts. The
THE MALAVA YEAR 795 EXPIRED 55	Edicts of Dhauri and of Jaugada 82
DELHI SIWALIK PILLAR INSCRIPTIONS OF VISALA-	B. L. D'SILVA :—
DEVA ; THE VIKRAMA YEAR 1220... .. 215	The Virgin Mary and her Sisters 443
THREE UJJAIN COPPER-PLATE GRANTS OF THE	DR. H. W. SMYTH, PENNSYLVANIA :—
RULES OF MALAVA 345	SACRED LITERATURE OF THE JAINS, TRANSLATED
The Sáyana-Pañchāṅg for the Śaka Year 1811 ... 256	FROM THE GERMAN OF PROF. WEBER 62
The Málava Era 316	TAW SEIN KO, RANGOON :—
MAJOR J. S. KING, B.O.S.C. :—	FOLKLORE IN BURMA :—
THE ABORIGINES OF SOBOTRA, AN ETHNOLOGICAL,	No. 2. The two Blind Princes 437
RELIGIOUS AND PHILOLOGICAL REVIEW ... 189	MAJOR R. C. TEMPLE, B.S.C., M.R.A.S. :—
J. P. LEWIS :—	Selection from the Records of the Hlutdaw, by
Slang of Tamil Castes 160	Taw Sein Ko 75
W. R. MORFILL :—	PUTLIBAI D. H. WADIA :—
Progress of European Scholarship :—	FOLKLORE IN WESTERN INDIA :—
Nos. 20, 21. Transactions of the Eastern	No. 15. The Wonderful Tree 152
Section of the Imperial Russian Archaeolo-	PARSI AND GUJARATI HINDU NUPTIAL SONGS ... 374
gical Society 157, 318	PROP. E. WEBER, BERLIN :—
GEO. F. D'PENHA :—	THE SACRED LITERATURE OF THE JAINS ... 62
FOLKLORE IN SALSETTE :—	
No. 4. The Snake and the Girl 314	
The Virgin Mary and Her Sisters... .. 283	

MISCELLANEA AND CORRESPONDENCE.

A Note on Harshavardhana's conquest of Népál, by	A Doubtful Chaulukya Grant, by J. F. Fleet ... 253
G. Bühler 40	The Rómaka Siddhántas, by J. Burgess 284
Calculations of Hindu Dates, Nos. 32 to 46, by	The Málava Era, by F. Kielhorn 316
J. F. Fleet, 41, 70, 102, 129, 155, 156, 157, 187, 317, 440	The Pulisa-Siddhánta, by J. Burgess 316
Progress of European Scholarship, No. 19, by G. A.	Nandikésvara, Lañjigésara, by J. F. Fleet 317
Grierson 72	A Note on Vimala, by Haridas Sastri... .. 378
Progress of European Scholarship, Nos. 20, 21, by	Chitór, by C. J. Rodgers... .. 380
W. R. Morfill 157, 318	The Pañchasiddhántiká, by Shankar Balkrishna
The Bhitari Seal of Kumáragupta II., by J. F.	Dikshit 439
Fleet 224	The Virgin Mary and Her Sisters, by B. L. D'Silva. 443

CONTENTS.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

	PAGE		PAGE
Elves in Madras, by S. M. Natesa Sastri	75	The Onko Reckoning of Orissa	255
Charms and Spells in the North-West Provinces, by William Crooke, and in Madras, by S. M. Natesa Sastri	103	The Date of Kālidāsa	285
Omens in Bihār, by Sayyid Khairayat Ahmad ...	130	The Winds of Āshādha	285
Slang of Tamil Castes, by J. P. Lewis	160	The Virgin Mary and Her Sisters, by Geo. Fr. D'Penha	285
Omens in Madras, by S. M. Natesa Sastri, and in the North-West Provinces, by William Crooke ...	254	Wrong Predictions of Eclipses	323
Social Customs, Opprobrious Names, by H. G. Prendergast	255	Luck and Ill-Luck, in Oudh, by G. H. R.	325
		Corruptions of Portuguese Proper Names in Salsette and Bassein, by C. E. G. Crawford.....	443

BOOK-NOTICES.

Notes d'Épigraphie Indienne, par M. E. Senart ...	43	The Hymns of the R̥ig-Vēda, translated by Ralph T. H. Griffith	325
Bengal, its Chiefs, Agents and Governors, by F. C. Danvers	44	South-Indian Chronological Tables, by the late W. S. Krishnasvami Naidu, edited by R. Sewell ...	326
Selections from the Records of the Hlutdaw, by Taw Sein-Ko	75	Albēruni's India; an English Edition with Notes and Indices, by Dr. Edward C. Sachau	381
The Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindustan, by G. A. Grierson	103	Vier Erzählungen aus der Śukasaptati, von Dr. Richard Schmidt	410
The Diary of William Hedges, Esq., by Col. Sir Henry Yule	181	Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. X., No. 35, 1887	410
Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. XIII., 1889	228	Proceedings of the Canadian Institute	411
Catalogue of Hindustāni Printed Books in the Library of the British Museum, by J. F. Blumhardt	256	Tractatus de Globis et Eorum Usu, by Robert Hues ...	411
The Śāyana-Pañchāṅg for the Śaka Year 1811 ...	256	The Hindu Home Life, by Kaccōo Mal Manuchee ...	444
Giornale della Società Asiatica Italiana	286	Comparative Notes to the Mabinogion, by Prof. H. Gaidoz	444
Die Hymnen des R̥ig-Vēda, herausgegeben von Hermann Oldenberg	286	The Madras Christian College Magazine, Vol. VII., No. 1	441
Proceedings of the American Oriental Society ...	325	The North-Western Provinces and Oudh Provincial Museum, Lucknow	444

ILLUSTRATIONS.

Mahākūta Pillar Inscription of Maṅgalēśa	18	The Allahābād Pillar; A., the Edict of the Queens of Dēvānāmpīya; B., the Kōsambi Edict of Dēvānāmpīya	125
Kanaswa Inscription of Sivagana; the Mālava Year 795 expired	58	Baḷagānve Inscription of the time of Vinayāditya ...	144
Inscription at the bottom of an image of Buddha from Gayā; and Coins of Chālukya-Chandra or Śaktivarman, and of Rājārāja I.	78	Delhi Siwālik Pillar Inscriptions of Visaladēva; Vikrama-Samvat 1220	218
Aśōka Inscriptions:—		Rare Copper-coins of Akbar, Plates i. and ii....	222, 223
The Delhi Mirat Pillar, North side Edicts I., II., and III.	122	Sātrā Plates of Vishṇuvardhana I.	310, 311
" " " " , West side, Edict IV.	123	A Selection of Kanarese Ballads; the Daughter-in-law of Channavva of Kittār; Air of the Chorus	416
" " " " , South side, Edict V.	124		

THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY,

A JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH.

VOLUME XIX.—1890.

THE EPOCH OF THE LAKSHMANĀSĒNA 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 Lakshmanasēna 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. Rājēndralāl Mitra's *Notices of Sanskrit MSS.* show that in Bengal there are numerous MSS. which are fully dated in the Lakshmanasēna 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 Lakshmanasēna 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 Sivasimha, in which the Lakshmanasēna year 293, expressed in words and figures, is coupled with the Saka year 1321, and the details of which undoubtedly work out satisfactorily for the expired Saka year mentioned.¹ For, this date appeared to prove that between a year of the Lakshmanasēna era and the corresponding Saka year, or at any rate between certain identical months of two such years, there is a difference of 1028 years, and that consequently the Lakshmanasēna era began somewhere about Saka 1028 or A.D. 1106-1107.

Mr. Beveridge now has drawn attention to a passage in the *Akbarnāma* of Abu-i-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 Sālivāhana (or Saka) 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 Vikramāditya.² That Abu-l-Fazl here was speaking of the **Lakshmanasēna era**, there can be no doubt; and if what he reports is correct, the difference between a Lakshmanasēna year and the corresponding Saka year (or between certain months of two such years) is, not 1028, but 1041 years, and the Lakshmanasēna 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 Lakshmanasēna 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. Rājēndralāl Mitra reports that a MS. of the *Smṛiti-tattoāmṛita* bears the date "La-saṁ (*i.e.* Lakshmanasamvat) 505 Ṡākē 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 Lakshmanasēna 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 Lakshmanasēna 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 **Lakshmanasēna era commenced about the Saka year 1041**; while, by the copper-plate grant of Sivasimha 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 Sivasimha 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 Lakshmanasēna 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-Gayā, first published in *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. V. p. 659, and afterwards republished, *ante*, Vol. X. p. 346, is dated—

Śrīmal-Lakshmanasēnadēvapādānām=atīta-rājyē saṁ 74 Vaiśākha-vadi 12 Gurau, —
i.e. 'on the 12th of the dark half of Vaiśākha of the year 74 since the (*commencement of the*) reign, (*now*) passed,³ of the illustrious Lakshmanasēnadēva, on a **Thursday**.'

The corresponding European dates would be :—

(a) for 74 + 1026 = Saka 1100 expired, —
pūrṇimānta : Sunday, 16 April, A.D. 1178.
amānta : Tuesday, 16 May, A.D. 1178.

(b) for 74 + 1027 = Saka 1101 expired, —
pūrṇimānta : Thursday, 5 April, A.D. 1179; the 12th *tīthi* of the dark half ended 18 h.
28 m. after mean sunrise.
amānta : Saturday, 5 May, A.D. 1179.

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 *Akbarnāma* presented by me to the University Library of Göttingen, and they have all three been found correct.

³ The phrase *atīta-rājyē* 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 Lakshmanasēna the years of his reign would be described as *śrīmal-Lakshmanasēnadēvapādānām rājyē* (or *pravardhamāna-vijayarājyē*) *samvat*; after his death the phrase would be retained, but *atīta* prefixed to the word *rājyē*, to show that, although the years were still counted from the commencement of the reign of Lakshmanasēna, that reign itself was a thing of the past. In the course of time *atīta-rājyē* is apt to become a meaningless phrase, as may be seen from the *śrīmad-Vikramāditya-dēvapādānām-atīta-rājyē saṁ 1503* in Mr. Bendall's *Catalogue of Buddh. Skr. MSS.*, p. 70.

- (c) for 74 + 1028 = Saka 1102 expired, —
 pūrṇimānta : Monday, 24 March, A.D. 1180.
 amānta : 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, —
 pūrṇimānta : Sunday, 12 April, A.D. 1181.
 amānta : Tuesday, 12 May, A.D. 1181.
- (e) for 74 + 1030 = Saka 1104 expired, —
 pūrṇimānta : Friday, 2 April, A.D. 1182; the 12th *tithi* of the dark half ended 1 h. 59 m.
 after mean sunrise.
 amānta : 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 'Sridhara's Commentary on Bk. X. of the *Bhāgavata-Purāna* is dated —

“in the 317th year of Lakshmaṇa era, Chaitra-sudi pratipad **Guraṇ** dinē,” —
i.e. ‘on the first day of the bright half of Chaitra of the Lakshmaṇasēna 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 *Gaṅgā-kṛitya-vivēka* is dated —

La-saṁ 376 Pausha-badi 13 Budhē, —
i.e. ‘on the 13th of the dark half of Pausha of the Lakshmaṇasēna year 376, on a **Wednesday.**’
 The corresponding European dates would be : —

- (a) for 376 + 1026 = Saka 1402 expired, —
 pūrṇimānta : 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.
 amānta : Friday, 29 December, A.D. 1480.
- (b) for 376 + 1027 = Saka 1403 expired, —
 pūrṇimānta : **Wednesday**, 19 December, A.D. 1481; the 13th *tithi* of the dark half
 ended 1 h. 55 m. after mean sunrise.
 amānta : **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, —
 pūrṇimānta : Sunday, 8 December, A.D. 1482.
 amānta : 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, —
 pūrṇimānta : Friday, 28 November, A.D. 1483.
 amānta : Saturday, 27 December, A.D. 1483.
- (e) for 376 + 1030 = Saka 1406 expired, —
 pūrṇimānta : Thursday, 16 December, A.D. 1484; the 13th *tithi* of the dark half ended
 2 h. 29 m. after mean sunrise.
 amānta : Friday, 14 January, A.D. 1485.

4. — A MS. of the *Mitāksharā*, of the last page of which a photolithograph is given in Dr. Rājēndralāl Mitra's *Notices of Sanskrit MSS.*, Vol. V. Plate iii., bears the date, —
 La-saṁ 399 Vaiśākha-krishṇa-pakshē chaturthyām Chandrē, —
 i.e. 'on the fourth (lunar day) in the dark half of Vaiśākha of the Lakshmaṇasēna year 399, on a Monday.'

The corresponding European dates would be : —

- (a) for 399 + 1026 = Saka 1425 expired, —
 pūrṇimānta : Saturday, 15 April, A.D. 1503.
 amānta : 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, —
 pūrṇimānta : Wednesday, 3 April, A.D. 1504.
 amānta : Friday, 3 May, A.D. 1504.
- (c) for 399 + 1028 = Saka 1427 expired, —
 pūrṇimānta : Sunday, 23 March, A.D. 1505; the 4th *tithi* of the dark half ended 21 h.
 6 m. after mean sunrise.
 amānta : 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, —
 pūrṇimānta : Saturday, 11 April, A.D. 1506.
 amānta : 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, —
 pūrṇimānta : Thursday, 1 April, A.D. 1507.
 amānta : 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 *Bhāgavata-Purāna* is dated —

Lakshmaṇasēna-samvat 424 Pausha-śudī dasamī Sukrē, —
 i.e. 'the tenth (lunar day) of the bright half of Pausha of the Lakshmaṇasēna 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. Rājēndralāl Mitra's *Notices of Sanskrit MSS.*, Vol. V. p. 170, a MS. of the *Āchārachintāmaṇi* is dated —

Lakshmaṇa-bhūpa-sambandhi-trayastrīṃśad-adhika-śātachatusṣṭay-ābdē Kārttika-kṛishṇa-saptamyāṃ **Sukrē**, —

i.e. 'on the seventh (lunar day) of the dark half of Kārttika 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, —
 pūrṇimānta: Tuesday, 25 September, A.D. 1537.
 amānta: 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, —
 pūrṇimānta: Monday, 14 October, A.D. 1538.
 amānta: Wednesday, 13 November, A.D. 1538.
- (c) for $433 + 1028 =$ Saka 1461 expired, —
 pūrṇimānta: Saturday, 4 October, A.D. 1539; the 7th *tithi* of the dark half ended 6 h. 14 m. after mean sunrise.
 amānta: Sunday, 2 November, A.D. 1539.
- (d) for $433 + 1029 =$ Saka 1462 expired, —
 pūrṇimānta: Wednesday, 22 September, A.D. 1540.
 amānta: 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, —
 pūrṇimānta: Tuesday, 11 October, A.D. 1541.
 amānta: 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, Vaiśākha), 3 (the year 376, Pausa), and 5 (the year 424, Pausa), would work out satisfactorily with the epoch Saka 1027 expired.

The dates 2 (the year 317, Chaitra), 4 (the year 399, Vaiśākha), and 6 (the year 433, Kārttika), 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 Lakshmanasēna year had commenced with the month Mārgasīra, and that the era had begun on Mārgasīra-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, Pausa-vadi 13 **Budhē**. The year 376 is a current year, and, with the pūrṇimānta scheme of the lunar fortnights, the corresponding date accordingly is **Wednesday**, 19 December, A.D. 1481.

(b) Date 5; the year 424, Pausa-sudi 10 **Sukrē**. 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, Vaiśākha-vadi 4 **Chandrē**. The year 399 also is an expired year, and, with the amānta scheme of the lunar fortnights, the corresponding date is **Monday**, 11 May, A.D. 1506.

(e) Date 6; the year 433, Kārttika-vadi 7 **Sukrē**. The year 433 again is an expired year, and the corresponding date, also with the amānta 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 Mārgasīra, the date of the copper-plate grant of king Śivasiṃha (the year 293, Śrāvāṇa-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, **Vaiśākha-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 **Vaiśākha-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 **Mārgaśira**, 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 *pūrṇimānta* and partly as *amānta* 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 **Lakshmanasēna** year and the corresponding **Saka** year would be 1041 years, and the correctness of whose figures would appear to be corroborated by the MS. date **La-sam 505 = Śāké 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 **Lakshmanasēna** year was an ordinary southern (**Kārttikādi**) year, with the *amānta* scheme of the lunar fortnights; and that the first day of the first current year of the era was **Kārttika-sudi 1 of the expired Saka 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, **Kārttika-vadi 7 Sukrē**. The year 433 is a current year, and, with the *amānta* scheme of the lunar fortnights, the corresponding date (for 433 + 1040 = **Saka 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 Sukrē**. The year 424 is an expired year, and the corresponding date (for 424 + 1041 = **Saka 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 Budhē**. The year 376 is an expired year, and with the *amānta* scheme of the lunar fortnights, the corresponding date (for 376 + 1041 = **Saka 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 = **Saka 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-Siddhānta* the *tithi* ended about one hour before mean sunrise of the **Friday**.

⁶ See *Alberuni's India*, Sachau's Translation, Vol. II. p. 8.

⁷ To convert a year of the **Lakshmanasēna** era into an expired **Saka** year, we accordingly have to add —
 1040 to a current **La.** year, when the date falls in **Kārttika — Phālguna**;
 1041 to a current **La.** year, when the date falls in **Chaitra — Āśvina**;
 1041 to an expired **La.** year, when the date falls in **Kārttika—Phālguna**
 1042 to an expired **La.** year, when the date falls in **Chaitra—Āśvina**.

(e) Date 4; the year 399, Vaiśakha-vadi 4 Chandrê. The year 399 is an expired year, and, with the *amānta* scheme of the lunar fortnights, the corresponding date (for 399 + 1042 = Saka 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, Vaiśakha-vadi 12 Gurau. The year 74 is an expired year, and, with the *amānta* scheme of the lunar fortnights, the corresponding date (for 74 + 1042 = Saka 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 = Śākê 1546 and by the results of my calculations, I would maintain that the equation (La-saṁ 293 = Śākê 1321) furnished by the copper-plate grant of king Sivasimha 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 Lakshmanasēna 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 Sēna kings. But I would ask: When we are told that, at the conquest of Bengal by Muhammad Bakhtyâr, which by Mr. Blochmann⁹ 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 Lakshmanasēna era, — Srimad-Lakshmanasēna-dēvapādānām-atita-rājyê saṁ 80?

SANSKRIT AND OLD-KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

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

Mahakūṭa is the current name of a group of temples, about three miles away over the hills to the east of Bādāmi, the chief town of the Bādāmi Tālukā in the Bijāpur 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 Bijāpur, has again been certified to me; coupled now, however, with the remark that the place is called **Mākūṭa** and **Makūṭa**, and occasionally **Māgāda**, by uneducated people who cannot pronounce the proper word correctly! But there is no doubt that the real original name is **Makūṭa**. It actually occurs in line 9-10 of the inscription of the *Mahāsūmanta* Bappuvarasa inside one of the temples (*ante*, Vol. X.

⁸ 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 *magudake 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 Makuṭésvaranātha; not in the now current form of Mahākūtésvara. 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 *dharmajayastambha* 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' 3" 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 — *Āryapura-vāsakaḥ Pubesasya sutau sthāpitā idam dharmajayastambha vyāpārakās-cha tau*; the language is inaccurate, but the meaning is, "the two sons of Pubesa, residents of the town of Āryapura, 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 — *Dāṭa Āna 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 *yathāvidhi*, line 1, is 1½" high; and there are some other instances of a perceptible excess over the average size. The engraving is bold and good throughout. **Paleographically** we may note that in *adhirūdhē*, line 8, the *dh* is expressed, not by a separate sign of its own, but by the sign which stands for *d* and *ḍ*. Also, that in *maṅgalēsa*, line 8, the vowel *ē* is expressed, not by a modification of the upper part of the *l* which induces much confusion between *li*, *lī*, *le*, and *lē*, but by a distinct sign attached to the lower proper right side of the *l*, which leaves no doubt whatever that the vowel *ē* was intended here; the same vowel-mark, but placed somewhat higher, is used in the *le* of *polekēsi*, in line 8 of the Nerūr grant of Pulikēsin II. (*ante*, Vol. VIII. p. 44, and Plate). — The **language** is Sanskrit; 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 *Amarāvati* inscription of the Pallava king *Simhavarman II.*, published by Dr. Hultsch 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 *dharmajayastambha* was intended to be in the accusative case, in apposition with *idam*, which is then a mistake for *imam*. 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 Slókas 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 Kômaralingam grant of Ravidatta (*ante*, Vol. XVIII.)—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of *ri* for *ri* in *ridhyá*, line 2, *riddhis*,³ line 3, and *krita*, lines 5, 7, 11, and 13; though there are plenty of cases in which the subscript *ri* is employed in this record; and though even the initial *ri* was known at this time (see, for instance, *rishabháya*, *ante*, Vol. VI. p. 23, line 12, and Plate); (2) the omission of the *visarga* before an initial *śr*, in *sambhúta*, line 2, and *jyeshtha*, line 6; this may possibly have been suggested by the Várttika on Páṇini, 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 *upadhmaniya* in *nripatēh=priya*, line 4, and *śaktih=prathamatarāma*, line 12; (4) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the *anusvāra*, before the palatal sibilant, in *vañś-āmbāra*, line 8; (5) considerable irregularity in using the *anusvāra* for the proper nasal; contrast, for instance, especially *sambhúta*, line 2, with *sambhútaḥ*, line 5, and the components of *vañś-āñga*, line 7; but the tendency on the whole is in favour of the use of the proper nasals; (6) the occurrence of the Drávidian *l* and *ḷ*, in *chaḷikya*, lines 2 and 8, *kaḷiñga*, *kēraḷa*, and *āḷuka*, line 7, and *kesuvoḷala*, line 14; and in *dramiḷa* and *chōḷiya*, 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 *bahusuvāra*, 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, *vikkrañta*, line 8, *parākkrama*, 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 *bhāgya*, line 13, *sattyaśraya*, line 4, *brihaspatty-uśanaḥ*, line 11, and *anuddhyātāñdān*, line 1, though not in other cases; and (11) the use of *siñgha* for *siñha*, in *jayasīñgha*, line 2, and *nripatisīñghaḥ*, line 10.

The inscription is one of the Early Chālukya king Mañgalēsa. It is a Saiva inscription; the primary object of it being to record that, with the authority of Mañgalēsa, his father's wife, Darlabhadāvi, increased, by the grant of ten villages, a previous endowment of the god Siva under the name of Makuṭēsvaranātha.

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 Malaprabhá, about eight miles east by north from Bādāmi (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. Kendōramānya is evidently the modern Kendūr, the 'Khenthoor' of the map, Sheet No. 41, four miles north by east of Bādāmi. And Nandigrāma must be the modern Nandikēshwar, the 'Nundeekasur' of the map, No. 41, five miles east by north of Bādāmi. Others of the villages granted were Śriyambāṭaka and Vrihimukha, 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. Āryapura, which occurs in the addition below the record, is the Sanskrit name of the modern Aihole in the Hungund Tālukā, the 'Iwullee' of the map, No. 58, about fifteen miles to the north-east of Bādāmi (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 Chālukyas anterior to the time of Pulikēsin II., and

³ In this instance, *śauryya-riḍhis*, for *śauryya-riddhis*, or more customarily *śauryy-arḍhis*, may perhaps be taken as an instance of the optional hiatus, in accordance with the commentary on Páṇini, 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 Maṅgaléśa), in the current Siddhârtha (*saṁvatsara*), on the full-moon *tithi* of (the month) Vaiśákha.' 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 Maṅgaléśa'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 *siddhârthé*, 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 *varshé*, 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 *siddhârthé* 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 Maṅgaléśa's nephew and successor, Pulikéśin II., commenced to reign in or about Saka-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 Saka-Saṁvat 522 current; (2) by the mean-sign system it would commence in Saka-Saṁvat 524 current, on Wednesday, 25th October, A.D. 601, and would end in Saka-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 Saka-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*, Vaiśákha śukla 15, belonging to Saka-Saṁvat 525 current, ended on Thursday, 12th April, A.D. 602, at about 13 *ghaṭis*, 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 Vaiśákha, Saka-Saṁvat 525 current, fell in the fifth year of his reign, the full-moon of Vaiśákha, Saka-Saṁvat 521 current, fell in his first year; and consequently the accession of Maṅgaléśa took place, on some day still to be exactly determined, in A.D. 497 or 498; either on any day from the *pūrṇimānta* Jyêshṭha⁵ *krishṇa* 1 of Saka-Saṁvat 520 current, up to the end of that year; or on any day from the beginning of Saka-Saṁvat 521 current, up to Vaiśákha śukla 15 of that year.

The date thus obtained for the commencement of Maṅgaléśa'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 **Bādāmi 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 *Bṛhat-Saṁhitā*, viii. 48, 49, Kern's edition.

⁵ Or the *amānta* Vaiśákha. I quote, however, the *pūrṇimānta* month, because that is the correct arrangement for the period in question; see *ante*, Vol. XVII. pp. 141, 142.

year, coupled with Śaka-Saṃvat 500 expired, Maṅgaléśa made a great cave-temple of Viṣṇu, and gave a great gift to Brāhmins on the full-moon day of Kārttika, 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 Kārttika, Śaka-Saṃvat 500 expired, fell in the twelfth year of his reign, the full-moon of Kārttika, Śaka-Saṃvat 489 expired or 490 current, fell in his first year; and consequently his reign commenced either in Śaka-Saṃvat 489 current, on any day from the *pūrṇimānta* Mārgaśirṣa 1 up to the end of the year, or in Śaka-Saṃvat 490 current, on any day from the beginning of the year up to Kārttika śukla 15. The other is the Goa grant, published by Mr. K. T. Telang (*Jour. Do. Pr. 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 Satyāśraya Dhruvarāja-Indravarman, the governor of four *vishayas* and *maṅḍalas*, stationed at Rêvat-dvīpa; the grant was made on the full-moon day of Māgha; 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-Saṃvat 532, which is not distinctly described either as current or as expired. On the strength of this grant, Prof. R. G. Bhandarkar (*Jour. Do. Pr. 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 Bādāmi inscription, and held that the twelfth regnal year mentioned in it belongs to the reign of Kirtivarman 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-Saṃvat 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 Haidarābād grant tells us that the new-moon day of Bhādrapada, Śaka-Saṃvat 534 expired, was in the third year of the reign of Pulikéśin 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 Bhādrapada, Śaka-Saṃvat 532 expired, was in the first year of Pulikéśin II., and much more so was the whole of the subsequent month Māgha 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-Saṃvat 512 expired or 513 current, for the death of Kirtivarman 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-Saṃvat 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 Māgha, Śaka-Saṃvat 532 expired, fell in the twentieth year mentioned in the grant, then the full-moon of Māgha, Śaka-Saṃvat 513 expired or 514 current, fell in the first year, and the initial point of the twenty years fell either in Śaka-Saṃvat 513 current, on any day from the *pūrṇimānta* Phālguna kṛishṇa 1 up to the end of the year, or in Śaka-Saṃvat 514 current, on any day from the beginning of the year up to Māgha 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, Saka-Saṃvat 532, of the Goa grant, coupled with the full-moon of Māgha, is to be applied as an expired year, then the grant can only belong to the reign of Pulikéśin II., and not to that of Maṅgaléśa 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 Maṅgaléśa's accession, the full-moon of Vaiśākha in his first year might fall either in Saka-Saṃvat 490 current or in 491 current, according to the exact day of his accession; and the full-moon of Vaiśākha in his fifth year could not fall later than in Saka-Saṃvat 495 current, nearly twenty years before the commencement of the Siddhārtha *saṃvatsara* by the mean-sign system. And with Prof. R. G. Bhandarkar's initial date, the full-moon of Vaiśākha in his first year might fall either in Saka-Saṃvat 514 current or in 515 current, according to the exact date of his accession; but the full-moon of Vaiśākha in his fifth year could not, by any possibility, fall later than in Saka-Saṃvat 519 current, leaving still an interval of close upon three years before the earliest possible commencement of the Siddhārtha *saṃvatsara*, by the inadmissible southern luni-solar system. And thus, with neither of the previous theories can the Siddhārtha *saṃvatsara* be made to meet with the fifth year of his reign, even for the full-moon day of Vaiśākha.⁸

The only substantial argument put forward by Prof. R. G. Bhandarkar against my original views, was in connection with the age of Pulikéśin II. at certain points in his career, and was of the following nature. Both the present record and the Aihole Mēguṭi inscription (*ante*, Vol. VIII. p. 237 ff.) tell us plainly that Maṅgaléśa became king, or was king, on the death of Kirtivarman I. As Pulikéśin 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, Satyāśraya-Dhruvarkā-Indravarma made the grant with the permission of a *Mahārāja* who had the *biruda* of *śrīprithivīvallabha*. This *biruda* belonged to Pulikéśin II. and his successors, and is also given in the present Mahākūta inscription to Pulikéśin I. While, in this same inscription, Maṅgaléśa's name is coupled with the higher *biruda* of *śrīprithivīvallabhēndra*.

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 *siddhārthē* in this passage can mean nothing but the *saṃvatsara* of that name, he has put forward the suggestion that the syllables *pañchama-śrī*, immediately before *varshē*, may be a mistake for *pañchatrinśē*, "in the thirty-fifth year of the constantly augmenting reign of Maṅgaléśa." The words *pañchama-śrī-varshē* 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. *pañchadaśē*, "in the fifteenth year," and *pañchaviṃśē*, "in the twenty-fifth year;" but by neither of them can the *saṃvatsara* 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 Vaiśākha in Maṅgaléśa's first year was then that of Saka-Saṃvat 491 current; and so, the full-moon of Vaiśākha in his thirty-fifth year would be that of Saka-Saṃvat 525 current; and this, as we have already found, was the full-moon of Vaiśākha in the Siddhārtha *saṃvatsara* 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 Maṅgaléśa, 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-śrī-varshē* is peculiar and exceptional, and that the difficulty still remains that, according to all analogous instances, the apparently obvious meaning of the Bādāmi inscription is that Maṅgaléśa was then, in Saka-Saṃvat 501 current, reigning as paramount sovereign in his own right. We may, I consider, safely hold it to be certainly proved by this Mahākūta record, that the accession of Maṅgaléśa took place in A.D. 497 or 498 (Saka-Saṃvat 520 or 521 current), within the limits indicated by me in a previous paragraph; and the interpretation of the Bādāmi inscription, in which there is, at any rate, no distinct statement that Kirtivarman 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-Saṃvat 489 or 490, according to my original opinion, then Pulikéśin II. must have been about forty-six years old at the time of his accession, in Saka-Saṃvat 533; seventy years old at the time of the Aihole inscription, in Saka-Saṃvat 557; and seventy-four years old when Hsien Tsiang wrote his contemporaneous account of him, in or about A.D. 639 (Saka-Saṃvat 561 or 562). If, however, the death of Kīrtivarman I. took place in Saka-Saṃvat 514, according to Prof. R. G. Bhandarkar's theory, then the age of Pulikéśin 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 Mahākūta 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 Kīrtivarman I., Maṅgaléśa assumed the sovereignty because Pulikéśin 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 Maṅgaléśa's reign there were differences between him and Pulikéśin II.; that Maṅgaléśa attempted to secure the succession for his own son; and that this attempt was defeated in a struggle, in which Maṅgaléśa lost his life, brought on by the faculties of counsel and energy that had been accumulated by Pulikéśin II. From this we can only assume that, at the time of his accession, Pulikéśin 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-Saṃvat 510; and would make him about ten years of age at the time of his father's death in Saka-Saṃvat 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 Mānavya gōtra, and as being Hāritiputras or descendants of an original ancestress of the Hārita gōtra. In the second place, that it speaks of Pulikéśin I. as descended from the god Hiraṇyagarbha or Brahman; just as we find that the Purāṇic 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 Viṣṇu, as he was born from the water-lily that grew from Viṣṇu's navel. And in the third place, that in lines 2 and 8 it gives the dynastic name as Chalikya. This form of the name occurs in a few other records; except that in them it is mostly written with the Sanskrit *l*, instead of with the Drāviḍian *ḷ*. Another form is Chalkya, which occurs in the Bādāmi cave inscription referred to in a preceding paragraph. But the most usual form is Chalukya. I have elsewhere (*Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 41) pointed out the obvious difference in meaning between this form and that of Chālukya, with the long vowel *á* 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 Jayasiṃha I., "the lion of victory," who is here called Jayasiṅha, and to whose name there is attached the epithet of "lord of favourites (*vallabh-éndra*)." The only other early inscription that takes the genealogy back so far, is the Aihole inscription of Pulikéśin II., dated Saka-Saṃvat 556 expired. The Miraj grant of Jayasiṃha 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 Pulikéśin I., purporting to be dated Saka-Saṃvat 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 Jayasimharāja 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 Gujarāt 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 Jayasimha I. is mentioned by his usual name of **Raṇarāga**, "he who delights in war," which here, as in some similar passages, is explained by "his fondness for war (*raṇasya rāga*), 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 **Pulikēśin I.**,⁹ is here mentioned only by the *birudas* or secondary names of **Satyāśraya**, "the asylum of truth," and **Raṇavikrama**, "the valorous in war," coupled with the epithet of "favourite of fortune and of the earth (*śrī-prāthivī-vallabha*)."⁹ The same two *birudas* are used to mention him in the Sātārā 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 Satyāśraya was not invented for Pulikēśin II., but was held at least by his grandfather. From a further passage in this record we learn that the wife of Pulikēśin I. was **Durlabhadēvī**, of the **Batpūra** 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 **Ādi-Mahā-Bappūra** lineage to which, as we learn from the Goa grant referred to above, **Satyāśraya-Dhruvarāja-Indravarman** belonged.

The sons of Pulikēśin I. are here, as usual, spoken of as two in number. The elder of them, best known by his proper name of **Kirtivarman I.**, "he whose armour is his fame," is here mentioned only by the *biruda* of **Puru-Raṇaparākrama**, "puissant in war as Puru." The same *biruda*, **Raṇaparākrama**, only without the prefix, occurs as the name of a **Mahārāja** in one of the Lakshmēshwar 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 **Raṇaparākrama** the father of **Eṇeyappa**, a name which does not occur in any other Chalukya record, and then proceeds to mention a **Mahārāja**, named **Satyāśraya**, who may be either Pulikēśin I. or Pulikēśin II., and who is not necessarily to be identified with, or to be taken as a son of, **Eṇeyappa**. Also, the same word occurs in connection with **Kirtivarman I.** in line 5 of the **Aihoḷe Mēguṭi** 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-parākrama*). In the present inscription we are told that the victories of **Kirtivarman I.** included the kings of **Vaṅga**, **Āṅga**, **Kaḷiṅga**, **Vaṭṭūra**, **Magadha**, **Madraka**, **Kēraḷa**, **Gaṅga**, **Mūshaka**, **Pāṇḍya**, **Chōḷiya**, **Āḷuka**, and **Vaijayantī**. Most of these names are names of countries, and are already well-known. The form **Chōḷiya**, as a variant of **Chōḷa** or **Chōḷa**, is of some interest. The **Mūshaka** country seems to be the part of the Malabar Coast between **Quilon** and **Cape Comorin** (see **Monier-Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary**, s.v. *mūshika*). **Āḷuka** is a new name; but, as **Monier-Williams** gives it as an epithet of **Sēsha**, the chief of the serpent race, it may possibly denote the **Nāgas**, 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 **Pulakēśin**, with the vowel *a* in the second syllable, there is a play on it (*ante*, Vol. VIII. p. 13):—"His son was king **Pulakēśin**, equal to (**Kriṣṇa**) the destroyer of (the demon) **Kēśin**; we, while describing king **Pulakēśin**, have our bodies experiencing the sensation of having the hair standing erect through pleasure (*pulaka-kalita-dēhāḥ*)."⁹ But this depends entirely on the spelling used there, which is a corruption of the older form **Pulikēśin**, with the vowel *i* in the second syllable. I think it is a hybrid word, Old-Kanarese and Sanskrit, 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 **Polekēśin**; and I do not know whether *pole* is an older form of *pulī*, = *hulī*, 'a tiger.'

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

Kīrtivarman I. was succeeded by his younger brother, who is here mentioned by the name of *Maṅgalēsa*, "the auspicious lord, or the lord of prosperity," coupled with the *biruda* of *Uru-Raṇavikrānta*, "valorous in war as Uru," and with the epithet of "chief of favourites of fortune and of the earth (*śrīprithivīvallabh-ēndra*)." It would seem that he was a half-brother of Kīrtivarman I.; for, in line 13, the text refers to *Durlabhadēvī*, not as his own mother (*sva-mātaram*), but as the wife of his own father (*sva-guru-patnīm*). And a hint to the same effect is perhaps given in line 5, where the father is compared with *Vasudēva*, and the two sons with *Balabhadra* and *Vāsubhadra*. One part of the comparison may very well be taken to rest on the facts that *Vasudēva* (= *Pulikēśin I.*) had two wives, *Rōhiṇī* and *Dēvakī*; that *Balabhadra* or *Balarāma* (= *Kīrtivarman I.*), was begotten on *Dēvakī*, but was transferred to the womb of *Rōhiṇī*, and was actually born from her; and that his younger brother, *Vāsubhadra*, *Vasudēva*, or *Kṛishṇa*, was born from *Dēvakī*. Possibly also another similar hint is contained in the *birudas* *Puru-Raṇaparākrama* and *Uru-Raṇavikrānta*. *Maṅgalēsa's biruda* appears, without the prefix, in the simple form of *Raṇavikrānta*, in the *Bādāmi* 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 Vēdic word *puru*, 'much, many,' occurs in the epic and later literature only at the commencement of some proper names, and, appearing again in the *Bhāgavata-Purāna*, 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 *Pūru* and *Uru* or *Ūru*, two of the sons of *Chākshusha-Manu* (*Vishṇu-Purāna*, 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 *Pūru* and *Ūru* were half-brothers, and which of them was the elder, I am not able to say. The other forms of *Maṅgalēsa's* proper name, in early records, are, *Maṅgalarāja*, in his own grant obtained at *Nerūr* (*ante*, Vol. VII. p. 161); *Maṅgalīsa*, in the *Aihole* inscription of *Pulikēśin II.*, referred to above,¹⁰ and in his own *Bādāmi* rock inscription (*ante*, Vol. X. p. 59);¹¹ and *Maṅgalīsvara*, in the *Bādāmi* 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 *lī* and the *le* or *lē* of the period with which we are dealing. Also, we should naturally expect to have only the forms *Maṅgalēsa* and *Maṅgalēsvara* (*maṅgala* + *īsa* or *īsvara*); since the other forms, *Maṅgalīsa* and *Maṅgalīsvara*, 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 *ē* in the third syllable; which it does very distinctly. And, that the forms *Maṅgalīsa* and *Maṅgalīsvara* 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 *Yēwūr* inscription, in which (*ante*, Vol. VIII. p. 13) his name occurs as *Maṅgalīsa*, in a metrical passage, and in respectively *Nāgarī* and *Old-Kanarese* characters, in both of which no confusion at all is possible between *lī* and *lē*; 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 *maṅgalīsa*, with the short vowel *i* in the third syllable; but the metre shews that the long vowel *ē* 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 *ē*.

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 Saṅkaragana. After this victory, Maṅgalêśa was desirous of setting up a pillar of victory on the bank of the Bhâgrathî 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, Durlabhadêvi, 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 Sanskritised 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 Saṅkaragana 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 Om¹⁴ Svasti || Mānavya-sagôtrāṇām Hārītiputrāṇām apratihāt-ōtsāha-bala-mati-
pratāpa-sauryya-dhairyya-vīryyāṇām mātāpitrī-pād-ānuddhyā[tā*]nām yathā-
vi¹⁵dhi-hut-āgni(gñi)-
- 2 nām yathākām-ārchhit-ārtthinām anēka-dharma-karmma-punya-prasavānām Chaḷi-
kyanām-anvayō sambhūta[h*] śrī-Jayasīṅgha¹⁶-vallabhēndrō nripaḥ
Maghavān=iva guṇa-sampannaḥ ridhyā¹⁷ Vai-
- 3 śravaṇ-ōpamaḥ [||*] Tasy¹⁸=ānurōpa-guṇa-sau¹⁹ryya-riddhis²⁰=tēj-ōtsāha²¹-vikkrama-
smṛiti-mati-pratāpa-naya-vinay-ādhanabhūtāt=samutpannaḥ sugrihīta-nāmadhēyō
Raparāg-āknya-nripaḥ yēna²² ra-

¹³ From the ink-impression.¹⁴ Represented by a symbol.¹⁵ These two syllables, *thāvi*, 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 *riddhyō*. With the following word, this reads like the last eight syllables of a Ślōka.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, *anurōpa*, is certainly to be retained as the nominative, qualifying *Raparāga*, and is not to be altered into a genitive in apposition with *tasya*; and then an ablative ending with *ādhanabhūtāt*, followed by *samutpannaḥ*. It might perhaps be thought desirable either to alter *tasya* into the ablative (*tasmād-anurōpa*), in apposition with *ādhanā*.

- 4 *nasya* rāgēna(na) janitaḥ sva-jan-ānurāgō durhṛida(n)-manaḥ-santāpaś=[ch]a [11*]
Tasya sadṛīśa-guṇasya nṛipatēḥ=priya-tanūjas=Sattyāśraya-śrīprithivīvallabha-
Ranavikkram-āṅka-nṛipaḥ agnishṭōm-āgnichayana-vājapēya-bahusuvarṇa-pau-
- 5 nḍarīk-āśvamēdh-āvabhṛita(tha)snāna-puṇya-pavitrikri(kṛi)ta-śa[r]iraḥ Hiranyagarbha-
sambhūtaḥ vridh-ōpadēśa-grāhī brahmanyas=satya-vāg=avisamvādakaḥ [11*]
Tasya²³ dha[rma]-rata-buddhēr=Vasudēva-pratima-prabhāvasya Bala-Vāsu-
bhadra-ōpama-guṇau sutau samu-
- 6 tpannau [11*] Jyēshṭha[h*] śrēshṭha-guṇa-samudaya-ōdita-Puru²⁴-Ranaparākkram-āṅka-
priyaḥ sva-bāhu-bala-parākkram-ōparjīta-rājya-sampan[n]aḥ pararāja-maṇi-
makuta-parighṛiṣṭ-āmṛiṣṭa-vīśiṣṭa-charaṇaḥ bahusuvarṇa-āgnishṭō-
- 7 m-āvabhṛita(tha)snāna-puṇya-pavitrikri(kṛi)ta-śarīraḥ [11*] Vaṅg-Āṅga-Kāṅga-
Vaṭṭūra²⁵-Magadha²⁶-Madraka-Kēraja-Gaṅga-Mūshaka-Pāṇḍya-Dramiḷa-
Chōḷiy-Āḷuka-Vaijayantya-prabhṛitir-anēka²⁷-paranṛipati-samūhāvamardda-
labdha-vijayē d[i]-
- 8 vam=adhirūḍē(dhē) kanyān=Uru-Ranavikkraṅta-Maṅgalēśa²⁸-śrīprithivīvallabhēndr-
ākhyā-nṛipō babhūva dēva-dvija-guru-charaṇ-ānudhyātaḥ Chalīkyā-vaṅś-
āmbara-pūrṇachandraḥ naya-vinaya-vijñā[na]-dāna-dayā-dākshīnya-sampannaḥ
bhāṣa-śakuna-ga-
- 9 n-ābhilashita-yuvati-madhukari(rī)-kula-kalita-lalita-guṇa-kusum-ākula-puṇyavarasūryya-
kīraṇa-vibōdhita-vibha[va]-Śrī-nishṭha-nṛipati-kamalavanaḥ(m) kamalavana-
saumya[h] ripujana-mukha-kula-bhaya-jāta-samūdāha-tatpara-chara²⁹-sēvar(k)-
āmala-nayana-sauryyō=
- 10 grahastā-pratāpa-vīryya-vēg-ōddhṛita-nṛipatisiṅghaḥ mantra-chāra-dāta-sandhi-vig[r]aha-
sthāna-pra³⁰yāna-pārshnigrahaṇa-maṇḍalayātrā-durgavidhāna-jāna³¹padā-paurā-
mānyavibhāga-kūśalaḥ [1*] kim=bahunā [1*] Mahēndra³² iva durddharshaḥ
Rāma iva-ā-parājitaḥ Sibir=Anśīnara iva pra-
- 11 dātāraḥ³³ Yudhishṭhira iva satya-sandhaḥ Vāsudēva-śrīmantāḥ³⁴ Māndhātāra iva³⁵
kīrtti-sampannaḥ dhiyā Bṛihaspatty-Uśana[h*]-samaḥ samudra³⁶ iva gaṅ-
bhīraḥ kshamayā prithivī-samaḥ ku-tilaka-dū(bhū)taḥ [11*] Sag=uttarādīg.³⁷
vijaya-kkri(kṛi)ta-buddhīr-Buddha-nṛipam=avajitya ta-

bhātāt, and in construction with *samutpannaḥ*; or to alter *ādhanabhātāt* 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 *ādhanabhātāt* into the nominative, as a second adjective qualifying *Ranarāga*. But on the whole I think we may take it that the genitive *tasya* is correct, and is governed by *anurūpa*, and that the ablative which *samutpannaḥ* requires is provided by *ādhanabhātāt*; and this construction, which entails no alteration of the text at all, is the one that I have followed in my translation.

¹⁹ This *śau* was at first omitted, and then was inserted below the line.

²⁰ Read *vidhī*; or, according to the more usual custom, *sauryya-ardhī*.

²¹ Read *tēja-utsāha*, which is the proper *sandhi* of *tējas + utsāha*; see Kielhorn's Sanskrit Grammar, § 543 (a), combined with § 85 (c). ²² Here we seem to have the first eight or eleven syllables of a Śloka.

²³ 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.

²⁴ 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.

²⁵ The second syllable is a little damaged, and may be taken as somewhat doubtful. But I can only read it as *ttā*; and I think that this is, what it really is.

²⁶ This *dha* was at first omitted, and then was inserted below the line.

²⁷ Read *prabhṛity-anēka*.

²⁸ It should be noted how distinctly the vowel is *ē* in the third syllable.

²⁹ These two syllables, *chara*, were at first omitted, and then were inserted below the line.

³⁰ These two syllables, *napra*, were at first omitted, and then were inserted below the line.

³¹ These two syllables, *jāna*, were at first omitted, and then were inserted below the line; the *jā* is below the line of *vidhāna*, and is rather damaged. ³² Here we have plainly half of a Śloka.

³³ Read *pradīta*.

³⁴ Read *vāsudēva iva śrīman*.

³⁵ Read *māndhāt-ēva*.

³⁶ Here, again, we have plainly half of a Śloka.

³⁷ Read *sa ch-ōttarādīg*, or *sa uttarādīg*, or *samyag-uttarādīg*.

- 12 *sya vasum=asêsham*³⁸=upagrihya **Bhâgirathi-kûlê** śakti-jayastambha-nirôpaṇ-autsukyêna manasâ dharmma-jayastambha-śaktiḥ=prathamatarām=êva nirôpayita-vy=êty=avadhṛitya tad-anukaraṇa-yôgya-bhûtâm Madayantim³⁹=iva mahâ-pativratâm **Batpûra**⁴⁰-kula-la-
- 13 lâma-bhûtâm naikavidha-dharmma-phala-bhâggya-pavitrikri(kṛi)ta-sarirâm sva-gurupatnîm **Durl[labha-nâmadhêyi(yâ)n=dêvim=âhûya** ida(ma)m=adhi[kâ]râm saṁbôdhayati [i*] **Kalatsûri-gana-saṁ** dêvagṛiha⁴¹-dêvadrôny[â*]m gatam=ima(da)ñ=cha dravyam sva-dêvadrônyam Makutês[v]a-
- 14 ra-nâthasy=âsmâkam pitrâ jyêsthêna ch=ôpadatta[m] **Sriyambâṭaka-Tirmari-dvenasavedve-Vrihimukhagrâma-Kesuvoḷala-Kendôramânya-Na n d i g r â m a** prabhṛiti-daśa-grâma-paribhōgêna(ṇa) samarppayadhvam=iti [i*] Tad=uttarôttara-pravarddhamâna-râjya-pañcha-
- 15 **ma-sri-varshê pravarttamânê Siddhârthê Vaisâkha-pûrṇamâsyâm=imam**⁴² pratishthâpitavân [i*] Uktañ=cha dharmma-śâstrêshu [i*] Bahubhir=⁴³vvasudhâ bhuktâ râjabhis=Sagar-âdibhiḥ yasya [yasya*] yadâ bhûmis=tasya tasya tadâ phalam [i*] Shashti-varsha-sahasrâṇi svarggê môdati bhûmi-daḥ âchchhê-
- 16 ttâ ch=ânumantâ cha tâny=êva narakê vasêt [i*]

TRANSLATION.

Om! Hail! In the lineage of the Chalīkyas, — who are of the Mānavya gôtra; who are Hârītiputras; 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 **Jayasīngha**, 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 **Rajarâga**, 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 names⁴⁴ of **Satyâsraya**, the favourite of fortune and of

³⁸ Read *vasu-asêsham*. *Vasu* has been improperly used in the masculine, instead of the neuter. There are somewhat similar mistakes in *idam=adhikôram*, line 13, and in *imañ=cha dravyam*, in the same line.

³⁹ Read *damayantîm*. *Madayanti* 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 *Damayanti*, 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*.

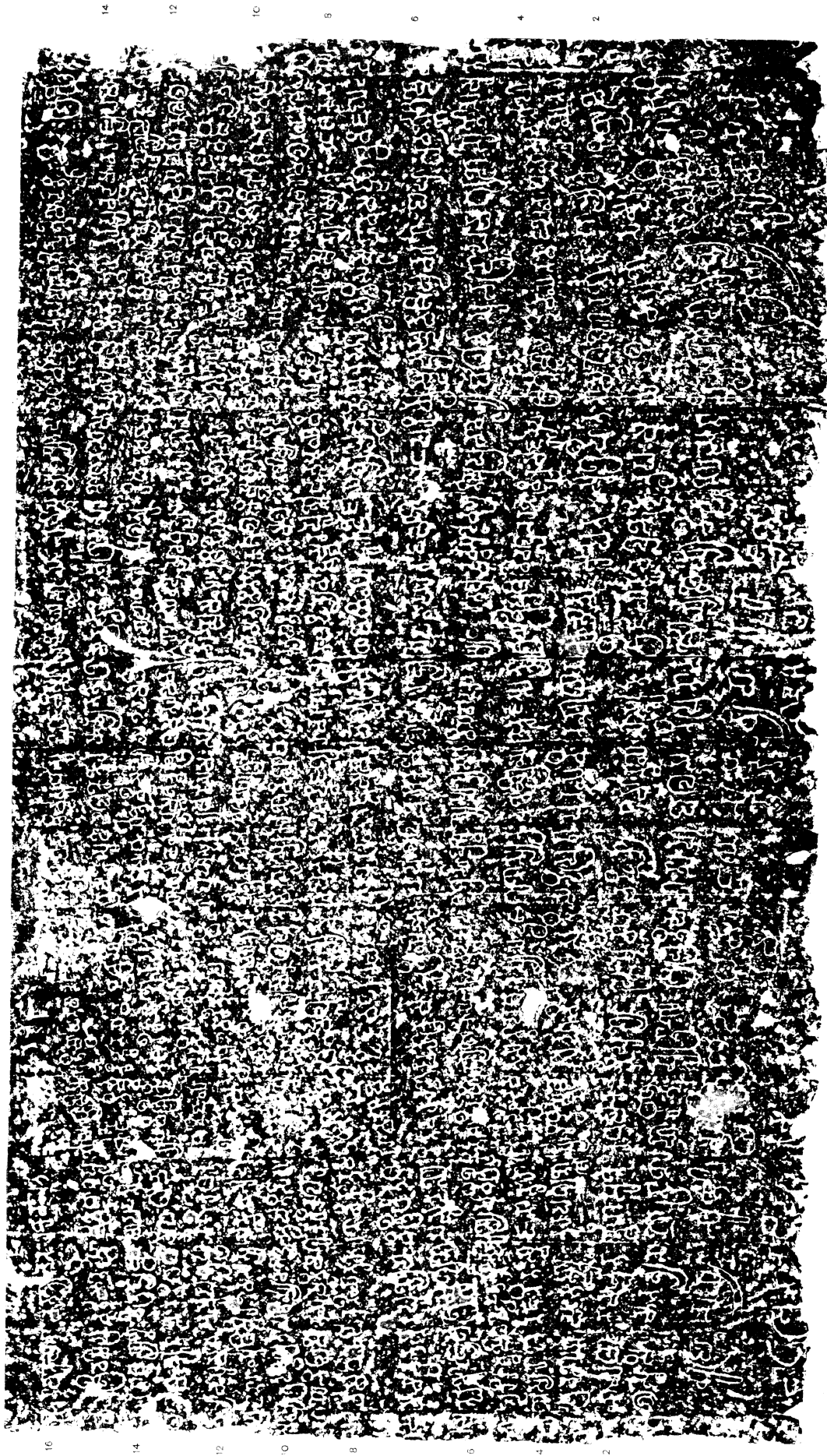
⁴¹ Read, probably, *kalatsûri-dhanam sva-dêvagṛiha*.

⁴² Supply *dharmma-jayastambham*.

⁴³ Metre, Ślôka, (Anushtubh); and in the following verse.

⁴⁴ There are certain words in which *anika* is undoubtedly an inherent part; e.g. the village-name *Charmânika*, as proved by the modern form *Chammak* (*Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 235, 241), and probably *Sarvânika*, in which we have the feminine *anika* (in the *Kanaswa* inscription of *Sivagana*, 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 *virûda*, 'a secondary name or title.' In the *Lakshmêshwar* inscription (see the introductory remarks), the text is *ranaparâkram-anika-mahârâjâh*, similar to what we have here; but in the *Sâtârâ* grant, the text is *ranavikramanripah*, without *anika*.

Mahakuta Pillar Inscription of Mangalesa



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

SCALE 1/2

FROM AN IMPRESSION BY MR. H. COUSERS

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

the earth, and **Raṇavikrama**; whose body was purified by the religious merit of ablutions performed after celebrating the *agnishṭōma*, *agnichayana*, *vājapēya*, *bahusuvarṇa*, *paundarīka*, and *āsvamēdha*-sacrifices; who was descended from (the god) **Hiraṇyagarbha** (**Brahman**); who accepted the admonitions of the elders; who was good to Brāhman; 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 **Vasudēva**, there were born two sons, whose virtuous qualities resembled those of **Balabhadra** and **Vāsubhadra**. The elder (*was*) he who was fond of (*his*) name of **Puru-Raṇaparākrama**, 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 *agnishṭōma* sacrifices.

(L. 7). — When he, having acquired victory by crushing the array of many hostile kings commencing with those of **Vaṅga**, **Aṅga**, **Kaliṅga**, **Vaṭṭura**, **Magadha**, **Madraka**, **Kēraḷa**, **Gaṅga**, **Mūshaka**, **Paṇḍya**, **Dramiḷa**, **Chōḷiya**, **Āḷuka**, and **Vaijayanti**, had ascended to the skies, there was (*his*) younger brother, the king who has the appellations of **Uru-Raṇavikrānta**, and **Maṅgalēsa**, and chief of favourites of fortune and of the earth; who meditates on the feet of gods, Brāhman, and spiritual preceptors; who is the full-moon of the sky which is the race of the **Chalīkyas**; 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) **Srī**; 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 townfolk. What need is there to say much more? He is as difficult of assault as (the god) **Mahēndra**; like **Rāma**, he has never been conquered; he is as liberal as **Sibi**, the son of **Uśinara**; ⁴⁵ like **Yudhishtira**, he is faithful to his promises; he is possessed of fortune, just as (the god) **Vasudēva** (**Kṛishṇa**) is possessed of (his wife, the goddess) **Srī**; like **Māndhātṛi**, 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) **Bhāgirathi**, having determined in (*his*) mind that in the first place indeed there should be set up the prowess⁴⁶ of a pillar of victory of religion, — calls (*to his presence*) the royal lady⁴⁷ named **Durlabha(dēvi)**, his own father's wife, — who is fit and worthy to follow (*his*) lead in the matter; who, like **Damayanti**,⁴⁸ was a most devoted wife; who was the ornament of the **Batpūra** family;⁴⁹ (*and*) whose body has been purified by participating

⁴⁵ **Sibi** 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' Sanskrit Dictionary**, s.v. **Sivi**.)

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

⁴⁷ *dēvi*.

⁴⁸ See note 39 abc *re*.

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 Kalatsūri 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) Makuṭēsvaranātha, — supplement it, by (*bestowing the*) enjoyment of the ten villages headed by Sṛiyambāṭaka,
., Vrihimukhagrāma, Kesuvoḷala, Kendōramānya, and Nandigrāma.”⁵⁰

(L. 14). — Accordingly, in the fifth glorious year of (*his*) constantly augmenting reign, in the current Siddhārtha (sainvatsara),⁵¹ on the full-moon day of (the month) Vaisākha, (*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 *pūrṇimānta* scheme of the lunar fortnights, and the southern year with the *amānta* 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 *Sanikrāntis*? 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.

⁵⁰ The meaning of this passage is not quite certain. But it seems to be that Maṅgalēsa was desirous of increasing the previous endowment of the god Makuṭēsvaranātha; that he found that the wealth of the Kalatsūri 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 *pravartamānē Saumya-sainvatsarē*; *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, *pravartamānē* might have been construed with *varshē*, and not with *siddhārthē*.

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, Bhândárkar, Eggeling, Peterson, and Weber, and of Dr. Rājēndralāl 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 *yōgas*, 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 *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, 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 *Brihaspati* 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 *Ashāḍhādī* 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 *Kārttika*, commonly called the southern Vikrama year; and that the scheme of the two lunar fortnights may be either the *pūrṇimānta* scheme or the *amānta* scheme. But I have not regarded as proved that the *pūrṇimānta* scheme is necessarily always connected with the northern year, and the *amānta* 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 11) 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 23 hours after mean sunrise), the second process will generally make the real ending-time earlier.

months from Kārttika to Phālguna 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 *pūrṇimānta* and *amānta* schemes. In the case of the seven months from Chaitra to Āsvina, 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 *pūrṇimānta* and *amānta* 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 Kārttika to Phālguna before those of the months Chaitra to Āśvina, 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.

1.—REGULAR DATES.

A.—DATES IN BRIGHT FORTNIGHTS.

1.—Dates in the months Kārttika to Phālguna.

(a).—Dates in Current Years.

1.—V. 1304.—Dr. Peterson's *Third Report on Sanskrit MSS.* (1884-86), App. p. 239.

Date of the composition of Udayasāgara's *Snātripañchāsikā* :—

Varshē ṣ bdhi-kh-āgn-īndu-mitē su-ramyē
śrī-Pausha-māsē cha valaksha-pakshē |
śrī-pūrṇimāyām Sasi-vāsarē cha
śrī-Pādalipt-ākhyā-purē Surāshtrē ||

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) . . . Sainvat 1397 samayē [or, in D, varshē] Māgha-sudi 4 Sōma-dinē || tasmin
kāle varttamānē saivatsarē || Lūkasthān mahārāja(ja)-srī(sri)-Hamiradēva-rājyē ||

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 *Kāvya-mālā*, No. 38. Copper-plate inscription of the Mahārājādhirāja Mathanadēva, from Rājōrgaḥ near Alvar :—

. . . śrī-Vijayapāladēva-pādānām=abhipravarddhamāna-kalyānavijayarājyē saivatsara-
satēshu daśasu shōḍaś-ōtārakēshu Māghamāsa-sitapaksha-trayōdaśyām Sani-yuktāyām=
ēvaṁ sam 1016 Māgha-sudi 13 Saṅāv=adva śrī-Rājyapur-āvasthitō mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-
śrī-Mathanadēvō . . .

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 Vākpatirāja of Dhārā :—

(Line 11) . . . *shattri(tri)mśa-sāhasrika-samvatsarē=smin Kārttika-suddha-paurṇṇimāyām sōma-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. Nanyaurā copper-plate inscription of the Chandēlla Dhaṅgadēva :—

(Line 7) . . . *samvatsara-sahasrē pañchapañchāśad-adhikē Kārttika-paurṇṇamāsyām Ravidinē ēvaṁ samvat 1055 K[ā*]rtti[ka]-sudi 15 Ravau ady=ēh=[ai]va Kāsikāyām Sainhikēyagraha-grāsa-pravēsikṛita-maṅḍalē | Rōhiṇi-hṛiday-ānanda-kanda-hariṇalāñchanē ||*

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 Kālañjar, of the reign of the Chandēlla Madanavarmadēva :—

(Line 9) . . . *Samvat 1188 Kārttika-sudi 8 Sa(sa)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. 'Gagahā' copper-plate inscription of Gōvinda-chandradēva and Rājyapāladēva of Kanauj : —

(Line 18) . . . *samvatsarēshv=ēkādaśa-sa(sa)tēshu navanavaty-adhikēshu Phālgunē māsi [śu]kla-pakshē ēkā[da]śyāyām² tithau Sa(sa)ni-dinē tath=ānkē=pi samvat 1199 Phālgūna-sudi 11 Sa(sa)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 Hēmachandra's *Yōgāśāstra*, of the time of the Chaulukya Bhīmadēva II. : —

Svasti sri-Vikrama-nripatēḥ samvat 1251 varshē Kārttika-sudi 12 Sukrē Rēvati-nakshatrē Siddha-yōgē mahārāja-śri-Bhīmadēva-vijayarājyē . . .

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 Rēvati up to 21 h. 40 m. after mean sunrise ; the *yōga* 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-yōgē* in the date is erroneous, and should be *Siddhi-yōgē*).

² Read *ēkādaśyām*.

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-nripa-kâl-âtita-saṁvatsara-śatêshu dvâdaśasu shata(t)-shashṭy-adhikêshu laukika° Mârgga-mâsasya śukla-paksha-chaturdaśyâm Guru-dinë atr=âmkatôl=pi³ sri-Vikrama-saṁvat 1266 varshê sri-Simha-saṁvat 96 varshê lauki° Mârgga-sudi 14 Gurâv=asyâm saṁvatsara-mâsa-paksha-dina-vâra-pûrvâyâm tithâv=ady=êha śrîmad-Anahillapâtakê . . .**

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. Piplîanagar copper-plate inscription of the Paramâra Arjunavarmadêva :—

In the body of the inscription : . . . **saptashashṭy-adhika-dvâdaśa-śata-saṁvatsarê Phâlgunê 1267⁴ śukla-daśamyâm=abhishêka-parvani . . .**

and at the end : — Saṁvat 1267⁴ Phâlguna-suddha 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 Chârwa) stone inscription of the reign of Dêvapâladêva of Dhârâ :—

(Line 4). — Saṁvat pañchasaptaty-adhika-dvâdaśa-śatê=mkê 1275 Mârgga-sudi 5 Sa(sa)nau.

(Line 7). — Adhikê pañchasaptatyâ dvâdaś-âvda(bda)-śatê śakê [1*]

vatsarê Chitrabhânu tu Mârggaśirshê śi(si)tê dalê || 4 ||

Pañchamy-añtaka-[sam]yôgê nakshatrê Vishṇu-daivatê |

yôgê Harshana-samjñê tu tithy-arddhê Dhâtri-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 *karana* Bâlava, presided over by Dhâtri = Brahman, ended 15 h. 25 m., and the *nakshatra* was Sravana, presided over by Vishṇu, up to 7 h. 53 m., and the *yôga* was Harshana from about 11 h. after mean sunrise.

The year Chitrabhânu, No. 16, lasted, according to the Sûrya-Siddhânta rule, without *bija*, from 12 August, A.D. 1217, to 8 August, A.D. 1218, and with *bija*, 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 *śûka* are not

³ Read *âmkatô-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, *Vaikramé śáké* 'in the Vikrama year' (No. 56 below); line 5, *tasmīn=ēva śaké* 'in the same year,' &c.; Eggeling, *Catalogue of the Sanskrit MSS. of the I. O.*, p. 23, *Saṃvat 1650 śaké = Saṃvat 1650 varshé* (No. 51 below); Rājēndralāl Mitra, *Notices of Sanskrit MSS.*, Vol. IV. p. 277, *śáké Vikrama-pārthivasya*; and similar expressions.)

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

(Line 20). . . Asyām tithau saṃvatsara-māsa-paksha-vāra-yuktāyām gata-saṃvatsara-dvādaśa-varsha-śatēshu aṣṭy-uttarēshu Pausha-māsē śukla-pakshē tritīyāyām tithau **Bhauma-vārē** saṃjāta uttarāgata-sūrya-saṃkrama-parvaṇi amkatō Spi samvat 1280 varshē Pausha-śudi 3 Bhaumē sdy=ēha saṃjāta [utta]rānāyana⁶-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 **Uttarāyana-Saṃkrānti** took place 2 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise.

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

(Line 16). . . **Srīmad-Vikramadi**[ty-ō]tpādita-saṃvatsara-śatēshu dvādaśasu tri-[a]śīti-uttarēshu lauki[ka-Kārttika-pūrṇi]māyām **Guru-vārē** str=amkatō Spi samvat 1283 varshē lauki^o Kārttika-śudi 15 **Gurāv**=a[dy=ēha] śrīmad-Aṇahilapāṭakē ssyām saṃvatsara-māsa-paksha-pūrṇvikāyām 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. Gīrnār stone inscription of Jayantasiṃha, the son of Vastupāla : —

(Line 1) . . . Svasti **sri-Vikrama-saṃvat** 1288 varshē Phāguṇa-śudi 10 **Budhē** . . .

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 *Yōgāśāsta-vrittī* : —

Saṃvat 1292 varshē Kārttika-śudi 8 **Bavau Dhanishṭhā**-nakshatrē.

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 **Dhanishṭhā** up to 18 h. 24 m. after mean sunrise.

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

(Line 19) . . . Sāgar-ānala-vēd-ēndu-yukt[ē] saṃvatsarē va[rē | ?].

Māghē māsi śi(si)tē pakshē trayōdaśyām Vidhō[r]=dinē || 14 ||

Saṃvat 1337 Māgha-śudi 13 **Sōmē** ||

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.

(*Sāgara* generally denotes 4; but *sapta sāgarāḥ* is a well-known expression, and the figures 1337 are perfectly clear in the lithograph; and the Prākṛit word *sāyara* is similarly used for

⁶ Read *uttarāyana*.

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 *Lhayaharastava-vritti*: —

Saṁvad-Vikrama-bhūpatēḥ sara-rit-ūdarchir-mṛigāmkair=mitē
Pauśhasy=ōjjvala-pakshi(ksha)-bhāji **Raviṇā** yuktē navamyām tithau |
śishyaḥ śrī-Jinasimhasūri-sugurōsh=ṭīkām=akārshīm(d)=imām
śrī-Sākētapurē Jinaprabha iti khyātō muninām prabhuḥ ||

V. 1365 current: Tuesday, 2 January, A.D. 1368.

V. 1365 expired: Sunday, 22 December, A.D. 1368; 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. 163; *Zeitschrift D. M. G.*, Vol. XL. p. 57; *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. p. 93; and a rubbing supplied to me by Mr. Fleet. Delhi Museum stone inscription of the time of Mahāmada 'Sihi: 7—

(Line 15) . . . Vêda-vasv-agni-chaudr-ānka-saṁkhyê=vde(bdê) **Vikramārkkataḥ** |
pañchamyām Phālguna-sitē likhitam **Bhauma-vāsarē** || 15 [II*]
Iṁdraprastha-pratiganē grāmē Sāravale=tra tu |
chiram tishṭhatu kûpô=yam kārakaś=cha sa-vā(bâ)ṁdhavaḥ || 16 [II*]
Saṁvat 1384 Phālguna-śudi 5 Bhauma-dinē ||

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 Vanthali in Junāgaḍh:—

'Sara-yuga-manu-saṁvatsara-1445-varshē Phālgū-śudi-pañchamī-Sōmē.

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. Rāypur stone inscription of Brahmādēva, now in the Nāgpur Museum: —

(Line 9) . . . Svasti śrī sa[m]vat 1458 varshē sū(śū)kē 1322 samayē **Sarvajita(n)-nāma-saṁvatsarē** Phāglu(lgu)na-su(śu)dha(ddha)-ashṭami(mi)-**Su(su)krē** ady-ēha śrī Rāyapurē mahārāj[ā*]dhirāja-śrīmad-rāya-[Vra(bra)]hmadēva-rājyē.

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 Sūrya-Siddhānta rule, without *bīja*, from 22 June, A.D. 1400, to 18 June, A.D. 1401, and with *bīja*, from 28 July, A.D. 1400, to 24 July, A.D. 1401; and according to the Jyōtistattva 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 Tēlinga rule the date would fall in the year Bhṛīśya, No. 15.

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

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

* Muhammad bin Tughlak, A.D. 1324-1351; Thomas, *The Pathan Kings of Delhi*, p. 202.

Vikrama-kālāch=cha 1490 sham(kha)-nidhi-ratna-saṁshya(khya)kaiḥ(ké) |
varshē Māgha-sitē pakshē śukla-chaturdaśī-dinē || 34 ||

Pushyē Ravau Stāmbhatīrthē . . .

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-brāhmaṇa* : —

Samvat 1531 śākē 1396 pravarttamānē **Subhakṛita**(n)-nāmni saṁvatsarē dakṣiṇāyana-gatē śrī-sūryē śarada ṛitau Kārttika-śudi 9 **Budha-vāsarē** **Dhanishṭhā**-nakshatrē **Vṛiddhi-yōgē** **Kaulava**-karaṇē kumbharāśī-sṭhitē chaṁdrē ady=ēha Rājapura-vāstavyam . . .

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 **Dhanishṭhā** up to 12 h. 29 m., and the *yōga* **Vṛiddhi** up to 13 h. 26 m. after mean sunrise.

The year **Subhakṛit**, No. 36, lasted, according to the Sūrya-Siddhānta rule, without *bija*, from 10 August, A.D. 1474, to 6 August, A.D. 1475, and with *bija*, from 16 September, A.D. 1474, to 12 September, A.D. 1475; and according to the Jyōtistattva rule, from 22 July, A.D. 1474, to 18 July, A.D. 1475. Accordingly, **Subhakṛit** 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 Tēlinga rule the date would fall in the year **Jaya**, No. 28.

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

23. — V. 1555. — *List of Antiquarian Remains Bo. Pres.*, p. 265. Stone inscription at Adālij well near Ahmadābād, of the time of the Pātasāha Mahamūda.* This date having been fully given by me *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 251, I here repeat only a portion of it : —

(Line 21) . . . Svasti **srīman-nṛīpa-Vikrama**-samay-ātītā (*sic*) **Āshāḍmādi-saṁvat** 1555 varshē śāk[é*] 1420 pravarttamānē uttarāyana(ṇa)-gatē śrī-sūry[é*] śīsarutau^o Māgha-māsē śukla-pakshē pañchamāyām tithau **Budha-vāsarē** **Uttarābhadrapad[ā*]**-nakshatrē **Siddhi-nāmni** yōgē **Bava**-karaṇē mīna-rāṣau sṭhitē chaṁdrē pātasāha-śrī-Mahamūda-vijayarājyam . . .

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 **Uttarā-Bhadrapadā** up to 11 h. 10 m., and the *yōga* **Siddha** (!) up to 17 h. 7 m., after mean sunrise.

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

24.—V. 1681.—Rājēndralāl Mitra's *Notices of Sanskrit MSS.*, Vol. VI. p. 72. Date of the composition of **Īśvarakṛishṇa**'s *Punyachandrōdaya-purāṇa* : —

Indv-ashta-shaṭ-chandra-mitē sṭha varshē (1681)

śrī-Kārttik-ākhyē dhavalē cha pakshē |

Jivē trayōdaśy-aparāhṇa-yāmē

Kṛishṇēna saukhyāya vinirmmitō Syam ||

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 *Sārirakamāmānsābhāshya* : —

* Sultān Mahmūd Bigarha, A.D. 1459-1511; Bayley, *History of Gujārāt*, pp. 161-227.

• Read *śīsarutau*.

Samvat 1707 samayê śakê 1572 Vikâri-samvatsarê dakshinâyanê Kârttika-śuddha 3 Gurau Viśvêśvara-râjadhânyâm (or, as stated in another part of the MS., Kâśyâm).

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 *bija*, from 24 July, A.D. 1649, to 20 July, A.D. 1650, and with *bija*, 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 *Sârasvata-dîpikâ* : —

Samvat 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 Âsvina.

(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 Visaladêva : —

(Line 59) . . . Samvat 1311 varshê Jyêshtha-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) . . . Samvat 1380 varshê Bhâdra[mva(vâ) ?]-śudi 3 Sômê | Hastu(sta)-nakshatr[ê] [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* : —

Samvat 1587 samayê Vaiśâsha(kha)-śudi-pratipadâ-Sukrê.

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. Dêôgadh stone inscription of Bhôjadêva of Kanauj : —

(Line 6) . . . Samvat 919 Asva(śva)yuja-śuklapaksha-chaturdaśyâm Vri(bri)haspati-dinêna Uttarabhâdrapada-nakshattrê . . .

(Line 10). — Śakakāl-ābda-saptaśatāni chaturaśīty-adhikāni 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 **Uttarā-Bhādrapadā**, 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 Saka year 784).

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

Dvyargala¹⁰-chatvāriṃśat-samadhika-vatsara-sahasra-saṁkhyāyām |

Bhādrapada-paurṇimāyām **Budh-Ōttarā-Bhādrapadikāyām** ||

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 **Uttarā-Bhādrapadā** 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. Girnār stone inscription : —

(Line 1) . . . Saṁvat 1215 varshē Chaitra-sudi 8 **Bavaṁ** ady=ēha śrīmad-Ūrjjayānta-tīrthē . . .

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-ghāt stone inscription of the time of the Kalachuri Narasiṁhadēva : —

(Line 1) . . . Saṁvat 1216 Bhādra-sudi-pratipadā-**Bavaṁ** || Dāhāliya-mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Narasiṁghadēva-vijayarājyē ||

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 Sanskrit MSS.* for 1880-81, p. 10. Date of a MS. of the *Kalpachūrni*, of the time of the Chaulukya Kumārapāladēva : —

Saṁvat 1218 varshē **dvi°Āshāḍha**-sudi 5 **Gurāv**=ady=ēha śrīmad-Anahilapātakē samastarājāvali-virājita-samalaṁkṛita-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-paramabhāṭṭāraka-Umapati-varalabdha-prasāda-mahābhava-saṁgrāma-nirv[ya*]ūdhā-pratijñā-prauḍha-nijabhujarāṅgaganavinirjjita-Śakambhari-bhūpāla-śrīmat-Kumārapāladēva-kalyāṇavijayarājyē . . .

Āshāḍha was intercalary in northern V. 1218 expired (or southern V. 1218 current) ; for in that year the solar **Āshāḍha** 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 **Āshāḍha** 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 **Āshāḍha**, 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. Nadól copper-plate grant of the Châhumâna Âlhanadêva.

(Line 18) . . . Sam 1218 varshê | 'Srâvaṇa-sûdi 14 Ravau | asminn=êva ma hâ-chaturddasi-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=Anahilanagarê khyâtê śrî-Ajayapâla-nṛipa-râjyê |
śrîman-Narapati-kavinâ rachitam=idam sâkunaṁ 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) . . . dvâtrimśad-adhika-dvâdaśa-śata-saṁvatsarê Bhâdrê mâsi śukla-pakshê trayôdaśyân-tithau Ravi-dinê aṅkatô=pi saṁvat 1232 Bhâdra-sudi 13 Ravau ady=êha śrîmad-vijaya-Vârâṇasyâm . . .

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-paṅchamyâm vâsarê Vâsar-êbituḥ ||

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. Kaḍî copper-plate inscription of the Chaulukya Bhîmadêva II. :—

(Line 13) . . . śrīmad-Vikramāditya-ōtpādita-saṁvatsara-śatēshu dvādaśasu tri(tri)-shashṭi-uttarēshu lau° Śrāvāṇa-māsa-śukla-paksha-dvitiyāyām Ravi-vārē str=āṁkatō=pi saṁvat [12]63 Śrāvāṇa-śudi 2 Ravāv=asyām saṁvatsara-māsa-paksha-vāra-pūrvvikāyām tithāv=ady=ēha śrīmad-A[nahilapāta]kē śdy=aiva Vyatipāta-pā(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 Āślēshā up to 4 h. 36 m., and the *yōga* was Vyatipāta 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. Bhōpāl copper-plate inscription of the Paramāra Arjunavarmadēva: —

. . . śrīmad-Amarēśvaratīrth-āvasthitair=asmābhir=dvisaptaty-adhika-dvādaśa-śata-saṁvatsarē Bhādrapada-paurṇamāsyām Chandrōparāga-parvaṇi Rēvā-Kapilayōḥ saṅgamē snātva . . .

. . . saṁvat 1272 Bhādrapada-sudi 15 Budhē.

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 Kālañjar: —

(Line 3) . . . Chaitra-sudi 3 Vu(bu)dhē 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) . . . Jyēshthē māse sitē pakshē dvādasyā(śyā)m=Vu(bu)dha-vāsarē [1*]

likhit=ēyam sadā bhāti praśastih Plava-vatsarē || Saṁvat 13[5]3 [||*]

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 Sūrya-Siddhānta rule, without *bija*, from 13 September, A.D. 1295, to 8 September, A.D. 1296; and with *bija*, from 18 October A.D. 1295, to 13 October, A.D. 1296; and according to the Jyōtistattva 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 Tēlinga 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. Māchādī (near Alvar) stone inscription of the time of the Sultān Pêrōja Sāhī¹¹: —

(Line 6) . . . Saṁvatsarē=smin śrī-Vikramāditya-rājyē(?) saṁvat 1439 sâ(śâ)kē 1304 varshē | Vaisâ(śâ)sha(kha)-sudi 6 Ravi-dinē | Pushya-nakshatrē | śrī-surat[r*]āṇa-Pêrōja-sāhī rājyē . . .

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

¹¹ Firūz Shāh bin Bajab, 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. Satipillar inscription at 'Boram-Deo' in the Central Provinces: —

(Line 1). — Samvat 1445 **Bhāva-nāma-saiva**[tsa]rê Āsvi(śvi)na-sudi 13 **Sômā**.

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 **Bhāva**, No. 8, lasted, according to the *Sūrya-Siddhānta* rule, without *bīja*, from 17 August, A.D. 1387, to 12 August, A.D. 1388, and with *bīja*, from 22 September, A.D. 1387, to 17 September, A.D. 1388; and according to the *Jyōtistattva* rule, from 29 July, A.D. 1387, to 24 July, A.D. 1388. Accordingly, by the *Sūrya-Siddhānta* rule, with *bīja*, **Bhāva** 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 *Tēlinga* 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 'Asvina badi 13 Some').

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

(Line 14) . . . samvatsarê=smin=nrīpa-Vikramāditya-gatāvda(bda) 1481 śākā śrī-Salivāhanāt 1346 Vaiśākha-māsē śukla-pakshē 15 pūrṇamāsyām Guru-vāsarē | Svāt-nakshatrē | simha-lagn-ôdayē || (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 **Svāti** 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. *Umgā* (in *Bihār*) stone inscription of *Bhairavēndra*: —

(Verse 21): — Jâtê tarka6-navâ9-mbudhi4-ndu-gu(ga)ṇitê sambatsarê¹² Vaikramê

Vaiśākhe Guru-vāsarê sitarê pakshê tritīy[ā*]-tithau |

Rôhinyām Purushôttamam Halabhṛitam Bhadrām Subhadrân=tathâ

pratyashṭhâpayad=êkad=aika-vidhinâ śrī-Bhairavēndrê nrīpah ||

And further on:—aṅkatô=pi Vikramâbdah || 1496 || Vaiśākha-sudi-tritīyâ-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 **Rôhini** 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 *Prabhāsakshêtra-tīrthayâtrânukrāma*, of the time of the *Pātasāha Mahimāda*: ¹³—

¹² Read *samvatsarê*.

¹³ Sultān Mahmūd Bigarha, A.D. 1459-1511. See note 8 above.

Saṁvat 15 Āshāḍhādi 34 varshê¹⁴ Śrāvaṇa-sudi 5 Bhû(bhau)mê ad[y*]=êha śrî-Kadana-purê sthânê pâtasāha-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 Śrāvaṇa was intercalary ; for the solar Śrāvaṇa 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 Śrāvaṇa was Saturday, 4 July, A.D. 1478 ; and of the second Śrāvaṇa, 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 *Viyāha-pannattî*, of the time of the Sultân Gayâsadîna¹⁵ : —

Saṁvat 1555 varshê śâkê 1420 Kshayakṛin-nama-saṁvatsarê Aśvani-mâsi¹⁶ śukla-pañchamyâm Vākya(kpa)ti-vârê . . . suratrâṇa-Gayâsadîna-râjyê . . . śrî-Saukhyâsya-(spa)dê pattanê anu cha Mâṅgalyapura-varê . . . likhitam=idam.

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 aśitau 80 pravarttamânê uttarâyanê(nê) śrî-sûryê grishma-ritau mahâmâṅgalya-pradê Jyêsthâ-mâsê asita-pakshê dvâdaśa-ghatikâ-paryanta-paurṇamâsî tadanantara-pratipadâyâm tithau Bhṛigu-vârê ady=êha Sîmhôdraḍâ-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 *Āyāraṅgasutta* : —

Saṁvat 1630 varshê prathama-Āśa(śa)ḍha-sudi 3 dinê Maṅgala-vârê.

Āshāḍha was intercalary in northern V. 1630 expired (or southern V. 1630 current) ; for in that year the solar Āshāḍha 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 Āshāḍha 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 Āshāḍha, Thursday, 2 July, A.D. 1573.

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

Saṁvat 1650 śâkê 1 Subhakṛit-saṁvatsarê Bhâdrapada-sudi-paurṇamâsyâm Bhṛigu-vâsarê Kâsyâm . . .

¹⁴ Read *varshê*.

¹⁵ Sultân Ghiâsu'd-dîn, son of Maḥmûd Khiljî, ruler of Mâlwa, A.D. 1432-1500. Thomas, *loc. cit.* p. 346 Bailey, *loc. cit.*, Index.

¹⁶ Read *Āsvina-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 **Subhakrit**, No. 36, lasted, according to the Sūrya-Siddhānta rule, without *bija*, from 21 March, A.D. 1593, to 17 March, A.D. 1594, and with *bija*, from 28 April, A.D. 1593, to 24 April, A.D. 1594 ; and according to the Jyōtistattva rule, from 4 March, A.D. 1593, to 28 February, A.D. 1594. Accordingly, **Subhakrit** was actually current on the day of the date (31 August, A.D. 1593) ; and by the Sūrya-Siddhānta rule without *bija* and the Jyōtistattva rule it was also current at the commencement of the solar year (28 March, A.D. 1593). By the Tēlinga 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 Rāmarshi's *Nalōdaya-jīkā*, of the time of Sultān Sāhi Salāma¹⁷ : —

Vēd-ānga-rasa-chāndr-ādhyē varshē māsē tu Mādhavē |

śukla-pakshē tu saptamyām Gurau Pushyē tath-ōḍuni || 13 [||*].

Suratrāṇē tathā Sāhi-Salāmē śāsati kshitim |

Pattan-ākhyē mahā-durgē Rājasalyē cha rājani || 14 [||*] Yuvarājē Bhōjarājē . . .

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 *Agnishōm-paddhati* (written at Benares) : —

Saivvat 1686 Bahudhānya-nāma-saivatsarē Srāvaṇa-śukla-saptamyām Guru-vāsarē tad-dinē Kāśyām . . .

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 **Bahudhānya**, No. 12, lasted, according to the Sūrya-Siddhānta rule, without *bija*, from 20 October, A.D. 1628, to 16 October, A.D. 1629, and with *bija*, from 27 November, A.D. 1628, to 23 November, A.D. 1629 ; and according to the Jyōtistattva rule, from 1 October, A.D. 1628, to 27 September, A.D. 1629. Accordingly, **Bahudhānya** 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 Tēlinga 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 Bhīmasēna's *Sukhōdadhi* : —

Saivvad=grah-āsva-muni-bhū-jñātē māsē Madhau sudi |

trayōdaśyām Sōma-vārē samāptō=yām Sukhōdadhih ||

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. — Rājēndralāl Mitra's *Notices of Sanskrit MSS.*, Vol. VII. p. 57. Date of the composition of Bhāskara-rāya's *Saubhāgya-bhāskara* (composed at Benares) :—

Mōdachchhāyā-mitāyām śaradi śarad-ṛitāv=Āśvinē Kalayuktē

śuklē Sōmē navamyām=atanuta Lalitā-nāmasāhasra-bhāshyam ||

¹⁷ I am unable to identify this Sultān. In Professor Bhāṇḍārkar's *Report* for 1882-83, p. 227, verse 8, we have the name *Sāhi-Salāma*.

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 **Kālayukta**, No. 52, lasted, according to the Sūrya-Siddhānta rule, without *bīja*, from 25 August, A.D. 1727, to 20 August, A.D. 1728, and with *bīja*, from 3 October, A.D. 1727, to 28 September, A.D. 1728 ; and according to the Jyōtistattva rule, from 5 August, A.D. 1727, to 31 July, A.D. 1728. Accordingly, Kālayukta 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 Tōlinga rule the date would fall in the year Kīlaka, No. 42.

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

56. — V. 1874. — *ante*, Vol. IX. p. 193. Nepāl stone inscription of Lalitatripurāsundarī : —
Vēda-sapta-gaj-ēndu-mitē 1874 Vaikramē śākē Śuchi-śukla-navamyām Sōm-ānvitāyām.

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. Dhōlpur stone inscription of the Chauhān Chaṇḍamahāsēna : —

(Line 21) . . . Vasu nava [a*]shtau varshā gatasya kālasya Vikram-ākhyasya [†]

Vaiśākhasya sitāyā[m*] Ravivāra-yuta-dvitiyāyām ||

Chandrē Rōhīni-samyuktē¹⁸ lagnē simghasya¹⁹ Sōbhanē yōgē |

sakala-kṛita-maṅgalasya hy=abhū[t*] pratishṭh=āsyā 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* Bharāṇi, and *yōga* Āyushmat.

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 Rōhīni up to 21 h. 40 m., and the *yōga* Sōbhāna 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-prapañchā Kathā* : —

Śrī-Bhillamāla-nagarē . . .

Saṁvatsara-śata-navakē dvishasṭi-sahitē=tilaṅghitē ch=āsyāh |

Jyēshṭhē śi(si)ta-pañchamyām Punarvvasau Guru-dinē [samāptir=abhūt ||]

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. — *Archaeol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XXI. p. 67, and Plate xvi. J ; and *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. p. 136. Inscription from a Jaina temple at Khajurāhō : —

(Line 1) . . . Saṁvat 1011 samayē ||

(Line 10) . . . Vaisā(śā)sha(kha)-sudi 7 Sōma-dinē ||

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

Dr Hultzsch suggests *Rōhīni-yuktē*, to suit the metre, Āryā.

¹⁹ Read *simghasya*.

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 Guruchandragani's *Srîvîra-charitra* :—

Namda-sihi-rudda-1139-samkhê **vokkamâtê Vikkamâu kâlammi |**

Jetthassa suddha-taiyâ-tihimmi **Sômê samattam=imam ||**

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. Dêôgadh rock inscription of the time of the Chandêlla Kirtivarmadêva : —

(Line 8) . . . Samvat 1154 Chaitra-[su]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 Visaladêva of Śâkambhari : —

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

(Line C, 5). — **Samvat sri-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 Gwâlîor) : —

(Line 1) . . . Samvat 1222 varshê Vaiśâkha-śudi 3 **Sômê sdy-êha Udayapurê akshaya-tritîyâ-parvani . . .**

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). — Samvat 1224 Âshâdha-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 Jayachchandradēva of Kanauj:—

(Line 24) . . . traya[s*]triṁsa(sa)d-adhika-dvādaśa-śata-samvatsarē Vaisā(śā)khē māsi su(su)kla-pakshē daśamyām tithau **Sa(sa)ni-dinē** aṅkatō=pi samvat 1233 Vaisā(śā)kha-sudi 10 **Sa(sa)nau** ady=ēha śrīmad-vijaya-Vārāṇasyām . . .

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 Jayachchandradēva of Kanauj:—

(Line 21) . . . shaṭtriṁsa(śa)d-adhika-dvādaśa-śata-samvatsarē Vaisā(śā)khē māsi śukla-pakshē purnṇimāyām tithau **Sukra-dinē** aṅkat[ô*]=pi sam 1236 Vaisā(śā)kha-sudi 15 **Sukrē** ady=ēha śrī-Raṁḍavai-samāvāsē Gaṅgāyām . . .

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 Kālañjar, of the time of the Chandēlla Paramardidēva:—

(Line 1) . . . Śrīmat-Paramarddi[dēva]-vijayarājyē samvat 1240 . . . Vaisā(śā)kha-sudi 14 **Gurau** . . .

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

In northern V. 1240 expired Vaisākha was intercalary; for the solar Vaisākha 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 Vaisākha 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 Vaisākha, 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) . . . Samvat 1243 Jyēshṭha-sudi 11 **Vu(bu)dhē**.

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. Faijābād copper-plate inscription of Jayachchandradēva of Kanauj:—

(Line 24) . . . trichatvāriṁsa(śa)d-adhika-dvādaśa-śata-samvatsarē Āshādhē māsi su(su)kla-pakshē saptamyām tithau **Ravi-dinē** aṅkatō=pi samvat 1243 Āshāḍha-sudi 7 **Ravau** ady=ēha śrīmad-Vārāṇasyām . . .

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 Vaiśūsha(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) . . . **sri-Vikrama-kâl-âtita-shatpamchâsa**(śa)d-adhika-dvâdaśa-sa(śa)ta-saṁvatsar-ântahprâ(pâ)ti amkê 1256 Vaiśākha-sudi 15 paurṇamâsyâm tithau **Visa(śa)khâ-nakshatrê Parigha-yôgê Ravi-dinê** mahâ-Vaisû(śâ)khyâm parvvaṇi Guvâdâ-ghattê Rêvâyâm 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 Bhimadêva II. : —

Line 20. — Saṁvat 1265 varshê Vaiśākha śu 15 Bhaumê Chauluky-ôddharana-paramabhat-târâka-Mahârajâdhirâja-śrîmad-Bhimadêva-pravaraddhamâna-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-nripati-sri-Vikramâtikramât**
saṁvad=Vishṇupadadvay-ê[shu]-jagati-saṁkhyê **Prâjanâmpatau** |
mitrê ch=ôttara-gê prachamda-kiranê dbanyê madhau Mâdhavê
śuklê pûrṇa-tithau **Gurau** cha **Guru-bhê** sadyôga-bhôga-kshanê || 1 ||

(Line 16) . . . Svasti **srîman-nripa-Vikramârka-samay-âtita-saṁvat** 1500 varshê **Prajâpati-nâmni** saṁvatsarê | uttarâyanê | vasaṁta-ritau | Vaiśākha-śukla-pamchamyâm **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** (Brihaspati) ; *yôgas* Śûla and Gaṇḍa.,

The year **Prajâpati**, No. 5, lasted, according to the Sûrya-Siddhânta rule, without *bija*, from 19 December, A.D. 1443, to 14 December, A.D. 1444, and with *bija*, 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 Tēlinga rule the date would fall in the year Raktāksha, No. 58.

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

(Line 26) . . . Varshê [śāstra?]-ku-vā[ṇa]-cham[dra-sa]hitê Mēsham gatê bhāskarê
Chaitrê nāga-tithau sit[ê] Gurudinê . . .

(Line 30) . . . Sainvat 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 Mēsha-Samkrānti took place 5 h. 1 m. before mean sunrise.

75. — V. 1534. — Date of my MS. of the *Prakriyā-kaumudī* : —

Svasti śrī sainvat 1534 varshê dakshināyanê varshâ-ṛitau prathama-Srāvāṇa-māsê śukla-pakshê ashtamyam tithau Bhauma-vāsarê ady=êha Munīndrapura-vāstavya-*vyōtirvij*-Janārdan-ātmajēna Iladurga-sthēna . . . Viśvanāthēna . . . lishi(khi)tā.

Srāvāṇa was intercalary in southern V. 1534 expired; for in that year the solar Srāvāṇa 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 Srāvāṇa 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 Srāvāṇa, Thursday, 6 August, A.D. 1478.

76. — V. 1645. — Rājēndralāl Mitra's *Notices of Sanskrit MSS.*, Vol. VIII. p. 321. Date of the composition of Puṇyasāgara's *Jambūdvīpa-prajñapti-vṛitti* : —

Śrīmad-Jēsalamērudurgā(rgga)-nagarê śrī-Bhīma-bhūmīpatan
rājyam sâ(sâ)sati vāṇa-vāridhi-rasa-kshauṇi-mitê vatsarê |

Pushy-ārkê(rkshê) Madhu-māsa-śukla-dāsami-sad-vāsarê Bhāsu(śka)rê
ṭik=āyam vihitā sad=aiva jayatād=ā-chandra-sūryyam bhūvi ॥

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 Jñānavimalagaṇi's commentary on Mahēśvara's *Sabdaprabhēda* : —

Śrīmad-Vikramanagarê rājach-chhri-Rājasimha-nṛipa-rājyê |

sallōka-chakravāka-pramōda-sūryōdayê samyak ॥

Chaturānavadan-ēmdriya-rasa-vasudhā-sammitê lasad-varshê |

śrīmad-Vikrama-nṛipatō ṣṭikrāntê ṣṭīva kṛita-harshê ॥

Subh-ōpayōgē śubha-yōga-yuktê varê dvitiyā-divasē ṣṭisuddhê |

Āshāḍha-māsasya viśuddha-pakshê Pushyarksha-samyukta-Gabhastivārê ॥ . . .

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 *yōga* Vajra up to 21 h. 23 m. after mean sunrise.

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

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

Samvat 1724 varshê prathama-A(ā)sā(shā)ḍha-śudya 7 Sanau.

Āshāḍha was intercalary in southern V. 1724 expired; for in that year the solar Āshāḍha 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 Āshāḍha 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 Āshāḍha, Monday, 6 July, A.D. 1668.

79. — V. 1746. — Professor Weber's *Catalogue*, Vol. II. p. 195. Date of part of a MS. of Jinēndrabuddhi's *Kāśīkāvivarana-pāñchikā* : —

Samvat 1746 varshê prathama-Vaiśākha-śudi 12 Gurau.

Vaiśākha was intercalary in southern V. 1746 expired; for in that year the solar Vaiśākha 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 Vaiśākha 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 Vaiśākha, 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 —

Samvat 1746 varshê Vaiśākhasya sitê pakshê dvtiyā-Bhāuma-vāsarê, — the month of which, though called simply *Vaiśākha*, is the *prathama-Vaiśākha* 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 Paramāra Lakshmīvarmadēva : —

(Line 6) . . . śrīmad-Dhārayām mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī-Yaśōvarmmadēvēna śrī-Vikrama-kal-ātita-samvatsar-aikanavaty-adhika-śat-aikādaśēshu Kārttika-śudi ashtāmyām . . . — but no details for verification.

(Line 15) . . . samvatsara-śata-dvādaśakēsh[u] Srāvāṇa-śudi-paṅchadaśyām sōma-grahāṇa-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 which¹ are dated respectively Samvat 34 and 39, prove that the Śriharsha era was introduced into

¹ Dr. Bhagvānlāl's Nos. 6 and 7, *ante*, vol. IX. p.

Nēpāl during the lifetime of the great king of Thānēsar and Kanōj, 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 170f., and Mr. Bendall's *Journey to Nēpāl*, p. 74. No. II.

considered as almost certain proof that the borrower had to submit to the *Śaka-kartri* or 'establisher of the era.' For this reason, and because the Népālese *Vamsāvalī* (*ante*, Vol. XIII. p. 413) has preserved a reminiscence of the conquest of Népāl by an Indian king just before Amśuvarman's accession to the throne, most orientalist have accepted it as an indisputable fact that Harshavardhana extended his conquests to the eastern Himālaya. This view, it seems to me, is further confirmed by a passage in Bāna's *Sriharshacharita*, where we read in the list of wonderful deeds ascribed to Harsha (Kāśmir edition, p. 208, l. 6):—*atra paramēśvarēṇa tushārabāilabhuvō durgāyā grihātāh karah.* 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 Durgā, the daughter of the snowy mountain (Himālaya);"—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 Bāna means to convey is, therefore, that his patron forced the prince of a country situated in the Himālaya to acknowledge his supremacy. Considering the facts stated above, it is not doubtful that the Himālayan district, to which he refers, is no other than Népāl.

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 *Brihaj-Jātaka* and the *Brihat-Samhitā* of Varāhamihira.

In his edition of the *Brihat-Samhitā*, Preface, page 6, Dr. Kern has quoted the following verse, as giving the date of the completion of the Commentary on the *Brihaj-Jātaka* :—

Chaitra-māsasya pañchamyām
sitāyām Guru-vāsarē !
Vasv-ashṭ-āshṭa-mitē Śakē
krit-ēyam vivṛitir mayā ||

"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 *Śakē* and *krit-ēyam*,

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 *Brihat-Samhitā* :—

Phālgunasya dvitīyām
asitāyām Gurōr dinē !
Vasv-ashṭ-āshṭa-mitē Śakē
krit-ēyam vivṛitir mayā !

"This commentary has been composed by me on the second dark *tithi* of (the month) Phālguna, 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 *ashṭ-ashṭa* and *mitē*), and No. 305 of the Viśrāmbāg Collection. Also, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit tells me, it occurs in the Marāṭhī translation of the *Brihat-Samhitā*, published at Ratnāgiri.

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

In Śaka-Samvat 888 current, Chaitra śukla 5 began on Thursday, 9th March, A. D. 965, at about 58 *ghaṭṭe*, 22 *palas*, after mean sunrise, for Ujjain,¹ and ended on the Friday, at about 53 *gh.* 52 *p.*; the pūrṇimānta Phālguna 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 *amānta* Phālguna kṛishṇa 2 began on Friday, 9th February, A. D.

¹ The times here are for Ujjain, all through.

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

And in Saka-Samvat 889 current (888 expired), Chaitra *śukla* 5 ended on Wednesday, 28th February, A. D. 966, at about 23 *gh.* 38 *p.*; the *pūrṇimānta* Phālguna *kṛishṇa* 2 ended on Wednesday, 30th January, A. D. 967, at about 41 *gh.* 33 *p.*; and the *amānta* Phālguna *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 Saka-Samvat 888 expired, a Thursday cannot be obtained for Chaitra *śukla* 5 at all. But in Saka-Samvat 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 *pūrṇimānta* Phālguna *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.² 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 *Brihat-Samhitā*, 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

² Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit, however, tells me that according to the present *Sārya-Siddhānta*, the *tithi* began at almost the same time as by Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables;

calculated the date; and had found that the resulting week-day was a Thursday, if the date was referred to the Saka 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 Saka and the Vikrama eras, being only to apply the general result as proof that, in using the word *Śakā*, Utpala did intend to quote the Saka 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. 965.

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-Jātaka* was finished on Thursday, 9th March, A. D. 965; and that the Commentary on the *Bṛihat-Samhitā* 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 *Śakā* 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-Samvat 888 current, at about 15 *gh.* 2 *p.*, on Thursday, 3rd March, A. D. 830:—

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

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

And the *pūrṇimānta* Phālguna *kṛishṇa* 2 ended—

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

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

And the *amānta* Phālguna *kṛishṇa* 2 ended—

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

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

vis. 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 sukla 5. And, though it is not absolutely necessary in the case of Phālguna 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, — *vis.* 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 Śaka 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'ÉPIGRAPHIE 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 Shāhbāz-Garhī, 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 Shāhbāz-Garhī 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 Shāhbāz-Garhī 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 Shāhbāz-Garhī 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 Dhauli and Jaugada. It is the special *Asōka 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 *pāshanda* with *pārshada* through a form *pāsharda*, which, by the way, gives another proof that the spelling at Shāhbāz-Garhī 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 Shāhbāz-Garhī, and the Edicts at Girnār, and transcriptions, so far as is possible, of the first eleven Edicts at Mansērā. 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 Cruttenden, 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 Balasór and Hāghli 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 "uncontrollable 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 *Sūrya-Siddhanta*, older than and different from the work that is now known to us under that name, became apparent to me from studying the *Pañchasiddhāntikā* of Varāhamihira.¹ A valuable article on the *Pañchasiddhāntikā* 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 *Sūrya*- and *Rōmaka Siddhāntas*. But, although the *ahargana* employed in it to explain the *kshēpakas*, and the results arrived at by means of it, are quite correct, yet the epoch, supposed by Dr. Thibaut to be the *amānta* Chaitra śukla pratipadā 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 Varāhamihira selected for the *Pañchasiddhāntikā*. Also some other points touched by me will, I hope, be useful.²

The *Pañchasiddhāntikā* is a *Karāṇa*, not a *Siddhānta*; and therefore the revolutions of the planets in a *Mahāyuga* or in a *Kalpa* are not given in it, as is usually done in *Siddhāntas*. A *Karāṇa* is a practical work on astronomy; and usually the author of it gives the mean places of the planets, which are generally called *kshēpakas*, on the day of, or very near to, the epoch of that *Karāṇa*; also the daily mean motions of the planets; and also a method of calculating the *ahargana*, *i. e.* the number of days elapsed from the epoch of the *Karāṇa* up to any given day, for which the places of the planets, &c., are to be found. In some *Karāṇas*, 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 *varshagana*, or number of years elapsed from the epoch of the *Karāṇa*; 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 *kshēpakas* 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 *Mēsha-Saṁkrānti* or entrance of the sun into Aries. Varāhamihira has followed the first of these two methods. In this method, the *ahargana* is to be calculated from Chaitra śukla pratipadā, *i. e.* from the beginning of the epoch-year taken as a luni-solar year. But the *kshēpakas* may be given either for the same day, or for a previous day near to it. For instance, the epoch of Gaṇeśa Daivajña's *Grahalāghava* is Saka-Saṁvat 1442 expired, *i. e.* the end of that year, taken as a current year. With that basis, Chaitra śukla pratipadā 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 *kshēpakas* are for the mean sunrise on that previous day, *viz.* the *amānta* Phālguna kṛishṇa amāvāsya 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 *Rājamṛigāṅka*, a *Karāṇa* attributed to king Bhōja, is Saka-Saṁvat 964 expired. With that basis, Chaitra śukla pratipadā ended on Tuesday, 23rd February, A.D. 1042. It commenced on the previous day, Monday. But here the *kshēpakas* are not even for the Monday; but are for the mean sunrise on Phālguna kṛishṇa trayōdaśī, 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 *Sūrya-Siddhānta*. 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 *Pañchasiddhāntikā*; a question which was not disposed of by Dr. Thibaut.—J. F. F.]

² There are two MSS. of the *Pañchasiddhāntikā* 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 Thāṇā High School.

³ One *tithi* was expunged,

A.D. 1042. And the reason of this is obvious. The *ahargana* is to be calculated from the beginning of the luni-solar year, and therefore the *kshépakas* 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 *amāvāsyâ* 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 *ghatis* between a mean and an apparent *tithi*, there is sometimes found a discrepancy of one day in the calculated *ahargana*, as is well known to astronomers,⁴ which is to be made up by adding one to, or subtracting one from, the calculated *ahargana*. I give the details in order to account for the seeming difference of one day between the day of the *kshépakas* and the initial day for calculating the *ahargana* which Varāhamihira selected.

In the *Pañchasiddhāntikā*, Varāhamihira gives more or less of the substance of five different *Jyōtisha Siddhāntas*, — the Paulīsa, Rōmaka, Vāsishṭha, Saura, and Paitāmaha, — which were already in existence in his time. He has not given the different detailed methods of calculating the *ahargana* according to each of the five *Siddhāntas*. Giving first such a detailed method only for the *Rōmaka-Siddhānta*, he has given afterwards those figures for the other *Siddhāntas* on which a detailed method can be based. The first of the verses in which the method of calculating *ahargana*, according to the *Rōmaka-Siddhānta* is given by Varāhamihira, stands thus in my copy: —

सप्तश्वेदसंख्यं शक्रकालमपास्य चैत्रद्युक्तासौ ।

अर्धास्तमिते भानौ यवनपुरे भौमदिवसाद्यः ॥ 8 ॥ Adhyāya i.

Translation. — “Having put aside the ‘Saka period that is numbered by (the numeral) seven, the Aśvins (two), and the Vēdas (four) [*i.e.* having come to the end of ‘Saka-Saṁvat 427, and passing on to the next year ‘Saka-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-ādyé*, locat. sing., “on the commencement of the week-day Saumya (Wednesday).” My copy reads भौमदिवसाद्यः, *Bhauma-divas-ādyah*, nomin. sing., and gives *Saumya-divas-ādyé*, in the margin, as a various reading. This verse is quoted by Utpala in his commentary on the *Bṛihat-Saṁhitā*; and there my MS. of the *Bṛihat-Saṁhitā*, with the commentary, reads भौम, *Bhauma*, and not सौम्य, *Saumya*. Also, the late Dr. Bhau Daji has given भौम, *Bhauma* (*Bhauma-divas-ākhyé*; *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, N. S. Vol. I. p. 407); while Dr. Thibaut has given सौम्य, *Saumya* (*Saumya-divas-ādyé*; *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 *Pañchasiddhāntikā* is the *amānta* Vaiśākha śukla pratipadâ of Saka-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 *amānta* Chaitra śukla pratipadâ, Saka-Saṁvat 427 expired, ended, not on a Tuesday, but on a Sunday, while the Chaitra śukla pratipadâ of Saka-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 *amānta* Chaitra śukla pratipadâ, Saka-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 *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, 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 *Siddhānta-Sirōmani*, *Madhyamādhikāra*, *adhimāsanirṇaya*, and commentaries on it.

⁵ I think भौमदिवसाद्यः, *Bhauma-divas-ākhyah*, 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 *Pāñchasiddhāntikā*, given in accordance with the original *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, 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 *amānta* Chaitra *kṛishṇa* *chaturdaśī* 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 *ahargana* should be as near as possible to this date; and it, therefore, must be the *amānta* Vaiśākha *śukla* *pratipadā*, Saka-Saṁvat 427 expired, which, as a fact, ended on a Tuesday (भौमवार, *Bhaumavāra*). The discrepancy here of one or two days is explained above. Another apparent discrepancy, *viz.* why this Vaiśākha *śukla* *pratipadā* is called Chaitra *śukla* *pratipadā* by Varāhamihira, will be explained further on. First, I will prove my assertion that the *kshêpakas* are for the *amānta* Chaitra *kṛishṇa* *chaturdaśī*.

Special particulars for calculating the *ahargana* with regard to the original *Sūrya-Siddhānta* are given in the verse: —

वर्षायुते धृतिन्ने नववसुगुणरसरसाः स्युरधिमासाः ।

सावित्रे शरनवर्षेन्द्रियाणवाशास्तियिप्रलयाः ॥ 14 ॥ Adhyāya 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 *Sūrya-Siddhānta* is 365 days, 15 *ghaṭīs*, 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 *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, their *kshêpakas* are given in the following verses of the ninth⁶ chapter of the *Pāñchasiddhāntikā*: —

सुगणे ऽर्को ऽष्टशतने विपक्षवेर्षावे ऽकसिद्धांते ।

स्वरखा^७न्धिद्विनवयमोद्धृते क्रमाद्दिनहले ऽवस्थां ॥ 1 ॥

नवशतसहस्रगुणिते स्वरैकपक्षांबरस्वरतूने ।

षड्^८व्योमैन्द्रियनववसुविषयजिनैर्भाजिते चंद्रः ॥ 2 ॥

नवशतगुणिते दद्याद्रसविषयगुणांबरतृतीयमपक्षान् ।

नववसुसप्ताष्टांबरनवाश्विभक्ते शशांकोष्ठं ॥ 3 ॥

शशिविषयग्नानीदोः खार्कामिहतानि मंडलानि ऋणं ॥

स्वोच्चे दिग्गानि धनं स्वरैरंभ्रयमोद्धृते विकलाः ॥ 4 ॥ Adhyāya 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 subtracted [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 *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, the revolutions of the moon's apogee are found to be 488,219 in a Mahāyuga of 1,577,917,800 civil days. Then we find by proportion that 900 revolutions are performed in 2,908,789 — $\frac{36,791}{488,219}$ 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 °खाद्विधिन°

⁸ My copy reads °षवर्णेदि°

⁹ My copy reads °स्वरदस्य°. It is shown above that the emendation is necessary.

the motion of the apogee amounts to $(\frac{36,791}{1,577,917,800} \times 12 \times 30 \times 60 \times 60 = \frac{8,629,640}{292,207} =)$ 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 $(\frac{30.21776}{900} = .0335753 \text{ \&c.} =)$ about $\frac{10}{287}$ 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 *Sūrya-Siddhānta*; and this is also corroborated by the 14th verse of the first chapter given on page 47 above.

Taking the *ahargana* to be *nil*, we find the *kshēpakas* 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, *दिनदलेऽवन्त्यां*, *dina-dalē=Van̄tyām*, for noon at Ujjain; presumably of a Sunday, because the *ahargana* is usually counted from Sunday. The sun's *kshēpaka* is 11 signs, 29 degrees, 27 minutes, 20 seconds. He was then short of the mean *Mēsha-Samkrānti* 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 *Mēsha* 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 *kshēpakas* belong. The time of the sun's entrance into *Mēsha* is the time of the *Mēsha-Samkrānti*. Supposing that, according to the original *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, the *Kaliyuga* commenced at the midnight of a Thursday (at the beginning of the *amānta* mean *Chaitra śukla pratipadā* of *Kaliyuga-Samvat* 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 *Mēsha*; and taking the above determined length of the year, 365 days, 15 gh. 31 p. 30 vip.; then the mean *Mēsha-Samkrānti*, *Saka-Samvat* 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 *kshēpaka*. It is thus proved that the sun's *kshēpaka* is for the noon previous to this mean *Mēsha-Samkrānti*. The moon's *kshēpaka* 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 *Sūrya-Siddhānta* are found to be 57,753,336 in a *Mahāyuga*; therefore her mean position at the mean *Mēsha-Samkrānti* of *Saka-Samvat* 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 *Mēsha-Samkrānti* and the next preceding noon, we get 11 signs, 20 degrees, 11 minutes, 16 seconds, which exactly agrees with the moon's *kshēpaka*. This agreement both proves and corroborates the fact that the moon's *kshēpaka* is for the noon next preceding the mean *Mēsha-Samkrānti*.¹⁰ It need hardly be proved separately that the *kshēpaka* 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 *Mēsha-Samkrānti* of *Saka-Samvat* 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-chaturdaśī*, was completed, and the thirtieth *tithi*, viz. the *amāvasyā*, was current at that time by the *amānta* reckoning. From calculations chiefly based on the original *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, I find that this *amānta* *krishṇa-chaturdaśī* ended, as a *spashṭa* or apparent *tithi*, at 35 gh. 57 p. after mean sunrise on the same Sunday on which the mean *Mēsha-Samkrānti* occurred; and the following *amāvasyā*

¹⁰ By the way, it corroborates the number of the moon's revolutions in a *Mahāyuga*.

Table of the Elements of the original and the present Sūrya-Siddhāntas.

1	Original Sūrya-Siddhānta.				Present Sūrya-Siddhānta.	
	Kshēpakas on amānta Chaitra krishṇa chaturdaśī, Śaka-Samvat 427 expired ; which ended on Sunday, 20th March, A. D. 505.				In a Mahāyuga, viz. 4320000 years.	In a Mahāyuga, viz. 4320000 years.
	Signs.	Degrees.	Minutes.	Seconds.		
2	At mean noon at Ujjain.				3	4
					Revolutions.	Revolutions.
Sun	11	29	27	20	4,320,000	4,320,000
Meon	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.					
Sighra of Mercury.....	4	28	17	7	17,937,000	17,937,060
Sighra 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	23	49	146,564	146,568
The Stars.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,582,237,800	1,582,237,828
					Number.	Number.
Sāvana days .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,577,917,800	1,577,917,828
Solar months .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	51,840,000	51,840,000
Intercalated months.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,593,336	1,593,336
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 Sūrya-Siddhānta.....365 days, 15 ghatts, 31 palas, 30 vipalas ;

The present Sūrya-Siddhānta.....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 Mēsha-Samkrānti which occurred on Sunday at 48 gh. 9 p., the current *tithi* was the amāvāsyā, apparent as well as mean. The apparent Mēsha-Samkrānti takes place, according to the original Sūrya-Siddhānta, about 2 days, 14 gh. 23 p. earlier¹¹ than the mean Mēsha-Samkrānti ; 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 trayōdaśī¹² of the same fortnight and of the same amānta month as that of the mean Mēsha-Samkrānti. And as, according to the general rule, that amānta lunar month in which the Mēsha-Samkrānti occurs is to be named Chaitra, the amānta month in which the apparent as well as the mean Mēsha-Samkrāntis of Śaka-Samvat 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 dvādaśī.

The *kshépakas* of the five planets are for the midnight next following the noon for which the *kshépakas* of the sun are given. The mean Mēsha-Saṁkrānti 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 *Pañchasiddhāntikā*, containing the mean motions of the five planets and their *kshépakas* according to the original *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, have been translated and demonstrated by Dr. Thibaut, I need not do it again. With the revolutions of the planets in a Mahāyuga, 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 Mēsha, 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 Mēsha-Saṁkrānti of Saka-Saṁvat 427 expired; and then, deducting from them the motions for 3 *gh.* 9 *p.*, I have obtained the mean places¹³ for the preceding midnight, which agree, exactly in some cases, and very nearly in others, with the *kshépakas* given by Varāhamihira. The disagreement in seconds is of no practical importance.

Thus it is proved clearly that the *kshépakas* in the *Pañchasiddhāntikā*, according to the original *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, are for the *amānta* Chaitra kṛishṇa chaturdaśi 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 Mēsha-Saṁkrānti occurred at 48 *gh.* 9 *p.* after mean sunrise at Ujjain;¹⁴ some of the *kshépakas* being for the noon of that day, and others for the next following midnight. And the nearest śukla pratipadā, *viz.* the *amānta* Vaiśākha śukla pratipadā of Saka-Saṁvat 428 current, — which ended, as I find from the original *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, 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 Varāhamihira for calculating the *ahargaṇa*. It is proved at the same time that, according to the original *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, 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 Mēsha.

The *kalpādyahargaṇa* used by Dr. Thibaut to calculate the *kshépakas*, 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 Karāṇa," which, according to him "amounts to 1,955,883,606," allows, as in the present *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, 17,064,000 mundane years for the creation of the world. And accordingly, as well as in agreement with any other *Siddhānta*, 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 *Sūrya-Siddhānta*. 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 Sunday¹⁵ midnight; and consequently the *kshépakas* 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 *adhimāsas* 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 adhimāsa* 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 *svalpāntara*. But he has taken it as one, only because otherwise he could not explain the *kshépakas*; and taking one month more, brings us practically one month forward to the *amānta* Chaitra śukla pratipadā for which his *ahargaṇa* is calculated, *i.e.* to the Sunday nearest to the beginning of the *amānta* Vaiśākha.

One point remains to be explained, which is, why Varāhamihira gives to this Vaiśākha śukla pratipadā the name of Chaitra śukla pratipadā (Chaitra-śukl-ādi). The reason of this

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

¹⁴ The current *tithi* at the time of this *saṁkrānti* was, as stated above, the *amāvāsyā*.

¹⁵ I do not know how, notwithstanding this, Dr. Thibaut chooses the reading सौम्य, *Seumya*, in the verse of the 8th chapter of the *Pañchasiddhāntikā*.

is one or other of the following two. First, the fortnight *amānta* Vaiśākha śukla was Chaitra śukla by the real *pūrṇimānta* arrangement. The general rule for naming a lunar month is this; that lunar month in which the Mēsha-Saṁkrānti occurs, is to be called Chaitra, and so on. With Śaka-Saṁvat 427 expired, the apparent Mēsha-Saṁkrānti took place on the *amānta* Chaitra kṛishna dvādaśī, Friday, 18th March, A.D. 505. The *pūrṇimānta* month which was current at the time of this Mēsha-Saṁkrānti, commenced on the next preceding pratipadā of the same dark fortnight (*amānta* Chaitra kṛishna), on Sunday, 6th March, and ended with the pūrṇimā or full-moon of the following bright fortnight (*amānta* Vaiśākha śukla); and this *pūrṇimānta* month must be named Chaitra according to the correct application of the above rule for naming the lunar months. Consequently, the *amānta* Vaiśākha śukla pratipadā in question belonged to the *pūrṇimānta* Chaitra śukla. The second reason is that, in Śaka-Saṁvat 428 current (427 expired), by the rule of mean intercalation, the *amānta* month which followed the *amānta* natural Chaitra, was intercalary; and, by the rule contained in the verse *नेषादित्ये सवितरि यो यो मासः प्रपूर्यन्ते चांद्रः । चैत्रायः स ज्ञेयः पूर्तिदिवसे ऽधिमासोऽन्त्यः*, it must have been named Chaitra. Therefore, the *pratipadā* in question, belonging to the bright fortnight of the month which was Vaiśākha 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 Varāhamihira 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 *ahargana*, the pratipadā of the intercalated Chaitra, instead of the pratipadā of the preceding natural Chaitra; thus beginning the year wrongly. Therefore, the first reason is the one that is applicable; i.e. the pratipadā of the bright fortnight of the *amānta* Vaiśākha in question, belonged to the bright fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* Chaitra. There is no doubt as to the *pūrṇimānta* arrangement being in use in Varāhamihira'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 *pūrṇimānta* 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 Varāhamihira adopted the pratipadā of the bright fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* Chaitra, as the initial day for calculating the *ahargana*. There is still another reason why Varāhamihira selected the *amānta* Chaitra kṛishna chaturdaśī of Śaka-Saṁvat 428 current (427 expired) for his *kshēpakas*. It is, that the mean Mēsha-Saṁkrānti in that year occurred, according to the original *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, on that day, at 48 *gh.* 9 *p.* after mean sunrise at Ujjain. And so, though Varāhamihira followed, as stated above, the first of the two methods of *Karāṇa*-works, that is of calculating the mean places of planets by means of the *ahargana*, — 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 *varshagana*; by which method the process is much shortened. We have such another instance in the *Khaṇḍakhādya*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 *Karāṇa*.

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 Mahāyuga, deduced from the data in the *Pañchasiddhāntikā*, given as belonging to the *Sūrya-Siddhānta* which I have named the original *Sūrya-Siddhānta*; the same elements according to the present *Sūrya-Siddhānta*; and the *kshēpakas*, i.e. the mean places of the sun, &c., in the *Pañchasiddhāntikā* according to the original *Sūrya-Siddhānta*. The *kshēpakas* of the five planets are as calculated by me; some of them differ, but by not more than seven seconds, from those given by Varāhamihira.

¹⁶ Epoch, Śaka-Saṁvat 587 expired.

¹⁷ As to the revolutions and the *kshēpaka* of Bāhu, 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 *Sūrya-Siddhāntas* as are generally given in the *Madhyamādhikāra*, or chapter on mean motions and places, of a *Siddhānta*-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 *Sūrya-Siddhānta* was constructed by changing those verses in the *Madhyamādhikāra* of the original *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, 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 *Sūrya-Siddhānta* being now extant anywhere in its original form.

The elements of the original *Sūrya-Siddhānta* do not, I find, agree with those of the *Paulīśa-Siddhānta*¹⁸ as contained in the *Pañchasiddhāntikā*, but agree, not partly as Dr. Thibaut says (*Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LIII. Part I. p. 292), but wholly, with those of another *Paulīśa-Siddhānta*, as found in the verses in the *Āryā* metre quoted from it by Utpala in his commentary on the *Bṛihat-Saṁhitā*.¹⁹ Again, the elements of the original *Sūrya-Siddhānta* agree with those of the first *Ārya-Siddhānta*, 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.

Albêrûnî²⁰ has attributed the *Sūrya-Siddhānta* to Lāṭa. I do not know whether it can be ascertained from his writings which of the two *Sūrya-Siddhāntas*, — the original, or the present one, — he had seen. But the original *Sūrya-Siddhānta* is certainly not the work of Lāṭa. In the third verse of the *Pañchasiddhāntikā*, Varāhamihira says that Lāṭa wrote commentaries on the *Paulīśa* and *Rômaka* *Siddhāntas* (व्याख्याता लाटदेवेन). Lāṭa's writings, therefore, were well known to Varāhamihira. And, if Lāṭa were really the author of the original *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, the matter would not have been a secret to Varāhamihira, and he would not have held the work in reverence as one of divine origin. The very fact that he calls it the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, shows that he did not hold it to be a work of human origin. In the following verse he calls Lāṭa an *Āchārya*, and not a *Rīshī*, much less a divine being: —

द्युगणाद्दिनवारासिद्धुगणो ऽपि हि देशकालसंबंधः ।

लाटाचार्येणोक्तो यवनपुरे चास्तगे सूर्ये ॥ *Pañchasiddhāntikā*, Adhyāya xiv.

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

श्रीषिणविष्णुचंद्रप्रद्युम्नार्थभटलादसिंहानां ।

ग्रहणादिविसंवासात् प्रतिदिवसं सिद्धमकृतत्वं ॥ 46 ॥ *Brahma-Siddhānta*, adhyāya xi.

“The incompleteness of *Srīshēṇa*, *Vishṇuchandra*, *Pradyumna*, *Āryabhata*, *Lāṭa*, and *Siṁha*, is proved every day by the discordance of their eclipses and other things.” Again he says: —

लाटासूर्यशांकां मध्यार्विदूच्चंद्रपातौ च ।

कुजबुधशीघ्रबृहस्पतिसितशीघ्रशनैश्चरान् मध्यान् ॥ 47 ॥

श्रीषिणेन गृहीत्वा . . . रोमकः कृतः कथा ॥ 48 ॥ *Brahma-Siddhānta*, Adhyāya xi.

¹⁸ There seem to be three different *Paulīśa-Siddhāntas*; one contained in the *Pañchasiddhāntikā*; another which is called by Utpala the *Māla-Pulīśa-Siddhānta*, and from which a verse in the *Anuṣṭubh* 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 *Āryā* 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.]

“Śrīshēṇa has made the *Rōmaka*²¹ a tattered garment; having borrowed from Lāṭa the mean sun and moon, the moon’s apogee and node, the mean Mars, the mean *śīghra* of Mercury, the mean Jupiter, the mean *śīghra* of Venus, and the mean Saturn.” From these verses it is clear that, in addition to his commentaries on the Paulīṣa and *Rōmaka Siddhāntas*, Lāṭa wrote an independent work on astronomy, of the nature either of a *Siddhānta* or of a *Karāṇa*, and that it was known by his name, and not as the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*. Brahmagupta also alludes to a *Sūrya-Siddhānta*; but it is beyond any doubt that only one and the same *Sūrya-Siddhānta* was known to Varāhamihira and Brahmagupta; and at any rate they do not call it a work of Lāṭa, whose writings they knew full well.

The author of the *Marīchi*, a well known commentary on the *Siddhānta-Sirōmaṇi*, quotes a verse from an unknown writer, the fourth quarter of which runs thus:²² — लाटाचार्यः कथयति पुनश्चार्धरात्रे स्वतन्त्रे; — “again Lātāchārya in his own book declares (*the beginning of the day*) at mid-night.” This shows that Lāṭa’s work was known by his own name. Possibly Lāṭa’s hand may have done something with the *Sūrya-Siddhānta* 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 *Sūrya-Siddhānta* must be of much earlier date.

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

क्षेप्याः शरैर्वुक्त्रिकलाः प्रतिवर्षं मध्यमक्षितिजे ।

दश दश गुरोर्विशोभ्याः शनैश्चरे सार्धसप्तश्रुताः ॥

पञ्चद्वया²⁴ विशोभ्याः सिते बुधे खाश्विचंद्रश्रुताः ॥

खखवेदे²⁵ बुविकलिकाः शोभ्याः सुरपूजितस्य मध्यात् स्युः ॥॥ *Pañchasiddhāntikā*, 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 Āsvins (two) and the moon (one) (*i.e.* 120) should be added to Mercury; and the sky (nought), the sky (nought), the Vēdas (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 *bīja* were applied to the original *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, the results would agree with those of the present *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, and would show thereby that the latter is a work of Varāhamihira; but I find from calculations that such is not the case. If either *Sūrya-Siddhānta* were his own composition, Varāhamihira would have given the revolutions of the planets in a *Mahāyuga*, inclusive of this *bīja*; and there would have been no necessity for him to give the *bīja* 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 *Mahāyuga*, adopted by Brahmagupta in the first part of his *Khaṇḍakhādya* (Saka-Samvat 587 expired), exactly agree with those of the original *Sūrya-Siddhānta*. Brahmagupta is so accurate in this adoption, that he does not neglect even a second. The *ahargana* is to be counted from midnight in both.

²¹ I see clearly, from the *Pañchasiddhāntikā* and the *Brahma-Siddhānta*, that the *Rōmaka-Siddhānta* of Śrīshēṇa is different from the *Rōmaka* alluded to in the *Pañchasiddhāntikā* by Varāhamihira. See my paper on the *Rōmaka Siddhāntas*,” which will shortly be published in this Journal.

²² I take it from Dr. Thibaut’s article on the *Pañchasiddhāntikā*.

²³ I am aware that Bentley says that the date of the present *Sūrya-Siddhānta* is A.R. 1091.

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

²⁵ I take this reading from Dr. Thibaut. My copy reads खखवेदविकलिकाः, *kha-kha-veda-vikalikāḥ*.

I must state here that the fifth verse of the ninth chapter of the *Pañchasiddhāntikā*, containing the mean motion and the *kshēpaka* of Rāhu, or the moon's ascending node, according to the original *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, 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 *Khaṇḍakhādya* and the original *Sūrya-Siddhānta* agree exactly, I have given, in the accompanying Table, the number of revolutions of Rāhu, derived from the former, as belonging to the latter; and the *kshēpaka* 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 Āryabhaṭa; it has been published by Dr. Kern; it contains 118 verses in the Āryā metre; and it is called the *Āryabhāṭiya* or (first) *Ārya-Siddhānta*.²⁶ In it, the Kaliyuga is made to commence at sunrise at Laṅkā. But Varāhamihira says:—

लंकारात्रसमये दिनप्रवृत्तिं जगद् चार्यभटः ।

भूयः स एव सूर्योदयात्प्रभृत्याह लंकायां ॥ *Pañchasiddhāntikā*, chapter xiv.

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

प्रणिपत्य महर्षिर्द्वं जगदुत्पत्तिस्थितिप्रलयहेतुं ।

वक्ष्यामि खंडखाद्यक्रमाचार्यभटतुल्यफलं ॥ *Khaṇḍakhādya*, chapter i.

“Having saluted Mahārṣi, who is the cause of the creation, the existence, and the destruction of the world, I proclaim the *Khaṇḍakhādya*, producing results agreeing with (*those of*) the *Āchārya* Āryabhaṭa.” At another place he says:—

अर्धरात्रकार्यभटमध्यसमाः ॥ 7 ॥ *Khaṇḍakhādya*, 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 Āryabhaṭa.” From these circumstances it necessarily follows that the first Āryabhaṭa must have composed a work, in addition to his known *Ārya-Siddhānta* (*Āryabhāṭiya*), which exactly corresponded with the original *Sūrya-Siddhānta*; and it must be this now unknown work of Āryabhaṭa which Brahmagupta followed²⁷ in composing his *Khaṇḍakhādya*. This point is corroborated by the following remarks of Varuṇa, a commentator²⁸ on the *Khaṇḍakhādya*, who in the introduction to his commentary on the second Part (*Uttara*) of the *Khaṇḍakhādya* says, इह चोत्तरे यत्राभिहितं तदार्थभटकरणोद्व वक्तव्यं, — “what is not stated here in the *Uttara* (the latter part of the *Khaṇḍakhādya*), should be stated (*i.e.* taken) from the *Karāṇa* of Āryabhaṭa.” And from this it appears that the first Āryabhaṭa had composed a *Karāṇa*. And, if the wording of Varāhamihira in the above verse is to be taken literally, Āryabhaṭa first composed this *Karāṇa* in which the *ahargana* was to be counted from midnight, and afterwards wrote the known *Tantra* or *Siddhānta* which has been published. It is but natural that the *Karāṇa*-work, which was in fact an imitation of the original *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, should have been composed first; and it must have been followed by the *Siddhānta* or *Āryabhāṭiya*, which is an independent work.

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

²⁷ It is clear from his *Brahma-Siddhānta* that Brahmagupta was also well acquainted with Āryabhaṭa's *Siddhānta* known to us at present.

²⁸ The Śaka years 958, 962, 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 Rājasthān*, 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 Mahādēva (Siva) at Kanaswa, — or Kanvābrama, 'the hermitage of Kanva,' as the name is spelt in lines 12 and 16 of the inscription,—a few miles to the east of Kōtah, the principal town of the State of Kōtah in Rājputāna, 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 ⅔" and ⅓".—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 Aphaṣṣ inscription of Ādityasēna² or of the Horiuzi palm-leaf MSS.³ They include the sign of the *jihvāmūlīya* in *-ānukārāḥ-kvachid*, line 1, and the somewhat rare sign for *jh*, in *jhatiti*, line 12, and *jhaṅkāra*, line 13. Except in the conjunct *rtha* (in *dharmn-ārtham*, line 13), the sign for *r*, preceding another consonant, is always written above the line. — The language is Sanskrit; and, excepting the introductory *ōm namaḥ Sivāya ōm* 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 *préyōbhimukhya* (for *préyah + ābhimukhya*) in line 12, and perhaps in *dattau kshayā* (for *dattau + akshayā*) in line 13; through the influence, as it appears to me, of the Prākṛit, the *anusvāra* has taken the place of a final *n* in *rūpavān* and *īrimān*, line 9, and in *asmīn*, line 15. and through the same cause a final *t* has been dropped in *bhavē*, lines 13 and 16, and *tapē*, line 14; and the words *anukāra*, in line 1, and *jhaṅkāra*, 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 *kārūpaka*, 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 *Transaction: 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, *Sālpār*, doubtless that situated high in the *Penjāb*, mentioned in the twelfth century as being amongst the conquests of Cumāra-Pāla, of *Nehroddā Pattan*, and perhaps the *Syalcote* of our modern geography;" and p. 138: — "the *Jit* of *Sal-indra-pār* 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 Rājasthān*. 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 *Sālpār*' in all probability owes his origin to the words *Sambhōr-jjātā*, 'the matted hair of Sambhu,' in line 2 of the inscription.

² *Gupta Inscriptions*, Plate xxviii.

³ *Anecdota Oxon.*, Āryan Series, Vol. I. Part iii.

wrong sibilants only in *viśa* (for *viśha*), line 4, and in *visrambhēna* (for *visrambhēna*), 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*, *nirvvastrá*, *-kshudha*, line 6, and elsewhere; improperly added in *-árayôh*, line 6; and wrongly left unchanged in *-bhuvah tyaktá*, line 7, *°ganaḥ dhármnikah*, line 15, and *Sambhoh dharmma-*, line 16. Before *r* the consonant *t* is generally doubled, e. g. in *nētra*, 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 *phávipair=bhbhōga-*, line 1, and *kirttir=bhbhavishyati*, line 14. Of individual words, *priya* has been throughout spelt *priya*, in lines 8, 9 and 15, and *ujjala*, *ujvala*, in lines 3, 5, 10 and 16.

The inscription, after the introductory 'ôṁ, adoration to Siva,' and five verses in honour of that deity (under the names of Sambhu and Sthānu), 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 Bráhma caste, named **Saṅkuka**, whose wife **Dēgiṇi** bore to him the prince **Sivagaṇa**. This Sivagaṇa (lines 10-13) built a temple to Siva (Paramēśvara, Dhūrjaṭi) at **Kaṇvāsrāma**, and endowed it with (the revenues of) the two villages **Sarvāṅkā** and **Chōnipadraka**. 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 **Málava 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 **Málava 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 **Málava era**, has as yet been rightly explained. I allude to the compound **gaṇa-sthiti** in the two **Mandasor** 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—

Málavānām gaṇa-sthityā yātē śata-chatuṣṭayē, | trinavaty-adhikē=bdānām ;

and in the second—

Pañchasa śatēshu śaradām yātēshv=ēkānnavati-sahitēshu |

Málava-gaṇa-sthiti-vaśāt=kāla-jūānāya likhitēshu ||

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 **Málavas** 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 **Málavas**," and the corresponding words (**Málava-gaṇa-sthiti-vaśāt**) of the second passage by—"from (*the establishment*) of the supremacy of the tribal constitution of the **Málavas**," adding in a note that it is very difficult to find a satisfactory meaning for the word *vaśāt*. Now I think that, in explaining these (what I may be permitted to call) doubtful phrases, we must start from the very word *vaśāt*. *Vaśāt* 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-sthityā* 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 *Aupapātika-vṛitti*, which is mentioned in my *Report on Sanskrit MSS.*, p. 50, we read—

grānthāgrām 3135 akshara-gaṇanayā sthāpitam=iti;

i. e., "the grānthāgra has by counting the *aksharas* been settled to be 3135." Here we have in construction with each other, the word *gaṇanā*, which is etymologically related to *gaṇa* (one of the synonyms of which is *saṅkhyā*), and *sthāpita*, derived from the same root *sthā* from which we also have *sthiti*. *Gaṇanayā sthāpayitum* 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 *Mālavānām gaṇasthityā* and *Mālavagaṇasthiti-vaśāt* simply with "by, or according to, the reckoning of the Mālavas," a rendering which, like the original passages, would leave it doubtful whether the Mālavas spoken of should be understood to be the people of Mālava or the rulers of that country. In fact, I would maintain that the expressions *gaṇa-sthityā* and *gaṇasthiti-vaśāt* are to all intents and purposes synonymous with the phrase *-prakālē gaṇanām vidhāya* in the now well-known *Gupta-prakālē gaṇanām vidhāya*, 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, *Chōṇipadraka*, with the village of 'Chaoni' which according to his account, is close to Kōtah. The village *Sarvāṅkā* I am unable to identify.

TEXT. 4

- 1 Om⁵ namaḥ Sivāya ॥ Om⁵ । Namaḥ⁶ ssakala-samsāra-sāgar-ōttāra-hêtavê । tamô-gartt-âbhisampāta-hast-âlambāya Sambhavê ॥ Svêta-⁷dvîp-ânu-kârâh=kvachid=aparimitair=indu-pādaiḥ patadbhir=nnityasthais=sāndhakârâḥ kvachid=api nibhṛitaiḥ phāṇipair=bhbhō(bbhō)ga-bhāgaiḥ [*] sôshmāṇô nêttra-bhābhîḥ kvachid=ati-s[i]sirâ Jahnuka-
- 2 nyâ-jal-anghair=ittham bhāvair=vviruddhair=api janita-mudah pântu Sambhôr=jjata vah ॥ Bhôg⁸-îndrasya phanâ-maṇi-dyuti-milan-maul-îndu-lôl-âmśavô १⁹ nêttr-âgnês=chhuritâs=sadhûma-kapîsair=jvâlâ-sikh-âgraiḥ kvachit । muktâkâra-marun-nadî-jalakanair=âkîrṇa-sôbhâḥ kvachich=ch=êttham śâsvataḥ sūshana-vyatikarâḥ Sâmbhôr = jja-
- 3 tâḥ pântu vah ॥¹⁰ Sthâqôr¹¹=vvaḥ pântu mûrddhnâ(rddhâ) sara iva satata-vyôma-Gaṅg-âmbu-lôla-sphûrjjad-bhôgîndra-pamka-ślatha - v i k a ṭ a - j a ṭ â j ū ṭ a - k a h l â r a - h â r i । mandam yattra sphurantyô dhavala-narasîrô-vârijanm-ântarâla-spashṭaḥ prôdyan-mṛiṇâl-âmkura-nikara iv=âbhânti maul-îndu-bhâsaḥ ॥ Nêttra-krôḍa-prasakt-ô[j*]jvala-dahana-sikhâ-pim-
- 4 ga-bhâsâm jatânâm bhâram samyamya kṛitvâ samam=amṛita-kar-ôdbhâsi maul-îndu-bimbaḥ । hastâbhyâm=ûrddhna(rddhva)m=udyad-vîsa(sha)śikhi-vadanagranthim=âtatya nâgam ॥¹² Sthânuḥ prârabdha-nṛittô jagad=avatu lay-ôtkampi-pâd-âṅgulîkaḥ ॥ Chôḍâ¹³-châru-maṇ-îndu-maṇḍita-bhuval¹⁴ sad-bhôginâm = âsrayaḥ paksha-chchhêda-bhay-ârtti-samkatavatâm rakshâ-ksba-

⁴ From the impression.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

⁶ Metre, Ślôka (Anushubh).—Read *namaḥ sakala*, or *nama-sakala*.

⁷ Metre, Sragdharâ.

⁸ Metre, Sârdûlavikṛîḍita.

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, Sârdûlavikṛîḍita; 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 *-Bhivaḥ*); 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 mō bhūbhṛitām | dūr-ābhyāgata-vāhini-parikarō ratna-prakār-ō[j*]jvalaḥ śrīmān=
ittham=udāra-sāgara-samō **Maury-ānvayō** dṛīsyatē || Diānāgā iva jātya-
saṁbhṛita-mudō dān-ō[j*]jvalair-ānanair-vvisra(śra)mbhēṇa ramanty=abhīta-
manas[ō]¹⁵ mām-ōddhurās=sarvvataḥ | sadvaṁśatva-vaśa-prasiddha-yaśasō yasmin=
prasiddhā guṇaiḥ ślāghyā bhadratayā
- 6 cha sa[t*]tva-bahulā[h*]¹⁶ pakshais=sasaṁ(mam) bhūbhṛitaḥ || Ittham¹⁷ bhavatsu
bhūpēshu bhūmjatsu sakalām mahīm | **Dhaval-ātmā** nripas=tattra yaśasā
dhavalō=bhavat || Kāy¹⁸-ādi-prakāṭ-ārjjitair=ahar-aha[h*] svair=ēva dōshaiḥ
sudā nirvvastrā[h] satata-kshudha[h*] prati-dinaṁ spashṭibhavay(d)-yātanaḥ* |
rātrī-saṁcharaṇā bhṛisām para-gṛihēshv=ittham vijity=ārayōḥ¹⁹ yēn=ādy=
āpi narēndra-
- 7 tām an-vipadō nītāḥ piśāchā iva || Kōpāl=lūna-mahēbha-kumbhā-vigalan-muktāphal-
ālamkṛita-sphīt-āsra-sruti-maṇḍitā api muhur-yēn-ōrjjitēna svayām | unnālī(lai)=
iva paṁkajaiḥ punar=api chchinnaiḥ śirōbhir=vvi(dvi)shām vikrāntēna
vibhūshitā raṇa-bhuvah(=) tyaktā naraiḥ kūtaraḥ || Ittham tasya chiran-
tanō dvija-varas=sann=apy=upā-
- 8 ttāyudha-pṛiti.²⁰prētanarēndra-satkṛiti-m[u]²¹dah pāt[tra]²¹m prasiddhō guṇaiḥ | yasy=ādy=
āpi raṇ-āmganē vilasitam sāmsūchayanti dvishat.²²sushyach-chhrōṇita-marmmarā
raṇa-bhuvah prēta-pri(pri)yāḥ prāyaśah || Sabdasy=ārttha iva prapādana-
patōr=mmārggas=trayī-saṁj[ñ]itō dharmmass(sy)=ēva viśuddha-bhāva-saralō
nyāyasya mūlam sataḥ | prāmānya-
- 9 pragata[sya(?)] — ∪ ∪ ∪ yas=sādhyasya sa[m]siddhay[ē] ta[s]y — [ū(?)] ∪ i — m-
[ga(?)] [ta]ḥ pri(pri)ya-sakhaḥ śrī-Saṁkuk-ākhyō nripaḥ || Dēginī²³ nāma
tasy=āsīd=dharma-patni dvij-ōdbhavā | tasyām tasy=ābhavad=vīraḥ sūnuḥ
kṛita-guṇ-ādarah || Yaśasvī rūpavām(vān) datā śrīmām(mān=) Śivaganō
nripaḥ | Śivasya nūnam sa gaṇō yēna tad-bhaktatām gataḥ || Kha-
- 10 ḍg²⁴-āghāta-dalat-tanūtra-vichāṭad-vahni-spulīng-ō[j*]jvala-jvālā-dagdha-kava(ba)ndha-
kaṇṭha-kuhara-prōnmukta-nād-ōlbaṇē | nārāja(cha)-grathit-ānan-ākula-khaga-prōd-
vānta-rakt-āsava-prīta-prētajanē raṇē rata-dhiyā yēn=āsakṛich=chēshtitam ||
Jñātva janma jarā-viyōga-marāna-klēsair=asēsahis=chitam sv-ārtthasy=āpy=
ayam=ēva yōga uchitō
- 11 lōkē prasiddhah satām | tēn=ēdam Paramēśvarasya bhavanām dharm-ātmanā
kārītam yam²⁵ dṛish[t*]v=aiva samasta²⁶-lōka-vapushām nashām Kalēḥ
kalmashām || Pushp-āsōka-samīraṇēna surabhāv=ntphulla-chūt-āmkurē kalē
matta-vilōla-sha[tpa]²⁷da-kulē(la)-vyāruddha-dinmaṇḍalē | jātē=pānga-nirikshaṇ-
aika-kathakē nārī-janasya smarē kṛiptam sad=bha-
- 12 vanam Bha[va]sya sudhiyā tēn=ēha Kaṇv-āsramē || Kalē²⁸-ndōl-ākulānām tanu-
valana-bhar[ā]t=prasphuṭat-kamchukānām kāntānām dṛīsyamānē kucha-kalāśa-
tafi-bhāji saṁbhōga-chihnē | yasmin=prēyōbhimukhya²⁹-sthiti-jhaṭīti-namach³⁰-
chhasmit-ārddh-ēkshaṇānām bhrū-bha[n*]gair=ēva ramyō hṛidaya-vinihitas=
sūchyatē prēmabandhaḥ || Ma-

¹⁵ Originally undoubtedly *manas*; but the superscript line of the final *ō*, 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, Ślōka (Anushubh).

¹⁸ Read -*ārayō*.

¹⁹ The surface of the stone being damaged, the lower portion of these two *aksharas* is broken away.

²⁰ Read *dvishach-chhrōṇita*.

²¹ Metre, Ślōka (Anushubh); and of the next verse.

²² Metre, Śārdūlavikṛitā; and of the next two verses.

²³ The first *akshara* of this word originally was *sah*.

²⁴ Metre, Sragdhārā.

²⁵ Read -*namat-sasmit*.

²⁶ Metre, Śārdūlavikṛitā, and of the next three verses.

²⁷ I believe that the reading intended is -*pṛitā*.

²⁸ Metre, Ślōka (Anushubh); and of the next verse.

²⁹ I believe the reading was intended to be *yad*.

³⁰ This *akshara* looks rather like *aps*.

³¹ Wrongly for *prēya-ābhimukhya* (i. e., *prēyas+ ābhimukhya*).

- 13 tta³¹-dvirêpha-jhañkâra-sahakâra-virâjitâ[h*] | samvîkshya kakubhò bâshpañ mñm-
chanti pathik-ânganâ[h*] || Dhûp-âdi-gandha-dîp-ârttham khañḍa-sphuṭita-
hêtunâ [i*] grâmau dattau kshayâ nimiḥ³² Sarvvâñka-Chôpipadrakau ||
Pâlayantu nripâḥ sarvvê yêshâm bhûmir-iyam bhavê[t*] | êvam kṛitê
t[ê*] dharmm-ârtham nûnam yânti
- 14 Siv-âlayam || Samsâra-sâgaram ghôram³³ anêna dharmma-sêt[u]nâ târayishyaty-
asau nûnam janyau [ch]=âtmânâma-êva cha || Yâvat-sa-sâgarâm prithvîm sa-
nagâm cha sa-kânanâm | yâvad=indus=tapê[d=*] bhânus=tâvat=kirttir-
bbha(bbha)vishyati || Samvatsara-satair-yâtaiḥ sa-pañcha-navaty-
arggalaiḥ [i*] saptabhir-Mmâlav-êsânâm mandiram Dhûrjjaṭêḥ
- 15 kṛitam || Alubdhaḥ pri(pri)ya-vâdî cha Siva-bhakti-rataḥ sadâ | kârâpa[kah]³⁴
Sabdagaṇaḥ(nô) dhârmnikah samsita-vrataḥ³⁵ || Dakshaḥ prâjñô vinit-âtmâ
guru-bhaktah pri(pri)yamvadah [i*] t[ri]ptô=[rtth ?]ê³⁶ Raupakaś=ch=âsmim³⁷
kâyasthò Gômik-[â]mgajah || Utkîrṇâ Sivanâgêna Dvârasivasya sûnunâ ||³⁸
Sûnunâ Bhaṭṭa-Surabhê[r*]=Ddêvatêna
- 16 ârut-ô[j*]jvalâ[h*] | ślôkâ amî kṛi[tâ*] bhaktyâ mauli-chamndra³⁹-sudhâ-jushah ||³⁸
Kṛishṇa-sutô guṇ-âghyaś=cha sûttradhârô=ttra Naṇṇakah ||³⁹ Êtat=
Kaṇv-âsramam jñâtva sarvva-pâpa-haram śubham | kṛitam hi mandiram
Sambhoh⁴⁰ dharmma-kirtti-vivarddhanam || Yati-hinam⁴¹ śabda-hinam mâtrâ-
hinam tu yad=bhavê[t*] | tat=sarvvañ sâdhu-chi-
- 17 ttêna marshañyam budhais=sadâ || || Kaṭarkayôrbap[a]h⁴² || ||

TRANSLATION.

Om !

Adoration to Siva !

Om !

(Line 1). — Adoration to Sambhu, 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 Sambhu's matted hair protect you, which,— in one place, by the countless rays of the moon falling (*upon it*), resembling⁴³ 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 Sambhu'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

³¹ Metre, Ślôka (Anuṣṭubh) ; and in the following verses.

³² I believe that the phrase intended by the writer is *akshayâ niviḥ*, 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 *kḥ*, but it has been altered into *kaḥ*, as may be seen even in the photo-lithograph.

³⁵ A common mistake for *samsita-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 *-âsmim*.

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 *Sambhoh-*.

⁴¹ Originally *yati-hinam-ârtha-śabda-*; but subsequently the two syllables *martha* were struck out, and the sign of *anusvâra* was put over the *na* of *hina*.

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 Sthânu'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 Sthânu 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 Lakshmi, the majestic ocean, which adorns Bhava⁴⁵ 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 probity⁴⁶ 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 Hémachandra.

⁴⁷ The expression *dhaval-âtma*, 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 *Sisuplavada*, 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 Vēdas), 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 **Dēgiṇī**, sprung from a Brāhman (*family*). She bore to him a son who has set high store on virtue, the illustrious prince **Sivagana**, a hero, renowned, of beautiful form, (*and*) liberal; since he has become a devotee of (Siva), he surely is Siva'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 Kanva, in the season which is fragrant with the breezes from Aśōkas 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 **Sarvāṅkā** and **Chōnipadraka**, 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 Siva!

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*) fame⁵¹ endure!

(L. 14).—(*This*) temple of Dhūrjati was built, when seven hundred and ninety-five years⁵² of the Mālava lords had gone by.

⁵⁰ i. e. Sivagana, on account of his devotion to Siva, was really what his name expresses, *Sivasya ganah*.

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 *argalā*) at the end of the Bahuvrīhi compound *sa-pañcha-navaty-argalāḥ*. *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-chatvārimśat-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 agent⁵³ (*in this matter was*) Sabdagana, free from covetousness, and kindly speaking, always delighting in devotion to Siva, 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 Dvârasîva. Dêvaça, the son of Bhaçça-Surabhi, full of faith, composed these verses (*which are*) radiant with sacred lore (*and*) partake of the nectar of the moon (*which is Sîva's*) diadem. And Naççaka, the son of Kriççha, rich in good qualities, is here the architect.

Knowing that this blessed hermitage of Kaçva 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 *ângam*, *viyaha* or *vivâha*, (or ^opannatti,¹) with the epithet *bhagavati*, and lastly also [295] merely *bhagavati* (Hêm. v. 243); in 41 *sayas*, *çata*,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 *ânga* 4 and of the *Nandî* the reader is referred to p. 288. Besides, in its general survey of the extent of the *ângas*, the fourth *ânga* has in § 84, where there is no occasion for suspecting its truth, the same statement that the *vivâhapannatti bhagavati* 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 *ângam* had not yet attained the half of its present extent. Cf. on this point the statements in *ânga* 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 *anângapavittîha* texts (*bhagavaticchûlikâ*, Schol.). On the other hand it is noteworthy that *ânga* 4 in § 81, that is to say just before the mention of the 84,000 *padas* of the *bhagavati*, 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 *ânga* 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 *aksharas*, 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 *upângas* 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 *avântarasaya* 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, 34⁸ 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 Mahāvīra; his conversations⁹ with his first scholar Īmdabhūti (Gōyama) at the time of king Senia of Rājagīha 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 (*jīva*) 24 of their origin, 25 of their *leśyādayā bhāvāh*, 26¹⁰ of their *karmabandha*, 27 of their *karmakaraṇa* [298] *kriyā*, 28 of their *pāpakarmūdidandakanavaka*, 29 of their *karmaprasthāpanādi*, 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*, *tēḍga*, *dāvāra*, *kaliyōga*. 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 naïve fashion the discordant parts have been brought into conjunction without any attempt at change. That there was however a guiding hand in this conjunction is evident from two reasons:—(1) Since an introductory verse in *āryā* precedes each *sayā* (only up to No. 26 is this true); which verse briefly marks the contents of each of the *udd.* of the *sayā* 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 *Siddhānta*, which often completely interrupts and destroys the context. There are also frequent references to those texts, which belong to the *upaṅga* group, e.g. *Rāyapāsēṇaijjaṇ* [299] *Pannavanā*, *Jambuddhivapannatti*, 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 *Rājaprasānyam* by Jacobi, *Kalpasūtra*, p. 107 is found, according to Leumann, in the Edit. p. 185 fg.

⁴ Gosālasayam ēgasaram V.

⁵ With 6 *vagga* each with 10 *udd.*

⁶ 33 and 39 with 12 *avaṃtarasayas* (of which 8 with 11 each, 4 with 9 *udd.* each); 35—39 with 12 *avaṃtaras*, with 11 *udd.* each, 40 with 21 *av.* with 11 *u.* each; *ēvaṃ mahājummasayāpi* (i. e. 35—40) 31, *ēvaṃ savvaggēṇaṃ sayā* 133, *savvaggēṇaṃ uddēṣā* 1923, V., to which a *yantrakam* i. e. a tabular enumeration of the *uddēṣas* and *days* belonging to each *sayas*, is appended.

⁷ With 5 *vagga* each with 10 *udd.* V.

⁸ The question 9, 34, *purisē ṇaṃ bhāntē purisāṃ haṇamāṇē kiṃ purisāṃ haṇati?*—is an interesting parallel to *Bhagavadg.* 2, 19; *Kāṭh. Up.* 1, 2. 18. 19.

⁹ In V. and even in the MSS. of the *Bhag.* the foll. names are found for books 26—41: 26 *bandhisaē*, 27 *karisuga* (or *karisuga*)*saē*, 28 *kammasamajjinapaṇasaē*, 29 *kammaṇṇapaṇasaē*, 30 *samāsaraṇasaē*, 31 *uvavāyasaē*, 32 *uvvattapaṇasaē*, 33 *ēgiṇḍiyajummasayāpi*, 34 *sēḍhisayāpi*, 35 *ēgiṇḍiyamahājummasayāpi*, 36 *bēṇḍiyamahāj.*, 37 *tēṇḍ.*, 38 *chaḍirind.*, 39 *asannipaṇchind.*, 40 *sannipaṇchind.*, 41 *rāsijummasaē*. The fact that “*abbhāḍaṇa*” are expressly mentioned for these 16 *sayas* alone (*Jōgavīh.* 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 *kārikās* 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, *naṃ sūyadēvayāḍ bhagavatiē*. This refers to a new section. If Leumann is correct we are to attribute no importance to the absence of the *kārikā* in the case of books 27 and foll., since the *kārikā* 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 *pañchanamaskāra*, a benediction which from this point on recurs frequently :¹¹ *namô arihañtānaṃ*, *namô siddhānaṃ*, *namô āyariyānaṃ*, *namô uvajjhāyānaṃ*, *namô lôē savvasāhūnaṃ*, or here with the addition *namô bambhîē liviē* (see supra, p. 220). Next follows the introductory *kārikā* of the first *śāya* and then, after the insertion of *namô svyassa*, the customary beginning of legends: *tēnaṃ kālēnaṃ tēnaṃ samañeṇaṃ Rāyagihē nāmaṃ nayarē hotthā*, . . . *Señiē rāyā*, *Chillānā dēvî*, . . . *samañē bhagavaṃ Mahāvīrē* . . .

Of the legends which are adduced here, those claim a special interest which deal with predecessors or contemporaries of Mahāvīra, with the opinions of his heterodox opponents, *annaūtthiyas*¹² or *ājīviyas*, and with their conversion. Apart from these are named the men, who have patronymic epithet [300] *Pāsāvachchijja* (*Pārsvapatyīya*) attached to their names.¹³ Herein the name of Pārśva, the immediate predecessor of Mahāvīra can be recognized; so, for example, in 1, 9 *Kālāsa-Vēsiyaputtē* (cf. *Bhagav.* 2, 183 fg. Jacobi, *ante*, Vol. IX. p. 160), is styled a *Pāsāvachchijja*, and in 2, 5 there are four of this name: *Kāliyaputta*, *Mēhila*, *Ānaṃdarakkhiya* and *Kāsava*, in 5, 9 *Pāñjā thērā bhagavaṃtō*, in 9, 32 *Pāñjē Gaṃgēē*. Pāsa himself never appears here¹⁴ though the conversion of his adherents to the doctrines of Mahāvīra is often alluded to.¹⁵ The *Vēsālī-sāvayas* too and their adherents appear as his older contemporaries; this is the case in 2, 1 *Piṅgalā Vēsālī-sāvāē* (s. *Bhagav.* 1, 440. 2, 184, 197, 249). 12, 2. See above, p. 262, 263, in reference to *Vēsālīa* as a designation of Mahāvīra himself. The following are additional names:—*Niyāñtiputta* 5, 8, *Samkha-ppāmokkhā samañōvāsagā* 12, 1, *Pokkhalī ibid.*, *Gad-dabhāli* 2, 1, *Dhammaghōsa* 11, 11, *Sumaṅgala* 15, 5, etc.

Indabhūti appears as the "oldest" scholar of Mahāvīra, *Aggibhūti* as the "second," *Vāyubhūti*¹⁶ as the "third." Some of the usual names of the scholars of Mahāvīra are not mentioned at all—especially that of *Sudharman*; and of those that are referred to, *Mōriyaputta* appears in an unusual connexion, *viz.* as a predecessor [301] of Mahāvīra (3, 1),¹⁷ while *Mañḍiyaputta* 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 Vīra's scholars; *e.g.* *Rōha* 1, 6, *Khaṃdaya*, *Kachchāyaṇa*, 2, 1, *Kurudattaputta* and *Tisaya* 3, 1, *Nārayaputta* 5, 8, *Sāmahatthi* 10, 4, *Ānaṃda* and *Sunakkhatta* 15, *Māgamdiyaputta* 18, 3; see *Bhagav.* 2, 195. We find in 9, 33 the history of his opponent *Jamāli* and in book 15¹⁸ that of his 'shade of a scholar' (*śiṣhyābhāsa*) *Gōsāla Mamkhaliputta* 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 Vidēhaputta* (cf. *up.* 8) over nine (*Malaī-Mallaī Mallaki*) and nine *Lechchhai* (*Lechchhaki* = *Lichchhavi*) kings of *Kāsi-Kōsala* at the time of king *Kōṇia*, *Kūṇia* of *Campā*, or of Mahāvīra himself; the history (12, 2) of *Jayantī* [aunt of the *Kōsambī* king *Udāyaṇa*, son of *Sayāñiya* (*Śatāñika*) grandson of *Sahassāñiya*] who was the patron of the *Vēsālī-sāvayas*, and who, after hearing the sermon of Mahāvīra, became a *bhikkhuṇi*.

¹¹ See *up.* 4, *Kalpasūtra*, p. 83.

¹² *Abh.* explains this by *anyayūthika*; *Haribhadra* gives, however, the preferable explanation *anyatīrthika*, of *prākr. tūha-tīrtha*, *Ind. Stud.* xvi. p. 46. See *Leumann's* glossary to *Aupapāt.* s. v. *annaūtthiya*.

¹³ See above, p. 266, from *oṅga* 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 *uvasaggaharastōtram*, assigned to *Bhadrabāhu*, is dedicated to him, see *Jacobi*, l. c. p. 12, 13, and my remarks on *upāṅg.* 2 below.

¹⁵ Conversion from the *ohājjāma dhamma* to the *pañcha mahavvayāim.* see *Bhagav.* 2, 185; *Jacobi, ante*, Vol. IX. p. 160.

¹⁶ These three names in *bhūti* are probably *nākshatra* names; see *Ind. Stud.* 4, 380. 81, 3, 130: *Naksh.* 2, 320.

¹⁷ See *Bhag.* 1, 440 in reference to chronological conclusions to be drawn from this name.

¹⁸ *Gōsāla's anēkadhā janma maraṇaṃ cha*; according to the *Vidhiprapā* this book had another title *Gōsālayasayē tēyanisaggāvaranāmayē anunnāē*. 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 *oṅga* 5 is designed for the tenth year. Since this book, not like the others, is *ēgasara*, i. e. not divided into *uddēśasagā*, 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 *Āsvīsabhāvaṇā* in 8, 2, 1 (cf. *oṅga* 3, 4, 4.), the *chārapabhāvaṇā* in 20, 9, the *mahāsumipabhāvaṇā* 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 Mahāvīra 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 Sidhānta, 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 māhaṇa (brāhmaṇa); consequently the names are all feminine: bahūhim khujjāhim Chilātiyāhim²⁰ vamaṇiyāhim²¹ vaḍahiyāhim²² Babbariyāhim²³ Isigaṇiyāhim Vāsagaṇiyāhim²⁴ Palhaviyāhim Hlāsiyāhim Laūsiyāhim Ārabīhim Damilāhim Simhalīhim Pulindīhim Pukkalīhim²⁵ Bahalīhim Muraṇḍīhim (Maruṇḍ° Abh.) Saṃvarīhim (Sav° Abh.) Pārasīhim nānādēsividēsa-paripimḍiyāhim. Of these names Palhaviyā, [303] Ārabī, Bahalī, Muraṇḍī, and Pārasī 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 Muraṇḍa, *Ind. Stud.* XV, 280, on Bāhlī, Bactria, *Monatsberichte der Königl. Akad. der Wiss.* 1879, p. 462. The Maruṇḍas especially appear together with the Śakas and the Shāhān Shāhi on the inscriptions of Samudragupta as tributary to him, the tribute consisting, among other things, of girls (Lassen, 2, 952). The mention of the Ārabas²⁶ can be explained by reference (cf. p. 237) to the flourishing state of trade with Arabia at this period. The name of a grain ālisaṇḍaga, 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 εὐειδέεις*, 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 Mālav. p. 47) is that Yavanī girls appear in Kālidāsa 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, Mālavaya, Achcha, Vachchha, Kochchha (ttha ?), Paḍha, Lāḍha, Vajjī, Mālī, Kōsī, Kōsala, Avāha, 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 Mlēcchhas, in which some fifty (not sixteen) names are quoted; see *aṅga* 10, *up.* 4.

²⁰ Chilātadēsōtpanna Abh. cf. Kirāta.

²¹ Hrasvaśarīrābhī Abh.

²² Vaḍabhiyāhim maḍahakōshṭhābhī Abh. (Vakrādhaḥkōshṭhābhī Schol. on *up.* 1).

²³ Abh. addṣ Vaūsiyāhim.

²⁴ Vāruganiyāhim Abh. who adds Jōniyāhim after this name.

²⁵ Pakka° Abh.

²⁶ In Brāhman texts they occur only in the list of peoples in Varāhamihira 14, 17.

²⁷ I would mention incidentally that in 23, 11 pīlu is mentioned among the names of trees and in 23, 1 siṅgavēra 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 period²⁸ (*ibid.* 2, 246. 7) are in harmony with the date which we have assumed above. See above pages 236, 238.

In *aṅga* 4 (or *Nandī*, N) there are contained the full statements of contents:—*sē kim taṁ viyāhē*²⁹ ? *vīyāhē nam* [305] *sasamayā viāhijjānti parasamayā sasamayaparasamayā, jīvā viā° 3, lōgē 3 viāhijjai*;³⁰ *vīyāhē nam*³¹ *nānāvīhasura-narīṇḍa-rāya-risi-vivīhasaṁsāyapuchchhiyānam, jinēna vittharēnam*³² *bhāsiyānam, davva-guṇa-khettakāla-pajjava-paēsaparīnāma jahatthiyabhāvaṅga-manikkhēva-naya-ppamāṇasunīṇḍo-’vakkama vivīhapagārapāgaḍapayaṁsiyānam*,³³ *lōgālōgapagāsiyānam*,³⁴ *sāmsārasamuddaruṇḍa-uttaraṇasamatthānam*,³⁵ *suravaīsāmpūiyānam, bhaviyajanayapaahiyayābhināṇḍiyānam, tamaraya-vidhāsanāṇam, sudittḥadvabhūya-ihāmai-buddhivaddhaṇānam, chattīsasahassa-m-aṇḍṇayānam*³⁶ *vāgaraṇānam dāmsaṇā*³⁷ *suyatthabahuviḥappagā*³⁸ *sisabiyatthāya*³⁹ *guṇahatthā*.⁴⁰

We have for this *aṅga* the commentary of Abhayadēva. 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 *Bhagavati*” part first 1866, part second 1867.⁴¹

VI. The sixth *aṅgam*, *nāyādhammakahāu*, [306] *jnātā*⁴² *dharmakathās*, in two *suyakhaṇḍhas* (*śrutaskandha*), which are very different in extent. The first in 19 *ajjhayaṇas* contains the *nāyāṇi*, which word is explained by *udāharāṇa*, *drīshīṇḍita*, i.e. edifying tales or parables, designed to serve as moral examples; the second which is much smaller, contains in 10 *vaggas* the *dhammakahāu*, 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—*tēṇaṁ kūlēṇaṁ tēṇaṁ samaḍṇaṁ*—the work is referred to a dialogue between Mahāvīra’s scholar Suham-

²⁸ *riuvēda-jajuvēda-sāmvēda-athavvaṇavēda-itihāsa-parīchamāṇam nighaṁtuchchhatthāṇam chaṇḍham vēdānam sāṁgōvaṁgāṇam sarahassāṇam sārāē vārāē dhārāē pāraē, shaḍaṁgavi, saḍḍhitamtaṁvisārāē, sāṁkhāṇe sikkhā-kappē vāyaraṇē chhamḍē niruttē jōtisām-ayaṇē, annēsu ya vāḥsu vaṁbhannaḍesu parivvāyāḍesu nayēsu supari-ṇīṭḥiē.*

²⁹ *vyākhyāyāntē . . yasyāṁ sā vyākhyā; vīyāhē iti pullīnganīrdēsah prākṛitavāt; shaṭṭriūsatsahasrāṇam (vyākaraṇāṇam) darsanāt śrutārthō vyākhyāyatē iti . . vākyasāmbandhaḥ.*

³⁰ N has here the order *lōē . . . , jīvā . . , sasamaē . .*; the verb is here correct, *vīyāhijjai* with *lōē, samaē, °jijjānti* with *jīvā*.

³¹ *vīvāhē nam* C; the following is omitted in N.

³² *vitthara* A; *nānāvīdhaiḥ surair . . vivīdhasaṁsāya-vadbhil prīshṭāṇam; Mahāvīrēna.*

³³ *dravya . . parīnāṇāṇam yathāsthitabhāvanugama-nīkshēpanayapramāṇasunīṇḍopakramō vivīdhaprakāraḥ prakāṇam pradarsītō yair vyākaraṇais tāni tēshām; . . nayā naigamādayaḥ.*

³⁴ *lōkālōkan prakāsitau yēshu . .* ³⁵ *sāmsārasamudrasya vistīrṇasya uttarāṇe samarthāṇam.*

³⁶ *sushṭhu drīshṭāni, dipabhūtāni . . ; anyōnakāni shaṭṭriūsatsahasrāṇi yēshām tāni, iha makārō ’nyathāpadani-pātas cha prākṛitavāt anavadyam.*

³⁷ *tēshām darsanāt prakāsanād uparībāndhād ity a., athavā tēshām darsanā upadarśakā ity a.*

³⁸ *śrutārthāḥ, tē cha bahuvidhaprakārās chē ’ti vīgrahaḥ, śrutārthāṇāṁ vā bahuvidhāḥ prakārāḥ iti vīgrahaḥ.*

³⁹ *śīshyahitārthāya.*

⁴⁰ *guṇamahatthā* (!) B.C.; *guṇahastā guṇaparyāptyādīlakshaṇō hasta iva hastah pradhānāvayava(h) yēshām tē; (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. *āyāṁvīla* in 14 stands for *āyāmaṁvīla śchāmāmra* 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 “*sēḍhisayāṁ* (book 34).” Much must be now changed in the middle portion of the treatise.

⁴² See Schol. Hem. 243 p. 319 (Bgk.-Rien) for the length of the *ā* in *jnātā*.—The same length is observed in the Vedic compound *īdhmā-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 *āptōpālambhādījñātair dharmārthā upanītaḥ*, in the second part *sākshāt kathābhir abhidhiyatē*. The second part contains, N is true, no parables and similitudes, but the first, as well as the second contains *kathās*. As Leumann informs me the term *nāya* is treated in great detail in *aṅga* 3, 4, 3.

ma and the latter's scholar Jambû,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 Mahāvira. He prefaces "the fifth *aṅgam* is now ended (pañchamassa aṅgassa ayam atthē pannattē, 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 *ajjhayanās* of the first suakkhamdha. 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 recurs⁴⁵ 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 *suyāmmē* and in their close *ti bēmi*. 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 *nāyādhammakahāu* which occurs in *aṅga* 6 (*nāyāṇi ya* [308] *dhammakahâô ya*) is not in harmony with its original signification. I prefer the foll. explanation: first separate the word into *nāyādhamma* and *kahāu* and understand by *nāyādhamma* the "dharma of the *Jnāta*" i. e. of Mahāvira⁴⁶ (see above, p. 261, on *aṅga* 2, 1, 1, 6), and understand the meaning to be "Recitals for the dharma of the *Jñāta*."

But we must not suppress an objection. In the *aṅga* section in *aṅga* 4 and *Nandī*, both parts of *aṅga* 6 are especially recognized, and in fact by the same titles: *nāyāi* and *dhammakahāu*. 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 *Nandī* is the work, according to all probability, of Dēvarddhigaṇi himself (980 *Vīra*), 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 *Nandī*, are full of the most fabulous exaggerations, cf. p. 286, 289. Each of the *dhammakahās* is said to contain 500 *akkhāyās*, each of these 500 *uvakkhāyās*; each *uv.* 500 *akkhāyā-uvakkhāyās* with a total of "3½ *kōṭi*," i. e. 35 millions of *akkhāyās*. This latter sum excites the hostility of surprise since, if we reckon each [309] of the ten *vaggas* of the second part as a *dhammakahā*, the result for all 10 is if we trust the above quoted statements, 125 *kōṭis*, namely 10×500^3 , i. e. 1250 millions! According to the Schol. on the *Nandī* this riddle is solved by the assumption that of the 125 *kōṭis*, only 3½ *kōṭi* are "apunarukta," and the remaining 121½ *kōṭis* 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 *ajjhayanās* of part 1 are enumerated at the outset

⁴⁴ The *Prākṛit* text *Jambūdiṭṭhamta*, or *Jambūsvāmikathānakam*, in 21 *uddēsas*, deals with him; the *Prākṛit* in it is very like the *apabhraṇṣa*.

⁴⁵ The tenth has now, it is true, another introductory formula. *Abhayadēva* 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 *ā* of *nāyā* (cf. *Pāṇ.* 6, 3, 129. 130) is irregular according to both explanations.—See however the first note on this *aṅg.* 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 *nāya* (*jahā amḍanāē, jahā Mallināē*).—L.

^{47*} There is no reason whatever to suppose a misunderstanding in the above passages only to please the etymology of the 19th century; even in this very *aṅga* 6 the term *nāya* is applied to the first and twelfth *ajjh.* as will be seen from their titles given later on. Remember also the term *nāy'ajjhayanāim* spoken of above on *aṅga* 419.

(see page 307), and are found singly in *Āvaśy.* 16, 82, 83 (*Āv.*) and in the *Vidhuraṅṅapā* (V.)⁴⁸ They are as follows:—

1. **ukkhittanaś**, utkshiptam: the “raised” but not replaced foot of an elephant, the first birth of prince Mēgha, whose history is here related *ab ovo* (pregnancy of his mother, birth of the child, education, marriage, instruction at the hands of Mahāvīra). See Paul Steinthal: “Specimen der Nāyādhammakahā,” Leipzig, 1881.⁴⁹ The contents are said by Abh. to be anuchitapravṛittikasya śishyasyō’pālambhaḥ.

2. **saṁkhāḍa** (*Āv.*, saṁghāḍa V), saṁghātakaḥ; śrēshthichaurayōr ēkabaṁdhanabad-dhatvam; or anuchitapravṛittikōchitapravṛittikayōr anarthārthaprapṛtiparamparā.

3. **aṁḍa**, mayūrāṁḍam (cf. p. 270 note 4); pravachanārthēshu saṁkitāsaṁkitayōḥ prāpinōr dōshagunau [310].

4. **kumma**, kūrma; asaṁlīnēṁdriyētarayōr (*i.e.* asaṁlīnēṁdriya-saṁlīnēṁdriyayōr) anarthārthau.

5. **Sēlaa**, Śailakō rājarshih; pramādavato’pramādavataś chā ’narthētarau (*i. e.* anarthārthau, evil and weal.)

6. **tumba** (tumbaya V), alābū; prāṇātipātādīmatām karmagurutābhāvēnē ’tarēshām⁵⁰ cha laghutābhāvēna anarthaprapṛtitarē.⁵¹

7. **Rōhiṇi**, śrēshthivadhūḥ; mahāvratānām virāadhanāvīrāadhanayōr anarthārthau.

8. **Māllī**, ēkōnaviṁśatitamajinasthānōtpannā tīrthakarī;⁵² mahāvratānām ēvā ’lpēnā ’pi māyāsalyēna dūshitānām ayathāvatsvaphalasādhakatvam, or māyāvato’narthah.

9. **Māṁḍī** (Māyāṁḍī V); Mākaṁḍī nāma vaṇik, tatputrō’Mākaṁḍīsabdēnē’ ha grihītaḥ; bhōgēshu aviratimatō ’narthō, viratimatāś chārthah.

10. **chāṁḍamā** (chāṁḍimā V), chāṁḍamāḥ; guṇaviddhīhānilakṣhaṇāv anarthārthau pramādy-apramādinōḥ.

11. **dāvaddavē** (°gē *Āv.*), samudratatē vṛikshavisēshāḥ; mārgārāadhanavīrāadhanābhyām anarthārthau, or chārītradharmasya virādhakatvam ārādhakatvam cha.

12. **udaga nāś**, udakaṁ nagaraparikhājalām; chārītrārādhakatvam prakṛitimalīmasānām api bhavyānām sadguruparikarmaṇā bhavati: or sāmsargavisēshād guṇōtkarshah.

13. **maṁḍukkē**, Maṁḍūkaḥ maṁḍimaṇikāra-śrēshthīhijivah; sāmsargavisēshābhāvād guṇāpa-karshah; or satām guṇānām sāmagry-abhāvē hānir,

14. **Tēvalī** ’i ya (Tēulī *Āv.*), Tētalīsutā⁵³ bhīdhānō ’mātyah; tathāvidhasāmagrīsadbhāvē guṇasampad upajāyatē; or apamānād vishayatyāgaḥ. See pp. 271 note 2, 317.

15. **naṁḍiphala**; [311] naṁḍivṛikshābhīdhānataruphalāni; Jinōpadēsāt (vishayatyāgaḥ), tatra cha saty arthaprapṛtis, tadabhāvē tv anarthaprapṛtiḥ; or vishayābhishvaṁgasyā ’narthaphalatā.

16.⁵⁴ **Avarakamkā**, Dhātakishamḍa Bharatakshētrarājadhāni; tadvishayanidānasya sā (anarthaphalatā); or nidānā(t) kutsitadānād vā anarthah.

17. **āinnē**, ākirṇā jātyāḥ samudramadhyavartinō ’śvāḥ; īndriyēbhyō ’niyamtritēbhyah sa (anarthah) uchyatē; or īndriyavaśavartinām itarēshām chā ’narthētarau.⁵⁵

18. **Suṁsumā** (Suṁsa *Āv.*), Suṁsumābhīdhānā śrēshthīdūhitā; lōbhavaśavartinām itarēshām cha tāv ēva (anarthārthau); or asaṁvṛitāśravasyē ’tarasya chā ’narthētarau

19. **pumḍarīś**, pumḍarīkam;⁵⁶ chiram saṁvṛitāśravō bhūtva ’pi yah pāschād anyathā syāt tasya alpakālām saṁvṛitāśravasya cha tāv (anarthētarāv) uchyētō.

After the conclusion of *ajjh.* 19 there follows a special conclusion for the first *suyakhamdhē*,⁵⁷ then the usual beginning for the second *suyakhamdhē* held in the same strain as the introduction to the *āṅga* 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 Abhayadēva’s Comm.

⁴⁹ On page 4 twenty-one *ajjh.* of part 1 are erroneously spoken of; there are but nineteen.

⁵⁰ *vis. aprāṇāti*.

⁵¹ *i.e.* anarthaprapṛtyarthaprapṛti.

⁵² See Kṛp. 10 (300).

⁵³ Tēyaliputtē in the text.

⁵⁴ Here there is a detailed account of the Dōval (Draupadī.)

⁵⁵ *i.e.* anarthārthau.

⁵⁶ See *āṅga* 2, 2, 1.

⁵⁷ The statement that 19 days are necessary to finish the 19 *ajjh.* is found here.

treat of the aggamahisî, 1. Chamarassa, 2. Balissa Vairôyanarannô, 3. asurimdvajjiyanam dâhinillânam imdânam, 4. uttarillânam asurimdvajjiyanam bhavanavâsi-imdânam 5. dâhinillânam vânamaintarânam, 6. uttarillânam vânam, 7. chamdassa, 8. sùrassa, 9. Sakkassa, 10. Îsâssa. [312].

The actual composition of the text of the second part is quite summary. To the first *vagga* five *ajjhayanâs* are ascribed,⁵⁹ their names being Kâlî, Râti, Rayanî, Vijju, Mēhâ, 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 (ēvam jahâ Kâlî, tam chēva savvam jāva); 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 *ajjhayanâs* 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 *ânga* 7 given below on p. 315, how curious are the statements, p. 286, 289, 308, from *ânga* 4 and *Nandî*.

The events take place in Râyagîha, Champâ, Vârânasî, Bâravatî, Vîyasôgâ, Tēyalipura, Ahichchhattâ, Hatthisîsa, Pundaragînt. In the first account we find an [313] enumeration of non-Aryan peoples; some are not found among those quoted, p. 302, from *ânga* 5, others are found here which are wanting there. We read (see Steinthal, p. 28): bahûhim Chilâyâhim khujjâhim vâvani(!) - vadabhi(!) - Babbari - Vâsî - Jôniya - Palhavi - Isinî - Thârugiñi - Lâsiya - Laûsiya - Damili - Sînhali - Âravi - Pulîndi - Pakkani Bahai - Murumdi - Sabari - Pârasîhim. There is, furthermore, mention made here of 72 *kalâs* (cf. p. 282 and Steinthal, p. 29). The word *javanîyâ* (St. p. 14), *yavanîkâ*, "curtain," refers to a stage-curtain and to the theatrical plays of the Greeks. We must not fail to notice the mention of 18 *dēsibhâsâ* (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 Abhayadēva.

The table of contents in *ânga* 4, or *Nandî* (N) is:—sê kim tam nâyâdhammakahâu⁶⁰ ? nâ° hâsu nam nâyânam⁶¹ nagarâim ujjânâim chēyâim vanasamâdâ (dâim N) râyânô⁶² ammapiyarô samô-saranâim dhammâyariyâ dhammakahâu ihalôiyâ paralôiyâ iddhivisêsâ bhôgaparichchâyâ pavajjâsu suyapariggahâ tavô°-vahânâim pariâgâ samlêhanâu bhattapachchakkhânâim pâôvagamânâim⁶³ dēvalôgagamânâim⁶⁴ sukulapachchâyâi⁶⁵ puña-bôhilâ⁶⁶ ântakiriyâô [314] ya⁶⁷ âghavijjantî jâva,⁶⁸ nâyâ° hâsu⁶⁹ nam pavvâiyânâim vinayakarâñjinasâmisâsanavarê⁷⁰ samjama-pâinâpâlanâ-nadhîmaivavasâyadullabhânâim,⁷¹ tavaniyama-tavô° vahâna-rânaduddhârâbhârâbhaggânisâkânisât-

⁵⁸ padhamassa vaggassa pañcha ajjhayanâ pañ, tam : Kâlî . . . Mēhâ.

⁵⁹ . . padhamavaggô, tammi dasa ajjhayanâ, . . vî° dasa ajjhayanâ, (see above, p. 231.)

⁶⁰ jñâtâny udâharanâni tatpradhânâ dharmakathâ jñâ° thâ, dirghatvam samjñâtvât; nâyâdh° is taken here as karmadh., not as a dvandva.

⁶¹ nâyâim BC, jñâtânâm udâharanabhûtânâm Mēghakumârâdînâm nagarâdiny âkhyântê, nagarâdini dvâi vinâsatih padâni kanthiyâni.

⁶² The foll. is inverted in N samô° râ° am° dh°hâô dh°riyâ ihalôgaparalôgâ ridhdhivisêsâ bhôgaparichchâgâ pavajjâ pariâgâ suapa° tavôva° samlê° bhattapachchakkhânâ; in ângas 7 fg. the case is similar.

⁶³ pânga° A, pâôvaga° N.

⁶⁴ Ned. has according to Lenmann the following just as in *ânga* 7 (p. 307).

⁶⁵ ? pavvaya BC, pavvayai A, pachchâlô N.

⁶⁶ °lâbhâ N.

⁶⁷ °yân A, °yâô N, °yâtô ya BC.

⁶⁸ jâva signifies that here anyâni pañcha padâni da(r)iyâni, i.e., after âgh., the usual five words pannavijjantî parûvi° dâmsi° nidañsi° uvadamsi°.

⁶⁹ jâva nâyâ° to the end is omitted in N; in which there follows dasa dhammakahâpân vaggâ and the remarks in reference to the number of the akkhâias.

⁷⁰ sâmi omitted in B C. °sâsana-varê sêshapravachanâpêkshayâ pradhânâpravachanê ity a., pâthântarêna : samânânañ vinayakârañjinasâsanâmi (perhaps an older reading) pavarê.

⁷¹ pañna, thiti, durvalânâim A; samyamapratijnâ samyamâbhûpagamah, sai°va duradhigamyatvât kâtanarâ-kshôbhakatvâch cha pâtalâm iva pâtalâm (other reading), tamra dhritimativyavasâyâ durlabhâ yêshâm tē tathâ; pâthântarêna samyamapratijnâpâlanâya dhritimativyavasâyâs tēshu durbalâ yē, tēshâm.

thānam,⁷² ghôraparîsahaparâjijyānam, sahapâraddharuddha-siddhâlayamagganiggayānam,⁷³ visa-yasuhatuchaāsîvasadôsamuchhiyānam, virâhiyacharittanânadaimsana-jaigunavivihappagâramissâra-sunnayānam,⁷⁴ samsâra-apâradukkhaduggaibhavavivihaparamparâpavamcha⁷⁵ dhîrâna ya, jiyaparîsahakasâyasennadhiidhaniya-samjamaüchchâha nichhiyānam,⁷⁶ ârâhiyanânadaimsanacharittajôganissalla⁷⁷suddhasiddhâlayamagga-m-abhimuhânam, surabhavanavimânasokkhâim anôvamâim bhottûna⁷⁸ chiram cha bhôgabhogâni [315] tâni divvâni maharihâni tatô ya kâlakkamachuyānam, jaha ya puñôladdhasiddhi⁷⁹maggânam, amtakiriyâchaliyâna ya, sadêvamânusadhîrakaranakâranâni bôhana⁸⁰-anusâsanâni gunadôsadarisanâni ditthamte pachchaé⁸¹ ya sôûna, lôgamuñinô jaha ya tthiyâ⁸² sâsanammi jaramaranâsanakarâ, ârâhiyasamjamâ ya suralôgapadîniyattâ uvêmti⁸³ jaha sâsayam sivañ savvadukhamokkham,⁸⁴ êé anné ya êvamâi 'ttha vittharêna 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 Bilvanâthêsvara 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 Chôla king Kô-Râjakêsarivarman, *alias* Râjarâjadêva. The date is worded in Tamîl as follows:—

"Kô-Râjarâjakêsarivamarkku¹ yâñdu 7 âvadu ivvâttaî Ayappañi-ttingal² paunnamâsiyum³ Irêvatiyum peṛṛu vishuvil sômagrahanattinânru;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 Aippaṣi 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 Brihaspati. 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 Tamîl grammar force us to connect with it the preceding relative participle *peṛṛa*, '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 Sanskrit 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 grant⁵ is dated in the 21st year of his reign. The Tanjore inscriptions⁶ contain his latest known date, the 29th year."

⁷² dudhâra bharabhaḡgâ A; tapôniyama-tapaûpadhânê, tê éva ranaś cha kâtaranarakshôbhakatvât samgrâmô . . . , éramakâranatvât durbharabharas cha, tâbhyâm bhagnâh parâñmukhibhûtâh, tathâ nihsahâ nitarâm asaktâ éva. nihsahakâ, nisrishtâś cha nisrishtâñgâ muktâñgâ yê tê; prakritatvêna kakâralôpa-saandhikaranâbhyâm bhagnâ ity âdau dirghatvam avasâyam.

⁷³ sahaprârabddharuddhâh, ata éva siddh'rgâj jnânâdêr nirgatâh.

⁷⁴ tair éva yatiguñaiñ sônyakâh; padatrayasya cha karmadhârayah: virâdhitacharitrajnânadarsana-yatiguñavividhaprakâranibhâra-sônyakânâm.

⁷⁵ pavamchâ B C.

⁷⁶ jiya . . . sênidhittidhânyaya A; jitam parishahakashâyassinyam yaih, dhritêr dhanikâh svâminah (cf. Anupât. § 32 p. 126), saimyamê utsâhó . . . avasâyambhâvi yêshâm.

⁷⁷ nisalla A; nihsalyô mithyâdarśanâdirahitah.

⁷⁸ bhuttûna B C.

⁷⁹ siddha B C.

⁸⁰ bôdhana B C.

⁸¹ pavattê B C, pratyayâñś cha, bôdhakâranabhûtâni vâkyâni.

⁸² jahatthiyâ B C; lôkamunayah . . . parivrâjakâdayô yathâ cha yêna prakârêna sthitâ(h) sâsanê.

⁸³ uvêti C, uvêli A.

⁸⁴ 'kkhâ A.

⁸⁵ êvam âhi 'ttha vichhâna ya A.

¹ "Read *varmarkku*.

² i.e. *aippaṣi-tingal*.

³ "Read *paurnamâsiyum*.

⁴ i.e. *grahanattinânru*.

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."

Aippaṣi is the Tamil solar month that begins astronomically with the Tulā-Samkrānti 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 *saṁkrānti*;⁷ and it ends, under the same conditions, with the Vriśchika-Samkrānti 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 Aippaṣi, 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 Saka-Samvat 903 current. In this year, Aippaṣi, — its commencement and end being taken as determined by the *saṁkrāntis*, — 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 Vriśchika-Samkrānti 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 Aippaṣi 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 Rêvati, No. 27, but Bharanî, No. 2, by all three systems.

And by the southern luni-solar system, the Vishu *saṁvatsara* coincided with Saka-Samvat 904 current. In this year, Aippaṣi 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 Aśvini, No. 1, by all three systems; and Rêvati 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 Tulā-Samkrānti 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 Tulā-Samkrānti 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 Rêvati 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 Tulā-Samkrānti 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 Aippaṣi 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 Rêvati 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 Āsvina, of Saka-Samvat 933 current.⁹ And the results shew

⁷ Warren's *Kalasankalita*, p. 4.

⁸ The more correct name of the *saṁvatsara* is either *riṣa* or *Bhrīṣya*. The name Vishu occurs in some Old-Kanarese inscriptions.

⁹ In this year, the Vriśchika-Samkrānti occurred at

about 9 *ghaṭis*, 6 *palas*, on the 26th October. Consequently the month Aippaṣi lasted, for the civil reckoning, from sunrise on the 26th 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 Rājākésarivarman took place in A.D. 1003 or 1004; according to the luni-solar calendar, either on any day from the *amānta* Āśvina kṛishṇa 1 of Śaka-Samvat 926 current, up to the end of that year; or on any day from the beginning of Śaka-Samvat 927 current up to Āśvina 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 Hindū 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 *adhyāya* of the *Bhadrātīya-Nāṭya-Śāstra*, of which the 18th, 19th, 20th and 34th *adhyāyas* have been already published by Mr. Fitz-Edward Hall in his edition of the *Daśarūpa*. 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 Hindū grāma, or gamut. It was Prof. Weber who first pointed out the connexion between the Skr. *grāma*, the Pr. *gāma*, 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. Albêrûni's lists of the names of these asterisms in Soghd and Khwârisim, 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 *Krittikâ*, which is connected with the Zend star-name *Paviryā* "the first." *Parvî* is the first asterism in Albêrûni'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 (پرویز = 'victorious') A feminine plural form of *Paviryā*, i.e. *Paviryênî*, becomes پوریز, the *Pleiades*, i.e., the *Krittikâs*. In the list of the *Bundehesh Parvîz* is the third asterism (its first, *Padêwar*, corresponding to *Āśvinî*), so that, when this list came into existence, the original meaning of the word must have been forgotten, and *Krittikâ* was no longer the first asterism.

For further information regarding other old Iranian star-names, such as *Tistrya* (Sirius), the *Haptô Ireṅga* (*Sapta Rishayas*, Septemtriones), *Vanañt* (*Abhijit*), and so on; the reader must be referred to this very interesting Essay itself.

(c) *Prof. Sachau on Albêrûni's transliteration of Indian words.*

Prof. Sachau's³ 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 Albêrûni'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 Sanskrit, the differences are great; for instance, we find *vidyut*, *jihvâ*, *kaśyapa*, *pustaka*, *sūrya*, *daitya*, *strî*, *khadga*, *nishāsâ*, *jyêshthâ*, *āditya*, *pradyumna*, represented in Arabic characters by *bidud*, *jibbu*, *kashshabu*, *pôtt*, *sūrju*, *daitu*, *istrî*, *karku*, *nishāsu*, *jêrtâ*, *āditu*, *praddamunu*, 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 Prākṛit account for it, for the Prākṛit forms of these words would be *vijjû*, *jîhâ*, *kāsavô*, *potthâô*, *sûrô* and *sujjô*, *daichcho*, *itthî*, *khaggô*, *nîsâô*, *jetthâ*, *dichchô*, *pajjunno*. It therefore becomes a question whether the Arabic written forms are not simply mistakes of the scribe; but

at about 46 *ghaṭis*, 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 *Über alt-iranische 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 Albêrûni wishes to give Sanskrît words correctly in certain lists, he does so, so that we have

Bhadra, ^{بھدر} *Māthura*, ^{शूरसेन} *Sūrasēna*,

^{पांचाल} *Pāñchāla*, ^{मगध} *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 Albêrûni as they were pronounced,—incorrectly pronounced be it observed,—by the Pañḍits who read to him: just as at the present day a Pañḍit, when speaking colloquially, pronounces his Sanskrît 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 Albêrûni'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 Albêrûni's date, cared little for the rules of Pāṇini, 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 Aśoka; but Musalmān 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 *Padmāvat* 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 Prākṛit grammarians and wrote ^{अपसर}. 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 Albêrûni, 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 (*ὄξυδερκέστατον τὸ ζῷον*), 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 (*svētabhvaṅga*), 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.*

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 *Rig-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 *Rig-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

* [The following extracts from *Wide Awake Stories* (Punjab 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

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 Airāvata milked poison from her, and on this poison live the snakes (*Atharva-Vêda*, VIII. 10, 29). The *Chhandôgya-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-Saùhita* of the *Yajur-Vêda* (III. 1, 1, 1) says Prajâpati, 'wished to create offspring. He performed austerities. He created serpents.' The *Tânṣya-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 Sâtra 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 Karkôtaka is well-known. When Bhima (*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 Sâlivâhara, as described in the *Vṛacharita*, is a good example of this. He was the son of Śesha, 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

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.—E.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. Siva is the Nāgachūḍa or Nāgabhūṣaṇa, and we often see representations of the *linga* 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 Nāgas, and the family of the Rājā of Chutiā-Nāgpur, boasting of their descent from snakes.

In the *Grihya-Sūtras*, we find the serpent-cultus closely connected with the rainy reason. In the *Vēda*, 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, Thōr and Siegfried all fight with the dragon. In the *Mahābhārata* 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 Janamējaya's

sacrifice which was to destroy them. The connexion with water is further extended to lakes. The valley of Nēpāl was originally the Nāga-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 Śrāvāṇa (July-August) there is prescribed in the *Grihya-Sūtras* that ceremony, with which the *sarpabali* and the snake-sacrifice are so closely connected. The ceremony commences on the full moon of Śrāvāṇa 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 *Grihya-Sūtras* 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 *kuttichātris*, 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 *kuttichātri*! 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 *kuttichātri* 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 Hluttaw 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 corre-

spondence 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 Shan States, Memoranda and Instructions, and Ecclesiastical Papers.

As an instructive commentary on the Edicts of Aśoka 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 *Pitakas*. He appoints twelve titled *sadaws* (= *sayaddaw* = 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 Myénandaw 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 Mahāmyātūmuni 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 Hantāwadi (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 *thāthamēda* (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. Shān life is exhibited in the sentence in a case of "raiding into complainant's territory" on the part of a Shān magnate.

Peeps into Burmese Court and official life are to be got in the letters to officials and *vice versa*. Thus, an escort is to be provided for "a daughter presented to His Majesty by the Chief of Mayit-taung," certain people are exempted from contributions for the maintenance of a cavalry regiment, and a Shān Chief is ordered to receive presents from His Majesty "in a respectful manner."

As regards the Shān 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 Wungyis (Ministers) and Atwinwuns (Secretaries of State) to the Sayādaws (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 Gayá, the chief town of the Gayá 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 6½" high, of which measure about 1¾" 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 4½" broad by 2½" 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 4½" by 2½", 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. 12½ oz., and of the inscribed plate, about 2½ oz.; total, 1 lb. 14½ oz."

The inscription is as follows: —

TEXT.¹

- 1 Śrī-Dharmavarada-hētu² ॥ Śrī-Brahmaputra-Saṅgha-pra-
2 vāla(?)³ śrī-Rājāksha(?)-Yakshapāla tatputra⁴ Āhavama-
3 llasya dēyadharmmô=yam ॥

TRANSLATION.

For the sake of Dharmavarada. This is the votive gift of the scion of the Brahmaputra congregation, Rājāksha (?), Yakshapāla his son, Āhavamalla (or, son of Yakshapālita).

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 *hētu*, used at the end of compounds, as an indeclinable and equivalent to *artham*, occurs in Pāli, but is not quoted in Sanskrit.

³ I am not confident of 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 Saṅgha' is an allowable expression.

⁴ Or perhaps, *Yakshapālita-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 *bhaikshuki lipi* of Albêrûnî, "the writing of Buddha, used in Udunpur in the Eastern Country" (see Sachau's Translation, ch. xvi. p. 173).

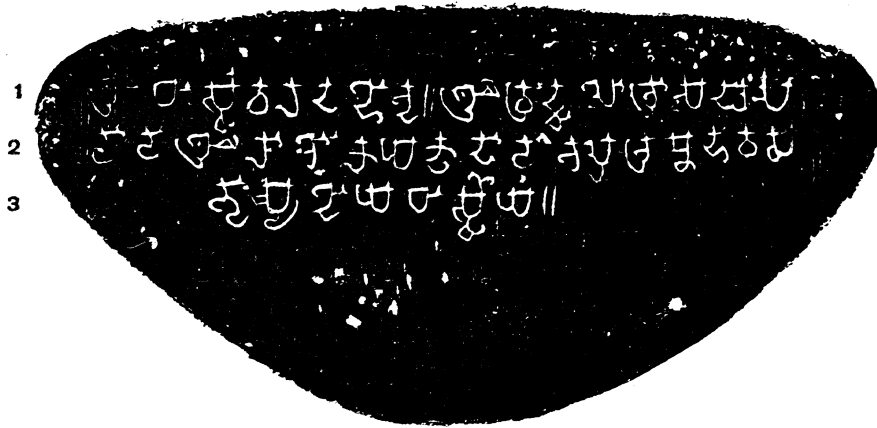
In treating of the palæography of this inscription, I shall express myself most briefly by referring to my paper already mentioned, citing it by the pages of the complete volume of the 'Arische Section' in the Congress Transactions. (1) The first, then, of what I have regarded as the three leading features,—the 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 Nâgari and kindred alphabets in घ च त थ न प म ब ल व ष and ण, 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 *â* 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 *pâ* and *pî* 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.

⁵ *Verhandlungen des VII. Internationalen Orientalisten Congresses*. Ar. Sect., p. 111. Cf. my *Journey in Népal*, p. 22.

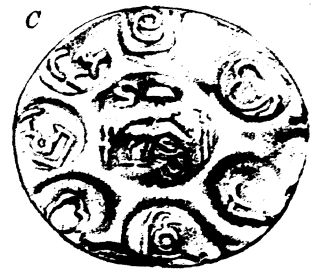
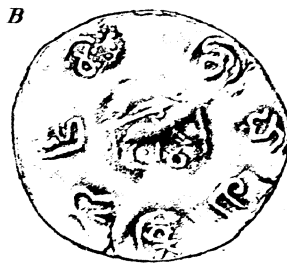
⁶ [The lithograph, however, is an absolutely exact reproduction of the original.—J. F. F.]

Inscription at the bottom of an image of Buddha from Gaya.

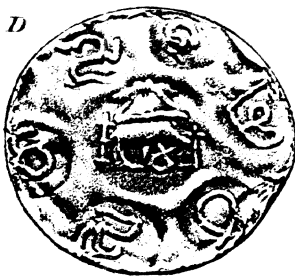


FULL-SIZE.

Coins of Chalukya-Chandra or Saktivarman.



Coins of Rajaraja II.



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

FULL-SIZE.

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

SOME GOLD COINS OF THE EASTERN CHALUKYA KINGS
SAKTIVARMAN AND RAJARAJA II.

BY J. F. FLEET, B.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 8 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, $65\frac{9}{10}$ 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 *Śrī Chālukya 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 *Śrī Rāja Rāja*, 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 Maṅgaléśa, 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 Ramri 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 Maṅgaléśa, 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 Aihole 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 'Reeree' 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 Maṅgaléśa; 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 Ramri, 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 Pāli *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 *chauri* 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 *śrī-Chālukya-Chandrasya*, “of the glorious Chālukya-Chandra.” The person thus referred to is the Eastern Chalukya king Saktivarman, who reigned over the kingdom of Veṅḡi for twelve years, about A.D. 1000 to 1012. He is mentioned by his proper name of Saktivarman in line 19 of the Chellūr grant (*ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 56); and by his *biruda* or secondary name of Chālukya-Chandra, ‘the moon of the Chālukyās,’ 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 *śrī-Rājarājasya*, “of the glorious Rājarāja.” And here the reference is to the Eastern Chalukya king Rājarāja II., the nephew of Chālukyachandra-Saktivarman, who succeeded to the throne of Veṅḡi 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 Ramrī 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.

1. 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) Dêvânaṃpiyasa vachanêna
tôsaliyaṃ mahâmâta naga-
laviyôhâlaka (2) vataviyaṃ¹ [-]
aṃ kichhi dakhâmi hakaṃ
taṃ ichhâmi kimtî kaṃ . na
paṭivêdayêhaṃ (3) duvâlatê
cha âlabhêhaṃ² [-] êsa cha mê
môkhiyamata duvâlê êtasi a-
thasi aṃ tuphêsu (4) anu-

JAUGADA.

Dêvânaṃpiyê hêvaṃ âhâ [-]
samâpâyaṃ mahâmâtâ naga-
laviyôhâlaka hê . vataviyâ [-]
aṃ kichhi dakhâmi hakaṃ
taṃ ichhâmi kimti kamana
paṭipâtayêhaṃ²⁰ (2) duvâlatê
cha âlabhêhaṃ [-] êsa cha mê
môkhiyamata duvâlaṃ
aṃ tuphêsu anu-

² Professor Bühler's readings:—

FIRST EDICT.

DHAULI.

1. 1. °hâlakâ.
1. 2. . . vataviya°; °kaṃmana°.
1. 5. °athâ°.
1. 6. °ti tathâ . . muni°.
1. 7. °iyam aṭhê kê°; °dêkhatê hi°.
1. 8. °hōti.
1. 9. °cha . . bahujaṇ°.
1. 11. °siyêna kilamathêna°.
1. 12. jâtâ°.
1. 13. °ugachh. saṃ°.

1. 14. °saṃpatipâda.
1. 16. °manêatilêkê°; °minê chu ê°.
1. 17. °satha ta Ananiyaṃ°; °sôtaviya.
1. 18. °tisê khanasi khanasi°.
1. 19. °tikhita hi°.
1. 20. nagalaviyôhâlakâ°; °palibôdhê va.
1. 21. °aṭhâyê°.
1. 23. kalaṃti°; °pi chu kumâlê°.
1. 24. °timni°; °takhasilâtê°.
1. 25. °ahâpayitu°.

JAUGADA.

1. 1. °hê . n va°; °kaṃmana°
1. 2. °âyata pa°; °savamunisê.
1. 3. °pâlâlôkikêna hê°; °sêsu nô cha tuphê êtaṃ pâpu-
nâtha âvâgamakê.
1. 4. °aṭhê°; °manâti°; dêsaṃ nê sa°; °phê hisuvitâ°;
°bahuka athi vê°; °lêsaṃ hi pâ°; °tata hōti aka.
1. 5. °baṃdhanam̐tika . . cha°; °vêdayati°; °hi ichhi°;
°isâyê°.
1. 6. °anâvutiyê âlasyêna°; °niti ê yaṃ°.

1. 7. °uthâyê saṃ°; °vajitaviya pi°; °yê hêvaṃ hêvaṃ
cha°; °sa anusathi.
1. 8. °kutê manea — .
1. 9. °alâpi kha. na s. taviyâ êk . . pi . . va — manê
cha —
1. 10. °aṭhâyê°; °lipî ê°; °yaṃ yu . yu ti.nê hi —
1. 11. °nikhâmayisâṃ°; °aohaṃdâṃ sphalahata. vachanête
— i . mâlêvâ —
1. 12. — âjavachanika ada°; °kaṃmanê . ni pi . n —

sathi³ [·] tuphê hi bahusú
 pânasahasêsu âyatâ panayam
 gachhêma sumunisânam⁴ [·]
 savê (5) munisê pajâ mamâ [·]
 atha pajâyê ichhâmi ha-
 kam kimti savêna hita-
 sukhêna hidalôkika (6)-
 pâlâlôkikâyê yujêvûti⁵ muni-
 sêsu pi ichhâmi hakam [·]
 nô cha pâpunâtha âvâga - (7)
 makê⁶ [·] iyam atha kêchha
 va êkapulisê manâti êtam sê
 pi dêsam nô savam⁷ [·] dê-
 khatê hi tuphê . êtam (8)
 suvihitâpi niti⁸ [·] iyam êka-
 pulisê pi athi yê bamdha-
 nam vâ palikilêsam⁹ vâ pâpu-
 nâti [·] tata hôta (9) akasmâ
 têna¹⁰ bamdhanamtika [·]
 amnê cha . . hujanê daviyê¹¹
 dukhiyati [·] tata ichhitaviyê
 (10) tuphêhi kimti majham
 patipadayemâti¹² [·] imêhi
 chu jatêhi¹³ nô sampatipajati
 isâya âsulôpêna (11) nithû-
 liyêna tûlanâya anâvûtiya
 âlasiyêna kâlamathêna [·]
 sê ichhitaviyê kimti êtê (12)
 jatâ nô huvêvu mamâti [·]
 êtasa¹⁴ cha savasa mûlê anâsu-
 lôpê atûlanâ cha nitiyam [·]
 ê kilamântê¹⁵ siyâ (13) na sê
 ugachha samchalitaviyê tu
 vajitaviyê êtaviyê vâ [·] hê-
 vamâmêva ê dakhiyê tuphâ-
 ka¹⁶ [·] têna vataviyê (14) am-
 nam nê dêkhata¹⁷ hêvam cha
 hêvam cha dêvânâmpiyasa anu-
 sathi [·] sê mahâ . lê¹⁸ êtasa
 sampatipâdê (15) mahâ-
 apâyê asampatipati [·] vipa-
 tipadayamînêhi¹⁹ êtam nathi
 svagasa âladhi nô lājāladhi
 [·] (16) duāhalê²⁰ hi imasa
 kammasa mē kutê mana-
 atilêkê [·] sampatipajamînê
 cha êtam svagam (17) âlā-
 dhayisatha t naniyam
 êhatha²¹ [·] iyam cha lipi tisana-
 khatêna²² so . viyam (18) am-
 talâpi cha tisêna khanasi kha . .
 si êkêna pi sôtaviya [·] hêvam

sathi [·] phê³⁰ hi bahûsu
 pânasahasêsu â . . pana .
 gachhêma sumunisânam [·]
 savê munisê (3) pajâ [·]
 atha pajâyê ichhâmi
 kimtimê³¹ savêna hita-
 sukhêna yujêyûti hidalôgika-
 pâlâlôkikâyê hêmêva mē
 ichha savamunisêsu [·] . . .
 . . . pâpunâtha âvâga-
 makê [·] (4) iyam aṭha kêchâ
 êkapulisê pi manati sê
 pi dêsam nê savam [·] da-
 khatha hi tuphê
 pisuvitâpi³² [·] bahukê aṭhi
 yê³³ êti êkamunisê bamdha-
 nam palikilêsam pi pâpu-
 nâti [·] tata . ta aka (5) smâ
 têna bamdha
 ————— cha vagê ba-
 hukê vêdayamti [·] tata tuphê-
 hi . chhitayê kimti majham
 patipâtayêma [·] imêhi
 jatêhi nô sampatipajati
 isâya âsulôpêna nithu-
 liyêna (6) tulâyê anâvûtiyê
 âlasiyêna kilamathêna [·]
 hêvam ichhitaviyê kimti mē
 êtâni jâtâni nô hêyûti [·]
 savasa cha iyam mûlê anâsu-
 lôpê atulanâ cha niti iyam³⁴ [·]
 ê kilamântê siyâ na (7) sam-
 chalitû uthi³⁵ . samchalitaviyê tu
 vajitaviyê pi êtaviyê pi [·]
 nitiyam ê vê dêkhêyi³⁶ [·]
 amna nê
 nijhapêtaviyê hêvam .
 . . cha dêvânâmpiya . . nu-
 sathi [·] — (8) tam mahâphalê
 hôti asampatipati
 mahâpâyê hôti [·] vipa-
 tipâtayamtam nô³⁷
 svagaâladhi nô . lājādhî
 [·] duāhalê êtasa
 kamasa samê³⁹ kutê ma
 ————— mâ . nê
 (9) cha ânanêyam êsatha
 svagam cha âlādhayî-
 sathâ [·] iyam cha lipi anutisam
 sôtaviyâ a-
 lâpi va . nasâtatilâ ê . ka . pi³⁹

cha kalamtam tuphê (19) cha-
ghatha²³ sampatipadayitavê
[.] êtâyê athâyê iyam lipi
likhitâ hida êna (20) naga-
laviyôpâlakâ sasvatañ sa-
mayam yujêvûti nagalajana-
sa akasmâpalibôdha²⁴ va
(21) akasmâpalikilêsê va nô
siyâti [.] êtâyê cha athâyê
hakam dhammatê pañchasu
pañchasu vasê-(22)-su²⁵ nikhâ-
mayisâmi ê akhahasê acham-
ça sakhinâlabhê hôsati [.]
êtam aham jâñitu tathâ (23)
kalati atha mama anu-
sathiti²⁶ [.] ujênitê pi cha ku-
mâlê etâyê va athâyê ni-
khâmayisati (24) hêdisam-
êva vagam²⁷ nô cha atikâ-
mayisati tini vasâni [.] hêmê
va tâkhasilâtê pi [.] adâ
a . . . (25) tê mahâmâtâ ni-
khamisâmi anusayânam²⁸ ta-
dâ ahâpayita atanê kam-
mam êtam pi jâñisâmi (26)
tam pi tathâ kalamti atha
lâjinê anusathiti [.]

————— (10) tavê
[.] êtâyê cha athâyê iyam . khi-
tâ lipi êna mahâmâtâ
nagalaka sasvatañ sa-
mayam . . ka . ya . ênâ

————— (11) pañchasu
pañchasu vasêsu anusamyanam
nikhamayisâmi mahâmâtam acham-
çam phalahata
vâchênêlê

ujêniku
mâlê vi . tasatê

————— (12) ————— javachanika⁴⁰ tada
anusamyanam nikhamisâmi
atanê kammam

NOTES.

DHAULI.

1. *Vataviyam* 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 *kiñti*. The reading *amnam* given by the facsimile of the *Corpus* is not tenable, and there is no room at Dhaulī for the four letters supposed by the conjecture *amnam êna* of Dr. Kern. Unfortunately the parallel passages are either incomplete (at Dhaulī 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 *kam[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 Dhaulī, which certainly had only three letters. On the other hand, Jaugada suggests a useful correction for the next word; for, if following the reading *patipâ-tayêham* (cf. lower down, line 5, where *patipâtayêma* corresponds to *patipâdayêma* of Dhaulī), we correct the Dhaulī reading to *patipâdayêham*, we obtain a translation very consistent with *knimêna*; '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 *drishṭi* to mean 'theory,' 'doctrine,' and thence, in particular, 'a doctrine which is peculiar, heretical.' Dr. Kern has well explained *duvāla* by the Sanskrit *dvāra*, 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 Prākṛit *tumha* (cf. *Hémachandra*, Ed. Pischel, III. 31, &c.), instead of the *stūpa*, 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 *tuphésu*; while as regards the analogous forms, *aphākam*, *aphésu*, for the pronoun of the first person, see below in the 2nd det. edict. We may take *añ* as a neuter and refer it to *dvārañ*, or we may consider it as another spelling of the feminine *yā*, 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 *āyatā*, 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 *panayanñ*, which, with *gachhēma* (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 *gachhēma*. 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 *mahāmātras* 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 *-vūti tathā savamuni-*. *Tathā* corresponds well with the *hēmēva* of Jaugada; both are correlatives of the *yathā* which precedes. We need not divide the sentence after *iti*, it goes on down to *hakanñ* 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, *dukanñ*, of the *Corpus* is condemned by the rubbings which have clearly *hakanñ*. The sentence therefore only commences with *nō*. With regard to the verb *pāpunātha*, 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 (*dukanñ* corrected to *dukhanñ*) 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 *nō cha tuphē* 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 *é*. 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 *tuphē* and *étanñ*. The second person implies of itself that the king here addresses, as above, his officers, and an object so vague as *étanñ*, 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 *étan̄* as an object, after *dēkhata*, is expressed at Dhauli and omitted at Jaugada. There remains *áva* (or *vá*) *gamaké*, which Dr. Kern understands as the Sanskrit *yávad gámyakam̄*, *yávadgamyan̄*, '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 Prákṛit, 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 *práp* 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 *iyam̄* 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, *iyam̄ athi kécha*; *iyam̄ ékapulisé 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 *étan̄*, and at another by *idam̄*. There is no more difficulty in taking *iyam̄* as a representative of the masculine *ayam̄*, than in considering it as equivalent to the neuter *idam̄*; 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: *iyam̄ athi — ékapulisé*, *iyam̄ ékapulisé athi*, *an̄ne cha bahujané*, 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: *dēkhata hi tuphé . . .*, *tata hōta . . .*, *tata ichhitaviyé*. 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 *athī* or *athī* (to judge from the rubbings, the difference between ☉ and ○ is in the whole of this passage hardly distinguishable): a comparison with *athī* in the sentence *iyam̄ ékapulisé 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: *té* (i.e. *jana*, men) *sarvan̄ vá kāsanti ékadésan̄ vá kāsanti* (G. l. 2). The objects, *sarvan̄*, *ékadésan̄*, on the one side, and *étan̄ désan̄*, *savan̄* on the other, of themselves challenge comparison. Dr. Kern ingeniously refers *ékapurusha* to *ékavīra*, recalling the sense in which the latter is used in a passage of the *Mṛichchhakatī*. He takes both in the meaning of a 'bad, culpable man,' 'a rogue;' but as *ékavīra* 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 *ékavīra*. 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 *prīthagjana* 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 *manāti* 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 *désa*. I derived its meaning from the customary sense of the Sanskrit *désa*. This 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 *désāyutika*. In the first instance the king, after declaring that those who follow his instructions will

prosper, adds, 'yô tu étam désaṃ pihápēsati sô dukataṃ kāsati.' There is no room here for any restriction, and we have been led to take *désa* 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,' *désa* being equivalent to *saṃdésa*. *Ēkadésa* in the 7th edict will therefore mean 'one order in particular,' and here we can translate *étam désaṃ* by 'such and such an order,' which comes practically to the same thing. There remains *désāyutika*, of the next edict, in the sentence *tuphākaṃ désāyutikē hōsāmi*. 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 *désa* 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 *désa* in a meaning analogous to its use in Sanskrit, and to translate, 'I shall have you for substitutes, for lieutenants.' But not only would such a use of *désa* 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 *dēkhaté* is probably founded merely on a fissure in the rock. Jaugada shows, and the pronoun *tuphé* 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 Pāli-Prākṛit 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: *pisuvitā* should probably be read *hisuvitā*, for *suvihitā*; while, as for the words *nīti iyaṃ*, or simply *nīti*, 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 *siyā* or *hōsati*, '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 *anunīti*. If my conjecture is verified, *nīti* 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, *kinīti* 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 *nagaravyavahāraṅkas*, 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 (*akasmā*). Here we can only look for the same meaning. Thanks to the reading *bandhanantika*, simply corrected to *bandhanantikā*, with the sign of the plural, the construction is clear, and the only difficulty has referencē to *tēna*. The instrumental *tēna* 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. *Sānam* 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 *akasmā bhāṇḍhanāntika*, *akasmā* 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 *akasmātanabāṇḍhanāntika*, and to admit an adjective *akasmātana*, formed from *akasmā*, like *chīrantana* from *chīraṇ*, and *sanātana* from *sanā*. 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 *davīya*; 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 *dūra*, above all in a style so level as ours, but the very form, the comparative in *īyans* instead of *dūrātara*, 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 *vēdayati*, cannot help us by checking the reading. One point is sure, — that we cannot be positive about the vowel which accompanies the *v* at Dhauri. The stone has just at this place suffered injury, so that it is by no means out of the way to propose to read *davūyé*. As regards the use of the Buddhist *davā*, we have, the explicit witness of the scholiast cited by Burnouf (Lotus, p. 649), who defines it thus *kichchhādhippāyēna kiriyā*. The nearest meaning is therefore 'violence,' which is confirmed by the Sanskrit denominative *dravasyati*, in the meaning of 'to suffer' (*paritāpa*). 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 *davī* alongside of *davā*, especially as the feminine *davā* is itself a new formation if compared with the bases *drava* and *dravas* of classical Sanskrit.

12. The form *majhaṇ* 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 *tuphē*, *aphē* 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 *jāta*, 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 *jātāṇ* 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 *sampatipajati* and *patipūlayēma* (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, *sē ichhitaviyē*, &c., and the commencement of the preceding one, *tata ichhitaviyē tūphēhi*, 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 (*ētē jātā nō huvēvu mamāti*).' Amongst these defects, there are several terms of which the meaning has been misconceived. The reading *āsulōpa*, 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 *asulōpa*) and the conjecture *āsulōsa*, i.e. *āsurōsha*, of Dr. Kern. *Āsulōpa* lends itself, in fact, to a very suitable translation; *lōpa* ordinarily means 'interruption,' 'giving up;' *āsulōpa* 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 *āsulōpa* and *tūlanā*. 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 *anāvṛiti* from *āvṛitti*, and translated it 'absence de profession, de travail;' but this meaning, which belongs to *vṛitti*, is not used for *āvṛitti*. Dr. Kern transcribes it *anāvṛiti*, and translates 'unheedfulness.' I have already remarked (see above, IV., notes 1 and 9) that the transcription *āyukti* 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. *Anāyukti* can be well translated by 'want of application,' and is naturally connected with *ālasīya*. 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 Pāli, 'fatigue,' 'indolence.' We must without hesitation abandon the ingenious, but arbitrary and really unsatisfactory analysis of the paṇḍits of Prinsep. The rubbing of Jaugada does away with all uncertainty. The participle *kilamta* should have set previous interpreters in the right direction.

14. It is clear that *ēta*, 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 *nitichhan̄* of the *Corpus* to *nitiyaṁ*. *Nitiyaṁ*, i.e. *nītyāṁ*, suits the passage very well. We have seen above (note 8) that *nīti* is employed in several instances with reference to the duties of the *mahāmātras*, 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 *nīti iyaṁ*. We are hence compelled to assume either that the disjunction is due to a mistake of the engraver, or that *nītiyaṁ* ought, as a matter of fact, to be split up into *nīti 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 *nīti* a sense more exactly in agreement with that which the earlier passages assign to it. On the other hand Jaugada has, further on, *nītiyaṁ* which corresponds to

nothing in Dhauri, or rather which cannot represent the meaning of the phrase *hévamévan*, which we meet instead of it at Dhauri. I conclude therefore that this *nūtiyan* is only an erroneous repetition of the stone cutter, and that, hence, his original had really *nūtiyan* (and not *nūti iyan*) 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 Dhauri and Jaugada in important particulars. The construction is clear. The phrase, as shown by the *hévaméva* at the beginning of the next sentence, contains a comparison, and *kilamāta*, 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 *tūlanā*. The only word which requires some explanation is *ugachha* in Dhauri, Jaugada, in this instance, having a different reading. We have in the one case *ugachh*, and in the other *sañchalitū utthi*, and I do not hesitate to read *ugachhē* and *sañchalitū utthihē*, 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 insistence 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 *vā* 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 *vrajitavyan* and *étavyan*. I suppose that we should read *chā*, 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 *dēkh* or *dakh* used with reference to the supervision of the *mahāmātras*. 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 *tēna* as correlative to the *ya* which precedes, but several reasons lead me to reject this explanation. In the first place *tēna vataviyē* 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 *tēna vataviyē* 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 *mayā* or *tuphēhi* to complete the sentence. 'For this reason I must tell you,' or 'you must tell (the people).' In the first case *nē*, of the sentence following, would refer to Piyadasi; in the second to his officers. Jaugada does not lend itself to this equivocal meaning. *Nijhapētaviya* is already sufficiently known to us from the 4th Columnar Edict (l. 17-18) where we have had *nijhapayisanti* and *nijhapayitā* (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 Dēvas."' It appears that this comparison must be decisive in favour of the former of the two constructions for Dhauri 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 *amnan* and *nē*. The first would be the Sanskrit *anyad*, the second would be equivalent to *nō*, 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 Dēvas."' But we have hitherto met only a single example of the confusion of *nē* with *nō* (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 Dhauri *dēkhēta*, which would supply a causal verb, as at Jaugada.

18. There is no doubt about the correct reading, *maháphalé*, nor, consequently, about the meaning of the sentence.

19. The *ī* is quite clear both here, in *vipaṭipādayamīnēhi*, and in *samptaṭipajamīne*, a little lower down. We have, in dealing with the 5th Columnar Edict, drawn attention to the analogous form *pāyamīnū*. It seems, however, difficult to doubt the purely accidental nature of these spellings.

20. Dr. Kern has certainly pointed out the true meaning of *duāhala*, which he transcribes *dyāhara* and which he translates, 'which gives a double pronoun.' 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 *étasa* (or *imasa*) *kañmasa*. 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 *kañmasa*, or that, at Jaugada, the second *sa* is an accidental and erroneous repetition. Dr. Kern, adopting the former theory, explains *samé kuté* as equivalent to *śramé kṛité*. 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 *śramakaraṇé manūgatirēkaḥ*. 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 *manūgatirēkaḥ* 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 *manūgatirēka*. 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 *manūg* and *atirēka*, 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 *parākrāma*, &c. If we admit, hypothetically, the reading of Dhauli, *mé* could only be the pronoun, and the substantive used as subject must be *manaatiléké* (or even *manōatiléké*, for the vowel is not very clear in the rubbings). The word appears to me to lend itself to a possible analysis as *mana-atirēka*, *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 *duāhala*) a familiar expression of the Buddhist style; *mé kuté manaatiléké* is easily explained, when considered as the equivalent of *atīva manasikarōmi*.

21. In spite of the *lacuna*, the meaning is quite certain. I have hardly any doubt that we ought to restore *-satha tuphē nē chañnaniyam-*. 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 *tuphē nē*. *Nē* refers to the king (so also at Jaugada), just as, above, we had it in the sentence *añnamā nē dēkhēta*.

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 *sōtaviya*, seek for *śrāvayitavya*, the participle of the causal verb, but for that of the simple verb. This point is of importance for the correct understanding of *ékēna*. Dr. Kern connects it with *tisēna*, 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 *khaṇa*, nor in Pāli of, for example, the phrase *khané khané* (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 *chaghattha* and *saṇṇipāṭipādayitavé*, see former remarks (Col. Ed. IV., n. 5; I. n. 2).

24. I have explained the meaning of *palibōdha* when dealing with the 5th Girnār 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 *palibōdha* is substituted as a synonym of the *baṇḍhana* used above (l. 8-9). The reading *palikilésé*, which is established by the latest rubbings, cuts short, so far as this word is concerned, all difficulty and conjecture.

25. The text of Dhauri 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 *mahāmātāṃ achanḍam*, without any doubt; and it follows that the relative proposition *é—hōsati*, which is the corresponding passage in Dhauri, ought to be taken as containing the object of *nikhāmayisāmi*. The absence of *mahāmātāṃ* 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 *akhakhasé* as equivalent to the Sanskrit *akarkasah*. I think that he is also justified in reading *saṅkhāna*, although the latest rubbing would appear to give clearly enough *sékhinnā*. I consider however that he has been misled as to the meaning of *ālamḍha*. 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 *mahāmātra*, 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 *anusāṇyāna* 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 *dhammayuta*, — 'the *mahāmātras* 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 *tathā*: 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 *jānātu* or some such word, but *jānitu*, that is to say, the participle absolute, which makes this portion of the sentence depend upon *kalati*. In the later passage *api* and *taṃ 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 *jānisanti* and *kalanti*. *Ētam aṭham* in the one passage, and *ētāṃ* 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 *karōti* being familiar to the language of our texts. Finally, the agreement in number between *é akhahasé*, &c., and *kalati* on the one hand, and between *jānisanti* and *kalanti* 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 *mahāmātra*] 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 *lēt*. This is not the only trace of the use of this mood left in our monuments. I have already drawn attention to *vadhati* above (iv. n. 12). Perhaps we have the first person in *kalāmi* [Dhauri 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 *kalōmi* is easy, but we should only take to corrections as a last resource. Now, at Khālsi, in the parallel passage, we find, not the present, but the future *kachhāmi*. 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 *paṭivēdayantu*.

27. A short way above, Jaugada (l. 5) employs *vaga* to represent the *bahujana* of Dhauri. 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 *anusamyāna*, in addition to the officers, all the faithful of his belief (*yutā*). *Vaga* well describes a numerous assemblage of the kind: *hēdisa* 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 *nikāya* 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 *atā*, 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 *tē* being now certain, there can be no doubt about its being the demonstrative, in agreement with *mahāmātā*. 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 *anusamyāna*, 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 *rajjūkas* or *prādēsikas* to the *anusamyāna* in order there to deliver religious instruction, whereas the ordinary *mahāmātras*, 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 Dhauri 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 (Dhauri n. 2) that if, as there seems to be some probability, we must really read *-kiṃti 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 mē kutē*. So, again, I consider *nātiyaṃ*, 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 *tuphē*. In line 3, *mama* has been forgotten. In line 8, we have *lājādhi* for *lājāladhi*. In line 9, *alā* for *amtalā*.

31. *Kūntimé* is equivalent to *kūnti imé*, 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*)*suvitāpi* as incorrect for *suvihitā pi*; *nīti* 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 *yé* as equivalent to *yaḥ*, both here and at Dhauli. At Dhauli, we have had already (v. 21) *yé apatiyé mé*; 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 *yé*, which, at Jangada itself, we find again in line 6 of the next edict.

34. Regarding *nīti iyaṃ* and the *nītiyaṃ* 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 [sé] samchalitu[ṃ] utthi[hé]*, 'that person will not get up to put himself in motion.'

36. There is here a simple transposition of vowels; *dékhéyi* for *dékhiyé*.

37. The form *vipaṭipātayaṃtāṃ*, appears at first sight to be incorrect. We should expect either an instrumental, as at Dhauli, or a genitive *vipaṭipātayaṃtānam*. 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 *-kamasā mé kuté*.

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 *achamḍam phélahata-*; from repeated examinations of the rubbings I am convinced that the stone, instead of *phélahata*, bore the word *aphalusam*, a very good synonym of *akhakhasa*.

40. I do not think that it is necessary to take [*lá*] *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 Dēvas. — The officers of Tōsalī, in charge of the administration of the city, are to be commanded as follows: (— Jangada: Thus saith the king dear unto the Dēvas; — The officers of Samāpā 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 (Dhauri: 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 Dēvas.’ 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 *anusamyāna*] every *mahāmātra*, 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 Ujjayinī 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 Takshāsilā. By attending the *anusamyāna*, 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.

DHAULI.

(1) Dēvānāmpiyasa vachanēna
tōsaliyañ kumālē ma-

TEXT.³

JAUGADA.

(1) Dēvānāmpiyē hēvañ āha [.]
samāpāyañ mahamatā la-

³ Professor Bühler's readings:—

SECOND EDICT.

DHAULI.

1. 3. °hēv muni . . . u.
1. 4. °kicchamā. su°; °marē i°; °anuvigina ma°.
1. 5. °ḍukhañ hē°; °khamisati nē°; °chalēvū.
1. 6. °ā hi dhiti°.
1. 7. °sē hēvañ°; °asvā °; °tatha dē°; °aphāka°.

1. 8. °paja°; °cha tēsa .
1. 9. °sama.
1. 10. °tēsa°; °khanasi khanasi°.
1. 11. sōtavīya°.

JAUGADA.

1. 1. °khūti kamkamana.
1. 2. °mōkniyamatañ dūvāla°.
1. 3. °savēṣā°; °yujēyā°; °kiṃti mē°.
1. 4. °ichha°.
1. 5. °tā kā vā mē°; °anuvigina°.
1. 6. °lahēyā°; °khañ hēvañ°.
1. 7. °chakiyē°.
1. 8. °anavē ē°.

1. 9. °pañinnā°; °ēna tē pāpunē.
1. 10. °pita°.
1. 11. °anusāsita°; vēditu . mamadhiti pañinnā°.
1. 12. deśāyutikē hōsāmī°; °tēsañ°.
1. 13. °pālalōkikāyē°; °svagañ cha ālā°.
1. 14. °lipi li°; °yujēvū°.
1. 15. °chalanāyē cha aṣṭā°; °lipi anuchā°.

hâmâtâ cha vataviya [·] am
kichhi dakhâmi hakam tam

(2) duvâlatê cha âlabhêham [·]
êsa cha mê môkhiyamata du-
vâlâ êtasi aṭhasi am tu-
phêsu

mama (3) atha
pajâyê ichhâmi hakam kiṃti
savêna hitasukhêna

hidalôkika-
pâlalôkikâyê yujêvûti hêvam

(4) siyâ [·]
am̄tânam¹ avijitânam
kichh . d . su lâja aphêsû . .
. . mava ichha mama am̄têsu [·]
. . pâpunêvu tê² iti dêvâ
nampiyê . . . anuvâgâna ma-
mâyê (5) huvêvûti asvasêvu cha
sukhamm êva lahêvu mama
tê nô dukha [·] hêvam
. . nêvû iti khamiti³ nê
dêvanampiyê aphâkam ti [·]
ê cha kiyê khamitavê mama
nimitam cha dhammam cha-
lêvu (6) hidalôka palalô-
kam cha âladhayêvû [·]
êtasi aṭhasi hakam anu-
sâsâmi tuphê [·] ananê
êtakêna⁴ hakam anu-
sâsâsita chhamdam cha vêdi-
tu â . dhiti paṭimâ
cha mama (7) ajalâ [·] sâ
hêvam kaṭu⁵ kamme chali-
viyê asva———i cha tâni
êna pâpunêvû iti atha pitâ
tathâ dêvanampiyê aphâkam
athâ cha atânam hêvam dêvâ-
nampiyê anukampati aphê⁶
(8) athâ cha pajâ hêvam
mayê dêvanampiyasa [·] sê
hakam anusâsita chhamdam cha
v phâka⁷

dêsâvu-
tikê hôsâmi êtâyê athâyê [·]
paṭibalâ⁸ hi tuphê asvasânâyê
hitasukhâyê cha tasê (9) hi-
dalôkikapâlalôkikâyê [·]
hêvam cha kalamtam tuphê

javachanika vataviyâ [·]am
kichhi dakhâmi hakam tam
ichhâmi hakam kiti kamkam-
mana¹² (2) paṭipâtayêham
duvâlatê cha âlabhêham [·]
êsa cha mê môkhiyamata du-
vâlê êtasa athasa¹³ am tu-
phêsu anusathi [·] savamuni-
(3) sâ mê pajâ atha
pajâyê ichhâmi kiṃtimê
savênô¹⁴ hitasukhêna yujê-
vu atha pajâyê ichhâmi
kiṃtamê savêna hitasu-
(4) khêna yujêvûti hidalôgika-
pâlalôkikêna hêvammeva
mê ichhâ savamunisêsu siyâ [·]
am̄tânam avijitâ- (5) -nam
kimchhamdêsu lâjâ aphêsûti
êtakâ va mê ichha am̄têsu [·]
pâpunêvu lâjâ hêvam ichhati
anuviginâ hêvu (6) ma-
miyâyê asvasêvu cha mê
sukhamm êva cha lahêvu mama
tê nô kha¹⁵ [·] êvam
cha pâpunêvu khamisati nê
lâjâ [·]

(7) ê chha kiyê khamitavê
mamam nimitam cha dhamma
chalêvûti hidalôgam cha palalô-
gam cha âladhayêvu [·]
etâyê (8) cha athâyê hakam tu-
phêni¹⁶ anusâsâmi [·] anêna
êtakêna hakam tuphêni anu-
sâsâsita chhamdam cha vêdi-
(9) -tu â mama dhiti paṭinâ
cha achala [·] sa
hêvam kaṭu kamme chali-
viyê asvasaniyâ cha tê
êna pâpunê (10) yu athâ pitâ
êvam nê lâjâti
atha atânam anukampati hê-
vam aphêni anukampati
athâ pajâ hê- (11) -vam
mayê lâjinê [·] tuphêni
hakam anusâsita chhamdam cha
vedâta¹⁷ . mama chiti paṭinâ
châ achala sê . . (12) dêsaây-
tikê hôsâmi êtasi athasi [·]
alam hi tuphê asvasânâyê
hitasukhâyê cha tasam hi-
da- (13) -lôgikapâlalôkikâyâ [·]
hêvam cha kalamtam svagam

svagam âlâdhayisatha mama
cha ânaniyam êhatha [·] êtâyê
cha athâyê iyam lipi likhitâ
hida êna mahâmâtâ svasa-
tam⁹ samam (10) yujisanti
asvâsanâyê dhammachala-
nâyê cha tésu amtânam [·]
iyam cha lipi anuchâtummâ-
sam tisêna nakhatêna sôta-
viyâ¹⁰ kâmam cha khanôkha-
nasi amtalâpi tisêna êkêna
(11) sôtaviyâ [·] hêvam kalam-
tam¹¹ tuphê chaghatha sampatipâ-
dayitavê [·].

. âlâdhayisatham mama cha
ânanêyam êsatha [·] (14) êtâyê
cha athâyê iyam lipi likhitâ
hida êna mahâmâtâ sasva-
tam samam yujêvû asvâ-
sanâyê cha (15) dhammachala-
nayê . amtânam [·]
iyam cha lipi a . châtummâ-
sam sôtaviyâ tisêna amta-
lâpi cha sôtaviyâ¹² (16)
khanê samtam êkêna pi
sôtaviyâ [·] hêvam cha kalam-
tam chaghatha sampatipâ-
tayitâvê¹³ [·]

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. *Am̐tânam̐ avijitânam̐* 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 *dhammachalanâyê tésu am̐tânam̐*, 'to cause the Religion to be practised amongst these frontier populations.' For this use of *am̐ta* 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. I. 4), where *am̐tâ* is contrasted with *vijitâ* in such a way that the sentence forms a decisive commentary on *am̐tâ avijitâ*, our phrase here. This explains why the king in this edict omits to mention the assemblies of the *anusamyâna* 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, *kinchhandaḥ su*, as equivalent to *kinchhandaḥ svid*; 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 *am̐tânam̐ avijitânam̐*, 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, *gachkêma*, 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 *am̐tânam̐* 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, *am̐têsu* and *aphêsu*, with different syntactic functions.

2. It is certain that two *aksharas* are wanting before *pâpunêvu*. 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 *antésu* and not *anté*. 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 *hévam̐ pápunēvu*, and I have no doubt that this is also the correct reading here. What is more important, is to discover the meaning of *pápunēvu*. If we add to these passages another lower down (l. 7), we shall notice that we have here three times the verb *práp* 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 *té* refers of necessity to *antá*, 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 *mamáyé*, *mé*, *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 *anuviginá*, which Dr. Kern correctly transcribes as *anudvigná*. I shall return elsewhere to the various forms of the instrumental of the pronoun of the first person. Perhaps it is this same *mamáyé* which we have met at Kh. (v. 14) under the form *mamáva*. *Mamáyé* is, of course, only a variant spelling of the Prâkrit *mamá*, referred to by Hêma-chandra (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 *aphâkam̐* 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 *é cha kiyé* 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 *é cha*, &c., taking *kiyé* 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 *khamitavé* 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, *yá ————— dévânâmpiyasa na ————— vijité hônti*.

4. There appears to be no doubt about the correctness of reading *anané*. The engraver has transposed the vowels. It should be *anéna*. 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, *anusásitû*, might have suggested, we must read *anusásitu*, *véditu*, 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. *Ajalá* corresponds to *achalá*, as we have had *libi* for *lipi*, and as we have at Jaugada, *lógu* 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 (*véditu* for *védétu*, by a confusion of the simple with the causal base, of which we have already met several examples) my orders, my will (*dhriti*) and my promises are unchangeable.' There remains only one small difficulty, the nominative *hakam*, 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 *tal évam kṛitvá*. It is necessary to read *sé*; and *kuṭu*, as equivalent to *kṛitvá*, 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 *kam̐ma* applied to the functions of the *mahāmātras* (Dhauri, the preceding edict, l. 25, and note). Jaugada assists us to fill up the lacuna by reading *-asvāsaniyāni cha-*. This neuter might puzzle us, if the masculine at Jaugada did not, here as higher up, show that *pāpunévu* has for its subject the *am̐tā*, 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 *anukanipati* cuts short all conjecture. It is quite certain, especially at Dhauri.

7. It will be seen that here Jaugada deviates from our text. The sentence at Dhauri is, however, quite complete, and the fault is incontestably that of the engraver at Jaugada, who, after the words *chham̐dam cha védétu*, 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 hévam*, which have no right to be, and are quite unnecessary, here. He has on the other hand omitted a word of importance, *tuphákam̐*. As regards *désāvutiké*, cf. note 7 of the preceding edict (at Dhauri).

8. The expression *paṭibalá* finds a very clear commentary in the synonym *alam̐*, which I have succeeded in deciphering at Jaugada: 'you are capable of'. Hitherto we have always had the *am̐tā* in the plural, and it is therefore a plural which is wanted here. Beside my proposal on the comparison of *tasé* and *tasam̐*, I would here read in both versions *tésam̐*. The use of the genitive *tésam̐*, besides *tānam̐*, is well vouched for, e.g. by Kh. xiii., 37; and in this edict itself a little lower down we read *tésu*, which, being in agreement with *am̐tānam̐*, is evidently only a variant spelling (cf. I. p. 19) of *tésam̐*.

9. Read *sasvatam̐*. As for *samam̐*, 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 *samayan̐*; the accidental oversight of the *ya* being possibly aided by the initial of *yujisan̐ti*. 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 *chaturmāsya* sacrifices of the Brāhman̐s. 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 (*kāman*) in the interval, whenever an opportunity presents itself. The second alternative would in that case commence at *kāman cha*. Nothing can be more simple, but the text at Jaugada does not lend itself to this method of dividing the words. It repeats *sōtaviyā* 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 *sōtaviyā* 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 *khanēkhanasi*, although the use of the locative in *ē* is rare (Cf. Jaugada), at least unless it is preferred to admit a sporadic use of the cerebral **᳚**, *khanakha-*

11. *Kalanān* is for *kalanā* (cf. I. p. 16-17) or for *kalanā*, i.e. *kalanā* (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 *kañkāmānna* (the reading of the *Corpus*), I read *kañmēna*. The spelling *kañmānna* for *kañmēna* is not without analogies: a little lower down (l. 11; Dhauli, l. 8) we have *mayē* for *mayān*; and in this edict, l. 16, *sañtān*, for the locative *sañtē*.

13. Very possibly we should correct to *ētasi 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 (Dhaulti, n. 1) we have seen the genitive *antānam* used in the sense of the locative, and in the preceding edict (Dhaulti, l. 13) the phrase *dakṣiyē tūphākañ* uses the genitive in the sense of the instrumental.

14. We should evidently read *savēna*.

15. Restore to *-nō [du]khañ*. The form *mamiyāyē* is a curious one. It looks like an orthographical compromise between the forms *mamiyā* (Col. Ed. viii. 7, which I consider as simply a variant of *mamayā*, Prākṛit *mamaē*) and *mamāyē*, which Dhaulti has in the corresponding passage.

16. *Tūphēni* 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, *aphēni*, which we find in line 10. It reminds one of the Apabhraṃśa *tumhāñ*, *amhāñ*, given by Hémachandra for the nominative and accusative. These forms, again, only refer us back to a spelling *tūphani* or *tumhani*, just as *āni*, the termination of the neuter plural, becomes *āñ*. Compare Hindī *hamani*, Hoernle, *Comp. Gram.*, p. 178.

17. I have already (Dhaulti, note 7) stated that, in my opinion, the words which follow *védāta* (read *védētu*) up to the end of the line are probably an erroneous repetition. However, as the character *śē* is not very distinct, if we could read *tu* and supply *phākañ* for the two following letters, it would be unnecessary, after supplying *ā* before *mama*, to omit anything. The sentence would be correct. In any case the general sense would not be affected.

18. Cf. Dhaulti, N. 10, and, for *sañtān*, 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 *-itavē*.

TRANSLATION.

By order of the king, dear unto the Dēvas; — The prince and the officers of Tōsali are to be commanded as follows (Jaugada: Thus saith the king, dear unto the Dēvas; — The king's officers of Samāpā 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-rasavasau-samkhy-âbdê Saka-samayê Mârggaśirsha-mâsê=smin kṛishṇa-trayôdaśa-dinê Bhṛiguvârê Maitra-nakshatrê || Dhanushi ravau Ghaṭa-lagnê dvâdaśa-varshâ(rshê) tu janmanah paṭ[ṭ*]am yô-dhâd=udayagir-indrô(ndrê) ravir=iva lôk-ânurâ-gâya ||*—“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 Mârgaśirsha, 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 Saka-Samvat 867 current, the *pûrṇimânta* Mârgaśirsha kṛishṇa 13 ended, not on a Friday, but on Saturday, 16th November, A.D. 944, at about 35 *ghaṭis*, 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 *samkrânti* 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 *amānta* Mārgaśirsha *kṛishṇa* 13 ended, also not on a Friday, but on Monday, 16th December, at about 18 *gh.* 24 *p.*

In **Saka-Samvat 868 current (867 expired)**, however, the results work out quite satisfactorily. The *pūrṇimānta* Mārgaśirsha *kṛishṇa* 13 again ended, not on a Friday, but on Wednesday, 5th November, A.D. 945, at about 37 *gh.* 3 *p.* But the *amānta* Mārgaśirsha *kṛishṇa* 13, — and we have already seen (*ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 142) that the *amānta* 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 **Anurādhā 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-Siddhānta 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 Rājamahēndri.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 *pisāsus* (Skr. *piśācha*) and female devils *mōhinis*. Devils

always possess the opposite sex in mankind. It is much more difficult to exorcise a *mōhinī* than a *piśāsu*. Lascivious dreams at night are always attributed to possession by *mōhinīs*. 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 Sanskrit and Prākṛit 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 Hindoue 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

ending-time of the *tithi*, &c., would be later at Rājamahēndri than at Bombay. It does not cause any variation in the general results for the present date.

⁴ This calculation is by the present *Sārya-Siddhānta*. And according to the same authority, the *tithi* ended at 27 *gh.* 50 *p.*, and the **Anurādhā 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 Rājamahēndri.

¹ See *ante*, Vol. XV. pp. 60, 244.

³ The exact place for which the times of Eastern Chalukya dates should be reduced, has not been determined. The ancient city of Veṅḡi is perhaps represented by the modern Pedda-Vēgi, a village in the 'Ellore' Talukā of the Gōdāvari District (*Archæol. Surv. South. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 36). But a more suitable place, for purposes of calculations, is probably Rājamahēndri in the Gōdāvari District, Lat. 17° N., Long. 81° 43' E.; and taking the longitude of Bombay as 72° 53', the difference in time is $8 \frac{53}{60} \times 10 \text{ palas} = 1 \text{ gh. } 29.1 \text{ p.}$, by which the

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 Sanskrit and Pāli studies, through that of the classical Prakṛits, to the Gauḍian 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 Sanskrit 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 *bāzārs*," 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 Hindūs*, Garcin de Tassy's works, especially that above quoted, and Tod's *Rājasthān*. Native anthologies have been also collated, especially the *Sib Singh Sarōj* (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 Tulsī Dās (to whom a special chapter has been allotted) and the technical school of poets founded by Kēsab Dās." Within each group the arrangement is, as far as possible, chronological.

The earliest vernacular literature is found in the bardic chronicles of Rajputānā, commencing with Chand Bardāi 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

Vaiṣṇavism, which is represented by the worship of Rāma and in the works of Rāmānand, Kabīr and Tulsī Dās, 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 Vaiṣṇavism — which is best seen in the writings of Mirā Bāi and Bidyāpati Thākur. In those early days, too, flourished Malik Muḥammad, the author of the *Padmāwat*, 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 Dās and Sūr Dās as its chief exponents, and while they were writing, the action of Akbar's Court at Dehli (Dilli) caused the acceptance of the Uṛdū language. At this period, too, rose the great Tulsī Dās, 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 Hindī community, whether high or low, rich or poor, young or old." At other times the writings of Kēsab Dās, Chintāmaṇi Tripāṭhi, and Kālidās Tribēdi, 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 Dādū, Prān Nāth and Gōbind Singh of the *Granth*.

In the 18th century the value of the literature declined, but in the present century there has been a renaissance in the *Prēm Sāgar* of Lallū Jī Lal in that new English-invented language, Hindī. 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 Hindī 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 orientalist, 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 **Buddhaghōsa** occupies a conspicuous position in **Pāli literature**, similar in some respects to that of **Vēdavyāsa** in **Sanskrit literature** and **Dēvaddhigaṇin** 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 **Buddhaghōsa**, '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 suggested³ 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 **Pāli** form, that is to say, with the dental *s*, rather than in its **Sanskrit** form with the cerebral or lingual *śh*,⁴ because he has no known connection with **Sanskrit literature**, and the name, thus spelt, has come down to us exclusively in **Pāli** 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-ghoskū**, **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 **Buddha-dāsa**, **Buddha-priya**, **Buddha-rakshita**, **Buddha-gupta**, **Buddha-mitra**, **Buddha-bhadra**, **Buddha-simha**, **Buddha-pāli**, **Buddha-yāsa**, **Buddha-nandi**; and others which have its latter part, such as **Śiva-ghōsha**, **Aśva-ghōsha**, **Indra-ghōsha**, **Ārya-ghōsha**, **Mañju-ghōsha**.

It may be mentioned here at the outset, that although this name occurs in three early inscriptions to be noticed presently, at **Mathurā**, the **Bhēlsa** topes, and the **Kāṇhēri** 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 **Māgadha Brāhmaṇ** he belongs properly to them: the traditions and

¹ See Professor **Rhys Davids** in *Encycl. Brit.* Vol. XIII. p. 544.

² **Turnour's Mahāvamsa**, 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 [**Bōgdāgōk** and **Bōgdāgawtha** 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 **Nāgarī** 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 **Nāgarī** 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 रोजा = **Bur. yāza**; there is no *dz* sound in **Burmese**: his *weng* = ချ = **Bur. win** or **win**; there is no *eng* in **Burmese**, but *in*, *in* and *ē*, as in *thakē* (*th* as in *thing*): his *sheng-bureng* = သံ-ဗဟုဝါ = **Bur. sin-bayin** or even *sim-bayin*, (*s* being written *hr*): his *prā* is *bhurā* = **Bur. phayā**. 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 **Mathurā** on the Jamnā,⁷ which are supposed to have formed part of the railing around the *stūpa* of the great monastery erected there by the Indo-Scythic king Huvishka, about the beginning of the Christian era. It is in the Sanskrit 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 Society⁸ in these words — "Gift of the mendicant priest [Buddhist monk] Buddhaghōsha, 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 Buddhaghōsha 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 Buddhaghōsa 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 **Buddhaghōsa** of the Southern legends, when he speaks in his travels of the eminently learned Brāhmaṇ of Pāṭaliputra.⁹ This supposition would necessitate the sacrifice of the date now generally assigned to Buddhaghōsa. Fa-Hian's description of his learned Brāhmaṇ 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." Buddhaghōsa, on the other hand, was a young man, according to the Ceylonese legend, — "a Brāhmaṇ 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 Buddhaghōsa was living at Pāṭaliputra 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 Mahānāma, who came to the throne in A.D. 410,¹³ and of the Burmese king Kyaungdayêk, who died in A.D. 413.¹⁴ These dates, if they are to be accepted, combine to show that Buddhaghōsa 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 Brāhmaṇ of Pāṭaliputra. Moreover, the name of this old Brāhmaṇ was Artā-Svāmin,¹⁵ or Rāddha-sāmi,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 **Sāñchi**¹⁷ in Central India, in the following words: — "(Gift of) the householder Budhaghōsa." This serves to show that the name **Buddhaghōsa** 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.

¹⁰ *The pilgrimage of Fa-Hian*, p. 254: *Foe Kone Ki*, p. 254.

¹² Turnour's *Mahāvamsa*, p. 250.

¹⁵ Beal, p. 104, note.

¹³ Turn. *Mahav.*, Introd. p. lxii.

¹⁶ Legge, p. 78, and note.

⁹ *Travels of Fa-Hian*, p. 104, note.

¹¹ *Travels of Fa-Hian*, p. 98.

¹⁴ Phayre, *Hist. of Burma*, p. 21.

¹⁷ Cunningham, *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 239.

temple-cave at Kāñhêri 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 *gandhakuti* [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 Sanskrit 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 Kāñhêri, to the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D.²⁴ Dr. Stevenson has assumed the identity of the Buddhaghôsha of this inscription with the great Pāli 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 Kāñhêri 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 Buddhaghôsha 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 [Buddhaghôsha] who composed the institutes of the lord Buddha,” and although this version cannot be sustained, the direct reference to his connection with the Tripitaka, 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 Buddhaghôsha question, notwithstanding the apparent chronological difficulty.

II.—The Buddhaghôsha Legends.

A.—The Burmese Legend.

The Buddhaghôsha 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.

Buddhaghôsha 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. Barnouf and Lassen’s *Essai sur le Pāli*.

In the meantime another notice of the Burmese legend was published by the Serampore 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-moonce, 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

¹⁸ *Jour. As. Soc. Bomb.* Vol. V. pp. 5, 13 ff.; Vol. VI. p. 3.

²⁰ *Jour. As. Soc. Bomb.* Vol. V. p. 4.

²² *Cave-Temples*, p. 352.

²⁴ *Archæol. Surv. India*, Vol. I. Introd. p. xxi.

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. II. 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 Mahāmuni, Buddhaghôsha, Visuddhimārga, Jātas, Buddha, Bôdhisatva.—E. C. T.]

¹⁹ *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. V. p. 77.

²¹ *Rock-cut Temples of India*, p. 39.

²³ *Archæol. Surv. W. Ind.* Vol. V. p. 77.

²⁵ *Jour. As. Soc. Bomb.* Vol. V. p. 5.

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 Sanskrit *Mahâ-râja*), states that the Pâli books and written character were brought from Ceylon to Pegu by a Brâhman 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 Buddhaghôsha 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 Buddhaghôsha:—"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, Buddhaghôsha 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 *Maharâzoen*, is the (*Mahâyâzawin*) *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 Yâzawin,'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 महारजवं *Mahârâjavan*, and is always pronounced *Mahâyâzawin* according to the rules of Burmese phonetics. "The learned" will sometimes use *Mahârâzawin*; 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 *Mahârâjavamsâ* = 'Genealogy of the Great Kings,' minus the last letter or syllable, as is common in Burmese. Like derivatives are *Dipawin*, *Bôgdâwin* (*Buddhavamâsa*), and *Mahâwin*.—R. C. T.]

²⁹ Turnour's *Mahâwanso*. Introd. p. xxx.

³⁰ B.C. 307.

³¹ Crawford'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 *Mahâvamâsa* date of Buddhaghôsha.—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 *Mahâyâzawin* above explained. *Maharaswayngye* = *Mahâyâzawingyi*. Burm. *kyî*, which in comp. after a nasal, sonant or open vowel = *gyî*, or more usually simply *ji*, 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 *Mahāvamsā*⁴⁴ of Ceylon. The Buddhaghōsa 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 Thātun⁴⁶ by the great teacher, Buddhaghōsa, Pugân⁴⁷ participated in the benefit derivable therefrom. There are however inconsistent statements on this subject; or, if the books of the *Pitaka* were brought to Pugân in the time of Buddhaghōsa, they were afterwards lost; for the *Mahāyāzawin* relates how, about 650 years later, King Anawyetā,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 Crawford,⁴⁹ by the American Missionary Mr. Judson:—“In the year 930 after Gautama,⁵⁰ A.D. 386, Bud-d’ha-gautha⁵¹ transcribed the Buddhist Scriptures with an iron pen of celestial workmanship, and brought them by sea to Pagan, the seat of the supreme government.” Later on,⁵² Crawford 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 appendix⁵³ he adds the local dates:—“A.D. 386, Grand Epoch 1078, Sacred Epoch 930, Prome Epoch 308, Bud-d’ha-gau-sa⁵¹ 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 Buddhaghōsa in 450 A.D. The Talaings claim this celebrated monk as a countryman of their own, and their history states that he went from Thātun 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-Gayā. 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 Pāli the commentaries which had till then been handed down in Sinhalese.⁵⁵ Buddhaghōsa was a convert from Brahmanism, and owing to his great eloquence, the appellation of Buddhaghōsa (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 Burmese word *Mahāyāzawin*. The final letter in the Burmese word corresponds to the Nāgari guttural nasal *and* to *anusvāra*. 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 *ṛ*. When initial in a syllable its power is *ng*, as in the common words *nga* and *ngā* = ၵ and ၶ. Other forms in Further India of *vāṃśa* are wrong in Kambōjan, e.g. *Surisong* in the text above = *Sāryavāṃśa*: and *uṅgse* 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 *Thātūn*.—R. C. T.]

⁴⁷ [So always spelt, but always pronounced Pagan. Short unaccented *u* is often so pronounced in Burmese: e.g. *bhurā* = *p’ayā*: *bhurān* = *bayin*: *sukhā* = *thak’ō* (*th* as in *thing*)—R. C. T.]

⁴⁸ [Spelt Anōrathā, pronounced Anawyet’ā: *aw* as in *awful*.) Phayre spells Anorahta, as he uses *oi* = 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’ā*, a carriage (not a cart which is *hlē*). *Yet’ā* is a Pāli derivative and is always spelt *rathā*. It should be remembered that Burmese has neither ၷ nor ၸ, but the true English *t*.—R. C. T.]

⁴⁹ Crawford’s *Ava* (1834), Vol. II. p. 123.

⁵⁰ [Gautama in Burmese is written Gōtama 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 Buddhaghōsa and which is pronounced according to Burman phonetics Bōgdāgawthā (*th* as in *the*) and spelt Buddhagōsa. Similarly Bōgdā-bāthā (*th* as in *the*) is the modern vulgar Burmese expression for the Buddhist religion = *Buddhabhāshā*.—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 Poṇṇā⁵⁷ race. That man embarked at Thaton which was then on, or near the sea. That place is in the Ramagnia⁵⁸ 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 Mahānāma. 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 Pāli the scriptures, which were in the language of Ceylon. Buddhagōsa 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, [Suvarṇabhūmi] 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'ā], 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 Buddhagōsa 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 Buddhaghōsa 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 *Mahāvamsa*, the Ceylonese legend is given in these words:⁶⁴—"In the reign of this king [Mahānāma] there came from Jambu-dwipa [India] to Ceylon a learned priest whose name was Buddha-gōsa, by whom the king caused to be written a great number of sermons of Budhu, and thus illustrated the doctrine." The *Rājaraṭṭhakarī*, 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 *Rājāvalī*, 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 [Buddhaghōsa] 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 laes 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-Naane, and in the year of Budhu 930, the high-priest Buddothegooseke Terunwahanse, coming to the island of Ceylon, composed the books called *Vīsuddhimarge*, &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 [Poṇṇā = Skr. Puṇya = in Burma 'a Brāhman.'—R. C. T.]

⁵⁸ [Ramagnia = Ramaṅgya of Phayre = रामग्या.—R. C. T.]

⁵⁹ [Mun, spelt Mwan = Talaing.—R. C. T.]

⁶⁰ [Bidagāt, 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 [Rahan = Burmese Yehān = ယောန် = ယောန်.—R. C. T.]

⁶³ See also the Bishop's notes, Introd. p. ix. and pp. 120, 351, 351, 386, 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 *Turnpittike* 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 legend⁶⁸ appeared four years later in the Hon. George Turnour's translation of a portion of the *Mahāvamsa*, 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 *wihāro*, 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 *mahā 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 *Pitakattaya*. 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 *Pitakattaya*, 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 *Atthasālini*, on the *Dhammasangini*, 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 *Pitakattaya*, thus addressed him; 'The text alone of the *Pitakattaya* has been preserved in this land: the *Atthakathā* are not extant here; nor is there any version to be found of the *wādā* schisms, complete. The Sinhalese *Atthakathā* 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 Sāriputto 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 (Mahanāmo). On reaching the Mahawihāro at Anurādhapura, he entered the Mahapadhāno hall, the most splendid of the apartments in the *wihāro*, and listened to the Singhalese *Atthakathā* and the *Theruwādā* from the beginning to the end propounded by the *thero* Sanghapāli; 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 *Atthakathā*, give me access to all your books.' The priesthood, for the purpose of testing his qualifications, gave only two *gāthā*, saying, 'Hence prove thy qualification; having satisfied ourselves on this point we will then let thee have all our books.'" From these, taking these *gāthā* for his text, and consulting the *Pitakattaya*, together with the *Atthakathā*, 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 *Mahāvamsa*, p. 250.

Buddho at the Bo-tree, he commenced to read out the work he had composed. The *dewatás*, in order that they might make his, Buddhaghosa'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 *dewatás* 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 *Pitakattaya*, 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 *Pitakattaya* were recorded, together with the *Atthakathá*. Taking up his residence in the secluded Ganthákaro Wiháro at Anurâdhapura, he translated, according to the grammatical rules of the Mâgadhas, which is the root of all languages, the whole of the Singhalese *Atthakathá* into Páli. This proved an achievement of the utmost consequence to all languages spoken by the human race. All the *theros* and *achárayos* held this compilation in the same estimation as the text of the *Pitakattayo*. Thereafter, the objects of his mission having been fulfilled, he returned to Jambudipo [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 *Mahāvamsa* attributed to Mahânâma in the fifth century A.D., but in the continuation of that work by Dharmakîrti in the thirteenth century. The *Mahāvamsa* of Mahânâma, like the *Dípavamsa*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 Ava⁷⁴ 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 *Mahâyazawin* of the Burmese, quoted by Sir Arthur Phayze in the *Journal* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal:⁷⁶ — "About this time it is recorded in the 'Great Râdzâ-weng' [*Mahâyazawin*], 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* [*Pitaka*]. In the New Râdzâ-weng [*Yâzawin*] it is said that he crossed from Mits-tsi-mâ-de-tha [*Machchamâdêsa*, *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 *Mahāvamsa*, Introd. p. ii.

⁷³ *Foe Koue Ki*, p. 347: Laidlay's English translation (A.D. 1848), p. 347.

⁷⁴ [The Burmese word is *Ēwá* or *Ēywá* (*ywá* = village); accent on *é*: but *Awá* is also known; accent on *á*. *Ava* with accent on the first syllable is Anglo-Indian.—R. C. T.]

⁷⁵ Crawford, *Embassy to Ava*, p. 491, and Burnouf and Lassen, *Essai sur le Páli*, p. 62.

⁷⁶ Vol. XXXVII. (1868), pp. 80ff. 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[Shiñ 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-htun⁷⁸ 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-nâ-ma 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 Thagya⁷⁹ came and warned him saying, "There is no place in Mits-tsi-ma-de-tha [Machchama-dêsa] 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 *Mahâvamsa* 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 Buddhaghosa, as a

⁷⁷ This *Tsula-weng* I take to be the *Suluvaṃsa* of Ceylon, the continuation of the *Mahāvamsa* of Mahā-nāma referred to in Turnour's Introd., p. ii. quoted above. If so, the origin of this portion of the Burmese legend of Buddhaghosa is referred to Ceylon. [Tsulaweng = Sulāwin = सुलवं = Suluvaṃsa.—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 *thagya* is an angel of life.—E. C. T.]

⁸⁰ [These words should be I think :—Shri Khêttarâ = Śriksêtarâ ; Śripachcharâ ; Râmaña = Sudharmâwati = Suvarnabhûmi.—E. C. T.]

⁸¹ *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. XLII. (1873), pp. 23 ff.

great Rahán 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, *Mahá-Rádzá-weng*, which was written, or revised, in the palace at Amarapura⁸² about forty years ago.⁸³ The story of Budhaghosa is therein correctly told, and has apparently been derived from the *Mahávanso* 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 Páli*.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. Buddhaghósa's early life; B. His visit to Ceylon; C. His later life.**

A.—Buddhaghósa's early life.

1. Both streams of the legend, — the *Maháyázawin*, Carpanius, Burnouf, Felix Carey, Bigandet, for the Burmese streams, and Turnour for the Ceylonese stream, — and consequently the compromise-also, state that he was a Bráhmaṇ by birth.

2. Turnour's *Mahávanṣa* makes him extensively learned in Bráhmaṇical 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 Maháyázawin*, — agree that he became a convert to Buddhism.

4. Turnour's *Mahávanṣa* states that he received his name Buddhaghósa, "the Voice of Buddha," soon after his conversion, on account of his great eloquence: Fytche's authorities do the same: and the *New Maháyázawin* is in agreement with them in so far as it states that he possessed a soft voice.

5. They all agree also, — Crawford, Bigandet, Fytche, and the *Rájaratnákurí*, — 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 *Mahávanṣa* add the epithet "learned;" and the Upham *Sinhalese Compendium* and Landresse make him a high-priest.

6. Turnour's *Mahávanṣa* makes him a Prákrít 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 Crawford variation probably means the same thing when it

⁸² [Amarapura = Burm. Amáyápúya, 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. 1838. — 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 *Mahávanṣa* as his authority for that statement, the only early works mentioned there are the *Nandáya* and the *Atthasálini*.

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 *Mahāvamsa* 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 *Tripitaka* 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 Mahâyāzawin* has the same statement.

3. The *Great Mahâyāzawin*, on the other hand, states that he went to Ceylon to bring away to Burma a copy of the *Tripitaka*.

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 says⁸⁷ 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 *Mahāvamsa*.

(2) His literary work there.

1. The Carey tradition states that he made a copy of the *Visuddhimagga*, including the *Jātakas*, upon palm-leaves with an iron style presented to him for the purpose by a celestial being. The Crawford-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 Pāli books in Ceylon and brought them to Pegu, and that he introduced the Pāli written character into Pegu at the same time. The Phayre-Fytche-*Mahâyāzawin* variation is to the same effect. So also is the statement of the Phayre-*New-Mahâyāzawin*, which adds that the books so brought over by him were the *Visuddhimagga*, the three great divisions of the *Pitaka*, 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 Pāli; but it does not appear whether the Pāli language or the Pāli character is intended here.

- i. One of the Bigandet variations states that he translated the Sinhalese scriptures into Pāli, meaning apparently the Pāli language.
- ii. Another Bigandet variation states that he made a copy of the Sinhalese *Tripitaka*, 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 *Sinhalese Compendium* states that he composed the *Visuddhimagga*, &c., while he was in Ceylon: and with this the Turnour *Mahāvāṃsa* and the *New Mahāyāzawīṇ* agree, adding full circumstantial details respecting the occasion and the manner of its composition.

5. The Turnour *Mahāvāṃsa* states that after considerable hesitation and the imposition of severe tests of his competency, the monks of the Mahāvihāra at Anurādhapura 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 Pāli" in brackets. The *New Mahāyāzawīṇ* has the same story: and it relates it on the authority of the *Sulāwīṇ*, which is apparently either the *Sulu-vāṃsa* of the Turnour traditions or a Burmese counterpart of it.

6. The Upham *Mahāvāṃsa* 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 Buddhaghōsa; and it does not mention any other work done by him. The *Rājaratnākārī* variation is also to the same effect, with the additional statement that these "sermons" were so committed to writing by him in the Pāli language.

6. The *Rājāvalī* tradition is still more divergent from all the other records. It states that Buddhaghōsa 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 Mahāyāzawīṇ* 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 Pāli scriptures and the Pāli 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 Crawford, 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 Pagán 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 Crawford-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 *Mahāvāṃsa*, 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 Mahāyāzawīṇ* states that he came to Burma,—meaning apparently Upper Burma,—from the *Machchamadēsa* in the Gangetic valley. Laidlay appears to have adopted this view.

8. The *New Mahāyāzawīn* 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 Mahāyāzawīn* states that he presented a white elephant to the king of Ceylon, and obtained his permission to bring away the *Visuddhimugga*, the *Tripitaka*, 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 *Tripitaka* after his return to Burma, and occupied himself in propagating Buddhism there.

14. Dr. Stevenson, presuming the Buddhaghōsa of the cave inscription at Kāṇhēri to be the great Pāli 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 Kāṇhēri, near Bombay; (2) that he was a disciple of Dharmavatsa, a revered teacher of the *Tripitaka*; 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 re-compiler: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 Rāvata, may or may not have been his own composition; but, as stated above, he wrote the *Nandādaya* in India soon after his conversion to Buddhism.

⁸⁸ Upham, Vol. II. p. 74, 242; Burnell's *Aindra Grammarians*, p. 63; Mason's *Pāli 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; Crawford'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 *Pāli 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. 506; 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 *Atthasālini* 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 *Tripitāka*.

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 variation⁹⁵ implies that it was not written by him, but that it existed in Ceylon before his visit.

4. The Turnour *Mahāvamsa*⁹⁶ and the *New Mahāyāzawīṇ*⁹⁷ state that during his residence in Ceylon he translated into Pāli the whole of the Sinhalese commentaries on the *Tripitāka* originally composed by Mahinda⁹⁸ the son of the emperor Aśōka and the reputed Buddhist apostle of Ceylon. On the contrary, the *Sinhalese Compendium*⁹⁹ states that he composed the *Tripitāka*, 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:—“Mahā-nāmo directed Buddha-Ghosa to put the Pāli *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 Buddhaghōsa's share in the existing southern recension of the *Tripitāka* 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 Buddhaghōsa himself, defining the character of his work. The first of them occurs in the introductory verses of his *Brahmajāla-sutta*:¹⁰¹ — “For the purpose of illustrating this commentary, availing myself of the *Atthakathā*, which was in the first instance authenticated by the five hundred Arahantā 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 Pāli) 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 Mahāvihāro (at Anurādhapura), 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 *Sannanta-pāsūdikā*:¹⁰² — “In commencing this commentary I shall, having embodied therein the *Mahā-Atthakathā*, without excluding any proper meaning from the decisions contained in the *Mahā-Pachchharī*, as also in the famous *Kurundī* 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 Pāli 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 *Tripitaka* — 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 Kachchhāyana's *Pāli 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 Pāli grammarian and lexicographer Moggalāna, A.D. 1153 to 1186, nor by the Prākṛit grammarians Chanda and Hēmachandra,¹⁰⁸ and must apparently be placed amongst the supposititious works of Buddhaghōsa.

7. Hardy mentions a commentary on the *Buddhavaṃsa* by him.¹⁰⁹ This is probably the *Atthakathā* called *Madurathhaviḷāsini*.¹¹⁰ and if so, Grimblot assigns it not to Buddhaghōsa but to a Buddhist monk living at the mouth of the Kāvērī in Southern India.¹¹¹

8. Dr. Stevenson says¹¹² that he published several works in defence of Buddhism and against the Brāhmaṇs 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 *Mahāvamsa*, or its reduction to its present form, to Buddhaghōsa: and Professor Horace Hayman Wilson seems to have held a similar opinion, notwithstanding that he rightly distinguishes between the *Mahāvamsa* and the *Dīpavamsa*.¹¹⁵ No authority is cited for these statements: and they were probably made under some misconception.

10. The Burmese law-code of Manu¹¹⁶ is also said to have been introduced into Burma from Ceylon by Buddhaghōsa,¹¹⁷ but the code itself is silent upon the subject.

V.—The Date of Buddhaghōsa.

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 Buddhaghōsa 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

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 *Mahāvamsa*, p. iii.; *E. Monach.*, pp. 1, 167. Oldenberg's *Dīpavamsa*, pp. 3, 8.

¹⁰⁴ For the names of the principal divisions see Turnour, *Intro.*, 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. *Mahāv.*, 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 *Pāli Grammar*, pp. i., v. 14; Dr. Rost, *Art. 'Pāli'* in *Encyc. Brit.* Vol. XVIII. (1885), p. 185.

¹⁰⁸ See Clough's *Pāli Grammar*, p. iv.; Mason's *Pāli Gram.*, pp. vii., 16; Fryer's *Pāli 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. 789; *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 *Tree and Serpent Worship*, p. 195, note 450.

¹¹⁴ *Jour. R. A. S.*, Vol. XII. p. 243; Vol. XVI. p. 240.

¹¹⁵ Translated by Richardson, Maulmain, 1847.

¹¹⁶ *Encl. Brit.*, Vol. IV. p. 553. See Dr. A. Führer's remarks, in *Jour. As. Soc. Bomb.* Vol. XV. p. 335.

¹¹⁷ Vol. XVII. (1888), p. 124.

¹¹⁸ *Calcutta Review*, Vol. IV. p. 276.

¹¹⁹ Upham, Vol. I. pp. 344, 345.

king [Parâkramabâhu] several parts of the scripture were translated by the high priests Bud-dagosa-charinvañse," &c.) — since its inaccuracy is sufficiently explained by the parallel passage in the *Râjratnâkari*,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 Nahansej till the reign of the last king, and which had been expounded and enlarged upon by his succes-sors," &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. 557, 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. Archaeol. 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 *Crawford'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 *Pāli Gram.* p. 8: *Sacr. Bks. of the East*, Vol. X. p. xii., xiv. xxiv.: *Encycl. 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 orientalisists, 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 *Yâsawin*, 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. Childers¹²⁷ 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 *Tripitaka*," and it insisted "on the necessity of giving a wider and more extended signification than is generally allowed to the word *Atthakathâ*

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 Mahendra 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 Avalôkitêsvara 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 Mahāvihāra 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.

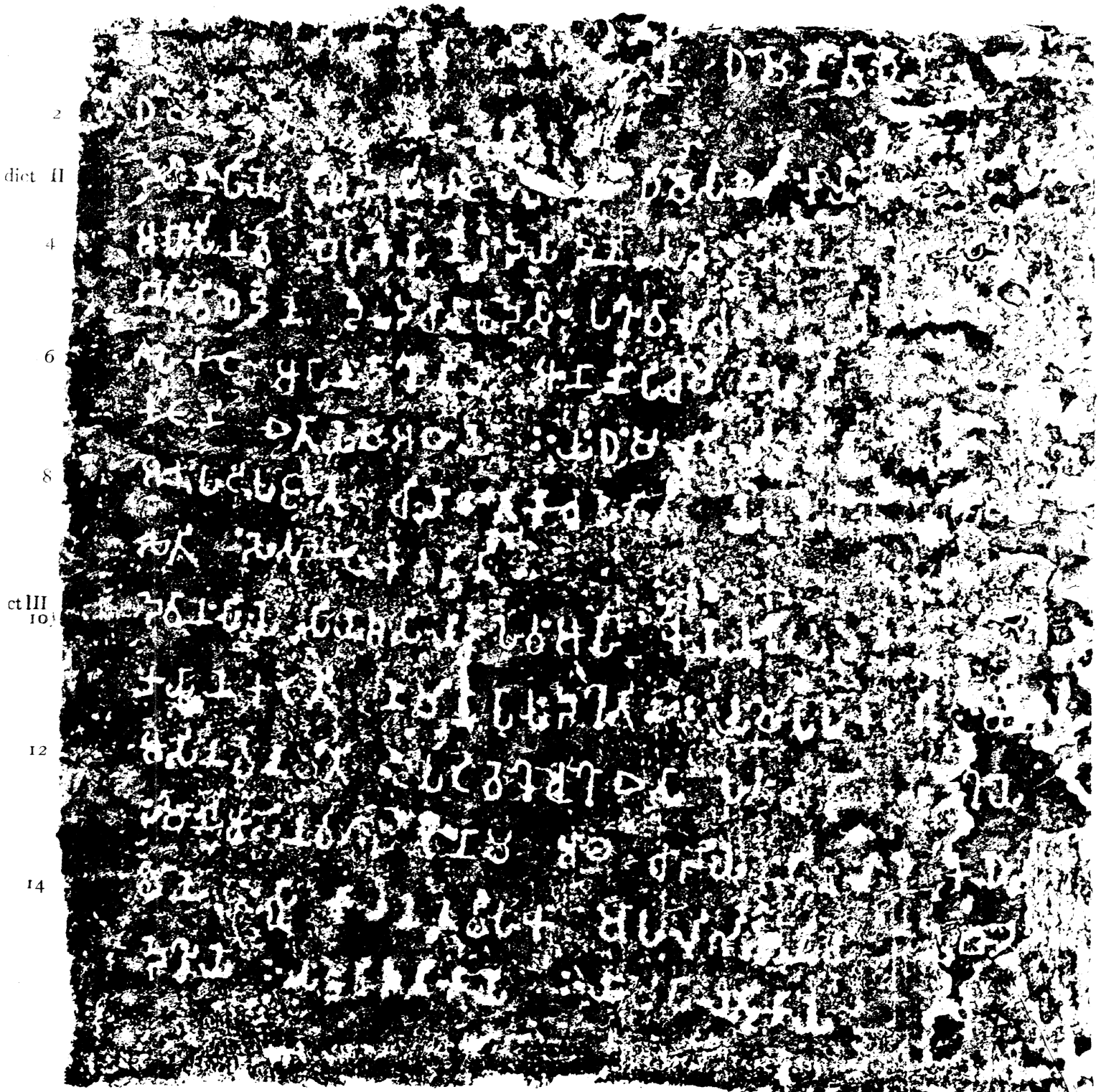
¹²⁸ *Jour. E. As. Soc.*, Vol. V. (N. S.), p. 296.

¹²⁹ *Encyc. Brit.*, Vol. IV. p. 482.

¹³⁰ *Encyc. Brit.*, Vol. IV. p. 488.

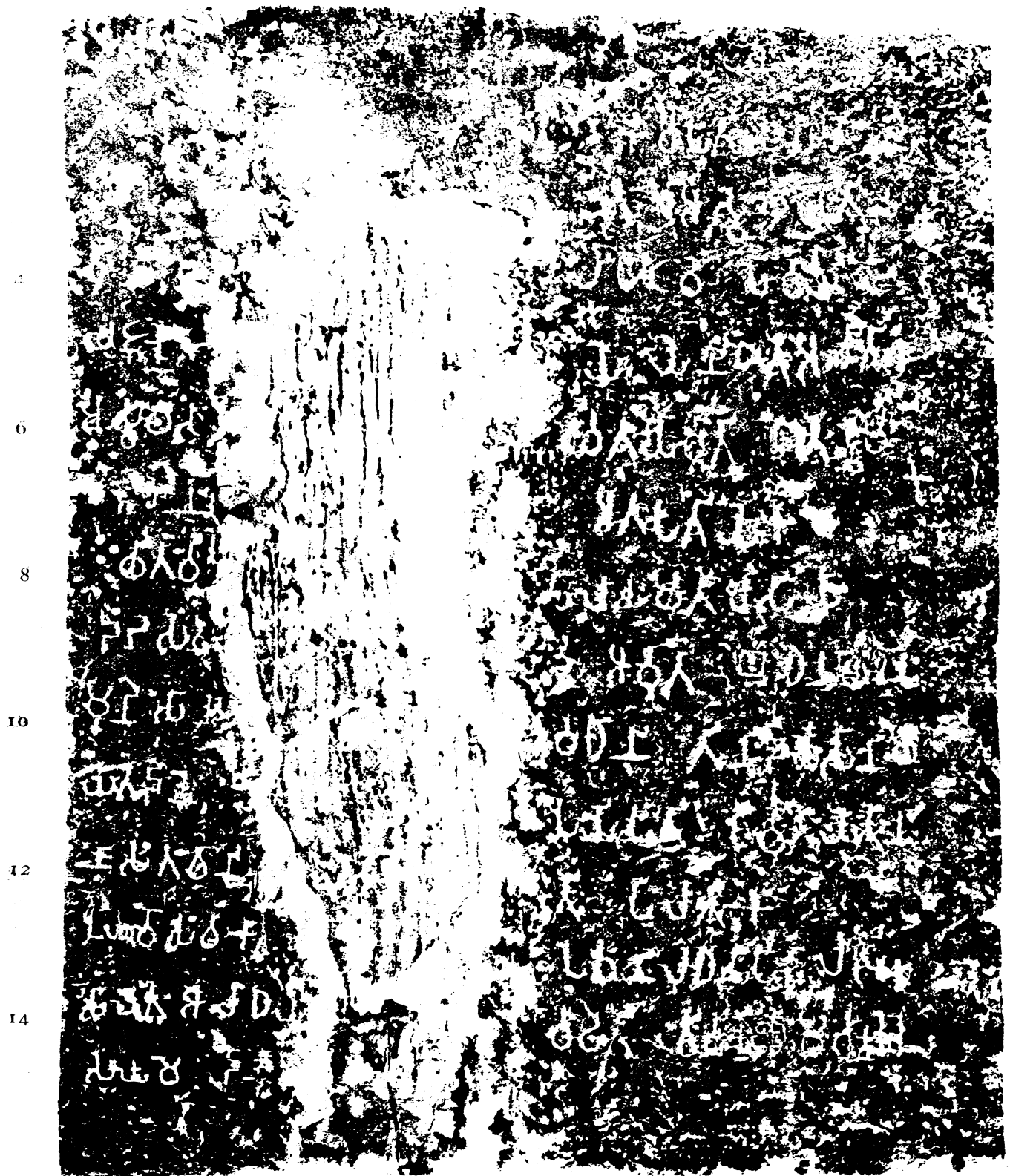
ASOKA INSCRIPTIONS.

The Delhi Mirat Pillar—North Side.—Edicts I, II, and III.



2
dict II
4
6
8
ct III
10
12
14

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 Siwālik 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 *dayá dāné saché sôchayé* are all written separately, while they are arranged in D. S. in two groups; *ibidem*, l. 6, *bahūni* is separated from the preceding *aññāni=pi=cha=mé*; Edict III., l. 13, *atha* is separated from the following *chamdiyé*; Edict IV., l. 12 *pālatikañ* is separated from the preceding word; *ibidem*, l. 14, *vadhāti* is separated from the following word; Edict V., l. 1, *av . dh . y .* is separated from the following word; *ibidem*, l. 2, *dāvé* is separated from the following word; *ibidem*, ll. 4, 6, *jivēna, tisu,* and *anupōsathan* are separated from the following words; *ibidem*, l. 6, *patipadā* and *dhuvāyé* are joined together; *ibidem* l. 15, *kaṭāni* is separated from the preceding word. The various readings are:—Edict I., l. 1, [*pāla*] *nam* for *pālanā*; Edict II., l. 8, *patipajantū* for °*tu*, and *hōtū=ti* for *hōtū=tī=ti*; Edict III., l. 10, *āhā* for *ahā*; *ibidem*, l. 11, *pāpan* (not absolutely certain) for *pāpé*; *ibidem*, l. 14, *bādhan* for *bādha*; *ibidem*, l. 15, *iyam=mé* for *iyam=mana=mé*; Edict IV., l. 13, *vā* for *va*; Edict V., l. 6, *cha* for *chā*. Only one of these readings, *iyam=mé* for *iyam=mana=mé*, is of any importance, as it omits the difficult word *mana*.¹

The so-called Queen's Edict from the Allahābād 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 Aśoka's inscriptions. The cursive letters are, *ḍ* in *añbāvaḍikā* (l. 3), *ḍ* in *dévānañ* (l. 1) and *dāné* (l. 2), *l* in *ālamé* (l. 3) and *Kāluvākiyé* (l. 5), *h* in *mahāmatā* (l. 1). In other respects remarkable is the turn upwards given to the *u*-stroke in °*mātu* (l. 5), and the use of the letter, which I read *shā*, in *piyashā* (l. 1) and in *shé* (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 Khālsi version of the Rock-Edicts. With the language of the latter agree some grammatical forms, the final long *ḍ* in *piyashā* and *vachanēnā* as well as the aspiration in *kichhi* for *kinchit*. Genitives in *sā* 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 Prākṛitic innovations, but archaisms, as they are common in the Ṛig-Vēda. With respect to the interpretation I may point out that the new reading in l. 3, *dānagahé vā é* [*vā*] *pi añné*, alone gives a satisfactory sense. *Dānagahé* corresponds with a hitherto not traceable Sanskrit *dānagrihan*, 'alms-house,' instead of which the synonymous *dānaiśālā* appears elsewhere. The *dānagaha* of Aśoka's times no doubt was the same thing as the modern *sadāvrata*, where doles of food and sometimes shelter for one night are given to travellers. The very plain reading °*mātu* in l. 5 shows that the preceding word is a proper name, the name of one of Aśoka's sons, and it is very probable that the last word *Kāluvākiyé* contains the name of Aśoka's second queen. According to the generally prevailing custom in ancient India, the latter must be a family or *gōtra*-name and mean "she of the *Kāluvāka* race." The Sanskrit equivalent of *Kāluvāka* might be either *Kāluvāka* or *Kāruvāka*. Neither of these forms is at present traceable in Sanskrit. But there is a Vēdic race of *Kārus*. The name standing before °*mātu* may be either *Titīvala*, or *Tivala*, if the syllable *ti* is taken as an equivalent of *iti* which in Aśoka'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 *Titīvala* would, on the analogy of *kṛishīvala* and *āsutīvala*, exactly correspond with a possible, but not traceable, Sanskrit word *triptīvala*, which perhaps

¹ I identify the letter, as well as *minā*, Edict IV. l. 11, with the Sanskrit *mandā*.

² The intervals between the letters are most irregular. *ḍé* stands an inch apart from the syllables *vānam* (l. 1) which closely follow each other. The same distance intervenes between *vata* (l. 2) and *vi*, as well as between the latter and *yé* though *vataviyé* is one word. A little further on in the same line we ought to read, if the size of the intervals meant anything, *hētuduti yā yéḍḍiviyé*.

might mean "the contented one." Other derivations are also possible, but there is none which would yield a known Sanskrit proper name. *Tivala*, on the other hand, corresponds with the Sanskrit *Tivara* which is explained as the name of a mixed caste of hunters, and of the ocean. In the Rājim grant, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 251 ff., *Tivara* occurs as the name of a king. Hence it seems preferable to divide *Tivala*^o. The lacuna at the end of l. 4 unfortunately makes it impossible to say what the object of Aśoka'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 *shē nāni*. 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 Sanskrit ;

Dēvānām priyasya vachanēna sarvatra mahāmātrā vaktavyāḥ | yad=atra dvitīyāyā dēvyā dānam=āmra-vāṭikā v=ārāmo vā dānagrihaṁ vā yad=v=āpy=anyat=kiṁchid=ganyatē tasyā dēvyās=tāny=ētāni dvitīyāyā dēvyās=Tivara-mātuḥ Kāruvākyā 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 Kāruvāki."

With respect to the Kōsambi 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 *Sanḡha*. The word *sanḡhasi* (l. 2) seems certain; likewise the phrase *bhōkhati bhikhu=va bhikhuni=va*, i. e. *bhōkshyati bhikshur=vā bhikshuni vā*, 'will dine, a monk or a nun,' and *ōdātāni dūsāni . nam dhāpayitu*; i.e. *avadātāni dūshyāni tēshām dhāpayitvā*. Regarding the usage of spreading white cloth, see Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, *sub voce dussan*. The same or very similar phrases occur in l. 4 of the mutilated Sāñchi edict (Cunningham, *Bhilsa Topes*, Plate xix.), which seems to be a second version of the Kōsambi edict. A good impression of the Sāñchi edict would probably permit a complete restoration of the texts.

TEXTS.

I. THE DELHI MIRAT PILLAR.

A. North Side.

Edict I.³

- 1 nam dhammēna vidhānē
2 dha[m]m . . . khi[ya]⁴

Edict II.

- 3 Dēvānam=piyē Piyadasi=lājā=hēv dhammē=sādhu⁵ kiyam . . . [dhammē]=ti
4 apāsinavē bahu=kayānē dayā dānē sachē [sō]chayē [chakhu-dā]nam=pi=m[ē]
5 bahuvidhē=dimnē dupada-chatupadēsu pakhi-vāli-chalē . [vividhē=mē=anu]-
6 gahē=kaṭē ā=pāna-dākhināyē aṁnāni=pi=cha=mē bahū[ni . yānāni]
7 kaṭāni ētāyē=mē=āthāyē iyam=dhāmmalipi=li[khāpitā] . .
8 anupaṭipajamtū chila[mthi]tikā⁶=cha=hōtū=[ti] yē=[cha]=hē
9 sati sē=sukaṭam=ka[chha]tī=ti [||]

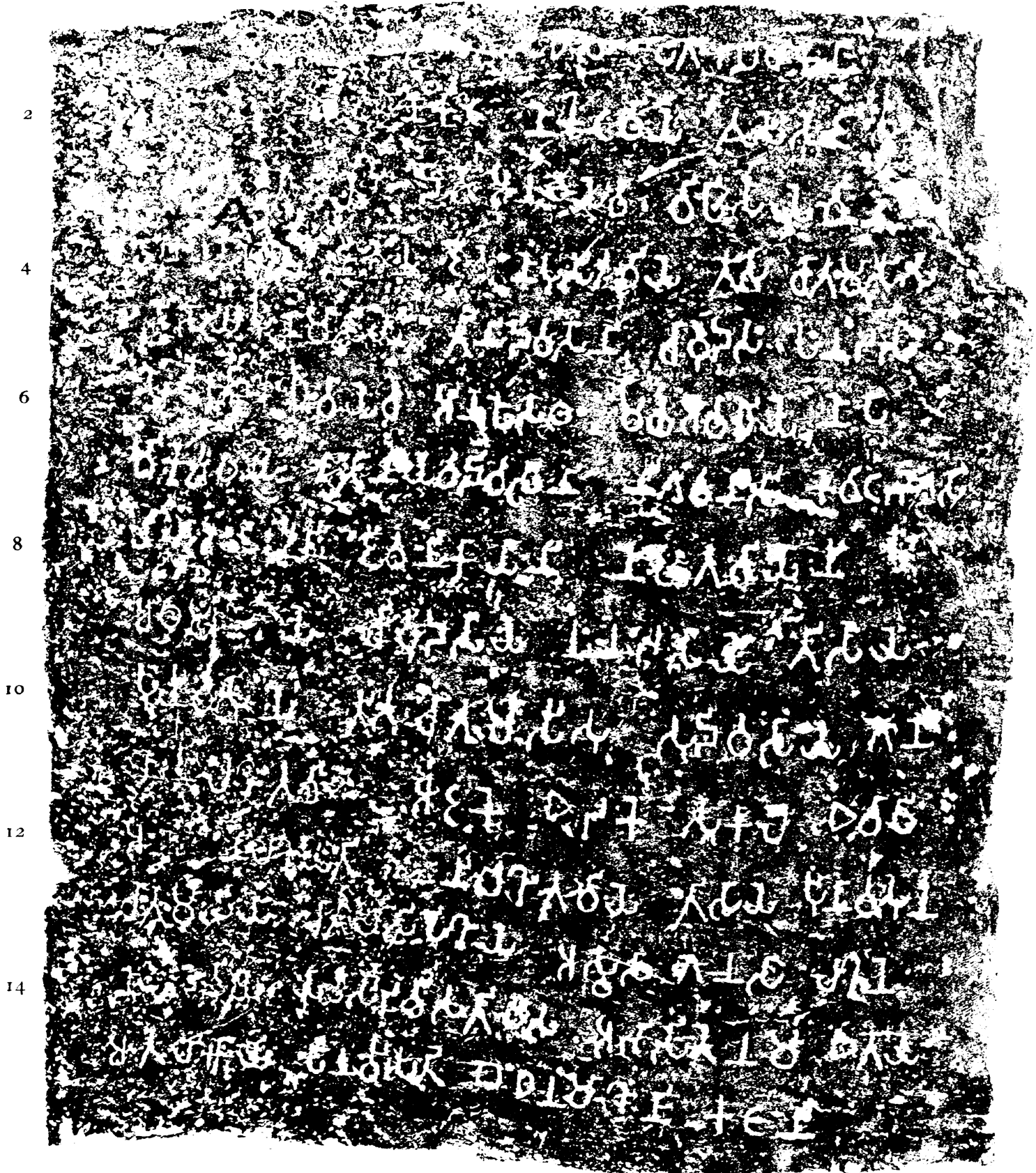
³ In these renderings the sign = has been used to mean that separate words have been written close together; the single hyphen has been employed, as usually, to separate the parts of compounds. The brackets indicate that the letters are much blurred, but just recognisable.

⁴ and ⁵ The quantity of the last vowel is not recognisable.

⁶ The *anusvāra* of *chilan* has coalesced with the upright stroke of *la*; the following letter may also have been *hi*.

ASOKA INSCRIPTIONS.

The Delhi Mirat Pillar—South Side.—Edict V.



A.—The Edict of the Queens of Devanampiya.



SCALE .25

B.—The Kosambi Edict of Devanampiya.



EDICT III.

- 10 Dêvanam=piyê Piyadasi=lâjâ=hêvam=âhâ kayânamm . . va=d[êkha] m
 11 kayânê=kaṭê=ti nô minâ=pâpam=dêkhati [i]yam=mê=pâpam=ka[ṭê=ti iyam=v
 12 âsinavê=nâ[mâ]=ti⁷ dupaṭivêkhê=chu=khô=êsâ hêvam=chu . . . [sâ][d]êkhiyê
 13 [i]mâni=âsinava-g[âmîni]=nâma atha⁸ chainḍiyê niṭhû-liyê=kôdhê
 14 mânê isyâ kâlanêna=v[a]=hakam⁹ mâ=palibha[sa]yisa . . . hâḍhan
 15 dêkhiyê iyam . . ê=[hidati]kayê iyam=mê=pâlatikâyê [u]

B. West Side.

Edict IV.

- 1
 2 [lajûkâ]chaghamti=[â]la[dhayitavê]
 3 tu asva[ṭhê=hô]ti
 4 [viya] li[ha]ṭavê h[ê]v[am=mamâ]
 5 lajûk[â] yê yêna=êṭê=a[bhî]tâ
 6 asvatha=sam [pa]vatayêvû=ti êṭê[na]=mê
 7 . [j]û[kâ]nam atapatiyê=[kaṭê]
 8 ichhitavi hâla-samatâ=ch[a]=siyâ¹⁰
 9 damḍasa[ma] [mê] âvuti bamdhana-ba[dhâ]nau.
 10 munisâna[m] vadhânam timni=divasâni=[m]ê
 11 yôtê dimnê payisam[t]i jîvitâyê=tânam
 12 nâsamtam=vâ=ni ti pâlatikam
 13 u[pa]vâsam=vâ=k[a]¹¹ hêvam=niludhasi=[k]âlasi
 14 [p]âlatam=âladhay vaḍhati vividhê=dhamma-chalanê
 15 samyamê dâ [u]

C. South Side.

Edict V.

- 1 [a]v . dh . y .¹² p . t . k . =pi=cha=kâni
 2 kê [vadhi]-kukutê nô=kaṭaviyê tusê=saji[vê]
 3 [taviyê] davê ana[ṭh]âyê¹³=vâ vihisâyê=vâ=n[ô]
 4 [jhâpêtaviyê] jîvêna jîvê nô=pusitaviyê tîsu châtummasîsu¹⁴
 5 Tisâyâ[m]=pu[m]namâ[si]yam timni=divasâni châvudasam paṇṇaḍasam
 6 paṭipadâ . =dhuvâyê=cha anupôsatham machhê=avadhiyê nô=pi
 7 vikêtaviyê êṭâni=yêva=divasâni nâga-vanasi kêvaṭa-bhôḡasi
 8 [yâ] . = [a] . [ni]=pi jîva-nikâyâni¹⁵ nô=[ha]mtaviyâni
 9 aṭham[i] . . . yê¹⁶ châvudêâyê paṇṇaḍasâyê Tisâyê
 10 Punâvasunê tîsu=châtummasîsu sudivasâyê g[ô]nê
 11 [nô=ni]la[khi]tavi[y]ê ajakê êḍakê sûkalê ê=vâ=pi
 12 am[nê] nilakhiya[ti] [nô]=nilakhitaviyê Tisâyê Punâvasunê
 13 châtummasîyê châtum[mâ]sipakhâyê asvasâ gônasâ lakhanê
 14 nô . . . viyê yêva=saḍvîsati-[va]sa abhisitêna=mê êṭâyê
 15 aṇṭalikâyê paṇṇavi[sa]ti badhana-môkhâni kamṭâni [u]

II. THE QUEEN'S EDICT.

- 1 Dêvanam piyashâ vachanênâ savata mahâmatâ
 2 vataviyâ ê hêta dutiyâyê dêviyê dâné

⁷ Possibly the reading may have been *nâma*.

⁸ There is a stroke on the left of the *tha*, which seems to be accidental.

¹⁰ Possibly *châ-siyâ* to be read.

¹² The letters of this word and of the next have lost their tops.

¹⁴ Read *châtummasîsu*.

¹⁶ The quantity of the vowel of the third syllable is uncertain.

⁹ Possibly *vâ* to be read.

¹¹ An abrasion makes this look like *tâ*.

¹³ This may also have been *saṭhâ*.

¹⁵ Looks like *kâni*.

- 3 ambâ-vaḍikâ¹⁷ vâ âlamê¹⁸ va dâna-ga[hê vâ ê vâpi]¹⁹ ainnê
 4 kichhi ganiyati tâyê dēviyê shê nâni . [va]²⁰
 5 dutiyâyê dēviyê ti Tivala-mātu²¹ Kaluvâkiyê [u]

III. THE KOSAMBI EDICT.

- 1 yê [â]napayati Kôsambiya maham[â]-ta
 2 ma . . saṅghas[i] n[a]chi yê
 3 [Saṅgham bhô]khati bhikhu=va bhi[khu]nî=vâ . [pi] châ [ô]
 4 dâ[tâ]ni [d]usâni . nam 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-

¹⁷ It is unnecessary to write *vâḍikâ*, because the original Sanskrit form *vârtikâ*, 'surrounded by a hedge' (*vṛtti*) may become in Prâkrit *vattika* and *vâtika*, and further *vaddikâ* or *vâḍikâ*

¹⁸ This is probably not a mistake, but a vicarious form for *âlamê*, compare *graha* and *grâha* 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 *vam* (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 *ghatikās* 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 *zamindâr* 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 RájaraJa II., from Korumelli in the Rájamahéndri 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.), — *yó*

rakshítum vasumatim Śaka-vatsarēshu véd-āmbu-rāśi-nidhi-vartishu Simha-gē-rkkē kṛishṇa-dvitiya-divavas². Ottara-Bhadrikāyām varē Gurōr=Vvaniji lagna-varē=bhishiktaḥ ||, — “who was anointed to protect the earth in the Śaka year that is constituted by the Vēdas (four), the oceans (four), and the treasures (of Kubēra) (nine), when the sun was moving in Simha, under the Uttarā-

¹ The original plates, which belonged to Sir Walter Elliot, are now, I understand, in the British Museum.

² Read *divas*^o; the *va* was repeated by mistake.

Bhadrikâ (i.e. Bhādrapadâ) *nakshatra* on the second day of the dark fortnight, on Thursday, during the excellent *Vañij 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 *saṁkrānti* or entrance of the sun into Siṁha occurred on the 26th July, A.D. 1021, at about 38 *ghaṭis*, 8 *palas*, after mean sunrise (for Bombay). And the dark second *tithi* which occurred while the sun remained in Siṁha, was the *amānta* Śrāvāṇa⁵ *krishna* 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-Bhādrapadâ, 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 *amānta* Bhādrapada *krishna* 2, which ended on Thursday, 16th August, at about 24 *gh.* 50 *p.* At sunrise on that day, there was the Uttarâ-Bhādrapadâ *nakshatra*, by all three systems; and it ended, according to all three systems, at about 16 hrs. 25 min., = 41 *gh.* 25 *p.*, after mean sunrise (for Ujjain). And Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds that there was the *Vañij lagna* from about 7 *gh.* 8 *p.* to 12 *gh.* 27 *p.* after apparent sunrise for Rājānahēndri.*

Accordingly, the date of the accession of Rājarāja II. was Thursday, 16th August, A.D. 1022.

This grant of Rājarāja II., and the Chellūr grant of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍadeva II. (*ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 55 ff.), give the following duration of reigns:—

Amma II.	25 years
His elder half-brother, Dānārṇava	3 ..
A time of anarchy ⁵	27 ..
Śaktivarman, or Chālukya-Chandra, son of Dānārṇava	12 ..
And his younger brother, Vimalā- ditya	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 *amānta* Mārgaśīrsha *krishna* 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 Rājarāja II., the son and successor of Vimalāditya. 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 Biḥar.

(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 *thāin*, '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 Māhārājā of Darbhāṅgā abandoned a newly-built palace, merely because early one morning he found a kite sitting on it.

⁵ Or the *pūrnimānta* Bhādrapada. I quote, however, the *amānta* month, because that is the correct arrangement for the period and locality in question; see *ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 142.

* This calculation is by the present *Sūrya-Siddhānta*. And according to the same authority, the *tithi* ended at 28 *gh.* 1 *p.*, and the Uttarâ-Bhādrapadâ *nakshatra* ended

at 40 *gh.* 41 *p.* according to the equal-space system; both these times being after apparent sunrise for Rājāmahēndri.

⁵ In the Chellūr grant, these twenty-seven years are included as part of the reign of Dānārṇava, 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-Hâtim*. Hâtim Tâi being one of the generous heroes of Muhammadan story (*vide* the 'Arâish-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 Credit, 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 Hâgli 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 (P) 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 *Prîthûdaka* 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)

युगमन्वन्तरकल्पाः 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*, *Vāsishtha*, *Saura*, and *Paitāmaha* (*Siddhântas*), is not stated by *Āryabhaṭa*; therefore its statement (*is made by me*).”²

(c)

युगपद्युगादिरुदये याम्यायां भास्करस्य वारुण्यां ।

राज्यर्धात्सौम्यायामस्तमयादिनद्विद्वान् ॥ 2 ॥

अथमेव कृतः सूर्येणुपुलिशरोमकवासिष्ठयवनाद्यैः ।

यस्मात्तस्मादेकः सिद्धांतो मय्यरचनान्या ॥ 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 Sūrya, Indu, Pulīśa, Rōmaka, Vasishṭha, Yavana, and others, therefore (*there can be only*) one Siddhānta; (*i.e.* no matter by whose name they may be called, all Siddhāntas 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 श्रीषिणार्यभटविष्णुचंद्रज्ञाः ।

सरसि न भवत्यभिमुखाः सिंहं दृष्ट्वा यथा हरिणाः ॥ 6 ॥ Chapter i.

“Seeing one who has learned the mean motion (*from the Brahma-Siddhānta*), those who know (*only the works of*) Srishēṇa, Āryabhaṭa and Viṣṇuchandra, do not come before (*him*) in an assembly; just as the deer, seeing a lion (*cannot stand before him*).”

(e)

मेषादितः प्रवृत्ता वार्यभटस्य स्फुटा युगस्यासौ ।

(ii) श्रीषेणस्य कुजाद्याः सूर्याद्या विष्णुचंद्रस्य ॥ 46 ॥

(iii) दूरभ्रष्टाः स्पष्टाः श्रीषिणार्यभटविष्णुचंद्रेषु ।

यस्मात्कुजादयस्तेषु न विदुषामादरस्तस्मात् ॥ 47 ॥ Chapter ii.

“(46) (*All*) the apparent (*planets in the work*) of Āryabhaṭa, Mars and others of Srishēṇa, and the sun and others of Viṣṇuchandra, are not (*made to*) start from the beginning of Mēsha at the commencement of the Yuga. (47) Because the apparent Mars and others in (*the works of*) Srishēṇa, Āryabhaṭa, and Viṣṇuchandra have gone far astray, therefore the learned have no respect for them.

(f)

(iv) कृत्वापि दृष्टिकर्म श्रीषिणार्यभटविष्णुचंद्रोक्तं ।

प्रतिदिनमुदये ऽस्ते वा न भवति दृग्गणितयोरैक्यं ॥ 13 ॥

भमुनिमृगव्याधानां Chapter x.

“Although the *drishtikarman*, told by Srishēṇa and Āryabhaṭa and Viṣṇuchandra, 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 Mṛigavyādhā (Sirius).

(g)

(v) पंचज्यया यतो ऽर्कमहणं श्रीषेणविष्णुचंद्रकृतं ।

आर्यभटोक्तान्यनयोरर्कमहणदूषणानि ततः ॥ 31 ॥ Chapter xi.

“Because Srishēṇa, and Viṣṇuchandra have calculated solar eclipses by means of the *pañchajyā* (sines of five kinds), therefore the faults stated (*by me*) in connection with Āryabhaṭa (*are applicable*) to both of them also.

(h)

(vi) श्रीषेणविष्णुचंद्रप्रद्युम्नार्यभटलाटसिंहानां ।

महणाशिविसंवासात् प्रतिदिवसं सिद्धमकृतत्वं ॥ 46 ॥

युक्तयार्यभटोक्तानि प्रत्येकं दूषणानि योज्यानि ।

(vii) श्रीषेणप्रभृतीनां कानिचिदन्यानि वक्ष्यामि ॥ 47 ॥

लाटात्सूर्यशशांकौ मध्याविंबूषचंद्रपातौ च ।

कुजबुधशीघ्रबृहस्पतिसितशीघ्रशनिश्चरान् मध्यान् ॥ 48 ॥

युगयातवर्षभगणान् वासिष्ठान् विजयनंदिकृतपादान् ।

मंदोच्चपरिधिपातस्पष्टीकरणाय मार्यभटात् ॥ 49 ॥

(viii) श्रीषेणेन गृहीत्वा रत्नोच्चरोमकः कृतः कथा ।

एतान्येव गृहीत्वा वासिष्ठो विष्णुचंद्रेण ॥ 50 ॥ Chapter xi.

“(46) The incompleteness of **Srīshēṇa**, **Vishṇuchandra**, **Pradyumna**, **Āryabhata**, **Lāta**, and **Siṃha**, is proved every day, by the discordance of their eclipses and other things. — (47) The faults declared (*by me*) with reference to **Āryabhata**, 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 **Srīshēṇa** and others. — (48, 49, 50) **Srīshēṇa** has made the **Rōmaka**, (*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 **Lāta**; (*having taken*) the *yuga-yāta* and *varshabhagaṇa* belonging to the *Vāsishṭha-Siddhānta*; (*having used*) the *pādas* employed by **Vijayanandin**; (*and having borrowed*) the method of finding the apparent places of the planets and other things from **Āryabhata**. **Vishṇuchandra** has done the same to the *Vāsishṭha*, by borrowing the same.

(i)

(ix.) तद्युगवधो महायुगमुक्तं श्रीषण्विष्णुचंद्राद्यैः ॥ 55 ॥ Chapter xi.

“The multiplication of those Yugas is pronounced a Mahâyuga by **Srīshēṇa**, **Vishṇuchandra**, and others.”

(j)

(x) दूरभ्रष्टे महणे श्रीषण्वार्यभटविष्णुचंद्रस्य ।
दृग्गणितविसंवादः संवादः काकतालीयं ॥ 36 ॥ Chapter xvi.

“The (*calculation of*) eclipses of **Srīshēṇa**, **Āryabhata**, 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 महणमकौटोः ।
(xi) एवं वराहमिहिरश्रीषण्वार्यभटविष्णुचंद्राद्यैः ।
लोकविरुद्धमभिहितं ॥ Chapter xxi.

“So **Varāhamihira**, **Srīshēṇa**, **Āryabhata**, **Vishṇuchandra**, and others, have said, that an eclipse of the sun or the moon is not, therefore,³ effected by **Rāhu**; which is against the (*belief of the common*) people.

(l)

(xii) आचार्यैरज्ञातः श्रीषण्वार्यभटविष्णुचंद्राद्यैः ।
गोलो यस्मान् तस्मान् ब्राह्मे गोलः कृतः स्पष्टः ॥ 72 ॥ Chapter xxi.

“Because **Srīshēṇa**, **Āryabhata**, **Vishṇuchandra**, and other *Āchāryas*, have not understood the *gōla* (the sphere), therefore the *gōla* has been explained in the *Brāhma-(Siddhānta)*.”

On reading these passages, we can hardly fail to see, firstly, that **Brahmagupta**, except perhaps in the 50th verse in (*h*), does nowhere connect **Srīshēṇa**’s name with the *Rōmaka-Siddhānta*; and secondly, that while he refers to the *Rōmaka-Siddhānta* in support of his own statement in two out of three places where he alludes to it, he mentions **Srīshēṇa** 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 *Rōmaka-Siddhānta* and that of **Srīshēṇa**. 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 *Rōmaka-Siddhānta* such a Yuga-system as is found in the *Sūrya* and other *Siddhāntas*; on the other hand, there was such a system in **Srīshēṇa**’s work. I can prove the former assertion directly from the *Pañchasiddhāntikā*. 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 ततः 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-Saṁvat 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 ।
सप्ताष्टकसप्तकृतेन्द्रियोद्धतान्मध्यमः क्रमशः ॥ 1 ॥
खस्वरूपाष्टगुणघ्नात् कृताष्टनवकैकवर्जितात् युगणात् ।
त्रिविषयांकखकृताशापरिशुद्धान्मध्यशीतांशुः ॥ 4 ॥
शून्येकैकाभ्यस्तात्रवगून्यरसान्विताद्दिनसमूहात् ।
रूपत्रिखगुणभक्तात् केन्द्रं शशिनो ऽस्तगमवत्यां ॥ 5 ॥
त्र्यष्टकगुणिते दद्याद्भ्रसर्तुयमषट्कपंचकान् राहोः ।
भवरूपाग्न्याष्टिद्वेते क्रमादुखांतोच्यते⁴ वक्त्रं⁵ ॥ 8 ॥ Chapter viii.

Translation. — “ (Verse I) The mean sun, according to the *Rômaka*, (*is found*) in succession (*of revolutions, signs, &c.*) from the *dyugana* (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 *dyugana* 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 aharjana 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*) *ashti* (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 :—

रोमकयुगमकैद्वोर्वर्षाण्यकाशापंचवसुपक्षाः ।
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) *ashti* (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 वक्त्र, and Dr. Thibaut also read वक्त्र 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 *Paulîsa-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 *ahargaya* 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 kṛishṇa chaturdaśî, 'Saka-Samvat 427 expired, which ended on Sunday, 20th March A. D. 505. And comparing them⁶ 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 अस्तगमवृत्त्यां, *astagam=Avantyañ*, "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-Samkrânti by only 25 minutes, 37·6 seconds. Taking the above ascertained length of the year, he takes exactly 26 *ghaṭis* to traverse this distance. Therefore, the mean Mêsha-Samkrânti of Saka-Samvat 427 expired, occurred, according to the original *Rômaka-Siddhânta*, at 56 *ghaṭis* 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-Samkrânti of Kaliyuga-Samvat 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 *Smritis*.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 Srîshêṇa's work. I must admit here that I am not at present able to understand fully the force of the expression युगयातवर्षभगण, *yugayâtavarsha-bhagana*, 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 Srîshêṇa'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 'Srishêṇa borrowed the method of finding the apparent places of the planets from Āryabhaṭa. The method of finding the apparent place of the sun according to the original *Rômaka-Siddhânta*, is found in the following verses of the *Pañchasiddhântikâ*, which I give as they stand in my copy :—

रविशशिनाः स्फुटकरणं खर्खेदुभवनाधसंमितैः खंडैः ।

तत्क्रमशश्च पुनस्तैर्मिथुनबलं शोधयते ऽर्कस्य ॥ 2 ॥

तिथिमुद्दशकृतसहितारसमनुहीनाभविंशतिर्हीना ।

धृतिविषयोना द्विरशाष्टिधृतिषु वृद्धिः कलाद्विरकिला ॥ 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 Āryabhaṭa; the last words in the second verse alone, establishing the difference between the two *Rômaka-Siddhântas*.

The expression *Mithuna-dalam śodhyatê srkasya*, "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 *Ārya-Siddhânta*, — the published work of the first Āryabhaṭa, — it is 78 degrees.⁸ Brahmagupta, who has strictly followed Āryabhaṭa in writing the first part of his *Khaṇḍakhādya*, gives it 80 degrees, in the following words, — *bhāgśâtir=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 work⁹ of the first Āryabhaṭa. Srishêṇa 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 Srishêṇa'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 Varāhamihira, the divine authors, and the Rishis, the following names of previous writers on astronomy, occur in Brahmagupta's *Brahma-Siddhânta*, — Pradyumna, Lāṭa, Simha, Vijayanandin, Āryabhaṭa, Srishêṇa, and Vishṇuchandra.¹⁰ And these names, except those of Srishêṇa and Vishṇuchandra, occur also in Varāhamihira's *Pañchasiddhântikâ*. This circumstance tends to show that Srishêṇa and Vishṇuchandra did not precede Varāhamihira, 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 Srishêṇa's *Rômaka-Siddhânta*, were different and separate works. Srishêṇa's date lies somewhere between 'Saka-Saṁvat 500¹¹ and 550 expired (A.D. 578 and 628). At any rate he flourished after Varāhamihira 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 Varāhamihira and before Brahmagupta; and that his *Vāsishṭha-Siddhânta* is different from the original *Vāsishṭha-Siddhânta* in the *Pañchasiddhântikâ*. The latter point is proved even by passage (h) alone.

⁸ See *Dāśagṭhikāpāda*, 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 :—अंकचितिविजयनादिप्रद्युम्नादीनि 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 Varāhamihira 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 kṛishṇa chaturdaśi, Saka- Samvat 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 $\frac{298}{3081}$	4,88,228 $\frac{13708}{57589}$	3	4	26	34	9	16	58	53
Moon's Node	153 $\frac{26889}{163111}$	232,165 $\frac{109085}{163111}$	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 ghattas, 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 Srîshêṇa, was most probably composed in 505 (A.D. = Saka-Samvat 427 expired)." But I think everyone will now be convinced that Saka-Samvat 427 is not the date of Srîshêṇa'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 Srîshêṇa's work, seem to hold that Saka-Samvat 427 expired (A.D. 505) is the date of the Rômaka-Siddhânta. The reason of this supposition is nothing but the fact that Saka-Samvat 427 is the epoch of the Pañchasiddhântikâ, and that, particularly in his method of calculating the ahargana 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 Saka-Samvat 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 *Védānga-Jyōtisha*, and which, therefore, is undoubtedly the oldest of the five. Similarly, that Saka-Saṁvat 427 expired is a starting-point in the method of calculating the *ahargana* according to the *Rōmaka-Siddhānta* in the *Pañchasiddhāntikā*, proves nothing. Varāhamihira had to give that method; and, as it would have been a little superfluous to give it according to all the five Siddhāntas, he chose the Rōmaka 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 Siddhānta for it. No one can show that he was compelled of necessity to use no other. Instead of the Rōmaka, he might just as well have given the method according to any other Siddhānta. And in that case, and even if he had given the method according to all the five Siddhāntas, he would have chosen no other year but Saka-Saṁvat 427. And Saka-Saṁvat 427 expired, therefore, is not the date of the original *Rōmaka-Siddhānta*, as it is not of any of the other Siddhāntas in the *Pañchasiddhāntikā*.

Moreover, there is decisive evidence to show that Saka-Saṁvat 427 expired is not the date of the original *Rōmaka-Siddhānta*. The Yuga of the Rōmaka, comprising 2,850 years, was a luni-solar Yuga. The *kshēpakas*, in the *Pañchasiddhāntikā*, of the sun and moon for Saka-Saṁvat 427 expired, according to the *Rōmaka-Siddhānta*, 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 *Rōmaka-Siddhānta*, I find that the mean *amāvāsyā* ended 1 *ghaṭi*, 16·5 *palas*, after the time of the *kshēpakas*, 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 *Rōmaka-Siddhānta*; but taking their mean places and *uchchas* from the *Rōmaka-Siddhānta*, and applying the method of other Siddhāntas, I find that the apparent *amāvāsyā* ended about 36 *gh.* after the time of the *kshēpakas*, 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 *amāvāsyā*, the sun and the moon were not at the beginning of Mēsha; and that neither the mean nor the apparent *amāvāsyā* 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 *Rōmaka-Siddhāntas*, any one familiar with practical astronomy will be convinced, from their *kshēpakas*, that, when they would be together, i.e. at the end of the apparent *amāvāsyā*, they would not stand at the beginning of Mēsha, nor would their coming together take place either at sunrise, noon, sunset, or midnight. And consequently the Yuga of the Rōmaka cannot have commenced in Saka-Saṁvat 427 expired. The original *Rōmaka-Siddhānta* was evidently not a *Karāṇa*, but a Siddhānta; and therefore, its starting-point for calculating the *ahargana* cannot be Saka-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, Saka-Saṁvat 427 expired is not the epoch of the original *Rōmaka-Siddhānta* for calculating the *ahargana* and other details.

It might still be urged that the author of the *Rōmaka-Siddhānta* may have given the date of its completion specifically, and that this was Saka-Saṁvat 427. But even if it be so, what influence would that date have had with Varāhamihira? Brahmagupta wrote his *Brahma-Siddhānta* in Saka-Saṁvat 550; but the epoch of his own *Karāṇa*, the *Khaṇḍakhādya*, is Saka-Saṁvat 587 expired (A.D. 665). Bhāskarāchārya wrote his *Siddhānta-Sirōmani* in Saka-Saṁvat 1072 expired (A.D. 1150); but he employed Saka-Saṁvat 1105 expired (A.D. 1183) as the epoch for his own *Karāṇa*, the *Karāṇakutāhala*. It is most unlikely that Varāhamihira should have chosen the year of the composition of the *Rōmaka-Siddhānta* for the epoch of his *Karāṇa*, the *Pañchasiddhāntikā*. The year Saka-Saṁvat 427 expired, which is the epoch of the *Pañchasiddhāntikā*, has nothing to do with the date of the composition of the *Rōmaka-Siddhānta*; and it must be very near to the date of the composition of the *Pañchasiddhāntikā*, 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:—

पौलिशरोमकवासिष्ठसौरपैतमहास्तु सिद्धांताः ।

पंचम्यो द्वावाद्यौ व्याख्यातौ लाटदेवेन ॥ Chapter i., verse 3.

“The Paulîsa, 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 Paulîsa 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 (Âryabhata). A doubt concerning Lâṭa’s position might arise from the introduction of the *Pañchasiddhântikâ*, in which it is remarked that the Paulîsa and Rômaka were “*vyākhyâtâ*” by Lâṭadêva. This Lâṭadêva is either to be considered as a writer altogether different from that Lâṭa to whom Srîshêṇa was indebted for a part of the elements of his Siddhânta, or else we must suppose that Srîshêṇa’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 Srîshêṇa, and that its date is Saka-Saṁvat 427. If the Lâṭa from whom Srîshêṇa 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 Srîshêṇa’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 (A) above, which Dr. Thibaut also has taken into consideration (p. 290 f. of his article), that Srîshêṇa’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 Srîshêṇa 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 Paulîsa 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 *Paulîsa-Siddhânta*, is given in the following verse of the *Pañchasiddhântikâ*:—

सार्कत्रे ऽभिद्विताशनमपास्व रूपामिवमुद्विताशकृतेः ।

इत्वा क्रमादिनेशो मध्यः...

“Taking away the fires (three) and the fires (three) (*i. e.* 33) from (*the ahargana*) 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 *ghaṭis*, 30 *palas*, which is therefore the length of the year according to the

Paulīsa-Siddhānta, and which is 42 *palas* in excess of the year of the *Rōmaka-Siddhānta*. It is clear, therefore, that these two Siddhāntas 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 Lāṭa. They were, therefore, only commented on by Lāṭa, and are evidently much older than him and than Varāhamihira.

On reading the *Pañchasiddhāntikā* and Brahmagupta's *Brahma-Siddhānta*, anyone will see at once that both of them make a clear distinction between the five Siddhāntas, — Paulīsa, Rōmaka, Vāsishṭha, Saura, and Paitāmaha, — on the one hand, and on the other, the works of Āryabhaṭa and others. Neither of them gives the names of the authors of the five Siddhāntas, 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-Siddhānta*. But Brahmagupta mentions them all, only to find fault with them. The same may be said of Varāhamihira. 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 *Pañchasiddhāntikā* is to give the purport of the five Siddhāntas, 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 Paitāmaha, — '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 *Rōmaka-Siddhānta* is certainly that of Hipparchus. And there is reason to believe that this *Rōmaka-Siddhānta* 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 *Rōmaka-Siddhānta*, as represented in the *Pañchasiddhāntikā*, 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 *Rōmaka-Siddhānta* 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 *Rōmaka-Siddhānta*; otherwise, instead of the work of Hipparchus, that of Ptolemy would have come to India, and would have become the basis of the original *Rōmaka-Siddhānta*. 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 *Rōmaka-Siddhānta*, — which itself, as shown by some indications, is the latest of the five Siddhāntas, — is A.D. 150.

A Rōmaka or Rōmaśa Siddhānta is extant in the present day. But I cannot say at present whether it is the same as, or different from, Śrīshēṇa's work. I have a copy of it. It contains about 375 verses in the Anusṭubh metre, divided into 11 chapters called Adhikāras. In almost all its elements it agrees with the present *Sūrya-Siddhānta*.

SANSKRIT AND OLD-KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, B.O.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 *Pâli, 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.

Balagamve, Balagami, or Belagave, 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 *alavana* in line 5-6. We may note that in *alavalliyarâ*, line 8, *andugiyâ*, line 10, and *nirilliyâ*, line 10-11, the genitive ends in the long *â*; on the other hand, in *valliggâmeyara*, 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 *vittâr*, line 6; *vittidalli* and *veleyâde*, line 16; *velege*, line 18; and *valliggâmeyara*, 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 *viruda* or secondary name of Rajâsraya, "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 (*râjâsrayatvât*.)"

Several places are mentioned in this inscription. First we are told that the Mahârâja Pogilli's government comprised the Nayarkhandâ (district) and Jedugûr or Jedugûr.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 *Jedda*, in the Sorab Talukâ, Shimoggâ District, Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 42, Lat. 14° 35', Long. 75° 7'. *Nayarkhaṇḍa* is evidently a Prākṛit form of the name of the *Nāgarakhaṇḍa*, or “(territorial) section of the Nāgas,” of other inscriptions, in which it is described as a division of the Banavâsi Twelve-thousand, and is called sometimes the *Nāgarakhaṇḍa kampaṇa*, and sometimes the *Nāgarakhaṇḍa Seventy* (e.g. *P. S. and O.-K. Inscrs.* No. 120, lines 41-42, 44). *Valliggāme* is one of the forms of the name of *Balagāhve* itself; and is probably the nearest ancient approximation to the modern name. Other Kanarese forms are *Balligāve* (*ante*, Vol. IV. p. 181), *Balligrāme* (*ante*, Vol. V. p. 49), *Valligrāme* (*P. S. and O.-K. Inscrs.* No. 166, line 39), and *Valligrāma* (*id.* line 42). Also we have the Sanskritised 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-rājadhāni*). 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 Prākṛitic assimilation of the *r*. Of the other places mentioned in this record, *Veḍevalli* (or *Vedevalli*), which might appear elsewhere without the initial *v*, may perhaps be identified with the modern *Yeḍehalli* in the Lakkuvalli Talukâ, Maisûr, in Lat. 13° 37', Long. 75° 34'. *Aṇḍugi* (or *Aṇḍugi*)² seems to be the modern ‘*Undega*’ of the map, close to Sorab, in Lat. 14° 23', Long. 75° 14'. And *Nirilli* may perhaps be the modern *Niralgi*, the ‘*Nerulgee*’ of the map, in the Hāngal Talukâ, Dhârwad District, in Lat. 15° 53', Long. 75° 19'. For the names of *Amali*, *Alavalli* or *Alamvalli*, and *Nāvalli*, 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 (*nāl* = *nād*), and, more specifically, of the two *Seventies*. These, plainly, are the *Nāgarakhaṇḍa Seventy*, and either the *Jiddulige Seventy* or the *Eḍenaḍ 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	Sri-Vinayaditya-Rajasraya-sriprithi-		
2	vi(vi)valla bha-maharajadhiraja-paramésvara-bha-			
3	tārar-prithivi-rājyaṁ-keye [1*]	sri-Pogilli-Sēndraka-		
4	mahārājar-Nayarkhaṇḍamuṁ	Jedugūr=ālgeyān=ālu-		
5	ttu [1*]	Kāndarbor=adhikārigaḷ-āge	pēriyā	osageyūṁ a-
6	lavavavūṁ ⁴	aputraka-poraḷumūn=viṭṭār=Valliggāmeyara		
7	dāsadiyūṁ	Amaliyara	dēvadiyūṁ	Veḍevalliyarā
8	dēvadiyūṁ	Alavalliyarā ⁵	Ravichandanuṁ	Sorkka-gāmuṇḍa-
9	rūṁ ⁶	Edeya-gāmuṇḍarūṁ	Moḷejarāmaṇiya-gāmu-	

and sometimes *ī*, 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 *n*, it is often impossible to decide whether the compound means *nṭ* or *nḍ*; except, of course, in well-known words, such as the Sanskrit *maṇḍala*, and the Old-Kanarese *gāmuṇḍa*.

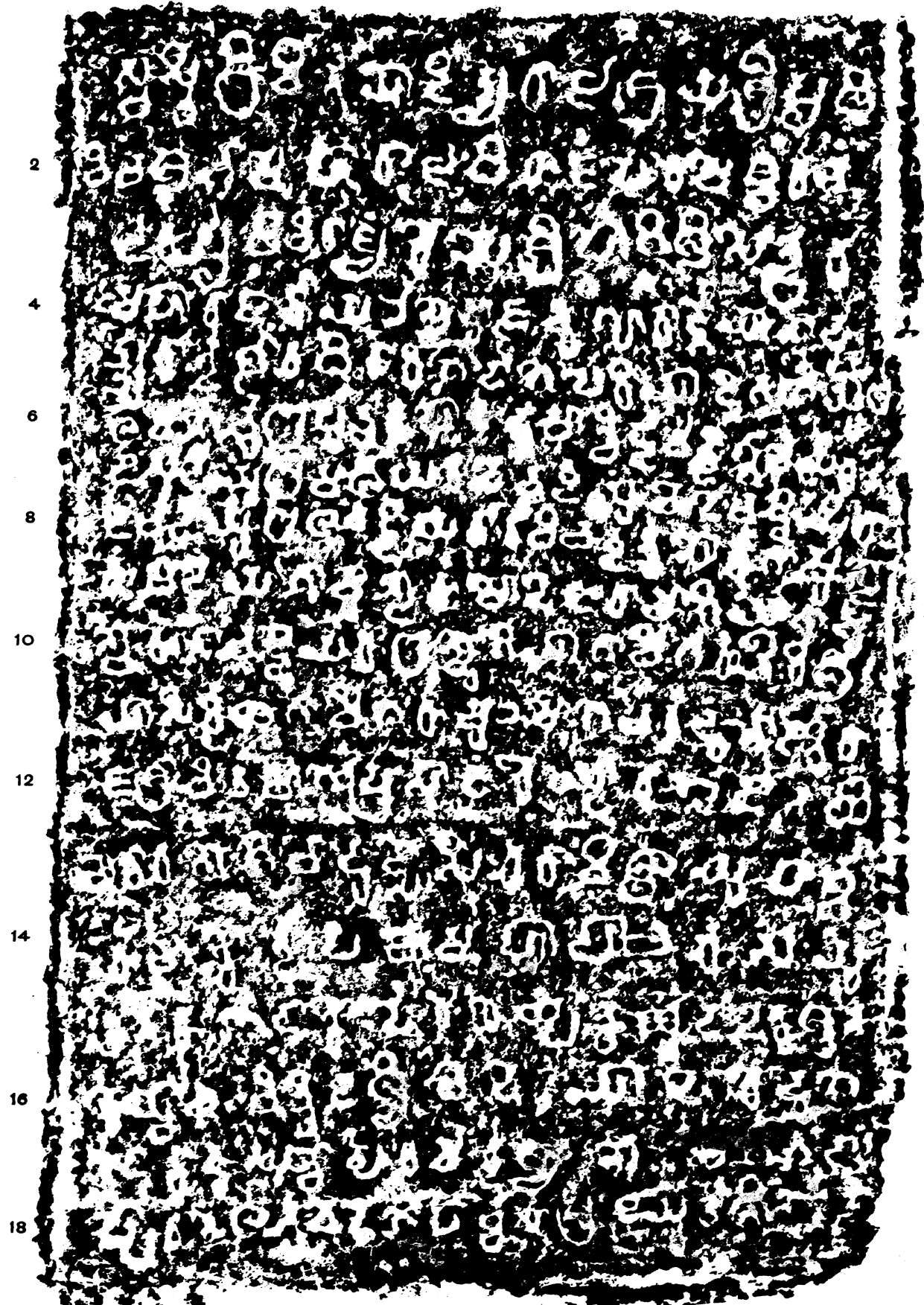
³ From the ink-impressions, two copies. The lithograph has been prepared from that copy which is the best taken all round.

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 *ā* was intended. Also, over the second syllable there is a mark which may perhaps be the *anusvāra*. It is therefore possible, that the crude form is *alavana*, *alamvana*, *ālavāna*, or *ālamvāna*. It seems to me, however, that most probably the word is *alavana*.

⁵ Or perhaps *alamvalliyarā*, with the *anusvāra* in the second syllable.

⁶ In four instances we distinctly have here the long *ā* (*rāṁ*); but in the remaining two, the short *u* (*rūṁ*). The latter is, I consider, the more correct form. The copulative long *ā* was adopted, or at any rate became habitual, only at a much later period, when the *anusvāra* was abandoned.

Balagamve Inscription of the time of Vinayaditya.



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

SCALE .28

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

10	ndarām	Navalliyarūṁ	Aṇḍugiyā ⁷	gāmigarūṁ	Nirilli-
11	yā	Sinderā-gāmigarūṁ	mukhav-āge	eraḍum-nāḷke	rā-
12	ja-śrāvitaṁ-āge		prasādam-keydār [11*]		Idān=aḷi-
13	von=Vāraṇasivadu! ⁸ =sāsira		kavileyūṁ		pārvva-
14	rumān=konda			pañcha-mahāpātaka-saṁyu-	
15	ktan=akkum [1*]	idān=kole	ir-eḷpattarūḷam	okkaltanaṁ-	
16	keyvon=ā	vittidalli	veleyāde	keḍuge [1*]	
17	idān=kādu		salvon=parāma-kalyāna-tīrtha[m]ga! ⁹ =ā-		
18	ppār [1*]	nelanum	veḷege [1*]	pārvvaru[m*]	prajeyum taṇige [11*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! While the glorious **Vinayaditya-Bājāsraya**, the favourite of fortune and of the earth, the *Mahārājādhīrāja*, the *Paramēśvara*, the *Bhaṭāra*, is reigning over the earth; (and) while the illustrious **Pogilli**, the *Sēndraka Mahārāja*, is administering the **Nāyarkhaṇḍa** (district) (and) the government of **Jedugūr** : —

(Line 5) — **Kādarba**, on becoming the officer in charge, remitted¹⁰ (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 **Dāsas**¹⁴ of **Vaḷḷigame**, and the establishment of the temple of the people of **Amali**, and the establishment of the temple of **Veḍevalli**, and **Ravichanda** of the people of **Alavalli**, and **Sorkagāmuṇḍa**, and **Edeyagāmuṇḍa**, and **Molejarāmaṇiyagāmuṇḍa**, and the people of **Navalli**, and the *Gāmigas* of **Aṇḍugi**, and **Sinderagāmiḡa** of **Nirilli**.

⁷ Or perhaps *aṇḍugiyā*; see note 2 above.

⁸ This is rather a peculiar form of the locative of *vāraṇasī*. We should expect *vāraṇasīyū* (e.g. *ante*, Vol. VIII. p. 285, line 5) or *vāraṇasīyol*. But we have elsewhere the genitive *bāraṇasivada*, where we should expect *bāraṇasīya* (*ante*, Vol. X. p. 167, No. 105, line 6); and probably also *vāraṇasivada* (*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 *ti*; and I cannot see how the second is to be read, except as *rtha[m]*.

¹⁰ *vittār* = *biṭṭār*, 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) Periyadīsa (?)," 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 *Dēvagiri* in the *Karajgi Tālukā*, *Dhārwaḍ District*, of a *Mahāsāmāntādhipati* named *Śāntivarmadēva*, which purports to be dated *Śaka-Saṁvat* 522, the *Kālayukti 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 Sanskrit *ālapana*, and may have a technical meaning like that of the *Marāṭhī ālāp*, for *ālāp*, '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 *Drāviḍian* word. And I should say that the second component is *paṇa*, and that the word denotes something similar to the *aṇḍavaṇa*, which was a six-*paṇa* tax or rent on *mānya*-lands. The only other words that I can suggest as possibly connected with it, are, *baluvaṣi*, *baluvāri*, 'a wife's dowry,' and *halaviḷiyu*, 'to miscarry.'

¹³ *rāja-śrāvita*; *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-śrāvita*. A somewhat similar term, but not quite so technical in its ultimate meaning, is *rāja-rokshita*, 'protected by the king,' which we have had in the *Bēḷār* inscription, *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 274, line 37.

¹⁴ I cannot explain the suffix in *dāsadi* and *dēvadi*; but the meaning of the terms seems obvious. In other Old-Kanarese passages, I have found *dēva* 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. *māṅgēśvaradiṁ baḍaga*, 'to the north of the temple of *Māṅgēśvara* (*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*) Brāhman̄s at Vāraṇasī, 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, — they¹⁵ shall become worthy recipients of the most extreme good fortune! Let the earth be fruitful! Let both the Brāhman̄s 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 *Pāli, 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 Tālukā or Sub-Division of the Shimoggā District, Maisūr, 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 Sanskrit 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 *anusvāra* instead of the proper nasal, in *ānantara*, line 11; *kāñchī*, lines 11 and 12; *śringasya*, line 12; *nuranjanah*, line 15; and *nripāñkuśatrūt*, line 16; (2) the use of the Drāviḍian *l* and *ḷ*, in *chōḷa* and *kēraḷa*, line 12, *ḍḷupēndra*, line 20, and *eḍvoḷal* or *eḍvoḷal*, line 23; (3) the use of *v* for *b* throughout, in *pranivaddha*, line 6; *vālēndu*, line 14; *valam*, twice, line 14; *vādhā*, line 24; and *vahubhir*, line 27; (4) the doubling of *k* before *r*, once, in *parāḷkram*, line 5; (5) the doubling of *sh* after *r*, in *varshsha*, line 30; and (6) the omission to double *t* after *r*, in *kārtikēya*, line 3, where the second *t* is etymologically necessary, and in *kīrti*, 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 Vinayāditya, who had the *biruda* or secondary name of Satyāśraya; 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 Brāhmaṇ, which was made at the request of the Mahārāja Chitravāha, the son of the Āḷupa king Guṇasāgara.

The local places mentioned are, the village of Chitrasedu,¹ at which Vinayāditya's camp was, when he made the grant, and which is specified as being in the Toramara vishaya; and the granted village, Sālivoḷe, which is defined as being in the Eḍvoḷal vishaya in the north-east quarter in the vicinity of the town of Vaijayanti. This last word, Vaijayanti, is a name of the modern Banawāsi, in the Sirsi Tālukā, 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 Vanavāsi in line 6 of this record, in a standard passage, and of Banavāsi at the beginning of the Old-Kanarese endorsement; another of its names was Jayantīpura. The names of Eḍvoḷal, or Eḍvoḷal, for which some other references are given in the second of the notes quoted above for Vaijayanti, and of Sālivoḷe, 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: — Saka-Saṃvat 614, distinctly specified as expired; the Dakṣiṇāyana-Saṃkrānti or summer solstice, which is to be taken as represented by the Karka-Saṃkrānti or entrance of the sun into Cancer; the Rōhiṇi nakshatra; and Śanaishcharavāra 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 Saka-Saṃvat 615 current, — *i. e.* applying the given year as an expired year, in accordance with the text, — the Karka-Saṃkrānti occurred on Saturday, 22nd June, A. D. 692, at about 2 *ghaṭis*, 26 *palas*, after mean sunrise, for Banawāsi.³ Any rites and ceremonies connected with the *saṃkrānti*, 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 Āshāḍha; accepting the statement of the published Tables that in this year the month Āshāḍha 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 Rōhiṇi, No. 4, was in Āślēshā, No. 9, by the equal-space system of the *nakshatras* and by the Garga system of unequal spaces, and in Maghā, No. 10, by the Brahma-Siddhānta 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 *śetu*; 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 Ēraṇ pillar inscription of Budhagupta, dated in A. D. 484, from the Central Provinces, *Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 19.

³ The times here are for Banawāsi, 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 *F. 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 *dakshināyana-vimukhē*, "when the sun is facing away from the *dakshināyana*." And it happens that, for the winter solstice, as represented by the Makara-Saṁkrānti 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-Saṁkrānti 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 Rôhīṇī, No. 4, was in Rêvatī, 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 *dakshināyan-âbhimukhē*; 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 (*êkâdasê*); while in his published translation it is shewn as the twelfth year (*dvâdasê*), 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 (*trayôdasê*). The word stands at the beginning of line 19. The syllables *dasê* are quite distinct; and for this reason, as well as for others, the possibility of the fourteenth year (*chaturddasê*) 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 *dvâdasê*. On the other hand, the space is not properly sufficient for the *trayô* of *trayôdasê*. While, such traces as can be made out, certainly indicate the *êkâ* of *êkâdasê*. 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-Saṁvat 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 Kārttika, Saka-Saṁvat 611 expired, fell in his tenth current year, then (No. 5) the full-moon of Kārttika, Saka-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 Kārttika, Saka-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 Vinayāditya's records, the only one of which the authenticity can fairly be questioned, is the Lakshmēshwar 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 Saka-Saṁvat 651 expired, of Vinayāditya's son and successor, Vijayāditya, and also below an intervening Western Gāṅga inscription, dated Saka-Saṁvat 890 expired.

A curious point about this inscription is that it omits to mention Vinayāditya's grandfather, Satyāśraya-Pulikēśin II. The charter follows the usual form of the Western Chalukya grants. But, after mentioning Pulikēśin I. in line 5, and Kīrtivarman I. in line 6, it proceeds *tasy-ātmapas=samarasainsakta-sakalōttarāpathēśvara-śrī-Harshavarddhana-parājay-ō p a l a b d h a-paramēśvar-ūparanāmadhēya-Vikramāditya-paramēśvara-bhaṭṭārakasya*; thus, if we allow for the change of construction from the nominative to the genitive, making Vikramāditya I., instead of his father Pulikēśin II., the son of Kīrtivarman I., and the conqueror of Harshavarddhana. The text should properly run *paramēśvar-ūparanāmadhēyas=Satyāśraya-śrīprithivīvallabha-mahārājā-dhirāja-paramēśvaras=tat-priya-sutasya Vikramāditya-paramēśvara-bhaṭṭārakasya*. 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 Om⁵ Svasti [||*] Jayaty⁶=āvishkṛitāṃ Viṣṇōr=vvārāhaṃ kshōbhit-ārṇṇavaṃ dakṣiṇ-
ōnna-taṃśhr-āgra-viśrānta-bbuvanaṃ vapuḥ [||*]
- 2 [Sri]matāṃ sakala-bhuvana-saṃstūyamāna-Mānavya-sagōtraṇāṃ Hārīti-putraṇāṃ
sapta-lōkamātribhis=sa-
- 3 [pta]-mātribhir=abhi-varddhitānāṃ Kārt[t*]ikēya-parirakṣhaṇa-prāpta-kalyāna-param-
parāṇāṃ bhagavan-Nārāyaṇa-prasāda-
- 4 [sa]māsādita-varāhalāñchhan-ēkṣhaṇa-kṣhaṇa-vaśīkṛit-āsēsha-mahībhrītāṃ Chalukyānāṃ
kulam=alamkarishṇō-
- 5 [r=aśvamē]dh-ā[va]bhṛita(tha)-snāna-pavitrikṛita-gātrasya śrī-Pulakēśi⁷-vallabha-mahā-
rājasya sūnuḥ parākkram-ākṛānta-[Va]-
- 6 [navā]sy-ādi-para-nṛipati-maṇḍala-praṇiva(ba)ddha-viśuddha-kīrtiḥ śrī-Kīrtivarmma-
pri(pri)thivīvallabha-mahārā-
- 7 [jas=ta]sy-ātmapas=samara-sainsakta-sakal-ōttarāpathēśvara-śrī-Harshavarddhana-parājay-
ōpalabdha-paramēśvar-ā-
- 8 [para]-nāmadhēya⁸ Vitra(kra)māditya-paramēśvara-bhaṭṭārakasya mati-sahāya-sāhasa-
mātra-samadhigata-ni-

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, Ślōka (Anushtubh).

⁷ The proper form of this name is Polekēśi or Pulikēśi. 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-rājya-vibhavasya vividha-rasita-sita-samara-mukha-gata-ripu-narapati-vijaya-
- 10 samupalabdhā-kīrtti-sa(pa)tāk-āvabhāsita-digantarasya himakara-kara-vimala-kula-paribhava-vi-
- 11 laya-hētu-Pallavapati-parājay-ānamtara-parigrihita-Kāñchipurasya prabhāva-kulīśa-dalīta-

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 12 Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya-Kēraḷa-dharañdhāra-tū(tra)ya-māna-māna-śringasya an-anya-samavanata-Kāñchipati-maṇi-makuṭa-[ku]-
- 13 ṭa-kiraṇa-saṅgī-ābhishikta-charaṇa-kamalasya tri-samudra-madhyavartti-bhuvana-maṇḍal-ādhīśvarasya sūnu[h]
- 14 [sva*]-pītur=ājñayā Vō(bā)lēndusēkharasy=ēva Sēnānīr=Ddaitya-va(ba)lam=ati-samud-dhatam traīrājya-Pallava-va(ba)lam=avasṭabhya
- 15 samasta-vishaya-prasamanād=vihita-tan-manō-nuramjanah atyantavatsalatvāt Yudhish-ṭhira iva Śrīrāmatvā-
- 16 [d=Vā]sudēva iva nripāmkuśatvāt=Paraśurāma iva rājāśrayatvād=Bharata iva Vinayāditya-Satyāśraya-śrī-
- 17 [pṛithivī]vallabha-mahārājādhīrāja-paramēśvaras=sarvvān=ēvam=ājñāpayati [*] Vidi-tam=astu vō=smā-
- 18 [bhiś=cha⁹]turddas-ōttara-shaṭ-chhatēshu Saka-varshēshv=atitēshu pravarddha-māna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsarē
- 19 [ēkā]dasē¹⁰ varttamānē Toramara¹¹-vishayē Chitra¹²sedu-grāmam=adhivasati vijaya-skandhāvārē dakṣiṇa-
- 20 yan-ābhimukhē bhagavati bhāskarē Rōhīṇi(ṇi)-nakshatrē Sanaischara-vārē Guṇasāgar-Āḷupēndr-ātmaja-śrī-
- 21 Chitravaha¹³-mahārāja-vijñāpanayā Dēvarāta-Kausika-sagōtrāya Rīgvēda-pāragāya Nāga-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 22 śarmmaṇah paṭrāya Saṁkaraśarmmaṇa[h*] puṭrāya Divākaraśarmmaṇē śrī-Vaija-yatti(ntī)pur-ō[pakaṇṭhē] pūrvv-ō-
- 23 ttara-vi(di)śāyām Edevoḷal-nāma-vishayē Sālivoge¹⁴-nō(nā)ma-grāmas=s-ōdakam sa-hiraṇnyam¹⁵=a-karam=a-bha-
- 24 ṭa-pravēsam sa-sarvva-vā(bā)dhā-parihārō dattaḥ [h*] Tad=āgāmibhir=asmad-vaṁśyair=anyaiś=cha rājabhir=āyur-aiśvaryy-ā-

⁹ The following syllables, *turddasōttara*, 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 *trē* of *nakshatrē* 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 Chitrapāda. The *ha* is rather damaged; but the *vd* 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 *Guṇasāgarād-Upēndr-ātmaja*, as also has Mr. Rice (*loc. cit.*), which gave the name of Upēndra. 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 Sāthivoge. Mr. Rice read it as Salevoge (*loc. cit.*); but it is given as Sālivoge in the transcription sent by him. In the first syllable, the long vowel *ā*; and in the second, the long vowel *t*, are quite distinct. As regards the consonant in the second syllable, it is badly formed, and is intermediate between *l* and *th*, which latter occurs in *uttarōpathēśvara*, line 7. But, as we distinctly have *salivuyeya koṭṭa śāsana* in the second line of the later addition, it seems to be meant for *l* here.

¹⁵ Read *sa-hiraṇyam*.

- 25 dīnām vilasitam=achirāmsu-chañchalam=avagachchhadbhiḥ â-chandr-ârka-dhar-ârṇṇava-
sthiti-samakālam yasa-
26 s=chichīshubhiḥ sva-datti-nirvviśēsham paripālanīyam || Uktañ=cha bhagavatâ veda-
vyāsēna Vyāsēna [I*]

Third Plate.

- 27 Va(ba)hubhir¹⁶=vvasudhâ bhuktâ râjabhis=Sagar-âdibhiḥ yasya yasya yadâ
bhūmis=tasya
28 tasya tasya tadâ phalam I(II) Svan=dâtum su-mahach-chhakyam duḥkham=anyasya
pālanam dānam vâ pā-
29 lanam v=ētti(ti) dānâch=chhrēyô=nupālanam I(II) Sva-dattam para-dattam vâ yô
harēti(ta) vasu-
30 [ndharām] shasṭi-varshsha-sahasrâṇi viśṭhâyām jāyatê krimiḥ [II*] Mahâ-
31 sândhivigrahika-śrī-Rāmapunyavallabhēna likhitam=idam śāsanam [II*]

TRANSLATION.

Om! Hail! Victorious is the form, which was that of a boar, that was manifested of (the god) Vishnu; which troubled the ocean, and which had the earth resting upon the tip of its up-lifted right-hand tusk!

(Line 2.) — Of the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious **Pulakēsin (I.)**, the favourite, whose body was purified by ablutions performed after celebrating the *āsvamēdha*-sacrifice, — who adorned the family of the **Chalukyas**, who are glorious; who are of the **Mānavya gōtra**, which is praised throughout the whole world; who are **Hāritiputras**; 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) **Kārttikēya**; (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) **Nārāyaṇa**, — the son (was) the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious **Kirtivarman (I.)**, the favourite of the earth, whose pure fame was established in the territories of the hostile kings of **Vanavāsī** and other (cities), that had been invaded by (*his*) prowess.

(L. 7.) — His son (*was*) [the *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, **Satyāsraya-(Pulikēsin II.)**, the favourite of fortune and of the earth*],¹⁷ whose other title of ‘Supreme Lord’ (*paramēśvara*) 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 *Paramēśvara* and *Bhaṭṭāraka*, **Vikramāditya (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 **Kāñchīpura**, 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 **Chōla**, **Pāṇḍya**, and **Kēraḷa**; 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 **Kāñchi**,

¹⁶ Metre, Ślōka (Anushtubh); and in the following two verses.

¹⁷ As regards the omissions here, see the last paragraph of the introductory remarks.

¹⁸ Pulikēsin II. had two other sons; Adityavarman, and Chandraditya. The expression “his dear son” seems to indicate the special selection of Vikramāditya 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 Śmavauśa 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 *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramésvara*, the glorious **Vinayāditya-Satyāsraya**, the favourite of fortune and of the earth, who, just as (the god) *Sênāni* (*Kārttikēya*) (*at the command*) of (*his father*) *Bâlêndusêkhara* (*Siva*) arrested the power of the *Daityas*, at the command of his own father arrested the extremely exalted power of the *Pal-lavas*, 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 *Yudhishtira* through being of an excessively affectionate disposition, like (the god) *Vāsudēva* (*Vishṇu*) through being the beloved of (*Śrī*) the goddess of fortune, like *Paraśurāma* through being a very elephant-goat 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 *dakshināyana*, under the *Rôhīṇi nakshatra*, on Saturday, — at the request of the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious *Chitravāha*, the son of the *Ālupa* ruler *Guṇasāgara*, — to *Divākaraśarman*, of the *Dēvarāta-Kausika gôtra*, who is thoroughly acquainted with the *Rig-Vêda*, (*and*) who is the son's son of *Nāgaśarman* (*and*) the son of *Saṁkaraśarman*, there is given the village named **Salivoḡe**, in the *vishaya* named **Edevoḡal**, 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 *Vyāsa*, 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 *Mahāsāṅdhivigrahika*, the illustrious **Ramapūṇyavallabha**.

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 *Rājā* 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 *Rājā* 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 Rājā was enjoying a noonday siesta from which his *wazir* awoke him rather abruptly. At this the Rājā 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 Rājā's wrath was too great to be appeased by this mark of his *wazir'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 *wazir* 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 Rājā had dreamt of. But the two **favourite grandsons** of the Rājā, 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 *wazir*. 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 Rājā, 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 Rājā'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 **nāg** (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 **Lāl**. 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 *parí* (fairy), together with my sisters, the gold *parí*, the emerald *parí*, and the pearl *parí*, 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 *parí*, and give it to her." The youth did as he was bid, and soon catching sight of the gold *parí*, handed her the silver ring and asked her to accompany him to her sister.

The gold *parí* 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 *parí*. He did so, and the emerald *parí* in her turn gave him an emerald ring and sent him on to her sister, the pearl *parí*, 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 Rájá 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 Rājā 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 Rājā, 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, Lāl, 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 Rājā 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 Rājā 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 Hoysala king Vira-Ballāja or Ballāja 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 Trikūṭṣvara at Gadag, the chief town of the Gadag Tālūkā in the Dhārward District, Bombay Presidency, the date (from the photograph, *Pāli*,

Sanskrit, and Old-Kanarese Inscriptions, No. 99, line 31 ff.), runs — Śaka-nṛpa-kāl-ātita-saṃvat-sara-śataṅgaḥ 1121neya Siddhārthi-saṃvat-sarada pratham-Āshāḍa(dha)-śukla-paksh-āsh-ṭami-Bṛihaspativāra-Bya(vya)tipāta-punya-dina-dōḷ-ā Bya(vya)tipāta-nimittam, — "on a meritorious day, (combining) Thursday and the Vyatipāta (yōga), which is the eighth tithi of the bright fortnight of the first Āshāḍha of the Siddhārthin saṃvatsara, 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 Vyatīpāta (yōga).” 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 *Mahāmaṇḍalésvara* Rāya-dēva was residing happily at Hallaharadakuppa, and, on account of some victory, was bathing and was making gifts to the goddess Tuṅgabhadrā-dēvi, with the sacred water of the Tuṅgabhadrā he washed the feet of Siddhāntichandrabhūshana, the *Sthānīchitrya* of the god Svayambhūprasan-natrikūṭésvara, and gave a grant of land for the purposes of the rites of that god.

By the southern luni-solar system, the *Siddhārthin 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 Jyēshṭha. But the record indicates Āshāḍha as the intercalary month. And, with Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, the given tithi, sukla 8 of the first Āshāḍha, — the intercalated month, according to the present custom of Southern India, — ended on Thursday, 3rd June, A.D. 1199, at about 57 *ghaṭīs*, 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 Vyatīpāta yōga, 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 *Dharmasindhusāra*; 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

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

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 *Mahāmaṇḍalésvara Vijayapaṇḍya-dēva* at Dāvāngere, in Maisūr; in which the date (from the photograph, *P. S. and O.-K. Inscrs.* No. 141, line 16 f.) runs — śri-mat-Saka²-varshada 1091neya Virōdhi-saṁvatsarada dvitīya-Śrāvāna-śuddha-puṇṇami-Sōma-vārad-aṁḍu, — “on Monday, the full-moon tithi of the bright fortnight of the second Śrāvāna of the Virōdhin saṁvatsara, which is the 1091st of the glorious Śaka years.” The record states that on this day there were given again, to the god Avimuktésvara, 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 Virōdhin 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 Śrāvāna as the intercalary month. But the given tithi, the full-moon of the second Śrāvāna, — 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 *ghaṭīs*, 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 Śrāvāna 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 Śrāvāna 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, Bhādrapada, did end on the given week-day, *viz.*

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 *śrīmach-ḥhaka*.

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 Śrāvāṇa. 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 Śrāvāṇa, 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* kṛishṇa 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 Dēvagiri-Yādava king Siṅghaṇa II., at Kōlār or Kōlhār³ in the Bāgewāḍi Tālukā, Bijāpur District, in which the date (from an ink-impression, line 9 ff.) runs — Śaka-varusada⁴ 1145de(da)neya Svabhānu-saṁvachchharada⁵ dvitīya-Bhādrapada-sudhdha⁶ -5-Su(śu)kravārada-āṁdu, — “on Friday, the fifth *tithi* in the bright fortnight of the second Bhādrapada of the Svabhānu saṁvatsara, which is the 1145th (year) of the Śaka years.” The inscription records that on this date, while Siṅghaṇa II. was reigning at the *nelevādu* or capital of Dēvendraḡiri (*sic*, line 8), the *Mahājanas* and others of Kōlāra gave certain grants of land &c., for the purposes of a temple of the god Śiva under the name of Mallikārjuna.

By the southern luni-solar system, the Svabhānu saṁvatsara coincided with Śaka-Samvat

³ With the occasional introduction of *h* into this name, we may compare the case of Kōlāpur (the ancient Kollāpura), the chief town of the Native State of the same name. It is often written ‘Kōlhāpur;’ and it is

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, Bhādrapada. The *tithi* sukla 5 of the second Bhādrapada, — the natural month according to the present custom of Southern India, — ended on Friday, 1st September, A. D. 1223, at about 14 *ghaṭṭis*, 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 *Dharmasindhusāra*, 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.

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 Urmān Bēg was received from N. P. Ostroūmov 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 *kurgāns*.

(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) *Qalmāq Tales with translation* occupy pp. 307-364 of the *Transactions*.

(d) *Precursors of the great Qalmāq Settlement on the Volga*, by N. Veselovski. Towards the close

explained as meaning ‘the town of jackals’ (Marāthī, *kōlhā*)!

⁴ Read *varshada*.

⁵ Read *saṁvachchharada*, or *saṁvatsarada*.

⁶ Read *suddha*.

of A.D. 1613 the Tsar Michael sent an embassy 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 Khîva and Bokhârâ from Russia as early as A.D. 1578. As it was thought that Tikhonov 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. Tiesenhhausen. (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 Bég (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-Mahdi, and were they styled his viceroys?

(v.) A classification is given by V. Tiesenhhausen 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 Sassâni silver coin of Firûz, an 'Abbâsi fuls of the year 143 A.H. struck at Samarqand: a Tahiri fuls of the year 207 struck at Merv: a Sâmani 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 Khwârizmi Shâh with the name of 'Alî, the son of Mâmûn: Shaibâni silver coins of Abû-Sa'id struck in Bokhârâ and Samarqand; of Kuchkunji Khân, coined at Mashhad; of Sayyid Burkhân, Bahâdur Khân, coined in Bokhârâ; and of Ahmad 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 1835 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 1883. 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, continuavit 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 Musalman printed works in Russia since 1888.*

W. R. MOBFILL.

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, *pökkaṅ*, which in ordinary Tamil means 'a worthless person,' in **Pandâram** slang means 'a man of the **Nalava** 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 **Sanskrit** (*dvi*).

English.	Tamil.	Pandâram.	Pariah.
Rice (boiled)	<i>chôru</i>	<i>pôṇam</i>	<i>viḷampal</i>
Rice	<i>arisi</i>	<i>taṇḍalam</i>	.....

¹ *varaku*, a kind of dry grain; the same word *paraḍḍai viligal* is used by **Pandârams** for *sâmi*, another dry grain.

English.	Tamil.	Pandâram.	Pariah.
Paddy	<i>nellu</i>	<i>kondî-vitiyal</i>	<i>periya-rumpi</i>
Varaku ¹	<i>varaku</i>	<i>paraḍḍai-vitiyal</i>	<i>siṇṇa-rumpi</i>
Pulse, peas	<i>payaru</i>	<i>urukkân</i>	.....
Brinjal	<i>kattarik-kây</i>	<i>kûḍḍan</i>	.....
Jak-fruit	<i>palak-kây</i>	<i>mullaṅ kûḍan</i>	.....
Coco-nut	<i>tên-kây</i>	<i>viḍalai</i>	.....
Betel	<i>vêṭtilai</i>	<i>mullaigan</i>	.....
Areka nut	<i>pâkku</i>	<i>tuvan-kây</i>	.....
Plantain	<i>valaip-palam</i>	<i>paṇḍil</i>	.....
Tobacco	<i>pukaiyilai</i>	<i>vâḍḍuṅ</i>	.....
Fish	<i>mîṅ</i>	<i>siṛâmal</i>	.....
Prawn	<i>irâl</i>	<i>mudakkaṅ</i>	.....
Flesh	<i>iraichchi</i>	<i>asaiyan</i>	.....
Vellâla ²	<i>veḷḷan</i>	<i>veppuk-kalukan</i>	<i>sullaṅ</i>
Barber	<i>ampadḍan</i>	<i>nakarakaḷukan</i>	<i>chôraitalli</i>
Dhoby	<i>vanḍan</i>		<i>tumpaigyḍan</i>
Nalava	<i>nalavan</i>	<i>pökkaṅ</i>	<i>kôttaiyan</i>
Toddy-drawer	<i>sâṅṛân</i> <i>sârapḍan</i> ³	<i>siṛamaik-kaḷukan</i>	<i>vinṇiyan</i>
Money	<i>kâsu</i>	.....	<i>valaiyam</i>
One fanam	<i>oru panam</i>	.....	<i>sâp-pani</i>
Two fanams	<i>irandû panam</i>	.....	<i>tuwâp-pani</i>
Three	<i>mâṅṅu</i>	.....	<i>tilu</i>
Four	<i>nâlu</i>	.....	<i>pâttu</i>
Five	<i>aintu</i>	.....	<i>tadda</i>
Six	<i>ârû</i>	.....	<i>taḍava</i>
Seven	<i>êlu</i>	.....	<i>nulaichcha</i>
House	<i>vidu</i>	.....	<i>kaviyal</i>
Beats	<i>adikkiratu</i>	.....	<i>ḍaykkiratu</i>
Comes	<i>varukiratu</i>	.....	<i>nedukiratu</i>
Gives	<i>tarukiratu</i>	.....	<i>chôrukiratu</i>

Ceylon.

J. P. LEWIS.

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.

Mañṭūr is a village about seven miles to the north-east of Mudhōl, the chief town of the Native State of Mudhōl in the so-called Southern Marāṭhā 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-Mañṭūr. The inscription is on a stone-tablet at a temple of Lakshmi in this village.

Of the emblems at the top of the stone, the only ones reported to me are a *lingu* 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 virama is represented only by its own proper sign. The average size of the letters in the first six lines is about ⅔"; but after that it diminishes to about ½" 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 Chālukya king Jayasimha III., who is here mentioned by his *biruda* of Jagadēkamalladēva. And it then mentions, evidently as one of his feudatories, the Raṭṭa Mahāsāmanta Eṣeyammarasa or Erega, who also had the name or *biruda* of Sēnana-Garuḍa or 'the Garuḍa of Sēna.'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 Mañṭūr under the name of Deyvada-Mañṭūr, which stands for Daivada- or Devvada-Mañṭūr, and means 'Mañṭūr of the demon or evil spirit, or haunted Mañṭūr,'² this inscription mentions a town named Poṭṭalakere, as a *neleviḍu* or capital³ of Jayasimha III. This name occurs in other records also. In an inscription at Balagāmve in Maisūr (*Pāli, Sanskrit, and Old-Kanarese Inscriptions*, No. 155, line 10, and *Elliot MS. Collection*, Vol. I. p. 59), it is mentioned as a *neleviḍu* of Jayasimha 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 Mañṭūr was formerly some such place as now is the well-known Narsobāwāḍī in the Kōlāpur State, at the junction of the Krishṇa and the Pañchagaṅgā (it is shewn in the map, Indian Atlas, sheet No. 40, as 'Murobā-waree'). Here there is a small but celebrated shrine of Dattātrēya, 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 (Marāṭhī, *bhūt*; Kanarese, *devva*), 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 *poṭṭalakere*, with the vowel *e* 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 Mañṭūr and Almēl 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, *poṭṭala*, is also written *poṭṭa*, *poṭṭana*, and *poṭṭa*, and seems to be used here in the meaning of 'a kind of syringe used in discharging the *ḍkuṣi*.' The latter word, *ḍkuṣi*, 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 Brāhmaṇ sprinkles the idol, and dancing-girls &c. sprinkle each other and the spectators.

fragmentary inscription at Almél in the Shindagi Tálukâ, Bijâpur District, it is mentioned as a *nelevîdu* of a Western Châlukya king who is referred to only by the *biruda* of Jagadêkanalla-dêva, but who, though the date of the record is lost, is in all probability Jayasimha III., and not a later Jagadêkamalla.⁵ And in an inscription at Alawaṇḍi in the Nizâm's Dominions (*Elliot MS. Collection*, Vol. I. p. 66), it is mentioned as a *nelevîdu* of the *Danḍanâyaka* Gaṇamayanâyaka, an officer of Jayasimha III.⁶ While, in the *Basava-Purâna*, chap. li., the name occurs, under the slightly different form of **Hoṭṭalakere**, again in connexion with Jayasimha 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 Alawaṇḍi inscription as the *nelevîdu* of a subordinate officer, whose authority cannot have extended very far, shews that we must look for it somewhere in the vicinity of Alawaṇḍi. And, that it cannot be Alawaṇḍi itself, is shewn by the fact that the latter name, written Alaviṇḍe in the transcription, occurs in the same record. I do not find the actual name of **Poṭṭalakere** or **Hoṭṭalakere** in the maps. But its locality is determined thus:—Alawaṇḍi is a village in the Koppal Tálukâ of the Nizâm's Dominions⁷ 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 Ballâri 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, *danṇâyaka* occurs as an abbreviated form or corruption of *danḍanâyaka*; 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 **Danḍanâyakana-kere**. And taking in conjunction with this, and with the manner in which Poṭṭalakere is mentioned in the Alawaṇḍi 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 **Danḍanâyakana-kere** is the modern representative of the ancient Poṭṭalakere.¹⁰

In the mention of **Hoṭṭalakere** in the *Basava-Purâna*, 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 *Śrâvakas* or Jains, and induced Dêsiṅga to adopt the Saiva or Liṅgâyat religion. The same story is epitomised in the *Channabasava-Purâna*, chap. lviii., 10, which

⁵ Here, in line 6, there was at first written *poṭṭalakereya nelevîdino*, 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 *ṭ* 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 *poṭṭalayakere*, including probably two mistakes.

⁷ This is according to the *Elliot MS. Collection*. I notice that Thornton's *Gazetteer* allots Koppal to the Ballâri District; but the book is not free from mistakes (e.g. 'Kokatnur,' thirty-two miles east of Bijâpur, is entered as being in the Shôlâpur District), and this may be one.

⁸ It might perhaps be thought that *kerra*, and still more *kera*, *kaira*, and *keira*, may stand for *khêdâ*, '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 Nârâyana,' six miles to the north-west of 'Dunnaikankerra'; the 'Hoskerra' 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 Hoṭṭalakere, '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 *Danḍanâyaka*,' in the Coimbatore District.

says that **Suggale**, the wife of the Jinabhakta **Dêsiᅅga Ballâla**, caused her *Guru Dêvara-Dâsa* to dispute with the Jains, and then, transforming a serpent in a box into a *liᅅga* made of the *chandrakânta* or moon-stone, she caused him to conquer, and induced her husband to become a *Sivabhakta*. The *Channabasava-Purâna* calls Dêsiᅅga a Ballâla, i.e. a Hoysala; but this is evidently a mistake. **Dêsiᅅga** is a corruption of **Jayasimha**; and the coincidence of the other names of Suggale or Suggaladêvi and Hoᅅalakere, shews conclusively that the story really refers to the **Western Châlukya king Jayasimha III.**, whose wife was **Suggaladêvi**.

The date of the grant, in line 5 f., is given as Saka-Saᅅvat 962, expressed in decimal figures, and not specified either as current or as expired, the *Vikrama saᅅvatsara*, on the fifth *tithi* in the bright fortnight of the month *Mârᅅasira*, coupled with *Âdityavâra* or Sunday. And in this passage we have again the puzzling word *srâhe*, which we have met with in the Guᅅigere 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 *srâhe* or *asrâhe*. In the Guᅅigere inscription, we had the Kanarese locative singular, *srâheyo!*; 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 *Siddhêsvara* at *Sirûr* in the *Bâgalkôᅇ Tâluka*, *Bijâpur District*; where the date is simply *Saka-varsha 900neya Kâlaka-saᅅvatsarada srâheyo!*. 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 *srâhe* 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 saᅅvatsara* coincided with Saka-Saᅅvat 963 current; i.e. with the given year as an expired year. But in this year *Mârᅅasira* *śukla* 5 ended, not on a Sunday, but on Tuesday, 11th November, A.D. 1040, at about 58 *ghaᅅis*, 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-Mârᅅasira* is to be taken as another name for, or as identical with, the ordinary *Kârttika*.

In the preceding year, Saka-Saᅅvat 962 current, with which the *Vikrama saᅅvatsara* 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, *Mârᅅasira* *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 *Âshâᅇha* intercalary, according to the published Tables. And no better result can be obtained if, instead of that, we take *Mârᅅasira* itself (or any subsequent month) as intercalary; for then the *tithi* *śukla* 5 of the intercalated (or natural) *Mârᅅasira* 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 versa*. 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-Saᅅvat 964 current, can a Sunday be obtained for the given *tithi*. In this year *Mârᅅasira* *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 *saᅅvatsara* from *Vikrama*, No. 14, to *Vᅅisha* or *Bhᅅiᅅya*, 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. 223 f.

In the three years in question, the Vriśchika-Saṁkrānti, which introduces the solar Mārgasīra, 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 Mārgasīra 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 versa*.

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* Mārgasīra 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 Mārgasīra śukla 2, and no rite prescribed for the *tithi*, to help to explain the unintelligible word.

TEXT.¹³

1	Ōm ¹⁴	Svasti	Samasta-bhuvan-āsre(śra)ya	śrī-pri(pri)thvi-vallabha	ma-
2	hārājādhirāja		paramēśvara	paramabhaṭṭārakaṁ	Satya-
3	śraya-kuḷa-tilakaṁ		Chāḷuky-ābharaṇaṁ		śrīmaj-Jagadēka-
4	malladēvar		Poṭṭalakeṛeya	neleviḍinōḷ=sukha-saṁtata ¹⁵ -vi-	
5	nōdadiṁ	rājyam-geyyuttam-ire [i*]	Sa(sa)ka-varsha	962neya	Vikrava(ma)-
6	saṁvatsarada		śrāheya ¹⁶ -Mārggasīra-suddha-5-Ādityavarad-aṁdu [i*]		
7	[Sva]sti		Samadhigatapanchamahāsabda-mahāsāmantam		jaya-vadhū-
8	kāntam	Lattalūr-ppuravar-ēsvaraṁ	pratāpa-Laṁkēsvaraṁ	svarṇṇa-Garuḍa-dhvajaṁ	
9	trivale-pareghōshanaṁ	raṇaraṅga-bhīṣanaṁ	Raṭṭa-vaṁs-ōdbhavaṁ	sindūra-lā[m]-	
10	chhanaṁ	birudara-siṅgaṁ	sāmeta-bhujāṅgaṁ	Raṭṭa-mārttaṅgaṁ	dhaḷa-muṭṭe-
11	gaṇḍam	gaṇḍa-tala-pra ¹⁷ hāri	maṇḍalaṁ-gāvaṁ	kaligaḷ-ādityaṁ	desekārara-dē[vaṁ]
12	gaṇḍar-oḷḍ-alivam	pisuniṅge-muḷivam	vādyā-vidyādharaṁ	sakala-kal[ā]-	
13	dharaṁ	Sarasvatī-karṇṇa-kuṇḍalaṁ	karppāra-varshaṁ	Siṅgana-Garuḍa-nām-[ā]-	
14	di-samasta-praśasti-sahitam		śrīman-mahāsāmantan=	Eṛeyamm-ara[san=i]-	
15	ral [i*]	Svasti	Yama-niyama-svādhyāya-japa-hōm-ānushṭhāna-parā[ya]-		
16	ṇar-appa		Deyvada ¹⁸ -Maṁtūr-odeya	Madhusūdanayya-pra[mu]-	
17	kla	mahājanam	Raṭṭa-samudravaṁ=agalisaḷ=emdu	paḍeda	dā[n-ā]-
18	rtta(rttha)m=āvud=enōḷ=Ūroḷ=enondu		puṭṭida	daṇḍāyam=ellam	kereg=i[ttam]
19	pratisiddhāyadoḷ=ayvattu		gadyāna	ponn=ā-chamdr-ārka-tāram	[baram]
20	naḍevud=Id=Erega-mahā-nri(nri)patiya		dānam=Innu	sau(sau)ryyam=e[nt-endo]-	
21	[d]e ||	Ōm [i*]	Srī ¹⁹ rāmā-kucha-kāta-ghaṭṭita-viśāḷ-ōra[h*]stha[ī] — —		
22	∪	Lakshmi-rāmā-ramaṇīya-dakṣhiṇa-bhujam		kīrtty-aṅganā-rū(?) ∪ — —	
23	— —	m	Kalikāla-kānana-surakṣhōṇījan=end=urvvarā-bhā — — ∪ ∪		
24	— ∪	udāttan=adhikam	śrī-Raṭṭa-Nārāyaṇam ||	Ele ²⁰	vairi-kshi[tip] — ∪
25	—	ja]ya-vadhū-śrōṇī-kaṭi-sūtramaṁ		lalit-ōrōja-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 *saṁkathā*.

¹⁶ Here again, as in the Guḍigere inscription, line 19 (*ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 39), and in the Śirūr inscription, we might read *saṁvatsarad-āśrāheya*. 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-āśrāheya*; and the puzzling word would be *āśrāhe*. The other instances however, do not support this.

¹⁷ This *pra* was at first omitted, and then was inserted above the line.

¹⁸ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

¹⁹ i. e. *daivada*, or *dervada*.

²⁰ Metre, Mattēbhavikrīḍita.

26	—	va]ktrâbja-kâsmîramam	chala-nêtr-â[m*]janama[m]	lalâta-tiḷa	—	—	—		
27	∪	—	—	ḷitaṁ māduvoḍ=anna	kāvu(Ṁbu)d=adarim	śrî-Baṭṭa-martta[ṇḍanaṁ ||]			
							²¹		
28	∪	—	∪	[i]dir-ānta	virôdhige	Râmachandran=embudu	Baḷabha[d]ra	—	∪
29	—	∪	∪	Vainatēyan=embudu	bala-vairiy=embudu			∪	—
30	∪	—	∪	[e]mbu[d]u	Kali-Karṇan=embu[duma(?)]n=e[m*]budu			—	∪
									[||]²²

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

While the glorious **Jagadêkamalladêva**-(Jayasimha III.) (line 3), the asylum of the universe, the favourite of fortune and of the earth, the *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, the *Paramêsvara*, the *Paramabhâṭṭâraka*, the ornament of the family of **Satyâsraya** (l. 2-3), the glory of the **Châlukyas**, is reigning, with the delight of pleasing conversations, at the capital of **Poṭṭalakere** (l. 4): —

On Sunday, the 5th tithi in the bright fortnight of (the month) **Srâheya-Mârgasira** of the **Vikrama saṁvatsara**, which is the 962nd Saka year (l. 5):—

While there is the illustrious **Mahasamanta Eṛeyammarasa** (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 *trivale*; ²³ who is born in the **Baṭṭa** 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 *Ūroḍe* of the village of **Deyvada-Mantûr** (l. 16), — saying “Let us dive into the **Baṭṭa** 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 *gadyâṅgas* of gold, out of the (*tax called*) *pratisiddhâya*. This is the grant of the great king **Erega** (l. 20).

The rest of the inscription contains mutilated verses, praising the heroism of **Eṛeyamma** or **Erega**, in which he is called **Baṭṭa-Nârâyana**, or “a **Nârâyana** among the **Raṭṭas**” (l. 24), and “the sun of the **Raṭṭas**,” (l. 27), and is likened to **Râmachandra** (l. 28), **Baḷabhadra**, **Vainatēya** (l. 29), and the **Karṇa** of the **Kali**-age (l. 30).

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 *trivali* and *trivali* of other **Baṭṭa** inscriptions.

²⁴ *lâṅkhana*; 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 *Baṭṭa-samudravan-agaḷisal-endu*. I cannot find any other meaning for these words.

EXAMINATION OF QUESTIONS CONNECTED WITH THE VIKRAMA ERA^A

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

(Continued from page 40.)

B. — DATES IN DARK FORTNIGHTS.

1. — Dates in the months Kārttika to Phālguna.

(a). — Dates in Current Years.

(A). — Pūrṇimānta Dates.

81. — V. 1209. — Dr. Peterson's *First Report* (1882-83), App. p. 97. Date of a MS. of the *Piṇḍaniryuktī* : —

Samvat 1209 Kārttika-vadi 12 Sōmē.

V. 1209 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Monday, 8 October, A.D. 1151; the 12th *tithi* of the dark half ended 19 h. 3 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Wednesday, 7 November, A.D. 1151.

V. 1209 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Saturday, 27 September, A.D. 1152.

amānta : 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. Kaḍi copper-plate inscription of the Chaulukya Bhīmadēva II. : —

(L. 19) Srimat(d)-Vikramādity-ōtpādita-saṁvatsara-śatēshu dvādaśasu shatna(ṇṇa)vaty-uttarēshu Mārggamāsiya-kriṣṇa-chaturddaśyām Bavi-vārē śtr-sāṁkatō spi || Vikrama-saṁvat 1296 varshē Mārgga-vadi 14 Bavav=ady=ēha śrīmad-Aṇahillapāṭakē

V. 1296 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Sunday, 7 November, A.D. 1238; the 14th *tithi* of the dark half ended 5 h. 36 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Tuesday, 7 December, A.D. 1238.

V. 1296 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Thursday, 27 October, A.D. 1239.

amānta : Saturday, 26 November, A.D. 1239; the 14th *tithi* of the dark half ended 1 h. 51 m. after mean sunrise.

(B). — Amānta Dates.

None.

(b). — Dates in Expired Years.

(A). — Pūrṇimānta Dates.

83. — V. 1043. — *ante*, Vol. VI. p. 192. Kaḍi copper-plate inscription of the Chaulukya Mūlarāja : —

(Plate i. L. 8) śrīmad-Aṇahillapāṭaka-sthān-āvasthitair = asmābhīḥ sūryagrahaṇa-parvvaṇi

(Plate ii. L. 10) . . . Samvat 1043 Māgha-vadi 15 Bavau.

V. 1043 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Wednesday, 13 January, A.D. 986; a total solar eclipse, not visible in India.

amānta : Thursday, 11 February, A.D. 986; no eclipse.

V. 1043 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : 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.

amānta : Tuesday, 1 February, A.D. 987; no eclipse.

84.—V. 1177. — *Jour. Amer. Or. Soc.*, Vol. VI. p. 542. Copper-plate inscription of the *Mahārājādhirāja* Virasimhadēva : —

Samvat 1177 Kārttika-vadi amāvāsya¹ Ravi-dinē 3dy = ēha śrīman-Nalapura-mahādurgē
. . . paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī-Virasimhadēvō vijayī . . .

V. 1177 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Monday, 6 October, A.D. 1119 ; the new-moon *tithi* ended 5 h. 53 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Tuesday, 4 November, A.D. 1119.

V. 1177 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Sunday, 24 October, A.D. 1120 ; the new-moon *tithi* ended 4 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise. (A solar eclipse, visible in India).

amānta : 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 Ajaygadh, of the reign of the Chandēlla Madanavarman : —

(L. 1.) . . . Samvat 1208 Mārgga-vadi 15 Sa(sa)nau.

V. 1208 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Tuesday, 21 November, A.D. 1150.

amānta : Wednesday, 20 December, A.D. 1150.

V. 1208 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Saturday, 10 November, A.D. 1151 ; the 15th *tithi* of the dark half ended 3 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : 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 *Daśavaikālika-sūtra*, &c., of the reign of the *Mahārājādhirāja* Jaitrasimhadēva : —

Samvat 1284 varshē Phālgun-āmāvāsya^m Sōmē ady=ēha śrīmad-Āghātadurgē samastarajāvali-samalaṁkṛita-mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Jaitrasimhadēva-kalyāṇavijayarājyē . . .

V. 1284 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Wednesday, 17 February, A.D. 1227.

amānta : Friday, 19 March, A.D. 1227.

V. 1284 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Monday, 7 February, A.D. 1228 ; the new-moon *tithi* ended 9 h. 17 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : 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 Vaidyanātha at Kīragrāma : —

(L. 1.) . . . Samvat 1296 varshē Phāguṇa-vadi 5 Bavau Kīragrāmē.

V. 1296 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Wednesday, 26 January, A.D. 1239.

amānta : Thursday, 24 February, A.D. 1239.

V. 1296 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Sunday, 15 January, A.D. 1240 ; the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 11 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : 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 *varshē* of the date by 'in the (civil) year,' "because sometimes *laukika-varshē* appears in its stead after dates of the Vikrama era." — I have not found the expression *laukika-varshē* in any of the dates examined by me).

¹ Dr. Hall has changed this unnecessarily to *amāvāsya*.

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[m]vat 1372 P[au]sha-vadi 10 **Sanau.**

V. 1372 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Tuesday, 3 December, A.D. 1314.

amānta : Wednesday, 1 January, A.D. 1315.

V. 1372 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Saturday, 22 November, A.D. 1315 ; the 10th *tithi* of the dark half ended 11 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : 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 *Kammapayādi* : —

Samvat 1451 varshê Phâgūṇa-vadi 12 **Budhê** ady=êha Stambhatîrthê . . .

V. 1451 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Thursday, 29 January, A.D. 1394 ; the 12th *tithi* of the dark half ended 10 h. 48 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Friday, 27 February, A.D. 1394.

V. 1451 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Wednesday, 17 February, A.D. 1395 ; the 12th *tithi* of the dark half ended 13 h. 11 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : 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 Durgasimha's *Liṅgakārikā-vritti* (written in a Bengali hand) : —

Sri-Vikramasēnasy=âtita-sam 1479 Mârḡasîrsha-badi 14 **Sukrê** Kapisîâ-grâmê likhitam.

V. 1479 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Monday, 24 November, A.D. 1421.

amānta : Tuesday, 23 December, A.D. 1421.

V. 1479 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Friday, 13 November, A.D. 1422 ; the 14th *tithi* of the dark half ended 9 h. 51 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : 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 Gwâlîor : —

(L. 1.) . . . Samvatu 1503 varishê Phâgūṇa-vadi 10 **Su(su)kra-di[va]sê.**

V. 1503 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Saturday, 22 January, A.D. 1446 ; the 10th *tithi* of the dark half ended 13 h. 11 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : 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, —

pūrṇimānta : Friday, 10 February, A.D. 1447 ; the 10th *tithi* of the dark half ended 15 h. 39 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : 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* : —

Likhitam Vârâṇasî-sthânât Vyâsamâdhavajî || Sam 1693 varshê Mâgha-vadi 1 **Ravau.**

V. 1693 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Wednesday, 13 January, A.D. 1636.

amānta : Thursday, 11 February, A.D. 1636.

V. 1693 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Sunday, 1 January, A.D. 1637 ; the first *tithi* of the dark half ended 17 h. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Tuesday, 31 January, A.D. 1637.

93. — **V. 1715.** — Professor Weber's *Catalogue*, Vol. I. p. 22. Date of a MS. of the *Suparnādhyāya* : —

Saṁvat 1715 Kārttika-vadi 4 Bhaumē Vārāṇasyām likhitaṁ.

V. 1715 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Friday, 16 October, A.D. 1657.

amānta : Sunday, 15 November, A.D. 1657.

V. 1715 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Tuesday, 5 October, A.D. 1658 ; the 4th *tithi* of the dark half ended 11 h. 46 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Thursday, 4 November, A.D. 1658.

94. — **V. 1717.** — Date of the Deccan College Sārada MS. of the *Kāsikā-Vṛitti* :—

Srī-nṛipa-Vikramāditya-rājyasya gat-ābdāḥ 1717 srī-Saptarshi-matē saṁvat 36 Paṇ. [va.] ti. 3 Ravau Tishya-nakshatrē. sampūrṇā.

V. 1717 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Monday, 21 November, A.D. 1659 ; the third *tithi* of the dark half ended 23 h. 5 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Wednesday, 21 December, A.D. 1659.

V. 1717 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : 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.

amānta : Tuesday, 8 January, A.D. 1661.

95. — **V. 1747.** — Professor Bhāṇḍārkar's *Third Report* (1883-84), p. 448. Date of a MS. of Vinayarāma's commentary on the *Kirātārjunīya* : —

Saṁvat 1747 varshē Phālguna(na)-māsē kṛishṇa-pakshē aṣṭamyām tithau Kuja-vāsarē likhitaṁ . . . śrī-Karṇapūra-varē.

V. 1747 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Wednesday, 22 January, A.D. 1690 ; the 8th *tithi* of the dark half ended 18 h. 4 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Friday, 21 February, A.D. 1690.

V. 1747 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Tuesday, 10 February, A.D. 1691 ; the 8th *tithi* of the dark half ended 14 h. 49 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Thursday, 12 March, A.D. 1691.

96. — **V. 1875.** — *ante*, Vol. IX. p. 194. Nepāl stone inscription of Lalitatripurāsundarī : — Tasminn=ēva śakē (i.e. bāṇa-svara-nāga-bhū-mitē 1875 śakē) Mārṅga-kṛishṇa-paṅchamyām Budhē.

V. 1875 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Saturday, 29 November, new style, A.D. 1817.

amānta : Sunday, 28 December, new style, A.D. 1817.

V. 1875 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Wednesday, 18 November, new style, A.D. 1818 ; the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 4 h. 41 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Friday, 18 December, new style, A.D. 1818.

(B). — Amānta Dates.

97. — **V. 1303.** — Dr. Peterson's *First Report* (1882-83), App. p. 40. Date of a MS. of the *Āchārāṅga-sūtra*, of the reign of the Chaulukya Viśaladēva :—

Saṁvat 1303 varshê Mārga-vadi 12 Gurau ady=ēha śrīmad-Anāhilapāṭakê mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Viśaladēva-rājyê mahāmātya-śrī-Tējahpāla-pratipattau.

V. 1303 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Friday, 17 November, A.D. 1245; the 12th *tithi* of the dark half ended 22 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Sunday, 17 December, A.D. 1245.

V. 1303 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Tuesday, 6 November, A.D. 1246.

amānta : 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 Siyāl Bêt, Bābariāwāḍ, Kāthiāwāḍ :—

Saṁvat 1315 varshê Phāguṇa-vadi 7 Sanau Anurādhā-nakshatrê sdy=ēha śrī-Madhumatyām . . .

V. 1315 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Sunday, 27 January, A.D. 1258; the 7th *tithi* of the dark half ended 17 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Tuesday, 26 February, A.D. 1258.

V. 1315 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Friday, 17 January, A.D. 1259; the 7th *tithi* of the dark half ended 6 h. 18 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Saturday, 15 February, A.D. 1259; the 7th *tithi* of the dark half ended 17 h. and the *nakshatra* was Anurādhā 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 Aśaḍa's *Vivēkamañjarī* :—

Chakshur-lôchana-vishtap-Ātrinayana-prôdbhûta-saṁvatsarê
mâsê Kārttika-nāmnî Chandra-sahitê kṛishṇ-âshtamî-vâsarê !

V. 1322 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Tuesday, 14 October, A.D. 1264; the 8th *tithi* of the dark half ended 11 h. 37 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Thursday, 13 November, A.D. 1264.

V. 1322 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Sunday, 4 October, A.D. 1265; the 8th *tithi* of the dark half ended 1 h. 17 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : 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 *Prasūda* on the *Prakriyā-kaumudî* :—

Saṁvat 1536 varshê Māgha-vadi êkādaśî Bavau śrīmad-Ānaṁdapura-sthānôttamê . . .

V. 1536 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Monday, 18 January, A.D. 1479; the 11th *tithi* of the dark half ended 18 h. 4 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Wednesday, 17 February, A.D. 1479.

V. 1536 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Saturday, 8 January, A.D. 1480; the 11th *tithi* of the dark half ended 1 h. 38 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : 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 Bhāṇḍārkar'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 *Sōbhana-stutayah* :—

Samvat 16 Āshāḍhādī² 99 varshē Phālguna-vadi 11 tithau **Sōma-dinē**.

V. 1699 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Tuesday, 15 February, A.D. 1642 ; the 11th *tithi* of the dark half ended 9 h. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Wednesday, 16 March, A.D. 1642.

V. 1699 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Sunday, 5 February, A.D. 1643 ; the 11th *tithi* of the dark half ended 0 h. 4 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : 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 *Rishi-brāhmaṇa* :—

Samvat 1738 varshē Phālguna-māsē kṛishṇa-pakshē 9 **Sōmē** Avaraṅgāvāda-madhyē.

V. 1738 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Wednesday, 2 February, A.D. 1681.

amānta : Thursday, 3 March, A.D. 1681.

V. 1738 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Sunday, 22 January, A.D. 1682 ; the 9th *tithi* of the dark half ended 4 h. 41 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : 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 **pūrṇimānta** dates of current years
or **amānta** dates of expired years.

103.—**V. 1229**. — Dr. Peterson's *Third Report* (1884-86), App. p. 34. Date of a MS. of Dharmōttarāchārya's *Nyāyavindu-tīkā* : —

Samvat 1229 varshē Mārga-vadi 9 **Sōmē**.

V. 1229 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Monday, 25 October, A.D. 1171 ; the 9th *tithi* of the dark half ended 2 h. 8 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Tuesday, 23 November, A.D. 1171.

V. 1229 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Sunday, 12 November, A.D. 1172.

amānta : 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. Rēwah copper-plate inscription of the *Mahā-rāṇaka* Salakhaṇavarmadēva, of the time of the Chēdi ruler Vijayadēva : —

(L. 13) . . . samvatsaraṅgām sa[m]vata(t) 1253 Mārggaśira-māsē kṛishṇa-pakshē saptamyām tithau **Sukra-dinē** Kakarēdyām sthānē.

V. 1253 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Friday, 27 October, A.D. 1195 ; the 7th *tithi* of the dark half ended 7 h. 39 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Saturday, 25 November, A.D. 1195.

V. 1253 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Thursday, 14 November, A.D. 1196.

² Professor Bhāṇḍārkar has informed me that this is the actual reading of the MS.

amānta : 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 Jinadāsagani's *Visésanisīha-chuṅṅi* : —

Saṁvat 1359 varshê Mārga-vadi 5 Sōma-varê.

V. 1359 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Monday, 23 October, A.D. 1301; the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 1 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Tuesday, 21 November, A.D. 1301.

V. 1359 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Sunday, 11 November, A.D. 1302.

amānta : 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 Prajñānānanda's *Tattvālōka-tīkā* : —

Saṁvat 1432 varshê Mārgaśīrshê māsi kṛishṇa-pakshê navamyām tithau Sōma-vasarê ady=êha śrīmad-Anahillapattana-vāstavyēna Śrīpatinā pustakam=alēkhi.

V. 1432 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Monday, 30 October, A.D. 1374; the 9th *tithi* of the dark half ended 8 h. 9 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Tuesday, 28 November, A.D. 1374.

V. 1432 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Sunday, 18 November, A.D. 1375.

amānta : 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 *Tāṇḍya-brāhmaṇa* : —

Saṁvat 1535 varshê Pausha-māsê kṛishṇa-pakshê 13 trayōdaśyām Budhê sdy=êha śrī-Vṛiddhanagarê.

V. 1535 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Wednesday, 3 December, A.D. 1477; the 13th *tithi* of the dark half ended 7 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Friday, 2 January, A.D. 1478.

V. 1535 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Tuesday, 22 December, A.D. 1478.

amānta : 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 Āsvina.

(a). — Dates in Northern Current Years.

(A). — Pūrṇimānta Dates.

108. — **V. 1202.** — *List of Antiquarian Remains Bo. Pres.*, p. 180. Stone inscription at Māngrol in Kāṭhiāwād, of the reign of the Chaulukya Kumārapāla : —

Śrīmad-Vikrama-saṁvat 1202 tathā śrī-Siṁha-saṁvat 32 Āśvina-vadi 13 Sōmê.

Northern V. 1202 current, —

pūrṇimānta : 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.

amānta : Wednesday, 27 September, A.D. 1144.

Northern V. 1202 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Sunday, 16 September, A.D. 1145.

amānta : 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, —

pūrṇimānta : Thursday, 5 September, A.D. 1146.

amānta : Saturday, 5 October, A.D. 1146.

109. — V. 1256. — *ante*, Vol. XI. p. 71. Copper-plate inscription of the Chaulukya Bhīmadēva II. : —

(L. 17) . . . Srimad-Vikramādity-ōtpādita-saṁvatsara-śatēshu dvādaśasu shatpāñchāśad-uttarēshu Bhādrapada-māsa-kṛishṇa-paksh-āmāvāsyāyām Bhō(bhau)ma-vārē str=āmkatō spi saṁvat 1256 lau° Bhādrapada-vadi 15 Bhaumē ssyām saṁvatsara-māsa-paksha-vāra-pūrvvī-kāyām tithāv=ady=ēha śrīmad-Anahilapātākē Smāvāsyā-parvaṇi snātvā . . .

Northern V. 1256 current, —

pūrṇimānta : 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).

amānta : Thursday, 3 September, A.D. 1198.

Northern V. 1256 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Monday, 23 August, A.D. 1199.

amānta : 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, —

pūrṇimānta : Friday, 11 August, A.D. 1200.

amānta : Sunday, 10 September, A.D. 1200.

(B). — Amānta Dates.

None.

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

(A). — Pūrṇimānta Dates.

110. — V. 960. — *ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 202. Stone inscription from Tērahi : —

(L. 1). . . . Saṁ [|| ?] 960 Bhādrapad[a]-vadi 4 Sanau || Ady=ēha Madhuvēnyām . . .

Northern V. 960 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Tuesday, 27 July, A.D. 902.

amānta : Wednesday, 25 August, A.D. 902.

In northern V. 960 expired Bhādrapada was intercalary; for the solar Bhādrapada 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 Bhādrapada was, —

pūrṇimānta : Saturday, 16 July, A.D. 903, when the 4th *tithi* of the dark half ended 14 h. 48 m. after mean sunrise;

amānta :⁴ Monday, 15 August, A.D. 903; and of the second Bhādrapada, —

amānta : Tuesday, 13 September, A.D. 903.

Southern V. 960 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Friday, 3 August, A.D. 904.

amānta : 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, *amānta*, is of course also the day for the second month, *pūrṇimānta*.

111. — V. 1011. — Professor Bendall's *Journey*, p. 82. Stone inscription at Ambêr in Râjputâna: —

Saṁvat 1011 Bhâdrapadé(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 *Mahârâjâ-dhirâja* Trilôchanapâladêva: —

(L. 8). . . . adya puṇyê=hani dakshinâyana-saṁkrântau . . .

(L. 16). . . . Saṁ 1084 Śrâvaṇa-vadi 4.

Northern V. 1084 current, —

pûrṇimânta: 6 July, A.D. 1026.

amânta: 5 August, A.D. 1026.

Dakshinâyana-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 Dakshinâyana-saṁkrânti took place on 25 June, 16 h. 32 m. after mean sunrise.

amânta: 25 July, A.D. 1027.

In southern V. 1084 expired Śrâvaṇa was intercalary; for the solar Śrâvaṇa 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 Śrâvaṇa was, —

pûrṇimânta: 14 June, A.D. 1028;

amânta: 13 July, A.D. 1028; and of the second Śrâvaṇa, —

amânta: 12 August, A.D. 1028.

Dakshinâyana-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.

pūrṇimānta : 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, —

amānta : 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 :—

. . . śrī-Bhṛigukachchha-samāvâsitair = asmâbhiḥ saptaty-adhika-dvâdaśa-śata-saṁvatsarê Vaiśâkha-vadi amāvâsyâyâm sūryagrahaṇa-parvaṇi . . .

. . . saṁvat 1270 Vaiśâkha-vadi 15 Sômê.

Northern V. 1270 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Tuesday, 3 April, A.D. 1212; no eclipse.

amānta : Wednesday, 2 May, A.D. 1212; a total solar eclipse, not visible in India.

Northern V. 1270 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : 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.

amānta : Tuesday, 21 May, A.D. 1213; no eclipse.

Southern V. 1270 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Friday, 11 April, A.D. 1214; a solar eclipse, not visible in India.

amānta : 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 Udayasimhadêva :—

Saṁvat 1306 varshê Bhâdravâ-vadi 6 Ravāv = ady = êha śrī-mahârâjakula-śrī-Udaya-simhadêva-kalyânavijayarâjyê.

Northern V. 1306 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Wednesday, 12 August, A.D. 1248.

amānta : Thursday, 10 September, A.D. 1248.

Northern V. 1306 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Sunday, 1 August, A.D. 1249; the 6th *tithi* of the dark half ended 12 h. 7 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Tuesday, 31 August, A.D. 1249.

Southern V. 1306 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Thursday, 21 July, A.D. 1250.

amānta : 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, —

pūrṇimānta : Monday, 10 August, A.D. 1332.

amānta : Wednesday, 9 September, A.D. 1332.

Northern V. 1390 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Saturday, 31 July, A.D. 1333; the 4th *tithi* of the dark half ended 6 h. 44 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Sunday, 29 August, A.D. 1333.

Southern V. 1390 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Wednesday, 20 July, A.D. 1334.

amānta : 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 *pūrṇimānta* 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.

pûrñimânta : Thursday, 3 March, A.D. 1524.

Northern V. 1581 expired, —

amânta : Friday, 1 April, A.D. 1524.

pûrñimânta : 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 Dêvaviyagani's *Râma-charitra*, of the reign of the emperor Akbar :⁷ —

Saṁvat 1652 varshê Âsvina-mâsê krishṇa-pakshê dasamyâm tithau Guru-Pushya-yôgê śrîman-Marusthalyâm jyêshṭha-sthityâm sthitêna paṁ° śrî-Dêvaviyagêna śrî-Mâlapura-nagarê śrîmad-Akabbara-râjyê virachitam śrî-Râmâyaṇam.

Northern V. 1652 current, —

pûrñimânta : Friday, 30 August, A.D. 1594.

amânta : Sunday, 29 September, A.D. 1594.

Northern V. 1652 expired, —

pûrñimânta : 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, —

pûrñimânta : 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* Âslêshâ.

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). . . Srîman-nripati-Vikramaditya-saṁvatsarê 1717 śrî-Salivâhana-śakê 1582 śrî-Sâstra-saṁvatsarê 36 Vaiśâsha(kha)-vadi trayôdasâyâm Vu(bu)dha-vâsarê | Mêshê=rka-saṁkr[â]ntau . . .

Northern V. 1717 current, —

pûrñimânta : 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, —

pûrñimânta : 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, —

pûrñimânta : 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 Lalitatripurâsundarî : — Tasminn-êva śakê (i. e. vêda-sapta-gaj-êndu-mitê 1874 Vaikramê śakê) Bhâdra-krishṇa-navamyâm Suklê.

⁶ This would also be the proper equivalent for a pûrñimânta Chaitra of Southern V. 1581 expired.

⁷ A.D. 1556 — 1605.

Northern V. 1874 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Saturday, 17 August, new style, A.D. 1816.

amānta : Monday, 16 September, new style, A.D. 1816.

Northern V. 1874 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Friday, 5 September, new style, A.D. 1817; the 9th *tithi* of the dark half ended 6 h. 44 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Saturday, 4 October, new style, A.D. 1817.

Southern V. 1874 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Tuesday, 25 August, new style, A.D. 1818.

amānta : 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. Nepāl stone inscription of Lalitatripurāsundarī : — Pātāla-lōka-vasu-vasumatī-śakē Jyēshtā(shṭha)-krishṇa-daśamyām Ravau.

Northern V. 1877 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Wednesday, 19 May, new style, A.D. 1819.

amānta : Thursday, 17 June, new style, A.D. 1819.

In northern V. 1877 expired Jyaishtā was intercalary; for the solar Jyaishtā 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 Jyaishtā was, —

pūrṇimānta : Sunday, 7 May, new style, A.D. 1820, when the 10th *tithi* of the dark half ended 17 h. 13 m. after mean sunrise;

amānta : Tuesday, 6 June, new style, A.D. 1820; and of the second Jyaishtā, —

amānta : Wednesday, 5 July, new style, A.D. 1820.

Southern V. 1877 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Saturday, 26 May, new style, A.D. 1821.

amānta : Monday, 25 June, new style, A.D. 1821; the 10th *tithi* of the dark half ended 0 h. 34 m. after mean sunrise.

(B). — Amānta Dates.

122. — V. 1261. — Dr. Peterson's *Third Report* (1884-86), App. p. 45. Date of a MS. of Mānatungasūri's *Siddhajayantī-charitra*,⁸ of the reign of the Chaulukya Bhīmadēva II. : —

Svasti sri-Vikrama-narēndra-samvat 1261 varshē Āsvina-vadi 7 Ravau Pushya-nakshatrē Subha-yōgē śrīmad-Anahilapātakē mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Bhīmadēva-kalyānavijaya-rājyē pravarttamānē . . .

Northern V. 1261 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Saturday, 30 August, A.D. 1203; the 7th *tithi* of the dark half ended 19 h. 3 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : 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, —

pūrṇimānta : Friday, 17 September, A.D. 1204.

amānta : 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 *yōga* Subha up to 11 h. 37 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1261 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Wednesday, 7 September, A.D. 1205.

amānta : Thursday, 6 October, A.D. 1205.

⁸ See below, No. 186.

123. — V. 1350. — Professor Bhândārkar's *Third Report* (1883-84), p. 326. Date of the composition of Jayanta's *Kāvya-prakāśa-dīpikā*, of the reign of the Vāghēla Śāraṅgadēva : —

Śrīḥ saṁvat 1350 varshē Jyēshṭha-vadi 3 Ravau ; ady=ēha Āsāpalli-samāvāsita-śrīmad-vijayakatakē sakal-ārātibhūpāla-maulimukṭ-ālaṁkāra-bhūshita - pādapaṁkaja - mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Śāraṅgadēva-kalyāṇavijayarājyē . . .

Northern V. 1350 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Tuesday, 6 May, A.D. 1292.

amānta : Wednesday, 4 June, A.D. 1292.

Northern V. 1350 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Saturday, 25 April, A.D. 1293 ; the third *tithi* of the dark half ended 4 h. 19 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : 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 Jyāishṭha was intercalary ; for the solar Jyāishṭha 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 Jyāishṭha was —

pūrṇimānta : Wednesday, 14 April, A. D. 1294 ;

amānta : Thursday, 13 May, A.D. 1294 ; and of the second Jyāishṭha, —

amānta : 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, Khêḍā (Kaira) :—

(L. 1) . . . Saṁvat 1553 varshē Śrāvāṇa-vadi 13 Ravau ady=ēha śrī-Stambhatīrtha-vāstavya . . .

Northern V. 1553 current, —

pūrṇimānta : 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.

amānta : Tuesday, 18 August, A.D. 1495.

Northern V. 1553 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Friday, 8 July, A.D. 1496.

amānta : 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 Śrāvāṇa was intercalary ; for the solar Śrāvāṇa 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 Śrāvāṇa was, —

pūrṇimānta : Wednesday, 28 June, A.D. 1497 ;

amānta : Thursday, 27 July, A.D. 1497 ; and of the second Śrāvāṇa, —

amānta : 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). — Pūrṇimānta Dates.

125. — V. 1192. — *Jour. Bēng. As. Soc.*, Vol. XVII., Part i., p. 322 ; and *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XXI. p. 35, and Plate x., D. Rock inscription at Kālañjar : —

(L. 4) . . . Saṁvat 1192 Jyēshṭha-vadi 9 Ravau.

In northern V. 1192 current Jyāishṭha was intercalary ; for the solar Jyāishṭha 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 Jyāishṭha was, —

pūrṇimānta : Thursday, 19 April, A.D. 1134 ;

amānta : 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*, —

amānta : 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, —

pūrṇimānta : Wednesday, 8 May, A.D. 1135.

amānta : Friday, 7 June, A.D. 1135.

Southern V. 1192 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Sunday, 26 April, A.D. 1136 ; the 9th *tithi* of the dark half ended 14 h. 18 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Tuesday, 26 May, A.D. 1136.

126. — V. 1225. — From a rubbing supplied to me by Dr. Burgess. Phulwariya (?) stone inscription of the Jāpiliya *Nāyaka* Pratāpadhavalā :⁹ —

(L. 3). — Saṃvat 1225 Vaisā(sā)kha-vadi 12 Gurau Jāpiliya-nāyaka-sri-Pratāpadhavalasya kī[r]ttir = iyaṃ ॥

Northern V. 1225 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Tuesday, 18 April, A.D. 1167.

amānta : Wednesday, 17 May, A.D. 1167 ; the 12th *tithi* of the dark half ended 18 h. 28 m. after mean sunrise.

Northern V. 1225 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Sunday, 7 April, A.D. 1168.

amānta : Monday, 6 May, A.D. 1168.

Southern V. 1225 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Thursday, 27 March, A.D. 1169 ; the 12th *tithi* of the dark half ended 5 h. 19 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : 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 Mahōba : —

(L. 15) . . . Vyōm-ārṇav-ārka-saṃkhyātē Sāhasāṃkasya vatsarē . . .

(L. 17) . . . Saṃvat 1240 Āshāḍha-vadi 9 Śō[m]ṣ.

Northern V. 1240 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Friday, 28 May, A.D. 1182.

amānta : Saturday, 26 June, A.D. 1182.

Northern V. 1240 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Wednesday, 15 June, A.D. 1183.

amānta : Friday, 15 July, A.D. 1183.

Southern V. 1240 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Monday, 4 June, A.D. 1184 ; the 9th *tithi* of the dark half ended 18 h. after mean sunrise.

amānta : 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 Jhānsī : —

(L. 19). . . . Saṃvat 1318 Śrāvāṇa-vadi 2 Vu(bu)dha-dinē.

Northern V. 1318 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Saturday, 26 June, A.D. 1260.

amānta : Sunday, 25 July, A.D. 1260.

⁹ See below, No. 143.

Northern V. 1318 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Thursday, 16 June, A.D. 1261 ; the second *tithi* of the dark half ended 5 h. 15 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Friday, 15 July, A.D. 1261.

Southern V. 1318 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Wednesday, 5 July, A.D. 1262 ; the second *tithi* of the dark half ended 5 h. 19 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : 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. Verāval stone inscription of the reign of the Vāghēla Arjunadēva : —

(L. 2). Śrī-Viśvanātha-prativa(ba)ddha-tau(nau)janānām vō(bō)dhakara-sēla-Maham-mada-saṁvat 662 tathā śrī-nṛipa-[Vi]krama-saṁ 1320 tathā śrīmad-Valabhi-saṁ 945 tathā śrī-Siṁha-saṁ 151 varshē Āshāḍha-vadi 13 Ravav=ady=ēha-śrīmat(d). Arjunadēva-pravarddhamāna-kalyānavijayarājyē iha śrī-Sōmanāthadēvapattanē . . .

Northern V. 1320 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Friday, 16 June, A.D. 1262.

amānta : 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, —

pūrṇimānta : Tuesday, 5 June, A.D. 1263.

amānta : Wednesday, 4 July, A.D. 1263.

In southern V. 1320 expired Āshāḍha was intercalary ; for the solar Āshāḍha 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 Āshāḍha was, —

pūrṇimānta : Sunday, 25 May, A.D. 1264, when the 13th *tithi* of the dark half ended 6 h. 35 m. after mean sunrise ;

amānta : 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 Āshāḍha, —

amānta : Tuesday, 22 July, A.D. 1264.

130. — V. 1490. — Professor Aufrecht's *Catalogue*, p. 351. Date of a MS. of Halāyudha's *Abhidhānaratnamālā*, of the reign of the Sultān Ahamada¹⁰ : —

Saṁvat 1490 varshē Vi(vai)śākha-vadi 9 navamyām tithau Sa(sa)ni-dinē | ady=ēha śrī-Vatapadra-maṁḍala-karaṇē | suratṛāṇa-śrī-Ahamada-vijayarājyē | malika-śrī-Mahamada-Ēdala-pratipattau ||

Northern V. 1490 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Wednesday, 26 March, A.D. 1432.

amānta : Thursday, 24 April, A.D. 1432.

Northern V. 1490 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Tuesday, 14 April, A.D. 1433.

amānta : Wednesday, 13 May, A.D. 1433.

Southern V. 1490 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Saturday, 3 April, A.D. 1434 ; the 9th *tithi* of the dark half ended 10 h. 21 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : 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 *Kālachakra-tantra* : —

Paramabhaṭṭarak-ētyādi-rājāvali pūrvavat śrīmad-Vikramādityadēvapādanam=

¹⁰ Sultān Ahmad, A.D. 1410 — 1442 ; Bayley, *History of Gujarāt*, Index.

atita-rājyē sañ 1503 Bhādra-vadi 13 Budhē . . . likhit-ēyam Magadhadēśiya-Kajhāragrāma-sā(sā)sanika-kāranakāyastha-śrī-Jayarāmadattēn-ēti | Kēraki-grām-āvasthitēna ||

Northern V. 1503 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Sunday, 1 August, A.D. 1445.

amānta : 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, —

pūrṇimānta : Saturday, 20 August, A.D. 1446.

amānta : Monday, 19 September, A.D. 1446.

Southern V. 1503 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Wednesday, 9 August, A.D. 1447 ; the 13th *tithi* of the dark half ended 11 h. 50 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Friday, 8 September, A.D. 1447.

132. — V. 1538. — Professor Eggeling's *Catalogue*, p. 217. Date of a MS. of an *Ākhyā-tāvachūri* on the *Haṁsa-vyākaraṇa* : —

Saivvat 1538 varshē Śrāvāṇa-vadi 1 Sōmē Sāraṅgapura-nagarē likhitam.

Northern V. 1538 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Friday, 23 June, A.D. 1480.

amānta : Saturday, 22 July, A.D. 1480.

Northern V. 1538 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Thursday, 12 July, A.D. 1481.

amānta : Friday, 10 August, A.D. 1481.

Southern V. 1538 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Monday, 1 July, A.D. 1482 ; the first *tithi* of the dark half ended 17 h. 51 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Wednesday, 31 July, A.D. 1482.

(B). — Amānta Dates.

133. — V. 994. — *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. p. 176. Stone inscription from Siyaḍōṇi : — (L. 26). . . . Saivvat 994 Vaisā(sā)kha-vadi 5 sa[m*]krāntau.

Northern V. 994 current, —

pūrṇimānta : 16 March, A.D. 936.

amānta : 14 April, A.D. 936.

Mēsha-saṁkrānti on 22 March, and Vṛisha-saṁkrānti on 22 April, A.D. 936.

Northern V. 994 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : 4 April, A.D. 937.

amānta : 3 May, A.D. 937.

Mēsha-saṁkrānti on 22 March, and Vṛisha-saṁkrānti on 22 April, A.D. 937.

Southern V. 994 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : 24 March, A.D. 938 ; Mēsha-saṁkrānti on 22 March, A.D. 938.

amānta : 22 April, A.D. 938 ; the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 19 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise ; and the Vṛisha-saṁkrānti 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. Byānā stone inscription of the prince Vijayādhirāja : —

(L. 6). . . . Nāsam yātu śatam sahasra-sahitam saivvatsarāṇām drutam | mā[yā?]-Bhādrapadaḥ sa bhādra-padaḥ māsah samārōhatu | s-āsy-aiva kshayam-ētu Sōma-sa[hi]tā kṛishṇā dvitīyā tithih . . .

(L. 17). . . . Sañ 1100 Bhādra-vadi 2 Chamdrē kalyāṇaka-di[nē].

Northern V. 1100 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Friday, 6 August, A.D. 1042.

amānta : Saturday, 4 September, A.D. 1042.

Northern V. 1100 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Tuesday, 26 July, A.D. 1043; the second *tithi* of the dark half ended 16 h. 46 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Thursday, 25 August, A.D. 1043.

In southern V. 1100 expired Bhādrapada was intercalary; for the solar Bhādrapada 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 Bhādrapada was, —

pūrṇimānta : Sunday, 15 July, A.D. 1044, when the second *tithi* of the dark half ended 1 h. 17 m. after mean sunrise;

amānta : 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 Bhādrapada, —

amānta : Wednesday, 12 September, A.D. 1044.

(The date accordingly belongs to the *adhika* Bhādrapada, and this I understand to be indicated by my conjectural reading *māyā-Bhādrapadaḥ* 'the false Bhādrapada').

135. — V. 1225. — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XI. p. 125, and Plate xxxvii., 2. Pillar inscription at Jaunpur, of the reign of Vijayachandradēva of Kanauj (?) : —

(Line 1). — Samvat 1225 Chaitra-vadi 5 Vu(bu)dhē.

Northern V. 1225 current, —

amānta : Tuesday, 11 April, A.D. 1167; the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 14 h. 44 m. after mean sunrise.

pūrṇimānta : 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, —

amānta : Saturday, 30 March, A.D. 1168.

pūrṇimānta : 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, —

amānta : 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 Malayaprabhasūri's commentary on Mānatūngasūri's *Siddhajayantī-charitra* : —

Dvādaśa-varsha-satēshu sri-Vikramatō gatēshu shashṭitamē |

varshē Jyēshṭhē māse Śravaṇē bhē kṛishṇa-pañchamām ||

Jivādi-vishaya-samśaya-tamō-pahār-aikatarāṇi-ruchi-ruchirē |

yōgē ch=Aimdrē siddhāv=iyam Jayantī-kathā rachitā ||

Northern V. 1260 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Monday, 13 May, A.D. 1202.

amānta : Wednesday, 12 June, A.D. 1202.

Northern V. 1260 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Saturday, 3 May, A.D. 1203.

amānta : Sunday, 1 June, A.D. 1203.

Southern V. 1260 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Wednesday, 21 April, A.D. 1204.

amānta : 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 *yōga* Indra up to 14 h. 3 m. after mean sunrise.

(I believe that the day of Guru or Brihaspati, 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 Hémachandra's *Sabdānuśāsana* :—

Saṁvat 1298 varshê dvitiya-Bhâdrapada-vadi 7 Gurau . . . Vijâpurê.

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. Kaḍi copper-plate inscription of the Chaulukya Visaladêva :—

(L. 1) . . . **Srimad-Vikrama-kâl-âtita**-saptadaśadhika-trayôdaśasatika-saṁvatsarê laukika-Jyêshṭha(shṭha)-mâsasya kṛishṇapaksha-chaturthyâm tithau Gurāv=ady=êha śrîmad-Anahil-lapâṭakê . . . -mahârâjâdhirâja-śrîmad-Visaladêva-kalyânavijayi(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 *Sugadânga-vṛitti* :—

Saṁvat 1327 varshê Bhâdrapada-vadi 2 Ravāv=ady=êha Vijâpurê.

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, —
 pūrṇimānta : Thursday, 8 April, A.D. 1428 ; the 9th *tithi* of the dark half ended 14 h. 31 m. after mean sunrise.
 amānta : Saturday, 8 May, A.D. 1428.
- Southern V. 1485 expired, —
 pūrṇimānta : Tuesday, 29 March, A.D. 1429.
 amānta : 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 *Avachūrikā* on Hēmachandra's *Śabdānuśāsana-vṛitti* : —
 Saṃvat 1510 varshē Bhādravā-vadi 14 Sanau.
 Northern V. 1510 current, —
 pūrṇimānta : Monday, 14 August, A.D. 1452.
 amānta : Tuesday, 12 September, A.D. 1452.
 Northern V. 1510 expired, —
 pūrṇimānta : 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.
 amānta : Sunday, 2 September, A.D. 1453.
 Southern V. 1510 expired, —
 pūrṇimānta : Thursday, 22 August, A.D. 1454.
 amānta : 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 Mōkshēsvāra's *Kṛidvṛitti* : —
 Saṃvat 1526 varshē Jyēshṭha-vadi 11 Sani-varē.
 Northern V. 1526 current, —
 pūrṇimānta : Wednesday, 18 May, A.D. 1468.
 amānta : Thursday, 16 June, A.D. 1468.
 Northern V. 1526 expired, —
 pūrṇimānta : Sunday, 7 May, A.D. 1469 ; the 11th *tithi* of the dark half ended 20 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise.
 amānta : Tuesday, 6 June, A.D. 1469.
 Southern V. 1526 expired, —
 pūrṇimānta : Friday, 27 April, A.D. 1470.
 amānta : 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 amānta dates of northern current years
 or pūrṇimānta dates of southern expired years.

143. — V. 1225. — *Jour. Amer. Or. Soc.*, Vol. VI. p. 548. Inscription of the *Mahānāyaka* Pratāpadhavaladēva,¹¹ upon a rock denominated Tārāchāṇḍī, in the vicinity of Sahasrām in South Bihār :—

Saṃvat 1225 Jyēshṭha-vadi 3 Budhē Jāpil-ādhipati-mahānāyaka-śrī-Pratāpadhavaladēva

- Northern V. 1225 current, —
 pūrṇimānta : Tuesday, 9 May, A.D. 1167.
 amānta : 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, —
 pūrṇimānta : Saturday, 27 April, A.D. 1168.
 amānta : Sunday, 26 May, A.D. 1168.

¹¹ Compare No. 126, above.

Southern V. 1225 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Wednesday, 16 April, A.D. 1169; the third *tithi* of the dark half ended 6 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : 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 — “Samvat 1229, Jyēshṭha badi 3d, Wednesday.” If this were correct, the corresponding date, for southern V. 1229 expired, **pūrṇimānta**, 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 Bhādra-vadi 5 Gurau.

Northern V. 1390 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Tuesday, 11 August, A.D. 1332.

amānta : 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, —

pūrṇimānta : Sunday, 1 August, A.D. 1333.

amānta : Monday, 30 August, A.D. 1333.

Southern V. 1390 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Thursday, 21 July, A.D. 1334; the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 20 h. 37 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : 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 **amānta** date of a northern current year or a **pūrṇimānta** date of a northern expired or southern expired year.

145. — **V. 1315.** — My *Report* for 1880-81, p. 46. Date of a MS. of Hēmachandra's *Sabdānuśāsana-laghuvṛitti* :—

Saṁvat 1315 varshē Chaitra-vadi chaturthī-dinē Vu(bu)dha-varē | Stambhatīrthē |

Northern V. 1315 current, —

amānta : Wednesday, 4 April, A.D. 1257; the 4th *tithi* of the dark half ended 14 h. 44 m. after mean sunrise.

pūrṇimānta : Saturday, 23 February, A.D. 1258.

Northern V. 1315 expired, —

amānta : Sunday, 24 March, A.D. 1258.

pūrṇimānta : 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, —

pūrṇimānta : as before, **Wednesday, 12 February, A.D. 1259** ;

amānta : Friday, 14 March, A.D. 1259 ; and of the second Chaitra, —

amānta : Saturday, 12 April, A.D. 1259.

(f). — Dates which may be either **pūrṇimānta** dates of northern expired years or **amānta** dates of southern expired years.¹²

146. — **V. 1332.** — My *Report* for 1880-81, p. 4. Date of a MS. of the *Uttarādhyayanāsūtra* :—
Saṁvat 1332 varshē Vaisākha-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 *amānta* date of a southern expired year.

Northern V. 1332 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Tuesday, 27 March, A.D. 1274.

amānta : Wednesday, 25 April, A.D. 1274.

Northern V. 1332 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Saturday, 16 March, A.D. 1275 ; the third *tithi* of the dark half ended 7 h. 22 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Sunday, 14 April, A.D. 1275.

Southern V. 1332 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Friday, 3 April, A.D. 1276.

amānta : 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. 'Pālam Bāolí' stone inscription from the village of 'Boher' in the Rohtak District, of the time of the Hammīra Gayāsadīna¹³ : —

(Line 21). — Saṁvatsarē=smin=Vaikramādityē saṁvat 1337 Śrāvaṇa-vadi 13 Vu(bu)dhē.

Northern V. 1337 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Saturday, 8 July, A.D. 1279.

amānta : Sunday, 6 August, A.D. 1279.

Northern V. 1337 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Wednesday, 26 June, A.D. 1280 ; the 13th *tithi* of the dark half ended 10 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Thursday, 25 July, A.D. 1280.

Southern V. 1337 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Tuesday, 15 July, A.D. 1281.

amānta : 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 Dhāmlej, Junagadh, Kāthiāwāḍ : —

Saṁvat 1437 varshē Āshāḍha-vadi 6 Sanau.

Northern V. 1437 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Monday, 6 June, A.D. 1379.

amānta : Wednesday, 6 July, A.D. 1379.

Northern V. 1437 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Saturday, 26 May, A.D. 1380 ; the 6th *tithi* of the dark half ended 5 h. 54 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Sunday, 24 June, A.D. 1380.

Southern V. 1437 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Thursday, 13 June, A.D. 1381.

amānta : 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 *Kāsikā-Vṛitti* : —

Saṁvat 1464 varshē Āshāḍha-vadi tṛitīyāyām tithau Manmatha-saṁvatsarē Budhē.

Northern V. 1464 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Saturday, 5 June, A.D. 1406.

amānta : Sunday, 4 July, A.D. 1406.

Northern V. 1464 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Wednesday, 25 May, A.D. 1407 ; the third *tithi* of the dark half ended 5 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise.

¹³ Giyās ud dīn Balban, A.D. 1266—1286.

amānta : Thursday, 23 June, A.D. 1407.

Southern V. 1464 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Monday, 11 June, A.D. 1408.

amānta: 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 Sūrya-Siddhānta rule, without *bija*, from 19 May, A.D. 1408, to 15 May, A.D. 1409, and with *bija*, from 24 June, A.D. 1408, to 20 June, A.D. 1409; and according to the Jyōtistattva 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 Tēlinga 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 Amarasimha's *Nāmalīngānuśāsana* :—

Saṁvat 1570 varshē Jyēshta(shṭha)-vadi 7 Budhē | ady=ēha Stambhatīrtha-vāstavya . . .

Northern V. 1570 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Saturday, 8 May, A.D. 1512.

amānta : Sunday, 6 June, A.D. 1512.

Northern V. 1570 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Wednesday, 27 April, A.D. 1513; the 7th *tithi* of the dark half ended 11 h. 29 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Friday, 27 May, A.D. 1513.

Southern V. 1570 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Tuesday, 16 May, A.D. 1514.

amānta: 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 Vijayāditya at the Huchchī-mallī-guḍī temple at Aihole in the Bijāpur District, published by me, with a lithograph, in this Journal, Vol. VIII. p. 234 f., the date (line 2 f.) is — trayōdaśa-varshamū mu(mū)ṛu-tiṅgaḷaḷ Āsvayuja-pū[r]ṇnamāsadul vishupadul,¹ — “both (*in*) the thirteenth year (*of his reign*), (*and*) in the third month, on the full-moon day of (the month) Āsvayuja, at the (*autumnal* equinox).”

No reference is made to the year of the Saka era. But the other records of Vijayāditya shew that this date must fall in, or very close to, Saka-Saṁvat 630, current or expired. And the results are :—

Saka-Saṁvat 628 current; in this year the month Āsvayuja was intercalary, according to the published Tables; the full-moon *tithi* of the first

Āsvayuja ended on Monday, 7th September, A. D. 705, at about 48 *ghaṭṭs*, 45 *palas*, after mean sunrise (for Bombay); the autumnal equinox, as represented by the Tulā-Saṁkrānti 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 Āsvayuja ended at about 11 *gh*. 40 *p*. on Wednesday, 7th October.

Saka-Saṁvat 629 current; Āsvayuja śukla 15 ended at about 53 *gh*. 10 *p*. on Sunday, 26th September, A. D. 706, three days after the Tulā-Saṁkrānti, which occurred at about 36 *gh*. 10 *p*. on Thursday, 23rd September. Here there is an approximation of the *tithi* and the *saṁkrānti*. But the interval of two entire days renders it impossible that any rite in celebration of the *saṁkrānti* can have been performed on the given *tithi*.

Saka-Saṁvat 630 current; Āsvayuja śukla 15 ended at about 31 *gh*. 50 *p*. on Friday, 16th September, A. D. 707, seven days before the Tulā-

¹ The customary word is *vishuva*. But I notice that Monier-Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary gives also *vishupa*.

Saṁkrānti, which occurred at about 51 *gh.* 40 *p.* on Friday, 23rd September.

Saka-Saṁvat 631 current; Āsvayuja śukla 15 ended at about 29 *gh.* 45 *p.* on Thursday, 4th October, A. D. 708, eleven days after the Tulā-Saṁkrānti, which occurred at about 7 *gh.* 15 *p.* on Sunday, 23rd September.

Saka-Saṁvat 632 current; Āsvayuja sukla 15 ended on Monday, 23rd September, A. D. 709, at about 34 *gh.* 50 *p.*; and the Tulā-Saṁkrānti 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 Vijayāditya as having taken place in A. D. 597, in the month Śrāvaṇa 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 Vinayāditya, 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 Vijayāditya's other records. Thus:—

A. — The full-moon of Jyêshṭha of Saka-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 Āshāḍha of Saka-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. — Saka-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 Āshāḍha of the current Śaka year in question, should be coupled with his eighth year; and the subsequent months, Śrāvaṇa to Phālguna, with his ninth year.

D. — The full-moon of Phālguna of Saka-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 Laksh-mêshwar, 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 Aihole date, only if we assume that, whatever may have been the actual day of his accession, the first year of Vijayāditya's reign ended with the *pūrṇimānta* 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 Saka-Saṁvat 621 current, Saka-Saṁvat 628 current would coincide with his ninth year, — not with the tenth. Nor does it account for D.; for, the month Phālguna of Saka-Saṁvat 620 current would still lie in his first year; and the Phālguna of Saka-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 Aihole record, in his thirteenth year the months should again be numbered from Śrāvaṇa, and Āsvayuja should be called the third month, instead of the seventh.

All the dates can be reconciled only by assuming that, in the Aihole record, the thirteenth year is a mistake for the fourteenth. On this assumption, his accession took place in the month Śrāvaṇa of Saka-Saṁvat 619 current. And then:—

A. — The month Jyêshṭha of Saka-Saṁvat 622 current, would fall naturally in his third year.

B. — The month Āshāḍha of Saka-Saṁvat 623 current, would fall naturally in his fourth year.

C. — Any date from the *pūrṇimānta* Śrāvaṇa kṛishṇa 1 to the *pūrṇimānta* Chaitra new-moon of Saka-Saṁvat 628 current, would lie naturally in his tenth year.

D. — The month Phālguna of Saka-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	ॐ	a	ज	ಜ	ja
आ	ॐ	â	झ	ಝ	jha
इ	ॐ	i	ञ	ಞ	ña
ई	ॐ	î	ट	ಠ	ṭa
उ	ॐ	u	ड	ಢ	ḍha
ऊ	ॐ	û	ढ	ಢ	ḍha
ऋ	ॐ	ṛi	ण	ಣ	ṇa
ॠ	ॐ	ṛî	त	ತ	ta
ऌ	—	lṛi	थ	ಠ	tha
—	ॐ	e	द	ದ	da
ए	ॐ	ê	ध	ಢ	dha
—	ॐ	ai	न	ನ	na
ओ	ॐ	ô	प	ಪ	pa
औ	ॐ	au	फ	ಫ	pha
Visarga	Visarga	ḥ	ब	ಬ	ba
Jihvāmūlīya, or old	}	—	भ	ಛ	bha
Visarga before क			म	ಢ	ma
and झ	}	—	य	ಝ	ya
Upadhmanīya, or			र	ರ	ra
old Visarga be-	}	—	—	ॐ	ra
fore प and फ			ल	ಲ	la
Anusvāra	Anusvāra	m̐	ळ	ॐ	ḷa
Anundāsikā	—	m̐	—	ॐ	ḷa
क	क	ka	व	व	va
ख	ख	kha	घ	घ	śa
ग	ग	ga	च	च	śa
घ	घ	gha	ष	ष	śa
ङ	ङ	ṅa	स	स	śa
च	च	cha	ह	ह	ha
छ	छ	chha			

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 *samāhi*. 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 *virāma* 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 *samāhi* 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 *Dévanāgarī* sign.

So also practice has shewn that it is more convenient to use the ordinary *Dévanāgarī* 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 *akṣhara* or syllable.

THE ABORIGINES OF SOKOTRA; AN ETHNOLOGICAL, RELIGIOUS
AND PHILOLOGICAL REVIEW.

BY MAJOR J. S. KING, B.O.S.C.

THE island of Sokotra 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 Sokotra, 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 Sokotran 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 Sokotra, and what is their language?"

The island of Sokotra is variously called by the Greek writers, *Dioscorida*, *Dioscoris*, *Dioscorides*, *Dioscurias* and *Dioscora*. Regarding these names, Vincent¹ 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 Sanskrit one, *Dvipa Sukhâdhâra*, from *dvîpa*, 'an island,' *sukhu*, 'happiness,' and *âdhâra*, '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 سقطرة *Sukutra* suggests itself from the Arabic سوق *sûk*, 'market, emporium,' and قطرة *kuṭra*, the vulgar form of كاطر *kâṭir*, '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 أفوية *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.—B. C. T.]

blood.' When first visited by the Portuguese, the capital of the island was *Sûk* or *Sôk*, 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 *Sokotra* and in the Abyssinian and Zanzibar Coasts.** *Mas'ûdi* (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 *Sukutra*; 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 **Hadramaut 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 *Sokotra*** 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'ûdi* (10th century A.D.)⁵:—

"In the same sea, and not far from Aden, is the island known as *Sukutra*, which has given its name to the *Sukutri* 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 *Sukutra*, 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 *Kulzum*.⁶ They subdued the Indians who were established there, took possession of *Sukutra* 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 *Sukutra* 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

"*Sukutra* is one of the stations frequented by the Indian corsairs called **Bawarij**, 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 *Sukutra* are exported the *Sukutri* 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."

³ Sir Thomas Herbert (1626) says:—"Socotra is an isle well-known to former ages, to some by the names of *Dioscionda* 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 *Sokotra*, 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 *Clysmâ* (the shutting), hence the Gulf of Suez was named "Sea of *Kulzum*" (Sir R. Burton, *Ar. Nights*, Vol. VII. p. 348n.) But *Mas'ûdi* here applies the term to the Gulf of Aden.

⁷ This may possibly have been true at the time *Mas'ûdi* 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 Sokotra came from the neighbourhood of Kachh. He says:—"That the Sokotra pirates were the **Sanghars**, Jâts or Jats, and Kerks, who from Sindh, Kachh and Kâthiâwâr ruled the Indian seas is made probable by Mas'ûdi's statement that Sokotra 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 *bairâ* or *bêrâ* (**بیرا**), the name of their boat. (Al Bêrûnî in Elliot and Dowson, I. 65, 539). It curiously supports the connection between the **Sanghars** and the **Zingari** or **Gipsies**, that *bêrâ* the name of the Kachh pirate craft, is also the Romani or Gipsy word for boat."⁸

Bêrâ 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 Masḡat. 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 Somali 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 Sokotran pirates, and that the latter came originally from the coasts of Sindh, Kachh, and Kâthiâwâr,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 Yule¹² is of opinion that the colonisation of Sokotra 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 Sokotran 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 (**Bédouins**, as they are called) are divided into numerous families belonging to a few principal tribes. Of these, the **Karshin**, 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 Hajar and the hills above the Hadibu 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 **Boni 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. 233):—"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 *Weelah, Weelah!* 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 Sokotrans 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 *ghî*. 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 Sokotra, 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 Sokotra. 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 Sokotran 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 Môri—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 Æthiopic. 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 edifices most probably were 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 Sokotra 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 *Hîya*, 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 Paradaisical traditions of the tree of knowledge and the tree of life."¹⁷

The worship of the Moon by the Sokotrans is another circumstance tending to connect them with the ancient Chaldeans. Sin, or Harki, or Hur¹⁸ was the Moon-god of the latter nation, and the Sokotran word for "the moon" is *îrah*. The Chaldean Sun-god was *San* or *Sansî*, and the Sokotran word for "the sun" is *shîhan*.

The ancient Chaldean worship of the Moon and other planets was revived in the Middle Ages by the pagan sect known as the Harrânî Sabæans, whose seat was the town of Harrân (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. ("Harân" 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 Sabæans 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 Harrânîs were celebrated astrologers;²⁰ and we learn from Marco Polo that the Sokotrans had a similar reputation. He says:—

"And you must know that in this Island (Sokotra) 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 *Enc. Brit.* 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 **Sokotran** 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 **Sokotrans**, 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 **Sokotrans**: 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 **Sokotra**, 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 **Sokotra** 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 conservatism 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 **Sokotra**: 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 Soḱoṭra, 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 Soḱoṭra on his way to India (about A.D. 50); and the peculiar veneration in which that saint was held by the Christians of Soḱoṭra (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 Soḱoṭra, 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 Soḱoṭra 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 Soḱoṭra. 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 revered 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 Sokotran 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 Sokotra and, settling there permanently, propagated their religion. Whatever be the particular sect to which the Sokotrans 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 Sokotra professes himself to be a Muhammadan."³⁰

The last vestiges of Christianity in Sokotra, 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 *mukâm*,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 Sokotran 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 Sokotran and all the languages which are in the least likely to bear any analogy to it. Owing to want of information, the Sokotran 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 Sokotran 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	ķamar	kawākib (sing. kab) kô-	ṣabāḥ, ṣubḥ
	Ethiopic Branch. {	2; Giz, or Old Tigre	zahā,i	warah	kakab	nāgāḥ
		3; Amharic, or modern Abyssinian	zahai	tsharka	kākāb	téwāt
		4; Harari, or Adari	irr	charakā	tū,āsh (sing. tū,i)	subḥ
	Ethiopic sub-group {	5; Somāli	korāḥ	daiyah	hēdko (sing. hēdik)	aroryo
		6; Galla	addu, hathū	tshia	artshī	.....
		7; Dankali, or Afari	ayrō	ālsā	hôtūk (sing.)	sākū
	.....	8; Sokotran	shīhan	irah	kōkab (sing.)	.....
	.....	9; Mhāri	haiyōm	wārit	kakob (sing.)	kaṣōbah
	.....	10; Gārawi	.....	.....	.....	.....
	.....	11; Hebrew	shamash	yārach	.....	.....
	.....	12; Chaldean	san	yerah	.....	.....
	.....	13; Assyrian	shamas	tsin	.....	.....
	.....	14; Sanskrit	sūra, sūrya	chandra	tārā	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'altâ, ôj (P)	dashî, tash-shil (P)	mî	isâd	âwa	â'e	in	urus
5	asho, qarâr	ḍul	biyo	dab	aba	hoyo	il	mâdah
6	gâfâ	laffa	bisan	ibita	abba	hata	itsha	mata
7	la'ô lo'ô	bâlô	lay	girâ	âbbâ	inâ	intî	amô, amô
8	.....	.....	rîho riyoh	shaiwat	.....	.....	.....	rî
9	nahâr	ardh	(ha)moh	shî, ôt	hêb	hamék	'ain	(ha)rôh
10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
11	yôm	erets	mô (with article prefixed, hammo)	esh	âb	âm	ain	rîsh
12	.....	ki	.....	eshdata (P)	atta	.....	si	zakad
13	yumu	ilamu	.....	.....	abu	ummu	.....	.....
14	ahan	prithvî	jala, vâri	agni	pitâ	mâtâ	nêtra	mastaka, sîras.

Comparative Vocabulary, No. 1; continued.

No.	Nose.	Mouth.	Tongue.	Teeth.	Hand.	Foot.	One.	Two.
1	anf	famm	lisân	asnân, (sing. sinn)	yad	rijl	wâhid, aḥad	ithnên
2	anfa	aph	lêsân	san	ad	agr	ahadi	halaitê
3	.....	aph	malas	pras	ad	agrahad	and	halêt
4	apnâtsh	afê	arrât	sin (sing.)	tji	ingir	aḥad	kôt
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	ibâ, lak	inik	namâyâ
8	nahîr	.....	lishan	matîrmish	.....	şôb	kât, tât, haṭ	tarawah
9	nakhârîr	kḥôk	shîn	.....	haid, hest	madhâkat	tâ, ad	tharôh
10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
11	nâkhîr	phêh	lâshon	shen	yâd	regel	ekḥad	shênâyim
12	.....	.....	.....	.....	kat	.....	had	.....
13	.....	.....	lisân	.....	.....	.....	ishtin (m.) ikhîr (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	khamseh	sittah	sab'ah	thamâniyah	tis'ah	'asharah
2	salâsati	arbatî	hemasati	sadsati	sabati	samanati	tasah	.....
3	sasat	arut	amsati	sadsat	sabat	samanati	zattagna	asr
4	shishtî	harad	hamistî	saddistî	sâti	sôt, sôt	sehtan, zehtayn	assir
5	sadêh	afârr	shan	leh	tadobâ	sidéd	sagâl	toban
6	sâdi	affâr	shân	jâ	tôrba	saddêti	sagâl	kudân
7	sidâhu	farâÿ	kônôwô, kôn	lahâÿ	mâlehân	bahârâ	.....	.....
8	tata'ah	arba'ah	haimish	ftah, yitah	yibî'ah	tamâni	sa'ah	'ashri
9	shâdtthêt	rubôt	khamûh	yittt	yibêt, ibêt	thimanft	isêt	'asharit
10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
11	shalosh	araba	khamesh	shêsh	shaba	shammonch	têsâ	eser
12	telât	'arba'	.....	shîb, shêb	shîb'âh	.....	.....	'ashar
13	shalshat (m.) shilash (f.)	arbat (m.) arba (f.)	khamish	shashat (m.) shash (f.)	shîbit (m.) shîbi (f.)	shamnat (?)	tîshit (m.) tîshi (f.)	isrit (m.) isri (f.)
14	tri	chatur	panchan	shaÿ	saptan	ashÿan	navan	daşan

Comparative Vocabulary No. 2.

English.	Soḳoṭran.		Arabic (Gulf of Aden Dialect).		Mhârf.	
A						
Above	.....	.....	فوق	fûk	حقلًا	ḥaqlâ
Afterwards	.....	.....	بعد	ba'd	مغورا	maghûrâ
Age	.....	.....	عمر	'umr	عاعر	'âmar
Agreement, } make no } Alive	عن الفراد الظامع	'an alfirêd aldhâma	لا تشرط حي	lâ tashruṭ hai-y	.....	.....
Always	.....	.....	دائماً على الدوام	dâyiman or 'ala-d-da- wâm	دويم ذواقات	doêm-dh- aukât
Anchor	بروسي	barûṣî	بروسي	barûṣî	بوهرت	boharat
Angry	.....	.....	مغيط	maghîḏh	مغيط	maghatîḏh
Ant	.....	.....	نملة	namla	نوميل	nomil
Antelope	طهوير	ṭahrîr	غزال	ghazâl	.....	.....
Antimony	.....	.....	كحل	kuḥl	كا حل	kâḥil
Arm	ايط	âyat	يد	.....	.....	.....
Arms, the (pl.)	.....	.....	الاذرع	al adhru'	حيدوتن	haidôtan
Army	.....	.....	عسكر	'askar	عسكر	'askêr
Arrow	.....	.....	سهم	sahm	سهوم	.....
As before	.....	.....	كما أول	kimâ awwal	هاش هوالات	hâsh hawâlê
Ascend	الآح	allah	طلع	ṭal'a	.....	.....
Ashes	.....	.....	رماد	ramâd	رميد	ramit
At a great } distance }	شرعق	sharḥuḳ	بعيد	ba'id	.....	.....
At hand, close	شيلي	shêlf	قريب	ḳarîb	.....	.....
B						
Back, the	طادة	ṭâdah	ظهر	ḏhahr	.....	.....
Bad	ديا	diyâ	بطل	batâl	.....	.....
Bargain, make a	شالم	shâlim	اشرط	ashruṭ	.....	.....
Bark of a tree	.....	.....	قشر الشجرة	ḳasharu-l- shajara	قشپروت	ḳashirût
Barren	.....	.....	صحال	mimḥâl	هيثور	hê'ûr
Battle	.....	.....	قتال	ḳitâl	غورت	ghôrât
Beak (of a bird)	.....	.....	منقر	minkar	اخوة	aḳḥôh
Beard	.....	.....	لحية	lihya	الحيت, دكحن	alhêt ; dak han
Bed	.....	.....	سرير	sarîr	جودري داشبات	jodari-dh- ashnât. Lit. bed of sleep (?)

Comparative Vocabulary No. 2; continued.

English.	Sokoṭran.		Arabic (Gulf of Aden Dialect).		Mhâri.	
Bee (honey)	نحلة	nahla	هانوبات	hânobèt
Behind	خلف, وراء	ḵhalf, warâ	منغيرا	manghairâ
Belly	بطن	baṭn	جوف	djôf
Below	تحت	taht	مصا (sic)	amsâ (sic)
Bird	طير	ṭair	عقاب	agâb: diki-wik
Bite	عضة	'adhha	صوب	ṣôb
Bitterness	مرارة	marâra	مرير	marir
Black	اسود	aswad	حور	haowar
Blade of grass	(?) السراخ	.....	رهوت	rahût
Blind	اعمى	â'mâ	عوريت	'awarit
Blood	دم	dam	دم	dum
Blow (with the fist)	لكمة	lakma	كيات	kamèt
Blue	ازرق	azraq	حور	haowar
Boat	سنبوق	sambûk	سنبوق	sambûk
Body	جسد	jasad	جساد	jassêd
Book	كتاب	kitâb	كتاب	kitâb	كتوب	katôb
Bottle	شيشة	shîsha(Pers.)	لوقت	lôjat
Bow	قوس	ḵaus.	مندافات	mandofêt
Bowels	مسارين	mas-ârrain	مشغين	mosghên
Box	صندوق	ṣandûḵ	صندوق	ṣandûḵ	.....	.....
Boy	مبيياقي	mubyâqi	ولد	walad	.....	.....
Bracelet	سوار	siwâr	مفامات	matâkêt
Branch	غصن	ghuṣn	رقات	ratât
Brass	نحاس	nahâs	نحوس	nahôs
Bread	ازهر	azhar	خبز	ḵhubz	خابز	ḵhâbz
Bridle	لجام	ligâm(Pers.)	غيدناج	ghaianêj
Bring (v. imper.)	نكيان	nikyân	جيب	jîb, or gib	.....	.....
Broken	تديبر	taibar	مكسور	maksûr	.....	.....
Brook	جدول	jadwal	هذ هبوت زنهري	hazhabôt-dh-nahr
Brother	اخ	aḵḵ	غاي	ghâk
Bug	بق	baḵ	كزون	katôn
Buli	ثور	thaur, thôr	ثور	thôr

Comparative Vocabulary No. 2; continued.

English.	Sokoḡran.	Arabic (Gulf of Aden Dialect).	Mhâri.		
Bullocks	الهيٲين	al haitain	بقر buḡur	.....	.....
Buoy	.....	.....	شماندرة shamândara	كوى kô,i	kô,i
Button	قطير	kaṭmir	زبده zibda	خزرات	ḡazarêt
Buy	استنجر	astinjar	اشترى ishtarâ	.....	.....
C					
Cable	.....	.....	حبل ḡabl	مسبوا masabû,â	masabû,â
Calm, a (sea)	.....	.....	راكن râkin	سؤال shô,âl	shô,âl
Camel	.....	.....	جمال jamal, or gamal	.....	.....
Cash	.....	.....	فلوس fulûs	درهم darfham	darfham (Pers. dir-ham.)
Cat	.....	.....	قطه kiṭṭa	.....	.....
Chain	سلسلة sinsila	sinsila	سلسلة silsila	سلسلات silsilêt	silsilêt
Cheeks	.....	.....	خود ḡhudûd	ظجيت ḡhajamatak	ḡhajamatak
Child (female)	فرهن farhan	farhan	بنت Bint	عجيت ḡhajit	ḡhajit
Children	.....	.....	اولاد aulâd	قلياں ḡalliân	ḡalliân
Chin	.....	.....	ذقن dhâḡan	مالحوت malhôt	malhôt
City	.....	.....	مدينة madfna	(?) رحبات خيت rahabêt, or rahbait, khit	rahabêt, or rahbait, khit
Civet cat	يربوق yirbôḡ	yirbôḡ	ستور sinnaur	.....	.....
Clear (op. of foul)	.....	.....	رائق râ,iḡ	سؤال sô,âl	sô,âl
Close at hand, close to	شيكه , شياى shêli, shika	shêli, shika	قريب ḡarib	.....	.....
Clothes	.....	.....	اثواب athwâb	خلواق ḡḡalwâḡ	ḡḡalwâḡ
Clouds	.....	.....	سحاب saḡâb	عفور 'afûr	'afûr
Clouded, cloudy	.....	.....	مغيم mugḡaiyim	عفور ماكن 'afûr-mêkan	'afûr-mêkan
Cocoanut tree	.....	.....	نارجيل narjil (Pers.)	ميدا médâ	médâ
Coffee	.....	.....	قهوة ḡahwa	قهوا ḡahwêt	ḡahwêt
Cold (s)	.....	.....	برد bard	قاصم ḡâṣim	ḡâṣim
Colours (flags)	.....	.....	بيرق bairak (Pers.)	غلى بيرق ḡhalâ-bêriḡ	ḡhalâ-bêriḡ
Comb	.....	.....	مشط mashshaṭ	مشريق mashariḡ	mashariḡ
Come (here)	تعد به t'adaba	t'adaba	تعال t'âl	كالبوہ kâl bôh	kâl bôh
„ near	توتردى تكدور عن tû tardî ta kud'an	tû tardî ta kud'an	تعال قوئب	.....	.....
„ close	توتهر tû tahar	tû tahar	تقرب	.....	.....
„ back	تكتاتح taktâtaḡ	taktâtaḡ	.....	.....	.....

Comparative Vocabulary No. 2; continued.

English.	Sokoḡran.		Arabic (Gulf of Aden Dialect.)		Mhārī.	
Conquered	.....	.....	مغلوب	maghlûb	فوصل	fôṣal
Cows, or bullocks	الهديتين	al haitain	بقر	bukur	.....	.....
Crooked	قغهن	kaḡḡhan	معوج	mu'awwaj	عواج	'awaij
D						
Daughter	فرهن	farhan	بنت	bint	غجيب	ghajit
Dead	صامي	ṣâmi	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	حيدان	haiḡhên
Eat	استه	astah	اكل	akul	زه	tah
Eight	ثمانى	tamâni	ثمانية	thamâniya	ثمانيت	thimanit
Eighteen	ثمانعشر	tamânat-'ashar	ثمانية عشر	thamâniyat-'ashar	.....	.....
Eyebrows	ترى عن نفروز تويينعين	tari'ain tafrûz tariyat'ain	حواجب	hawâjib	احجور	aḡajôr
Eyes	طيعن	ṭai'an	عينين	'ainain	.....	.....
F						
Feet, the	صوب	ṣôb	رجلين	rijlain (dual)	مدحقت	madhâkat
Fingers, the	اصابع	aṣâbi'	اصابع	aṣâb'	شوبع	(sing.) shôb'a
Fire	شيوط	shaiwaṭ	نار	nâr	شيوط	shli,ût, vide note on pronunciation sait, sai'id
Fish	صودة	ṣôdah	سمك	samak (pl.)	صيد	
Fishing-line	شوهط	shûhaṭ	خيط	khait'	غلف	ghalf
Five	خيمش	ḡaimish	خمسة	khamsa	خموة	khamûh
Flour	دقيق	daḡiḡ	دقيق, طحين	daḡiḡ, ṭahin	.....	.....
Four	اربعه	arb'a	id	.....	ربوت	rubôt
G						
Gḡ (clarified butter)	حمى	ḡami	سمن	samn	.....	.....
Give, do not	عن تندف	'an tandaff	لا تعطي	lâ t'atê	.....	.....
Goat or sheep	ارهن	arhan	غنم	ḡhanam	حوز	hôz, tibuwit
Go away	نطوهر	taṭôhar	روح	rûh	حرة	ḡarah

Comparative Vocabulary No. 2; continued.

English.	Sokoṭran.	Arabic (Gulf of Aden Dialect).	Mhāri.			
Go far away	نوعد سرحق	tô'ad sarḥuḳ	روح بعيد	rûḥ ba'id	.....	.....
„ out	شرا كح	sharâkah	اخرج	aḳḥruj	.....	.....
„ to-day	حيرة طهر	ḥaira ṭahar	روح اليوم	rûḥ al yaum	.....	.....
„ to market	نعد سوق	ta'ad sôḳ	روح بسوق	rûḥ basûḳ	.....	.....
Good	.....	.....	طيب	ṭaiyib	مشرة	.....
H						
Hair, the	شف	shiff	شعر	sha'r	شف , ساي	shuf, shâff
Haste, make	تعد , تعوه	ta'add, ta'ôh	امشي	amshi	.....	.....
Head	رى	rî	راس	râs	حروة	ḥarôh
Hill, or mountain	فدھن	fadhan	جبل	jabal	جبال	jibél, kir-mân
Hold, take	تلو	talû	امسك	amsik	.....	.....
Hook, fishing	اقله	aḳlahah	كلاب	kullâb	قلاو	ḳalâ,ô
House	قار	ḳâr	بيت	.....	.....	.....
I						
Iron	حصن	ḥaṣ-han	حديد	ḥadîd	حديد	.....
K						
Kill	تحرز	tahrîz	اقتل	aḳtul	.....	.....
Knife	ساري	ṣârî	سكين	sikkîn	عيس	'ais
L						
Lip	شيدہ	shîbah	شفة	shaffa	كوفيف	karfif, shêprah
Long, tall	ريلو	rî, au	طويل	ṭawîl	.....	.....
M						
Man, a	حبيبي	ḥaiḥai	رجل	rajul	غبيج	ghaij
Market, bazar	سوق	sôḳ	سوق	saûḳ or sûḳ	.....	.....
Mast of a ship	دقھر	daḳ-ḥar	دقل	daḳal	.....	.....
Meat, flesh	نه	tah	لحم	lahm	.....	.....
Milk	حوف	ḥûf	حليب	ḥalîb	اشخوف	ishakḥôf
Month	شهر	shahr	شهر	shahr	ورخ	warakḥ
Moon	ايوة	irah	قمر	ḳamar	واريت	wârit
Mountain	فدھن	fad-han	جبل	jabal	جبال	jibél, kirmim

Comparative Vocabulary No. 2; continued.

English.	Sokotran.		Arabic (Gulf of Aden Dialect).		Mhâri.	
N						
Night-time	احدة	ahtah	ليل	lail	بحلي	bahali
Nine	سعة	sa'ah	تسعة	tis'ah	اسات	isét
Nose	نخير	nahîr	انف	anf	نخير	naḡharir
O						
Oil	سليط	salîṭ	سليط	salîṭ	سليط, مه	salîṭ, mah
One	قأط, قأط, قأط	kâṭ, tâṭ, hâṭ	واحد	wâhid	قأط	tâ,ad
P						
Paper	قأطاس	karṭâs	.....	kâḡhadh	.....	.....
R						
Roof, top, awning, &c.	ميلةو	mil'au	ظلال	ḡhalâl	.....	.....
Rope	قيت	kêt	.....	.....	.....	.....
S						
Sail of a ship	شيرع	shîr'a	شراع	shirâ'	شروتن	sharôtan (pl.)
Salt water	ريهودرنهم	rihò darna-ham	مائي بحر	mâ,i bahr	.....	.....
Sell, (v.)	كثوعم	kathû'am	باع	bâ'	.....	.....
„ I will	اشيمر	ashîmah	ابيع	abl'	.....	.....
Seven	يبيعة	yibi'ah	سبعة	sab'ah	ابات و يبات	ibêt, yibêt
Shoulders	كوري	kauri	كاتف (sing.)	katâf (sing. katif)	كاتف	katfah
Sit down	استحأو	istahâ,u	اجلس	ajlis	ثوول	thôwal
Six	ايتة	îtah, yitah	سطة	sittah	يتيت	yitit
Sleep, (v.)	ايدم, تشوف	aidam, tashûf	نام, رقد	nâm, raḡad	.....	.....
Star	كوكب	kôkab	نجم, كوكب	najm, kau-kab	ككبكب	kabkôb
Stomach	مير	mir	بطن	baṭn	كوش	karash
Stop! Stay!	سلوبه	salôbah	اصبر	aṣbur	سلوب	salôb
Sun	شهن	shîhan	شمس	shams	حيوم	haiyôm
Sword	شكو	shukkô	سيف	saif	شكي	shaki
T						
Take away, remove	ارح	arah	ودي	wadi	.....	.....
Take away, do not	على طبيعي	'alâ tiyé'i	لاتودي	lâ tawadî	.....	.....
Take hold	تأو, عز, تزعن	talô, 'arr, taz'an	خذ, امسك	ḡhudh,amsik	.....	.....
„ do not	عن تزعن	'an taz'an	لاتأخذ	lâ tâḡhudh	هتق	huthuḡ

Comparative Vocabulary No. 2; continued.

English.	Sokotran.	Arabic (Gulf of Aden Dialect).	Mhâri.
Tall, long	ريڈو ri,au	طويل ṭawīl	.....
Teeth	مطيرمش matirmish	اسنان , ضروس asnân, ḡharûs	.....
Ten	عشري 'ashri	عشرة 'ashara	عشريت 'asharit
Three	طبعة tata'ah	ثلاثة thalâthah	شانات shâdthêṭ
Throat, neck	نحاشه nahâshah	رقبة rakabah	قرد garad
Tongue	لشن lishan	لسان lisân	شدين shîn
Town	چيرھلي chirha,i	بلد balad	رحبات rahbêt
Two	تروہ tarawah	اثنين ithnên	ثروہ tharôh
Two months	ترا بشهرين tarâ b-shahrain	شهرين shahrain	.....
Two years	تري اينہ tarî ainah	سنتين sanatain	.....
U			
Untrue, a falsehood	تبت tubat	كذب kidhb	بادي bêdi
W			
Water	ريہہ riho	ماء , مويہ mâ, môyah	حموہ ha-môh. The syllable ha seems to be the article, as in Hebrew
.. salt or sea	ريہہ , ريہن riho (or riyoh) rêhan	مائي بحر mâ, i bahr	.....
.. sweet or fresh	ريہہ حالي riyoh hâli	مائي حلو مائي حالي mâ, i halû, or hâli	.....
.. drink	ريہہ لوي riyoh lari	مائي اشرب mâ, i ashrab	.....
.. give some	ابي ريہہ abi riho	اعطي ماء â'atî mâ, i	.....
.. plenty of	گي ريہہ gî riho	ماء كثير mâ, i kathir	.....
.. scarcity of	ريہو حورھن rihō hararhan	ماء قليل mâ, i ḡalil	.....
Well, (s.)	ابھر ab-har	بئر bi,r, bîr	بئر bir
White	لبہم lab-ham	ابيض abyaḡh	لبون labôn
Wood	طيرب ṭêrab	حطب ḡatab	ظرب ḡtharab, ḡhitab
Write (imper.)	تو کتب to-kuttab	اكتب aktub	.....
Y			
Yard of a ship	تارمل tarmal	فرمان farmân	.....
Year	اينہ ainah	سنہ sana	سنات sanêṭ

GĪz, 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 Kara 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 Agāzi, who founded the kingdom of Axum, and were the original of that mixed race known by the name of Habshī, 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.

GĪz 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 Sokotran language so nearly resembles Mhāri 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 Sokotran, and make use of it in their intercourse with the natives; but I do not think the latter ever speak Mhāri, and the resemblance between the two languages is very slight, as will be seen by examining No. 2 Comparative Vocabulary of English, Sokotran, Arabic and Mhāri words.³⁴

The Mhāri idiom (كلام ذمهاري) *kalām dh' Mhāri*, 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 southeastern part of Arabia. The limits of their coast are generally allowed to be the opening of the great Wādi Masila on the S. W., in 51°13' E. Long., and the town of Damkōt in the Bay of Al Kamar, 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,

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 Kara and the Sokotrans understand one another's dialects.

³⁴ The Sokotran words are taken chiefly from Wellsted's Vocabulary, and the Mhāri 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 Mhāri:—

ا, for the most part, has not a broad sound, but is pronounced more like the *a* in *fate*: thus مهاري (Mhāri) has 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 Mhāri 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 شوط *šūṭ* *šre*, pronounced *shlōt*.

ص, has the softer sound of the letter *z*, as in صاجر *šājar*, which is pronounced *zējar*.

Ē is usually pronounced the same as the Arabic ق (q), and the latter is scarcely distinguishable from *g*.

³⁵ The Bani Kara also claim descent from the Himyari.

and when compared with their neighbours, the Bani Kara, 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 Kara³⁶ (or Beni Quorra, as they themselves pronounce the word) also called (حكلي) Hakli, are a fine race of Beduins inhabiting the Sabhân Mountains, which extend from Râs Marbât to the village of Hâsik. The latter place marks the north-east, and Râs Dtharbat 'Ali (ظربت عالي) the south-east termination of their maritime boundary. Between Râs Dtharbat 'Ali and Damḳôt there are as many Mahras as Karas, therefore this interval may be considered neutral ground.

For the purposes of the present inquiry it is necessary to compare the Kara (Gharah) tribe with the Soḳoṭrans, and the following account of the former by Dr. Carter³⁷ 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. E. 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 Sokotra 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 Kara** 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 **Kara** 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 "Ehkhili" (manifestly a phonetic corruption of **Hakli**), 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 **Mahrâs**, asserting that the former contains a much less proportion of modern Arabic than the latter; so that an inhabitant of the coast of **Shihr** **شهر**, 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 **Ehkhili**, 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 **Hadhrâmut**, chiefly occupied by **Mahrâs**, 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 **Hadhrâmut**; 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

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 Gherra (**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 Soḱoṭra is the first land they would come to.

This appears to me to be the most probable origin of the earliest inhabitants of Soḱoṭra, 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 Gârâwi dialect. If this, on investigation, prove to be identical or nearly so, with Soḱoṭran, 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 Soḱoṭrans 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 Râdhâkântâsarman, 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 *Sâringadhara-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 Lât 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 1¼" 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 *Sâkambhari-bhûpati*, in A., line 2, — which we meet again, e.g., in the 'Pâlam Bâoli' inscription² of the Vikrama year 1337. All the three inscriptions were evidently written by the same writer, the *Kâyasitha* Śrîpati, a son of Mâhava, of Gauḍa descent (C., line 5). The language of the inscriptions is Sanskrit; 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 *vrâté* 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 Sâkambhari, Visaladêva, the son of Avêlladêva.³ Lines 1-2 of the inscription C. record that this Visala, ruler of Sâkambhari, had conquered the land between the Vindhya and Himalaya mountains, and that, by repeatedly exterminating the Mlêchchhas or barbarians, he had made Âryavarta once more the abode of the Âryas; while lines 3-4 represent the king, who is here called Vigharârâja,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 Sallakshanapâla.⁶ Finally, the inscription B. glorifies the king here addressed as Vighraha or Vigharârâjadêva, 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 Vaisâkha 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 Vaisâkha 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 Vigharârâja and Visaladêva were names of the same person, or of different princes." Lassen, *Ind. Alterthums-kunde*, Vol. III, p. 924, took Vigharârâja to have been a tributary of Visaladêva.

⁵ Lines 1-4 of the inscription C. are quoted in Śāringadhara's *Paddhati*, Professor Peterson's edition, Nos. 1255 and 1256, with the remark — *étau Nriga-nripati-pâshâna-yajñayâpa-prasastêh* 'these two (verses) are from a *prasasti* which is on a sacrificial post, made of stone, of the king Nriga.' In the second of the two verses the edition has the various readings *Châhuvâna-tilakâh*, and *śrîmân-Vigharârâja*, for *Châhamâna-tilakâh* and *śrîmad-Vigharârâja* which are quite clear on the stone.

⁶ According to Colebrooke, "the fortunate Lakshanapâla."

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 Vaiśākha was an intercalary month, —
 for the first Vaiśākha, — Thursday,⁷ 9 April, A.D. 1164 ;
 for the second Vaiśākha, — 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 Vaiśākha, 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 suti* and *va. ti. or vati*, in which the syllable *ti* is clearly an abbreviation of the word *tithi*, are commonly used in Kāśmīr, 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 Śārada characters at Hariparvat is dated — *Saṅvat 60 Śrā. va. ti. pra. Sukrē Mahammada-śāha-rājyā*; and a MS. of his collection bears the date — *Saṅvat 24 Kārtika-vati-trayōdaśyām Būdhē śrī-Sākha 1570*; and according to Dr. Bühler's *Kāśmīr Report*, App. II. p. lv., a MS. of the *Ohārāyaṅya-mantra-bhūshya* is dated — *Saṅvat 47 Śrā (śrā). va. ti. pañchadaśyām (?) parataḥ shashṭhyām*. Besides, the Deccan College Śārada MSS. of the *Kāśikā-Vṛitti* and of the *Śakuntalā*, which I have examined myself, are dated, the former — *Śrī-nṛipa-Vikramāditya-rājyasya gat-ābdāḥ 1717 śrī-Saptarshi-matē saṅvat 36 Pau. va. ti. 3 Ravau Tishya-nakshatrē*, and the latter — *Saṅvat 33 Vai. śu. ti. saptamyām*. And *śuti* and *vati* are throughout employed, for *śukla-pakshē* and *kṛishṇa-pakshē*, 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 Kāśmīrian 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 Siwālik 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 'Pālam Bāoli' inscription of the Vikrama year 1337, which has been already mentioned above, we are told that the country of Hariyānaka, to which 'Dhillī' belonged, was first ruled by the Tōmaras, afterwards by the Chauhānas, and later by the Saka-rulers, *i.e.* the Muhammadans. And similarly, the Delhi Museum inscription⁸ of the Vikrama year 1384 relates that 'Dhillikā' was founded by the Tōmaras, and that it was afterwards the residence of the Chāhamānas, until it was conquered by the Mlēchchha Sahābadīna.⁹ Our inscriptions show that the Chāhamāna Visaladēva-Vigraharāja, king of Śākambharī¹⁰ (or Sāmbhar), 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.

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.* Shahāb-ud-dīn Ghōrī.

¹⁰ It may not be out of place to draw attention here to a remark of the late Dr. Bhagvānlāl Indrajī, quoted *ante*, Vol. VIII. p. 59, "that Sapādalaksha or Savālakha is the name of the Siwālik hills, and that the early Rājās of Kamanū called themselves Sapādalaksha-nīpatis; and that the Śākambharī Rājās" — who are called *Sapādalakshya* and *Sapādalaksha-kshmpāla*; see *ante*, Vol. VI. pp. 184 and 186 — "may have originally come from that country."

TEXT.¹¹

- A. 1 Ôm¹² [||*] Saṃvat 1220 Vaisākha-suti 15 [||*]
 2 Śakambhari¹³-bhūpati-śrīmad-Avelladē-¹⁴
 3 v-ātmaja¹⁵-śrīmad-Visaladēvasya ||
- B. 1 Ôm¹⁶ [||*] Ambhō¹⁷ nāma ripu-priyā-nayanayōḥ pratyarthi-dam̄t-āntarē pratyakshāṇi trīṇāni vaibhava-milat-kāshṭham yaśas=tāvakaṃ |
 2 mārggō lōka-viruddha ēva vijānaḥ sūnyaṃ manō vidvishām śrīmad-Vigraha-
 rājadēva bhavataḥ prāptē prayāṇ-ōtsavē ||
 3 Līlā-māndira sōdarēshu bhavatu svūntēshu vāmabhruvām śatrūnām tu na
 Vighraha-kshitipatē nyūyyō=tra vāsas=tava |
 4 śamkā vā Purushōttamasya bhavatō n=asty=ēva vārām nidhēr=nnirmmathy=
 āpahṛita-śriyaḥ kim=u bhavān=krōḍē na nidrāyitaḥ ||
- C. 1 Ôm¹⁸ || Â¹⁹ Vim̄dhyād-â Himādrēr=vvirachita-vijayas²⁰=tīrtha-yātrā-prasaṅgād=
 udgrivēshu praharttā nripatishu vinamat-kandharēshu prasannaḥ |
 2 Āryāvarttam̄ yathārtham̄ punar=api kṛitavān=MLēchchha-vichchhēdanābhir=ddēvaḥ
 Śakambhar-īndrō jagati vijayatē Visala-kshōṇipālaḥ ||
 3 Vrū(brū)tē²¹ sam̄prati Chāhamāna-tilakaḥ Śakambhari-bhūpatiḥ śrīmad-
 Vighraharāja ēsha vijayī saūtānājān=ātmanaḥ |
 4 asmābhiḥ kara-dam̄ vyadhāyi Himavad-Vim̄dhy-āntarālam̄ bhuvāḥ śēsha-
 svikaraṇāya m=āstu bhavatām=udyōga-sūnyaṃ manaḥ ||
 5 Saṃvat śrī-Vikramādityē²² 1220 Vaisākha-suti 15 Gurau [||*] Likhitam=
 idam̄ rāj-ādēsāt²³ jyōtishika-śrī-Tīlakarāja-pratyaksham̄ Gauḍānvaya-kāyastha-
 Māhava-putra-Śrīpatinā |
 6 Atra samayē mahā-mam̄trī rājaputra-śrī-Sallakshaṇapālaḥ ||

TRANSLATION.

A.

Ôm! In the year 1220, on the 15th of the bright half of Vaisākha. (A record) of the illustrious Visaladēva, son of the illustrious Avelladēva, king of Śakambhari.

B.

Ôm! 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 Vighraharāja!

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 *anusvāra* has been struck out.

¹⁴ The small circle below, and touching, the left portion of the *v* of the *akshara* *vē* 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 *ātmaja* and *śrīmad* the sign of *visarga* was engraved, but subsequently struck out by a vertical line.

¹⁶ Expressed by a symbol.

¹⁷ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita; and of the next verse.

¹⁸ Expressed by a symbol.

¹⁹ Metre, Sragdharā.

²⁰ Originally *vijayaḥ* was engraved, but the sign of *visarga* has been struck out.

²¹ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

²² One would have expected here *-Vaikramādityē*. Compare the 'Pālam Bāoli' stone inscription, in *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. XLIII. Part I, plate X, l. 21, *samvatsarē=emin=Vaikramādityē samvat 1237*.

²³ Read *śōḍj-jyōtishika*.

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."

1 ॐ संवत् १२२० वैशाख अति १५
 2 शाकं रोगी रूपाति श्रीमदमल्लार
 3 वामनाश्रीमदीसलारवस्य ॥

SCALE · 11

B

1 ॐ असा नाम चिपि नो नमनाया प्रया विंदा नम प्रया द्वा गी टणा निव स्वमिलता छय सावकुं ।
 2 मा मीला कवि रूह्य विद्वान् श्रुं मजो विद्विषा श्रीम विश्रु क मादाद वर्न तं पाप प्रयाण सव ।
 3 लीला मदि नसाद नश्रु व उवा जश्रु वा मङ्ग वा शश्रु गां डन विपु ह किं तिप तद्या आ व वा सप्र व ।
 4 शं का वा उभाषा नम श्रु स्व माना ल्य व वा रं नि व नि म ध्या प द न श्रियः किं मर वा क्रा ड न वि द्या दितं ॥

SCALE · 14

C

1 ॥ आ विधा सा हि मा इ विं र वि म वि ड ल स्री धि द्या रा ष सं शा ड श्री म षु प्र द तो नृ प ति षु वि न म क वं प षु प्र स न् ॥
 2 आ द्यो व नं अ धा यं सु न नृ गि क्त वा ष्ठ वि ह्रु द ना सि दं वं श मे र गी द्वि ड ग ति वि ड द्य त नी स ल ह षि प ल ॥
 3 इ म स प्र ति वा द म न तिल कः शा कं र गी र प तिः श्री म द्वि म र स इ प षु वि क्त मी प न न द्या ना म न ॥
 4 अ म्हा नि क्तु न दं द्य म ति इ म व द्वि धां त ना लं डु वं श षु षी क म णा ड म म्भु र व र उ द्या न द्युं म न ॥
 5 ए व षु अ वि क मा दि द्य १२ स्व वि शा ख म ति प थ नो नि लि प मे रं इ र शो अ वि क थी ति ल न न र प त्कं थो ड व य का ड म्भु र व षु अ पी प ति ना
 6 अ न र म्भु म य क लो म नै न क षु अ म न क षु म प ल ॥

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 **Himalaya** 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 **Āryavarta** what its name signifies,²⁹ — victorious in the world is the lord, the guardian of the earth **Visala**, ruler of **Sakambhari**.

The ornament of the **Chāhamānas**, the illustrious **Vigraharāja**, king of **Sakambhari**, the victorious, now addresses here those born in his lineage: "We have made tributary the land between **Himalaya** and **Vindhya**; let not your minds be void of exertion to appropriate the remainder of the earth!"

In the year 1220 of the illustrious **Vikramāditya**, on Thursday, the 15th of the bright half of **Vaisākha**. This was written at the king's command, in the presence of the astrologer, the illustrious **Tilakarāja**, by **Srīpati**, the son of **Māhava**, a **Kāyastha** of **Gaṇḍa** descent.

The great minister at this time is the **Rājaputra**, the illustrious **Sallakshapāla**.

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 **Lāhōr** 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:—**Kālpī** or **Muḥammadābād**, **Gwālior**, **Fort Gwālior**, **Jaunpūr**, **Aḥmadābād**, **Ajmēr**, **Mālpūr**, **Alwar**, **Chitōr**, **Hiṣār** **Fīrōza**, **Āgra**, **Lāhōr**, **Khairpūr**, **Kābul**, **Burhānpūr**, **Fathpūr** (**Sikrī**), and **Dehlī**: 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 **Sūrī** kings, as well as the **Bahlōlīs** and **Sikandarīs** of the two **Lōdhi** kings, and the anonymous coins of **Bābar** and **Humāyūn**.

The peculiarities of these coins were as follows. The **Sūrī** issues were distinguished by the names of the kings and the size, and those of the **Lōdhis** and **Mughals** by the mint. Thus, **Humāyūn** struck copper coins all over the country at **Māṇḍā**, at **Champānēr**, **Dehlī**, **Lāhōr**, **Āgra**, **Jaunpūr** and other places, and **Shēr Shāh's** mints for copper coins were at **Hiṣār**, **Gwālior**, **Nārṇól**, **Nau**, **Sambhal**, **Shēr Garh** (**Qanauj** ?), **Alwar**, **Āgra**, **Byānā**, **Kālpī**, **Lakhnau**, and **Malōt**.

²⁶ Colebrooke, reading *satrāṇām nanu*, instead of the actual reading on the stone *satrāṇām tu na*, and adopting generally the explanation of **Bādhakāntaśarman**, 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 **Parushōttama**, *i.e.* the god **Vishṇu**.

²⁹ *i.e.* the abode of the **Āryans**.

The Lôdhis also at any rate struck both at Dehli and Jaunpûr. Again, Humâyûn never put his name on copper, only the year and the mint. The Sûris, 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 **Muhammad Sûr**. There is also no mint given on the few copper coins known of **Sikandar Sûr** and **Ibrahim 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 Sûri kings were similar in make, size and legend.

Now, **Akbar** adopted the *dâms* of the Sûri 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 hissa-i-tanka* (4th), *hashtum hissa* (8th), and *shânzdahum hissa* (16th), as definite coins with fixed weights; (3) the *nisfi* (half), as half a *dâm*. This last is a very rare coin, and in one instance I have met with the actual words **نيسفي دالم** 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 **تنگ**, 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 **تنك**, 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-Akbari** gives the weight of a jeweller's *tânk* as 24 *ratis*, and on actual weighment I find that 24 *ratis* = 42 grs., and in this I am supported by Thomas, who says one *rati* = 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 *ratis*, 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 *rati* 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 *ratis*, because then 1 *rati* = 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 *rati* = 1·91 gr. All this makes me think the **Âin-i-Akbari** is wrong in saying that the *tânk* was of 24 *ratis*, and that it was really of 32 *ratis*. It also makes me think that the *rati* 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 *Azr*, 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 dāms.** Now that we know from this coin what the dām is we can calculate the revenues exactly, or rather, we can see what the values of the sums, put down in the *Āin-i-Akbarī*, are.

TRANSCRIPTION.

PLATE I.

Fig. 1. Obv. :—	دار الضرب محمد آباد عرف كالمبي	Kālpī mint.
Rev. :—	في سنة ٩٦٤ نهصد شصت (و چهار)	964 A.H.
Fig. 2. Obv. :—	دار الضرب خطه كالمبي	Kālpī mint.
Rev. :—	في التاريخ سنة ٩٦٨	968 A.H.
Fig. 3. Obv. :—	same as on fig. 2. خطه كالمبي	Kālpī very plain.
Rev. :—	في التاريخ سنة ٩٦٦	966 A.H.

When Kālpī was first called Muḥammadābād (*vide* fig. 1), or by whom, I do not know. I have a *mohar* of Akbar in which he calls Udaipūr by the same name, adding, however, the epithet conquered to it. The inscription runs thus:—**عرب محمد آباد عرف آدي پور مفتوحه**. The word **خطه** is used on coins of Jaunpūr struck in the time of Bābar and Humāyūn.

Fig. 4. Obv. :—	جلال الدين محمد اكبر بادشاه غازی	
Rev. :—	(في عهد) امير العالمی 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 Shēr Shāh.	
Fig. 6. Obv. :—	في زمان جلال الدين محمد اكبر بادشاه غازی	
Rev. :—	خلد الله تعالی ملكه..... سنة ٩٦٦	966 A.H.

This coin is, so far as I know, unique.

Fig. 7. Obv. :—	ضوب..... دار الخلفه گوالیور	Mint Gwālior.
Rev. :—	في تاريخ سنة نهصد.....	900 odd A.H.
Fig. 8. Obv. :—	(ضرب ?) قلع گوالیور	Mint Gwālior.
Rev. :—	نهصد هشتاد و هفت	987 A.H.

The coins of the Gwālior mint are exceedingly rare. In the large one the town is called Dāru'l-Khilāfat, in the small one the قلع fort.

Fig. 9. Obv. :—	ضرب فلوس دار الخلفه جونپور	Jaunpūr mint.
Rev. :—	في التاريخ سنة نهصد هفتاد	970 A.H.

The Jaunpūr coins of Akbar are very rare. This place is also called Dāru'l Khilāfat on his coins.

Fig. 10. Obv. :—	ضرب فلوس احمد آباد	Ahmadābād mint.
Rev. :—	سنة نهصد هشتاد ٩٨٠	980 A.H.

Coins of the Ahmadābād mint of this type are very rare; at any rate they are very seldom seen in the Panjāb.

Fig. 11. Obv. :—	ضرب اجمير سكر فلوس	Ajmēr mint.
Rev. :—	سنة نهصد هشتاد (وهشت) ٩٨٨	988 A.H.

- Fig. 12. Obv. :— ضرب مالپور سکہ فلوس Mālpūr mint.
Rev. :— سنہ نہصد ہشتاد (وینچ) ۹۸۵ 985 A.H.

There are several places called Mālpūr. 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 Jaipūr mint (حسور) as the word is without dots, but Jaipūr was not in existence in the time of Akbar. The mint of Chitôr is not mentioned in the *Āin-i-Akbarī*. Mr. Oliver read this mint as Qanauj (قدوج), *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LV. 1885, Pl. xi., fig. 23.⁴

- Fig. 15. Obv. :— ضرب فلوس حصار فیرو (زہ) Hîșâr Fîrôza mint.
Rev. :— فی التاريخ نہصد شصت و ہفت 967 A.H.

Coins of Akbar from the Hîșâr Fîroza mint are very rare.

- Fig. 16. Obv. :— ضرب دار الخلافہ آگرہ Āgra mint.
Rev. :— فی التاريخ سنہ نہصد 900 odd A.H.

- Fig. 17. Obv. :— ضرب فلوس دار السلطنہ لاہور Lâhôr mint.
Rev. :— نہصد ہفتاد و شش 976 A.H.

- Fig. 18. Obv. :— ضرب فلوس لاہور..... Lâhôr mint.
Rev. :— فی التاريخ 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. :— چوتانکے اکبر شاہی A four-tânke piece.
Rev. :— ضرب آگرہ اردی (ہشت) ۴۷ الہی 47 year Ilâhi.

This is the first time a four-tânke piece has been published. Two-tânke 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 *Āin-i-Akbarī* (Gladwin's Ed., Vol. II. p. 383).

- Fig. 23. Obv. :— چوتانکے اکبر شاہی A four-tanke piece.
Rev. :— ضرب لاہور اذر ۴۶ الہی 46th Ilâhi Lâhôr mint.

This is another four-tanke piece. The name, however, on it is *tanke*, not *tânke*, as on the specimen from the Āgra mint.

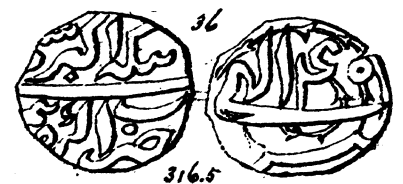
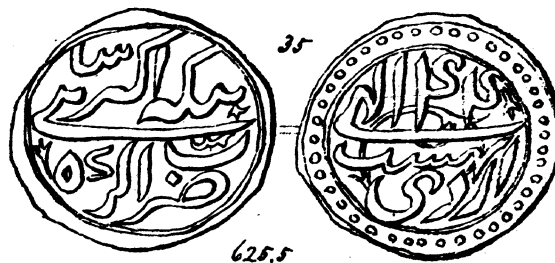
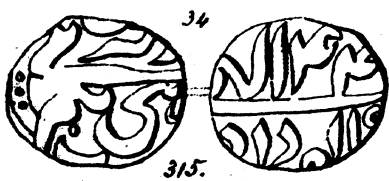
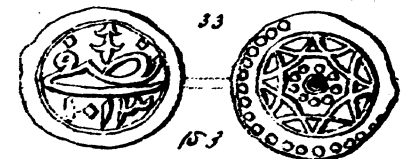
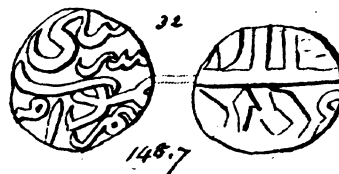
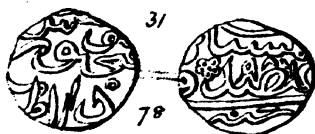
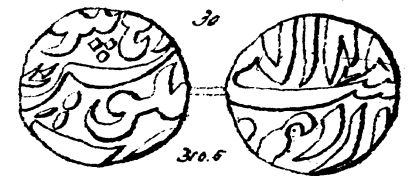
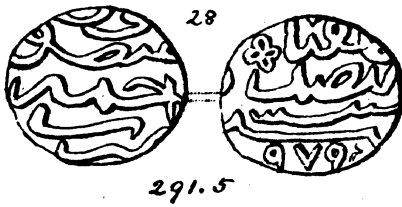
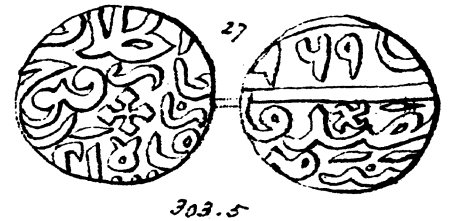
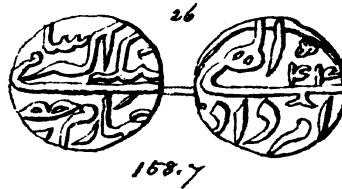
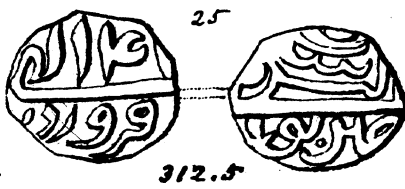
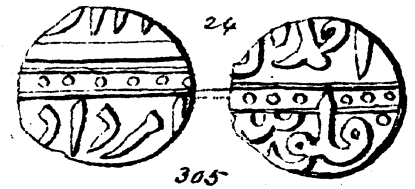
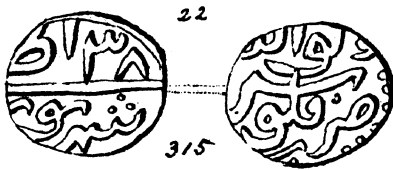
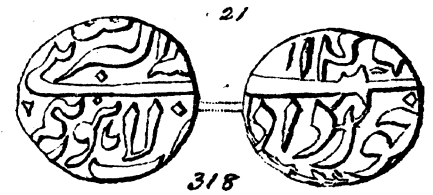
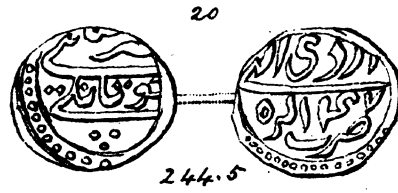
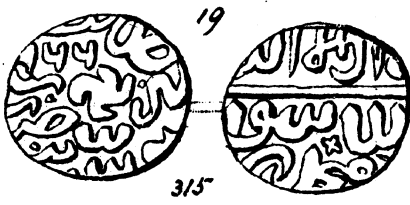
- Fig. 29. Obv. :— چوتانکے اکبر شاہی A four-tanke piece.
Rev. :— ضرب کابل ابان ۴۷ الہی 47th Ilâhi, Kâbul mint.

This is a four-tanke piece of the Kâbul mint.

* [Given that Mr. Rodgers has drawn this coin correctly it seems to me to read clearly حمور *i.e.*, چنوو and not چیتور as he reads. It cannot therefore read چہور, though it might possibly read قنوج as Mr. Oliver says, on the original coins. Chitôr چمور is the correct spelling.—R. C. TEMPLE.]

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 Pañjāb. 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.:— ضوب لاہور نیم تنکہ اکبر شاہی Half-tanka of Lâhôr.
Rev.:— خورداد ۴۶ الہی 46th year Ilâhi.

Here we have a *half-tanka*, a coin equal in weight to the *dâms* of the Sûris 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.:— ضوب فلوس گوالیا (ر) A *fulûs* of Gwâlîor.
Rev.:— شہر پور ۳۸ الہی 38th year Ilâhi.

Here this *dâm* is called a *fulûs*. This coin of the Gwâlîor mint is, I believe, unique.

Fig. 24. Obv.:— فلوس احمد آباد A *fulûs* of Ahmadâbâd.
Rev.:— خورداد..... الہی Year scarcely legible.

This *fulûs* is very rare indeed.

Fig. 25. Obv.:— ضوب (ضوب) خیر پور سکہ فلوس اکبر شاہی A *fulûs* of Khairpâr.
Rev.:— فروردین ۴۷ الہی 47th year Ilâhi.

I do not know where Khairpâr is. This *fulûs* is unique.

Fig. 26. Obv.:— ضوب (ضوب) چہارم حصہ تنکہ اکبر شاہی The 4th of a *tanka*.
Rev.:— خورداد ۴۴ الہی 44th year Ilâhi.

There is no mint to this fourth part of a *tanka*. It is an excessively rare coin.

Fig. 27. Obv.:— (؟ ضوب دار) الخلفہ قنوج..... A Qanauj coin.
Rev.:— سنہ نصد و شصت و نہ ۹۶۹ 969 A. H.

Here we have an undoubted coin of the Qanauj mint. This place was called Shêr Garh Qanauj on the copper coins⁶ 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.:— ضوب اجمیر منصور (ر)..... Struck at Ajmêr.
Rev.:— فی سنہ نصد و 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.:— ضوب فلوس برہانپور Struck at Burhânpûr.
Rev.:— خورداد..... الہی 48th year Ilâhi.

This *fulûs* is worn. Burhânpûr is not mentioned as a mint in the *Âin-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.:— ضوب دار الضوب فتحپور فلوس Struck at Fathpâr mint.
Rev.:— سنہ فی نصد و 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 Ahmadâbâd. 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 Sûris, showing the mints and inscriptions.

The weight of this coin, 78 grains, proclaims it to be a *quarter-dām*. This size is very rare indeed.

Fig. 32. Obv.:— ضرب نیم دام بَندَر (شاهی) ؟ A *half-dām* of Port (?)
Rev.:— امرداد الهی Year (?) Ilâhî.

This most precious coin has the words *nīm dām* on it. It is the only one I have seen out of many thousands of Akbar's coins with the name *dām* on it. It is very much worn. It establishes the fact that a *dām* was equivalent to half a *tanka*.

Fig. 33. Obv.:— ۱۰۱۳ نصفی An *niṣf* (or half), 1013 A.H.
Rev.:—A geometric design.

Here we have another *half-dām* with only the word *a half* on it. Its weight, 153 grains (it is very much worn), confirms the weight of the *dām*.

Fig. 34. Obv.:— ضرب دہلی نیم تنکہ اکبر شاہی *half-tanka* of Dehlî.
Rev.:— ماہ امرداد ۴۴ الهی 44th year Ilâhî.

This *half-tanka* is worn. It is 3 grains lighter than the Lâhôr specimen, fig. 21, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ grains lighter than the Âgra specimen, fig. 36.

Fig. 35. Obv.:— ضرب آگرہ تنکہ اکبر شاہی An *Âgra tanka*.
Rev.:— اردی بہشت 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 آگرہ نیم تنکہ اکبر شاہی *half-tanka* of *Âgra*.
Rev.:— تیورہ ۴۵ الهی 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 Bhitari, in the Sayyidpur Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Ghâzîpur 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, $4\frac{1}{2}$ " broad by $5\frac{3}{4}$ " high. Round the face of it there runs a raised rim, of which the average breadth is about $\frac{3}{8}$ ", and the average height something under $\frac{1}{4}$ ". On the back of it there are two projecting knobs, each about $\frac{3}{8}$ " 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 $59\frac{3}{8}$ 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 Râjîm grant of Tivaradêva (*Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 81).

TEXT.²

- 1 [Sar]v[v]a-râj-ôchchêttulḥ=prithivyâm=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-dauhittas]ya ma[hâdê]vyâ[m]
Kumârad[ê]vyâm=utpannasya mahârâjâdhirâja-
3 ś[ri]-Samudraguptasya puttras=tat-parig[ri]h[i]tô ma[hâdê]vyâ[n=Da]t[t]ad[ê]vy[â]m=
utpannas=svayam ch=[â]pratirathah³=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[âm] Dhr[u]vadêvyâm=utpannô mah[â]r[â]-
5 [jâdhi]râja-śrî-Kumârag[u]ptas=tasya puttras=tat-pâd-ânuddhyâtô mahâdêvyâm=
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[m] śrî-Vat[s]adêvyâm=utpan[nô] ma[hâ]-
7 r[â]j[â]dh[i]r[â]ja-śrî-Naras[i]mhaguptas=tasya p[u]ttras=tat-[p]âd-â[nu]d[dh]y[â]t[ô]
mah[â]d[ê]v[âm] śrî-Mahâ[lakshmi(?)]-
8 [dê]v[ya]m=ut[p]annaḥ=paramabh[â]gavatô mah[â]r[â]j[â]dh[i]r[â]ja-śrî-Kum[â]ra-
g[u]ptaḥ ||

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 Kumâradêvi*,—

(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 Dattadêvi*; 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 Dhruvadêvi*, (*was*) the *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, the glorious *Kumâragupta (I.)*

(L. 5.)—His son, who meditated on his feet, (*and*) who was begotten on the *Mahâdêvi Anantadêvi*, (*was*) the *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, the glorious *Puragupta*.

(L. 6.)—His son, who meditated on his feet, (*and*) who was begotten on the *Mahâdêvi*, the glorious *Vatsadêvi*,⁴ (*was*) the *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, the glorious *Narasimhagupta*.

(L. 7.)—His son, who meditated on his feet, (*and*) who was begotten on the *Mahâdêvi*, the glorious *Mahâlakshmidêvi (?)*, (*is*) the most devout worshipper of the Divine One, the *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, the glorious *Kumâragupta (II.)*

² From the original seal.

³ Here Dr. Hoernle has given the alternative readings *svayam ch=âpratirathah*, and *svayam cha pratirathah*; with a preference in favour of the former, which is undoubtedly the correct reading. In the *Bhitari inscription (Gupta Inscriptions, No. 13, line 4, p. 53)* I gave the reading as *svayam=apratirathah*; 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 super-script *â*, attached to the *ch*. The reading in the *Bhitari 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 Śrīvatsadêvi*," 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 Vishnu; and over his left wing there seems to be a faint representation of the *śankha* 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 Bhitari 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 Sanskrit. — In respect of orthography we may notice (1) the use of the *upadhmanīya* in °*śchchhētuh*=*prithivyām*, line 1; °*apratirathah*=*parama*°, line 3; and *utpannah*=*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 *anuddhyata*, in lines 4, 5, 6, and 7.

The inscription on the seal is purely genealogical; as are the inscriptions on the Aśirgaḍh and Sōnpat seals of Śarvavarman and Harshavardhana (*Gupta Inscriptions*, Nos. 47, 52), and on the seals attached to the grants of the Mahārājas Mahēndrapāla and Vināyakapāla (*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 Kumāragupta 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 Kumāragupta I. is certainly Anantadēvi, as read by Dr. Hoernle. It is very distinct and indisputable.

In line 6, the name of the son of Kumāragupta 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 Kumāragupta 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 Purārigupta, Purāmdaragupta, 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 *śrīvatsadēvyām*. Her name may possibly be Śrīvatsadēvi, as taken by Dr. Hoernle. But I think that the *śrī* here is only the honorific prefix; used from this point with the queens' names, as it is in the Dēś-Baranārka inscription (*Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 46). I, therefore, differ from Dr. Hoernle, and take her name to be Vatsadēvi.

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 *anusvāra* 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 **Narasimhagupta**.

In the same line, in the case of **Narasimhagupta's** wife, we have another name in respect of which I cannot agree with Dr. Hoernle. He gave the reading as *śrīmatīdēvyām*, and took the name to be **Śrīmatīdēvī**. But if, as I think, the name of **Puragupta's** wife was simply **Vatsadēvī**, then here also we must have the honorific prefix *śrī*, and, to give the name of **Śrīmatīdēvī**, the text should be *śrī-Śrīmatīdēvyām*; compare *śrī-Śrīmatyām* in line 2 of the **Dêô-Baraṅk** inscription. Moreover, while the syllable after *śrī* is certainly *ma*, in my opinion it is clearly followed by *hā*. Further, the proper position of the *dē* of *dēvyām* is at the beginning of line 8; not at the end of line 7, where Dr. Hoernle placed it. And after the syllables *mahā*, 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 **Mahālakshmidēvī**; without, however, proposing this as quite a certainty. Failing that, it may be **Mahādēvidēvī**; or possibly simply **Mahādēvī**, in which case, the *dē* 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 **Narasimhagupta's** son, the letters *kum* and *rag* are so distinct, that the whole name can be nothing but **Kumāragupta (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 **Sâtārā** grant of **Vishṇuvardhana I.**, which takes the genealogy further back, passes straight to him from his father **Kirtivarman I.**, omitting to make any reference to **Pulikêśin II.**; and this, in spite of the fact that **Vishṇuvardhana I.** was then only the **Yuvarāja** 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 **Yasôdharman** 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 **Yasôdharman**, with *narādhipati*, 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 **Mahārâjas** 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 **Mahārâja 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 **Mahārâja 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 samvatsara**.

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 samvatsara** in question] lies only between **Gupta-Samvat 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-Samvat 189 (A. D. 508-509) as the crucial year, for the synchronism of Hastin and Sarvanâtha. There is nothing to prevent our taking the Mahâ-Mâgha *samvatsara* 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 Sarvanâtha 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 *samvatsara* 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 Sarvanâtha's period, and three at the commencement of Hastin's. But Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds that, in that cycle, the Mahâ-Mâgha *samvatsara* was omitted.⁶ Consequently, the Mahâ-Mâgha *samvatsara* in which the two Mahârâjas were contemporaneous, is the next one, which commenced in A. D. 484, in Gupta-Samvat 165;⁷ and, in establishing the synchronism, we have to add on twenty-two years to Sarvanâtha'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 Sarvanâtha, 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 kṛishṇa 9 of Śaka-Samvat 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 *samvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahâ-Pausa. Jupiter's next following

heliacal rising took place on Bhâdrapada śukla 8 of Śaka-Samvat 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-Phalgunî. And the *samvatsara* 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 *Jātaka* tale introducing a Buddhistic form of "God bless you" on hearing a sneeze. Prof. Whitney added a text from the *Jaimintya-Brāhmaṇa* 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, Kachâri, 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 — *rāng*. 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 *Mānava-dharmasastra*, 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 Sanskrit 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 Sanskrit. 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, \sqrt{r} in six ways, \sqrt{tr} 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 Sanskrit 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 *Nyāya-siddhānta-mañi*

jarī found in a shop in Philadelphia, and super-
scribed "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 *prās*, 'debate, dispute';
pratiprās, 'opponent, one disputing against
another'; *pratipāsita* 'one assailed in debate or
(simply) opponent,' are hitherto misunderstood
derivatives of $\sqrt{\text{prās}}$.

New York, October, 28th and 29th 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-Vēda 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, Sēwaklāl Kar-
sandās. 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 Sel-
eukid 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 un-
clean and unlucky.

Prof. Whitney controverts at some length
Prof. Ludwig's views respecting total eclipses of
the sun as noticed in the Rīg-Vēda. Prof.
Ludwig recognized four different eclipses as re-
ferred to in the Vedic hymns with sufficient indivi-

duality 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 com-
plete 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 compa-
rative 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 ten-
dency 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 Huantian and Antun = Marcus
Aurelius, A. D. 166.

Boston, May 12th, 1866. Prof. M. Bloomfield
has a long note on the correlation of *v* and *m* in
Vedic and later Sanskrit, offered as a supple-
ment to Ascoli's discussion of the Prākṛitic 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 Rīg-Vēda by Miss
Eva Channing of Boston, Mass. The paper
discusses: (i) a certain problematical construction
of the verbs of fearing; (ii) the question of possi-
ble double negatives in the Rīg-Vēda; (iii) the
clauses containing *chanā* 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 Kāṭha-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 *Sānārs*, one of the lowest of the *Śūdras*, are trying to establish themselves as *Drāviḍian Kshatriyas* and have assumed a sacred thread and adopted some *Brāhmanical* 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 *Garó Language*.

Prof. Bloomfield then gives his reasons at length for certain proposed interpretations of three hymns of the first book of the *Atharva-Vēda*.

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 Sanskrit 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 *Pāli-Prākṛit* 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-Vēda*, 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 Sanskrit 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 *anusvāra*. 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*:—Skr. *r* = Tamil *ru*. Following the rules above laid down, *Rg.-(Vēda)* = *Irukku*.

(ii) *Sibilants*:—Skr. *sh* = Tamil *ṭ*. Skr. *s* = Tamil *s*, or is dropped. *E.g.* *Vishṇu* = *Viṭṭunu*; *Kṛshṇa* = *Kiruṭṭinan*; *Tvashta* = *Tuvaṭṭa*; *Yudhishtira* = *Udiṭṭiran*, and *Sāman* = *Sāman*; *Viśvadēvar* = *Viśuvadēva*; *Sarasvatī* = *Sāraṣuvadi*; *Sudarśana* = *Sudariśanam*. Also *Skanda* = *Śikkandan* or *Kandan*.

(iii) *Aspirates*:—Aspirates are dropped. Thus by the rules above laid down, Bhîma = Pîman or Vîman; Dhârma = Taruman; Arundhati = Arundadi; 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. Chandâla = Saṇḍalan; Chandra = Sândiran; Pîsacha = Pîsâsam; Yajur = Êsur; Jâtavedâs = 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 = Sattiiryan; (b) Yaksha = Iyakkan; (c) Arjuna = Aruśśanan. Also Drôṇa = Turonâr; 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 *Samhitâ* 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 akshata 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-Samhitâ 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 Sanskrit 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; (v) 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 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	ಃ	î	ट	ಠ	ṭa
उ	ಉ	u	ठ	ಠ	ṭha
ऊ	ಊ	û	ड	ಢ	ḍha
क	ಕ	ṛi	ढ	ಢ	ḍha
ख	ಖ	ṛî	ण	ಣ	ṇa
—	—	lṛi	न	ನ	ta
ए	ಏ	e	थ	ಠ	tha
ऐ	ಐ	é	द	ದ	da
—	—	o	ध	ಧ	dha
ओ	ಓ	ô	न	ನ	na
औ	ಔ	au	प	ಪ	pa
<i>Visarga</i>	<i>Visarga</i>	ḥ	फ	ಫ	pha
<i>Jihvāmūlīya, or old</i>	}	—	ब	ಬ	ba
<i>Visarga before क्</i>			भ	ಛ	bha
<i>and ख्</i>	}	—	म	ಮ	ma
<i>Upadhāntya, or</i>			य	ಝ	ya
<i>old Visarga be-</i>	}	—	र	ರ	ra
<i>fore प and फ्</i>			—	ॠ	ra
<i>Anusvāra</i>	<i>Anusvāra</i>	m̐	ल	ಲ	la
<i>Anunāsikā</i>	—	m̐	ळ	ಲ	la
क	ಕ	ka	—	ॡ	la
ख	ಖ	kha	व	ವ	va
ग	ಗ	ga	श	ಶ	śa
घ	ಘ	gha	ष	ಷ	ṣha
ङ	ಙ	ṅa	स	ಸ	sa
च	ಚ	cha	ह	ಹ	ha
छ	ಛ	chha			

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 *virāma* 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 *Dēvanāgarī* sign.

So also practice has shewn that it is more convenient to use the ordinary *Dēvanāgarī* 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 *paṭṭāvalī* of which I give a translation is mentioned on page 15 of the second part of the *Ajñāna-timira-bhāskara*, a Hindī work on Jainism, by the well-known Muni Atmārām-jī Ananda-Vijaya-jī. The Muni, at my request, very kindly supplied me with a copy of the *paṭṭāvalī* 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 Sanskrit. In some places it is so utterly ungrammatical as to be almost unintelligible.

It will be seen that this *paṭṭāvalī* carries the line of pontiffs back to Parsvanātha, whose line, under the Gaṇadhara Kēśin, it appears, merged into the line of Mahāvīra.

Muni Atmārām-jī belongs to the Tapa-Gachchha. The sixty-first pontiff of that line was Śrī-Vijaya-Simha-Sūri. From him arose the Vijaya-Sākhā, all the *Āchāryas* or *Gaṇīs* of which are distinguished by the epithet Vijaya. The tenth, from the founder, was called Śrī-Muni-Vijaya-Gaṇi. He had three disciples, Gulāb-Vijaya, Siddhi-Vijaya and Buddhi-Vijaya. The last-named had four disciples, the most prominent of whom is the still living Muni Atmārām-jī, called Ananda-Vijaya-Sūri. He is, therefore, the twelfth in the line of pontiffs of the Vijaya-Sākhā. He had fourteen disciples, the oldest of whom was Lakshmī-Vijaya, now deceased, who has left four disciples, the youngest of whom is Hamsa-Vijaya; and the latter already has two disciples, Hēma-Vijaya and Sampat-Vijaya. With Muni Hamsa-Vijaya I had the pleasure of making personal acquaintance recently, when he passed through Calcutta on a pastoral visit to the Jain community at Āzimganj (Murshidābād) and other places. With the present head of the *sākhā*, Muni Atmārām-jī, 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 Upakēśa-Gachchha are called Ōswāls (*Ōsawāla*). They form one of the leading trading castes of Rājputānā, and are strongly represented in Ajmīr, Jēsalnīr, Mārṇwār, Bhartpur, Bundī, Daṅgarpur, Bikanīr, &c. They are divided into the following *gōtras* in Bikanīr, — Dada, Kōtārī, Sēṭhiyā, Sirōnō, Sāwan Sūkha, Abanī, Bhantiyā, Gōlēhā. The Sēṭhiyā *gōtra* will be found mentioned in the concluding portion of the *paṭṭāvalī*. The Ōswāl *gōtras* in Mārṇwār are, — Bhandārī, Mōhnōt, Singwī, Muhtā, Lōdhā. Members of these *gōtras* have held very high offices in the State of Mārṇwār. Most of the Ōswāls of Mallānī, however, are said to be cultivators. Settlements of Ōswāl traders are found in various other parts of India, e. g. in Hōshaṅgābād, Poona and Benares. The well-known late Rājā Śiva Prasād of Benares belonged to their caste.¹

The Ōswāls are said to take their name from a place called Ōsa-nagarī, near the river Lūnī in Mārṇwār. I cannot find the place mentioned in any map. Muni Atmārām-jī, in his *Ajñāna-timira-bhāskara*, part II., page 16, states that it is situated at the distance of 20 *kōs* to the west of Jōdhpur, and that there is there an ancient Jain temple with a miraculous figure of Mahāvīra.² From his manner of speaking of it, it would appear that it is now a deserted and little-known place in the Rājputānā desert. The story of its foundation and of its temple is related in the *paṭṭāvalī*. It was built by a person, Ūhaḍa, on a piece of land given him by the king of Delhī, to which he migrated from a place called Bhīnmāl³ with a large following

¹ See Sherring's *Hindī Tribes and Castes*, Vol. I. p. 289; Vol. II. p. 116, 183; Vol. III. p. 50.

² The original Hindī is *mandīr mērtī kōḍh rāpāīs kī lāgat kē Yōdhpur sē pāschim dīsā mēn Ōsā-nagarī 20 kōs kē antar mēn wahān hai*.

³ The place was formerly also called Bhīlmāl or Śrīmāl. In the time of Hiuen Tsiang, who calls it *Pi-lo-mi-lo*, it was the capital of the northern Gurjara kingdom. It was the birth-place of the poet Māgha (see *Vienna Oriental Journal*, Vol. IV. p. 63), and the residence of the astronomer Brahmagupta. The name Śrīmāl is said to have been changed to Bhīlmāl by king Bhōja, because its people allowed the poet Māgha to die of starvation (see *ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 122). Possibly there is an allusion to the name Śrīmāl in the name Śrī-Lakshmī-mahāsthāna occurring in the *paṭṭāvalī*.

of Jain relatives and friends. Bhīnmāl still exists as a small place about half-way between Mount Abū and the river Lūnī. The temple was built by Ūhaḍa, on the advice of the Jain pontiff Ratnaprabha-Sūri, who consecrated it in the 70th year after Mahāvira's death. From his time, the Jain community of the place are said to have received the name of Upakēsa, and to be known as the Upakēsa-vaṁśīs. The town similarly became known as Upakēsa-paṭṭana or Upakēsa-nagari. In the modern vernacular, the name Upakēsa has become contracted into Ōsa, whence the town is called Ōsa-nagari, and the race of Jains, coming thence, is called Ōsa-wāla or Ōswāl.⁴

With regard to some terms occurring in the following translation, it may be noted that an *Āchārya* is any *Sādhu* who has attained the right, not only of reading publicly the Sacred Text (*mūla*), but also of explaining it authoritatively. An *Upādhyāya*, on the other hand, has only the right of reading, but not of explaining. An *Āchārya* who has risen to the head of his *gachchha* or *śākhā*, is called a *Sūri*; others, if they have disciples, are called *Gaṇī*. An *Āchārya* who permits laxity of observances in his own person or that of his disciples, is called a *Sithilāchārya*; on the other hand, he who is strict is called a *Tyāgī-Āchārya*.

The practice of *sithilāchāra* or laxity of observances is said to have established itself in the Tapa-Gachchha from the time of the 63rd *Sūri*, Vijaya-Kshamā. The separation of the *Vijaya-Śākhā*, however, took place at the time of the 61st *Sūri*, Vijaya Prabha.⁵ The cause of the separation appears to have been the following. The predecessor of Vijaya-Prabha was Vijaya-Dēva (the 60th *Sūri*). He appointed as his successor his disciple Vijaya-Simha. The latter, however, died in S. 1709, before the death, in 1713, of Vijaya-Dēva, and accordingly never actually occupied the pontifical chair. But, as he had been regularly appointed by the reigning *Sūri* to the prospective *Sūri*-ship, his disciple, Satya-Vijaya-Gaṇī, 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 *Sūri*. The result was that Satya-Vijaya-Gaṇī, with his following, separated, and established the Vijaya-Śākhā.

A *paṭṭa-vṛksha* 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 Dēva Sūri.	
No. 61 Vijaya Prabha Sūri and	Vijaya Simha Sūri.
No. 62 Vijaya Ratna Sūri.	No. 1 Satya Vijaya Gaṇī.
No. 63 Vijaya Kshamā Sūri.	No. 2 Kapūra Vijaya Gaṇī.
No. 64 Vijaya Dayā Sūri.	No. 3 Kshamā Vijaya Gaṇī.
No. 65 Vijaya Dharma Sūri.	No. 4 Jina Vijaya Gaṇī.
No. 66 Vijaya Jinendra Sūri.	No. 5 Uttama Vijaya Gaṇī.
No. 67 Vijaya Dēvendra Sūri.	No. 6 Padma Vijaya Gaṇī.
No. 68 Vijaya Dharaṇendra Sūri.	No. 7 Rūpa Vijaya Gaṇī.
No. 69 Vijaya Rājā Sūri	No. 8 Kīrti Vijaya Gaṇī.
(still living).	No. 9 Kastūra Vijaya Gaṇī.
	No. 10 Maṇi Vijaya Gaṇī.
	No. 11 Buddhi Vijaya Gaṇī.
	No. 12 Ananda Vijaya Sūri.
	(or Ātmārām, still living).

I may take this opportunity of noting that Jina-Harsha, the 70th *Sūri* of the Kharatara-Gachchha, with whom closes the *paṭṭāvalī* published by D. J. Klatt (*ante*, Vol. XI. pp. 245-250), died (according to a *paṭṭāvalī* in my possession) in S. 1892. He was succeeded by the 71st *Sūri*,

⁴ See *Ājñāna-timira-bhāskara*, Vol. II. pp. 15, 16.

⁵ The *paṭṭāvalī* of the Tapa-Gachchha, published by Dr. J. Klatt in this Journal, *ante*, Vol. XI. pp. 251-256, terminates with this Vijaya-Prabha.

⁶ I hope shortly to be able to publish it.

Jina-Mahendra, 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 Pârsvanâtha are the following :—

- (1) Pârsvanâtha's first disciple was the *Ganadhara Subhadatta*.
- (2, 3) His successor was *Haridatta*. His successor was *Âryasamudra*.
- (4) His successor was the *Ganadhara Kâsin*, by whom, as related in the *Râjaprasânya-Upânga*, the feudatory king⁸ (*pradési-nripa*) was converted.
- (5) His successor was *Svayamprabha-Sûri*. Once upon a time when Svayamprabha-Sûri was giving instruction, the *Vidyâdhara Ratnachûda*, passing over him (*in his aerial chariot*) on his way to Nandâsvara, 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 (*janâgama-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 (*priyûgatâ pratimâ*) of the Jina Pârsva, which he regularly worshipped; that this image had been originally in a temple (*chaityâlaya*) of Râvaṇa, the king of Laṅkā; but that, when Laṅkā was destroyed by Râma, his elder brother, the prince (*nara-nâtha*) Chandrachûda had brought it away to the banks of the river Vîṇâ;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 *Ângas* 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 name¹¹ was *Srî-Lakshmi-Mahâsthâna*. Its original name, in Gujarât (*Gujarâta-madhyê*) during the *Kṛita-Yuga*, had been *Rayana-mâlâ* (*Prâkrit* for *Ratna-mâlâ*); and the same during the *Trêtâ-Yuga*; but in the *Dvâpara-Yuga* it was called *Vîra-nayari* (*Prâkrit* for *Vîra-nagari*), and in the *Kali-Yuga*, *Bhîna-mâlâ*.¹² There *Bhîmasena* was king; his son was *Srîpûñja*; and his son again was *Utpala-Kumara* (*sic*; *Prâkrit* for *Kumâra*). Another name of the latter was *Srî-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, *Uhaḍa* and *Udharana*, who lived there as lay-members of the Jain community (*Sâvaka*).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 *Uhaḍa* begged of his brother the loan¹⁴ of one *lâkh*; but his

⁷ *Santâna* is a technical term for *patâ-paramparâya* or "pontifical succession."

⁸ His name was *Paçet*, and he was king of *Sâyaviyâ* in the *Kêkayaddha* country. His suzerain king was *Jiya-sattû* of *Sâvatthi* in the *Kunâla* country.

⁹ I cannot identify this river, unless it should be the *Wain Gangâ*. There is a river *Bimâ*, a tributary of the *Bêtivâ* near *Sâgar*.

¹⁰ Original: *tayâ saha aham chârîtram grîhîshyâmi*. — 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 abhidhânam*, 'its name.' The immediately preceding noun is *dharâ*, 'earth,' to which it cannot refer. Probably it refers to the place, previously called *Vîṇâta*.

¹² Modern *Bhînamâl*, 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 *Vîṇâ*.

¹³ The MS. has only *sâ*, which I take to be an abbreviation of *sâvaka* or *brâvaka*.

¹⁴ Original, *uchchhînam*, a Sanskritification of the modern Gujarâti *uchhînam*, 'a loan'; apparently intended for *Skr. ut-âra*.

younger brother told him that his coming in would create difficulties in the city.¹⁵ Upon this, Ūhaḍa informed the prince (Surasundara) that he would found a new city, and thus forward his object. (At that time) Śrīśādhu was king of Dhīlīpur (i. e. Dehlī). To him Ūhaḍa 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 Bhīnamāla, and a town, 12 yōjanas in extent, arose (on the new site).

(6) Near that place **Sri-Ratnaprabha-Sūri**, together with 500 disciples, arrived on the salt-lake hills (*lūpa-drahi-dūngarī*). They stayed for a month in the wilderness, and wandered about in the exercise of their calling (*gōchargā*), 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-Sūri** returned to that place, when he was advised by his tutelary goddess (*sāsanadēvī*) 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 Ūhaḍa 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 (*śrēṣṭha*) was afflicted with great sorrow. Hearing the sound of musical instruments, a young disciple (of the *Sūri*) came there, and, seeing the bier (*jhampāna*),¹⁸ enquired why they were going to burn a living man. They told the *Sēṭh* (*śrēṣṭhi*, lit. 'banker, or the minister') what the monk (*muniśvara*) was saying. The *Sēṭh* 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 *dēva* 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 *Sēṭh's* son had received a new lease of life; while the *Sēṭh* 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 *Sēṭh* to adopt the Jain religion, which already numbered one *lākḥ* and a quarter (125,000) of adherents. At first the *Sēṭh* began to build a magnificent temple for Nārāyaṇa; 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 *Āchārya Ratnaprabha* the reason why his temple fell down every night. The *Guru* enquired, in whose name he was building it. The *Sēṭh* replied, in the name of Nārāyaṇa. The *Guru* said, — "that will not do; make it in the name of Mahāvīra; then you will succeed, and the temple will be erected without hindrance." The *Sēṭh* acted accordingly. Then the tutelary goddess told the *Guru*, that she had begun to make an image of Mahāvīra, worthy of that magnificent building, on the hill called after the salt-lake, towards the north of the temple. Now the *Sēṭh* 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 udvasam asti, bhavatām samāgame chāsau bhāvishyati*, the exact meaning of which is not intelligible. The *Ajñōna-timīra-bhāskara* has *Ūhaḍa mantri nē tis Bhīnamāla ko kiśi nimitta sē vjjādān kōvōlō jān ke*, i. e. 'the minister Ūhaḍa, knowing that Bhīnmāl would become devastated for some reason.' It is clear that the younger brother objected to the admission of the older brother.

¹⁶ Original, *dāgho dīyatām*. *Dāgho* for *dāho* is noticeable.

¹⁷ Original, *kāshṭha-bhākshanē*, lit. 'to be eaten up by the fuel (of the funeral pile).'

¹⁸ A kind of sedan-chair, commonly used in Darjiling and other Hill-stations in the Himālayas, is called *jhampāna*.

¹⁹ The original has *mṛitikādvāmaṁ* (or *°dāhvāmaṁ*) *pāniyatya guru agrē muñchati*, which is unintelligible. Perhaps it should be *mṛitakadhāmaṁ prāniya guru* etc. or *mṛitikāyām āntya guru*, etc. The purport, as given in the translation, however, is clear from the context.

²⁰ The original has *tēna kāranēna mama putra-bhikṣhām dēhi* 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 *Séṭh* asked the *Āchārya*; and he, according to the information of his tutelary goddess, told the *Séṭh*, 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 *Séṭh*, being impatient to see it, dug it up a few days earlier, when an image of the size of a lime (*nimbū-phala*) with two nipples on its breast (*hrīdaya-stha-granthi-dvaya-sahitaṁ*) was found. The *Āchārya* said that it was still not quite finished, and advised him to wait; but the *Séṭh* replied that the touch of the *Guru's* hand would complete it. At that moment messengers arrived from the Faithful (*śrādhā*) in *Kōraṇṭaka*, inviting the *Āchārya* to come and consecrate an image of *Mahāvīra* (*bhagavat*). The *Guru* replied, that he would come at an auspicious time (*muhūrta vēlāyān*).

Verse 1.

Seventy years after the last *Jinapati* (*Mahāvīra*) had attained *mukti*, on the fifth day of the bright half, on Thursday, in the *Brahma* (or ninth) *muhūrta*, the venerable *Ratnachārya*, 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 *Mahāvīra*.

Verse 2.

Ratnaprabha-Sūri, through his (*miraculous*) power (*śaktyā*), at the same time performed the consecration of two images of *Mahāvīra* in *Upakēsa* and in *Kōraṇṭa*.

In his own proper form he performed the consecration in *Upakēsa*, and in a miraculously assumed form²¹ (*vaiṅkṛita-rūpēṇa*) he performed it in *Kōraṇṭaka*. The expenses of the ceremony were defrayed by the Faithful. Then the *Séṭh* was taught by the *Āchārya* *Ratnaprabha* the rules of the whole course of daily worship ((*pūjā ahō-rātrikā*) of the image of *Mahāvīra* which was in *Upakēsapura*; how to bathe it, and adore it, and so forth. Later on, some of the relatives of the *Séṭh* were converted from their unbelief to the profession of a *Śrāvaka* (Jain layman). Then they were made to adopt the true faith (*samyaktva*) by the *Āchārya*. One day he said to them, — “O ye faithful, ye should not go to the temple of *Sachchikā-dēvī*; 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 *Āchārya*, they replied, — “What you say, O Lord, is quite true; but if we do not go to worship that cruel *Dēvī*, she will slay us and our families.” The *Āchārya*, however, promised to protect them; whereupon they ceased to go any longer to the temple of the *Dēvī*. Then the *Dēvī*, appearing before the *Āchārya*, wrathfully exclaimed that she would take means to stop his preventing her servants from coming to her temple. But the *Āchārya* was rich in most effective resources, and had many miracles performed for him by the gods (*sura*); so that the *Dēvī* for a very long time was not able to prevail over him. At last one day, the *Dēvī*, observing that the *Āchārya* had been a little remiss in his religious duties (*svādhyāyādī*), cunningly produced a pain in the brow of his left eye; and when the *Āchārya* anxiously began to think what the cause of the pain could be, the *Dēvī*, appearing before him, told him, that she herself had caused it. But the *Āchārya* resolutely replied that he would repay her the injury (*spṛēṭayishyāmi*) 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, *bōṭkaṭa*, a Sankritization of the vernacular *bōkaṛā* or *bōkarā*. Another vernacular form is *bakard* or *bakard*, which is adopted in Skr. dictionaries under the form *varkara*. It may be noted that the vernacular has also a shorter form *bōkā* or *bōk*, as well as a form *bōtā* or *bōtū* which means ‘an entire goat’; cf. *bāt*, *bāttā*, ‘power,’ ‘strength.’

²³ Original, *kaḍaḍa-maḍaḍa*, an onomatopoeic word; cf. Gujarāṭi *kaḍ'kaḍ'cūṁ* ‘to crack.’

sun and moon endure." The *Āchārya* replied that he would give her something to crunch and munch; on hearing which, the *Dēvi* retired. Early in the morning, having caused the *Śrāvakas* to bring two heaps of various kinds of cakes and sweetmeats,²⁴ together with camphor, saffron, and other nice things, the *Āchārya* Ratnaprabha proceeded with them to the temple of Sachchikā-dēvi. Then having made worship apart from the *Śrāvakas* (*śrāvakaiḥ pārśvāt*), and crushing a quantity of cake (*pakvāna-sundaka*) with both his hands, right and left, he said to the *Dēvi*, — "I have given you something to crunch and munch, henceforth you must be a follower (*upāsakā*) of me." On his saying this, the *Dēvi* 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 *Āchārya* 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 (*siddhānta-vākya*), the result of which was that Sachchikā-dēvi, who was still in the body of the maiden, was converted, in the presence of all the people who were there, becoming a follower (*bhaktā*) of Mahāvīra in the city of Upakēsa, 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 (*satī*), 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 Svayambhū-Mahāvīra²⁶ which is set up in the city of Upakēsa, and shall follow the *Āchārya* 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 Sachchikā-dēvi, spoken by the maiden in whose body she had entered, a large number of people, in the course of time, adopted the profession of *Śrāvakas*. In due time, in the year 84 after Mahāvīra, the *Āchārya* Ratnaprabha was translated into heaven.

(7) His successor was the *Āchārya* Yakshadēva, who converted the *Yaksha* Mānabhadra, and thus relieved the troubles of the congregation (*saṅgha*). (8-13) His successors were (8) Kakka-Sūri, (9) Dēvagupta-Sūri, (10) Siddha-Sūri, (11) Ratnaprabha-Sūri, (12) Yakshadēva-Sūri, and (13) Kakka-Sūri.

Now we will relate the rites connected with the bathing (*snātra*) of (the image of) Svayambhū-Mahāvīra, 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 Mahāvīra or of Sachchikā-dēvi). 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 Mahāvīra 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 (*svayambhū*) image of Mahāvīra. 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-Sūri, the head (*adhipati*) of the Upakēsa-Gachchha, together with the four *saṅghas*, to their assistance, and related to him the whole story. The *Āchārya*, with the four *saṅghas*, now kept a three days' fast. At the end of the third fast-day, the tutelary *Dēvi* appeared to the *Āchārya* at night, and told him that the young

²⁴ Original, *pakvāna khajjakādi-sundaka-dvayam*. The word *sundaka* is obscure; cf. the Marāthi *sundā* or *sāḍā* 'a bundle.' It occurs again below. *Khajjaka*, Hindi *khājā*, is a kind of crisp sweetmeat, like pie crust.

²⁵ Original, *astām māmsam kusumam api raktam n'ēchchhati*. Here *astām* for Prākṛit *achchhau*, see Hema-chandra, IV. 215 (Pischel's translation), also Beames' *Comparative Grammar*, Vol. III. pp. 182, 183.

²⁶ It is called *svayambhū*, 'self-made,' because it was not made by men's hands.

²⁷ Original, *dalayāmi*, used in the Prākṛit fashion, with the meaning of 'to place outside,' 'to remove;' see my edition of the *Uvāsagadasāo*, Vol. II. p. 130, footnote 287. The modern Hindi verb is *dāl'nā*.

²⁸ i. e. apparently in the time of (13) Kakka-Sūri.

²⁹ This would shew that the image was a wooden one, and apparently had breasts as of a woman.

Srāvakas had committed an outrage in mutilating the image and depriving it of its round parts (*kalā*); and that, in consequence, the town of *Upakēsa* would gradually become deserted (*uddha*), a schism would arise in the *gachchha* and quarrels among the *Srāvakas*, and the guilds (*gōshṭhikā*) would be dispersed in all directions. The *Āchārya* 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 *gōtras*, viz., the nine right-hand ones, [1, *Tātaḥaḍa*, 2, *Vāpaṇā*, 3, *Karṇāṭa*, 4, *Valaharā*, 5, *Mōraksha*, 6, *Kulahāṭa*, 7, *Vīrahāṭa*, 8, *Śrēsūmālā*, 9, *Śrēsṭhī*], and the nine left-hand ones [1, *Suchantī*, 2, *Āichanā* (or *Ādrachanā*?), 3, *Bhūtri* (*Bhētavarā*), 4, *Ligāsākhā-chhaibhādra* (or *Vaibhādra*?), 5, *Chīchāṭa*, 6, *Kumbhāṭa*, 7, *Ḍiṇḍū*, 8, *Ranōja*, 9, *Laghuśrēsṭhī*] 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 *Mahāvīra* and its original consecration, the loss of the two knobs on the breast of *Mahāvīra* occurred by the act of fate (*daivya-yōgāt*).³⁰

(14-16) *Kakka-Sūri* was succeeded by — (14) *Dēvagupta-Sūri*, (15) *Sri-Siddha-Sūri*; (16) *Sri-Ratnaprabha-Sūri*.

(17) After them, in due order, in the 585th year after *Mahāvīra*, there was (*babhūva*) *Sri-Yakshadēva-Sūri*. He was a man of great power (*mahā-prabhāva-kartā*). During the famine (*durbhiksha*) which lasted for 12 years, the four disciples of *Vajrasēna*, the disciple of *Vajrasvāmin*, viz. *Nāgēndra*, *Chandra*, *Nivṛitti* and *Vidyādharma*, were, after the death of their *Guru* *Vajrasēna*, initiated by *Yakshadēva*, and established four *sākhās*.

(19-33). He was succeeded by (19) *Kakka-Sūri*, (20) *Sri-Dēvagupta-Sūri*, (21) *Sri-Siddha-Sūri*, (22) *Sri-Ratnaprabha-Sūri*, (23) *Yakshadēva-Sūri*, (24) *Kakka-Sūri*, (25) *Dēvagupta-Sūri*, (26) *Siddha-Sūri*, (27) *Ratnaprabha-Sūri*, (28) *Yakshadēva-Sūri*, (29) *Kakka-Sūri*, (30) *Dēvagupta-Sūri*, (31) *Siddha-Sūri*, (32) *Ratnaprabha-Sūri*, (33) *Yakshadēva-Sūri*.

(34) He was succeeded by (34) *Kakkudāchārya*, who performed the penance called *shashṭhatapa* with *āchāmla* for twelve years.³¹ By means of a hymn in praise of him, the *Sēṭh Sōmaka*, in *Marōṭakōṭa*, 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* (*Bharōch*), where he arrived just when all the *Munis* had gone on their rounds of begging. Only the goddess *Sachchikā* (spelt here *Sachyakā*) was in attendance on the *Guru*, and the door was closed. On seeing this, he began to form suspicions, whereupon *Sachchikā* “gave him a lesson”³² (*śikshā dattā*), and he began to vomit blood from his mouth. When the *Munis* returned, the oldest disciple (*vriḍḍha-gaṇēsā*)³³ informed the *Guru*, that the *Sēṭh Sōmaka* was lying at his door. The *Āchārya* at once understood that this was *Sachchikā*’s doing; so the goddess was called, and *Sōmaka* 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 śloka in the *Upakēsa-gachchha-charitra-sūtra*.”

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 *Uvāsagadasāo*, Vol. II. p. 51, footnote 141). *Āchāmla* 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 *āch* and *āmla*; the former is said to mean *āsravana*, i. e. ‘boiling in water;’ and the latter is said to mean ‘vegetable’ (*tar’kārī*). The whole compound is said to mean *rūkhā bhōjan pāni kē sāth bhijō kē khānā*, 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. *Kakkudāchārya* 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 *Āchārya*, is called a *Gaṇēsā*. If there are several such *Gaṇēsās*, the oldest among them, i. e. he who was first made a *Gaṇēsā* by his *Āchārya*, is called *Vriḍḍha-Gaṇēsā*.

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 (*sajjikrîta*). In the name of both, **Sri-Ratnaprabha-Sûri** and **Sri-Yakshadêva-Sûri**, store-houses 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 (*ghrita*) 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 (*vinâ*). This made him negligent in the performance of his duties; and accordingly the four *saṅghas* placed —

(42) **Sri-Siddha-Sûri**, the *Visaviśvôpaka*,³⁵ in his post.

(43) He was succeeded by (43) **Kakka-Sûri**, the author of the work called *Pañcha-pramâṇa* ('the five proofs.')

(44) In the year 1072 *A. Vikr.* he was succeeded by (44) **Sri-Dêvagupta-Suri**, who was the author of the work called *Nava-pada-prakarana*.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 **Bhinamâla**, 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 *Sêth* **Bhêmsâksha** who celebrated the feast of the installation of **Sri-Dêvagupta**, had formerly deposited the glass bangles³⁸ of his wife **Bhaisâ** in **Diḍuvâpur**. Being now washed³⁹ at the advice of the *Guru*, they turned into silver; and from this silver the *gadahiya*-coins were struck⁴⁰ (*têna rūpêṇa gadahiya mudrâ pâtita*). That happened in this wise. The mother of **Bhaisâksha**⁴¹ once made a pilgrimage to **Sri-Satruñjaya**. On the way, in **Pattana**, she ran short of money (*kharch*); so she applied for assistance to the *Sêth* **Îsvara**. He asked her whose mother she was, and on her telling him that she was the mother of **Bhaisâksha**, 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 *Sêth* **Îsvara**. He then said, — "I will give the lie (*vâlayishyâmi*, = *vârayishyâmi*) to these words, before I sit down for my evening meal (*dvitîya-vêlâ-bhêjana*)." Having made this promise, he put on a common dress and proceeded

³⁴ The MS. gives this and the following dates either * * * *varshê* or *samvat* * * * *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 (*lakshana*) 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 *bagana* which I identify with the Hindi and Gujarâtî *bangadî*, '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 "Gadbia 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 *Bhêmsâksha* or *Bhaisâksha*.

to the market-place at the gate of Pattana. There he asked the *Séth* whether he would take silver. The *Séth*, greatly annoyed, replied that he would take all that the other could give. He then took a formal agreement (*sañchakāra*, = *satyankāra*) from the *Séth*. Then having taken one and a quarter *lāhhs* of (silver) coins (*mudrikā*), and loaded it on asses (*gardayā nibhārayitvā*),⁴² he went to Pattana, and asked that the silver might be counted. On hearing the amount, the *Séth* was astounded, and he, together with all other *Séth*s of Pattana, fell at the feet of Bhaisāksha. The latter told the *Séth*, 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 *saptakshētra*.⁴³ In this way arose the Gadahiya-Sakha.

(51) He was succeeded by **Sri-Siddha-Sūri**.

(52) In the year 1154 (A. Vikr.) he was succeeded by **Sri-Kakka-Sūri**. On the advice of **Hēma-Sūri**⁴⁴ and **Kumārāpāla**, he expelled the *Munis* who neglected their religious duties (*kriyā-hīnā*).

(53) He was succeeded by **Sri-Dévagupta-Sūri**, who gave away one *lākh* of money (*dravyam*).

(54) He was succeeded by **Sri-Siddha-Sūri**.

(55) In the year 1252 (A. Vikr.) he was succeeded by **Sri-Kakka-Sūri**, who restored (*pragañi-kṛita*) **Marōtakōṭa**.

(56-65) He was succeeded by (56) **Sri-Dévagupta-Sūri**, (57) **Siddha-Sūri**, (58) **Kakka-Sūri**, (59) **Dévagupta-Sūri**, (60) **Sri-Suddha-Sūri**, (61) **Kakka-Sūri**, (62) **Sri-Dévagupta-Sūri**, (63) **Sri-Siddha-Sūri**, (64) **Kakka-Sūri**, (65) **Dévagupta-Sūri**.

(66) In the year 1330 (A. Vikr.) he was succeeded by **Sri-Siddha-Sūri**. The feast of his installation was celebrated by the *Sāh Dēsala* in **Pālhanapura**. Under the patronage of Samara, this **Siddha-Sūri** set up the image of *Ādinātha*, of the time of the sixth *Uddhāra*,⁴⁵ on the **Satruñjaya** mountain.

(67) He was succeeded by **Sri-Kakka-Sūri**, whose feast of installation was celebrated under the patronage of the *Sāh 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 *Dēsala* are described.

In this manner there arose many *Sūris* in the **Upakēsa-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 **Sri-Dévagupta-Sūri**, the world renowned poet, the head-jewel of the whole circle of the learned, the thorough master of the *Siddhānta* (or Jain Canon), the touchstone of all sciences. The feast of his installation was celebrated in **Delhi**, in the year 1409, by **Sārandhara**, at a cost of five thousand gold *mohurs* (*suvarṇa*).

⁴² I take this to be a clerical error for *gardabhā nibhārayitvā*, as there seems to be in it a reference to the name of the coins *gadahiya*.

⁴³ By a *sapta-kshētra* or 'seven spheres of action' is meant (1) to build a temple (*mandir*), (2) to endow it with an image (*pratimā*), (3) and sacred books (*jñān kē pustak*), (4 and 5) at the time of doing the above, to bestow food and clothes on the male and female *Sādhus*, and (6 and 7) to distribute money, according to one's ability, to the male and female *Srāvaks* (or lay adherents).

⁴⁴ This is the well known *Hemachandra*, the Sanskrit and Prākṛit 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 *Ṛishabhadēva* down to the time of *Bahādur Shāh*, the son of *Auraṅzib*, there have been 16 great *Uddhāras* (besides innumerable small ones) on Mount *Satruñjaya*. An *Uddhāra* is one who at vast expense rebuilds all the old temples. The figure of *Ṛishabha* which was set up by the sixth *Uddhāra*, was put away in a hidden cave at the time of the seventh *Uddhāra*. When Samara made the fifteen *Uddhāra*, he got *Siddha-Sūri* to recover the image of the sixth *Uddhāra* from the hidden cave; and this image was set up again by Samara on the *Satruñjaya* mountain.

(69) He was succeeded in the year 1475 A. Vikr. by **Sri-Siddha-Sūri**, who was full of good qualities. The feast of his installation was celebrated in the town (*pattana*) of **Anahalla-pura** by his patron (*āgraha*, but spelt *āgriha*), the Sāh Jhāmbānīmba of the Chōravēḍīyā *gōtra*.

(70) In the year 1498 A. Vikr. he was succeeded by **Sri-Kakka-Sūri**, and the feast of his installation was celebrated in **Chitrakūṭa** (Chitōṛ) by the Sāh Sāraṅga of the Chōravēḍīyā *gōtra* and the Rājā of Sōnāpur. He it was who in the year 1444 procured the prohibition of all slaughter (*amāri*)⁴⁶ in (*the province of*) **Kachha**, who converted to Jainism the Jām Sri-Vīrabhadra, from whom came forth ambrosial streams of Sanskrit and Prākṛit compositions, in which he deeply dived into all sciences (*śāstra*), who was equal to Vāchaspati 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 **Sri-Dēvagupta-Sūri** was celebrated with great pomp by his patron the prime-minister Jayanta, the son (*ātmaja*) of the prime-minister (*mantrīśvara*) Sāhūla of the 'Srēṣṭī *gōtra*. He built a palatial temple (*prāsāda*) of Pārśvanātha and a *pōshadha-śālā* (or a retreat for keeping the *pōshadha* fasts), and made a pilgrimage to **Satruñjaya**. He also appointed five readers (*pāṭhaka*), whose names are the following: 1, 'Sri-Dhanasāgara-Upādhyāya; ⁴⁸ 2, 'Sri-Dēvakallōla; 3, Upādhyāya-Padmatilaka; 4, Upādhyāya-Haṁsarāja; 5, Upādhyāya-Matisāgara.

(72) He was succeeded by **Sri-Siddha-Sūri**, the fill of good qualities. The feast of his installation was celebrated, in the year 1565 A. Vikr., in **Mēdinipur** (Midnapur), by the prime-minister Lōlāgara,⁴⁹ the son (*ātmaja*) of the prime-minister Daśaratha, of the 'Srēṣṭī *gōtra*.

(73) He was succeeded by **Sri-Kakka-Sūri**, who became the head of the *gachchha* (*gachchhādhipa*) in the year 1595 A. Vikr., in **Yōdhapura** (Jōdhpur). The feast of his installation was celebrated in **Jōdhpur** by the prime-minister Dharma Siṁha, the son of the minister Jaga (*mantrī Jaga*), of the 'Srēṣṭī *gōtra*.

(74) He was succeeded by **Sri-Dēvagupta-Sūri**, whose feast of installation was celebrated in the year 1631 A. Vikr., by his patron, the minister Dēda, the son (*putra*) of the minister Sahasa Vira, of the 'Srēṣṭī *gōtra*.

(75) He was succeeded by **Sri-Siddha-Sūri**, 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 (*mantrīśvara mantrī-mahāmantrī*) Vākara Siṁha, of the 'Srēṣṭī *gōtra*, the most competent administrator of the kingdom, known throughout the whole world as the noblest (*lit.* mount Mēru) and most brilliant (*lit.* head-jewel) of ministers.

SANSKRIT AND OLD-KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

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

No. 189. — BHOJ COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF THE RATTA MAHAMANDALESVARA KARTAVIRYA' IV. SAKA-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 'Sivagaṇḍa Bin Satyagaṇḍa, a member of the Pāṭils' family of Bhoj, which is a village about nine miles north-west of Chikōḍi, the chief town of the Chikōḍi Tāluka 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'.

⁴⁶ On this, see footnote 824 in my edition of the *Uvāsagadasāo*.

⁴⁷ In the original these epithets are made to rhyme.

⁴⁸ On *upādhyāya* see the introductory remarks.

⁴⁹ Original, *Lōlāgarēṇa*. Perhaps, however, it is a clerical error for *Lōlāgrahēṇa*, 'by his patron Lōla.'

The plates, of which the first and last are inscribed on one side only, are three in number, each measuring about $8\frac{1}{4}$ " by $1' 2\frac{3}{8}$ ". 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 $\frac{1}{2}$ " thick, and $4\frac{1}{4}$ " 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 $3\frac{1}{8}$ " by $2\frac{1}{8}$ ". 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 come 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 Nāgarī. The *virāma* is represented by a sign which might be mistaken for the subscript long *ú*; 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 Drāviḍian *r* is represented by a double *r*, in °*árruwaṅ*°, line 103; instances of the same practice, in other inscriptions in the Nāgarī characters, occur in *már-ra-káñdu*, = *má-ra-koñdu* (*ante*, Vol. IV. p. 276, line 87), and in *kirruvalasigá*, = *kiṛuvalasigá* (*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 *r* from the ordinary *r*. The average size of the letters is about $\frac{1}{4}$ ". 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 Sanskrit. 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-odayah*, line 36, and *yaśash-púra*, 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 *śēshah kincha*, line 29, and *kalpa-bhūjah parájitah*, line 31; (2) the doubling of *bh* after *r* by *bh* (instead of by *b*), in *garbbha*, 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 *anusvára*, in *lāñchchhana*, line 88, and °*ābhivāñchchhana*, lines 88-89; and (4) the representation of *rññ* by *rñn*, e. g. in *túrññah*, line 29; though the double *ññ* is formed correctly in *prakshuñña*, line 27.

The inscription is one of the Mahāmañḍalēsvara Kārtavīrya 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 Brāhmaṇs, made by him while, in conjunction with his younger brother, the Yuvarāja Mallikarjuna, he was ruling at the *skandhāvāra* or camp of Vēṇugrāma.

The village granted was the modern Bhōj itself, which is mentioned under the older name of Bhōyija, and is defined as being in the Koravalli (i. e. Koravalli) *kampana*, which was a division of the Kūñḍi Three-thousand district. With it there was given its hamlet,

Sonnavaḍa, which, if it is still known by that name, is not entered under it in the map. **Vēṇu-grāma**, where Kārtavīrya IV. and Mallikārjuna were ruling, is one of the forms of the ancient name of **Belgaum**. The **Koravaḷli 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 Tāsgaum in the Sātārā District; 'Kūroolee,' which probably is really Karōḷli, seven miles south-east of Tāsgaum; and another 'Kuroolee,' twenty miles north-west of Athṇī in the Belgaum District. Either of these places, with a preference in favour of the last, may be the town from which the **Koravaḷli kampaṇa** took its name. The only other place that seems at all possible is 'Koorlee,' or 'Kurali,' about eighteen miles west by north of Chikōḍi in the Belgaum District. The **Kūṇḍi** or **Kuhunḍi Three-thousand** is a territorial division, the boundaries of which were first fixed by the Raṭṭa chieftain Kārtavīrya 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 *Mūru-sāviraḍ=Ayya*, "the *Ayya* of the Three-thousand," which is the title of an *Ayya* or *Liṅgāyat* priest at Hubḷī in the Dhārwaḍ District. His predecessors may have been the high-priests of the **Kūṇḍi Three-thousand**.

The date on which the grant was made, was, **Saka-Saṃvat 1131**, expressed fully in words, and not distinctly qualified either as current or as expired; the **Vibhava saṃvatsara**; the month **Kārttika**; the bright fortnight; and the twelfth *tithi*, coupled with **Budhavāra** or **Wednesday**.¹ And here we have a clear instance of the use of a **current year of the Saka era**. For, by the southern luni-solar system, which is the only one applicable in this instance, the **Vibhava saṃvatsara** coincided with **Saka-Saṃvat 1131 current** (1130 expired). And in this year the given *tithi*, **Kārttika śukla 12**, ended on **Wednesday, 22nd October, A. D. 1208**, at about 28 *ghaṭīs*, 2 *palas*, after mean sunrise (for Bombay).

Among the fiscal terms in this grant, mention is made of the **ashṭabhōga-tējah-svāmya**, which means literally 'the proprietorship of the glory of the *ashṭabhōga*.' The word **ashṭabhōga** 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 *Sanskrit Dictionary*, s. v. *akshinī*, 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 *Bhīmankatṭi Math* spurious grant (*ante*, Vol. IV. p. 333, line 25 ff.), we have the expression *nidhi-nikshēpa-jala-pāshāṇa-akshinī-āgāmi-siddha-sādhyā-tējah-svāmya*; here, *ashṭabhōga* 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-nikshēpa jala pāshāṇa akshinī āgāmi siddha sādhyā hechhārike* (sc. *hechchugārike*) *modat-ūda sakala ashṭabhōga-tējah-svāmya*; where again, if we now take *nidhi-nikshēpa* 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 *ashṭabhōga*; the translation being "the proprietorship of all the glory of the *ashṭabhōga*, which commences with (or rather, which consists of) deposits of buried treasure, water, stones, the *akshinī*, 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 *ashṭabhōga-tējah-svāmya* is distinctly separated from *nidhi-nikshēpa &c.*, may tend against the acceptance of such an explanation of its meaning as I propose. But, on the whole, the passages in the *Bhīmankatṭi Math* and *Harihar* grants, seem to define exactly the *ashṭabhōga*; with a slight variation in different parts of the country.

¹ *budhavāra-saṃvitatām*. The analysis of this compound is *budhavārēṇa saṃvitatām*. And this instance may serve to explain the occasional use of the instrumental case (without any such word as *saṃvita*) instead of the more customary locative, to denote the week-day.

TEXT.²

First Plate.

1 Om Om³ Namaḥ 'Sivāya || Mahīyasyā⁴ mahī yasya daṁshtrayā prōddhat=ō-
 2 dadhêḥ | śriyē(yai) bhūyād=varāhō=sau jagatām jagatām nidhiḥ ||
 3 Yasy⁵=ālimgana - ramya - r ū p a - G i r i j ā - s a m b h ô g a - s a m b h â v i t a - s v é-
 4 d-āmbhaḥ-kaṇa-chumbit-ōbhaya-tāṭa-prōdbhāsi bhāl-āmbakam | prānta-prō-
 5 ta-viuddha-mauktika-lasan-mānikya-madhya-srajaḥ sōbhām=āta-
 6 nutê tanōtu sa 'Sivaḥ śrēyāmsi bhūyāmsi vaḥ || Asti⁶ **Baṭṭ**-āhvayē
 7 vaṁsah **Kṛishṇa-rāja-krit-ōnnatiḥ** | krama-vikrama-sāmpaṁna-sāmpat-sāmpōshi-
 8 ta-prajaḥ || Asmin=samasta-bhūpāla-mauli-lālita-sāsanaḥ | samjā-
 9 tas=saphal-ārambhas=**Sēna-rājas=satām** mataḥ || Maryyādāsu sthitābhyō
 10 yaḥ prajābhyaḥ prajñay=ānvitah | pramōdam pradadau nityam niyamā
 11 nītivittaraḥ || Yat-khaḍga-khaṁditās=samkhyē bhūbhujah prathit-auja-
 12 sah | pānimdhamam divas=chakruh panthānam paripamthinaḥ || Vāñ⁷
 13 Śrīr=vvasudhā tav=āsti vaśagā kim kanta kāryyam mayā rusṭ=ēv=aiva-
 14 m=ih=āsrit=ōnnatimati yat-kīrttir=āsā-patīn | sō=bhūn=namva-
 15 narēndra - mauli - vil a s a n - m ā ṇ i k y a - b ā l ā t a p a - v y ā k ô ś - ô j [j*] v a l a -
 16 pādapadma-yugalah śrī-**Kārttaviryas=tataḥ** || Dadhau⁸ nija-bhujā-stam-
 17 bhê śālabhamjīm=iva sthirām | vijaya-śriyam=ātmiya-guṇa-śrēṇi-va-
 18 śīkritām || Yasy⁹=āri-nārī-nayan-āmbu-dhārā pīna-stan-ālimgana-ra-
 19 mya-rūpā | kānti-chchhatām dikshu samudgiramī muktāvali-vibhra-
 20 mam=ābabhāra || Udayam¹⁰=upagatō=smāl=**Lakshmidēva-kshītīsas=sa** ki-
 21 la sakala-bhūbhṛin-mastaka-nyasta-pādaḥ | dalita-dṛidha-tamaskō gō-sa-
 22 hāsr-ābhīramyō ravir=iva bhṛita-padmas=tyakta-dōsh-ānushamgaḥ ||
 23 'Sakam¹¹ **Sakambhar-isō** bhajati na bhajatē **Mālavō Mālav-ā-**
 24 **sam Chōlō** vėlā-vanāya sprīhayati bibhṛitē **Gū(gu)rjarō** nirjjan-ā-
 25 sām | jētum jāta-prayāṇē ripu-nṛipa-jagatīm **Lakshmidēvē** nṛi-dēvē ya-
 26 sminn=asmin=dravanti drutatarām=aparē=py=asta-tamdrāḥ kshītīmdrāḥ || Yad¹².yā-
 27 trāsu turamga-puṁgava-khura-prakshuṇṇa-pṛithvītala-prōddhūt-ōddhura-dhū-
 28 li-dhūsaram=adhas=sambhāvya bhū-maṇḍalam | vyōm=ōḍḍīya bhajamti bhā-
 29 nu-turagās=tūrṇa(rṇṇa)m kham=ūrddhvaṁ svatas=**Sēshaḥ** kimcha dadhāti ch=āvani-
 talaṁ na-
 30 mribhavat-kandharaḥ || Artthinō¹³=nartthitēn=āpi prāpt-ārtthān=yēna ku-
 31 rrvatā | dadad=artthita ēv=ārttham kalpa-bhūjah parājitaḥ || V aktrā-

Second Plate; First Side.

32 ṇi¹⁴ vairi-pramadājanānām sāmsanti yasya prabalam pratāpam | lamb-ālak-ōnmṛishta-
 33 vichitra-patra-vyāpāṇḍu-gaṇḍasthalavanti santam || Jananam¹⁵=abhavad=asmāt=**Kārtta-**
 34 **viryasya** yasya prakṛiti-lalita-mūrttēs=sarvva-dig-vyāpi-kīrttēḥ | pranata-
 35 nṛipati-chūdāratna-rāji-prabhābhir=d v i g u ṇ i t a - n i j a - k ā n t i ś = 'S r i - p a d - ā m b h ô j a -
 36 bhājah || Yaś=cha || Saṁtuṭṭa(sṭṭa)¹⁶-vibudhas=śrīmān=su-karash=kalit-ōdayah |
 rājatē **Ka-**
 37 **rttaviryō**=yam rājā kuvalaya-priyah || Yasy¹⁷=ātapatrē vilasaty=udagrē prachchāya-
 38 samsānta-para-pratāpē | chitram ripu-strījana-mānasēshu prābalyam=atyantam=a-
 39 vāpa tāpah || Sāmgrāmē¹⁸ karavāla-kēli-dalita-pratyartthi-bhūbhṛich-chayān=nishkrā-

² From the original plates.³ The first om is represented by a decorative symbol; and the second in writing, — om.⁴ Metre, Ślōka (Anushṭubh). ⁵ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁶ Metre, Ślōka (Anushṭubh); and in the next three verses.⁷ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁸ Metre, Ślōka (Anushṭubh).⁹ Metre, Indravajrā.¹⁰ Metre, Mālinī.¹¹ Metre, Sragdharā.¹² Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.¹³ Metre, Ślōka (Anushṭubh).¹⁴ Metre, Indravajrā.¹⁵ Metre, Mālinī.¹⁶ Metre, Ślōka (Anushṭubh).¹⁷ Metre, Indravajrā.¹⁸ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

- 40 madbhir=ajasram=asra-salilais=sam̐pādya nān-āpagāḥ | svash-kāntā-nikarān=apām=a-
 41 pi nidhīn=kurvann=ananta-priyān=ēka-chchhatram=imām kshamām=avati yaś=śrī-
Kārttavi-
 42 ryyō nṛipah || Yad¹⁹-visāla-yaśash-pūra-pūritē vyōmni sam̐charan | kshirābdhi-
 garbbha(rbbha)-
 43 vāsasya smarāt=īva kalānidhiḥ || Vira²⁰-ś ri-ramaṇasya yasya vijaya-prasthā-
 44 na-bhērīravam̐ śrāvam̐-śrāvam̐=arātayap(sh)=pṛithu-javam̐ pṛithvīdharāṇām̐ guhāḥ |
 gatvā
 45 tatra bhayam̐karam̐ pratiravam̐ śrī(śru)tv=ātha sam̐śeratē kim̐ kurmmaś=śaraṇam̐
 bhajēmahi
 46 vavam̐ kim̐ kva pratishṭhāmabē || Kēyūra²¹-sth-ēmdranīlasya chchhalēn=ēyam̐ sthiram̐
 sthirā |
 47 yasya śrī-Kārttaviryasya bhāsatē bhujam̐=āsritā || Vira²²-śrī-parirambha-sam̐-
 bhrama-bhṛita-pratyartthi-pṛithvīpati-krōdh-āndhīkrīta-gandha-sindhura-ghaṭā - k a ṇ ṭ h - ā -
 48 sthi-kunṭhīkrītaḥ | yat-khaḍgō=yam̐=arāti-mauli-vilasan-māṇikyā-śā(śō)-
 49 nōpala-śrēṇi-śrī-parichumbana-krama-bhuvā kāntyā punas=sēvyatē ||
 50 Yasya²³ mātaram̐=ānamra-jana-paksh-āvichakshaṇām̐ | iti śrī-Chāndrikādēvim̐ katha-
 52 yantaś=chakāsati || Dōsh-ānushaṅgam̐=aprāptā padm-ōnmēsha-vidhāyini | kautu-
 53 kam̐ Chāndrikādēvi sa-mitrā nityam̐=unnatā || Bhāti²⁴ ślāghya-guṇā pativratata-
 54 yā dēvi chiram̐ Chāndrikā sam̐prāptā ghaṭa-sarppa-jāta-vijayam̐ Lakshmidhara-
 prēyasi |
 55 vira-śrī-vara-Mallikārjjuna-yuta-śrī-Kārttaviry-āmbikā nānā-dāna-vinō-
 56 da-chāru-charitā chāturyya-varyya-sthitiḥ || Ēchaladēvim̐²⁵ kāntām̐ kamanīya-ka-
 57 lā-vilāsa-sam̐pannām̐ | dhanyas=samajani lōkash=kathayann=iti bhūbhujō yasya ||
 58 Yasya rājñi || Ēchaladēvi Sambhōś=chumbita-charaṇēna punya-bharaṇēna | kumud-ēm-
 59 dīvara-mālām̐ sriyyata iva dṛishti-mātrēna || Yasya || Mauktika-gōlaka-la-
 60 kshmiṇ vidadhānam̐ gagana-rūpiṇāś=Sambhōḥ | Ēchaladēvi rājñi sakalam̐ vimalam̐
 yaśa-
 61 s=tanutē || Yasy²⁶=ānujam̐ nija-bhujā-bala-vijit-āri-chakram̐ Chakradhara-vikramam̐
 krama-
 62 śaraṇam̐ raṇa-raṅga-chaturam̐ turam̐gama-kēli-nilayam̐ laya-rahitam̐ hita-mahita-

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 63 vācham̐ Vāchaspati-mahimānam̐ mām̐-ōnnatam̐ Mallikārjjunadēvam̐=ēvam̐=ā-
 64 śīrvvachana-nichayair=abhinaṁdayanti || Dīrggh-āyur²⁷=bbha(bbha)va bhāgyavān=
- 65 va Śrī-pāda-bhaktō bhava nyāy-ālam̐karaṇō bhava pratidīsam̐ prakhyā-
 66 ta-kīrttir=bbha(bbha)va | Śrī-kāntō bhava dhārmikō bhava jan-ānam̐d-ābdhi-
 cham̐drō bha-
 67 va tvam̐ jishṇur=bbha(bbha)va Mallikārjjuna chiram̐ lōkēna sēvyō bhava ||
 Yō=yam̐ ||
 68 Āruhy²⁸=āvaśyam̐=āsvam̐ jita-pavana-javam̐ sarvva-sal-lakshma-bhājam̐ vaktre siddham̐
 vidhātum̐
 69 nava-patha-chaturam̐ pañcha-dhārā-praviṇam̐ | vādy-ālī-kēli-sam̐pad-bhava-sama-samayai-
 70 r=bbhī(bbhī)ma-bhēri-ninādair=nyakkurvvan=vairi-varggam̐ prachalita-manasam̐ rājatē
Kā-
 71 rttaviryayḥ || Kara²⁹-kalita-khaḍga-lēkhā dharanīpatēsh=Kārttaviryadēvasya

¹⁹ Metre, Ślōka (Anushtubh).²² Metre, Śārdūlavikrīdita.²⁴ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīdita.²⁶ This passage is an instance of *gadya*, or alliterative prose.²⁷ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīdita.²⁰ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīdita.²² Metre, Ślōka (Anushtubh); and in the next verse.²⁵ Metre, Āryā; and in the next two verses.²⁸ Metre, Śragdharā.²¹ Metre, Ślōka (Anushtubh).²⁹ Metre, Āryā.

72	yasya	ripu-vraja-lakshmi-lipi-karana-samâpti-lêkh=êva ||	Dadad ³⁰ =â
73	namdam=âbhâti	pratâpa-tapanas=sadâ |	chitram kuvalayây=âsmai ya-
74	sya	lakshmi-nidhês=satali ||	Yas=cha || Lâvanyam ³¹ vijaya-sriyash=kula-
75	griham	satyasya	sîm'ônnotêr=unmâdash=pramadâ-vilôchana-tatê-
76	r=utpâda-bhûs=sampadâm |	unmêshas=sukritasya	mañdana-vidhis=tyâga-
77	sya	lilâ dhiyâm kshêtram	kshatriya-têjasâm vijayatê sri-Kârta-
78	viryyô	nripah || Vyâptê=smin=bhuvana-trayê	narapatêr=yyasy=êndu-samspa-
79	rddhinâ	Kailâsâyitam=Anja(nja)na-kshatibhritâ	hamâyitam kôki-
80	lah |	nîl-âbjaish=kumudâyitam	Yamunayâ Gaingâyitam sâga-
81	rah	kshirôdâyitam=unnatêna	yaśasâ 'Sarvvâyitam Vishnunâ ||
82	Vira ³² -sri-bhrâji	yasya sthiram=avanim=imâm	vi(bi)bhratô dôshni jishnô-
83	s=samrâjash=prâjya-râjya-prakaṭita-garima-ttô(s t ô)ma-dhâm-aika-mûrttêh |		
84	kirttim	driṣṭvâ kim=êshâ rajatagiri-taṭi	kaumudî kim sudhâ kim
85	Gaigâ	kiñ kin=nu chândri tanur=iti	kavayas=sâmpratam sañgirantê ||
86	Sô=yam	samadhigatapamchamahûsabda-mahâmamdalêśvarô ³³	Latta-
87	nûr-ppuravar-âdhîśvaraḥ	trivalî-tûryya-nirghôshaṇô	Raṭṭa-ku-
88	la-bhûshaṇah	simdûra-lâmchechhanas=saphalikrita-vidvaj-jan-âbhivâm-	
89	chchhanah	vira-kath-âkarṇa(rṇa)na-jâta-rômâmchas=sâhitya-vidyâ-Vi-	
90	rimchah	suvarṇa(rṇa)-Garudadhvajas=sahaja-makaradhvajah	sañgrâma-kau-
91	tûhalikrita-nija-gadâ-damḍash=kadana-prachamḍah		simdhur-ârâti-bam-
92	dhura-kabamḍha-narttana-sûtradhârô		vairi-mamḍalika-gamḍa-tala-prahâ-
93	rah	para-vadhû-namdanô	vibhava-samkramḍanaḥ sâhas-ôttuṅgas=samârâ-

Third Plate.

94	dhita-Mahalingah		êvam-âdi-nâmavali-virâjamânas=srimân=KA-
95	rttaviryyadêvô	râjâ	nij-ânujêna yuvarâja-Mallikarjju-
96	nadêvêna	samanvitas=sri-Vêṇugrâma-skamdhavarê	sukhê-
97	na	samrâjya-lakshimim=anubhavan ||	Saka-nripa-kâlasya=aika-tri(tri)mtad-u-
98	ttara-sat-âdhika-sahasratamasya		Vibhava-samvatsarasya KA-
99	rttika-mâsasya	sukla-dvâdasayam	Budhavâra-samanvitayam Kûñ-
100	qi-trisahasra-madhyavartti-Koravalli-kampan-âmtarggatañ		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 i r a v a ṇ a -		
102	pârikhâya-sahitam=ashtabhôga-têjas-svâmya-damḍa-sulka-yuktañ		mâ-
103	nyêshu	dêsa-maryyâd-ârruvaṇ ³⁴ -ânvitam	sarvv-âya-sahitam râjûâ râjakiyai-
104	r=apy=an-amguli-prêkshaniyam	pravipta(shṭa)-Sornnavâḍam	prasiddha-simâ-samanvi-
105	tañ	Bhôyija-nâmânañ	grâmañ || Vidhurita ³⁵ -duritêbhayas=sântiman-mâna-
106	sêbhayas=samadhika-mahimabhyas=sarvva-vidyâ-nidhibhyah |		krita-nikhila-ma-
107	khêbhayas=satyavadbhyash=kriti bhayas=sitakara-sama-kirtti-vyâpta-lôkatra-		
108	yêbhayah ||	Viñsaty-adhika-âta-samkhyâkêbhyô	nânâ-gôtrê-
109	bhyô	brâhmaṇêbhayas=samasta-râja-chihñ-ôpalakshitam	sarvva-
110	namasyam	kritvâ dhârâ-pûrvvakam	bhakti-yuktañ dattavân || Om ³⁶ ||
111	Asya	dharmmasya pâlânê phalam=iti	ha sm=âhur=Mmanv-âdayô maha-
112	rshayah ||	Dâna ³⁷ -pâlanayôr=mmadhyê	dânâch=chhrêyô=nupâlanam
113	dânât=svarggam=avâpnôti	pâlânâd=achyutam	padañ || Gañyantê
114	pâmsavô	bhûmêr-gganyantê	vriṣṭi-bimḍavaḥ | na ganyatê Vidhâtr-â-
115	pi	dharmma-samrakshaṇê	phalam || Ata êv=âha Râmachaḍdraḥ || Sâma-
116	nyô ³⁸ =yam	dharmma-sêtur=nrîpânâm	kâlê-kâlê pâlaniyô bhava-

³⁰ Metre, Ślôka (Anushubh).³¹ Metre, Sragdharâ.³² i. e. "drucan".³³ Represented by a decorative symbol, closely resembling that which stands at the beginning of the record.³⁴ Metre, Ślôka (Anushubh); and in the next verse.³⁵ Metre, Sârdûlavikrîḍita; and in the next verse.³⁶ It should be noted how the terminations of these epithets rhyme.³⁷ Metre, Mâlinî.³⁸ Metre, Śâlinî.

117	dbhiḥ |	sarvvân=êtân=bhâvinash=pârtthivêndrân=bhûyô-bhûyô	yâchatê
118	Râmachamdraḥ ||	Mad ³⁹ .vamśa-jâsh=para-mahîpati-vamśa-jâ	vâ pâpâd=a-
119	pêta-manasô	bhuvi bhûmipâlâḥ |	yê pâlayanti mama dharmmam=i-
120	man samagram	têbhyô mayâ virachitô=ñjalir=êsha	mûrdhni || Iyam ⁴⁰
121	vânî-var-ônnidra-śakti-vyutpatti-sampadaḥ |		jayaty=Âdityadêva-
122	sya	kṛitir=audâryya-śâlini ||	Sâsanam vairi-śilpaka-gam̐dha-sim-
123	dhura-kêsarî |	Balavarmm=âlikhach=chitram	sûtradhâra-Pitâmahâḥ [||*] Om ⁴¹ [||*]

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

After a verse in praise of Vishṇu as the Boar, and another in praise of Siva, the inscription proceeds:—There is the **Raṭṭa lineage** (line 6), the elevation of which was effected by **king Krishṇa**.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 **Sakambhari** 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 **Chandrikâdêvi** (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 **Mallikârajuna** (l. 55). The wife of **Kârtavîrya IV.** is **Êchaladêvi** (ll. 56, 59, 60), who acquired much religious merit by her worship of **Sambhu (Siva)**; and his younger brother is **Mallikârajuna-dêva** (l. 63), or **Mallikârajuna** (l. 67).

While, in conjunction with his younger brother, the **Yuvarâja Mallikârajuna-dêva**, he is enjoying the good fortune of universal sovereignty (!) at the famous camp of **Vênugrâma** (l. 96), he, the illustrious **Kârtavîryadêva (IV.)**, (ll. 94-95), — a **Mahûmaṇḍalêśvara** who has attained the *pañchamahâśabda* (l. 86); who is the supreme lord of **Lattânûr**,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 *Maṇḍalîkas* (l. 92); and who has appeased the god **Mahâliṅga (Siva)** (ll. 93-94), — on the twelfth tithi, coupled with Wednesday, in the bright fortnight of the month **Kârttika** of the **Vibhava samvatsara**, which is the one thousand one hundred and thirty-first year of the era of the **Saka king (or kings)** (l. 97), with libations of water has given (l. 110) to one hundred and twenty **Brâhmins** 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 **Krishṇa II.**; about Saka-Samvat 797 to 833. — For the full genealogy of the Raṭṭas of Saundatti and Belgaum, see my *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, page 80.

⁴³ *soniprîptâ ghata-sarppa-jâta-vijayanî*; line 54. Exactly the same expression occurs in the Raṭṭa inscription at Râybag (*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 Râybag inscription (*Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government*, No. VIII., pp. 415-417) it is interpreted as meaning that “**Chandrikâdêvi** died of the disease called **Ghata-sarpa (Cynanche maligna)**” ! In the Kalhojî 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 *ghat-ôdara-sthîta-sarpa-darppa-bhâñjanê*. 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 Lattânûr 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 *Sonnavaḍa*, — which is in the *Koravalli kampaṇa*, which is in the *Kūṇḍi Three-thousand* (ll. 99-100). The grant carried with it the *bīravaṇa-pārikhāya*⁴⁷ of four kinds, on deposits of hidden treasure, water, stones, and pleasure-gardens, &c. (ll. 101-102); the fines and duties of the *ashṭabhōga-tējaḥ-svāmya* (l. 102); the *aruvana* (i. e. *aṛuvana*) on *mānya*-lands, as was customary in the country⁴⁸ (ll. 102-103); all the *āyas*;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 *Ādityadēva* (l. 121); and that the charter was written by *Balavarman* (l. 123), who was a very *Pitāmaha* (Brahman) among *Sātradhāras*.

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 Fathpur-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 *Jamnā* river, close to the inhabited site of the village *Bēn*, not far from the village and police-station of *Lalauli*." The village *Bēn* lies just within the northern boundary line of the *Mutaur Parganā* of the *Ghāzipur Tahsil* of the *Fathpur 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 6½ lbs.

The face of the seal is well preserved and shews in high relief, across the centre, the legend *Śrīmad-Gōvindachandra-dēva*. The *anusvāra* of *chandra* is doubtful. *Dēva* is spelt without a final *visarga*, and the vowel *ē* 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 *śankha* 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 *pravishṭa*, line 104. Compare *pravishṭa-grāma-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 *bīravaṇa*, we seem to have the Kanarese *pana*, a particular weight or coin, which is also a component of *aṛuvana*, 'six *panas*,' a little further on. *Bīra* may be the Sanskrit *vīra*, 'a brave man, a hero.' *Pārikhā* or *pārikhā* may be a Prākṛit form of *parikshā*, 'an investigation, examination.' *Āya* is the word that occurs in *sarv-āya-sahitam*, line 103; it is used both in Kanarese and Marāṭhī to denote the dues or perquisites of hereditary village servants. — In line 35 f. of an inscription at *Miraj* (*P. S. and O.-K. Inscr.* No. 96), mention is made of the *hanavina-pārikhāya*.

⁴⁸ *dēsa-maryād-aṛuvana*; or the meaning may be "(in coins or weights) current in the country;" compare *dēsa-parivartana-yōgyaiḥ chatuḥ-sata-samkhyā-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-dinē*), the fifteenth or full-moon day of the month Kārttika, 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 Gōvindachandra 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 *ghāts*, *Ādikēśava*, is named as the spot where it was made. The donee was the Brāhmaṇ Lāhaḍa-śarman, a son of Dāhaḍa, grandson of Chalahana and great-grandson of Svāmin. He belonged to the *gōtra* of Garga, and had the five *pravaras* of Garga, Aṅgiras, Viśvāmītra, Jamadagni and Vṛihaspati.

The grant consisted in a certain portion of land, belonging to the village of **Dosahali**. This name, fortunately, is perfectly distinct; but the name of the district (*pattalā*) in which it was situated is probably hopelessly injured. The only point certain about it is that it consisted of five *aksharas*. The village Dosahali has been identified for me by Mr. Jackson as the modern **Dasauli**, which lies about two miles south of Lalauli, and six miles south of Rēn, close to the river Jamnā. It is described, in the grant, by the term *haladaḡāṅgē* (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 (*angē*) (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-bhūmi*), 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 Lāhaḍa, in the village of Dosahali, 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 Kōrā Pargaṇā of the Fathpur District. He writes that “it seems most probable that that place, as well as the rest of the Fathpur District, formed at the time part of the dominions of the Rājās of Argal, who were then powerful tributaries of Kanauj. The family still survives at Argal, but in the lowest degree of poverty. The family tree³ of this family shews 34 generations between the time of a Rāja Jay, Pāl (also called Ajay Chand) of Kanauj, whose daughter Rāja Sriṅ-rikh of Argal married, and that of the Raḥṭōr Rāja Jay Chand of Kanauj. It seems that the Argal Rājās 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 Rājpūt clans. Rāja Ratan Singh of Argal shared the defeat of Jay Chand by Shihābu-d-dīn Ghōrī, but the family continued to be of note until Rāja Hari Baran Deo took the wrong side in the revolt of Shēr Shāh against Humāyūn. Their fort was destroyed, and all semblance of independence taken away after the defeat at Kālpī about 1560 A. D. by one of Akbar’s commanders.”

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 Gōvindachandrādēva 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 *dagārgala* from *da* = *uda*, *ga*, and *argala* in Monier-Williams’ Sanskrit Dictionary.

³ See Mr. F. S. Growse’s notes on the Fathpur 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 Ásvatthamapura. A third suggestion is that it might possibly be Ghâzîpur itself, the head-quarters of the Tahsil 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 Sanskrit, written in Dêvanagari 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*, *m*, &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 *Gôvindachandra-dêvô vijayê*, 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 *Ôm namô bhagavatê Vasudêvâya* ; for *akurîh°* stands *âkul°*, *°pîtha°* for *°pîha°*, and *îrêyasêsha vah* for *îrêyasêstu vah*.

L. 3 (verse 4), *krânta-dvisha-chândralô* (sic) *rîpusôdhata-dhîra-yôdha-timiraḥ*, for the usual *krânta-dvishan-mâḍalô vidhvastôddhata-vîra-yôdha-timiraḥ*.

L. 4 (verse 4), *pradgôpapravamî* (sic) for *prajôpadravamî*.

L. 5 (verse 5), *dijatâ* (or *dvijatâ* ?) *yajêbhyô* for *dadatâ dvijêbhyô* ; *sataustu°* for *îataâstu°* or *satastantu°* ; (verse 6) *tatyatsajô* (sic) for *tasyâtmaçô* ; *ita kutîndra°* for *îti kshîndra°*.

L. 7 (verse 7), *kumam asau* for *kshaṇam asau*.

L. 8 (verse 8), *°chadhâḥhakaddhanavarâdyagajô* for *°bandhâvarudha-nava-râjya-gajô* ; *sândra-bhûtaḥ drava°* for *sândrâmita-drava* or *sândrâmṛita-drava°* ; in itself the reading *sândra-bhûtaḥ* would give sense, but it is neither grammatically nor prosodically correct ; *prabhô* for *prabhavô*.

L. 9 (verse 9), *raha-kshamān=s-tigrishu* for *raṇa-kshamān=s-tigrāshu*; this reading yields the sense of "equals in copulation," which suits the context rather better than the usual reading "equals in combat."

L. 10, *paramabhaḥ!ṭarakaḥ mahārājā°* for *paramabhaḥ!ṭaraka-mahārājā°*; *kanyakubja°* only for *śrī-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 *vijayē*, comes the specification of the grant, which runs thus, down to the end of the 15th line:—

..... la⁴(?)-pattalayām (read pattalāyām) Dosahali-grāma-nivasinō (read nivāsinō) janapadān upagatān api (and so forth, as in the other grants) purushām=ś=cha vijñāpayadi⁵ bōdhayaty=ādīsati cha yathā viditam astu bhavatām yad upari-likhita-grāmē hala-da-g-āngē (?) hala 10 śakva-bhūmiḥ sa-jala-sthalā sa-lōha-lavaṇ-ākara sa-gartt-ōkhara (read °ōshara)-samatsy-ākara-sa-madhūka-āmba-vana-vātikā-triṇa-jūti (sic, read yūti)-gōvavararyahā (sic, read gōchāra-paryantā) chatur-āghāṭa-visuddhā (read viśuddhā) sva-simā-paryantā ||

With the 16th line commences the statement of the date and the locality of the ceremony, which runs as follows:—

Samvad=ashtāśīty-adhikē ēkādasa (read °dasa)-satē Kārtika-paurṇamāsyām tithau Sukra-dinē=ṅkato-pi sam 1188 Kārtika-sudi 15 'Sukrē || Ady=ēha śrī-Ādikēśava-samipē Gaṅgayām (read Gaṅgāyām) snātvā, and so forth, as usual. There are, however, the following slight variations: °mahasa-shamu-rōchisham (sic) for °mahasam=ushṇa-rōchisham; *abhyarchya* for *samabhyarchya*; *prachurapāyasēna*, as in some grants, for *prachuratara-pāyasēna*; *jasōbbhi* (a vernacularism; compare *jūti*, above) for *yasōbbhi*; *gōkurnṇa* for *gōkarṇṇa*; *kuśa-pūta* for *kuśa-latū-pūta*.

Towards the end of the 18th line begins the statement of the particulars of the donee, which runs as follows:—

Garga (read Gārga)-sa-gōtrāya | Garga-Aṅgiras | Viśvamitra | Jamadagni-Vārhaspati (read Vṛihaspati)-pañcha-pravarāya Svāmi-prapautrāya Chalahāṇa-pautrāya Dahāḍa-putrāya Lāhāda-śarmanē brāhmaṇāya |

About the middle of the 20th line commence the usual concluding verses, introduced by *bhavanti ch=ātra ślōkāḥ*. In the present case the following six verses are quoted; I only give the opening words of each: 1, *bhūmim yaḥ pratigrihṇāti*; 2, *saṅkham bhadrāsanaḥ chhattraḥ*; 3, *vāt-ābhra-vibhramam idaḥ*; 4, *sarvān etān bhāvinaḥ*; 5, *bahubhir vasudhā bhuktā*; 6, *gām ēkām svarṇam ēkaḥ*.

The closing words are: *likhitam idaḥ tānva-paṭṭakām Viśvarūpē=ti*. The writer of this grant, Viśvarūpa, is probably the same person as he who wrote the Raiwān grant of Samvat 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 Gōvindaachandra'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 — samvat 93 Chaitra śu di 11 Ravau ady=ēha śrīmad-Anahilapātakē adya samkrānti-parvvanī, — “the year 93, (the month) Chaitra, the bright fortnight, the (civil) day 11 (and the eleventh tithi), today, here at the famous (city of) Anahilapātaka, today, at the festival of a samkrānti.”

I was editing at the same time a grant of Bhīmadēva II., which is dated expressly in Vikrama-Samvat 1266 and Simha-Samvat 96 (*id.* p. 110 ff.). And it seemed plain that the year 93 of the grant under notice must be Simha-Samvat 93; with the result that the Bhīmadēva of this grant also was Bhīmadēva 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 Bhīmadēva II., but of his ancestor, Bhīmadēva I. The grounds for this view are:—(1) The identity of the person who wrote this grant, *viz.* the Kāyastha Vaṭēśvara, the son of Kāñchana, with the person who wrote the Rādhanpur grant of Bhīmadēva I. that is expressly dated in Vikrama-Samvat 1086 (*ante*, Vol. VI. p. 193). (2) The identity, in each case, of the *Dātaka*, *viz.* the *Mahāsāndhivigrahika* Chandaśarman. And (3) the probability that the same Vaṭēśvara 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 Bhīmadēva I.

From this it would follow that the grant under notice is in reality intended to be dated in Vikrama-Samvat 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-Samvat 1093 current, Chaitra śukla 11 ended on Saturday, 22nd March, A. D. 1035, at about 37 *ghaṭṭe*, 10 *palas*, after mean sunrise (for Bombay). The Mēsha-Samkrānti occurred on the Sunday, at about 48 *ghaṭṭe*. 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 *parvakkā* of the *samkrānti* can be connected with the eleventh *tithi*

In northern Vikrama-Samvat 1093 expired, and southern Vikrama-Samvat 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 Mēsha-Samkrānti, which occurred at about 3 *gh.* 30 *p.* on Tuesday, 23rd March.

In southern Vikrama-Samvat 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 Mēsha-Samkrānti, which occurred at about 19 *ghaṭṭe* 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 Saka-Samvat 851 to 1201, there is only one year in which the Mēsha-Samkrānti, — the only *samkrānti* that can be connected with the given *tithi*, — took place on Chaitra śukla 11, and on a Sunday. The year is Saka-Samvat 863 current; when Chaitra śukla 11 ended at about 43 *gh.* 10 *p.*, and the Mēsha-Samkrānti occurred at about 13 *gh.* 5 *p.*, on Sunday, 22nd March, A. D. 940. But this date, belonging to southern Vikrama-Samvat 997 current, or northern Vikrama-Samvat 998 current cannot in any way be connected with the reign of Bhīmadēva 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 Vaṭēśvara and Chandaśarman, 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 Bhīmadēva I. of Vikrama-Samvat 1086, or of some document very similar to that; but that it was really intended to be a charter of Bhīmadēva II., dated in the Simha era.

But it is equally possible that the spurious record is the grant of Vikrama-Samvat 1086. The only point against this view, is, the possibility of identifying the Vaṭēśvara who is mentioned in

it. with the Vatêśvara of Dr. Hultzsch's grant of Karna I. This item, however, is not conclusive, without further information as to the father of the Vatêśvara of the grant of Karna 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 *d* 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 *nachakam* 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 *paramabhattachâraka-mâhârâjâdhirâja-paramêśvara-paramamâhêśvara* in

line 43 f. of the grant of the Râshtrakûṭa 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 *chapka*, *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 *Onkos* 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 *Onko*, 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 *Onko*,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-suddha*, 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-suddha*.

"It is impossible, as yet, to say decidedly when the *Onko* 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 Sûbhânideva 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 Chôdagaṅga or Chôrgaṅga, the founder of the Gâṅgavâṁsa, 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 *Onko* 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 *Onko* of that prince or zamindar, and the year succeeding the 5th and 19th *Onkos* are called the 7th and 21st *Onkos* 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 *Onko* 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 *Onko*, his successor's 2nd *Onko* (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-suddha* following.

"To find, therefore, the English equivalent of a given *Onko* year, it will be necessary first to ascertain the Style to which it relates, *i. e.* whether it is a Jagannâtha *Onko* or a Parlakimeḍi *Onko*, 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.

¹ Or *anika*? — (R. S.)

² The real date of the Muhammadan 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 *anika* of the reign of Râmachandra 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.* The list of princes from that date forwards is reliable, and below are given the names of those after whom the later *Oñko* years have been numbered, with the English dates cor-

responding to the commencement of the 2nd *Oñkos* (first years) of their respective reigns.

" <i>Oñko</i> 2 (first year) of Mukundadeva ...Sept. 2, 1797.	
Do. do. Rámachandradeva ...Sept. 22, 1817.	
Do. do. Virakeśvaradeva ...Sept. 4, 1854.	
Do. do. Divyasimhadeva ...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 Hindustáni. The catalogue is a comprehensive one, as it comprises—(1) purely Hindustáni works; (2) translations of such works into English or other European languages; and (3) polyglot works, in which occur Hindustáni 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. Printed by Hari Narayan Limaye; the Satyaśódhaka Press; Ratnágiri.¹

During the last few years the editors of the *Sayana-Pañchāṅga* 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, *Mēsha* (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 *Samkrānti* 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 *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, contains about 365 days, 6 h. 12½ m.

If we were to calculate the *Samkrāntis* and the phases of the moon for the expired Śaka year 1811, the result would be as in Table 1, 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 *amānta* Chaitra, from the 1st April to the 30th April, 1889;

the bright fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* Chaitra, from the 1st April to the 15th April, 1889;

* Sewell's *Sketch of the Dynasties of Southern India*, p. 64. *Archæological Survey of Southern India*, Vol. II. p. 204.

¹ The *Pañchāṅg* for the Śaka year 1812 is published at the Khandesh Chitragupta Press; Dhulia.

TABLE I.
The Luni-solar Calendar based on the Sideral Year.

Saka 1811 expired. Samkrántis of the Sideral Year.	A.D. 1889.	Saka 1811 expired. Solar Months.	Phases of the Moon.
Mésa (Vishuva), on	11 April, 18 h. 52.5 m. ²	Vaisákha.	● 31 March.
Vřisha,	„ 12 May, 17 h. 5.4 m.		○ 15 April.
Mithuna,	„ 13 June, 2 h. 46.1 m.	Jyaishtha.	● 30 April.
Karkáta, or Dakshináyana,	„ 14 July, 17 h. 25.4 m.	Áshádha.	○ 15 May.
			● 29 May.
Simha,	„ 15 August, 4 h. 42.2 m.	Srávana.	○ 13 June.
Kanyá,	„ 15 Sept., 5 h. 34.2 m.	Bhádrapada.	● 28 June.
			○ 12 July.
Tulá (Vishuva),	„ 15 October, 16 h. 31.1 m.	Ásvina.	● 27 July.
			○ 11 August.
Vřishchika,	„ 14 Nov., 14 h. 9.8 m.	Kárttika.	● 26 August.
Dhanuh,	„ 14 December, 2 h. 19.5 m.		Márgasíras.	○ 9 September.
		Makara, or Uttaráyana,		„ 12 January, 10 h. 40.8 m.	Pausha.	● 25 September.
Kumbha,	„ 10 February, 21 h. 35.1 m.		Mágha.			○ 9 October.
		Mina,	
Mésa (S. 1812),	„ 12 April, 1 h. 5.2 m.		Chaitra.			○ 7 November.
			○ 7 December.
			● 22 December.
			○ 6 January.
			● 20 January.
			○ 5 February.
			● 19 February.
			○ 6 March.
			● 20 March.
			○ 5 April.

² i. e. 18 h. 52.5 m. after mean sunrise at Ujjain; and so below.

the *amānta* Vaiśākha, from the 1st May to the 29th May, 1889 ;

the *pūrṇimānta* Vaiśākha, from the 16th April to the 15th May, 1889 ;

the *amānta* Jyāishṭha, from the 30th May to the 28th June, 1889 ;

the *pūrṇimānta* Jyāishṭha, 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 *amānta* and the *pūrṇimānta* 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 Chitrā, on the 15th May in Viśākhā, on the 13th June in Jyēshṭhā, on the 12th July in the group Ashāḍhā ; 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 *Samkrāntis*, by which this lunar year is practically regulated, the Mēsha- and Tulā-samkrāntis are distinguished from the rest by being called Vishuva-samkrāntis ; and the Karkaṭa- and Makara-samkrāntis are also called Dakshināyana- and Uttarāyana-samkrānti, respectively. Vishuva is defined as the time when day and night are of equal length ; and, accordingly, the Mēsha-samkrānti and the Tulā-samkrānti, since they are called Vishuva-samkrāntis, should be expected to coincide — the one with the vernal, and the other with the autumnal equinox. Similarly, *dakshināyana* being characterised as the time during which the days become shorter and the nights longer, and *uttarāyana* as the time during which the reverse is the case, the Karkaṭa- and Makara-samkrāntis, if they are to be really Dakshināyana- and Uttarāyana-samkrāntis, 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 Mēsha-samkrānti of that year took place on the 11th April, twenty-two days after the vernal equinox, and the Tulā-samkrānti on the 15th October, twenty-three days after the autumnal equinox ; and that, in like manner, the Karkaṭa- and Makara-samkrāntis 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

³ I find that in Śaka 444 the Mēsha-samkrānti of the sidereal year, calculated by the rules of the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, 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,

find that, five hundred years hence, the *Samkrāntis* 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 *Samkrāntis* 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 *Samkrāntis* 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 *Sāyana-Pañchāṅg*, (*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 *samkrāntis* 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 Mēsha- and Tulā-samkrāntis do coincide with the vernal and autumnal equinoxes, and that the Karkaṭa- and Makara-samkrāntis 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,

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 *Samkrāntis* in the *Sāyana-Pañchāṅg* 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. Samkrāntis of the Tropical Year.	A.D. 1889.	Saka 1811 expired. Solar Months.	Phases of the Moon.
Mésa (Vishuva), on	20 March, 8 h. 54·6 m.	Vaisākha.	● 1 March.
Vṛisha, „	19 April, 20 h. 50 m.		○ 17 March.
Mithuna, „	20 May, 20 h. 46·6 m.	Jyaisht̥ha.	● 31 March.
Karkāṭa, or Dakṣiṇāyana, „	21 June, 5 h. 12·6 m.	Ashāḍha.	○ 15 April.
Simha, „	22 July, 16 h. 7·1 m.		● 30 April.
Kanyā, „	22 August, 22 h. 46·1 m.	Srāvana.	○ 15 May.
Tulā (Vishuva), „	22 Sept., 19 h. 39·9 m.	Bhādrapada.	● 29 May.
Vṛiśchika, „	23 October, 4 h. 10·5 m.		○ 13 June.
Dhanuḥ, „	22 Nov., 1 h. 1·1 m.	● 28 June.	
Makara, or Uttarāyana, „	21 Dec., 13 h. 54·6 m.	○ 12 July.	
	A.D. 1890.	● 27 July.	
Kumbha, „	20 January, 0 h. 30·6 m.	○ 11 August.	
Mina, „	18 February, 15 h. 1·8 m.	● 26 August.	
Mésa (S. 1812) „	20 March, 14 h. 44·5 m.	○ 9 September.	
		● 25 September.	
		○ 9 October.	
		● 24 October.	
		○ 7 November.	
		● 23 November.	
		○ 7 December.	
		● 22 December.	
		○ 6 January.	
		● 20 Jan. 22 h. 43 m.	
		○ 5 February.	
		● 19 February.	
		○ 6 March.	

do during the *uttarāyana* what his sacred books require him to do during the *dakshināyana*, or *vice versa*.

The change thus inaugurated by the compilers of the *Sāyana-Pañchāṅg*, 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 *Sāyana-Pañchāṅg* 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 *pūrṇimānta* months the rule *Mēshādi-sthē 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 Saka 1811 expired, when based on the tropical year, would stand as follows:—

Amānta scheme.

Chaitra, from the 2nd March to the 31st March, 1889;

Vaiśākha, from the 1st April to the 30th April, 1889;

Jyaishṭha, from the 1st May to the 29th May, 1889; and so on.

Pūrṇimānta scheme.

Chaitra, bright fortnight, from the 2nd March to the 17th March, 1889;

Vaiśākha, 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 *amānta* and the *pūrṇimānta* schemes, while the dark fortnight of a month would follow the bright fortnight of the same month in the *amānta* scheme, and precede it in the *pūrṇimānta* 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 *amānta* and the *pūrṇimānta* 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 *amānta* calendar into one of the *pūrṇimānta* calendar, or *vice versa*.

But the editors of the *Sāyana-Pañchāṅg* name the months by a rule which says that the lunar month, *amānta* or *pūrṇimānta*, which ends while the sun is in Mēsha, is called Chaitra, while the sun is in Vṛisha, Vaiśākha, and so on; and in their calendar they accordingly give the several months thus:—

Amānta scheme.

Chaitra, from the 2nd March to the 31st March, 1889;

Vaiśākha, from the 1st April to the 30th April, 1889;

Jyaishṭha, from the 1st May to the 29th May, 1889; and so on.

Pūrṇimānta scheme.

Chaitra, from the 18th March to the 15th April, 1889;

Vaiśākha, 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 *amānta* and *pūrṇimānta* 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 *amānta* and *pūrṇimānta* schemes. But this is by no means possible. For, when on the same principles we construct a calendar for the Saka year 1810 expired, we find that during the first five months of that year it is the bright fortnight that is common to the *amānta* and *pūrṇimānta* months of the same name; and, in fact, we find that by the rule *Mēshādi-sthē savitari* the Saka year 1810 by the *pūrṇimānta* scheme contains one month more than by the *amānta* 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 *Sāyana-Pañchāṅg*, 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 TARANGA.

THE Second Taranga, containing 171 verses, is the shortest of the eight books of the *Rajatarangini*, and treats of six kings, whose reigns fell between that of the banished king Yndhishthira I. and that of Mēghavāhana, the first king of the restored dynasty of Gōnanda III. Kalhana 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, Pratāpāditya I., between B. C. 180 and 148, and says (verse 5) that this king was brought by the ministers to Kāsmīr from another country, and was a relative of a king Vikramāditya, who had been wrongly identified by 'others' with Vikramāditya, the enemy of the Saka (*Sak-āri*, verse 6). Neither the starting-point of the Vikrama era (B. C. 58), nor that of the Saka era (A. D. 78), falls within B. C. 180 to 148, the period to which Kalhana allots Pratāpāditya I., the relative of some Vikramāditya. Therefore, in rejecting the identification made by others of this Vikramāditya with Vikramāditya-Sakāri, Kalhana might be supposed to refer to either of the two eras. In order to answer the question, which Vikramāditya is meant, it will be necessary to remind the reader of some well-known statements regarding the Vikrama and Saka eras.

In his famous chronological chapter, Albērūnī discusses successively the era of Vikramāditya and the Sakakāla. He reports that the latter commenced from the battle of Karūr, in which some tyrant Saka was killed by a certain Vikramāditya, who came from the east; and concludes by remarking: — "Since there is a long interval between the era which is called the era of Vikramāditya and the killing of Saka, we think that that Vikramāditya, from whom the era has got its name, is not identical with that one who killed Saka, but only a namesake of his."¹ Albērūnī's statement regarding the origin of the Saka era is corroborated by, and was evidently borrowed from, some of the Hindū astronomers, by whom, as he himself says, this era was especially used. The commentator Bhaṭṭōtpala (A. D. 966) explains Varāhamihira's expression, 'the time of the Saka king' (*Sak-ēndra-kāla* or *Saka-bhūpa-kāla*),² by 'the time when the Saka kings were conquered by Vikramāditya.' And the astronomer Brahmagupta (about A. D. 640) uses, with reference to this epoch, the expression 'the end of the Saka king' (*Saka-nṛip-ānta*).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 Saka era. This is a Bādāmi inscription of the Early Chalukya king Maṅgalēsa, which is dated "when five hundred years from the anointment to the kingdom of the Saka king (*Saka-nṛipati-rājyābhishēka*) had passed."⁴ It follows from this testimony that Bhaṭṭōtpala's explanation of *Sak-ēndra-kāla* or *Saka-bhūpa-kāla*, — the expression used by Varāhamira (died A. D. 597), — was wrong, and that this term has to be taken in the simple sense of 'the time (of the anointment) of the Saka king.' Thus, the earliest instance of the erroneous substitution of *Saka-nṛip-ānta* for *Saka-nṛipa-kāla*, is that of Brahmagupta (about A. D. 640) and his mistake has been copied by Bhaṭṭōtpala (A. D. 966), by Albērūnī (about A. D. 1030) and, as we shall see presently, by Kalhana (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 Mālava era, and that, in Central India, it was known by this name up to the ninth century A. D.⁵ Although Albērūnī knew the Mālava era only under its

¹ Albērūnī's *India*, translated by Sachau, Vol. II. p. 6.² *Bṛihat-Samhitā*, viii. 20, 21.³ Colebrooke's *Miscellaneous Essays*, Madras, 1872, Vol. II. p. 475. Kern's Preface to his edition of the *Bṛihat-Samhitā*, 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 Vikramāditya, and although the expression *Vikramākhya-kāla* occurs already in an epigraphical record of 898 of the Vikrama era, = A. D. 842,⁶ the above-mentioned series of quotations from Hindū astronomers and from Albérūni leaves no doubt, that Kalhaṇa's expression, "Vikramāditya, the enemy of the Śaka," refers to the supposed founder of the Śaka era. The reason for which Kalhaṇa rejected the identification of Vikramāditya, the relative of Pratāpāditya I., with Vikramāditya-Śakāri, was evidently the difference of 258 years between his date for Pratāpāditya I. (B. C. 180) and the starting-point of the Śaka 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 Raṇāditya.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 Pratāpāditya I. was a contemporary of the founder of the Śaka era, and by cutting down the total of the dynasty, to which Raṇāditya 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 Yudhisṭhira I. to the accession of Pratāpāditya I., Kaśmīr was tributary to Harsha and other kings. This Harsha must be distinct from Harsha, *alias* Vikramāditya, of Ujjayinī, who will be introduced in Taraṅga iii. verse 125, as a contemporary of king Mātrigupta, and who was the father of Pratāpāsīla, *alias* Śilāditya (*ibid.* verse 330), the contemporary of Pravarasēna II. According to Kalhaṇa, Pravarasēna II. reigned from A. D. 111 to 171; Mātrigupta from A. D. 106 to 111; and Mātrigupta's predecessor Hiraṇya, whose younger brother was Tōramāna, from A. D. 76 to 106. All these reigns are considerably antedated. For, in order to reconcile them with the initial point of the Kārkōṭa dynasty (A. D. 601), Kalhaṇa is obliged to allot a reign of 300 years (A. D. 223 to 523) to Raṇāditya, the third king after Pravarasēna II. Among the kings of Kaśmīr, 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 Tōramāna, the younger brother of Hiraṇya. He appears to be meant for the historical Tōramāna, 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 Tōramāna'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 Kaśmīr about A. D. 530. Further, Śilāditya, the son of Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī and contemporary of Pravarasēna II., may be meant for Śilāditya of Mālava, 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 Tōramāna and Mihirakula for that of Hiraṇya (A. D. 76 to 106), and Śilāditya's date for that of Pravarasēna II. (A. D. 111 to 171). In this way we should come very near to the initial point of the Kārkōṭa 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-Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī, whom Kalhaṇa places between Tōramāna and Śilāditya, and from the great Harsha or Harshavardhana of Kanauj, who ascended the throne at a still later date, in A. D. 606.

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, Śilādityarāja of Mālava was the uncle of the then reigning king of Valabhi.

¹⁰ Cunningham, *Ancient Geography*, Vol. I. p. 91 f. Bühler, *Kaśmīr Report*, p. 55.

CONTINUATION OF LIST OF THE KINGS OF KASHMIR.

VI.—The Dynasty of Pratâpâditya I., and its three Successors.		Length of reign. Years.
1.	Pratâpâditya I. ; B. C. 180 After the banishment of Yudhishtîra I., Kâsmîr was tributary to Harsha and other kings (7). Yudhishtîra 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 Kâsmîr, and was a relative of king Vikramâditya (5). 'Others' have erroneously identified this Vikramâditya with Vikramâditya, the enemy of the Saka (<i>Sak-ûri</i>) (6).	32
2.	Jalaukas II., son of the preceding ; B. C. 148	32
3.	Tuñjîna I., son of the preceding ; B. C. 116 He, together with his queen Vâkpushtâ (11), built a Saiva temple, called Tuñgêśvara, and a town (<i>pattana</i>), called Katika (14). During their reign lived the great poet (<i>mahâkavi</i>) Chandaka, who was the author of a famous drama (<i>nâṭya</i>) (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 Vâkpushtâ founded the <i>agrâhâras</i> of Katimushâ and Râmushâ, — the modern Kamôh and Râmôh (55). After the death of her husband, she became a <i>sati</i> (56). The spot, on which she entered the flames, is even now called 'the forest (<i>aṭavî</i>) of Vâkpushtâ' (57). There she founded an alms-house (<i>sattra</i>), which was still in existence at the time of Kalhaṇa (58). Tuñjîna I. left no offspring (59).	36
4.	Vijaya, of another family ; B. C. 80..... He surrounded the temple of Vijayêśvara (at Bñjbiḥâra) with a town (<i>pattana</i>) (62).	8
5.	Jayendra, his son ; B. C. 72 He was jealous of his minister Saṁdhimati, and put him to death by empaling him on a stake (65 to 79). Saṁdhimati's <i>Guru</i> , called Îśâna, remained at the cemetery near the skeleton of his pupil (82 to 97). At midnight, a troop of witches (<i>yôginî</i> or <i>yôgêśvarî</i>) 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).	37
6.	Saṁdhimat, also called Âryarâja ; B. C. 35 He was a fervent worshipper of Siva, and made a vow to set up a thousand <i>lingas</i> of Siva every day (128). Once, when they were not at hand, he ordered his servants to engrave one thousand 'Sivalingas all round a rock ; these were still visible in Kalhaṇa's time (129). In the cemetery where he was revived, he built a Saiva temple called Saṁdhîśvara, and another called Îśêśvara after the name of his <i>Guru</i> , Îśâna (134). He also founded temples of Siva, endowed with <i>maṭhas</i> , idols and <i>lingas</i> , at Shêdâ, Bhîmadêvi 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 Yudhishtîra I. and had lived under the protection of the king of Gândhâra (145, 146). Mêghavâhana was married to Amritaprabhâ, the daughter of the king of Prâgjyôtisha ; and possessed a wonderful parasol (<i>śhattra</i>), 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).	47

Total 192

TRANSLATION.

(1) Victorious is that body of the lord (Siva), 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 shown*) 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 (Yudhishtira 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 Vikramāditya, called Pratāpāditya (I.), and anointed him in the kingdom. — (6) Confounding (this Vikramāditya) with Vikramāditya, the enemy of the Saka (*Sak-āri*), 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 Yudhishtira 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 (Pratāpāditya 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 Tuṅjina (I.) delighted the people by ruling the earth together with (*his*) queen Vākpushtā, who was endowed with divine power. — (12) This couple adorned this earth, just as the Gaṅgā and the digit of the moon (*adorn*) the matted hair of Siva. — (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 Siva (*called*) Tuṅgésvara, (*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 Maḍavarājya. — (16) In their time lived the great poet Chandaka, who wrote a drama (*nāṭya*) which was generally admired, and who was a partial incarnation of the sage Dvaipāyana (*i.e.* Vyāsa). — (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 Bhādrapada, 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-

Verse 1. °गोशुक्रा° P. विविध° PT. लटभा° P. The *maṅgala* is addressed to Siva in his form of Ardhanaṛiśvara, in which he is half male and half female, and alludes to his bow Ājagava and to his chief attendant Gaṇeśa.

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 दुर्गोर्गलिकायां P. बद्धेय° P.

11 भुङ्क्तेस्तुञ्जिनोरज्ययत्प्रजाः P.

12 दंपतिभ्या° P.

13 नानावर्णमनो° PT.

15 कश्चिन्मडव° P. °पोल्बणे P. According to General Cunningham (A. G., p. 24), the valley of Kaśmīr is divided into a northern half, the district of Kamrāj, and a southern half, the district of Merāj. 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 Kamrāj with Kramarājya, a district which is frequently mentioned in the *Rājataranjinī*. It is extremely probable that Maḍavarājya, which is of equally frequent occurrence, must be identified with the district of Mirāj or Merāj.

16 °कविः P. चन्द्रको P.

18 °चक्रज° P.

20 °पितृसमाकुलः P. प्रकारो 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, incemeteries, 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 *agrahāra* of Brāhman, (*called*) **Katimushā**, and (*another*) (*called*) **Rāmushā**. — (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

²² स्मरहज्जा° P.

²³ पुत्रो वा P.

²⁵ रूक्षा° P.

²⁷ शोभिना PT. *Ratnashadhi*, ‘the jewel-plant,’ seems to be used in the sense of *kalpalatā*, ‘the creeper that yields everything desired.’

³⁰ ततो P. स दुःखितः P.

⁴⁸ भक्तिव्रतं P.

⁵³ तादृशां P. कापि P.

⁵⁵ कतीमुषां and रामुषां P. According to a MS. note of Dr. Bühler, *Katimushā* is the modern *Kamōh* on the Voliur lake, and *Rāmushā*, *Rāmōh* (*Anglo-Indice Rāmū*) on the road from ‘Shipian’ to Śrinagar.

⁵⁶ दहनज्वाला° P. The fibres of the stalk of the water-lily (*bīsa* or *māṇḍā*) are used as cooling applications; see verses 57, 66 and 74 of Kālidāsa’s *Abhijñānaśakuntala* (ed. Böhtlingk). *Kalhana* boldly compares with them the flames of the pyre on which the queen became a *sati*.

⁵⁷ चारित्र्या P. °द्राक्पुष्टा° PT.

called the forest of **Vākpustā** 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*) **Vijayésvara** with a town.

(63) Then the son of this lord of the earth, who had been a very **Mahendra** on earth, the long-armed and far-famed king **Jayendra**, 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 **Siva**, 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 **Siva**, 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

⁶⁰ °दुरसुधारस° PT. °योग्यता PC. तत्तस्मा° P. The allusion is to the fact that the sugar-cane bears no seeds and can be propagated only by slips.

⁶¹ °नष्टार्क° P.

⁶² यञ्जकार P. On **Vijayésvara** or **Vijayésa**, the modern **Bijbihāra**, see A. G., p. 98 f. The temple itself has been mentioned in **Kalhana's** account of the reigns of **Asōka**, **Jalauka I.**, and **Mihirakula**.

⁶³ वृथुप्रथः T.

⁶⁵ °दन्तो P.

⁶⁶ योपोहितुं PT.

⁶⁸ स कोषान्तम° P.

⁷² सरस्वती PT.

⁷³ न्यधात् P.

⁷⁵ °मादधे P.

⁷⁷ °स्यानुधाः

⁷⁸ °स्त्रियेः 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 **Īśāna**, remains in the cemetery near the skeleton of his pupil. At midnight, a troop of witches (*yōginī*) 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 *chakranāyaka* or 'leader of the circle' (106). At daybreak the circle of the witches (*yōgēśvarī-chakra*) disappears, bestowing on the revived Saṁdhimati the two new names of **Saṁdhimat**, *i.e.* 'the composed' (110, 111), and **Āryarāja** (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*) **Bhūtēśa**, **Vardhamānēśa** (*or*) **Vijayēśa**. — (128) This king's vow, to set up a thousand **Sivaliṅgas** 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*) **Saṁdhīśvara** on the cemetery (*where*) the composing (*saṁdhāna*) of his body (*took place*), he founded (*another temple of*) **Hara**, (*called*) **Īśēśvara** after the name of (*his*) **Guru Īśāna**. — (135) He adorned **Shēdā**, **Bhīmadēvī** and other places, step by step, with palaces (*of Śiva*) which were endowed with *mathas*, 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 **Yudhishtira (I.)** — (145) For, at that time the lord of **Gāndhāra** afforded protection to the son of the son's son of **Yudhishtira (I.)**, called **Gōpāditya**, with the view of conquering the king of **Kāśmīra**. — (146) Dwelling there without obtaining the sovereignty, this (*prince*) in his turn begat a son, **Mēghavāhana**, (*whose*) unfailing (*success was foretold*) by divine marks. — (147) By his father's command this youth went to the realm of the **Prāgjyōtisha** king, — who was born from the race of **Vishṇu**, — at the occasion of the *svayanvara* (*i. e.* the personal selection of a husband) of (*the latter's*) daughter. — (148) There, in the presence of kings, the king's daughter, **Amṛitaprabhā**, 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, **Āryarāja** 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

81 प्रज्ञान्तमूमि° PCT; read प्रज्ञान्ते ऽमूमि°.

138 वेदां च भीमदेवीं and महार्घताम् P.

143 जाम° PT.

146 वसत्रप्राप्त° P.

151 वंश° P. योग्यया PT.

159 संनिपत्य and प्रत्यर्पय° PCT; read संनिपात्य and प्रत्यार्पय°.

129 प्रमादा° C.

145 °ख्यं कश्मीरेन्द्र° P.

147 स युवा पितु° P.

152 शक्तोपि तस्यौ तु त्यक्तु° P.

160 कश्चित् PT.

followed the path of their lord, who walked along calmly and with downcast eyes. — (163) Having marched one *gavyūti*, 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 tirtha of Bhūtabhartṛi, which is inhabited by Nandīśa, and whose water, (called) Sōdara, was familiar (to him). — (170) While he stayed there in Nandikshētra 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 *rudrāksha* (seeds) for his emblems. — (171) He was treated with great hospitality by (ascetics), who had vowed themselves to Śrikanṭha (Siva), 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, B.C.S., M.R.A.S., C.I.E.

No. 190. — HONWAD STONE INSCRIPTION OF SOMESVARA I. — SAKA-SAMVAT 976.

Honwād is a village in the Bijāpur Tālukā or Sub-Division of the Bijāpur District, Bombay Presidency; and is situated about nineteen miles almost due west of Bijāpur. 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, Ponnavaḍa, 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 Honwād 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 Jinēdra Śāntinātha, 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

¹⁶⁹ As remarked in the note on verse 128 (*ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 70), Nandīśa or Nandirudra was the name of a shrine at Nandikshētra (see the next verse) and Sōdara the name of a spring at the same sacred place. A comparison of verse 169 with i. 148 (Vol. XVIII. p. 71) shews that Bhūtabhartṛi, Bhūtēśa or Bhūtēśvara (see note on i. 347) has to be taken either as a synonym of Nandīśa, or as the proper name of another shrine at Nandikshētra. 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 Lār Parganā, not far from the Haramukutaḡaṅgā, and is a station on the pilgrimage to the latter.'

¹⁷¹ भिक्षादाने° P. °च्यनुपनतपर° P.

lines 33 and 38 to 47, all the **decimal figures** except 8. The *virāma* is represented throughout by its proper Kanarese sign. The average **size of the letters** is about $\frac{1}{2}$ ". The engraving is bold and good. — The **language** is Sanskrit, in verse, in lines 1-2, and 11 to 32; the rest of the inscription is in Old-Kanarese prose. The Sanskrit portion contains the following words which are not given in Monier-Williams' Dictionary; *saṁbhadratā*, line 1; *vyāvēshṭana*, line 15; *kalmāshaka*, line 16; *prōjṛimbhita*, 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 Kōlāpur, which commences *para-nārapāḷa-bhumbhuka-baḷum*. — In respect of **orthography**, the only points that need be noticed are (1) the use of *j* for *y* in the word *ārjya*, for *āryya*, line 20; (2) the doubling of *d* and *bh* (by *bh*, instead of by *b*), before *r*, in *bhaddram* and *saṁbhaddratā*, line 1, and in *bhbhramaram*, line 12-13; and (3) the use of *chhchh* for *chch* in *gachhchhēshu tuchhchhē*, line 19; though not in other places.

The **inscription** refers itself to the reign of the **Western Chālukya king Sōmēsvara I.**, who is here mentioned by his *biruda* of **Trailōkyamalladēva**. And it mentions his wife, **Kētaladēvi**, who was governing or managing the Ponnavaḍa *agrahāra*. It is a **Jain inscription**; the object of it being to record how Chānkirāja, Chānkaṇārya, or Chānkimayya, of the Vānasa or Vāṇasa family, an officer of Kētaladēvi, built shrines of Śāntinātha, Pārśva, and Supārśva, at Ponnavaḍa, in a *chaityālaya* called 'the ornament of the three worlds' (*tribhuvana-tiṭaka*), and how the shrines were endowed with certain lands and houses.

Of the **places** mentioned in this record, **Ponnavaḍa** is, of course, the **modern Honwād** itself. It is mentioned as an *agrahāra* in the **Bāge Fifty**; this sub-division probably took its name from the ancient Hūvina-Bāge of inscriptions, which is the modern Raibāg or Raybāg in the Kōlāpur State, about forty-eight miles to the south-east of Honwād. The Bāge Fifty is further described as a *kampana* or sub-circle in a **group of Six-hundred towns**, the name of which is not given, in the **Tardhavāḍi Thousand**. The district that is thus referred to, is the **Tardavāḍi or Taddavāḍi Thousand, or Tardavāḍi nāḍ and Taddavāḍi vishaya**, of other inscriptions, which took its name from a place that still exists as a small village, *viz.* **Taddewāḍi**, — the 'Tuddehwarree' and 'Tudewadee' of maps, — on the south bank of the Bhīma, in the Inḍī Tālukā, thirty-seven miles to the north of Bijāpur. The inscriptions establish four forms of this name: — (1) It occurs as **Tardavāḍi** in the Bijāpur inscription of Saka-Saṁvat 996;¹ in two other Bijāpur inscriptions of Saka-Saṁvat 1073 and 1118; in a Kannōḷli inscription of Saka-Saṁvat 1086; and in a Sālōṭgi inscription of Saka-Saṁvat 1092. (2) The form **Taddavāḍi** occurs in a Managōḷli inscription of the time of Jaitugi I., and in another Bijāpur inscription of Saka-Saṁvat 1156: here, we probably have the more popularly current form of the name. (3) The present inscription gives the form **Tardhavāḍi**; the actual reading, in line 7, being *tarddhavāḍi*, and the subscript *dh* being very clear; the same reading occurs also in a Sālōṭgi inscription of Saka-Saṁvat 1045; while a Sindagi inscription of Saka-Saṁvat 1050 gives, still more pointedly, *tardhḍhavāḍi*, 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 Dēār inscription of Saka-Saṁvat 985, gives what was evidently the original form of the name, *viz.* **Taldavāḍi**; and this form, in connection with that of Tardavāḍi, which must be the next in

¹ In editing this inscription, — from not altogether satisfactory impressions, — I gave the reading of *taddevāḍi* (*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 *tarddhavāḍi*; and the other instances shew that it is not to be treated as a mistake, by the writer or the engraver, for *taddevāḍi*. — Curiously enough, the *Elliot MS. Collection* gives the reading of *taddevāḍi* in every instance in which it includes any of the passages referred to by me above; even in the case where *tarddhavāḍi* occurs in the original.

order of time, gives an interesting instance of the change, in Kanarese, from *l* to *r*. The grant was made by Sômésvara I. himself, at the request of Kêtaladêvi, at the town of Maniyûra-Appayanaviḍu on the bank of the river Bhîmanadi. This must be the modern 'Munnor' 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 Taddevâdi. There is also a Maṇûr or Maṇṇûr just opposite, on the south bank, in the Inḍi 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 (P), which was a division of the Karahaḍa Four-thousand. Karahaḍa, which is mentioned in Nâgavarman's *Karṇâḷakabhâshâbhâshana*, Sûtra 175 (Rice's edition, p. 62), must be a corruption of Karahaṭa, which was the ancient name of Karâḍ in the Sâtârâ District. Kaḷambaḍi, I feel no doubt, is the modern Kanamaḍi in the Athûi 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 *l* to *r*, which is, I think, not infrequent in Old-Kanarese; and then from *n* to *n*, of which we have an analogous instance in Managôlli, from Mâṇiṅgavalli, in the Bâgewâdi Tâlukâ, 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 Kaḷambaḍi, — 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 Îsvara, 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 'Saka year 1083 (current).² 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 Kulkarni of Kannaḍige (*Kannaḍigeya piṭṭina kuḷakarana . . .*). 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 Vaisâkha of the Jaya *saṁvatsara*, which was the 'Saka year 976. By the southern luni-solar system, which is the one that applies in this case, the Jaya *saṁvatsara* coincided with Saka-Saṁvat 977 current; *i. e.* with the given year as an expired year. In this year the given *tithi*, Vaisâkha *krishṇa* 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 Kêtaladêvi as a wife of Sômésvara I., this inscription adds a fourth to his three wives already known (see *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 45), who were —

² 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]vatsara Pushya bahuja 12(118) Âdivrad-amâḍa.

Chandalakabbe or **Chandrikadēvi**, who was the *piriy-arasi*, or 'chief queen,' in Saka-Saivāt 969; **Mailaladēvi**, who had the same title, and the government of the Banavāse Twelve-thousand, in Saka-Saivāt 975; and **Bāchaladēvi**.

The inscription speaks of Kētaladēvi as governing or managing the Ponnāvāda *agrahāra* according to the **tribhōg-abhyantara-siddhi**. This is a fiscal term which has hitherto been unexplained. There is an allusion to the **tribhōga** in the verse, in one of the Halsī grants, — *adbhir dattam tribhir bhuktam sadbhis cha paripālitam ētāni na nivartantē pūrva-rājakṛitāni 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 *sadbhis cha paripālitam*, there is substituted *shadbhis cha pratipālanam* (for *°pālitam*), which Mr. Rice rendered by "(a gift) maintained for six generations" (*ante*, Vol. V. p. 140). Also, the term **tribhōg-abhyantara** occurs among the conditions attached to the grant of some villages by Kamalādēvi, the wife of the Kādamba Sivachitta-Permādi (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. IX. p. 275), and by the Kaḷachuri king Siṅghaṇadēva (*ante*, Vol. IV. p. 277); while, at the end of the inscription recording Kamalādēvi's grants, certain lands are mentioned as being given **tribhōga-rahita**, 'without the *tribhōga*' (*loc. cit.* p. 270, line 45). In editing the latter two inscriptions, I suggested that the *tribhōga* might indicate something analogous to the Marāṭhī *tripādi-dāna*, '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 *sadbhis cha paripālitam* or *shadbhis cha paripālitam*, the words *na nivartantē*, in the second part of the verse, plainly indicate that *tribhir bhuktam* 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 Dambaḷ 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 *agrahāra*-grant to a number of Brāhmaṇs (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XII. p. 377 f.). This Dambaḷ grant does not actually include the term *tribhōga*. But there can be no doubt that the three-fold division recorded in it, illustrates the meaning of the term. And the full expression **tribhōg-abhyantara-siddhi**, *lit.* 'the accomplishment of that which is included in the *tribhōga* or triple enjoyment,' plainly denotes a joint tenure enjoyed by a private person, a god or gods, and Brāhmaṇs. The same thing is indicated by such gifts as were made to private persons "with the exception of previously-given grants to gods and Brāhmaṇs" (*e. g. Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 190). On the other hand, the term **sarv-abhyantara-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 — *ēkabhōga* (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XII. p. 347, line 41), *ēka-bhōgya* (*id.* p. 385, line 68), and *ēkabhōgya-grāma*, 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-bhōgya* (*id.* p. 357, line 120), which qualifies the twenty-two villages that were given by Harihara II. to the Brāhmaṇs on *agrahāra*-terms, and plainly indicates a joint tenure by a number of persons. We have also *ashṭabhōga* (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 Ôm⁴ [||*] Bhaddram⁵=astu Jina-sâsanâya sambhaddratâm-prati⁶vidhâna-hêtavê anyâ-
vâdi-ma-
- 2 dahasti-mastaka-sphâtanâya ghaṭanê patiyasi [||*] Ôm Svasti Samasta-bhūva-
3 n-âsraya śrī-prithvī-vallabha mahârâjâdhirâja paramêsvara paramabhattâ-
4 rakam̐ Satyâbraya-kuḷa-tilakam̐ Châluky-âbharaṇam̐ śrīmat-Trailôkyamalladêvara
5 vijaya-râjyam=uttarôttar-âbhivṛiddhi-pravarddhamânânam=â-chamdr-ârka-târam̐ ba-
6 ram̐ saluttam-ire [||*] Tad-visâḷ-ôra[h*]sthala-nivâsiniyar=appa śrīmat-Kêtaladêviyar
7 Tarddhavâçî⁷-sâsiraḍ-olagaṇ=arunṭṛum-bâçada khampana⁸ Bâgey-ayvattara
8 baḷiyam=uttamam-agrahâram̐ Ponnavaçamam̐ tribhôg-âbhyântara-siddhiyind=âḷutta-
9 m-ire [||*] Tat-pâdapadm-ôpajîvi gaṇaka-chûdâmaṇiyu[m*] Vâna⁹-kuḷ-âmbara-
bhânuyum̐
- 10 Arhach-chhâsana-mûḷa-stambhavum̐ Kalikâla-śrêyâmsanum̐ samyakt[v*]a-ratnâkaranum=â-
11 ppa || Vâna¹⁰-vaṃsa-kûrma-nibha-Komma-jagad-vinut-Âttikâmbikâ-sûnur=udâtta-ki-
12 rtti-dhavaḷikṛita-dig=Jina-yôgi-rân=Mahâsêna-munîndra-pâdakamala-bhbhra (bhbhra) ma-
13 ram̐ paripûrṇa-châru-vidyâ-nidhi-Châmkirâja-vibhur=âsrita-âshṭa-ja-ê-
14 shṭa-tushtî-da[h*] || Gaṃbhîrô¹¹ bahu-saṃkha-matsya-makara-śrīmattalaṃsâtvikê¹²
Lakshmi-ja-
15 nma-grihas=samasta-vasudhâ-vyâvêshṭan-ôdyad-yaśaḷ-antar¹³jyôtitâ-châru-ra-
16 tna-nivahô nirdhûta-kalmâshakô jîv-ânanda-ras-âkarô vijayatê sa-
17 myakt[v*]a-ratnâkaraḷ || Âhâr¹⁴-âbhaya-bhaisa(sha)jya-sâstra-dânê tathâ param̐
Châmka-A-
- 18 ryyas=samô¹⁵ n=âsti na bhûtô na bhaviśya(shya)ti [||*] Ôm [||*] Śrī¹⁶-Mûlasamghê
Jina-sha(dha)rmma-mûḷê gaṇ-âbhi-
19 dhânê vara-Sêna-nâmni gachhchhê(chchhê)shu tuchhchhê(chchhê)=pi Pogaryy-
abhikhyê samstûyamânô mu-
20 nir=Ârjya(ryya)sênaḷ || Anêka-bhûpâḷaka-maui-ratna-sôṇâmsu-bâḷâtapâ-jâḷakêni(na)
21 prôjjrimbhita-śrī-charaṇâraviṃda-śrī-Brahmasêna-pra(vra)tinâtha-śishya[h*] || Tasy¹⁷-
Âryya-
22 sênasya mun-îśvarasya śishyô Mahâsêna-mahâ-mna(mu)nîndra[h*] samu(mya)ktva-
ratn-ô-
23 j[||*]vaḷit-ântaramga[h*] saṃsâra-nîrâkara-sêtu-bhûta[h*] || Taj-Jaina-yôgîndra-padâbja-
24 bhṛînga[h*] śrī-Vâna-âmnâya-viyat-pataṃga[h*] śrī-Kommarâj-âtmabhavas=su-têja-
25 s-samyaktva-ratnâkara-Châmkirâja[h*] || Kalâṃka¹⁸-muktas=satat-aikarûpô dôsh-êtara-
26 śrī-niḷayas=samasta-bhavy-âbja-saṃdôha-vikâsa-hêtû[h*] virâjatê nûtana-Châmkirâ-

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 *ôta-prati*. I do not find the word *sambhadrâtâ*, — nor *sambhadra*, 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 *v*. In lines 11 and 24, it is as distinctly the dental *n*.

¹⁰ Metre, Utpalamâlikâ. The language here is Sanskrit. 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, Sârdûlavikṛîḍita. Here, the *prâsa* is not introduced.

¹² Some emendation is needed here. Perhaps *ôśrī-matta-hams-ânvitô* was intended; but it does not seem very appropriate.

¹³ The proper reading, if *sandhi* were adhered to, would be *yaśô-ntar*. What we have in the text, must be looked upon as a metrical license.

¹⁴ Metre, Ślôka (Anushtubh).

¹⁵ Read *ôryya-samô*.

¹⁶ Metre, Upajîti, ôf Indravajrâ and Upêndravajrâ; and in the next verse.

¹⁷ Metre, Indravajrâ; and in the next verse.

¹⁸ Metre, Upajîti, of Indravajrâ and Upêndravajrâ

- 27 ja[h*] || Tan¹⁹-nirmmitam bhuvana-bumbhukam=aty-udattam loka-prasiddha-vibhav-
onnata-Ponnavā-
- 28 dē raṁramyatē parama-Sāmti-Jinēndra-gēham pārśva-dvay-ānugata-Pārśva-Supā-
29 rśva-vāsam || Mahāsēna²⁰-munē-chchhātram Chāmkirājēna²¹ nirmmitam drashtukām-
āgha-samhā-
- 30 ri Sāntināthasya bimbakam || Mahāsēna-muniṁdrasya chchhātrēna Jinavarmmaṇa
chhattri-
- 31 kṛita-mahā-nāgam rachitam Pārśva-daivataṁ || Janakasya Kommarājasya²²
dharm-ōddē-
- 32 sād=vinirmmitā rājatē Chāmkirājēna Supārśva-pratim-ōttamā [||*] Ōm
33 Ōm Sa(sa)ka-varsha 976neya Jaya-samvatsarada Vaisā(sā)khad=amāvāsya(sye)
Sōmavārad-amdina sū(sū)-
- 34 ryya-grahana-nimitya(tta)dim Bhīma-nadiya taḍiya Maniyūra-Appayanavidi-
35 noḷ Ponnavaḍadoḷ Chāmkimayyana māḍisida śrī-Sāntinātha-dēvara tribhuvana-
tilaka-chai-
- 36 tyālayadal=irppa riśi(shi)yar=ajjiyar=āhāra-dānakke sarvvanamaśya(sya)v-āge(gi) śrīmat-
Trai-
- 37 lōkyamalladēvar śrī-Kētaladēviyara binnapadiṁ mūvattu-gēna gaḷeyoḷ
38 biṭṭa nela matta[r*]²³ 35 tōṁṭa matta[r*] 1 nivēsaṇad=agalam ā gaḷeyoḷ gale
4 gēṇu 17
- 39 nīlam gaḷe 9 baḷambe-nivēsaṇam mūḍaṇa beḷadoḷ=ā gaḷeyoḷ agalam gaḷe 3
40 nīlam gaḷe 7 gōpurada māḍaṇa aṁgaḍigam gāṇa 1 alli besa-geyva kalkuṭiga-
41 ra mane 1 sāvagar=irppa pole-mane 1 [||*] Ōm Alliya Supārśva-dēvara
basadi-
- 42 ge ā gaḷeyoḷ mattara salike aruvaṇada lekkade biṭṭa nelam matta[r*] 355
43 ā gaḷeyoḷ tōṁṭa matta[r*] 1 gāṇa 1 [||*] Ōm Tammaṁ Jinavarmmayyana
māḍisida
- 44 Pārśva-dēvara basadige Karahaḍa-nālcchāsirad-ōḷagaṇa Kaḷambaḍi-300ṛara²⁴ baḷiya
45 Kannadigeya Saṁkharasana magam manneyam Vajjarasana guḍḍe-mānya 500-
matta[r*]-kkey=0-
- 46 laḷe mūvattu-gēna gaḷeyoḷ=sarvvanamaśya(sya)m-āge(gi) Chāmkimayyam māru-gonḍu
47 biṭṭa nelam matta[r*] 35 [||*]

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

After a verse invoking prosperity for the *Jina-sāsana* or precepts of the Jain religion, the inscription proceeds:— While the asylum of the universe, the favourite of fortune and of the earth, the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the *Paramēśvara*, the *Paramabhāṭṭāraka*, the ornament of the family of *Satyāśraya* (line 4), the glory of the *Chālukyas*, the glorious *Trailōkya-malladēva*-(*Sōmēśvara* I.) is reigning:—

And while his wife (*lit.* "she whose abode is on his broad breast"), the glorious *Kētaladēvi* (l. 6), is governing, or managing, according to the *tribhōg-ābhyantara-siddhi* (l. 8), the excellent *agrahāra* of *Ponnavaḍa*, which is included in²⁵ the *Bāge Fifty*,

¹⁹ Metre, Vasantatilaka.

²¹ Read *muni-chchhātra-chāmkī*.

²² Metre, Ślōka (Anushtubh); and in the following two verses. ²³ See note 29 below.

²⁴ Or perhaps 200ṛara. 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-varṭin*, '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 *khampana*²⁶ of the Six-hundred-towns which are (a group) in the Tardhavāḍi Thousand (l. 7): —

Her feudatory, a very crest-jewel of *Gaṇakas*, a very sun in the sky which is the *Vānasa* 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 *Vānasa* race (l. 11), and of (*his wife*) *Attikāmbikā*, — is the lord *Chāṅkirāja* (l. 13), who is a very king among Jain ascetics, and who is a bee on the water-lilies which are the feet of *Mahāsēna*, the chief of saints (l. 12).

Two verses follow in praise of *Chāṅkirāja*, who is also called *Chāṅkanārya* (l. 17); and then there is introduced a fuller mention of the descent of his preceptor: —

In the famous *Mūlasaṅgha* (l. 18), which is the root of the religion of Jina, in the *gaṇa* or sect which has the excellent name of *Sēna* (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 *Āryasēna* (l. 20), spoken of with praise. He was the disciple of the holy *Brahmasēna* (l. 21). And his own disciple, again, was *Mahāsēna*, 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 *Chāṅkirāja* (l. 25), a very bird in the sky which is the *Vānasa* family (l. 24),²⁸ the son of the illustrious *Kommarāja*, is a very bee on the water-lilies which are the feet of that same chief of Jain ascetics. By this *Chāṅkirāja* (ll. 26, 29), at the well-known *Ponnāvāḍa* (l. 27), there was constructed a shrine of the *Jinendra* *Śānti*, having on its two sides abodes of *Pārśva* and *Supārśva*; and also an image of *Śāntinātha*, which removes the sins of those who are desirous of beholding it. Also *Jinavarman* (l. 30), another disciple of *Mahāsēna*, fashioned an image of *Pārśva*, having a great *nāga*-serpent for its umbrella or canopy. And, for the religious merit of his father *Kommarāja* (l. 31), *Chāṅkirāja* constructed also a most excellent image of *Supārśva*.

On account of the eclipse of the sun of Monday, the new-moon tithi of (the month) *Vaiśākha* of the *Jaya saṁvatsara*, which was the 976th *Saka* year (l. 33), at the town of *Maṇiyūra-Appayanaviḍu* on the bank of the river *Bhīmanadī* (l. 34), the glorious *Trailōkyamalladēva* (ll. 36-37), at the request of the glorious *Kētaladēvī*, gave the following grants, as *sarvamasya*-grants, in order to provide food for the saints at the *charityālaya* called 'the ornament of the three worlds' (*tribhuvana-tīlaka*), which *Chāṅkimayya* (l. 35) had caused to be built at *Ponnāvāḍa*; 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 *kampana*, with the unaspirated *k* in the first syllable, which must be another form of the Kanarese *kampala*, *kampilu*, '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 *Sēna* (*Sēn-ānvaya*)," which is mentioned in line 8 of the Jain inscription at *Mulgund* (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 191).

²⁸ One of the meanings of *āmnōya* 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 *kūla* and *vamśa*; 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 *Tālgund* (*P. S. and O.-K. Inscr.* No. 219) we have *mattar-ondu matta 2 are-vattara lekkade mattaru 3 matta 1 kamma 20 antu 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, *mattaringe*; but I cannot just now give the reference. The genitive, *mattara*, occurs in the above passage (*are-vattara lekkade*, '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 *Bāḷambīd* (*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 staves in length; also, in the eastern crop-land (*bela* ?), a *baḷambe*-house or courtyard, 3 staves broad, and 7 staves in length; also one oil-mill among the shops on the east of the *gōpura*; also, at the request of the stone-cutters there, one house; and also one house of low-caste people, in which the *Sāvagas* were. And to the temple of the god *Supārśva* 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 *Pārśva*, which his younger brother *Jinavarmayya* had caused to be made (l. 43), *Chāukimayya* bought and gave, as a *sarvanamasya*-grant, 35 *mattars* of ordinary land in the culturable land, measuring 500 *mattars*, which is the *gudde-mānya*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 *Karahāḍa 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 *Mathurā*, 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 *Nayanamanōhara* and *Satyaparākrama*. 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, *Nayanamanōhara*, 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 *lākhs* 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.

Nayanamanōhara 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.

one hundred *kammas*; but the value of the *kamma*, or *kamba*, has not, I think, been yet determined. — Also, line 60 f. of the *Tālgund* inscription referred to above, seems to shew that one *mattar* was taken to yield two *khandikas* of grain (*khandika* = the *Marāṭhi khandī*, ‘a candy,’ and *Kanarese khandaga, khanduga*; also *khandaka* occurs, *ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 55, line 116). But, whether this is so, or whether *khandika* 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. *Mānya* means ‘lands either liable to a trifling quit-rent, or altogether exempt from tax.’ *Gudde* 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 *lákhs* 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 *lákhs* 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 *lákhs* of *mohars* for an inscribed palm-leaf? So without any success, Nayanamanôhara at length reached the street in which the palace was situated. Satyaparâkrâma, 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 Satyaparâkrâma 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 *lákhs* of *mohars*, the prince began to think to himself:—"Surely! If the old Paṇḍit fixed the price at six *lákhs*, 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 *lákhs* 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 *lákhs* 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 *lákhs*, 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 *Péshkár* who was a kind of general under the emperor of the *Pāṇḍya* country to whom *Satyaparākrama's* father, the king of *Mathurá*, 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. "*Satyaparākrama*," answered our hero from outside. "Begone thou ghost. Do not lie thus. *Satyaparākrama* 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. *Satyaparākrama* 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 *kós* 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 *Kótwaál* or chief police officer of the city.

Satyaparākrama took the lamp and walked in the direction indicated by the police officer who followed him. The *Kótwaál* was a very rich man, and his house was near the house of our hero's father-in-law. And what is more, *Satyaparākrama's* wife used to visit him every night. It was reached at last, and telling the lamp-bearer to wait outside, the *Kótwaál* 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 *Chetti* 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 *Chetti* 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 *Chetti* 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 Satyaparākrama. 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 Satyaparākrama 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 Snēhapātra.

The old king at Mathurā 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 Satyaparākrama's notice by a spy of his, whom he had despatched to ascertain the state of affairs at Mathurā, 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 Snēhapātra 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 *Kōtwāl*. It was an imperial mandate not to be disobeyed, and so they both arrived with trembling hearts. The father-in-law of Satyaparākrama, knowing nothing of the intimacy that had been going on between his daughter and the police officer, did not know the reason of the *Kōtwāl'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 suspense 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 *Kōtwāl* 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 *Pennai koduttāyō kannai koduttāyō.*

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 *Péshkár*, 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 Satyaparākrama 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 *Péshkár* 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 Satyaparākrama, 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 Sn̄chapâtra, who had protected him in his days of trouble, and who had secured him the empire, our hero Satyaparākrama 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 Pāṇḍya country.

"Thus five of the six maxims having proved true in the cases of Nayanamanôhara and Satyaparākrama 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 Satyaparākrama, 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.

Satyaparākrama 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 Gaṇeśa,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 *ghaṭikā* 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 Satyaparākrama, 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 Brāhmaṇ 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 Brāhmaṇ 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 *Ranaviraṅg*, 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 Brāhmaṇ 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 Brāhmaṇ 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 Brāhmaṇ, our hero felt a ring on his finger which he had entirely forgotten. He at once pulled it off and giving it to the Brāhmaṇ, said:—"Here is a brass ring. Take it to the *Cheṭṭi* 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 Brāhmaṇ, glad to find that a beggar should be so merciful, ran to the *Cheṭṭi'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 Brāhmaṇ 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 Brāhmaṇ 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 Satyaparākrama had been watching the sacrifice, but was unable to do him any harm during the charms performed by the Brāhmaṇ, and fell before our hero, cut in halves. It was the charm that did this!! Satyaparākrama, 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 Brāhmaṇ who had put him under the greatest of obligations. As soon as all had arrived, Satyaparākrama 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. Satyaparākrama 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 Brāhmaṇ 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 Rómaka Siddhantas. 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 ghattis, 43 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

Moon's synodic revolution	$1040953d \div 35250r = 29d 31gh 50.09p$
Ptolemy's value (<i>Math. Syn.</i> lib. IV. cap. ii.) is	29d 31' 50.14"
Moon's tropical revolution	$1040953d \div 38100r = 27d 19g 17.76p$
Ptolemy's value	27d 19' 17.80"
Moon's daily anomalistic motion.....	$(38100 - 322 \frac{288}{3681}) \times 360^\circ \div 1040953 = 13^\circ 3' 53.98''$
Ptolemy's value	13° 3' 53.94"
Moon's daily motion from the node ...	$(38100 + 153 \frac{26889}{163111}) \times 360^\circ \div 1040953 = 13^\circ 13' 45.69''$
Ptolemy's value	13° 13' 45.66"
Moon's daily angular elongation	$\frac{35250 \times 360^\circ}{1040953} = 12^\circ 11' 26.708''$
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 Siddhantas. The use of Ptolemy's value of the length of the tropical year, — much as Utpala says, "what with us is civil time (*sāvāna*), is with Pulisāchārya solar (*saura*) time" (*Kern, Bri.-Sāmh.* int. p. 49), — is the peculiarity.

It is much to be desired that the texts of the *Pañchasiddhāntikā* and *Brahma-Siddhānta* were published, with a faithful collation of *variae 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

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 *Rómaka-Siddhānta* 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 —

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 eccentric 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 $7\frac{1}{2}$ degrees nearly (*ἐγγιστά*) 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 29d. 31' 50" 8" 9iv 20v 11vi, and Ptolemy's 29d. 31' 50" 8" 20iv; the difference is only 0.07 of a second; but Ptolemy's periods of the anomalistic

tropical revolutions are 2.56s. and 4.37s. 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 Precession was 2° in 150 years, his tropical year was 365 days 5h. 54m. 42·8s., being 29 seconds less than Ptolemy's. For the revolution of the moon's apsis we have, 4612 — 4573 = 39 revolutions in 126907 $\frac{1}{24}$ 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 6799·6088d., Ptolemy's period being 6796·5367 days. The *Rômaka-Siddhanta* values of these two elements are 3231·8196d. and 6796·2917d. respectively, — differing considerably from those of Hipparkhos.

J. BURGESS.

Edinburgh, 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-bhavanâdara-bhâskar-âmsu &c.*; and has drawn attention to the similarity between the ideas in this verse, and those in **Kâlidâsa's Ritusamhâra**, v., 2, 3 (*Sîsira-varṇanâ*), which run —

Niruddha-vâtâyana-mandirôdaram
 hutâsanô bhânumatô gabhastayah |
 gurûni vâsâmsy=abalâḥ sa-yauvanâḥ
 prayânti kâlê=tra janasya sêvyatâm ||
 Na chândanam chandra-marîchi-âtalam
 na harmya-prishtham sârad-indu-nirmalam |
 na vâyavaḥ sândra-tushâra-âtalâ
 janasya chittam ramayanti sâmpratam ||

Prof. Kielhorn's point is, that the composer of the inscription must have had these verses running in his mind; and consequently that the **Ritusamhâra** must have been composed before A. D. 472. This seems likely enough. And we know already, from the Aihoḷe Mēguṭi 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 365d. 5h. 54m. 56·84s., 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 + $\frac{1}{4}$ — $\frac{1}{300}$ days, or 365d. 5h. 55m. 12s., 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: — *Ashâdha-mâsada ghâlî bîsi-bîsi badeyuvâga hêsi nanma jîvavê hengas-âga-bâradê*, — "when the gales of the month **Âshâdha** are blowing in gusts and buffeting us about, O my unhappy soul! why canst thou not become a woman?" That is, the poet *ra'tyat*, 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, Parsis, and the like, call it *Mônth Mâulicâ Dôngar*; Salsette Christians call it *Mônthchâ Dôngar*.

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, Sitlâdêvi, Sânthâi, Parbâdêvi, Mahâlakshmi, Mombâdêvi, 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":— Sitlâdêvi is at Ândhêri, in Salsette; Sânthâi, at Kantêvâri in Bândrâ; Parbâdêvi at Mahim, where a fair is held annually, and where there is also a temple to her; and Mahâlakshmi, at Bombay, where too is a temple.

These are all on the sea-side; so also is the chapel of the Virgin Mary. Mombâdêvi 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.

Bândrâ.

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 *Âryâchhalaguhyadhâranisûtra* 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 Behistan, 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 *Rig-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.

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 *Samhitā* (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 *Rig-Vēda* as found in the other three *Samhitās*, and in the *Brāhmanas*. 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 *Rig-Vēda* text over that of the other *Vēdas*, although occasionally useful corrections for corrupt readings of the older *Samhitā* can be found in them. By the time that the older portions of the *Sāman*, *Yajus*, and *Atharva* texts had received their ultimate forms, the tradition of the text of the *Rig-Vēda* was already, with comparatively few exceptions, fixed as we have it to-day. Moreover the superiority of the *Rig-Vēda* 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 *Vēdas* followed the *Rig-Vēda* tradition far more closely than the earlier portions.

In this connexion we would specially refer to Prof. Oldenberg's remarks on the *Yajus-Samhitā*. They are a model of close reasoning and of diplomatic criticism. After first showing that the popular idea of the *Taittirīya*, as from the first one work of mixed hymns and *Brāhmana*, is not correct, but that the *Brāhmana* forms no original portion of the *Samhitā*, he compares

together the readings of the three *Samhitās* of the *Yajus*, the *Taittirīya*, the *Maitrāyaṇī* and the *Vājasaneyi*, and shows that the text of the last closely agrees with that of the *Rik-Samhitā*, 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 *Vājasaneyi* and of X., to be the original ground-text of the *Yajur-Vēda*, and he finally concludes that this ground-text must have been, almost throughout, identical with that of our *Rig-Vēda*, — 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 *Rig-Vēda*, 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 *divah pari*, the fixing of the rules for elision or non-elision of initial *a* after *ē* and *ō*, 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 *Rig-Vēda*, took place, Prof. Oldenberg shows, after the end of the period of the *Brāhmanas*. The quotations in the *Brāhmanas* have themselves been edited by the diaskeuasts, but the appearance they thus present, is shown, by the contents of the *Brāhmanas* themselves, not to have been the form originally quoted by the authors. This leads to some weighty remarks on the *Samhitā* 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 *Sākala* and the *Vāshkala* recensions of the *Rig-Vēda*; and the sixth and final one (pp. 513-535) introduces us to the subject of the *Sūtra* literature, and its bearing on the *Rig-Vēda* 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 *Rig-Vēda*.

G. A. GRIEBSON.

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	ॐ	a	ज	ಜ	ja
आ	ॐ	â	झ	ಝ	jha
इ	३	i	ञ	ಞ	ña
ई	३	î	ट	ಠ	ṭa
उ	ॐ	u	ठ	ಠ	ṭha
ऊ	ॐ	û	ड	ಢ	ḍha
ऋ	ॠ	ṛi	ड	ಢ	ḍha
ॠ	ॠ	ṛî	ण	ಣ	ṇa
ऌ	—	lṛi	त	ತ	ta
—	ॡ	e	थ	ಠ	tha
ए	ॢ	ê	द	ದ	da
—	ॢ	ai	ध	ಢ	dha
ओ	ॣ	o	न	ನ	na
औ	ॣ	ô	प	ಪ	pa
—	ॣ	an	फ	ಫ	pha
Visarga	Visarga	ḥ	ब	ಬ	ba
Jihvāmūlyā, or old	—	ḥ	भ	ಋ	bha
Visarga before क्			म	ಋ	ma
and ख्	—	ḥ	य	ಋ	ya
Upadhāntya, or			र	ಋ	ra
old Visarga be-	—	ḥ	—	ॣ	ra
fore प and फ्			ल	ॣ	la
Anusvāra	Anusvāra	ṁ	ळ	ॣ	ḷa
Anunāsikā	—	ṁ	—	ॣ	ḷa
क	क	ka	व	ॣ	va
ख	ख	kha	घ	ॣ	śa
ग	ग	ga	घ	ॣ	śha
घ	घ	gha	च	ॣ	śa
ङ	ङ	ṅa	स	ॣ	śa
च	च	cha	ह	ॣ	śa
छ	छ	chha			

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 *virāma* 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 *Dēvanāgarī* sign.

So also practice has shewn that it is more convenient to use the ordinary *Dēvanāgarī* 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 Srinagar in Kaśmīr in Saṃvat 1932¹ was **Kirpāram, Diwān of Mahārājā Raṅbīr Singh**, then ruling in Jammūn and Kaśmīr, who compiled it by order. The subject of the biography, **Mahārājā Gulāb Singh**, predecessor of Raṅbīr Singh, 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 Diwāns of Mahārājā Gulāb Singh, 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 Mahārājā Raṅbīr Singh.

All this we learn from the preface, which is headed with a salutation to Gaṇēśa, 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 Gulāb Singh from the "protoplasmal, primeval atomic globule" done for him the best he could, by commencing his genealogy with Brahmā himself, and giving accounts of a long series of mythological ancestors.

As the author's account of the ancient chiefs of Jammūn 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 Christian era, we shall begin to notice the said account for what it is worth from that period.

In St. 724,² **Kīrtidhar, Rājā of Jammūn**, determined to aid with his army **Rāi Talūk**, the sovereign of Dehlī, who had been attacked by Rājā Vikrampāl. The latter was, however, wounded in the battle and perished, and Rāi Talūk, after gaining the victory became master of 144 kingdoms in India. After this the alliance between him and Kīrtidhar continued, till the latter died after a prosperous and just reign of 60 years. Kīrtidhar's son Ajayadhar reigned 59 years, his grandson Vijayadhar 50, and his great-grandson Bajarlādhār 53. Rājā Sūryadēv, 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 Bhōjdēv, who governed for 66 years, and had four sons, one of whom, Kharandēv, succeeded him. The son of this last king, Bīrdēv, occupied the throne after him, and was succeeded by Kābūdēv, whose son, Ālhdēv, reigned after him, being in his turn succeeded by his son Mānakdēv. The latter called his residence Mānkōt and was succeeded by his son Udaidēv, whose son Nāgardēv occupied the *masnad* after him. The latter was succeeded by Utamdēv, after whom his son Harichand reigned, and thus the succession went on for several generations from father to son, till the time of **Rājā Bhōjdēv II.**, an intelligent and far-seeing prince, who had many allies, but was more closely connected with **Mahārājā Jaipāl**, the sovereign of the Pañjāb, than with any other ruler.

When **Nāṣiru'ddīn Sabuktāgin**, the ruler of Ghaznī, conceived the design of conquering India in St. 1032,³ which corresponds to A. H. 365, and had slain many Hindūs in Kābul, who had from ancient times been sojourning there, the Mahārājā of the Pañjāb collected a large army of Rājapūts to resist him and was joined by Rājā Bhōjdēv, who left his possessions in charge of his son **Autārdēv**. He was slain in battle, and Rājā Jaipāl befriended Autārdēv even more than Bhōjdēv. After the death of Nāṣiru'ddīn, his son **Mahmūd of Ghaznī** 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 Rājā Jaipāl and by Pahlāddēv, sent with troops by the Rājā from Jammūn. The hostilities which ensued, subsequently terminated with the flight of Rājā Indarpāl, son of Jaipāl, who took refuge in the mountains after fruitlessly attempting to resist Maḥmūd. During one of Maḥmūd's subsequent invasions Rājā Autārdēv distinguished himself by repelling the invaders and wounding one of the Shāhzādās. He reigned 44 years and was succeeded by his son Yāsudēv, who founded the town of Jasrōṭa, and governed his subjects with justice for 30 years. He was succeeded by his son Saṅgrāmdēv, who reigned 41 years, and whose son, Rājā Jagdēv, began his reign of 70 years in St. 1151,⁵ during which Malik Khusrav, a descendant of Maḥmūd of Ghaznī, conquered a portion of India, and after him the Sultān Shahābu'ddīn Ghūrī continued the conquest. This ruler built the fort of Siālkōṭ with the approbation of the Rājā of Jammūn. Jagdēv was succeeded by Rājā Bharaj-dēv. Shahābu'ddīn then conquered Rāi Pitōrā, a dissipated prince, put out his eyes in A. H. 588⁶ corresponding to St. 1238 [*sic*], and kept him prisoner near his own person, which last circumstance enabled the captive Rājā to shoot him dead with an arrow! How a blind man could do this it is rather hard to believe!⁷

Timūr invaded India, A. H. 801,⁸ conquering Dehlī, where he committed great slaughter, and on his return march to Turkistān massacred wholesale many thousands of pilgrims assembled at Hardwār. When, however, he approached the mountains, Rājā Māldēv of Jammūn surprised him with a numerous army of Rājputās, and defeated him. Māldēv reigned 40 years and died in St. 1456.⁹ He was succeeded by his son Chamardēv, who governed 26 years, being succeeded by Ajjayadēv, who reigned 31 years. Rājā Brahm-dēv, his son, died after a reign of 45 years, during which in A. H. 932¹⁰ Zāhiru'ddīn Muḥammad Babar Bādshāh crossed the Indus for the purpose of subjugating India. He arrived *viā* Bahlōlpūr and Siālkōṭ at the plains of Pānīpat, where he defeated Sultān Ibrāhīm Shāh Sūr, the sovereign of India. In this reign also Bābā Gurū Nanak, the founder of the Sikh religion was born. The next Rājā, Khūkhārdēv, died after a just reign of 29 years in A. H. 937,¹¹ and was succeeded by Kapūrdēv, who governed 41 years, and left two sons, namely, Jagdēv II. and Samāldēv.

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 Rājā Bhōjrājdēv, who began to govern Jammūn in St. 1839.¹² He had a quarrel with his relative Dal Singh, and one day proposed to present¹³ Miān Śāhib Zōrāwar Singh, the father of Rājā Kēsvar Singh, and grandfather of Gulāb Singh, the subject of this biography who was born on the 5th of Kārtak in St. 1849, corresponding to the 2nd of Rabī'u'l-awal, A. H. 1207,¹⁴ with a *jāgīr* if he would slay the obnoxious individual, but met with a refusal. Miān Mōṭa, the youngest brother of Zōrāwar Singh, however, executed his design, attacked Dal Singh with an armed force, and slew him, none of his party escaping with his life except his little son Ajīt Singh. The reign of Bhōjrājdēv had, however, not lasted longer than five years, when he incurred the displeasure of Mahān Singh — father of Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh of the Pañjāb — with whom he had previously been on very good terms, and the latter watching his opportunity when Bhōjrājdēv was prostrate with sickness, arrived with troops and plundered Jammūn. After the departure of Mahān Singh, Bhōjrājdēv continued to reign, till certain Sardārs of the Bhaṅgī Misal waged war against each other, in which he took part and was slain. His Rānī, Chamiāl 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 [Miān and Miān Śāhib are frequently the titles of the younger members of a royal Rājput house in the Himālayas, 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 Jammūn. The heir to the *masnad*, Siparndév, being at that time only one year old, the administration remained in charge of **Miān Môtā**. The boy died in his eleventh year, and the lineage of Bhôjrâjdév having thus come to an end, **Rajā Ajit Singh**, the son of Dal Singh, was placed on the *masnad*.¹⁵

After a while disagreements took place between Ajit Singh, **Rani Bundrāl** and Miān Môtā, upon whom, as already mentioned, the administration of the country had devolved, so he departed to Pūrmaṇḍal, while Zêrâwar Singh took up his residence in his *jâgîr* of Dayâwân. **Rajā Ajit Singh** was a blockhead, and enjoyed no authority. Every one acted as he listed, and Rani Bundrāl openly usurped the government. Such being the case, **Bhāi Hukmā Singh**, who governed several *talûqas* in the vicinity of Jammūn on behalf of **Mahârâjā Ranjît Singh**, was by his sovereign ordered to attack that town, but Miān Môtā 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 Singh 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. 1865¹⁶ when he had not yet completed the 16th year of his age, and the author states that long afterwards, when he had become **Mahârâjā**, Gulâb Singh 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 Zêrâwar Singh 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 Hîndus, refused to go to Pêshâwar and pretended to be afraid of the wrath of Miān Môtā **Shâhib** should they do so. Accordingly he retraced his steps, and went to the **Dîwân Khush-wakht Râi** who governed the *pargana* of Sûkhû, a *jâgîr* of **Sardâr Nihal Singh Aṭarîwalâ**, and also enlisted troops. The Dîwân received Gulâb Singh 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 Singh 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 Singh in the defence of Jammūn, having been brought to the notice of the **Mahârâjā Ranjît Singh**, ruler of the Pañjâb, he ordered Miān Môtā Singh to send for Gulâb Singh. When the Dîwân **Khush-wakht Râi** was communicated with on this matter, he presented Gulâb Singh with a horse, and the latter having purchased another, proceeded with all speed to Jammūn, whence Môtā Singh took him to the headquarters of **Ranjît Singh's** army, which was at that time encamped at Daskâ, situated ten *kôs* to the south of Siâlkôt. This took place in St. 1867,¹⁷ according to our author, who then narrates — without saying a word of what Gulâb Singh did during the next two years — that in St. 1869¹⁸ **Rajâ Dhyân Singh**, who was then in the vicinity of Rohtâs and had heard of the bravery of Gulâb Singh, granted him a monthly salary of sixty rupees, and at the same time took his father Miān **Shâhib Késvar Singh** into the service of **Mahârâjā Ranjît Singh**, 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.

Fath Khân Barukzai 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 Ranjît Singh, if the latter would assist him with an army to subjugate Kaśmîr. The offer was accepted and the **Diwân Muḥkam Chand** despatched with numerous forces.²¹ The Diwân succeeded in removing **'Aṭa Muḥammad** who had governed Kaśmîr on behalf of the sovereign of Afghânistân, and demanded the promised tribute from Fath Khân, who at first demurred, but afterwards paid it on compulsion, and leaving his own brother **Muḥammad 'Āzim** in charge of Kaśmîr, departed to Kâbul. During this march Fath Khân attempted to obtain possession of the Fort of Aṭak, but as soon as his intentions became known to the Diwân Muḥkam Chand, he attacked him. Gulâb Singh distinguished himself by his bravery in the action which ensued, but his father Kêśwar Singh was wounded. Fath Khân was put to flight, and the Sikh army started to march back to Lâhôr, when Gulâb Singh heard that **Miân Mōṭa Singh** had been assassinated at the instigation of the Râni Bundrâl, by two miscreants named Tarhdû and Satrû.

When **Muḥammad 'Āzim** became established in Kaśmîr, he delayed payment of tribute, so the army of the Pañjâb ruler marched in St. 1873²² to attack him.²³ The *Pîr Pañjâl Pass* was crossed, and Kaśmîr entered by the army under the command of the Diwân Râmdiâl and Dal Singh, when **Raja 'Az Khân**,²⁴ governor of Rajâori, who had merely pretended to be friendly to the Mahârâjâ Ranjît Singh, not only failed in his promise to supply grain, but went so far as to intercept couriers and to send false messages to Ranjît Singh, that the army, after crossing the *Pîr Pañjâl*, had been destroyed by the enemy. Gulâb Singh, who was stationed in Maṇḍi, took this information to be true, and retreated in the direction of Bashahir, whereon his troops became so demoralised that they began to flee hastily. The adjacent *zamindârs*, observing this, commenced to obstruct further progress, and forced on a battle in which, however, Gulâb Singh defeated them. When the army arrived in Lâhôr, Gulâb Singh was rewarded for his bravery by the gift of a *jâgir* and other honours. On that occasion also **Amîr Chand**, the grandfather of the author, was elevated to the position of Diwân.

After this the Mahârâjâ Ranjît Singh went to the Jalandhar Dôâb for the purpose of conquering the Fort of Garh Danâlâ. Gulâb Singh happened just then to be living in retirement at Jammûn, 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 Singh again displayed much bravery, and was in addition to his other *jâgirs* rewarded with that of **Bamgarh**, which he had, however, to take by force! In fact, it appears to have been the custom of Ranjît Singh 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 *jâgir* was generally beset with difficulties and preceded by hostilities. During the same year Ranjît Singh undertook also a campaign to Multân for the purpose of reducing the **Nawâb Muzaffar Khân** to obedience. In an engagement which took place during the siege, 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 Singh, 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 Ranjît Singh had obtained the required *nazarâna* from the Nawâb he marched back to Lâhôr, and Gulâb Singh returned to Jammûn.

In St. 1874²⁵ Bhagwân Singh, an official of Ranjît Singh, brought a deed of gift from the latter to Gulâb Singh, presenting him with the *jâgir* of **Biâsi**, hitherto in possession of Diwân

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 *Zafarnâma* or *Book of the Conquests of Ranjît Singh*, which see *ante*, Vol. XVI. pp. 339 ff.

²² A. D. 1816.

²³ This is alluded to in Ch. 26 of the *Zafarnâma*, 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.

Siñgh, who had been an accomplice in the murder of **Miān Môtā Siñgh**. After subduing the opposing parties by defeating them in various engagements, **Gulāb Siñgh** at last obtained possession of the *jāgīr*, and having rebuilt the Fort of **Riāsī** by the advice of the **Diwān Amīr Chand**, left a garrison in it and went to **Lāhōr** to wait upon the **Mahārājā Ranjīt Siñgh**, but he was soon obliged to return, because the new fort was being besieged by the partizans of **Bhūpdēv**, the previous *jāgīrdār*. When **Gulāb Siñgh** had restored peace **Sartāpā Giyāl**, the ringleader of the insurgents, was brought into his presence, and **Gulāb Siñgh** reproached him with having summoned the garrison of **Riāsī**, when besieging it, to evacuate the fort, on the ground that **Bhūpdēv** was the true *jāgīrdār*. **Sartāpā Giyāl**, however, boldly replied that such was indeed the case, and that **Bhūpdēv's** family had been in possession for seven generations. This reply so incensed **Gulāb Siñgh** 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. **Gulāb Siñgh** then left one **Zōrāwar Siñgh** in charge of **Riāsī**, as he was under the necessity of attacking **Bhūpdēv** and **Didū**, who began to plunder **Dhansāl**, the *jāgīr* of the heirs of **Môtā Siñgh**. After a desultory warfare **Gulāb Siñgh** at last succeeded in compelling **Miān Didū** to take refuge in the mountains.

The **Hindūs** of **Kāsmīr** suffered much from the oppression of the **Afghān** government, and **Ranjīt Siñgh** in consequence desired to conquer the province. The opportunity presented itself in St. 1876,²⁶ when the **Pandit Birbal**,²⁷ with some other refugees from **Kāsmīr**, went to **Lāhōr** and invited the **Mahārājā** to undertake its conquest. **Gulāb Siñgh** served in the campaign which ensued, and met **Jabbār Khān**, the brother of **'Azim Khān** in a battle in which he defeated him. **Ranjīt Siñgh**, having soon afterwards subjugated **Kāsmīr**, appointed the **Diwān Môtī Rām** to be governor, and rewarded **Gulāb Siñgh** by bestowing upon him the district of **Jammūn**, imposing upon him only the duty of supporting the troops, instead of paying tribute. This was because **Gulāb Siñgh** had represented that the levying of tribute in cash from the population would be a matter of extreme difficulty.

After **Ranjīt Siñgh** had returned from **Kāsmīr** and **Pēshāwar** he undertook the siege of **Dērā Ghāzi Khān**, during the prosecution of which **Gulāb Siñgh** 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 **Zōrāwar Siñgh**, the grandfather of **Gulāb Siñgh** had died, and so he and his father the **Rājā** [*sic*] **Kēśwar Siñgh**, obtained leave from the **Mahārājā** to depart to **Jammūn**. This campaign terminated with the subjugation of the **Nawāb** of **Mukhērā**, and the levelling of his fort according to our author.²⁸ In the next expedition of the **Mahārājā** to punish the rebellious **Yūsafzāis** of the **Pēshāwar** district **Gulāb Siñgh** again took part.

Although **Jammūn** had been brought under the jurisdiction of Sikh government of the **Pañjāb**, and **Bahrām Siñgh** and the **Diwān Bhawānidās** had been appointed to carry on the political and financial administration of the district, **Miān Didū**, 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 **Jammūn**, even coming to blows with the Sikh troops in the town itself, which he several times attempted to occupy. Moreover many **Rājput**s and *zamīndārs* of the surrounding country made common cause with him, whilst the Sikh **Sardārs** only now and then succeeded in capturing some of the minor ringleaders, who were deported to **Shēkhupura** and imprisoned. The more the Sikhs laboured to establish tranquility, the more bold **Miān Didū** became, and once he had the impudence to lift all the fruit which had been sent from **Jammūn** to **Ranjīt Siñgh**, and to substitute for it balls of dung and other impurities.

²⁶ A. D. 1819.

²⁷ In Ch. 28 of the *Zafarnāma* the conquest **Kāsmīr** is narrated, but the name of the **Pandit** is spelt **Birbar**.

²⁸ According to the *Zafarnāma* the fort surrendered, and the **Mahārājā** kindly received the repentant **Nawāb** 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 annihilate Miân Didû. 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 Didû, 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 Didû, 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 Chinâb, 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 Kâsmîr 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 'Azim 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 Sindhânwâlîâ, and the Atârîwâlâ Sardârs. Their forces crossed the Indus near Aṭak, 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 'ilâqa of Pinḍ, 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 Singh 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 Singh, who took possession of the fort, appointed Miân Bishnâ as *thânadâr*, and marched back to Jammûn. When this victory had been reported to Ranjît Singh, he sent Dilârâm Singh to take possession of the fort, but afterwards gave it to **Suchêt Singh** in addition to Râmnagar with Râmkôt and Saniâ.

The **Sardâr Buddh Singh Sindhânwâlîâ** obtained information that the Mahârâjâ Ranjît Singh was dangerously ill and conceived the disloyal idea of taking possession of the fort of Gôbindgarh, 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 Khân, Sulṭân Muḥammad Khân, and Pîr Muḥammad Khân, and therefore did not think it prudent to advance further, reporting the matter to the Lâhôr government. Ranjît Singh then ordered Gulâb Singh who was at Jammûn to march in all haste to the relief of the Sardâr Buddh Singh, and the forces at Jhêlam under the command of the Diwân Amîr Chand joined him as soon as he arrived there. Meanwhile the Afghâns had occupied Ḥasan Abdâl. Suchêt Singh and the Aṭâriwâlâ Sardârs also, by order of the Mahârâjâ, reinforced Buddh Singh, 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 Singh distinguished himself by his bravery.

The administration of Piṇḍ Dâdan Khân, 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 Singh in St. 1887³⁴ 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. 1890³⁵ the Mahârâjâ presented him with the districts of Jhêlam and Rohtâs, and in St. 1893³⁶ the district of Gujrât also came under the administration of Gulâb Singh.

In St. 1891,³⁷ Ranjît Singh was informed that **Dôst Muḥammad Khân**, the ruler of Afghânistân, had determined to conquer the district of Pêshâwar, which was governed by the Sardâr Harî Singh. The Mahârâjâ accordingly marched to encounter him, and when he had arrived at Gûjar Khân, the chief Sardârs, such as Gulâb Singh, Harî Singh, Suchêt Singh, the Sindhânwâlîâs 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 Khân. 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. Sultân 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 Sultân 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 Sultân 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 Sultân 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 'Azizu'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 Sultân 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 Fathgarh, 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 'Azizu'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 Khushhâl Singh, who had been afraid to advance beyond it, had been anxiously waiting for them. They also had the Frenchman Allard⁴⁰ 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 Chiniôt, 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 *Zafarnâma* where the campaign is described.

⁴⁰ The text has "Lârn" but I have made the above correction because "the Frenchman" was no doubt Allard, and not Lawrence.

the Yūsafzāis, numerous *zamīndārs* submitted, but certain mountaineers offered resistance obstinately and were punished. Afterwards disturbances took place in the *parganā* of Pūnch, 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 Gulāb Singh went to Rajāori.

In St. 1895,⁴¹ the Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh paid a visit to Jammūn, where he was received with due honours by Gulāb Singh and Dhyān Singh, who erected a large tent for his reception, and spent Rs. 1,21,000 upon presents and banquettings. On this occasion also **Ranbir Singh** was presented to the Mahārājā by Gulāb Singh, kindly received, and placed on a seat opposite to him. Next day the Mahārājā went to the *darshan* of the Śrī Thākurs at Thākurdwārā, the ladies occupying the locality having been previously removed, but he allowed no one to accompany him except Gulāb Singh and the Rājā Dhyān Singh with Mīr Rām Kishan. Conversing with them in a fatherly and familiar manner he ascended to the upper apartments and remarked to them that Gurū Nānak had left no progeny, but disciples and attendants like these Thākurs who were the champions of ascetism. Ranjīt Singh departed from Jammūn after a sojourn of two days and kindly accepted from Gulāb Singh certain presents, consisting of valuable garments, an elephant with a golden *hauddā* and some fleet horses. The courtiers also obtained gifts. Mr. Frederick Mackison was given a robe of honour, and Faqīr 'Azīz'uddīn, who was interpreting, informed him that the house of Gulāb Singh in Lāhōr was at his service.

In the next year, on a Friday, the 15th of the month Hār, St. 1896,⁴² Ranjīt Singh died, and Gulāb Singh, who was at that time in Pēshāwar, having been informed of the event, was deeply affected. The Mahārājā Kharak Singh, who succeeded the Lion of the Pañjāb on the *masnad*, entrusted Chēt Singh, a man of base character and evil disposition, with the administration of political and financial affairs. Kharak Singh 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 Sardārs of high position, such as the Rājā Suchēt Singh, Jam'adār Khushhāl Singh, Lahnā Singh Majithiā, &c., waited one day upon his son, the prince Nau Nihāl Singh, 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 Mahārājā Kharak Singh would be distressed by the removal of Chēt Singh, it was necessary to encompass it in order to prevent greater evils, and that therefore the Sardārs 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 Sardār Lahnā Singh Majithiā, who being an ascetic, demurred at participating in such an act, but promised on oath not to divulge the plot. Accordingly the Sardārs arrived early in the morning in the palace and waited upon the prince Nau Nihāl Singh, by whose aid they penetrated into Kharak Singh'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 Rājā Dhyān Singh. The Mahārājā had already risen and put on his turban, and was attending to his devotions and other matters, when Gulāb Singh shot Kānh Singh and another *farrāsh* [carpet-spreader] dead with his carbine. Upon this the Mahārājā attempted to close the door, but it was forcibly kept open by the prince, with whom all the Sardārs entered. The love of the Mahārājā, however, for Chēt Singh was so great that he kept him in his embrace till he was torn away. Chēt Singh fled to the *tahkhāna*, where Rājā Dhyān Singh overtook him and stabbed him to death with his poniard.⁴³ The Mahārājā then broke out in loud wallings and curses against the Sardārs, 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. 1888.⁴² A. D. 1839.⁴³ Though the scene here described is not mentioned, the events connected therewith are in Ch. 40 of the *Zafarnāma*.

In St. 1897,⁴⁴ the **Mahārājā Kharak Singh** died, and when **Nau Nihāl Singh** was returning from the funeral with **Miān Adham Singh**, 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 Nihāl was at the time of his death not more than 23 years and a few days old. **Gulāb Singh**, who was at that time in **Rāmnagar**, immediately departed to **Jammūn**, where he spent a few days in mourning, and then again returned to **Lāhōr**. **Rājā Dhyān Singh** endeavoured for a time to keep the death of **Nau Nihāl Singh** concealed and had his body conveyed to the **Ḥazūrī Bāgh**, where he invited surgeons and physicians to come, who were supposed to be treating the prince. But after **Gulāb Singh** had arrived in **Lāhōr**, the prince **Shēr Singh**, son of the **Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh**, was informed of what had taken place and invited to **Lāhōr**, where he performed the funeral obsequies with appropriate pomp. **Shēr Singh** hoped to succeed to the *masnad* at once, and was supported in his claim by **Gulāb Singh**, **Dhyān Singh** and others, but finding that the faction of the **Sindhānwāliā Sardārs** and many powerful nobles favoured the succession of the **Rānī Chand Kaṅwar**, he retired to **Kālānūr** with **Dhyān Singh**, who afterwards departed to **Jammūn**, after making the arrangements necessary for raising **Shēr Singh** to the throne, by ordering the officers of the **Khālṣa** troops, all of whom were sincerely devoted to him, to receive **Shēr Singh** with royal honours and to obey him in everything on his arrival in **Lāhōr**. **Karm Singh**, who was in the service of **Dhyān Singh**, returned to the capital, and as soon as everything had been got ready, the prince **Shēr Singh** entered **Lāhōr** at the invitation of the officers of the army. **Gulāb Singh**, desirous of averting hostilities, assembled the officers and told them that, as the **Mahārānī** 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 **Shēr Singh** had arrived near the regiments. **Gulāb Singh** at once betook himself to the fort, where he made preparations for resistance, and told the **Rājā Hirā Singh**, that as his father **Dhyān Singh** was outside the fort he ought also to leave it; but he refused, replying that as **Gulāb Singh** stood to him in the place of a father it would be impossible to abandon him and to leave the fort. **Gulāb Singh** had merely his own **Dōgrā** 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 **Ḥazūrī Bāgh**, erected a battery opposite the gateway, and demanded its surrender; but the **Ṣūbahdār Chhapāchap**, who had charge of it, with a company of sepoys, replied that he could not do so except by order of **Gulāb Singh**. On this the attack began in which the **Ṣūbahdār** and his men perished, and the gateway was reduced to splinters. The **Dīwān**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 **Gulāb Singh**'s own invention, called *pūrmār*.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 **Ḥazūrī Bāgh**, were annihilated. There were also two *pallāns* in the fort, who had previously arranged to support **Shēr Singh**, but **Gulāb Singh** had by an astute stratagem hindered them from obtaining access to their arms, of which he had taken charge. **Gordon Sāhib**, who was an artillery officer, proposed to blow up the **Pādshāhī** mosque, which was full of ammunition, and used by the **Khālṣa** forces as a magazine. The explosion, he averred, would do great execution by annihilating the adjacent localities and **Shēr Singh** himself, whose aspirations to supreme power would thus be suddenly cut short, but **Gulāb Singh** magnanimously replied that it was not his intention to destroy the **Khālṣa** 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 *Zafarnāma*, but not exactly in the same way.

⁴⁶ Father of the author.

⁴⁷ Full of serpents.

⁴⁸ Our author, who had previously stated that **Shēr Singh** "was supported in his claim by **Gulāb Singh**," first makes him say to the officers of the **Khālṣa** army that "the **Mahārānī** 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 Rājās Dhyān Singh and Suchēt Singh, who had been sent for, collected all the Sikh forces they could during their march from Jammūn, and as soon as they arrived in Lāhōr sent a message into the fort to Gulāb Singh, asking him how long he meant to resist the troops of the government, all of which had now joined Shēr Singh with powerful artillery. Gulāb Singh replied that the garrison would not cease firing unless the besiegers did so. The **Rāni Chand Kañwar**, whom our author henceforth simply calls the **Bībī Śāhība**, became frightened, after the manner of women, and sent *parwānas* to Gulāb Singh in which she praised his heroism, but requested him to make any arrangements he might think proper for putting an end to the hostilities. Gulāb Singh also received a *parwāna* bearing the signature of the Mahārājā Shēr Singh, followed by the manual marks of the great Sardārs Bijai Singh, Bhāi Singh, and Lahnā Singh, as well as by the signature in Roman characters of Ventura Śāhib and Shām Singh Aṭārīwālā. This last *parwāna* was to the purport that if the musketry fire from the fort ceased, Bābā Mahān Singh 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 Bībī Śāhība a *jāgīr*, with a yearly income of seven *lākhs* of rupees. At last Gulāb Singh had his elephants and baggage removed from the fort one night, following himself at dawn, and encamping on the banks of the Rāvi, where the Rājās Dhyān Singh and Suchēt Singh soon met him and represented that numberless Khālṣa 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 Shāhdara, where many great Sardārs paid Gulāb Singh visits with the presentation of compliments from the Mahārājā Shēr Singh, and asked him what had induced him to offer resistance to the Mahārājā. Gulāb Singh 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 Mahārājā Shēr Singh, after bestowing upon Gulāb Singh a dress of honour and a *sanad* for the *jāgīr* of **Manāwar**, gave him leave to depart to Jammūn.

As Gulāb Singh had, with his paternal uncle, Dīwān Hīrā Chand, who was the commander of his troops, obtained permission from the Bībī Śāhība, whilst she was besieged in the fort of Lāhōr, to conquer the *talūgas* of **Ghari** and **Ghariālī**, so the Dīwān first occupied Sarāi-Aurangābād, which the troops of the late Mahārājā Khaṛak Singh had taken after a siege, and then marched to the fort of **Sukhchēnpūr**, which had been garrisoned on behalf of the Mahārājā Sarat Singh, but was now surrendered. Another small fort, **Kōṭ** by name, was also easily occupied, but **Maṅgalā** which is on the top of a mountain, and on three sides surrounded by the river Bhōt, fell only after a long and brave resistance.

In St. 1898,⁴⁹ the Mahārājā Shēr Singh despatched a Gurkhā *paṭṭan* under the command of Prince **Partāb Singh** to punish the malcontents who had slain **Manhēwan Singh**, the **Ṣubahdar of Kaśmīr**, and Gulāb Singh, who was at that time at Bahlōl on the bank of the Chīnāb; having been ordered to aid the prince, joined him at Bhimbar, with the father of the author and the Dīwān Nihāl Chand, their forces amounting to four *paṭṭans* and 600 cavalry. The country being too poor to provide for large bodies of troops, Gulāb Singh divided his forces, retaining one-half of them and placing the other at the disposal of the Dīwān Nihāl Chand, marched to Shapiān, where it rained so abundantly as to detain him there. He did not continue his march in the direction of Shērgarh till the fourth day after reaching it. The troops under the Dīwān Nihāl Chand reached Naipūr, where two *paṭṭans* of rebels opposed him at the crossing of the river Dūdhgaṅgā. Here the Prince Partāb Singh joined him with Gulāb Singh, 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 *Zafarnāma*, according to which Shēr Singh compelled the fort to surrender after a siege of only three days, chiefly through the mediation of Gulāb Singh, who returned just in time from Jammūn to bring the negotiations to a satisfactory issue.

⁴⁹ A. D. 1841.

the guards on the road to Bahrângala and Pûñchh being ordered to deprive the fugitives of their arms. Gulâb Singh 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 Shêrgarh, 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 **Kishangarh**, where the prince Partâb Singh took up his abode, whilst Gulâb Singh encamped at Barâkôt at a distance of four *kôs* off.

News having arrived that **Zôrâwar Singh Gahlôriâ**, the *wazîr* of Gulâb Singh, had lost his life in an attack upon **Mansarôbar**, the inhabitants of which had rebelled under the leadership of Painḍâ 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 Singh, 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 Singh was in favour of this movement, which would strengthen the bond of friendship between the two governments. Gulâb Singh 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 Singh** arrived on the part of Shêr Singh 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 Singh, 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 Singh 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 Singh 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 Singh, commanded by the *wazîr* **Ratanûn**, 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 Singh. 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 Singh'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 Singh 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 Singh'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 Sâstrî and Bhôt 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 Singh 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 Ratanûn and the Diwân 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 'Sri Mahârâj Śâhib Bahâdur Râjâ Gulâb Singji, 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 Sri Râjâ Śâhib, 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 **Mahârâjâ Shêr Singh** had been raised to the throne with the co-operation of **Dhyân Singh**, the intriguers by whom the Mahârâjâ was surrounded succeeded in a short time in producing distrust between them. The Sardâr **Khushhâl Singh** likewise became estranged from the Mahârâjâ, who also gave utterance to suspicions that the Sindhânwâlîâ Sardârs were beginning to favour the aspirations of the Bîbî Śâhiba Chand Kañwar. The Sardârs 'Aṭar Singh and Ajît Singh therefore crossed the Satluj and sought refuge in the British dominions, whilst the Sardâr **Lahnâ Singh**, who could not escape, was cast into prison. In short, although the Mahârâjâ outwardly professed friendship towards **Dhyân Singh** and **Gulâb Singh**, he inwardly bore them ill-will. It is alleged that **Ventura** and the Sardâr **Lahnâ Singh Majithiâ** 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 Singh** had settled the treaty of peace with Ladâkh and was living quietly in Jammûn, the Mahârâjâ repeatedly expressed his desire by letter to meet him; and **Gulâb Singh**, although aware of his evil intentions, firmly trusted in Providence, and took the opportunity of the **Mahârâjâ's** visit to **Kângrâ** to wait upon him at **Jwâlâmukhî**. The meeting was apparently cordial, and henceforth the Mahârâjâ kept **Gulâb Singh** near his person. Meanwhile the Râjâ **Dhyân Singh**, having become aware of this stratagem, left Râjâ **Suchêt Singh** in **Lâhôr**, sent **Hîrâ Singh** to **Jasrôtâ**, and himself joined the Mahârâjâ, who took him to the fort of **Kângrâ** with the intention of encompassing his destruction. On that day, however, **Gulâb Singh** did not accompany the party, and the Mahârâjâ refrained from slaying **Dhyân Singh** alone. It is said that the Sardâr **Lahnâ Singh Majithiâ** dissuaded the Mahârâjâ from accomplishing his design by telling him that **Gulâb Singh** being near at hand, and **Suchêt Singh** in **Lâhôr**, a great disturbance would ensue, during which **Suchêt Singh** would not fail to avenge the death of his brother by putting out the eyes of **Partâb Singh**, the son of the Mahârâjâ. He, however, ordered some of his musketeers to fire both upon **Dhyân Singh** and upon **Gulâb Singh** 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

missed. On the other hand, the Rājā Dhyān Singh, 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 Lahnā Singh, who was on good terms with the family of Gulāb Singh, had several times overheard the false assurances of friendship made to the latter by the Mahārājā, 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 Gulāb Singh tasted the beverage, he expressed astonishment at its bitter flavour, but on the messenger's saying that it was symbolical of the present time, Gulāb Singh ordered him to tell his master that he had fully understood the meaning of the gift. A few days afterwards Gulāb Singh departed to Jammūn to celebrate the wedding of Raṅbir Singh, whom he afterwards adopted as his son.

All the preparations having been made for the festivity, Raṅbir Singh's wedding with the little daughter of Bijai Singh was solemnised, the Rājā Dhyān Singh being present on behalf of the Mahārājā Shēr Singh. After the rejoicings had terminated, Gulāb Singh wished Dhyān Singh to remain longer in Jammūn, but he refused and departed to Lāhōr, where the Mahārājā received him in the most friendly manner, but gave secret orders to Ajit Singh to kill him. The latter who was on good terms with Hīrā Singh, informed him of the orders, and proposed to kill the Mahārājā Shēr Singh instead of Dhyān Singh, but received no answer. Shēr Singh, who entertained no suspicions of the Sindhānwāliā Sardārs, sent an invitation to Lahnā Singh and Ajit Singh to hold a review of the troops at Shāh Bilāwal near Lāhōr, and they most gladly accepted it. When Ajit Singh was on this occasion passing in review with his troops before the Mahārājā Shēr Singh, he pretended to shew him a double-barrelled gun, but in the act of doing so discharged its contents into his body, and the Mahārājā at once fell dead. Lahnā Singh had meanwhile kept his troops ready in the garden of the Jan'ādār Śāhib, 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 Partāb Singh, whom he had brought to witness the review, and started in the direction of the fort. It happened that the Rājā Dhyān Singh, 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 Ajit Singh 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. Dhyān Singh, who had only three or four men with him, complied perforce, but when he arrived with the crowd in the *hawēli* of the Kharpāliās he was shot dead. Lahnā Singh, who came afterwards, sharply reprovved Ajit Singh for what had happened, told him to wrap the corpse in a shawl, send it to the Rājā's house, and get ready for the impending fight.⁵²

The population became greatly frightened at these disturbances, and the Rājā Suchēt Singh, who was in his own house, having been informed of the murder of the Mahārājā Shēr Singh, and being most anxious to ascertain what had become of the Rājā Dhyān Singh because his horse had arrived alone in the stable, sent the Śūbahdār Ísrī Singh to the fort to make enquiries. The messenger soon returned with the news, which was confirmed by the arrival of Dhyān Singh's corpse sent by Lahnā Singh to the house. Suchēt Singh at once informed Hīrā Singh, who was at Shāh Bilāwal, of what had taken place, and also sent a letter to Késrī Singh with a request to inform the army of the murder of the Mahārājā Shēr Singh and Dhyān Singh, in order to excite it to take vengeance and to prepare it for fighting. Rājā Hīrā Singh and Rāi Késrī Singh arrived near the fort at midnight with the army, with which the Sindhānwāliā faction had tampered, but ineffectually, because it was entirely devoted to Hīrā Singh. 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 Ajit Singh and Lahnā Singh 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 *Zafurnāma*.

man. The Rānī of Dhyān 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. Suchēt Singh assured her that she could certainly do so, in a short time, if she consented to delay the act of *sati*. The Paṇḍit Jallā,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 Bādrūn in St. 1853.⁵⁴

(To be continued.)

SANSKRIT AND OLD-KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, B.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. E. 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 $3\frac{1}{2}$ " 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 $\frac{1}{4}$ " thick, and is oval in shape, measuring about $2\frac{1}{2}$ " by $3\frac{1}{3}$ ". 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 $\frac{7}{8}$ " in diameter; and it has, on a slightly countersunk surface, at the top, the moon; across the centre, the legend *śrī-Biṭṭ-arasa*, *i. e.* "the illustrious king Biṭṭi or Bitta;" and at the bottom, a boar, squatting on its haunches, and facing to the proper right. — The weight of the three plates is about $16\frac{1}{4}$ oz., and of the ring and seal, $5\frac{1}{4}$ oz.; total, 1 lb. $5\frac{1}{2}$ 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 *ī* 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 $\frac{3}{8}$ ". 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 Sanskrit. 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 *p^ruwardhamānaka*, line 35, is

⁵³ The character and influence of this man are alluded to in Ch. 43 of the *Zafarnāma*.

⁵⁴ A. D. 1796. Her *sati* 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 *mātri*, line 2, and in other instances in lines 4, 5, 11, 14, 28 and 29, though the correct vowel is used in *kṛitakṛityaḥ*, line 7, *kṛitajñās*, line 8, and *kṛishṇ-āhayó*, line 34; (2) the doubling of *dh*, by *d* in the proper manner, before *y*, in °*ānuddhyātānān*, line 1, and in *viñddhy-ātavāshv*°, line 33, where, however, it may optionally be attributed to the preceding *anusvāra* (see, *e. g.*, the instances referred to in *Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 192, 197, 236, 244); and (3) the doubling of *k* before *r*, in *parākkramaḥ*, line 8, though not in *vikrama*, line 4.

The inscription is one of Vishṇuwardhana 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 Brāhman, for the purpose of maintaining the rites of the five great sacrifices.

The village granted was Alandatirtha, which is defined as being in the district called the Śrinilaya bhōga, on the north of the agrāhāra of Anopalya, *i. e.* Anopalli or Anopalli, and on the south bank of the river Bhimarathi. Alandatirtha 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 Sâtārâ. 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 Nirâ, which again flows into the Bhîma; and it seems, therefore, to answer the description of being on the south bank of the Bhîmarathi. I can, at any rate, not find any other place, the name of which at all resembles Alandatirtha, anywhere along the Bhîma itself; and I think that the name Bhîmarathi, — which occurs also in the Vokkalêri grant of Kirtivarman 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 Alandatirtha is the modern 'Ālandi' 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 Indrâyaṇi; but it is on the north bank of the Indrâyaṇi, not the south; and, if for this reason only, it does not seem acceptable. The name of Anopalya or Anopalli is not to be traced on the map. Nor can I at present identify either the Śrinilaya bhōga, or Kurumarathi, — or possibly Kurumarathyâ, — where Vishṇuwardhana I. was, when he made the grant. The former name may perhaps have some connection with the Śribhavana which is mentioned, *e. g.*, in the Wagaṅi 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 Mahârāja." The Mahârāja here spoken of, is the Western Chalukya king Pulikêsin II., the elder brother of Vishṇuwardhana 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 Mahākūṭa pillar inscription of Maṅgalêsa (page 7 ff. above); the only difference being that the Mahākūṭa inscription uses the Drâviḍian *l*, whereas here we have the ordinary Sanskrit *l*. The genealogy starts with Pulikêsin I., who is here mentioned by his *birudas* of Raṇavikrama and Satyâsraya, as in the Mahākūṭa record. His son, Kirtivarman I., is mentioned by his own proper name. Curiously enough, the actual reigning king, Pulikêsin II., is passed over in this record, even in spite of the fact that his younger brother assumes only the title of Yuvarāja; and the succession of names is taken direct from Kirtivarman I. to his younger son Vishṇuwardhana I.; as is also done in one of the grants of Vishṇuwardhana II. (*ante*. Vol. VII. p. 191). Attached to the name of Vishṇuwardhana 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 Jayasimha I. (*ante*, Vol. XIII. p. 138); and it appears on the seals of the grants of his grandson, Vishnuvardhana 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 Vishnu, in the Prākṛit form of **Biṭṭarasa**, i. e. 'king Biṭṭi or Biṭṭa.'²

From the mention here of Pulikēśin II. as "the glorious *Mahārāja*," 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 **Mahārāja** had, two centuries at least before the time with which we are dealing, been superseded by that of *Mahārājādhirāja*,³ with *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* 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 Pulikēśin II. The earliest Chalukya grant that uses any formal title at all, is the Goa grant of 'Saka-Saṃvat 532, which refers to "the *Mahārāja*, 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 Nerūr grant of Pulikēśin II., which connects the title of *Mahārāja* with his name (*ante*, Vol. VIII. p. 44); or his Haidarābād grant of 'Saka-Saṃvat 534 expired, which attaches the same title to both his own name and those of his father and grandfather, Kirtivarman I. and Pulikēśin 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 **Paramēśvara**.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 *mahārājādhirāja*, it is a question, open to discussion, whether we should take it as *mahārāja + adhirāja*, *lit.* 'supreme king of great kings,' or as *mahā + rājādhirāja*, *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 Gāṅga grants (Vol. XIII. pp. 119-124; Vol. XVI. p. 131); and in similar early grants from Southern India, *e. g.* the Śālaṅkāyana grant (Vol. V. p. 175), the grant of Nandaprabhañjanavarman (Vol. XIII. p. 43), and the grant of Prithivimūla (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. p. 114). — On the other hand, as applied to the Sēndraka Pogilli in the Baḷagāmve inscription (page 145 above), it is unmistakably a feudatory title. — The use of the expression *dharma-Mahārājādhirāja* in the 'Hirahadagalli' 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. 118), — [the *asvamēdha*-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 *Mahārājādhirāja* was adopted by the Chalukyas. It is very possible that, through their contact with Samudragupta, the Pallavas of Kāñchi 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 *Rājādhirāja*, in the Āḍūr inscription (*ante*, Vol. XI. p. 70), it seems probable now that that record must be referred to the time of Kirtivarman II., — not of his ancestor of the same name.

(see the Sômpat 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 Vishṇuwardhana 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 *Paramabhattachâraka*, 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 Pulikêsin 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 Pulikêsin I. and Kirtivarman I., all of these grants, following that of Pulikêsin II. of Saka-Saṃvat 534 expired, give the title of *Mahârâja*. This grander title of *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, however, must have been obtained by Pulikêsin 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 *Bhattachâraka*, which, I suppose, must be looked upon as an amplification of the *Bhattachâra*, or more usually *Bhattachâra*, 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 *Bhattachâraka* (*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 *Bhattachâraka* 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 *Bhattachâraka*, were used for him, his son Vinayâditya, and his grandson Vijayâditya (*ante*, Vol. IX. pp. 127 f., 131). Also, the title of *Paramabhattachâraka* 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 Aihole inscription (*ante*, Vol. VIII. p. 286), the simple *Bhattachâra* is used, as in other Kanarese stone records. And the new title of *Paramabhattachâraka* does not appear to have come into habitual use, until the Western Chalukyas were

⁶ Pulikêsin 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 Pulikêsin 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 Pulikêsin 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 Aihole inscription of A. D. 634-35 (*ante*, Vol. VIII. p. 244).

⁷ For *bhattachâra*, see *ante*, Vol. XI. p. 125; for *bhattachâra*, *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 *Bhattachâraka* 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 Râshtrakûtas; *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:—Pulikêsin I. and Kîrtivarman I., are each called *Mahârâja*;⁹ Pulikêsin II. is called *Mahârâjâdhirâja* and *Paramêsvara*; and each of his successors, Vikramâditya I., Vinayâditya, Vijayâditya, Vikramâditya II., and Kîrtivarman II., has the three titles of *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, *Paramêsvara*, 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, Jayasîmha 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 Jayasîmha I. and Vishṇuvardhana II., and is used by Maṅgi in connection with his *biruda* of Sarvalôkâsraya (in a grant not yet published). The same title also is applied to Vishṇuvardhana III. and Vijayâditya I., in the grant of Narêndramrigarâja-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*, *Paramêsvara*, 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 *Paramabhāṭṭâraka*; 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 *Paramêsvara*; while, in a third (*South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. p. 45), he uses the three titles, *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, *Paramêsvara*, and *Paramabhāṭṭâraka*. 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*, *Paramêsvara*, and *Paramabhāṭṭâraka* (*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-Paramêsvara*¹¹ for the simple *Paramêsvara*, 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 Kurtakôti grant of Vikramâditya I. (*ante*, Vol. VII. p. 217), it may be found in the fact that it gives to Pulikêsin I. and Kîrtivarman I. the titles of *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, *Paramêsvara*, and *Paramabhāṭṭâraka*.—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 Kalînga, who, while using *Mahârâjâdhirâja* and *Paramabhāṭṭâraka* 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-Paramêsvara*, and *Paramabhāṭṭâraka* (*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 *Maharājādhirāja*, 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, *Rājas*, or simple “princes; *Mahā-Rājas*, who would rank as kings in Europe; and *Mahārāja Adhirājas*, kings of “kings, or emperors. The title is identical with βασιλεὺς βασιλείων 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 *Rājas* or *Mahārājas* contemporary with one another, but only one *Adhirāja* “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 ‘Saṅkarāchārya’s statement that, in his time, there was no *Sārvabhauma-rāja* or emperor of all India. Mr. Telang has correctly pointed out that the title *Mahārājādhirāja* does not denote an emperor of all India. But he himself, if properly reported, has fallen into an error, in saying that “even the *Mahārājādhirāja* was not really a paramount sovereign, to whom the other *Rājas* 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 Aśōka; most certainly, not even the Early Guptas held that position. In the second place, the assertion that the *Mahārājas* 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 Vāsudēva; 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 *Mahārājādhirāja* corresponds to *Basileus Basileōn*, 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 *Mahārājādhirājas* 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 *Mahārājādhirāja* Aṃśuvarman in Nēpāl, the *Mahārājādhirāja* Ādityasēna in Magadha, the *Mahārājādhirāja* Śilāditya III. at Valabhī, and the *Mahārājādhirāja* Pulikēsīn II., or Ādityavarman, or Vikramāditya I., at Vātāpī. The title *Mahārājādhirāja* is the one, — and the only one since the periods indicated above, — which corresponds to the title of ‘king’ or ‘emperor’ in Europe. The *Mahārājādhirājas* 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 *Mahārājas*, *Mahāsāmantas*, *Rājas*, *Sāmantas*, &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 Om¹⁵ Svasti Svâmi-Mahâsêna-pâd-ânuddhyâtânâm Mânavya-sagôtrânam H[A]-
 2 riti-putrânâm mâtri(tri)-gaṇa-prasâda-parirakshita-bhujârggalânâm kshîrôda-
 3 dhîsayana-suptôtthita-prasâda-parilabdha-varâhalânuchhanânâm Chalikyâ-
 4 nâm vanîsê sambhûtaḥ śakti-traya-sampannaḥ [I*] Jayati¹⁶ Raṇavikrama¹⁷-
 nri(nri)pô ni-
 5 rasta-ripu-nri(nri)pati-śauryya-mada-râgaḥ Kaliyuga-khala-nirmathanai[h*] Sa-
 6 tyâsraya-bhâvitaś=charitaiḥ [II*] Abhavat¹⁸=tasya sa-kîrtti[h*] Kîrttivarmâ sthira-
 sthi-
 7 ti[h*] | suta[h*] sucharit-âdhâraḥ kṛita-kṛityaḥ pati[h*] kshîtêḥ [II*] Tasya
 putrô mahâtê-
 8 jâ[h*] |¹⁹ Kandarpa iva mûrttimân [I*] dharmma-jñâś=cha kṛita-jñâś=cha |²⁰
 Pârthha-tulya-parâkkrama[h II]

Second Plate; First Side.

- 9 Abhimânâma=iv=ôddhartuṁ |²¹ narânâm śâstra-jivinâm | Vidhâtrâ vihitô lôkê
 10 sa cha Bîbhatsur=êva cha | (II) Têna manêka²²-sâmanta-pranata-makuta-chûdâmani-
 11 nighri(ghri)shṭa-charanâravindêna sakala-mahîmaṇḍala-tilaka-bhûtêna śrîpri(pri)thi-
 12 vivallabha-Vishṇuvardḍhana-yuvarâja-Vishamasiddhinâ Kurumarathy-âvasthitê-
 13 na mâtâpitrôr=âtmanâś=cha puṇy-âvâptayê Kârttika-paurṇamasyâm vêda-
 14 vêdânga-pâragânâ(nâ)m Ghri(ghri)takausika-sagôtrânam Viśvâmitra-vat Lakshmana-²³
 15 svâmi-putrânâm Achalasvâmi-Vêdasvâmi-Dêvasvâmi²⁴ Âdityasvâmi-Nâgakumâ-
 16 ra-sahitânâm putra-pautr-âdinâm mavyâtsamgên²⁵=â chandr-ârka-kshiti-sthiti-samakâlâ[t*]
 17 bali-charu-vaiśvadêv-â gñihôtra-havâna-pañchamahâyajñ-ôtsarpaṇ-ârttham

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 18 Srinilaya-bhôgê Anopaly-âgrâhârasy=ôttarataḥ Bhîmarathî-dakshîṇa-ta-
 19 tê Alandatîrttham nâma grâmô vidhivad=udaka-pûrvvam dattaḥ [I*] Veditam=
 astu sa-
 20 rvvêshâm paryyanta-vishayapati-sâmanta-grâmabhôgika-mahattar-âdinâm a-châ-
 21 ṭa²⁶-bhata-kusid-âdinâm²⁷=a-pravêśyaḥ sarvv-âdâna-viśuddhêtî²⁸=avagamya chala-
 22 pavana-prêrit-ôdadhi-jala-taraṅga-chañchalam jîva-lôkam=anuprêkshya
 23 tasmâl=lôpô na kâryyaḥ [I*] yô v=âjñâna-timira-paṭal-âvrîi(vri)ta-matid(r)=
 âchchhimdyâ-
 24 d=âchchhidyamânâm yô v=ânumôdê[ta*] sa pañchabhir=mahâpâtakai[h*]
 samyuktô bha-
 25 vishyat=ity=Uktañ=cha bhagavatâ vêda-vyâsêna Vyâsêna || Shashṭim²⁹ varsha-saha-
 26 srâṇi |³⁰ svarggê tishṭhati bhûmi-dalâ âchchhêtâ ch=ânumantâ cha |³¹ tâny=êva
 narakê va-

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-ânêka*.²³ Read, probably, *viśvâmitra-aval-lakshmana*.²⁴ Here, I think, we require a genitive case, and should read *°dêvasvâminâm*.²⁵ Read, probably, *°âdinâm-a-vyâsamgên*.²⁶ Omit the negative particle before this word *châṭa*.²⁷ Read *°âdinâm*.²⁸ Read *viśuddhêtî*.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 1³² râjabhis=Sagar-âdibhih [I*] yasya yasya yadâ
 28 bhûmi- | -s=tasya³³ tasya tadâ phalam [II*] Tâdri(dri)k=punyañ na dadatâm
 jâyatê nô dharâbhujâm
 29 bhuvam=anya-pratishthân=tu yâdri(dri)g=bhavati rakshatâm | (II) Pûrvva-dattâm
 dvijâtibhyô 1³⁴ yatnâd=raksha
 30 Yudhishthirah³⁵ [I*] mahim mahimatâm srêshtha 1³⁶ dâna srêyô³⁷=nupâlanam [II*]
 Bra-
 31 hma-svê mâ matim kuryyâ[h*] 1³⁸ prânaih kañtha-gatair=api | agni-dagdhâni
 rôha-
 32 nti 1³⁹ brahma-dagdbañ na rôhati || Sva-dattâm para-dattâm vâ 1⁴⁰ yô
 harêta vasundharâm [I*]
 33 shashthim varsha-sahasrâni 1⁴¹ kumbhîpâkêshu pachyatê || Vimddhy-âtavishv=
 a-tôyâsu
 34 sushka-kôlara-vâsina[h*] | krishn-âhayô=bhijâyantê 1⁴² bhûmi-dân-âpahâri-
 35 ñah [II*] Sri-mahârajasya pravarddhamânaka-samvatsarê ashthamê sâsanam
 likhitam=iti | (II)

TRANSLATION.

Om! Hail! In the race of the Chalikyas, — who meditate on the feet of (the god) Svâmi-Mahâsena; who are of the Manavya gôtra; who are Hâritiputrâs; 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 (Vishnu) 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 Ranavikrama; who overthrew the heroism and pride and wrath of hostile kings; (*and*) who came to be a very Satyâsraya (“an asylum of truth”), through his achievements which crushed the wicked people of the Kâli age.

(L. 6.) — His son was the famous Kirtivarman (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 (Kâma-dêva) 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 Bibhatsu (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 Yuvârâja Vishnuvardhana (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 Alandatirtha, in the Srinilaya bhôga, on the north of the agrâhâra of Anopalya, and on the south bank of the (river) Bhîmarathî, to the sons of Lakshmanasvâmin who has (*the pravara of*) Viśvâmitra (&c.) (?), who are well versed in the Vêdas and Vêdângas, (*and*) who belong to the Ghṛitakaushika gôtra, — (*viz.*) to Achalasvâmin, Vêdasvâmin, and Dêvasvâmin,

³² This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

³⁴ This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

³⁶ This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

³⁸, ³⁹, ⁴⁰, ⁴¹ and ⁴² These marks of punctuation are unnecessary.

³³ Omit the mark of punctuation, and read *bhûmis-tasya*.

³⁵ Read *yudhishthira*.

³⁷ Read *dânât srêyô*; or, more correctly, *dânâch-chhrêyô*.

Satara Plates of Vishnuvardhana I.



2
 3
 4
 5
 6
 7
 8

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

9
 10
 11
 12
 13
 14
 15
 16

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

FULL-SIZE.

J.F. FLEET BO. C.S.

iii

18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26
 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100

iii

18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26
 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100

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*, *vaiśvadēva*, *agnihôtra*, and *havana*.

(L. 19.) — “ Let it be known to all the neighbouring *Vishayapatis*, *Sâmantas*, *Grâmbhōgikas*, *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 continue it*) ! Verily kings do not acquire as much religious merit from bestowing land, as they do in preserving an endowment made by another ! O Yudhishtira, 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 Brâhman, 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 Brâhman 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 Brâhman 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, Mahésvara, has been extremely 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 Bráhmaṇ. **Beggars are always notorious for having more children than they can support**, and in obedience to the rule this Bráhmaṇ 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 Bráhmaṇ, the evil name it bore would be removed. And wishing to use the Bráhmaṇ 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 Bráhmaṇ 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 Bráhmaṇ, 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 Bráhmaṇ 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 *ghatiká* the torrent of gold stopped, and the Bráhmaṇ 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 Bráhmaṇ 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 Bráhmaṇ : — “You have now been a long while occupying my house, will you kindly vacate it for me ?”

The Bráhmaṇ 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 them. 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 Bráhmaṇ 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 Brâhman 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 Brâhman; "these are all coins and not scorpions."

Then the owner found out that what appeared to him as scorpions, were *mohars* to the Brâhman, and calling him to his side, said with much respect:—"Holy Brâhman, 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 Brâhman 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 Tamil 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.

Nô. 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 *sârî*, 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 befall 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 *nág*. When they had reached the *kaulá*-bush, they saw the *nág* 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 *nág* 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: —

*Bává, donvíáparśim páñi zháilá kan gá,
Kambal dúrinh dúrinh zái.*

“Father, knee-deep is the water,
The *kambal* goes further and further.”

To which the father replied, singing: —

*Dhúé, áis kaulá khái:
Bápús pávítá zái.*

“Daughter, mother ate *kaulá*:
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: —

*Bává, kambreparśim páñi zháilá kan gá,
Kambal dúrinh dúrinh zái.*

“Father, waist-deep is the water,
The *kambal* goes further and further.”

And her father replied, singing: —

*Dhúé, áis kaulá khái:
Bápús pávítá zái.*

“Daughter, mother ate *kaulá*:
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: —

*Bává, galiáparśim páñi zháilá kan gá,
Kambal dúrinh dúrinh zái.*

“Father neck-deep is the water,
The *kambal* goes further and further.”

And her father again gave the same reply, singing: —

*Dhúé, áis kaulá khái:
Bápús pávítá zái.*

“Daughter, mother ate *kaulá*:
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 unwill-

⁵ A water-lily, highly prized 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: *Dévācham asél té dévāvam, nāhin té sūplibō kaulā diāvā āni āplēs gharā zāvam*, — “Come down if you wish to, or give me a sieve-full of *kaulā* 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 *kaulā*! 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: *Karāvācham asél té karāvam, nāhin té sūplibō kaulā diāvā āni āplēs gharā zāvam*, — “Do it if you wish to, or give me a sieve-full of *kaulā* and go home.” After a few days, however, she got reconciled to the life in the subterraneous abode of the *nāg*, for the handsome young man was no other than the *nāg* 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 MĀLAVA ERA.

Some little time ago I came across a date, — hitherto overlooked,¹ — of the **MĀLAVA ERA**, which is of particular interest, (1) because its surroundings would prove, quite irrespectively of the Gupta era, that the **MĀLAVA 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 **MĀLAVA 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 **MĒNĀLGĀDH** in **MĒWĀḌ**, a rough reading of which was published by **Kavirāj Śyāmaldās** 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 **Chauhān Prithvirāja**, and the date with which it opens, in the published version, runs thus: —

**Mālavēsa-gata-vatsara-śataih dvādaśais=cha
śaṭvimsa-pūrvakaih,** —

words which, though incorrect, apparently are intended to mean —

when twelve hundred and twenty-six years
of (the era of) the **MĀLAVA lord or lords**
had gone by.”

Since for the **Chauhān Prithvirāja** 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 **Mālava date** must also, of course, be referred to the **Vikrama era**.

F. KIELHORN.

Göttingen.

THE PULISA-SIDDHANTA.

Of the *Pulisa* or *Pulisa-Siddhanta*, 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—**Yunāni** not **Rumi**), ‘from the city of **Saintra**, which I suppose to be **Alexandria**.’ From a *śloka* quoted from a **Mūla-Pulisa-Siddhanta** by **Utpala** (**Kern’s Bṛi.-Sam.** int. p. 50), we learn that the length assigned to the solar year in it was *365d. 5h. 12m. 36s.*, and **Al-Bêrûnî** (**Sachau’s Transl.** Vol. II. p. 18) gives other elements from the work. Has this *Siddhanta* then been lost since **Al-Bêrûnî’s** time? Or, is it recoverable?

In 1687 **M. La Loubère**, 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 $18\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ west of **Siam**, or about that of **Kōkanādā** or **Prayāg**, — possibly **Laṅkā**; the equa-
tion of the centre for the sun is given as $2^{\circ}12'$; and of the moon as $4^{\circ}56'$; 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 *Siddhantas*. Will some one who has opportunity examine them?

Edinburgh, 16th July 1890. J. BURGESS.

writer of the date under discussion took it in a singular or plural sense.

¹ See *Gupta Inscriptions*, Introduction, p. 66.

² The word *Mālavēsa* being compounded with the following *gata*, it is impossible to say, whether the

NANDIKESVARA ; LANJIGESARA.

I have probably made a mistake in identifying the Nandigrāma of the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription with the adjacent village of Nandikēśvara (page 9 above); for the reason that the latter village was known in Maṅgalēśa's period by its present name, though in a slightly different form. In his Old-Kanarese inscription on the rock outside the Bādāmi Cave No. 3 (*ante*, Vol. X. p. 59), it is mentioned as Lañjigēsara. While, in line 13 of his Sanskrit inscription inside the same cave (*id.* p. 57, and Vol. VI. p. 363), the name occurs as Lañjisvara.

The identity of the names was not recognised by me at the time. And in fact, from the occurrence of Lañjā (with also a possible Lañjikā) as a name of Lakshmi, I took Lañjisvara, — for Lañjēśvara, — to be a name of Viṣṇu, 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 Lañjigēsara and Lañjisvara are only Prākṛit forms of Nandikēśvara and Nandīśvara, names of Śiva or of Nandi. It may as well be noted here, that I find that the Mahākūṭa temples are in the lands of the village of Nandikēśvara.

Nandigrāma might reasonably be taken as another name of the village of Nandikēśvara. But in that case, there is no reason why, having been granted to the cave-temple of Viṣṇu in Saka-Saṁvat 501, the same village should be granted to the god Makuṭēśvaranātha only twenty-four years later. As it is, it must be a village which, like Śriyambāṭaka and Vṛihimukhagrāma, does not now exist.¹

The two names, Nandikēśvara and Lañjigēsara 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 *līnga*, in such proper names as Līngappa and Nīngappa, Śivalīnga and Śivanīnga, Gurulīnga and Gurunīnga. 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 Marāṭhā country, the date

¹ There is a Nandihāl, about twenty miles north-west of Bādāmi; but this is not likely to be it.

² It is a photograph of the original stone; not of the ink-impression.

(from an ink-impression, line 19 f.; see also the photograph, *Pāli, Sanskrit, and Old-Kanarese Inscriptions*, No. 96) is, at first sight, — [Śaka]-varsha 1065neya Dundubhi-saṁvatsarada Bhādrapada-sudhdha(ddha)-2-Sukravārad-amdu. — “on Friday, the second *tithi* of the bright fortnight of (the month) Bhādrapada, 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 (*Sukravārada sante*); and to detail certain tolls and duties which were assigned by the people of the district, in a general assembly, for the *aṅgabhōga* of the god Mādhavēśvara.

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*, Bhādrapada śukla 2, ended, not on a Friday, but on Monday, 24th August, A. D. 1142, at about 35 *ghaṭīs*, 50 *palas*, after mean sunrise (for Bombay). This result is with the month Āshāḍha intercalary, according to the published Tables. And no better result can be obtained by taking Bhādrapada itself (or any subsequent month) as intercalary, instead of Āshāḍha; for then the *tithi* śukla 2 of the intercalated (or natural) Bhādrapada 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* Bhādrapada śukla 6, ended, as required, on Friday, 28th 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

³ The second part of the inscription also illustrates this. It refers itself to the time of the Śilāhāra Mahāmaṅgalēśvara Vijayādityadēva. And it is dated in Śaka-Saṁvat 1066, the Rudhirōdgārin *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 Peking.

(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. Roinov, 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.—E. 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 Ratnakirti. 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 Asanga, adhered to the idealists (*yôgdhâriya*), whereas Chandrakirti, 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 Chandravakaraṇa, and lived at an earlier period than Dharmakirti, 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 Sthiramati⁵ composed their treatises. Dharmakirti is a no less important name. Subandhu mentions the name of one of his works. Subandhu is cited by Bâna, and Bâna 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 *Kârikâ*, 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

⁵ One of the works of the latter was translated into the Chinese language during the rule of the dynasty

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, Āryadêva, etc. dans les temps modernes, Asanga, Vasubandhu, Saṅghabhadra, Bhavavivêka, etc., parmi nos contemporains, Jina, Dharmapâla, Dharmakirti, Śīlabhadra, Sinhachandra, 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) Āryadêva, (c) Aśvaghôsha. (II.), Mediæval (according to Vasiliev) or modern (according to the French translation) (a) Vasubandhu, (b) Āryasanga, (c) Saṅghabhadra, (d) Tsin-bian (Jitu). (III.) Teachers nearest in time (or according to the French translation contemporary) (a) Chenna (Jina); (b) Dharmapâla, (c) Dharmakirti, (d) Śīlabhadra, (e) Sinhachandra, (f) An-hui (Sthiramati), (g) De-hui (Guṇamati), (h) Hui-hu (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 Vasubandhu and Āryasanga 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 Dharmakirti. 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 Kâthmânḍu. 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. Tsvanovski, who gives a list of the works ascribed to Chandragômin.

Lao (897-430 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. Soloveichik. The paper was conscientiously written and M. Soloveichik 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 **אֲתִי** which occurs three times.

(g) *On the discovery of a Pathân dīnār in the year 1888, by A. Likhachev.* In his description of a discovery of dīnārs of the Pathân Sultāns of India made in 1884, the writer had expressed a wish that all kinds of Pathân dinārs occurring in Russia should be noted. He is now able to add to the list one more dīnār found in 1888. It was brought to Kazan from Tetush, and was there bought by the writer's agent, a Tātār, 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 dīnār exhibits no novelty: It belongs to the Pathân Sultān, **Muhammad I.**, the son of **Tughlaq Shāh**, coined at Dehli in 742 A. H. The orthography is very bad and points to the fact that in Dehli 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 Shihābū'ddīn Ibn Fazlū'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 Sultān his friendship, and asking him to send a sword and a standard.⁷

⁷ Here follow further extracts given from the same work, the MS. of which is in the Leyden Library, Cat. IV. No. 1944.

(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 Bābī MSS. by Baron V. Rosen.* Four new Bābī MSS. have been lately presented to the Asiatic Department, which came from Tehrān:—

(i) No. 468, copy of a polemical treatise in *nashkī* 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 Bābī 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 Bābī treatise in Arabic in *nashkī* characters.

(iv) No. 465. A MS. of 172 leaves containing several Bābī letters and treatises.

The author of these two last works, appears to be the same **Hussain**, the Bābī emigrant whose adventures in Persia and Baghdād 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. **Hussain** 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

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. Hussain 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 Bâbis of Persia*, from the *Journal of the English Royal Asiatic Society*. In this essay are given new and most interesting details of the Bâbis and their literature. Mr. Browne also sent the writer an account of his Bâbi 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 *Lawh-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. Soloveichik 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 inscriptions¹⁰ 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 Sultans Kenisara and Sâdik. Biographical Sketches of Sultan 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 Kirghiz warriors of our days, the Sultans 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 Kásmír, Kabír Sháh, son of Mustafa Sháh Oglí, 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 Khoráshand, 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 Hárún-Al-Rashíd. 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 'Alá 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 Khalifas found by him in the *History*

of the Wazirs and Officials by Al-Jahshiári who died in 331 A.H. This book was quite unknown until now. The trustworthiness of the author's information is confirmed by the list of revenues of the *khiláfat* preserved in a somewhat shortened form by the Persian historian Wassáf, first deciphered and explained here by Kremer. The text of Al-Jahshiári gives the list of revenues which came into the treasury from each province in money and kind in the times of Ar-Rashíd. 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 *Khiláfat* 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 *dívání*, 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 *Wázir* Ali ibn-'Isá, 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 'Ali-ibn-'Isá. 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 Musalmán 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 'Abbási possessions: these were primarily the common inheritance of the family of the 'Abbásis, 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 *khiláfat* did not perish at this time, was owing to honest financiers of the stamp of 'Alī-ibn 'Isá, 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 Dáúd belonged to

the official classes, and was *katib* to the Khalifa Al-Musta'in. He was also a literary man. His sons, Muḥammad and 'Isá, followed the same path as their father, and reached to high posts. 'Isá, the father of our 'Alī, was one of the most important of the *katibs*. 'Alī, his son, was twice *wazir*, from 300-304, and again 315-16. From 306-311 he was companion to the *wazir*, 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 *khiláfat*, 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 Abū'l-'Alá-al-Ma'arri, one of the best types of the Musalmán spirit. He passed his long suffering life in deep thought on the highest problems of man's being.

(8) *Otto Böhtlingk. Sanskrit-Wörterbuch 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 (*Kala-sankalita*, 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 *Dharmasindhusāra*, parichchhēda i., uddēsa 43, says that the *punyakāla* of an eclipse of the sun, or of the moon, lasts as long as the eclipse is visible to the eye (*chākshusha-darśana-yōgya*); that, accordingly, if the orb rises or sets eclipsed, there is no *punyakāla* before its rising, or after its setting, as the case may be; and that there is no *punyakāla* 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 *Sāstras* or by other means, and then one can perform the rites of bathing, making gifts, &c.; i. e., the *punyakāla* 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 Brāhmins 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 Bhimankatti Math grant of Janamējaya (*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 Brāhmins 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, cover-

ed 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. *-varî*. (2) He would connect the Avestic *garenu*, 'itch,' a disease, with Skr. *gridhnu*, 'greedy, hasty,' \sqrt{gadh} 'be greedy;' on the analogy of Avestic *buna*, 'foundation,' = Skr. *budhnâ*. (3) Justi derives Av. *thanvana* from \sqrt{tan} , but Dr. Jackson would derive *thanvana*, *thanvara*, and *thanvar* from \sqrt{thanj} '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 *v*-stems, (5) he would look upon the acc. sing. *patham* as merely a transfer to the *a*-declension. (6) In *Yasht*, IV. 7, in *drujinam*, he would recognize a gen. plural of an *in*-stem. (7) In *Yasht*, X. 141, *qarena* occurs for *qarenahâ* 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 vanhush 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 \sqrt{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'ddin on the *Alfiya*, dated A. H. 894. Although this work is known from Hâji Khalifa'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-Ashmûni on the *Alfiya*. Prof. Moore considers the New York MS. to be the commentary mentioned by Hâji Khalifa, i, 409 (ed. Flügel) entitled *الجمودال تعاليل على ما منع من اسباب البيان الخ* and beginning with the words *الحمد لله تعالى على ما منع من*

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 Rîg-Vêda is the oldest, not only of the four Vêdas, but of all the early Aryan 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 Rîg-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 Rîg-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 Sanskrit scholar, but also as a very successful metrical translator of classical Sanskrit 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 blessed 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 versa. 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 *saṃvātsaras* 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 *saṃkrānti*, 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 *Pañchāṅg*; that is, again, the date on which Chaitra śukla pratipadā 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 pratipadā 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 *ghaṭīs* 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 pratipadā ends after midnight, the following English date is given as the equivalent. For example, in Śaka-Saṃvat 1797 current, the mean Chaitra śukla pratipadā ended, according to the present *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, 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 Lankā 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 *Kalasaṃkalita*. 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 Śaka-Saṃvat 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's Book named *Graha-siddhāntāchīn Kāshṭakāśh*. The whole Table is given by him in Vol. I. No. 12 (March, 1851) of a

Marāṭhī monthly magazine called *Jñānaprasāraka* (published in Bombay but not now continued). The intercalary months in Mr. Cowasjee Patell's *Chrono-*

recent date, in Śaka-Samvat 1802 current (1801 expired) the repeated month is given as No. 6, viz. Bhādrapada. This would be repeated if there were no *samkrānti* in it. But in that year the Simha-Samkrānti took place on Śrāvana kṛishṇa 13, Friday, 15th August, A. D. 1879. The following amāvāsyā ended, and consequently the following month Bhādrapada commenced, 47 *gh.* 45 *p.* after sunrise on Sunday, 17th August. That same Bhādrapada ended 12 *gh.* 4 *p.* after sunrise on Tuesday, 16th September. And the Kanyā-Samkrānti took place more than 30 *ghaṭis* before the end of that Bhādrapada, viz. on Bhādrapada kṛishṇa 14, Monday, 15th September, at 40 *gh.* 43 *p.* We give these details from an ordinary *Pañchāṅg* in our possession, prepared from the *Grahalāghava* and *Chintāmani* of Ganéśa Daivajña. By no authority can the Kanyā-Samkrānti be made to take place after the end of this Bhādrapada; and therefore that month cannot be intercalary. Āśvina 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 *Ārya-Siddhānta*. And the same is followed in the present work. From Śaka-Samvat 400, the apparent *samkrāntis* according to the first *Ārya-Siddhānta* take place before those of the present *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, the difference increasing after that year. In Śaka-Samvat 1800 expired, it was about 6 *gh.* 20 *p.* The solar year may begin astronomically at any time of a day; that is, a *samkrānti* 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 Mēsha-Samkrānti took place on the 9th April, at 34 *gh.* 13 *p.* according to the present *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, and at 28 *gh.* 20 *p.* according to the first *Ārya-Siddhānta*; 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 Mēsha-Samkrānti took place on the 10th April, at 31 *gh.* 18 *p.* according to the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, and at 25 *gh.* 18 *p.* according to the first *Ārya-Siddhānta*, 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	ಃ	î	ट	ಠ	ṭa
उ	ಉ	u	थ	ಠ	ṭha
ऊ	ಊ	û	ड	ಢ	ḍha
ऋ	ಠ	ri	ढ	ಢ	ḍha
ॠ	ॠ	rî	ण	ಣ	ṇa
ऌ	—	lri	त	ತ	ta
—	ॡ	e	थ	ಠ	ṭha
ए	ॢ	ai	द	ದ	da
—	ॣ	o	ध	ಢ	dha
ओ	।	ô	न	ನ	na
औ	॥	au	प	ಪ	pa
Visarga	Visarga	h	फ	ಫ	pha
Jihvāmūlīya, or old	—	h	ब	ಬ	ba
Visarga before क			भ	ಛ	bha
and ख	—	h	म	ಮ	ma
Upadhānūya, or			य	ಝ	ya
old Visarga be-	—	h	र	ರ	ra
fore ष and क			—	ॠ	ra
Anusvāra	Anusvāra	m̄	उ	ಊ	la
Anundārikā	—	ñ	—	ॢ	la
क	क	ka	ॣ	ॣ	la
ख	ख	kha	—	।	la
ग	ग	ga	व	व	va
घ	घ	gha	श	श	śa
ङ	ङ	ṅa	ष	श	sha
च	च	cha	स	स	sa
छ	छ	chha	ह	ह	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 *virāma* 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 *Dēvanāgarī* sign.

So also practice has shewn that it is more convenient to use the ordinary *Dēvanāgarī* 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 Kalinga country, conducted by Karuṅākara, the Pallava king and prime-minister of the Chôla 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 Thâlichai 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 Jayaṅkoṇḍan. This is probably more a title than a name, as it means simply 'conqueror.' One of the predecessors of Kulôttuṅga-Chôla, Râjarâjadêva, surnamed Râjakêsarivarman, had assumed the same title and was known as Jayaṅkoṇḍa-Chôla, 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, Subrahmanya, Sarasvatî, Umâ, and the Seven Mothers, for the long life and prosperity of the Chôla 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 **Kuladipa** ('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 M̄ru 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 Karuṇākara (Rāma) who conquered Laṅkā, open the doors, and let me sing of the battle fought by that Karuṇākara who conquered **Kaliṅga**. — (S. 43) Ye maidens who, in amorous dalliance, loosen the *kaḷiṅga* (clothes), keeping the *kañchi* (girdle), open the doors, and let me sing of the battle in which the **Chenni (Chōḷa)**, who wears the anklet, destroyed **Kaliṅga**, keeping **Kañchi**. — (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 *kalunīr* 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 Kālīdēvī, 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 Sūrya 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 *Rāchapārampariyam* or 'the royal genealogy,' and contains a short account of the ancestors of Kulōttuṅga. To give it a fictitious interest, the poet states that the account is taken from the history inscribed on the side of the mountain M̄ru, by the great Chōḷa king Karikāla, as dictated by the *Rishi* Nārada, who then foretold the whole of the history of the Chōḷa family, down to the accession of Kulōttuṅga. The pedigree of the Chōḷas is traced as follows: —

(S. 9) From the lotus-navel of the first Vishṇu sprang Brahman; the latter begat the hero **Marichi**; his beloved son was **Kāsyapa**; and he begat the resplendent **Sūrya**. — (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 **Ikshvāku**. — (S. 11) The heroic son, begotten by **Ikshvāku**, conquered all

his enemies, and, riding on the thousand-eyed Indra, as on an elephant, defeated the Dānavas. — (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 **Chólas**, commencing with **Surátirāja**, having formed the **Chóla maṇḍala**, the two **Rajaké-saris** 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 **Kāvêri** 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 **Varadarāja** to serve him; — (S. 17) (*Then*) he who stormed the aerial 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 **Nāga** princess); (*then*) he who knocked off the fetters from the feet of **Uthiya (Chêra)**, and crowned him on hearing the poem *Kaḷavali* recited by **Poikai**. — (S. 19) Having thus written the history of others (*of his dynasty*), he (**Karikala**), recorded how the goddess of victory embraced his shoulders, when his matchless elephant trampled on the crowns of the **Vaḷuti (Paṇḍya)** 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 **Kāvêri**, which were being constructed by vassal kings. — (S. 21) (*And he described*) the conquest of **Kurumi**, where the *varûl*-fish leap in the waters, and the gift of sixteen hundred thousand *pons* to the bard of pure Tamil, who composed the *Paddinappalai* 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 **Îlam (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 **Chóla**, drinking the water of the Ganges at **Maṇṇai**; — the annexation of **Kadāram**, 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 **Kalyān**, 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 **Chóla**, 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 **Kāli** 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 **Kulóttuṅga**, his education and early exploits, his accession to the throne of the **Chólas**, and a journey from the capital **Gaṅgapuri** to **Kāñchi**,

whither he goes to enjoy the pleasures of a hunt on the banks of the **Pālār**. — (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 **Rājarāja**, of the rival race of the sun. — (S. 5) Gentle showers of rain fell at the time; and the wife of **Gaṅgaikonda-Chōla** 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 **Vasudēva**, 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 (**Lakshmi**), 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 **Brāhmins**, and repeated, the four **Vēdas**, 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 **Sūrya** 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 **Sūrya** approach the west. — (S. 23) When the bright brows of the **Chōla**, who had quelled the strifes of men, were bent like a bow, then was **Yama** furious, and **Chakkarakōddam** 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 **Virutarāja** 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 **Brāhmins** gave up sacrifices; the laws of **Manu** were not followed; the six sciences were forgotten; and the chanting of **Vēdic** 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 **Vēdas**, and the blessings of the three worlds, he was anointed. — (S. 33) While kings, wearing sounding anklets, laid sacred grass at his feet, the **Brāhmins** 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 **Chejias (Pândyas)** 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 **Kâveri**, which passes through groves trembling to the wind, he ordered a march to the banks of the **Pâlar** 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 **Thiyakavalli**, 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 **Kâñchi**, 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 *siṅhâsana* (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 **Pândyas**, **Chêras**, **Kûpakas**, **Châpakas**, **Chêdipas**, **Yûdavas**, **Karnâtas**, **Pallavas**, **Kaitavas**, **Kâdavas**, **Kâripas**, and **Kôsâlas**; — (S. 19) The **Gaṅgas**, **Karâlas**, **Kavintas**, **Tumintas**, **Kadambas**, **Tulumbas**, **Vaṅgas**, **Lâtas**, **Marâdas**, **Virâtas**, **Mayintas**, and **Chayintas**; — (S. 20) The **Siṅgalas**, **Baṅgalas**, **Chêkunas**, **Chêvaṅas**, **Cheyvas**, **Aiyaṅas**, **Koṅkanas**, **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 Vaṇḍainagara, who was born in the royal family according to the Vēdas, bowed at his feet, and prayed that he might be allowed to invade the seven Kaliṅgas. — (S. 31) When the valiant **Tonḍaimān** 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 **Chōla** general **Karuṇākara** mounted an elephant. — (S. 53) The king, who raised the banner of the bull which had been borne by the kings of **Tonḍai**, — 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 **Pennai**. — (S. 56) It crossed the **Vayalar**, **Manipulvāi**, **Mannāru**, and the shining **Kunṛi**, and left behind the great river **Krishṇa**. — (S. 57) The **Gōḍāvari**, the **Pampā** river, and the **Gōtamai**, 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 **Gauṅā** 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 Kalinga**, 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 **Kalinga** 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 **Vijñānam**, and seized **Salai**? — (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 Kalingas**, and a tumultuous noise arose, as if the seven oceans had mingled their roar, to the astonishment of all.

The battle between the **Kalinga** 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 **Kalingas** 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 **Karuṇākara**, urged his elephant and pressed on the foe. — (S. 41) While both sides were fighting fiercely, the **Chōḷa** 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 **Gauṅgâ**, 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, **Toṇḍaimān**, 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 **Chōḷa** emperor and his general, as follows:—

(S. 60) Sing of the fair feet, at which cluster the jewelled crowns of the bowing **Chōra**, the diadem of the **Valūti** (**Pāṇḍya**), 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 **Kāvêri** 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 Chôla country, were only the Chalukyas and the Pāṇdyas. Kulôttuṅga himself, — so says the poem, — defeated five Pāṇḍyan princes, and was engaged in battle on the banks of the Tuṅgabhadrà (evidently against the Western Châlukyas of Kalyāṇa); but no mention is made of any hostile acts in the Veṅḡi *maṇḍala*; and it should be inferred, therefore, that it formed a part of the Chôla 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 Veṅḡi, were also feudatory to the Chôla at this time. It appears therefore, most probable that Kulôttuṅga's father belonged to the Eastern Chalukya family, who reigned at Veṅḡi. 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 Veṅḡi, and was subsequently anointed to the Chôla kingdom,² and that his mother was the daughter of the Chôla king Râjendra.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 Chôla kingdom not long after his accession to the sovereignty of Veṅḡi. 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 *Vikramāṅkadêvacharita*, which was written by Bilhaṇa in honor of his patron, the Western Châlukya king Vikramāditya 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 Chôla 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 Tuṅgabhadrà was the boundary of the Chôla and Châlukya dominions. The Chôla capital was at Gāṅgakuṇḍa. Vikramāditya had married a daughter of the Chôla king, and some time after his marriage, he learnt that his father-in-law had died, and that there was anarchy in the Chôla kingdom. He therefore hastened to Kāñchi, put down the rebels there, and thence proceeded to Gāṅgakuṇḍa, and having subdued all enemies, he installed his father-in-law's son on the throne and returned to the banks of the Tuṅgabhadrà. Shortly after his return, his brother-in-law lost his life through the enmity of his subjects, and Rajîga, the lord of Veṅḡi, took possession of the Chôla kingdom. The *Kaliṅgattu-Parani* states that there was anarchy in the Chôla dominions, previous to the accession of Kulôttuṅga, but does not allude to the intervention of Vikramāditya, 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 Chôla family.

The most important portion of the poem is Canto 8, which gives the pedigree of the Chôlas. It agrees in many respects, with the accounts given in the inscriptions that have been

² See the grants of Râjarâja I. and Kulôttuṅga-Chôla 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 Chôla**, who formed the *Chôla maṇḍala*, is stated to be **Surâtirāja**. 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-varggó Rájéndró ravi-kula-kétur* 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 Râjakêsarîs**. 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 *Kâvêri* 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 Varadarāja; he who stormed the aerial 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 *Kiḷli-Vaḷavan* in ancient Tamil poems); he who knocked off the fetters from the feet of the *Chêra*, on hearing the poem *Kaḷavalî* recited by Poikai (this is the *Kôch-Cheṅkaṇṇân* of the Leiden grant, see my translation of the poem *Kaḷavalî*, *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 258). Then came **Karikâla**, who constructed high banks along the course of the river *Kâvêri*, and captured *Kurumî*, 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 *Kâvêri-tîra-bandhanam* in the Leiden grant, have been translated as “the dam across the *Kâvêri*,” 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 *Kâvêri*, 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 *Pāṇḍya* and the *Chêra*; the conquest of Ceylon and Madura (this refers to the reign of *Vîra-Nârâyaṇa-Chôla*); 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-Râjendra alias Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-Chôla*, the founder of *Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-Chôlapuram*, and the grandfather of *Kulôttuṅga*. The poem passes over the kings who succeeded *Gaṅgaikoṇḍa* on the throne of the *Chôlas*, 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 Kañchi**, we find that the empress **Thiyakavalli**, 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 *Chôlas* 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 *Chôla* empire was **Gaṅgapurî** (xiii. 92). The full name of this town is **Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-Chôlapuram**. 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 **Kañchi**, 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 Chôla emperor visited on his way from Gaṅgāpurī to Kāñchi (VIII. 68), is now known as Tiruvatikai or Tiruvādi, and is situated in the South Arcot District. Kōddāru, where the Chôla emperor defeated the Pāṇḍyan princes (III. 21), is still known as Kōtar, and is situated in the Travancore territory, near Cape Comorin. Kadāram (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 Chôla army and annexed to his dominions. Kūdal-Saṅgam, where the Chôla defeated the Kuntala forces (VIII. 29), is at the junction of the rivers Tuṅgabhadrā and Kṛishṇa. Kampili, where the Chôla planted a pillar of victory, is in the Bellary District. Vaṇḍai, the capital of the Pallava, now goes by the name of Vaṇḍalūr; 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 Mailāpur, a suburb of the town of Madras, where there is still an ancient temple of Siva. Mallai, or Māmallaipuram as given in inscriptions, is now erroneously called Mahābalipuram, 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. Valavai is most probably Valavanūr, near Pondicherry. Chakrakōṭa, where Kulōttuṅga 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 Dhārā. It appears to have been a fortress of considerable importance, and it is mentioned also in the *Vikramāñkadēvacharita* as one of the places attacked by Vikrama, during the reign of his father Āhavamalla (A. D. 1040-1069).

The power of the Chôlas had reached its zenith during the reign of Kulōttuṅga. 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 Tuṅgabhadrā, 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 Pāṇḍya had been dismembered, and the five Pāṇḍyan princes, who had shared the kingdom, had to flee before the Chôla 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 Tuṅgabhadrā, the Western Chālukya Vikramāditya VI. was undisputed sovereign of the Dekkan.

The *Kaliṅgattu-Parani* furnishes also some information towards the history of Tamil literature. It alludes to the *Paddinappālai*, composed in praise of Karikāla; and to the *Kaṣavalī* written by Poikai, describing the battlefield in which the Chôla king Kōch-Chenkaṇṇan defeated the Chêra Kaṇaikkā-Irumporai (edited in this Journal, Vol. XVIII. p. 258 ff.)

SELECTIONS FROM THE TEXT.

Canto 8.

- (9) Ātimāl kamala nāpi kamalattayanutit
tayan marichi yenumaṅṅalai aḷitta-
parichum
kātal kūrtaṛu marichi makanāki vaḷarum
kāchipan katir arukkanai aḷitta pari-
chum.
- (10) Avvarukkan makanāki manu mētini
puraṇ
tariya kātalanai āvinatu kaṇṇu nikarēṇṇu
evvarukkamum viyappa muṛai cheyta-
kataiyum
ikkuvāku ivan maṅṅitan enavanta pari-
chum.

- (11) Ikkuvāku utavum putalvanāna uravōn
ikalurañ cheyapurañcheytu purantaran
enum
chakkuvāyiramudaikkaliṛu vākanamena
tāniruntu poru tānavarai venṇachaya-
mum.
- (12) Oru tuṛaippunal chinappuliyumānumu-
danē
uṅṅavaitta vuravōn ulakil vaittavaru-
ḷum
porutuṛaittalai pukunta muchukunta-
nimaiyōr
puramadaṅkalum oraṅmai cheytayarnta
pukaḷum.

- (13) Kadal kalakka varum innamutu tannai oruvan kadavu! vānavarka! uṇṇa aru! cheyta katayum udal kalakkaṛa arintu tachai iddavanumōr oru tulaippuṛavodokka niṛai pukka avanum.
- (14) Churātirāchan mutalāka varu chōḷanu munād chōḷamandalam amaitta piṛakēḷulakaiyum irāchakēcharikaḷām iruvar ānai enavum ēṇuvempuliyin ānai ena ninṛa aruḷum
- (15) Kālanukkitu vaḷakkēna vuraitta avanum kāvirippunal koṇarnta avanum puvaniyil mōlanaittulakum ivvakila lōkamumelām venṛukōṇḍavanum enṛivarka! koṇḍa viṛalum
- (16) Puliyenakkodiyil intiranai vaitta avanum puṇari onṛinidai onṛu puka vidda avanum valiyinil kuruti uḷkena alitta avanum varata rāchanai valintu paṇi koṇḍa avanum
- (17) Tēnku tūnkeyil eṇinta avanum chudar maṇit tirāḷ vimānam atu vān michai uyarta avanum tānkaḷ pārata mudippaḷavu ninṛu taruman tan kadaṛpada! tanakkutavi cheyta avanum.
- (18) Talavaḷikkukaiyiniḷ poḷipilattin vaḷiyē tani nadanturakar taṅkaḷ maṇi koṇḍa avanum kaḷavaḷikkavitai poikai urai cheyya utiyan kālvaḷittalaḷayi veddi arachidda avanum.
- (19) Enṛu maṛṇavarka! taṅkaḷ charitaṅkaḷ palavum eḷuti mīla itan mēl vaḷuti chēran mudiyil tan tanikkaḷiṇaṇaittaruḷa vīra makaḷ tan tanadaṅkaḷodu tan puyamaṇainta pari-chum.
- (20) Toḷutu mannarē karai chey ponniiḷ tudara vantilā mukariyai padat teḷutukenṛu kaṇḍitu miakaḷkaṇen riṅkaḷikkavē aṅkaḷintatum.
- (21) Tattu nīr varāl kurumi venṛatum taḷuvu chentamiḷ parichil vāṇar pon pattodāṛu nūṛāyiram peṛa paṇḍu paddinappālai kondatum.
- (22) Oruvar munnor nāl tantu pin chelā utiyar mannarē maturai mannaren ṛiruvar tammaiyum kiḷikaḷ chuṛṛuvit eriviḷakkuvait ikal viḷaittatum
- (23) Vēlam onṛukaittāvin viḷṇinvāy michai adaṅkavum achaiyavenṛatum ilamum amiḷ kūdalum chitait ikal kadantatōr ichai parantatum.
- (24) Chataya nāl viḷa utiyar mandalam tanniḷ vaittavan tanior māvinmēl utaya pānu ottutakai venṛakōn orukai vāraṇam pala kavartatum.
- (25) Kaḷiṛu kaṅkai nīruṇṇa maṇnaiyil kalavi maṇṇodum kalavu chemponak kuḷiṛu teṇḍirai kurai kadāramum koṇḍu maṇḍalaṅkudaiyuḷ vaittatum.
- (26) Kampili chayattamba naddatum kadiaraṇ koḷ kalyaṇar kaddaṛa kimpurippaṇai kiri ukaittavan kirikaḷ eddinum puli poṛittatum.
- (27) Oru kaḷiṛinmēl varu kaḷiṛaiot tulakuyakkola porutu koppaiyil porukaḷiṛin mēl mudi kavittavan puvikavippatōr kūdai kavittatum.
- (28) Panuvalukku mutalāya vētanānkin paṇḍudaiya neṛi putukki paḷayar taṅkaṇ manuvinukku mummadi nān madiyāṅ chōḷan vaḷaṅkudaikkil āraṅkalikka vaḷarntavāṛum.
- (29) Kuntaḷarai kūdal chaṅkamattu venṛa kōn apayan kavalayaṅ kāttaḷitta pinnai inta nilakkulappāvai ivan pāṛchēra enna tavaṅcheytiruntāl enna tōnṛum.
- (30) Evvaḷavu tiripuvanam uḷavāyittōnṛum evvaḷavu kula maṛaikaḷ uḷavāyiniṅkum avvaḷavu tikirivarai alavuṅcheṅkōl ānai chella apayan kāttaḷikkumāṛum.

Canto 10.

- (1) Anṛilaṅkai porutaḷitta avanē ap pāratappōr mudittuppinnai venṛilaṅku katirāḷi vichaiyataran enavutittān viḷambakkēṇmin.
- (2) Tēvarelānkuṛai irappa tēvaki tan tiruvayiṛṇil vachu tēvaṛku mūvulakuntoḷa nedu māl munnoru nāl avatāraṅcheyta pinnē.

- (3) Iruḷ muḷutu mākarum vitu kulattōntēvi
ikalvīḷaṅku tapanakulat irācharāchan
aruḷ tiruvin tiruvaiyīṇil vantu tōṇṇi
āḷilaiyil avatarittān avanē miḷa.
- (4) Vantarūḷi avatāraṅchey talumē
maṅṅulakum maṇaikāḷ nānkum
mantara nīṅkiṅna enna
antara tuntumi muḷaṅki eḷuntatāṅkē.
- (5) Alar maḷai pōn maḷai poḷiya
atu kaṅdu kaṅkaikaṅṅa chōḷan tēvi
kula makadan kula makanai
kōkanaka malarkkaiyāl eduttukkondē.
- (6) Avaniṅvarkku puttiranām adaiyālam
avayavattin adaiya nōkki
ivanemakku makanāki
iravikulam pārikkattakuvanēṇṇē.
- (18) Ichaiyudan edutta kodi apayan avanukki-
niya
iḷavarachil vaitta piṇakē
tichaiyaracharukkuriya tiruvinaḷ mukap-
patoru
tiruvuḷam aduttaruḷiyē.
- (20) Kudatichai pukak kadavu kurakata vita-
tiravi
kuṇkalum erikkum iruḷpōl
vadatichai mukattarachar varukatamu-
kattanatu
kurakata mukattaruḷiyē.
- (23) Manukkōddam aḷitta piṇān
vaḷavar piṇān tiruppuruvat
tanukkōddam naman kōddam
paddatu chakkarakkōddam.
- (26) Māvukait orutani apayan ippadi
vadatichai mēṇchela mannar mannavan
tēvanukkarachanāy vichumbin mēṇchela
tenṇichaiḷkup pukuntamai cheppuvām.
- (27) Maṇaiyavar veḷvi kuṇṇi
manu neṇṇi anaḷittumāṇi
tuṇkaḷōṇṇarūmāṇi
churutiyumuḷakkam oḷyntē.
- (28) Chātikalonṇōdonṇu
talaitada māṇi yārum
ōṇṇiya neṇṇiyinillā
oḷukkamum maṇantu pōyē.
- (29) Oruvarai oruvar kaimik
umbar taṅkōyil chōmpi
arivaiyar karpiṇ chōmpi
araṅkalum aḷiya āṅkē.
- (30) Kaliyirūḷ paranta kālai
kaliyirūḷ karakkat tōṇṇum
olikadal arukkan enna
ulakuyya vantu tōṇṇi.
- (31) Kāppelām udaiya tānē
padaippatūṅkadanākkōṇṇu
kōppelān kulaintōṇṇ tammai
kuṇṇiyilē niṇuttivaḷittē.
- (32) Viri punal vēlai nānkum
vētaṅkaṅāṅkum āṇṇa
tiripuvanaṅkaḷ vāḷta
tiru apidēkaṅ cheytē.
- (34) Nirai maṇi pala kuyiṇṇiya
nedu mudi michai vitippadi
chori punal idai muḷaittana
tuṇkaḷiṅ aram anaḷittumē.
- (35) Potu ara ulaku kaikkodu
puli vaḷar kodi eduttalum
atu mutal kodi eduttana
amararkaḷ muḷavedukkavē.
- (36) Kuvikaikodarachar chuṇṇiya
kurai kaḷal apayan muttāṇi
kavikaiyḷin nilaverittatu
kali enum iruḷ oḷittatē.

Canto 11.

- (4) Ampon mēru atu kol itu kol eṇṇu
āyiram katir veyyavan aiyuṇṇum
chempon māḷikai ten kuda tikkinil
cheyta chittira maṇḍapam tanṇilē.
- (5) Moittilāṅkiya tārakai vāninam
mukaddeḷunta muḷu mati pattiyin
neyttilāṅkiya nittila pantarin
niṇṇu veṅkudai oṇṇu niḷarṇavē.
- (6) Mēḷ kavitta matikkudaiyḷin pudai
vichukinṇa veṅchāmarai ten tichai
pāl kadal tirai oṇṇiraṅḍu iṅkiru
palum vantu paṇi cheyva pōṇṇumē.
- (7) Aṅkaṅ nālam anaḷittum puyattilvaittu
adakak kiriyil puli vaḷittavan
chiṅkavāchanattu eṇṇi iruppatōṇṇ
chiṅka eṇṇena chevvi chiṇakkavē.
- (16) Maṇḍalīkarum mānila vēntarum
vantuṇaṅku kadai talai vaṇḍai man
toṇḍai mān mutan mantirapparākar
chūḷntu tan kaḷal chūḷdi irukkavē.
- (17) Muṇaiyidat tarum mantira vēlai āḷ
mun vaṇaṅki muḷuvatum vēntar tam
tirai ida puṇam niṇṇanar eṇṇalum
cheykai nōkki vanteyti nerukkavē.

- (18) Tennavar villavar kûpakar châpakar
chêtipar yâtavare
kannadar pallavar kaitavar kûdavar
kâripar kôsalarê.
- (19) Kaŋkar karâlar kavintar tumintar
kadambar tulumbar kalê
vankar ilâdar marâdar virâdar
mayintar chayintar kalê.
- (20) Chiŋkaḷar vaŋkaḷar chêkuṇar chêvaṇar
cheyyavar aiyānarê
koŋkaṇar koŋkar kuluŋkar chountiyar
kuchhavar kachchiarê.
- (21) Mattavar mattirar mâjuvar mâgadar
machchar milachchar kalê
kuttar kuṇattar vadakkar turukkar
kurukkar viyattar kalê.
- (22) Ennakaraŋkaḷum nâdum emak
karuḷ cheytanai emmaiya
chonna tanaŋkaḷ koṇarntanam
eṇradi chûdu karaŋkalodê.
- (26) Arachar aŋchalenṇadi iraṇḍum avar
mudiyin vaittaruḷi arachar maṇ-
ṇurai cheyum tiraikaḷ oliya niṇṇavarum
uḷar kol eṇṇu aruḷu poḷutilê.
- (27) Kadakar tam tirai kodadaiya vantarachar
kaḷal vaṇaŋkinarkaḷ ivarudan
vada kaliŋgar pati avan iraṇḍuvichai
varukilan tirai kodenalumê.
- (28) Uṇvaten kol ena nilai kulaintarachar-
uyir naduŋka oliṇ pavalā vâḷ
muṇṇuval koṇḍa poruḷ aṇikilam chiṇṇitu
munivu koṇḍa nilai vatanamê.
- (29) Eliyan eṇṇidinum valiya kuṇṇaraṇam
idiya nam padaiṇar kaditu cheṇṇu
aḷi alampu mata malaikaḷ koṇḍaṇaimin
avanaiyum koṇarmin enalumê.
- (30) Iṇai moḷintaḷavil eḷu kaliŋkamavai
eṇivan eṇṇu kaḷal toḷutanan
maṇai moḷinta padi marapin vanta kula
tilatan vandai nakar arachanê.
- (31) Adaiya attichai pakai tukaippan eṇṇu
âchai koṇḍ adal tonḍaimān
vidai enakkena puli uyarttavan
vidai kodukka appoḷutitilê.
- (32) Kadal kalakkavô malai idikkavô
kadalidai porai paṇa paṇi
pidar odikkavô padai ninaippena
pirāḷiyattinil tirāḷavê.
- (52) Tannârin malar tiral tōḷ apayan
tân eviya chēnai tanak adaiya
kaṇṇâkiya chōḷan chakkaramām
karuṇākaran vâranam mēḷ kolavê.
- (53) Tonḍaiyarkkarachin mun varum churavi
tuŋka vēḷ kodi uyarttakōn
vaṇḍaiyarkkarachu pallavarkkarachu
mâl kaḷiṇṇin michai kolḷavê.
- (54) Maṇittôdi evvarachum chariya venru
varum aṇukkai pallavar kōn vaḷavai
vēntan
neṇittôdai ilaŋku nadai kaḷiṇṇin meṇkoṇḍ
irai vēdda perumpuli pōḷikan meṇchella.
- (55) Palāru kusaittalai pon mukari
pālavāru kadanteṇi kolliyenum
nāḷārum akanṇoru peṇṇaiyenum
nati aṇu kadantu nadantudanê.
- (56) Vayalāru kadantu manippulvāi
mannāru vayank elu kuṇṇiyenum
peyalāru varantu niṇṇainturuvap
pērārum iḷintatu piṇṇpadavê.
- (57) Kōtāviri nati mēḷāḍodu kuḷir
pampā nati odu chantappēr
ōtā varu nati odu kotamaiyudan
oli nīr mali tuṇai piṇṇakāka.
- (58) Kadayil pudai oru kadal ottamarar
kalaŋkum parichu kalaŋkappuk
adaiyap padar eri koḷuvippati kalai
aḷiyach chūrai koḷ poḷutattê.
- (59) Kankā nati oru puṇam ākappadai
kadal pōḷ vantatu kadal vantāl
enkê pukal idam enkê ini araṇ
ârê ati pati iŋkenṇê.
- (60) Idikinṇana matil eṇikinṇana pati
eḷukinṇana pukai eḷil ellām
madikinṇana kudi kedukinṇanam ena
alaikinrana padai padai eṇṇê.
- (61) Ulakuk oru mutal apayarkidutiṇai
uṇrai tappiyatematarachê em
pala kaṇṇanai tanai ninai vurrilai vidu
padai maṇṇavan vidu padai eṇṇê.
- (62) Uraiṇṇi kuḷaiṇṇum udaliṇṇi pataiṇṇum
oruvaṇṇkoruvār mun muṇai yiddê
araiṇṇiṇṇukil viḷa adayachchanapati
adiṇṇiṇṇi puka viḷu poḷutattê.
- (63) Antaramoṇṇariyāta vada kaliŋgar
kulavēntan atipan vīram
ventāru kaṇṇ vekuḷiyināl veituyirttu
kai pudaittu viyarttu nōkki.

- (64) Vaṇḍinukkum tichai yānai madam
koduḅḅum
malarkkavikai apayaṅkaṅṅi
taṇḍinukkum eliyaṅō ena vekunḍu
tadam puyaṅkaḷ kulunḅa nakkān.
- (65) Kān araṅḅum malai araṅḅum kadalarāṅḅum
chūḷ kidanta kaliṅgar pūmi
tānaraṅḅam udaitteṅṅu karutātu
varuvatum attāṅḅu pōlum.
- (66) Eṅṅu kūṅṅalum yānavan kāriyam
onṅu kūṅṅavan kēḷ enru unarttuvān.
- (67) Arachar chīruvarēnum adiyavar
uraicheyātu oḷiyārkaḷ uṅṅutiyē.
- (68) Ēnai vēntai eṅṅiya chayataran
tānai allatu tānavar vēṅḅumō.
- (69) Vidḅa taṇḍinil minavar aivarum
kedḅa kēḅḅinai kēḅḅilai pōlu nī.
- (70) Pōrin mēḷ taṅḅeḅukka puṅḅakidum
chōravārttai chevippaddatillaiyō.
- (71) Vēlai koṅḅu viḷiṅgam aḷittatum
chōlai koṅḅatum taṅḅu koṅḅallavō.
- (74) **Kanda nāyakar** kāḅḅu navilayil
kondatu āyiram kuncharam allavō.
- (75) Aḷantu tāḅudai maṅḅalam taṅḅināl
iḷanta vēntar inaiyar eṅṅu eṅṅukēn.
- (76) Kaṅḅu kāṅḅun puyavali nīyumat
taṅḅu koṅḅavan chakkaram vantatē.
- (77) Inṅu chīṅṅinum nāḷai achchēnaimun
ninṅa pōḷṅṅil ennai ninaittiyāl.
- (80) Ennudaiya tōḷ valiyum enudaiya
vāḷvaliyum yātum aṅṅiyatu piṅṅar pōḷ
ninnudaiya pēṅṅaimaiyīnāl uraicheytāy
itu ninaippaḷavil vella aritō.
- (81) Vēlam iratam puravi vempadaīṅṅar
eṅṅinaiya nampadaīṅṅar chenṅu kaduka
chōḷa kulatuṅḅan vidā vantu vidu
taṅḅinetir chenṅamar tudaṅḅukēnavē.
- (82) Paṅṅuka vayakkaliṅṅu paṅṅuka vayap-
puravi
paṅṅuka kaṅṅippil pala tēr
nannuka paḅai cherunar nannuka
cherukkalam namakkikal kidaitta tenavē.
- (83) **Kaliṅgam** avai ēḷinum eḷuntatoru
pēroli kaṅṅaṅku kadāl ēḷum udanē
malāṅki eḷum ēḷichai enattichai
tikaippuṅṅa varun toni eḷuntatenavē.

Canto 12.

- (1) Edum edum edum ena eduttatōr
ikal oli kadāl oli ikakkavē
vidu vidu vidu pari karikkulām
vidum vidum enum oli mikaikkavē.
- (3) Eṅṅi kadāl oḅu kadāl kidaittapōḷ
irupadaikaḷum etir kidaikkavē
maṅṅi tirai tirai oḅu malaitta pōḷ
varu pari oḅu pari malaikkavē.
- (4) Kana varai oḅu varai muḷaittapōḷ
kada kari oḅu kari muḷaikkavē
ina mukil mukil odum etirttapōḷ
iratamum iratamum etirkkavē.
- (5) Poru puli puli oḅu chilaittapōḷ
poru padar oḅu padar chilaikkavē
ariyin oḅu ariyinam adarppapōḷ
aracharum aracharum adarppavē.
- (6) Viḷai kanal viḷikaḷin muḷaikkavē
minal oli kanal idai eṅṅikkavē
valai chilai urum ena idikkavē
vadi kanai oḅu maḷai padaikkavē.
- (7) Kurutiyin nati veli parakkavē
kudai inam nurai ena mitakkavē
kari tuṅṅi padum udal adukkiyē
karai ena iru pudai kidaikkavē.
- (22) Vidutta vīrar āyuthaṅkaḷ
mēḷ viḷamal yantirattu
edutta vēli pōḷ **kaliṅgar**
vaddaṅṅaṅkal iddavē.
- (40) Alakil cheru mutarpoḷutu **vandaiyar**
arachan aracharkaḷ nāyakan mantiri
ulaku pukaḷ **karuṅṅakaran** tanatu
orukai iru paṅṅai vēḷam muntavē.
- (41) Upaya pelamum vidātu vēchamam
udalu poḷutinil vākai munkoḷa
apayan vidu paḅai ēḷ **kaliṅgamum**
adaiya oru mukam āki muntavē.
- (42) Aṅṅikaḷ oru mukam āka muntinaṅ
amarar amar atu kāṅṅa muntinar
tuṅṅikal paḅa mata mā muṅṅintana
turaka nirai oḅu tēr muṅṅintavē.
- (45) Purachai mata malai āyiraṅḅodu
poruvam ena varum ēḷ **kaliṅgartam**
arachan urai cheyta āṅṅamaiyūṅṅeda
amaril etir viḷiyatu otuṅṅkiyē.

- (52) Appadi kaliṅgar ôḍa
adartteṛi chēnai vīrar
kaippadu kalirum mavum
kanitturaippavarkaḷ yāvar.
- (57) Ivai kavartupin eḷu kaliṅgartam
iraiyaiyum kodu peyartumenṛu
avan iruntuḷi aṛika enṛanan
apayan mantiri mutalvanē.
- (58) Uraikaḷ pirpadum alavil oṛṛarkaḷ
oli kadaṛ padai kaditu pōy
varai kalil pudai tadavi appadi
vanam ilai purai tadaviyē.
- (59) Chuvadu peṛṛilam avanai maṛṛoru
kavadu perranam oru malai
kavadu paṛṛiyatu namatu adaṛṛpadai
koṇara apparichu enalum enavē.
- (60) Ekkuvadum ekkadalum entakkādum
inikkaliṅkarkku araṇāvtu inṛē nāṅ-
chenṛu
akkuvadum akkadalum vaḷaintu veyyōn
attamanak kuvadu aṇaiyum alaviṛ
chenṛē.
- (61) Tōlāta kalirṛapaiyan vēḍḍaippaṇṛi
toḷuvadaittu toḷu vatanaikkāppār pōla
vēlālum villālum vēli kōli
veṛṛpatanai vidi alavum kāttu ninṛē.
- (62) Chemmalai yām oḷi padaittatyātō venṛu
Cheṅkatirōn utayaūcheytutayamennum
ammalaiyō immalaiyam enna tevvar
aḷi kuruti nati parakka adukkum pōḷtil.
- (67) Ivarkaḷ mēl ini oruvar piḷaittār illai
eḷu kaliṅgattu ôviyarkaḷ eḷutivaitta
chubar kaṇmēl uṇḍaṇṛi udalkaḷ enkum
tudarntu pidittaṛuttatu munnaday
vānkē.
- (68) Kadaṛ kaliṅgam eṛintu chayattambam
nāddi
kadakariyum kuvi tanamum kavartu
teyva
chadarppadai vāḷapayan adi aruḷ inōdum
chudinān vaṇḍaiyarkōn tōṇḍaimānē.
- Canto 13.
- (60) Vanaṅkiya chēran maṇi mudiyum
vaḷuti makudamum vaṇḍinamum
piṇaṅkiya chēvadi pādīrē.
perumān tiruvadi pādīrē.
- (61) Oliṛu nedum padai vāḷ apayaṛku
uttara pūmiyar idda tirai
kaliṛu varuṅkadal pādīrē
kadan matam nāṛuna pādīrē.
- (62) Pauvam adanka valainta kudai
paṇḍitachōḷan makan kaḷalil
tevvar valaintamai pādīrē
chilai ādiya vali pādīrē.
- (63) Eṛṛaippakalum vellāṇi nāṇ
irunilappāvai tan kiṇiḷaṛṛam
koṛṛakkudaiyaippādīrē
kulōttunga chōḷanaippādīrē.
- (64) Vaṇḍai vaḷam pati pādīrē
maiylaiyum mallaiyum pādīrē
paṇḍai vaḷam pati nakai pādīrē
paḷa nati yamunaiyum pādīrē.
- (65) Kāḍḍiya vēḷa vaṇi vāri
kaliṅkappaṇaṇi nam kāvalanmēl
chūḍḍiya tōṇṛalaip pādīrē
tōṇḍaiyar vēntanaippādīrē.
- (122) Pūppatumattavan padaittamaitta
puviyai irandāvatum padaittu
kāppatum eṅkadan enṛu kātta
kārikāla chōḷanai vāḷttinavē.

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 Arjunavarmadēva, published by him in Vol. VII. of the *Jour. Amer. Or. Soc.*

The three inscriptions are grants of some of the later Paramāra rulers of Mālava; and they may be shortly characterised thus: —

A. is the concluding portion of a grant of the *Mahārāja Yaśovarmadēva*, dated in the (Vikrama) year 1192.

B. is part of a grant of the *Paramabhāṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramésvara Jayavarmadēva*, the successor of Yaśovarmadēva.

C. is part of a grant of the *Mahākumāra Lakshmīvarmadēva*, dated in the (Vikrama) year 1200, confirming a grant made by *Yaśovarmadēva*, who is represented as the predecessor and apparently the father of Lakshmīvarmadēva, 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 Mālava. Five such inscriptions have been hitherto published, *viz.*: —

D. — The 'Pipliānagar' grant of the *Mahākumāra Harischandradēva*, the son of the *Mahākumāra Lakshmīvarmadēva*, of the Vikrama years 1235 and 1236, edited by L. Wilkinson in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. VII. p. 736.

E. — The Bhôpāl grant of the *Mahākumāra Udayavarmadēva*, the son of the *Mahākumāra Harischandradēva*, of the Vikrama year 1256, edited by Mr. Fleet, *ante*, Vol. XVI. p. 254.

F. — The 'Pipliānagar' grant of the *Mahārāja Arjunavarmadēva*, of the (Vikrama) year 1267, edited by L. Wilkinson in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. V. p. 378.

G. — A Bhôpāl 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 Bhôpāl 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 'Siva, 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 Paraśurāma, Rāma and Yudhishtīra, and the rest of which is occupied with genealogical matter. Moreover, while in F., G., and H. the granter describes himself as *Mahārāja*, 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 *Mahākumāra*.

The line of princes, presented to us in the inscriptions F., G., and H., is this: — 1, Bhôjadēva, the ornament of the Paramāra family; 2, Udayāditya; 3, Naravarman; 4, his son Yaśovarman; 5, his son Ajayavarman; 6, his son Vindhavarman;³ 7, his son Subhāṭavarman; 8, his son, the *Mahārāja 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: —

Dhāray-ōddhṛitayā sārdbam dadhāti sma tridhātām !
sānyugīnasya yasy-āsis-trātum lōka-trayīm-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 Dhārā, the capital of Mālava, and that in the last word of the first half there is a reference to the Ganges (*tri-dhārā = tri-srōtas = tri-patha-gā*), 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 Dhārā rescued (*by it*), the properties of the Ganges, (inasmuch as, like the Ganges, it now had three *dhārās*), to protect, as it were, the three worlds.'

In B. :— 1, The *Paramabhāṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara* Udayādityadēva ; succeeded by 2, the *P. M. P. Naravarmadēva* ; succeeded by 3, the *P. M. P. Yaśōvarmadēva* ; succeeded by 4, the *P. M. P. Jayavarmadēva*.

In C. :— 1, The *P. M. P. Udayādityadēva* ; succeeded by 2, the *P. M. P. Naravarmadēva* ; succeeded by 3, the *P. M. P. Yaśōvarmadēva* (who issued a grant in Vikrama 1191, and another grant in Vikrama 1192) ; succeeded by 4, the *Mahākumāra* Lakshmīvarmadēva, apparently a son of the former, who confirmed one of his father's grants in Vikrama 1200.

In D. :— 1, The *P. M. P. Udayāditya* ; succeeded by 2, the *P. M. P. Naravarmadēva* ; succeeded by 3, the *P. M. P. Yaśōvarmadēva* ; succeeded by 4, the *P. M. P. Jayavarmadēva* ; apparently succeeded, according to the body of the grant, by 5, the *Mahākumāra* Hariśchandrādēva, who at the end of the grant calls himself the son of the *Mahākumāra* Lakshmīvarmadēva, and the sun of the lotus of the Paramāra family, and who issued his grants in the Vikrama years 1235 and 1236.

In E. :— 1, The *P. M. P. Yaśōvarmadēva* ; succeeded by 2, the *P. M. P. Jayavarmadēva* ; succeeded by 3, the *Mahākumāra* Lakshmīvarmadēva ; succeeded by 4, the *Mahākumāra* Hariśchandrādēva ; succeeded by 5, his son the *Mahākumāra* Udayavarmadēva, 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 Yaśōvarman, but that the two groups entirely differ after that prince. According to F., G., and H., Yaśōvarman was succeeded by his son Ajayavarman ; and since a lineal descendant of Ajayavarman retained the title of *Mahārāja* which had been borne by Yaśōvarman, it would appear that the princes 5 to 8, mentioned in F., G., and H., after Yaśōvarman's death, represented or pretended to represent the main line of the Paramāra family, and were the chief rulers of Mālava.

In the groups A. to E., the line of succession after Yaśōvarman 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, Yaśōvarman, whose grants are dated in Vikrama 1191 and 1192, was succeeded by the *P. M. P. Jayavarmadēva*, whom there appears no reason to identify with the prince Ajayavarman of the inscriptions F. to H.

According to C., which omits Jayavarmadēva, Yaśōvarman had been succeeded in Vikrama 1200 by (his son) the *Mahākumāra* Lakshmīvarmadēva.

According to D., Yaśōvarman was succeeded, as in B., by the *P. M. P. Jayavarmadēva*, who in his turn had been succeeded in Vikrama 1235 by the *Mahākumāra* Hariśchandrādēva, the son of the *Mahākumāra* Lakshmīvarmadēva.

According to E., the line of succession is :— Yaśōvarman ; the *P. M. P. Jayavarmadēva* ; the *Mahākumāra* Lakshmīvarmadēva ; the *Mahākumāra* Hariśchandrādēva ; the *Mahākumāra* Udayavarmadēva (Vikrama 1256).

Here we naturally ask why the *P. M. P. Jayavarmadēva* should have been omitted in the inscription C., and why the *Mahākumāra* Lakshmīvarmadēva 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 — *-śrīmaj-Jayavarmmadēva-rājyē vyatītē nija-kara-kṛita-karavāla-prasād-āvāpta-nij-ādhipatya- . . . -mahākumāra-śrīmal-Lakshmīvarmmadēva-*, *i. e.* 'the *Mahākumāra*, the illustrious Lakshmīvarmadēva, 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 Jayavarmadēva had passed away ;' and in D., — *-śrī-Jayavarmmadēva ity-ētasmāt-pṛishṭhatama-prabhōḥ prasād-āvāpta-nij-ādhipatyaḥ . . . -mahākumāra-śrī-Hariśchandrādēvaḥ*, *i. e.* 'the *Mahākumāra*, the illustrious Hariśchandrādēva, who has obtained sovereignty of his own by the favour of the last ruler, before mentioned, the illustrious Jayavarmadēva.' Taking these expressions in connection

with what is otherwise known to us from the inscriptions, I conceive the succession in the family of Yaśovarman to have been as follows :—

Yaśovarman had three sons, Jayavarman,⁴ Ajayavarman, and Lakshmivarman; 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 Paramāra family in Mālava, and continued to style themselves *Mahārājas*. The third brother, Lakshmivarman, however, did not submit to Ajayavarman; and, as stated in E., he succeeded by force of arms in appropriating a portion of Mālava, which he and his son and grandson *de facto* ruled over as independent chiefs. At the same time, Lakshmivarman and, after him, his son and successor Hariśchandra looked upon Jayavarman, though deposed, as the rightful sovereign of Mālava, 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 Lakshmivarman and Hariśchandra claim for themselves no higher title than that of *Mahākumāra*, a title which was handed down to, and adopted by, even Lakshmivarman's grandson Udayavarman.

**A. — Copper-Plate Grant of the Mahārāja Yaśovarmadēva.
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 $14\frac{1}{2}$ " by $10\frac{1}{2}$ ". 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 $\frac{1}{8}$ ". The characters are Nāgarī; and the language is Sanskrit. 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 *saṅdhi* of a final *ā* with an initial *a*.

The inscription is one of the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious Yaśovarmadēva, and records (in lines 3-6), in terms which call for no remarks, the grant of the village of *Laghuvaiṅgaṇa-padra* and of part of the village of *Ṭhikkarika*, or, as the name is written in line 2, *Ṭhikarika*, to two people⁵ 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 *Dēvalapāṭaka*, which had been given to the grantees on the occasion of the annual funeral ceremonies in honour of the lady *Mōmaladēvi*, probably the mother of Yaśovarman. 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 Mārgaśīras of the year 1192,' corresponding, probably, to either the 27th October or the 25th November, A. D. 1135. Line 13 mentions, as *dūtakas*, 'the *Purōhita*, the *Ṭhakkura*, the illustrious *Vāmanasvāmin*; the *Ṭhakkura*, the illustrious *Purushōttama*; the *Mahāpradhāna*, the *Rājaputra*, the illustrious *Dēvadhara*, 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 Yaśovarman.

⁵ The original has, in line 2, the ungrammatical *ubhaya-jana-dvābhyaṅ*.

⁶ It may be noted that lines 1 and 2 contain the terms *bhū-hala* and *bhū-nivartana*, denoting certain measures of land. The expression *brāhmaṇa-māpyaktya*, 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 *Mahārāja*, the illustrious *Yasovarmadēva*, 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 śri-Mōmaladēvi-sāmvatsari[ka]⁹-kalpitatvād=bhujyamāna-Dēvala pāṭakād=bhūhala-
dvaya-parivarttēna vrā(brā)hmaṇa-mā[pya]kiya-bhūhala-
2 dvaya-samva(mba)ddhē Ṭhikarikā-grāma-vibhāga ubhaya-jana-dvābhyām bhū-nivart-
tana-saptadaśak-ōpēta-bhūhal-aikādaśaka-samvadh[ē]¹⁰ samasta upa-
3 rilikhita-Laghuvairṅganapadra-grāmas=tathā Ṭhikkarikā-grām-ārdhaś=cha sva-
sīmā-triṇa-[yā]ti-gōchara-paryantaḥ sa-vṛiksha-māl-ākulaḥ
4 sa-hiraṇya-bhāga-bhōgaḥ s-ōparikaraḥ sarv-ādāya-samētaś=cha mātā-pitrōr=
ātmanāś=cha puṇya-yaśō-bhivṛiddhayē śāsanēn=ōdaka-
5 pūrvvakatayā pradattas=tan=matvā yathādiyamāna-bhāgabhōga-kara-hiraṇya-ādikam=
[ā*]jñā-śravaṇa-vidhēyair=bhūtvā sarvvam=ētābhyām sam[u]pa-
6 nētavyām | Sāmānyām ch=aitat=puṇya-phalaṁ vu(bu)ddhvā ssmad-vaṁśajair=anyair=
api bhāvi-bhōktrībhīr=asmat-pradatta-dharmm-ādāyō=yam=anumanta-
7 vyaḥ pālanīyaś=cha | Uktaṁ cha | Va(ba)hubhīr¹¹=vvasudhā bhuktā rājabhīḥ Sagar-
ādibhīḥ | yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ ||
8 Yān¹²=īha dattāni purā narēndrair=ddānāni dharmm-ārtha-yaśas-karāṇi | nirmālya-
vānti-pratimāni tāni kō nāma sādhuḥ puna-
9 r=ādadīta || Asmat¹³-kula-kramam=udāram=udāharadbhīr=anyaiś=cha dānam=idam=abhya-
numōdanīyam | lakshmyāś=tadid-valaya-vudvuda¹⁴-chaṁ[cha]-
10 lāyā dānam phalaṁ para-yaśaḥ-paripālanam cha || Sarvvān¹⁵=ētān=bhāvinaḥ pāthiv-
ēndrān=bhūyō bhūyō yāchatē Rāmabhadraḥ | sāmā-
11 nyō=yam dharmma-sētur=ṅripānām kālē kālē pālanīyō bhavadbhīḥ || Iti¹⁶ kamala-dal-
āmvu(bu)-viṁdu-lōlā[m] śriyam=anuchim[tya ma]-
12 nushya-jīvitam cha | sakalam=idam=udāh[ri]tam cha vudhvā¹⁷ na hi purushaiḥ |
para-kīrttayō vilōpyā iti || Samvat¹⁸ 1192 Mā[rgga]-va-
13 di 3 [11*] Dā¹⁹ purōhita-ṭhakkura-śrī-Vāmanasvāmi-ṭhakkura-śrī-Purushōttama-
mahāpradhāna-rājaputra-śrī-Dēvadhara-prabhṛitayāḥ ||
14 Maṅgalaṁ mahā-śrīḥ || Ra²⁰
15 Sva-hastō=yam mahārāja-śrīmad-Yasovarmadēvasya |
16 Adhi²¹ || Śrīḥ ||

B. — Copper-Plate Grant of the Mahārāja Jayavarmadēva.

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 $\frac{1}{8}$ " by 8 $\frac{3}{8}$ ". 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

⁷ See below, note 20.

⁸ From Mr. Fleet's photo-lithograph; *Indian Inscriptions*, No. 51.

⁹ This *akshara* may possibly be *kē*.

¹⁰ As the construction is not clear to me, I am not sure whether this should be *sombandhē* or *sambaddhē*.

¹¹ Metre, Ślōka (Anushtubh).

¹² Metre, Indravajrā.

¹³ Metre, Vasantatilakā.

¹⁴ Read *-buddvuda-*.

¹⁵ Metre, Śālinī.

¹⁶ Metre, Pushpitāgrā.

¹⁷ Read *buddhvā*.

¹⁸ Read *sahvat*.

¹⁹ i. e. *dātakālī*.

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 *rachitam* (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 *adhikā*, or it may have to be taken as forming a compound with the following *śrīḥ*.

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 Nāgarī; and the language is Sanskrit. As regard orthography, *ḷ* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*; the dental sibilant is used for the palatal in *vinasvarāṇ*, line 14; and the word *triṃśat* is spelt *triṃśat*, in line 8. The *avagraha* occurs twice in line 1, in its proper use; and also in line 15, after the *é* that has resulted from the *sandhi* of a final and initial *a*.

The inscription, after the words 'Om, may it be well! Fortune, victory, and prosperity!' and two verses in praise of Siva (Vyōmakēśa, Smarārāti), introduces (in lines 4-7) the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, *Jayavarmadēva*, the successor of the *P. M. P. Yaśovarmadēva*, who had succeeded the *P. M. P. Naravarmadēva*, who in turn had succeeded the *P. M. P. Udayādityadēva*. From his residence at *Vardhamānapura* (line 3), *Jayavarmadēva* (in lines 8-16) informs the officials and people concerned that, when in residence at *Chandrapuri* (line 9), [he granted] the village of *Māyamōḍaka* (line 8), belonging to the *Vatakhēṭaka Thirty-six* (group of villages), to a person living at *Rājabrahmapuri*,²² who had emigrated from the place *Adriyalavidavari* in the south, and belonged to the *Bhāradvāja* [*gōtra*], 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 Om²⁴ svasti [i*] Srī-jjayé sbhyudayaś=cha ॥ Jayati²⁵ Vyōmak[é]śó śs[au] yaḥ
sarggāya vi(bi)bhartti [t]ā-
- 2 m | aindaviṃ śirasā lékhāṃ jagad-vij-āṅkur-ākṛitim ॥ Tanvaṃtu vaḥ Smarā-
rāt[é]ḥ kalyā-
- 3 nam=aniśaṃ jatāḥ | kalpānta-samay-ōddāma-taḍid-valaya-piṅgalāḥ ॥ 'Sri-Varddha-
māna-
- 4 pura-samāvāsāt paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī²⁶-Udayādityadē-
5 va-pādānudhyāta-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī-Naravarmadēva-
pādānu-
- 6 dhyāta-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī-Yaśovarmadēva-pādānu-
dhyāta-para-
- 7 mabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrīmaj-Jayavarmadēvō vijay-ōdayi ॥²⁷
- 8 Vatakhēṭaka-shaṭṭriṃśat-saṃva(ba)śdha-Māyamōḍaka-grāmē samasta-rāja-
puruśhān vrā(brā)hmaṇ-ōttarān=pra-
- 9 tnavasi-paṭṭakila-janapad-ādīśāś=cha vō(bō)dhayat=asta vaḥ saṃviditāṃ yathā ॥²⁷
Chandrapuri-samāvā-
- 10 sitair=asmābhiḥ snātvā charāchāra-guruṃ bhagavaṃtāṃ Bhavānīpatim samabhyar-
chchya saṃsārasy=āśaratām
- 11 dṛishṭva²⁸ [i*] tathā hi | Vāt²⁹-ābhra-vibhramam=idam vasudh-ādhipatyam=āpāta-
mātra-madhurō vishay-ōpabhōga-

²² I am doubtful whether the word *Rājabrahmapuryām* in line 15 should be taken as the name of a town, or be explained to mean 'at the king's *brahmapuri*.' See *ante*, Vol. XV, p. 44, note 130.

²³ From Mr. Fleet's photo-lithograph; *Indian Inscriptions*, No. 52.

²⁴ Expressed by a symbol.

²⁵ Metre, *Ślōka* (Anuśtubh); and of the following verse.

²⁶ Read *-śry-Uda*?

²⁷ These signs of punctuation are superfluous.

²⁸ The sentence is continued in line 14, *iti jagatō . . .*, and the intermediate passage is put in by way of parenthesis.

²⁹ Metre, *Vasantatilakā*.

- 12 ḥ | prāṇās=trīṇāgra-jalaviṃdu-samā narāṇām dharmmah sakhā param=ahō paralōka-
yānē ||
- 13 Bhramat³⁰-samsāra-cha[k]r-āgra-dhār-ādharām=imām śriyam | prāpya yē na dadus=
tēshām paśchāttāpali param pha-
- 14 lam || iti jagatō vinasva(śva)raṃ svarūpam=ākalayy=ādṛiṣṭa-phalam=a[m]gikṛitya
chāṃdr-ā-
- 15 rkkāsrṇṇava-kshiti-sama-kālam yāvat=parayā bhaktyā Rājavra(bra)hmapuryām
dakṣhiṇa-dēs-ā-
- 16 ntaḥpāti-³¹A[dr]iyalavidāvāri-sthāna-vinirgatāya Bhāradvāja-

C. — Copper-Plate Grant of the Mahārāja Yasōvarmadēva and
the Mahākumāra Lakshmivarmadēva.

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 9 $\frac{5}{8}$ ". 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. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ 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 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". The characters are Nāgarī; and the language is Sanskrit. As regards orthography, it is sufficient to state here that *ḍ* throughout is denoted by the sign for *v*, and that the dental sibilant is employed for the palatal in *sirasā*, line 1, and *samī*, 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 *Mahākumāra Lakshmivarmadēva*, who had attained the five *mahāśabdās*, and who is represented as the successor of the *P. M. P. Yasōvarmadēva*, whose predecessors are given as in the preceding grant. *Lakshmivarmadēva* (in lines 5-6) informs the officials and people of the village of *Vaḍaūda*, belonging to *Surāsani*, and of the village of *Uthavanaka*, belonging to *Suvarnaprā[s]ādika*, both situated in the *Rajāsayana bhōga*³² which was in the *Mahādvāsaka maṇḍala*, as follows (lines 6-15): —

On the eighth lunar day of the bright half of *Kārttika* of the *Vikrama* year 1191 (expressed in words), at the annual funeral ceremonies in honour of the *Mahārāja Naravarmadēva*, the *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Parameśvara Yasōvarmadēva*, at *Dhārā*, granted the above-mentioned villages of *Vaḍaūda* and *Uthavanaka* to the householder *Dhanapāla*, son of *Viśvarūpa* and grandson of the *Thakkura Mahirasvāmin*, a *Karṇāta Brāhman* from the south, a student of two *Vēdas*, and a follower of the *Āśvalāyana śākhā*, who belonged to the *Bhāradvāja gōtra* and had the three *pravaras* *Bhāradvāja*, *Āngirasa* and *Bārhaspatya*, and was an emigrant from the place *Adrēlav[i]ddhāvāri*.

Having communicated this, *Lakshmivarmadēva* (in lines 15-16) further records that on the fifteenth lunar day of the bright half of *Śrāvana* in the year 1200 (expressed again in words), on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon, he himself, for the spiritual benefit of

³⁰ Metre, Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh). 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-samsāra-valgāgra-dhār-ādharām*, and translated — 'prosperity, which is the receptacle of the skips and bounds of a revolving world.' — *Ante*, Vol. XVI. p. 255, in the *Bhōpāl plates* of *Udayavarman*, line 18, we read *bhramat-samsāra-chakr-āgra-dhārām*, the concluding portion of which must be altered to *-āgra-dhār-ādharām*, as required by the metre.

³¹ Read *opāty-A[dr]*¹⁰.

³² On *bhōga*, as a technical territorial term, see *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 112, note.

his illustrious father, whom from the context I understand to be Yaśôvarmadêva, 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-vidâvari**, while it is here spelt **Adrêlav[i]ddhâvari**.

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 Dhara, I am here also unable to identify the localities mentioned in the inscription on the maps at my disposal,

TEXT,³⁵

- 1 [Ôm³⁴] svasti || Śrī[r]=jayô=bhyudayaś=cha || Jayati³⁶ Vyômakêśô=sau yah sarggâya vi(bi)bha[r]tti tâm | aindavim si(śi)rasâ lêkhâm jagad-vij-âmkur-âkṛitim || [Tanva]-
- 2 [ntu] vah Smarârâtêh kalyânam=anîsam jatâh | kalpânta-samay-ôddâma-taḍid-valaya-piñ[g]alâh || Paramabhat[ṭ]âraka-ma[h]ârâjâdhirâja-paramêśvara-śrī³⁶. [U]daya-
- 3 dityadêva-pâdânudhyâta-paramabhattâraka-mahârâjâdhirâja-para m ê ś v a r a - ś r i - N a r a - varmmadêva-pâdânudhyâta-paramabhattâraka-ma[h]ârâjâdhirâja-paramê[śv]ara-
- 4 śrī-Yaśôvarmmadêva-pâdânudhyâta-samastaprasastôpêta-samadhigata p a m c h a m a h â ś a - vd(bd)-âlâmkâra-virâjamâna-mahâk[u]mâra-śrī-Lakshmitva[r]mmadêvah ||³⁷ śrī-
- 5 Ma[h]âdvâdasaka-maṇḍalê śrī-Rajasaya[n]a³⁸.bhôgê Su[râ]sani-samva(mba)ddha-Vaḍâūda-grâma³⁹ | ta[th]â Suvar[ṇ]apra[s]⁴⁰adika-samva(mba)ddha⁴¹ Uthavaṇaka-grâmayôh sama-

³⁵ From Mr. Fleet's photo-lithograph; *Indian Inscriptions*, No. 50.

³⁶ Metre, Ślôka (Anuṣṭubh); and of the following verse.

³⁷ This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

³⁸ 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.

³⁹ I am doubtful about this consonant, which in the photo-lithograph looks rather like *gh*. — Colebrooke has in the text *têptîsuvaranna-prâsâdikâ*, and in the translation *Têptî-suvarna-prâsâdikâ*.

⁴¹ Here, and in several places below, which need not be pointed out separately, the rules of *sandhi* have not been observed.

³⁴ Apparently expressed by a symbol.

³⁶ Read *-śry-Uda°*.

³⁸ Colebrooke has *-Râjâśana*.

- 6 [sta]-vishayika-paṭṭakila-janapad-ādīn=vrā(brā)hmaṇ-ōttarān=vô(bô)dhayaty=astu vah
samvidita[m] 1⁴² ya[th]â śrīmad-Dhārayām mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī-
- 7 Yasōvarmmadēvena sri-Vikrama-kāl-ātīta-samvatsar⁴³-aikanavaty-adhika-sat-
aikāda[sē]shu Kārttika-sudi ashtamyām samjāta-mahārāja-śrī-[Nara]-
- 8 varmmadēva-sāmvatsarikē⁴⁴ tīrth-āmbhōbhiḥ snātvā dēva-ṛishi-manushya-pitṛīmś=
tarppayitvā bhagavantaṁ [Bha]vānīpatīm samabhyarchohya sa(śa)mī-ku[śa]-til-
ā[nn]-ā-
- 9 [jy]⁴⁵-āhutibhir=hiranyarētasām hutvā bhānavē arghyām vidhāya kapilām triḥ
pradakshīṅkṛitya sāmsārasy=āsaratām dṛiṣṭvā nalinī-dala-gata-
- 10 jala-lava-taralataṁ jīvitaṁ dhanam ch=āvēkshya⁴⁶ | uktaṁ cha | Vāt⁴⁷-ābhra-
vibhramam=idam vasudh-ādhipatyam=āpātāmātra-madhurō vishay-ōpabhōgāḥ |
prā-
- 11 [nā]s=triṅ-āgra-jala-vīndu-samā narāṇām dharmmaḥ sakhā param=ahō para-lōka-
yānē || ēvam=ākalayya A[dr]ēlav[i P]ddhāvāri⁴⁸-[sth]āna-vi[nirgga]ta-Bh[ā*]ra-
- 12 dvāja-gōt[r]āya Bh[ā*]radvāja-Āngirasa-Vā(bā)rhaspatya-triḥpravarāya⁴⁹ Āślāyana-śākhinē
dakṣiṇ-ā[yāta?]-Karnnāta-vrā(brā)hmaṇa-dvivēda-[ṭha]kkura-
- 13 śrī-[Ma]hīrasvāmi-pautra-śrī-Vīśvarūpa-suta-āvasthika⁵⁰-śrī-Dhanapālāya uparilikhita-
Vāḍaūda-grāma-Uthavanaka-grāmau sa-vṛi-
- 14 ksha-māl-ākulau nidhi-nikshēpa-sahitau vāpī-kūpa-tadāg-ānvitau chatuṣ-kamkṛta-
visuddhau [ch]āmḍr-ārkkam. yāvad=udakapūrvvakatayā śā-
- 15 sanēna pradattaḥ | Samvatsara⁵¹-sata-dvādasa-kēsh[u] Śrāvāna-sudi pañchadasyām
sōma-grahāna-parvvaṇi śrīmat-pitṛi-śrēy[ō]-rtha[m] [pu]nar=ēv=ā-
- 16 smābhiḥ ētau grāmau udakapūrvvakatayā śāsanēna pradattaḥ | Tad=anayō[r]=
grāmay[ō]r=nivāsi-samasta-paṭṭakīl-ādi-lōkaiś=tathā ka-
- 17 rshakai[ś=cha] ya[thō]tpadyamāna-kara-hiranya-bhāgabhōg-ādīkam=ājñā-śrāvāna-vidhē-
yai[r=bhū]tvā sarvvaṁ=amushmai samupanētavyam | Sāmā-
- 18 [nyām ch]=aitat=punya-phalam vu(bu)ddhvā asmad-vamśajair=anyair=api bhāvi-
bhūpatibhiḥ dharmam-ādāyō=ya[m=anu*]mantavyaḥ pālāniyāś=ch=ēti | Yatō
Va(ba)hubhi[r]⁵²=vvasudhā bhuktā
- 19 rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ | yasya yasya yadā bhūmīś=tasya tasya tadā phalam || Sva-
dattām para-dattām⁵³=vā yō harēta vasuṁdharām | shasṭi-varsha-[sa]-
- 20 hasrāṇi viṣṭā(shṭhā)yām jāyatē kṛimih || Sarvvān⁵⁴=ētān=bhāvināḥ pārthiv-
ēndra[n*]=bhūyō bhuyō yāchatē Rāmabhad[r]aḥ | sāmānyō=yām dharm-
ma-sē-

⁴² This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

⁴³ Read -sāmvatsar-.

⁴⁴ Read -sāmvatsarikē.

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-ānn-ādy-āhutibhir*. Mr. Fleet, *ante*, Vol. XVI. p. 254, l. 14, read -til-ānn-āshṭāhutibhir.

⁴⁶ The sentence is continued in line 11, *ēvam=ākalayya . . .*, and the intervening passage is put in by way of parenthesis.

⁴⁷ Metre, *Vasantatilakā*.

⁴⁸ Colebrooke has *Adrēlavaddhāvāri*; but the consonant of the fourth *akshara*, *v*, looks as if it had been preceded by the sign for *i*.

⁴⁹ Read -triṅpravarāy-Āślāyana-.

⁵⁰ Read, as suggested by Colebrooke, -āvasthika-. The word occurs again in the Bhōpāl grants of Arjunavarman, *Jour. Am. Or. Soc.*, Vol. VII. pp. 27 and 32; and evidently in the Piplānagar grant of the same, *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. V. p. 379.

⁵¹ Read *sāmvatsara*-.

⁵² Metre, Ślōka (Anushtubh); and of the following verse.

⁵³ Read -dattām.

⁵⁴ Metre, Śālinī.

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 Siddhantas.²151. — V. 1207. — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. X. p. 97, and Plate xxxii. 12. Inscription on pedestal of boar at Chândpur : —

(Line 1). — Sa[m*]vat 1207 Jyêshtha-vadi 11 Ravau ||

Northern V. 1207 current, —

pûrñimânta : Thursday, 5 May, A. D. 1149.

amânta : Friday, 3 June, A. D. 1149.

Northern V. 1207 expired, —

pûrñimânta : Tuesday, 25 April, A. D. 1150.

amânta : Wednesday, 24 May, A. D. 1150.

Southern V. 1207 expired, —

pûrñimânta : 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. Kâlanjar stone inscription of the Chandëlla Paramardidêva : —

Saṃvat 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 *Ajitasântistava-vritti* :³ —

Saṃvat-Vikrama-bhūpatêḥ śi(śa)ra-rit-ûdarchchih-śasâmkâir-mitê

Paushasy-âsita-paksha-bhâji Sasinâ yuktê dvitîyâ-tithau :

śrîmân(ñ=)śrî-Jinasimhasûri-sugurôḥ pādâbja-pushpaṃdhayaḥ

puryâm Dâsarathêr=Jinaprabha-gurur=jagrâṃtha tîkâm=imâm ||

¹ The Tables here spoken of are Professor Jacobi's Tables. The results for the several Siddhantas, 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, —

pūrṇimānta : Tuesday, 12 December, A. D. 1307; the second *tithi* of the dark half ended 0 h. 47 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Wednesday, 10 January, A. D. 1308.

V. 1365 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Saturday, 30 November, A. D. 1308.

amānta : 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 *Ārya-siddhānta*, corrected, the same *tithi* ended 0 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise of the Monday, and accordingly, by that *Siddhānta*, 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 Gwālior, one is dated : —

(Line 1). — Saṁ 1394 Māha-vadi 1 Vu(bu)dhē śrī-Ūdalēśvara-dēvatā-jā(yā)trā-sa[mayē]; and the other : —

(Line 1). — Saṁ 1394 varsh[ē] Māha-vadi 1 Vu(bu)dhē Ūdalēśvara-dēvatā-jā(yā)trāyā[m].

V. 1394 current, —

pūrṇimānta : 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.

amānta : Saturday, 18 January, A. D. 1337.

V. 1394 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : 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-siddhānta* the same *tithi* ended 2 h. 42 m. before mean sunrise of the Thursday, and accordingly, by that *Siddhānta*, the corresponding day is Wednesday, 7 January, A. D. 1338.

amānta : Friday, 6 February, A. D. 1338.

155. — V. 1452. — *List of Antiquarian Remains, Bo. Pres.*, p. 179. Stone inscription at Māngrol in Kāthiāwād, of the time of the Pātasāhi Nasaratha :⁴ —

Saṁvat 1452 varshē Vaiśāka(kha)-vadi 15 Ravau śrī-Yōginipurē pātasāhi-śrī-Nasaratha-vijayarājyē tanniyukt[ē*] śrī-Gurjara-dharitryām śrī-Dapharkhānē rājyam kurvati iha Surāshtrāyām śrī-Māngalapurē . . .

Northern V. 1452 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Wednesday, 1 April, A. D. 1394.

amānta : Thursday, 30 April, A. D. 1394.

Northern V. 1452 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Tuesday, 20 April, A. D. 1395.

amānta : Wednesday, 19 May, A. D. 1395.

Southern V. 1452 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Saturday, 8 April, A. D. 1396; the 15th *tithi* of the dark half ended 16 h. 22 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : 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-siddhānta* the 15th *tithi* commenced 0 h. 56 m. before mean sunrise of the Sunday, and accordingly, by that *Siddhānta*, 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 Rāsin :—

(Line 1). . . Saṁvat 1466 varshē Chaitra-sudi 7 Saṁ[au] !

⁴ i. e. Nusrat Shāh (of Yōginipura, i. e. Delhi), A. D. 1396-98. See Thomas, *The Pathan Kings of Delhi*, 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-siddhanta* the same *tithi* commenced 1 h. 23 m. before mean sunrise of the Saturday, and accordingly, by that *Siddhanta*, 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 *Avachārṇi* on Hémachandra's *Liṅgānusāsana-vṛitti*: —

Saṁvat 1489 *dvitīya-Srāvaṇa-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 *Āshāḍha*; for the solar *Āshāḍha* 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-siddhanta* and the *Siddhanta-śirōmaṇi* (and according to Dr. Schram's Tables) the intercalary month was *Srāvaṇa*. For, by the *Brahma-siddhanta* 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 $90^{\circ} 31' 40''$, and on 27 July, 6 h. 24 m., when the true longitude of the sun was $118^{\circ} 33' 34''$; and by the *Siddhanta-śirōmaṇi* there were new-moons on 27 June, 22 h. 51 m., when the true longitude of the sun was $90^{\circ} 40' 8''$, and on 27 July, 8 h. 0 m., when the true longitude of the sun was $118^{\circ} 39' 12''$; or, in other words, by both the works mentioned there were two new-moons during the solar months *Srāvaṇa*.

158. — V. 1747. — Professor Weber's *Catalogue*, Vol. I. p. 219. Date of a MS. of Anubhūtiśvarūpa's *Sārasvatī-prakriyā*: —

Saṁvat 1747 varshē *prathama-Vaiśākha(kha)-vadi dvitīya-chaturthī-dinē Budhē snurādhā-yôgē*.

Vaiśākha was intercalary in northern V. 1747 expired; for in that year the solar *Vaiśākha* 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 23 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 *pūrṇimānta* first *Vaiśākha* 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 *Anurādhā* 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-tritīyā* (Monday) and a *dvitīya-tritīyā* (Tuesday), but only one *chaturthī* (Wednesday). But by the *Brahma-siddhanta* 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 *Siddhanta*, Wednesday, 19 March, A. D. 1690, is properly called the *dvitīya-chaturthī*.

(*Anurādhā-yôgē* in the date is a mistake for *Anurādhā-nakshatrē*.)

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 *Kārttika-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 Siddhāntas, 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 Gôvindhachandradêva of Kanauj: —

(Line 16) . . . samvat 1181 Bhâdrapada-sudi [4 ?] Gurau ady=êha [Vârâ]ṇasyâ[m] Gaṅgâyâm . . .

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 Ajaygadh, the date of which, *ib.* p. 49, he transcribes thus: —

(Line 1) . . . Saṁvat 1237 Âshâḍha-sudi 2 Sôme 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 Sôme, 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 | śrī-Gôvindapâladêva-gata-râjyê chatur-daśa-saṁmvatsarê Gayâyâm ||

(Line 12) . . . Âśvinê śukla-pañchamya . . . (?).

The year Vikârin, No. 33, which is here coupled with the (Vikrama) year 1232, lasted, according to the Sûrya-Siddhânta rule, without *bija*, from 10 February, A. D. 1175, to 6 February, A. D. 1176, and with *bija*, 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 photolithograph, a copper-plate inscription, of the time of the Chaulukya Bhîmadêva II., the date of which he reads thus :—

(Line 1) . . . Samvat 1264 varshê lau° Âshâdha-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, Âshâdha-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, Âshâdha-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). — Śrī-Vikrama-saṁvat 1289 varshê Âśvina-vadi 15 Sômê.

The same inscription is published in *Archæol. Remains, Bo. Pres.*, p. 315, where the date is given thus :—

(Line 2). — Śrī-Vikrama-saṁvat 1289 varshê Âśvina-vadi 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,—

amānta : 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,—

pūrṇimānta : Thursday, 16 September, A. D. 1232.

amānta : Friday, 16 October, A. D. 1232.

Southern V. 1289 expired,—

pūrṇimānta : Monday, 5 September, A. D. 1233; the 15th *tithi* of the dark half ended 19 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : 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. Hāthasṇī stone inscription of the Mēhara chief Thēpaka :—

(Line 17). — Samvat 13[8]6 varshē || Bhāvē samvatsarē pūrṇṇē Āshāḍhē shaḍasitikē saptamyām Sōmavārēṇa.

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 *shaḍasitikē*, 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 Bhāva was completed, i. e. in the Jovian year which followed immediately upon the year Bhāva. For, this statement proves that the year of the date must be either 1326 or 1386, because in the 14th century of the Vikrama era⁵ the year Bhāva ended, by the Sūrya-Siddhānta rule, without *bija*,⁶ —

on Pausha śukla 7 of V. 1326 expired = 31 December, A. D. 1269; and

on amānta Vaiśākha kṛishṇa 8 of northern V. 1386 expired = 22 April, A. D. 1329.

Now, if the year of the date was V. 1326, the month Āshāḍha, mentioned in the date, must have fallen in southern V. 1326 expired; and if the year was V. 1386, the month Āshāḍha 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 Āshāḍha for the three possible years, we obtain the following results :—

For southern V. 1326 expired, —

pūrṇimānta, kṛishṇa 7 : Wednesday, 11 June, A. D. 1270.

śukla 7 : Friday, 27 June, A. D. 1270.

amānta, kṛishṇa 7 : Friday, 11 July, A. D. 1270.

For northern V. 1386 expired, in which Āshāḍha was intercalary,⁷—

pūrṇimānta, kṛishṇa 7 of first Āshāḍha : Saturday, 20 May, A. D. 1329.

śukla 7, ,, ,, : Sunday, 4 June, A. D. 1329.

pūrṇimānta, kṛishṇa 7 of second Āshāḍha : 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 Āshāḍha : Tuesday, 4 July, A. D. 1329.

amānta, kṛishṇa 7 ,, ,, : Wednesday, 19 July, A. D. 1329.

⁵ The date cannot be referred to the Śaka era, because during the 14th century of the Śaka era the year Bhāva ended, by the Sūrya-Siddhānta rule, in Śaka 1310 expired and Śaka 1369 expired. Nor can the writer have followed the Tēlinga rule, because by that rule the years following immediately upon Bhāva were Vikrama 1332 and 1392 expired, and Śaka 1317 and 1377 expired.

⁶ By the Sūrya-Siddhānta rule with *bija*, and by the Jyōtistattva 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 Āshāḍha 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,—

pûrṇimānta, kṛishṇa 7 : Friday, 8 June, A. D. 1330.

śukla 7 : Saturday, 23 June, A. D. 1330.

amānta, 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 Bhāva, which had ended on 22 April, A. D. 1329; on that day one of the seventh *tithis* of Āshāḍha 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 *shadaśītiké* may be applicable to it.

Although the word *shadaśītika*, 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 *shadaśīti-mukha* and *shadaśīti*. According to the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, xiv. 3-5,—

“By solar time are determined . . . the *shadaśītimukhas* . . .

“Beginning with Libra, the *shadaśītimukha* is at the end of the periods of eighty-six (*shadaśīti*) days, in succession: there are four of them, occurring in the signs of double character (*divisvabhāva*);

“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 *Kālamādhava*, Calcutta Ed. pp. 331-3, and the authorities cited in that work, *shadaśītimukha*, as well as the simple *shadaśīti*, denote both the signs Mithuna, Kanyā, Dhanuḥ, and Mīna, and also the *saṅkrāntis* of the sun into those signs.⁹

Now, as regards our date, it is clear that the term *shadaśītimukha*, in the sense in which the word is explained in the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, 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 *shadaśītimukha* or *shadaśīti*, denoting the Mithuna-saṅkrānti, be applicable to the above-mentioned 19th June, because that *saṅkrānti* 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 *Kālamādhava*, 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 *shadaśītiké* of the date to be used, for the sake of the metre, for *shadaśītau*, denoting the sign Mithuna, and consider it to be simply synonymous with the phrase *mithuna-rāsaṁ sthité sūryé*. 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 Mēsha-saṅkrānti, 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 *Tāṇḍya-brāhmaṇa* : —

Svasti saṁvat Āshāḍhādi 83 varshē Vaiśāsha(kha)-sita-dviti[ya*]yām Bṛhmi-tanayō . . .

This date has been treated⁹ by me *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 252. I have there shewn that the writer in all probability intended to write—

saṁvat 15 Āshāḍhādi 83 varshē,—

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.

⁹ See particularly *Kālamādhava*, p. 333 : — Tair-étaiḥ saṁjñā-bhédāi rāsayō vyavahriyantē | tad-rās sambandhāt-tad-rāsi-saṅkrāntinām-āpi tāny-ēva nāmāni ||

⁹ I now find that the 'Hālāri Saṁvat, which commences in Āshāḍha,' had been already mentioned, *ante*, Vol. 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 Bhāṇḍārkar's *Second Report* (1882-83), p. 228. Date of the composition of Amitagati's *Subhāshita-ratna-saṅdhā*, of the reign of Muñja of Dhārā :—

Samārūdhē pūta-tridasa-vasatim Vikrama-nripē
sahasrē varshāṇām prabhavati hi pañchāsād-adhikē ।
samāptam pañchamayām=avati dharāṇām Muñja-nripatau
sitē pakshē Paushe budha-hitam=idam śāstram=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 Pausa-śudi 4), after the commencement of the 5th *tithi*.

169. — V. 1078. — *ante*, Vol. VI. p. 53. Copper-plate inscription of the *Mahārājādhirāja* Bhōjadēva of Dhārā :—

(Line 8) atit-āshṭasaptaty-adhika-sāhasrika-samvatsarē Māgh-āsita-tṛtīyāyām ।
Ravav=udagayana-parvvaṇi śrīmad-Dhārāyām=avasthitair=asmābhīh . . .

V. 1078 current, pūrṇimānta :¹⁰ Wednesday, 4 January, A. D. 1021; Uttarāyana-samkrānti on 23 December, A. D. 1020.

V. 1078 expired, pūrṇimānta: 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 **Uttarāyana-samkrānti** 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 Uttarāyana-samkrānti, 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 Uttarāyana-samkrānti took place during the second *tithi* and that the Sunday also was civilly the second, I cannot suppress the suspicion that the word *tṛtīyāyām* of the date may have been put erroneously for *dvitīyāyām*.

(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 Kārttika.)

170. — V. 1145. — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XX. p. 99, and Plate xxii. Stone inscription from a temple at 'Dubkund' (south-west of Gwālior), of the reign of the *Mahārājādhirāja* Vikramasimha(?): —

(Line 61) . . . Samvat 1145 Bhādrapada-sudi 3 Sōma-dinē ॥

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 Māgha, the Uttarāyana-samkrānti can take place only during the dark half of the pūrṇimānta 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 Chandëlla Jayavarmadêva, of the Khâjurâhò inscription of Dhaṅgadêva :—

(Line 34) . . . Saṁvat 1173 Vaisâ(śâ)kha-sudi 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 Gôvindahchandrâdêva of Kanauj :—

(Line 15) . . . pañchâsi(śi)ty-adhik-aikâdasa(śa)-sa(śa)ta-saṁvatsarêshu Chaitrê mâsi su(śu)kla-pakshê paurṇamâsyâm tithau Su(śu)kra-dinê ankê=pi saṁvat 1185 Chaitra-sudi 15 Su(śu)krê [ady=êha] śrîmad-Vârâṇasyâm manvâdau Gaṅgâyâm 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 | Vaisâkha-sudi 3 Sômê ||

(Line 3) -Ajaya[pâ]ladêva-kalyânavijayarâjyê . . .

(Line 7) akshayatritiyâ-yugâdi-parvvanî . . .

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 *yugādi* had necessarily to be performed on Monday, 16 April, A. D. 1173, because the third *tithi* of the bright half commenced before the 13th *ghaṭikā* of that day, and ended before the 13th *ghaṭikā* 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 Jayachchandrādēva of Kanauj:—

(Line 24) . . . chatustrimsaty¹¹-adhika-dvādaśa-sa(śa)ta-saṁvatsarē Paushē māsi su(śu)kla-pakshē chaturthyān=tithau Bavi-dinē aṅkatō=pi saṁvat 1234 Pausha-sudi 4 Bavau uttarāyana(ṇa)-saṁkrāntau ady=ēha śrīmad-Vārāṇasyām Gaṅgāyām snātvā . . .

V. 1234 current: Tuesday, 7 December, A. D. 1176; and Uttarāyana-saṁkrānti 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 Uttarāyana-saṁkrānti 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 Uttarāyana-saṁkrānti 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 *Vārāha-purāṇa*, written at Benares:—

Saṁvat 1877 Khara-nāma-saṁvatsarē adhika-Jyēshṭhē(śhṭhē) māsē śuklē pakshē saptamyāyām¹² Guru-vāsarē tad-dinē . . .

Jyāishṭha was intercalary in northern V. 1877 expired;¹³ for, in that year the solar Jyāishṭha 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 Jyāishṭha 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 Jyāishṭha 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 Sūrya-Siddhānta rule, without *bija*, from 9 August, new style, A. D. 1819, to 4 August, A. D. 1820, and with *bija*, from 18 September, A. D. 1819, to 13 September, A. D. 1820; and according to the Jyōtistattva 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 Tēlinga 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. Basāhi copper-plate inscription of Gōvinda-chandrādēva of Kanauj:—

(Line 8) . . . Saṁvat sahas[r*]-aikē ēkashasṭy-uttara-śat-ābhyadhikē Pausha-māsē śukla-pakshē pañchamyām Ravi-dinē śukē saṁvat 1161 Pausha-sudi 5 Bavau |

¹¹ Read *chatustrimsad-*.

¹² Read *saptamyāin*.

¹³ See No. 121 above, p. 177.

(Line 16) . . . mahârâjaputra-śrîmad-Gôvîndachaimdradêvêna uttarâyana(ṇa)-samkrâṇtau

V. 1161 current: **Sunday, 6 December, A. D. 1103**; the 5th *tithi* of the bright half ended, 1 h. 21 m. after mean sunrise. Uttarâyana-samkrâṇti 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 Uttarâyana-samkrâṇti took place 7 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise.

In my opinion, **Saturday, 24 December, A. D. 1104**, which is the day of the Uttarâyana-samkrâṇti (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 8th of the bright half of Mârgasîra.)

178 — V. 1107. — *ante*, Vol. XVI, p. 205. Nanyaurâ copper-plate inscription of the Chandellâ Dêvavarmadêva:—

(Line 7). — Samvat 1107 Vaisâkha-mâsê kṛi[shṇa]-pakshê tṛitîyâyâm Sôma-dinê Suhavâsa-samâvâsê âtmîya-mâtuḥ râjûi-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, —

pūrṇimānta : 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.

amānta : Wednesday, 1 May, A. D. 1051.

Southern V. 1108 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Saturday, 21 March, A. D. 1052.

amānta : 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 Gōvindachandradēva of Kanauj :—

. . . dvyaśīty-adhik-aikādaśa-śata-saṁvatsarē Māgha-māsē kṛishṇa-pakshē shashṭhyām tithāv=āṅkataḥ saṁvat 1182 Māgha-vadi 6 Śukrē Śrīśa-Pratishṭhānē Gaṅgāyām snātvā . . .

The possible equivalents for V. 1182 and V. 1183 are : —

V. 1182 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Sunday, 28 December, A. D. 1124.

amānta : Monday, 26 January, A. D. 1125.

V. 1182 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Thursday, 17 December, A. D. 1125.

amānta : 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, —

pūrṇimānta : Thursday, 6 January, A. D. 1127.

amānta : 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 Ajayapāladēva : —

(Line 11) . . . nṛipa-Vikrama-kalād-arvvak ēkatrīṁśad-adhika-dvādaśa-śata-saṁvat-sar-āntarvarttini Kārttikē māsi śukla-pakshē ēkādaśyām Sōma-dinē upōshya Kārttik-ōdyāpana-parvvaṇi . . .

(Line 31) . . . Saṁvat 1231 varshē Kārttika-śudi 13 Vu(bu)dhē ||

The possible equivalents of these two dates for V. 1231 and V. 1232 are : —

Of the first date (Kārttika-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 (Kārttika-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 *śhādaśī* 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. Kaṭi copper-plate inscription of the Chaulukya Bhīmadēva II. : —

(Line 16) . . . Srimat(d-)Vikramādity-ōtpādita-saṁvatsara-śatēshu dvādaśasu ashtā-śīty-uttarēshu Bhādrapadamāsiya-śukla-pratipadāyām Sōma-varē śr-āṅkatō=pi saṁvat 1288 varshē Bhādravā-śudī I Sōmē śyām saṁvatsara-māsa paksha-vāra-pūrvvikāyām tithāv-ady-ēha śrīmad-Anahilapātākē . . .

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 Śilaratnasūri's commentary on Mērutuṅga's *Mēghadūta* : —

Varshē chaṁdra-nidhāna-pūrva-1491-kalitē śrī-Vikramārkāt-tathā
Chaitr-āntar=vadi-pañchamī-Budhadinē śrēshṭh-Ānurādha-yutē |
śrī-jainōjjvala-Mēghadūta-suvṛihat-kāvyaśya pūrṇ-ābhavaṭ=
ṭkā śrī-Anahillapātaka iti khyātē kshītau pattanē ||

The possible equivalents for V. 1491 and V. 1492 are ; —

Northern V. 1491 current, —

amānta : Friday, 10 April, A. D. 1433; *nakshatra* at sunrise, Māla (19).

pūrṇimānta : Sunday, 28 February, A. D. 1434; *nakshatra* at sunrise, Viśākhā (16).

Northern V. 1491 expired, —

amānta : Tuesday, 30 March, A. D. 1434; the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 3 h. 7 m. after mean sunrise; *nakshatra* at sunrise, Māla (19).

pūrṇimānta : Thursday, 17 February, A. D. 1435; the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 19 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise; *nakshatra* Svātī (15), up to 13 h. 47 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1491 expired, —

amānta : Saturday, 19 March, A. D. 1435; *nakshatra* at sunrise, Jyēshṭhā (18).

Southern (or northern) V. 1492 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : 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 Viśākhā (16) up to 3 h. 56 m. after mean sunrise, when it was followed by Anurādha (17).

Since in V. 1491 there is no Wednesday which could in any way be joined with the *tithi* 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 Gôvindhachandra-dêva of Kanauj : —

(Line 13) . . . chatuṣsaptaty-adhik-aikâdaśa-sa(sa)ta-saṁvatsarê Phâlgunê mâsi kṛishṇa-pakshê tṛitīyâyan=tithau Śukra-dine=ñkê=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 weekday, 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 Gôvindhachandra 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 Gôvindhachandrâdêva of Kanauj : —

(Line 16) . . . saṁvatsarânâm asht-âdhika-dvâdasa(sa)-sa(sa)têshu Kârttikê mâsi su(su)kla-pakshê paurṇamâsyâm 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. Kaḍi copper-plate inscription of the Chaulukya Bhīmadēva II. : —

(Line 17) . . . [śrīmat(d)]-Vikramādity-ōtpādita-saṁvatsara-śatēshu dvādaśasu pañchanavaty-uttarēshu Mārggamāsiya-śukla-chaturdāśyām Guru-vārē str-āṅkatō=pi saṁvat 1295 varshē Mārggē(rgga)-śudi 14 Gurāv=asyām saṁvatsara-māsa-paksha-vāra-pārvvikāyām tithāv=ady=ēha śrīmad-Aṇahillapātakē . . .

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 Anhilwād, 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 *Ashṭāṅgharīdaya* :—

Saṁvat 1512 pravartamānē sādharma-Phālaguna-śuddha-pratipa Bhauma-vāra . . .

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. Bāndā copper-plate inscription of the Chandēlla Madanavarmadēva :—

(Line 10) . . . Bhailasvāmi-saṁp-āvāsē navaty-adhika-sa(śa)taik-ōpēta-sahasratamē saṁvatsarē Māghē māsi su(śu)kla-pakshē pūrṇnimāyām Sōma-vārē āṅkatō=pi saṁvat 1190 Māgha-sudi 15 Sōmē ॥

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. Kaḍī copper-plate inscription of the Chaulukya Bhīmadēva II. : —

(Line 11). . . **Srimat(d-)Vikramādity-ōtpādita-saṁvatsara-śatēshu dvādaśasu saptāśīty-uttarēshu Āshāḍhamāsiya-sukl-āshṭamyām Sukra-varē str-āṁkatō spi saṁvat 1287 varshē Ashāḍha-śudi 8 Sukrē sśyām saṁvatsara-māsa-paksha-vāra-pūrvvikāyām tithāv=ady=ēha śrīmad-Anahilapātakē . . .**

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. Rāmnagar stone inscription of the kings of Maṇḍala : —

(From the rubbings, line 64) . . . Vēda-nētra-hay-ēndv-abdē Jyēshṭhē Vishṇu-tithau [ś]itan ॥(1) Sadāsivēna likhitam=utkirṇam taiḥ suślipibhiḥ ॥ 52 ॥ Saṁvat 1724 varshē Jyēshṭha-śuddha 11 Sukra-vāsar[ē] ॥

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 *Jyēshṭha-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 Jāikadēva : —

(Line 1) . . **Vikrama-saṁvatsara-śatēshu saptasu chaṭurnavaty-adhikēshv=āṁkataḥ [79]4 Kārttika-mās-āpara-pakshē amāvāsyāyām Āditya-varē Jyēshṭhā-nakshatrē ravigrahana-parvvaṇi | asyām saṁvatsara-māsa-paksha-divasa-pūrvvāyām tithāv=ady=ēha Bhūmi-likāyām . . .**

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, —

pûrṇimānta : Thursday, 20 October, A. D. 735 ; no eclipse.

amānta : Saturday, 19 November, A. D. 735 ; no eclipse.

V. 794 current, —

pûrṇimānta : Tuesday, 9 October, A. D. 736 ; no eclipse.

amānta : Wednesday, 7 November, A. D. 736 ; no eclipse.

V. 794 expired, —

pûrṇimānta : Saturday, 28 September, A. D. 737 ; no eclipse.

amānta : Monday, 28 October, A. D. 737 ; *nakshatras*, Viśākhā and Anurādhā ; **an altogether invisible solar eclipse**, 8 h. 13 m. Greenwich time, or, at Ujjain, 7 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise.

V. 795 expired, —

pûrṇimānta : 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.

amānta : **Sunday**, 16 November, A. D. 738, when the new-moon *tithi* ended 10 h. 38 m., and the *nakshatra* was Jyêshthā up to 22 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise ; no eclipse.

V. 796 expired, —

pûrṇimānta : Wednesday, 7 October, A. D. 739 ; **a solar eclipse, not visible in India.**

amānta : 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 *amānta* 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* Jyêshthā, 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 *amānta* Āsvina, and that the document was drawn up *exactly one month later*, on the new-moon day of the *amānta* 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 *Āsvina* 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* Jyêsthâ, 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) . . . chatuhpa(shpa)mchâsa(śa)d-adhika-sa(śa)taikâdasa(śa)-samvatsarê Mâghê mâsi su(śu)kla-pakshê tṛitīyâyâm Sôma-dinê Vârânyâyâm uttarâyana(ṇa)-samkrântau ânkataḥ samvat 1154 Mâgha-sudi 3 Sômê Vârânyâyâm . . .

I have already stated, *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 10, that the Uttarâyana-samkrânti, 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 Uttarâyana-samkrânti in connection with Mâgha-sudi 3 as erroneous.¹⁵ Irrespectively of the *samkrânti*, 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. (Uttarâyana-samkrânti on Wednesday, 24 December, A. D. 1096.)

V. 1154 expired: Friday, 8 January, A. D. 1098. (Uttarâyana-samkrânti 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) . . . sam 1166 Pausha-vadi 15 Bavsu || . . .

(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 Gôvindhachandradêva of Kanauj: —

(Line 18) . . . saṁvat 1187 Mârgga-sudi paurṇi(rṇa)mâsyâm tithau Sôma-dinê || ady=êha śrīmad-Vârāṇasyâ[m*] saṁkrāntau . . .

The possible equivalents for Mârgga-sudi 15 of V. 1187, current and expired, and the days of *saṁkrāntis* are: —

V. 1187 current: Wednesday, 27 November, A. D. 1129. There was a *saṁkrānti* 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 saṁkrānti* on Tuesday, 25 November, 17 h. 5 m. after mean sunrise, and a *sâyana saṁkrānti* 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 Mârgasîrsha 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 *saṁkrānti*, I assume that the *saṁkrānti* 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. Kaḍi copper-plate inscription of the Chaulukya Tribhuvanapâladêva: —

(Line 14) . . . Śrīmad-Vikramādity-ôtpâdita-saṁvatsara-śatêshu dvâdaśasu navaṇavaty-uttarêshu Chaitramâsiya-śukla-shashṭhyâm Sôma-vârê Str=âmkatô Spi saṁvat 1299 varshê Chaitra-śudi 6 Sômê. Śsyâm saṁvatsara-mâsa-paksha-vâra-pûrvvikâyam sâṁ° lau° Phâgna-mâsiya-amâvâsyâ(syâ)yâm saṁjâta-sôryyagrahana-parvvaṇi saṁkalpitât tithâv=ady=êha śrīmad-Anahillapâtakê . . .

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 Pārśvachandra's *Vārttika* on Virabhadrasādhu's *Chatuṣśarāṇa-prakīrṇaka* :—

Muni-naṁd-ēshu-chandr-ābdē vyatitē Vikramārkataḥ |
subhāsi Phālgunē māsi trayōdaśyām Ravēr-dinē ||
pavitṛē Mūla-nakshatrē . . .

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* Maghā (10), not Mūla (19).

V. 1597 current : Friday, 20 February, A. D. 1540 ; *nakshatra* Āślēshā (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* Maghā (10).

V. 1599 expired : Friday, 16 February A. D. 1543 ; *nakshatra* Āślēshā (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* Mūla on the 13th of the bright half of Phālguna, and that this particular *tithi* of Phālguna 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 Rājasthān*, Vol. II. p. 764, Colonel Tod reports that at Chitōr in Rājputānā he found an inscription which was dated¹⁶—

‘Sambut 811, Māgha-sudi 5th, Vṛishpatwar (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 Tahangadh in Rājputānā :—

(Line 1) . . . Saṁvat 1244 [Jyē]shṭha-su 15 Gurō(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. Ajaygadh rock inscription of the Chandēlla Viravarman :—

(Line 14) . . . Sagar-ēndv-agni-sudhāmsu(śu)-mitē Vikrama-vatsarē . . . Saṁvat 1317 . . . Vaiśāsha(kha)-sudi 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. Gwálor stone inscriptions of the reign of the *Mahárájádhirája* Đuᅅgarêndradêva :¹⁷ —

(Line 1) . . . Saᅅvat 1510 varshê Māgha-sudi 8 Sôᅅmê śrī-Gôpagirau mahárájádhirája-rája(ja)-śrī-Đuᅅgarêndradêva-rája[ś*] pravarttamāné |

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 Chiramjīva-bhaᅅᅅa's *Kāvya-vilāsa* : —

Saᅅvat 1814 Saka 1679 ĩsvara-nāma-saᅅvatsarê Kārttikê māsi śukla-pakshê 6 Guru-vaᅅsarê shashᅅᅅyām tithau Kārᅅnāᅅaka-dêᅅê Muhabihād-ākhyā-grāmê 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 Tēlinga rule, the year ĩsvara (No. 11) coincided with Saka 1679 expired or northern V. 1814 expired. By the Sūrya-Siddhānta rule, without or with *bīja*, and by the Jyōtistattva rule, the date (the 17th November, new style, A. D. 1757) would fall in the year Sarvadhārin (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 Gujarāᅅi Hīndūs and Pārsis. 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 Sōrābjī¹ saw her :

Home he came and continued repeating — "Father, have me married."

If I marry at all I shall marry none but Farāmji's² daughter or shall go unmarried through life.

Mēharwānji³ asked a question or two : — Farāmji² joined his hands together (in compliance).

5. Mēharwānji³ sent some *pān*-leaves⁴ ; — Farāmji² accepted them with pleasure :

Mēherbāi⁵ sent some flowers : Ratanbāi⁶ accepted them thankfully.

(The two parties then said) : "We were only as brothers before, (but) now we are *vehvais* :"⁷ We were only as sisters before, but now we are *vehvāns*.⁷

¹⁷ By Dr. Rajendralal Mitra, *Indo-Aryans*, Vol. II. p. 383, the above date was read thus : — Saᅅvat 1510 varshê Māgha-sudi 8 (a)shᅅᅅamai(myāsh).

¹ The bridegroom; any other name might be substituted. ² The bride's father. ³ The bridegroom's father.

⁴ The *pān*-leaves and flowers may be supposed to convey a formal offer of marriage. Among the Pārsis 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 *vehvāt* (masculine) and *vehvān* (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 Sîrînbâi⁸ 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.”
- 5 The Mêhêtâ⁹ 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 Brother¹⁰ sends Presents to his Sister on the occasion of
her Children's Marriages.

- Amadâbâd¹¹ 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.
5 “ 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 on¹³ the (marriage) dress.
10 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,
15 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.
20 The florist brings garlands of flowers.
The *pân*-leaf seller brings packets ((*bidân*) of *pân*-leaves.

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 generally 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 *kuñkûn*. 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 *kuñkûn* 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 *mosálún* the sister's heart rejoices.
 The embroiderer comes with gold embroidered *sádis*,
 And the shawl-dealer brings shawls and plaids.
 25 The *mosálún* makes the house look grand.
 Present the bridegroom's father with a shawl¹⁴ 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 *sádi*.
 30 So many presents does the *mosálún* 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 ! |
| 5 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 <i>māṇḍav</i> . | That's how we know ! |
| Ours is the bridegroom's father's ¹⁸ house. | How do we know ? |
| 10 The wedding guests are sitting under the <i>māṇḍav</i> . | 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).
 5 Inform Mēharwāñjī,²⁰ the celebrator 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 Rāñi's son is coming ! Or one born of a Thākurañi is coming !
 10 Every street is being swept clean ! The father-in-law orders the floor of the *māṇḍav* to be sprinkled with water :
 (And) the mother-in-law gets figures in pearls²¹ made upon the door-sill.

¹⁴ A shawl is generally presented as a mark of honour to him who does some great or meritorious thing, and among the Pársis and Hindús none can have a better claim to such distinction than "the celebrator of a wedding."

¹⁵ *Lit.* "that our house is full of a wedding."

¹⁶ A wedding in a Pársi family calls forth the greatest enthusiasm, and gives occasion for much rejoicing. The Pársi 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 Ahúra Mazda by doing so.

¹⁷ Up to a very recent period the Pársi 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 Hindús.

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 Pársi and Hindú 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).
 15 Music is being played in every street.
 The mother-in-law comes out to see the bridegroom's face²³ with her hands full of silver coins.
 Brother, thy mother-in-law has brought thee pearls : and my Sirinbâi²³ 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.

डोकरांओने अदराववानी वखते डोकरी तरफथी गावानुं गीत.

हवाडाने कांटे रमतीरे, रमती मारा सोराबजीए शीठीरे.
 घरे जइ राहरो धरीओरे, बावा मुजने परणावोरे.
 परणुंतो फरामजीनी धीसेरे,²⁴ नहीतर रहीश कुमारोरे.
 मेहरवानजीए पुछी बे वातरे, फरामजीए जोडीआ बेह हाथरे.

5 मेहरवानजीए मोकळीआं पानरे, फरामजीए राखीआं मानरे.
 मेहरबाइए मोकळीआं फुलरे, रतनबाइए राखीआं मुलरे.²⁵
 आगळ हता आपणे बेह भाइरे, हवे थया वेहेवाइरे.
 आगळ हतां आपणे बेह बेहेनोरे, हवे थयां वेहेवांपोरे.

गीत २.

डोकरांओने अदराववानी वखते डोकरी तरफथी गावानुं गीत.

सुनरा²⁶ माचीरे, माचीए रतन जडाव.
 तेपर बेठां मारां सीरीनबाइरे, बावाजीने अरज करे.
 बावा एवो वर शोधजोरे, हरख मारा पुरा करे.

माए एवो वर शोधजोरे, सुरावारा जोर लावे.
 5 सामा मळीआ राएवररे,²⁷ मेहेता तमे शीद चालीआ.
 मेहेता पाछा वळजोरे, सुरावारा अमे लावीआ.

गीत ३.

बाप दीकरीने अथवा भाह बेहेनेने वास्ते मोसाळुं मोकळे ते वेळा गावानुं गीत.

अमदावाद धराधर वागे,
 अमदावावानी वस्ती छे आज्ञे.
 ममाइ जावा मोकळे मोसाळुं,
 माव जावा मोकळे मोसाळुं.
 5 एरे मोसाळुं ते शीदने काजे,
 बाइ सारो पुच परणे तेने काजेजी.
 मोसाळुं आवे अवास²⁸ फावे.
 एरे मोसाळुंओ एरोने छेरो,
 बेनुं²⁹ मारी मांदव हेठे जइ पेहेरोजी,
 10 मोसाळुं आवे आंगणुं गाजे.
 एरे मोसाळुं ते वीरो³⁰ सांचवसे,
 भीजाइ पणोनी लइ आवेजी.
 मोसाळुं आवे अवास फावे.
 नाणावती आवे ने रुपैया लावे.
 15 सोनीजी आवे ने सुनैबा लावेजी,

मोसाळुं आवे मोहळो शोने.
 सोनीरो³¹ आवे ने हार सांकळी लावे.
 झवेरी हीरा लइ आवेजी,
 मोसाळुं आवे अवास फावे.
 20 मालीरो³² आवे ने फुलगजरा लावे,
 तम्बोली आवे ने पानबीडा लावेजी,
 मोसाळुं आवे बाइ मारी हरखे.
 कसबीशोर आवे ने कारचोकी लावे,
 झुलइओ छाल पामरी लावेजी,
 25 मोसाळुं आवे अवास फावे.
 छाल पामरी जोर वरना बावाने पेहेरावो,
 पामरी पाचडी जोर वरना काकाने बंधावो.
 कसबी सवागा वरराजाने पेहेरावो,
 जरीनी सारी वरनी माएने पेहेरावोजी,
 30 मोसाळुं आवे पेहेरामणीओ लावे.

²³ It not unfrequently happens among some castes of the Hindus that the mother-in-law and her party see the bridegroom's face for the first time on the wedding-day.

²⁴ The bride.

²⁵ धी, 'daughter;' this word is not in common use now. [It is, however, the usual word in Parsi.] — R. C. T.]

²⁶ Lit. 'price.'

²⁷ सुनरा, poetical form of सोनीरी.

²⁸ राएवर, 'the king-husband.' राएवर or वरराजा is the word used for the bridegroom during the period of his betrothal and marriage.

²⁹ This word is now obsolete.

³⁰ बेनुं poetical form of बेन, sister.

³¹ वीरो, lit. 'hero;' this word is generally used by the dotting sister for her brother.

³² सोनीरो, poetical form of सोनी.

³³ मालीरो, the same as माली.

गीत ४.

लगनना दिवसोपर गावानुं गीत.

अमारां वीहवा भयीं घेर,	केम जाणीए;	उयां वाजां गायण आपे लेहेर,	तेम जाणीए.
एना वेपारीओ उभा बाहार,	तेम जाणीए.	अमारां वरराजा घेर,	केम जाणीए;
अमारां वीहवा भयीं घेर,	केम जाणीए;	जेना घोडुला ³³ उभा मांख मांहे,	तेम जाणीए.
जेना सोसागर उभा बहार,	तेम जाणीए.	अमारां वरबावा घेर,	केम जाणीए;
5 अमारां अलबेलीआं घेर,	केम जाणीए;	10 जेना साहाजनीआ बेठां मांखमांहे,	तेम जाणीए.

गीत ५.

सासु सोपारो लइ जायछे ते वेळा गावानुं गीत.

सासु लेजेरि सोपारो, जमाइ तोरणे आव्यो वेपारो. ³⁴	10 शेरीशेरीना कचरा वरावेछे, ससरां मांखे पाणी छंटावेछे.
सासु लेजेरि सोटकरो, जमाइ ³⁵ तोरणे आव्यो मोटकरो. ³⁶	सासु मोतीना चोक पुरावेछे.
सासु लेजेरि वाटकरो, ³⁷ जमाइ तोरणे आव्यो लाडकरो. ³⁸	ससरा गीलाबनां छटणां छंटावेछे.
कोइ हाल करो हलकार करो, कोइ जाण करो. पिछाण करो.	शेरीशेरी गालीचा पंथरावेछे,
5 पेला फरामजी वेहेवाइने जाण करो.	सासु फुलनां तोरणो बंधावेछे.
कोइ मोटांनो जायो आवेछे, कोइ साहेबजाशे आवेछे,	15 शेरी शेरीमां वाजां वजरावेछे,
कोइ उमरावजाशे आवेछे, कोइ वणजारीनो जायो आवेछे	सासु मख जोवाने आव्यारे, बधी रुपैओ लइ आव्यारे.
बधी वणजार वणजाने ³⁹ लावेछे.	भाइनी सासु लाख्यां मोतीरे, मारी सीरीनबाइ छे पणोतीरे:
कोइ राणीनो वीरो आवेछे, कोइ ठकराणी जायो आवेछे.	अमारो आवो रुपाळो जमाइजी,
	तेने मोहेरा ⁴⁰ मोहोल बेसायारे.

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 *Prasñōttara-Ratnamāla*, and that a particular verse in the *Hitōpadēsa* 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 *Prasñōttara-Ratnamāla*, 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-Purdna* 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 *Prasñōttara-Ratnamāla* 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:—

रश्मिता सितपटगुरुणा विमला विमलेन रत्नमालेव ।
प्रभोत्तरमालेयं 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 वेपारो 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 वणजाने, 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 ślōka at the end, instead of the one quoted above : —

विवेकास्वक्तराज्येन राज्ञेयं रत्नमालिका ।
रश्मितामोघवर्षेण स्रष्टव्यां सरलंकृतिः ॥

"This garland of gems, an excellent ornament for the learned, was composed by king Amōghavarsha, who gave up his kingdom owing to his discriminative knowledge."

The *Prasnōttara-Ratnamālā* is here ascribed to king Amōghavarsha; and, as four sovereigns of the Rāshtrakūṭa 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 Amōghavarsha I. is known for certain to have been a Jaina and a devoted worshipper of the Digambara saint Jinasēna, who wrote the well-known *Ādi-Purāna*. Amōghavarsha 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 Amōghavarsha, are Śaka-Samvat 775 and 797. If we choose to lay no stress on the fact of Amōghavarsha 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 Chālukya king Tailapa I.

Dr. Peterson regards, with Prof. Weber, the author of the *Prasnōttara-Ratnamālā* 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 Vira, the most excellent of excellent Jinas, and in the closing stanza, according to one set of copies, describes himself as a *sita-pāṭa-guru* or 'a teacher clad in white garments,' that is, a Jaina *Siddhu* of the Śvētāmbara sect. If, on the contrary, Amōghavarsha 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 *Nirvāna* of Mahāvira : —

पञ्चैव य वाससया पुसमाए तीसवरिससंजुता ।
वीरे सिद्धिमुवगए तन्नो णिवद्धं इमं चरिअम् ॥

The date of this *Nirvāna* has not as yet been satisfactorily and finally settled; but the majority of orientalist 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 *Nirvāna*, viz. B. C. 467, — which, he says, agrees so very well with the adjusted date of Buddha's *Nirvāna*, 477 B. C., — the date of this *Purāna* 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 *Rāmāyaṇa* from the Jaina standpoint. Since Dr. Weber pointed out the importance of the *Daśaratha-Jātaka* 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-Purāna* 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 Prākṛit poem, it is, I believe, superior in many respects to the better known *Rāvanavahō* and *Gauḍavahō*. 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 Āryan 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 Pūschālas, and Eastern India or Vidēha, Magadha and Kōsala, 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 Māgadhī and Śaurasēnī, as well as the differences that characterized them, — cannot be satisfactorily accounted for. While what is called the Brahmarshidēśa by Manu, was the home of genuine Brāhmanism whose customs and rights were to be taken as models, the Prāchya or Eastern Land, often named in Vēdic and Sūtra 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 Āryans 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 Āryāvartā. Now, it seems to me most probable that, while

the *Mahābhārata* was originally the national epic of the Kuru-Pāñchāla country, the *Rāmāyana* was originally the national epic of the Eastern Āryans, though afterwards remodelled by its Brāhmaṇ *rédacteurs*. It is in keeping with this view that, in the ancient literature of North-Western India, the heroes of the *Mahābhārata* are so often referred to, while those of the *Rāmāyana* are conspicuous by their absence. While there is an allusion to Vāsudēva, Yudhishthira and Arjuna in Pāṇini, and Patañjali frequently brings in *Mahābhārata* characters in his illustrations, there is not a single reference to Rāma, his brothers, or their father, Daśaratha, in the works of these grammarians. Amarasimha, in his list of the synonyms of Vishṇu, gives a good many names derived from the Kṛishṇa legend; but the name of Rāma, the son of Daśaratha, does not occur, though Rāma 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 *Rāmāyana* (*viz.* the *Daśaratha-Jātaka*) has been discovered, no such version of the Kṛishṇa legend or of the Kuru-Pāṇḍava war has yet been found among the writings of the Eastern Āryans. All these facts are easily accounted for, I think, if we look upon the *Rāmāyana* as the national epic of those Āryans 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 Āryans who produced the most ancient monuments of the Indian mind which we possess and which constitute the Védic literature. Many of the chronological difficulties created by the hypothesis now generally received and countenanced by high authorities, that the *Rāmāyana* is really later than the sister epic, are obviated by the view suggested above.

Jaipur.

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 *حدور* spelling *Chitôr*. With dots it may be *جاپور* 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 *चीतोर*. 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 *حدور*.

The mint of Islām Shah's coin, which I mentioned, is *شیرگڑہ 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 *حدور* 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

Gwālior on page 221. It ought to have been *Gwālīār*, as the spelling on coins for more than two centuries was *گوا ليار*.

The *yē* at the end of *تانه* may be *ē* or *ī*. The pronunciation is immaterial, as *bimār* is pronounced by Persians *bēmār* ('without strength'). I don't know how it was pronounced in Akbar's time. The word *tanka*, however, cannot be *tankī*, as it is spelt on the coins *تنگہ tanka*. Your first note on p. 220 overlooked this spelling. In support of your theory for the other words, you have the *yē* going across the coins at the end of *الشي* and *شاهي*, both of which are pronounced now as *ī*. The origin of the word would shew whether it is *ē* or *ī*, as we now use these sounds.

Were I going to stay on, I would set to work at the Sūri 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. 1., 408, 431.

Some years ago I called attention in the pages of this Journal, *ante*, Vol. XV. p. 31 f., to the importance of Bêrûni'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 Sanskrit 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 Sanskritists 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 Sanskrit 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 Brâhman, has chosen the second more ambitious course, which in the case of Bêrûni's work is particularly arduous and toilsome. For Bêrûni gives hundreds of quotations from Sanskrit authors, numerous mathematical or astronomical calculations, and very extensive lists of Sanskrit names and technical terms, the verification or identification of which frequently presents very great difficulties. The Sanskrit 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 Sanskrit 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 Bêrûni's or his copyist's carelessness. Their restoration frequently becomes so much more difficult, as they have not been preserved in the Sanskrit 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 *Vishnu-Purâna*, the *Bhagavadgîtâ*, Varâhamihira's *Brihat-Samhitâ*, the *Sâmkhyakârikâ* and the *Pâtâñjala Yôgasûtra*, 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 Sanskrit 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 Sanskritists have furnished notes on various single points. The result is that a very considerable proportion of Bêrûni'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 Bêrûni's work.

These achievements are such that even a Sanskritist, 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 Sanskritists in connection with the Indica. It will probably take some time until all the Sanskrit names and words in Bêrûni'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. Bêrûni repeatedly quotes astronomical works with the title *Srûdhava* 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 *Srôtavya* (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 Sanskrit *Sârôddhâra*, '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 Bêrûni not rarely neglects to note the Sanskrit *d* by *elif*, I suppose I should have been able to make a better suggestion than to approve of the possible but unusual *Sarvadhara*. Again Bêrûni quotes, I. p. 157, a title *RAHVNRAKEN*, which he renders by 'the breaking of the Karanas.' Professor Sachau transliterates doubtfully *Râhunnârakana* (?) and adds in the note that one would expect the word *Karana* to stand in the beginning. Nevertheless it seems to me that the Arabic transcription is nearly correct. The Sanskrit equivalent is *Râhunnârakana*, which means literally 'the removal of Râhu.' Râhu, the demon of the eclipses and of darkness, has been used figuratively to denote the bad Karanas, which by their erroneous teaching obscure the light of science. Similar highflown titles are very common in Sanskrit literature, and Bêrûni gives some instances (Vol. I. p. 156). His translation 'breaking the Karanas' is also in substance correct. But it may easily mislead. Further, Bêrûni tells us (Vol. II. p. 178) that the Kâsmîrians celebrated on the second of Chaitra a festival called *agdûs*, 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 مُتَّاي, is a mistake of the copyist for مُتَّابِر, which latter

may stand according to Bêrûni's method of transcription either for *Muttâpir* or for *Muttâpid*. The latter form is no doubt intended. It is the still used Kâsmîrian Prâkrit for Sanskrit *Muktâpîda*.¹ *Muktâpîda* is the second name of Lalitâditya, who ruled, according to Sir A. Cunningham's adjusted chronology of the *Râjataranginî*, from 726-763 A.D. or about 270 years before Bêrûni. The *Râjataranginî* highly extols his victory over the Tukhâras, to the north of Kâsmîr. These are doubtless the Turks, mentioned by Bêrûni. A good many other incorrect forms may be set right by a comparison of partly untranslated, partly unpublished Sanskrit 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 *Vratakânda* and many even by an inspection of the *Vratarâja*. Thus Bêrûni's festival *Harbâlt* (?) on Bhâdrapada śukla 3 is of course the *Hâritâlîka-vrata*; *Gâihat* on the 6th of the same month, the *Kapîla-Shashîh* (*gâi*, 'a cow,' being the equivalent of *hapîla*, 'a brown cow' and *hat* the Prâkrit form for *shashîh*); the festival *dhruvagrîha* (?) on the 8th of Bhâdrapada, is the *Dûrva-Ashtamî* or *Dûrvânkura-Ashtamî*, and the *Parivartî* (?) on the 11th, is the *Parivartint-Bhâdastî*, when Vishnu-Vâsudêva turns in his sleep.

The second task which awaits the Sanskritist in connection with the *Indica*, the verification of the quotations from Sanskrit 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 be gained by it, I shall go through Bêrûni's translations from the *Vishnu-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 *Nârdayana*.' 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 *Vishnudharmottara-Purâna* 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 *Vishnudharmottara*, which I discovered during my Kâsmîr tour in 1875, is a Bhâgavata composition and somewhat resembles a Purâna. 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 Bêrûni has used not only this work, but a second homonymous one, and has erroneously considered both to be one.

The Kâsmîrian *Vishnudharmottara*, from which the greater number of his quotations has been taken, is a large book, which contains three Kâṇḍas with about 21,000 ślokas. 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 *t* is due to the stress which is put on the long *d*. Similarly *Jayapîda* is now in Kâsmîrian *Jepîd*.

The type of Vaishnavism, which it teaches, is not the licentious worship of the shepherd Kṛishṇa, but one similar to that described by Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar in his paper on the Fāñcharātra or Sāttvata system in the *Transactions* of the Āryan Section of the VIIth Int. Or. Congress. On the whole, the *Vishṇudharmōttara* preaches Smārta doctrines and practices, replacing Brahman by Vāsudēva, and mixing the Vedic rites with Vratas in honour of the latter deity. Some passages, which mention the river Taushtī, i.e. the modern Tōhī, the sacred lake Bindusaras, &c., show an intimate acquaintance with the geography of Kāśmīr, and make it probable that the book has been written or received its present shape in Kāśmīr. The whole is stated to have been communicated by the *Rishi* Mārkaṇḍeya to king Vajra, a son of Aniruddha and a contemporary of Parikshit. As is usual in this class of works, there are, however, a good many other interlocutors. The language shows the slipshod Sanskrit, common to all Purāṇas, and the author does not shrink from coining the most absurd forms, when they suit his convenience. Thus we find (I. 252,8) the accusative singular *duhitām* in the following verse:—

ऋभस्व वानरेन्द्रस्व दुहितां मानसीं स्ववन् ।
एवौ प्रजापतिः श्रीमान् रूपयौवनसंयुताम् ॥

The first Kāṇḍa, which contains 269 Adhyāyas, very much resembles the first Kāṇḍas of other Purāṇas. It narrates the creation or rather the successive creations of the world, gives the usual Paurānic accounts of geography, astronomy and time, numerous genealogies and legends, and some Stōtras, as well as rules regarding certain Vratas and the Śrāddhas. Among the legends, a long account of the loves of Purūravas and Urvaśī, which fills Adhyāyas 130-137, deserves to be mentioned, as it comes a little closer to Kālidāsa's story than the other known versions.

The second Kāṇḍa, which is said to have been originally revealed by Vāruṇi Pushkara to Paraśurāma, 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 *Rājanīti*, but con-

It begins:—अथ मार्कण्डेयः । अथ भार्गवो रामो वरुण-
न्दनं पुंकरं पप्रच्छ । भगवन् ज्योतिषामयनं भोतुमिच्छामि ।
तमुवाच वारुणिः । पुरा सुरार्धिमध्यगतं भगवन्तमातिशयिनं सजग-
सर्वं [जगत्संभव] पालनसंहारकरं श्रीमद्भागं भृगुर्वैज्ञापयामास ।
भगवन् ज्योतिषामयनं भोतुमिच्छामि । तमुवाच भगवान्पितामहः ।
यदा मे त्वं कल्पादौ हृदयाज्जातस्तदा मया ते लोकानां चतुर्वि-
ंशतिलक्ष्य [४०] ज्योतिर्ज्ञानमुक्तं तदेवास्मिन्वाङ्मे यज्ञे महादे-

tains also something on Vratas, Śāntis, medicine, the Dhanurvéda, astronomy and astrology. The portions on Dharma and Rājanīti include many verses found in the *Mānava-Dharmaśāstra*. The section on astronomy, which is chiefly in prose, bears the separate title, *Paitmaha-Siddhānta*. The preamble states that it was originally communicated by Brahman to Bhṛigu. Next Vāruṇi Pushkara revealed it to Paraśurāma, and finally Mārkaṇḍeya to Vajra.³ It consists of nine Adhyāyas with about 400 Granthas, viz. : I. śākhā, II. jātaka, III. upākaraṇa, IV. grahagati, V. tithinakshatra, VI. chhāyā, VII. lagna, VIII. udāyastamaya, IX. paitāmahaṃ siddhāntam (!). After the last colophon, which is no doubt faulty, and stands for *paitāmahā siddhāntā*, follow the words *samāptam paitāmahaṃ siddhāntam*. This *Paitāmaha-Siddhānta* is certainly that on which Brahmagupta in 628-29 A. D. founded his *Sphuṭa-Brhmasiddhānta*. For it contains the passages, quoted by the commentators of the *Sārya-Siddhānta* and printed by Mr. Colebrooke (*Misc. Essays*, Vol. II. p. 348 note 4; ed. Cowell). Its character has been appropriately described by Dr. Thibaut (*Pañchasiddhāntikā*, p. xxi.), who assigns it 'to the modern phase of Hindu astronomy.' It is full of Greek terms, such as *kēndra*, *lipta*, *sunaphā*, *hibuja*, &c. I may add that it shows the influence of the Vaishnavas; for, in the beginning of Adhyāya III., Time is identified with Vishṇu:—अनाधि[दि]निधनः कालः प्रजापति-
र्विष्णुस्तस्व महगत्सनुसारेण गणितम् ॥

It further shows a very close connexion with the section on Time in the first Kāṇḍa, which resemblance may be explained either by the assumption that both portions of the *Vishṇudharmōttara* have been composed by the same author, or that the *Siddhānta* is an older book, according to which the chapters of the first Kāṇḍa have been modelled.

The third Kāṇḍa gives short treatises on Sanskrit and Prākṛit 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 Adhyāyas.

वशापेन ज्वालां भिस्वा विनिर्गतस्य जन्मान्तरोत्पन्नस्यातिर्लक्ष-
[वि]तं वक्ष्यामि । तच्छ्रुत्वा सर्वमेव ते पूर्वजन्माभिहितं ज्योति-
र्ज्ञानमाविर्भविष्यति । अथ भगवान्सहस्ररश्मिर्धिमलो विमल-
मयूखः । ...

The last verse is:

ईदास्तु यज्ञार्थमभिप्रवृत्ताः क[का]लानुपूर्व्यां विहिताश्च यज्ञाः ।
तस्मादिदं कालविधानशास्त्रं यो ज्योतिषं वेद स वेद सर्वम् ॥

As might be expected from these facts, all Bérûni's quotations from the *Vishnu-Dharma*, in which Márkaṇḍeya is mentioned as the speaker, have been taken from the Kásmirian *Vishnudharmôttara*. In order to show exactly how Bérûni has

treated the original, I give heretwenty-two passages in full, quoting (1) the Sanskrit text, (2) my translation, and (3) Bérûni's rendering, the latter two in parallel columns. I mark the discrepancies by italics and add explanatory notes regarding them.

I. Vishnu-Dharmmôttara I. 29, 16 b.

स्वद्विम्बे निर्मले पृथ्वी सशैलवनकानना ॥ १६ ॥
 शशाकृतिः सदा वृद्ध्या शशलक्ष्मास्यतोन्ध ।
 तेनैव कारणेन त्वमुच्यसे मृगलाञ्छनः ॥ ११ ॥

(16.) "In thy³ 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 *Sasalakshman* (hare-marked). For the same reason thou art called *Mṛigalâñchhana* (deer-marked)."

Indica II. 102: — The *Vishnu-Dharma* says: —

"The moon is called *Sasalaksha*,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 सौरौ 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 *Vishnu-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 सप्तविंशतिभिर्दिने ॥ १८ ॥
 पारिषेषेषु मासे[ने]षु मासस्त्रिंशद्दिनः 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 *Vishnu-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, 19b.-23a.

सौरिणाडस्तु मासे[ने] न यश भवति भार्गव ॥१९॥
 सावनेन तु मानेन दिनषट्केन पूर्यते ।
 ऊनरात्राश्च ते प्रोक्ताः संवत्सरेण षट् ॥ २० ॥
 सौरसंवत्सरस्यान्ते मानेन शशिजेन तु ।
 एकादशातिरिच्यन्ते दिनानि भृगुनन्दन ॥ २१ ॥
 मास[समा]हये साष्टमासे दिनषोडशकानि[न्वि]ते ।
 न[ना]लीचतुष्टयान्ते तु तस्मान्मासोतिरिच्यते ॥२२॥
 स चाधिमासकः प्रोक्तः काम्यकर्मसु गर्हितः ।

³ The moon is addressed by *Ívara* or *Siva*.

⁴ *Laksha* is probably due to a clerical mistake.

⁵ This is, of course an explanatory interpolation of Bérûni's. Regarding the watery nature of the moon, see below No. XVIII., verse 3.

⁶ This is again an interpolation by Bérûni, who explains *Mṛigalâñchhana* wrongly as a *Tatpuruṣa*

compound.

⁷ In his remarks on this statement Bérûni 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 Bhrigu*, a year has elapsed according to the *solar measure (Saura māna)*,"⁸

(20.) "It must be completed according to the civil measure (*Sāvana māna*) by (adding) six days; and (hence) six *Ūnarātras* 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 (*Chāndra māna*), *O son of Bhrigu*."

(22.) "In two years eight months, and sixteen days, at the end of four *Nādikās* (*Nādikās*) there is for this reason a month in excess."

(23.) "That is called the *Adhimāsa* (intercalary month), (which is) unpropitious for all reward-desiring rites."

V. V. Dh. I. 73, 13.

मेवादिषट्कमे सूर्ये तेषां दिवस उच्यते ।

तुलादिषट्कमे सूर्ये तेषां रात्रिः प्रकीर्तिता ॥ १३ ॥

(13.) " (The period) during which the sun passes through the six (signs) beginning with Aries is called their (the *Dēvas*) 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 *Vishnu-Dharma* says : —

'The half beginning with *Capricornus* is the day of the *Asura*, i.e. the *Dānavas*, and their night begins with the sign of *Cancer*.'¹² Previously he had said : — 'The half beginning with Aries is the day of the *Dēva*.'"

VI. V. Dh. I. 73, 14-16.

पितॄणां चान्द्रमासेन अहोरात्रोनिधीयते ।

कृष्णपक्षाष्टमे मध्ये तेषां रात्र्युदयः स्मृतः ॥ १४ ॥

शुक्लपक्षाष्टमे मध्ये तेषामस्तमयस्तथा ।

अर्धरात्रः पौर्णमास्यां पितॄणां समुदाहृतः ॥ १५ ॥

कृष्णपक्षावसाने च तेषां मध्याह्न उच्यते ।

कृष्णपक्षाष्टमे तस्मात्तेषां आह्नः 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 *Pitṛiṇām ahôrātra*, i.e. the *nychthemeron* of the forefathers Evidently their moon (read noon) is the time of the conjunction or full-moon and their midnight an opposition or

⁸ Here our text seems to be at fault, and *Bêrûni* to have the correct reading. For the *Chāndra māna* has six days less than the *Sāvana māna*, — viz. 354 solar days, against 360.

⁹ This is an explanatory note, added by *Bêrûni*. It is in substance correct, but he erroneously takes *ana* for a substantive.

¹⁰ It is difficult to find a good reason why *Bêrûni* has given an incorrect figure for the months and has omitted the days and *Nādikās*, 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 *Bêrûni* does not say that the figures of the *Vishnu-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 आह्नः is unusual in Sanskrit; perhaps the author wishes यज्ञः to be understood with t.

(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 nycthemeron 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 nycthemeron 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 nycthemeron of the forefathers. Thus the subject is explained by the author of *Vishnu-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, 35b.-40.

समाग[स]तेर्द्वादशभिर्दिव्यैस्तिष्यद्युगं स्मृतम् ।
द्विगुणं द्वापरं ज्ञेयं त्रेता त्रिगुणमुच्यते ॥ १७ ॥
चतुर्गुणं कृतं प्रोक्तं पिण्डितं चान्वसंख्यया ।
चतुर्थे गं सहस्राणि राम द्वादश कीर्तितम् ॥ १९ ॥
चतुर्थे गौकसप्तत्या मन्वन्तरमिहोच्यते ॥ ३५ ॥
कल्पस्तु राम विज्ञेयो मनवस्तु चतुर्दश ।
आदिमध्यान्तरालेषु मनूनां भृगुसत्तम ॥ ३६ ॥
कृतमानप्रमाणेन संधिर्भवति मानव ।
चतुर्गुणसहस्रं तु कल्पमाहर्षनीषिणः ॥ ३७ ॥
कल्पश्च दिवसः प्रोक्तो ब्रह्मणः परमेष्ठिनः ।
तावती च निशा तस्य यस्यां शेते स भार्गव ॥ ३८ ॥
एवंविधैरहोरात्रैर्दिनमासाद्य संख्यया ।
पूर्णे वर्षशतं सर्वे ब्रह्मा भार्गव जीवति ॥ ३९ ॥

¹⁴ Bêrûni's discussion shows that in his copy of the *Vishnudharmottara* the words *krishna*, 'dark,' and *sukla*, 'bright,' in verses 14b and 15a had exchanged places and possibly also the words *ardharâtra* and *mrdhyâhna* in verses 15a and 16b. 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 *Grihyasûtras* 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 Bêrûni asserts. Full-moon *Śrâddhas* are only exceptionally permissible in the month of *Mâgha*, which is sacred to the manes. A minor slip in Bêrûni'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 *Vishnudharmottara* is true. The 142nd chapter of the first *Kânda* 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*; *पितृणामहोरात्रः । तेषां कृष्णाष्टम्यामर्कोदयः । अमावास्यायां मध्याह्नः । शुक्लाष्टम्यामर्कास्तमयः । पौर्णिमास्यामर्धरात्रः ।* "The day and night

(18-19.) "The Tishya age is stated¹⁵ (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."

(35b.) "One Manvantara is here declared (to consist) of 71 Chaturyugas."

(36-37.) "But know, O Râma, that 14 Manu are one Kalpa. At the beginning, in the middle (between each two Manvantaras) and in the intervals¹⁶ 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-Paramêsthin; and his night during which he sleeps, O Scion of Bhrigu, is of equal length."

(39.) "Brahman lives one whole century which consists of such nychthemera, days, months and so forth, O Scion of Bhrigu."¹⁸

In connection with this passage Bêrûni 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. Bêrûni, moreover, adds with respect to the latter: "He is to the Hindus like the angel of death who kills them with his seat, being *apratidhrishya* (irresistible)." This is a curious mixture of truth and error. The *Vishnu-dharmottara* 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 Bhrigu's

Indica I. 372:—"The author of the *Vishnu-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

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 Sanskrit work known to me. Bêrûni, 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 *apratidhrishya*. 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.

ब्रह्मायुषा परिच्छिन्नः पौरुषो दिवसः स्मृतः ।

तवती च निशा तस्य यस्येह 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 *Paitmaha-Siddhânta* (see Vol. I. 153-154).

¹⁵ Bêrûni intentionally omits all the numerous expletive words which the Sanskrit author requires in order to make up the verse.

¹⁶ The beginning and the end of this phrase have been omitted by Bêrûni, though it must have stood in his text. For without the words *ddi* and *antardla* the verse would be incomplete. This omission involves a bad mistake, as it vitiates the calculation. According to Bêrûni the

Kalpa consists of $14 \times 71 = 994$ 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. Bêrûni 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 Bêrûni 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 Bêrûni 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 । ब्रह्मणोस्व समुत्पत्तावारम्भं जुगहासुतेः ।
 कालस्व गतिविच्छामि श्रोतुं भृगुकुलोद्भव ॥ १ ॥
 मार्कण्डेय उवाच । स्वेनाहोरात्रमानेन ब्रह्मणोस्व जगत्पतेः ।
 समाहृतं गतं राजन्पञ्च मासास्तथैव च ॥ २ ॥
 अहोरात्रचतुष्कं च वर्तमानदिनाद्गतम् ।
 अतः परं प्रवक्ष्यामि तन्ने निगदतः शृणु ॥ ३ ॥
 नववः चतुर्गताः सप्त संभवन् च तथा गताः ।
 सप्तविंशत्यतीताश्च तथैव च चतुर्गताः ॥ ४ ॥
 जुगत्तत्रं तथातीतं वर्तमानचतुर्गताम् ।
 संवत्सराणां दशकं तथा कलियुगाद्गतम् ॥ ५ ॥
 सात्त्विककालेस्मिन्सह पक्षेण यावत् ।
 भविष्यान्मानसीतानां ब्रह्मणां श्रुतिदक्षिण ॥ ६ ॥
 अनादिमस्यात्कालस्व संख्या वक्तुं न शक्यते ।
 यमायाः सिकृता धारा यथा वर्षति वासवः ॥ ७ ॥
 शक्या भवन्ति राज्ञः प्यतीताः पितामहाः ।
 अन्तवत्तां युधा युद्धा सर्वस्व जगतीपतेः ॥ ८ ॥
 सन्मार्गं परिमार्थन्ते बहिष्णोः परमं पदम् ।

Vajra said : —

(1.) "I wish to hear, O Scion of *Bhṛigu's* race, the length of time elapsed since the birth of this (present) most resplendent Brahman."

Mārkaṇḍeya 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 *Kalīyuga*."

(6-9.) "At the time of thy *Aśvamédha*, together with a fortnight, O Scion of *Yādu*. The number of (the years contained in) the time of the

Indica II. 2: — The book *Vishnu-Dharma* says: "Vajra asked *Mārkaṇḍeya* 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 *Aśvamédha* 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 *Bārṇa*'s statement is wrong, as he has left out the additional fortnight, i. e. *divya* fortnight mentioned in verse 6a. Without *śha pakshēna* 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 Gaugā and the rain-drops, as Vāsava 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."

to reach the neighbourhood of that place which is called Paramapada.²⁵

X. V. Dh. I. 81, 1-2.

वज्र उवाच । त्वयोरितानां धर्मज्ञ समासेन पृथक् पृथक् ।
कालस्यावयवानां च श्रोतुमिच्छामि देवताः ॥ १ ॥
मार्कण्डेय उवाच । पौरुषं यद्दहोरात्रं श्रुतवानसि यादव ।
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."

Mārkaṇḍeya 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 *Vishṇu-Dharma*, Vajra speaks to Mārkaṇḍeya: "Explain to me the times;"²⁶

Whereupon the latter answers:

"Duration is Atmapurusha, i. e. a breath, and purusha which means the lord of the universe."²⁷

XI. V. Dh. I. 81, 3-6.

कल्पस्य वैवर्तं ब्रह्मा यस्यैवं सत्कलं जगत् ।
क्रमान्मन्वन्तराणां तु मनवस्तु चतुर्विंश ॥ ३ ॥
स्वायम्भुवस्तु प्रथमो मनुः स्वारीन्धिवस्तथा ।
..... ॥ ४ ॥
..... ।
वैवस्वतोय सावर्णो ब्रह्मपुत्रस्तथैव च ॥ ५ ॥
धर्मपुत्रो रुद्रपुत्रो रक्षपुत्रश्च यादव ।
रादयो [रौच्यो] भौतिश्च [स्यश्च] धर्मात्मा मनवस्तु चतुर्विंश ॥ 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.) "Svāyambhuva, the first Manu, next Svārōchisha²⁸ then Vaivasvata, Sāvarna, like-

Indica I. 336-7:—In the book *Vishṇu-Dharma*, Mārkaṇḍeya 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-

²⁵ Bêrûni 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.

²⁶ Bêrûni 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 Bêrûni'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 *kālāḥ ātmaparushah (asti)*, while *kālātma* (i. e. *kālāḥ ātmā yasya*) is an adjective qualifying *purushah*.

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. 173-181, Antatama, Tāmasa, Raivata and Chākshusha.

²⁹ The first clause is another attempt at translating verse 2, given in the preceding extract. Bêrûni 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, *Rāśya* (*Rauchya*)³⁰ and *Bhautya*, the righteous one, are, O Scion of Yadu, the fourteen Manus."

*tara are descended.*³¹ Svāyambhuva, Svārōchiya, Auttami, Stāmasa, Raivata, Chakshusha, Vaivasvata, Sāvarni, Vishṇu-Dharma, Dharmaputra, Rudraputra, Dakshaputra, Raibhya (?), Bhautya."³²

XII. V. Dh. I. 81, 23b-28.

वज्र उवाच । कल्पानां सति सादृश्ये यद्भेदं भृगुनन्दन ॥ २२ ॥
तद्वहं श्रोतुमिच्छामि तत्र मे कौतुकं महत् ।
मार्कण्डेय उवाच । कल्पानामतिसादृश्ये शृणु भेदं नराधिप ॥ २३ ॥
समतीति यथा कल्पे षष्टे [ष्टे] मन्वन्तरे गते ।
सप्तमस्य चतुर्विंशो राजस्वैतायुगे तदा ॥ २४ ॥
यदा रामेण समरे सगणो रावणो हतः ।
रामेणैव तदा राजन्कुम्भकर्णो निपातितः ॥ २५ ॥
वर्तमाने तु यद्भूतं कल्पे यदुकुलोद्भव ।
रामस्य चरितं बद्धं तदा वाल्मीकिना शुभम् ॥ २६ ॥
अतीतकल्पे यद्भूतं मया तत्काम्यके वने ।
युधिष्ठि [ष्ठि]राय कथितं धर्मपुत्राय पार्थिव ॥ २७ ॥

I. 82, 7b-9a.

वर्तमाने तदा [तथा] कल्पे षष्टे [ष्टे] मन्वन्तरे गते ॥ ६ ॥
तस्यैव च [सप्तमस्य] चतुर्विंशो राजस्वैतायुगे तदा ।
यदा रामेण समरे सगणो रावणो हतः ॥ ७ ॥
लक्ष्मणेन तथा [रा] राजन्कुम्भकर्णो निपातितः ।

Vajra said: —

(22, 23a.) Vajra said: — "O son of Bhṛigu, I wish to hear the differences between the Kalpas (which exist) in spite of their similarity. Great is my curiosity with respect to that."

Mārkaṇḍēya answered: —

(23b.) "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 Trētāyuga of the seventh, then, O king* —

(25.) *"When Rāma had killed Rāvāṇa together with his host in battle, then that same Rāma slew Kumbhakarna, O king ;"*

Indica II. 3: — Further the *Vishṇu-Dharma* says: — "Mārkaṇḍēya 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 Trētāyugas 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 Purāṇas.

³¹ The relative clause is an interpolation. The information which it conveys has been taken from *Vishṇu-dharmāṭīta*, 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 *Svārōchiya* 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 188, also *Sāvāṇa* instead of *Sāvāṇi*, it is probable that *Auttama* was everywhere the form of the

V. Dh., which Bêrûnî altered according to his other sources. *Stāmasa* is a monstrous form for *Tāmasa*, which occurs twice in Bêrûnî's table. It has been caused by his taking the final *s* of the preceding name (*Auttamas-Tāmasas tathā*) with this. Bêrûnî's division of *ahargana* into *dh* + *argana* (Indica I. 368) and of *parārdha* into *parār* + *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. 7b-8a.) "Thus in the present Kalpa, when the sixth Manvantara had gone, in the twenty-fourth Trêtâyuga, of the seventh, then, O king!" —

(27.) (82. 8b-9a.) "When Râma had killed Râvana together with his host in battle, then Lakshmana slew Kumbhakarna, 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 Vâlmiki."

(29 a-b.) (27.) "That which happened in the past Kalpa, was narrated, O king, by me to Yudhishtira, the son of Dharma, in the Kâmyaka forest."³³

In the twenty-fourth Trêtâyuga Râma killed Râvana, and Lakshmana, the brother of Râma killed Kumbhakarna. The two subjugated all the Râkshasas.

At that time Vâlmiki, the Rishi, composed the story of Râma and Râmdyana and eternalised it in his books.

It was I who told it to Yudhishtira, the son of Pându in the forest of Kâmyaka vana.

XIII. V. Dh. I. 82. 1.

भगवान्वासुदेवश्च तथा संकषेणः प्रभुः ।

प्रद्युम्नश्चानिरुद्धश्च कृतादीनां च देवताः ॥ १ ॥

(1) "Worshipful Vâsudeva, further the lord Samkarshana, Pradyumna, and Aniruddha, are the deities of the Kṛita and the other (three ages)."

Indica I. 398, the book *Vishnu-Dharma* says: "The names of Hari, i. e. Nârâyana differ³⁴ in the yugas. They are the following, Vâsudeva, Samkarshana, Pradyumna and Aniruddha."

XIV. V. Dh. I. 83. 3-9.

स्वाद्भौतश्च वैशाखो मासश्चैवामिदैवतः ।

उद्येष्टः [उद्येष्टः] चाक्रः स्मृतो मास आषाढो वैश्वदैवतः ॥ ३ ॥

श्रावणो विष्णुदैवत्यं शु[आ]जो भार्गवस्तथा ।

अश्वयुक्त्वाश्विनो मास आश्वेयः कार्तिकः स्मृतः ॥ ४ ॥

मार्गशीर्षस्तथा सौम्यः पौषः स्याज्जीवदैवतः ।

पित्र्यो मासः स्मृतो मासः फाल्गुनो भगदैवतः ॥ ५ ॥

मासेषु मासदैवत्यः शुक्लपक्षः प्रकीर्तितः ।

वक्ष्यामि कृष्णपक्षाणां देवतानि तवानथ ॥ ६ ॥

³³ The Sanskrit text of this piece is evidently mutilated. As Mârkanḍeya 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 existence 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 7a, 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 *tadhâ*, 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 Mârkanḍeya's statement regarding the length of his life. As the assertion that Mârkanḍeya revealed the

Purâna '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 ब्रह्मस्त-
न - - -) 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 Râmdyana, 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:—

सादृश्यमेदाविह 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 राजन्नामेयश्चाप्यनन्तरे ।
 ज्येष्ठो [ज्यैष्ठे] रौद्रः स्मृतः पक्षस्त्वापाठः[हे] सार्प उच्यते ॥ ७ ॥
 पित्र्यश्च श्रावणे मासि सावित्रश्चाप्यनन्तरे ।
 भैत्रश्चाश्वयुजे मासि शाक्रश्चाप्यभिदैवते ॥ ८ ॥
 तथा च नैर्ऋतः सौम्ये पौषे स्याद्विष्णुदैवतः ।
 वारुणश्च तथा पित्र्ये फाल्गुने पौष्णे उच्यते ॥ ९ ॥

Fabular abstract of the deities of the Pakshas:—

Month.	MS.		Berûnî's Indica, I. 358.	
	Bright-half.	Dark-half.	Bright-half.	Dark-half.
Chaitra	Tvashtri	Yama	Tvashtri	Yâmya
Vaisâkha	Agni ³⁵	Agni	Indrâgnî	Âgnêya
Jyaishṭha	Śakra	Rudra	Śukra	Raudra
Âshâḍha	Viśvédêvâh	Sarpah	Viśvédêvâh	Sârpa
Srâvana	Vishṇu	Pitarah	Vishṇu	Pitrya
Bhâdrapada	Aja	Savitri	Aja	Sânta
Âsvayuja	Âsvinau	Mitra	Âsana	Maitra
Kârttika	Agni	Śakra	Agni	Śakra
Mârgasirsha	Sôma	Nirriti	Sôma	Nirriti
Pausha	Jiva	Vishṇu	Jiva	Vishṇu
Mâgha	Pitarah	Varuna	Pitrya	Varuna
Phâlguna	Bhaga	Pûshan	Bhaga	Pûshan. ³⁶

XV. V. Dh. I. 83. 10-12.

अतः परं प्रवक्ष्यामि जडैवत्यो महः स्मृतः ।
 अभिरर्कः स्मृतः सोमो वरुणः परिकीर्तितः ॥ १० ॥
 अङ्गारकः कुमारश्च बुधश्च भगवान्हरिः ।
 बृहस्पतिः स्मृतः शाक्रः शुक्रो देवी च पार्वती ॥ ११ ॥
 प्रजापतिः शनैश्चरो राहुर्ज्ञेयो गणाधिपः ।
 विश्वकर्मा स्मृतः कोतुर्ये महास्ते पुरा स्मृताः ॥ १२ ॥

The planets.	Deities according to MS.	According to Indica, II. 121.
Sun	Agni	Agni
Moon	Varuna	Vyâna (?)
Mars	Kumâra	Kalmâsha (?)
Mercury	Worshipful Hari	Vishṇu
Jupiter	Śakra	Śukra
Venus	Pârvatî	Gaurî
Saturn	Prajâpati	Prajâpati
Râhu (the Head)	Ganâdhipa	Ganapati (?)
Kêtu (the Tail)	Viśvakarman	Viśvakarman ³⁷

³⁵ The reading of the text मासभैवान्निदैवतः is a mistake for भैवान्निदैवतः and Bêrûnî has the correct form.

³⁶ Bêrûnî's deities Yâmya, Âgnêya, Raudra, Sârpa, 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 Sâvitri; the form Âsana is due to the Prâkrit pronunciation of Âsvina. In both cases the adjectives have likewise been put instead of the simple names of the gods. His Sukra instead of Śakra

is probably due to the Arabic copyist, who mistook the dammâ 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 Sukra are due to mistakes of the copyist. Vishṇu, Gaurî and Ganapati 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 अग्निदेवत्वा रोहिण्यां केम्बरः स्मृतः ॥ १३ ॥
 इन्द्रकः सोमदेवत्वा रौद्र आर्द्राति[स्त]या स्मृतः ।
 पुनर्वसुस्तयादित्वः पुष्यश्च गुरुदेवतः ॥ १४ ॥
 आश्लेषा सर्पदेवत्वा मघाश्च पित्रदेवताः ।
 भाग्यश्च पूर्वफाल्गुन्यामर्यमा च तयोत्तराः ॥ १५ ॥
 सावित्रश्च तथा हस्तश्चित्रा त्वाष्ट्रा प्रकीर्तिता ।
 स्वातिश्च वाशुदेवत्वा नक्षत्रः परिकीर्तितः ॥ १६ ॥
 इन्द्राग्नीदेवता प्रोक्ता विशाखा भृगुनन्दन ।
 मैत्रमृक्षमनूराधा शक्र उषेष्टा प्रकीर्तिता ॥ १७ ॥
 तथा निर्वृतिदेवत्वं मूलं तज्जैरुदाहृतम् ।
 आप्वास्त्वा[स्त्र]पादपूर्वास्तु चोत्तरा वैश्वदेवताः ॥ १८ ॥
 ब्रह्मा चैवाभिजित्प्रोक्तः श्रवणो वैष्णवः स्मृतः ।
 वासवं च तथा ऋषं धनिष्ठा[ष्ठा] प्रोच्यते जुषैः ॥ १९ ॥
 तथा शतभिषक् प्रोक्तो नक्षत्रं वारुणं नृप ।
 आर्जं भा[भद्र]पदा पूर्वा अहिर्बुध्न्यस्तयोत्तरा ॥ २० ॥
 पौष्णं च रेवती चर्षमग्निन्वाग्निदेवतम् ।
 भरण्याश्च तथा माग्धं प्रोक्तास्ते[स्त] ऋषदे[दे]वताः ॥ २१ ॥

Nakshatras.	Deities according to MS.	According to Indica II. 121.
Kṛittikā	Agni	Agni
Rōhini	Kēsvara (the lord Ka)	Kēsvara
Invaka (Mṛigaśīrsha)	Sōma (the moon)	Indu (the moon) ²⁸
Ādrā	Rudra	Budra
Punarvasu	Aditi	Aditi
Pushya	Guru (Bṛhaspati)	Guru (Jupiter)
Āślēshā	Sarpāḥ	Sarpās
Maghān	Pitarāḥ	Pitaras
Pūrva-Phālgunī	Bhaga	Bhaga
Uttara-Phālgunī	Aryaman	Aryaman
Hasta	Savitṛi	Savitṛi
Chitrā	Tvashtṛi	Tvashtṛi
Svāti	Vāyu	Vāyu
Viśākhā	Indrāgni	Indrāgni
Anūrādhā	Mitra	Mitra
Jyēshthā	Sakra	Sakra
Mūla	Nirṛiti	Nirṛiti
Pūrva-Ashāḍhāḥ	Āpaḥ	Āpas
Uttara-Ashāḍhāḥ	Viśvêdêvāḥ	Viśvê[dêvas]
Abhijit	Brahman	Brahman
Śravaṇa	Vishṇu	Vishṇu
Dhanishthā	Vasavaḥ	Vasavas
Satabhishaj	Varuṇa	Varuṇa
Pūrva-Bhadrapadā	Aja	[Aja Ekapād] ²⁹
Uttara-Bhadrapadā	Ahi Budhnya	Ahīrbudhnya
Rēvati	Pūshan	Pūshan
Āsvini	Āsvinau	Āsvin (P) ³⁰
Bharanī	Yama	Yama

²⁸ The substitution of *Indu* for *Sōma* has probably been made by Bérnūf, though the metre would permit his form.

²⁹ This name is omitted in Bérnūf's text, as Professor

Sachau states in his note on this table.

³⁰ This form is due to Bérnūf's constant disregard of the terminations.

XVII. V. Dh. I. 83. 48b-61a.

सर्वासां च तथा कालं राहुर्भुङ्क्ते महामहः ॥ ४८ ॥
 कुलिकश्च तथा नागो यक्षः पश्यति विश्रुतः ।
 अङ्गारपर्णश्च तथा गन्धर्वश्चाभिधीयते ॥ ४९ ॥
 कुलिकस्य तु या वेला सा वज्र्या सर्वकर्मसु ।
 तस्यां भुङ्क्ते भवेद्ब्याधिर्विषं भुङ्क्ते न जीर्यते ॥ ५० ॥
 प्रत्यक्षमपि ताश्चर्यस्य तस्यां दृष्टो न जीवति ।
 भुक्तं तस्यां तु भैषज्यं न तु कर्मकरं भवेत् ॥ ५१ ॥
 सा तु कालविद्यां ज्ञेया मन्त्रिणां भिषजां तथा ।
 अविज्ञाय तु तां वेलां त्वयस्ते राजपुंगव ॥ ५२ ॥
 वैफल्यात्क[र]णान्मूढाः प्राशुवन्त्ययशो महत् ।
 प्रत्येव[क]स्यैव वेलायां राहोर्भोगं निबोध मे ॥ ५३ ॥
 एकैका तु भवेद्वा[ञ्च]ोरा सार्धं विषटिकाशतम् ।
 विनालिकासप्तषष्ट्या रवेः षोडश कीर्तिता (ः) ॥ ५४ ॥
 घोरा कुलिकवेला तु शेषं कालं रवेः स्मृतम् ।
 स्वा होरात्वे[न्ते] तथा वेलाश्च[च]तु[त]सस्तु विनाडिकाः ॥ ५५ ॥
 राहोः शुद्ध[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 चषकावविजस्य तु ॥ ५८ ॥
 यच्छेषं तद्विनिर्दिष्टं कालं च कुलिकस्य तु ।
 सप्तसप्तत्यतिक्रम्य सार्धोस्तु चषकान्गुरोः ॥ ५९ ॥
 राहोस्तु चषकं होरा शेषं कालं गुरोर्मतम् ।
 सौम्यहोरासमारम्भे द्वाविंशत्तु विनालिकाः ६० ॥
 वेला तु कुलिकस्योक्ता शेषं कालं कुजस्य तु ।

48b. And the great planet Rahu enjoys (some) time of all (the planetary hours).

49. He is called the Serpent Kulika, the Yaksha Padma and the Gandharva Angarāparṇa.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 Tārksiya (Garuḍa). But medicine, taken during that (time) has no effect.

Indica I. 344-45: — The book *Vishṇu-Dharma* mentions among the nāgas or serpents, a serpent called Nāga 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 Garuḍa, 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 Rāhu, would have made the point intelligible. In the text (below, verses 56, 60) Rāhu is mentioned instead of Kulika as dominant of the unlucky periods. Hence the preamble in verses 48b-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* Garuḍa 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 $77\frac{1}{2}$ 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

XVIII. V. Dh. I. 106. 1-13.

वज्र उवाच । ध्रुवस्याहं द्विजश्रेष्ठ ब्राह्मणानां पृथक् पृथक्⁴⁸ ।

संभवं श्रोतुमिच्छामि नक्षत्राणां च मानद ॥ १ ॥

मार्कण्डेय उवाच । ब्रह्मणा सृष्टिकामेन पूर्वमेव नराधिप ।

आदित्यस्तमसां हर्ता तेजसां गोलकः कृतः ॥ २ ॥

तमोमयो गोलकश्च राहुस्तेन तथा कृतः ।

अम्मथानि तथान्यानि गोलकानि नराधिप ॥ ३ ॥

कृतानि तेन धर्मज्ञ महर्षीणां पृथक् पृथक् ।

ध्रुवस्थाननिविष्टाश्च तारकाश्च चतुर्विंश ॥ ४ ॥

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

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 *shot*, '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 a reading *saptatrimśat* instead of *dot; ihsat tu* is possible. Presumably the error is, however, on Bêrûnî's side.

⁴⁸ For ब्राह्मणानां we have probably to write महर्षीणां च.

तेषां नामविभागं मे गदतः शृणु पार्थिव ।
उत्तानपादस्तस्याथ विज्ञेयः सो[स्मो]त्तरो हनुः ॥ ५ ॥
यज्ञोधरस्तु विज्ञेयो धर्मो मूर्धानमाश्रितः ।
[हृदि नारायणश्चास्ते अश्विनौ पूर्वपादयोः ॥ ६ ॥
वरुणश्चार्यमा चैव पश्चिमे तस्य सक्थिनी ।
शिभ्रः संवत्सरस्तस्य मित्रोपानं समाश्रितः ॥ ७ ॥]⁴⁹
पुच्छेमिश्र महेन्द्रश्च मारीचः कश्यपो ध्रुवः ।
ध्रुवस्थाः स्वगृ[स्वर्मे] हर्षाणामेकीभूताः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥ ८ ॥
ध्रुवेण भ्राम्यते सर्वमायु[य]त्तं त्रिदिवं ध्रुवे ।
ध्रुवो हि भगवान्विष्णुः कालो लोकप्रकालनः ॥ ९ ॥
शिशुमारनिबद्धानां तारकाणां पृथक् पृथक् ।
नामधेयानि विज्ञाय वृष्ट्वा च विमलेम्बरे ॥ १० ॥
आयुरभ्यधिकं जीवेद्वर्षाणि तु चतुर्दश ।
अहोरात्रकृतात्पापात्तक्षणाद्विप्रमुच्यते ॥ ११ ॥
अम्मयानां महर्षाणां मूर्च्छिताः सूर्यरश्मयः ।
जनयन्ति प्रकाशत्वं नात्र कार्या विचारणा ॥ १२ ॥
स्फाटिकानि विमानानि तथा सुकृतिनां नृप ।
नाके तारकवद्भ्रान्ति अम्मयानीव यास्य ॥ 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.*⁴⁹

Mārkaṇḍeya answered :—

2. Brahman, desirous to create, made formerly, *O king, the sun, the destroyer of darkness, a globe of light.*

3-4a. *And he made Rāhu 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;*

4b. And (he created) fourteen stars, placed near the pole.

5. *O king, hear me recite their names and distribution: know that Uttānapāda is (in) its upper jaw;*

Indica I. 240 :—Vajra, one of the children of Balabhadra, the brother of Nārāyaṇa,⁵⁰ asked the Rishi Mārkaṇḍeya as to the pole, upon which he answered :—

When God created the world, it was dark and desert.⁵¹ 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.⁵²

Fourteen of these stars he placed around the pole in the shape of a Śiśumāra which drive the other stars round the pole.⁵³ One of them, north of the pole, on the uppermost chin,⁵⁴ is Uttānapāda, on the lowest chin Yajña, on the head Dharma, on the breast Nārāyaṇa, on the two hands towards the

⁴⁹ These three lines are omitted in the MS. I have taken them from the *Vishnu-Purāna*, II. 12, 33 f. They occur also in the *Vāyu* and *Matsya Purānas* with very small variations.

⁵⁰ This is evidently an explanatory interpolation, made by Bêrūni, 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 Bêrūni either for brevity's sake or through carelessness. Without them the verse must remain incomplete.

⁵² This biblical sentiment is entirely foreign to the *Vishnudharmottara* and all other *Purānas*. It has been

imported, because Bêrūni did not understand the second half of verse 2. He seems to have mistaken *gḷakak*, 'a globe' for *gḷōkak* 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 Bêrūni 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 *uttarāh*, which means both 'north' and 'upper.'

6. Know that Yajña is (in) its lower (jaw); that Dharma occupies its head; [Nārāyaṇa sits in the heart, the two Aśvins in the fore-feet,

7. Varuna and Aryaman are its two hind-most haunches, Saṁvatsara its penis, and Mitra occupies its anus.]

8. In the tail are Agni, Mahēndra, Mārīcha 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.⁵⁹ 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 Śiśumāra 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!

XIX. V. Dh. I. 106, 20b-27a.

उत्तानपादपुत्रस्तु ध्रुवो विष्णुः प्रकीर्तितः ॥ २० ॥
निबद्धं भ्राम्यते यत्र मरुता उद्योतिषां गणम् ।
सप्तधिमण्डलं नित्यं तस्याधस्तात्प्रकीर्तितम् ॥ २१ ॥
तस्याधस्ताद्दक्षश्चक्रं तस्याधस्ताच्छनेश्वरः ॥ २३ ॥⁶⁴
तस्याधस्तात्तया जीवस्तस्याधस्तात्कृजः स्मृतः ।
तस्याधस्ताद्दिनेशश्च तस्याधस्ताच्च भार्गवः ॥ २४ ॥
तस्याधस्ताद्बुधस्तस्याधस्ताच्च चन्द्रमाः ।

⁵⁶ In translating *pūrvapādayōh*, 'on the two fore-feet,' by 'on the two hands to the east,' Bêrûnî committed a serious mistake. For, though *pūrvā* means both 'east' and 'foremost,' *pāda* never means 'hand.' Moreover the Śiśumāra, 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 *paśchims* 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 Śiśumāra drives the other stars forward.

⁶⁰ This phrase seems to be intended as an explanation of the term *bhagavān*, 'worshipful, divine,' but somewhat misrepresents the position of Vishṇu.

⁶¹ The four participles give not a translation, but

east the two stars Aśvini the physicians,⁵⁶ on the feet Varuna and Aryaman towards the west,⁵⁷ on the penis Saṁvatsara, on the back⁵⁸ Mitra,

on the tail Agni, Mahēndra, Mārīchi 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 this⁶² 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

correct paraphrase of the epithet *Īkaprakālanah*, 'which drive the world onwards' (from its creation to its destruction).

⁶² 'If a man reads this' is a curiously mistaken rendering of *drishtvā*, literally 'having seen.' As the last two words *vimalā m̄tarā* 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, Vāyu, and Vishṇu Purānas have an identical corresponding verse which ascribes the blessings, mentioned in verse 11, to 'seeing him' i. e. the Śiśumāra.

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' (*vimāna*). 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 22-23a contain an enumeration of the names of the Seven Rishis.

प्राग्दक्षिणगतिश्चैव (?) उद्योतिषां चक्रमुच्यते ॥ २५ ॥
 सर्वे महाः प्राग्गतयस्तुल्यवेगाः प्रकीर्तिताः ।
 तेषां ते संभवं वक्ष्ये प्राप्ते वैवस्वतेन्तरे ॥ २६ ॥
 तेषां जननसाहस्रैरसीतैः किं प्रयोजनम् ।

20b. But the pole, the son of Uttānapāda, 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 Rishis (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,

27a. And what was their purpose in the past thousands of births.

XX. V. Dh. I. 106, 27b-28.

अनादिनिधनः श्रीमान्विष्णुर्नारायणः प्रभुः ॥ २७ ॥
 स एव देवकार्यार्थं भूत्वा द्वादशधा पुरा ।
 अदितेर्जनयामास आत्मानं कश्चपात्प्रभुः ॥ २८ ॥

27. The glorious lord Vishṇu-Nārāyaṇa 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. 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

⁶⁵ I have inserted these two lines in order to shew how Bêrûni gets ‘the pole’ into his first sentence. Bêrûni omits them, because they have nothing to do with his immediate purpose.

⁶⁶ Bêrûni has neglected to indicate that he has left out the names of the Seven Rishis.

⁶⁷ This sentence, which Bêrûni did require, has been left out through carelessness. Bêrûni 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 25b and 26a, the identical portions of the two lines being left out. Besides Bêrûni does not notice the word *dakshina* in *prâgdakshinagatih* 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-Purâna*, I. 123, 68 ff. The relative clause ‘which is peculiar, &c.’ is an explanatory note made by Bêrûni in order to obviate an erroneous explanation of the compound *tulyavâgâh*, literally ‘of equal impetus’ or ‘velocity.’

⁶⁹ This is a very loose paraphrase of the last words of verse 27a.

⁷⁰ Bêrûni 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. 217, 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 मध्यात्सविता 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 तथात्रैः सुमहात्मनः ।

विष्णुरेवाभवद्वाजन्पुत्रत्वे सुगलाञ्छनः ॥ ३० ॥

30. And, O king, Vishnu became the Moon, as the son of the ten directions and of very high-minded Atri.

Bêrûni's Indica I. 291 :—The *Vishnu-Dharma* relates that Atri, the star who rules the Great Bear, married the directions, represented as one person, though they are eight⁷¹ in number, and that from her the moon was born.

XXII. V. Dh. I. 106, 31-37.

अतः परं प्रवक्ष्यामि तव भौमस्य संभवम् ।

आसीद्वैत्यो हिरण्याक्षो महाबलपराक्रमः ॥ ३१ ॥

स वै कन्यामजन्यद्विकेशी नाम नामतः ।

सा लेभे तपसा केशांस्तां वै स्थाणुरकामयत् ॥ ३२ ॥

तस्यां मैथुनसङ्गस्य देवेशस्य पिनाकिनः ।

वद्विसंभवभीतेन विभ्रं कृतमयामिना ॥ ३३ ॥

प्रविश्य मैथुनागारं वद्विं वृष्टवतस्तदा ।

क्रोधादास्योद्भवः स्वदो हरस्य समपद्यत ॥ ३४ ॥

आननस्वेदजो बिन्दुर्वैवत्यामित्रघातिनः ।

तस्योपतापी [तस्याः पपात] वद्वे सा पपौ तस्प्रयत्नतः ॥ ३५ ॥

अन्तर्वदन्यथ तेनासीन्न शशाक च तेजसा ।

मोहिता तस्य बालस्य गर्भे धारयितुं तदा ॥ ३६ ॥

उत्ससर्ज ततो गर्भे दीप्तानलसमद्युतिम् ।

तं दधार महीपाल धरा देवी स्व[सु]रुपिणी ॥ ३७ ॥

31. Hereafter I will narrate the origin of *Bhauṃa* (the planet *Mars*)⁷² There was a Daitya *Hiranyāksha*, of great power and bravery.

32. He, indeed, begat a daughter, called *Vikéśī* (hairless) by name. In consequence of her austerities she obtained *hair*; her, *Sihānu* (*Siva*) loved.

33. When *Pindkin*, 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 (*Vikéśī's*) mouth; she drank it eagerly.

⁷¹ Bêrûni 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 अष्टभिश्चैव instead of दशभिश्चैव.

⁷² Bêrûni has given the substance of this preamble at the end of this extract.

⁷³ This is an addition made by Bêrûni for which there is no room in the text. The statement that *Hiranyāksha* was a king, occurs *V. Dh. I. 82. 7.*

Bêrûni, *Indica* II. 140 :—The *Vishnu-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 realm⁷⁴ called *Hiranyāksha*. He had a daughter of the name of *Dkêsh*⁷⁵ (P), 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 *Mahâdeva* saw the fire, his forehead became covered with sweat from the violence of his wrath, so that some of it

⁷⁴ This monstrous form is no doubt due to the copyist of the Arabic MS. *Vikéśī* is mentioned also in other *Purâṇas* as the wife of *Rudra-Siva* and the mother of the planet *Mars* or *Lôhitāṅga*. But the story of *Mars'* origin, another version of that of *Skandâ* with whom the planet is identified, is not given in detail in the texts accessible to me.

⁷⁵ The way in which Bêrûni obtained the meaning ‘a place in heaven’ instead of *kêśān*, ‘hairs,’ seems to be that he read *tapasâkêśān*.

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.

Besides the twenty-two passages, quoted above in detail, there is one more reference to the *Vishnu-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 Bêrûni had before him our text of *Vishnudharmôttara* 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

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.

instructive to confront Bêrûni's abstract with the entire actual text. Some portions, however, deserve to be discussed. First Bêrûni declares that the *Vishnu-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 *Vishnudharmôttara* does not contain the absurdity laid to its charge by Bêrûni. It says :—

त्रिपादविग्रहो धर्मो राम त्रेतायुगे तथा ॥ २२ ॥

केशवे रक्ततां याते नरा दशशतायुषः ।

यज्ञे युगे प्रवर्तन्ते नित्यं हिंसात्मकेषु च ॥ २३ ॥

अगस्त्योत्तरं चैव तथा भवति भार्गव ।

22b. 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).

24a. Moreover, O Bhârgava, the world is then under the Kshatriyas.

Bêrûni's precise statement that the *Vishnu-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 :—

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 *Vishnu-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.”

केशवे रक्ततां याते चतुर्दशशतायुषः । 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 Vâsudeva in the four ages

⁷⁶ The end of this legend is very much shortened and distorted. Probably Bêrûni had before him the text which is given above. But he mistook the bearing of *tasyûk* in verse 35b 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 Bêrûni's extract from the *Vishnu-Dharma* goes much further than the portion given above, and narrates a story how Agni became leprous in punishment of the offence committed against Siva 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 origin 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 Bêrûni adds, because there is one more verse which narrates how Kaśyapa performed the sacramental rites for young Mars and in doing so offered coals (*aṅgāra*) in the fire, whence the planet obtained its name *Aṅgāraka*. 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 Bêrûni took it from some other work, or from oral tradition.

He says there that according to the *Vishnu-dharma*⁷⁷ the god is white in the Kṛitayuga (V. Dh. I. 73. 26a), red in the Trêtâyuga (our verse 23a), yellow in the Dvâparayuga (V. Dh. I. 73. 24b) when he first became incarnate in human shape and black in the Kali age (V. Dh. I. 73. 26b). The substitution of चतुर्दश° for नरा दश° is not impossible, especially if the MS. was written in Śāradâ

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 ॥
 कर्क्री विष्णुयज्ञोनाम[मा] भविष्यति जगत्पतिः ।
 चातयिष्यति सर्वान्स म्लेच्छान्परबलार्दनः ॥ ४० ॥
 म्लेच्छाक्रान्तां वसुमतीं कृत्वा म्लेच्छविवर्जिताम् ।
 धर्मसंस्थापनं कृत्वा स्वं स्थानमुपयास्यति ॥ ४१ ॥
 प्रजासु धर्मयुक्तासु ततः संपत्स्यते कृतम् ।
 इत्येव भगवान्विष्णुयुगे क्षीणेभि जायते ॥ ४२ ॥
 धर्मसंस्थापनार्थाय नित्यमेव यद्ब्रुह ।

39b. When the existing Kaliyuga has come to an end, *O best of kings,*

40. *Karkin, called Vishṇuyāśas, 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.*

The story, given in our text, contains the common account of the incarnation of Vishṇu-Vâsudeva as *Karkin*, in all other works called *Kalkin*, which, according to most Purāṇas, takes place at the end of the Kaliyuga. Bêrûnî's *Garga* is of course a distortion of the nominative *Karki*, due to the copyist, and the *J-S-V.* are the reversed remnants of *Vishṇuyāśas* for which Bêrûnî may have used the Prâkrit 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 *Vishṇuyāśas* does not occur in the *Vishṇudharmôttara*, which agrees with the *Mahâbhârata* and the more ancient Purāṇas in considering *Vishṇuyāśas* as another name of the great saviour

⁷⁷ Bêrûnî makes it appear that there are consecutive verses treating of this question. That is not the case,

“ 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-S-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.”

and restorer of purity. Bêrûnî probably got this detail from the *Brahmavaivarta* or the *Kalki-Purāna*, 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 *mlechchân*, ‘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

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 *Kṛitayuga* lies far behind them,' instead of which the Sanskrit text and the concluding sentence of Bêrûnî's rendering require 'then the *Kṛitayuga* 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, Lakshmi, Daksha and Umâdêvi 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 *Vishṇudharmottara*. 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 *Vishṇudharmottara*, I. 30, it is repeatedly stated that everything exists through the sun, and in the hymn, which Śvara-Śiva addresses there to the Sun, it is said: "Thou nourishest (*pushṇsi*) all the worlds, hence thou art called Pūshan." I believe it quite possible that Bêrûnî may have made up his 'quotation' out of these utterances. But it is impos-

sible 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 *Vishṇudharmottara*, 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 Sârâdâ copies of the Deccan College collection may perhaps shew that they actually are contained in the *Vishṇudharmottara*. In conclusion, I may add that Bêrûnî seems to have taken a good deal more from the *Vishṇudharmottara* 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 *punya-kâla* [*i. e.* the holy days]." In the *Vishṇudharmottara*, *loc. cit.*, Śaṅkara informs Paraśurâma that a civil day including portions of three *tithis* is called *tryahasprik*, 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: —

त्र्यहस्पृक स विनिर्दिष्टः पुण्यः परमपावनः ।
तत्रोपोष्य शिरःस्नानैः कर्तव्यं केशवार्चनम् ॥
जपो होमस्तथा दानं कामवद्भिर्महत्फलम् ।
कर्मणां परिशेषाणामक्राम्यं 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 *Vishṇudharmottara*, has nothing to do with the tripartite *Vishṇudharmottara*. 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 *tryahankasha*.

book consists only of 102 chapters, and is said to have been communicated by Saunaka and other Rishis to Satānika, son of Janamējaya and grandson of Parikshit. The text of one of Bērūni's three quotations has been given by Professor

Weber (*loc. cit.* p. 339, note 2). A comparison of the exact words with Bērūni'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 यस्य कृष्णपक्षेष्टम्यां द्विजोत्तम ।

जयन्ती नाम सा प्रोक्ता सर्वपापहरा तिथिः ॥ १ ॥

यद्वा[द्वा]ल्ये यच्च कौमरि यौवने वाद्धि[ध]के च यत् ।

सप्तजन्मकृतं पापं स्वल्पं वा यदि वा व[द्वा]द्वा ॥ २ ॥

तत्क्षालयति गोविन्दं तस्यामभ्यर्च्य भक्तितः ।

होमजप्यादिदानानां फलं च शतसंमितम् ॥ ३ ॥

संप्राप्नोति न संदेहो यद्यान्यन्मनसेच्छ्रुति ।

उपवासश्च तत्रोक्तो महापातकनाशनः ॥ ४ ॥

Pulastya said:—(1) And when (the moon is in (the constellation) Rōhini, 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 Jayanti.

(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.

It is plain that Bērūni'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 Adhyāya XIII., which, as well as the Chapters XIV.-XVI., contains a conversation between Yājñavalkya and Maitrēyī. The extracts, which Dr. J. Klatt has kindly furnished to me, agree more or less closely with Bērūni in the following points:—(1) the vow is to be begun on the second day of the bright half of Pausa and to last for four days; (2) the performer is to wash on the first with (the oil of) white mustard (*siddhārthaka*), not, as Bērūni says, with water,⁷⁹ on the second with (the oil of) black sesamum, on the third with (the juice of) myrobalans (*vard*),⁸⁰ and on the fourth with (a mixture of) various herbs (*sarvaushadhi*); (3) at the end it is stated that

Indica II. 175:—The book *Vishnu-Dharma* says:—“When the moon is in Rōhini, the fourth of her stations, on the eighth day of the black half, it is a fast day, called Jayanti.

Giving alms on this day is an expiation for all sins.

Dilpa, Dushkanta (read, Dushyanta) Yayāti and other kings performed it according to the rule given for fasts (*upavāsavidhānatah*). But there is nothing in the *Vishnu-Dharmāh* 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 Kāṇḍa of the tripartite Kāśmīrian *Vishnudharmōttara*, which is quoted also by Hémādri, *Vratākāṇḍa*, p. 389 ff., gives it the name *arōgyadvittya*, ‘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 Bērūni's text seems to have had the *varia lectio* *suddhōdakaih*.

⁸⁰ This may possibly be the same as Bērūni's *gāṅgāle*.

the statements in the preamble regarding the interlocutors and the purpose of the conversation, are for the greater part incorrect. Bérûni asserts that king *Pariksa* of the family of *Bhrigu* asked *Satânika*, 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 *Saunaka*, *Saunaka* from *Uśanas*, and *Uśanas* from *Brahman*. The absurdity of the first portion of these statements will be evident to every Sanskritist. For it is well known that *Pariksha* or more correctly *Parikshit* did not belong to the family of *Bhrigu*, as well as that *Satânika* was not a sage, but a king and *Parikshit*'s grandson. The *Vishnu-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 *Saunaka*, came to visit *Satânika*, the son of *Parikshit*'s son, and that the latter asked the Rishis regarding the worship (*drâdhana*) of *Nârâyana*.

They commissioned *Saunaka*, who belonged to the family of *Bhrigu* and is called, in verse 30, *Bhrigunandana*, to fulfil the king's desire. *Saunaka* complied, and first gave some information regarding the relation of the *Trimûrti* to the highest *Brahman* (neuter), which Bérûni has rendered *more suc* (p. 177, lines 13-17). Next follows *Saunaka*'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 *Bhrigu*, and *Bhrigu* 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 Bérûni, I add the text of *Saunaka*'s speech, which I likewise owe to the kindness of Dr. Klatt, together with a translation :—

शौनक उवाच । अस्तुच्छसि महीपाल कृष्णस्याराधनं प्रति ।
 व्रतोपवासजप्यादि तद्विहैकमनाः शृणु ॥ ३३ ॥
 अनादिमत्परं ब्रह्म सर्ववैद्विद्विजितम् ।
 व्यापि अस्सर्वभूतेषु स्थितं सवसतः परम् ॥ ३४ ॥
 प्रधानपुंसोरजयोर्यतः क्षोभः प्रवर्तते ।
 नित्ययोर्व्यापिनोश्चैव जगदादौ महात्मनोः ॥ ३५ ॥
 तत्क्षोभकत्वाद्ब्रह्माण्डसृष्टेर्हेतुर्निश्चयः ।
 अहेतुरपि सर्वात्मा जायते परमेश्वरः ॥ ३६ ॥
 प्रधानपुरुषस्य 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 सवसतो महत् ।
 भेदाभेदस्वरूपस्य प्रणिपत्य परं परम् ॥ ३९ ॥
 प्रवक्ष्यामि यथा पूर्वं मत्पित्रा कथितं मम ।
 तस्यापि किल तत्पित्रा तस्मै प्राह किलौ[लो]शानाः ॥ ४० ॥
 तेनापि भृगुमाराध्य प्राप्तमाराधनं हरेः ।
 सकाशाद्ब्रह्मणः प्राप्तं भृगुणापि महात्मना ॥ ४१ ॥
 मरीचिभिश्चैव पुरा परमेतन्महर्षिभिः ।
 प्राप्तं सकाशादेयस्य ब्रह्मणोऽव्यक्तजन्मनः ॥ ४२ ॥
 योगं ब्रह्मा परं प्राह महर्षीणां यदा प्रभुः ।
 समस्तवृत्तिसंरोधात्कैवल्यप्रतिपादकम् ॥ ४३ ॥
 तथा जगत्पतिर्ब्रह्मा प्रणिपत्य महर्षिभिः ।
 सर्वैः किलोक्तो भगवानात्मयोगिः प्रजाहितः ॥ ४४ ॥
 यो योगो भवता प्रोक्तो मनोवृत्तिनिरोधजः ।
 प्राप्तुं शक्यमनेकैस्तज्जन्मभिर्जगतः पते ॥ ४५ ॥
 विषया दुर्जया नृणामिन्द्रियाकर्षुलाः[र्षकाः] प्रभो ।
 वृत्तयश्चेतसश्चापि अपला अतिदुर्जयाः ॥ ४६ ॥
 रागादयः कथं जेतुं शक्या वर्षशतैरपि ।
 न योगयोग्यं हि मनो भवत्वेभिरनिक्रितैः ॥ ४७ ॥
 अल्पायुषश्च पुरुषा ब्रह्मन्कृतयुगेऽवमी ।
 त्रेतायां ह्यपरे चैव किमु प्राप्य कलौ युगे ॥ ४८ ॥

भगवंस्त्वमुपायं तं प्रसन्नो वक्तुमर्हसि ।
 अनायासेन येनेममुत्तरेयं भवार्णवम् ॥ ४९ ॥
 दुःखाम्बुमन्नाः पुरुषाः प्राप्य ब्रह्मन्महाह्वयम् ।
 उत्तरेयुर्भवाम्भोधिं तथा स्वमनुचिन्तय ॥ ५० ॥
 एवमुक्तस्वदा ब्रह्मा क्रियायोगं महात्मनाम् ।
 तेषामृषीणामाचष्ट नराणां हितकाम्यया ॥ ५१ ॥
 आराधयन्ति [त] विश्वेशं नारायणमतन्त्रिताः ।
 बाह्यालम्बनसापेक्षास्तमजं जगतः पतिम् ॥ ५२ ॥
 इज्यापूजानमस्कारशुभ्रूषाभिरहर्निशम् ।
 व्रतोपवासैर्विविधैर्ब्राह्मणानां च तर्पणैः ॥ ५३ ॥
 तैस्तैश्चाभिमतैः कामैर्ये च चेतसि लुष्टिदाः ।
 अपरिच्छेद्यमहात्म्यमाराधयत केचनम् ॥ ५४ ॥
 तन्निष्ठास्तद्गतधियस्तत्कर्माणस्तदाश्रयाः ।
 तद्दृष्टयस्तन्मनसः सर्वस्मिन्स इति स्थिताः ॥ ५५ ॥
 समस्तान्यथ कर्माणि तत्र सर्वात्मनात्मनि ।
 स[सं]न्यसध्वं स वः कर्ता समस्तावरणक्षयम् ॥ ५६ ॥
 एतत्तदक्षरं ब्रह्म प्रधानपुरुषावुभौ ।
 यतो यस्मिन्यथा चौभौ सर्वव्यापिन्यवस्थितौः[तौ] ॥ ५७ ॥
 परः पराणां परमः स एकः पुरुषोत्तम[ः] ।
 यस्याभिन्नमिदं सर्वं यस्येयं यच्चने[जगतो?] गति[ः] ॥ ५८ ॥
 मोक्षकारणमव्यक्तमचिन्त्यमपरिमहम् ।
 तमाराध्य जगन्नायं 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 Brahma.

(38) Next, being the protector during the existence (of the world) he becomes Vishnu ; at the destruction of the world Jagannatha, of his own will, himself becomes Rudra.

Bérûni, 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 Brahma 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 Bérûni 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 (parāṁ padāṁ),*

(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 Bhrigu ; high-minded Bhrigu received it from Brahma.³³*

(42) *Moreover, Marīchi and other great sages obtained this (knowledge) formerly from god Brahmā, who was born from the undiscete.*

(43) *When the lord Brahmā had revealed to the great sages the highest Yōga, which produces liberation (kaivalya) through the stoppage of all functions (of the Manas),*

(44) *Then the worshipful lord of the world, Brahmā, whose womb is the Self (and) who is benevolent towards the creatures, was, indeed, (thus) addressed by all the great sages :—*

(45) *The Yōga, 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 (chētas = 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 Yōga without the conquest of these.*

(48) *Short-lived are men here, O Brahmā, in the Kṛita ages, likewise in the Trētā and the Dvāpara ; 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 ?³⁴

"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,³⁵

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,

³³ Regarding Bērūnī's mangled analysis of verses 40-41, see above.

³⁴ The real text furnishes no clue, whence Bērūnī 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 Bērūnī's

next sentence it is perfectly evident that he must have had the conversation between Brahmā and the sages, which our text gives. For without that the words 'it was objected to him,' and further 'thereupon Brahmā spoke,' are utterly unintelligible. Is the confusion merely owing to Bērūnī's carelessness and his misunderstanding his informant, or is there something wrong in the Arabic text ?

³⁵ 'The necessities of life' seems to be a loose rendering of *viśayāḥ*, '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 Brahmā, a large boat and escape from the ocean of births.*

(51) *Being thus addressed, Brahmā, desiring to benefit men, then revealed to those high-minded sages the Yōga of actions (the practical way to salvation).⁸⁷*

(52) Do you, who require external support, without tiring worship *that unborn Nārāyaṇa, 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 Brāhman.*

(54) With these (acts) and with approved reward-desiring rites which please your hearts, *worship Keśava 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, Purushōttama (the best Spirit), from whom the universe differs not, on whom this development of the world (?) depends.*

(59) He who worships Jagannātha, *the cause of liberation, the undiscete, the unthinkable, the incomprehensible one, will be liberated through (that) yōga of actions.*

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 *Vishṇudharmō-*

what, according to your opinion, is there in this revolving world that might protect him against the floods of the ocean and save him from drowning. ?⁸⁸

“Thereupon Brahman spoke:—

‘Man wants nourishment, shelter, and clothing.⁸⁹ 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.⁹⁰

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.

ttara or Vishṇu-Dharma existed, and that both were considered to be canonical by Bêrûni's Paṇḍits who, one and all, were Vaishnavas.⁹⁰ This circumstance possesses a considerable interest, as the

⁸⁶ Here the request is again turned into a question.

⁸⁷ As Bêrûni places this whole quotation in the section on Kriyāyōga (see p. 176 last line), it is evident that his text must have included the word.

⁸⁸ This is a loose reading of *bāhyālambanasāpēkshāp.*

⁸⁹ More than half of Bêrûni'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 *pūjā*, ‘attach your heart to him,’ etc., of *śuśrūṣā* ; ‘vow to him animals,’ etc., of *ijyā*. 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 Bêrûni.

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 Hémâdri, the minister of Mahâdêva and Râmadêva of Dêvagiri, who ruled from Saka-Saivat 1182 to 1231 or from A. D. 1260 to 1309. The Vratakânda of his *Chaturvargachintâmani* gives whole chapters from all the three kândas of the Tripartite Kâsmîrian *Vishnûdharmôttara*, as well as from the other shorter work, and the text agrees on the whole with the MSS. which I have used. Though Hémâdri's quotations alone would make it probable that the two *Vishnûdharmôttaras* do not belong to a very recent period, Bêrûni'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 Kâsmîrian *Vishnûdharmôttara*, 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 *Vishnûdharmôttara*. If this statement is correct, the Kâsmîrian 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, Prithûdaka-svâmin, whom Bêrûni mentions (*Indica*, Vol. I. p. 158), says on the source of the *Sphuṭa-Brâhma-Siddhânta*.

Secondly, Bêrûni's mistakes, especially those which occur in the extract No. IX., shew that he had a MS. of the Kâsmîrian *Vishnûdharmôttara* and himself tried to make out its sense. No Paṇḍit, however poor his knowledge of Sanskrit might be, would make such absurd a blunder as that which the rendering of *kâlâtma purushas tasya sarvabhûtapatiḥ prabhuh* involves. As Bêrûni quotes only from the first Kânda and did not know of the existence of the *Paitâmaha-Siddhânta*, his MS. was probably incomplete and did not go beyond Kânda I. With respect to the shorter *Vishnûdharmôttara*, 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 misunder-

stood it, than by the supposition that he himself read the text.

stood it, than by the supposition that he himself read the text.

Thirdly the extracts shew that Bêrûni's MS. of the larger *Vishnûdharmôttara*, 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 Bêrûni's translations. In one passage (see extract No. xi.) Bêrûni 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 Bêrûni'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 Bêrûni'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 Sanskrit 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 Purâna is or can be without them. Hence it would be a great mistake to infer from their non-occurrence in Bêrûni'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 Purânas abound. As the text is metrical, it is not difficult to see that Bêrûni is not exact. For, if it had contained nothing more than what he gives, the verses must have been incomplete.

Further, Bêrûni'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

kings of these countries, and that it counted numerous adherents in their territories. If Bêrûni knows nothing about it, the reason no doubt is that the Saivas 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 Vaishnavas 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 Bêrûni 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 Bêrûni promises to render the text '*in full and exactly as it is.*' The latter note is prefixed to some quotations from Varâhamihira's *Brihat-Samhitâ* (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 Prasasti, 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 Bêrûni's rendering would ask us to assume. The fact that the transposition nevertheless occurs, and the circumstance that Bêrûni'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 Bêrûni 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 *antardla*, '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 Bêrûni's knowledge of Sanskrit 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 Bêrûni 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 Bêrûni's quotations from the *Vishṇu-Dharma* teaches, is, it seems to me, that, discrepancies between his translations and the Sanskrit 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 Bêrûni's method of 'translating.' It is, therefore, not advisable to jump at once to the conclusion that his Sanskrit 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 Bêrûni's Indica remain in my opinion a very important work for the Sanskritist, 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 Bêrûni'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 Sanskritist would do with such an

investigation much better, for himself and for his science, than by 'bringing up' so and so many Kāvya or Śāstras.

G. BÜHLER.

Vienna, 10th January 1890.

NOTE.

I have to add an additional note to the Review of Dr. Bhāṇḍarkar's Report for 1883-84, *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 184 ff.

With respect to the correct title of the *Nīlāmata*, I must add to my remarks on p. 188, that Kalhana calls the work twice (*Rājatarāṅginī* I. 178, 183) a Purāna. It is thus not advisable to change the title, which has existed for more than seven hundred years.

As regards the Iḍar MS. of the *Mahābhāṣya*. Professor Kielhorn has found that the calculation of the week-day clearly shews its date, Śaṁvat 1514, to refer to the Vikrama era. Hence I am obliged to strike it off the list of the cases, where Śaṁvat seems to stand for Śaka-Śaṁvat.

G. BÜHLER.

Vienna, 10th January 1890.

VIER ERZÄHLUNGEN 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 Sanskrit 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 Sanskritists 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. 85. 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 *Tirukkētisvaram*, a ruined town or temple near the shore of the Gulf of Manaar, which is also known by the names of Mahātirtha, Mātōḍḍam and Māntōḍḍai. 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 Sinhalese.

This description is followed by an account of the temple by the Hon. P. Rāmanāthan, which connects *Tirukkētisvaram* 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 *Tirukkōnamālai* (Trincomalee).

The second article gives a translation, without the text, of an inscription of *Śrī-Parākrama-Bāhu VI.*, dated in his thirty-eighth year, *i. e.* 1448 A. D. It was found in the temple at *Monnisvaram*.

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 *dhōbīs*, 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 1675, by the late

Louis de Zoysa, Chief Interpreter to the Ceylon Government, containing Notes on the Jātakas, 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 Jātaka.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE CANADIAN INSTITUTE, October 1889, No. 152. Copp, Clark & Co., Ltd.; 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 Tatars 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-

used 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, Moidas, 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 geographical 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	ಀ	î	ट	ಠ	ṭa
उ	ಁ	u	ठ	ಠ	ṭha
ऊ	ಃ	û	ड	ಢ	ḍha
ऋ	ಋ	ri	ण	ಣ	ṇa
ॠ	ॠ	rî	त	ತ	ta
ऌ	—	lri	थ	ಠ	ṭha
—	ಌ	e	द	ದ	da
ॡ	ॡ	ê	ध	ಠ	ṭha
ए	ಀ	ai	व	ವ	va
—	ॡ	o	ध	ಠ	ṭha
ओ	ಃ	ô	न	ನ	na
औ	ಔ	au	प	ಪ	pa
<i>Visarga</i>	<i>Visarga</i>	h	फ	ಫ	pha
<i>Jihvāmūlīya, or old</i>	}	—	ब	ಬ	ba
<i>Visarga before क</i>			भ	ಛ	bha
and ख	}	—	म	ಝ	ma
<i>Upadhāntīya, or</i>			य	ಝ	ya
old <i>Visarga</i> be-	}	—	र	ರ	ra
fore ष and क			—	—	—
<i>Anusvāra</i>	<i>Anusvāra</i>	m̄	ल	ಲ	la
<i>Anuvīsiki</i>	—	m̄	ळ	ಱ	ḷa
क	ಕ	ka	—	—	—
ख	ಖ	kha	व	ವ	va
ग	ಗ	ga	श	ಶ	śa
घ	ಘ	gha	ष	ಷ	ṣa
ङ	ಙ	ṅa	स	ಸ	sa
च	ಚ	cha	ह	ಹ	ha
छ	ಛ	chha			

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 *virāma* 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 *Dēvanāgarī* sign.

So also practice has shewn that it is more convenient to use the ordinary *Dēvanāgarī* 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 *akṣara* or syllable.

A SELECTION OF KANARESE BALLADS.

BY J. F. FLEET, B.O.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 Tālukā or Sub-Division of the Belgaum District, was formerly the chief town of a Dēsāi's estate.¹ The last Dēsāi was Sivaliṅgappa Rudrasarjā,² otherwise known as Bāpū Sāheb. His father was the Mallappa or Mallasarjā, who is mentioned in the ballad. Sivaliṅgappa died in September 1824; leaving a stepmother, Channavva, and a wife, Īravva or Vīravva, but no children. In order to continue the family, an attempt was made by the Kārbhārī³ to pass off, as Sivaliṅgappa's adopted son, a son of the Pāṭil of the neighbouring village of Māstamardi. 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 Marāṭhā Country*, p. 199 ff.): —

“On the 12th September 1824 one of the Dēsāi's principal servants came to Mr. Thackeray, the Principal Collector at Dhārwaḍ,” — [mentioned in the ballad, verse 4, as *Tākuv Sāheb*], — “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 Kittūr, which is about eighteen miles from Dhārwaḍ, but found the Dēsāi dead, and considered from the appearance of the corpse that he had been dead several hours and most probably before the messenger had left Kittūr for Dhārwaḍ. All the circumstances connected with the alleged adoption seemed to Mr. Thackeray not a little suspicious. In the first place the Dēsāi 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 Dēsāi'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 Dēsāi 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 Kittūr 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 Dēsāi's family.

¹ The term Dēsāi denotes an hereditary officer, the chief local administrator of a *dēśa* or *parganā*, i. e. ‘district;’ another name for the same officer is Dēsāi mukh. The duties of the Dēsāi or Dēsāi mukh in the district under him, were very similar to those of a Pāṭil in his village; and he had, as his coadjutor, a Dēsāi pāndyā, corresponding to the Pāṭil's coadjutor, the Kuḷkarnī or village accountant. The offices of Dēsāi and Dēsāi pāndyā 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 Pēśwā's rule. — The wife of a Dēsāi has the title of Dēsāiṇī.

² *sarjā* appears to be a Persian title. It seems to have been conferred upon the Dēsāis of Kittūr by the Rājā of Kōlāpur (see West's *Memoir*, p. 196, note).

³ The Kārbhārī 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 Dêsâi who possessed the country before the conquest of it by 'Tippu,' — [Tîpû Sulţân 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 Dêsâi nor a near connection of the late Dêsâi by the female line, the adoption was to be disallowed.

"The inquiries set on foot by Mr. Thackeray showed that the Dêsâi 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 Dêsâi. 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 Dêsâi'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 Dêsâi, or near connection by the female line of the late Dêsâi, 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 Dêsâi'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 Channava, the late Dêsâi'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 Sardârs⁴ would accompany him to their house. As Mr. Thackeray heard that the Shêtsandîs⁵ 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 Gôlandâz⁶ 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 Dêsâinî, 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 *indams* &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 Samsthân.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 Bîdî, containing in all 286 villages and 72 hamlets. The revenue for the Fasli 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 Dêsâi, 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 Sivalingappa Rudrasarjâ. When Râyanna of Saṅgôlî raised his insurrection,¹¹ he spirited away, apparently with the connivance of the Dêsâinî, 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 Fasli is a Muḥammadân 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 Dêsâi, — in order to enlist the sympathies of all the people of the district. Îravva was then living at Hoîgal, — more usually known as Bail-Hoîgal, — in the Sampgaum Tâlukâ. It was found advisable to remove her to Dhârwâd. This nearly excited another rising; in fact, a thousand men assembled at Ânigôl, to resist her removal. Most of them, however, submitted, on receiving a promise of pardon; while the rest joined Râyanna. Îravva was then taken to Dhârwâd; or, if the ballad is correct, actually to Kusugal, a large fortified village about twelve miles to the south-east of Dhârwâd. She was kept in safe custody there; and shortly afterwards, apparently in July 1830, she died at Dhârwâd; “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 Hoîgal, great, O my brother!, were the lamentations that she made; — “Ah!, if our Mallasarjâ 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 *chauris* 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-Virappa, — 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 Duṣṣâsana 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 describe¹⁴ 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 *bâwali*,¹⁶ the *jamikivâli*,¹⁷ and the *chaḷatumbu*;¹⁸ the *ryâguti*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 Râyanna, and the death of Îravva, in 1829. According to Capt. West's account, they both happened in 1830.

¹³ *chy*°, = *chya*la, 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 *chy*°, the word *prâlâpa*, 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 *Kauarese Dictionary*, defines it as 'a female's ornament, worn in the tip of the ear.'

¹⁶ The *bâwali* seems to be another ornament worn near the *bugaḍi*.

¹⁷ More properly *jamikivâle*. Sanderson gives it as 'an earring with a drop.' It is explained to me as 'an 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.

KANARESE BALLADS.

THE DAUGHTER-IN-LAW OF CHANNAVVA OF KITTUR.

(Air of the Chorus)

Kit - tu - ra Chan-nav - va - na so - si Hon - ga - la bit - tu

ho - gu - va - ga Hon - ga - la bit - tu ho - gu - va - ga ma - dutt - id - al -

- an - na ma - ha - dukh - - kha mat - ta

nam - ma Mal - la - sar - ja sat - tu

ho - gad - - id - da - - ra hot - tu ho - gud -

- ya - ka nam - ma ba - da - - ka hot - tu ho - gud -

- ya - ka nam - ma ba - da - - ka

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 *līnga*-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 pendants 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 (Vishnu) 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 Rāma and Lakshmaṇa were living together in affection, the wicked Rāvaṇa carried off Jānakī (Sītā), and hid her in the forest. Then Hanumat went, and burnt Laṅkā. They gave the crown to Vibhīṣhaṇa. And then, making them close prisoners,²⁵ the king (Rāma) put to shame all the troops of the demons; and so he, the glory of his family, brought back (Sītā) 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 *sāris*,²⁷ embroidered with gold lace, which the girls would wear; the red *sāris* for the maid-servants; the red and white *sāris* for ladies; the red and black silken *sāris* for ladies of rank; the red and black and white striped *sāris* for young maidens; the dark black *sāris* for sprightly damsels; the flowered *sāris* for girls; the mustard-coloured *sāris* worn by little girls; the silken *sāris* 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 Nāgpur;²⁸ — all the property accumulated by Mallasarjā was taken away; as well as I can, I tell the plundering of it.

(With a change of metre), — "Even when all this left me, alas! my sufferings came not to an end," — (thus lamented) Īrayva, 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 *saradāḷi* is explained to me as 'a necklace (*sara*) made up of cup-shaped plates of gold (*tāḷi*), connected with black glass beads.' — The gold coin is the *honnū*, which is now obsolete. Sanderson gives it as 'half a pagoda, &c.,

²² *ḍore*. But it has been otherwise explained to me, as 'an ornament worn by women on the wrist.'

²³ The *chintāka* appears to be identical with the Marāṭhī *chīṭāṅ* or *chīṭāṅ*.

²⁴ *kāḷkaḍagā*; or more properly *kāḷakadaga*. 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 Īrayva's husband.

²⁷ I use here, for convenience, a word (a corruption of *śāḍī*) which is much better known than the Kanarese *sīri* or *śīre* 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 (Siva), 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 (Siva) 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 Îsvara (Siva) 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 Dêsâi,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 lustroously, 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 Siva. 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 Dêsâi.

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 "Rāyanāyaka 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 Dhārwaḍ, 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 Rāyanāyaka 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, Īravva 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," — Īravva implored Siva for death. The lady Īravva made lament, wailing loudly; Īravva 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) Kāḍa-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 Dhārwaḍ.

(With a change of metre), — Hearing it said that her little son Mallasarjā had been caught,³³ quickly Īravva 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 Kittūr had faded away, Īravva is weeping greatly.

(Raising the voice), — She came to Dhārwaḍ, 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 *sārī*, 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 Purāṇas), 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 *dīsokadinda* (in the other copy, *dīsogadinda*) is unintelligible. It is not a village-name.

³³ I cannot obtain any explanation of this; unless the name of Mallasarjā was given to the boy who was alleged to have been adopted by the last Dēśī. Īravva 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 Dhârwad were weeping, beating their mouths with their hands, her son, who was kept in guard, made a hundred lamentations, praising the god Samkara. 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) Basava³⁴ who gives future emancipation, they turned and went away.

(Raising the voice), — Basava, of the charming Hebballi, turned into poetry, and described at length, all that he saw.

TEXT.

Pallâ.

Kittûra Channavvana sosi Hoigala biṭṭu hôguvâga
mâḍuttida|=anna maha-dukkhâ |
matta namma Mallasarja sattû hôgad-iddara
hottu hôgud=yâka namma badakâ || Pallâ ||

Ine nuḍi.

Âru âni hadinâru waṅṅi hannerâḍa-sâvira kâla-balâ mârâya-tôpa hôdawu hêri |
hattu-hantâ muttina pâliki suttal=hiḍuwa hattû entû bellî-kâvina aptâgêri |
chandadinda chakkaḍigalu wondû wuliyad=hôdawu turânga-rathada chawari | sittina
sipâyigalu diṭṭatanadalli hattû-hantâ yasṭu iddâv=alli jarâḍa mari | Kallûra
Kalabâsappa Kannûra Mallappa Awarâdi Virappa iddara kârbari | hint-intâ
saradâru kantara bidda hôdâru hentâ bandito namaga mâri || Chyê || Pânḍavarig=
oua-dêsa band-ante âditu | pâpi Dusvasa Draupati siri šaled=ôyvavâga bhûpatigal=
aivarû idd=enu mâḍuvaru | pâpi kêḷa namm-antâ pâtakar=yâr=illa | Pannaṅadharana
stutisuta Îravvâ | Pârvaty-arasana nenisidaḷo || Yêra || Pûrva-janmada likhitâ puṅṅe
sammadu tappit=endu | baradân=yâka Brahma hintâ bari || 1 ||

3. e. Nandi, the bull of Śiva. Basava, the establisher of the Liṅgâyat religion, is looked upon as an incarnation of Nandi.

2ne nuđi.

Heṇṇu-makkaḷ=iḍuwa wastâ baṇṇisi nâ pēḷvenu³⁵ saṇṇa naḍuvina dâba baṅgarâ |
bugađi bāwali jamikiwâli chaḷatumbu chendâdall=iḍawa ryâguṭi chewari heḷala
baṅgarâ | sâvirad=honnina saradâḷigaḷu moharada muttina mûgati mēle kettisid-antâ
vajjarâ | kaṇṭhaka darisuwa karidigi-sarapaṇi kattaṇi karimaṇi paṭṭigi-muttu ḍore
chintâk=harade hawaḷasarâ | hiri-pilligaḷu kiri-pilligaḷu lullu-miṇṭiki rulliya-
gejji kâlkaḍagâ sarapaḷi kâlunṅarâ | Mandaradharana karuna tappi wanda wuliyada
hōdawu munda illo namaga âsarâ || Chyê || Wakkalagitteru | sakalaka śahaṇeru |
satyaka śaraṇarâ | sâkshiya hēḷuvar=enu | akka nillisâ dukkha yenuta | Râma
Lakshmaṇa prēmadind=iruvâga ketta Râvaṇa Jânaki wōdu wanadoḷag=iṭṭâ |
Hanumanta hōgi Laukā suṭṭi | Vibhishanaḡa kaṭṭyâro paṭṭâ | gatti śikewu hâki
hiṇḍa daityaran=ella baṇḍu māḍida bhūpa | tāyi tandano kula-dīpa || Yêra ||
Hōd-antâ maga nimaga âdanu pēḷavvâ tāyi | bhēdisi hēḷuru yellaru || 2 ||

3ne nuđi.

Hoduwa-hantâ hodikigōḷu bhēdisi nâ pēḷvenu hōdawu yeshto rājada mēle
hēri | makkaḷa wuḍuwa mandila-siri tottuḡaḷ=uḍuwa tōpina-siri | uttumâr=uḍuwa
wulligaṇi-siri | rāniyavar=uḍuwa rāḡawâli-siri | bāleyar=uḍuwa bālipaṭṭi-siri | chedarer=
uḍuwa chandrakâli-siri | huḍigiyar=uḍuwa hūvina-siri | saṇṇavar=uḍuwa sâsibannada-
siri | kanyer=uḍuwa kambāvati-siri | kûsige hochchuwa kulâyi koṇchigi yēsondu nâ
pēḷali | araḷeli bindali toppige nâga-muri | śelyava muṇḍasa śēlu śakalâti pachcheda
aṅgi parimaḷa-pâwada | hoduw-antâ dotara Nâkpuri | yella hōgi illad=āytu Mallasarja
māḍida badaku ball-ashṭu hēḷuven=adara sūri || Chyê || Asṭu hōgi namma kasṭa
biḍalill=ayya paṭṭane nelak=haṇiya baḍawuta Īravva kaṭṭi hāyuvēn=alag=enuta |
tottuḡaḷ=ellaru suttale muttidaru | mukkaṇṇa-Harana dayadinda nimaga makkaḷ=
aidâru tāyi yenuta tamman=aidânu | tāyi nimaga bandadd=ēnu | ummâyadindale
hēḷer=Īravvaga summan-irada aḷutihalu || Yêra || Hannerada-sāvira daṇḍu harada
hōti nammana biṭṭu | waḍad-āṅga âditu tumbida keru || 3 ||

4ne nuđi.

Hantâ dorigaḷu hentâd=āyita Kantuharane kēḷ=avarige hentâ hotta tanda Īsvarâ |
nâḍan=āḷuwa dorigaḷig=hintâ kēḍa bara-bârad=andu Kittūra nâḍ=ella marigito
marmarâ | mânyê-mânyera āḷu-hantâ hannerada karūti haḷḷi honnu yettuḡaḷu hēri
hōdawu innūra | satyaka Śrâvaṇa-mâsaka yeppatt-ēḷa-nūra mandi tripti baḍu-hantâ
jaṅgamara | hasḍēn=andara kiviyaḷi kēḷada haṇṇu hālu sakkari nīḍi dānâ koḍuvar=annâ
wastarâ | dharmâ hōgi karmâ hechchi warmâ vetti pēḷvenu marma sâḡawadu
maḍadaru mūvaru || Chyê || Râjjeka Râyanâyaka gōja hachchad-iddara | mōj-āgi
dawalattu sâgatitt=annutali mājanar=ella maraguvaru | paṭṭa-gatti dēsâyige gatti
śikewa hâki atti Channavvân=oydu Hoṅgaladâga hâkidarū | sâkida magan=embuvaru |
Tâkur-sâb bandu ṭâr-āgi maḍadanū dirar=idarolu hutṭi ūru togolar=endu bhôr-iḍṭa
janar=aḷutiharu || Yêra || Ākâsada mēgina chandra lēs-āgi beḷak-illadidra | yēs-
ond=iddar=ēna nakshatra || 4 ||

5ne nuđi.

Vyâḷē-vyâḷeka wuttara hēḷi-hēḷi baradâru nâli hoṇḍ=ambuwa pattarâ | wastâ
waḍavi yallâ uchchi poḍavige wagadâḷo baḍavi wudarastâḷo kaṇṇirū | saṅgaḍ=ella
hēri baṇḍi yettu sâgali mundaka yendu bichchi hoḍadar=ella dana-karâ | guravina
karisi pāliki taraśi mēle aptâgēri hiḍasi hârast=hontara chattara châmarâ | saṇṇa
magal=ayyâ nânu sâri nimage pēḷvenu | tappa kēḷo appa saradârâ || Chyê ||
Hoṇḍa hoṇḍ=andara maṇḍâṭa hiḍadâḷo baṇḍa māḍi avaru yeliyaka hōdara kaṇḍ=avara

³⁵ This is an archaism. We have the same word in the third verse; also *pēḷvenu*, in verses 4 and 5; and *pēḷali* in verse 3. Other instances of archaisms are, — *idarolu*, verse 4; *dikkinoḷu*, verse 5; and *pōḡuvâga*, verse 6.

kâla hiçadâlo | mañçalan=âluwa puñçaru maçadalle keñça hâdu nânu prâna koçalill=
endu gañçana nenisi ałutâlo | dikkinolu namm-anta deşigeçi yâr=illa namma hoçtılı
wõdu putranu iddara deşgati yâka muñçuwadu || Yêra || Nîra illada malligi
bêra wonagi hõd-ante | atantrav=âyitu sañsâra || 5 ||

6ne nuçi.

Yeshçu mâçidara nammana bitta hõgudillav=endu nişçadinda mâçela vîrana
stuti | atti-mâvana nenadu hattidaļu çõliya hottar=añña bõveru yetti | munda
munnûra bârina-mandi hinda innûra kuduri-mandi mâçut=hoñçar=añña pârâgasti |
Râyanâyaka baratân=endu rauða mâçi naçir=endu yaða-bala hatt-eñçu hirada
katti | dâsokadinda dâri hiçidu Dhârwâçaka tâmwu hõgi saradâra këlida avara
stiti | koçça anna biççakêra keçça buddhiyannu ishçu mâçatiddi namma mêga
jyâsti | râtrili Râyanâyakan=hachchi rauða mâçi suttina hałli avana kailinda
sûdisti | kolla-byâçari Kusugalla gõçiy-ołaga ikina waidu wobba=içar=endan=all
wasti || Chyê || Hottaru bõveru Kusugallige waidaru mellaka kiliyava põguvâga
Îravvâ bal-hânga dukkhâ mâçidâlû | tây=illada makkałige ây=illo siri-y=illa kâya
iða-bârad=endu bâya biçut=Îravvâ sâwa bêçidaļu Sivanalli | akka tâ Îravvâ
dukkhawu mâçyâlo bakkana bâyava biçawutal=Îravvâ jakkane jêrig=iładâlo || Yêra ||
Nîra-wałagina mîna tagidu byâri chellid=hânga | namadu sûri âti namma
avasti || 6 ||

7ne nuçi.

Innu i dareyalli munna ira-bârad=endu anna-wudaka yalla biççalû | sañçav=
âdawu kai-kâlu mañça pâlav=âçaliy=endu bañña wañçisi biççalû | sañçrâni-byân=anta
sarv-ângav=ella wañçisi suñnad-hânga dêha suççalû | nâçâ-wałaga Nawalaçunda Kâda-
Siddan=hanteli hõgi nîra minadu maçyan=uççalû | jañçama-tîrthava paçedu añçada
mêlina smarani maredu liñçada mêle dhyâna iççalû | bhakti viraktara karaşi
takkaçi tumba bhañçâra tarisi tûkâ mâçi dâna koççalû | mukti koçço namaga
nînu mukkañña-Hara guruvey=endu Dhârwâçaka hoçça bandâlû || Chyê || Chikka
maga Mallasarja sikkân=embudu kêli jakkana jêrige iładalo Îravvâ mukkañña-Harana
nenadâlo | koça honn=iddar=ênu baçivy=âç-irawudu lêsu | maçadigi râyarû mani-
walag=iddara waçavi-wastagał=iða lêsu | waçavi-wastagał=ellâ biçade dânavâ koççu
Kittûra dawalattu kirad=âdit=embutali bharadind=Îravvâ ałutâlo || Yêra ||
Dhârwâçaka bandu tânu mûr-âra din=iddu | maraça-kâla banda prâna biççalû || 7 ||

8ne nuçi.

Satt-anta śravan=ella yetti kundrişi mukhava doçidu vibhûti mêle dharisârû |
atti Channavvâ wuçava muttina saragina-sîri wuttumarû nîrig=hoda wuçasârû |
kastûri-gandhava pûsi wastada-peççigi tarasi vistarisi mai-mêle iðaşarû | hattu-
yeñçu sâvirad=honnina ratnava tettisida nattu matta mûgin-ołaga içisârû | bukkiçça
wûdina-kaççi lekhhav-illada suçuwutale kañçhârti kalasgiñçi tumb=iççarû | purâça-
pastaka wõduw-antha śâstara-kathiya naçasuw-antha nâçâ-nâçâ jañçamara neradârû |
mâyav-âda maraçav=endu mâha-nâçâ janaru kûçi ninta suraşaro kañçirû || Chyê ||
Atti-mâñvaru illa attigi-nadaneru illa hotta band-âga maragu hett=avva nî ill=endu
tottugał=ellâ ałutiharû | añña-akkagał=illa tañgi-tammagał=illa aramani-wałaga inna
âdâdavar=ill=endu âlipariwuta ałutiharû | purushana kûç=ondu kâla sarasawu
âdalillâ arasu Bâpu-sâb inn=ond=orushav=iralill=endu râhutar=ellâ marugidarû || Yêra ||
Uppa wuñça makkaļu yellâ dappana nelaka biddu | Bâpu-sâhebana maçadi nenad=
aluvaru || 8 ||

9ne nuçi.

Râja-râçeda janar=ellâ rêjagaç=allige bandu neradârû râhuta-râñirû | ball-antha
baçigena karisi yellâ sâhita koçisi mâçeru vimâna-vistârâ | tara-taraka kannadi

nirata nôdi hondisi sarata nôdi hâkera hûvina hârû | hattuyenṭu sâvirad=honnina
 muttina goṇḍegaḷu suttali bigadaru śêlu jaratarâ | satt-antha śravawu tâmwu
 hottu-koṇḍu naḍadaru hârastara mēle chhatra chyâmara | buṭṭi-buṭṭili bukkiṭṭa
 kaṭṭav=illada hârasta hiḍada hoṇṭara maḷigi bâjara | haligi kâli karni karaḍi
 sambâla samparadâni bârast=hoṇṭa munda saradârâ | dikka-dikkina mandi yellâ
 akkâ îravvana nôdi dukkhka mâdyâr=esṣṭu janaru || Chyê || Dhâr-wâḍada mandi
 bhôr-iḍut=aḷuvâga paharadâg=idda maga Saṅkarana stutisuta nûr-ondu dukkhka
 mâḍidanû | yettu-bhaṇḍigaḷu hattawa kudurigaḷu satta śravada munda sâgi hôgudu
 kaṇḍu śôdhisi dukkhka mâḍidanû | dâna-dharmava koṭṭu nêma-nitteva tîrsi
 munda mukṭiya koḍuwa Basavana stutisuta maṇṇ-olaḡ=iṭṭa tiragidarû || Yêra ||
 Sundara Hebballi Basava kaṇḍ-asṣṭu | kaviya hondisi mâḍida vistârâ || 9 ||

SANSKRIT AND OLD-KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

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

No. 192. — CHELLUR COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF VIRACHODADEVA.

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 Gôdâvari 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 *Śrī-Tribhuvan[âh*]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 *siṃhâsana* 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 *Karṇam* 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 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. 253. 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 *jà*; 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 Sanskrit 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 *pînchchha*, 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 Vira-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 Vira-Chôḍadêva, to a temple of Vishṇu which his *Sênâpati* or General, a Vaishṇava Brâhman named Mêḍamârya and otherwise called Guṇaratnabhûshana, 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 Koleru. Dr. Hultsch, reading it as 'Kolârû, has suggested that it may have something to do with the Kôlâr or Kolleru 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 Guḍavâḍi *vishaya*, which Dr. Hultsch 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 Pîṭhapuri. The latter word is, I presume, another form of the name of Pîṭṭapuram, — the ancient Pishtapura, — the chief town of the Pîṭṭapuram Zamîndârî in the Gôḍavârî 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 'Pîṭhâpuram.' 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 Bhîmêsvâra" (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 Vira-Chôḍadêva's palace is stated to have been at a town, the name of which appears to be Jananâthanagari (see note 55 below); this place remains to be identified.

below the flat top in the seal of Râjarâja. — As noted by Dr. Hultsch, the word *makarâtôraṇa* 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, *makarâtôraṇa* is the technical term for the ornamented arch of a door or gateway; probably from an original device which introduced brackets representing *makaras*.

* 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. Hultsch, 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 Purāṇic genealogy.** This commences with the god Vishṇu, as a result of which, the Chalukyas were comprised in the Vishṇuvamśa or lineage of Vishṇu; and it is taken through Sōma or the Moon, so that they belonged also to the Sōmavamśa or Lunar Race, as is expressly stated in line 49. As far as the name of Yayāti, it agrees with the Purāṇic 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 Satāṇika. Another Purāṇic genealogy of the same style seems to be followed in some of the Kākatiya 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 Ayōdhyā, in unbroken lineal succession. This statement is also preserved in some of the Western Chālukya records (*e. g.*, *ante*, Vol. V. p. 17; also Vol. VIII. p. 12, where, however, after the fifty-nine emperors of Ayōdhyā, 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 Purāṇic genealogy, by saying that, after Kōlāhala had founded the city of Kōlāhalapura, his son and seventy-nine other kings reigned there, and then were followed by the historical members of the family, commencing with Vīrasimha. When the fifty-nine emperors had reigned at Ayōdhyā, a member of the family, named Vijayāditya, came to the south, from a desire for conquest, and attacked Trilōchana-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-Sōmayājin, gave birth to a posthumous son named Vishṇuwardhana. The young prince was nourished; and, having done worship to the goddess Gaurī 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 Rāma, *i. e.* Adam's Bridge, or the ridge of rocks connecting Ceylon with the Coromandel coast, up to the Narmadā. His son, born of a queen of the Pallava lineage, was another Vijayāditya. With the mountain Chalukyagiri that is introduced here, we may compare the Nandagiri fort which, according to the Kākatiya 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 Gōdāvari (*loc. cit.*). And, in very similar fashion, the mountain Mahēndragiri, — 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 Trinētra or Trilōchana.

(3) **The Early and Western Chalukya genealogy**, as far as it is given; being confined to three names, — those of Pulikēśin I., Kīrtivarman I., and Satyāśraya or Pulikēśin II. According to this account, Pulikēśin I. was the son of the second Vijayāditya of the preceding paragraph. In reality, he was the son of Raṇarāga, who was the son of Jayasimha I.

(4) **The Eastern Chalukya genealogy.** This starts with Vishṇuwardhana I. or Kubja-Vishṇuwardhana, a younger brother of Pulikēśin II., and is carried on to the person who makes the grant, Vīra-Chōḍadēva. A continuation of it, for one generation, is given in the Chellūr grant of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍadēva II. (*ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 55 ff.), from which we learn the name of Vīra-Chōḍadēva's eldest brother, Vikrama-Chōḍa.

The chief interest of this record centres in the information that it gives concerning Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍadēva 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 Chellūr grant of his grandson. In the present inscription, he is first called Bājendra-Chōḍa, and afterwards Kulōttuṅgadēva.

with the Chôlas two generations earlier, when Vimalâditya took to wife Kûndavâmahâdêvi, the daughter of Râjarâja of the Solar Race, and the younger sister of Râjendra-Chôḍa (*ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 50). It was from this, that his son was named Râjarâja (I.). The latter, again, found a Chôla wife, in Ammaṅgadêvi, the daughter of Râjendra-Chôḍa, *i. e.*, I presume, of his maternal uncle mentioned just above. His son, in a similar way, was named Râjendra-Chôḍa after his maternal grandfather, and also Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍadêva I. And he did as his immediate ancestors had done, and married Madhurântakidêvi, the daughter of Râjendradêva of the Solar Race. From this time the members of this family were plainly Chôlas 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 Veṅḡi, "which was the cause of the rising of his splendour." But subsequently, and apparently very soon, he desired or preferred the Chôla sovereignty; and he was anointed to that, and transferred the rule of Veṅḡi to Vijayâditya, another son of Vimalâditya. The precise circumstances under which this occurred, — whether through a failure of the Chôla succession; or through the breaking out of hostilities between the Eastern Chalukyas, and the Chôlas, 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 Veṅḡi was simply an appanage of the Chôla crown, Vijayâditya being his nephew's viceroy there. Vijayâditya governed Veṅḡi 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 Veṅḡi. The latter, however, was homesick, and returned to his parents after remaining in Veṅḡi for only one year. Then Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍadêva I. appointed his third son, Vira-Chôḍadêva, to the government of Veṅḡi; 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 Vira-Chôḍadêva as viceroy of Veṅḡi, is given as being in Śaka-Saṁvat 1001, when the sun was in Simha, *i. e.* in the solar month Bhâdrapada, on the thirteenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight, on Thursday, in the Vṛiṣchika *lagna*, and under the Śravaṇa *nakshatra*. The year is expressed in numerical words, and is not qualified either as current or 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 Simha at about 38 *ghaṭis*, 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 Simha, 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 Simha at about 23 *gh.* 5 *p.* on the 27th July, A. D. 1078; the thirteenth bright *tithi* which occurred while the sun was in Simha, 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 śukla 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 Vṛiṣchika *lagna*, from 11 *gh.* 25 *p.* to 16 *gh.* 57 *p.* Accordingly the date of the installation of Vira-Chôḍadêva, as viceroy of Veṅḡi, 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-Chôḍadêva I., as actually Chôlas by descent, and not as Eastern Chalukyas at all; and also made the mistake of identifying Vira-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 Piṭṭāpuram, at the temple of Kuntimādhavasvāmi, which ought to be properly copied and edited, in connection with the history of this period. One of them, dated Saka-Saṁvat 1124 (*Telugu Sasanams*, p. 501 ff.), states, — differing from the present record, and from the grant of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍadēva II. (*ante*. Vol. XIV. p. 55), — that Rājarāja I. reigned for only forty years; and his son, Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍadēva II. for fifty years, over the five Draviḍas with the Andhra *vishaya* (?); it seems also to mention the latter as being at first a *Yuvarāja*.⁷ It also states that his son Vikrama-Chōḍa, — apparently having been first installed in the Veṅḡi country, — went away to govern the Chōḷa *maṇḍala*, and left Veṅḡi without a ruler (*nāyaka-rahitā*). Another, dated Saka-Saṁvat 1108 (*id.* p. 703 ff.), says that Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍadēva I., while reigning over the whole earth, gave the Veṅḡi *maṇḍala* to the prince Vīra-Chōḍadēva. It then introduces a feudatory family, several members of which are mentioned. One of them was Goṅka, who served Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍadēva I. A brother of his, named Guṇḍa, had a son named Vedura, who served Vīra-Chōḍadēva, and conquered Pāṇḍyadēva for him. Vīra-Chōḍadēva thereupon gave him half his throne, and a province lying between two rivers (*sindhu-yugm-āntar-ākhyam dēśam*). Also, Goṅka had a son named Chōḍabhūpa; and Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍadēva I. treated him as his own son, and gave him, — perhaps after the death of Vīra-Chōḍadēva, — the Veṅḡi *maṇḍala*, consisting of sixteen or eighteen thousand villages.⁸ And a third, dated Saka-Saṁvat 1113 (*id.* p. 715 ff.), seems to mention, in connection with the history just about the time of Rājarāja I., a certain Rājendra-Chōḍa, to whom his paternal grandfather Rājādhirājendra-Chōḍa gave the Veṅḡi country; but the transcription is not very intelligible.

TEXT.⁹

First Plate.

- 1 Ōm¹⁰ [||*] Śrī¹¹-dhāmnah puruṣhōttamasya mahatō Nārāyaṇasya prabhōr=nnābhī-
pamkaruhāt babbhūva
2 jagata [h*] srashṭā Svaya[rh*]bhūs=tata[h*] jajñē mānasa-sūnur=Atrir=iti yas=
tasmān=munēr=Atritas=Sōmō vaṁśa-ka-
3 ras=sudh-āmsur=udita[h*] Sr?kaṅṭha-chōḍmaṇih [||*] Tasmād¹²=abhūt=sudhā-sūtēr=
Bbudhō budha-nutas=tataḥ jātaḥ Purū-
4 rava nāma chakravartī sa-vikramaḥ || Tasmād=Āyus=tatō Nahushaḥ | tatō
Yayātis=chakravartī vaṁśa-karttā | ta-

was that the intended word might be *sikhi-khadvay-mū*; giving the year 1003. And calculating for Saka-Saṁvat 1003 expired, and for Bhādrapada 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. 1031, — 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 Rājamahēndri: — The *tithi* Bhādrapada 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 *nakṣatra*, at sunrise, and up to 35 *gh.* 36 *p.*; and there was the Vriśchika *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 Vīra-Chōḍadēva, 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 *śaṁ-kh-āmbar-ēndu*, which are perfectly distinct and indisputable. Accordingly, the real year undoubtedly is Śaka-Saṁvat 1001 current.

⁷ The transcription has *tat-putrī=pi yuv-āhya-pūrva-puruṣhō rājendra-chōḍa sthitah śrī-paṁcha-dravidam sahaṁdra-vishayam paṁchāśad-abdān avat*. The word *paṁchāśad* is altered (wrongly) into *paṁchādāśa* (sic). — It should be noted that the present inscription does not say exactly that Rājarāja 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 *Yuvarāja* 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 *prītasṭīdāśasāram*. It is difficult to say whether this represents *prītaḥ śhīḍāśa-sahasram*, or *prīto=śhīḍāśa*.

⁹ From the original plates.

¹¹ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

¹⁰ Represented by an ornate symbol.

¹² Metre, Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).

- 5 taḥ Puruḥ tatô Janamêjayaḥ tataḥ Prâchisaḥ tatas=Sé(sai)nyayâtiḥ tatô
Hayapatih tatas=Sârvvabhauma[h*] ta-
- 6 tô Jayasênaḥ tatô Mahâbhô(bhau)maḥ tasmâd=Aisânakaḥ¹³ tataḥ Krôdhânaḥ
tatô Dêvakiḥ tasmâd=Ribhu-
- 7 kaḥ tasmâd=Rikshakaḥ tatô Mativaras=satra-yâga-yâji Sarasvati-nadi-nâthaḥ
tataḥ Katyâ-
- 8 yanaḥ tatô Nilâḥ tatô Dushyamtaḥ [*] tat-sutaḥ | Gaṅgâ¹⁴-Yamun[A*]-
tîr[ê*] yad-avichchinnân¹⁵=nidhâya yû-
- 9 pân kramaśaḥ kṛitvâ tath=âśvamêdhan=nâma mahâ-karma Bharata iti yô=
labhata I(II) Tatô Bharatâd=Bhûma-
- 10 nyuḥ | tatô Hasti¹⁶ tatô Virôchanaḥ | tasmâd=Ajami(mi)laḥ tatas=Samvaranaḥ
tatas=Sudhanvâ tataḥ Parikshi-
- 11 t tatô Bhimas[ê*]nas=tataḥ Pradipanaḥ tatas=Samtanuḥ tatô Vichitraviryayaḥ
tataḥ Paṇḍurâjaḥ ta-
- 12 taḥ Paṇḍavaḥ | Yêṅ¹⁷=âdâhi vijitya Kâ(khâ)ṇḍava-maḥô gâṇḍvinâ Vajriṇam
yuddhê pâsupat-âstram=A-
- 13 [m̄dha]karipôś=ch=âlâbhi daityân bahûn Imdr-ârddh-âsanam=adhyarôhi jayinâ yat
Kâlikêy-âdi-

Second Plate; First Side.

- 14 kân hatvâ svê(svai)ram=akâri vaṁśa-vipina-śchhê(chchhê)daḥ Kurûṇâm vibhoh̄ I(II)
Tatô=Rjjunâd=Abhimanyuḥ tataḥ Parikshit
- 15 tatôh¹⁸ Janamêjayaḥ tataḥ Kshêmukaḥ tatô Naravâhanaḥ tatas=Satânikaḥ
tasmâd=Udayanaḥ [II*] Tataḥ prabhri-
- 16 tishv¹⁹=avichchhinna-samân[ê*]shv=Ayôdhyâ-simbâsan-âsinêshv=êkân-na-shasṭi-ch a k r a
varttishu gatêshu tad-vaṁśyô Vija-
- 17 yâdityô nâma râjâ vijigîshayâ dakshinâpatha[m*] gatvâ Trilôchana-Pallavam=
adhikshipya daiva-durîhayâ
- 18 lôkâmtaram=agamat | Tasmin samkulê purôhitêna vṛiddh-âmâtyais=cha sârdham=
amtarvat[n*]î tasya mahâdêvî
- 19 Mudivemu²⁰-nâm-âgrahâram=upagamyâ tad-vâstavyêna Vishṇubhaṭṭa-sômayâjinâ mahâ-
muni-
- 20 prabhâvêna(ṇa) duliṭri-nirvviêśham=abhirakshitâ satî Vishṇuvarddhanan=
namdanam=asûta [*] Sâ ta-
- 21 sya kumârakasya Mânavyasagôtra-Hârîtiputra-dvipaksha-gôtra-kram-ôchitâni
karmmâ-
- 22 ŋi kârayitvâ tam=avarddhayat | Sa cha mâtrâ vidita-vṛi²¹ttântas=san=nirgatya
Chalukya-girau Namdâ[m*] bha-
- 23 gavatîm Gô(gau)rîm=ârâdhya Kumâra-Nârâyana-mâṭṛigaṇâms=cha samta.ppya
śvêtâtapatr-aikaśamkha-pamcha-

¹³ In the grant of Râjarâja I. (*ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 50, line 7), I gave here the wrong reading of *tasmâd-dêsânakaḥ*. Dr. Hultsch has shewn the right reading, in his edition of the present grant.

¹⁴ Metre, Âryâgiti.

¹⁵ Dr. Hultsch has proposed to read here *gaṅgâ-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 hastî*.

¹⁷ Metre, Sârdûlavikrîjita.

¹⁸ Read *tatô*.

¹⁹ Read *tataḥ param tat-prabhritishv°*; 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 *di*; and there can be no doubt that the same was intended here; simply, the loop at the end of the lower part of the *d* has not been properly formed.

²¹ First *vi* (probably as part of *vri*, for *vri*) was engraved; and then the superscript *i* was cancelled.

- 24 mahásabda-pálikétana-pratiḍakka²²-varáhalámchchhana-pimchchha²³ - kumta-simhásana
makaratôraṇa-kanakadaṇḍa-Gaṁ-
- 25 gâ-Yamun-âdini sva-ru(ku)la-kram-âgatâni nikshiptân=īva sâmrâjya-bhi(chi)hnâni
samâdâya Kaḍam̄ba-Gaṁg-âdi-bhû-
- 26 mipân=nirjjitya S[ô*]tu-Narmmadâ-madhyam̄ sârdha-sapta-laksham̄ dakshinâpatham̄
pâlayâm-âsa I(II) Tasy²⁴=âsid=Vija-

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 27 yâdityô Vishṇuvarddhana-bhûpatêh Pallav-ânvaya-jâtâyâ mahâdêvyâs=cha
naṁdanam²⁵ I(II) Tat-sutaḥ
- 28 Pulakêsi-vallabham²⁶ [I*] tat-putraḥ Kirttivarmma [II*] Tasya tanayaḥ [I*]
Śvasti Srîmatâm sakala-bhuvana-sam-
- 29 stûyamâna-Mânavya-sagôtrânâm Hârit[I]-putrânâm Kauśikî²⁷-vara-prasâda-labdha-
râjyânâ[m*] mâ-
- 30 tri-gaṇa-paripâlitânâm Svâmi-Mahâsêna-pâd-ânudhyâtânâm bhagavaṇ-Narâyana²⁸-prasâda-
samâ-
- 31 sîdita-vara-varâhalâ[m*]chchhan-êkshaṇa-kshaṇa-vasî(sî)krîṭ-ârâtimaṇḍalânâm= aśvam ê d h -
âvabhridha(tha)-snâna-pa-
- 32 vitrîkrîta-vapushâm Châlukyânâm kulam=alamkarishṇôs=Satyâsraya-vallabhêmdrasya
bhra-
- 33 tâ Kubja-Vishṇuvarddhanô=shtâdaśa varshâni V[e*]m̄gi-dêsam=apâlayat [I*]
tad-âtma-jô Jayasi[m*]-
- 34 ha-vallabhas=trayas-trim̄satam | tad-anuja I[m*]drarâjas=sapta dinâni | tat-
sutô Vishṇuvarddhanô nava va-
- 35 rshâni | tat-sûnur=Mmaṁgi-Yuvarâjah pañcha-vim̄satim [I*] tat-putrô
Jayasim̄has=trayôdaśa [I*] tad-avarajah
- 36 Kokkilish=shaṇ=mâsân [I*] tasya jyêshthô bhrâtâ Vishṇuvarddhanas=tam-
uchchâtya sapta-trim̄satam [I*] tat-putrô Vija-
- 37 yâditya-Bhatârakô=shtâdaśa | tat-tanujô Vishṇuvarddhana[h*] shaṭ trim̄sa-
tam²⁹ [I*] tat-sutô Narêmdramrigarâjô=shtâ-
- 38 chatvârim̄satam [I*] tat-sutaḥ Kali-Vishṇuvarddhanô=ddhyarddha-varsham̄ [I*]
tat-sutô Guṇagam̄ka-Vijayâdityas=chatus-cha-
- 39 tvârim̄satam [I*] tad-bhrâtur=Vvikramâdityasya tanayaś=Châlukya-Bhimas-
trim̄satam | tat-sutaḥ Kollabhigaṇḍa-

Third Plate; First Side.

- 40 Vijayâdityash=shaṇ=mâsân | tat-sutô=Mma-râjas=sapta varshâni | tat-sutam̄
Vijayâdityam̄ bâlam=u-
- 41 chchâtya Tâḍapê(pô) mâsam=êkam | tam̄ jityâ Châlukya-Bhima-sutô
Vikramâditya êkâdaśa mâsân [I*]
- 42 tat-Tâḍapa-râja-sutô Yuddhamallas=sapta varshâni | tam=uchchhâ(chchâ)tya dêsâd=
Amma-râj-ânujô Râja-Bhi-
- 43 mah(mô) dvâdaśa varshâni [I*] tat sûnur³⁰=Amma-râjah pañcha-vim̄satim |
tasya dvê(dvai)mâturô Dânanripas=triṇi va-

²² Read °ḍakkâ, or °ḍhakkâ.²³ Read *picchha*, probably; but the same word, *pimchha*, 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 (Anushtubh).²⁵ Read *naṁdanam*. 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 °*vallabhah*; and see the preceding note.²⁷ At first, the *si* was omitted; and then *ki* was altered into *siki*.²⁸ Read *bhagavan-narâyana*.²⁹ Read *shaṭ-trim̄satam*.³⁰ Read *tat-sûnur*.

- 44 rshâni [i*] tañtas³¹=sapta-vimśati-varshâni daiva-durīhayâ **Verṅgi-mahir**=anâyik=
âbhavat | tatô **Dân**[â*]rñṇava-su-
- 45 tâ(ta)ś=**Saktiva**³²rmma-bhûpatir=dvâdasa varshâni samarakshad=uvvi³³ [i*] **Tatas**=³⁴
tad-anujas=sapta vatsarân bhûta-vatsalah |
- 46 **Vimalâditya**-bhûpâlah pâlayâm-âsa mēdī(di)nīm | (ii) **Tat**³⁵-tanayô naya-śâli(ii)
jaya-lakshmi-dhâ-
- 47 ma **Râjarâja**-narē[m*]draś=chatvârimśatam=abdân=êkam cha punar=mmahim=
apâlayad=akhilâm | (ii) **Yô**³⁶
- 48 rup[ê*]ṇa Mabhanôbhavañ³⁷ vîsadayâ kântyâ kalânân=nidhiñ bhôgên=âpi
Purâmdaram vipulayâ lakshmyâ
- 49 cha Lakshmîdharam Bhîmam bhîma-parâkramēṇa vihasan bhâti sma bhâsvad-
yasâ[h*] śrîmat **Sôma**³⁸-kul-ê(ai)ka-
- 50 bhûshana-manir=ddîn-aika-chintâmanih [i*] **Tasy**=âsîd=apakalmashâ su-charitair=
Ammaṅga-nâmnâ bhuvî pra-
- 51 khyâtâ śubha-lakshañ-aika-vasatir=ddēvi jagat-pâvanî | yâ **Jahnôr**=iva **Jâhnavî**³⁹
Himavatô Gaur=îva La-
- 52 kshmir=iva kshîrôdâd=divasēsa-vañsa-tilakâd=**Râjêmdra-Chôḍad**=abhût | (ii) **Putras**=⁴⁰
tayôr=abhavad=apratighâ-

Third Plate; Second Side.

- 53 ta-śakti-nîśēshit-âri-nivahô mahaniya-kirttiḥ | Gaṅgâdhar-Âdriṣutayôr=iva **Kârttikēyô**
Râjêmdra-
- 54 **Chôḍa** iti râja-kula-pradîpaḥ | (ii) **Bhâsâm**⁴¹=unnati-hêtum pradha(tha)mañ **Verṅg**-
îsvaratvam=adhyâsya yas=têjasâ
- 55 dig-amtân=âkramad=udayam sahasraraśmir=iva || **Udyach**⁴²-chaṇḍatara-pratâpa-dahana-
pluṣṭ-âkhila-dvê-
- 56 shiṇâ sarvvân **Kuê(kê)rala-Pañḍya-Kumtala**-mukhân nirjjitya dēsân kramât
âjñâ maulishu bhûbhritâm
- 57 bhaya-rujâ chittēshu durmmêdhasâm kirtti[r*]=dikshu sudhâmsu-dhâma-dhavalâ
yên=ârppit=ôjjîmbhatê | (ii) **Bhô**-
- 58 gîś⁴³-âbhîla-bhâ(bhô)ga-pratibhaya-bhuja-nirbbha[r*]tsan-âtyamta-bibhyan-nânâ-bhûpâla-
lôka-prahi-
- 59 ta-bahuvîdh-ânargghya-ratn-âbhirâmam dhattê maulim parârdhyô mahati nripa-
kulê yah **Kulô**-
- 60 **ttuṅgadēvô** dēvêmdratvâd=anûnê surapati-mahimâ **Chôḍa-râjyê**=bhishiktaḥ | (ii)
Hasta⁴⁴-bhrâjita-sam-
- 61 kha-chakra-jalajam yam **Râja-Nârâyaṇam** lôka[h*] stauti sa **sûryya-vañsa**-
tilakâd=**Râjêmdradēv**-ârñnavâ-
- 62 t sambhûtâm=**Madhurântak**=îti viditân=nâmn=âpagê(rê)ṇa svayam **Lakshmîm**=
udvahati sma lôka-mahitâ⁴⁵
- 63 **dēvim** charitr-ônmatâm | (ii) **Gâṅg**-aughâ iva nirmmalâḥ kṛita-tamô-dhvañsâ
dinēsâ iva kshônîdhrâ iva
- 64 bhû-bhara-śrama-sahâ jâtâs=tayôs=sûnavah tan-madhyê naya-vikram-aika-nilaya[m*]
śrî-Râjarâjam
- 65 prati prēmna(mṇâ) vâcham=imâm=avôchata pitâ sa[r*]vv-ôrvar-âdhîsvata(ra)ḥ | (ii)
Mayâ⁴⁶ **Verṅgi-mahi-râ**-

³¹ Read *tatas*.

³² Read *urvvîñ*.

³³ Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita; and in the next verse.

³⁴ The *hna* is imperfect in the original; the top stroke of the *h* being omitted.

³⁵ Metre, Âryâgîti.

³⁶ Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita; and in the next verse.

³⁷ Metre, Ślôka (Anushtubh); and in the next two verses.

³⁸ This letter, *va*, was at first omitted, and then was inserted below the line.

³⁹ Metre, Ślôka (Anushtubh).

⁴⁰ Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

⁴¹ Metre, Âryâgîti.

⁴² Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

⁴³ Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita; and in the next verse.

⁴⁴ Metre, Ślôka (Anushtubh); and in the next two verses.

⁴⁵ Metre, Âryâgîti.

⁴⁶ Read *śrîmat-sôma*?

⁴⁷ Metre, Vasantatilaka.

⁴⁸ Metre, Sragdharâ.

Fourth Plate; First Side.

- 66 jyañ Chôḍa-râjy-âbhilâpi(shi)ṇâ mat-pitṛivya purâ nyastam Vijayâditya-bhûbhuji (||)
Sa cha pañcha-
- 67 daś=âbdâni pañchâna-parâkramah mahim rakshan=mahî-nâthô divam dêv-ôpamô
gataḥ (||) Ity=uktvâ tâ-
- 68 n=dhuram dattam gurunâ chakravartinâ anishṭa-tad-viyôgô=pi vini(ni)tô vahati
sma saḥ (||) 'Sri⁴⁷-pâda-sêvâ-su-
- 69 khatô gurûṇan=na jâtu râjyam sukham=ity=avêkshya samrakshya **Vemgi-**
bhuvam=êkam=abdam bhûyas=sa pitrô-
- 70 r=agamat=samipam (||) Tad⁴⁸-anujam=adha(tha) dhîram **Vira-Chôḍam** kumaram
guṇam=iva tanu-baddham vikramam chakra-
- 71 vartti udayam=iva ravis=tvam prâpya **V[e*]mg-îsvata(ra)tvam** vitanu sîrasi
pâdam bhûbhrîtâm=i⁴⁹ty=avô-
- 72 chat (||) Ity⁵⁰=âsisham samadhigamya nripâd=avavadhyâm⁵¹ dêvyâs=tadh(th)=âgraja-
nripa-dvitayât
- 73 kramêna ânamya tân=avauatô=varajaiḥ kumâra[h*] sṛishṭa[h*] sva-dêsa-gamanâya
sa taiḥ kathamchit (||) 'Satru⁵²-dhvâm-
- 74 tam=apâsya râja-nikarân=âchchhâdya dhûmn=âparân durvṛittân=vinivartya bhû-
kama⁵³linim kṛitvâ tadh(th)=ânamdini[m*] â-
- 75 rûḍô(dhô)⁵⁴ **Jananâtha⁵⁵-nâma-nagari-harmmy-ôdayâdriṁ** vibhur=**Vvemgi-bhûta-**
la- bhûshanam nripa-sutô bâl-ârkkâ-
- 76 bimba-dyutiḥ (||) **Sak-âbdô** **sasi-khadvay-êndu-ganitê** **sirih-âdhirûḍê(dhê)**
ravau chamîrê vridhimati trayôdasa-ti-
- 77 thau varê Gurôr=vvṛisṭhikê lagnê=tha Sravanê samasta-jagati-râjy-âbhishikrô
mu[dê] lôkasy=ôdva-
- 78 hati sma pattam=anaghaḥ sri-Vira-Chôḍô nripaḥ (||) Sa sarvvalôkaśraya-sri-
Vishṇuvardhana-mahârâ-

Fourth Plate; Second Side.

- 79 jâdhirâjô râja-Paramêśvaraḥ paramamâhêśvara[h*] paramabhat[â*]rakaḥ parama-
brahmanyah sri-Vira-Chôḍadêvah **Gudda-**
- 80 **vâḍi⁵⁶**-vishaya-nivâsinô râshṭrakûta-pramukhân kuṭumbinas=sarvvân samâhûya
mantri-purôhita-sênâpa-
- 81 ti-yuvarâjâ-dauvârîka-samaksham=i⁵⁷tham=âjñâpayati | yadhâ(thâ) | Pâvanê⁵⁸ brahma-
vanêś=bhût=param-âhlâda-da[r*]śanaḥ

⁴⁷ Metre, Upajâti of Indravajrâ and Upândravajrâ.

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 Prakrit form of Jagannêthanagarî, 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 Vira-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 Sasana*, the reading of *na* is actually given for the present grant also.

⁵⁶ Dr. Hultzsch has read the last syllable of this word as *li*. But I do not agree with him. It is not identical with the *li* of *sphuriti* in line 103.

⁵⁷ See note 49 above.

⁵⁸ Metre, Ślôka (Anushtubh); and in the next four verses.

- 82 muniṁdrô Mudgalô nâma kshîrôda iva chaṁdramâḥ 1(11) Yēn=âta[r*]ky-
ânubhâvêna samâhûtê divâkarê yasya ya-
- 83 shtis=samâdishâtâ ravi-chêshâtâm=achêshâtata 1(11) Âsît=pavitra-châritras=tad-gôtrê gôtra-
varddhanah diśô nija-yaśô-dhâmnâ dyô-
- 84 tayan Pôtan-âhvayah 1(11) Guṇ-âdhikô guṇa-jñêna Râjarâj-âdhipêna yah Râjarâja-
brahma-mahârâja-nâmnâ
- 85 stutô mudâ 1(11) Tasya puṇya-nidhêḥ patnî Kānamûmbâ jagan-nutâ Atrêr=iv=
Ânasûy=âsîd=anasûy[â*]-
- 86 guṇ-ônnatâ 1(11) Sutam⁵⁹=iva Vasudêvâd=Dêvakî Vâsudêvam Guham=iva Girikanyâ
nâmdanam Chamdramf(mau)lêḥ
- 87 atha tanayam=asûta śrî(śrî)-nidhiṁ sâ cha tasmâd=akhilâ-vibudha-samghair=iḍitam=
Mêdamâryyam [11*] Uddâma⁶⁰-dhâ-
- 88 ma-vimalîkrîta-dig-vibhâgê nity-ôdaya-sthitimati pravikâsi-padm[ê*] yatr=ôditê nikhila-
bandhu-kulâni lakshmr=a-
- 89 dhyâsta vârija-vanâni vivasvat=iva 1(11) Yasminn⁶¹=âsri(śrî)ta-vatsalê Kṛtayug-âchâr-
aika-dhîrê svi(sthi)tim bibhrânâ(nê) Guṇaratnabhû-
- 90 shana iti prakhyâta-nâmni svayam satya-tyâga-parâkrama-prabhṛitayas=sainbhûya
sarvvê guṇâ varddhamtê
- 91 guṇa-râsi-lôpa-nipunaṁ nirjjitya kâlam Kalim 1(11) Dhi(dhî)ro⁶² nity-ânuraktô
driḍa(dha)-niśita-matir=brahma-yamśa-pradîpô
- 92 lakshmi-bhûr=iddha-têjâ naya-vinaya-nidhiś=sâstra-śastra⁶³-pravîṇah mânyas-
sê(sai)lêṁdra-sâra-sthira iti cha mayâ sâda-
- 93 ram saprasâdam sê(sai)nâpatyê=bhishiktô yahati jana-mudê pattam=ârôpitaṁ
yah 1(11) Susrûshayâ⁶⁴ gurujanam-

Fifth Plate ; First Side.

- 94 m⁶⁵ chcha(cha)ritêna lôkam=mâ[nêna] bandhu-janam=ishṭa-dhanêna śisṭân yô
mâm=madîya-nikhila-kshiti-râjya-bhâra-kshânty=âbhinaṁda-
- 95 yati bhakti⁶⁶-bharêṇa Sauri[m 1(11)] Yasya⁶⁷ prâṅgaṇa-bhûmishu pratî-dinam
prakshâlyamân-âmita-kshôṇîdêva-samûha-pâdha(da)-vigalad-vâri-pra-
- 96 vâhaiś=śubhaiḥ śasvan-mârgga-sahasra-pûribhir⁶⁸=ahô Gaṅgâ-pravâhô(hâ) jî(ji)tâ
dêvêshv=anyatamasya pâda-galitâ mârgha-tray-âyâsitâḥ
- 97 1(11) D[r*]aksh⁶⁹-ârâmê pâvanê puṇya-bhâjâ puṇya-kshêtrê Pîṭhapuryyam cha
yêna bhôkt[u*]m prîtyâ praty-a⁷⁰ham brâhmaṇânâm=â-kalp-âmtam kalpi-
- 98 tam sat[t*]ra-yugmaṁ 1(11) Chellûru⁷¹-nâma-prathit-âbhirâma-śisṭ-âgrahâr-ôttara-dig-
vibhâgê mahat-tatâkam⁷²=madhur-âmbu-pûrṇam=a-
- 99 chi(chî)karad=yah karuṇâ-ras-âtmâ 1(11) Viprair⁷³=Agastya-pratimair=asaṁkhyai[r*]=
nnity-ôpabhôgyêna śâsi-prabhêṇa yad=vâ⁷⁴riṅ=âbdhiṁ hasat=iva bhû-
- 100 yô niśêsha-pîtam kalâś-ôdbhavêna 1(11) Mah⁷⁵-aujasâ tēna mahâ-mahimnâ grâmasya
tasy=âpara-dig-vibhâgê nirmmâpitaṁ dharmma-
- 101 parâyanêna Vishṇô[r*]=grîham Vaishṇava-puṅgayai(vê)na 1(11) Samunnatê chaṁdra-
marichi-gô(gau)rê Lakshmi-nivâsê nayan-âbhirâmê
- 102 tatr=âvir-âsît=syayam=êvê(va) dêvô Lakshmi-patir=llakshita-śamkha-chakra[h*] 1(11)
Tasmai śrî-Vishṇu-bhaṭṭarakâya⁷⁶ praty-âham charu-ba-

⁵⁹ Metre, Mâlinî.

⁶² Metre, Sragdharâ.

⁶³ The repetition of the *anusvâra* here is unnecessary.

⁶⁴ 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, *pratyâ*, were at first omitted, and then were inserted below the line.

⁷¹ Metre, Upajâti of Indravajrâ and Upêndravajrâ.

⁷² Read *tatâkam*.

⁷³ Metre, Indravajrâ.

⁷⁴ First the superscript *ô* was formed, and then it was corrected into *ô*.

⁷⁵ Metre, Upajâti of Indravajrâ and Upêndravajrâ; and in the next verse.

⁷⁶ At first *bhaṭṭarakâya* was engraved; and then the first *ra* was cancelled.

- 103 li-pûj-ârttham khaṇḍa-sphuṭita-navaka[r*]mm-ârttham cha bhavad-vishayê. Koleṛu-77
nâma-gr[â*]mas=sarvva-kara-parihârôṇa
- 104 dēvabhôgikṛitya udaka-pûrvvakam datta iti viditam=astu vaḥ [11*] Asya grâmasy:
sîmânah [i*] pûrvvataḥ Ku-
- 105 karapolagarusu Naru(?)vaya si(si)mâ âgnēyyâm Treṅkipolagarusu Natrena(?)-
guṃṭaya si(si)mâ dakshinasyâm Treṅ-
- 106 kipolagarusu mediguṃṭaya si(si)mâ nairṛityâm Treṅkipolagarusu
. mēsvarama si(si)mâ
- 107 paśchimataḥ Târu ma(?)polagarusu Na da(?)guṃṭaya
si(si)mâ vâvyayâm
- 108 ru(?)napolagarusu si(si)mâ uttarasyâm Kra(?)ladipolagarusu si(si)mâ Porâṇa(?)-
.
- 109 garusu Cha(?)ve(?)laim(?)laim(?)gaguṃṭaya si(si)mâ sîmâ || Asy=ôpari na kēnachid=
b[â*]dhâ kara[ṇīyâ yaḥ karô]ti sa

Fifth Plate; Second Side.

- 110 pañcha-mahâpâtaka-vuktô bhavati | Tathâ ch=ôktaṃ bhagavatâ Vyâsēna | Sva-78
dattâm para-dattâm [vâ yô harê]ta va-
- 111 sundharâm shashtîm varsha-sahasrâni vishṭhâyâm jāyatê krimilî 1(1) Gâm=êkâm
svarṇam=êkam vâ [bhûmēr=apy=êka]m=aṅgu-
- 112 laim | haran=narakam=âpnôti yâvad=â-bhûta-saṃplavam 1(1) Bahubhir=
vvasudhâ dattâ bahubhîs=ch=ânupâlîtâ yasya
- 113 yasya yadâ bhûmis=tasya tasya tadâ phalam 1(1) Sri-vijayarâjya-saṃvatsarê
êka-vimśê dattasy=âsya
- 114 śâsanasy=âjñaptiḥ pañcha pradhânâḥ kâvya-karttâ Viddayabhataḥ lēkhakaḥ
Pennâchâriḥ ||

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

From the water-lily that grew from the navel of **Narâyana (Vishnu)** (line 1), there was produced **Svayambhû (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 **Pururavas**. 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, **Janamējaya (I.)**. From him, **Prâchîta**. From him, **Sainyayâti**. From him, **Hayapati**. From him, **Sarvabhauma**. From him, **Jayasēna (I.)** (l. 6). From him, **Mahâbhauma**. From him, **Aitânaka**. From him, **Krôdhânana**. From him, **Dēvaki**. From him, **Ṛibhuka**. From him, **Ṛikshaka** (l. 7). From him, **Matiyara**, the celebrator of sacrifices, the lord of the river **Sarasvatî**. 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 **Gangâ and Yamunâ**, and performed the great rite of the **âsvamēdha**-sacrifice, and acquired the name of **Bharata** (l. 9). From him there was born **Bhûmanyu**. From him, **Hastin**

⁷⁷ Dr. Hultsch 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 *kd*. On this point, however, I should like to see the original plate again. — The second syllable is rather spoilt, through 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 *stma* 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 (Anushtubh)*; and in the following two verses.

(l. 10).⁷⁹ From him, **Virôchana**. From him, **Ajamîla**.⁸⁰ From him, **Sañvarana**. From him, **Sudhanvan**. From him, **Parikshit (I.)**. From him, **Bhîmasêna** (l. 11). From him, **Pradîpana**. From him, **Santanu**. From him, **Vichitravîrya**. From him, **Pañdurâja**. And from him, the **Pāṇḍavas** (l. 12). One of the Pāṇḍavas was **Arjuna** (l. 14), who, armed with the bow *gāṇḍîva*, conquered (the god Indra) who wields the thunderbolt, and burnt the hermitage in the **Khāṇḍava** (forest) (l. 12); who acquired in battle the weapon of Paśupati ('Siva), from (Siva) the foe of (the demon) Andhaka; who slew Kālikêya and many other Daityas, 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, **Satânika**. And from him, **Udayana**.

Then, commencing with him (Udayana), sixty emperors, less by one, in unbroken lineal succession, sat on the throne at **Ayôdhya** (l. 16). And when they had passed away, a king of that same lineage, by name **Vijayaditya** (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, **Vishṇuwardhana** (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 **Mānavya 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 **Nârâyana** 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 *pañchamahâsabdâ*, the *pâlikêtana*,⁸¹ the double drum, the crest of a boar, the feathers of a peacock's tail, the spear, the throne, the *makarâtôraṇa*, 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 **Vishṇuwardhana**, and of his queen-consort who was born in the **Pallava** lineage, was **Vijayaditya** (l. 26-27).

His son was **Pulakêsin (I.)**, the favourite (l. 28). His son was **Kirtivarman (I.)**, His son:—

Hail! **Kubja-Vishṇuwardhana (I.)** (l. 33), — the (*younger*) brother of **Satyâsraya-(Pulakêsin II.)**, the chief of favourites, who adorned the family of the **Chalukyas** (l. 32), who are glorious; who are of the **Mānavya gôtra** (l. 29), which is praised throughout the whole world; who are **Hârîtiputras**; 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 *Ajamîlha*, or *Ajmîlha*.

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 Nârâyana ; and whose bodies have been purified by ablutions performed after celebrating the *âsvamêdha*-sacrifice, — ruled over the **Veṅgi dēsa** for eighteen years (l. 33).

His son, **Jayasimha (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 **Māngi-Yuvarâja** (l. 35), for twenty-five years. His son, **Jayasimha (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, **Vijayāditya-Bhaṭṭâraka (I.)** (l. 37), for eighteen years. His son, **Vishṇuvardhana (IV.)**, for thirty-six years. His son, **Narêndramrigarâja-(Vijayāditya II.)**, for forty-eight years. His son, **Kali-Vishṇuvardhana (V.)**, for one year and a half year. His son, **Guṇagaṅka-Vijayāditya (III.)**, for forty-four years. Then **Châlukya-Bhima (I.)** (l. 39), the son of his (*younger*) brother **Vikramāditya (I.)**, for thirty years. His son, **Kollabhighaṅḍa-Vijayāditya (IV.)**, for six months. His son, **Amma (I.)** (l. 40), for seven years. Having expelled his son **Vijayāditya (V.)**, while he was a child, **Tādapa** (l. 41) reigned for one month. Having conquered him, **Vikramāditya (II.)**, the son of **Châlukya-Bhima (I.)**, reigned for eleven months. Then **Yuddhamalla (II.)** (l. 42), the son of that same **Tādapa**, reigned for seven years. Having expelled him from the country, **Râja-Bhima (II.)**, the younger brother of **Amma (I.)**, reigned for twelve years. His son, **Amma (II.)** (l. 43), for twenty-five years. His half-brother, through the spite of fate, the land of **Veṅgi** was without a lord (l. 44).⁸³ Then king **Saktivarman** (l. 45), the son of **Dânârṇava**, reigned for twelve years. Then his younger brother, **Vimalāditya**, 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 **Ammaṅgadēvi** (l. 50-51), the daughter of **Rajêndra-Chôḍa of the race of the sun**. Their son was **Rajêndra-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**, **Pāṇḍya**, **Kuntala**, and other countries (l. 56). He was also called **Kulôttuṅgadēva** (ll. 59-60) ; under which title he was anointed in the **Chôḍa kingdom** ; and another of his names was **Râja-Nârâyana** (l. 61), because on his hands there were marks of the conch-shell, the discus, and the water-lily. He married **Madhurântakidēvi** (l. 62-63), the daughter of **Rajêndradēva 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 **Vijayāditya** (l. 66), who ruled there for fifteen years, and then died. He now appointed **Râjarâja (II.)** as **Vijayāditya**’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 **Kulôttuṅgadēva** appointed **Vira-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, **Vira-Chôḍa** was, with difficulty.

⁸³ The expression in the original here is *sapta-vimśati-varshāṇi daiva-durṭhayaḥ veṅgi-mahir anāyik-ābhavat*. 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 *sakalīṅga-sāndhra-maḍḍalam asvāmikam ēva vidhi-vaśā bhūtan*. — 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 **Veṅgi**, in one of the **Piṭṭapuram** inscriptions (page 427 above), as being *nāyaka-rahita* 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 **Ādityas**, and the (seven) mountain (see his translation of the verse).

prevailed upon to go to Veṅgi (l. 73); and, arriving there, he established himself in the palace at the city of Jananāthanagari (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 Siṃha, when the moon was waxing, on the thirteenth lunar day, on Thursday, in the Vriśchika lagna, and under the Śravaṇa (nakshatra), he, the king, the sinless one, the glorious Vira-Chōḍa, 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 Mahārājā-dhirāja, the Rāja-Paramēśvara (l. 79), the most devout worshipper of the god Mahēśvara, the Paramahaṭṭāraka, he who is most kind to Brahmaṇs, the glorious Vira-Chōḍadēva, having called together all the cultivators, headed by the Rāshṭrakūtas, dwelling in the Guddavāḍi vishaya (ll. 79-80), thus issues a command, in the presence of the Mantrin, Purōhita, Sēnāpati, Yuvarāja and Dauvārika (l. 81):—

“In the Brāhmaṇ race (*i. e.* caste), there was a saint named Mudgala (l. 82). In his gōtra (*i. e.* in the Mudgala gōtra), there was a person named Pōtana (l. 84), who was praised by the king Rājarāja (I.) by the name of ‘the great king of the Brāhmaṇs of Rājarāja.’ His wife was Kannamāmbā (l. 85). Their son was Mōḍamārya (l. 87), who became famous under the name of Guṇaratnabhūṣaṇa (l. 89-90). He has been anointed by me in the office of Sēnāpati, 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 Drākshārāma, and at Piṭhapuri, a place of sanctity (l. 97), he established two sattras, for feeding Brāhmaṇs. Also he caused to be made a large tank, in the northern division of the famous agrahāra of Chellūru (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 Lakshmī, manifested himself, having his conch-shell and discus distinctly visible (l. 102).

“Be it known to you that the village named Koleṛu, in your district, has been given to that same god, the holy Vishṇubhaṭṭāraka (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 *dēvabhōga* (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 *Dātakas* (denoted by the word *ājñapti*) were the five Pradhānas or Ministers (l. 114); that the composer was Viddayabhaṭṭa; and that the writer was Pennāchāri.

⁸⁵ See note 55, above.

⁸⁶ The *dēvabhōga*, ‘enjoyment by a god,’ is obviously one of the divisions of the *tribhōga*, for which see page 2171 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 Thadonâga-naing¹ adopted prince Labaduha, brother of his queen Kênnyâidêwi,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 Ênyemin,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 Wetmasut⁵ 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 Wetteh-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 Bedâyi.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 Kênnyâidêwi 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

¹ See *ante*, Vol. XVIII. page 275, footnote 2.

² Kênnyâidêwi = Kinnarîdêvi.

³ Ênyemin or Enshemin literally means 'lord of the eastern house,' and corresponds to the *Yuwardja* 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 Wetteh-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 Bedâyi; 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 dryads¹⁰ to exercise special care over her children.

The raft floated down the river, and in due course arrived at the place where Sagaing¹¹ now stands. Here its further progress was stayed by a projecting branch of a "sit" tree, whose guardian¹² was an ogress¹³ called Sandamôkki.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 Sagû¹⁵ she began to cure them, and at Ywâlin¹⁶ their eyesight was restored. At Myêdè,¹⁷ just above Prome, delighted with their restored vision, they exclaimed:—

Mô : gâ : a-pôn :

Myê gâ : 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 Bedâyi, 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 *yathê*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 Bedâyi 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 Bedâyi to Mahâthanbawa,²⁰ the elder of the two princes.

At that time the ruler of the Pyn tribe was a queen, and the *yathê* 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 Sandamôkki 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 *Yathê*, so pronounced but written *rassê*, is the Burmanized form of the Sanskrit *ṛishi*.

²⁰ Mahâthanbawa is the Burmanized form of the Pâli 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 Sulathanbawa²² to be Ênyemin²³ or Crown-Prince. The former reigned for six years, and was succeeded by his brother who married²⁴ 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 Sri-shêṇa'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 सौम्यदिवसाये, *saumya-divas-adyê*. He has now read it as सोम०, *sôma-divas-adyê*. But I have shewn in my paper on the original *Sûrya-Siddhânta* that the real reading is भौम०, *bhauṃa-divas-adyah*.

(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 रंभ (= 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 अक (= 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 वक्त्र for वक्र, in the 8th verse of the 8th chapter.

(5) (See p. 141, above). The word व्याख्यातौ 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 Dvivedî, 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 *Srikshêtra*, the 'field of fortune,' and Dr. Forchhammer with *Srikshatriya*, the 'glory of the Kshatriyas.' — [We would, however, agree with Lassen! Eds.]

²² Sulathanbawa: Pâli *Chûlasambhava*.

²³ See *suprà* (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 Khêdrapur stone inscription of the Dêvagiri-Yâdava king Singhâna 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-Saka-varshê 1136 Śrîmukha-saîvatsarê Chaitrê sūrya-parba(rva)ni Sômadinê, — “in the glorious Śaka year 1136, in the Śrîmukha saîvatsara, 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, Singhâna II. granted the village of Kûdaladâmvâda for the *angabhôga* and *rangabhôga* and other rites of the god Koppêsvara.

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 saîvatsara coincided with Śaka-Saîvat 1136 current (1135 expired).

In this year, the new-moon *tithi* of the *amânta* Chaitra ended on Monday, 22nd April, A. D. 1218, at about 26 *ghattis*, 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, 233, and Plate 116).

With the use in this case of the word *sūrya-parvan* for the fuller and more customary term *sūrya-grahâna-parvan*, we may compare the *Surât* 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 *sūrya-parvan*. And the *Mêsha-Saîkrânti* 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 *sūrya-parvan* denotes an eclipse of the sun, and not a *saîkrânti*. And it seems only natural and correct to understand it in the same sense, in the present case also.

No. 42.

In the Munôlî stone inscription of the same king Singhâna II., from the Belgaum District,

¹ Read *śrîmach-chhaka*.

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 Saka¹-varsha 1145neya Chitrabhânu-saîvatsarada Kârttika sudhdha² punnami Sômavara sômagrahaṇa-bya(vya)tipâtadalli, — “in the *vyatipâta* of an eclipse of the moon (on) Monday the full-moon *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Kârttika of the Chitrabhânu saîvatsara, which is the 1145th glorious Śaka year.” And the inscription proceeds to record that, on this day, at the command of the *Sarvâdhikârin* and *Dandânyaka* Purushôttama, a certain Jôgadêva granted the village of Kallavoḷe for the *angabhôga* and *rangabhôga* and other rites of the god Svayambhu-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 saîvatsara coincided with Śaka-Saîvat 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 *vyatipâta* denotes the *yôga* of that name, then that detail also is apparently incorrect; for, the *Vyatipâta yôga* ended at about 1 hr. 12 min., = 3 *ghattis*, 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 *vyatipâta*. In connection with eclipses and *saîkrântis*, it seems to have much the same sense as *parvan* and *punyakâla*; 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 *punyakâla*. There remains, of course, the difficulty, that the *punyakâla* 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. (*Dharma-sindhusdra*, i. 43). But special excellence is attached to an eclipse of the sun on a Sunday, or of the moon on a Monday; — (Ravivarê sūrya-grahaṇa

² Read *suddha*.

Chandravâre chandra-grahaś chūḍāmaṇi-samjñas tatra dān-ādikam ananta-phalam; — *loc. cit.*). And it may be that, within certain limits, the *punyakāla* 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 *vyatpāta*, 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; Kārttika 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 Chitrabhānu, No. 16, to Subhānu or Svabhānu, No. 17. For, in Śaka-Saṁvat 1146 current (1145 expired), Kārttika 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-Bāgiwāḍi copper-plate grant of the Dēvagiri-Yādava king Krishna, from the Belgaum District, published by me, with a lithograph, in this Journal, Vol. VII. p. 303 ff. (originally in the *Jour. Bo. Br. As. Soc.* Vol. XII. pp. 3, 25 ff.), the date (line 19 ff.) is — *ēkasaptatyuttara-śat-ādhe(dhi)ka-sahasra-samkhyēshu Śak-āvdē(bdēshv=atitēshu pravarttamānē Saumya³-saṁvatsarē tad-anta[r*]gat-Āshāḍha-paurṇamāsyam Śanaishchara-vāre Pūrv-Āshāḍh[ā*]-nakshatrē Vaidhṛiti-yōgē ittham-bhūta-puṁnya⁴-kālē*, — “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) Āshāḍha in that (year), on Saturday, under the Pūrv-Āshāḍhā *nakshatra*, (and) in the Vaidhṛiti *yōga*; at this meritorious time.” And the inscription proceeds to record that, at this time, the minister Mallisaiṭṭi gave certain lands at Santheya-Bāgavāḍi to the god Mādhava and thirty-two Brāhmanas.

Here the given year is an expired year, as

³ Read *saumya*.

⁴ Read *puṁya*.

⁵ By the unequal-space systems, the *nakshatra* at sun-

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* Āshāḍha 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 Pūrv-Āshāḍhā *nakshatra*,⁵ at sunrise, and up to at about 7 hrs. 52 min., = 19 *gh.* 40 *p.* Also, there was the Vaidhṛiti *yōga*, ending at about 14 hrs. 2 min., = 35 *gh.* 5 *p.*

No. 44.

In the Munōḷli stone-inscription of the same king Krishna, published by me in the *Jour. Bo. Br. As. Soc.* Vol. XII. pp. 4, 34 ff., the date (line 20 ff.) is — *Sa(sa)ka-varsha 1174neya Virō[dhikṛitu]-saṁvatsarada Jēshṭhā⁶ bahuḷa ya(a)māvāse sūryya-grahana Su(su)kravā[rad-a]ndu*, — “on Friday, (at the time of) an eclipse of the sun, which is the new-moon *tithi* of the dark fortnight of (the month) Jyēshṭhā of the Virōdhikṛit *saṁvatsara*, which is the 1174th Śaka year.” And the inscription proceeds to record that, on this day, the cultivators of Munindravāḷli, and certain other people, granted some lands &c. for the *angabhōga* and *raṅgabhōga* and other rites of the god Jagadīśvara.

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 Virōdhikṛit *saṁvatsara* coincided with Śaka-Saṁvat 1174 current (1173 expired).

The details, however, do not work out satisfactorily. In this year, Jyēshṭhā 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 Bhādrapada 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 Virōdhikṛit, No. 45, into Paridhāvin, No. 46. For, in Śaka-Saṁvat 1175 current (1174 expired), Jyēshṭhā kṛishṇa 15 again ended, not on a Friday, but on

rise was Uttar-Āshāḍhā; and Pūrv-Āshāḍhā ended on the previous day.

⁶ Read *Jyēshṭhā*.

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 *sūryyagrahana* is unusually, and irregularly, placed before *Śukravārad-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-dgi* after *sūrya-grahana*. 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 *Kalāsankalita*, quoted at page 323 above.

No. 45.

In the Bēhaṭṭi copper-plate grant of the same king Kṛishṇa, from the Dhārwaḍ District, published by me in the *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XII. pp. 4, 42 ff., the date (line 51 ff.) is — *pañchasaptaty-adhika-śat-ōttara-sahasraké Śakavarshé varttamâné Svasti Śrīmad-Yādavanārāyana-bhujava(ba)lapraudhapratāpachakra vartti-śrī-Kanharadēva-varshēshu saptamē Pramādisamvatsarē Chaitra-māsē kṛishṇa-pakshē amāvāsyāyām Sōmavārē*, — "the Śaka year one thousand, increased by one hundred raised by seventy-five, being current; Hail!; in the years of the glorious Yādava-Nārāyana, a universal emperor through the mature prowess of the strength of (*his*) arm, the glorious Kanharadēva; in the seventh (*year, which is*) the Pramādin *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 *Mahāpradhāna* Chaṇḍarāja made an *agrahāra*-grant to the Brāhman of the village of Kukkanūru.

This date is of interest in giving an instance of the improper use of the word *varttamāna*, 'current.' For, by the southern luni-solar system, the Pramādin *saṁvatsara* coincided with the given year, Śaka-Saṁvat 1175, only as an expired year.

The details, however, do not work out satisfac-

torily. In this year, the *amānta* Chaitra kṛishṇa 15 ended, not on a Monday, but on Sunday, 30th March, A. D. 1253, at about 46 *ghaṭṭis*, 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 Pramādin, No. 47, to Paridhāvin, No. 46. For, in Śaka-Saṁvat 1175 current (1174 expired), the *amānta* 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 *Vaisākha* 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 Paithan copper-plate grant of the Dēvagiri-Yādava king Rāmachandra, from the Nizām's Dominions, published by me in this Journal, Vol. XIV. p. 314 ff., the date (line 62 f.) is — *Sa(śa)ké cha ékādāśasu trinavaty-adhikēshv-atitēshu 1193 varttamāna-Prajāpati-saṁvatsar-āntargata-Māgha-śuddha-dvādāśyām Vu(bu)dhē*, — "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*) Māgha in the current *Prajāpati saṁvatsara*; on Wednesday." And the charter proceeds to record that, on this day, king Rāmachandra granted the village of Vādāthāna, and two others, to a number of Brāhman, as an *agrahāra*.

Here, by the southern luni-solar system, the *Prajāpati saṁvatsara* coincided with Śaka-Saṁvat 1194 current; so that the given year, 1193, is rightly qualified as an expired year.

And in this year, Māgha śukla 12 ended, as required, on Wednesday, 13th January, A. D. 1272, at about 36 *ghaṭṭis*, 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 under-

gone in the mouths of the Christianised Kōlis 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 Tálukás of the Tháná 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.

<i>Barbosa</i> , Barbôs.	<i>DeMonte</i> , Montí.
<i>Botelho</i> , Butêl.	<i>DePenha</i> , Peniá.
<i>Colaço</i> , Kulás.	<i>DeSa</i> , Dêsá, Dásá.
<i>Correia</i> , Kurêl, Kunêl.	<i>DeSouza</i> , Souza, Sôj.
<i>Coutinho</i> , Kôtin.	<i>Dias</i> , Dis.
<i>D'Abreo</i> , Dábrê, Dábrêl.	<i>Dos Remedios</i> , Remêd.
<i>DaCunha</i> , Kun.	<i>Falcão</i> , Falkão, Falkú.
<i>D'Albuquerque</i> , Albukar.	<i>Fragoso</i> , Phargól.
<i>D'Almeida</i> , Almêd.	<i>Gomes</i> , Gôm.
<i>D'Andrades</i> , Andrâd,	<i>Gonsalves</i> , Ghôsâl.
Andrât.	<i>Gracias</i> , Grâsi.
<i>DaSilva</i> , Seâl, Silvâ.	<i>Lopes</i> , Lóp.
<i>DeBrito</i> , Debrít, Dibrít.	<i>Pereira</i> , Prêl.
<i>DeCarvalho</i> , Karwâl.	<i>Rebello</i> , Rebêl.
<i>DeConceição</i> , Kôsesâw.	<i>Soares</i> , Sowâr.
<i>DeMello</i> , Dumêl.	<i>Vaz</i> , Wâz.
<i>DeMenezes</i> , Minêz.	

Christian Names.

<i>Aleixo</i> , Alês, Alís.	<i>Angelo</i> , Angêl, Angú.
<i>André</i> , Andriá.	<i>Antonio</i> , Antôn, Antú.

Apollinario, Applân.
Augustinho, Gustin.
Bernardo, Bernád.
Bertoldo, Bêtú.
Boaventura, Itár, Vitur.
Caetano, Kátú, Kaitán.
Carlos, Kârlú.
Celestino, Silú.
Constancio, Kustán.
Dioginho, Dêgin.
Diogo, Dêgiá, Dêgir,
 Dêgú.
Domingos, Duming,
 Dumá, Dumji.
Elias, Ellis.
Feleciana, Filsú.
Filipe, Phillú, Pilliá.
Francisco, Farsú.
Ignacio, Inás.
Jacinto, Jâsi, Jâsin.
Jeronimo, Jurân.
Joana, Jânú.
João, Jão.
Joaquim, Jokim, Jákú.
José, Jujiá, Zujê, Zujiá.
Lourenço, Lorês.
Luis, Lúshú.
Luisa, Lázú.

Manoel, Mântú, Mâniá.
Maria, Mârú.
Mariano, Mâriân.
Martinho, Mârtin.
Matheus, Matês.
Mathias, Mâthis.
Miguel, Mingêl, Mangú.
Nathalia, Nathú.
Nicolau, Nikláo.
Pascoal, Paskól,
 Paskiá, Pakú.
Paulo, Paulú.
Pedrinho, Pedrin.
Pedro, Pédrú.
Pobre, Pôbriá.
Quiteria, Kittú.
Raphael, Raphêl.
Romania, Rumân.
Rosa, Rôzi, Rozú.
Salvador, Sálú.
Santana, Santân.
Santiago, Santiág.
Sebastião, Bástiãô,
 Bástav.
Simão, Simaw.
Theresa, Terêz, Teráj.
Thomas, Tomá.
Vicente, Vishiá, 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 feasts in the month of September. My Hindu informant tells me that the name of the sixth sister is Lillávati, 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 Bândrá 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 Maráthás 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 Bândrá slaughter-house. The large stone cross belonging to this

Church may be now seen in the compound of St. Andrew's Church, Bândrá.

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. GAIDOUZ, reprinted from *Y. Cymmrodor*, Vol. X. Pts. 1 and 2.

In his "Notes," No. 1, Ransom by Weight, Prof. Gaidouz has done good service in drawing attention to the spread of the well known Indian custom of *tuladân*, 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. Gaidouz

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 Râñf* 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 *tuladân*.

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 manuslingattim 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. Allabad, 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.

INDEX.

- Abhaya, a name used in the *Kalīngattu Parāṇi* for Kulōttunga-Chōḍadēva I... 329, 331 to 337
- Abū, Mount; inscription of the time of Bhīmadēva II.; examination of the date..... 38
- Abu-l-Fazl; see *Akbarnāma*..... 1
- Achārya*, among the Jains, denotes a *Sādhu* who has the right both of reading publicly, and explaining authoritatively, the sacred text 234
- Adālij inscription of Mahamūda Pātasāha; examination of the date 27
- Ādikēśava, a *ghaṭ* at Benares 250
- Ādrēlaviddhāvāri, or Adriyalavidāvāri, an ancient place in the south..... 350, 351, 352
- Ādūr, a village in the Dhārwaḍ District; an inscription here, attributed to Kirtivarman I., perhaps belongs to his descendant of the same name 305 n.
- Aghāṭadurga, a fort in the kingdom of Jaitrasimhadēva 167
- agnichayana*-sacrifice 19
- agnishtōma*-sacrifice 19
- Ahmad Sultān; a MS. of his time; examination of the date 180
- Aihole, a village in the Bijāpur District; mentioned by the Sanskrit name of Āryapura, 8, 9; — the inscription of Vijayāditya; examination of the date 187
- Ajayapāladēva (Chandella); examination of dates of his time..... 362, 365
- Ajayavarman (Paramāra)..... 346, 347, 348
- Ajaygaḍh, examination of the dates of inscriptions at..... 25, 37, 167, 168, 357, 373
- Ajitasāntistavavṛitti*; see Jinaprabha 354
- Ajit Singh of Jammūn, his character 291
- ājñapti* used to denote the *Dātaka* of a grant 436
- Akbar, rare copper coins of, 219; — origin of his copper coinage, 220; — his share in the rise of the Uṛḍū language, 104; — the *Rāmācharitra* of Dēvavijayagaṇi was composed in his reign 176
- Akbarnāma*, the, of Abu-l-Fazl; a passage in it, relating to the Lakshmanasēna era 1
- akshaya-tritīyā*, a name of the *tithi* Vaiśākha śukla 3 36, 362
- Alandatirtha, the ancient name of probably 'Alandah' 304, 310
- Alavalli, an ancient place near Balāgaṇve 144 n., 145
- alavana*, a word requiring explanation 144 n., 145 and n.
- Albērūni; his names for the stars, 72; — his transliteration of Indian words, 12, 73; — notice of Dr. Sachau's translation of his *India*; with comparison of original passages in the *Vishṇudharmōttara*, from which he derived the greater part of his statements about Hindu cosmogony, astronomy, &c. 381 to 410
- Alexander the Great colonizes Sokōṭra, 190; — the event is probably fabulous 191
- Alfiya*, account of a new MS. on the 325
- Alha-ghāṭ; inscription of Narasimhadēva; examination of the date..... 29
- Alhanadēva (Chāhumāna); see Nādōl 30
- 'Alī-Ibn-'Isā, financier of Al-Muktadir ... 322, 323
- Allahābād pillar; the separate Asōka edicts, edited 122
- Aḷukas, perhaps the Nāgas, mentioned in connection with Kirtivarman I..... 14, 19
- 'Alundah,' a village in the Bhōr State; probably mentioned by the ancient name of Alandatirtha 304
- Ālupa chieftains 152
- Amali, an ancient place near Balāgaṇve 145
- Amarésvaratirtha, an ancient place in Central India 31
- Ambēr in Rājputāna, an inscription at; examination of the date 174
- Amīr Chand, father of Kirpārām, author of the *Gulabnāma*, created Diwān 292
- Amitagati composed his *Subhāshitaratna-saṃdōha* in A. D. 993..... 361
- Amitaprabhā, daughter of a king of Prāggyōtisha, and wife of Mēghavāhana 263, 267
- Amma I. (Eastern Chalukya) 435
- Amma II. (Eastern Chalukya), 435; — the date of his coronation in A. D. 945 103
- Ammangadēvi, wife of Rājārāja I. 435
- Amōghavarsha, a king; the Jain *Praśnōttara-Ratnamālā* is sometimes attributed to him 379
- Ānandapura, an ancient town..... 170
- Anantadēvi, wife of Kumārāgupta I. 225, 226
- Andhra country 427
- Āndugi, perhaps the ancient name of 'Undega'..... 144, 145
- Ānga country..... 14, 19
- anka*, 'a name, appellation, or *hiruda*,' 18 n.; — it sometimes occurs as an inherent part of a name 18 n.
- Āṅkachiti, an early astronomical writer (P) 138 n.
- animals giving birth to human children 437
- Āṇopalya, an ancient *agrahāra* 310

- antiquities, spurious, Assyrian, Central Asian, Persian and Chaldean 318, 319
- Ao-Naga Language, Prof. Avery on the, 231; — its affinity to Burmese 231
- apachit*-hymns in the *Atharva-Vêda*, Prof. Bloomfield on the 232
- Arabic, some new proverbs in, 231; — words in Italian 286
- Arakan, Eastern Chalukya coins from 79
- Arbudâ mountain, = Mount Âbû 240
- argala*, a word used in certain dates, 29 and n.; — it is to be translated by 'checked by' 61 n.
- Arjunadêva (Vâghêla); see Verâwal 180
- Arjunavarmadêva *Mahârâja* (Paramâra), 346; — the date of his *abhishêka-parvan*, 24; — examination of other dates of his time 31, 175
- aruvaṇa*, 'six paṇas,' a tax on *mānya*-lands... 249
- Aryabhata, the first, the astronomical writer, 52, 133, 134, 135, 138; — indications that he wrote another work, in addition to the *Arya-Siddhânta* 54
- Âryâchhalaguhyadhraṇisûtra*, Prof. Pizzi on the 286
- Aryan immigration into India, notes on the 379, 380
- Aryapura, ancient Sanskrit name of Aihole... 8, 9
- Aryarâja, another name of Samdhimat... 263, 267
- Aryasamudra, a Jain pontiff in the Upakêsa-Gachchha 235
- Aryâvarta, a name of Northern India 219
- Âsâpalli, an ancient village or town 178
- Ashâdha, the Hindu lunar month; instances of the use of a year commencing with this month, 27, 33, 171, 360; — a Kanarese saying about the high winds that prevail in this month 285
- ashtabhôga*, a fiscal term, explained 244
- Asôka, the great Buddhist king; mentioned by the name or title of Piyadasi, 125; — and by the epithet of *Dêvânâmpiyê*, 95, 96, 101, 102, 124, 125; — his rock edicts at Dhauri (in Cuttack), and at Jaugaḍa (in the Gañjam District); M. Senart's texts and translations, rendered into English by Mr. Grierson; the first edict, 82; — the second edict, 96; — Dr. Bühler's rendering of the first to the fifth edicts on the Delhi Mirat pillar, 122; — and of the Queen's edict, and the Kôsambi edict, on the Allahâbâd pillar 125
- âsrâhe*; see *srâhe* 163, 164 and n., 165
- Astâghar, = Stageirus 190
- âsvamedha*-sacrifice 19
- Atharva-Vêda*, Prof. Bloomfield on the, 231; — and on hymns and charms in it..... 232
- Atikai, or Athikai, a former name of Tiruvatikai or Tiruvâdi in the North Arcot District 333, 339, 340
- âtîta-râjyê*, an expression denoting so many years "since the (commencement of the) reign, (now) passed," 2 and n.; — an instance in which it is used for the years of the Vikrama era 181
- Atthasdlîni*, a Buddhist work by Buddhaghôsa 118, 119
- Attikâmbikâ, wife of Komma 274
- Autârdêv of Jammûn, opposes Mahmûd of Ghazni 289, 290
- Avêlladêva (Châhamâna); father of Visaladêva 216 and n., 218
- Avesta*, importance of the *Gâthas* in the, 232; — notes on the grammar of the 325
- Avestan superstitions..... 230
- Ayappaâsi, the Tamil month Aippaâsi 70
- Ayôdhyâ, Udayana of..... 425, 434
- 'Az Khân, Râjâ of Rajâori, defeated by Gulâb Singh..... 292
- Bâbânagar, a village in the Bijâpur District; apparently mentioned by the ancient name of Kannadige 270
- Bâbar, copper coins of 219
- Bâbi MSS., accounts of various 320, 321
- bahlôlâ*, a copper coin..... 219
- Bâdâmi, in the Bijâpur District; remarks on the proper attribution of the cave inscription of Saka-Samvat 500, which mentions both Kirtivarman I. and Maṅgalêsa 10, 11, 12 n.
- bagana*, 'a bangle' 240 n.
- Bâge Fifty, the, a sub-division of the Tardavâdi Thousand..... 269, 273
- bahusuvarna*-sacrifice 19
- Balagâṁve, a village in Maisûr; mentioned by the ancient name of Valliggâme, 144, 145; — other forms of the ancient name, 144; — an inscription of the time of Vinayâditya, edited 142
- balambe*-house or courtyard, a term requiring explanation 275
- balîya*, 'near to, included in' 273 n.
- ballads, Kanarese; No. 5, the Daughter-in-law of Channava of Kittûr 413
- Ballâla II. (Hoyâla); see Gadag 155
- Banawâsi, in the North Kanara District; mentioned by the ancient name of Vaijayanti 14, 19, 147
- Bândâ grant of Madanavarmadêva; examination of the date 368
- Bani Kara Beduins described, 212; — compared to Soçoṭrans, 212, 213; — said to be descended from the Gerroci 215

- banners; the bull-banner of the Pallavas, 334, 337; — the Garuda-banner of the Rattas of Saundatti and Belgaum, 165, 248; — the tiger-banner of the Chôlas 329, 330 to 333, 339; — the banners of the boar, the plough, the stag, the lion, the lute, the bow, and the fish 330
- Bappûra, see Batpûra 14, 19
- Basâhi grant of Gôvindachandradêva; examination of the date 363
- bâtaka* as the termination of a village-name, in Sîriyambâṭaka 9
- Baṭêsvar inscription of Paramardidêva; examination of the date 30
- Batpûra family 14, 19
- Bawârij, Indian Pirates, 190; — known also as the Pirates of Soḷoṭra, 191; — their habitat in Kachh, 191; — derivations of the name 191
- bear, the word used as an omen, 131; — worship of the, in Siberia 159
- Bedâyt, a folk-heroine in Burma 438
- Beduin, a name for the hill people of Soḷoṭra 192
- Behaim, Martin, as a globe-maker 411
- Bêhatti grant of Krishṇa; examination of the date 442
- Belagâve; see Baḷagâmve 142
- Belgaum in the Bombay Presidency, mentioned by the ancient name of Vêṇugrâma 244, 248
- Belgaum District, an inscription from the, edited 242
- Bêlkhara inscription of a ruler of Kanauj (?); examination of the date 37
- Benares mentioned by the names of Kâsî and Viśvêsvararâjadhâni, 28; — the grant of Jayachandradêva of Kanauj; examination of the date 30
- Bengal, the Lakshmanasêna era of, 1 to 7; — the conquest of Bengal by Muhammad Bakhtyâr seems to have taken place in the eightieth year of this era, 7; — Governors of Bengal, Mr. Danvers' account of the, 44; — Lieut.-Governor, origin of the title 44
- Bengal Asiatic Society's grants of Jayachandradêva; examination of the dates 37
- Bengal Presidency, an inscription from the, edited 77
- Beni Rahov, a tribe of Soḷoṭran highlanders, 192; — their claim to Jewish descent ... 192
- Bhâdrapada, the Hindu lunar month; in the Oṅko reckoning of Orissa, the year begins with the *tithi* śukla 11 or 12 of this month 255
- Bhâgirathî, the river Ganges 16, 19
- Bhairavêndra; see Umgâ 32
- Bharuvachchha, a form of the intermediate ancient name of Broach 239, 240
- Bhâskarakarâya composed his *Saubhâgyabhâskara* in A. D. 1723 34
- bhatîra*, and *bhattâra*, earlier forms of *bhattaraka* 306 n.
- bhattâdraka* applied to the god Vishnu 436
- Bhattîraka*, a title of paramount sovereignty, used by the Chalukyas 306, 307
- Bhayaharastavavritti*; see Jinaprabha 26
- Bhillamâlanagara, = Bhilmâl; see Bhînmâl 35
- Bhilmâl; see Bhînmâl 233
- Bhîma, the river, mentioned as Bhîmanadî, 270, 274; — and as Bhîmarathî 304, 310
- Bhîma, a ruler of Jêsalmêr in A. D. 1589 39
- Bhîmadêva I. or II. (Chaulukya); discussion of a grant which may belong to the time of either of them, or may be spurious ... 253
- Bhîmadêva II. (Chaulukya); spoken of with the title of *Mahârâja*, 23; — examination of the dates of his grants and inscriptions, and of a MS. of his time 24, 25, 30, 38, 166, 173, 177, 358, 366, 368, 369
- Bhîmadêvî, a place in Kâsmîr 263, 267
- Bhîmarathî, a form of the name of the river Bhîma, 304, 310; — also Bhîmarathyâ 304 n.
- Bhîmasêna composed his *Sukhâdadhî* in A. D. 1722 34
- Bhîmasêna, a king of Bhînmâl 235
- Bhînmâl, a place near Mount Âbû, also called Bhilmâl, Bhillamâlanagara, and Śrîmâl, 35, 233 and n., 235 and n., 236, 240; — in the *Paṭṭavâlî* of the Upakêsa-Gachchha it is called Sri-Lakshmi-Mahâsthâna 235
- Bhitari, a village in the Ghâzîpur District; the copper seal of Kumâragupta II., edited 224
- Bhôj, a village in the Belgaum District, mentioned by the ancient name of Bhôyija, 243, 248; — the grant of Kârtavîrya IV., of Śaka-Sainvat 1131, edited 242
- Bhôjadêva of Dhârâ; the epoch of the *Râjamrigâṅka*, which is a Karaṇa attributed to him, 45; — his grant of Vikrama-Sainvat 1078; examination of the date 361
- Bhôjadêva of Kanauj; see Dêogadh 28, 29
- Bhôjadêva (Paramâra) 346
- Bhôjdêv of Jammûn, opposes Sabuktagin of Ghaznî 282
- Bhôjrâjdêv of Jammûn quarrels with Mahân Singh, father of Raajit Singh 290
- Bhôpâl grants of Arjunavarmadêva; examination of the date 31, 175
- Bhôyija, ancient name of Bhôj 243, 248
- Bhrîgukachchha, = Broach, mentioned as a residence of Arjunavarmadêva 175
- Bhûpdêv, *jâgîrdâr* of Riâsi, turned out by Gulâb Singh 293

- Bhūtabhartṛi, an ancient *tīrtha* in Kāśmīr..... 268
- Bidyāpati Tḥākura, as a writer on the Kṛishṇa cult..... 104
- Bijāpur District, inscriptions from the, edited 7, 268
- bīravāṇa-pārikhāya*, a fiscal term, requiring explanation..... 249
- Biṭṭarasa, Prākṛit form of the name of Viṣṇu-
vardhana I. 303, 305
- boar-banner..... 330
- boar-crest of the Chalukyas, 434; — and the
boar as an emblem on their coins, 81; —
and their seals..... 303, 423
- Bōdh-Gayā, a date in the Lakshmaṇasēna
era from..... 2, 7
- Bombay Asiatic Society's grant of Bhīmadēva
I. or II., dated Saṁvat 93; discussion of
the date and the authenticity of the grant,
253; — an inscription of Sōmēsvara I.,
edited..... 268
- Bombay Presidency, inscriptions from the,
edited..... 7, 161, 242, 268, 303
- Boram-Deo, a Sati-pillar at; examination of
the date..... 32
- Borsad, an inscription at a well at; examina-
tion of the date..... 178
- bōtkāṭa*, 'a goat'..... 237 n.
- bow-banner..... 330
- Brahma-Siddhānta* of Brahmagupta; quota-
tions from it, referring to earlier *Siddhān-
tas* and writers..... 133 to 136.
- brahmanya*, 'good to Brāhman'..... 19
- Brahmadēva, a king; see Rāyपुर..... 26
- Brahmagupta, the astronomical writer, 52,
53, 54; — the epoch of his *Khaṇḍakhāya* is
Śaka-Saṁvat 587 expired..... 51 and n.
- Brāhmaṇ caste, princes belonging to the 56,
60, 61
- Brahmaputra-Saṁgha, the..... 77
- British Museum; the Sātārā grant of Viṣ-
ṇuwardhana I., edited, 303; — the Chellūr
grant of Vira-Chōḍadēva, edited..... 423
- Buddha, a Kalachuri king, conquered by
Maṅgalēsa..... 16, 19
- Buddha-Gayā; see Bōdh-Gayā..... 2
- Buddhaghōsa, or Buddhaghōsha, a Buddhist
patriarch; Mr. Foulkes' account of his life
and history, 105 to 122: — I., introductory,
105; — he is unknown to the Northern Bud-
dhists, 105; — he is perhaps referred to by
Fa-Hian, 106; — II., the Buddhaghōsa
legends; A., the Burmese legend, 107; —
B., the Ceylonese legend, 110; — it occurs,
not in the *Mahāvamsa* of the fifth century,
but in its continuation of the thirteenth
century, 112; — C., combinations of the
preceding legends, 112; — III., comparison
of the preceding legends; A., his early life,
114; — B., his visit to Ceylon; (1) the
object of his visit, 115; — (2) his literary
work there, 115; — C., his later life, 116;
— IV., his literary work, 117; — V., his
date, 119; — the assigned dates group
themselves about the reign of Mahānāma
of Ceylon, 120; — VI., conclusions..... 121
- Buddhist history and literature; remarks on
them in connection with Buddhaghōsa... 105
to 122
- Buddhist inscriptions..... 77, 82, 96, 122 to 126
- burial among the Soḷoṭraṇ highlanders..... 194
- Burmese language, its affinities to Garo, 229;
— its analogies to Lepcha, 230; — its affinity
to the Ao-Naga language..... 231
- Burmese marriage laws, their affinity to those
of the Dēnēs, Western Canada..... 411
- Byānā inscription of Vijayādhiraḷa; exami-
nation of the date..... 181
- calumniated persons in folktales; hero..... 155
- caravan routes from India to Russia..... 159
- caste in ancient India, the ruling; its social
and military position..... 228
- caste emancipation in Madras..... 231
- cave-dwelling among the highlanders of
Soḷoṭra, 194; — among the Bani Kara
Beduins..... 212, 213
- centuries; see hundreds..... 33, 171, 360
- Ceylon conquered by the Chōḷas..... 331, 339
- Chāhamana kings..... 216 to 219
- Chakkarakoddam, = Chakraḷōṭa..... 332, 337
- Chakraḷōṭa, an ancient fortified place, 332,
337; — it was in the Dhārā territory..... 340
- Chaldæans, ancient, were Cushite Beduins... 215
- Chālukya-Chandra, a *viruda* of Śaktivar-
man..... 81
- Chālukya-Bhīma I. (East. Chalukya)..... 435
- Chalukyagiri, the Chalukya mountain... 425, 434
- Chalukyas, Early, 7 to 20, 151, 310, 425; —
the family is derived from the god
Brahman..... 13, 19, 433
- Chalukyas, Eastern, 79, 102, 129, 423 to 436;
— some of their coins, 79 to 82; — their
genealogy, in four divisions, 425; — their
insignia, 434; — they belonged to the line-
age of Viṣṇu and to the Lunar Race, 425;
— the descent being taken through the god
Brahman, 433; — their intermarriages with
the Chōḷas, 435; — their acquisition of the
Chōḷa kingdom..... 426, 435
- Chalukyas, Western, 142 to 152, 161, 187,
269, 310, 425; — a probable early hint of
the tradition which allotted them to the
Lunar Race..... 151 and n.

- Chálukyas, Western, probably referred to as the Kuntalas and as the people of Kalyána 331
chalikya, a form of the dynastic name of the Chalukyas 13, 18, 19
 Chambá, an inscription at; examination of the date 176
 Chand Bardái, value of, as an historical chronicler 104
 Chandaka, an early poet, in Kásmír..... 263, 264
 Chandamaháséna (Chauhán); see Dhôlpur ... 35
 Chandpur, inscription on pedestal of boar at; examination of the date 354
 Chandradéva and Madanapála of Kanauj, a grant of; examination of the date..... 371
 Chandragómin; an epistle addressed by him to prince Ratnakirti, 319; — Chinese testimony regarding him, 319; — his works..... 319
 Chandragupta I. (Early Gupta); his wife was Kumáradévi..... 225
 Chandragupta II. (Early Gupta); his wife was Dhruvadévi 225
 Chandrapuri, a residence of Jayavarmadéva. 350
 Chandravyákarana by Chandragómin, the ... 319
 Chandrikádévi, wife of Lakshmidéva I. 248
 Chánkanáryya, Chánkirája, or Chánkimayya, of the Vánasa family, an officer of Kétaladévi..... 274, 275
 charms used in Madras, 103; — against tumours, in the *Atharva-Véda*..... 232
 Chaoni, a village near Kótah, mentioned by the ancient name of Chônipadraka 55, 61
 Chárwá; see Harsaudá..... 24
 Chauhápas; see Cháhamána kings 216 to 219
 Chaulukyas of Aphilwád..... 253
 Cheduba, the island of, Eastern Chalukya coins from 79
 Chelja, = Pándya 333
 Chellúru, a village in the Gôdávári District; mentioned as the Chellúru *agrahára*, 424, 436; — the grant of Vira-Chôdadéva, dated in his twenty-first year, edited..... 423
 Chennai, = Chôla 330, 333
 Chéra country 331, 333, 336
 Chikka-Bágiwádi grant of Krishna; examination of the date 441
 child, miraculous birth of a..... 437
 children, exchange of, in Sokotra 195
 Chintamani Tripáthi, as a poetical critic..... 104
 Chitór in Rájputaná, an inscription at; examination of the date, 373; — spelling of the name 380
 Chitrasedu, an ancient village in the Toramara *vishaya* 147 n., 152
 Chitraváha, *Mahárdja* (Álupa) 150 n., 152
 Chôla; see Chôla..... 14, 19, 151, 330, 331, 339, 426, 435
 Chôla country; a reference to the forests on its coast 248
 Chôla kings; their Puránic genealogy, 330, 339; — historical members of the family, 331, 339; — they had the tiger-banner, 331; — their later conquests, 339; — inter-marriages with the Eastern Chalukyas, 435; — the acquisition of the Chôla kingdom by the Eastern Chalukyas, 426, 435; — a Chôla king was conquered by Kirtivarman I., 14, 19; — and another by Vikramá-ditya I. 151
chôliya, a variant of *chôla* or *chôla*..... 14, 19
 Chônipadraka, ancient name of Chaoni..... 55, 61
 Chronological Tables for Southern India, by W. S. Krishnasvami Naidu; notice of the book 326
 Chunar, the Fort of; an inscription; examination of the date 185
 "circle of sovereignty" in the *Avesta* 325
 circumcision in Sokotra 195
 coins of the Eastern Chalukya kings Saktivarman and Rájarája I., 79; — instances of punch-coins of the eleventh century A. D., 79, 80; — 'Abbási coins, 158; — Byzantine, 157; — Crimean, 158; — of the Golden Horde, 157; — Ilak, 158; — Khwárizmí, 158; — Sámání, 158; — Sassanian, 158; — Shaibání, 158; — of the Súrís, 219, 220; — Tahiri, 158; — of Turkistan, 157; — of Akbar, 219; — of Akbar, names for the months on, 220; — of Al-Mausúr, 158; — of Bábar, 219; — of Bahlól Lodhí, 219, 220; — of Humáyún, 219, 220; — of Ibráhim Súr, 220; — of Islám Sháh Súr, 220; — of Khán Sháhi Bég of the Golden Horde, 158; — of Muhammad Sháh Tughlaq, found in Russia, 320; — of Muhammad Súr, 220; — of Sikandar Lodhí, 219, 220; — of Sikandar Súr 220
 colour, effect of, in serpent-worship 73
 commentaries, modern vernacular, on Sanskrit works..... 104
 Constantine the Great, his place in Oriental legends 318
 crests; the boar-crest of the Chalukyas, 151, 434; — the elephant-crest of the Raṭtas of Saundatti and Belgaum 165, 248
 Cross, finding of the, legend of the 318
 crow-cawing, as an omen 130
 cures; searing with a hot iron, among Sokotans, Somális, and Arabs 192
 current and expired years; a case in which a year of the sixty-year cycle of Jupiter is apparently quoted as the expired year, 359; — years of eras distinctly specified as current, but wrongly so, by the use of the words *vartamána*, 442; — and *pravartamána*, 27 (No. 23), 33 (No. 49), 368 (No. 186); also 27 (No.

- 22), if the word really qualifies the year and not the *sumvatsara*; — years distinctly and correctly specified as expired, of the Saka era, 150, 442; — and of the Vikrama era, 25, 35, 39, 59, 168, 169, 182; — unqualified years, to be applied as current, of the Lakshmanasēna era (one instance only, exceptionally), 6; — of the Saka era, 42, 244, 317, 426, 440; — and of the Vikrama era, by the northern reckoning, 28, 40 (P), 172, 173, 184 (P), 185 (P); — if the southern reckoning is intended, 28 to 35, 40 (P), 173 to 178; — and by either reckoning, 22, 166, 171 to 172 (P), 373; — unqualified years, to be applied as expired, of the Lakshmanasēna era (every instance except one), 6, 7; — of the Saka era, 28, 29, 31, 32, 33, 102, 129, 155, 156, 157, 164, 374, 441, 442; — and of the Vikrama era, if the northern reckoning is intended, 28 to 35, 40 (P), 173 to 178, 185 to 187 (P), 356, 359, 362, 363; — by the southern reckoning, 35 to 40, 40 (P), 178 to 184, 184 to 187 (P), 217, 352 (P), 354, 355, 359, 360, 362, 363, 373; — and by either reckoning... 22 to 28, 166 to 171, 171 to 172 (P); 250, 354, 355, 357, 358, 361, 363, 364, 374
- Cuttack (Kaṭak); the Dhauli rock edicts of Aśoka, edited 82
- d* and *j*, nasalised; a change between them in Kanarese Prākṛit 317
- Dādā, as a revivalist writer..... 104
- dām*, the word found on coins, 220, 224; — Akbar's, = half *tanka*, 224; — Akbar's revenue in, now possible to gauge 221
- Dānanripa (East. Chalukya) 435
- Dabhoi inscription of Visaladēva; examination of the date 28
- Dākshārāma; see Drākshārāma 424
- dakṣiṇāyana*, 'the whole period in which the sun is moving from north to south' 27, 28, 39
- Damayanti, wife of Nala, an epigraphical reference to..... 18 n., 19
- Dandānyakanakere, a village in the Nizam's Dominions; its ancient name was Poṭṭalakerē 162
- dandāya*, an ancient tax 165
- Dante borrowed imagery from India 286
- Daphar Khān, a ruler of the Gurjara country in the time of Nasrat Shāh 355
- Dasauli, a village in the Fathpur District; mentioned by the ancient name of Dosahali 250
- dāshṭan*, as an auxiliary verb in Persian 159
- dates (see also eras); a date in which there is a mistake in respect of the Saka year, 26; — dates which do not give satisfactory results, in respect of an eclipse, 440, 441; — of a month, 442; — of a *nakshatra*, 147; — of a *tithi*, 164; — of a week-day, 157, 363; — and of a year, 364 to 371; — dates recorded in: — decimal figures ... 2, 3, 4, 22 to 40, 155, 156, 157, 164, 166 to 187, 218, 252, 273, 317, 349, 354 to 374, 440, 441, 442
- katapayadi*-system..... 33, 34
- numerical words ... 22, 25, 26, 27, 30, 32, 34, 35, 36, 38, 39, 41, 46, 102, 129, 169, 170, 177, 179, 187, 354, 366, 369, 373, 431
- words...5, 20, 22, 23, 24, 25, 27, 29, 30, 31, 35, 36, 37, 38, 40, 41, 46, 59, 150, 166, 173, 174, 181, 182, 183, 247, 252, 310, 353, 361 to 369, 371, 372, 441, 442
- Dāvāngere, a village in Maistr; an inscription of Vijayapāndyadēva; examination of the date 156
- Dattadēvi, wife of Samudragupta 225
- Dawn, a hymn to the, from the *Rig-Vēda* ... 326
- days, civil, of the fortnight or month, denoted by *śu di* and *ba di* or *va di*, and mentioned in recorded dates: —
- bright fortnight: —
- first 366
- second 31, 36, 357, 358
- third..... 25, 28, 31, 33, 36, 361, 362, 371
- fourth 22, 357 (P), 363
- fifth 24, 26, 29, 33, 39, 363, 373
- sixth 31, 356, 372
- seventh 35, 37, 40, 355
- eighth 23, 25, 29, 369, 374
- ninth 27, 28
- tenth 4, 25, 37, 354
- eleventh..... 37, 38
- twelfth 23, 40
- thirteenth 22, 25, 30, 32, 365, 373
- fourteenth 24, 30, 37, 356, 361, 368
- fifteenth ... 23, 25, 28, 37, 38, 218, 252, 357, 362, 367, 368
- dark fortnight: —
- first 168, 181, 355
- second 179, 183
- third..... 169, 178, 184, 185, 349, 367
- fourth 169, 173, 174, 175
- fifth 167, 172, 174, 181, 182, 185
- sixth 175, 186, 365
- seventh..... 170, 177, 183, 187, 364
- ninth..... 171, 178, 179, 180, 183
- tenth..... 168
- eleventh 171, 174, 184, 354
- twelfth 2, 166, 168, 170, 179
- thirteenth ... 3, 172, 176, 178, 180, 181, 186
- fourteenth 166, 168, 184
- fifteenth 166, 167, 173, 355, 358, 371

days, lunar, *i. e.* *tithis*, of the fortnight or month (see also *tithi*), denoted by the number or name of the *tithi*, and mentioned in recorded dates: —

bright fortnight: —

first.....	3, 28, 29, 30, 366, 368
second.....	31, 35, 39, 317, 360
third.....	25, 28, 32, 36, 371
fourth.....	363
fifth... 26, 27, 30, 33, 35, 38, 39, 41, 157,	164, 169, 358, 361, 363
sixth.....	372, 374
seventh.....	34, 37, 363
eighth.....	26, 39, 40, 155, 353, 369
ninth.....	26, 34, 35
tenth.....	24, 37, 39
eleventh.....	365, 369
twelfth.....	31, 247, 442
thirteenth.....	22, 25, 27, 30, 34, 373, 431
fourteenth.....	24, 27, 28, 368
fifteenth.....	32, 36, 40, 373
full-moon ...	22, 23, 32, 33, 37, 38, 156, 353, 362, 367, 368, 372, 440

dark fortnight: —

first.....	33
second.....	41, 129, 181, 354
third.....	136, 361, 364, 367
fourth.....	4, 183, 185, 356
fifth.....	182, 366
sixth.....	365
seventh.....	5, 171
eighth.....	169, 170
ninth.....	171, 172, 176, 180
tenth.....	176, 177
eleventh.....	170
thirteenth.....	102, 176
fourteenth.....	166
new-moon.....	167, 173, 175, 369, 441, 442

fortnight not specified: —

full-moon... 20, 23, 25, 29, 31, 187, 252, 309
new-moon .. 167, 273

days of the week; the earliest instances of the use of them in Southern India, 147 and *n.*; — names of the days of the week, as used in recorded dates: —

Āditya (Sunday).....	164, 369
Bhāskara (Sunday).....	39
Bhauma (Tuesday)... 25, 26, 30, 33, 38, 39,	46, 169, 173, 176, 367, 368
Bhrigu (Friday).....	33, 102
Bhūmitanaya (Tuesday).....	360
Brihaspati (Thursday).....	28, 155, 373
Budha (Wednesday)... 3, 25, 27, 28, 29, 31,	37, 168, 169, 172, 176, 179, 181 to 187, 247, 355, 356, 365, 366, 442
Chandra (Monday).....	4, 170, 181
Gabhastī (Sunday).....	39

Guru (Thursday)... 2, 3, 24, 25, 28, 29, 32,	34 to 41, 129, 170, 174, 176, 179, 183, 185, 218, 356, 357, 363, 364, 368, 373, 374, 431
Jiva (Thursday).....	27
Kuja (Tuesday).....	169
Maṅgala (Tuesday).....	33
Ravi (Sunday)... 23, 25, 26, 27, 29, 30, 31,	35, 36, 37, 38, 166 to 170, 175 to 178, 180, 183, 354, 355, 361, 363, 371, 373
Śanaishchara (Saturday).....	150, 441
Sani (Saturday)... 22, 23, 24, 37, 40, 167,	168, 170, 173, 174, 180, 184, 185, 186, 355
Sāsin (Monday).....	22, 354
Saumiya (Wednesday).....	46
Sōma (Monday)..... 22, 25, 26, 28, 31, 34,	35, 36, 156, 166, 167, 170, 171, 172, 179, 181, 273, 354, 357, 358, 359, 361, 362, 364, 365, 366, 368, 371, 372, 374, 440, 442
Sukra (Friday)... 4, 5, 23, 26, 28, 37, 157,	168, 171, 174, 176, 252, 317, 362, 365, 367, 369, 441
Vākpati (Thursday).....	33
Vāsarésitri (Sunday).....	30
Vidhu (Monday).....	25
Dēginī, wife of Sankuka.....	56, 61
Dehli mentioned by the names of Indrapras- tha, 26; — and Yōginpura, 355; — the Aśōka edicts on the Mirat pillar, edited, 122; — the inscriptions of Visaladēva on the Siwālik pillar, edited, 215; — examination of the date of them, 36; — of an inscription of the time of Muḥammad Shāh, 26; — and of another inscription.....	176
demolition guarding the wonderful tree in folktales.....	153
Dēnēs, Canadian Indians, their customs compared with Oriental customs.....	411
Dēōgadh; examination of the dates of the inscriptions of Bhōjadēva of Kanauj, 28; — and of Kirtivarmadēva, 36; — and of an- other inscription.....	32
Dēsāla Sāh of Pālhanapura.....	241
Dēsīnga, Dēsīnga-Ballāla, corruptions of the name of Jayasimha III.....	162, 163
dēvadi, 'the establishment of a temple'.....	145 n.
Dēvagupta-Sūri, the name of nineteen Jain pontiffs in the Upakēsa-Gachchha, 238 to 242; — the eighth of them is placed in Vikrama-Samvat 995, . . . 240; — the eleventh, in V.-S. 1108, . . . 240; — the fourteenth, in V.-S. 1409, . . . 241; — the eighteenth, in V.-S. 1528, . . . 242; — and the nineteenth, in V.-S. 1631.....	242
Dēvanampiye, 'dear unto the Dēvas,' an epithet of Aśōka.....	95, 96, 101, 102
Dēvapālādēva of Dhārā; see Harsaudā.....	24

- Dēvalapāṭaka, an ancient place 348
 Dēvavarmadēva (Chandella); see Nanyaurā... 364
 Dēvavijayagaṇi composed his *Rāmācharitra* in A. D. 1595 176
 Dēwal inscription of Lalla, the Ohhinda; examination of the date 364
 Dhāmlej, an inscription at; examination of the date 186
 Deyvada-Manṭūr, ancient name of Manṭūr 161, 165
 Dhaṅgadēva (Chandella); see Nanyaurā 23
 Dhārā (see also Dēvapāladēva, and Vākpati-rāja) 346 n., 351
dharma-jayastambha, 'a pillar of victory of religion' 8, 19
 Dhauli in Cuttack (Kaṭak); the rock edicts, of Aśōka, edited 82
 Dhavala (of the Maurya race), about A. D. 738 56, 60
 Dhiniki grant of Jāikadēva; examination of the date 369
 Dhōlpur inscription of Chaṇḍamahāsēna; examination of the date 35
 Dhruvadēvi, wife of Chandragupta II. 225
 Dhyān Singh befriends Gulāb Singh 291
 Diḍvāpur, an ancient place 240
 Dioscora, Dioscorida, Dioscorides, Dioscoris, Dioscurias, = Sokotra, 189; — a possible Sanskrit origin of the word 189
 disguise in folktales, king as a peasant, 126; — hero as a beggar 277, 282
 Dosahali, ancient name of Dasauli 250, 252
 Drākshārāma, a sacred place in the Gōdāvari District 424, 436
 Dramiḷa, the Tamil country 19
 Dravida countries mentioned as five in number 427
 dreams in folktales 153
drishṭi, in Buddhist literature, 'theory, doctrine,' and hence 'a peculiar or heretical doctrine' 86
 Dubkund inscription of the time of Vikramasīnha (?); examination of the date 361
 Duṅgarēndradēva, a king; see Gwālior 374
 Durlabhadēvi, of the Batpāra family, wife of Pulikēsīn I. 14, 19
Dūtakas of a charter, more than one in number 348, 436
 Easter Tables in Syriac 23
 Echaladēvi, wife of Kārtavīrya IV. 248
 eclipses; eclipses of the sun as noticed in the *Rig-Vēda*, remarks on, 230; — an observation from Warren's *Kalasankalita* about wrong predictions of eclipses, 323; — Rāhu connected with eclipses, 23, 371; — use of the term *vyatpāta* in connection with eclipses, 440; — lunar eclipses, mentioned in recorded dates, 23, 31, 40, 70, 351, 357, 440; — and solar eclipses, 166, 175, 270, 370, 371, 372, 440; — references to solar eclipses, not visible at the places where they were observed, 166, 370, 371, 372, 440 (?); — reference to a solar eclipse, when there was none at all in the proximity of the given date 441, 442
 Eḍenāḍ Seventy, an ancient district near Balagāṁve 144
 Eḍevolal *vishaya*, an ancient district near Balagāṁve 152
Ekabhōga, Ekabhōgya, fiscal terms 271
 elephant-crest of the Raṭṭas 165, 248
 elves in Madras 75
 English names for children used by natives to avoid the evil eye 255
ēnshēmin = *ēnyemin*, 437; = *yuvardja* 437
 eras, the various, used in recorded dates: —
 Hijra 180
 Lakshmanasēna 2 to 5
 Mālava 59
 Śaka 26 to 29, 31, 32, 33, 41, 46, 102, 129, 150, 155, 156, 157, 164, 176, 247, 273, 317, 374, 431, 440, 441, 442
 Saptarshi 176
 Sīnha 24, 172, 180
 Valabht 180
 Vikrama 22 to 40, 166 to 187, 218, 252, 349, 353 to 374
 Erega, a shorter form of the name of Ereyammarasa 165
 Ereyammarasa, also called Erega, *Mahāsd-manta* (Raṭṭa); he had the name of Singana-Garūḍa 161, 165
 evil eye, use of English names to avoid the, in Madras, 255; — opprobrious names used to avoid the 255
 expired years; see current and expired years
 exposure of the aged and sick in Sokotra 197
 Faijābād or Faizābād grant of the time of Jayachelundradēva; examination of the date 37
 fasting, the dangers of 131
 Fathpur District, an inscription from the, edited 249
 fire-ordeal hymn in the *Atharva-Vēda*; it is not really such 232
 Firūz Shāh bin Rajub; see Māchāḍī 31
 fish-banner 330
 folktales, in Burma, 437; — in Salsette, 314; — in Southern India, 126, 275, 311; — in Western India 152

- fortnights, lunar; the *amānta* scheme used with the Śaka era in Southern India by A. D. 945, . . . 103; — the *amānta* scheme was the one used with the Lakshmanasena era, 6; — use of the *pūrnimānta* scheme with the Vikrama era ... 166 to 169, 171 to 172 (?), 172 to 177, 178 to 181, 185 to 187 (?), 354, 355, 356, 359, 361, 364, 366, 367
 future life among Hindus..... 231
- Gadag, in the Dhārwaḍ District; an inscription of Ballāla II.; examination of the date 155
 Gādahiya-Śākhā, a division among the Jains; its origin 241
 Gadhia kā paisā, a name of certain coins; a story about the origin of it 240 and n.
ganabhōga, a fiscal term 271
ganasthiti = 'reckoning' 55, 56
 Gaṇḍanāyakas of Navilai 335
 Gāndhāra country 263, 267
 Gaṇēśa, among the Jains, denotes a disciple who is put in charge of a few others 239 n.
 Gaṇēśa-Daivajña; the epoch of his *Grahalāghava* is Śaka-Samvat 1442 expired..... 45
 Gaṅgaikonda-Chōla, a title of the Chōla king Rājārāja 332, 337, 339
 Gaṅgāpuri, or Gaṅgaikonda-Chōlapuram, was the capital of Kulōttunga-Chōḍadēva I... 331, 339
 Gaṅgas mentioned in connection with Kirtivarman I. 14, 19
Gaṇi, among the Jains, denotes an *Achārya* who has disciples, but has not risen to the head of his *gachchha* or *śākhā* 234
 Gañjam District; the Jaugada rock edicts of Aśōka, edited 82
 Gāra = Kara 214
 Gardafui, Cape, origin of the name 189 f.
 Garo language, Prof. Avery on the, 229; — its affinities to Burmese, 229; — and to Kachāri..... 231
 Garuḍa as an emblem on banners, 165, 248; — on the seals of grants, 224, 243, 249; — and on an inscribed plate itself 348
 Gayā; an inscription on the pedestal of an image of Buddha, edited, 77; — examination of the dates of an inscription of the time of Gōvindapāla, 358; — and of an inscription at the temple of Gayāsuriḍēvi... 39
 Gayāsadina, = Sultān Ghiās-u'd-dīn..... 38
 geographical notes; Belgaum District, 243, 244, 270; — Bhār State, 304; — Bijāpur District, 9, 269, 270, 317; — Dhārwaḍ District, 144; — Fatḥpur District, 250; — Gōdāvari District, 424; — Kōlāpur State, 269; — Madras Presidency, 339, 340; — Maisūr, 144; — Nizām's Dominions, 161, 162, 270; — North Kanara District, 147; — Sātārā District..... 270
 Gerroei, = ancient Chaldeans, 215; — probable forefathers of the Soḷoḭrans 215
 Gharah = Kara 212
 Ghaṭōtkacha, *Mahārāja* (Early Gupta)..... 225
 Ghāzipur District, a copper seal from the, edited..... 224
 Ghiās-u'd-dīn, Sultan, of Mālwa; examination of the date of a MS. of his time..... 36
 Gipsies, possibly derived from the Sanghārs, Kachhī pirates..... 191
 Girnār in Kāṭhiwāḍ, mentioned by the name of Ūrjayanta-tīrtha, 29; — examination of the dates of the inscription of Jayantasiṃha, 25; — and of other inscriptions 29, 358
 Giyās-ud-dīn Bālban; see Pālam Bāoli 186
 Gīz, = ancient Ethiopic; its relation to the Soḷoḭran language, 199; — improperly called Ethiopic, 211; — borrowed words in it, 211; — its affinities 211
 globes, outline history of the making of, 411; — earliest existing, of Arabic origin, 411; — celestial preceded terrestrial, 411; — oldest terrestrial by Martin Behaim, 411; — of Molyneux, described 412
 Goa grant of Śaka-Samvat 532; remarks on its proper attribution..... 11, 12 and n.
 Gōbind Singh, as a revivalist writer 104
 Gōdāvari, the river..... 334
 Gōdāvari District, an inscription from the, edited 423
 gods, serpents as..... 74
 Gōpāditya, father of Mēghavāhana 263, 267
 Gospels, a Persian version of the Four..... 159
 Gōtamai, the river 384
gōtra, 'a family or clan'; the Mānavya *gōtra* included the Chalukyās, 13, 18, 151, 310, 434; — nine right-handed and nine left-handed *gōtras* mentioned in the *Fattāvallī* of the Upakēśa-Gachchha, 239; — names of *gōtras* mentioned in records: —
 Bhāradvāja 350, 351
 Gārga 252
 Ghṛitakaṣika 310
 Hārīta 13, 151
 Hārīta 310, 434
 Mānavya 13, 18, 151, 310, 434
 Mudgala 434
 Governor-General of India, origin of the title 44
 Gōvindachandradēva of Kanauj; his Rān grant of Vikrama-Samvat 1188, partially edited, 249; — examination of the dates of his other grants... 357, 362, 363, 365, 367, 371, 372
 Gōvindapāladēva (Pāla); see Gayā..... 358

- Grahalāghava*; see Ganēśa-Daivajña 45
grāma, the Hindu *gamut*, probable origin of the European scale of seven notes 72
 grammar, an Osmanli 159, 160
 grammar, Sanskrit, remarks on 229
 grass, biting a blade of, is an Indian custom in token of submission and asking quarter 218 and n.
 greed, punishment of, in folktales 311 ff.
 Guddavāḍi *vishaya*, a division of the Eastern Chalukya kingdom 436
gudde-mānya, a term requiring explanation... 275
Gulābndama, a life of Gulāb Singh of Kaśmīr; a detailed notice of it 289
 Gulāb Singh, his birth, 290; — joins Raṅjīt Singh's army as a trooper, 291; — is befriended by Dhyān Singh, 291; — gets Rāmgarh in *jāgīr*, 292; — shares in the Sikh campaigns in Kaśmīr, 292, 299; — defeats Rājā 'Az Khān of Rajāori, 292; — his feat at Multān, 292; — gets Riāsi in *jāgīr*, 292, 293; — obtains Jammūn in *jāgīr*, 293; — kills Sartāpā Giyāl, 293; — takes part in the attack on Dērā Ghāzi Khān, 293; — takes part in the campaign at Aṭak, 294; — obtains Jammūn as a *rāj*, 294; — takes part in the campaign in the Rāwal Pindī district, 295; — administers the Salt Range and the Gujrāt Districts, 295; — his share in the murder of Chēt Singh, 297; — reduces Pāñchh, 297; — his action on the accession of Mahārājā Shēr Singh, 298; — gets Manāwar in *jāgīr*, 299; — his steps to get possession of Jammūn, 299; — his share in the first Afghan War, 300; — administers the Hazāra District, 300; — attempts to murder him at Kaṅgrā, by Mahārājā Shēr Singh 301, 302
 Gunagānka-Vijayāditya III. (East. Chalukya) 435
Gunaratnabhāshana, another name of Mēḍamārya 436
Gunasāgara, an Aḷupa chieftain 150 n., 152
 Gupta, *Mahārāja* (Early Gupta) 225
 Guptas, the Early 224 to 227
 Guruchandraganī composed his *Śrīvītra-charitra* in A. D. 1083 36
 Gwālior inscriptions of the time of Duṅgarēndradēva; examination of the date 374
 Hadhramaut, the ancient mariners of 190
 hair-cutting in the *Avesta* 230
haladagāṅga, a difficult term 250
 Hamiradēva, *Mahārāja* 22
 Hammira; the term applied to Giyās-ud-dīn Bāiban 186
 Haridatta, a Jain pontiff in the Upakēśa-Gachchha 235
 Hariśchandradēva, *Mahākumāra* (Paramāra) 346, 347, 348
Hārītīputra, 'descended from an original ancestress of the Hārīta *gōtra*;' applied to the Chalukyas, 13, 18, 151; — also *Hārītīputra* 310, 434
 Harsaudā (or Chārṡwā) inscription of Dēvapāladēva; examination of the date 24
 Harsha, a king to whom, in a certain period, Kaśmīr was tributary 262, 263, 264
 Harshavardhana of Kanauj; a note on his conquest of Nēpāl, 40; — a reference to his defeat by Pulikēśin II. 151
 Hārūn Ar-Rashīd; his revenues 322, 323
 Hāthasṅī inscription of Thēpaka; examination of the date 359
 healing power of the serpent 73, 74
 Hēmachandra, the grammarian and lexicographer, mentioned by the name of Hēmasūri 241
 Heriot, Robert, on the rhumb-lines 412
 hero in folktales, is the neglected son, 153; — kills demon guarding the wonderful tree ... 154
 hide, measuring by a, in strips; variant of this universal folktales in Burma 438, 439
 Hilpenkandura at Kandy, description of 410
 Hindī language, rise of the, 104; — drama, rise of the 104
 Hindus of Gujrāt, nuptial songs of the ... 374 ff.
 Hindustānī books in the British Museum, notice of catalogue of 256
 Hipparchus, the astronomer; the original *Rōmaka-Siddhānta* is based on his theories and tables 142
 Hiranyagarbha, the god Brahman 13, 19
 history, modern vernacular works on 104
 Hlutdaw, the Records of the, valuable as historical documents 75, 76
 Honwād, a village in the Bijāpur District; mentioned by the ancient name of the Ponnavaḍa *agrahāra*, 269, 273, 274; — an inscription of Sōmēśvara I., of Saka-Saṁvat 976, edited 268
 Hoṭalākere, a later form of the name of Poṭṭalākere 162
 house-warming customs, in Madras 311
 Hues, Robert, author of the *Tractatus de Globis* 411, 412
 Humāyūn, copper coins of 219, 220
 Husain = Hues 412
 Hussain Bābi, an account of 320, 321
 hundreds, omitted; an instance, of the sixteenth century A. D., 360; — instances in which the hundreds are separated from the odd years of the centuries 33, 171

- I-tsin, the bearing of his memoirs on Chandragômin 319
- idolatry, the origin of 232
- Iladurga, an ancient place 39
- Îlam, = Ceylon 331
- impossible task in folktales 153
- Indraprastha, an ancient name of Dehli 26
- Indrarâja (East. Chalukya) 435
- Indu, a name mentioned by Brahmagupta as that of an astronomical writer 134
- inscriptions on copper, edited: —
- Buddha, on the pedestal of an image of Gôvindachandradêva (Gâhadavâla of Kanauj); Vikrama-Saivvat 1188 (partially edited) 249
- Jayavarmadêva (Paramâra) 349
- Kârtavîrya IV. (Raṭṭa of Saundatti and Belgaum); Śaka-Saivvat 1131 242
- Kumâragupta II. (Early Gupta); the Bhitari seal 224
- Lakshmivarmadêva (Paramâra); Vikrama-Saivvat 1200 351
- Vinayâditya (Western Chalukya); Śaka-Saivvat 614 expired 146
- Vira-Chôḍadêva (Eastern Chalukya); of his twenty-first year 423
- Vishṇuwardhana I. (Eastern Chalukya); of the eighth year of Pulikêsin II. ... 303
- Yaśôvarmadêva (Paramâra); Vikrama-Saivvat 1192 348
- inscriptions on stone, edited: —
- Asôka; his rock edicts at Dhauli and Jaugada; the first edict, 82; — the second edict, 96; — his columnar edicts on the Dehli Mirat pillar, 122; — the queen's edict, 125; — the Kôsambi edict 126
- Jayasimha III. (Western Châlukya); Śaka-Saivvat 962 161
- Maṅgalêsa (Early Chalukya); of his fifth year 7
- Sivagana; Mâlava-Saivvat 795 expired... 55
- Sômêsvara I. (Western Châlukya); Śaka-Saivvat 976 268
- Vinayâditya (Western Chalukya) 142
- Visaladêva (of Śakambhari); Vikrama-Saivvat 1220 215
- inscriptions, Arabic at Kazan, 321; — in Western Arabia, 196; — Aramaic in Hebrew characters, 320; — at Behistân, 286; — note on some forged cuneiform, 321; — Nestorian in Central Asia, 321; — of Piyadasi, M. Senart's account of, 43; — in Shihr, 214; — Sinhalese at Tirukkêtisvaram, 410; — in Sokotra, 195, 196; — of Śrî-Parâkrama Bâhu VI. at Moṅṅisvaram in Ceylon..... 410
- intercalary months indicated by the expres-
- sions dvi°-Âshâḍha, 29; — dviṭiya-Bhâdrapada, 157, 183; — dviṭiya-Śrâvâṇa, 156, 356; — prathama-Âshâḍha, 33, 40, 155; — prathama-Śrâvâṇa, 39; — and prathama-Vaiśâkha, 40, 356; — use of the expression sâdhârâṇa-Phâlguna; but with nothing to explain it, as the Tables do not shew an intercalary month for the given year, 368; — a case in which there is a difference between the record and the tables as to the intercalary month, 155; — cases in which the given months were intercalary, though the fact is not indicated by the records...36, 37, 174, 177, 178, 180, 183, 185, 358, 359
- intercalated months indicated by the expressions adhika-Jyêshṭha, 363; — and mâyâ-Bhâdrapada 181
- invocations of Śiva, 59, 60, 245, 350, 352; — of Vishṇu, 151, 245; — and of the Jain religion 273
- Îravva of Kittûr; a Kanarese ballad on her lamentations and death..... 413
- Îsâna, the *Guru* of Saṁdhimat 263, 267
- Îsêsvara, an ancient Saiva temple in Kaśmir 263, 267
- Îsvarakriṣṇa composed his *Punyachandrodâya-Purâna* in A. D. 1624 27
- j* and *d*, nasalised; a change between them in Kanarese Prâkrit 317
- Jacobi's Tables for Hindu Dates; remarks on the use of them for accurate purposes ... 21 n.
- Jagadêkamalladêva, a *biruda* of Jayasimha III..... 165
- Jâikadêva; see Dhiniki..... 369
- Jain inscription, a 268
- Jains, Weber's Sacred Literature of the; translated by Dr. Smyth..... 62
- Jaitrasimhadêva; a MS. of his reign; examination of the date 167
- Jalaukas II., a king of Kaśmir 263, 264
- Jambûdvîpaprâjñaptivrittî*; see *Punyasâgara* 39
- Jananâthanagari, the city of Vira-Chôḍadêva 424, 431 n., 436
- Jâpiliya family, Pratâpadhavala of the ... 179, 184
- Jâtakas*, notes on the, by Louis de Zoysa..... 411
- Jaugada in the Gañjam District; the rock edicts of Asôka edited 82
- Jaunpur; examination of the date of an inscription of Vijayachandradêva (? of Kanauj), 182; — and of another inscription 31
- Jayachandradêva of Kanauj; examination of the dates of his grants 30, 37, 363
- Jayanakonda, author of the *Kalingattu Parani* 329
- Jayanakonda-Chôla, a title of Râjakêśarivarman 329

- Jayanta composed his *Kāvya-prakāśadīpikā* in A. D. 1293 178
- Jayantasiṃha, son of Vastupāla; see Gīrnār 25
- Jayantasiṃha (Chaulukya); see Kaḍī 25
- jayānya*-charms in the *Atharva-Vēda*, Prof. Bloomfield on the 232
- Jayasīṃha I. (Early Chalukya), 13, 18; — he had the epithet of *vallabhēndra* 13, 18
- Jayasīṃha I. and II. (East. Chalukya) 435
- Jayasīṃha III. (West. Chālukya); in the *Līngāyat Purānas* his name occurs as *Dēsiṅga* and *Dēsiṅga-Ballāla*, 162, 163; — he had the *biruda* of *Jagadēkamalla*, 165; — one of his chief cities was *Poṭṭalakere*, 161, 165; — the *Maṇḍū* inscription of his time, of Śaka-Saṃvat 962, edited 161
- jayastambha*; see *dharma-jayastambha* 8, 19
- Jayavarmadēva (Chandella); see *Khājūrahō*... 362
- Jayavarmadēva (Paramāra) 346, 347, 348, 350; — his Ujjain grant, edited 349
- Jayēndra, a king of Kāśmīr 263, 266
- Jedḍa, a village in Maistūr; perhaps mentioned by the ancient name of *Jedugūr* or *Jedugur* 144
- Jedugūr, or Jedugūr, perhaps the ancient name of Jedḍa 144, 145
- jewel, the serpent 73
- Jēsalamērudurganagara, = Jēsalmer, 39; — also Jēsalpur 240
- Jhānsī; an inscription from the wall of the Fort; examination of the date 179
- Jiddulige Seventy, an ancient district near Balagānve 144
- Jinaprabha composed his *Ajitasāntistavaṛitti* in A. D. 1308, . . . 354; — and his *Bhaya-harastavaṛitti* in the same year 26
- Jiyasattā, king of Sāvattthī in the Kunāla country 235 n.
- Jñānavimalagani composed his commentary on Mahēśvara's *Śabdaprabhēda* in A. D. 1598 39
- Jupiter, the planet; his sixty-year cycle according to the mean-sign system; an instance in which a year of this cycle is apparently quoted as the expired year, 359; — names of the years of the cycle, according to this system, as used in recorded dates (the queries indicate that in those instances the years may be determined either by this system or by the northern luni-solar system): —
- Bahudhānya 34 (P)
- Bhāva 32 (P), 359
- Khara 363 (P)
- Kshayakṛit 33
- Manmatha 186
- Plava 31 (P)
- Prajāpati 38 (P)
- Siddhārtha 10, 20
- Subhakṛit 27, 33 (P)
- Vikārin 358 (P)
- Jupiter, the planet; his sixty-year cycle according to the northern luni-solar system; names of the years of the cycle, according to this system, as used in recorded dates (for other possible cases, see the entries, to which queries are attached, under the preceding heading): —
- Chitrabhānu 24
- Kālayukta 35
- Sarvajit 26
- Vikārin 28
- Jupiter, the planet; his sixty-year cycle according to the southern luni-solar system; names of the years of the cycle, according to this system, as used in recorded dates: —
- Chitrabhānu 440
- Dundubhi 317
- Īsvara 374
- Jaya 274
- Prajāpati 442
- Pramādin 442
- Saumya 441
- Siddhārthin 155
- Śrīmukha 440
- Svabhānu 157
- Vibhava 165, 248
- Virōdhikṛit 441
- Virōdhin 156
- ka*, an affix, in *pravardhamānaka* 303
- Kabīr, the value of his works 104
- Kachāri language, its affinity to Garo 231
- Kachchhāyana's *Pāli Grammar*; Buddha-ghōsa is said to have translated it into Burmese 119
- Kadanapura, an ancient town 33
- Kadāram, an ancient place 331, 339, 340
- Kaḍī grants; examination of the dates; of Bhīmadēva II., 25, 30, 166, 366, 368, 369; — of Jayantasiṃha, 25; — of Mūlarāja, 166; — of Tribhuvanapāladēva, 372; — and of Visaladēva 183
- Kajhāragrāma, an ancient village in Magadha 181
- Kakka-Sūri, the name of seventeen Jain pontiffs in the Upakēsa-Gachchha, 238 to 241; — the tenth of them is placed in Vikrama-Saṃvat 1154, . . . 241; — the eleventh, in V.-S. 1252, . . . 241; — the twelfth, in V.-S. 1371, . . . 241; — the sixteenth, in V.-S. 1498, . . . 242; — and the seventeenth in V.-S. 1595 242

- Kakkudāchārya, a Jain pontiff in the Upakēsa-Gachchha 239
- kāl-ātīta* in Vikrama dates.....27, 38, 40, 183, 353
- Kalachuri dynasty; mention of an early king named Buddha, conquered by Maṅgalēsa, with the use of the dynastic name in the form of Kalatsūri16, 19, 20
- Kalachuri era; the dates in the grants of the *Mahārājas* of Uchchakalpa are to be referred to it.....227, 228
- Kalaṅbāḍi, ancient name of the modern Kanamaḍi; the chief town of a three-hundred or two-hundred district270, 275
- Kālaṅjar inscriptions; examination of the dates; of Madanavarmadēva, 23; — of Paramardidēva, 37, 354; — others...31, 174, 178
- kalatsūri*, a Sanskritised form of *kalachuri* or *kaḷachuri*16, 20
- Kaḷavali*, a Tamil poem 340
- Kalhana; extracts from his *Rajataranginī*, continued 261
- Kali-Vishṇuvardhana V. (East. Chalukya) ... 435
- Kālidās Tribēḍi, as a poetical critic 104
- Kalidāsa, the poet; his *Ritusamhāra* must have been composed before A. D. 472 285
- Kaliṅga country, 14, 19; — mention of seven divisions of it, 336; — a Tamil poem, describing the conquest of it in the time of Kulōttunga-Chōḍadēva I..... 329
- Kaliṅgattu Paraṇi*, a Tamil poem by Jayaṅkoṇḍa; extracts edited, 329; — it was written not later than A. D. 1113 338
- Kalmucks on the Volga, proofs of settlements of the 158
- Kāluvāka or Kāruvāka family 123
- Kalyāna, the capital of the Western Chālukyas 331
- Kamahēn, a tribe of Soḷoṭran highlanders, 192; — their claim to Mahri Arab descent... 192
- Kamōh; see Katimushā 263, 265
- Kampili, an ancient place in the Bellary District 331, 339, 340
- Kanamaḍi, a village in the Belgaum District; mentioned by the ancient name of Kalaṅbāḍi 270
- Kanarese ballads, No. 5; the Daughter-in-law of Channavva of Kittūr 413
- Kaṇaswa, a village in the Kōtah State; mentioned under the ancient name of Kaṇvāśrama, 55, 61, 62; — the inscription of Sivagana, of Malava-Saṁvat 795 expired, edited 55
- Kāñchi, 330, 331, 333, 337, 339; — a king of Kāñchi was defeated by Vikramāditya I., 151; — Kulōttunga-Chōḍadēva I. had his court at Kāñchi 339
- Kāndarba, an officer of the *Mahārāja* Pogilli 143, 145
- Kannāḍige, apparently the ancient name of Bābānagar 270, 275
- Kanni, Cape Comorin 337
- Kaṇvāśrama, 'the hermitage of Kaṇva,' ancient name of Kaṇaswa 55, 61, 62
- Kapilā, the, and the Rēvā; mention of their confluence..... 31
- Kapisiāgrāma, an ancient village 168
- Kara = Bani Kara = Gharab, 212; — Gāra... 214
- Karahaḍa, one of the forms of the ancient name of Karāḍ, the chief town of a four-thousand district 270, 275
- karana*, an astrological term for half a *tithi*; names of the *karanas* as used in recorded dates:—
- Bāva 27
- Dhātṛidaivata (= Bālava) 24
- Kaulava 27
- kdrāpaka*, 'an agent' 62 n.
- Karikāla, a Chōla king 331, 339
- Karikāla, or Karikāla-Chōla, a title of Kulōttunga-Chōḍadēva I..... 337
- Karkōṭa dynasty of Kāśmīr; its initial point was A. D. 601 262
- Karṇapura, an ancient town 169
- Karshin, a tribe of Soḷoṭran highlanders, 192; — their claim to Portuguese descent... 192
- Kārtavīrya III. (Raṭṭa of Saundatti and Belgaum) 248
- Kārtavīrya IV., *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* (Raṭṭa of Saundatti and Belgaum), 243, 248; — his wife was Ēchaladēvi, 243; — his Bhōj grant of Śaka-Saṁvat 1131, edited 242
- Karunākara, of the Pallava family, a prime minister and general of Kulōttunga-Chōḍadēva I.; his conquest of the Kaliṅga country, as narrated in the *Kaliṅgattu Paraṇi* 329 to 345
- Kāruvāka or Kāluvāka family..... 123
- Kāśmīr, list of the kings of, continued..... 263
- Kaṭak; see Cuttack 82
- Kaṭha-Upanishad*, Prof. Whitney on the..... 231
- Katika, an ancient town in Kāśmīr.....263, 264
- Katimushā *agrahāra*; the modern Kamōh in Kāśmīr 263, 265
- Kāvēri, the river, 331, 333, 339; — the high banks along it were built by the Chōla king Karikāla 339
- Kāvya-prakāśadīpikā*; see Jayanta 178
- Kendōramānya, ancient name of Kendūr.....9, 20
- Kendūr, a village in the Bijāpur District; mentioned by the ancient name of Kendōramānya..... 9, 20
- Kenisara, Kirghiz Sultān..... 321
- Kērala country, 14, 19; — a king of it was conquered by Vikramāditya I. 151
- kere*, 'a tank;' corrupted spellings of this word in English maps 162 n.

- Késab Dás, as a poetical critic 104
 Késin, a Jain pontiff in the Upakésa-Gachchha 235
 Kesuvólala, one of the ancient forms of the name of Paṭṭadakal 9, 20
 'Kevati-Kund' inscriptions; examination of the dates 22, 175
 Khajuráho inscriptions; examination of the dates 35, 362
khampana, a variant of, or a mistake for, *kampana* 274 n.
Khandakhádya; see Brahmagupta 51 and n.
 Khêdrápúr inscription of Sínghana II.; examination of the date 440
 Khushwakht Rái, Díwán, enlists Guláb Síng 291
 Killi-Valavan, a Chôla king 339
 Kíragrâma; an inscription in the temple of Vaidyanátha; examination of the date 167
 Kirpârám, Díwán, author of the *Guldánama*... 289
 Kirtivarmadéva (Chandella); see Dêôgadh ... 36
 Kirtidhar, first historical Râja of Jammún ... 289
 Kishu Dás, as a writer on the Kṛishṇa cult ... 104
 kissing, among the Sokotrans, 193; — by smelling among the Sokotrans 193
 Kirtivarman I. (Early Chalukya), 151, 304, 310, 434; — he had the *biruda* of Puru-Ranaparâkrama, 14, 19; — list of the kings conquered by him, 14, 19; — remarks on the mention of his name in the Bâdâmi inscription 11, 12 n.
 Kittúr, the Daughter-in-law of Channava of; a Kanarese ballad 413
 Kô-Râjakésarivarman, a Chôla king; his accession took place in A. D. 1003 or 1004 ... 70 to 72
 Koch-Chenkannân, a Chôla king 339
 Kôddâru, ancient name of Kôtar in Travancore 340
 Kokkili (East. Chalukya) 435
 Kôlâr, a village in the Bijâpur District; an inscription of Sínghana II.; examination of the date 157
 Kolegu, the ancient name of probably 'Kalai-roo' in the Gôdâvari District 424
 Kollabhighanda-Vijayâditya IV. (East. Chalukya) 435
 Kolli, the river 334
 Komma, of the Vánasa family; his wife was Attikâmbikâ 274
 Koppai, an ancient place 331, 339
 Kôranṭa, Kôranṭaka, an ancient place 237
 Koravalli *kampana*, a division of the Kânḍi Three-thousand 244, 249
 Kôtah State, an inscription from the, edited... 55
 Kṛishṇa, the river 334
 Kṛishṇa, the worship of, as represented in modern vernacular literature 104
 Kṛishṇa (Dêvagiri-Yâdava); see Bêhaṭṭi, Chikka-Bâgiwâdi, and Munôlli 441, 442
 Kṛishṇa II. (Râshtrakûṭa) 248
 Krishnasvami Naidu, W. S.; notice of his South-Indian Chronological Tables 326
 Kubja-Vishnuvardhana I. (East. Chalukya)... 434
 Kûḍal-Saṅgam, the junction of the Tuṅgabhadrá and the Kṛishṇa 331, 339, 340
 Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍadêva I. (Eastern Chalukya), 425 n., 426, 427, 435; — mentioned by the names of Râjendra-Chôḍa and Kulôttuṅgadêva, 435; — he had the *biruda* of Râjanârâyana, 435; — he succeeded to the sovereignty of Venḡi, but afterwards obtained the Chôla empire, 435; — his viceroys in Venḡi, 435; — his wife was Madhurântakidêvi, 435; — one of his prime ministers was the Pallava Karunâkara, who reconquered Kalinga for him, 329 to 345; — this was effected between the twentieth and twenty-sixth years of his reign, 338; — the poem describing this mentions Gaṅgâpuri, or Gaṅgaikonḍa-Chôlapuram, as his capital, 339; — and Kâñchî as the city where his court was held, 333, 339; — it gives him the title of Karikâla-Chôla, 337; — and mentions Thiyâkavalli as his queen 333
 Kulôttuṅgadêva; see Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍadêva I. 425 n., 435
 Kulzum, = the Red Sea; an origin of the word 190
 Kumâradêvi, wife of Chandragupta I. 225
 Kumâragupta I. (Early Gupta), his wife was Anantadêvi ... 225
 Kumâragupta II. (Early Gupta), 225, 227; — his Bhitari seal, edited 224
 Kumârapâla, a person mentioned in connection with the tenth Kakka-Sûri 241
 Kumârapâladêva (Chalukya); examination of the dates of the Mângrôl inscription, and of a MS. of his time 29, 172
 Kûnḍi Three-thousand, the, included the Koravalli *kampana* 244, 249
 Kunri, the river 334
 Kuntala country conquered by Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍadêva I. 331, 435
 Kuravas, a low Tamîl caste settled in Ceylon 160
 Kurumarathî, or Kurumarathyâ, a town of Vishnuvardhana I. 310
 Kurumi, an ancient place 331
 Kusaitalai, the river 334
kuttichâtrîs, mischievous elves in Madras 75
l and *n*, changes between, in Kanarese-Prâkrit 317
l and *n*, and *l* and *r*, changes between, in Kanarese 270
 Labadûha, a Burmese folk-hero 437
 Lallâ Jî Lâl, his share in reviving vernacular literature 104

- La-sam*, = *Lakshmanasena-samvat*.....2, 3, 4
lagna, 'the rising of a sign of the zodiac (rāśi);' names of the *lagnas* as used in recorded dates : —
 Ghaṭa (*i. e.* Kumbha; Aquarius) 102
 Simha (Leo)32, 35
 Vāṇij (*i. e.* Tula; Libra) 129
 Vṛiśchika (Scorpio) 436
*Laghuvaingana*padra, an ancient village 348
Lakshmanasena, a king of Bengal; Prof. Kielhorn's examination of the dates in the era that is named after him, 1 to 7; — with the results, taking as expired all the years but one, that the year was an ordinary southern Kārttik-Ādi year, with the *amānta* scheme of the lunar fortnights; that the epoch of the era was A. D. 1118-19; and that the first day of the first current year was the 7th October, A. D. 1119..... 6
Lakshmidēva I., or *Lakshmidhara* (Raṭṭa of Saundatti and Belgaum); his wife was Chandrikādēvi..... 428
*Lakshmi*varmadēva, *Mahākumdra* (Paramāra), 346 to 348, 351; — his Ujjain grant, of Vikrama-Samvat 1200, edited, 351; — examination of the date40, 352
*Lalitatripur*asundarī of Nēpāl; examination of the dates of her inscription ... 35, 169, 176, 177
Lalla, the Chhinda; see *Dēwal* 364
 languages, Indian; remarks on the pronunciation of them in the eleventh century, as shewn by Albērtini's transliteration.....72, 78
Lañjigēsara, Prākṛit form of *Nandikēsvara* ... 317
Lañjisvara, = *Nandisvara*, = *Nandikēsvara*... 317
Lāṭa, *Lāṭachārya*, or *Lāṭadēva*, an astronomical writer, anterior to *Varāhamihira*, 52, 53, 135, 138, 141; — he wrote commentaries on the *Pauliśa* and *Rōmaka Siddhāntas*, 52; — he is not the author of the original *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, 52; — but he may have had something to do with the authorship of the present *Sūrya-Siddhānta* 53
Lattalūr, an ancient town of the *Rāshtrakūṭas*, 165; — also *Lattanūr* 248
lau°, an abbreviation used in certain dates, 30, 173, 358; — also *lauki*°, 24; — and *laukika*°, 24; — and *laukika*, without the sign of abbreviation25, 183
Lepcha language, Prof. Avery on the, 230; — its affinity to Burmese 230
liāga-worship in *Kāśmir*.....263, 267
 lion-banner 330
 literature, vernacular, of *Hindustān*; its scope and value.....103, 104
 Lucknow Provincial Museum; the copper seal of *Kumāragupta* II., edited 224
Lūkasthāna, an ancient place 22
 Lunar Race, the, included the *Chalukyas* ... 151 and n., 332, 337, 338, 425, 435
Luqmān, legends about, Prof. Toy on 232
 lute-banner 330

m and *v*, the Prākṛitic change between 230
Māchāḍī inscription of the time of *Fīrūz Shāh bin Rajab*; examination of the date 31
Machchhaprabandha, a work attributed to the twelfth *Kakka-Sūri* 241
Madanapālādēva of *Kanauj*, grants of; examination of the dates 371
Maḍavarājya, a territory mentioned in the *Rajataranginī*; probably the modern *Miraj* or *Meraj*264 and n.
Madanavarman (*Chandella*); examination of the dates of his *Ajaygadh*, *Bāndā*, and *Kālañjar* inscriptions.....23, 167, 368
Madhumatī, an ancient place in *Kāthiāwād*... 170
Madhurāntakidēvi, wife of *Kulōttunga-Chōḍadēva* I. 435
Madraka, a tribe or country 14, 19
Madras Presidency, an inscription from the, edited..... 423
Madura country, conquered by the *Chōlas* 331, 339
Māgaḍa; see *Mahākūṭa* 7
Magadha country.....14, 19
 magic, the connection of serpents with..... 73
Maguḍa, Prākṛit form of the name of *Makuṭa*; see *Mahākūṭa* 8
Mahādvdāśaka maṇḍala, an ancient division in *Mālwa* 351
Mahākūṭa, a group of temples in the *Bijāpur District*; also called *Mākūṭa*, *Makuṭa* and *Māgaḍa*; the real original name is *Makuṭa*, 7; — and it occurs in the Prākṛit form of *Maguḍa*, 8; — the pillar inscription of *Mangalēśa*, edited 7
Mahālakshmidēvi, perhaps the name of the wife of *Narasimhagupta*.....225, 227
Mahdmantrin, 'great minister,' an official title 218, 219
Mahammada Sāhi; see *Dehli* 26
Mahamūda Pātasāha, = *Sultan Mahmūd Bigarha*..... 27
Mahān Singh, father of *Ranjit Singh*, plunders *Jammūn* 290
Mahārāja continued to be a paramount title in Southern India long after the time when it had ceased to be used as such in Northern India, 305, 307; — applied to *Bhimadēva* II. 23
Mahārājadhīraja, a title of paramount sovereignty; question as to the etymological analysis of the word, 305 n.; — the true application of the title; it is the only one

- which corresponds to the European 'king' or 'emperor;' but it does not necessarily denote an emperor of the whole of India, 308; — the manner in which it probably reached Southern India, 305 n.; — its adoption by the Chalukyas 306, 307
- Mahimūda Pātasāha, = Sultān Mahmud Bigarha..... 32
- Mahmūd Bigarha, Sultān; examination of the dates of an inscription of his time at Adālij, 27; — and of a MS. of his time ... 32
- Mahmūd of Ghazni, opposed by Autārdēv of Jammūn 289, 290
- Mahōba inscriptions; examination of the dates; of Paramardidēva, 36; — another... 179
- Mahra Arabs of Hadhramaut, described 211, 212
- Mahuva, an inscription at; examination of the date 38
- Maistr, inscriptions from, edited..... 142, 146
- Maitrāyaṇi-Saṁhitā*, Prof. Whitney on the... 232
- Makūṭa, Mākōṭa; see Mahākōṭa 7
- Makūṭésvaranātha, a name of Śiva, at Mahākōṭa..... 8, 20
- Malaprabhasūri composed his commentary on Mānatungasūri's *Siddhajayantīcharitra* in A. D. 1204 182
- Mālapura, an ancient town 176
- Mālava, the Paramāra rulers of; notes on them, with three of their grants edited, 345 to 353
- Mālava era, the; definite proof that it is the Vikrama era, 316; — a date in it 56, 61
- Māldēv of Jammūn, defeats Timūr..... 290
- Malik Muḥammad as a historical and philosophic writer 104
- Mallai, a name of Māmallaipuram 337, 340
- Mallikārjuna, Yuvarāja, younger brother of Kārtavīrya IV..... 243, 248
- Mānabhadra, a *Yaksha* mentioned in connection with the first Yakshadēva-Sūri 238
- Mānavadharmasūtra*; objections to Dr. Burnell's view that its date lies between A. D. 100 and 500, . . 229; — the *Saṁhitā* cannot be proved to have been in existence much before A. D. 500 232
- Mānavya *gōtra* included the Chalukyas ... 13, 151, 310, 434
- Maṇḍala, the kings of; see Rāmnagar 369
- Maṅgi-Yuvarāja (East. Chalukya) 435
- Maṅgalapura, an ancient town in Surāshṭrā... 355
- Maṅgaltīvara; see Maṅgalēsa 15
- Maṅgalēsa (Early Chalukya), 15, 19; — he had the *birudas* of Uru-Raṅavikrānta, 15, 19; — and of simply Raṅavikrānta, 15; — and the epithet of *śrīprithivīvallabhēndra*, 15, 19; — he seems to have been a half brother of Kirtivarman I., 15; — remarks on the forms of his name, 15; — the date of his accession in A. D. 597 or 598, . . 10 and errata; — remarks on the mention of his name in the Bādāmi cave inscription, 11, 12 n.; — he conquered a Kalachuri king, named Buddha, 16, 19; — certain coins, supposed to be connected with his time, are of very much later date, 80; — his Mahākōṭa pillar inscription, edited 7
- Māṅgalyapura, an ancient town 33
- Māṅgrōl inscriptions; examination of the dates; of the time of Kumārāpāla, 172; — of the time of Nasrat Shāh 355
- Maṅgulvāi, the river..... 334
- Maṅiyūra-Appayanaviḍu, ancient name of probably Maṅṅūr or Maṅṅūr in the Nizām's Dominions 270, 274
- Maṅṅāru, the river..... 334
- Maṅṅai, an ancient place on the banks of the Ganges..... 331, 339
- Manse, = Vogul, 159; — Ostiak 159
- Mansérā, Piyadasi's inscription at, M. Senart's account of 43
- Maṅṅūr, a village in the Mudhōl State; mentioned by the name of Deyvada-Maṅṅūr, 161, 165; — an inscription of the time of Jayasinha III., dated Śaka-Samvat 962, edited 161
- Manu; see *Mānavadharmasūtra* 229, 232
- Maṅṅūr, or Maṅṅūr, a village in the Nizām's Dominions; mentioned by the ancient name of Maṅiyūra-Appayanaviḍu 270
- Marco Polo, his account of St. Thomas' death..... 198
- Marōṭakōṭa, an ancient place ... 239, 241
- Marpha, the Fort of; an inscription; examination of the date 356
- marriage customs of the Parsis 374, 377
- Marusthālī, an ancient place 176
- Mathanadēva, a king; see Rājōrgadh 22
- mattar*, a land-measure 274 n.
- Maurya race, a prince of the, named Dhavala, about A. D. 733 56, 60
- maxims, folktales based on, 126; — folktales turning on, 275; — the four maxims, a variant folktales 126 ff.
- Māyamōḍaka; an ancient village 350
- Mayilai, ancient name of Mailāpur, a suburb of Madras 337, 340
- Mēdamārya, a general of Vira-Chōḍadēva .. 436
- Mēdinipur, = Midnapur 242
- Mēghavāhana, a king of Kāśmīr; his wife was Amitaprabhā..... 263, 267
- Meraj, in Kāśmīr; see Maḍavarāja ... 264 and n.
- metamorphosis in folktales; serpent into prince 316
- Mhāri, an Arabic dialect, described 211, 212

- mān* and *mān sâhib*, explained 290 n.
Miān Dîdū attacks Jammūn 293, 294
Miān Môtā rules Jammūn, 291; — his assassination 292
 Midnapur mentioned as *Mēdinipura* 242
Mirā Bâi, as a writer on the *Kṛishna* cult ... 104
Miraj or *Meraj*, in *Kaśmīr*; see *Maḍavarājya* 264 and n.
Miraj, in the Southern *Marāṭhā* country; examination of the date in an inscription of *Saka-Samvat* 1065 317
miser, the sight of a, as an omen 131
Mlēcchhas; the term used to denote the *Muhammadans* 216, 217
mōhinis, female devils who possess men, in *Madras* 103
Molynoux, the globe-maker 411, 412
Mōmaladēvi, probably the mother of *Yaśovar-madēva* 348
Mōmī, a tribe of *Soḷotrān* Highlanders, 192; — their claim to *Abyssinian* descent 192
monkey, the word, as an omen 181
moon-worship in *Soḷotrā*, 195; — in ancient *Chaldæa* 196
 months, *Hindu lunar* (see also *intercalary*, and *intercalated*); names of them as used in recorded dates: —
 Āshāḍha (*June-July*)... 29, 36, 37, 39, 40, 155, 179, 180, 186, 357, 358, 359, 369, 441
 Āsvayuja (*Sept.-Oct.*) 28
 Āsvayuja (*Sept.-Oct.*) 187
 Āvina (*Sept.-Oct.*)... 30, 32, 33, 34, 172, 176, 177, 358
 Bhādra (*Aug.-Sept.*)... 29, 30, 175, 176, 181, 185
 Bhādrapada (*Aug.-Sept.*)... 29, 31, 33, 157, 173, 174, 181, 183, 317, 357, 361, 366
 Bhādravā (*Aug.-Sept.*)... 28 (P), 175, 184, 366
 Chaitra (*March-April*)... 3, 29, 30, 31, 36, 39, 41, 46, 174, 176, 182, 185, 355, 361, 362, 366, 372, 440, 442
 Jēshṭha (*May-June*)... 441
 Jyēshṭha (*May-June*) 28, 31, 33, 35, 36, 37, 177, 178, 182, 183, 184, 187, 354, 363, 369, 373
 Kārttika (*Oct.-Nov.*)... 5, 23, 25, 27, 28, 40, 166, 167, 169, 170, 247, 252, 309, 353, 354, 356, 365, 367, 369, 374, 440
 Mādhava (*March-April*) 34, 38
 Madhu (*March-April*) 34, 39
 Māgha (*Jan.-Feb.*) 22, 25, 27, 166, 168, 170, 361, 365, 368, 371, 373, 374, 442
 Māha (*Jan.-Feb.*) 355
 Mārga (*Nov.-Dec.*) 24, 166, 167, 169, 170, 171, 172, 349, 364, 368, 372
 Mārgasira (*Nov.-Dec.*) 28, 164, 171
 Mārgasirsha (*Nov.-Dec.*) 24, 102, 168, 172
 Pausha (*Dec.-Jan.*)... 3, 4, 22, 25, 26, 168, 169, 172, 354, 361, 363, 371
 Phāgana (*Feb.-March*) 168
 Phāguṇa (*Feb.-March*) 25, 167, 168, 170
 Phālgū (*Feb.-March*) 26
 Phālgūṇa (*Feb.-March*)... 24, 26, 41, 167, 169, 171, 367, 368, 373
 Srāvāṇa, (*July-Aug.*)... 30, 31, 33, 34, 39, 40, 156, 174, 178, 179, 181, 186, 353, 356
 Suchi (*June-July*) 35
 Vaiśākha (*April-May*)... 2, 4, 20, 28, 31, 32, 35, 36, 38, 40, 175, 176, 179, 180, 181, 183, 185, 218, 273, 355, 356, 360, 362, 364, 373
 months, *Hindu solar*; *Bhādrapada* indicated by the sun being in *Siṃha* (*Leo*), 129, 426; — and *Pausha*, by the sun being in *Dhanus* (*Sagittarius*) 102
 months, *Tamil solar*; *Ayappaṣi* (= *Aippaṣi*; *Kārttika*) 70
Mṛityujit, a *Chōla* king 339
Mudhōl State, an inscription from the, edited 161
Mudivemu, an ancient *agrahāra* 434
Muhābihāḍa, a village in the *Karṇāṭka* country 374
Muhammad Bakhtyār; his conquest of *Bengal*, about A. D. 1198-99, seems to have taken place in the eightieth year of the *Lakshmanasēna* era 7
Mukari, an ancient place 331
Mūla-Saṅgha, a division among the *Jains* ... 274
Mōlarāja (*Chaulukya*); see *Kaḍl* 166
Munindrapura, an ancient town 39
Muñja of *Dhārā*; *Amitagati* composed his *Subhāshitaratnasamādhā* in his reign 361
Munōlī inscriptions of *Singhana* II. and *Kṛishna*; examination of the dates ... 440, 441
Mūru-sāvira=*Ayya*, the title of a *Lingayat* priest at *Hublī* 244
musadara, its effect on the finance of the *Khalifas* 322, 323
music, *Hindu*, *M. Grosset's* contribution to the study of, account of 72
musical instruments; the *trivale* of the *Rattas* 165
Mūshaka country; apparently part of the *Malabar Coast* 14, 19
 n and l, changes between, in *Kanarese* *Prākṛit* 317
 n and l, a change between, in *Kanarese* 270
Nadōl inscription of *Ālhanadēva*; examination of the date 30
Nāgarakhaṇḍa *Seventy*, the, an ancient district near *Balagānve* 144
Nāgas; they are counted as gods among the *Buddhists*, 74; — they are perhaps mentioned as the *Ālukas*, 14, 19; — mention of them in connection with the *Chōlas* 331, 339

- nail-headed characters, a variety of, from Gayâ 77
- nakshatra*, 'a lunar mansion;' festivals in honour of the Tishya *nakshatra*, 96, 100, 102; — names of the *nakshatras*, as used in recorded dates: —
- Anurâdhâ 170, 356, 366
- Dhanishthâ 25, 27
- Gurubha (= Pushya) 38
- Hasta 28
- Jyêshthâ 369
- Maitra (= Anurâdhâ) 102
- Mûla 373
- Punarvasu 35
- Pûrvâ-Ashâdâ 441
- Pushya 27, 31, 34, 39, 176, 177
- Révati 23
- Rôhini 32, 35, 150
- Śravaṇa 192, 436
- Svâti 32
- Tishya 169
- Uttarâ-Bhadrapadâ 27, 28
- Uttarâ-Bhâdrapadikâ 29
- Uttarâ-Bhadrikâ 129
- Viśâkhâ 38
- Vishṇudâivata (= Śravaṇa) 24
- nail-paring in the *Avesta* 230
- Nalapura, a fortress of Virasimhadêva 167
- Nalôdayatikâ*; see Râmarshi 34
- names of places in England in the 15th century, map of, noticed 412
- Nandigrâma, an ancient village. 20; — identified with Nandikêśvara, 9; — but this is wrong 317
- Nandikêśvara, a village near Bâdâmi; it is different from Nandigrâma, 317; — its name occurs in the Prâkrit forms of Lañjigêsara and Lañjîśvara 317
- Nandikshêtra, an ancient place in Kâśmîr 263, 268
- Nanôdaya*, a Buddhist work by Buddhaghôsa 117
- Nanyaurâ grants; examination of the dates; of Dêvavarmadêva, 364; — of Dhaṅgadêva 23
- Naraka, a king of Prâggyôtisha 263
- Narapati composed his *Narapatijayacharyâ* in A. D. 1175 30
- Narasiṃhadêva (Kalachuri); see Alha-ghât... 29
- Narasimhagupta (Early Gupta), 225, 226, 227; — his wife's name appears to be Mahâ-lakshmidêvi 225, 227
- Naravarman (Paramâra) 346, 347, 350, 351
- Narêndramrigarâja, = Vijayâditya II. (East. Chalukya) 435
- Nasrat Shâh of Delhi; see Mângrol 355
- Nat-worship in Burma 438
- Nâvalli, an ancient place near Balagâmve 145
- Navapadaprakaraṇa*, a work attributed to the ninth Dêvagupta-Sâri 240
- Navilai, an ancient place 335
- Nâyarkhaṇḍa, Prâkrit form of the name of the Nâgarakhaṇḍa District 144, 145
- Nêpâl; a note on the conquest of it by Harshavardhana of Kanauj, 40; — the inscription of Lalitatripurasundarî; examination of the dates 35
- Nîralgi, a village in the Dhârwâd District; perhaps mentioned by the ancient name of Nîrilli 144, 145
- Nîrilli, perhaps the ancient name of Nîralgi 144, 145
- North-West Provinces; the copper seal of Kumâragupta II., edited, 224; — an inscription of Gôvindachandra, partially edited 249
- numerical words; exceptional use of *vêda* to denote 'three,' 25, 26; — and of *sâgara* and *sâyara* to denote 'seven' 25, 26
- Nyâyasiddhântamañjarî*, note on a MS. of the. 229, 230
- ogress, nature and character of, in Burmese folktales 438
- omens in the *Avesta*, 230; — in Bihâr, 130, 131; — in Madras, 254; — in the North-West Provinces, 254; — in Oudh 325
- Onko reckoning of Orissa, a system of regnal years commencing with Bhâdrapada śukla 11 or 12 255
- opprobrious names in Madras 255
- ordeals in Soḳoṭra 195
- Orissa, the Onko reckoning of 255
- Osanagari, a place in Mârâwâr; the old form of the name was Upakêśanagari 233, 234
- Osmanli language, a new grammar of the ... 159, 160
- Oswâls, the lay adherents of the Upakêśa *gachchha*; they take their name from Osanagari 233
- Ostiak, = Manse, 159; — Vogul, 159; — the heathen customs of the 159
- owl, the word, as an omen 136
- Pâdalîpta, a town in Surâshṭra 22
- Padinappalai*, a Tamil poem in praise of Kari-kâla 331, 340
- Padma-Charita*, the, of Vimala, was written five hundred and thirty-two years after the *nirvâna* of Mahâvîra 379
- padra* as the termination of a village-name, in Laghuvaingana *padra* 348
- Paêsî, a feudatory ruler of Sêyaviyâ in the Kêkayaḍḍha country 235 n.
- Paitâmaha-Siddhânta* 46, 133, 141, 142

- Paithan grant of Rāmachandra; examination of the date 442
- Pālam Bāoli; an inscription of the time of Giyās-ud-dīn Balban; examination of the date 186
- Pālār, the river 332, 333, 334
- palibōdha, 'bond, fetter' 93
- pālikētana, an arrangement of flags..... 434
- Pallavas, 425, 434; — conquered by Vikramāditya I., 151; — and by Vinayāditya, 157; — later history of the family... 329 to 340
- Pampā, the river 334
- Pañchadaṇḍātapachchattrabandha; see Rāmachandra.....26, 27
- pañchāmahāśabda mentioned among the insignia of the Eastern Chalukyas..... 434
- Pañchapramāṇa, a work attributed to the seventh Kakka-Sūri 240
- Pandārams, a Tamil mendicant caste in Ceylon
- Pañchasiddhāntikā, an astronomical work by Varāhamihira, based on five Jyōtisha Siddhāntas, 45 to 54, 439; — its epoch is Tuesday, 22nd March, A. D. 505, . . 46, 50, 51; — and the *kshēpakas* in it are for the preceding Sunday, 50; — passages in it relating to the original *Rōmaka-Siddhānta*.....136, 138, 141
- Paṇḍita-Chōla, apparently a title of Rājārāja I. (Eastern Chalukya) 337
- Pāṇḍya country; reference to five divisions of it 335
- Pāṇḍya kings; mentioned in connection with Kirtivarman I., 14, 19; — and Vikramāditya I. 151
- Pañjāb, an inscription from the, edited..... 215
- Pansiyapanas Jātaka 411
- Pāpabuddhi-Dharmabuddhi-Kathānakam, a notice of Bendall's MS. of 280
- Paramabhāṭṭāraka, a title of paramount sovereignty; its adoption by the Chalukyas 306, 307
- paramabhāṭṭārak-ēty-ādi-rājāvalī 180
- Paramāra rulers of Mālava; notes on them, with three of their grants edited 345 to 353
- Paramardidēva (Chandella); see Baṭēśwar, Kālañjar, and Mahōbā.....30, 36, 37, 354
- Paramēśvara, a title of paramount sovereignty; applied to Harshavardhana of Kanauj, 41, 306; — its adoption by the Chalukyas 305, 307
- paramount sovereigns, *i. e.* sovereigns supreme in their own dominions, but not necessarily reigning over the whole of India; the development of their titles in Southern India.....305 to 309
- Pariāhs of Jaffna, a Tamil caste in Ceylon ... 160
- pārikhāya, a fiscal term, requiring explanation.....249 and n.
- Parsis, nuptial songs of the374 ff.
- Pārāvachandra perhaps composed his *Vārttika* on Virabhadrasādhu's *Chatuḥśarāṇa-prakīrṇaka* in A. D. 1539..... 373
- pātaka (see also *bātaka*) as the termination of a village-name, in Dévalapātaka 348
- Paṭṭadakal, a village in the Bijāpur District; mentioned by the ancient name of Kesuvolala9, 20
- Pattavallī, the, or List of Jain Pontiffs, of the Upakēśa-Gachchha233 to 242
- Paulīśa-Siddhānta, 46, 52 and n., 133, 134, 141, 142, 316; — its rule, as given in the *Pañchasiddhāntikā*, for calculating the mean place of the sun, 141; — there seem to be three works of this name52 n.
- paundartīca-sacrifice 19
- Pennai, the river..... 334
- Pérōja Sāhi Sultān, = Firōj Shāh bin Rajab... 31
- Phulwariya; inscription of Pratāpadhavala; examination of the date 179
- pillars, inscribed7, 122, 125, 215
- Piplīnagar grant of Arjunavarmadēva; examination of the date..... 24
- pisāsus, male devils who possess women, in Madras 103
- pitāmaha, in *sūtradhra-pitāmaha*, 'a very Brahman among *Sūtradhāras*' 249
- Piṭhapurī, apparently one of the forms of the ancient name of Piṭṭapuram424, 426
- Piṭṭapuram in the Gōdāvarī District; apparently mentioned by the name of Piṭhapurī, 424; — notes of some inscriptions here 427
- Pitt, Thomas, of the Pitt diamond, Yule's account of, noticed131, 132
- Piyadasi, a name or title of Asōka 125
- plough-banner 330
- poetry, historical value of modern vernacular 104
- Pogari-Gachchha, the, a division of the Mūla-Saṅgha..... 274
- Pogilli, *Mahārāja* (Sēndrakṛ), a feudatory of Vinayāditya 143, 145
- Ponmukari, the river 334
- Ponnavaḍa *agrahāra*, ancient name of Honwād... 269, 273, 274
- Ponni, the Kāvēri river 337
- Porunai, the Tāmbraparnī river 337
- Posidonius, the first globe-maker 411
- possession, demoniacal, in Madras..... 103
- Poṭṭalakeṛe, a capital of Jayasinha III.; it is the modern Daṇḍanāyakanakere ... 161, 162, 165
- Pradyumna, an early astronomical writer, 52, 135, 138
- Prāgyōtisha, two kings of, referred to in the *Rājatarānginī*263, 267

- Prasāda*, a commentary on the *Prakriyākāumudī*; its date..... 170
- Prān Nāth, as a revivalist writer 104
- Prāśnōttara-Ratnamālā*, a Jain work, attributed sometimes to Vimala, and sometimes to a king Amōghavarsha.....378, 379
- Pratāpadhavala, *Mahāntyaka* (Jāpiliya); see Phulwariya and Sabasrām 179, 184
- Pratāpāditya I., a king of Kāsmīr; a relative of a king Vikramāditya..... 261 to 264
- pratisiddhāya*, an ancient tax..... 165
- pravara*, 'an invocation of ancestors at the performance of certain rites; names of *pravaras*, as mentioned in records:—
- Bhāradvāja-Āngirasa-Bārhaspatya 351
- Garga-Āngirasa-Viśvāmītra-Jamadagni-Vārhaspati 252
- Viśvāmītra-(&c.) (?) 310
- pravartamāna*; see current and expired years
- proof of identity in folktales — a silver ring, 154; — a gold ring, 154; — a sword, 154; — hair, 155; — a mode of folding betel-leaves 278
- proverbs of Turkistān 321
- Ptolemy, as a globe-maker, 411; — comparison of some of his astronomical elements with those of the *Rōmaka-Siddhānta* 284
- puberty, fees on the attainment of..... 145
- Pubesa, a proper name 8
- Pulikēsīn I. (Early Chalukya), 151, 434; — remarks about the meaning of the name, 14 n.; — he had the *birudas* of Satyāśraya and Raṇavikrama, 14, 18, 19, 310; — and the epithet of *śrīprithivīvallabha*, 14; — his wife was Durlabhadēvi..... 14, 19
- Pulikēsīn II. (West. Chalukya), 11, 12 and n., 13; — he had the *biruda* of Satyāśraya, 151, 434; — he is perhaps denoted in the Goa grant by the epithet of *śrīprithivīvallabha*, 12 n.; — the grant of Vishṇuvaradhana I. is dated in his eighth year 304
- Pulīsa-Siddhānta*; see also *Paulīsa-Siddhānta* 316
- punch-coins, instances of, in the eleventh century A. D..... 79, 80
- Punyachandrōdaya-Purāna*; see *Īśvarakriṣhna* 27
- Punyasāgara composed his *Jambudvīpaprajñaptivṛitti* in A. D. 1589..... 39
- Puragupta (Early Gupta), a son, recently brought to notice, of Kumāragupta I., 225, 226, 227; — his wife was Vatsadēvi 225 and n., 226
- Purānic genealogies; of the Chōlas, 330, 339; — of the Eastern Chalukyas 433
- Puru-Raṇaparākrama, a *biruda* of Kirtivarman I. 14, 19
- Pyus, an extinct tribe of Burma..... 437
- Qalmaqs, see Kalmucks 158
- quivering of the left eyelid as an omen 130
- r and ḷ, changes between, in Kanarese 270
- r, a Drāviḍian letter, represented in Nāgarī inscriptions by rr 243
- Rāhu mentioned as causing an eclipse of the moon, 23; — and of the sun 371
- rainy season, the; the connection of serpent-worship with it 75
- Rāi Talūk of Dehlī..... 289
- rain, making, in Soḷoṭra, 195; — charms in Madras 103
- Raiwān grant of Gōvindachandradēva; examination of the date 372
- Rāja-Bhīma II. (East. Chalukya) 435
- Rāja-Nārāyana, a *biruda* of Kulōttunga-Chōḍadēva I. 435
- Rāja-Paramēśvara*, a title of paramount sovereignty..... 307 and n., 436
- rāja-śrāvita*, 'a royal proclamation' ...145 and n.
- Rājādhirāja*, a title of paramount sovereignty, used by some of the Eastern Chalukyas ... 307
- Rājakēsari, the name of two early Chōla kings 331, 339
- Rājakēsarivarman; see Kō-Rājakēsarivarman 70
- Rājakēsarivarman (Chōla); he had the title of Jayāṅkoṇḍa-Chōla 329
- Rājamrigāṅka*; an astronomical work attributed to king Bhōja; its epoch is Śaka-Samvat 964, expired 45
- Rājarāja, or Vīra-Rājendra (Chōla); he had the title of Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-Chōla.....332, 337, 339
- Rājarāja I. (East. Chalukya), 424 n., 427; — the date of his coronation in A. D. 1022, . . 130; — apparently he had the *biruda* of Paṇḍita-Chōla, 337; — his wife was Ammaṅgadēvi, 435; — his coins79 to 28
- Rājarāja II. (East. Chalukya), a viceroy of Veṅgi 425, 435
- Rājarājadēva; see Kō-Rājakēsarivarman 70
- Rājasāyana *bhōga*, a subdivision in the Mahādvādaśaka *maṇḍala* 351
- Rājasiṅha, a ruler of Vikramanagara in A. D. 1598 39
- Rājāśraya, a *biruda* of Vinayāditya 143, 145
- Rājatarāṅginī*, extracts from the, continued 261
- Rājendra-Chōḍa, a Chōḍa king..... 435
- Rājendra-Chōḍa, otherwise called Kulōttunga-Chōḍadēva I. (East. Chalukya) 435
- Rājendradēva (Chōla) 435
- Rājōrgadh, a place near Alwar; examination of the date of the inscription of Mathanadēva 22
- Rājputāna, an inscription from, edited 55
- Rājyapura, a town of Mathanadēva 22

- Râmachandra composed his *Pañchadandâtapachchhatrabandha* in A. D. 1434.....26, 27
- Râmachandra (Dêvagiri-Yâdava); see Paithan 442
- Râmacharitra*; see Dêvavijayagari 176
- Râmânand, the value of the works of 104
- Râmapunyavallabha, *Muhâsamâdhivigrahika*, an officer of Vinayâditya 152
- Râmarshi composed his *Nalôdayatikâ* in A. D. 1607 34
- Râmnagar inscription of the kings of Mandala; examination of the date..... 369
- Râmnagar falls to Gulâb Singh 294
- Râmôh; see Râmushâ.....263, 265
- Ramri, the island of, Eastern Chalukya coins from 79
- Râmushâ *agrahâra*; the modern Râmôh in Kâsmîr263, 265
- Ranaparâkrama, the *biruda* of a Chalukya prince mentioned in a Lakshmêshwar inscription 14
- Ranarâga (Early Chalukya)14, 18
- Ranavikrama, a *biruda* of Pulikêsin I...14, 19, 310
- Ranavikrânta, a *biruda* of Mañgalêsa 19
- Ranbir Singh of Jammûn; his first appearance in public, 297; — his marriage ... 302
- Ranjît Singh's campaign in Kâsmîr 292
- râsi*, 'a sign of the zodiac;' reference to the moon being in Kumbha (Aquarius), 27 (No. 22); — and in Mina (Pisces) ...27 (No. 23)
- Râsin, an inscription at; examination of the date 355
- rathî* or *rathyâ*, in Kurumarathî or Kurumarathyâ, and Bhîmarathî or Bhîmarathyâ 304 and n.
- ratî*, its weight in Akbar's time discussed ... 220
- Ratnachûda, a *Vidyâdhara* mentioned in connection with Svayamprabha-Sûri 235
- Ratnamâlâ, a former name of Sri-Lakshmi-Mahâsthâna..... 235
- Ratnaprabha-Sûri, the sixth Jain pontiff in the Upakêsa-Gachcha, 236 to 238; — he was translated to heaven in the year 84 after Mahâvira, 238; — the same name was borne by five subsequent pontiffs...233, 239
- Ratna-Nârâyana, a *biruda* of Ereyammarasa 165
- Rattas of Saundatti and Belgaum ...161, 165, 242 to 249
- Rattasamudra, the name of an ancient tank at Mañtûr165 and errata
- Rayanamâlâ; Prâkrit form of the name of Ratnamâlâ 235
- Râypur inscription of Brahmâdêva; examination of the date 26
- regnal years; instances of the use of them, 20, 70, 152, 187, 311, 436; — difficulties about the reckoning of the regnal years of Vinayâditya, 148; — and of Vijayâditya, 183; — the Onko reckoning of Orissa 255
- Rên, a village in the Fatîpur District; a grant of Gôvindachandradêva, of Vikrama-Samvat 1188, partially edited 249
- Rêvâ, the, and the Kapilâ; mention of their confluence 31
- Rêwah grant of Salakhanavarmadêva, of the time of Vijayadêva; examination of the date 171
- rhythm in the *Rig-Vêda*, 287; — in pre-classical Hindu poetry 287
- Rig-Vêda*; notice of Prof. Oldenberg's text, 286, 288; — traces of rhythm in it, 287; — its textual superiority over the other *Vêdas*, 288; — the Vâshkala recension, 288; — textual variations, 288; — the Sâkala recension, 288; — arrangement of the *Samhitâ*, 288; — a hymn to the Dawn from it 326
- Ritusamhara*; see Kâlidâsa..... 285
- Rômaka-Siddhânta*, 46, 52, 53, 141, 142; — there are two separate works of this name, 133 to 142; — the original one, represented in the *Pañchasisiddhântikâ*, must be much older than A. D. 505, . . 141; — and probably its latest possible date is A. D. 150, . . 142; — it is based on the theories and Tables of Hipparchus, 142; — Table of the elements of this Siddhânta, 139; — the other is the work of Śrîshêna, whose period is between A. D. 578 and 628, . . 138; — comparison of some of the elements of the original work with those of Ptolemy..... 284
- Royal Asiatic Society, copper-plates in the, edited 345
- Sabuktagin of Ghazni opposed by Bhôjdêv of Jammûn 289
- Sachchikâdêvi, a goddess mentioned in the *Pañçavâlî* of the Upakêsa-Gachcha ... 237, 238, 239, 240
- Sâdik, the Kirghiz Sultân..... 321
- sdgara*, and in Prâkrit *sâyara*, used exceptionally to denote 'seven' 25, 26
- Sahasrâm inscription of Pratâpadhavala; examination of the date..... 184
- sailing-directions round England in the 15th century..... 412
- Sâhi Salama, Sultân; an unidentified prince; date, A. D. 1607..... 34
- Saiva inscriptions 9, 55
- saka* used in the sense of 'a year' ... 24, 25, 28, 33, 169, 170, 177
- saka* used in the sense of 'a year,' 25, 35; — and in the sense of 'belonging to the Śakas' 2, 26, 27, 28, 31, 32, 41, 431
- Saka era; instances of the connection of the name of Sâlivâhana with it..... 32, 176

- Saka-nrip-anta*, a mistaken explanation, adopted by Brahmagupta, Utpala, and Albêrûnî, of the origin of the Saka era..... 261
- Sākambharî, *i. e.* Sâmbhar in Râjputâna 216 to 219
- Sâkêtapura 26
- sâkhâ*, 'a Vêdic school;' mention of the Āsvalayana *sâkhâ* 351
- Saktivarman (East. Chalukya), 435; — he had the *biruda* of Châlukya-Chandra, 81; — his coins..... 79 to 82
- Sâlai, an ancient place 335
- Salakhanavarmadêva, *Mahârâjâna*; see Rêwah 171
- Sâlivâhana; instances of the connection of his name with the Saka era..... 32, 176
- Sâltvoqe, an ancient village in the Edevoal *nishaya* 147, 150 n., 152
- Sâltvuge, a later form of the name of Sâltvoqe 147
- Sallakshanapâla, *Bâjaputra*, a minister of Visaladêva..... 216, 219
- sam*, an abbreviation; used in composition with La. (= Lakshmanasêna), 3, 4; — with Simha, 180; — with Valabhî, 180; — and with Vikrama, 180, 181; — used without any appellative in composition, to denote years of the Lakshmanasêna era, 2; — and of the Vikrama era... 22, 30, 31, 168, 174, 252, 371
- Samâpâ, an ancient place mentioned in the Jaugada edict..... 95, 101
- Samartha stormed by Gulâb Singh..... 294, 295
- samastabhuvandraya*, 'asylum of the universe,' an epithet of Jayasimha III. 165
- samayê* used in dates, after *samvat*, instead of *varshê* 28, 35, 175
- Samdhimat or Samdhimati, also called Aryarâja, a minister of Jayêndra, and subsequently king of Kâsmîr 263, 266, 267
- Samdhîsvara, an ancient Saiva temple in Kâsmîr..... 263, 267
- samkrânti*, 'the passage of the sun into a sign of the zodiac' (see also *dakshindiyana* and *uttarayana*); names of the *samkrântis* as mentioned in recorded dates: —
- Dakshinâyana (summer solstice) 150, 174
- Mêsha (Aries)..... 39, 176
- Udagayana (winter solstice) 361
- Uttarayana (winter solstice)... 25, 27, 363, 371
- Samudragupta (Early Gupta); his wife was Dattadêvî..... 225
- samvat*, an abbreviation; used in composition with Lakshmanasêna, 4; — with Muhammad, to denote years of the Hijra era, 180; — with Simha, 24, 172; — and with Vikrama, 24 to 40, 166 to 187, 354 to 374; — used without any appellative in composition, in connection with a Saptarshi date, 169; — and to denote years of the Vikrama era... 22 to 40, 166 to 187, 218, 252, 349, 354 to 374
- Sânârs of Madras, caste emancipation, a case of 231
- sañchakâra*, = *satyamkâra*, 'an agreement'... 241
- Sanghârs, pirates of Kachh, a possible origin for Zingari 191
- Saṅkuka, a prince, of the Brâhman caste; his wife was Dêginî 56, 60, 61
- Sanskrit grammar; negative clauses in the *Rig-Vêda*, 230; — the sibilants, 231; — orthography of the *Vêdas* 288
- Sanskrit, multiform presents in, 229; — proposed elimination of the *tan*-class of verbs in 229
- Sanskrit roots, Prof. Whitney on 229
- Sanskrit proverbs 232
- Sanskrit works, piracy of, in Bombay 230
- Sanskrit words; remarks on the transliteration of them by Albêrûnî 72, 73
- saptakshêtra*, among the Jains, 'seven spheres of action' 241 n.
- Saptarshi era, the, spoken of as the Saptarshi-mata, 169; — and the Sâstrasamvatsara 176
- Sârângadêva (Vâghêla); the *Kâvyaprakâśadîpikâ* of Jayanta was composed in his reign..... 178
- Sârângapura, an ancient town..... 181
- sarpabali*, a sacrifice in snake-worship ... 73 to 75
- sarvâbhyantarâsiddhi*, a fiscal term denoting full and complete rights of enjoyment 271
- Sarvânkâ, an ancient village 61
- Sâtârâ grant of Vishnuvardhana I., edited ... 303
- Satruñjaya mountain, the 240, 241, 242
- Satyâsraya, a *biruda* of Pulikêsin I., 14, 18, 310; — of Pulikêsin II., 151, 434; — and of Vinayâditya 152
- Saubhâgyabhâskara*; see Bhâskara-râya 34
- Saukhyâspadapattana, an ancient town 33
- Saura-Siddhânta*, *i. e.* the *Sârjya-Siddhânta* 46, 133, 141, 142
- Sâyana-Pañchâṅg* for Saka-Samvat 1811, noticed 256
- sâyara*; see *sâgara*..... 25, 26
- Scindia's Dominions, inscriptions from, edited 345
- seals of grants; emblems on them, 224, 243, 249, 303, 423; — legends on them... 249, 303, 423
- seasons: —
- Grishma (the hot season) 33
- Sarad (the autumn)..... 27, 34
- Siâira (the dewy season) 27
- Varshâḥ (the rains) 39
- Sechutera = Sokoṭra..... 198
- Sêna-Gana, the, a division of the Mûla-Saṅgha 274

- Sēna II. (Raṭṭa of Saundatti and Belgaum) 248
- Sēndraka family..... 143, 145
- serpent in folktales, 283, 315; — marriage with human girl in folktales 315
- serpents; the part played by them in Hindu epic literature, 74; — worship of them closely connected with the rainy season ... 75
- shadaṣṭika*, a word apparently used, for the sake of the metre, for *shadaṣṭi* in the sense of the sign Mithuna (Gemini) 359, 360
- Shahābu'd-dīn Ghūrī builds Siālkōṭ 290
- Shāhbāz-Garhī; notes of M. Senart's remarks on the twelfth edict of Aśōka at this place 43, 44
- shadows, omens from 252
- shashṭhatapa*, a penance among the Jains ... 239 n.
- Shēdā, a place in Kāśmīr 263, 267
- shoes, the position of, as an omen 130
- Siālkōṭ; built by Shāhabu'd-dīn Ghūrī 290
- Siam, Eastern Chalukya coins from 79
- Siberia, bear-worship in 159
- sibilants, the old Indian 231
- Siddhasūri, the name of seventeen or eighteen Jain pontiffs in the Upakēśa-Gachchha, 238 to 242; — the fourteenth or fifteenth of them is placed in Vikrama-Saṁvat 1330, . . . 241; — the next, in V.-S. 1475, . . . 242; — the next, in V.-S. 1565, . . . 242; — and the last, in V.-S. 1655 242
- sikandari*, a copper coin 219, 220
- Siḷāditya, son of Vikramāditya of Ujjain, may be Siḷāditya of Mālava, about A. D. 580..... 262
- Śīlaratnasūri composed his commentary on Mērutuṅga's *Mēghadūta* in A. D. 1436 366
- Siṁha, an astronomical writer 52, 135, 138
- Siṁhōdradāsthāna, an ancient place 33
- sindūra*, 'an elephant' 165 n., 248 n.
- Singana-Garuda, another name of Eṣeyamarasa 161, 165
- siṅgha* as a termination of a proper name, in Jayasiṅgha..... 13, 18
- Siṅghana II. (Dēvagiri-Yādava); see Khēdrapur, Kōlār, and Munōlli 157, 440
- Siṁhila-Achārya*, among the Jains, denotes an *Achārya* who permits laxity of observances. 234
- Sivagaṇa, a prince, of the Brāhman caste, 56, 61; — his Kaṇaswa inscription, edited 55
- Styaḍōṇi, an inscription from; examination of the date 181
- Siyāl Bēt in Kāṭhīāwād, examination of the date of an inscription at 170
- Sivasimha, a king; remarks on the date of a grant from Bihār, which purports to be of his time, but is possibly spurious..... 1, 2, 5, 7
- Skandagupta (Early Gupta) is omitted in the genealogy given in the Bhitari seal 227
- slang, numerals, amongst the Tamils, 160; — used by mendicants in Ceylon, notice of the 160
- sleep, omens for..... 325
- smelling for kissing, among the Soḷoṭrans ... 193
- snake-worship, see serpent-worship..... 73 to 75
- Sndtripañchāsikā*; see Udayasāgara 22
- sneezing, customs regarding 229
- Sōdara, an ancient spring in Kāśmīr 268
- Sōḷ, the old capital of Soḷoṭra 190
- Soko, = Sōḷ 190
- Soḷoṭra, an origin for the name through Sukoṭra, 189, 190; — notice of its history, 190; — population of, 193; — people of the plains a mixed race, 192; — people compared with Bani Karas, 212, 214; — physical appearance of the inhabitants, 189; — highland tribes, their appearance, 192; — their dress, 192; — their customs, 193; — are cave dwellers, 194; — an account of the aborigines, 189 ff.; — aborigines probably the highland inhabitants, 191; — colonization by Alexander the Great, 190; — colonization by the Ptolemies, 193; — the language not yet identified authoritatively, 189; — wanting in Greek words, 191; — possibly connected with Aramaic, 197; — belongs to the Ethiopic branch of Northern Semitic family, 199; — Christianity, 190; — its ancient character, 189; — Christianity of the people discussed, 190; — burial customs of the highland tribes, 194; — Soḷoṭrans, identity with the Gāras, = Bani Kara Beduins, 215; — descent from the Gerrāi, = ancient Chaldæans, = Cushite Beduins, 215; — their political institutions, 194; — their food, 194; — their mode of eating meat, 194; — their occupations, 193; — their business capacity, 194; — their conservatism, 197; — possible Chaldæan origin of their religious custom, 196; — probably received religion through the Harrāni Sabæans 197
- Solar Race included the Chōlas 330, 332, 339
- Sōma, the Moon, mentioned as the founder of a race 433
- Sōmavamsā, the Lunar Race, included the Chalukyas ... 151 and n., 332, 337, 338, 425, 435
- Sōmēśvara I. (Western Chālukya); mention of his wife Kētaladēvi, 269, 273, 274; — two other wives of his, 271; — his Honwad inscription of Śaka-Saṁvat 976; edited ... 268
- son, duty leviable in the case of a man dying without a 145
- son, neglected, in folktales..... 153 ff.
- Sonnāvāda, a hamlet of Bhōyija..... 244, 249
- sovereigns, paramount; *i. e.* sovereigns supreme in their own dominions, but not

- necessarily reigning over the whole of India; the development of their titles in Southern India.....305 to 309
- soul, capturing the external325
- spirit-worship in Burmā 438
- spirits, evil, in the *Avesta*..... 230
- śrahe*, or *asrahe*, a word used in dates, requiring explanation.....163, 164 and n., 165
- śrāvita*, 'a proclamation,' in *nakara-śrāvita* and *rāja-śrāvita*145 n.
- Sri-Kumāra, another name of Utpala-Kumāra 235
- Sri-Lakshmi-Mahāsthāna, a name of Bhīmāl in the *Paṭṭavālī* of the Upakēsa-Gachchha, 233 n., 235; — former traditional names of the place 235
- Srimāl; see Bhīmāl233 n.
- Srinilaya *bhāga*, an ancient territorial division in the Western Chalukya kingdom.....304, 310
- śrīprithivīvallabha*, 'favourite of fortune and of the earth;' an epithet of Pulikēsin I., 14, 18; — and of Jayasinha III., 165; — and of Sômēsvara I., 273; — in the Goa grant it is perhaps used to denote Pulikēsin II. 12 n.
- śrīprithivīvallabhēndra*, 'chief or lord of favourites of fortune and of the earth;' an epithet of Maṅgalēsa15, 19
- Sripuñja, a king of Bhīmāl 235
- Srishēṇa, an astronomical writer, author of the later *Rāmaka-Siddhānta*, 52, 53, 133, 134, 135, 133, 141; — his date lies between A. D. 578 and 628 138
- Srivatsadēvi, possibly the name, instead of Vatsadēvi, of the wife of Puragupta...225 n., 226
- Śrīviracharitra*; see Guruchandragani..... 36
- Śriyambāṭaka, an ancient village9, 26
- stag-banner..... 330
- Stageirus, the metropolis of the Greek colonists of Soḷoṭra 190
- stars, Iranian names for the, Prof. Weber on the, 72; — Albērūni's names for the 72
- St. Thomas in Soḷoṭra 198
- śu*, an abbreviation of *śukla* or *śuddha*, 'the bright fortnight;' it is usually followed by *di*, = *divasa*, 'a (civil) day;' a case in which *śu* is used without *di*, 373; — instances in which *śudi* is used as one word, meaning 'the bright fortnight,' 3, 4, 26, 28, 29, 32, 33, 34, 40, 353, 372; — an instance of the use of *śudya*, 40; — instances of the use of *śu ti*, where *ti* is an abbreviation of *tithi*, 'a lunar day'36, 217, 218
- Subhadatta, a Jain pontiff in the Upakēsa-Gachchha 235
- Subhāshitaratnasamūhā*; see Amitagati..... 361
- Subhāṭavarman (Paramāra) 346
- Succaba, a corruption of the Greek name for Soḷoṭra..... 190
- Suddha-Sūri (?), a Jain pontiff in the Upakēsa-Gachchha 241
- Sūk; see Sōk..... 190
- Śuka-Saptati*, the; notice of Dr. Schmidt's edition 410
- Sukhādhāra, through Dvīpa Sukhādhāra, = (?) Diuskadra, = (?) Dioscorides 189
- Sukhōdadhi*; see Bhīmasēna 34
- Sukūṭri aloes, an ancient export from Soḷoṭra..... 190
- Sultān Muḥammad Khān of Kabul befriended by Gulāb Singh 276
- śundaka*; a doubtful word 238 n.
- Sūr Dās as a writer on the Kṛishṇa cult 104
- Surāsaṇi, an ancient locality 351
- Surāshṭra, the Kāṭhīāwād country, 22; — also Surāshṭra..... 355
- Surasundara, *Yuvarājā* of Utpala-Kumāra ... 235
- Surātirāja, an early Chōla king 331, 339
- Sūri*, among the Jains, denotes an *Achārya* who has risen to the head of his *gachchha* or *śākhā* 234
- Sūri Emperors of Delhi; copper coinage 219, 220
- Sūris, pirates from Sūr on the Arab Coast, 191; — possible Indian origin from Kachh through a settlement on Soḷoṭra 191
- Sūrya, the sun, mentioned by Brahmagupta as the author of the *Sūrya-Siddhānta* 134
- sūrya-parvan* used to denote an eclipse of the sun..... 440
- Sūrya-Siddhānta*; there are two separate works of this name; account of the original one, as deduced from the *Pañchasiddhāntikā*, 45 to 54; — it is older than Lāṭa and Varāhamihira, and was not written by either of them; it must be of much earlier date than A. D. 500, . . 52, 53; — Table of the elements of the original and of the present *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, 49; — the present *Sūrya-Siddhānta* is to be placed not later than A. D. 500, and Lāṭa may have had something to do with the authorship of it... 53.
- Sūryavamsa, the Solar Race, included the Chōlas 330, 332, 339
- Suvarṇaprasādikā, an ancient locality 351
- Svayamprabha-Sūri, a Jain pontiff in the Upakēsa-Gachchha..... 235
- Tādapa (East. Chalukya) 435
- Taddavāḍi, one of the ancient forms of the name of Taddewāḍi 269
- Taddewāḍi, a village in the Bijapūr District; the various forms of its ancient name 269
- Tahangadh, an inscription at; examination of the date..... 373
- Tajik dialect, a dictionary of the, noticed ... 322

- Takshaśilā mentioned in the Dhauli edict, by the name of Takhasilā.....85, 96
- Taldavāḍi, one of the ancient forms of the name of Taddewāḍi 269
- Tamil historical texts; the *Kalīngattu Parani*; extracts edited..... 329
- Tamil transliteration of Sanskrit words .. 231, 232
- Tapa-Gachchha, a division among the Jains... 233
- Tardavāḍi, one of the ancient forms of the name of Taddewāḍi 269
- Tardhavāḍi, one of the ancient forms of the name of Taddewāḍi; the chief town of a one-thousand district.....269, 274
- tang* = *tānk* 220
- tānk*, a jeweller's weight discussed..... 220
- tanké* = *tānké* 220
- tānké*, weights used in the mints of Akbar ... 220
- Taxila; see Takshaśilā85, 96
- Tèrahi, an inscription at; examination of the date 173
- Tṛhépaka (Méhara); see Hāthasnī 359
- Tṛhīkarikā, or Tṛhīkarikā, an ancient village.. 348
- Thiyākavalli, wife of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍadēva I.....333, 339
- Timūr, defeated by Māldēv of Jammūnā..... 290
- Tiruvallam in the North Arcot District; examination of the date of an inscription at the Bilvanāthēśvara temple..... 70
- Tishya *nakshatra*; festivals in honour of it 96, 100, 102
- tithi*, 'a lunar day'; special names of *tithis*; *akshaya-tritīyā*, = Vaiśākha śukla 3, . . 36; — *nāga-tithi*, = Chaitra śukla 5, . . 39; — *Viṣṇu-tithi*, = Jyēshṭha śukla 11, . . 369; — the repetition of a *tithi*, denoted by *dvitīya-chaturthī*, 356; — mention of two *tithis*, one after the other, 33; — an instance of a correction in the *tithi* of a date, 317; — instances of *tithis* used as current, being joined with the weekdays on which they begin42, 361 to 363, 426
- Titivala; see Tivala..... 123, 124
- titles of paramount sovereignty; the development of them in Southern India...305 to 309
- Tivala, or Titivala; apparently the name of a queen of Aśōka 123, 124
- Topḍaimān, a title of Karuṇākara-Pallava 333, 334, 336, 337
- Topazo, a name for Soḷoṭra..... 190
- Tōramāṇa, a king of Kaśmīr; he appears to be the historical Tōramāṇa, the father of Mihirakula 262
- Toramara *vishaya*, an ancient division in the Western Chalukya kingdom.....150 n., 152
- Tōsali, an ancient place mentioned in the Dhauli edicts95, 101
- Trailōkyamalla, a *biruda* of Sōmēśvara I. 273, 274
- transliteration, Albērūnī's, of Indian words, described, 72, 73; — value of Persian and Arabic, in testing the pronunciation of Indian words, 73; — into Russian characters of foreign languages, 157; — of Sanskrit words into Tamil231, 232
- tribhōga*, a fiscal term, explained 271
- Tribhuvanapāladēva (Chaulukya); see Kaḍi ... 372
- tribhuvānkuśa*, a motto on the seals of Eastern Chalukya grants 423
- Trilōchana-Pallava, a traditional early Pallava king 425, 434
- Trilōchanapāladēva; examination of the date of his grant of Vikrama-Saṁvat 1084..... 174
- Trincomalee, its capture by the Dutch from the Portuguese 410
- Tripitaka*; commentaries on it were written, or translated, by Buddhaghōsa 118
- trivālē*, a musical instrument 165
- Tulsi Dās, the value of his works, 104; — his influence as a poet 104
- Tuṅgēśvara, a Śaiva temple in Kaśmīr ...263, 264
- Tuñjina I., a king of Kaśmīr; his wife was Vākpushṭā263, 264
- tupha*, = *tumha*, not *stāpa* 86
- tutelary genius, the serpent as a..... 74
- Tyāgī-Āchārya*, among the Jains, denotes an *Āchārya* who does not permit laxity of observances..... 234
- Uchchakalpa, the *Mahārājas* of; the dates in their grants are to be referred to the Kalachuri era227, 228
- uchchhīrṇa*, 'a loan' 235 n.
- Udayāditya (Paramāra) 346, 347, 350
- Udayana of Ayōdhyā, mentioned as an ancestor of the Chalukyas425, 434
- Udayasāgara composed his *Snātripañchāsikā* in A. D. 1246 22
- Udayasimhadēva; a MS. of his time; examination of the date 175
- Udayavarmadēva, *Mahākumāra* (Paramāra) 346, 347
- Udaypur inscriptions; examination of the dates; of the time of Ajayapāladēva, 362; — others 28, 36, 168, 355
- uddha*, 'deserted' 239
- Uddhāra*, among the Jains, denotes one who at vast expense rebuilds all the old temples 241 n.
- Udharāṇa, a minister of Utpala-Kumāra 235
- Uhaḍa, a minister of Utpala-Kumāra235, 236
- Ujjain mentioned in the Dhauli and Jaugaḍa edicts, by the name of Ujēni85, 96
- Ujjain grants, edited; of Yaśōvarmadēva, of Vikrama-Saṁvat 1192, . . 348; — of

- Jayavarmadēva, 349, — and of Lakshmi-varmadēva, of V.-S. 1200, . . . 351; — examination of the date..... 40, 352
- Umgā inscription of Bhairavēndra; examination of the date 32
- 'Undega,' a village in Maisūr; perhaps mentioned by the ancient name of Anḍugi...144, 145
- unfortunate face, the..... 131
- unfortunate names..... 131
- Upādhyāya*, among the Jains, denotes one who has the right of reading, but not of explaining, the Sacred Text..... 234
- Upakēsa-Gachchha, a division among the Jains; the lay adherents of it are called Oswāls, 233; — its history and pontifical succession233 to 242
- Upakēsanagarī, Upakēsapattana, Upakēsapura; old forms of the name of Ōsanagarī234, 237 to 239
- Urdū Language, rise of the..... 104
- Ūrjayanta-tirtha; an ancient name of Girnār 29
- Urman Beg of Tashkand 157
- Uru-Raṇavikrānta, a *biruda* of Maṅgalēsa...15, 19
- Uthakai, an ancient place..... 331, 339
- Uthavaṇaka, an ancient village 351
- Uthiya, = Chēra331, 333
- Utpala, the astronomical writer; the dates of his completion of his commentaries on the *Bṛihat-Saṁhitā* and the *Bṛihaj-Jātaka*..... 41
- Utpala-Kumāra, a king of Bhīnnāl 235
- uttarāyana*, 'the whole period during which the sun is moving from south to north' 27, 33, 38
- v* and *m*, the Prākṛitic change between..... 230
- va*, an abbreviation of *vadya* (or, if it stands for *ba*, of *bahula*), 'the dark fortnight'; it is usually followed by *di*, = *divasa*, 'a (civil) day'; instances in which *vadi* is used as one word, meaning 'the dark fortnight,' 2, 167, 170, 171, 175, 176, 185, 186, 356, 366; — instances of the use of *va ti*, where *ti* is an abbreviation of *tithi*, 'a lunar day' 169, 217
- va*^o, an abbreviation of *varshē*..... 176
- Vachchhaudēva, *Rāja* 28
- Vaḍaūda, an ancient village 351
- Vaijayantī, ancient name of Banawāsi, 147, 152; — mentioned as conquered by Kirtivarman I..... 14, 19
- Vaishṇava inscription, a 424
- vājapēya*-sacrifice 19
- Vajrasēna, a teacher mentioned in connection with the third Yakshadēva-Sūri..... 239
- Vākpatirāja of Dhārā; examination of the date of his grant 23
- Vākpushṭā, wife of Tuḷjina I.263, 264, 266
- vallabhēndra*, 'lord of favourites;' an epithet of Jayasimha I. 13
- Valliggāme, one of the ancient names of Balagāmve.....144, 145
- Vaḷuti, = Pāṇḍya331, 336
- Vānasa or Vārasa family..... 274
- Vaṇḍai, an ancient Pallava town; it is the modern Vaṇḍalūr in the Chingleput District.....334, 336, 337, 340
- Vaṅga country.....14, 19
- Varāhamihira; see *Pañchasiddhāntikā* and *Sūrya-Siddhānta*.....45 to 54
- Vardhamānapura, a town of Jayavarmadēva 350
- varkara*, 'a goat'237 n.
- varshe* used in dates, after *saṁvat* (see also *samayē*, and *va*^o), 25 to 31, 33, 36, 38 to 40, 166 to 172, 175 to 178, 180, 181, 183 to 187, 355, 356, 358, 360, 365, 366, 368, 369, 372, 374; — it has been taken to mean 'in the civil year;' but this meaning has not yet been established..... 167
- vartamāna*; — see current and expired years
- Varuṇa, a commentator on the *Khaṇḍakhādyā*, about A. D. 1040 54 and n.
- Vāsishtā-Siddhānta*, 46, 133, 134, 135, 141, 142; — the later work of this name was written by Vishṇuchandra 138
- Vaṭakhētaka Thirty-six, the; an ancient group of villages 350
- Vatsadēvi, or possibly Śrīvatsadēvi, wife of Puragupta.....225 and n., 226
- Vaṭṭūra, a town mentioned in connection with Kīrtivarman I.14, 15, 19
- Vayalār, the river 334
- vēda* used exceptionally to denote 'three'...25, 26
- Vedeḅalli, perhaps the ancient name of Yeḅehalli144, 145
- Vengī, the land of, 435; — it included either sixteen or eighteen thousand villages...427 and n.
- Vēnugrāma, one of the forms of the ancient name of Belgaum243, 244, 248
- Verāwal inscription of the time of Arjunadēva; examination of the date 180
- Vigraha, another name of Visaladēva, 219; — also Vigharāja.....216, 218
- Vijāpura, an ancient town 183
- Vijaya, a king of Kāśmīr263, 266
- Vijaya-Śākhā, a division of the Tapa-Gachchha, 233; — the pontifical succession in it..... 234
- Vijayachandradēva of Kanauj (?); see Jaunpur 182
- Vijayadēva of Chēḅī; see Rēwah 171
- Vijayādhirāja; see Byānā 181
- Vijayāditya (Western Chalukya); the period of his accession, 188; — difficulties in the reckoning of his regnal years 188

- Vijayāditya, brother of Rājarāja I. (East. Chalukya), a viceroy of Veṅgi 425, 435
- Vijayāditya I., II., III., IV., and V. (East. Chalukya)..... 435
- Vijayanandin, an early astronomical writer 135, 138
- Vijayapāladēva, a king..... 22
- Vijayapāndyadēva, *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*; see Dāvāngere 156
- Vijayēśvara, an ancient temple at Bijbihāra in Kāśmīr 263, 266
- Vikrama era, mentioned as the Mālava era, 56, 61; — definite proof that the Mālava era is the Vikrama era, 316; — an instance in which the Vikrama era is apparently treated as the still current reign of Vikramāditya, by the use of the expression *Vikramāditya-rājyē*, 31; — an instance in which it is apparently reckoned from the death of Vikrama, 361; — instances in which, otherwise than by the expression *Vikrama-Samvat*, the name of the king, from whom the era derived its appellation, is connected with it; by the use of the names Vikrama, 23, 24, 26, 27, 30, 32, 35, 36, 38, 39, 40, 177, 182, 183, 353, 354, 361, 365, 369, 373; — Vikramāditya, 25, 31, 32, 36, 166, 169, 173, 176, 180, 186, 219, 366, 368, 369, 372; — Vikramārka, 26, 30, 38, 366, 373; — and Vikramasēna, 168; — Prof. Kielhorn's examination of questions connected with this era; Introductory Remarks, 20; — 1, Regular Dates; A, Dates in Bright Fortnights; 1, in the months Kārttika to Phālguna; (a) in current years, 22; — (b) in expired years, 22; — 2, in the months Chaitra to Āśvina; (a) in northern current years, 28; — (b) in northern expired (or southern current) years, 28; — (c) in southern expired years, 35; — (d) a date which may come under any of the preceding three heads, 40; — B., Dates in Dark Fortnights; 1, in the months Kārttika to Phālguna; (a) in current years; (A.) pūrṇimānta dates, 166; — (B.) amānta dates (none), 166; — (b) in expired years; (A.) pūrṇimānta dates, 166; — (B.) amānta dates, 170; — (c) dates which may be either pūrṇimānta dates of current years, or amānta dates of expired years, 171; — 2, in the months Chaitra to Āśvina; (a) in northern current years; (A.) pūrṇimānta dates, 172; — (B.) amānta dates (none), 173; — (b) in northern expired (or southern current) years; (A.) pūrṇimānta dates, 173; — (B.) amānta dates, 177; — (c) in southern expired years; (A.) pūrṇimānta dates, 178; — (B.) amānta dates, 181; — (d) dates which may be either amānta dates of northern current years, or pūrṇimānta dates of southern expired years, 184; — (e) a date which may be either an amānta date of a northern current year, or a pūrṇimānta date of a northern expired or southern current year, 185; — (f) dates which may be either pūrṇimānta dates of northern expired years, or amānta dates of southern expired years, 185; — 2, Irregular Dates; (a) dates which, though irregular by the Tables, are shewn to be regular when calculated by one or other of the Sidhāntas, 354; — (b) dates of which the reading is, or may appear to be, doubtful, 357; — (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, 361; — (d) a date with a wrong week-day, 363; — (e) (f) (g) (h) dates which work out properly only for years near to the given years, 364, 367, 368; — (i) dates which contain other errors, 369; — Appendix; Additional Regular Dates 373
- Vikrama-Chōḍa (East. Chalukya) 427
- Vikramāditya, a king mentioned in connection with Pratāpāditya I.; Kalhana says he is not "the enemy of the Śakas (*Śak-dri*)" 261 to 264
- Vikramāditya I. (West. Chalukya) 151
- Vikramāditya II. (East. Chalukya) 435
- Vikramanagara, an ancient town 39
- Vikramapura, = Bikrampur 242
- Vikramārka, a variant of the name of the king after whom the Vikrama era was named 26, 30, 38, 366, 373
- Vikramasēna, a name used for the king after whom the Vikrama era was named 168
- Vikramasinha (?); see Dubkund 361
- Vijñānam, an ancient place..... 335
- villages, a note on the number of, in territorial divisions 434
- Vimala, the name of the author of the *Padma-Charita*, and sometimes of the *Praśnōttara-Ratnamālā*; the two are distinct and separate persons 378, 379
- Vimalāditya (East. Chalukya)..... 435
- Vinayāditya (West. Chalukya), 145, 151; — he had the *birudas* of Rājāśraya, 143, 145; — and Satyāśraya, 151; — the period of his accession, in A. D. 670, . . 148; — a difficulty about the reckoning of his regnal years, 148; — a Balagāmve inscription of his time, edited, 142; — his Sorab grant of Saka-Samvat 614, edited 146
- Vindhyavarman (Paramāra) 346

- Vira-Ballála (Hoysala); see Gadag..... 155
- Vira-Chôḍadêva (East. Chalukya), a viceroy of Veṅgi, 424, 425, 435, 436; — he also had the name of Vishṇuvaradhana, 436; — the date of his appointment, in A. D. 1078, . . . 426; — his city was Jananâthanagari, 424, 436; — the Chellûr grant, of his twenty-first year, edited..... 423
- Vira-Nârâyaṇa, a Chôḷa king 339
- Vira-Râjêndra; see Râjarâja (Chôḷa)..... 339
- Viranagari, a former name of Sri-Lakshmi-Mahâsthâna 285
- Virasimhadêva; examination of the date of his grant of Vikrama-Samvat 1177..... 167
- Viravarmadêva (Chandella); examination of the dates of his Ajaygadh inscriptions 25, 373
- Virgin Mary, as a Hindu goddess, the, 286; — her "sisters," 286; — an Indian tale of the..... 285, 286
- Virutarâja, an enemy of Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍadêva I. 332, 337
- Visala, Visaladêva, king of Sâkambhari, 216 to 219; — he also had the name of Vigharâja, 216, 218, 219; — he defeated the Mlechchhas or barbarians, *i. e.* the Muhammadans, 216, 217; — his inscriptions on the Delhi Siwâlik pillar, edited, 215; — examination of the date 36
- Visaladêva (Chalukya); examination of the dates of a Dabhoi inscription of his time, 28; — of his Kadî grant, 183; — and of a MS. of his time 170
- Vishamasiddhi, a *biruda* of Vishṇuvaradhana I. 304, 310
- Vishṇu-tithi, a name of Jyêshtha sûkla 11 ... 369
- Vishnuchandra, an early astronomical writer, author of the later *Vâsishṭha-Siddhânta*... 52, 134, 135, 138
- Vishṇudharmôttara*, a Kâsmirian work from which Albêrûni derived the greater part of his quotations about Hindu cosmogony, astronomy, &c.; comparison of the original text with his renderings of it, 381 to 410; — its composition cannot be placed later than about A. D. 500, . . . 410; — in the eleventh century there existed also a second, and shorter, work, bearing the same name 407
- Vishṇuvamśa, the lineage of Vishṇu; it included the Chalukyas, 425; — and the Prâgjyôtisha kings..... 267
- Vishṇuvaradhana, a name of Vira-Chôḍadêva 424, 436
- Vishṇuvaradhana I. (Eastern Chalukya), 310, 434; — the Prâkrit form of his name was Bittarasâ, 303; — he had the *biruda* of Vishamasiddhi, 304, 310; — his *Sâtârâ* grant, edited 303
- Vishṇuvaradhana II., III., IV. and V. (East. Chalukya)..... 435
- Visuddhimagga*, a Buddhist work, sometimes attributed to Buddhaghôsa 118
- Viśvarûpa, writer of the Rên grant of Gôvindahandradêva..... 252
- Viśvaviśvôpaka*, among the Jains, denotes one in whose body and soul all the marks of an *Achârya* are found 240 n.
- Viśvêsvavarâjadhâni, = Kâsi 28
- Vogul = Manse, 159; — Ostiak 159
- Vṛiddha-Gaṇêśa*, 'a senior *Gaṇêśa*' 239 n.
- Vṛiddhanagara, an ancient town 172
- Vrihimukha, an ancient village..... 9, 20
- vyatîpâta*, a term used in connection with eclipses; a possible explanation of it..... 440
- Wahhâbis destroy Christianity in Sokoṭra ... 199
- waifs, river, in folktales 437, 438
- Wanthali, an inscription at; examination of the date 26
- water-palace in folktales 315
- Weber's Sacred Literature of the Jains; translated by Dr. Smyth; continuation ... 62
- Wellsted, the chief authority on the Sokoṭra trans 191
- witches, in Kâsmîr 263, 267
- women, tricks of, in folktales 127, 128
- Yakshadêva-Sûri, the name of six Jain pontiffs in the Upakêśa-Gachchha, 238, 239; — the third of them is placed in the year 535 after Mahâvira 239
- Yaśôvarmadêva, *Mahârâja* (Paramâra), 346 to 351; — his Ujjain grant of Vikrama-Samvat 1192, edited 348
- Yasûdêv of Jammûn founds Jasnôṭâ 290
- yathê*, Burmese form of *rishi* 438
- Yavana, a name mentioned by Brahmagupta as that of an astronomical writer 134
- Yavanapura, an ancient city mentioned by Lâṭa and Varâhamihira 46, 52
- Yayâti, an epic king, mentioned as the founder of a race..... 433
- year, the Hindu solar; its length according to the original *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, 47, 49; — the present *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, 49; — and the original *Rômaka-Siddhânta* 139
- Yeḍehalli, a village in Maisûr; perhaps mentioned by the ancient name of Vedevalli 144, 145

<i>yōga</i> , an astrological element; names of the		Yōginipura, a name of Dehli	355
<i>yōgas</i> , as used in recorded dates:—		Yuddhamalla II. (East. Chalukya)	435
Aindra (= Indra)	182	Yudhishṭhira I., a king of Kaśmir.....	263, 267
Harshaṇa	24	<i>yuvardāja</i> , Burmese equivalent of the word ...	437
Parigha	38		
Siddha (for Siddhi).....	23	Zingari, a possible origin for the name.....	191
Siddhi (for Siddha)	27	Zōrāwar Singh Gahlōriā, his unsuccessful	
Sōbhana	35	expedition towards Tibet	300
Subha	177		
Vaidhṛiti	441		
Vṛiddhi.....	27		
Vyatipāta.....	31, 155		

ERRATA IN VOL. XIX.

- p. 4, line 35, for *Sukrê* read *Sukrê*.
- 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 *accesion*, 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 *Nirvâna*; 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 Crawford, *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 *accesion*, read *coronation*.
- p. 138, line 10, for *chapter xviii.*, read *chapter viii.*; and in note 8, for *Dâsa°*, 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 *Soḷoṭra* read *Soḷoṭra*.
- „ line 19, for *Soḷoṭran* read *Soḷoṭran*.
- p. 190, note 3, line 3, for *Sokoṭra* read *Soḷoṭra*.
- p. 191, line 32, for *Sokoṭra* read *Soḷoṭra*.
37, for *Sokoṭran* read *Soḷoṭran*.
- 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 *Puliśaśchârya*, read *Puliśâchârya*.
- p. 304, line 7 from the bottom, for *Mahkâṭa*, read *Mahâkâṭa*.
- 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 Sanskrit verse, for
३°, read ३<.
- p. 390, at the end of the last two Sanskrit verses, for ३ and °, read ° and <.
- p. 435, note 83, line 4, for *maṅḷalum*, read *maṅḷalam*.

